*van Driem*
A Grammar of Limbu

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# A Grammar of Limbu

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# Acknowledgements

My gratitude goes first and foremost to Frederik Kortlandt whose guidance, challenging criticism and friendship inspired the whole undertaking and channeled my efforts productively.

I owe everything to those who taught me Limbu in a setting of copious hospitality which they created, particularly my constant companion *Nārāyaṇ Prasād Pãyãṅgū Limbū* (*Yaṅsarumba*), his parents *Netra Bahādur* (*amba*) and *Bhīm Mati* (*amma*), his elder brothers *Jay Kumār* (*tumba*) and *Grām Bahādur* (*sarumba*), his younger brothers *Lay Prasād* (*pho·k-sarumba*) and *Devī Bahādur* (*pho·kwaba*) and his sisters '*Kānchī*' (although *tumma* by birth) , *Man Kumārī* (*sarumma*) and *Dhan Kumārī* (*pho·kwama*, alias *bābā*). I am endebted not only to them but to their many relatives and neighbours in the village of *Tamphulā* which became my home during the field work for this grammar.

I should also like to thank Werner Winter, Michael Witzel, Jim Matisoff, C.L. Ebeling, Willem Adelaar, Rieks Smeets, R.K. Sprigg, Rob Beekes and Thilo Schadeberg for the support, valuable suggestions and criticisms they offered me during the course of this study.

I am much endebted to my friend Ruud Regeer, my father and my mother whose love and support made my task a joyous one.

The field work for this grammar was supported by a grant from the Netherlands Organization for the Advancement of Pure Research (*de Nederlandse organisatie voor zuiver-wetenschappelijk onderzoek*, ZWO) who financed the field work for this grammar. I thank both *Viṣṇu Śreṣṭha* and *Suśīl Śreṣṭha* for their valuable assistance in Kathmandu.

Leiden, August 1986

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APPENDICES

# Abbreviations

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | first person | EXIG | auxiliary of exigency (9.9) |
| 2 | second person | exp | expletive |
| 3 | third person | f | feminine |
| A | agent (4) | fig | figuratively |
| ABS | absolutive case marker (2.4.1) | G | glide |
| ADH | adhortative (8.1) | GEN | genitive (2.4.4) |
| adj | adjective (2.1) | i | inclusive[1] |
| adv | adverb | imp | impersonal conjugation (4.2) |
| AP | active participle (8.4) | IMP | imperative (8.2) |
| ASS | assertive (9.10) | IND | individualizer (see *ca·ĩ*, *dik* and *dzik* in glossary) |
| Bur | modern Burmese | | |
| C | consonant | | |
| caus | causative (10) | INF | infinitive (8.6) |
| cl | clitic | INST | instrumental (2.4.3) |
| col | collective expectation | IPF | imperfective (5.1) |
| | | irr | irregular |
| COL | colour affix | IRR | irrealis (6.3) |
| COM | comitative (2.4.7) | interj | interjection |
| | | interr | interrogative |
| CON | conditional (6.2) | inv | invariable |
| conj | conjunction | lit | literally |
| CTR | contrary to (see *ni?* in glossary) | LOC | locative (2.4.6) |
| | | m | masculine |
| | | n | noun |
| d | dual[1] | NEG | negative (non-nexal negation, 4.5) |
| DEF | imperious (5.2) | | |
| dem | demonstrative | Nep | Nepali |
| DEPR | deprehensative (9.10) | NOM | nominalizer |
| | | NOT | nexal negation (3.1.1) |
| dim | diminutive | | |
| di | dual inclusive[1] | NP | negative participle (8.4) |
| dir | directive (10) | | |
| de | dual exclusive[1] | npG | negative perfect gerund (7.5.2) |
| e | exclusive[1] | | |
| EMPH | emphatic particle, emphatic verbal suffix | NPT | non-preterit (4.4.7) |
| | | ns | non-singular |
| | | num | numeral |
| Eng | English | ø | zero |
| ERG | ergative case marker (2.4.2) | OPT | optative (6.1) |
| | | p | plural[1] |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| P | patient (4) | SUS | aspectivizer of sustained action (5.3.7) |
| part | particle | | |
| PAS | passive (8.8) | | |
| pe | plural exclu-sive[1] | TB | Tibeto-Burman |
| | | Tib | written Tibetan |
| pej | pejorative | v | verb |
| pf | prefix, prefixal slot (esp. 4) | V | vowel |
| | | vi | intransitive verb |
| PF | perfective (5.1) | VOC | vocative (2.4.5) |
| pfG | perfect gerund (7) | vr | reflexive verb (4.2) |
| | | VS | *Vikram Samvat* era |
| pi | plural inclu-sive[1] | vt | transitive verb (4.2) |
| poet | poetic, charac-teristic of ele-vated diction | * | reconstructed or un-attested form |
| | | [] | phonetic transcrip-tion/etymological note |
| postp | postposition, postpositive | | |
| PP | passive parti-ciple (8.5) | // | phonemic transcrip-tion |
| prG | present gerund (7) | <> | morpheme/allomorph |
| | | < | derives from |
| PT | preterit (4.4.7) | → | direction of a tran-sitive relationship |
| Q | yes/no question marker (6.4) | | |
| REF | reflexive/recip-rocal (4.4.5) | | |
| REP | reported speech particle (9.8) | | |
| RES | resultative as-pectivizer (5.3.5) | | |
| S | subject (4) | | |
| s | singular[1] | | |
| sf | suffix, suffixal slot (esp. 4) | | |
| ST | Sino-Tibetan | | |
| STC | *Sino-Tibetan, a Conspectus* (see bibliography) | | |
| sub | subordinator | | |
| SUB | subordination through -*ille* (9.4) | | |
| SUP | supine (8.7) | | |

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[1] also as a superscript to disambiguate English glosses

# Transliteration and Transcription

Nepali words are transliterated from the *devanāgarī* script using the following symbols:

| | |
|---|---|
| a | ā |
| i | ī |
| u | ū |
| ṛ | |
| e | ai |
| o | au |
| ṃ | ḥ |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| k | kh | g | gh | ṅ |
| c | ch | j | jh | ñ |
| ṭ | ṭh | ḍ | ḍh | ṇ |
| t | th | d | dh | n |
| p | ph | b | bh | m |
| y | r | l | v | |
| ś | ṣ | s | | |
| h | | | | |

(1) Silent *a* is not rendered in the transliteration, even though it is generally not deleted in the *devanāgarī* orthography.

(2) The distinctions between *i* and *ī*, *u* and *ū*, *b* and *v*, *ś* and *ṣ* and *s*, preserved in conservative orthography, are also rendered in the transliteration, although they do not correspond to any phonemic distinctions in modern spoken Nepali.

(3) The *candrabindu* used to indicate vowel nasality in *devanāgarī* is rendered by the symbol ~ above the vowel.

*Pokhrel* et al. (2040) and Rabinovič et al. (1968) are taken as standards for modern Nepalese orthography:

Written Limbu (see 0.2) is transliterated as *devanāgarī* using the transliteration on p.554, except that *eḥ* [ɛ] is transliterated as *è*.

Literary Tibetan and Burmese orthography are transliterated using the following symbols:

| | Tibetan | | | | | Burmese | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *k* | *kh* | *g* | *ṅ* | | *k* | *hk* | *g* | *g* | *ṅ* |
| *c* | *ch* | *j* | *ñ* | | *s* | *hs* | *z* | *z* | *ñ*[2] |
| *t* | *th* | *d* | *n* | | *t* | *ht* | *d* | *d* | *n* |
| *p* | *ph* | *b* | *m* | | *t* | *ht* | *d* | *d* | *n* |
| *ts* | *tsh* | *dz* | | | *p* | *hp* | *b* | *bh* | *m* |
| *w* | *ź* | *z* | *ḥ* | | *y* | *r* | *l* | *w* | *θ* |
| *y* | *r* | *l* | | | | *h* | *l* | *a* | |
| *ś* | *s* | *h* | *a* | | | *i* | *e* | *ε* | |
| *i* | *u* | *e* | *o* | | | *ɔ* | *o* | *u* | |

For Burmese: the creaky tone is indicated by *accent aigu*, the falling or heavy tone by *accent grave*, and the level tone is unmarked. Phonetic transcriptions of Modern Burmese are given between brackets using the following IPA symbols. Nasalization is treated as a syllable-final segment and indicated by placing ~ above the vowel.

syllable-initials

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *p* | *t* | *k* | *c* | *s* | *θ* |
| *pʰ* | *tʰ* | *kʰ* | *cʰ* | *sʰ* | |
| *b* | *d* | *g* | *j* | *z* | *ð* |
| *m* | *n* | *ŋ* | *ɲ* | | |
| *m̥* | *n̥* | *ŋ̥* | *ɲ̥* | | |
| *l* | *w* | *y* | *r* | *h* | |
| *l̥* | *w̥* | *ʃ* | | | |

syllable-finals

ʔ   ~

vowels

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *i* | | *u* |
| | *e* | *o*[3] |
| *ε* | *ə*[3] *ɔ* | |
| | *a* | |

and the diphthongs[4]

*ai, au, ou*

---

[2] When *ñ* is used to indicate a front vowel, it is transcribed as *i*.

[3] not in closed syllables.

[4] not in open syllables.

# Key to Maps

MAP 1: Eastern Nepal
       approximate scale   1 : 2 780 000

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| b | *Bhādgāū̃ (Bhaktapur)* | kt | *Khoṭāṅ* |
| bh | *Bhojpur* | m | *Myāṅluṅ* |
| bn | *Birāṭnagar* | mb | *Madhubanī* |
| c | *Cainpur* | mk | *Makālū* 8481m |
| ct | *Carikoṭ* | mw | *Makvānpur* |
| d | *Dhankuṭā* | n | *Nāmce Bajār* |
| dh | *Dharān* | nw | *Nuvākoṭ* |
| dj | *Dārjīliṅ* (Darjeeling) | o | *Okhalḍhuṅgā* |
| h | *Hellok* | p | *Pāṭan (Lalitpur)* |
| ht | *Haṭiyā* | ph | *Phidīm* |
| g | *Gañs-chen-mdzod-lña* | r | *Rāmechāp* |
| | *(Kāñcanjaṅghā, Kum-* | s | *Sagarmāthā* (Mt. |
| | *bhakarṇa)* 8598m | | Everest) 8848m |
| gs | *Gosāı̃thān* 8013m | sg | *Silīgaḍī* |
| h | *Harihar Gaḍhī* | sl | *Solusallerī* |
| i | *Ilām* | sm | *Sindhulīmāḍī* |
| j | *Janakpur* | t | *Tāplejuṅ* |
| jh | *Jhāpā* | tm | *Tamphulā* |
| k | *Kāṭhmāṇḍū (Kāṭhmā̃ḍau)* | tr | *Tehrathum* |
| kh | *Khā̃dbārī (Saṅkhuvā* | u | *Udāypur Gaḍhī* |
| | *Sabhā)* | v | *Vālaṅchuṅ Golā* |
| kk | *Kā̃kaḍbhiṭṭā* | y | *Yāśok* |
| ks | *Karsiyāṅ* (Kurseong) | | |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | *Bāgmatī* | 5 | *Tamor* |
| 2 | *Sunkosī* | 6 | *Raṅgit* |
| 3 | *Tāmākosī* | 7 | *Ṭisṭā* |
| 4 | *Aruṇ* | | |


MAP 2: Nepal in South Asia
       approximate scale   1 : 20 800 000

| | |
|---|---|
| B | Bangladesh |
| BH | Bhutan |
| L | Laos |
| P | Pakistan |
| S | Sikkim |
| TH | Thailand |
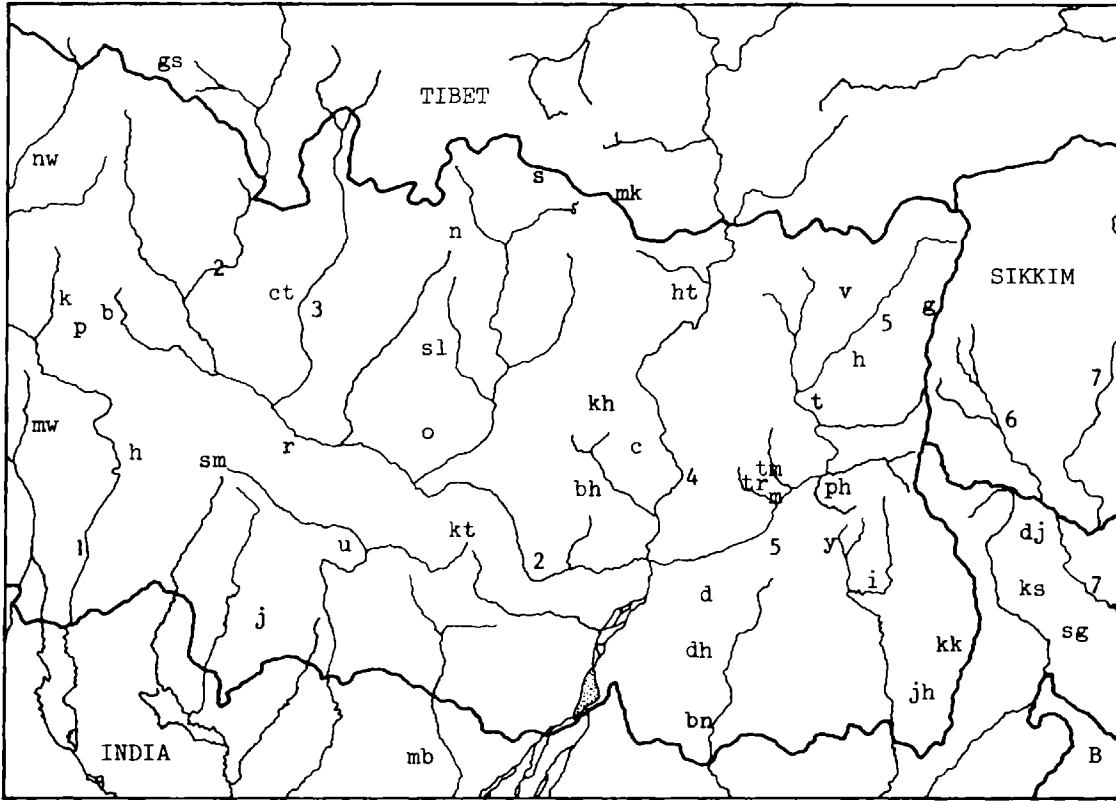
MAP 1

MAP 2
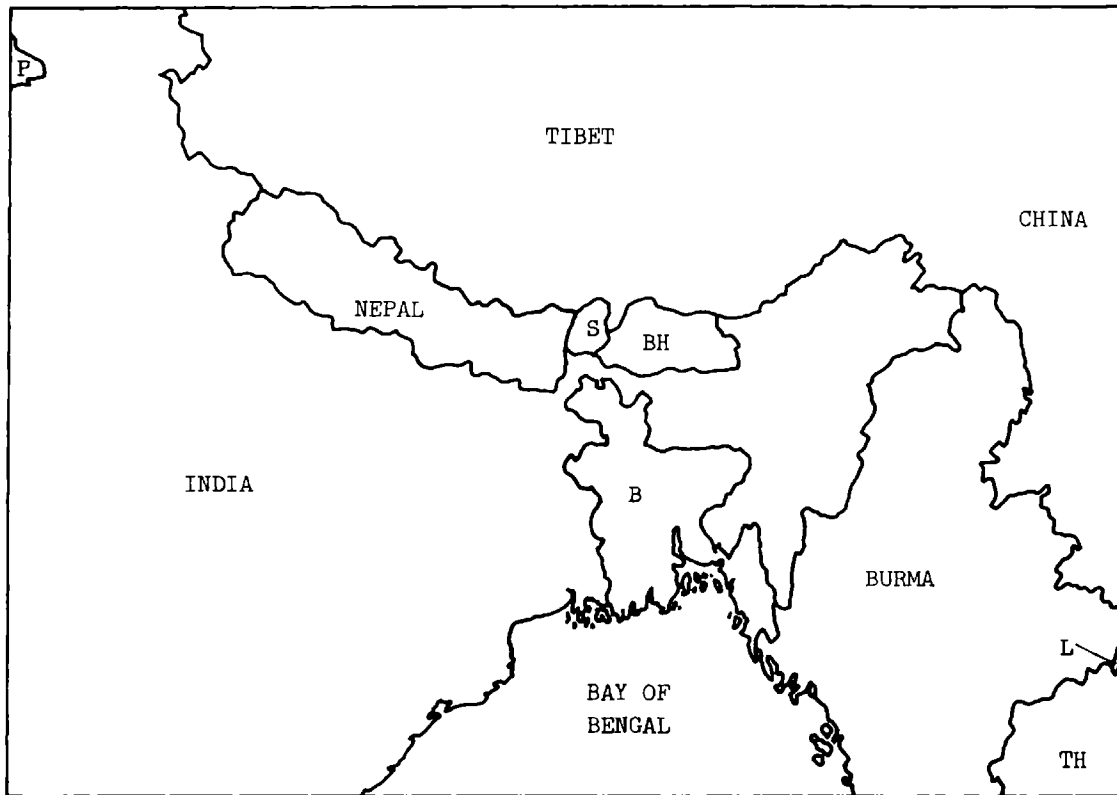
# Introduction

## 0.1. The Limbus

The Limbus are a sedentary agriculturalist people of the Mongoloid race dwelling in the hills of the *Kośī* and *Mecī* zones of eastern Nepal, parts of Sikkim to the west of the Tista and in Darjeeling district. By far the largest part of the Limbu nation lives within eastern Nepal, which is the home of approximately 180,000 speakers of Limbu (Subba 1976: 142). The Limbus designate themselves by the name *Yakthuŋba* and their language by the name *Yakthuŋpa·n* or *Yakthuŋba pa·n*. Dās (1896b: 31) claims that the autonym[1] 'Yâk-thumba' means yak-herd, but I can find no evidence to support this etymology, and I have been unable to find any Limbu who could tell me the origin or meaning of the term *yakthuŋba*. The component *yak-* is probably identical to the first part of the autonym of the more northerly dwelling *Kirãtī* people, the Yakkhas or *Yākhā*, amongst whom it has, however, recently become fashionable to call themselves *Jimī*, *Majhiyā* or *Devān* (Regmi 1983). The component *-thuŋba* may derive from the etymon *\*thuŋ-* of which the adjective *kɛdhuŋba* 'brave, heroic, manly, bold' appears to be an active participle. The word *Limbū* is a Nepali ethnonym, and the Limbu homeland in eastern Nepal is known in Nepali as *Limbuvān*. Campbell (1840: 595) believes the term *Limbū* to be a Gorkha corruption of the autonym 'Ekthoomba', although I suspect that the origin of the term *Limbū* must be sought elsewhere. Of the Limbu homeland Campbell (595) writes:

> The Limboos consider themselves to be the original inhabitants of the country they now occupy, at least they are satisfied that none of the neighbouring tribes have any claims of preoccupation, but they are not agreed among themselves, on the point of nativity.

Indeed, there are various local legends, most of which are rather fanciful, tracing the origins of the Limbus or the lineages of their kings back to the province of Tsang

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[1] Terms differentiating various types of ethnonym are defined in Matisoff (1985a: 3-9).

in Tibet, to *Vārāṇasī* on the Gangetic plain, to ancient Babylon, to China and so forth (Campbell 595, *Cemjoṅ* 2018: 11, Dās 1896b: 31, *Limbū* 1978: 6, Regmi 1983: 74-75).

The Limbus are often identified by the term *Kirāta* or *Kirãtī*. The term *Kirāta* first appears in the *Yajurveda* where it is used to designate an alpine, cave dwelling people of the Mongoloid race living in the northeast (Chatterji 1974: 26). Subsequent references to *Kirātas* in the *Mahābhārata*, *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* and *Kirātārjunīya* portray the *Kirāta* as fierce, warlike and handsome savage hunters living in the densely forested (now largely denuded) eastern Himalaya, with golden complexions which gave them an appearance very distinct from the Indo-Aryan inhabitants of the Gangetic plain (Chatterji 28-34, Dās 1896a: 29, Kaisher K.C. 1972/1974). Although Chatterji (37-38) suggests that the term *Kirāta* probably covered all Mongoloid peoples living along the northeastern fringe of the Subcontinent, it is the speakers of the *Kirãtī* group of Tibeto-Burman languages in eastern Nepal to which the term strictly applies. In the writings of some contemporary Limbu authors writing in Nepali (viz. *Cemjoṅ*, *Māden*, *Limbū*, *B.B. Subba*), the terms *Kirāta* and *Kirãtī* are used to refer specifically to the Limbus.

Campbell (597) writes that at the time of the Gorkha conquest, the Limbus reigned with considerable autonomy 'in feudal subordination to the rajas of Beejapoor and Mukwanpoor'. *Makvānpur* fell to *Pŗthvī Nārāyaṇa Śāh*, the founder of Nepal's currently reigning dynasty, on the 23rd of October 1762, and *Vijaypur* fell to the Gorkhas on the 17th of July 1774 (Stiller 1973: 122-3, 137). Continuing expansion in eastern Nepal brought the Gorkhas into contact with Sikkimese forces, and in 1774 a treaty was signed with the raja of Sikkim giving *Pŗthvī Nārāyaṇa Śāh* all of eastern Nepal 'west of the Singalila watershed' and, in the *Tarāī*, all land as far as the Tista (Stiller 138). Although eastern Nepal was nominally under the rule of *Pŗthvī Nārāyaṇa Śāh* at the time of his death on the 11th of January 1775, *Cainpur* was only wrested from the grip of Sikkimese forces in 1776 (Stiller 150), and Sikkimese territory in fact extended to west of the *Aruṇ* and included *Limbuvān* until the Gorkhas overran Sikkim in 1788 (Sprigg, MS: 2). Most peoples in eastern Nepal accepted Gorkhali rule peacefully (Stiller 138), but the Limbus were not actually pacified until after *Prāṇabala Rāṇā* became *subbā* of *Dhankuṭā* in 1782. Limbus, led by two freedom fighters, *Muregan* and *Thāmuyā*, are said to have fought against the Gorkha troops with poisoned arrows (*Cemjoṅ* 1948: 77). Campbell (597)

recounts how the Limbus under siege 'held their stronghold Yangrong against a superior Goorkha force, for nearly a month, and did not yield until nearly the whole clan fell in a succession of assaults hand to hand with the Kookri'. Only after the Gorkhas had driven the Sikkimese forces from northern *Limbuvān* in 1785-86 did peace come to eastern Nepal (*Cemjoṅ* 1948: 78). Limbus, however, became recruited into the Gorkhali army as early as the battle of *Cainpur* in 1776 and fought on the Gorkhali side against their own people (Stiller 150,281). In 1863 *Jaṅg Bahādur Rāṇā* began conscripting Limbus into the Royal Nepalese Army on a large scale. Because hundreds of Limbu soldiers died of an out-break of cholera in Kathmandu, many Limbu families fearing conscription fled to Darjeeling (Regmi 1983: 80). Their prowess as warriors is reputed to be of great antiquity, and today the Limbus are one of the few Tibeto-Burman ethnic groups of Nepal from which the famous Gorkha regi-ments of the British Army are recruited.

Although now a minority in Nepal's multi-ethnic society, the Limbus' sense of identity as a separate people is strong. The Nepalese authorities have come to governmen-tally control all formal tribal lands except those of the Limbus, who have retained their ancestral land rights (Caplan 1964). These land rights are determined by the Limbu kinship system. The autochthonous Limbu *kipaṭ*-system of land tenure was still operative in *Limbuvān* in 1975 alongside the governmental *raikar*-system (Jones & Jones 1976, Bista 1980).

The codex of the *Nevārī* king *Jayasthiti Malla* dating from the end of the fourteenth century was an early attempt to codify the caste system in the Kathmandu Valley (Höfer 1979: 41). After the conquest of Nepal by *Pr̥thvī Nārāyaṇa Śāh*, edicts were periodically issued which declared the non-Hindu peoples of Nepal to be Hindus and which were intended to assimilate these peoples into the caste system and to consolidate Nepal's many peoples into a nation. This process of assimilation is discussed in Hansson (1982). The place of the various Tibeto-Burman peoples of Nepal within the caste system was codified much later in the *Mulukī Ain* of *Jaṅg Bahādur Rāṇā* which classed the Limbus with other *Kirãtī* speakers such as the *Sunuvār* and *Rāī* amongst the 'enslavable alcohol-drinkers' in an intermediate position below that of the *Guruṅ* and *Magar*, 'non-enslavable alcohol-drinkers', but above the many *pānī nacalne* or 'water unac-ceptable' and untouchable castes (Höfer 135, 141). Campbell (599-602) identifies the Limbus as being neither Hindu nor Buddhist. Though strongly influenced by Hinduism, the

Limbus practice an animist religion and worship an indi-
genous pantheon populated by both gods and goddesses and
household deities reminiscent of the Roman *penātēs* (Van
Driem 1986).

## 0.2. The language

The Limbu language can be roughly divided into four
dialects: *Phedāppe, Pãcthare, Chathare* and *Tāplejuñe* (or
*Tāmarkholā*).

   *Phedāppe* is spoken throughout the Tehrathum district,
and even Indo-Aryans living outside Tehrathum bazar,
especially those of lower caste, speak some Limbu in
addition to their native Nepali. The largest centre of
population in the *Phedāppe* speaking area of *Limbuvān* is
*Tehrathum*, although *Tehrathum bajār* itself is largely
Nepali and Newari speaking. Nepalis living in the bazar
seldom speak Limbu, and in fact many Limbus living in the
bazar do not speak Limbu either. The term *Phedāppe* is a
Nepali adjectival form of *Phedāp*, the region where the
*Phedāppe* dialect is spoken and formerly the designation for
all of presentday *Limbuvān* (*Cemjoñ* 31). The term *Phedāp*
contains the Limbu morpheme *\*phe·* found in *phe·daŋma* 'witch
doctor', *phɛdzikkum* 'sorcerer' and *phe·dahaŋ*[2] [< *haŋ* king]
'warrior hero'. Dās (1896b: 34) claims that 'Phedub' means
'land of verdure', but his source was probably giving a
description which he mistook for an etymology.

   *Pãcthare* is literally the dialect of the *pãc thar* or
'five clans', *Chathare* of the *cha thar* or 'six clans'.
*Pãcthare* is spoken to the east of the *Tamor* river. Centres
of population in *Pãcthare* speaking *Limbuvān* are *Yāśok*,
*Phidīm*, *Ilām*, beyond which *Pãcthare* speaking *Limbuvān*
extends to the east and eastnortheast. *Chathare* (including
the *tçhɛtthɔr pokhɔri* and *daŋappat hɔmɔrdzuŋ* sub-dialects[3])
is spoken in parts of *Dhankuṭā* district away from the bazar
and in parts of *Tehrathum* district fringing *Dhankuṭā* dis-
trict. I have observed that the Limbu of *Chathare* speakers
is virtually wholly unintelligible to *Phedāppe* speakers of
the village of *Tamphulā* (where the dialect described in
this grammar is spoken) who must even resort to Nepali to

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[2] Campbell's 'pheda hung' (1840: 597).

[3] Sub-dialect names, given in IPA, are those of *Dillī
Vikram Iñgvābā Subbā*, alias B. Subba (personal commu-
nication, 1984).

communicate with distant relatives living in *Chathar*. Though ideally *Pãcthare* and *Phedãppe* are mutually intelligible dialects, understanding *Pãcthare* presents considerable problems to native *Phedãppe* speakers of *Tamphulã* village. I have observed how *Nārāyaṇ Prasād*, a fluent native speaker of *Phedãppe*, was unable to make heads or tails of the animated conversation of *Pãcthare* lads in *Yãśok*, but was quite successful in a one-on-one conversation with a *Pãcthare* speaker, where both made an effort to be understood. The differences between *Pãcthare* and *Phedãppe* can be a source of amusement.

*Tāplejuṅe* (including the *tamarkhole*, *jaṇrupe* and *mɔĭwakhole* sub-dialects[3]) is the dialect spoken to the north of *Phedãp* along and especially north of the *Tamor* River in *Tāplejuṅ* district and beyond. Whereas the dialect boundary between *Phedãppe* and *Pãcthare* is an abrupt transition as one crosses the *Tamor* between *Tehrathum* and *Yãśok*, the differences between *Phedãppe* and *Tāplejuṅe* as one moves north appear to be gradual, and the differences are on the whole less pronounced than between any of the other two dialects.

R.K. Sprigg (1966) has written a treatise on phonological formulae for the *Pãcthare* Limbu verb. Boyd Michailovsky (1985) has written on dental suffixes in Tibeto-Burman as evinced by their reflexes in Limbu directives and causatives (see p.245) and has been preparing a grammar of Limbu based on his work in the *Maivã-Mevã* Valleys of *Tāplejuṅ* district. A description of *Pãcthare* by Weidert & Subba (1985) has recently become available.

The dialects of Limbu are traditionally classified as belonging to the Khambu subtype[4] of languages within the Kiranti (*Kirãtī*) group or Bahing-Vayu nucleus, one of the eight main nuclear groups in Benedict's classification of

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[4] The Khambu subtype also includes: 'Sangpang, Nechereng, Rodong, Waling, Rungchenbung, Lambichong, Chingtang and Yakkha'. The other subtype within Kiranti is the Bahing subtype and includes 'Sunwari, Dumi, Khaling and Rai'. Close to these two subtypes which together constitute the Kiranti nucleus is *Vayū* or *Hayū* (described by Michailovsky 1981). More remotely linked to the Kiranti group is *Nevārī*, the language of the indigenous, or at least pre-Gorkha, population of the Kathmandu Valley (Benedict 1972: 4-5). The subdivisions adopted in Benedict (1972) are confusing, however, for Sangpang (*Sãṅpãṅ*), Nechereng (*Nãceriṅ*, *Nãccheriṅ*), Chingtang (*Chiṅ-*

Tibeto-Burman[5]. Benedict's Bahing-Vayu nucleus, the Kiranti group, corresponds to the Complex Pronominalized languages of Eastern Himalayan in Konow's older classification (1909), so called because the transitive verb's agreement system codes for both agent and patient actants and because, with a singular, dual and plural and with an inclusive/exclusive distinction in the first person, there are eleven pronominal categories. Major historical work on pronominal morphology in Tibeto-Burman has been done by Bauman (1975).

Limbu was once a written language. Limbu, Lepcha and *Nevārī* are the only Sino-Tibetan languages of the central Himalayas to possess their own scripts (Sprigg 1959: 590). Sprigg (1959: 591-592 & MS: 1-4) tells us that the Limbu or Kiranti script was devised during the period of Buddhist expansion in Sikkim in the early 18th century when *Limbuvān* still constituted part of Sikkimese territory. The Kiranti script was probably composed at roughly the same time as the Lepcha script which was devised by the third *Mahārājā* of Sikkim, *Phyag-rdor rNam-rgyal*, ca. 1700-1717. The Kiranti script is ascribed to the Limbu hero, *Śirijaṅgā* who was killed by the Tasong monks in conspiracy with the *Mahārājā* of Sikkim at the time that *Siṃha Pratāp Śāh* was king in Nepal (i.e. 11 January 1775 to 17 November 1777; Stiller 141,153). Both Lepcha and Kiranti scripts were ostensibly devised with the intent of furthering the spread

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*tāṅ*), Dumi (*Dumī*), Khaling (*Khāliṅ*) are all Rai (*Rāī*), which is a collective ethnonym for several groups of people speaking heterogenous but related Kiranti languages. 'Rodong' is merely an indigenous ethnonym, probably *Cāmliṅ*, meaning 'Rai'.

Recent data collected by the Linguistic Survey of Nepal under the direction of Werner Winter (Universität Kiel) shed new light on intra-Kiranti relationships. The results of extensive survey work conducted throughout eastern Nepal under Winter's direction will soon be made available in published form. New contours have emerged, and new nuclei or related language clusters have been defined within Kiranti on the basis of the gathered data.

[5] The eight nuclei within Tibeto-Burman are: Tibeto-Kanauri, Bahing-Vayu, Abor-Miri-Dafla, Kachin, Burmese-Lolo, Bodo-Garo, Kuki-Naga and Karen (see Benedict 1972: 4-11, 1976).

of Buddhism, and *Sirijaṅgā* was apparently a Limbu Buddhist, also known by the Tibetan title of 'the Dorze Lama of Yangrup'.

In 1855, Campbell published a copy of the indigenous Kiranti script which he had received from Lieut. George Mainwaring of the 16th Regiment *N.I.* Grenadiers (Campbell 1855: 202). It is noteworthy that this, ultimately *Devanāgarī*-based, Kiranti script, though it distinguishes aspirate and non-aspirate stops, makes no distinction between voiced and voiceless plosives (see also 1.1). A facsimile of this list can be found in Appendix IV. Brian Hodgson managed to procure fourteen Limbu books in the *Kirāntī* script which he donated to the India Office Library, and Sprigg acquired an additional five books in the Limbu script in 1958 for the School of Oriental and African Studies (Sprigg 1959: 591).

In recent times *Imānsiṅ Cemjoṅ* has made attempts to resurrect the Kiranti script. Both his bilingual *Kirāta Mundhum* or *Kirāta-Veda*, with a column of Limbu flanked by its Nepali translation, and his *Yākthuṅ-pene-mikphu?lā Pochekwā* or 'Limbu-Nepali-English Dictionary' appeared in 1961, but in both works the Limbu was rendered in the *Devanāgarī* script. In the dictionary, however, he included a table giving the Kiranti script (21-23), reproduced here in Appendix IV. Scrutiny of *Cemjoṅ*'s Kiranti alphabet and the original Kiranti script attributed to *Sirijaṅgā*, in which the old books which Hodgson and Sprigg procured were written, reveals that *Cemjoṅ* had drastically altered and expanded upon the original script so that his new version of the Kiranti script not only made provision for the voiced counterparts of the plosives but also provided counterparts for Nepali characters for ṣ, ñ, *tr* and *jñ*. In 1965 *Cemjoṅ* wrote another book in Limbu verse with Nepali translations, but here too he makes use of the *Devanāgarī* script.

Subsequent attempts were made to revive the Limbu script by B.B. Subba in Sikkim in the late '70s. Subba (1976) adopted *Cemjoṅ*'s new and expanded Kiranti script but made a few minor but enlightened modifications of his own (1978) which rigorously improved the script by making provision for both the glottal stop phoneme and for phonemic vowel length. More significant is that Subba produced illustrated textbooks for Primary 1 through 5 on behalf of the Directorate of Education of the Government of Sikkim (1976, 1977, 1982) as well as a Limbu textbook intended for adults (1978) and a Limbu-Nepali-English dictionary (1979) with the Limbu in new Kiranti script, the Nepali in *Devanāgarī*

and the English in Roman alphabet.

More recent, modest attempts have been made by *J. Mäden*
in Darjeeling, who produced two booklets, one to instruct
the reader in the use of the Kiranti script (1983) and the
other containing Limbu verse in the *Devanāgarī* script
(1984).

Modern written Limbu is without exception based on the
easternmost variety of *Pãcthare* speech.


0.3. This grammar

This grammar is a description of the *Phedāppe* dialect of
*Yakthuŋba* or Limbu as it is spoken in *Tamphulā* village in
*Tehrathum* district in eastern Nepal's *Kośī* zone. The author
spent three months in early 1984 and the first six months
of 1985 as a live-in guest in the household of farmer *Netra
Bahādur Pãyãṅgū* (*Paŋyaŋgu*) with his wife, five sons and
three daughters. The family's house was named *Ya·kpɔ·ppo·ŋ*
after the *ya·kpɔ·ppo·ŋ*-tree or large Engelhardtia spicata
which had once stood at the site of the house.[6]

During these periods, the author enjoyed the warm hospi-
tality, generous friendship and well developed sense of
humour of his Limbu family. Initially, in 1984, communica-
tion took place in Nepali with and through the elder sons,
but eventually the medium of conversation between author
and hosts became Limbu. A basis was laid which enabled the
author, upon his return in 1985, largely to obviate the use
of Nepali except for translating recorded texts and obtai-
ning glosses. Both members of the family and their many
relatives offered the author valuable guidance in the form
of good-natured ridicule of the deficiencies in the

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[6] It is common practice in the *Phedāp* to name houses and
individuals or groups of individuals after large trees
which serve as arborescent landmarks. Whereas houses and
places take Limbu names, people are generally given
Indo-Aryan first names but retain their Limbu clan or
family names. For example, one of the local *phe·daŋma* is
called *Okhre Māhilā*, lit. 'walnut (adj.) second-born',
after the *okhar* or walnut (Juglans regia) tree which
stands at the site of his parental home. In slope
farming, the various cultivated terraces or *pyaŋsi* are
given proper names, although these are often not named
after trees. For example, one of the *pyaŋsi* on the
*Paŋyaŋgu* property was called *ɔ·ŋge·*.

author's Limbu as well as practical instruction on the
correct way to say things, which sometimes led to reflec-
tive and insightful conversations amongst the *de facto*
instructors themselves on the differences in meaning,
nuance and applicability of various words and expressions
in their own language.

The many kind people of *Tamphulā* village were eager to
relate to the author their ideas on creation, the super-
natural, their neighbours, themselves and the world at
large as well as to offer the hospitality of their hearth
and home. It is through their acceptance of the author into
their community and thanks to the generous hospitality and
care of the *Paŋyaŋgu* family that this grammar was made
possible.

The present grammar consists of ten chapters of analysis
and four appendices containing a corpus of texts, verbal
paradigms, a glossary and an anthology of Limbu scripts.

The first chapter of the analysis is devoted to the
phonology of the *Phedāppe* dialect and describes the pho-
nemes of the full and native phonemic system and their
allophones. Chapter 2 deals with nominal morphology, and
Chapters 3 to 8 and Chapter 10 with verbal morphology. The
seven verbs 'to be', the topic of Chapter 3, include one
aberrant conjugation and six intransitive verbs. Four of
these six occur as auxiliaries in periphrastic construc-
tion, treated in Chapter 7. Chapter 4 provides a morpholo-
gical analysis of simplex verb forms. Simplex verb forms
are tensed forms of intransitive, transitive or reflexive
verbs which show agreement with actant or actants. Complex
verb forms are those derived from these simplicia through
augmentative suffixation and form the topic of Chapters 5
to 7. Of great interest are the periphrastic tenses
discussed in Chapter 7.

Other verbal constructions, such as the adhortative and
imperative, are not derived from simplicia through augmen-
tative suffixation but also entail subtraction of affixes
(eg. adhortative forms) or are derived from the verb stem
(eg. active participles) or from both verb stem and/or sim-
plicia (eg. nominalized construction in -*pa*). Such verbal
constructions form the topic of Chapter 8. Many Limbu verbs
have causative and directive counterparts derived through
now defunct processes of affixation. Productive causative
formation is periphrastic. Both improductive and productive
causatives are treated in Chapter 10, where there is also a
general discussion on transitivity and actant coding in the
Limbu verb.

Limbu, like other Tibeto-Burman languages[7], is charac-
terized by the syntactic element order SOV. Coordination in
Limbu is straightforward and is discussed in Chapter 7
because it is intimately tied to the meaning and probably
the genesis of perfect gerunds. Subordination in Limbu is
treated in 8.3 and Chapter 9.

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[7] except Karen.

# Chapter One
# Phonology and Phonetics


1.1. Limbu phonemes and the native phonemic system

The full inventory of Limbu phonemes is given in the following table. Phonemes occurring exclusively in loans appear between parentheses.

### Consonant phonemes

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *k* | *kh* | (*g*) | (*gh*) | *ŋ* |
| *c* | | (*dz*) | (*dzh*) | |
| (*ṭ*) | (*ṭh*) | (*ḍ*) | (*ḍh*) | (*ṇ*) |
| *t* | *th* | (*d*) | | *n* |
| *p* | *ph* | *b* | (*bh*) | *m* |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *y* | *r* | *l* | *w* |
| *s* | *h* | *ʔ* | |

### Vowel phonemes

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *i/i·* | | *u/u·* |
| *e·* | | *o·* |
| *ɛ/ɛ·* | *ə* | *ɔ/ɔ·* |
| | *a/a·* | |

The occurrence of loan phonemes is restricted to a rather limited set of Nepali loans specified in 1.2. The Limbu consonant system devoid of non-native phonemes may be schematized in the following way:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *b* | *p* | *ph* | *m* | *w* | | |
| | *t* | *th* | *s* | *n* | *r* | *l* |
| | *c* | | | *y* | | |
| | *k* | *kh* | *ŋ* | | | |
| | *ʔ* | | *h* | | | |

Nepali loans show the tendency to assimilate to this native phoneme system. For example, the word *khyu* 'ghee, clarified butter' is a loan from Nepali *ghiu*. A bilingual Limbu may say *ṭika* '*ṭīkā*-powder' from Nepali *ṭīkā*, whereas speakers who have either no or a very limited command of Nepali tend to say *tika*, substituting a native dental for the alien retroflex. Similarly, a bilingual speaker may say *la·lṭi·n* 'kerosene lamp' [< Nep. *lālṭīn*] where the monolingual Limbu says *la·lti·n*.

The adaptation of loans to the native phoneme system is not limited to the voice assimilation of plosives and dentalization of retroflexes. Limbu *ka·ndruk* (type of vegetable condiment) comes from Nepali *gundruk*, where it seems that modifying *gundruk* to *\*kundruk* would have suf-ficed. There seems to be no reason for the change of vowel other than that the resultant form perhaps 'sounds more Limbu' as a consequence. The same probably holds for *karǝhi* 'wok' from Nepali *karāhī*. It is apparently in deference to native syllable structure (1.3) that Nepali *iskus* 'vege-table marrow' occurs in Limbu as *sikus*, with the unaccep-table pre-consonantal /s/ comfortably metathesized to word-initial position.

Loans which are not at variance with native phonology in their original form are adopted unscathed, eg. *sirak* 'quilt' [< Nep. *sirak*], *phitta* 'kerosene lamp wick' [< Nep. *phittā*]. Other unadapted loans appear to be of more recent origin, eg. *ḍhiki* 'rice thrasher' [< Nep. *ḍhikī*], *bhiḍiyo·* 'video' [< Nep. *bhīḍiyo*].


1.2. Allophones and phonetic description of Limbu phonemes


Consonants - native phonemes

| /k/ | syllable-initially: unaspirated voice-less dorso-velar plosive | [k] |
| | syllable-finally: the same, unreleased with simultaneous glottal stop | [k�̓] |
| | after a nasal, glottal stop or inter-vocalically: unaspirated voiced dorso-velar plosive | [g], |
| | rarely | [k], |
| | eg. in the loan *ma·ki* 'maize'. | |

| /kh/ | aspirated voiceless dorso-velar plosive after a nasal or glottal stop and | [kʰ] |

|  | intervocalically: aspirated voiced dorso-velar plosive | $[g^{ɦ}]$, |
|  | rarely<br>eg. *mi-kho·?* 'smoke', *ma·khi* 'blood'. | $[k^{h}]$, |

| /ŋ/ | voiced dorso-velar nasal | [ŋ] |

| /t/ | syllable-initially: unaspirated voiceless apico-dental plosive | [t̪] |
|  | word-internally syllable-finally: unreleased with simultaneous glottal stop | [t̪̚] |
|  | word-finally or before /?/ or /h/: lateralized preceded by a glottal stop | [?l] |
|  | after a nasal, glottal stop or intervocalically: unaspirated voiced apicodental plosive | [d̪] |

| /th/ | aspirated voiceless apico-dental plosive | $[t̪^{h}]$ |
|  | after a nasal, glottal stop or intervocalically: aspirated voiced apicodental plosive | $[d̪^{ɦ}]$ |

| /n/ | voiced apico-dental nasal | [n̪] |

| /p/ | syllable-initially: unaspirated voiceless bilabial plosive | [p] |
|  | syllable-finally: unreleased with simultaneous glottal stop | [p̚] |
|  | after a nasal, glottal stop or intervocalically: unaspirated voiced bilabial plosive | [b] |

| /b/ | unaspirated voiced bilabial plosive | [b]; |
|  | in a considerable number of loans[1], the hybrid *biha·ndik* 'morning' and the native words *ke·b* 'tiger', *kɛ·b* (also *ke·?e·ba*) 'mute', *la·b* 'moon' (and its derivatives *la·bbutthuŋ* 'lunar foam', *la·bbhɛrik* 'counter-clockwise', *la·b-ne·tti* 'lunar cord'), *la·bbhɔk* 'tuber' | |

---

[1] viz. *badam* 'peanuts', *baḍkyo·la* 'shit pellet', *badza* 'musical instrument', *bakulla* 'crane', *balla* 'at last', *barne·* 'ought', *ba·ha·n* 'one time (in distillation)',

and *la·bdzo·kma?* 'cost'.
/b/ has an optional intervocalic/post-
nasal allophone in the form of voiced
median labial-velar approximant                    [w],
eg. /nuba/ as either [nuba] or [nuwa],
/co·guŋba/ as either [tço·guŋba] or
[tço·guŋwa], /ande·bɛn/ [anḏe·wɛn].

/ph/      aspirated voiceless bilabial plosive          [pʰ]
          after a nasal, glottal stop or inter-
          vocalically: aspirated voiced bila-
          bial plosive                                  [bʱ],

          rarely                                        [pʰ],
          eg. *pa·ŋphe·* 'village'.

/m/       voiced bilabial nasal                         [m]

/c/       unaspirated voiceless lamino-postal-
          veolar affricate                              [tç]
          after a nasal, glottal stop or inter-
          vocalically: unaspirated voiced
          lamino-postalveolar affricate                 [dʐ]

/l/       1. initially in full words: voiced
          apico-alveolar lateral approximant            [l],
          eg. /luŋ/ [luŋ]

          2. syllable-initially in word-internal
          position and word-initially in cli-
          tics:
          In these positions the phoneme /l/ has
          two allophones, the laminoalveolar trill      [r]
          and the voiced apico-alveolar lateral
          approximant                                   [l].
          These two allophones occur in comple-
          mentary distribution in all affixes
          and parts of speech, with the excep-
          tion of nouns taking possessive pre-
          fixes and the second members of a few

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*ba·kas* 'box', *ba·ni* 'habit', *ba·ri* 'garden', *ba·ula*
'sleeve', *be·l* '*bel*-tree', *be·la* 'period', *bəm* 'bomb',
*bətti* 'lamp', *biha* 'marriage', *bihiba·r* 'Thursday',
*budhəba·r* 'Wednesday', *hisa·b* 'arithmetic', *talab*
'salary' and *subba* (ethnonym).

composita. The distribution is such that [r] occurs after vowels and glottal stop, [l] elsewhere:

$$/l/ \rightarrow [r] \; / \; \left\{ \begin{array}{c} V \\ \textrm{?} \end{array} \right\} \; \underline{\phantom{xx}} \; , \; \textrm{except in some composita}^2$$

$$/l/ \rightarrow [l] \; / \; \left\{ \begin{array}{c} C \\ \textrm{(except ?)} \end{array} \right\} \; \underline{\phantom{xx}}$$

In older composita such as *mikwara·p* 'bat' (< *mikwa* 'tear' + *la·p* 'wing'), intervocalic /l/ is realized as [r], whereas in composita of probably more recent date, /l/ retains its word-initial realization, eg. *ha?luŋ* 'fire-place-stone' (< *ha* 'tooth' + *luŋ* 'stone'), with a linking glottal stop not uncommon in composita.[3] Similarly, this rule does not apply when a productive prefix is attached to a noun beginning with /l/, eg. *ku-la·p* 'its wing'.

eg.

genitive suffix:

| | |
|---|---|
| *mɛnda?-re ku-sa?* | (goat-GEN its-offspring) 'the goat's offspring' |
| *phak-le ku-mi* | (pig-GEN its-tail) 'the pig's tail' |
| *pha-re siŋ* | (bamboo-GEN wood) 'the wood of bamboo' |
| *mik-le raŋ* | (eye-GEN colour) 'the colour of the eyes' |
| *ku-la·p-le ku-raŋ* | (its-wing-GEN its-colour) 'the colour of its wings' |

---

[2] I have often heard bilingual Limbus confuse Nepalese /r/ and /l/ in their Nepali, eg. *āmā re* for *āmā le* 'mother (ERG)'.

[3] eg. *wɛtchya?dɔk* 'cooked rice' < *wɛtchya* 'uncooked rice' + *tɔk* 'cooked grain, *bhāt*'

clitic *lɔk/rɔk* 'only':
*aŋgaʔin-lɔk-ʔi·*        (mine-only-Q) 'Mine only?'
*anchi-rɔk-le-i·*        (we<sup>di</sup>-only-GEN-Q)
                        'Only ours<sup>di</sup>?'

in verbs:
*wamɛraŋʔɛ*              'They'll make me wet.'
*wamɛnlaŋʔɛn*            'They won't make me wet.'

assertive particle *lo·/ro·*:
*kɛniŋwa mɔyɛ ro·!*      'You've lost your mind!'
*aŋga pe·gaŋ lo·!*       'I'm off!'

deprehensative particle *ləcə/rəcə*:
*ma·ŋgha kɛnnisun ləcə*   'You seem to be myopic'
*kɔŋ lɛ·su rəcə*         'He appears to know'

As a result of this distribution, intervocalic /l/ is realized as [r] or, when geminate, as [ll]. Occasionally we find idiolectal doublets like *yərik* alongside *yəllik*, both 'much, many'.

3. syllable-finally: in loans                                    [l],
eg. *be·l*. Some loans with syllable-final [l] are re-analyzed as ending in final /t/, eg. Nep. *syāl* 'jackal' > *syaʔl* ( = /syat/), Nep. *rumāl* 'handkerchief' > *rumaʔl* ( = /rumat/). In native words /l/ does not occur syllable-finally except as part of an intervocalic geminate.

4. as the second member of an initial cluster:                  [r],
eg. *cɔkkrɔkma* 'uvula', *phuphudre·* 'elder sister's husband (female speaking)', *saŋgatra* 'citrus fruit', *lɔtthrake·* 'tree squirrel'. Initial clusters containing /l/ as a post-consonantal glide are never word-initial.

| /r/ | lamino-alveolar trill | [r] |
| --- | --- | --- |
| | word-initially: only in the loans *ru-ma?l* 'handkerchief', *rupi* '*rupī*-bird', *raŋ* 'colour'. | |
| | syllable-initially in word-internal position: eg. *khɔ·mre·?* 'peach tree', *samrippa* 'silhouette'. | |
| | syllable-finally: in loans, eg. *pi·r* 'suffering', *pardzo·kma?* 'be situated', and in the onomatopoea *phirli·* 'whirling'. | |

| /w/ | voiced median labial-velar approximant | [w] |
| --- | --- | --- |

| /y/ | voiced median palatal approximant | [j] |
| --- | --- | --- |

| /s/ | voiceless lamino-alveolar fricative | [s] |
| --- | --- | --- |
| | after /t/ or /n/: voiceless aspirated lamino-postalveolar affricate | [tɕʰ][4] |

| /h/ | voiced glottal fricative [ɦ] | |
| --- | --- | --- |

| /?/ | syllable-finally: non-released glottal stop | [?˥] |
| --- | --- | --- |
| | syllable-initially in word-internal position: released glottal stop | [?] |

## Consonants - loan phonemes

| /g/ | unaspirated voiced dorso-velar plosive occurs in the loans *ga·ro·* 'wall', *go·li* 'bullet' and *gundri* (often [*kundri*]) 'straw mat'.[6] | [g];[5] |
| --- | --- | --- |

| /gh/ | aspirated voiced dorso-velar plosive in one loan [*gʰa·s*] 'fodder'. | [gʰ], |
| --- | --- | --- |

---

[4] Confusion of the Nepali phonemes /ch/ and /s/ is characteristic of the Nepali of some bilingual Limbus, eg. *chirāunu* for *sirāunu* (= Limbu *li·mma?*) 'pass through a hole, thread, insert'.

[5] The particle *gɔ·*, /kɔ·/, does not occur clause-initially, and clause-internally it most often appears in a voiced environment. Its glossary form is therefore given

/d/        unaspirated voiced apico-dental plosive        [ḏ];
           in the loans *ḏa·ri* 'beard', *ḏərta*
           'registration' and *ḏɔi* 'yoghurt'.[7]

/bh/       aspirated voiced bilabial plosive              [bʱ];
           in the loans *bhiḍiyo·* 'video', *bhitra*
           'inside', *bhitta* 'the walls', *bhɛnṭa*
           'eggplant' and in the word *bha·tra*
           'forest fire' which I believe to be of
           Indo-Aryan etymology.

/dz/       unaspirated voiced lamino-postalveolar
           affricate                                      [dẓ],
           in the loans *dzanti* 'participants in a
           procession', *dze·* 'that which', *dzilla*
           'district', *dzɔro·* 'fever',[8] *dzun*
           'that which', *dzutta* 'shoe'.[9]

/dzh/      aspirated voiced lamino-postalveolar
           affricate                                      [dẓʱ]
           in the lone loan *dzhan* 'even more so,
           yet more'.

/ṭ/        unaspirated voiceless retroflex                [ṭ],
           in *ṭika* 'ṭīkā-powder' (also *tika* and
           *bhɛnṭa* 'eggplant'.

/ṭh/       aspirated voiceless retroflex                  [ṭʰ],
           in *ṭhikai* 'right'[10] and *ko·ṭha* 'room',
           *muṭhi* 'fist'.

/ḍ/        unaspirated voiced retroflex                   [ḍ],
           in the loans *ḍasana* 'mattress', *ḍo·li*
           'palanquin', *baḍkyo·la* 'shit pellet',
           *cuḍe·l* (type of apparition).

_____

as *gɔ·*. Following a word ending in a voiceless plosive,
*gɔ·*, /kɔ·/, is realized as [kɔ·]. See also 1.5.
[6] alongside native *lo·tna* 'straw mat'.
[7] alongside native *nudak* 'yoghurt'.
[8] alongside native *tuŋ* 'fever'.
[9] alongside native *laŋsup* 'shoe'.
[10] alongside native *nu* 'right', *po·ŋ* 'alright', *lɔ* 'O.K.'

/ɖh/      aspirated voiced retroflex                      [ɖʱ],
          in the loan *ɖhiki* 'rice thrasher'.

/ṇ/       voiced retroflex nasal                          [ɳ],
          in *bhɛṇʈa* 'eggplant' and in the affec-
          ted pronounciation by some bilingual
          speakers of Nepali proper names con-
          taining Nepali ṇ.

Whereas /p/ and /k/ each have a single syllable-final allo-phone, [ʔ̞p] and [ʔ̞k] respectively, /t/ has two syllable-final allophones: [ʔ̞l] and [ʔl]. The lateral variety is the pre-pausal allophone, occurring before a word boundary or before the glottal phonemes /h/ and /ʔ/. In word-internal position, syllable-final /t/ deletes a following glottal stop but is realized as its lateral allophone [ʔl] notwith-standing. In this way, the distinctiveness of syllable-initial /ʔ/ is not lost: /VtʔV/ → [VʔlV], eg. [mɛbhɛʔlɛn] /mɛ-phɛt-ʔɛ-n/ 'I shall not fetch it', [mɛŋgaʔle· wa:] /mɛn-kat-ʔe· wa·/ 'he did not have it transported'. Compare with this the voiced allophone of /t/ in intervocalic position: /VtV/ → [VɖV], eg. [kubo·ɖɛn] /kupo·tɛn/ 'his position in society', [kɛɖa] /kɛta/ 'you'll come'.

   Similarly, a syllable-final glottal stop cancels a following syllable-initial glottal stop: /VʔʔV/ → [VʔV], eg. [naʔmɛnuʔɛn] /naʔ-mɛ-nuʔ-ʔɛ-n/ 'he doesn't love me', [ho·ʔo·lam] /ho·ʔ-ʔo·-lam/ 'from inside the furuncle'.

   Internasal glottal stop is sometimes not realized in allegro speech, eg. /huʔmʔna/: [huʔmʔna] or [huʔmna].

   The following minimal pairs and near minimal pairs illustrate the distinctiveness of glottal stop vis-à-vis the glottalized syllable-final allophones of /p/, /t/ and /k/:

   /ʔ/ - ø: *yumaʔ* 'come down', *yuma* 'grandma'; *he·ʔmaʔ* 'be able to', *he·maʔ* 'dry in the sun (something inedible), dry by the fire'; *taʔmaʔ* 'bring, fetch, *tamaʔ* 'come'; *pe·ʔ/ pe·gɛʔ* 'go!', *pe·/pe·gɛ* 'he went'; *pi·nɛ* 'I'll give it to you*ˢ*', *pinʔɛ* 'I jump'; *kuhiʔ* 'its chaff', *kuhi* 'its shit'; *saʔ* 'child', *sa* 'meat'; *puʔ* 'it'll get severed', *pu* 'bird'; *saʔmaʔ* 'visit', *samaʔ* 'deliver'; *waʔ* 'hen', *wa·* 'there is'.

   /p/ - ø: *sapmaʔ* 'write', *samaʔ* 'deliver'; ´(*piʔlin*) *mɛghe·pʔɛn* 'I won't yoke (the cow)', *mɛghe·ʔɛn* 'I won't quarrel'; *lup* 'leech', *lu* 'well'; *hɔ·pmaʔ* 'burst open', *hɔ·maʔ* 'bark'.

   /t/ - ø: *syaʔl* 'jackal, sting', *sya* 'uncooked rice'; *sɛtchu* 'they*ᵈ* killed him', *sɛsu* 'they*ᵈ* scattered it'; *puʔl*

'it'll get mixed', *pu* 'bird'; *aŋghɔtnɛn* 'we'reᴾⁱ not hoarse', *aŋghɔ·nɛn* 'we'reᴾⁱ not going to utter incantations'; *mɛma·tnɛn* 'it won't get used up', *mɛma·nɛn* 'it won't get lost'.

/k/ - ø: *sɛndik* 'night', *sɛndi* 'good-bye (1pi/ADH)'; *phak* 'swine'; *pha* 'bamboo'; *ko·kmaʔ* 'prop up', *ko·maʔ* 'stand guard'; *ɔ·kmaʔ* 'cry', *ɔ·maʔ* 'drool'; *ya·k* 'gift', (*kɛmik*) *ya·* '(you'll) be horrified'.

/ʔ/ - /p/: *saʔmaʔ* 'visit someone', *sapmaʔ* 'write'; *mɛhaʔnɛn* 'it won't catch on fire', *mahapnɛn* 'it won't get stuck (up there)'; *ho·ʔ* 'furuncle', *ho·p* 'there is not'; *liʔ* 'slingshot', *lip* 'it's heavy'.

/ʔ/ - /t/: *puʔ* 'it'll get severed', *puʔl* 'it'll get mixed'; *mɛsɔʔʔɛn* 'I shall not knead it', *mɛsɔʔlɛn* 'I shall not be glad'; *kɛmbhɛʔnɛn* 'he won't give you anything to sit on', *kɛmbhɛtnɛn* 'he won't squeeze you'.

/ʔ/ - /k/: *hɛʔmaʔ* 'get or become shattered', *hɛkmaʔ* 'cut with a sickle'; *taʔmaʔ* 'bring, fetch', *takmaʔ* 'fetch (water), tap'; *saʔ* 'child', *sak* 'it is difficult'.

Despite the great phonetic similarity between glottal stop and the non-aspirate plosives in syllable-final position, even a non-native speaker of Limbu who has difficulty hearing the difference in any given case can distinguish them easily through observing the allophonic variation of /s/ and /l/ which they condition. The lateral is rhotacized following a glottal stop or vowel, but not following /p/, /t/ or /k/, eg. *thik mɛndaʔ rɔk* 'only one goat', *thik phak lɔk* 'only one pig'. Dual morphemes, which invariably contain initial /s/, have a different allophone following /t/ than after /ʔ/, eg. *lɔt-ch-u* 'theyᵈ swallowed it', *lɔʔ-si* 'theyᵈ seem'.

The mutual distinctiveness of the syllable-final allophones of /p/, /t/ and /k/ (viz. [$\overset{?}{p}$], [$\overset{?}{t}$]/[ʔl] and [$\overset{?}{k}$]) is illustrated by the following minimal pairs and near minimal pairs:

/t/ - /k/: *khamda·ʔl*, *khamda·tma* 'spider', *khamda·k* 'hard palate'; *pyaʔl* 'cricket', *pyak* 'slap'; *mɛsa·ttu* 'they derided him', *mɛsa·ktu* 'they castrated him'.

/p/ - /k/: *sapmaʔ* 'write', *sakmaʔ* 'be difficult'; *la·p* 'wing', (*ase·ʔl*) *la·k* '(I'm) hungry'; *tupmaʔ* 'sweep', *tukmaʔ* 'ache'; *luk* 'it'll be completed', *lup* 'leech'.

/p/ - /t/: *kɛmɛnlɛpnɛn* 'they won't hit you (with a projectile)', *kɛmɛnlɛtnɛn* 'they won't release you'; *ha·ptu* 'he mourned for him', *ha·ttu* 'he portioned it out'; (*piʔlin*) *mɛghe·ptu* 'they yoked (the bull)', *mɛghe·ttu* 'they fought about it'.

The following minimal pairs illustrate the distinctiveness of the aspirated and non-aspirated plosives:

/k/ - /kh/: *ko·rɛʔl* 'clay slingshot pellet', *kho·rɛʔl* 'type of bowl'; *kɛŋ* 'he'll stumble and fall', *khɛŋ* 'that, he, she'; *kɔŋ* 'this, he, she', *khɔŋ* 'he'll get hit with a stick'; *(saʔhaʔ) mɛgɔktu* 'they'll bear (young)', *(siŋ) mɛghɔktu* 'they'll chop (wood)'.

/t/ - /th/: *tɔkpɛʔl* 'straight up', *tho·kpɛʔl* 'rhododendron'; *tɛʔl* 'leaf', *thɛʔl* 'spit'; *tɔk* 'cooked rice', *thɔk* 'body'; *kɛdaktwi·* 'are you going to show it to him?', *kɛdhaktwi·* 'did you bring it up?'; *mɛdɔŋ* 'they shall meet', *mɛdhɔŋ* 'they'll engage in combat'.

/p/ - /ph/: *pe·ʔmaʔl* 'vomit (n.)', *phe·ʔmaʔl* 'fart (n.)'; *pu* 'bird', *phu* 'elder brother'; *pe·ʔrum* 'let's vomit on it (1pi/ADH)', *phe·ʔrum* 'meal, flour'; *pakma* 'second wife', *phakma* 'sow'; *kɛbɛnchusi* 'you lined them up', *kɛbhɛnchusi* 'you handed them across'.

The rarity of the phoneme /b/ accounts for the scantness of the following set of minimal pairs:

/p/ - /b/: *khɛnɛʔ kɛ·pnɛi·ʔ* 'shall I pinch you?', *khɛnɛʔ kɛ·bnɛi·ʔ* 'are you mute?'; *la·p* 'wing', *la·b* 'moon'.

The phonemes /y/ and /w/ occur both as syllable initials and as post-consonantal glides. Their distinctiveness as glides is illustrated by the following sets of minimal pairs and near minimal pairs:

/y/ - ø: *mɛnchya* 'maiden', *mɛnchaʔ* 'grandchild'; *sya* 'uncooked rice', *sa* 'meat'; *kɛbyaŋsi* 'your rice terraces', *kɛbaŋsi* 'he sent youʔ'.

/w/ - ø: *cwaʔl* 'water', *ca·ʔl* 'game'; *twaba* 'forehead', *taba* 'he's on his way'.

/y/ - /w/: *syaʔl* 'jackal, sting', *swaʔl* 'silent'.

Distinctivity of the three nasal phonemes, /m/, /n/ and /ŋ/, is illustrated by the following minimal pairs:

/m/ - /ŋ/: *yum* 'salt', *yuŋ* 'sits'; *lim* 'tastes sweet', *liŋ* 'thatching; grows; begins to shine'; *nim* 'ant, termite', *niŋ* 'poison'; *tim* 'fills up', *ti·ŋ* 'thorn'; *sim* 'woman's dress', *siŋ* 'wood'; *him* 'house', *hiŋ* 'survives'.

/m/ - /n/: *miŋ* 'name', *niŋ* 'poison'; *kɛsa·m* 'he's preparing to strike you', *kɛsa·n* 'your child (ABS)'; *kuna·m* 'its scent', *kuna·n* 'his face (ABS); *lɛmsi* 'kidneys', *lɛnchi* 'they'll[d] slide out of place'.

/n/ - /ŋ/: *thi·n* 'egg', *thi·ŋmaʔ* 'retract one's foreskin'; *mɛbhunʔɛn* 'I won't dislodge it', *mɛbhuŋʔɛn* 'I won't scrape it together'; *lɛn* 'it'll slide out of place', *lɛŋ* 'he wanders about lost'; *po·n* 'abounds', *po·ŋ* 'alright'.

Doubling of consonants is distinctive. The phonetic difference between doubled and non-doubled consonants is often considerable. Intervocalic /l/ is rhotacized [r] except when it is geminate [ll]. Intervocalically plosives tend to be voiced, whereas doubled plosives are unvoiced, eg. *ye·ba* /ye·pa/ 'he has come', *ye·ppa* /ye·ppa/ 'he is laughing'. Even when there is no great phonetic dissimilarity between doubled and non-doubled realization of a phoneme, as with the nasals, doubling is the distinctive presence of an additional phoneme, eg. *kɛnnunɛnni·?* 'aren't you feeling alright?', *kɛnnu·nnɛnni·?* 'aren't you ashamed?'.

Notwithstanding all afore--mentioned distinctions, homophony abounds in Limbu. For example, some forms of the verbs *sɛtma?* 'kill a sacrificial animal in honour of a new guest' and *sɛ?ma?* 'kill' are embarassingly homophonous: *sɛtm?nasi* (1pi→3ns) 'we killed some people/we killed some sacrificial animals (*phudo·ŋ*) in honour of a new guest', *sɛttɛtchuge* (1de→3s/PT) 'we killed him/we slaughtered a *phudo·ŋ* for a new guest'.

## Vowel phonemes

| /i/ | short unrounded front high vowel | [i] |
| | before a nasal: often lowered to<br>eg. /liŋ/ [lɪŋ] 'thatching' | [ɪ], |
| /i·/ | long unrounded front high vowel | [i:] |
| /u/ | short rounded back high vowel | [u] |
| /u·/ | long rounded back high vowel | [u:] |
| /e·/ | unrounded half-long mid-high front<br>vowel | [e·] |
| /ə/ | short unrounded mid vowel | [ə] |
| /o·/ | rounded half-long mid-high back vowel<br>before a nasal: often raised to<br>eg. /siŋbo·ŋ/ [sɪŋbɷ·ŋ] | [o·]<br>[ɷ·], |
| /ɛ/ | unrounded short mid-low front vowel | [ɛ] |
| /ɛ·/ | unrounded long mid-low front vowel | [ɛ:] |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| /ɔ/ | unrounded short mid-low back vowel | [ʌ] |
| | regular allophone in | [ɔ] |
| | after bilabials | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| /ɔ·/ | unrounded long mid-low back vowel | [ʌ:] |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| /a/ | short unrounded mid central | [a] |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| /a·/ | long unrounded mid central | [a:] |

Long vowels are often realized with pharyngealized voice or 'creak'. The creak is particularly pronounced in long /u·/, eg. *su·ma?* 'be late'. In the verb stems of *yu?ma?, -yu·r-/yu?-* 'bring down', a long creaky vowel alternates with glottal stop.

Vowel length is distinctive, both in closed and open syllables. Only the half-long vowels /e·/ and /o·/ and the rare mid-vowel /ə/ do not partake in the length opposition. Some minimal pairs are given below:

/i/ - /i·/: *i* 'hair (on one's scalp)', *i·* 'he wanders'; *pipma?, pittuŋ* 'jump, I jump over it (vertically)', *pi·pma?, pi·ttuŋ* 'suck, I suck it'; *si* 'he will die', *si·* 'wheat'; *ki?ɛ* 'I'm afraid', *ki·?ɛ* 'I'm rotting'.

/ɛ/ - /ɛ·/: *abhɛ* 'he'll lay down matting for us', *abhɛ·* 'he'll release us [birds]'; *mɛdhɛŋ?ɛnchin* 'I won't pen them in', *mɛdhɛ·ŋ?ɛnchin* 'I won't tear them'; *kɛghɛksu* 'you dried it (meat)', *kɛghɛ·ksu* 'you chipped it'; *tɛpma?* 'consent to give', *tɛ·pma?* 'become overcooked'.

/a/ - /a·/: *khamma?* 'tuck in', *kha·mma?* 'yawn'; *kɛyaŋ lo·* 'hey, you'll get hit (by a projectile)', *kɛya·ŋ lo·* 'hey, you'll get dizzy (up there)'; *maŋ* 'deity', *ma·ŋ* 'it is far'; *yaŋ* 'money', *ya·ŋ* 'he is dizzy'; *haŋ* 'king', *ha·ŋ* 'it will taste spicy'; *anaŋ* 'weᵖⁱ shall go crazy', *ana·ŋ* 'my younger siblings (of the same sex as I am)'; *laŋ* 'leg, foot', *la·ŋ* 'dances'; *laktu* 'it's boiling', *la·ktu* 'he tramples underfoot'; *kɛdaŋba (cum)* 'intimate (friend)', *kɛda·ŋba* 'tree-feller'; *mɛsaktu* 'they locked him up', *mɛsa·ktu* 'they castrated him'.

/ɔ/ - /ɔ·/: *mɛlɔtchun* 'theyᵈ won't swallow it', *mɛlɔ·tchun* 'theyᵈ won't pay'; *mɛmɔ?ɛn* 'I shall not dig', *mɛmɔ·?ɛn* 'it won't get me drunk'; *pɔndammɛ?* 'mould it!', *pɔ·ndammɛ?* 'disperse!'; *khɔma?* 'jot down', *khɔ·ma?* 'utter incantations'; *mɛdɔŋnɛn* 'it doesn't make any sense', *mɛdɔ·ŋnɛn* 'it's not short'.

/u/ - /u·/: *yu* 'comes down', *yu·* 'is in effect'; *tuŋ* 'fever', *tu·ŋ* 'it will bend'; *mɛsuptu* 'they took draughts through their *pi·tchiŋs*', *mɛsu·ptu* 'they capped it'; *tukma?*

'hurt', *tu·kma?* 'sweep'; *pu?* 'it will get severed', *pu·?* 'it will boil over'.

The distinctive quality of vowel height is demonstrated by the following minimal pairs:

/i/ - /e·/, /i/ - /ɛ/: *khi* 'thread', *khe·* 'yam'; *lim* 'is sweet', *le·m* 'is slippery'; *tim* 'gets full', *tɛm* 'grabs a hold of'; *pɔ?i?l* 'cucumber', *pɔ?e·?l* 'winnowing basket'; *sɛndi* 'good-bye (1pi/ADH)', *sɛndɛ* 'split up'; *phik* 'talks loudly', *phɛk* 'unfolds, blooms, unfurls'.

/e·/ - /ɛ, ɛ·/: *pe·ma?* 'vomit', *pɛ·ma?* 'fly'; *ye·ppa* 'he is laughing', *yɛppa* 'standing'; *phe·suŋ* 'I farted', *phɛ·suŋ* 'I let fly'; *ke·b* 'tiger', *kɛ·b* 'mute'; *khe·ŋ* 'fishing rod', *khɛŋ* 'that'; *ke·mba* 'tall', *kɛmba* 'your father'; *le·m* 'is slippery', *lɛm* 'kidney'.

/ɛ/ - /a/: *tɛm* 'grabs a hold of', *ta·m* 'refuse (n.)'; *phɛk* 'unfolds, blooms, unfurls', *phak* 'swine'; *lɛm* 'kidney', *lam* 'way'; *sɛma?* 'spill, scatter', *sama?* 'deliver'.

/a/ - /ɔ/: *saŋma?* 'splutter', *sɔŋma?* 'sell'; *phak* 'swine', *phɔk* 'explodes'; *pa·?l* 'talks', *pɔ·?l* 'fungus'; *kɛdaŋba (cum)* 'intimate (friend)', *kɛdɔŋba* 'your *tuñbā*'.

/ɔ, ɔ·/ - /o·/: *pɔŋ* 'kicks up (of wind)', *po·ŋ* 'all right'; *pɔ·?l* 'fungus', *po·?l* 'he'll lose his way'.

/o·/ -/u/: *po·?l* 'he'll lose his way', *pu?l* 'misses'.

/i/ - /u/: *pi?l* 'bull, cow', *pu?l* 'it will become blended'.

/ɛ/ - /ə/ - /a/: *ɛn* 'today', *ən* 'horse', *ando·* 'later', *ande·* 'before'.

Whispered vowels occur regularly in Limbu. Their devoiced quality is subphonemic. The vowels /i/ and /u/ may become voiceless in unstressed position in lengthy words, eg. /nisɛtchuge·/ [nisɛ̂tchy̥ge·] 'we^de saw it', /hipsusige·/ [hiᵖsy̥sɪge·] 'we^de͂ hit them', /miksurumba/ [mikₛsy̥rumba] 'blind', /siradhaŋba/ [sɪradᶣaŋba] 'pleasing'.

The phenomenon of harmonic neutralization affects these same two vowels, /i/ and /u/, and also their long counterparts /i·/ and /u·/. In an environment containing back vowels, /i, i·/ may become [u, u·], and in an environment containing front vowels, /u, u·/ may become [i, i·] in allegro speech, eg. *mɛbhuksu mɛbu·ru* 'they mixed it all up' for *mɛbhuksu mɛbi·ru*.

Nasalization of vowels is not distinctive except in the Limbu word for 'yes', *ã*, and in a small number of Nepali loans, eg. *culẽsi* (cutting implement). Vowels may be phonetically nasalized before a nasal consonant.[11]

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[11] At this subphonemic level of description, however, it

Stress in Limbu is not very pronounced and is non-distinctive. Stress is marked in glossary entries by a stress mark ['] before the stressed vowel, and is indicated only when it is not predictable. Unless otherwise indicated: affixes, whether inflectional or derivational, are never stressed. Verbs and deverbatives are always stressed on the root. Nouns and other parts of speech are stressed on the first syllable.

## 1.3. The Limbu word

The phonological word consists of one or more syllables. Two features which define the word as a phonological unit are hiatus and syllable structure and type.

### 1.3.1. Hiatus

Hiatus is the phenomenon whereby a glottal stop occurs (1) preceding a vowel in word-initial position,[12] or (2) intervocalically in word-internal position. Hiatus prevents diphthongisation. Aside from loan words, eg. *ba·ula* 'sleeve' [< Nep. *bāhulā*], diphthongs in Limbu occur only in forms with affixed interrogative particle <-*i·*> (6.4) or vocative suffix <-*e·*> (2.4.5) which do not exhibit glottal hiatus.[13]

| /a-i·r-ɛ/ | [ʔaʔi:rɛ] | WePⁱ wandered. |
| /hi-a-e·s-ɛ-tch-u/ | [hiʔaʔe·sɛt̪t̪çʰu] | Weᵈⁱ shat. |
| /khunɛʔ ku-iŋghɔŋ hɛn wa·/ | [khunɛʔ kuʔiŋghɔŋ hɛn wa:] | What's his news? |

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becomes arbitrary what portion of the myriad of phonetic data one wishes to describe and what details one wishes to leave undescribed. For example, *khamakma?* 'get dark', rapidly uttered, comes out [*khama?ŋ*]. It is not the author's intention in this grammar to provide an exhaustive description of all but the most conspicuous phonetic regularities.

[12] Glottal hiatus occurs before vowel-initial verb roots, even when word-internal.

[13] For the sake of convenience, the second nasal of nasals doubled before the vocative or interrogative endings are treated as a feature of the ending.

Glottal hiatus does not occur word-internally following a consonant. Except in intervocalic position, word-internal glottal stop is phonemic and distinctive.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *yuŋɛ* | He sat down. | *pe·gɛ* | He went. |
| *yuŋʔɛ* | I'm sitting. | *pe·kʔɛ* | I'm going. |
| *yuŋɛʔ* | Sit down! | *pe·gɛʔ* | Go! |

## 1.3.2. Syllable structure

The canonical syllable structure[14] observed in native Limbu may be schematized as follows:

$$( C_i ( G ) ) V ( C_f )$$

A syllable may consist of only a vowel or of a syllabic nasal (V). Except in the case of the interrogative suffix -*i·* or the vocative ending -*e·*, consecutive vocalic syllables are separated through glottal hiatus (1.3.1). Diphthongized syllables containing either of these two suffixes have no syllable-final consonant or coda ($C_f$). In syllables with an initial consonant or onset ($C_i$), the nucleus is not a nasal.

The set of phonemes which occur as onset is: /*k, kh, c, t, th, n, p, ph, m, y, l, w, s, h*/[15] and, in word-internal position, also /ʔ/ and /ŋ/. Additionally, in a limited number of loan words, the following loan phonemes may occur as onsets: /*g, gh, dz, dzh, ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh, d, b, bh, r*/.

The set of codas consists of: /*k, ŋ, t, th·*[16] *n, p,*

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[14] Aside from loans, eg. *haphta*, the only exceptions are the word *hɔ·ndge·k* 'lizard', *wiʔsma* [ʔ< *wiʔsyma*] 'another kind of', *hɔʔmaʔŋ* 'sleep (n.)' and some onomatopoeic expressions, eg. *pətslək-pətslək* 'slosh-slosh'. *Cemjoṅ* (2018 V.S.) lists *hondigek* for 'lizard', but the pronunciations *hɔ·ndəge·k, hɔ·ndige·k* etc. are rejected.

[15] Although *Pã̄cthare* dialect speakers in the vicinity of *Yaśok* on the far side of the *Tamor* have retained /ŋ/ in word-initial position, it has disappeared in this position in *Phedāppe* and been replaced by /n/, eg. *Pã̄cthare* Limbu /ŋa/ 'fish', *Phedāppe* Limbu /na/ (cf. Bur. ŋà, Tib. ña); *Pã̄cthare* Limbu /ŋasi/ 'five', *Phedāppe* Limbu /nasi/ (cf. Bur. ŋà, Tib. lña).

[16] eg. *adhge·k* 'my head'.

*ph,*[17] *b, m, ?/* and, as the onset of an intervocalic geminate, */l/*.

The phonemes */y, w/* and */l/* may occur as a post-consonantal glide (G), the latter in the form of its allophone [r], eg. *swa?l* 'quiet;, *sya?l* 'sting', *cwa?l* 'water', *pyak* 'slap', *sammyaŋ* 'gold', *twaba* 'forehead', *pe·kkrɔkna* (type of bird), *kikkrɔkna* (type of bird), *hɔ·mbrikwa* 'sweat', *kumbhrɛ·ŋ* 'one half', *nadha·kkriŋ* 'deaf'. The post-consonantal glide */l/* never occurs in the initial syllable of a word.

Intervocalic voiced plosives and intervocalic */ŋ/* are ambisyllabic. The allophone of */t/* preceding a glottal stop initial syllable, [?l], straddles both syllables, eg. *pi?l* + *-?in* → *pi?lin* [pi?-lin] 'cow (ABS)'.


## 1.4. Assimilation and dissimilation:

Various types of assimilation are common in Limbu: (a) regressive assimilation of dentals to labials, (b) homorganicity of consecutive nasal phonemes, (c) velarization of dental */n/*, (d) optional regressive lateralization of nasal, (e) morphologically restricted glottal stop assimilation to nasals, and (f) voice assimilation of initial plosives across word boundaries.

Dissimilation is rare. The only attested case involves the demonstrative *khɛŋ* and is discussed on p.19.

(a) Virtually without exception is the rule that dental phonemes regressively assimilate for place of articulation to bilabial phonemes:

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} /t/ \rightarrow [p] \\ /n/ \rightarrow [m] \end{array} \right\} \quad / \quad \underline{\quad} \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} /m/ \\ /p/ \end{array} \right\}$$

eg. */mɛ-n-kɔt-m?na-ha? kɛ-kɔt-pa-ha?/* [mɛŋgɔpm?naha? kɛgɔp-paha?] 'the haves and the have-nots', */mɛ-n-mɛt-paŋ/* [mɛm-mɛppaŋ] 'I did not tell him', */ɔ·mɔt-ma?/* [ɔ:mɔpma?] 'to look at', */ke·t-m?na-bɛ-n/* [ke·pm?nabɛn] 'the inserted', */ke·t-ma?/* [ke·pma?] 'add'.

An exception is the infinitive of *pɛnma?* (*-pɛnch-/-pɛn-*) 'arrange in rows', which contrasts with *pɛmma?* (*-pɛnd-/ -pɛn-*) 'be removed (of clothes)'. It appears implausible to argue that this exception can be explained as serving to maintain a lexical contrast in view of the rampant homophony elsewhere in the lexicon where this possibility is

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[17] In the loan *haphta* 'week'.

not exploited, eg. *phɛmmaʔ* (*-phɛʔr-/-phɛn-*) 'spoil', *phɛm-maʔ* (*-phɛnd-/-phɛn-*) 'take off (clothes)', *phɛmmaʔ* (*-phɛr-/-phɛn-*) 'come', *phɛmmaʔ* (*-phɛnch-/-phɛn-*) 'bring'. In very few words non-assimilated /t/ does occur before a bilabial, eg. *pitma* 'cow', *sɛtmaʔ* 'build a wall'. Generally, however, dentals assimilate to following bilabials even in well enunciated lento speech.

(b) Homorganicity of consecutive nasal phonemes is limited to regressive assimilation of dental /n/ to bilabial /m/ and progressive assimilation of bilabial /m/ to velar /ŋ/. The former has already been dealt with under the preceding assimilation rule. The latter is limited to the PP, 1PS/PT and NP suffixes.

$$/m/ \rightarrow [\eta] \quad / \qquad /\eta/ \underline{\qquad}, \text{ eg. } /ha\eta\text{-}m\text{ʔ}na/ [ha\eta\text{-}\eta\text{ʔ}na]$$

(c) Dental /n/ optionally assimilates to following /k/ or /kh/: /kɛ-n-kho·s-u-n/, [kɛngʱo·sun] or [kɛŋgʱo·sun] 'youˢ didn't find it'.

(d) Nasals may become lateralized preceding /l/ in allegro speech, although this is rare:

$$\begin{Bmatrix} /m/ \\ /n/ \\ /\eta/ \end{Bmatrix} \rightarrow [l] \quad / \quad \underline{\qquad}/l/$$

(e) The two forms of the plural infinitive affix, *-aʔmɛʔ/-ammɛʔ*, suggest that glottal stop may regressively assimilate to a following nasal, diachronically giving rise to geminates.

The initial glottal stop of the locative and absolutive endings optionally assimilate progressively to a preceding nasal, eg. *him-ʔo·/him-mo·* 'in the house', *nam-ʔin/nam-min* 'the sun (ABS)', *luŋʔin/luŋŋin* 'rock (ABS)', *thaŋbɛnʔin/thaŋbɛnnin* 'youth, lad (ABS)'.

(f) Plosives optionally assimilate for voice across word boundaries. This is explicable in light of the non-distinctiveness of voice in native plosive phonemes.

- *hɛn co·kmaʔ allɔʔ*
- *thi· dhuŋmaʔ*.                                    /thuŋmaʔ/
   - What to do now?
   - Drink millet beer.

- *anige hɛn dzo·kma??*                                    */co·kma?/*
- *pe·km? bo·ŋ.*                                           */po·ŋ/*
  - What shall we<sup>pe</sup> do?
  - It's time [for you<sup>p</sup>] to go.


- *khɛn-aŋ o·?myaŋ bhɛṇṭa bhitra akm? po·ŋ.*
  *aŋga co·guŋ bi·nɛ thɛbae· , khɛnɛ? gɔ·!*                */pi·nɛ/*
  - Having roasted that too, [I'll] have to
    put it inside the eggplant. I'll make
    it and give it to you, grandpa, for you!

The nasal of the word *khɛŋ* 'that' often dissimilates when combined with the postpositive particle *-aŋ* 'also' to yield *khɛnaŋ*, as in the preceding example. In the absolutive, both the form *khɛŋŋin* and *khɛnnin* occur.


## 1.5. The orthography

In addition to the phonemes and loan phonemes indicated in the table on p.1, the orthography chosen in this grammar distinguishes the voiced plosive allophones, the glottalized lateral allophone of */t/* and the post-dental allophone of */s/*: *g, gh, d, dh, b, bh, dz* and *?1* and *ch*. The length mark is dropped after the final */e·/* in the supine, exclusive, instrumental, ergative, genitive and subordinator suffixes.

Hyphenation is used: (1) to separate two phoneme symbols which might otherwise be read as the digraph for another phoneme, eg. *ma·khi* 'blood', *mik-hi* 'eye detritus', (2) to separate two parts of a compound or onomatopoeia, or (3) to separate morphemes within a word.

Intervocalic glottal hiatus is indicated by *?*, unless the syllables have been separated by hyphens.

# Chapter Two
# Nominal Morphology

This chapter is devoted to nominals which comprise the parts of speech: adjectives, pronouns and nouns. Adjectives, including verbal adjectives, may be adnominal, predicative or occur independently as nominal heads. When adjectives are used independently, they take all the case and number suffixes nouns take. Adjectives form the topic of 2.1.

Pronouns include personal, demonstrative and interrogative pronouns, and are dealt with in 2.2.

Nouns and parts of speech used as nominal heads may be dualized and pluralized and take case endings. The ergative, absolutive, genitive, instrumental, vocative and locative cases are indicated by endings affixed directly to the noun and assimilating to its final in a regular way. In addition, a number of postpositions can be affixed directly to the noun and are treated as case endings, viz. the comitative, mediative, etc. Two or more case endings may co-occur attached to a single noun, eg. *a-ndzum-lε-n-ille* (my-friend-GEN-ABS-INST) '[using] my friend's'. Number and case are the topics of 2.3 and 2.4 respectively. Other spatial and abstract relations indicated by prepositions in English are indicated in Limbu by postpositions which are not attached to the noun as endings but are the complements of nouns in the genitive, eg. *cumluŋ-le ku-sikto·-ʔo·* (bazar-GEN its-beneath-LOC) 'below the bazar'. Such postpositions are listed in the glossary.


## 2.1. Adjectives

## 2.1.1. Agreement in adjectives

Adjectives agree in gender but not in case or number with the nouns they modify. Adjectives, including verbal adjectives, ending in /-pa/ have corresponding feminine forms in /-ma/, eg. *yəmba yεmbitcha* 'big man', *yəmma mεnchuma* 'big lady', *cukpa piʔl* 'small bull/cow', *cukma pitma* 'small

cow'. Nouns lack grammatical gender independent of semantic sex distinction.[1]

Feminine adjectival forms ending in *-ma* collocate exclusively with nouns denoting animate entities of the female sex. Nouns denoting inanimate objects and phenomena take the non-feminine forms of the adjective in *-pa/-ba*, eg. *cukpa luŋ* 'small stone', *yəmba him* 'large house', *kɛrɛk-nulle ke·mba siŋbo·ŋ* 'the tallest tree'

A small number of adjectives, including the negative participle, do not end in */-pa/* or */-ma/* and are invariable in form. Some of these end in the derivational diminutive suffix *-sa*, eg. *cuksa mɛnchya* 'tiny lass', *cuksa thaŋbɛn* 'tiny lad'.

Adjectives may be adnominal, predicative (with attributive 'to be' *co·kma?* (3.5) or with a similar verb such as *lɔ?ma?, po·ŋma?* etc.) or may be used as nouns themselves. Adnominally adjectives generally precede the noun they modify, although they also occur after the noun when the specified attribute establishes the identity of the nominal referent, rather than merely ascribe a generic trait to it. This is especially the case with kinship terms in which the adjective identifies the individual concerned, eg. *tɔre· sarumba* 'the third-born male guest', *nakpa yəmba* 'the elder nephew'. The collocation *ke·mba kyaŋ* means 'the/a long pestle' and may refer to any pestle to which the generic trait 'long' may be ascribed. However, contrast with this the use of *kyaŋ ke·mba* in the following exchange, which takes place in a household with two pestles, a larger one and a smaller one:

(1)     - *kyaŋ pi·rɛ?!*
        - *atiŋŋin?*
        - *kyaŋ ke·mba.*
            - Give me the pestle!
            - Which one?
            - The long one.

A group of invariable adjectives marked 'adv.adj.' in the glossary may be used adverbally or as predicate adjectives but not adnominally or as nouns; eg. *kɛrɛk ma·ki pe·na? ya? na·tchri-po·tchri po·ksɛ rəcə* 'All the maize, millet and rice has gotten mixed up'.

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[1] The essential distinction and interplay between gender (*genus*) and sex (*geslacht*) in language is discussed by C.B. van Haeringen (1954).

## 2.1.2. The nominalizing suffix *-taŋba*

The suffix *-taŋba* may be added to a noun or adjective and is also found in the adjectives *a·kdaŋba* 'what kind of', *hɛkdaŋba* 'that kind of', *ɔkdaŋba* 'this kind of, such a'. Added to a noun or adjective, the suffix *-taŋba* has the effect of creating a nomen with an associative or like meaning, strongly reminiscent of the suffix *-vālā* in Hindi. In the following sentence,

(2)      *him-daŋba   a·tto·  mɛ-be·g-ɛ?*
         house-*vālā* where   nsAS-go-PT
         Where have the people associated with the house
                  gone?

the term *himdaŋba* denotes those people whom the speaker expected to be at home tending the house when he arrived and found it unguarded. Affixed to a noun, it may convey the sense of 'something like x', as in the following example:

(3)      *cigip-taŋba co·k.*
         glue-*vālā*   be
         It's just like glue.

The suffix nominalizes adjectives which, without it, can occur only as predicate adjectives. The suffixed forms may be used either independently or adnominally.

(4)      *yɔŋyɔŋ-daŋba co·g-ɛ.*
         light-*vālā*    be-PT
         It was a light one.

(5)      *kɔŋ  a·kkhya·k se·se·-daŋba       məna ni  gɔ·!*
         this how_much  clear-minded-*vālā* man  CTR then
         What a clear-minded man this is!

It is commonly suffixed to colour morphemes (2.1.3) and to the postpositive adverb *kusiŋ* 'like, in the fashion of', giving *kusiŋdaŋba* 'one like x'.

(6)　　　　*kɔŋ-in　　tha·ŋle·kwa kusiŋdaŋba məna rəcə.*
　　　　　　this-ABS cuckoo　　　one_like　　man　DEPR.
　　　　　　　*yɛʔllɛŋ　　　pa·nlɛŋ.　　　　　　　khɛnɛ?*
　　　　　　　repeatedly change_one's_tune.　you[s]
　　　　　　　*tha·ŋle·kwa kusiŋ*
　　　　　　　cuckoo　　　　like
　　　　　　　*pa·n-kɛ-lɛŋ-ŋi·?*
　　　　　　　change_one's_tune-2-change_one's_tune-Q
　　　　　　　*hɛkke·lɔʔrik*
　　　　　　　in_that_fashion
　　　　　　　*pa·n-mɛl-lɛŋ-ʔɛʔ!*
　　　　　　　change_one's_tune-NEG-change_one's_tune-IMP
　　　　　This guy is like a cuckoo bird. He's always
　　　　　changing his tune. (turning to the person in
　　　　　question) Are you changing your story like a
　　　　　cuckoo? Don't keep changing your story in
　　　　　that fashion!

(7)　　　　*kɔŋ　kuŝiŋdaŋbɛ-lle a-niŋ　lɛʔr-u.*
　　　　　　this one_like-ERG　　my-ire release-3P
　　　　　I get fed up with people like him.

(8)　　　　– *khɛnɛ? kɛ-mba-i·?*
　　　　　　you[s]　your[s]-father-Q
　　　　– *me·n...　ã,　kusiŋdaŋba.*
　　　　　　no...　　yes, one_like
　　　　　　　– Is that your father?
　　　　　　　– No...　　yes, it's someone who looks like
　　　　　　　　him.

## 2.1.3. The colour affixes

The bound colour morphs *mak* 'black', *phɔ* 'white', *hɛʔl*
'red' and *hik* 'green' occur as predicative adjectives with
the verbs *lɔʔmaʔ* 'appear' and *co·kmaʔ* attributive 'to be'.
Free forms of the bound colour roots are formed by affixa-
tion of the discontinuous colour affix <*ku*-root-*la*> to
these colour morphs. The resultant free forms can occur
both as nouns and as adjectives.

　　　　　　　*ku-mak-la*　　　　black
　　　　　　　*ku-bhɔ-ra*　　　　white
　　　　　　　*ku-hɛt-la*　　　　red
　　　　　　　*ku-hik-la*　　　　green

(9)       *a-him-min     kubhɔra co·k. kɛ-him-min*
          my-house-ABS white   be.   your**s**-house-ABS
               *kuhɛtla-kuhɛtla co·k.*
               red--red          be
          My house is white. Your house is all red.


(10)      *kuhikla a·phis*
          military base (lit. 'green office')


The colour morphs can also occur in forms with the suffix
*-taŋba* 'like, of the kind' (2.1.2), resulting in adjectives
which may be used adnominally or as independent nominals
themselves.


          *mak-taŋba*     black, black-kind; a black one.
          *phɔ-daŋba*     white, white-kind; a white one.
          *hɛt-taŋba*     red, red-kind; a red one.
          *hik-taŋba*     green, green-kind; a green one.


(11)      *aŋga mak-taŋba      co·k-ʔɛ.*
          I    black-one_like be-1sPS/NPT
          I'm a black one.


(12)      *mikphuʔla me·n laʔba,   ku-mik  phɔ-daŋma.*
          European  NOT perhaps, her-eye white-*vālā/f*.
          Maybe she's not a European (a white-eye), but she
               sure is white-eyed! (i.e she sure does look
               like one)


The four bound colour morphs may also be incorporated into
an active participial expression (6.5) with the verb *lɔʔmaʔ*
'to seem, to appear':


          *mak-kɛ-lɔʔ-ba*          black--AP-appear-AP
          *phɔ-gɛ-lɔʔ-ba*          white-AP-appear-AP
          *hɛt-kɛ-lɔʔ-ba*          red-AP--appear-AP
          *hik-kɛ-lɔʔ-ba*          green-AP-appear-AP


Although an AP form of *lɔʔmaʔ* is appropriate in the
sentence *waʔ makkɛlɔʔba* 'the hen is black', it would be
inappropriate and particularly insulting at best to use the
form *makkɛlɔʔba* in reference to a person. The reason that
*maktaŋba* is suitable in (11) above, whereas *makkɛlɔʔba* is
not, is because *makkɛlɔʔba* suggests jet black. The asso-
ciative nature of the *-taŋba* suffix in *maktaŋba* results in
a colour term which is less committal about the quality and
degree of blackness than the active participial form of *mak*

*lɔʔmaʔ* 'appear black'. Similarly, *phɔdaŋba* is appropriate in the expression uttered by a Limbu at seeing the untanned abdomen of a European in *phɔdaŋba kɛdzo·k!* 'You sure are white!', whereas *phɔgɛlɔʔba* is suitable, for example, in refering to a white goat or a *so·gha*.

Additionally, the colour *ɔmdaŋba* 'yellow' exists only in its *-taŋba* suffixed form. The colour morpheme 'yellow' does not occur separately. The colour *ɔmdaŋba* has a very narrow range of applicability in the spectrum, limited to bright daffodil yellow. Gold, for example, is not *ɔmdaŋba*; it is *kuhikla*. The colour *ɔmdaŋba* does not as such belong to the set of four cardinal colours listed above. The spectral range of the respective colours is defined under their glossary entries.

## 2.2. Pronouns

The personal pronouns differentiate three persons, three numbers and, in the non-singular first person, inclusive and exclusive. The personal pronouns are:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *aŋga* | I | 1s |
| *anchi* | we | 1di |
| *anchige* | we | 1de |
| *ani* | we | 1pi |
| *anige* | we | 1pe |
| *khɛnɛʔ* | you | 2s |
| *khɛnchi* | you | 2d |
| *khɛni* | you | 2p |
| *khunɛʔ* | he, she | 3s |
| *khɛŋ* | he, she, it | 3s |
| *khunchi* | they | 3d/3ns |
| *khɛŋhaʔ* | they | 3p/3ns |

The pronoun *aŋga* has a contracted form *ŋga* in allegro speech.

The third person pronoun *khunɛʔ* denotes only animate referents. Although now an integral part of the pronominal system, the pronoun *khɛŋ* 'that, the' is actually a demonstrative, and *khɛŋhaʔ* is its synthetic plural. The demonstratives *kɔŋ* 'this' and its synthetic plural *kɔŋhaʔ* 'these' are likewise used as third person pronouns, though less frequently because they constitute the more marked member of the proximal/distal distinction in the demonstratives. I suspect that the demonstratives *khɛŋ* and *kɔŋ* have only in recent times come to be used as third person pro-

nouns because they behave differently than the personal pronouns in some respects, whereas they also exhibit behaviour unique to personal pronouns.

The difference is that, with the exception of the demonstratives *khɛŋ*, *kɔŋ* and their plurals, the pronouns take neither ergative nor absolutive suffixes and occur unchanged as subject, agent or patient in a syntagm, eg. *ŋga kɛni?ɛ* 'you can see me', *aŋga khɛni ɔ·mɛpma? asiradhaŋ* 'I enjoy watching youP'. The demonstratives have both absolutive (*kɔŋ/kɔŋŋin, khɛŋ/khɛŋŋin, kɔŋha?, khɛŋha?*) and ergative forms (*kɔŋle/kɔlle, khɛŋle/khɛlle, kɔŋha?re, khɛŋha?re*). Note that, although personal pronouns take no ergative or absolutive suffix, adnominal quantifiers do, eg. *khunchi nɛpmaŋ → khunchi nɛpmaŋle* 'they both (ERG)'. Furthermore, the singular demonstratives can be used adnominally, whereas the personal pronouns cannot. The personal pronouns can occur as possessive prefixes, whereas the demonstratives cannot (2.2.1).

The similarities are that (1) the independently used demonstratives behave syntactically like personal pronouns and are even more frequent than *khunɛ?* and *khunchi*, (2) the singular demonstratives form their independent genitive as do the personal pronouns (2.4.4.2), and (3) that, in the singular, they replace *khunɛ?* in referring to inanimate referents.

*Khunchi* is a dual pronoun, whereas *khɛŋha?* is plural. However, both *khunchi* and *khɛŋha?* are often loosely used to refer to  non-singular third person referents. Ambiguity between duality and plurality of referent does not exist in the first and second person, whereas a coalesced non-singular is characteristic of the third person in general, esp. in the verbal paradigm (see 2.3.1, 4.4.4, 4.4.13).

Demonstrative pronouns, *khɛŋ* 'that', *kɔŋ* 'this' etc., and indefinite pronouns, *wi?sma* 'another kind of', *e·?yaŋba* 'other' etc., invariably precede the noun when used adnominally.

## 2.2.1. Personal possessive prefixes

The singular personal pronouns *aŋga*, *khɛnɛ?* and *khunɛ?* have possessive prefixes in *a-*, *kɛ-* and *ku-*, eg. *kɛ-sapla* 'your book', *a-go·co·* 'my dog', *kɛ-him-mo·* 'at your house', *kɛ-ndzum-nu* 'with your friend', *a-ndzum-ha?* 'my friends', *kɛ-mba-re* 'your father-ERG', *a-ba·ŋphe·-?o·* 'in my village', *a-wa?* 'my chicken', *ku-ho·rik* 'his/her/its hide', *kɛ-gyaŋ* 'your pestle', *a-yuma* 'my grandmother', *kɛ-ndhɛba*

'your grandfather', *kɛmɔra huʔrɛ?!* 'Shut your mouth!', *kumɔra huʔrɛ?!* 'Shut him up!, Have him shut up!', *ku-ba·ni hɛkke· habha* 'His habit is just like that', *kɛmiŋ hɛn? - amiŋ Cra·m Baha·dur* 'What is your name? - My name is *Crām Bahādur*'.

The dual and plural pronouns *anchi-, anchige-, ani-, anige-, khɛnchi-, khɛni-* and *khunchi-* are prefixed integrally to the noun they modify, eg. *anige-pa·ŋphe·-ʔo·* 'in our pe village', *khunchi-mɛnda?* 'their goat'. Infrequently, the singular prefixes are used together with a non-singular pronoun of the same person, eg. *anige a-mba-nulle khɛni kɛ-mba kappo·ba co·k* (we pe my-father-than you p your s-father older be) 'Your p father is older than our pe father'.

When possessive prefixes are added, some nouns, predominantly kinship terms and terms similar in meaning (eg. *cum, -ndzum* 'friend'), have a prothetic nasal which manifests itself after the singular possessive prefixes *a-, kɛ-* and *ku-*, eg. *cum* 'friend', *andzum* 'my friend', *pa* 'father', *amba* 'my father', *phɔŋa?* 'uncle', *kɛmbhɔŋa?* 'your uncle', *suma?* 'aunt', *kunchuma?* 'his aunt'. Some nouns (inc. two kinship terms) drop the vowel of their first syllable when a possessive prefix is attached, eg. *thɛge·k* 'head', *kɛdhge·k* 'your head', *nɛ?nɛ?* 'older sister', *kunnɛ?* 'his elder sister', *mudhuk* 'moustache', *amdhuk* 'my moustache', *nusa?* 'sibling', *kunsa?* 'his sibling'.

Some noun compounds are separable when possessive prefixes are attached. These take prefixes on both parts, eg. *cumde·ŋ* 'buddy', *andzum-ande·ŋha?* 'my buddies', *te·ʔl-phuŋ* 'garments, clothing', *kude·ʔl-kubhuŋ* 'his clothing'. These nouns are marked as such in the glossary.

As in English, but even more so because Limbu makes no sex distinction here, the third person singular possessive is ambiguous. The sentence *khunɛ? kude·ʔl phɛndu* means 'He took his clothes off', where 'his' may or may not be co-referential with 'he' in the same sentence. Similarly, *mɛnchuma ku-him-mo· wa·* (woman his/her-house-LOC be) may mean that the lady in question is present in her own house or that she is present in someone else's house. The burden of disambiguating such utterances rests on the context.

## 2.2.2. Personal pronouns: an analysis

The following is a morphemic analysis of the first person
personal pronouns:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *aŋga* | *a* | *n* | *ga* | |
| | 1 | | e | |
| | | | | |
| *anchi* | *a* | *n* | *si* | |
| | 1 | | d | |
| | | | | |
| *ani* | *a* | *n* | *i* | |
| | 1 | | p | |
| | | | | |
| *anchige* | *a* | *n* | *si* | *ge* |
| | 1 | | d | e |
| | | | | |
| *anige* | *a* | *n* | *i* | *ge* |
| | 1 | | p | e |

The exclusive morpheme <*-ge*>, also found in exclusive verb
forms (4.4.15) as <*-ge*> and, after bilabials, <*-be*>, is the
non-singular allomorph of the exclusive morpheme <*-ga*>
found in the pronoun *aŋga* 'I'. It is virtually certain that
*-ge* and *-be* are contracted reflexes of *-gya* and *-bya*
because the latter forms are still characteristic of the
speech of *Pǎcthare* speakers and even common amongst some
elderly women native to the *Phedǎppe* area, eg. *anchigya
nisigya* for *anchige nisige* 'we<sup>de</sup> see', which would suggest
that the *-gya* > *-ge* transition occurred very recently. It
is interesting to speculate that the /*y*/ of the non-singu-
lar exclusive <*-gya*> might be somehow diachronically
related to the morpheme <*-i*> signaling plurality of first
and second person in the verb.

The first person morpheme *a-* denotes 'inclusive of
speaker'. This same morpheme is also reflected by the first
person verbal affixes *-a, -ʔɛ* (with lowering, cf. /*a*/ for
/*ɛ*/ in surrounding dialects) and *-aŋ*.

The second person possessive prefix and verbal affixes
of the form /*kɛ-*/ and the second person pronouns, all
beginning in /*khɛ-*/, reflect a second person morpheme with
initial velar and front vowel. The third person possessive
prefix /*ku-*/ and the third pronouns, all beginning in
/*khu-*/ (remember that *khɛŋ* and *khɛŋhaʔ* are demonstratives,
2.2), reflect a third person morpheme with initial velar
and back vowel. This same back vowel is reflected in the
morpheme of third person patient /*-u*/ (see 4.4.3.2).

|   |   | speaker | |
|---|---|---|---|
|   |   | inclusive | exclusive |
| a |   |   | *khεnε?* |
| d | inclusive | *anchi* | *khεnchi* |
| d |   | *ani* | *khεni* |
| r |   |   |   |
| e |   |   |   |
| s |   | *aŋga* | *khunε?* |
| s | exclusive | *anchige* | *khunchi* |
| e |   | *anige* | *khεŋha?* |
| e |   |   |   |

## 2.3. Dualization and pluralization

In nouns, the plural suffix is *-ha?*, the dual suffix *-si*. The plural suffix is superfluous when the plurality of the noun is indicated by the verb or the general context, eg.

(13)     *hilo·-?o· ku-laŋyo·p     mε-dha·p.*
         mud-LOC   his-footprint nsAS-be͜visible
         His footprints are to be seen in the mud.

The plural suffix is used (1) to indicate plurality in a context in which the plurality of the nominal referent would not otherwise be evident, (2) to stress the plurality of the nominal referents, or (3) to indicate multiplicity or manifoldness.

| | |
|---|---|
| *məna te·* | A man came. |
| *məna mεde·* | The men came./Some men came. |
| *mənaha? mεde·* | The men came./A number of men came. |

| | |
|---|---|
| *sapla wa·* | There is a book. |
| *sapla mεwa·* | There are books./The books are there. |
| *saplaha? mεwa·* | There are all sorts of books./There are many books./There are various pieces of writing. |

The use of the plural suffix to indicate manifoldness is well illustrated by the pluralization of proper names or kinship terms which do not have plural referents in the strict sense.

(14)     *Prabhu Ra·m-ha? khɛttho· ya·mbɔk mɛ-dzo·g-u.*
         *Prabhu Rām*-p     up_there work     nsAS-do-3P
         (lit. The *Prabhu Rāms* work up there.) '*Prabhu Rām*
             and those like him (viz. his colleagues) work
             up there'

(15)     *sarumba-ha?    mɛ-be·k. e·?yaŋba mɛ-ya·k.*
         second-born-p nsAS-go. other     nsAS-be
         The second-born [son] and crew will go. Everybody
             else will stick around.

Collective nouns which already have plural referents in the
singular may take the plural suffix, as in the following
example. Pluralization of collective nouns has the effect
of individualizing the referents which in the singular of
the noun are viewed as a collective whole.

       *thɛge·k?i*        hair on scalp
       *thɛge·k?iha?*     hairs on scalp

A plural noun takes a singular verb when the nominal re-
ferents are viewed collectively (17). The plural of *mɛn*
'price' in both (16) and (17) is logical in view of the
fact that the various commodities available at the bazar
all differ in price.

(16)     *kɛrɛk-le ku-mɛn-ha?  mɛ-ghik.*
         all-GEN   its-price-p nsAS-be_expensive
         The prices of everything are too high.

(17)     *kɛrɛk-le ku-mɛn-ha?  khik.*
         all-GEN   its-price-p be_expensive
         The prices of everything is too high.

The absolutive forms of interrogative and indefinite pro-
nouns such as *e·n* 'who', *hɛn* 'what' and *e·?yaŋba* 'other'
may take the plural suffix. Adjectives may also be plura-
lized when used as nouns themselves.

(18)     - *e·n-ha? mɛ-ba·?1?*
           who-p    nsAS-talk
         - *na·pmi-ha? pa·kkha mɛ-ba·?1.*
           other-p     outside nsAS-talk
               - Who are talking?
               - Others are talking outside.

In the non-singular, the dual of third-person arguments is marked vis-à-vis the plural. A dual referent may be indicated by a plural noun with a verb in the dual (19) and, less commonly, a plural verb may be used with a dual subject (20). Conversely, the dual suffix is not attached to nouns with non-dual referents.

(19)      *khɛŋhaʔ ɔ·kt-ɛ-tchi.*
          theyP    scream-PT-dPS
          They (two) screamed.


(20)      - *habha hɛkke· ni kɛ-dza-m-mi·?*
            just‿so that‿way 2-eat/3P-pA-Q
          - *o·ʔ-s-u-waŋ mu ca-s-u-ba.*
            roast-dA-3P-pfG REP eat-dA-3P-IPF
                - Do youP eat it just like that (viz. raw)?
                - (butting in:) They said theyᵈ eat it after
                  having roasted it first.


## 2.3.1. The dual and generalized dual morphemes

The underlying form of all dual and generalized dual morphemes is *<-si>*. Dual morphemes denote duality of actant, whereas generalized dual morphemes denote non-singularity of actant. Generalized dual morphemes historically derive their meaning through over-generalization of the original dual sense to include the notion of plurality.

The dual morpheme of nominal flexion is *<-si>*, eg. *manasi* '[two] men'.

The dual morphemes of verb morphology are the dual agent morpheme *<-s>* (4.4.8) and the dual patient/subject morpheme *<-si>* (4.4.9). The underlying form of the dual agent morpheme is also *<-si>*, but because the dual agent morpheme is always immediately followed by the third person patient morpheme *<-u>*, the /i/ elides before *<-u>* in keeping with the morphophonological regularity of *vocalis ante vocalem corripitur* (4.3).

The generalized dual morphemes of verbal morphology are the non-singular patient morpheme *<-si>* (4.4.13), the non-singular agent morpheme *<-si>* (4.4.12) and the first inclusive and third person non-singular forms of suffixal 'to be' (3.1). In →3 forms, duality and plurality of a non-singular third person patient are not distinguished; the non-singularity of a third person patient is indicated by a generalized dual morpheme. The duality and plurality

of a first person agent is not distinguished in ns1→2
forms; the non-singular agent number is indicated by a
generalized dual morpheme.[2] The generalized dual affixes of
suffixal 'to be' results in homophonous pairs with the dual
nominal suffix (see 3.1, esp. footnote 2).


### 2.3.2. Numerals and the dual suffix

In numerals from two to nine, the derivational suffix *-si*
is a generalized dual morpheme as defined in 2.3.1.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2 | *nɛtchi* | | 6 | *tuksi/thuksi* |
| 3 | *sumsi* | | 7 | *nusi* |
| 4 | *lisi* | | 8 | *yɛtchi/yɛnchi* |
| 5 | *nasi* | | 9 | *phaŋsi* |

The numeral 'one' *lɔkthik* is a synthetic form consisting of
*lɔk* 'only' and *thik* 'one'. *Lɔk* is a postpositive adverb,
and *thik* is both a prepositive quantifier meaning 'one' and
a postpositive article meaning 'a, a certain'.

(21)      *yaŋ-dhik pi·r-aŋ-ɛ?.*
          money-a  give-1sP-IMP
          Give me a rupee.


(22)      *thik yaŋ   la·bdzo·k.*
          one  money costs
          It costs one rupee.

The form *lɔkthik* is both the counting form of the numeral
and the emphatic form of prepositive *thik*.

The numerals from ten to a hundred are formed by a
straightforward process of number morpheme compounding. The
interesting morphemes are the decimal morpheme *-bo·ŋ*, in

---

[2] The LSI (Konow 1909) attests separate forms for the
1de→2 and 1pe→2. The former are identical to the ns1→2
forms in the dialect studied in this grammar, whereas
the latter have the form VERB-*a-si-ge* (VERB-1-p-e). Here
too, the number affix is a generalized dual morpheme
with non-singular meaning, *-si*, though such an affixal
order is not characteristic of the dialect described in
the present grammar.

the numerals 10, 20 and 30, and -kip³ in the decades 40,
50, 60, 70, 80 and 90 as a suffix and in 100 as the root.
In the numeral 10, *thik* 'one' occurs as *thi*. In the numeral
20, 'two' occurs as its allomorph *-ni-*, whereas elsewhere
it occurs in its more usual form *-nɛt-*. The morpheme
'eight' *-yɛt-/-yɛn-* occurs as *-ye·-* in the eighties.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 10 *thibo·ŋ* | 20 *nibo·ŋ* | 40 *likip* | 70 *nukip* |
| 11 *thikthik* | 21 *nɛtthik* | 41 *lithik* | 71 *nuthik* |
| 12 *thiknɛʔl* | 22 *nɛtnɛʔl* | 42 *linɛʔl* | |
| 13 *thiksum* | 23 *nɛtchum* | | 80 *ye·kip* |
| 14 *thikli* | etc. | 50 *nakip* | 81 *ye·thik* |
| 15 *thikna* | | 51 *nathik* | |
| 16 *thikthuk* | 30 *sumbo·ŋ* | 52 *nanɛʔl* | 90 *phaŋgip* |
| 17 *thiknu* | 31 *sumdhik* | | 91 *phaŋdhik* |
| 18 *thikyɛʔl* | 32 *sumnɛʔl* | 60 *thukkip* | |
| 19 *thikphaŋ* | etc. | 61 *thukthik* | 100 *kipthik* |

Collective numerals are used to enumerate entities in a
group seen as a whole, often used for groups of people, but
not used in counting. Collective numerals are formed with
the suffix *-phu*:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 | *thikphu* |
| 2 | *nɛpphu* |
| 3 | *sumbhu* |
| 4 | *libhu* |
| 5 | *nabhu* |
| 6 | *thukphu* |
| 7 | *nubhu* |
| 8 | *yɛpphu* |
| 9 | *phaŋbhu* |

Ordinal numbers are not attested. The only fraction is
*kumbhrɛ·ŋ* 'one half', eg. *yaŋ-dhik-ʔaŋ kumbhrɛ·ŋ pi·r-aŋ-ɛʔ*
(money-a-and one_half give-1sP-IMP, lit. Give me a rupee
and a half) 'Give me one rupee and eight annas'.

---

³ The use of *-kip* in the decades from 40 is reminiscent of
   Old English use of *hund* prefixed to the decades from 70,
   cf. *twentig, þritig, fēowertig, fiftig, siextig* vs.
   *hundseofontig, hundeahtatig, hundnigontig, hundtēontig,
   hundendleofantig, hundtwelftig*. Benedict (1972) identi-
   fies Limbu *'gip'* with a poorly attested Tibeto-Burman
   decimal root *\*gip* (pp. 19, 94).

The numerals above nine are seldom used by contemporary speakers of *Phedāppe* Limbu and virtually unknown to the younger generation of speakers. In my experience, retention of the numerals above ten is highest among *kappo·baha?* or elderly men.


## 2.4. Case and postpositions

Case endings and postpositions are suffixed to nouns. The most important cases in terms of frequency are the absolutive <-?*in*>, ergative <-?*ille*, *-le*>, instrumental <-?*ille*, *-le*>, genitive <-?*ille*, *-le*> and locative <-?*o·*>.


## 2.4.1. Absolutive

The absolutive case marks the subject of an intransitive or reflexive verb, the patient of a transitive verb and one of the two nominal arguments in a copulative syntagm with suffixal 'to be'. The absolutive case is not overtly marked when indefinite and marked by the ending <-?*in*> when definite, eg. *ən yuktuŋ* 'I mounted a/the horse', *ənnin yuktuŋ* 'I mounted the horse', *məna ho·p-pa* (man not‿be-IPF) 'There isn't anybody', *məna-·n ho·p-pa* (man-ABS not‿be-IPF) 'The man's not there', but *cum məna-·n ho·p-pa* 'There's not a friend here'. The ending <-?*in*> is a postpositive definite article. It is identical to the definite article which forms part of the definite ergative ending. The definite suffix has fused to some degree with the ergative case suffix (2.4.2) in the combined definite ergative ending so that, after vowels, the article's morphophonological behaviour has begun to differ from that described in this section. Therefore, when the definite article forms part of an absolutive ending, it has been glossed as ABS in this grammar. See also 2.4.2.

The definite/indefinite distinction made in the Limbu absolutive is not entirely equivalent to the distinction made in English by the choice of definite or indefinite article, and therefore sometimes loses something in the translation, eg. *hɛn pa·ttu* 'What did he say?', *hɛnnin pa·ttu* 'What did he say?', *kɛ-ndzum ho·p-pa* 'Your friend's not here', *kɛ-ndzum-min ho·p-pa* 'That friend of yours is not here'. It lies in the nature of the definite that the questions *hɛn-nin gɔ·* (what-ABS then) 'what then?' and *hɛnnin ya·k?* (what-ABS be) 'What is there?' shows more concern about the specific identity of the non-identified

referent than *hɛn gɔ·* 'what then?' and *hɛn ya·k?* 'what is there?'. Compare the following two sentences in the first of which the question is posed in general, whereas in the second a statement is made about the sun of that particular day.

(23)    *aŋga nam nurik-ʔaŋ thɔ·tt-u-ŋ.    khɛnɛ? a·kkhyaŋ*
        I    sun well-too  stand-3P-1sA. you    how
        *kɛ-dhɔ·tt-u?*
        2-stand-3P
        I can take the sun well. How do you take the sun?

(24)    *nam-min thɔ·tt-u-ŋ.*
        sun-ABS stand-3P-1sA
        I can take the sun [today].

The definite absolutive is in keeping with the definite quality of the referents throughout the following exchange, which formed part of a children's game:

(25)    *anghɔʔin kɛdzɔi·?*        Will you eat my ear?
        *amikʔin kɛdzɔi·?*        Will you eat my eye?
        *kumgɔkʔin nisuŋ!*        I saw her asshole!

The definite absolutive may mark a definite noun which occurs as an after-thought:

(26)    *ku-se·k      la·kt-ɛ ...*              *tɔre·bɛ-n.*
        his-hunger be_in_effect-PT          guest-ABS
        He's hungry, [our] guest.

The definite absolutive case marks one of the two nominal groups in a copulative syntagm:

(27)    *kɛ-məra      pɛʔlaʔwarɛkpɛ-n.*
        yourˢ-mouth agape-ABS
        Your mouth is agape.

Because the absolutive marks both patients and subjects, the absolutive case of the word *yaŋ* 'money' shows agreement with both the transitive and the intransitive verb in the following syntagm. This reflects the ergative structure of Limbu case marking and contrasts it to nominative-accusative case assignment systems whereby a subject of a compound sentence can be in the nominative to show agreement with both an intransitive and a transitive verb when it is the agentive actant of the latter.

(28)      *yaŋ-in       kɛ-ma·nd-w-i·  nɔr-ɛ-i·?*
          money-ABS 2-finish-3P-Q beˍleft-PT-Q
          Did you finish all the money or is there any left
               over?

The definite absolutive suffix <-?in> undergoes the follow-
ing morphophonological alternations:
   After the voiceless stops /k/, /p/, /t/ and /?/ there is
no change in the basic form of the ending, eg. *tɔk?in*
'cooked rice', *la·p?in* 'wing', *pi?lin* /pit-?in/ 'cow',
*pe·na?in* /pe·na?-?in/ 'millet', *ya·n-dhik-?in mɛ-gho·-?ɛ-n*
'I'm not getting a single day off'. Occasionally, after /?/
the case ending is realized as /-?ɛn/, eg. *kɔŋ wa?ɛn hɛn
co·k?aŋ ya·kpa* 'What's this chicken up to?', *wa?ɛn* /wa?-
?ɛn/ *kɛdzɔi·?* – *caŋ* 'Do you eat chicken – I do', *wa?in*
/wa?-?in/ *kɛdzɔi·?* 'Do you eat chicken?', *mɛnda?ɛn* /mɛnda?-
?ɛn/ *sa·rik ɔ·ktɛ* 'the goat has been bleating incessantly'.
   After /b/ the form of the definite absolutive case
ending is /ɛn/, eg. *la·bɛn* 'moon'.
   After the nasals /m/, /n/ and /ŋ/ the initial glottal
stop of the ending may assimilate to the preceding nasal,
eg. *him?in, himmin* 'house', *imma?dɛn?in, imma?dɛnnin* 'place
to sleep', *luŋ?in, luŋŋin* 'rock', *wa?dhi·n-nin cɛ?!* 'Eat
the egg!', *thaŋbɛn-nin ta* 'The lad is on his way here'.
   After vowels, the definite absolutive ending is realized
as /·n/, lengthening the preceding vowel, eg. *yɛmbitcha* →
*yɛmbitcha·n* 'man', *mɛnchuma* → *mɛnchuma·n* 'lady', *məna* →
*məna·n* 'man, person', *adwa·n to·ktɛ* 'I bumped my forehead',
seldom as /?in/, eg. *pha* → *pha·n, pha?in* 'bamboo', *wa?sa
kɛdzɔi·?, wa?sa?in kɛdzɔi·?* 'Do you eat chicken meat?',
*ko·co·-?in hɔ·sɛ* 'The dog barked', *thɛba?in yaŋ pi·rɛ?!*
'Give the old man some money!', *məna?in ɔ·ktɛ* 'the man
hollered', *khɛŋ luŋgi-·n sa·rik khɛmdu* 'It (viz. the fact
that the *luŋgī* has now been sewn together at the seam)
looks good on that *luŋgī*'.
   The definite article when attached to any derivational
suffix ending in *-a*, eg. *-pa/-ma*, *-m?na*, *-?m?naba*, is
realized as /-n/ and fronts the *-a* to *-ɛ* in the preceding
suffix, eg. *kappo·ba* → *kappo·bɛn* 'old man', *sammyaŋ kɛwa·p-
ma* → *sammyaŋ kɛwa·pmɛn* 'gold wearer (f)', *mɛnchukma* → *mɛn-
chukmɛn* 'pregnant one', *mɛŋgɔpm?na* → *mɛŋgɔpm?nɛn* 'indigent
person', *huk?o· wa·pm?naba* → *huk?o· wa·pm?nabɛn* 'wrist-
watch', even in those derivatives in which the ending has
to some extent coalesced with the stem, eg. *ku-su·pnɛ-n
phund-u-ŋ* (its-lid-ABS remove-3P-1sA) 'I took off its lid'
[< *su·pm?na*].

(29)      *kɛ-yuŋ-bɛ-n    eˑn?*
          AP-sit-AP-ABS who
          Who's that sitting [there]?

(30)      *yaŋsarumbɛ-n[4]   laˑks-ɛ-iˑ?*
          third_born-ABS dance-PT-Q
          Did third-born dance?

(31)      *sarumba       tɔreˑ-bɛ-n    aˑttoˑ peˑg-ɛ?*
          second_born guest-NOM-ABS where   go-PT
          Where did the second-born male guest go to?

(32)      *yumlakpɛ-n haˑŋd-ɛ-iˑ    mɛ-haˑŋd-ɛ-n-niˑ?*
          *acār*-ABS    be_hot-PT-Q NEG-be_hot-PT-NEG-Q
          Is the *acār* spicy hot or isn't it?

(33)      *andeˑ-wɛ-n       cur-ɛ-iˑ?*
          before-NOM-ABS end-PT-Q
          Did the one from before finish yet?

The definite absolutive ending when attached to the geni-
tive suffix *-re/-le* changes the latter to *-rɛ/-lɛ* and is
itself shortened to /-n/, eg. *a-mba-rɛ-n* (my-father-GEN-
ABS) 'my father's'.

(34)      *kɔŋ  khɛŋ məna-rɛ-n.*
          this that man-GEN-ABS
          This is that man's.

(35)      *sa-rɛ-n       yumlakpa.*
          meat-GEN-ABS *acār*
          The *acār* is [made] of meat.

In the plural, after the plural suffix *-ha?*, the definite
article suffix is zero.

(36)      *kɛˑb-ɛn a·ttoˑ thaˑ-siŋ-ba?*
          dumb-ABS where   drop-REF-IPF
          Where's the dumb one headed?

(37)      *kɛˑb-ha? mɛ-dhaˑ-siŋ-ba.*
          dumb-p    nsAS-drop-REF-IPF
          The dumb ones are off somewhere.

_____

[4] For a description of the Limbu kinship system and Limbu
   kinship terminology, see Van Driem & Davids (1985).

The absolutive form of the pronoun 'who', *e·n*, contains an -*n* of the definite suffix[5], as compared to *e·lle* 'who (ERG)', but the form *e·n* is opaque and may be pluralized: *e·nha?* 'whoP'.

An ancillary function of the definite absolutive is to topicalize nominal arguments. It is sometimes expedient to translate thus topicalized arguments with 'as to *x*' or 'concerning *x*' or by some other means of periphrasis. The definite article as topicalizer may appear at places in a syntagm where it cannot be explained as having a purely absolutive function, eg. (38-42), esp. (40) where the patient of the verb *hakma?* 'to send something to someone' is *khunɛ?*. In (40-43), the topicalized element is sentence-initial where it immediately draws the listener's attention to the topic which the rest of the sentence is about. In (43) and (44), the absolutivized topic appears to be in apposition. The use of such syntactic discontinuity to draw attention to the topic, may necessitate definite absolutive case, eg. (43), (44), (26).

(38)    *dza·pa·n-le yɛn anige-rɛ-n yaŋ    tɔŋ.*
        japan-GEN    yen we-GEN-ABS money meet
        Our money has the same value as the Japanese Yen.

(39)    *anige yaŋsa?r-i-ge,   anige yo·-bɛ-n*
        wePe  be‿poor-pPS-e, wePe   low-NOM-ABS
            *sige·k.*
            social‿class
        We are poor and low class.

(40)    *kɔŋ  iŋghɔŋ-ŋin khunɛ? hakt-ɛ?!*
        this news-ABS    him     send-IMP
        Send him this news!/As for this news, send it to
            him!

(41)    *kɛ-mba-rɛ-n              ku-miŋ   hɛn?*
        yours-father-GEN-ABS his-name what
        What's your father's name?

---

[5] The forms **e·nnin* or **e·nin*, unlike *hɛnnin*, are rejected.

(42)        kɛ-mba-rɛ-n              ku-bo·dɛn   hɛn?
            your-father-GEN-ABS his-status what?
                kɛ-mma-rɛ-n              hɛn?
                your-mother-GEN-ABS what?
            What is your father's position in society? And
            what's your mother's?


(43)        khɛŋ miksurumbɛ-n   aŋga a-ndhɛba-re
            that blind_man-ABS I     my-grandfather-GEN
                ku-nsa                      pho·kwa-ma-rɛ-n
                his-younger_sibling youngest_born-f-GEN-ABS
                ku-sa? tumba.  khɛŋ a-ndumba. khunɛ?
                her-son eldest. he    my-uncle he
                phe·daŋma      ya·mbɔk-?aŋ co·k.
                witch_doctor work-too     does.
            That blind man is the eldest male child of my
            grandfather's    youngest    sister.    He    is
            therefore my uncle, and he practices the
            profession of medicine man.


(44)        khɛŋ-le thik ya·n lɔkthik mǝna-rɛ-n     huk-?o
            that-ERG one day one      man-GEN-ABS hand-LOC
                wa·p-mna-bɛ-n     khutt-u-waŋ lo·kt-ɛ rǝcǝ.
                wear-PP-NOM-ABS steal-3P-and run-PT   DEPR
            It turned out that one day he stole a man's wrist-
            watch and made off.


## 2.4.2. Ergative

The ergative case marks the agent of a transitive verb. The
ergative suffix is -le/-re/-lle/-?ille. The form of the
ergative suffix is /-le/ for the indefinite and /-?ille/
for the definite after the consonants /?/, /k/, /t/, /p/,
/b/, /ŋ/, /n/ and /m/. After final /?/, /-le/ is realized
as [-re], eg. si?-re kɛ-ha?r-ɛ 'a louse has bitten you/you
have been bitten by a louse', as distinct from the definite
ergative form in /-?ille/, eg. mɛnda?ille /mɛnda?-?ille/ cɔ
'the goat is eating'. The definite ergative suffix <-?ille>
must be analysed as consisting of the postpositive definite
article <-?in> plus the ergative case ending <-le>. Given
that the definite article <-?in> assimilates to <-?il>
before ergative <-le> to give <-?ille>, the forms of the
definite ergative combination can almost be completely
explained in terms of the morphophonological behaviour of
the definite article as described in the preceding section
2.4.1. As we shall see, the exception is the form of the

definite and indefinite ergative endings after vowels. Because the definite article and the ergative case ending have fused to a certain degree, as attested by the article's divergent morphophonological behaviour in the ergative vis-à-vis the absolutive, both definite and indefinite ergative endings have been glossed ERG in the present grammar.

The choice between the indefinite and the longer, definite ergative ending parallels the definite/indefinite distinction in the absolutive, eg. *pi?l-ille* /pit-?ille/ *kha·m phɛ?la·ndu* 'The bull messed up the clay', *te·?l-le* /te·t-le/ *kɛghɛmdɛ* 'The clothes suited you', *sya?l-ille* /syat-?ille/ *mɛnda?in sɛ?ru* 'the jackal killed the goat', *cuŋ-?ille tɔr-aŋ* 'The cold has got to me', *ma·kilaŋ-le khɔkt-aŋ* 'I was cut by a maize stalk, I cut myself on a stalk of maize', *məna-?ille co·g-u-ba* 'the man has done it', *məna-lle co·g-u-ba* 'someone has done it'.

After a final vowel, with the exception of derivational endings in final /a/, we find definite /-?ille/ and indefinite /-lle/, eg. *khɛŋ yɛmbitcha-lle ku-ndzum-min hipt-u* 'that guy struck his friend', *yɛmbitcha-lle mɛnchuma-·n hipt-u* 'the man hit the woman', *mɛnchuma-lle yɛmbitcha-·n hipt-u* 'the woman struck the man', *kɔŋ məna-lle pi?l-in nis-u* 'this man saw the cow', *məna-?ille mɛnda? sɛ?r-u* 'the man killed a goat', *hɛkkɛlle khɛŋ məna-lle nis-u-waŋ to·pi-hɛtla-dhik u·tt-u* 'So when that man saw it, he called a policeman', *kɔŋ ku-sa-lle sapla-·n kusiŋni·tt-u* 'This child of his understands the book'.

In the plural, where the definite article is zero, one finds only the ergative suffix /-le/ whether the plural suffix is overtly realized or not. After the plural marker /-ha?/, /-le/ is realized as [-re], eg. *khɛŋ-ha?-re liŋ mɛ-hɛg-u* 'They cut the thatching', *kɛ-nik-siŋ-ba-ha?-re khunchi-sa? lɔ·n* (AP-fuck-REF-AP-p-GEN their-child come⌣ out) 'The illicit lovers have conceived a child', *khɛŋ yɛmbitcha-ha?-re khunchi-cum-ha? mɛ-hipt-u* 'Those men hit their friends', *wa?-ha?-re mɛ-dzɔ* (chicken-p-ERG nsAS-eat/3P) 'The chickens'll eat it'.

In vowel-final nouns where the plural suffix is not expressed, /-le/, realized as [-re], contrasts with the singular ergative suffix /-lle/, eg. *yɛmbitcha-re kɛ-m--ye·?l* 'the guys will laugh at you[s]', *məna-re mɛnda?-?ɛn mɛ-sɛ?r-u* 'the men killed the goat', *məna-re mɛ-nis-u* 'the men saw it'. When the plural suffix is not overtly realized, the singular and plural ergative of consonant-final nouns are not formally distinct. The verb or larger context disambiguates the number of the noun, eg. *sa?-re suŋ mɛ-*

*-da?r-u-ba* (child-ERG gift nsAS-bring-3P-IPF) 'The children brought him a gift'.

After derivational endings with final /a/, there is no definite/indefinite distinction. The definite ergative suffix fronts the /a/ to /ɛ/ and is itself realized as /-lle/, eg. *yaŋsarumba* → *yaŋsarumbɛ-lle* 'third-born (ERG)', *him-?o· kɛ-wa·-mɛ-lle* 'the lady who was in the house (ERG)', *mɛŋ- gɔpmnɛ-lle* 'the indigent person (ERG)'.

The demonstratives *khɛŋ* and *kɔŋ* and the interrogative *hɛn* 'what' have ergative forms *khɛlle*, *kɔlle* and *hɛlle* next to *khɛŋle*, *kɔŋle* and *hɛnle*.

## 2.4.3. Instrumental

The instrumental marks an instrument distinct from the expressed or unexpressed ergative agent of the sentence (45-47), a cause (48) or holds the mean between a comitative and an agent (49). The form of the instrumental is identical to that of the ergative. The instrumental suffix is widely used to subordinate causal clauses (9.4).

(45)    *a-mik-le     mɛn-ni-?e·  wa·-?ɛ.       pa·n-nɛn lɔk*
        my-eye-INST npG-see-npG be-1sPS/NPT. word-ABS only
            *khɛps-u-ŋ.*
            hear-3P-1sA.
        I haven't seen it myself (lit. with my eyes), I've
            only heard it said.

(46)    *yaŋ   ho·p-pa.    hɛl-le    kɛ-iŋ-u-ŋ     kɛ-dzɔ?*
        money not_be-IPF. what-INST 2-buy-3P-and 2-eat/3P
        There's no money. What are you going to buy it
            with and eat?

(47)    *kɛ-dzi·-bɛ-lle       pi·r-ɛ?!*
        AP-be_cold-AP-INST give-IMP
        Give it to him with the cold one (viz. the
            khukuri)!

(48)    *nam-ille ni-he·?-mɛ-dɛt-nɛn.*
        sun-INST see-be_able-NEG-PAS-NEG
        It couldn't be seen because of the sun.

(49)    *anga a-sakkɛn-ille ya·nd-aŋ.*
        I     my-ire-INST    get_all_hot-1sPS/PT
        I became furious. (lit. I got all heated up
            by/with my anger)

The difference between the ergative and instrumental lies
in the agentivity of an ergative actant and its ramifi-
cations for verb agreement. Instrumental arguments may
occur in passive sentence, eg. (48), whereas ergative
actants may not. Instrumental actants take part in intran-
sitive verbal scenarios, whereas ergative actants do not,
cf. (50-54) with the verbal expression *niŋ leʔmaʔ* 'to be
fed up', lit. *niŋ* 'gall, spleen', *leʔmaʔ* 'to release (vt.)
or be released (vi.)'. In (50), the ergative agent and, in
(51), the ergatively marked clause occur in combination
with a transitively conjugated verb, where, as in (52-54),
an instrumental argument combines with an intransitive
verb.

(50)    *kɔŋ   kusiŋdaŋbɛ-lle a-niŋ     leʔr-u.*
        this one‿like-ERG   my-gall release-3P
        People like him really get on my nerves.

(51)    *khɛŋ te·ʔl-in     caŋ-mɛ-lle  caŋ-mɛ-lle    a-niŋ*
        that clothes-ABS wear-INF-ERG wear-INF-ERG my-gall
        *leʔr-u.*
        release-3P
        Constantly wearing those same clothes has gotten
            me fed up.

(52)    *tɔk-le     sa·rik a-niŋ     leʔr-ɛ.*
        *bhāt*-INST very   my-gall be‿release-PT
        I'm fed up with cooked rice.

(53)    *khɛni-pa·n-le     sa·rik a-niŋ     leʔr-ɛ.*
        yourP-word-INST very   my-gall be‿released-PT
        I'm fed up with what you guys have to say.

(54)    *thi·-lle          ku-niŋ    leʔ.*
        millet‿beer-INST his-gall be‿released
        He'll be fed up with millet beer [when he wakes up
            in the morning].

An animate argument (50) or a proposition viewed as agent-
ive by the speaker (51) is more likely to be an ˌergative
actant than inanimate actants or arguments low in agenti-
vity. This is why in (55), where *hiktaŋ* may be either the
preterit first singular intransitive of *hikmaʔ* 'to choke'
or its preterit 3s→1s form, *tɔk* is an instrumental argu-
ment.

(55)      *tɔk-le      hikt-aŋ.*
          *bhāt*-INST choke-1sPS/PT
          I choked on the rice.


### 2.4.4. The genitive

Formally the genitive suffix is almost identical to the
ergative suffix as described in 2.4.2. The genitive suffix
is */-le/*, not */-lle/*, after derivational endings with a
final */a/*, eg. *yaŋsarumba-re* 'third-born-GEN', *yaŋsarumbɛ-*
*lle* 'third-born-ERG', and the */a/* of the derivational
ending is virtually only fronted to */ɛ/* when the genitive
co-occurs with other suffixes, eg. *yaŋsiŋbɛ-rɛ-n si?laŋ*
(Schima‿wallichii-GEN-ABS pillar) 'The pillar is of Schima
wallichii wood', and:

(56)      *khunɛ? tumma-re        ku-sa?.    aŋga*
          he      first‿wife-GEN her-child. I
          *pakma-re              ku-sa?-?ɛ.*
          second‿wife-GEN her-child-am
          He's the son of [our father's] first wife; I'm
          the son of [our father's] second wife.

The form of the genitive suffix may be either *-le* or *-lle*
when attached to an infinitive. The assimilation of the
infinitival ending *-ma?* to a following genitive suffix is
irregular, unlike with the ergative or instrumental
suffixes. (See 2.4.13 and 9.4).

After a vowel the genitive suffix may occur freely as
either */-le/* or */-lle/*, eg. *andhɛba-re* 'my father's', *pu-*
*-lle* 'the bird's', *khe·mba-re* 'the jug's', *thi·-lle* 'millet
beer's', *phe·nda-re ku-yumlakpɛ-n kɛ-dzɔ-i·?* (tomato-GEN
its-*acār*-ABS 2-eat/3P-Q) 'Do you eat tomato *acār*?', *khɛŋ*
*kɛ-bhɛm-bɛ-n məna-rɛ-n ku-ndzum* 'He's the friend of that
man who has come'. Only seldom is there a contrast to be
found between singular and plural genitive after a vowel,
eg. *khɛŋ məna-lle ku-him yəmba co·k* 'That man's house is
big', *nɛpphu məna-re* 'the two guys''.

In the singular, the distinction between the definite
and indefinite forms of the genitive parallels that in the
ergative.

(57)    *lɔkthik ke·mba siŋbo·ŋ-ille ku-bo·ŋ-ʔo·*
        one    tall   tree-GEN    its-base-LOC
            *mɛ-yuŋ-ɛ.*
            nsAS-sit-PT
        They sat down at the base of a tall tree.

(58)    *anchi siŋbo·ŋ-le ku-bo·ŋ-ʔo·   yuŋ-si!*
        we[di] tree-GEN    its-base-LOC sit-d/ADH
        Let's[di] sit down under the tree!

(59)    *yaŋsiŋ-ille*                *ku-nak-ʔin*      *a-huk-ʔo·*
        Schima_wallichii-GEN its-splinter-ABS my-hand-LOC4
            *la·s-ɛ.*
            enter-PT.
        A Schima splinter has gotten into my hand.

Nouns in the genitive are generally followed by a noun with the third person possessive prefix *ku-* or, in the plural, *khunchi-*, eg. *mɛndaʔ-re ku-mi* 'the goat's tail', *phak-le ku-saʔ* 'The pig's offspring', *waʔ-re ku-sa-ʔin kɛ-dzɔ-i·?* 'Do you eat chicken meat?', *saŋatra-re ku-se·* 'the pit of the grapefruit', *mɛndaʔ-re ku-ghi·ŋ* 'the goat's gall bladder', *mɛnda-ʔre ku-saʔ* 'the goat's offspring', *te·ʔla·se·ʔ-re ku-bo·ŋ* 'banana tree', *khɛŋ mɔna-re khunchi-piʔl* 'those guys' cow'.

A possessive prefix may be dropped in the noun after the genitive when the genitive is generic rather than possessive.

(60)    *si·-re    khɔrɛ·ŋ caŋ.*
        wheat-GEN bread    eat/1s→3s
        I ate wheat bread.

(61)    *tɔk-ʔaŋ  hɛkdaŋba     kha·1-le ca-m-be!*
        *bhāt*-too that_kind_of type-GEN eat-pA-e
        And we[pe] even eat that type of *bhāt* too!

(62)    *hɛl-le    mundhum-in gɔ·  ho·!*
        what-GEN story-ABS  .then ho
        Well, what sort of story [should I tell]?

## 2.4.4.1. The genitive of time

Nouns may occur with the genitive suffix in temporal meaning, eg. *maŋgalba·r-le* 'on Tuesday', *sumsi ya·n-le* 'in three days', *anche· anche· maŋba·la·-lle* 'a long long time ago in the epoch of the gods'. The genitive is also used to subordinate temporal and contingent clauses (9.4).

(63)    - *thik ya·n-le kɛ-gɛ?r-ɛ-tchi-?i·?*
        one  day-GEN 2-arrive-PT-dPS-Q
        - *thik ya·n-le rɔk kɛ?r-ɛ-tchi-ge.*
        one  day-GEN only arrive-PT-dPS-e
            - Did you[d] get there in one day?
            - Yes, it took us only one day to get there.

(64)    *nɛpphu hɛndza? thik ya·n-le kɛ-bo·ŋ-ba*
        two      boy       one  dat-GEN AP-be‿born-AP
        *way-ɛ-tchi.*
        be-PT-dPS
        Once there were two boys who had been born on the same day.

## 2.4.4.2. The independent genitive

The independent genitive is an absolutivized genitive, eg. *kɛ-si-bɛ-rɛ-n* (AP-die-AP-GEN-ABS) 'the dying man's', *nya?-rɛ-n* (aunt-GEN-ABS) 'auntie's'. An absolutivized genitive may act as the subject or patient constituent within the syntagm, eg. (34-35), (41-42), (65-69), or may be a topicalized genitive argument, eg. (69).

(65)    - *e·-llɛ-n      pi?l?*
        who-GEN-ABS bull
        - *na·pmi-rɛ-n.*
        other-GEN-ABS
            - Whose is the bull?
            - It's someone else's.

(66)    *tumba-rɛ-n        yəmba co·k.*
        elder(m)-GEN-ABS big    is
        Big brother's is big.

(67)    - *hɛm-ba?*
        what-NOM
        - *hapcyaŋge·n nakpa   yəmba-rɛ-n.*
        trousers      nephew big-GEN-ABS
            - What's this?
            - These trousers are big nephew's.

(68)    *ta·bilo·  panyo·  kusiŋ kərə siŋ-lɛ-n*
        *ta·bilo  panyo·  like  but  wood-GEN-ABS*
            *co·k-ŋna-ba.*
            make-PP-NOM
        A *ta·bilo* is like a *panyo·* but made of wood.

(69)    *khɛŋ  kɛ-bhɛm-bɛ-n    məna-rɛ-n    ku-ndzum.*
        that AP-come-AP-ABS man-GEN-ABS his-friend
        He's the friend of that man who has come.

The personal pronouns have separate independent genitive
forms. These pronominal forms end in a suffix /-ʔin/ which
behaves formally like the definite absolutive ending in
nouns. The demonstratives *khɛŋ* and *kɔŋ*, like the true pro-
nouns, also have a separate independent genitive form.
Their synthetic plurals *khɛŋha?* and *kɔŋha?* have a regular
absolutivized genitive.

| | |
|---|---|
| *aŋga?in* | mine |
| *anchi?in* | ours (di) |
| *anchigɛn* | ours (de) |
| *ani?in* | ours (pi) |
| *anigɛn* | ours (pe) |
| *khɛnɛ?in* | yours (s) |
| *khɛnchi?in* | yours (d) |
| *khɛni?in* | yours (p) |
| *khɛŋin/kɔŋin* | his/hers |
| *khunɛ?in* | his/hers |
| *khunchi?in* | theirs (d) |
| *khɛŋha?rɛn/kɔŋha?rɛn* | theirs (p) |

(70)    *anchigɛn yəmba co·k.*
        ours[de]    big    be
        Ours[de] is big!

(71)    *mɛn-ha·p-?ɛ?!* *anchigɛn-naŋ mɛ-gɔt-ch-u-gɛ-n.*
        NEG-cry-IMP!  ours[de]-too    NEG-have-dA-3P-e-NEG
        Don't cry! We[de] don't have ours either.

(72)      khenɛʔin-ni·?
          yours<sup>s</sup>-Q
          Is it yours?

Independent genitives of personal pronouns may also be topicalized genitive arguments:

(73)      aŋgaʔin a-ndzum-dhik   wa·.
          mine    my-friend-one be
          There is this friend of mine.


## 2.4.5. Vocative

The vocative ending is   /-e·/. After a vowel there is no glottal hiatus, eg. amphue·/ 'brother!', but a preceding nasal may be doubled, eg. andzumme·/ 'my friend!'. The non-singular vocative ending is /-se·/, eg. (76-77). Rarely the vocative ending, singular and non-singular, occurs post-vocalically as -re·, eg. (78-80).

(74)      - yuma-e·,             ko·co·-lle haʔ,   me·n-ni·?
            grandmother-VOC, dog-ERG      bite, no-Q
          - o· mɛncha-e·,        a-n-haʔ-nɛn/
            oh grandchild-VOC 1-NEG-bit-NEG
                - Grandma, the dog will bite, won't it? (boy
                  teasing grandmother)
                - Oh grandchild, it doesn't bite. (lit. 'it
                  won't bite us', 8.9)

(75)      a-ndzum-me·,   kɔtna phɛr-ɛʔ  o·/
          my-friend-VOC, here   come-IMP oh
          Come here, my friend!

(76)      kɔŋ-haʔ hɛnaŋ mɛ-so·t-pa?          kɔtna kɔtna
          this-p  why   nsAS-misbehave-IPF? here   here
              phɛr-amm-ɛʔ, hɛndzaʔ-s-e·/<sup>6</sup>
              come-2p-IMP, child-ns-VOC
          Why are they misbehaving [again]? Come here,
              children!

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<sup>6</sup> hɛndzaʔse· is a term of address when speaking to prepubescent girls. A pre-pubescent girl may also be addressed by the term cukma (f), lit. 'small one'. Pre-pubescent boys may be addressed by female speakers with the term cukpa 'small one', but male speakers are

(77)     *adhaŋba-s-e·,      yuŋ-1     ro·!*
         gentleman-p-VOC, sit-pADH ASS
         Let's sit down, gentlemen.

(78)     *paŋli-re·                kɔtna  phɛʔr-amm-ɛʔ o·!*
         daughter‿in‿law-VOC/p hither come-2p-IMP oh
         Come here, daughters-in-law!

(79)     *yum  kɛ-dza-ba-re·    cutt-aʔm-ɛʔ-yaŋ*
         salt AP-eat-AP-VOC/p sprinkle-2p-IMP-pfG
              *cy-amm-ɛʔ!*
              eat-2p-IMP
         Salt eaters, sprinkle on a bit and eat!

(80)     *thɛba-re·        ciʔ        saʔr-ɛʔ!*
         grandfather-VOC little‿bit taste-IMP
         Taste a little bit, grandpa!

The lack of hiatus occasionally results in deletion of the
preceding vowel, as illustrated by the forms of *mɛnchaʔ,
mɛncha-* 'grandchild' in the following two exchanges:

(81)     - *mɛnche·!*              - Grandchild!
         - *hɛn gɔ· ho·, thɛbae·!* - Say what, grandpa!

(82)     - *thɛbae·!*              - Grandpa!
         - *hɛn gɔ· ho·, mɛnchae·!* - What's up, grand-
                                    child?
         - *hɛn kɛdzo·k?*          - What're you doing?
         - *habha yuŋʔɛ.*          - Just sitting
                                    around.

For the terms *amma* 'mother and *amba* 'father', the special
vocative forms *ammo·* and *ambo·* exist alongside regular
*ammae·* and *ambae·*.

_____

not to address boys with diminutive terms denoting
children. Adult males generally address boys with a
kinship term, or they use the term *cumse·* 'friends'.

## 2.4.6. Locative

The locative ending *-?o·* indicates both location and destination, eg. *a-ghamda·k-?o· khipt-ɛ* 'It's stuck to the roof of my mouth', *aŋga cumluŋ-?o· pe·k-?ɛ, aŋga* 'I'm going to the bazar, I am'. The initial /?/ may assimilate to a preceding nasal, eg. *him-?o· → himmo·* 'in the house'.

The locative ending may be added to other endings when this results in a semantically plausible combination, eg.

(83)      - *aŋga allɔ-waŋ pe·k-?ɛ!*
          I     now-too   go-1sPS/NPT
          - *a·tto·?*
          where
          - *nya?-re-?o·. ta·ndik lɔk yu-?ɛ.*
          aunt-GEN-LOC tomorrow only come_down-1sPS/NPT
                    - I'm going now too!
                    - Whereto?
                    - To auntie's. I'll only come back down
                      tomorrow.

(84)      *a-ndzum-le-?o·      pe·k-?ɛ.*
          my-friend-GEN-LOC go-1sPS/NPT
          I'm going to my friend's.

The locative ending may take an emphatic augment *-e·* which, in allegro speech, replaces the vowel of the locative suffix completely, eg. *him-?o·* 'in the house' vs. *him?oe·*, *him?e·* 'in the house (emph.)'.[7]

## 2.4.7. The comitative

Cognate and similar in function to Burmese *né*, the comitative suffix *-nu* is used (1) to coordinate nominal groups as a conjunction 'and', whereby it is affixed to all but the last noun in a series, eg. *tɔk-nu yumlakpa* 'bhāt and acār', (2) as an instrumental suffix, eg. *phɛdza-nu* 'with a knife', (3) in a mediative sense, eg. *yakthuŋba·n-nu* 'in the Limbu language', (4) as an ablative, eg. *na·-nu kɛ--bhɛtt-u-ba-i·?* 'Did you bring it from there?', and (5) as comitative 'with', eg. *aŋga-nu* 'with me', *sɛndik im-mɛ-lle*

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[7] Cf. Nep. *ghar mā* 'in the house' vs. *ghar mai* 'in the house (emph.)'.

*khɔnɔkwa kɛ-dza·-ba-nu a-sira mɛ-dhaŋ-nɛn* (night sleep-INF-
-SUB snore AP-perform-AP-COM my-pleasure NEG-come_up-NEG)
'When I sleep at night, I don't like [to be] with someone
who snores'.

When two or more nominal arguments are connected through
the comitative suffix, the verb agrees with the coordinated
group. In other words, the comitative relays the sense of
English 'with' but has the consequences for agreement of
English 'and':

(85)    *allo·  khɛnɛ?-nu a-m-ba·t-chi-n,*      *anchi.*
        now    yous-COM   1-NEG-talk-dPS-NEG, we[di].
        Now, I'm not talking to you anymore.


(86)    *Nara·yan-nu pit-chi-ge.*
        *Nārāyaṇ*-COM go-dPS-e
        I'm going with *Nārāyaṇ*.


(87)    *Yaŋsarumbɛ-n-nu      kɛ-bi-tchi-ba-i·?*
        third-born-ABS-COM 2-go-dPS-IPF-Q
        Are yous going with third-born?


(88)    *sya?l-le-nu ũṭh-ille   so·?l-in        yallik*
        fox-ERG-COM camel-ERG sugar_cane-ABS much
            *ce·-s-u.*
            eat/3P-dA-3P
        The fox and the camel ate lots of sugar cane.

Note the 1di, 1de and 2d verb agreement in the previous
examples and, in contrast to this, the singular verb
agreement with *khɛnɛ?* in the following sentence where the
coordinated nominal argument *e·n* 'who' is indefinite.

(89)    *khɛnɛ? e·n-nu  laŋpho·ŋga kɛ-dza·-ba-ha? ɔ·mɛt-che*
        yous    who-COM football    AP-play-AP-p    watch-SUP
            *kɛ-be·k o·?!*
            2-go     oh
        Hey, with whom are you going to watch the guys
        playing football?!

## 2.4.8. The mediative

The suffix *-lam* may be used in a mediative sense more broad than the mediative sense of the comitative. It can, like the comitative, be used in the sense of an abstract medium eg. *pe·niba·n-lam* 'in the Nepali language', but it can also be used in a spatial mediative sense, eg. *cumluŋ-lam* 'via the bazar, by way of the bazar'. It may also be used as an ablative in a spatial sense, eg. *hile·-lam* 'from *Hile*'. The suffix derives from the same etymon as the noun *lam* 'road'.

## 2.4.9. The elative

When the locative suffix *-ʔo·* is followed by the comitative or mediative, both of which have ablative functions, the resultant combinations *ʔo·-lam* and *ʔo·-nu* have an elative meaning 'out of, from'.

(90)      *tɔŋba nasi thuŋ-u-ŋ      hɛkkɛlle khɛŋ*
               *tuṅbā* five drink-3P-1sA so        that
                      *cumluŋ-ʔo·-lam pu-e·kke· pɛ·r-aŋ-ba.*
                      bazar-LOC-MED  bird-like fly-1sPS/PT-IPF
             I drank five *tuṅbā*s, so I flew back from that
                 bazar like a bird.

(91)      *a-him-ʔo·-nu       phɛtt-u-ŋ-ba.*
            my-house-LOC-COM bring-3P-1sA-IPF
            I brought it from my house.

## 2.4.10. Allative

The allative suffix *-thak* 'up as far as, until' may occur by itself, eg. (94), or in combination with the locative suffix *-ʔo·*, eg. (92-93).

(92)      *cumluŋ-ʔo·-thak lɔk  mɛ-sa-ʔɛ*
            bazar-LOC-ALL    only nsAS-deliver-1sPS/NPT
               *mɛ-dha-ʔɛ            laʔba.*
               nsAS-leave-1sPS/NPT probably
            They'll probably only escort me up as far as the
                 bazar.

(93)      *him-ʔo·-dhak   sa-ŋ-dha-ŋ-si-ŋ.*
            house-LOC-ALL deliver/3P-1sA-leave/3P-1sA-nsP-1sA
            I escorted them all the way home.

(94)      *cumluŋ-thak pe·k-ʔɛ.*
          bazar-ALL   go-1sPS/NPT
          I'm going up as far as the bazar.

The suffix *-thak* may be directly attached to a nonpreterit
simplex in a temporal meaning, eg. *nam tha-dhak* 'until sun-
set, until the sun sets'.


## 2.4.11. Intrative

*-lum* 'midst' combines with the locative suffix to yield the
intrative suffix *-lum-ʔo·*, *-lummo·* 'between, inbetween':

(95)      *anchi-lum-ʔo·  mi   nɛ·.*
          we^di-midst-LOC fire be_situated
          There is a fire between us^di

(96)      *ku-lum-ʔo·     mɛ-bhaŋ-u-ba                way-ɛ.*
          its-midst-LOC nsAS-erect_a_barrier-3P-NOM be-PT
          In between there was a partition they had erec-
                ted./They had it fenced off in between.


## 2.4.12. The comparative 'than'

The comparative suffix *-nulle* is a composite derivative of
the comitative suffix *-nu* and the genitive *-lle*.

(97)      *khɛnɛʔ-nulle ke·n-ʔɛ.*
          you^s-than    be_tall-1sPS/NPT
          I'm taller than you are.

(98)      *khunɛʔ-nulle mɛ-dɔ·ŋ-ʔɛ-n.*
          he-than       NEG-be_short-1sPS/NPT-NEG
          I'm no shorter than he is.

(99)      *ta·mar ba·gmati-nulle ke·mba co·k.*
          *Tamor Bāgmatī*-than    long    be
          The *Tamor* river is longer than the *Bāgmatī*.

(100)     *aŋga-nulle tɔ·ŋ.*
          I-than       be_short
          He's shorter than me.

(101)    *sammyaŋ-nulle khik!*
         gold-than        be‿expensive
         It's more expensive than gold![8]

(102)    *khunɛʔ-nulle yaŋhaŋ lɔk te·.    ku-ndzum-in*
         he-than         later only come/PT his-friend-ABS
             *yaŋhaŋ lɔk thaŋ-ɛ!*
             later   only come‿up-PT
         He only showed up after he did. His friend only
             came up after that!

The comparative suffix is also suffixed to infinitives in
constructions of the following type:

(103)    *him-ʔo·    pe·k-maʔ-nulle paile· sya iŋ-m·    bo·ŋ.*
         house-LOC go-INF-than      first  rice buy-INF must
         [We'll] have to buy rice before we go home.

(104)    *khɛnɛʔ kɛ-nsa-nulle                  khunɛʔ*
         you[s]   your[s]-younger‿sibling-than he
             *ku-nsa                    kapmo·ma co·k.*
             his-younger‿sibling elder(f) be
         Your younger sister is older than his younger
             sister.

In (105) the comparative suffix marks a topicalized noun:

(105)    *yaŋsarumbɛ-n-nulle yɛtchi tɔŋbe· kɛ-dum.*
         third-born-ABS-than eight  year   2-be‿old
         You are eight years older than third-born.

The superlative is expressed by comparison with everything
*kɛrɛk*:

(106)    *sakhɛkya kɛrɛk-nulle    kudzanu.*
         *sukuʈɪ*   everything-than be‿delicious.
         *Sukuʈɪ* (Nepalese jerky) is the most delicious
             thing there is.

---

[8] viz. a legendary resin with magical properties, Nep.
*kãlo gujargãnã.*

## 2.4.13. The loan -*la·gi* and the genitive infinitive

The loan postposition -*la·gi* 'for, for the sake of' [< Nep. *lāgi* 'for, in order to'] may be affixed to a noun or to the genitive of a verb. There seem to be no functions which the loan fulfills which are not provided for by the supine form of the verb (8.7) or by -*ille* subordination (9.4)[9], which are far more frequent than the loan at any rate. The occurrence of *la·gi* affixed to nouns is even rarer.

(107)   ni·p-mɛ-lle   la·gi yallik yaŋ   cahadzo·k.
        study-INF-GEN for    much    money be_needed
        Lots of money is required to study.

The infinitival ending -*ma?* may or may not assimilate to a following genitive suffix as it does before an ergative or instrumental suffix (viz. -*ma?* + -*ille* → -*mɛlle*, 8.6). The genitive of an infinitive is generally a temporal genitive (9.4); it occurs less often in loan constructions such as *thi· tho·k-ma-lle ta·rika* (millet_beer cook-INF-GEN recipe) 'millet beer recipe' or *la·gi* constructions, eg. *po·ŋma?re la·gi* 'in order to become', *ni·pmɛlle la·gi* 'in order to study', *co·kmɛlle la·gi* 'in order to do', *tho·kmɛlle la·gi* 'in order to cook', *cama?re la·gi* 'in order to eat'. That the latter constructions are Nepali calques cannot account for the formal variability of the combination of infinitival and genitival suffixes because this variability is also characteristic of the temporal genitive of infinitives, which appears to be a native means of subordination (9.4).

## 2.5. Compounding

Compounding is a very common process in word formation: *phaksa* 'pork', *wa?sa* 'chicken meat', *pitnu* 'cow's milk', *mik-hi* 'eye detritus', *hukpho·ŋga* (lit. handball) 'volleyball'. In some compounds, glottal stop occurs between the two components: *wɛtchya?dɔk* (*wɛtchya* rice + *tɔk* cooked grain) 'cooked rice', *pa·ŋphe·?kəbu* (*pa·ŋphe·* village + ? ) 'village and its surroundings', *ha?luŋ* (*ha* tooth + *luŋ* stone) 'fireplace-stone'.

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[9] Compare example (107) here with example (39) in 9.4.

# Chapter Three
## The Verbs 'To Be'

There are seven verbs in Limbu which cover various senses
of English 'to be'. One of these, the identity operator,
has a defective conjugation consisting solely of adnominal
suffixes. The remaining six have straightforward intransi-
tive conjugations. The morphology of the transitive and
intransitive conjugations forms the topic of the next
chapter.

However, existential 'to be' *wa·ma?* and existential 'not
to be' *ho·pma?* cannot be negated other than by nexal nega-
tion (3.1.1). They are in effect each other's negative
conjugation. Existential, locational, adhesive and inchoa-
tive 'to be' combine with gerunds in periphrastic construc-
tions, which are discussed in Chapter Seven. The verbs 'to
be' are:

| | |
|---|---|
| the identity operator | suffixal 'to be' |
| *wa·ma?* | existential 'to be' |
| *ho·pma?* | negative existential 'to be' |
| *ya·kma?* | locational 'to be' |
| *pɔtma?* | adhesive 'to be' |
| *co·kma?* | attributive 'to be' |
| *po·ŋma?* | inchoative 'to be' |

for example:

| | |
|---|---|
| *aŋga ku-yɛmba-?ɛ.* | I'm her husband. |
| *sukwa-?o· phɛdza wai·* *ho·p?i·?* | Is there a knife in the bag or isn't there? |
| *mɛnchuma him?o· ya·k.* | The lady is in the house. |
| *mɛnchuma him?o· wa·.* | There is a lady in the house. |
| *kɛha?o· kumakla pɔ?l.* | There's something black stuck to your* teeth. |
| *kɔŋ mɛnchuma yəmma co·k.* | This lady is big. |
| *nam?o· nuba po·ŋ.* | It's pleasant in the sun. |

## 3.1. The identity operator

Suffixal 'to be' constitutes a unique defective tenseless conjugation consisting solely of a set of adnominal suffixes. In a syntagm with two nominal arguments, it indicates that the second argument is identical to the first. The full conjugation is as follows:

|  |  |
|---|---|
| 1s | *ʔɛ* |
| 1di, 1pi, 3d, 3p | *si* |
| 1de, 1pe | *sige* |
| 2s | *nɛ* |
| 2d | *nɛtchiŋ* |
| 2p | *niŋ* |
| 3s | *ø* |

for example:

*aŋga yɛmbitcha-ʔɛ.*            I am a man.

*anchi yɛmbitcha-si.*            We[di] are men.
*ani yɛmbitcha-si.*             We[pi] are men.
*khunchi yɛmbitcha-si.*         They[d] are men.
*khɛŋhaʔ yɛmbitcha-si.*         They[p] are men.

*anchige yɛmbitcha-sige.*        We[de] are men.
*anige yɛmbitcha-sige.*          We[pe] are men.

*khɛnɛʔ yɛmbitcha-nɛ.*           You[s] are a man.
*khɛnchi yɛmbitcha-nɛtchiŋ.*     You[d] are men.
*khɛni yɛmbitcha-niŋ.*           You[p] are men.

*khɛŋ/khunɛʔ yɛmbitcha.*         He is a man.

The third person singular form of the identity operator, the most used form of suffixal 'to be', is zero.

(1)     *kɔŋ  menchuma a-me·ʔl.*
        this lady      my-wife
        This lady is my wife.

The first person singular of the identity operator is *-ʔɛ*, eg. (2-4).

(2)     *aŋga kɛ-ndzum-ille      ku-mbhɔŋaʔ-ʔɛ.*
        I     your[s]-friend-GEN his-uncle-am
        I am the younger brother of your friend's father.

(3)      *khunɛʔ tumma-re      ku-saʔ.     aŋga*
            he      first_wife-GEN her-child. I
            *pakma-re          ku-saʔ-ʔɛ.*
            second_wife-GEN her-child-am
            He is [our father's] first wife's son. I am [our father's] second wife's son. (i.e. we are half-brothers.)

(4)      *kɛ·b-ʔɛ-i·?*
            mute-be-Q
            Am I mute? (i.e. Do you think I can't talk back?)

The non-singular form of the first inclusive and third person identity operator is *-si*[1]:

(5)      *khunchi yarik la·ttha?-ba-si.*
            they[d] very difference-NOM-be
            They differ greatly [in age].

(6)      *kɔŋ  hɛndza? a·kdaŋba-si    na   gɔ·? kuca*
            this child   what_kind_of-be EMPH then truth
            *pa·tt-u-ŋ-ŋi·?*
            speak-3P-1sA-Q
            What kind of children are they? Do you want me to tell the truth?

(7)      *ani  kɛdhuŋba-si.*
            we[Pi] brave-be
            we[Pi] are brave ones.

---

[1] The homophony of the third non-singular identity suffix and the dual suffix *-si* may lead to ambiguity. This type of ambiguity may have arisen through the historic over-generalization of dual affixes (2.3.1).

      *siŋbo·ŋ*        tree
      *siŋbo·ŋsi*      trees[d]
      *siŋbo·ŋha?*    trees[P]

      *siŋbo·ŋ-si.*
      tree-3ns/be
      They are trees.

      *siŋbo·ŋ(ha?) mɛ-wa·.*
      tree-(p)     pAS-be
      There are trees.

The non-singular exclusive form of the identity operator is the non-singular suffix *-si* augmented by the exclusive suffix *-ge*:

(8)      *anige yakthuŋba-ha? thi·-haŋ-sige.        anchige*
we[Pe]  Limbu-p          millet‿beer-king-be.  we[de]
       *thi·-re            haŋ-sige, hɛkkɛlle khɛnɛ?*
       millet‿beer-GEN king-be,   so          you[s]
       *kɛ-mɔ·y-ɛ.         anchige mɛm-mɔ·-?e·*
       2-inebriate-PT. we[de]      npG-inebriate-npG
       *wa·-si-ge. yakthuŋba thi·-po·ŋ*
       be-dPS-e.  Limbu       millet‿beer-born
       *haŋ-sige!*
       king-be
We[Pe] Limbus are the millet beer kings. We[de] are the kings of millet beer, so you[s] have gotten drunk. We[de] have not gotten drunk. We[de] are beer-born kings!

In an identity syntagm, one of the two nominal arguments occurs in the definite absolutive. The marked argument is generally the predicate or the comment which acts as a qualifier of the other nominal argument, eg. (9-11), but a subject or topic may be highlighted as the marked member, eg. (12-13). Because the absolutive is overtly marked only in the singular definite, not all identity syntagms contain an overt definite absolutive marker.

(9)      *na·pmi-rɛ-n              khunchi-mɛnda?.*
       someone‿else-GEN-ABS their-goat
       It's someone else's goat.

(10)     *kɔŋ   an·ge-ni·p-ma?-him-min.*
       this  our[Pe]-study-INF-house-ABS
       This is our school.

(11)     *khɛnɛ? a·kdaŋba     hina·nde·*
       you[s]   what‿kind‿of full-of-shit
          *mɔna-·n-nɛ-ni-gɔ·!*
          person-ABS-be-CTR-then
       What a full-of-shit person you are!

(12)     *a·kkhya·k ke·mba ku-miksaŋ-ŋin!*
       how‿much  long    his-eyelashes-ABS
       What long eyelashes he has!

(13)      - atiŋ-ʔin   kɛ-mba-re        ku-nsa?
          which-ABS yourˢ-father-GEN his-younger_sibling?
          - kɛ-im-mɛ-n.
          AP-sleep-AP-ABS
                - Which one is your father's younger sister?
                - the sleeping one.

The second person endings, -nɛ, -nɛtchiŋ, -niŋ, are of the same form as the 1→2 transitive affixes (see 4.4.6).

(14)      khɛni kɛrɛk kɛ-gɔp-pa-niŋ.
          youP all    AP-have-AP-be
          YouP all are rich.

(15)      aŋga sɔpmaŋ        pi·-niŋ.
          I    in_a_second give-1s→2p
          I'll give it to youP in a second.

The only exception to the suffixal conjugation is the word *lɔkthik* 'one' which takes no non-singular suffix:

(16)      ani  lɔkthik.       (17) nɛpmaŋ lɔkthik.
          wePⁱ one                 both   one
          We are one.             They are both the same.

### 3.1.1. Negative suffixal 'to be' and nexal negation

Suffixal 'to be' is negated by either (1) *me·n* with the endings of suffixal 'to be', or (2) *me·nduk*, which is inconjugable and used for all persons. The following examples illustrate *me·n* with the appropriate identity operator endings:

(18)      aŋga Nara·yan me·n-ʔɛ, khunɛʔ Nara·yan.
          I    Nārāyaṇ NOT-be,  he     Nārāyaṇ
          I'm not Nārāyaṇ, he's Nārāyaṇ.

(19)      khɛnchi a-ndzum      me·n-nɛtchiŋ.
          youᵈ    my-friend NOT-be
          Youᵈ're not my friends.

(20)      khunɛʔ me·n!
          he        NOT
          Not him!

(21)      *anige Tumbahaŋphe·  me·n-chige,  anige kɛrɛk*
          weᴾᵉ  *Tumbāhāṅphe*  NOT-be        weᴾᵉ  all
                *Paŋyaŋgu.*
                *Pãyāṅgu*
          We aren't *Tumbāhāṅphes,* We are all *Pãyāṅgu.*

The following examples illustrate the use of the inconjugable *me·nduk:*

| | |
|---|---|
| *aŋga mɛnchuma me·nduk.* | I am not a woman. |
| *khunɛ? pe·niba mǝna me·nduk,* | He is not a Nepali, |
| *khunɛ? siŋhɛk.* | he is a Newari. |
| *khɛŋha? ya·kthuŋba me·nduk.* | They aren't Limbus. |
| *hɛnaŋ me·nduk!* | It's nothing!/Not a thing! |

The negative forms of the identity operator, *me·n* and *me·nduk,* may also negate entire clauses. In this function, *me·n* and *me·nduk* serve as nexal negators, negating the situation depicted in the preceding embedded clause. Use of *me·n* or *me·nduk* to negate a clause results in an extra nexus as compared to simple non-nexal negation of the verb (see 4.5; for the concept of nexus, see Jespersen 1924, 86sq). The following examples illustrate the use of *me·n* as nexal negator. Examples (22) and (23) contrast the use of negative suffixal 'to be' to simple non-nexal predicate. negation:

(22)      *pitcha kɛ-dzɔ me·n.*
          beef    2-eat   NOT
          It is not the case that youˢ eat beef. (The speaker is somewhat horrified at the idea.)

(23)      *phaksa kɛ-n-dzɔ-nɛn.*
          pork    2-NEG-eat-NEG
          You don't eat pork.

(24)      *sim kɛ-dzaŋ me·n.*
          *sim* 2-wear   NOT
          It is not so that youˢ wear women's clothes. (said to a man)

(25)      *thɛba-re          khɛps-aŋ       me·n.*
          grandfather-ERG hear-1sPS/PT NOT
          It is not so that grandpa heard me.

(26)     *khɛnɛʔ rɔk me·1 lo·!*
         *aŋga rɔk me·1 lo·!*
         *a·kkhe· co·kmaʔ gɔ·!*
                 you[s] only NOT ASS
                 I only NOT ASS
                 how do-INF then
         (from a song sung at weddings:)
         It [viz. marriage] doesn't just happen to you!
         It doesn't just happen to me!
         What can we do!

The interrogative suffix *-i·* can be attached to suffixal 'to be' as it can to any full verb, eg. *kummai· kumbai·* 'is it a male or a female?'. Attached to *me·n* it results in the much used tag question *me·nni·* similar to French *n'est-ce pas*, eg. *hɛkke·, me·nni·?* '*Comme ça, n'est-ce pas?*'.

(27)     *an·ge ta·mbhuŋ-ʔo·-ba məna kusiŋ lɔʔr-i-ge,*
         we[pe]  jungle-LOC-NOM man  like  seem-pPS-e,
             *me·n-ni·?*
             NOT-Q
         We must seem like jungle men [to you], don't we?

(28)     *aŋga sa·rik kɛ-gɔp-pa məna, me·nni·?*
         I     very   AP-have-AP man,  NOT-Q
         I'm a really rich guy, ain't I?

## 3.2. Existential 'to be' and 'not to be'

The verb *wa·maʔ* 'to be' indicates the availability or existence of a thing. It does not take negative affixes. Instead it has a negative counterpart *ho·pmaʔ* 'not to be' which indicates the inavailability or non-existence of a thing.

(29)     *khɛni yəllik a-ndzum    kɛ-way-i*
         you[P] many   my-friend 2-be-pPS
         There you[P] are, my many friends.

(30)     *khɛnɛʔ kɛ-nsaʔ              wa-i· ho·p-ʔi·*
         you[s]  2-younger‿sibling be-Q  not‿be-Q
         Do you[s] have younger siblings or don't you[s]?

(31)     *khunchi a-ndzum-si wa·-si.*
         they[d]  my-friend-d be-dPS
         They, my two friends, are there.

(32)    *cidiyakhana-?o·*[2] *kerek way-e. sokpa rok*
        zoo-LOC          all   be-PT Yeti   only
           *ho·pt-e.*
           not_be-PT.
        In the Kathmandu-zoo, there was everything. There
           was only no Yeti.

(33)    *anga kheni-ba·nphe·-?o·  wa·-?e,*
        I    yourP-village-LOC  be-1sPS/NPT,
           *a-ba·nphe·-?o·  ho·p-?e.*          *hen*
           my-village-LOC not_be-1sPS/NPT. what
           *co·k-ma? allo?*
           do-INF   now
        Here I am in yourP village, I am absent in my own
           village. So, what can I do?

(34)    *wa?     wa·.*
        chicken be
        There's a chicken.

As the verb which expresses the availability of a commodity
or entity, *wa·ma?* is often used to quantify. The use of
*wa·ma?* to quantify is stylistically neutral as opposed to
like use of *potma?* (3.4).

(35)    *khenchi netchi ke-wa·-si.*
        you[d]   two     2-be-dPS
        There are two of you[d].

(36)    *kheni a·kkhen  ke-way-i?/kheni a·kkhya·k ke-way-i?*
        youP  how_many 2-be-pPS   youP how_many 2-be-pPS
        How many of youP are there?/How many of youP are
           there?

(37)    *anige sumbo·n way-i-ge.*
        we[Pe] three    be-pPS-e
        There are three of us[Pe].

(38)    *menchya a·kkhya·k me-way-e,    thanben a·kkhya·k*
        lassy   how_many nsAS-be-PT, lad      how_many
           *me-way-e?*
           nsAS-be-PT
        How many girls were there, how many lads were
           there?

---

[2] *cidiyākhānā,* Nep. zoo

Existential 'to be' is sometimes used to indicate a trait, although such usage is rare and possibly attests to Nepali influence. The difference between attributive usage of existential 'to be' *wa·ma?* and usage of attributive 'to be' *co·kma?* (3.5) lies in the use of *wa·ma?* to indicate permanent, unchanging or objective characteristics or traits which establish or define the identity of the subject, whereas *co·kma?* ascribes an attribute to the subject which may well be temporary. In this regard, *wa·ma?* is more akin to suffixal 'to be' with the difference that the identity operator always acts as a copula between subject and a noun or nominalized clause. Attributive *co·kma?* is semantically closer to the verb *lɔ?ma?* 'to seem, to appear, behave like'.

(39)     *aŋga maktaŋba wa·-?ɛ.*
         I     black_one  be-1sPS/NPT
         I am a black one.

(40)     *aŋga yakthuŋba wa·-?ɛ.*
         I     Limbu       be-1sPS/NPT
         I am Limbu.

(41)     *aŋga anchɛn-naŋ-tho·      sakmɛndza wa·-?ɛ.*
         I     yesterday-too-since famished  be-1sPS/NPT.
               *ɛn      sakmɛndza wa·-?ɛ.*
               today   famished  be-1sPS/NPT
         I've been famished since yesterday. I'm famished today.

## 3.3. Locational 'to be'

Locational 'to be' *ya·kma?* differs from *wa·ma?* in that it situates the subject in a place.

(42)     *aŋga e·gaŋ    ya·k-?ɛ.*
         I     in_back be-1sPS/NPT
         I'm out back.

(43)     *khunɛ? yo·    ya·k.*
         he        below be
         He is below.

Even when *wa·ma?* is used with a locative predicate, it indicates the existence or availability of the subject in said location, whereas *ya·kma?* strictly locates the subject

In a place. This can be seen in the following two examples:

(44)     *lɔkkhum-ʔo·   məna-haʔ mɛ-ya·k.*
         farmyard-LOC man-p     nsAS-be
         The men are in the farmyard.

(45)     *lɔkkhum-ʔo·   məna-haʔ mɛ-wa·.*
         farmyard-LOC man-p     nsAS-be
         There are men in the farmyard.

(46)     *him-ʔo·   wa·-ʔɛ.*
         house-LOC be-1sPS/NPT
         I am in the house (i.e. I am present in the house
                 and am not going anywhere).

(47)     *him-ʔo·   ya·k-ʔɛ.*
         house-LOC be-1sPS/NPT
         I am in the house (i.e. I can be found here in the
                 house).

The semantic border is fuzzy.[3] The choice is in some cases
subjective, eg. *hɛnnin ya·k?* 'what is [located] there?' vs.
*hɛnnin wa·?* 'what is there?'. In (48) *ya·kma?* stresses the
location of the salt or, rather, the lack of it in the tea
of the speaker, which he laments by saying:

(48)     *yum  mɛ-ya·k-nɛn.*
         salt NEG-ne-NEG
         There is no salt [in it].

## 3.4. Adhesive 'to be'

Adhesive 'to be' has a range of meaning which approaches
the meanings of both *wa·ma?* and *ya·kma?*. *Pɔtma?* is 'to be'
in the sense of 'be suspended, hang' with reference to
fruits in a tree or clouds in the sky and in the sense of

---

[3] Although Limbu *nɛ·ma?* 'lie, be lying down' sometimes
   acts like locational 'to be', eg. (95) in section
   2.4.11, its meaning as both a main verb and as an aspec-
   tivizer (5.3.14) is more than just that of a locational
   copula. Matisoff, however, points out that Limbu *nɛ·ma?*
   too is a copula etymologically, reflecting PTB *r-niy/
   *r-nəy (personal communication, March 1987). See also
   Matisoff (1985b, esp. pp.64-65).

'remain sticking, accumulate' in reference to smegma. It is
simply locational when referring to the position of heaven-
ly bodies or celestial phenomena such as the stars, moon,
sun or in reference to the sky as a whole. It seems to con-
vey both a locational and an existential sense when refer-
ring to body parts.

(49)    *a-dhɔk-ʔo·  maila pɔʔl.*
        my-body-LOC dirt  be
        There's dirt stuck to my body.

(50)    *hɛnaŋ mɛ-bɔt-nɛn gɔ·?*
        why   NEG-be-NEG then
        Why isn't it there? (viz. an indication of which
            day is full moon on a calendar)

(51)    *ku-bo·ŋ-ʔo·  sɔrɔŋ mɛ-bɔʔl.*
        its-tree-LOC lemon nsAS-be
        There are lemons hanging in the tree.

(52)    *piʔl-le ku-dhɔk-ʔo·  siʔ   mɛ-bɔʔl.*
        cow-GEN its-body-LOC louse nsAS-be
        The cow has lice.

(53)    *a-mik   pɔʔl, nɛdɛŋba pɔʔl.*
        my-eye be,    cheek   be
        I have eyes, I have cheeks.

(54)    *mɛndaʔ-re ku-mik  pɔʔl.*
        goat-GEN   its-eye be
        The goat has eyes.

(55)    *a-nbo·-lle  ku-sik-ʔo·           a-mɔra    pɔʔl.*
        my-nose-GEN its-underneath-LOC my-mouth be
        My mouth is located beneath my nose.

(56)    *nəksa    pɔʔl.*
        picture be
        The photograph is [hanging] there.

The following usage of *ya·kmaʔ* resembles the use of *pɔtmaʔ*.

(57)    *a-hadziʔ        kule·n ya·k lɜcə.*
        my-tooth_bits much    be   DEPR
        There's gook stuck between my teeth.

(58)      kɛ-ha-ʔo·        kumakla pɔʔl.
          yourˢ-tooth-LOC black    be
          There's something black stuck to yourˢ teeth.

Finally, the use of *pɔtmaʔ* either to quantify or in any
non-adhesive locational or existential sense is highly
colloquial in flavour. Such usage is more characteristic of
male than female speech or is, at least, considered parti-
cularly unbecoming coming from a female.

(59)      khunɛʔ rɔk  pɔʔl.
          he     only be
          He's the only one there.

(60)      khɛni-ʔo·  a·kkhya·k mɛ-bɔʔl?
          youP-LOC  how_many  nsAS-be
          How many are there amongst youP?


## 3.5. Attributive 'to be'

The verb *co·kmaʔ* is used to describe or ascribe an attri-
bute or trait to a subject. The predicate contains an
adjective, verbal adjective or a noun with a strongly
evaluative or descriptive meaning. Intransitive *co·kmaʔ* has
a transitive counterpart in *co·kmaʔ* 'to do', with the same
verb stem. It seems semantically plausible to consider
attributive 'to be' in terms of being an intransitive 'to
do', especially in view of the fact that *co·kmaʔ* is mainly
used to ascribe subjective and temporary attributes to the
subject.

(61)      yakthuŋba pa·n-ɛn       yɛllik nuba co·k.
          Limbu     language-ABS very   good be
          The Limbu language is really nice.

(62)      kɔŋ  məna-·n ca·ʔrik kɛ-ba·p-pa kɛ-ye·p-pa  co·k.
          this man-ABS very    AP-talk-AP AP-laugh-AP be.
          This man is really a talker and a laugher.

(63)      kɔŋ  ko·ţha-·n khamak-mʔ    lumba        co·k
          this room-ABS  be_dark-INF all-around be
          This room is dark all over.

(64)      khɛŋ yɛmbitcha-·n sa·rik pa·n-kɛ-bɔŋ-ba  co·k.
          that man-ABS     very   word-AP-carry-AP be
          That man is a real agitator.

(65)     *khɛnɛʔ sa·ʔrik muso·kke· kɛ-dzo·k, me·n-ni·?*
         you<sup>s</sup> very comedian 2-be NOT-Q
         You<sup>s</sup> are a real comedian, aren't you?

(66)     *ya-khu·ŋ yərik kɛdzi·ba co·k.*
         river very cold be
         The river is very cold.

(67)     *yaso·k nitaŋ mɛ-dzo·k-nɛn.*
         Yāśok nearby NEG-be-NEG
         Yāśok is not nearby.

(68)     *aŋga yəmba co·k-ʔɛ.*
         I big be-1sPS/NPT
         I am big.

Sometimes in exclamations of the type *kɛndzummin a·kkhya·k
ca·pca·ppa gɔ·!* 'what a clever friend, you<sup>s</sup> have!', attributive 'to be' may be left out. In (69), *co·kmaʔ* occurs with a descriptive verb rather than an adjective. More usual are *a·kkhya·k kudzanu* (how_much be_delicious) or *a·k-khya·k kudzanuba co·k* (how_much be_delicious-NOM be). Its occurrence in (69) is unusual and stresses the subjectiveness of the evaluation.

(69)     *a·kkhya·k kudzanu co·k!*
         how_much be_delicious be
         How delicious it is!

3.6. Inchoative 'to be'

The verb *po·ŋmaʔ* describes a state in the nonpreterit and, in the preterit, the transition from one state to another. It may in some contexts be translated as 'to happen, to become'. In the nonpreterit, in keeping with its describing a state, *po·ŋmaʔ* sometimes indicates an inherent quality.

(70)     *nam-ʔo· yuŋ-maʔ nuba po·ŋ.*
         sun-LOC sit-INF nice be
         It's nice to sit in the sun.

(71)     *ta·mbhuŋ kuhikla po·ŋ.*
         jungle green be
         The jungle is green/it's green in the jungle.

Preterit use of *po·ŋma?* contrasts sharply with preterit usage of attributive *co·kma?*. In the former, the preterit indicates that a transition has taken place, whereas preterit use of *co·kma?* indicates manifestation of an attribute in past time. Here again, *co·kma?* is semantically close to *lɔ?ma?* 'to seem, to appear'.

(72)    *kɛ-ghyik-pa        po·ks-ɛ.*
        AP-be_bitter-AP  be-PT
        It has gotten bitter.

(73)    *kɛ-ghyik-pa        co·g-ɛ.*
        AP-be_bitter-AP  be-PT
        It was bitter.

(74)    *mak    po·ks-ɛ.*
        black  be-PT
        It has gotten black.

(75)    *mak    lɔ?r-ɛ.*
        black  look-PT
        It appeared or looked black.

(76)    *mak    co·g-ɛ.*
        black  be-PT
        It was black.

(77)    *lɔkthik  lɔk    po·ks-ɛ.*
        one        only  be-PT
        There's only one left.

The preterit form *po·ksɛ* may be translated as 'ago' in sentences of following type:

(78)    *lisi nasi ya·n po·ks-ɛ aŋga kɔ?o· ty-aŋ-ba.*
        four five day  be-PT   I    here  come-1sPS/PT-IPF
        I came here four or five days ago./It has been
            four or five days since I came here.

# Chapter Four
## Morphemic Analysis of Simplicia

A simplex is any indicative verb without an overt mode or aspect suffix; a simplex consists of a stem and agreement markers for person and number of the actant or actants involved in the verbal scenario, and may or may not be non-nexally negated. In simplicia, there are fourteen functional positions or prefixal and suffixal slots for the affixation of markers encoding agreement with actant.

A complex form consists of a simplex plus an overt mode or aspect marker in suffixal slots 12 or 13. Complex forms include the periphrastic tenses and are treated in Chapters 5 through 7. Adhortatives and imperatives are treated in Chapter 8.

In this chapter's morphemic analysis of simplicia, zero morphemes will appear as 'ø' in the segmented verb forms and be labeled in the morpheme gloss. In the remainder of this book only overt morphemes are labeled in the morpheme gloss. A number of categories such as actant singularity and third person agent/subject are always unmarked. Limbu verb agreement is elaborate but efficient in that redundant overt morphs are dropped. This renders the Limbu verb succinct, so that glossing only the overt morphemes suffices to prevent ambiguity.

For example, in a binary opposition such as exclusive vs. inclusive, inclusive is formally unmarked. The exclusive is marked except when it is implied, viz. in 2→1 forms. Correspondingly, overt realization of the exclusive morpheme renders the first person morpheme superfluous, and indeed the first person morpheme <a-> is never overtly present in forms containing an overt exclusive morpheme.

At this point I shall define certain morphological categories integral to this description.

Singularity is defined as one, duality as two, plurality as three or more, and non-singularity as more than one actant.

The root or core syllable is the syllable of a verb stem to which all verbal affixes are attached. In polysyllabic verb stems, the core syllable is the last syllable of the stem. In monosyllabic verb stems, it is the only syllable of the stem.

An affixal string is a sequence of one or more affixes attached to the root or core syllable of the stem.

An <u>agent</u> is the <u>most agentive</u> actant in a transitive verbal scenario and is marked by the ergative suffix.

A <u>patient</u> is the <u>less agentive</u> actant in a transitive verbal scenario, which may be the beneficiary, victim, undergoer or recipient of the action, and is marked by the absolutive case marker when definite and by its zero allomorph when indefinite.

An <u>object</u> is a <u>peripheral or least animate</u> third argument in a transitive verbal scenario; it takes no case marker and is not reflected in any verbal agreement markers.

A <u>subject</u> is the only actant of an intransitive or reflexive verb and is marked by the absolutive case.

This chapter is devoted exclusively to the morphology of the Limbu simplex. The morphosyntax of actant coding in the Limbu verb is treated in 10.3. It may also be helpful to consult the verbal paradigms given in Appendix II during the course of this chapter.

Actant markers for agent, patient and subject are not evenly distributed amongst the affixal slots nor parallel in function for all persons and numbers. Two groups can be distinguished on the basis of morpheme function and morpheme distribution in the affixal string.

The first and second person and the third person dual morphemes fall into two categories, viz. agent agreement affixes and affixes signaling patient/subject agreement.

$$
\left.\begin{array}{l} 1 \\ 2 \\ 3d \end{array}\right\} \quad \text{A vs. PS}
$$

The third person singular, plural and non-singular morphemes and the first person plural exclusive in the preterit fall into two categories, one signaling agreement with agents and/or subjects and the other signaling patient agreement.

$$
\left.\begin{array}{l} 3s \\ 3p \\ 3ns \\ 1pe/PT \end{array}\right\} \quad \text{AS vs. P}
$$

## 4.1. Verb stems

A verb may have one, two or three different stem forms, listed separately in the glossary.

The first stem is either the only form of the verb stem or, in verb stems with more than one form, its full form which occurs when the stem is immediately followed by a vowel-initial suffix. In the latter case it contains a post-syllabic consonant. The second stem is the form of the verb when followed by a consonant-initial suffix. A second stem form is provided in glossary entries only when it differs from the first form. A third stem form is given in the glossary for verbs with a second stem in final /t/. Such third stems in [?l] are no more than allophonic forms of the second stem when the verb stem is immediately followed by a glottal stop initial suffix or when it is word-final.

For example, the verbs *kamma?* 'develop an attachment to', *midza·?ma?* 'warm oneself by the fire' and *lɛpma?* 'take leave of, quit' have the stems *-kam-*, *mi-ca·?r-/mi-ca·?-* and *-lɛ?r-/-lɛt-/-lɛ?l* respectively. The single stem of the verb *kamma?* occurs both before a vowel-initial suffix as well as before a consonant-initial suffix and as a bare stem, eg.

| | |
|---|---|
| *ko·co· kamɛ.* | The dog has grown attached. |
| *ko·co· kam la?ba.* | The dog will probably grow attached. |
| *nurik kamlɔ!* | May he develop an attachment! |

The verb *midza·?ma?* has two stems, the first occurring before a vowel-initial suffix, the second before a consonant-initial suffix or as a bare stem.

| | |
|---|---|
| *midza·?raŋba.* | I warmed myself by the fire. |
| *mikɛndza·?rɛtchinni·?* | Didn't you two warm yourselves by the fire? |
| *mikɛdza·?rɛtchi?i·?* | Did you two warm yourselves by the fire? |
| *midza·??ɛba.* | I'm warming myself by the fire. |
| *mikɛdza·?sibai·?* | Are you two warming yourselves by the fire? |
| *mikɛndza·?sinni·?* | Won't you two warm yourselves by the fire? |
| *midza·?.* | He's warming himself by the fire. |

The verb *lɛpma?* has three stems, the first before a vowel-initial suffix, the second before a consonant-initial suffix and the third, an allophonic form of the second, before a glottal stop initial suffix or when occurring as a bare stem.

| | |
|---|---|
| *anchige mɛlɛ?rɛtchige.* | They left us[de]. |
| *anchi amlɛ?rɛtchi.* | They left us[di]. |
| | |
| *anchige mɛlɛtchige.* | They'll leave us[de]. |
| *anchi amlɛtchi.* | They'll leave us[di]. |
| | |
| *khunɛ? lɛ?lɛ.* | He'll leave me. |
| *ani alɛ?l.* | He'll be leaving us[pi]. |

Stems of reflexive verbs are not indicated in glossary entries because the consonant-initial reflexive morpheme is suffixed immediately to the second stem form of the transitive verb from which the reflexive verb is derived.

On the basis of stem finals, thirty types of verb stem can be distinguished in Limbu. Standing out against the other twenty-nine verb types, one group lacks consonant finals and constitutes a small set of irregular or apophonic verbs, discussed in Appendix II. The apophony of these verbs has resulted from their open stems having been directly exposed to assimilative influences exerted by vowel-initial suffixes during the course of the language's history.

The remaining twenty-nine consonant-final verb types may be arranged in ten groups on the basis of formal similarity of their stem finals. The stem finals of these twenty-nine verb types are listed in the following diagram. The number of verbs in the glossary with said stem final is indicated in each case.[1]

---

[1] examples: (group 1:) *-hag-/-hak-* 'thresh', *-lib-/-lip-* 'twine', *-na·kt-/-na·k-* 'request', *-lipt-/-lip-* 'be heavy', *-pi·tt-/-pi·t-/* *-pi·?l* 'suck', *-khɛks-/-khɛŋ-* 'dry meat', *-cips-/-cim-* 'turn off', *-phɔtch-/-phɔt-/* *-phɔ?l* 'employ as a field hand', (group 2:) *-hiŋ-* 'be alive', *-thɔm-* 'be numb', *-sa·ŋd-/-sa·ŋ-* 'blister', *-limd-/-lim-* 'taste sweet', *-phund-/-phun-* 'dislodge', *-kaŋs-/-kaŋ-* 'dry at the edge of a fire', *-thims-/-thim-* 'fill up', *-wɛ·nch-/-wɛ·n-* 'heal', (group 3:) *-lɔ?r-/* *-lɔt-/-lɔ?l* 'swallow', *-ma·r-/-ma·t-/-ma·?l* 'be used up', (group 4:) *-lɔ?r-/-lɔ?-* 'look, seem, appear',

GROUP I                               GROUP II

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *g - k* | 40² | | *ŋ* | 35 |
| *b - p* | 22 | | *m* | 12 |
| | | | | |
| *kt - k* | 94 | | *ŋd - ŋ* | 6 |
| *pt - p* | 48 | | *md - m* | 6 |
| *tt - t - ?l* | 86 | | *nd - n* | 76 |
| | | | | |
| *ks - ŋ* | 81 | | *ŋs - ŋ* | 20 |
| *ps - m* | 35 | | *ms - m* | 14 |
| *tch - t - ?l* | 4 | | *nch - n* | 6 |

GROUP III            GROUP IV            GROUP V

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *?r - t - ?l* | 10 | | *?r - ?* | 44 | | *?r - n* | 4 |
| *r - t - ?l* | 15 | | *r - ø* | 20 | | *r - n* | 4 |
| | | | *V·r - V·?* | 2 | | *tch - n* | 2 |
| | | | *V·r - V?* | 2 | | | |

GROUP VI                              GROUP VII

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *s - ø* | 66³ | | *Vy - V·* | 14 |
| | | | *V·y - V·* | 3 |

GROUP VIII            GROUP IX            GROUP X

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *s - t - ?l* | 1 | | *g - ŋ* | 1 | *?t - ?* | 2 |

---

*-phi·r-/-phi·-* 'grow thin', *-khɛ·r-/-khɛ·?-* 'split lengthwise', *-yu·r-/ -yu?-* 'bring down', (group 5:) *-sɔ·r-/-sɔ·n-* 'ooze down, slither', *-tar-/-tan-* 'kick', *niŋwa -mutch-/-mun-* 'forget', (group 6:) *-nis-/-ni-* 'see', (group 7:) *-mɔy-/ -ma·-* 'be lost', *-khɔ·y-/-khɔ·-* 'utter incantations, chant', (group 8:) *-la·s-/-la·t-/ -la·?l* 'enter', (group 9:) *-pɔg-/-pɔŋ-* 'kick up (of the wind)', (group 10:) *-tɛ?t-/-tɛ?-* 'strike (of a falling object)'.

[2] including one unique verb with stems *laŋ-ghe·?g-/laŋ-ghe·k-* 'to walk, to stride; (of insects) to creep'.

[3] including one verb with stems *nam-su?s-/nam-su?-* 'stink, smell'.

In groups I and II, stems in final /k/, /p/, /ŋ/ and /m/ find no counterpart in stems with final */t/ or final */n/. Additionally, the three nasals /ŋ/, /m/, /n/ and three plosives /k/, /p/, /t/ all each occur as stem finals with post-syllabic /t/ and with post-syllabic /s/. These two groups account for 16 of the 29 stem types.

Groups III and V may reflect the stems in final */t/ and */n/ which are missing from groups I and II, and group IV may reflect stems in final */r/. Candidates for reflexes of stems in final */t/ are listed in groups III where /ʔr/ and /r/ alternate with /t/ as stem finals. Group IV, comprising possible reflexes of stems in final */r/, contains stems in final /ʔr/, stems in final /r/ and a stem type in which /r/ with associated vowel length alternates with /ʔ/. Group V lists three potential candidates for reflexes of stems in final */n/. In these stems, the intervocalic stem finals /ʔr/, /r/ and /ts/ alternate with final /n/.

Groups VI and VII comprise the stems in final /s/ and final /y/. Stem vowels in group VII lengthen in open syllables and before consonant-initial suffixes unless they are long already.

Groups VIII, IX and X represent three rare stem types in which /s/ alternates with /t/, /g/ with /ŋ/ and /ʔt/ with /ʔ/. These three groups may reflect stems in final clusters */ts/, */ŋg/ and */ʔt/. Similar to the verbs of group X in reflecting a cluster containing glottal stop are the two verbs laŋghe·kmaʔ and namsuʔmaʔ (see footnotes 2 and 3), which may reflect */ʔk/ and */ʔs/.

Some derivational relationships connecting the different types of verb stem are discussed under 10.1.


## 4.2. Conjugations and irregularity

Verbs may be transitively, intransitively and/or reflexively conjugated. A syntagmatic morphemic analysis of these three conjugation types is given in Appendix II, using the verbs huʔmaʔ (vt.) -huʔr-/-huʔ- 'to teach', nu·ŋmaʔ (vi.) -nu·ks-/-nu·ŋ- 'to return, to void' and lɛŋsiŋmaʔ (vr.) 'to change' respectively. The syntagmatic morpheme analysis given in Appendix II for the verbs huʔmaʔ, nu·ŋmaʔ and lɛŋsiŋmaʔ holds for all regular verbs in Limbu.

A very small minority of Limbu verbs are irregular. This irregularity consists of apophony in the stem. In certain verbs, eg. yumaʔ 'come down', stem apophony is tense-motivated with a regular reversal of the apophonic regularity in forms with a first person plural exclusive subject.

In the verb *pe·kma?* 'to go' the apophony, too, is irregular. Irregular paradigms are given and discussed in Appendix II.

Some transitive verbs are impersonal and agree with a non-referential agent. The conjugation of such transitive verbs is restricted to the 3s→ forms, eg. *khɛŋha? mɔyusi* (theyP inebriate-3P-nsP [3s→3ns]) 'TheyP are drunk'. Impersonally conjugated transitive verbs are indicated in the glossary.

The conjugated simplicia are formed through affixation of person and number morphemes to the core syllable or root. Three functional positions or slots can be identified preceding the root and eleven slots following the root. The functions and fillers of the affixal slots of a simplex verb form are as follows.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| pf1 | person marker | | |
| | first person: *a-* | pf2 | non-dual agent/ |
| | second person: *kɛ-* | | subject number |
| | third person: *ø* | | non-singular |
| | | | agent/subject: |
| | | | *mɛ-, m-* |
| | | | singular agent/ |
| pf3 | negation: *mɛ-, n-, mɛn-* | | subject: *ø* |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | sf1 | reflexive and 1→2 |
| | | | *portemanteau* |
| sf2 | tense | | reflexivity/reci- |
| | preterit: *-ɛ* | | procity: *-siŋ, -nɛ* |
| | nonpreterit: *ø* | | 1→2 *portemanteau*: |
| | | | *-nɛ* |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | sf3 | dual agent: |
| | | *-s/-tch* |

sf4    patient slot: patient person
          marker or patient/subject
          number
       third person (patient): *-u*
       dual (patient/subject): *-si/-tchi*
       plural (patient/subject): *-i*
       1sPS/NPT, 1s→3/NPT: *-?ɛ*
       1sPS/PT: *-aŋ*
       1s→3/PT *portemanteau*: *-paŋ*
       sPS: *ø*

|        |                    | sf5 | agent singularity |
|--------|--------------------|-----|-------------------|

sf5   agent singularity
      first person sin-
      gular agent: -ŋ
      singular agent: ø

sf6         negation: -n

sf7   non-singular agent
         number
      non-singular
      agent: -tchi

sf8         patient number                plural agent: -m
            non-singular patient: -si      1peAS/PT: -mʔna
            singular patient: ø

sf9   agent marker copy
      first person sin-
      -gular agent: -ŋ
sf10        exclusive: -ge               plural agent: -m
            inclusive: ø

sf11  negation: -nɛn, -n


## 4.3. Morphophonology

Allomorphy is treated in the individual sections together
with the morpheme concerned, but the main morphophonolo-
gical rules operative in indicative verb forms are listed
in the following synopsis. The *portemanteaux* are <-ʔɛ>,
<-aŋ>, <-nɛ>, <-paŋ> and <-mʔna>.

1. For the exclusive morpheme: <-ge> → <-be> / /m/ ___

2. *Vocalis ante vocalem corripitur*: The /ɛ/ of the PT
   suffix, dual reflexives and 1→2 morpheme elides before a
   vowel-initial suffix.

   a:   <-ɛ> → ø / ___ V,  <-ɛ> + <-u> → /u/
        PT                  <-ɛ> + <-i> + <-ge> → /-ige/
                            <-ɛ> + <-i> → /-i/
   b:   <nɛ-> → <-n> / ___ <-ɛ>,  <-nɛ> + <-ɛ> + <-i> + <ŋ> →
        1→2                                        /-niŋ/
                            <-nɛ> + <-i> + <ŋ> → /-niŋ/
                            <-nɛ> + <-ɛ> + <-tchi> + <ŋ> →
                                                   /-nɛtchiŋ/
                            <-nɛ> + <-tchi> + <ŋ> →
                                                   /-nɛtchiŋ/
   c:   <nɛ-> → <-n> / ___ <-ɛ>
        REF

3. For any dual or non-singular morpheme with initial /s/:
   /s/ → [tch] / /-ɛ/ ___

4. Except when followed by a negative morpheme, the non-singular agent/subject morpheme loses its vowel after the first and second person actant morpheme:

$$<mɛ-> → <m-> \; / \; \left\{ \begin{array}{l} <kɛ-> \\ <a-> \end{array} \right\} \underline{\quad}$$

5. For the negative morphemes $NEG_1$ and $NEG_2$ respectively:

$$<mɛ-> → <n-> \; / \; \left\{ \begin{array}{l} <kɛ-> \\ <mɛ-> \\ <a-> \end{array} \right\} \underline{\quad}$$
$$NEG_1$$

$$<-nɛn> → <-n> \; / \; V \; \underline{\quad}^{[4]}$$
$$NEG_2$$

## 4.4. Person markers

The person markers are fillers of the first prefixal slot (pf1) with the exception of the third person patient morpheme. In transitive forms, two person markers may co-occur in pf1. In pf1, first person markers precede second person markers which, in turn, precede third person markers.

### 4.4.1. The first person morpheme

basic morph    : <a->
label          : 1

The morpheme <a-> has a regular zero allomorph in any verb form containing the exclusive suffix <-ge>. Since the category of exclusivity implies first person involvement, occurrence of an exclusive morpheme renders the first person prefix superfluous. Similarly, the first person morpheme <a-> does not occur in an affixal string in which first

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[4] $NEG_2$ retains its full form after a consonant-final suffix and after a verb stem, regardless of the stem final. It contracts to <-n> only following a vowel-final affix.

person involvement is indicated by a *portemanteau* affix.[5]

The first person morpheme <*a*-> is often dropped from 2→1 forms and replaced by the word <*na·pmi*> which immediately precedes the verb. The word *na·pmi* also occurs as a non-bound morph in the meaning 'someone else', whence the restricted usage to signal a first person actant probably derives.

(1)     *na·pmi kɛ-dɔ-ø-ba-i·?*
        1       2-insult-NPT-IPF-Q
        Are you insulting us/me?

(2)     *a-gɛ-dɔ-ø-ba-i·?*
        1-2-insult-NPT-IPF-Q
        Are you insulting us/me?

The morpheme <*a*-> denotes first person involvement but is unspecified as to the nature of that involvement. The nature of this involvement in any given verbal scenario is determined by the affixes with which the first person morpheme co-occurs; it may indicate first person agency, subjecthood or patiency.

When <*a*-> co-occurs with the third person patient morpheme <-*u*>, the nature of the first person involvement is agency.

(3)     *a-bi·-ø-s-u-ø-ø-ø.*
        1-give-NPT-dA-3P-sP-i-PF
        We[di] will give it to him/her.

(4)     *a-ab-ø-u-m-si-m-ø-ø.*
        1-shoot-NPT/PT-3P-pA-nsP-pA-i-PF
        We[pi] shall shoot them./We[pi] shot them.

When the morpheme <*a*->, or its semantic equivalent <*na·p-mi*>, co-occurs with the prefix of second person involvement <*kɛ*->, the relationship is necessarily 2→1 because a 1→2 relationship is always indicated by the 1→2 morpheme <-*nɛ*>.[6]

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[5] viz. the 1sPS/NPT morpheme <-*ʔɛ*> or 1sPS/PT morpheme <-*aŋ*> in sf4, the 1sA morpheme <-*ŋ*> in sf5, the 1→2 morpheme <-*nɛ*> in sf1, the 1peAS/PT morpheme <-*mʔna*> in sf7 and, in negative forms, the 1s→3/NPT and 1s→3/PT *portemanteaux* <-*ʔɛ*> and <-*paŋ*> in sf5.

[6] The verbal paradigms in the speech of *Phedãppe* dialect

(5)    *nəksa    a-gɛ-dzo·g-ɛ-ba-i·?*
       picture 1-2-do-PT-IPF-Q
       Have you taken our photograph?

The intransitive and reflexive/reciprocal conjugations inherently disallow more than one person marker. The first person involvement denoted by <a-> in such forms is by definition one of subjecthood.

(6)    *a-be·g-ɛ-tchi-ø-ø.*
       1-go-PT-dPS-i-PF
       We[di] went.

(7)    *ta·ndik lɔk a-gɛ?l-ø-ø-ø-ø.*
       tomorrow only 1-arrive-NPT-pPS-i-PF
       We[pi] won't get there till tomorrow.

In transitive forms without another overt person marker, <a-> indicates first person patiency. The third person agent morpheme is zero.

(8)    *a-ø-m-nis-ɛ-tchi-ø-ø.*
       1-3-nsAS-see-PT-dPS-i-PF
       They saw us[di].

(9)    *a-ø-m-bi·r-ɛ-ø-ø-ø.*
       1-3-nsAS-give-PT-pPS-i-PF
       They gave it to us[pi].

---

speakers of the *Tumbahaŋphe·* clan living in nearby *Myaŋluŋ* differ in the 2→1 forms of the verb from those of the *Tamphula Paŋyaŋgus* whose language is described in this grammar. The 2→1 forms in the *Myaŋluŋ Tumbahaŋphe·* speech were of the type: *kɛ-hu?r-i-ge-i·?* 'Will you teach us?', *kɛ-nis-i-ge* 'You can see us', where first person involvement is indicated by the exclusive morpheme *-ge*. Such 2→1 forms are categorically rejected as incorrect by the inhabitants of *Tamphula* who maintain, rather plausibly I thought, that although the *Tumbahaŋphe·*s of *Myaŋluŋ* speak much better Nepali than they do, their command of Limbu is correspondingly poorer. In the *Myaŋluŋ Tumbahaŋphe·* verb conjugation, *a-* seems to have been reanalyzed as the inclusive morpheme, since it is restricted to inclusive forms.

## 4.4.2. The second person morpheme

basic morph      :*<kɛ->*
label:           :2

The morpheme *<kɛ->* denotes second person involvement but is unspecified as to the nature of the involvement. The nature of the involvement is determined by the affixes with which the second person morpheme co-occurs.

When *<kɛ->* co-occurs with a first person patient mor-pheme (viz. *<-ʔɛ>*, *<-aŋ>*, *<na·pmi>*) or the third person patient morpheme *<-u>*, the nature of the second person involvement is agency.

(10)     *na·pmi kɛ-hip-ø-ø-ʔi·?*
         1        2-hit-NPT-PF-Q
         Are you going to hit me/us?

(11)     *naʔ-gɛ-nuʔ-ʔɛ-ø-i·?*
         love-2-love-1sPS/NPT-sA-Q
         Do you[s] love me?

(12)     *kɛ-ghɛps-ɛ-tch-u-ø-ø.*
         2-hear-PT-dA-3P-sP-PF
         You[d] heard it.

(13)     *kɛ-nis-ø-u-m-si-m-ø.*
         2-see-NPT/PT-3P-pA-nsP-pA-PF
         You[P] will see them./You[P] saw them.

When the morpheme *<kɛ->* co-occurs with the morpheme of first person involvement *<a->*, the relationship is neces-sarily 2→1 because a 1→2 relationship is always indicated by the 1→2 morpheme *<-nɛ>*, eg. (2), (5).

Intransitive and reflexive/reciprocal conjugations inherently disallow more than one person marker. The second person involvement denoted by *<kɛ->* in such forms is one of subjecthood.

(14)     *yaʔ-gɛ-ra·kt-ø-i-ø.*
         rice-2-dance-NPT-pPS-PF
         You[P] will take part in rice harvest dance.

(15)     *kɛ-im-ø-ø        lo·!*
         2-sleep-NPT-sPS   ASS
         So, you[s]'re still asleep!

(16)       *abbhɛlle kɛ-gɛʔr-ɛ-tchi-ø?*
          when     2-arrive-PT-dPS-PF
          When did you[d] arrive?

(17)       *a·tto· kɛ-be·k-ø-ø-pa?*
          where  2-go-NPT-sPS-IPF
          Where are you[s] going?

In transitive forms with only one overt person marker, the second person morpheme indicates second person patient. Third person agents are always indicated by a zero morpheme.

(18)       *kɛ-ø-ø-ghɛm-ø-ø-ø.*
          2-3-sAS-hear-NPT-sPS-PF
          He'll hear you[s].

(19)       *kɛ-ø-m-hip-ø-ø-ø.*
          2-3-nsAS-hit-NPT-sPS-PF
          They'll hit you[s].

(20)       *kɛ-ø-ø-n-hip-ø-ø-nɛn-ø.*
          2-3-sAS-NEG-hit-NPT-sPS-NEG-PF
          He won't hit you[s].

(21)       *waʔ-re*        *kɛ-m-la·k-ø-ø-ø*              *lo·!*
          chicken-ERG 2-nsAS-trample-NPT-sPS-PF ASS
          The chickens are walking you[s] underfoot![7]

### 4.4.3. Third person morphemes

### 4.4.3.1. The third person subject/agent morpheme

      basic morph     :ø
      label:          :3

A third-person subject or agent is formally unmarked. In intransitive verbs, the lack of an overt person marker indicates third person subject. In the transitive conjugation, occurrence of only one overt person affix implies third person agent.

---

[7] The person addressed is lying on his back in the farmyard, and the chickens are stampeding across his body en route to maize which has just been scattered.

(22)      *ø-ø-pe·g-ɛ-ø.*
          3-sAS-go-PT-PF
          He went.

(23)      *ø-ø-pi·r-ø-u-ø-ø.*
          3-sAS-give-NPT/PT-3P-sP-PF
          He'll give it to her./He gave it to her.

See also examples (8-9), (20-21) above.


## 4.4.3.2. The third person patient morpheme

basic morph      :<-*u*>
label            :3P

Unlike the person markers discussed thus far, the third
person patient marker occurs in sf4, not pf1. A third
person patient morpheme is unmarked in negated 1s→3 forms
and preterit 1pe→3 forms.

(24)      *a-hipt-ø-u-m-si-m-ø-ø.*
          1-hit-NPT-3P-pA-nsP-pA-i-PF
          We[Pi] shall hit them.

(25)      *ø-ø-ni·r-ø-u-ø-ø.*
          3-sAS-read-PT-3P-sP-PF
          He read it.

(26)      *a-dhuŋ-ø-u-m-ø-ø-ø.*
          1-drink-NPT-3P-pA-sP-i-PF
          We[Pi] shall drink it.

(27)      *ø-mɛtt-ɛ-tch-u-ø-ge-ø.*
          1-do‿unto/say-PT-dA-3P-sP-e-PF
          We[de] said it to him.

(28)      *kɛ-nis-ø-w-ø-ø-i·?*
          2-see-NPT-3P-sA-sP-Q
          Can you[s] see [it]?

(29)      *ø-tɔy-ø-u-m-ø-be-ø.*
          1-sew-NPT-3P-pA-sP-e-PF
          We[Pe] shall sew it.

## 4.4.4. Morphemes of subject/agent number

The morphemes indicating singularity, plurality or non-singularity of a third person subject or agent are all pf2 fillers. Morphemes denoting duality of a third person actant occur in suffixal slots sf3 and sf4.

The morpheme of agent/subject        basic morph    :ø
   singularity                             label          :sAS

The morpheme of agent/subject        basic morph    :<mɛ->
   non-singularity                         label          :nsAS

Singularity of a third person agent or subject is never formally marked, cf. (22-23).

The morpheme <mɛ-> denotes non-singularity of a third person subject or agent.

(30)      ø-mɛ-sɔŋs-ø-u-ø-ø.
          3-nsAS-sell-NPT-3P-sP-PF
          They sell it.

(31)      ø-mɛ-ɔg-ø-u-si-ø.
          3-nsAS-till_the_soil-PT-3P-nsP-PF
          They tilled them (i.e. the rice paddies).

(32)      mikco·ʔ-ø-mɛ-iʔr-ø-u-si.
          keep_an_eye-3-nsAS-keep_an_eye-NPT-3P-nsP
          They're keeping an eye on them.

(33)      kɔtna ø-mɛ-daʔr-ø-u-ø.
          here  3-nsAS-bring-PT-3P-PF
          They brought it here.

Discrete dual third person subject forms exist in the intransitive and reflexive conjugation. The transitive form formally differentiates a dual third person agent only in 3→3 forms, viz. 3d→3 vs. 3ns→3 forms, whereas in the remainder of the transitive paradigm, no distinction is made between a dual and plural third person agent.[8]

In the intransitive, reflexive and 3→3 forms of the transitive paradigm, where discrete dual forms exist alongside the non-singular forms, a dual third person subject or agent is preferentially indicated by the spe-

_____

[8] See, however, note 11 on pp.92-93.

cific dual verb form, and non-singular forms are generally reserved for plural arguments.

(34)   *khunchi  ∅-ɔ·kt-ɛ-tchi-∅.*
       they     3-scream-PT-dPS-PF
       They[d] screamed.

(35)   *khunchi  ∅-mɛ-ɔ·kt-ɛ-∅*[9].
       they     3-nsAS-scream-PT-PF
       They[P] screamed.

(36)   *luŋdze·k  ∅-phuŋ-s-∅-u-∅.*
       pebbles   3-scrape_together-dA-PT-3P-PF
       They[d] scraped the pebbles together.

(37)   *luŋdze·k  ∅-mɛ-bhuks-∅-u-∅.*
       pebbles   3-nsAS-scrape_over-PT-3P-PF
       They[P] scraped the pebbles together.

If, in the intransitive, reflexive or 3→3 forms, a third dual subject or agent takes a non-singular verb form with a nsAS morpheme, the combination is marked and semantically distinct from the corresponding and more usual form showing dual agreement. This is illustrated in (38) and (39) with the verb *thɔŋ co·kmaʔ* 'to engage in combat, to wage war'.

(38)   *thɔŋ mɛ-dzo·g-ɛ-aŋ      se·-si.*
       war  nsAS-wage-PT-and die/PT-dPS
       They waged[P] war and died[d].

(39)   *thɔŋ co·g-ɛ-tchi-aŋ     se·-si.*
       war  wage-PT-dPS-and die/PT-dPS
       They waged[d] war and died[d]

The implication of sentence (38) is that the two combatants fought together on the same side as comrades-in-arms, whereas (39) can be read either to mean that the two combatants engaged in combat with each other and both died or

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[9] I recorded one anomalous occurrence of the demonstrative pronoun *khɛŋ* 'that', pluralized, then dualized, with a dual verb form: *khɛŋ-haʔ-chi ɔ·kt-ɛ-tchi* 'They(ns-d) shouted[d]' to refer to a dual referent. The informant, when questioned, contended that the form was not incorrect but readily conceded that it was odd; see 2.3.

that they fought in a war together with their respective comrades-in-arms, but on opposite sides, and died.

In the transitive paradigm, the non-singular third person agent morpheme <mɛ-> has a regular allomorph <m-> when immediately preceded by either the first <a-> or the second person actant morpheme <kɛ-> and immediately followed by the root of the verb.

$$<kɛ-> \; + \; <mɛ-> \; + \; root \; → \; /kɛm-/ \; + \; root$$
$$\quad 2 \qquad\quad nsAS \qquad\qquad 2\text{-}nsAS\text{-}$$

$$<a-> \; + \; <mɛ-> \; + \; root \; → \; /am-/ \; + \; root$$
$$\quad 1 \qquad\quad nsAS \qquad\qquad 1\text{-}nsAS\text{-}$$

(40)    kɛ-ø-m-hip-ø-ø-ø.
         2-3-nsAS-hit-NPT-sPS-PF
         They'll hit you[s].

(41)    a-ø-m-huʔr-ɛ-tchi-ø-ø.
         1-3-nsAS-teach-PT-dPS-i-PF
         They taught us[di].

(42)    kɛ-ø-m-hipt-ɛ-ø-ø-i·?
         2-3-nsAS-hit-PT-sPS-PF-Q
         Did they hit you[s]?

Yet when the morpheme <mɛ-> is immediately followed by the negative morpheme in pf3, it is realized in its full form.

$$<kɛ-> \; + \; <mɛ-> \; + \; <mɛ-> \; → \; /kɛmɛn-/$$
$$\quad 2 \qquad\quad nsAS \qquad NEG \qquad 2\text{-}nsAS\text{-}NEG\text{-}$$

$$<a-> \; + \; <mɛ-> \; + \; <mɛ-> \; → \; /amɛn-/[10]$$
$$\quad 1 \qquad\quad nsAS \qquad NEG \qquad 1\text{-}nsAS\text{-}NEG\text{-}$$

(43)    kɛ-ø-mɛ-m-bho·t-ø-nɛn-ø.
         2-3-nsAS-NEG-take_the_piss-NPT-NEG-PF
         They won't be able to make a fool out of you[s].

---

[10] Allomorphy of the negative morpheme is discussed under 4.5.

## 4.4.5. The morpheme of reflexivity/reciprocity - (REF)

basic morph     :<-*siŋ*>
label           :REF

The suffix <-*siŋ*> signals reflexivity or reciprocity. It has a regular allomorph in <-*nɛ*> in dual forms. This dual allomorph <-*nɛ*>, in turn, contracts to <*n*-> before the preterit suffix <-*ɛ*>. The reflexive morpheme is a sf1 filler.

(44)     *ø-mɛ-bi·-siŋ-ɛ-ø*.
         3-nsAS-give-REF-PT-PF
         They gave each other what for./They gave each
              other [gifts].

(45)     *maktaŋ kɛ-dzo·k-siŋ-ø-ø-ba-i·? maktaŋba kɛ-sira*
         black   2-do-REF-NPT-sPS-IPF-Q? black     2-please
              *dhaŋ-ba-i·?*
              please-IPF-Q
         Are you[s] trying to make yourself black? (said
              facetiously to someone who has been sitting
              out in the bright sun too long) Do you[s] like
              [being] a black one?

(46)     *khɛʔo· məna-haʔ mɛ-n-chɛt-chiŋ-nɛn*.
         there man-p      nsAS-NEG-kill-REF-NEG.
         People don't kill each other there.

(47)     *anchige nik-nɛ-tchi-ge phaʔaŋ  khunɛ? i·tt-u*.
         we[de]     fuck-REF-dPS-e *bhanera* he      think-3P
         He thinks we[de] are having an illicit relationship.

(48)     *a·tto· kɛ-dha·-nɛ-ø-tchi-ba?*
         where  2-fall-REF-NPT-dPS-IPF
         Where are you[d] off to?/Where are you[d] headed?

(49)     - *kɛ-ni·t-chiŋ-ø-ø-ø-i·?*
           2-count-REF-NPT-sPS-PF-Q
         - *ni·t-chiŋ-aŋ-ø*.
           count-REF-1sPS/PT-PF
              - Are you[s] counting yourself too? (to some-
                one counting all the people present at a
                gathering)
              - Yes, I've counted myself.

(50)     *hu?-siŋ-?ɛ-ø*.
         teach-REF-1sPS/NPT-PF
         I learn.

(51)     *warum-siŋ-aŋ-ø*.
         bathe-REF-1sPS/PT-PF
         I took a bath./I bathed.

(52)     *ø-khɛt-chiŋ-ø-i-ge-ø*.
         1-chase-REF-NPT/PT-pPS-e-PF
         We[pe] shall run./We[pe] ran.

(53)     *ø-uŋ-n-ɛ-tchi-ø*.
         3-tug/pull-REF-PT-dPS-PF
         They[d] played tug-of-war.

Example (51) illustrates the reflexive meaning of the morpheme <*-siŋ*>. Whereas the verb *warumma?* means 'to bathe' (i.e. to bathe someone else, eg. a child), suffixation of the reflexive morpheme yields *warumsiŋma?* meaning 'to bathe oneself'. The reciprocal meaning of the morpheme <*-siŋ*> is illustrated by example (44) where the verb *pi·ma?* 'to give' acquires a reciprocal sense through suffixation of the reflexive morpheme, yielding either 'to give each other what for, to fight' or 'to give to each other' in the sense of exchanging gifts or commodities.

A number of reflexive/reciprocal forms are lexicalized. Their meaning can no longer be readily adduced in terms of merely a reflexive or reciprocal sense augmented to the meaning of the transitive verb involved, and such reflexive verbs are listed as separate entries in the glossary. The verbs *tha·siŋma?* 'to be off to a place, to be headed somewhere' and *khɛtchiŋma?* 'to run' in examples (48) and (52) are reflexive derivatives of *tha·ma?* 'to drop' and *khɛpma?* 'to chase' and are not felt to be transparent by my *Tamphula* informants. The verbs *hu?siŋma?* 'to learn' and *uŋsiŋma?* 'to play tug-of-war' in examples (50) and (53), which also appear as separate glossary entries, are perhaps intermediate in terms of degree of lexicalization. They are the reflexive derivatives of *hu?ma?* 'to teach' and *uŋma?* 'to tug, to pull' respectively, yet both *hu?siŋma?* and *uŋsiŋma?* are felt to be transparent by informants.

### 4.4.6. The 1→2 *portemanteau* morpheme

```
basic morph      :<-nε>
label            :1→2
```

The 1→2 *portemanteau* morpheme has a regular allomorph <-n> when immediately preceding the vowel-initial preterit suffix <-ε> or plural patient/subject morpheme <-i>.

The morpheme <-nε> simultaneously denotes a first person agent and a second person patient, thus signaling a 1→2 transitive relationship. Like the reflexive morpheme, the 1→2 *portemanteau* is a sfl filler.

(54)      *hip-nε-ø-ø-ø-ø.*
          hit-1→2-NPT-sPS-sA-PF
          I'll hit you[s].

(55)      *u·t-nε-ø-ø-ø-ø.*
          call-1→2-NPT-sPS-sA-PF
          I'll call you[s].

(56)      *ni-n-ε-tchi-ge-ø.*
          see-1→2-PT-nsA-e-PF
          We[e] saw you.

(57)      *tum-nε-ø-tchi-ge-ø.*
          run_into-1→2-NPT-nsA-e-PF
          We[e]'ll run into you.

(58)      *ni-n-ε-tchi-ŋ-ø.*
          see-1→2-PT-dPS-1sA-PF
          I saw you[d].

(59)      *mε-bi·-nε-n        mε-bi·-nε-n!*
          NEG-give-1→2-NEG NEG-give-1→2-NEG
          I won't give [it] to you[s], I won't!

(60)      *khεm-nε-ø-tchi-ŋ.*
          hear-1→2-NPT-dPS-1sA
          I hear you[d].

(61)      *na?nu?-nε-ø-ø-ø.*
          love-1→2-NPT-sPS-sA
          I love you[s].

(62)     *pi·-n-ø-i-ŋ-ø.*
         give-1→2-NPT-pPS-1sA-PF
         I shall give it to youP.

(63)     *pi·-nɛ-ø-ø-ø-ø.*
         give-1→2-NPT-sPS-sA-PF
         I'll give it to youˢ.

## 4.4.7. Tense morphemes

The tense morphemes are sf2 fillers. The two tenses are the nonpreterit and the preterit. The nonpreterit is formally unmarked, except in the 1sPS/NPT *portemanteau*, eg. (2), (15), (17), (29).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| The nonpreterit morpheme | basic morph | :ø |
| | label | :NPT |
| | | |
| The preterit morpheme | basic morph | :<-ɛ> |
| | label | :PT |

The preterit morpheme does not occur when preterit meaning is indicated by either the 1peAS/PT <-m?na> or 1sPS/PT *portemanteaux* <-aŋ> and <-paŋ>. The preterit morpheme <-ɛ> has a regular zero allomorph before a vowel. Where the PT morpheme undergoes elision before a vowel-initial suffix (viz. the pPS and 3P morphemes <-i> and <-u>) or causes elision of a preceding vowel like itself (viz. in dual reflexive and 1→2 forms), paradigmatic preterit/nonpreterit homophony occurs, cf. (14), (23), (24-25).

In Limbu, nonstative verbs are telic. Stative verbs are either telic or atelic. The choice of tense has different ramifications for telic statives than for atelic statives and nonstative verbs.

Verbs of perception are telic statives and take the preterit when their English translation requires a present tense. The choice of tense in Limbu is contingent upon the moment of perception.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *limdɛ* | It tastes/tasted sweet. | *lim* | It'll taste sweet. |
| *syuttɛ* | It tastes/tasted sour. | *syu?l* | It'll taste sour. |
| *khiktɛ* | It tastes/tasted bitter. | *khik* | It'll taste bitter. |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *so·sɛ* | It itches/itched. | *so·* | It'll itch. |
| *ko·sɛ* | It feels/felt hot. | *ko·* | It'll feel hot. |

The tense discrepancy in (64) is attributable to the fact that the speaker has already tasted the *tɔŋba* but the person addressed has not.

(64)   *syu?l       hɛkke·-saŋ       kudzanur-ɛ !*
        taste_sour like_that-even taste_delicious-PT
        It'll taste sour [to you], but it's delicious
                nonetheless!

The preterit/nonpreterit distinction in telic statives often centers around the moment of inception. For example, the preterit *laktɛ* of the stative verb *lakma?* 'to boil, come to a boil' means 'it's boiling'. Similarly *la·b o·ttɛ* means 'the moon is shining, the moon is out', *hɛnaŋ kɛye·rɛ* 'why are you[s] laughing?' and *a?e·k?in ti·kt-ɛ* 'my back is peeling'. The tense of *imma?* 'to sleep' seems to depend on the moment of falling asleep.

(65)   *a-him-?o·       kɛ-im    me·n-ni·?*
        my-house-LOC 2-sleep NOT-Q
        You[s]'re sleeping at my house, aren't you[s]?

(66)   *kɛ-ips-ɛ-tchi-ba-i·?*
        2-sleep-PT-dPS-IPF-Q
        Are you[d] sleeping?/Have you[d] fallen asleep?

(67)   *kɛ-ips-ɛ-ø.*
        2-sleep-PT-sPS
        You[s] slept./You[s] were asleep.

On the other hand, a recurrent state or habit takes the nonpreterit, eg. (69), and other usage of telic statives in the nonpreterit is by no means restricted to future time. The tense distinction hinges on a transition of state inherent in the meaning of the verb. Compare: *mɛduk* (3p/NPT) 'They're ill' and *tugaŋ* (1sPS/PT) 'I have fallen ill', not 'I was ill', where the preterit seems only to highlight the moment of transition. The nonpreterit *nam se·k* may denote both 'the sun will start to shine' and 'the sun is shining', whereas preterit *nam se·ktɛ* means 'the sun is shining' or 'the sun has started to shine', eg. (68).

The preterit is used when the transition has taken place, the nonpreterit when it has not: *ca·rik?e· khadamɛ*

(PT) 'it got/has gotten very dark', *sɔpmaŋ khadam* (NPT)
'it'll get dark in a second'; *allo· ha·p* (NPT) 'he'll start
crying in a second', *allo· ha·bɛ* (PT) 'he's crying, he has
started to cry'.

(68)    *allɔ nam mɛ-se·k-nɛn.*
        now  sun NEG-shine-NEG
        The sun's not shining now.

(69)    *nam se·k-ille yaŋsarumbɛ-n  lɛnlɛn      im.*
        sun shine-SUB third_born-ABS all_day_long sleeps
        If the sun is shining, third-born sleeps the whole
              day long.

Characteristic of the meaning of the statives in the fore-
going examples is that a transition occurs at the moment of
inception. However, a transition may be attained by the
culmination of the condition or process denoted by the
telic stative verb. The nonpreterit of such a verb may
therefore indicate that the process is already in effect
though it has not culminated in a transition of state: *nam
tha* 'the sun is setting', *nam the·* 'the sun has set', *nam
ho·ppa, nam the·* 'there is no sun (IPF/NPT), the sun has
set', *to·k* 'it's on sale/it's for sale', *to·ktɛ* 'it's sold
out'.

Stative verbs which are truly atelic denote processes
which do not culminate in any transition of state, eg.
(60). Tense in atelic verbs is a simple past/non-past
distinction, eg. *ni-s-u* 'they[d] see it', *nis-ɛ-tch-u* 'they[d]
saw it', *nuba co·k* 'it's good', *nuba co·gɛ* 'it was good'.
In (70), the first stative is atelic, whereas the second is
telic.

(70)    *kɛ-hiŋ kɛ-n-chi-nɛn.*
        2-live 2-NEG-die-NEG
        You[s]'ll live, you[s] won't die. (said to a sick man
              who fears he's dying)

The tense distinction in nonstative verbs, which are all
telic, is a straightforward preterit/nonpreterit distinc-
tion. The preterit verb of (71) shows activity in past
time. The transition of nonstative verbs is generally
attained at the natural terminus of the activity, eg.
(72-73).

(71)     *ø-mɛ-uks-ɛ-tch-u-n-chi-n-ø.*
         3-NEG-pick-PT-dA-3P-NEG-nsP-NEG--PF
         They[d] did not pick them.

(72)     *a-sappo·k-ʔo·  gundri-lle ku-yo·k     lɔ·nd-ɛ.*
         my-belly-LOC  *gundrī*-GEN its-imprint emerge-PT
         The straw mat has left an impression on my abdo-
             men.

(73)     *ku-nu     lɔ·n.*
         her-milk exude
         She's lactating.

So, the nonpreterit forms of *pe·kmaʔ* 'to go' indicate
action in non-past time; the transition inherent in the
meaning of *pe·kmaʔ* has not taken place: *allɔ na·dha·mbi
pe·kʔɛ* 'now I'm going to the opposite slope, now I'm going
across the valley', *ta·ndik pe·k* 'he's going tomorrow',
*aŋaʔaŋ so·rik pe·kʔɛ* 'I'm coming along too', *khɛŋhaʔ nasim
himmo· mɛbe·k* 'they're going to the next house'. The
preterit of *pe·kmaʔ* indicates that the transition has taken
place, i.e. that the subject is gone: *pe·gɛ* 'he is gone',
*abe·gɛtchi* 'we[di] went', *kɛmbe·gɛn* 'you[s] didn't go'.

Some nonstative verbs denote punctual action: *iŋwa ka*
'the cock crows (i.e. it is his habit to do so), the cock
is crowing, the cock will crow', *iŋwa kasɛ* 'the cock
crowed'; *timmək phɔk* 'the rifle will go off', *timmək phɔktɛ*
'the rifle went off.

## 4.4.8. The morpheme of agent duality

    basic morph    :<-*s*>
    label          :dA

The morpheme of agent duality <-*s*> has a regular allomorph
<-*tch*> after the preterit morpheme <-*ɛ*>. The dual agent
morpheme in sf3 always co-occurs with the third person
patient morpheme <-*u*> in sf4.[11] In transitive forms with a
first or second person patient, non-singular agents are not
differentiated for duality and plurality.

---

[11] Aside from the 3d→3 forms, I found attested two discrete
     3d→1s forms, and it is possible that 3d→ forms formerly
     existed for the rest of the paradigm as well but have
     disappeared. The anomalous 3d→1s/PT form in the follow-

(74)     *ø-ø-tɛms-ɛ-tch-u-ø-ø.*
         3-3-catch-PT-dA-3P-sP-PF
         They[d] caught it.

(75)     *kɛ-ø-bi·-ø-s-w-ø-ø-i·?*
         2-3-give-NPT-dA-3P-sP-PF-Q
         Are you[d] going to give it to him?

(76)     *pi?l-ha?  ø-kɔm-ø-s-u-si-ge-ø.*
         cow-p     1-graze-NPT-dA-3P-nsP-e-PF
         We[de] are going to graze the cattle.

---

ing utterance is probably an artifact:

> *kɔtt-ɛ-tch-u-lle  gɔ·  pi·r-aŋ-si-ŋ-mɛn-ni·?*
> have-PT-dA-3P-SUB then give-1sPS/PT-dA-1sPS-CON-Q
> If they[d] had had some, would they have given me any?
> (*uniharu-saña bhaeko bhae malāī dine thie ki?*)

The informant responsible for this utterance, *Jay Kumār*, concurred that the 3ns→1s form *mɛbi·raŋmɛnni·* would also have been possible in this sentence, but felt that his own choice of verb form was better. On another occasion, I noted a nonpreterit 3d→1s artifact in his speech:

> *khunchi nɛpmaŋ-le pi·-?ɛ-tchi-ŋ          la?ba.*
> they[d]   both-ERG   give-1sPS/NPT-dA-1sPS probably
> They'll both probably give it to me.

I was unsuccessful in my attempts to obtain comparable forms for other verbs. Suffice it to say that these two forms are probable artifacts. If these forms were to be incorporated in this chapter's analysis, the full form of the dual agent morpheme would be shown to be <-si>, and its position in the suffixal string would have to be specified as preceding the 3P morpheme <-u> but following the 1sPS morphemes <-?ɛ> and <-aŋ>, all of which are considered in the present analysis to be sf4 fillers, whereas the dA morpheme is considered to be an sf3 filler.

Secondly, the reduplicable 1sA morpheme <-ŋ> in sf9 would then best be reinterpreted as a reduplicable 1s morpheme, signaling either 1s patient or 1s agent.

## 4.4.9. Patient markers

There are two types of patient markers: the person marker for a third person patient and the patient/subject number markers. The former has been treated above under 4.4.3.2, the latter are treated here. All patient morphemes are sf4 or sf8 fillers.

| The morpheme of patient/subject | basic morph | :∅ |
| singularity | label | :sPS |

Singularity of a second person patient/subject is formally unmarked, cf. (17), (20), (40), (42), (45), (55), (63). Singularity of a first person patient/subject is indicated by the *portemanteau* morphs 1sPS/NPT <-ʔɛ> and 1sPS/PT <-aŋ> (vide 4.4.10).

| The morpheme of patient/subject | basic morph | :<-*si*> |
| duality | label | :dPS |

The dual patient/subject morpheme <-*si*> has a regular allomorph in <-*tchi*> after the /ɛ/ of the preterit morpheme <-ɛ> or 1→2 *portemanteau* <-nɛ>.

The morpheme <-*si*> indicates duality of subject in all three persons and of patient in the first and second person. Third person patients can be either singular or nonsingular, but non-singular third person patients are not formally differentiated for plurality or duality in verbal agreement indices.

(77)     *a-∅-∅-bi·r-ɛ-tchi-∅-∅*.
         1-3-sAS-give-PT-dPS-i-PF
         He gave it to us[di].

(78)     *∅-∅-mɛ-dum-∅-si-ge-∅*.
         1-3-nsAS-run_into-NPT-dPS-e-PF
         They'll run into us[de].

(79)     *kɛ-∅-m-ghɛps-ɛ-tchi-∅*.
         2-3-nsAS-hear-PT-dPS-PF
         They heard you[d].

(80)     *ni-n-ɛ-tchi-ŋ-∅*.
         see-1→2-PT-dPS-1sA-PF
         I saw you[d].

(81)     *khɛm-nɛ-ø-tchi-ŋ-ø.*
         hear-1→2-NPT-dPS-1sA-PF
         I shall hear you[d].

(82)     *ø-ɔ·kt-ɛ-tchi-ø.*
         3-yell-PT-dPS-PF
         They[d] yelled.

The morpheme of patient/subject     basic morph     :<-*i*>
   plurality                        label           :pPS

The suffix <-*i*> indicates plurality of subject and patient in the first and second person.

(83)     *kɛ-yuŋ-ø-i.*
         2-sit-NPT-pPS
         You[P] sit.

(84)     *kɛ-ye·r-ø-i.*
         2-laugh-PT-pPS
         You[P] laughed.

(85)     *ø-ye·-i-ge-ø.*
         1-come_down/PT-pPS-e-PF
         We[Pe] came down.

(86)     *ø-ips-ø-i-ge.*
         1-sleep-NPT-pPS-e
         We[Pe] shall sleep.

(87)     *ø-ce·-i-ge.*
         1-eat/PT-pPS-e
         We[Pe] ate.

(88)     *mɛt-n-ø-i-ŋ-ø.*
         tell-1→2-NPT-pPS-1sA-PF
         I'll tell you[P].

(89)     *kɛ-ø-ø-dum-ø-i-ø*          *ø-ø-lɔʔr-ɛ-ø.*
         2-3-sAS-run_into-PT-pPS-PF  3-sAS-say-PT-PF
         She said that she ran into you[P].

(90)     *ø-ø-mɛ-u·tt-ø-i-ge-ø.*
         1-3-nsAS-call-PT-pPS-e-PF
         They called us[Pe].

The plural patient/subject morpheme <-i> has a regular zero
allomorph in first person plural inclusive forms.

(91)     *a-ye·ʔl-ø-ø-ø.*
         1-laugh-NPT-pPS-i
         WePⁱ laugh.

(92)     *a-ye·r-ɛ-ø-ø*
         1-laugh-PT-pPS-i
         WePⁱ laughed.

(93)     *a-yɛp-ø-ø-ø.*
         1-stand-NPT-pPS-i
         WePⁱ stand.

(94)     *a-yɛb-ɛ-ø-ø.*
         1-stand-PT-pPS-i
         WePⁱ stood.


4.4.10. The first person singular *portemanteaux*

There are three *portemanteau* morphemes signaling involve-
ment of a first singular actant. First, the morpheme <-ʔɛ>
signals a first person singular patient or subject in the
nonpreterit.

     basic morph      :<-ʔɛ>
     label            :1sPS/NPT or 1s→3/NPT

(95)     *yɛp-ʔɛ.*
         stand-1sPS/NPT
         I stand.

(96)     *naʔ-gɛ-nuʔ-ʔɛ-ø-i·ʔ*
         love-2-love-1sPS/NPT-sA-Q
         Do youˢ love me?

(97)     *ø-ø-tum-ʔɛ-ø.*
         3-sAS-meet/encounter-1sPS/NPT-PF
         He'll bump into me.

(98)     *ø-mɛ-bi·-ʔɛ-ø.*
         3-nsAS-give-1sPS/NPT-PF
         They'll give it to me.

(99)     *ø-mɛ-n-ghɛm-ø-ʔɛ-n-ø.*
         3-nsAS-NEG-hear-NPT-1sPS-NEG-PF
         They don't hear me.

In negated nonpreterit 1s→3 forms, the morpheme <-ʔɛ>
denotes a first person singular agent and third person
patient.

(100)    *mɛ-lɛ·-ʔɛ-ø-n.*
         NEG-know-1s→3/NPT-sP-NEG
         I don't know [it].

(101)    *mɛ-dum-ʔɛ-n-chi-n-ø.*
         NEG-run_into-1s→3/NPT-NEG-nsP-NEG-PF
         I won't run into them.

Secondly, the *portemanteau* <-aŋ> denotes a first person
singular patient or subject in preterit time. It is
optionally replaced by the morpheme <-paŋ> in negative
intransitive forms, giving rise to doublets such as
*mɛ-yy-aŋ-nɛn* (NEG-come_down-1sPS/PT-NEG) 'I didn't come
down', *mɛ-n-yu-baŋ* (NEG-NEG-come_down-1sPS/PT) 'I didn't
come down'; *yaʔ-mɛ-ra·kt-aŋ-nɛn* (rice-NEG-dance-1sPS/PT-
-NEG) and *yaʔ-mɛ-n-la·k-paŋ* (rice-NEG-NEG-dance-1sPS/PT) 'I
did not do the rice harvest dance', where the forms with
the suffix <-paŋ> are far more common. The morpheme <-paŋ>
is treated in the following section.

         basic morph    :<-aŋ>
         label          :1sPS/PT

(102)    *ye·r-aŋ.*
         laugh-1sPS/PT
         I laughed.

(103)    *ø-mɛ-ghɛps-aŋ-ø.*
         3-nsAS-hear-1sPS/PT-PF
         They heard me.

(104)    *kɛ-bho·ks-aŋ-ø-ø.*
         2-wake up-1sPS/PT-sA-PF
         You<sup>s</sup> woke me up.

(105)    *ø-mɛ-huʔr-aŋ-ø.*
         3-nsAS-teach-1sPS/PT-PF
         They taught me.

(106)    ø-ø-hakt-aŋ-ø.
         3-sAS-send‿something‿to‿someone-1sPS/PT-PF
         He sent it to me.

Thirdly, the morpheme <-paŋ> occurs either in the negated preterit of intransitive or of 1s→3 forms. In intransitive forms, it indicates a first singular subject in the preterit. In 1s→3 forms, it combines the notions of first person agent, third person patient and preterit.

        basic morph      :<-paŋ>
        label            :1sPS/PT or 1s→3/PT

(107)    mɛ-n-hu?-baŋ-si-ŋ-ø.
         NEG-NEG-bring‿and‿give-1s→3/PT-nsP-1sA-PF
         I did not bring and give it to them.

(108)    mɛ-n-ni-baŋ-ø.
         NEG-NEG-see-1s→3/PT-PF
         I didn't see him.

(109)    mɛ-l-lɛ·-baŋ.
         NEG-NEG-know-1s→3/PT
         I didn't know [it].

(110)    mɛ-m-mɛp-paŋ.
         NEG-NEG-tell-1s→3/PT
         I didn't tell him.

(111)    mɛ-ŋ-gɛp-paŋ.
         NEG-NEG-arrive-1sPS/PT
         I haven't arrived.


## 4.4.11. Morphemes of agent singularity

The singularity of a second person agent is formally unmarked, eg. (11), (28). In 1→2 forms, the singularity of a first person agent is also formally unmarked, cf. (61) and (63).

        basic morph      :ø
        label            :sA

In other cases, the singularity of a first person agent is indicated by one of the three 1s *portemanteaux*.

The morpheme of first person     basic morph    :<-ŋ>
   singular agency                label         :1sA

The *portemanteau* morpheme <-ŋ> embodies the notion of first
person and singular agent. The *portemanteau* <-ŋ> is copied
after certain suffixes in an affixal string, vide 4.4.14.

(112)     *nams-ø-u-ŋ-ø.*
          smell-NPT-3P-1sA-sP
          I can smell it.

(113)     *huŋ-ø-u-ŋ-ø-ø.*
          pay-NPT-3P-1sA-sP-PF
          I'll pay for it.

(114)     *khɛm-n-ø-i-ŋ.*
          hear-1→2-PT-pPS-1sA
          I heard youᴾ.

(115)     *na·tt-ø-u-ŋ-si-ŋ-ø.*
          chase/drive-PT-3P-1sA-nsP-1sA-PF
          I drive them (viz. livestock).

(116)     *mɛt-nɛ-ø-tchi-ŋ-ø.*
          tell-1→2-NPT-dPS-1sA-PF
          I'll tell youᵈ.

(117)     *hɔnd-ø-u-ŋ-ø-ø.*
          open-NPT-3P-1sA-sP-PF
          I'll open it (viz. door/window).

## 4.4.12. Non-singular agent morphemes

### 4.4.12.1. The morpheme of agent plurality

   basic morph    :<-m>
   label          :pA

The plurality of a first or second person agent is indi-
cated by the suffix <-m> in sf7. It does not occur in a
suffixal string where agent plurality is indicated by the
1peAS/PT *portemanteau* morph.

(118)     *kɛ-ghɔnch-ø-u-m-si-m-ø.*
          2-stir-PT-3P-pA-nsP-pA-PF
          Youᴾ stirred them (viz. pots of food on a fire).

(119)   niŋwa a-butch-ø-u-m-ø-ø-ø.
        mind 1-forget-PT-3P-pA-sP-i-PF
        WeᴾⁱP forgot [it].

(120)   a-hiŋs-ø-u-m-si-m-ø-ø.
        1-raise/rear-NPT-3P-pA-nsP-pA-i-PF
        WeᴾⁱP shall raise them.

(121)   kɛ-gɔm-ø-u-m-si-m-ø-mi·?
        2-graze-PT-3P-pA-nsP-pA-PF-Q
        Did youP take them out to graze?


4.4.12.2. The morpheme of agent non-singularity

    basic morph      :<-tchi>
    label            :nsA

The morpheme of agent non-singularity occurs solely in 1→2
forms in sf7.

(122)   mɛt-n-ɛ-tchi-ge-ø.
        tell-1→2-PT-nsA-e-PF
        Weᵉ told you(s,d,p).

(123)   tum-nɛ-ø-tchi-ge-ø.
        run_into-1→2-NPT-nsA-e-PF
        Weᵉ'll run into you(s,d,p).


4.4.12.3. The preterit first person plural exclusive
          agent/subject morpheme

    basic morph      :<-m?na>
    label            :1peAS/PT

Like the two preceding morphemes, <-m?na> is a sf7 filler.
In intransitive forms, this portemanteau denotes a 1pe sub-
ject in the preterit. In transitive forms, it denotes a
1pe→3 relation in the preterit.[12]

_____

[12] Modern written Pācthare (cf. Subba & Subba, 1978) has
    the endings -mānā and -mānāsi in forms which appear to
    correspond to Phedāppe forms in -m?na. For example,
    written Pācthare has cāmānā for cam?na 'weᴾᵉ ate',

(124)     *yu-mʔna-ø*.
          come_down-1peAS/PT-PF
          Weᴾᵉ came down.

(125)     *mɛ-n-im-mʔna*.
          NEG-NEG-sleep-1peAS/PT
          Weᴾᵉ didn't sleep.

(126)     *kɛŋ-ŋʔna-ø*.
          stumble_and_fall-1peAS/PT-PF
          Weᴾᵉ stumbled and fell.

(127)     *ca-mʔna-ø-ø*.
          eat-1peAS/PT-sP-PF
          Weᴾᵉ ate [it].

(128)     *huʔ-mʔna-si-ø*.
          bring_and_give-1peAS/PT-nsP-PF
          Weᴾᵉ brought it and gave it to them.

(129)     *tɔ·-mʔna-ø-ø*.
          sew-1peAS/PT-sP-PF
          Weᴾᵉ sewed it.


## 4.4.13. Patient number morphemes

| The morpheme of patient singularity | basic morph | :ø |
| label | | :sP |

| The morpheme of patient non-singularity | basic morph | :<-*si*> |
| label | | :nsP |

The patient number morphemes are sf8 fillers. Third person patient number is differentiated for singularity vs. non-singularity. The singularity of a third person patient is formally unmarked, eg. (25-30), (36-37).

The non-singular patient morpheme always co-occurs with the third person patient morpheme <-*u*>. It has a regular allophonic form [*chi-*] after the nasal of negative morpheme III.

---

*hãmãnã* for *haʔmʔna* 'weᴾᵉ bit', but also *tãmãnã* for which no corresponding form *\*tamʔna* exists in *Phedãppe*; cf. *taʔige* 'weᴾᵉ come', *te·ʔige* 'weᴾᵉ came'.

(130)      *ø-hiŋs-ø-u-m-si-m-be.*
           1-raise/rear-PT-3P-pA-nsP-pA-e
           We[pe] raised them.

(131)      *khɔnch-ø-u-ŋ-si-ŋ-ø.*
           stir(+ liquid)-PT-3P-1sA-nsP-1sA-PF
           I stirred them (viz. pots of edible fluids).

(132)      *ø-mɛ-yɔŋ-ɛ-tch-u-n-chi-n-ø.*
           3-NEG-lift_up-PT-dA-3P-NEG-nsP-NEG-PF
           They[d] didn't lift them up.

(133)      *ø-ø-nis-ø-u-si.*
           3-sAS-see-NPT-3P-nsP
           He sees them.

## 4.4.14. Copied morphemes

The first person singular agent morpheme <*-ŋ*> and the first
and second person plural agent morpheme <*-m*> occur as co-
pies in sf9 in a suffixal string containing the non-singu-
lar patient morpheme <*-si*> in sf8. The 1sA morpheme <*-ŋ*>
occurs as a copy of either the 1sA morpheme <*-ŋ*>, the 1s→3/
PT morpheme <*-paŋ*> or the 1→2 *portemanteau* <*-nɛ*>, eg. (58),
(60), (62), (107), (114-116). The plural morpheme for first
and second person agents <*-m*> occurs in sf9 only as a copy
of itself, eg. (4), (13), (24), (118), (120).

## 4.4.15. Morphemes of inclusivity and exclusivity

The inclusive morpheme                      basic morph    :ø
                                            label          :i

The exclusive morpheme                      basic morph    :<*-ge*>
                                            label          :e

Morphemes indicating the inclusivity or exclusivity of a
first person actant are sf10 fillers. Inclusivity of a
first person actant is always formally unmarked. The inclu-
sive morpheme always co-occurs with an overt marker of the
first person, eg. (3), (4), (6-9).

   The exclusive morpheme <*-ge*> has a regular allomorph in
<*-be*> following the plural agent morpheme <*-m*>. The exclu-
sive morpheme is absent in 2→1 forms, in which the exclusi-
vity of the first person actant is implied, eg. (1), (2),

(5). The exclusive morpheme is also absent in a suffixal string containing the 1peAS/PT *portemanteau*, which already includes the notion of exclusivity.

(134)    *ø-ø-mɛ-nis-ɛ-tchi-ge*.
         1-3-nsAS-see-PT-dPS-e
         They saw us[de].

(135)    *ø-ø-mɛ-hipt-ø-i-ge-ø*.
         1-3-nsAS-strike-PT-pPS-e-PF
         They struck us[pe].

(136)    *ø-pe·g-ɛ-tchi-ge-ø*.
         1-go-PT-dPS-e-PF
         We[de] went.

(137)    *ø-kɔtt-ø-u-m-si-m-be*.
         1-have-NPT-3P-pA-nsP-pA-e
         We[pe] have them.

(138)    *ø-ø-mɛ-su·s-ø-i-ge-ø*.
         1-3-nsAS-touch-PT-pPS-e-PF
         They touched us[pe].

(139)    *ø-uks-ɛ-tch-u-si-ge-ø*.
         1-pick-PT-dA-3P-nsP-e-PF
         We[de] picked them.

## 4.5. Negation (non-nexal)

A simplex may undergo either nexal or non-nexal negation. Nexal negation has been discussed above under 3.1.1. The morphemes of simple or non-nexal negation are discussed here.

A simplex is negated by at least two and no more than three negative morphemes in the affixal string. The first and second negative morphemes are obligatory in any negated form, whereas the third negative morpheme is lacking in some forms, optional in others and obligatory in negated 1s→3ns forms. The negative morphemes occur in positions pf3, sf6 and sf11.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Negative morphemeI | basic morph | :<*mɛ*-> |
| | label | :NEG$_1$ |
| | | |
| Negative morpheme II | basic morph | :<-*nɛn*> |
| | label | :NEG$_2$ |
| | | |
| Negative morpheme III | basic morph | :<-*n*> |
| | label | :NEG$_3$ |

The first negative morpheme <*mɛ*-> occurs as a prefix in pf3 and has a regular allomorph in <*n*-> after any other overt prefix, eg. (20), (43), (68), (70), (71), (99-101), (107-111).

The second negative morpheme <-*nɛn*> has a regular allomorph in <-*n*> after an affix ending in a vowel. After a consonant or after a verb stem, regardless of the stem final, NEG$_2$ maintains its full form, eg. (20), (43), (68), (70), (71), (99-101). It occurs as a suffix in sf11 except in forms containing the 1s→3/PT *portemanteau* <-*paŋ*> or the 1peAS/PT *portemanteau* <-*mʔna*>. In such forms, it occurs as a prefix in pf3, immediately following negative morpheme I in the same slot, eg. (107-111). The first and second negative morpheme are obligatory features of any negated simplex.

The third negative morpheme is an sf6 filler and always co-occurs with the nsP morpheme <-*si*>, which is a sf7 filler. It is optional in negated 1di/2s/2d/3s/3d→3ns forms, eg. (71). It is obligatory in negative nonpreterit 1s→3ns forms, eg. (101).

# Chapter Five
## Aspect and Aspectivizers

Complex verb forms consist of a simplex form plus an overt mode and/or aspect marker, and include the periphrastic tenses. Aspect markers are suffixal slot 13 fillers and constitute the topic of 5.1. Also discussed in this chapter are the imperious future (5.2) and aspectivizers (5.3).

Mode markers are suffixal slot 12 fillers and are treated in the next chapter. Periphrastic tenses consist of a gerundivized simplex with an auxiliary and are discussed in Chapter 7.

| sf12 | sf13 | clitics (optional) |
|------|------|--------------------|
| *-lɔ/-rɔ*<br>OPT | | |
| *-mɛN* + (*-pa*)<br>CON    IPF | | *lo·/ro·*<br>ASS |
| *-gɔnI* + (*-pa*)<br>IRR    IPF | | *ləcə/rəcə*<br>DEPR |
| | *-pa*<br>IPF | |

periphrastic tenses (more detailed diagram in Ch. 7)

| sf12 | | clitics |
|------|------|---------|
| *-lɔ/-rɔ* + auxiliary<br>prG | | *-lo·/-ro·*<br>ASS |
| *-aŋ* + auxiliary<br>pfG | | *-ləcə/-rəcə*<br>DEPR |

## 5.1. Aspect

Nonstative verbs with perfective meaning have no overt aspect marker, whereas corresponding imperfective forms take the marker *-pa*. Stative verbs have only imperfective meaning and take no marker, eg. *na?nu?ma?* 'to love', *i·tma?* 'to think', *se·kma?* 'to shine (of the sun)':

(1)     *na?-kɛ-nu?-?ɛ-i·?*
        love-2-love-1sPS/NPT-Q
        Do you^s love me?

(2)     *a-miŋ-?o·   hɛn-dik   kɛ-i·tt-u?*
        my-name-LOC what-IND 2-think-3P
        What exactly do you^s think about me?

(3)     – *nam mɛ-se·k-nɛn.*
          sun NEG-shine-NEG
        – *sɔpmaŋ          se·k. sɔpmaŋ          kha·kmi?l*
          in_a_moment shine in_a_moment cloud
              *cɔt-chiŋ.*
              budge-REF
        – The sun isn't shining.
        – It'll shine in a second. The cloud'll move in a second.

(4)     *khɛŋ-in ku-mma-re        ku-sɛbəŋba-?o·  im.*
        he-ABS   his-mother-GEN her-thigh-LOC   sleep
        He's sleeping on his mother's lap

(5)     *a-ndzum-in    im.*
        my-friend-ABS sleep
        My friend is asleep, is sleeping.

Stative *lɛ·ma?* 'to know' takes no imperfective suffix: *lɛ·suŋ* 'I know', *mɛlɛ·?ɛn* 'I don't know', *mɛllɛ·baŋ* 'I didn't know', in the same way as its English counterpart cannot occur in the progressive.[1]

Certain stative verbs such as *imma?* 'to sleep' and *yo·?ma?* 'to attain', whilst taking no aspect marker in the nonpreterit, may take an imperfective suffix in the preterit, eg. (4-7) and, in 4, (66).

---

[1] When forms in *-pa* of *lɛ·ma?* 'to know' and other stative verbs do occur, these are not imperfectives but are invariably simplicia with the homophonous nominalizing

(6)      – *a·kkhɛn   tɔŋbe·  kɛ-yo·ʔ?*
         how_many year    2-attain
         – *aŋga nasi tɔŋbe·  yo·-ʔɛ.*
         I     five year    attain-1sPS/NPT
         – How old are you[s]?
         – I am five years old.

(7)      *kipthik      tɔŋbe·  yo·ʔr-ɛ-ba     se·.*
         one_hundred year    attain-PT-IPF die/PT
         She died at the age of one hundred.

The suffix *-pa* can be added to both the preterit and
non-preterit simplicia of nonstative verbs as well as to
irrealis and conditional forms (5.6–5.7). The perfective is
formally and semantically unmarked: any simplex of a non-
stative verb without an overt aspect marker is a perfective
form and does not exclude an imperfective reading. Rather,
it is the imperfective marker *-pa* which excludes a perfec-
tive reading.

Use of the perfective portrays a situation in its tota-
lity. As such, the perfective is suitable for expressing a
situation with a result which still obtains in the present.
The perfective views the situation as a complete whole and
can therefore be used to add a terminative, punctual or in-
ceptive dimension to the situation described. By contrast,
the imperfective indicates a situation with inner temporal
structure by viewing the situation as composed of component
events, by virtue of its lasting through time without point
of inception or termination or by virtue of its being a
temporally articulate or progressive situation.

A situation viewed as a totality may be a punctual
event, eg. *yuŋ-ɛʔ!  kɛ-ga·ŋ  laʔba* (sit-IMP 2-step_over
probably) 'Remain seated! He'll probably step over you[s]',
*pa·ncha·tnɛ!* (call_to-1→2) 'I called you[s]!', *kusiŋ khɛpsuŋ*
'that's the way I heard it', *nisaŋ* 'he saw me', but need
not be punctual. However, viewing an action in its totality
as a complete whole does not preclude viewing the action as
having taken place for a length of time. The unmarked per-
fective is not incompatible with actions of some duration:
*iŋwa pɛ·* 'the rooster is flying', *pu pɛ·rɛ* 'the bird flew'.

In the following sentences, the event referred to by the
speaker may well be punctual but might just as plausibly
last for some duration of time. Crucial is that the event

_____

suffix *-pa*, eg. *mɛlɛ·ʔɛmba* 'that which I don't know',
*lɛ·suŋba* 'that which I know'; vide 8.4.

is viewed as a rounded off whole: *anchɛn cha pa·ttuŋ* (yes-
terday EMPH say-3P-1sA) 'I said it/told yesterday', *ta·ndik
lɔk pa·ttuŋ* (tomorrow only say-3P-1sA) 'I won't say it/tell
till tomorrow'.

In (8), imperfective *hɛnduŋba* portrays the act of
appraisal as a temporally articulate process, whereas the
speaker's use of perfective *hɛnduŋ* immediately thereafter
depicts the act of appraisal in its totality, with the
result of that appraisal.

(8)         ⸗ *a·kkhya·k se·r ya·k?*
            how_much *ser* be

            – *phak-ʔin hɛnd-u-ŋ-ba.*          *khɛŋ phak-ʔin nusi*
            pig-ABS   estimate-3P-1sA-IPF that pig-ABS   seven
                *se·r hɛnd-u-ŋ.*
                *ser* estimate-3P-1sA

            – How many *ser* does it weigh (lit. are in it)?
            – I'll evaluate the pig. I'd estimate that pig at
                7 *ser*.[2]

One of the facets of the perfective/imperfective distinc-
tion in the preterit is that the perfective stresses the
result of the action, eg. *mɛnɔrɛn* 'there isn't any left',
*nɔrɛ* 'there's some left', whereas the imperfective is
denotative, indicating simply that the action has taken
place indifferent of the outcome. In (9-11), the imperfec-
tive clearly contrasts with the perfective in that the
former is indifferent to the attainment of any result,
whereas the perfective makes an implicit claim about the
non-attainment of the result of the action. In (9) the
imperfective 1s→3s form of *pha·ŋma?* 'to untie' indicates
that the action of untying has taken place but makes no
contention as to whether it has attained its natural
result. The immediately ensuing 3s perfective form of
*pa·ŋma?* 'to come undone' indicates that the efforts of the
speaker did not have the desired effect. In (10) and (11),
the imperfective use of *hɔŋma?* 'to seek' and *pho·ŋma?* 'to
wake someone up' contrasts with the perfective use of
*khɔmma?* 'to find' and *po·kma?* 'to get up' in the same way.
In all three, the imperfective renders an activity which is
temporally articulate.

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[2] 7 *ser* = approximately 8.19 kg.

(9)     *pha·ks-u-ŋ-ba      mɛ-ba·ks-ɛ-n.*
        untie-3P-1sA-IPF NEG-come‿undone-PT-NEG
        I tried to untie the knot, but it did not come
            undone.

(10)    *an·ge pi?l-in hɔŋ-ŋna-ba*
        we Pᵉ  cow-ABS search-1peAS/PT-IPF
            *mɛ-ŋ-ghɔm-mna.*
            NEG-NEG-find-1peAS/PT
        We Pᵉ looked for(IPF) the cow but didn't find(PF)
            it.

(11)    *pho·ks-u-ŋ-ba      mɛ-bo·g-ɛ-n.        ando·  ando·*
        wake‿up-3P-1sA-IPF NEG-wake‿up-PT-NEG. later later
            *pho·ks-u-ŋ.*
            wake‿up-3P-1sA
        I tried to wake him up, but he didn't wake up.
            I'll wake him up later.

The preterit imperfective depicts a situation as articu-
lated in time and is suitable for describing situations
lasting through time[3] as in *a·kkhɛn tɔŋbe· kɛyuŋba kɔ?o·?*
'How many years have you ˢ been living here?', or to de-
scribe a situation consisting of several component events
as in *khe·dɛ?l thuŋuba* 'He's been drinking millet beer [by
the looks of him]'. However, the denotative imperfective
may state a matter of fact in the preterit without necessa-

---

[3] Occurrence of the imperfective preterit is somehow re-
    stricted by definite time adverbials in a way the per-
    fective preterit is not. For example, the imperfect is
    disallowed in *\*anchɛn kɛndzɔnɛnbai·?* as against perfec-
    tive *anchɛn kɛndzɔnɛnni·?* (*hijo khānu bhaena?*) 'didn't
    you ˢ eat yesterday?' and *anchɛn kɛndzɔnɛnnaŋi·?* (*hijo
    khānu bhaena ra?*) 'didn't you ˢ eat yesterday?/you ˢ ate
    yesterday, didn't you ˢ?'. The imperfective preterit and
    definite time adverbial may co-occur, eg. *anchɛn hɛnaŋ
    kɛndzɔnɛnba?* (*hijo kina khānu bhaena?*) 'why didn't you ˢ
    eat yesterday?/why weren't you ˢ eating yesterday?', but
    their co-occurrence seems to be more limited than the
    co-occurrence of perfective preterit and definite time
    adverbial.
    
    In general, when Limbu is translated into Nepali, the
    perfective nonpreterit is translated into the Nepali
    general present, the imperfective nonpreterit into the
    Nepali present progressive tense or into the future in-

rily conveying any sense of the action's temporally articulate character whatsoever, eg. *a·tto· kɛʔiɲuba* 'where did you<sup>s</sup> buy it?', *mɛ-baŋs-aŋ-ba* (nsAS-send-1sPS/PT-IPF) 'They sent me', *andzumle pi·raŋba* 'my friend gave it to me', *aŋga kɛrɛk ya·mbɔk co·guŋba* 'I did all the work', *a·tto· kɛde·ʔ-rusiba* 'where have you<sup>s</sup> taken those things away to?', *a·tto·-nu kɛda·ʔrumsimba* 'where did you<sup>P</sup> get those things from?'. Denotative use of the preterit imperfective is the neutral counterpart of a result-oriented use of the preterit perfective, eg. *pe·gɛ* (3sAS/PT/PF) 'He went, he is gone, he has gone, he has left' (the implication is that he is still gone) vs. *pe·gɛba* 'he has gone, he went'. In reply to the question *Yaŋsarumba a·tto·?* 'Where is third-born', only the former, *pe·gɛ* 'he's gone', is an appropriate response if the intent is to indicate that he is gone. However, the imperfective of *pe·kmaʔ* may be used in responses with a locative like *pa·ndzummo· pe·gɛba* 'he has gone to the bazar'.

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definite, the perfective preterit into the Nepali past definite, and the imperfective preterit into the present perfect, eg.

| *khɔmmaʔ* 'pick up' | | *la·pmaʔ* 'enter' | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *khɔpsuŋ* | *ʈīpchu* | *la·ʔl* | *pascha* |
| *khɔpsuŋba* | *ʈīpnechu* | *la·ppa* | *pasnecha* |
| *khɔpsuŋ* | *ʈīpẽ* | *la·sɛ* | *pasyo* |
| *khɔpsuŋba* | *ʈīpeko* | *la·sɛba* | *paseko* |

*supmaʔ* 'shut'

| *lamdhe·ʔl subuŋ* | *ɖhokā band garchu* |
|---|---|
| *lamdhe·ʔl subuŋba* | *ɖhokā band garnechu* |
| *lamdhe·ʔl subuŋ* | *ɖhokā band garẽ* |
| *lamdhe·ʔl subuŋba* | *ɖhokā band gareko chu* |

*khamakmaʔ* 'get dark'

| PF/NPT | *khamak* | It will get dark, it's getting dark. |
|---|---|---|
| IPF/NPT | *khamakpa* | It's getting dark. |
| PF/PT | *khamaktɛ* | It has gotten dark, it got dark. |
| IPF/PT | *khamaktɛba* | It has become dark, it got dark, it was getting dark. |

The girl's choice of imperfective in her reply in (12) is denotative. It does not deny the inquirer's insinuation that the result of the action does not obtain, i.e. that she is unclean. In her defence, the girl merely maintains that the action has taken place at some time in the past.

(12)  - *kɛ-na-·n        kɛ-hɔpt-w-i·?*
      your[s]-face-ABS 2-wash-3P-Q
      - *hɔpt-u-ŋ-ba.*
      wash-3P-1sA-IPF
                - Did you[s] wash your face?
                - I did.

In (13-14), the imperfectives *po·ksɛba* and *aʔkɛbhe·subai·* simply denote an event emphasizing whether or not it has taken place, whereas perfective *po·ksɛ* and *aʔphe·suŋ* focus on the valid result:

(13)  - *ku-huk-ʔo·    yaŋghe·k po·ks-ɛ-ba.*
      her-hand-LOC wound       be-PT-IPF
      - *hɛn po·ks-ɛ?*
      what be-PT
      - *ti·ŋ-le    thub-u-aŋ.*
      thorn-ERG pierce-3P-pfG
                - Her hand has been wounded
                - What happened?
                - Having been pierced by a thorn.

(14)  *aŋga aʔphe·s-u-ŋ, aʔ-kɛ-bhe·s-u-ba-i·?*
      I     throw-3P-1sA throw-2-throw-3P-IPF-Q
      I threw it. Have you[s] thrown already?

In (15) the imperfective *lo·k-ŋna-ba* 'we[pe] raced' is denotative and sets the backdrop for the perfective victory *nanduŋsiŋ* 'I beat them'.

(15)  *ɛn     anige sumsi mɘna aŋga a-ndzum-dhik-nu*
      today we[pe] three man  I    my-friend-one-COM
            *tiliŋga-dhik-nu    lo·k-ŋna-ba.        aŋga*
            policeman-one-COM race-1peAS/PT-IPF I
            *nand-u-ŋ-si-ŋ.*
            win-3P-1sA-nsP-1sA
      Today we[pe] three guys, I and a friend of mine and
            a policeman, raced against each other, and I
            beat them.

The imperfective of *phɛmma?* 'to come' in (16) establishes a matter of fact, whereas the perfectives of *sa?ma?* 'to visit' in (17) portray the act of visiting as a complete whole.

(16)      - *hɛnaŋ kɛ-bhɛr-ɛ-ba?*
          - *khɛni sa?-se.*
                    - Why have you⁵ come?
                    - To visit youᴾ.

(17)      - *kɛ-sa?r-u-si-?i·?*
          - *sa?r-u-ŋ-si-ŋ.*
                    - Did you⁵ visit them?
                    - I did.

The perfective is likewise appropriate to stressing the result of an action in the nonpreterit:

(18)      - *kɛ?l-i·?*
  ·       - *kɛ?l.*
                    - Will it get there?
                    - It will.

(19)      *co·g-u-ŋ   bha?aŋ   so·kt-u-ŋ-ba.*
          do-3P-1sA *bhanera* aim-3P-1sA-IPF
          I was(/had been) intending to do it.

(20)      *nɔn              la?ba.*
          be_left_over probably
          There'll probably be some left over.

In the nonpreterit, the imperfective denotes continuous action in the present or imperfective future, eg. *pe·k?ɛ* (1sPS/NPT/PF) 'I'm going to go, I shall go', as in *Ya·k-pɔ·ppo·ŋ pe·k?ɛ* 'I'm going to *Ya·kpɔ·ppo·ŋ*'⁴ vs. *pe·k?ɛba* (1sPS/NPT/IPF) 'I am going, I am in the process of going, I shall go', or *kɛndzɔnɛnbai·?* 'aren't you⁵ eating?'. The present progressive meaning of the imperfective nonpreterit is illustrated by the following examples:

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⁴ the speaker's house named after the large Engelhardtia spicata or *ya·kpɔ·ppo·ŋ* which used to stand at the site of the house.

(21)   *suruŋ  mɛ-ab-u-ba.*
       tunnel nsAS-blast-3P-IPF
       They're blasting a tunnel. (the blast is heard at
             the moment of utterance).

(22)   *a·tto·  kɛ-be·k-pa?*
       where  2-go-IPF
       Where are youˢ going?

(23)   *hɛnaŋ khɛm-ghɛm-aŋ  kɛ-n-la·p-ʔɛ-m-ba?*
       why    hear-hear-and 2-NEG-ignore-1sPS/NPT-NEG-IPF
       Why are youˢ pretending not to hear me?

(24)   *hɛnaŋ kɛ-ɔ·k-pa   əgɔ·?*
       why    2-shout-IPF then
       Why are youˢ hollering now?

(25)   *a·kkhya·k sa·rik mɛ-ɔ·k-pa!*
       how_much  very   nsAS-shout-IPF
       How awfully they are hollering!

(26)   *bhitra kyak-pa məna-·n se·ndo·s-ɛ?  "e·n*
       inside be-NOM   man-ABS ask-IMP       whom
             *kɛ-hɔks-u-ba?"*
             2-look_for-3P-IPF
       Ask the man inside whom he is looking for.

(27)   *kɔŋhaʔ hɛnaŋ mɛ-so·t-pa?         kɔtna kɔtna*
       this-p why   nsAS-misbehave-IPF here   here
             *phɛʔr-amm-ɛ? hɛndzaʔ-se·!*
             come-2p-IMP   child-VOC/p
       Why are they misbehaving [again]? (turning to the
             children:) Come here children!

(28)   - *hɛnaŋ kɛ-ye·p-pa?*
         why   2-laugh-IPF
       - *habha.*
         like_that
             - Why are youˢ laughing?
             - Just so.

(29)   *kɔŋ  waʔ-ʔɛn      hɛn  co·k-ʔaŋ ya·k-pa?*
       this chicken-ABS what do-pfG    be-IPF
       What's this chicken up to?

(30)      *nəksa    mɛ-bi·-siŋ-ba.*
          picture nsAS-give-REF-IPF
          They are exchanging snapshots.

(31)      *hɛnaŋ phɛdza-·n   kɛ-yutt-u-ba?*
          why   khukuri-ABS 2-sharpen-3P-IPF
          Why are you$^s$ sharpening the khukuri?

The use of the imperfective future, less frequent than the
use of the perfective future, places an event in an indefi-
nite future:

(32)      *kɛ-ndzum      hɛn  co·k-se phɛm-ba? takɔ·n-che*
          your$^s$-friend what do-SUP   come-IPF wander-SUP
              *ɔ·mɔt-che rɔk-?i·?*
              look-SUP   only-Q
          What is your$^s$ friend coming to do? Just to wander
              about and do the scenery?

(33)      *abhɛlle pe·k-pa?*
          when    go-IPF
          When is she going?

(34)      *tha·?-?ɛ                    dha-?ɛ-ba          mu.*
          leave_behind_for-1sPS/NPT leave-1sPS/NPT-IPF REP
          They say he'll be leaving it behind for me.

(35)      *ando·  caŋ-ba.*
          later eat/1s→3-IPF
          I shall be eating later on [at that time].

(36)      *ɛn    kɛ-n-dzɔ-nɛn-ba-i·?*
          today 2-NEG-eat/3P-NEG-IPF-Q
          Aren't you$^s$ going to eat today?

Stative verbs which are inherently imperfective do not take
the imperfective marker to indicate progressive present,
eg. (37), whereas nonstatives do take the marker in the
present progressive, eg. (38-40).

(37)      *hɛnaŋ kɛ-i·t-chiŋ gɔ·? hara      pa·tt-ɛ?!*
          why   2-think-REF then quickly speak-IMP
          Why are you$^s$ reflecting so? Speak quickly!

(38)      *kɛ-dha·-siŋ-ba-i·?*
          2-drop-REF-IPF-Q
          Are you$^s$ off again?

(39)    *a·tto· kɛ-dha·-nɛ-tchi-ba?*
        where 2-drop-REF-dPS-IPF
        Where are you[d] headed?/Where are you[d] off to?

(40)    *ɔ·-gɛ-mɔt-chiŋ-i·?*
        look-2-look-REF-Q
        Are you[s] looking at yourself [in the mirror]?

In the nonpreterit, the perfective or plain simplex indi-
cates perfective future or unmarked (i.e. not explicitly
progressive), general present. So the unmarked form *hɛn
kɛdzo·k?* may be used to mean both 'What are you[s] up to?,
what are you[s] doing?' and 'What are you[s] going to do?'.
Whereas both *caŋ* 'I am eating' and *caŋba* 'I am eating' are
suitable when uttered whilst the speaker is eating, the
imperfective form *caŋba* is more appropriate if the speaker
wishes to stress that he has not yet finished eating. Both
*cwa?l ho·p* 'there is no water' and *cwa?l ho·ppa* 'there is
no water' are fitting ways to indicate that there's no
water; the difference is but a subjective nuance. The
perfective nonpreterit expressing general present places no
emphasis on the temporal articulacy of the action:

(41)    *wa?dhi·n thɛnd-u-ŋ.*
        egg        boil-3P-1sA
        I'm boiling an egg.

(42)    *hɛkyaŋ allɔ hɛn   kɛ-sapt-u?*
        and      now   what 2-write-3P
        And so what are you[s] writing now?

(43)    *ku-dhge·k?i-·n kɛ-ghɔkt-w-i·?*
        his-hair-ABS    2-cut-3P-Q
        So, you[s]'re cutting his hair, are you[s]?

The use of the nonpreterit perfective in a definite future
sense is more frequent than the imperfective or indefinite
future.

(44)    *allɔ him-?o·    abhɛlle kɛ-nu·ŋ?*
        now house-LOC when     2-return
        Now when are you[s] going to return home?

(45)    *pitnu yɔllik wa· rɔcə, ando· ma·?l.*
        milk  much    be DEPR, later be_finished
        There appears to be a lot of milk, but later it'll
               all be finished.

(46)     kɛrɛk maŋdɔk-ʔin kɛ-ma·nd-w-i·?
         all   maŋdɔk-ABS 2-finish-3P-Q
         Will youˢ finish all the maŋdɔk?

(47)     a·tto· kɛ-akt-u?
         where  2-put-3P
         Where'll youˢ put it?

(48)     - kɛ-hip-ʔɛ-i·?
           2-hit-1sPS/NPT-Q
         - mɛ-hip-nɛ-n.
           NEG-hit-1→2-NEG
                - Are youˢ going to hit me?
                - No.

In addition to definite future, the nonpreterit perfective
expresses suppositional future:

(49)     si-aŋ   mɛ-o·ʔr-u.
         die-pfG nsAS-roast-3P
         If someone dies, they'll cremate him. (said of
              less traditional Limbus)[5]

(50)     thik ha·p, thik mɛ-ha·p-nɛn.
         one  cry   one  NEG-cry-NEG
         One will cry, the other won't.

As opposed to general present usage of the nonpreterit per-
fective, eg. (41-43), a perfective present often represents
a present of immediate realization, eg. kɛnye·tnɛnni·?
'Aren't youˢ going to laugh?', timmək phɔk! 'The rifle's
going to go off!', kɛnyɛpnɛnni·? 'Aren't youˢ going to
stand up?'.
   Example (51) illustrates the contrast between perfective
nonpreterit (definite future) and imperfective nonpreterit
(present progressive).

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[5] Campbell (1840) describes the Limbu as disposing of
    their dead by cremation. In the Phedāppe area, however,
    burial of the dead appears to be a practice of great
    antiquity. Many old clan burial grounds crowded with
    numerous weathered suʔluŋ can be found in the Phedāp.
    Cremation of young females by those not observing tradi-
    tional burial is in fact considered to give rise to the
    third type of sugup (q.v.). Dās (1896b: 33) also notes
    that the Limbu 'generally bury the dead'.

(51)     *allo· a-gɛt-chi     o·! hɛnaŋ hara hara kɛ-lo·k-pa?*
         now   1-arrive-dPS hey why    fast fast 2-run-IPF
         We'll<sup>di</sup> be there in a moment! Why are you<sup>s</sup> running
             so quickly?

## 5.2. The imperious future - (DEF)

The imperious future is an emphatic future form which
guarantees that the action will definitely take place.

The imperious aspectivizer is a glottal stop which can
be added to a nonpreterit simplex to give a definite or
guaranteed future tense. The glottal stop is only distinc-
tive in nonpreterit simplicia ending in a vowel or nasal,
as word-final plosives are already phonetically glotta-
lized.

| | |
|---|---|
| *ande· caŋ* | I ate before, I have already eaten. |
| *ando· caŋ* | I'll eat later. |
| *ando· caŋ?* | I will eat later. (certain future event) |

| | |
|---|---|
| *adze·su* | we<sup>di</sup> ate, we<sup>di</sup> have eaten. |
| *adzasu* | we<sup>di</sup> eat, we<sup>di</sup> shall eat. |
| *adzasu?* | we<sup>di</sup> will eat. (certain future event) |

Preterit simplicia do not take an imperious glottal stop,
eg. *\*adze·su?*.

(52)     *aŋga luŋ-ille     tho·-ghɛŋ məna-·n*
         I     stone-INST above-that man-ABS
         *yaŋs-u-ŋ-?-i·     mɛ-yaŋ-?ɛ-n-?-i·?*
         hit-3P-1sA-DEF-Q NEG-hit-1sPS/NPT-NEG-DEF-Q
         Will I [be able to] hit that man up there with a
             stone or not?

(53)     *sɔpmaŋ        he·-?.*
         in‿a‿second dry-DEF
         It'll be dry in a second.

In meaning and in usage the Limbu imperious future resem-
bles the Ubykh (Northwest-Caucasian) tense which Georges
Dumézil called 'le futur immédiat ou impérieux ou certain'
(1975: 147), whence I have acquired the term.

## 5.3. Aspectivizers

Aspectivizers are simplicia which occur as postpositive augments to perfective verbs or, in the case of *sɛʔmaʔ* and *heˑkmaʔ*, as augments to an infinitive. Aspectivizers add an extra semantic dimension to the perfective aspect of such verbs.


### 5.3.1. The terminative aspectivizers *cuʔmaʔ* and *suʔmaʔ*

The intransitive verb *cuʔmaʔ* as a main verb means 'to be completed, to be finished' and also serves as the terminative aspectivizer for intransitive verbs.

(54)      *teˑ      cur-ɛ.*
          come/PT  be‿completed-PT
          He is finally here.

(55)      *thɛˑs-ɛ              cur-ɛ.*
          be‿dissected-PT be‿completed-PT
          It has been completely dissected. (of a pig
               carcass)

(56)      *yaˑmbɔk poˑŋ cuʔl.*
          work       be   be‿completed
          The work will be finished. (i.e. there will be no
               work left to do; cf. ex. (84) infra)

The intransitive verbs *lukmaʔ* 'to be completed (esp. of a task)' and *maˑpmaʔ* 'to be used up' may also occur as terminative aspectivizers, but since their meaning is more specific than *cuʔmaʔ*, their use is highly restricted. The following is an example of *maˑpmaʔ* 'to be used up' as a terminative augment to an intransitive verb:

(57)      *sa-ˑn      toˑkt-ɛ-iˑ      maˑr-ɛ-iˑʔ*
          meat-ABS be‿sold-PT-Q be‿used‿up-PT-Q
          Is the meat sold out?

The transitive verb *suʔmaʔ* means 'to finish, to complete' when used as a main verb and is the terminative aspectivizer for transitive verbs.

(58)     - *suttɛ?!*
         - *suttuŋ suruŋ.*
              - Taste it! (*tɔŋba*)
              - I've finished tasting it/I've <u>already</u>
                tasted it.

(59)     *thɛ·s-u-ŋ        sur-u-ŋ.*
         dissect-3P-1sA finish-3P-1sA
         I have completely carved up [the pig].

(60)     *hipt-u sur-u.*
         hit-3P finish-3P
         He finished hitting him.

(61)     *yaŋ   te·s-u-ŋ        sur·u-ŋ.*
         money spend-3P-1sA finish-3P-1sA
         I've spent all the money.

(62)     *kɛ-dza-m       kɛ-sur-u-m-aŋ        ta-?ɛ.*
         2-eat/3P-pA 2-finish-3P-pA-and show_up-1sPS/NPT
         I'll show up when youP have finished eating.

The following sentence in the narrative (viz. perfective)
present shows reflexive conjugation of the transitive
aspectivizer with a reflexive verb:

(63)     *warum-siŋ-ma?-aŋ   sut-chiŋ-aŋ      ku-de·?1*
         bathe-REF-INF-pfG finish-REF-pfG his-clothes
              *ku-bhuŋ          cak-siŋ-aŋ       ku-him-lɛpsaŋ*
              his-clothes dress-REF-pfG his-house-toward
              *tha·-siŋ.*
              drop-REF
         He finishes bathing, he dons his clothes and heads
              toward his house.

The transitive aspectivizer *su?ma?* also occurs, albeit
infrequently, intransitively conjugated as the terminative
augment to an intransitive verb when the verb has an
agentive character.

(64)     *kɛŋ-aŋ                    sur-aŋ-bɛ-n*
         trip_and_fall-1sPS/PT finish-1sPS/PT-NOM-ABS
              *a-ndzum-ille   tɛms-aŋ.*
              my-friend-ERG catch-1sPS/PT
         My friend caught me just before I finished falling
              to the ground. (i.e. just as I was about to
              hit the ground).

## 5.3.2. The dimittive aspectivizer *te·ma?*

As a main verb transitive *te·ma?* means 'to spend' and, as an augment to other transitive verbs, *te·ma?* means 'to dispatch', eg. *pi·ru de·su* 'he gave it away to him' as opposed to merely *pi·ru* 'he gave it to him'.


(65)      *pi?l na·tt-u-ŋ        de·s-u-ŋ.*
          cow  drive_away-3P-1sA dispatch-3P-1sA
          I sent the cow on its way.


(66)      *kɛŋs-u  de·s-u.*
          trip-3P dispatch-3P
          He made him stumble and fall.


(67)      *caŋ        de·suŋ. (khãĩ diẽ)*
          eat-1s→3 dispatch-3P-1sA
          I sent it down the hatch.


(68)      *khɛŋ lɛ·ŋwa-·n  phi·nd-ɛ?      de·s-ɛ?!*
          that puddle-ABS sweep_away-IMP dispatch-IMP
          Sweep that puddle away!


(69)      *a-niŋwahu·p  ho·p  hɛnaŋbhɛlle mɛ-ba·tt-u-ba*
          my-intellect not_be because     nsAS-say-3P-NOM
              *pa·n niŋwa  mutch-u-ŋ     de·s-u-ŋ.*
              word forget forget-3P-1sA dispatch-3P-1sA
          I am apparently not very intelligent because I
              have forgotten what they had said.


In the following example, the suffixal 3P morpheme <-*u*> is not repeated in the aspectivizer. It is a far more wide-spread tendency to eliminate endmost suffixes in the main verb which appear in the aspectivizer augment (see also 5.3.8).


(70)      *thi·-n kɛ-dhuŋ-u kɛ-de·-i·?*
          millet_beer-ABS 2-drink-3P 2-dispatch-Q
          Are you[s] going to guzzle down some millet beer?

### 5.3.3. The cadent and dejective aspectivizers *thama?* and *tha·ma?*

The intransitive verb *thama?* as a main verb means 'to fall'. As an aspectivizing augment to intransitives it underlines the cadent motion designated by the main verb.

(71)   *kudza?-ha? mɛ-lu·g-ɛ                  mɛ-dhe·.*
       fruit-p    nsAS-fall_from_a_tree-PT nsAS-fall/PT
       The fruits have fallen from the tree.

(72)   *ku-bhɛkwa    kɛrɛk lu·g-ɛ                dhe·.*
       its-foliage all    fall_from_a_tree-PT fall-PT
       The tree has shed all its leaves.

The transitive verb *tha·ma?* means 'to knock down' or 'to drop' when used as a main verb. As dejective aspectivizer it accentuates the perfectivity of any verb which denotes bringing something down.

(73)   *kudza? lu·ks-u-ŋ        dha·s-u-ŋ.*
       fruit  shake_out-3P-1sA knock_down-3P-1sA
       I shake the fruits out of the tree.

### 5.3.4. The relinquitive aspectivizer *thama?*

The irregular verb *thama?* occurs only as an augment to transitive verbs. It highlights the relinquishing of the patient; it accentuates its having been left at its place of destination.

In contrast to *tho· yuks-u-ŋ* 'I put it up there', the following sentence stresses the patient having been abandoned at the place it was put.

(74)   *tho· yuks-u-ŋ   dha-ŋ.*
       above put-3P-1sA leave/3P-1sA
       I left it up there.

(75)   *yuks-u dhɔ. (rākhi rākhyo)*
       put-3P leave/3P
       He left it there.

These combinations of verb and aspectivizer and similar aspectual combinations must be distinguished from double predicates in a single syntagm such as the following:

(76)      *yuks-u-ŋ    tha·ʔr-u-ŋ.*
          put-3P-1sA leave_behind_for_someone-3P-1sA
          I placed it there, leaving it behind for him.

Note that the third person patients of the two different predicates are not coreferential, whereas a verb and its aspectivizer always agree with the same actants:

(77)      *huʔr-u-ŋ               dhaŋ. (lagi/puryāi diẽ)*
          bring_and_give-3P-1sA leave/3P-1sA
          I brought and gave it.

(78)      *tha·ʔ-ʔɛ                 dha-ʔɛ          laʔba.*
          leave_behind_for-1sPS/NPT leave-1sPS/NPT probably
          He'll probably leave it behind for me.

(79)      *kɛ-dha·ʔr-ɛ            kɛ-dhe·-i·ʔ*
          2-leave_behind_for-PT 2-leave/PT-Q
          Did he leave it behind for you[s]?

The verbs meaning 'to forget' only combine with the relinquitive aspectivizer *thamaʔ* in the preterit:

(80)      *niŋwa  mutch-u-ŋ     dha-ŋ. (birsī rākhẽ)*
          forget forget-3P-1sA leave/3P-1sA
          I forgot all about it.

(81)      *...warum-siŋ-ɛ-ba-tɛn-ʔo·      huk-ʔo·*
          ...bathe-REF-PT-NOM-place-LOC hand-LOC
              *wa·p-mna-bɛ-n    niŋwa   mutch-u*
              wear-PP-NOM-ABS forget forget-3P
              *dhɔ        rɜcɜ.*
              leave/3P DEPR
          It seemed he had forgotten (*birsī rākhyo*) the
              watch at the place he had bathed.

(82)      *niŋwa  kɛ-bhutch-u kɛ-dhɔ.*
          forget 2-forget-3P 2-leave/3P
          You[s] forgot.

In the nonpreterit, the verbs 'to forget' take *yuŋmaʔ* 'to put' as an aspectivizer augment, eg. *niŋwa mutchu yuksu laʔba (birsī rākcha holā)* 'He'll probably forget it'.

A combination of verb and aspectivizer may have such a specific meaning that the aspectivized combination as a whole has become lexicalized. For example, the combination of *samaʔ* 'to deliver' with *thamaʔ* yields the meaning 'to

escort', and while *sama?* takes only inanimate patients, *sama?-dhama?* takes only animate patients:

(83)     *him-mo·    sy-aŋ-dhy-aŋ.*
         house-LOC escort-1sPS/PT-escort-1sPS/PT
         He escorted me home.


## 5.3.5. The resultative aspectivizer *khɛpma?*

The aspectivizer *khɛpma?* stresses the resultative dimension of the perfective and occurs only in combination with intransitive verbs.

(84)     *kɔŋ    ya·mbɔk po·ŋ ghɛ?l    la·!   (yo kām bhaī hālcha*
         this work    be   RES   EMPH                    *ni)*
         Don't worry about it; this work will get done!
                 (cf. (56) supra)

(85)     *kɔŋ    ya·mbɔk po·ks-ɛ ghɛ?r-ɛ.*
         this work       be-PT   RES-PT
         This work has gotten done.

(86)     *ta·ndik sa    iŋ        ghɛ?l.  (bholī nai vyāpak*
         tomorrow EMPH be‿known RES                    *huncha)*
         Tomorrow it will be common knowledge.

(87)     *yəllik thuŋ-mɛ-lle    se·?ma?l lɔ·n      ghɛ?l.*
         much   drink-INF-SUB urine     come‿out RES
         If you drink a lot, you have to pee.

(88)     - *cumluŋ pɔŋ-ɛ-i·     nɛ·-i·?*
           bazar  get‿up-PT-Q sit-Q
         - *mɛ-bɔŋ-ɛ         mɛ-ghɛ?r-ɛ.*
           nsAS-get‿up-PT nsAS-RES-PT
                 - Has the *hāṭ-bajār* been broken up or is it
                   still going on?
                 - They've all gotten up and left.

(89)     *khɛŋ e·?yaŋba nɛpphu məna-ha?-aŋ kɛ?r-ɛ-tchi-lle*
         that other    two     man-p-and   arrive-PT-dPS-SUB
             *gɔ·   khɛŋ hɛndza?-in khɛt-chiŋ khɛ?r-ɛ.*
             then that lad-ABS     chase-REF RES-PT
         By the time the two other men got there, the boy
             had run off.

(90)    *si?-ɛ        khɛ?l-ɛ        la?ba.*
        die-1sPS/NPT RES-1sPS/NPT probably
        I'll probably be dead [by that time/by the time
            you get back].

(91)    *yaŋghe·k lɔ·n      ghɛ?l.  (niskī hālcha)*
        wound    come_out RES
        A wound will develop.

With verbs of locomotion, *khɛpma?* stresses the utter com-
pletion or result of the movement, which usually means that
the subject is gone, eg. *lo·ktɛ khɛ?rɛ*, *khɛtchiŋ(ɛ) khɛ?rɛ*.
The semantics of the combination *laŋghe·?gɛ khɛ?rɛ*, how-
ever, is such that it cannot apply to a human referent,
being instead suitable to a crawling insect.


## 5.3.6. The impendent aspectivizer *nɛtma?*

The aspectivizer *nɛtma?* is an augment to both transitive
and intransitive verbs in the sense of 'to be about to, be
on the verge of doing something'. *Nɛtma?* may literally
indicate that an action is or was about to take place, as
in the following three sentences (arranged from most polite
to least respectful) expressing someone's imminent death:

(92)    *a-lɛ?l        a-nɛ?l.*
        1-take_leave 1-impend
        He's about to leave us[Pi], i.e. die.

(93)    *ma·-siŋ nɛ?l.*
        lose-REF impend
        He's on the verge of passing away.

(94)    *si  nɛ?l.*
        die impend
        He's about to die.

or it may just indicate a particularly strong inclination,
as in the following three examples which do not so much
express serious intent as an emotional disposition.

(95)    *sɛ?l-ɛ          nɛ?l-ɛ.  (malāī mārnu āṭeko thiyo)*
        kill-1sPS/NPT impend-1sPS/NPT
        She's about to kill me.

(96)     *sɛʔr-u-ŋ     nɛtt-u-ŋ. (malãi mãrna ã̜tyo)*
         kill-3P-1sA impend-3P-1sA
         I'm about to kill him

(97)     *sɛʔr-aŋ      nɛtt-aŋ. (uslãi mãrnu ã̜tẽ)*
         kill-1sPS/PT impend-1sPS/PT
         He was on the verge of killing me.

The impendent is an apt and often used device to express
the imminent realization or near completion of any verbal
activity or process.

(98)     *kɛʔl     nɛʔl. (ãi pugnu ã̜tyo)*
         arrive impend
         He's almost there.

(99)     *aŋga kɛʔl-ɛ             nɛʔl-ɛ. (ãi pugnu ã̜tẽ)*
         I    arrive-1sPS/NPT impend-1sPS/NPT
         I'm almost there.

(100)    *suriʔl ke·dzɔŋ ta    nɛʔl    lo·! kɛ-nis-w-i·?*
         wind    storm    come impend ASS  2-see-3P-Q
         Gale-force winds are about to strike; can you⁸
                 see?

In temporal clauses, this aspectivizer is apt for desig-
nating a moment precisely before the culmination of an
activity.

(101)    *cur-ɛ        nɛtt-ɛ-lle ...*
         finish-PT impend-PT-SUB
         As it was about to finish, ...

(102)    *kɛŋ-ɛ                       nɛtt-ɛ-lle    sa·rik ɔ·kt-ɛ.*
         stumble_and_fall-PT impend-PT-SUB much    shout-PT
         As he was about to stumble, he cried out loud.

This aspectivizer is often used in telling time:

(103)    *lisi muk nɛʔl.*
         It is about to strike four o'clock/it's nearly
                 four.

(104)    *lisi muktɛ nɛttɛ.*
         It was about to strike four o'clock/it was nearly
                 four o'clock.

(105)   *tuksi muk nɛʔl.*
        It's about to strike six/it's nearly six o'clock.


## 5.3.7. The sustained action aspectivizer *ca·maʔ*

Irregular intransitive *ca·maʔ* as a main verb means 'to perform (an activity), to play (a game)' and, as an aspectivizer to both transitive and intransitive verbs, *ca·maʔ* indicates sustained action.

(106)   *kɛŋ-ɛ     dze-i·ʔ*
        fall-PT  SUS/PT-Q
        Was it going to fall?

This sentence was said of a *kunda* from which the person addressed had filled his *phɔgəna*. After he had quickly tilted it back into place, the *kunda* wobbled back and forth by itself because of the water sloshing to and fro inside. Here the impendent aspectivizer *nɛpmaʔ* is not used because the *kunda* did not fall over and was not actually on the verge of falling at any given point. Use of the aspectivizer *ca·maʔ* here indicates the *kunda*'s sustained and threatening wobbling.

In verbs indicating stationary activity, *ca·maʔ* indicates sustained or prolonged immobility, eg. *yɛbɛ dze·* 'He kept on standing there', *yuŋ dza·* 'He just keeps on sitting there, he just sits there continuously', *yuŋʔɛ dza·ʔɛ* 'I'm just sitting here [all day], I'm just taking it easy', as opposed to strictly perfective *khɛŋ məna·n yuŋɛ* 'That man sat, that man sat down'.

(107)   *lamdhe·ʔl-in hɔnd-u-ŋ-ille     khɛʔo· mɛnchuma-dhik*
        door-ABS        open-3P-1sA-SUB there  lady-one
            *yuŋ-ɛ  dze·.*
            sit-PT SUS/PT
        As I opened the doors, there a woman (just)
            sitting there.

(108)   *khɛŋ məna-·n yuŋ-ɛ  dze·. (tyo mānche basi raheko*
        that man-ABS sit-PT SUS/PT                    *thiyo)*
        That man hung around, sitting.

As an augment to *wa·maʔ*, the aspectivizer *ca·maʔ* indicates sustained presence:

(109)   *kɛ-mikciʔbənbən*                          *way-ɛ dze·!*
        your<sup>s</sup>-purulent_ophthalmic_discharge be-PT SUS/PT
             *hɛn   kɛ-dzo·k?*
             what  2-do
        Your<sup>s</sup> eye is covered with mucous exudate! What're
             you<sup>s</sup> gonna do?

(110)   *khɛŋ məna-·n way-ɛ dze·.*
        that man-ABS be-PT SUS/PT
        That man kept hanging around.

(110) was said of a man who kept wandering about the farm-
yard and nearby property and wouldn't go away. The sentence
contrasts with *khɛŋ məna·n wayɛ* 'There was that man'.
Aspectivized *wa·maʔ* in (111) has the special meaning of
just sitting there and not running out on a situation.

(111)   *aŋga əgɔ·  dzhan      a-saʔ-re      abhya·k  sa·rik*
        I     then even_more my-child-ERG extremely much
             *mɛtt-aŋ-saŋ*                *wa·-ʔɛ*
             do_unto-1sPS/PT-even be-1sPS/NPT
             *dza-ʔɛ.*
             SUS-1sPS/NPT.
        Even though I've been treated far worse by my own
        children, I just sit here and take it.

As an aspectivizer of sustained action, *ca·maʔ* may indicate
a customary or habitual activity, as in the following two
sentences taken from myths:

(112)   *anche·-ba   məna-haʔ sika·r-rɔk   mɛ-dzo·g-u*
        before-NOM man-p     hunting-only nsAS-do-3P
             *mɛ-dze·.*
             nsAS-SUS/PT
        Ancient men used to hunt only, i.e. ancient man
             was a hunter-gatherer.

(113)   *maŋ-haʔ-nu məna sika·r mɛ-dzo·g-u mɛ-dze·.*
        deity-p-COM man  hunting nsAS-do-3P nsAS-SUS/PT
        [Primordial] man used to hunt with the gods.

## 5.3.8. The dative aspectivizer pi·ma?

As a main verb *pi·ma?* denotes 'to give, to endow', and as an augment to transitive verbs, it adds a sense of 'giving' or 'applying' the action to its recipient.

(114)     *ku-nɛhikkhɔk       yəllik pɔ?l ləcə. wahɔp-m?*
          its-caked_on_snot  much   be   DEPR. wash-INF
               *bi·-m?    barne·.*
               give-INF  ought
          There appears to be lots of dried-out snot caked
               [onto the child's cheeks]. She'll have to be
               given a scrubbing.

The use of *pi·ma?* as aspectivizer and main verb can, in cases like (115), be distinguished on the basis of non-coreferential patient agreement. Here *ha·ma?* 'to apportion' agrees with that which was apportioned and given (as oppo-sed to its derivative *ha·tma?* 'apportion out to' which takes an animate patient), and *pi·ma?* agrees with those to whom it was given.

(115)     *ma·ki yumma?l     ha·s-u-ŋ*
          maize vegetables apportion-3P-1sA
               *pi·r-u-ŋ-si-ŋ.*
               give-3P-1sA-nsP-1sA
          I dealt out the maize and vegetables, giving it to
               them.

Aspectivizers contain all the agreement suffixes even when, in the case of lengthy and unwieldy suffixal strings, the endmost suffix or suffixes are omitted from the main verb, as in (116).

(116)     *nɔks-aŋ    pi·r-aŋ-ɛ?!*
          shave-1sP  give-1sP-IMP
          Give me a shave!

Use of the dative aspectivizer is just as appropriate when the patient is the maleficiary of an action as when it is the beneficiary:

(117)     *ku-dhge·k-?in mɛ-bhund-u    mɛ-bu·r-u.*
          his-head-ABS  nsAS-dislodge-3P nsAS-give-3P
          They lopped its head off.

(118)    *ku-sikla-ʔo·    putt-u-ŋ    bi·r-u-ŋ.*
his-throat-LOC grab-3P-1sA give-3P-1sA
I grabbed him by his throat.

(119)    *a-ndzum-ille yəllik sama·n-haʔ khu·tt-aŋ*
my-friend-ERG much    belonging-p rob-1sPS/PT
    *pi·r-aŋ.*
    give-1sPS/PT
My friend robbed me of many belongings.


5.3.9. The ponent aspectivizers *yuŋmaʔ* and *phɔpmaʔ*

*Yuŋmaʔ* as a main verb means 'to put, to place', and as an augment to transitive verbs it signals assuming a position or retaining the position or result of the action indicated by the aspectivized verb.

(120)    *kɛ-huk-ʔo·    putt-ɛʔ    yuks-ɛʔ!*
your⁸-hand-LOC squeeze-IMP put-IMP
Hold it tightly in your⁸ hand! (cf. *sapla puttu*
    'He crumpled up the piece of paper in his
    hand'.)

(121)    *miŋ  khɔs-ɛʔ yuks-ɛʔ! (nāũ ṭipī rākha)*
name jot-IMP put-IMP
Jot [his] name down!

(122)    *kɛ-huk-ʔo·    tɛms-ɛʔ    yuks-ɛʔ!*
your⁸-hand-LOC catch-IMP put-IMP
Catch a hold of it!

(123)    *aŋga pa·tt-u-ŋ    lo·! khɛps-ɛʔ    ro· yuks-ɛʔ ro·!*
I    speak-3P-1sA ASS! listen-IMP ASS put-IMP ASS
Hey, I'm talking! Listen up and lend an ear!
(*ma bolchu hai! sunī rākh hai!*)

The verb *phɔpmaʔ*, which as a main verb means 'to suspend, to put something up on high', aside from its directional specificity, works much the same way as *yuŋmaʔ*.

(124)    *tɛms-ɛʔ    phɔtch-ɛʔ!*
catch-IMP suspend-IMP
Catch it!

(125)      *pho·nd-ε?    phɔtch-ε?!*
           hang_up-IMP suspend-IMP
           Hang it up!


5.3.10. The mechrithanatous aspectivizers *sima?* and *sε?ma?*

The verb *sima?* 'to die' when used as an aspectivizer aug-
ment to intransitive verbs carries much the same meaning as
figurative usage of 'to die' in English:

(126)      *kε-gis-ε-i·*       *kε-se-i·?*
           2-be_afraid-PT-Q 2-die/PT-Q
           Were you^s scared to death?


(127)      *yaŋ-?ε*            *si-?ε.*
           tremble-1sPS/NPT die-1sPS/NPT
           I was terrified.


(128)      *ya·s-aŋ*           *sy-aŋ.*
           be_tickled-1sPS/PT die-1sPS/PT
           I was tickled to death.


(129)      *mε-ya·*            *mε-si.*
           nsAS-be_tickled nsAS-die
           They'll die from all that tickling.


The combination of *sima?* with *citma?* 'to be greedy, be
selfish' yields a lexicalized compound verb with the
special meaning 'be impotent, be incapable, be cowardly'.

(130)      *kε-dzitt-ε*        *kε-se·    ro·*
           2-be_selfish-PT 2-die/PT ASS
           You^s're really not capable of much anything!/Why,
                you^s're impotent!

The verb *sε?ma?* 'to kill' occurs as an augment to the
infinitive of *yaŋma?* 'to tremble' in the lexicalized
collocation *yaŋma? sε?ma?* 'to scare to death, terrify,
haunt'.

(131)      *so·gha-re yaŋ-ma?*     *a-sε?l.*
           ghost-ERG tremble-INF 1-kill
           Ghosts haunt you.

## 5.3.11. The probative aspectivizer *sa?ma?*

The probative aspectivizer *sa?ma?* means 'to try, make an attempt, have a go at' and occurs as an augment to both transitive and intransitive verbs, eg. *co·gɛ? sa?rɛ?!* (*garī hernuhos*) 'try to do it!', *hiptɛ? sa?rɛ?sɛ?!* 'Try and see if you*s* can hit them! (2s→3ns/IMP)', *kɛmhipsi kɛmsa?si* (*kuṭī herchan*) 'They'll try to hit you*d* (3ns→2d)', *pa·ttɛ? sa?rɛ?!* (*bhanī hernuhos*) 'Try to say it!', *lo·ktɛ? sa?rɛ?!* (*kudī hernuhos*) 'Try and see if you*s* can run', *lo·k?ɛ sa??ɛ* 'I'll try to run, I'll see if I can run'.

## 5.3.12. The totalizing aspectivizer *wapma?*

Attested only with verbs of motion, *wapma?* totalizes the movement and is restricted to gerundive constructions in *-aŋ* of the type: *phɛraŋ wattaŋaŋ...* 'Having come (1s), ...', *phɛrɛtchige wattɛtchigeaŋ...* 'Having come (1di), ...', *pe·gaŋ wattaŋaŋ...* 'Having gone (1s), ...', eg.

(132)  *phɛtt-aŋ      watt-aŋ-aŋ        pe·g-ɛ.*
       fetch-1sPS/PT TOT-1sPS/PT-pfG go-PT
       Having fetched it for me, he went away.
       (*malāī lyāī vari...*[3s→1s/PT])

## 5.3.13. The inceptive aspectivizer *he·kma?*

The inceptive aspectivizer occurs as an augment, not to a simplex form, but to a transitive or intransitive verb stem or infinitive and signals commencement of the action, eg. *wi?l tha he·ktɛ* 'It started to rain', *samlo·ma? he·k?ɛ* 'I'll start to sing', *pa·pm? he·ktuŋ* 'I started to talk', *cam· he·ktuŋ* 'I started to eat', *biha·ndik tuksi muktɛ-lle huk?o· wa·pmnabɛn la·bdzo·k he·ktɛ* 'The watch started to sound at 6 in the morning', *an·ge-tɔk kudzaphɛn he·ktɛi·?* 'Has our *bhāt* begun to taste bad [to you]?', *kɛrɛk kuhikla po·ŋ he·ktɛ* 'Everything has started to turn green'.

## 5.3.14. The perseverative aspectivizer *nɛ·maʔ*

The verb *nɛ·maʔ* meaning 'to lie, be situated' (vi.) or 'to lay something down, to situate' (vt.) occurs as an augment to verbs in the sense of 'to persist, to keep on doing something', eg. *kɛʔipsɛ kɛnɛ·sɛ* 'You[s] just kept on sleeping', *te·ʔl mɛn-he·-ʔe· wa·. he· nɛ·* 'The clothes have not yet dried. They're sitting there drying', *khunɛʔ khɛŋ kɛmdu nɛ·su* 'He held him pressed to the ground', *hɛkke·lɔʔrik himlɛpsaŋ te·sirɔ pɔtchɛtchille ca·rikʔe· wabakle kube·sɛʔ-ʔo· kɛŋɛ nɛ·sɛtchi* 'As they[d] were coming homeward, they just collapsed by the side of a pond', ... *kərə khɛŋ re·diyo·n ca·ʔrikʔe· ɔ·ktɛ nɛ·sɛ* '... but that radio just kept on screaming', *pa·ʔrɛ nɛ·sɛba rɔk khɛpsu* 'All she heard was that it kept on talking', *kərə khɛŋ re·diyo·lle mɛndzaʔe· ɔ·ktɛ pa·ʔrɛ nɛ·sɛba rɔk* '... but that radio, not having eaten a thing, just kept on screaming and talking'. The following example is odd in that the agent of the transitive verb and subject of the intransitive aspectivizer are coreferential: *saptu nɛ·sɛ* 'He kept on writing'.

## 5.3.15. Miscellaneous aspectivizers

The use of aspectivizers is exceedingly common in everyday speech. In many cases it is difficult to distinguish between aspectivizer and a second predicate. In some cases the second verb may even be no more than a jingle, eg. *ya·mbɔk co·kmɛ-lle na·saŋ khipsaŋ* (work do-INF-INST grow‿tired-1sPS/PT jingle-1sPS/PT) 'I am totally fagged from doing the work'. The composition of two verbs either serves to add a new dimension to or reinforce the meaning of the first, eg. *naks-ɛ kɛʔr-ɛ* (go‿crazy-PT arrive-PT) 'He's gone stir crazy', *kha·s-aŋ tims-aŋ lo·!* (be‿sated-1sPS/PT fill‿up-1sPS/PT ASS) 'I sure am full!", or to relate a complex action, eg. *a-ndzum-ille siŋ-in pɔks-u te·ʔr-u* (my-friend-ERG wood-ABS carry‿in‿one's‿hand-3P take‿away-3P) 'My friend carried off the wood'. Occasionally such combinations become lexicalized in a specific meaning, eg. *anu ada* 'No, we're alright (polite inclusive)', where *numaʔ-tamaʔ* means 'to prosper' [< *numaʔ* be alright + *tamaʔ* come].

# Chapter Six
# Mode

Mode suffixes are suffixal slot 12 fillers. The modi are the optative, conditional and irrealis. The optative suffix is always the last member of a suffixal string in which it occurs. The conditional and irrealis may be followed by the imperfective aspect suffix (see diagram, p.105). The interrogative suffix is dealt with in 6.4.

## 6.1. Optative (OPT)

Added to any simplex the optative suffix <-lɔ> yields an optative form, eg.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| s | *pa·tturɔ* | May he speak! May he say it! |
| | *mɛba·ttunlɔ* | May he not speak! May he not say it! |
| d | *pa·tchurɔ* | May they[d] speak! May they[d] say it! |
| | *mɛba·tchunlɔ* | May they[d] not speak! May they[d] not say it! |
| p | *mɛba·tturɔ* | May they[P] speak! May they[P] say it! |
| | *mɛmba·ttunlɔ* | May they[P] not speak! May they[P] not say it! |

The optative indicates a wish or a desired situation, eg. *khɛnɛʔ kɛya·mbɔk nuba po·ŋlɔ! khɛnɛʔ kɛya·mbɔk kɛrɛk sa·rik nuba po·ŋlɔ!* 'May your[s] work turn out good! May all your[s] work be very successful!', *mɛnnuba mɛbo·ŋnɛnlɔ! nuba po·ŋlɔ!* 'May it not become bad! May it turn out well!'. In a coordinated predicate, the second verb takes the optative suffix: *mɛbe·kʔaŋ mɛwa·rɔ* 'May they[P] go away and stay there!'.

The optative exists in all persons and numbers, including the second person alongside the imperative, eg. (1-2), and the first person inclusive alongside the adhortative, eg. (3). Except for the defective identity operator, any indicative form, including the passive, can be made into an optative form, eg. (4).

(1)     *khɛnɛʔ yəmba məna kɛ-bo·ŋ-lɔ!*
        you[s]  big   man  2-become-OPT
        **May you[s] become a great man!**

(2)      *kusiŋ        kɛ-ni·tt-u-rɔ!      kusiŋ*
      understand 2-understand-3P-OPT like_that
         *kɛ-nis-u-rɔ!*
         2-see-3P-OPT
      May you[s] understand it! May you[s] see it as it is!

(3)      *hɛkke·        co·k-mɛ-lle gɔ·   ta·ndi-yaŋ*
      like_that do-INF-SUB   then in_a_few_days-too
         *a-dum-lɔ      ro·!*
         1-meet-OPT ASS
      If we[pi]'re going to do it that way, then may we[pi]
      meet again [concerning this matter] in a few
      days!.

(4)      *pi?l-le sa    ca-ma? kho·-he·?-mɛ-dɛt-nɛn-lɔ!*
      cow-GEN meat eat-INF find-be_able-NEG-PAS-NEG-OPT
      May it not occur that beef be eaten!

In contrast to the direct command of an imperative, the optative, even when intended as an indirect command, need not be exclusively addressed to the person immediately concerned. As an indirect command, it is less harsh, and it also differs from the imperative in that its use as an indirect command must be couched in authority of some sort.

For example, the busy mater familias emerges from the house and walks across the farmyard where most of the off-spring are engaged in sundry activities. She proclaims: *cwa?l mɛge·tturɔ!* 'Let them add [more boiling] water [to the *tɔŋbas* of the guests]!' It is understood by everyone that it is the daughters whom the mother has in mind. Mother is going out on an errand and cannot see to it herself that her wish is carried out. Her use of the optative makes her wish everyone's responsibility, especially impli-cating her sons in the farmyard who must see to it that the daughters do as desired.

Two boys have just begun to speak ill of a friend of the family and their father proclaims: *mɛba·tchunlɔ!* 'May they[d] not speak!', and his sons desist at once in compliance with their father's wish. The father's choice of the optative is milder than the imperative would have been, but his choice of the third person shows aloofness and some disdain.

An older brother expresses to one of his younger brothers his wish that his younger sister bring him his clothes: *khunɛ? a-de·?l-in phɛtturɔ!* (she my-clothes-ABS bring-3P-OPT) 'May she bring my clothes!', implying that the younger brother addressed see to it that she do so.

In general, the optative as an indirect command is pre-
sumptuous and highly unbecoming when used by someone with-
out an authoritative position within the family hierarchy
vis-à-vis the person intended, unless, as in (5), the
younger siblings are engaged in a cooperative effort and
the exigencies of coordinating the effort necessitate
issuing commands.

(5)     e·ʔyəŋba  tanna-·n  nɛʔnɛʔ-re          lo·s-u-rɔ!
        other     sheet-ABS older_sister-ERG lay_out-3P-OPT
        May older sister lay out the other sheet!

## 6.2. The conditional (CON)

The conditional expressed by the suffix <-mɛn> indicates
hypothetical possibility. The conditional suffix is gene-
rally affixed to preterit simplicia, seldom to nonpreterit
simplicia. Negative conditional forms are formed from nega-
tive simplicia.

Conditional forms dichotomize along the perfective/im-
perfective aspect parameter by non-affixation or affixation
of the imperfective suffix -pa. When the conditional suffix
-mɛn is followed by the imperfective suffix -pa, the final
nasal of the conditional suffix regressively assimilates
for place of articulation and the initial of the imperfec-
tive suffix progressively assimilates for voice, giving
-mɛmba.

The perfective conditional occurs in a strictly condi-
tional sense, eg. mɛtt-aŋ-mɛn (tell-1sPS/PT-CON) 'He would
have told me', kɛ-dzo·g-u-mɛn (2-do-3P-CON) 'Youˢ would
have done it', hipt-u-ŋ-mɛn (hit-3P-1sA-CON) 'I would have
hit him', kɛ-hipt-u-mɛn (2-hit-3P-CON) 'Youˢ would have hit
him'. It expresses the possibility of an event taking place
at a single point in time within the situational framework
specified by a subordinate clause in -ille or by the larger
context of the discourse. The hypothetical condition sup-
posed by the subordinate clause is specified in the perfec-
tive preterit.

(6)     way-ɛ-lle gɔ·  kɛ-dzɔ-mɛn-ni·?
        be-PT-SUB then 2-eat/3P-CON-Q
        Would youˢ eat it if it were available?

(7)     a-se·-mɛn-ni·ya.
        1-die/PT-CON-probably.
        WePⁱ probably would have died.

(8)      khɛnɛʔ  kɛ-se·k       la·kt-ɛ-lle        go·  tɔk
         youˢ    yourˢ-hunger  be_in_effect-PT-SUB then bhāt
             kɛ-dzɔ-mɛn.
             2-eat/3P-CON
         If youˢ were hungry, youˢ would eat bhāt.


(9)      - mut-kɛ-dhe·-lle      kɛ-se·-mɛn.
           fall-2-fall/PT-SUB 2-die/PT-CON
         - me·nduk. mutthy-aŋ-ille     go·
           no          fall-1sPS/PT-SUB then
             sy-aŋ-mɛm-ba.
             die-1sPS/PT-CON- IPF
         - Youˢ would die if youˢ fell [here].
         - No, I wouldn't. I might die if I fell [here].


(10)     pe·g-aŋ-ille    gɔ·  nis-u-ŋ-mɛn.
         go-1sPS/PT-SUB then see-3P-1sA-CON
         I would see it if I were to go.


(11)     mɛ-lɛ·s-u-lle     gɔ·  mɛ-dzo·g-u-mɛn.
         nsAS-know-3P-SUB then nsAS-do-3P-CON
         They would do it if they knew how.


(12)     mɛ-gɔtt-u-lle    gɔ·  mɛ-bi·r-aŋ-mɛn-ni·?
         nsAS-have-3P-SUB then nsAS-give-1sPS-CON-Q
         Would they have given it to me if they had had it?


(13)     - sɛndik   kɔʔo·  kɛ-sɔkma     hik    lɔʔ-i·?
           at_night here   yourˢ-breath stifle get-Q
         - kɔʔo·  mɛ-ʔim-ʔɛ-n.
           here   NEG-sleep-1sPS/NPT-NEG
         - kɛ-hikt-ɛ-mɛn.
           2-stifle-PT-CON
             - Do youˢ have difficulty breathing here at
               night?
             - I don't sleep here.
             - Youˢ would have difficulty breathing here
               [if youˢ did].


(14)     aŋga gupha po·khri pe·g-aŋ-ille    gɔ
         I    Guphā Pokharī go-1sPS/PT-SUB then
             pho·ktaŋluŋ    nis-u-ŋ-mɛn-ni·?
             Kangchenjunga see-3P-1sA-CON-Q
         Would I [be able to] see Kangchenjunga if I were
             to go to Guphā Pokharī?

(15)      *kɛ-gɔtt-u-waŋ  kɛ-iŋ-u-lle   po·ks-ɛ-mɛn.*
          2-have-3P-and 2-buy-3P-SUB be-PT-CON
          If you<sup>s</sup> had [the money] and were to buy, it would
            be.

The imperfective conditional denotes general potentiality
not restricted to a single point in time. It may or may not
be used conditionally.

(16)      *way-ɛ-lle gɔ·  kɛ-dhuŋ-u-mɛm-ba-i·?*
          be-PT-SUB then 2-drink-3P-CON-IPF-Q
          Might you<sup>s</sup> drink it if it were available?

(17)      *kɛ-lɛ·s-u-lle gɔ·  kɛ-dzo·g-u-mɛm-ba.*
          2-know-3P-SUB then 2-do-3P-CON-IPF
          You<sup>s</sup> might do it if you<sup>s</sup> knew how.

(18)      *yaŋ    kɛ-gɔtt-u-lle kɛ-iŋ-u-mɛm-ba.*
          money 2-have-3P-SUB 2-buy-3P-CON-IPF
          You<sup>s</sup> might buy it if you<sup>s</sup> had the money.

(19)      *a-ndzum-in    mɛ-ghutt-ɛ-n-ille    gɔ·  anchige*
          my-friend-ABS NEG-steal-PT-NEG-SUB then we<sup>de</sup>
              *so·rik    way-ɛ-tchi-ge-mɛm-ba kərə*
              together be-PT-dPS-e-CON-IPF  but
              *a-ndzum-ille  yəllik sama·n-ha?*
              my-friend-ERG much   belonging-p
              *khu·tt-aŋ    pi·r-aŋ.      aŋga tɔr-u-ŋ.*
              rob-1sPS/PT give-1sPS/PT I    curse-3P-1sA
              *hɛkyaŋ ɔkkhɛllə gɔ·  sɛnd-ɛ-tchi-ge.*
              so,      presently then split_up-PT-dPS-e
              *ɛnda·ndik kɔ·  tum-si-ge-saŋ*
              nowadays  then meet-dPS-e-even
              *ɔ·mɔ?matche·-rɔk   ca·-si-ge       kərə*
              exchanging_glances perform-dPS-e but
              *mɛ-ba·t-chi-gɛ-n.*
              NEG-speak-dPS-e-NEG.
          If my friend had not stolen we<sup>de</sup> might still be
              together, but my friend robbed me of many
              belongings. I cursed him. So, presently then
              we<sup>de</sup> have split up. Nowadays when we<sup>de</sup> meet,
              we<sup>de</sup> only exchange glances but we<sup>de</sup> don't
              speak [to each other].

The general, open-ended possibility expressed by the imper-
fective conditional contrasts with the definite probability

expressed by the perfective conditional, as illustrated in
the following pairs of examples.

(20)      a-se·-mɛn!
          1-die/PT-CON
          WePⁱ would have died!

(21)      a-se·-mɛm-ba.
          1-die/PT-CON-IPF
          WePⁱ might have died.

(22)      kɛ-gɛŋ-ɛ-lle              gɔ· kɛ-se·-mɛn.
          2-stumble_and_fall-PT-SUB then 2-die/PT-CON
          If youˢ were to stumble and fall [on this part of
                the trail], youˢ would die.

(23)      kɛ-gɛŋ-ɛ-lle              gɔ· kɛ-se·-mɛm-ba.
          2-stumble_and_fall-PT-SUB then 2-die/PT-CON-IPF
          If youˢ were to stumble and fall, youˢ might die.

(24)      lɛ·s-u-ŋ-ille    gɔ·  co·g-u-ŋ-mɛn.
          know-3P-1sA-SUB then do-3P-1sA-CON
          I would do it if I knew how.

(25)      lɛ·s-u-ŋ-ille    gɔ·  co·g-u-ŋ-mɛm-ba.
          know-3P-1sA-SUB then do-3P-1sA-CON-IPF
          I might do it if I knew how.

(26)      way-ɛ-lle gɔ·  caŋ-mɛm-ba          kərə ho·p.
          be-PT-SUB then eat/1s→3-CON-IPF but  not_be
          I might eat it if it were available, but it isn't.

(27)      way-ɛ-lle gɔ·  aŋga caŋ-mɛn.
          be-PT-SUB then I       eat/1s→3-CON
          I would eat it if it were available.

Although the conditional morpheme <-mɛn-> normally occurs
as a suffix, I have recorded one instance of the condition-
al morpheme occurring as a prefix:

(28)      aŋga khɛps-u-ŋ-ille    gɔ· 'khɛnɛ?
          I    hear-3P-1sA-SUB then youˢ
          kɛ-sa·p-ma?        məna-?ɛ-i·?'
          yourˢ-ridicule-INF person-am-Q
          mɛn-mɛtt-u-ŋ.
          CON-say-3P-1sA.

> If I had heard it (i.e. if she had talked to me that way), I would have said, 'Am I someone whom you[s] may ridicule?'

Conditional meaning is sometimes expressed by the preterit imperfective without the conditional suffix, eg.

(29)    *khɛŋ him-ʔin    thub-ɛ.    ani khɛʔyo·    khɛŋ*
        that house-ABS cave_in-PT we[Pi] down_there that
        *him-ʔo·    a-way-ɛ-lle a-se·-ba-i·?*
        house-LOC 1-be-PT-SUB 1-die/PT-IPF-Q
        That house caved in. Would we[Pi] have died if we had been down there in that house?

Such conditional use of the preterit imperfective is well attested in sentences with an irrealis in the subordinate (6.3).

The following three sentences illustrate the difference between the conditional sense of a non-conditional verb form and that of the conditional forms.

(30)    *kɔŋ    laŋghe·ʔg-mʔ kusa-kɛ-bhɛm-ba*
        this walk-INF    be_arduous-AP-be_arduous-AP
        *a-gɛŋ-ille                gɔ·,    a-si.*
        1-stumble_and_fall-SUB then, 1-die
        If we[Pi] stumble and fall whilst arduously walking this path, we[Pi] shall die.

(31)    *kɔŋ    laŋghe·ʔg-mʔ kusa-kɛ-bhɛm-ba*
        this walk-INF    be_arduous-AP-be_arduous-AP
        *a-gɛŋ-ille                gɔ·,    a-se·-mɛn.*
        1-stumble_and_fall-SUB then, 1-die/PT-CON
        If we[Pi] stumble and fall whilst arduously walking this path, we[Pi] would die.

(32)    *kɔŋ    laŋghe·ʔg-mʔ kusa-kɛ-bhɛm-ba*
        this walk-INF    be_arduous-AP-be_arduous-AP
        *a-gɛŋ-ille                gɔ·,    a-se·-mɛm-ba.*
        1-stumble_and_fall-SUB then, 1-die/PT-CON-IPF
        If we[Pi] stumble and fall whilst arduously walking this path, we[Pi] might die.

Hypothetical time is usually preterit. A conditional form based on a nonpreterit simplex indicates a hypothetical possibility in the real future. Compare:

(33)     pe·g-aŋ-mɛm-ba.
         go-1sPS/PT-CON-IPF
         I might have gone.


(34)     he·ʔr-u-ŋ-ille      gɔ·  pe·k-ʔɛ-mɛm-ba,
         be_able-3P-1sA-SUB then go-1sPS/NPT-CON-IPF
             mɛ-he·ʔ-ʔɛ-n.
             NEG-be_able-1sPS/NPT-NEG
         I might have gone [now] if I were able, but I
             can't.


## 6.3. The irrealis (IRR) and the neverthelessive

The irrealis denotes an unreal or unrealizable action. It
supposes something which is not the case. The irrealis is
indicated by suffixation of the morpheme <-gɔ·ni>. The
morpheme may be derivationally analysed as incorporating
both the adversative adverbs gɔ· 'then' and ni (also ni?)
'contrary to expectation, of all things'. The irrealis
suffix is attached exclusively to preterit simplicia, and
the intonation invariably rises on /ni/. Negative irrealis
forms are formed from negative preterit simplicia. When
co-occurring with the imperfective suffix -pa, the irrealis
suffix immediately precedes the aspect suffix in the
suffixal string.
    The imperfective irrealis occurs as an independent
statement to lament the irreality of something. Imperfec-
tive irrealia most often tend to have a derisive flavour.

(35)     kɛ-lɛ·s-u-gɔ·ni-ba.
         2-know-3P-IRR-IPF
         If only youˢ knew how.


(36)     kɛ-gɔt-ch-u-gɔ·ni-ba!
         2-have-dA-3P-IRR-IPF
         If only youᵈ had some!


(37)     kɛ-be·g-ɛ-gɔ·ni-ba!
         2-go-PT-IRR-IPF
         If only youˢ had gone!


(38)     yaŋ   kɔtt-u-gɔ·ni-ba!
         money have-3P-IRR-IPF
         If only he had the money!

The perfective irrealis is restricted to suppositional subordinate clauses. The contingent event in the main clause is in the preterit imperfective.

(39) *kɛ-be·g-ɛ-gɔ·ni, kɛ-nis-u-ba.*
   2-go-PT-IRR   2-see-3P-IPF
   If only you⁵ had gone, you⁵ would have seen it.

(40) *kɛ-gɔtt-u-gɔ·ni, kɛ-dzo·g-u-ba.*
   2-have-3P-IRR  2-do-3P-IPF
   If only you⁵ had had it, you⁵ would have [been able] to do it.

(41) *kɛ-dzo·g-u-gɔ·ni, kɛ-lɛ·s-u-ba.*
   2-do-3P-IRR   2-know-3P-IPF
   You⁵'re only going to know how if you⁵ do it./If only you⁵ were to do it, you⁵ would know how.

(42) *yaŋ kɔtt-u-ŋ-gɔ·ni iŋ-u-ŋ-ba.*
   money have-3P-1sA-IRR buy-3P-1sA-IPF
   If only I had the money, I would buy it.

(43) *kɛ-gɔtt-u-gɔ·ni kɛ-dzɔ-ba.*
   2-have-3P-IRR  2-eat/3P-IPF
   If only you⁵ had something [to eat], you⁵ would [be able to] eat.

It seems appropriate to introduce the verbal form which I call the neverthelessive here in conjunction with the irrealis. The neverthelessive consists of a concatenation of the postpositive adverb *-aŋ* 'too', the adverb *ni* (also *ni?*) 'contrary to expectation' and the suffix of the imperfective. This chain of suffixes attached to a simplex indicates that the event will (or will not) or did (or did not) take place 'nonetheless, at any rate, anyway'.

(44) *co·g-u-lle gɔ· lɛ·s-u-ba ya kərə*
   do-3P-SUB then know-3P-IPF EMPH but
     *mɛ-dzo·g-u-n-naŋ-ni-ba.*
     nsAS-do-3P-NEG-too-CTR-IPF
   If he were to have to do it, he would know how, but he's just not going to do it anyway.

(45)           *pa·tt-u-ŋ-ille   gɔ·   lɛ·s-u-ŋ    ŋa,*
                 speak-3P-1sA-SUB then know-3P-1sA EMPH

                      *mɛ-ba·ʔl-ɛ-n-naŋ-ni-ba.*
                      NEG-speak-1s→3-NEG-too-CTR-IPF

                 I would know what to say if I had to, but I'm not
                    going to say it anyway.

(46)           *aŋga kusiŋ-mɛ-n-ni·ʔl-ɛ-n-naŋ-ni-ba.*
            I    recognize-nsAS-NEG-recognize-1sPS-NEG-too-
                                                 CTR-IPF

                 They won't recognize me anyway [because we've
                    never met].

## 6.4. The yes/no interrogative (Q)

The suffix *-i·* can be affixed to any utterance to create a
yes/no-question. It morphophonologically assimilates to the
preceding segment in a unique way: following any vowel ex-
cept /i/, there is no glottal hiatus. The resultant diph-
thongization primarily affects the preceding vowel[1] which,
when long, is reduced in length: *a·* + *-i·* → *ai·*, *o·* + *-i·* →
*oi·*, *e·* + *-i·* → *ei·*, eg.

(47)         – *a·tto· kɛbe·kpa?*       – Where are you[s] going?
             – *ahimmo·.*               – Home. (lit. to my
                                        house)

             – *kɛhimʔoi·?*           – Home? (lit. to your[s]
                                        house)

             – *ã̃.*                            – Yes.

The vowel /u/ is in fact usually reduced to the glide /w/
and the vowel /ɛ/ to a near glide: *u* + *-i·* → [*wi·*], *ɛ* + *-i·*
→ [*ɛ̆i·*], eg.

(48)           *kɛ-nis-w-i·?*
           2-see-3P-Q
           Can you[s] see?

---

[1] I suspect that the interrogative endings *-pi/-bi* in
other Limbu dialects (Konow LSI 1909, Sprigg 1966) are
conflations of the imperfective and interrogative suf-
fixes which in *Phedãppe* remain distinct, *-pai·/-bai·*.

(49)     kerɛk maŋdɔk-ʔin        kɛ-ma·nd-w-i·?
         all   millet_rolls-ABS 2-finish-3P-Q
         Will you<sup>s</sup> finish all the millet rolls?

(50)     kɔŋ  mikphuʔla-·n  naks-ɛ-i·?    hɛn  na?
         this white_eye-ABS go_crazy-PT-Q? what EMPH?
         Has this whiteman gone crazy or what?

(51)     sɔŋwɛtnu-·n        to·kt-ɛ-i·   mɛ-do·kt-ɛ-n-ni·?
         buffalo_milk-ABS be_sold-PT-Q NEG-be_sold-PT-NEG-Q
         Is the buffalo milk sold out or isn't it?

After final /k/, /p/, /t/, /ʔ/ and the like vowel /i/, the
form of the interrogative suffix is <-ʔi·>: /-iʔi·/,
/-kʔi·/, /-pʔi·/, /-tʔi·/ [ʔiiʔ·], /-ʔʔi·/ [-ʔi·], eg.

(52)     kɛ-huʔ-nɛ-tchi-ʔi·?
         2-teach-REF-dPS-Q
         Are you two guys learning?

(53)     haʔ-i·        mɛ-haʔ-nɛn-ni·?
         catch_fire-Q NEG-catch_fire-NEG-Q
         Will it catch fire or won't it?

(54)     - pi·rɛ?!
         - kerɛk-ʔi·?
         - kerɛk pi·rɛ?!
             - Give it to him!
             - All of it?
             - Give him everything!

(55)     - khɛnɛ? ciʔ-i·?
         - aŋga ciʔa?.
             - Shall I give you<sup>s</sup> a little bit?
             - Just a little bit for me.

Nasals are doubled before the interrogative suffix.[2]

(56)     kɛ-gho·s-u-m-mi·?
         2-find-3P-pA-Q
         Did you<sup>P</sup> find it?

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[2] See footnote 13 on p.15.

(57)      *kɛ-n-nu·n-nɛn-ni·?*
          2-NEG-feel_ashamed-NEG-Q
          Aren't you[s] ashamed?

(58)      *kɛ-m-ba·t-nɛn-ni·?* (to a parrot)
          2-NEG-speak-NEG-Q
          Aren't you[s] going to talk?

(59)      *kɛ-n-nu-nɛn-ni·?*
          2-NEG-be_alright-NEG-Q
          Aren't you[s] feeling well?

(60)      *kɛ-sira          dhaŋ-ŋi·?*
          your[s]-pleasure come_up-Q
          Do you[s] like it?

The interrogative particle is generally utterance-final, but there is one degree of freedom in its position in the suffixal string of a verb. In an imperfective verb form, it may occur either immediately before or immediately after the aspect suffix. The resultant semantic distinction is that an interrogative suffix in penultimate position in the suffixal string falls within the scope of the aspect suffix.

A three-way opposition in both nonpreterit and preterit interrogative is illustrated by the following 3s→1s forms of *mɛpma?* 'to tell someone, do unto'.

a) *mɛʔlɛi·?*
   Will he tell me?
b) *mɛʔlɛi·ba?*
   Do you think he'll tell me?/Will he tell me or won't he?
c) *mɛʔlɛbai·?*
   Will he tell me?/Is he going to tell me?

a) *mɛttaŋi·?*
   Did he tell me?
b) *mɛttaŋi·ba?*
   Did he tell me or didn't he?/Is it so that he has told me already?
c) *mɛttaŋbai·?*
   What, did he just insult me? (Others heard and understood the insult but the purport of the insult has eluded the speaker.)

In the nonpreterit, an interrogative suffix in penultimate position yields a hypothetical or suppositional question, whereas verb-final <-*i*·> converts the verb into a straight-forward yes/no interrogative, cf. (61-70). In the hypothetical question, the interrogative morpheme gets both the main prosodic stress and a rising intonation. Often, especially in the preterit, the hypothetical question order is a request for new objective information or an objective evaluation, whereas the straightforward question order is either rhetorical or a request for a subjective evaluation, cf. (71-79).

(61)     *kɛ-yaŋs-w-i·*              *kɛ-n-yaŋs-u-n-ni·?*
         2-get_a_hold_of-3P-Q 2-NEG-get_a_hold_of-3P-NEG-Q
         Did you[s] manage to get hold of one or didn't you[s]?


(62)     *kɛ-yaŋs-u-i·-ba?*
         2-get_a_hold_of-3P-Q-IPF
         Do you[s] think you'll be able to secure one, do
                 you[s] think you'll[s] manage to get hold of it?


(63)     *ma·kidɔk    kɛ-dzɔ-i·-ba?*
         maize-*bhãt* 2-eat/3P-Q-IPF
         Would you[s] eat maize-*bhãt*?


(64)     *ma·ki-dɔk   kɛ-dzɔ-ba-i·?*
         maize-*bhãt* 2-eat/3P-IPF-Q
         Are you[s] eating maize-*bhãt*?/Have you[s] eaten maize-
                 *bhãt*?


(65)     *mɛ-be·k-ʔi·-ba?*
         nsAS-go-Q-IPF
         Are   they  going   or   aren't   they?/Do   you   think
                 they'll go?


(66)     *mɛ-be·k-pa-i·?*
         nsAS-go-IPF-Q
         Are they going?


(67)     *na·kt-u-ŋ-si-1-le*              *mɛ-bi·-ʔɛ-i·-ba?*
         ask_for-3P-1sA-nsP-1sA-SUB nsAS-give-1sPS-Q-IPF
         Will they give it to me if I ask them for it?


(68)     *na·k-maʔ-si-1le*      *a-m-bi·-ʔi·-ba?*
         ask_for-INF-nsP-SUB 1-nsAS-give-Q-IPF
         Will they give it to us[Pi] if we ask them for it?

(69)     *na·k-ma?-si-lle*      *kɛ-m-bi·-?i·-ba?*
         ask_for-INF-nsP-SUB 2-nsAS-give-Q-IPF
         Will they give it to youˢ if youˢ ask them for it?

(70)     *ku·-m?*     *ya·n-ch-u-i·-ba?*        *ku·-m?*
         carry-INF be_capable-dA-3P-Q-IPF carry-INF
             *mɛ-ya·nd-u-i·-ba?*
             nsAS-be_capable-3P-Q-IPF
         Would theyᵈ be capable of carrying it? Would theyᴾ
             be capable of carrying it?

(71)     *nuba mɛ-dɔy-u-i·-ba?*
         good nsAS-sew-3P-Q-IPF
         Did they sew it well?

(72)     *nuba mɛ-dɔy-u-ba-i·?*
         good nsAS-sew-3P-NOM-Q
         Is this what you call well sewn?

(73)     *nu-ba-i·?*
         be_alright-NOM-Q
         Is this [what you consider] good?

(74)     *nu-i·-ba?*
         be_alright-Q-IPF
         Is this good?

(75)     *te·?r-u-ŋ*              *lo·! nu-i·-ba?*
         take_away-3P-1sA ASS  be_alright-Q-IPF
         I'm taking [this shovel]! Will it be/is it all
             right? (i.e. Is it alright if I take this
             shovel?)

(76)     *kɛ-m-bi·r-ɛ-i·-ba?*
         2-nsAS-give-PT-Q-IPF
         Did they give it to youˢ?

(77)     *kɛ-gho·s-u-i·-ba?*
         2-find-3P-Q-IPF
         Did youˢ find him?

(78)     *mi   nɛ-i·-ba?*
         fire be_situated-Q-IPF
         Is there fire there or isn't there?

(79)     *kɛ-ba·ŋphe·-ʔo·     mikho·ʔ ho·p-pa      wa-i·-ba?*
         yourˢ-village-LOC smoke    not_be-IPF be-Q-IPF
         Don't they have smoke where youˢ come from (lit.
              in yourˢ village)?[3]

Since the normal position of the interrogative suffix is
utterance-final, it follows the adverb *-aŋ* 'too' when the
adverb is suffixed to a verb:

(80)     *anchɛn      kɛ-m-ba·tt-u-n-naŋ-i·?*
         yesterday 2-NEG-tell-3P-NEG-too-Q
         Didn't youˢ tell him [to do it] yesterday either?

(81)     *anchɛn      kɛ-n-dzo·g-u-n-naŋ-i·?*
         yesterday 2-NEG-do-3P-NEG-too-Q
         Didn't youˢ do it yesterday either?

(82)     *anchɛn-siŋya·n mɛ-dzo·g-u-n-naŋ-i·?*
         the_other_day  NEG-do-3P-NEG-too-Q
         Didn't he do it the other day either?

The interrogative suffix may be omitted in questions of
intention like (83) in which the speaker asks his father
whether he is to let the chickens out of their adobe coop.
The speaker is not asking whether he will do so, i.e. not
'Will I let the chickens out of their coop', but inquiring
whether it is his father's intention that he do so.

(83)     *waʔ-haʔ     lɛʔr-u-ŋ-si-ŋ?*
         chicken-p release-3P-1sA-nsP-1sA
         Shall I let the chickens out of their coop?

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[3] said to someone whose eyes are irritated by the smoke;
    Limbu households traditionally lack chimneys for their
    *sumhaʔluŋ*.

# Chapter Seven
# Gerunds and Periphrastic Tenses

## 7.1. The gerunds

There are three types of gerunds which may occur both adverbially and together with auxiliaries to form periphrastic tenses. These are the present gerund (prG), the perfect gerund (pfG) and the separate negative perfect gerund (npG). Moreover, present gerunds are used to form periphrastic causatives (10.2).

The present gerund of a verb is formed by suffixation of the morpheme <-lɔ> to its simplex. The present gerund indicates action at or during a point of orientation or focus. When a present gerund is used adverbially, the event or activity it indicates occurs simultaneously to the event of the main verb, eg. (1-7). The present gerund as adverb agrees with the main verb in tense. A preterit present gerund agrees with a preterit main verb and does not by virtue of its tense signify action preceding that of the main verb, eg. (4-7).

The perfect gerund is formed by suffixation of the morpheme <-aŋ> to a simplex. Adverbial use of the perfect gerund is illustrated in examples (3-4). Adverbially and in the perfect tenses, the perfect gerund signifies action before a point of orientation or focus. The meaning and origin of the perfect gerund is intimately bound up with the coordinative suffix <-aŋ> to which a separate section (7.5.1) is devoted. The perfect gerund and coordinative suffix <-aŋ> are separated from a preceding /a/ or consonant by a hiatic glottal stop, eg. (84), (89) from a preceding back vowel by /w/, eg. (1), (88), and from a preceding front vowel by either hiatic glottal stop or /y/, eg. (4), (50), (106), (109). The hiatic glottal stop may assimilate to a preceding nasal, eg. (82).

Negative present gerunds are taken from negative simplicia. Negative perfect gerunds in temporally defocused forms are likewise taken from negative simplicia, but adverbially and in the perfect tenses there is a separate negative perfect gerund, which is discussed under 7.5.2.

(1)      *khikwa   ca·-rɔ      yu-waŋ        pɔʔl.*
         whistle whistle-prG come_down-pfG be
         He's coming down the hill whistling.

(2)    *samlo·-rɔ phɛn-aŋ pɔʔl*    He's on his way here,
                                   asinging.

       *samlo·-rɔ phɛn-lɔ pɔʔl*    He's on his way here,
                                   asinging.

       *samlo·-rɔ tha·ŋ-aŋ pɔʔl*   He's on his way up,
                                   asinging.

(3)    *khɛnɛʔ kɛ-im-lɔ    aŋga ta-ʔɛ-ŋ*
       yous  2-sleep-prG I    come-1sPS/NPT-and
            *pho·ŋ-nɛ.*
            wake_up-1→2
       While yous are sleeping I shall come and wake yous
            up.

(4)    *te·rathum-me· paŋmi-ʔin-naŋ    te·    rəcə*
       Tehrathum-adj son_in_law-ABS-too come/PT DEPR
            *mɛ-lɔʔr-ɛ-yaŋ    kye·la·ŋ-maʔ*
            nsAS-say-PT-and perform_the_cyābruṅ_nāc-INF
            *mɛ-baŋs-aŋ.        hɛkyaŋ cidzlʔ*
            nsAS-send-1sPS/PT so      little_bit
            *cidzlʔ        tub-u-ŋ-rɔ*
            little_bit pick_up-3P-1sA-prG
            *te·ʔr-u-ŋ.*
            take_away-3P-1sA
       Having said that the Tehrathum son-in-law appeared
            to have come also, they sent me to do the
            *cyābruṅ-nāc* [with him]. And then, getting the
            gist of it a little bit, I got away with it.[1]

(5)    *se·l                le·ks-u-rɔ        pɔtch-ɛ-rɔ*
       riceflour_flatbread deep_fry-3P-prG be-PT-prG
            *phɛʔlaʔr-ɛ. Tumla-re ti·s    rupaiyã*[2]
            get_angry-PT *Tumlā*-GEN thirty rupees
            *ku-yaŋ-in      hara      pi·r-amm-ɛʔ!*
            her-money-ABS quickly give-2p-IMP
       As she was deep-frying riceflour-flatbread, she
            got angry. Give *Tumlā* back her 30 Rs.
            quickly!

---

[1] The speaker is from the valley beyond the far north
    ridge where the *cyābruṅ-nāc* is performed differently
    than in Tehrathum district.
[2] *ti·s rupaiyã* = Nep. *tĩs rupaiyã* 'thirty rupees'

(6)       *kusaphɛ?r-ɛ-rɔ        ya·mbɔk-ha? sur-u-ŋ.*
          be_difficult-PT-prG work-p       finish-3P-1sA
          I completed the tasks with great difficulty, with
              many a setback.

(7)       *kusanur-ɛ-rɔ    ya·mbɔk-ha? su?-m?na.*
          be_easy-PT-prG work-p       finish-1peAS/PT
          We^pe completed the tasks with great ease.

The present gerund may occur with attributive 'to be' as an
attribute, eg. (9), or verbal complement, eg. (10), or
idiomatically in the following expression:

(8)       *pe·k-?ɛ-rɔ        pe·g-aŋ!*
          go-1sPS/NPT-prG go-1sPS/PT
          I'm off!

(9)       *a-nghɔ? kumbhre·ŋ thɛkt-u-rɔ    co·k.*
          my-ear  half        cover-3P-prG be
          It (viz. my hair) covers half my ear.

(10)      *luŋ-?o·    phɛdza-·n hasuk-lɔ      yutt-u-ŋ      lo·!*
          stone-LOC knife-ABS be_sharp-prG whet-3P-1sA ASS
          I'm whetting this knife sharp against a stone!

Present gerunds combine with the auxiliaries *pɔtma?* and
*ya·kma?* to yield the focused continuous, and with the
auxiliary *wa·ma?* to yield the spatially defocused conti-
nuous. Perfect gerunds combine with the auxiliaries *pɔtma?*
and *ya·kma?* to yield the temporally defocused continuous,
and with the auxiliary *wa·ma?* to yield the periphrastic
perfect tenses.

   For all but the perfect tenses, it holds that periphras-
tic tenses have both preterit and nonpreterit forms whereby
main verb and auxiliary agree in tense, eg. *ni·t-ch-u-rɔ
ya·k-si* (read-dA-3P-prG be-dPS) 'they^d are reading', *ni·r-
ɛ-tch-u-rɔ ya·g-ɛ-tchi* (read-PT-dA-3P-prG be-PT-dPS) 'they^d
were reading'.[3] Furthermore, both the simplex and the
auxiliary agree with the nominal arguments. An intransitive
gerund agrees with the subject, and a transitive gerund
agrees with both agent and patient. The auxiliaries *pɔtma?*,
*ya·kma?* and *wa·ma?* are intransitive and agree with the
agent or subject. Both gerund and auxiliary are negated in

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[3] Forms not agreeing for tense **ni·rɛtchurɔ ya·ksi*, **ni·t-
   churɔ ya·gɛtchi* are rejected.

| PERIPHRASTIC TENSE | AFFIRMATIVE FORM | | NEGATIVE FORM | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| focused continuous | NPT/PT simplex (verbs of motion) + *-lɔ* | + *pɔtma?* NPT/PT | negative NPT/PT simplex (verbs of motion) + *-lɔ* | + negative *pɔtma?* NPT/PT |
| | NPT/PT simplex (other verbs) + *-lɔ* | + *ya·kma?* NPT/PT | negative NPT/PT simplex (other verbs) + *-lɔ* | + negative *ya·kma?* NPT/PT |
| spatially defocused continuous | NPT/PT simplex + *-lɔ* | + *wa·ma?* NPT/PT | – | |
| temporally defocused continuous | NPT/PT simplex (verbs of motion) + *-aŋ* | + *pɔtma?* NPT/PT | negative NPT/PT simplex (verbs of motion) + *-aŋ* | + negative *pɔtma?* NPT/PT |
| | NPT/PT simplex (other verbs) + *-aŋ* | + *ya·kma?* NPT/PT | negative NPT/PT simplex (other verbs) + *-aŋ* | + negative *ya·kma?* NPT/PT |
| perfect tenses | PT intransitive simplex + *-aŋ* | + *wa·ma?* NPT/PT | *mɛn-* + stem + *-?ɛ* | + *wa·ma?* NPT/PT |
| | PT transitive simplex + *-aŋ* | + *wa·ma?* NPT/PT (only 3s forms!) | | |

negative forms. The spatially defocused continuous has no
negative counterpart (vide 7.3).

A synoptic overview of the periphrastic tenses appears
on p.151.


## 7.2. The focused continuous

The two periphrastic tenses formed on the basis of the
present gerund are the focused continuous and the spatially
defocused continuous.

Thefo cused continuous is made up of a present gerund in
combination with the auxiliary *pɔtma?* or *ya·kma?*, adhesive
and locational 'to be' respectively (vide 3). The meaning
of the focused continuous is a product of the present
gerund, denoting continuous activity, and the auxiliaries
locational and adhesive 'to be' which denote simultaneity
with the point of orientation in narrated time.

(11)  *sɔbya-?aŋ      sɔbya?     hɛn   kɛ-dzo·k-lɔ  kɛ-ya·k?*
      furtively-and furtively what 2-do-prG    2-be
      What are you⁵ carrying out so furtively?


(12)  *pi?l-ha? thɔk-si-rɔ      ya·k-si.*
      bull-p   clash-dPS-prG be-dPS
      The bulls have locked horns in combat./The bulls
            are at loggerheads.


(13)  *taŋsaŋ-?o·-lam  yu-?ɛ-rɔ                pɔ?l-ɛ.*
      heaven-LOC-from come_down-1sPS-prG be-1sPS
      I am descending from the heavens.


(14)  *aŋga lɔ?llɔ?l yu-?ɛ-rɔ                    pɔ?l-ɛ*
      I    just_now come_down-1sPS/NPT-prG be-1sPS/NPT
      *hɛnaŋbhɛlle su·s-aŋ.*
      because       be_late-1sPS/PT
      I am just coming down now because I was delayed.[4]


(15)  *khunɛ? wa?-sa        khɔkt-u-rɔ ya·k.*
      he     chicken-meat cut-3P-prG be
      He's cutting up the chicken meat.

---

[4] The speaker says this as he enters the farmyard, having
   just arrived.

(16)      *khunɛʔ khɔrɛ·ŋ lɛ·ks-u-rɔ   ya·k.*
          he      bread   knead-3P-prG be
          He's kneading dough./He's making bread.

Atelic verbs may take continuous forms, although the con-
tinuous of an atelic verb is semantically marked. For
example, in (17) the atelic verb *sɔkma so·mmaʔ* 'to breathe'
is semantically so imperfective that its continuous form is
highly marked. It is far more usual to say simply *sɔkma
so·ndu* 'he's breathing'. The continuous form in (17) is
used because the agent is nearly dead but still breathing.[5]

(17)      *sɔkma  so·ndurɔ       ya·k.*
          breath breathe-3P-prG be
          It's [still] breathing.

Some atelic verbs can be made continuous but necessitate
another verb in the English translation where the corres-
ponding English stative verb cannot be made into a pro-
gressive, eg. *nimaʔ* 'see': *nisurɔ ya·ksi* 'they[d] are
watching it', *mɛniʔɛnlɔ mɛya·kʔɛn* "I am not watching it',
*mɛnisurɔ mɛya·gɛ* 'they were looking at it', *nisuŋlɔ pɔʔlɛ*
'I see it, I am looking at it', *mɛniʔɛnlɔ mɛbɔʔlɛn* 'I am
not watching it'.

The focused continuous in subordinate clauses creates a
temporal backdrop, relating an event in progress when the
event designated by the main clause verb takes place, eg.
(18-22).

(18)      *hɛkke·lɔʔrik      mɛ-nu·ks-ɛ-rɔ      mɛ-bɔtch-ɛ-lle*
          in‿that‿fashion nsAS-return-PT-prG nsAS-be-PT-SUB
              *ca·rik-ʔe· khadam-ɛ.  mak   lɔʔr-ɛ.*
              very-EMPH get‿dark-PT black appear-PT
          As they were on their way back, it got very dark.
              It turned black.

(19)      *tɔkʔ-in  lakt-u-rɔ   pɔtch-ɛ-lle lɔkthik luŋ-dhik*
          rice-ABS boil-3P-prG be-PT-SUB   one      stone-one
              *attitti   yaŋ    he·kt-ɛ.*
              intensely tremble begin-PT
          As the rice was boiling, one of the rocks began to
              tremble.

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[5] In this case, the speaker was talking about a dying
animal. Informants claimed that it would be too insen-
sitive ever to talk about humans in this way. About a

(20)        *na·tt-ε-tch-u-rɔ*              *pɔtch-ε-tchi-lle khεɳ*
            drive_away-PT-dA-3P-prG be-PT-dPS-SUB      that
                *hεndzaʔ-in ku-him-ʔo·*        *kε ʔr-ε-yaɳ*
                boy-ABS       his-house-LOC arrive-PT-and
                *ku-mba*      *hεn*   *mεtt-u*    *phεlle*
                his-father what say_to-3P *bhanera*
                *'a-mbo·*            *a-mbo·,*          *εn*    *anige sumsi*
                my-father/VOC my-father/VOC today we [pe]   three
                *mɔnɔ aɳga a-ndzum-dhik-nu*
                man    I      my-friend-one-COM
                *tiliɳga-dhik-nu*    *lo·k-ɳna-ba*        *aɳga*
                policeman-one-COM race-1pePS/PT-IPF I
                *nand-u-ɳ-si-ɳ!'*
                win-3P-1sA-nsP-1sA
            As they[d] were chasing after him, the boy arrived
                at his home and said to his father, 'Father!
                Father! Today three of us[pe] had a race, I, a
                friend of mine and a policeman, and I beat
                them!'

(21)        *hεkke·*     *pa·tt-u-rɔ*    *ya·g-ε-lle khεɳ e·ʔyaɳba*
            like_that speak-3P-prG be-PT-SUB   that other
                *nεpphu mɔnɔ-haʔ-aɳ kε ʔr-ε-tchi-lle*    *gɔ·*
                two       man-p-too    arrive-PT-dPS-SUB then
                *khεɳ hεndzaʔ-in khεt-chiɳ khε ʔr-ε.*
                that boy-ABS       chase-REF RES-PT
            As he was speaking that way, by the time those
                other two men also arrived, that boy had
                already made off.

(22)        *hεkke·lɔʔrik*     *him-lεpsaɳ*   *te·-si-rɔ*
            in_that_fashion home-toward come/PT-dPS-prG
                *pɔtch-ε-tchi-lle ca·rik-ʔe·*   *wabak-le*
                be-PT-dPS-SUB       very-EMPH    pond-GEN
                *ku-be·sε ʔ-ʔo·*  *kεɳ-ε*              *nε·s-ε-tchi.*
                its-edge-LOC fall_down-PT stay-PT-dPS
            As they[d] were coming home, they fell down [exhaus-
                ted] by the side of a watering hole.

The focused continuous in a narrative likewise creates the
temporal backdrop for events to be described.

---

human, however, one may say: *sa·rik sɔkma so·ndurɔ ya·gε*
'he was breathing heavily'.

(23)   lɔkthik məna ku-de·ʔl-ku-bhuŋ              huk-ʔo·
       one    man  his-clothes-his-clothing hand-LOC
       wa·p-mna-ba kɛrɛk        phɛnd-u-waŋ
       wear-PP-NOM everything take_off-3P-and
       warum-siŋ-lɔ  ya·g-ɛ.
       bathe-REF-prG be-PT
       One man, having taken off all his clothing and his
       watch, was bathing.

The choice between the two auxiliaries pɔtmaʔ and ya·kmaʔ
is to a large extent lexical. Verbs of determinate locomo--
tion invariably take the auxiliary pɔtmaʔ, eg. pe·klɔ pɔʔl
'he is going', yu-ʔɛ-rɔ pɔʔl-ɛ 'I am coming down', phɛn-lɔ
pɔʔl 'he is coming', mɛ-dhaŋ-lɔ mɛ-bɔʔl 'they are coming
up', mɛ-ye·-rɔ mɛ-bɔtch-ɛ 'they were coming down', yy-aŋ-lɔ
pɔtch-aŋ 'I was coming down', laŋghe·k-ʔɛ-rɔ pɔʔl-ɛ 'I am
walking'. Present gerunds of such verbs with ya·kmaʔ are
rejected.

Verbs of motion not indicating determinate locomotion do
not take pɔtmaʔ as their auxiliary. The verbs wa·mmaʔ (vt.)
'rock' and wa·nchiŋmaʔ (vr.) 'sway, rock to and fro' are
verbs of motion, but not of locomotion, and take ya·kmaʔ as
their auxiliary: wa·ndurɔ ya·k 'he is fanning it away, he
is rocking it', wa·nchiŋʔɛrɔ ya·kʔɛ 'I'm swaying to and
fro', wa·nnɛtchirɔ ya·ksi 'they[d] are swaying to and fro'.
Similarly, mummaʔ 'to go, to run' (Nep. calnu): mundɛ 'it
ran', mundɛrɔ ya·gɛ 'it was running, it was working', munlɔ
ya·k 'it's running'. The verb lo·kmaʔ 'to run' is a verb of
indeterminate locomotion and so takes the auxiliary ya·k-
maʔ, perhaps also because exertion is a prominent component
in the meaning of lo·kmaʔ more so than in other verbs of
motion: mɛ-lo·k-lɔ mɛ-ya·k 'They[P] are running', lo·k-si-rɔ
ya·k-si 'They[d] are running'. Takɔmmaʔ is also a verb of
indeterminate locomotion and exclusively[6] takes ya·kmaʔ:
takɔnʔɛrɔ ya·kʔɛ 'I am wandering about' (vi.), takɔndunlɔ
ya·kʔɛ 'I am wandering about' (vt.).

Verbs denoting activity other than determinate locomo-
tion usually take the auxiliary ya·kmaʔ,[7] eg. po·ŋwa·sigɛrɔ

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[6] Combinations like *takɔnʔɛrɔ pɔʔlɛ are rejected.

[7]    caŋlɔ ya·kʔɛ                    I am eating
       adzasurɔ aya·ksi               We[di] are eating
       casugerɔ ya·ksige              We[de] are eating
       adzamlɔ aya·k                  We[Pi] are eating
       cambɛrɔ ya·gige                We[Pe] are eating
       kɛdzɔrɔ kɛya·k                 You[s] are eating

*ya·ksige* 'we[de] are playing', *co·g-u-ŋ-lɔ ya·k-ʔɛ* 'I am doing it', *khikwa ce·-rɔ ya·g-ɛ* 'He was whistling', *saptuŋ-lɔ ya·kʔɛ* 'I am writing', *ɔ·mɛmɔtturɔ mɛya·gɛ* 'they were watching', *tho·ŋsurɔ ya·ksi* 'they[d] are ploughing', *ɔ·guŋlɔ ya·gaŋ* 'I was digging', *khɛpsurɔ ya·k* 'he's listening'. In fact, most verbs do not allow the use of *pɔtmaʔ*. In all the following three examples, *pɔtmaʔ* would be inappropriate: *piŋ ca·ʔɛrɔ ya·kʔɛ* 'I am playing on the ferris wheel', *tɔk caŋlɔ ya·kʔɛ* 'I am eating rice', *i·tchiŋʔɛrɔ ya·kʔɛ* 'I am thinking'.

However certain verbs, such as those denoting speech action, take either auxiliary, eg. *pa·tt-u-ŋ-lɔ pɔʔl-ɛ* 'I am speaking', *pa·tt-u-ŋ-lɔ ya·k-ʔɛ* 'I am speaking'. In such cases, the two forms are neither semantically nor stylistically equivalent. Their semantic difference seems to underlie the choice of auxiliary even in those cases where it is lexically determined. This is illustrated by the semantic distinction in the verbs which allow either auxiliary. *Co·-guŋlɔ ya·kʔɛ (gardai chu)* 'I am doing it' is the unmarked form signaling that the speaker is engaged in the act at the moment of utterance; the combination with adhesive 'to be', *co·guŋlɔ pɔʔlɛ (gari raheko chu)* 'I am doing it', places emphasis on sustained activity, activity without pause. While both *saptuŋlɔ pɔʔlɛ (lekhi raheko chu)* and *saptuŋlɔ ya·kʔɛ (lekhdai chu)* mean 'I am writing', the former emphasizes sustained motion of the speaker's hands.

----

| | |
|---|---|
| *kɛdzasurɔ kɛya·ksi* | You[d] are eating |
| *kɛdzamlɔ kɛya·gi* | You[P] are eating |
| *cɔrɔ ya·k* | He/she is eating |
| *casurɔ ya·ksi* | They[d] are eating |
| *mɛdzɔrɔ mɛya·k* | They[P] are eating |
| | |
| *caŋlɔ ya·gaŋ* | I was eating |
| *adze·surɔ aya·gɛtchi* | We[di] were eating |
| *ce·sugerɔ ya·gɛtchige* | We[de] were eating |
| *adzamlɔ aya·gɛ* | We[Pi] were eating |
| *camʔnarɔ ya·kŋʔna* | We[Pe] were eating |
| *kɛdzɔrɔ kɛya·gɛ* | You[s] were eating |
| *kɛdze·surɔ kɛya·gɛtchi* | You[d] were eating |
| *kɛdzamlɔ kɛya·gi* | You[P] were eating |
| *cɔrɔ ya·gɛ* | He/she was eating |
| *ce·surɔ ya·gɛtchi* | They[d] were eating |
| *mɛdzɔrɔ mɛya·gɛ* | They[P] were eating |

*Wi?l thama?* 'to rain' takes either auxiliary. The combination with *ya·kma?* is unmarked, *wi?l tharɔ ya·k* 'it is raining', *wi?l the·rɔ ya·gɛ* 'it was raining', whereas the collocation with *pɔtma?* conveys the image of incessant rains, of rain which does not look as if though it is going to stop: *wi?l tharɔ pɔ?l* 'it is raining', *wi?l the·rɔ pɔtchɛ* 'it was raining'. Although *kɛŋma?* 'to stumble and fall down' seems too punctual to be made into a continuous form, its present gerund may occur only with the auxiliary *pɔtma?*, indicating sustained or incessant motion, and yields the meaning 'to tumble', eg. *luŋin kɛŋlɔ pɔ?l* 'the rock is tumbling [down the hill]'. Likewise, *ya·mbɔk po·ŋlɔ ya·k* and *ya·mbɔk po·ŋlɔ pɔ?l* mean 'the work is underway, the work is being carried out', but the former indicates continuous activity, whereas the latter indicates incessant activity.

But the distinction is subtler. Besides the semantic component of incessant or relentless activity, adhesive 'to be' as an auxiliary also has a colloquial or casual flavour. It is avoided in polite speech when refering to elders. For example, whereas *kɛyuŋlɔ kɛya·k* 'you[s] are sitting' or *kɛyuŋsirɔ kɛya·ksi* 'you[d] are sitting', *yuŋlɔ ya·k* 'he is sitting' are acceptable in refering to one's parents, the corresponding forms with *pɔtma?* are not: *kɛyuŋlɔ kɛbɔ?l* 'you[s] are sitting', *kɛyuŋsirɔ kɛbɔtchi* 'you[d] are sitting', *yuŋlɔ pɔ?l* 'he is sitting'. *Pɔtma?* is characteristic of a casual style or register and suggests intimacy or familiarity.

There are a number of verbs other than those denoting determinate motion for which *pɔtma?* appears to be the more usual auxiliary, eg. *imma?* 'to sleep'[8], *lakma?* 'to boil': *lakturɔ pɔ?l* 'it's boiling', *lakturɔ pɔtchɛ* 'it was boiling'.

---

[8]

| | |
|---|---|
| *im-?ɛ-rɔ pɔ?l-ɛ* | I am sleeping |
| *a?im-si-rɔ a-bɔt-chi* | We[di] are sleeping |
| *im-si-ge-rɔ pɔt-chi-ge* | We[de] are sleeping |
| *a?im-lɔ a-bɔ?l* | We[pi] are sleeping |
| *ips-i-ge-rɔ pɔtch-i-ge* | We[pe] are sleeping |
| *kɛ?im-lɔ kɛ-bɔ?l* | You[s] are sleeping |
| *kɛ?im-si-rɔ kɛ-bɔt-chi* | You[d] are sleeping |
| *kɛ?ips-i-rɔ kɛ-bɔtch-i* | You[p] are sleeping |
| *im-lɔ pɔ?l* | He/she is sleeping |
| *im-si-rɔ pɔt-chi* | They[d] are sleeping |
| *mɛ?im-lɔ mɛ-bɔ?l* | They[p] are sleeping |

## 7.3. The spatially defocused continuous

The spatially defocused continuous relates continuous activity not restricted to a single locality.[9] The indicated activity takes place more than once, accompanied by spatial displacement of the actant either during the period of activity or between bouts of performing the activity. In the latter case, the spatially defocused continuous may have habitual meaning, though displacement of the actant remains the essential condition. The meaning of this periphrastic tense is the product of the non-adhesive non-locational meaning of the auxiliary *wa·ma?*, existential 'to be', and the continuous meaning of the present gerund.

Spatially defocused continuous forms lack negated counterparts. Instead, negated simplicia are used.

The difference between the spatially defocused continuous in (24) and the focused continuous in (25) is that the pig in (24) is routing up the soil in an itinerant fashion, gorging itself on the denizens of a vast underground network of termites. The piglet in (25) is standing in one place feeding on termites.

| | |
|---|---|
| *ips-aŋ-lɔ pɔtch-aŋ* | I was sleeping |
| *a?ipɛ-tchi-rɔ abɔtch-ɛ-tchi* | We[di] were sleeping |
| *ips-ɛ-tchi-ge-rɔ* | |
| *pɔt-chɛ-tchi-ge* | We[de] were sleeping |
| *a?ips-ɛ-rɔ a-bɔtch-ɛ* | We[pi] were sleeping |
| *im-mna-rɔ pɔt-mna* | We[pe] were sleeping |
| *kɛ?ips-ɛ-rɔ kɛ-bɔtch-ɛ* | You[s] were sleeping |
| *kɛ?ips-ɛ-tchi-rɔ* | |
| *kɛ-bɔtch-ɛ-tchi* | You[d] were sleeping |
| *kɛ?ips-i-rɔ kɛ-bɔtch-i* | You[p] were sleeping |
| *ips-ɛ-rɔ pɔtch-ɛ* | He/she was sleeping |
| *ips-ɛ-tchi-rɔ pɔtch-ɛ-tchi* | They[d] were sleeping |
| *mɛ?ips-ɛ-rɔ mɛ-bɔtch-ɛ* | They[p] were sleeping |

[9] One of my informants, *Jay Kumār*, who as an employee of the *Nepāl Parivār Niyojan* travels constantly throughout *Limbuvān*, maintains that there is a dialectal difference in the use of auxiliaries. For example, speakers of the *Pãcthare* dialect use *wa·ma?* with verbs of locomotion as a simple focused continuous, eg. *pe·klɔ wa·*, *yu?ɛrɔ wa·?ɛ*, where *Phedãppe* speakers use *pɔtma?*: *pe·klɔ pɔ?l*, *yu?ɛrɔ pɔ?lɛ*. This *Pãcthare* usage struck him as particularly comical.

(24)    *phak-ʔille nim-haʔ   cɔ-si-rɔ     wa·.*
           swine-ERG  termite-p eat/3P-nsP-prG be
           The pig is [wandering about] eating termites.
              (*suṅgur le chicimroharu khãndai ghumdai cha.*)

25)    *phak-ʔille nim-haʔ   cɔ-si-rɔ     ya·k.*
           swine-ERG  termite-p eat/3P-nsP-prG be
           The pig is [standing there] eating termites. (*suṅ-*
              *gur le chicimroharu* (*ek ṭhãũ mã basdai/ubhin-*
              *dai*) *khãndai cha.*)

A similar distinction exists between (26) and (27). The speaker in (26) is not necessarily writing at the moment of utterance. The speaker, a farmer who is also a part-time employee of the anti-malarial campaign, is walking about the village writing down people's names. The speaker in (27) is writing at the moment of utterance.

(26)    *sapt-u-ŋ-lɔ     wa·-ʔɛ.*
           write-3P-1sA-prG be-1sPS/NPT
           I am writing.

(27)    *sapt-u-ŋ-lɔ     ya·k-ʔɛ.*
           write-3P-1sA-prG be-1sPS/NPT
           I am writing.

Similarly, in (28) the speaker claims to have thought of the person addressed not just at a given moment in the past, but to have done so intermittently for some period (*ṭãḍhã belã*) of time, viz. during the prolonged absence of the person addressed. Sentence (29) occurs as part of a narrative. It denotes continuous action at the point of orientation in the preterit and sets the scene for an event in the following sentence which is described by the speaker as having occurred at the very moment he was reminiscing about the person addressed.

(28)    *khɛnɛʔ i·t-nɛ-rɔ     way-aŋ.*
           youˢ   think-1→2-prG be-1sPS/PT
           I was thinking of youˢ.

(29)    *khɛnɛʔ i·t-nɛ-rɔ     ya·g-aŋ.   hɛkyaŋ kɛ-iŋhɔŋ*
           youˢ   think-1→2-prG be-1sPS/PT then    yourˢ-news
              *kɛʔr-ɛ.*
              arrive-PT.
           I was thinking of youˢ. Then yourˢ letter came.

The spatially defocused continuous may have habitual meaning. The verb *takɔmma?* 'to wander' denotes an inherently spatially diffuse activity. In (30) the spatially defocused form of *takɔmma?* has habitual meaning; it describes a habit of the speaker who likes to go on walks.

(30)    *takɔn-?ɛ-rɔ*          *wa·-?ɛ.*
        wander-1sPS/NPT-prG  be-1sPS/NPT
        1 am wandering around.

## 7.4. The temporally defocused continuous

The temporally defocused continuous is formed on the basis of a perfect gerund in combination with the auxiliary *pɔtma?* or *ya·kma?*.[10]

In contradistinction to the focused continuous, the temporally defocused continuous indicates activity in progress but not necessarily being enacted at the point of orientation in narrated time.

---

[10] *Pɔtma* for locomotive verbs and *ya·kma?* for activity verbs, eg.

| | |
|---|---|
| *pe·gaŋaŋ pɔtchaŋ* | I was going |
| *pe·k?ɛaŋ pɔ?lɛ* | I am going |
| *pe·gɛaŋ pɔtchɛ* | He was going |
| *pe·k?aŋ pɔ?l* | He is going |
| *mɛbe·gɛrɔ mɛbɔtchɛ/* | |
| *mɛbe·rɔ mɛbɔtchɛ* | They were going |
| *mɛbe·klɔ mɛbɔ?l* | They are going |

| | |
|---|---|
| *allɔ ni·ruŋaŋ ya·k?ɛ* | *ni·ruŋaŋ ya·gaŋ* |
| Now I am reading | I was reading |
| *anchi ani·tchuaŋ aya·ksi* | *ani·rɛtchuaŋ aya·gɛtchi* |
| We[di] are reading | We[di] were reading |
| *ni·tchuaŋ ya·ksige* | *ni·rɛtchuaŋ ya·gɛtchige* |
| We[de] are reading | We[de] were reading |
| *ani·rumaŋ aya·k* | *ani·rumaŋ aya·gɛ* |
| We[pi] are reading | We[pi] were reading |
| *ni·rumbeaŋ ya·gige* | *ni·pm?naŋ ya·kŋ?na* |
| We[pe] are reading | We[pe] were reading |
| *kɛni·ruaŋ kɛya·k* | *kɛni·ruaŋ kɛya·gɛ* |
| You[s] are reading | You[s] were reading |
| *kɛni·tchuaŋ kɛya·ksi* | *kɛni·rɛtchuaŋ kɛya·gɛtchi* |
| You[d] are reading | You[d] were reading |

(a) *co·guŋaŋ ya·k?ɛ*      I am doing it.      *gardai chu*
(b) *co·guŋaŋ ya·gaŋ*      I was doing it.     *gardai thiẽ*
(c) *co·guŋlɔ ya·k?ɛ*      I am doing it.      *gari raheko chu*
(d) *co·guŋlɔ ya·gaŋ*      I was doing it.     *gari raheko thiẽ*

    (a) *khikwa ca·?aŋ ya·k*      He is whistling.
    (b) *khikwa ce·?aŋ ya·gɛ*     He was whistling.
    (c) *khikwa ca·rɔ ya·k*       He is whistling.
    (d) *khikwa ce·rɔ ya·gɛ*      He was whistling.

The focused continuous in (c) and (d) is used when the agent is engaged in the indicated activity at the point of orientation, whereas the temporally defocused continuous in (a) and (b) is said when the activity is in progress, even when a rest or break is being taken. The *process* indicated must be in progress but need not be being carried out at the moment of reference. The situations in which (c) or (d) are a suitable utterance is a subset of the set of cases for which (a) or (b) are a suitable utterance.

Forexample, *yuwaŋ pɔ?l* (come_down-pfG be) 'He is on his way down' is appropriate to describe a situation where the referent is presently in the process of coming down the mountain into the valley, even though he may be observed not be propelling himself down the mountain at the exact moment of utterance; he may have stopped somewhere on his way down to chat or to drink tea or whey. In (31) the speaker is sitting on a veranda as he speaks, not actively engaged in the construction work. In (32) the hypothetical friend uses the temporally defocused continuous because he asks what the speaker is up to today, not in what activity the speaker is engaged at the moment he poses the question.

(31)      *tho·dho·? kɔsɔŋ him    co·g-u-ŋ-aŋ        ya·k-?ɛ.*
            up_there  new   house build-3P-1sA-pfG be-1sPS/NPT
            I'm building a new house up there.

---

*kɛni·rumaŋ kɛya·gi*        *kɛni·rumaŋ kɛya·gi*
YouP are reading            YouP were reading
*ni·ruaŋ ya·k*              *ni·ruaŋ ya·gɛ*
He is reading               He was reading
*ni·tchuaŋ ya·ksi*        *ni·rɛtchuaŋ ya·gɛtchi*
They[d] are reading          They[d] were reading
*mɛni·ruaŋ mɛya·k*       *mɛni·ruaŋ mɛya·gɛ*
TheyP are reading          TheyP were reading

(32)      *cum-ille* '*hɛn   kɛ-dzo·k-ʔaŋ  kɛ-ya·k*' *phaʔaŋ*
          friend-ERG what 2-do-pfG      2-be      whether
               *se·n-a-do·-lle,  na·mthadhak*
               ask-1-ask-SUB,   till_sunset
               *thiŋ-maʔ-re*              *yuŋ-maʔ-rɔk  saba.*
               masturbate-INF-EMPH sit-INF-only EMPH-IPF
          If a friend asks us[Pi] 'what are you[s] doing', [we
          say] just sitting and masturbating all day
          till sundown. (*sāthīle ke gardai chaũ bhanera
          sodhdā, dinbhar* (lit. *ghām najharunjel*)
          *khulkāũdai basnu ta ho ni.*)

(33)      *kɔŋ  waʔ-ɛn  hɛn  co·k-ʔaŋ ya·k-pa?*
          this hen-ABS what do-pfG   be-IPF
          What's this chicken up to?

However, the temporally defocused continuous does not ex-
clude continuous activity at the moment of reference. Cases
in which the focused continuous is applicable form a speci-
fic subset of the cases in which the temporally defocused
continuous is appropriate, eg. *aŋga laŋghe·kʔɛaŋ ya·kʔɛ*
'I'm strolling, I'm on a stroll', *warumsiŋʔɛaŋ ya·kʔɛ* 'I am
[in the process of] bathing', *mɛʔɔ·kʔaŋ mɛya·k* 'they're
shouting', *mɛʔɔ·gɛyaŋ mɛya·gɛ* 'they were shouting', *mɛghe·-
yaŋ mɛya·k* 'they[P] are having a fight', *co·ksuwaŋ ya·ksi*
'they[d] are doing it', *co·gɛtchuwaŋ ya·gɛtchi* 'they[d] were
doing it', *ni·ruwaŋ ya·k* 'he is reading', *ni·ruwaŋ ya·gɛ*
'he was reading'.

(34)      *hɛkyaŋ khunchi i·tt-ɛ-tch-u*
          then    they[d]   think-PT-dA-3P
               '*anchige-im-maʔ-dɛn-ʔo·   la·s-ɛ-tchi-ge-yaŋ*
               we[de]-sleep-INF-place-LOC enter-PT-dPS-e-pfG
               *ya·k-si-ge*' *phaʔaŋ  i·tt-ɛ-tch-u.*
               be-dPS-e      *bhanera* think-PT-dA-3P
          Then they[d] thought, 'We[de] are now entering our
          sleeping place.'

A stative verb may be in the temporally defocused conti-
nuous, even though it is evident that the activity takes
place at the point of orientation. The temporally diffuse
form of stative verbs has a durative sense, eg. *mi tiʔlaŋ
ya·k* 'the fire is burning' (*āgo bali raheko cha*) as against
*tiʔl* 'it's burning'.

## 7.5. The periphrastic perfect tenses

The periphrastic perfect tenses are the perfect and pluper-
fect. Both perfect and pluperfect are formed on the basis
of a *preterit* perfect gerund in combination with the auxi-
liary *wa·ma?*. Nonpreterit *wa·ma?* yields perfect tense and
indicates present relevance of a past action; preterit
*wa·ma?* yields pluperfect and indicates relevance at some
point of reference in the past of a preterit action, eg.
*co·gɛtchuwaŋ wa·* 'they[d] have done it', *co·gɛtchuwaŋ wayɛ*
'they[d] had done it'.[11]

In the perfect tenses of intransitive verbs, both prete-
rit gerund and auxiliary agree with the subject,[12] except
in the interrogative (vide infra), eg. *pa·?raŋaŋ wa·?ɛ* 'I
have talked', *pa·?raŋaŋ wayaŋ* 'I had talked'.[13] *mɛbe·gɛyaŋ
mɛwa·* 'they have gone', *mɛbe·gɛyaŋ mɛwayɛ* 'they had gone',
*pe·gaŋaŋ wayaŋ* 'I had gone', *pe·gaŋaŋ wa·?ɛ* 'I have gone',
*takɔndaŋ wayaŋ* 'I had gone out for a stroll', *i·raŋaŋ wa·?ɛ*
'I have wandered about', *i·raŋaŋ wayaŋ* 'I had wandered
about', *yuŋaŋaŋ wayaŋ* 'I had sat down', *khɛnɛ? a·tto·
kɛbe·-?aŋ kɛ-wɛ·* 'where had you[s] gone?, where have you[s]
been?'.

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[11] Nonpreterit perfect gerunds do not combine with *wa·ma?*:
*\*co·ksuwaŋ wa·*, *\*co·ksuwaŋ wayɛ*.

[12] The perfect and pluperfect of *pe·kma?* 'to go' are as
follows:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1s | *pe·k?ɛŋ wa·?ɛ* | *pe·gaŋaŋ wa·?ɛ* | |
| 1di | *abitchiaŋ awa·si* | *abe·gɛtchiaŋ awa·si* | |
| 1de | *pitchiaŋ wa·sige* | *pe·gɛtchiaŋ wa·sige* | |
| 1pi | *abe·k?aŋ awa·* | *abe·gɛŋ awa·* | |
| 1pe | *pe·gigeŋ wa·?ige* | *pe·kŋ?naŋ wa·?ige* | |
| 2s | *kɛbe·k?aŋ kɛwa·* | *kɛbe·gɛŋ kɛwa·* | |
| 2d | *kɛbitchiaŋ kɛwa·si* | *kɛbe·gɛtchiaŋ kɛwa·si* | |
| 2p | *kɛbe·giaŋ kɛwayi* | *kɛbe·giaŋ kɛwayi* | |
| 3s | *pe·k?aŋ wa·* | *pe·gɛŋ wa·* | |
| 3d | *pitchiaŋ wa·si* | *pe·gɛtchiaŋ wa·si* | |
| 3p | *mɛbe·k?aŋ mɛwa·* | *mɛbe·gɛaŋ mɛwa·* | |

[13] Non-interrogative combinations of intransitive pfG and
*wa·ma?* not agreeing in person and number, eg. *\*pa·?raŋaŋ
wa·*, *\*pa·?raŋaŋ wayɛ*, *\*pe·gaŋaŋ wayɛ*, *pe·gaŋaŋ wa·*, are
ungrammatical.

(35)　*siŋya·n　　　　　khunɛʔ ku-ba·n*
　　　day_before_yesterday he　　his-speech
　　　　*khɔʔr-ɛ-ŋ　　　　　way-ɛ,*
　　　　be_delirious-PT-pfG be-PT,
　　　　*ma·-siŋ-nɛʔl.*
　　　　lose-REF-be_on_the_verge
　　　The day before yesterday he was delirious, he is
　　　about to pass away.

(36)　*aŋga ta·ple·dzuŋ-ʔo·-lam ty-aŋ-aŋ*
　　　I　*Tāplejuṅ*-LOC-from　　come-1sPS/PT-pfG
　　　*wa·-ʔɛ.*
　　　be-1sPS/NPT
　　　I have come from *Tāplejuṅ*.

(37)　*khɛŋhaʔ kɛrɛk takɔn-che mɛ-be·g-ɛ-ŋ　　mɛ-wa·.*
　　　they　　all　stroll-SUP nsAS-go-PT-pfG nsAS-be
　　　They have all gone out on a stroll.

(38)　*ma·khi rɔk　pe·s-ɛ.　khɔkmɛlle se·.*
　　　blood　only vomit-PT almost　　die/PT
　　　　*nur-ɛ-aŋ　　　　　way-ɛ.*
　　　　recuperate-PT-pfG be-PT
　　　He was only vomiting blood. He almost died, [but]
　　　he has recovered.

(39)　*cuciʔ　　　rɔk　nɔr-ɛ-aŋ　　　　way-ɛ.*
　　　little_bit only be_left-PT-pfG be-PT
　　　There was only a little bit left over.

(40)　*hɛn　co·g-ɛ-aŋ way-ɛ?*
　　　what do-PT-pfG be-PT
　　　What had he been doing?

(41)　*dzirikhimti pe·g-ɛ-tchi-ge-aŋ way-ɛ-tchi-ge*
　　　*Jirikhimtī* go-PT-dPS-e-pfG　　be-PT-dPS-e
　　　　*a·kkhɛn gate·?*
　　　　how_many date
　　　What date was it that we[de] went to *Jirikhimtī*?

Whereas the auxiliary agrees in intransitive perfects,
*pa·ʔraŋaŋ wa·ʔɛ, pa·ʔraŋaŋ wayaŋ*, the auxiliary does not
agree in the corresponding transitive forms: *pa·ttuŋaŋ wa·*
'I have spoken', *pa·ttuŋaŋ wayɛ* 'I had spoken'. In the
perfect tenses of transitives, the preterit gerund agrees
with agent and patient, but the auxiliary *wa·maʔ* conjugates
impersonally, invariably appearing in the preterit or non-

preterit third singular, eg. *ni·ruwaŋ wa·* 'he has read it',
*ni·ruwaŋ wayɛ* 'he had read it', *saptuŋaŋ wa·* 'I have writ-
ten it, it has been written by me', *saptuŋaŋ wayɛ* 'I had
written it, it had been written by me', *mɛdzo·guwaŋ wa·*
'they have done it', *mɛdzo·guwaŋ wayɛ* 'they had done it',
*pho·ksuŋaŋ wayɛ* 'I had woken him up'.[14]

(42)        - *pɔ·tthaŋ   khu·ks-w-aŋ   way-ɛ-i·?*
            *pacchyaurā* drape-3P-pfG be-PT-Q
        - *ã̃.*
           yes
        - *a·kdaŋba      pɔ·tthaŋ   khu·ks-w-aŋ   way-ɛ?*
           what_kind_of *pacchyaurā* drape-3P-pfG be-PT
               - Had she put on a *pacchyaurā*?
               - Yes.
               - What kind of *pacchyaurā* had she put on?

(43)        *anchɛn     kɛ-hipt-aŋ-aŋ       wa·. allo·  aŋga*
        yesterday 2-hit-1sPS/PT-pfG be.   now   I
             *hip-nɛ! anche·-aŋ  kɛ-hipt-aŋ-aŋ     way-ɛ.*
             hit-1→2 before-too 2-hit-1sPS/PT-pfG be-PT.
        Yesterday you[s] hit[15] me. Now I'm going to hit
            you[s]! You[s] had hit me before too.

(44)        *hɛkkɛlle khunchi-cum-ha?-re yɔllik thi·*
        so         their-friend-p-ERG much    millet_beer
             *mɛ-de·?r-u-waŋ     way-ɛ rɔcə.*
             nsAS-bring-3P-pfG be-PT DEPR
        So their friends appeared to have brought lots of
            millet beer.

(45)        *te·?l-in      tha·ŋs-u-ŋ-aŋ       wa·.*
        clothes-ABS send_up-3P-1sA-pfG be.
        The clothes have been sent up by me./I have sent
            the clothes up.

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[14] Combinations of transitive pfG and *wa·ma?* agreeing in
person and number, e.g. **saptuŋaŋ wa·?ɛ*, **saptuŋaŋ wa-
yaŋ*, **mɛdzo·guwaŋ mɛwa·*, **mɛdzo·guwaŋ mɛwayɛ*, **kɛhiptaŋ-
aŋ kɛwa·*, **kɛhiptaŋaŋ kɛwayɛ*, **kɛhiptaŋaŋ wa·?ɛ*, **kɛhip-
taŋaŋ wayaŋ*, **pa·ttuŋaŋ wa·?ɛ*, **pa·ttuŋaŋ wayaŋ*, are re-
jected.

[15] The definite time adverb 'yesterday' precludes a perfect
translation in English. The Limbu verb is perfect.

(46)   *so·kt-u-ŋ-aŋ   wa·.*
       aim-3P-1sA-pfG be
       That's what I had in mind.

In the interrogative of intransitive perfects, the auxi-
liary may or may not show agreement, eg. *kɛgɛʔrɛyaŋ wa·*
'you⁵ have arrived', *kɛgɛʔrɛyaŋ kɛwa·* 'you⁵ have arrived',
*kɛgɛʔrɛyaŋ wayɛ* 'you⁵ had arrived', *kɛgɛʔrɛyaŋ kɛwayɛ* 'you⁵
had arrived', *kɛ-be·g-ɛ-yaŋ wai·?* 'have you⁵ gone?', *khɛŋ-
haʔ madhan me·la mɛbe·gɛyaŋ wai·?* 'have they gone to the
Madhan Melā?', *khɛŋhaʔ mɛbe·gɛyaŋ mɛwai·?* 'have they
gone?', *khɛŋhaʔ mɛbe·gɛyaŋ mɛwayɛi·?* 'had they gone?',
*khɛni madhan me·la kɛbe·giyaŋ wai·ba?* 'have you guys P gone
to the Madhan Melā or haven't you P?'.

(47)   *khɛŋhaʔ mɛ-gɛʔr-ɛ-lle      ande·   kɛ-gɛʔr-ɛ-yaŋ*
       they     nsAS-arrive-PT-SUB earlier 2-arrive-PT-pfG
           *kɛ-way-ɛ-i·  kɛ-ŋ-gɛʔr-ɛ-n-ni·?*
           2-be-PT-Q   2-NEG-arrive-PT-NEG-Q
       Had you⁵ already gotten there or not when they had
       arrived?

(48)   - *khɛŋ mana-nu kɛ-ba·ʔr-ɛ-yaŋ kɛ-wa-i·? khɛŋ*
         that man-COM 2-talk-PT-pfG  2-be-Q    that
           *mana-nu ta-kɛ-dzɛks-ɛ-yaŋ*              *kɛ-wa-i·?*
           man-COM converse-2-converse-PT-pfG 2-be-Q
       - *pa·ʔr-aŋ-aŋ           wa·-ʔɛ.*
         talk-1sPS/PT-pfG be-1sPS/NPT
           - Have you⁵ talked with that guy? Have you⁵
             had a chat with him?
           - I have.

(49)   *allɔ khɛnɛʔ a·tto· kɛ-yuŋ-ɛ-aŋ   wa·?*
       now  you⁵   where 2-sit-PT-pfG be.
       Where have you⁵ gone and sat down now?

(50)   *khɛni kɛrɛk kɛ-gɛʔr-i      kɛ-dzur-i-yaŋ*
       you P all   2-arrive-pPS 2-finish-pPS-pfG
           *kɛ-way-i—ʔi·?*
           2-be-pPS-Q
       Have you P all finished getting here?[16]

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[16] Said by the mater familias to a family of guests who
have trickled in for dinner instead of arriving all at
once.

The perfect gerund is used adverbially to indicate a per-
fective action, an event or situation which preceded the
main verb event, eg. (3-5), (51-58).

(51)   khɛŋ thi-·n              kɛrɛk mɛ-bo·ks-ɛ-yaŋ
       that millet_beer-ABS all    nsAS-be-PT-pfG
            mɛ-dhuŋ-u-lle       gɔ·           ca·rik-ʔe· khɛŋ
            nsAS-drink-3P-SUB then           very-EMPH  that
            nɛpphu cum-haʔ moy-u-si.
            two    friend-p inebriate-3P-nsP.
       When they had all gotten together and drank that
            millet beer, those two friends got really
            drunk.

(52)   - kuhukʔo· yaŋghe·k po·ksɛba.
       - hɛn po·ksɛ?
       - ti·ŋle thubu-aŋ.
            - Her hand has been wounded
            - What happened?
            - Having been pierced by a thorn.

(53)   aŋga nakca-dhik ma·s-u-ŋ-aŋ        tukhe·  caŋ.
       I    pen-one    lose-3P-1sA-pfG grief   eat/1s→3
       Having lost my pen, I was sad.

(54)   a-ndzum-in       tum-u-ŋ-aŋ        tadzɛŋ-si-ge.
       my-friend-ABS meet-3P-1sA-pfG converse-dPS-e
       Having met my friend, we de'll converse.

(55)   pa·tt-u-ŋ-aŋ       pe·k-ʔɛ.
       speak-3P-1sA-pfG go-1sPS/NPT
       Having spoken, I'll go.

(56)   kɛ-dza-m     kɛ-sur-u-m-aŋ        lɔk    ta-ʔɛ.
       2-eat/3P-pA 2-finish-3P-pA-pfG only   come-1sPS/NPT
       I'll show up only when youP have finished eating.

(57)   pa·tt-u-aŋ     pe·k.
       speak-3P-pfG go
       Having spoken, he'll go.

(58)      sɛtt-u-ŋ               sur-u-ŋ-ŋaŋ            cumluŋ-ʔo·
          build_a_wall-3P-1sA   finish-3P-1sA-pfG    bazar-LOC
             pe·k-m? bo·ŋ.
             go-INF EXIG
          After having finished building the wall, I'll have
             to go to the bazar. (gāro lagāi sake pachi
             bajār jānu parcha.)

(59)      aŋga im-my-aŋ           sapla ni·r-u-ŋ.
          I     sleep-INF-pfG book   read-3P-1sA
          After having slept, I'll read a book.

(60)      iŋ-u-ŋ-aŋ              te·ʔr-u-ŋ.
          buy-3P-1sA-pfG        bring-3P-1sA
          Having bought it, I'll bring it. (kinera lyāũchu)

(61)      a-bi-tchi-aŋ a-wa·-si ...   ta·ndik
          1-go-dPS-pfG 1-be-dPS ...   tomorrow
             atchɛnda·n.
             the_day_after_tomorrow
          We^di shall go one of these days.

Perfect gerunds derive from the combination of preterit
simplicia with the coordinator <-aŋ>. Unlike the perfect
tenses, which are grammaticalized combinations of perfect
gerund and existential 'to be' wa·ma?, perfect gerunds used
adverbially may be both preterit and nonpreterit, eg. (54-
58). Perfect gerunds are formed from both preterit and non-
preterit simplicia and infinitives through suffixation of
the coordinator <-aŋ>: abitchiaŋ 'having gone (1di/NPT)',
abe·gɛtchiaŋ 'having gone (1di/PT)', pe·kʔɛŋ nisuŋsiŋ
'having gone (1s/NPT), I shall see them (1s→3ns/NPT), I
shall go and see them', dzirikhimti pe·kʔɛŋ yaʔra·k-ʔɛ
'Having gone to Jirikhimtī, I'll take part in the rice
dance', pe·gaŋaŋ nisuŋsiŋ 'having gone (1s/PT), I saw them
(1s→3ns/PT), I went and saw them'.[17]
    The coordination of a nonpreterit simplex and wa·ma?
often approaches perfect meaning in nonpreterit time, eg.
(62), (63), although Limbu lacks a systematic future
perfect, eg. pe·kʔɛ-ŋ wa·ʔɛ 'having gone away, I'll stay
away', i·ʔɛaŋ wa·ʔɛ, 'I'll have gone off awandering', aŋga
te·rathum-ʔo· yuŋʔɛaŋ wa·ʔɛ 'I live in Tehrathum', hɛŋ

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[17] Perfect gerunds do not occur with temporally defocused
    continuous forms: *khikwa ca·ʔaŋ yuwaŋ pɔʔl, *samlo·waŋ
    phɛnaŋ pɔʔl, *samlo·waŋ thaŋaŋ pɔʔl.

gɛdzo·k?aŋ kɛwa· (ke gari hĩdchas?) 'what are yous up and about for?'.

(62)    kɛ-da-?ille    aŋga ta-?ɛ-ŋ
        2-show_up-SUB  I    show_up-1sPS/NPT-pfG
            wa·-?ɛ.
            be-1sPS/NPT
        By the time yous show up, I shall have come [back].

(63)    ba·1s[18]    gate· yammu ta-?ɛ-ŋ
        twenty-two date again come-1sPS/NPT-pfG
            wa·-?ɛ.
            be-1sPS/NPT
        I'll have come back and be here again by the 22nd.

For an understanding of the origin of the perfect tenses, a detailed description of the suffix -aŋ as a clausal coordinator is given below.


## 7.5.1. The suffix -aŋ

The suffix <-aŋ> serves two semantically related purposes. It serves as a postposition meaning 'also, too', as in the following examples:

(64)    aŋga-aŋ ya·mbɔk tɔŋ-siŋ-?ɛ-ŋ
        I-too   work    make_fit-REF-1sPS/NPT-pfG
            co·g-u-ŋ!
            do-3P-1sA
        I too will work if I can get a job!

(65)    aŋga se·dzɔŋwa-?aŋ       thi·-?aŋ         kɛrɛk
        I    millet_brandy-too millet_beer-too everything
            thuŋ-u-ŋ.
            drink-3P-1sA
        I also drink millet brandy, millet beer too and everything.

(66)    yaŋhaŋ-ŋaŋ dhara·n kɛ-be·k-?i·?
        later-too  Dharān  2-go-Q
        Are yous going to Dharān later on as well?

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[18] ba·is = Nep. bāis 'twenty-two'.

(67)    *aŋga anchɛn-naŋ-tho·        sakmɛndza wa·-ʔɛ.*
        I    yesterday-too-since famished  be-1sPS/NPT.
        *ɛn    sakmɛndza wa·-ʔɛ.*
        today famished  be-1sPS/NPT
        I've been hungry since yesterday, and I'm hungry
        today.

(68)    *haŋ-aŋ-was-ɛ.          khɛnɛ?*
        be_hot-too-be_hot-PT. you[s]
        *haŋ-aŋ-was-ɛ-i·?*
        be_hot-too-be_hot-PT-Q
        I think it's hot out too. Do you[s] also think it's
        hot out?

(69)    *aŋgaʔaŋ! aŋgaʔaŋ! aŋgaʔaŋ! aŋgaʔaŋ!*
        me too!  me too!  me too!  me too!

(70)    - *allɔ abhɛlle mɛ-lɔ·tt-u        bhɛlle...*
        now  when    nsAS-take_out-3P SUB...
        *hɛkkɛlle  pi-tchi    ne·!*
        therefore go-dPS/ADH EMPH
        - *yusik   mɛ-lɔ·tt-u-aŋ           biha·ndik*
        evening nsAS-take_out-3P-and morning
        *mɛ-l-lɔ·tt-u-n.           anche·*
        nsAS-NEG-take_out-3P-NEG before
        *kɛ-lɔ·p-pa-haʔ-re      ɛn-aŋ*
        AP-take_out-AP-p-ERG today-too
        *mɛ-lɔ·tt-u.*
        nsAS-take_out-3P
        - Now, in order to find out when they'll take it
          [the video] out. That's why, so let's[di] go!
        - They take it out in the evenings and they don't
          take it out in the mornings. Those who took
          it out before will take it out today as well.

The suffix <-aŋ> coordinates verbs, clauses, adverbs and
numerals, eg. (71). As a conjunction between two verbal
predicates, it indicates activity prior to an orientation
point, whence I believe it derives its function as gerund
in the perfect tenses. When two verbs X and Y are coordina-
ted by <-aŋ> and the first verb takes the suffix, X-aŋ Y,
then event X precedes event Y. The linear order reflects
the chronological order of events, eg. (72).

(71)    *sumsi-aŋ  kumbhre·ŋ mukt-ɛ.*
        three-and one_half  strike-PT
        It's half past three.

(72)    khɔrɛ·ŋ khɛ·ks-u-ŋ-aŋ                    caŋ.
        bread   break_off_a_piece-3P-1sA-and eat/1sA→3P
        I shall break off a piece of bread and eat it.

(73)    khɛtt-u-aŋ   ciks-u-ba    ho·!
        chase-3P-and hide-3P-IPF hey
        Hey, he chased him away and hid it!   (bhagāera
            lukāeko ho)

(74)    ɖe·ra-ʔo· pi-tchi-gy-aŋ so·rik   ni·t-ch-u-ge.
        ɖerā-LOC go-dPS-e-and    together study-dA-3P-e
            ɖe·ra-ʔo· a-bi-tchi-aŋ so·rik    a-ni·t-ch-u.
            ɖerā-LOC 1-go-dPS-and together 1-study-dA-3P
        After going to the ɖerā, we'll[de] study together.
            After going to the ɖerā, we'll[di] study
            [there] together.

(75)    maŋdɔk i·-my-aŋ       le·b-u-ŋ.
        maŋdɔk roll-INF-and mould_into_rolls-3P-1sA
        Having rolled the maŋdɔk to and fro, I mould it
            into rolls.

(76)    - hɛn caha-gɛ-dzo·g-u?
          what desire-2-desire-3P
        - yu-my-aŋ yuŋ-ma?
          come_down-INF-and sit-INF
              - What do you[s] want?
              - To come down and just sit.

(77)    sɛpmaŋ kɔʔo· kɛ-wa·-bɛ-n na·    kɛ-be·k-ʔaŋ
        dream here AP-be-AP-ABS there 2-go-and
            kɛ-ma·kt-w-i· kɛ-m-ma·kt-u-n-ni·?
            2-dream-3P-Q 2-NEG-dream-3P-NEG-Q
        Are you[s] going to dream of being here [in Tam-
            phulā] when you've[s] gone back there?

(78)    aŋga him-bhitra     pe·k-ʔɛ-ŋ            khɛŋha?
        I     house-inside go-1sPS/NPT-and they
            mɛ-ye·ʔl.
            nsAS-laugh
        As soon as I go inside, they shall laugh.

(79)    yaŋ   tɔŋ-my-aŋ       lɔp-ma?.
        money earn-INF-and spend-INF
        Having earned money, spend it.

(80)      *aŋga sapla pi·r-u-ŋ-aŋ*      *khune? ni·r-u-?.*
          I    book  give-3P-1sA-and he    read-3P-DEF
          When I've given him the book, he'll read it.

Only seldom does the linear order not reflect chronological
order:

(81)      *khune? rɔk    me-dzitt-u-n-naŋ      kerek*
          him    alone NEG-hate-3P-NEG-and all
              *mikphu?la-ha? citt-u-si.*
              white_eye-p    hate-3P-nsP
          With the exception of him alone, he hates all
              Europeans.

When the second verb takes the coordinator suffix, X Y-*aŋ*,
it indicates that either event may be the case. There is no
chronological precedence of one event before the other.

(82)      *hekkelle    məna-re me-dzɔ   me-n-dzɔ-nen-naŋ.*
          therefore man-ERG pAS-eat pAS-NEG-eat-NEG-also
          So, some people will eat it, whereas others will
              not. (viz. a goat which has been killed by a
              jackal)

When both verbs take the affix, X-*aŋ* Y-*aŋ*, it indicates
that both of them are true simultaneously, again without
chronological precedence.

(83)      *cuŋ-aŋ-me-dzi·k-nen*
          be_cold-also-NEG-be_cold-NEG
              *haŋ-aŋ-me-wa-nen.*
              be_warm-also-NEG-be_warm-NEG
          It is neither cold nor hot out.

(84)      *yekyek-?aŋ      sumsum-?aŋ          ya·mbɔk-?in*
          carefully-too conscientiously-too work-ABS
              *co·k-m· bo·ks-e.*
              do-INF  EXIG-PT
          The work must be done both carefully and conscien-
              tiously.

By far the most common usage of the clausal coordinator is
in sequences of the first type, X-*aŋ* Y, which may stretch
on into lengthy concatenations, examples of which may be
found in the texts in Appendix I.

(85)    *khɔkmɛlle hum-aŋ-aŋ*          *sy-aŋ.*
        almost       sink-1sPS/PT-and die-1sPS/PT
        I almost drowned.

(86)    *khɔkmɛlle kɛŋ-aŋ-aŋ*                   *sy-aŋ.*
        almost       stumble_and_fall-1sPS/PT-and die-1sPS/PT
        I almost fell to my death.

(87)    *kɛ-ʔim-ba*    *məna-·n ka·kt-u-ŋ-aŋ*
        AP-sleep-AP man-ABS step_over-3P-1sA-and
            *pe·g-aŋ.*
            go-1sPS/PT
        I stepped over the sleeping man and went on./
            Having stepped over the sleeping man, I went
            on.

(88)    *ya·mbɔk-ʔin ɛtt-u-waŋ*    *mɛ-bo·ks-ɛ-n.*
        work-ABS       halt-3P-and   NEG-be-PT-NEG
        He brought the work to a halt, and it didn't get
            done.

(89)    *pa·ŋdzum kɛ-be·k-ʔaŋ hɛn kɛ-dzo·k?*
        bazar     2-go-and     what 2-do
        What'll you<sup>s</sup> do when you go to the bazar?/What
            shall you<sup>s</sup> do, having gone to the bazar?

(90)    *Te·rathum ty-aŋ-aŋ*          *cum   me·ʔe·*
        *Tehrathum* come-1sPS/PT-and friend without
            *way-aŋ.*
            be-1sPS/PT
        I came to *Tehrathum* and was without friends./
            Having come to *Tehrathum*, I was without
            friends.

(91)    *pind-ɛ-aŋ*          *lɔ·nd-ɛ.*
        jump_up-PT-and come_out-PT
        It has jumped up and come out. (of a kernel of
            popcorn which has popped up and jumped out of
            the *karəhi* or wok landing on the ground next
            to the fire.)

(92)   khɛnɛ? kɛ-him-ʔo·      kɛ-be·k-ʔaŋ a·tto·
       youˢ    yourˢ-house-LOC 2-go-and    where
           kɛ-be·k-pa?
           2-go-IPF
       Where are youˢ going when you'veˢ gone home?/
           Having gone home, where will youˢ go to [from
           there]?

(93)   hɛn  co·g-ɛ-aŋ yuŋ-ɛ?
       what do-PT-and sit-PT
       Having done what, has he gone and sat down? (i.e.
           What has he done that he is now sitting down
           to rest?)

(94)   ɔkdaŋba       kumakla      sakca-ʔo·
       this_kind_of COL-black-COL dāl-LOC
           mɛ-akt-u-waŋ   mɛ-dzɔ     ni   ã·.
           nsAS-add-3P-and nsAS-eat/3P CTR  huh
           habha       ke·sra ke·sra mɛ-dho·kt-u-aŋ
           like_that clove  clove nsAS-fry-3P-and
           mɛ-dzɔ.       hɛkkɛlle mɛ-ha·ŋ-nɛn,      me·n
           nsAS-eat/3P so        nsAS-be_spicy-NEG no
           nã? kɔŋ  ma·kkho·?-ʔin ce·pi-nulle ha·ŋ
           huh this garlic-ABS     onions-than be_spicy
           ni  i·!
           CTR EMPH
       (ridiculing someone who uses too much garlic:)
           Having added it to this kind of black da·l,
           they'll eat it, huh! After frying clove after
           clove like that they eat it. So, it isn't
           spicy that way, no, huh? This garlic just
           happens to be hotter than onions!

(95)   i·t-chiŋ-ʔɛ-aŋ            pa·tt-u-ŋ.
       think-REF-1sPS/NPT-and speak-3P-1sA
       I'll reflect and then speak.

(96)   pa·tt-u-ŋ-aŋ       po·ŋ.
       speak-3P-1sA-and be_alright
       After I've spoken, it'll be okay.

(97)   khɛnɛ? yakthuŋpa·n      kɛ-hu?-siŋ-ɛ-aŋ
       youˢ    Limbu_language 2-teach-REF-PT-and
           kɛ-him-ʔo·  kɛ-be·k-ʔi·?
           2-house-LOC 2-go-Q
       Are youˢ going back to your home when you'veˢ
           learned Limbu?

(98)      an·ge se·-i-gy-aŋ          khɛni hɛn  kɛ-dzo·g-u-m
          wePᵉ  die/NPT-pPS-e-and youP  what 2-do-3P-pA
              kɛ-dza-m?
              2-eat/3P-pA
          After wePᵉ have died, what will youP do and what
              will youP eat?


(99)      anchige tho·   pe·g-ɛ-tchi-gy-aŋ hava·i‿dzaha·dz[19]
          weᵈᵉ     above go-PT-dPS-e-and    aeroplane
              nis-ɛ-tch-u-ge.
              see-PT-dA-3P-e
          Weᵈᵉ went up the hill and saw the plane.


(100)     anchige se·ʔmaʔl se·r-i-gy-aŋ[20]  cumluŋ
          weᵈᵉ     urine     exude-pPS-e-and bazar
              pi-tchi-ge.
              go-dPS-e
          Having shed our urine, weᵈᵉ are going to the
              bazar.


(101)     khɛn-aŋ o·ʔ-my-aŋ        bhɛnṭa     bhitra ak-m?
          that-too roast-INF-and eggplant inside put-INF
              po·ŋ. aŋga co·g-u-ŋ  bi·-nɛ    thɛba-e·,
              EXIG. I     do-3P-1sA give-1→2 grandfather-VOC
              khɛnɛ? gɔ·!
              youˢ    then
          Having roasted it too, [I'll] have to put it
              inside the eggplant. I'll make it and give it
              to youˢ, grandpa, for youˢ!


The coordinator <-aŋ> also coordinates indicative forms
with imperatives and adhortatives, or two imperatives or
adhortatives.


(102)     kɛ-ndzum-in        khɛ·ks-ɛʔ-aŋ
          yourˢ-friend-ABS break‿off‿a‿piece-IMP-and
              pi·r-ɛʔ![21]
              give-IMP
          Break off a piece and give it to yourˢ friend!


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[19] Nep. havāi jahāj = aeroplane.
[20] facetious expression for urinate, cf. se·maʔ.
[21] The word order khɛ·ksɛʔaŋ kɛndzumin pi·rɛ? is also
    acceptable.

(103)   *kɛ-ba·ŋphe·-ʔo·  kɛ-be·k-ʔaŋ sapt-aŋ-ɛ?!*
        2-village-LOC    2-go-and    write-1sP-IMP
        After you've⁵ gone back to your⁵ village, write
            me!

(104)   *yuŋ-si-aŋ        thuŋ-s-u.*
        sit-dPS/ADH-and  drink-dA-3P/ADH
        Let's⁴ⁱ sit down and have a drink.

(105)   *khɛŋ him-ʔo·    lɔ·nd-ɛ?-aŋ      thaŋ-ɛ?    o·!*
        that house-LOC come_out-IMP-and come_up-IMP oh
        Come out of that house and come on up here!

(106)   *khɛnɛ? laŋsup-thik kɛ-iŋ-ɛ-ʔaŋ  pi·r-aŋ-ɛ?!*
        you⁵   shoe-one    2-buy-PT-and give-1sP-IMP
        Having bought a pair of shoes, give them to me!

(107)   *khɛnɛ? kɛ-be·k gɔrɔ lamdhe·ʔl-in sub-ɛ?-aŋ*
        you⁵   2-go   if   door-ABS     shut-IMP-and
            *pe·?!*
            go/IMP
        Close the door behind you⁵!

Occasionally, the verb bearing the suffix seems to present
a contingency for the second verb:

(108)   *yəllik ca-my-aŋ     yəllik huŋ-m·   po·ŋ.*
        much   eat-INF-ans much    pay-INF EXIG
        If you eat a lot, you have to pay a lot too.

(109)   *si-ʔaŋ  mɛ-ʔo·ʔr-u.*
        die-and nsAS-roast-3P
        If someone dies, they'll cremate him.²²

(110)   *se·dzɔŋwa       kɛ-dhuŋ-u-ŋ    kɛ-naŋ.*
        millet_brandy 2-drink-3P-and 2-go_crazy
        You⁵'ll drink *raksī* and go crazy.

Coordinative *-aŋ* must be distinguished from the postpo-
sition *-saŋ* 'even though, although'.

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²² Said of less traditional Limbus who no longer bury their
    dead; see footnote 5 on p.116.

(111)    ɔkkhɛlle-saŋ    yusik    biha·ndik cuŋdzi·k.
         presently-even evening morning   be_cold
         Even now, it gets cold in the mornings and in the
         evenings.

(112)    kɔŋ   ya·mbɔk-ʔin co·g-ɛʔ phaŋ    yɛʔllinkhɔŋ
         this work-ABS      do-IMP  bhanera repeatedly
             mɛt-nɛ-saŋ             khɛmghɛmaŋ
             say_to-1→2-even ignore
             kɛ-n-la·pt-aŋ-nɛn,         me·n-ni·? khɛŋ
             2-NEG-ignore-1sPS/PT-NEG NOT-Q      that
             pa·ŋphe·-ʔo· pe·g-ɛʔ phaŋ    yɛʔllinkhɔŋ
             village-LOC  go-IMP  bhanera repeatedly
             mɛt-nɛ-saŋ          kɛ-m-be·g-ɛ-n,   me·n-ni·?
             say_to-1→2-even 2-NEG-go-PT-NEG, NOT-Q
             khɛŋ ya·mbɔk-ʔin co·g-ɛʔ phaʔaŋ yɛʔllinkhɔŋ
             that work-ABS      do-IMP  bhanera repeatedly
             mɛt-nɛ-saŋ          kɛ-n-dzo·g-u-n-ni·? (to a
             say_to-1→2-even 2-NEG-do-3P-NEG-Q
             third person:) yɛʔllinkhɔŋ mɛtt-u-ŋ-aŋ
                            repeatedly  say_to-3P-1sA-and
         lɔk  co·g-u.
         only do-3P
         Even though I've repeatedly told you[s] to do this
         job, you've pretended not to hear me, haven't
         you[s]? Even though I've repeatedly told you[s]
         to go to that village, you[s] haven't gone,
         have you? Aren't you[s] going to do that work,
         even though I have repeatedly told you[s] to do
         so? (turning to someone else:) He only does
         it when you repeatedly tell him to do so.

(113)    pa·nchatt-u-ŋ-saŋ khɛmghɛmaŋ
         call-3P-1sA-even   ignore
             mɛ-la·pt-aŋ-nɛn.
             NEG-ignore-1sPS/PT-NEG
         Even though I called to him, he pretended not to
         hear me.

(114)    ke·p-maʔ-saŋ mɛŋ-ge·p-maʔ-saŋ lɔkthik.
         add-INF-even NEG-add-INF-even one
         It's all the same to me whether you add [more hot
         water to my tɔŋba] or not.

(115)     a-nsikpɛ-n    ho·p.   hɛkke·saŋ,   kɔŋ-in    nurik
          my-brain-ABS not‿be nonetheless this-ABS well
              lɛ·s-u-ŋ.
              know-3P-1sA
          I have no brain. Nonetheless, I know this well.


(116)     syut-chaŋ           nɛdɛŋba-·n ha·mha·m mɛtt-u.
          taste‿sour-even cheek-ABS    warm      do‿to-3P
              syut-chaŋ           nɛdɛŋba-·n ha·mha·m lɔ?.
              taste‿sour-even cheek-ABS    warm      appear
          Even though it tastes sour, it (viz. the tɔŋba)
              makes the cheeks warm. Even though it tastes
              sour, the cheeks get warm.


(117)     kappo·bɛ-n    allo·-saŋ kye·laŋ-ma?
          old‿man-ABS now-even    perform‿the‿cyābruṅ‿nāc-INF
              thum.
              fulfill‿a‿function
          Even now it is the old men who fulfill the
              function of performing the cyābruṅ nāc.
              (būḍho ajhai pani cyābruṅ nācnu daro.)


## 7.5.2. The negative perfect tenses

The negative counterparts of the perfect tenses are formed
by the combination of the negative perfect gerund with non-
negated forms of the wa·ma?. The negative perfect gerund
(npG) is an invariable form which shows no agreement with
any nominal argument. It consists of a stem to which the
prefix <mɛn-> and the suffix <-?e·> have been affixed.

In negative perfect tenses, the auxiliary wa·ma? agrees
with the subject in an intransitive scenario and with the
agent in a transitive scenario. Nonpreterit wa·ma? yields
negated perfect forms; preterit wa·ma? yields negated
pluperfect.[23]

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[23] eg. mɛn-dza-?e· wa·?ɛ 'I have not eaten', mɛn-dza-?e·
mɛwa· 'They have not eaten', mɛn-dza-?e· mɛwayɛ 'they
had not eaten', mɛn-dza-?e· kɛwayi 'youP have not
eaten', mɛm-be·k-?e· wa· 'he has not gone', mɛnchap?e·
wa·?ɛ 'I have not written', mɛnchap?e· awa·si 'we^di have
not written', mɛnchu?le· wa·sige 'we^de haven't finish-
ed', mɛnchu?le· wa·?ɛ 'I haven't finished', mɛnchi?e·
wa·?ɛ 'I have not died', mɛnchi?e· wa· 'he has not
died', mɛn?i·?e· wa·?ɛ 'I have not wandered about', mɛn-

The negative perfect is distinct from the simple preterit
in that it indicates present relevance of a negative state
in the preterit:

*ăhá? la mɛnchu·baŋ*      No siree, I'm not late.
*ăhá? la mɛsu·saŋnɛn*     No siree, I didn't come late.
*ăhá? la mɛnchu·?e· wa·?ɛ*  No siree, I have not come
                         late.

(118)    *phaŋsi mɛm-muk-?e·     wa·, ɔ·mɔp-ma? po·ŋ la?ba.*
         nine   npG-strike-npG be  look-INF EXIG probably
         It has not yet struck nine; perhaps we should
             check though.

(119)    *be·la mɛŋ-gɛ?l-e·     wa·.*
         time npG-arrive-npG be
         It's not time yet.

(120)    *ku-miŋ   wa·-m· barne·, mɛl-lɛ·-?e·  wa·-?ɛ.*
         its-name be-INF ought   npG-know-npG be-1sPS/PT
         It should have a name, but I don't know it (i.e.
             There ought to be some name for it, but I
             haven't ever come to know it.)

(121)    *a-sira        gɔ· thaŋ   kərə mɛn-ni-?e·*
         my-pleasure then come_up but npG-see-npG
             *wa·-?ɛ.*
             be-1sPS/NPT
         I'm sure I would like it, but I've never seen one.

(122)    *pradha·npanc ɛn    mɛn-da-?e·   wa·.*
         *Pradhānpãc* today npG-come-npG be
         The *Pradhānpãc* didn't show up today.

---

*?i·?e· mɛwa·* 'they have not wandered about', *mɛŋga?le·
wa·* 'it hasn't been transported./he has not transported
it', *aŋga awa mɛmmik?e· wa·* 'I have not become thirsty',
*mɛmbho·ŋ?e· wa·* 'he didn't wake him up', *wamɛnlumsiŋ?e·
wa·?ɛ* 'I haven't bathed', *wamɛnlumsiŋ?e· awa·si* 'we[di]
have not [yet] bathed', *wamɛnlumsiŋ?e· kɛwa·* 'you[s] have
not bathed', *mɛnni?e· wayaŋ* 'I had not seen it'·

(123)    *ya·mbɔk-ha? kɛrɛk na·tchri-po·tchri   po·ks-ɛ*
         work-p        all    in_a_chaotic_state be-PT
              *hɛnaŋbhɛlle thik-?aŋ nurik mɛn-dzu?l-e·*
              because        one-too well  npG-finish-npG
              *wa·.*
              be
         All the affairs have gotten into a state of chaos
              because not one of them has been properly
              completed.

(124)    *te·?l    mɛn-he·-?e· wa·. he· nɛ·.*
         clothes npG-dry-npG be    dry sit
         The clothes have not yet dried. They're sitting
              there drying.

(125)    - *po·ks-ɛ-i·  mɛ-bo·ks-ɛ-n-ni·?*
           be-PT-Q      NEG-be-PT-NEG-Q
         - *mɛm-bo·ŋ-?e· wa·.*
           npG-be-npG    be
              - Is it done or isn't it? (of an egg)
              - It isn't.

(126)    - *hi-kɛ-e·s-w-i·?*
           shit-2-shit-3P-Q
         - *mɛn-e·-?e·    wa·-?ɛ.*
           npG-shit-npG be-1sPS/NPT
              - Did you[s] shit?
              - No, I haven't.

(127)    *anchige thi·-re           haŋ-si-ge hɛkkɛlle khɛnɛ?*
         we[de]     millet_beer-GEN king-be    so          you[s]
              *kɛ-mɔy-ɛ.          anchige mɛm-mɔ·-?e·*
              2-intoxicate-PT we[de]    npG-intoxicate-npG
              *wa·-si-ge.*
              be-dPS-e
         We[de] are the kings of millet beer, so the millet
              beer has gotten you[s] drunk, but not us[de].

(128)    - *khɛnɛ? ma·ki kɛ-de·s-w-i·?*
           you[s]    maize 2-sow-3P-Q
         - *mɛn-de·-?e· wa·-?ɛ.*
           npG-sow-npG be-1sPS/NPT
              - Have you[s] sown the maize?
              - No, I haven't.

(129)   - ande·-wɛ-n        cur-ɛ-i·? (aghi ko sakiyo?)
          before-NOM-ABS be_finished-PT-Q
        - mɛn-dzuʔl-e· wa·. (sakieko chaina.)
          npG-end-npG be
                - Has the one from before finished?
                - No, it hasn't finished yet.


(130)   mɛn-ni-ʔe·   kɛ-wa-i·?
        npG-see-npG 2-be-Q
        Haven't youˢ seen it?


(131)   khɛŋ aŋga mɛtt-u-ŋ-ba        pa·n
        that I      say_to-3P-1sA-NOM word
            kusiŋ-mɛn-ni·ʔl-e·                wa·.
            understand-npG-understand-npG be
        He has not understood what I told him.


(132)   ɛn    kha-mɛm-mak-ʔe·              wa·.
        today get_dark-npG-get_dark-npG be
        It hasn't gotten dark out yet today.


The negative perfect gerund is also used adverbially or to
make an adverb of a clause, eg. (133-142). The negative
perfect gerund also occurs with the negated auxiliary of
exigency po·ŋma? in the meaning of an adamant command, eg.
(143-144).


(133)   - ɔŋʔe·kwa saʔ    kɛ-wa·-ma  mɛnchuma-haʔ rɔk
          baby      child AP-be-AP/f lady-p        only
          pi·r-u-m-si-m-be.
          give-3P-pA-nsP-pA-e
        - aŋga-ʔaŋ mɛ-m-bi·-ʔɛ-n-ni·?
          I-too    nsAS-NEG-give-1sPS/NPT-NEG-Q
        - dərta           mɛn-dzo·k-ʔe·
          registartion npG-do-npG
          mɛ-m-bi·r-u-n-chi-n.          dərta
          nsAS-NEG-give-3P-NEG-nsP-NEG. registration
          co·k-m· bo·ŋ.
          do-INF EXIG
                - Weᵖᵉ [= the Nepāl Parivār Niyojan] only
                  give it [= multiple vitamins] to women who
                  have baby children.
                - They won't give any to me either?
                - Not having registered, they won't give
                  anyone any. You'll have to register.

(134)   *aŋga thi· mɛn-dhuŋ-ʔe·-saŋ    pa·t-ma?*
        I    beer npG-drink-npG-also speak-INF
        *sukt-u-ŋ.*
        be_able-3P-1sA
        I can speak, even without having drunk millet
           beer.

(135)   *mɛn-ʔo·ʔ-ʔe·  sa   kɛ-dzɔ-i·?*
        npG-roast-npG meat 2-eat/3P-Q
        Do youˢ eat meat unroasted?

(136)   *ku-ndzum-in    mɛn-u·ʔl-e·  pe·g-ɛ.*
        his-friend-ABS npG-call-npG go-PT
        He went without calling his friend.

(137)   *yaŋsarumbɛ-n-nu    mɛn-gɛŋ-ʔe·  kɛ-gɛʔr-ɛ-tchi-i·?*
        third-born-ABS-COM npG-fall-npG 2-arrive-PT-dPS-Q
        Did youᵈ and third-born manage to get there with-
           out falling [off a cliff]?

(138)   *nam mɛl-liŋ-ʔe·  pe·g-ɛ-tchi.*
        sun npG-rise-npG go-PT-dPS
        Theyᵈ left before the sun came up.

(139)   *saŋkra·nti mɛŋ-gɛʔl-e·    lam-ʔo·*
        *Sãkrāntī*    npG-arrive-npG road-LOC
            *khadha·pt-aŋ.*
            get_dark_on_someone-1sPS/PT
        Not having gotten to *Sãkrāntī*, it got dark on me
           out on the road.

(140)   - *ta·mbhuŋ-ʔo·-ba məna-haʔ-re sa    rɔk*
           jungle-LOC-NOM  man-p-ERG     meat only
           *mɛ-dzɔ.*
           nsAS-eat/3P
        - *kumaŋwayɛʔl mɛ-dzɔ-i·,        mɛ-dho·kt-u-aŋ*
           raw            nsAS-eat/3P-Q, nsAS-cook-3P-pfG
           *mɛ-dzɔ-i·?*
           nsAS-eat/3P-Q
        - *mɛn-dho·k-ʔe·  mɛ-dzɔ.*
           npG-cook-npG   nsAS-eat/3P
               - Jungle men only eat meat.
               - Do they eat it raw or having cooked it?
               - They eat it without having cooked it.

(141)     *tɔre· mɛŋ-gɛt-thalik     ɔ·mɔtt-u-ŋ.*
          guest npG-arrive-until watch-3P-1sA
          I will watch till the guests arrive.

(142)     *mɛn-ʔim-ʔe·     thɔ·tt-u-ŋ.*
          npG-sleep-npG tolerate-3P-1sA
          I can go on without sleeping, without having
              slept.

(143)     *mɛm-be·k-ʔe·  mɛ-bo·ŋ-nɛn!  (nagaī hundaina)*
          npG-go-npG     NEG-must-NEG
          There will be no mention of not going!

(144)     *mɛn-huŋ-ʔe·  mɛ-bo·ŋ-nɛn!  (natirī hundaina)*
          npG-pay-npG NEG-must-NEG
          There can be no mention of not paying!

# Chapter Eight
# Other Verbal Constructions

This chapter is devoted to a number of non-indicative con-
structions which are neither simplicia nor complex forms
derived from simplicia through affixation. These are: the
adhortative, imperative, nominalizer, active and passive
participles, supine and infinitive. In addition, passive
voice and the impersonal and polite inclusive are discussed
in this chapter.


## 8.1. Adhortative

In transitive verbs, the adhortative is derived by dropping
the first person prefix <a-> from the corresponding nonpre-
terit simplex forms. Negative adhortatives are formed by
adding the nexal negator *me·n*.

| nonpreterit simplex | adhortative | negative adhortative |
|---|---|---|
| *adzo·ksu* | *co·ksu* | *co·ksu-me·n* |
| we[di] do it. | let's[d] do it! | let's[d] not do it! |
| *adzo·gum* | *co·gum* | *co·gum-me·n* |
| we[Pi] do it. | let's[P] do it! | let's[P] not do it! |
| | | |
| *anisu* | *nisu* | *nisu-me·n* |
| we[di] see it. | let's[d] see it! | let's[d] not see it! |
| *anisum* | *nisum* | *nisum-me·n* |
| we[Pi] see it. | let's[P] see it! | let's[P] not see it! |
| | | |
| *asapsu* | *sapsu* | *sapsu-me·n* |
| we[di] write it. | let's[d] write it! | let's[d] not write it! |
| *asaptum* | *saptum* | *saptum-me·n* |
| we[Pi] write it. | let's[P] write it! | let's[P] not write it! |
| | | |
| *ani·tchu* | *ni·t-ch-u* | *ni·t-ch-u-me·n* |
| we[di] read it. | let's[d] read it! | let's[d] not read it! |
| *ani·rum* | *ni·r-u-m* | *ni·r-u-m-me·n* |
| we[Pi] read it. | let's[P] read it! | let's[P] not read it! |
| | | |
| *adhuŋsu* | *thuŋ-s-u* | *thuŋ-s-u-me·n* |
| we[di] drink it. | let's[d] drink it! | let's[d] not drink it! |

| *adhuŋum* | *thuŋ-u-m* | *thuŋ-u-m-me·n* |
|---|---|---|
| weᴾⁱ drink it. | let'sᴾ drink it! | let'sᴾ not drink it! |

(1)  *e·ʔyaŋba pa·n cɛ·ks-u-m.*
other    word discuss-3P-pADH
Let'sᴾⁱ talk about something else./Let's change
    the subject.

(2)  *ca-m.*
eat/3P-pADH
Let's eatᴾⁱ

(3)  *te·ʔl    caŋ-s-u.*
clothes get_dressed-dADH-3P
Let'sᵈⁱ get dressed./Let's put on clothes.

(4)  *lɛk-s-u!*
trade-dADH-3P
Let'sᵈⁱ trade!

(5)  *khɛŋ məna-·n phe·ʔr-u-m!*
that man-ABS fart_at-3P-pADH
Let'sᴾⁱ fart at that guy!

(6)  *- khɛnchi mɔkwa kɛdhuŋsuwi·?*
*- ã.*
*- allɔ thuŋum! aŋga huŋuŋ.*
    - Will youᵈ drink tea?
    - Yes.
    - Then let'sᴾ drink! I'll pay.

(7)  *na·    hɔks-u-m.*
there search-3P-pADH
Let'sᴾⁱ go search over there.

Adhortatives of intransitive verbs are also derived from
nonpreterit simplicia by dropping the prefix <*a-*>, but in
the plural the pPS suffix <*-i*> is added. Indeed, dropping
the <*a-*> from a nonpreterit plural inclusive leaves only
the bare stem which would be read as a third singular
nonpreterit form.

| *abitchi* | *pitchi* | *pitchi-me·n* |
|---|---|---|
| weᵈⁱ go. | let'sᵈ go! | let'sᵈ not go! |
| *abe·k* | *pe·gi* | *pe·gi-me·n* |
| weᴾⁱ go. | let'sᴾ go! | let'sᴾ not go! |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *a-im-si* | *im-si* | *im-si-me·n* |
| we^di sleep. | let's^d sleep! | let's^d not sleep! |
| *a-im* | *ips-i* | *ips-i-me·n* |
| we^Pi sleep. | let's^P sleep! | let's^P not sleep! |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *a-ba·t-chi* | *pa·t-chi* | *pa·t-chi-me·n* |
| we^di talk. | let's^d talk! | let's^d not talk! |
| *a-ba·?l* | *pa·?r-i* | *pa·?r-i-me·n* |
| we^Pi talk. | let's^P talk! | let's^P not talk! |

(8)     *mɔkwa  thuŋ-s-u-aŋ        yaŋsarumbɛ-n    hɔŋ-se*
        tea    drink-dADH-3P-and  third_born-ABS  search-SUP
            *i·-se        pit-chi.*
            wander-SUP  go-dADH
        Let's^d drink tea and then go wander about and look
            for third-born.

(9)     *anchi  siŋbo·ŋ-le  ku-bo·ŋ-?o·    yuŋ-si.*
        we^di   tree-GEN    its-base-LOC  sit-dADH
        Let's^d sit down at the base of the tree.

(10)    *adhaŋba-se·      yuŋ-i      ro·!*
        gentleman-VOCp  sit-ADHp  ASS
        Let's^Pi sit down, gentlemen!

(11)    *yo·-?o·-ba        pi·-nɛ-tchi-ge.  mɛnchya  phɛtt-ɛ?!*
        below-LOC-NOM  give-1→2-nsA-e    lady      fetch-IMP
            *an·ge yo·-?o·-ba-dhik      pi·-nɛ-tchi-ge,*
            we^Pe  below-LOC-NOM-one  give-1→2-nsA-e
            *hɛkyaŋ ani*
            then    we^Pi
            *phu?-nisa?-e·kke·                        yuŋ-i!*
            elder_brother-younger_sibling-like  sit-pADH
        We'll give you one [a lady] from down here [to
            marry]. Fetch a lassy! We'll give you one
            from down here. Then let us^Pi sit like
            brothers!

(12)    *khɛtna pe·g-i-me·n a-ya·ŋ        la?ba!*
        there  go-pADH-NEG  1-get_dizzy  probably
        Let's^Pi not go there! We^Pi'll probably get dizzy!

(13)    *aŋga khɛnchi tum-i      ro·!*
        I    you^d    meet-pADH  ASS
        Let's^Pi meet somewhere!

(14)        *ani   yakhu·ŋ-ʔo·  wadzak-se pe·g-i   ro·!*
           we[P]i river-LOC    swim-SUP  go-pADH ASS
           Let's[P] go swim in the river!

The adhortative of reflexive verbs is formed in the same way:

(15)        *anchi cak-nɛ-tchi!*
           we[di] dress-REF-dADH
           Let's[di] get dressed!

The suffix <-*i*> in plural intransitive adhortatives sometimes elides before the nexal negator <*me·n*>.

(16)        *cɛllɛklɛkpa lɔʔ me·l lo·!*
           adolescent  be  NOT ASS
           Let's[Pi] cut it out! (Let's not be boisterous!)

(17)        *yəllik ke·llik   tadzɛŋ   me·n!*
           much   at_length converse NOT
           Let's[Pi] not be so verbose and long-winded!

(18)        *ca·ʔrik ware·ʔ  co·k me·n!*
           very     sarcasm be   NOT
           Let's[Pi] not be so sarcastic!

## 8.2. Imperative

The imperative is addressed to a second person with which it agrees in number. The sign of the imperative is <-ɛʔ>, and it occurs as the final suffix in all imperative forms. The singular is expressed by zero, the dual by the suffix -ɛtch and the plural by the suffix -amm   (2s: X-ɛʔ, 2d: X-ɛtch-ɛʔ, 2p: X-amm-ɛʔ), eg. *thund-ɛʔ!* 'mend it!', *lag-amm-ɛʔ!* lick it! (said to a herd of cows to which salt has been given), *tadzɛks-amm-ɛʔ* 'you[P] all go on and talk [while I continue working] (i.e. don't mind me)!', *khɛttho· yuks-amm-ɛʔ!* 'put it up there!', *cumdzum tɔŋ-amm-ɛʔ!* 'make up and be friends again', *cukpa tumba tɔŋs-ɛʔ!* 'make the small one and the big one fit together!', *sɔpmaŋ yuŋ-amm-ɛʔ* 'sit down for a second!', *kɛnnisun. nisɛʔ! kusiŋ kɛni·ttu. kɛrɛk kusiŋ kɛni·ttu* 'you[s] didn't see it. see it! then you[s]'ll understand. you[s]'ll understand everything.', *tadzɛks-ɛtch-ɛʔ!* 'go on and converse!', *yɛb-ɛʔ!* 'stand up!', *a-ba·n khɛps-ɛʔ* (my-word hear-IMP) 'listen to what I have to say!'. Imperatives are negated by the prefix <mɛn->. In the

negative the imperative morpheme *?ɛ* has a regular allomorph -*?ɛ?* in singular imperatives, and the 2d suffix has a regular allomorph -*s* (2s: *mɛn-X-?ɛ?*, 2d: *mɛn-X-sɛ?*, 2p: *mɛn-X-ammɛ?*), eg. *hɛnaŋ mɛnchap?ɛ?!* 'do not write anything!', *mɛnchu?lɛ?!* 'don't finish [it]!', *mɛnchi?ɛ?!* 'don't die!', *mɛn?i·?ɛ?!* 'don't wander!', *mɛn-na·t-ch-ɛ?!* 'don't drive it off! (2d→3s)', *mɛn-dza-?ɛ?!* 'don't eat it!', *mɛn-dza·-?l-ɛ?!* 'don't feed him!/don't play!'[1]

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[1] examples of intransitive imperative forms, affirmative and negative:

<div style="text-align:center">

*imma?* 'sleep'
</div>

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 2s | *ips-ɛ?* | *mɛn-im-?ɛ?* |
| 2d | *ips-ɛtch-ɛ?* | *mɛn-im-s-ɛ?* |
| 2p | *ips-amm-ɛ?* | *mɛn-ips-amm-ɛ?* |

<div style="text-align:center">

*lo·kma?* 'run, sprint, race'
</div>

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 2s | *lo·kt-ɛ?* | *mɛl-lo·k-?ɛ?* |
| 2d | *lo·kt-ɛtch-ɛ?* | *mɛl-lo·k-s-ɛ?* |
| 2p | *lo·kt-amm-ɛ?* | *mɛl-lo·kt-amm-ɛ?* |

<div style="text-align:center">

*numa?* 'be alright, get well'
</div>

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 2s | *nur-ɛ?* | *mɛn-nu-?ɛ?* |
| 2d | *nur-ɛtch-ɛ?* | *mɛn-nu-s-ɛ?* |
| 2p | *nur-amm-ɛ?* | *mɛn-nur-amm-ɛ?* |

<div style="text-align:center">

*phɛmma?* 'come'
</div>

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 2s | *phɛ?r-ɛ?* | *mɛm-bhɛn-?ɛ?* |
| 2d | *phɛ?r-ɛtch-ɛ?* | *mɛm-bhɛn-ch-ɛ?* |
| 2p | *phɛ?r-amm-ɛ?* | *mɛm-bhɛ?r-amm-ɛ?* |

<div style="text-align:center">

*khe·ma?* fight
</div>

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 2s | *khe·y-ɛ?* | *mɛŋ-ghe·-?ɛ?* |
| 2d | *khe·y-ɛtch-ɛ?* | *mɛŋ-ghe·-s-ɛ?* |
| 2p | *khe·y-amm-ɛ?* | *mɛŋ-ghe·y-amm-ɛ?* |

<div style="text-align:center">

*yuŋma?* sit
</div>

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 2s | *yuŋ-ɛ?* | *mɛn-yuŋ-?ɛ?* |
| 2d | *yuŋ-ɛtch-ɛ?* | *mɛn-yuŋ-s-ɛ?* |
| 2p | *yuŋ-amm-ɛ?* | *mɛn-yuŋ-amm-ɛ?* |

<div style="text-align:center">

*pe·kma?*    go
</div>

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 2s | *pe·g-ɛ?/pe·?* | *mɛm-be·k-?ɛ?* |
| 2d | *pe·g-ɛtch-ɛ?/pe·-s-ɛ?* | *mɛm-be·k-s-ɛ?/mɛm-be·t-ch-ɛ?* |
| 2p | *pe·g-amm-ɛ?* | *mɛm-be·g-amm-ɛ?* |

The imperatives of transitive verbs also agrees for number with a third person patient (sP, nsP).[2] The singular is unmarked, and the non-singular suffix is <-εs>. Patient suffixes immediately precede the final imperative suffix <-ε?>. The 2p suffix <-amm> and nsP suffix <-εs> assimilate to <-ams->, eg. *mεttamsε? yu·ramsε!* 'tell them and bring them down (2p→3ns)!', *te·?lha? yɔŋamsε?!* 'pick (2p) up those clothes!'. A comparision of the →3s and →3ns imperative forms reveals the affixation of the non-singular patient morpheme to be straightforward and regular except in non-negated 2d→3ns forms where, probably for haplological reasons, the suffix fuses with the second dual morpheme, eg. 2d→3ns *paŋsεsε?* [< *paŋsεtchεsε?*] 'send them', as against 2d→3s *paŋsεtchε?* 'send him'. As a result, the

---

[2] examples of transitive imperatives:

*paŋma?* 'send (a person somewhere)'

|     | →3s/AFF | →3s/NEG |
| --- | --- | --- |
| 2s | *paŋs-ε?* | *mεm-baŋ-?ε?* |
| 2d | *paŋs-εtch-ε?* | *mεm-baŋ-s-ε?* |
| 2p | *paŋs-amm-ε?* | *mεm-baŋs-amm-ε?* |
|     | →3ns/AFF | →3ns/NEG |
| 2s | *paŋs-εs-ε?* | *mεm-baŋs-εs-ε?* |
| 2d | *paŋs-εs-ε?* | *mεm-baŋ-s-εs-ε?* |
| 2p | *paŋs-am-s-ε?* | *mεm-baŋs-am-s-ε?* |

*na·pma?* 'drive away'

|     | →3s/AFF | →3s/NEG |
| --- | --- | --- |
| 2s | *na·tt-ε?* | *mεn-na·?l-ε?* |
| 2d | *na·tt-εtch-ε?* | *mεn-na·t-ch-ε?* |
| 2p | *na·tt-amm-ε?* | *mεn-na·tt-amm-ε?* |
|     | →3ns/AFF | →3ns/NEG |
| 2s | *na·tt-εs-ε?* | *mεn-na·tt-εs-ε?* |
| 2d | *na·tt-εs-ε?* | *mεn-na·t-ch-εs-ε?* |
| 2p | *na·tt-am-s-ε?* | *mεn-na·tt-am-s-ε?* |

*iŋma?* 'buy'

|     | →3s/AFF | →3s/NEG |
| --- | --- | --- |
| 2s | *iŋ-ε?* | *mεn-iŋ-?ε?* |
| 2d | *iŋ-εtch-ε?* | *mεn-iŋ-s-ε?* |
| 2p | *iŋ-amm-ε?* | *mεn-iŋ-amm-ε?* |
|     | →3ns/AFF | →3ns/NEG |
| 2s | *iŋ-εs-ε?* | *mεn-iŋ-εs-ε?* |
| 2d | *iŋ-εs-ε?* | *mεn-iŋ-s-εs-ε?* |
| 2p | *iŋ-am-s-ε?* | *mεn-iŋ-am-s-ε?* |

non-negated 2s→3ns and 2d→3ns transitive imperatives are homophonous.

Transitive imperatives with a first person patient do not differentiate for number of second person addressee, nor do they fully differentiate for number of first person. There is a specific 2s→1s imperative form and a general 2→1

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*u·pma?* 'call'

|     | →3s/AFF       | →3s/NEG          |
|-----|---------------|------------------|
| 2s  | *u·tt-ε?*     | *mεn-u·?l-ε?*    |
| 2d  | *u·tt-εtch-ε?*| *mεn-u·t-ch-ε?*  |
| 2p  | *u·tt-amm-ε?* | *mεn-u·tt-amm-ε?*|
|     | →3ns/AFF      | →3ns/NEG         |
| 2s  | *u·tt-εs-ε?*  | *mεn-u·tt-εs-ε?* |
| 2d  | *u·tt-εs-ε?*  | *mεn-u·t-ch-εs-ε?*|
| 2p  | *u·tt-am-s-ε?*| *mεn-u·tt-am-s-ε?*|

*phεtma?* 'bring'

|     | →3s/AFF        | →3s/NEG           |
|-----|----------------|-------------------|
| 2s  | *phεtt-ε?*     | *mεm-bhε?l-ε?*    |
| 2d  | *phεtt-εtch-ε?*| *mεm-bhεt-ch-ε?*  |
| 2p  | *phεtt-amm-ε?* | *mεm-bhεtt-amm-ε?*|
|     | →3ns/AFF       | →3ns/NEG          |
| 2s  | *phεtt-εs-ε?*  | *mεm-bhεtt-εs-ε?* |
| 2d  | *phεtt-εs-ε?*  | *mεm-bhεt-ch-εs-ε?*|
| 2p  | *phεtt-am-s-ε?*| *mεm-bhεtt-am-s-ε?*|

*tɔŋma?* 'reconcile, join, make congruent'

|     | →3s/AFF        | →3s/NEG           |
|-----|----------------|-------------------|
| 2s  | *tɔŋs-ε?*      | *mεn-dɔŋ-?ε?*     |
| 2d  | *tɔŋs-εtch-ε?* | *mεn-dɔŋ-s-ε?*    |
| 2p  | *tɔŋs-amm-ε?*  | *mεn-dɔŋs-amm-ε?* |
|     | →3ns/AFF       | →3ns/NEG          |
| 2s  | *tɔŋs-εs-ε?*   | *mεn-dɔŋs-εs-ε?*  |
| 2d  | *tɔŋs-εs-ε?*   | *mεn-dɔŋ-s-εs-ε?* |
| 2p  | *tɔŋs-am-s-ε?* | *mεn-dɔŋs-am-s-ε?*|

*hu?ma?* 'shut'

|     | →3s/AFF        | →3s/NEG           |
|-----|----------------|-------------------|
| 2s  | *hu?r-ε?*      | *mεn-hu?-?ε?*     |
| 2d  | *hu?r-εtch-ε?* | *mεn-hu?-s-ε?*    |
| 2p  | *hu?r-amm-ε?*  | *mεn-hu?r-amm-ε?* |
|     | →3ns/AFF       | →3ns/NEG          |
| 2s  | *hu?r-εs-ε?*   | *mεn-hu?r-εs-ε?*  |
| 2d  | *hu?r-εs-ε?*   | *mεn-hu?-s-εs-ε?* |
| 2p  | *hu?r-am-s-ε?* | *mεn-hu?r-am-s-ε?*|

imperative. The specific 2s→1s imperative takes the first singular patient suffix <-aŋ>, eg. *co·gaŋɛ?!* 'do me!', *saptaŋɛ?!* 'write me!', *mɛndzo·gaŋɛ?!* 'don't do me!', *mɛm-bhe·?r-aŋ-?ɛ?!* 'don't fart at me!', *tho·-lam hu?raŋɛ?!* 'bring it to me from up there!', *o·ndhaktaŋɛ?!* 'Show [it] to me!', *pi·raŋɛ?!* 'give [it] to me!', *mɛmbi·raŋɛ?!* 'don't give it to me!', *ɔ·mɔttaŋɛ?!* 'look at me!'. The general 2→1 imperative takes the first person patient prefix <a-> or

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*pi·ma?* give (to someone)

|     | →3s/AFF | →3s/NEG |
|-----|---------|---------|
| 2s  | *pi·r-ɛ?* | *mɛm-bi·-?ɛ?* |
| 2d  | *pi·r-ɛtch-ɛ?* | *mɛm-bi·r-ɛtch-ɛ?* |
|     |         | (*mɛm-bi·-s-ɛ?*) |
| 2p  | *pi·r-amm-ɛ?* | *mɛm-bi·r-amm-ɛ?* |
|     | →3ns/AFF | →3ns/NEG |
| 2s  | *pi·r-ɛs-ɛ-?* | *mɛm-bi·-s-ɛ?* |
| 2d  | *pi·r-ɛtch-ɛs-ɛ?* | *mɛ-bi·r-ɛtch-ɛs-ɛ?* |
|     |         | (*mɛm-bi·-s-ɛs-ɛ?*) |
| 2p  | *pi·r-am-s-ɛ?* | *mɛm-bi·r-am-s-ɛ?* |
|     | (*pi·r-am-ɛ-sɛ?*) |  |

*sapma?* 'write'

| 2s | *sapt-ɛ?* | *mɛn-chap-?ɛ?* |
| 2d | *sapt-ɛtch-ɛ?* | *mɛn-chap-s-ɛ?* |
| 2p | *sapt-amm-ɛ?* | *mɛn-chapt-amm-ɛ?* |

*thuŋma?* 'drink'

| 2s | *thuŋ-ɛ?* | *mɛn-dhuŋ-?ɛ?* |
| 2d | *thuŋ-ɛtch-ɛ?* | *mɛn-dhuŋ-s-ɛ?* |
| 2p | *thuŋ-amm-ɛ?* | *mɛn-dhuŋ-amm-ɛ?* |

*nima?* 'see'

| 2s | *nis-ɛ?* | *mɛn-ni-?ɛ?* |
| 2d | *nis-ɛtch-ɛ?* | *mɛn-ni-s-ɛ?* |
| 2p | *nis-amm-ɛ?* | *mɛn-nis-amm-ɛ?* |

*ni·pma?* 'read'

| 2s | *ni·r?ɛ?* | *mɛn-ni·?l-ɛ?* |
| 2d | *ni·r-ɛtch-ɛ?* | *mɛn-ni·t-ch-ɛ?* |
| 2p | *ni·r-amm-ɛ?* | *mɛn-ni·r-amm-ɛ?* |

*co·kma?* 'do'

| 2s | *co·g-ɛ?* | *mɛn-dzo·k-?ɛ?* |
| 2d | *co·g-ɛtch-ɛ?* | *mɛn-dzo·k-s-ɛ?* |
| 2p | *co·g-amm-ɛ?* | *mɛn-dzo·g-amm-ɛ?* |

its free morph equivalent <*na·pmi*>. In the negative 2→1 imperative, only the variant with <*na·pmi*> is possible, eg. *ta·ndik ahaktɛʔ, rɔʔ* 'send it to us tomorrow, alright?', *o·nʔadhaktɛʔ!* 'show us!', *na·pmi co·gɛʔ!, adzo·gɛʔ!* 'do us!', *na·pmi mɛndzo·gɛʔ!* 'don't do us!', *abi·rɛʔ!* 'give it to us!', *na·pmi pi·rɛʔ!* 'give it to me!/give it to us!', *na·pmi mɛmbi·ʔɛʔ!* 'don't give it to us!', *sa-dziʔ na·pmi pi·rɛʔ!* 'give me a bit of meat!', *asaptɛʔ!* 'write us!'.

In compound imperatives, the 3ns suffix is often omitted in the first verb, eg. *phɔgəna pɛnchɛʔ-yuksɛsɛʔ!* 'put the *lohoṭa*s away, neatly lined up!', *nuram-tasammɛʔ!* 'be prosperous!'. The 2p→3ns forms may be conflations of once fuller forms. Alongside the regular 2p→3ns forms like *na·ttamsɛʔ* 'drive them away!', there are fuller but less frequent 2p→3ns forms of the type *na·ttamsimɛʔ* 'drive them away!', *mɛndaʔhaʔ ɔ·mɔttamsimɛʔ!* 'watch the goats!'.

The reflexive imperative is formed in the same way as the intransitive imperative.[3]

In addition to the imperative forms discussed thus far, there is a pre-emptive imperative, formed by changing the imperative ending <-*ɛʔ*> to <-*ʔo·*>, eg. *kɛyak mɛllɛʔo·!* 'don't get angry!', *cɛllɛklɛkpa mɛllɔʔrammo·!* 'don't behave adolescently boisterously!'. The difference between the regular and the pre-emptive imperative is illustrated by the following pairs: *mɛnye·ʔlɛʔ* 'don't laugh!' (the person addressed is already laughing) vs. *mɛnye·ʔlo·* 'don't laugh!' (the person addressed looks as if he might laugh or the speaker anticipates that he may laugh), *mɛnha·pʔɛʔ*

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[3] examples of the reflexive imperative, affirmative and negative:

*hi·siŋmaʔ* 'look back'

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 2s | *hi·-siŋ-ɛʔ* | *mɛn-hi·-siŋ-ʔɛʔ* |
| 2d | *hi·-nɛ-tch-ɛʔ* | *mɛn-hi·-nɛ-tch-ɛʔ* |
| 2p | *hi·-siŋ-amm-ɛʔ* | *mɛn-hi·-siŋ-amm-ɛʔ* |

*huʔsiŋmaʔ* 'learn'

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 2s | *huʔ-siŋ-ɛʔ* | *mɛn-huʔ-siŋ-ʔɛʔ* |
| 2d | *huʔ-nɛ-tch-ɛʔ* | *mɛn-huʔ-nɛ-tch-ɛʔ* |
| 2p | *hu-siŋ-amm-ɛʔ* | *mɛn-hu-siŋ-amm-ɛʔ* |

*warumsiŋmaʔ* 'wash oneself, bathe'

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 2s | *warum-siŋ-ɛʔ* | *wa-mɛl-lum-siŋ-ʔɛʔ* |
| 2d | *warum-nɛ-tch-ɛʔ* | *wa-mɛl-lum-nɛ-tch-ɛʔ* |
| 2p | *warum-siŋ-amm-ɛʔ* | *wa-mɛl-lum-siŋ-amm-ɛʔ* |

'don't cry!' (the person addressed is crying) vs. *mɛn-ha·pʔo·* 'don't cry!' (the person addressed looks as if though he might start crying), *mɛmba·ʔlɛʔ* 'don't talk!' (the person addressed is talking) vs. *mɛmba·ʔlo·* 'don't talk! (the person addressed looks as if he might start talking), *ɔ·mɛmmɔʔlɛʔ* 'don't look!' (the person addressed already is), *ɔ·mɛmmɔʔlo·* 'don't look!' (the speaker anticipates that the person addressed might look).

## 8.3. The Nominalizer suffix *-pa*

The nominalizer suffix *-pa* may be affixed to a verb stem, simplex, adverb or interrogative pronoun to create a nominal which can be used adnominally as an adjective or independently as a noun taking case suffixes.

The suffix *-pa* is used to nominalize adverbs to yield adjectives which may be used independently or adnominally, eg. *anchɛn* 'yesterday' + *-pa* → *anchɛm-ba* 'yesterday's', *kɔŋ anchɛmba* 'this is yesterday's', *anchɛmba iŋghɔŋ* 'yesterday's news', *allɔ lɔʔllɔʔl-pa* (now just now-NOM) 'fresh'. Most common are adjectives derived from adverbs of place, as in *siŋbe·k-ʔo·-ba mudho·k-kusiŋ murik* (lit. chin-LOC-NOM moustache-like body_hair), one of the possible expressions to translate Nepali *dāhrī* or 'beard', a feature which ethnic Limbus lack.

When the nominalizer is suffixed to adverbs, the resultant form cannot show gender agreement. For example, in (11) above, a human female is intended by the form *yo·ʔo·ba* 'someone from down here', but a corresponding specifically feminine form *\*yo·ʔo·ma* is rejected.

(19)  *amarika-ba  mana-·n tha·na-ʔo·  mɛ-sakt-u.*
America-NOM man-ABS gaol-LOC    nsAS-lock_up-3P
They locked the American up in gaol.

(20)  *ku-la·p-ʔo·-ba    murik     kumakla kubhɔra co·k.*
his-wing-LOC-NOM body_hair black    white    be
The feathers on its wings are white and black.

(21)   *Yuma:*          *khɛnɛʔ sa   kɛ-dzɔ-i·?*
       grandmother yous   meat 2-eat/3P-Q
       *Tɔre·ba: mɛ-dza-ʔɛ-n.*
       guest     NEG-eat-1s→3/NPT-NEG
       *Pho·kwama:*          *khunɛʔ mɛ-dzɔ-nɛn.*
       youngest_daughter he      NEG-eat/3P-NEG
       *Yaŋsarumba: ku-nbo·-lle   ku-sikto·-ʔo·-ba*
       third_born   his-nose-GEN its-beneath-LOC-NOM
              *phuʔku-ʔo·  rɔk   akt-u!*
       cave-LOC    only  put-3P
       Grandmother: Do yous eat meat?
       Guest: No, I don't.
       Youngest daughter: No, he doesn't eat meat.
       Third-born: Nah, he just puts it in the cave
              underneath his nose!

(22)   *kɛ-ba·ŋphe·-ʔo·-ba      mana a·kkhɛn  tɔŋbe·*
       yours-village-LOC-NOM man   how_many years
              *kɛ-hiŋ-i·?*
              2-live-pPS
       What is the life expectancy in yours village?

(23)   *khɛʔo·-bɛ-n    kɛdzi·ba co·k.*
       there-NOM-ABS cool        be
       [Water] from there (viz. from a certain *kuvā*) is
              cool.

(24)   *wakho·mba-ʔo·-ba cwaʔl-in   takt-u-ŋ.*
       *kuvā-LOC-NOM        water-ABS tap-3P-1sA
       I tap the water in the *kuvā*.

(25)   *an·ge ta·mbhuŋ-ʔo·-ba mana kusiŋ lɔʔr-i-ge,*
       wePᵉ  jungle-LOC-NOM   man  like  seem-pPS-e
              *me·n-ni·?*
              no-Q
       WePᵉ must seem like jungle men [to you], mustn't
       we?

The suffixation of *-pa* to verb stems and to conjugated
simplicia results in the nominalization of a verb or
clause. The addition of *-pa* to bare stems is an old process
which underlies many adjectives: *ke·mba* (*ke·n-* + *-pa*)
'long, tall', *yəmba* (*yən-* + *-pa*) 'big', *tɔŋba* (*tɔŋ-* + *-pa*)
'short', *tumba* (*tum-* + *-pa*) 'old', *nuba* (*nu-* + *-pa*) 'good'.
   Some of the nominals derived this way, though originally
adjectival in meaning, have become lexicalized as nouns,
eg. *limba* 'a sweet, a confection' (*lim-* + *-pa*)[4]. In cases

where lexicalization has not occurred, adjectives are
readily used independently as nominal heads as well, eg. *na
dhaba* 'he is someone who has lost face', *ɛn haŋwaba* 'today
is a scorcher'. Suffixation of *-pa* to nominalize verb stems
is a productive process in modern Limbu.

(26)    *khɛnɛʔ kɛ-ndzum-in   siradhaŋ-ba rəcə.*
        you<sup>s</sup>   2-friend-ABS please-NOM   DEPR
        Your<sup>s</sup> friend turns out to be a likeable, congenial
           person.

Nominalized verb stems are negated by the prefix <*mɛn->*,
eg. *nuba* 'good', *mɛnnuba* 'bad'. Nominalized verb stems,
unlike nominalized adverbs, agree in gender with animate
referents of the female sex, eg. *khɛŋ nuba co·k* 'he/it is
good', *khɛŋ numa co·k* 'she is good'.

Nominalization of conjugated simplicia results in the
nominalization of an entire clause which can in turn be
subordinated as a constituent of the main clause. For
nonstative verbs in isolation it is impossible to discern
by formal criteria alone whether one is dealing with an
imperfective form in *-pa* or a nominalized simplex, eg.
*hiptuŋba* can be both 'I hit him' and 'he whom I have hit'.
In many cases, the nominalized reading is the most obvious
because the imperfective would be unusual or, at best,
semantically marked as, for example, a negative nonpreterit
imperfective, eg. *mɛniʔɛmba* 'he whom I did not see', *mɛhip-
ʔɛmba* '[the child] whom I have not struck'. In the case of
stative verbs, which do not take an imperfective suffix,
the only possible reading is as a nominalization: *mɛlɛ·-
ʔɛmba* 'that is something I don't know', *lɛ·suŋba* 'that's
something I know'.

In natural usage, such nominalized forms seldom occur in
isolation and always occur in a context, but even so, a
nominalized form is sometimes difficult to distinguish
semantically from an imperfective, eg. (in reference to the
Limbu dish of *cɛmghik* or 'soy-bitter', which is unfamiliar
to the inhabitants of the *Tarāī*) *kɔŋ kusiŋ-mɛ-n-ni·tt-u-m-
-ba* (this  be_familiar_with-nsAS-NEG-be_familiar_with-3P-
-NEG-NOM) 'this is something they're not familiar with',
*mɛ-dza·nd-u-ba* (nsAS-colour-3P-NOM) 'this has been painted
by them/this is what they painted'. The distinction is
formally explicit when a nominalized form takes case suf-

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[4] as opposed to the active participle *kɛlimba* 'sweet'.
   Such participles are treated in the next section.

fixes, eg. *kɛ-bhɛtt-u-m-bɛ-n-ni·?* (2-bring-3P-pA-NOM-ABS-Q)
'is [this] the one youP brought?'

Subordination of clauses by means of nominalization is a
widespread phenomenon in Limbu, eg. (27-46) and, under
5.3.1, (64).

(27)       *ku-lum-?o·         mɛ-bhaŋ-u-ba            way-ɛ.*
          its-between-LOC nsAS-fence_off-3P-NOM be-PT
          In between there was a separating wall they had
               built.

(28)       *khɛŋ re·diyo·-n sɔpma-dzi? khɛps-u-lle   gɔ·*
          that radio-ABS   moment-few listen-3P-SUB then
              *re·diyo·-lle pa·tt-u-bɛ-n*
              radio-ERG     speak-3P-NOM-ABS
              *kusiŋ-mɛ-ni·tt-u-n.*
              understand-NEG-understand-3P-NEG
          Listening to that radio for a little while, she
               did not understand what the radio was saying.

(29)       *so·kt-u-ŋ-ba    ya·mbɔk-?in co·k-m?*
          aim-3P-1sA-NOM work-ABS     do-INF
              *mɛ-n-he·?-baŋ.*
              NEG-NEG-be_able-1s→3/PT
          I was unable to do the work I had had in mind.

(30)       *lɔ?r-aŋ-ba         ya·mbɔk-?in co·k-m?*
          say-1sPS/PT-NOM work-ABS     do-INF
               *mɛ-n-he·?-baŋ.*
               NEG-NEG-be_able-1s→3/PT
          1 was unable to do the work I had said [I would
               do].

(31)       *anchi a-ba·tt-ɛ-tch-u-ba*
          we[di]  1-speak-PT-dA-3P-NOM
               *kusiŋ-mɛ-ni·tt-w-i·?*
              understand-nsAS-understand-3P-Q
          Did they understand what we[di] were saying?

(32)       *anchige thuŋ-ɛ-tch-u-ge-bɛ-n      thi·*
          we[de]    drink-PT-dA-3P-e-NOM-ABS millet_beer
              *kudzaphɛ?r-ɛ.*
              taste_bad-PT
          The millet beer we[de] drank tasted bad.

(33)  *pe·g-ɛ-ba  kɛ-nis-w-i·?*
      go-PT-NOM 2-see-3P-Q
      Did you^s see her go?/Did you^s see that she went
          away?

(34)  *pa·?r-ɛ  nɛ·s-ɛ-ba  rɔk  khɛps-u.*
      speak-PT stay-PT-NOM only hear-3P
      All she heard was that it kept on talking.

(35)  *khɛnɛ?  kɛ-hu?r-aŋ-ba        kusiŋni·tt-u-ŋ.*
      you^s   2-teach-1sPS/PT-NOM understand-3P-1sA
      I understand what you^s have taught me.

(36)  *pa·t-m?   na·?r-ɛ-bɛ-n        nis-u-waŋ  'kɔŋ-le*
      speak-INF give_up-PT-NOM-ABS see-3P-and this-ERG
          *kɔŋ-e·    na·kt-u-ba    rəcə'  pha?aŋ*
          this-EMPH ask_for-3P-NOM DEPR   *bhanera*
          *i·tt-u.*
          think-3P
      Having seen that it had given up speaking, she
          thought, 'So, this is what it was asking
          for.'

(37)  *hɛkkɛlle gɔ·  khunchi wabak pe·sɛ?-?o·*
      so      then they^d  pond  edge-LOC
          *nɛ·s-ɛ-tchi-ba  nis-u.*
          stay-PT-dPS-NOM see-3P
      Only then did he see that they^d had been sleeping
          at the edge of a watering hole pond.

(38)  *khunɛ?  hu?r-aŋ-ba        kusiŋni·tt-u-ŋ.*
      he     teach-1sPS/PT-NOM understand-3P-1sA
      I understand what he has taught me.

(39)  *aŋga a-mma-re     thapt-aŋ-ba       ku-sa?-?ɛ.*
      I    my-mother-ERG bear-1sPS/PT-NOM her-son-am
      I am [her] son that my mother bore./I am the son
          my mother bore.

(40)  - *kɔŋ  kɛ-?iŋ-u-m-ba-i·?*
      this 2-buy-3P-pA-NOM-Q
     - *kappo·bɛ-lle.*
      old_man-ERG
          - Is this the one you^P bought?
          - No, it's the one the old man bought.

(41)   *na·m-ille cɔ-ba   ho·rik ti·kt-ɛ.*
       sun-ERG   eat-NOM skin   peel-PT
       The skin which has been burned (lit. eaten) by the
           sun is peeling.

(42)   *anchɛn     kɛ-hu?r-ɛ-bɛ-n*
       yesterday 2-bring_and_give-PT-NOM-ABS
           *kɛ-ŋ-gɔtt-u-n-ni·?*
           2-NEG-have-3P-NEG-Q
       Don't you^s have what he brought and gave you^s
           yesterday?

(43)   *mɛ-n-ni-baŋ-ba         məna-lle a-yaŋ-in*
       NEG-NEG-see-1s→3-NOM man-ERG   my-money-ABS
           *khutt-u.*
           steal-PT
       A man I didn't see stole my money.

(44)   - *hɛnaŋ kɛ-su·s-ɛ-ba?*
         why    2-be_late-PT-IPF
       - *aŋga tho·  laŋpho·ŋga mɛ-dza·tt-u-rɔ*
         I    above football    nsAS-play-3P-prG
         *mɛ-ya·g-ɛ-bɛ-n      ɔ·mɔtt-u-ŋ.       hɛkyaŋ*
         nsAS-be-PT-NOM-ABS look_at-3P-1sA. So,
         *su·s-aŋ-ba.              a-ndzum-ha?*
         be_late-1sPS/PT-IPF. my-friend-p
         *mɛ-dze·-rɔ           mɛ-ya·g-ɛ.  hɛkkɛlle aŋga-aŋ*
         nsAS-play/PT-prG nsAS-be-PT. so           I-too
         *ɔ·mɔtt-u-ŋ  gɔrɔ a-sira       dhaŋ.*
         watch-3P-1sA if   my-pleasure come_up.
             - Why are you^s late?
             - I was up there watching the guys playing
               football. That's why I'm late. My friends
               were playing football. So, I too enjoy
               myself if I watch.

(45)   *khɛŋ ho·pt-ɛ-ba         nis-ɛ-tch-u-waŋ  ku-ndzum-ille*
       that not_be-PT-NOM see-PT-dA-3P-pfG his-friend-ERG
           *mɛtt-u 'huk-?o·  wa·p-mna-bɛ-n     mund-ɛ-rɔ*
           say-3P  hand-LOC wear-PP-NOM-ABS run-PT-prG
           *way-ɛ-i·  mɛm-mun-?e·  way-ɛ-i·?'*
           be-PT-Q npG-run-npG be-PT-Q
       When they^d saw that it was not there, his friend
           said to him, 'Was the watch running or wasn't
           it?'

(46)    kɛ-ma·nd-u-ba    po·ks-ɛ.
        2-finish-3P-NOM be-PT
        It has gotten used up by yous.

(47)    aŋga pa·tt-u-ŋ-bɛ-n        kɛ-ghɛps-w-i·?
        I    say-3P-1sA-NOM-ABS 2-hear-3P-Q
        Did yous hear what I said?

(48)    an·ge a-mma-re        tho·kt-u-ba tɔk
        wePe my-mother--ERG cook-3P-NOM rice
            kɛrɛk-nulle        kudzanu-ba        co·k!
            everything-than be_delicious-NOM be
        The rice ourPe mother cooks is the most delicious!

When the nominalizer suffix -pa is added to the absolutive
form of the interrogative pronouns hɛn or e·n, the speaker
is more concerned with the generic identity of the unknown
referent, although it would be going too far to translate
hɛmba and e·mba with 'what kind of thing' or 'what kind of
person' because the distinction between hɛn, e·n and hɛmba,
e·mba is subtler. This distinction is not readily trans-
lated into languages lacking a similar construction, such
as English. A similar distinction can be expressed in
English by modulating the intonation or, in Nepali, by
omitting the form 'to be' in the following, but these con-
trivances are clearly not equivalent.

kɔŋ hɛn?        What is *this*?       *yo ke?*
kɔŋ hɛmba?      What *is* this?       *yo ke ho?*

kɔŋ e·n?        *Who* is this?/who is *this*?
kɔŋ e·mba?      Who *is* this?

(49)    tho·ghɛŋ hɛmba?
        What *is* that up there?


## 8.4. The active participle and its negative

Simultaneous affixation of the prefix <kɛ-> and the suffix
<-pa> to a verb stem yields its active participle. The
active participle (AP) of a transitive verb pertains to its
agent, eg. kɛsɛppa 'he who kills', kɛde·ʔba 'he who takes
away', kɛghuppa 'he who steals, thief, thieving', kɛʔiŋba
'he who buys', kɛniba 'he who sees', kɛbi·ba 'he who
gives', kɛhuʔba 'he who teaches', kɛsukpa 'he who is able',
kɛdho·kpa 'he who cooks', kɛʔu·ppa 'he who calls', niŋsaŋ

*kɛbhukpa* 'a killjoy, he who spoils the fun', *kɛbi·ppa* 'he who sucks', *kɛbhɛppa* 'he who brings', *kɛdzo·kpa* 'a working man', *kɛdhuŋba* 'a drinking man'.

(50)     *sa   kɛ-dho·k-pa e·n mɛ-way-ɛ?*
         meat AP-cook-AP  who nsAS-be-PT
         Who were the people who were cooking the meat?

(51)     *pi?l kɛ-gɔm-bɛ-n     a·tto·?*
         bull AP-graze-AP-ABS where
         Where's the guy grazing the cattle?

The active participle of an intransitive verb pertains to its subject, eg. *kɛdi·ppa* 'that which burns (of a fire)', *kɛsiba* 'he who is dying', *kɛ?iŋba* 'he who is famous, that which is well known', *kɛbɛ·ba* 'that which flies'.

(52)     *kɛ-syut-pa        kɛ-dzɔ-i·?*
         AP-taste_sour-AP 2-eat/3P-Q
         Do yous eat sour?

(53)     *khɛnɛ? hɛnaŋ*
         yous   why
               *mɘnɛ·-kɛ-dhik-pa?*
               mumble_invectives-AP-mumble_invectives-AP
               *e·-lle hɛn  kɛ-mɛtt-ɛ?*
               who-ERG what 2-say_to-PT
         Why are yous mumbling invectives under your breath? Who told yous what?

(54)     - *khɛŋ laŋ-gɛ-ghe·k-pa mɘna e·n na?  e·n cha o·?*
           that walk-AP-walk-AP man who EMPH? who EMPH oh!
         - *lamdi?paŋ la?ba.*
           wayfarer  probably.
               - Who's that guy walking there? Who is it?
               - Probably just a wayfarer.

(55)     *nam-kɛ-bhɛt-chiŋ-ba kɛ-bo·ks-ɛ-ba-i·?*
         sun-AP-fetch-REF-AP 2-become-PT-IPF-Q
         Have yous turned into someone who likes to dry himself out in the sun (said to someone who has recently developed a habit of falling asleep and taking naps out in the hot sun).

(56)     *kɛ-?i·-ba        te·!*
         AP-wander-AP come/PT
         The wanderer (wandering one) has come!

When an intransitive verb's agentivity is high, eg. *sarɔ·n-di kɛdza·ba* 'he who plays on the slide', the active participle relates that the subject performs the indicated action or exhibits the indicated quality, eg. (52-56). When the agentivity of an intransitive the verb is low, eg. *kɛhɛppa* 'that which is shattered', the active participle indicates that the subject has already undergone the action, eg. (57-59).

(57)   *nɛpphu hɛndza? thik ya·n-le kɛ-bo·ŋ-ba*
        two      boy      one   day-GEN AP-be_born-AP
        *way-ɛ-tchi.*
        be-PT-dPS
        There were once two boys who had been born on the
        same day.

(58)   *kɛ-de·ŋ-ba te·?l-in      thund-u.*
        AP-tear-AP clothes-ABS mend-3P
        He mends torn clothes.

(59)   *ɛn    kɛ-dhup-pɛ-n       sɛt-m?             bo·ŋ*
        today AP-cave_in-AP-ABS build_a_wall-INF EXIG
        *la?ba.*
        probably
        I guess what caved in will have to be repaired
        today.

(60)   *pitcha mɛ-n-dzɔ-nɛn,      kɛ-si-bɛ-rɛ-n*
        beef    nsAS-NEG-eat-NEG, AP-die-AP-GEN-ABS
        *mɛ-ghɛks-u.*
        nsAS-dry-3P
        They don't eat beef, but they will dry the meat of
        a dead one. (In reference to the Tibetans of
        *Tāplejuṅ* who abstain from beef in respect to
        Nepalese law but will prepare *sukuṭi* or fried
        jerky from a cow which has died a natural
        death.)

Note the expression *him kɛho·ppa* 'a destitute' (Nep. *sukum-bāsī*) in which the active participle of non-existential 'to be' *ho·pma?* pertains to *him* 'house', although the collocation as a whole has a human referent. The same is illustrated in (61).

(61)     *yɛtchaba hɛm-bhɛlle,   yɛtchaba bhɛlle   ku-mma*
         orphan    what-*bhanera* orphan    *bhanera* his-mother
              *ku-mba        kɛ-ho·p-pa.*
              his-father AP-not_be-AP
         What is an orphan, an orphan is someone without a
              mother or father.

The active participle is a nominal and can be used both as
an adnominal modifier, eg. *kɛnaŋba mɔna* 'a crazy person',
or as an independent noun taking nominal case and number
suffixes, eg. *kɛgɔppa-haʔ mɛŋgɔpmna-haʔ* 'the haves and the
have-nots', eg. (62-73) and, in Chapter 7, (70).

(62)     *kɛ-nik-siŋ-ba-haʔ-re khunchi-saʔ lɔ·n.*
         AP-fuck-REF-AP-p-GEN their-child come_out
         Those who copulate get children.

(63)     *ku-be·sɛʔ-ʔo·      ku-ndzum-dhik   kɛ-wa·-bɛ-n   khɛŋ*
         his-vicinity-LOC his-friend-one AP-be-AP-ABS that
              *pa·n-nin mɛtt-u.*
              word-ABS say_to-3P
         So he told that story to a friend of his who
              happened to be there in his vicinity.

(64)     *kɛ-ma·-bɛ-lle   mɛtt-u    'mund-ɛ-rɔ   way-ɛ'.*
         AP-lose-AP-ERG say_to-3P run-PT-prG be-PT
         The guy who had lost it said to him, 'It was
              running [at the time].'

(65)     *khɛŋ kɛ-bhɛm-bɛ-n    mɔna-rɛ-n    ku-ndzum.*
         that AP-come-AP-ABS man-GEN-ABS his-friend
         He's the friend of that man who has come.

(66)     *khɛŋ kudza kɛ-bhɔ·ŋ-bɛ-n      e·n na?*
         that food AP-divide-AP-ABS who EMPH
         Who's that dividing up the food?

(67)     *kɔŋ  yumma?l    kɛ-ha·-bɛ-n        e·n na?*
         this vegetables AP-apportion-AP-ABS who EMPH
         Who is this guy distributing the vegetables?

(68)     *kudza-kɛ-nu-bɛ-n                  kɛ-m-bi·!*
         taste_good-AP-taste_good-AP-ABS 2-nsAS-give
         They'll give you[s] the good tasting stuff!

(69)  *le·gha·k le·wa bhɛlle    hɛm-bhɛlle?    le·wa bhɛlle*
smegma    sperm *bhaneko* what-*bhaneko* sperm *bhaneko*
        *bhitra-lam  kɛ-lɔ·m-ba.     le·gha·k bhɛlle*
        inside-from AP-come_out-AP smegma    *bhaneko*
        *pa·kkha kɛ-bɔp-pɛ-n.    le·-?o·-lam*
        outside AP-stick-AP-ABS penis-LOC-from
        *kɛ-lɔ·m-bɛ-n       le·wa. kɔ?o·  kabhri*
        AP-come_out-AP-ABS sperm   here    all_around
        *kabhri       kɛ-bɔp-pɛ-n le·gha·k.*
        all_around AP-stick-AP-ABS smegma
What are sperm and smegma? Sperm is that which
    comes out from inside, whereas smegma is that
    which remains sticking on the outside. That
    which comes out from inside the penis is
    sperm. What is stuck here all over the place
    is smegma.

(70)  *na·-nu      kɛ-bhɛm-bɛ-n    kɛ-ndzum-in*
there-from AP-come-AP-ABS your^s-friend-ABS
        *khɛnɛ?-nulle tum-mi·    pak-?i·*
        you^s-than     be_older-Q be_younger-Q
Is your^s friend who is coming from over there
    older or younger than you^s?

(71)  *kɔ?o·  kɛ-yuŋ-mɛ-n     khɛŋ kappo·bɛ-lle*
here    AP-sit-AP/f-ABS that old_man-GEN
        *ku-bho·kwama.*
        his-youngest_sister
The lady sitting here is that old man's youngest
    sister.

(72)  *sammyaŋ kɛ-wa·p-ma-ha? nəksa    kɛ-dzo·g-u-si-?i·?*
gold    AP-wear-AP/f-p picture 2-make-3P-nsP-Q
Are you^s going to take a photograph of the ladies
    wearing gold jewelry?

(73)  *sammyaŋ kɛ-wa·p-ma-ha?*
gold    AP-wear-AP/f-p
        *ya?-gɛ-rak-pa-ha?                o·mɔp-ma?-si*
        rice_dance-AP-rice_dance-AP-p watch-INF-nsP
        *po·ŋ*
        EXIG
It's time to go watch the ladies wearing gold and
    the people performing the rice harvest dance.

The choice of tense in qualitative verbs enables the following distinction: *sak* 'it is difficult', *saktɛ* 'it was difficult'. Roughly the same meaning can be conveyed by using the active participle with attributive 'to be' *co·k-ma?*. The difference, however, lies in the fact that the combination of active participle and *co·kma?* presents the quality indicated as an attribute rather than something inherent: *kɔŋ ya·mbɔk kɛsakpa co·k* 'this work is difficult', *kɛsakpa co·gɛ* 'it was difficult'. The active participle is not chosen in the sentence *sammyaŋ lip* 'gold is heavy' because the weight of gold is an inherent quality.

Moreover, an active participle can also combine with transitional 'to be' *po·ŋma?* and relate meanings which the qualitative verb cannot convey in a conjugated form, eg. *kɛsakpa po·ksɛ* 'it has become difficult', *kɛsakpa po·ŋ* 'it is difficult (as an inherent state or process)'.

The active participles of nonstative verbs also combine with *co·kma?* to express an attribute, where the verb itself would only indicate the performance of an activity, as in (74) where a habit of the lady in question is pointed out. Examples (75-82) also illustrate the attributive sense of the active participle.

(74)      *khɛŋ mɛnchuma sa·rik co·kphuŋ    kɛ-dzo·k-ma co·k*
        that lady      very  fabrication AP-do-AP/f be
        *hɛnaŋbhɛlle co·kphuŋ     pa·n  lɔk pa·?l.*
        because     fabrication speech only speak
      This lady is a real tall tale teller because she
        only tells exaggerated stories.

(75)      *khɛŋ kɛ-ndzum-in      muso·k kɛ-dzo·k-pa co·k.*
        that your[s]-friend-ABS humour AP-do-AP    be
      That friend of yours is a barrel of laughs.

(76)      *kɔŋ  mɘna-·n ca·?rik kɛ-ba·p-pa kɛ-ye·p-pa   co·k.*
        this man-ABS very    AP-talk-AP AP-laugh-AP be
      This man is really a talker and a laugher.[5]

(77)      *yaŋsarumbɛ-n    sa·rik kɛ-su·-ba      kɛ-dɔp-pa*
        third[_]born-ABS very   AP-be[_]late-AP AP-be[_]lazy-AP
          *co·k.*
          be
      Third-born is a very lazy person who tends never
          to be on time.

---

[5] qualities positively valued in Limbu society.

(78)    aŋga-aŋ yaŋ-gɛ-saʔ-ba          coˑk-ʔɛ.    hɛkyaŋ
        I-too   be‿poor-AP-be‿poor-AP be-1sPS/NPT so
            hɛn   coˑk-maʔ  yaŋ-mɛn-chaʔ-mna-eˑ?
            what do-INF    be‿poor-NP-be‿poor-NP-VOC
        I too am indigent. So, what should I do, oh
        unafflicted one?


(79)    khunɛʔ yəllik yaŋ    kɔtt-u, hɛkkɛlle khunɛʔ
        he      much   money have-3P so        he
            yaŋ-mɛn-chaʔ-mna                  coˑk.
            be‿indigent-NP-be‿indigent-NP be
        He has lots of money, so he's not poor.


(80)    sapla niˑp-maʔ naˑsi       kɛ-dhɔˑp-pa        coˑk.
        book  read-INF persevere AP-persevere-AP be
        He is persistently reading books.


(81)    aˑkkhɛn  tɔŋbeˑ kɛ-gɛp-pa      kɛ-yoˑ?
        how‿many year   AP-arrive-AP 2-reach
        How many years old are youˢ?/What age have youˢ
        attained?


(82)    khɛŋ mɛnchya a-nsa-nulle
        that girl     my-younger‿sibling-than
            kusiŋ-gɛ-niˑp-pa                  coˑk.
            understand-AP-understand-AP be
        That girl is more intelligent than my kid brother.


In fact, the verb takpheˑmaʔ 'be irate' corresponding to
the active participle takkɛbheˑba 'irate' is never used
other than as an active participle because nobody is per-
manently or inherently irate.

As in (71-73) above and (133) in chapter 7, the active
participle agrees for gender with animate female referents,
eg. yaˑmbɔk kɛdzoˑkpa məna 'a working man', yaˑmbɔk kɛ-
dzoˑkma mɛnchuma 'a working woman', kɛyuŋma mɛnchuma 'the
sitting lady', kɛyuŋba məna 'the sitting man', maˑki kɛdza-
ba məna 'the man eating maize', maˑki kɛdzama mɛnchuma 'the
woman eating maize', thaˑk kɛdhaˑkma mɛnchuma 'the woman
weaving', thaˑk kɛdhaˑkpa məna 'the man weaving', kɛdhuŋba
məna 'the man drinking', kɛdhuŋma mɛnchuma 'the woman
drinking'.

The negative participle (NP) is formed by simultaneous
affixation of the prefix <mɛn-> and the suffix <-mna> to
the verb stem, eg. kɛdhumba 'industrious, hard-working',
mɛndhummna 'not hard-working, not industrious', wakɛrakpa
'wet, that which has become wet', wamɛnlakŋna 'not wet, eg.

(78-79). Active participles of stative verbs lack negative
counterparts, eg. *\*mɛnnumna* (cf. *kɛnuba*). The negative
participle is originally exclusively the negative form of
the passive participle (8.6) and has come to fulfill the
function of negative active participle for nonstative
verbs:

(83)   *ha-mɛn-chuk-mʔnɛ-lle*               *nɔŋ-mɛ-lle*
       be‿cutting-NP-be‿cutting-NP-INST shave-INF-SUB
       *sa·rik tuk.*
       very   hurt
       It really hurts when you shave with a blunt razor.


(84)   *kɔŋ   məna-·n ya·mbɔk  co·k-mʔ na·si*
       this man-ABS work     do-INF  persevere
          *kɛ-dhɔ·p-pa        co·k, khɛŋ məna-·n ya·mbɔk*
          AP-persevere-AP be     that man-ABS work
          *co·k-mʔ na·si       mɛn-dhɔ·p-mʔna  co·k.*
          do-INF  persevere NP-persevere-NP be
       This is a man who perseveres in his work, that is
       a man who does not persevere in his work.


(85)   *hu·pciki        mɛm-ba·ŋ-ŋna.*
       tangled‿knot NP-come‿undone-NP
       The knot is untanglable.


A negative active participle may be nominalized by addition
of the suffix *-pa*. Affixed to a verb form, *-pa* agrees in
gender, eg. *mɛn-dhuŋ-ŋna-ba* 'a non-drinker (m)', *mɛn-dhuŋ-*
*ŋna-ma* 'a non-drinker (f)'.
   The difference between a nominalized verb stem and its
active participle lies in the more dynamic, absolute
meaning of the active participle. Compare: *khɛŋ nuba co·k*
'that is good, he is good', *numa co·k* 'she is good' as
opposed to *khɛŋ kɛnuba co·k* 'that is [definitely] good, he
is [truly] good', *khɛŋ kɛnuma co·k* 'she is [definitely]
good'; *kudzanuba tɔk* 'delicious *bhāt*' as opposed to *kudza-*
*kɛnuba tɔk* 'good-tasting *bhāt*'. The use of active parti-
ciple in (86) and (87) is far more positive and complimen-
tary than the use of the nominalized stem would be.


(86)   *kuʔitla   kɛ-nu-ba.*
       his-voice AP-be‿good-AP
       His voice is good.

(87)     *kudza-kɛ-nu-ba*                    *rɔcə*.
         taste‿good-AP-taste‿good-AP DEPR
         As it turns out, this is the good-tasting stuff.

Adverbs have no active participles but may either be nominalized, eg. *sumsum* 'in a civilized, well-mannered, modest, unassuming fashion' to yield an adjective, eg. *sumsumba* 'civilized, well-mannered, modest, unassuming' or may combine with the active participle of *lɔʔmaʔ*, eg. *sumsum kɛlɔʔba* 'someone who behaves in a well-mannered fashion, behaving in a well-mannered fashion'.

## 8.5. The passive participle

The passive participle is formed through suffixation of <*-mna*, *-mʔna*> to the verb stem. Passive participles may be nominalized by addition of the suffix <*-pa*> and used adnominally, eg. *khɛŋ-ŋna-ba sa* 'dried meat, jerky', *waraŋ-ŋna-ba te·ʔl* 'clothes which have been made wet', or independently, eg. *khak-ŋna-ba* 'that which has solidified (of smolten metal which has solidified)'. The nominalized passive participle is a productive process in deriving all sorts of patientive nouns: *sapmnaba* 'something written', *camnaba* 'something to eat', *ɔ·mɔpmnaba* 'something to watch', *hakŋnaba* 'something to send', *wa·pmnaba* 'something to wear', *thuŋŋnaba* 'a drink, a beverage', *khikwa ca·mnaba* 'a whistle', *nisaŋ phukŋnaba* 'spoilt fun', *ho·pmnaba* (inhale-PP-NOM) 'Limbu cigarette, Nepali cigarette or *biɖī*, Western cigarette'.

The passive participle suffix is homophonous with the 1peAS/PT suffix but homophony is generally disambiguated by the context, eg. *thuŋ-ŋna-ba* (drink-PP-NOM) *thi· kudzaphɛʔ-rɛ* 'the millet beer which was drunk [by all of us[Pi]] tasted like shit', *anige thuŋ-ŋna-ba* (drink-1peAS/PT-NOM) *thi· kudzaphɛʔrɛ* 'The millet beer we[Pe] drank tasted like shit.'

(88)     *kɛ-ba·ŋphe·-ʔo·*     *pe·g-ɛʔ-aŋ huk-ʔo·*
         your[s]-village-LOC go-IMP-and hand-LOC
              *wa·ʔ-mʔna-bɛ-n  haŋ-ɛʔ*.
              wear-PP-NOM-ABS send-IMP
         Go   back   to   your[s]   village   and   send   [me]   a
         watch./Having gone back to your[s] village,
         send [me] a watch.

(89)    - phuli hɛn?
          phulī what
        - phuli nɛbho·-ʔo· wa·p-mna-ba.
          phulī nose-LOC    wear-PP-NOM
                  - What is   a  phulī? (Nepali  for  golden
                    floriform nose ornament)
                  - A phulī is something you wear in your nose.

(90)    waʔdhi·n a·kdaŋba      kɛ-sira           dhaŋ?
        egg       what_kind_of yourˢ-pleasure come_up
              tho·k-ŋna-ba-i·  thɛm-mna-ba-i·?
              fry-PP-NOM-Q     boil-PP-NOM-Q
        How do youˢ like your egg? Fried or boiled?

(91)    wa·p-mna-bɛ-n    hakt-aŋ-ɛ?!
        wear-PP-NOM-ABS send-1sP-IMP
        Send me a watch!

(92)    mɔk-mna-ba       cwaʔl pitnu.
        heat_up-PP-NOM water milk
        Heated up milk and water.

(93)    - wɛtchyaʔ-dɔk-ʔi·  ma·ki-dɔk-ʔi·?
          rice-bhāt-Q         maize-bhāt-Q
        - wɛtchyaʔ-dɔk ma·ki-dɔk   phup-mna-ba.
          rice-bhāt       maize-bhāt mix-PP-NOM
                  - Is this rice-bhāt or maize-bhāt?
                  - This is  rice-bhāt and maize-bhāt  mixed
                    together.

(94)    kappo·ba      kɛ-dums-ɛ, kɔʔo· phup-mna-ba.
        elderly_man 2-ripen-PT here   mix-PP-NOM
        Youˢ've aged into an old man, here (pointing at
              the temples of the addressed) you've got grey
              hairs.

(95)    sammaŋ-ʔo· waʔ
        deity-LOC  chicken
              hi·p-mna-ba                          rɔk wa·.
              keep_as_a_sacrificial_animal-PP-NOM only be
        [That] chicken is being kept exclusively as a
              sacrificial animal.

Passive participles are negated by addition of the negative
prefix <mɛn->, eg. mɛn-chu-mna (NEG-touch-PP) 'undergoing
or in menstruation, in a four-day state of untouchability
due to menstruation' (lit. untouchable).

(96)     *kɔŋ  mɛnchuma-·n mɛn-chu-mna  po·ks-ɛ.*
         this lady-ABS     NEG-touch-PP be-PT
         This lady is in menstruation, i.e. has become
         temporarily impure and untouchable.

The nominalized form *mɛn-chu-mna-ba* signifies 'untouchabi-
lity, viz. menstruation, the four-day state of impurity and
untouchability due to menstruation'.

The passive participle has no particular agent, eg. in
the extra-linguistic context of (97) it was clear by whom
patience was lost.

(97)     *na·si    mɛn-dhɔ·p-mna-ba.*
         patience NEG-retain-PP-NOM
         Patience/perseverence has been lost.

(98)     *yum  mɛn-ʔak-ŋna-ba.*
         salt NEG-add-PP-NOM
         [tea] to which no salt has been added.

## 8.6. The Infinitive

The infinitival ending is *-maʔ*. In allegro speech the
infinitival ending may shorten to *-ma*, *mʔ* or *-m·*, eg.
(99-100), (125), (130) . The ending *-maʔ* shortens to *-mɛ*
before the subordinating instrumental/ergative suffix
*-ille*, giving *-mɛlle* (9.4). The combination of infinitive
and genitive suffix is discussed under 2.4.13 and 9.4.
Before *-aŋ* 'and, also, too', the suffix shortens to *-my*,
giving *-myaŋ*, eg. (102).

(99)     *ya·mbɔk co·k-mʔ gɛ-dzɔʔl.*
         work      do-INF  2-be_fast
         You[s]'re working fast.

(100)    - *co·k-mʔ a-m-bha·k-ʔi·    a-mɛ-m-bha·k-nɛn-ʔi·?*
           do-INF  1-nsAS-permit-Q 1-nsAS-NEG-permit-NEG-Q
         - *a-m-bha·k      i·ya.*
           1-nsAS-permit probably
                - Will they let us[Pi] do it or won't they?
                - They probably will.

Infinitives may function as the complement of a finite
form, eg. (99-101), serve as an instructional imperative
(102) or blessing (103), or indicate an action or situation
as such without making explicit reference to actants, eg.

(104-105). For example, there is no Limbu noun meaning 'end'. Rather the infinitive *cu?ma?* 'to come to an end' is used, eg. *cu?mɛ-lle* 'at or towards the end'. Similarly, in questions such as (106-107) the infinitive is used to ask whether the action should or should not be undertaken at all.

(101)     *phup-ma? mɛ-nu-nɛn.*
          mix-INF   NEG-be_alright-NEG
          It's no good to mix it (viz. *cɛmghik* with *sikwa* on
               one's plate).

(102)     *cwa?l-in   le·ŋ-ma?. yumma?l-in      lak-lɔ.*
          water-ABS add-INF    vegetables-ABS be_salty-OPT
               *tɔk-?in   yɔŋ-my-aŋ      sa·ŋ-ma?.*
               rice-ABS lift-INF-pfG stir-INF
          Add water. Let the vegetables be salty. Stir the
               rice after having lifted it off the fire.

(103)     *ɔkkhe·lɔ?rik      co·k-ma? dza-ma?.*
          in_this_fashion do-INF    eat-INF
          Continue doing and eating as you were.[6]

(104)     *kɔŋ   a·kkhyaŋ kusiŋni·p-ma??*
          this how         understand-INF
          How is this to be understood?

(105)     *yakthuŋlilimhaŋ          kɛ-dhuŋ-ba  haŋ  sa?-se*
          ancestral_Limbu_kings AP-drink-AP king visit-SUP
               *aŋga əgɔ·  kətə?wa mulo·p-ma?    thi·*
               I    then fern      lay_down-INF millet_beer
               *khe·dɛp-ma? thi·         thuŋ-u-ŋ-aŋ*
               season-INF   millet_beer drink-3P-1sA-and
               *a-nsik-?in    lo·ks-u-aŋ          naŋnam*
               my-brain-ABS cause_to_run-3P-and crazy
               *thapthap lɔ?r-aŋ          lo·!*
               berserk   seem-1sPS/PT ASS
          In order to visit the ancestral kings of *Limbuvān*,
               the millet beer drinking kings, I lay down
               ferns, add the magic ingredient and having
               drunk the millet beer, it set my brain
               a-running and I become like a crazy mad
               lunatic.

---

[6] said by a clan elder to his progeny as he enters a house
    were everyone is eating.

The infinitive is negated by the negative prefix <*mɛn->*,
eg. *ka?ma?*, *mɛŋga?ma?* 'transport', *co·kma?*, *mɛndzo·kma?*
'do', *pe·kma?*, *mɛmbe·kma?* 'go', *cama?*, *mɛndzama?* 'eat',
*ye·pma?*, *mɛnye·pma?* 'laugh', *u·tma*, *mɛn?u·tma?* 'call',
*ya?ra·kma?*, *ya?mɛnla·kma?* 'perform the rice dance', *wahɔp-*
*ma?*, *wamɛnhɔpma?* 'wash'.

(106)      *tɔŋba ke·p-ma-i·      mɛŋ-ge·p-ma-i·?*
           *tuńbā* set_out-INF-Q NEG-set_out-INF-Q
           [Shall I/we] put out the *tuńbās* or not?

(107)      *pa·t-ma?-i·? mɛm-ba·t-ma?-i·?*
           speak-INF-Q  NEG-speak-INF-Q
           [Shall I] say it or shan't I?

(108)      *wi?l mɛl-la·p-ma?  parne·.*
           rain NEG-enter-INF ought
           The rain shouldn't come in.[7]

(109)      *thi·         thuŋ-ma?  gɔrɔ ta?-ma?,  thi·*
           millet_beer drink-INF if    bring-INF millet_beer
                *mɛn-dhuŋ-ma?  gɔrɔ mɛn-da?-ma?.*
                NEG-drink-INF if    NEG-bring-INF
           If they (the guests) will drink millet beer, take
                it out, and if not, don't.[8]

The transitive infinitive shows agreement with a non-singu-
lar patient through suffixation of the nsP morpheme <*-si*>,
eg.

(110)      *yale·k       saŋ-ma?-si       bo·ŋ, yale·k*
           field_work convoke-INF-nsP EXIG, field_work
                *saŋ-u-ŋ-si-ŋ.*
                convoke-3P-1sA-nsP-1sA
           They must be summoned to work in the fields, I
                shall call them to work.

(111)      *na·k-ma?-si-lle       a-m-bi·-?i·-ba?*
           ask_for-INF-nsP-SUB 1-nsAS-give-Q-IPF
           Will they give [it] to us[Pi] if we ask them for it?

---

[7] It's raining heavily outside, and the speaker has just
    sealed off the door with rags.
[8] said by the host in answer to his wife's question as to
    whether or not to get out the *tɔŋba*.

(112)   *na·k-ma?-si-lle      kɛ-m-bi·-?i·-ba?*
        ask_for-INF-nsP-SUB 2-nsAS-give-Q-IPF
        Will they give [it] to you[s] if you ask them for
            it?

(113)   *laŋsup pi·-ma?-si-?i·? hip-ma?-si-?i·?*
        shoe    give-INF-nsP-Q  hit-INF-nsP-Q
        Give them shoes or hit them?[9]

(114)   *mɛnda? hɛn-ha? ɔ·mɔp-ma?-si?*
        goat    what-p  look-INF-nsP
        What do the goats think they're looking at?/ What
            is there for the goats to be looking at that
            way.[10]


## 8.7. Supine

The suffix of the supine is *-se*, meaning 'in order to'. The
possessive prefixes (2.2.1) are attached to transitive su-
pine forms to indicate patient agreement:

| | |
|---|---|
| *a-hɔŋ-se pe·gɛ* | He went off to look for me. |
| *anchi-hɔŋse pe·gɛ* | He went off to look for us[di]. |
| *anchige-hɔŋse pe·gɛ* | He went off to look for us[de]. |
| *ani-hɔŋse pe·gɛ* | He went off to look for us[pi]. |
| *anige-hɔŋse pe·gɛ* | He went off to look for us[pe]. |
| *kɛ-hɔŋse pe·gɛ* | He went off to look for you[s]. |
| *khɛnchi-hɔŋse pe·gɛ* | He went off to look for you[d]. |
| *khɛni-hɔŋse pe·gɛ* | He went off to look for you[p]. |
| *ku-hɔŋse pe·gɛ* | He went off to look for him/her/it. |
| *khunchi-hɔŋse pe·gɛ* | He went off to look for them. |

(115)   *hɛkkɛlle  ku-hɔŋ-se      te·.*
        therefore 3s-search-SUP come/PT
        So he came to look for it.

---

[9] said by an endeared father of his children who are
    begging for shoes.
[10] The goats all suddenly look in one direction, but move
    their heads about as if though they see a swarm of
    flies.

(116)   *atchɛnda·n*                   *a-ba·ŋphe·-ʔo·  pe·k-ʔɛ.*
        The_day_after_tomorrow my-village-LOC go-1sPS/NPT
            *hɛkyaŋ a-him-ʔo·      yuŋ-ʔɛ.     a-ndzum-ha?*
            then my-house-LOC sit-1sPS/NPT my-friend-p
            *a-dum-se     mɛ-da.*
            me-meet-SUP nsAS-come
        The day after tomorrow I'll go home. Then, I'll
            sit at home, and my friends will come to meet
            me.

(117)   *kɛ-dum-se     ty-aŋ-ba.*
        you^s-meet-SUP come-1sPS/PT-IPF
        I have come to meet you^s.

The  supine  expresses  intent  or  purpose,  and  generally
translates  as  an  infinitive.[11]

(118)   - *hɛn   co·k-se kɛ-ye·-ba.*
          what do-SUP  2-come_down/PT-IPF
        - *aŋga mikphuʔla pa·n-ɛn        huʔ-siŋ-se*
          I    white_eye language-ABS teach-REF-SUP
        *yy-aŋ-ba.*
        come_down-1sPS/PT-IPF
            - What have you^s come down to do?
            - I have come down here to learn English.

(119)   - *a·tto·  kɛ-be·k-pa?*
          where  2-go-IPF
        - *ta·mbhuŋ-ʔo·.*
          jungle-LOC
        - *hɛn   co·k-se?*
          what do-SUP
        - *siŋ   thaŋ-se.*
          wood have_brought_up-SUP
            - Where are you^s going?
            - to the jungle.
            - To do what?
            - to send up wood/to have wood brought up.

(120)   *piʔl kɔm-se       pe·k-ʔɛ.*
        cow   graze-SUP go-1sPS/NPT
        I'm going to graze the cows.

---

[11] The LSI (Konow, 1909: 294) aptly calls it the infinitive
    of purpose.

(121)   *sɔpmaŋ       lɔk   pe·k-ʔɛ,      warum-siŋ-se.*
        in‿a‿second only  go-1sPS/NPT bathe-REF-SUP
        I'm going in a little while (i.e. not right away),
               to bathe.

(122)   *sɔŋmabha-haʔ       saʔ-se     abhɛlle kɛ-be·k?*
        male‿siblings[12]-p visit-SUP when    2-go
        When are you[s] going to visit your maiden home?

(123)   *cuŋ-se       pe·k-ŋʔna.*
        wrestle-SUP go-1peAS/PT
        We[pe] went off to wrestle.

(124)   *allɔ tɔk  ca-se    phɛʔr-ɛʔ!*
        now  *bhāt* eat-SUP come-IMP
        Come eat *bhāt* now!

(125)   *nam       ca-se   pe·k-m·  bo·ŋ.*
        sunshine eat-SUP go-INF  EXIG
        [We] have to go catch some sun.

(126)   - *ɛn    khɛnɛʔ hɛn   kɛ-dzo·k?*
          today you[s]    what 2-do
        - *ɛn    aŋga yaʔ   mo·-se  pe·k-ʔɛ.*
          today I      paddy dig-SUP go-1sPS/NPT
        - *ɛn    a·kkhɛn ya?   kɛ-mo·-ba mɛna*
          today how‿many paddy AP-dig-AP man
          *kɛ-gɔtt-u-si?*
          2-have-3P-nsP
        - *ɛn    aŋga yaʔ   kɛ-mo·-ba nasi*
          today I      paddy AP-dig-AP five
          *kɔtt-u-ŋ-si-ŋ.*
          have-3P-1sA-nsP-1sA
               - What are you[s] going to do today?
               - I'm going to dig paddy.
               - How many paddy digging field hands do you[s]
                 have?
               - Today I have five paddy diggers.

_____

[12] married female speaking.

(127)     - *cumluŋ pe·k-ʔɛ.*
       bazar   go-1sPS/NPT
       - *hɛn   co·k-se?*
       what do-SUP
              - I'm going to the bazar.
              - In order to do what?

The supine ending has a regular allophonic form *-che* after *-t* or *-n*:

(128)     *takɔn-che   tɔr-ɛ-tch-u-ge.*
       wander-SUP curse-PT-dA-3P-e
       We[de] told him to go fly a kite (lit. We[de] cursed
             him to go take a walk).

(129)     *aŋga ni·t-che pe·k-ʔɛ.*
       I     read-SUP go-1sPS/NPT
       I'm going to study.

The supine occurs particularly often as the complement of *pe·kma?* 'to go' and other verbs of locomotion to indicate the reason or purpose for going, eg. (130-132). Finite verbs indicating exigency, desirability and the like take an infinitive complement, not a supine, eg. (130).

(130)     *te·ʔl   wahɔp-se pe·k-m·  bo·ks-ɛ.*
       clothes wash-SUP go-INF   EXIG-PT
       [I/we/you] must go wash the clothes.

(131)     *ya?    ɔ·k-se   pe·g-i!*
       paddy dig-SUP go-pADH
       Let's[pi] go plant paddy!

(132)     *po·ŋwa·-se pi-tchi-ge.*
       play-SUP    go-dPS-e
       We[de]'re going off to play.

## 8.8 The passivizer *-tɛtma?*

The bound verb *-tɛtma?* is the passive converter. It attaches immediately to a verb stem and makes it passive. There can be no overt agent in a syntagm with passive verb. If the speaker wishes to specify an agent, active voice must be used, eg. *ɔse·kle mɔna ɔgu* 'Someone has been bitten by a snake'. Passives show intransitive agreement with the subject.

(133)     *ni-dɛʔl.*
          see-PAS
          it is visible./It will be seen.

(134)     *cirik pha·k-tɛʔl.* (*paṭyāunu sakincha*)
          cloth fold-PAS
          The cloth is capable of being folded./...lends
              itself to being folded.

(135)     *piʔl-le ku-sa     ca-maʔ  kho·-mɛ-dɛt-nɛn-lɔ!*
          cow-GEN its-meat eat-INF find-NEG-PAS-NEG-OPT
          May the eating of beef not be encountered!

(136)     *kɛ-miŋla            nuba khɛm-dɛʔl.*
          your^s-reputation good hear-PAS
          Your^s reputation is heard to be good.

(137)     *ku-nam     khɛm-mɛ-dɛt-nɛn,*
          its-scent detect-NEG-PAS-NEG
              *mɛ-ŋ-ghɛm-baŋ.*
              NEG-NEG-detect-1s→3/PT
          Its scent won't be detected. I didn't detect it.

The passive converter may be suffixed to a chain of two
verb stems, the second of which is then most often that of
the verb *he·ʔmaʔ* 'to be able'. Such chains indicate the
possibility or impossibility of an event taking place with
respect to the subject.

(138)     *ni-he·ʔ-dɛʔl.*
          see-can-PAS
          it is capable of being seen./It can be seen.

(139)     *kho·-he·ʔ-mɛ-dɛt-nɛn.* (*pāūdaina/pāinna*)
          find-can-NEG-PAS-NEG
          It does not occur./It can not be found (to
              occur)./It is not available.

(140)     *kɔʔo· pho·ktaŋluŋ     ni-he·ʔ-mɛ-dɛt-nɛn,*
          here  Kangchendzonga see-can-NEG-PAS-NEG
              *mɛ-dha·p-nɛn.*
              NEG-be_visible-NEG
          Kangchendzonga cannot be seen from here, it's not
              visible.

(141)    *kɔŋ   ni-he·ʔ-dɛʔl-i·   ni-he·ʔ-mɛ-dɛt-nɛn-ni·?*
         this see-can-PAS-Q    see-can-NEG-PAS-NEG-Q
         Can this be seen or can't it?

Note the difference between passive forms with and without *he·ʔmaʔ* 'can' indicating possibility: *co·k-dɛʔl-i·?* 'is this done?', *co·k-he·ʔ-dɛʔl-i·?* 'can this be done?', *kho·-mɛ-dɛt-nɛn* 'it is not encountered/it does not occur', *kho·-he·ʔ-mɛ-dɛt-nɛn* 'it cannot be encountered/ it cannot occur'. Compare with examples (133) and (138), the negative forms: *ni-mɛ-dɛt-nɛn* 'it is not seen', *ni-he·ʔ-mɛ-dɛt-nɛn* 'it cannot be seen'. Similar but not identical in meaning is the verb *tha·pmaʔ* 'to be visible, to appear, to be apparent', eg. *hilo·-ʔo·  ku-laŋyo·p  mɛ-dha·p* 'his footprints are to be seen in the mud', *mɛ-dha·p-ʔɛ-n* 'I'm invisible', *khɛsɛmik niʔ  mɛ-n-dha·p-nɛn* 'the stars aren't out tonight', and the verb *nidha·pmaʔ* 'be visible, be able to be seen', eg. *ni-dha·p* 'it is visible'. The nuance is that in example (a) the visibility or possibility of seeing Kangchendzonga is in question, in (b) the appearance or being visible of Kangchendzonga is in question, and in (c) it is the ability of Kangchendzonga's being seen which is inquired after.

(a)  *aŋga pe·g-aŋ-ille gɔ·  pho·ktaŋluŋ khɛʔ-o·-lam
     ni-dɛʔl-i·?*
(b)  *aŋga pe·g-aŋ-ille gɔ·  pho·ktaŋluŋ khɛʔ-o·-lam
     ni-dha·pʔi·?*
(c)  *aŋga pe·g-aŋ-ille gɔ·  pho·ktaŋluŋ khɛʔ-o·-lam
     ni-he·ʔ-dɛʔl-i·?*

(a)  If I were to go, would Kangchendzonga be seen/visible from there?
(b)  If I were to go, would Kangchendzonga be visible from there?
(c)  If I were to go, would it be possible to see Kangchendzonga from there?

The passive with *he·ʔmaʔ* 'to be able' can co-occur with the stem of the almost synonymous verb *sukmaʔ* 'can, to be able':

(142)    *ca-maʔ  suk-he·ʔ-mɛ-dɛt-nɛn.*
         eat-INF be_able-can-NEG-PAS-NEG
         It's inedible.

(143)     *suk-he·?-mɛ-dɛt-nɛn.*
          be_able-can-NEG-PAS-NEG
          It's impossible.

(144)     *kɔŋ   kɛrɛk ca-he·?-dɛ?l-i·-ba?*
          this all    eat-can-PAS-Q-IPF
          Can [we] finish all this?/Can all this be
          finished?

*He·?ma?* is not the only verb to occur in chains with the
passive. However, note that the verb *ma·mma?* 'finish, use
up' in (145) is virtually identical in meaning to *he·?ma?*
in the corresponding form in (144).

(145)     *ca-ma·n-dɛ?l-i·-ba?*
          eat-finish-PAS-Q-IPF
          Can [we] finish it?/Can it be finished?


## 8.9. The impersonal inclusive

The first person plural inclusive may be used impersonally
in a way comparable to impersonal use of the second person
in English. Impersonal use of the first plural inclusive
has only been observed to occur through patient or subject
agreement of the verb. The first plural inclusive is not
used to express an impersonal agent. Impersonal agents are
rendered by transitives with non-referential third singular
agent agreement (4.2), eg. (146). Certain transitive verbs
are exclusively impersonal, eg. (147-148). The first plural
inclusive pronoun *ani* is never used impersonally.

(146)     *khɛ?o·  a-ya·ŋ-i·  a-n-ya·ŋ-nɛn-ni·?*
          there  1-scare-Q 1-NEG-scare-NEG-Q
          Does it get scary there or doesn't it? (lit. Will
              it scare us there or won't it?)

(147)     *thi·     mɛn-dhuŋ-?ɛ?  hɛnaŋbhɛlle*
          millet_beer NEG-drink-IMP because
              *thi·-re              a-mɔ·!*
              millet_beer-ERG 1-inebriate
          Don't drink millet beer because it will get you
              drunk!

(148)     *thuŋ-mɛ-lle    a-mɔ·.*
          drink-INF-SUB 1-inebriate
          If you drink, you'll get drunk.

(149)   *canɔkwa ca-mɛ-lle    kɛ·b-ba   a-bo·ŋ.*
        *canɔkwa* eat-INF-SUB mute-NOM 1-become
        If you eat *canɔkwa*, you'll become mute.

(150)   *sɛndik idik          yuŋ-mɛ-lle  ca·rik a-gha·m.*
        night a_long_time sit-INF-SUB very   1-yawn
        If you sit for a long time at night, you really
            have to yawn.

(151)   *a-yaŋ!*
        1-strike
        It'll strike us! (of a projectile)

(152)   *co·ʔco·ʔ mɛm-mɛp-mɛ-lle          sam-le     a-haʔ.*
        *co·ʔco·ʔ* NEG-observe-INF-SUB ghost-ERG 1-bite
        Disincarnate spirits will afflict you if you don't
            observe the practice of *co·ʔco·ʔ mɛpmaʔ.*

(153)   *hɛkke·     co·k-mɛ-lle a-si!*
        like_that do-INF-SUB   1-die
        You'll die if you do it that way!

As in (154) impersonal 1pi agreement is generally non-refe-
rential. Utterance (155) was used in a concrete situation
in which the speaker refers to the fact that he has cut
*himself* on the thatching. His choice of the impersonal por-
trays the situation more as an event involving the thatch-
ing and its quality of having nasty sharp edges than invol-
ving the speaker as patient. Examples (156-157) illustrate
cases of the same verb with referential patient agreement.
Likewise, the 1s patient agreement in (158) is referential,
whereas the 1pi patient agreement in (159) is not.

(154)   *liŋ-le          a-hɛk.*
        thatching-ERG 1-cut
        The thatching material cuts./You'll cut yourself
            on the thatching.

(155)   *liŋ-le          a-hɛg-ɛ.*
        thatching-ERG 1-cut-PT
        I cut myself on the thatching.

(156)   *liŋ-le          hɛg-aŋ.*
        thatching-ERG cut-1sPS/PT
        I cut myself on the thatching.

(157)   *liŋ-le        hɛg-u.*
        thatching-ERG cut-3P
        He cut himself on the thatching.

(158)   *haʔ-ʔɛ        phaʔaŋ  ki-ʔɛ.*
        bite-1sPS/NPT *bhanera* be_afraid-1sPS/NPT
        I'm afraid it will bite me.

(159)   *a-haʔ phaʔaŋ  ki-ʔɛ.*
        1-bite *bhanera* be_afraid-1sPS/NPT
        I'm afraid it will bite.

Because, as in (155) and (159), impersonal 1pi agreement may imply a referential patient or subject, it may on occasion be difficult to discern whether a 1pi form is intended to agree with a 1pi referent or not. Naturally borderline cases exist where the impersonal inclusive can be misconstrued as referring to a 1pi actant. Probably every speaker of English will have experienced cases of impersonal second person being misinterpreted by a listener as applying to himself. Example (160) is such a case, whereas (161-163) are referential.

(160)   *siŋhɛk yaŋhɛk.        siŋhɛk a-hɛk.*
        Newari money_chopper Newari 1-chop
        The Newars are money-choppers. The Newars will
             chop us [i.e. you].[13]

(161)   *swaʔl! a-m-sɛʔl!*
        quiet  1-nsAS-kill
        Quiet! They'll kill us[pi]!

(162)   *khɛtna pe·g-i-me·n. a-ya·ŋ        laʔba.*
        there  go-ADHp-NEG  1-get_dizzy probably
        Let's[pi] not go there! We[pi]'ll probably get dizzy.

---

[13] *siŋhɛk*, the Limbu ethnonym for the Newars, literally means 'wood-cutter' or 'wood-chopper'. The Newars are noted for selling goods at a handsome profit, and this saying is an admonition that the mercantile Newars will reap handsome profits from the pockets of the agrarian Limbu. The attitude revealed here is characteristic of the elderly lady whose adage it is, but by no means typifies the Limbu attitude towards their Newari brethren.

(163)    *a-ma·!*
         1-lose_track
         We<sup>Pi</sup>'ll lose track of each other!

## 8.10. The polite inclusive

It is a common speech habit when talking to people with whom one is unacquainted or vis-à-vis whom one must retain a demeanour of respect to use the inclusive rather than second person forms. The apparent psychological reasoning behind the polite inclusive is that one implicates and, if such be the case, incriminates oneself in the verbal scenario. It is also polite by virtue of being less direct than the second person.

For example, a *thaŋbɛn* or youth encountering a *mɛnchuma* or young lady on a mountain path says:

(164)    *hɛn    a-dzo·k-si-rɔ a-ya·k-si?*
         what 1-do-dPS-prG   1-be-dPS
         What are we<sup>di</sup> [i.e. you<sup>s</sup>] doing?

(165)    *- ɬuk-ma?    sak-ma?              a·kkhe· a-lɔ??*
         be_ill-INF be_difficult-INF how      1-seem
         *- a-nu-a-da.*
         1-prosper-1-prosper
               - Are we<sup>Pi</sup> experiencing any difficulty?/Is
                 there anything the matter?
               - No, we<sup>Pi</sup>'re alright.

In using the polite inclusive, the dual is used when addressing one person, and the plural when addressing two or more persons, eg. *hɛn a-dzo·k-lɔ a-ya·k?* or *hɛn adzo·-gumlɔ aya·k?* 'what are we<sup>Pi</sup> [i.e. you(ns)] doing?'.

Sentence (166) was uttered by a young man to a group of girls he encountered on a mountain trail outside his village. His choice of auxiliary, adhesive 'to be', which suggests familiarity, is offset by his use of the polite inclusive. The choice of polite inclusive in (167) is motivated by the fact that the concerned host is asking two guests what had caused their lack of appetite the previous day. He would not be inclined to use the polite inclusive to one of his own offspring unless the child were ill. The polite inclusive has a gentle quality about it.

(166)   *a·tto·-lam a-da-rɔ     a-bɔp-pa ya?*
        where-from 1-come-prG 1-be-IPF EMPH
        So where are weᴾⁱ [i.e. you(ns)] all coming from?

(167)   *anchɛn     tɔk   hɛnaŋ a-n-dza-m-nɛn-ba         ya?*
        yesterday *bhāt* why    1-NEG-eat/3P-pA-NEG-IPF EMPH
        Why didn't weᴾⁱ [i.e. you(ns)] eat *bhāt* yesterday?

The polite inclusive is useful in addressing superiors to
whom one must retain a respectful attitude even when saying
something contrary or disagreeable. The question in (168)
is posed to two elderly women who are saying awkward and
undiplomatic things and to whom the speaker wishes to ex-
press his disapproval in a friendly way. Here the polite
inclusive is a friendly way of indicating that the speaker
is the boss. It suggests that the speaker has 'everything
under control', as when parents address ailing children in
the inclusive. The polite inclusive is chosen in (169)
where the speaker, although he suspects he is being laughed
at, wants to indicate that he has not (or at least, not
yet) taken offense.

(168)   *hɛnaŋ hɛkke·    a-ba·tt-u-m-ba     ya?*
        why   like_that 1-speak-3P-1A-IPF EMPH
        Why  are  weᴾⁱ [i.e you two]  speaking  in  that
        fashion?

(169)   *hɛnaŋ a-ye·r-ɛ-ba?*
        why   1-laugh-PT-IPF
        Why are you(ns) laughing?

The ridicule and derision of a son of the household by two
village elders who have come to drink *tɔŋba* prompted the
reaction in (18) on p.187, a compromise between the need
to show deference and irritation. The son would normally
address the village elders in the second person. Limbu
lacks a discrete second person for showing deference. Sons
would not usually, for example, use the polite inclusive to
address their father, as this would be taken as blatantly
cajoling.

# Chapter Nine
# Subordination


This chapter will be devoted to subordination. One type of subordination has already been discussed: adnominal use of a nominalized clause through affixation of *-pa* (8.3). Below, in addition to subordination, indirect speech and certain clausal modifiers will be dealt with.

Coordination of nominal arguments has been dealt with under 2.4.7 on the comitative suffix *-nu*. Verbs, predicates and clauses are coordinated with the clausal coordinator suffix *-aŋ*[1] (7.5.1). Aside from this suffixal coordinator, clauses may be coordinated by the causal and adversative conjunctions *hɛnaŋbhɛlle* 'because' and *kərə* 'but':

(1)      *pha        cɛp-ma?   mɛ-nu-nɛn            him*
         bamboo chop-INF NEG-be_alright-NEG house
              *khap-ma?      mɛ-nu-nɛn                hɛnaŋbhɛlle*
              thatch-INF NEG-be_alright-NEG because
              *maŋgalba·r-le ku-ya·n mɛn-nuba ya·n.*
              Tuesday-GEN      its-day NEG-good day
         Chopping bamboo is not permitted, thatching houses
              is not permitted because Tuesday is an inaus-
              picious day.

(2)      *khɛŋha?  ɔ·mɔ?matche·        rɔk mɛ-dza·       kərə*
         they      exchanging_glances only nsAS-perform but
              *mɛ-m-ba·t-nɛn.*
              nsAS-NEG-speak-NEG
         They only exchange glances but don't speak [to
              each other].

The conjunction *kərə* may be a Nepali loan [< *tara* 'but']. It is omitted more often than not. The conjunction *hɛnaŋbhɛlle* appears to be a calque of Nepali *kinabhane* 'because', composed of *hɛnaŋ* 'why' and the subordinator *-bhɛlle* by analogy to Nepali *kina* 'why' plus *-bhane*, a subordinator which behaves like Limbu *-phɛlle* (vide 9.3).

---

[1] The postpositive adverb *-aŋ* 'also, too', eg. *ta·ndik-?aŋ kɛ-yu-i·?* 'are you[s] coming down tomorrow too?', and coordinative *-aŋ* reflect two functions of the same element.

## 9.1. Indirect speech and direct quotes

Direct quotes are generally made without the aid of any overt subordinator. The quote may be introduced as in (3), but more usual is that the quote is pre-posed, eg. (4-5).

(3)  *bhitra kyak-pa        mana-·n se·ndo·s-ε? 'e·n*
     inside be_situated-NOM man-ABS ask-IMP       whom
         *kε-hɔks-u-ba?'*
         2-look_for-3P-IPF
     Ask the man inside the house whom he is looking
         for.

(4)  *aŋga pe·niba·n-nu se·ndo·s-u-ŋ. 'a·tto·*
     I    Nepali-COM    ask-3P-1sA       where
         *kε-be·k-pa' mεtt-u-ŋ-ille        gɔ·,*
         2-go-IPF    say_to-3P-1sA-SUB then
         *'a-ndzum-le-ʔo·    pe·k-ʔε-ba'        ni?*
         my-friend-GEN-LOC go-1sPS/NPT-IPF CTR
         *mεtt-aŋ.        aŋga gɔ· yaŋ-ma?*
         say_to-1sPS/PT I       then tremble-INF
         *sy-aŋ.        hεkyaŋ khunε? gɔ· 'a-se·wa*
         die-1sPS/PT then    he       just my-obeisance
         *ro·' ni? lɔk. sa·rik nurik pa·tt-u.*
         ASS  CTR only very    well   speak-3P
     I asked him in Nepali. When I said 'Where are you[s]
         going?', he said to me [in Limbu], 'I'm going
         to my friend's'. I was shocked! Then he just
         said 'My greetings to you!'. He really spoke
         extremely well!

(5)  *'aŋga-ʔaŋ pe·k-ʔε        ro·!' lɔʔr-ε.*
     I-too     go-1sPS/NPT ASS    say-PT
     He said, 'I'm coming too!'

The quote marker *lɔʔrik* may optionally be postpostioned to
a quote:

(6)  *'huk-ʔo· wa·p-mna-bε-n    mund-ε-rɔ    way-ε-i·*
     hand-LOC wear-PP-NOM-ABS work-PT-prG be-PT-Q
         *mεm-mun-ʔe· way-ε-i·?'    lɔʔrik se·ndo·s-u.*
         npG-run-npG be-PT-Q       saying ask-3P.
     He asked him [saying], 'Was the wristwatch running
         at the time or wasn't it?'

Indirect speech is not marked by a subordinator either.
Characteristic of indirect speech is the switch of actant

reference with respect to a direct quote, eg. (7-8). The
same type of ambiguity as in English pairs like 'He said I
was coming' and 'He said, "I was coming"' also exists in
Limbu. Just as English can disambiguate such pairs by using
the overt subordinator 'that' for indirect speech, Limbu
may use *lɔ?rik* to mark a direct quote, eg. (6).

(7)     *kɛ-hɔks-ɛ   kɛ-hɔks-ɛ      mɛ-lɔ?r-ɛ.*
        2-search-PT 2-search-PT nsAS-say-PT
        They said that he looked all over for you[s].

(8)     *kɛ-dum-i    lɔ?r-ɛ.*
        2-meet-pPS say-PT
        She said that she had run into you[P].

## 9.2. The subordinator *pha?aŋ*

The subordinator *pha?aŋ* may mark a direct quote, eg. (9-
10), and also, as in (11), an alleged quote.

(9)     *khɛŋ ya·mbɔk-?in co·g-ɛ? pha?aŋ   yɛ?llinkhɔŋ*
        that work-ABS     do-IMP  *bhanera* repeatedly
            *mɛt-nɛ-saŋ          kɛ-n-dzo·g-u-n-ni·?*
            say_to-1→2-even 2-NEG-do-3P-NEG-Q
        Aren't you[s] going to do that work even though I
            have repeatedly told you[s] to do so?

(10)    *khɛnɛ? kɛ-dzo·g-u-ba ya·mbɔk-?in po·ks-ɛ-i·*
        you[s]  2-do-3P-NOM    work-ABS      be_alright-PT-Q
            *mɛ-bo·ks-ɛ-n-ni·         pha?aŋ*
            NEG-be_alright-PT-NEG-Q *bhanera*
            *se·ndo·-mɛ-lle po·ks-ɛ        gɔrɔ cum-ille*
            ask-inf-SUB     be_alright-PT if   friend-ERG
            *'wɛnd-u'          a-mɛ?l.*
            be_in_progress-3P 1-say_to
        If you ask someone whether his work is going all
            right or not, and if it is going alright, he
            will say 'It's getting along'.

(11)    *maŋdɔk mɛ-bi·r-aŋ          bha?aŋ   kɛ-ha·b-ɛ-i·?*
        *maŋdɔk* nsAS-give-1sPS/PT *bhanera* 2-cry-PT-Q
        Are you[s] crying because they gave you *maŋdɔk* [to
            eat]?

The subordinator *pha?aŋ* may mark a complement clause in
main clauses with a *verbum sentiendi aut dicendi*. Actant

reference in such clauses is as in indirect speech, and
*pha?aŋ* can be translated as 'that' or be left untranslated.

(12)    *him    bhitra la·?l pha?aŋ  kis-aŋ*
        house inside enter *bhanera* be‿afraid-1sPS/PT
            *sy-aŋ,        pa·n-mɛ-n-cha·p-paŋ.*
            die-1sPS/PT call-NEG-NEG-call-1s→3/PT
        I was scared to death that she might come inside
            the house, so I didn't call to her.

(13)    *anchige nik-nɛ-tchi-ge pha?aŋ  khunɛ? i·tt-u.*
        we^de    fuck-REF-dPS-e *bhanera* he    think-3P
        He thinks we^de are having an illicit relationship.

(14)    *co·g-u-ŋ  bha?aŋ  so·kt-u-ŋ-ba.*
        do-3P-1sA *bhanera* aim-3P-1sA-IPF
        I had in mind that I would do it./I intended to do
            it.

When the main clause does not contain a *verbum sentiendi
aut dicendi*, the subordinator *pha?aŋ* often indicates a con-
tingency and translates roughly as 'if that be the case' or
'if it be the case that'.

(15)    *khunɛ? bha?aŋ pi·r-u-ŋ-ba.    hɛkkɛlle  khɛnɛ?*
        he    if‿be give-3P-1sA-IPF therefore you^s
            *me·nduk ləcə.*
            NOT    DEPR
        Well, if [you meant] him, I gave [it] to him al-
            ready. I didn't know you^s didn't mean your-
            self.[2]

---

[2] i.e. The speaker had given it to the person to whom he
was supposed to give it, and had not given it to the
listener. The listener asked where it was, and the
speaker, misinterpreting the question as a request for
the object, responded in irritation as if to say 'what
business is it of yours?'. The listener asked again
where it was, and the speaker realized that the listener
was merely trying to find out whether he had already
given it to the person to whom he was supposed to give
it. In saying utterance (15) the speaker explains to the
listener why he reacted with irritation the first time
the question was posed.

(16)     kɔŋ   pha?aŋ   mɛ-nis-u.
         this  bhanera  nsAS-see-3P
         If you mean this, they saw it already.

(17)     khɛŋ  bha?aŋ   ab-aŋ.
         he    bhanera  shoot-1sPS/PT
         If you mean him, yes, that's the one who shot at
             me [with a ko·rɛ?1].

(18)     mi-·n      se·      bha?aŋ   yammu  mup-ma·
         fire-ABS   die/PT   bhanera  again  blow-INF
             mɛ-nu-nɛn.
             NEG-be_alright-NEG
         If the fire dies out [in the preparation of
             samdɔk], it is not permitted to fan it back
             to life again.

(19)     lu         tɔr-amm-ɛ?    pha?aŋ
         alright    curse-2p-IMP  bhanera
             tha·?r-u-ŋ-si-·ŋ.
             leave_behind_for-3P-1sA-nsP-1sA
         Alright, go ahead and make fun of him; if that be
             the case, I'll leave it behind for them.

When pha?aŋ co-occurs with -saŋ 'even though', these fuse
into pha?saŋ 'even though it is the case that':

(20)     - hɔ·nɛ·-rɔ           bha?saŋ      nakip lɔ·t-m·
         be_that_way-prG even_though fifty take_out-INF
         bo·ŋ allɔ na·         kɛrɛk-le mɛ-lɔ?-aŋ
         EXIG now  over_there all-ERG  nsAS-say-pfG
         mɛ-ya·k!
         nsAS-be
         - allɔ kɔm ba·dzi-yaŋ ca-s-w-i·    me·n-ni·?
         now  this time-too   eat-dA-3P-Q NOT-Q
         - mɛ-dza-s-u-ŋ             gɔrɔ khunchi-lɔk-?in
         NEG-eat/3P-dA-3P-NEG if   their-portion-ABS
         thɔbɔkkə kɔ?yo·     na·pmi hu?r-ɛ?!
         furtively down_here 1      bring-IMP
             - Even though the situation is like that,
               everybody over there has been saying that
               you now have to pay fifty rupees!
             - Now, will they[d] eat it this time too or
               won't they?
             - If they[d] don't eat it, bring their portion
               secretively down here to us!

In combination with the optative *pha?aŋ* marks a complement clause relating aim, purpose or intent. In such clauses, *pha?aŋ* may be translated as 'so that':

(21)     *kɛ-lɛ·s-u-rɔ   bha?aŋ  hɛkke·    mɛt-nɛ-ba.*
         2-know-3P-OPT *bhanera* like_that say_to-1→s-IPF
         I told you[s] in that way so that you[s] would know
                 it!

(22)     *hɛkyaŋ  khɛŋ  re·diyo·-n  a-mma-re      khɛps-u-rɔ*
         then    that radio-ABS   my-mother-ERG hear-3P-OPT
              *bha?aŋ  samlo·-mɛ-n  lɔ·tt-u      pi·r-u-aŋ*
              *bhanera* sing-INF-ABS take_out-3P give-3P-and
              *ku-mma        tɔk  tho·kt-ɛ-ba-dɛn-?o·*
              his-mother rice cook-PT-IPF-place-LOC
              *ku-mma-re        ku-be·sɛ-?o·  yuks-u*
              his-mother-GEN her-side-LOC put-3P
              *pi·r-u-aŋ    khunɛ?  takɔn-che  pe·g-ɛ.*
              give-3P-and he       wander-SUP go-PT
         Then he tuned the radio to a song so that his
              mother might listen to it and put it in the
              place his mother used to cook and then went
              out for a stroll.

*Pha?aŋ* is not necessary to convey the sense of 'whether' in introducing complement clauses like the one in (23).

(23)     – *kudza?  pɔ?l-i·  mɛ-bɔt-nɛn-ni·?*
              fruit  hang-Q  NEG-hang-NEG-Q
         – *pɔ?l-i·  mɛ-bɔt-nɛn-ni·  ɔ·-mɛ-m-mɔp-paŋ.*
              hang-Q  NEG-hang-NEG-Q look-NEG-NEG-look-1s→3/PT
                   – Are there already fruits hanging [in the
                     tree] or aren't there?
                   – I have not yet looked to check whether or
                     not there are any fruits hanging [in the
                     tree] yet.

## 9.3 The subordinator *-phɛlle*

The postpositive subordinator *-phɛlle* appears to derive from the same etymon as the subordinator *pha?aŋ*. Where the latter displays suffixed *-?aŋ*, *-phɛlle* appears to incorporate the suffix *-ille* (9.4). As mentioned above, Limbu *-phɛlle* behaves in much the same way as its counterpart *bhane* does in Nepali to mark a contingency, eg. (24-25). In other cases it translates aptly as Nepali *bhaneko* 'meaning'

and, as such, takes part in circumlocutions to pinpoint some proposition or phenomenon subsequently described or defined in the main clause, eg. (26-27) below or, in Chapter 8, (69).

(24)     pe·niba·n mɛm-ba·tt-amm-ɛ? bhɛlle pe·niba·n lɔk
         Nepali     NEG-speak-2p-IMP bhane Nepali     only
             mɛ-ba·?l!
             nsAS-speak
         If l tell them 'Don't speak Nepali', then they
         talk only Nepali!

(25)     Yaŋsarumba: kudzanur-ɛ      hɛn   na   gɔ·?
                     taste_good-PT what EMPH then
         Pho·kwama: a·kkhya·k ɔ·k-nɛ-ba          gɔ·!
                     how_much   scream-1→2-IPF then
                     mɛm-ba·t-ch-ɛ?  bhɛlle
                     NEG-speak-2d-IMP bhane
                     kɛ-ŋ-ghɛps-ɛ-tch-u-n-ni·?
                     2-NEG-hear-PT-dA-3P-NEG-Q
         Yaŋsarumba: (teasing:) Does it taste good or
             what?
         Pho·kwama: (to Yaŋsarumba:) Look how much
             you've got me yelling at you[s]! (to
             Sarumba and Yaŋsarumba both:) Didn't
             you[d] hear that I told you[d] not to talk!

(26)     ɔkkhe·     po·ŋ-ma? he·?: hɛm  bo·ŋ bhɛlle, khɛŋ
         like_this be-INF    can   what be   bhane    that
             kɛ-da?r-u-ba    mɛnchuma-·n na·pmi-re
             2-bring-3P-NOM lassy-ABS    somebody_else-ERG
             mɛ-n-de·?r-u-n-ille        gɔ·  mɛ-da-nɛn
             nsAS-NEG-take-3P-NEG-SUB then NEG-come-NEG
             yaŋ.   ku-sira        dhaŋ-ma?     po·ŋ.
             money his-pleasure come_up-INF EXIG
         It can be like this: What can happen is that if
             nobody else will take the lassy you[s] brought,
             you won't get any money. The girl must please
             him.

(27)    *myaŋluŋ bhɛlle  hɛm  bhɛlle? myaŋ bhɛlle*
        *Myaŋluŋ bhaneko what bhaneko cat  bhaneko*
              *pe·ni-ba·n-nu         bira·lo·. luŋ  bhɛlle*
              Nepali-language-COM *birãlo      rock bhaneko*
              *ɖhuŋga.*
              *ɖhuŋgã*
        What does [the name of the village] *Myaŋluŋ* mean?
        *Myaŋ* means 'cat' in Nepali. *Luŋ* means
        'stone'.

## 9.4. *-ille* subordination

The suffixal subordinator *-ille* is suffixed to finite verbs
and infinitives to subordinate entire clauses. The subordi-
nator *-ille* marks causal clauses, contingencies and tempo-
ral clauses. The examples below show that these three types
of subordinate clause are not distinct but represent a con-
tinuous semantic spectrum covered by *-ille*.

The resemblance of this subordinator to the instrumen-
tal, ergative and genitive goes beyond mere formal simi-
larity. It indicates cause in the same way as the instru-
mental, eg. (28-29) and may mark a clause as an instrumen-
tal actant in a main clause verbal scenario requiring an
instrumental actant, eg. (30-31). An *-ille* clause may con-
stitute an agent in a transitive verbal scenario requiring
an ergatively marked actant, eg. (32-33).

(28)    *ani  a-dzo·g-u-m-ille wi?l mɛ-dha-nɛn,*
        we[Pi] 1-do-3P-pA-SUB    rain NEG-fall-NEG
              *a-n-nu·nd-ɛ-n-ni·?*
              1-NEG-be_ashamed-PT-NEG-Q
        Because of what we[Pi]'ve done, rain will not fall.
        Aren't we[Pi] ashamed?[3]

(29)    *ya·mbɔk co·k-mɛ-lle na·s-aŋ        khips-aŋ.*
        work    do-INF-SUB  tire-1sPS/PT jingle-1sPS/PT
        I have gotten tired from doing the work.

---

[3] Sarcastically intended because the speaker and the
persons addressed did not take part in the procession
following the *ya·kwa pudza* for fear of getting wet.

(30)      hɛkke·      kɛ-ba·tt-u-m-ille a-niŋ lɛ?      lɛ?!
          like_that 2-speak-3P-pA-SUB 1-ire unleash unleash
          If youᴾ are going to talk that way, I'll get fed
              up!

(31)      nur-am      tas-amm-ɛ?!      ɔkkhe·lɔ?rik a-sa?
          prosper-2p prosper-2p-IMP like_this      my-child
              a-mɛncha?      a-mbaŋli
              my-grandchild my-offspring-in-law
              kɛ-nur-i      kɛ-das-i-lle      aŋga-?aŋ
              2-prosper-pPS 2-prosper-pPS-SUB I-too
              ca·?rik a-sira      dhaŋ.
              very      my-pleasure come_up
          Be prosperous! When ye, my children, my grand-
              children, my children-in-law prosper, I too
              shall be content.

(32)      kɔŋ   yɛmbitcha-·n sa·?rik muso·k co·k-ille sa·rik
          this guy-ABS      very      joking do-SUB      very
              khɛmd-u.
              suit-3P
          When this guy makes people laugh, he really is
              appealing.

(33)      kɛ-ye·?l-ille sa·?rik kɛ-ghɛm.
          2-laugh-SUB   very   2-suit
          Youˢ're handsome when youˢ laugh.

Subordinate clauses functioning as instrumental or ergative
actants often specify a contingency, eg. (30-33). The sub-
ordinator -ille also marks subordinate clauses indicating a
proviso or contingency where an ergative, instrumental or
causative interpretation is unlikely. They resemble tempo-
ral genitives in meaning. In this function the -ille subor-
dinator shows the same variety of form characteristic of
the genitive ending after infinitives (2.4.4.1, 2.4.13).

(34)      pe·k-mɛ-lle lɔk   a-gɛ?l!
          go-INF-SUB   only 1-arrive
          Weᴾⁱ'll only get there if we get a move on!

(35)      pe·k-ma?-re po·ŋ.
          go-INF-SUB   be_alright
          It'll be alright if we go.

(36)     *im-mc-lle      khɔnɔkwa  kc-dza·-ba-ha?*
         sleep-INF-SUB snore     AP-perform-AP-p
              *citt-u-ŋ-si-ŋ.*
              hate-3P-1sA-nsP-1sA
         I hate people who snore in their sleep.

(37)     *na·kt-u-ŋ-si-l-le              mc-bi·-?c-i·-ba?*
         ask_for-3P-1sA-nsP-1sA SUB nsAS-give-1sPS-Q-IPF
         Will they give it to me if I ask them for it?

(38)     *se·wa      mɔ·-ma?      wa·  gɔrɔ se·wa*
         obeisance proffer-INF be   if   obeisance
              *mɔy-amm-c?!      khunc? mctt-u-lle*
              proffer-2p-IMP he       do-3P-SUB
              *mcbo·ŋncn!*
              NEG-be_alright-NEG
         If  you  are  to  proffer  obeisance,  then  show
              obeisance! His doing it won't do![4]

(39)     *kɔŋ  hcndza?bitcha?-ha?-re mc-ni·r-u-lle*
         this children-p-ERG          nsAS-study-3P-SUB
              *a·kkhya·k  la·bdzo·k?*
              how_much   cost
         How much will it cost to teach these children?

The  contingency  meaning  of  the  *-ille*  subordinator  may  be  a
natural  extension  of  its  strictly  temporal  genitive  use  to
to mark temporal clauses:

(40)     *hckke·     pa·tt-u-rɔ    ya·g-c-lle khcŋ e·?yaŋba*
         like_that speak-3P-prG be-PT-SUB   that other
              *ncpphu mɔna-ha?-aŋ kc?r-c-tchi-lle     gɔ·*
              two     man-p-too     arrive-PT-dPS-SUB then
              *khcŋ hcndza?-in khct-chiŋ khc?r-c.*
              that lad-ABS      chase-REF RES-PT
         Speaking  like  this,  by  the  time  the  other  two  guys
              got there, that lad had already made off.

(41)     *biha·ndik nasi muk-?ille  pe·k.*
         morning    five strike-SUB go
         He'll go at five o'clock in the morning.

---

[4] proffer  obeisance  by  bowing  to  one's  parents'  feet;  his
    doing  it  won't  do  because  his  wife,  being  female,  must
    proffer obeisance first.

(42)    ɛn    sɛndik a-nsa-nu
        today night   my-younger_sibling-COM
            ips-ɛ-tchi-ge-lle    a-nsa
            sleep-PT-dPS-e-SUB my-younger_sibling
            hɔʔmaŋ-ʔo·  pa·ʔr-ɛ   ɔkt-ɛ      lo·kt-ɛ
            sleep-LOC   speak-PT shout-PT run-PT
            ha·b-ɛ ye·r-ɛ    samlo·r-ɛ.
            cry-PT laugh-PT sing-PT
        Last night as my kid brother and I were sleeping,
            he  spoke,  shouted,  ran,  cried,  laughed and
            sang in his sleep.

(43)    kɔŋ    mɛnchuma-·n laŋghe·g-ʔille ku-laŋbuk
        this lady-ABS      walk-SUB           her-footsteps
            sa·rik muk.
            very    beat
        When this lady walks, her footsteps make a lot of
            noise.

(44)    kɛ-ips-ɛ-lle     lɔkthik məna-lle kɛ-ga·ks-ɛ.
        2-sleep-PT-SUB one       man-ERG  2-step_over-PT
        Someone stepped over you[s] while you[s] were asleep.

(45)    kɛ-da-ʔille aŋga ta-ʔɛ                wa·-ʔɛ.
        2-come-SUB   I    come-1sPS/NPT be-1sPS/NPT
        By the time you[s] show up, I'll have come [back].

(46)    khɛŋ thi·-n             kɛrɛk mɛ-bo·ks-ɛ-yaŋ
        that millet_beer-ABS all     nsAS-be-PT-and
            mɛ-dhuŋ-u-lle       gɔ·  ca·rik-ʔe· khɛŋ nɛpphu
            nsAS-drink-3P-SUB then very-EMPH   that two
            mɔy-u-si.
            inebriate-3P-nsP
        When they had all gotten together as they were
            drinking that millet beer, those two got
            really drunk.

(47)    kɔŋ hɛm-ba? lim-ʔi·     suʔl-i·    ca-mɛ-lle?
        this what-NOM be_sweet-Q be_sour-Q eat-INF-SUB
        What's this? Is it sweet or sour in the eating?

(48)    ya·mbɔk co·k-mɛ-lle ɔkkhe·lɔʔrik co·k-m·  bo·ŋ.
        work     do-INF-SUB like_this     do-INF EXIG
        When working, you have to do it this way.

(49)    *biha·ndik tɔk kɛ-dzɔ-rɔ    kɛ-ya·k-ʔille*
   morning    *bhāt* 2-eat/3P-prG 2-be-SUB
     *kɛ-ndzum-in        ta-lle    ku-nhi        ma·*
     your^s-friend-ABS come-SUB his-amazement be
     *iʔre·ʔe·.*
     probably
   When your^s friend comes and sees you^s here eating
     *bhāt* in the morning, he'll probably be
     amazed.

(50)    - *anchɛn        a·kkhɛn    mukt-ɛ-lle        kɛʔips-ɛ*
   yesterday how_much strike-PT-SUB 2-sleep-PT
   *mʋ-e·*
   REP-EMPH
   - *thik mukt-ɛ-lle        ni·r-u-ŋ-lɔ        ya·g-aŋ.*
   one    strike-PT-SUB read-3P-1sA-prG be-1sPS/PT
   *la·mdhe·ʔl-in hɔnd-u-ŋ-ille    khɛʔo·*
   door-ABS        open-3P-1sA-SUB there
   *mɛnchuma-dhik way-ɛ dze·.*
   lady-one        be-PT SUS/PT
   - *hɛn kɛ-mɛtt-u?*
   what 2-say_to-3P
   - *lamdhe·ʔl sub-u-ŋ.*
   door        close-3P-1sA
     - At what time did you say that you^s went to
      sleep last night?
     - At one o'clock I was reading. Then I opened
      the door and a lassy was sitting there.
     - What did you^s do/say to her?
     - I shut the door.

(51)    *kɛ-dzam-lɔ        kɛ-ya·g-i-lle ta-ʔɛ.*
   2-eat/2P→3S-prG 2-AUX-pPS-SUB show_up-1sPS/NPT
   I'll show up when you^P are eating.

(52)    *allɔ ta·ndi    kɛ-da-lle    an·ge-him-ʔo·*
   now    later_on 2-come-SUB our^Pe-house-LOC
   *kɛ-nɛ·-rɔ    po·ŋ.*
   2-stay-prG EXIG
   Next time you^s come, you^s'll have to stay in our
     house.

In some people's speech, the suffix *-ille* is of the form
*-ilya*, eg. *mɛ-dzo·g-ilya* 'as they were doing it' for *mɛ-dzo·g-ille*.

The subordinated form of *khɔkma?* 'to chop' gives the adverb 'almost', eg. (53-54), and subordinated *mɛpma?* 'to say' is used idiomatically as an invective, eg. (55).

(53)   *khɔk-mɛ-lle   hum-aŋ-aŋ        sy-aŋ.*
       chop-INF-SUB sink--1sPS/PT-pfG die-1sPS/PT
       I almost drowned.

(54)   *khɔk-mɛ-lle   kɛŋ-aŋ-aŋ*
       chop-INF-SUB stumble_and_fall-1sPS/PT-pfG
            *sy-aŋ.*
            die-1sPS/PT
       I almost fell to my death.

(55)   *pe·g-ɛ? pe·g-ɛ? pe·g-ɛ? pe·g-ɛ? mɛp-mɛ-lle   gɔ·!*
       go-IMP go-IMP go-IMP go-IMP say-INF-SUB then
       Go away, go away, go away, go away, I tell ya!

## 9.5. Concessive clauses with *gɔrɔ*

The postpositive subordinator *gɔrɔ* 'if' marks concessive clauses. *Gɔrɔ* forms part of the frequent expression *hɛkke· gɔrɔ* 'in that case'.

(56)   *mɛ-bi·-?ɛ            gɔrɔ thuŋ-u-ŋ.*
       nsAS-give-1sPS/NPT if    drink-3P-1sA
       If they give it to me, I'll drink it.

(57)   *khɛnɛ? kɛ-be·k gɔrɔ lamdhe·?l-in sub-ɛ?-aŋ*
       youˢ   2-go    if    door-ABS       close-IMP-and
            *pe·?!*
            go/IMP
       Close the door behind youˢ!

(58)   *ɔ·mɛtt-ɛ?! ɔkkhe·lɔ?rik se·dzɔŋwa      kɛ-dhuŋ gɔrɔ*
       look-IMP    like_this    millet_brandy 2-drink if
            *hara      kɛ-si ro·!*
            quickly 2-die ASS
       Look, if youˢ keep on drinking millet brandy this
            way, you'll die soon!

(59)   *kɛ-dhuŋ-u  gɔrɔ thuŋ-ɛ?!*
       2-drink-3P if    drink-IMP
       If youˢ're going to drink, then drink!

(60)      *khɛnɛʔ kɛ-si gɔrɔ kɛ-me·ʔ1*[5] *ha·p.*
         you‎ˢ  2-die  if   yourˢ-wife cry
         If youˢ die, yourˢ wife'll cry.

(61)      *kɛ-be·k gɔrɔ pe·k-ʔɛ*     *ho·!*
         2-go    if   go-1sPS/NPT  oh
         If youˢ go, I'm going [with you]!

(62)      *piʔ1-haʔ mɛ-da*     *gɔrɔ na·tt-ɛs-ɛʔ.*
         cow-p    nsAS-come if   chase‿away-nsP-IMP
         If the cows come here, chase them away.


## 9.6. Subordination with *-tɛn*

As in (22) above, the following two examples illustrate how the suffix *-tɛn* 'place', affixed to an infinitive or finite verb form, subordinates a clause indicating the place of an event or situation. Like *-ille* subordination, the locative nominalizer *-tɛn* makes a clause or verbal construction into a nominal constituent of the main clause.

(63)      *1amde·ŋ kɛʔr-ɛ-1le*     *huk-ʔo·*  *wa·p-mna-bɛ-n*
         halfway arrive-PT-SUB hand-LOC wear-PP-NOM-ABS
              *i·tt-u-1le*       *gɔ·*
              remember-3P-SUB then
              *warum-siŋ-ɛ-ba-tɛn-ʔo·*     *huk-ʔo·*
              bathe-REF-PT-IPF-place-LOC hand-LOC
              *wa·p-mna-bɛ-n*  *niŋwa*  *mutch-u*   *dhɔ*
              wear-PP-NOM-ABS forget forget-3P leave/3P
              *rɔcɔ.*
              DEPR
         Having gotten halfway, and then remembering his watch, he realized he had forgotten his watch in the place he had been bathing.

---

[5] This sentence is part of a conversation between young unmarried males. In more formal registers of speech the term *kɛme·ʔ1* 'your wife' is considered impolite. It is proper to refer to the wife of someone to whom your are speaking with a kinship term such as *andre·ʔ* 'my elder brother's wife' or *anchumaʔ* 'my father's younger brother's wife'.

(64)  *hɛkyaŋ nɛpmadzaŋ po·ks-ɛ-tchi-yaŋ niŋwa*
so     both      be-PT-dPS-pfG     forget
*mutch-u-ba-tɛn-ʔo·*      *huk-ʔo·*
forget-3P-IPF-place-LOC hand-LOC
*wa·p-mna-bɛ-n   ku-la·se   pe·-si-lle    gɔ·*
wear-PP-NOM-ABS it-search go/PT-dPS-SUB then
*huk-ʔo·   wa·p-mna-bɛ-n   nɛ·s-u-ba-tɛn-ʔo·*
hand-LOC wear-PP-NOM-ABS put-3P-IPF-place-LOC
*ho·pt-ɛ.*
not_be-PT
Then the both of them having gotten together, they
went to look for the watch in the place where
he had forgotten it, but the watch was not in
the place he had left it.

## 9.7. Subordination with *kusiŋ, e·kke·*

The subordinators *kusiŋ* and *e·kke·* mean 'in the fashion of,
like, as' subordinate clauses. Both may also be used as a
postposition to nouns.

(65)  *ma·r-ɛ      kusiŋ lɔʔ.*
finish-PT like   appear
It looks as if though it's has been used up.

(66)  *wiʔl tha   kusiŋ lɔʔ.*
rain fall like   seem
It looks as if it's going to rain.

(67)  *ku-na-·n      kappo·ba kusiŋ lɔʔ.*
his-face-ABS old_man   like   seem
His face looks [like an] elderly [man's].

(68)  *mɛ-be·k kusiŋ lɔʔr-ɛ.*
nsAS-go like   seem-PT
It looked as if they will be going.

(69)  *po·g-ɛ      kusiŋ lɔʔ hɛnaŋbhɛlle ku-laŋ-in*
get_up-PT like   seem because      his-leg-ABS
*nidha·p.*
be_visible
It looks like he's gotten up because his leg can
be seen.

(70)    *yaŋsarumbɛ-n    te·-e·kke·     lɔʔ.*
        third_born-ABS come/PT-like appear
        It looks like third-born has come.

(71)    *tɔŋba nasi thuŋ-u-ŋ.     hɛkkɛlle khɛŋ*
        *tuṅbā* five drink-3P-1sA so       that
            *cumluŋ-ʔo·-lam pu-e·kke· pɛ·r-aŋ-ba.*
            bazar-LOC-from bird-like fly-1sPS/PT-IPF
        I drank five *tɔŋbas*. So I flew back from that
            bazar like a bird.


9.8. Reported speech

The reported speech particle *mu* indicates that the infor--
mation in the sentence did not come to the knowledge of the
speaker through direct observation but rather by word of
mouth. Such sentences indicate reported speech but leave
the source of the information unspecified, although it may
be evident who the source of the information is, eg. (73).
The particle *mu* usually occurs after a verb and occasional-
ly interspersed through a lengthy piece of reported dis-
course, but in (81) it is incorporated in the suffixal
string of the verb before the aspect suffix.

(72)    *ku-sikla-ʔo·    mɛ-bhind-u       mɛ-sɛr-u      mu.*
        his-throat-LOC nsAS-strangle-3P nsAS-kill-3P REP
        It is said that they strangled him to death./He
            said that they strangled him to death./They
            say that they strangled him to death.

(73)    *anchɛn      a·kkhɛn  mukt-ɛ-lle      kɛʔips-ɛ*
        yesterday how_much strike-PT-SUB 2-sleep-PT
            *mʉ-e·?*
            REP-EMPH
        At what time did you say that you[s] went to sleep
            last night?

(74)    *sa·rik yɘllik tɔk   caŋ      mu.*
        very   much    *bhāt* eat/1s→3 REP
        He says I'm eating very much rice.

(75)    *cɔ-ba       mu.*
        eat/3P-IPF REP
        He says he's eating.

(76)     *mɛ-be·k-pa   mu.*
         nsAS-go-IPF REP
         They say they're going.

(77)     *surum-mɛ-n                    hɛn-dik-ʔi·   huʔ-maʔ*
         third‿born-NOM/f-ABS what-IND-EMPH teach-INF
                *parne·? dhik mu wa· huʔr-ɛ?   o·!*
                ought    one REP be  teach-IMP oh
         What should [I] teach third-born(f)? All she said
         was 'Go teach her!'

(78)     *aŋga co·g-u-ŋ-ba    mu.*
         I    do-3P-1sA-IPF REP
         He said I am to do it.

(79)     *a·kkhya·k mukt-ɛ     mu.*
         how‿many strike-PT REP
         He asked, 'What time is it?'

(80)     *khɛŋhaʔ-re  ɔ·-mɛ-m-mɔtt-u-m-ba              mu.*
         they-ERG    look-nsAS-NEG-look-3P-NEG-IPF REP
         They say they're not going to watch.

(81)     *kɔŋ  pa·n-in  thik-le khɛps-u-aŋ 'me·n na·   anchi*
         this word-ABS one-ERG hear-3P-and no   EMPH we[di]
                *gɔ·   thik ya·n-le kɛ-bo·ŋ-ba-si-mu-ba.*
                then one   day-GEN AP-be‿born-AP-be-REP-IPF
                *a·kkhɛ-lle khɛnɛ? tuksi tɔŋbe·  rɔk*
                how-INST   you[s] seven year   only
                *kɛ-gɛʔr-ɛ? yɛtchi tɔŋbe·  a-gɛʔr-ɛ-tchi*
                2-arrive-PT eight  year   1-arrive-PT-dPS
                *na·!'  mɛtt-u-lle thiksəmɛ-lle pa·tt-u  ...*
                EMPH   say-3P-SUB the‿other-ERG speak-3P
         When he heard this, he said, 'No, silly, it is
         said that we[di] were born on the same day. How
         can it be that you[s] are only seven years old?
         We[di]'re both eight years old!', to which the
         other replied...

## 9.9. Exigency *po·ŋma?*

The verb *po·ŋma?* occurs with infinitives (82), negative preterit gerunds (eg. in 7.5.2) and with present gerunds, eg. (83-88). The auxiliary of exigency *po·ŋma?* is impersonally conjugated. When it occurs with an infinitive or negative preterit gerund, the referents implied are left unspecified, and though they may be obvious from the context in which the utterance is said, the exigency only overtly applies to the action or event which is supposed to take place or be enacted. When the auxiliary of exigency occurs with a present gerund, the referents are specified. Preterit forms of *po·ŋma?* not only indicate exigency in the preterit. More often the preterit of *po·ŋma?* indicates exigency in the present. While the nonpreterit form *po·ŋ* may be translated as 'the need arises that...', the preterit form *po·ksɛ* most often translates as 'the need has arisen that ...', eg. (86-87).

(82)    *po·ŋ-ma? po·ŋ.*
        be-INF   EXIG
        It should be./It has to be./It must be.

(83)    *allɔ hɛn  sapt-u-ŋ-lɔ      po·ŋ.*
        now  what write-3P-1sA-prG EXIG
        What am I supposed to write down now?

(84)    *hɛkyaŋ yakthuŋ pa·n      kɛ-hu?-siŋ-lɔ      po·ŋ.*
        so      Limbu   language 2-learn-REF-prG EXIG
        So you[s] must learn Limbu.

(85)    *casma    wa·r-u-ŋ-lɔ      po·ŋ. casma   me·nne·*
        glasses wear-3P-1sA-prG EXIG  glasses without
            *nurikkha   mɛ-ni-?ɛ-n.*
            well       NEG-see-1s→3/NPT-NEG
        I must wear glasses. I can't see well without them.

(86)    *pa·tt-u-ŋ-lɔ       po·ks-ɛ.*
        speak-3P-1sA-prG EXIG-PT
        I'll have to say it.

(87)    *kɛ-ba·t-ch-u-rɔ    po·ks-ɛ.*
        2-speak-dA-3P-prG EXIG-PT
        You[d]'ll have to say it.

(88)       *nis-u-ŋ-si-ŋ-lɔ*        *po·ŋ.*
see-3P-1sA-nsP-1sA-prG EXIG
I must see them.

Exigency can also be indicated with the clause-final particle *parne·* borrowed from Nepali [< *parne*]. This exigency is milder in intensity, indicating what 'ought' to be the case. *Parne·* only combines with infinitives, eg. (89). The probable explanation for the omission of the preverb *nam* of *namphɛpma?* 'to dry in the sun' in (89) is haplology: the word *nam* 'sun' already occurs in the sentence.

(89)       *nam-?o· ya?ro·n phɛp-m?*   *barne·.*
sun-LOC *biskun*  fetch-INF ought
The *biskun* has to be dried in the sun.

## 9.10. Clause-final adverbs and mood particles

A number of particles occurring at the end of an utterance or clause convey an emotional state or attitude of the speaker with respect to what is being said. The most notable are the deprehensative, the assertive and the emphatic.

The deprehensative particle *laca/raca* is a transphonologized loan which derives from Nepali *rahecha* and, like *rahecha*, serves to indicate that the purport of the statement has only just come to the knowledge of the speaker or that the speaker has only just discovered or just become aware of that which he is reporting, eg. (90-94).

(90)      *ma·ŋgha kɛ-n-nis-u-n*    *laca.*
far     2-NEG-see-3P-NEG DEPR
So, you[s] are myopic, it seems.

(91)      *kɛ-nu?pa*        *him-min*   *a·ŋlaba·ri*
2-father_in_law house-ABS pine_grove
      *nana?*          *cuksa rɔk  yuŋ laca, me·n-ni·?*
      way_over_there tiny  only sit DEPR  NOT-Q
Your[s] father-in-law's house looks tiny situated
      way over there in the pine grove, doesn't it.

(92)      *are· ho·! kɔŋ lɛ·s-u raca.*
gee  whiz  this know-3P DEPR
So, hey! He knows it!

(93)     *khɛnɛʔ sɛndik im-mɛ-lle    sa·rik khɔnɔkwa*
         you<sup>s</sup>   night sleep-INF-SUB very   snore
            *kɛ-dza·    rəcə.*
            2-perform DEPR
         When you<sup>s</sup> sleep at night, you<sup>s</sup> sure do snore alot!

(94)     *ɔkkhɛlle phi·r-ɛ    rəcə.*
         presently grow‿thin-PT DEPR
         He appears to have gotten thinner (at the present
              time).

The clause-final particle *lo·/ro·* makes an utterance asser-
tive. An assertive utterance is one in which an appeal is
made to the listener to pay attention and heed the *implica-
tions* of the what is being said.

(95)     *kɛ-niŋwa mɔy-ɛ        ro·!*
         2-mind    get‿lost-PT ASS
         You<sup>s</sup>'ve really lost your mind!

(96)     *pe·g-aŋ    lo·!*
         go-1sPS/PT ASS
         I'm on my way!

(97)     *pe·g-i ro·!*
         go-pADH ASS
         Come on, let's go!

(98)     *kɛ-gɛŋ                lo·!*
         2-stumble‿and‿fall ASS
         You<sup>s</sup>'ll stumble and fall if you don't watch out.

Intense use of the assertive particle as a demand for the
listener's attention is characteristic of lively Limbu con-
versation in which assertive clauses are volleyed back and
forth with an escalating effect, as if to say 'Well, if you
think that's bad, listen to what I have to say'.
     There is a particle *o·* which is similar in effect to the
assertive particle but less adamant. In conversation it has
exclamatory and cheerful emotive value. It is frequent in
imperatives, where it transforms stark command into friend-
ly suasion, eg. (99-100).

(99)     *phɛr-ɛʔ  o·...,  tɔk  ca-se!*
         come-IMP oh      *bhāt* eat-SUP
         Come eat *bhāt*!

(100)     *a-ndzum-me·, kɔtna phɛr-ɛ? o·!*
          my-friend-VOC hither come-IMP oh
          Come here my friend!

The emphatic particle *?a*, *sa* differs from both the deprehensative and assertive particle in not being exclusively clause-final, eg. *allo· wa alaŋin thɔmɛ* 'now, my leg is asleep'. The initial glottal stop of its underlying form *?a* assimilates to preceding continuants. When the particle is clause-final, the speaker indicates that he feels the listener should already have known what the speaker is telling him or that the listener should be taking into account what the speaker is saying, eg. *to·k ?a!* 'it could be on sale, you know!'.

A number of clause modifying adverbials occur clause-finally[6] and indicate the speaker's evaluation of the probability of a proposition. These are: *?i·ya, i?re·?e·, la?ba*. *?i·ya* 'perhaps' indicates possibility and is speculative and non-committal, whereas *i?re·?e·* and *la?ba* indicate suspected probability, eg. *to·k i·ya* 'it might perhaps be on sale', *to·k la?ba* 'it might be on sale/it's probably on sale'. The semantic difference between *i?re·?e·* and *la?ba* is minimal. *I?re·?e·* indicates greater certainty on the part of the speaker than *la?ba*, eg. *wi?l tha i?re·?e·* 'it'll probably rain', *wi?l tha la?ba* 'It might rain/it'll probably rain'. The initial of *?i·ya* assimilates to a preceding continuant, including the continuant allophone of */t/*, eg. (102-104). *I?re·?e·* and *la?ba* behave as full words, eg. (49), (105).

(101)     - *kɔŋ hɛm-ba?*
            this what-NOM
          - *ko·co·-mikkho·k i·ya.*
            dog-skull         probably
                - What's this?
                - Probably a dog skull.

---

[6] Not all clause modifying adverbs are clause-final, eg.

          *kuca wi?l tha.*
          verily rain fall      It's really going to rain.

          *wi?l kuca tha.*
          rain verily fall      It's really going to rain.

          *\*wi?l tha kuca*

(102)   *kɔtna lɛpsaŋ gɔ·  pi?l-in mɛ-be·-nɛn     ni·ya*
        here  toward then cow-ABS NEG-go/PT-NEG perhaps
              *hɛnaŋbhɛlle ku-laŋyo·p     ho·p-pa.*
              because      its-footprint not_be-IPF
        Perhaps the cow didn't come this way because there
              aren't any of its footprints here.

(103)   *ta·ndik  yaŋ-in     mɛ-dɔ·ŋ-nɛn          ni·ya,*
        tomorrow money-ABS NEG-be_used_up-NEG perhaps
              *mɛ-ma·t-nɛn            ni·ya.*
              NEG-be_finished-NEG perhaps
        Tomorrow the money will not all have been used up
              maybe. It might not all be finished.

(104)   *ya·?l li·ya.*
        groan perhaps
        He's perhaps groaning.

(105)   *ya·?l la?ba.*
        groan probably
        He's probably groaning.

# Chapter Ten
# Causatives and Ergativity

## 10.1. Improductive causative formation

There are three improductive types of causative formation. Improductive causatives reflect TB processes of affixation, now defunct.

Type I causative formation is reflected by pairs of verbs consisting of a basal stem beginning with /c, k, p, t/ and a causative counterpart whose stem begins with /s, kh, ph, th/. Both the aspiration of /k, p, t/ to yield /kh, ph, th/ and fricativization of /c/ to /s/ reflect the TB causative prefix *s- (STC, 105-6).

Type II causative formation is represented by pairs or trios of verbs consisting of a basal form, a directive member in -t and a causative member in -s. Suffixation of -t and -s reflect the TB directive *-t and causative *-s suffixes respectively[1]. Type II causatives include a separately listed sub-group IIb with a basal stem ending in -?r, -r or -s and a corresponding directive stem in -nd. Directives ending in -nd reflect TB *-t when affixed to TB verb roots in -?r, -r and -s.

Type III causative formation is represented by verb pairs and trios in which both of the above TB affixal derivation processes are reflected.

On the following pages are exhaustive lists of these three types of improductive causatives as found in my material.[2]

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[1] The term 'directive' is used by Wolfenden (1929: 66) for Tibetan. Directive *-t and causative *-s have been established as common Tibeto-Burman morphological processes (STC, 97-103). Michailovsky (1985: 366) describes the directive as covering a range of related meanings from a 'causative' sense to 'applied', 'benefactive' and 'malefactive'.

[2] The improductive morphological processes discussed here in 10.1 were first identified and described for Limbu by Boyd Michailovsky in 1977 in a lucid and valuable paper presented at the 12th International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics (19-21 October 1979) in Paris and published in 1985. His work was based on the Limbu language as it is spoken in the *Maivā-Mevā*

## Type I causatives

| basal stem | causative stem |
|---|---|
| *-co·nd-/-co·n-*<br>topple, fall over<br>[vi.] | *-so·nd-/-so·n-*<br>topple, fell<br>[vt.] |
| *-cur-/-cut-/cu?l*<br>be finished, be<br>completed; termina-<br>tive aspectivizer<br>with intransitives<br>[vi.] | *-sur-/-sut-/-su?l*<br>finish, complete;<br>terminative aspec-<br>tivizer with tran-<br>sitives [vt.] |
| *-ka·nd-/-ka·n-*<br>be wounded<br>[vi.] | *-kha·nd-/-kha·n-*<br>wound someone<br>[vt.] |
| *-pa·ks-/-pa·ŋ-*<br>come undone (of<br>a string or knot),<br>become untangled<br>[vi.] | *-pha·ks-/-pha·ŋ-*<br>undo, untangle<br>[vt.] |
| *-pa·n   -pe·nd-/-pe·n-*<br>something incorrect<br>be said, be uttered<br>in an erroneous,<br>awkward or uncomely<br>fashion [vi.] | *pa·n   -phe·nd-/-phe·n-*<br>say something wrong,<br>be mistaken in speech,<br>say something in an<br>erroneous, awkward or<br>uncomely fashion [vt.] |
| *-pɛnd-/-pɛn-*<br>slip off, be-<br>come taken off<br>(clothes)<br>[vi.] | *-phɛnd-/-phɛn-*<br>slip out of<br>something<br>(clothes)<br>[vt.] |

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Valleys of *Tāplejuṅ* District. Not surprisingly there are semantic and lexical differences between his material and the material presented here, but the overall homogeneity of the material is striking. For the sake of completeness, I note a paper prepared by Alfons Weidert for the Linguistic Society of Nepal in 1982 in which problems of morphological reconstruction in causatives are discussed on the basis of *Pãcthare* Limbu material.

*-pi?r-/-pi?-*
dent, get
dented [vi.]

*-phi?r-/-phi?-*
dent something
[vt.]

*-pind-/-pin-*
jump up, splash up,
jump up and down
[vi.] (q.v. etiam
infra sub II)

*-phi·nd-/-phi·n-*
sweep away [vt.]

*-pi·ks/-pi·ŋ-*
be pulled out,
come out (any
long thing like
nails, pen-tops)
[vi.]

*-phi·ks-/-phi·ŋ-*
pull out, take
out (long things
like nails) [vt.]

*-po·nd-/-po·n-*
be abundant, be
numerous [vi.]
(q.v. etiam infra
sub IIb)

*-pho·nd-/-pho·n-*
propagate, generate,
produce [vt.]

*-pɔ·nd-/-pɔ·n-*
disperse, scatter,
swarm out [vi.]

*-phɔ·nd-/-phɔ·n-*
disperse, scatter,
cause to disperse
[vt.]

*-pu?r-/-pu?-*
become severed
[vi.]

*-phu?r-/-phu?-*
sever [vt.]

*-pund-/-pun-*
become dis-
lodged [vi.]

*-phund-/-phun-*
dislodge, re-
move, decapi-
tate [vt.]

*-putt-/-put-/-pu?l*
mix, blend [vi.]

*-phutt-/-phut-/-phu?l*
mix, blend [vt.]

*-takt-/-tak-*
display to some-
one [vt.]

*o·n-dhakt-/o·n-dhak-*
show someone, tell
someone [vt.]

*-tɛkt-/-tɛk-*
be enough, be
sufficient
(food) [vi.],
fill, be enough
to fill someone,
sate (food) [vt.]

*-thɛkt-/-thɛk-*
to overfill one-
self, stuff one-
self [vt. with 3s
patient marker]

*-tɛ·ks-/-tɛ·ŋ-*
tear, be
torn [vi.]

*-thɛ·ks/-thɛ·ŋ-*
tear [vt.]

*-tiks-/tiŋ-*
the foreskin be
pulled back such
that the glans
penis be exposed
(subject: *le·*)
[vi.]

*-thi·ks-/-thi·ŋ-*
retract or pull
back the foreskin
exposing the glans
penis (occasionally
used in threats)
[vt.]

*-tims-/-tim-*
become full, get
filled [vi.]

*-thims-/-thim-*
fill up [vt.]

*-ti·kt-/-ti·k-*
peel [vi.]

*-thi·kt-/-thi·k-*
peel [vt.]

*-to·ʔr-/-to·ʔ-*
be well lit, be
illuminated [vi.]

*-tho·ʔr-/-tho·ʔ-*
shed light on,
illuminate [vt.]

*-tund-/-tun-*
become stirred
up, disturbed
[vi.]

*-thund-/-thun-*
stir up, agitate,
disturb [vt.]

*-tu·ks-/-tu·ŋ-*
be bent, bend
[vi.]

*-thu·ks-/-thu·ŋ-*
bend [vt.]

## Type II causatives

| basal stem | directive stem | causative stem |
|---|---|---|
| *-ab-/-ap-* shoot [vt.] | | *-aps-/-am-* winnow [vt.] |
| *-a·g-/-a·k-* be uprooted [vi.] | | *-a·ks-/-a·ŋ-* uproot [vt.] |
| *-ca-* eat [vt.] | *-ca·tt-/-ca·t-/ -ca·ʔl* feed, inflict [vt.] | |
| *-ca·-/-ce·-* perform, play (a game) [vi. irr.] | *-ca·tt-/-ca·t-/ -ca·ʔl* play (a game) [vt.] | |
| *-caks-/-caŋ-* get dressed, wear (clothes, not jewelry) [vt.] | *-cakt-/-cak-* dress someone [vt.] | |
| *-cib-/-cip-* become silent, fall silent, quiet down, cease making noise, stop raining [vi.] | | *-cips-/-cim-* shut someone up, stop someone or something from making noise, turn something off [vt.] |
| | *-ci·kt-/-ci·k-* cool off [vi.] *cuŋ-dzi·kt-/cuŋ- dzi·k-* be cold (weather) [vi.]; feel cold [vt. imp.] | *-ci·ks-/-ci·ŋ-* cool off [vt.] |
| *-cɔb-/-cɔp-* dry up, evaporate [vi.] | | *-cɔps-/-cɔm-* boil dry, drain [vt.] |

-cɔnd-/-cɔn-
shove [vt.]

-cɔtt-/-cɔt-/
cɔʔl push from
one place to
another [vt.]

-cub-/-cup-
(of a hole:)
close up, get
filled in,
close back up
[vi.]

-cups-/-cum-
(of a hole:)
fill back in,
close back up
[vt.]

-ɛg-/-ɛk-[3]
break, snap
[vi.]

-ɛks-/-ɛŋ-
break, snap
[vt.]

-haŋ-
send something
[vt.]

-hakt-/-hak-
send someone
something [vt.]

-hapt-/-hap-
get stuck [vi.]

-haps-/-ham-
hang up [vt.]

-ha·s-/-ha·-
share, distri-
something, deal
out, apportion
[vt.]

-ha·tt-/-ha·t-/
-ha·ʔl distribute
amongst, share out
to, share between,
portion out to
[vt.]

-ha·b-/-ha·p-
cry [vi.]

-ha·pt-/-ha·p-
mourn someone
[vt.]

-ha·ps-/-ha·m-
cause someone
to cry [vt.]

-he·r-/-he·-
dry in the sun
[vi.]

-he·s-/-he·-
dry in the sun
[vt.]

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[3] In Limbu speech in the vicinity of *Sãkrãntī* north of
*Myãṅluṅ*, *ɛkma* and *ɛŋma* have corresponding forms in *cɛkma*
and *sɛŋma* respectively, in which forms a TB causative
*s- prefix is also reflected.

*hi-e·s-/hi-e·-*
shit, defaecate
[vt.]

*hi-e·tt-/hi-e·t-/*
*hi-e·ʔl*   shit on
something or some-
one [vt.]

*-hiŋ-*
live, be alive
[vi.]

*-hiŋs-/-hiŋ-*
raise, rear
[vt.]

*-hɔŋ-*
be pierced, be
bored (a hole)
[vi.]

*-hɔŋs-/-hɔŋ-*
pierce, bore a
hole [vt.]

*-hum-*
sink [vi.]

*-hums-/-hum-*
cause to sink
[vt.]

*-hus-/-hu-*
disclose some-
one's secrets,
expose someone
[vt.]

*-huʔr-/-huʔ-*
teach someone
[vt.]

*-ind-/-in-*
scrub, push,
massage [vt.];
budge [vi.]

*-ips-/-im-*
press (*niŋɛ*
'oil')

*-iŋ-*
become known,
spread (of news),
become common
knowledge [vi.]

*-iŋs-/-iŋ-*
slander, ma-
lign, spread
news, make
known [vt.]

*-ips-/-im-*
sleep [vi.]

*-ipt-/-ip-*
put to bed (esp.
children) [vt.]

*-i·r-/-i·-*
wander about
[vi.]

*-i·s-/-i·-*
cause to wander
about (eg.
livestock),
give someone a
tour [vt.]

*-kam-*
develop an at-
tachment to,
be or become
dependent on
[vi.]

*-kaŋ-*
dry or warm up
at the edge of
a fire (animate
or edible)
[vi.]

*-kɛŋ-*
trip, stumble
and fall [vi.]

*-kɛʔr-/-kɛt-/*
*-kɛʔl*   arrive
[vi.]

*-ko·ks-/-ko·ŋ-*
get oneself a
pillow, use some-
thing as a pil-
low [vt.]

*-kuy-/-ku·-*
carry something
on one's back
[vt.]

*-khaps-/-kham-*
cover oneself
with bedclothes
when going to
bed [vt.]

*-kha·s-/-kha·-*
be sated (with
food) [vi.]

*-kams-/-kam-*
break in (a dog),
domesticate, cause
to grow accustomed,
habituate [vt.]

*-kaŋs-/-kaŋ-*
dry (edible mate-
rials or clay
slingshot pellets)
at the edge of a
fire [vt.]

*-kɛŋs-/-kɛŋ-*
trip someone, cause
someone to stumble
and fall [vt.]

*-kɛtt-/-kɛt-/-kɛʔl*
get something or
someone to a place;
fulfill one's pro-
mise [vt.]

*-ko·kt-/-ko·k-*
prop something up
[vt.]

*-ku·tt-/-ku·t-/*
*-ku·ʔl*   have someone
carry a load (on his
back [vt.]

*-khapt-/-khap-*
tuck someone in,
cover someone with
bedclothes; thatch
or re-thatch a roof
[vt.]

*-kha·tt-/kha·t-/*
*-kha·ʔl*   satiate
someone with food
[vt.]

-khɛkt-/-khɛk-
be ignited, spark
(a match, a flint-
stone) [vi.]

-khɛks-/-khɛŋ-
strike (a match,
a flintstone) [vt.]

-khɛ·kt-/-khɛ·k-
be chipped off,
be broken off
(a piece of the
whole); be nick-
ed [vi.]

-khɛ·ks-/-khɛ·ŋ-
break off a piece
[vt.]

-khe·y-/-khe·-
fight [vi.]

-khe·tt-/-khe·t-/
-khe·ʔl  dispute
something [vt.]

-khɛkt-/-khɛk-
dry (meat)
[vi.]

-khɛks-/-khɛŋ-
dry (meat) [vt.]

-khipt-/-khip-
stick [vi.]

-khips-/-khim-
stick [vt.]

-khiŋ-
be taut [vi.]

-khiŋs-
stretch, make taut
[vt.]

-khɔŋ-
get hit with a
stick [vi.]

-khɔks-/-khɔŋ-
hit with a stick
[vt.]

-khu·ŋ-/-khu·ks-
cover oneself
with something,
wrap oneself in
some covering
[vt.]

-khu·kt-/-khu·k-
cover someone with
something, wrap
something around
someone [vt.]

-lag-/-lak-
lick [vt.]

-laks-/-laŋ-
give to lick [vt.]

-lakt-/-lak-
boil (liquid)
[vi.]

-laks-/-laŋ-
boil (a liquid)
[vt.]

*-la·ks-/-la·ŋ-*
dance [vi.]
*kye·-la·ks-/kye·-*
*-la·ŋ-* perform
the Limbu drum
dance [vi.]

*-la·kt-/-la·k-*
trample, walk
underfoot [vt.]
*ya?-ra·kt-/ya?-ra·k-*
perform the Limbu
rice harvest dance
[vi.]

*-lɛ?r-/-lɛ?-*
become unleashed
[vi.]

*-lɛ?r-/-lɛt-/-lɛ?l*
take leave of,
quit, release,
let go [vt.]

*-lɛŋ-*
wander about
because one
has lost his
way [vi.]

*-lɛkt-/-lɛk-*
trade, exchange
[vt.]

*-lɛks-/-lɛŋ-*
turn over [vt.]

*-lɛ·ŋ-*
smear, rub,
rub in [vt.]

*-lɛ·ks-/-lɛ·ŋ-*
knead, make dough
[vt.]

*-liŋ-*
climb [vt.]

*-liŋs-/-liŋ-*
break through (said
of the sun); grow
(of plants) [vi.]

*-li·g-/-li·k-*
enter into an
opening [vi.]

*-li·kt-/-li·k-*
infect someone
[vt.]

*-li·ks-/-li·ŋ-*
insert something
into an opening in
order to conceal
[vt.]

*-lo·kt-/-lo·k-*
run, sprint,
jump [vi.]

*-lo·ks-/-lo·ŋ-*
make someone run
[vt.]

*-lo·s-/-lo·-*
underlay, lay
down underneath,
lay down a sub-
strate [vt.]

*-lo·tt-/-lo·t-/*
*-lo·?l* lay some-
thing underneath
someone, underlay
someone [vt.]

-lɔ·nd-/-lɔ·n-
emerge, exude,
egress, come
out [vi.]

-lɔ·tt-/-lɔ·t-/
-lɔ·ʔl  take out
[vt.]

-lug-/-luk-
be completed
[vi.]

-luks-/-luŋ-
complete [vt.]

-luŋma -hips-/
-him-  yearn,
miss, experience
nostalgia, ex-
perience the
grief of sepa-
ration [vi.]

luŋma -hi·pt-/
-hi·p-  miss some-
one [vt.]

-lu·g-/-lu·k-
fall (foliage
or fruits from
a tree) [vi.]

-lu·ks-/-lu·ŋ-
shake fruits
out of a tree;
husk maize (the
leaves from the
cob) [vt.]

-lupt-/-lup-
be buried [vi.],
bury [vt.]

-lups-/-lum-
pile up [vt.]

maŋ-khɔ·y-/maŋ-
-khɔ·-  rant
and rave [vi.]

maŋ-kho·tt-/maŋ-
-kho·t-/maŋ-kho·ʔl
exorcise [vi.vt.]

-mɔy-/-ma·-
get, become
lost [vi.]

-ma·s-/-ma·-
lose [vt.]

-mɛg-/-mɛk-
run out of
(a supply of
something)
[vi.]

-mɛks-/-mɛŋ-
to 'have done it
again' (sarcastic)
[vt.]

-mukt-/-muk-
strike, sound
(of a bell, clock,
musical instru-
ment) [vi.]

-muks-/-muŋ-
sound, strum,
strike, play (a
musical instru-
ment) [vt.]

*-na?r-/-na?-*
abandon; ab-
stain from
eating some-
thing [vt.]

*-nɛtt-/-nɛt-/*
*-nɛ?l*  abstain
from salt (*yum*);
be in mourning
[vt.]

*-nakt-/-nak-*
be confused,
be at a loss
for words, be
overwhelmed
[vi.]

*-naks-/-naŋ-*
go crazy [vi.]

*-nam-*
smell [vi.]

*-nams-/-nam-*
smell [vt.]

*-na·b-/-na·p-*
drive off (eg.
an animal) [vt.]

*-na·pt-/-na·p-*
drive off from
(eg. an animal
from another ani-
mal or away from
something; both
patient) [vt.];
cf. *-na·tt-/-na·t-*
*na·?l*, vt., drive
away (livestock)

*-niŋwa -hi·r-/*
*-hi·-*  change
one's mind [vi.]

*-niŋwa -hi·s-/-hi·-*
convince someone,
change someone's
mind [vt.]

*-niŋwa -ta-*
be pleased [vi.
irr.]

*-niŋwa -tas-/-ta-*
please [vt.]

*-nis-/-ni-*
see [vt.]

*-ni·r-/-ni·t-/*
*-ni·?l*  read,
study, count [vt.]
*kusiŋ-ni·tt-/*
*kusiŋ-ni·t-/kusiŋ-*
*-ni·?l*  recognize,
comprehend, under-
stand, be familiar
with [vt.]

*-nɔr-/-nɔn-*
be left over,
remain [vi.]

*-nɔnch-/-nɔn-*
set aside, save
for later, keep
leftovers [vt.]

*-nu·ks-/-nu·ŋ*
return; void
[vi.]

*-nu·kt-/nu·k-*
return [vt.]

*-ɔg-/-ɔk-*
become unstuck,
come loose,
become unglued
[vi.]

*-ɔks-/-ɔŋ-*
unstick, unglue,
pull free, pull
loose [vt.]

*-pa·r-/-pa·t-/*
*-pa·ʔl* speak
[vi.]

*-pa·tt-/-pa·t-/*
*-pa·ʔl* say (some-
thing) to someone
[vt.]

*-pe·s-/-pe·-*
vomit [vt.]

*-pe·ʔr-/-pe·ʔ-*
vomit on something
or someone [vt.]

*-pind-/-pin-*
jump up (ver-
tically) [vi.]
(q.v. etiam
supra sub I)

*-pitt-/-pit-/-piʔl*
jump over some-
thing (vertically)
[vt.]

*-pɔg-/-pɔŋ-*
kick up (of
the wind) [vi.]
*-pɔŋ-*
get up and
leave, be broken
up (of a *hāt-*
*bajār*) [vi.]

*-pɔks-/-pɔŋ-*
lift up with one's
hand, carry in
one's hands [vt.]

*-pɔtch-/-pɔt-/*
*-pɔʔl* hang in
a tree (fruit),
be or rest sus-
pended (celes-
tial phenomena),
remain sticking
(eg. smegma),
be (an amount)
[vi.] (vide
etiam infra
sub III)

*-phɔtt-/-phɔt-/*
*-phɔʔl* cover
something, sus-
pend or hold
something above
something or
someone [vt.]
*-pɔtt-/-pɔt-/*
*-pɔʔl* bespatter
[vt.]

*-phɔtch-/-phɔt-/*
*-phɔʔl* put up
somewhere, place on
high, hang up, sus-
pend [vt.]

*-phe·s-/-phe·-*
fart [vt.]

*-phe·ʔr-/-phe·ʔ-*
fart within ol-
factory range of
someone, fart at
someone [vt.]

*-phɛʔr-/-phɛn-*
come (along a
horizontal
plane) [vi.]

*-phɛtt-/-phɛt-/*
*-phɛʔl* bring
(along a hori-
zontal plane)
[vt.]

*-phɛnch-/-phɛn-*
send, have brought
(along a horizontal
plane) [vt.]

*-phɛs-/-phɛ-*
lay down (mat-
ting), situate
(a stool or
chair) [vt.]

*-phɛʔr-/-phɛʔ-*
lay down (mat-
ting) for some-
one, get a seat
for someone [vt.]

*-phind-/-phin-*
strangle, squeeze
the juice out of
something; de-
press (a lever)
[vt.]

*-phitt-/-phit-/*
*phiʔl* pinch;
(with *huk* 'hands')
stick into one's
armpits or between
one's thighs (eg.
for warmth) [vt.]

*-phi·r-/-phi·-*
grow thin [vi.]

*-phi·s-/-phi·-*
allow to get thin
[vt.]

*-phɔkt-/-phɔk-*
go off, explode
(rifle, bomb)
[vi.]

*-phɔks-/-phɔŋ-*
allow to go off,
allow to explode
(rifle, bomb) [vt.]

*-se·s-/-se·-*
piss, urinate
[vt.]

*-se·ʔr-/-se·ʔ-*
piss on some-
thing or some-
one [vt.]

*-sɛr-/-sɛt-/*
*-sɛʔl* kill
[vt.] (q.v.
etiam infra)

*-sɛtt-/-sɛt-/*
*-sɛʔl* ritually
slaughter an ani-
mal as *phudo·ŋ*
in honour of an
esteemed guest
[vt.]

*-si-*
die [vi.irr.]

*-sɛr-/-sɛt-/-sɛʔl*
kill [vt.] (q.v.
etiam supra)

*-si·pt-/-si·p-*
be stuck between
something, be
wedged inbetween
[vi., vt.imp.]

*-si·ps-/-si·m-*
insert a long object
into wickerwork,
matting, thatching,
meshwork or some
reticulate material
[vt.]

*-sɔŋ-*
be done (food)
[vi.]

*-sɔŋd-/-sɔŋ-*
cause to become
done (food) [vt.]

*-sub-/-sup-*
be shut, be
closed (door,
box, *tɔŋba*)
[vi.]; shut
[vt.]

*-su·pt-/-su·p-*
close off, shut
off, seal off,
put a lid on, cap
(a bottle) [vt.]

*-supt/-sup-*
take draughts
through a *pi·t-
chiŋ* [vt.]

*-sutt-/-sut-/*
*-suʔl* taste by
taking a draught
through a *pi·t-
chiŋ* [vt.]

*-ta-*
come, appear
[vi.]

*-tar-/-taʔ-*
bring, deliver
[vt.]

*-tas-/-ta-*
reach [vt.]

*ta-dzɛks-/ta-*
*-dzɛŋ-* con-
verse [vi.]

*-cɛkt-/-cɛk-*
discuss someone
or something,
tell about some-
one or something
[vt.]

*-cɛ·ks-/-cɛ·ŋ-*
discuss someone or
something [vt.]

*-tɛnd-/tɛn-*
agree, consent,
believe, obey
[vi.]

*-tɛtt-/-tɛt-/*
*-tɛʔl* consent to
give something
[vt.]

*-tɔŋ-*
meet, fit, make
sense, be correct
or fitting, come
together, be re-
conciled [vi.]

*-tɔŋs-/-tɔŋ-*
fit together, make
fit, repair, ar-
range, reconcile
[vt.]

*-tɔy-/-tɔ·-*
sew [vt.]

*-tɔʔr-/-tɔʔ-*
have sewn for
someone, have
sewn [vt.]
*-thɔtt-/-thɔt-/*
*-thɔʔl* sew
(leaves) to make
disposable
dishes [vt.]

*-tum-*
run into some-
one, meet, en-
counter [vt.]

*-tums-/-tum-*
gather; arrange a
meeting between
people; complete
(a task initiated
but unfinished)
[vt.]

*-tha-*
relinquitive
aspectivizer
'to leave'
[v.irr.]

*-tha·ʔr-/-tha·ʔ-*
leave behind for
someone, relin-
quish something
you've kept for
someone, give away
[vt.]

*-tha-*
fall [vi.irr.]

*-thas-/-tha-*
thrash, shake off
[vt.]
*-thaps-/-tham-*
shake out (dust)
[vt.]
*-tha·s-/-tha·-*
knock down (eg. by
throwing sticks and
stones); cause to
fall (as aspecti-
vizer) [vt.]
*-tha·ps-/-tha·m-*
trip someone, throw
someone or something
to the ground [vt.]

*-thab-/-thap-*
be born [vi.]

*-thapt-/-thap-*
bear (offspring)
[vt.]

*-tha·b-/-tha·p-*
be visible [vi.]
*ni-tha·b-/ni-*
*-tha·p-* be vi-
sible, be able
to be seen [vi.]

*-tha·ps-/-tha·m-*
show [vt.]

*-thaŋ-*
come up [vi.]

*-thakt-/-thak-*
bring up [vt.]

*-thaŋs-/-thaŋ-*
have brought up,
send up [vt.]

*-thɔg-/-thɔk-*
forge, weld,
pound, work
(metal) [vt.]

*-thɔkt-/-thɔk-*
have someone
work metal, have
jewelry made
[vt.]

*-thɔkt-/-thɔk-*
clash, come to
blows; (of
cattle) lock
horns; (of *mik*
'eyes') meet
[vi.]

*-thɔks-/-thɔŋ-*
instigate, incite
to fight; (of *mik*
'eyes') flirt
through eye con-
tact, make eyes
at [vt.]

-thub-/-thup-
cave in, col-
lapse [vi.]

-thups-/-thum-
demolish, destroy,
cause to cave in
[vt.]

-thuŋ-
drink [vt.]

-thuŋs-/-thuŋ-
give to drink [vt.]

-ug-/-uk-
comb, scratch,
claw [vt.]

-uks-/-uŋ-
pull, pluck, pick
[vt.]

-us-/-u-
direct, lead
[vt.]
kha-us-/kha-u-
deliver a
speech [vt.]

-u·tt-/-u·t-/
-u·ʔ1  call sum-
mon [vt.]

wa-rakt-/wa-rak-
get wet [vi.]

wa-raks-/wa-raŋ-
make wet, moisten,
dampen [vt.]

-wa·r-/-wa·ʔ
wear, put on
(jewelry, orna-
ments) [vt.]

-wa·tt-/-wa·t-/
-wa·ʔ1  put (je-
welry, ornaments)
on someone [vt.]

-yaks-/-yaŋ-
tremble, shake
[vi.]

-yaŋs-/-yaŋ-
hit with a
projectile
[vt.]

-ye·r-/-ye·t-/
-ye·ʔ1  laugh
[vi.]

-ye·tt-/-ye·t-/
-ye·ʔ1  laugh at
someone [vt.]

-yɛb-/-yɛp-
stand, stand up
[vi.]

-yɛps-/-yɛm-
stand something up
[vt.]

-yɛ·kt-/-yɛ·k-
wear, wear away,
grow blunt [vi.]

-yɛ·ks-/-yɛ·ŋ-
chew (with diffi-
culty), grind [vt.]

-yo·r-/-yo·-
amount to, at-
tain, reach
(weight, sum
of money) [vi.],
be enough, be
sufficient for
someone [vt.]

-yo·ʔr-/-yo·ʔ-
give someone a
second or third
helping [vt.]

-yɔr-/-yɔ-
cave in [vi.]

-yɔs-/-yɔ-
demolish [vt.]

-yu-
come down [vi.]

-yur-/-yuʔ-
bring down [vt.]

-yus-/-yu-
cause to come
down by condensa-
tion; distill [vt.]

-yuŋ-
sit [vi.]

-yukt-/-yuk-
sit on something,
mount [vt.]

-yuks-/-yuŋ-
put, set [vt.]

-yups-/-yum-
put on a belt
(*phɔʔi·*), buckle
oneself up [vt.]

-yupt-/-yup-
put a belt (*phɔʔi·*)
on someone, buckle
someone up [vt.]

## Type IIb causatives

| base stem | directive stem | causative stem |
|-----------|----------------|----------------|
| *-ha?r-/-ha?-* catch on fire, catch flame [vi.] | *-ha·nd-/-ha·n-* burn [vt.] | |
| *-hɔ·r-/-hɔ·t/ -hɔ·?1* burst open [vi.] | *-hɔnd-/-hɔn-* open (a door or window) [vt.] | *-hɔ·s-/-hɔ·-* puncture, burst open [vt.] |
| *-ki·r-/-ki·-* decompose, rot, putrefy [vi.] | *-ki·nd-/-ki·n-* putrefy, allow to rot [vt.] | |
| *-lis-/-li-* insert one's hand into something (patient: *huk*) [vt.] | *-li·nd-/-li·n-* stick something (= patient) through a hole [vt.] | |
| *-ma·r-/-ma·t-/ -ma·?1* be finished, be used up [vi.] | *-ma·nd-/-ma·n-* finish, use up [vt.] | |
| *mut-tha-* fall (from a height) [vi.] | *-tha·nd-/-tha·n-* succeed (=? cause to fall into place) (with infinitive) [vt.] | *mut-thas-/mut-tha-* drop something [vt.] |
| *-ɔ?r-/-ɔ?-* break off (a piece of the whole) [vi.] | *-ɔnd-/-ɔn-* remove and put aside that which is in excess [vt.] | *-ɔ·s-/-ɔ·-* spit out [vt.] |
| *-po·r-/-po·-* grow (of animals, inc. humans) [vi.] *-nara -po·r-/ -po·-* gain in esteem [vi.] | *-po·nd-/-po·n-* be abundant, be numerous [vi.] (q.v. etiam supra sub I) | *-po·s-/-po·-* make bigger [vt.] *-nara -po·s-/-po·-* laud, praise [vt.] |

*phɛʔ-laʔr-/phɛʔ-*
*-laʔ-* be spoilt,
be ruined [vi.]

*phɛʔ-la·nd-/phɛʔ-*
*-la·n-* spoil,
ruin [vt.]

*-sɛr-/-sɛt-/-sɛʔl*
be scattered,
be spilt [vi.]

*-sɛnd-/-sɛn-*
split up, go
one's separate
ways, disperse
[vi.], sepa-
rate (eg. good
rice from bad
rice) [vt.]

*-sɛs-/-sɛ-*
scatter, spill,
sow [vt.]

*-sɔ·r-/-sɔ·n-*
ooze down,
slither [vi.]

*-sɔ·nd-/-sɔ·n-*
slide [vi.],
slide [vt.]

*-te·ʔr-/-te·ʔ-*
take away
[vt.]

*wa-de·nd-/wa-*
*-de·n-* let some-
thing float away
in a current of
water [vt.]

*-te·s-/-te·*
spend [vt.]; (as
*-de·s-/-de·-*) as-
pectivizer with
transitive verbs

## Type III causatives

| base stem | directive stem | causative stem |
|---|---|---|
| *-cups-/-cum-* form a crowd, become amassed, gather together, accumulate [vi.] | *-sund-/-sun-* scrape together with the blade of hand [vt.] | *-sups-/-sum-* amass, convene, accumulate, assemble, gather together, collect [vt.] |
| *kha-da·m-* get dark (nightfall) [vi.] | *kha-dha·pt-/kha--dha·p-* get or turn dark on someone [vt.] | |
| *-niŋsaŋ -pug-/-puk-* be crestfallen [vi.] | *niŋsaŋ -phukt-/-phuk-* spoil the fun, be a killjoy (patient: *niŋsaŋ*) [vt.] | *-niŋsaŋ -puks-/-puŋ-*[4] disappoint someone [vt.] |
| *-pa·ks-/-pa·ŋ-* come undone (knot, string) [vi.] | *-pha·kt-/-pha·k-* fold, fold up (cloth, clothes) [vt.] | *-pha·ks-/-pha·ŋ-* undo (knot string) [vt.] |
| *-pɛ·r-/-pɛ·-* fly [vi.] | | *-phɛ·s-/-phɛ·-* let fly, release (birds), fly (an airplane) [vt.] |
| *-po·g-/-po·k-* wake up, get up; rise (of leavened comestibles) [vi.] | | *-pho·ks-/-pho·ŋ-* wake someone up [vt.] |

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[4] The causative member of this set reflects only causative
*\*-s*, not *\*s-*.

-po·tt-/-po·t-/
-po·?1 lose
one's way [vi.]

-pho·tt-/-pho·t-/
-pho·?1 mislead,
deceive, trick,
make a fool of
someone, take the
piss, take someone
for a ride [vt.]

-pho·s-/-pho·-
stir about to fa-
cilitate the dry-
ing process [vt.]

-pɔtch-/-pɔt-/
-pɔ?1 hang in
a tree (fruit),
be or rest sus-
pended (celestial
phenomena), re-
main sticking
(eg. smegma),
be (an amount)
[vi.] (vide etiam
supra sub IIa)

-pho·nd-/-pho·n-
hang up [vt.]
(cf. po·ro·?1,
glossary)

-putt-/-put-
-pu?1 be mixed,
be motley, be
varicoloured
[vi.]

-phutt-/-phut-/
-phu?1 mix,
blend [vt.]

-phuks-/-phuŋ
mix, blend [vt.]

ta-kɔnd-/ta-kɔn-
wander, stroll
[vi.], cover on
foot, wander
through (places,
an area) [vt.]
-kɔnd-/-kɔn-
cover on foot,
wander through
(places, an area)
[vt.].

-khɔnch-/-khɔn-
stir (liquid)
[vt.]

-tiŋd-/-tiŋ-
flower, bloom;
swell up, become
erect [vi.]

-thiŋs-/-thiŋ-
masturbate (male),
cause to flower
or swell up.

## 10.2. Productive, periphrastic causatives

The productive, periphrastic causatives consist of an optative in combination with a simplex of *co·kma?* 'to do', eg. (1-7), or *paŋma?* 'to send someone', eg. (8-10). The optative indicates the desired situation and is a complement of the main verb. *Co·kma?* and *paŋma?* show patient agreement with the subject or agent of the optative complement, eg. (7-8), (15). The combination of a supine and *paŋma?* is distinct from the causative combination of *paŋma?* and optative complement, eg. (11) vs. (8-10).

(1)     *pu·?t-ɛ-rɔ          kɛ-dzo·g-u-ba!*
        boil_over-PT-OPT 2-do-3P-IPF
        You^s've let it boil over.

(2)     *lakt-u-rɔ    co·k-m·  po·ŋ.*
        boil-3P-OPT do-INF   EXIG
        It must be brought to a boil.

(3)     *cib-ɛ-rɔ            co·g-u.*
        keep_quiet-PT-OPT do-3P
        He made him keep quiet.

(4)     *cɔb-ɛ-rɔ            co·g-u-ŋ.*
        evaporate-PT-OPT do-3P-1sA
        I let it evaporate.

(5)     *tug-ɛ-rɔ    kɛ-dzo·g-w-i·?*
        ache-PT-OPT 2-do-3P-Q
        Did you^s hurt him?

(6)     *hasukt-ɛ-rɔ          co·g-u-ŋ.*
        be_cutting-PT-OPT do-3P-1sP
        I'll make it cut well. (cf. *ya?laptuŋ* I'll sharpen
             it, *yuttuŋ* I'll whet it.)

(7)     *hipt-aŋ-lɔ          kɛ-dzo·g-u-ba-i·?*
        hit-1sPS/PT-OPT 2-do-3P-IPF-Q
        Did you^s make him hit me?

(8)     *hɛndza?-ha? cum-ha? cuŋ-ma?*
        child-p       friend-p wrestle-INF
             *paŋs-u-ŋ-si-ŋ.*
             send-3P-1sA-nsP-1sA
        I sent the kids off to wrestle·

(9)     *a-dho·ps-i-rɔ paŋs-u.*
        1-spy-pPS-OPT send-3P
        He sent him to spy on us[Pi].

(10)    *ɔ·-a-mɔt-chi-rɔ        paŋs-u.*
        watch-1-watch-dPS-OPT send-3P
        He sent him to watch us[di].

(11)    *a-tho·m-se paŋs-u.*
        1-spy-SUP   send-3P
        He sent him in order to spy on me.

Rarely, the verb *paŋma?* is compounded to the stem of another verb to give its causative. For example, compounded to *khɔkma?* 'to cut' and *iŋma?* 'to buy', it yields *khɔk-paŋma?* 'to have cut' (Nep. *kāṭnu* vs. *kāṭāunu*) and *iŋbaŋma?* 'to have someone buy something', eg. *khɔkpaŋsaŋ* 'he had me cut it', *khɔkpaŋsuŋ* 'I had him cut it', *iŋbaŋsuŋ* 'I sent him to buy [it]'. It also occurs, albeit infrequently, that *paŋma?* or *co·kma?* take an infinitive complement rather than an optative, eg. (8), (16).

An optative may also be the complement of a verb other than *co·kma?* or *paŋma?* but the combination must be semantically plausible, eg. (14).

(14)    *luŋ-?o·    phɛdza-·n hasuk-lɔ        yutt-u-ŋ*
        stone-LOC knife-ABS be‿cutting-OPT whet-3P-1sA
            *lo·!*
            ASS
        I'm whetting the knife against a stone until it's
        sharp!

Periphrastic causatives are used to express a causative relationship of verbs which lack lexical causatives. For example, there is no verb 'to tickle', whereas there *is* a verb *ya·ma?* which means 'to experience the sensation of being tickled', eg. (15). Where Michailovsky (1985: 375) notes a causative *-phind-* 'to cause to jump' alongside *-pind-* 'to jump' in the dialect of the *Maivā-Mevā* Valleys, in the dialect treated in the present grammar, the causative of *pimma?* 'to jump' is *phi·mma?* 'to sweep away'.[5] This leaves a semantic gap which is filled by the periphrastic causative in (16). Similarly, whereas the verb *po·kma?* 'get

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[5] *Phi·mma?* 'to sweep away' has vowel length and forms a minimal pair with *phimma?* meaning 'to strangle'.

up' has an old causative in *pho·ŋma* 'get someone up, get someone out of bed', the verb *ni·tchiŋma?* 'come to consciousness, wake up' lacks a lexical causative counterpart. It is periphrastically causitivized in (17) where someone wakes a friend with whom he is sleeping for a brief chat in the middle of the night, not to get him out of his bed.

(15)      *ya·s-aŋ-lɔ*                    *mɛ-dzo·g-u.*
          be_tickled-1sPS/PT-OPT   nsAS-do-3P
          They tickled me. (lit. they caused me to feel
              tickled)

(16)      *pim-ma?  paŋs-u-ŋ.*
          jump-INF  send-3P-1sA
          I made him jump.

(17)      *sɛndik sɔpma?-dzi? ni·t-chiŋ-aŋ.*          *khunɛ?-aŋ*
          night  moment-few  count-REF-1sPS/PT he-too
              *ni·t-chiŋ-lɔ    co·g-u-ŋ.*
              count-REF-OPT  do-3P-1sA
          I woke up in the middle of the night for a few
              minutes, so I woke him up too.

## 10.3. Transitivity and actant coding

Limbu actant agreement shows split ergativity. Most conspicuous is that the conjugation of intransitive forms is identical to that of transitive forms with a third singular agent, with the exception of the third person. As a result, impersonally conjugated transitive verbs agreeing with a non-referential third person agent, eg. *mɔ·ma?* 'inebriate', are virtually indistinguishable from intransitive verbs except in the third person, eg. *khɛŋha? mɔyusi* 'theyᴾ became inebriated' (3s→3ns) where an intransitive 3p form is rejected. Case marking also provides no clue because both patients and subjects take the absolutive case.

Whereas verbal agreement dichotomizes the third person affixes into agent/subject markers and patient markers, the first and second person markers are dichotomized into those marking agent and those marking patient/subject (see p.70). The agent marker of the first and second person plural, the suffix *-m*, probably derives from the same etymon as the non-singular third person agent/subject prefix *mɛ-*. That the affixes for the first and second person on the whole form a well defined group against the affixes of the third person reflects an animacy hierarchy, as does the strict

dual/plural distinction in the first and second person where in the third person the dual/plural distinction seems to have undergone some degree of erosion.[6]

The ergative suffix occurs only with a transitively conjugated verb[7]; a usually transitive verb can be labile and sometimes be intransitively conjugated, eg. *co·kma?* 'to do' which, with an indefinite or generic patient, inclines to be intransitively conjugated (18-20). Whereas intransitively conjugated *hɛn kɛdzo·k* 'what are you[s] doing?/what are you[s] up to?' is the more usual question, transitive *hɛn kɛdzo·gu* 'what are you[s] doing' expresses a greater concern with the identity of the patient. An absolutivized patient occurs only with a transitively conjugated verb, eg. *hɛn co·klɔ ya·k* 'what is he doing', *hɛn co·gurɔ ya·k?* 'what is he doing', *hɛnnin co·gurɔ ya·k?* 'what is he doing?', not *hɛnnin co·klɔ ya·k*.

(18)    *kɔŋ    wa?-ɛn        hɛn    co·k-?aŋ ya·k-pa?*
        this chicken-ABS what do-pfG    be-IPF
        What is this chicken up to?

(19)    *tha·k tha·k-ma? ya·mbɔk co·k.*
        weave weave-INF work    do
        He weaves [professionally].

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[6] Comrie (1981: 123-4) points out that distinct case assignment patterns for first and second as against third person actants in Dyirbal reflects animacy hierarchy, and that distinct singular and plural forms 'are a characteristic of noun phrases with high animacy in languages that have a split' (p.180).

[7] The only exception is the verb *maŋkho·pma?* 'to exorcise'. Whereas it is normally transitively conjugated showing patient agreement with the person being exorcised, eg. *phe·daŋmɛlle khɛnɛ? maŋgɛgho·ttɛi·?* 'Has the *phe·daŋma* exorcised you[s]?', I have recorded the following: *phe·daŋmɛlle maŋgho·?1* 'the *phe·daŋma* is engaged in exorcism', (with an unusual form of *nɛtchi* 'two':) *phe·daŋmahɛtchi maŋgho·tchi* 'the two *phe·daŋma* were busy exorcising spirits', and *phe·daŋmaha?re maŋmɛgho·ttɛ* 'the *phe·daŋma* were busy exorcising spirits'. That this verb contains an incorporated object *maŋ* 'deity' may account for the occurrence of an ergative suffix in combination with an intransitively conjugated verb.

(20)     *slŋhɛk-le  yaŋhɛk-le        ya·mbɔk  lɔk  mɛ-dzo·k.*
         Newari-ERG money_chopper-GEN work     only nsAS-do
         Newaris only do the work of money-chopper.[8]

In (21), normally transitive *thuŋma?* 'to drink' is intran-
sitively conjugated where the speaker intends the activity
of drinking as such, and in (22), *pa·tma?* 'to speak, to
say' is intransitively conjugated for the same reason even
though there is an overt patient, *co·kphuŋ pa·n* 'fish
stories'.

(21)     *mɛ-dhuŋ      gɔrɔ pi·-ma?-si    bo·ŋ.*
         nsAS-drink if    give-INF-nsP EXIG
         If they're going to drink, they'll have to be
             given something.

(22)     *khɛŋ mɛnchuma sa·rik co·kphuŋ  kɛ-dzo·k-ma co·k*
         that lady      very    tall_tale AP-make-AP   be
         *hɛnaŋbhɛlle co·kphuŋ  pa·n lɔk  pa·?l.*
         because        tall_tale word only speak
         That lady is a real tall tale teller because she
             only tells exaggerated stories.

In the list in 10.1, the causatives and directives of in-
transitive verbs are transitive, eg. *ha·pma?, -ha·b-/-ha·p-*
'cry', *ha·pma?, -ha·pt-/ -ha·p-* 'mourn someone', *ha·mma?,*
*-ha·ps-/-ha·m-* 'make someone cry', *ca·ma?* 'play', *andzumha?*
*mɛdze·rɔ mɛya·gɛ* 'my friends were playing', *ca·tma?,*
*-ca·tt-/-ca·t-/-ca·?l,* *laŋpho·ŋga mɛdza·ttu* 'they play
football'.

The verb *pi·ma?* 'give, endow' shows patient agreement
with the recipient or beneficiary, not with the object
given. This widespread tendency in Limbu patient agreement
attests to an animacy hierarchy. The causative or directive
counterpart of a transitive verb taking an inanimate pa-
tient often takes two actants aside from the agent rather
than just one: an animate and an inanimate actant. These
directive and causative verbs invariably agree with the
animate actant, the patient, not the inanimate one, the
object. For example, *tɔ·ma?* 'to sew' shows patient agree-
ment with that which is sewn, and its directive derivative
*tɔ?ma?* 'to have something sewn for someone' shows agreement
with the beneficiary. *Khamma?* 'cover oneself with bed-
clothes' shows agreement with the bedclothes, whilst its

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[8] See note 13 on p.220.

directive derivative *khapma?* 'tuck someone in' agrees with the person being tucked in. *Lakma?* 'to lick' agrees with the patient being licked, and its causative counterpart *laŋma?* 'give to lick' agrees with the entity, eg. a cow, to whom something, eg. salt, has been proferred to lick.

Also in labile verbs, transitivity is bound up with animacy. The verb *khupma?* 'to steal, to rob' shows preferential agreement with an animate patient even when the animate patient is not expressed, eg. (23-25). But when the booty is the salient actant and the maleficiary or victim is left unexpressed, *khupma?* shows agreement. with the inanimate actant, eg. (26). In one set of cases, *khupma?* translates as 'to rob', in the other 'to steal'.

(23)     *a-ndzum-ille   sapla   khutt-aŋ.*
         my-friend-ERG book   rob-1sPS/PT
         My friend robbed me of my book.

(24)     *khunɛ?  yaŋ   te·?l   khutt-u.*
         him     money clothes rob-3P
         He robbed him of his clothes and money.

(25)     *khɛnɛ?  yaŋ   kɛ-ghutt-u-si-i·?*
         you^s   money 2-rob-3P-nsP-Q
         Did you^s rob them of their money?

(26)     *mɛ-n-ni-baŋ-ba*                *mana-lle a-yaŋ-in*
         NEG-NEG-see-1s→3/PT-NOM man-ERG   1-money-ABS
              *khutt-u.*
              steal-3P
         A man I didn't see stole the [= my] money.

*Khupma?* may also be intransitively conjugated with but a single actant. The meaning depends on the animacy of the subject. An animate subject is inherently agentive, enacting the theft, whereas an inanimate actant gets stolen.

(27)     *a-ndzum-in     khutt-ɛ.*
         my-friend-ABS steal-PT
         My friend committed a theft.

(28)     *yaŋ   khu?l.*
         money steal
         The money will get stolen.

(29)      sya?l   kɛ-sɛp-pa-ha? mɛ-ghu?l.
          jackal AP-kill-AP-p  nsAS-steal
          Jackal killers[9] are thieves.

(30)      sapla khutt-ɛ.
          book  steal-PT
          The book was stolen.

Other labile verbs operate in a similar way, eg. khikma?,
-khikt-/ -khik- (vi.) 'taste bitter', (vt.) 'taste bitter
to someone', lupma?, -lupt-/-lup- (vi.) 'be buried, get
buried', (vt.) 'bury someone or something', takɔmma?, ta-
kɔnd-/ta-kɔn- (vi.) wander about, pa·ŋphe·?o· takɔŋ?ɛ 'I'll
wander about the village', (vt.) cover on foot, him thɔkma
takɔnduŋsiŋ 'I covered every house'. The normally transi-
tive thɛ·ma? 'to dissect (a carcass)' is intransitively
conjugated in (31) where it occurs with the intransitive
terminative aspectivizer cu?ma?, indicating that the
dissection of the slaughtered pig has been completed.

(31)      thɛ·s-ɛ      cur-ɛ.
          dissect-PT finish-PT
          The dissection is finished.

Ha?ma? 'to bite' is normally conjugated transitively to
agree with the person or thing bitten, but in (32) ha?ma?
is intransitive and describes a latent activity without any
real patient.

(32)      nɛtchi mɔna-re ande·   sya?l-ille ha?r-aŋ
          two    man-ERG earlier jackal-ERG bite-SP
          ya·g-ɛ-lle nis-ɛ-tch-u.
          be-PT-SUB  see-PT-dA-3P
          Earlier two men had seen that the jackal was on
             the prowl.

Non-existential 'to be' ho·pma? is infrequently conjugated
as a transitive verb in the meaning 'be lacking unto some-
one', eg. ya·ndik ho·p-?ɛ (leisure_time not_be-1sPS/NPT) 'I
have no leisure time'. Intransitive 'to come' tama? also
has a transitive conjugation in combination with ya·ndik,
eg. ya·ndik kɛdei·? 'were you[s] free?', ya·ndik ta?ɛ 'I'll
be free' (lit. 'leisure time will come to me').

---

[9] An epithet for an inhabitant of the Tarāi or of India;
   cf. Nep. syālmārā.

The type of patient with which a verb agrees is generally lexically determined. Semantically related verbs need not, however, be derivationally related. For example, *haŋma?*, *hakma?* and *paŋma?* all mean 'to send', but *haŋma?* shows agreement with the object sent, which is always a non-human patient, eg. *haŋuŋ* 'I sent it', *haŋɛ?!* 'send it off!'. Its directive derivative *hakma?* agrees with the animate beneficiary, eg. *kɛmhaktɛ* 'they sent it to youˢ', but if the entity being sent is a human, the etymologically unrelated verb *paŋma?* is used. *Paŋma?* normally shows agreement with the envoy or reconnoitrer, eg. *paŋsuŋ* 'I sent him', *mɛbaŋsaŋ* 'they sent me', *kɛmbaŋsɛ* 'they sent youˢ'. Yet beneficiaries appear to be salient in the animacy hierarchy, for when one person is sent to someone else, *paŋma?* has three animate actants: the dispatcher, the envoy and the beneficiary. *Paŋma?* shows preferential patient agreement with the beneficiary, eg. (33). Note that the object *khɛŋ mɐna·n* is in the absolutive case even though the verb shows no agreement with it. The case marking of the envoy may be attributed to both its high animacy and its topicalization (see p.38) in this sentence.

(33)    *khɛŋ mɐna-·n paŋs-aŋ bi·r-aŋ-ɛ?!*
        that man-ABS send-1sP give-1sP-IMP
        Send that man to me!

A number of transitive verbs indicating bodily functions show agreement with a third singular patient, eg. *se·ma?* 'to urinate', *phe·ma?* 'to fart', *hi?e·ma?* 'to shit'. In such cases, the third singular agreement is clearly referential to that which is being expelled, although no overt nominal reference to the discharge be made in the sentence. *Hi?e·ma?* 'to shit' may also be intransitively conjugated, *hi?e·?ɛ* 'I shit' and *hi?e·saŋ* 'I shat', though this is curiously limited to the first singular. *Nɔ·ma?* 'to shave' is similar in that it either agrees with the animate patient being shaved or shows non-referential third singular patient agreement; intransitive forms are not attested. The verb *me·?ma?* 'be fat, be overweight' is intransitive, eg. *kɛme·?rɛ* 'youˢ've gotten fat', *me·??ɛ* 'I'll get fat', but occasionally it shows non-referential third singular agreement, eg. *me·?* 'he'll get fat', *me·?rɛ* 'he is fat', *me·?ru ?i·ya* 'he'll probably get fat'.

A number of verbs are labile for no obvious reason, eg. *lakma?* 'boil', *cwa?l laktɛ* 'the water is boiling', *cwa?l*

*laktu* 'the water is boiling', *ha?ma?* 'catch fire', *ha?i·mcha?ncnni·?* 'has it caught fire or hasn't it?', *ha?ru* 'it has caught fire'.

The verbs *lc·ma?* 'to know', *sukma?* 'be able to' and *he·?ma?* 'be able to' are infrequently conjugated intransitively when negated, while intransitively conjugated non-negated forms are rejected.

(34)      hcn-aŋ     a·phai        co·k-m? mc-sukt-u-n.
          what-too on_one's_own do-INF   NEG-be_able-3P-NEG
                 pa·t-m?-aŋ      mc-lc·-ncn.
                 talk-INF-too NEG-know-NEG
          She can't do anything on her own. She doesn't know
          how to talk [reasonably] either.

An explanation for the intransitive conjugation in the negative is that perhaps negative forms are in some cases less transitive in meaning. When the action or event indicated does not take place, there is no real-world patient, and the agent is low in agentivity. In the negative, the 1s→3s nonpreterit forms of all verbs are formally identical to the first singular intransitive forms, eg. *pe·k?c* 'I'm going', *mcbe·k?cn* 'I'm not going', *hiptuŋ* 'I'll hit him', *mchip?cn* 'I won't hit him'.

Unusual is the nominalized verb in (36). In (35) transitive *so·kma?* agrees with the modified patient *ya·mbɔk* 'work, task', but in (36), *lɔ?ma?* 'to say' is an intransitive verb and modifies an argument, again *ya·mbɔk*, with which it can show no patient agreement.

(35)      so·kt-u-ŋ-ba    ya·mbɔk-?in co·k-m?
          aim-3P-1sA-NOM work-INF     do-INF
                 mc-n-he·?-baŋ.
                 NEG-NEG-be_able-1s→3/PT
          I was unable to do the work I had had in mind.

(36)      lɔ?r-aŋ-ba      ya·mbɔk-?in co·k-m?
          say-1sPS/NPT-NOM work-INF    do-INF
                 mc-n-he·?-baŋ.
                 NEG-NEG-be_able-1s→3/PT
          I was unable to do the work I had said [I would
          do].

# Appendix I
## Texts

1. Culinary

> *thi·*       *tho·k-ma-lle ta·rika*
> millet_beer cook-INF-GEN recipe
> Millet Beer Recipe

*thi·*       *tho·k-ma? thik ya·n la·bdzo·k. ku-hɛt-la*
millet_beer cook-INF    one   day   take       COL-red-COL

*pe·na?-?in (ku-bhɔ-ra*       *pe·na?-rɛ-n-naŋ*
millet-ABS (COL-white-COL millet-GEN-ABS-also

*po·ŋ)*[1] *...*       *pe·na?-?in ta?-ma?-aŋ*     *hɔp-ma?.*
be_acceptable) millet-ABS bring-INF-pfG wash-INF

*thi·*       *tho·k-mɛ-lle khɔppe·?-?o· pe·na?-?in*
millet_beer cook-INF-SUB pot-LOC       millet-ABS

*ak-my-aŋ*     *khɔm-ma? po·ŋ. hɛkyaŋ lakt-u gɔrɔ cidzi?*
put-INF-pfG stir-INF EXIG   then     boil-3P if    a_little

*cidzi?*     *ti·?l-lɔ co·k-ma? po·ŋ. mɛ-ghip-nɛn-lɔ*
a_little burn-prG do-INF    EXIG NEG-stick-NEG-prG

*co·k-mɛ-lle la·gi cidzi?*     *cidzi?*     *khɔm-ma? po·ŋ.*
do-INF-GEN   for    a_little a_little stir-INF EXIG

*lakt-u-ba*     *cwa?l-in cɔp-?aŋ*       *yɔŋ-ma?*       *bo·ŋ.*
boil-3P-NOM water-ABS evaporate-pfG lift_up-INF EXIG

*hɛkyaŋ sa·ŋ-ma? bo·ŋ. sɔŋ-ɛ-i·*       *mɛ-sɔŋ-ɛ-n-ni·*
then     stir-INF EXIG be_done-PT-Q NEG-be_done-PT-NEG-Q

*khɛŋ-aŋ*   *ɔ·mɔp-ma? po·ŋ. sɔŋ-ɛ-aŋ*       *cik-lɔ*
that-too check-INF EXIG be_done-PT-pfG cool_off-prG

---

[1] A conversation on millet preceded the speaker's narration of this recipe. The author pointed out to the speaker that the millet available in Europe is yellow. Light millet does not, in fact, exist in *Limbuvān* where the millet has the colour of dark burgundy.

*ya·m-m·    bo·ŋ. sɔpma?dzi?        yuŋ-my-aŋ*
cause-INF EXIG  for_a_little_while let_stand-INF-pfG


*lo·mbhɛ?1 ta?-my-aŋ        lo·mbhɛ?1-o·  tha·p-ma? po·ŋ.*
*mãdro*      bring-INF-pfG *mãdro*-LOC    serve-INF EXIG


*cidzi?    sɛm-ma?        po·ŋ. hɛkyaŋ khɛŋ thi·-n*
a_little spread_out-INF EXIG   then    that millet_beer-ABS


*kɛrɛk cik-lɔ        co·k-ma? bo·ŋ. khɛŋ thi·-lle ku-ha·ŋgu*
all    cool_off-prG do-INF   EXIG  that beer-GEN its-vapour


*pe·k-lɔ co·k-m·  bo·ŋ kərə sa·rik cik-lɔ-yaŋ        co·k-m·*
go-prG  do-INF  EXIG but  very   cool_off-prG-also do-INF


*mɛ-bo·ŋ-nɛn...      \    mɛ-nu·-nɛn.        hɛkyaŋ khɛsuŋ*
NEG-be_acceptable-NEG... NEG-be_alright-NEG then    leaven


*yup-ma? cidzi?        rɔk  ko·-rɔ      khɛsuŋ ak-my-aŋ*
add-INF little_bit only be_hot-prG leaven put-INF-pfG


*sɔ?-ma? po·ŋ. lumbhu?1-o· ya·ŋ-ma?.      hɛkyaŋ te·?1-le*
mix-INF EXIG  *thunsə*-LOC  transfer-INF then    clothes-INST


*tɛp-ma?    po·ŋ. ha·ŋwa-lle  thik ya·n-le po·k. sa·rik*
cover-INF EXIG  be_warm-SUB one  day-GEN rise  very


*cuŋdzi·k gɔrɔ yəllik te·?1    lumbhu?1-o·  ke·p-m·na-bɛ-n*
be_cold  if   many  clothes *thunsə*-LOC  put-PP-NOM-ABS


*khap-ma?  bo·ŋ. hɛkyaŋ nɛtchi sumsi ya·n-le po·g-ɛ-i·*
cover-INF EXIG  then   two    three day-GEN rise-PT-Q


*mɛ-bo·g-ɛ-n-ni·    ɔ·mɔp-ma? bo·ŋ. po·k-ille ku-na·m    lɔ·n.*
NEG-rise-PT-NEG-Q check-INF EXIG  rise-SUB   its-aroma exude


*hɛkyaŋ po·g-ɛ  gɔrɔ khe·mba-?o·  ya·ŋ-ma?        po·ŋ.*
then   rise-PT if   jug-LOC      transfer-INF EXIG


*khe·mba-re ku-mərə-·n      nurik sup-ma?  bo·ŋ hɛnaŋbhɛlle*
jug-GEN     its-mouth-ABS well  cork-INF EXIG because


*so·ri?1 la?1-ille syu?1.    yəllik ya·n yuŋ-mɛ-lle*
wind    enter-SUB turn_sour many   day sit-INF-SUB


*tum-aŋ      kudza-kɛ-nu-ba                po·ŋ.*
ripen-pfG be_delicious-AP-be_delicious-AP become

*haphta-dhik yuŋ-ma?-aŋ       thuŋ-ma?.*
week-one      let_sit-INF-pfG drink-INF


## Serving Instructions


*tɔŋba wahɔp-ma?. khɛ?o·-lam wahɔp-m?na-ba tɔŋba-?o·*
*tuṅbā* wash-INF    there-from wash-PP-NOM    *tuṅbā*-LOC

*kɛrɛk-nulle pɘila kɛ-go·-ba      mɔkwa         ci?*
all-than    first AP-be_hot-AP boiling_water a_little

*ke·p-m? bo·ŋ. khɛ?o·-lam kɛ-dum-ba      sɔŋa?-?in*
put-INF EXIG   there-from AP-ripen-AP fermented_millet-ABS

*ke·p-m· bo·ŋ. hɛkyaŋ ku-dzɔŋ-?o·      cuci?*
put-INF EXIG   then    its-on_top-LOC a_little_bit

*mɔkwa          cwa?l yammu ke·p-m· bo·ŋ. ke·p-m· cu?l-aŋ*
boiling_water water again put-INF EXIG   put-INF finish-pfG

*tɔŋba ku-sup-m?na-lle    sup-ma?    po·ŋ. yammu*
*tuṅbā* its-close-PP-INST cover-INF EXIG   again

*ku-sup-m?na-lle    ku-hɔŋ-in-naŋ      tɛtla-re  hu?-ma?*
its-close-PP-INST its-hole-ABS-too leaf-INST stop_up-INF

*po·ŋ. hɛkyaŋ sɔpma-dzi? yuŋ-my-aŋ        lɔk*
EXIG   then    moment-few let_sit-INF-pfG only

*pi·tchiŋ-in        le·p-my-aŋ        thuŋ-ma?  po·ŋ.*
bamboo_straw-ABS insert-INF-pfG drink-INF EXIG

*nirɛŋ-sumlɛŋ cwa?l ma·?l        lɔk  pi·t-m?  po·ŋ.*
twice-thrice water be_finished only suck-INF EXIG


translation:

Recipe:
It takes one day to cook the millet beer. Bring the red
millet (white millet will also do) and wash it. To cook the
millet beer,´ put the millet in a pan and stir. When it has
begun to boil, the fire must be made to burn slowly. In
order to prevent it from sticking, you must keep on stir-

ring it slightly all the time. When the boiled water has
all dried up, it [viz. the millet] must be lifted [from the
fire]. Then it must be stirred. Check whether it is done or
not. If it is done, it must be cooled off. Let it stand for
a little while and then bring in a *mãdro* [i.e. a large rec-
tangular bamboo mat] and tip it out onto the *mãdro*. Spread
it out and have all of that millet cool off. All the steam
must be allowed to escape from the millet, but it is not
good to let it get too cold. Then add the leaven. When it
is only slightly warm, add the yeast and mix. Transfer the
millet into a *thunse* [i.e. large triangular fine-meshed
wicker basket]. Then cover it with clothes. In warm weather
it may rise in a day. If it's very cold, put lots of
clothes-covering around the *thunse*. Then check if it has
risen after two or three days. If it has risen, it will
exude an aroma. Then, if it has risen, transfer it into a
jug. The mouth of the jug must be well corked because if
the wind gets into it, it will turn sour. If it has sat for
many days it will ripen and become delicious. Let it sit
for about a week and then drink it.



cwaʔl

pe·naʔ
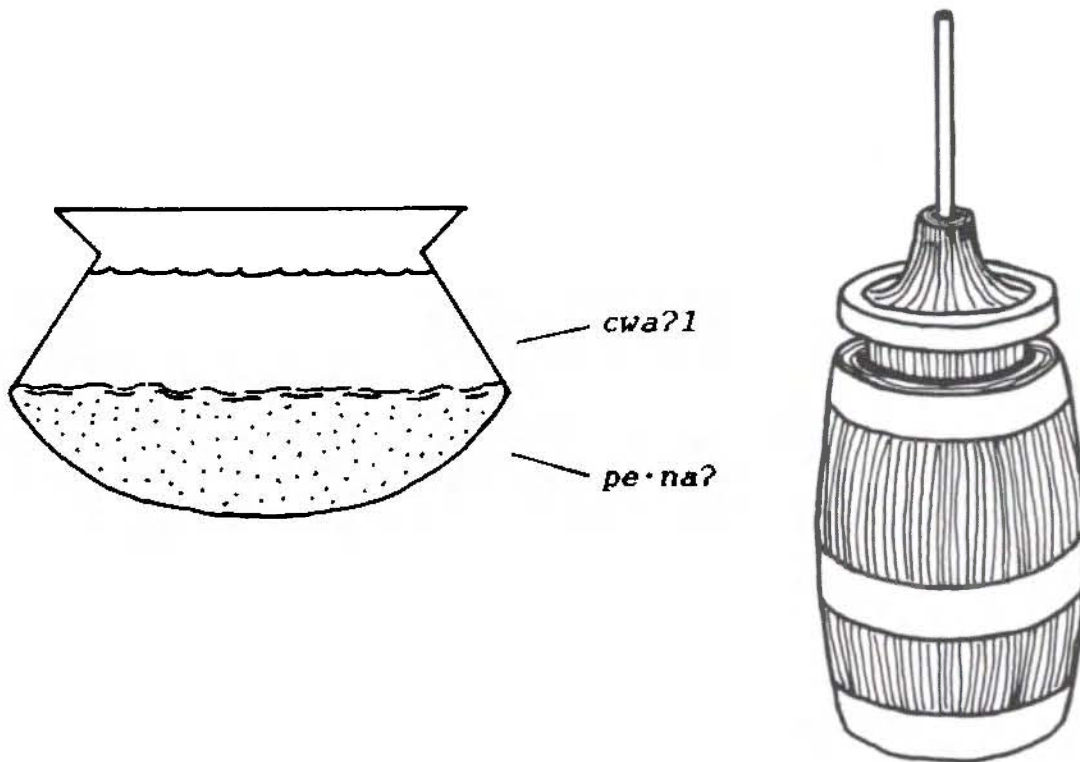
Serving Instructions:
Wash the *tuṅbā*. From there, first of all, add a little bit
of hot boiling water into the washed *tuṅbā*. From there, put
in the ripened fermented millet. Then add a little more

boiling water on top of that. When you've finished adding
the boiling water, close the *tuṅbā* with its lid. Then close
up the hole in the lid with a leaf. Then only after having
let it stand for a little while, insert the bamboo straw
[through the hole in the lid] and drink. Suck until the
second or third water is finished. [i.e. The *tuṅbā* may be
replenished once or twice with boiling water before it is
spent.]


*cɛmghik-le ku-ta·rika*
*kināmā*-GEN its-recipe
*Kināmā* Recipe


*cɛmbi-·n       mɛ-dhɛnd-u.   khɛʔo·-lam khɛŋ mɛ-dhɛnd-u-ba*
soybean-ABS nsAS-boil-3P there-from that nsAS-boil-3P-NOM


*cɛmbi-·n       mɛ-hag-u.       mɛ-hag-u-lle        cuciʔ*
soybean-ABS nsAS-pound-3P nsAS-pound-3P-SUB little‿bit


*cuciʔ        thappu-waŋ mɛ-ge·tt-u. khɛŋ-in   sidha*
little‿bit ash-too       nsAS-add-3P that-ABS medicine


*mɛ-mɛtt-u.        nuba phurluŋ-ʔo· hapla               mɛ-mɛtt-u.*
nsAS-say‿to-3P good basket-LOC   ripening‿stock nsAS-put-3P


*thappu mɛ-ge·tt-u   kərə hɛn   gɔ·   khɛsuŋ*
ash       nsAS-add-3P but   what then yeast


*mɛ-n-ge·tt-u-n.        khɛʔo·-lam phurluŋ-ʔo·  tɛtla-re*
nsAS-NEG-add-3P-NEG there-from basket-LOC   leaf-INST


*mɛ-lo·tt-u-waŋ        mɛ-dɛpt-u.       hɛkyaŋ thik ya·n ni*
nsAS-underlay-3P-pfG nsAS-cover-3P then   one day   two


*ya·n swaʔl mɛ-yuks-u. hɛkyaŋ hɛm-ba    bhɛlle khɛŋ*
day quiet nsAS-put-3P then   what-NOM *bhane*   that


*cɛmbi-·n        mɛ-lo·tt-u.       hɛkkɛlle nuba po·ŋ gɔrɔ*
soybean-ABS nsAS-take‿out-3P then       good be   if


*tɛ·r-ɛ            tɛ·r-ɛ            lɔʔ.    mɛn-nuba po·ŋ gɔrɔ*
be‿stringy-PT be‿stringy-PT appear not-good be     if


*tɛ·r-ɛ            tɛ·r-ɛ            mɛ-lɔʔ-nɛn.    ca-mɛ-lle    nuba*
be‿stringy-PT be‿stringy-PT NEG-appear-NEG eat-INF-SUB good

*po·ŋ gɔrɔ le·m.*        *mɛn-nuba po·ŋ gɔrɔ*
be   if   be‿slippery not‿good be   if

*mɛ-le·m-nɛn,*        *hɛkyaŋ syuʔl.*        *khɛŋ-in   cɛmghik*
NEG-be‿slippery-NEG then    taste‿sour that-ABS *kināmā*

*mɛ-mɛtt-u.*   *kudzanu*   *kərə hi   kusiŋ ki·   kərə*
nsAS-say‿to-3P be‿delicious but   shit like   putrefy but

*hi   kusiŋ mɛ-nam-nɛn,   nam-mɛ-suʔ-nɛn.   cɛmghik-lə*
shit like   NEG-smell-NEG stink-NEG-stink-NEG *kināmā*-GEN

*ku-nam   kɛ-gi·-ba   nam.*
its-scent AP-putrefy-AP smell


translation:

They boil soybeans. From there they pound the soybeans they've boiled. Whilst pounding you add a little, little bit of ash too. That they call the magic ingredient. They put the ripening stock in a good basket. They add ash but, well, they don't add any yeast. From there they underlay and cover the basket with leaves. Then they let it stand quietly for a day or two. What they do then is remove the soybeans. If it is good, it will appear as if it comes out stringy. If it is not good, it won't appear stringy. If it is good, it'll feel slippery when you eat it. If it is not good, it won't feel slippery, and then it will taste sour. They call that *cɛmghik*. It's delicious but it putrefies like shit, but it doesn't smell like shit. It doesn't stink. The scent of *cɛmghik* smells [as if it is] rotting.

## 2. Everyday Life

<div align="center">

Conversation in the *lɔkkhum*
at the *Paŋyaŋgu* house
(*V.S.* 2041 *Phālguṇ* 2)

</div>

background information:

The conversationalists are *Nārāyaṇ, Nārāyaṇ*'s mother, *Padam*'s mother, a *mɛnchya* or young lady, and *Grām Bahādur* (*Nārāyaṇ*'s older brother) who has just returned from attending a friend's wedding in *Dharān*.

Topic of their discussion is the recent goings-on in the household of *Lāl Kumār*'s parents, who are their relatives.

*Indra, Lāl Kumār, Tilocan, Dalle* and *Damantī* are brothers. *Indra* is the eldest, and *Lāl Kumār* is the second-born. *Indra* took his newlywed bride with him when he left his parental home in pursuit of employment in neighbouring *Phidīm* district in violation of Limbu tradition. In the traditional Limbu agrarian economy, a newlywed bride is a newly acquired economic asset to the bridegroom's paternal household once she leaves her maiden parental home. It is not uncommon for a newlywed bride to stay on in her maiden paternal home for a period for on up to several years after the wedding before cohabitating with her spouse and becoming fully economically tied to her husband's paternal home. *Indra*'s wife left her maiden home to become a member of *Indra*'s parental household almost immediately after their wedding. *Indra*'s wife is a hard working lady, but *Indra*'s taking her with him to *Phidīm* so soon after their wedding left his paternal home bereft of the fruits of her household labour, something for which *Indra*'s mother has never forgiven them. This aggravated an already severe personality conflict between *Indra*'s mother and *Indra*'s wife.

This conversation takes place about one week after the wedding of *Indra*'s younger brother, *Lāl Kumār*. *Indra* and his wife returned for this occasion but stayed for only one week, an affront to *Indra*'s mother. *Lāl Kumār* is known to be lazy, and his newlywed bride has a personality to match his. *Indra*'s and *Lāl Kumār*'s mother is a cantankerous woman. To make things worse, *Lāl Kumār* who, like his brother, stays only a week and takes his newlywed bride with him when he returns to his employment in *Phidīm* district immediately after the elaborate wedding ceremonies have all been completed. *Indra*'s and *Lāl Kumār*'s father

blames their mother, his cantankerous wife, for driving
them out of the house with her caustic tongue.

*Nārāyaṇ*'s mother:  *kɔŋ   mɛnda?-ha?  gha·s-ci?*
                     this goat-p      fodder-little_bit
                     *hu?r-ɛs-ɛ?.*
                     bring-nsP-IMP

*Nārāyaṇ*:  *bhitra kyak-pɛ-n        pi·-ma?-si-lle    po·ŋ.*
            inside be_put-NOM-ABS give-INF-nsP-SUB be_alright
            *kɔŋ-le    ku-ba·ni  habha    hɛkdaŋba.*
            this-GEN its-habit like_that that_kind_of
            (viz. bleating)

*Padam*'s mother (to *Grām Bahādur* who has just returned from
   *Dharān* where he has attended the marriage of a friend):
   *biha-·n         balla   kɛ-ma·nd-u-aŋ   kɛ-dhaŋ-ɛ-i·?*
   marriage-ABS finally 2-finish-3P-pfG 2-come_up-PT-Q

*Grām Bahādur*·  *ã,    ma·nd-u-ŋ-aŋ         thaŋ-aŋ.*
                 yes, finish-3P-1sA-pfG come_up-1sPS/PT

*mɛnchya*:  *mɛnda?-?in abhɛlle  thab-ɛ?*
            goat-ABS    when    yean-PT

*Nārāyaṇ*:  *ɛn     lisi nasi ya·n po·ks-ɛ.*
            today four five day  happen-PT

*Padam*'s mother:  *abhɛlle  kɛ-de·?*
                   when    2-come/PT

*Grām Bahādur*:  *anchɛn     yusik    lɔk.*
                 yesterday evening only

*Nārāyaṇ* (to *Padam*'s mother):  *kɔtna yuŋ-ɛ?*
                                  here   sit-IMP
                                  *a-yuma-e·!*
                                  my-grandmother-VOC!
                                  *a-mbhɔŋa?-si  mɛ-be·g-ɛ-i·?*
                                  my-uncle-d     nsAS-go-PT-Q

*Padam*'s mother:  *ande·    biha·ndik mɛ-be·g-ɛ.*
                   earlier morning   nsAS-go-PT

*Nārāyaṇ*: hɛkyaŋ a-mbhɔŋa? rɔk  pe·g-ɛ-i·  a-nchuma?-aŋ
so  my-uncle only go-PT-Q  my-aunt-also
te·?r-u-wi·?
take-3P-Q

*mɛnchya*: suma?-aŋ te·?r-u-?  mɛ-lɔ?r-ɛ.
aunt-too take-3P-DEF nsAS-say-PT

*Padam*'s mother: khunchi thɛge·k  lɔk  a·ks-u-ŋ
they[d]  hair_on_head only uproot-3P-1sA
pi·r-u-ŋ-si-ŋ!
give-3P-1sA-nsP-1sA

*Nārāyan*'s mother: yuŋ-ɛ?  a·  kundri-?o·!
sit-IMP EMPH straw_mat-LOC!

*Padam*'s mother: po·ŋ-ŋa  na·m se·k-?ille gɔ·.
be_alright-EMPH sun  shine-SUB then

*mɛnchya*: a-mma-re  gɔ·  hɛkke·  mu[1] te·?r-u-ba
my-mother-ERG then like_that REP take_away-3P-IPF
mu hɛkyaŋ  gɔ·  aŋga gɔ·  na·  nurik yəmba
REP and_then then I  then there well  big
pa·ŋdzum-?o·  nurik kɛrɛk sa·dhan
bazar-LOC  well  all  wares
kɛtt-a-m-si-m-?o·[2]
get_something_to_a_place-1-pA-nsP-pA-IMP
mɛtt-u-ŋ  de·s-u-ŋ  ni?.
say_to-3P-1sA dispatch-3P-1sA CTR

*Nārāyaṇ*: tho·  a-nchuma?-si-aŋ mɛ-be·k-?i·  mɛ-be·k-nɛn nã?
above my-aunt-d-also nsAS-go-Q  NEG-go-NEG  huh
hɛkyaŋ e·n e·n mɛ-be·g-ɛ? anchɛn  cha
and  who who nsAS-go-PT yesterday EMPH
a-mbhɔŋa?-nu a-nchuma? kɔ?yo·  phɛ?r-ɛ-tchi-aŋ
my-uncle-COM my-aunt  down_here  come-PT-dPS-pfG
way-ɛ-tchi kɔ?yo·  gɔ·  mɛ-yuŋ-nɛn-ba  mu.
be-PT-dPS down_here then  NEG-sit-NEG-IPF REP
me·n-na[3]! a·kkhɛn mukt-ɛ-lle  ni? mɛ-be·g-ɛ
no-EMPH  how_much strike-PT-SUB CTR nsAS-go-PT

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[1] the *mɛnchya*'s mother addressing *Lāl Kumār* and his brother *Indra*.

[2] anomalous pre-emptive 2p→1 imperative: 'bring us some'.

[3] *Lāl Kumār* and his newlywed spouse do not wish to remain in *Tamphula* where this conversation takes place.

　　　　　*gɔ·?*
　　　　　then?


*Padam*'s mother:  *biha·ndik sa     ṫuksi nusi  mukt-ɛ-lle*
　　　　　　　　morning    EMPH six   seven strike-PT-SUB
　　　　　　　　*mɛ-be·g-ɛ-ba    ya.*
　　　　　　　　nsAS-go-PT-IPF EMPH


*mɛnchya*:  *na·    pe·k-ʔaŋ yaŋ   hakt-u-ba-si[4]    mu,*
　　　　there go-pfG   money send-3P-IPF-nsP REP
　　　　*mɛ-lɔʔr-ɛ-ba.   so·rik   niʔ pe·-si-i·!      anche·*
　　　　nsAS-say-PT-IPF together CTR go/PT-dPS-EMPH before
　　　　*sa    mɛ-dɛn-nɛn       mɛ-lɔʔr-ɛ-aŋ    mɛ-ya·g-ɛ-ba*
　　　　EMPH NEG-concur-NEG nsAS-say-PT-pfG nsAS-be-PT-NOM
　　　　*mu. anchɛn     cha  mɛ-dɛn-nɛn       lɔʔr-ɛ-aŋ*
　　　　REP yesterday EMPH NEG-concur-NEG say-PT-prG
　　　　*ya·g-ɛ.   e·  abhɛlle! budhaba·r ta   lɔʔ-aŋ ya·k*
　　　　be-PT   hey when    Wednesday come say-prG be
　　　　*mɛ-lɔʔr-ɛ.  hɛn  yuŋ gɔ·?[5]*
　　　　nsAS-say-PT what sit then


*Nārāyaṇ*'s mother:  *biha-lle[6]     biha·ndik mu*
　　　　　　　　marriage-GEN morning    REP
　*tummɛ-lle[7]        phɛʔr-ɛ watt-ɛ-aŋ  mu  "kɔm-be·la*
　older_sister-ERG come-PT TOT-PT-pfG REP   this-period
　*gɔ·  aŋga əgɔ·  po·g-aŋ-aŋ             kɛrɛk        kɛrɛk*
　then I    then get_up-1sPS/PT-pfG everything everything
　*co·g-u-ŋ  de·s-u-ŋ-ba.            ta·m-maŋ tu·g-u-ŋ.*
　do-3P-1sA dispatch-3P-1sA-IPF dirt-too sweep-3P-1sA
　*lɔkkhum-aŋ  i·ks-u-ŋ.    tɔŋba-ʔaŋ akt-u-ŋ"    mu*
　farmyard-too clean-3P-1sA tuṅbā-too put-3P-1sA REP
　*lɔʔr-ɛ hɛkyaŋ gɔ·  hɛkyaŋ gɔ·  "a-biha-lle[8]      siŋ-aŋ*
　say-PT and    then and    then my-marriage-GEN wood-too
　*taʔr-u-ŋ       tɛʔl-aŋ  thɔtt-u-ŋ"  lɔʔr-ɛ.*
　bring-3P-1sA leaf-too sew-3P-1sA say-PT
　*siŋya·ŋ                       gɔ·  mamma[9] gɔ·  tama·s*
　the_day_before_yesterday then mama    then amazement


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[4] anomalous element order in suffixal string.

[5] *Lāl Kumār* came on a Wednesday and left the following
Wednesday with his bride. He did not particularly enjoy
the week he spent with his family and so had no reason
for staying on.

[6] at the time of *Lāl Kumār*'s wedding.

[7] viz. *Indra*'s wife.

[8] viz. at the time of her marriage to *Indra*.

ɔ·kt-ɛ-niʔ-ba.        pappa pho·ksarumbɛ-lle-yaŋ[10]
scream-PT-CTR-IPF papa  fourth_born-ERG-too
"subi.    allɔ mɛn-ɔ·k-ʔɛʔ!"  mɛtt-u    mu.  "khɛnɛʔ
let_it_be now NEG-shout-IMP  say_to-3P REP  youˢ
kɛ-naŋ     gɔrɔ naks-ɛʔ-aŋ         lɔnd-ɛʔ!   kɛrɛk kɔʔo·
2-go_crazy if   go_crazy-IMP-and go_out-IMP all    here
dze·      co·k-mʔ barne an·ge  co·g-u-m-be. kuca-aŋ
that_which do-INF  ought weᵈᵉ   do-3P-pA-e   true-too
pa·t-mɛ-lle,  a-saʔ    yɘmba-re pa·n-dhik-ʔaŋ
speak-INF-SUB my-child big-ERG  word-one-too
mɛn-hi-ʔe·           wa·. khɛŋhaʔ[11] sɛnd-ɛ-tchi-ba.
npG-talk_back-npG be    they        abandon-PT-dPS-IPF
khɛnɛʔ kɛ-dzo·g-u-lle sɛnd-ɛ-tchi-ba"     mɛtt-u.
youˢ   2-do-3P-INST    abandon-PT-dPS-IPF" say_to-3P
habha      ɔ·kt-ɛ-rɔ[9]    ɔ·kt-ɛ-rɔ      ta·m-maŋ tu·g-u
like_that scream-PT-prG scream-PT-prG dirt-too sweep-3P
de·s-u       khɔppe·ʔ-yaŋ i·ks-u   sur-u      kɛrɛk
dispatch-3P jug-too       clean-3P finish-3P everything
niʔ co·g-u sur-u.    aŋga[12] gɔ·  swaʔl yuŋ-aŋ.
CTR do-3P  finish-3P I       then quiet sit-1sPS/PT
ta·m-maŋ pɔtya·k       nɛ·s-ɛ. khɔppe·ʔ-n-aŋ tɘla-ʔo·
dirt-too a_whole_bunch sit-PT  jug-ABS-too    attic-LOC
"kɔŋ a-saʔ-re   iŋ-u-ba"[13] lɔʔr-ɛ-yaŋ ciks-u. hɛkyaŋ
this my-son-ERG buy-3P-NOM say-PT-and hide-3P then
"'a-saʔ-re mɛ-dzo·g-u mɛ-bi·-ʔɛ-ŋ              caŋ'
my-son-ERG nsAS-do-3P nsAS-give-1sPS/NPT-pfG eat/1s→3
kɛ-lɔ-ʔi·ʔ allɔ naks-aŋ[13]        allɔ naks-aŋ.
2-say-Q   now go_crazy-1sPS/PT now  go_crazy-1sPS/PT
nɛtchi lisi tɔŋbe· naŋ-ʔɛ          lɔ·n-ʔɛ."
two    four year go_crazy-1sPS/NPT go_out-1sPS/NPT
hɛnaŋ hɛkke·     pa·t-maʔ de·-maʔ      gɔ·ʔ allɔ swaʔl
why    like_that speak-INF dispatch-INF then now   hush
ya. khunɛʔ[7] gɔ·  kɛ-dhum-ma          kɛ-ba·p-pa
EMPH she      then AP-be_diligent-AP AP-talk-AP
kɛ-dzo·k-pa co·g-ɛ. ʈhikai po·ks-ɛ. kɘrɘ hɛnaŋ hɛkkye·
AP-do-AP    be-PT   okay   be-PT    but  why    like_that
pa·t-maʔʔ allɔ sa   aŋga bhɛlle[14] gɔ·  "kɛ-dzo·g-u
speak-INF now  EMPH I    bhane       then 2-do-3P

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⁹ viz. Lāl Kumār's mother.
¹⁰ Lāl Kumār's father is a fourth-born son. Here he addres-
   ses his wife, Lāl Kumār's mother.
¹¹ viz. Indra and his wife.
¹² Nārāyaṇ's mother speaking about herself.
¹³ Lāl Kumār's mother speaking.
¹⁴ i.e. If I (Nārāyaṇ's mother) had been her (Lāl Kumār's

kε-ba·tt-u kε-dhums-ε-yaŋ        idik        kε-yuŋ-ε"
2-speak-3P 2-be_diligent-PT-pfG long_time 2-sit-PT
mεn-mεtt-u-ŋ.        khεŋ-be·la  sa    mεp-m·        barne.
POT-say_to-3P-1sA that-period EMPH say_to-INF ought
hεkyaŋ pappa-re[15] mεtt-u    "ɔ·mɔtt-ε?! abhεlle
then    papa-ERG   say_to-3P look-IMP   when
kumakla-re[16] kε-hip? e·?yaŋba kusiŋ kε-nis-u."
black-ERG     2-hit  other    like  2-see-3P
"kεrεk-le       mε-hip-?ε-rɔ            kumakla-ry-aŋ
everyone-ERG nsAS-hit-1sPS/NPT-OPT black-ERG-too
tilocan-ly-aŋ   damanti-ry-aŋ   dalle-lly-aŋ
Tilocan-ERG-too Damantī-ERG-too Dalle-ERG-too
hip-?ε-rɔ"        lɔ?-aŋ  ya·k. khε?o·  mamma
hit-1sPS/NPT-OPT say-pfG be    there  mama
sarumma-?aŋ[17]  yuŋ-ba "kε-nsa?              lε·m-amm-ε?
second_born-too sit-IPF 2-younger_sibling explain-2p-IMP
o·! e·?yaŋbε-lle mε-lε·m-u-lle        hεn  khεps-u gɔ·?"
oh other-ERG     nsAS-explain-3P-SUB what hear-3P then
"aŋga[18] agɔ· dzhan        a-sa?-re        abhya·k  sa·rik
I        then even_more my-child-ERG extremely much
mεtt-aŋ-saŋ              wa·-?ε        dza-?ε".    "allɔ swa?l
do_unto-1sPS/PT-even be-1sPS/NPT SUS-1sPS/NPT now  quiet
la," pa·tt-u de·s-u[19]   "allɔ lug-ε."
EMPH say-3P dispatch-3P now  be_finished-PT
mε-ghe·tt-u-ba         mukhya gɔ·  phak-tɔk-?in. habha
nsAS-dispute-3P-NOM main    then pig-bhāt-ABS like_that
khunchi bhitra rɔk  lo·, e·?yaŋba ho·p  lo·. nεtchi
they     inside only EMPH other    not_be EMPH two
ba·ha·n-dhik mu  yo·?r-ε.        sida·m
bāhān-one    REP be_enough-PT distillation_residue
sεndik sa  mu  atiŋ-ha?-re mε-de·?r-i·
evening EMPH REP which-p-ERG nsAS-take_away-PT/EMPH
mε-de·?r-i·                mu "khεŋ sida·m-in
nsAS-take_away-PT/EMPH REP that distillation_residue-ABS

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mother), then I would have told her (*Lāl Kumār*'s older
brother's wife) ...

[15] *Lāl Kumār*'s father addressing his wife, *Lāl Kumār*'s
mother.

[16] nickname for *Lāl Kumār* at his parental home.

[17] *Lāl Kumār*'s mother's older (second-born) sister is also
present and it is to her that *Lāl Kumār*'s father now
turns.

[18] *Lāl Kumār*'s mother's elder second-born sister to *Lāl
Kumār*'s mother.

[19] *Indra*'s wife is speaking.

*paŋli-e·* *yus-ɛ?* *o·" mu*[20] *mɛtt-u.*
daughter-in-law-VOC distill-IMP oh REP say_to-3P
*ba·ha·n-dhik kɔ· yus-u-aŋ*[7] *kɛrɛk mu*
time-one then distill-3P-pfG all REP
*ha·tt-u-si.* *lɔkthik yuks-u-aŋ yuŋ-ɛ. khɛŋ*
distribute-3P-nsP one put-3P-pfG sit-PT that
*yus-u-ba* *ba·ha·n-dhik-?in ha·tt-u-rɔ*
distill-3P-NOM time-one-ABS distribute-3P-prG
*te·?r-u-si-lle* *mɛ-yo·r-ɛ-n* *hɛkkɛlle*
take_away-3P-nsP-SUB NEG-be_enough-PT-NEG so
*gɔ· khunɛ?*[9] *gɔ· attitti ɔ·kt-ɛ* *he·kt-ɛ* *mu.*
then she then intensely scream-PT begin-PT REP
*"a-sa?-nu phuks-u-ŋ-ba* *cawa-·n"*[13] *lɔ?rik mu*
my-son-COM save-3P-1sA-NOM feed-ABS saying REP
*ku-mikwa cɔk-cɔk ã...* . *ɔ·kt-ɛ* *mu hɛkkɛlle gɔ·*
her-tears drip-drip ah... . scream-PT REP so then
*"khɛnɛ?*[20] *gɔ· him-mo-ba* *məna-nɛ.* *khɛŋ cawa-ha?*
you[s] then house-LOC-NOM person-are that feed-p
*gɔ· na·pmi-ha? ha·t-ma?-si* *bo·ŋ" mu mɛtt-u.*
then other-p distribute-INF-nsP EXIG REP say_to-3P
*ando· gɔ· khɛŋ yus-u-bɛ-n* *phɔsi-nu kɔtna*
earlier then that distill-3P-NOM-ABS pot-COM hither
*hu?r-u* *dhɔ* *mu "allɔ*[19]
bring_and_give-3P leave/3P REP now
*kɛ-dhum-ma* *paŋli-ha?* *mɛ-da-yaŋ*
AP-be_diligent-AP/f daughter-in-law-p nsAS-come-pfG
*kɛ-m-dzo·k kɛ-m-bi·."* *hɛkyaŋ gɔ· na·pmi-re*
2-nsAS-do 2-nsAS-give so then other-ERG
*ku-mbaŋli-·n* *tum-mɛ-n*[7]
her-daughter_in_law-ABS eldest-NOM/f-ABS
*mɛ-dɔr-u-lle* *gɔ· "ware·?*[19] *pa·tt-u-ŋ-ba* *ni?"*
nsAS-reprove-3P-SUB then kidding say-3P-1sA-IPF CTR
*mu lɔ?r-ɛ. khɛŋ-ly-aŋ ku-nu?mɛ-n*
REP say-PT that-ERG-too her-mother_in_law-ABS
*sa·p-ma?* *nu-i·?* *aŋga*[12] *khɛps-u-ŋ-ille gɔ·*
ridicule-INF be_alright-Q I hear-3P-1sA-SUB then
*"khɛnɛ? kɛ-sa·p-ma?* *məna-?ɛ-i·?" mɛn-mɛtt-u-ŋ*[14].
you[s] your-ridicule-INF person-am-Q POT-say_to-3P-1sA
*kɛrɛk e·?yaŋba-ca·ĩ bhiɖiyo ɔ·mɔt-che mɛ-be·g-ɛ*
everbody other-IND video watch-SUP nsAS-go-PT
*rəcə. khunɛ?*[9] *rɔk ɔ·kt-ɛ-rɔ* *ɔ·kt-ɛ-rɔ* *ta·m-maŋ*
DEPR she only scream-PT-prG scream-PT-prG dirt-too
*tu·g-u de·s-u* *khɔppe·?-yaŋ i·ks-u de·s-u*
sweep-3P dispatch-3P pan-too clean-3P dispatch-3P

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[20] *Lāl Kumār's* mother addressing *Indra's* wife.

*kɛrɛk       sur-u       de·s-u       ni? ã... ŋga[12] əgɔ·*
everything finish-3P dispatch-3P CTR ah... I      then
*swa?l yuŋ-aŋ        dz-aŋ.        tɔk  wahaŋ*
quiet sit-1sPS/PT SUS-1sPS/PT rice put‿on‿to‿boil
*yuks-u.*
put-3P


*mɛnchya: anchɛn    biha·ndik khɛttho·-nu*
        yesterday morning    up‿there-from
*nu·ks-aŋ-ille        pi·nda lɛ·ŋ-nu[21] ya·g-ɛ.*
return-1sPS/PT-SUB adobe  smear-COM be-PT
*ku-ndre·[22]                    ca·ĩ swa?l yɛb-ɛ    dze·.*
her-elder‿brother's‿wife IND  quiet stand-PT SUS/PT
*hɛkdaŋba-dhik-?aŋ    wa-i·-ba? kɔŋ  gɔ·  tho·  kuna*
such‿a‿one-one-too be-Q-IPF  this then above *kunā*
*ka·pca-?o·[23] tha-ma?    barne! e·-lle  kɔ?o·*
*kāpcā*-LOC    fall-INF ought  who-ERG here
*lup-ma?                sukt-u-si        gɔ·? allɔ gɔ·  khɛŋha?*
teach‿manners-INF be‿able-3P-nsP then now   then they
*so·rik  mɛ-gɔtt-u-si-lle      rɔk  po·ŋ.        nuby-aŋ*
together nsAS-have-3p-nsP-SUB only be‿alright good-too
*caha      kɛ-dzo·k-pa madzy-aŋ wa·-ma? kɛ-hɔŋ-ba!  e·-lle*
desire AP-do-AP    fun-too be-INF AP-search-AP who-ERG
*kɔ?o·  kɔp-ma?  sukt-u-si?*
here   have-INF be‿able-3P-nsP


*Nārāyaṇ*'s mother: *hɛkke·-rɔ         kɛrɛk      mɛ-de·.*
                 like‿that-prG everybody nsAS-come/PT
*paila cwa?l-aŋ  kɛ-ho·p-pa  "cwa?l[13] thik hu?r-ɛ?".*
first water-too AP-not‿be-AP water   one  bring-IMP
*"cwa?l[24] lɔk  ho·p  rəcə. pare·ya-dhik        cwa?l*
water    only not‿be DEPR earthenware‿mug-one water
*phɛtt-u-ŋ-ille    a-yo·-si,        me·n-ni·?" "anchi[25]*
bring-3P-1sA-SUB 1-be‿enough-dPS NOT-Q      we[di]

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[21] anomalous suffix.
[22] *Lāl Kumār*'s younger sister is working hard plastering fresh adobe onto the house. Her elder brother's wife (viz. *Lāl Kumār*'s newlywed wife) is just standing there doing nothing.
[23] Nep. *kunā kāpcā* a crevice, cleft or niche in the rocks.
[24] *Lāl Kumār*'s mother addressing *Lāl Kumār*'s father sarcastically.
[25] *Lāl Kumār*'s father, angered, responds in kind to his wife, *Lāl Kumār*'s mother.

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gɔ·    ko·ni²⁶      a-yo·-si-ʔi·
then  don't_know 1-be_enough-dPS-Q
a-n-yo·-si-n-ni·,"            mɛtt-u    "allɔ sumsi
1-NEG-be_enough-dPS-NEG-Q say_to-3P now   three
nusa              mɛ-wa·. allɔ gɔ·  lug-ɛ
younger_brothers nsAS-be now   then be_finished-PT
laʔba.   ko·ni.²⁶    luk-ʔi·?    yəmba yəmba rɔk
probably don't_know be_finished-Q big    big   only
mɛ-hɔks-w-i·?       khɛn-aŋ sa  ho· sɛ  ro·!"  hɛkyaŋ
nsAS-look_for-3P-Q that-too EMPH oh  EMPH ASS   and
hɛkke·  lɔʔ-mʔna-rɔ         yuŋ-ŋʔna-lle      ando· gɔ·
thus    say-1peAS/PT-prG sit-1peAS/PT-SUB later then
"kɛ-mma²⁷    bhiḍiyo·  ɔ·mɔt-che tɛʔr-ɛ.      nuba mɛn-nuwa
your-mother video      watch-SUP take_off-PT good not-good
a-mɛʔl, me·n-ni·? a-mɛʔl lo·! paila ku-bo·ŋ-ʔo·²⁸
1-tell  NOT-Q      1-tell ASS first its-beginning-LOC
gɔ·  yaŋ-aŋ    yəllik way-ɛ-ba. kɔm-be·la gɔ·
then money-too alot     be-PT-IPF this-time then
mutthe·-aŋ wa·." hɛkke·     lɔʔ-mʔna-rɔ
fall/PT-pfG be    like_that say-1pePS/PT-prG
"ku-bɔ·ŋ-ʔo·      das²⁹ rɔk
its-beginning-LOC ten    only
kɛtt-u-ŋ-aŋ                                    way-ɛ..."
get_something/someone_somewhere-3P-1sP-pfG be-PT
a·tto·-nu  o·khre· maila³⁰ te·-i        te·-i.
there-from Okhre   Mahilā come/PT-EMPH come/PT-EMPH
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[26] *ko·ni* < Nep. *kuni* 'I don't know'.

[27] *Lāl Kumār*'s father now turns to *Nārāyaṇ*'s mother to deride his wife indirectly in the third person in her presence.

[28] Videos run on lawnmower-type generators were first introduced into the district centres of *Limbuvān* in late 1984. The *Nevarī* or *Madesī* owners initially asked NRs. 10 for a ticket to a Hindi film on video. Afterwards, prices fell due to competition once a second video operator showed up in town. Video tickets are very expensive by local standards.

[29] Nep. *daś* ten.

[30] *Okhre Mahilā* (lit. the *Okhre* tree second-born) is one of the local *phe·daŋma*, but due to chronic alcoholism, he has *de facto* assumed the role of village idiot. He walks about both amusing and terrorizing his relatives by saying annoying, humorous and obnoxious things in a loud, hoarse and histrionic voice.

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hɛkyaŋ gɔ·  khunɛ?  gɔ·  "paŋli-re
and     then he    then daughter_in_law-ERG
kɛ-bhɛtt-u-?   kɛ-bhɛtt-u-?   dasai³¹   kɛ-bhɛtt-u-?.³²
2-bring-3P-DEF 2-bring-3P-DEF ten/EMPH  2-bring-3P-DEF
ŋga huŋ-ma? mɛ-he·?-ɛ-n.           a·phai khunɛ?"
I    pay-INF NEG-be_able-1s→3-NEG own    he
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translation:


*Nārāyaŋ*'s mother: Give those goats a little bit of fodder!

*Nārāyaŋ*: If I give them what's inside that'll be good enough. That's just their habit [viz. bleating incessantly].

*Padam*'s mother (to *Grām Bahādur* who has just returned from *Dharān* where he has attended the marriage of a friend): Did you come back up after you had finally finished [attending] the marriage (i.e. after the marriage was finally over)?

*Grām Bahādur*: Yes, I came up when it was finished.

*mɛnchya*: When did the goat yean?

*Nārāyaŋ*: About four or five days ago today.

*Padam*'s mother: When did you show up here?

*Grām Bahādur*: Only yesterday evening.

*Nārāyaŋ*: Sit down here, grandma! Have my uncle and aunt gone already?

*Padam*'s mother: They went off earlier this morning.

*Nārāyaŋ*: So, did my uncle go alone or did he also take my aunt along with him?

*mɛnchya*: They said that he would take auntie too.

*Padam*'s mother: I'll pull their hair out of their heads!³³

*Nārāyan*'s mother: Sit down now, on the straw mat!

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³¹ Nep. *daśai* ten (emphatic).

³² When *Okhre Mahilā*'s eldest son got married, *Nārāyaŋ*'s mother gave *Okhre Mahilā* ten NRs.

³³ *Padam*'s mother has recently had an encounter with an apparition of the *yuma-sammaŋ* who is alleged to have taken her off in the night after she had insulted the deity in speech. The *yuma-sammaŋ* tossed her into a poisonous thorn bush which resulted in a ghastly wound leaving her right hand paralysed. The family expects *Nārāyaŋ*'s uncle, *Lāl Kumār*, to leave his newlywed wife behind to assist his mother, esp. now that *Padam*'s mother cannot assist her.

*Padam*'s mother: Well, alright, as long as the sun is shining.

mɛnchya: My mother said: If he is going to take her, then I (the *Tarunī*'s mother)'ll send him to get me all of those nice wares in that nice big bazar.

*Nārāyaṇ*: So did my two aunts go away up there [to *Phidīm*] or didn't they, huh? And who has gone exactly? Just yesterday my uncle and aunt (viz. *Lāl Kumār* and his wife) had come down here. They said: she's not staying down here. No, siree! So at what time did they go then after all?

*Padam*'s mother: Oh, they went this morning at six or seven 'o clock.

mɛnchya: They said he would send them money when he goes, but now they've gone off together! Before they had said that he didn't intend [to take her along]. Just yesterday he had said that he didn't intend [to take her along]. ... hey, and when! They said that he had said he would show up on Wednesday. What was he going to stay then?

*Nārāyaṇ*'s mother: On the morning of the marriage after he had come back, his (*Lāl Kumār*'s) older brother's wife said "At this time, after I got up, I did absolutely everything. I swept away the dirt, I also cleaned up the courtyard, I also set out the *tuṅbā*s." And then, and then she said "At my own wedding I also brought the firewood and sewed leaves together [to make the plates for the rice]". Yesterday his (*Lāl Kumār*'s) mother was shouting in an awful way. Then fourth-born father too said [to *Lāl Kumār*'s mother] , "Let it be. Stop shouting!" and "if you want to go crazy, go ahead and go out of your mind. Everything that has to be done here, we[pe] will do. To tell the truth, our eldest son didn't say one word back [when you were scolding him like that]. And now they[d] (viz. *Indra* and his wife) have left the house. Because of what you did they[d] are gone," he said to her. Then screaming all the while, she (*Lāl Kumār*'s mother) said that she had swept the dirt, scrubbed the pots, and done and completed everything. I just sat there and kept silent. It sure was a dirty mess there too! And that jug on the upstairs floor... she said "This is the one my son bought" and hid it. And then [*Lāl Kumār*'s mother continued, addressing her husband] "and you say 'my children do everything and give me so that I can eat'? Now, I've gone crazy! Now, I've gone crazy! For two or four years now I've been going out of my mind!" Why speak in such a fashion? Now

hush! She [the eldest son's wife] was a hard-working, eloquent, diligent person, and that's great, but why talk that way? Now, if I it had been me (i.e. if I had been *Lāl Kumār*'s mother), then I would have said "You have worked, you have spoken, you have been diligent and you have stayed on a long time." That's what should have been said at that time![34] Then papa said "When will the black one (nickname for *Lāl Kumār*) ever hit you? Then you'll see it as others do!" [She countered:] "Let them all hit me! The black one, and *Tilocan*, and *Damantī*, and *Dalle*," she went on saying. Second-born mother (viz. *Lāl Kumār*'s mother's older sister) was there too, [and to her he said:] "Try to make your younger sibling understand. What does she listen when others try to make her understand?". [Then her elder sister said:] "Even though I've been treated far worse by my own children, I just sit here and take it." [*Lāl Kumār*'s elder brother's wife said] "Now, shut up! it's finished."

The main thing they were disputing was [just] pig-feed. That's the way it went when they were alone and no one else was there with them. They said that distilling the millet beer twice would have been enough. But, they said, that someoneP had made off with the distillation residue the night before "Oh daughter-in-law," she (*Lāl Kumār*'s mother) said to her (viz. *Lāl Kumār*'s elder brother's wife) "distill it!." They said that she (*Lāl Kumār*'s eldest brother's wife) steeped the beer one time and apportioned it out to everybody. Then she put that one (viz. the distillation residue) aside and just sat there [intending to keep the *sida·m* for herself]. When she had taken it around distributing (to them) what she had filtered through one time, it turned out not to be enough [for everybody]. So, they say, she [*Lāl Kumār*'s mother] began to cry intensely, saying "The feed I have saved up with my son!" and her tears .. drip drip, ah... She shouted, so she said to her (*Indra*'s wife), "You are a member of this household. You have to distribute that feed out to others." Then, they say that later she brought out the distilled filtrate there with a pot. Then she (*Indra*'s wife) said, "Here now, the diligent

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[34] i.e. That's what *Lāl Kumār*'s mother should have quipped sarcastically (according to *Nārāyaṇ*'s mother) because *Lāl Kumār*'s older brother's wife didn't stay on a long time after their wedding, and that is the point she should have been trying to make.

daughters-in-law will come and provide for you (viz. *Lāl Kumār*'s mother)". Then when the others reproved the (lit. her) eldest daughter-in-law, she said, "I was just kidding." Is it alright for her to speak sarcastically to her mother-in-law like that?! If I had heard it, I would have said, "Am I someone to whom you can speak sarcastically?" It turns out that all the others had gone off to watch the video. So she (*Lāl Kumār*'s mother) was left there screaming, screaming to sweep up the dirt all by herself, wash out the pans and finish everything! I kept on sitting there, remaining quiet. She put on the rice to cook.

*mcnchya*: As I was coming back from up there yesterday morning, she (*Lāl Kumār*'s younger sister) was plastering fresh adobe [onto the house]. Her elder brother's wife (*Lāl Kumār*'s newlywed wife) just stood there with her mouth shut [doing nothing]. Would she be one of those too (i.e. a lazy one like *Lāl Kumār*)? She really ought to fall into a crevice somewhere! Who here can teach them (*Lāl Kumār* and his wife) manners? Now, when you've got them both off together, that's alright, they who want the good and are in search of there being fun! (i.e. the selfish thrill-seekers!) Who here would be able to have them?

*Nārāyaṇ*'s mother: Things being like that, everbody came. First since there was no water, [*Lāl Kumār*'s mother said] "Go get some water!" Then, [turning to her husband, she quipped], "The only thing which is lacking is water. If I fetch one mug-full, that will be enough for us[di], won't it? [*Lāl Kumār*'s father responded,] "Gee, I don't know if it will be enough for us[di] or not," he said to her. "Now there are three younger brothers here. It's probably finished already. I don't know. Will it be enough? Do only the really big ones look for it (i.e. look for water when they require it)? Them too, oh no! Oh my gosh!" Then after we[pe] had spoken and sat like that for a while, [*Lāl Kumār*'s father began talking to me, saying] "your mother (viz. his wife, *Lāl Kumār*'s mother) took off to watch the video. She'll tell us whether it was good or not, won't she? Aw, she'll tell us[pi]! First, in the beginning, it would be a lot of money. Presently, [the prices] have fallen." Speaking[pe] like that, [he continued,] "In the beginning I would only have to manage to provide for ten [rupees]..." At that point, *Okhre Mahilā* came in! And then he [began ranting], "[Your] daughter-in-law will bring it to you. She'll bring it to you! She'll bring you ten, she will!

But I can't pay. So each [will have to pay] his own
[way]!"...


### *Nārāyaṇ's* Aspirations


*aŋga ta·ndi   yəllik sapla ni·r-u-ŋ-aŋ      hɛn  po·ŋ-ma?*
I    tomorrow many   book  study-3P-1sA-pfG what become-INF


*a-sira        dhaŋ    bhɛlle pailɔṭ-ḍa·kṭər po·ŋ-ma?.  allɔ*
my-pleasure come_up *bhane*  aeroplane-pilot become-INF now


*gɔ·  sapla ni·r-u-ŋ-aŋ      ya·k-?ɛ.    ɔkdaŋba*
then book  study-3P-1sA-pfG be-1sPS/NPT such_a


*po·ŋ-ma?-re     la·gi yəllik ni·p-ma?  po·ŋ. hɛkkɛlle sapla*
become-INF-GEN for   much  study-INF EXIG  and_so   book


*ni·p-mɛ-lle    la·gi yəllik yaŋ   caha-dzo·k. an·ge*
study-INF-GEN for   much  money need-be     wePe


*yo·-bɛ-n       sige·k po·ŋ-ŋ?na.  hɛkke·    po·ŋ-mɛ-lle*
below-NOM-ABS class  be-1peAS/PT like_that become-INF-INST


*an·ge yəllik yaŋ   hɛnaŋ  ho·p-pa     kərə yəllik sapla*
wePe  much   money nothing not_be-IPF but  much   book


*ni·p-ma?  niŋwa  co·k-my-aŋ lɔk  hɛn  co·k-ma? gɔ·? kɛrɛk*
study-INF desire do-INF-and only what do-INF   then all


*məna-re yəllik ni·p-ma?  yəmba po·ŋ-ma?  sira        dhaŋ.*
man-ERG much   study-INF big   become-INF pleasure come_up


*katai[1]    maŋ-ille  co·g-u-lle yəllik ni·p-ma?  kho·s-u-ŋ*
wherever deity-ERG do-3P-SUB much   study-INF find-3P-1sA


*i·       lɔ-?ɛ.       yəllik aŋga kɔ?o· rɔk  me·nduk. na·*
whether say-1sPS/NPT much   I    here  only not       there


*khɛni-?o· phɛm-ma? a-sira        dhaŋ-aŋ     wa·. kɔm-be·la*
youP-LOC come-INF my-pleasure come_up-pfG be   this-period


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[1] *katai* Nep., wherever.

sa      na·    phεn-ʔε          lɔ-ʔε            kərə yəllik sapla
EMPH there come-1sPS/NPT say-1sPS/NPT but  many  book

mεn-ni·ʔl-e·  wa·-ʔε.      hεn   co·k-maʔ.
npG-study-npG be-1sPS/NPT what  do-INF


translation:

What I would like to become in the future when I have
studied alot of books is an aeroplane pilot. So now, I
study. In order to become (such a) one, one must study
alot. And in order to study books, lots of money is
required. Weᴾ° have come to constitute the low class.
Having become like that, we don't have any such thing as
alot of money, but what can one do, having only the desire
to study many books? Everybody would like to study alot and
become important. If the deity be doing her work wherever
[she may be], I shall say whether I shall find [the
opportunity] to study alot. It is not so that having
studied alot, I shall only [stay] here. It would be my
pleasure to come there amongst youᴾ (viz. to Europe).
Presently I say that I shall come there, but I have not
studied many books. What to do?


### *Netra Bahādur's* work


aŋga allɔ pa·ŋphe·-ʔo· pe·k-ʔε       mε?l-ε.      hεnaŋ
I    now  village-LOC  go-1sPS/NPT do-1sPS/NPT why

pe·k-ʔε        bhεlle pa·ŋphe·-ʔo· məna-haʔ mε-duk
go-1sPS/NPT bhane  village-LOC  man-p      nsAS-be_ill

mε-la·k.            hεkkεlle aŋga khunchi-huk-ʔin
nsAS-be_in_effect so       I     their-hand-ABS

lɔkt-u-ŋ-si-ŋ-aŋ            sidha       pi·r-u-ŋ-si-ŋ.
prick-3P-1sA-nsP-1sA-pfG medicine give-3P-1sA-nsP-1sA

hεl-le    sidha    bhεlle dzɔro-re sidha
what-GEN medicine bhane  fever-GEN medicine

pi·r-u-ŋ-si-ŋ.              ma·khi sisa-ʔo·  khips-u-ŋ.  khεŋ
give-3P-1sA-nsP-1sA blood  bottle-LOC stick-3P-1sA that

*sidha      ume·r-anusa·r pi·r-u-ŋ-si-ŋ.        khεŋ sisa-ʔo·*
medicine *umer-anusār[1]*  give-3P-1sA-nsP-1sA that bottle-LOC

*ma·khi-ʔin tεmbho·tuŋ-ŋin na·   maikroskɔp-ʔo·*
blood-ABS  malararia-ABS  there microscope-LOC

*ɔ·-mε-mɔtt-u        hεnaŋbhεlle khεŋ ma·khi-ʔo·*
look-nsAS-look-3P because      that blood-LOC

*tεmbho·tuŋ-lε-n kira mε-dha·p.        dzun       ma·khi-ʔo·*
malaria-GEN-ABS bug  nsAS-be‿visible that‿which blood-LOC

*kira tha·p,      khεŋ-in  tεmbho·tuŋ-le sidha*
bug  be‿visible that-ABS malaria-GEN    medicine

*pi·-maʔ-si    bo·ŋ. hεkkεlle anige him    thɔkma bhitta-ʔo·*
give-INF-nsP EXIG  so      weᴾᵉ house each walls-LOC

*miŋ  sapt-u-m-be.  hεkyaŋ ku-yam  kε-duk-pa     mε-wa-i·*
name write-3P-pA-e then    his-body AP-be‿ill-AP nsAS-be-Q

*mε-ho·p-ʔi·   bhaʔaŋ se·ndo·s-u-m-si-m-be.*
nsAS-not‿be-Q *bhanera* ask-3P-pA-nsP-pA-e

translation:

Now, I go off into the villages. I go because in the villages people fall ill. So I prick their hands and give them medicine. The medicine I give them is fever medicine. I stick the blood in a bottle. I give them that medicine according to their age. Over there they look through the microscope at the blood in that bottle for malaria because the malaria bugs are visible in that blood. In whoever's (lit. whichever) blood the bug is seen, to them the malaria medicine must be given. So weᴾᵉ write down the names within the walls of each house. Then weᴾᵉ ask whether there are or aren't any ailing [people].

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[1] *umer-anusār* Nep., age-wise, according to age.

**Mother comes home to prepare the meal**

*Nārāyaṇ*: *tɔr-u-ŋ-si-ŋ-aŋ*        *hɛkkɛlle*   *habha*
       scold-3P-1sA-nsP-1sA-pfG therefore just_so
       *mɛ-ni·r-u.* [to one ofthe children:] *hɛn*
       nsAS-study-3P                            what
       *kɛ-ba·tt-u-ba?*
       2-say-3P-IPF

*Nārāyaṇ*'s mother: *culẽsi-nu*  *cɛtthe·-dhik*  *na·pmi*  *pi·r-ɛ?!*
               *culẽsi*-COM dish-one    1       give-IMP

*Nārāyaṇ*: *a·tto·* *ni*  *yuks-u-ŋ-aŋ*    *yuŋ go·?* *yəllik ko·*
       where  CTR put-3P-1sA-pfG sit then many    then
       *mɛ-dzɔ-nɛn.* [to the children:] *mɛm-ba·?r-amm-ɛ?!*
       NEG-eat/3P-NEG             NEG-speak-2p-IMP

*Nārāyaṇ*'s mother: *culẽsi-·n*  *pi·r-ɛ?*  *a·!*
               *culẽsi*-ABS give-IMP EMPH

*Nārāyaṇ*: [to the children:] *pe·niba·n* *mɛm-ba·?r-amm-ɛ?!*
                      Nepali    NEG-speak-2p-IMP
                       *pe·niba·n* *mɛm-ba·t-ma?*
                      Nepali    NEG-speak-INF
                     *mɛtt-u-ŋ-si-ŋ.*
                     say_to-3P-1sA-nsP-1sA

**translation:**

*Nārāyaṇ*: I scolded them [viz. the children]. That's why they're studying like that. [to one of the children:] What are you saying?

*Nārāyaṇ*'s mother: Give me a *culẽsī* and a dish.

*Nārāyaṇ*: But where did I put it and [where could] it be? He doesn't eat much. [to the children:] Don't talk!

*Nārāyaṇ*'s mother: Come on, give me the *culẽsī*!

*Nārāyaṇ*: [to the children:] Don't speak Nepali! [to mother:] I *told* them not to speak Nepali.

Discussing the video[1] on *hā̤t-bajār*
day while cooking


*Yaŋsarumba*:  *a·kkhya·k  a·kkhya·k  kɛ-huŋ-u-m?*
how_much  how_much  2-pay-3P-pA


*Kumma*:  *su-sumsi     huŋ-ŋna.*
three-three  pay-1peAS/PT


*Yaŋsarumba*:  *kɛrɛk-le-i·?*
all-ERG-Q


*Kumma*:  *libhu-re  thibo·ŋ  yaŋ     mɛ-huŋ-u.*
four-ERG  ten         money  nsAS-pay-3P


*Yaŋsarumba*:  [to *Pho·kwama*]  *phɛtt-ɛ?  a-yaŋ-in.* [when she
fetch-IMP  my-money-ABS
returns with the money:]
*tɔk-ʔin   ku-ya·-ʔo·*
rice-ABS  its-side-LOC
*yuŋ-maʔ-saŋ  po·ŋ.*
put-INF-even  be_alright


*Kumma*:  *cwaʔl-in   le·ŋ-maʔ.  yummaʔl-in       lak-lɔ.*
water-ABS  pour-INF   vegetables-ABS  be_salty-OPT
*tɔk-ʔin   yɔŋ-my-aŋ         sa·ŋ-maʔ.  a-be·sɛʔ-o·*
rice-ABS  lift_up-INF-pfG  stir-INF   my-vicinity-LOC
*kɛ-yuŋ-ma     pe·ni-ma-dhik        sa·rik  ha·b-ɛ.  ha·b-se*
AP-sit-AP/f  Nepali-NOM/f-one  very     cry-PT   cry-SUP
*kɛ-dhaŋ-ɛ-ba-i·,      bhiḍiyo·  ɔ·mɔt-che  kɛ-dhaŋ-ɛ-ba-i·?*
2-come_up-PT-IPF-Q  video         watch-SUP  2-come_up-PT-IPF-Q
*cuʔ-mɛ-lle       nurik  kɛ-mɛp-pa  mɛ-lɛŋ-siŋ.     khɛŋ*
finish-INF-SUB  well  AP-do-AP  nsAS-turn-REF  that
*yɛmba   kɛ-hɔŋ-ma-haʔ?     sumsi  mɛ-lɔ·n        rɔcə.*
husband  AP-search-AP/f-p  three  nsAS-come_out  DEPR


*Yaŋsarumba*:  *aŋga-ʔaŋ  ɛŋ     gɔ·  ɔ·mɔt-che  pe·k-m·  po·ks-ɛ.*
I-too     today  then  watch-SUP  go-INF   EXIG-PT
*tɔre·  mɛŋ-gɛt-thalik       ɔ·mɔtt-u-ŋ.*
guest  npG-arrive-until  watch-3P-1sA


*Sarumba*:  *ɛŋ     yusik-ʔaŋ     kɛ-be·k-ʔi·?*
today  evening-too  2-go-Q


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*Kumma:* kɛ-naks-i      ro·! yallik bhiḍiyo·
      2-go_crazy-pPS ASS  much    video
      ɔ·-mɛm-mɔtt-amm-ɛ?!
      watch-NEG-watch-2p-IMP


translation:

*Yaŋsarumba:* How much did youP pay for it [entrance to the
    video]?
*Kumma:* WePᵉ paid three Rs. a person.
*Yaŋsarumba:* All of you?
*Kumma:* They paid ten Rs. for the four of them.
*Yaŋsarumba:* [to *Pho·kwama*] Go fetch my money. [to *Pho·kwama*
    when she returns with the money] It'll even be O.K. if
    you just put the rice next to it.
*Kumma:* [giving instructions to *Yaŋsarumba* as they cook]
    Pour water. Let the vegetables be salty. Lift up the
    rice [off the fire] and stir it. [resuming her story] A
    Nepali woman that was sitting next to me cried terribly.
    [So, I said,] "Did you come here to cry or did you come
    here to watch the video?" At the end [of the film] they
    (viz. the bad guys) turned into good guys. There were
    three whores that came out [in the film].
*Yaŋsarumba:* I'll have to go see it today too. I'll watch
    until the guests arrive.
*Sarumba:* Are you going again this evening?
*Kumma:* YouP are going crazy! Don't watch so much video!


Midday Conversation Inside


*Yaŋsarumba:* tho·  mɛ-yuŋ-aŋ    yusik   thɔkma sapla
        above nsAS-sit-and evening each    book
  mɛ-n-ni·r-u-n.         bhidiyo· rɔk mɛ-ni·r-u.
  nsAS-NEG-read-3P-NEG video      only nsAS-study-3P
. . .
  se·l              le·ks-u-rɔ      pɔtch-ɛ-rɔ
  riceflour_flatbread deep_fry-3P-prG be-PT-prG
  phɛ?la?r-ɛ! Tumla-re  ti·s    rupaiyã[1] ku-yaŋ-in
  spoil-PT   Tumlã-GEN thirty rupees    her-money-ABS
  hara     pi·r-amm-ɛ?! aŋga sɛ?r-aŋ      nɛtt-aŋ!
  quickly give-2p-IMP me   kill-1sPS/PT impend-1sPS/PT

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[1] *ti·s rupaiyã* = Nep. *tīs rupaiyã̃* thirty NRs.

*Kumma*: *hɛnaŋ tiˑs   rupaiyã?*
        why   thirty rupees

*Yaŋsarumba*: *Tumla-re   ku-yaŋ-in       piˑr-amm-ɛ?! kɔŋ*
            *Tumlā*-GEN her-money-ABS give-2p-IMP  this
    *dzyake·ʈ²-in-aŋ huʔr-amm-ɛ?!            khɛni*
    jacket-ABS-too bring_and_give-2p-IMP youP
    *kɛ-m-biˑr-u-m-nɛn       gɔrɔ aŋga yaŋ-in     na·pmi*
    2-NEG-give-3P-pA-NEG if   me   money-ABS 1
    *piˑr-ɛ?! aŋga a·phai huŋ-u-ŋ.   me·n gɔrɔ kɔʔo· aŋga*
    give-IMP I    myself pay-3P-1sA NOT if   here  me
    *sɛʔl-ɛ         nɛʔl-ɛ.        khunɛ? yo·  Tərəhəra*
    kill-1sPS/NPT impend-1sPS/NPT she    below *Taraharā*
    *pe·k-pa mu, khunɛ? tumma-re            ku-saʔ-re*
    go-IPF REP she    eldest_sister-GEN her-son-GEN
    *ku-biha-ʔo·.     hɛkke·      po·ks-ɛ-lle kharca³ ho·p-pa*
    his-wedding-LOC like_that be-PT-SUB   fare    not_be-IPF
    *mu bhaʔaŋ ɔ·k-pa ɔ·k-pa-e·     wa·.*
    REP *bhanera* cry-IPF cry-IPF-EMPH be

. . .

    *se·dzɔŋwa-·n-nu        phak-sa-·n   ta·ndik yusik*
    millet_brandy-ABS-COM pig-meat-ABS tomorrow evening
    *tɔ-m·     bo·ŋ.*
    curse-INF EXIG

. . .

    *ku-nbho·-pɛ-n     cɔ·ŋghik po·ŋ.*
    his-nose-NOM-ABS pig-like become

*Kumma*: *Suna-re   ku-mma-·ŋ       phɛn lo· bhaŋ,   Suna-re,*
        *Sunā*-GEN her-mother-too come ASS *bhanera* *Sunā*-GEN
    *anchɛn-cha        lɔʔr-ɛ. phɛʔr-ɛ-aŋ tho·-naŋ la·s-ɛ.*
    yesterday-EMPH say-PT come-PT-pfG via_above enter-PT

*Yaŋsarumba*: *mamma hɛnaŋ bhidiyo· phe·məs⁴ kɛ-bo·ks-ɛ.*
            Mama  why   video    famous   2-become-PT

*Pho·kwama*: *mamma-rɛ-n   calti⁵            wa·.*
            Mama-GEN-ABS sphere_of_action be

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² *dzyake·ʈ* < Nep. < Eng. jacket.
³ Nep. *kharca* 'fare'.
⁴ *phe·məs* 'preoccupied, infatuated' < Eng. 'famous'
⁵ *calti* < Nep. *caltī* 'usage, currency, reputation, popularity, sphere of action'.

Yaŋsarumba: bhidiyo· ɔ·mɔt-che kɔʔo· niʔ mɛ-da.
            video    watch-SUP here   CTR nsAS-come
   "paŋli-re                 kɔtna phɛʔr-amm-ɛʔ o·" mɛ-lɔʔr-ɛ.
   daughter_in_law-VOC here   come-2p-IMP  oh  nsAS-say-PT
   kɔtna mɛ-bhɛn.
   here  nsAS-come

Kumma: kɛ-mbhɔŋaʔ tho·  thaŋ-ɛ-aŋ      way-ɛ-aŋ
       your-uncle above come_up-PT-pfG be-PT-pfG
   kɛ-mbhɔŋaʔ mɛtt-u-ŋ-ba    maŋ-rɛ-n        ɔ·mɔtt-u-m-be
   your-uncle say_to-3P-1sA deity-GEN-ABS watch-3P-pA-e
   mɛ-lɔʔr-ɛ-aŋ      ɛn    tho·  thaŋ-amm-ɛʔ      o·
   nsAS-say-PT-pfG today above come_up-2p-IMP oh
   mɛtt-u-ŋ-si-ŋ-aŋ              way-ɛ. kɛrɛk mɛ-dha·ŋ-lɔ
   say_to-3P-1sA-nsP-1sA-pfG be-PT  all    nsAS-come_up-OPT
   ro·  mɛtt-u-ŋ.
   ASS say_to-3P-1sA

Yaŋsarumba: khɛnɛʔ-in     gɔ·  lɔ·p-maʔ
            youˢ-ABS/GEN then take_out-INF
            par-mɛ-dzo·k-nɛn          laʔba.
            have_to-NEG-have_to-NEG probably

Kumma: aŋga lɔ·tt-u-ŋ          lo·! kɛrɛk-le yaŋ-in
       I    take_out-3P-1sA ASS  all-ERG  money-ABS
       phuks-u-ŋ-aŋ          pi·r-u-ŋ-si-ŋ.           bhidiyo·
       gather-3P-1sA-pfG give-3P-1sA-nsP-1sA video
       ɔ·mɛp-maʔ me·n rəcə.
       watch-INF NOT  DEPR

Pho·kwama: an·ge pəila ɔ·mɔp-m·na-lle      tuksi nusi
           weᴾᵉ first watch-1peAS/PT-SUB six   seven
           məna-dhik wa·-m·na.
           man-only  be-1peAS/PT

Yaŋsarumba: mɛn-nubɛ-n    o·  ɔ·-gɛ-mɔtt-u-m-maŋ.
            NEG-good-ABS oh watch-2-watch-3P-pA-too

Pho·kwama: hɛn  naʔ  hɛm-baʔ
           what EMPH what-NOM

. . .


Yaŋsarumba: ande·  biha·ndik Nautune· Ka·nchi na·
            before morning  Nautune Kānchī there
            khɛtna     cɔiʈa⁶     khɔps-u-aŋ     ya·g-ɛ.
            over_there wood_chips pick_up-3P-pfG be-PT

*Pho·kwama*:  *a·tto·?*
                where

*Yaŋsarumba*:  *na·*    *khɛtna.*     *na·-nu*     *phɛ?r-ɛ, me·n-ni·?*
                there over_there there-from come-PT, NOT-Q
*tho·naŋ-nu*     *phɛ?r-ɛ ga·ro·-lle ci?*        *dho·dho·?*
via_above-COM come-PT wall-GEN    little_bit way_up_there
*kɛ?r-ɛ-aŋ*     *ammu nu·ks-ɛ-aŋ*    *yo·*
arrive-PT-pfG again return-PT-pfG below
*ani-pyaŋsi-lɛpmaŋ*          *phɛ?r-ɛ. aŋga əgɔ· e·n ni?*
ourᴾⁱ-terrace_field-toward come-PT I    then who CTR
*gɔ· lɔ?r-aŋ-aŋ*      *swa?l*    *ɔ·mɔtt-u-ŋ-aŋ*
then say-1sPS/PT-pfG silently watch-3P-1sA-pfG
*yɛb-aŋ.*      *khunɛ? gɔ·*  *phɛ?r-ɛ watt-ɛ-aŋ*
stand-1sPS/PT she    then come-PT TOT-PT-pfG
*pyaŋsi-?o·-ba*       *cɔiṭa-ha?*    *khɔps-u*   *he·kt-u.*
terrace_field-LOC-NOM wood_chips-p pick_up-3P begin-3P
*hɛkkɛlle gɔ·*  *aŋga-?aŋ lo·kt-aŋ-aŋ*     *pe·g-aŋ-aŋ*
so      then I-too    run-1sPS/PT-pfG go-1sPS/PT-pfG
*ku-dhɔŋga-?o·-ba cɔiṭa-ha?*  *ho·ks-u-ŋ-aŋ*
her-ḍoko-LOC-NOM wood_chips spill_out-3P-1sA-pfG
*ku-dhɔŋga-sik yo·*    *lapphe·s-u-ŋ bi·r-u-ŋ.*    *hɛkyaŋ*
her-ḍoko-soko below toss-3P-1sA give-3P-1sA and_then
*phyakt-u-ŋ.*
upbraid-3P-1sA

*Kumma*:  *hɛkyaŋ ni? lupɛ?l sadzi?*   *nɛ·s-ɛ.*
        then   CTR pile   somewhat be_situated-PT


. . .


      *nɛtchi yaŋ-le*    *yu?-mɛ-lle*         *haphta-dhik*
      two    money-GEN bring_down-INF-SUB week-one
      *yo·.*
      be_enough

*Kappo·ba*:  *kɔŋ khunɛ? ku-ba·ŋphe·-?o·-nu*  *ta·r-u-ba-i·,*
         this he      his-village-LOC-COM bring-3P-NOM-Q
         *kɔ?o· iŋ-u-ba-i·?*
         here  buy-3P-IPF-Q

*Yaŋsarumba*:  *ku-ba·ŋphe·-?o·-nu*  *ta·r-u-ba*    *me·nduk,*
          his-village-LOC-COM bring-3P-NOM NOT

---

[6] *cɔiṭa* < Nep. *coiṭā* 'wood chips used as kindling'.

*thɛba-ʔe·.*      *anchige Pã·cthar pe·g-ɛ-tchi-ge-aŋ*
grandfather-VOC we<sup>de</sup>    *Pãcthar⁷* go-PT-dPS-e-pfG
*way-ɛ-tchi-ge. khɛʔo· ku-ba·ŋphe·-ʔo·-ba mana nɛpphu*
be-PT-dPS-e    there   his-village-LOC-NOM man  two
*wa·-si. khɛŋhaʔ-re yallik mɛ-gɔtt-u   hɛkyaŋ*
be-dPS  they-ERG  much  nsAS-have-3P then
*khɛŋhaʔ-re thik pyake·ʈ⁸ mɛ-bi·r-u*
they-ERG   one  packet  nsAS-give-3P
*mɛ-bhɛnch-u-ba      rɔk.*
ns-have_sent-3P-IPF only

*Kappo·ba:*  *kɔʔo· kho·-he·ʔ-mɛ-dɛt-nɛn-ni·?*
         here  find-can-NEG-PAS-NEG-Q

*Yaŋsarumba:*  *Ne·pa·l-ʔo· gɔ· kho·-he·ʔ-dɛʔl laʔba    kɜrɜ*
             *Nepãl-LOC   then find-can-PAS    probably but*
             *ani-pa·ŋphe·-ʔo· gɔ· kho·-he·ʔ-mɛ-dɛt-nɛn*
             our<sup>Pi</sup>-village-LOC then find-can-NEG-PAS-NEG
             *na, thɛba-e·.*
             EMPH grandfather-VOC

*Kumma:*  *e·ʔyaŋbɛ-n kɛ-ma·nd-ɛ-tch-w-i· i· kɛ-gɔt-ch-w-i·?*
       other-ABS   2-finish-PT-dA-3P-Q or 2-have-dA-3P-Q

*Yaŋsarumba:*  *atiŋ? came·li⁹-·n-ni·?*
             which jasmine-ABS-Q

*Kumma:*  *ã.*
       yes

*Yaŋsarumba:*  *khɛŋ gɔ· mɛm-ma·ʔl-e·    wa· ya.*
             that then npG-finish-npG be  EMPH

---

⁷ Nep. *Pãcthar*, name of a Limbu district (lit. 'five
tribes') on the other (eastern) side of the *Ta·mar*
river. Here *Yaŋsarumba* is referring to a trek he made
with the author to *Phidĩm* via *Yãśok*. There they met two
Dutch foreign aid workers employed in the forestry
department residing above *Phidĩm*. Having been sent there
via the United Nations, they had a large luggage allow-
ance and had taken with them fifty packs of Douwe Eg-
berts *snelfiltermaling* ground coffee.

⁸ *pyake·ʈ* < Nep. *pyãkeʈ* < Eng. packet.

⁹ *came·li* < Nep. *cameli* 'jasmine'; the author had brought
a pack of Chinese jasmine tea with him from Kathmandu.

*Kappo·ba*:  *came·li-·n   kudzanu-ba-i·?      kɔŋ  maktaŋbɛ-n*
         jasmine-ABS be_delicious-NOM-Q this black-ABS
         *kudzanu-ba-i·?*
         be_delicious-NOM-Q

*Yaŋsarumba*:  *aŋga  əgɔ·  kɔŋ   kɛ-ghik-pɛ-n-cha*
         I     then this AP-be_bitter-AP-ABS-EMPH
*a-sira       dhaŋ-ɛ.       kudza-·ŋ-nur-ɛ.*
my-pleasure come_up-PT be_delicious-too-be_delicious-PT
*thɛba-re           ci?         sa?r-ɛ?     a·kkhe·  lɔ?-i·?*
grandfather-VOC little_bit taste-IMP how       be_like-Q

*Kappo·ba*:  *thuŋ-ma?  sa?-ma?   a·kkhe·  lɔ?-i·?*
         drink-INF taste-INF how       be_like-Q

*Yaŋsarumba*:  *yuma-re       ci?-aŋ             kɛ-dhuŋ-w-i·?*[10]
         grandmother little_bit-too 2-drink-3P-Q

Grandmother:  *na?-?ɛ               ro·!  aŋga  əgɔ·  anche·*
         abstain-1sPS/NPT ASS   I     then before
         *cuci?          na·pmi kɛ-bi·r-ɛ-bɛ-n-le*
         little_bit 1        2-give-PT-NOM-ABS-INST
         *kha·s-aŋ.            khɛŋ kɛ-ghik-pɛ-n             gɔ·*
         be_sated-1sPS/PT that AP-be_bitter-AP-ABS then
         *mɛ-dhuŋ-?ɛ-n                lo·!  khɛŋ came·li-lle*
         NEG-drink-1s→3/NPT-NEG ASS   that jasmine-GEN
         *ku-mɛn       a·kkhya·k?*
         its-price how_much

*Yaŋsarumba*:  *khɛŋ came·li-lle ku-mɛn       khunchi-?o·  gɔ·*
         that jasmine-GEN its-price their-LOC    then
*nasi kɔ?o·  gɔ·  nɛtna          po·ŋ.* [addressing the
five here   then twenty-five be
author] *an·ge gɔ·  kɔŋ  came·li-·n-naŋ   khikt-ɛ*
         us[e] then this jasmine-ABS-too be_bitter-PT
*hɛnaŋbhɛlle thuŋ-mɛ-lly-aŋ      kɛ-ghik-pa*
because       drink-INF-SUB-too AP-be_bitter-AP
*ku-mɛn-aŋ       kɛ-ghik-pa             co·k.*[11] *hɛkke·*
its-price-too AP-be_expensive-AP be        that_way

---

[10] *Yaŋsarumba* has already had grandmother taste the coffee
and is well aware of the fact, as he asks this question,
that she found its bitter taste foul and disgusting.

[11] a pun in Limbu: *khikma?* 'to be expensive', *khikma?* 'to
be bitter'.

```
po·ks-ɛ-lle an·ge gɔ·  kɔŋ  came·li-·n-naŋ
be-PT-SUB   weᴾᵉ  then this jasmine-ABS-too
mɛ-dhuŋ-u-m-bɛ-n          mɛ-iŋ-u-m-bɛ-n-naŋ.        kɔŋ
NEG-drink-3P-pA-e-NEG NEG-buy-3P-pA-e-NEG-too this
came·li iŋ-maʔ yaŋ-ille    gɔ· an·ge-ʔo·-ba mɔkwa
jasmine buy-INF money-INST then ourᴾᵉ-LOC-NOM tea
iŋ-mɛ-lle    yǝllik ya·n tɔkt-i-ge. kɔŋ  came·li-·n
buy-INF-SUB many   day  last-pPS-e this jasmine-ABS
hara      ma·ʔl. an·ge-ʔo·-ba hara       mɛ-ma·t-nɛn.
quickly finish ourᴾᵉ-LOC-NOM quickly NEG-finish-NEG
```

translation:

*Yaŋsarumba*: They sit above [in the bazar on the ridge] and every evening they don't study their books; they only study the video.

. . .

As she was deep-frying riceflour-flatbread, she got angry. Give *Tumlā* her 30 RS. back! She was about to kill me.

*Kumma*: Why thirty rupees?

*Yaŋsarumba*: Giveᴾ *Tumlā* back her money (viz. the money the family has lent from her)! Bring this jacket back to her too (viz. the jacket *Yaŋsarumba* has lent from *Tumla*'s son *Milan*)! If you guys don't give it to her, give me the money. Then I'll pay her myself. If not, she's about to [come down and] kill me here. She says she's going down to *Tarahará* (near *Dharān* in the *Tarāī*). She [is going to] her eldest sister's son's wedding. And it's gotten this way that she's screaming and screaming that she hasn't the money to pay the fare.

. . .

*Yaŋsarumba*: We'll have to consume the millet brandy and pork tomorrow evening.

. . .

*Yaŋsarumba*: (pointing at *Yǝmba*) He turns his nose up at it (viz. the video).

*Kumma*: Yesterday she said, "*Sunā*'s mother is coming too, *Sunā*'s mother!" She came and came in through the upper entrance way.

*Yaŋsarumba*: Mama, why have you become so preoccupied with the video?

*Pho·kwama*: That's mama's sphere of action.

*Yaŋsarumba*: They come here to watch the video of all things! They said, "Daughters-in-law, come here!", and they come here!

*Kumma*: Your uncle had come up there, and I told your uncle. They said, "We‍Pe were going up to watch the one about the deities (i.e. the old black and white Hindi film *Sampūrṇa Rāmāyaṇa*)." I had told them, "Come‍P on up today!" I said to him, "May they all come up!"

*Yaṇsarumba*: [You] probably didn't have to take yours out [i.e. you probably didn't have to pay yourself (for rounding up all the relatives)]

*Kumma*: I did take out (i.e. I did have to pay my own way)! I gathered all the money (of the relatives I had rounded up) and gave it to them (the Newari owners of the video). But get to watch the video [for free], no!

*Pho·kwama*: When we first went to watch [the video], there were only six or seven of us.

*Yaṇsarumba*: And it was a lousy one that you‍P [i.e. you and your friends] went to see too!

*Pho·kwama*: What for? What? (i.e. why do you say that?)

. . .

*Yaṇsarumba*: Earlier this morning *Nautune Kānchī* was over there picking up the wood chips [which had been left on the ground after the tree chopping activities the eldest brother *Jay Praśād* had carried out the previous day on the family's property].

*Pho·kwama*: Where?

*Yaṇsarumba*: Over there! She came from there, didn't she? She came by the high road. Having gotten to a little ways above past the wall, she came back down and she came towards our‍Pi terraced field. And then I said [to myself], "Who could this be?!" and I watched her, not saying a thing, and I stood up. Then having gotten onto the terraced field, she proceeded to pick up the wood chips that were on the terraced field. So, I too ran and went there, and I spilled out all the wood chips that were in her *doko*, and I threw her *doko* and all down the hill. Then I upbraided her.

*Kumma*: So that's why it was all more or less in a pile [when I returned home].

. . .

*Kumma*: If they bring down two Rs. worth of tea, that should be enough for a week

*Kappo·ba*: Is this something he brought from his village, or is it something he bought here?

*Yaṇsarumba*: This isn't something he brought with him from his village, grandfather. We‍de had gone to *Pãcthar*. There there are two guys from his village. They have lots of it, so they just gave him one packet to take with him.

*Kappo·ba*: Can it be got her?

*Yaŋsarumba*: It might be possible that it can be got in Nepal, but it sure can't be got in our[Pi] village, grandpa.

*Kumma*: Did you two finish the other stuff or do you still have some?

*Yaŋsarumba*: Which one? The jasmine [tea]?

*Kumma*: Yes.

*Yaŋsarumba*: That's not used up yet!

*Kappo·ba*: Does the jasmine [tea] taste good? Does this black stuff taste good?

*Yaŋsarumba*: As for me, I like this bitter stuff. It's delicious too. Grandpa, taste a little bit to see what it's like.

*Kappo·ba*: Drink some and taste it to see what it's like?

*Yaŋsarumba*: Will grandmother taste a little bit too?

Grandmother: I abstain! As for me, I'm quite sated with the little bit you gave me earlier! I'm not going to drink any of that bitter stuff! How much did that jasmine [tea] cost?

*Yaŋsarumba*: That jasmine [tea] cost five Rs. in their currency, twenty-five in the local currency. [addressing the author] For us[Pe] this jasmine [tea] is bitter too because it's bitter to drink and it's price is expensive too! That is why we[Pe] don't drink this jasmine [tea] nor do we buy it. Compared to buying this jasmine [tea], if we buy our own local tea, it lasts us[Pe] many days. This jasmine [tea] finishes quickly. Our local stuff doesn't use up quickly.

## Torch

*Pho·kwama*: [to *Amma*]  yəmbɛ-lle      ku-laiʈ[1]-ɛn  
big_one-GEN his-torch-ABS  
yu?r-u          la?ba.  
bring_down-3P probably  

*Amma*: [to *Yəmba*]  khɛnɛ?-in      o·?l-i·?  
you[s]-ABS/GEN shine-Q  

*Yəmba*: ahã?  
no  

*Amma*: hɛnaŋ mɛ-o·t-nɛm-ba?  
why    NEG-shine-NEG-IPF  

---

[1] *laiʈ* [< Nep. < Eng. light] torch.

*Yaŋsarumba*: *e·m   pi·-m·   barne·?*
              whom give-INF ought


translation:

*Pho·kwama*: [to *Amma*] He has probably brought big one's
      torch down.
*Amma*: [to *Yəmba*] Does yours work?
*Yəmba*: No.
*Amma*: Why isn't it working?
*Yaŋsarumba*: To whom should I give it [viz. my torch]?


## Reciprocity


*Sarumba*: *yaŋsarumbc-n   khai!*
           third_born-ABS *khai*
*Yəmba*: *yaŋsarumbc-lle hɔks-aŋ-ba-i·?*
         third_born-ERG look_for-1sPS/PT-IPF-Q
*Sarumba*: *ã.*
           yes
*Yəmba*: *aŋga-ʔaŋ khunɛ? hɔks-u-ŋ-ba.*
         I-too     him     look_for-3P-1sA-IPF
         *mɛ-n-dum-baŋ*          *mɛ-ŋ-gho·-baŋ.*          *hɛnaŋ*
         NEG-NEG-meet-1s→3/PT NEG-NEG-find-1s→3/PT why
         *kɛ-ye·ʔr-ɛ?*
         2-laugh-PT
*Sarumba*: *habha-e·*
           just_so-EMPH


*Sarumba*: Where's third-born!
*Yəmba*: Was third-born looking for me?
*Sarumba*: Yes.
*Yəmba*: I too have been looking for him, but I haven't run
      into him. I haven't found him. Why are you laughing?
*Sarumba*: Just so.

## Evolution

*anche·* *anche·* *məna* *a·kkhyaŋ* *a-bo·ks-ɛ?* *hɛkdaŋba* *pa·n*
before before man how 1-become-PT that_kind_of matter

*lɛ·-ma?* *sa·rik* *siradhaŋ.* *khɛŋ-le* *pa·n-le* *mundhum-dhik*
know-INF very desire that-GEN matter-GEN story-one

*wa·.* *anche·* *anche·* *ani* *məna* *a-ho·pt-ɛ* *kərə* *məna* *a·kkhyaŋ*
be before before we[Pi] man 1-not_be-PT but man how

*a-bo·ks-ɛ* *bhɛlle* *saba-ha?* *məsu* *məsu* *habha* *khɛŋ*
1-become-PT *bhane* monkey-p slowly slowly like_that those

*saba-ha?* *e·* *məna* *a-bo·ks-ɛ-ba* *mu* *mɛ-lɔ?.*
monkey-p from man 1-become-PT-IPF REP nsAS-say.

translation:

How did we become man a long time ago? That's what I would
really like to know. There is a story about that matter. A
long time ago we men did not exist, but how we became men,
they say, is that from monkeys ever so gradually, like
that, from those monkeys we evolved into men.

## *Bhagī Māyā*'s Father

*anchige* *tho·* *tɔŋba* *thuŋ-se* *pi-tchi-ge* *bha?aŋ* *tho·*
we[de] above *tuṅbā* drink-SUP go-dPS-e *bhanera* above

*tha·ŋmaŋ* *pe·g-ɛ-tchi-ge-rɔ* *pɔtch-ɛ-tchi-ge-lle* *tho·* *bhagi*
uphill go-PT-dPS-e-prG AUX-PT-dPS-e-SUB above *Bhagī*

*ma·ya·-re* *ku-mba* *pha·gu-?in* *nə* *"aŋga-?aŋ* *pe·k-?ɛ*
*Māyā*-GEN her-father *Phāgu*-ABS EMPH I-also go-1sPS/NPT

*ro·!"* *lɔ?r-ɛ-aŋ* *ya·g-ɛ.* *anchige* *tho·* *tɔŋba* *thuŋ-se*
ASS say-PT-pfG be-PT we[de] above *tuṅbā* drink-SUP

*pitchige* *bha?aŋ* *cum-se·* *"aŋga-?aŋ* *pe·k-?ɛ* *ro·!"*
go-dPS-e *bhanera* friend-p/VOC I-too go-1sPS/NPT ASS

*lɔʔr-ɛ.* "*anchige gɔ·   suriʔl ca-se    tho·   kɛ-him-mo·*
say-PT   we de    then wind   eat-SUP above your s-house-LOC

*tho·   pi-tchi-ge-ba.  khɛnɛʔ-ʔaŋ suriʔl ca-se*
above go-dPS-e-IPF   you s-too    wind    eat-SUP

*kɛ-be·k-pa-i·? anchige gɔ·    tɔŋba thuŋ-se    pi-tchi-ge-ba*
2-go-IPF-Q       we de    then *tuṅbā* drink-SUP go-dPS-e-IPF

*me·nduk anchige-nu so·rik   suriʔl kɛ-dzɔ-i·?"  "e·... khɛŋ*
not     we de-COM    together wind   2-eat-Q       Oh... that

*gɔ·   mɛ-dza-ʔɛ-n"      lɔʔr-ɛ-aŋ   nu·ks-ɛ.*
then NEG-eat-1s→3-NEG say-PT-pfG return-PT


translation:

Having said "we de are going up to drink *tuṅbā*", as we were
above going uphill, *Bhagī Māyā*'s father *Phāgu* (family name)
was there saying, "Hey, I'm coming along too!" As we de were
going on up to drink *tuṅbā*, he said "Friends! I'm coming
along too!" [But we replied,] "We de are going towards your
house to get some fresh air up there. Are you coming along
too? It is not the case that we de are off to drink *tuṅbā*.
But are you going to come with us de to catch some fresh air
together?" "Oh," he said "No, I won't," and turned back.


### Sǟndhe's Mother


background:

The video run on a lawnmower-like generator and showing
Hindi films has just made its debut in *Limbuvān*. The ladies
have gone to the district centre to watch the film. *Nārā-
yaṇ*'s mother takes offence at the high price asked for a
video ticket by the Newari owners, her motto being "*siŋhɛk
yaŋhɛk. siŋhɛk ahɛk*" (The Newaris, lit. the woodchoppers,
are money-choppers! The Newaris will chop you!). Even
*Bhīmī*, a befriended Newari, is there trying to draw people
in to the video. *Sǟndhe*'s mother, like everyone else,
cannot understand Hindi but, unlike everyone else, is not
sufficiently impressed with the novelty of the video not to
take objection to this fact, especially in view of the high

price paid. *Nārāyaṇ*'s mother comes home and tells about
*Sãndhe*'s mother's distracting behaviour.


*Nārāyaṇ*'s mother: *bhimi-yaŋ ni? "subba-e· yuŋ-ɛ?"*
                    *Bhimi*-too CTR *Subbā*-VOC sit-IMP
                    *swa?l-aŋ muṭhi putt-u-ŋ-aŋ*
                    quiet-too fist clench-3P-1sA-pfG
                    *pi·r-u-ŋ.*
                    give-3P-1sA
*Nārāyaṇ*: *məna mɛ-ya·g-ɛ-i·?*
          man nsAS-be-PT-Q
*Nārāyaṇ*'s mother: *cidzi? gɔ· mɛ-ya·g-ɛ. sɔpma dzi?*
                    little_bit then nsAS-be-PT moment few
                    *ɔ·mɔpm?na-·ŋ "pe·gi pe·gi" lɔ?*
                    look-1peAS/PT-pfG go-p/ADH go-p/ADH say
                    *he·kt-ɛ.*
                    begin-PT
*Nārāyaṇ*: *e·n na?*
          who EMPH
*Nārāyaṇ*'s mother: *Sã·dhe·-re ku-mma. "kɔ?o· hɛnaŋ*
                    *Sãdhe*-GEN her-mother here why
*ye·-ba?" "pe·g-i pe·g-i!" lɔ?r-ɛ. ŋga əgɔ·*
come_down/PT-IPF go-p/ADH go-p/ADH say-PT I then
*"mɛ-be·k-?ɛ-n mɛ-be·k-?ɛ-n". "khɛnɛ? sa·rik*
NEG-go-1sPS-NEG NEG-go-1sPS-NEG you* very
*kɛ-sira dhaŋ-i·?" ŋga əgɔ· "sa·rik a-sira*
2-pleasure come_up-Q I then very my-pleasure
*dhaŋ." lɔ·nd-ɛ-yaŋ pe·g-ɛ. sɔpma dzi? aŋ ammu*
come_up go_out-PT-pfG go-PT moment few also again
*nu·ks-ɛ te·. "sa·rik kɛ-sira dhaŋ-aŋ*
return-PT come/PT. very 2-pleasure come_up-pfG
*kɛ-yuŋ-ba-i·?" aŋga əgɔ· "a-sira dhaŋ*
2-sit-IPF-Q I then my-pleasure come_up
*yuŋ-?ɛ mɛ-be·k-?ɛ-n." hɛkyaŋ sɔpma dzi? aŋ*
sit-1sPS/NPT NEG-go-1sPS/NPT-NEG then moment few too
*po·g-ɛ-aŋ pe·g-ɛ. cu?-ma? be·la-lle...*
get_up-pfG go-PT end-INF time-GEN


translation:

*Nārāyaṇ*'s mother: *Bhimi*, too, [was there canvassing, cry-
    ing], "Hey Subba, sit down!" Saying nothing, I made a
    fist (clutching the money) and gave it to her.
*Nārāyaṇ*'s: Were there people there?
*Nārāyaṇ*'s mother: There were just a few. After weᴾᵉ had

watched for a few moments, she started saying "Let'sᴾⁱ go! Let's go!"

*Nārāyaṇ's*: Who?

*Nārāyaṇ's* mother: *Sãndhe's* mother. [I said,] "Why did you come here then?" "Let'sᴾⁱ go! Let's go!" she said. So I [said], "I'm not going. I'm not going." "Do you like it so much?" [she asked]. So I [said], "I like it very much." She went out and left. After a few moments, she came back again, [and said,] "Do you like it so much that you're just going to stay here?" So I [said], "I like it. I'm staying. I'm not going." Then after a few moments, she got up and left. Then at the time it was finishing ...


### Two ladies on the porch


lady A: *warum-siŋ-se   phɛʔr-ɛ-ŋ   wa·.*
        bathe-REF-SUP come-PT-pfG be

lady B: *khunɛ?  rɔk   ya·k-ʔi·   e·ʔyaŋba-ʔaŋ   mɛ-wa-i·?*
        he      only be-Q        other-too     nsAS-be-Q

lady A: *a·kkhyɛŋ  khɛm-ma?  gɔ·   hɔ·?  kɛ-mbhɔŋa?  dzasari-saŋ*
        how       hear-INF then   oh    2-uncle     jasarī[1]-even
        *him-mo·.   thɛba-si        mɛ-ho·p-ʔi·?   ku-laŋ-in*
        house-LOC grandfather-d nsAS-not_be-Q his-leg-ABS
        *tug-ɛ-aŋ      yuŋ.  hɛn   po·ks-ɛ?*
        hurt-PT-pfG sit    what  happen-PT

lady B: *suma?-aŋ   kɛ-de·?r-u-ba-i·?       mɛm-be·k-?ɛ?*
        aunt-too 2-take_away-3P-IPF-Q NEG-go-IMP
        *mɛtt-u-ŋ-ille        mɛ-dɛn-nɛn.* (turning to her young
        say_to-3P-1sA-SUB NEG-agree-NEG
        daughter:) *khɛnɛ?  hɛnaŋ*
                   youˢ     why
        *wa-gɛ-n-lum-siŋ-nɛn-ba            he·? nurik nurik*
        bathe-2-NEG-bathe-REF-NEG-IPF hey well  well
        *warum-siŋ-ɛ?!* (turning back to lady A) *tɔk*
        bathe-REF-IMP                                rice
        *tho·k-ma?  mana-·ŋ caha co·k ŋa!*
        cook-INF  man-too want do   EMPH

_____

[1] *jasarī* Nep., how, in which way; cf. *jasarī pani*   no matter what, in any event.

translation:

lady A: (looking at the *kuvā* in the distance which she can barely make out through the foliage) She has come to bathe.

lady B: Is she there alone or are there others too?

lady A: How am I supposed to be able to hear that? Your uncle is at home in any case. Aren't the grandfathers there? Having hurt her leg, she's just sitting there. What happened?

lady B: If I ask him "Are you also taking auntie along with you?" and tell him "Don't go!", he won't listen. (turning to her young daughter) Hey, why are you not washing yourself? Wash yourself very well! (turning back to lady A) He wants a rice cooking woman!

*Durgā Bahādur* Meets His
Friend's Grandmother

*Yuma:*   *kɛ-ndzum*     *a·tto·*  *wa·?*
        your$^s$-friend where  be

*Durgā:* *kɔʔo· wa·.*
       here  be

*Yuma:*  *kɔŋ*  *kɛ-ndzum-mi·?*  *abhɛlle*  *kɛ-de·-ba?*
        this  your$^s$-friend-Q  when    2-come/PT-IPF

*Durgā:* *thibo·ŋ ya·n po·ks-ɛ.*
       ten      day  be-PT

*Yuma:*  *kɛ-ndzum-in-nu*       *abhɛlle*  *kɛ-dum-ɛ-tchi?*
        your$^s$-friend-ABS-COM  when    2-meet-PT-dPS

*Durgā:* *miʔlliŋ*   *sa*   *tum-ɛ-tchi-ge-ba.*
       last_year EMPH meet-PT-dPS-e-IPF

*Yuma:*  *allɔ abhɛlle kɛ-be·k?*
        now  when    2-go

*Durgā:* *aŋga mɛ-lɛ·-ʔɛ-n.*
       I     NEG-know-1sPS/NPT-NEG

*Yuma:*  *khɛnɛ? kɛ-1-lɛ·s-u-n-ni·?*  *kɛ-ndzum-in*     *nurik*
        you$^s$    2-NEG-know-3P-NEG-Q your$^s$-friend-ABS good
        *mɛtt-ɛ?*     *o·!*    *a-mɛncha?*     *niʔ!*
        do_unto-IMP oh    my-grandchild CTR

*Durgā:* *e·...*
       oh

*Yuma:*  *kuca. kɛ-ndzum-in*      *se·ndo·s-ɛ?*
        true  your$^s$-friend-ABS ask-IMP
        *ku-yuma-ʔɛ-i·*       *me·n-ni·!* *khɛnɛ?-aŋ*
        his-grandmother-am-Q NOT-Q    you$^s$-too

```
              mɛncha-e·       mɛt-nɛ        hɛnaŋphɛlle
              grandchild-VOC  say_to-1→2    because
              a-mmɛncha?-re        ku-ndzum    a-mmɛncha?-e·
              my-grandchild-GEN    his-friend  my-grandchild-EMPH
              po·ŋ.
              be
Durgā:  aŋga  kɛ-mmɛncha?-?ɛ-i·?  khɛnɛ?
        I     2-grandchild-am-Q   youˢ
        a-yuma-·n-nɛ-i·?
        my-grandmother-ABS-be-Q
Yuma:   ã,   allɔ-ŋ-dho·  khɛnɛ?  aŋga  "yuma-e·"
        yes  now-since    youˢ    me    grandmother-VOC
        mɛtt-aŋ-ɛ?        o·!
        say_to-1sP-IMP    oh
```

translation:

*Yuma:* Where is your friend?

*Durgā:* (pointing at *Nārāyaṇ*) He's here.

*Yuma:* Is this your friend? When did you come here [to our village]?

*Durgā:* Ten days ago.

*Yuma:* When did you [first] meet your friend.

*Durgā:* It was last year that we[de] met.

*Yuma:* Now when are you going [from our village]?

*Durgā:* I don't know.

*Yuma:* You don't know? Do good unto your friend! He is my grandchild!

*Durgā:* Really?

*Yuma:* It's the truth. Ask your friend whether I'm his grandmother or not! I will call you grandchild too because my grandson's friend is as a grandchild unto me too.

*Durgā:* (pleased) I'm your grandchild? You're my grand-mother?

*Yuma:* Yes, from now on, you say "Grandmother" to me!

### Yuma's tirade

```
allɔ  abhɛlle  biha       kɛ-dzo·k kɔ·  mɛncha-e·?
now   when     marriage   2-do     then grandchild-VOC

habha      hɛkke·        kappo·ba kɛ-dum-lɔ    kɛ-wa-i·?
like-that  in_that_way   old_man  2-ripen-prG  2-be-Q

biha       mɛn-dzo·k-?e·  a·kkhyaŋ khɛnɛ? kɛ-bo·ks-ɛ.
marriage   npG-do-npG     how      youˢ    2-happen-PT

biha       co·k-my-aŋ  lɔk   sa?    wa·l kɛ-ba·ŋphe·-?o·
marriage   do-INF-pfG  only  child  be   yourˢ-village-LOC

biha       mɛ-n-dzo·k-nɛn-chaŋ  sa?     mɛ-gɔ?l-i·?
marriage   nsAS-NEG-do-NEG-even child   nsAS-have-Q
```

translation:

Now, when are you going to get married, grandchild? Are you just going to keep sitting that way ripening into an old man? Without a marriage having taken place, how would you ever have been born? Only having married, can there be a child! Do they have children in your village without getting married?!

### Racist attitudes

```
Padam:   kɛrɛk pe·ni-ba    məna-ha? a-sira
         all   Nepali-NOM man-p       1-pleasure
         mɛ-n-dhaŋ-nɛn.
         nsAS-NEG-come_up-NEG
Nārāyaṇ: kɛrɛk kɔ·  pa·t-ma? mɛ-suk-?ɛ-n.
         all   then say-INF   NEG-be_able-1sPS/NPT-NEG
```

*Padam*: I don't like any *Brāhmaṇs* or *Kṣatriyas*.
*Nārāyaṇ*: Well, I can't say that about all of them.

*maŋdɔk*
Black Millet Rolls

*Candra*: *a·tto· kɛ-be·k-pa?*
    where  2-go-IPF
*Yəmba*: *a-ndzum-le      ku-him-ʔo·.*
    my-friend-GEN his-house-LOC
*Candra*: *hɛnaŋ?*
    why
*Yəmba*: *tɔk   ca-se.*
    *bhāt* eat-SUP
*Candra*: *atiŋ         tɔk?*
    what_kind_of *bhāt*
*Yəmba*: *maŋdɔk.*
    deity_*bhāt*
*Candra*: *kɛ-ha-ʔo·        mɛ-ghip-nɛn-ni·?*
    yourˢ-tooth-LOC NEG-stick-NEG-Q
*Yəmba*: *me·n, a-sira     dhaŋ!*
    NOT   my-pleasure come_up


*Candra*: Where are you going?
*Yəmba*: To my friend's house.
*Candra*: Why?
*Yəmba*: To eat *bhāt*.
*Candra*: What kind of *bhāt*?
*Yəmba*: deity-*bhāt*.
*Candra*: Doesn't it stick to your teeth?
*Yəmba*: No, I like it!


Unwelcome interruption


*Candra*:     *a·tto· kɛ-be·k-pa?*
       where  2-go-IPF
*Yaŋsarumba*: *hiʔe·-se.*
       shit-SUP
*Candra*:     *hɛnaŋ?*
       why
*Yaŋsarumba*: *hi   lɔ·nd-ɛ.*
       shit exude-PT

*Candra*:      Where are you going?
*Yaŋsarumba*: To shit.
*Candra*:      Why?
*Yaŋsarumba*: The shit's [already] coming out.


## Reprimand


*Amma*:  *nam-ille sɔŋd-w-i·?*
         sun-ERG   bake-3P-Q
*Yəmba*: *ã̃.*
         yes
*Amma*:  *hɛkkɛlle   ti·kt-ɛ. nam-kɛ-bhɛt-chiŋ-ɛ-aŋ*
         therefore peel-PT   sun-2-fetch-REF-PT-pfG
         *kɛ-ho·rik-ʔin   ti·kt-ɛ.*
         your^s-skin-ABS peel-PT


*Amma*:  Has the sun baked it (viz. your skin)?
*Yəmba*: Yes.
*Amma*:  That's why it's peeling. (chiding:) Having put your-
         self out in the sun to dry, your skin has begun
         to peel.


## Small Talk


*Yaŋsarumba*: *ku-biha-·n          po·ks-ɛ. ku-saʔ-dhik wa·.*
              his-marriage-ABS be-PT     his-child-one be
*Cum*:        *atiŋ            ya·mbɔk kɔtt-u?*
              what_kind_of work       have-3P
*Yaŋsarumba*: *mmm.*
              hmm
*Cum*:        *niŋwa mɛ-de·-nɛn-ni·?   nurik i·t-chiŋ-ɛ?!*
              mind   NEG-come/PT-NEG-Q well   think-REF-IMP
              (changing the subject:) *kɛ-mba          a·tto·?*
                                      your^s-father where
*Yaŋsarumba*: *a·...   him-mo·   wa·.*
              yes         house-LOC be
*Cum*:        *habha yuŋ.*
              just    sit
*Yaŋsarumba*: *ã̃.*
              yes
*Cum*:        *cumluŋ-ʔo·  kɛ-way-ɛ.*
              bazar-LOC    2-be-PT

*Yaŋsarumba*: ã.
         yes
*Cum*:    hɛn co·k-se?
         what do-INF
*Yaŋsarumba*: luŋgi tɔ·-se,     sapla iŋ-se   la·se.
         luṅgī have_sewn-SUP book  buy-SUP get_SUP


translation:

*Yaŋsarumba*: He's married. He has one child.
*Cum*: What kind of job does he have?
*Yaŋsarumba*: hmmm.
*Cum*: Don't you remember? Think! (changing the subject:)
    Where's your father?
*Yaŋsarumba*: ah... He's at home.
*Cum*: He's just sitting there.
*Yaŋsarumba*: Yeah.
*Cum*: You were at the bazar.
*Yaŋsarumba*: Yeah.
*Cum*: To do what?
*Yaŋsarumba*: To have a *luṅgī* sewn, to buy and get a book.


## Brief Exchange 1


*Pho·kwama*: kɔŋ hɛn?          What's that?
*Sarumba*:   atiŋ-in?          Which? (ABS)
*Pho·kwama*: khɛʔo·.           There.
*Sarumba*:   siŋdze·k.         Stick.


## Brief Exchange 2


*Yaŋsarumba*: lɔʔl      kɛ-ye·-i·?
         just_now 2-come_down/PT-Q
*Sarumba*:   biha·ndik yy-aŋ.
         morning   come_down-1sPS/PT
*Yaŋsarumba*: hɛkyaŋ habha    kɛ-yuŋ-ba-i·?
         then   just_so 2-sit-IPF-Q
*Sarumba*:   ã.
         yeah

*Yaŋsarumba*: Did you just get down here?
*Sarumba*:   I came down this morning.
*Yaŋsarumba*: And you've just been sitting here since?
*Sarumba*:   Yeah.


## A Village Elder
## Addressing the Author


*khɛnɛʔ kɛ-ba·ŋphe·-ʔo·-nu     kɛ-de·-yaŋ     yakthuŋba*
you⁵    your⁵-village-LOC-COM 2-come/PT-pfG Limbu

*pa·n      huʔ-siŋ    kɛ-he·kt-ɛ.  hɛkkɛlle kɛ-huʔ-ba*
language teach-REF 2-begin-PT  so       AP-teach-AP

*kɛ-ndzum yəllik mɛ-bo·ks-ɛ.     yakthuŋba pa·n      sa·ʔrik*
2-friend many   nsAS-become-PT Limbu       language very

*nuba co·k. khɛnɛʔ kɛ-huʔ-siŋ-ɛ-ba-dɛn        myaŋluŋ-le*
good be     you⁵   2-teach-REF-PT-NOM-place *Myaŋluŋ*-GEN

*ku-sikto·ʔ-ʔo·  pa·ŋbhe· pardzo·k.    anche·-naŋ-tho·*
its-beneath-LOC village  be_situated before-too-since

*allɔ-dhak dza·gira¹ ca·-ʔɛ-rɔ            wa·-ʔɛ.*
now-until *jāgīra*    perform-1sPS/NPT-prG be-1sPS/NPT

*dza·gira ca·-maʔ        mɛp-mʔna-bɛ-n      nuba. pa·ŋbhe·*
*jāgīra*   perform-INF say_to-PP-NOM-ABS good  village

*kɔm-maʔ       məna-nu tadzɛŋ-maʔ paʔt-maʔ  yəllik nuba.*
wander-INF man-COM chat-INF     speak-INF much   good


translation:

You have come from your village and started learning the
Limbu language. So you have got many friends to teach you.
The Limbu language is very good. The place where you have
been learning Limbu is a village which lies below *Myaŋluŋ*.
Since long ago until now I have been working as a civil
servant. Working as a civil servant is what we call good.

---

¹ *jāgīra* Nep. civil service, a job with H.M.G., a steady
 job.

To wander about the villages, talk and converse with the
people is very good.


## Meeting with village elders


*Kappo·ba*:   *khɛnɛʔ ma·ŋgha kɛ-yuŋ-bɛ-n-nɛ.    an·ge kɔʔo·*
              you[s]    faraway AP-live-AP-ABS-be we[Pe]  here
              *tamphula kɛ-yuŋ-ba-sige. kɛ-ya·mbɔk-ʔille*
              *Tamphulā* AP-live-AP-be    your[s]-work-ERG
              *co·g-u-lle ani  ɔkkhe·lɔʔrik a-dum-ɛ.   allɔ*
              do-3-SUB    we[Pi] in_this_way  1-meet-PT  now
              *ani   phu-nusa-e·kke·                   wa·-m?*
              we[Pi] elder_brother-younger_sibling-as be-INF
              *bo·ŋ.  allo·  kappo·ba-haʔ-re pa·tt-u-m-be! anige*
              EXIG   now    elder-p-ERG       speak-3P-pA-e we[Pe]
              *saʔ-dhik-nu    cum    co·k-nɛ-tchi-ge phaʔaŋ*
              child-one-COM  friend make-1→2-nsA-e  *bhanera*
              *i·tt-u-m-be.  a·kkhe·  kɛ-lɔ·?  hɛkke·*
              think-3P-pA-e how       2-say    like_that
              *kɛ-dɛn-ni·?  kɛ-n-dɛn-nɛn-ni·?*
              2-agree-Q    2-NEG-agree-NEG-Q
the author:  *tɛn-ʔɛ.*
              concur-1sPS/NPT
*Kappo·ba*:   *kɔtna khɛps-ɛʔ!  anchige kappo·ba-haʔ-re*
              here  listen-IMP we[de]     elder-p-ERG
              *pa·t-ch-u-ge-ba    pa·n-in   kɛ-dɛl-lɔ   po·ŋ.*
              speak-dA-3P-e-NOM word-ABS 2-obey-prG EXIG
              *hɛkkɛlle  ŋga a-saʔ     yaŋsarumba khɛn-nu*
              therefore I   my-child third_born  him-COM
              *khɛnchi cum       co·k-nɛ-tchi-gɛ-lle a·kkhe·*
              you[d]    friend do-1→2-dPS-e-SUB      how
              *kɛ-lɔʔʔ? kɛ-dɛn-ni·  kɛ-n-dɛn-nɛn-ni·?*
              2-say    2-consent-Q 2-NEG-consent-NEG-Q


translation:

*Kappo·ba*: You are someone who lives far away. We[Pe] are the
     ones who live here in *Tamphulā*. Because of your work
     we[Pi] have met in this fashion. Now we[Pi] must be as
     brothers. Now the elders speak[Pe]! We[Pe] have decided that
     we shall make friends (1nse→2) with a child. What do you
     say to that? Do you agree or don't you?
the author: I concur.

*Kappo·ba*: Listen here! You *must* agree to what we[de] elders
    say. So, we shall join you[d] with him, my third-born son,
    in friendship. What do you say to that? Do you consent
    or don't you?


## Changing the subject


**background:**

Relatives tried to sell millet brandy to *Nārāyan*'s mother
and her friend at an outrageous price. *Nārāyan*'s mother
refused to buy it at that price and was offended by the
fact that they tried to sell the millet brandy to her at
such a price. After she left in silence they sent someone
after her with a gourd of millet brandy to make up for the
insult. Upon hearing what his mother has to say, *Nārāyan*
shares his mother's indignation.

There is a long-standing dispute between *Nārāyan* and his
youngest sister about the way the youngest sister cooks
when *Nārāyan*'s mother is not there to cook. She adds too
much garlic and salt to *Nārāyan*'s taste.


*Nārāyan*'s mother: *kɛ-mba          ta-lle    aŋga kɔŋ*
                your[s]-father come-SUB I     this
    *kɛ-nnakpa-re          sɔŋs-u hɛkyaŋ aŋga iŋ-u-ŋ    bi·-nɛ*
    your[s]-nephew[1]-ERG sell-3P then I     buy-3P-1sA give-1→2
    *mɛtt-u.    hɛnaŋ mɛn-na·k-ma??    niŋsaŋ phuk-ŋna-bɛ-n*
    say_to-3P why   NEG-ask_for-INF fun     spoil-PP-NOM-ABS
    *kho·-mna.    habɛ,  sukʔaŋ  suk.*
    get-1peAS/PT cry-PT sob-and sob.
*Nārāyan*: *nasi yaŋ    kho·-mɛ-lle hɛnaŋ mɛn-yuʔ-ma??*
        five rupee get-INF-SUB why    NEG-bring_down-INF
*Nārāyan*'s mother: *habha        khɛŋ-le ku-mɛn      bhəri-saŋ*
                like_that she-ERG its-price *bharī*[2]-even
    *nuba. swaʔl     yy-aŋ              mɛ-n-de·-baŋ          ro·*
    good  silently come_down-1sPS/PT NEG-NEG-take-1s→3 ASS
    *mɛtt-u-ŋ. hɛkyaŋ kɔʔyo·    yy-aŋ-ille*
    say_to-3P so     down_here come_down-1sPS/PT-SUB

---

[1] Ego's brother's son (female speaking).
[2] *bharī* Nep., wholly, completely.

*indre·-ni?-re se·dzɔŋwa    iŋ-u-aŋ        pi·r-aŋ.*
*Indra-CTR-ERG millet_brandy buy-3P-pfG give-1sPS/PT*
*khɛŋbe·la     phuŋwa?1 mɛ-hɔks-w-aŋ       mɛ-ya·g-ɛ.*
*at_that_time gourd     nsAS-search-3P-pfG nsAS-be-PT*

*Nārāyaṇ:* *hɛnaŋ mɛ-hɔks-u-ba?            kərə nu,        dzay*
        why    nsAS-look_for-3P-IPF but  be_alright *jay*
        *dzay rɔk  po·ŋ-lɔ.*
        *jay*[3] only be-OPT

*Nārāyaṇ's mother:* *yumma?1-?o·     yum kɛ-akt-u-m-mi·?*
                   vegetables-LOC salt 2-add-3P-pA-Q

*Nārāyaṇ:* *mɛn-ak-?e·  wa·. pho·kwa-mɛ-lle*
        npG-add-npG be  youngest_born-f/NOM-ERG
        *akt-u-lle yum lak-lɔ      rɔk  co·g-u.*
        add-3P-SUB salt be_salty-prG only do-3P

*Pho·kwama:* *mɛl-lak-ŋna      gɔ· a-sira       mɛ-dhaŋ-nɛn.*
          NP-be_salty-NP then my-pleasure NEG-come_up-NEG

*Nārāyaṇ's mother:* *yum kɛ-dza-ba-re   cutt-a?m-ɛ?-yaŋ*
                   salt AP-eat-AP-VOC sprinkle-2p-IMP-pfG
                   *cy-amm-ɛ?.*
                   eat-2p-IMP

*Pho·kwama:* *cut-my-aŋ         ca-mna-bɛ-n     kudzanu-i·?*
          sprinkle-INF-pfG eat-PP-NOM-ABS be_delicious-Q
          *hɛkyaŋ   gɔ·?*
          and_then then

*Nārāyaṇ:* *ando· lɔkthik muṭi cutt-ɛ?-aŋ        cy-ɛ?!*
        later one     fist sprinkle-IMP-pfG eat-IMP
        *kudzanu-i·?    mɛ-nu-nɛn-ni·?*
        be_delicious-Q NEG-be_delicious-NEG-Q

*Pho·kwama:* *a·ci kɔbhrɔk-?i·?*
          *ācī*[4] only_this_much-Q

*Nārāyaṇ's mother:* *məna-re mɛ-dzutt-w-e·           mɛ-dzɔ.*
                   man-ERG nsAS-sprinkle-3P-EMPH nsAS-eat
                   *thik-le kɛ-lak-pa       mɛ-dzɔ.*
                   one-ERG AP-be_salty-AP nsAS-eat
                   *thiksəmmɛ-lle mɛn-lak-ŋna      mɛdzɔ.*
                   the_other-ERG NP-be_salty-NP nsAS-eat


translation:

*Nārāyaṇ's mother:* "When your father comes, I'll..., your
   nephew is selling and I'll buy it and give it to you,"
   she said to her. Why [should we] not ask for it? All

---

[3] *jay* Nep., hurrah.
[4] *ācī* Nep., yuck.

we<sup>pe</sup> got was spoilt fun. She cried, sob-sob.

*Nārāyaṇ*: If she got five rupees, why not bring it down?

*Nārāyaṇ's* mother: [She went on] like that [saying], "Its price is completely good." I told her, "I came down without saying a word, [but] I didn't take it [at that price]!" So on my way down here, *Indra* (of all people) bought millet brandy and gave it to me. At that time they were looking for an [empty] gourd.

*Nārāyaṇ*: What were they doing that for? But alright, let it be just 'three cheers' [for them].

*Nārāyaṇ's* mother: Have you<sup>p</sup> added salt to the vegetables?

*Nārāyaṇ*: No, we haven't. If youngest-born adds salt, she only makes it too salty.

*Pho·kwama*: I don't like it unsalted.

*Nārāyaṇ's* mother: Salt eaters, sprinkle a little bit and eat!

*Pho·kwama*: [sarcastically] Does what you eat taste good when you sprinkle a little bit? Well then?

*Nārāyaṇ*: [sarcastically] Well, then sprinkle a fistfull [of salt] later and eat it! Will it taste good or won't it?

*Pho·kwama*: [sarcastically] Yuck! only this much?! (i.e. only a fist-full?)

*Nārāyaṇ's* mother: [placating] People sprinkle a little and eat. Some eat it salty, others eat it unsalty.


### Mendicant


*Sarumba*:  him-bhitra    la·ʔi phaʔaŋ  kis-aŋ
            house-inside enter *bhanera* be_afraid-1sPS/PT
            *sy-aŋ.*        pa·n-mɛ-n-cha·p-paŋ.
            die-1sPS/PT call_to-NEG-NEG-call_to-1s→3/PT
            *ku-ha-·n*       tha·ps-u.  "i···"  lɔʔr-ɛ.
            her-tooth-ABS show-3P    "eee " say-PT

*Yaŋsarumba*:  a·kkhya·k  tɔŋbe·  kɛ-yo·-ma        co·g-ɛ?
              how_many year    AP-reach-AP/f be-PT
              *khɔda·kmi* co·g-ɛ-i·,  *hɛndza?* co·g-ɛ-i·?
              adult        be-PT-Q      child    be-PT-Q

*Sarumba*: mɛnchya kusiŋ lɔʔr-ɛ.
           maiden  like  appear-PT

*Yaŋsarumba*: hɛn   co·g-ɛ-aŋ yuŋ-ɛ? kɔk-ʔaŋ       kɔtt-w-i·?
              what do-PT-pfG sit-PT burden-too have-3P-Q

*Sarumba*: hɛnaŋ   mɛ-gɔtt-u-n.
           nothing NEG-have-3P-NEG

*Yaŋsarumba*: pɔ·tthaŋ  khuks-w-aŋ           way-ɛ-i·?
              *pachyaurā* drape_about-3P-pfG be-PT-Q

*Sarumba*: ã.
        yes
*Yaŋsarumba*: a·kdaŋba      pɔ·tthaŋ  khuks-w-aŋ
          what_kind_of pachyaurā drape_about-3P-pfG
          way-ɛ?
          be-PT
*Sarumba*: hiktaŋba co·g-ɛ.
          greenish be-PT
*Yaŋsarumba*: hɛn   co·g-ɛ-aŋ way-ɛ?
          what do-PT-pfG be-PT
*Sarumba*: haŋs-aŋ-ba          laʔba.
          wait_for-1sPS/PT-IPF probably
*Yaŋsarumba*: hɛkyaŋ ando· ando· pe·g-ɛ-i· mɛ-be·g-ɛ-n-ni·?
          then    later later go-PT-Q    NEG-go-PT-NEG-Q
          pe·g-ɛ-ba kɛ-nis·w-i·?
          go-PT-NOM 2-see-3P-Q
*Sarumba*: mɛ-n-ni-baŋ.          sapla ni·r-u-ŋ-aŋ
          NEG-NEG-see-1sPS/PT book   read-3P-1sA-pfG
          ips-aŋ.
          sleep-1sPS/PT
*Yaŋsarumba*: [to *Yəmba*] khɛnɛʔ ta·ndik  biha·ndik a·kkhɛn
                          youˢ   tomorrow morning   how_much
    muk-ʔille  kɛ-yu?        ta·ndik sammyaŋ kɛ-wa·p-ma-ha?
    strike-SUB 2-come_down tomorrow gold     AP-wear-AP/f-p

    nəksa    co·k-mʔ  bo·ŋ. kumakla kubhɔra ri·l[1]
    picture make-INF EXIG black   white   film
    kɛ-gɔtt-w-i·?
    2-have-3P-Q
*Yəmba*: ã.
        yeah
*Yaŋsarumba*: allɔ im-m·      po·ŋ laʔba.
          now  sleep-INF EXIG probably


translation:

*Sarumba*: I was scared to death that she might come in, [so]
    I didn't call to her. She showed her teeth. She did
    "eee..." (the speaker imitates the mendicant who looked
    inside, peering about with her lips curled up baring her
    teeth.)
*Yaŋsarumba*: How old a one was she? Was she an adult or a
    child?

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[1] ri·l < Nep. rīl < Eng. 'reel', i.e. roll of film.

*Sarumba*: She seemed like a maiden.

*Yaŋsarumba*: What did she sit there doing? Did she have a burden?

*Sarumba*: She didn't have anything.

*Yaŋsarumba*: Was she draped in a *pachyaurā*?

*Sarumba*: Yes.

*Yaŋsarumba*: What kind of *pachyaurā* was she draped in?

*Sarumba*: It was a greenish one.

*Yaŋsarumba*: What was she doing?

*Sarumba*: She was probably waiting for me.

*Yaŋsarumba*: Well, did she go away later on or didn't she? Did you see her go away?

*Sarumba*: I didn't. I read a book and fell sleep.

*Yaŋsarumba*: [to *Yəmba*] At what time are you coming down tomorrow morning? You have to take photographs of the women wearing gold tomorrow. Do you have a black and white film?

*Yəmba*: Yes.

*Yaŋsarumba*: Now it's probably time to go to bed.


## The Jackal and the Goat


*Yaŋsarumba*:  khɛŋ  mɛnda?-in  ca·lɔm-se   ye·-aŋ
            that goat-ABS   graze-SUP  come_down/PT-pfG

   way-ɛ.  hɛkkɛlle  sya?l-ille nis-u-waŋ   ha?r-u-waŋ
   be-PT   therefore jackal-ERG see-3P-pfG  bite-3P-pfG

   sɛ?r-u. mɛnda?-in an·ge·-n      me·nduk.
   kill-3P goat-ABS   oursPe-GEN/ABS NOT

   na·pmi-rɛ-n          khunchi-mɛnda?. khɛŋ mɛnda?-re
   someone_else-GEN-ABS their-goat      that goat-GEN

   ku-sa    ca-ma?  nu-?.        hɛkkɛlle  məna-re
   3s-meat  eat-INF be_alright-DEF therefore man-ERG

   mɛ-dzɔ     mɛ-n-dzɔ-nɛn-naŋ.
   nsAS-eat  nsAS-NEG-eat-NEG-pfG

*Yəmba*:  khɛnɛ?  a·kkhyɛŋ kɛ-lɛ·s-u?
          you*   how     2s-know-3P

*Yaŋsarumba*: aŋga a·kkhyɛŋ lɛ·s-u-ŋ     phɛlle nɛtchi məna-re
            I    how     know-3P-1sA *bhane* two    man-ERG

*ande·    sya?l-ille ha?r-aŋ  ya·g-ɛ-lle nis-ɛ-tch-u.*
earlier jackal-ERG bite-pfG be-PT-SUB  see-PT-dA-3P

*hɛkyaŋ    khɛŋha? nɛpmaŋ pe·-si-aŋ      na·b-ɛ-tch-u.*
and_then they     both    go/PT-dPS-pfG drive_off-PT-dA-3P

*hɛkyaŋ    lam-?o·-dhak lɔ·tt-ɛ-tch-u-waŋ  nɛ·s-ɛ-tch-u.*
and_then road-LOC-ALL remove-PT-dA-3P-pfG put-PT-dA-3P

*kɔtna    anige-him-mo·    phɛ?r-ɛ-tchi-aŋ "e·-lle*
hither our Pe-house-LOC come-PT-dPS-pfG  who-GEN

*ku-mɛnda?-thik sya?l-ille ha?r-u-waŋ  sɛ?r-u"*
his-goat-one    jackal-ERG bite-3P-pfG kill-3P

*lɔ?r-ɛ-tchi. khɛŋ khɛps-u-ŋ-aŋ    aŋga se·ndo·s-u-ŋ*
say-PT-dPS    that hear-3P-1sA-pfG I    ask-3P-1sA

*"e·-lle ku-mɛnda?? a·kdaŋba    co·g-ɛ?"*
who-GEN 3s-goat    what_kind_of be-PT

*mɛtt-u-ŋ-si-ŋ-ille         khɛŋha?-re pa·tt-ɛ-tch-u.*
say_to-3P-1sA-nsP-1sA-SUB they-ERG    say-PT-dA-3P

*"khɛŋ mɛnda?-in gɔ· ku-mak-la    ku-bhɔ-ra*
 that goat-ABS  hmm COL-black-COL COL-white-COL

*kɛ-bhup-pa co·k. yɛmba mɛ-dzo·k-nɛn cuk-cukpa    dzo·k"*
AP-mix-AP be    big   NEG-be-NEG    small-small be

*lɔ?r-ɛ-tchi. hɛkyaŋ    aŋga lo·kt-aŋ-aŋ*
say-PT-dPS    and_then I    run-1sPS/PT-pfG

*pe·g-aŋ-ille    khɛŋ mɛnda?-in ammu cɔ-waŋ      ya·g-ɛ.*
go-1sPS/PT-SUB that goat-ABS   again eat/3P-pfG be-PT

*aŋga pe·g-aŋ    nume·nnu khɛŋ sya?l-ɛn*
I    go-1sPS/PT forthwith that jackal-ABS

*na·tt-u-ŋ           de·s-u-ŋ.       mɛnda?-in*
drive_away-3P-1sA dispatch-3P-1sA goat-ABS

*pɔks-u-ŋ-aŋ      yu?r-u-ŋ.          kɔbhrɔk.*
carry-3P-1sA-pfG bring_down-3P-1sA this_much_only.

translation:

speaker A: That goat had come down to graze. So, the jackal
   saw it, bit it and killed it. The goat is not ours. It's
   somebody else's goat. It's alright to eat that goat's
   meat. So, some people will eat it, whereas others will
   not.
speaker B: How do you know that?
speaker A: How I know is that earlier two men had seen the
   jackal biting. And then they both went and drove it off.
   And then they removed it [viz. the goat] and brought it
   up as far as the road. Then they came here to our house
   and said 'Whose one goat has the jackal bitten to
   death?' Hearing that, I asked 'Whose goat? What kind was
   it?' Having put this to them, they said, 'The goat was
   mottled black and white.' They said, 'It wasn't big; it
   was rather small.' And then I ran and, as I went, it
   [the jackal] was eating that goat again. I went immedia-
   tely and drove that jackal away. I carried the goat and
   brought it down. That's all.


### Short Conversation between *Kānchī* and a Visitor


*Kānchī*: *mɔkwa kɛ-dhuŋ-w-i·?*
          tea    2-drink-3P-Q
Visitor:  *ande·  thuŋ-u-ŋ.*
          before drink-3P-1sA
*Kānchī*: *ammu  kɛ-dhuŋ-w-i·?*
          again 2-drink-3P-Q
Visitor:  *ã̄, thuŋ-u-ŋ.*
          yes drink-3P-1sA
*Kānchī*: *ho·p-pa.*
          not_be-IPF
Visitor:  *hɛkke·    gɔrɔ, mɛ-dhuŋ-?ɛ-n.*
          like_that if    NEG-drink-1s→3/NPT-NEG

translation:

*Kānchī*: Will you have some tea?
Visitor:  I have already drunk tea.
*Kānchī*: Would you like some more?
Visitor:  Alright then, I shall have some more.
*Kānchī*: There isn't any.
Visitor:  Well, in that case, I shan't drink any tea.

The Road to *Ilām*


*kɔʔo·-nu ila·m pe·k-maʔ nɛtchi sumsi ya·n la·bdzo·k.*
here-COM *Ilām* go-INF    two      three day  take


*kɔʔo·-nu pe·k-mɛ-lle saŋmaŋ-e·      saŋmaŋ     pe·k-maʔ po·ŋ.*
here-COM go-INF-SUB   downhill-EMPH downhill go-INF    EXIG


*khɛʔo·-nu ammu tha·ŋmaŋ-e· tha·ŋmaŋ pe·k-my-aŋ ci?*
there-COM again uphill-EMPH uphill    go-INF-pfG little_bit


*pɛrɛm pe·k-my-aŋ yasɔk a-gɛʔl.  khɛʔo· kɛrɛk yakthuŋba*
level go-INF-pfG Yāśok 1-arrive there    all   Limbu


*pa·ŋbhe·  co·k. hɛkyaŋ khɛʔo·-nu pe·k-maʔ-e· pe·k-ma-lle*
village  be    then    there-COM go-INF-EMPH go-INF-SUB


*nɛtchi sumsi ya·n-le ila·m a-gɛʔl.  ila·m-ʔo· yəmba*
two      three day-GEN *Ilām* 1-arrive *Ilām*-LOC big


*pa·ŋdzum dzo·k. khɛʔo· khɛŋ ila·m-ʔo· yəmba ciyaba·ri*[1]
bazar      be    there  that *Ilām*-LOC big    tea_garden


*nɛ·.*
be_situated


translation:

It takes two or three days to get to *Ilām* from here. Going
from here one has to keep on going downhill a long ways.
After going steeply uphill from there for quite a ways and
then proceeding level for a little bit, one will arrive in
*Yāśok*. There all the villages are Limbu. Then if you keep
on going from there, you'll get to *Ilām* in two or three
days. In *Ilām* there is a big bazar. There in that *Ilām*, big
tea plantations are located.

---

[1] < Nep. *ciyābārī* 'tea garden'.

Vulgar Prattle by *Candra Hāṅ*

*kɛ-me·ʔl, a·kdaŋba hira co·k?*
*lɔ lɔʔ-ille hɛn mɛp-ma??*
*hɔtt-u-i·-ba?*
*hɔtt-u-ba-i·?*
*tɛn-ni·-ba?*


3. Myth and Legend


Creation and the Origins of Man
narrated by *Netra Bahādur Paŋyaŋgu*


*anche· anche· hɛn aŋ ho·pt-ɛ. hɛn aŋ hɛn aŋ*
before before what also not_be-PT what also what also

*ho·pt-ɛ. hɛkkɛlle sɔme·t-tin ke·dzɔŋ lɔk mu way-ɛ.*
not_be-PT therefore air-ABS gale only REP be-PT

*hɛkkɛlle gɔ· cwaʔl lɔk nɛ·s-ɛ.*
therefore then water only sit-PT

*tatarɛn-niŋwa-bhu-maŋ-in i·t-chiŋ. la·b-bhɛrik*
Tatarɛn-mind-white-god-ABS think-REF moon-*mandhanī*

*nam-bhɛrik kube· uks-u. hɛkkɛlle uks-u-lle mu*
sun-*mandhanī* start pull-3P therefore pull-3P-SUB REP

*la·b-ne·tti nam-ne·tti cupsaŋ-diŋ uks-u-lle*
moon-churning sun-churning right-toward pull-3P-SUB

*la·b-butthuŋ nam-butthuŋ khɛŋ cwaʔl-o·-lam lɔ·nd-ɛ.*
moon-foam sun-foam that water-LOC-MED emerge-PT

*sidɔʔl lɔ·nd-ɛ-yaŋ khɛŋ ku-butthuŋwa-·n anche· khɛŋ-in*
much emerge-3P-pfG that its-foam-ABS before that-ABS

*kha·m po·ks-ɛ. hɛkyaŋ iks-u-lle ku-butthuŋwa-·n*
dirt become-PT and_then pull-3P-SUB its-foam-ABS

*kɛ-bim-bɛ-n thɛgumaŋwa po·ks-ɛ mu. hɛkyaŋ*
AP-splash_up-AP-ABS mountain_ranges become-PT REP and_then

*thɛgumaŋwa*          *mɛnchamdiŋ-yamna·pmi*            *me·ʔe·*
mountain_ranges sentient_man-incarnate_man without


*kha·mbe·k mɛ-ghɛmd-u-n.*    *hɛkyaŋ*
earth       NEG-suit-3P-NEG and_then


*po·ro·t-mi-yəmbha-mi-maŋ-in*        *tatarɛn-niŋwa-bhu-maŋ-ʔo·*
hanging-tail-large-tail-god-ABS Tatarɛn-mind-white-god-LOC


*se·ndo·-se se·llap-se   pe·   ro·. hɛkyaŋ*
ask-SUP      inquire-SUP go/PT ASS   and_then


*tatarɛn-niŋwa-phu-maŋ-ille* "*sammyaŋ-nu yuʔpa   phutt-ɛʔ-aŋ*
Tatarɛn-mind-white-god-ERG   gold-and    silver mix-IMP-and


*məna  cɔʔiʔl  co·g-ɛ?*" *mɛtt-u-waŋ po·ro·ʔl-mi-maŋ-in   "yammu*
man   image   make-IMP say-3P-and hanging-tail-god-ABS again


*kɔtna  phɛʔr-ɛ?".  hɛkyaŋ    sammyaŋ-nu yuʔpa   phutt-u-waŋ*
hither come-IMP   and_then  gold-and    silver mix-3P-and


*mɛnchamdiŋ-yamna·pmi           co·g-u-waŋ  sa·ŋgo·    sɔkma*
sentient_man-incarnate_man make-3P-and life_force breath


*ke·tt-u    kərə hɛkyaŋ     pa·ncha·tt-u.  huhu      mɛtt-u*
put_in-3P but  and_then call_to-3P      hoo-hoo say_to-3P


*haha   mɛtt-u    kərə mɛ-ba·ʔr-ɛ-n.       hɛkyaŋ    yammu*
ha-ha say_to-3P but  NEG-speak-PT-NEG and_then again


*tatarɛn-niŋwa-bhumaŋ-ʔo·    se·ndo·-se·llap-se pe·g-ɛ.*
Tatarɛn-mind-white-god-LOC ask-inquire-SUP      go-PT


"*sammyaŋ yuʔpa   phuks-u-ŋ-aŋ       ya·mna·pmi    co·g-u-ŋ.*
 gold     silver blend-3P-1sA-pfG incarnate_man make-3P-1sA


*hɛkkɛlle huhu    haha  mɛtt-u-ŋ        sa·ŋgo·    sɔkma*
then     hoo-hoo ha-ha say_to-3P-1sA life-force breath


*ke·tt-u-ŋ     kərə mɛ-ba·ʔr-ɛ-n.     allɔ aŋga a·kkhe·*
put_in-3P-1sA but  NEG-speak-PT-NEG now  I    how


*co·g-u-ŋ.*" *phaʔaŋ* "*yammu aŋga se·ndo·-se·llap-se*
do-3P-1sA  *bhane*    again I    ask-inquire-SUP


*phɛʔr-aŋ*"    *mɛtt-u.* "*hɛkke·     gɔrɔ*"
come-1sPS/PT say_to-3P like_that if

*tatarɛn-niŋwa-bhu-maŋ-ille* "*tho·-gɔrɔ-tho·   la·sa·   lɛpmaŋ*
Tatarɛn-mind-white-god-ERG  way_up_there  Lhasa  toward

*pe·-ʔ-aŋ   sɛmikla-khappu yu·r-ɛ?       yo·-gɔrɔ-yo·*
go-IMP-and reed-ash      bring_down-IMP way_down_below

*tɔʔigɛnnamge·piba pe·g-ɛʔ-aŋ waʔ-hi       phɛtt-ɛ?.*
to_the_northeast  go-IMP-and chicken-shit fetch-IMP

*hɛkke·   sɔʔr-ɛʔ-aŋ     mɛnchamdiŋ-yamna·pmi-cɔʔiʔl*
that_way knead-IMP-and sentient_man-incarnate_man-image

*co·g-ɛ?. hɛkyaŋ   pa·ncha·tt-ɛ?" mɛtt-u     bhɛnch-u.*
make-IMP and_then call_to-IMP    say_to-3P send-3P

*hɛkyaŋ   khɛŋ pa·tt-u-ba kusiŋ naragɛn mɛnchamdiŋ-cɔʔiʔl*
and_then that say-3P-NOM like  figure  sentient_man-image

*co·g-u. hɛkyaŋ   huhu    mɛtt-u     haha mɛtt-u.   huhu*
make-3P and_then hoo-hoo say_to-3P ha-ha say_to-3P hoo-hoo

*mɛtt-u-lle     hu lɔʔr-ɛ, haha  mɛtt-u-lle     ha lɔʔr-ɛ.*
say_to-3P-SUB hoo say-PT  ha-ha say_to-3P-SUB ha say-PT

"*e· --- hɛkke·     gɔrɔ khɛnɛ? sammyaŋ-nu yuʔpa*
hey!    like_that if   you[s] gold-and   silver

*phuks-u-ŋ-aŋ       mɔna co·g-u-ŋ-aŋ       pa·ncha·t-nɛ-lle*
blend-3P-1sA-pfG man  make-3P-1sA-pfG call_to-1→2-SUB

*kɛ-m-ba·ʔr-ɛ-n.     thappu-nu waʔ-hi       ka·ŋs-u-ŋ-aŋ*
2-NEG-speak-PT-NEG ash-and    chicken-shit mould-3P-1sA-pfG

*mɛnchamdiŋ-yamna·pmi       co·g-u-ŋ-aŋ       pa·nchat-nɛ-lle*
sentient_man-incarnate_man make-3P-1sA-pfG call-1→2-SUB

*kɛ-ba·ʔr-ɛ. thukka mɛtt-u-ŋ.*"
2-speak-PT  curse  say_to-3P-1sA

translation:

A long, long time ago, there was nothing. There was
nothing, nothing at all. And so, it is said, the air was
only in a state of tempest. And so, below there was only
water. The immaculate-minded god Tatarεn reflected. He then
began to churn the waters to the left (lunar churn) and to
the right (solar churn). And so, it is said that as he was
churning, alternately pulling at the lunar string and at
the solar string, as he was churning in a clockwise direc-
tion, lunar foam [originating from the left] and solar foam
[originating from the right] emerged from that water. A
great amount came out, and that very foam long ago became
the land. Then it is said that, as he churned, the foam
splashing up became the mountain ranges. And so, the moun-
tain ranges came into existence, but there being no sen-
tient incarnate man, the earth appeared unseemly. So, the
hanging-tail-large-tailed god went to ask and to inquire of
the immaculate-minded Tatarεn. And so, the immaculate-
minded god Tatarεn said to the hanging-tailed god, "Mix
gold and silver together, and make the image of man! And
then come back here." And so, he mixed gold and silver and
created the image of sentient incarnate man and instilled
life force and breath into him, but then he called to him:
He said 'hoo-hoo' to him, and he said 'ha-ha' to him, but
it did not speak. Then he went again to ask and to inquire
of the immaculate-minded god Tatarεn. He said to him,
"Having mixed gold and silver together, I made incarnate
man. And so, I said 'hoo-hoo' and 'ha-ha' and instilled
life force and breath into him, but he spoke not. Now what
am I to do? Again I have come to ask and inquire." "In that
case," said the immaculate-minded god Tatarεn, "Go way up
high in the direction of Lhasa, and bring from there the
ash of reeds, and go way down below eastward to whence the
sun rises [which is the abode of many deities], and fetch
chicken-shit. Knead it like this and make the image of
sentient incarnate man. And then, call to him!" he said and
dispatched him. And so, he made the embodied image of sen-
tient man in the manner he had been told. And then he said
'hoo-hoo' to him, and he said 'ha-ha' to him. As he said
'hoo-hoo' to him, he responded 'hoo'. As he said 'ha-ha' to
him, he responded 'ha'. [Then the hanging-tail-large-tailed
god exclaimed:] "Oh, if that be the case, when I mixed gold
and silver and made you man and called you, you did not
speak. When I moulded ashes and chicken guano and created
[from it] the image of sentient incarnate man and called to
you, you spoke. I curse him [viz. man]!"

## The Mortality of Man

A Limbu myth in which primordial Man,
a hunter-gatherer endowed with super-
natural powers, offends the gods with
whom he undertakes to hunt. He becomes
bereft of his supernatural powers and
is banned, after which Man assumes the
role of sedentary agriculturalist. To-
day only certain individuals still oc-
casionally display some of the superna-
tural powers which Man once possessed.

*anche·-ba   məna-haʔ sika·r-rɔk    mɛ-dzo·g-u mɛ-dze·.*
before-NOM man-p    hunting-only nsAS-do-3P nsAS-SUS/PT

*e·ʔyəŋba ya·mbɔk mɛ-n-dzo·g-ɛ-n.    maŋ-haʔ-re*
another   work    nsAS-NEG-do-PT-NEG deity-p-GEN

*khunchi-ba·ni cu·ciʔ      cu·ciʔ      rɔk   ca-maʔ  way-ɛ.*
their-habit    little_bit little_bit only eat-INF be-PT

*anche·  anche·  maŋ-ba·la·-lle     lɔkthik məna-re maŋ-ille*
before before deity-period-GEN one       man-ERG deity-GEN

*ku-saʔ-dhik,   mɛnchuma-·n, biha·     co·g-u-waŋ hɛkkɛlle*
his-child-one lady-ABS       marriage do-3P-pfG   therefore

*maŋ-nu  so·-so·rik          mɛ-way-ɛ.  maŋ-haʔ-nu  məna*
god-COM together-together nsAS-be-PT deity-p-COM man

*sika·r  mɛ-dzo·g-u mɛ-dze·.    thik ya·n maŋ-haʔ-re*
hunting nsAS-do-3P nsAS-SUS/PT one  day  deity-p-ERG

*lɔkthik pusaʔl-thik sɛʔ-maʔ pha?aŋ   mɛ-na·tt-u.*
one       birdie-one  kill-INF *bhanera* nsAS-chase_after-3P

*mɛ-na·tt-u-mɛ-na·tt-u-lle                    məna-lle*
nsAS-chase_after-3P-nsAS-chase_after-3P-SUB man-GEN

*ku-be·sɛʔ-o·      pusaʔl-in  te·.    məna-lle ɔ·mɔtt-u.*
his-vicinity-LOC birdie-ABS come/PT man-ERG  look-3P

"*kɔŋya·psa       pusaʔl-thik a·tto·-lam te·?*"   khɛŋ mɛna-lle
such_a_small birdie-one  where-MED come/PT that man-GEN

*ku-li?-ille*          *hipt-u-sɛr-u-waŋ*        *ku-sukwa-?o·*
his-slingshot-INST strike-3P-kill-3P-pfG his-bag-LOC


*akt-u. hɛkkɛlle maŋ-ha? mɛ-lo·kt-ɛ-rɔ    mɛ-de·.          hɛkyaŋ*
put-3P and_so   deity-p nsAS-run-PT-prG nsAS-come/PT then


*mɛna-·n se·n-mɛ-do·s-u "anige na·tt-u-m-be-ba    pu-·n*
man-ABS ask-nsAS-ask-3P weᴾᵉ  chase-3P-pA-e-NOM bird-ABS


*kɔ?o· te·.      kɛ-nis-w-i·?" "a·kdaŋba        pu? aŋga*
here   come/PT 2-see-3P-Q        what_kind_of bird I


*mɛ-n-ni-baŋ.            yəmba-i·  cukpa-i·?" "maŋbhaya·ppa."*
NEG-NEG-see-1s→3/PT big-Q     small-Q        medium-sized


*hɛkyaŋ   mɛna-lle hɛkke·      ku-sukwa-?o·-lam*
and_then man-ERG   like_that his-bag-LOC-MED


*lɔ·tt-u-waŋ        o·nda·kt-u-si. "kɔŋ-i·?" mɛtt-u-si.*
take_out-3P-and show-3P-nsP       this-Q     say_to-3P-nsP


*hɛkkɛlle maŋ-ha? mɛ-sɔtt-ɛ-rɔ        "ho·! habha*
and_so   deity-p nsAS-rejoice-PT-prG hey! such


*kɔŋ-in-cha?" mɛ-lɔ?r-ɛ.    khɛŋ mɛ-la·b-u*
this-ABS-EMPH nsAS-say-PT that nsAS-singe-3P


*mɛ-dhe·s-u-waŋ    məna-·n ku-səbɔŋba-dhik mɛ-bi·r-u.*
nsAS-gut-3P-pfG man-ABS its-thigh-one     nsAS-give-3P


*hɛkyaŋ   maŋ-ha? mɛ-be·g-ɛ. məna-lle ku-niŋwa-?o·  i·tt-u*
and_then deity-p nsAS-go-PT man-GEN   his-mind-LOC think-3P


*"kɔŋ   maŋ-ha? a·kdaŋba-si        kɔŋya·psa      pu-·n*
this   deity-p what_kind_of-be such_a_small bird-ABS


*attitti        mɛ-na·tt-u-waŋ      mɛ-ya·k?" hɛkke·*
so_intensely nsAS-chase-3P-pfG nsAS-be    like_that


*i·tt-u-rɔ      him-?o·  pe·g-ɛ. him-?o·  ku-me·?l-in*
think-3P-prG home-LOC go-PT    home-LOC his-wife-ABS


*tha·ktha·g-ɛ-rɔ ya·g-ɛ. məna-lle ku-sikwa-?o·-lam khɛŋ*
weave-PT-prG      be-PT   man-ERG his-bag-LOC-MED that


*pu-lle    ku-səbɔŋbɛ-n  lɔ·tt-u-waŋ    ku-me·?l-in*
bird-GEN its-thigh-ABS remove-3P-pfG his-wife-ABS

*lapphe·s-u pi·r-u-rɔ    ku-me·ʔl-in   mɛtt-u    "kɔŋ*
fling-3P    give-3P-prG his-wife-ABS say‿to-3P this

*kɛ-maiti               kɛ-mphu-*
your-maiden‿household your-older‿brother-

*kɛ-nsa-re                    kɛ-m-hakt-ɛ-ba."        hɛkkɛlle*
your-younger‿sibling-ERG 2-nsAS-send‿to-PT-NOM therefore

*gɔ·   pusaʔl-ille ku-laŋ-ille   ku-me·ʔl-ille   ku-səbɔŋba-ʔo·*
then birdie-GEN   its-leg-INST his-wife-GEN    her-thigh-LOC

*yaŋs-u-waŋ      ku-səbɔŋbɛ-n   lɛnd-ɛ                  rəcə. allɔ*
strike-3P-pfG her-thigh-ABS become‿dislocated-PT DEPR   now

*hɛn  po·ks-ɛ    phaʔaŋ ku-mphu-ku-nsa*
what happen-PT *bhane* her-elder‿brother-her-younger‿sibling

*ku-maiti-haʔ*                *mɛ-u·tt-u-si*        *hɛkyaŋ*
her-maiden‿household-p nsAS-summon-3P-nsP. and‿then

*mɛ-de·-yaŋ             ku-nchammaba-haʔ-re*
nsAS-come/PT-pfG her-male‿siblings-p-ERG

*ɔ·-mɛ-mɔtt-u-lle         pu-lle    ku-laŋ-ille   mɛnchuma-lle*
look-nsAS-look-3P-SUB bird-GEN its-leg-INST lady-GEN

*ku-laŋ-in    lɛnd-ɛ-rɔ                   co·g-u rəcə. hɛkyaŋ*
her-leg-ABS become‿dislocated-PT-prG do-3P   DEPR   and‿then

*maŋ-haʔ sa·rik khunchi-yak lɛʔr-ɛ. "allɔ kɔŋ    məna-haʔ-nu*
deity-p very    their-anger arise-PT now   this man-p-COM

*wa·-ma    mɛ-nu-nɛn               ləcə. allɔ kɔŋ məna-nu*
live-INF NEG-be‿alright-NEG DEPR   now   this man-COM

*sɛm-mʔ*          *bo·ŋ" mɛ-lɔʔr-ɛ-yaŋ     məna-·n-naŋ*
split‿up-INF EXIG   nsAS-say-PT-pfg man-ABS-also

*mɛ-mɛtt-u             kərə məna-lle a·kkhya·k*
nsAS-say‿to-3P but   man-ERG how‿much

*mɛ-dɛnd-ɛ-n-chaŋ           "sɛm-me·n"       phaʔaŋ*
NEG-agree-PT-NEG-even split‿up-NOT *bhanera*

*mɛtt-u-si-saŋ            maŋ-haʔ mɛ-dɛnd-ɛ-n.       hɛkyaŋ   kəle·m*
say‿to-3P-nsP-even deity-p NEG-agree-PT-NEG and‿then lots

*tɛʔl-haʔ-phɛkwa-haʔ me-da·r-u-waŋ      mik-thɛk-thɛk*
leaf-p-foliage-p      nsAS-bring-3P-pfG eye-cover‿up-cover‿up

*me-dzo·g-u-lle atiŋ   tɛʔl-haʔ-phɛkwa-ry-aŋ*
nsAS-do-3P-SUB which leaf-p-foliage-ERG-also

*me-dhɛkt-u-n.        kərə ando·       kətəʔwa-lle*
NEG-cover‿up-3P-NEG but   afterward fern-INST

*mik-thɛk-thɛk            me-dzo·g-u-lle məna-lle maŋ-haʔ*
eye-cover‿up-cover‿up nsAS-do-3P-SUB man-ERG   deity-p

*me-nis-u-n-chi-n.        hɛkyaŋ    maŋ-haʔ-re "allɔ ani*
NEG-see-3P-NEG-nsP-NEG and‿then deity-p-ERG now   weᴾⁱ

*abhɛlle·-yaŋ a-n-dum-nɛn.    a-dum  gɔrɔ phɛdzikkum-*
when-also     1-NEG-meet-NEG 1-meet if    sorcerers-

*phe·daŋ-nu-rɔk   a-dum   lo·" mɛ-lɔʔr-ɛ-yaŋ*
shaman-COM-only 1-meet ASS   nsAS-say-PT-pfG

*mɛ-mɔy-ɛ            mɛ-ghɛr-ɛ.  hɛkyaŋ-dho· məna-nu maŋ*
nsAS-get‿lost-PT nsAS-RES-PT then-since   man-COM deity

*a-n-dum-nɛn-ba.*
1-NEG-meet-NEG-IPF.

epilogue:

*allo·-ba məna-ry-aŋ    ma·ŋgha laŋghe·k-m? po·ŋ gɔrɔ*
now-NOM   man-ERG-also far       walk-INF      EXIG if

*hɛndzaʔbitcha-re khunchi-thɛge·k-ʔo· kətəʔwa*
children-ERG       their-head-LOC          fern

*mɛ-sips-u-si              mɛ-bi·r-u-si hɛnaŋbhɛlle kətəʔwa*
nsAS-insert-3P-nsP-nsAS give-3P-nsP because        fern

*sim-my-aŋ        ɔŋʔe·kwa hɛndzaʔbitcha*
insert-INF-pfG infant    children

*sisam-hɛnyawɛnya-haʔ-re mɛ-n-nis-u-n-chi-n.*
ghost-etcetera-p-ERG     nsAS-NEG-see-3P-NEG-nsP-NEG

*sisam-hɛnyawɛnya-haʔ-re a-m-ni        gɔrɔ a-m-haʔ.*
ghost-etcetera-p-ERG     1-nsAS-see if    1-nsAS-afflict

translation:

Ancient men only went ahunting [for a living]. They did no
other work. It was the custom of the gods to eat only a
very very little bit. A long long time ago, in the era of
the gods, one man had married a certain daughter of a god.
And so, man lived together with the gods. It was man's
habit to go hunting together with the gods. One day, the
gods were chasing after a certain small bird so as to kill
it. As they were chasing it, the little bird landed in the
vicinity of the man. The man looked at it, [thinking:]
"Where could such a small fledgling-bird have come from?"
That man struck it with his slingshot [using the slingshot
as a little club] and killed it and put it into his bag.
And then, the gods came running up. And they asked the man,
"The bird which we were chasing came this way. Did you see
it?" [The man countered:] "What kind of bird? I haven't
seen it. Was it a large one or a small one?" "It was a
medium-sized one", [they said.] And so, the man took it out
of his bag like this and showed it to them. "This one?" he
said to them [incredulously]. And so, the gods said,
rejoicing, "Hey, it's this very one!" When they had singed
off its feathers and gutted it, they gave the man one of
its thighs. And then the man went off. The man thought to
himself, "What kind of [beings] are these gods anyway that
they go about chasing fiercely after such a small bird?"
Thinking thus, he went home. At home, his wife was weaving.
The man took that bird's thigh from his bag and, flinging
it to his wife, said to her " This is what your brothers,
elder and younger, and the members of your maiden household
have sent to you." But then, when the bird's leg struck his
wife's thigh, it became dislocated! So what happened was
that they called her brothers, elder and younger, and the
members of her maiden household. And then, having come, as
her brothers looked, [they saw that] the bird's leg had
dislodged the lady's leg. Therefore, the gods grew fiercely
angered, "Now, it is clear that it is no good to live with
these mortals. Now we must take leave of these mortals,"
they said and told it to the man likwise. but however much
the man disagreed, saying to them "Let us not split up!",
the gods would not concur. And so, they brought lots of
leaves and foliage and covering [his] eyes with them, [it
appeared that] not any of the types of foliage could blind-
fold him. But afterwards covering [his] eyes with a fern
frond, the man was unable to see the gods. And so, the gods

said, " Now, we shall never meet again. If we meet, we shall only meet with sorcerers and shamans," and vanished. From that time onward, the gods do not meet with us men.

epilogue:

[Because presentday disembodied spirits are believed to have the same powers of vision as primordial man in the above myth, the following practice is observed in *Limbu-vān*:]

Today's man, too, if it be that he must walk far, inserts and fastens fern fronds to [the backs of] children's heads because, after having inserted and fastened fern fronds, disembodied spirits, ghosts and phantoms cannot see them. If disembodied spirits, ghosts and phantoms see you, they will afflict you.

## The Legend of *Myaŋluŋ*

*te·rathum dzilla-ʔo·    myaŋluŋ    pa·ŋphe·  nɛ·.           khɛŋ*
Tehrathum district-LOC *Myāṅgluṅg* village  be‿situated that

*pa·ŋphe·-ʔin a·kkhyɛŋ kɛ-iŋ-ba        po·ks-ɛ    bhɛlle*
village-ABS   how           AP-be‿known-AP become-PT *bhane*

*kɔŋ-le    lɔkthik mundhum-dhik wa·. khɛŋ hɛm-bhɛlle anche·*
this-GEN one        story-one      be    that what-*bhane* before

*anche· kɔʔo·-nu kɔk-kɛ-gu·-ba-haʔ  dhara·n mɛ-be·k*
before here-COM load-AP-carry-AP-p *Dharān*  nsAS-go

*mɛ-dhaŋ-ille      yo·suma lam-mo·-nu    laŋ-mɛ-ghe·ʔg-ɛ.*
nsAS-come‿up-SUB lower    road-LOC-COM walk-nsAS-walk-PT

*allɔ-saŋ yo·suma lam-mo·-nu    ye·  laŋ-mɛ-ghe·k.  hɛkkɛlle*
low-even lower    road-LOC-COM EMPH walk-nsAS-walk and‿so

*thik ya·n hɛn   po·ks-ɛ  bhɛlle sumsi kɔk-kɛ-gu·-ba-haʔ...*
one  day  what happen-PT *bhane* three load-AP-carry-AP-p

*khurkuʈe aha·l-ille      kɔtnanaʔ       phuʔku-dhik*
*Khurkuʈe* reservoir-GEN close‿to‿here cave-one

*nɛ·.          lam-ille ku-be·sɛʔ-ʔo·    cauta·ra· nɛ·.*
be‿situated road-GEN its-vicinity-LOC bench       be‿situated

*khɛʔo· nɛrik khɛŋ sumsi kɔk-kɛ-gu·-ba-ha? mɛ-yuŋ-siŋ-ɛ.*
there about those three load-AP-carry-AP-p nsAS-sit-REF-PT

*khɛʔo· tɔk tho·k-ma? ca-ma?-re la·gi sumsi məna-ha?*
there rice cook-INF eat-INF-GEN for three man-p

*sumsi-bisaŋ mɛ-dha·-siŋ-ɛ-aŋ lɔk-lɔkthik luŋ*
three-directions nsAS-drop-REF-PT-pfg one-one rock

*mɛ-da·r-u. lɔkthik cumdhik siŋ hɔŋ-se pe·g-ɛ.*
nsAS-bring-3P one friend-one wood look_for-SUP go-PT

*e·ʔyəŋba cum-dhik cwa?l pha·t-che pe·g-ɛ. lɔkthik*
other friend-one water fetch-SUP go-PT one

*cum-dhik-le culo· co·g-u-waŋ mi tupt-u. hɛkyaŋ*
friend-one-ERG stove make-3P-and fire kindle-3P and_then

*tɔk tho·k-ma? mɛ-he·kt-ɛ. tɔk-ʔin lakt-u-rɔ*
rice cook-INF nsAS-begin-PT rice-ABS boil-3P-prG

*pɔtch-ɛ-lle lɔkthik luŋ-dhik attitti yaŋ he·kt-ɛ.*
be-PT-SUB one rock-one intensely tremble begin-PT

*hɛkyaŋ "hɛn-nin po·ks-ɛ gɔ·? hɛn-nin po·ks-ɛ gɔ·?"*
and_then what-ABS happen-PT then what-ABS happen-PT then

*mɛ-lɔ?r-ɛ-rɔ ɔ·-mɛ-mɔtt-u-lle attitti*
nsAS-say-PT-prG look-nsAS-loɑk-3P-SUB intensely

*yaks-ɛ-ba mɛ-nis-u. hɛkyaŋ lɔkthik-le ku-sakkɛn*
tremble-PT-NOM nsAS-see-3P and_then one-GEN his-anger

*po·g-ɛ-aŋ phɛdza-·n tɔrɔk lɔ·tt-u-waŋ khɛŋ*
arise-PT-and knife-ABS all_of_a_sudden take_out-3P-pfG that

*luŋ-in cɛpt-u. hɛkkɛlle gɔ· khɛŋ luŋ-in dzhan*
stone-ABS cut-3P and_so then that stone-ABS even_more

*sa·rik yaks-ɛ-rɔ "myaŋ myaŋ" lɔ? he·kt-ɛ. khɛŋ*
very tremble-PT-prG meow meow say begin-PT that

*luŋ-ʔo·-nu attitti ma·khi lɔ·nd-ɛ. "hɛn-nin po·ks-ɛ*
rock-LOC-COM intensely blood exude-PT what-ABS happen-PT

*gɔ·?" mɛ-lɔ?r-ɛ-yaŋ attitti mɛ-ɔ·kt-ɛ-lle*
then nsAS-say-PT-pfG intensely nsAS-scream-PT-SUB

*pa·ŋphe·-ʔo·-ba kɛrɛk mɛ-dzups-ɛ-yaŋ    mɛ-de·.*
village-LOC-NOM all    nsAS-crowd-PT-pfG nsAS-come/PT

*hɛkkɛlle   khɛŋhaʔ kɛrɛk mɛ-ghɛt-chiŋ-ɛ-aŋ      mɛ-be·.*
therefore they    all    nsAS-chase-REF-PT-pfG nsAS-go/PT

*khɛŋ luŋ-in-naŋ    "myaŋ myaŋ" lɔʔr-ɛ-rɔ  kɛ-ghɛt-chiŋ-ba*
that rock-ABS-also meow meow   say-PT-prG AP-chase-REF-AP

*məna-haʔ na·tt-u-si.       habha      khɛŋ luŋ-in    ke·b*
man-p    drive_away-3P-nsP like_that that stone-ABS tiger

*po·ks-ɛ-aŋ      khɛŋ kɛ-dzɛp-pa məna-·n ug-u-waŋ      sɛr-u.*
become-PT-pfG that AP-cut-AP   man-ABS claw-3P-pfG kill-3P

*e·ʔyəŋba nɛtchi məna-haʔ pa·ŋphe·-ʔo·-ba-haʔ-re*
other    two    man-p    village-LOC-NOM-p-ERG

*mɛ-dɛms-u-si-yaŋ       "khɛni an·ge-maŋ-in      ɔkkhe·*
nsAS-catch-3P-nsP-pfG youP   ourPᵒ-deity-ABS like_this

*kɛ-mɛtt-u-m"      mɛ-lɔʔr-ɛ-yaŋ   khɛŋ nɛtchi*
2-do_unto-3P-pA nsAS-sat-PT-pfG that two

*kɔk-kɛ-gu·-ba-haʔ yo·   ko·si-ʔo·*
load-AP-carry-AP-p below *Kosī*-LOC

*mɛ-de·ʔr-u-si-yaŋ          wa-mɛ-de·nd-u-si.*
nsAS-take_away-3P-nsP-pfG let_be_taken_away_by_the_current-

                                              *ɔkdaŋba*
nsAS-let_be_taken_away_by_the_current-3P-nsP this_kind_of

*po·ks-ɛ-ba      tuksi yɛnchi ya·n-le khɛŋ pa·ŋphe·-ʔo·-ba*
happen-PT-IPF six    eight day-GEN that village-LOC-NOM

*kɛrɛk-nulle kappo·ba-dhik sɛpmaŋ-me·-ʔo· khɛŋ-maŋ-ille*
all-than    old_man-one   dream-in-LOC    that-deity-ERG

*mɛtt-u     rəcə. "aŋga hara      kɔʔo·-nu na·pmi te·ʔr-ɛʔ.*
say_to-3P DEPR   I      quickly here-COM other take_away-IMP

*simha de·bi   maŋ-ʔɛ" mɛtt-u     rəcə. hɛkyaŋ khɛŋ*
lion goddess deity-am say_to-3P DEPR   and_so that

*kappo·bɛ-lle biha·ndik       po·g-ɛ-yaŋ    khɛʔo·-ba yəmba*
old_man-ERG  in_the_morning get_up-PT-pfG there-NOM big

məna-haʔ   kɛrɛk  mɛtt-u-si      "sɛpmaŋ-me·-ʔo·  aŋga
man-p      all    say_to-3P-nsP  dream-in-LOC    I


ɔkdaŋba        nis-u-ŋ       kɔŋ  gɔ·  maŋ    rəcə."  "ani   kɛrɛk
this_kind_of   see-3P-1sA   this then deity  DEPR    weᴾⁱ   all


po·ks-i-aŋ            yuŋ-ma-dɛn      co·g-u-m"  mɛ-lɔʔr-ɛ.
become-p/ADH-pfG  sit-INF-place  make-3P-pA  nsAS-say-PT


hɛkyaŋ  khɛʔo·-ba  yəmba-yəmba  cukpa  kɛrɛk
then    there-NOM  big-big      small  everybody


mɛ-bo·ks-ɛ-aŋ          muŋ-ŋ·na-ba  badza-nu          ḍo·li
nsAS-become-PT-pfG  play-PP-NOM  instrument-COM  palanquin


mɛ-dzo·g-u-waŋ      ḍo·li-ʔo·-nu      attitti
nsAS-make-3P-pfg  palanquin-LOC-COM  intensely


dzanti-nu                              khurkuṭe·  cauta·ra·-ʔo·-ba
members_of_a_procession-COM  Khurkuṭe   Cautārā-LOC-NOM


pipəl-ʔo·         mɛ-yuks-u.  khɛŋ  ya·n-naŋ  kɛrɛk  məna-haʔ
Pīpal_fig-LOC  nsAS-put-3P  that  day-too   all    man-p


se·wa         co·k-m·  mɛ-he·kt-ɛ.    khɛŋ  mɛ-yuks-u-ba      ciʔ
obeisance  do-INF   nsAS-begin-PT  that  nsAS-put-3P-NOM  a_few


ya·n-le  ɔ·-mɛ-mɔtt-u-lle                  khɛŋ  luŋ-in    na·
day-GEN  look_at-nsAS-look_at-3P-SUB  that  rock-ABS  there


khip-siŋ-pe·-aŋ        ya·g-ɛ.  khɛŋ  mɛ-nis-u-lle      dzhan
stick-REF-go/PT-pfG  be-PT   that  nsAS-see-3P-SUB  even_more


ude·k        mɛ-bo·ks-ɛ.    "kɔŋ  gɔ·  kucase·  maŋ    rəcə"
amazement  nsAS-become-PT  this then verily   deity  DEPR


mɛ-lɔʔr-ɛ-yaŋ        khɛŋ-ʔo·  nurik  mɛ-dzo·g-u  mɛ-bu·r-u.
nsAS-say-PT-pfG  that-LOC   well   nsAS-do-3P   nsAS-give-3P


khɛŋ  luŋ-ʔo·    mɛ-dzɛpt-u-ba      allɔ-saŋ  ni-he·ʔ-dɛʔl.        khɛŋ
that  rock-LOC  nsAS-cut-3P-NOM  now-even  see-be_able-PAS  that


luŋ-in    "myaŋ myaŋ"  lɔʔr-ɛ-yaŋ    khɛŋ  pa·ŋphe·-ʔille
rock-ABS  meow meow    say-PT-pfG  that  village-GEN


ku-miŋ-aŋ            myaŋluŋ         mɛ-yuks-u-ba.   myaŋluŋ   bhɛlle
its-name-too  Myāṅgluṅg  nsAS-put-3P-IPF  Myāṅgluṅg  bhane

*hɛm-bhɛlle. myaŋ bhɛlle pe·ni-ba·n-nu*          *bira·lo·  luŋ*
what-*bhane  myaŋ bhane* Nepali-language-COM cat        *luŋ*

*bhɛlle ḍhuŋga. khɛŋ miŋ-ille allɔ-saŋ kɛ-iŋ-ba*
*bhane* rock    that name-ERG now-even AP-be_known-AP

*co·g-u-waŋ  ku-miŋ-aŋ     myaŋluŋ    mɛ-yuks-u-ba.*
make-3P-pfG its-name-too *Myāṅgluṅg* nsAS-put-3P-IPF


translation:

In Tehrathum District lies the village of *Myāṅgluṅg*. There
is a story of how that village became famous. How does this
story go? Well, long long ago, when the porters used to
come and go to *Dharān*, they went by the lower road. They
still walk by this lower road even to this day. So, one day
what happened is that three porters... on the near side of
the *Khurkuṭe* pond there is a cave. Next to the road there
is a stone bench. Round about there those three porters sat
themselves down. In order to cook rice and eat at that
place the three men went off in three directions and each
one of them brought back a rock. One of the friends went to
look for wood. Another one of the friends went to fetch
water. One of the friends made the fireplace and lit the
fire. Then, they started to cook the rice. As the rice was
boiling one of the rocks began to tremble intensely. Then
saying "What's happening? What's happening?", as they
looked, they say it trembling intensely. Then one of them
became angry and all of sudden drew his khukuri and chopped
that stone. And so, that stone, trembling even more
fiercely, began to say "meow, meow". And the rock bled
profusely. "What is happening?" they said, and as they
cried intensely, the villagers all came and assembled. So,
they [viz. the porters] all ran and went away. Even as that
rock was saying "meow, meow", it drove away the running
men. Just like that, that stone turned into a tiger and
scratched and killed the man who had cut it. The villagers
caught the other two men and said "You\ :sup:`P` have done like this
unto our\ :sup:`Pe` god!" and took those two porters down below to
the *Kosī* and let them be carried off by the current.
    It happened like this that about six or eight days
later, the oldest man of that village in a dream was spoken
to by that goddess. It appears that she said to him, "Take
me away from here quickly. I am the *Simha Devī* goddess." So
when that old man woke up in the morning, he summoned all
the local important men [and said], "In a dream I saw that

this is really a deity." They said, "Let's all assemble and
build a place for her." So the local men, all the really
important men and even the small, got together and made
musical instruments and a palanquin and in a vast proces-
sion brought her in the palanquin to the *Pīpal* fig at
*Khurhuṭe Cautārā*. On that very day, men began to proffer
their obeisance to her. After a few days, as they looked on
to what they had situated there, that rock rejoined itself
together into one piece. When they saw that, they were even
more amazed. They said "This verily appears to be a genuine
deity", and they made it very nice there. The wound where
they had cut into that rock can still be seen to this very
day. Since that rock said "meow, meow", they also named
that village *Myaŋluŋ*. What does *Myaŋluŋ* mean? *Myaŋ* means
*birālo* (i.e. cat) in Nepali and *luŋ* means *ḍhuṅgā* (i.e.
rock). That name has made it (viz. the village) famous to
this very day, and so they have retained the name *Myaŋluŋ*.


## 4. Fable


### The Jackal and the Camel


*anche·  anche·  mu   ya·kkha-ʔo·  lɔkthik  syaʔl-dhik   mu*
before before REP  jungle-LOC   one      jackal-one   REP


*way-ε.   e·klai  rɔk  way-ε.  ta·ndi  ta·ndi  thikkhɛ?  lɔkthik*
be-PT   alone  only be-PT   later   later   once      one


*ũṭha-nu      tum-ε-tchi.  hɛkyaŋ     syaʔl-nu    ũṭha    khunchi*
camel-COM   meet-PT-dPS and_then  jackal-COM  camel   they[d]


*cum      co·g-ε-tch-u.  hɛkyaŋ  sa·rik  nurik  ya·kkha-ʔo·*
friend  be-PT-dA-3P    then    very    nice   jungle-LOC


*khunchi  tɔŋ-ε-tchi-aŋ                       way-ε-tchi.  thik-tɔŋ*
they[d]  get_together-PT-dPS-pfG be-PT-dPS    one-time


*syaʔl-ɛn   i·r-ɛ-rɔ       pe·k-le  thik  tɛn-no·   kɛ·ʔr-ɛ.*
jackal-ABS wander-PT-prG go-SUB   one   place-LOC arrive-PT


*khɛʔo·  ke·mba  wabak-thik  nɛ·s-ɛ.        khɛŋ-le*
there   long    pond-one    be_situated-PT that-GEN

*na·ndhaŋ         so·ʔ1-gha·ri.        syaʔ1-le   i·tt-u*
opposite_side sugar_cane-thicket jackal-ERG think-3P

*na·ndhaŋ a·kkhyɛŋ pe·k-maʔ. hɛkke·ʔlɔ·rik   i·tt-u-rɔ*
far_side how        go-INF    In_that_fashion think-3P-prG

*yuŋ-ille ku-ndzum-in       te·.    hɛkyaŋ syaʔ1-ille*
sit-SUB  his-friend-ABS come/PT then   jackal-ERG

*ku-ndzum-in      mɛtt-u      "na·    ɔ·mɔtt-ɛʔ a·kkhya·k*
his-friend-ABS say_to-3P there look-IMP  how_much

*so·ʔ1         yuŋ! anchi khɛtna pi-tchi-aŋ  ca-s-u!     se·k*
sugar_cane sit  we^di there   go-dADH-and eat-dADH-3P hunger

*la·kt-ɛ."      hɛn-aŋ       kho·-he·ʔ-mɛ-dɛtt-ɛ-n.  hɛkyaŋ*
be_in_effect what-also find-can-NEG-PAS-PT-NEG then

*ũʈh-ille  kudzɔŋ-ʔo· ku-ʔe·k-ʔo·  syaʔ1-ɛn    la·s-ɛ.*
camel-ERG on_top-LOC his-back-LOC jackal-ABS enter-PT

*hɛkyaŋ ũʈh-ille  wabak-ʔo·  syaʔ1-ɛn    mɛn-hum-ʔe·   na·ndhaŋ*
then    camel-ERG pond-LOC  jackal-ABS npG-sink-npG far_side

*lɔ·tt-u.      hɛkyaŋ syaʔ1-le-nu   ũʈh-ille  so·ʔ1-in*
take_out-3P then    jackal-ERG-COM camel-ERG sugar_cane-ABS

*yɘllik cɛ·s-u.       syaʔ1-ille ku-sappo·k-ʔin*
much   eat/PT-dA-3P jackal-GEN its-belly-ABS

*cukt-ɛ-ba           po·ks-ɛ-lle hara    kha·s-ɛ       kɘrɘ*
be_small-PT-IPF be-PT-INST quickly be_sated-PT but

*ũʈh-ɛn     mɛŋ-gha·-ʔe·      way-ɛ. syaʔ1-ille ũʈh-ɛn*
camel-ABS npG-be_sated-npG be-PT  jackal-ERG camel-ABS

*mɛtt-u,  "aŋgaʔ ɘgɔ· kha·s-aŋ          kha·-ʔeime·nni·*
say_to-3P I      then be_sated-1sPS/PT be_sated-ʔ[1]

*ɔ·kmaʔ rɔk lɛ·s-u-ŋ."  lɔʔr-ɛ-ŋ    "hu hu" lɔʔrik ɔ·kt-ɛ.*
cry-INF only know-3P-1sA say-PT-pfG hoo-hoo saying shout-PT

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[1] unanalysed form, meaning 'after having become sated',
   Nep. *aghāī pachi*.

*ku-ndzum*     *ũʈh-ille*     "*mɛn-ɔ·k-ʔɛ?*"   *mɛtt-u-saŋ*
his-friend  camel-ERG   NEG-shout-IMP  say_to-3P-even

*mɛ-dɛnd-ɛ-n.*       *hɛkyaŋ* *ɔ·kt-ɛ* *sɔpma-dziʔ-aŋ*  *so·ʔl-ille*
NEG-obey-PT-NEG  then    cry-PT  moment-few-and  sugar_cane-GEN

*ku-ndhaŋba*      *mǝna-haʔ* *mɛ-de·.*       *hɛkkɛlle* *ũʈh-ille*
its-proprietor  man-p    nsAS-come/PT  so         camel-ERG

*so·ʔl-in*       *cɔ-waŋ*        *ya·g-ɛ-ba* *mɛ-nis-u.*   *hɛkyaŋ*
sugar_cane-ABS  eat/3s→3s-PAR  be-PT-IPF  nsAS-see-3P  then

*ũʈh-ɛn*      *sa·rik* *mɛ-lɔ·ps-u*     *mɛ-hipt-u.*   *syaʔl-lɛn-dza·ĩ*
camel-ABS  very    nsAS-lynch-3P  nsAS-hit-3P  jackal-ABS-IND

*ande·* *sa* *ciŋ-siŋ-ɛ-aŋ*     *mɛ-n-nis-u-n.*        *hɛn-aŋ*
before EMPH hide-REF-PT-pfG  nsAS-NEG-see-3P-NEG  what-also

*mɛ-m-mɛtt-u-n.*        *ando·* *ando·* *ũʈh-ɛn*      *i·r-ɛ-rɔ*
nsAS-NEG-do_unto-3P-NEG  later  later  camel-ABS  wander-PT-prG

*i·r-ɛ-rɔ*        *wabak* *ku-be·sɛʔ-ʔo·*    *te·.*     *hɛkkɛlle* *gɔ·*
wander-PT-prG  pond   its-vicinity-LOC  come/PT  so         then

*syaʔl-ɛn-aŋ*      *te·.*    *ku-ndzum* *ũʈh-ɛn*      *nis-u-aŋ*
jackal-ABS-too  come/PT  his-friend  camel-ABS  see-3P-and

*nurik* *kɛ-mɛp-pa* *lɛŋ-siŋ-lɔ*     *ku-ndzum-ʔin*    *se·ndo·s-u*
nice   AP-do-AP  turn-REF-prG  his-friend-ABS  ask-3P

"*sa·rik* *kɛ-m-hipt-ɛ-i·*  *i*  *cidzi?*      *rɔk-ʔi·?*"
 very    2-nsAS-hit-PT-Q  or  little_bit  only-Q

*mɛtt-u-rɔ*       *lɛ·m*   *he·kt-u.* *kɔtna* *ũʈh-ɛn-ca·ĩ*   "*ɔkdaŋba*
say_to-3P-PAR  seduce  begin-3P  hither  camel-ABS-IND  such_a

*cum*     *kɛ-dzo·k* *rǝcǝ*" *phaʔaŋ* *nis-u.* *hɛkyaŋ* "*aŋga-ʔaŋ*
friend  2-be     DEPR   *bhanera* see-3P  then    I-too

*kums-u-ŋ*"                *phaʔaŋ* *ku-niŋwa-ʔo·* *i·tt-u.* *hɛkyaŋ*
avenge_oneself-3P-1sA  *bhanera* his-mind-LOC  think-3P  then

*cumdzum*       *po·ks-ɛ-tchi-aŋ*     *wabak-ʔo·* *la·s-ɛ-tchi.*
friend-friend  become-PT-dPS-pfG  pond-LOC   enter-PT-dPS

*syaʔl-lɛn* *ũʈh-ille* *ku-dzɔŋ-ʔo·* *sɔtt-ɛ-rɔ*        *la·s-ɛ.*
jackal-ABS  camel-GEN  his-top-LOC  rejoice-PT-prG  enter-PT

*wabak-ille kubhrɛŋ kɛʔr-ɛ-tchi-lle    ũʈh-ille  syaʔl-ɛn*
pond-GEN    its-half arrive-PT-dPS-SUB camel-ERG jackal-ABS

*mɛtt-u    "aŋgaʔ əgɔ· kha·-ʔɛ-ŋ          wadzak-maʔ ba·ni*
say⌣to-3P  I     then be⌣sated-1sPS/NPT-pfG swim-INF   habit

*kɔtt-u-ŋ.   allɔ wadzak-ʔɛ       ro·" mɛtt-u.   syaʔl-ille*
have-3P-1sA  now  swim-1sPS/NPT ASS   say⌣to-3P jackal-ERG

*a·kkhya·k lɛ·m-u-saŋ         mɛ-dɛnd-ɛ-n.*
how⌣much  sweat⌣talk-3P-even NEG-consent-PT-NEG

*syaʔl-lɛn-dza·ĩ kis-ɛ-aŋ          yaŋ      he·kt-ɛ*
jackal-ABS-IND  be⌣afraid-PT-pfG tremble begin-PT

*kərə-saŋ ũʈh-ɛn     wadzag-ɛ. ũʈh-ɛn      wadzag-ɛ-lle*
but-even camel-ABS swim-PT    camel-ABS swim-PT-SUB

*syaʔl-ɛn    gɔ· cwaʔl-ille pɔks-u       te·ʔr-u.*
jackal-ABS then water-ERG take⌣away-3P take⌣away-3P

*hɛkyaŋ-dho·     ũʈh-ille e·n-nu-aŋ     cum      mɛ-dzo·g-ɛ-n.*
and⌣then-since camel-ERG who-COM-too friend NEG-make-PT-NEG

*e·kle· rɔk   way-ɛ. syaʔl-lɛn-dza·ĩ kha·-yaŋ      ɔ·k-maʔ*
alone  only be-PT jackal-ABS-IND be⌣sated-and cry-INF

*ku-ba·ni mɛ-lɛʔr-u-n.*
his-habit NEG-give⌣up-3P-NEG


translation:

It is said that long ago there was a certain jackal in the
jungle. He was all by himself. Then once, some time later,
he met with a camel. And the jackal and the camel made
friends. Then they got together in a very nice jungle and
stayed there. One time as the jackal was going wandering
about, he came to a certain place. There was a long pond,
and at its far end a sugar cane thicket. The jackal thought
of how to get the opposite side. As he sat thinking in this
fashion, his friend showed up. And the  jackal said to his
friend, "Look there how much sugar cane there is! Let's go
over there and eat it! I'm hungry." Yet none of it was to
be got at. So, the jackal got on top of the camel, on his
back. Then without the jackal sinking,  the camel secured

the opposite shore. Then the jackal and the camel ate lots
of the sugar cane. The jackal's stomach being small,
however. he was quickly sated, but the camel was not full.
The jackal said to the camel, "I am full, and after I have
eaten my fill the only thing I know to do is howl," and
saying this he began to cry, saying "hoo hoo". Even though
his friend the camel said to him, "do not howl!", he would
not obey. And so, he howled. Then after a few moments the
proprietors of the sugar cane showed up. So, they saw that
the camel was still eating the sugar cane. Then they hit
the camel and gave him quite a beating. The jackal,
however, had already concealed himself so they did not see
him, and they did not do a thing to him.

A long time later, as he was wandering about, the camel
arrived at the edge of the pond. Then after a little while,
the jackal showed up too. Seeing his friend and assuming
the air of a nice-doer, he asked his friend, "did they hit
you alot or just a little bit?", which having said, he
began to sweat-talk the camel. At this point the camel
realized, "This is what kind of friend you are." Then he
thought in his mind, "I shall get back at him too." Then
having become friends [again] they entered into the pond.
The jackal got on top of the camel rejoicing. When they had
arrived at the middle of the pond, the camel said to the
jackal, "I have the habit of swimming when I get full."
"Now, I'm going to have a swim!" he said. However much the
jackal sweat-talked him, he didn't listen. Even though the
jackal grew afraid and started to tremble, the camel swam.
As the camel swam, the jackal was taken away and carried
off by the water. Ever since, the camel has not made
friends with anybody. He is all by himself. And the jackal
has not abandoned his habit of crying when he has eaten his
fill.


The Fox and the Tiger


*thik ya·n sya?l-thik-nu  ke·b-dhik way-ɛ-tchi. khɛŋha?*
one  day  jackal-one-COM tiger-one be-PT-dPS    they

*sika·r  co·k-m? niŋwa co·g-ɛ-tchi-yaŋ sika·r  co·k-se*
hunting do-INF  idea  do-PT-dPS-pfG     hunting do-SUP

*pe·g-ɛ-tchi. ta·mbhuŋ-?o· takɔnd-ɛ-tchi takɔnd-ɛ-tchi-lle*
go-PT-dPS     jungle-LOC   stroll-PT-dPS stroll-PT-dPS-SUB

*gɔ·   piʔl-thik   nis-ɛ-tch-u.   khɛŋ   piʔl-in   gɔ·   ke·b-ille*
then   cow-one     see-PT-dA-3P   that   cow-ABS   then   tiger-ERG


*sɛr-u.   hɛkyaŋ   syaʔl-ɛn     mɛtt-u   "allɔ   khɛnɛʔ   ku-hɛn-in*
kill-3P   then     jackal-ABS   say-3P   now    you<sup>s</sup>   its-what-ABS


*kɛ-bɔks-u?"   syaʔl-ille   "ku-bhɔkso·-n   pɔks-u-ŋ"*
2-carry-3P   jackal-ERG   its-lungs-ABS   carry-3P-1sA


*pa·tt-u   hɛnaŋbhɛlle   kɔŋ   syaʔl-ɛn   ca·ppa   co·g-ɛ.*
say-3P   because     this   jackal-ABS   clever   be-PT


*ke·b-ille   piʔl-in   the·s-u-waŋ        ku-bhɔkso·-n*
tiger-ERG   cow-ABS   eviscerate-3P-pfG   its-lungs-ABS


*lɔ·tt-u        pi·r-u.   hɛkyaŋ   "allɔ   him-ʔo·*
take_out-3P   give-3P   then     now    house-LOC


*te·ʔ-s-u-waŋ           pi-tchi!"   mɛtt-u.    hɛkyaŋ   nɛpmadzaŋ*
take_away-dA-3P-and   go-dPS      say_to-3P   then     both


*him-lɛpsaŋ     tha·-nɛt-chi   kərə   ke·b-ɛn     hara       him-ʔo·*
house-toward   drop-REF-dPS   but    tiger-ABS   quickly   house-LOC


*kɛʔr-ɛ-yaŋ       ku-ndzum     syaʔl-ɛn     idik          haŋs-u-yaŋ*
arrive-PT-pfG   his-friend   jackal-ABS   a_long_time   wait-3P-and


*lɔk   ando·   ando·   te·.     syaʔl-ille   pɔks-u-ba*
only   later   later   come/PT   jackal-ERG   carry-3P-NOM


*ku-bhɔkso·-n   lamlam       uks-u-rɔ       ta·r-u-lle       lam-ʔo·*
its-lungs-ABS   on_the_way   drag-3P-prG   bring-3P-SUB   road-LOC


*kɛ-yuŋ-ba   yərik   ti·ŋ-haʔ-re   khɛŋ   ku-bhɔkso·-n*
AP-sit-AP   many   thorn-p-ERG   that   its-lungs-ABS


*ug-u-waŋ         khɛŋ   ku-bhɔkso·-llɛ-n   ku-sɔkmana·m-il-lɔk*
scratch-3P-pfG   that   its-lung-GEN-ABS   its-trachea-ABS-only


*nɔr-ɛ-yaŋ        ta?r-u.   khɛŋ   ku-sɔkmana·m-il-lɔk   ke·b-ille*
be_left-PT-pfG   bring-3P   that   its-trachea-ABS-only   tiger-ERG


*nis-u-waŋ   "e·ʔyaŋba   sa-haʔ   a·tto·   kɛ-sɔ?"          phaŋ*
see-3P-pfG   other       meat-p   where   2-deliver/3P   *bhanera*


*syaʔl-ɛn     pa·n   mɛtt-u-lle      gɔ·   syaʔl-ille   pa·tt-u*
jackal-ABS   word   say_to-3P-SUB   then   jackal-ERG   say-3P

"*lamlam        yərik a-ndzum-a-nde·ŋ-ha?    mɛ-way-ɛ.   khɛŋha?*
one‿the‿way many  my-friends-my-buddy-p nsAS-be-PT they

*kɛrɛk cyɔ?cyɔ?            ha·tt-u-ŋ-si-ŋ-ŋaŋ*
all    in‿small‿amounts distribute‿to-3P-1sA-nsP-1sA-pfG

*kɔŋ   ku-sɔkmana·m-il-lɔk   nɔr-ɛ*".
this its-trachea-ABS-only be‿left‿over-PT


translation:

One day there was a jackal and a tiger. They got the idea
of going hunting and went off to hunt. As they strolled
about in the jungle, they saw a cow. So the tiger killed
that cow. Then he said to the jackal, "Now what part of it
are you going to carry?" The jackal said, "I'll carry its
lungs" because this jackal was clever. The tiger gutted the
cow and took outs its lungs. Then [the tiger] said to [the
jackal], "Now let's take it home and go!" Then they both
headed homeward, but the tiger quickly arrived at the house
and only when he had waited a long time for his friend the
jackal did he come much later. As the jackal brought [the
lungs], dragging the lungs that he carried along the road,
the many thorns which were on the road tore at those lungs
so that only the trachea of those lungs remained and
[that's what] he brought. When the tiger saw only that
trachea, and when he demanded of the jackal, "Where have
you delivered the other pieces of meat?", the jackal
replied, "There were many of my buddies on the road. I
distributed it all to them in small amounts. Only this
trachea is left."


## 5. Anecdotes


### Radio


*anche· anche· lɔkthik yakthuŋ-ma   kapmo·ma-dhik-le*
before before one       Limbu-f/NOM elderly-one-GEN

*ku-sa?,   yɛmbitcha-dhik, way-ɛ. khɛŋ ku-sa-·n     britiš*
her-child man-one           be-PT   that her-son-ABS British

*a·rmi-?o·  pe·g-ε.  yaŋsi      ku-him-?o·      nu·ks-ε-lle*
Army-LOC  go-PT   afterwards his-house-LOC return-PT-SUB


*lɔkthik  re·diyo·-dhik  ta·r-u.   hεkyaŋ khεŋ re·diyo·-n*
one      radio-one      bring-3P then    that radio-ABS


*a-mma-re        khεpsurɔ    bha?aŋ  samlo·-mε-n  lɔ·tt-u*
my-mother-ERG hear-3P-OPT *bhanera* sing-INF-ABS take_out-3P


*pi·r-u-aŋ    ku-mma       tɔk  tho·kt-ε-ba-dεn-?o·*
give-3P-pfG his-mother rice cook-PT-IPF-place-LOC


*ku-mma-re         ku-be·sε?-o·      yuks-u     pi·r-u-aŋ    khunε?*
his-mother-GEN her-vicinity-LOC place-3P give-3P-pfG he


*takɔn-che   pe·gε.  khεŋ re·diyo·-n  sɔpma-dzi? khεps-u-lle*
stroll-SUP go-PT   that radio-ABS   moment-few hear-3P-SUB


*gɔ·   re·diyo·-lle pa·tt-u-bε-n*
then radio-ERG    say-3P-NOM-ABS


*kusiŋ-mε-ni·tt-u-n,                kərə khεŋ re·diyo·-n*
understand-NEG-understand-3P-NEG but   that radio-ABS


*ca·rik-?e·  ɔ·kt-ε      nε·s-ε.  pa·?r-ε   nε·s-ε-ba   rɔk*
very-EMPH  scream-PT sit-PT   speak-PT sit-PT-NOM only


*khεps-u.  hεkyaŋ khunε? i·tt-u  "kɔŋ-le      ca·rik-?e·*
hear-3P   so      she    think-3P this-GEN very-EMPH


*ku-se·?l     la·kt-ε".  hεkyaŋ khunε? khεŋ re·diyo·-n tɔk*
its-hunger apply-PT   then    she     that radio-ABS   rice


*yumma?l     sa    kεrεk       kεrεk      "kɔŋ-in    cy-ε?!"*
vegetables meat everything everything this-ABS eat-IMP


*pha?aŋ yuks-u    pi·r-u, kərə khεŋ re·diyo·-lle mεn-dza-?e·*
*bhanera* place-3P give-3P but   that radio-ERG      npG-eat-npG


*ɔ·kt-ε      pa·?r-ε  nε·s-ε-ba   rɔk. yammu khεps-u. hεkkεlle*
scream-PT speak-PT sit-PT-IPF only again hear-3P   so


*gɔ·   khεŋ kapmo·-mε-lle      ku-sik           cigε? cigε?*
then that elderly-f/NOM-GEN her-irritation very  very


*lɔ?r-ε-yaŋ      ku-yak    lε?r-ε                  kɔŋ-le*
well_up-PT-pfG her-anger become_unleashed-PT this-ERG

hɛn-nin    na·ktuba           phaʔaŋ  ɔ·ktɛ. ca·rik-ʔe· ku-yak
what-ABS request-3P-IPF whether cry-PT very-EMPH   her-anger

lɛʔr-ɛ-yaŋ                   tɔkkaʔl-thik-le khɛŋ re·diyo·-n
become_unleashed-PT-pfG stick-one-GEN    that radio-ABS

ca·rik hipt-u.  hɛkkɛlle khɛŋ re·diyo·-n phɛʔlaʔr-ɛ-yaŋ
very    hit-3P    so       that radio-ABS   spoil-PT-pfG

pa·t-maʔ  na·ʔr-ɛ.   pa·t-mʔ    na·ʔr-ɛ-bɛ-n
speak-INF give_up-PT speak-INF give_up-PT-NOM-ABS

nis-u-waŋ  "kɔŋ-le    kɔŋ-e·     na·kt-u-ba     racə"  phaʔaŋ
see-3P-pfG this-ERG this-EMPH request-3P-IPF DEPR   bhanera

i·tt-u.   sɔpmaŋ        ku-sa-·n     te·-yaŋ      ku-mma-·n
think-3P in_a_moment her-son-ABS come/PT-pfG her-mother-ABS

se·ndo·s-u.  "a-mm-o·          re·diyo·n khai?  a·tto· wa·?"
ask-3P         my-mother-VOC radio-ABS khai[1]  where  be

phaʔaŋ  se·ndo·s-u-lle ande·-ba       pa·n-in  kɛrɛk mɛtt-u.
bhanera ask-3P-SUB        earlier-NOM word-ABS all    tell-3P

hɛkkɛlle ku-sa-lle    ku-nhi            mɔy-ɛ.
so           her-son-GEN his-amazement be_aroused-PT


translation:

Once long ago, there was a son of a certain old Limbu lady.
That son went into the British Army. Afterwards when he
returned home, he brought a radio with him. Then when he
had given that radio and tuned it to a song so that his
mother might listen to it and had put it down next to his
mother in the place where his mother was cooking rice, he
went out to stroll. As she listened to the radio for a few
moments, she did not understand what the radio was saying,
but that radio just kept on screaming loudly. She heard
that it only kept on talking. So she thought: "It must be
very hungry". So she gave that radio cooked rice, meat,
vegetables and everything, saying "Here, eat this!", but
that radio, not having eaten a thing, just kept on talking
and screaming. Again she listened. So that old lady grew

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[1]khai  Nep. interjection expressing not knowing.

increasingly irritated and then became angry and hit that
radio severely with a stick. So the radio broke down and
gave up talking. When she saw that it had given up talking,
she thought, "So, this is what it was asking for." In a few
moments her son came back and asked his mother. When he
asked his mother, "Mom, what's with the radio? Where is
it?", she told him all that had transpired before. Her son
was dumbfounded.


### Thief


*lɔkthik  mɛn-nuba ya·mbɔk  lɔk   kɛ-dzo·k-pa kɛ-ghup-pa*
one       NEG-good work      only AP-do-AP     AP-steal-AP


*hɛndzaʔ-dhik way-ɛ.  khɛŋ-le   thik ya·n lɔkthik məna-rɛ-n*
boy-one          be-PT     that-ERG one  day  one       man-GEN-ABS


*huk-ʔo·  wa·p-mna-bɛ-n     khutt-u-waŋ  lo·kt-ɛ rəcə.*
hand-LOC wear-PP-NOM-ABS steal-3P-pfG run-PT   DEPR


*hɛkkɛlle khɛŋ məna-lle nis-u-waŋ   to·pihɛtla-dhik-ʔaŋ*
so           that man-ERG  see-3P-and  policeman-one-also


*u·tt-u. hɛkyaŋ nɛpphu po·ks-ɛ-tchi-yaŋ  khɛŋ  kɛ-ghut-pa*
call-3P then    two     become-PT-dPS-pfG that  AP-steal-AP


*hɛndzaʔ-in na·tt-ɛ-tch-u.  na·tt-ɛ-tch-u-rɔ*
boy-ABS      chase-PT-dA-3P chase-PT-dA-3P-prG


*pɔtch-ɛ-tchi-lle khɛŋ hɛndzaʔ-in ku-him-ʔo·*
be-PT-dPS-SUB        that boy-ABS      his-house-LOC


*kɛʔr-ɛ-yaŋ     ku-mba    hɛn  mɛtt-u     phɛlle*
arrive-PT-pfG his-father what say_to-3P *bhane*


"*a-mb-o·     a-mb-o·,      ɛn    anige sumsi məna, aŋga*
my-father-VOC my-father-VOC today weᴾᵉ   three man    I


*a-ndzum-dhik-nu   tiliŋga-dhik-nu,  lo·k-ŋna-ba.       aŋga*
my-friend-one-COM policeman-one-COM run-1peAS/PT-IPF I


*nand-u-ŋ-si-ŋ.        hɛkyaŋ aŋga huk-ʔo·  wa·p-mna-ba-dhik*
win-3P-1sA-nsP-1sA then    I     hand-LOC wear-PP-NOM-one

*mɛ-bi·r-aŋ.*      *ɔ·mɔtt-ɛʔ gɔ·*   *a-mb-o·!"*      *hɛkke·*
nsAS-give-1sPS/PT look-IMP   then my-father-VOC thus

*pa·tt-u-rɔ*    *ya·g-ɛ-lle khɛŋ e·ʔyaŋba nɛpphu məna-haʔ-aŋ*
speak-3P-prG be-PT-SUB   that other      two      man-p-too

*kɛʔr-ɛ-tchi-lle*     *gɔ· khɛŋ hɛndzaʔ-in khɛtchiŋ khɛʔr-ɛ.*
arrive-PT-dPS-SUB then that boy-ABS     run       RES-PT

*khɛŋ hɛndzaʔ-ille ku-mba-in*      *iŋlɛkt-u-ba pa·n*    *khɛŋ*
that boy-ERG      his-father-ABS lie-3P-NOM   speech that

*ya·pmi məna-haʔ-re hɛndzaʔ-ille ku-mba-·n*
other    man-p-ERG    boy-GEN       his-father-ABS

*mɛtt-ɛ-tch-u.*
say‿to-PT-dA-3P


translation:

There was once a boy who stole and did only bad things. It turned out that one day he stole a man's wristwatch and ran off. So, when the man saw that, he called a policeman too. And then the two of them chased that thieving boy. As they chased him, that boy got home and said to his father, "Father! father! Today, the three of us, me, a friend of mine and a policeman, held a race and I beat them. So they gave me a wristwatch. Look, father!" As he spoke thus, by the time those other two men too arrived, he had run off. The two other men told the boy's father that what that boy had told him had been a lie.


<div align="center">

*nɛpphu hɛndzaʔ*
Two    Boys

</div>


*nɛpphu hɛndzaʔ thik ya·n-le kɛ-bo·ŋ-ba*     *way-ɛ-tchi. thik*
two     boys     one day-GEN AP-be‿born-AP be-PT-dPS     one

*ya·n khɛŋhaʔ nisa·mhim-ʔo· pe·g-ɛ-tchi. khɛŋhaʔ yɛtchi*
day they      school-LOC    go-PT-dPS     they      eight

*tɔŋbe· kɛʔr-ɛ-tchi-yaŋ*    *way-ɛtchi. khunchi-siksa·mbɛ-lle*
years arrive-PT-dPS-pfG be-PT-dPS    their-teacher-ERG

*khɛŋ hɛndzaʔ-haʔ* "*a·kkhɛn    a·kkhɛn    tɔŋbe·   kɛ-gɛʔr-ɛ-tchi*"
that boys-p          how_many how_many year     2-arrive-PT-dPS

*phaʔaŋ  se·ndo·s-u-si.  thik-le pa·tt-u  "aŋga yɛtchi tɔŋbe·*
*bhanera* ask-3P-nsP       one-ERG say-3P    I      eight  years

*kɛʔr-aŋ*"          *pa·tt-u.  thiksəmmɛ-lle pa·tt-u.  "aŋga nusi*
arrive-1sPS/PT say-3P    other-ERG       say-3P      I      seven

*tɔŋbe·  kɛʔr-aŋ*".          *kɔŋ  pa·n-in  thik-le khɛps-u-aŋ*
year     arrive-1sPS/PT this  word-ABS one-ERG hear-3P-pfG

"*me·n na.   anchi gɔ·   thik ya·n-le kɛ-bo·ŋ-ba-si-mu-ba.*
no      EMPH we^di then one   day-GEN AP-be_born-AP-be-REP-IPF

*a·kkhɛlle       khɛnɛʔ nusi  tɔŋbe·  rɔk  kɛ-gɛʔr-ɛʔ   yɛtchi*
at_what_time you^s  seven year    only 2-arrive-PT eight

*tɔŋbe·  a-gɛʔr-ɛ-tchi    na·*" *mɛtt-u-lle       thiksəmmɛ-lle*
years   1-arrive-PT-dPS EMPH say_to-3P-SUB other-ERG

*pa·tt-u "aŋga əgɔ·  tɔŋbe·-dhik tug-aŋ            inna·.  hɛkyaŋ*
say-3P    I      then year-one     be_ill-1sPS/PT EMPH    so

*nusi  tɔŋbe·  rɔk  kɛʔr-aŋ.*"
seven years   only arrive-1sPS/PT


translation:

There were two boys who had been born on the same day. One
day they went to school. They had become eight years old.
Their teacher asked those boys, "How many years old are
you^d?" One of them said, "I am eight years old." The other
said, "I am seven years old." When the first one heard
this, he said ,"No, silly! we^di are said to have been born
on the same day. When did you become only seven years of
age? We^di are eight years old, silly!", to which the other
replied, "I was ill for one year, silly. So, I'm only seven
years old."

                    *nɛtchi cum*        -    1
                    Two      Friends


*nɛtchi cum       way-ɛ·tchi. khɛŋ-haʔ thik ya·n thi·*
two      friends be-PT-dPS      that-p   one  day  beer


*thuŋ-maʔ mɔtto· co·g-ɛ-tch-u-waŋ thi· thuŋ-se*
drink-INF idea  do-PT-dA-3P-pfG  beer drink-SUP


*pe·g-ɛ-tchi. hɛkyaŋ yəllik thi· thuŋ-ɛ-tch-u-waŋ*
go-PT-dPS    then  much  beer drink-PT-dA-3P-pfG


*mɔy-u-si.          hɛkyaŋ khunchi him-lɛpsaŋ    tha·-nɛ-tchi.*
inebriate-3P-nsP then     they[d]  house-toward drop-REF-dPS


*hɛkke·lɔʔrik him-lɛpsaŋ    te·-si-rɔ        pɔtch-ɛ-tchi-lle*
in_that_way  house-toward come/PT-dPS-prG be-PT-dPS-ERG


*ca·rik-ʔe· wabak-le ku-be·sɛʔ-ʔo·    kɛŋ-ɛ*
very-EMPH   pond-GEN its-vicinity-LOC fall_down-PT


*nɛ·s-ɛ-tchi. khunchi po·k-maʔ    mɛ-he·ʔr-ɛ-tchi-n-naŋ*
stay-PT-dPS   they[d]  get_up-INF NEG-be_able-PT-dPS-NEG-pfG


*habha      khɛʔyo· sɛnchɛn         ips-ɛ-tchi. na·mdataʔl*
like_that there   all_night_long sleep-PT-dPS till_sunrise


*nɛ·s-ɛ-tchi. khaʔo·tt-ɛ-lle lɔkthik cum    ni·t-chiŋ-ɛ.*
stay-PT-dPS   dawn-PT-SUB    one     friend wake_up-REF-PT


*hɛkkɛlle   gɔ·  khunchi wabak pe·sɛʔ-ʔo·    nɛs-ɛ-tchi-ba*
therefore then they[d]  pond  vicinity-LOC stay-PT-dPS-NOM


*nis-u. hɛkyaŋ ku-ndzum-in    "anchi  gɔ·  mɛn-nuba*[1]
see-3P then    his-friend-ABS we[di]   then NEG-good


*wabak-tɛn-ʔo·  a-nɛs-ɛ-tchi rəcə. hara  po·g-ɛʔ!*
pond-place-LOC 1-stay-PT-dPS DEPR quick get_up-IMP


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[1] *mɛnnuba*: In Limbu lore it is considered highly inauspi-
cious to spend the night next to a pond because of the
malevolent aquatic deities which inhabit such bodies of
water.

*him-ʔo·    pit-chi! aŋga əgɔ·  pe·g-aŋ      lo·!"  phaʔaŋ*
house-LOC go-dPS   I     then  go-1sPS/PT ASS   *bhanera*


*ku-ndzum-in      mɛtt-u-lle      gɔ·  ku-ndzum*
his-friend-ABS say_to-3P-SUB then his-friend


*kɛ-im-bɛ-lle     "khɛnɛʔ kɛ-be·k gɔrɔ lamdhe·ʔl-in*
AP-sleep-AP-ERG youˢ  2-go     if    door-ABS


*sub-ɛʔ-aŋ      pe·-ʔ!"  mɛtt-u.*
shut-IMP-pfG go-IMP   say_to-3P


translation:

There once were two friends. One day when they[d] had gotten
the idea to drink millet beer, they[d] went off to drink
millet beer. So when they[d] had drunk lots of beer, they[d]
became inebriated. Then they[d] headed homeward. As they[d]
were coming homeward, they[d] just collapsed by the side of a
pond. They[d] could not get up and so slept there the whole
night long. They[d] remained there until sunrise. As it got
light, one friend came to. Then he saw that they[d] had been
sleeping by the side of a pond. So he said to his friend,
"We[di] appear to have stayed at the place of an inauspicious
pond," to which his sleeping friend responded, "If you go,
shut the door behind you!"


              *nɛtchi cum          -    2*
              Two     Friends


*nɛtchi cum     way-ɛ-tchi. khɛŋhaʔ ta·mbhuŋ tɔk   ca·-se*
two     friend be-PT-dPS   they     jungle    rice eat-SUP


*khunchi-cum-haʔ-nu pe·g-ɛ-tchi-yaŋ way-ɛ-tchi. hɛkkɛlle*
their-friend-p-COM go-PT-dPS-pfG    be-PT-dPS    so


*khunchi-cum-haʔ-re yəllik thi· mɛ-de·ʔr-u-waŋ      way-ɛ rəcə.*
their-friend-p-ERG much    beer nsAS-take-3P-pfG be-PT DEPR


*khɛŋ thi·-n     kɛrɛk mɛ-bo·ks-ɛ-yaŋ mɛ-dhuŋ-u-lle     gɔ·*
that beer-ABS all    nsAS-be-PT-pfG ns-drink-3P-SUB then

*ca·rik-ʔe·* *khɛŋ* *nɛpphu* *cum-haʔ* *mɔy-u-si.* *hɛkyaŋ*
very-EMPH that two friend-p inebriate-3P-nsP then

*ta·mbhuŋ-ʔo·-lam* *him-lɛpsaŋ* *mɛ-nu·ks-ɛ.* *khɛŋ* *nɛpphu-yaŋ*
jungle-LOC-MED home-toward nsAS-return-PT that two-too

*nu·ks-ɛ-tchi.* *hɛkke·lɔʔrik* *mɛ-nu·ks-ɛ-rɔ*
return-PT-dPS In_that_way nsAS-return-PT-prG

*mɛ-bɔtch-ɛ-lle* *ca·rik-ʔe·* *khadam-ɛ* *mak* *lɔʔr-ɛ.*
nsAS-be-PT-SUB very-EMPH get_dark-PT black appear-PT

*kərə-saŋ* *khunchi* *him-ʔo·* *te·-si.* *khɛŋhaʔ-re*
but-even they[d] home-LOC come/PT-dPS they-ERG

*khunchi-im-maʔ-dɛn* *na·nhaŋ* *kɔtna·nhaŋ* *e·ʔe·*
their-sleep-INF-place that_side this_side separate

*nɛ·s-ɛ* *ku-lum-ʔo·* *mɛ-bhaŋ-u-ba*
be_situated-PT its-between-LOC nsAS-build_a_wall-3P-IPF

*way-ɛ,* *kərə* *khunchi-im-maʔ-dɛn-nin* *mak* *lɔʔr-ɛ-yaŋ*
be-PT but their-sleep-INF-place-ABS black appear-PT-pfG

*mɛ-n-nis-ɛ-tch-u-n-naŋ* *lɔkthik-le* *ku-im-maʔ-dɛn-ʔo·*
nsAS-NEG-see-PT-dA-3P-NEG-pfG one-GEN his-sleep-INF-LOC

*la·s-ɛ-tchi* *rəcə.* *hɛkyaŋ* *cumdzum*
enter-PT-dPS DEPR then each_other

*kusiŋ-mɛ-ni·t-nɛt-chi-n* *hɛnaŋbhɛlle* *ca·rik-ʔe·*
recognize-NEG-recognize-REF-dPS-NEG because very-EMPH

*mɔy-u-si-yaŋ* *way-ɛ.* *hɛkyaŋ* *khunchi* *i·tt-ɛ-tch-u*
inebriate-3P-nsP-pfG be-PT then they[d] think-PT-dA-3P

*"anchige-im-maʔ-dɛn-ʔo·* *la·s-ɛ-tchi-ge-yaŋ* *ya·k-si-ge"*
our[de]-sleep-INF-place-LOC enter-PT-dPS-e-pfG be-dPS-e

*phaʔaŋ* *i·tt-ɛ-tch-u* *kərə* *lɔkthik-le* *ku-im-maʔ-dɛn*
bhanera think-PT-dA-3P but one-GEN his-sleep-INF-place

*la·s-ɛ-tchi* *kərə* *kusiŋ-mɛ-ni·t-nɛt-chi-n-naŋ*
enter-PT-dPS but recognize-NEG-recognize-REF-dPS-NEG-pfG

*nɛpmadzaŋ* *ɔ·kt-ɛ-tchi* *"aŋga* *a-im-maʔ-dɛn-ʔo·*
both scream-PT-dPS I my-sleep-INF-place-LOC

*e·n-dhik te·-i·     te·-i·!"     pha?aŋ ɔ·kt-ɛ-tchi.*
who-one   come/PT-EMPH come/PT-EMPH *bhanera* scream-PT-dPS

*hɛkke·lɔ?rik khunchi nɛpmadzaŋ ca·rik-?e· ɔ·kt-ɛ-tchi-rɔ*
in‿that‿way  they[d]   both     very-EMPH  scream-PT-dPS-prG

*cuŋ-ɛ-tchi.*
wrestle-PT-dPS


translation:

One there were two friends. They had gone to the jungle
with their friends to eat rice. And it turned out that
their friends had taken lots of millet beer. When they were
all there and drank that millet beer those two became very
inebriated. Then they turned back homeward from the jungle.
Those two also turned back. When they were on their way
back, it got very dark and turned pitch black outside.
Nevertheless they managed to get home. Their sleeping
places were adjacent to one another but separate. Inbetween
there was a wall they had put up, but as their sleeping
spots were pitch black they could not see them and turned
out to have entered the sleeping spot of one of them. They
didn't recognize each other because they had gotten so very
drunk. So they thought, "we[de] have gotten into our sleeping
spots" but they had really gotten into the sleeping spot of
one of them, but they did not recognize each other, so they
both cried "Someone has gotten into my sleeping spot!" With
both of them screaming in this way, they started wrestling.


### The Man Who Lost His Watch


*lɔkthik mᵊna ku-de·?l-ku-bhuŋ      huk-?o·  wa·p-mna-ba*
one     man  his-clothes-his-garb hand-LOC wear-PP-NOM

*kɛrɛk phɛnd-u-waŋ      warum-siŋ-lɔ   ya·g-ɛ. hɛkyaŋ*
all    take‿off-3P-pfG bathe-REF-prG be-PT    then

*warum-siŋ-ma?-aŋ   sut-chiŋ-ŋaŋ      ku-de·?l-ku-bhuŋ*
bathe-REF-INF-pfG finish-REF-pfG his-clothes-his-garb

*cak-siŋ-aŋ      ku-him-lɛpsaŋ      tha·siŋ. lamde·ŋ*
dress-REF-pfG his-house-toward drop-REF halfway

*kɛʔr-ɛ-lle*      *huk-ʔo·*   *wa·p-mna-bɛ-n*    *i·tt-u-lle*
arrive-PT-SUB hand-LOC wear-PP-NOM-ABS remember-3P-SUB

*gɔ·*   *warum-siŋ-ɛ-ba-tɛn-ʔo·*      *huk-ʔo·*   *wa·p-mna-bɛ-n*
then bathe--REF--PT-IPF-place-LOC hand-LOC wear-PP-NOM-ABS

*niŋwa mutch-u*     *dhɔ*        *rɑcə. hɛkyaŋ khɛʔyo·*
mind  forget-3P leave/3P DEPR   then    up_there

*ku-be·sɛʔ-ʔo·*      *ku-ndzum-dhik*    *kɛ-wa·-bɛ-n*    *khɛŋ pa·n-in*
its-vicinity-LOC his-friend-one AP-be-AP-ABS that word-ABS

*mɛtt-u.*      *hɛkyaŋ nɛpmadzaŋ po·ks-ɛ-tchi-yaŋ niŋwa*
say_to-3P then   both       become-PT-dPS-pfG mind

*mutch-u-ba-tɛn-ʔo·*       *huk-ʔo·*   *wa·p-mna-bɛ-n*    *ku-la·se*
forget-3P-IPF-place--LOC hand-LOC wear-PP-NOM-ABS it-get_SUP

*ku-hɔŋ-se*       *yammu pe·-si-lle*      *gɔ·*   *huk-ʔo·*
it--search-SUP again go/PT-dPS-SUB then hand-LOC

*wa·p-mna-bɛ-n*     *nɛ·s-u-ba*    *tɛn-ʔo·*     *ho·pt-ɛ.*   *khɛŋ*
wear-PP-NOM-ABS put-3P-NOM place-LOC not_be-PT that

*ho·pt-ɛ-ba*       *nis-ɛ-tch-u-waŋ*   *ku-ndzum-ille*   *mɛtt-u*
not_be--PT-NOM see-PT-dA-3P-pfG his-friend-ERG say_to-3P

*"huk-ʔo·*   *wa·p-mna-bɛ-n*     *mund-ɛ-rɔ*    *way-ɛ-i·*   *mɛm-mun-ʔe·*
hand-LOC wear-PP-NOM-ABS work-PT-prG be-PT-Q   npG-run-npG

*way-ɛ-i·?"*   *lɔʔrik se·ndo·s-u.*   *kɛ-ma·-bɛ-lle*    *mɛtt-u*
be-PT-Q     saying ask-3P        AP-lose-AP-ERG say_to-3P

*"mund-ɛ-rɔ*     *way-ɛ".*   *ku-ndzum-ille*   *mɛtt-u*     *"mund-ɛ-rɔ*
work-PT-prG be-PT     his-friend-ERG say_to-3P run--PT-prG

*way-ɛ gɔrɔ laŋghe·ʔg-ɛ-aŋ pe·g-ɛ. allɔ*
be-PT if   run-PT-pfG      go-PT    now

*kho·-he·ʔ-mɛ-dɛt-nɛn."*
find-can-NEG-PAS-NEG

translation:

One man took off his clothes and wristwatch and everything and was bathing. Then when he had finished bathing, he put his clothes back on and headed home. Halfway there, remembering his watch, it appeared that he had forgotten his watch at the place he had bathed. So he told this to a friend who happened to be up there near him. So the two of them went back to look for and get the watch in the place where he had forgotten it, but the watch was not there in the place he had left it. When they[d] saw that it was not there, his friend spoke to him, asking, "Was your watch running or wasn't it?" The one who had lost [the watch] said, "It was running." Then his friend said, "If it was running, then it has gone and run away. Now it's nowhere to be found."

## Whose Grandfather is Tallest?

*sumsi hɛndzaʔ mɛ-way-ɛ.  thik ya·n so·-so·rik*
three lad    nsAS-be-PT one  day  together-together

*mɛ-way-ɛ.  sa·rik nam se·kt-ɛ-yaŋ  sumraŋ    lɔkthik ke·mba*
nsAS-be-PT very   sun shine-PT-pfG all-three one     tall

*siŋbo·ŋ-ille ku-bo·ŋ-ʔo·  mɛ-yuŋ-ɛ.   lɔkthik-le "kɔŋ*
tree-GEN     its-base-LOC nsAS-sit-PT one-ERG      this

*siŋbo·ŋ-in tha·mba a-ndhɛba      way-ɛ" lɔʔr-ɛ. e·ʔyəŋba*
tree-ABS   tall    my-grandfather be-PT  say-PT  other

*məna-le "kɛ-ndhɛba       hɛn  habhyaʔ-thik   ke·nd-ɛ-i·?*
man-ERG  your-grandfather what that_much-only be_tall-PT-Q

*aŋgaʔ a-ndhɛba       gɔ·  yaʔ   namphɛp-maʔ-le*
I      my_grandfather then paddy dry_in_the_sun-INF-SUB

*kha·kmiʔl-le nam thɛkt-u    gɔrɔ a-ndhɛba-re*
cloud-ERG    sun obscure-3P if   my-grandfather-ERG

*ku-huk-ille    kha·kmiʔl wa·nd-u-waŋ        thik na·ndaŋ*
his-hand-INST cloud      brush_aside-3P-pfG one  direction

*paŋs-u de·s-u.    a-ndhɛba       habhyaʔ   ke·nd-ɛ"*
send-3P dispatch-3P my-grandfather that_much be_tall-PT

```
pa·tt-u. kərə e·?yəŋba ku-ndzum-in    ku-sik
say-PT   but  other  his-friend-PAT his-irritation
```

```
khɛŋ-ɛ-yaŋ yuŋ-ɛ. khɛŋha?-re khunchi-pa·n-in  khɛps-u-waŋ
well-up-pfG sit-PT they-GEN   their-speech-ABS hear-3P-pfG
```

```
ku-nIŋwa-?o· ku-ye·p-my-aŋ      yu?s-ɛ.         hɛkyaŋ
his-mind-LOC his-laugh-INF-also be_activated-PT and_then
```

```
khunɛ? pa·tt-u:  "khɛnchi-thɛba      hɛbhya?   rɔk
he     speak-3P  yourᵈ-grandfather that_much only
```

```
ke·nd-ɛ-tchi-?i·? e·-llɛ-n   ku-ndhɛba       ke·nd-ɛ
be_tall-PT-dPS-Q who-GEN-ABS his-grandfather be_tall-PT
```

```
hɛkyaŋ    taŋsaŋ-?o· kɛ-bɔp-pa           kha·kmi?l
and_then heaven-LOC AP-be_suspended-AP cloud
```

```
kɛ-na·p-pa        ku-ndhɛba       kɛ-wa·-bɛ-lle
AP-drive_off-AP his-grandfather AP-be-AP-SUB
```

```
kɔŋ-lɛ-n-nulle      a-ndhɛba-e·           ke·nd-ɛ    rəcə".
this-GEN-ABS-than my-grandfather-EMPH be_tall-PT DEPR
```

```
"e·, kɛ-ndhɛba          habhya?    ke·nd-ɛ-i·?
 Oh  your-grandfather this_much be_tall-PT-Q
```

```
kɛ-ndhɛba-re          taŋsaŋ-?o·-ba  kha·k-mi?l-in
your-grandfather-ERG heaven-LOC-NOM cloud-ABS
```

```
wa·nd-u-lle      hɛnaŋ mɛ-gho·s-u-n-ni·?" e·?yəŋba
brush_aside-3P why   NEG-find-3P-NEG-Q  other
```

```
hɛndza?-ille ku-nIŋwa-?o· i·tt-u:  "allɔ 'mɛ-gho·s-u-n'
lad-ERG      his-mind-LOC think-3P now   NEG-find-3P-NEG
```

```
pa·t-m? bhɛlle 'kɛ-ndhɛba           habhya?
say-INF if     your-grandfather that_much
```

```
mɛ-ge·nd-ɛ-n'         a-mɛ?l. hɛkkɛlle 'kho·s-u' pa·tt-u-ŋ."
NEG-be_tall-PT-NEG 1-say    therefore find-3P  say-3P-1sA
```

```
hɛkyaŋ    "kho·s-u" pa·tt-u. "ho·, kho·s-u gɔrɔ khɛŋ-in-cha?
and_then find-3P   say-3P   Yeah find-3P if   he-ABS-EMPH
```

```
a-ndhɛba-re           ku-le·dhi·mba."
my-grandfather-GEN his-testicles
```

translation:

There were three lads. One day they were together. As the
sun shone intensely, they all three sat down at the base of
a tall tree. One of them said, "My grandfather was as tall
as this tree." The other [second] guy responded, "Was your
grandfather only that tall? Well, if a cloud would obscure
the sun when my grandfather was drying paddy in the sun, my
grandfather would brush the cloud to one side with his hand
and send it on its way. That's how tall my grandfather
was." But the other [third] friend just sat, extremely
irritated. Having heard what they had said, he laughed
inside himself. Then he spoke, "Were your grandfathers only
this tall? It appears that my grandfather was taller than
whoever's grandfather it was that towered so high and
reached up into the heavens, driving off clouds." [The
second lad countered:] "Oh, so was your grandfather that
tall? Why then did your grandfather not run into him [viz.
my grandfather] when he was brushing away the clouds which
were in the heavens?" The other [third] lad thought to
himself "If I say 'he didn't run into him', they'll say to
me, 'so your grandfather wasn't that tall after all'.
Therefore, I'll say 'he did run into him'." And so he said,
"He did run into him." [The second lad replied:] "Yeah, if
he [viz. your grandfather] ran into him, then what he ran
into was my grandfather's balls."


6. Riddles


1. *tɔre· ɔʔcɔʔ*

2. *tho·dho·ʔ pe·k*
   *ku-bhɛgwa phɛnd-u*
   *tho·-dho·ʔ pe·k*
   *ku-bhɛgwa phɛnd-u*

3. *nɛpphu ku-mphu ku-nsa wa·-si*
   *"pit-chi-ge" lɔʔ-si, yammu nu·ŋ-si*

4. *suriʔl-lɛ-n go·li*
   *se·ʔho·rik-lɛ-n timmək*
   *kha·mbe·k-ʔo· a-buŋ-ba*
   *taŋsaŋ-ʔo· yaŋs-u*

5. *nam phirli·*[1]
   *nam phirli·*
   *ku-hi cyɔ?cyɔ? lɔ·n*

6. *ya·kke·k sam-?o·*
   *nudak ka·nde·*
       *... hɛn!*

7. *pe·k-?ille ye·?1-lɔ pe·k.*
   *ta-lle ha·p-lɔ ta.*

8. *ku-mma-re ku-sa? se·wa mɛtt-u-ba.*
   *hɛn?*

9. *siŋbo·ŋ-dhik wa·.*
   *liŋ-mɛn-dɛ?1.*
   *su?wa-dhik wa·.*
   *thim-mɛn-dɛ?1.*

10. *"taŋsaŋ-in lɔkt-u-ŋ" pha?aŋ pe·k*
    *mɛl-lɔk-?e· yammu yaŋ-nu nu·ŋ.*
    *hɛn!*

11. *nɛtchi pi?1 "thɔk-si-ge" lɔ?-si,*
    *kərə lɔkthik thɛgu-lle thɛkt-u-si-aŋ thɔk-ma?*
        *mɛ-he·?-si-n.*
    *khɛŋ hɛn!*

12. *ma·le· pi?1-in khum-mɛn-dɛ?1.*[2]
    *tɔkka?1 ti-rɛ-n tɛm-mɛn-dɛ?1.*
    *hɛn khɛŋ-lɛ-n?*

13. *a-him səllak!*

---

[1] See glosses of both *nam* and *phirli·* and of *namphirli·*
[2] The regular passive forms are: *khummɛdɛtnɛn, tɛmmɛdɛt-nɛn.*

## Solutions to Riddles

1. *tɔŋba.*
2. *phahɔk*
3. *lamdhe·ʔl*

*lamdhe·ʔl*

the door of a
Limbu household:
thin wooden double
doors with bolt,
massive wooden
lintel and door-
sill, no door-
jambs.

*kha·mbhuʔla*

*kha·mhɛtla*
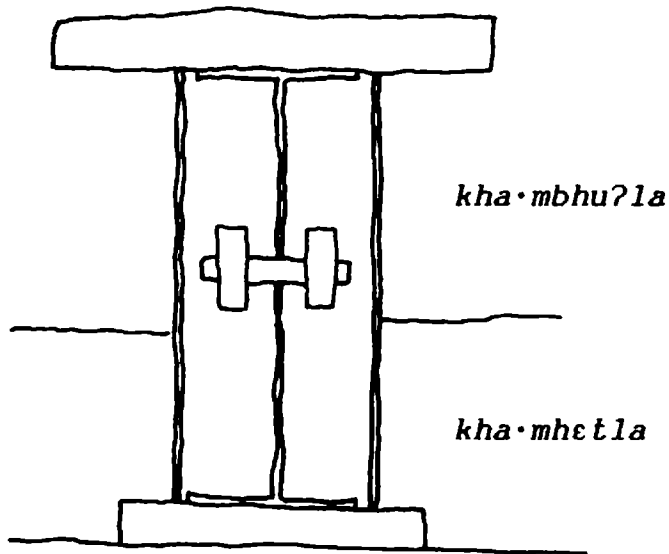
4. *phe·ʔmaʔl*
5. *luŋsum*
6. *ya·kke·k-ʔin nɛbo·
   nudak-ʔin nɛhik
   ka·nde·-ʔin nɛbo·hɔŋ-haʔ*
7. *cire·ʔ*
8. *ku-sa-·n phɔgəna
   ku-mma-·n khe·mba*
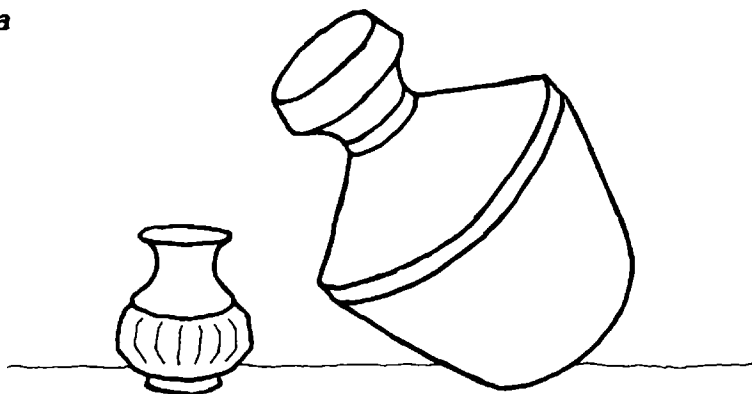
9. *siŋbo·ŋ-in sikwa
   suʔwa-·n sappo·k*
10. *pha-·n*
11. *mik-nu nɛbo·*
12. *ke·b-ɛn-nu ɔse·k-ʔin*
13. *ta·msəri*

# Appendix II
# Paradigms

## 1. Regular verbs

Three conjugations of the simplex forms along with morphological analyses are provided below for the transitive verb *hu?ma?* 'to teach', the intransitive verb *nu·ŋma?* 'to return' and the reflexive verb *lɛŋsiŋma?* 'to change'. The conjugations of all regular verbs follow the pattern given for these three verbs. For each agreement class (eg. 1s→2s, 1s→2d etc.), the non-negated and negated nonpreterit and preterit simplicia are given. Morphemes of the simplex conjugation and their allomorphs are discussed in Chapter Four. The slots and slot fillers are as given on pp.75-76. In the morphological analysis below, all morphemes are given in their appropriate slot, and zero morphemes are indicated by their morpheme label as given in Chapter Four.

Affixes are attached directly to the core syllable or root. Prefixes therefore follow the first syllable (or syllables) or <u>preverb</u> of a polysyllabic verb. The conjugations of the regular disyllabic transitive verbs *ɔ·mɔpma?* 'to look, watch' and *warumma?* 'to bathe' are given on pp. 377-381. In the conjugation of regular transitive *nima?* 'to see', given on pp.381-383, hyphens are used to distinguish the stem final /s/ from dual suffixes beginning with /s/.

The regular reflexive conjugations of *ɔ·mɔpma?*, *warumma?* and *nima?* are given on pp.383-384: *ɔ·mɔtchiŋma?* 'to look at oneself', *warumsiŋma?* 'to bathe oneself' and *nisiŋma?* 'to see oneself'.

The simplex conjugations of the regular intransitives *thaŋma?* 'to come up', *hiŋma?* 'to live, be alive', *i·ma?* 'to wander' and *imma?* 'to sleep' are given on pp.384-387.

Imperative paradigms are provided in 8.2, adhortative paradigms in 8.1.

| pf 1 | pf 2 | pf 3 | verb stem | sf 1 | sf 2 | sf 3 | sf 4 | sf 5 | sf 6 | sf 7 | sf 8 | sf 9 | sf 10 | sf 11 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *a* | *ø* | *mɛ* | | *siŋ* | *ø* | *s* | *u* | *ø* | *n* | *tchi* | *ø* | *ŋ* | *ge* | *nɛn* |
| 1 | sAS | NEG$_1$ | | REF | NPT | dA | 3P | sA | NEG$_3$ | nsA | sP | 1sA | e | NEG$_2$ |
| *kɛ* | *mɛ* | *n* | | *nɛ* | *ɛ* | *ʔɛ* | *ŋ* | | | *m* | *si* | *m* | *ø* | |
| 2 | nsAS | NEG$_3$ | | 1→2 | PT | 1sPS /NPT | 1sA | | | pA | nsP | pA | i | |
| *ø* | | | | | | *aŋ* | | | | *mʔna* | | | | |
| 3 | | | | | | 1sPS /PT | | | | 1peAS/ PT | | | | |
| | | | | | | *paŋ* | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | 1s→3 /PT | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | *ø* | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | sPS | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | *si* | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | dPS | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | *i* | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | pPS | | | | | | | | |

## TRANSITIVE CONJUGATION

### 1s→2s

| | | | | | | | | | | | sf 11 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *hu?* | *nɛ* | NPT | sPS | sA | | | | | | |
| | *hu?* | *n* | *ɛ* | sPS | sA | | | | | | |
| *mɛ* | *hu?* | *nɛ* | NPT | sPS | sA | | | | | | *n* |
| *mɛ* | *hu?* | *n* | *ɛ* | sPS | sA | | | | | | *n* |

### 1s→2d

| | | | | | | | | | sf 9 | | sf 11 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *hu?* | *nɛ* | NPT | *tchi* | | | | | *ŋ* | | |
| | *hu?* | *n* | *ɛ* | *tchi* | | | | | *ŋ* | | |
| *mɛ* | *hu?* | *nɛ* | NPT | *tchi* | | | | | *ŋ* | | *nɛn* |
| *mɛ* | *hu?* | *n* | *ɛ* | *tchi* | | | | | *ŋ* | | *nɛn* |

### 1s→2p

| | | | | | | | | | sf 9 | | sf 11 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *hu?* | *n* | NPT | *i* | | | | | *ŋ* | | |
| | *hu?* | *n* | PT | *i* | | | | | *ŋ* | | |
| *mɛ* | *hu?* | *n* | NPT | *i* | | | | | *ŋ* | | *nɛn* |
| *mɛ* | *hu?* | *n* | PT | *i* | | | | | *ŋ* | | *nɛn* |

```
1s→3s
              hu?r    NPT    u  ŋ          sP
              hu?r    PT     u  ŋ          sP
      mɛ      hu?            ?ɛ            sP        n
      mɛ-n    hu?            baŋ           sP

1s→3ns
              hu?r    NPT    u  ŋ          si  ŋ
              hu?r    PT     u  ŋ          si  ŋ
      mɛ      hu?            ?ɛ     n      chi       n
      mɛ-n    hu?            baŋ           si  ŋ

1di→3s
a             hu?     NPT s  u            sP   i
a             hu?r    ɛ   tch u           sP   i
a     n       hu?     NPT s  u            sP   i  n
a     n       hu?r    ɛ   tch u           sP   i  n

1di→3ns
a             hu?     NPT s  u            si   i
a             hu?r    ɛ   tch u           si   i
a     n       hu?     NPT s  u    (n)     si   i  n
a     n       hu?r    ɛ   tch u   (n)     si   i  n

1nse→2
              hu?  nɛ  NPT           tchi      ge
              hu?  n   ɛ             tchi      ge
      mɛ      hu?  nɛ  NPT           tchi      gɛ n
      mɛ      hu?  n   ɛ             tchi      gɛ n

1de→3s
1             hu?     NPT s  u            sP   ge
1             hu?r    ɛ   tch u           sP   ge
1     mɛ      hu?     NPT s  u            sP   gɛ n
1     mɛ      hu?r    ɛ   tch u           sP   gɛ n

1de→3ns
1             hu?     NPT s  u            si   ge
1             hu?r    ɛ   tch u           si   ge
1     mɛ      hu?     NPT s  u            si   gɛ n
1     mɛ      hu?r    ɛ   tch u           si   gɛ n

1pi→3s
a             hu?r    NPT    u      m     sP   i
a             hu?r    PT     u      m     sP   i
a     n       hu?r    NPT    u      m     sP   i  nɛn
a     n       hu?r    PT     u      m     sP   i  nɛn
```

### 1pi→3ns

| a |   | *hu?r* | NPT | u |   | *m* | *si* | *m* | *i* |   |
|---|---|--------|-----|---|---|-----|------|-----|-----|---|
| a |   | *hu?r* | PT  | u |   | *m* | *si* | *m* | *i* |   |
| a | n | *hu?r* | NPT | u |   | *m* | *si* | *m* | *i* | nɛn |
| a | n | *hu?r* | PT  | u |   | *m* | *si* | *m* | *i* | nɛn |

### 1pe→3s

| 1 |      | *hu?r* | NPT | u |   | *m*    | sP | *be* |   |
|---|------|--------|-----|---|---|--------|----|------|---|
|   |      | *hu?*  |     |   |   | *m?na* | sP |      |   |
| 1 | *mɛ* | *hu?r* | NPT | u |   | *m*    | sP | *bɛ* | n |
|   | *mɛ-n* | *hu?* |    |   |   | *m?na* | sP |      |   |

### 1pe→3ns

| 1 |      | *hu?r* | NPT | u |   | *m*    | *si* | *m* | *be* |   |
|---|------|--------|-----|---|---|--------|------|-----|------|---|
|   |      | *hu?*  |     |   |   | *m?na* | *si* |     |      |   |
| 1 | *mɛ* | *hu?r* | NPT | u |   | *m*    | *si* | *m* | *bɛ* | n |
|   | *mɛ-n* | *hu?* |    |   |   | *m?na* | *si* |     |      |   |

### 2s→1s

| *kɛ* |   | *hu?*  | NPT | ?ɛ | sA |   |
|------|---|--------|-----|----|----|---|
| *kɛ* |   | *hu?r* |     | aŋ | sA |   |
| *kɛ* | n | *hu?*  | NPT | ?ɛ | sA | n |
| *kɛ* | n | *hu?r* |     | aŋ | sA | nɛn |

### 2→1

| *a-gɛ* |   | *hu?*  | NPT |   |   | e |     |
|--------|---|--------|-----|---|---|---|-----|
| *a-gɛ* |   | *hu?r* | ɛ   |   |   | e |     |
| *a-gɛ* | n | *hu?*  | NPT |   |   | e | nɛn |
| *a-gɛ* | n | *hu?r* | ɛ   |   |   | e | n   |

### 2s→3s

| *kɛ* |   | *hu?r* | NPT | u | sA | sP |   |
|------|---|--------|-----|---|----|----|---|
| *kɛ* |   | *hu?r* | PT  | u | sA | sP |   |
| *kɛ* | n | *hu?r* | NPT | u | sA | sP | n |
| *kɛ* | n | *hu?r* | PT  | u | sA | sP | n |

### 2s→3ns

| *kɛ* |   | *hu?r* | NPT | u | sA     | *si* |   |
|------|---|--------|-----|---|--------|------|---|
| *kɛ* |   | *hu?r* | PT  | u | sA     | *si* |   |
| *kɛ* | n | *hu?r* | NPT | u | sA (n) | *si* | n |
| *kɛ* | n | *hu?r* | PT  | u | sA (n) | *si* | n |

### 2d→3s

| *kɛ* |   | *hu?*  | NPT | *s*   | u | sP |   |
|------|---|--------|-----|-------|---|----|---|
| *kɛ* |   | *hu?r* | ɛ   | *tch* | u | sP |   |
| *kɛ* | n | *hu?*  | NPT | *s*   | u | sP | n |
| *kɛ* | n | *hu?r* | ɛ   | *tch* | u | sP | n |

### 2d→3ns

```
kε            hu?    NPT s  u           si
kε            hu?r   ε  tch u           si
kε     n      hu?    NPT s  u    (n)    si       n
kε     n      hu?r   ε  tch u    (n)    si       n
```

### 2p→3s

```
kε            hu?r   NPT    u      m    sP
kε            hu?r   PT     u      m    sP
kε     n      hu?r   NPT    u      m    sP       nεn
kε     n      hu?r   PT     u      m    sP       nεn
```

### 2p→3ns

```
kε            hu?r   NPT    u      m    si   m
kε            hu?r   PT     u      m    si   m
kε     n      hu?r   NPT    u      m    si   m   nεn
kε     n      hu?r   PT     u      m    si   m   nεn
```

### 3s→1s

```
3   sAS       hu?    NPT    ?ε
3   sAS       hu?r          aŋ
3   sAS me    hu?    NPT    ?ε                   n
3   sAS me    hu?r          aŋ                   nεn
```

### 3s→1di

```
a-3 sAS       hu?    NPT    si               i
a-3 sAS       hu?r   ε      tchi             i
a-3 sAS n     hu?    NPT    si               i   n
a-3 sAS n     hu?r   ε      tchi             i   n
```

### 3s→1de

```
1-3 sAS       hu?    NPT    si               ge
1-3 sAS       hu?r   ε      tchi             ge
1-3 sAS me    hu?    NPT    si               gε  n
1-3 sAS me    hu?r   ε      tchi             gε  n
```

### 3s→1pi

```
a-3 sAS       hu?    NPT    pPS              i
a-3 sAS       hu?r   ε      pPS              i
a-3 sAS n     hu?    NPT    pPS              i   nεn
a-3 sAS n     hu?r   ε      pPS              i   n
```

### 3s→1pe

```
1-3 sAS       hu?r   NPT    i                ge
1-3 sAS       hu?r   PT     i                ge
1-3 sAS me    hu?r   NPT    i                gε  n
1-3 sAS me    hu?r   PT     i                gε  n
```

#### 3s→2s

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *ke-3* | sAS | | *hu?* | NPT | sPS | |
| *ke-3* | sAS | | *hu?r* | ε | sPS | |
| *kε-3* | sAS | *n* | *hu?* | NPT | sPS | *nεn* |
| *kε-3* | sAS | *n* | *hu?r* | ε | sAS | *n* |

#### 3s→2d

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *ke-3* | sAS | | *hu?* | NPT | *si* | |
| *ke-3* | sAS | | *hu?r* | ε | *tchi* | |
| *kε-3* | sAS | *n* | *hu?* | NPT | *si* | *n* |
| *kε-3* | sAS | *n* | *hu?r* | ε | *tchi* | *n* |

#### 3s→2p

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *ke-3* | sAS | | *hu?r* | NPT | *i* | |
| *ke-3* | sAS | | *hu?r* | PT | *i* | |
| *kε-3* | sAS | *n* | *hu?r* | NPT | *i* | *n* |
| *kε-3* | sAS | *n* | *hu?r* | PT | *i* | *n* |

#### 3s→3s

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3 | sAS | | *hu?r* | NPT | *u* | sP | |
| 3 | sAS | | *hu?r* | PT | *u* | sP | |
| 3 | sAS | *mε* | *hu?r* | NPT | *u* | sP | *n* |
| 3 | sAS | *mε* | *hu?r* | PT | *u* | sP | *n* |

#### 3s→3ns

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3 | sAS | | *hu?r* | NPT | *u* | | *si* | |
| 3 | sAS | | *hu?r* | PT | *u* | | *si* | |
| 3 | sAS | *mε* | *hu?r* | NPT | *u* | *(n)* | *si* | *n* |
| 3 | sAS | *mε* | *hu?r* | PT | *u* | *(n)* | *si* | *n* |

#### 3d→3s

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3 | | | *hu?* | NPT | *s* | *u* | sP | |
| 3 | | | *hu?r* | ε | *tch* | *u* | sP | |
| 3 | | *mε* | *hu?* | NPT | *s* | *u* | sP | *n* |
| 3 | | *mε* | *hu?r* | ε | *tch* | *u* | sP | *n* |

#### 3d→3ns

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3 | | | *hu?* | NPT | *s* | *u* | | *si* | |
| 3 | | | *hu?r* | ε | *tch* | *u* | | *si* | |
| 3 | | *mε* | *hu?* | NPT | *s* | *u* | *(n)* | *si* | *n* |
| 3 | | *mε* | *hu?r* | ε | *tch* | *u* | *(n)* | *si* | *n* |

#### 3ns→1s

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3 | *mε* | | *hu?* | NPT | *?ε* | |
| 3 | *mε* | | *hu?r* | | *aŋ* | |
| 3 | *mε* | *n* | *hu?* | NPT | *?ε* | *n* |
| 3 | *mε* | *n* | *hu?r* | | *aŋ* | *nεn* |

### 3ns→1di

|       |     |   |      |     |      |     |   |
|-------|-----|---|------|-----|------|-----|---|
| *a*-3 | *m* |   | *hu?*  | NPT | *si*   | i   |   |
| *a*-3 | *m* |   | *hu?r* | ε   | *tchi* | i   |   |
| *a*-3 | *mε* | *n* | *hu?*  | NPT | *si*   | i   | *n* |
| *a*-3 | *mε* | *n* | *hu?r* | ε   | *tchi* | i   | *n* |

### 3ns→1de

|       |     |   |      |     |      |      |   |
|-------|-----|---|------|-----|------|------|---|
| 1-3 | *mε* |   | *hu?*  | NPT | *si*   | *ge*  |   |
| 1-3 | *mε* |   | *hu?r* | ε   | *tchi* | *ge*  |   |
| 1-3 | *mε* | *n* | *hu?*  | NPT | *si*   | *gε* | *n* |
| 1-3 | *mε* | *n* | *hu?r* | ε   | *tchi* | *gε* | *n* |

### 3ns→1pi

|       |     |   |      |     |     |     |     |
|-------|-----|---|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| *a*-3 | *m* |   | *hu?*  | NPT | pPS | i   |     |
| *a*-3 | *m* |   | *hu?r* | ε   | pPS | i   |     |
| *a*-3 | *mε* | *n* | *hu?*  | NPT | pPS | i   | *nεn* |
| *a*-3 | *mε* | *n* | *hu?r* | ε   | pPS | i   | *n*   |

### 3ns→1pe

|       |     |   |      |     |   |      |   |
|-------|-----|---|------|-----|---|------|---|
| 1-3 | *mε* |   | *hu?r* | NPT | *i* | *ge*  |   |
| 1-3 | *mε* |   | *hu?r* | PT  | *i* | *ge*  |   |
| 1-3 | *mε* | *n* | *hu?r* | NPT | *i* | *gε* | *n* |
| 1-3 | *mε* | *n* | *hu?r* | PT  | *i* | *gε* | *n* |

### 3ns→2s

|        |     |   |      |     |     |     |
|--------|-----|---|------|-----|-----|-----|
| *kε*-3 | *m* |   | *hu?*  | NPT | sPS |     |
| *kε*-3 | *m* |   | *hu?r* | ε   | sPS |     |
| *kε*-3 | *mε* | *n* | *hu?*  | NPT | sPS | *nεn* |
| *kε*-3 | *mε* | *n* | *hu?r* | ε   | sPS | *n*   |

### 3ns→2d

|        |     |   |      |     |      |   |
|--------|-----|---|------|-----|------|---|
| *kε*-3 | *m* |   | *hu?*  | NPT | *si*   |   |
| *kε*-3 | *m* |   | *hu?r* | ε   | *tchi* |   |
| *kε*-3 | *mε* | *n* | *hu?*  | NPT | *si*   | *n* |
| *kε*-3 | *mε* | *n* | *hu?r* | ε   | *tchi* | *n* |

### 3ns→2p

|        |     |   |      |     |   |   |
|--------|-----|---|------|-----|---|---|
| *kε*-3 | *m* |   | *hu?r* | NPT | *i* |   |
| *kε*-3 | *m* |   | *hu?r* | PT  | *i* |   |
| *kε*-3 | *mε* | *n* | *hu?r* | NPT | *i* | *n* |
| *kε*-3 | *mε* | *n* | *hu?r* | PT  | *i* | *n* |

### 3p→3s

|   |     |   |      |     |   |    |   |
|---|-----|---|------|-----|---|----|---|
| 3 | *mε* |   | *hu?r* | NPT | *u* | sP |   |
| 3 | *mε* |   | *hu?r* | PT  | *u* | sP |   |
| 3 | *mε* | *n* | *hu?r* | NPT | *u* | sP | *n* |
| 3 | *mε* | *n* | *hu?r* | PT  | *u* | sP | *n* |

<u>3p→3ns</u>

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3 | mɛ | huʔr | NPT | u | | si | |
| 3 | mɛ | huʔr | PT | u | | si | |
| 3 | mɛ n | huʔr | NPT | u | (n) | si | n |
| 3 | mɛ n | huʔr | PT | u | (n) | si | n |

## INTRANSITIVE CONJUGATION:

<u>1s</u>

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | nu·ŋ | NPT | ʔɛ | | |
| | | nu·ks | | aŋ | | |
| | mɛ | nu·ŋ | NPT | ʔɛ | | n |
| | mɛ | nu·ks | | aŋ | | nɛn |

<u>1di</u>

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a | | nu·ŋ | NPT | si | i | |
| a | | nu·ks | ɛ | tchi | i | |
| a | n | nu·ŋ | NPT | si | i | n |
| a | n | nu·ks | ɛ | tchi | i | n |

<u>1de</u>

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | | nu·ŋ | NPT | si | ge |
| 1 | | nu·ks | ɛ | tchi | ge |
| 1 | mɛ | nu·ŋ | NPT | si | gɛ n |
| 1 | mɛ | nu·ks | ɛ | tchi | gɛ n |

<u>1pi</u>

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a | | nu·ŋ | NPT | pPS | |
| a | | nu·ks | ɛ | pPS | |
| a | n | nu·ŋ | NPT | pPS | nɛn |
| a | n | nu·ks | ɛ | pPS | n |

<u>1pe</u>

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | | nu·ks | NPT | i | | ge |
| | | nu·ŋ | | | ŋʔna | |
| 1 | mɛ | nu·ks | NPT | i | | gɛ n |
| | mɛ-n | nu·ŋ | | | ŋʔna | |

<u>2s</u>

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| kɛ | | nu·ŋ | NPT | sPS | | |
| kɛ | | nu·ks | ɛ | sPS | | |
| kɛ | n | nu·ŋ | NPT | sPS | | nɛn |
| kɛ | n | nu·ks | ɛ | sPS | | n |

<u>2d</u>

| *kɛ* |   |   | *nu·ŋ* | NPT | *si* |   |
|------|---|---|--------|-----|------|---|
| *kɛ* |   |   | *nu·ks* | ɛ | *tchi* |   |
| *kɛ* | *n* |   | *nu·ŋ* | NPT | *si* | *n* |
| *kɛ* | *n* |   | *nu·ks* | ɛ | *tchi* | *n* |

<u>2p</u>

| *kɛ* |   |   | *nu·ks* | NPT | *i* |   |
|------|---|---|---------|-----|-----|---|
| *kɛ* |   |   | *nu·ks* | PT | *i* |   |
| *kɛ* | *n* |   | *nu·ks* | NPT | *i* | *n* |
| *kɛ* | *n* |   | *nu·ks* | PT | *i* | *n* |

<u>3s</u>

| 3 | sAS |   | *nu·ŋ* | NPT |   |   |
|---|-----|---|--------|-----|---|---|
| 3 | sAS |   | *nu·ks* | ɛ |   |   |
| 3 | sAS | *mɛ* | *nu·ŋ* | NPT |   | *nɛn* |
| 3 | sAS | *mɛ* | *nu·ks* | ɛ |   | *n* |

<u>3d</u>

| 3 |   |   | *nu·ŋ* | NPT | *si* |   |
|---|---|---|--------|-----|------|---|
| 3 |   |   | *nu·ks* | ɛ | *tchi* |   |
| 3 |   | *mɛ* | *nu·ŋ* | NPT | *si* | *n* |
| 3 |   | *mɛ* | *nu·ks* | ɛ | *tchi* | *n* |

<u>3p</u>

| 3 | *mɛ* |   | *nu·ŋ* | NPT |   |   |
|---|------|---|--------|-----|---|---|
| 3 | *mɛ* |   | *nu·ks* | ɛ |   |   |
| 3 | *mɛ* | *n* | *nu·ŋ* | NPT |   | *nɛn* |
| 3 | *mɛ* | *n* | *nu·ks* | ɛ |   | *n* |

REFLEXIVE/RECIPROCAL CONJUGATION:

<u>1s</u>

|   |   | *lɛŋ* | *siŋ* | NPT | *ʔɛ* |   |
|---|---|-------|-------|-----|------|---|
|   |   | *lɛŋ* | *siŋ* |   | *aŋ* |   |
|   | *mɛ* | *lɛŋ* | *siŋ* | NPT | *ʔɛ* | *n* |
|   | *mɛ* | *lɛŋ* | *siŋ* |   | *aŋ* | *nɛn* |

<u>1di</u>

| *a* |   |   | *lɛŋ* | *nɛ* | NPT | *tchi* |   |
|-----|---|---|-------|------|-----|--------|---|
| *a* |   |   | *lɛŋ* | *n* | ɛ | *tchi* |   |
| *a* | *l* |   | *lɛŋ* | *nɛ* | NPT | *tchi* | *n* |
| *a* | *l* |   | *lɛŋ* | *n* | ɛ | *tchi* | *n* |

__1de__

| 1 | | | lεŋ | nε | NPT | tchi | | ge |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | | | lεŋ | n | ε | tchi | | ge |
| 1 | | mε | lεŋ | nε | NPT | tchi | | gε n |
| 1 | | mε | lεŋ | n | ε | tchi | | gε n |

__1pi__

| a | | | lεŋ | siŋ | NPT | pPS | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a | | | lεŋ | siŋ | ε | pPS | | |
| a | | 1 | lεŋ | siŋ | NPT | pPS | | nεn |
| a | | 1 | lεŋ | siŋ | ε | pPS | | n |

__1pe__

| 1 | | | lεŋ | siŋ | NPT | i | | ge |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | lεŋ | siŋ | | | ŋʔna | |
| 1 | | mε | lεŋ | siŋ | NPT | i | | gε n |
| | | mε-n | lεŋ | siŋ | | | ŋʔna | |

__2s__

| kε | | | lεŋ | siŋ | NPT | sPS | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| kε | | | lεŋ | siŋ | ε | sPS | | |
| kε | | 1 | lεŋ | siŋ | NPT | sPS | | nεn |
| kε | | 1 | lεŋ | siŋ | ε | sPS | | n |

__2d__

| kε | | | lεŋ | nε | NPT | tchi | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| kε | | | lεŋ | n | ε | tchi | | |
| kε | | 1 | lεŋ | nε | NPT | tchi | | n |
| kε | | 1 | lεŋ | n | ε | tchi | | n |

__2p__

| kε | | | lεŋ | siŋ | NPT | i | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| kε | | | lεŋ | siŋ | PT | i | | |
| kε | | 1 | lεŋ | siŋ | NPT | i | | n |
| kε | | 1 | lεŋ | siŋ | PT | i | | n |

__3s__

| 3 | sAS | | lεŋ | siŋ | NPT | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3 | sAS | | lεŋ | siŋ | ε | | | |
| 3 | sAS | mε | lεŋ | siŋ | NPT | | | nεn |
| 3 | sAS | mε | lεŋ | siŋ | ε | | | n |

__3d__

| 3 | | | lεŋ | nε | NPT | tchi | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3 | | | lεŋ | n | ε | tchi | | |
| 3 | | mε | lεŋ | nε | NPT | tchi | | n |
| 3 | | mε | lεŋ | n | ε | tchi | | n |

<u>3p</u>

| 3 | *mɛ* |   | *lɛŋ* | *siŋ* | NPT |     |
|---|------|---|-------|-------|-----|-----|
| 3 | *mɛ* |   | *lɛŋ* | *siŋ* | ɛ   |     |
| 3 | *mɛ* | *l* | *lɛŋ* | *siŋ* | NPT | *nɛn* |
| 3 | *mɛ* | *l* | *lɛŋ* | *siŋ* | ɛ   | *n* |

*ɔ·mɔpmaʔ,  ɔ·-mɔtt-/ɔ·-mɔt-/ɔ·-mɔʔl*   look at

| 1s→2s | *ɔ·mɔtnɛ* | *ɔ·mɔtnɛ* |
|-------|-----------|-----------|
|       | *ɔ·mɛmɔtnɛn* | *ɔ·mɛmɔtnɛn* |
| 1s→2d | *ɔ·mɔtnɛtchiŋ* | *ɔ·mɔtnɛtchiŋ* |
|       | *ɔ·mɛmɔtnɛtchiŋnɛn* | *ɔ·mɛmɔtnɛtchiŋnɛn* |
| 1s→2p | *ɔ·mɔtniŋ* | *ɔ·mɔtniŋ* |
|       | *ɔ·mɛmɔtniŋnɛn* | *ɔ·mɛmɔtniŋnɛn* |
| 1s→3s | *ɔ·mɔttuŋ* | *ɔ·mɔttuŋ* |
|       | *ɔ·mɛmɔʔlɛn* | *ɔ·mɛmmɔppaŋ* |
| 1s→3ns | *ɔ·mɔttuŋsiŋ* | *ɔ·mɔttuŋsiŋ* |
|       | *ɔ·mɛmɔʔlɛnchin* | *ɔ·mɛmmɔppaŋsiŋ* |
| 1di→3s | *ɔ·ʔamɔtchu* | *ɔ·ʔamɔttɛtchu* |
|       | *ɔ·ʔammɔtchun* | *ɔ·ʔammɔttɛtchun* |
| 1di→3ns | *ɔ·ʔamɔtchusi* | *ɔ·ʔamɔttɛtchusi* |
|       | *ɔ·ʔammɔtchusin* | *ɔ·ʔammɔttɛtchusin* |
| 1nse→2 | *ɔ·mɔtnɛtchige* | *ɔ·mɔtnɛtchige* |
|       | *ɔ·mɛmɔtnɛtchigɛn* | *ɔ·mɛmɔtnɛtchigɛn* |
| 1de→3s | *ɔ·mɔtchuge* | *ɔ·mɔttɛtchuge* |
|       | *ɔ·mɛmɔtchugɛn* | *ɔ·mɛmɔttɛtchugɛn* |
| 1de→3ns | *ɔ·mɔtchusige* | *ɔ·mɔttɛtchusige* |
|       | *ɔ·mɛmɔtchusigɛn* | *ɔ·mɛmɔttɛtchusigɛn* |
| 1pi→3s | *ɔ·ʔamɔttum* | *ɔ·ʔamɔttum* |
|       | *ɔ·ʔammɔttumnɛn* | *ɔ·ʔammɔttumnɛn* |
| 1pi→3ns | *ɔ·ʔamɔttumsim* | *ɔ·ʔamɔttumsim* |
|       | *ɔ·ʔammɔttumsimnɛn* | *ɔ·ʔammɔttumsimnɛn* |
| 1pe→3s | *ɔ·mɔttumbe* | *ɔ·mɔpmʔna* |
|       | *ɔ·mɛmɔttumbɛn* | *ɔ·mɛmmɔpmʔna* |
| 1pe→3ns | *ɔ·mɔttumsimbe* | *ɔ·mɔpmʔnasi* |
|       | *ɔ·mɛmɔttumsimbɛn* | *ɔ·mɛmmɔpmʔnasi* |
| 2s→1s | *ɔ·gɛmɔʔlɛ* | *ɔ·gɛmɔttaŋ* |
|       | *ɔ·gɛmmɔʔlɛn* | *ɔ·gɛmmɔttaŋnɛn* |
| 2→1 | *ɔ·ʔagɛmɔʔl* | *ɔ·ʔagɛmɔttɛ* |
|       | *ɔ·ʔagɛmɔʔlɛn* | *ɔ·ʔagɛmɔttɛn* |
| 2s→3s | *ɔ·gɛmɔttu* | *ɔ·gɛmɔttu* |
|       | *ɔ·gɛmmɔttun* | *ɔ·gɛmmɔttun* |
| 2s→3ns | *ɔ·gɛmɔttusi* | *ɔ·gɛmɔttusi* |
|       | *ɔ·gɛmmɔttunchin* | *ɔ·gɛmmɔttunchin* |
| 2d→3s | *ɔ·gɛmɔtchu* | *ɔ·gɛmɔttɛtchu* |
|       | *ɔ·gɛmmɔtchun* | *ɔ·gɛmmɔttɛtchun* |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 2d→3ns | ɔ·gɛmɔtchusi | ɔ·gɛmɔttɛtchusi |
| | ɔ·gɛmmɔtchunchin | ɔ·gɛmmɔttɛtchunchin |
| 2p→3s | ɔ·gɛmɔttum | ɔ·gɛmɔttum |
| | ɔ·gɛmmɔttumnɛn | ɔ·gɛmmɔttumnɛn |
| 2p→3ns | ɔ·gɛmɔttumsim | ɔ·gɛmɔttumsim |
| | ɔ·gɛmmɔttumsimnɛn | ɔ·gɛmmɔttumsimnɛn |
| 3s→1s | ɔ·mɔʔlɛ | ɔ·mɔttaŋ |
| | ɔ·mɛmɔʔlɛn | ɔ·mɛmɔttaŋnɛn |
| 3s→1di | ɔ·ʔamɔtchi | ɔ·ʔamɔttɛtchi |
| | ɔ·ʔammɔtchin | ɔ·ʔammɔttɛtchin |
| 3s→1de | ɔ·mɔtchige | ɔ·mɔttɛtchige |
| | ɔ·mɛmɔtchigɛn | ɔ·mɛmɔttɛtchigɛn |
| 3s→1pi | ɔ·ʔamɔʔl | ɔ·ʔamɔttɛ |
| | ɔ·ʔammɔtnɛn | ɔ·ʔammɔttɛn |
| 3s→1pe | ɔ·mɔttige | ɔ·mɔttige |
| | ɔ·mɛmɔttigɛn | ɔ·mɛmɔttigɛn |
| 3s→2s | ɔ·gɛmɔʔl | ɔ·gɛmɔttɛ |
| | ɔ·gɛmmɔtnɛn | ɔ·gɛmmɔttɛn |
| 3s→2d | ɔ·gɛmɔtchi | ɔ·gɛmɔttɛtchi |
| | ɔ·gɛmmɔtchin | ɔ·gɛmmɔttɛtchin |
| 3s→2p | ɔ·gɛmɔtti | ɔ·gɛmɔtti |
| | ɔ·gɛmmɔttin | ɔ·gɛmmɔttin |
| 3s→3s | ɔ·mɔttu | ɔ·mɔttu |
| | ɔ·mɛmɔttun | ɔ·mɛmɔttun |
| 3s→3ns | ɔ·mɔttusi | ɔ·mɔttusi |
| | ɔ·mɛmɔttunchin | ɔ·mɛmɔttunchin |
| 3d→3s | ɔ·mɔtchu | ɔ·mɔttɛtchu |
| | ɔ·mɛmɔtchun | ɔ·mɛmɔttɛtchun |
| 3d→3ns | ɔ·mɔtchusi | ɔ·mɔttɛtchusi |
| | ɔ·mɛmɔtchunchin | ɔ·mɛmɔttɛtchunchin |
| 3ns→1s | ɔ·mɛmɔʔlɛ | ɔ·mɛmɔttaŋ |
| | ɔ·mɛmmɔʔlɛn | ɔ·mɛmmɔttaŋnɛn |
| 3ns→1di | ɔ·ʔamɛmɔtchi | ɔ·ʔamɛmɔttɛtchi |
| | ɔ·ʔamɛmmɔtchin | ɔ·ʔamɛmmɔttɛtchin |
| 3ns→1de | ɔ·mɛmɔtchige | ɔ·mɛmɔttɛtchige |
| | ɔ·mɛmmɔtchigɛn | ɔ·mɛmmɔttɛtchigɛn |
| 3ns→1pi | ɔ·ʔamɛmɔʔl | ɔ·ʔamɛmɔttɛ |
| | ɔ·ʔamɛmmɔtnɛn | ɔ·ʔamɛmmɔttɛn |
| 3ns→1pe | ɔ·mɛmɔttige | ɔ·mɛmɔttige |
| | ɔ·mɛmmɔttigɛn | ɔ·mɛmmɔttigɛn |
| 3ns→2s | ɔ·gɛmɛmɔʔl | ɔ·gɛmɛmɔttɛ |
| | ɔ·gɛmɛmmɔtnɛn | ɔ·gɛmɛmmɔttɛn |
| 3ns→2d | ɔ·gɛmɛmɔtchi | ɔ·gɛmɛmɔttɛtchi |
| | ɔ·gɛmɛmmɔtchin | ɔ·gɛmɛmmɔttɛtchin |
| 3ns→2p | ɔ·gɛmɛmɔtti | ɔ·gɛmɛmɔtti |
| | ɔ·gɛmɛmmɔttin | ɔ·gɛmɛmmɔttin |

| 3ns→3s | ɔ·mɛmɔttu | ɔ·mɛmɔttu |
|---|---|---|
| | ɔ·mɛmmɔttun | ɔ·mɛmmɔttun |
| 3ns→3ns | ɔ·mɛmɔttusi | ɔ·mɛmɔttusi |
| | ɔ·mɛmmɔttunchin | ɔ·mɛmmɔttunchin |

warumma?, wa-rups-/wa-rum-  bathe

| 1s→2s | warumnɛ | warumnɛ |
|---|---|---|
| | wamɛrumnɛn | wamɛrumnɛn |
| 1s→2d | warumnɛtchiŋ | warumnɛtchiŋ |
| | wamɛrumnɛtchiŋnɛn | wamɛrumnɛtchiŋnɛn |
| 1s→2p | warumniŋ | warumniŋ |
| | wamɛrumniŋnɛn | wamɛrumniŋnɛn |
| 1s→3s | warupsuŋ | warupsuŋ |
| | wamɛrum?ɛn | wamɛnlumbaŋ |
| 1s→3ns | warupsuŋsiŋ | warupsuŋsiŋ |
| | wamɛrum?ɛnchin | wamɛnlumbaŋsiŋ |
| 1di→3s | wa?arumsu | wa?arupsɛtchu |
| | wa?anlumsun | wa?anlupsɛtchun |
| 1di→3ns | wa?arumsusi | wa?arupsɛtchusi |
| | wa?anlumsunchin | wa?anlupsɛtchunchin |
| 1nse→2 | warumnɛtchige | warumnɛtchige |
| | wamɛrumnɛtchigɛn | wamɛrumnɛtchigɛn |
| 1de→3s | warumsuge | warupsɛtchuge |
| | wamɛrumsugɛn | wamɛrupsɛtchugɛn |
| 1de→3ns | warumsusige | warupsɛtchusige |
| | wamɛrumsusigɛn | wamɛrupsɛtchusigɛn |
| 1pi→3s | wa?arupsum | wa?arupsum |
| | wa?anlupsumnɛn | wa?anlupsumnɛn |
| 1pi→3ns | wa?arupsumsim | wa?arupsumsim |
| | wa?anlupsumsimnɛn | wa?anlupsumsimnɛn |
| 1pe→3s | warupsumbe | warumm?na |
| | wamɛrupsumbɛn | wamɛnlumm?na |
| 1pe→3ns | warupsumsimbe | warumm?nasi |
| | wamɛrupsumsimbɛn | wamɛnlumm?nasi |
| 2s→1s | wagɛrum?ɛ | wagɛrupsaŋ |
| | wagɛnlum?ɛn | wagɛnlupsaŋnɛn |
| 2→1 | wa?agɛrum | wa?agɛrupsɛ |
| | wa?agɛnlumnɛn | wa?agɛnlupsɛn |
| 2s→3s | wagɛrupsu | wagɛrupsu |
| | wagɛnlupsun | wagɛnlupsun |
| 2s→3ns | wagɛrupsusi | wagɛrupsusi |
| | wagɛnlupsunchin | wagɛnlupsunchin |
| 2d→3s | wagɛrumsu | wagɛrupsɛtchu |
| | wagɛnlumsum | wagɛnlupsɛtchun |

| 2d→3ns | wagεrumsusi | wagεrupsεtchusi |
| | wagεnlumsunchin | wagεnlupsεtchunchin |
| 2p→3s | wagεrupsum | wagεrupsum |
| | wagεnlupsumnεn | wagεnlupsumnεn |
| 2p→3ns | wagεrupsumsim | wagεrupsumsim |
| | wagεnlupsumsimnεn | wagεnlupsumsimnεn |
| 3s→1s | warumʔε | warupsaŋ |
| | wamεrumʔεn | wamεrupsaŋnεn |
| 3s→1di | waʔarumsi | waʔarupsεtchi |
| | waʔanlumsin | waʔanlupsεtchin |
| 3s→1de | warumsige | warupsεtchige |
| | wamεrumsigεn | wamεrupsεtchigεn |
| 3s→1pi | waʔarum | waʔarupsε |
| | waʔanlumnεn | waʔanlupsεn |
| 3s→1pe | warupsige | warupsige |
| | wamεrupsigεn | wamεrupsigεn |
| 3s→2s | wagεrum | wagεrupsε |
| | wagεnlumnεn | wagεnlupsεn |
| 3s→2d | wagεrumsi | wagεrupsεtchi |
| | wagεnlumsin | wagεnlupsεtchin |
| 3s→2p | wagεrupsi | wagεrupsi |
| | wagεnlupsin | wagεnlupsin |
| 3s→3s | warupsu | warupsu |
| | wamεrupsun | wamεrupsun |
| 3s→3ns | warupsusi | warupsusi |
| | wamεrupsunchin | wamεrupsunchin |
| 3d→3s | warumsu | warupsεtchu |
| | wamεrumsun | wamεrupsεtchun |
| 3d→3ns | warumsusi | warupsεtchusi |
| | wamεrumsunchin | wamεrupsεtchunchin |
| 3ns→1s | wamεrumʔε | wamεrupsaŋ |
| | wamεnlumʔεn | wamεnlupsaŋnεn |
| 3ns→1di | waʔamlumsi | waʔamlupsεtchi |
| | waʔamεnlumsin | waʔamεnlupsεtchin |
| 3ns→1de | wamεrumsige | wamεrupsεtchige |
| | wamεnlumsigεn | wamεnlupsεtchigεn |
| 3ns→1pi | waʔamlum | waʔamlupsε |
| | waʔamεnlumnεn | waʔamεnlupsεn |
| 3ns→1pe | wamεrupsige | wamεrupsige |
| | wamεnlupsigεn | wamεnlupsigεn |
| 3ns→2s | wagεmlum | wagεmlupsε |
| | wagεmεnlumnεn | wagεmεnlupsεn |
| 3ns→2d | wagεmlumsi | wagεmlupsεtchi |
| | wagεmεnlumsin | wagεmεnlupsεtchin |
| 3ns→2p | wagεmlupsi | wagεmlupsi |
| | wagεmεnlupsin | wagεmεnlupsin |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 3ns→3s | *wamɛrupsu* | *wamɛrupsu* |
| | *wamɛnlupsun* | *wamɛnlupsun* |
| 3ns→3ns | *wamɛrupsusi* | *wamɛrupsusi* |
| | *wamɛnlupsunchin* | *wamɛrupsunchin* |

<div align="center">

*nima?, -nis-/-ni-*    see

</div>

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1s→2s | *ninɛ* | *ninɛ* |
| | *mɛninɛn* | *mɛninɛn* |
| 1s→2d | *ninɛtchiŋ* | *ninɛtchiŋ* |
| | *mɛninɛtchiŋnɛn* | *mɛninɛtchiŋnɛn* |
| 1s→2p | *niniŋ* | *niniŋ* |
| | *mɛniniŋnɛn* | *mɛniniŋnɛn* |
| 1s→3s | *nis-uŋ* | *nis-uŋ* |
| | *mɛni?ɛn* | *mɛnnibaŋ* |
| 1s→3ns | *nis-uŋsiŋ* | *nis-uŋsiŋ* |
| | *mɛni?ɛnchin* | *mɛnnibaŋsiŋ* |
| 1di→3s | *ani-su* | *anis-ɛtchu* |
| | *anni-sun* | *annis-ɛtchun* |
| 1di→3ns | *ani-susi* | *anis-ɛtchusi* |
| | *anni-susin* | *annis-ɛtchusin* |
| 1nse→2 | *ninɛtchige* | *ninɛtchige* |
| | *mɛninɛtchigɛn* | *mɛninɛtchigɛn* |
| 1de→3s | *ni-suge* | *nis-ɛtchuge* |
| | *mɛni-sugɛn* | *mɛnis-ɛtchugɛn* |
| 1de→3ns | *ni-susige* | *nis-ɛtchusige* |
| | *mɛni-susigɛn* | *mɛnis-ɛtchusigɛn* |
| 1pi→3s | *anis-um* | *anis-um* |
| | *annis-umnɛn* | *annis-umnɛn* |
| 1pi→3ns | *anis-umsim* | *anis-umsim* |
| | *annis-umsimnɛn* | *annis-umsimnɛn* |
| 1pe→3s | *nis-umbe* | *nim?na* |
| | *mɛnis-umbɛn* | *mɛnnim?na* |
| 1pe→3ns | *nis-umsimbe* | *nim?nasi* |
| | *mɛnis-umsimbɛn* | *mɛnnim?nasi* |
| 2s→1s | *kɛni?ɛ* | *kɛnis-aŋ* |
| | *kɛnni?ɛn* | *kɛnnis-aŋnɛn* |
| 2→1 | *agɛni* | *agɛnis-ɛ* |
| | *agɛninɛn* | *agɛnis-ɛn* |
| 2s→3s | *kɛnis-u* | *kɛnis-u* |
| | *kɛnnis-un* | *kɛnnis-un* |
| 2s→3ns | *kɛnis-usi* | *kɛnis-usi* |
| | *kɛnnis-unchin* | *kɛnnis-unchin* |
| 2d→3s | *kɛni-su* | *kɛnis-ɛtchu* |
| | *kɛnni-sun* | *kɛnnis-ɛtchun* |

| 2d→3ns | *kɛni-susi* | *kɛnis-ɛtchusi* |
| | *kɛnni-sunchin* | *kɛnnis-ɛtchunchin* |
| 2p→3s | *kɛnis-um* | *kɛnis-um* |
| | *kɛnnis-umnɛn* | *kɛnnis-umnɛn* |
| 2p→3ns | *kɛnis-umsim* | *kɛnis-umsim* |
| | *kɛnnis-umsimnɛn* | *kɛnnis-umsimnɛn* |
| 3s→1s | *ni?ɛ* | *nis-aŋ* |
| | *mɛni?ɛn* | *mɛnis-aŋnɛn* |
| 3s→1di | *ani-si* | *anis-ɛtchi* |
| | *anni-sin* | *annis-ɛtchin* |
| 3s→1de | *ni-sige* | *nis-ɛtchige* |
| | *mɛni-sigɛn* | *mɛnis-ɛtchigɛn* |
| 3s→1pi | *ani* | *anis-ɛ* |
| | *anninɛn* | *annis-ɛn* |
| 3s→1pe | *nis-ige* | *nis-ige* |
| | *mɛnis-igɛn* | *mɛnis-igɛn* |
| 3s→2s | *kɛni* | *kɛnis-ɛ* |
| | *kɛnninɛn* | *kɛnnis-ɛn* |
| 3s→2d | *kɛni-si* | *kɛnis-ɛtchi* |
| | *kɛnni-sin* | *kɛnnis-ɛtchin* |
| 3s→2p | *kɛnis-i* | *kɛnis-i* |
| | *kɛnnis-in* | *kɛnnis-in* |
| 3s→3s | *nis-u* | *nis-u* |
| | *mɛnis-un* | *mɛnis-un* |
| 3s→3ns | *nis-usi* | *nis-usi* |
| | *mɛnis-unchin* | *mɛnis-unchin* |
| 3d→3s | *ni-su* | *nis-ɛtchu* |
| | *mɛni-sun* | *mɛnis-ɛtchun* |
| 3d→3ns | *ni-susi* | *nis-ɛtchusi* |
| | *mɛni-sunchin* | *mɛnis-ɛtchunchin* |
| 3ns→1s | *mɛni?ɛ* | *mɛnis-aŋ* |
| | *mɛnni?ɛn* | *mɛnnis-aŋnɛn* |
| 3ns→1di | *amɛni-si* | *amɛnis-ɛtchi* |
| | *amɛnni-sin* | *amɛnnis-ɛtchin* |
| 3ns→1de | *mɛni-sige* | *mɛnis-ɛtchige* |
| | *mɛnni-sigɛn* | *mɛnnis-ɛtchigɛn* |
| 3ns→1pi | *amɛni* | *amɛnis-ɛ* |
| | *amɛnninɛn* | *amɛnnis-ɛn* |
| 3ns→1pe | *mɛnis-ige* | *mɛnis-ige* |
| | *mɛnnis-igɛn* | *mɛnnis-igɛn* |
| 3ns→2s | *kɛmɛni* | *kɛmɛnis-ɛ* |
| | *kɛmɛnninɛn* | *kɛmɛnnis-ɛn* |
| 3ns→2d | *kɛmɛni-si* | *kɛmɛnis-ɛtchi* |
| | *kɛmɛnni-sin* | *kɛmɛnnis-ɛtchin* |
| 3ns→2p | *kɛmɛnis-i* | *kɛmɛnis-i* |
| | *kɛmɛnnis-in* | *kɛmɛnnis-in* |

| 3ns→3s | *mɛnis-u* | *mɛnis-u* |
| | *mɛnnis-un* | *mɛnnis-un* |
| 3ns→3ns | *mɛnis-usi* | *mɛnis-usi* |
| | *mɛnnis-unchin* | *mɛnnis-unchin* |

*ɔ·mɔtchiŋmaʔ* vr. look at oneself

| 1s | *ɔ·mɔtchiŋʔɛ* | *ɔ·mɔtchiŋaŋ* |
| | *ɔ·mɛmɔtchiŋʔɛn* | *ɔ·mɛmɔtchiŋaŋnɛn* |
| 1di | *ɔ·ʔamɔtnɛtchi* | *ɔ·ʔamɔtnɛtchi* |
| | *ɔ·ʔammɔtnɛtchin* | *ɔ·ʔammɔtnɛtchin* |
| 1de | *ɔ·mɔtnɛtchige* | *ɔ·mɔtnɛtchige* |
| | *ɔ·mɛmɔtnɛtchigɛn* | *ɔ·mɛmɔtnɛtchigɛn* |
| 1pi | *ɔ·ʔamɔtchiŋ* | *ɔ·ʔamɔtchiŋɛ* |
| | *ɔ·ʔammɔtchiŋnɛn* | *ɔ·ʔammɔtchiŋɛn* |
| 1pe | *ɔ·mɔtchiŋige* | *ɔ·mɔtchiŋŋʔna* |
| | *ɔ·mɛmɔtchiŋigɛn* | *ɔ·mɛmmɔtchiŋŋʔna* |
| 2s | *ɔ·gɛmɔtchiŋ* | *ɔ·gɛmɔtchiŋɛ* |
| | *ɔ·gɛmmɔtchiŋnɛn* | *ɔ·gɛmmɔtchiŋɛn* |
| 2d | *ɔ·gɛmɔtnɛtchi* | *ɔ·gɛmɔtnɛtchi* |
| | *ɔ·gɛmmɔtnɛtchin* | *ɔ·gɛmmɔtnɛtchin* |
| 2p | *ɔ·gɛmɔtchiŋi* | *ɔ·gɛmɔtchiŋi* |
| | *ɔ·gɛmmɔtchiŋin* | *ɔ·gɛmmɔtchiŋin* |
| 3s | *ɔ·mɔtchiŋ* | *ɔ·mɔtchiŋɛ* |
| | *ɔ·mɛmɔtchiŋnɛn* | *ɔ·mɛmɔtchiŋɛn* |
| 3d | *ɔ·mɔtnɛtchi* | *ɔ·mɔtnɛtchi* |
| | *ɔ·mɛmɔtnɛtchin* | *ɔ·mɛmɔtnɛtchin* |
| 3p | *ɔ·mɛmɔtchiŋ* | *ɔ·mɛmɔtchiŋɛ* |
| | *ɔ·mɛmmɔtchiŋnɛn* | *ɔ·mɛmmɔtchiŋɛn* |

*warumsiŋmaʔ* vr. bathe oneself

| 1s | *warumsiŋʔɛ* | *warumsiŋaŋ* |
| | *wamɛrumsiŋʔɛn* | *wamɛrumsiŋaŋnɛn* |
| 1di | *waʔarumnɛtchi* | *waʔarumnɛtchi* |
| | *waʔanlumnɛtchin* | *waʔanlumnɛtchin* |
| 1de | *warumnɛtchige* | *warumnɛtchige* |
| | *wamɛrumnɛtchigɛn* | *wamɛrumnɛtchigɛn* |
| 1pi | *waʔarumsiŋ* | *waʔarumsiŋɛ* |
| | *waʔanlumsiŋnɛn* | *waʔanlumsiŋɛn* |
| 1pe | *warumsiŋige* | *warumsiŋŋʔna* |
| | *wamɛrumsiŋigɛn* | *wamɛnlumsiŋŋʔna* |
| 2s | *wagɛrumsiŋ* | *wagɛrumsiŋɛ* |
| | *wagɛnlumsiŋnɛn* | *wagɛnlumsiŋɛn* |

| 2d | *wagɛrumnɛtchi* | *wagɛrumnɛtchi* |
|---|---|---|
|  | *wagɛnlumnɛtchin* | *wagɛnlumnɛtchin* |
| 2p | *wagɛrumsiŋi* | *wagɛrumsiŋi* |
|  | *wagɛnlumsiŋin* | *wagɛnlumsiŋin* |
| 3s | *warumsiŋ* | *warumsiŋɛ* |
|  | *wamɛrumsiŋnɛn* | *wamɛrumsiŋɛn* |
| 3d | *warumnɛtchi* | *warumnɛtchi* |
|  | *wamɛrumnɛtchin* | *wamɛrumnɛtchin* |
| 3p | *wamɛrumsiŋ* | *wamɛrumsiŋɛ* |
|  | *wamɛnlumsiŋnɛn* | *wamɛnlumsiŋɛn* |

*nisiŋma?* vr. see oneself

| 1s | *nisiŋ?ɛ* | *nisiŋaŋ* |
|---|---|---|
|  | *mɛnisiŋ?ɛn* | *mɛnisiŋaŋnɛn* |
| 1di | *aninɛtchi* | *aninɛtchi* |
|  | *anninɛtchin* | *anninɛtchin* |
| 1de | *ninɛtchige* | *ninɛtchige* |
|  | *mɛninɛtchigɛn* | *mɛninɛtchigɛn* |
| 1pi | *anisiŋ* | *anisiŋɛ* |
|  | *annisiŋnɛn* | *annisiŋɛn* |
| 1pe | *nisiŋige* | *nisiŋŋ?na* |
|  | *mɛnisiŋigɛn* | *mɛnnisiŋŋ?na* |
| 2s | *kɛnisiŋ* | *kɛnisiŋɛ* |
|  | *kɛnnisiŋnɛn* | *kɛnnisiŋɛn* |
| 2d | *kɛninɛtchi* | *kɛninɛtchi* |
|  | *kɛnninɛtchin* | *kɛnninɛtchin* |
| 2p | *kɛnisiŋi* | *kɛnisiŋi* |
|  | *kɛnnisiŋin* | *kɛnnisiŋin* |
| 3s | *nisiŋ* | *nisiŋɛ* |
|  | *mɛnisiŋnɛn* | *mɛnisiŋɛn* |
| 3d | *ninɛtchi* | *ninɛtchi* |
|  | *mɛninɛtchin* | *mɛninɛtchin* |
| 3p | *mɛnisiŋ* | *mɛnisiŋɛ* |
|  | *mɛnnisiŋnɛn* | *mɛnnisiŋɛn* |

*thaŋma?, -thaŋ-* come up

| 1s | *thaŋ?ɛ* | *thaŋaŋ* |
|---|---|---|
|  | *mɛdhaŋ?ɛn* | *mɛndhaŋbaŋ* |
| 1di | *adhaŋsi* | *adhaŋɛtchi* |
|  | *andhaŋsin* | *andhaŋɛtchin* |
| 1de | *thaŋsige* | *thaŋɛtchige* |
|  | *mɛdhaŋsigɛn* | *mɛdhaŋɛtchigɛn* |

| 1pi | *adhaŋ* | *adhaŋɛ* |
|---|---|---|
|  | *andhaŋnɛn* | *andhaŋɛn* |
| 1pe | *thaŋige* | *thaŋŋʔna* |
|  | *mɛdhaŋigɛn* | *mɛndhaŋŋʔna* |
| 2s | *kɛdhaŋ* | *kɛdhaŋɛ* |
|  | *kɛndhaŋnɛn* | *kɛndhaŋɛn* |
| 2d | *kɛdhaŋsi* | *kɛdhaŋɛtchi* |
|  | *kɛndhaŋsin* | *kɛndhaŋɛtchin* |
| 2p | *kɛdhaŋi* | *kɛdhaŋi* |
|  | *kɛdhaŋin* | *kɛdhaŋin* |
| 3s | *thaŋ* | *thaŋɛ* |
|  | *mɛdhaŋnɛn* | *mɛdhaŋɛn* |
| 3d | *thaŋsi* | *thaŋɛtchi* |
|  | *mɛdhaŋsin* | *mɛdhaŋɛtchin* |
| 3p | *mɛdhaŋ* | *mɛdhaŋɛ* |
|  | *mɛndhaŋnɛn* | *mɛndhaŋɛn* |

*hiŋmaʔ*, *-hiŋ-*   live, be alive

| 1s | *hiŋʔɛ* | *hiŋaŋ* |
|---|---|---|
|  | *mɛhiŋʔɛn* | *mɛhiŋaŋnɛn* |
| 1di | *ahiŋsi* | *ahiŋɛtchi* |
|  | *anhiŋsin* | *anhiŋɛtchin* |
| 1de | *hiŋsige* | *hiŋɛtchige* |
|  | *mɛhiŋsigɛn* | *mɛhiŋɛtchigɛn* |
| 1pi | *ahiŋ* | *ahiŋɛ* |
|  | *anhiŋnɛn* | *anhiŋɛn* |
| 1pe | *hiŋige* | *hiŋŋʔna* |
|  | *mɛhiŋigɛn* | *mɛnhiŋŋʔna* |
| 2s | *kɛhiŋ* | *kɛhiŋɛ* |
|  | *kɛnhiŋnɛn* | *kɛnhiŋɛn* |
| 2d | *kɛhiŋsi* | *kɛhiŋɛtchi* |
|  | *kɛnhiŋsin* | *kɛnhiŋɛtchin* |
| 2p | *kɛhiŋi* | *kɛhiŋi* |
|  | *kɛnhiŋin* | *kɛnhiŋin* |
| 3s | *hiŋ* | *hiŋɛ* |
|  | *mɛhiŋnɛn* | *mɛhiŋɛn* |
| 3d | *hiŋsi* | *hiŋɛtchi* |
|  | *mɛhiŋsin* | *mɛhiŋɛtchin* |
| 3p | *mɛhiŋ* | *mɛhiŋɛ* |
|  | *mɛnhiŋnɛn* | *mɛhiŋɛn* |

### *i·ma?, -i·r-/-i·-*   wander

|      |              |                 |
|------|--------------|-----------------|
| 1s   | *i·?ɛ*       | *i·raŋ*         |
|      | *mɛ?i·?ɛn*   | *mɛ?i·raŋnɛn*   |
| 1di  | *a?i·si*     | *a?i·rɛtchi*    |
|      | *an?i·sin*   | *an?i·rɛtchin*  |
| 1de  | *i·sige*     | *i·rɛtchige*    |
|      | *mɛ?i·sigɛn* | *mɛ?i·rɛtchigɛn*|
| 1pi  | *a?i·*       | *a?i·rɛ*        |
|      | *an?i·nɛn*   | *an?i·rɛn*      |
| 1pe  | *i·rige*     | *i·m?na*        |
|      | *mɛ?i·rigɛn* | *mɛn?i·m?na*    |
| 2s   | *kɛ?i·*      | *kɛ?i·rɛ*       |
|      | *kɛn?i·nɛn*  | *kɛn?i·rɛn*     |
| 2d   | *kɛ?i·si*    | *kɛ?i·rɛtchi*   |
|      | *kɛn?i·sin*  | *kɛn?i·rɛtchin* |
| 2p   | *kɛ?i·ri*    | *kɛ?i·ri*       |
|      | *kɛn?i·rin*  | *kɛn?i·rin*     |
| 3s   | *i·*         | *i·rɛ*          |
|      | *mɛ?i·nɛn*   | *mɛn?i·rɛn*     |
| 3d   | *i·si*       | *i·rɛtchi*      |
|      | *mɛn?i·sin*  | *mɛn?i·rɛtchin* |
| 3p   | *mɛ?i·*      | *mɛ?i·rɛ*       |
|      | *mɛn?i·nɛn*  | *mɛn?i·rɛn*     |

### *imma?, -ips-/-im-*   sleep

|      |              |                 |
|------|--------------|-----------------|
| 1s   | *im?ɛ*       | *ipsaŋ*         |
|      | *mɛ?im?ɛn*   | *mɛn?imbaŋ*     |
| 1di  | *a?imsi*     | *a?ipsɛtchi*    |
|      | *an?imsin*   | *an?ipsɛtchin*  |
| 1de  | *imsige*     | *ipsɛtchige*    |
|      | *mɛ?imsigɛn* | *mɛ?ipsɛtchigɛn*|
| 1pi  | *a?im*       | *a?ipsɛ*        |
|      | *an?imnɛn*   | *an?ipsɛn*      |
| 1pe  | *ipsige*     | *imm?na*        |
|      | *mɛ?ipsigɛn* | *mɛn?imm?na*    |
| 2s   | *kɛ?im*      | *kɛ?ipsɛ*       |
|      | *kɛn?imnɛn*  | *kɛn?ipsɛn*     |
| 2d   | *kɛ?imsi*    | *kɛ?ipsɛtchi*   |
|      | *kɛn?imsin*  | *kɛn?ipsɛtchin* |
| 2p   | *kɛ?ipsi*    | *kɛ?ipsi*       |
|      | *kɛn?ipsin*  | *kɛn?ipsin*     |
| 3s   | *im*         | *ipsɛ*          |
|      | *mɛ?imnɛn*   | *mɛ?ipsɛn*      |

| 3d | *imsi* | *ipsɛtchi* |
|---|---|---|
|  | *mɛʔimsin* | *mɛʔipsɛtchin* |
| 3p | *mɛʔim* | *mɛʔipsɛ* |
|  | *mɛnʔimnɛn* | *mɛnʔipsɛn* |

## 2. Irregular Verbs

Two groups of irregular verb can be distinguished: a group of transitive and intransitive verbs showing regular apophony in the stem and the verb *pe·kmaʔ* 'to go' which shows irregular apophony in the stem. Verbs showing regular apophony constitute one of the thirty verb stem types in Limbu (see 4.1). These are vowel-final stems which have been subjected to the ravages of pronominalization.

## 2.1. Regular Apophony: Intransitives

Regular tense-motivated apophony in intransitive verbs is illustrated below by the conjugations of the verbs *ca·maʔ* 'to perform', *mutthamaʔ* 'to fall through the air', *yumaʔ* 'to come down' and *simaʔ* 'to die'. In tense-motivated apophony the vowel of preterit stem has historically undergone Umlaut through absorption of the preterit morpheme <-ɛ>. The apophonic pattern is reversed in the 1pe forms where the preterit stem takes a consonant-initial *portemanteau* and the non-preterit stem is followed by the plural patient/subject morpheme <-i>.

*ca·maʔ*   perform

| 1s | *ca·ʔɛ* | *cya·ŋ* |
|---|---|---|
|  | *mɛdza·ʔɛn* | *mɛdzya·ŋnɛn/mɛndza·baŋ* |
| 1di | *adza·si* | *adze·si* |
|  | *andza·sin* | *andze·sin* |
| 1de | *ca·si* | *ce·si* |
|  | *mɛdza·sin* | *mɛdze·sin* |
| 1pi | *adza·* | *adze·* |
|  | *amdza·nɛn* | *amdze·nɛn* |
| 1pe | *ce·ʔige* | *ca·mʔna* |
|  | *mɛdze·ʔigɛn* | *mɛndza·mʔna* |
| 2s | *kɛdza·* | *kɛdze·* |
|  | *kɛndza·nɛn* | *kɛndze·nɛn* |
| 2d | *kɛdza·si* | *kɛdze·si* |
|  | *kɛndza·sin* | *kɛndze·sin* |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 2p | *kɛdza·ʔi* | *kɛdze·ʔi* |
| | *kɛndza·ʔin* | *kɛndze·ʔin* |
| 3s | *ca·* | *ce·* |
| | *mɛdza·nɛn* | *mɛdze·nɛn* |
| 3d | *ca·si* | *ce·si* |
| | *mɛdza·sin* | *mɛdze·sin* |
| 3p | *mɛdza·* | *mɛdze·* |
| | *mɛndza·nɛn* | *mɛndze·nɛn* |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| eg. | *khikwa ca·ʔɛ* | I whistle. |
| | *khikwa cya·ŋ* | I whistled. |
| | *khikwa ca·* | He whistles. |
| | *khikwa ce·* | He whistled. |

*mut-thamaʔ*   fall (through the air)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1s | *mut-thaʔɛ* | *mut-thyaŋ* |
| | *mut-mɛthaʔɛn* | *mut-mɛthyaŋnɛn/* |
| | | *mut-mɛndhabaŋ* |
| 1di | *mut-adhasi* | *mut-adhe·si* |
| | *mut-andhasin* | *mut-andhe·sin* |
| 1de | *mut-thasi* | *mut-the·si* |
| | *mut-mɛdhasin* | *mut-mɛdhe·sin* |
| 1pi | *mut-adha* | *mut-adhe·* |
| | *mut-amdhanɛn* | *mut-amdhe·nɛn* |
| 1pe | *mut-the·ʔige* | *mut-thamʔna* |
| | *mut-mɛdhe·ʔigɛn* | *mut-mɛndhamʔna* |
| 2s | *mut-kɛdha* | *mut-kɛdhe·* |
| | *mut-kɛdhanɛn* | *mut-kɛdhe·nɛn* |
| 2d | *mut-kɛdhasi* | *mut-kɛdhe·si* |
| | *mut-kɛdhasin* | *mut-kɛdhe·sin* |
| 2p | *mut-kɛdhaʔi* | *mut-kɛdhe·ʔi* |
| | *mut-kɛdhaʔin* | *mut-kɛdhe·ʔin* |
| 3s | *mut-tha* | *mut-the·* |
| | *mut-mɛdhanɛn* | *mut-mɛdhe·nɛn* |
| 3d | *mut-thasi* | *mut-the·si* |
| | *mut-mɛdhasin* | *mut-mɛdhe·sin* |
| 3p | *mut-mɛdha* | *mut-mɛdhe·* |
| | *mut-mɛndhanɛn* | *mut-mɛndhe·nɛn* |

*yuma?* come down

| 1s | *yu?ε* | *yyaŋ* |
|---|---|---|
| | *mεyu?εn* | *mεnyubaŋ* |
| 1di | *ayusi* | *aye·si* |
| | *anyusin* | *anye·sin* |
| 1de | *yusige* | *ye·tchige* |
| | *mεyusigεn* | *mεye·tchigεn* |
| 1pi | *ayu* | *aye·* |
| | *anyunεn* | *anye·nεn* |
| 1pe | *ye·?ige* | *yum?na* |
| | *mεye·?igεn* | *mεnyum?na* |
| 2s | *kεyu* | *kεye·* |
| | *kεnyunεn* | *kεnye·nεn* |
| 2d | *kεyusi* | *kεye·si* |
| | *kεnyusin* | *kεnye·sin* |
| 2p | *kεyu?i* | *kεye·?i* |
| | *kεnyu?in* | *kεnye·?in* |
| 3s | *yu* | *ye·* |
| | *mεyunεn* | *mεye·nεn* |
| 3d | *yusi* | *ye·si* |
| | *mεyusin* | *mεye·sin* |
| 3p | *mεyu* | *mεye·* |
| | *mεnyunεn* | *mεnye·nεn* |

## Imperatives

| 2s | *kɔt-yo·* | *yε?* |
|---|---|---|
| 2d | *kɔt-yo·* | *yεtchε?* |
| 2p | *kɔt-yo·* | *yεammε?* |

*sima?* die

| 1s | *si?ε* | *syaŋ* |
|---|---|---|
| | *mεsi?εn* | *mεnchibaŋ* |
| 1di | *asisi* | *ase·si* |
| | *anchisin* | *anche·sin* |
| 1de | *sisige* | *se·sige* |
| | *mεsisigεn* | *mεse·sigεn* |
| 1pi | *asi* | *ase·* |
| | *anchinεn* | *anche·nεn* |
| 1pe | *se·?ige* | *sim?na* |
| | *mεse·?igεn* | *mεnchim?na* |
| 2s | *kεsi* | *kεse·* |
| | *kεnchinεn* | *kεnche·nεn* |

| 2d | *kɛsisi* | *kɛse·si* |
| | *kɛnchisin* | *kɛnche·sin* |
| 2p | *kɛsiʔi* | *kɛse·ʔi* |
| | *kɛnchiʔin* | *kɛnche·ʔin* |
| 3s | *si* | *se·* |
| | *mɛsinɛn* | *mɛse·nɛn* |
| 3d | *sisi* | *se·si* |
| | *mɛsisin* | *mɛse·sin* |
| 3p | *mɛsi* | *mɛse·* |
| | *mɛnchinɛn* | *mɛnche·nɛn* |

## 2.2. Irregular Apophony: Intransitives

There is no regular reversal of the tense-motivated apophony in the first plural exclusive forms in the conjugations of *tamaʔ* 'to come, appear, show up' and *wa·maʔ*, existential 'to be'. In the preterit 1pe forms of *tamaʔ*, the 1peAS/PT *portemanteau* is replaced by the suffixes of the nonpreterit forms (viz. */-i-ge/* pPS-e) augmented to a preterit apophonic stem. The verb *wa·maʔ* has both the expected 1pe preterit form *wa·mʔna* and an irregular form analogous to that of the *tamaʔ* conjugation, *wɛ·ʔige*. The nonpreterit 1pe forms of both *tamaʔ* and *wa·maʔ* are based on the nonpreterit stem rather than on the preterit stem. Future comparative data might provide some clue as to whether the *tamaʔ*-type conjugation or the *yumaʔ*-type conjugation is closer to the original intransitive apophonic paradigm and which of the two is the product of analogy and re-analysis.

Finally the verb *pe·kmaʔ* 'to go' is apophonic and irregular. The stem *-pe·g-/-pe·k-* becomes *-pit-* in nonpreterit dual forms. The nonpreterit 3s and 3p forms *pe·k* and *mɛbe·gɛ* have contracted allegro speech pronounciations: *pe·ʔ* and *mɛbe·ʔ*. The preterit 3s and 3p forms *pe·gɛ* and *mɛbe·gɛ* have contracted forms: *pe·* and *mɛbe·*. The dual imperative of *pek·maʔ* occurs in both a regular and contracted form: *pe·gɛtchɛʔ* and *pe·sɛʔ*. See footnote 1 on p.188.

*tamaʔ* come, appear

| 1s | *taʔɛ* | *tyaŋ* |
| | *mɛdaʔɛn* | *mɛndabaŋ* |
| 1di | *adasi* | *ade·si* |
| | *andasin* | *ande·sin* |

| 1de | *tasige* | *te·sige* |
| | *mɛdasigɛn* | *mɛde·sigɛn* |
| 1pi | *ada* | *ade·* |
| | *andanɛn* | *ande·nɛn* |
| 1pe | *ta·ʔige* | *te·ʔige* |
| | *mɛda·ʔigɛn* | *mɛde·ʔigɛn* |
| 2s | *kɛda* | *kɛde·* |
| | *kɛndanɛn* | *kɛnde·nɛn* |
| 2d | *kɛdasi* | *kɛde·si* |
| | *kɛndasin* | *kɛnde·sin* |
| 2p | *kɛdaʔi* | *kɛde·ʔi* |
| | *kɛndaʔin* | *kɛnde·ʔin* |
| 3s | *ta* | *te·* |
| | *mɛdanɛn* | *mɛde·nɛn* |
| 3d | *tasi* | *te·si* |
| | *mɛdasin* | *mɛde·sin* |
| 3p | *mɛda* | *mɛde·* |
| | *mɛndanɛn* | *mɛnde·nɛn* |

*wa·maʔ* existential 'to be'

| 1s | *wa·ʔɛ* | *wayaŋ* |
| 1di | *awa·si* | *awayɛtchi/awɛ·si* |
| 1de | *wa·sige* | *wayɛtchige/wɛ·sige* |
| 1pi | *awa·* | *awayɛ/awɛ·* |
| 1pe | *wayige* | *wa·mʔna/wɛ·ʔige* |
| 2s | *kɛwa·* | *kɛwayɛ/kɛwɛ·* |
| 2d | *kɛwa·si* | *kɛwayɛtchi/kɛwɛ·si* |
| 2p | *kɛwayi* | *kɛwɛ·i* |
| 3s | *wa·* | *wayɛ/wɛ·* |
| 3d | *wa·si* | *wayɛtchi/wɛ·si* |
| 3p | *mɛwa·* | *mɛwayɛ/mɛwɛ·* |

*pe·kmaʔ* go

| 1s | *pe·kʔɛ* | *pe·gaŋ* |
| | *mɛbe·kʔɛn* | *mɛmbe·gaŋnɛn* |
| 1di | *abitchi* | *abe·gɛtchi/abe·si* |
| | *ambitchin* | *ambe·gɛtchin/ambe·sin* |
| 1de | *pitchige* | *pe·gɛtchige/pe·sige* |
| | *mɛbitchigɛn* | *mɛbe·gɛtchigɛn/mɛbe·sigɛn* |
| 1pi | *abe·k* | *abe·gɛ/ambe·* |
| | *ambe·knɛn* | *ambe·gɛn/ambe·nɛn* |
| 1pe | *pe·gige* | *pe·kŋʔna* |
| | *mɛbe·gigɛn* | *mɛmbe·kŋʔna* |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 2s | *kɛbe·k/kɛbe·ʔ* | *kɛbe·gɛ/kɛbe·* |
| | *kɛmbe·knɛn* | *kɛmbe·gɛn/kɛbe·nɛn* |
| 2d | *kɛbitchi* | *kɛbe·gɛtchi/kɛbe·si* |
| | *kɛmbitchin* | *kɛmbe·gɛtchin/kɛmbe·sin* |
| 2p | *kɛbe·gi* | *kɛbe·gi* |
| | *kɛmbe·gin* | *kɛmbe·gin* |
| 3s | *pe·k/pe·ʔ* | *pe·gɛ/pe·* |
| | *mɛbe·knɛn* | *mɛbe·gɛn/mɛbe·nɛn* |
| 3d | *pitchi* | *pe·gɛtchi/pe·si* |
| | *mɛbitchin* | *mɛbe·gɛtchin/mɛbe·sin* |
| 3p | *mɛbe·k/mɛbe·ʔ* | *mɛbe·gɛ/mɛbe·* |
| | *mɛmbe·knɛn* | *mɛmbe·gɛn/mɛmbe·nɛn* |

Imperative

| | |
|---|---|
| 2s | *pe·ʔ* |
| 2d | *pe·gɛtchɛʔ/pe·sɛʔ* |
| 2p | *pe·gammɛʔ* |

## 2.3. Regular Apophony: Transitives

Apophony in irregular transitive verbs is illustrated by the conjugations of *cama?* 'to eat', *sama?-dhama?* 'to escort' and the relinquitive aspectivizer *thama?*.

In *cama?* 'to eat', apophony appears to have been caused by fusion of the stem vowel with the preterit suffix <-ɛ>. Everywhere in the paradigm where the preterit morpheme is affixed directly to the stem, apophony of the stem vowel occurs whereby the /a/ is umlauted to /e·/: viz. in 1d→3, 2→1, 2d→3, 3→1 (except 3→1s), 3→2 and 3d→3. Wherever the preterit is indicated by a *portemanteau* (viz. 1pe→3, 2s→1s, 3→1s), a *portemanteau* precedes the preterit suffix shielding the stem (viz. 1s→2), or the vowel of the preterit /ɛ/ is elided before the 3P morpheme <-u> (1s→3, 1pi→3), there is no apophony. It is worthy of note that while elision of the preterit morpheme before <-u> would seem to account for the lack of apophony in 1s→3 and 1pi→3 forms, tense-motivated apophony *does* occur in 3→2p forms before the pPS suffix <-i>. This suggests that the fusion of preterit and stem vowels was anterior to contact between the PT and dPS morphemes or that the apophony in 3→2p morphemes arose secondarily by analogy. When the stem is followed by a final 3P suffix, the /a/ of the stem coalesces with the 3P morpheme to give /ɔ/: viz. in 2s→3, 3→3 (except 3d→3) forms. When the 1s preterit patient morpheme <-aŋ> or the suffix of the 2p imperative <-amm> is suffixed directly to

the stem, the stem vowel /a/ is reduced to /y/, cf. *caŋ*
(1s→3s) 'I ate it' vs. *cyaŋ* (3s→1s/PT) 'It ate me'.

The conjugation of *sama?* 'to deliver' differs from *cama?*
'to eat' in that the 2s→3ns and 3→3ns forms exhibit tense-
motivated apophony, where the corresponding 2s→3s and 3→3s
forms ending in /ɔ/ do not.

The relinquitive aspectivizer *thama?* 'to leave' behaves
differently in the lexicalized combination *sama?-dhama?* 'to
escort' (a compound of the two apophonic transitives *sama?*
'to deliver' and the relinquitive aspectivizer) than when
it occurs in free combination as the aspectivizer to a
transitive verb. In the compound *sama?-dhama?* it echoes the
apophonic changes in the stem of *sama?*. In free combina-
tion, it exhibits tense-motivated apophony throughout the
paradigm whenever there is no tense *portemanteau*, as illus-
trated below by the paradigm of the aspectivized combina-
tion *tha·?ma?* 'leave something behind for someone (= pa-
tient)' and the aspectivizer *thama?*.


*cama?* eat

|  | non-preterit | preterit |
|---|---|---|
| 1s→2s | *canɛ* | *canɛ* |
|  | *mɛdzanɛn* | *mɛdzanɛn* |
| 1s→2d | *canɛtchiŋ* | *canɛtchiŋ* |
|  | *mɛdzanɛtchiŋ* | *mɛdzanɛtchiŋ* |
| 1s→2p | *caniŋ* | *caniŋ* |
|  | *mɛdzaniŋnɛn* | *mɛdzaniŋnɛn* |
| 1s→3s | *caŋ* | *caŋ* |
|  | *mɛdza?ɛn* | *mɛndzabaŋ* |
| 1s→3ns | *caŋsiŋ* | *caŋsiŋ* |
|  | *mɛdza?ɛnchin* | *mɛndzabaŋsiŋ* |
| 1di→3s | *adzasu* | *adze·su* |
|  | *andzasun* | *andze·sun* |
| 1di→3ns | *adzasusi* | *adze·susi* |
|  | *andzasusin* | *andze·susin* |
| 1nse→2 | *canɛtchige* | *canɛtchige* |
|  | *mɛdzanɛtchigɛn* | *mɛdzanɛtchigɛn* |
| 1de→3s | *casuge* | *ce·suge* |
|  | *mɛdzasugɛn* | *mɛdze·sugɛn* |
| 1de→3ns | *casusige* | *ce·susige* |
|  | *mɛdzasusigɛn* | *mɛdze·susigɛn* |
| 1pi→3s | *adzam* | *adzam* |
|  | *andzamnɛn* | *andzamnɛn* |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1pi→3ns | *adzamsim* | *adzamsim* |
| | *andzamsimnɛn* | *andzamsimnɛn* |
| 1pe→3s | *cambe* | *camʔna* |
| | *mɛdzambɛn* | *mɛndzamʔna* |
| 1pe→3ns | *camsimbe* | *camʔnasi* |
| | *mɛdzamsimbɛn* | *mɛndzamʔnasi* |
| 2s→1s | *kɛdzaʔɛ* | *kɛdzyaŋ* |
| | *kɛndzaʔɛn* | *kɛndzyaŋnɛn* |
| 2→1 | *agɛdza* | *agɛdze·* |
| | *agɛndzanɛn* | *agɛndze·nɛn* |
| 2s→3s | *kɛdzɔ* | *kɛdzɔ* |
| | *kɛndzɔnɛn* | *kɛndzɔnɛn* |
| 2s→3ns | *kɛdzɔsi* | *kɛdzɔsi* |
| | *kɛndzɔsin* | *kɛndzɔsin* |
| 2d→3s | *kɛdzasu* | *kɛdze·su* |
| | *kɛndzasun* | *kɛndze·sun* |
| 2d→3ns | *kɛdzasusi* | *kɛdze·susi* |
| | *kɛndzasusin* | *kɛndze·susin* |
| 2p→3s | *kɛdzam* | *kɛdzam* |
| | *kɛndzamnɛn* | *kɛndzamnɛn* |
| 2p→3ns | *kɛdzamsim* | *kɛdzamsim* |
| | *kɛndzamsimnɛn* | *kɛndzamsimnɛn* |
| 3s→1s | *caʔɛ* | *cyaŋ* |
| | *mɛdzaʔɛn* | *mɛdzyaŋnɛn* |
| 3s→1di | *adzasi* | *adze·si* |
| | *andzasin* | *andze·sin* |
| 3s→1de | *casige* | *ce·sige* |
| | *mɛdzasigɛn* | *mɛdze·sigɛn* |
| 3s→1pi | *adza* | *adze·* |
| | *andzanɛn* | *andze·nɛn* |
| 3s→1pe | *caʔige* | *ce·ʔige* |
| | *mɛdzaʔigɛn* | *mɛdze·ʔigɛn* |
| 3s→2s | *kɛdza* | *kɛdze·* |
| | *kɛndzanɛn* | *kɛndze·nɛn* |
| 3s→2d | *kɛdzasi* | *kɛdze·si* |
| | *kɛndzasin* | *kɛndze·sin* |
| 3s→2p | *kɛdzaʔi* | *kɛdzeʔi* |
| | *kɛndzaʔin* | *kɛndze·ʔin* |
| 3s→3s | *cɔ* | *cɔ* |
| | *mɛdzɔnɛn* | *mɛdzɔnɛn* |
| 3s→3ns | *cɔsi* | *cɔsi* |
| | *mɛdzɔsin* | *mɛdzɔsin* |
| 3d→3s | *casu* | *ce·su* |
| | *mɛdzasun* | *mɛdze·sun* |
| 3d→3ns | *casusi* | *ce·susi* |
| | *mɛdzasusin* | *mɛdze·susin* |

| 3ns→1s | *mɛdzaʔɛ* | *mɛdzyaŋ* |
| | *mɛndzaʔɛn* | *mɛndzyaŋnɛn* |
| 3ns→1di | *amdzasi* | *amdze·si* |
| | *amɛndzasin* | *amɛndze·sin* |
| 3ns→1de | *mɛdzasige* | *mɛdze·sige* |
| | *mɛndzasigɛn* | *mɛndze·sigɛn* |
| 3ns→1pi | *amdza* | *amdze·* |
| | *amɛndzanɛn* | *amɛndze·nɛn* |
| 3ns→1pe | *mɛdzaʔige* | *mɛdze·ʔige* |
| | *mɛndzaʔigɛn* | *mɛndze·ʔigɛn* |
| 3ns→2s | *kɛmdza* | *kɛmdze·* |
| | *kɛmɛndzanɛn* | *kɛmɛndze·nɛn* |
| 3ns→2d | *kɛmdzasi* | *kɛmdze·si* |
| | *kɛmɛndzasin* | *kɛmɛndze·sin* |
| 3ns→2p | *kɛmdzaʔi* | *kɛmdzeʔi* |
| | *kɛmɛndzaʔin* | *kɛmɛndze·ʔin* |
| 3ns→3s | *mɛdzɔ* | *mɛdzɔ* |
| | *mɛndzɔnɛn* | *mɛndzɔnɛn* |
| 3ns→3ns | *mɛdzɔsi* | *mɛdzɔsi* |
| | *mɛndzɔsin* | *mɛndzɔsin* |

Imperatives                                    Adhortatives

| 2s | *cɛʔ/cyɛʔ* | | |
| 2d | *cɛsɛʔ/ce·sɛʔ* | 1di | *casu* |
| 2p | *cyammɛʔ/cɛmmɛʔ* | 1pi | *cam* |

eg. *kɛʔe·kʔo· kɛdze·i·ʔ*
    Has [the sun] burned you on your back?

*samaʔ-dhamaʔ* escort

| 1s→2s | *sanɛ-dhanɛ* | *sanɛ-dhanɛ* |
| | *mɛsanɛn-mɛdhanɛn* | *mɛsanɛn-mɛdhanɛn* |
| 1s→2d | *sanɛ-dhanɛtchiŋ* | *sanɛ-dhanɛtchiŋ* |
| | *mɛsanɛn-mɛdhanɛtchiŋnɛn* | *mɛsanɛn-* |
| | | *mɛdhanɛtchiŋnɛn* |
| 1s→2p | *saniŋ-dhaniŋ* | *saniŋ-dhaniŋ* |
| | *mɛsaniŋnɛn-mɛdhaniŋnɛn* | *mɛsaniŋnɛn-* |
| | | *mɛdhaniŋnɛn* |
| 1s→3s | *saŋ-dhaŋ* | *saŋ-dhaŋ* |
| | *mɛsaʔɛn-mɛdhaʔɛn* | *mɛnchabaŋ-mɛndhabaŋ* |
| 1s→3ns | *saŋsiŋ-dhaŋsiŋ* | *saŋsiŋ-dhaŋsiŋ* |
| | *mɛsaʔɛnchin-mɛdhaʔɛnchin* | *mɛnchabaŋsiŋ-* |
| | | *mɛndhabaŋsiŋ* |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1di→3s | *asasu-adhasu* | *asɛ·su-adhɛ·su* |
| | *anchasun-andhasun* | *anchɛ·sun-andhɛ·sun* |
| 1di→3ns | *asasusi-adhasusi* | *asɛ·susi-adhɛ·susi* |
| | *anchasusin-andhasusin* | *anchɛ·susin-andhɛ·susin* |
| 1nse→2 | *sanɛtchige-dhanɛtchige* | *sanɛtchige-dhanɛtchige* |
| | *mɛsanɛtchigɛn-mɛdhanɛtchigɛn* | *mɛsanɛtchigɛn-mɛdhanɛtchigɛn* |
| 1de→3s | *sasuge-dhasuge* | *sɛ·suge-dhɛ·suge* |
| | | (*sɛ·suge-dhɛtchuge*) |
| | *mɛsasugɛn-mɛdhasugɛn* | *mɛsɛ·sugɛn-mɛdhɛ·sugɛn* |
| 1de→3ns | *sasusige-dhasusige* | *sɛ·susige-dhɛ·susige* |
| | *mɛsasusigɛn-mɛdhasusigɛn* | *mɛsɛ·susigɛn-mɛdhɛ·susigɛn* |
| 1pi→3s | *asam-adham* | *asam-adham* |
| | *anchamnɛn-andhamnɛn* | *anchamnɛn-andhamnɛn* |
| 1pi→3ns | *asamsim-adhamsim* | *asamsim-adhamsim* |
| | *anchamsimnɛn-andhamsimnɛn* | *anchamsimnɛn-andhamsimnɛn* |
| 1pe→3s | *sambe-dhambe* | *samʔna-dhamʔna* |
| | *mɛsambɛn-mɛdhambɛn* | *mɛchamʔna-mɛndhamʔna* |
| 1pe→3ns | *samsimbe-dhamsimbe* | *samʔnasi-dhamʔnasi* |
| | *mɛsamsimbɛn-mɛdhamsimbɛn* | *mɛnchamʔnasi-mɛndhamʔnasi* |
| 2s→1s | *kɛsaʔɛ-kɛddhaʔɛ* | *kɛsyaŋ-kɛdhyaŋ* |
| | *kɛnchaʔɛn-kɛndhaʔɛn* | *kɛnchyaŋnɛn-kɛndhyaŋnɛn* |
| 2→1 | *agɛsa-agɛdha* | *agɛsɛ·-agɛdhe·* |
| | *agɛnchanɛn-angɛndhanɛn* | *agɛnche·nɛn-agɛndhe·nɛn* |
| 2s→3s | *kɛsɔ-kɛdhɔ* | *kɛsɔ-kɛdhɔ* |
| | *kɛnchɔnɛn-kɛndhɔnɛn* | *kɛnchɔnɛn-kɛndhɔnɛn* |
| 2s→3ns | *kɛsɔsi-kɛdhɔsi* | *kɛsɔsi-kɛdhɔsi* |
| | *kɛnchɔsin-kɛndhɔsin* | *kɛnchɔsin-kɛndhɔsin* |
| 2d→3s | *kɛsasu-kɛdhasu* | *kɛsɛ·su-kɛdhe·su* |
| | | (*kɛsɛ·su-kɛdhɛtchu*) |
| | *kɛnchasun-kɛndhasun* | *kɛndhe·sun-kɛndhe·sun* |
| 2d→3ns | *kɛsasusi-kɛdhasusi* | *kɛsɛ·susi-kɛdhe·susi* |
| | *kɛnchasusin-kɛndhasusin* | *kɛnche·susin-kɛndhe·susin* |

| 2p→3s | kɛsam-kɛdham | kɛsam-kɛdham |
| | kɛnchamnɛn-kɛndhamnɛn | kɛnchamnɛn-<br>kɛndhamnɛn |
| 2p→3ns | kɛsam-kɛdhamsim | kɛsam-kɛdhamsim |
| | kɛnchamnɛn-kɛndhamsimnɛn | kɛnchamnɛn-<br>kɛndhamsimnɛn |
| 3s→1s | saʔɛ-dhaʔɛ | syaŋ-dhyaŋ |
| | mɛsaʔɛn-mɛdhaʔɛn | mɛsyaŋnɛn-<br>mɛdhyaŋnɛn |
| 3s→1di | asasi-adhasi | ase·si-adhe·si |
| | anchasin-andhasin | anche·sin-andhe·sin |
| 3s→1de | sasige-dhasige | se·sige-dhe·sige |
| | mɛsasigɛn-mɛdhasigɛn | mɛse·sigɛn-<br>mɛdhe·sigɛn |
| 3s→1pi | asa-adha | ase·-adhe· |
| | amchanɛn-amdhanɛn | amche·nɛn-amdhe·nɛn |
| 3s→1pe | saʔige-dhaʔige | se·ʔige-dhe·ʔige |
| | mɛsaʔigɛn-mɛdhaʔigɛn | mɛse·ʔigɛn-<br>mɛdhe·ʔigɛn |
| 3s→2s | kɛsa-kɛdha | kɛse·-kɛdhe· |
| | kɛnchanɛn-kɛndhanɛn | kɛnche·nɛn-<br>kɛndhe·nɛn |
| 3s→2d | kɛsasi-kɛdhasi | kɛse·si-kɛdhe·si |
| | kɛnchasin-kɛndhasin | kɛnche·sin-<br>kɛndhe·sin |
| 3s→2p | kɛsaʔi-kɛdhaʔi | kɛse·ʔi-kɛdhe·ʔi |
| | kɛnchaʔin-kɛndhaʔin | kɛnche·ʔin-<br>kɛndhe·ʔin |
| 3s→3s | sɔ-dhɔ | sɔ-dhɔ |
| | mɛsɔnɛn-mɛdhɔnɛn | mɛsɔnɛn-mɛdhɔnɛn |
| 3s→3ns | sasi-dhasi | se·si-dhe·si |
| | mɛsasin-mɛdhasin | mɛse·sin-mɛdhe·sin |
| 3d→3s | sasu-dhasu | se·su-dhe·su |
| | mɛsasun-mɛdhasun | mɛse·sun-mɛdhe·sun |
| 3d→3ns | sasusi-dhasusi | se·susi-dhe·susi |
| | mɛsasusin-mɛdhasusin | mɛse·susin-<br>mɛdhe·susin |
| 3ns→1s | mɛsaʔɛ-mɛdhaʔɛ | mɛsyaŋ-mɛdhyaŋ |
| | mɛnchaʔɛn-mɛndhaʔɛn | mɛnchyaŋnɛn-<br>mɛndhyaŋnɛn |
| 3ns→1di | amsasi-amdhasi | amse·si-amdhe·si |
| | amɛnchasin-amɛndhasin | amɛnche·sin-<br>amɛndhe·sin |
| 3ns→1de | mɛsasige-mɛdhasige | mɛse·sige-<br>mɛdhe·sige |
| | mɛnchasigɛn-mɛndhasigɛn | mɛnchasigɛn-<br>mɛndhe·sigɛn |

| 3ns→1pi | *amsa-amdha* | *amse·-amdhe·* |
|---|---|---|
| | *amɛnchanɛn-amɛndhanɛn* | *amɛnche·nɛn-* |
| | | *amɛndhe·nɛn* |
| 3ns→1pe | *mɛsaʔige-mɛdhaʔige* | *mɛse·ʔige-* |
| | | *mɛdhe·ʔige* |
| | *mɛnchaʔigɛn-mɛndhaʔigɛn* | *mɛnche·ʔigɛn-* |
| | | *mɛndhe·ʔigɛn* |
| 3ns→2s | *kɛmsa-kɛmdha* | *kɛmse·-kɛmdhe·* |
| | *kɛmɛnchanɛn-kɛmɛndhanɛn* | *kɛmɛnche·nɛn-* |
| | | *kɛmɛndhe·nɛn* |
| 3ns→2d | *kɛmsasi-kɛmdhasi* | *kɛmse·si-kɛmdhe·si* |
| | *kɛmɛnchasin-kɛmɛndhasin* | *kɛmɛnche·sin-* |
| | | *kɛmɛndhe·sin* |
| 3ns→2p | *kɛmsaʔi-kɛmdhaʔi* | *kɛmse·ʔi-kɛmdhe·ʔi* |
| | *kɛmɛnchaʔin-kɛmɛndhaʔin* | *kɛmɛnche·ʔin-* |
| | | *kɛmɛndhe·ʔin* |
| 3ns→3s | *mɛsɔ-mɛdhɔ* | *mɛsɔ-mɛdhɔ* |
| | *mɛnchɔnɛn-mɛndhɔnɛn* | *mɛnchɔnɛn-mɛndhɔnɛn* |
| 3ns→3ns | *mɛsasi-mɛdhasi* | *mɛse·si-mɛdhe·si* |
| | *mɛnchasin-mandhasin* | *mɛnche·sin-* |
| | | *mɛndhe·sin* |

## Imperative

| 2s→3s | *sɛʔdhɛʔ/se·dhɛsɛʔ* |
|---|---|
| 2s→3ns | *sɛʔdhɛsɛʔ/se·dhɛsɛsɛʔ* |
| | |
| 2d→3s | *sɛtchɛʔ-dhɛsɛʔ* |
| 2d→3ns | *sɛtchɛʔ-dhɛsɛsɛʔ* |
| | |
| 2p→3s | *syammɛʔ-dhyammɛʔ* |
| 2p→3ns | *syamsɛʔ-dhyamsɛʔ* |
| | |
| 2s→1s | *syaŋɛʔ-dhyaŋɛʔ* |
| 2→1 | *asaʔɛʔ-adhaʔɛʔ/na·pmi se·ʔdhɛʔ* |

eg. *kɛsasu-kɛdhasurɔ po·ŋ laʔba.* (2d→3s/NPT)
   You[d] will1 probably have to escort her [back home].
   *sasu-dhasurɔ po·ŋ laʔba.* (3d→3s/NPT)
   They[d] will probably have to escort her [back home].
   *kɛsɔrɔ-kɛdhɔrɔ po·ŋ laʔba.* (2s→3s/NPT)
   You[s] will probably have to escort him [back to the bazar].

tha·?ma? dhama?   relinquitively aspectivized
'leave [something] behind for someone'

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1s→2s | tha·?nɛ dhanɛ | tha·?nɛ dhanɛ |
| | mɛdha·?nɛn mɛdhanɛn | mɛdha·?nɛn mɛdhanɛn |
| 1s→2d | tha·?nɛtchiŋ dhanɛtchiŋ | tha·?nɛtchiŋ |
| | | dhanɛtchiŋ |
| | mɛdha·?nɛtchiŋnɛn | mɛdha·?nɛtchiŋnɛn |
| | mɛdhanɛtchiŋnɛn | mɛdhanɛtchiŋnɛn |
| 1s→2p | tha·?niŋ dhaniŋ | tha·?niŋ dhaniŋ |
| | mɛdha·?niŋnɛn mɛdhaniŋnɛn | mɛdha·?niŋnɛn |
| | | mɛdhaniŋnɛn |
| 1s→3s | tha·?ruŋ dhaŋ | tha·?ruŋ dhaŋ |
| | mɛdha·??ɛn mɛdha?ɛn | mɛndha·?baŋ |
| | | mɛndhabaŋ |
| 1s→3ns | tha·?ruŋ dhaŋsiŋ | tha·?ruŋ dhaŋsiŋ |
| | mɛdha·??ɛn mɛdha?ɛnchin | mɛndha·?baŋ |
| | | mɛdhabaŋsiŋ |
| 1di→3s | adha·?su adhasu | adha·?rɛtchu adhe·su |
| | andha·?sun adhasun | andha·?rɛtchun |
| | | andhe·sun |
| 1di→3ns | adha·?su adhasusi | adha·?rɛtchu |
| | | adhe·susi |
| | andha·?sun andhasusin | andha·?rɛtchun |
| | | andhe·susin |
| 1nse→2 | tha·?nɛtchige dhanɛtchige | tha·?nɛtchige |
| | | dhanɛtchige |
| | mɛdha·?nɛtchigɛn | mɛdha·?nɛtchigɛn |
| | mɛdhanɛtchigɛn | mɛdhanɛtchigɛn |
| 1de→3s | tha·?suge dhasuge | tha·?rɛtchuge |
| | | dhe·suge |
| | mɛdha·?sugɛn mɛdhasugɛn | mɛdha·?rɛtchugɛn |
| | | mɛdhe·sugɛn |
| 1de→3ns | tha·?suge dhasusige | tha·?rɛtchuge |
| | | dhe·susige |
| | mɛdha·?sugɛn mɛdhasusigɛn | mɛdha·?rɛtchugɛn |
| | | mɛdhe·susigɛn |
| 1pi→3s | adha·?rum adham | adha·?rum adham |
| | andha·?rumnɛn andhamnɛn | andha·?rumnan |
| | | andhamnɛn |
| 1pi→3ns | adha·?rum adhamsim | adha·?rum adhamsim |
| | andha·?rumnɛn andhamsimnɛn | andha·?rumnɛn |
| | | andhamsimnɛn |
| 1pe→3s | tha·?rumbe dhambe | tha·?m?na dham?na |
| | mɛdha·?rumbɛn mɛdhambɛn | mɛndha·?m?na |
| | | mɛndham?na |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1pe→3ns | *tha·?rumbe dhamsimbe* | *tha·?m?na dham?nasi* |
| | *mɛdha·?rumbɛn mɛdhamsimbɛn* | *mɛndha·?m?na mɛndham?nasi* |
| 2s→1s | *kɛdha·??ɛ kɛdha?ɛ* | *kɛdha·?raŋ kɛdhyaŋ* |
| | *kɛndha·??ɛn kɛndha?ɛn* | *kɛndha·?raŋnɛn kɛndhyaŋnɛn* |
| 2→1 | *agɛdha·? agɛdha* | *agɛdha·?rɛ agɛdhe·* |
| | *agɛndha·?nɛn agɛndhanɛn* | *agɛndha·?rɛn agɛndhe·* |
| 2s→3s | *kɛdha·?ru kɛdha* | *kɛdha·?ru kɛdhe·* |
| | *kɛndha·?run kɛndhanɛn* | *kɛndha·?run kɛndhe·nɛn* |
| 2s→3ns | *kɛdha·?ru kɛdhasi* | *kɛdha·?ru kɛdhe·si* |
| | *kɛndha·?run kɛndhasin* | *kɛndha·?run kɛndhe·sin* |
| 2d→3s | *kɛdha·?su kɛdhasu* | *kɛdha·?rɛtchu kɛdhe·su* |
| | *kɛndha·?sun kɛdhasun* | *kɛndha·?rɛtchun kɛndhe·sun* |
| 2d→3ns | *kɛdha·?su kɛdhasusi* | *kɛdha·?rɛtchu kɛdhe·susi* |
| | *kɛndha·?sun kɛndhasusin* | *kɛndha·?rɛtchun kɛndhe·susin* |
| 2p→3s | *kɛdha·?rum kɛdham* | *kɛdha·?rum kɛdham* |
| | *kɛndha·?rumnɛn kɛndhamnɛn* | *kɛndha·?rumnɛn kɛdhamnɛn* |
| 2p→3ns | *kɛdha·?rum kɛdhamsim* | *kɛdha·?rum kɛdhamsim* |
| | *kɛndha·?rumnɛn kɛndhamsimnɛn* | *kɛndha·?rumnɛn kɛndhamsimnɛn* |
| 3s→1s | *tha·??ɛ dha?ɛ* | *tha·?raŋ dhyaŋ* |
| | *mɛdha·??ɛn mɛdha?ɛn* | *mɛdha·?raŋnɛn mɛdhyaŋnɛn* |
| 3s→1di | *adha·?si adhasi* | *adha·?rɛtchi adhe·si* |
| | *andha·?sin andhasin* | *andha·?rɛtchin andhe·sin* |
| 3s→1de | *tha·?sige dhasige* | *tha·?rɛtchige dhe·sige* |
| | *mɛdha·?sigɛn mɛdhasigɛn* | *mɛdha·?rɛtchigɛn mɛdhe·sigɛn* |
| 3s→1pi | *adha·? adha* | *adha·?rɛ adhe·* |
| | *andha·?nɛn andhanɛn* | *andha·?rɛn andhe·nɛn* |
| 3s→1pe | *tha·?rige dha?ige* | *tha·?rige dhe·?ige* |
| | *mɛdha·?rigɛn mɛdha?igɛn* | *mɛdha·?rigɛn mɛdhe·?igɛn* |
| 3s→2s | *kɛdha·? kɛdha* | *kɛdha·?rɛ kɛdhe·* |
| | *kɛndha·?nɛn kɛndhanɛn* | *kɛndha·?rɛn kɛndhe·nɛn* |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 3s→2d | *kɛdha·ʔsi kɛdhasi* | *kɛdha·ʔrɛtchi*<br>*kɛdhe·si* |
| | *kɛndha·ʔsin kɛndhasin* | *kɛndha·ʔrɛtchin*<br>*kɛndhe·sin* |
| 3s→2p | *kɛdha·ʔri kɛdhaʔi* | *kɛdha·ʔri kɛdhe·ʔi* |
| | *kɛndha·ʔrin kɛndhaʔin* | *kɛndha·ʔrin*<br>*kɛndhe·ʔin* |
| 3s→3s | *tha·ʔru dha* | *tha·ʔru dhe·* |
| | *mɛdha·ʔrun mɛdhanɛn* | *mɛdha·ʔrun mɛdhe·nɛn* |
| 3s→3ns | *tha·ʔru dhasi* | *tha·ʔru dhe·si* |
| | *mɛdha·ʔrun mɛdhasin* | *mɛdha·ʔrun mɛdhe·sin* |
| 3d→3s | *tha·ʔsu dhasu* | *tha·ʔrɛtchu dhe·su* |
| | *mɛdha·ʔsun mɛdhasun* | *mɛdha·ʔrɛtchun*<br>*mɛdhe·sun* |
| 3d→3ns | *tha·ʔsu dhasusi* | *tha·ʔrɛtchu dhe·susi* |
| | *mɛdha·ʔsun mɛdhasusin* | *mɛdha·ʔrɛtchun*<br>*mɛdhe·susin* |
| 3ns→1s | *mɛdha·ʔʔɛ mɛdhaʔɛ* | *mɛdha·ʔraŋ mɛdhyaŋ* |
| | *mɛndha·ʔʔɛn mɛndhaʔɛn* | *mɛndha·ʔraŋnɛn*<br>*mɛndhyaŋnɛn* |
| 3ns→1di | *amdha·ʔsi amdhasi* | *amdha·ʔrɛtchi*<br>*amdhe·si* |
| | *amɛndha·ʔsin amɛndhasin* | *amɛndha·ʔrɛtchin*<br>*amɛndhe·sin* |
| 3ns→1de | *mɛdha·ʔsige mɛdhasige* | *mɛdha·ʔrɛtchige*<br>*mɛdhe·sige* |
| | *mɛndha·ʔsigɛn mɛndhasigɛn* | *mɛndha·ʔrɛtchigɛn*<br>*mɛndhe·sigɛn* |
| 3ns→1pi | *amdha·ʔ amdha* | *amdha·ʔrɛ amdhe·* |
| | *amɛndha·ʔnɛn amɛndhanɛn* | *amɛndha·ʔrɛn*<br>*amɛndhe·nɛn* |
| 3ns→1pe | *mɛdha·ʔrige mɛdhaʔige* | *mɛdha·ʔrige*<br>*mɛdhe·ʔige* |
| | *mɛndha·ʔrigɛn mɛndhaʔigɛn* | *mɛndha·ʔrigɛn*<br>*mɛndhe·ʔigɛn* |
| 3ns→2s | *kɛmdha·ʔ kɛmdha* | *kɛmdha·ʔrɛ kɛmdhe·* |
| | *kɛmɛndha·ʔnɛn kɛmɛndhanɛn* | *kɛmɛndha·ʔrɛn*<br>*kɛmɛndhe·nɛn* |
| 3ns→2d | *kɛmdha·ʔsi kɛmdhasi* | *kɛmdha·ʔrɛtchi*<br>*kɛmdhe·si* |
| | *kɛmɛndha·ʔsin kɛmɛndhasin* | *kɛmɛndha·ʔrɛtchin*<br>*kɛmɛndhe·sin* |
| 3ns→2p | *kɛmdha·ʔri kɛmdhaʔi* | *kɛmdha·ʔri kɛmdhe·ʔi* |
| | *kɛmɛndha·ʔrin kɛmɛndhaʔin* | *kɛmɛndha·ʔrin*<br>*kɛmɛndhe·ʔin* |

| 3ns→3s | *mɛdha·ʔru mɛdha* | *mɛdha·ʔru mɛdhe·* |
|---|---|---|
| | *mɛndha·ʔrun mɛndhanɛn* | *mɛndha·ʔrun* |
| | | *mɛndhe·nɛn* |
| 3ns→3ns | *mɛdha·ʔru mɛdhasi* | *mɛdha·ʔru mɛdhe·si* |
| | *mɛndha·ʔrun mɛndhasin* | *mɛndha·ʔrun* |
| | | *mɛndhe·sin* |

Note that the aspectivizer *thamaʔ* combines only with prete-
rit simplicia of the verbs *mupmaʔ* and *phupmaʔ* 'to forget',
eg. *anchige niŋwa mutchɛtchuge dhɛtchuge* 'we[de] clear forgot
it', *khɛnchi niŋwa kɛbhutchɛtchu kɛdhɛtchu* 'you[d] totally
forgot it', *niŋwa kɛbhutchu kɛdhɔ* 'you[s] have completely
forgotten it'. The ponent aspectivizer *yuŋmaʔ* combines with
their non-preterit forms, eg. *niŋwa mutchu yuksu laʔba*
(*birsī rākhcha holā*) 'he'll probably forget it', *mutchuŋ
dhaŋ (birsī rākhẽ)* 'I forget it'.
   The posterior suffixes in the suffixal string tend to be
dropped from the first member of an aspectivized verb pair,
cf. *tha·ʔruŋsiŋ* vs. *tha·ʔruŋ dhaŋsiŋ* (see 5.3).

# Appendix III
## Limbu-English Glossary

The alphabetical order of the glossary is as follows:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ʔ | ḍ | g | n | s |
| a | ḍh | gh | ŋ | t |
| a· | dz | h | o· | th |
| b | dzh | i | ɔ | ṭ |
| bh | e· | i· | ɔ· | ṭh |
| c | ε | k | p | u |
| ch | ε· | kh | ph | u· |
| d | ə | l | r | w |
| dh | | m | | y |

Verbs are listed in their infinitive form, after which the
stem forms are given according to the principles put forth
in 4.1.

*a*

*a-* pf., my.

*a?ho·?* part., emotive particle conveying a sense of power-
lessness on the part of the speaker to do anything
about the situation, i.e. 'well, that's just the
way things are', 'that's the way it is', 'there's
nothing I can do about it' or 'oh no!'.

*a?i?* n., porcupine.

*a?nɛmma* adv., next year; cf. *atche·ma*, *ɛnniŋ*, *mi?lliŋ*,
*sumliŋ*.

*a?phe·ma?*, *a?-phe·s-/-a?-phe·-* vt., vide *la?phe·ma?*.

*abhya·k* adv., extremely.

*adhaŋba* n., respected personage, sir, gentleman.

*aha·1* n., [< Nep. *ahāl*] watering hole; small body of water
in which buffaloes wallow.

*ahɛkhɛkpa* adj., sharp, pointy.

*aho·* interj. conveying amazement.

*akma?*, *-akt-/-ak-* vt., put in; add to.

*ali* n., [< Nep. *ālī* furrow in a field] furrow in a field.

*allɔ* adv., now.

*allɔ-thalik* adv. until now, till now.

*allo·* adv., [<*allɔ* now] now (emphatic).

*allo·ba* adj., [< *allɔ* now + *-pa* nom.sf.] contemporary,
modern, of today, today's.

*amba* vide *pa*.

*amma* vide *ma*.

*amma pakma* vide *ma pakma*.

*amma tumma* vide *ma tumma*.

*amma?*, *-ams-/-am-* vt., dry something (inedible, eg. *sapla*,
*te·?l*) at the edge of a fire; cf. *he·ma?*, *kaŋma?*.

*amma?*, *-aps-/-am-* vt., [caus. < *apma?* shoot] winnow; *su-*
*ri?l-o· pɔ?e·?l-le aps-u-ŋ* (wind-LOC winnowing
basket-INST winnow-3P-1sA) I'm winnowing in the
wind with the winnowing basket; cf. *ɛkma?*, *ɛpma?*,
*thɔŋma?*.

*ammu* vide *yammu*.

*amphu* vide *phu*.

*amphudre·* vide *phuphudre·*.

*an* vide *ən*.

*anche·* adv., [< *anchɛn* yesterday] before, af few days ago,
then, at that time, during that (past) period; cf.
*ta·ndi*.

*anche·-anche·* adv., long ago; cf. *ande·-ande·*.

*anchɛn* adv., [< *sɛn* eve; cf. *sɛndik*] yesterday.

*anchɛn-siŋya·n* adv., [lit. yesterday - the day before
yesterday] the other day; Nep. *hijo-asti*; cf.

ta·ndik-atchɛnda·n.

*anchi*   pro., we, us (dual inclusive).

*anchi-*   pf., our (dual inclusive).

*anchige*   pro., we, us (dual exclusive).

*anchige-*   pf., our (dual exclusive).

*anchiŋma?*   vr., make an effort, try.

*ande·*   adv., before (antonym: *ando·* later); already, *ande· caŋ* I already ate.

*ande·-ande·*   adv., [< *ande·* before] a long time ago; cf. *anche·*, *ta·ndi*.

*ando·*   adv., later (antonym: *ande·* before).

*ando·-ando·*   adv., [< *ando·* later] in the future; cf. *ta·ndi*, *anche·*.

*ani*   pro., we, us (plural inclusive).

*ani-*   pf., our (plural inclusive).

*anige*   pro., we, us (plural exclusive).

*anige-*   pf., our (plural exclusive).

*aŋ*   postp.adv., 1) too, also; 2) pfG, vide 7.5.1; 3) and.

*aŋga*   pro., I, me.

*apma?, -ab-/-ap-*   vt., 1) shoot; cf. *li?*, *timmǝk*; 2) blast; *suruŋ mɛ?abuba* They're blasting a tunnel; cf. *amma?*.

*ase·wa*   vide *se·wa*.

*atche·ma*   adv., [<*at-* after next, cf. *atchɛnda·n*] in two years; the year after next; cf. *atchɛnda·n*, *a?nɛmma*, *ɛnniŋ*, *mi?lliŋ*, *sumliŋ*.

*atchɛnda·n*   adv., [*at-* after next (cf. *atche·ma*) + *sɛn* eve + *ta·n* morrow] the day after tomorrow.

*atiŋ*   pro., 1) someone, some; 2) which.

*attitti*   adv., [< Nep. *atyatti* < *tyatti*] much, intensely.

*ã*   part., yes.

*a·*

*a·bhya?*   adv,., how much; cf. *habhya?*, *hɛbhya?*.

*a·itiba·r*   n., [< Nep. *āitabār (ravivār)*] Sunday.

*a·k*   n., burp, belch; (with *lɔ?ma?*) *a·k lɔ?rɛ* She burped.

*a·kdaŋba*   adj.n., [*a·k(kh)* interr.pf. + *-taŋba* 2.1.2] what kind of; cf. *hɛkdaŋba*, *ɔkdaŋba*.

*a·kkhe·*   adv., [*a·k(kh)* interr.pf.] how; *a·kkhe· lɔ?rɛ?* How was it?; cf. *hɛkke·*, *ɔkkhe·*.

*a·kkhe·lɔ?rik*   adv., [*a·kkhe·* how + *lɔ?rik* fashion] how, in which way; cf. *hɛkke·lɔ?rik*, *ɔkkhe·lɔ?rik*.

*a·kkhɛlle*   adv., [*a·kkhe·* how + *-ille* SUB] at what time; when; cf. *hɛkkɛlle*, *ɔkkhɛlle*.

*a·kkhɛn*   adv. [*a·k(kh)* interr.pf.] how much, how many;

a·kkhɛn yaŋ po·ksɛ (how_much money become-PT) how much is it?; a·kkhɛn muktɛ (how_much strike-PT) what time is it?.

**a·kkhɛnbe·la, a·kphe·la** adv., [a·kkhɛn how much + be·la < Nep. bela period of time] at which time.

**a·kkhyaŋ** adv. [a·kkhe· how + -aŋ] how, in what manner.

**a·kkhya·k, a·kkhya·kpa** adv., [< a·kkhya·pma? be how much + -pa nom.sf.] how many, how much; a·kkhya·kpa co·k? How much is it?; a·kkhya·k kɛde·?ru how much did you take?.

**a·kkhya·k-idik** adv., [a·kkhya·k how much + idik a long time] how long, until when; a·kkhya·k-idik kɛya·k Until when are you staying?

**a·kkhya·kpa** vide a·kkhya·k.

**a·kkhya·pma?, a·k-khya·r-/a·k-khya·t-/a·k-khya·?l** vi., [*a·k(kh) interr. pf. + ya·pma? be an amount] be how much; a·kkhya·?l How much is it?; cf. a·k-khya·k, kɔŋya·pma?, khɛŋya·pma?.

**a·kkhyɛŋ** vide a·kkhyaŋ.

**a·kma?, -a·g-/-a·k-** vi., be uprooted; sinbo·ŋ a·gɛ The tree has been uprooted; cf. a·ŋma?.

**a·kphe·la** vide a·kkhɛnbe·la.

**a·mbe·** n., [< Nep. ãp] mango.

**a·mbe·?bo·ŋ** n., [a·mbe· mango, -bo·ŋ tree] mango tree.

**a·ŋbo·ŋ** n., [a·ŋ P. roxburghii + bo·ŋ tree] pine tree of the species Pinus roxburghii, Nep. sallā ko rukh.

**a·ŋlaba·ri** n., [a·ŋ Pinus roxburghii, ba·ri garden < Nep. bārī] pine grove; Nep. sallā-ghārī.

**a·ŋma?, -a·ks-/-a·ŋ-** vt., [caus. < a·kma? be uprooted] uproot, extirpate, pull out (hair, weeds); ya?in a·ksuŋ I'm uprooting paddy; cf. phi·ŋma?.

**a·ŋsiŋ** n., [a·ŋ Pinus roxburghii + siŋ wood] pine wood.

**a·phai** adv., [< Nep. āphai] on one's own, by oneself, oneself.

**a·sa** n., [< Nep. āśā] hope; cf. co·kma? (4).

**b**

**badam** n., [< Nep. badam] peanuts.

**baḍkyo·la** n., [< Nep. baḍakyaũlo] shit pellet (eg. of a rabbit or goat).

**badza** n., [< Nep. bājā] musical instrument or instruments, cf. muŋm?naba.

**bakulla** n., [< Nep. bakullā] white river crane.

**balla** adv., [< Nep. balla] finally, at last.

**barne·** vide parne·.

*ba·dzi*   n., [< Nep. *bājī*] time, go, round; Nep. *paṭak*.

*ba·ha·n*   n., [< Nep. *bāhān*] one time, one go (in the process of cooking or distillation).

*ba·kas*   n., [< Nep. *bākas*] box.

*ba·ni*   n., [< Nep. *bānī*] custom, habit.

*ba·ri*   n., [< Nep. *bārī* garden, terrace (of a field)] garden, terraced rice field on a slope; cf. *pyaṇsi*.

*ba·ula*   n., [< Nep. *bāhulā*] sleeve.

*be·l*   n., [< Nep. *bel*] the thorny *bel* tree (? Aegle marmelos) or its fruit; the tree bears white flowers, trifoliate leaves and a wood-coloured smooth, round, hard-shelled fruit with a yellow-orange pomegranate-like interior; the fruit is edible before it hardens.

*be·la*   n., [< Nep. *belā*] time.

*bəm*   n., [< Nep. *bam*] bomb.

*bətti*   n., [< Nep. *battī*] lamp.

*biha*   n., [< Nep. *bihā* < *vivāha*] marriage.

*biha·ndik*   adv., [*biha·n* (< Nep. *bihān*) morning + -*dik* period of day] in the morning; cf. *idik*, *lɛndik*, *sɛndik*, *ya·ndik*, *yunchik* and esp. *ta·ndik*.

*bihiba·r*   n., [< Nep. *bihībār* (*bɾhaspativār*)] Thursday.

*-bisaṇ*   postp., (after noun or num.) direction, in a certain direction or directions.

*budhəba·r*   n., [< Nep. *budhavār*] Wednesday.


## bh

*bha?aṇ*   vide *pha?aṇ*.

*bhaṇ*   vide *pha?aṇ*.

*bha·tra*   n., brush fire, forest fire; Nep. *ḍaḍhelo*.

*-bhɛlle*   vide *-phɛlle*.

*bhɛnṭa*   n., [< Nep. *bhyānṭā*] eggplant.

*bhiḍiyo·*   n., [< Nep. *bhīḍiyo* < Eng.] video, first introduced into district centres of *Limbuvān* in late 1984 where they are run on lawnmower-like generators in order to show popular Hindi films.

*bhitra*   adv., postp., [< Nep. *bhitra*] inside.

*bhitta*   n., [< Nep. *bhittā*] the walls (of a house).

c

*caha-dzo·kma?*, *-co·g-/-co·k-*   [< Nep. *cāhanu* 'to want' +
*co·kma?* 'to do'] 1) vi., be necessary, be needed;
*ni·pmɛlle la·gi yɛllik yaŋ cahadzo·k* In order to
study lots of money is required; cf. Nep. *cāhin-
cha*; 2) vt., want, desire, require; *cahakɛdzo·-
gwi·?* Do you want it?; cf. *niŋwa co·kma?*.

*cakma?*, *-cakt-/-cak-*   vt., dress someone, put clothes one
someone; *kɛnsa·n caktɛ?!* Get your younger brother/
sister dressed!

*cama?* vt.irr., eat; cf. *ca·tma?*.

*camma?*, *-cand-/-can-*   vt., put something (= patient) on top
of something else; *siŋ mɛdzandu* They put the wood
on top; *aŋga sapla adhge·k?o· canduŋ* I put the
book on my head.

*canɔkwa*   n., [< *wa* water] cooked red millet, to be leaven-
ed and fermented in the production of *thi·*, q.v.;
*canɔkwa* may not be eaten as such because it is
believed to cause loss of the faculty of speech;
cf. *sɔŋa?*, *sida·m*.

*caŋga* n., [< Nep. *caṅgā*] kite.

*caŋma?*, *-caks-/-caŋ-*   vt., wear (clothes, not jewelry), be
dressed; *khɛnɛ? hɛn kɛdzaksu* What are you going to
wear?; *khɛnɛ? ade·?lin kɛdzakswi·?* Are you wearing
my clothes?; *yɛmbitchare phɛgwa mɛdzaksu* Men wear
loincloths; cf. *khu·ŋma?*, *wa·pma?*.

*caksiŋma?* vr., [*cakma?* dress someone] get dressed, put on
(clothes, not jewelry or ornaments); *anchi caknɛt-
chi* Let's<sup>di</sup> get dressed.

*casma* n., [< Nep. *casmā*] glasses, spectacles.

*cautara*   n., [< Nep. *cautārā*] clay or stone terrace or
bench alongside the road or path, ideally under-
neath a tree.

*cawa* n., [< *cama?* eat] feed for livestock; Nep. *cāro*.

*ca·?l* n., [< *ca·tma?* play] game.

*ca·?rik* vide *sa·?rik*.

*ca·ĩ, dza·ĩ*   postp., [< Nep. *cāhĩ*] contrastive individu-
alizing nominal postposition; cf. *dik, dzik*.

*ca·lɔmma?*   vi., graze, forage; *khɛŋ mɛnda?-in ca·lɔm-se
ye·-aŋ way-ɛ* (that goat-ABS graze-SUP come_down/
PT-pfG be-PT) That goat had come down in order to
graze.

*ca·ma?*   vi.irr., 1) perform; play; *piŋ ca·?ɛlle sa·rik
ya·ŋ?ɛ si?ɛ* I'm stricken with vertigo when I go
around on the ferris wheel; cf. *ca·tma?, po·ŋwa·-
ma?*; 2) *ɔ·mɔ?matche· ca·ma?* exchange glances, look

at one another; *khunchi ɔ·mɔ?matche· rɔk ca·si kərə maba·tchin* They[d] only exchange glances but don't say a word [to one another]; 3) *he·sɔŋwa ca·ma?* pant, gasp, be out of breath; cf. *se·ŋkwa*; 4) *pəkɔ·ndi ca·ma?* cry "*hũlulululu*" at a high pitched voice (usu. in groups) on festive occasions, whilst playing *piŋ*, or whilst trekking through the mountains; both males and females perform *pəkɔ·ndi*; Nep. *kurlinu*; 5) *khɔnɔkwa ca·ma?* to snore; *sɛndik immɛlle khɔnɔkwa kɛdza·banu asira mɛdhaŋnɛn* I don't like to sleep at night with someone who snores; 6) *khikwa ca·ma?* whistle; *sɛndik khikwa ca·m? mɛnunɛn him bhitra?aŋ mɛnunɛn, so·gha mɛda* It's no good to whistle at night, nor is it any good to whistle inside the house, for it draws ghosts; 7) sustained activity aspectivizer, vide 5.3.7.

*ca·ma?*, *-ca·r-/-ca-* vi., be difficult; *sa?ha? yəllik mɛwa·. sapla hu?ma?si ca·rɛ* I have so many children. It is difficult (viz. expensive) to educate them; cf. *sakma?*.

*ca·mma?*, *-ca·nd-/-ca·n-* vt., colour, paint, dye; *kɛmdza·ndɛi·?* Did they get you? ('they' being non-Limbu Nepalis celebrating *Holī*).

*ca·pca·ppa* adj., [< *ca·ppa* clever] very clever, very intelligent, quick-witted.

*ca·ppa* adj., clever.

*ca·rik* vide *sa·?rik*.

*ca·tma?*, *-ca·tt-/-ca·t-/-ca·?l* vt., [dir. < *cama?* eat] 1) feed; *ca·ttuŋsiŋ* I fed them; *tɔk kɛdza·ttwi·?* Did you feed him *bhāt?*; 2) inflict, *tukhe· ca·tt-aŋ* (pain feed-1sPS/PT) He hurt me;

*ca·tma?*, *-ca·tt-/-ca·t-/ca·?l* vt. [dir. < *ca·ma?* play, perform] play (a game, a festive activity), eg. *piŋpiŋ, sarɔ·ndi*, q.v.; *khɛnɛ? hɛn hɛn ca·ma? kɛlɛ·su?* What games do you know how to play?; *piŋpiŋ ca·ttuŋsiŋ* I swung them in the game of *piñ*; *piŋ kɛdza·ttwi·?* Did you swing the ferris wheel around in the game of *piŋ?*; *laŋpho·ŋga ca·tche pe·gi* Let's[i] go play football.

*ce·k* n., piece, fragment.

*ce·li*, *-ndze·li-* n., married sister who has left the common paternal home to join the household of her spouse, male sibling speaking.

*ce·mma?*, *-ce·m-* vt., (with 3s patient agreement) glare, be unpleasantly light; *namille amik?in ce·mu* The sun is glaring in my eyes.

ce·pi　n., onion.

cɛkma?,　-cɛg-/-cɛk-　vi., dialectal variant of ɛkma? in the vicinity of Sãkrāntī to the north of Myãnluṅ; vide ɛkma?.

cɛkma?,　-cɛkt-/-cɛk-　vt., discuss someone or something, tell all about someone or something; ni·r-u-bɛ-n e·?yaŋba məna-·n cɛkt-u (read-3P-NOM-ABS other man-ABS tell_all_about-3P) He told all about the other man whom he had read about; cf. cɛ·ŋma?, tadzɛŋma?.

cɛllɛklɛkpa, cɛllɛklɛkma　adj., adolescent, lively, full of zest, boisterous, laughing and jeering; cɛllɛk-lɛkpa mɛllɔ?ramm?o·! Don't behave boisterously!; cf. cɛllɛkwa.

cɛllɛkwa　n., adolescence, puberty; boisterousness; kɔŋ hɛndza?ille kudzɛllɛkwa lɔ·ndɛ This girl has attained puberty; kɛsa?ille kudzɛllɛkwa nɛ· rəcə Your son seems to have reached puberty; cf. cɛl-lɛklɛkpa, hillikwa, kɛpma? (3), kɛpma? (3).

cɛmbi　n., soybeans, esp. roasted soybeans (eaten as lɛn-dzya or midday snack with popcorn, vide ma·ki); Nep. bhaṭmās; cf. i·mbriŋ.

cɛmghik　n., [cɛm- < cɛmbi soybean + khik- < khikma? be bitter] 'soy-bitter', a fermented soybean dish, prepared by putrefying cooked soybeans with a minute admixture of ash for several days; see recipe in Appendix I; Nep. kināmā.

cɛndze·ba　n., shins.

cɛpma?,　-cɛpt-/-cɛp-　vt., 1) cut or chop (sa meat, siŋ wood, etc.); siŋ cɛpma? chop wood (fell trees); cf. khɔkma?; 2) (with animate patient) slaughter; mɛnda? cɛptu He slaughtered the goat.

cɛpsi　n., emaciated person.

cɛtthe·　n., dish.

cɛtthya　vide cɛtthe·.

cɛ·dhi　n., giant intestinal roundworms, Ascaris lumbri-coides.

cɛ·ŋma?,　-cɛ·ks-/-cɛ·ŋ-　vt., discuss; khɛŋ yɛmbitcha·n cɛ·ksɛtchuge We<sup>de</sup> discussed that guy; cf. cɛkma?, tadzɛŋma?.

cəmma?,　-cəm-　vt., laud, praise, speak well of someone; khɛŋ məna·n cəmm?na We<sup>pe</sup> spoke well of that man; kɛndzumin mɛdzəmu They spoke well of your friend.

cəppəl　n., [< Nep. cappal] sandal, slipper.

ci?　adv., 1) a bit, a few; 2) postp., a little bit.

ci?a?　adv., [< ci? a bit] just a little bit, teensy bit.

cibuk　adj.adv., excited; (with lɔ?ma?) kɛsik cibuk cibuk

*lɔ? he·ktɛ?* Have you started getting all excited?; cf. *sik*.

*cidzi?* adv., [< *ci?*] a little bit.

*cigɛ?* adv., intensifier in the expression *sik lɔ?ma?*, q.v.; *kɛsik cigɛ? cigɛ? lɔ?rɛ rəcə* Oh, it seems you've become mighty irritated.

*cigip* n., glue, sticky resin any sticky fluid; *cigip khiptɛ* the glue stuck.

*cila·pphe·pma* n., [< *lap* wing] butterfly; cf. *haŋma*.

*cimma?*, *-cips-/-cim-* vt., [caus. < *cipma?* be quiet] shut someone up, stop something or someone from making noise, turn something off.

*cindzinma* n., large shrub Brassaiopsis hainla and, occasionally, glomerulata; Nep. *culetro*.

*ciŋma?*, *-ciks-/-ciŋ-* vt., hide, conceal.

*cipma?*, *-cib-/-cip-* vi., 1) be quiet, not speak, not say anything; 2) fall silent, quiet down, become silent, cease making noise; 3) stop raining; cf. *cimma?*.

*cipsiŋ* n., [< *siŋ* wood] species of small tree bearing leaves with whitish undersides and sticky flowers; Nep. *ghurbiso*.

*cire·?* n., circular fishing net with clattering metal rings fastened about the perimeter which centrifugally pull the net open when it is flung spinning out over the water. The rings sink enveloping the fish in the net.

*cirik* n., cloth, pieces of cloth, woven materials; cf. *nɛ?l*.

*citma?*, *-citt-/-cit-/-ci?l* vi., be greedy, be selfish, be mean; *sa·rik kɛdzi?l ləcə* It appears you are terribly greedy; *khɛŋ məna·n sa·rik ci?l* That guy's a real miser; cf. *khi·mma?*.

*citma?*, *-citt-/-cit-/-ci?l* vt., hate someone; *khɛŋle kɛdzi?l* He hates you; *sa·rik ci?lɛ* He really hates me.

*citma?-sima?* vi.vi., [*citma?* be selfish + *sima?* die] be impotent, be incapable, be cowardly; *kɛdzittɛ kɛse· ro·!* You're really not capable of much anything!

*ciyɔrik-kusiŋ* adv., mostly, generally; *a·kkhe·lɔ·rik kɛ?im? - ciyɔrikkusiŋ lɛrɛhaŋ im?ɛ* How do you sleep? - Generally, I sleep on my back.

*ci·kma?*, *-ci·kt-/-ci·k-* vi., cool off; *mɔkwa thuŋɛ?! ci·ktɛ i?re·?e·* Drink your tea! It's probably gotten cold already; cf. *ci·ŋma?*.

*ci·mma?*, *-ci·nd-/-ci·n-* vt., foul, defile; cf. *na·mma?*.

*ci·ŋma?*, *-ci·ks-/-ci·ŋ-*   vt., [caus. < *ci·kma?* cool off]
cool off (eg., *tɔk* cooked rice, *mɔkwa* tea, *canɔkwa*
cooked red millet to be leavened and fermented).

*co·?co·? mɛpma?*   vide *mɛpma?* (3).

*co·?co·? phimma?*   vide *co·?co·? mɛpma?*.

*co·?lluŋ*   n., entirety, whole, completion; *ku-dzo·?lluŋ*
*co·g-amm-ɛ?!* (its-entirety do-2p-IMP) Finish it
from begining to end!

*co·kma?*, *-co·g-/-co·k-*   vi., attributive 'to be', vide 3.5.

*co·kma?*, *-co·g-/-co·k-*   vt., 1) do; make, build; *lam co·gu*
He's building the road; 2) *nadho· co·kma?* perform
an offering to the jungle goddess *ta·mbhuŋna* or to
the deity of the outdoors *pa·kkhabɛn* by wrapping
some fresh blood or a piece of cooked meat from a
slaughtered animal in a leaf and leaving it at the
jungle's edge or in some remote place outside;
3) *mikthɛkthɛk co·kma?* [*mik* eye + *thɛk-thɛk* cover,
obscure] cover someones' eyes, blindfold someone;
4) *a·sa co·kma?* hope; *a·sa co·guŋba* I had hoped
so; 5) *iŋlɛk co·kma?* vide *iŋlɛkma?*.

*co·mma?*, *-co·nd-/-co·n-*   vi., topple, fall over; *pha·n*
*co·ndɛ* The bamboo has fallen over; cf. *so·mma?*.

*co·kphuŋ*   n., [*co·kma?* make + *phuŋ* flower] fabrication,
artifice, exaggeration, fish story, tall tale.

*cɔ?i?l*   n., image, likeness, appearance, look.

*cɔkkrɔkma*   n., uvula.

*cɔkma?*, *-cɔkt-/-cɔk-*   vt., join, rejoin; *cappal pu? gɔrɔ*
*cɔktɛ?!* If the sandal breaks, put it back
together!; *sikki? cɔktuŋba* I rejoined the broken
line.

*cɔkmak*   n., [< Nep. *cakmak*] flint.

*cɔkna·ŋ*   n., [< *na·ŋ* younger sibling, same sex as ego]
second younger sibling of the same sex as ego; cf.
*na·ŋ*, *pɛnna·ŋ*.

*cɔmma?*, *-cɔnd-/-cɔn-*   vt., shove, push; give a push with
one's hand; *mɛndzɔn?ɛ?!* Don't shove!; cf. *cɔtma?*,
*imma?*, *phɛŋma?*, *phɛpma?*, *phimma?* (2).

*cɔmma?*, *-cɔps-/-cɔm-*   vt., [caus. < *cɔpma?* dry up] boil
dry, drain (a field).

*cɔŋdzɔŋ*   adj., (with *yam* 'body') recuperated, feeling bet-
ter; *anchɛnnulle ɛn ci? kuyam cɔŋdzɔŋ lɔ? mu* He
says that today he's feeling a little bit better
than yesterday; cf. *lɔ?ma?* (10).

*cɔpma?*, *-cɔb-/-cɔp-*   vi., dry up, dry out, evaporate; *kɛ-*
*ho·rik cɔbɛ* Your skin has dried out; *cwa?lin cɔp*
The water will evaporate; cf. *cɔmma?*, *he·ma?*.

*cɔtchiŋma?*   vr., [< *cɔtma?* push from one place to another]

budge, move from one place to another; *nam mɛse·k-nɛn - sɔpmaŋ se·k, sɔpmaŋ kha·kmiʔl cɔtchiŋ* The sun's not shining - It'll start shining in a second, the cloud will move.

**cɔtmaʔ,** *-cɔtt-/-cɔt-/-cɔʔl* vi., be on time, be early; be fast, be quick; *khɛnɛʔ sa·rik kɛdzɔttɛ* You've come rather early; *aŋga cɔʔlɛ* I'm quick; (with infinitive) be quick; *aŋga laŋghe·km? cɔʔlɛ* I walk quickly; *pa·pm? kɛdzɔʔl* You're talking fast; *lo·km? kɛdzɔʔl!* You're running too fast!; cf. *su·maʔ*.

**cɔtmaʔ,** *-cɔtt-/-cɔt-/-cɔʔl* vt., [dir. < *cɔmmaʔ* shove] push from one place to another; *phɔgɘna kɛdzɔt- twi·? - kɔŋ phɔgɘna kɔtna aŋga cɔttuŋ* Did you move the *lohoṭā?* - I pushed this *lohoṭā* over here; cf. *imma?, imma?, phɛŋma?, phɛpma?, phimma?* (2,3), *phipma?*.

**cɔ·ŋghik** adv.adj., turned-up like a pig's nose; *kunbho·pɛn cɔ·ŋghik po·ŋ* His nose gets like a pig's nose, i.e. He turns his nose up at it.

**cuʔma?,** *-cur-/-cut-/-cuʔl* vi., 1) be finished, be completed; 2) terminative aspectivizer with intransitive verbs, vide 5.3.1; cf. *suʔma?*.

**cuciʔ** adv., a little bit.

**cuḍe·l** n., [< Nep. *cuḍel*] spirit of a young unmarried Indo-Aryan (*pe·nima*) woman who has died; she haunts men with whom she has had an illicit love affair or whom she has loved or who have loved her. Like a female *sugup*, a *cuḍe·l* only frequents places where men are and avoids the company of living women.

**cukma?,** *-cukt-/-cuk-* vi., come out, appear (of *phɔkwa* 'blisters'); *phɔkwa cuktɛba* A blister has come up.

**cukma?,** *-cukt-/-cuk-* vi., be small.

**cukpa** adj., [*cuk* < *cukma?* be small + *-pa* nom.sf.] small.

**cukpa** n., [< *cukpa* small] 1) little one, pre-pubescent male child; 2) as a term of address to young boys, to be used only by female speakers; cf. *cukma?, hɛndza?*.

**cukma** n.f. [f. of *cukpa* small] 1) little one, pre-pubescent female child; 2) as a term of address to young girls by either male or female speakers; cf. *cukpa, hɛndza?*.

**cuksa** adj., [< *cukpa* small + *-sa* dim.sf.] tiny.

**culẽsi** n., [< Nep. *culẽsī*] fancy S-shaped implement for cutting foodstuffs, equipped with a flat wedge fixed perpendicularly to the base of the blad and

a talisman or bauble hanging from an eye at the tip of the blade. The flat wedge is held to the ground by foot, and the user sits on the ground in front of the *culẽsi* and cuts the meat or vegetables by pushing them away from himself through the blade; the *culẽsi*'s cutting edge is on the near side of the blade.

*culo·* n., [< Nep. *cuhlo*] stove, oven, fireplace encased in a rectangular structure built up of clay with a hole or holes on top; as opposed to the indigenous Limbu household fireplace consisting of three *ha?luŋ*, q.v.

*cum, -ndzum-* n., friend; vide *kundzum*; cf. *cumde·ŋ, te·ŋba*.

*cumde·ŋ, -ndzum- -nde·ŋ-* n.col., [*cum* friend + *te·ŋ* < *te·ŋba* comrade] friends and comrades, buddies.

*cumdzum* adv., [< *cum* friend] each other.

*cumluŋ* n., [< *cum* friend] market, bazar.

*cumma?, -cups-/-cum-* vt., [caus. < *cupma?* close up] (of a hole) fill back in, close back up; *kuhɔŋin cupsuŋ* I closed [its] hole back up.

*cumma?, -cups-/-cum-* vi., assemble, gather together, form a crowd, accumulate, become amassed; *cupsi* Let's[di] get together!; *yaŋ kɛrɛk cupsɛ* All the money has accumulated; cf. *summa?*.

*cundzundaŋba* adj., soft, pudding-like, runny; *a-hi-·n cundzundaŋba co·k* (my-shit-ABS runny be) my shit is runny; cf. *kha·kkha·kwa*.

*cuŋ* n., the cold (not the illness).

*cuŋdzi·kma?, cuŋ-dzi·kt-/cun-dzi·k-* [< *cuŋ* cold (cf. *cuŋge·k*) + *ci·kma?* cool off] 1) vi., be cold (environmental temperature); *cuŋ-aŋ-mɛ-dzi·k-nɛn haŋ-aŋ-mɛ-wa-nɛn* (be_cold-also-NEG-be_cold-NEG be_warm-also-NEG-be_warm-NEG) It is neither cold nor hot out; 2) vt.imp., be cold, feel cold to someone; *cuŋdzi·ktaŋ* I'm cold; *cuŋgɛdzi·ktɛi·?* Are you cold?; cf. *kɛdzi·ba*.

*cuŋge·k* n., [< *cuŋ* cold, cf. *cuŋdzi·kma?*] the dry and cold season, the winter; cf. *wage·k*.

*cuŋma?, -cuŋ-* vi., wrestle; fight (physically); The Limbu wrestling technique consists of attempting to throw one's opponent to the ground whilst both parties maintain a mutual embrace about each other's neck and shoulders. The victor ends up lying on top, vide *thamma?*; *hɛndza? mɛ-dzuŋ-ɛ* (child nsAS-fight-PT) The children wrestled; *a-dzuŋ-si-?i· a?ho·? a-mphu-e·?* (1-wrestle-dPS-Q

oh‿my   my-elder‿brother-VOC)   Oh   my   [expressing
mock   fear],   are   we   going   to   wrestle,   big   brother?.
*cupma?*,   *-cub-/-cup-*   vi.,   (of   a   hole)   close   up,   close   back
up,   get   filled   in;   cf.   *cumma?.*
*cupma?*,   *-cutt-/-cut-/-cu?1*   vt.,   sprinkle,   add   a   pinch   of.
*cupsaŋ*   adv.,   right   (antonym:   *phɛnchaŋ*   left).
*cupsaŋba*   adj.,   [< *cupsaŋ*   right   +   *-pa*   nom.sf.]   right   (as
opposed   to   left).
*cupsaŋdiŋ*   adv.,   [< *cupsaŋ*   right]   to   the   right,   clockwise.
*cwa?1*   n.,   water.
*cwa?1 kɛlakpa*   n.   +   adj.,   [*cwa?1*   water   +   AP   of   *lakma?*   'to
lick']   (lit.   water-licker)   an   epithet   for   the
*pe·niba*   or   higher   caste   Nepali,   alluding   to   their
status   of   being   pure   caste   (Nep.   *cokho   jāt*)   or
'water-acceptable   caste'   (Nep.   *pānī   calne   jāt*).
*cyaŋya*   adv.,   on   one's   side;   *cyaŋya   im?ɛ*   I   sleep   on   my
side;   cf.   *lɛrɛhaŋ*,   *hɔ?pɛ?1.*
*cyɔ?cyɔ?*   adv.,   in   small   amounts,   in   successive   globs,   in
small   batches.


*d*


*da·ri*   n.,   [< Nep.   *dāhrī*]   vide   *siŋbe·k-məyuŋ-mudhuk.*
*-dɛn*   sf.,   place   at   which;   suffixed   to   the   simplex   or   infi-
nitive   of   a   verb,   eg.   *yuŋmadɛn*   place   to   sit,   *imma-
dɛn*   place   to   sleep,   *se·madɛn*   place   to   urinate,   *tɔk
tho·ktɛba-dɛn?o·*   In   the   place   she   used   to   cook
*bhāt.*
*darta*   n.,   [< Nep.   *dartā*]   registration.
*-dik*   postp.,   contrastive   individualizing   nominal   postpo-
sition;   cf.   *ca·ĩ*,   *dzik.*
*dɔi*   n.,   [< Nep.   *dahī*]   yoghurt,   curd;   cf.   *nudak.*


*dh*


*-dhak*   allative   sf.,   up   unto,   until;   *na·m-tha-dhak*   (sun-
falls-ALL)   until   sunset;   (with   locative   suffix)   up
as   far   as;   *lam-?o·-dhak*   (road-LOC-ALL)   up   as   far
as   the   road;   *cumluŋ-thak*   up   as   far   as   the   bazar;
*cumluŋ?o·-dhak*   up   into   the   bazar.
*-dhik*   vide   *-thik.*

*ḍ*

*ḍasana* n., [< Nep. *ḍasanā*] mattress, bedding.
*ḍo·li* n., [< Nep. *ḍolī*] palanquin.


*ḍh*

*ḍhiki* n., [< Nep. *ḍhikī*] a rice thrasher consisting of a long wooden lever pivoting on a short horizontal axle protruding from a wooden post or pylon above a stone floor. A mound-shaped stone is affixed to the underside of the lever at one end, and the lever is depressed by foot at the opposite end and released so as to lift the pounding stone and allow it to come down repeatedly on to the paddy placed in a depression in the stone floor; cf. *hakma?*, *phimma?*.
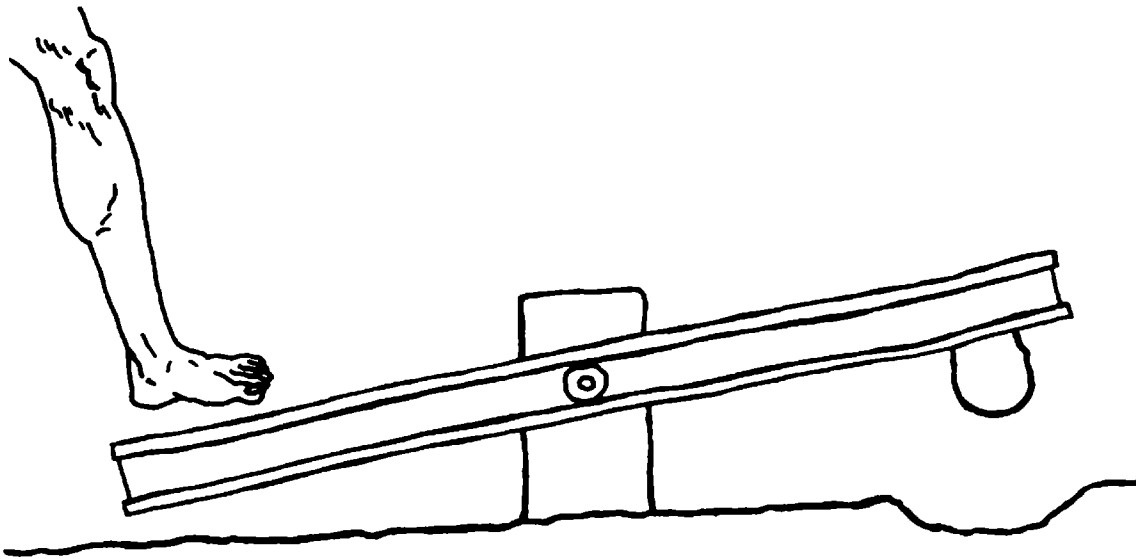


*ḍhiki*


*dz*

*dzanti* n., [< Nep. *jantī*] participants in a procession.
*dze·* pro., [< Nep. *je*] that which.
*-dzik* postp., contrastive individualizing nominal postposition; cf. *ca·ĩ*, *dik*.
*dzilla* n., [< Nep. *jillā*] district.
*dzɔro·* n., [< Nep. *jaro*] fever; cf. *tuŋ*.
*dzun* pro., [< Nep. *jun*] that which.
*dzutta* n., [< Nep. *juttā*] shoe; cf. *laŋsup*.

*dzh*

*dzhan*   adv., [< Nep. *jhan*] even more, yet more so.

*e·*

*e·*, *i·*   postp.emph.part., esp. in the emphatic locative:
*e·*, *oe·*.

*e·?e·*   adv., separately, apart.

*e·?ma?*, *-e·?r-/-e·?-*   vt., bore someone, get to be too much
for someone, cause someone to develop a dis-
interest or *dégoût*; *kɔŋ te·?lille aŋga e·?raŋ* I'm
fed up with these clothes; *ta·ndi ta·ndi kɛ?e·?*
One day soon it will no longer appeal to you;
*e·?-?ɛ la?ba* It'll probably bore me; cf. *-nbo·*
*hipma?*, *niŋ lɛ?ma?*.

*e·?yənba*, *e·?yaŋba*   adj., other, another {used like Dutch
*ander* or Russian *drugoj*, not like English *other* or
Nepali *arko*, eg.: *e·?yənba pi·r-aŋ-ɛ?!* (other
give-1sP-IMP) Give me another! [the implication
is: I am not satisfied with the one I already
have]; *yammu-dhik pi·r-aŋ-ɛ?!* (again-one give-
1sP-IMP) Give me [yet] another! [the implication
is: I have already finished the first one]}; cf.
*thiksəmma*, *wi?sma*.

*e·gaŋ*   [< *e·k* back] 1) postp., behind; 2) adv., in back,
behind; cf. *tagaŋ*.

*e·k*   n., back.

*e·ka*   n. parrot, parakeet; Nep. *sughā*, *sugā*.

*e·kke·*   postp.adv., like, as, in the fashion of; *khunɛ?*
*kappo·ba e·kke· tha·p i·nna* He really looks like
an old man; *kɔŋ?e·kke· lɔ?i·?* Does it do like
this?; cf. *kusiŋ*, *lɔ?rik*.

*e·klai*, *e·kle·*   adv., [< Nep.] alone.

*e·ksi*   n., [< *e·k* back] backbone, spine.

*e·lle*   pro.erg., who.

*e·n*   pro.abs., who, whom.

*e·pma?*, *-e·pt-/-e·p-*   vt., 1) overheat or burn slightly so
as to allow an edible crust to form; scorch; *tɔk-*
*?in e·ptu* He's scorching a rice crust; 2) inspire
with awe, instill fear; *yəmba mənare cukpa mənaha?*
*e·ptusi* A big man inspires small men with awe;
*yəmba mənaha?re am?e·p* Big men inspire us with
awe.

ɛ

ɛkmaʔ, -ɛg-/-ɛk-, cɛkmaʔ, -cɛg-/-cɛk- vi., snap, break; siŋbo·ŋ-le ku-haŋga-dhik ɛg-ɛ dhe· (tree-GEN its-branch-one snap-PT fall/PT) One of the tree's branches snapped and fell; pha·n ɛgɛ The bamboo snapped; cf. ɛŋmaʔ.

ɛkmaʔ, -ɛkt-/-ɛk- vt., shake back and forth in small horizontal increments whilst holding the pɔʔe·ʔl (winnowing basket) level; cf. ammaʔ, ɛpmaʔ, thɔŋ-maʔ.

ɛllamba adv., [< ɛn today] this year; cf. ɛnniŋ.

ɛn adv., today.

ɛnda·ndik adv., [ɛn today + ta·ndik tomorrow] nowadays.

ɛŋmaʔ, -ɛks-/-ɛŋ-, sɛŋmaʔ, -sɛks-/-sɛŋ- vt., [caus. < ɛkmaʔ break, snap] snap, break; siŋ ɛksu He broke the stick.

ɛnniŋ adv., [< ɛn today] this year; cf. atche·ma, aʔnɛmma, ɛllamba, miʔlliŋ, sumliŋ.

ɛpmaʔ, -ɛpt-/-ɛp- vt., fan away the chaff with a winnowing basket (pɔʔe·ʔl) whilst the grain lies spread out on the ground; cf. ammaʔ, ɛkmaʔ, thɔŋmaʔ.

ɛpmaʔ, -ɛtt-/-ɛt-/-ɛʔl vt., 1) lock; lamdhe·ʔlin mɛʔɛttu; 2) stop, bring to a halt; ya·mbɔkʔin ɛttuwaŋ mɛbo·ksɛn He brought the work to a halt and it didn't get done.


ə

əgɔ· vide gɔ·.

ən n., horse.

əncha n., [ən horse + sa meat] horsemeat.


g

ga·ro· n., [< Nep. gāro] wall.

go·li n., [< Nep. golī] bullet; cf. ko·rɛʔl.

gɔ· part., then, exactly, just (often left untranslated); emphasizes or highlights the preceding element: khunɛʔ gɔ· as for him; kɛmbe·knɛnni· khɛnɛʔ gɔ·? So you! Aren't you going?

gundri, kundri n., [< Nep. gundrī] vide lo·tna; cf. lo·mbhɛʔl.

*gh*

*gha·s* n., [< Nep. *ghãs*] fodder.

*h*

*ha* n., tooth.

*ha?luŋ* n., [*ha* tooth + *luŋ* stone] one of three long rec-
tangular-prismatic stones buried upright in a
circle within the domestic Limbu fireplace, about
one-fifth of the actual length protruding above
ground and providing the points of support for the
*karəhi* or wok when cooking; soot of the *ha?luŋ* may
be used to annoint the forehead in order to ward
off evil spirits during nighttime outings or noc-
turnal forays; children may anoint themselves with
*ha?luŋ*-soot even during the day; cf. *sumha?luŋ*;
see illustration under *migho·mbe·*, p. 469.

*ha?ma?*, *-ha?r-/-ha?-* vi., catch flame, catch on fire; *siŋ*
*ha?rɛ* The wood caught on fire; cf. *ha·mma?*, *ti·?-*
*ma?*.

*ha?ma?*, *-ha?r-/-ha?-* vt., [< *ha* tooth] 1) bite; 2) af-
flict, viz. diseases caused by displeased or male-
volent supernatural entities; *co·?co·? mɛmmɛpmɛlle*
*samle aha?* If you don't observe the practice of
*co·?co·?*, disincarnate spirits will afflict you;
cf. *sisam*, *so·gha*, *sugup*.

*habo·?* n., [< P̃acthare Limbu] dentition; vide *hadzɛŋ*.

*habu* n., [< *ha* tooth] cavity, caries, tooth decay; cf.
*ha?luŋ*, *ha?ma?*, *habo·?*, *hadaŋba*, *hadzɛŋ*, *hadzə*,
*hadzi?*, *hama*.

*habha* adv., like this, like that.

*habhya?* adv., this much; cf. *a·bhya?*, *hɛbhya?*.

*hadaŋba* n., [*ha* tooth + *-taŋba* 2.1.2] jaw; cf. *ha?luŋ*,
*ha?ma?*, *habo·?*, *habu*, *hadzɛŋ*, *hadzə*, *hadzi?*, *hama*.

*hadi·ŋ* n., [*ha* tooth + *ti·ŋ* thorn] stubbornness, fuss,
obstinacy, resistance; cf. *thɔkma?* (3).

*hadzɛŋ* n., [< *ha* tooth] dentition; cf. *ha?luŋ*, *ha?ma?*,
*habo·?*, *habu*, *hadaŋba*, *hadzə*, *hadzi?*, *hama*.

*hadzə* n., [< *ha* teeth] fore-teeth, viz. canines and
incisors; cf. *ha?luŋ*, *ha?ma?*, *habo·?*, *habu*,
*hadaŋba*, *hadzɛŋ*, *hadzi?*, *hama*.

*hadzi?* n., [*ha* tooth + *ci?* bit] pieces of un-ingested food
stuck between the teeth; cf. *mikci?*; cf. *ha?luŋ*,
*ha?ma?*, *habo·?*, *habu*, *hadaŋba*, *hadzɛŋ*, *hadzə*,
*hama*.

*hakma?*, *-hag-/-hak-*  vt., thresh, remove the grains, pound (as on a *ḍhikī*), husk (patient: *ya?* paddy); cf. *so·mma?*.

*hakma?*, *-hakt-/-hak-*  vt., [dir. < *haŋma?* send something] send (patient: beneficiary or benefacted individual); *khunɛ? iŋghɔŋ haktaŋ* He sent me the news; *iŋghɔŋ haknɛ* I'll send you* the news; cf. *haŋma?*, *paŋma?*.

*hakma?*, *-hakt-/-hak-*  vt., drive into the ground.

*hakŋnaba*  n., [nominalized passive part. of *hakma?* 'drive into the ground'] stake, pylon.

*hakwa*, *hakwaba*  n., rice soup similar to Nep. *khole* or *jãulo*.

*hama*  n., [< *ha* teeth] molars; cf. *hukma*, *laŋma*; cf. *ha?-luŋ*, *ha?ma?*, *habo·?*, *habu*, *hadaŋba*, *hadzɛŋ*, *hadzə*, *hadzi?*.

*hamma?*, *-hand-/-han-*  vide *hɔmma?*.

*hamma?*, *-haps-/-ham-*  vt., [caus. < *hapma?* get stuck] hang something up; *te·?lin tho· hapsuŋ* I hung the clothes upstairs.

*haŋ*  n., king.

*haŋba·la·*  n., [*haŋ* king + *ba·la·* < Nep. *pãlã* period, era] the olden times when the Limbu kings still reigned over *Limbuvãn*.

*haŋga*  n., [< Nep. *hãgã*] branch; vide *siŋsara?1*.

*haŋma*  n., butterfly; cf. *cila·pphe·pma*.

*haŋma*  n., [< *haŋ* king] queen.

*haŋma?*, *-haŋ-*  vt., send (patient: object sent; third person patient only); cf. *hakma?*, *paŋma?*.

*haŋma?*, *-haŋs-/-haŋ-*  vi., wait.

*haŋsa?*  n., [*haŋ* king + *sa?* child, offspring] prince.

*haŋwa*  n., [*haŋwama?* be hot, **wa* water] water brought to a boil for cooking rice; *khɔppe·?o· tɔk tho·kma?re la·gi cwa?1 yuŋm· bo·ksɛ, me·nni·? cwa?1 yuŋ, e·, me·nni·? khɛŋ cwa?1in haŋwa mɛmɛttu.* In order to cook rice, you have to put in the pot, don't you? There's water [in it], isn't there? They call that water *haŋwa*.

*haŋwakuma?*, *haŋwa-kus-/haŋwa-ku-*  vt.imp., feel warm, feel hot; *khɛnɛ? haŋwakɛgusɛi·?* Are you hot?; *anga haŋwakusaŋ* I'm warm; cf. *haŋwama?*.

*haŋwama?*, *haŋ-was-/haŋ-wa-*  vi., be hot (ambient, environmental temperature); be the hot season; cf. *haŋwakuma?*, *ko·ma?*, *le·kma?*, *mɔkma?*, *ya·mma?*, *yɛmma?*.

*hapcyaŋge·n*  n., trousers.

*hapla*  n., any fermenting substance contained in a *phurluŋ* or *lumbhu?1*, eg. leavened *canɔkwa* which is ripen-

ing into *sɔŋa?* in a *phurluŋ* or *lumbhu?l*, cooked *cɛmbi* ripening into *cɛmghik* in a *phurluŋ*.

*hapma?*, -*hapt*-/-*hap*-   vi., get stuck, get caught up, get hung up; *na-re ku-di·ŋ a-sikla-?o· hapt-ɛ* (fish-GEN its-fishbone my-throat-LOC get_stuck-PT) The fishbone got stuck in my throat; *sɔrɔŋ tha·suŋba*, *tho· haptɛ* I knocked the lemon down, but it got stuck [in the branches of the tree] on its way down; cf. *hamma?*.

*haphta*   n., [< Nep. *haphtā*] week.

*ha'ra*   adv., quickly.

*ha'ra-ha'ra*   adv., quickly, hastily.

*hasukma?*, *ha-sukt*-/-*ha-suk*-   vi., [ ?< *ha?*- bite + *sukma?* be able to] be cutting, be sharp (of a knife or sickle); *ha-mɛn-chuk-m?nɛ-lle nɔ·ŋ-mɛ-lle sa·rik tuk* (be_sharp-NP-be_sharp-NP-INST shave-INF-SUB very hurt) If you shave with a blunt [blade], it really hurts; *hasuktɛrɔ co·guŋ* I'll make it cut well (i.e. I'll sharpen it, cf. *ya?lapma?*).

*ha·l thuŋma?*   vide *thuŋma?*.

*ha·ma?*, -*ha·s*-/-*ha·*-   vt., apportion, share, distribute something; *ma·ki yumma?l ha·suŋ-pi·ruŋsiŋ* I apportioned the maize and vegetables; *kɔŋ yumma?l kɛ-ha·-bɛ-n e·n na* (this vegetables AP-apportion-AP-ABS who EMPH) Who is this guy distributing the vegetables?; cf. *ha·tma?*, *phɔ·ŋma?*.

*ha·mbe·k*   n., ginger root.

*ha·mha·m*   adj.adv., [*ha·mma?* burn] aglow with warmth, warmed up; *syutchaŋ nɛdɛŋba·n ha·mha·m mɛttu* Even though [the *tɔŋba*] tastes sour, it sets one's cheeks aglow with warmth.

*ha·mma?*, -*ha·nd*-/-*ha·n*-   vt., [dir. < *ha?ma?* catch on fire] burn (*bɔtti* lamp, or an object in a fire); set something on fire; *sapla kɛha·ndubai·?* Are you burning a piece of writing?; cf. *lapma?*, *tukma?*, *tupma?*.

*ha·mma?*, -*ha·ps*-/-*ha·m*-   vt., [caus. < *ha·pma?* cry] cause someone to cry, make someone cry.

*ha·ŋgu*   n., steam, vapour.

*ha·ŋma?*, -*ha·ŋd*-/-*ha·ŋ*-   vi., taste spicy hot.

*ha·pma?*, -*ha·b*-/-*ha·p*-   vi., weep, cry; cf. *ha·mma?*, *ha·pma?*.

*ha·pma?*, -*ha·pt*-/-*ha·p*-   vt., [dir. < *ha·pma?* weep] mourn.

*ha·rundi*   n., [< Bihari, Bhojpuri, Maithili *hardī*, Hindi *hardī*, *haradī*, *haldī*, *haladī*, *haladdī*, *harada*, *haridra*, in Bengali dialects *halud* (Turner 1966)] root of the plant Curcuma longa, i.e. curcuma,

turmeric; Nep. *besar*.

*ha·tma?*, -*ha·tt*-/-*ha·t*-/-*ha·?l* vt., [dir. < *ha·ma?* appor-
tion] deal, portion out to, distribute amongst,
share between; *mɘnaha? ha·ttuŋsiŋ* I distributed
[it] amongst the men; cf. *ha·ma?*, *phɔ·ŋma?*.

*he·?ma?*, -*he·?r*-/-*he·?*- vt., be able to; *pe·km? mɛnhe·?-*
*nɛn* They are unable to go; cf. *sukma?*.

*he·kma?*, -*he·kt*-/-*he·k*- vi., hiccough, have the hic-
coughs; *kɛhe·ktɛi·?* Did you just hiccough? Do you
have the hiccoughs?

*he·kma?*, -*he·kt*-/-*he·k*- vi.vt., (with an infinitive or
bare stem) the inceptive aspectivizer 'to begin',
vide 5.3.13.

*he·ma?*, -*he·r*-/-*he·*- vi., dry in the sun; dry (inedible,
eg. *sapla*, *te·?l*) at the edge of a fire; *te·?l*
*sɔpmaŋ he·* The clothes'll be dry in a second;
*te·?l he·rɛ* The clothes are dry; cf. *cɔpma?*, *he·-*
*ma?*, *kaŋma?*.

*he·ma?*, -*he·s*-/-*he·*- vt., [caus. < *he·ma?* dry in the sun]
dry in the sun; *nam-ille te·?l-in he·s-u* (sun-ERG
clothes-ABS dry-3P) The sun has dried the clothes;
*nam-kɛ-bhɛtt-u-aŋ kɛ-he·s-w-i·?* (sun-2-fetch-3P-
pfG 2-dry‿in‿the‿sun-3P-Q) Having put it out in
the sun, have you managed to get it dry yet?; cf.
*namphɛpma?*, *amma?*, *kaŋma?*.

*he·ma?*, -*he·s*-/-*he·*- vt., strap on, gird, arm oneself
with, lash on, buckle; *phɛdza-·n he·s-u-ŋ* (khu-
kuri-ABS gird-3P-1sA) I will strap on my khukuri.

*he·sɔŋwa* n., shortness of breath, panting, gasping; vide
*ca·ma?* (3).

*hɛbhya?* adv., [< \**hɛk* distal pf.] that much; cf. *a·bhya?*,
*habhya?*.

*hɛkdaŋba* adj., [< \**hɛk* distal pf. + -*taŋba* 2.1.2] that
kind of; cf. *a·kdaŋba*, *ɔkdaŋba*.

*hɛkke·* adv., [< \**hɛk* distal pf.] like that; such, so
(distal); *hɛkke· saba* that's the way it is; cf.
*a·kkhe·*, *ɔkkhe·*.

*hɛkke· gɔrɔ* adv., [lit. like that - if] in that case.

*hɛkke·lɔ?rik* adv., [*hɛkke·* like that + *lɔ?rik* fashion] in
that way, in that manner; cf. *a·kkhe·lɔ?rik* and
*ɔkkhe·lɔ?rik*.

*hɛkke·saŋ* adv., [*hɛkke·* such + -*saŋ* even though] nonethe-
less, nevertheless, even so, however.

*hɛkkɛlle* adv., [*hɛkke·* like that + -*ille* SUB] and then, at
that time; therefore, and so; cf. *a·kkhɛlle*, *ɔk-*
*khɛlle*.

*hɛkma?*, -*hɛg*-/-*hɛk* vt., cut with a sickle (*waphe·?-ille*

sickle-INST).

*hɛkyaŋ* 1) conj., and; moreover, then; and then; 2) clause-final part., well then, in that case; so what; *tɔk tho·km·bo·ŋ - mi phɛttɛ? hɛkyaŋ!* The rice has to be cooked -- Well, fetch fire then!

*hɛkyaŋdho·* adv., [*hɛkyaŋ* then + *-tho·* since] ever since that time, ever since, thenceforth.

*hɛmma?*, *-hɛnd-/-hɛn-* vt., appraise, estimate, evaluate, guess (the weight of); *a·kkhya·k se·r ya·k?* How much does it weigh (lit. How many *ser* (Nep. 1.17 kg) are there [in it]?) - *phak?in hɛnduŋba, khɛŋ phak?in nusi se·r hɛnduŋ* I'm guessing/appraising [the weight of] the pig, I estimate that pig at seven *ser* (about eight kg); *wa? hɛndɛ?!* Estimate [the weight of] the chicken!

*hɛn* pro., what.

*hɛnaŋ* pro., [*hɛn* what + *aŋ* also] (with negated verb form) nothing; *hɛnaŋ mɛdzo·gumbɛn* WePᵉ haven't done anything.

*hɛnaŋ* adv., why; *hɛnaŋ ɔ·?amɔttɛttchi* Why were they watching usᵈⁱ?

*hɛnaŋbhɛlle* conj., [*hɛnaŋ* why + *-bhɛlle*, q.v.] because; *aŋga mɛdza?ɛn hɛnaŋbhɛlle asappo·k?in tuk* I'm not eating because my stomach hurts.

*hɛnchiŋma?* vr., [< *hɛmma?* appraise] boast (lit. appraise oneself); *khɛŋ mana·n sa·rik hɛnduŋ* That man boasts terribly.

*hɛndik* pro., [< *hɛn* what + *-dik* ind.sf.] something, what thing.

*hɛndza?* n., lass, pre-pubescent child, lad (in the vocative used only to address pre-pubescent girls, not pre-pubescent males); cf. *cɛllɛkwa, cukpa, cukma, hɛndza?bitcha, hillikwa*.

*hɛndza?bitcha* n., [*hɛndza?* pre-pubescent girl + *bitcha* pre-pubescent boy; cf. *yɛmbitcha*] (pre-pubescent) children; this word finds a chiasmic parallel in Nep. *keṭākeṭī*.

*hɛpma?*, *-hɛr-/-hɛt-/-hɛ?l* vi., shatter, burst; *laŋpho·ŋa hɛrɛ* the football burst apart; *sisa hɛ?l* the bottle will shatter; *phɔgəna kɛŋaŋ hɛ?l lo·!* Hey, the *lohoṭā* will fall and shatter if you don't watch out!; cf. *ka·kma?*.

*hɛtkɛlɔ?ba* adj., [*hɛt* red + AP of *lɔ?ma?* appear] red; cf. *kuhɛtla, hɛttaŋba*.

*hɛttaŋba* adj.n., [*hɛt* red + *-taŋba* 2.1.2] red, red-kind; a red one; cf. *kuhɛtla, hɛtkɛlɔ?ba*.

*hi* n., shit.

*hi?* n., chaff, Nep. *bhus*.

*hi?e·ma?, hi-e·s-/hi-e·-* vt., shit, defaecate; cf. *hi-?e·tma?*.

*hi?e·tma?, hi-e·tt-/hi-e·t-/hi-e·?l* vt., [dir. < *hi?e·ma?* shit] shit on something or someone; *ku-mik-?in pu-lle hi?e·tt-u* (his-eye-ABS bird-ERG shit-3P) The bird shit in his eye; *ku-de·?l-o· hi?e·ttu* (his-clothes-LOC shit-3P) He shit himself; *kɛ--yukna-·n hi-gɛ-e·tt-w-i·?* (your-seat-ABS shit--2-shit-3P-Q) Did you shit on your chair?

*hidu?l* n., [< *hi* shit] intestines, guts, viscera; cf. *sappo·k, thɛŋya·n*.

*higa·kma* n., [< *hi* shit] oblong turd (Nep. *lẽḍ*).

*higho·mba* n., [< *hi* shit] ass, buttocks; cf. *mɔgɔk*.

*hik* vide *hikma?, lɔ?ma?* (3).

*hikkɛlɔ?ba* adj., [*hik* green + AP of *lɔ?ma?* appear] green; cf. *kuhikla, hiktaŋba*.

*hikma?, -hikt-/-hik-* vi., 1) feel close, smothered, stuffy, stifled; experience tightness in the chest; *kɛ-hik-i·?* (2-stifle-Q) Are you feeling tight in the chest?; *tɔkle hiktaŋ* I choked on the rice; 2) in the expression *-sɔkma hik lɔ?ma?, -lɔ?r-/ -lɔ?-: sɛndik ku-sɔkma hik lɔ?r-ɛ* (at_night 3--breath stifle get-PT) He had difficulty breathing last night, cf. *lɔ?ma?* (3).

*hiktaŋba* adj., [*hik* green + *-taŋba* 2.1.2] green, green-kind; a green one; cf. *kuhikla, hikkɛlɔ?ba*.

*hikwa* n., frost.

*hillik, hilliklik, hillikcɛllɛk* adj.adv., adolescent, boisterous, playful; *sa·rik hilliklik mɛlɔ?* They're very playful, *hillikcɛllɛk mɛlɔ?* They are boisterous; cf. *hillikwa*.

*hillikcɛllɛk* vide *hillik*.

*hilliklik* vide *hillik*.

*hillikwa* n., adolescence, puberty; playfulness; *kuhillikwa nɛ· racə* She appears to have attained puberty; cf. *cɛllɛkwa, hillikcɛllɛk, kɛpma?* (3), *kɛpma?* (3).

*hilo·* n., [< Nep. *hilo*] mud.

*him* n., house, home.

*him kɛho·ppa* n. + vt., [*him* house + AP of *ho·pma?* not to be] destitute, indigent, homeless; Nep. *sukumbāsī*.

*himma?, -hips-/-him-* vide *-luŋma himma?*.

*hina·nde·* adj., [*hi* shit + *na·nde·* < *na·mma·?* smear onto (a human body)] full-of-shit; *kɔŋ a·kdaŋba hina·nde· məna·n ni? gɔ·!* What a full-of-shit person this is!

*hiŋma?, -hiŋ-* vi., be alive, live; *kɛhiŋ kɛnchinɛn* You'll

live; you won't die; cf. *hiŋma?*.

*hiŋma?*, *-hiŋs-/-hiŋ-* vt., [caus. < *hiŋma?* live] rear, raise (livestock, children).

*hipma?*, *-hipt-/-hip-* vt., hit, strike; cf. *-nbo· hipma?*.

*hira* n., vagina.

*hiramurik* n., [*hira* vagina + *murik* body hair] female pubic hair.

*hisa·b* n., [< Nep. < Arabic] mathematics, arithmetic.

*hi·ma?*, *-hi·r-/-hi·-* vi., vide *-niŋwa hi·ma?* (vi.).

*hi·ma?*, *-hi·s-/-hi·-* vt., 1) turn about, head off and divert, make someone or some animal go in the other direction, turn someone or some animal around; *mɛnda? hisuŋ* I turned the goat around (i.e., I made it go the other way); 2) *pa·n hi·ma?* make a parry (in speech), talk back, be sassy, smart or impertinent; *pa·nle* (word-INST) *hi·ma?* retort; *pa·nle hi·suŋ* I retorted; 3) *niŋwa hi·ma?*, *-hi·s-/-hi·-* vide *-niŋwa hi·ma?* (vt.).

*hi·mma?*, *-hi·nd-/-hi·n-* vi., be very disappointed, have a bad experience, be disillusioned, be let down, become disenchanted (with infinitive) *phidim pe·kma? mɛhi·ndɛ hɛnaŋbhɛlle sa·rik namille tɔrusi. lam?o· hɛnaŋ iŋm? cam? mɛngho·sun. hɛkyaŋ mɛhi·ndɛ*. They had a bad experience going to *Phidim* because they were severely scorched by the sun. They could find nothing to buy or eat on the way. So they are disenchanted. (i.e. They shall not go to *Phidim* again).

*hi·pma?*, *-hi·b-/-hi·p-* vi., be or get planed with a *phɛdza*, be scraped off (of an outer layer or pellicle); 2) vt., plane, scrape off (an outer layer); *hi·buŋ* I'm scraping/planing.

*hi·pma?*, *-hi·pt-/-hi·p-* vt., keep and raise a sacrificial animal in honour of deity (sacrificial animals, once designated as such, may not be bartered or sold); *khɛŋ phak?in hi·ptumbe* We are raising that pig as a sacrificial animal [in honour of a deity]; *sammaŋ?o· wa? hi·pm?naba rɔk wa·* [That] chicken is being kept exclusively as a sacrificial animal for the deity.

*hi·pma?*, *-hi·pt-/-hi·p-* vide *luŋma hi·pma?*.

*hi·siŋma?* vr., [< *hi·ma?*, q.v.] turn about, look back, look around; *hi·siŋaŋ ɔ·mɔttuŋ* I turned around and looked; *hi·siŋɛ?!* Turn around!/Look back!

*ho·?* n., furuncle, abcess; cf. *lɔ·mma?*, *mikwa*, *phimma?*, *subaho·?*.

*ho·mbrikwa* n., [< *wa* water] sweat.

*ho·mma?*,  *-ho·ps-/-ho·m-*   vt., insert the *migho·mbe·* into the used fire laying it diagonally across one of the *ha?luŋ* for support; cf. *migho·mbe·*; cf. *ha?luŋ*.

*ho·ndge·k*  vide *hɔ·ndge·k*.

*ho·ŋma?*,  *-ho·ks-/-ho·ŋ-*   vt., overturn, turn over, spill out.

*ho·pma?*,  *-ho·pt-/-ho·p-*   vi., not to be, not to exist, not to be available; the negative counterpart of existential 'to be' *wa·ma?*, vide 3.2.

*ho·pma?*,  *-ho·pt-/-ho·p-*   vt., inhale (with *sɔkma* 'breath', *suri?l* 'wind), toke; take a draw, drag or puff (whilst smoking); cf. *pi·pma?*.

*ho·pm?naba*  n., [nominalized passive part. of *ho·pma?* 'to toke'] Limbu cigarette (freshly crumbled tobacco rolled in a piece of *ma·ksip* or corncob husk); Nepali cigarette or *biḍī*; Western cigarette.

*ho·rik*  n., skin, peel, shell, integument, bark; cf. *saho·rik*, *siŋhɔk*.

*hɔ?ma?ŋ*  n., sleep, the state of being asleep; (with the locative) *hɔ?ma?ŋ-?o· mɛ-ba·?l* (sleep-LOC nsAS-talk) They talk in their sleep; cf. *imma?*, *ipmna*, *kha?l*, *mi?*, *mikluŋ*.

*hɔ?pɛ?l*  adv., on one's back; *hɔ?pɛ?l im* He sleeps on his back; cf. *cyaŋya*, *lɛrɛhaŋ*, *sa·mbo·n*.

*hɔk*  n., cortex, crust, rind, husk.

*hɔmma?*,  *-hɔnd-/-hɔn-*   vi., be bloated all over one's body, suffer from dropsy.

*hɔmma?*,  *-hɔnd-/-hɔn-*   vt., [dir. < *hɔ·pma?* burst open] open (door *lamdhe·?l*, bag *su?wa*); *lamdhe·?l-in hɔnd-ɛ?!* (door-ABS open-IMP) Open the door!; cf. *pha·ŋma?*, *thɛ·ŋma?*.

*hɔŋ*  n., hole; often *kuhɔŋ*.

*hɔŋma?*,  *-hɔks-/-hɔŋ-*   vt., search, look for; (also used as an intimidating threat: *kɛhɔkswi·?* lit. 'are you looking for something?'); cf. *ko·pma?*.

*hɔŋma?*,  *-hɔŋ-*   vi., [< *hɔŋ* hole] be pierced, be bored (a hole); cf. *hɔŋma?*.

*hɔŋma?*,  *-hɔŋs-/-hɔŋ-*   vt., [caus. < *hɔŋma?* q.v.] pierce, bore a hole; *nɛghɔ mɛhɔŋsu* They pierced their ears; cf. *tɔ·ma?*.

*hɔŋsa*  n., soul, spirit, esp. spirit of the deceased, astral body; cf. *sam*.

*hɔpma?*,  *-hɔpt-/-hɔp-*   vt., wash; *kɛ-na-·n kɛ-hɔpt-u-wi·?* - *hɔpt-u-ŋ-ba* (your-face-ABS 2-wash-3P-Q - wash-3P-1sA-IPF) Did you wash your face? - I did.

*hɔtma?*,  *-hɔtt-/-hɔt-/-hɔ?l*   vt., fit, fit into; *su?wa?o·*

*hɔttui· mɛhɔttunni·?* Does it fit into the bag or not?

*hɔ·maʔ*, *-hɔ·s-/-hɔ·-*    vi., bark; *maktaŋba sa·rik hɔ·sɛ* Blacky barked terribly.

*hɔ·maʔ*, *-hɔ·s-/-hɔ·-*    vt., [caus. < *hɔ·pmaʔ* burst open] puncture, burst open.

*hɔ·mbrikwa* vide *ho·mbrikwa*.

*hɔ·ndge·k* n., lizard.

*hɔ·nɛ·maʔ*, *hɔ·-nɛ·s-/hɔ·-nɛ·-*    vi., [< *nɛ·maʔ* be situated] to be that way (of a situation).

*hɔ·pmaʔ*, *-hɔ·r-/-hɔ·t-/-hɔ·ʔl*    vi., burst open; *thɛŋ-u-ŋ--ba cwaʔl-in hɔ·r-ɛ* (inclose-3P-1sA-NOM water-ABS burst-PT) The water I bundled in has burst; cf. *hɔmmaʔ*, *hɔ·maʔ*.

*huʔma* n., [< PP *\*huʔmʔna* < *huʔmaʔ* stop, shut] cork, stopper; cf. *su·pna*.

*huʔmaʔ*, *-huʔr-/-huʔ-*    vt., stop up, shut, cork (a bottle), close (bottle, mouth; not a window); cf. *su·pmaʔ*.

*huʔmaʔ*, *-huʔr-/-huʔ-*    vt., bring and give, fetch and give; *tho·lam huʔraŋɛʔ!* Bring it to me from up there!

*huʔmaʔ*, *-huʔr-/-huʔ-*    vt., teach; cf. *humaʔ*.

*huʔsiŋmaʔ* vr., [< *huʔmaʔ* teach] 1) learn, teach oneself; 2) teach each other.

*huk* n., arm, hand.

*hukco·ʔl* n., [*huk* hand, arm + *\*co·ʔl* digit] finger; cf. *laŋco·ʔl*, *makco·ʔl*.

*hukma* n., [< *huk* hand, arm] thumb, cf. *hama*, *laŋma*.

*hukmik* n., [*huk* hand + *mik* eye] knuckles; cf. *laŋmik*.

*hukmurik* n., [*huk* hand, arm + *murik* body hair] arm hair, hand hair.

*hukpho·ŋa* n., [*huk* hand, arm + *pho·ŋa* ball] volleyball, cf. *laŋpho·ŋa*.

*huksik* n., [*huk* hand, arm + *sik* marrow] arm marrow; cf. *laŋsik*, *nɛsik*.

*huksup* n., [< *huk* hand] gloves; cf. *laŋsup*.

*huksupmaʔ*, *huk-supt-/huk-sup-* vt., [< *huk* hand] hand over.

*huktappe·* n., [< *huk* hand, arm] palm of the hand; cf. *laŋtappe·*.

*humaʔ*, *-hus-/-hu-*    vt., [caus. < *huʔmaʔ* teach] expose someone, discuss someone, disclose someone's secrets; *mɛhusu* They exposed him for what he really is.

*hummaʔ*, *-hum-* vi., sink (into water); drown; *cwaʔlo· humɛ* It sank into the water; cf. *hummaʔ*, *mi·kmaʔ*.

*hummaʔ*, *-hums-/-hum-*    vt., [caus. < *hummaʔ* sink] drown, cause to sink, dunk under (in water or mud).

*humsiŋmaʔ* vr., [< *hummaʔ* sink] go underwater; drown one-

self.

*huŋma?,* *-huŋ-* vt., pay; *aŋga iŋuŋ, khɛnɛ? kɛhuŋwi·?* I'll buy it, will you pay for it?

*hupma?,* *-hutt-/-hut-/-hu?1* vt., rub, scrub (with soap, oil, ashes); cf. *imma?.*

*hu·p* n., knot; cf. *idzige·k.*

*hu·pciki* n., [< *hu·p* knot] a tangled knot, knot which will not come undone, an untiable knot, a knot with Gordian propensities; *hu·pciki mɛm-ba·ŋ-ŋ?na* (tangled‿knot NP-come‿undone-NP) The tangled knot cannot be untangled.


*i*


*i* conj., or.

*i* n., a hair (on one's head); cf. *thɛge·k, murik.*

*i?lko·ma?,* *i?l-ko·s-/i?l-ko·-* vi. (or vt. with 3sP agreement) [< *ko·ma?* guard, watch over] guard the harvest (against livestock and rodents); *ɛn i?lkɛ-go·, ta·ndik aŋga i?lko·?ɛ* Today you guard the harvested grain. I'll watch over it tomorrow.

*i?re·?e·* clause-final part., probably; *wi?l tha i?re·?e·* It'll probably rain; *lam po·?lɛ i?re·?e·* I'll probably lose my way; cf. *i·ya, la?ba.*

*ida·k* n., [< *Pãcthare* Limbu] string, rope; cf. *sikki?, takpa.*

*idik* n., [< -*dik* period of day] a long period of time, a long time; cf. *biha·ndik, lɛndik, sɛndik, ta·ndik, yunchik.*

*idzige·k* n., knot, tangle; cf. *hu·p.*

*ighe·ŋma?,* *-i-ghe·ks-/i-ghe·ŋ-* vt., tie, make a knot; tie up; *kɛghuppaha?re ikɛmghe·ŋ* The robbers will come and tie you⁵ up!; *ikɛghe·kswi·?* Did you tie it up?

*ikla, itla* n., voice; *khɛnɛ? kɛ-ikla nu* (you⁵ your⁵-voice be‿alright) You have a nice voice; cf. *sitla.*

*ikma?,* *-ig-/-ik-* vt., roll up, make round, ball up.

*iksa-kha·mbe·k* n.poet., [< *Pãcthare* Limbu *iksaŋ* 'heavens, firmament' + *kha·mbe·k* 'the Earth'] the Earth, Nature, the land; *hile·-?o·-waŋ iksa-kha·mbe·k-?aŋ nuba nɛ·-rɔ co·k, me·n-ni·?* (*Hile*-LOC-also Nature--too good be‿situated-prG be, no-Q) In *Hile*, Nature is more beautiful as well, isn't it?; cf. *tɛlɔkkɛntaŋsaŋ.*

*iksa-kha·mbe·k-lo·kpe·-tɔrɔŋ* n.poet., [*iksa-kha·mbe·k* the Earth, *lo·kpe·* < *lo·kma?* run + *pe·kma?* go, *tɔrɔŋ* bridge] car, truck, automobile; cf. *tɛlɔk-taŋsaŋ-*

-*phɛ·be·-tɔrɔŋ*.

*iksaŋ* n., [< *Pãcthare* Limbu] heavens, firmament, sky; cf. *taŋsaŋ*.

*ilya* part., highlights preceding substantive; *kɛndzum ilya a·kkhya·k kɛdhuŋba* How big a drinker is your friend?

*im?im mɛpma?* vide *mɛpma?* (4).

*imbrikpa* n., lightning-bug, firefly (Nep. *jūnkīrī*, lit. moon-fly); cf. *o·dhiŋga*.

*imma?*, -*iks-/-iŋ-* vt., churn (*mɔi* whey < Nep. *mahī*).

*imma?*, -*ind-/-in-* I) vi., budge; *indɛ* It budged; II) vt., 1) scrub, massage; cf. *hupma?*; 2) push, push against, give a push with one's body, apply pressure against something with the weight of one's body; *hɛnaŋ kɛ?in?ɛ* Why are you pushing against me?; cf. *cɔmma?*, *imma?*, *phɛŋma?*, *phɛpma?*, *phimma?* (2,3), *phipma*.

*imma?*, -*ips-/-im-* vi., sleep; cf. *hɔ?ma?ŋ*, *ipma?*, *ipmna*, *kha?l*, *mi?*, *mikluŋ*, *yu·ma?*.

*imma?*, -*ips-/-im-* vt., [caus. < *imma?* scrub, push, budge] press (eg. *niŋgɛ* oil); cf. *cɔmma?*, *phɛŋma?*, *phɛpma?*, *phimma?* (2,3), *phipma*.

*immadɛn* n., [*imma?* sleep + -*dɛn* place] place to sleep, bedstead.

*imsiŋma?* vr., [< *imma?* sleep] take shelter for the night.

*iŋdo· mɛpma?* vide *mɛpma?* (5).

*iŋghɔŋ* n., [< *iŋma?* make known] news, message, letter.

*iŋlɛk* n., lie.

*inlɛkma?*, *iŋ-lɛkt-/-iŋ-lɛk-* vt., lie to someone, deceive; *inlɛktaŋ* He lied to me; cf. *co·kma?* (5).

*iŋma?*, -*iŋ-* vi., become known, spread (of news), become common knowledge; cf. *iŋma?*.

*iŋma?*, -*iŋ-* vt., buy, purchase.

*iŋma?*, -*iŋs-/-iŋ-* vt., [caus. < *iŋma?* become known] spread news, make known; slander, malign; *kɛrɛk iŋsu racə* I see he's told everything.

*iŋpho·mma?*, *iŋ-pho·nd-/iŋ-pho·n-* vt., [*iŋma?* make known + *pho·mma?* toss] call to someone at a distance in a loud voice; cf. *pa·ncha·tma?*, *u·pma?*.

*iŋwa?* n., [< *wa?* chicken] 1) cockerel, rooster; 2) dawn, daybreak; 3) the brighter arc of a rainbow (*namde·ŋgu*); cf. *wa?ma?ma*.

*ipma?*, -*ipt-/-ip-* vt., [dir. < *imma?* sleep] put to bed (esp. children); *asa·n iptuŋ* I put my child to bed.

*ipmna* n., [fossilized PP of *ipma?* put to sleep] sleep; (with *phɛmma?*, -*phɛ?r-/-phɛn-* vi., 'spoil' and

*numa?*, *-nur-/-nur-* 'be good'); *ku?ipmna phɛn lɜcə* He appears to be sleeping uneasily; *kɛ?ipmna nurɛ kusiŋ lɔ?rɛ* It looked as if though you were sleeping soundly; cf. *hɔ?ma?ŋ*, *imma?*, *kha?l*, *mi?*, *mikluŋ*.

*ipuŋ*  n., grave. A Limbu grave is characterized by an oblong gravestone situated upright above the place of the navel of the interred corpse; cf. *sambo·k*, *su?luŋ*.

*irɛmrɛmba*  adj., lazy.

*itchaba*  n., ego's child-in-law's father, i.e. father-in-law of ego's offspring.

*itchama*  n., ego's child-in-law's mother, i.e. mother-in-law of ego's offspring.

*itla*  vide *ikla*.

*i·*  emph.part., vide *e·*.

*i·*  interr.sf.

*i·ma?*, *-i·r-/-i·-*  vi., wander, loiter, stroll about, (of birds) fly about aimlessly; *mɔyaha? mɛ?i·yaŋ mɛya·k* The vultures are circling about overhead; vide *-niŋwa i·ma?*; cf. *i·ma?*.

*i·ma?*, *-i·s-/-i·-*  vt., [caus. < *i·ma?* wander about] cause to wander about, cause to roam about; roll something about, cause something to roll to and fro; *wa?ha? i·sumsimbe* Weᵖᵉ had the chickens roam about; *mɛnda?ha? i·suŋsiŋ* I wandered the goats about; *mɛ?i·saŋ* They showed me around.

*i·mbriŋ*  n., [< Pãcthare Limbu] vide *cɛmbi*.

*i·mma?*, *-i·nd-/-i·n-*  vt., imitate; *hɛnaŋ kɛ?i·n?ɛ* Why are you imitating me?

*i·nna*  emph.part., *khunɛ? kappo·ba?e·kke· tha·p i·nna* He really looks like an old man.

*i·ŋma?*, *-i·ks-/-i·ŋ-*  vt., brush one's teeth (*ha?* teeth); scrub, clean, sweep; *phɔgɛnaha? i·ksɛsɛ?!* Scrub the *lohoṭās!*; *kho·rɛ?lha? i·ksɛsɛ?!* Scrub the bowls!; *ta·m i·ŋma?* sweep the garbage.

*i·tchiŋma?*  vr., [< *i·tma?* think, recall] reflect, contemplate.

*i·tma?*, *-i·tt-/-i·t-/-i·?l*  vt., think; think of, contemplate, remember; *khɛnɛ? hɛn kɛ?i·ttu?* What do you think?; *i·ttɛ?!* remember!

*i·ya*  clause-final part., maybe; cf. *i?re·?e·*, *la?ba*.

**k**

*kabhri* adv., all over the place, everywhere; *kabhri kabhri kɛrɛk thɛgulle thɛktuwaŋ nɛ·* All the mountains here are situated, blocking the view in every direction.

*kabhriŋ* adv., [< *kabhri* everywhere] here and there, all over the place, everywhere; *kabhriŋ kɛrɛk ayuŋ* WePⁱ are sitting all over the place (i.e. the room is full of us).

*kacɛ·* n., sickle, smaller than a *waphe·ʔ*.

*kakpɛtta* adj., round.

*kakmo·ma* vide *kapmo·ma*.

*kamaʔ*, *-kas-/-ka-* vi., crow (subject: *iŋwaʔ* cockerel, rooster).

*kambal* n., [< Nep.] blanket; cf. *khammnaba*.

*kammaʔ*, *-kam-* vi., develop an attachment to, be or become dependent on (Nep. *palkinu*); *ko·co·ʔin kamɛ* The dog has grown attached [to us]; cf. *kammaʔ*, *khummaʔ*.

*kammaʔ*, *-kams-/-kam-* vt., [caus. < *kammaʔ* develop an attachment] break in (a dog), domesticate, cause to grow accustomed, habituate (Nep. *palkāunu*); *ko·co· -ʔin kams-u-ŋ* (dog-ABS habituate-3P-1sA) I have broken in the dog (i.e. made him feel that his home is with me); cf. *khummaʔ*.

*kammaʔ*, *-kams-/-kam-* vt., prepare, make ready, make; *lamdhe·ʔl siŋ-le kams-u-ŋ* (door wood-INST make-3P- -1sA) I have prepared a door of wood.

*kaŋmaʔ*, *-kaŋ-* vi., dry or warm up at the edge of a fire (of something animate or edible); *kaŋɛ* He has become dry/warmed up at the edge of the fire; *kɛgaŋɛi·ʔ - kaŋaŋ* Have you warmed up (from sitting by the fire)? - Yes, I have; cf. *a·mmaʔ*, *he·maʔ*, *kaŋmaʔ*.

*kaŋmaʔ*, *-kaŋs-/-kaŋ-* vt., [caus. < *kaŋmaʔ* q.v.] dry (something edible or clay slingshot pellets) at the edge of a fire; *amma-re sa kaŋs-u* (mother-ERG meat dry-3P) Mother is drying meat by the fire; *ko·rɛʔl kaŋsuŋsiŋ* I'm going to dry the clay pellets at the edge of the fire; cf. *ammaʔ*, *he·maʔ*, *kaŋsiŋmaʔ*.

*kaŋsiŋmaʔ* vr., [< *kaŋmaʔ* vt., dry at the edge of a fire] dry oneself by the fire (eg., after coming in from the rain); cf. *mica·ʔmaʔ*.

*kapmaʔ*, *-kar-/-kat-/kaʔl-* vt., carry, convey, transport by porter.

*kapmo·ma*, *kakmo·ma* adj.n.f., elderly, elderly woman;

*khunɛ? aŋga-nulle kakmo·ma co·k* She is older than me; cf. *kappo·ba*, *tumma?*.

*kappo·ba*  adj.n.m., an elderly man, a sage; elderly; cf. *kapmo·ma*.

*kapsaba*  n., twin.

*karəhi*  n., [< Nep. *karāhī*] wok.

*karuwa*  n., [< Nep. *karuvā*] bronze vessel closely resembling a *phɔgəna* (q.v.) but with a spout protruding from the side; the vessel is usually employed as a communal drinking vessel for cold water, whereby the spout is used to pour a stream of cold water into one's mouth but is itself not touched by the lips.

*kasaŋ*  vide *kɔsɔŋ*.

*ka·kma?*, -*ka·kt-*/-*ka·k-*  vi., crack, bust; *sisa ka·k* the bottle will crack; *lamdhe·?l ka·ktɛ* the door has cracked; cf. *hɛ?ma?*.

*ka·kma?*, -*ka·kt-*/-*ka·k-*  vt., step over; *kɛ?imba məna·n ka·ktuŋaŋ pe·gaŋ* I stepped over the sleeping man and went on; *yuŋɛ?! kɛga·ŋ la?ba*. Remain seated! He'll probably step over you; cf. *na·ŋma?*, *pipma?*.

*ka·kwa*  n., crow.

*ka·mma?*, -*ka·nd-*/-*ka·n-*  vi., be wounded; *kɔŋ məna·n ka·ndɛ* This man is wounded; cf. *kha·mma?*.

*ka·nde·*  n., tube-shaped vessel made of a segment of mature bamboo for holding liquids, esp. *nudak*; Nep. *ḍhuṅgro.*

*ka·ndruk*  n., [< Nep. *gundruk*] condiment consisting of, usually leafy, vegetables (eg. cabbage, garden radish) which have been boiled in a clay pot and then dessicated.

*ka·ŋ*  n., hoe, spade.

*ka·ŋma?*, -*ka·ŋs-*/-*ka·ŋ-*  vt., mould, form into balls or mounds, roll into shape.

*ka·phal*  n., [< Nep. *kāphal*] the long-leaved tree Merica esculenta with red fruit ripening in the month of *Baiśākh*; the fruit is green before it ripens.

*ke·?e·ba*  n.adj., 1) mute, dumb; cf. *kɛ·b*; 2) dumb, stupid.

*ke·b*  n., tiger.

*ke·dzɔŋ*  n., gale; tempest; *suri?l ke·dzɔŋ ta nɛ?l lo·! kɛniswi·?* Gale winds are about to start kicking up! Can you see?

*ke·llik*  adv., [< *ke·n-* < *ke·mma?* be long + *-llik* adv.sf.; cf. *nurik*, *yəllik*] at length.

*ke·mba*  adj., [< *ke·mma?* be tall] tall, long (non-human); cf. *tha·mba*.

*ke·mma?*, -*ke·nd-*/-*ke·n-*  vi., be tall, be long (both human

and non-human; cf. *ke·mba, tha·mba*); *khɛnɛ?nulle ke·n?ɛ* I'm taller than you; *kɛndhɛba hɛn habhya?-thik ke·ndɛi·?* What, was your grandfather only that tall?

*ke·pma?, ke·pt-/-ke·p-* vt., sit on something (inanimate patient); cf. *yukma?*.

*ke·pma?, -ke·tt-/-ke·t-/-ke·?l* vt., 1) put into, insert, put; 2) bring out and put down; put out (serve).

*ke·sra* n., [< Nep. *kesrā*] clove (of a bulb of garlic), segment (of a citrus fruit); cf. *kubɔk*.

*kɛ-* pf., your (singular).

*kɛ?e·?ba* adj., [AP of *e·?ma?* be bored] bored, spoiled.

*kɛba·ppa* adj., [AP of *pa·pma?* 'to speak'] eloquent, well-spoken, frank, of good character.

*kɛdamba* adj., wise, sage; *kappo·bɛn anche·saŋ kɛdamba co·gɛba, allɔsaŋ kappo·bɛn kɛdamba co·k* In olden times en elderly man used to be wise, now too an elderly man is wise.

*kɛdaŋba* adj., [<? AP *\*taŋma?*] (of a friend *cum*) easy-going, calm, intimate.

*kɛdimba* adj., [AP of *timma?*] full.

*kɛdhumba* adj., [AP of *thumma?*] diligent, industrious, full of stamina.

*kɛdhuŋba* adj., brave, heroic, bold, manly.

*kɛdhuŋba* adj., AP of *thuŋma?*, q.v.

*kɛdzippa* adj., AP of *citma?*, q.v.

*kɛdzi·ba* [< AP of *ci·kma?* cool off] I) adj. cold (of water or metal); Nep. *ciso*; II) n. 1) money (slang); 2) khukuri (vide *phɛdza*); *kɛdzi·bɛlle pi·rɛ?!* Give it to him with the khukuri! (i.e. Stab him!).

*kɛgo·ba* adj., AP of *ko·ma?*, q.v.

*kɛghikpa, kɛghyikpa* adj., AP of *khikma?*, q.v.

*kɛghi·mba* adj., AP of *khi·mma?*, q.v.

*kɛlimba* adj., AP of *limma?*, q.v.; cf. *limba*.

*kɛlippa* adj., AP of *lipma?*, q.v.

*kɛme·?ba* adj., [AP of *me·?ma?*] fat, pudgy, overweight.

*kɛmma?, -kɛmd-/-kɛm-* vt., hold someone pinned down to the ground with one's body; press someone down with one's body; *andzumin kɛmduŋ nɛ·suŋ* I held my friend pressed down to the ground; *immɛlle aŋga khɛŋha? kɛmduŋsiŋ* Whilst sleeping, I rolled over on top of [the other guys]; cf. *thamma?, phɔpma?*.

*kɛmɔkpa* adj., [AP of *mɔkma?* be hot] hot (of liquids, eg. *cwa?l* 'water', *pitnu* 'milk').

*kɛnaŋba* adj.n., [AP of *naŋma?* go crazy] crazy, berserk; lunatic, *kɛnaŋba mɜna* a crazyman.

*kɛniksiŋba* n.pej., [ref. AP of *nikma?* fuck] term of abuse.

*kɛni·ppa-kɛsappa*  adj.n., [AP of *ni·pma?* 'read', *sapma?* 'write'] literate, a literate man.

*kɛŋma?*, *-kɛŋ-*  vi., stumble and fall; *kɛgɛŋ lo·!* - *mɛgɛŋ-?ɛn* Watch out or you'll fall! - No, I won't!; cf. *kɛŋma?*, *mutthama?*.

*kɛŋma?*, *-kɛŋs-/-kɛŋ-*  vt., [caus. < *kɛŋma?* stumble and fall] cause someone to stumble and fall, trip someone; *kɛŋs-u de·s-u* (cause_to_stumble-3P dispatch-3P) He made him stumble and fall.

*kɛŋya*  adv.adj., in a waddling fashion, in the manner of a goose; *khɛŋ kɛme·?ba kɛŋya?aŋ kɛŋya a·tto· tha·-siŋ?* Where is that fatso waddling off to?

*kɛpma?*, *-kɛ?r-/-kɛt-/-kɛ?l*  vi., 1) arrive; *ta·ndik lɔk agɛ?l* We<sup>Pi</sup> won't get there till tomorrow; *kɔ?o· anchɛn kɛ?rɛtchige* We<sup>de</sup> got here yesterday; *aba·ŋ-phe·?o· ba·is gate·* (Nep. *bãis gate*: the 22nd) *kɛ?lɛ* I'll get back to my village on the twenty-second; cf. *kɛpma?*; 2) have been to a place, have gotten to a place; *mala·ya kɛngɛ?rɛnni·?* - *mɛn-gɛppaŋ* Haven't you ever been to Malaysia? - No, I haven't; 3) *mɛnchya kɛpma?*, *thaŋbɛn kɛpma?* attain adulthood, attain the age of a young lady, attain the age of a mature youth; *thaŋbɛn kɛ?rɛ rɔcə* He appears to have grown up into a young man; cf. *cɛllɛkwa*, *hillikwa*, *kɛpma?* vt. (3).

*kɛpma?*, *-kɛtt-/-kɛt-/-kɛ?l*  vt., [dir. < *kɛ?ma?* arrive] 1) get something or someone to a place; *kɛttu ta?ru* He got it here alright; 2) fulfill a promise; *kɛttuŋ* I'll fulfill my promise; 3) *mɛnchya kɛpma?*, *thaŋbɛn kɛpma?* raise children into young adults; *allɔ gɔ· kɛsa?ha? gɔ· thaŋbɛn mɛnchya kɛgɛttusi rɔcə* It appears you've raised your children into young ladies and young men (i.e. I see your children are already full grown); cf. *cɛllɛkwa*, *hillikwa*, *kɛpma?* vi. (3).

*kɛrɛk*  1) num., all, every; 2) n., everyone, everything.

*kɛrɛk-le*  adv., [*kɛrɛk* everyone, everything + *-le* INST] altogether.

*kɛso·ba*  AP of *so·ma?*.

*kɛsyutpa*  AP of *syutma?*, q.v.

*kɛ·b*  n., mute person; cf. *ke·?e·ba*.

*kɛ·bba*  vide *ke·?e·ba*.

*kɛ·pma?*, *-kɛ·pt-/-kɛ·p-*  vt., pinch; *khɛnɛ? kɛ·pnɛi·?* Shall I pinch you?; cf. *phipma?* (1).

*kərə*  conj., but.

*kə'tə?wa*  n., fern, frond.

*kidhi*     n., the Himalayan yellow-throated marten, Martes flavigula (Nep. *malsãpro*), with predominantly dark fur with some reddish colouration, a blond throat and a reddish, long, fluffy tail, alleged to feed on wild pears (Nep. *nãśpātī*) and other wild fruit and small prey, such as chickens, of which it is said to consume only the blood; in Limbu folklore the *kidhi* is considered to be a rapacious creature, whence the expression *kidhi lo·kma?* 'to be hungry'; *na·dha·mbi kidhi lo·ktεi· mεlo·ktεnni·?* (lit. Is the marten running on yonder slope or isn't it?) Are you hungry or aren't you?; cf. *se·?l la·kma?*.

*kikkrɔkna*     n., small black crested passerine bird with a black crest on the head and feathers of lighter colouration on the ventral side; Nep. *jurelī*; cf. *pe·kkrɔkna*.

*kitthɔk*     n., human fleas, Pulex irritans (Nep. *upiyã*).

*kima?*, *-kis-/-ki-*     vi., (with comitative complement) fear, be frightened; *so·ghanu kεgisεi·?* Were you afraid of the phantom?; *wa?nu ki?ε* I'm afraid of the chicken.

*kira*     n., [< Nep. *kīrā*] bug.

*ki·ma?*, *-ki·r-/-ki·-*     vi., decompose, rot, putrefy; cf. *ki·mma?*.

*ki·mma?*, *-ki·nd-/-ki·n-*     vt., [dir. < *ki·ma?* rot] putrefy, allow to rot; *cεmghik ki·nduŋ* I shall putrefy the soybean dish.

*ko·co·*     n., dog.

*ko·co·dɔk*     n., [*ko·co·* dog + *tɔk* cooked rice] dog food, leftover rice for the dog.

*ko·co·sa?l*     n., [*ko·co·* dog + *sa?l ~ sa?* child, offspring] puppy; cf. *luŋsa?l, mεnda?sa?l, myaŋsa?l, pusa?l, phaksa?l, wa?sa?l*.

*ko·co·-sidza*     n., [lit. dog-fly] small streamlined greyish black botflies of the family Œstridae that live in dogs' fur, burrowing into the skin.

*ko·dzi*     n., [< Nep. *gojī*] pocket.

*ko·kma?*, *-ko·kt-/-ko·k-*     vt., [dir. < *ko·kma?* q.v.] prop something up; *kε-gɔk-?in mε-yuŋ-nεn gɔrɔ luŋ-ille ko·kt-ε?!* (your-load-ABS NEG-sit-NEG if rock-INST prop_up-IMP) If your pack won't stay put, prop it up with a stone!

*ko·m*     n., jew's harp; Nep. *murcuṅgā, binãyo*.

*ko·ma?*, *-ko·s-/-ko·-*     vi., be hot (of substances and objects not undergoing combustion); *haŋwa ko·* The rice water is hot; cf. *haŋwama, le·kma?, mɔkma?*,

*ya·mma?*, *yɛmma?*.

*ko·ma?*, *-ko·s-/-ko·-*    vt., guard, care for, look after; *kɛdukpa mana·n ko·suŋ* I'm taking care of the sick man; *him ko·sɛ?!* Look after the house!/keep an eye on the house!

*ko·ŋma?*, *-ko·ks-/-ko·ŋ-*    vt., get oneself a pillow, use something as a pillow; *ko·ksɛ?!* get yourself a pillow!; *sira·ni ko·ksuŋ* I've got myself a pillow; cf. *ko·kma?*.

*ko·pma?*, *-ko·tt-/-ko·t-/-ko·?1*    vt., [< *Pãcthare* Limbu] look for, search; cf., *hoŋma?*.

*ko·rɛ?1*    n., clay slingshot pellet (Nep. *maṭyãgro*); vide *li?*.

*ko·si*    n., [< Nep. *kosī*] the *Kosī* River, the *Ta·mar*, q.v.

*ko·ṭha*    n., [< Nep. *koṭhā*] room.

*ko?o·*    adv., [*\*kot* proximal + *?o·* LOC] here.

*ko?tho·*    vide *kottho·*.

*ko?yo·*    vide *kot-yo·*.

*kobhrok*    adv., [ *\*kot* proximal + *rok* only] only this much, only that much.

*kok*    n., [< *kokma?* bear q.v.] load, pack, burden.

*kokma?*, *-kokt-/-kok-*    vi., grow stiff (due to the cold or to rigor mortis); *cuŋ-ille koktaŋ* I'm frozen stiff because of the cold.

*kokma?*, *-kokt-/-kok-*    vt., bear young (nonhuman agent), bring forth (*yaŋ* money, *kudza?* fruit); cf. *thapma?*.

*koksiŋ*, *kok*    n., the lumber tree Michelia chaupaca, characterized by long leaves, yellow flowers and bearing fruits in clusters; Nep. *cãp*, *cãpo*.

*kombe·la*    adv., [*koŋ* this + < Nep. *belā* period] at this time, presently.

*komma?*, *-kom-*    vt., graze (patient: livestock).

*komma?*, *-kond-/-kon-*    vt., cover on foot, walk, walk down; *kɛrɛk him konduŋsiŋ* I covered all the houses (cf. Dutch *aflopen* in, for example, *ik heb de hele stad afgelopen*); cf. *takomma?*.

*kopma?*, *-kott-/-kot-/-ko?1*    vt., have, possess; *ya·k kɛgottuwi·?* Have you got a gift?

*koŋ*    1) pro., he, she it (proximal); cf. *khɛŋ*; 2) dem., this.

*koŋma?*, *-koks-/-koŋ-*    vi., get unsure footing; *koks-aŋ-aŋ kɛŋ-aŋ* (get_unsure_footing-1sPS/PT-pfG stumble_ and_fall-1sPS/PT) My footing became unsure, and I stumbled and fell.

*koŋya·pma?*, *koŋ-ya·r-/-koŋ-ya·t-/koŋ-ya·?1*    vi., [*koŋ* this + *ya·pma?* be an amount] be this much, amount to

this much; cf. *a·kkhya·pma?*, *kɔŋya·ppa*, *khɛŋya·p-ma?*.

*kɔŋya·ppa* adj., [< *kɔŋya·pma?* be this much + *-pa* nom.sf.] this big, such a big (proximal); *kɔŋya·ppa co·gɛi· i khɛŋya·ppa?* Was it this big or that big?; cf. *kɔŋya·psa*, *khɛ?ya·ppa*, *maŋbhaya·ppa*.

*kɔŋya·psa* adj., [*kɔŋya·ppa* this much + *\*-sa* dim.df.] this small, such a small (proximal); cf. *kɔŋya·ppa*, *khɛŋya·psa*.

*kɔsɔŋ*, *kasaŋ* adj., new.

*kɔsɔŋnuba* adj., [*kɔsɔŋ* new + *nuba* good] fresh.

*kɔtna* adv., [*\*kɔt* proximal + *na·* there] over here, hither; *kɔtna ɔ·mɔttɛ?!* Look this way!; *kɔtna phɛ?rɛ?!* Come here!

*kɔtnana?* adv., [< *kɔtna* hither] hither, to this side, on the near side.

*kɔtna·dha·mbi* adv., [*\*kɔt* proximal + *na·dha·mbi*, q.v.] on this slope, on this slope (of this mountain ridge); cf. *na·dha·mbi*, *khɛtna·dha·mbi*.

*kɔtna·nhaŋ* adv., [*kɔtna* hither + *\*nahaŋ* direction] to this side; *na·nhaŋ kɔtna·nhaŋ* on this side and that, next to each other, juxtaposed.

*kɔtna·sime·n* adv., [< *kɔtna* here] adjacent, near, proximal; neighbouring; Nep. *allo*, *vallo*; cf. *na·sime·n*, *khɛtna·sime·n*.

*kɔttho·* adv., [*\*kɔt* proximal + *tho·* up, above] up here.

*kɔt-yo·* adv., [*\*kɔt* proximal + *yo·* below, down] down here.

*kɔ·* adj., (slang) wow, the best; *kɔŋ thi·n kɔ· co·k* This millet beer is the best.

*ku-* pf., his, its, her.

*ku?wa?* vide *khu?wa?*.

*kube·* adv., begin to, start; *kube· uksu* He began to pull; *kube· mɛttu* He began to speak; cf. *he·kma?*.

*kube·sɛ?* vide *pe·sɛ?*.

*kubo·ŋ* vide *po·ŋ*.

*kubɔk* n., bulb (of onion or garlic); Nep. *poṭī*; cf. *kesra*.

*kubuŋ* n., peas, beans, gram.

*kubutthuŋwa* vide *putthuŋwa*.

*kubhaŋ kubhaŋ* adv., piled on top of each other, in a heap, in a pile; *kubhaŋ kubhaŋ yuksuŋ* I've put it all in one pile.

*kubhɔra* adj.n., [< *phɔ* white + colour affixes] white; cf. *phɔdaŋba*, *phɔgɛlɔ?ba*.

*kubhrɛ·ŋ* vide *kumbhrɛ·ŋ*.

*kuca* adj.adv., true, real; *kuca-?i·?* really?; *khɛŋ kuca nuba co·k* That's really good.

*kucase·* adv., [< *kuca* true, real + *-se·* emph.part.] veri-

ly, genuinely.

*kudi?-kudi?*   adv., in single file, in a queue; *cumse·*, *a·tto· kudi?-kudi? kedha·netchi?* Friends, where are you<sup>d</sup> off to in single file?

*kudza*   n., [< *cama?* eat] food.

*kudza?*   n., 1) fruit; *kudza? po?1-1i· me-bot-nen-ni·?* (fruit hang-Q NEG-hang-NEG-Q) Is there already fruit in the tree or not?; 2) meat (as opposed to gravy), *kudza?nu kugwa* meat and gravy.

*kudzanuma?*, *kudza-nur-/kudza-nu-*   vi., [*kudza* food + *numa?* be alright] taste delicious; be delicious (esp. food); *mi·n kudzanu, mencha?e·!* The fire is delicious (i.e. delightfully warm), grandchild!

*kudzaphemma?*, *kudza-phe?r-/kudza-phen-*   vi., [*kudza* food + *phemma?* spoil; cf. *kusaphemma?*, *phe?1a?ma?*, *phe?-1a·mma?*] taste bad, taste awful; *kon tok?in sa·rik kudzaphen* This rice really tastes awful.

*kudzon*   postp., [with petrified 3s poss.pf. *ku-*] above; *khen thegulle kudzon?o· kha·kmi?1 po?1* There's a cloud hanging above that mountain; cf. *sikto·?*.

*kugwa*   n., juice; gravy.

*kughi·n*   vide *khi·n*.

*kuhetla*   adj.n., [< *het* red + colour affixes] red (includes orange and brown); cf. *hettanba, hetkelo?ba*.

*kuhi?*   vide *hi?*.

*kuhikla*   adj.n., [< *hik* green + colour affixes] green (includes blue and gold, not yellow); *kuhikla a·phis* [< Eng. office] military base, military post, barracks; cf. *hiktanba, hikkelo?ba*; *sahi?1, omdanba*.

*kuhon*   vide *hon*.

*kuhu?ma*   vide *hu?ma*.

*kuhu·p*   vide *hu·p*.

*kule·m*, *kule·n*   n., lots, alot, a bunch.

*kulekwa*   n., [*ku-* its + *lekwa* exchange] exchange, something given in exchange for something else, barter value.

*kumakla*   adj.n., [*mak* black + colour affixes] black; cf. *maktanba, makkelo?ba*.

*kumanwaye?1*   adj., [with lexicalized 3s pf. *ku-*] raw, uncooked; *kumanwaye?1 sa* raw meat; cf. *kusonwaye?1*.

*kumbhre·n*, *kumbhre·n*   n., [with lexicalized 3s possessive pf. *ku-*] one-half; *sumsi mukte kumbhre·n* It's half past three.

*kumma?*, *-kums-/-kum-*   vt., avenge oneself one someone, get back at someone.

*kunda*   n., large metallic or earthenware jug; Nep. *gāgrī*.

*kundri*   vide *gundri*.

*kundzum* n., [*ku-* his + *-ndzum* friend] term of address used without the vocative case ending, stylistically marked, facetious or jovial, as opposed to *andzum* 'my friend'; *e· kundzum!* Hey, fellow!, Hey, guy!

*kuŋba, -ŋguŋba-* n., 1) ego's wife's elder or younger brother, 2) ego's elder or younger sister's husband (male speaking).

*kupma?, -kupt-/-kup-* vt., 'take under one's wing', afford maternal protection (in addition to fowl, also said of dogs protecting their pups, goats protecting their kids, wolves their whelps, and so forth; only said facetiously of human beings) *kuptusiba* [The chicken] took [her chicks] under her wing; *kumakla kuptu* [Blacky's mother] went to stand by Blacky (her puppy).

*kusanuma?, kusa-nur-/kusa-nu-* vi., [< *numa?* be good] be fun, be easy, go well; *kusanurɛrɔ ya·mbɔkha? su?m?na* WePᵉ completed the tasks with great ease; cf. *kusaphɛmma?*.

*kusaphɛmma?, kusa-phɛ?r-/kusa-phɛn-* vi., [< *phɛmma?* spoil; cf. *kudzaphɛmma?, phɛ?la?ma?, phɛ?la·mma?*] be a disappointment, not be any fun, be difficult, be arduous; *kusaphɛ?rɛrɔ ya·mbɔkha? suruŋ* I completed the tasks with great difficulties, with many setbacks; cf. *kusanuma?*.

*kusik* vide *sik*.

*kusik* vide *sikto·?*.

*kusikto·?* vide *sikto·?*.

*kusiŋ* adv., like, as; cf. *e·kke·*.

*kusiŋdaŋba* adj., [*kusiŋ* like + *-taŋba* 2.1.2] someone like x, something like x; *khɛnɛ? kusiŋdaŋba rɔcə* He appears to be someone like you.

*kusiŋni·pma?, kusiŋ-ni·tt-/kusiŋ-ni·t-/kusiŋ-ni·?l* vt., [*kusiŋ* like, as + *ni·pma?* read, study] understand, comprehend, recognize, be familiar with.

*kuso·?l* vide *so·?l* 'fat'.

*kusɔŋwayɛ?l* adj., [with lexicalized 3s pf. *ku-*] cooked, not raw; cf. *kumaŋwayɛ?l*.

*kusup·na* vide *su·pna*.

*kuwa* n., [< Nep. *kuvā*] vide *wakho·mba*.

*ku·ma?, -kuy-/-ku·-* vt., carry on one's back, esp. suspended from a *kha?nam* lashed across one's forehead; *cumluŋ?o· kɔk kuyuŋ* I carried [my] load to the bazar; cf. *ku·tma?, pɔŋma?*.

*ku·siŋma?* vr., [< *ku·ma?* carry on one's back] load or strap onto one's back in order to carry.

*ku·tma?, -ku·tt-/-ku·t-/-ku·?l* vt., [dir. < *ku·ma?* carry

on one's back] have someone carry a load on one's back; *mɛgu·?lɛ* They'll have me carry it/They'll have me convey it on my back.

*kwa?*, *-ŋgwa?*   n., 1) ego's maternal uncle, 2) husband of ego's paternal aunt.

*kyakma?*, *-kyakt-/-kyak-*   vi., be put.

*kyakpa*   adj., [< *kyakma?* be put, *-pa* nom.sf.] situated, positioned; *bhitra kyakpa məna·n se·ndo·sɛ? 'e·n kɛhɔksuba'* Ask the man inside whom he is looking for.

*kyaŋ*   n., large wooden pestle about one metre in length and club-shaped at either end (Nep. *musal*, *muslī*), used in conjunction with a *sumba·ŋ*.

*kye·*   n., large oblong Limbu drum, worn up front hanging at about abdominal height, suspended diagonally from a strap about the neck, played at official Limbu ceremonies, rituals and functions, esp. in the form of the *kye·la·ŋma?* (q.v.); In Nepali the Limbu drum is known as the *cyābruṅ*.

*kye·la·ŋma?*, *kye·-la·ks-/kye·-la·ŋ-*   vi., [< *kye·* Limbu drum or *cyābruṅ* + *la·ŋma?* dance, cf. *ya?la·kma?*, *la·ŋma?*] perform the Limbu drum-dance or (Nep.) *cyābruṅ-nāc*; performed by men at wedding ceremonies, the *kye·la·ŋma?* is a stately and solemn dance consisting of synchronized stepping patterns performed by a group of two or more men whilst pounding the *kye·* (q.v.); the men take shifts performing the dance because the dance must be performed continuously throughout the duration of the marriage which lasts three days.

## kh

*kha?1*   n., morning stupor; with *pa·ŋma?* 'become undone': wake up refreshed, wake up bright-eyed and bushy-tailed; *ɛn agha?l pa·ksɛ* Today I woke up refreshed and invigorated; *hara kugha?l abhɛlle·saŋ mɛba·ŋ-nɛn* She never gets up on the right side of bed, It always takes her quite a while to get into a civil mood in the morning; *kugha?l mɛmba·ŋ?e· wa·* He's not yet over his morning stupor, He's not quite wide awake yet; cf. *hɔ?ma?ŋ*, *imma?*, *ipmna*, *mi?*, *mikluŋ*.

*kha?o·tma?*, *kha?-o·tt-/kha?-o·t-/kha?-o·?l*   vi., [< *o·tma?* shine, q.v.] dawn, get light at daybreak.

*kha?uma?*, *kha-us-/kha-u-*   vt., [*uma?* direct, lead] deliver

a speech; *khamɛ?usu* They gave speeches.

*kha?nam*    n., wicker-strap lashed across one's forehead from which a *thɔŋga* (q.v.) is suspended and carried on one's back.

*khada·mma?, kha-da·m-*    vi., get dark (outside during night-fall); *khada·m* it is getting dark outside; *khada·-mɛ* night has fallen; cf. *khadha·pma?*.

*khadha·pma?, kha-dha·pt-/kha-dha·p-*    vt., [dir. < *khada·m-ma?* get dark] get dark on somebody, get dark on something; *kɛmik khadha·ptuwi· khamɛdha·ptunni·?* Did you it get black before your eyes or not?, i.e. Did you see stars? (said to someone who has just knocked his head badly against the door post); *saŋkra·nti mɛŋgɛ?le· lam?o· khadha·ptaŋ* Not having gotten to *Sãkrãntĩ*, it got dark on me out on the road.

*khamakma?, -kha-makt-/-kha-mak-*    vi., [< *mak* black] get dark (either inside or outside; cf. *khada·mma?*).

*khamda·k*    n., hard palate.

*khamda·?1*    n., spider.

*khamda·tma*    n.f., spider.

*khamma-yaŋsaŋ*    n., the realm or dwelling place of good spirits (*khɛmma*) in the hereafter.

*khamma?, -khaps-/-kham-*    vt., cover oneself with bed-clothes (patient: eg. *sirak* quilt, *kambal* blanket, *pɔ·tthaŋ* shawl) when retiring to bed, tuck oneself in under some covering; *ammare sirak khapsu* Mother covered herself with a quilt; *im?ɛlle pɔ·tthaŋ khapsuŋ* When I go to sleep, I cover myself with a *pachyaurã*; cf. *khapma?, khu·ŋma?*.

*khammnaba*    n., [nominalized PP of *khamma?*, q.v.] blanket, quilt, *sirak* q.v.

*khapma?, -khab-/-khap-*    vt., pick up; cf. *khɔma?*.

*khapma?, -khapt-/-khap-*    vt., [dir. < *khamma?* cover one-self with bedclothes] 1) tuck someone in, cover someone or something with bedclothes; *aŋga andzum-in pɔ·tthaŋille khaptuŋba* I've tucked my friend in under the *pachyaurã*; 2) thatch (a roof); *liŋ mɛghaptuba* They're re-thatching the roof; *him khapma? po·ŋ* The house must be re-thatched.

*khayã*    n., [< Nep. *khayã̃, khoyo* maize cob without the ker-nels] maize cob or corn cob without the kernels; cf. *phe·*.

*kha·kkha·kwa*    adj., [< *kha·kma?*, q.v.] hard (consistency); *ahi·n kha·kkha·kwa co·k* my shit is hard; cf. *cun-dzundaŋba*.

*kha·kma?, -kha·kt-/-kha·k-*    vt.imp., harden, solidify, con-

geal, coagulate; *ahi·n kha·ktu* my shit has turned hard; cf. *takma?*.

*kha·kmi?l*  n., [< *kha·kma?* condense; cf. *kha·kmitpa*, *kha·kwɛ?l*, *le·gha·k*, *migha·k*, *mi-kho·?*, *namdzi?kho·?*, *nɛhikkhɔk*] cloud; *kha·kmi?l-le nam-min thɛkt-u* (cloud-ERG sun-ABS obscure-3P) the cloud obscured the sun.

*kha·kmitpa?*  n., [< *kha·kmi?l* cloud < *kha·kma?* condense] mist; *na·dha·mbi pa·ŋphe·?-?o· kha·kmi?lpa? po·g-ɛ* (over_there_on_the_facing_slope village-LOC mist rise-PT) over there on the facing slope mist has enshrouded the village.

*kha·kwɛ?l*  n., [< *kha·kma?* congeal; cf. *kha·kmi?l*, *kha·kmitpa*, *le·gha·k*, *migha·k*, *mi-kho·?*, *namdzi?kho·?*, *nɛhikkhɔk*] phlegm, coughed-up sticky mucus; cf. *ɔ·ma?*.

*kha·l*  n., [< Nep. *khāl*] sort, type.

*kha·m*  n., clay, soil.

*kha·ma?*, *-kha·s-/-kha·-*  vi., be sated (with food), be full; *kha·s-aŋ tims-aŋ* (be_sated-1sPS/PT be_filled-1sPS/PT) I'm quite full; cf. *tɛkma?*, *ya·kma?*, *yo·ma?*; cf. *kha·pma?*.

*kha·mbaŋ*  n., [< *kha·m* clay, dirt, soil] the Earth; cf. *kha·mbe·k*.

*kha·mbe·k*  n., [< *kha·m* clay, dirt, soil] the Earth; cf. *kha·mbaŋ*.

*kha·mbɔkna*  n., [< *kha·m* clay, soil] dirt clod, clod of soil.

*kha·mbhu?la*  n., [< *kha·m* clay + *phu?* (*phɔ ~ phu?*) white + *-la* colour suffix] naturally occurring, dazzlingly white clay for making white adobe; cf. *kha·mhɛt-la*, *mikphu?la*.

*kha·mdzi?*  n., [*kha·m* clay + *ci?* bit] bits of clay, little clods of earth; cf. *kha·mbɔkna*, *luŋdzi?*.

*kha·mhɛtla*  n., [< *kha·m* clay + *hɛt* red + *-la* colour suffix] naturally occurring red clay for making red adobe; cf. *kha·mbhu?la*.

*kha·mkunda*  n., [*kha·m* clay + *kunda* q.v.] earthenware *kunda*.

*kha·mma?*, *-kha·md-/-kha·m-*  vt., chew; *kha·mdurɔ ya·k* He's chewing [on it]; cf. *yɛ·ŋma?*.

*kha·mma?*, *-kha·nd-/-kha·n-*  vt., [caus. < *ka·mma?* be wounded] wound someone; *mɛgha·ndu* They wounded him.

*kha·mma?*, *-kha·ps-/-kha·m-*  vi., yawn.

*kha·pma?*, *-kha·tt-/-kha·t-/-kha·?l*  vt., [dir. < *kha·ma?* be sated] satiate someone with food.

*khe·*  n., 1) white yam; 2) potato; cf. *paŋghi*.

*khe·dɛʔl* n., 1) the ground powder of a certain tuber, an essential ingredient in the preparation of *thi·* which, in addition to *khɛsuŋ*, serves to give the *thi·* its characteristic savour; 2) poet., same as *thi·*; *khe·dɛʔl thuŋuba* He's been drinking millet beer.

*khe·dɛtmaʔ*, *khe·-dɛtt-/khe·-dɛt-/khe·-dɛʔl* vt., add *khe·-dɛʔl*, season with *khe·dɛʔl*.

*khe·kya·ʔ* n., fluted earthenware pot placed directly onto the fire, in which to pop corn; cf. *phudzik*.

*khe·maʔ*, *-khe·y-(-khe·s-)/-khe·-* vi., argue, quarrel; fight (physically or verbally); *aŋga co·g-u-ŋ-ille mɛ-ghe·y-ɛ* (I do-3P-1sA-INST nsAS-fight-PT) Because of what I did they fought; cf. *khe·pmaʔ*, *thɔkmaʔ*.

*khe·mba* n., large spherical clay earthenware pot with a tight narrow neck and evoluted aperture.

*khe·ŋ* n., fishing rod.

*khe·ŋmaʔ*, *khe·ks-/-khe·ŋ-* 1) vi., be or get tied up; *khe·ksɛ* He got tied up; 2) vt., tie, tie up; *sikki-lle khe·ksu* He tied it up with string; *piʔlin mɛghe·ksu* They tied the cow up; *mɛghe·ksaŋ* They've tied me up!

*khe·ŋmaʔ*, *-khe·ŋs-/-khe·ŋ-* vt., eat foodstuffs which must be taken out of a shell, pod or peel; *thɛmmʔnaba waʔdhi·nin*, *cɛmbi·n*, *badamin*, *sərɔŋ aghe·ŋsumsim* WePⁱ eat boiled eggs, soybeans, peanuts, lemons; cf. Dutch *oppeuzelen*.

*khe·pmaʔ*, *-khe·pt-/-khe·p-* vt., yoke (cattle for ploughing); *khɛptuŋsiŋ* I've yoked them.

*khe·pmaʔ*, *-khe·tt-/-khe·t-/-khe·ʔl* vt., [dir. < *khe·maʔ* quarrel] argue about something (= patient), fight about something, dispute something.

*khe·su·maʔ*, *khe·suʔmaʔ* n., bee.

*khe·suŋ* vide *khɛsuŋ*.

*khe·waʔ* n., [< *waʔ* chicken] the red jungle fowl Gallus gallus, predecessor of all domesticated chickens; cf. *tikwaʔ*.

*khɛʔmaʔ*, *-khɛʔr-/-khɛʔ-* vt., 1) (said of the *wase·ri* or water nymph) afflict someone by causing infected wounds, furuncles, carbuncles or tooth decay; *wase·ri-lle kɛghɛʔrɛi·ʔ* Have you been afflicted by the water nymph?; *wase·ri aha·n khɛʔru* The water nymph has afflicted my tooth; *wakho·mbaʔo· mɛm-be·kʔɛʔ*, *wase·ri kɛghɛʔ* Don't go to the *kuvā*, the water nymph will afflict you!; 2) make ill, cause to be ill (said of an ingested foodstuff through

non-observance of a ritual or food taboo); *kɛdzɔ gɔrɔ khɛŋle kɛghɛʔ* If you eat it, it'll make you sick; *sa-lle khɛʔraŋ* I have fallen ill due to the meat (viz. by non-observance of *coˑʔcoˑʔ mɛpmaʔ* whilst eating that meat).

*khɛʔoˑ*    adv., [*\*khɛʔ* non-proximal + *ʔoˑ* LOC] there, in that place.

*khɛʔsiŋmaʔ*    vr., [< *khɛʔmaʔ* afflict] (said of the *waseˑri*) be active; *waseˑri khɛʔsiŋ* The water nymph is active (i.e. it is dangerous to make use of the *wakhoˑmba* for the time being); cf. *waseˑri*.

*khɛʔthoˑ*    vide *khɛtthoˑ*.

*khɛʔyoˑ*    adv., [*\*khɛʔ* non-proximal + *yoˑ* below] down there.

*khɛbɔk*    n., crab, crayfish, freshwater lobster, crustacean.

*khɛkmaʔ*, *-khɛkt-/-khɛk-*    vi., spark, ignite (eg., *salaˑi* match, *cɔkmak* flint); cf. *khɛŋmaʔ*.

*khɛkmaʔ*, *khɛkt-/-khɛk-*    vi., dry (meat); *sa-ˑn khɛkt-ɛ* (meat-ABS dry-PT) The meat has dried; cf. *khɛŋmaʔ*, *sakhɛkya*.

*khɛmghɛmaŋ laˑpmaʔ* or *khɛmghɛmaŋ mɛllaˑpmaʔ*, *-laˑpt-/ -laˑp-*    vt., [< *khɛmmaʔ* hear] (used in the negative only) ignore someone, pretend not to hear; *paˑnchaˑttaŋsaŋ khɛmghɛmaŋ mɛllaˑppaŋ* Even though he started speaking to me, I pretended not to hear him; *hɛnaŋ khɛmghɛmaŋ kɛnlaˑpʔɛmba?* Why are you pretending not to hear me?; cf. *niniyaŋ laˑpmaʔ*.

*khɛmma*    n., a good spirit, i.e. the disincarnate spirit or soul of a deceased person who has not perpetrated grievously evil deeds in his life; the *khɛmma* of a deceased person passes on into *khamma-yaŋsaŋ*; cf. *hɔŋsa*.

*khɛmmaʔ*, *-khɛmd-/-khɛm-*    vt., suit, flatter, look good in; *kɔŋ simille khɛnɛʔ saˑrik kɛghɛm* This dress suits you very well, this dress looks good on you; *mɛnchamdiŋ-yamnaˑpmi meˑʔeˑ khaˑmbeˑk mɛghɛmdun* There being no sentient incarnate man, the earth appeared unseemly; *siŋboˑŋʔoˑ laˑʔlɛiˑʔ khɛmʔɛiˑ?* Shall I get into the tree? Will I look good there?; *teˑʔlle khɛnɛʔ kɛghɛm* The clothes suit you; *khɛŋ khɛmdu* It suited him well; *kɔŋ andzumin yeˑʔlille saˑʔrik khɛmdu* It really suits this friend of mine when he laughs (i.e. my friend really looks handsome when he laughs); (with body parts:) *kɛmdhoˑkʔille saˑʔrik kɛghɛm* Your moustache really suits you; *kumikʔille saˑʔrik khɛmdu* He has very beautiful eyes; *kunboˑlle saˑʔrik mɛghɛmdun* She has a very uncomely nose; Nep.

*suhāunu*.

*khɛmma?*, *-khɛps-/-khɛm-*  vt., 1) hear; 2) smell, sense, detect; cf. *khɛmghɛmaŋ la·pma?*.

*khɛnɛ?*  pro., you (singular).

*khɛnchi*  pro., you (dual).

*khɛnchi-*  pf., your (dual).

*khɛni*  pro., you (plural).

*khɛni-*  pf., your (plural).

*khɛŋ*  1) pro., he, she, it (non-proximal); 2) dem., that; cf. *kɔŋ*.

*khɛŋbe·la*  adv., [*khɛŋ* that + *be·la* < Nep. *belā* period of time] at that time.

*khɛŋha?*  pro., they, them (plural).

*khɛŋma?*, *-khɛks-/-khɛŋ-*  vt., [caus. < *khɛkma?* be struck] strike (*sala·i* a match, *cɔkmak* flint).

*khɛŋma?*, *-khɛks-/-khɛŋ-*  vt., [caus. < *khɛkma?* dry (meat)] dry (meat); *khɛŋ-le sa-·n khɛks-u* (he-ERG meat-ABS dry-3P) He dries meat; *khɛŋ-ŋna-ba sa* (dry-PP-NOM meat) dried meat, Nepalese buffalo jerky, Nep. *sukuṭī*; cf. *sakhɛkya*.

*khɛŋma?*, *-khɛŋ-*  vi., well up; *ku-sik khɛŋ-ɛ* (his-irritation well_up-PT) He became irritated.

*khɛŋya·pma?*, *khɛŋ-ya·r-/khɛŋ-ya·t-/khɛŋ-ya·?1*  vi., [*khɛŋ* that + *ya·pma?* be an amount] be that much, amount to that much; cf. *a·kkhya·pma?*, *kɔŋya·pma?*, *khɛŋ-ya·ppa*.

*khɛŋya·ppa*  adj., [*khɛŋya·pma?* be that much + *-pa* nom.sf.] that big, such a big (non-proximal); cf. *kɔŋya·ppa*, *khɛŋya·psa*, *maŋbhaya·ppa*.

*khɛŋya·psa*  adj., [*khɛŋya·ppa* that much + *\*-sa* dim.sf.] that small, such a small (non-proximal); cf. *kɔŋya·psa*, *khɛŋya·ppa*.

*khɛpma?*, *-khɛpt-/-khɛp-*  vt., harness, yoke; *pi?1-ha? khɛp--m?-si po·ŋ* (cow-p harness-INF-nsP EXIG) The cows must be harnessed; *khɛŋ pi?1-ha? hara-hara khɛpt--u-ŋ-si-ŋ* (those cow-p quickly yoke-3P-1sA-nsP--1sA) I'm going to yoke those cows quickly.

*khɛpma?*, *-khɛtt-/-khɛt-/-khɛ?1*  vt., chase.

*khɛpma?*, *-khɛ?r-/-khɛt-/-khɛ?1*  vi., resultative aspectivizer, vide 5.3.5; *kɔŋ ya·mbɔk po·ŋ-ghɛ?1 la* (this work be-RES EMPH) This work will get done (emphatic promise); *ta·ndik sa iŋ-ghɛ?1* (tomorrow EMPH become_known-RES) By tomorrow it will be common knowledge.

*khɛse·?*  n., star.

*khɛse·k*  n., walnut.

*khɛse·kbo·ŋ*  n., [*khɛse·k* walnut + *-bo·ŋ* tree] the walnut,

Juglans regia; Nep. *okhar*.

*khɛsɛmik* vide *khɛsumik*.

*khɛsumik*, *khɛsɛmik*, *khɛsumikpa*, *khɛsɛmikpa* n., [*khɛse·?* star + *mik* eye] star.

*khɛsuŋ*, *khe·suŋ* n., white yeast culture for fermenting red millet (*pe·na?*) to yield red millet beer (*thi·*), sold as hard flat round powdery cakelets, wrapped in fern fronds.

*khɛtchiŋma?* vr., [< *khɛpma?* chase] run.

*khɛtna* adv., [*\*khɛt* non-proximal + *na·* there] over there, thither.

*khɛtna·dha·mbi* adv., [*\*khɛt* non-proximal + *na·dha·mbi*, q.v.] on the far side of the opposite or next mountain ridge, on the far slope (i.e. the slope not invisible to the onlooker) of an adjacent mountain or the far side of the same mountain on which one is standing; cf. *na·dha·mbi*, *kɔtna·- dha·mbi*.

*khɛtna·sime·n* adj.adv., [< *khɛtna* there] distant; cf. *kɔtna·sime·n*, *na·sime·n*.

*khɛttho·* adv., [*\*khɛt* non-proximal + *tho·* above, up] up there.

*khɛ·?ma?*, *-khɛ·r-/-khɛ·?-* vt., split (*siŋ* wood, *pha* bamboo) lengthwise with the grain; *kɛrɛk pha mɛghɛ·ru raca* It appears that they've split all the bamboo.

*khɛ·kma?*, *-khɛ·kt-/-khɛ·k-* vi., have a piece broken off of the whole, be chipped off, flake off, be nicked (eg., *khɔrɛ·ŋ* bread, *siŋ* a piece of wood, *tɔndi* hatchet, *phɛdza·n* khukuri); cf. *khɛ·ŋma?*.

*khɛ·ma?*, *-khɛ·s-/-khɛ·-* vt., make circles, spin, whirl, dance around in circles; *hɛndza?bitchare mɛghɛ·su* The children are dancing around in circles.

*khɛ·ŋma?*, *-khɛ·ks-/-khɛ·ŋ-* vt., [caus. < *khɛ·kma?* be chipped off] break off a piece, chip off, nick; *khɔrɛ·ŋ khɛ·ksuŋaŋ caŋ* I'll break off and eat a piece of the bread; *kɛndzumin khɛ·ksɛ?aŋ pi·rɛ?!* Break off a piece and give it to your friend!.

*khikma?*, *khikt-/-khik-* vi., 1) taste bitter; 2) be expensive; *sa·rik khik* It's terribly expensive.

*khikma?*, *-khikt-/-khik-* vt., taste bitter to someone.

*khikwa* n., whistle, vide *ca·ma?* (6).

*khilli* n., [< Nep. *khillī*] one rolling-paper-full (of tobacco), one small scoop or handful (of any such household commodity).

*khimma?*, *-khips-/-khim-* vt., [caus. < *khipma?* stick] stick; *him?o· sapla khipsu* He stuck the poster/ calendar up onto the house; cf. *ɔŋma?*.

*khiŋma?*,  *-khiŋ-*   vi., be taut; *kye·-n khiŋ-ɛ* (drum-ABS be‿taut-PT) The drum is taut; cf. *khiŋma?*.

*khiŋma?*,  *-khiŋs-/-khiŋ-*   vt., [caus. < *khiŋma?* be taut] make taut, stretch; *khɛŋ-le kye·-n khiŋs-u* (he-ERG drum-ABS stretch-3P) He stretched the skin over the drum taut.

*khipma?*, *-khipt-/-khip-*  vi., stick; *cigip khiptɛ* the glue stuck; *hilo·?o· khiptaŋ* I got bogged down in the mud; cf. *khimma?*, *ɔkma?*.

*khipse·ma*  n., the fig Ficus nemoralis; Nep. *dudhilo*.

*khi·*  n., thread.

*khi·?ma?*, *-khi·r-/-khi·?*  vi., grow weary, grow fatigued, get tired; *tɔ·nd-u-ŋ-ille khi·r-aŋ na·s-aŋ* (move‿ a‿heap-3P-1sA-INST get‿tired-1sPS/PT become‿ex- hausted-1sPS/PT) I'm totally exhausted from moving that pile.

*khi·mma?*, *-khi·nd-/-khi·n-*  vi., be greedy, be avaricious, be gluttonous; cf. *citma?*.

*khi·mma?*, *-khi·nd-/-khi·n-*   vt., scrape off; *karɜhi?o· kɛghippa pitnu·n khi·nduŋba* I'm scraping off the milk which is caked onto the [inside of the] wok.

*khi·ŋ*  n., [*khikma?* taste bitter] gall bladder.

*kho·bo·?*  n., slender jet black long-tailed subspecies of the Hanuman or common langur with white mains around the face, Presbytis entellus achilles; Nep. *dheḍhu*, *dheḍu*; cf. *saba*.

*kho·he·?dɛtma?*,  *kho·he·?-dɛtt-/kho·he·?-dɛt-/kho·he·?-dɛ?1* vi., [*kho·ma?* find + *he·?ma?* be able + PAS] be able to be found, occur, be encountered.

*kho·ma?*, *-kho·s-/-kho·-*  vt., find.

*kho·pma?*, *-kho·pt-/-kho·p-*  vt., reach (around something), embrace and close about, engirdle something; *khunɛ? kuhuk?in mɛŋgho·ppaŋ* His wrist was so big around that my fingers couldn't reach all the way around; *siŋbo·ŋ mɛŋ- gho·ppaŋ* I couldn't reach all the way a- round the tree.

*kho·pma?*,     *-kho·tt-/-kho·t-/ -kho·?1*   vt., comb (eg. one's hair); scratch, scrape; cf. *ukma?*.

*kho·rɛ?1*  n., small bowl, cup or beaker for *yum- ma·?1*; cf. *lumba*, *tɔkkrima*.



*kho·rɛ?1*
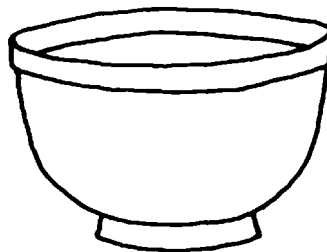
*kho·sa?*  n., [< *kho·ma?* find + *sa?* child] foundling, bastard.

*kho?ma?*, -*kho?r*-/-*kho?*-  1) vi., (with *pa·n* 'speech') be delirious; *ku-ba·n kho?r-ɛ* (his-speech be̲delirious-PT) He is delirious; *siŋya·n khunɛ? kuba·n kho?rɛŋ wayɛ, ma·siŋnɛ?l* The day before yesterday, he was delirious, he's about to die; 2) vt., be speechless, be dumbfounded, be dumbstruck; *kuba·n kho?ru* He was speechless; cf. *pa·nbuk yuŋsiŋma?*.

*khoda·kmi*  n., a middle-aged person, an adult.

*khokma?*, -*khokt*-/-*khok*-  vt., 1) chop, clip (hair), cut (eg. *siŋ* wood, *sa* meat) into pieces, eg. *siŋ khokma?* chop wood into smaller pieces (cf. *cɛpma?*); *kudhge·k?in kɛghoktuwi·?* Are you cutting his hair?; *amdhuk?in khoktuŋba* I've trimmed my moustache (cf. *no·ŋma?*); *ma·kilaŋle khoktaŋ* I cut myself on a cornstalk; cf. *phɛdza*; 2) *lam khokma?* bar someone's path, cut someone off; *kɛlam khoktubai·?* Did he cut your path off? Did he bar your way?.

*khokma?l*  n., sturdy wooden stirring spoon (eg. for *maŋdok*).

*khokmɛlle*  adv., [*khokma?* chop, -*ille* SUB] almost, nearly.

*khoksɛ·*  n., the fig Ficus semicordata; Nep. *khanāyo, kaniũ, khanyũ*.

*khoma?*, -*khos*-/-*kho*-  vt., 1) pick up; *phɛdza-·n kɛ-ghos-u* (knife-ABS 2-pick̲up-3P) You pick up the knife; cf. *khapma?*; 2) jot down; *miŋ khosɛ? yuksɛ?!* Jot [his] name down!.

*khomma?*, -*khops*-/-*khom*-  vt., lift up.

*khomma?*, -*khonch*-/-*khon*-  vt., [caus. < *komma?* in *takomma* 'roam about'] move, stir (+ liquid, cf. *mumma?, sa·ŋma?*).

*khonokwa*  n., snore, vide *ca·ma?* (5).

*khoŋbe·?*  n., boat.

*khoŋma?*, -*khoŋ*-  vi., get hit with a stick; cf. *khoŋma?*.

*khoŋma?*, -*khoks*-/-*khoŋ*-  vt., [caus. < *khoŋma?* get hit with a stick] hit with a stick; *kɛghoksɛi·?* Did he hit you with a stick?; cf. *lɛpma?* (2), *tɛ?ma?, yaŋma?* (1).

*khopma?*, -*khott*-/-*khot*-/-*kho?l*  vi.imp., have a parched throat, be hoarse; *khottɛ* [I am/you are/he is] hoarse.

*khɔppe·ʔ* n., large cooking vessel, pan.

*khɔppe·ʔ kɛgu·ba* n. + vt., [*khɔppe·ʔ* pan + AP of *ku·maʔ* carry on one's back] snail.

*khɔppi* n., game played by tossing clay marbles or *ko·rɛʔl* into a ring drawn on the ground, Nep. *khopī*; cf. *pho·mmaʔ*.

*khɔrɛ·ŋ* n., bread.

*khɔro·* interj., Make way, make room, get out of the way!



*khɔppe·ʔ*

*khɔ·maʔ,* -*khɔ·y-/-khɔ·-* I) vi., chant, pray, utter incantations, perform a religious service (sometimes tautologically with the loan *pudza* 'worship service'); *pudza mɛghɔ·yɛba* They were performing a religious ritual; II) vt., address, invoke, commune with the gods; *phe·daŋmɛ-lle maŋ khɔ·y-u* (shaman-ERG god invoke-3P) The shaman invokes the god; vide *maŋghɔ·maʔ*; 1) *ya·kwa khɔ·maʔ* perform the vernal pluvio-elicitive prayer service or *ya·kwa pudza* (q.v.); The *ya·kwa pudza* is performed following the full moon night in the month of *Caitra* or *Cait* in order to ensure adequate rainfall, a good planting season and the fertility of the seed to be sown. Mounds of clay are moulded to represent the deity, each with a stick protruding from its centre. Some rice, *ṭika* and freshly slaughtered chicken's blood are offered to these mounds. The *kye·* is struck continuously during the course of the entire service, which lasts the whole day, and during the ensuing procession. The sacrificial food consisting of rice and meat, contributed by every household in the community, is prepared and eaten outside whilst the *phe·daŋma* performs rituals and utters incantations known only to the *phe·daŋmas*. Large amounts of *thi·* are imbibed. Leftovers may be taken home by members of the community participating in the service but may not be taken indoors. Only when the sacrificial food has been consumed outdoors may the empty receptacles be taken inside. At the end of the service all the men of the community march in
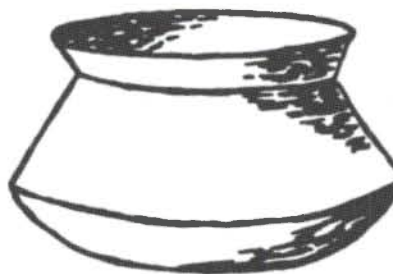
procession through the village and *cumluŋ* or bazar, shouting loudly to invoke the rain god and spraying each other with water whilst the women and children in the houses also toss water down on them; *ya·kwa mɛghɔ·yuba, wiʔl mɛʔu·ppa* They are invoking the rain god; they are calling down rain; 2) *ɔkwama khɔ·maʔ* perform the prayer service in honour of *ɔkwama* the deity of the main house, invoke the goddess *ɔkwama*; The worship to honour *ɔkwama* is carried out entirely within the main house. A small pig is slaughtered inside the main house and prepared and consumed there as sacrificial food. No salt may be utilised in the preparation of this sacrifice as this would anger the *yummɛndzama sammaŋ* (q.v.). A hole is dug in the floor after the repast, and the bones and any other remains of the pig are interred within the mud floor, as no part of the sacrifice is to leave the main house; *ɔkwama khɔ·yumbe* WePe performed the sacrifice to the goddess of the main house.

*khɔ·mre·ʔ*  n., [< *re·ʔ* tree suffix,, cf. *ti·ŋre·ʔ*] peach tree, Prunus persica, with fruit ripening in the month of *Aṣādh*; Nep. *ārū*.

*khuʔwaʔ*  n., [< *waʔ* chicken] small dark bird resembling, but smaller than, a cuckoo.

*khummaʔ*, *-khums-/-khum-*  vt., 1) (with non-human patient) train, bridle, tame; *ambare khɛŋ ənin khumsu* My father trained that horse; cf. *kammaʔ*; 2) (with human patient) restrain, control, keep in check; subjugate; *mənahaʔ khumsuŋsiŋ* I kept the men in check.

*khunchi*  pro., they, them (dual).

*khunchi-*  pf., their (non-singular).

*khunɛʔ*  pro., he, she, him, her.

*khupmaʔ*, *-khutt-/-khut-/-khuʔl*  I) vt., rob someone; steal something; II) vi., 1) steal, commit a theft; 2) be stolen.

*khuriya*  n., [Nep. < *\*khoriyā* < *khorī*] small metal cup.

*khu·kmaʔ*, *-khu·kt-/-khu·k-*  vt., [dir. < *khu·ŋmaʔ* cover oneself with something] cover someone (= patient) with a coverlet, wrap someone in a covering; *andzumin pɔ·tthaŋille khu·ktuŋba*; I draped a *pachyaurā* over my friend [to keep him warm].

*khu·ŋmaʔ*, *-khu·ks-/-khu·ŋ-*  vt., cover oneself with something, wrap oneself in something (= patient); wear (headdress); *cuŋdzi·kʔille pɔ·tthaŋ pho·ktaŋʔo· khu·ksuŋ* When it gets cold I drape a *pachyaurā*

across my shoulders; *khɛnɛ? hɛnaŋ to·pi kɛghu·ksu?* Why are you wearing a *ʈopī?*; cf. *caŋma?, khamma?, wa·pma?*; cf. *khu·kma?*.

*khyikma?* vide *khikma?*.

*khyu* n., [< Nep. *ghiu*] ghee, clarified butter.

# l

*la* vide *na*.

*la?ba* adv., perhaps, possibly, maybe (clause-final particle); *tha·?-?ɛ dha-?ɛ la?ba* (leave‿behind‿for--1sPS leave-1sPS probably) He'll probably leave it behind for me; cf. *i?re·?e·, i·ya*.

*la?ba* n., adulterer, cuckold; *la?ba la?ba abhɛllɛyaŋ mɛndɔŋnɛn* Two *la?ba*s never reconcile; a *la?ba-la?ba* relationship is inherently irreconcilable; cf. *la?ma*.

*la?ma* n., adulteress, illicit mistress, illicit lover (f), wife whose husband has been unfaithful; *la?ma la?ma tɔŋma? mɛhe·?, tɔŋmyaŋ yuŋma?aŋ mɛhe·?* Two *la?ma*s may be reconciled, having become reconciled they may even dwell together; a *la?ma-la?ma* relationship is potentially reconcilable, and may grow into a *tumma-pakma* relationship.

*la?phe·ma?, la?-phe·s-/la?-phe·-* vt., [*la?* < *\*lapma?* discard; cf. *pha?lapma?*] toss to someone, fling through the air at or to someone; cf. *la?phuma?*.

*la?phuma?, la?-phus-/la?-phu-* vt., [*la?* < *\*lapma?* discard; cf. *pha?lapma?*] throw out; cf. *la?phe·ma?*.

*lakma?, -lag-/-lak-* vt., 1) lick; 2) *səllak lakma?* lick clean; *kɛrɛk tɔk?in səllak lagu* He licked his plate clean; cf. *laŋma?*.

*lakma?, -lakt-/-lak-* vi., be salty; be too strong (to the taste).

*lakma?, -lakt-/-lak-* 1) vi., boil (of a liquid); *pitnu lak* The milk is boiling; *cwa?lin laktɛ* The water was boiling; 2) vt.imp., (with non-referential 3sA) boil (patient: liquid); *cwa?l lakt-u* (water boil--3P) The water is boiling; cf. *laŋma, thɛmma?*.

*lakphɛ?l* n., the leech of the wet season, lurking on vegetation and in ponds, groping about blindly in search of a host to whom it can latch onto and occasionally standing upright inchworm-like on its posterior extremity; cf. *lup*.

*laksiŋma?* vr., lick each other (of livestock); *mɛnda? mɛlaksiŋ* The goats lick each other; *pi?l laknɛtchi*

The two cows lick each other.

*lam* 1) n., road, way; cf. *khɔkma?* (2), *yaŋsu*; 2) postp., via; from.

*lambo·* n., a cold, a cough; collocates with the verb *tɔma?*, q.v.

*lamde·ŋ* adv., [< *lam* way] halfway.

*lamdi?paŋ* n., [< *lam* road] wayfarer, passer-by, pedestrian, stranger.

*lamdhe·?l* n., [*lam* way, road + *the·?l* threshold, cf. *namdhe·?l*] door.

*lami* n., hog, castrated boar raised for its meat; cf. *phak*, *yo·ppa*.

*lamlam* adv., [< *lam* road] on the way, on the road, along the road.

*lamlambya?l* n., [< *pya?l* cricket] grasshopper.

*lamsa?*, *-llamsa?* n., ego's sister's child (male speaking).

*lamsa? paŋli*, *-llamsa? paŋli* n., ego's sister's son's wife (male speaking).

*lamsa? paŋmi*, *-llamsa? paŋmi* n., ego's sister's daughter's husband (female speaking).

*laŋ* n., leg, foot.

*laŋbuk* n., [*laŋ* leg + *buk* voice, sound; cf. *pa·nbuk*] footsteps; (with *mukma?* 'sound') *kulaŋ sa·?rik muk* His footsteps sound very loudly.

*laŋco·?l* n., [*laŋ* leg, foot + *co·?l* digit; *hukco·?l*, *makco·?l*] toe.

*laŋgɛ?l* n., south.

*laŋghe·?kma?*, *laŋ-ghe·?g-/laŋ-ghe·k-* vi., [< *laŋ* foot, leg] walk, go on foot, stride.

*laŋghe·kma?*, *laŋ-ghe·kt-/laŋ-ghe·k-* vide *laŋghe·kma?*.

*laŋka·kthimba* n., [< *laŋ* foot, leg] heel.

*laŋkhɛmbo·k* n., [*laŋ* leg] calf, calves of the leg.

*laŋma* n., [< *laŋ* foot, leg] big toe; cf. *hama*, *hukma*.

*laŋma?*, *-laks-/-laŋ-* vt., [caus. < *lakma?* boil] boil (a liquid); *pitnu?in laksuŋ* I'm boiling the milk; *a-laŋ-s-u* We^di shall boil it; cf. *laŋma?*, *thɛmma?*.

*laŋma?*, *-laks-/-laŋ-* vt., [caus. < *lakma?* lick] give to lick; *pi?lha? yum laksuŋsiŋ*, *pi?lha?re mɛlagu* I gave the cows salt to lick, and the cows licked it up.

*laŋmik* n., [*laŋ* leg + *mik* eye] ankle; cf. *hukmik*.

*laŋmurik* n., [*laŋ* leg, foot + *murik* body hair] leg hair, foot hair.

*laŋpho·ŋga* n., [*laŋ* leg, foot + *pho·ŋga* ball] football; cf. *hukpho·ŋga*.

*laŋsik* n., [*laŋ* leg + *sik* marrow] leg marrow; cf. *huksik*, *nɛsik*.

*laŋsup*   n., [*laŋ* leg, foot] shoe; cf. *dzutta, huksup.*

*laŋsup kɛdɔ·ba*   n., [*laŋsup* shoe + AP of *tɔ·ma?* 'to sew'] ethnonym for the *Sārkī* or leatherworkers' caste.

*laŋtappe·*   n., [< *laŋ* leg, foot] sole of the foot; cf. *huktappe·* .

*laŋyo·p*   n., [*laŋ* leg + *yo·p* imprint, impression] footprint.

*lapma?*, *-lab-/-lap-*   vt., 1) singe off feathers or hair (*murik*) of a slaughtered animal; *wa?in labu* He's singing the feathers off the chicken; 2) set fire to; *bha·tra mɛlabu* They started a brush fire; cf. *ha?ma?, ha·mma?, tukma?, tupma?.*

*lauro·*   n., [< Nep. *lauro*] stick; vide *siŋdze·k, tɔkka?l.*

*la·b*   n., moon.

*la·bbutthuŋ*   n.myth., [*la·b* moon + *putthuŋ* foam, cf. *putthuŋwa*] lit. lunar foam; foam originating from the left whilst churning, originating from counterclockwise rotation of the churning rod; cf. *nambutthuŋ.*

*la·bbhɛrik*   adv.myth., [*la·b* moon + *phɛrik* churning rod, q.v.] lit. lunar churning rod; churning counterclockwise, to the left; cf. *nambhɛrik.*

*la·bbhɔk*   n., large white radish-like tuber, Nep. *mūlā.*

*la·bdzo·kma?*, *la·b-dzo·g-/la·b-dzo·k-*   vi., [?< Nep. *lābh* profit, advantage + *co·kma?* do; cf. *pardzo·kma?*] 1) cost; *a·kkhya·k la·bdzo·k* How much does it cost?; 2) take (time) *thi· tho·kma? thik ya·n la·bdzo·k* It takes a day to cook red millet (in the manufacture of *thi·*); 3) go off (of a bell or alarm); *biha·ndik tuksi muktɛlle huk?o· wa·pmnabɛn la·bdzo·k he·ktɛ* The wristwatch began to sound at six in the morning.

*la·bne·tti*   adv., [*la·b* moon + *\*ne·tti* cord, string, cf. *ne·tti* clitoris] lit. lunar cord; pulling at the lunar (left) cord wound about the churning rod (*phɛrik*, q.v.); cf. *namne·tti.*

*la·gi*   postp., [< Nep. *lāgi* for] (with genitive) for, in order to; *mɛ-ghip-nɛn-lɔ co·k-mɛ-lle la·gi cidzi? cidzi? khɔm-ma? po·ŋ* (NEG-stick-NEG-prG do-INF-GEN for a_little a_little stir-INF EXIG) [You] have to keep stirring it a little bit all the time in order to prevent it from sticking.

*la·kma?*, *-la·kt-/-la·k-*   vi., apply, be in effect, as in the expressions: 1) *-se·?l la·kma?* be hungry (lit. hunger apply); *kɛ-se·?l sa·rik la·kt-ɛ ro· cumme·!* (your**-hunger very apply-PT ASS friend-VOC) You are very hungry, my friend!; cf. *kidhi;*

2) -*yak la·kma?* be angry (lit. anger apply); *a-yak mɛ-la·k-nɛn* (my-anger NEG-apply-NEG) I won't be angry.

*la·kma?*, -*la·kt-/-la·k-* vt., [dir. < *la·ŋma?* dance] trample, stamp, walk underfoot, kick; *pi?l-ille la·kt-aŋ* (cow-ERG trample-1sPS/PT) The cow walked me underfoot.

*la·lti·n* n., [< Nep. *lālṭīn*] kerosene lamp.

*la·lṭi·n* vide *la·lti·n*.

*la·ŋma?*, -*la·ks-/-la·ŋ-* vi., dance; cf. *kye·la·kma?, la·k-ma?, ya?la·kma?*.

*la·bde·ŋgu* n., [< *la·b* moon] ring around the moon; cf. *namde·ŋgu*.

*la·p* n., wing.

*la·pma?*, -*la·pt-/-la·p-* vide *khɛmghɛmaŋ la·pma?, niniyaŋ la·pma?*.

*la·pma?*, -*la·pt-/-la·p-* vt.imp., be lightweight; cf. *lip-ma?, yɔŋyɔŋ*.

*la·pma?*, -*la·s-/-la·t-/-la·?l* vi., enter, go into, come into.

*la·pphipma* n., [< *la·p* wing] armpit.

-*la·se* vt. + sup.sf., [fossilised supine < *\*la·ma?* take someone along, take someone away, get someone] (with verbs of motion) *aŋga kula·se pe·k?ɛba* I'm going to get him; *ala·se mɛbhɛn* They're coming to take me away.

*la·ttha?* n., difference, amelioration; cf. *mɛpma?* (9).

*la·ttha?ba* n.adj., [< *la·thha?* difference] differing, esp. in age; *khunchi yərik la·ttha?basi* They differ greatly in age; *yəllik la·tthabasige* We⁰ differ greatly in age.

*le·* n., penis.

*le·dhi·mba* n., [*le·* penis + *thi·n* egg + -*pa* nom.sf.] testicles.

*le·gha·k* n., [*le·* penis + < *kha·kma?* congeal; cf. *kha·k-mi?l, kha·kwɛ?l, migha·k, mikho·?, namdzi?kho·?, nɛhikkhɔk*] smegma; cf. *le·wa*.

*le·kma?*, -*le·kt-/-le·k-* vt., scald, burn (of a liquid); *mɔkwa-lle le·ktaŋ* The hot water scalded me; cf. *haŋwama?, ko·ma?, o·?ma?, ya·mma?, yɛmma?*.

*le·mma?*, -*le·ps-/-le·m-* vi., 1) slip, slide; *kɛle·psɛi·?* Did you slip?; *ale·m lo·!* We'll slip if we don't watch out!; cf. *lɛ·ŋma?, lyaŋma?*; 2) be slippery (of a surface or substance).

*le·ŋma?*, -*le·ŋ-* vt., pour (fluid), add (fluid).

*le·ŋma?*, -*le·ks-/-le·ŋ-* vt., fry in oil, deep-fry.

*le·ŋwa* n., [< *le·ŋma?* pour, *\*wa* water] puddle.

*le·pma?*,   *-le·b-/-le·p-*   vt., make into rolls, form into rolls (eg. *maŋdɔk*).

*le·pma?*,   *-le·tt-/-le·t-/-le·?l*   vt., plunge into something, thrust into, stick into, drive into.

*le·pma?*,   *-le·tt-/-le·t-/-le·?l*   vt., shuck maize (kernels from the cob); cf. *lu·ŋma?*.

*le·murik*   n., [*le·* penis + *murik* body hair] male pubic hair.

*le·wa*   n., [*le·* penis + *\*wa* water] sperm; cf. *le·gha·k*.

*lɛ?ma?*,   *-lɛ?r-/-lɛ?-*   1) vi., (with *-yak* 'anger') become unleashed; *sa·rik khunchi-yak lɛ?r-ɛ* (very their--anger become_unleashed-PT) They became very angry; *kɛyak lɛ?i· mɛlɛ?nɛnni·?* Are you going to get angry [about that] or aren't you?; 2) vi.vt., (with *niŋ* 'gall', 'spleen') be fed up with something (= inst. or erg.), have had enough of something; *tɔk-le sa·rik aniŋ lɛ?rɛ* I'm fed up with cooked rice; *khɛni-pa·n-le sa·rik aniŋ lɛ?rɛ* I'm fed up with what youP have to say; *thi·-lle kuniŋ lɛ?* He'll be fed up with millet beer [when he wakes up in the morning]; *hɛkke· kɛba·ttumille aniŋ lɛ? lɛ? lo·!* If you guys are going to talk that way, I'm going to get fed up!; cf. *e·?ma?*, *lɛpma?*, *-nbo· hipma?*.

*lɛkca*   adj., naked, nude.

*lɛkma?*,   *-lɛkt-/-lɛk-*   vt., [dir. < *lɛŋma?* wander about lost] trade, exchange; *lɛksu* Let's[di] trade.

*lɛkwa*   n., [< *lɛkma?* exchange, trade] exchange, barter.

*lɛm*   n., 1) kidney, side; *lɛmsi* (dual) kidneys; 2) lack of spunk, lack of energy (with *yu·ma?*, q.v.).

*lɛmma?*,   *-lɛnd-/-lɛn-*   vi., become dislocated, jump or slide out of its socket or place.

*lɛndik*   n., [*lɛn* day + *\*dik* period of day] in the daytime; *ɛnda·ndik lɛndik cuŋmɛdzi·knɛn* It's not cold in the daytime these days; cf. *biha·ndik*, *idik*, *sɛndik*, *ta·ndik*, *ya·ndik*, *yunchik*.

*lɛndzya*   n., [*lɛn* daytime + *cama?* eat] midday snack generally consisting of *nɔ·mnaba ma·ki* (popcorn) and roasted *cɛmbi* (soybeans); Nep. *khājā*.

*lɛnlɛn*   adv., [< *lɛn* daytime] the whole day long, during the whole daytime period; cf. *sɛnchɛn*.

*lɛŋ*   n., [< *lɛŋma?* turn over] turn.

*lɛŋma?*,   *-lɛŋ-*   vi., wander about lost; *lɛŋaŋ* I've lost my way; cf. *lɛkma?*, *lɛŋma?*, *ma·ma?*, *pa·nlɛŋma?*, *po·tma?*.

*lɛŋma?*,   *-lɛks-/-lɛŋ-*   vt., [caus. < *lɛŋma?* wander about] turn over, flip over; vide *-niŋwa lɛŋma?*.

*lɛŋsiŋmaʔ*  vr., [*lɛŋmaʔ* turn over] change.

*lɛpmaʔ*, *-lɛʔr-/lɛt-/lɛʔl*  vt., [dir. < *lɛʔmaʔ* become re-
leased] 1) give up, take leave of, quit; *kɛba·ŋ-
phe· kɛlɛʔruba a·kkhɛn ya·n po·ksɛ* How many days
has it been since you left your village?; *allɔ
anchi amlɛtchi* They'll leave us[di] now; *alɛʔl anɛʔl*
[3s→1pi] He's about to leave us (i.e. to pass
away); *kundzumille lɛʔru* His friend took leave of
him; cf. *naʔmaʔ*; 2) let go, release; undo (eg. a
*piʔlchikki* from around a cow's neck, *khi·* from a
ball of thread, *hu·p* 'knot'; cf. *pha·ŋmaʔ*); *piʔlin
kɛlɛʔruwi·ʔ* - *lɛʔruŋ* Did you release the cow? - I
did; *pare·wa-·n lɛʔruŋba* I've let the pigeon go.

*lɛpmaʔ*, *-lɛpt-/-lɛp-*  vt., 1) cast, throw, toss (overhand;
cf. *pho·mmaʔ*); *khɛŋ luŋin kɛlɛptui·ʔ* Did you throw
that stone?; 2) hit someone or something with a
thrown object; *luŋille lɛptaŋ* He hit me with a
rock (he threw); *khɔŋmaʔ, tɛʔmaʔ, yaŋmaʔ* (1).

*-lɛpmaŋ*  postp., toward.

*-lɛpsaŋ*  postp., toward; *khunchi him-lɛpsaŋ thanɛtchi* They[d]
headed homeward.

*lɛpsaŋ*  n., office, division, area (of work); *atiŋ lɛpsaŋ-
ʔo· ya·mbɔk kɛdzo·guba?* In which office do you
work?.

*lɛrɛhaŋ*  adv., on one's stomach; *lɛrɛhaŋ im* He sleeps on
his stomach; cf. *hɔʔpɛʔl, cyaŋya*.

*lɛso·ʔl*, *-lso·ʔl-*  n., tongue.

*lɛ·kmaʔ*, *-lɛ·kt-/-lɛ·k-*  vi., peel severely, shed one's
skin (cf. *ti·kmaʔ*); *cwaʔlille lɛ·ktaŋ* I peeled
severely because of the water; (of insects or
reptiles:) moult; cf. *ti·kmaʔ*.

*lɛ·maʔ*, *-lɛ·s-/-lɛ·-*  vt., know.

*lɛ·mmaʔ*, *-lɛ·m-*  vt., sweat-talk, deceive, flatter, se-
duce, talk someone into, bring someone to reason,
try to make someone understand; cf. *niŋwa hi·maʔ*.

*lɛ·mmaʔ*, *-lɛ·md-/-lɛ·m-*  vt., darn, mend or patch up (a
hole in a garment); *kuhɔŋin lɛ·mm·bo·ŋ* The hole
must be darned.

*lɛ·mmaʔ*, *-lɛ·nd-/-lɛ·n-*  vt., pull down and snap off, strip
(eg. branches from a tree); *siŋsaraʔl lɛ·n- duŋ
dha·suŋ* I stripped off the branches.

*lɛ·ŋmaʔ*, *-lɛ·ks-/-lɛ·ŋ-*  vi., slip; *khɛŋ mana-·n lɛ·ks-ɛ,
khunɛʔ lam-ʔo· lɛ·ŋ-lɔ ya·k* (that man-ABS slip-PT,
he road-LOC slip-prG be) That guy slipped, he's
slipping all over the road; *pitma·n lɛ·ksɛ* The cow
slipped; cf. *le·mmaʔ*.

*lɛ·ŋmaʔ*, *-lɛ·ks-/-lɛ·ŋ-*  vt., [caus. < *lɛ·ŋmaʔ* rub, smear]

knead, make dough; *khɔrɛ·ŋ kɛ-lɛ·ks-u* (bread 2-
-knead-3P) You make bread; *khunɛʔ khɔrɛ·ŋ lɛ·ksurɔ
ya·k* He's kneading dough; cf. *sɔʔmaʔ*.

*lɛ·ŋmaʔ*, *-lɛ·ks-/-lɛ·ŋ-* vt., 1) clear (land), chop down;
*ya·kkhaʔ lɛ·ksu* He cleared the jungle; 2) cause
to disperse; *mɘna-haʔ lɛ·ks-u-ŋ-si-ŋ* (man-p dis-
perse-3P-1sA-nsP-1sA) I drove all the people away.

*lɛ·ŋmaʔ*, *-lɛ·ŋ-* vt., smear, rub, rub in, daub, overpaint,
esp. whitewash or redwash houses with pigmented
clay and manure (eg.,*kham-ille*, *cwaʔl-ille* with
clay, with water); *piʔlhi-nu kha·m sɔʔ-maʔ-aŋ him-
-haʔ lɛ·ŋ-maʔ bo·ŋ* (manure-and clay mix_by_hand-
-INF-and house-p smear-INF EXIG) Manure and clay
must be mixed and the houses recoated; cf. *lɛ·ŋ-
maʔ*.

*lɘcɘ*, *rɘcɘ* cl. [< Nep. *rahecha*] clause-final deprehensa-
tive particle indicating that what is stated in
the clause has only recently come to be realized
or discovered by the speaker.

*lɘghe·ʔl* n., Nepalese shirt, torso garment or upper part
of the official Nepalese costume for men, Nep.
*daurā*; cf. *sumba*.

*liʔ* n., 1) slingshot, catapult; vide *ko·rɛʔl*; 2) bow; cf.
*to·ŋ*.

*libhu* num.col., four; cf. *lisi*.

*limaʔ*, *-lis-/-li-* vt., insert one's hands into something;
*ahukʔin suʔwaʔo· lisuŋba* I stuck my hand into the
bag; *cuŋdzi·ktɛ, kɛhukʔin kɛgo·dziʔo· lisɛʔl* It
has turned cold. Stick your hands in your poc-
kets!; cf. *li·mmaʔ*.

*limba* n., [*limmaʔ* be sweet + *-pa* nom.sf.] sweets, candy;
cf. *kɛlimba*.

*limmaʔ*, *-limd-/-lim-* vi., taste sweet, be sweet; taste
salty, be salty; *limdɛi·ʔ* Does it taste sweet
(salty)?; cf. *limba*, *kɛlimba*; *lakmaʔ*.

*liŋ* n., thatch, thatching.

*liŋmaʔ*, *-liŋ-* vt., climb; cf. *liŋmaʔ*.

*liŋmaʔ*, *-liŋs-/-liŋ-* vi., [caus. < *liŋmaʔ* climb] 1) (of
the sun) suddenly begin to shine, come up over the
horizon or from behind a mountain, break through
the clouds; *nam liŋsɛ* The sun broke through [eg.
the clouds], the sun rose; 2) grow (of plants);
*ma·ki liŋsɛ* The maize is growing; cf. *po·maʔ*.

*liŋmaʔ*, *-liŋs-/-liŋ-* vt., pour; cf. *wɛpmaʔ*.

*lipmaʔ*, *-lib-/-lip-* vt., twine (eg., *sikkiʔ* rope); cf.
*phɔ·maʔ*, *tha·ktha·kmaʔ*.

*lipmaʔ*, *-lipt-/-lip-* vi., be heavy, weigh much; *sa·rik*

*lìptɛ* It's gotten to be quite heavy; cf. *la·pma?*, *yɔŋyɔŋ*.

*lìrɛŋ* adv., [*lì* four + *lɛŋ* turn] four times.

*lìsì* num., four.

*lì·kma?*, *-lì·g-/-lì·k-* vi., enter into an opening; cf. *lì·kma?*, *lì·ŋma?*.

*lì·kma?*, *-lì·kt-/-lì·k-* vt., [dir. < *lì·kma?* enter into an opening] infect someone, pass a disease onto someone.

*lì·mma?*, *-lì·nd-/-lì·n-* vt., [caus. < *lìma?* insert one's hand into something] stick through a hole; *lì·nd--ɛ? phɛnch-ɛ?!* (stick_through-IMP have_brought--IMP) Send it through the hole; *sammi?l-ille ku-hɔŋ-?o· khi·-n lì·nd-u* (needle-GEN its-hole-LOC thread-ABS stick_through-3P) She passed the thread through the eye of the needle.

*lì·ŋma?*, *-lì·ks-/-lì·ŋ-* vt. [caus. < *lì·kma?* enter into an opening] insert into an opening in order to conceal.

*lo·kma?*, *-lo·kt-/-lo·k* vi., run, sprint, race, jump; cf. *kidhì lo·kma?*, *lo·ŋma?*.

*lo·ma?*, *-lo·s-/-lo·-* vt., underlay, lay down a substrate (= patient, eg. *gundrì* straw mat, *ḍasana* bedding), lay down underneath; cf. *lo·pma?*.

*lo·mbhɛ?l* n., large broad rectangular mat of split bamboo (Nep. *mãdro*); cf. *gundrì*.

*lo·ŋma?*, *-lo·ks-/-lo·ŋ-* vt., [caus. < *lo·kma?* run] have someone run, make someone run; *kɛlo·ksɛ ro·!* He sure had you on the run!

*lo·pma?*, *-lo·tt-/-lo·t-/-lo·?l* vt., [dir. < *lo·ma?* underlay] underlay someone, lay something underneath someone, give someone (= patient) something to sit on, lay down a substrate for someone.

*lo·tna* n., [< *\*lo·tm?na* PP < *lo·pma?* underlay someone] long rectangular straw mat, Nep. *gundrī*; cf. *lo·mbhɛ?l*.

*lɔ*, *lə*, *rɔ*, *rə* interj., alright, O.K., alright then.

*lɔ?l* adv., just, just now.

*lɔ?l-lɔ?l* adv., just now, just.

*lɔ?llɔ?lpa* adj., [< *lɔ?l-lɔ?l* just now + *-pa* nom.sf.] fresh.

*lɔ?ma?*, *-lɔ?r-/-lɔ?-* I) vi., 1) say; 2) look, seem, appear; *khɛnɛ? hɛndza? kusìŋ kɛlɔ?* You act like a child, you behave like a child; cf. *tha·pma?*; 3) *-sɔkma hìk lɔ?ma?* vi., feel tightness in the chest; have difficulty breathing; *sɛndìk ku-sɔkma hìk lɔ?r-ɛ* (at night 3-breath stifle get-PT) He

had difficulty breathing last night; cf. *hikma?*;
4) *ɔkkhum lɔʔma?*    vi., duck, stoop; 5) *swa?1
lɔʔma?* vi., keep silent; *swa?1 lɔʔ-m·-bo·ŋ* (keep
silent-INF-EXIG) [You/we/one] must keep silent;
*hɛn aŋ mɛn-chap-?ɛ?*, *swa?1 lɔʔ-ŋ ips-ɛ?!* (what
also NEG-write-IMP, keep_silent-pfG sleep-IMP)
Don't write anything [anymore], shut up and go to
sleep!; 6) *-na mak lɔʔma?* be upset, be grieved, be
annoyed; *kuna mak lɔ?* He's upset (lit. His face
appears black); *ana mak lɔ?!* - *hɛnaŋ habha* ? I'm
upset! - What for?; 7) *-niŋ sisi lɔʔma?* be list-
less, not be in the mood to do something, be too
disinterested to undertake something; *aniŋ sisi
lɔʔrɛ* I'm just not in the mood; cf. *yu·ma?* (2),
*tɔ·pma?*; 8) *pe·?e·go· lɔʔma?* have ants in one's
pants, feel the urge to get up and go; *pe·?e·go·
lɔʔɛ* I'm getting the urge to get up and go;
9) *-yam se·se· lɔʔma?* be invigorated, full of
zest, refreshed; *kuyam se·se· lɔ? mu* He says he
feels invigorated; 10) *-yam cɔŋdzɔŋ lɔʔma?* feel
better, feel recuperated; *ɛn ayam cɔŋdzɔŋ lɔ?* I
feel better today; cf. *mɛpma?* (9); II) vt., in the
expression *lyɛ·ŋ lɔʔma?*, q.v.

**lɔʔrik**   postp.adv., [< *lɔʔma?* say] saying (often as a post-
position demarcating a direct quote); in which
manner; cf. *e·kke·*, *kusiŋ*.

**lɔk**   n., portion, lot.

**-lɔk, -rɔk**   postp.adv., only.

**lɔkkhum**   n., courtyard, farmyard (Nep. *ãgan*).

**lɔkma?, -lɔkt-/-lɔk-**   vt., pierce, jab, prick, stab.

**lɔkthik**   num., [*lɔk* only + *-thik* one] 1) one; 2) the same;
*nɛpmaŋ lɔkthik* They're both the same.

**lɔŋma?, -lɔŋ-**   vi., chip off, flake off (of plastered on
adobe *pi·nda*).

**lɔpma?, -lɔʔr-/-lɔt-/-lɔʔl**   vt., swallow; *aŋga cwa?1 lɔʔr-
uŋ* I swallowed the water.

**lɔtthrake·**   n., tree squirrel Callosciurus maclellandi with
two black lines extending from head to tail; Nep.
*lokharke*.

**lɔ·mma?, -lɔ·nd-/-lɔ·n-**   vi., come out, emerge, exude,
egress; *ku-nu lɔ·n* (her-milk exude) She's lacta-
ting; *anhik lɔ·ndɛ* (my-snot come_out-PT) My nose
is runny; *aŋga ho·? rɔk lɔ·n?ɛ* All I do is break
out in furuncles; *ho·? lɔ·ndɛ* A furuncle has
developed; cf. *se·ma?* 'exude'; cf. *lɔ·pma?*.

**lɔ·mma?, -lɔ·ps-/-lɔ·m-**   vt., 1) lynch someone; 2) give
someone a beating, give someone a clubbing.

*lɔ·pmaʔ*,   -*lɔ·tt-/-lɔ·t-/-lɔ·ʔl*    vt.,  [dir.  <  *lɔ·mmaʔ*]
      1) remove, take off, take out; 2) cause to come
      out or hatch; *waʔdzyak lɔ·ttusiba* [The hen]
      hatched the chicks; 3) (slang) pay; cf. *huŋmaʔ*.
*lu*  clause-initial part., well, alright, so; *lu, tɔrammɛʔ*
      *phaʔaŋ tha·ʔruŋsiŋ* Alright, go ahead and make fun
      of it, if that be the case, I'll leave it behind
      for them.
*lukmaʔ*,  -*lug-/-luk-*    vi.,  be completed; *ya·mbɔk co·k-m·*
      *lug-ɛ* (work do-INF be_completed-PT) The work has
      been completed; *a·phis pe·kmaʔ lugɛ* (office go-INF
      be_completed-PT) My job at the office is over; cf.
      *luŋmaʔ*.
-*lum-ʔo·*,  -*lum-mo·*   postp.,  [*lum* + *ʔo·* LOC] between, inbe-
      tween; *anchi-lum-ʔo· mi nɛ·* there's a fire between
      us.
*lumba*  n.,  large bowl or cup, eg. *thi·dhuŋba lumba* a large
      bowl for drinking *thi·*; cf. *kho·rɛʔl*.
*lumbhuʔl*  n.,  large basket similar to a *thɔŋga* (q.v.) but
      with a tighter mesh of split reeds or splintered
      bamboo or *the·*, not able to stand upright well
      without being propped up, used as a receptacle in
      deriving *sɔŋaʔ* from *canɔkwa*; *Pãcthare* Limbu *sɘp-*
      *po·ʔ*, Nep. *thunse, thunce*.
*lummaʔ*,  -*lups-/-lum-*  vt.,  [caus. < *lupmaʔ* bury] pile up.
*luŋ*  n.,  stone, rock.
*luŋaʔ*,  -*lluŋaʔ*  n.,  ego's cousin through maternal uncle or
      paternal aunt.
*luŋdze·k*  n.,  [*luŋ* rock + *ce·k* piece] small stone, pebble;
      cf. *luŋdziʔ*.
*luŋdziʔ*   n.,  [*luŋ* rock + *ciʔ* bit] gravel, pebbles; cf.
      *kha·mdziʔ, luŋdze·k*.
*luŋgi*  n.,  [ʔ< Nep. *luṅgī*] male casual dress consisting of
      one large coloured sheet of cloth wrapped around
      the legs and tucked in at the waist, identical to
      the casual dress worn by the Indo-Aryans in the
      *Tarāī* and the Burmese national dress or *lunkhyi*
      (*loũji*). As opposed to the Burmese, Limbus do not
      wear a *luŋgi* outside of a domestic situation.
*luŋhuŋ*  n.,  [< *luŋ* rock, stone] large flat stone on the
      ground used as a surface for pounding spices (Nep.
      *śilauṭā*), in conjunction with a *luŋsaʔl*, q.v.
*luŋhi*  n.,  [*luŋ* rock, stone + *hi* shit, excrement] lichen
      (used by the Limbus in ointment for cuts and
      wounds).
*luŋma*  n.,  liver; heart, vide *nɛrɛʔl*; cf. -*luŋma himmaʔ*,
      *luŋma hi·pmaʔ*.

*luŋma* n., [< *luŋ* stone, rock] (in compounds only) mountain range; vide *pho·ktaŋluŋma, sɛnche·luŋma, waraŋ-luŋma*.

-*luŋma himma?, -hips/-him-* vi., 1) [*luŋma* liver] miss yearn, experience nostalgia, experience the grief of separation (Nep. *viraha lāgnu*); *sa·?rik a-luŋma him* (very my-heart yearn/nostalgia/miss) I am extremely overwhelmed by the grief of separation, by nostalgia; *kɛluŋma him ləcə* I see you're over-whelmed with longing; 2) with unidentified pf. (possibly for purposes of metre) in the proverb: *yɔkma-yo· te·him luŋma pəhim* When away from home, one inevitably becomes homesick; cf. *luŋma hi·p-ma?*.

*luŋma hi·pma?, -luŋma hi·pma?, -hi·pt-/-hi·p-* vt., [dir. < -*luŋma himma?* experience yearning] miss someone; *luŋma kɛhiptwi·?* Do you miss him?; *khɛnɛ? kɛbe·k-?ille gɔ· luŋma hipnɛ ro·!* I'll sure miss you when you're gone!; *kɛbe·k?ille khɛnɛ? luŋma hi·pnɛt-chige* We'll miss you when you go; *andzumin sa·?rik aluŋma hi·ptuŋ* I miss my friend very much.

*luŋma?, -luks-/-luŋ-* vt., [dir. < *lukma?* be completed] complete; *ya·mbɔk ɛn lɔk luks-u-ŋ* (work today only complete-3P-1sA) I shall only be able to complete the work today (i.e. I have not gotten around to completing it before today); *pa·n luksuŋ* I have said what I have to say; *nisa·mhim pe·k-ma? luks-u-ŋ* (school go-INF complete-3P-1sA) I have finished going to school, I don't go to school anymore.

*luŋsa?l* n., [*luŋ* rock, stone + *sa?l* offspring, child] ir-regular oblong egg-shaped pounding stone held in the hand and used in conjunction with a *luŋghuŋ*, q.v.; cf. *ko·co·sa?l, mɛnda?sa?l, myaŋsa?l, pu-sa?l, phaksa?l, wa?sa?l*.

*luŋsum* n., [< *luŋ* rock, stone + *\*sum ?*mortar (cf. *sum-bo·ŋ*)] 1) gizzard; 2) circular hand-driven grind-ing stone consisting of two circular slabs lying one atop the other, the upper one equipped with a stick handle and a hole in the centre through which a wooden pivot loosely holds it in place with respect to the slab underneath; *ma·ki-luŋsum* a large *luŋsum* for grinding maize (*ma·ki* maize); *pe·na?-luŋsum* a smaller *luŋsum* for grinding red millet (*pe·na?* millet); See the illustration at the top of the following page.
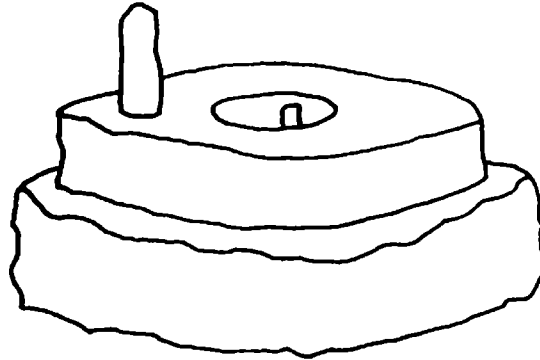
*luŋsum*

*lup* n., large grey leech whose larvae infest puddles and drinking holes, whence they enter the nostrils and sinuses of cattle where they mature; when full-grown and glutted they abandon their roost through the nostrils of the drinking cow to re-enter the water and multiply; the *lup* can be lured out of its bovine host by splashing water up the cow's nose and grabbing the hydrophilic *lup* as it gropes downward with its posterior extremity; the *lup* seldom infests humans, but can then be extracted following the same procedure; cf. *lakphɛʔl*.

*lupɛʔl* n., pile, heap.

*lupmaʔ*, -*lupt-/-lup-* vt., teach manners, cause to behave, have take care of, run (a household).

*lupmaʔ*, -*lupt-/-lup-* 1) vi., be buried; *luptɛ* It is buried; 2) vt., bury something; cf. *lummaʔ*.

*lu·* adv., ahead, on ahead.

*lu·kmaʔ*, -*lu·g-/-lu·k-* vi., fall (from or out of a tree); *kudzaʔ-haʔ mɛ-lu·g-ɛ mɛ-dhe·* (fruit-p nsAS-fall‿ from‿the‿tree-PT-nsAS fall/PT) The fruits have fallen from the tree; *ku-bhɛkwa kɛrɛk lu·g-ɛ dhe·* (its-foliage all fall‿from‿the‿tree-PT fall/PT) The tree has shed all its leaves.

*lu·ŋmaʔ*, -*lu·ks-/-lu·ŋ-* vt., 1) husk (*ma·ki* maize, i.e. the leaves from the cob); cf. *le·pmaʔ*; 2) shake fruits (*kudzaʔ*) out of a tree; *kudzaʔ lu·ks-u-ŋ dhas-u-ŋ* (fruit shake‿out-3P-1sA knock‿down--3P-1sA) I shook the fruits out of the tree.

*lya* interj. expressing exasperation on the part of the speaker.

*lyaŋmaʔ*, -*lyaks-/-lyaŋ-* vi., slide, slip; cf. *lɛ·ŋmaʔ le·mmaʔ*.

*lyɛ·ŋ*  onomatopoeia, slap across the face; *lyɛ·ŋ kusiŋ lɔʔmaʔ* slap someone across the face; *lyɛ·ŋ kusiŋ lɔʔnɛ!* I'll slap you across the face!; cf. *lɔʔmaʔ* (II), *pyak*.

## m

*ma*, *-mma*  n., mother, (also familiarly: mother-in-law).

*ma pakma*, *-mma pakma*  n., ego's father's second wife (if ego is the child of the first wife).

*ma tumma*, *-mma tumma*  n., ego's father's first wife (if ego is the child of the second wife).

*maʔiŋ*  n., ego's mother's bond-friend or *se·ma*, q.v.

*maʔyu*  n., bear.

*madza*  n., [< Nep. *majjā*] fun.

*maikro·skɔp*  n., [< Nep. *māikroskop* (*sūkṣmadarśak yantra*) < Eng.] microscope.

*maila*  n., [< Nep. *mailā*] dirt.

*maiti*  n., [< Nep. *māitī*] members of the paternal or maiden household of a married girl who has joined the household of her spouse; cf. *sammaba*.

*mak*  adj., black; *mak lɔʔ* It looks black, it is black; cf. *lɔʔmaʔ* (2,6).

*makco·ʔl*  n., [< *mak* black + *co·ʔl* digit; cf. *hukco·ʔl*, *laŋco·ʔl*] black or charred embers; cf. *midhappu*, *midzula*, *migha·k*, *migho·mbe·*, *mihaʔl*, *misaŋ*.

*makkɛlɔʔba*  adj., [*mak* black + AP of *lɔʔmaʔ* 'to appear'] black; cf. *kumakla*, *maktaŋba*.

*maklɛp*  n., [< *mak* black] birth mark.

*maktaŋba*  adj.n., [*mak* black + *-taŋba* 2.1.2] black, black-kind; a black one; cf. *kumakla*, *makkɛlɔʔba*.

*mamma*  n., mama.

*maŋ*  n., deity.

*maŋba·la·*  n., [*maŋ* deity + *ba·la·* < Nep. *pālā* period, era] ancient times, the period when primordial man lived together in harmony with the gods; cf. *haŋba·la·*.

*maŋbhaya·ppa*  adj., [*\*maŋbha* medium-sized + *ya·pmaʔ* be an amount, *-pa* nom. sf.] medium-sized; cf. *kɔŋya·ppa*, *khɛŋya·ppa*.

*maŋdɔk*  n., [*maŋ* deity + *tɔk* cooked rice] a staple made of black millet meal, ground on a *pe·naʔ-luŋsum*, then cooked and molded into large black cucumber-shaped rolls which are traditionally eaten with a *yummaʔl* made of stinging nettle (*sikwa*).

*maŋgalba·r*  n., [< Nep. *mã̄galvār*] Tuesday.

*maŋghɔ·maʔ*, *maŋ-ghɔ·y-/maŋ-ghɔ·-*   vi., [< *maŋ* god + *khɔ·- maʔ* invoke, q.v.] cry wildly or half-wittedly, rant and rave; *o·khre· maila yəmmu maŋghɔ·* (*Okhre Mahilā* again rants) *Okhre Mahilā* is ranting and raving again; cf. *maŋkho·pmaʔ*.

*maŋkho·pmaʔ*, *maŋ-kho·tɛ-/maŋ-kho·t-/maŋ-kho·ʔl*   vt.vi., [*maŋ* deity + dir. < *khɔ·maʔ* pray] exorcise spirits from someone (= patient); *phe·daŋmɛ-lle khɛnɛʔ maŋgɛgho·ʔl* The shaman will exorcise you; *phe·daŋ-mahaʔre maŋmɛgho·ttɛ* The shamans exorcised.

*masi*   n., barley.

*masi-phe·ʔrum*   n., barley flour.

*ma·ki*   n., [< Nep. *makai*] maize; *nɔ·mnaba ma·ki* popcorn; cf. *lɛndzya*, *khe·kya*.

*ma·kibo·n*   n., [< *ma·ki* maize] whitely popped, well popped popcorn (as opposed to the half-popped or poorly popped pieces).

*ma·kibhe·*   n., [*ma·ki* maize + *phe·* cob] corn cob, maize cob.

*ma·kidɔk*   n., [*ma·ki* maize + *tɔk* cooked grain] a *tɔk* made from coarsely ground maize; *phutmʔnaba ma·kidɔk* (lit. mixed *ma·kidɔk*) a half and half mixture of *ma·kidɔk* and *wɛtchyaʔdɔk*, q.v.

*ma·kilaŋ*   n., [*ma·ki* maize + *laŋ* leg] maize stalk, corn-stalk.

*ma·ki-phe·ʔrum*   n., maize flour.

*ma·khi*   n., blood.

*ma·khilam*   n., [*ma·khi* blood + *lam* road] vein, artery, blood vessel.

*ma·kkho·ʔ*   n., garlic.

*ma·kkhunde·*   [< *mak* black] 1) adj., turbid, muddy; *cwaʔl ma·kkhunde· co·k* The water is muddy; 2) n., muddy water; also: slang for *thi·*, served lukewarm, cf. the metaphorical usage of *se·dzɔŋwa*.

*ma·kmaʔ*, *-ma·kt-/-ma·k-*   vt., see (in the expression: *sɛp-maŋ ma·kmaʔ* 'to dream').

*ma·ksip*   n., [< *ma·ki* maize] corn cob leaf, maize cob leaf, used as rolling papers; cf. *ho·pmʔnaba*.

*ma·le·*   adj., [< Nep. *māle*] motley, particoloured (with regard to the colouration of livestock).

*ma·maʔ*, *-ma·s-/-ma·-*   vt., [caus. < *ma·maʔ* become lost] lose; cf. *ma·maʔ*, *niŋwa ma·maʔ*.

*ma·maʔ*, *-mɔy-/-ma·-*   vi., be lost, get lost, become lost; *amɔyɛ kusiŋ lɔʔ* It looks like we've lost track of each other; cf. *lɛŋmaʔ*, *ma·maʔ*, *nɛhi ma·maʔ*, *po·tmaʔ*.

*ma·mmaʔ*, *-ma·nd-/-ma·n-*   vt., [dir. < *ma·pmaʔ* be used up]

finish, use up; *kɔŋ ma·ki kɛma·ndubai·?* Have you finished all this maize?

*ma·ŋgha*   adv., far.

*ma·ŋma?*, *-ma·ks-/ma·ŋ-*   vi., be far, be faraway; *ma·ksɛ* It has gotten to be far away; *sa·rik ma·ŋ* It's extremely far away.

*ma·pma?*, *-ma·r-/-ma·t-/-ma·?1*   vi., be finished, be used up; *yaŋ ma·rɛ* there's no more money left; *pitnu ma·?1* the milk will be used up; cf. *ma·mma?*.

*ma·siŋma?*   vr., [< *ma·ma?* lose] pass away, decease; *ma·siŋnɛ?1* He's about to die; *thɔŋ?o· ma·siŋɛ* He passed away in the war; cf. *sima?*.

*me·'?e·*, *me·nne·*   postp., [< npG affixes] without; *te·rathum tyaŋaŋ cum me·?e· wayaŋ* I came to Tehrathum and was without friends.

*me·?1*   n., wife.

*me·?ma?*, *-me·?r-/-me·?-*   1) vi., be fat, be pudgy, be overweight; 2) vi. (or vt., with non-referential 3sP agreement) get fat, become overweight.

*me·kma?*, *-me·kt-/-me·k-*   vi., bleat (of goats).

*me·me·thumma*   n., widow.

*me·n*   vi., negative 'to be', vide 3.1.1; i.e. 'it is not the case that'.

*me·nduk*   vi.inv., 1) no; 2) is not (the negative form of the suffixal 'to be', vide 3.1.1).

*me·nne·*   vide *me·?e·*.

*me·wa*   n., [< Nep. *mevā*] papaya.

*mɛkma?*, *-mɛg-/-mɛk-*   vi., run out (of a supply of something), become depleted; *sya? yɔllik yaŋkho·tt-u-ŋ yuks-u-ŋ-ba, mɛg-ɛ rɔcɔ* (husked rice much stockpile-3P-1sA put-3P-1sA-IPF [but] run‿out-PT DEPR) I stockpiled a lot of rice, but it seems to have run out.

*mɛlluŋ*   n., dowry; cf. *phu?siŋma?*.

*mɛn*   n., value, price.

*mɛncha?*, *-mmɛncha-*   n., [*mɛn* + *sa?* child] grandchild.

*mɛnchamdiŋ*   n., [*mɛn* <? *mɔna* man + *sam* spirit, soul + *\*-diŋ* directional suffix, cf. *cupsaŋdiŋ*, *phɛnchaŋdiŋ*] sentient man, man as an embodied spirit or soul.

*mɛnchukma*   adj.f., [*mɛn-* NEG + *sukma?* be able + *-ma* NOM/f] pregnant.

*mɛnchum?na*   adj., [NP of *suma?* 'to touch'] (lit. untouchable) in menstruation, in a four-day state of untouchability due to menstruation; a menstruating person bathes herself on the first and fourth day of her period and refrains from 'contaminating' other people's food, water or speech in the inte-

rim; kɔŋ mɛnchuma·n mɛnchumʔna po·ksɛ This girl
has started menstruating, i.e. is temporarily
impure and untouchable; cf. Nep. nachune < chunu
'to touch'.

mɛnchumʔnaba   n., [mɛnchumʔna (q.v.) + -pa nom.sf.] lit.
untouchability, viz. menstruation, four-day state
of impurity and untouchability due to menstrua-
tion.

mɛnchuma   n., woman, lady.

mɛnchuma-saʔ   n., [lit. woman-child] daughter (term used to
disambiguate gender of saʔ when this is not obvi-
ous).

mɛnchya   n., maiden, young lady; cf. kɛpmaʔ (3).

mɛnchya-purup   n., [mɛnchya maiden + *purup cluster] the
Pleiades (constellation).

mɛnchya yəmma thɛgu   n., (lit. large maiden mountain) name
of the highest peak visible from Tamphulā to the
northnorthwest; pe·ni-ba·n-lam khɛŋ-le ku-miŋ
ho·p-pa, mɛnchya yəmma thɛgu rɔk mɛ-mɛtt-u (Ne-
pali-language-via that-GEN its-name not_to_be-IPF,
maiden large mountain only nsAS-say-3P) There's no
name for it in Nepali, it is just called (in Lim-
bu) the large maiden mountain.

mɛndaʔ   n., goat.

mɛndaʔsaʔ1   n., [mɛndaʔ goat + saʔ1 ~ saʔ child, offspring]
kid; cf. ko·co·saʔ1, luŋsaʔ1, myaŋsaʔ1, pusaʔ1,
phaksaʔ1, waʔsaʔ1.

mɛndaʔsikkiʔ   n., [lit. goat-rope] leash or rope to tie up
a goat to a post or tree.

mɛnnuba   adj., [mɛn- NEG + nuba good] bad.

mɛŋmaʔ, -mɛks-/-mɛŋ-   vt., [caus. < mɛkmaʔ get depleted] to
'have done it again' (sarcastic); hɛndzaʔbitcha-
-re yəllik mɛ-mɛks-u rəcə (children-ERG much nsAS-
'have_done_it_again' DEPR) It seems the children
have really done it again; yəllik kɛ-mɛks-u rəcə
(much 2-'have_done_it_again'-3P DEPR) You've
really made a mess of it this time; a·kkhya·k
kɛ-mɛks-u (how_much 2-'have_done_it_again'-3P)
What have you pulled this time?

mɛpmaʔ, -mɛtt-/-mɛt-/-mɛʔ1   vt., 1) tell someone, say to
someone (takes animate patient, except in the
expression kɔŋ-in pe·ni-ba·n-lam hɛn mɛ-mɛtt-u
(this-ABS Nepali-language-via what nsAS-say_to-3P)
What do they say to this in Nepali, i.e. What do
they call this in Nepali?; idzige·k mɛmmɛttunni·?
Don't they (viz. speakers of Pãcthare Limbu) call
this a 'knot'?; cf. pa·tmaʔ); 2) do unto someone;

commit; 3) observe (viz. a practice); *co·ʔco·ʔ məpmaʔ* - n. + vt., (also *co·ʔco·ʔ phimmaʔ, -phind-/ -phin-*) observe the practice of *co·ʔco·ʔ*, i.e. the practice of sprinkling a bit of cooked rice onto the floor next to one's plate prior to commencement of any meal in order to feed and thereby appease any malicious spirits which might be in the house. *Co·ʔco·ʔ* is performed again if anyone should enter the house or be heard rustling about outside during the course of the meal, thereby possibly unwittingly escorting a malevolent ghost to dinner from outdoors; the practice of *co·ʔco·ʔ* is also observed when eating out of doors on the road where the risk of becoming afflicted by a *so·gha, sugup* or *sisam* is greater; the practice is meant to show deference to and placate disincarnate spirits, lest they afflict (*haʔmaʔ*) one of those partaking of the meal; *apsānī caḍhāunu*; 4) *imʔim məpmaʔ* vt., wink at someone; 5) *iŋdo· məpmaʔ*, n. + vt., afflict someone with an illness; this type of affliction is caused only by the jungle goddess *ta·mbhuŋna* or the outdoor deity *pa·kkhabɛn*. Young children are particularly, though not exclusively, susceptible to *iŋdo·*; *ta·mbhuŋnɛlle iŋdo· məttu* The jungle goddess afflicted him; *pa·kkhabɛlle iŋdo· məttaŋ* The outdoor deity afflicted me; cf. *haʔmaʔ*; 6) *pho·ŋ məpmaʔ* kick someone; *pho·ŋ mɛttɛʔ!* Kick him!; cf. *tammaʔ*; 7) apply (eg. *sidha* 'medicine'); *sidha mɛt-chiŋ-ɛʔ!* (medicine apply-REF-IMP) Put some ointment on [yourself]!; 8) *tho·waŋ yo·waŋ məpmaʔ* suffer from dysentery, have to vomit and excrete diarrhoea simultaneously; *tho·waŋ yo·waŋ məttaŋ, khɔkmɛlle syaŋ!* I had dysentery and almost died!; cf. *phi·pmaʔ*; 9) *la·tthaʔ məpmaʔ* (used impersonally) get better, recuperate; *ciʔ la·tthaʔ məttaŋ* I've gotten a little better; cf. *lɔʔmaʔ* (10); 10) *pa·n məpmaʔ* scold, attack (verbally), demand an explanation.

*məna* n., man, person.

*məna-nu* n., [lit. human-nipple] nipple, breast; this compound disambiguates *nu*, which is homophonous with the 3s/NPT form of *numaʔ* 'be good' and with *nu* 'milk'.

*məna-sidza* n., [lit. man-fly] housefly, Musca domestica.

*məne·thikmaʔ, məne·-thikt-/məne·-thik-* vi., mutter curses to oneself in anger, mumble invectives under one's

breath.

*mə'ra* n., mouth.

*mə'rasik* n., [< *məra* mouth] upper lip.

*mə'rawase·* n., [< *məra* mouth] lip.

*məsu* adv., 1) slowly, gradually; *məsu laŋghe·ʔgɛʔ, alaŋ tuk!* Walk slowly, my leg hurts!; 2) quietly; *məsu pa·ʔrɛ?, amghɛm!* Talk softly, they'll hear usᴾⁱ!

*mi* n., tail.

*mi* n., fire

*-miʔ* n., sleepiness, drowsiness; in the expression: *-miʔ wama?, -miʔ yu·ma?,* vide *wama?, yu·ma?;* cf. *im-ma?.*

*miʔlliŋ* adv., last year; cf. *atche·ma, aʔnɛmma, ɛnniŋ, sumliŋ.*

*midikma?, mi-dig-/mi-dik-* vi., [< *mi* fire] become burnt (of food which has been overheated), become charred.

*midɔre·* n., [< *mi* tail] large black bird with a long beautiful black-and-white and dazzling, blue, banner-shaped tail; Nep. *lāmpucchre.*

*midhappu* n., [*mi* fire + *thappu* ash] half-burnt piece of wood, to be re-used in the next fire; cf. *mak-co·ʔl, midzula, migha·k, migho·mbe·, miha?l, misaŋ.*

*midza·ʔma?, mi-ca·ʔr-/mi-ca·ʔ-* vi., [< *mi* fire + *ca·ʔma?*] warm oneself by the fire; cf. *kaŋsiŋma?, nam-ca·ʔma?.*

*midzula* n., [*mi* fire + *cula* < Nep. *cuhlā, cuhlo*] fireplace (not a *cuhlo!*); cf. *makco·ʔl, midhappu, migha·k, migho·mbe·, miha?l, misaŋ.*

*migha·k* n., [*mi* fire + < *kha·kma?* congeal; cf. *kha·kmi?l, kha·kwɛ?l, le·gha·k, mikho·?, namdzi?kho·?, nɛhik-khɔk*] a glowing ember, smouldering red ember; cf. *makco·ʔl, midhappu, midzula, migho·mbe·, miha?l, misaŋ.*

*migho·mbe·* n., [< *mi* fire] a stick shoved into the smouldering embers of a used fire after all the half-burned pieces of wood (*midhappu*) have been salvaged for subsequent use. The *migho·mbe·* keeps the fire alive under the powdery ash and is used to relight the next fire; See the illustration at the top of the following page; cf. *ho·mma?;* cf. *mak-co·ʔl, midhappu, midzula, migha·k, miha?l, misaŋ.*

*miha?l* n., [< *mi* fire] a bed of glowing embers; cf. *makco·ʔl, midhappu, midzula, migha·k, migho·mbe·, misaŋ.*

*mik* n., eye; cf. *-mik ya·ma?.*
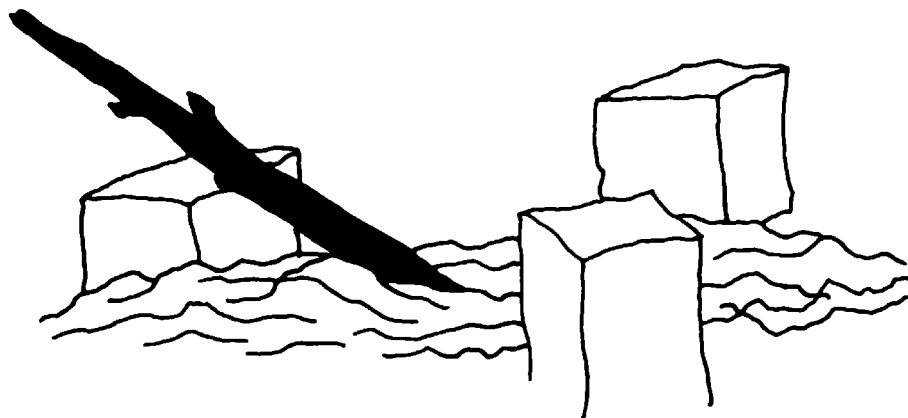
*migho·mbe·*

*mikci?* n., [*mik* eye + *ci?* bit] dirt in one's eyes, exudate in one's eyes due to infection; *amikci? sa·rik lɔ·n* There's lots of exudate in my eyes; Nep. *ciprā, kacerā*; cf. *mikci?bənbən, mikhi, hadzi?*.

*mikci?bənbən* n., [<*mikci?* eye exudate] profuse purulent exudate or mucous secretion covering the eye resulting from an infection.

*mikco·?i?ma?, mikco·?-i?r-/mikco·?-i?-* vt., [< *mik* eye] keep an eye on someone or something; *pi?lha? mikco·?i?ma?si po·ŋ. mikco·?i?rɛsɛ?! ~ mikco·?i?ruŋsiŋ ŋa!* The cattle will have to be kept track off. Keep an eye on them! - Don't worry, I will.

*mikhɛtla* n., [*mik* eye + *hɛt* red + *-la* colour suffix] 1) bloodshot eyes; 2) money (slang).

*mik-hi* n., [*mik* eye + *hi* shit, excrement] eye detritus; cf. *mikci?, nɛghɔ?hi*.

*mikkho·* n., [< *mik* eye] brow.

*mikkho·k* n., [< *mik* eye] skull.

*mikkhuŋ, mikkhuŋba* n., [< *mik* eye] eyebrows.

*mikluŋ* n., [< *mik* eye] condition of having slept enough, state of having gotten enough sleep (with *kɛpma?* 'arrive'); *kɛmikluŋ kɛ?rɛi·ba?* - *amikluŋ kɛ?rɛ* Have you gotten enough sleep? - Yes, I have; cf. *hɔ?ma?ŋ, imma?, ipmna, kha?l, mi?*.

*mikma?, -mikt-/-mik-* vi., be in effect (of *wa* 'thirst'); *awa miktɛ* I'm thirsty.

*mikphuŋ* n., [< *mik* eye + *phuŋ* flower] eyelashes; cf. *miksaŋ*.

*mikphu?la* n., [*mik* eye + *phu?* (*phɔ ~ phu?*) white + *la* colour suffix] Englishman, European (cf. Bur.

*myak-hna-phyu*, lit. white face: *myakhna* 'face [*myak* 'eye' + *hna* 'nose'] + *phyu* 'be white'); cf. *kha·mbhu?la*.

*miksaŋ* n., [< *mik* eye] eyelashes; cf. *mikphuŋ*.

*miksuk* n., [*mik* eye + *suk* < *sukma?* be able] vision, eyesight; (collocates esp. with *numa?*, *ya·kma?* and *mɛnnuma?*, *ho·pma?*) *kumiksuk nu rɜcɜ* His eyesight appears to be O.K.; *kɛmiksuk ya·k?i·ba* Is your eyesight alright.

*miksu'rumba* adj., [< *mik* eye + *sur-* < *su?ma?* finish] blind.

*miksye·n* n., [< *mik* eye] points of recognition, familiar places or faces; *po·ttaŋ*, *amiksye·n ho·p* I've lost my way, I have no points of recognition.

*mikthɛkthɛk* vide *co·kma?* (3).

*mikwa* n., [*mik* eye + *\*wa* water] 1) tear; cf. *thapma?*; 2) puss; *ho·?o· lam mikwa lɔ·ndɛ* puss came out of the furuncle.

*mikwara·p* n., [*mikwa* tear + *la·p* wing] bat.

*mikwya·ŋsi* n., [< *mik* eye, < *-si* dual sf.] eyelid, eyelids.

*-mik ya·ma?*, *-ya·s-/-ya·-* vi., be horrified by something one sees or imagines will happen; *kumik ya·sɛ* She was horrified to see it; *aŋga ɔ·mɛmɔ?lɛn hɛnaŋbhɛllɜ amik ya·* I'm not going to look at it because I'll be horrified at the sight of it.

*mi-kho·?* (with absolutive suffix: *mi-kha·?-in*) n., [*mi* fire + < *kha·kma?* condense; cf. *kha·kmi?l*, *kha·k-wɛ?l*, *le·gha·k*, *migha·k*, *namdzi?kho·?*, *nɛhikkhɔk*] smoke; cf. *tɔma?* (1).

*miŋ* n., name.

*miŋla* n., [< *miŋ* name] reputation, honour; *kumiŋla nuba khɛmdɛ?l*, *sumsum kɛlɔ?ba* His reputation is heard to be good, he's a well-mannered person.

*misaŋ* n., [< *mi* fire] flame; cf. *makco·?l*, *midhappu*, *midzula*, *migha·k*, *migho·mbe·*, *miha?l*.

*mise·k* n., [< *mi* fire] spark.

*mise·k-sammaŋ* n., [lit. spark-deity] household deity, consort of the *thɛba-sammaŋ* and *yuma-sammaŋ*; it becomes irate when neglected, and it is therefore important to sacrifice an egg to it roughly every six months. If angered, it causes the eruption of boils or blisters (*phɔkwa*) all over the body which may subside if the *mise·ksammaŋ* is appeased by the sacrifice of an egg.

*miya?* n., [*mi* fire + *ya?* paddy] *ya?ro·n* dried by the fire.

*mi·kma?*, *-mi·g-/-mi·k-* vi., sink away, sink into (eg. mud,

not water; cf. *humma?*); *khɛnɛ? hilo·?o· kɛmi·k lo·!* You'll sink into the mud if you don't watch out!

*mo·ma?*, *-mɔy-/-mo·-* vt., dig with a spade, till the soil, work the soil.

*mɔci* n., [<? Hindi *mirc*] chilly pepper; Nep. *khorsānī, khursānī*.

*mɔ'gɔk*, *-mgɔk* n., anus; cf. *higho·mba*.

*mɔi* n., [< Nep. *mahī*] whey.

*mɔkma?*, *-mɔkt-/-mɔk-* 1) vi., be hot (of liquids); *ci? ci? mɔk mɔk* (lit. a little, little bit warm) lukewarm; cf. *haŋwama?*, *le·kma?*, *ko·ma?*, *ya·mma?*, *yɛmma?*; 2) vt., boil, cook, warm up, heat up (liquids); *pitnu mɔktuŋ* I'm boiling the milk.

*mɔkwa* n., [< *mɔkma?* to boil + *\*wa* water] 1) hot scalding water; 2) tea.

*mɔtto·* n., [< Nep. *mato*] opinion, idea, notion.

*mɔya* n., vulture.

*mɔ·ma?*, *-mɔy-/-mɔ·-* vt.imp., intoxicate, inebriate; *khɛŋha? mɔy-u-si* (theyP inebriate-3P-nsP) They are drunk; *thi·-re kɛ-mɔy-ɛ* (millet‿beer-ERG 2-inebriate-PT) The *jā̃d* has gotten you drunk; *thi· mɛn--dhuŋ-?ɛ? hɛnaŋbhɛlle thi·-re a-mɔ·!* (millet‿beer NEG-drink-IMP because millet‿beer-ERG 1-inebriate) Don't drink millet beer because it gets you drunk!; *mɔ·-?ɛ* (inebriate-1sPS/NPT) I'm getting drunk.

*mɔ·ma?*, *-mɔy-/-mɔ·-* vt., (with *se·wa* 'greetings') show obeisance, greet formally, bow; *se·wa mɔ·ma? wa· gɔrɔ se·wa mɔyammɛ?!* If youP must proffer obeisance, then do so!

*mu* reported speech part.; *tha·?-?ɛ dha-?ɛ-ba mu* (leave‿ behind‿for-1sPS/NPT leave-1sPS/npt-IPF REP) They say/It is said he's leaving it behind for me.

*mudho·k* vide *mudhuk*.

*mudhuk*, *mudho·k* n., 1) moustache; cf. *tha·ŋtho·k*; 2) (non-human) whiskers.

*mukma?*, *-mukt-/-muk-* vi., strike, sound (of a bell, clock, musical instrument); *a·kkhɛn mukt-ɛ* (how‿much strike-PT) what time is it? (Nep. *kati bajyo*); cf. *muŋma?*.

*mukhya* n., [< Nep. *mukhya* main] the main thing.

*mulo·pma?*, *mu-lo·tt-/mu-lo·t-/mu-lo·?1* vt., [< *lo·pma?* underlay] lay down underneath, lay down a substrate, underlay.

*mumma?* vide *-niŋwa mumma?*.

*mumma?*, *-mund-/-mun-* vt., stir up; cf. *khɔmma?*, *sa·ŋma?*.

*mundhum*   n., story.

*muŋma?*, *-muks-/-muŋ-*   vt., [caus. < *mukma?* sound] sound, strum, strike, play (a musical instrument, bell, drum).

*mupma?*, *-mutt-/-mut-/-mu?l*   vt., blow at something; *mi·n se· bha?aŋ yammu mupma? mɛnunɛn* If the fire dies out [in the preparation of *samdɔk*], it is not permitted to fan it (back to life) again; cf. *pho·te·*.

*murik*   n., body hair, feathers; cf. *hiramurik*, *hukmurik*, *laŋmurik*, *le·murik*.

*murukkuruk*   adv., very high, extreme (collocates with *tha·-ma?* (vi.), q.v.).

*muse·ŋ*   n., smile, vide *muse·ŋ ye·pma?*.

*muso·k*   n., comedy, funniness, laughs.

*muso·kke·*   n., [*muso·k* q.v. + *-ke·* nom.sf.; cf. *sɘllakke·*, *ware·?ge·*] comedian, humorist, jokesmith.

*mutche·*   n., breadfruit, breadfruit tree Artocarpus lakoocha; Nep. *baḍahar*.

*mutthama?*   vi.irr., fall (through the air); cf. *muttha·ma*.

*muttha·ma?*, *mut-tha·s-/mut-tha·-*   vt., [caus. < *mutthama?* fall] drop something; *kɛ-dhge·k-?o· muttha·s-u-ŋ* (your*-head-LOC drop-3P-1sA) I dropped it on your head.

*mutthuk*   adj.adv., spastically, hastily, hurriedly, headlong; *ɛn kɛndzumin mutthuk?aŋ mutthuk a·tto· tha·-siŋba ya?* Where is your friend off to in such a hurry today?; *sullisulli*.

*muthi*, *muṭi*   n., [< Nep. *muṭṭhī*] fist; cf. *muthi pupma?*.

*mu·mɛncha?*, *mu·mɛncha-*   n., [< *mɛncha?* grandchild] great-grandchild.

*myaŋ*   n., cat; tom cat.

*myanluŋ*   n., [*myaŋ* cat + *luŋ* stone, rock] mythological name of the village in which a portion of the field work which formed the basis of this study was conducted. The village *myaŋluŋ* (Nep. *myāñluñ*) is located in Tehrathum district, Koshi (*kośī*) zone in eastern Nepal.

*myaŋma*   n., [< *myaŋ* cat] 1) pussy cat; 2) (secretive slang) *se·dzɔŋwa*, q.v.

*myaŋsa?l*   n., [*myaŋ* cat + *sa?l* ~ *sa?* child, offspring] kitten; cf. *ko·co·sa?l*, *luŋsa?l*, *mɛnda?sa?l*, *pu-sa?l*, *phaksa?l*, *wa?sa?l*.

*n*

*na* n., fish.

*na* n., face; cf. *lɔ?ma?* (6), *nara*.

*na*, *la* emphatic clitic.

*na?ma?*, *-na?r-/-na?-* vt., 1) abandon someone or some-
thing, neglect someone or something; *kundzumille*
*na?ru* His friend abandoned him; cf. *lɛ?ma?*;
2) vi.vt., abstain from, not eat something; *sa*
*kɛna?i·?* Do you not eat meat?; *tɔk kɛdzɔi· kɛna?-*
*i·?* Are you going to eat or aren't you?; *kɛna?ru-*
*bai·?* - *na?ruŋba* Aren't you going to eat it? - I
will abstain; cf. *nɛpma?*.

*na?nu?ma?*, *na?-nu?r-/na?-nu?-* vt., love (ἔρως as between
lovers, not as between parent and child); cf.
*siradhaŋma?*.

*na?nu?siŋma?* vr., [< *na?nu?ma?* love] love one another.

*nabhu* num.col., five; cf. *nasi*.

*nadha·kkriŋ* adj., [< *na* face] deaf; cf. *namɛŋghɛmm?na*.

*nadho· co·kma?* vide *co·kma?* (2).

*nak* n., splinter.

*nakca* n., [< *nak* splinter] pen, pencil.

*nakma*, *-nnakma* n., ego's brother's daughter (female speak-
ing).

*nakma paŋmi*, *-nnakma paŋli* n., ego's brother's daughter's
husband (female speaking).

*nakma?*, *-nakt-/-nak-* vi., be confused, be at a loss for
words, be overwhelmed; *kɛnaktɛbai·?* Are you con-
fused?; *lam?o· naktaŋ* I got confused on the way;
cf. *naŋma?*, *po·tma?*.

*nakpa*, *-nnakpa* n., ego's brother's son (female speaking).

*nakpa paŋli*, *-nnakpa paŋli* n., ego's brother's son's wife
(female speaking).

*naksumba* n., elbow.

*nam*, *na·m* n., sun, sunshine; cf. *liŋma*, *nam tha·ma* under
*tha·ma?* (5), *tɔma?*, *thama?*.

*nam* n., [< *namma?* smell] smell, aroma; *phuŋ-ille ku-nam nu*
(flower-GEN its-aroma be_good) The flower smells
good; cf. *namma?*, *namsu?ma?*.

*nam* n., basket handle.

*nam* n., [< *namma?* smell] smell, aroma; *phuŋ-ille ku-nam nu*
(flower-GEN its-aroma be_good) The flower smells
good; cf. *namma?*, *namsu?ma?*.

*nam* n., basket handle.

*nam?i?kho·?* vide *namdzi?kho·?*.

*nambutthuŋ* n.myth., [*nam* sun + *putthuŋ* foam, cf. *putthuŋ-*
*wa*] lit. solar foam; foam originating from the

left whilst churning, originating from clockwise
rotation; cf. *la·bbutthuŋ*.

***nambhɛrik*** adv.myth., [*nam* sun + *phɛrik* churning rod, q.v.]
lit. solar churning road; churning clockwise, to
the right; cf. *la·bbhɛrik*.

***nambhɔr*** n., sunburn; *nambhɔr lɔ·nd-ɛ-ba* (sunburn come_out-
-PT-IPF) [I've/he's/you've] got sunburned.

***namca·ʔma?***, *nam-ca·ʔr-/nam-ca·ʔ-*   vi., [*nam* sun + *ca·ʔma?*]
warm oneself in the sun; *khɛni hɛnaŋ namkɛndza·ʔ-*
*rin?* Why aren't youP going to get any sun?; *aŋga*
*namca·ʔɛ* I'm going to go get some sun; cf. *kaŋsiŋ-*
*ma?*, *mica·ʔma?*.

***namde·ŋgu***, *namdhiŋgo·*   n., [< *nam* sun] rainbow; rainbow-
ring around the sun (the latter type of rainbow is
interpreted to be a gathering of deities (*maŋha?*)
who debate on the death of some important person.
The side of the rainbow which fades away first
indicates the geographical direction in which the
death is to occur); cf. *iŋwa?* (3), *la·bde·ŋgu*,
*wa?ma?ma* (2).

***namdha***   vide *namtha*.

***namdhanahaŋ***   [*namdha* west + *\*nahaŋ* direction] 1) n., west;
2) adv., in the west, westward.

***namdhe·ʔl***   n., [*nam* sun + *\*the·ʔl* threshold, cf. *lamdhe·ʔl*]
the borderline between shadow and sun; *namdhe·ʔlin*
*a·tto· kɛ?rɛ?* How far has the sun gotten (How much
has the shade-line receded)?; cf. *namdzi?kho·?*,
*samrippa*.

***namdhiŋgo·***   vide *namde·ŋgu*.

***namdzi?kho·?***, *nam?i?kho·?*   n., [*nam* sun, *dzi?* < *ci·kma* cool
off, *kho·?* < *kha·kma?* congeal; cf. *kha·kmi?l*,
*kha·kwɛ?l*, *le·gha·k*, *migha·k*, *mikho·?*] shade,
shadow; cf. *namdhe·ʔl*, *samrippa*.

***namɛŋghɛmm?na***   adj., [*na* face + NGP of *khɛmma?* 'to hear']
be obstinate, be unlistening, pretend not to hear;
cf. *nadha·kkriŋ*.

***namla·ŋma***   n., [lit. sun-dance] drought; *namla·ŋma wɛndu*
There's a drought.

***namma?***, *-nam-*   vi., smell; *pɔ·ʔl pɔ·ʔl kɛnamɛ* You smelled
like fungus; *hi hi kɛnam* You smell like shit; cf.
*namma?*, *namsu?ma?*.

***namma?***, *-nams-/-nam-*   vt., [caus. < *namma?* smell] smell;
*phuŋin namsuŋ* I smell the flower; *namsɛ?!* - *hi nam*
*la?ba* smell [vt.] it! - (refusing) it probably
smells [vi.] like shit; cf. *khɛmma?*.

***namma?***, *-nand-/-nan-*   vt., be victorious over someone, out-
do, defeat or beat someone, win against someone;

*aŋga cum-dhik-nu lo·kt-ɛ-tchi-ge-ba*, *nand-u-ŋ* (I
friend-one-COM race-PT-dPS-e-IPF, win-3P-1sA) I
raced against a friend and won; *nandɛ?!* win!; *aŋga
andzumdhiknu tiliŋgadhiknu lo·kŋnaba*, *aŋga na·n-
duŋsiŋ* I raced against a friend and a policeman,
and I and beat them; cf. *thamma?*.

**namne·tti** adv., [*nam* sun + *\*ne·tti* cord, string, cf.
*ne·tti* clitoris] lit. solar cord; pulling at the
solar (viz. right) cord wound about the churning
rod (*phɛrik*, q.v.); cf. *la·bne·tti*.

**namphɛpma?**, *nam-phɛtt-/nam-phɛt-/nam-phɛ?l* vt., [*nam* sun +
*phɛpma?* fetch, bring] place out in the sun to dry;
*te·?l-ha? namphɛttuŋsiŋ* I've put the clothes out
in the sun to dry; *nam-kɛ-bhɛtt-u-aŋ kɛ-he·s-
-w-i·?* (sun-2-fetch-3P-pfG 2-dry_in_the_sun-3P-Q)
Having put it out in the sun, have you managed to
get it dry yet?

**namphɛtchiŋma?** vr., [< *namphɛpma?* place out in the sun to
dry] let oneself dry off or dry up in the sun;
*nambhɛtchiŋɛ?aŋ nɛ·sɛ?!* Just sit there and dry out
in the sun!.

**namphir'li·** adv., [*nam* sun + *phirli·* whirling] condition
of the sun appearing as a cold and large red flat
disk shortly after sunrise or before sunset.

**namsu?ma?**, *nam-su?s-/nam-su?-* vi., [< *nam* smell] stink,
smell; cf. *nam*.

**namtha**, *namdha* n., [*nam* sun + < *thama?* fall] west.

**namya?** n., [*nam* sun + *ya?* paddy] *ya?ro·n* dried in the sun;
cf. *miya?*.

**nana?** adv., [< *na·* there] way over there.

**naŋge·n** n., [< *naŋgɛtnahaŋ* east] east.

**naŋgɛtnahaŋ** [*nam* sun + *kɛt* < *kɛpma?* arrive + *\*nahaŋ* di-
rection] 1) n., east; 2) adv., in the east, east-
ward.

**naŋma?**, *-naks-/-naŋ-* vi., [caus. < *nakma?* be confused] go
crazy, go berserk.

**naŋnam** adj., [< *naŋma?* go crazy] berserk.

**nara** n., [< *na* face] face, countenance, visage; cf. *po·-
ma?*, *po·mma?*.

**naragɛn** n., [< *nara* countenance] face, embodiment, image,
figure.

**naragɛn-cɔ?ittaŋma-maŋ** n., [*naragɛn* figure, embodiment +
*cɔ?i?l* image, likeness + *-taŋma* one who, one which
(f) + *maŋ* deity] the Supreme Being, the Creator
and Benificent Actor, the divine Existence-Sus-
tainer, the deity who moulds men and allows man
and all things to exist.

*narɛŋ*   adv., [*na* five + *lɛŋ* turn] five times.

*nasi*   num., five.

*nasim*   adj., adjacent, next, juxtaposed; Nep. *pallo*.

*na·*   adv., there.

*na·ʔmaʔ*, -*na·ʔr*-/-*na·ʔ*-   vi., (with infinitive) give up doing something, cease doing something.

*na·dha·mbi*   adv., [< *na·* there] on the opposite (i.e. visible) slope, on the facing slope across the valley; cf. *kɔtna·dha·mbi*, *khɛtna·dha·mbi*.

*na··gɔrɔ-na·*   adv., [*na·* there + *gɔrɔ* if] way over there.

*na·kmaʔ*, -*na·kt*-/-*na·k*-   vt., 1) request something, ask for something; 2) ask someone for something; *mɛna·ktaŋ mɛbi·ʔɛnchin* They asked me for it, but I won't give it to them; cf. *se·ndo·maʔ*.

*na·khɛŋ*   dem., [*na·* there + *khɛŋ* that] that one there, that there, that.

*na·m*   vide *nam*.

*na·maʔ*, -*na·s*-/-*na·*-   vi., be exhausted; *na·saŋ* I'm exhausted.

*na·mdataʔl*, *na·mtadaʔl*   adv., [*nam* sun, < *tamaʔ* come] until sunrise; cf. *na·mthadak*.

*na·mmaʔ*   vide *nammaʔ*.

*na·mmaʔ*, -*na·nd*-/-*na·n*-   vt., (onto a human body) smear, soil, get dirty, befoul; *ahukʔin hiʔo· na·nduŋ* I got my hand dirty in shit; *kɛsalle kundzumin hilo·ʔo· na·ndu* Your child has smeared his friend all over with mud; cf. *ci·mmaʔ*.

*na·mmaʔ*, -*na·ps*-/-*na·m*-   vt., put down a load for a breather, put down a burden for a little while to rest a bit; *kugɔkʔin na·psu* He put down his load to rest a little; Nep. *bhārī bisāunu*.

*na·mtadaʔl*   vide *na·mdataʔl*.

*na·mthadhak*   adv., [*nam* sun + *tha* falls + -*dhak* until] until sunset, Nep. *ghām najharunjel*; cf. *na·mdataʔl*.

*na·nchiŋmaʔ*   vr., [< *na·mmaʔ* befoul] shit oneself, wet oneself, befoul oneself; get oneself dirty (eg. *hiʔo·* in shit, *se·ʔmaʔl-o·* in urine, *hilo·ʔo·* in mud); *ɔnʔe·kwa nanchiŋɛ* The baby shit himself; smear onto one's body; *kusa·n hi kɛrɛk na·nchiŋɛ* His son smeared himself all over with shit.

*na·ndhaŋ*, *na·ndaŋ*   n., [< *\*nahaŋ-* direction] 1) direction; 2) opposite side, far side.

*na·nhaŋ*   adv., [*na·* there + -*\*nahaŋ* direction] on that side, to that side; *na·nhaŋ kɔtna·nhaŋ* on this side and that, adjacent to one another, in juxtaposition.

*na·ŋ* n., snow; *na·ŋ tha* It's snowing; cf. *thama?*.

*na·ŋ* 1) n.col., younger siblings of same sex as ego; 2) n., the next younger sibling of the same sex as ego; cf. *cɔkna·ŋ*, *pɛnna·ŋ*.

*na·ŋma?*, *-na·ks-/-na·ŋ-* vt., 1) jump horizontally across a border, boundary or point, broad jump; *kɛna·ŋ* He'll jump across you; *na·ksuŋ* I jumped across [it]; *kɛ?ipsɛlle lɔkthik mənalle kɛga·ksɛ* Someone stepped over you while you were asleep; cf. *ka·k-ma?*, *pipma?*; 2) pass (a horizontal point en route to one's destination); *allɔ myaŋluŋ na·ksu la?ba* He'll have passed *Myaṅluṅ* by now; *na·khɛŋ thɛgu na·ksɛtchu la?ba* They[d] will have passed that peak by now.

*na·pma?*, *-na·b-/-na·p-* vt., drive off; cf. *na·pma?*, *na·p-ma?*.

*na·pma?*, *-na·pt-/-na·p-* vt., take, help oneself to, take a portion of; *na·ptuŋaŋ caŋ* I took and ate it.

*na·pma?*, *-na·pt-/-na·p-* vt., [dir. < *na·pma?* drive off] drive someone (usu. an animal) away from something (both arguments: patient); *aŋga sya?lin mɛnda?in na·ptuŋ* I drove the jackal away from the goat; Nep. *khasāunu*; cf. *na·pma?*, *na·pma?*.

*na·pma?*, *-na·tt-/-na·t-/-na·?l* vt., drive; drive away (patient: livestock); *pi?lha? na·ttuŋsiŋ* I drove the cows away; Nep. *khedāunu*; cf. *na·pma?*, *na·p-ma?*.

*na·pmi* n., man.

*na·pmi* pro., 1) someone else; other; cf. *e·?yaŋba*, *thik-səmma*; 2) signals first person patient in 2→1 forms.

*na·si* vide *na·si thɔ·?ma?*.

*na·sime·n* adj.adv., [< *na·* there] a bit further away, a bit distant, to the far side; cf. *kɔtna·sime·n*, *khɛtna·sime·n*; Nep. *pallo*.

*na·tchri-po·tchri* adj.adv., in a state of chaos, in a chaotic fashion; *kɛrɛk ma·ki pe·na? ya? na·tchri-po·tchri po·ksɛ rəcə* All the maize, millet and rice has gotten mixed up; *kɔŋ məna·n na·tchri-po·tchri tədzɛŋ. ɔkdaŋba məna aŋga sa·rik cittuŋ-siŋ.* This man talks chaotically. I dislike this kind of man.

*ne·ŋma?*, *-ne·ks-/-ne·ŋ-* vt., smear in, daub, rub in, rub on.

*ne·tti* n., [< *\*ne·tti* cord; cf. *namne·tti*, *la·bne·tti*] clitoris; cf. *nɛpcaŋ*.

*-nbo· hipma?*, *-hipt-/-hip-* vt., [lit. strike someone's

nose] instill someone with a revulsion for something; tɔkʔille sa·rik anbo· hiptu I'm fed up with bhāt; cf. e·ʔmaʔ, -niŋ lɛʔmaʔ.

nɛʔl n., [< nɛpmaʔ abstain whilst mourning, q.v.] rituals, practices and taboos observed by relatives of the deceased during a certain period after his death; Nep. barkhī; cf. puʔmaʔ, yukmaʔ.

nɛʔl n., cloth, material; cf. cirik.

nɛʔl-kɛdɔ·ba n., [nɛʔl cloth + AP of tɔ·maʔ 'to sew'] lit. cloth-sewer, Damāĩ, member of the tailor's caste.

nɛʔnɛʔ, -nnɛʔ n., 1) elder sister, 2) elder female cousin through paternal uncle or maternal aunt, 3) elder sister of ego's spouse (wife's elder sister, husband's elder sister), 4) wife of ego's spouse's elder brother (wife's elder brother's wife, husband's elder brother's wife).

nɛbo·, -nbo· vide nɛbho·.

nɛbo·hɔŋ vide nɛbho·hɔŋ.

nɛbho·, -nbho· n., nose; cf. -nbo· hipmaʔ.

nɛbho·hɔŋ n., [nɛbho· nose + hɔŋ hole] nostril.

nɛbho·pa n., vide nɛbho·.

nɛdɛŋba n., cheek.

nɛdhaŋba, -ndhaŋba n., proprietor.

nɛdzo·ppi n., crown of the head.

nɛghɔʔ, nɛkhɔʔ, -nghɔʔ n., ear.

nɛghɔʔhi n., [nɛghɔʔ ear + hi shit] ear wax; cf. mikhi, nɛhikkhɔk.

nɛghɔʔse·ʔ, nɛkhɔʔse·ʔ, -nghɔʔse·ʔ n., [nɛghɔʔ ear + *se·ʔ protuberance] earlobes.

nɛhi ma·maʔ, -nhi -mɔy-/-nhi -ma·- vi., [< ma·maʔ be lost] be amazed; anhi·n mɔyɛ I was amazed; kɛnhi ma·! You'll be amazed!

nɛhik, -nhik n., snot, mucus.

nɛhikkhɔk n., [nɛhik snot, khɔk < kha·kmaʔ congeal; cf. kha·kmiʔl, kha·kwɛʔl, le·gha·k, namdziʔkho·ʔ, migha·k, mikho·ʔ] caked-on snot (esp. on children's cheeks); dried-out snot (in one's nostrils).

nɛksa n., [< sa meat] 1) muscle, flesh (alive); kunɛksa·n ti·ktɛ His flesh is peeling; 2) lean meat, with fat and skin removed; ku-nɛksa-·n lɔk kɛ-dzɔ-i·ʔ (its-lean_meat-ABS only 2-eat-Q) Do you only eat [its] lean meat?

nɛndre·ʔ, -nndre·ʔ n., ego's elder brother's wife.

nɛndzaŋ n., crest (of a bird, eg. rooster, kikkrɔkna).

nɛpcaŋ n., clitoris; cf. ne·tti.

nɛpmaʔ, -nɛtt-/-nɛt-/-nɛʔl vt.vi., the impendent aspectivizer: be about to, be on the verge of doing

something, vide 5.3.6; *sɛ?lɛ nɛ?lɛ* She's about to kill me.

*nɛpma?*, *-nɛtt-/-nɛt-/-nɛ?l* vt., [dir. < *na?ma?* abstain] (patient: *yum* 'salt') abstain from salt, i.e. be in mourning; *yum mɛnɛttu* They are in mourning; cf. *yukma?* (2).

*nɛpmadzaŋ* num.adv., both, both of them; cf. *nɛpmaŋ*.

*nɛpmaŋ* num.adv., both; cf. *nɛpmadzaŋ*.

*nɛpphu* num.col., two; cf. *nɛtchi*.

*nɛphu*, *-mphu-* n., elder brother.

*nɛrɛ?l*, *nɛrɛtpa* n., heart.

*nɛrik* postp., nearby, close to, near.

*nɛse·?* n., [< *se·?* protuberance] Limbu earrings, huge hollow golden rings worn through holes in the earlobe.

*nɛsik*, *-nsik-* n., [< *sik* marrow] brain, brains, marrow; cf. *huksik*, *laŋsik*.

*nɛtchi* num., two.

*nɛ·ma?*, *-nɛ·s-/-nɛ·-* 1) vi., lie, be lying down, repose, lie down; *kɛnɛ·bai·?* Are you going to lie down?; reside, dwell, stay, inhabit, be situated, stay the night; 2) vt., put, lay something somewhere; *su?wa kɔ?o· nɛ·sɛ?!* Put your bag down here!

*nɛ·ndi* n., gums.

*nɛ·pma?*, *nɛ·pt-/-nɛ·p-* vt., press into; *pha-·n kha·m-o· nɛ·pt-u* (bamboo-ABS clay-LOC push‿into-3P) He pushed the bamboo into the clay; cf. *phɛ·pma?*, *kɛmma?*.

*naksa* n., [< Nep. *naksā* map] picture.

*ni* num., two; *thik ya·n ni ya·n* for a day or two; cf. *nɛtchi*.

*ni?*, *ni* adv., contrary to expectation, of *all* things!, of *all* people!, however; cf. Nep. *po*.

*nidha·pma?*, *ni-dha·b-/-ni-tha·p-* vi., [< *nima?* see + *tha·p-ma?* be visible, q.v.] be visible.

*nihe·?dɛtma?*, *nihe·?-dɛtt-/nihe·?-dɛt-/nihe·?-dɛ?l* vi., [*nima?* see + *he·?ma?* be able + PAS] be able to be seen, be visible.

*nikma?*, *-nikt-/-nik-* vt., fuck, copulate,

*nim* n., termites, red ants.

*nima?*, *-nis-/-ni-* vt., see; cf. *niniyaŋ la·pma?*, *ni·pma?*.

*nimro·k* n., navel; cf. *numro·k*, *sambo·k*.

*niniyaŋ la·pma?* or *niniyaŋ mɛlla·pma?*, *-la·pt-/-la·p-* vt., [*ni* < *nima?* 'to see'] (used only in the negative) ignore, pretend not to see; *niniyaŋ mɛla·ptaŋnɛn* He pretended not to see me; *niniyaŋ kɛlla·p?ɛnni·?* Are you ignoring me? Are you pretending not to see

me?; *niniyaŋ kɛla·ptɛn* He pretended not to see
you; cf. *khɛmghɛmaŋ la·pma?*.

**niŋ** n., poison;

**niŋ** n., 1) mind, inclination; cf. *lɔ?ma?* (7); 2) in the
expression *niŋ lɛ?ma?*: ire, wrath, gall, spleen;
vide *lɛ?ma?* (2).

**niŋgɛ** n., 1) oil, cooking oil; 2) oil or kerosene for
lamps.

**niŋgo·ro·** n., large edible hirsute fern croziers.

**niŋlɛ?lɛ?** adv., [< -*niŋ lɛ?ma?* be too much for someone]
too much, too many, too.

**niŋsaŋ** n., mind, love, mood.

**-niŋsaŋ pukma?**, *-pug-/-puk-* n. + vi., be crestfallen;
*khɛ?o· pe·-lle ku-niŋsaŋ pug-ɛ* (there go/PT-SUB
his-mood fall-PT) When he had gone there he became
crestfallen; cf. *niŋsaŋ puŋma?*, *niŋsaŋ phukma?*.

**-niŋsaŋ puŋma?**, *-puks-/-puŋ-* n. + vt., [caus. < *niŋsaŋ
pukma?* be crestfallen] disappoint someone; *ku-
ndzum-le ku-niŋsaŋ puks-u bi·r-u* (his-friend-ERG
his-mood disappoint-3P give-3P) His friend let him
down.

**niŋsaŋ phukma**, *-phukt-/-phuk-* n. + vt., [dir. < *niŋsaŋ
pukma?* be crestfallen] spoil the fun, be a kill-
joy; *niŋsaŋ phuktu*, *niŋsaŋ kɛbhukpa mɛna rɛcɛ* He
spoiled all the fun, he's a real killjoy.

**niŋwa** n., 1) mind, memory, remembrance; 2) desire,
satisfaction, intent.

**-niŋwa co·kma?**, *-co·g-/-co·k-* vt., 1) desire, want; 2) get
an idea, (with infinitive) get the idea to do
something.

**-niŋwa hi·ma?**, *-hi·r-/-hi·-* vi., be convinced, change
one's mind; *kuniŋwa hi·rɛ* He's changes his mind;
cf. *niŋwa hi·ma?*.

**-niŋwa hi·ma?**, *-hi·s-/-hi·-* vt., [caus. < *niŋwa hi·ma?*
change one's mind] convince someone, get someone
to change his mind (eg. by repeating a *mantra* with
concentrated effort or by more conventional
means).

**niŋwahu·p** n., [*niŋwa* mind + *\*hu·p* strength, force] power
of memory, quickness of mind, intelligence.

**-niŋwa i·ma?**, *-i·r-/-i·-* n. + vi., [*i·ma?* wander] become
dizzy, become faint; *aniŋwa i·rɛaŋ kɛŋaŋ*; I became
dizzy and fell; *kɛniŋwa i·rɛi·?* Did you get dizzy?

**-niŋwa i·ma?**, *-i·s-/-i·-* n. + vt., [*i·ma?* cause to wan-
der] make dizzy, make one's head spin; *yɛllik
thuŋ-my-aŋ niŋwa i·s-u* (much drink-INF-pfG mind
make_spin-3P) Having drunk much, it made him

dizzy.

-*niŋwa lɛŋma?*, -*lɛks-/-lɛŋ-*  vi., [*lɛŋma?* flip over (vt.)]
black out, lose consciousness; *aniŋwa lɛksɛ* I
blacked out; *aniŋwa lɛŋ-nɛ?l* I'm on the verge of
blacking out.

-*niŋwa ma·ma?*, -*mɔy-/-ma·-*  vi., lose one's mind; *kɛniŋwa
mɔyɛi·?* Have you lost your mind?; *kɛniŋwa mɔyɛ
ro·!* You've really lost your mind!

*niŋwa mumma?*, -*mutch-/-mun-*  1) vi., forget, be forgotten,
slip someone's mind; *niŋwa mun* [You]'ll forget!;
2) vt., forget; *niŋwa mutchuŋ* I shall forget it;
*niŋwa munnɛ!* I'll forget you!; cf. *niŋwa phumma?*,
*niŋwa phupma?*.

-*niŋwa phɛ?la?ma?*, *phɛ?-la?r-/pha?-la?-*  vi., turn sour (of
someone's mood); *ku-niŋwa phɛ?la?rɛ* He got into a
bad mood.

*niŋwa phumma?*, -*phutch-/-phun-*  vi., forget, be forgotten;
cf. *niŋwa phupma?*.

*niŋwa phupma?*, -*phutt-/-phut-/-phu?l*  vt., forget; *niŋwa
kɛbhutchu kɛdhɔ* You've clear forgotten it; cf.
*niŋwa mumma?*, *niŋwa phumma?*.

-*niŋwa tama?*  n. +  vi.irr., [*tama?* come, appear] 1) be
pleased, be satisfied; *kɛ-niŋwa te·-i· mɛ-de·-nɛn-
-ni·?* (your-satisfaction come/PT-Q NEG-come/PT-
-NEG-Q) Are you pleased or not?; *a-niŋwa te·* (my-
satisfaction come/PT) I'm pleased; cf. *niŋwa
tama?*; 2) remember; *niŋwa mɛde·nɛnni·?* Don't you
remember?.

-*niŋwa tama?*, -*tas-/-ta-*  n. + vt., [caus. < *niŋwa tama?* be
pleased] satisfy, please; *a-niŋwa kɛ-das-u* (my-
satisfaction 2-reach-3P) You please me; *kɛ-niŋwa
tas-u-ŋ-i·?* (your-satisfaction reach-3P-1sA) Do I
please you?; (antonym: -*niŋwa sɛpma?*).

-*niŋwa sɛpma?*, -*sɛ?r-/-sɛt-/-sɛ?l*  n. + vt., [*sɛpma?* kill]
displease, spoil the fun; *khɛŋ mɛna-re sa·rik
niŋwa sɛr-u* (that man-ERG very satisfaction
kill-3P) That man [always] spoils the fun.

-*niŋwa?o· yuŋma?*, -*yuks-/-yuŋ-*  vt., [lit. put in mind]
keep in mind, remember.

*nipma?*, -*nitt-/-nit-/-ni?l*  vi., be nearby; *ma·ŋ-i· ni?l-
-i·?* Is it far away or nearby?

*nirɛŋ* adv., [*ni* two + *lɛŋ* turn] twice.

*nisik* n., 1) brain; 2) marrow.

*nisiŋma?* vr., [< *nima?* see] see oneself (eg. in a mirror).

*nitaŋ* postp., [< *nipma?* be nearby] nearby, close by.

*ni·pma?*, -*ni·r-/-ni·t-/ni·?l*  vt., [dir. < *nima?* see]
1) read, study; 2) count.

*ni·sa·mhim*   n., [< *ni·pma?* study, < *sapma?* write, *him* house] school.

*ni·tcha·msa?*   n., [< *ni·pma?* study, < *sapma?* write, *sa?* child] student, pupil.

*ni·tchiŋma?*   vr., [*ni·pma?* study, count] 1) wake up, come to, come to consciousness; *kɛni·tchiŋɛi·?* Are you awake?; cf. *po·kma?*; 2) count oneself; *ni·tchiŋ-aŋi·?* Did I not [forget to] include myself?

*nɔmma?*, *-nɔnch-/-nɔn-*   vt., [caus. < *nɔmma?* be left over] set aside, save for later; keep leftovers; *tɔk nɔnchuŋ* I shall set aside some *tɔk* for later; *dhara·n kɛ-be·-aŋ a·kkhya·k yaŋ kɛ-nɔnch-u-aŋ kɛ-bhɛtt-u* (*Dharān* 2-go/PT-and how_much money 2-save- -3P-pfg 2-bring-3P) Having gone to Dharān, how much money have you managed not to spend and bring back with you?.

*nɔmma?*, *-nɔr-/-nɔn-*   vi., be left over, remain; *yumma?l nɔrɛ. kɛdzɔi·?* There is *yumma?l* left over. Will you eat it?; cf. *nɔmma?*.

*nɔ·ma?*, *-nɔy-/-nɔ·-*   1) vi., be popped; be roasted, be grilled ; *ma·ki nɔyɛ* The popcorn is done; 2) vt., pop (*ma·ki* corn, maize; cf. *khe·kya·?*); roast, grill (meat *sa*).

*nɔ·ŋma?*, *-nɔ·ks-/-nɔ·ŋ-*   vt., 1) (with non-referential 3sP agreement) shave oneself; *nɔ·ksuŋ* I shaved [my-self]; 2) shave someone or something; *adhge·k?in nɔ·ksuŋba* I've shaved my head; (with *pi·ma?* 'to give') give someone a shave, vide 5.3.8; *nɔ·ksaŋ pi·raŋ* He gave me a shave.

*nu*   n., 1) breast, nipple; cf. *mɔna-nu*, *nuse·?*; 2) milk; *ku-nu lɔ·n* (her-milk exude) She's lactating.

*nu?ma*   n., [< *ma* mother] mother-in-law.

*nu?pa*   n., [< *pa* father] father-in-law.

*nuba*   adj., [< *numa?* be alright] good.

*nubhu*   num.col., seven; cf. *nusi*.

*nudak*   n., [< *nu* milk] yoghurt, curd; cf. *dɔi*.

*nudhi*   n., spinach, often eaten as *yumma?l*; includes Nep. *sāg*, *pāluṅgo sāg* and *ṭãkī ko muṇṭā*.

*nukma?*, *-nug-*   vt., grind, squeeze, compress.

*nulle*   postp., [*-nu* COM + *-ille* INST] than; eg. *na·-nu kɛ-bhɛm-bɛ-n kɛ-ndzum-in khɛnɛ?-nulle tum-mi· pak-?i·?* (there-COM AP-come-AP-ABS your^s-friend- -ABS you^s-than older-Q younger-Q) Is that friend of yours who is on his way here (thence) older or younger than you?.

*numa?*, *-nur-/-nu-*   vi., be alright, be O.K., be well, be fitting, be suitable, be in good health, get well.

*numa?-tama?* vi.vi., [*numa?* be alright + *tama?* reach] prosper; *nuram-tasammɛ?! ɔkkhe·lɔ?rik asa? amɛncha? ambaŋli kɛnuri kɛdasille aŋga?aŋ ca·?rik asira dhaŋ.* Be prosperous! If ye, my children, my grandchildren, my children-in-law prosper, I too shall be very pleased.

*numro·k* n., fontanel; for a period of one year after the birth of a Limbu child, the fontanel atop the skull is rubbed in daily with warm mustard oil, allegedly to prevent the child's body from becoming cold or susceptible to diseases traditionally attributed to 'cold' by the Limbus; cf. *nimro·k.*

*nurɛŋ* adv., [*nu* seven + *lɛŋ* turn] seven times.

*nurik* adj., [*nu* < *numa?* be alright, *-rik* adv.sf., cf. *yəllik, ke·llik*] good, nice.

*nurikkha* adv., [< *nurik*] well.

*nusa?, -nsa?* n., 1) younger sibling, 2) younger cousin through paternal uncle or maternal aunt, 3) spouse of ego's spouse's younger sibling (wife's younger brother's wife, wife's younger sister's husband, husband's younger brother's wife, husband's younger sister's husband).

*nuse·?* n., [*nu* breast + *\*se·?* protuberance] nipple, teat.

*nusi* num., seven.

*nu·kma?, -nu·kt-/-nu·k-* vt., [dir. < *nu·ŋma?* return] return, give back; *kɛsu?wa·n nu·ktuŋ* I'll give you back your bag.

*nu·mma?, -nu·nd-/-nu·n-* vi., feel ashamed.

*nu·mma?-sima?* vi.vi., [*nu·mma?* feel ashamed + *sima?* die] die of shame, feel extremely ashamed, feel embarrassed; *nu·n?ɛ-si?ɛ* I'm embarrassed to death.

*nu·ŋma?, -nu·ks-/-nu·ŋ-* vi., 1) return, go back; *ta·ndik na· kɛ-ba·ŋphe·-?o· khɛnɛ? kɛ-nu·ŋ-ille pi·-nɛ-?* (tomorrow there your-village-LOC you* 2-return-SUB give-1→2-DEF) I'll give it [back] to you tomorrow when you go back yonder to your village; 2) void, pass urine or faeces; cf. *nu·kma?.*

*nya?* n., 1) ego's paternal aunt, 2) wife of ego's maternal uncle.

o·

o· postp. locative.

o·ʔmaʔ, -o·ʔr-/-o·ʔ- vt., 1) roast, bake 2) cremate; siʔaŋ mɛʔo·ʔru If someone dies, they cremate him (said of less traditional Limbus); 3) burn (of fire or substances undergoing combustion) migha·kle o·ʔraŋ I burnt myself on the hot ember; cf. haŋwamaʔ, ko·maʔ, le·kmaʔ, yɛmmaʔ; 4) badmouth someone, slander someone's name, dispraise, vilify, defame; aʔo·ʔrɛtchu ro·ʃ Wedi sure vilified him!

o·dhiŋga n., glow-worm; cf. imbrikpa.

o·ho· vide aho·.

o·ndhakmaʔ, o·n-dhakt-/o·n-dhak- vt., [dir. < takmaʔ show] show someone something (esp. something with which the onlooker is unfamiliar; cf. takmaʔ), tell someone, point out to someone (patient: benefacted individual or individuals); o·ndhaktuŋsiŋ I showed it to them; o·ndhaktaŋɛʔʃ Show me!; cf. tha·mmaʔ.

o·tmaʔ, -o·tt-/-o·t-/-o·ʔl shine, give light (of the moon, a lamp or torch); la·b o·ttɛ The moon is shining; cf. se·kmaʔ.

o·wa part., yes.

ɔ

ɔʔmaʔ, -ɔʔr-/-ɔʔ- vi., break off (a piece of the whole); luŋin ɔʔrɛ The stone broke off [of the wall]; cf. ɔmmaʔ, ɔ·maʔ.

ɔʔcɔʔ interj., uttered to the recipient whilst presenting or handing over something, meaning roughly 'take this!'

ɔkdaŋba adj., [< *ɔk(kh) proximal pf. + -taŋba 2.1.2] this kind of; cf. a·kdaŋba, hɛkdaŋba.

ɔkkhe· adv., [< *ɔk(kh) proximal pf.] like this; such, so (proximal); ɔkkhe· lɔʔ He'll say it this way; cf. a·kkhe·, hɛkke·.

ɔkkhɛlle adv., [ɔkkhe· like this + -ille SUB, 9.4] presently, at the present time; cf. a·kkhɛlle, hɛkkɛlle.

ɔkkhe·lɔʔrik adv., [< *ɔk(kh) proximal pf. + lɔʔrik fashion] in this way, in this manner; cf. a·kkhe·lɔʔrik, hɛkke·lɔʔrik.

ɔkkhum lɔʔmaʔ vide lɔʔmaʔ (4).

ɔkmaʔ, -ɔg-/-ɔk- vt., peck, strike (agent eg.: pu bird, ɔse·k snake); waʔmaʔma kɛʔɔk The hen will peck at

you!; ɔse·kle məna ɔgu A snake bit somebody, Some-
body has been bitten by a snake.

ɔkmaʔ, -ɔg-/-ɔk-  vi., become unglued, come loose, become
unstuck; cf. khipmaʔ, ɔŋmaʔ.

ɔkwama  n., goddess of the main house (ideally, in addition
to the main house, one and occasionally two minor
dwellings abut onto the Limbu farmyard or lɔk-
khum); Nep. mūlghar ko devatā; vide ɔkwama khɔ·maʔ
under khɔ·ma (II.2).

ɔmdaŋba  adj., [< -taŋba 2.1.2] yellow, the pure yellow of
yellow daffodils; cf. kuhikla, sahiʔl.

ɔmmaʔ, -ɔnd-/-ɔn-  vt., [dir. < ɔʔmaʔ break off] remove and
put aside that which is in excess; ɔnduŋaŋ yuksuŋ
I took out what was too much and put it aside.

ɔŋʔe·kma  n., [f. form < ɔŋʔe·kwa infant] ego's younger
brother's wife.

ɔnʔe·kwa  n., infant, baby.

ɔnʔe·kwa-tɔk  n., [lit. baby-bhāt] the Limbu name to refer
to the Newari-Nepali practice of pāsne or pāsni
whereby a child who has reached the age of six
months (five months for a female infant) is fed
its first solid meal of tɔk. Many people are invi-
ted to come and proffer presents to the infant.

ɔŋmaʔ, -ɔks-/-ɔŋ-  vt., [caus. < ɔkmaʔ become unglued] pull
free, unstick, unglue, pull loose; cf. khimmaʔ.

ɔse·k  n., snake, serpent.

ɔse·kna  n., [lit. snake-fish] eel.


ɔ·


ɔ·kmaʔ, -ɔ·g-/-ɔ·k-  vt., dig, spade.

ɔ·kmaʔ, -ɔ·kt-/-ɔ·k-  vi., cry, yell, shout.

ɔ·maʔ, -ɔ·s-/-ɔ·-  vt., [caus. < ɔʔmaʔ break off] drool,
spit out, allow to fall down from the mouth to a
surface below; ɔ·sɛʔ ɔ·sɛʔ! Spit it out, spit it
out!; thɛʔl ɔ·maʔ let spit fall vertically from
one's mouth; a-gha·kwɛʔl ɔ·s-u-ŋ (1-phlegm drool-
-3P-1sA) I let my phlegm drip vertically down from
my mouth to the ground; cf. tho·kmaʔ, -thɛʔl,
sɔ·maʔ.

ɔ·mɛpmaʔ  vide ɔ·mɔpmaʔ.

ɔ·mɔʔmatche·  n., [< ɔ·mɔpmaʔ look at] exchange of glances,
looking at one another; ɔ·mɔʔmatche· ca·maʔ, vide
ca·maʔ (2).

ɔ·mɔpmaʔ, ɔ·-mɔtt-/ɔ·-mɔt-/ɔ·-mɔʔl (also: ɔ·mɛpmaʔ, ɔ·-
-mɛtt-/ɔ·-mɛt-/ɔ·-mɛʔl) vt., [< mɛpmaʔ do unto]

look at, watch.

ɔ·mɔtchiŋma?   vr., [< ɔ·mɔpma? look at] look at oneself
(eg. in a reflection).


## p


pa, -mba   n., father; also familiarly: father-in-law.

pa?iŋ   n., ego's father's bond-friend or se·ba, q.v.

paha·ra pe·kma?, -pe·g-/-pe·k-   vi., (polite) go to the
toilet, answer the call of nature; cf. hi?e·pma?,
se·ma?.

pakma   n., [< pakma? be the younger + -ma NOM/f] someone's
second wife; aŋga pakma-re kusa?-?ɛ I am the son
of the second wife; (bigamy is a traditionally
accepted though by no means widespread practice in
Limbu society; bigamy is legal under current
Nepali law, provided neither the first wife nor a
sympathizer have filed a complaint with the autho-
rities within 45 days after the second marriage,
but polygamy involving more than two wives is
illegal); cf. tumma.

pakma?, -pag-/-pak-   vt., 1) delve, draw soil, mine;
2) scrape or rake towards oneself.

pakma?, -pakt-/-pak-   vi., be younger, be the younger one.

pa-khu·ŋ   n., [< *khuŋ river valley] valley; cf. ya-khu·ŋ.

panyo·   n., [< Nep. panyü] long-handled metal spoon with a
flat circular scoop for stirring and serving rice,
usu. of steel or aluminium; cf. ta·bilo·.

paŋghi   n., [< khe· white yam] yam.

paŋli, -mbaŋli   n., 1) son's wife, 2) brother's son's wife
(male speaking), 3) sister's son's wife (female
speaking); Also occasionally: 4) sister's son's
wife (male speaking), 5) brother's son's wife
(female speaking).

paŋmi, -mbaŋmi   n., 1) daughter's husband, 2) brother's
daughter's husband (male speaking), 3) sister's
daughter's husband (female speaking); Also occa-
sionally: 4) sister's daughter's husband (male
speaking), brother's daughter's husband (female
speaking).

paŋma?, -paŋs-/-paŋ-   vt., send someone somewhere (patient:
person sent); cf. hakma?, haŋma?.

paŋmik, -mbaŋmik   n., younger sister's husband (female
speaking).

pappa   n., papa.

pappadzya·k   n., thistle.

*pardzo·kma?*, *par-dzo·g-/par-dzo·k-* vi., [< Nep. *parnu* + *co·kma?* be; cf. *la·bdzo·kma?*] be located, be situated; *tamphula te·rathum-ille ku-sikto·?-o· pardzo·k* Tamphula is located underneath Tehrathum.

*pare·ba* vide *pɛkwa*.

*pare·ya* n., large earthenware mug; Nep. *ghaĩṭo*.

*parne·*, *barne·* v.imp., [< Nep. *parne*] (with an infinitive) ought to; *kɔ?o· dze· co·km? barne· an·ge co·gumbe* Weᵖ⁰ shall do whatever ought to be done here.

*parse·kpa* n., the tree Savronia nepalensis; Nep. *gogan*.

*pa·kkha* adv., outside, outdoors.

*pa·kkhabɛn* n., deity of the outdoors; cf. *iŋdo· mɛpma?*, *nadho· co·kma?*.

*pa·kwa* n., ladle for scooping up *yumma?l*.

*pa·lam* n., Limbu song sung during the *ya?ra·kma?*, q.v.

*pa·mbi·ma?*, *pa·n-pi·r/pa·n-pi·-* vt., [*pa·n* word + *pi·ma?* give] invite someone; *pa·mmɛbi·raŋ* They invited me.

*pa·n* n., [*pa·pma?* talk, speak] 1) word, language, speech; cf. *khɔ?ma?*, *mɛpma?* (10), *pe·mma?*, *phe·mma?*; 2) word, say; Nep. *kurākānī*; *kuba·n hɛn wa·?* What did he have to say?; *a-ndzum-le ku-ba·n sapt-u-ŋ* (my-friend-GEN his-word write-3P-1sA) I'm writing about what my friend said.

*pa·nbuk* n., [*pa·n* word + *\*buk* voice sound, cf. *laŋbuk*] (with *yuŋsiŋma?* sit oneself down) be tongue-tied, be at a loss for words; be dumbfounded; *kuba·nbuk yuŋsiŋɛ* The cat's got his tongue; cf. *khɔ?ma?* (2).

*pa·ncha·tma?*, *pa·n-sa·tt-/pa·n-sa·t-/pa·n-sa·?l* vt., [*pa·n* word,speech + *sa·tma?* jeer] address, call unto, call to, strike up a conversation with someone; cf. *iŋpho·mma?*, *u·pma?*.

*pa·n hi·ma?* vide *hi·ma?*.

*pa·n kɛbɔŋba* n. + adj., [AP of *pa·npɔŋma?* gossip, agitate] gossipy, gossiper, agitator; *aŋga pa·nkɛbɔŋba co·k?ɛ, me·nni·?* I'm an agitator, am I not?

*pa·nlɛŋma?*, *pa·n-lɛŋ-* vi., [*pa·n* word + *lɛŋma?* vi. wander about] change one's story, change one's tune.

*pa·npɔŋma?*, *pa·n-pɔks-/pa·n-pɔŋ-* vi., [*pa·n* word + *pɔŋma?* vt. carry] gossip, agitate, instigate; *kɔŋ məna·n ca·?rik pa·npɔŋ* That man really agitates/gossips.

*pa·ŋma?*, *-pa·ks-/-pa·ŋ-* vi., come undone, become untangled (*sikki?* rope, *kuhu·p*, *idzige·k* knot); cf. *kha?l*, *pha·kma?*, *pha·ŋma?*.

*pa·ŋdzum* n., [< Pãcthare Limbu, *\*pa·ŋ* village + *cum* friend] bazar, market; cf. *cumluŋ*.

*pa·ŋphe·* n., [< *\*pa·ŋ* village, cf. *pa·ŋdzum*] village.

*pa·ŋphe·ʔ-kəˈbu* n., village and its surroundings, village including dwellings in the surrounding vicinity; cf. Nep. *gāũ-dehāt*.

*pa·pmaʔ*, *-pa·ʔr-/-pa·t-/-pa·ʔl* vi., speak, talk; cf. *pa·p-maʔ*.

*pa·pmaʔ*, *-pa·tt-/-pa·t-/-pa·ʔl* vt., [dir. < *pa·pmaʔ* talk] say something, tell something, declare, say (patient: utterance).

*pe·ʔe·go·* n., [< *pe·kmaʔ* go] (with *lɔʔmaʔ*) the urge to get up and go, 'ants in one's pants', restlessness; *pe·ʔe·go· kɛlɔʔrɛi·ʔ* Have you got ants in your pants; vide *lɔʔmaʔ* (8).

*pe·ʔmaʔ*, *-pe·ʔr-/-pe·ʔ-* vt., [dir. < *pe·maʔ* vomit] vomit on something or someone; *pe·ʔruŋ* I vomited all over it.

*pe·ʔmaʔl* n., [< *pe·maʔ* vomit] vomit.

*pe·dɔk* n., frog; cf. *warup*.

*pe·dɔkluŋ* n., [*pe·dɔk* frog + *luŋ* rock, stone] stone or rock of micaceous earth, considered to be a poor quality, albeit widely used, building stone, ubiquitous throughout *Limbuvān*.

*pe·kkrɔkna* n., small black brown passerine bird resembling the *kikkrɔkna* (q.v.) but lacking a crest and showing conspicuous red colouration of the perianal feathers.

*pe·kmaʔ*, *-pe·g-/-pe·k-* vi.irr., go; *allɔ pe·gaŋ lo·!* Now I'm off!; Now, I'm on my way!; *pu pe·* The bird took off; *kudiʔ kudiʔ pe·gige* We^pe are going in single file; cf. *tha·siŋmaʔ*.

*pe·kmaʔ him* n., [*pe·kmaʔ* go + *him* house] the house and household into which a girl marries and to which she goes from her *po·ŋmaʔ him*, q.v.

*pe·maʔ*, *-pe·s-/-pe·-* vt., vomit; cf. *pe·ʔmaʔ*, *pe·ʔmaʔl*.

*pe·mmaʔ*, *-pe·nd-/-pe·n-* vi., (with *pa·n* word, speech) something incorrect be uttered, something erroneous be said, something be said in an awkward or uncomely fashion; cf. *phe·mmaʔ*.

*pe·naʔ* n., red millet, dried in the sun and beaten with a staff in the preparation of *thi·*, or ground to a powder in the preparation of *maŋdɔk*.

*pe·naʔkhɔrɛ·ŋ* n., flat bread made from red millet meal.

*pe·ni* n., Nepali.

*pe·niba* adj., Nepali, Indo-Aryan, *Brāhmaṇa*, *Kṣatriya* etc. (Nep. *bāhun*, *chetrī*).

*pe·ŋwa* n., deer; Nep. *mr̥g*.

*pe·sɛʔ* n., vicinity, proximity; *məna-lle ku-be·sɛʔ-ʔo·*

*pusaʔl-in te·* (man-GEN his-vicinity-LOC fledgling-
-ABS come/PT) The little bird landed near the man.

*pɛʔlaʔwarɛkpa* adj., wide open, agape; *kɛməra pɛlaʔwarɛkpɛn*
Your mouth is agape!

*pɛkwa* n., pigeon (Nep. *parevā*).

*pɛmma?*, *-pɛnd-/-pɛn-* vi., (of clothes) slip off, be taken
off, be removed; *ku-sumba-·n pɛnd-ɛ* (his-*suruvāl*-
-ABS slip_off-PT) He slipped out of his *suruvāl*;
cf. *phɛmma?*.

*pɛnchiŋma?* vr., [< *pɛnma?* arrange in a line] form a queue,
queue up, get in a line, line up next to; *pɛnchiŋ-
-my-aŋ yuŋ-ma?* (line_up-INF-pfG sit-INF); *mɛbɛn-
chiŋɛaŋ mɛyuŋɛ* They all sat down in a line.

*pɛnma?*, *-pɛnch-/-pɛn-* vt., line up, arrange in rows or in
a line; *pɛnma? yuŋma?si* (line_up-INF put-INF-nsP)
put things away neatly lined up; *phɔgəna pɛnchɛ?
yuksɛsɛ?!* Put the *lohotā*s away neatly lined up [on
the shelf]!

*pɛnna·ŋ* n., [< *na·ŋ* younger sibling, same sex as ego]
third younger sibling, same sex as ego; cf. *cɔk-
na·ŋ*, *na·ŋ*.

*pɛpma?*, *-pɛtt-/-pɛt-/-pɛʔl* vt., drag, draw; *yəmba siŋbo·ŋ
mɛ-bɛtt-u* (big tree nsAS-drag-3P) They dragged the
large tree; *ali-·n pɛtt-u-ŋ* (furrow-ABS draw-3P-
-1sA) I plough a furrow.

*pɛrɛm* adv., on a horizontal plane, i.e. not uphill, not
downhill (Nep. *terso*); *khɛʔyo·lam aŋga pɛrɛm
pe·kʔɛ* And from down there, I'll proceed along a
horizontal plane; cf. *saŋmaŋ*, *thaŋmaŋ*.

*pɛttɛktɛkpa* n.adj., chattering, blabbermouth, full of hot
air, unreliable; *kɔŋ a·kkhya·k pɛttɛktɛkpa məna
gɔ·!* What a blabbermouth!

*pɛttɔk* adj.adv., in many short strides (of a person's
gait), in quick small steps; pitter-patter (on
short legs); *pɛttɔkʔaŋ pɛttɔk a·tto· tha·siŋ?*
Where is he pitter-pattering off too?

*pɛ·ma?*, *-pɛ·r-/-pɛ·-* vi., fly; cf. *phɛ·ma?*.

*pəila* adv.adj, [< Nep. *pahilā*] first.

*pəkɔ·ndi* vide *ca·ma?* (4).

*pətslək-pətslək* onomatpoeia, slosh-slosh.

*piʔl* n., bull; cow; cf. *pitma*.

*piʔma?*, *-piʔr-/-piʔ-* vi., get dented, be dented; *kɛdwa·n
piʔ ro·!* You'll dent your forehead if you don't
watch out!; *piʔrɛ* There's a dent in it; cf. *phiʔ-
ma?*.

*pimma?*, *-pind-/-pin-* vi., jump up vertically, splash up;
jump up and down; cf. *na·ŋma?*; cf. *pipma?*, *phi·m-*

*ma?*.

**piŋ** vide *piŋpiŋ*.

**piŋpiŋ**  n., the game of *piŋ* 'ferris wheel' (Nep. *piṅ*) played during the feast of *Daśai*; vide *ca·ma?*.

**pipal** n., [< Nep. *pīpal*] the *Pīpal* tree, Ficus religiosa.

**pipma?**, -*pitt-/-pit-/-pi?l*  vt., [dir. < *pimma?* jump vertically] jump over something or someone (vertically); *pipma? kɛhe·?ruwi·? kɛnhe·?nɛn*. Can you jump over this? You can't. - *he·?ruŋ!* I can too!; *lɔkkhum-?o· kɛ-ips-ɛ-lle kɛ-bitt-ɛ* (farmyard-LOC 2-sleep-PT-SUB 2-jump_over-PT) He jumped over you when you were sleeping in the farmyard; cf. *na·ŋ-ma?*.

**pitcha**  n., [*pi?l* cow + *sa* meat] beef.

**pitchidza**  n., [*pi?l* cow + *sidza* fly] gadfly, botfly, horsefly.

**pitchikki?**  n., [lit. cow-rope] leash or rope with a loose non-adjustable noose to tie up a cow or bull to a post or tree.

**pitcho·?l**  n., [*pi?l* cow + *so·?l* fat] beef fat.

**pitchule·**  n.pej., [< *le·* penis] pipsqueak, squirt.

**pitma**  n., cow.

**pitnu**  n., [*pi?l* cow + *nu* milk] cow's milk.

**pi·ma?**, -*pi·r-/-pi·-*  vt., 1) give to someone, endow (patient: beneficiary, not object given); 2) allow, permit; *timmɔk kɔpma? kɛmbi·rinni·?* Don't they [viz. the local authorities] permit youP to have rifles?; cf. *pha·kma?*.

**pi·nda**  n., wet adobe clay.

**pi·ŋma?**, -*pi·ks-/-pi·ŋ-*  vi., fall out (eg. teeth), come out, be pulled out (any long object such as nails, pen tops, pins); *phɛyuŋin pi·ksɛ* The handle of the knife came off; cf. *phi·ŋma*.

**pi·pma?**, -*pi·tt-/-pi·t-/-pi·?l*  vt., suck; cf. *ho·pma?*, *supma?*.

**pi·r**  n., [< Nep. *pīr*] suffering, harm, discomfort, pain, hurt (with *pi·ma?* 'to give').

**pi·siŋma?**  vr., [< *pi·ma?* give] 1) exchange gifts, give to each other; 2) give each other what for, fight.

**pi·tchiŋ**  n., [< *pi·pma?* suck] bamboo straw through which *tɔŋba* is drunk.

**po·?ye·ppa**  n., the fig tree Ficus roxburghii; Nep. *nebhāro*, *nibāro*.

**po·dɛn**  n., position in society, post; *kɛmbarɛn kubo·dɛn hɛn?* What is your father's position in society?

**po·kma?**, -*po·g-/-po·k-*  vi., 1) get up; *po·gɛ?!* Get out of bed!; *kha·kmi?l sa·?rik po·gɛ* It's very cloudy

today; cf. *ni·tchiŋma?*, *pho·ŋma?*; 2) rise (of leavened comestibles); 3) be set up, be going on (of a *hāṭ-bajār*) *cumluŋ po·klɔ ya·k* The *hāṭ-bajār* is on; cf. *pɔŋma?*.

*po·ma?*, -*po·s-/-po·-* vt., [caus. < *po·ma?* grow] 1) make bigger, increase, enlarge; *kɔŋ him-min allɔ cukpa co·k kərə ta·ndik-atchɛnda·n po·s-u-ŋ-aŋ yəmba co·g-u-ŋ* (this house-ABS now small be but one⌣ of⌣these⌣days enlarge-3P-1sA-pfG large make-3P--1sA) Now this house is small, but one of these days I shall enlarge it and make it big; 2) *-nara po·ma?* [*nara* countenance] laud, praise, commend; *kunara mɛbo·su* They lauded him; cf. *po·mma?* (2).

*po·mma?*, -*po·nd-/-po·n-* vi., [dir. < *po·ma?*] be abundant, be numerous; *məna mɛ-bo·nd-ɛ* (man nsAS-abound-PT) There were many men; *sidzaha? mɛbo·ndɛ rəcə* The flies appear to abound; cf. *pho·mma?*.

*po·mma?*, -*po·r-/-po·n-* vi., 1) grow (of animals, inc. humans); cf. *liŋma?*; 2) *-nara po·ma?* [*nara* countenance] gain in esteem, gain in prestige; *khɛnɛ? kɛdzo·gulle kɛnara po·rɛ* You have gained in esteem because of what you have done; cf. *po·ma?* (2).

*po·ŋ* n., base; *lɔkthik ke·mba siŋbo·ŋ-ille ku-bo·ŋ-?o· mɛ-yuŋ-ɛ* (one tall tree-GEN its-base-LOC nsAS--sit-PT) They sat at the base of one tall tree.

*po·ŋma?*, -*po·ks-/-po·ŋ-* vi., be born.

*po·ŋma?*, -*po·ks-/-po·ŋ-* vi., 1) inchoative 'to be', become, happen, vide 3.6; the preterit form *po·ksɛ* sometimes translates as 'ago': *lisi nasi ya·n po·ksɛ* four or five days ago; 2) be alright, be acceptable; *phɛn gɔrɔ po·ŋ* It's O.K. if she comes.

*po·ŋma?*, -*po·ks-/-po·ŋ-* vi., must (as the auxiliary of exigency in impersonal constructions with a verb in the infinitive); *ta·ndik yəllik iŋ-ma? po·ŋ* (tomorrow much buy-INF EXIG) tomorrow we must buy many things, or tomorrow many things will have to be bought; *allɔ anige pe·k-ma? po·ksɛ* (Now we[Pi] go-INF EXIG-PT) Now we must go (i.e. the need has arisen that we go), vide 9.9.

*po·ŋma? him* n., [*po·ŋma?* be born + *him* house] parental home, the house of one's *sammabaha?*; cf. *pe·kma? him*.

*po·ŋwa·ma?*, *po·ŋ-way-/po·ŋ-wa·-* vi., play (of little children; cf. *ca·tma?*).

*po·ro·?l* adv., [< *pɔtma?* hang, be suspended] hanging, suspended; Nep. *tuṅdruṅai*, *tundruṅai*; cf. *tɛllɛm*.

*po·ro·?l-mi-yəmbha-mi-maŋ*, *po·ro·t-mi-yəmbha-mi-maŋ* n.,

[po·ro·?l hanging + mi tail + yəmbha < yəmba large
+ mi tail + maŋ deity] the hanging-tail-large-
-tailed god, the male aspect (yəmbhami big-tailed)
and the female aspect (po·ro·?lmi hanging-tail)
are united in one long-tailed hermaphrodite god
which is occasionally portrayed as a couple, re-
siding in the deepest jungle where they determine
the fate of Man, the creator of mankind in the
Limbu pantheon.

**po·tma?**, -po·tt-/-po·t-/-po·?l   vi., err, lose one's way;
aŋga him pe·gaŋille lam po·ttaŋ I got lost on my
way home; lam kɛbo·ttɛi·? Did you lose your way?

**po?e·?l**   n., flat circular winnowing basket (Nep. nāṅlo).

**po?i?l**   n., cucumber; kãkrā.

**pokwa**   n., basket (Nep. ḍālo).

**pokwa**   vide tɛ?tɛ? pokwa.

**pomma?**, -pond-/-pon-   vt., 1) mould (eg. kha·m-ille with
clay, pi?lhi-lle with cow dung, hilo·-lle with
mud); 2) (with thɛge·k?i) ball up one's hair into
a bun.

**poŋgre·ba**   n., Castanopsis hystrix and occasionally Casta-
nopsis indica, both trees of the beech family
Fagaceae, with prickly casing containing a white
fruit and seed inside, seeds borne in clusters,
larger than the sigɔp (q.v.), a lighter fruit and
tending to grow at lower elevations, viz. ca. 250
m; Nep. paṭpaṭe kaṭus and ḍhālne kaṭus respec-
tively.

**poŋma?**, -pog-/-poŋ-   vi., (of the wind) begin to blow, kick
up, start up; suri?l pog-ɛ ro·! (wind kick‿up-PT
ASS) The wind has kicked up!

**poŋma?**, -poŋ-   vi., be broken up (of a hāṭ-bajār), get up
and leave; cumluŋ poŋɛi· nɛi·? - mɛboŋɛ mɛghɛ?rɛ
Has the hāṭ-bajār been broken up or is it still
going on? - They've all gotten up and left; cf.
po·kma? (3).

**poŋma?**, -poks-/-poŋ-   vt., [caus. < poŋma? q.v.] 1) lift up
with one's hand, carry in one's hand; push upward
with one's hand, carry across one's shoulder using
one's hands; mɛnda?sa?lin poksu te·?ru He carried
off the kid; cf. ku·ma?, pa·n kɛboŋba; 2) carry
away, carry off (agent: current of water); cf.
wade·mma?.

**potma?**, -potch-/-pot-/-po?l   vi., 1) adhesive 'to be',
vide 3.4; be suspended, hang (fruits in a tree,
clouds in the sky); remain sticking to (eg.
smegma); kɛha?o· kumakla po?l There's something

black stuck to your teeth; cf. *pɔtmaʔ*; 2) be situated (of a heavenly body, the sky or body parts); *tɛlɔkkɛntaŋsaŋ nitaŋ pɔtlɔ co·k kusiŋ lɔʔ* It looks as if though the heavens are nearby; cf. Nep. *phalī rākheko*; be or become manifest; 3) be (an amount); *khunɛʔ rɔk pɔʔl* He is the only one there; *khɛniʔo· a·kkhya·k mɛbɔʔl* How many of you are there?; *suntala a·kkhya·k mɛbɔʔl* How many oranges are there?.

*pɔtmaʔ*, *-pɔtt-/-pɔt-/-pɔʔl* vt., [dir. < *pɔtmaʔ* be suspended, hang] cast mud, clay, eggs etc. at someone or something; bespatter; *himin hilo·lle pɔttu* He bespattered the house with mud; *kɛndzumin hilo·lle kɛbɔttwi·ʔ* Did you throw mud all over your friend?

*pɔt-ya·k* n., whole bunch, a whole lot.

*pɔ·ʔl* n., mushroom, fungus.

*pɔ·mmaʔ*, *pɔ·nd-/-pɔ·n-* vi., disperse, scatter, swarm out; *sidzahaʔ mɛbɔ·ndɛ* The flies swarmed out; *mɘnahaʔ kɛrɛk mɛbɔ·ndɛ* The men have all dispersed; cf. *phɔ·mmaʔ*.

*pɔ·tthaŋ* n., large shawl, worn by women as a headdress and torso-covering, also used as bedclothes (Nep. *pachyaurā*, *pacheurā*).

*pu* n., bird.

*puʔmaʔ*, *-puʔr-/-puʔ-* vi., 1) get severed, become severed, break, snap, come apart; *siŋdze·k puʔrɛ* The stick has been severed; 2) (of *nɛʔl*) be discontinued; *nɛʔl puʔrɛi· mɛbuʔrɛnni·ʔ* Have the funereal observances been discontinued or not?; cf. *phuʔmaʔ*.

*pudza* n., [< Nep. *pūjā*] prayer service, worship service, religious ritual.

*pukmaʔ* vide *niŋsaŋ pukmaʔ*.

*pummaʔ*, *-pund-/-pun-* vi., spring (of water); *kɛ-bum-ba cwaʔl* (AP-spring-AP water) spring water.

*pummaʔ*, *-pund-/-pun-* vi., become dislodged, (of a a head) become decapitated, be removed; *luŋin pundɛ* The rock became dislodged; cf. *phummaʔ*.

*puŋbe·kmaʔ*, *puŋ-pe·g-/puŋ-pe·k-* vi., [< *pe·kmaʔ* go] go to work (= *ya·mbɔk co·kse pe·kmaʔ*).

*puŋmaʔ* vide *niŋsaŋ puŋmaʔ*.

*puŋsammaŋ* n., [< *sammaŋ*] the deity of the hunt, to which a sacrifice is offered prior to the hunt to ensure success in the undertaking.

*pupmaʔ*, *-puʔr-/-put-/-puʔl* vi.imp., (with *yo·m*) experience missing someone who has died or gone far away; *ku-yo·m puʔr-ɛ* (his-longing be_felt) He misses him; *a-yo·m puʔl* (my-longing be_felt) I'll

miss you/him/them; cf. *luŋma himma?*.

*pupma?*, *-putt-/-put-/-pu?l*   vi., become or be mixed, mix, become or be blended, blend; be or become vari-coloured, motley; *kɛdhge·k?i puttɛ* Your hair is turning grey; cf. *phupma?*.

*pupma?*, *-putt-/-put-/-pu?l*  vt., 1) grab, squeeze in one's hand, crumple up in one's hand, hold firmly in one's hand; *kusikla?o· puttuŋ bu·ruŋ* I grabbed him by the throat (cf. *phimma?*); *kɛhuk?o· puttɛ? yuksɛ?!* Hold it firmly in your hand!; *sapla puttu* He crumpled up the piece of paper; 2) *muthi pupma?* make a fist.

*pupma?*, *-putt-/-put-/-pu?l*  vt., sift, strain, filter; *thi· puttu* She's filtering the millet beer; cf. *si·pma?*, *yuma?*.

*pusa?l*  n., [*pu* bird + *sa?l ~ sa?* child, offspring] fled-geling, birdie; small bird (eg. hummingbird or small passerine bird); cf. *ko·co·sa?l*, *luŋsa?l*, *mɛnda?sa?l*, *myaŋsa?l*, *phaksa?l*, *wa?sa?l*.

*putthuŋwa*   n., [*putthuŋ* foam + *\*wa* water] foam, suds, lather, froth.

*pu·?ma?*, *-pu·?t-/-pu·?-*   vi., boil over; *yumma?l pu·?t-ɛ* (vegetables boil‿over-PT) The vegetables have boiled over; *sɔpmaŋ pu·?!* It'll boil over in a second!.

*pya?l*  n., cricket.

*pyak*  onomatopoeia, slap; *pyak lɔ?rik hipma?* slap someone; *pyak lɔ?rik hiptaŋ* She slapped me; cf. *lyɛ·ŋ*.

*pyaŋsi*  n., field, terrace (in slope farming).


*ph*


*pha*  n., bamboo.

*pha?aŋ*  sub., [*\*pha-* sub. + *-?aŋ* pfG] (vide 9.2) that, if that be the case, whether; *lu, tɔr-amm-ɛ? pha?aŋ tha·?r-u-ŋ-si-ŋ* (alright, ridicule-2p-IMP if-so leave‿behind‿for-3P-1sA-nsP-1sA) Alright, go ahead and make fun of him, if that be the case, I'll leave it behind for them; *khɛnɛ? kɛdzo·guba ya·m-bɔk?in po·ksɛi· mɛbo·ksɛnni· pha?aŋ se·ndo·mɛlle po·ksɛ gɔrɔ cumille 'wɛndu' amɛ?l* If you ask a friend whether his working is going alright or not, and it's going alright, he'll say 'It's getting along'; cf. Nep. *bhanera*.

*pha?lapma?*, *pha?-lab-/pha?-lap-*   vt., [< *\*lapma?* discard; cf. *la?phe·ma?*, *la?phuma?*] clear land by fire,

burn dried weeds or raked up leaves, burn vege-
table refuse.

*pha?ma?*, *-pha?r-/-pha?-*   vt. help someone, assist someone.

*phahɔk*   n., [*pha* bamboo + *hɔk* rind, cortex, husk, cf. *phak-
hɔk*, *siŋhɔk*] bamboo integument, bamboo shells or
casings which are shed as the bamboo plant grows;
Nep. *bãs patyãs*, *bãsko khapatã*, *bãsko khapiṭã*.

*phak*   n., pig.

*phakhɔk*   n., [*phak* pig + *hɔk* rind, cortex, husk, cf. *pha-
hɔk*, *siŋhɔk*] the gutted carcass of a slaughtered
pig; Nep. *khokpã*; cf. *mɛlluŋ*.

*phakkho·ŋ*   n., [< *phak* pig] feeding trough for pigs.

*phakma*   n., [< *phak* pig] sow.

*phaksa*   n., [*phak* pig + *sa* meat] pork.

*phaksa?l*   n., [*phak* pig + *sa?l* ~ *sa?* child, offspring] pig-
let; cf. *ko·co·sa?l*, *luŋsa?l*, *mɛnda?sa?l*, *myaŋ-
sa?l*, *pusa?l*, *wa?sa?l*.

*phakso·?l*   n. [*phak* pig + *so·?l* fat] pork fat.

*phaktɔk*   n., [*phak* pig + *tɔk* cooked rice] pig-feed, often
leftovers and *sida·m*.

*phanɔk*   m., [< *pha* bamboo] 1) bamboo shoot; 2) spicy dish
made from young bamboo shoots; Nep. *mesu*.

*phaŋ*   vide *pha?aŋ*.

*phaŋbhu*   num.col., nine; cf. *phaŋsi*.

*phaŋlɛŋ*   adv., [*phaŋ* nine + *lɛŋ* turn] nine times.

*phaŋma*, *-phaŋ-*   vt., fence off, barricade.

*phaŋsi*   num., nine.

*pha·kma?*, *-pha·kt-/-pha·k-*   vt., [dir. < *pa·ŋma?* come un-
done] fold (eg. *cirik* cloth, *te·?l* clothes); cf.
*phɛkma?*.

*pha·kma?*, *-pha·kt-/-pha·k-*   vt., (with infinitive) allow,
permit; *pa·pm? mɛbha·ktun* They didn't allow him to
speak; cf. *pi·ma?* (2).

*pha·ndo·*   n., type of *yumlakpa* made from soybeans (*cɛmbi*);
Nep. *dhulo acãr*.

*pha·ŋma?*, *-pha·ks-/-pha·ŋ-*   vt., [caus. < *pa·ŋma?* come
undone] 1) undo, untangle (*sikki?* rope, *kuhu·p*
knot, *idzige·k* knot); *idzige·k pha·ksu* He undid
the knot; 2) open (the mouth of an animal not
putting up any resistance); cf. *hɔmma?*, *lɛ?ma?*,
*thɛ·ŋma?*.

*pha·tma?*, *-pha·tt-/-pha·t-/pha·?l*   vt., scoop water from
one receptacle into another; fetch (water); cf.
*takma?*.

*phe·*   n., maize cob, corn cob; cf. *khayã*.

*phe·?ma?*, *-phe·?r-/-phe·?-*   vt., [dir. < *phe·ma?* fart] fart
at someone, fart in the presence or within olfac-

tory range of someone; *abhe·ʔrɛ rɛcə!* He has fart-
ed at us^Pi!

*phe·ʔmaʔl* n., [< *phe·maʔ* fart] fart; *abhe·ʔmaʔl sa·rik lɔ·n* I keep on having to fart terribly; cf. *phe·-maʔ, phe·ʔmaʔ.*

*phe·ʔrum* n., meal, flour.

*phe·daŋma* n., Limbu priest, wizard, medicine man (Nep. *jhãkrī*).

*phe·maʔ, -phe·s-/-phe·-* vt., (with 3sP agreement) fart, break wind; *kɛbhe·swi·ʔ* Did you fart?; cf. *phe·ʔ-maʔ.*

*phe·mmaʔ, -phe·nd-/-phe·n-* vt., [caus. < *pe·mmaʔ,* q.v.] (with *pa·n* speech, word) say something erroneous, utter something in an awkward or uncomely fashion, say something wrong, be mistaken in speech.

*phe·nda* n., tomato (tomatoes in *Limbuvān* are small like cocktail-tomatoes).

*phe·sutte·* n., [< *phe·* maize cob] a heavy porridge-like *tɔk* made of maize meal or maize flour.

*phɛʔlaʔmaʔ, phɛʔ-laʔr-/phɛʔ-laʔ* vi., [< *phɛmmaʔ* spoil; cf. *kudzaphɛmma, kusaphɛmmaʔ, phɛʔla·mmaʔ*] 1) spoil, be spoilt, be ruined; 2) become angry.

*phɛʔla·mmaʔ, phɛʔ-la·nd-/phɛʔ-la·n-* vt., [dir. < *phɛʔ-laʔmaʔ* be spoilt] spoil, ruin; dishonour; *phɛʔkɛ-la·ndɛ* He dishonoured you; *piʔlille kha·m phɛʔ-la·ndu* The bull messed up the clay.

*phɛʔmaʔ, -phɛʔr-/-phɛʔ-* vt., [dir. < *phɛmaʔ,* q.v.] put down a seat for someone, lay down matting for someone (= patient); *yukna phɛʔnɛ* I'll put down a stool for you.

*phɛdza* n., [< *\*phɛ* metal; cf. *phɛndze·k* iron] knife, khukuri (Nep. *khukurī*); cf. *phɛyuŋ.*

*phɛdzikkum* n.poet., sorcerer, in the compound *phɛdzikkum-phe·daŋ.*

*phɛdzikkumphe·daŋ* n.poet., [*phɛdzikkum* sorcerer + *phe·daŋ* shaman] sorcerers, wizards and shamans (collectively).

*phɛgo·* n., burnt edible crust of cooked rice or *maŋdɔk* on the bottom of the *karəhi* or *khɔppe·ʔ.*

*phɛgwa* n., loincloth.

*phɛkmaʔ, -phɛkt-/-phɛk-* vi., unfold, bloom, unfurl, burgeon; cf. *pha·kmaʔ.*

*phɛkmaʔ, -phɛkt-/-phɛk-* vt., upbraid, reprove, reprimand.

*phɛkwa* n., [< *phɛkmaʔ* unfold] foliage.

*-phɛlle/-bhɛlle* sub., [*\*pha-* sub. + *-ille* SUB] vide 9.3; Nep. *bhane, bhaneko.*

*phɛmaʔ, -phɛs-/-phɛ-* vt., lay a mat down, situate a stool

(*yukna* stool, *gundri* straw mat, *lo·mbhɛʔl* bamboo mat); cf. *phɛʔmaʔ*.

*phɛmmaʔ*, -*phɛʔr*-/-*phɛn*- vi., 1) spoil (with *ipmna* 'sleep', q.v.); 2) in the compounds *kudzaphɛmmaʔ*, *kusaphɛmmaʔ*.

*phɛmmaʔ*, -*phɛnd*-/-*phɛn*- vt., [caus. < *pɛmmaʔ* q.v.] slip out of, take off, undo one's clothes, strip; *hapcyaŋge·n phɛndɛʔl* Take your trousers off!; *kusimin phɛndu* She removed her dress.

*phɛmmaʔ*, -*phɛr*-(-*phɛʔr*-)/-*phɛn*- come (movement along a horizontal plane); cf. *tamaʔ*, *thaŋmaʔ*, *yumaʔ*; cf. *phɛmmaʔ*, *phɛpmaʔ*.

*phɛmmaʔ*, -*phɛnch*-/-*phɛn*- vt., [caus. < *phɛmmaʔ* come] 1) send, have brought (along a horizontal plane); 2) pass over, toss over, hand across to someone; *phɛnchɛʔl* Pass it over!.

*phɛnchaŋ* adv., left (antonym: *cupsaŋ* right).

*phɛnchaŋba* adj., left (antonym: *cupsaŋba* right).

*phɛnchaŋdiŋ* adv., to the left, counter-clockwise.

*phɛndze·k* n., [< *\*phɛ* metal; cf. *phɛdza*] iron.

*phɛŋmaʔ*, -*phɛŋd*-/-*phɛŋ*- vt., press; cf. *cɔmmaʔ*, *immaʔ*, *phɛpmaʔ*, *phimmaʔ* (2,3), *phipmaʔ*.

*phɛpmaʔ*, -*phɛtt*-/-*phɛt*-/-*phɛʔl* vt., [dir. < *phɛmmaʔ* come] fetch (what is in view or readily available, as opposed to *taʔmaʔ*); bring (along a horizontal plane); cf. *pha·tmaʔ*, *taʔmaʔ*, *takmaʔ*, *thakmaʔ*, *yuʔmaʔ*.

*phɛpmaʔ*, -*phɛtt*-/-*phɛt*-/-*phɛʔl* vt., squeeze; press, depress with one's hand, hold down with one's hand; cf. *cɔmmaʔ*, *immaʔ*, *pɔŋmaʔ*, *phɛŋmaʔ*, *phimmaʔ* (2), *phipmaʔ*.

*phɛrik* n., wooden churning road with baffled stirring blades at the bottom, for churning *nudak* (yoghurt) to yield *khyu* (ghee) and *mɔi* (whey). The *nudak* is churned in an earthenware jug with a narrow opening by pulling to and fro strings wound about the top of the rod, causing the rod to spin; Nep. *mandhani*.

*phɛyuŋ* n., [< *\*phɛ* metal + *yuŋ* handle] handle of a *phɛdza*, q.v.

*phɛ·maʔ*, -*phɛ·s*-/-*phɛ·*- vt., [caus. < *pɛ·maʔ* fly] let fly, release (of birds); fly (an airplane); *kɛrɛk pare·bahaʔ mɛbhɛ·susiba* They've released all the pigeons (one of the rituals of the *ya·kwa pudza*).

*phiʔco·ʔ* n., falcon.

*phiʔmaʔ*, -*phiʔr*-/-*phiʔ*- vt., [caus. < *piʔmaʔ* dent] dent; *mɛbhiʔru* They dented it.

*phikma?*, *-phikt-/-phik-* vi., talk loudly, talk with raised voice; **Nep.** *cicyaunu*.

*philiŋge·* n., [< Nep. *philiŋge*] shiny black seeds pounded to make a type of *yumlakpa*.

*phimma?*, *-phind-/-phin-* 1) vt., strangle; *ku-sikla-?o· phind-u-ŋ* (his-throat-LOC strangle-3P-1sA) I strangled him; *ku-sikla-?o· mɛ-bhind-u mɛ-sɛ?r-u mu* (his-thoat-LOC nsAS-strangle-3P nsAS-kill-3P REP) It is said that/They say that they strangled him to death; *khɛŋ məna·n phindu* He strangled that man; 2) squeeze something out, squeeze the juice out of something (eg. *kudza?* fruit, *ho·?* furuncle, *yaŋghe·k* wound); cf. *cɔmma?*, *imma?*, *phɛpma?*, *phipma?*; 3) depress (a lever, eg. a *ḍhiki*, q.v.); cf. *phɛŋma?*; 4) *co·?co·? phimma?* vide *mɛpma* (3).

*phipma?*, *-phitt-/-phit-/-phi?l* vt., [dir. < *phimma?* squeeze] 1) pinch; *khɛbɔkle kɛbhi?l* The crab will pinch you; cf. *ke·pma?*; 2) (with *huk* hands) press one's hands between one's thighs or under one's armpits (eg. for warmth); *ahuk phittuŋ* I'm putting my hands in my armpits; cf. *cɔmma?*, *imma?*, *phɛŋma?*, *phɛpma?*, *phimma?*.

*phir'li·* adv., whirling, rotating.

*phitta* n., [< Nep. *phitta*] wick of a kerosene lamp.

*phi·ma?*, *-phi·r-/-phi·-* vi., grow thin; *ku-sappo·k-?in phi·r-ɛ* (his-stomach-ABS grow_thin-PT) He's gotten thin; *mɛn-nu-ba kudza-·n kɛ-dzɔ gɔrɔ kɛ-bhi·?l, kɛ-n-dzɔ-nɛn gɔrɔ kɛ-bhi·* (NEG-good food-ABS 2-eat if 2-have_diarrhoea, 2-NEG-eat-NEG if 2-grow_thin) If you eat bad food you'll get diarrhoea, if you don't eat you'll get thin; cf. *phi·ma?*.

*phi·ma?*, *-phi·s-/-phi·-* vt., [caus. < *phi·ma?* grow thin] 1) cause to grow thin, let grown thin; *sappo·k-?in kɛ-bhi·s-u* (stomach-ABS 2-let_get_thin-3P) You're letting yourself get thin; 2) deflate; *laŋpho·ŋa phi·suŋ* I deflated the football.

*phi·mma?*, *-phi·nd-/-phi·n-* vt., [caus. < *pimma?* jump up] sweep away; *khɛŋ lɛ·ŋwa-·n phi·nd-ɛ? de·s-ɛ?!* (that puddle-ABS sweep_away-IMP dispatch-IMP) Sweep that puddle away!

*phi·mma?*, *-phi·nd-/-phi·n-* vt., milk; *pi?lin phi·nduba* She's milking the cow; *kɛbhi·nduwi·?* Are you milking?

*phi·ŋma?*, *-phi·ks-/-phi·ŋ-* vt., [caus. < *pi·ŋma?* q.v.] extract, pull out, take out (any long object such as nails, teeth, pins which are rooted in or have been driven into something else), extirpate;

*waphe·?ille kuyuŋin phi·ksuŋba* I took off the sickle's handle; cf. *a·ŋma?*.

*phi·pma?*, *-phi·tt-/-phi·t-/-phi·?l* vi., have diarrhoea; *men-nuba kudza-·n kɛ-dzɔ gɔrɔ kɛ-bhi·?l* (NEG-good food-ABS 2-eat if 2-have_diarrhoea) If you eat bad food, you'll get diarrhoea.

*pho·ksarumba* adj.n.m., fourth-born (of offspring or sibling).

*pho·ksarumma* adj.n.f., fourth-born (of offspring or sibling).

*pho·ktaŋ* n., shoulder

*pho·ktaŋluŋ* n., [lit. 'shoulder-boulder', *pho·ktaŋ* shoulder + *luŋ* stone, rock] Mount Kangchenjunga, at 8598m the world's third highest peak and world's tallest volcano, forming the northeastern backdrop to *Limbuvān* (Nep. *kumbhakarṇa*, Tib. *gaṅs-chen-rze-lña* [lit. the five kings of the great snows] or *gaṅs-chen-mdzod-lña* [lit. the five treasure chests of the great snows], whence Eng. Kangchenjunga).

*pho·ktaŋluŋma* n., [lit. the mountain range (*luŋma*) of which Mt. Kangchenjunga (*pho·ktaŋluŋ*, q.v.) forms the central part] the eastern Himalayan range from Mount Everest to Mt. Kangchenjunga, Nep. *Kumbha-karṇa*, *Umbhek* and *Lumbā-Sumbā Himāl*; cf. *sɛnche·-luŋma*, *waraŋluŋma*.

*pho·kwaba* adj.n.m., youngest born (of offspring or sibling).

*pho·kwama* adj.n.f., youngest born (of offspring or sibling).

*pho·ma?*, *-pho·s-/-pho·-* vt., [caus. < *pɔtma?* be situated, hang] stir about grain which is drying in the sun (*ya?ro·n*) in order to facilitate the drying process.

*pho·mma?*, *-pho·nd-/-pho·n-* vt., toss (underhand), esp. to toss clay marbles (*ko·rɛ?l*) whilst playing *khɔppi*; cf. *lɛpma?*.

*pho·mma?*, *-pho·nd-/-pho·n-* vt., [dir. < *pɔtma?* be situated, hang] hang something up, hang somebody; *piŋ pho·mma?* hang on (during the game of *piŋpiŋ*).

*pho·mma?*, *-pho·nd-/-pho·n-* vt., propagate, produce, generate; *wa? yəllik pho·ndusi* He produced many chickens.

*pho·nchiŋma?* vr., [< *pho·mma?* hang] 1) hang oneself; *pho·nchiŋɛ* He hung himself; 2) suspend oneself (eg. playfully from a branch).

*pho·nda?* n., basket for carrying a child, worn by a woman on her back.

*pho·ŋ*   n., kick; cf. *mɛpma?* (6), *tamma?*.

*pho·ŋma?*, *-pho·ks-/-pho·ŋ-*   vt., [caus. < *po·kma?* get up] wake someone up.

*pho·te·*   n., large wooden tube to blow at the fire with, held at about two hand-breadths distance from one's mouth whilst blowing; cf. *mupma?*.

*pho·tma?*, *-pho·tt-/-pho·t-/-pho·?1*   vt., [dir. < *po·tma?* lose one's way] 1) cause to lose the way, mislead; *aŋga khɛnɛ? pho·tnɛ* I'll make you lose your way; 2) deceive, take someone for a ride, take the piss with someone, make a fool of someone; *kɛ-m-bho·?1 lo·l kɛ-m-bho·?1 lo·l* (2-nsAS-take_the_piss ASS 2-nsAS-take_the_piss ASS) They're sure making a fool out of you!; *ambho·?1* They're taking the piss with us[Pi]; *mɛbho·ttaŋ* They made a fool out of me.

*phɔ*   adj., white; *khɛŋ mɘnaha? phɔ mɛlɔ?* Those people are white [men].

*phɔ?e·?1*   vide *pɔ?e·?1*.

*phɔ?i·*   n., belt.

*phɔdaŋba*   adj.n., [*phɔ* white + *taŋba* that which, he who] white, white-kind; a white one; cf. *kubhɔra*, *phɔgɛlɔ?ba*.

*phɔgɛlɔ?ba*   adj., [< *phɔ* white + AP of *lɔ?ma?* 'to appear'] white; cf. *kubhɔra*, *phɔdaŋba*.

*phɔgɘna*   n., bronze vase-shaped water vessel to drink from but not to be touched by the lips, also used for pouring water on hands or feet; Nep. *lohoṭā*, *loṭā*; cf. *kho·rɛ?1*, *tɔkkrima*.



*phɔgɘna*
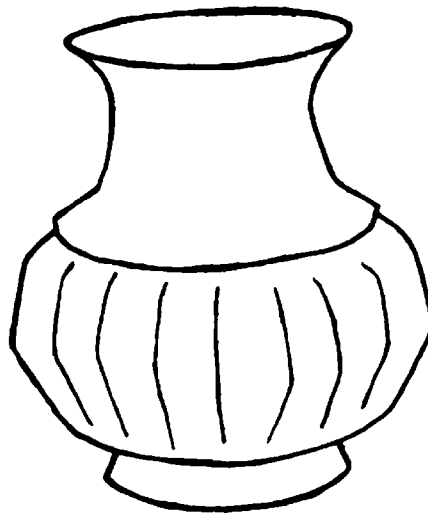
*phɔkma?*, *-phɔkt-/-phɔk-*   vi., 1) go off, explode (*timmɘk* rifle, *bɘm* bomb); emit a loud noise; erupt; *kɛhuk?in phɔktɛ ro·l* Your hands sure emitted a loud clap!; *timmɘk?in phɔktɛ* The rifle went off; cf. *phɔŋma?*; 2) rupture, cave in; *kubo·ŋ?o· phɔktɛ rɘcɘ* So, it caved in at the base; cf. *thupma?*, *yɔma?*.

*phɔkthimba* n., owl.

*phɔkwa* n., [< *phɔkmaʔ* erupt] boil, blister, furuncle; *phɔkwa lɔ·ndɛ* A blister come out; *phɔkwa po·gɛ* A boil came up; cf. esp. *cukmaʔ*.

*phɔ·n* n., hail, hailstones; *phɔ·n the·* It showered hailstones.

*phɔŋaʔ, -mbhɔŋaʔ* n., 1) ego's father's younger brother, 2) ego's mother's younger sister's husband.

*phɔŋmaʔ, -phɔks-/-phɔŋ-* vt., [caus. < *phɔkmaʔ* go off, erupt] let go off, allow to explode (*timmək* rifle, *bəm* bomb); *timmək mɛbhɔksu, allɔ aŋga phɔksuŋ* They fired the rifle, now I'm going to fire the rifle.

*phɔpmaʔ, -phɔtch-/-phɔt-/-phɔʔl* vt., employ someone in manual labour; employ someone as a field hand; *abhɔtchiʔi· ambhɔtchinni·ʔ* Will he give us[di] the work or won't he?; *khɛŋle ɛn yale·k abhɔtchɛtchi, me·nni·ʔ* Well, he employed us today, didn't he?; cf. *saŋmaʔ*.

*phɔpmaʔ, -phɔtch-/-phɔt-/-phɔʔl* vt., [caus. < *pɔtmaʔ* hang, be situated] put something up high somewhere, place something up in a place, hang up, suspend.

*phɔpmaʔ, -phɔtt-/-phɔt-/-phɔʔl* vt., [dir. < *pɔtmaʔ* hang, be situated] cover something, hold something above something or someone, suspend above something; cf. *su·pmaʔ*.

*phɔpmaʔ, -phɔtt-/-phɔt-/-phɔʔl* vt., pounce upon; cf. *kɛmmaʔ, thammaʔ*.

*phɔsi* n., large round copper pot about one metre in diameter, outfitted with four large equidistantly spaced rings along the evoluted upper rim, Nep. *khaḍkuḍā, khaḍkũlo*.



*phɔsi*
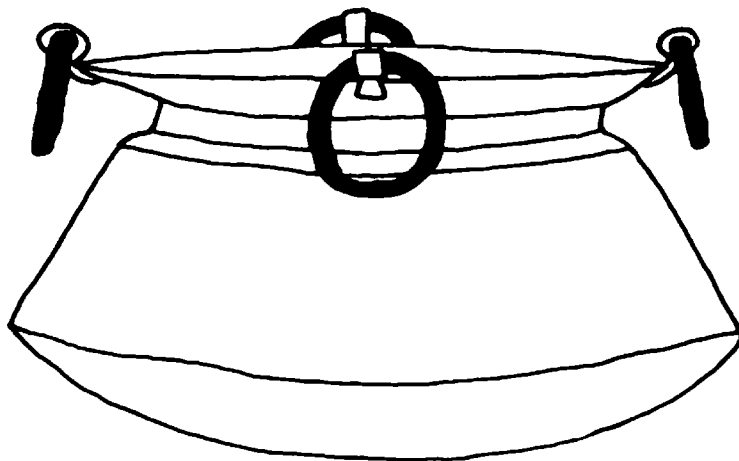
*phɔtchiŋmaʔ* vr., be in a hurry, make haste; *kɛbhɔtchiŋaŋ kɛsi ro·!* You'll die if you keep up going at that pace!.

*phɔ·maʔ*, *phɔy-/-phɔ·-* vt., braid, plait, intertwine (eg. *thɛge·kʔi* hair, *pɔʔe·ʔl* winnowing basket, *lo·m-bhɛʔl* a m̃ãdro, *pɔkwa* basket, *khaʔnam* strap of a *thɔŋga*); cf. *lipmaʔ*, *tha·ktha·kmaʔ*.

*phɔ·mmaʔ*, *-phɔ·nd-/-phɔ·n-* vt., [caus. < *pɔ·mmaʔ* scatter] disperse, cause to disperse; *khe·suʔmahaʔ pho·n-duŋsiŋ* I dispersed the bees; *hɛndzaʔ-haʔ mɛbhɔ·n-dusi* They caused the children to disperse.

*phɔ·ŋmaʔ*, *-phɔ·ks-/-phɔ·ŋ-* vt., divide; *khɛŋ kudza kɛ--bhɔ·ŋ-bɛ-n e·n na* (that food AP-divide-AP-ABS who EMPH) Who's that dividing up the food?; cf. *ha·t-maʔ*, *ha·maʔ*.

*phɔ·thak* n., rabbit, hare.

*phu*, *-mphu* n., 1) elder brother, 2) elder male cousin through paternal uncle or maternal aunt, 3) wife's elder sister's husband, 4) husband's elder brother, 5) husband's elder sister's husband.

*phudo·ŋ* n., an animal ceremoniously slaughtered (*sɛtmaʔ*) in honour of a revered guest or visitor, esp. on his first visit to a household.

*phudzik* n., earthenware pot for cooking rice (large *phudzik*) or serving as a receptacle for *yum* 'salt' (small *phudzik*); cf. *khe·kya·ʔ*.

*phuʔku* n., cave, cavity under a rock ledge or overhang.

*phuʔmaʔ*, *-phuʔr-/-phuʔ-* vt., [caus. < *puʔmaʔ* be severed] sever.

*phuʔsiŋmaʔ* vr., [< *phuʔmaʔ* sever] (with *mɛlluŋ* 'dowry' as object complement and the bride as subject) claim one's dowry, take one's dowry from one's parental home (*po·ŋmaʔ* him) to the home of one's husband (*pe·kmaʔ* him). On her first visit to her parental home after her marriage, the bride, unaccompanied by her husband, takes a *phakhɔk* as a gift from her new household to her parental home where a festive repast takes place. A *Phedãppe* Limbu dowry does not include real estate, as women do not traditionally inherit real estate, but comprises an inordinate amount of wares and money. Until the dowry is given (which is traditionally supposed to occur on the occasion of the bride's coming home with the *phakhɔk*), the parental home retains financial liability for the high costs of the bride's burial or cremation in the event of her death. The debt of an unpaid dowry passes on to

the male heirs or *sammabaha?* (q.v.), the bride's brothers, should their parents die.

*phukma?*   vide *ninsan phukma?*.

*phumma*, *-phund-/-phun-*   vt., [caus. < *pumma?* be dislodged] 1) dislodge; *lunha? mɛbhunduba* They are dislodging the rocks (i.e. pulling rocks out of the ground, out of a rock face or a rock pile); 2) dislodge, remove (lid, horns); *kusu·pnɛn phundun* I removed its lid; *pi?lle kudanin kɛbhundubai·?* Have you removed the bull's horns?; uncork, unplug; *kunda phundu* She uncorked the *gāgrī*; cf. *su·pma?*; 3) decapitate; *kudhge·k?in mɛbhundu mɛbu·ru* They lopped off its head.

*phumma?*   vide *ninwa phumma?*.

*phun*   n., flower.

*phunma?*, *-phuks-/-phun-*   vt., blend, mix; cf. *phupma?*.

*phunma?*, *-phuks-/-phun-*   vt., save up, gather together, scrape together (large objects like rocks or things which are already in close proximity to each other); cf. *summa?*, *summa?*.

*phunwa?1*   n., [< *phun* flower] gourd (both as fruit and as flask).

*phupma?*, *-phutt-/-phut-/-phu?1*   vt., [caus. < *pupma?* be mixed] mix, blend; cf. *phunma?*.

*phupma?*   vide *ninwa phupma?*.

*phuphudre·*, *-mphudre·*   n., ego's elder sister's husband (female speaking).

*phurlun*   n., [< Nep. *phurlun*] small basket made of split reeds or splintered bamboo (*the·*), used as a receptacle for ripening *hapla*.

*phyakma?*   vide *phɛkma?*.


r


*ran*   n., [< Nep. *ran*] colour.

*racə*   vide *lacə*.

*rɔ, rə*   vide *lɔ, lə*.

*-rɔk*   vide *-lɔk*.

*ruma?1*   n., [< Nep. *rumāl*] cloth, towel, handkerchief.

*rupi*   n., [< Nep. *rupī*] dark grey yellow-billed passerine bird with bands of white-on-crimson dots, often seen roosting on livestock and feeding on their parasites.

*s*

*sa* n., meat.

*-sa, -ʔa* emph.postp.part., initial consonant assimilates to preceding liquid or nasal; *kɔŋ ya·mbɔk po·ŋ ghɛʔl la* (this work be RES EMPH) This work will get done (emphatic promise); *ta·ndik sa iŋ ghɛʔl* (tomorrow EMPH become‿known RES) By tomorrow it will be common knowledge; *mɛnchuma sa gɔ· ciʔl lo·!* The girl, I tell you, is selfish!; *o· sa ba* You know it's true!/Of course it is! (Nep. *ho ta ni!*); cf. *saba*, *saka*.

*saʔ, sa-* n., I) child, offspring (*saʔl* in compounds: *ko·co·saʔl*, *luŋsaʔl*, *mɛndaʔsaʔl*, *myaŋsaʔl*, *pusaʔl*, *phaksaʔl*, *waʔsaʔl*); *ku-sa-·n te·ʔl tɔʔr-u* (her-child-ABS clothes have‿sewn-3P) She'll have her son some clothes made; II) (as a kinship term) 1) ego's child (son or daughter), 2) ego's brother's child (male speaking), 3) ego's sister's child (female speaking).

*-saʔ* emph.sf. vide *-sa*.

*saʔiʔl* n., a large type of *saŋgatra* (q.v.), the thick spongy peel of which is edible.

*saʔmaʔ, -saʔr-/-saʔ-* vt., visit someone; *saʔraŋ* He came to visit me; *asaʔrɛ* He came to visit us[Pi].

*saʔmaʔ, -saʔr-/-saʔ-* 1) vi.vt., probative aspectivizer 'to try'; *kɛmhipsi kɛmsaʔsiʔi·?* Will they try to hit you[d]?; *co·guŋ saʔruŋba* I tried to do it; *saʔrɛʔl* Try it!; 2) vt., taste, try; cf. *supmaʔ*.

*saba, saba* n., rhesus monkey, Macaca mulata; Nep. *bãdhar*, *bãdar*, *vānar*; cf. *kho·bo·ʔ*.

*saba* vide *hɛkke·*; cf. *sa*, *saka*.

*sadziʔ* adv., [*-sa* emph.part. + *ciʔ* bit] more or less, somewhat.

*sadziʔ* n., [*sa* meat + *ciʔ* bit] little bits of meat, chunks of meat.

*sahiʔl* adj., azure, blue, the colour of the *Tamor* river near *Tamphulā* in the dry season (overlaps with *kuhikla* to include green and gold); cf. *ɔmdaŋba* and *kuhikla*.

*sahittaŋba* adj., [< *sahiʔl* azure + *-taŋba* 2.1.2] blue, azure (overlaps with *kuhikla* to include green and gold); cf. *kuhikla* and *ɔmdaŋba*.

*saho·rik* n., [*sa* meat + *ho·rik* skin] any edible animal skin, esp. pork rinds.

*sak* n., ire, wrath, anger.

*sa'ka* adv., emphatic part.; *saptuŋ saka* Can't you see I'm

writing?; cf. *sa*, *saba*.

*sakca*  n., pulse, lentils; *kumakla sakca* black lentils;
Nep. *dāl*.

*sakkɛn*  n., [< *sak* ire] fury, dander, ire.

*sakma?*, *-sakt-/-sak-*  vi., be difficult.

*sakma?*, *-sakt-/-sak-*  vt., shut up, lock up, pen up, round
up (cattle); *wa?ha? saktuŋsiŋ* I locked the
chickens up.

*sakmɛndza*  adj., [*sakma?* be difficult + *mɛn-* neg.pf. + *ca-
ma?* eat] famished, starved, ravenous; *yaŋsarumbɛn
sakmɛndza po·ksɛ* Third-born has become famished.

*sakus*  vide *sikus*.

*sakwa*, *sakwama*  n., bad harvest, famine (with the verbs
*po·kma?*, *tɔma?*, *wɛmma?* q.v.); *ɛllamba sakwa
mɛbo·gɛn* There was no famine this year; Nep.
*anikāl*.

*sakhɛkya*  n., [*sa* meat + *khɛkma?* dry (meat)] spiced buffalo
jerky, cut and dried in long strips; Nep. *sukuṭī*;
cf. *ti·mma?*.

*sala·i*  n., [< Nep. *salāi*] match.

*sam*  n., peak, summit, top.

*sam*  n., consciousness, spirit; Nep. *sāto*; cf. *hoŋsa*.

*sama?*  vt.irr., deliver; *kɛsai·? - mɛnchabaŋ* Did you
deliver it? - No, I didn't; *saŋ* I delivered it.

*sama?-dhama?*  vt.irr. + vt.irr., [*sama?* deliver + *thama?*
relinquitive aspectivizer 'to leave'] escort
someone, accompany someone; *himmo· syaŋdhyaŋ* He
escorted me home.

*sa'ma·n*  n., [< Nep. *sāmān*] materials, things, belongings,
baggage, stuff.

*samba·n*  n., [*sam* spirit + *pa·n* word] punishment; (with
*mɛpma?* 'inflict' or *thama?* 'fall') *khunɛ? samba·n
mɛmɛttu* They punished him; *samba·n tha?ɛ* I'm
undergoing punishment.

*sambe·k*  n., rice crispies; Nep. *ciurā*.

*sambo·k*  n., [< *sam* spirit] navel; cf. *ipuŋ*, *nimro·k*,
*su?luŋ*.

*samdɔk*  n., [*sam* spirit + *tɔk* rice] one *mānā* (roughly a
half litre) of cooked rice laid in the grave of
the deceased and buried with him. In the prepa-
ration of *samdɔk* the fire may be lit and fanned
just once until it is well ablaze but may not be
fanned thereafter; the fire must be allowed to die
out of itself and may not be rekindled. The *samdɔk*
is then wrapped up, whether the rice is fully done
or not, and laid in the grave of the deceased.

*samlo·*  n., [< *samlo·ma?* sing] song, Nep. *gīt*.

*samlo·ma?*,  *sam-lo·r-/sam-lo·-*   vi.,  [  ?< *sam* spirit +
          *lɔ·pma?* take out, cause to come out] sing.
*sammaba*,  *-nchammaba-*,  *sɔŋmabha*,  *-nchɔŋmabha-*   n.,  (usu. in
          the  plural)  male  sibling  (married  female
          speaking).
*sammaŋ*  n.,  [< *maŋ* deity] household deity.
*sammi?l*  n.,  needle.
*sammyaŋ*  n.,  gold.
*samrippa*  n.,  [< *sam* spirit + \**rippa* dark, shade; vide STC,
          p.113,  note  318]  silhouette,  shadow;  cf.  *nam-
          dhe·?l*, *namdzi?kho·?*.
*saniwa·r*  n.,  [< Nep. *śanivār*] Saturday.
*saŋgatra*  n.,  type of yellow grapefruit with a very thick
          spongy peel.
*saŋgo·*  n.,  [< *sam* consciousness] life force.
*saŋma?*,  *-saks-/-saŋ-*   vt.,  shake  out  (water);  splutter,
          splash;  *te·?l sakse?!* Shake  out  the  clothes!;  cf.
          *thamma?*.
*saŋma?*,  *-saŋ-*   vt.,  (with *yale·k*) summon  someone  (= pa-
          tient)  to  work  in  the  fields;  *yale·k saŋma?si*
          *bo·ŋ*, *yale·k saŋuŋsiŋ* They  must  be  summoned  to
          work  in  the  fields,  I  shall  call  them  to  work;
          *yale·k amsaŋ* They  will  call  us  to  work  in  the
          fields;  cf. *phɔpma?*.
*saŋmaŋ*  adv.,  downhill;  Nep. *orālo*;  cf *pɛrɛm*, *thaŋmaŋ*.
*saŋsiŋma?*  vr.,  [< *saŋma?* shake  out  (water)]  said  only  of
          fowl:  ruffle  up  one's  feather's  and  shake  out  the
          dust  (in  contradistinction  to  *saŋsiŋma?*,  the
          non-reflexive  form  *saŋma?* denotes  'to  shake  out
          water';  cf. *thamma?* 'to shake out dust');  *midzula*
          *ha?luŋ pe·sɛ?o· wa?ha? mɛdayaŋ mɛsaŋsiŋille tɔre·*
          *mɛda mɛlɔ? yakthuŋba mənaha?re* If  chickens  come
          near  to  the  fireplace  and  ruffle  their  feathers  up
          and  shake  out  the  dust,  [we]  Limbus  say  [this  omen
          mean]  that  guests  are  on  their  way.
*sap*  n.,  root.
*sapla*  n.,  [< *sapma?* write] book, any piece of writing.
*sapma?*,  *-sapt-/-sap-*   vt.,  write.
*sappo·k*  n.,  stomach, abdomen, belly (the area as opposed
          to the internal organ, cf.  *hidu?l*, *thɛŋya·n*).
*sarɔ·ndi*   n.,  slide;  *sarɔ·ndi ca·?ɛ* I'm  playing  on  the
          slide;  cf. *ca·ma?*.
*sarumba*  adj.m.,  n.,  second-born  (of  siblings  or  off-
          spring).
*sarumma*  adj.f.,  n.,  second-born  (of  siblings  or  off-
          spring).
*sa·?rik*, *sa·rik*  adv.,  very; much.

*sa·dhan*  n., [< Nep. *sādhan*] wares, materials.

*sa·kma?*, *-sa·kt-/-sa·k-*  vt., castrate.

*sa·mbo·n*  adv., prostrate, on one's belly; cf. *hɔ?pɛ?l*.

*sa·mma?*, *-sa·m-*  vt., shield from heat, cover with some material to protect from heat; pick up or hold some hot object with protected hands.

*sa·mma?*, *-sa·ps-/-sa·m-*  vt., prepare to strike someone, assume the stance of being about to strike somone, threaten someone with a blow; *kɛsa·m lo·!* Hey, he's threatening to hit you!

*sa·msiŋma?*  vr., [< *sa·mma?* shield from heat] shield oneself from heat, protect oneself from heat (eg. by using pot-holders); *sa·msiŋɛ?aŋ tɛmsɛ?!* Shield your hands with pot-holders and pick it up!; *sa·msiŋɛ?aŋ pɔksɛ?!* Shield your hands from the heat with pot-holders and carry it!.

*sa·ŋma?*, *-sa·ks-/-sa·ŋ-*  vt., stir (+ solid, eg. *tɔk* rice, *yumma?l* vegetables); *tɔk sa·ksɛ?!* Stir the rice!; cf. *khɔmma?*, *mumma?*.

*sa·ŋma?*, *-sa·ŋd-/-sa·ŋ-*  vi., erupt in blisters, blister; *khunchi-laŋ-in sa·ŋdɛ* Their feet have erupted in blisters.

*sa·rik*  vide *sa·?rik*.

*sa·pma?*, *-sa·tt-/-sa·t-/-sa·?l*  vt., ridicule, mock, deride; *kɛsa·?lɛi·?* Are you making fun of me?

*sa·pma?*, *-sa·tt-/-sa·t-/-sa·?l*  vt., dig an irrigation ditch, lead water through irrigation ditches (patient: *cwa?l* 'water').

*sa·pse·?*  n., [< *\*se·?* protuberance] blood-sucking tick.

*se·*  n., pit, seed, kernel (of husked grain).

*se·?ho·rik*  n., [< *ho·rik* skin, bark] hide, leather.

*se·?l*  n., hunger; *se·?l la·kma?* be hungry, vide *la·kma?* (1); cf. *kidhi*.

*se·?ma?*, *-se·?r-/-se·?-*  vt., [dir. < *se·ma?* urinate] urinate on something or someone.

*se·?ma?l*  n., [< *se·ma?* urinate] urine.

*se·ba*  n.m., bond-friend; *se·ba co·kma?* become each other's bond-friend; Nep. *mit lagāunu*.

*se·dzɔŋwa*  n., [< *\*wa* water] 1) crystal clear water; 2) eau-de-vie, millet brandy distilled from *thi·*, q.v.; Nep. *raksī*; cf. similar metaphorical usage of *ma·kkhunde·*.

*se·k*  vide *se·?l*.

*se·kma?*, *-se·g-/-se·k-*  vt., choose, select.

*se·kma?*, *-se·kt-/-se·k-*  1) vi., appear, start to shine, shine (collocates only with *nam* in the expression: *nam se·ktɛ* the sun is shining; cf. Nep. *ghām*

*lāgyo*); 2) vt., shine on someone; *na·m-ille se·kt-aŋ* (sun-ERG shine-1sPS/PT) The sun shone on me; cf. *o·tma?*.

*se·1* n., [< Nep. *sel*] deep-fried flatbread made of rice flour.

*se·llapma?, se·n-lapt-/se·n-lap-* vt., [\**se·n* inquiry] inquire of someone, inform oneself through someone.

*se·ma* n.f., bond-friend.

*se·ma?, -se·r-/-se·-* vi., exude, permeate out, seep through a generalized surface; cf. *a-hɔ·mbrikwa lɔ·nd-ɛ* (my-sweat exude-PT) I'm sweating (at one spot on my body, eg. the forehead); *ahɔ·mbrikwa se·rɛ* I'm sweating (viz. all over my body or a large surface thereof); *ma·khi lɔ·ndɛ* It's bleeding (from a cut); *ma·khi se·rɛ* It's bleeding (from an abrasion).

*se·ma?, -se·s-/-se·-* vt., piss, urinate; cf. *se·?ma?, se·?ma?1*.

*se·ndo·ma?, se·n-do·s-/se·n-do·-* vt., [\**se·n* inquiry] ask someone; *se·n-gɛ-n-do·s-u-n-ni·?* (ask-2-NEG-ask--3P-NEG-Q) Aren't you going to ask him?; cf. *na·k-ma?*.

*se·ŋkwa* n., [< P̃acthare Limbu] panting, shortness of breath; *a-se·ŋkwa lɔ·nd-ɛ* (my-panting egress-PT) I was short of breath; cf. *he·sɔŋwa*.

*se·sapma?, se·-sapt-/se·-sap-* vt., make a network of bamboo (*pha*) and split bamboo (*the·*) to serve as the underlying foundation to a thatched roof; *se·mɛsaptuba* They're making a bamboo thatching foundation; *ɛn anige se·saptumbe* Today weᴾᵉ are going to make the bamboo foundation for the roof.

*se·se·* adj., invigorated, fresh, refreshed, full of zest; cf. *lɔ?ma?* (9).

*se·se·daŋba* n.adj., [*se·se·* full of zest + *taŋba* 2.1.2] able, energetic, quick-witted, adept, agile, clear-headed.

*se·wa* n., obeisance, greetings, respect; *a-se·wa ro·!* (my-greetings ASS) Greetings!; Nep. *namaste*; cf. *mɔ·ma?*.

*sɛ'baŋba, sɛ'bɔŋba* n., thigh; (of prepared fowl) drumstick.

*sɛma?, -sɛs-/-sɛ-* vt., [caus. < *sɛpma?* be scattered] scatter, spill (either intentionally or unintentionally); sow; *wa?-ha? ma·ki sɛs-ɛ? pi·r-ɛs-ɛ?!* (chicken-p maize scatter-IMP give-nsP-IMP) give the chickens maize!; *pho·kwabɛ-lle kɛrɛk sya? sɛs-u* (youngest male offspring-ERG all rice spill-3P)

Youngest brother spilt all the rice.

**semikla** n., a mythological reed.

**semikla-khappu** n., [*semikla* reed + *khappu* < *thappu* ash] the ash of a mythological reed from Tibet.

**semma?**, -*send-/-sen-* [dir. < *sepma?* be scattered] I) vi., 1) split up, go one's separate ways, disperse or break up (after a gathering); *senchi*, *sendi* (the 1di and 1pi adhortative) good-bye; 2) leave the parental or *po·ŋma?* him 'birth home' (said of a *ce·li*, viz. daughter/sister taking up residence in the household of her spouse after marriage); II) vt., separate; *sya? numba mennuba send-u-ŋ* (rice good bad separate-3P-1sA) I'm separating the good from the bad rice.

**senchen** adv., [< *sen* night] the whole night long; cf. *lenlen*.

**senche·luŋma** n., [< *luŋma* mountain range] the *Mahābhārat Lek* range, running roughly parallel to and to the south of the Great Himalayan range; cf. *pho·ktaŋ-luŋma*, *waraŋluŋma*.

**sendik** adv., [*sen* night + -\**dik* period of day] at night, from midnight to dawn; *sendik phen?e* I'll come after midnight; cf. *anchen*, cf. *biha·ndik*, *idik*, *lendik*, *ta·ndik*, *yunchik*.

**sendhuk**, **senduk** n., toenail, fingernail; talon, claw.

**seŋma?**, -*seks-/-seŋ-* vt., dialectal variant of *eŋma?* in the vicinity of *Sākrāntī* to the north of *Myāñluñ*, vide *eŋma?*.

**sepma?**, -*se?r-/-set-/-se?l* vt., [dir. < *sima?* die] kill, extinguish; *ma?yu set-che pe·g-i* (bear kill-SUP go-p/ADH) Let's go bear hunting!; *se?le ne?le* She's about ready to kill me; cf. *niŋwa sepma?*, *setma?*.

**sepma?**, -*ser-/-set-/-se?l* vi., 1) be scattered, be spilt; *ma·ki kerek sere* the maize has all spilt out and scattered; 2) go one's separate ways, split up, break up (a gathering); *sopmaŋ ani ase?l* WePi shall get up and go our separate ways in a second; *seri* Let'sPi break up the gathering; cf. *semma?*.

**sepmaŋ** n., dream; vide *ma·kma?*.

**sepmaŋme·?o·** adv., [*sepmaŋ* dream + -*me·* ? + *?o·* LOC] in a dream, whilst dreaming.

**seroŋ** vide *soroŋ*.

**setchiŋma?** vr., [< *setma?* pile up, build a wall] 1) be vain, conduct oneself vainly, be arrogant; *kesetchiŋ* You're vain; *koŋ a·kkhya·k setchiŋba!* How vainly he conducts himself!; 2) speak in obscura-

tive slang, speak in riddles (Limbu is rife with secretive slang and cryptonyms); *khɛnɛ? sa·rik kɛsɛtchiŋba kɛdzo·k* You sure do speak in riddles!/ You really have a way with words!

*sɛtchiŋma?* vr., [< *sɛpma?* kill] commit suicide; *sɛtchiŋɛba* He committed suicide.

*sɛtma?*, *-sɛtt-/-sɛt-/sɛ?1* vt., pile up, build a wall or pile (eg. *luŋ* rocks, *sapla* books, *siŋ* pieces of wood).

*sɛtma?*, *-sɛtt-/-sɛt-/sɛ?1* vt., [dir. < *sɛpma?* kill] traditionally slaughter a *phudo·ŋ* (q.v.) for an important guest, esp. on his first visit; *phudo·ŋ sɛttumbe – hɛn kɛsɛttum? – phak?in sɛttumbe* We are going to slaughter a *phudo·ŋ* – What are you slaughtering as a *phudo·ŋ?* – We shall slaughter a pig.

*səba* vide *saba*.

*səllak* adv., [< *lakma?* lick] licking clean, lick away; cf. *lakma?*, *səllakke·*.

*səllakke·* n., [< *səllak* licking clean + *-ke·* nom.sf.; cf. *muso·kke·*, *ware·?ge·*] same as *yumlakpa*, q.v.

*sə'yɛ?1* n., [< *sa* meat + *yɛ?1* bone, q.v.] bone.

*sərɔŋ* vide *sɔrɔŋ*.

*si?* n., louse.

*si?dhi·n* n., [*si?* louse + *thi·n* egg] louse egg.

*si?laŋ* n., [< *laŋ* leg] pillar, post; *yaŋsiŋbɛ-rɛ-n si?laŋ* (Schima_wallichii-GEN-ABS) a pillar made of a Schima wallichii trunk.

*sida·m* n., filtered *sɔŋa?*, *sɔŋa?* from which *thi·* has been extracted or which has been used in the preparation of *se·dzɔŋwa*; cf. *canɔkwa*, *sɔŋa?*.

*sidɔ?1* n., a great amount, a lot.

*sidɔ?1-hɛkke·* adv., [calque < Nep. *dherai jaso*] most of them, the majority, for the greater part.

*sidha* n., [ ?< Nep. *auṣadhi*] medicine, ointment; cf. *mɛpma?* (7).

*sidza* n., fly.

*sidzo·ngre·k* n., swallow.

*siga·p* vide *sigɔp*.

*sige·k* n., socio-economic class.

*sigi?* vide *sikki?*.

*sigip* n., bedbug, Cimex lectularius (Nep. *uḍus*).

*sigɔp*, *siga·p* n., Castanopsis tribuloides, tree of the beech family Fagaceae, with delicate leaves and with sweet, white fruit contained in a black thorny casing and ripening in the month of *Kārtik*; the *sigɔp* tends to grow at higher elevations (viz.

ca. 2000 m) than the *pɔŋgre·ba*, q.v.; Nep. *musure kaʈus*, *musurī kaʈus*, *sāno kaʈus*.

*sik* n., irritation; *ku-sik khɛŋ-ɛ* (his-irritation well_up- -PT) He grew irritated; also cf. *cibuk*, *cigɛʔ*, *yak*.

*sik* vide *sikto·ʔ*.

*sika·r* n., [< Nep. *śikār*] hunting, hunt.

*sikco·ʔl* n., ant.

*sikco·tthi·n* n., [*sikco·ʔl* ant + *thi·n* egg] 1) ant eggs; 2) [metaphorically] rice, i.e. *wɛtchyaʔdɔk*, q.v.

*sikkiʔ*, *sikki* n., rope, string.

*sikkuma* n., the back of the neck; cf. *sikla*, *tɔkkrumba*.

*sikkhi* n., condition of bad stomach, loose bowels, indigestion, intestinal cramps.

*sikla*, *sitla* n., [< *itla* voice] neck, throat; the neck as a whole; cf. *sikkuma*, *tɔkkrumba*.

*siksa·mba* n., [< Nep. *śikṣā* education, *śikṣak* teacher] teacher, instructor.

*siksa·mma* n.f., [< Nep. *śikṣā* education, *śikṣak* teacher] female teacher, female instructor.

*sikto·ʔ*, *sik* n., underneath, underside, below, under; *tamphula te·rathumille kusikto·ʔo· pardzo·k* Tamphula lies below Tehrathum; *anbo·lle kusikʔo· amɘra pɔʔl* My mouth is located beneath my nose.

*sikus* n., [< Nep. *iskus*] vegetable marrow,

*sikwa* n., stinging nettle (often prepared as *yummaʔl*); cf. *sugikpa*.

*sikwa* vide *sukwa*.

*sim* n., Limbu female dress, more elaborate and voluminous than a *luŋgi*.

*simaʔ* vi.irr., 1) die; cf. *ma·siŋmaʔ*; 2) die out (of a fire); *mi·n se·* The fire has gone out.

*simha de·bi* n., [< Nep. *simha devī*] lion goddess.

*simmaʔ*, *-sips-/-sim-* vt. hide by sticking into, by insert- ing; conceal by inserting into lengthwise.

*siŋ* n., wood.

*siŋbe·ʔl* vide *siŋbe·k*.

*siŋbe·k* n., chin.

*siŋbe·k-mɛyuŋ-mudhuk* n., [*siŋbe·k* chin + *yuŋ-* sit, be situated + *mudhuk* moustache] circumlocution to denote beard, whiskers (human); Nep. *dāhrī*; note: Ethnic Limbus generally lack facial hair. A mous- tached Limbu is uncommon, and bearded Limbus do not exist.

*siŋbo·ŋ* n., [*siŋ* wood + *-bo·ŋ* tree] tree.

*siŋdze·k* n., [*siŋ* wood + *ce·k* piece] stick, twigs, kind- ling; cf. *lauro·*.

*siŋhɛk*   n., [*siŋ* wood + < *hɛkma?* chop] ethnonym for the Newari (lit. wood-chopper), one of the peoples of Nepal.

*siŋhɔk*   n., [*siŋ* wood + *hɔk* crust, cortex, husk; cf. *phahɔk, phakhɔk*] bark (of a tree).

*siŋki*   n., [< Nep. *sinkī*] fermented vegetable dish, consisting of boiled, sliced tubers to which a pinch of ash (optional) has been added as a leaven, and which is left buried for several days, either wrapped in cloth or interred in an earthenware container to ripen.

*siŋmudzik*   n., [< *siŋ* wood] pile of wood, heap of sticks.

*siŋsa·p*   n., [*siŋ* tree, wood] root.

*siŋsara?l*   n., [< *siŋ* wood] branch; cf. *haŋga*.

*siŋse·*   n., [*siŋ* wood + *se·* pit] 1) jungle vegetation; 2) ethnonym for the Rai, any of the various Tibeto-Burman ethnic groups of eastern Nepal covered by the term *Rāī*, a person belonging to any Rai ethnic group.

*siŋya·n*   adv., [< *ya·n* day] the day before yesterday, the other day.

*-sira-dhaŋma?, -dhaŋ-*   vi., [< *thaŋma?* come up, well up] (*-sira* takes poss. prefixes) 1) please, like, be desired or desirable; *sa·rik kusiradhaŋ ləcə* (very 3-please DEPR) It seems that he likes it very much; *kɛ-sira-mɛ-dhaŋ-nɛn-ni·?* (2-please-NEG- -please-NEG-Q) Don't you like it?; 2) love, like, be pleased with someone; *amma amba khunchi-sira dhaŋ?ɛ* My parents love me, my parents are pleased with me; cf. *na?nu?ma?*.

*sirak*   n., [< Nep. *sirak*] quilt; cf. *khɔmnaba*.

*sira·ni*   n., [< Nep. *sihrānī*] pillow.

*sisa*   n., [< Nep. *śīśā* glass] bottle.

*sisam*   n., [*si-* die + *sam* spirit] 1) phantom, apparition of someone's disembodied spirit seen wandering about outside of and often far away from his body during a delirium or coma associated with a serious or terminal illness; a *sisam* sighting is usually indicative of the impending death of the person whose spirit has been seen wandering; 2) the ghost of a person who has died in the absence of others or at an unknown moment; cf. *so·gha, sugup*.

*sisam-hɛnyawɛnya*   n.col. ghosts and phantoms, paranormal apparitions.

*sisi*   adv., vide *lɔ?ma?* (7).

*sitla*   vide *sikla*.

*si·*   n., wheat.

*si·kma?*, *-si·kt-/-si·k-*   vt., measure.

*si·mma?*, *-si·ps-/-si·m-*   vt., [caus. < *si·pma?* get wedged inbetween] insert a long object into wickerwork, matting, thatching, meshwork or any reticulate material (eg. insert a ballpoint pen or a golden pin into someone's hair, insert a stick or spike into the thatching of a roof, rethatch a hole in the roof thatching (cf. *khapma?*), insert a pin into fabric for safekeeping).

*si·ŋma?*, *-si·ks-/-si·ŋ-*   vt., roll up (+ *ba·ula* sleeves); tuck up; *ya·mbɔk co·kmɛlle ba·ula·n si·ŋm· bo·ŋ* One must roll up one's sleeves whilst working.

*si·pma?*, *-si·pt-/-si·p-*   vt., filter, strain (as part of the distillation process); *thi· siptammɛ?!* (millet_beer strain-2p-IMP) strain the millet beer!; *thi· mɛ-si·pt-u* (millet_beer nsAS-strain-3P) They strain the millet beer; cf. *pupma?*, *yuma?*.

*si·pma?*, *-si·pt-/-si·p-*   vt., get or be stuck between, be wedged inbetween; *aha·n tugɛ. - hɛnaŋ? - sa·n si·ptu.* My tooth hurts. - Why? - Meat has gotten stuck between them.

*si·pm?naba*   n., [nominalized PP of *si·pma?* strain, filter] nickname for *thi·*, q.v.

*si·-phe·?rum*   n., wheat flour.

*si·tɔk*   n., [*si·* wheat + *tɔk* cooked grain] staple of cooked wheat.

*so·ri?l*   vide *suri?l*.

*so·gha*   n., a restless and occasionally panic-ridden ghost of a man or women who has died an inauspicious death by drowning, being burned alive or falling to one's death; a *so·gha* is wan and conspicuously taller than a living man; a *so·gha* is not inherently evil, but an encounter with a *so·gha* invariably portends evil; cf. *sisam*, *sugup*.

*so·kma?*, *-so·kt-/-so·k-*   vt., 1) aim at, point, point out; 2) have in mind, envision, intend; *so·ktuŋba ya·mbɔk?in mɛbo·ksɛn* The work I had in mind didn't come through; 3) be out after someone, harbour designs against someone; *khɛŋ mɔna-re khɛnɛ kɛmso·k lo·! yɛkyɛk?aŋ wayɛ?!* Those guys are out to get you! Be careful!

*so·?l*   n., sugar cane.

*so·?l*   n., 1) fat, grease; usu. *kuso·?l*; 2) tears (figuratively), in the proverb: *so·pmɛlle so·?l lɔ·n* If you keep on pestering [each other], tears will follow; cf. *mikwa*.

*so·?l-gha·ri*   n., [*so·?l* sugar cane + < Nep. *ghārī* thicket,

grove] grove of sugar cane, sugar cane thicket.

*so·m*  n., [< *so·ma?* itch] itch-mite, mange; cf. *tɔma?*.

*so·ma?*  vi., be fat, be strong, be well endowed with adipose tissue; *kɔŋ phaksa so·* This pork contains lots of fat; *kɛso·ba mɔna* a fat and strong man, a large man (as opposed to *kɛme·?ba*, q.v.).

*so·ma?*, *-so·s-/-so·-*  vi., itch; *so·sɛ* It itches; *sa·rik so·sɛi·?* Does it itch badly?; *ayam so·sɛ* My body has begun to itch.

*so·mba·r*  n., [< Nep. *somva·r*] Monday.

*so·mma?*, *-so·nd-/-so·n-*  vt., [caus. < *co·mma?* topple, fall] topple, fell; *siŋbo·ŋ so·ndɛtchuge* We^de felled the tree; cf. *ta·ŋma?*.

*so·mma?*, *-so·nd-/-so·n-*  vt., (with *sɔkma*) breathe; *sɔkma so·nduŋ* I'm breathing.

*so·mma?*, *-so·nd-/-so·n-*  vt., remove the chaff, husk; *pe·na?-re ku-hi? mɛ-so·nd-u* (millet-GEN its-chaff nsAS-remove‿chaff-3P) They remove the chaff from the millet; cf. *hakma?*.

*so·mma?*, *-so·ps-/-so·m-*  vt., grope, feel about, frisk (in search of something); *kɛ-so·ps-ɛ-i·?* (2-frisk-PT-Q) Did he frisk you?; *yaŋ pi·r-aŋ-ɛ?! - yaŋ ho·p. - so·ps-ɛ?!* (money give-1sP-IMP - money not‿be - frisk-IMP) Give me some money! - I have no money - Check!.

*so·pma?*, *-so·tt-/-so·t-/-so·?l*  vt., pester someone, misbehave.

*so·rik*  adv., together.

*so·-so·rik*  adv., together; more intimate and unified than *so·rik*.

*sɔ?ma?*, *-sɔ?r-/-sɔ?-*  vt., knead, mix by hand; *pi?lhinu kha·m sɔ?ma?aŋ himha? lɛ·ŋma? bo·ŋ* Manure and clay must be mixed and the houses recoated; cf. *lɛ·ŋma?*.

*sɔbya?*  adv.adj., stealthily, furtively, meticulously; *sɔbya?aŋ sɔbya? a·tto· kɛdha·siŋ?* Where are you sneaking off to?; *sɔbya?aŋ sɔbya? hɛn kɛdzo·klɔ kɛya·k?* What are you carrying out so furtively?

*sɔkma*  n., breath; vide *hikma?*, *ho·pma?*, *so·mma?*, *uŋma?*.

*sɔkmana·m*  n., [< *sɔkma* breath] windpipe, trachea; cf. *tɔ?lumbe·?*.

*sɔkpa*  n., Yeti, the abominable snowman of the Himalayas.

*sɔme·t*  n., air.

*sɔmma*, *-sɔnch-/-sɔn-*  vt., stretch out, straighten out; *kɛlaŋin sɔnchɛ?!* Put your leg straight!

*sɔŋa?*  n., fermented red millet from which the juice is extracted to yield *thi·*, q.v. (Nep. *cābro*); cf.

*canɔkwa, sida·m.*

*sɔŋmaʔ,* *-sɔŋ-* vi., be cooked, be done (cooking); *tɔk sɔŋɛi·ʔ* (rice be‿done-PT-Q) Is the rice done?; *kɛsɔŋba co·k* It's done; cf. *sɔŋmaʔ.*

*sɔŋmaʔ,* *-sɔŋd-/-sɔŋ-* vt., [dir. < *sɔŋmaʔ* be done] make done (food), cause to become done (food); cf. *tho·kmaʔ.*

*sɔŋmaʔ,* *-sɔŋs-/-sɔŋ-* vt., 1) sell (with inanimate patient); 2) rip someone off, dupe, defraud, take advantage off (with animate patient); *amsɔŋ amdza·* (1-nsAS-rip‿off 1-nsAS-perform) They'll rip us off.

*sɔŋmabha,* *-nchɔŋmabha-* vide *sammaba.*

*sɔŋwɛʔl* n., male buffalo.

*sɔŋwɛtla* n., [< *sɔŋwɛʔl* male buffalo] buffalo.

*sɔŋwɛtma* n., [< *sɔŋwɛʔl* buffalo] female buffalo.

*sɔŋwɛtcha* n., [*sɔŋwɛʔl* buffalo + *sa* meat] buffalo meat.

*sɔŋwɛtnu* n., [*sɔŋwɛʔl* buffalo + *nu* milk] buffalo milk.

*sɔpma* n., moment, instant.

*sɔpmaʔ,* *-sɔtt-/-sɔt-/-sɔʔl* vi., rejoice, be glad, be happy, enjoy; *andzumin talle angaʔ sɔʔlɛ* I'll rejoice when my friend comes; *kundzumin te·lle khɛɲin sɔttɛ* He was glad when his friend came.

*sɔpmaʔdziʔ* adv., [< *sɔpma* moment + *ciʔ* little bit] for or in a little while, for or in a few moments.

*sɔpmaŋ* adv., [*sɔpma* moment] in a second, in a little while, in a minute.

*sɔ'rɔŋ* n., small sour yellow lemon (Nep. *jyāmira,* as distinct from the *kāgatī*).

*sɔ·mmaʔ,* *-sɔ·nd-/-sɔ·n-* [dir. < *sɔ·mmaʔ* slither, ooze down] I) vi., slide down; *luɲin sɔ·ndɛ* The rock slid down; cf. *lɛ·ŋmaʔ;* II) vt., 1) slide something down; *luɲin sɔ·nduŋ* I slid the rock; 2) *-na sɔ·mmaʔ* dishearten, sadden; *kuna sɔ·ndu* (his-face slide‿down-3P) He caused him to be disheartened; *kɛna·n sɔ·ndwi·ʔ* Has he made you sad?.

*sɔ·mmaʔ,* *-sɔ·r-/-sɔ·n-* vi., 1) ooze down, run down, slither; *ɔse·k sɔ·n* The snake slithers; *-thɛʔl sɔ·maʔ* drool, *kɛ-dhɛʔl sɔ·r-ɛ* (your-spit ooze‿ down-PT) You're drooling, cf. *ɔ·maʔ, tho·kmaʔ;* 2) *-na·n sɔ·maʔ* frown, sulk angrily, *ku-na-·n sɔ·r-ɛ* (his-face-ABS ooze‿down--PT) He's frowning.

*suʔluŋ* n., [*supmaʔ* finish, bring to an end + *luŋ* stone] Limbu tombstone, placed above ground above the navel (*sambo·k*) of the interred corpse.

*supmaʔ,* *-sur-/-sut-/-suʔl* vt., 1) complete, finish; *suruŋ* I'll finish it; 2) finish someone off; *khɛŋle*

*khɛnɛ? kɛsu?l lo·!* He'll finish you off if you don't watch out; 3) terminative aspectivizer with transitive verbs; vide 5.3.1.

*su?wa*   n., bag, sack, rucksack.

*suba*   n., rat.

*suba-ho·?*   n., [lit. mouse-furuncle] small furuncle with small pit (Nep. *ḍallā*); cf. *ho·?*.

*subba*   n., common Limbu family name and often generic name for the Limbus (formerly: powerful *Kirãt* officer with both administrative and military authority in the hill regions, esp. in *Limbuvān*, in rank below the *devān* but above the *jamindār* in the collection of revenue, subordinate to the *sardār* in military affairs; also: a Limbu nobleman); Limbu.

*subi*   exp., let it be!

*sugikpa*   n., [< *Pãcthare* Limbu] stinging nettle; cf. *sikwa*.

*sugup*   n., a malevolent ghost of: 1) children who have died before the age of three and whose spirit is too immature to pass on into the hereafter of *khamma-yaŋsaŋ* and must therefore be reincarnated, 2) married or unmarried females who have died a violent death, 3) young females whose fresh blood within the bone marrow has been exposed to the air due to improper burial or cremation, 4) exceptionally wicked and evil people, incapable of passing into *khamma-yaŋsaŋ*; cf. *so·gha*, *sisam*.

*suk*   onomatopoeia, sob.

*sukma?*, *-sug-/-suk-*   vt., wait in ambush; *sugɛ?aŋ hiptɛ?!* Wait in ambush and hit him [when he comes]!

*sukma?*, *-sukt-/-suk-*   vt., be able, know how, be capable of; *aŋga thi· mɛn-dhuŋ-?e·-saŋ pa·t-ma? sukt-u-ŋ* (I millet‿beer npG-drink-npG-even talk-INF can--3P-1sA) I'm able to talk even without having drunk millet beer; *kɛme·?ba məna laŋghe·kma? mɛnchuktun* Fat men don't know how to walk; cf. *he·?ma?*.

*sukraba·r*   n., [< Nep. *śukravār*] Friday.

*sukwa*   vide *su?wa*.

*sukhe·*   vide *tukhe·-sukhe·*.

*sukhe·*   n., [*syut-* be‿bitter + *khe·* white yam] black bitter edible tuber found in the jungle.

*sullilli*   vide *sullisulli*.

*sullisulli*   adj.adv., running about frantically, scampering about frenetically; *khunɛ? sullisulli co·k* He's dashing about frantically; *a·kkhya·k sullilliba kɛlɔ?ba!* What a frenetic scamperer!; cf. *mutthuk*.

*suma?*, *-nchuma?*   n., 1) ego's mother's younger sister,

2) ego's father's younger brother's wife.

*suma?*, *-sus-/-su-* vt., touch; *khɛnɛ? sunɛi·?* Shall I touch you?; cf. *mɛnchum?na*.

*sumba* n., pajama-like trousers, tight at the calves and ankles, part of the official Nepalese dress; Nep. *suruvāl*; cf. *ləghe·?1*.

*sumba·ŋ* n., [*\*sum* ?mortar (vide *luŋsum*) + *-bo·ŋ* tree] mortar made of a large hollowed out log or tree stump (Nep. *okhalī*); for pounding dry spices, esp. *ha·rundi* 'turmeric', used in conjunction with a *kyaŋ*.

*sumbo·ŋ* num.adv., all three; cf. *sumraŋ*.

*sumbhu* num.coll. three; cf. *sumsi*.

*sumha?luŋ* n., [< *sum* three] the configuration of three equidistant *ha?luŋ* (q.v.) constituting the traditional Limbu indoor fireplace.

*sumipma* n., younger sisters of ego's spouse, i.e. husband's younger sister, wife's younger sister.

*sumippa* n., husband's younger sister.

*sumlɛŋ* adv., [*sum* three + *lɛŋ* turn] thrice, three times.

*sumliŋ* adv., [< *sum* three] two years ago; cf. *atche·ma, a?nɛmma, ɛnniŋ, mi?lliŋ*.

*summa?*, *-sund-/-sun-* vt., [dir. < *cumma?* accumulate] scrape together with the blade of the hand; cf. *phuŋma?, summa?*.

*summa?*, *-sups-/-sum-* vt., [caus. < *cumma?* accumulate] (takes either an animate or inanimate patient; the inanimate patient may be things particulate or far apart, eg. meal, money; cf. *phuŋma?, summa?*) accumulate, save, amass, gather together, convene, assemble; *khɛnɛ? yaŋ kɛnchupsunni·?* Aren't you saving money?; *supsuŋsiŋ* I convened them.

*sumraŋ* num., all three; cf. *nɛpma?, nɛpmadzaŋ, sumbo·ŋ*.

*sumsi* num., three.

*sumsum* adv., honestly, conscientiously, well-mannered, unassuming, modestly.

*suntala* n., [< Nep. *suntālā*] orange.

*suŋ* n., [< *suŋma?* wrap up] gift, present.

*suŋma?*, *-suks-/-suŋ-* vi., cough.

*suŋma?*, *-suŋ-* vt., pack, wrap up; *aŋga yaŋ ruma?1?o· suŋuŋ* I wrapped the money in a handkerchief.

*supma?*, *-sub-/-sup-* 1) vi., be shut, be closed; *lamdhe·?1 sup* The door'll shut; *ba·kas/tɔŋba subɛ* The box/ the *tɔŋba* is shut; 2) vt., close (door or window) *lamdhe·?1in subɛ?aŋ pe·?!* Close the door as you go!; *lamdhe·?1 subu* He closed the door; *su?wa subuŋ* I shut the bag; cf. *su·pma?*; cf. *hɔmma?*,

*hu?ma?*.

*supma?, -supt-/-sup-* vt., suck up, take draughts through a *pi·tchiŋ*; *tɔŋba mɛsuptu* They suck up their *tɔŋba*; cf. *pi·pma?*.

*supma?, -sutt-/-sut-/-su?1* vt., [dir. < *supma?* suck up] taste by taking a draught through a *pi·tchiŋ* (collocates with *tɔŋba*); *suttuŋ suruŋ* I'm done tasting it; cf. *sa?ma?*.

*suri?1* n., wind.

*surti* n., [< Nep. *surtī*] tobacco.

*surubuŋge·* n., potpourri, stew, hodge-podge; *ɛn an·ge surubuŋge· cambe* Today weᴾᵉ are eating a hodge-podge.

*suruŋ* n., [< Nep. *suruṅ*] tunnel.

*su·ma?, -su·s-/-su·-* vi., be late; *hɛnaŋ kɛsu·sɛba* Why are you late?; *su·saŋi·?* Am I late?; (with infinitive) be slow at doing something; *khunɛ? laŋghe·kma? su·* She walks slowly; *kɛsu· - su·?ɛ* You'll be late - Yes, I will; cf. *cɔtma?*.

*su·mma?, -su·nd-/-su·n-* 1) vi., become scarce, few, a little bit; *su·ndɛ* There's not much left; 2) vt., (with *na* face) stroke over someone's face in a downward direction with the palm of one's hand as a sign of aggression, anger and as a challenge to fight; *ku-na-·n su·nd-u-ŋ* (his-face-ABS stroke--3P-1sA).

*su·pma?, -su·pt-/-su·p-* vt., [dir. < *supma?* q.v.] cap (a bottle), close a lid, put a lid on, close (a door or window), close off, put a cover on, shut off, seal off; *tɔŋba su·ptuŋ* I'll close off the *tɔŋba*; *wa?dzak?in kudo·pille su·ptu* He covered the chick with his *ʈopī*; *kha·mkunda su·pm?na* Weᴾᵉ corked the *gāgrīs*; *thɔŋgalle wa?dzyakha? su·ptusi* He's put the chicks under the *ɖoko*; cf. *hu?ma?, phɔpma?, phumma?* (2), *supma?* (2), *tɛpma?*.

*su·pna* n., [< *su·p-* close + *-m?na* PP] lid, top, cap, cover (Nep. *birko*); *kɔl-le ku-su·pna wa-i·?* (this-GEN its-lid be-Q) Does this have a lid (or cap)?; cf. *hu?ma*.

*su·thɛba* n., [< *thɛba* grandfather] 1) great-grandfather, 2) great-grand-uncle.

*su·yuma* n., [< *yuma* grandmother] 1) great-grandmother, 2) great-grand-aunt.

*swa?1 lɔ?ma?* vide *lɔ?ma?* (5).

*sya* n., [< *ya?* paddy] husked rice; husked grain; cf. *tɔk*.

*sya?1* n., sting; (with *lɔ?ma?*) *sya?1 lɔ?rɛ* It stung; Nep. *cirikk ko duḥkha*.

*sya?l* n., [< Nep. *syāl*] the Eurasian jackal, Canis aureus; in fables also: fox.

*sya?l kɛsɛppa* n., [Nep. calque < *syālmārā* jackal-killer] pejorative ethnonym for an Indian or Indo-Aryan inhabitant of the *Tarāi*; Nep. *madesī*.

*syutma?*, *-syutt-/-syut-/-syu?l* vi., be sour, taste sour, turn sour; *syuttɛi·?* Does it taste sour?


*t*


*ta?ma?*, *-ta·r-/-ta?-* vt., [dir. < *tama?* come] bring, fetch (something which must be looked for, as opposed to *phɛpma?*, q.v.); deliver (from afar); cf. *takma?*, *thakma?*, *yu?ma?*.

*tadzɛŋ* n., [< *tadzɛŋma?* converse] conversation.

*tadzɛŋma?*, *ta-dzɛks-/ta-dzɛŋ-* 1) vi., converse; 2) vt., discuss; *anchɛn biha-re ku-ba·n ta-a-dzɛks-ɛ- -tch-u* (yesterday marriage-GEN its-word discuss- -1-discuss-PT-dA-3P) Yesterday we^di discussed the marriage; cf. *cɛkma?*, *cɛ·ŋma?*.

*tagaŋ* adv., in front, up front, before; cf. *e·gaŋ*.

*takkɛbhe·ba* adj., [AP of *takphe·ma?*, q.v.] furious, enrages, seething with rage; *ko·co·?in takkɛbhe·ba co·k* The dog is seething with rage; *kɔŋ mɛna·n takkɛbhe·ba co·k lɛcɛ* This man appears to be furious.

*takma?*, *-takt-/-tak-* vi., congeal, coagulate (of molten animal fat or curd); cf. *kha·kma?*.

*takma?*, *-takt-/-tak-* vt., 1) tap, fetch water; *wakho·mba- -?o· cwa?l-in tak-se pe·* (*kuvā*-LOC water-ABS tap-SUP go-PT) He went to fetch water at the *kuvā*; cf. *pha·tma?*, *phɛpma?*, *ta?ma?*; 2) receive (*talab* salary); *khɛŋha?re talab mɛdaktu* They'll get their salary.

*takma?*, *-takt-/-tak-* vt., display to someone (esp. something which with the onlooker is already familiar); cf. *o·ndhakma?*, *tha·mma?*.

*takɔmma?*, *ta-kɔnd-/ta-kɔn-* 1) vi., wander about, go for a stroll, take a walk, roam; *yɛllik ta?agɔndɛtchi* We^di sure took a long walk; *pa·ŋphe·?o· takɔn?ɛ* I'll stroll about in the village; 2) vt., cover on foot; *kɛrɛk pa·ŋphe·ha? takɔnduŋsiŋ* I covered all the villages; *him thɔkma takɔnduŋsiŋ* I covered all the houses; cf. *kɔmma?*.

*takphe·ma?*, *tak-phe·s-/tak-phe·-* vi., be permanently or inherently ill-tempered or furious; vide *takkɛ-*

*bhe·ba*.

*takphεdza* n., [< *phεdza* knife, khukuri] penknife.

*takpa* n., [< Sherpa] rope, string; Tib. *thagpa*; cf. *sikki?*.

*talab* n., [< Nep. < Arab.] salary.

*tama?* vi.irr., appear, show up, come (from afar); vide -*niŋwa tama?*; cf. *phεmma?*, *thaŋma?*, *yuma?*; cf. *ta?ma?*, *tama?*.

*tama?*, -*tas-/-ta-* [caus. < *tama?* come] I) vt., 1) reach (in an upward direction); *hεndza?bitchaha?re kεmdasεi·?* Where the children able to reach you?; *kɔŋ kεdaswi· kεndasunni·?* Can you reach up this high or can't you?; 2) be as tall as; *kεdasεt-chwi·?* Were youᵈ as tall as she was?; cf. *niŋwa tama?*; II) vi., in the expression *numa? tama?*, q.v.

*tama·s* adv., [< Nep. *tamás* amazement] in amazement, in consternation.

*tamma?*, -*tar-/-tan-* vt., kick (human agent; cf. *tho·ŋma?*); cf. *pho·ŋ*, *mεpma?* (6).

*tanna* n., [< Nep. *tannā*] sheet.

*taŋ* n., horn; *pi?lle taŋ* a cow's horn.

*taŋsaŋ*, *taŋsaŋba* n., heaven, heavens, sky.

*tatarεn-niŋwa-bhu-maŋ*, *tatarεn-niŋwa-phu-maŋ* n., [*tatarεn* ?proper name + *niŋwa* mind, intellect + \**phu* ~ *phɔ* white (cf. *mikphu?la*) + *maŋ* deity] the immaculate-minded god Tatarεn, the genderless god of wisdom, knowledge and supreme intellect, whose substance is like the wind, creator of heaven and earth, a supreme deity of the indigenous Limbu pantheon.

*ta·bilo·* n., long-handled wooden spoon with a flat circular scoop for stirring and serving *tɔk*; *ta·bilo· panyo· kusiŋ kərə siŋlεn co·kŋnaba* A *ta·bilo·* is like a *panyo·* except that it's made of wood; cf. *panyo·*.

*ta·kli* n., riddle (with *te·ma?*: *ta·kli te·ma?*, -*te·s-/-te·-* tell riddles; riddles may only be told at night, for it is taboo to tell riddles in daylight); *ta·kli te·suŋlɔ ya·k?ε* I'm telling riddles; Nep. *gāũ khāne kathā*.

*ta·laŋ* adv., [< Nep. *talā* upstairs storey] on the upstairs floor; *ta·laŋ mεya·gε* They were upstairs.

*ta·m* n., garbage, trash, refuse; Nep. *phohar-mailā*.

*ta·mar* n., [?whence > Nep. *tamor-kholā*, *tāmar-kholā*] one of the *Saptakosī* or seven major rivers of eastern Nepal, tributary of the *Kosī*, originating in the highland between the *Umbhek Himāl* and *Lumbā-Sumbā*

*Himāl*, winding through *Limbuvān* toward its confluence with the *Arun* near *Dhankuṭā*.

*ta·mba* n., [< Nep. *tāmā*] copper.

*ta·mbhuŋ* n., jungle, dense forest; cf. *ya·kkha?*.

*ta·mbhuŋna* n., [*ta·mbhuŋ* jungle] the jungle goddess; cf. *iŋdo· mɛpma?, nadho· co·kma?*.

*ta·msəri* n., [< *ta·m* refuse] broom.

*ta·ncho·ba* n., [*\*ta·n* morrow + *\*so·ba*] morning star, Venus; cf. *yuncho·ba, ta·ndik*.

*ta·ndi* adv., [< *ta·ndik* tomorrow] in a few days, later on; cf. *anche·*.

*ta·ndik* adv., [*\*ta·n* morrow + -*\*dik* period of day] tomorrow; (the original meaning 'morrow' may have included 'morning' and a narrowing of this meaning to 'tomorrow' may have made room for the hybridized Nepali loan *biha·ndik*, q.v.); cf. *biha·ndik, idik, lɛndik, sɛndik, yunchik, ya·ndik*.

*ta·ndik-atchɛnda·n* adv., (lit. tomorrow - the day after tomorrow) one of these days; *ta·ndik-atchɛnda·n tadzɛŋm·bo·ŋ* [We'll] have to discuss it one of these days; cf. *anchɛn-siŋya·n*.

*ta·ŋma?, -ta·ŋ-* vt., fell; *an·ge siŋbo·ŋin ta·ŋumbe* We'llᵖᵉ fell the tree; cf. *so·mma?*.

*ta·rika* n., [< Nep. *tārikā*] recipe.

*te·?l* n., clothes.

*te·?la·se·?* n., [< *se·?* protuberance] banana, banana tree.

*te·?l-phuŋ* n., [< *te·?l* + jingle] clothes; Nep. *lugā-phāṭo, lugā-sugā*.

*te·him* n., [< *him* house] hut, small house, shanty; cf. *yɔkma-yo·*.

*te·wa, -dwa* n., forehead, also: *twaba*.

*te·?ma?, -te·?r-/-te·?-* vt., take away, remove; *a·tto· kɛde·?rusiba* Where have youˢ taken those things to?; *a·tto· kɛde·?rumsimba* Where did youᵖ take those things from?; cf. *te·ma?*.

*te·ma?, -te·r-/-te·-* vi., come out thread-like, be stringy, be filamentous.

*te·ma?, -te·s-/-te·-* vt., [caus. < *te·?ma?*] 1) spend; *yaŋ te·s-u-ŋ sur-u-ŋ* (money spend-3P-1s finish-3P-1sA) I spent all the money; 2) sow; *ma·ki te·se pe·gɛba* He has gone off to sow the maize; 3) give someone a beating, rough someone up; *khunɛ? te·suŋba* I gave him a beating; 4) (as *-de·s-/-de·-*) dimittive aspectivizer with transitive verbs, 'to dispatch'; *pi?l natt-u-ŋ de·s-u-ŋ* (cow drive_away-3P-1sA dispatch-3P-1sA) I drove the cow away; vide 5.3.2.

*te·ŋba, -nde·ŋba* n., [P̃ãcthare Limbu] buddy, comrade; cf.

*cum, cumde·ŋ.*

*tɛʔl* n., leaf; cf. *tɛtla*.

*tɛʔlhaʔphɛkwahaʔ* n., [*tɛʔl* leaf + - *haʔ* p + *phɛkwa* foliage + -*haʔ* p] fallen leaves; Nep. *pāt-patĩgar*.

*tɛʔmaʔ*, -*tɛʔt-/-tɛʔ-* vt., strike someone or something (said of a falling object); *luŋille tɛʔtaŋ* The rock hit me; cf. *khɔŋmaʔ, lɛpmaʔ* (2), *yaŋmaʔ* (1).

*tɛʔrɛsiŋ* n., [*siŋ* wood] willow tree Salix sp.; Nep. *baĩs*.

*tɛʔtɛʔ pɔkwa* adv. + n., [*tɛʔtɛʔ* < *tɛʔmaʔ* hit something or someone (of a falling object) + *\*wa* water] drop-by-drop droplet-water (with *thamaʔ* 'fall') drip; *tɛʔtɛʔ pɔkwa the·* It was dripping drop-by-drop.

*tɛkmaʔ*, -*tɛkt-/-tɛk-* 1) vi., be sufficient; *tɔk tɛktɛ* The rice was sufficient; 2) vt., sate, be sufficient for, reach; *tɔk kɛrɛk tɛktusi, khɛŋ mɛdɛktun* The rice was enough for everybody to eat his fill, but wasn't enough to fill him; cf. *kha·maʔ, ya·kmaʔ, yo·maʔ*; cf. *thɛkmaʔ*.

*tɛllɛm* adv., hung up, suspended, Nep. *tuńdruńai, tundruńai*; cf. *po·ro·ʔl*.

*tɛlɔkkɛntaŋsaŋ* n.poet., [< *taŋsaŋ* heaven] the firmament, the heavens; *hile·-ʔo· tɛlɔkkɛntaŋsaŋ-ŋaŋ nitaŋ nɛ·-rɔ co·k* (*Hile*-LOC firmament-also nearby be_situated-prG be) In *Hile* even the heavens are nearby (note: *Hile* is a foggy town atop a low ridge more or less constantly enshrouded in mist rising up from both the *Aruŋ* and *Tāmar* rivers); cf. *iksa-kha·mbe·k*.

*tɛlɔk-taŋsaŋ-phɛ·-be·-tɔrɔŋ* n.poet., [< *tɛlɔkkɛntaŋsaŋ* the firmament, *phɛ·* < *phɛ·mmaʔ* fly (vt.), *be·* < *pe·k-maʔ* go, *tɔrɔŋ* bridge] aeroplane; cf. *iksa-kha·m-be·k-lo·kpe·-tɔrɔŋ*.

*tɛmbho·* n., lowland, the plains, the low-lying areas; *tɛmbho·-ʔo· a-wa·-lle nambhɔr lɔ·n* (lowland-LOC 1-be-SUB sunburn come_out) If one is in the low-lying areas, one gets sunburned; cf. *tɔksɔŋ*.

*tɛmbho·tuŋ* n., [*tɛmbho·* lowland + *tuŋ* fever] malaria.

*tɛmmaʔ*, -*tɛnd-/-tɛn-* vi., agree, concur, believe, consent, obey; cf. *tɛpmaʔ*.

*tɛmmaʔ*, -*tɛms-/-tɛm-* vt., catch, grab a hold of.

*tɛn* n., place; cf. -*dɛn*.

*tɛpmaʔ*, -*tɛpt-/-tɛp-* vt., cover, enshroud, wrap, swaddle; place a cover on; cf. *su·pmaʔ*; 2) brood (an egg); *waʔre thi·n thɛptu* The hen broods [her] egg.

*tɛpmaʔ*, -*tɛtt-/-tɛt-/-tɛʔl* vt., [dir. < *tɛmmaʔ*] consent to give something (patient: object given).

*tɛtmaʔ*, -*tɛtt-/-tɛt-/-tɛʔl* vi., the bound passivizer; vide

8.8.

*tɛtla* n., leaf; cf. *tɛʔl*.

*tɛ·ŋmaʔ*, *-tɛ·ks-/-tɛ·ŋ-* vi., tear, be torn; *te·ʔlin tɛ·ksɛ* The clothes tore; *kɛdɛ·ŋba te·ʔlin thundu* He mends the torn clothes; cf. *thɛ·ŋmaʔ*.

*tɛ·pmaʔ*, *-tɛ·r-/-tɛ·t-/-tɛ·ʔl* vi., be overcooked; *tɔk-ʔin tɛ·r-ɛ* (rice-ABS be_overcooked-PT) The rice is overcooked; *tɔk sɔpmaŋ tɛ·ʔl lo·!* (rice in_a_ second be_overcooked ASS) Hey, the rice will be overcooked in a second!.

*tala* n., [< Nep. *talā*] upstairs floor, storey, attic.

*ti* n., switch, reed, cane, twig.

*tika* vide *ṭika*.

*tikwaʔ* n., [< *waʔ* chicken] the grey jungle fowl Gallus soneratii; cf. *khe·waʔ*.

*tiliŋga* n., police, patrol.

*timmaʔ*, *-tims-/-tim-* vi., be full, fill up, get or become full; cf. *thimmaʔ*.

*timmək* n., rifle.

*tiŋmaʔ*, *-tiks-/-tiŋ-* vi., the glans penis be exposed, the foreskin be retracted; *kɛ-le·-n tiks-ɛ* (your[s]-penis-ABS be_pulled_back-PT) Your glans is exposed/Your foreskin is retracted; cf. *tiŋmaʔ*, *ti·kmaʔ*, *thiŋmaʔ*, *thi·ŋmaʔ*.

*tiŋmaʔ*, *-tiŋd-/-tiŋ-* vi., 1) flower, bloom; 2) get an erection; *kɛ-le·-n tiŋd-ɛ-i·ʔ* (your-penis-ABS become_erect-PT-Q) Do you have an erection?; cf. *tiŋmaʔ*, *thiŋma*, *thi·ŋma*; 3) point upward (of the hand of a clock or weighing scale).

*titri* n., [< Nep. *titrī*] type of tamarind tree or its fruit.

*ti·ʔmaʔ*, *-ti·r-/-ti·t-/-ti·ʔl-* vi., burn (said of a fire); *mi-·n ti·r-ɛ* (fire-ABS burn-PT) The fire burned; *mi ti·ʔl* The fire is burning; cf. *tupmaʔ*, *haʔmaʔ*.

*ti·kmaʔ*, *-ti·kt-/-ti·k-* vi., peel; *aʔe·kʔin ti·kt-ɛ* (my--back-ABS peel-PT) My back is peeling; *kɛ-ho·rik tik·t-ɛ o·! hɛnaŋ nam-kɛ-bhɛt-chiŋ-ɛʔ nam-mɛm--bhɛt-chiŋ-ʔɛʔ!* (your-skin peel-PT ASS why sun-2--fetch-REF-PT sun-NEG-fetch-REF-IMP) Hey, your skin is peeling! Why do you roast yourself in the sun? Don't put yourself out to dry in the sun!; cf. *lɛ·kmaʔ*; cf. *tiŋmaʔ*, *thi·kmaʔ*.

*ti·mmaʔ*, *-ti·ms-/-ti·m-* vt., cut into long strips (eg. *sa* 'meat' in preparing *sakhɛkya* '*sukuṭī*').

*ti·ŋ* n., thorn, fishbone.

*ti·ŋre·ʔ* n., [*ti·ŋ* thorn + *-re·ʔ* tree suffix, cf. *khɔ·m-re·ʔ*] the thorn tree Crateagus crenulata; Nep.

*ghãgãru.*

*to·?ma?*, *-to·?r-/-to·?-* vi., be illuminated (in the dark); be lit up; *lam mɛ-do·?r-ɛ-n* (road NEG-be‿illuminated-PT-NEG) The road is not visible for want of light; cf. *tho·?ma?*.

*to·?ma?*, *-to·?r-/-to·?-* vt., weigh down, press, stamp.

*to·kma?*, *-to·kt-/-to·k-* vi., stub, knock or bump part of one's body (= patient), esp. one's head, against something; *kɛdo·ktɛi·?* Did you bump your head [against the doorpost]?; *to·ktaŋaŋ kɛŋaŋ* I stubbed [my toe], stumbled and fell; *anaksumbɛn to·ktɛ* I bumped my elbow; *laŋma to·ktɛ* [I/you/he] stubbed his big toe; *yɛkyɛk?aŋ wayɛ?! kɛdhge·k to·k lo·!* Be careful! You'll bump your head if you don't watch out!.

*to·kma*, *-to·kt-/-to·k-* vi., 1) be sold out; *sa·n to·ktɛi· ma·rɛi·?* Is the meat all sold out?; *soŋwɛtnu·n to·ktɛi· mɛdo·ktɛnni·?* Is the buffalo milk sold out or isn't it?; 2) be on sale, be sold, be for sale.

*to·ŋ* n., arrow; cf. *li?*, *to·ŋli?*.

*to·ŋli?* n., [*to·ŋ* arrow + *li?* bow] bow and arrow.

*to·pi* n., [< Nep. *ṭopī*] *ṭopī*-hat.

*to·pi-hɛtla* n., [*to·pi* '*ṭopī*-hat' + *hɛt* red + *-la* colour sf.] epithet for *tiliŋga*.

*to?igɛn-naŋge·piba* adv., [*to?igɛn* mythical realm of deities in the north + *naŋ* < *nam* sun + *\*ge·* < *kɛ?ma?* arrive + *piba* toward] to the northeast (mythological); cf. *naŋge·n*.

*to?i·nahaŋ* [*to?i·* north + *\*nahaŋ* direction] n., north; adv., to the north, northward.

*to?lumbe·?* n., oesophagus; cf. *tokkrumba*, *sokmana·m*.

*to?ma?*, *-to?r-/-to?-* vt., [dir. < *to·ma?* sew; cf. *thopma?*] have sewn for someone; *a-ndzum-in te·?l to?r-u-ŋ* (my friend-ABS clothes have sewn-3P-1sA) I'll have clothes sewn for my friend; *ku-sa-·n te·?l to?r-u* (her-child-ABS clothes have sewn-3P) She'll have her son some clothes made; *khɛŋ-le khɛnɛ? kɛ-do?* (he-ERG you[s] 2-have sewn) He'll have clothes sewn for you.

*tok* n., cooked rice (Nep. *bhāt*), generally used as a synonym for *wɛtcha?dok*, cf. *sya?*, *ya?*; any cooked grain eaten as the staple during the morning or evening meal together with *yumma?l* and/or meat; cf. *maŋdok*, *ma·kidok*, *wɛtchya?dok*.

*tokci?* n., [*tok* cooked rice + *ci?* bits, morsels] little bits of cooked rice sprinkled either deliberately

(as in the practice of *co·ʔco·ʔ mɛpmaʔ*) or inadvertently on the floor.

*tɔkkaʔl*  n., stick, rod, staff.

*tɔkkrima*  n., stout, stumpy bronze goblet for serving *yumlakpa* or *se·dzɔŋwa* or children's portions of *thi·*; cf. *kho·rɛʔl*, *phɔgəna*.

*tɔkkrumba*  n., throat, the front of the neck; cf. *sikla*, *sikkuma*, *tɔʔlumbe·ʔ*.

*tɔkmaʔ*, *-tɔkt-/-tɔk-*  vt., 1) hold up, support, keep up straight; *siʔlaŋ-ille himin mɛdɔktu* The pillars support the house; *siŋin tɔktuŋ yuksuŋ* I'm holding the stick up vertically so that it won't fall over; 2) last someone (of a supply); *an·geʔo·ba mɔkwa iŋmɛlle yəllik ya·n tɔktige* If we buy our Pᵉ local tea, it lasts us Pᵉ many days.



*tɔkkrima*

*tɔkpɛʔl*  adv., [< *tɔkmaʔ* keep up straight] with a straight spine, straight up; *tɔkpɛʔl yuŋɛʔ!* sit up straight!.

*tɔksikwa*  n., [*tɔk* cooked rice + *sikwa* stinging nettle] leftovers.

*tɔksɔŋ*  n.adv., highland, the mountains, the mountainous regions; *tɔksɔŋ na·ŋ tha* Snow falls in the highlands; cf. *tɛmbho·*.

*tɔmaʔ*, *-tɔr-/-tɔn-*  vt., I) 1) curse someone, reprove someone, ridicule; *khɛŋle tɔraŋ* He cursed at me, He insulted me; 2) [slang] eat; II) 1) afflict; *cuŋ-ille kɛ-dɔn* (cold-ERG 2-afflict) You'll be cold; *allɔ aŋga pe·kʔɛ ro·, cuŋille tɔraŋ* Hey, I'm going now, the cold has gotten to be too much for me; *so·mille kɛdɔrɛi·?* Have you got mites, mange?; *mikho·ʔre sa·rik tɔraŋ* I've got too much smoke in my eyes; *lamʔo· namille tɔrusi* The sun scorched them on the way; 2) (with *lambo·* 'a cold', q.v.) catch a cold; *lambo·-lle kɛ-dɔr-ɛ-i·?* (cold-ERG 2-catch/infect-PT-Q) Have you caught a cold? (i.e. Has the cold caught you?); 3) (with *sakwama* 'famine') suffer a famine, suffer a bad harvest; *anige sakwamɛ-lle tɔrige* WePᵉ shall suffer a
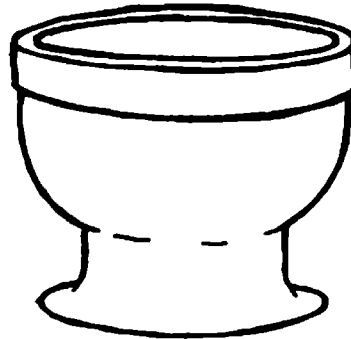
famine (lit. a famine will afflict us);

*tɔmaʔ*, *-tɔr-/-tɔ-*  vi., (with *le·* penis, *hira* vagina) [vul-
gar] be itchy; be horny; *kɛ-lɛ·-n tɔ-i· mɛ-dɔ-nɛn-
ni·?* (your-penis-ABS feel_like_it-Q NEG-feel_like‿
it-NEG-Q) Are you horny or not?; *kɛ-hira·n tɔi·?*
Does your vagina itch? (viz. Are you horny?).

*tɔŋba*  n., 1) hot millet beer served in a wooden barrel-
shaped vessel with a lid, filled roughly halfway
with fermented red millet (*sɔŋaʔ*) to which boiling
water is added; the beer is imbibed through a bam-
boo straw (*pi·tchiŋ*) running through the centre of
the lid and finely slit at the bottom to prevent
the *sɔŋaʔ* from entering the straw; the boiling
water may be replenished several times; when
served, the *pi·tchiŋ* is offered separately in a
*phɔgɘna* filled with water, and a small dish of
meat or *yumlakpa* is offered as a side-dish; (Nep.
*tuṅbā*); 2) the receptacle in which *tɔŋba* (1) is
served; See illustration on p.280.

*tɔŋbe·*  n., year.

*tɔŋmaʔ*, *-tɔŋ-*  vi., meet, fit, make sense, be correct or
fitting, come together, be reconciled; *cumdzum
tɔŋ-amm-ɛʔ!* (friend-friend be‿reconciled-2p-IMP)
Make up and be friends again!; *mɛdɔŋnɛn* It doesn't
make sense, that's not correct; cf. *tɔŋmaʔ*.

*tɔŋmaʔ*, *-tɔns-/-tɔŋ-*  vt., [caus. < *tɔŋmaʔ*] fit together,
make fit, repair, arrange, reconcile; *siŋ cukpa
tumba tɔŋs-u-ŋ* (wood small large make‿fit-3P-1sA)
I made the two uneven pieces of wood fit; *tɔŋba
ke·mba tɔŋs-ɛʔ!* (long short make‿fit-IMP) Make the
long and short one fit!; *cum-haʔ tɔŋs-am-s-ɛʔ!*
(friend-p reconcile-2p-nsP-IMP) Get them to make
up and be friends again!

*tɔŋsiŋmaʔ*  vr., [< *tɔŋmaʔ* make‿fit] find oneself something,
arrange something (eg. a job) for oneself, get
oneself something.

*tɔre·*, *tɔre·ba*  n., guest, visitor.

*tɔrɔk*  adv., all of a sudden; Nep. *svāṭṭai*.

*tɔrɔŋ*  n., bridge.

*tɔ·maʔ*, *-tɔy-/-tɔ·-*  vt., sew; *te·ʔl tɔyuŋ* I sew the
clothes; cf. *tɔʔmaʔ*, *thɔpmaʔ*.

*tɔ·maʔ*, *-tɔy-/-tɔ·-*  vt., dig up; *khe· tɔyuŋ* I dig up white
yam.

*tɔ·maʔ*, *-tɔy-/-tɔ·-*  vt., put a hole in something, make
holes; cf. *hɔŋmaʔ*.

*tɔ·mmaʔ*, *-tɔ·nd-/-tɔ·n-*  vt., transfer a heap of something,
move a pile or heap of things from one place to

another.

*tɔ·nde·ʔ*   n., axe, hatchet (Nep. *bã̃cero*).

*tɔ·ndi*   vide *tɔ·nde·ʔ*.

*tɔ·ŋba*   adj., [< *tɔ·ŋma?* be short] short.

*tɔ·ŋma?*, *-tɔ·ŋ-*   1) vi., remain (of money), be saved; *yaŋin mɛdɔ·ŋɛn*, *ma·rɛ* There's no money left, it's been used up; cf; *nɔmma?*; vt., earn, acquire (esp. *yaŋ* 'money').

*tɔ·ŋma?*, *-tɔ·ŋ-*   vi., be short; *aŋganulle tɔ·ŋ* He's shorter than me; *khunɛʔnulle mɛdɔ·ŋʔɛn* I'm no shorter than he is!.

*tɔ·pi*   vide *to·pi*.

*tɔ·pma?*, *-tɔ·b-/-tɔ·p-*   vi., be lazy, be indolent, be lethargic, be slothful; cf. *lɔʔma?* (7), *yu·ma?* (2).

*tukma?*, *-tug-/-tuk-*   vi., ache, hurt, be ill; *a-yam sa·rik tuk* (my-body very be_ill) I'm very ill; *kɛ-sappo·k-ʔin tug-ɛ-i·ʔ* (your-stomach-ABS hurt-PT-Q) Does your stomach ache?; *a-dhɔk-in tug-ɛ* (my-organism-ABS be ill-PT) I am ill; *alaŋin kɛdukpa co·k* There's something wrong with my leg; *kɛndzumin kɛdukpa co·kʔi·ʔ* Is your friend ill?

*tukma?*, *-tukt-/-tuk-*   vt., light (*ho·pmnaba* Limbu cigarette, *surti* tobacco); cf. *tupma?*, *ha·mma?*.

*tukphu*   num.col., six; cf. *tuksi*.

*tuksi*, *thuksi*   num., six.

*tukhe·*   n., [< Nep. *duḥkha*] pain, sadness, discomfort, grief; *tukhe· ca·tma?* (lit. feed someone grief) hurt, cause someone grief; *tukhe· ca·ttaŋ* He hurt me.

*tukhe·-sukhe·*   n., [< Nep. *duḥkha-sukha*] the ups and downs of life.

*tumba*   adj., [< *tumma?* ripen, grow aged] 1) big, large; 2) adj.n.m., firstborn (of siblings and offspring); *tumma* adj.n.f. first-born (of siblings and offspring).

*tumba*, *-ndumba*   n., [< *tumma?* ripen, grow aged] 1) ego's father's elder brother, 2) ego's mother's elder sister's husband.

*tumbe·*   n., seam; *ku-dumbe·-ʔo· tɛ·ksɛ* It's torn at the seam.

*tumma*   vide *tumba*, adj. (2).

*tumma*, *-ndumma*   n., [< *tumma?* ripen, grow aged] I) 1) ego's mother's elder sister, 2) ego's father's elder sister's wife; II) someone's first wife; cf. *pakma*.

*tumma?*, *-tum-*   vt., meet, run into, encounter, bump into, run across; *ta·ndik tumsi!* (d/ADH) See you to-

morrow!; *anchɛn tumaŋ* He ran into me yesterday; cf. *tumma?*.

*tumma?*,  *-tums-/-tum-*  vt., [caus. < *tumma?* meet] 1) gather, gather together; *siŋ tums-u* (wood gather-3P) He has gathered wood; 2) arrange a meeting, cause to meet; *tums-u-ŋ-si-ŋ* (cause_to_meet-3P-1sA-nsP-1sA) I arranged a meeting betweenm them; 3) complete (a task initiated but unfinished); *tumsuŋ* I have completed it.

*tumma?*,  *-tums-/-tum-*  vi., ripen, be ripe (of fruits); mature, grow old, become aged, become elderly (of people); *khɛnɛ?nulle khunɛ? tum!* He's older than you!; *tɛ·?la·se·? cidzi? rɔk tumsɛ* The banana is only a little ripe.

*tumma?*,  *-tund-/-tun-*  vi., become agitated, disturbed or stirred up; (with *makkhunde·* 'turbid') make turbid; *mɛnghɔn?ɛ?, makkhunde· tundɛ!* Don't stir it, it has become muddy!; cf. *thumma?*.

*tuna?1*  n., [?< Nep. *dūnā*] disposable dish of leaves sewn together, larger than a *thɔpɛra*, q.v.

*tuŋ*  n., 1) fever; *kuduŋ te·* (lit. his-fever came) He has run up a fever; 2) slang for 'fucking', *tuŋ kɛdɔrɛi·?* Do you feel like fucking?; cf. *tɔma?*.

*tupma?*,  *-tub-/-tup-*  vt., 1) sweep; 2) get the gist of something, pick something up, get the knack of doing something.

*tupma?*,  *-tupt-/-tup-*  vt., ignite, kindle, light (patient: *mi* fire); *mi tuptɛ?!* Light the fire!; cf. *ha·mma?*, *ti·?ma?*, *tukma?*.

*tutugɛntumyaŋhaŋsa*  n.poet., [*tutugɛn* honest, virtuous; *tum* < *tumma?* be mature, *yaŋ* money, *haŋsa* < *haŋsa?* prince] important personage.

*tu·kma?*,  *-tu·g-/-tu·k-*  vt., sweep, sweep away.

*tu·ŋma?*,  *-tu·ks-/-tu·ŋ-*  vi., bend; cf. *thu·ŋma?*.

*twaba*  n., forehead, also: *te·wa*.


## th

*thakma?*,  *-thakt-/-thak-*  vt., [dir. < *thaŋma?* come up] bring up; *kɛdhaktwi· kɛndhaktunni·?* Did you bring it up with you or didn't you?; cf. *phɛpma?*, *ta?-ma?*, *yu?ma?*; cf. *thaŋma?*.

*thalik*  vide *thɛlik*.

*thama?*  vi.irr., 1) fall; *wi?l tha* It's raining; *wi?l tha kusiŋ lɔ?* It looks as though it's going to rain; *na·ŋ the·* It snowed; cf. *thama?*, *thamma?*, *tha·ma?*,

*tha·mma?*; 2) set (of the sun) *nam the·* The sun
set; 3) *-na thama?* lose face; *sa·?rik ana the·*
(very my-face fall/PT) I have really lost face, I
have really been put to shame; *kɛna thei·?* Have
you been dishonoured?; *kuna tha* He will be dis-
graced; cf. *tha·ma?* (4); 4) (with *samba·n* 'punish-
ment') undergo punishment, be punished; *samba·n
kɛ-dha-?* [punishment 2-fall-DEF] You'll be
punished; 5) cadent aspectivizer highlighting
falling motion, vide 5.3.3; *kubhɛkwa lu·gɛ dhe·*
The tree has shed its leaves.

*thama?*  v.irr., relinquitive aspectivizer 'to leave', vide
5.3.4; *tho· yuks-u-ŋ dha-ŋ* (above put-3P-1sA
leave-1sA) I left it up there; *tha·?-?ɛ-dha-?ɛ
la?ba* (leave_behind_for-1sPS/NPT leave-1sPS/NPT
probably) He'll probably leave it behind for me;
cf. *tha·?ma?*.

*thama?*, *-thas-/-tha-*  vt. [caus. < *thama?* fall; cf. *thamma*,
*tha·ma?*] shake off, thrash; cf. *thamma?*, *tha·mma?*.

*thamma?*, *-thaps-/-tham-*  vt., be victorious in a Limbu
wrestling match (vide *cuŋma?*), lay on top of one's
opponent; get on top of, pounce on top of; *cum-
-dhik-nu cuŋ-ɛ-tchi-ge-ba*, *thaps-u-ŋ* (friend-one-
-COM wrestle-PT-dPS-e-IPF lay_on_top-3P-1sA) I
wrestled with my friend and won; *anga e·klai wa-
yaŋ, yɛllik mɛbo·ksɛ mɛdhapsaŋ* I was there alone,
there were many of them and they pounced on top of
me; cf. *namma?*; cf. *kɛmma?*, *phɔpma?*.

*thamma?*, *-thaps-/-tham-*  vt., [< *thama?* fall] shake out
dust; *te·?l thapsɛ?!* Shake out the clothes!; cf.
*saŋma?*, *thama?*, *tha·ma?*, *tha·mma?*.

*thaŋbɛn*  n., young man, lad, youth; cf. *kɛpma?* (3).

*thaŋgɛ?l*  n., north.

*thaŋma?*, *-thaŋ-*  vi., come up (movement ascending toward
goal); *thaŋ-ɛ-i· mɛ-dhaŋ-nɛn-ni·?* (come_up-PT-Q
NEG-come_up-NEG-Q) Did it come up [through the
*pi·tchiŋ*] or won't it? (said of hot *thi·* in a
*tɔŋba*); cf. *yuma?*, *phɛmma?*, *tama?*; cf. *thakma?*,
*thaŋma?*.

*thaŋma?*, *-thaŋs-/-thaŋ-*  vt., [caus. < *thaŋma?* come up]
have brought up, send up.

*thaŋmaŋ*  adv., [< *thaŋma?* come up] uphill; Nep. *ukālo*; cf.
*pɛrɛm*, *saŋmaŋ*.

*thapma?*, *-thab-/-thap-*  vi., 1) be born; 2) bear offspring
(non-human), yean, whelp, calve, foal, lamb,
etc.,; *mɛnda? thabɛ* The goat has yeaned; cf. *thap-
ma?*; 3) shed (*mikwa* 'tears').

*thapma?*, *-thapt-/-thap-* vt., [dir. < *thapma?* be born] bear offspring (human and non-human); cf. *kɔkma?*.

*thappu* n., ashes.

*thapthap* adj.adv., like a crazyman, like a lunatic.

*tha·?ma?*, *-tha·?r-/-tha·?-* vt., [dir. < *thama?* fall] relinquish, leave something behind for someone, give away, relinquish something one has kept for someone; *tha·?r-u-ŋ-si-ŋ* (leave_behind_for-3P-1sA-nsP-1sA) I left it behind for them; *kɛ-dha·?r-ɛ kɛ-dhe-i·?* (2-leave_behind_for-PT-2 leave/PT-Q) Did he leave it behind for you?.

*tha·k-tha·kma?*, *tha·k-tha·g-/tha·k-tha·k-* vt., weave (eg. *cirik* cloth, *kundri* straw mat); cf. *lipma?*, *phɔ·ma?*.

*tha·ma?*, *-tha·s-/-tha·-* vt., [caus. < *thama?* fall] 1) knock something or someone down (eg., by throwing sticks and stones); *sɔrɔŋ tha·suŋba, tho·haptɛ* I knocked the lemon down, but it got stuck [on its way down]; *tha·saŋ* He knocked me down; 2) dejective aspectivizer, vide 5.3.3; *siŋsara?l lɛ·nduŋ dha·suŋ* I stripped down the branches [from the tree]; 3) drop; cf. *thama?*, *thamma?*, *tha·mma?*; 4) *-na tha·ma?* (*na* face) put someone to shame, make someone lose face; *ana kɛdha·sum!* YouP have put me to shame!; cf. *thama?* (3); 5) *nam tha·ma?* [lit. drop the sun, make the sun go down] spend the day, pass the time *kusanurɛrɔ nam tha·suŋ* I spent the day in a fun way.

*tha·ma?*, *-tha·s-/-tha·-* vi., run up a fever; *ɛn cɛmghik caŋba murukkuruk tha·saŋ* I ate *kināmā* today and have run up a very high fever; *sa·rik kɛdha·sɛ* You've run up quite a fever.

*tha·mba* adj., tall, long (human); cf. *ke·mba*.

*tha·mma?*, *-tha·nd-/-tha·n-* vt., succeed; *tha·nduŋ* I succeed; *ya·mbɔk ca·m· mɛ-dha·nd-u-n* (task perform-INF NEG-succeed-3P-NEG) He did not succeed in carrying out the task; *mɛ-n-dha·m-baŋ* (NEG-NEG-succeed-1s→3/PT) I did not succeed at it; *tha·n-dwi· mɛdha·ndunni·?* Did he succeed ot didn't he?

*tha·mma?*, *tha·ps-/-tha·m-* vt., [caus. < *tha·pma?* be visible] show to someone; *tha·psɛsɛ?!* Show it to them!; *tha·mma? mɛhe·?run* He was unable to show it; cf. *o·ndha·kma?*, *ta·kma?*.

*tha·mma?*, *-tha·ps-/-tha·m-* vt., [< *thama?* fall] let someone fall, trip someone, throw someone or something to the ground; *hɛnaŋ kɛ-dha·ps-u?* (why 2-trip-3P) Why did you trip him?; cf. *thama?*, *thamma?*, *tha·-*

*ma?.*

*tha·msiŋma?*  vr., [< *tha·mma?* trip] trip, trip and fall;
*tha·m-siŋ-ɛ* (trip-REF-PT) He tripped and fell.

*tha·na*  n., [< Nep. *thānā*] gaol; *amarika-ba məna·n tha·na-*
*?o· mɛsaktu* They locked the American up in gaol.

*tha·ŋle·kwa*  n., passerine bird resembling a cuckoo which
mimics other birds.

*tha·ŋma?*, *-tha·ŋs-/-tha·ŋ-*  vt., weigh, compare, consider;
*tha·ŋs-ɛ?!  a·kkhya·k  yo·?* (weigh-IMP how_much
amount_to) Weigh it! How much does it weigh?.

*tha·ŋtho·k*  n., moustache; cf. *mudhuk*.

*tha·pma?*, *-tha·b-/-tha·p-*  vi., be visible; *khɛsumik mɛ-*
*dha·b-ɛ* (star nsAS-be_visible-PT) The stars were
visible; *allɔ yəllik khɛsumik mɛdha·p* (many star
nsAS-be_visible) There are many stars out tonight;
*hilo·?o·  kulaŋyo·p mɛdha·p* His footprints are to
be seen in the mud; appear, look; *khɛnɛ? hɛndza?*
*kusiŋ kɛdha·p* You look like a child; cf. *lɔ?ma?*,
*nidha·pma?*, *tha·mma?*.

*tha·pma?*, *-tha·b-/-tha·p-*  vt., serve (food) to someone.

*tha·siŋma?*  vr., [< *tha·ma?* drop] be off to, be headed
toward; *atto·  kɛ-dha-siŋ-ba* (where 2-be_off_to-
-IPF) where are you headed?.

*the·*  n., [< *the·ma?* split] split bamboo, esp. for use in
wickerwork baskets and the wickerwork foundations
of thatched rooves, Nep. *coyā*, *coyo*.

*the·bha*  n., [*the·* q.v. + *pha* bamboo] bamboo from which
*the·* is made, bamboo suitable for the production
of *the·*, q.v.

*the·ma?*, *-the·s-/-the·-*  vt., gut, eviscerate, clean.

*the·ma?*, *-the·s-/-the·-*  vt., split (eg. *siŋ* wood, *pha* bam-
boo) with the grain.

*thɛ?l*  n., spit, saliva; cf. *ɔ·ma?*, *tho·kma?*.

*thɛba*, *-ndhɛba-*  n., 1) grandfather, 2) grand-uncle,
3) title of respect to an elderly man.

*thɛba-sammaŋ*  n., [lit. grandfather-deity] a household
deity to whom male animals are sacrificed, esp.
cockerels; the *thɛba-sammaŋ* has the form of the
wind and is capable of inflicting serious, long-
term and often fatal illnesses when displeased;
the spouse of the *yuma-sammaŋ*, q.v.

*thɛge·k*, *-dhge·k*  n., head.

*thɛge·k-i*, *-dhge·k?i*  n., hair (on scalp).

*thɛge·ksi?*  n., [*thɛge·k* head + *si?* louse] human head lice,
Pediculus humanus capitis.

*thɛgu*  n., mountain, peak.

*thɛgu-maŋwa*  n., [< *thɛgu* mountain] mountain range or

ranges.

*thɛkmaʔ*, -*thɛkt*-/-*thɛk*- vt., blindfold; cover someone's eyes; obscure from view; *kha·kmiʔl-le nam-min thɛkt-u* (cloud-ERG sun-ABS obscure-3P) The cloud covered the sun; *mikthɛkthɛk co·kmaʔ* vide *co·kmaʔ*.

*thɛkmaʔ*, -*thɛkt*-/-*thɛk*- vt., [dir. < *tɛkmaʔ* be sufficient, sate] (with non-referential 3sP agreement) glut oneself with something, over-eat, over-indulge; *tɔk thɛktuŋ* I glutted myself with rice; *adhɛktum lɑcɑ* It seems wePⁱ over-ate.

*thɛlik* postp., until, till; *ta·ndik-thɛlik ya·kʔɛ* I'm staying till tomorrow; *atchɛnda·n-thɛlik kɛnya·k-nɛnni·ʔ* Won't you stay until the day after tomorrow?

*thɛmmaʔ*, -*thɛm*- vt., criticize someone (in his presence), point out someone his bad points; *khunɛʔ thɛmaŋ* He criticized me.

*thɛmmaʔ*, -*thɛnd*-/-*thɛn*- vt., boil something in a liquid; *waʔdhi·n thɛndu* he's boiling the egg; cf. *lakmaʔ*, *laŋmaʔ*.

*thɛŋmaʔ*, -*thɛŋ*- vt., gather together and inclose, gather and confine, enclose, package, shut in, pen in, immure.

*thɛŋya·n* n., stomach (as an internal organ); cf. *hiduʔl*, *sappo·k*.

*thɛ·maʔ*, -*thɛ·s*-/-*thɛ·*- vt., break open (ripe fruit); dissect, carve (a slaughtered animal carcass); *pɔʔ-iʔl-in thɛ·s-u-ŋ* (cucumber-ABS break_open-3P-1sA) I'm going to break open the cucumber; *phak-ʔin thɛ·s-u* (pig-ABS carve-3P) He has cut up the pig.

*thɛ·ŋmaʔ*, -*thɛ·ks*-/-*thɛ·ŋ*- vt., [caus. < *tɛ·ŋmaʔ*] 1) tear; 2) force open; *ko·co·-lle kumɑrɑ·n thɛ·ksuŋ* I forced open the dog's mouth; cf. *hɔmmaʔ*, *pha·ŋmaʔ*.

*thiʔmaʔ*, -*thiʔr*-/-*thiʔ*- vt., 1) infect someone with one's bad habits; *yaŋsarumbɛ-lle kɛ-dhiʔr-ɛ rɑcɑ* (third‿born-ERG 2-infect-PT DEPR) It seems you've picked up some of third-born's bad habits; 2) afflict by ingestion of taboo body parts of animals; *hɛndzaʔ-bitcha-re waʔ-re ku-laŋ ca-m· mɛ-nu-nɛn hɛnaŋ-bhɛlle adhiʔ. waʔ-re ku-lso·ʔl, phak-rɛ-n, mɛndaʔ-rɛ-n-naŋ ca-m· mɛ-nu-nɛn. ku-lap, nɛsik, ku-mi, nɛghɔ.* (children-ERG chicken-GEN its-claw eat-INF NEG-be‿alright-NEG because 1-afflict. chicken-GEN its-tongue, pig-GEN-ABS, goat-GEN-ABS-too eat-INF NEG-be alright-NEG. its-wing, brain, its-tail, nose.) It is not good for children to eat the claw of a chicken because it will afflict you. It is

also not good to eat the tongue of a chicken, a
pig or a goat. The wing, the brain, the tail, the
nose.; It is held that: (a) ingestion of a chic-
ken's claw or wing by a child will cause illegible
handwriting, poor penmanship and manual coordina-
tion, (b) ingestion of an animal's tongue by a
child may result in some sort of speech defect or
peculiar speech habit, (c) ingestion of the brain
will cause the child's thinking to become like the
animal's whose brain it has eaten with the obvious
resultant mental impairment, (d) ingestion of the
tail will afflict the child with superfluous sway-
ing movements in his gait and gestures and, espe-
cially in later life, in the comportment of his
head, (e) ingestion of an animal's ears will af-
flict the child with uncontrollable and often un-
grounded fears in later life and a general dispo-
sition to paranoia; *wa?-re ku-laŋ-ille thi?r-u*
(chicken-GEN its-claw-ERG afflict-3P) He's been
afflicted by a chicken's claw.

*-thik, -dhik* postp.num., 1) one, a, a certain; 2) only.

*thik-khɛ?* adv., [< *thik* one] one time, once.

*thiklɛŋ* adv., [*thik* one + *lɛŋ* turn] one turn, once.

*thikma?, -thikt-/-thik-* vt., accuse someone.

*thikphu* num.col., [< *thik* one] one; cf. *lɔkthik*.

*thiksəmma* n.adj., [< *thik* one] the other; *thikle ... pa·t-tu, thiksəmɛlle ... pa·ttu* The one said ..., the
   other said ... ; cf. *e·?yaŋba, wi?sma*.

*thik-tɔŋ* adv., [< *thik* one] one time.

*thik-ya·n-thɔkma* adv., [lit. one-day-each] every single
   day.

*thimbɔŋ* n., bladder.

*thimma?, -thims-/-thim-* vt., [caus. < *timma?* fill up] fill
   up.

*thiŋma?, -thiŋs-/-thiŋ-* vt., [caus. < *tiŋma?* become erect]
   masturbate (male); cause to flower or swell up;
   cf. *tiŋma?, thi·ŋma?*.

*thi·* n., millet beer, squeezed out of fermented red mil-
   let; can be drunk as a lukewarm milky liquid (Nep.
   *jã̃ḍ*) or hot as *tɔŋba*.

*thi·kma?, -thi·kt-/-thi·k-* vt., [caus. < *ti·kma?* peel]
   peel (eg. fruits); cf. *thi·ŋma?*.

*thi·-kunda* n., large metallic or earthenware jug for fer-
   menting *thi·*.

*thi·mma?, -thi·nd-/-thi·n-* vt., lay an egg; *a-sirak-?o·
   wa?-ille thi·nd-u* (my-quilt-LOC chicken-ERG lay‿
   an‿egg-3P) The chicken layed an egg in my quilt.

*thi·n* n., egg; cf. *si?dhi·n*, *wa?dhi·n*, *le·dhi·mba*.

*thi·ŋma?*, *-thi·ks-/-thi·ŋ-* vt., [caus. < *tiŋma?* be exposed] expose the glans penis by retracting the foreskin; (as in the pugnacious threat:) *thi·ks-u--ŋ-aŋ tak-nɛ-?* (expose_glans-3P-1sA-pfG display--1→2-DEF) I'll pull back my foreskin and show you! (i.e. I'll show you a thing or two!); cf. *tiŋma?*, *thiŋma?*, *thi·kma?*.

*tho·* adv., above; upstairs; up.

*-tho·* postp., since.

*tho·?ma?*, *-tho·?r-/-tho·?-* vt., [dir. < *to·?ma?* be illuminated] shed light on something in the dark, illuminate (eg., with lantern or torch); *lam tho·?ruŋ* I'll light up the path; *kɔ?o· tho·?rɛ?!* Shine the light down here!

*tho·dho·?* adv. [< *tho·* above] way up there.

*tho·-gɔrɔ-tho·* adv., [*tho·* above + *gɔrɔ* if] way up high, way up there.

*tho·ghɛŋ* dem., [*tho·* above + *khɛŋ* that] that (one) up there.

*tho·kma?*, *-tho·kt-/-tho·k-* vi., bear fruit; *sɔrɔŋ yɜllik tho·ktɛ* The lemon tree bore much fruit.

*tho·kma?*, *-tho·kt-/-tho·k-* vt., cook (patient: *tɔk*, *ma·ki*, *sa*), sauté, fry; cf. *sɔŋma?*.

*tho·kma?*, *-tho·kt-/-tho·k-* vt., spit at a distance, spew; *thɛ?l tho·kma?* spit one's saliva (diagonally or vertically); cf. *ɔ·ma?*.

*tho·kpɛ?l* n., rhododendron (Nep. *lāligurãs*).

*tho·mma?*, *-tho·ps-/-tho·m-* vt., spy on someone, eavesdrop, observe furtively.

*tho·naŋnu* adv., [*tho·* above, *\*naŋ* < *\*nahaŋ* direction, *-nu* COM] via the high road; cf. *yo·naŋnu*.

*tho·ŋma?*, *-tho·ks-/-tho·ŋ-* vt., 1) kick someone, strike someone with the hind legs (non-human agent; cf. *tamma?*); 2) strike someone with one's horns, gore someone; *pi?lille tho·ksaŋ* The cow struck at me with his horns.

*tho·ŋma?*, *-tho·ks-/-tho·ŋ-* vt., plough.

*tho·waŋ-yo·waŋ* n., [< *tho·* above, < *yo·* below] simultaneous vomiting and diarrhoea, dysentery; cf. *mɛpma?* (8); (fig.) *khɛnɛ? tho·waŋ yo·waŋ mɛmba·?l-o·!* Don't you start talking shit!

*thɔbe·n* n., ladder, stairway; Nep. *bharyāṅ*, *lisnu*.

*thɔbɔkkə* adv., [< Nep. *thabakka-khurukka*] furtively, secretively.

*thɔk* n., body (including the head and the limbs), organism; *adhɔkin tugɛ* I am ill; *adhɔk?in thu·ttɛ* My

body twitched; cf. *yam*.

*thɔkma*   postp.adj., each, every.

*thɔkma?*,   -*thɔg-/-thɔk-*   vt., forge, weld, pound, work (metal); *nɛse·? mɛdhɔgu* They're forging Limbu earrings; cf. *thɔkma?*.

*thɔkma?*,   -*thɔkt-/-thɔk-*   vt., [dir. < *thɔkma?* forge] have someone jewelry made (metallic).

*thɔkma?*,   -*thɔkt-/-thɔk-*   vi., 1) clash, come to blows; *thɔŋ?o· mɛdhɔktɛba* They met in combat, they began to wage war; (of bulls) lock horns, skirmish, come to loggerheads; cf. *khe·ma?*, *thɔŋma?*; 2) (with *mik* eye) glances be exchanged, eyes be made (at someone), eyes meet; *mik thɔktɛ* [Their] eyes met; 3) *hadi·ŋ thɔkma?* put up a fuss, resist, be stubborn; *khɛnɛ? hɛnaŋ hadi·ŋ kɛdhɔk? khɛnɛ? yɔllik hadi·ŋ mɛndhɔk?ɛ?ı* Why are you being so stubborn? Don't put up such a fuss!; *sa·?rik hadi·ŋ thɔktuŋ* I put up quite a fuss; cf. *thɔŋma?*.

*thɔmma?*,   -*thɔm-*   vi., be 'asleep' (of limbs), be numb; *allo·wa alaŋin thɔmɛ* Now, my leg is asleep.

*thɔŋ*   n., [*thɔŋma?* engage in battle] war, battle; *thɔŋ?o· pe·gɛ* He went off to war.

*thɔŋga*   n., sturdy large triangular woven basket, made of split bamboo (Nep. *bãs* or *nigālā*), open at the top, carried upon the back and suspended from a wicker-strap or *kha?nam* lashed across the forehead, employed by porters for transporting freight or those working in the field in transporting and distributing manure, water, etc.; a stick with a horizontal portion at the top is used in conjunction with the *thɔŋga* both as a walking stick for stability on steep stretches and as a support for the *thɔŋga* during rest pauses, the horizontal portion of the cane fitting neatly underneath the bottom of the triangular basket, (Nep. *ɖoko*); cf. *lumbhu?l*.

*thɔŋga-sik*   n., [*thɔŋga* q.v. + jingle] *thɔŋga*, *kha?nam* and contents; cf. Nep. *ɖoko-soko*.

*thɔŋma?*,   -*thɔks-/-thɔŋ-*   vt., shake up and down in small vertical increments whilst holding the *pɔ?e·?l* or winnowing basket level; *ammare nuba haguba mɛnnuba haguba thɔksu* Mother is shaking up and down the well husked and the poorly husked [grain] in the winnowing basket; cf. *amma?*, *ɛkma?*, *ɛpma?*.

*thɔŋma?*,   -*thɔks-/-thɔŋ-*   [caus. < *thɔkma?* clash] I) vi., engage in combat, go off to war; II) vt., 1) incite to fight, instigate someone to fight, agi-

tate; *thɔksuŋsiŋ* I incited them to fight; 2) make eyes at, have one's eyes meet, flirt through eye contact; *mik thɔksɛtchu* They[d] made eye contact.

*thɔŋma?*, *-thɔŋd-/-thɔŋ-*   vi., be or feel bloated; *kɛsappo·k?in thɔŋdɛi·?* Does your stomach feel bloated?; *kuhuk?in thɔŋdɛ* Her hand is swollen; *kɛlaŋin thɔŋdɛ rɛcə* Your leg appears to be swollen; cf. *hɔmma?*.

*thɔŋma?*, *-thɔŋs-/-thɔŋ-*   vt., compare; *mɛdhɔŋsu* They'll compare it.

*thɔpəra*   n., [< *thɔpma?* sew (leaves)] small disposable dish of leaves sewn together; cf. Nep. *ṭaparī*; cf. *tunɔ?l*.

*thɔpma?*, *-thɔtt-/-thɔt-/-thɔ?l*   vt., last someone; *kɔŋ luŋgi-lle yəllik ya·n thɔ?l-ɛ* (this *luṅgī*-ERG many day last-1sPS/NPT) This *luṅgī* will last me a long time.

*thɔpma?*, *-thɔtt-/-thɔt-/-thɔ?l*   vt., [dir. < *tɔ·ma?* sew; cf. *tɔ?ma?*] sew (patient: *tɛtla* leaves) in order to make dishes (*tunɔ?l* and *thɔpəra*) to eat *tɔk* from on festive occasions when many plates are required.

*thɔ·pma?*, *-thɔ·tt-/-thɔ·t-/-thɔ·?l*   I) vt., put up with, bear, endure; *cuŋdzi·kma? nurik thɔ·ttu* (be_cold--INF well endure-3P) He endures the cold well; *thɔ·ttɛ?!* Just put up with it!; *kɔŋin thɔ·pm·suktwi·?* Can it stand that?; *namin thɔttuŋ* I can bear the sun well; II) *na·si thɔ·?ma?* 1) vi., slow down, become lackadaisical and listless, grow languid; *na·m?o· na·si kɛdhɔ·?l lo·!* You'll become enervated in the sun!; 2) vt., (often with infinitive) persevere, be patient, persist; *kɔŋ məna·n ya·mbɔk co·km? na·si kɛdhɔ·ppə co·k* That is a man who perseveres in his work; *sapla ni·pma? na·si kɛdhɔ·ppə co·k* He is a persistent reader of books; *sapla ni·pma? na·si mɛdhɔ·ttun* He gave up reading the book, he grew impatient with reading the book; *na·si thɔttuŋ* I take my time, I carry on, I persevere, I am patient.

*thukka*   n., [< Nep. *thukka* interjection of contempt] curse, Nep. *sarāp*.

*thuklɛŋ*   adv., [*thuk* six + *lɛŋ* turn] six times.

*thuksi*   vide *tuksi*.

*thumbo·?*, *thuŋbo·?*   n., knee.

*thumbruk*   n., the tree Choerospondias axillaris, bearing sticky sour fruit with a hard pit; Nep. *lapsī*.

*thumma?*, *-thums-/-thum-*   vi., 1) be diligent, work hard, be

industrious, be full of stamina; 2) appoint one-self, fulfill (a post or position); Nep. *darnu*; *kappo·bɛn allo·saŋ kye·laŋma? thum* Even today the old men fulfill the position of performing the *cyābruñ-nāc*.

*thumma?*, -*thund-/-thun-* vt., mend; *kɛde·ŋba te·?lin thundu* He mends torn clothes.

*thumma?*, -*thund-/-thun-* vt., [caus. < *tumma?* be agitated] disturb, agitate, stir up; *yaŋghe·k?in thundu* He picks at his wound; *cwa?lin ma·kkhunde· thundu* He made the water muddy.

*thumma?*, -*thups-/-thum-* vt., [caus. < *thupma?* collapse] destroy, cause to cave in, cause to collapse; *ba·ri-·n mɛ-dhups-u* (terrace-ABS nsAS-cause_to_ collapse-3P) They caused the rice terrace to cave in; cf. *yɔma?*.

*thuŋbo·?* vide *thumbo·?*.

*thuŋma?*, -*thuks-/-thuŋ-* vt., (with *ha·l* < Nep. *halo, hal* plough) plough; *ha·l kɛdhukswi·?* Are you going to plough?

*thuŋma?*, -*thuŋ-* vt., 1) drink; cf. *thuŋma?*; 2) smoke; *ho·p-m?na-bɛ-n kɛ-dhuŋ-w-i·?* (toke-PP-NOM-ABS 2-smoke-3P-Q) Will you smoke a cigarette?

*thuŋma?*, -*thuŋs-/-thuŋ-* vt., [caus. < *thuŋma?* drink] give someone to drink; *nu thuŋsu* She's breastfeeding; *se·dzɔŋwa kɛdhuŋswi·?* Did you give him millet brandy to drink?.

*thupma?*, -*thub-/-thup-* vt., pierce, wound by piercing; *ti·ŋle adhup* Thorns sting!; cf. *sya?l*.

*thupma?*, -*thub-/-thup-* vi., cave in, collapse; cf. *thumma?, yɔma?*.

*thu·ŋma?*, -*thu·ks-/-thu·ŋ-* vt., [caus. < *tu·ŋma?* bend] bend.

*thu·pma?*, -*thu·tt-/-thu·t-/-thu·?l* vi., twitch, undergo a spasm or tremor, *kɛmik?in thu·ttɛ* Your eye twitched; *adhɔk?in thu·ttɛ* A tremor went through my body.


ṭ


*ṭika, tika* n., [< Nep. *ṭīkā*] *ṭīkā* powder, coloured powder for anointing and beautifying.

*ṭh*

*ṭhikai*   adv., [< Nep. *ṭhīk*, *ṭhīkai*] correct, O.K., alright.

*u*

*ude·k*   n., amazement, wonder.
*ukmaʔ*, *-ug-/-uk-*   vt., scrape, scratch; cf. *kho·pmaʔ*, *uŋ-ma?*.
*umaʔ*, *-us-/-u-*   vt., direct, lead; *usuŋsiŋ* I directed them.
*umbhuŋ*   n., cherry tree Prunus cerasoides; Nep. *paiyũ*, *payyũ*, *paiñyu*.
*uŋmaʔ*, *-uks-/-uŋ-*   vt., [caus. < *ukmaʔ* scrape] 1) pick, pluck, pull, drag; 2) *sɔkma uŋmaʔ* inhale, *sɔkma uksuŋ* I inhale; *mikho·ʔ kɛʔuksuwi·ʔ* Are you taking in smoke (said to a person coughing by the fire); 3) *the· uŋmaʔ* produce *the·* from bamboo (*pha*); *the· uŋmaʔ po·ŋ* The bamboo must be split to produce *the·*; cf. *khɛʔmaʔ*.
*uŋsiŋmaʔ*   vr., [< *uŋmaʔ* pick, pluck, pull] play tug-of-war (only with non-singular subject).
*u·pmaʔ*, *-u·tt-/-u·t-/-u·ʔl*   [dir. < *umaʔ* direct] 1) vt., call somebody, summon someone; 2) vi., (with *wiʔl* 'rain') invoke rain; *phe·daŋma-haʔ-re wiʔl mɛ-u·p-pa* (shaman-p-ERG rain nsAS-summon-IPF) The shamans are calling down rain; cf. *pa·ncha·tmaʔ*, *iŋpho·m-maʔ*.

*w*

*wa*   n., [*wa* water] thirst; vide *mikmaʔ*.
*waʔ*   n., chicken.
*waʔdhi·n*   n., [*waʔ* chicken + *thi·n* egg] chicken egg.
*waʔdzyak*   n., chick.
*waʔhi*   n., [*waʔ* chicken + *hi* shit] chicken guano.
*waʔmaʔma*   n., [< *waʔ* chicken] 1) hen; 2) the less intense arc of a rainbow (*namde·ŋgu*); cf. *iŋwaʔ*.
*waʔsaʔl*   n., [*waʔ* chicken + *saʔl* ~ *saʔ* child, offspring] chick; cf. *ko·co·saʔl*, *luŋsaʔl*, *mɛndaʔsaʔl*, *myaŋsaʔl*, *pusaʔl*, *phaksaʔl*.
*waʔso·ʔl*   n., [*waʔ* chicken + *so·ʔl* fat] chicken fat.
*wabak*   n., [< *wa* water] pond.
*wade·mmaʔ*, *wa-de·nd-/wa-de·n-*   vt., [< *wa* water, caus. < *te·ʔmaʔ* take away] let something float away, let something be carried away in the current (human

agent, as opposed to *cwa?1* 'water' as agent; cf. *pɔŋma?* (2)).

*wadzakma?*, *wa-dzag-/wa-dzak-*   vi., [< *\*wa* water] swim.

*wage·k*   n., [< *\*wa* water] the monsoon, the wet season; cf. *cuŋge·k*.

*wahaŋma?*, *wa-haŋ-*   vt., [< *\*wa* water + *haŋma?* send something] put water on the fire in which to boil something (= patient).

*wahɔpma?*, *wa-hɔpt-/wa-hɔp-*   vt., [*\*wa-* water + *-hɔpma?* wash] wash with water, rinse; *ha? wahɔpma?* rinse one's mouth out (lit. rinse one's teeth).

*wahɔpsiŋma?*   vr., [< *wahɔpma?*] wash up (one's face and hands); cf. *warumsiŋma?*.

*walɔ·mma?*, *wa-lɔ·nd-/wa-lɔ·n-*   vi., [*\*wa* water + *lɔ·mma?* exude, egress] leak.

*wakho·mba*   n., [< *\*wa* water] little semi-artificial water reservoir, encased and covered with boulders and large rock slabs, fed and replenished by a natural (sometimes re-channeled and occasionally sluggish but generally constant) source; cf. *kuwa*.

*wama?*, *-was-/-wa-*   vi., experience, in the expression: *-mi? wama?* be sleepy; *kɛ-mi? was-ɛ-i·?* (2-sleepy experience-PT-Q) Are you sleepy?; cf. *yu·ma* (1).

*wa·ma?*, *-way-/-wa·-*   vi.irr., existential 'to be', sit, dwell, exist, be available; *aŋga biha co·g-u-ŋ*, *a-sa? mɛ-wa·* (I marriage do-3P-1sA, my-child nsAS-be) I am married and have children; vide 3.2.

*wamɛpma?*, *wa-mɛtt-/wa-mɛt-/wa-mɛ?1*   vt., [< *\*wa* water] irrigate, water; *khe· wamɛpma? po·ŋ* The potatoes must be irrigated; cf. *waraŋma?*.

*wapma*, *-watt-/-wat-/-wa?1*   vi.vt., totalizing aspectivizer; vide 5.3.12.

*waphe·?*   n., sickle.

*warakma?*, *wa-rakt-/wa-rak-*   vi., [< *\*wa* water] get wet, become wet; cf. *waraŋma?*.

*waraŋluŋma*   n., [*waraŋ-* make wet + *luŋma* mountain range] the (moist) Siwalik hills above the Terai, running parallel to and to the south of the *Mahābhārat Lekh*; Nep. *cure pahāḍ*, *śivālik*; cf. *pho·ktaŋluŋma*, *sɛnche·luŋma*.

*waraŋma?*, *wa-raks-/wa-raŋ-*   vt., [caus. < *warakma?* get wet] make wet, moisten, dampen; *aŋga wagɛraŋ?ɛbai·?* Are you going to make me wet?; *anige khɛŋ waraŋŋ?naba* We^pe made him wet; *khunɛ? khɛŋ waraksuba* She made him wet; cf. *wamɛpma?*.

*ware·?*   n., sarcasm, kidding, joking, insult (with *co·kma?* and *pa·pma?*); cf. *ware·?ge·*.

**ware·?ge·**   n., [*ware·?* sarcasm + *-ke·* nom.sf.; cf. *muso·k-ke·*, *sallakke·*] joker, crackpot.

**ware·kpa**   n., Litsea citrata, a tree whose leaves the Tibetans are said to use in making *yumlakpa*; Nep. *silṭimur*.

**warumma?**, **wa-rups-/wa-rum-**   vt., [< *\*wa* water] give a bath to, bathe someone; *aŋga ko·co·?in warupsuŋ* I gave the dog a bath.

**warumsiŋma?**   vr., [< *warumma?* bathe] bathe oneself; cf. *wahɔpsiŋma?*.

**warup**   n., [< *\*wa* water] large edible frog (Nep. *pāhā*); cf. *pe·dɔk*.

**wase·ri**   n., [< *\*wa* water] malevolent water nymph inhabiting the *wakho·mba*; the water nymph afflicts users of the *wakho·mba* whom she dislikes with gaping and infected wounds, furuncles and carbuncles; she also causes tooth decay; vide *khɛ?ma?*, *khɛ?siŋma?*.

**waso·pma**   n., Alnus nepalensis, the Nepalese alder tree; Nep. *uttis*.

**wa·mma?**, **-wa·nd-/-wa·n-**   vt., 1) brush aside, wave aside; *andhɛbare kuhuk?ille kha·kmi?l wa·nduwaŋ thik na·ndaŋ paŋsu-de·su* My grandfather brushed the cloud aside his hand and sent it on its way; 2) blow away; *suri?l-le wa·nduba* The wind blew it away; 3) shake, rock, sway to and fro; *ɔŋ?e·kwa·n wa·ndɛ?!* Rock the baby!; *pho·nda? wa·ndu* He's rocking the baby basket; *siŋbo·ŋ mɛwa·ndu* They're swaying the tree back and forth; *kundzumin wa·nduba* He shook his friend back and forth; *wa·ndɛ?!* Shake it back and forth!.

**wa·nchiŋma?**   vr., [< *wa·mma?* sway back and forth] sway or slosh back and forth; *pitnu kho·rɛ?lo· sa·rik wa·nchiŋɛ* The milk sloshed violently back and forth in the beaker.

**wa·pma?**, **-wa·r-/-wa·t-/-wa·?l**   vt., put on, wear, apply (jewelry, ornaments, cosmetics; not clothes); *nɛse·? mɛwa·ru* They're wearing Limbu earrings; cf. *caŋma?*, *khu·ŋma?*.

**wa·pma?**, **-wa·tt-/-wa·t-/-wa·?l**   vt., [dir. < *wa·pma?* put on jewelry] put jewelry or ornaments on someone, apply cosmetics to someone; *ṭika wa·tnɛ* I'll put *ṭīkā* on your forehead; *wa·ttaŋ* She dressed me up (viz. with jewelry and cosmetics).

**wa·tchiŋma?**   vr., [< *wa·pma?*] apply to oneself, put on; *aŋga casma wa·tchiŋ?ɛ* I'll put on my glasses.

**wɛmma?**, **-wɛnd-/-wɛn-**   vt.imp., be done, be in effect, move,

be in process, be in progress; *namla·ŋma wɛndu*
There's a drought; *ɛllamba sakwama wɛndu* This year
there is famine; *khɛnɛ? kɛdzo·guba yambɔk?in
po·ksɛi· mɛbo·ksɛnni· pha?aŋ se·ndo·mɛlle po·ksɛ
gɔrɔ cumille 'wɛndu' amɛ?l* If you ask a friend
whether his work is getting along alright or not,
and it is, he'll say 'It's getting along'; Nep.
*calnu*.

*wɛpma?*, *-wɛtt-/-wɛt-/wɛ?l* 1) vi., be spilled, be poured;
*wɛttɛ* It spilled; 2) vt., (unintentionally:)
spill, (intentionally:) make wet by pouring, pour
over; *wɛttɛ?!* pour it over [it]!; cf. *liŋma?*.

*wɛtchya* n., [*\*wɛt* Oryza? + *sya* husked rice, grain] husked
rice.

*wɛtchya?dɔk* n., [*wɛtchya* husked rice + *tɔk* cooked rice]
cooked rice.

*wɛ·mma?*, *-wɛ·nch-/-wɛ·n-* vt., heal.

*wi?l* n., rain; *wi?l tha* it's raining, vide *thama?*.

*wi?sma* adj., of another type, different; *kɔŋ mǝna·n yak-
thuŋba-nulle wi?sma co·k* That man is different
from a Limbu; cf. *e·?yaŋba*, *thiksǝmma*.


**y**


*ya?* n., unhusked rice; paddy; cf. *sya*, *tɔk*.

*ya?lapma?*, *ya?-lapt-/ya?-lap-* vt., sharpen (as a barber
sharpens a razor, whisking it to and fro against a
leather strap, as opposed to *yupma?*, q.v.).

*ya?ra·kma?*, *ya?-ra·kt-/ya?-ra·k-* vi., [< *ya?* paddy + dir.
< *la·ŋma?* dance] perform the rice dance, a tradi-
tional Limbu dance performed during the night of
the full moon till well after dawn. Young lads and
unmarried girls join hands in circles or, occa-
sionally, in rows and chant the hypnotic *pa·lam*
(q.v.); ideally girls and young men alternate so
that no two persons of the same gender join hands
in the circle; *ya?kɛnla·ktɛnni·?* - *mɛnla·kpaŋ* Did
you take part in the rice harvest dance? - No, I
didn't.

*ya?ro·n* n., [< *ya?* paddy] grain spread out on the ground
or on a mat to dry, usu. in the sun (Nep. *biskun*);
cf. *miya?*, *namya?*.

*yak* n., anger, wrath, ire; vide *la·kma?* (2), *lɛ?ma?* (1);
cf. *sik*.

*yakkhula* n., [< Nep. *yākkhulā*] fatty cartilagenous hump-
like protuberance hanging from the thoracic region

of a buffalo, treasured as a delicacy.

*yakse·* n., small, soft alpine tuber, Calladium arumaciae, with a potato-like gloss and an exquisite, mild taste when boiled; Nep. *pǐḍālū*.

*yakthuŋba* n.adj., Limbu.

*yakthuŋba pa·n* adj. + n., the Limbu language; vide *yakthuŋpa·n*.

*yakthuŋdho·* n., daydream; *yakthuŋdho·-ʔe· wa·* (daydream-LOC/EMPH be) He's daydreaming.

*yakthuŋlilimhaŋ* n.poet., [*yakthuŋ-* Limbu, *\*lilim* government, *haŋ* king] king of *Limbuvān*, the ancestral Limbu kings.

*yakthuŋpa·n* n., [*yakthuŋ* Limbu + *pa·n* language, word, speech] Limbu (the language).

*ya-khu·ŋ* n., [< *\*khuŋ* river valley] river; cf. *pa-khu·ŋ*.

*yale·k* n., [< *\*yaʔ* paddy] field hand in temporary employ; Nep. *khetālā*.

*yam* n., body (excluding the head but including the limbs); cf. *thɔk*; cf. *lɔʔmaʔ* (9,10), *yu·maʔ* (5).

*yambiʔl* n., [< *yam* body] body.

*yammu* adv., again; *yammu-dhik pi·r-aŋ-ɛʔ!* (again-one give-1sP-IMP) Give me another one; cf. *e·ʔyaŋba*; back *yammu ma·gh-ille ta-ʔɛ* (again *Māgh*-GEN come-1sPS/NPT) I'll come back in the month of *Māgh*.

*yamna·pmi* n., [*yam* body + *na·pmi* man] incarnate man.

*yamsiʔ* n., [*yam* body + *siʔ* louse] human body lice, Pediculus humanus corporis (may also denote human crab lice Phthirius pubis); cf. *sigip*, *thɛge·ksiʔ*.

*yaŋ* n., money, rupee, coin.

*yaŋhaŋ* adv., later on; cf. *yaŋsi*.

*yaŋghe·k* n., wound.

*yaŋkho·pmaʔ*, *yaŋ-kho·tt-/yaŋ-kho·t-/yaŋ-kho·ʔl-* vt., stockpile, store up something; *sya yəllik yaŋkho·ttuŋ* I have stocked up on lots of rice.

*yaŋmaʔ*, *-yaks-/-yaŋ-* vi., tremble, shake.

*yaŋmaʔ*, *-yaŋs-/-yaŋ-* vt., [caus. < *yaŋmaʔ* shake] 1) strike, hit with a projectile; *anga luŋ-ille tho·-ghɛŋ mɛna-·n yaŋs-u-ŋ-ʔ-i· mɛ-yaŋ-ʔɛ-n-ʔ-i·ʔ* (I rock-INST up there-that man-ABS strike-3P-1sA-DEF-Q NEG-strike-1s→3-NEG-DEF-Q) Shall I be able to hit that man up there with a stone or not?; *yaŋsaŋ* It hit me; cf. *khɔŋmaʔ*, *lɛpmaʔ* (2), *tɛʔmaʔ*; 2) manage to get hold of (viz. something scarce or quickly sold out), secure; *kɛyaŋswi· kɛnyaŋsunni·ʔ* Did you manage to get a hold of one or didn't you?; *kɛyaŋsui·baʔ* Do you think you'll be able to secure one?

*yaŋma? sɛpma?*, inf. + vt., [*yaŋma?* tremble, shake + *sɛpma?* kill] terrify, scare to death; haunt; *so·gha-re yaŋ-ma? a-sɛ?1* (ghost-ERG tremble-INF 1-kill) The ghosts will haunt us[i].

*yaŋma?-sima?* vi.vi., [*yaŋma?* tremble, shake + *sima?* die] be startled, be frightened suddenly, be shocked, be stunned, be terrified, be horrified; *yaŋ?ɛ si?ɛ* I'm scared to death; cf. *yaŋma? sɛpma?*.

*yaŋsa?ma?*, *yaŋ-sa?r-/yaŋ-sa?-* vi., be poor, be unfortunate, be needy, indigent, impoverished; *anige yaŋsa?rige*, *anige yo·bɛn sige·k* WeP[e] are unfortunate, weP[e] are low class.

*yaŋsarumba* adj.m., n., third-born (of siblings or offspring).

*yaŋsarumma* adj.f., n., third-born (of siblings or offspring).

*yaŋsi* adv., afterwards; cf. *yaŋhaŋ*.

*yaŋsiŋ* n., the tree Schima wallichii (Nep. *cilāune ko boṭ*).

*yaŋsiŋba* vide *yaŋsiŋ*.

*yaŋsiŋbo·ŋ* vide *yaŋsiŋ*.

*yaŋsiŋgukundze·li* n.poet., [< *yaŋsiŋ* Schima wallichii; *-ndze·li-* married sister who has left the paternal household to join the household of her spouse] the female sex, womankind, the weaker sex.

*yaŋsu* n., path, trail; cf. *lam*.

*yaŋyaŋ* vide *yɔŋyɔŋ*.

*ya·* n., next to, side; *tɔk?in kuya·?o· yuŋmasaŋ po·ŋ* It's even alright to put the rice beside it.

*ya·kpɔpma* vide *ya·kpɔppo·ŋ*.

*ya·kpɔppo·ŋ*, *ya·kpɔpma* n., [< *-po·ŋ* tree] the tree Engelhardtia spicata, bearing delicate white flowers, large leaves and a peach-like fruit; Nep. *mahuvā*; also used to refer to Nep. *bãdare phal*, *bãdare rukh*.

*ya·k* n., gift, present.

*ya·kke·k* n., cliff, precipice, abyss, chasm.

*ya·kkha?* n., forest, jungle; cf. *ta·mbhuŋ*.

*ya·kkho·* n., pumpkin.

*ya·kma?*, *-ya·g-/-ya·k-* vi., locational 'to be', vide 3.3.

*ya·kma?*, *-ya·kt-/-ya·k-* vi., stay up somewhere, get stuck up somewhere, remain (in a higher place).

*ya·kma?*, *-ya·kt-/-ya·k-* vt., (with non-referential 3sP agreement) be adequate, be sufficient (of food); *ya·ktu* That'll be enough; cf. *kha·ma?*, *tɛkma?*, *yo·ma?*.

*ya·kwa* n., [< *wa* water] the rain god.

*ya·kwa pudza*  n., [*ya·kwa* rain goddess + *pudza* < Nep. *pūjā* prayer] prayer service invoking the rain god to initiate the pre-monsoon rains and grant a successful planting season; Nep. *sāsārī pūjā*, *dhul pūjā*; vide *ya·kwa khɔ·ma?* under *khɔ·ma?* (II.1).

*ya·mbɔk*  n., work, task.

*ya·ma?*, *-ya·s-/-ya·-*  vi., 1) be tickled, feel tickled, be ticklish (intensified with the aspectivizer *sima?*); 2) vide *mik ya·ma?*.

*ya·mma?*, *-ya·nd-/-ya·n-*  1) vt., (of a knife) cut, succeed at cutting; *mɛya·ndun* It didn't cut [it]; cf. *hasukma?*; 2) vt., succeed in getting something done, get something done, be capable of taking something on, be 'up to' a task or undertaking; *khɛŋle mɛya·ndun* He's not up to it, it's too much for him; *ku·m? ya·nchui·ba* Would theyᵈ manage to carry it?; 3) vt., (in a sexual sense) be 'up to', be capable of handling, be capable of taking someone on; *khɛŋ mɛnchuma-·n kɛ-ya·nd-u-i·?* (that lady-ABS 2-be_capable_of-3P-Q) Can you take that girl on?; 4) vi., (sexual) be successful, work out, succeed; *ya·ndɛi· mɛya·ndɛnni·?* Did it happen or didn't it?.

*ya·mma?*, *-ya·nd-/-ya·n-*  vt.imp., 1) (of water) be hot; *cwa?lin ya·ndui· mɛya·ndunni·?* Has the water gotten hot yet or not?; cf. *haŋwama?*, *ko·ma?*, *le·kma?*, *mɔkma?*, *yɛmma?*; 2) become enraged, become hot with rage; *aŋga a-sakkɛn-ille ya·nd-aŋ* (I my-ire-INST become_enraged-1sPS/PT) I became all hot with anger.

*ya·n*  n., day; *thik ya·n so·-so·rik mɛwayɛ* One day they were together.

*ya·ndik*  n., [*ya·n* day + *\*-dik* period of day] free time, respite, leisure time; *ya·ndik ho·pma?* be busy, be without leisure time; *ya·ndik ho·p?ɛ* I am busy; *ya·ndik tama?* be free, have leisure time; *ya·ndik kɛdei·?* Were you free?; *ya·ndik ta?ɛ* I'll probably be free; cf. *lɛndik*, *idik*, *sɛndik*, *ta·ndik*, *yunchik*.

*ya·ŋma?*, *-ya·ks-/-ya·ŋ-*  1) vi., be dizzy, feel vertiginous; (with intensifying aspectivizer *sima?*) have chills run down one's spine, experience sudden vertigo, be suddenly terrified, be scared to death, experience a vertiginous fright; *ya·ksaŋ syaŋ* I was dizzy as all hell; Nep. *jīu sirinh hunu*; 2) vt., frighten, shock.

*ya·ŋma?*, *-ya·ŋ-*  vt., transfer.

*ya·pma?*, *ya·r-/-ya·t-/-ya·?l* vi., moan, groan.

*ya·pma?*, *ya·r-/-ya·t-/-ya·?l* vi., be (an amount); *a·kkhɛn ya·?l?* How much is it?; *a·kkhɛn ya·rɛ?* How much was it?; cf. *a·kkha·pma?*, *kɔŋya·pma?*, *khɛŋya·pma?*, *maŋbhaya·ppa*.

*ya·pmi* vide *na·pmi*.

*ya·rrrrr* onomatopoeia, grrr; *ko·co·?in ya·rrrrr lɔ?rɛ* The dog growled.

*ye·* emph.part.

*ye·* n., [< *ye·pma?* laugh] urge to laugh; vide *yu·ma?* (4).

*ye·ŋma?*, *-ye·ks-/-ye·ŋ-* vi., chatter, grind (of teeth) in one's sleep; *sɛndik sa·rik kuha ye·ksɛ* His teeth really chattered in his sleep last night; *khɛnɛ? sɛndik sa·rik kɛha kɛye·ŋ lɔcə* It appears you have the habit of really grinding your teeth in your sleep at night.

*ye·pma?*, *-ye·r-/-ye·t-/-ye·?l* vi., 1) laugh; cf. *ye·pma?*, *yu·ma?* (4); 2) *musɛ·ŋ lɔ?rik ye·pma?* smile.

*ye·pma?*, *-ye·tt-/-ye·t-/-ye·?l* vt., [dir. < *ye·pma?* laugh] laugh at someone; *kɛye·?l lo·!* (2-laugh_at ASS) He'll laugh at you if you don't watch out!

*yɛ?l* n., bone; *yɛ?l* is more apt to refer to a sun-bleached bone or bones found lying in the jungle, whereas *səyɛ?l* is more apt to refer to bones in humans or in living or slaughtered animals.

*yɛ?llɛŋ* vide *yɛ?llin*.

*yɛ?llin*, *yɛ?llɛŋ* adv., [< *lɛŋ* turn, time] extremely; incessantly, constantly.

*yɛ?llinkhɔŋ* adv., [*yɛ?llin* extremely + *iŋghɔŋ* news] repeatedly; *yɛ?llinkhɔŋ mɛtnɛba*, *kɛndzo·gunni·?* I have told you repeatedly; Aren't you going to do it?

*yɛkyɛk* adv., carefully, alertly, cautiously; *yɛkyɛk co·gɛ?!* Be careful!; *yɛkyɛk lɔ·ndɛ?!* Come out carefully!

*yɛmba* n., husband.

*yɛmba kɛhɔŋma* n., [lit. someone (f) who looks for a husband, husband + AP.f. of *hɔŋma?* 'look for'] whore, lascivious woman.

*yɛmbitcha* n., [< *yɛmba* husband; *\*-bitcha* pre-pubescent boy, cf. *hɛndza?bitcha*] man.

*yɛmbitcha-sa?* n., [lit. man-child] son (circumlocution to disambiguate *sa?* if the gender is not obvious from the context).

*yɛmma?*, *-yɛmd-/-yɛm-* 1) vi., feel warm inside (said of ingested warm foodstuffs); 2) vt., scorch, burn (agent: the sun or a solid not undergoing combus-

tion); *kɛyɛm lo·!* It'll burn you! (i.e. Don't touch it!); *mɛyɛmdunni·?* Didn't it scald [your skin]? cf. *haŋwamaʔ*, *ko·maʔ*, *le·kmaʔ*, *mɔkmaʔ*, *o·ʔmaʔ*, *ya·mmaʔ*.

*yɛmmaʔ*, *-yɛps-/-yɛm-* [caus. < *yɛpmaʔ* stand] 1) vt., stand something up; 2) vt.imp., begin, start (of a season) *wage·k yɛpsu he·ktu* The monsoon has begun.

*yɛnchi* vide *yɛtchi*.

*yɛpmaʔ*, *-yɛb-/-yɛp-* vi., stand.

*yɛpphu* num.col., eight; cf. *yɛtchi*.

*yɛtchaba* n.m., orphan.

*yɛtchama* n.f., orphan.

*yɛtchi*, *yɛnchi* num., eight.

*yɛtlɛŋ* adv., [*yɛt* eight + *lɛŋ* turn] eight times

*yɛ·kmaʔ*, *-yɛ·kt-/-yɛ·k-* vi., wear, wear away, wear out, grow blunt (eg., *phɛdza·n* knife, *luŋin* rock).

*yɛ·ŋmaʔ*, *-yɛ·ks-/-yɛ·ŋ-* vt., chew (with difficulty), grind; cf. *kha·mmaʔ*, *yupmaʔ*.

*yəklagɛnsuhaŋsa* n.poet., [*\*yəklagɛn* ?domestically well-situated + *su* < *subba* Limbu nobleman + *haŋsa* < *haŋsaʔ* prince] important personage.

*yəllik*, *yərik* adv., [*yən-* big < *yəmmaʔ* + *\*-lik* adv.sf.; cf. *ke·llik*, *nurik*] much, many.

*yəmba* adj., [< *yəmmaʔ* be large] large, big.

*yəmmaʔ*, *-yənd-/-yən-* vi., be large; *cukʔi· yənʔi·?* Is it small or big?

*yərik* vide *yəllik*.

*yo·* adv., below, downstairs.

*yo·ba* adj. [< *yo·* below] lower, low.

*yo·ʔmaʔ*, *-yo·ʔr-/-yo·ʔ-* vt., [dir. < *yo·maʔ* be enough] give someone a second or third helping; add onto; *yo·ʔruŋ* I gave him a second helping.

*yo·-gɔrɔ-yo·* adv., [*yo·* below + *gɔrɔ* if] way down there, way down below.

*yo·ghɛŋ* dem., [*yo·* below + *khɛŋ* that] that (one) down there.

*yo·hi* n., the oak species Quercus glauca and lamellosa; Nep. *phalã̀ṭ*.

*yo·k* vide *yo·p*.

*yo·m* vide *puʔmaʔ*.

*yo·maʔ*, *-yo·r-/-yo·-* 1) vi., amount to, attain, reach (eg. weight, sum of money); *a·kkhɛn tɔŋbe· kɛyo·?* How many years old are you?; 2) vt.imp., be enough, be sufficient for someone; *yo·ʔɛ* It'll be enough for me; *khɛŋhaʔ yo·rusi* (3s→3ns) It will be enough for them; cf. *kha·maʔ*, *tɛkmaʔ*, *ya·kmaʔ*.

*yo·mmaʔ*, *-yo·nd-/-yo·n-* vi., 1) (with *thɛʔl* 'saliva')

salivate; *ku-dhɛʔl yo·nd-ɛ* (his-spit flow-PT) His mouth is watering; 2) dissolve; *yumin nurik mɛ-yo·ndɛn kusiŋ lɔʔ* It looks as if the salt is not dissolving well.

*yo·naŋnu* adv., [*yo·* below, *-naŋ-* < *\*nahaŋ* direction, *-nu* COM] via the low road; cf. *tho·naŋnu*.

*yo·p* n., imprint, impression.

*yo·ppa* n., boar, an uncastrated hog raised for breeding purposes; cf. *phak*, *lami*.

*yo·suma* adj., [< *yo·* below] lower.

*yo·waŋ* vide *tho·waŋ-yo·waŋ*.

*yo·yo·ʔ* adv., [< *yo·* below] way down there.

*yɔʔmaʔ*, *yɔʔr-/-yɔʔ-* vt., grab someone by the back of the neck and push to the ground, causing him to fall.

*yɔkma* n., cattle-shed, pigsty, stable.

*yɔkma-yo·* n., [lit. shed-below] temporary lean-to or shed where one can spend the night, located in the fields downhill from and usu. at a considerable distance from the farmhouse; in the proverb: *yɔkma-yo· te·him luŋma pəhim* When away from home, one will get homesick.

*yɔkmaʔ*, *-yɔg-/-yɔk-* vt., poke with one's finger (eg. in the dirt, in someone's side, in the entrails of a slaughtered animal).

*yɔmaʔ*, *-yɔr-/-yɔ-* vi., cave in; *sɔpmaŋ yɔ iʔre·ʔe·* It'll probably cave in in a second; cf. *thupmaʔ*, *yɔmaʔ*.

*yɔmaʔ*, *-yɔs-/-yɔ-* vt., [caus. < *yɔmaʔ* cave in] demolish; cf. *thummaʔ*.

*yɔŋmaʔ*, *-yɔŋ-* vt., lift up.

*yɔŋyɔŋ* adj.adv., [< *yɔŋmaʔ* lift up] lightweight; *yɔŋyɔŋ lɔʔ* It's light; *yɔŋyɔŋ lɔʔrɛ* It didn't weigh much; cf. *la·pmaʔ*.

*yɔŋyɔŋdaŋba* n.adj., [< *yɔŋyɔŋ* lightweight + *-taŋba* 2.1.2] light; the lightweight one, the light one.

*yuʔmaʔ*, *-yu·r-/-yuʔ-* vt., [caus. < *yumaʔ* come down] bring down; cf. *phɛpmaʔ*, *taʔmaʔ*, *thakmaʔ*.

*yuʔpa* n., silver.

*yukmaʔ*, *-yukt-/-yuk-* vt., [dir. < *yuŋmaʔ* sit] 1) sit on someone or some animal (animate patient; cf. *ke·p-maʔ*); mount; *ən-in yukt-u-ŋ* (horse-ABS mount-3P--1sA) I mount the horse; *ko·co· yukt-u-ŋ aŋga!* (dog mount-3P-1sA I) I'm going to mount the dog, I am! (child speaking); 2) (with *nɛʔl* [< *nɛpmaʔ* q.v.]) observe; *nɛʔl ayuktum* We are now observing the funereal practices and taboos.

*yukna* n., [< *yuŋmaʔ* sit] 1) stool, seat, chair; 2) bedding, bedding materials; Nep. *ochyān*.

*yum*   n., salt; cf. *nɛpma?*, *yukma?* (2).

*yuma*   n., 1) grandmother, 2) grand-aunt, 3) title of respect to an elderly lady.

*yuma-samman*   n., [lit. grandmother-deity] an irritable household goddess who is born anew each dawn, matures during the course of the day and becomes an agèd woman at night only to be reborn again at dawn; the attic of the main house is sacrosanct to her and off limits to non-family members; many taboos pertain to the attic such as not being allowed to sleep there alone; non-observance of any such household taboos arouses the anger of the *yuma-samman* who retaliates in all sorts of prank-ish and unpleasant ways; occasional sacrifices of female animals must be made to her, and it is imperative that the first single grain of the millet, rice and maize harvests be sacrificed to her; If neglected, she may inflict a member of the family with goiter, paralysis of one side of the face or cause some calamitous mishap; spouse of the *thɛba-samman*, q.v.

*yuma?*   vi.irr., come down (movement descending toward goal); *tho·lam yyan* I came down from up there; cf. *phɛmma?*, *tama?*, *thanma?*.

*yuma?*, *-yus-/-yu-*   vt., [caus. < *yuma?* come down] distill; bring down through condensation; filter leavened grain; cf. *pupma?*, *si·pma?*.

*yumlakpa*   n., [*yum* salt + < *lakma?* lick + *-pa* nom.sf.] salty spicy vegetable condiment; Nep. *acār*.

*yumma?*, *-yund-/-yun-*   vi., [ ?< *yum* salt] vide *yo·mma?* (2).

*yumma?*, *-yups-/-yum-*   vt., put on a belt (*phɔ?i·*), gird, buckle oneself up; cf. *yupma?*.

*yumma?l*   n., any cooked vegetable eaten during the main morning or evening meal together with some form of *tɔk*; Nep. *tihun*.

*yummɛndzama samman*   n., [*yum* salt + *mɛn-* NEG + *ca-* eat + *-ma* NOM/f + *samman* household deity] household goddess who prohibits the eating of salt during *ɔkwama khɔ·ma?* (q.v.) and during the period of abstention following the death of a relative; cf. *nɛpma?*, *yukma?* (2).

*yunchik*, *yusik*   adv., [*yun* evening + *\*sik* < *-\*dik* period of day] in the evening, from dusk to midnight; cf. *biha·ndik*, *idik*, *lɛndik*, *sɛndik*, *ta·ndik*, *ya·ndik*.

*yuncho·ba*   n., [*yun* evening + *\*so·ba*] evening star, Venus; *ta·ncho·ba*, *yunchik*.

*yun*   n., [< *yunma?* put] handle.

*yuŋma?*, *-yuks-/-yuŋ-*   vt., [caus. < *yuŋma?* sit] 1) place, put, set, set aside; *su?wa kɔ?o· nɛ·sɛ?!* Put [your] bag down here!; *niŋwa?o· yuŋma?* vide *-niŋwa?o· yuŋma?*; 2) as aspectivizer: 'to hold' or 'to keep'; *kɛhuk?o· tɛmsɛ? yuksɛ?!* Catch [this] in your hand and hold it!; *kɛhuk?o· puttɛ? yuksɛ?!* Grab it and hold it firmly!

*yuŋma?*, *-yuŋ-*   vi., 1) sit, sit down; 2) reside, dwell, be located in a place.

*yuŋmadɛn*   n., [*yuŋma?* sit + *-dɛn* place] place to sit, seat; vide *yuŋmasiŋ*.

*yuŋmasiŋ*   n., [*yuŋma?* sit + *siŋ* wood] chair, stool; esp. what in Nep. is referred to as a *muḍā*, an hour-glass-shaped bamboo wicker stool with deer hide stretched across the circular bottoms at either end.

*yuŋsiŋma?*   vr., [< *yuŋma?* place, set] 1) sit oneself down; 2) *pa·nbuk yuŋsiŋma?* vide *pa·nbuk*.

*yupma?*, *-yupt-/-yup-*   vt., [dir. < *yuŋma?* put a belt on] put a belt (*phɔ?i·*) on someone, buckle someone up.

*yupma?*, *-yupt-/-yup-*   vt., leaven, add yeast (*khɛsuŋ*) to; add spices to.

*yupma?*, *-yutt-/-yut-/-yu?l*   vt., 1) whet, sharpen (with repeated movements in the same direction, as opposed to *ya?lapma?*, q.v.); *hɛnaŋ phɛdza·n kɛyuttuba* Why are you sharpening the knife?; 2) grind; *khunɛ? luŋsum?o· pe·na? yuttu* He's grinding millet on the *luŋsum*.

*yusik*   vide *yunchik*.

*yu·ma?*, *-yu·s-/-yu·-*   vi., be activated, in the expressions: 1) *-mi? yu·ma?* feel sleepy; *ami? yu·sɛ* I'm sleepy; cf. *wama?*; 2) *-lɛm yu·ma?* [*lɛm* kidney] lack the energy to do something, lack the spunk; *alɛm yu·sɛ* I don't have the spunk; cf. *lɔ?ma?* (7), *tɔ·pma?*; 3) with *imma?* 'to sleep' in the impersonal construction: *imma? yu·/yu·sɛ* become/became sleepy; cf. Nep. *nidrā lāgcha/lāgyo*; 4) with *ye·?ma?* 'to laugh' or *-ye·* 'urge to laugh' in eg.: *ku-ye·?-my-aŋ yu·s-ɛ* (his-laugh-INF-also be‿activated-PT) He too felt the urge to laugh; *aye·pm? yu·* I shall have to laugh; *hɛnaŋ kɛye·rɛ? - kɛ?-i·ndaŋ, hɛkkɛllɛ aye· yu·sɛ* Why are you laughing? - You imitated me, so I had to laugh; 5) *-yam yu·ma?* not look forward to doing something; *ayam yu·sɛ ro!* Oh, I'm not looking forward to doing it at all!; cf. *lɔ?ma?* (7), *tɔ·pma?*, *yu·ma?* (2).

# Appendix IV
## Anthology of Kiranti Scripts

A brief history of the Kiranti script is given in section
0.2 of the Introduction.

The original Kiranti script attributed to the Limbu
Buddhist monk *Sirijaṅgā* (probably died between 1775-1777)
is reproduced on pp.552-553. The Kiranti script operates on
the same basis as any Indic script. Like the Lepcha or Róng
script in Sikkim, the original Kiranti script was Tibetan-
inspired. Basically, the syllable initial is written in its
full form and the associated vowel and, if applicable,
post-consonantal glide are added as a diacritic flourish.
The unmarked vowel corresponding to the grapheme 'a' is not
indicated by a diacritic. It is the inherent vowel of any
consonant unless replaced by another vowel or deleted by a
*halant* or *virām* (see p.555-556). Only syllable-initial
vowels are written in their full form.

*Sirijaṅgā*'s script contains consonant symbols for the
following phonetic values, using the notation in Campbell
(1855):

|   |    |    |
|---|----|----|
| k | kh | ng |
| t | th | n  |
| b | bh | m  |
| j | ch | ny |

|    |    |   |   |
|----|----|---|---|
| y  | r  | l | w |
| sh | s  | h |   |

The legendary *Sirijaṅgā* appears to have felt that voicing
in plosives was subphonemic, for his script does not dis-
tinguish voiced from voiceless stops, and it closely re-
sembles the native phonemic system given for *Phedāppe* Limbu
on p.1. The most striking difference between *Sirijaṅgā*'s
script and the native phonemic system on p.1 is that there
are two sibilant graphemes in *Sirijaṅgā*'s script: 's' and
'sh'. *Sirijaṅgā*'s 'ch' is probably a grapheme for the
allophone of sibilant 's', as in *Phedāppe* (p.7).

Furthermore, the script has special symbols for render-
ing syllable final 'p', 'm'. 'k', 'ng', 'l' and 'h'. One of
the vowels, the 'i' which 'can take no final after et [sic;
= it]', and the diacritic for the 'acute accent' are candi-
dates for syllable final glottal stop.

If the anomalous 'ĭ' and the diphthong 'ai' are left out of consideration, the original Kiranti script appears to distinguish four vowel heights as does the native phonemic system:

|       |       |       |
|-------|-------|-------|
| ī     |       | u     |
| ē     |       | ō     |
| ĕ     |       | ŏ     |
|       | a     |       |

The original script has conventions for showing vowel length before final 'k' and 'ng'. Final 'h' might have been an independent device for indicating vowel length, but it might also be a misprint in Campbell's specimen. The diacritic rendering final 'h' according to Campbell corresponds to the diacritic for final *n* in the Limbu writing books in vol. 84 of the Hodgson Collection at the India Office Library in London and to *Cemjoṅ*'s final *n* diacritic. The selfsame symbol is also given the value of final 'l' in Campbell's specimen. Final 'l', when it appears at all in the Hodgson books, is rendered by the symbol Ψ . There are also diacritics to indicate the postconsonantal glides *y* and *r*.

Two marks of punctuation are the full stop and the symbol for the clause-final assertive particle *lo·* (see 9.10).

In his very different and more *Devanāgarī*-inspired version of the Kiranti script some two centuries later, *Cemjoṅ* (2010) had not only doubled the amount of occlusive graphemes by fabricating symbols for both voiced and voiceless stops (whereby the original stop graphemes sometimes served as the new voiced, sometimes as the new unvoiced stop graphemes), but also reshuffled the original script by re-assigning new values to some of the original graphemes:

|       |       |       |       |       |       |
|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| ng    | →     | *t*   | o     | →     | *ā*   |
| t     | →     | *d*   | ē     | →     | *eḥ*  |
| sh    | →     | *ṣ*   | ĕ     | →     | *e*   |
| ch    | →     | *s*   | ŏ     | →     | *o*   |
| s     | →     | *ś*   |       |       |       |

*Cemjoṅ* re-designed virtually all of the letters to varying degrees and added orthographic equivalents for the Indo-Aryan graphemes *tr* and *jñ*, omitted the old symbol for 'ai', and added new symbols for *ai* and *au* and a Tibetan-inspired symbol for *aḥ* (probably ɔ).

*Śirijaṅgā*'s original Kiranti script
as it was presented to Campbell by Lieut. Mainwaring
Campbell (1855) - Plate I

| | |
|---|---|
| *The Limboo, or Yakthung ba Language consists of Twenty Eight Letters viz. nineteen Con sonants, and nine vowels, which are as follow .* | — o *ăng*   —o *āng*   —ᴗ *ah*   —ᴝ *ap.* |

<table>
<tr><td colspan="2">

*Similar with the Tibetan and Lepcha this language has also a "ya x Ra" affixed thus*

—z *ya*      —< *Ra*

*The vowels, Finals and ya & Ra are thus affixed to the Letters.*
</td></tr>
</table>

### Consonants.

| Ka | Ba | Ma | Ta | Ya |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ᘍ | ᘉ | ᘅ | ᘆ | ᘃ |

| Tha | Na | Sha | Nga | Sa |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ᘇ | ᘈ | ᘊ | ᘋ | ᘌ |

| Wa | Ha | La | Ja | Bha |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ᘍ | ᘎ | ᘏ | ᘐ | ᘑ |

| Kha | Ra | Chat | Nya |
|---|---|---|---|
| ᘒ | ᘓ | ᘔ | ᘕ |

### Vowels.

|  a | ĕ | ē | ĭ | ī | u | ō | ŏ | ai |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|

*There are also Seven*

### Finals

—z *ăk*   —₃ *āk*   —ᴝ *am*

ᘍ *Ka*  ᘍ *Kĕ*  ᘍ *Kē*  ᘍ *Kĭ*
ᘍ *Ki*  ᘍ *Ku*  ᘍ *Ko*  ᘍ *Kŏ*
ᘍ *Kai*

ᘍᘍ *Kăk*  ᘍᘍ *Kĕk*  ᘍᘍ *Kēk*
ᘍᘍ *Kik*  ᘍᘍ *Kŭk*  ᘍᘍ *Kŏk*
ᘍᘍ *Kŏk*  ᘍᘍ *Kaik*

ᘍ *Kāk*  ᘍ *Kĕk*  ᘍ *Kēk*
ᘍ *Kik*  ᘍ *Kŭk*  ᘍ *Kōk*
ᘍ *Kŏk*  ᘍ *Kaik*

ᘍ *Kam*  ᘍ *Kĕm*  ᘍ *Kēm*

Śirijaṅgā's original Kiranti script
as it was presented to Campbell by Lieut. Mainwaring
Campbell (1855) – Plate II

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Kim | Kum | Kŏm |
| Kŏm | Kaim | |
| Kăng | Kĕng | Kĕng |
| Kiŭng | Kuŭng | Kŏng |
| Kŏng | Kaing | |
| Kăng | Kĕng | Kēng |
| Kiŭng | Kuŭng | Kŏng |
| Kŏng | Kaing | |
| Kal | Kĕl | Kĕl |
| Kil | Kul | Kŏl |
| Kŏl | Kail | |
| Kap | Kĕp | Kĕp |
| Kip | Kup | Kŏp |
| Kŏp | Kaip | |

In like manner with इ a.
and the rest of the Conso=
nants.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Kya | Kyĕ | Kyē |
| Kyi | Kyu | Kyō |
| Kyŏ | Kyai | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Kyăk | Kyĕk | Kyĕk |
| Kyik | Kyuk | Kyŏk |
| Kyŏk | Kyaik. | |

Kyāk &c: and so on with

the remaining finals.--

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Kara | Kĕre | Kēre |
| Kiri | Kuru | Kōro |
| Kŏro | Kairai | |
| Karăk | Kĕrĕk | Kĕrăk |
| Kirik | Kuruk | Korŏk |
| Kŏrŏk | Kairaik | |
| Karāk | Kĕrēk | &c: |

&c:

Can take no final after it

o  Placed over a letter gives it
an acute accent, as  ki

6  Is sounded loooo it is me-
-rely a prolonged final note
to the reading chaunt.

// Is the colon stop.

The Kiranti script as it appears in *Cemjoṅ* (2010:21-23)
with phonetic equivalents in transliterated *devanāgarī*

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| a | ā | i | u | e |
| ai | o | au | aḥ | eḥ |
| k | kh | g | gh | ṅ |
| c | ch | j | jh | ñ |
| t | th | d | dh | n |
| p | ph | b | bh | m |
| y | r | l | v | tr |
| ś | ṣ | s | h | jñ |

## Syllable finals - *Cemjoṅ* (2010)

ZƮ  kak          Z  kat          ZЧ  kap
                  ⌒

Zѳ  kaṅ          ZⱷØ kan          ZY  kam

             Zᴗ  kal

## Post-consonantal glides - *Cemjoṅ* (2010)

Z̹  kya          Z̹  kra          Zᴀ  kva
ⱬ                 ᐸ

The script has symbols for syllable final *k*, *t*, *p*, *ṅ*, *n*, *m* and *l* and diacritics for the post-consonantal glides *y*, *r* and *v*.

Although *Cemjoṅ* re-designed a new expanded version of the Kiranti script, he appears never to have published anything in this script. The first to start publishing systematically in the Kiranti script was B.B. Subba.

In the '70s, B.B. Subba started publishing textbooks in the Kiranti script for primary 1 through 5 for use by Limbu-speaking children at Sikkimese schools. The script he uses is largely based on *Cemjoṅ*'s new Kiranti script, but he drops the graphemes for *jh*, *ñ*, *ṣ*, *tr* and *jñ* and modifies the appearance of some remaining letters. *Cemjoṅ*'s diacritic for the glide *r* becomes Subba's new diacritic for syllable final *r*, while Subba introduces a new diacritic for post-consonantal *r*.

Subba introduces three important diacritics: the *muk-phrèṅ*, the *kemphrèṅ* and the *sa-i*. The *mukphrèṅ* indicates final glottal stop, the *kemphrèṅ* vowel length, and the *sa-i* acts as a '*halant*' to strip a consonant of its inherent

The Kiranti Script according to B.B. Subba (1976, 1979)

### Vowel Symbols    $\mathit{kubuṅ\text{-}śak}$

| a | ā | i | u | é |
|---|---|---|---|---|

| ai | o | au | ǒ | e |
|----|---|-----|---|---|

### Consonant Symbols    *kuthak-śak*

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ka | kha | ga | gha | ṅa |
| ca | cha | ja | śa | sa |
| ta | tha | da | dha | na |
| pa | pha | ba | bha | ma |
| ya | ra | la | wa | ha |

### Syllable Finals    *kèdumbā-śak*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| kak | kaṅ | kat | kan |
| kap | kam | kar | kal |

### Post-consonantal Glides    *ektumbā*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| kya | kra | kwa |

## Diacritics in Subba's New Kiranti Script (1979)

*mukphrèn*  ![script] eg.̂  ![glyph]  'to knead'
Phedāppe: sɔʔmaʔ

![glyph]  'down here'
Phedāppe: kɔʔyo·

*kemphrèn*  ![script] eg.  ![glyph]  'to be late'
Phedāppe: su·maʔ

![glyph]  'to share, to serve'
Phedāppe: ha·maʔ

*sa-i*  ![script] eg.  ![glyph]  'to enter'
Phedāppe: la·tmaʔ

![glyph]  'sobbing'

The *mukphrèn* is certainly not originally an innovation of Subba's, for it appears in the Limbu title of *Cemjoń*'s dictionary (2010) for the glottal stop in the word *mikphuʔlā* 'English'. The dictionary also has a Nepali title and is itself written in *devanāgarī* script. *Cemjoń* does not explain this diacritic in his brief discussion on the Kiranti script.

The *kemphrèn* and *sa-i* can also probably not be ascribed to B.B. Subba, although he is the first to explain their use of these diacritics and the first to use them in publications in the Limbu language. Subba also uses Kiranti decimal-based numerals, which are probably of his own creation, in page numbering as early as 1976. These are:

| ৬ | ∧ | S | X | ৪ | ৎ | ৪ | √ | ৸ | O |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 0 |

In 1983, *J. Mäden* published an instruction booklet on the Kiranti script and numerals. The numerals he presents are those of Subba (1976), but the script is a *mélange* of the symbols we find in *Cemjoṅ* (2010) and Subba (1979). However, he omits the *kemphrèṅ*, *mukphrèṅ* and *sa-i* and adds two innovations of his own, an orthographic variant of the *ch*-grapheme and a Kiranti question mark:


 च्

ch       ?

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Desmond C. Derbyshire and Geoffrey K. Pullum (Eds.)

# Handbook of Amazonian Languages

Volume 1

This book brings together a body of descriptive and theoretical work on a group of languages virtually absent from current linguistic discussion. The languages of the Amazonian region have been so little documented — particularly in respect of their grammatical structures — that even wide-ranging comparative and typological studies often fail to take account of them. Yet this group contains much interesting typological diversity and sometimes presents unique structural characteristics, not attested in other areas of the world. Contents comprise: An extended chapter by the editors on the general linguistic and cultural background of Amazonia; four descriptive studies (on Apalai, Canela-Krao, Pirahã, and Urubú) dealing with four distinct language families; two studies of constituent order properties of a previously unattested type in two further Amazonian languages; and two survey chapters on comparative morphology and syntax within Arawakan, one dealing with eight Brazilian languages and the other covering eight languages of Peruvian Amazonia.
Two further volumes, which will contain more sketches and comparative studies, are in preparation.


Gunter Senft

# Kilivila · The Language of the Trobriand Islanders

Kilivila is an Austronesian language spoken on the Trobriand Islands, in Milne Bay Province. Bronislaw Malinowski's ethnographic work on the Trobriand Islands and their inhabitants has made them well known, even outside of the field of anthropology.
Kilivila is of particular interest to typologists and linguists in general, since it is one of the few languages with verb-object-subject word order. In addition to the unusual word order in Kilivila, the language shows a very sophisticated and possibly unique system of noun classifiers or "classificatory particles".
Although the main emphasis of the grammar is on Kilivila morphology and syntax, where main chapters deal with grammar, word classes and aspects of inflectional morphology as well as the language on the sentence level, phonology as well as style are presented.
Three sample texts with syntactic analysis and a basic Kilivila-English/English-Kilivila Dictionary are included.