

**A DESCRIPTIVE GRAMMAR OF TWO MAGAR DIALECTS OF NEPAL:**

**TANAHU AND SYANGJA MAGAR**

**VOL. I**

**by**

**Karen A. Grunow-Hårsta**

**A Dissertation Submitted in**

**Partial Fulfillment of the**

**Requirements for the Degree of**

**Doctor of Philosophy**

**in English**

**at**

**The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee**

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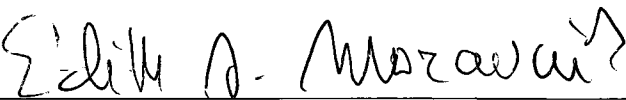
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**The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 2008**

**Under the Supervision of Edith Moravcsik**

**ABSTRACT**

The dissertation comprises a detailed grammatical description and comparison of two dialects of Magar: Tanahu and Syangja; both are spoken in west-central Nepal. Magar is an endangered Himalayish language, belonging to the Bodic branch of the Tibeto-Burman language family. The dialects represent two distinct branches of Magar: eastern and western. The dissertation is systematic and comprehensive in scope. Its purpose is to provide a record of a language for which, previously, there has existed no adequate description and for which the opportunity to gather data is quickly disappearing. The data presented in the dissertation is a record of primary research carried out in Nepal in 1998, 2006 and 2008.

The dissertation commences with a demographic and socio-cultural description of the Magar people, their history, and the language's state of endangerment; as well it provides a typological sketch which places Magar into the linguistic context of the Nepal Himalaya. Chapters two to fourteen document primary data and analyze it in order to yield the generalizations that govern the language. The chapters progress from smaller to larger linguistic elements, proceeding from phonology to morphology to syntax, with chapters thirteen and fourteen analyzing larger portions of discourse. The dissertation concludes with a selection of texts from each dialect.

The grammar highlights divergence between the Magar variants, specifically with respect to their phonological inventories, nominal case-marking systems, and subject-verb agreement marking as well as valence-marking patterns. This divergence is discussed in terms of language contact and of Magar's own historical development.

In the course of the description and analysis, significant features (i.e. those which relate or distinguish Magar from areally and genetically related languages) are foregrounded. Among these features are phonation register, dative case-marking of primary-objects and experiencers, the processes and functions of



nominalization, the processes and functions of grammaticalization, and the expression of evidentiality.

It is intended that the grammar should be of use to scholars in a variety of subdisciplines of linguistics, including those interested in Kham-Magar languages, those interested in Himalayish languages, those interested in comparative Tibeto-Burman, typologists, and those interested in contact linguistics.

*Edith A. Muehleisen*

*7/2/09*

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Major Professor

Date

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*For Johan, Nickolas and Hanna*

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## Abbreviations

A	agent of a transitive clause
ABL	ablative
ABS	absolutive
ADJ	adjective
ADS	adessive
AP	adjective phrase
ASC	associative
ATT	attributive
CAUS	causative
CFRM	confirmation particle
CIR	circumlative
CLASS	classifier
CNFM	confirmation particle
COM	comitative
COND	conditional
COP	copula
COR	correlative
DCAUS	direct causative
D.DEM	distal demonstrative
DAT	dative
DEF	definite
DL	dual
DTR	detransitivizer
EMPH	emphatic marker
ERG	ergative
EXCLM	exclamation
FAM	familiar
FEM	female
FOC	focus
GEN	genitive
HAB	habitual
HON	honorific
HOR	hortative
H.NUM	human numeric classifier
IMP	imperative
IMPF	imperfective
INDEF	indefinite
IN	intensifier
INFR	inferential
INST	instrumental
INTRG	interrogative
IRR	irrealis
ITR	intransitive

LAT	lative
LOC	locative
LN	loan word
MD	middle
MIR	mirative
ML	male
MOD	modifier
MIR	mirative
N	noun
N.H.NUM	non-human numeric classifier
N.HORT	Nepali hortative
NP	noun phrase
NEG	negative
NOM	nominalizer
NUM	number
O	object
ONO	onomatopoeia
OPT	optative
ORD	ordinal number
o.s.	oneself
P.DEM	proximal demonstrative
PART	particle
PL	plural
POSS	inherent possession
PRO	pronominal
PST	past
PTB	Proto-Tibeto-Burman
QUAL	qualifier
QUANT	quantifier
Q.PART	question particle
R.DEM	remote demonstrative
REFL	reflexive
REP	reportative
S	subject of a transitive clause
SEQ	sequential converb
SIM	simultaneous converb
s.th.	something
SUP	superessive
TAG	tag question
TR	transitive
V	intransitive verbalizer
VP	verb phrase
1PRO	first person pronominal
2PRO	second person pronominal
3PRO	third person pronominal



1HON	first person honorific
2HON	second person honorific
3HON	third person honorific
1S	first person singular
1P	first person plural
2S	second person singular
2P	second person plural
3S	third person singular
Ø	zero marked
(N)	Nepali
(NW)	Nawalparasi
(T)	Tanahu dialect
(S)	Syangja dialect

## 1 General introduction

### 1.1 Goals of the dissertation

The goal of this dissertation is to provide a comprehensive descriptive record of two dialects of Magar: Tanahu and Syangja (see figure 1.1). Magar is an endangered language belonging to the Bodic branch of Tibeto-Burman; and is spoken primarily in Nepal.



**Figure 1.1 Map of Nepal districts with Syangja and Tanahu highlighted**

The goal of the grammar is to provide a lasting and accessible record of a threatened language; one which will be a valuable resource to linguists of diverse theoretical persuasions.<sup>1</sup>

### 1.2 Ethnographic and demographic description of the Magar people

The Magars are an indigenous tribe of Nepal. Shepherd describes them as "a Mongolian people who had migrated into Nepal in the predawn of history." (1982:11). He observes that the origin of the Magar people is not preserved in their lore, "Many of the ethnic groups had legends that told how they had come to Nepal from Tibet or some other

<sup>1</sup> As a descriptive record, this grammar is language-driven and guided by general linguistic theory, rather than being theory driven; in other words, it espouses no specific theoretical stand-point.

country, but not the Magars. For them at least, history simply began and ended in Nepal" (1982:11). My own enquires have confirmed this belief; Magars consider themselves to be autochthonous to Nepal. However, interest in their culture and a need to authenticate their ethnic identity has led some Magars to create a history and culture for their people; for example, there are newly-spun fables of their origin<sup>2</sup>; and a newly created script called Akkha Lipi<sup>3</sup> and numerical system (M.S. Thapa 2002) (see §8.1.1) as well as numerous neologisms<sup>4</sup>

That little is known of Magar origins is not surprising given how little is known of the origins of Tibeto-Burman people and most particularly the language family as a whole. This paucity of historical certainty is due to a number of factors, among them the time-depth of Sino-Tibetan, to which Tibeto-Burman belongs, which is estimated at c. 8500 years, as compared to c. 5500 years for Indo-Aryan. Research, both linguistic and archaeological, is at a pioneering stage. For example, Tibeto-Burman historical phonology is not fully understood and dates for the few known sound shifts, and major splits in the Tibeto-Burman tree can only be putatively assigned (van Driem 1999). In

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<sup>2</sup> The following is an account from *Tribal Ethnography of Nepal Volume-II*, by Dr. Rajesh Gautam and Asoke K. Thapa Magar. 'The origin of the Magar of the Bara Magarant is that in the land known as Seem there lived a tribe of people. There were two brothers named See Magar and chintoo Magar who began to have differences thus while one stayed back the other headed south and after a series of migrations reached the place called Kangwachen. This is in southern Sikkim...whose northern end lived the Bhotia people while at the bottom or southern end settled these Magar immigrants. As the years passed the Magars became very powerful and made the northern Bhotia their vassals. At this time the Magar king named Sintoo Sati Sheng (shang) ruled in a very despotic manner and the northern bhotia conspired and assassinated him. Later on the queen of this king took revenge and poisoned 1000 Bhotia people at a place called Tong Song Fong meaning where a thousand were murdered. But later son (sic) the Bhotia won and so the Magar had to again migrate further south and from there they moved in all directions among which one froup (sic) migrated to Simraogadh. They are believed to have moved towards the Bara Magarnt area of Palpa, Gulmi, Dhor, Gherung, etc. one group moved towards the Okhaldhunga region and another group seems to have returned to the east. No dates are given.'

<sup>3</sup> This script is largely the work of M.S. Thapa.

<sup>4</sup> An example is the term *wahpafi* for 'teacher' a neologism derived from *warfi-pafi* 'knowledge-seek'. This term is employed by a very small group of individuals intent on purifying the language. The commonly used term for teacher is *master*.

addition, there have been numerous large and ancient population movements (van Driem 1999, LaPolla 2001), resulting in complex language contact situations (LaPolla 2001), which have obscured relationships between languages and peoples. Moreover, there are divergent analyses of core linguistic features resulting in disparate reconstructions of the Tibeto-Burman languages. Among these disputed features are: verb agreement patterns, case marking systems and tone. In each case, the issue is whether or not the feature should be reconstructed for the proto-language. On the one hand, scholars such as DeLancey (1988, 1989, 1992), van Driem (1990, 1991, 1995 and 1999) and Watters (2002) regard shared features to be a result of genetic relation; whereas others, such as Thurgood, (1984) and LaPolla (1992, 1994), regard shared features to be a result of language contact, diffusion and drift. The result of these factors: time-depth, population movements and language contact, as well as differing reconstructions, is that the origins of the people and their proto-languages are unclear and uncertain. As Matisoff observes (1999:1), "...even higher-order sub-groupings are up for grabs".

Though it is difficult to determine the inter-relationships of languages and peoples, and to re-trace the historic development of the Tibeto-Burmans, it is generally agreed that there is a genetic link between Sinitic languages (the Chinese dialects) and Tibeto-Burman languages. This link is based on cognates and reconstructed shared derivational morphology (Benedict 1972, Matisoff 1978 and 2003, Baxter 1995, LaPolla 1994) and, as van Driem (1999) and DeLancey (1989) demonstrate, on evidence of archaic pronominal agreement. There is consensus that the Tibeto-Burmans originated in China and are descendents of Sino-Tibetans who occupied the Yellow River basin in the time of the Neolithic Yang-shao culture at least 7500-5000 years ago. This group then

moved westward to eastern Gansu and manifested itself as the Late Neolithic Mǎjǐāyǎo culture (van Driem 1999:77). Later, Gansu became the departure point for major migrations of peoples who would become the Tibeto-Burmans. Van Driem (1999: 80) observes that these migration routes provide "an explanation both for the fact that Tibeto-Burmans inhabit both sides of the Himalayas, the greatest natural land barrier on earth, and for the close genetic relationship which exists between the geographically distant Tibeto-Burman groups Sinitic and Bodic."

According to van Driem (1999: 76-84), the Tibeto-Burman people eventually entered Nepal via two routes of dissemination. LaPolla (2001: 227) concurs that there were two major population movements and proposes that one migration went west to Tibet and thence south into Nepal and a second migration followed the river valleys of the Tibetan plateau, along the eastern edge of the Himalayas, southwest into Burma and from there into Northern India and Nepal (2003:30). Van Driem bases his proposed emigration routes on linguistic and archaeological evidence, specifically remnants of material culture in the form of Neolithic tools: shouldered celts (axes), faceted stone axes and cord-marked greyware. According to van Driem (1999: 77, 2001: 421-422) the initial migration took a northern course and moved westward along major inner Asian trade routes across the Himalayas. One migration continued, through the Karakorum, as far west as Kashmir and Swat and subsequently went eastward along the northern flank of the Himalayas and from there, southward, through the Himalayas, into Nepal. This migration brought the forebears of what Watters (2003) has called the Trans-Himalayish group, which includes Kanauri and Almora (West Himalayish) and Thakali, Gurung, Tamang (Tamangic) and the Tibetic languages of Nepali (Bodish).

Another migration, split from the original westward movement and went southward into the Eastern Himalayas through eastern Tibet and into south-eastern Tibet, Bhutan and Sikkim. Offshoots of this same southward migration (van Driem 2001:430) "crossed the Himalayan divide, perhaps via the Chumbi valley into Sikkim or at points further east where the crossing is easier to negotiate. Subsequently the ancient Mahakiranti and associated population groups moved westward along the southern flank of the Himalayas as far as central Nepal." This group, called Sub-Himalayish by Watters (2003) includes Magar, Kham, Chepang, Vayu and Kiranti. Of these two migrations, Van Driem (2001:432) summarizes:

A principal difference between the westward radiation of Mahakiranti, Magaric and related groups and the eastward radiation of Bodish, West Himalayish and Tamangic is that the eastward radiation moved along the Tibetan plateau and the northern flank of the Himalayas crossing over to the southern flank where the topography permitted, whilst the Mahakiranti and Magaric westward radiation moved primarily along the southern flank and did not cover a great distance.

According to Bista (1982, 1987), and in keeping with popular history, the kingdoms of the Magars, were known as the *Bara Magarant*, the 'twelve Magar tribes', and the *Atha Magarant* 'eighteen Magar tribes'. The latter group includes the so-called Northern Magars (among them, the Kham, Kaike, Raute, Raji and Puns). The former refers to those clans who speak (or did speak) *Magarkura* 'Magar language'. These clans were situated in the area that corresponds to what are today the Karnali and Gandaki regions (see figure 1.2). The Palpa district, still predominantly Magar today, is thought to be the historic and geographic centre of the Magar kingdom (Bista 1982, Unesco 2008). However, as Vansittart recounts, "Since the rise of the house of Gurkha, towards the close of the eighteenth century, the country has been re-divided, and the twelve districts

no long exist as such, and the term 'Bara Mangranth Magar' has no significance now and is therefore falling into disuse." (1894:230).<sup>5</sup>

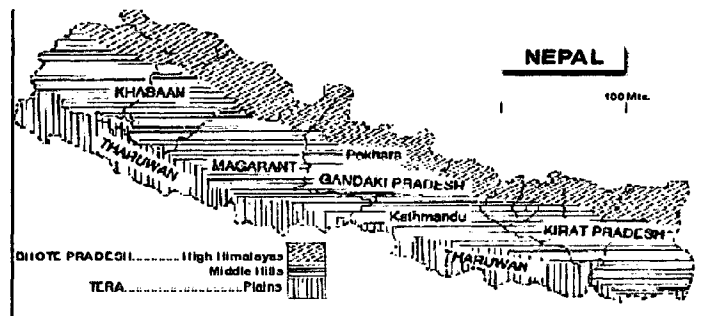


Figure 1.2 Traditional ethnic-based regional areas of Nepal (from Bista 1994)

### 1.3 Geographic location of the Magars

Nepal is divided into four zones by elevation: i. mountains, ii. temperate 'hill' zone (the steep foothills of the Himalaya rising to 10,000 ft.), iii. subtropical Terai and iv. inner Terai. The Terai is the belt of jungle between the Himalayan foothills and the plains, originally marshy, malarial and largely uninhabitable, it is has been drained and is becoming an agricultural zone. Today, Magars live primarily in the Himalayan foothills of west-central Nepal in the Tanahu, Syangja and Gorkha districts of the Ghandaki administrative zone and in the Nawalparasi and Palpa districts of the Lumbini zone. Indigenous peoples calling themselves Magars are also found in the Rapti zone in Rolpa, Rukum and Pyutan districts and well as in the Dhaulagiri zone in Baglung, Kaski, and Mygadi districts. However, these groups are likely not Magars proper, but are members of others ethnic groups such as the Kham or Kaike (see §1.3.4 for further discussion).

<sup>5</sup> Currently, there are proposals to reintroduce this term. Significantly, the newly-proposed Magarant region is to be situated to the west of the historic region and does not include the Syangja or Tanahu. Rather it would include those areas now populated by speakers of Kham, Kaike, Raute, and Raji.

Many Magars have immigrated to India, Sikkim, Assam, Nagaland, and Bhaksu as a consequence of their service as Gurkha warriors in the Indian and British armies.

Magars have also immigrated in considerable numbers to Bhutan and Burma as labourers and have settled there. Within Nepal, there has recently been considerable relocation of Magars, as of other indigenous peoples, to the economic centre of Kathmandu, as well as to the towns of the Terai which border India.

### 1.3.1 Magar variants

There are two major linguistic variants of Magar, which I will refer to simply as eastern and western<sup>6</sup>. Though they are mutually intelligible and felt by speakers to represent variants of a single language, they are geographically separated and structurally distinct. Most conspicuous among the distinctions is the presence, in western dialects, of subject-indexing on the verb, or, as it has been called by Tibeto-Burmanists, 'pronominalization'.<sup>7</sup> It is present in Syangja and Palpa dialects, but absent in Tanahu, Nawalparasi and Gorkha dialects. In addition, differences in sound systems and valence marking have been recorded for Syangja and Tanahu.

Eastern Magars are the main ethnic groups of the Tanahu and Gorkha (Ghandaki Zone) and Nawalparasi (Lumbini zone) districts. Western Magars are mainly found in Syangja (Ghandaki zone) and south of this in Palpa (Lumbini zone) districts. Groups calling themselves Magar are found in the Baglung and Myagdi districts of the Dhaulagiri

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<sup>6</sup> The SILethnologue sites to two dialects 'eastern' (referring to those in the far east of Nepal toward Sikkim) and 'western' referring to those west of Kathmandu. This division is purely geographical and not based on linguistic differences.

<sup>7</sup> The marking of person, number and status agreement on the verb, has, has been called 'pronominalization' by scholars of TB languages since early scholars Grierson 1909: 179 and 276) and Hodgson (1857:116, 1880: 105) employed this term.



zone of Nepal. As noted, the affiliation of these clans to Magars is not certain and they do not speak Magar. This is discussed further in §1.3.4.

Eastern Magars live in villages strung along steep slopes. They are primarily agriculturists, producing millet, rice and wheat. What is grown depends on altitude; where possible, they grow rice; at higher altitudes, other grains are substituted, most often millet, though at all altitudes a variety of grains are grown to avert disaster in case of crop failure and to ensure available and fresh food in all seasons. Western Magars are also generally agriculturists and likewise grow a variety of crops; however the Magars of Syangja, in recent years, have largely given up millet production for rice. Western Magars are also permanent pastoralists. As noted, many Magars, both western and eastern, have left their villages to find employment in Kathmandu, Pokhara, the Terai and abroad.

The Tanahu and Syangja villages differ in their physical organization. Tanahu villages are smaller and homes are closer together, due to the terrain; being, as they are, perched in the steep foothills. Terraced fields are arranged on the slopes<sup>8</sup> usually below their homes (Figure 1.3). In the Syangja region, the villages are built on lower foothills and in the river valleys. Villages are larger and more spread out and the homes are situated near the fields (Figure 1.4).

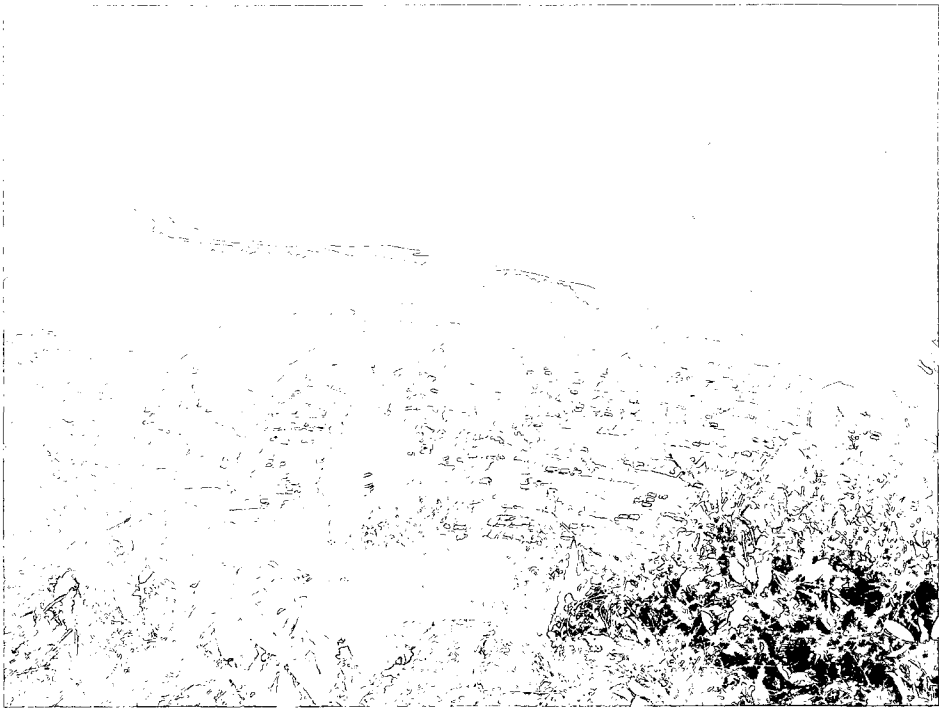
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<sup>8</sup> Shepherd (1982:68) writes that Yanchok Magars believe that the gods will not bless a village whose fields are higher than its homes.

**Figure 1.3 Tanahu village and landscape**



**Figure 1.4 Syangja village and landscape**



The architectural style of the houses also differs between the east and west. The Tanahu houses are rectangular with two, and sometimes three, storeys and built of stone and wood frame, plastered in clay, and have slate or metal roofs. A covered veranda typically runs the length of the second floor. The first floor typically has a kitchen with fire-pit and a common room. Floors are earthen. In three storey constructions, the second floor is a sleeping area; above this is an attic, which serves as a granary. The walls are plastered and on the facade geometric patterns may be painted. Homes usually have an adjacent courtyard and kitchen garden as well as out-buildings (Figure 1.5).

**Figure 1.5 Tanahu frame, stone and stucco house**



In the Syangja villages, there are also larger wood-framed stone homes as in Tanahu, but here one also finds characteristic oval dwellings of one or two low stories (approximately seven foot storey height). These are built of clay-plastered stone and have a thatched roof and covered veranda along the front part of the curved wall. The

homes are entered by low doorways off the veranda; inside a cooking pit is situated in the middle of a common room with earthen floors. Sleeping areas are around the edges of the room, or in a loft (Figure 1.6).

**Figure 1.6 Traditional Syangja stone and stucco round house**



### 1.3.2 Social organization

According to Bista (1991: 66), the traditional social and spiritual leader of Magars was called the *bhusal*, who presided over the *bheja*, an informal body of elders who oversaw religious and social practices as well as festivals. They were also responsible for reforms in customs, they managed resources, and settled cases and disputes. Now, political administration in Magar villages is, as it is in all districts of Nepal, run by the *gaun bikas samiti* or 'Village Development Committee' (VDC), which replaced the earlier *panchayats* (the 'partyless' system of councils established by King Mahendra on December 16, 1962

as a result of his dissolution of parliament and ban on the political parties system<sup>9</sup>). Officers of VDC are to be appointed by the Ministry of Local Development and are responsible to the District Development Committees (DDCs). All VDCs are divided into nine wards; every ward has a committee made up of the five elected members, one of whom should be a woman. Ward councils meet bi-annually to approve or question VDC policies, programs and budgets (Friedrich-Ebert Stiftung (FES), 2002). However, given the political turbulence in Nepal, with frequent changes in government and outbreaks of violence from resistance movements, VDCs and ward councils find themselves largely powerless and unable to govern.

### 1.3.3 Religious practices

According to the 2001 census, 74.6% of ethnic Magar were Hindus and 24.47% were Buddhists. Gurung (2003) observed that many Magars had recently adopted Buddhism as a rejection of state endorsed Hinduism; my observations concur. Earliest Magar religious practices, like those of most ethnics of Nepal, were a combination of Shamanism and Animism, which later, under the influence of the Indosphere, became a heterogeneous admixture of these and Hinduism. For example, Magars have incorporated older animist traditions of live animal sacrifice into their celebration of Dasain, an adopted Hindu festival. The rites include slaying a boar and a young goat (the meat of both is divided up among the villagers) and the ritual 'slayings' of symbolic 'animals' made up of gourds on stick 'legs'. Hitchcock (1966:25-34) observed that Magars worship the gods of dead ancestors. Stone shrines to ancestors can still be found

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<sup>9</sup> A pyramidal structure progressing from village assemblies to a Rastriya Panchayat (National Parliament), the panchayat system protected the absolute power of the monarchy and kept the King as head of state with sole authority over all governmental institutions, including the Cabinet of Ministers and the Parliament.

in Tanahu (Figure 6). Hitchcock noted also that Magars buried their dead. This practice has now given way to the Hindu rite of cremation.

**Figure 1.7 Ancestor shrine, Tanahu district**



According to Vansittart (1894: 224), Magars do not consume pork. But, in fact, they do, though it is not a common practice among most castes and ethnic groups in Nepal, the Magars and the Rais are an exception. Other Hindu dietary prohibitions, such as abstaining from beef and buffalo, are observed by most, but not all Magars. I also observed that there was no prohibition against eating with foreigners. Shepherd (1982:22), however, observed that Yanchok Magars did not eat with foreigners, who are

considered to be untouchable.<sup>10</sup> Magars are of an alcohol drinking caste (higher Hindu castes abstain); they consume *han*, a millet beer and its distillate *raksi*.

An important spiritual figure in the Magar village is the *jhankari* 'shaman' who could be called upon to bless, curse or to make sacrifices to the gods and is consulted for divination and healing, and to mix and administer cures. In addition to the shamans, who are traditionally male, there are witches known as *ledhan* who are almost exclusively female. Witches are usually members of the community who are believed to have been possessed by a demon, a *mechonda*. They are considered capable of hexing others; thus are appeased by gifts which they frequently demand.<sup>11</sup>

Vansittart (1894:241) observed that "A Magar will not allow his daughter to marry into the clan which he may himself have taken a wife from... (nor will they)...take wives from the clan they may belong to themselves." My observations were quite different: both eastern and western Magars have traditionally practiced, and still practice, matrilineal cross-cousin endogamy, that is, the marriage of sons to the maternal uncle's daughters. The opposite arrangement, the marriage of a son to a maternal sister's daughter is forbidden. Elopement, though not condoned, was also commonly practiced, as were 'capture-marriages' in which young men would kidnap their wives (Ahearn 2004). Polygyny, the taking of more than one wife, is still practiced, but is becoming less common. The maternal uncle, *kuba*, plays a very important role in family life particularly in the raising of his sister's sons, as they will become the husbands of his daughters.

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<sup>10</sup> Shepherd (1982:22) observed that 50% of those living in Yanchok Village were Brahmins who heavily influenced the Magars, who consequently observed many of their religious and dietary laws, which prohibit eating beef and buffalo meat as well as eating with untouchable foreigners.

<sup>11</sup> Shepherd recounted experiences with a local witch in the village of Arkhala (1982:57).

#### 1.3.4 The ethnonym Magar

Uncertainty surrounds the name Magar (sometimes *Mangar*, *Mangari*, or *Magari*)<sup>12</sup>. The ethnonym is said to derive from their aboriginal centre: *Magarant* (sometimes *Managarat* or *Mangavara*). Pradhan (1991:36) cites a copper plate from 1110 A.D., which bears an inscription identified as an early form of Magar that refers to an ancient province known as *Mangavara*. The people of this region were called *Mangar*, which then simplified to *Magar*. Pradhan claims that the name *Mangavara* may be derived from *Mongol*.

In order to explain the oft-confusing use of the caste name Magar by non-Magars, and speaking specifically the Kham people, Watters (1998:15) proposes there is a remote possibility that the names *Mangar* and *Magar* may have different etyma; specifically, that the former would derive from *Mangrath* and the latter from the Old Tibetan word *mgar-ba* meaning 'blacksmith'. The term *mgar-ba* would be used of the northern tribes, such as the Kham, who worked as miners and metal workers and called themselves Magar, but their language Kham, and are now known as Kham-Magar<sup>13</sup>. *Mangar* would have referred to Magars-proper. The two names, however, eventually became interchangeable and *Mangar* fell into disuse, thus creating a conflation of tribal names referring to different peoples speaking different languages and of different origin.<sup>14</sup> Shepherd (1982:11), records that "...various ethnic groups would take on the same name...there were at least five different groups who spoke five different languages, yet each claimed to be Magars!"

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<sup>12</sup> Efforts have been made to link Magars of Nepal to Magyars of Hungary as is done Harsa Bahadur Budha Magar, 1994. An Hungarian scholar, Andrea Csepe, also researched this connection.

<sup>13</sup> Watters, in 1973, coined the term Kham-Magar to refer to this group in order to avoid ambiguity with the Magars who speak Magar. According to Watters (personal communication), nowadays Kham are beginning to use the name themselves for the same reasons.

<sup>14</sup> Watters (36th international conference on Sino-Tibetan languages) notes that despite not being 'proper' Magars the Kham people are entrenched in their caste identity as Magars.



Among those ethnic groups who have taken the Magar name are: the Kham, the Kaike, the Kusunda, the Raute, the Raji and the Chantyal.<sup>15</sup> Noonan (2007) describes the circumstances which have encouraged the adoption of the ethnonym by unrelated tribes. He observes that in Nepal ethnicity and language are not necessarily linked, and that "The language one speaks may not be a determinant of, or even a major component of, one's ethnic identity." (2007:163); furthermore, he observes that the idea of ethnicity, its politicalization, and the rise of ethnic consciousness, is a modern phenomenon. Nepal, particularly western and west-central Nepal, where Magars and their neighbours are found, has been very slow to develop economically, socially and ideologically. The notion of ethnicity, to which one's own language is central, is a new concept and one whose development has had to compete with more pressing social and economic problems.

There have also been historic and pragmatic reasons for assuming the Magar name. Appropriation of the ethnonym has traditionally been an attractive and profitable recourse. According to Hitchcock (1965), during periods of history when Magars were a dominant political force in mid-western Nepal, other tribes have affiliated themselves with the caste. Hitchcock described this process as (1965:214) 'Magarization'. It would have occurred, for example, in the tenth century when southern Magars, united under

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<sup>15</sup> Confusion about who are Magars is perpetuated by such organizations as the Magar Studies Center (<http://www.magarstudiescenter.org/research.htm>) who state that "Magars speak Khas, Nepali, Kham in Rukum and Rolpa, Tarali or Kaike language in Dolpa of North-Western part of Nepal" B.K. Rana in a note to the "Foundation for Endangered Languages" (<http://www.ogmios.org/173.htm>) writes that the "Ethnologue survey of language in Nepal has painstakingly dug out more numbers of languages than they actually are, offering independent nomenclature of languages in the country...the report presents Tarali Kham known as Kaike, Kham Gamale, Kham Maikoti, Kham Nishi, Kham Sheshi and Kham Takale as different languages of the area which should also have been introduced as Magar Language of the Karnali area." D. Watters' (2003) comprehensive Grammar of Kham demonstrates that Kham dialects are distinct language from Magar.

Mukunda Sen, were powerful enough to sack the capital in the Kathmandu valley. As well, in the mid-fifteenth century, Rudra Sen, (though not a Magar) ruled the extensive and powerful principality of Parbat from the centre of Magar power as the king of Palpa. And in modern history, Magars were among the indigenous groups employed by the British and Indian armies, thus had the possibility of a coveted military career. As Hitchcock (1965:208), observed, "...hillmen, in attempting to meet the known British preference for some tribes, falsified their own tribal and sub-tribal affiliation." The Magar tribes were awarded special status for service during the consolidation of Nepal under the Gorkha king Prithivi Narayn Shah in 1768. Magars, Khas, and Gurungs fought as warriors of the Gorkha kings and became collectively known as *Gurkha* or *Ghorkali*.<sup>16</sup> Magars, and other *Ghorkali*, received elevated status within the caste system as decreed in the *Muluki Ain*, which is the first national code of Nepal, formalized in 1854 during the Shah Rana period, by Jung Bahadur Rana. Magars' excellence and fearlessness in battle won them a strong reputation and they were later sought out by British and Indian armies to serve as the Gurkha mercenaries (Vansittart 1894).

The *Muluki Ain*, is a hybrid of Hindu caste (*varna*) and ethnicity (*janajati*).<sup>17</sup> It divides society into two ranges<sup>18</sup>, pure (touchable) and impure (untouchable). At the top of the social order are the Bahuns (Brahmins), Chetri, Thakurs and Newari Brahmins, all are practitioners of Hinduism and all are *Tagadhari*, 'wearers of the sacred thread', symbolizing their pure and 'twice born' status. Magars, as well as Gurungs, Sunwari, and

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<sup>16</sup> As Vansittart (1894:216) notes, "The term Gurkha is not limited to any particular class or clan; it is applied to all those whose ancestors inhabited the country of Gurkha", which is situated in the North-east portion of the Gandaki river basin.

<sup>17</sup> For further description see Gurung, 2003 and Bennett, 2003.

<sup>18</sup> The pure are those from whom an upper caste can accept water; the impure are those from whom water cannot be accepted and they are called *pani nachalne*.

the Buddhist Newars of the Kathmandu Valley, fall below these castes; nevertheless, they are considered pure and according to the *Muluki Ain* are officially 'un-enslavable alcohol-drinkers'. Below this caste are enslavable alcohol-drinkers, which include Bhote, Tamang, Chepang, Gharti, Hayu, Kumal, Tharu, Kham, Kaike, Kusunda, Raute, Raji and Chantyal. Beneath these are the impure, either touchable or untouchable. Among the impure touchables are: the Dhobi, Kasai, Kusale, Kulu, Muslims and foreigners. At the lowest level we find the untouchables: *Badi, Damai, Gaine, Kadar, Saki and Kami*.

The elevated position of the Magars within in the caste system was, and is, a status adopted in name by non-Magars. As Noonan (2007:168) notes, non-Magar tribes who adopted the ethnonym were those which were "too small or remote to have been classified in the *Muluki Ain*". Thus, Noonan (2007:168) observes, "These people *had license* to call themselves Magars because until recently there was little sense of a larger Magar ethnicity and hence no core Magar community which could challenge these claims." Adoption of the name 'Magar' by other ethnic groups persists despite a growing sense of ethnic identity. This fact has obviously complicated the identification of the Magar people. It has also made population estimates suspect and difficult to ascertain.

### 1.3.5 Population figures

According to the 2001 census of Nepal<sup>19</sup>, there were 1,622,421 ethnic Magars, but only 770,116 claimed Magar as their mother tongue. Given these numbers, Magars would represent 7.14% of Nepal's population and be the largest indigenous ethnic group in the country. These numbers, however, are questionable. As Watters (2003) notes, considerable confusion still prevails in Nepal about who is a Magar and what language

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<sup>19</sup> Central Bureau of Statistics, 2002. Population of Nepal: population census 2001, in Mark Turin, 2004.

they speak. He observed from the 2001 national census that the Kham people, with a population of 50,000, were subsumed under the ethnic and linguistic group of Magar. Smaller tribes of lower caste such as the Kaike and Bhujeli were undoubtedly also incorrectly identified as Magars. In addition, early scholarship also displays considerable uncertainty. A primary source of early data are the records of officers of the British Indian army. Hodgson (cited in Vansittart 1894:229) limits 'Magars proper' to only the Ale, Rana and Thapa clans; stating that only these speak *Magardhut* or *Magarkura*, i.e. the Magar language. Vansittart, however, claimed (1894: 229) that the Magars comprise six tribes: Alle (Ale), Burathoki, Gharti, Pun, Rana and Thapa. Gibbs (1944) concurs with Vansittart and includes all six clans, noting also that these clans intermarry. Hitchcock (1965:208), on the other hand, observes that intermarriage between tribes, for example the Rana and Ghartis, may be a product of the special circumstances of military service and would not occur in the hills; whereas marriage between Roka and Gharti and Pun clans would. Hitchcock also observes (1965:209) that the Bura (Burathoki) do not speak Magar, but speak '*Kamkura*' (Kham). Noonan has identified a Burathoki clan which speaks Chantyal<sup>20</sup>. Northey and Morris (1928:189) include only the Rana, Thapa and Ale clans among Magars proper. Reporting on the Northern Magars, which include: the Puns, Budhas, Ghartis and Rokas, they state that these tribes, "have languages of their own, which differ slightly from valley to valley. These languages have no affinity with *Magarkura*, and this fact alone is evidence to prove that they originally came from different stock from the Magars proper". Hitchcock concurs, that the northern tribes who call themselves 'Magars' and who have not replaced their original language with Nepali

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<sup>20</sup> Personal communication, June 2008.

speak *Kamkura*. Hitchcock (1965: 212) considers the southern Magars (those south of the demarcation line which runs in an arc from Beni to Bhurtibang) to be distinct from the northern and says that the two represent two different streams of immigration.

Watters (2002:9) also considers the northern Magar clans to be Kham, not Magar; he observes that they are separated, both linguistically and geographically, by several days walk. However, determining the nature and origins of ethnicity is complex especially when clans consider themselves to be Magar and may engage in inter-clan marriages; as for example is the case of the Puns living in the Myagdi and Baglung districts, who freely marry into the Ale, Rana and Thapa tribes.

In sum, clans who are not Magars, because of the promise of social prestige and prosperity and because of long-shared, common culture and the perception that they are Magars, have been included in government statistics pertaining to Magars, unrealistically elevating the population estimates.

The Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) Ethnologue (Grimes, 1996) has recorded much lower numbers for Magars than the Nepali census, in fact less than half, a total of 498,383, with 288,383 in the eastern group, and 210,000 in the western. In addition, 1,136 Magars were recorded as living in India, Sikkim and Bhutan.

#### **1.4 Magar language endangerment**

Even given lower population estimates than the official census, Magars are still a sizable ethnic group within Nepal. Nevertheless, Magar is an endangered language because the viability of a language depends not on the total number of speakers, but on the number of children learning and using the language. Magar language has seen rapid decline. In 1961, according to the SIL Ethnologue Magar-Nepali bilingualism was quite low: among

the 70% to 80% who were educated, there was only basic proficiency in Nepali. In 1998, within the villages of Alamdevi in Syangja and Harkapur in Tanahu where I conducted my research, I found that all Magar adults and children, except the very old and very young, were fluently bilingual Magar-Nepali speakers. This was again confirmed in 2006.

Gurung (2003) reported that in 1991 that Magar had a mother-tongue retention rate of 32.1%. The reported retention rate had improved to 47.5% by 2001; however, as will be discussed, this seeming improvement is deceptive. The Magar language is still in sharp decline and, of the languages noted by Gurung, it has third-lowest retention, as seen in Table 1.1.

**Table 1.1. Mother tongue retention rate, in percent (from Gurung 2003)**

Ethnic Group	1991	2001	Ethnic Group	1991	2001
1. Rajbansi	104.1	135.2	11. Chepang	68.5	70.5
2. Raji	90.4	100.0	12. Darai	60.0	68.7
3. Limbu	64.0	92.9	13. Newar	66.2	66.3
4. Jirel	86.5	92.5	14. Gurung	50.7	62.4
5. Tamang	88.8	92.0	15. Danuwar	46.7	59.8
6. Dhimal	89.5	88.6	16. Thakali	51.8	49.6
7. Tharu	83.2	86.8	17. Magar	32.1	47.5
8. Dhami	75.4	82.6	18. Majhi	20.6	30.1
9. Rai/Kirant	83.6	75.3	19. Kumal	1.8	6.6
10. Bhote/Sherpa	99.1	77.6			

The apparent increase in the Magar language retention rate is part of a statistically misleading overall increase in mother-tongue retention rate by speakers of Tibeto-Burman languages in Nepal. This increased rate does not, in fact, reflect a real or actual increase in the number of speakers. It is a nominal increase, which reflects a shift in ideology from the previous Panchayat era to the post 1990 multi-party era. In the Panchayat era, (1960-1990) the state was focused on building a 'modern' and unified nation, with one culture and one language: Nepali. Ethnicity and caste were regarded as

"backwardness from which Nepal needed to emerge" (Bennett 2003: 9). During this period, linguistic diversity was seen as an obstacle to development and cultural and linguistic unity was prerequisite to building a modern and independent Nepal. The 'new state' was identified with a submersion of differences. By contrast, the Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal written in the year V.S. 2047 (1990), the multi-party era, explicitly describes Nepal as "multi-ethnic, multi-lingual and democratic" and states that all citizens are "equal irrespective of religion, race, gender, caste, tribe or ideology." Article 6 of Part 1 reads, "All indigenous languages spoken as the mother language in various parts of Nepal are national languages." Given this shift in prevalent ideologies, ethnics became more likely to claim their status and their language; thus the apparent increase in numbers of ethnics and speakers of indigenous languages does not represent an actual increase, but rather a new willingness to be counted as a member of an ethnic group<sup>21</sup>. The higher mother-tongue retention rate is a reflection of this ideological paradigm shift and is not an actual higher rate.<sup>22</sup>

The shift in attitude toward ethnic groups and their languages may help to perpetuate ethnic language use, but does not guarantee it. There is growing awareness and activism to preserve Magar culture and the *Magarkura*. The formation of the 'Magar

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<sup>21</sup> Gurung (2003:6) compares present and past population censuses and observes: "The population census of 1952/54 reported 44 languages/dialects in Nepal. Later censuses reported a lesser number of languages to assert the predominance of Nepali. Thus, the number of languages declined to 36 in 1961, 17 in 1971 and 18 in 1981 census. The number of languages/dialects reported increased from 31 in 1991 to 106 in 2001. The 2001 census records an additional 22 Rai, 17 ethnic and 12 other languages/dialects. This represents a veritable Tower of Babel."

<sup>22</sup> This apparent increase in the number and the retention of indigenous languages is paralleled by changes in religious adherence. Hinduism, the state religion, increased by 14.6%, whereas Buddhism increased by 69.7%, and Mundhum, a shamanistic indigenous religion of the Kirant, increased by 157%. Gurung (2003) considers these increases to be a rejection of state Hinduism for their original religious traditions and he sees this as evidence of "ethnics' cultural assertion in Nepal."

Studies Center' and attempts to develop a Magar script attest to the conviction of Magars to preserve their culture. The development of an orthography and script for Magar was much debated at the time of my 1998 fieldwork. Attempts to resurrect a Magar script have been made by Malbar Singh Thapa-Magar, among others, as has a numerical system. But this conviction has not been extended to use of their language. The Magar Center Website is in Nepali and English, and the Nepal Magar association conducts its meetings in Nepali. The adoption of the script and a numerical system has been negligible and the use of Devanagari persists.<sup>23</sup> Indeed, even the Roman alphabet is more commonly used than the proposed Magar script. As Turin (2004:6) observes, "The lexicalization of a language and the development or resurrection of a suitable script or set of orthographical conventions are prerequisite for introducing a language into education as a medium of instruction". Unfortunately, to date, lexicalization of Magar has not been widespread or successful. The most pessimistic indicator of the endangered state of Magar is that, even those very much involved in the Magar cause, do not speak Magar with their children.

The new constitution, following the 1990's peoples' uprising, guaranteed all ethnic groups the right to preserve and promote their languages, scripts and culture and the right to educate their children in their mother language [Article 18]. Before this, indigenous languages had no place in the public sphere; Nepali was exclusively used in government, education and the media<sup>24</sup>. Currently, Magar is one of fifteen ethnic minorities for whom

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<sup>23</sup> Devanagari, as Noonan 2003 explains, cannot accurately represent all the phonemes or the tonal systems of indigenous languages of Nepal. The adoption of Indo-Aryan script for Tibeto-Burman languages will effect how they are preserved in writing. It is possible, for languages in a weakened state, that distinctions, which are not recorded, will be not taught and will be lost.

<sup>24</sup> For a full discussion, see Noonan 2007.



curricula and materials for the primary level have been designed<sup>25</sup>. Four levels of texts entitled *Kanuj Magar* "Our Magar" have been written by Man Bahadur Gaha-Thapa-Magar. This is promising for the Magar language. However, though the texts exist and are on file with the Ministry of Education and Sports (MOES) of the Nepal, there is no funding to support instruction.

As said, an ideological shift, which is prerequisite for language preservation, is taking place in Nepal, but an ideological shift alone is not sufficient. Guaranteed rights to education have not been supported by practical measures. In addition, many ethnics are not aware of their rights. As Bennett (2003:3) observes, "...the equality of access to assets, capabilities and voice which is supposed to accompany the acknowledgment of diversity has still not been delivered in Nepal." The social and economic disparities, based on caste and ethnicity, persist. According to 'Human Development Indicators', most hill ethnics live in poverty (see Table 1.2, and Table A in Appendix 1). Magars rank ninth on a scale of 1 - 14, with 14 being the most impoverished; 58% of Magars live below the poverty line. Poverty, low adult literacy rates, minimal education (on average 2 years of schooling)<sup>26</sup>, and little or no representation and participation in governance (see Table B, Appendix 1) all combine to mean that these groups will not have the wherewithal or the access to legal representation necessary to exercise their rights to cultural and linguistic promotion and preservation. Furthermore, according to Noonan

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<sup>25</sup> Turin (2004): Others are: Tharu, Tamang, Gurung, Thuling, Bantawa, Chamling, Khaling, Kulung, Thakali, Sherpa, Rajbhanshi, Bahing, and Thami.

<sup>26</sup> ESP: A Strategy to empower Nepal's disadvantaged Groups, Document 1, p.7 (based on data from the Nepal Human Development report, NESAC, 1999).

(2007:164), "recent court decisions have prohibited the use of indigenous languages at local government level".

**Table 1.2. Incidence of poverty for major caste and ethnic groups (cited in Bennett, 2003)**

Caste/Ethnicity	Proportion below the Poverty Line, (1996)	
	Rank	%
Newar	1	24
Bahun	2	34
Muslim	3	38
Yadav	Poverty Line 4	40
Gurung	5	45
Taru	6	48
Chetri	7	50
Rai	8	56
Magar	9	58
Tamang	10	59
Sarki	11	65
Damai	12	67
Kami	13	68
Limbu	14	71

Finally, the forces that preserve languages or cause them to die are largely extraneous to language itself; they are economic and political. As long as Nepali remains the *lingua franca*, it will be the key to prosperity and prestige and the numbers of ethnic Magar speakers, and other ethnic groups, will continue to dwindle. Extreme poverty and disenfranchisement among the Nepali ethnics are their primary concerns. Language preservation is not of critical importance; in fact it is commonly felt that proficiency in one's mother tongue at the expense of Nepali is a decided disadvantage. The majority of the young leave the villages to find employment, because economic and ecological forces have made traditional subsistence farming unsustainable. In the city, they will speak Nepali. Not only are the young leaving villages, but also, once established in the Kathmandu, they often bring their extended family to the city. In short, the villages are being emptied first of the young without whom languages cannot survive and then, often of entire families. Integral communities of Magar speakers are disappearing.

### 1.5 Language classification and language contact

Magar genetic affiliation and linguistic classification, as for the majority of indigenous languages of Nepal, are not clear. This is not surprising given the breadth and time depth (c. 8500 years) of the Sino-Tibetan language family and the sub-phylum, Tibeto-Burman, to which Magar belongs. In this expanse of time there have been myriad waves of migration, which have resulted in a palimpsest-like layering of languages. Furthermore, as Noonan (2003) observes, Nepal in particular has seen large-scale population movements both within and into the country. Though a very small country<sup>27</sup>, it has at least 120 languages<sup>28</sup>. Moreover, it is geographically situated at a confluence of two great language spheres: Indo-Aryan and Tibeto-Burman.<sup>29</sup> According to current SIL figures, of Nepal's estimated 123 living languages, 90 are Tibeto-Burman. Extensive inter-language contact over long periods has resulted in complex areal diffusion, which has obscured relationships and made disentangling languages challenging. Thus the genetic, historical and areal relationship of Magar to other languages of Nepal (and of those languages to each other) is far from transparent.

Most scholars agree on certain points; namely, that there are two primary groupings within Tibeto-Burman (Bodic): Bodish and Himalayish<sup>30</sup>. Magar belongs to the latter, which is also the more problematic component. The Himalayish group may be a genetic group, or, it may simply be an assemblage of unrelated Tibeto-Burman languages that have shared the hill regions of Nepal for millennia; thus, they share a distinctive

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<sup>27</sup> 147,181 sq km (56,827 sq mi)

<sup>28</sup> The population census 2001 reports 92 known languages and a small number of unidentified ones, the 2003 SIL Ethnologue reports 123 languages in all.

<sup>29</sup> According to Gurung (2003), in addition to IA and TB languages, 0.1% of the population are Dravidian speakers and there is also Kusunda, a language isolate.

<sup>30</sup> Research by LaPolla (2003) suggests that rGyalrong may be a sub-family of Bodic as well.

typological<sup>31</sup> profile. In this area, languages at geographic extremes, and which have experienced the least language contact: the Kham and Kiranti languages, exhibit striking similarities. This suggests either that they are genetically related and retain archaic features (as van Driem 1990, 1991, 1995 and 1999; DeLancey 1988 and Watters 2002 posit), or that the two groups retain an archaic areal pattern pre-dating more recent influence of Indo-Aryan (as Thurgood 1984, LaPolla 1992 and Noonan 2003 suggest).

Several classifications for Tibeto-Burman and Himalayish languages have been proposed; among them Benedict (1972), whose taxonomy is seen in Table 1.3 wherein Magar is classified as 'Himalayish'. Another classification by Shafer (1966) (in Table 1.4) specifies that Magar, along with Chepang, Raute and Raji, is 'West-Central-Himalayish'. Bradley (1997) places Magar in the 'Central-Himalayish' group along with Chepang and Vayu (a.k.a. Hayu).

**Table 1.3. Benedict's classification (1972)**

<b>Tibeto-Burman</b>
I. Bodish-Himalayish (~ Tibetan-Kanauri)
A. Bodish
B. Himalayish
i. Magar
II. Bahing-Vayu (a.k.a. Kiranti)
III. Abor-Miri-Dafla
IV. Kachin
V. Burmese-Lolo (a.k.a. Burmish)
VI. Bodo-Garo (a.k.a. Barish)
VII. Kuki-Naga (a.k.a. Kukish)

<sup>31</sup> The term typological, here, is used in a narrow sense; it refers to the cluster of grammatical features which occur in a group of languages. It is not meant to convey universal implications; typological, here, refers to the typical grammatical profile of areally related languages.

**Table. 1.4. Bradley's classification (1997)**

<u>Tibeto-Burman</u>	
I.	Bodic
	A. Bodish
	B. Himalayan
	i Central
	a. Magar
	b. Chepang
	c. Vayu
	ii. East
II.	North-east India (~ Sal)
III.	Kuki chin
IV.	Central
V.	North-eastern
VI.	South-eastern

Van Driem (1992) proposed a 'Mahakiranti' grouping which is espoused by the SIL Ethnologue (Grimes, 2000) as in Table 1.5. Watters (2003), Table 1.6, groups Kham with Magar, Chepang and Vayu, which reflects Shafer's original proposal and links to the Kiranti languages. His terms: 'Trans-Himalayish' and 'Sub-Himalayish' replace earlier terms 'Bodish' and 'Kiranti / East Himalayish', respectively. His taxonomy diverges from previous ones with the inclusion of a 'Khamish' node in opposition to 'Kirantish'. The 'Khamish' node captures the close relationships between Magar and Kham, between Chepang and Vayu, and these four together. It also captures what Watters considers to be Kham's pivotal position as a link between the Kiranti languages and those of the 'Khamish' group.

**Table 1.5. SIL Ethnologue classification (2000)**

<u>Tibeto-Burman</u>
I. Himalayish
A. Mahakiranti
i. Kham-Magar-Chepeng-Sunwari
a. Chepeng
b. Kham
c. Magar
d. Sunwari
ii. Kiranti
a. Tomayang
b. Eastern
c. Western

**Table 1.6 Watters' classification (2003)**

<u>Tibeto-Burman</u>
I. Tibetic
A. Trans-Himalayish
i. West-Himalayish
a. Kanauri
b. Almora
ii. Bodish
a. TGT
b. Tibetan
B. Sub-Himalayish (a.k.a. Kiranti ~ East Himalayish)
i. Khamish
a. Kham-Magar
1. Kham
2. Magar
b. Vayu-Chepeng
ii. Kirantish
a. Rai
1. Bahing
2. Sunwar
b. Limbu
1. Lohorong
2. Limbu
II. Burmic
III. Baric

Noonan (2007) proposes that Central Himalayish is a node of Bodic on par with Bodish and Rgyalrong. However, he acknowledges that it is not clear whether Central Himalayish languages are a genetic sub-phyllum or set of languages that have shared a linguistic area and contact for a long period. Rgyalrong is included in this group based on the proposal by LaPolla (2003) that members of Central Himalayish may belong to the

'Rung' family of which Rgyalrong is a part. The Rung family, which LaPolla (2003:30) espouses, includes: rGyalrong, T'rung (Dulong), Rawang, Kiranti, Kham, and Western Himalayish (Byangsi, Darma, Chaudangsi, Kinnauri). LaPolla states that these languages are share features of complex person-marking and the proto-reflexive *\*si*, features also present in Magar.

**Table 1.7 Noonan's classification (2007)**

<b>Bodic</b>
I. Central Himalayish
a. Newari
b. Kham-Magar
1. Kham
2. Magar
3. Kaike
4. Raji
c. Hayu-Chepeng
1. Chepeng
2. Hayu
3. Sunwar
d. Thangmi-Baraam
1. Thangmi
2. Baraam
e. Kiranti
1. Athpare
2. Bantuwa
3. Belhare
4. Chamling
5. Dumi
6. Khaling
7. Limbu
8. Thulung
II. Bodish
a. West Himalayish
b. Tibetic
III. Rgyalrong

The research undertaken for this dissertation confirms that there is a clear relationship between Kham and Magar and between Chepeng and Magar. Furthermore it confirms that are two main branches of Magar. A significant aspect in which the branches differ is subject indexing on the verb, or as it is called by linguists of this area,

'pronominalization'.<sup>32</sup> Other differences also exist and will be described in the course of the grammar and summed up in the conclusion. The dialects under study in this dissertation are from each of the two branches: Tanahu dialect is representative of eastern Magar and Syangja dialect of western. Fieldwork to date strongly suggests that there are other eastern dialects including Nawalparasi and Gorkha. In addition, Yanchok Magar described by Shepherd (1971) would also be included in the eastern branch. In the west, Palpa dialect patterns with Syangja dialect as research by Subba (1971) and Angdembe (1999) suggest. The pronominalized conjugational system in the western dialects is reminiscent of those found in Kham, Chepang and the Kiranti languages; see Table 1.8.

**Table 1.8 Grunow-Hårsta's classification**

<p><b>Bodic</b></p> <p>I. Central Himalayish</p> <p>    a. Newari</p> <p>    b. Kham-Magar</p> <p>        1. Kham</p> <p>        2. Magar</p> <p>            i. Eastern</p> <p>                - Tanahu</p> <p>                - Nawalparasi</p> <p>                - Gorkha</p> <p>                - Yanchok</p> <p>            ii. Western</p> <p>                - Syangja</p> <p>                - Palpa</p> <p>        3. Kaike</p> <p>        4. Raji</p> <p>    c. Hayu-Chepang</p> <p>    d. Thangmi-Baraam</p> <p>    e. Kiranti</p>
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<sup>32</sup> The marking of person, number and status agreement on the verb, has, has been called 'pronominalization' by scholars of TB languages since early scholars Grierson 1909: 179 and 276) and Hodgson (1947:116, 1880: 105) employed this term.



## **1.6 Magar typological sketch**

This section introduces the structurally significant features of Syangja and Tanahu Magar in terms of phonology, morphology and syntax. Recall that the Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal are of primarily two distinct stocks: Himalayish and Bodish.<sup>33</sup> Magar, with Kham, Chepang and Hayu (Vayu) and the Kiranti languages and possibly Newari, are Himalayish. The Bodish group includes the Tamangic languages and languages of the Tibetan-complex. Nepali is Indo-Aryan. It is assumed, following Noonan (2003), that each of the three groups: Himalayish, Bodish and Indo-Aryan, have their own original and distinct profile. However, the extensive language contact over long periods has resulted in considerable borrowing, which has altered the features of these languages. Magar has retained many features of the Himalayish group, but, as all languages of Nepal have done to varying degrees, it has also conformed to the profiles of its neighbours, most conspicuously: Nepali.

The language groups of Nepal differ in important respects in their phonological inventories, their morphology and their syntax. The following section looks very briefly at prominent structural parameters of Magar, and serves also as a general introduction to the content of the grammar. Specific examples and detailed analysis follow in subsequent chapters.

### **1.6.1 Phonology**

Magar makes the following glottal timing distinctions in its consonants: voiceless, voiceless aspirated, voiced and murmured. With the exception of murmur, these are common to all Himalayish languages; Kham and Chepang have 'lax' consonants and

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<sup>33</sup> Munda speakers are also found and make up 0.2% (Gurung, 2003).

finals which are cognate with murmured consonants in Magar. Magar also shares with Kham, at least in part, a phonation register system, which contrasts clear and murmured registers.

Both dialects of Magar have a six-vowel system / i e ʌ u o a /. Phonemic nasal vowels are not characteristic of the Himalayish group, though they do occur in Kham, Newari and Hayu. Nasalized vowels are distinctive in Nepali and Tamangic and are widely found in Bodish (Noonan 2003:69). In keeping with the Himalayish profile, Magar does not attest phonemic nasalized vowels; however, in Tanahu, nasal vowels may be taking on a functional load. Magar phonetically contrasts clear and murmured vowels and has features of a phonation-register language. The dialects are also adopting a retroflexion, and in Tanahu dialect this contrasts with dental articulation, a distinction which has no doubt developed under the influence of Nepali. In contrast to other Himalayish languages, Magar has a relatively complex syllable structure: (O) (R) (G) V (O)<sup>34</sup>, though it is much simpler than syllable structures found in the languages of the Tibetan complex and the Tamangic languages.

### 1.6.2 Morphology

Magar morphology, like that of other Himalayish languages, is agglutinative. There are prefixes, suffixes and, on verbs, circumfixes. Nepali and the Bodish languages make very restricted use of prefixes; these are more common in the Himalayish group. The number of prefixes relative to suffixes in Magar is less than that of other Himalayish languages. Significantly, however, prefixes in the form of second person clitics appear to be innovations shared with Kham, Chepang and the Kiranti group.

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<sup>34</sup> (O) = obstruent; (R) = rhotic, (G) = glide.

As already noted, the most obvious morphological difference between the two dialects is subject-verb agreement, a feature of the Himalayish group. The Syangja verb indexes first- and second-person subjects, and, in past tense, has double, or 'copied', person-marking, which is also found in the Kiranti languages (Ebert 1994). Unlike other Himalayish languages, Syangja does not index objects. Tanahu is devoid of person-indexing on the verb.

Magar verbs grammatically mark tense, mood and aspect. Tense-mood combinations, without marked aspectual distinctions, are simplex forms with finite verbal inflection. Marked aspectual forms are all complex and nominalized. Nominalization is a characteristic feature of Bodish languages.

Nouns in Magar are inflected for number, person, and inherent possession. In addition, there are eleven case markers: both grammatical (ergative, absolutive, dative and genitive) and non-grammatical (which include the instrumental and local cases: locative, ablative, adessive, circumlative, superessive and lative). Magar does not case-mark for direction (vertical vs. horizontal), though this feature is found in Kiranti languages. Magar exhibits case-compounding which is characteristic of Bodic languages. As well, Magar shares the Tibeto-Burman tendency to concatenate cases on complex adverbials.

Both Tanahu and Syangja Magar mark primary-objects and experiencer-subjects with the dative case; these are prominent features of Nepali that have been borrowed extensively into Himalayan and Bodish languages.

Magar morphologically adjusts valence and voice, a feature it shares with other Himalayish languages. Valence-increasing and -decreasing strategies are found in

Nepali. The Bodish languages lack a valence-decreasing strategy. In general, Tamangic languages lack valence-increasing and -decreasing strategies.<sup>35</sup> Magar has a productive causative suffix *-(t)ak* (likely cognate with that found in Chepang). Syangja has also a productive detransitivizing morpheme, *-cis* which is absent from Tanahu. There are also sets of verbs on which are found no-longer-productive, contrasting consonant-finals that indicate differing degrees of transitivity and voice; among them, a middle-voice marker. These finals are cognate with sets found in Chepang and Kham and may be a vestige of a transitivity-marking system from Proto-Tibeto-Burman.

### 1.6.3 Syntax

Magar is SOV, as are the other languages of Nepal, though this is not a consistent trait across TB languages. Himalayish languages are typically ergative with ergativity splitting along animacy or person. Nepali, by contrast, splits ergativity along aspect; Tanahu has been influenced by the Nepali model and marks the agents as ergative in the past-perfective aspect only. Syangja is consistently ergative with respect to tense and aspect.

Embedded clauses are converbal or nominalized; and, typical of the Himalayish profile, they are non-finite unless complements of the verb 'sense' *se*, or 'say' *de*. Under the influence of Nepali, the verb 'say', in Magar, has extended its meaning and function to include: complementizer, conditional, and the expression of mental processes and epistemic values. Magar has an evidentiality system that marks inferentials and reports and Magar morphologically encodes mirativity. Unlike the languages of the Tibetic complex, the Magar evidential system and mirativity are not expressed through copulas;

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<sup>35</sup> Chantyal has borrowed a valence-increasing strategy from Nepali along with borrowed vocabulary, but has not generalized it (Noonan personal communication, July 2008).

instead through clitics and nominalizations; nor are evidentiality and mirativity linked to epistemics as it is in the languages of the Tibetic complex. In sum, Magar manifests features expected of a Himalayish language. It also diverges in significant ways from the Himalayish profile. And it does so in ways that can be explained by language contact.

### 1.7 Scholarly work and data sources

The first known linguistic records of Magar were made by Colonel Kirkpatrick in his collection of vocabulary of the military tribes of Nepal, 1793 (published 1966). Further records were made by Francis Hamilton in 1819. In the late 1850's, Brian Hodgson, the British Minister at the court of Nepal, described the Magar people. Magars were also described in Captain Eden Vansittart's *The tribes, clans and castes of Nepal*, 1894.

Grierson published his *Linguistic Survey of India* in 1903-1909, which contains information about the Magars. Northey and Morris recorded information about the Magars in 1928, as did H.R.K. Gibbs in 1944. Shafer's work, done 1937-41, but not published until 1952 and 1966, also lists Magar vocabulary. Work was conducted by Hitchcock in the 1960's and 1970's on Magar tribes. Shepherd published wordlists and texts in 1971, and *Life among the Magars* in 1982. More recently, studies of the Magar language have been written by Tej Man Angdembe (1996, 1999a, 1999 b), by Balkrisna Pokeral (1996), by Subhadra Subba (1972, 1999), and by Bhim Regmi (1999, 2000).

The data for this grammar were collected during five months of fieldwork in the 1998 and three months in 2006 and in 2008<sup>36</sup>. The better part of the data is from seven primary consultants, two speaking the eastern dialects: Dev Bahadur Thapa-Magar, Tul

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<sup>36</sup> Fieldwork was supported by NSF (National Science Foundation) grants: SBR-9728369 and BCS-0618928, as well as ELDP (Endangered Language Documentation Programme) grant FTG0104, SOAS, University of London.

Thapa-Magar and Shrijana Thapa-Magar of Harkapur village in Tanahu district. From the western dialect: Man Bahadur Gaha-Thapa-Magar, Matasari Thapa-Magar, Bhim Rana-Magar all of the Alamdevi Village in Syangja District, and Malbar Singh Thapa Magar of Chandi Bhanjyang Village in Syangja.

Tul Thapa Magar, of Harkapur in Tanahu district, was born 1964. He left the village in 1984 for Kathmandu where he lives with his second-wife Maya and his daughters Shrijana (b. 1982) and Laxmi (b. 1981). Both daughters spent their early childhood in the village. The family speaks Magar at home. All can speak Nepali, and Tul, Shrijana and Laxmi can speak English as well. Dev Bahadur Thapa-Magar, Tul, Maya and Shrijana worked with me as language consultants in 1998. That year I also accompanied Tul to his family home in Harkapur, Tanahu district, where I worked with speakers across a range of genders and ages. Primarily Tul's mother, Ruma Thapa-Magar, and Dil-Maya, his first wife. Shrijana Thapa-Magar, worked with me again extensively in 2008, both in Lalitpur (sister-city to Kathamandu) and in Harakapur.

Man Bahadur Gaha-Thapa-Magar, of Syanaja, was born 1958, is married and lives in Kathmandu area for the better part of the year. He left the Alamdevi Village at 14 years of age. He can speak English and Nepali. In 1998, he spoke Magar at home with his mother, Matasari, who spoke only Magar, provided a number of stories for the database. She has since passed away. In 1998, I travelled to Alamdevi Village with Bhim Rana Magar, born 1978, a speaker of Syangja Magar and then a student at Tribhuvan University. There I conducted research with Bhim, his family, and other families in the village. I elicited stories and vocabulary from a number of Magar speakers, again, across a range of genders and ages. In Syangja, I worked with two

younger speakers: Danendra Rana-Magar, born 1986, and Kumari Rana-Magar, born 1983. I continued to work with Bhim Rana Magar in 2008 and returned to the village that year. I was also aided in my research by Malbar Singh Thapa and Hiri Singh Thapa of Syangja.

In 2006, in addition to consultants named above, I worked with Santa Gaha-Magar, a speaker of Nawalparasi dialect (eastern Magar), who was born August 28 1980 in Ruchang village, Nawalparasi. The Nawalparasi dialect shares many of the features of Tanahu. Data from Nawalparasi when included in this dissertation is identified as such (with the abbreviation NW). The data collected is the basis of further dialectal studies in Magar. Likewise I was able to collect some data from Gorkha Magar, provided by Huku Bahadur Thapa-Magar, a trekking guide, with whom I was able to work for a limited time. Huku was 32 years old in 1998, from the village of Sandhikhola in the Gorkha District, and had seven years of village schooling. He spoke Nepali and some English. My brief work with Huku revealed that Gorkha Magar belongs to the Eastern group.

### **1.8 The structure of the grammar**

The grammar proceeds in the time-honoured fashion from phonology to morphology to syntax. In addition, in the early chapters, the analysis moves from form to meaning and in later chapters, those treating syntax, data is viewed from the opposite perspective and moves from function to form. Following this, there are chapters dealing with evidentiality, mirativity and the quotative. Following the chapters of the main body of the dissertation are transcribed texts from each dialect.

**Table 1. 9. Human Development by Caste and Ethnicity**

Source: ESP, 'A Strategy to Empower Nepal's Disadvantaged Groups', Document 1, page 7 (based on data from the Nepal Human Development Report, NESAC, 1999 cited in Bennett 2003)

Human Dev. Indicators	Nepal	Bahun	Chhetri	Newal	Hill Janajatis	Madhise	Hill Dalit	Muslim	Other
Life expectancy (yrs)	55.0	60.8	56.3	62.2	53.0	58.4	50.3	48.7	54.4
Adult literacy (%)	36.7	58.0	42.0	54.8	35.2	27.5	23.8	22.1	27.6
Mean yrs schooling	2.3	4.7	2.8	4.4	2.0	1.7	1.2	1.4	1.9
Per capita income (NR)	7,673	9,921	7,744	11,953	6,607	6,911	4,940	6,336	7,312
Per capita PPP (US\$)	1,186	1,533	1,197	1,848	1,021	1,068	764	979	1,130
1. Life expectancy index	0.500	0.597	0.522	0.620	0.467	0.557	0.422	0.395	0.490
2. Educational attainment index	0.295	0.490	0.342	0.462	0.280	0.221	0.186	0.178	0.226
3. Income index	0.179	0.237	0.181	0.289	0.152	0.160	0.110	0.145	0.170
Human Dev. Index	0.325	0.441	0.348	0.457	0.299	0.313	0.239	0.239	0.295
Ratio of national HDI	100	135.9	107.3	140.7	92.2	96.3	73.6	73.7	90.9

**Table 1.10. Caste/Ethnicity Index of Participation in Governance, 1999**

Source: ESP, 'A Strategy to Empower Nepal's Disadvantaged Groups', Document 1, page 10, based on Nepal Institutional Manpower Directory, 1999 in Neupane, 2000, cited in Bennett 2003.

High Level Officials in:	Bahun/Chhetri	Hill Janajatis	Madhise	Hill Dalit	Newar	Others	Total
Judiciary	190	3	9	0	33	0	235
Constitutional bodies & commissions	181	4	18	0	32	0	235
Council of ministries	14	2	3	0	6	0	25
Public administration	20	4	5	0	3	0	32
Legislature	159	36	46	4	20	0	265
Political party leaders	97	25	26	0	18	0	166
Local government	106	23	31	0	30	0	190
Industry % trade	7	0	15	0	20	0	42
Education sector	75	2	7	1	11	1	97
Cultural organizations	85	6	0	0	22	0	113
Science & Technology	36	2	6	0	18	0	62
Civil society	41	1	4	0	18	0	64
Total	1011	108	170	5	231	1	1526
Percent	66.36	7.104	11.124	0.261	15.18	0	100
% Nepal's population	31.6	22.2	30.9	8.7	5.6	0.1	99.1
Proportional difference index	2.1	0.32	0.36	0.03	2.71	0	5.52



## 2. Phonology

### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the phonology of Magar. It includes an inventory of phonemic consonants and vowels and their major allophones, as well as a description of phonological and morphophonological processes and syllable structure. In this, and all subsequent chapters, two dialects are analyzed: Tanahu, which is spoken in the eastern part of the central Magar region, and Syangja, which is spoken in the west, see §1.3.

Items found only in Tanahu dialect are followed by <(T)> and those limited to Syangja dialect by <(S)>. If no indication follows then the segment or lexeme is common to both. Nepali borrowings are indicated by <(N)>. Morphemes are separated by a dash < - > and syllables by a period < . >, square brackets < [ ] > are used to indicate phonetic properties, i.e. a close transcription, and slashes < / / > to indicate a phonemic transcription; numbered examples in italics are phonemic and without slashes. The phonemic transcription is based on IPA with some concessions to areal orthography. Magar (and other non-English) words are in italic roman typescript.

### 2.2 Consonants

The phonemic inventory of Magar consonants is described in this section; specifically place and manner of articulation are described in §2.2.1 and §2.2.2. Detailed observations on quality and allophonic variation are presented in §2.2.3.

As Table 2.1 illustrates, Tanahu Magar has thirty-seven consonants, occurring at six places of articulation. Syangja dialect has no dental stops; thus, has five places of articulation and thirty-three consonants. Voicing, aspiration and murmur are distinctive in both dialects.

**Table 2.1 Phonemic consonant inventory**

	BILABIAL	LAMINO - DENTAL	APICO- ALVEOLAR	ALVEO- PALATAL	VELAR	GLOTTAL
voiceless stop	p	t̪*	t		k	[ʔ]
voiceless aspirated stop	ph	t̪h*	th		kh	
voiced stop	b	d̪*	d		g	
voiced murmured stop	bfi	d̪fi*	d̪fi		gfi	
voiceless affricate				c		
voiceless aspirated affricate				ch		
voiced affricate				j		
voiced murmured affricate				jfi		
fricative			s			h
murmured fricative						fi
nasal	m		n		ŋ	
murmured nasal	mfi		nfi		ŋfi	
voiced rhotic			r			
voiced murmured rhotic			r̪fi			
voiced lateral			l			
voiced murmured lateral			l̪fi			
glide	w				y	
murmured glide	wfi				yfi	
* segments found in Tanahu dialect only						
[ ] marginal phoneme						
r	= IPA ɹ					
y	= IPA j					
fi	= IPA ..					
c	= tz					
j	= dz					

**2.2.1 Places of articulation**

Phonemes are attested at bilabial, apico-alveolar, alveo-palatal and velar places of articulation in both dialects, as the following contrasts demonstrate (1).

- |     |          |           |            |
|-----|----------|-----------|------------|
| (1) | bilabial | <i>pa</i> | 'seek'     |
|     | alveolar | <i>ta</i> | REP        |
|     | palatal  | <i>ja</i> | 'child'    |
|     | velar    | <i>ka</i> | 'smear on' |
|     | velar    | <i>ko</i> | PL         |
|     | glottal  | <i>ho</i> | D.DEM      |

As noted, Tanahu adds lamino-dental as a place of articulation. Though attested, these stops, (/t̪/, /d̪/, /t̪h/, /d̪fi/) are uncommon in Tanahu; only three words native to Tanahu

Magar have been attested thus far: *tithrit* [t̪i.t̪ʰrit̪], 'cricket', *lukurdfiam* [lu.kuɪ.d̪am] 'owl', *bodfurum* [bo.d̪u.ɪum] 'hawk' and these are almost certainly onomatopoeic. Other than these, lamino-dentals are limited to words borrowed from Nepali and are more commonly attested in the speech of Magars schooled in that language. Even so, not all borrowed dentals are retained. In most borrowings into Tanahu and all borrowings into Syangja Magar, Nepali dentals are re-interpreted as apico-alveolar. The instances where they been retained in Tanahu are often those where the introduction of a loan would result in homophony with a native Magar word, for example, (2a, b) are native words and not dental in either dialect; (2c, d) are loan words from Nepali with the dental retained, in Tanahu, presumably for the purpose of differentiation. In Syangja, by contrast, all borrowings are reinterpreted and articulated as alveolar regardless of homophony.

- |     |                     |          |                       |                     |
|-----|---------------------|----------|-----------------------|---------------------|
| (2) | (a) <i>dun</i>      | 'pound'  | (b) <i>dfian</i>      | 'suspend with rope' |
|     | (c) <i>d̪un</i> (T) | 'valley' | (d) <i>d̪fian</i> (T) | 'wealth'            |

As Michailovsky (1988a) and Noonan (2003b:70) have observed there are two types of opposition among stops in Nepal: "dental vs. true retroflex and dental vs. alveolar, with the latter being affricated with a rhotacized off-glide such as [ɽ]." According to Noonan (2003b:70), "The first is characteristic of Nepali and languages influenced by it, the second characteristic of the Bodish group." Magar natively has an apico-alveolar series, but as observed, Tanahu has acquired (albeit in limited distribution) an opposition with a dental series through borrowings from Nepali. It appears that Magar is also acquiring retroflexed stops [d̪] and [t̪] from Nepali, these are not uncommonly produced in borrowings by Magars schooled in Nepali, which, now, is virtually all Magars.

Affricates are alveo-palatal.

- (3) *cak* 'join'  
*jak* 'like'

Fricatives are found at two places of articulation: apico-alveolar /s/ and glottal /h/ in both dialects.

- (4) *sat* 'kill'  
*hat* 'boil'

Nasals /m/, /n/ and /ŋ/ are found at bilabial, alveolar, palatal and velar places of articulation.

- (5) *ma* NEG  
*na* 'second person singular'  
*ŋa* 'first person singular'

Approximants, /r/ and /l/, are post-alveolar approximants.

- (6) *rafi* 'come'  
*lafi* 'self'

Glides are labio-velar and palatal.

- (7) *wat* 'bloom'  
*yat* 'spill'

### 2.2.2 Manner of articulation and phonation states

Magar stops and affricates contrast in their voicing. As Noonan has observed (2003b:69) this is a feature of the Himalayish group and of Nepali, but not of the Bodish languages of Nepal.<sup>1</sup> In Magar, sonorants (nasals and approximants) do not contrast for voicing.

There are no voiceless approximants and nasals as are found in Bodish. All Magar consonants (including sonorants) contrast in phonation quality, i.e. aspiration<sup>2</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> Noonan (2003:4) notes the following exceptions: Chantyal and Gururung. The first has borrowed much of its vocabulary from Nepali and with this, a voicing contrast; and in Gurung the contrast is limited to specific tones.

<sup>2</sup> Following Ladefoged (1971, 1993), aspirated and unaspirated refer to the state of the glottis during and immediately after the release of articulatory stricture. The distinction is due specifically to voicing onset

murmur.<sup>3</sup> Murmur, also known as breathy-, or lax-voice, contrasts with clear, also known as plain-, or modal-voice. Murmur<sup>4</sup> and clear phonation divide laryngeal settings into two contrastive ranges or registers. In Magar, stops and sonorants contrast with respect to clear and murmured phonation. Voicing and phonation contrasts are demonstrated in minimal pairs in (8). Murmured coda consonants are restricted to sonorants, i.e. approximants /r/ and /l/ and nasals. Broad transcriptions follow the transliteration practices of the area, wherein <h> following a consonant represents aspiration, and murmur is represented by <fi> following the segment. In this chapter, in close phonetic transcriptions, a superscripted <<sup>h</sup>> represents aspiration and the subscripted diacritic <.<sub>.</sub>> is used to denote murmur. Magar also has murmured vocalic allophones; these are discussed in §2.4.2.5. and §2.4.3.

(8) Obstruents

(a) Stops

/p/ ~ /ph/

*pin* 'swing'

*phin* 'cook'

/b/ ~ /bfi/

*bat* 'set'

*bfiat* 'break'

/p/ ~ /b/

*pirike* 'oil cake'

*biri-ke* 'fear-NOM'

/ph/ ~ /bfi/

*pher* 'get through'

*bfier* 'put on shoes'

/t/ ~ /th/

*tafi* 'reach'

*thafi* 'sink'

/d/ ~ /dfi/

---

time (VOT). To produce an aspirated sound there is a period of voicelessness after the stop release and the voicing of the vowel. An unaspirated sound causes only a negligible delay in VOT.

<sup>3</sup> Murmured consonants, bfi, dfi, gfi, are sometimes called 'voiced aspirates'; this is inaccurate nomenclature. As Ladefoged (1971:9) notes, "Such a sound has not yet been observed in any language." These sounds are properly called murmured, breathy or lax. In these sounds, after the release of closure (during which there is voicing), there is a period of breathy voice before vocalic voicing begins.

<sup>4</sup> Murmur is produced with an open glottis, the arytenoid cartilages are pulled apart slightly, but not fully as for voicelessness, and there is higher than normal airflow and pressure. This laryngeal setting results in a loose vibration, perceived as murmur or breathiness.

<i>dak</i>	'weave'	<i>dfiak</i>	'kindle', 'burn'
/t/ ~ /d/			
<i>tak</i>	'reach'	<i>dak</i>	'weave'
/th/ ~ /dfi/			
<i>thor</i>	'bull'	<i>dfior</i>	'pasture'
/k/ ~ /kh/			
<i>kas</i>	'feed'	<i>khas</i>	'build'
/g/ ~ /gfi/			
<i>gel</i>	'gold armband'	<i>gfieI</i>	'decay'
/k/ ~ /g/			
<i>ka</i>	'insert'	<i>ga</i>	'drink', 'smoke'
/kh/ ~ /gfi/			
<i>khur</i>	'hoof'	<i>gfur</i>	'dirt', 'dust'

## (b) Affricates

/c/ ~ /ch/			
<i>cyak</i>	'scream'	<i>chyak</i>	'tie'
/j/ ~ /jfi/			
<i>jafi</i>	'weave'	<i>jfia</i>	'soil', 'clay'
/c/ ~ /j/			
<i>cak</i>	'join'	<i>jak</i>	'like'
/ch/, /jfi/			
<i>cha</i>	'salt'	<i>jfia</i>	'soil, clay'

## (c) Fricatives

/s/ ~ /h/			
<i>sil</i>	'split'	<i>hil</i>	'leg', 'foot'

## (9) Sonorants

## (a) Nasals:

/m/ ~ /mfi/			
<i>me</i>	POSS	<i>mfi</i>	'fire'
/n/ ~ /nfi/			
<i>nam</i>	'sky'	<i>nfi</i>	'flatten'
/ŋ/ ~ /ŋfi/			
<i>ŋis</i>	HON.IMP	<i>ŋfis</i>	'two'

## (b) Approximants

/r/ ~ /rfi/			
<i>ra</i>	'snare trap'	<i>rfa</i>	'goat'
/l/ ~ /lfi/			
<i>lafi</i>	'self'	<i>lfi</i>	'leaf'



As noted, in close phonetic transcriptions, aspiration is symbolized by <<sup>h</sup>>, murmur by <.,>, and a lack of release by <'>. Vowels are also closely transcribed in this section: a long vowel is indicated by <: > and a half-long vowel by <' >, fronted sounds by <+>.

### 2.2.3.1 Obstruents

The following section will describe the distribution of obstruents and their major allophones, i.e. those which result from phonological, as opposed to morphophonological, processes.

#### 2.2.3.1.1 Voiceless clear stops and allophones

Magar voiceless clear (i.e. non-aspirated) stops /p/, /t/, /k/ appear in onsets and codas of syllables. Syllable-final /p/ is unreleased [p̚] in both dialects. Syllable-final /t/ is always unreleased [t̚] in Tanahu, but in Syangja it varies freely between released and unreleased. Syllable-final /k/ is unreleased [k̚] in Syangja; in Tanahu /k/ may be unreleased but more commonly reduces to a glottal stop.

(10) /p/		
<i>puŋ</i>	[pũ] (T), [puŋ]	'allotment', 'share'
<i>kherep</i>	[k <sup>h</sup> e.ɪɛp̚]	'near'
<i>gup-ke</i>	[gʊp̚.ke]	'warm-NOM'
<i>cup-a</i>	[tsu.pa']	'suck-PST'

(11) /t/		
<i>tuga</i>	[tu.ga']	'star'
<i>ku-ta</i>	[ku.ta]	'INTRG-MNR'
<i>batke</i>	[bat̚.ke]	'to rest'
<i>kat</i>	[kaʔ] (T) ~[kat̚]~[kat̚] (S)	'one'

(12) /k/		
<i>ku-lak</i>	[ku.laʔ] (T) ~[ku.lak̚]	'INTRG-CIR'



<i>kurkuca</i>	[kʊɪ.ku.tsaʼ]	'heel'
<i>tak-ke</i>	[ʈakʼ.ke]	'reach-NOM'

Magar speakers, under the influence of Nepali are adopting the retroflex [ʈ] in addition to, and sometimes in place of, apico-alveolar [t]. The retroflex is used primarily in borrowings, but as speakers claim to hear no difference between the Magar apico-alveolar series and the Nepali retroflex, and its use is spreading to native words as well; hence it is used in close transcriptions. The apico-alveolar and retroflex do not contrast. Older and uneducated Magars will still pronounce the apico-alveolar stop [t].

The glottal stop has marginal status in Magar. In Tanahu dialect, it is a syllable final allophone of /k/ especially when preceding a consonant, as in *lak-ke*, [laʔ.ke] 'to plaster'. In both dialects, there is a pre-vocal glottal-catch in vowel-initial words, as in *uk-ke* [ʔuʔ.ke] 'to vomit'.

#### 2.2.3.1.2 Voiced clear stops and allophones

Clear (i.e. non-murmured) voiced stops /b/, /d/, /g/ do not appear in codas in native Magar words, though final /d/ appears in Nepali borrowings such as *mad*, [maɖ] 'rice starch'. As with [ʈ], the apico-alveolar /d/ is not distinguished by Magar speakers from the voiced alveolar Nepali retroflex [ɖ] and the retroflex frequently used in Nepali borrowings and not infrequently for native words spoken by Magars educated in Nepali. Intervocally /d/ becomes a retroflex tap /ɽ/ as seen in (13) and (14).

(13) /b/

<i>badam</i>	[bʌ.ɽaʼ.ni]	'peanut'
<i>dibu</i>	[ɖji.bu]	'cloud'

(14) /d/

<i>di</i>	[ɖjiɪ]	'water'
<i>badako</i>	[bʌ.ɽaʼ.koʼ]	'large'

	<i>mad</i> (N)	[maɖ]	'rice starch'
(15)	/g/		
	<i>ga</i>	[ga]	'smoke', 'drink'
	<i>digartu</i>	[ɖji.gaɪ.tu]	'well (for water)'

Clear, non-bilabial stops, are slightly palatalized before front vowels, as in (16).

(16)	[t]		[d]	
	<i>tisanij</i>	→ [tʃi.sa.niɾ:] (T) 'yesterday'	<i>di</i>	→ [dʃi] 'water'
		~ [tʃi.sa.niɪŋ] (S)		
	<i>tecyo</i>	→ [tʃe.tʃjɔ̃] 'pulse' (vegetable)	<i>de</i>	→ [dʃe] 'say'
	[k]		[g]	
	<i>kim</i>	→ [kʲiɾ] (T) 'set' (sun)	<i>ginfi</i>	→ [gʲiɱ] (T) 'ask'
		~ [kʲim] (S)		~ [gʲim] (S)
	<i>kes</i>	→ [kʲes] 'stir, move' (intr.)	<i>ges</i>	→ [gʲes] 'play'

### 2.2.3.1.3 Aspirated stops and allophones

Voiceless aspirated stops: /ph/, /th/, /kh/ appear word-initially and medially in native words and word-finally only in Nepali loans. /ph/ can spirantize to [ɸ] in all positions but does not consistently do so and varies freely in both dialects. In final position, /th/ and /kh/ spirantize to voiceless fricatives: [θ] and [x] respectively.

(17)	/ph/		
	<i>phargi</i>	[pʰʌɪ.gi] ~ [ɸʌɪ.gi]	'snail'
	<i>lupho</i>	[lu.pʰo] ~ [lu.ɸo]	'head scarf'
	<i>maph</i> [N]	[maɸ]	'forgiveness'

(18)	/th/		
	<i>thanas</i>	[tʰʌ.nas]	'listen'
	<i>suthu</i>	[su.tʰu]	'cat'
	<i>goth</i> (N)	[goθ]	'cow shed'

(19)	/kh/		
	<i>khus</i>	[kʰʊs]	'thief'
	<i>mi-khe</i>	[me.kʰe]	'POSS-intestine'
	<i>bikh</i> (N)	[bix]	'poison'

#### 2.2.3.1.4 Murmured stops and allophones

Voiced, murmured oral stops /bfi/, /dfi/, /gfi/ appear in syllable onsets only.

- (20) /bfi/  
*bfiormi* [b̥o̞.ɪ.mi'] (T) ~ [b̥ʌ.ɪ.mi'] (S) 'person'  
*yanbfu* [jæ̞n.b̥u:] 'rainbow'
- (21) /dfi/  
*dfialiq* [d̥ʌ'.li:] (T) ~ [d̥ʌ'.liŋ] 'much', 'many'  
*badfiin* (N) [b̥ʌ.d̥i] (T) ~ [b̥ʌ.d̥iŋ] 'clothes'
- (22) /gfi/  
*gfieres* [g̥e̞.ɪes] 'body louse'  
*agfier* (N) [ʔʌ.g̥e̞ɪ] 'before', 'ahead'

#### 2.2.3.1.5 Affricates

Magar, in keeping with other Himalayish languages, has only alveo-palatal affricates (and fricatives, see §2.2.3.1.7). Affricates in Magar do not make an alveolar vs. alveo-palatal contrast as is found in the Bodish group (Noonan 2003b:71).

The alveo-palatal affricates, following areal tradition, in broad transcription are represented with /c/ (the voiceless affricate), in narrow transcription this is [ts]; /j/ (the voiced affricate), in narrow transcription, is [dz]. The voiceless aspirated affricate is broadly transcribed as /ch/ and voiced murmured affricate as /jfi/; in narrow transcription these are [ts<sup>h</sup>] and [dz] respectively.

Alveo-palatal affricates, clear, aspirated and murmured become palatal before high front vowels; that is, /c/ [ts] and /j/ [dz] become [tʃ] and [dʒ] respectively; /ch/ [ts<sup>h</sup>] and /jfi/ [dz] become [tʃ<sup>h</sup>] and [dʒ] before /i/. Affricates appear word-initially and medially in native Magar words. Affricates are found in codas only in Nepali borrowings; for example, *pac* [patʃ] 'five', or *gaj* [gadʒ] 'foam'.

(23)	/c/		
	<i>cyu</i>	[tsjʊʔ]	'dog'
	<i>barcam</i>	[bʌɪ.tsã:] (T) ~[bʌɪ.tsam](S)	'lizard'
	<i>cighwan</i>	[tʃi.gwã:] (T) ~[tʃi.gwʌn] (S)	'wild strawberry'
(24)	/j/		
	<i>ja-ja</i>	[dza'.dza']	'child'
	<i>ji-cyo</i>	[dʒi. tsjɔʔ] (T) ~[dʒi.tsʌ] (S)	'sweet'
(25)	/ch/		
	<i>chiniŋ</i>	[tʃ <sup>hi</sup> .niŋ:] (T) ~[tʃ <sup>hi</sup> .niŋŋ]	'today'
	<i>mi-cham</i>	[mi.ts <sup>h</sup> ã] (T) ~[mi.ts <sup>h</sup> am]	'POSS-hair'
(26)	/jfi/		
	<i>jfi</i>	[dʒã:]	'soil', 'clay'
	<i>mi-jfiar</i>	[mi.dʒãɪ]	'POSS-elder'

#### 2.2.3.1.6 Fricatives

The fricatives in Magar are alveolar /s/ and glottal /h/. The phoneme /s/ has a palatal allophone [ʃ]. Allophony of [s] and [ʃ] is not entirely predictable. In this respect Magar is like western dialects of Nepali, in which [s] and [ʃ] are in free variation in some environments<sup>5</sup>. The following generalizations regarding the distribution of /s/ and [ʃ] can be made: /s/ appears in all environments except before a palatal glide where we find only [ʃ]. The allophone [ʃ] does not appear word-finally and it appears more frequently, but not consistently, before front vowels.

The voiceless glottal fricative /h/ appears word-initially and -medially and when word final manifests as vocalic murmur and interacts with the phonation register system. (For further discussion of murmur and morphophonological changes see §2.4.2.5 and

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<sup>5</sup> Noonan (2003b:71) has also observed this distribution of [s] and [ʃ] in Chantyal, due to the influence of Nepali and possibly Magar.

§2.5.1.) Murmur on the vowel is transliterated by <fi> and in close phonetic transcription, with the subscripted diacritic <..>.

(27)	/s/		
	<i>siŋ</i>	[sĩ ~fĩ] (T) ~[sɪŋ ~fɪŋ] (S)	'firewood'
	<i>misin</i>	[mi.sĩ ~ mi.fĩ] (T) ~[mi.sɪn~mi.fɪn] (S)	'POSS-liver'
	<i>bfies</i>	[b̥ɛs]	'flatus'
(28)	/h/		
	<i>huk</i>	[hʊʔ] (T) ~[hʊkʔ]	'bamboo'
	<i>gaha</i>	[ga'.haʔ]	'thigh'
	<i>bafi</i>	[b̥aʔ:]	'alight', 'drop'
	<i>hose</i>	[ho'.ʃe]	D.DEM

### 2.2.3.2 Sonorants

This section treats nasals /m/, /n/, /ŋ/ and approximants /r/ and /l/.

#### 2.2.3.2.1 Nasals

Clear nasals appear in all syllable positions, though, in Tanahu dialect, they are rarely attested syllable finally, because they typically coalesce with the vocalic nucleus resulting in a nasalized vowel; for example, *lam*, 'road, path', becomes [lã], *lfuŋ* 'stone' becomes [l̥f̥ũ:]. Final nasals may be preserved in careful pronunciation and before vowel initial suffixes<sup>6</sup>. Final nasals are generally preserved in Syangja Magar.

Murmured nasals occur in syllable onsets and codas. Word-medially (at a word-internal syllable juncture) murmured nasals appear only before consonant-initial suffixes. When preceding a vowel-initial suffix, murmured nasal vowels re-syllabify and become clear; concurrently, the onset of the next syllable will be a voiceless glottal fricative [h]. For example, *namfi* [n̥aʔ:m̥] 'stink', with the addition of the past tense suffix [-a], becomes [nam.haʔ] 'stank', (see §2.5.3).

(29)	/m/		
	<i>maca</i>	[ma.tsa']	'banana'
	<i>namas</i>	[na.mas]	'rainfall'
	<i>nam</i>	[nã'] (T) ~[nam] (S)	'sky'
(30)	/n/		
	<i>namas</i>	[nʌ.mas]	'rainfall'
	<i>khiniŋ</i>	[k <sup>h</sup> i.niŋ] (T) ~[k <sup>h</sup> i.niŋ]	'day before yesterday'
	<i>pihin</i>	[pi.hĩ] (T) ~[pi.hɪn]	'tomorrow'
(31)	/ŋ/		
	<i>ŋak</i>	[ŋaʔ] (T) ~[ŋak']	'call'
	<i>miŋer</i>	[mi.ŋjeɹ]	'POSS-mouth'
	<i>lhuŋ</i>	[l̥õ:] (T) ~[l̥õŋ] (S)	'stone'
(32)	/mfi/		
	<i>mfi</i>	[m̥fi]	'wound' (noun)
	<i>jimfi</i>	[dʒi.m̥fi]	'fly' (noun)
	<i>tumfi</i>	[t̥õ:m̥]	'conclude'
(33)	/nfi/		
	<i>nfi</i>	[n̥fi]	'two'
	<i>minfi</i>	[mi.n̥fi]	'POSS-nose'
	<i>ginfi</i>	[g̥i:n̥]	'ask'
(34)	/ŋfi/		
	<i>ŋfi</i>	[ŋ̥fi]	'moisten'
	<i>aŋficyo</i>	[ʔã:ŋi.ʃjɔ'] (T) ~[ʔã:ŋi.ʃɿ] (S)	'be terrified'
	<i>toŋfi</i>	[t̥õ:ŋ]	'stand'

Clear alveolar and velar nasals, like alveolar and velar stops, are palatalized before front vowels, as in (35). Palatal nasals do not otherwise occur.

(35)	[n]		[ŋ]
	<i>nfuniŋ</i>	→ [n̥y.niŋ] (T) ~[n̥y.niŋ]	'back-ABL'
			<i>ŋe</i> → [ŋje] 'cucumber'

### 2.2.3.2.2 Approximants

Clear and murmured approximants /l/, /r/, /lfi/ and /rfi/ are post-alveolar and appear in onsets and codas, word-initially, medially and finally. The phoneme /r/ (transcribed as

<sup>6</sup> This is also true of Gorkha and Nawalparasi dialects.

[ɹ] in close transcription) is the only consonant that can appear in consonant clusters as C<sub>2</sub> for example *praŋ*, 'dawn', (see §2.6). Like murmured nasals, murmured approximants stem-finals, when preceding a vowel-initial suffix will re-syllabify as stem-final clear approximants followed by a suffix with the onset [h], for example *molfi*, [mô:ɹ] 'be mixed in' becomes [mol.haɹ] in the past tense and *morfi*, [mô:ɹ] 'be foolish' becomes [moɹ.haɹ] in the past tense; see §2.5.3 for further discussion.

In word-initial position, /r/ is preceded by a slight prosthetic schwa, for example *re*, 'crab' becomes [ʰɹe] or *ri* 'dirt from the body' becomes [ʰɹi]; see also §2.4.1.2.

(36) /l/		
<i>lam</i>	[lã:ɹ] (T),[lam]	'road', 'path'
<i>pitluŋ</i>	[pɪɹ.lũ:ɹ] (T),[pɪɹ.luŋ]	'nightingale'
<i>jal</i>	[dzal]	'spider web'
(37) /r/		
<i>re</i>	[ʰɹe]	'crab'
<i>biris</i>	[biɹɪs]	'fear'
<i>khur</i>	[kʰɹɹ]	'hoof'
(38) /lf/		
<i>lfa</i>	[lã:ɹ]	'leaf'
<i>bilfi-ik</i>	[bɪɹ.hɪɹ] (T) [bɪɹ.hɪk] (S) ~[bɪɹ.hɪkʰ]	'clothe someone'
<i>molfi</i>	[mô:ɹ]	'mix in', 'integrate'
(39) /rf/		
<i>rfus</i>	[ɹɹʰs]	'bone'
<i>birfin</i>	[biɹɹɹ] (T) ~[biɹɹɹn]	'send'
<i>dorfi</i>	[dô:ɹɹ]	'right'

### 2.2.3.2.3 Glides

Glides are phonemically transcribed as /w/ and /y/; in close phonetic transcription /y/ is

transcribed as [j] in accord with the IPA. Clear glides /w/ and /y/ can appear word

initially and medially as simple onsets. In complex onsets, /y/ glide can appear following

all consonants; however, clusters of /y/ with aspirated or murmured consonants: /phy/, /thy/, /dy/ and /dfiy/ are found only in borrowings; for example *phyauro* (N) 'fox', *thyakai* (N) 'exactly' *dfiyan* (N) 'meditation'; unless the result of morphological process; see §2.5.2.5. The /w/ glide does not cluster with alveolar stops or fricatives. In coda position, glides are diphthongs. Murmured glides appear less frequently than clear ones and are not attested in codas. The distribution of vowels after glides is restricted; see §2.3.2.

(40)	/w/		
	<i>wak</i>	[waʔ] (T) ~[wak]~[wakʰ]	'pig'
	<i>lawat</i>	[laː.waʔ] ~[laː.waʔ]	'land leech'
(41)	/y/		
	<i>yes</i>	[jes]	'exchange'
	<i>tunyel</i>	[ʈunjeɪ]	'haze'
(42)	/wfi/		
	<i>wfia</i>	[w̥aʔ]	'walk'
(43)	/yfi/		
	<i>yfiak</i>	[jaʔ] (T) ~[jak]~[jakʰ]	'tuber'

### 2.3 Vowels

This section describes the phonemic inventory of Magar vowels. Major vocalic allophones are discussed and transcribed in phonetic detail in §2.3.1. Phonological and morphophonological processes which vowels undergo are described in §2.4.2, §2.5.2 and §2.5.3.

Magar has a six-vowel system: / i e ʌ u o a / like Nepali and likely due to contact with Nepali (see §.2.3.1.7). Magar also has the following phonemic diphthongs: [ei], [oi], [eu] and [au]; the last is found primarily in Nepali borrowings.



**Table 2.3 Phonemic vocalic inventory**

	FRONT		BACK	
HIGH	i			u
	ei oi		au eu	
MID	e	ʌ	o	
LOW		a		

The following minimal pairs establish the status of phonemic vowels:

(44) /i/ ~ /e/ ~ /u/ ~ /o/ ~ /a/

*di* [d̪i] 'water'  
*de* [d̪e] 'say'  
*du* [d̪u] 'insect'  
*do* [d̪o'] 'penis'  
*da* [d̪a'] 'put'

(45) /i/ ~ /o/ ~ /ʌ/ ~ /a/

*ji* [d̪ʒi] 'be sweet'  
*jo* [d̪zo'] 'cook'  
*ja* [d̪zʌ] EMPH  
*ja* [d̪za'] 'child'

### 2.3.1 Vowel descriptions and major allophones

This section describes phonemic vowels of Magar and their major phonological

allophones. Allophones resulting from morphophonological processes are described in

§2.5. 2. As noted, in close transcription [æ], [ɔ̣] [ɔ̣] represent advanced (fronted)

allophones. Half-long vowels are represented by <'> and long by <: >. Nasalized

vowels are transcribed with a tilde: [ĩ ẽ ã õ ũ]. Murmured allophones are transcribed

with the diacritic <.. >.

Table 2.4 Major vocalic allophones

	FRONT		BACK
HIGH	i, iː, j, j̥, ɪ, ɪ̥		u, uː, ʉ, ʉ̥, ʊ, ʊ̥
	ei, oi		au, eu
MID	e, ẽ, ɛ, ɛ̥, ɛ̃, ɛ̥̃	ʌ, ʌ̃, ʌ̥̃	ɔ̥, o, ɔ̃, õ̥, ɔ̥̃, ɔ̥̥̃
LOW		æ, a, ǣ, a', ǣ̃, ǣ̥̃	

## 2.3.1.1 /i/

The high front vowel /i/ has a lax and shorter allophone in closed syllables; this is transcribed as [ɪ].

(46) <i>digwa</i>	[dʲi.gwaʔ]	'pheasant'
<i>pihin</i>	[pi.hiː] (T) ~ [pi.hɪn]	'tomorrow'
<i>jik</i>	[dʒiʔ] (T) ~ [dʒɪkʔ] ~ [dʒɪk]	'bite' ~ 'sting'

## 2.3.1.2 /e/

The mid-front vowel is articulated at a point between cardinal points 2 [e] and 3 [ɛ]. /e/ has a laxer and shorter allophone in closed syllables and is transcribed as [ɛ].

(47) <i>kes</i>	[kʰɛs]	'stir', 'move'
<i>re</i>	[ʰɛ]	'crab'

## 2.3.1.3 /u/

The high back vowel /u/ is lax and shorter in closed syllables and is transcribed with [ʊ].

After the palatal glide /y/, /u/ is fronted and is transcribed as [y̥]. (It is not as far forward as /u/.)

(48) <i>du</i>	[dʲu]	'insect'
<i>tunyel</i>	[tʲʊn.jɛl]	'haze'
<i>byu</i>	[bjy̥]	'rat'

### 2.3.1.4 /o/

The mid back vowel /o/ is slightly longer in open syllables and is transcribed [oː].

After palatal glides, /o/ is fronted and represented by [ɔ]. (It is not as far forward as ɤ.)

(49) <i>phenamo</i>	[p <sup>h</sup> e.naː.moː]	'horizontal'
<i>phos</i>	[p <sup>h</sup> os]	'release'
<i>gyo</i>	[gjoː]	'gold'

### 2.3.1.5 /a/

The low central vowel /a/ has the following allophones: [æ] and [aː]. The advanced low-

mid allophone [æ] occurs after palatal glides as in *jya* [dzjæ] 'eat' (see §2.3.5.1.3). The

vowel /a/ is slightly longer than other Magar vowels in all environments and is

particularly so in open syllables and in that position it is transcribed as [aː].

(50) <i>jha</i>	[dʒaː]	'soil, clay'
<i>wak</i>	[waʔ] (T) ~[wakˀ]~[wak]	'pig'
<i>cya</i>	[tʃjæ]	'scream'

### 2.3.1.6 /ʌ/

The mid central vowel /ʌ/ is found frequently in Nepali loan words, as in, for example:

bʌstu [bʌs.tu] 'livestock'.

(51) <i>ʌ</i>	[jʌ]	EMPH
<i>bo-ca</i>	['bo.tsʌ] (S)	'white'

Noonan (2003b:71) has observed that Nepali has /ʌ/ /ɑ/ /ə/ allomorphs in free variation

and that this allophony has been borrowed into a number of Nepalese Tibeto-Burman

languages, including Thakali, Chantyal, Ghale, and Kathmandu Newari, all of which

have evolved six-vowel systems like Nepali's. In Syangja Magar, there is similar

allophony; /o/ and /ʌ/ are in free variation, for example, 'person' is /bfiormi/ or /bfiʌrmi/.

In Tanahu dialect, /ʌ/ occurs in Nepali borrowings, but in native words the allophony does not occur and, for example, 'person' is consistently /bfiormi/.

### 2.3.1.7 Diphthongs

In native words, diphthongs occur only word-finally; for example, *moi* [moi] 'mother' and *dakrei* [d̪aː.kɾei] 'basket' and *leu* [leu] 'water moss'. Diphthongs can be found word-medially in Nepali borrowings, as for example, *balauti* [ba.lau.t̪i] 'guava' and *cauri* [tsau.i] 'yak.' Additional diphthongs [iu], [ia] and [aɪ] also occur but only as a result of morphophonemic processes; see §2.5.2.6.

### 2.3.2 Vowel phonotaxis

All vowels can precede or follow all Magar consonants. The distribution of vowels after glides, however, is restricted. The bilabial glide /w/, alone or in a cluster, is followed only by /a/ in roots; though it is morphophonologically epenthesized before affixes beginning with rounded vowels (see § 2.5.2.5). Following /y/, /i/ and /ʌ/ are not attested, /a/ and /o/ follow /y/ only if /y/ is not part of a consonant cluster. In closed syllables, only /a/ and /u/ follow /y/; /e/ and /u/ can follow /y/ without restriction.

## 2.4 Phonological processes

This section describes, in general terms, phonological process affecting consonants and vowels in monomorphemic stems. Specific examples have been noted in §2.2.3 and §2.3.1 above.

### 2.4.1 Consonants

This section will describe process of lenition and deletion, fortition and epenthesis, as well as assimilation of consonants.

### 2.4.1.1 Lenition and deletion

Lenition in codas is a very common process in Magar, particularly in Tanahu dialect.

The syllable-final velar consonant /k/ (final /g/ occurs only in borrowings) undergoes lenition in Tanahu dialect and reduces to a glottal stop; whereas in Syangja dialect final /k/ is unreleased, as in (52) (See also §2.2.3.1.2). Preceding a vowel the consonant does not reduce in either dialect (53).

(52) <i>jak-mΛ</i>	→ [dzaʔ.mΛ] (T)	~ [dzakʰ.mΛ] (S)	'like-NOM'
<i>git-ak</i>	→ [gi.tʰaʔ] (T)	~ [gi.tʰakʰ] (S)	'sprout-CAUS-PST'

cf.

(53) <i>jak-a</i>	→ [dza.kaʰ]	'like-PST'
<i>git-ak-a</i>	→ [gi.tʰa.kaʰ] (T)	'sprout-CAUS-PST'

In Tanahu dialect, syllable-final nasals coalesce with the vowel and delete. They are generally preserved in Syangja dialect.

(54) <i>nuŋ-mΛ</i>	→ [nũ:.mΛ] (T) ~ [nuŋ.mΛ] (S)	'go-NOM'
<i>nam</i>	→ [nã:] (T) ~ [nam] (S)	'sky'
<i>pihin</i>	→ [pi.hĩ:] (T) ~ [pi.hin] (S)	'tomorrow'

cf.

(55) <i>nuŋ-mΛ</i>	→ [nuŋ.mΛ]	'go-NOM'
<i>namas</i>	→ [na.mas]	'rain'
<i>pihin-o</i>	→ [pi.hi.noʰ]	'tomorrow-GEN'

An exception to the preservation of nasals in Syangja is the deletion of velar nasals before velar consonants which occurs in both dialects ((56)).

(56) <i>naŋ-ko</i>	→ [nã.ko]	'2S-GEN.HON'
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In both dialects, syllable-final voiceless aspirated stops: /ph/, /th/, /kh/ spirantize respectively to [ϕ], [θ] and [x], with /th/ also moving forward and changing place of articulation, from alveolar to dental. The voiceless aspirate /ph/ can also spirantize syllable-initially.

(57) <i>larpho</i>	→ [laɪ.pʰoʻ] ~ [la ɪ.ϕoʻ]	'head scarf'
<i>maph</i> [N]	→ [maϕ]	'forgiveness'
<i>goth</i> (N)	→ [goθ]	'cow shed'
<i>bikh</i> (N)	→ [bix]	'poison'

In both dialects, the voiced alveolar stop /d/, when intervocalic, lenites to a retroflex tap [ɽ] (as it also does in Nepali).

(58) <i>mi-dut</i>	→ [mi.ɽʊɽʻ]	'POSS-milk'
<i>mi-duŋga</i>	→ [mi. ɽuŋga:]	'POSS-neck'
<i>ma-dus</i>	→ [ma. ɽʊs]	'NEG-help'

(59) <i>dut</i>	[dʊɽʻ]	'milk'
<i>duŋga</i>	[dʊŋga:]	'neck'
<i>dus</i>	[dʊs]	'help'

#### 2.4.1.2 Fortition and epenthesis

Fortition is not common in Magar; however it does occur word-initially in the form of a prosthetic schwa before word-initial /r/ ((60)) and the epenthesis of a glottal stop before a word beginning with vowel ((61)).

(60) <i>re</i>	→ [ʰɪe]	'crab'
<i>ra</i>	→ [ʰɪaʻ]	'snare-trap'

(61) <i>aruwa</i>	→ [ʰaʻ.ɹu.waʻ]	'axe'
<i>aprin</i>	→ [ʰaʻ.pɹɪ] (T) ~ [ʰ aʻ.pɹɪn] (S)	'day after tomorrow'
<i>olfi</i>	→ [ʰô:ɿ]	'be sufficient'
<i>uk</i>	→ [ʰuʔ] (T) ~ [ʰuk] (S)	'vomit'

If, for example, the inalienable possessive *mi-* precedes *ri*, /r/ has no prosthetic schwa, as in [mi-ɹi] 'body dirt'.

#### 2.4.1.3 Assimilation

Certain initial consonants assimilate to their vocalic nucleus; for example, clear non-bilabial stops, both oral and nasal, are palatalized before mid and high-front vowels.

(62) <i>tisaniŋ</i>	→ [tʃi.sa.niŋ] (T) ~ [tʃi.sa.niŋŋ] (S)	'yesterday'
<i>di</i>	→ [dʒi]	'water'
<i>kes</i>	→ [kʲɛs]	'stir'
<i>ges</i>	→ [gʲɛs]	'play'
<i>ŋe</i>	→ [ŋje]	'cucumber'
<i>niba</i>	→ [ŋji.baʔ]	'father's elder sister's husband'

#### 2.4.2 Vowels

Phonological process affecting specific vowels and resulting in allophones have been dealt with in §2.3.1. This section deals with general phonological processes and includes: fronting, nasalization, lengthening and laxing of vowels, as well as murmured phonation of vowels.

##### 2.4.2.1 Vowel fronting and raising

Non-front stem vowels: /a/, /u/ and /o/, when following a palatalized consonant, are fronted and raised in open syllables. The vowel /a/ changes cardinal position to [æ], /u/ and /o/ move forward and up but not as far as the cardinal positions /uu/ and /ɔ/ respectively, hence are transcribed with the subscripted diacritic <₊>

(63) <i>jya</i>	→ [dʒjæ]	'eat'
<i>cya</i>	→ [tsjæ]	'scream'
<i>cyu</i>	→ [tsjᵤ]	'dog'
<i>gyo</i>	→ [gʲoʔ]	'gold'

However, with the addition of the past tense morpheme *-a*, which coalescences with the stem vowel [a] in open syllables, fronting does not occur. The past tenses are: *jya-a* [dʒjaʔ] 'ate' and *cya-a* [tsjaʔ] 'screamed'.

##### 2.4.2.2 Nasalization of vowels

Among the languages of Nepal, nasalized vowels are phonemic in Nepali and in languages of the Tamangic group (Mazaudon 1993-94). According to Noonan (2003b:71), distinctive nasal vowels are not a common feature in Himalayish languages,

though they do exist in Kham (Watters 2002), Newari (Genetti 1994) and Hayu (Michialovsky 1988a). Ebert (1994) also describes nasalized vowels in Camling but only for /o/ and /a/.

Nasalized vowels occur but are not phonemic in Magar. They are less frequently attested in Syangja dialect; however are common in Tanahu Magar, which attests nasalized vowels [ĩ, ẽ, ã, ɞ, õ, ũ]<sup>7</sup>. These vowels have come into the language via two routes: borrowings from Nepali and a phonological process coalescing final nasals and preceding vowels in native words. Nasal vowels in native Tanahu words are resolvable to: V + nasal C. This process occurs if a nasal consonant is word-final or syllable-final at a word internal juncture and if the subsequent consonant is homorganic and of the same phonation state (i.e. both must be clear or murmured).

(64) *nfiam-mΛ-le* [n̥ãː.mΛ.le] 'smelling'

cf.

(65) *nfiam-ke* [n̥am.ke] 'to smell'

If these conditions are not met, the nasal consonant does not coalesce. Nasalized vowels in the following were rejected by both Tanahu and Syangja speakers:

(66) *mun-pa-dis* [mun.pa.ɽis] → \*mũ-pa-ɽis 'desire'  
*jfiufi-mΛ-le* [dz̥ũːm̥.mΛ.le] → \*dz̥ũː-mΛ-le 'feeling cold'

Tanahu speakers, though they coalesce the nasal consonant and vowel, are still aware and in emphatic careful speech pronounced it. In addition, as noted above, the nasal consonant resurfaces with a clear vowel before vowel-initial suffixes such as past tense /a/. Acoustically, nasalized vowels are (compensatorily) lengthened, as seen in the contrast in (67).



- (67) (a) *pun-nis* → [pũ:.nis] (T) 'fight-IMP'  
 (b) *pun-a* → [pu.na] 'fight-PST'

In Syangja Magar, nasal consonants are generally preserved and vowels are only slightly nasalized (unavoidably so, due to opening of the velopharyngeal port in anticipation of the nasal consonant) this slight nasalization is not transcribed.

(68)	ROOT	<u>Syangja</u>	<u>Tanahu</u>	<u>Syangja and Tanahu</u>
	<i>khaŋ-</i>	[k <sup>h</sup> aŋ.ke]	[k <sup>h</sup> ã:.ke] 'to jump over'	[k <sup>h</sup> aŋ.a:] 'jumped over'
	<i>nham-</i>	[n̩am.m̩.le]	[n̩ã:.m̩.le] 'stinking'	[n̩a.ma:] 'stunk'

Interestingly, where Nepali has nasal vowels, Syangja speakers, when borrowing, will sometimes reassert a homorganic nasal stop before the final consonant. So, for example, [sũd̪] 'elephant trunk' from Nepali may become [sund̪] in Syangja.

Having said that Syangja does not have nasalized vowels, there is an isolated case of what may be a reduction of initial (not final) velar nasal. In Tanahu the verb 'look' is *ŋos* and in Syangja it is *õs*.

Neither Shepherd (1970) nor Subba (1971) consider nasalized vowels to be phonemic in Magar. Shepherd (1971) describes nasal vowels in Yanchok Magar, an eastern dialect, as "a contracted form of nasal consonant and vowel" (1971). He notes that only eight examples of nasal vowels were attested. This number is considerably higher in Tanahu Magar (and possibly now in Yanchok as well). The following pairs in Tanahu are underlyingly distinguished by a nasal consonant, which is pronounced when not syllable final. However, when syllable final these pairs are acoustically distinguished by the nasality of the vowel and consequent compensatory lengthening<sup>8</sup>.

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<sup>7</sup> Nasalized vowels are also attested in Gorkha Magar.

<sup>8</sup> It is also interesting to note that the Tanahu consultant, who had more formal education, wrote a nasal consonant but did not pronounce one, whereas the Gorkha consultant, without formal education, neither pronounced a nasal stop nor wrote one.

(69)	<i>dfi</i>	[d̥i]	'scold'	<i>dfie</i>	[d̥e]	'fat'
	<i>dfin</i>	[d̥i:]	'get, find'	<i>dfiem</i>	[d̥e:]	'up'
	<i>dfin-ke</i>	[d̥in.ke]	'get, find-NOM'	<i>dfiem-lak</i>	[d̥em.lakʔ]	'up-CIR'
(70)	<i>cha</i>	[ts <sup>h</sup> aʔ]	'sick'	<i>chu</i>	[ts <sup>h</sup> u]	'touch' (v)
	<i>cham</i>	[ts <sup>h</sup> ã:]	'hair'	<i>chum</i>	[ts <sup>h</sup> ũ:]	'wet'
	<i>cham-o</i>	[ts <sup>h</sup> a.moʔ]	'hair-GEN'	<i>chum-ak</i>	[ts <sup>h</sup> u.makʔ]	'wet-CAUS'

### 2.4.2.3 Vowel lengthening

Vowel length is not phonemic in native Magar. There are conditioned length differences, but not meaningful length contrasts. Length can be compensatory due to deletion of final nasals, deletion of /f/ and de-gemination. Length differences can also be a product of syllable structure; vowels are longer in open syllables.

In Tanahu, as noted in §2.4.2.2, nasalized vowels are a product of coalescence with a final nasal and this results in compensatory lengthening. There are also conditioned length contrasts for murmured vowels in both dialects; see §2.5.3.

Compensatory lengthening does not occur where coalescence results from affixation of an identical vowel suffix. For example, when the past tense morpheme *-a*, or imperative *-o*, is added to a stem ending in [a] or [o] respectively there is no change in vowel length. Thus, depending on the stem vowel, the present tense and imperative or past tense may be homophonous, as in (71).

(71)	<i>da</i>	[d̥aʔ]	'put'
	<i>da+a</i>	[d̥aʔ]	'put-PST'
	<i>pa</i>	[paʔ]	'try', 'search, '
	<i>pa + a</i>	[paʔ]	'try-PST', 'search-PST'
	<i>pho</i>	[p <sup>h</sup> oʔ]	'open'
	<i>pho + o</i>	[p <sup>h</sup> oʔ]	'open-IMP'

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Compensatory lengthen can also occur as a result of degemination, as in the following, see also §2.5.2.3.

(72)	<i>rut-cyo</i>	→ [ɹuts.tsjɔ̣ʔ]	→ [ɹuː.tsjɔ̣ʔ]	'thin, wrinkled'
	<i>matjya</i>	→ [madʒ.dʒjæ]	→ [maː.dʒjæ]	'OPT-NEG-eat'

#### 2.4.2.4 Vowel laxing

Vowels /i/, /e/, /u/ become lax in closed syllables and are transcribed as [ɪ] [ɛ] [ʊ]

respectively (73). /o/ and /ʌ/ do not change in quality in closed syllables ((74)).

(73)	<u>Open</u>			<u>Closed</u>		
	<i>mi-</i>	[mi]	POSS	<i>mik</i>	[mɪkʔ]	'eye'
	<i>-ke</i>	[ke]	INF	<i>kep</i>	[kɛp]	'ear'
	<i>hyu</i>	[hjụ]	'blood'	<i>hut</i>	[hʊʔ]	'hand'
	<i>da</i>	[dʌ]	'put'	<i>das</i>	[dʌs]	'leave'
(74)	<i>jʌ</i>	[dzʌ]	EMPH	<i>jʌnʌ</i>	[dzʌnʌ]	'people' (N)
	<i>pho</i>	[pʰoʔ]	'open'	<i>phos</i>	[pʰos]	'untie'

#### 2.4.2.5 Murmured vowels

In Magar there are two distinct types of murmured vowels resulting from two distinct phonological processes. The first is a process of progressive assimilation of the vocalic nucleus to a murmured onset consonant. Murmured vowels which result from this process have level pitch and no change in vowel length. These murmured vowels (type-one) contrast with clear vowels as in (75), and, as shall be seen, with type-two murmured vowels as well. (As noted, in close phonetic transcription, murmur is transcribed with the subscripted diacritic <..>).

(75)	(a)	<i>bat</i>	[bat]	'talk'
		<i>bfiat</i>	[bʰat]	'break'
	(b)	<i>ma</i>	[ma]	'NEG'
		<i>mfiā</i>	[mʰa]	'wound'

(c)	<i>da</i>	[d̥aʰ]	'put'
	<i>dfa</i>	[d̥aʰ]	'burn, kindle'
(d)	<i>nis</i>	[nis]	'HON.IMP'
	<i>nfiis</i>	[n̥is]	'two'
(e)	<i>gat</i>	[gat]	'bland'
	<i>gfāt</i>	[gāt]	'decrease'
(f)	<i>jat</i>	[dzaʰ]	'child'
	<i>jfa</i>	[dzaʰ]	'clay'

The second type of murmured vowel (type-two) differs from the first in that it is long and has a falling pitch-contour<sup>9</sup> (76a). Type-one murmured vowels (76b) have the same length quality as clear vowels (76c). Clear vowels make no length contrast, as demonstrated in (76d).

(76)	(a)	<i>dfiafi</i>	[d̥iā:]	'pour'
	(b)	<i>dfa</i>	[d̥aʰ]	'burn'
	(c)	<i>da</i>	[d̥aʰ]	'put'
	(d)	*	[d̥aʰ]	*not attested

Type-two murmured vocalic nuclei can follow all onsets: clear voiced and voiceless (77a), aspirated (77b) and murmured (77c). Thus type-two murmur is independent of the onset and, I propose, results from a process of regressive assimilation to the coda; for further discussion see §2.5.3. In the bracketed phonetic transcription, length is transcribed with < : > and a fall in pitch with < ^ >.

(77)	(a)	Clear onset (voiced and voiceless)
		<i>tafi</i> [tā:] 'reach a destination'

<sup>9</sup> Maddieson and Ladefoged (1985:451) describe laryngeal settings such as murmur as 'syndromes' signaled by a complex of features; Magar bears this out. Murmur has been found to correlate (Maddieson and Ladefoged 1985, Gordon and Ladefoged, 2001, Ladefoged, 2003) with greater vowel length, and a drop in pitch. These two correlates are apparent in Magar. However, as already observed not all instances of murmur have these correlates. Greater length for murmured (a.k.a. lax) vowels is also attested in Lhomi Tibetan (S. Watters 2002).

<i>dufi</i>	[d̥u̯:]	'ram ~ collide'
(b) Aspirated onset (voiceless)		
<i>thafi</i>	[tʰâ:]	'sink'
<i>chafi</i>	[tʰhâ:]	'be pierced'
(c) Murmured onset (voiced)		
<i>rfiu</i>	[ɹ̥u̯]	'egg'
<i>gfiat</i>	[g̥at]	'decrease'
<i>bfiat</i>	[b̥at]	'break'

The two different types of murmured vowel in Magar have overlapping, but different distributions. In the examples in (78) there is a syllable initial murmured consonant, but there is also vocalic length and a drop in pitch indicating that murmur also results from a syllable final.

(78) <i>dhafi</i>	[d̥hâ:]	'pour'
<i>bhafi</i>	[b̥hâ:]	'separate oneself'

Though they may overlap, the distribution of the two murmured vowel types differ. Type-one murmured vowels must appear with a murmured initial consonant, but can appear in open syllables or with any consonant final. Type-two murmured vowels can appear with all onsets but are found only in open or sonorant-final (nasals and approximants) syllables. (In the case of sonorant final rhymes murmur is heard throughout, i.e. on the vowel and a final sonorant). This constraint lends support to the analysis that the coda is responsible for the phonation quality of the rhyme<sup>10</sup>. It is also noteworthy that type-two murmured vowels occur only in verbs, indicating that the

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<sup>10</sup> Evidence from morphophonological alternations further supports the analysis that these two types of murmur have two different sources: one is a result of assimilation to the onset and the other dependent on the features of the coda; see 2.5.1 for further discussion.

process is not only a phonological process of regressive assimilation, but a morphophonological one. This is discussed in § 2.5.3.

(79) <i>kalfi</i>	[ka̠:]	'climb'
<i>sorfi</i>	[sô̠:]	'fry'
<i>jumfi</i>	[dzû̠:]	'cold'
<i>nunfi</i>	[nû̠:]	'get'
<i>tonfi</i>	[tô̠:]	'stand'
<i>birfi</i>	[bî̠:]	'be afraid'

These two assimilation processes resulting in two types of murmured vowel produce a complex set of phonetic surface contrasts involving clear vowels and murmured vowels, which contrast for pitch and level and these in combination with contrasting initial consonant types. Two-way ((80)), three-way ((81)) and four-way contrasts ((82)) are attested; the latter are rare.

(80) (a) <i>rufi</i>	[ɹû̠:]	'wither' ~ 'wrinkle'
<i>rhu</i>	[ɹu]	'egg'
(b) <i>cufi</i>	[tsû̠:]	'cough'
<i>chu</i>	[ts <sup>h</sup> u]	'touch'
(c) <i>cofi</i>	[tsô̠:]	'painful itch', 'sting'
<i>cho</i>	[ts <sup>h</sup> o]	'dry'
(d) <i>cha</i>	[ts <sup>h</sup> a]	'sick'
<i>chafi</i>	[ts <sup>h</sup> â̠:]	'be pierced'
(e) <i>ɲefi</i>	[ɲjê̠:]	'beg'
<i>ɲe</i>	[ɲje]	'cucumber'
(f) <i>pafi</i>	[pâ̠:]	'learn'
<i>pa</i>	[pa]	'try'
(g) <i>dufi</i>	[dû̠:]	'ram' (verb)
<i>du</i>	[du]	'insect'

	(h) <i>dofi</i>	[d̥ô:]	'repeat'
	<i>do</i>	[d̥o']	'penis'
(81)	(a) <i>da</i>	[d̥a']	'put'
	<i>dfa</i>	[d̥a']	'burn, kindle'
	<i>dfafi</i>	[d̥â:]	'pour'
	(b) <i>bafi</i>	[b̥â:]	'settle'
	<i>bfiak</i>	[b̥ak]	'separate something'
	<i>bfiafi</i>	[b̥â:]	'separate ones' self'
	(c) <i>la</i>	[la']	'take with'
	<i>lfa</i>	[l̥a']	'leaf'
	<i>lafi</i>	[l̥â:]	'self'
	(d) <i>ra</i>	[Ja']	'bird trap'
	<i>rfa</i>	[J̥a']	'goat'
	<i>rafi</i>	[J̥â:]	'come'
	(f) <i>tho</i>	[t̥h̥o']	'dash', 'spit'
	<i>tofi</i>	[t̥ô:]	'reach for', 'seize'
	<i>thofi</i>	[t̥h̥ô:]	'collide', 'collect', 'brew'
(82)	(a) <i>ta</i>	[ta']	'REP'
	<i>tha</i>	[t̥h̥a']	'knowledge' (N)
	<i>tafi</i>	[t̥â:]	'reach a destination'
	<i>thafi</i>	[t̥h̥â:]	'sink'

Contrasts in phonation, between clear and murmured vowels with pitch changes are found in Bodish languages. This phenomenon is not a typical feature of Himalayish languages. The Bodish languages which exhibit this contrast are called 'phonation-register' languages (also called 'voice register' or 'pitch registers'). This is discussed in § 2.5.3.1.

## 2.5 Morphophonological processes

This section deals with phonological changes which result from affixation of morphemes to the stem. It examines consonant changes (§ 2.5.1), alternations in clear vowels and glides (§2.5.2), and in murmured vowels (§2.5.3).

### 2.5.1 Morphophonology of consonants

#### 2.5.1.1 Assimilation

The alveolar /t/, when it precedes a palatal-initial affix completely assimilates. The geminates then coalesce and the preceding vowel is compensatorily lengthened (the final /a/ in *jya* 'eat' undergoes raising, see §2.4.2.1).

(83) <i>rut-cyo</i>	→ [ɽuts.tsjɔ̃]	→ [ɽuː.tsjɔ̃]	'thin, wrinkled'
<i>matjya</i>	→ [maɔ̃.ɔ̃jæ]	→ [maː.ɔ̃jæ]	'OPT-NEG-eat'

The imperfective aspect marker *le* (also the copula) assimilates to a preceding alveolar nasal stem-final and becomes [ne] (84). Otherwise approximants, and affixes beginning with [l] do not assimilate to nasals as in (85)

(84) <i>chanfi-le</i>	→ <i>chanfi-ne</i>	[tsʰãn.njʰe]	'become-IMPF'
<i>ginfi-le</i>	→ <i>ginfi-ne</i>	[gɪ̃n.njʰe]	'ask-IMPF'
<i>phin-le</i>	→ <i>phin-ne</i>	[pʰɪ.nje]	'cook-IMPF'

cf.

(85) <i>nfun-lak</i>	[ṇun.laʔ] (T) ~ [ṇun.lakʰ] (S)	'down-CIR'
<i>dhem-lak</i>	[ḍem.laʔ] (T) ~ [ḍem.lakʰ] (S)	'up-CIR'

However, if additional suffixes follow, there is no assimilation, even if the suffix begins with a segment derived from *le*, as in *chanfi+laŋ* [chanfi + le + aŋ] (S), 'I am becoming', the result is [tsʰãːn.laŋ].



### 2.5.1.2 Affrication

With the addition of high front suffixes, such as the ergative, instrumental *-e* and the focus marker *-i* the alveolar fricative [s] of the definite reference morpheme affricates resulting in {ts}, as in:

(86) <i>i-se-i</i>	→ [i.tse.i]	'D.DEM-DEF-FOC'
<i>ho-se-i</i>	→ [ho'.tse.i]	'D.DEM-DEF-FOC'
<i>a-se-i</i>	→ [a'.tse.i]	'D.DEM-DEF-FOC'

### 2.5.1.3 Degemination

Geminates do not occur in native monomorphemic Magar words; moreover if geminates resulting from compounds or affixation they undergo de-gemination. For example, *nfi:s* + *syak*, 'front teeth' (literally 'two + teeth') becomes [nfi:syak]; *wak-ke*, 'for the pig' becomes [wa'ke]. Combinations of a clear plus a murmured variant in compounds do not coalesce as in *hul.lhuŋ*, [hul.l̥uŋ], 'whetstone' (literally: 'pull' + 'stone'). Native Nepali geminates, which are distinctive intervocalically, when borrowed into Magar, are retained, as in (87).

(87) <i>jΛŋŋΛ</i> (N)	→ [dzΛŋ.ŋΛ]	'angry'
<i>husΛ</i> (N)	→ [hus.sΛ]	'fog', 'absent minded'

## 2.5.2 Morphophonology of clear vowels and glides

This section describes changes in clear vowels and glides induced by morphological affixation.

### 2.5.2.1 Vowel dissimilation

This dissimilation process is specific to the ergative suffix *-e* when following low and mid vowels /e/, /a/ and /Λ/ becomes *-i*.

(88) <i>ja-e</i>	→ [dzai]	'child-ERG'
<i>bakhrΛ-e</i>	→ [ba'.kɪΛi]	'billy goat ERG'
<i>re-e</i>	→ [°.ɪei]	'crab-ERG'

### 2.5.2.2 Vowel coalescence

If due to affixation the vowels /a/, /o/ or /e/ become adjacent to an identical vowel these will reduce to a single segment, as in (89). As example (90) demonstrates, this process cycles.

(89) <i>ga + a</i>	→ [ga']	'drink-PST'
<i>ma + ale</i>	→ [ma.le']	'NEG-be'
<i>lo-o</i>	→ [lo']	'buy-IMP'
<i>a-le-e</i>	→ [ʔa.le']	'IRR-be -IRR'

(90) *ŋa-da-a-aŋ* → *ŋa-da-aŋ* → *ŋa-da-ŋ* [ŋa.d̪aŋ](S) '1PRO -put-PST-1PRO'

### 2.5.2.3 Vowel deletion

Root-final vowels following a glide, in poly-syllabic words delete before a vocalic suffix;

i.e.  $V_2$  in  $V_1G V_2 + V_3$  becomes  $V_1G V_3$ , as in (91)<sup>11</sup>.

(91) <i>aruwa-e</i>	→ [ʔa.u.we]	'axe-INST'
<i>biruwa-o</i>	→ [bi.u.wo']	'sapling-GEN'
<i>ghoyo-us</i>	→ [gɔ'.jus]	'plough-HORT'
<i>ɟɾaya-o</i>	→ [jɿ.ɿa.jo']	'stag-GEN'

Verbal affixes undergo other systematic changes specific to them; for example, the irrealis *-e* will drop out before the past tense *-a*. This deletion does not occur outside the verb paradigm. In (92a) an additional, coalescence of the /a/ + /a/ takes place, see §

#### 2.5.2.2.

(92) (a) <i>a-mis-e-a-aŋ</i>	→ <i>a-mis-a-aŋ</i>	→ <i>a-mis-aŋ</i>	[ʔa.miʃ.aŋ]	'IRR-sleep-IRR-PST-1PRO'
(b) <i>dup-le-aŋ</i>	→ <i>dup-l-aŋ</i>		[d̪ʊp'.laŋ]	'meet-IMPF-1PRO'

### 2.5.2.4 Glide deletion

The addition of vocalic suffixes induces on-glide deletion in mono-syllabic words. For example, with the addition of the ergative / instrumental suffix *-e* to *cyu*, [tsju] 'dog' the

<sup>11</sup> This process was also observed by Subba (2000).

y-glide (closely transcribed as [j]) fronts the vowel and then drops out resulting in [tsɿ.e];

similarly *gyo-e* 'gold-INST' becomes [go.e].

(93) <i>cyu-e</i>	→ [tsɿ.e]	'dog-ERG'
<i>byu-e</i>	→ [bɿ.e]	'rat-ERG'
<i>gyo-e</i>	→ [go.e]	'gold-INST'

With the addition of vocalic suffixes the bilabial on-glide (w-glide) rounds the stem vowel and deletes.

(94) <i>gwa-o</i>	→ [go'.o']	'bird-GEN'
<i>dikwa-o</i>	→ [di.ko.o]	'water-spring-GEN'
<i>gwa-ij</i>	→ [go'.iŋ]	'bird-ABL'

These vowel combinations consistently undergo further changes. Two adjacent identical vowels coalesce as in (94) (see § 2.5.2.2).

(95) <i>gwa-o</i>	→ [go'.o']	→ [go']	'bird-GEN'
<i>di-kwa-o</i>	→ [di.ko.o]	→ [di.ko']	'water-spring-GEN'

If the vowels are of different quality, then a glide is epenthesized; see §2.5.2.5.

#### 2.5.2.5 Glide epenthesis

Vowels of different quality (if not preceded by a glide, see § 2.5.2.3) are juxtaposed due to affixation, are bridged by glides. Between front stem-vowels and vowel-initial affixes y-glides (IPA [j]) are inserted.

(96) <i>si-a</i>	→ [ʃi.ʲa']	'die-PST'
<i>se-o</i>	→ [ʃe.ʲo']	'feel-IMP'
<i>de-ahaŋ</i>	→ [de.ʲa'.haŋ]	'say-COND'

Between back stem-vowels and vowel-initial morphemes w-glides are inserted (Recall that *gwa-o* undergoes reduction; see §2.5.2.4).

(97) <i>bu-a</i>	→ [bu.ʷa']	'carry-PST'
<i>huku-ij</i>	→ [hu.ku.ʷiŋ]	'bamboo-ABL'

*gwa-ij* → [go.iŋ] → [go.<sup>w</sup>iŋ] 'bird-ABL'

If glides are epenthesized into open syllables, a further process of diphthongization may be undergone, see §2.5.2.6. In addition, the conditional form *de-ahaj* 'say-COND' can undergo additional processes which are specific to this word. The vowel /e/ and /a/ preceding /h/ drop out, the /y/ and /h/ then metathesize, and the initial /d/ becomes murmured resulting in *dhiyaŋ* [d̥ji̯aŋ].

### 2.5.2.6 Diphthongization

The combination of stem vowels (if not high back), plus glide bridging a morpheme boundary and vocalic affix may optionally diphthongize. For example, *si-o* [ʃi.<sup>o</sup>] 'die-IMP' may become [ʃiu] and *a-da-e* 'IRR-put-IRR' [ʔa.d̥a.<sup>e</sup>] may become [ʔa.d̥ai].

(98) <i>si-o</i>	→ [ʃi. <sup>o</sup> ]	→ [ʃiu]	'die-IMP'
<i>de-o</i>	→ [d̥e. <sup>o</sup> ]	→ [d̥eu]	'speak-IMP'
<i>da-o</i>	→ [d̥a. <sup>w</sup> o]	→ [d̥au]	'put-IMP'
<i>rhi-a</i>	→ [r̥hi. <sup>w</sup> o]	→ [r̥hi̯au]	'goat-GEN'
(99) <i>re-i</i>	→ [ʔre. <sup>i</sup> ]	→ [ʔreI]	'crab-ERG'
<i>a-ga-e</i>	→ [ʔa.ga. <sup>e</sup> ]	→ [ʔa.gai]	'IRR-drink-IRR'
<i>a+lo-e</i>	→ [ʔa.lo. <sup>w</sup> e]	→ [ʔa.loI]	'IRR-buy-IRR'
<i>rhi-e</i>	→ [r̥hi. <sup>e</sup> ]	→ [r̥hi̯I]	'goat-ERG'

The direction of movement of the diphthong depends upon the suffix vowel. If a back vowel then a rising-back diphthong will result; for example [i.<sup>o</sup>] will become [iu]. If a front-vowel (mid or high) a rising-front diphthong will result; for example [i.<sup>e</sup>] will become [ai]. If the suffixal vowel is low-front, a mid-falling diphthong [ia] will result.

(100) <i>si-o</i>	→ [ʃi. <sup>o</sup> ]	→ [ʃiu]	'die-IMP'
<i>ra-e</i>	→ [ʔra. <sup>e</sup> ]	→ [ʔrai]	'trap-INST'
<i>si-a</i>	→ [ʃi. <sup>a</sup> ]	→ [ʃia]	'die-PST'

Some speakers of Tanahu dialect reduce further the diphthong [au] to [u] as is the case for the first person possessives, as in (101).

(101) *ŋa-o* → [ŋa.<sup>w</sup>o'] → [ŋau] → [ŋu] 'IS-GEN'

The high back vowels when followed by a vocalic affix behave differently than other vowels. The high-back vowel [u] and the epenthesized glides do not diphthongize and the glide is preserved.

(102) *bu-o* → [bu.<sup>w</sup>o'] 'carry-IMP'  
*ju + o* → [dzu.<sup>w</sup>o'] 'thorn-GEN'  
*dibu + o* → [dʒi.bu.<sup>w</sup>o'] 'cloud-GEN'

### 2.5.2.7 Metaphony

Vowel harmony occurs between the inalienable possession prefix and the stem; and between the causative suffix and the stem.

#### 2.5.2.7.1 Inalienable possession marker

The possession prefix *mi-* harmonizes with mid-vowels /o/ and /e/ in the root and becomes [me-]. Before high and low vowels it remains *mi-*.

(103) *mi-khe* → [me.khe] 'POSS- intestine'  
*mi-sos* → [me.sos] 'POSS-fat'

cf.

(104) *mi-hut* → [mi.huʔ'] ~ [mi.huʔ] 'POSS-hand'  
*mi-mik* → [mi.miʔ'] (T) ~ [mi.mik'] 'POSS-eye'  
*mi-cham* → [mi.ts<sup>h</sup>ã'] (T) ~ [mi.ts<sup>h</sup>am] 'POSS-hair'

Before vowel-initial stems the possessive becomes a y-on-glide (IPA j), as in (105).

(105) *mi-arkin* → [mjaɪ.kin] 'POSS-fingernail'  
*mi-armin* → [mjaɪ.min] 'POSS-name'  
*mi-angola* → [mjaŋ.goːla] 'POSS-finger'

In Tanahu dialect only *mi-nakep* 'POSS-ear' undergoes metathesis and then reduces to [men.kep].

The inalienable possession marker can also induce metaphonic vowel raising in compounds. Recall that *rĥa-o* 'goat-GEN' reduces to [ʔaʔu] (see §2.5.2.6). When compounded with *mi-ja* 'POSS-child', [ʔaʔu] becomes [ʔum.dza]; likewise *gwa-o* 'bird-GEN' reduces to [goʔ] (see §2.5.2.5 and §2.5.2.2.) and when compounded with *mi-ja* becomes [gum.dza].

(106) <i>rĥa-o-mi-ja</i>	→ [ʔaʔu.mi.dzaʔ]	→ [ʔum.dzaʔ]	'goat-GEN-POSS-child'
<i>gwa-o-mi-ja</i>	→ [go.mi.dzaʔ]	→ [gum.dzaʔ]	'bird-GEN-POSS-child'

#### 2.5.2.7.2 Causative marker

The vowel of the causative suffix *-ak* harmonizes with the stem vowel if the stem-final (i.e. the intervening) consonant is a clear approximant /r/ or /l/, or an clear anterior nasal /m/, /n/, as in (107). Metaphony does not occur with other clear stem-finals ((108)).

(107) <i>kher-ak</i>	→ [k <sup>h</sup> e.ɛʔ] (T) ~ [k <sup>h</sup> e.ɛkʔ]	'run-CAUS'
<i>gĥel-ak</i>	→ [ge.ɛʔ] (T) ~ [ge.ɛkʔ]	'decay-CAUS'
<i>jĥur-ak</i>	→ [dʒu.ɽʔ] (T) ~ [dʒu.ɽkʔ]	'light-CAUS', 'illuminate'
<i>chim-ak</i>	→ [tʃ <sup>h</sup> i.miʔ] (T) ~ [tʃ <sup>h</sup> i.mikʔ]	'dry-CAUS'
<i>arthin-ak</i>	→ [aɪ.tʃi.niʔ] (T) ~ [aɪ.tʃi.nikʔ]	'thicken'
<i>kolĥom-ak</i>	→ [ko.ɽ.lo.moʔ] (T) ~ [ko.ɽ.lo.mokʔ]	'wrap-CAUS', 'entwine'
<i>mol-ak</i>	→ [mo.ɽloʔ] (T) ~ [mo.lokʔ]	'rub-CAUS'
(108) <i>bĥeres-ak</i>	→ [bɛ.ɛ.saʔ] (T) ~ [bɛ.ɛ.sakʔ]	'sprinkle-CAUS', 'sow'
<i>cup-ak</i>	→ [tsu.paʔ] (T) ~ [tsu.pakʔ]	'suck-CAUS'
<i>thok-ak</i>	→ [tʃo.kaʔ] (T) ~ [tʃo.kaʔak]	'stumble-CAUS'
<i>nĥuk-dis-ak</i>	→ [nɽk'.dʒi.saʔ] (T) ~ [nɽk'.dʒi.sakʔ]	'shrink-CAUS'

The causative suffix does not harmonize with vowels in open syllables, nor is there coalescence of vowels as occurs with the addition of other morphemes (see §2.5.2.2). If the vowels are of different quality, a glide is epenthesized, as described in § 2.5.2.4, a bilabial glide follows rounded vowels and palatal glide non-rounded vowels ((109)).

Verbs ending in a stem-final [a] will epenthesize an alveolar stop [t] ((110)). This may be a vestigial transitive marker see §4.3.1; in Tanahu dialect this [t] weakens to glottal stop.

(109) <i>bu-ak</i>	→ [bu. <sup>w</sup> aʔ] (T) ~[bu. <sup>w</sup> akʔ] (S)	'carry-CAUS'
<i>lo-ak</i>	→ [lo. <sup>w</sup> aʔ] (T) ~[lo. <sup>w</sup> akʔ] (S)	'take-CAUS'
<i>si-ak</i>	→ [ʃi. <sup>j</sup> aʔ] (T) ~[ʃi. <sup>j</sup> akʔ] (S)	'die-CAUS'
<i>de-o</i>	→ [d̥e. <sup>j</sup> aʔ] (T) ~[d̥e. <sup>w</sup> akʔ] (S)	'speak-CAUS'
(110) <i>pa-ak</i>	→ [pa. <sup>ʔ</sup> aʔ] (T) ~[pa. takʔ] (S)	'try-CAUS', 'search-CAUS'
<i>dʃa-ak</i>	→ [d̥ʃa. <sup>ʔ</sup> aʔ] (T) ~[d̥ʃa. takʔ] (S)	'burn-CAUS'

### 2.5.3 Morphophonology of murmured vowels

As discussed in §2.4.2.5, there are two attestations of murmured vowel: murmured vowels with level pitch and unmarked length (type-one) and murmured vowels which are long and have a low-falling pitch contour (type-two). Both are the products of phonological assimilation processes which result in a surface contrast. Clear vowels do not make this contrast. As noted above (§2.4.2.5), these two murmured types correlate with the type of onset or coda with which they appear. Type-one murmured vowels will always appear with a murmured initial onset, for example, *dʃa* [d̥ʃa] 'burn', where the initial *dʃ* [d̥ʃ] conditions vocalic murmur. Type-two murmured vowels may also occur with clear and aspirated onsets, voiced and voiceless, as well as murmured. Murmured phonation of the vocalic nucleus is conditioned by the coda; as for example in *paʃi* [p̥aː:] 'learn'. These vowels; they are however limited to open or sonorant-final codas as in (111).

(111) <i>paʃi</i>	[p̥aː:]	'learn'
<i>syafi</i>	[ʃj̥aː:]	'dance, adorn oneself'

<i>thofi</i>	[t <sup>h</sup> ô:]	'brew' itr.
<i>phufi</i>	[p <sup>h</sup> û:]	'spring up' (said of water)
<i>kolomfi</i>	[ko.lô:m]	'wind up' itr.
<i>ganfi</i>	[gâ:n]	'be startled, jerk'
<i>toŋfi-</i>	[tô:n]	'stop oneself'
<i>cirfi-</i>	[ʃi:ɪ]	'split' itr.
<i>bilfi-</i>	[bi:]	'dress oneself'

Significantly, type-two murmured vowels are found only in verbs. Furthermore, as will be examined here, verbs with type-two final murmur always undergo specific morphophonological stem alternations that clear vowels and vowels with murmur conditioned solely by the onset do not. These factors indicate that type-two murmur is the result, not only of the phonological process of regressive assimilation, but of a morphophonological process; specifically the addition of a coda-final morpheme /h/. The meaning of which will shortly be discussed.

Regarding stem alternations, verbs with type-two murmured vowels, with addition of vowel-initial suffixes undergo the following changes: 1. a syllable-initial voiceless glottal fricative /h/ (re-)surfaces between the root and suffix; 2. the root and suffix re-syllabify and /h/ becomes the onset of the vocalic suffix; 3. the root and suffix lose their murmured phonation (unless there is also a murmured onset); 4. the vowel loses its length (which is likely compensatory lengthening due to the loss of /h/); 5. there is no drop in pitch, as seen in (112).

(112) <i>pafi</i>	[pâ:]	'learn'	→	<i>pah-a</i>	[pa'.ha']	'learn-PST'
<i>cufi</i>	[tsû:]	'cough'	→	<i>cuh-a</i>	[tsu'.ha']	'cough-PST'
<i>bafi</i>	[bâ:]	'settle'	→	<i>bafi-a</i>	[ba'.ha']	'settle-PST'
<i>dufi</i>	[dû:]	'collide'	→	<i>dufi-a</i>	[du'.ha']	'collide-PST'
<i>ganfi</i>	[gâ:n]	'be startled'	→	<i>ganfi</i>	[ga'.ha:]	'be startled-PST'



In cases of verb roots with both a murmured onset and a type-two murmured vocalic nucleus, such as, for example: *dfiafi* [d̥â:] 'pour', the vowel is conditioned by both the syllable initial and coda as in (113).

(113) <i>dfiafi</i>	[d̥â:]	'pour' itr.
<i>bfiāfi</i>	[b̥â:]	'separate oneself.'
<i>mfiinfi</i>	[m̥î:ŋ]	'ripen, cook' itr.

With the addition of a vowel-initial suffix, a verb with a murmured onset and type-two murmured vowels will be murmured phonation due to progressive assimilation from the onset. However, the vocalic nucleus loses both length and low-falling pitch contour, and /h/ is heard as the vocalic onset of the suffix; for example *dfiah-a* is realized as [d̥a.ha:] 'pour-PST'; thus *dfiafi* [d̥â:] patterns with words having a murmured coda such as *pafi* [pâ:] 'learn'<sup>12</sup>.

By contrast, in verbs with type-one murmur such as *dfia* [d̥a:] 'burn', with the addition of vocalic suffixes, no /h/ surfaces between the morphemes, no resyllabification occurs. Rather the verb stem undergoes the same process as a clear vowel: either coalescence (see §2.5.2.2), or epenthesis (see §2.5.2.5). Table 2.7 illustrates stem alternations and contrasts between type-one, type-two and murmured vowels and clear vowels. (These forms may also undergo the additional process of diphthongization, §2.5.2.6, but for comparative purposes this process is not transcribed in the table.)

<sup>12</sup> Morphophonological effects on tone - often idiosyncratic ones - such as tone switching and deletion or addition of tone are recorded for Himalayan languages. Evans (2008) records tone-switching and insertion for Mianchi Qiang, both switching and deletion for Zhuokeji Jiarong and deletion for Caodeng Qiang.

**Table 2.5 Morphophonological alternations in murmured and clear vowels**

gloss	root	past	imperative	irrealis	causative
		/-a/	/-o/	/a- -e/	/-ak/
<i>dfiafi</i> 'pour'	ɖâ:	ɖâ.ha'	ɖâ.ho'	a.ɖâ.he	ɖâ.hak'
<i>dfia</i> 'burn'	ɖâ:	ɖâ:	ɖâ. <sup>w</sup> o'	a.ɖâ. <sup>j</sup> e	ɖâ. <sup>?</sup> ak'
<i>da</i> 'put'	ɖâ:	ɖâ:	ɖâ. <sup>w</sup> o'	a.ɖâ. <sup>j</sup> e	ɖâ. <sup>?</sup> ak'
<i>pafi</i> 'learn'	pâ:	pa.ha'	pa.ho'	a.pa.he	pa.hak'
<i>pa</i> 'try'	pa:	pa:	pa. <sup>w</sup> o'	a.pa. <sup>j</sup> e	pa. <sup>?</sup> ak'
<i>bfiāfi</i> 'separate' itr.	bâ:	bâ.ha'	bâ.ho'	a.bâ.he	bâ.hak'
<i>bafi</i> 'alight'	bâ:	ba.ha'	ba.ho'	a.ba.he	ba.hak'
<i>mhinfi</i> 'ripen' itr.	mî:ŋ	mî.na.ha'	mî.na.ho'	a.mî.na.he	mî.na.hak'
<i>mhin</i> 'cook' tr.	mî:ŋ	mî.na'	mî.no'	a.mî.ne	mî.nak'

Vowel harmony (§2.5.2.7) does not consistently occur in cases of a murmured stem-final consonant, as seen in (114).

- (114) *pinfi-ak* → [pĩ.hak'] ~ [pĩ.hik'] ~ [pĩ.haʔ] ~ [pĩ.hiʔ] (T)  
 → [pin.hak'] ~ [pin.hik'] (S) 'be full-CAUS', 'fill'
- jurfi-ak* → [dzu.j.hak'] ~ [dzu.j.haʔ] ~ [dzu.j.huk'] ~ [dzu.j.huʔ] (T)  
 → [dzu.j.hak'] ~ [dzu.j.huk'] (S) 'feel cold-CAUS'

Type-two murmured vowels are retained before suffixes beginning with a consonant as, seen in Table 2.8.

**Table 2.6 Murmured vowels before consonant suffixes**

gloss	root	durative	honorific-imperative
		/ mʌ.le/	/ni(s) <sup>13</sup> /
<i>dfiafi</i> 'pour'	ɖâ:	ɖâ:.m <sup>h</sup> ʌ.le	ɖâ:.n <sup>h</sup> is
<i>bfiāfi</i> 'separate itr.'	bâ:	bâ:.m <sup>h</sup> ʌ.le	bâ:.n <sup>h</sup> is
<i>pafi</i> 'learn'	pâ:	pâ:.m <sup>h</sup> ʌ.le	pâ:.n <sup>h</sup> is
<i>ganfi</i> 'startle' itr.	gâ:ŋ	gâ:ŋ.m <sup>h</sup> ʌ.le	ma-gâ:ŋ.n <sup>h</sup> is

Mazaudon (2005) has observed for Tamangic languages that grammatical suffixes are devoid of distinctive tones and as a result tone spreads from the stem to suffixes.

<sup>13</sup> The honorific imperative is *-nis* in Syangja dialect and *-ni* in Tanahu dialect.

Though not a tonal language, there is evidence in Magar that murmur spreads. It is only to suffixal nasals that it spreads this; and this phenomenon is more salient among Syangja speakers. Murmur, when it spreads to the suffix, is weaker than stem murmur; hence shown as a superscripted <<sup>h</sup>> not as <..>. For example, the murmur of the nasal in the honorific-imperative suffix *-nis* [n<sup>h</sup>ɪs], is less salient than that in *nɪs* [nɪs] 'two'.

(115) <i>pafi-me</i> (S)	[pâ:. <sup>h</sup> m <sup>h</sup> e]	'learning'
<i>yafi-ni</i> (S)	[jâ:. <sup>h</sup> n <sup>h</sup> i]	'give-OPT'
<i>pafi-nis</i> (S)	[pâ:. <sup>h</sup> n <sup>h</sup> ɪs]	'learn-IMP'
<i>kalfi-ni</i> (S)	[kâ:. <sup>h</sup> n <sup>h</sup> i]	'climb-OPT'
<i>toŋfi-ni</i> (S)	[tô:ŋ. <sup>h</sup> n <sup>h</sup> i]	'stand up-OPT'
<i>sorfi-me</i> (S)	[sô:. <sup>h</sup> m <sup>h</sup> e]	'frying'

In Shepherd's (1971) record of Yanchok Magar, aspiration is transcribed on the infinitive suffix *-ke* of all verbs which in Tanahu and Syangja have murmured stems (116) (becoming [khe]. This spread of phonation does not occur in Tanahu and Syangja, except for nasals, as described above.

(116) <u>Yanchok</u>		<u>Tanahu and Syangja</u>	
<i>pa-khe</i>	[pa.khe]	<i>pafi-ke</i>	[pâ:. <sup>h</sup> ke] 'to learn'
<i>ya-khe</i>	[ya.khe]	<i>yafi-ke</i>	[yâ:. <sup>h</sup> ke] 'to give'
<i>ra-khe</i>	[ra.khe]	<i>rafi-ke</i>	[râ:. <sup>h</sup> ke] 'to come'

### 2.5.3.1 Areal context and sources for murmured phonation

Noonan (2003b:69) has observed that presence of murmured phonation and its role in the phonological system distinguishes the three major language groups of Nepal: Bodish, Nepali (Indo-Aryan) and Himalayish. Nepali is atonal and murmur is phonologically a feature of consonants. In the Bodish languages of Nepal (Tamangic and the Tibetan complex), murmur is a concomitant of tone, typically associated with low tone and often manifests as breathiness of the vowel and initial consonant. However, as Noonan

(2003b:69) observes, "... murmur can be found in syllables with voiceless as well as voiced initials, at least in some languages."

For the Himalayish languages, murmur and its relationship to initial consonants, or to tone, is not straightforward and there is variation in the presence and manifestation of murmur and tone across the languages of this group. Murmur in these languages is generally after the Nepali fashion (a product of the initial consonant), but not exclusively so. Kham (Watters 2002:36-45), for example has murmur as a concomitant of tone (possibly due to the influence of Bodish languages, possibly a proto-feature). In the Newari dialects (Genetti 1994), Dolakha does not have murmur, but Kathmandu has consonantal onset murmur, like Nepali. Of the Kiranti languages, Ebert (1997a, 1997b) records that murmured stops only rarely occur in Athpare and Camling; Limbu has murmured stops but only in a few loan words. Caughley (1982) reports phonetic murmur for Chepang, which he analyzes phonemically as a sequence of voiced consonant and /h/. Noonan (2003b:69) states that "...in the Himalayish group, we can assume that the presence of murmur is an innovation deriving from contact with either Nepali or Bodish... and of recent origin."<sup>14</sup>

Magar shows evidence of murmur in the Nepali fashion, i.e. as a feature of the onset (i.e. type-one, see §2.4.2.5). Magar also attests murmured vowels that can follow all onset types are concurrent with length and low-falling pitch (i.e. type-two, see §2.4.2.5). As noted above, the latter is feature of the Bodish languages<sup>15</sup> of the Tibetan complex including: Dzongkha, Lhomi, Sherpa, Dolpa Tibetan, Mugom Tibetan and of

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<sup>14</sup> Michailovsky (1975) has shown this for Khaling an tone systems in the Kiranti, particularly those spoken in the northern reaches.

the Tamangic languages: Gurung (Watters 2002) and Chantyal (Noonan 2003). In fact, Chantyal and Magar are alone in allowing murmured vowels after aspirates. Thus what we find in Magar is an admixture of the two manifestations of murmur typically associated with Nepali and Bodish.

The Bodish languages of the Himalayas are said to exhibit 'phonation-register'<sup>16</sup> (Glover 1971, Mazaudon 1973, 1978a, 1978b, 1993-4, Bradley 1982, D. Watters 1998, S. Watters 1996, 2002). A phonation-register language (also called 'voice register' or 'pitch register') is one which exhibits a tone-laryngeal interface, in which phonation type: clear and murmured (also known as 'lax' and 'modal' or 'breathy' and 'plain') is linked to, and modifies, pitch.

Magar, though it exhibits features of phonation-register language, it also differs from them. Such languages (specifically of the Tamangic and Tibetan complex languages of Nepal) typically make a four-way contrast, which is an intersection of binary tone contour contrasts and register (Mazaudon 1973, 1978a, 1978b, 1993-4). Mazaudon observes that all Tamangic languages, with the exception of Manang, have one to two tones that are characterized by murmured (breathy) voice (Mazaudon, 2005). Watters (1998:82), speaking of Kham and the Bodish languages, describes this contrast, "Typically, within the Himalayan region, two binary oppositions, voice 'register' and 'melody' (pitch contour).... intersect to form a contrastive 'four-tone system'." Also

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<sup>15</sup> The manifestation of the feature across languages of Nepal would have to take into account differing analyses of murmur, i.e. is it a feature of a consonant or a feature of tone.

<sup>16</sup> A register language is one which divides the pitch range into two halves: upper and lower. There are two types of register languages: tonal register and phonation. Both types have been identified in Southeast and South Asian languages (Pike 1970, Bradley 1982, Jones 1986, Yip 1993, Glover 1971, D. Watters 1998, S. Watters 1996, Mazaudon 1973, 1978a, 1978b, 1993-4). Phonation-register is more common in the Himalayas.

known as the 'four-box system', in which phonation coincides with tone and melody to produce two tones within each of the two phonation-registers, i.e. four contrastive tones.

**Table 2.7 Four-box system** (after Mazaudon, 1973, 1978a, 1978b, 1993-4)

	RELATIVELY HIGH A	RELATIVELY LOW B
HIGH REGISTER (clear ~ modal)	1	2
LOW REGISTER (murmured ~ breathy ~ lax)	3	4

Magar, on the other hand, makes a three-way phonetic contrast. There is a contrast of clear register versus murmured. Within the clear register there are no pitch contrasts; pitch is consistently mid-level; however, within the murmured register there are surface contrasts of low-level (type one) and low-falling, long murmured vowels (type two).

**Table 2.8 Three-box system of Magar**

CLEAR (MODAL)	mid-level	
MURMURED (BREATHY, LAX)	low-level	low-falling

The different set of phonation contrasts in Magar suggest a different source for murmured phonation than that found described for Tamangic languages as described by Mazaudon, who (1978, 2005) posits a Proto-Tamangic phonation split along the voicing of the initial consonant, one which developed into a contrast of modal voice and low (voiceless became modal and voiced became low), which, then, through the process of which she calls 'transphonologization' (a process by which tones arise from initial consonant mutation and loss) evolved into a tone contrast. The effect of initials on the vocalic nucleus and pitch is much attested in Bodish languages (Glover 1970, Sprigg 1997) and in the Tibetan complex (Lhasa, Dzongkha, Lhomi, Sherpa, Dolpa Tibetan

Mugom Tibetan (Watters 2002)). There is also evidence of this process at work also in Himalayish, for example Kham.

Watters (2003:18-19) has shown for Kham that murmured phonation and concurrent low tone result from the loss of the proto-prefix \*s- (Matisoff 2003 and LaPolla 2003 have reconstructed this prefix to Proto-Sino-Tibetan). Watters provides reconstructed data from reconstructed Proto-Tibeto-Burman (PTB) and Proto-Kham and a modern dialect Takale Khan (reproduced in Table 2.9).

**Table 2.9 Proto-prefix \*s- and phonation** (after Watters 2003:18-19)

	PTB	Proto-Kham	Takale Kham
ripen ~ cook	*s-min	*s-min	mĩ:fi
before ~front	*s-ŋa	*s-ŋa	ŋafi
fly	*pur	*s-bur	bufir
fur ~ moustache	*s-mul	*s-mul	mufil
blow	*s-mut	*s-mut	mwi:fi
leaf	*s-la	*s-la	la
walk	*s-wa	*s-wa	ba
nose	*s-na:r	*s-nat	nat

Kham and Magar cognates demonstrate that Magar murmured onsets (those which result in type-one murmured vowels) diachronically derive from the PTB proto-prefix \*s-. In Magar, the proto- prefix does not result in a tonal difference as it did in Bodish and in Kham. It results in a register contrast clear vs. murmured.

**Table 2.10 Proto-prefix \*s- and phonation** (after Watters 2003:18-19)

	PTB	Magar
ripen ~ cook	*s-min	mfiin
before ~front	*s-ŋa	ŋfiak
fly	*pur	bfur
fur ~ moustache	*s-mul	mfur
blow	*s-mut	mfiut
leaf	*s-la	lfia
walk	*s-wa	wfia
nose	*s-na:r	nfia

The proto-prefix, however, does not account for the contrasts within the lower register. Thus the contrast must be a consequence of another source and / or other process. The restricted distribution of type-two murmured vowels provides indication of a possible source. As has been observed type-two murmured vowels are found exclusively in verbs. Moreover, this murmur type is associated with a specific semantic class of verbs having middle / reflexive meaning. Magar has a set of no-longer-productive verb-final transitivity markers; which contrasts the finals *-s* (intransitive), *-t* (transitive), *-h* (middle) and *-k* (causative). The Proto Tibeto-Burman reflexive suffix *\*-s* / *\*-si* (Benedict 1972) is a probable diachronic source for both the intransitive and the middle marker (see §4.2 for further discussion). Thus the stem-final middle-marker is the probable source for type-two murmur in Magar. It would be the morpheme that conditions murmur with concurrent length and a drop in pitch; and it is the morpheme which resurfaces as /h/, with the addition of vocalic suffixes.

Right-edge effects, such as is proposed for Magar are found in other languages of the Himalayas and beyond. Mazaudon (1988) observes of Dzongkha that tone also results from the laryngeal effects of syllable finals and that falling pitch results from erosion of finals. Watters (2002:23) observes for the Southern Tibetan languages Dzongkha, Lhomi, Sherpa, Dolpo Tibetan, and Mugom Tibetan that "pitch contrasts within a register can be correlated with rhyme contrasts." This phenomenon is also proposed for Proto-Lolo-Burmese (Mazaudon 1977). Matisoff (1973) also posits for Mon-Khmer languages that old finals metamorphosed into lax (murmured) or tense (clear) laryngeal states and then into pitch changes, which, over time, phonologized into contrastive tone. Thurgood (2002) has noted for Vietnamese that tones developed due to the laryngeal states of both



onsets and codas and that, specifically, it is the laryngeal configuration of final consonants that led to pitch differences. Bradley (1982) proposes that in Hani and Ya differences in phonation types can be understood in terms of codas. Evans (2008:8) observes for Caodong Jiraong and other tonal Tibetan dialects that they have right-edge pitch conditioned contour deriving from a final and with the loss of this final the tonal contour becomes distinctive. It is clear that not only onsets, but finals can also, 'transphonologize' resulting in tone and or phonation register contrasts.

To sum up, Magar likely originally had no tone or pitch contrasts, but has developed a register contrast: clear vs. murmured. Moreover, the low-murmured register has two manifestations resulting from two sources: 1. left edged effects, i.e. the murmured phonation of initial consonants. These consonants would have arisen from the proto-prefix \*-s, and would have come into the language through borrowing from Nepali. Left-edged effects result in type-one murmur; 2. right-edged effects, which resulting type-two murmur arise from a glottal final via the historical phonological development of \*-s / \*si → h → coda-murmur. The development of the phonation register contrasts and of two murmur types would clearly have been fostered by language contact, being as they are features of the Bodish languages on the one hand and Nepali on the other. The surface phonetic pitch contrast in the murmured register suggest that Magar may be undergoing, as the Tamangic languages have done, a process of tonogenesis<sup>17</sup>.

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<sup>17</sup> Tonogenesis is the term coined by Matisoff (1973: 75), for the development of tone. In his descriptions of in Hanoi Vietnamese and Mon Khmer he describes tone as resulting from the slow erosion of consonantal oppositions in the onset and / or the coda.

### 2.5.4 Reduction in the Tanahu verb paradigm

The Tanahu verb paradigm undergoes reductions which are not attested in Syangja, nor are they generated by specific phonological or morphophonological processes in the language. Reduction specific to verb inflection can be attributed to frequency; moreover, what may account for the absence of these reductions in Syangja is the presence of stem final agreement morphemes which in sense 'protect' the inflections. In Tanahu *mΛ-le* NOM-IMPF regularly reduces to [me]; the full form is used only for emphasis.

(117) *ŋak-mΛ-le* → *ŋak-me* [ŋaʔ.me]  
*jya-mΛ-le* → *jya-me* [ɕʒa.me]

With the addition of the past tense marker *-a*, the reduced form *me-a* becomes *-mya* [mja] and the assimilated form *ne-a* (see §2.5.1.1) becomes *-nya* [nja]

(118) *ŋak-me-a* → *ŋak-myā* [ŋaʔ.mja] 'talk-NOM IMPF-PST'  
*jya-me-a* → *jya-myā* [ɕʒa.mja] 'eat-NOM IMPF-PST'  
*nunfi-ne-a* → *nunfi-nyā* [nũŋ.njʰa] 'take-NOM IMPF-PST'  
*an-ne-a* → *an-nyā* [ã.nja] 'go-NOM IMPF-PST'  
*phin-ne-a* → *phin-nyā* [pʰĩ.nja] 'cook-NOM IMPF-PST'

### 2.6 Syllable structure and stress patterns

This section describes possible syllable types in Magar as well as what can comprise an onset, nucleus and rhyme.

All segments other than the vocalic nucleus are optional in Magar; thus a syllable can minimally consist of a vowel. However, the most common syllable type is CV, where (C) is an obstruent (O) or approximant (A). Syllable structure conforms to the sonority hierarchy: less obstructed phones are closer to the vocalic nucleus. Magar can have a moderately complex syllable structure: (O) (A) (G) V (G) (C).

No consonants are excluded from simple onsets, and as stated, complex onsets in accordance with the sonority hierarchy, with the constraint that only the rhotic approximant /r/ [ɽ] can occur in clusters, which may be comprised of: (O)(R)(G). Combinations of (O)(R) and (O)(G) occur in monomorphemic words for example, *pruŋ* 'bud' and *tyaŋɦ* 'bright'. Clusters of (O)(R)(G) also result from morphophonological process of glide insertion and deletion and resyllabification, for example *dɦakre-aŋ* → [d̥a.kɽjaŋ], which may account for why consonant clusters with /r/ are more common word-medially than initially.

Codas and word-finals are more constrained than onsets. Codas, in native Magar words, are either open or end in a single consonant. Clusters are found only in borrowings from Nepali, for example: *sark* 'cobbler'. The range of coda consonants is also restricted. Unaspirated voiceless stops /p/, /t/, /k/ may form a coda, but voiceless aspirates appear in word-finally only in Nepali borrowings, for example *reth*, 'cart', *saph*, 'clean' and *bikh*, 'poison' (and each of these undergo spirantization in final position, see §2.2.3.1.2 and §2.4.1.1). Clear and murmured nasals: /m/, /n/, /ŋ/, /mɦ/, /nɦ/ and /ŋɦ/ may comprise a coda, but final position nasals are not commonly attested especially in Tanahu where most final nasals undergo coalescence to a nasalization feature on the vowel (see §2.4.2.2). The fricative /s/ appears in codas. Fricative /h/ does not appear in codas, rather is manifests as murmur (see §2.5.3). The approximants /l/ and /r/, /lɦ/ and /rɦ/ all appear in codas. Voiced stops, clear and murmured /b/, /bɦ/, /d/, /dɦ/, /g/, /gɦ/ and affricates /c/, /cɦ/, /j/ and /jɦ/ are not found in codas of native Magar words, but do occur in borrowings, for example *pac* [pats] 'five' from Nepali. Clear glides, and

murmured /y/, /yfi/ and /w/, /wfi/ can appear in all positions, but finals, especially murmured variants are rare.

The majority of monomorphemic words in Magar are also monosyllabic. In polymorphemic words stress falls on the root. In di- and poly-syllabic roots, stress (signified by < ' >) falls on the last syllable, for example *bfiormi* [b̥o̞.ɪ.'mi] (T) ~ [b̥ʌ.ɪ.'mi] (S) 'person' and *lukurdfiam* [lu.kʊ.ɪ.'d̥am] 'owl'.

### 3 Nouns and noun morphology

This chapter describes nouns, noun classes, and the marking of number and honorific status. It also discusses nominal case, both grammatical and local, as well as the core and extended functions of each case. Nominalization is also described.

In this and subsequent chapters when a Magar term undergoes extensive reduction rendering the actual output not transparently deducible, this output is provided in square brackets beside the Magar morpheme-by-morpheme gloss. This is done in the first instance only. In addition, if a gloss is more than one line long the pertinent terms will be in bold font.

#### 3.1 Structure of nouns

The composition of nouns, including simple, compound and reduplicated noun stems, are treated in this section.

##### 3.1.1 Simple nouns

Noun roots in Magar are typically monosyllabic; for example *wak* 'pig', *cyu* 'dog', *im* 'house', *ja* 'child'<sup>1</sup>. Disyllabic and polysyllabic nouns are, for the most part, compounds (described in §3.1.2), or Nepali borrowings, such as *prithiwi* 'earth', *bhiāsi* 'buffalo', *howai-jahaj-girwan* 'airport'. Native polysyllabic nouns are mostly all onomatopoeic ideophones; for example *toktokkoraya* 'woodpecker' or *rokotyak* 'frog' or *kurpyatyak* 'small scythe in a wooden sheath', which makes a tapping *'tyak-tyak'* noise when the wearer walks. Among the polysyllabic nouns, there are a number which are most likely historically compounds, but the component parts are no longer analyzable; for example,

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<sup>1</sup> Matisoff (1991:490) reconstructs Proto-Sino-Tibetan as monosyllabic.

*lukurdfium* 'owl' or *biformi* (T) ~ *bfiλrmi* (S) 'person'. In the latter, *mi-* is surely cognate with PTB \**mi* 'man', but *bfior-* ~ *bfiλr-* is unanalyzable.

### 3.1.2 Compound nouns

Nouns can combine with nouns as in (1), quantifiers as in (2), and verbs as in (3) to form compounds. Three nouns are particularly productive in compounding; these are *ja*, 'child', *di*, 'water' and *nam*, 'sky'. All of which have PTB provenance: *ja* from \**za* 'child' (Matisoff 2003:33) *di* from \**t/dwəy* 'water' (Matisoff 2003:195), \**nam* (Watters 202:448).

(1)	<i>nam-khan-du</i>	'sky + heat + insect'	'cicada'
	<i>nam-suthu</i>	'sky + cat'	'wild cat'
	<i>nam-gwa</i>	'sky+ bird'	'crane ~ stork'
	<i>mik-di</i>	'eye + water'	'tear'
	<i>di-sya</i>	'water + flesh'	'fish'
	<i>di-gwa</i>	'water + bird'	'pheasant'
	<i>cyu-ja</i>	'dog + child'	'pup' <sup>2</sup>
	<i>rfa-ja</i>	'goat + child'	'kid'
	<i>gwa-ja</i>	'bird + child'	'chick' <sup>3</sup>
	<i>lu-gumfi</i>	'head + pillow'	'pillow'
(2)	<i>nfiis-syak</i>	'two + teeth'	'central incisors'
	<i>kat-yak</i>	'one + day'	'once upon time' ~ 'old times'
	<i>ces-ces-refi</i>	'little-little + laugh'	'grin'
(3)	<i>nam-lfies</i>	'sky + return'	'next year'
	<i>nam-su</i>	'sky + blow'	'wind'
	<i>nam-bilak</i>	'sky + clothe'	'dusk'
	<i>nam-khan-kimfi</i>	'sky + heat + set'	'sun set'
	<i>nam-khan</i>	'sky + heat'	'sun'
	<i>lu-hup</i>	'head + cover'	'scarf'
	<i>di-khofi</i> (S)	'water + emerge'	'spring'
	<i>di-phufi</i> (T)	'water + spring'	'spring'
	<i>di-rafi</i>	'water + come'	'puddle'

<sup>2</sup> Syangja dialect also has the term *cikorek* for pup, likely an onomatopoeic form built off *cyu* 'dog'.

<sup>3</sup> Both *rfa-ja* and *gwa-ja* have alternate form comprised of a reduced genitive form: *rfiim-ja* and *go-ja* respectively, see § 2.5.2.7.

As noted, there are also compounds in which one member is a 'morpheme', i.e. not synchronically analyzable. For example, in *di-gam* 'well' *di* is 'water' but *gam* is meaningless in Magar; similarly *namas* 'rain' in which *nam* is 'sky' but *-as* has no meaning; nor do *'-gam'*, *'-bu'*, and *-siŋ*<sup>4</sup> in (4).

(4)	<i>di-gam(T)</i>	'water spout ~ well' <sup>5</sup>
	<i>di-bu</i>	'cloud'
	<i>nam-as</i>	'rain'
	<i>nam-siŋ</i>	'afternoon'

Compound nouns are distinguished from two consecutive, but independent, nouns by stress pattern, phonetic and phonological reduction, constituency, irreversibility and, often, non-compositionality, for example: *'nfi:s* *'syak*, two separate words with both syllables stressed, means '(any) two teeth'; whereas, *nfi:.'syak*, with stress on the final syllable and reduction of the geminate [s], is a compound and means 'central-incisors'. Similarly, the compound *kat-yak* 'once upon a time', reduces to *ka.'yak* and is distinct in meaning from *kat yak* 'one day'. Compounds are also distinguished by their constituency; no element can intervene. For example, the phrase *kat sefi-cyo yak* 'one fine day' is acceptable; *\*ka-sefi-cyo-yak* is not. The former is not a compound and has a different meaning from *kayak*. Another example is *cyu-syak* means 'lateral incisors'; whereas *cyu-o syak*, ['dog-GEN tooth'], with the genitive intervening, means 'dog's tooth'. Likewise *gwa-rfu*, literally 'bird-egg' is simply 'egg' and no modification can intervene; thus *marfi-cyo gwa-rfu*, [small-ATT bird-egg] 'a small egg' is acceptable, but *\*gwa marfi-cyo rfu*, [bird-small-ATT-egg] is not; *gwa-o marfi-cyo rfu* [bird-GEN small-ATT-egg] is possible.

<sup>4</sup> *siŋ* means 'branch', but what is found in the compound is unrelated to this term.

<sup>5</sup> Syangja dialect uses *di-gfiat*; *gfiat* is a Nepali borrowing meaning 'paved riverbank used for washing'.

Noun compounds may be comprised of words which are semantically on par, as in (5), or pairs with a hyponymous relationship ((6)). In the latter, the first of the two nouns defines the sub-type of the second as in *wak-sya* 'pig-flesh' meaning 'pork' where *wak* defines the type of meat.

(5)	(a) <i>moi-boi</i>	mother + father	'parents'
	(b) <i>lenja-mahaja</i>	young man + young woman	'married couple'
	(c) <i>dulfa-dulfi</i>	'groom' + 'bride'	'newly weds'
(6)	(a) <i>gwa-ja</i>	bird + child	'chick'
	(b) <i>rfa-ja</i>	goat + child	'kid'
	(c) <i>di-sya</i>	water + flesh	'fish'
	(d) <i>wak-sya</i>	pig + flesh	'pork'
	(e) <i>dasian-lam</i>	Dasain <sup>6</sup> + road	'milkyway'
	(f) <i>laurhya-sar</i>	soldier-flower	'dahlia'
	(g) <i>laksmi-sar</i>	Laxmi <sup>7</sup> + flower	'angel's trumpet flower' (bot. <i>Brugmansia x candida</i> )

### 3.1.3 Reduplicated nouns

Reduplication is a ubiquitous process in Magar, as it is in many languages of South Asia (Abbi 1985). As observed by Moravcsik (1978), reduplications will always entail the basic semantic features of their non-reduplicated counterparts; however, they are not restricted to the meaning of the non-reduplicated form. In Magar, reduplications will generally add a dimension of meaning; and in the case of nouns it can serve to intensify as in (7a) or impart endearment and / or diminution as in (7b).

(7)	(a) <i>ho-se-ko</i>	<i>nhis</i>	<i>mit-mit</i>	<i>chanfi-a</i>		
	D.DEM-DEF-HON	two	bondfriend-bondfriend	become-PST		
	'These two became (very close) bond friends.'					
	(b) <i>i-se</i>	<i>ja-ja</i>	<i>mi-ja-ko</i>	<i>wfia-ke</i>	<i>hyok-cyo</i>	<i>le</i>
	P.DEM-DEF	child-child	POSS-child-PL	move-NOM	able-ATT	COP
	'These ones, the (darling little) children are able to walk.'					

<sup>6</sup> Dasain is a fifteen-day festival celebrated in Nepal in late September or early October to celebrate the victory of goddess Durga over the forces of evil personified in the buffalo demon Mahisasura.

<sup>7</sup> Laxmi is a proper name derived from the name of the Hindu goddess of wealth and prosperity.



Magar also exhibits so-called 'echo compounds'. These are reduplicated nouns in which one part is slightly altered, usually by a change of initial consonant or vowel. Echo compounds are generally mass nouns or plurals. These compounds are common in Indic languages (Emeneau 1969, Abbi 1985) and those found in Magar are often Nepali borrowings as in (8).

(8)	<i>siŋgar-paŋgar</i> (T)	'adornment'
	<i>haŋga-biŋga</i>	'distant relatives'
	<i>ganya-manya</i>	'respected persons'
	<i>kura-pura</i>	'matters' ~ 'things'
	<i>ramilo-ramita</i>	'entertainment'
	<i>acar-bicar</i>	'snacks'

Example (9) demonstrates that reduplication can be derivational: *siŋgar* is a verb meaning 'adorn', while the reduplicated form *siŋgar-paŋgar* is a noun 'adornment'.

(9)	<i>ho-se</i>	<i>rafi-cyo</i>	<i>bela-aŋ</i>	<i>dulfi-a</i>	<i>im-iŋ</i>	<i>dulfi-dulfi</i>
	D.DEM-DEF	come-ATT	time-LOC	groom-GEN	house-ABL	groom-bride
	<i>siŋgar-di-s-mo</i>	<i>siŋgar-paŋgar</i>	<i>chanfi-a</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>jaŋmai</i>	
	adorn-LN-ITR-SEQ	adornment	become-PST	and	all	
	<i>lokonda-lokondi-ko</i>	<i>chanfi-le</i>				
	groomsman-bridesmaid-PL	become-COP				

'When it is time to come out of the groom's house, the groom and bride, having completed their adornments, they will be accompanied by all their groomsman and bridesmaids.' (EE02.T)

## 3.2 Noun classes

### 3.2.1 Gender

Native Magar words are not marked for grammatical gender and typically words are not specified for natural gender; for example, *bhormi* refers to either a male or a female 'person'. Natural gender is marginally marked on a limited number of words following the Tibeto-Burman model, where affixes *-ba* and *-ma* mark male and female, respectively as in (10).

(10) <i>kutum-ba</i>	'father's sisters kin'
<i>ku-ba</i>	'mother's elder brother'
<i>ni-ba</i>	'father's elder sister's husband'
<i>ma-ma</i>	'mother's elder brother's wife'
<i>gu-ma</i>	'wife's elder brothers wife'
<i>ni-ma</i>	'father's elder sister'

An unmarked animal term is not distinguished for gender and may be either male or female; for example *gwa* is simply 'bird' and *cyu* is 'dog' of any gender. However, the suffix *-man*, from PTB \**ma(n)* indicating 'female' ~ 'mother', can be used to specify a maternal animal, as in (11), both these compounds undergo phonological reduction (see §2.5.2.2).

(11) <i>gwa + man</i>	→ [goman]	'hen'
bird mother		
<i>cyu + man</i>	→ [ciman]	'bitch'
dog mother		

In Tanahu dialect, the Nepal female gender-marking suffix *-i* and is added to the stem, resulting in *go-man-i* and *ci-man-i*. Nepali gender markers *-a* and *-i*, which mark neutral, and *-i* and *-(i)ni*, which mark feminine, appear on Nepali borrowings in both dialects.

(12) <u>neutral</u>	<u>feminine</u>	
<i>budfi-a</i>	<i>budfi-i</i>	'elderly person'
<i>path-a</i>	<i>path-i</i>	'kid'
<i>sal-a</i>	<i>sal-i</i>	'maternal in-laws'
<i>mit</i>	<i>mit-ini</i>	'bond friend'
<i>nat-a</i>	<i>nat-ini</i>	'grandchild'

The suffixes *-i* and *-ni* are also added to other foreign loan-words entering Magar via Nepali; for example, a 'North American woman' is *American-ni*.

### 3.2.2 Inalienable possession

The prefix *mi-*, and its allomorphs *me-* and *my-* (see §2.5.2.7) classify inalienably possessed nouns and express that an element is part of, or integral to, another entity. The

suffix, when preceding a verb, also functions as a nominalizer; for example *mi-kher* [POSS-run] means 'speed'. This is discussed in §3.5.1.4. The marker has a broad range and is used with both animates and non-animates; it appears with: body-parts including emissions and essential fluids, personal characteristics and emotions, offspring including eggs, domiciles, integral parts of life and community including 'name' and highly valued items or necessities ((13)); even 'soup' combines with the possessive *mi-jfiol* [POSS-soup] ((14)). The inalienable possession marker is productive and appears with Nepali borrowings; for example, *mi-paila* 'POSS-soul' and *my-angola* 'POSS-finger'.

(13)	<i>mi-mik</i>	'POSS-eye'
	<i>mi-cham</i>	'POSS-hair'
	<i>mi-nap</i>	'POSS-mucus'
	<i>mi-hyu</i>	'POSS-blood'
	<i>mi-paila</i>	'POSS-soul'
	<i>mi-ras</i>	'POSS-pollen'
	<i>mi-pruŋ</i>	'POSS-bud'
	<i>mi-dangga</i>	'POSS-walking stick'
	<i>me-rfiŋ</i>	'POSS-urine'
	<i>me-nakep</i>	'POSS-ear' <sup>8</sup>
	<i>me-ben</i>	'POSS-feces'
	<i>me-ret</i>	'POSS-smile'
	<i>my-armin</i>	'POSS-name'
	<i>my-angola</i>	'POSS-finger'
	<i>my-arkin</i>	'POSS-finger nail'

(14) (a) *mi-hyu*    *jfi-aŋ*    *le*  
 POSS-blood    ground-LOC  
 'There is blood on the ground.'

(b) *me-khe*    *dferai hurfi-ni*  
 POSS-intestine    very    wash-IMP.HON  
 'Clean the intestines very well!'

(c) *me-jfiol*    *jap-mΛ*    *le*  
 POSS-soup    tasty-NOM    IMPF  
 'The soup is tasty.'

<sup>8</sup> *me-nakep* reduces in Tanahu dialect to [menkep]

Use of the inalienable possession marker before nouns is optional. The same nouns appear with or without the inalienable possession marker in otherwise identical sentences with no change in meaning, as in (15).

(15) (a) *i-se me-jfiol jap-mΛ le*  
 P.DEM-DEF POSS-soup tasty-NOM IMPF  
 'This soup is tasty.'

(b) *i-se jfiol jap-mΛ le*  
 P.DEM-DEF soup tasty-NOM IMPF  
 'This soup is tasty.'

The inalienable possession marker is related to an old third-person pronoun *me* (likely derived from the PTB *\*mi* meaning 'person'), which in Syangja and Tanahu dialects has been supplanted by the distal demonstrative *ho-se*, though *me* does still appear in the third-person reflexive pronoun *me-lafi* and on *men-o* meaning 'each' ~ 'own'. Angdembe's data (1995:3), from Jhadeva Magar, a dialect spoken in Palpa, shows that *me(n)* has not yet lost ground to the demonstrative in that dialect and is the third-person pronoun; see also §7.1.1.

The distribution and function of the inalienable possession marker differs across the dialects. In Tanahu dialect, this marker can combine with all persons and with honorifics as in (16). In Syangja dialect, it is not used with the first person, singular and plural, and does not combine with honorific marking; thus (16a) and (16c) are not grammatical in that dialect. In Syangja dialect, the inalienable possession marker alone, without a (pro-) noun in genitive case, can indicate possession in the third person as in (17). This construction co-exists with, and has the same meaning as a genitive-marked construction (cf. (17a) and (18a)). In Tanahu dialect, a genitive case marked (pro-)noun is required to indicate possession; the inalienable possession marker does not mark possession, as in (18).

- (16) (a) *ŋa-o mi-mik bik-mΛ nΛ le*  
 1S -GEN POSS-eye pain-NOM EMPH IMPF  
 'My eye hurts.' (T)
- (b) *naŋ-o mi-mik bik-mΛ nΛ le*  
 2S-GEN POSS-eye pain-NOM EMPH IMPF  
 'Your eye hurts.'
- (c) *na-ko-uŋ mi-mik bik-mΛ nΛ le*  
 2S-HON-GEN POSS-eye pain-NOM EMPH IMPF  
 'Your (honorific) eye hurts. (T)
- (d) *hose-o mi-mik bik-mΛ nΛ le*  
 2S-GEN POSS-tooth pain-NOM EMPH IMPF  
 'His eye hurts.'
- (17) (a) *huku mi-cham ma-sefi-cyo le*  
 Huku POSS-hair NEG-nice-ATT COP  
 'Huku's hair is not nice.'
- (b) *mi-mik bik-mΛ le*  
 POSS-eye hurt-NOM IMPF  
 'Her eye is hurting.'
- (18) (a) *huku-o mi-cham ma-sefi-cyo le*  
 Huku-GEN POSS-hair NEG-nice-ATT COP  
 'Huku's hair is not nice.'
- (b) *ho-se-o mi-mik bik-mΛ nΛ le*  
 D.DEM-DEF-GEN POSS-eye hurt-NOM EMPH IMPF  
 'Her eye is hurting.'
- (c) *ŋa-o mi-hut bik-mΛ nΛ le*  
 D.DEM-DEF-GEN POSS-eye hurt-NOM EMPH IMPF  
 'My arm is hurting.' (T)

Historically the inalienable possessive marker may have been meaningful (i.e. performing an independent modifying function) in both dialects as it still is in Syangja for third person. However it no longer functions as a syntactic possessor in Tanahu and as its function as a possessor is limited and being encroached upon by the genitive-marked demonstrative in Syangja dialect. Thus it is analyzed as a noun classifier rather than an independent syntactic element.

There are restrictions which apply to the inalienable possession marker with respect to compounds and quantification; for example, *hut-chan* 'finger' [hand-finger] does not appear as *\*mi-hut-chan*, nor does *mik-di* 'tear' [eye-water] appear as *\*mi-mik-di*. Nor does the possession marker combine with a numeric quantifier: *nhis hut* 'two hands', but not *\*nhis mi-hut*. In addition, the inalienable possession classifier is used only when the noun has specific reference ((19)), not with a generic reference ((20)).

(19) (a) *tul ruma-o mi-ja ale*  
 Tul Ruma-GEN POSS-child COP  
 'Tul is Ruma's child.' (I.01)

(b) *ho-se-i marfi-cyo mi-ja karaŋ-cyo dakre bu-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF-FOC small-ATT POSS-child big-ATT basket carry-PST  
 'That small child carried the big basket'

(20) (a) *ja-ja sefi-cyo chanfi-le*  
 child-child good -ATT become-IMPF  
 'A child is a good thing.' (J.04a)

(b) *\*mi-ja sefi-cyo chanfi-le*  
 POSS-child-child good -ATT become-IMPF  
 'A child is a good thing.' (J.04b)

### 3.2.3 Classifiers

Other than inalienable possession and those few examples of gender-marking described above, Magar does not have native classifiers to sub-categorize noun classes. It does not; for example, have a productive set of native numeral classifiers though these are common in Bodic languages. However, the classifier *-jana* is borrowed from Nepali and refers to the class of human, as in (21). Non-humans are classified with *-wota* or *-gota*; the latter, used in Syangja dialect, is a Nepali borrowing and the former, used in Tanahu, is a variation on Nepali, as in (22).

- (21) (a) *lokonda-ko som-jana lokondi-ko som-jana-in dekhin*  
 groomsmen-PL three-H.NUM bridesmaid-PL three-H.NUM-ABL after  
  
*nau-jana sat-jana panc-jana lafi-o lafi-o*  
 nine-H.NUM seven-H.NUM five-H.NUM self-GEN self-GEN  
  
*anusarai lokondi-ko chanfi-le*  
 accordingly bridesmaid-PL become-IMPF  
 'If there are three groomsmen, there are three bridesmaids, if nine or seven or five, one to one, accordingly there are bridesmaids.' (E.E.003T)

- (b) *ra jarayo-e nfun-in ho-se-ko nfis-jana*  
 and stag -ERG back -ABL D.DEM-DEF-PL two-H.NUM  
  
*nfis-wan-ke kat pokhara-aj lofi-a na*  
 two-both-DAT one lake-LOC throw-PST EMPH  
 'And afterwards the stag, indeed, threw both of them into a lake.' (C.C025S)

- (22) (a) *ku-dik la-le*  
 how-QUANT take-IMPF  
 'How many will you take?'

- (b) *buli-wota la-ke*  
 four-N.H.NUM take-NOM  
 'I'll take four.' (T)

or

- (c) *buli-gota la-ke*  
 four-N.H.NUM take-NOM  
 'I'll take four.' (S)

### 3.3 Grammatical number

Magar indicates plural number with the suffix *-ko*; the singular is unmarked. Magar does not have a dedicated morphological dual-marker as do other Himalayish languages, such as Kham ((23)), Chepang, and the members of the Kiranti group; however, a variant of the number 'two' *nfis*, i.e. *nfit* indicates duality, as in (24a). Unlike the numeral, *nfit* follows the noun; whereas numeric quantifiers precede ((24b)). This order, with *nfit* suffixed to the head noun in the same position as the plural marker, suggests that it may be a trace of a now defunct dual-marking system, where a variant of 'two' has replaced a dual marker. It also reflects the Tibeto-Burman placement of numerals after the noun, a

placement which also accounts for the suffixal nature of dual number forms in those languages which have them.<sup>9</sup>

Kham (Watters 2002:238)

- (23) *no-e chiti-ni nehblo ni-pərf:ko-o*  
 he-ERG letter-DL two 3D-send-PFV-3S  
 'He sent me two letters.'

- (24) (a) *rokotyak-nfiit jaŋgəl-ij khyof-a*  
 frog-two jungle -ABL emerge-PST  
 'Two frogs emerged from the jungle.' (A.032bT)

- (b) *ho-laŋ nfiis rokotyak-ko le-a*  
 D.DEM-LOC two frog-PL COP-PST  
 'Over there were two frogs. (A.A.030T)

### 3.3.1 Plural

Plural marking with the suffix *-ko* is not obligatory. Its use conforms to an animacy hierarchy in which high-ranking, i.e. sensate animate entities, are marked for plural (24); whereas, low-ranking animates, such as birds, insects, fish, and inanimates generally are not, as in (25). In this respect Magar aligns itself with Corbett's observations about number and its relationship to animacy (Corbett 2000: 54-66). If a quantifier or numeral are used the plural is generally omitted, as in (26).

- (25) (a) *mi-ja-ko sefi-cyo le*  
 POSS child-PL beautiful-ATT COP  
 'The children are beautiful.'

- (b) *i-se rfi-a-ko ma-sefi-cyo le i-se-ko cha-mə le*  
 P.DEM-DEF goat-PL NEG-good-ATT COP P.DEM-PL sick-NOM IMPF  
 'These goats are not good; they are sick.'

- (c) *ho-se-e bašta-ko-ke kas-ke paŋ-di-s-le*  
 D.DEM-DEF-ERG animal-PL-DAT feed-NOM must-LN-ITR-IMPF  
 'She should feed the animals.' (L.24)

<sup>9</sup> Noonan, personal communication, Oct. 2008.



(d) *ku-dik sala-aŋ ale bʌhit rafɪ-ca a-se*  
 INTRG-QUANT year-LOC COP deluge come-ATT R.DEM-DEF

*gandaki-aŋ hi ale bʌfainsi-ko hi ale bagʌ-di-mo*  
 river-LOC what COP buffalo-PL what COP sweep.away-LN-SEQ

*rak-ca im jʌ rak-ca te-o-le-a ni*  
 bring-ATT house EMPH bring-ATT say-HAB-IMPf-PST EXCLM

*gonc-ko si-ca ta*  
 dolphin-PL die-ATT REP

'In what year had the deluge come? Was it in the Gandaki river that, they used to say, the buffalo were swept away; and (the deluge) even brought houses with it? They say even whales died.' (N.N. 001S)

(26) (a) *ho-se jik-cyo du ale*  
 D.DEM-DEF bite-ATT insect COP  
 'Those are biting insects.'

(b) *myertuŋ phut-a*  
 tree fell-PST  
 'Trees were felled.'

(c) *dfʌliŋ myertuŋ phut-a*  
 many tree fell-PST  
 'Many trees were felled.'

(d) *som myertuŋ phut-a*  
 three tree fell-PST  
 'Three trees were felled.'

Plurality and multiplicity of inanimates and mass nouns can also be conveyed through reduplication ((27a)) and the addition of the intensifier morpheme *-ai* to the first noun ((27b)). This latter form can also convey the meaning 'many and only' as in (27c - d)

(27) (a) *ŋa-e phal-phul jya-le-aŋ*  
 1S-ERG fruit-fruit eat-IMPf-1PRO  
 'I eat a lot of fruit.' (S)

(b) *ho-se-e mocha kap-ai-kap da-mʌ le*  
 D.DEM-ERG banana layer-IN-layer put-NOM IMPf  
 'He is putting bananas layer upon layer.'

(c) *lfium-ai-lfium*     *jatatai*     *i-se*     *lam-aŋ*     *ale*  
 stone-IN-stone     everywhere     P.DEM-DEF road-LOC COP  
 'There are only stones everywhere on this road.'

(d) *Syambhu-iŋ*     *im-ai-im*     *daŋfi-cis-le*  
 Syambhu-ABL     house-IN-house     see-DTR-IMPF  
 'From Syambhu all that is seen are houses and houses.' (S)

### 3.3.2 Numeric quantification and plural marking

Nouns, even those which could otherwise take a plural, when quantified by a numeral, are rarely marked with *-ko*, as seen in (28a), but plural marking is possible, as in (28b). Magar aligns with Indo-Aryan, not Tibeto-Burman, in that numeric quantifiers precede the quantified entity.

(28) (a) *sita-o*     *nfiis*     *ja-ja*     *le*  
 Sita-GEN     two     child-child     COP  
 'Sita has two children.'

(b) *sita-o*     *nfiis*     *nani-ko*     *le*  
 Sita-GEN     two     younger-sister-PL     COP  
 'Sita has two younger sisters.'

### 3.3.3 Associative plural

The plural marker *-ko* can indicate not only more than a single entity, but can also refer to an entity and its associates; thus, *Thapa-ko* can mean Thapa and his friends, or family, as in (28). This use is restricted to humans. The pair of sentences in (29) has essentially the same meaning; however, the associative plural ((29a)) is more frequently used than the fully articulated utterance ((29b)).

(29) (a) *ma*     *ajakal*     *a-se*     *mu-mA*     *le*     *lap-lap-ya-ko*  
 no     nowadays     R.DEM-DEF     sit-NOM     IMPF     disorganized-disorganized-NOM-PL  
  
*ho-laŋ*     *ja*  
 D.DEM.LOC     EMPH  
 'No, nowadays, it is where the Laplapya<sup>10</sup> people are living, just there.'

<sup>10</sup> The name *Laplapya* is characteristic nickname given to a family. They are known as the 'disorganized ones'.

(Q.Q.015S)

(b) *chena* *tA* *das* *barfia* *barsA* *ŋa* *a-le-e-a* *rA* *khup-le*  
 don't.know QPRT ten twelve year 1S IRR-COP-IRR-PST also maximum-IMPF

*de-ahaŋ* *marfi-mA* *a-tA-le-e-aŋ* *tekyA-ko* *lekha*  
 say-COND small-NOM IRR-OPT-COP-IRR-1PRO Tekya-PL seem

'I don't know, really, I could have been ten or twelve years of age at most; I want to say I was small like those of Tekya's age.' (M.M.010S)

(c) *palpa-li-ko-e* *ho-lak* *ramdi-lak* *a-se-ko-e* *waigfia-tuŋ-tak*  
 Palpa-ASS-PL-ERG D.DEM-CIR Ramdi-CIR R.DEM-DEF-PL-ERG Waigfia-ADS-SUP

*rafi-a* *ta*  
 come-PST REP

'It is said that people from Palpa and from around Ramdi and those ones right up around Waigha came.' (T.T.009S)

(30) (a) *thapa-ko* *i-laŋ* *ma-le*  
 Thapa-PL P.DEM-LOC NEG-COP  
 'Thapa and his friends are not here.'

(b) *thapa* *rA* *ho-se-o* *lapha-ko* *i-laŋ* *ma-le*  
 Thapa and D.DEM-DEF-GEN friend-PL P.DEM-LOC NEG-COP  
 'Thapa and his friends are not here.'

Magar also encodes association with themorpheme *-li*, which may be related to Nepali *-i*, which signifies membership in a group or clan, as seen in (31) and (29c). An association dedicated to preserving Magar culture abroad is called the 'Langhali Association', or 'Villagers Association'.<sup>11</sup>

(31) *ho-se-o* *langha-li* *cimeki-ko* *mi-ris* *kyofi-cyo* *le*  
 D.DEM-DEF-GEN village-ASC neighbour-PL POSS-anger emerge-ATT COP  
 'Her village neighbours are angry.'

### 3.3.4 Deferential number and honorific status

Bodish languages of Nepal, such as Baragaunle, Nar-Phu and Thakali have dedicated honorific terms used when addressing, or speaking of elders and respected persons.

<sup>11</sup> The association defines Magar broadly and encompasses speakers of Magar, Kham and Kaike. It has the following website: <http://www.magarusa.org/LAUSA/home.php>

However, Magar, like other Himalayish languages, such as Kham, and Newari, does not. Magar has other means of conveying status. It exhibits deferential number, i.e. the plural marker *-ko* is also used to indicate honorific status on pronouns, as in (32). Honourific pronouns are discussed in §7.1.4. Proper names may be followed by the Nepali honorific suffix *-ji*, as in (33a); however the use of proper names, especially in the villages is rare. Individuals are generally address with a kinship term, implicit in which is their status ((33b)).

(32) (a) *naŋ-ko*      *i-laŋ*      *na-le-nis*      [*>nako*]  
 2-HON      P.DEM-LOC    2PRO-COP-HON  
 '(Honorable one) you are here.' (S)

(b) *ho-se-ko-ko*      *tafi-rafi-a*      [*>hosa?ko*]  
 D.DEM-DEF-HON-PL    reach-come-PST  
 'They (honorable ones) have arrived.'

(33) (a) *ram-ji*      *i-laŋ*      *na-le-nis*  
 Ram-HON      P.DEM-LOC    2PRO-COP-HON  
 'Ram (honorable one), you are here.' (S)

(b) *baje*      *tafi-rafi-a*  
 grandfather      reach-come-PST  
 'Grandfather arrived.' (T)

The genitive case has both singular and plural forms (see §3.4.2.6). The genitive plural can have an honorific meaning, as in (34a, c).

(34) (a) *naŋ-kuŋ*      *tuk-ransi-mΛ*      *nΛ*      *le*      [*>nakū* (T)] [*>tukrāsime* (T)]  
 2S-GEN.PL      stomach hunger-NOM EMPH    IMPF  
 'Are you (honorable one) hungry?'

(c) *i-se-i*      *chamoi-ko-uŋ*      *wak*      *ale*  
 P.DEM-DEF-FOC      mother's.sister-PL-GEN    pig    COP  
 'This one is mother's sister's pig.'

cf.

(b) *naŋ-o*      *tuk-ransi-mΛ*      *nΛ*      *le*  
 2S-GEN      stomach hunger-NOM EMPH    IMPF  
 'Are you hungry?'

### 3.4 Nominal case marking

There are eleven morphological nominal case clitics in Syangja Magar and ten in Tanahu.

In both dialects, four are grammatical; these are absolutive, ergative, dative and genitive case. Both dialects have an instrument case which is syncretic with the ergative. In Syangja dialect, there are six local cases: locative, ablative, circumlative, superessive, lative and adessive. In Tanahu dialect there are five; it lacks the adessive. Only the genitive case has distinct singular and plural/honorific forms, *-o* and *-uŋ* respectively.

**Table 3.1 Grammatical cases**

Absolutive	<i>-∅</i>
Ergative	<i>-i ~ e</i>
Instrumental	<i>-i ~ e</i>
Dative	<i>-ke</i>
Genitive	<i>-o</i> (SG), <i>-uŋ</i> (PL)

**Table 3.2 Non-grammatical cases**

Instrumental	<i>-i ~ e</i>	'by', 'with'
Locative	<i>-(l)ag</i>	'at', 'on', 'in'
Circumlative	<i>-lak</i>	'in the area of'
Ablative	<i>-iŋ</i>	'from'
Superessive	<i>-tak</i>	'on', 'atop'
Lative	<i>-tar</i>	'up to', 'until'
Adessive	<i>-tuŋ</i> (S)	'near', 'with', 'at'

Each of the cases has a core function, and each also has extended uses. These are discussed in sections §3.4.1- §3.4.2. Local cases exhibit case compounding, this is discussed in §3.4.4.2.

Case in Magar is enclitic, i.e. it is not genuinely inflectional case, as each noun in a noun phrase need not bear case marking; case can be marked on the phrase, as in (35). Moreover, as Bickel and Nichols (2008:6) observe clitics are categorically unrestricted as to the syntactic category of the word they attach to, unlike affixes, "which are usually

more selective in the host they take". As is discussed in §3.4.2.2.5, the lative case clitic also occurs with verbs, as in (36).

(35) (a) *i-se im huku rA sita-o ale*  
 P.DEM-DEF house Huka and Sita-GEN COP  
 'This house is Huka and Sita's.'

(b) *ram-e sita rA kumari-ke gyok yafi-a*  
 Ram-ERG Sita and Kumari-DAT tightly.woven.basket give-PST  
 'Ram gave a basket to Sita and Kumari.'

(c) *ho-se kathmandu rA pokhara-aj mu-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF Kathmandu and Pokhara-LOC sit-PST  
 'He lived in Kathmandu and Pokhara.'

(d) *namas danda-ko rA lam-aj rafi-mA nA le*  
 rain hill-PL and road-LOC come-NOM EMPH IMPF  
 'Rain has been falling on the hills and the road.'

(e) *patan rA kathmandu-lak sefi-mA le*  
 Patan and Kathmandu-CIR nice-NOM IMPF  
 'Patan and Kathmandu areas are nice.'

(36) *dakre-aj piñfi-tar ka-o*  
 basket-LOC fill-LAT put-IMP  
 'Fill the basket as much as possible (~ to the brim).'

Case markers follow the homophonous plural / honorific marker *-ko*, as in (37) and (38).

(37) (a) *nañ-ko-ko-e roti jya-a*  
 2S-HON-PL-ERG bread eat-PST  
 'You, honorable ones, ate bread.' (T)

(b) *nañ-ko-ko-e beskañ na-jya-a*  
 2S-HON-PL-ERG bread 2SPRO-eat-PST  
 'You, honorable ones, ate bread.' (S)

(38) (a) *ña-e nañ-ko-ke dañfi-a*  
 1S-ERG 2-PL-DAT see-PST  
 'I saw you.' (T)

(b) *ña-e nañ-ko-ke ña-dañfi-a-aj*  
 1S-ERG 2-PL-DAT 1PRO-see-PST-1PRO  
 'I saw you.' (S)

### 3.4.1 Grammatical cases

Grammatical cases are those which reflect syntactic relationships either at phrase or at clause level. In Magar, these are: absolutive, ergative, dative and genitive. As shall be seen, case assignment is not always determined by grammatical roles. Semantic and pragmatic roles, specifically whether an argument is an agent, a patient, or an experiencer, or whether the action is volitional will determine case assignment, as will an argument's station in the animacy hierarchy. Thus, a combination of grammatical terms: subject, direct-object, indirect-object, and semantico-syntactic terms: agent, patient, recipient, (from Dixon (1979) and Comrie (1978)), are employed in the descriptions, as are the terms primary and secondary object from Dryer (1986), and experiencer-subject from Masica (1991).

#### 3.4.1.1 Absolutive

The absolutive (also called nominative) case is zero-marked. In this section only, for the sake of clarity, it is marked with  $-\emptyset$ . In both dialects, the absolutive case indicates the single argument (subject) of an intransitive clause ((39)) and the patient (the direct-object) of a transitive verb ((40)); unless the subject is a dative or genitive-experiencer ((41)), or the object is primary ((42)) (i.e. high on the animacy scale), in which case it will be dative-marked (see §3.4.2.5.1 and §3.4.2.7).

(39) *miprun $\emptyset$  mis-a*  
 Miprung-ABS sleep-PST  
 'Miprung slept.'

(40) *miprun $\emptyset$ -e cho- $\emptyset$  jya-a*  
 Miprung-ERG rice.meal-ABS eat-PST  
 'Miprung ate a meal.'

(41) *miprun $\emptyset$ -ke jfumfi-a*  
 Miprung-DAT cold-PST  
 'Miprung was cold.'

- (42) *ho-se-e miprunḡ-ke dup-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF-ERG Miprunḡ-DAT meet-PST  
 'She met Miprunḡ.'

A vocative subject is in absolutive case in both dialects, as in (43).

- (43) (a) *ei nani-∅ i-lak rafi-na*  
 oh younger.sister-ABS P.DEM-CIR come-IMP  
 'Oh, little sister, come here!'

- (b) *ei babu-∅ cho jya-o*  
 oh POSS-child-ABS rice.meal eat-IMP  
 'Oh, son, eat the meal!'

### 3.4.1.2 Split ergativity in Tanahu

The dialects differ in their absolutive / ergative marking patterns. Tanahu has a 'split-ergative' system in which not only subjects of intransitive clauses are in absolutive case, but also subjects (agents) in transitive clauses when in imperfective aspect, as in (44). Thus, in Tanahu dialect, only in perfective aspect (i.e. simple-past tense) is the subject in ergative case, as in (45); whereas in Syangja dialect, the subject of transitive clause is consistently in ergative case across all aspects and tenses; this is described in §3.4.1.3.

(As seen in the examples below, in Tanahu dialect, the progressive form regularly undergoes reduction: *jya-mΛ nΛ le* becomes [jyame] and *jya-mΛ nΛ le-a* becomes [jyamyā]).

- (44) (a) *hari-∅ roti-∅ jya-le*  
 Hari-ABS bread-ABS eat-IMPF  
 'Hari eats bread.' (T)

- (b) *hari-∅ roti-∅ jya-mΛ nΛ le* [*>jyame*]  
 Hari-ABS bread-ABS eat-NOM EMPH IMPF  
 'Hari is eating bread.' (T)

- (c) *hari-∅ roti-∅ jya-mΛ le-a* [*>jyamyā*]  
 Hari-ABS bread-ABS eat-NOM IMPF-PST  
 'Hari was eating bread.' (T)



(45) *hari-e roti-Ø jya-a*  
 Hari-ERG bread-ABS eat-PST  
 'Hari ate bread.' (T)

According to Dixon (1994:97-101), split ergative systems are found across the world's languages and Tanahu exhibits one of the more common types of split: an aspectual split. This type of split results from different syntactic orientations for unknown and known events, i.e. perfective events are complete and known, imperfective are unknown. In past events, agents and patients are known and can be labeled according to their roles (ergative / accusative). Dixon (1994:99) predicts that "if a split is conditioned by tense or aspect, the ergative marking is always found either in past tense or perfect." This is so for Tanahu and in this respect, aligns itself with Nepali, which also has an ergative system that splits along aspect. As Masica (1993:341) has observed in many Indo-Aryan languages such as Nepali, agents in ergative constructions are marked as such only in perfective aspect<sup>12</sup>. In Syangja dialect ergative case marking is unaffected by aspect.

### 3.4.1.3 Ergative

The ergative case-marker is *-e*; it has the allomorph *-i* which occurs following low and mid (/e/, /a/ and /ʌ/) stem-final vowels (see §2.5.2.1)<sup>13</sup>. The ergative clitic is syncretic with the instrumental, a widespread phenomenon in Bodish. The two represent a single category of participant/instrument which can be roughly defined as being involved in the performance of an action. However, the two are distinct in their function and distribution; thus they are described separately. The ergative is a grammatical case, and

<sup>12</sup> He does note; however that in Nepali it can be optionally used in the presumptive future and habitual.

<sup>13</sup> LaPolla (1995:195) reconstructs \*a as the proto-Himalayish ergative marker.

marks animate agentive participants; whereas the instrumental (described in §3.4.2.1) in a non-grammatical case and marks inanimate tools or means.

As noted in §3.4.1.2, the dialects differ in their ergative-marking. Agents of transitive clauses are ergative, across all tense-aspect combinations in Syangja dialect, of which a sample is given in (46).

- (46) (a) *hari-e*      *beskaŋ*      *jya-a*  
 Hari-ERG      bread      eat-PST  
 'Hari ate bread.' (S)
- (b) *hari-e*      *beskaŋ*      *jya-mΛ-le-a*  
 Hari-ERG      bread      eat-NOM-IMPF-PST  
 'Hari was eating bread.' (S)
- (c) *hari-e*      *beskaŋ*      *jya-le*  
 Hari-ERG      bread      eat-IMPF  
 'Hari eats bread.' (S)
- (d) *hari-e*      *beskaŋ*      *jya-mΛ-le*  
 Hari-ERG      bread      eat-NOM-IMPF  
 'Hari is eating bread.' (S)

As noted above, in Tanahu dialect, ergativity intersects with aspect and agents are in ergative case only in the perfective aspect; see (43) and (44) above.

The ergative case chiefly marks agents of transitive clauses. It also intersects with volitionality. If a sensory verb predication is interpreted actively and volitionally, the participant is in ergative case as in (47) and (48) (unless Tanahu dialect in imperfective aspect in (47c) and (48c)). Whereas, in both dialects, a non-volitional participant, an experiencer (one by whom a sensation not sought out, but impinged) is not in ergative case. Generally experiencers are dative-marked (48); experiencer-subjects are discussed in §3.4.1.7

- (47) (a) *ŋa-e sar ŋa-armfius-a-aŋ*  
 1S-ERG flower 1PRO-smell-PST-1PRO  
 'I sniffed (actively smelled) the flower.' (S)
- (b) *ŋa-e sar armfius-a*  
 1S-ERG flower smell-IMPF-PST  
 'I sniffed (actively smelled) the flowers.' (T)
- (c) *ŋa sar armfius-le*  
 1S flower smell-IMPF  
 'I sniff (actively smelled) the flowers.' (T)
- (48) (a) *ŋa-e thuk-mΛ thuk-mΛ ŋa-se-a-aŋ*  
 1S-ERG spice-NOM spice-NOM 1PRO-sense-PST-1PRO.  
 'I was tasting for spiciness.' (S)
- (b) *ŋa-e thuk-mΛ thuk-mΛ se-a*  
 1S-ERG spice-NOM spice-NOM sense-PST  
 'I tasted for spiciness.' (T)
- (c) *ŋa thuk-mΛ thuk-mΛ se-le*  
 1S spice-NOM spice-NOM sense-IMPF  
 'I taste for spiciness.' (T)
- (49) (a) *ŋa-ke birih-mΛ le*  
 1S-DAT spice-NOM IMPF  
 'I am afraid.'
- (b) *ŋa-e thuk-mΛ thuk-mΛ se-a*  
 1S-ERG spice-NOM spice-NOM sense-PST  
 'I tasted for spiciness.' (T)
- (c) *ŋa thuk-mΛ thuk-mΛ se-le*  
 1S spice-NOM spice-NOM sense-IMPF  
 'I taste for spiciness.' (T)

Ergativity also interacts with animacy. Agents high on the animacy hierarchy (see §3.4.1.5.1); for example, humans and large animals, are ergative-marked; lesser beings are not, though they may be agents cf. (50) - (51) and (52).

- (50) (a) *kanko-e raŋkwa dfido ka-jya-a-as*  
 1S-PL-ERG millet pudding 1P.PRO-eat-PST-1P.PRO  
 'We ate millet pudding.' (S)

(b) *lenja-arnam-ko-e*                      *cho-met*                      *jya-a*  
 young.male-young.femae-PL-ERG    rice-tarkari                      eat-PST  
 'We ate rice and tarkari.' (T)

(51) (a) *wak-e*                      *phet-ij*                      *jya-cyo-kura*                      *la-a*  
 pig-ERG                      cow-ABL                      eat-ATT-stuff                      take-PST  
 'The pig took food from the cow.'

(b) *phet-e*                      *anna*                      *jya-a*  
 cow-ERG                      grain                      eat-PST  
 'The cow ate grain.'

c.f.

(52) (a) *mahar*                      *myertuŋ-aŋ*                      *mim*                      *kas-a*  
 ant                      tree-LOC                      nest                      make-PST  
 'The ants made a nest in the tree.'

(b) *argan*                      *cahī*                      *argan-ko*                      *cahī*                      *cyu-ke*  
 wasp                      well                      wasp-PL                      well                      dog-DAT

*lAgar-di-s-mA*                      *nA*                      *le-a*                      *lAgar-di-a*  
 chase-LN-ITR-NOM                      EMPH                      COP-PST                      chase-LN-PST

'The wasps, now, the wasps, well, they were chasing after the dog. They chased after (him).' (A.A.022T)

Inanimates are rarely agents, thus, are rarely in ergative case ((53)); however, inanimates, such as forces of nature, can be ergative-marked if they are attributed agent-like power, as in (54). However, note that in these cases the verb is causativized, suggesting these inanimate 'agents' are instruments wielded by an unexpressed higher agent.

(53) *myertuŋ ŋa-o*                      *im-aŋ*                      *ŋfal-a*  
 tree                      1-GEN house-LOC                      fall-PST  
 'A tree fell on my house'

(54) (a) *myertuŋ-e*                      *ŋa-o*                      *im-aŋ*                      *thok-ak-a*  
 tree-ERG                      1-GEN house-DAT                      fell-CAUS-PST  
 'A tree hit my house!'

(b) *poiro-e*                      *im-ko*                      *hul-ak-a*  
 landslide-ERG house-PL                      destroy-CAUS-PST  
 'The landslide destroyed houses!'

LaPolla (1994, 1995, 2003:34) identifies two types of ergative systems in Tibeto-Burman, those which take into account semantic and pragmatic assignment of case. This

he terms 'systematic ergativity' as opposed to 'non-systematic ergativity' which serves only to disambiguate potential agents, the latter he considers to be a more recent development. According to LaPolla (1995:216) those languages which evince systemic ergativity are: Chepang, Newari, Sunwar, Kham and most Tibetan dialects. As demonstrated, Magar also fall into this group.

#### 3.4.1.4 Dative

The dative is marked with the suffix *-ke*<sup>14</sup>. The dative designates recipients in ditransitive clauses. However, in addition to recipients (indirect-objects), the dative also marks patients (direct-objects) in transitive clauses. This is what Dryer (1986) refers to as a 'primary-object' and it occurs in Magar anywhere either of the two objects types is high on the animacy hierarchy as discussed in §3.4.1.5.1. As well, the dative case also marks experiencer-subjects and non-volitional agents; this is discussed in §3.4.1.7. The dative can also encode possession; see §3.4.1.5.2.

As recipients in ditransitive clauses, dative-marked arguments typically occur with verbs such as 'give', 'feed' and 'tell', as in (55). Ditransitive clauses are also discussed in §11.4.3.

(55) (a) *ho-se-ko-e*                      *daktor-ke hil-ca*                      *yafi-ke ja*                      *paɾ-di-s-le*  
 D.DEM-DEF-PL-ERG    doctor -DAT    count-ATT    give-NOM    EMPH    must-LN-ITR-IMPF  
 'They should give the doctor money.' (S)

(b) *ram-e*                      *ɲa-o*                      *gwa-ke*                      *charo*                      *kas-a*  
 Ram-ERG    1S-GEN    chicken-DAT    chicken.feed    feed -PST  
 'Ram fed my chicken chicken feed.'

(c) *ɲa-e*                      *chiniɲ*                      *naɲ-ko-ke*                      *hi*                      *ahan*                      *set-le-aɲ*  
 1S-ERG    today                      2-P-DAT                      what    story                      tell-IMPF-1PRO  
 'Today, what story will I tell you?' (W.01S)

<sup>14</sup>Magar *-ke* is likely cognate with the Chepang (1982) object marker *-kay*.

(d) *moi-e wak-ke mama-ke yafi-a*  
 mother-ERG pig-DAT mother's. younger.brother-DAT gave-PST  
 'Mother gave the pig to mother's younger brother.'

#### 3.4.1.4.1 Primary object marking

As noted, dative case assignment in Magar complies with Dryer's (1986) typology of primary and secondary object marking. In such systems, both the recipient (indirect-object) in a ditransitive and the patient (direct-object) in a mono-transitive clause are treated as primary-objects and receive the same case marking, while secondary-objects, (direct-objects) in a ditransitive clause are marked differently. Cross-linguistically, a primary-object is one which is high on what is variously called, the 'nominal hierarchy' (Silverstein 1976), 'animacy or referential hierarchy' (Comrie 1981), 'empathy hierarchy' (DeLancey 1981, Givon 1994), or 'indexability hierarchy' (Bickel and Nichols 2002). Cross-linguistically, this hierarchy arranges arguments along a cline: first and second-person pronouns precede non-participant third-persons pronouns, human precedes non-human, animates precede inanimates, sentient precedes non-sentient, and more easily indexed (topical) precede less easily indexed; as seen in Table 3.1. The table presents the hierarchy as it is generally conceived, not as it is specifically manifest in Magar. Magar does not make discriminations to the far left of the hierarchy, that is, among pronouns referring to humans, or among pronouns and proper nouns.

**Table 3.3 Nominal hierarchy**

Nominal hierarchy				
←----->				
1 <sup>st</sup> person pronouns	>	2 <sup>nd</sup> person pronouns	>	3 <sup>rd</sup> person pronoun
				> proper nouns
				> common nouns: human > animate > inanimate

In ditransitive clauses, which include both a patient (direct-object) and a recipient (indirect-object), the recipient is generally animate and high on the hierarchy; thus, it is a primary-object and in dative case. The direct-object in ditransitive clauses is generally not animate; thus, is low on the hierarchy and in absolutive case. In a language, such as Magar, which marks primary-objects with dative case regardless of the grammatical role (direct or indirect-object), the patient of a transitive clause patterns with recipients in ditransitive clauses, if both are primary-objects. This strategy for differentiating primary from secondary direct-objects is referred to as 'differential-object-marking' (Grunow-Hårsta 2000) or 'anti-dative shift' (Noonan, 1991:51), so called because it mirrors dative shift<sup>15</sup>.

Differential marking of primary-objects is a feature of Nepali and Indo-Aryan languages of North India in general (Masica 1993:350). Noonan (2003:75) states that it is historically not a feature of Bodic languages, the morphology, however, has been extensively borrowed into both the Bodish and Himalayish languages of Nepal. As observes only Athpare, Limbu and Hayu show no evidence of it. DeLancey (1985:70 n.3), on the other hand, argues that this view is "true to point, but an oversimplification" and observes that the use of allative / dative cases to mark animate direct objects occurs in a number of Tibeto-Burman languages, significantly it occurs in languages such as Jinghpaw, Burmese and the Tibetan dialects which are outside of the Indo-Aryan sphere of influence. The presence of the apparent Nepali morpheme *lai* in many Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal, he argues is evidence that this syntactic slot already existed. The fact that the slot in Magar is not filled by *-lai* but by *-ke* lends credence to this

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<sup>15</sup> Dative shift occurs when a recipient (indirect-object) assumes the position and role of a direct-object.

interpretation. LaPolla (1992:2), too, has argued the primary-object marking, which he calls 'anti-ergative marking' is likely a Proto-Tibeto-Burman feature. He argues that this type of marking reflects the semantically based nature of grammatical relations in Proto-Tibeto-Burman. However, LaPolla (1992:8) observes of Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal, that they have grammaticalized the marking of semantic relations, and salience now appears to govern the use of the dative in primary object marking. Magar bears this out.

In accordance with the animacy hierarchy, in Magar, pronouns ((56)) and proper nouns ((57)), both high on the animacy hierarchy, are dative-marked, though direct-objects and recipients.

(56) (a) *ŋa-e*            *naŋ-ke*            *ŋa-daŋfi-a-aŋ*  
 1S-ERG            2S-DAT            1PRO-see-PST-1PRO  
 'I saw you.' (S)

(b) *nani-e*            *ŋa-ke*            *dabfiyak-a*  
 little.sister- ERG            1S-DAT            kick-PST  
 'Little siser kicked me.'

(c) *ŋa-e*    *ho-se-ke*            *de-naŋ-da*            *ma-ter-di-a*  
 1S-ERG    D.DEM-DEF-DAT            tell -SIM-INDF            NEG-obey-LN-PST  
 'Although I told him, he did not obey.' (K.18T)

(57) (a) *naŋ-ko-e*    *bfiim-ke*            *dup-ke*            *a-ta-nuŋ-e-nis*  
 2S-HON-ERG    Bhim-DAT            visit-NOM.            IRR-OPT-go-IRR-2HON.PRO  
 'You may go to visit Bfiim.' (S)

(b) *ram-e*            *kumari-ke*            *dathup-a*  
 Ram- ERG            Kumari- DAT            beat-PST  
 'Ram beat Kumari.'

Common nouns, if human, are primary and dative-marked, as in (58).

(58) (a) *moi-boi-ko-e*            *ja-ja-ko-ke*            *rak-le*  
 mother-father-PL-ERG            child-child-PL-DAT.            bring-IMPF  
 'The parents bring the children.'



(b) *master-e sip-ya-ke dus-le*  
 master-ERG school-NOM-DAT help-IMPF  
 'The teacher helps the student.' (S)

An animate non-human common noun, for example a 'cat', is lower on the animacy scale and is typically not dative-marked; rather, is in the unmarked absolutive case ((58)).

(59) *boi-e suthu dathup-a*  
 Father-ERG cat hit-PST  
 'Father hit the cat.'

Inanimate objects are not dative-marked, except under special circumstances (which are described below), as seen in the contrast in (60).

(60) (a) *moi-e ja-ja-ke mi-kufi-aŋ la-a*  
 mother-ERG child-child-DAT POSS-lap-LOC take -PST  
 'Mother took the child on her lap.'

(b) *ram-e curi la-a*  
 Ram-ERG knife take-PST  
 'Ram held the knife.'

Magar complies with the hierarchy and its core distinction in differential dative case marking is a human / non-human one, with human and above being in the dative case. However, in actual application the distinction is more subtle and complex. Non-humans can be dative-marked under certain conditions. Non-human animates, when they are accorded human qualities, are dative-marked. For example, anthropomorphized animals such as the 'husband and wife frogs', in (61), animals to whom sentience is imparted, as in the 'unhappy dog' in (62), or animals rendered highly specific by the context such as 'the sacrificial goat' in (63).

(61) *budha-budhi rokotyak-ke daŋfi-mΛ bhya-mΛ le-a*  
 husband-wife frog-DAT saw-NOM finish-NOM IMPF-PST  
 'They had seen husband and wife frogs.' (S)

- (62) *ja-ja-e*                      *ma-marfiŋ-cyo*                      *cyu-ke*                      *dathup-a*  
 child-child-ERG                      NEG-happy-ATT                      dog-DAT                      beat-PST  
 'The child beat the unhappy dog.' (T))
- (63) *ho-se-ko-e*                      *rŋa-ke*                      *cokho* *jat-le*                      *cokho* *jat-mo* *bfiat-ŋfiak-iŋ*  
 D.DEM-DEF-PL-ERG                      goat -DAT                      purify                      do -IMPF                      purify                      do-SEQ finish-front-ABL
- ho-se-ko-e*                      *baŋi*                      *yafi-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF-PL-ERG                      sacrifice                      give-PST  
 'They purify the goat and, when it has been purified, they sacrifice it.' (T)

Furthermore, this 'anthropomorphic extension' also applies to inanimates if human force or agency is attributed to them, as, for example the *ban* 'bewitching arrow' ((64)).

- (64) *ani* *birifi-ke*                      *lfiət-ke*  
 then                      fear-DAT                      return-NOM
- paŋ-di-s-le*                      *ya*                      *ban-ke*                      *lfiət-ke*  
 must-LN-ITR-IMPF                      or                      bewitching.arrow-DAT                      return -NOM
- pa-di-s-le*                      *de-mo*                      *de-o*                      *le-a*  
 seek-LN-ITR-IMPF                      say-SEQ                      say-HAB IMPF-PST  
 'It used to be said that they tried to return (to exorcise) the fear or the bewitching arrow (curse).' (E. 011 - 012T)

As Bickel and Nichols (2002) observe, the hierarchy encodes not only animacy with its correlates of empathy and sentience, but also indexability, by which is meant topicality, specificity and identifiability. Thus, a highly specific and significant inanimate, as possessed items usually are, may also receive dative marking, as the contrast in (65) shows.

- (65) (a) *poiro-e*                      *ŋa-o*                      *im-ke*                      *hul-ak-a*  
 landslide-ERG                      1S-GEN                      house-DAT                      destroy-CAUS-PST  
 'The landslide destroyed this house.' (T)
- (b) *poiro-e*                      *im-ko*                      *hul-ak-a*  
 landslide-ERG                      house-PL                      destroy-CAUS-PST  
 'The landslide destroyed houses.'(T)

Human direct-objects, even if not indexable, i.e. indefinite unknown, and unspecified or generic, are generally dative-marked, because of their salience, as in (65).

- (66) (a) *a-laŋ*            *mΛdebeni-aŋ*    *thakal-ni-ko-ke*  
 R.DEM-LOC    Madebeni-LOC    Thakali-female-PL-DAT

*bagΛ-di-ca*            *ta*    *te-o*    *le-a*    *man*  
 sweep.away-LN-ATT    REP    say-HAB    IMPF-PST    truly

'It is said that there, at Madebeni, Thakali women were swept away (in the flood), this used to be said, truly.' (N.N017S)

- (b) *ho-ta-i*                    *bfiΛrmi-ke*    *jik-rafi-ke*                    *mi-sas-e*  
 D.DEM-MNR-FOC            person-DAT    bite-come-NOM                    POSS-breath-INST

*tan-di-le*            *ta*                    *te-o*            *le-a*            *man*  
 pull-LN-IMPF    REP                    say-HAB    IMPF-PST            truly

'Then, it used to be said that (the python) comes and bites people and, with its breath, draws them in, truly.' (W.05S)

### 3.4.1.5 Genitive

The primary function of the genitive is to indicate a relationship of possession, though, in

Syangja dialect, a subject-experiencer may be in genitive case; this is discussed in

§3.4.1.7. The genitive is the only case in Magar to have distinct singular and plural /

honorific forms. The genitive singular is *-o*, as in (67) and the plural is *-uŋ*, as in (68).

The plural form is used as an honorific. The case-marker follows the plural marker *-ko*

which reduces to [k].

- (67) (a) *cyu-o*            *mi-talu*            *sisi-aŋ*            *hafi-a*  
 dog-GEN            POSS-head            bottle-LOC    lock-PST  
 'The dog's head got stuck in the bottle.' (A.A.008T)

- (b) *jfi-a-aŋ*            *ho-se-ko-e*                    *bul-o*    *dfiwaŋ*                    *daŋfi-a*  
 ground-LOC    D.DEM-DEF-PL-ERG    bul-GEN    hole                    see-PST  
 'In the ground, they saw the snake's hole.'

- (c) *bfiim-o*    *dajay-o*            *maha-ja-e*                    *gwa*            *sat-a*  
 Bhim-GEN    brother-GEN            young.female-child-ERG    chicken            kill-PST  
 'Bhim's brother's wife killed the chicken.'

- (68) (a) *rokotyak-ko-uŋ*    *mi-ja-ko*            *dfiari*    *thuprai*    *rafi-a*                    [>rokotyakuŋ]  
 frog-PL-GEN            POSS-child-PL            also    many            come-PST  
 'The frogs' many children also came.' (A.A.031T)

(b) *kauwa-ko-uj* *sallfia* *chanfi-le-sa* [*>kauwakuj*]  
 crow-PL-GEN discussion COP-IMPF-INFR  
 'Apparently, so went the crows' discussion.' (DD.021S)

(c) *i-se-i* *chamoi-ko-uj* *wak* *ale* [*>chamoikuj*]  
 P.DEM-DEF-FOC mother's.sister-PL-GEN pig COP  
 'This one is mother's sister's pig.'

(d) *naŋ-ko-uj* *mi-ja-ko* *ku-lak* *ale* [*>nakuj*]  
 2-PL-GEN POSS-child-PL INTRG-CIR COP  
 'Where are your children?'

A genitive-marked noun can also attributively modify another noun, as in (69).

(69) (a) *ho-se* *raŋghu-o* *mi-sya-ko* *kanthmala* *le*  
 D.DEM-DEF tiger-GEN POSS-teeth-PL necklace COP  
 'He has a tiger's teeth necklace.'

(b) *i-se* *mako-i-o* *roti* *ale*  
 P.DEM-DEF corn-GEN bread COP  
 'This is corn bread.' ~ (lit. 'This is bread of corn.')

(c) *i-se* *india-o* *sutu* *ale*  
 P.DEM-DEF India-GEN thread COP  
 'This is Indian thread.' ~ (lit. 'This is thread of India.')

Possession can be expressed through means other than the genitive. The inalienable possession prefix, *mi-*, can convey possession in the third person as seen in §3.2.2; as well, it can also be expressed by the dative case as seen in §3.4.1.5.2, and the adessive case in combination with the locative, as discussed in §3.4.2.2.6.

### 3.4.1.6 Experiencer-subject marking

Experiencer-subjects are non-agentive, involuntary recipients of a sensory or psychological experience. Cross-linguistically, and particularly among languages of Northern India, such subjects are often distinguished from agentive volitional-subjects by their case marking. This is true of Magar wherein experiencer-subjects are generally in dative case; though they may also be in absolutive and genitive; this accords with the

range of case marking documented by Masica (1993) Ichihashi-Nakayama (1994) and Bickel (2001).

As discussed in §3.4.1.3, in both dialects, generally, a subject who volitionally seeks out an experience is in ergative case, as the contrast in (70) demonstrates. Presumably one would volitionally smell flowers, but not cow dung; hence (70a) and (70b) are entirely acceptable, but (70c) is considered to be a decidedly odd construction by speakers of both dialects.

(70) (a) *ho-se-e sar armfius-mΛ nΛ le*  
 D.DEM-ERG flower smell-NOM EMPH IMPF  
 'She is smelling the flowers.'

(b) *ho-se-ke ηfiēt-o me-ben armfius-mΛ nΛ le*  
 D.DEM-DAT cow-GEN POSS-feces smell-NOM EMPH IMPF  
 'She smells cow dung.'

(c) *ho-se-e ηfiēt-o me-ben armfius-mΛ nΛ le*  
 D.DEM-ERG cow-GEN POSS-feces smell-NOM EMPH IMPF  
 'She is smelling cow dung.'

The following, though not minimal-pair contrasts, also demonstrate that intentional and volitional acts are expressed with agentive subjects in ergative case. In example (71a) a woman, asked if she feels a cold draft, intentionally puts out her hand to feel the cold air, and responds with the first-person pronoun in ergative case. In (71b), there is a similar situation in which someone reaches toward a fire and comments on the sought-out sensation. Whereas, in the examples in (72), the sensation is not sought out; it is simply experienced and the experiencer is in dative case.

(71) (a) *ηa-e jfiūmfi-mΛ se-mΛ-na*  
 1S-ERG cold-NOM sense-NOM-IPRO  
 'I feel the cold.'

(b) *ŋa-e jal-mΛ se-mΛ-na*  
 1S-ERG hot-NOM sense-NOM-1PRO  
 'I feel the heat.'

(72) (a) *ŋa-ke jfumi-mΛ le*  
 1S-DAT cold-NOM IMPF  
 'I am cold.'

(b) *ŋa-ke umfi-mΛ le*  
 1S-DAT warm-NOM IMPF  
 'I am warm.'

In languages of South Asia, experiencer-subjects are often assigned dative case and are referred to as 'dative-subjects' or 'dative-experiencers' (Masica 1991:346-56). Dative-experiencers (and dative-marked primary-objects, see §3.4.3.5.1) are a feature of Indo-Aryan languages and they are found in Nepali. Dative-experiencers are not typical of Bodic languages, which more commonly encode experiencers as ergatives or absolutes (Bickel 2001:7). Nevertheless, dative-marked experiencers have been adopted by a number of Bodic languages of Nepal besides Magar; for example, Newari, Lhomi, Balti, Thakali, Chantyal and Spoken Tibetan.

The rationale for the dative-marking of experiencers lies in the nature of sensory and psychological experience; it is something which befalls one. An experiencer-subject receives an experience, and, as such, is marked by the case that marks recipients, i.e. the dative. Furthermore, in Magar, and cross-linguistically, the dative is associated with animacy (see §3.4.1.5.1), a necessary qualities for the reception of experience.

In Magar, with rare exceptions, non-volitional experiencers are dative-marked as in (73); the experiencer of hunger and thirst and sleepiness can be in the absolute case as well, as in (74) and (75) (and, as will be shortly demonstrated ((80) - (81)), in genitive case as well).

(73) (a) *ŋa-ke jumfi-mΛ jumfi-mΛ le*  
 1S-DAT cold-NOM cold-NOM IMPF  
 'I am cold.'

(b) *ŋa-ke khan-mΛ khan-mΛ le*  
 1S-DAT hot-NOM hot-NOM IMPF  
 'I am hot.'

(c) *ŋa-ke tuk-ransi-mΛ nΛ le*  
 1S-DAT stomach-hunger-NOM EMPH IMPF  
 'I am hungry.'

(d) *ŋa-ke di-sonfi-mΛ nΛ le*  
 1S-DAT water -thirst-NOM EMPH IMPF  
 'I am thirsty.'

[&gt;disonfime (T)]

(e) *hos-ko-ke mik rafi-a*  
 D.DEM-PL-DAT eye come-PAST  
 'They are sleepy.'

(74) (a) *ŋa di-sonfi-mΛ nΛ le*  
 1S water-thirst-NOM EMPH IMPF  
 'I am thirsty.' (T)

(b) *ŋa di-sonfi-mΛ nΛ le-a*  
 1S water-thirst-NOM EMPH IMPF-PST  
 'I was thirsty.' (T)

(c) *ŋa tuk-ransi-mΛ nΛ le*  
 1S stomach-hunger-NOM EMPH IMPF  
 'I am hungry.' (T)

(d) *ŋa tuk-ransi-mΛ nΛ le-a*  
 1S stomach-hunger-NOM EMPH IMPF-PST  
 'I was hungry.' (T)

(e) *hos-ko mik rafi-a*  
 D.DEM-PL-DAT eye come-PAST  
 'They are sleepy.'

(75) (a) *ŋa di-sonfi-mΛ-na*  
 1S water -thirst-NOM-IPRO  
 'I am thirsty.' (S)

(b) *ŋa di-sonfi-mΛ le-a aŋ*  
 1S water-thirst-NOM EMPH IMPF-PST-IPRO  
 'I was thirsty.' (S)

(c) *ŋa tuk-ransi-mΛ-na*  
 1S stomach-hunger-NOM-1PRO  
 'I am hungry.' (S)

(d) *ŋa tuk-ransi- mΛ le-a- aŋ*  
 1S stomach-hunger- NOM IMPF-PST-1PRO  
 'I was hungry.' (S)

In both dialects, experiencers of involuntary compulsions are in dative case ((76));  
 whereas experiencers of an intentional preference, or desire, are in ergative ((77)).

(76) (a) *ram-ke di cai-di-s-le*  
 Ram-DAT water need-LN-ITR-IMPF  
 'Ram needs water.' (~ 'To Ram water is necessary.')

(b) *ho-se-ke raksi ga-ke paŋ-di-s-le*  
 D.DEM-DAT raksi drink-NOM must-LN-ITR-IMPF  
 'He must drink raksi.'

(c) *naŋ-ko-ke ces-ces di ga-ke paŋ-di-s-le*  
 2S-HON-DAT little-little water drink-NOM must-LN-ITR-IMPF  
 'You need to drink a little water.'

(77) (a) *ŋa-e dud ga-ga se-mΛ ŋa-le-a-aŋ*  
 1S-ERG milk drink-drink feel-NOM 1PRO-IMPF-PST-1PRO  
 'I wanted to drink milk.' (S)

(b) *ŋa-e dud ga-ga se-mΛ le-a*  
 1S-ERG milk drink-drink feel-NOM IMPF-PST  
 'I wanted to drink milk.' (T)

(c) *naŋ-ko-e dud ga-ke jak-dΛ-nis*  
 2S-HON-ERG milk drink-NOM like-2PRO-HON  
 'You like to drink milk.' (S)

(c) *naŋ-ko-e dud ga-ke jak-le*  
 2S-HON-ERG milk drink-NOM like-IMPF  
 'You like to drink milk.' (T)

In both dialects, experiences of emotions are treated as states and are expressed in  
 intransitive clauses with the experiencer in absolutive case, as in (78).

(78) (a) *naŋ jhɔs-mΛ na-le*  
 2S hurry-NOM 2PRO-IMPF  
 'You are in a hurry.' (S)



(b) *naŋ jʃios-mΛ nΛ le* [ >jʃiosme]  
 2S hurry-NOM EMPH IMPF  
 'You are in a hurry.' (T)

(c) *ŋa mʃuŋ-mΛ na-le*  
 1S tired-NOM 1PRO-IMP  
 'I am tired.' (S)

(d) *ŋa mʃuŋ-mΛ nΛ le* [ >mʃūme]  
 1S angry-NOM EMPH IMPF  
 'I am tired.' (T)

(e) *ho-se marʃaŋ-le*  
 D.DEM-DEF happy- IMPF  
 'He is happy.'

In Magar, genitive case can also mark subject-experiencers. Bickel (2001:10) refers to these subjects as 'experiencer-as-possessor' in contrast to dative-marked subjects which he calls 'experiencer-as-goal'. These two he identifies as broad areal patterns. 'Experiencer-as-goal' is found in South Asia in most Indo-Aryan languages and has spread to a limited degree into Tibeto-Burman. 'Experiencer-as-possessor' is found throughout South East Asia where it has also spread into the Himalayas. Bickel cites 'experiencer-as-possessor' constructions in, for example, the Kiranti languages (among them: Belhare (Bickel 1997), Chamling (Ebert, 1997) and in Kathmandu Newari (Hale, 1997)), where the two constructions exist side by side, as in (79).

Newari, (Hale 1997, cited in Bickel 2001:12)

(79) (a) *mira-yata tyanhul-a*  
 Mira-DAT tired-PT.DISJUNCT.AGENT  
 'Mira became tired.'

(b) *mira-ya tyanhul-a*  
 Mira.-GEN tired-PT.DISJUNCT.AGENT  
 'Mira became tired.'

In Magar, the genitive-experiencer, though less frequently attested, also exists alongside the dative-experiencer construction as seen in (80) and (81) (and the absolutive, see (74)-(75) above).

(80) (a) *ŋa-o tuk-ransi-mΛ nΛ le*  
 1S-GEN stomach hunger-NOM EMPH IMPF  
 'I am hungry.' (T)

(b) *ŋa-o di-sonfi-mΛ nΛ le*  
 1S-GEN water-thirst-NOM EMPH IMPF  
 'I am thirsty.' (T)

(c) *ŋa-ke tuk-ransi-mΛ nΛ le*  
 1S-DAT stomach-hunger-NOM EMPH IMPF  
 'I am hungry.' (T)

(d) *ŋa-ke di-sonfi-mΛ nΛ le*  
 1S-DAT water-thirst-NOM EMPH IMPF  
 'I am thirsty.' (T)

(81) (a) *ŋa-o tuk-ransi-mΛ-na*  
 1S-GEN stomach-hunger-NOM-1PRO  
 'I am hungry.' (S)

(b) *ŋa-o di-sonfi-mΛ-na*  
 1S-GEN water-thirst-NOM EMPH -1PRO  
 'I am thirsty.' (S)

(c) *ŋa-ke tuk-ransi-mΛ le*  
 1S-DAT stomach-hunger- NOM IMPF  
 'I am hungry.' (S)

(c) *ŋa-ke di-sonfi-mΛ-na*  
 1S-DAT water-thirst-NOM EMPH -1PRO  
 'I am thirsty.' (S)

Bickel (2001:13) also observes that, despite their topicality and semantic prominence, experiencers may be morphologically 'down-graded'; that is, assigned non-prominent cases, i.e. those typically assigned to objects: datives, genitives or other obliques. Such is the situation in Magar. Bickel further observes that, though experiencers may be down-graded morphologically, experiencers are not necessarily

syntactically downgraded; specifically pivot-hood, i.e. the ability to trigger object / goal <sup>16</sup> verb agreement, may be unaffected. This he finds in Standard Spoken Tibet and certain Tibeto-Burman languages of the Himalayas<sup>17</sup>: Hayu, Belhare and Kathmandu and Dolakha Newari. By contrast, in Indo-Aryan languages<sup>18</sup>, morphologically downgraded experiencers lose their pivot-hood and cannot condition agreement on the verb. This is seen in Nepali, Maithili and Kashmiri. Tanahu dialect does not index person-number agreement on the verb in any instance; Syangja dialect indexes subjects. In Syangja, downgraded dative-marked subjects do not trigger pivohood; i.e. there is no pronominal agreement on the verb (the form is the same as the third person default unmarked form), whereas ergative or absolutive, i.e. non-downgraded, subjects do trigger subject-verb agreement. In this respect Syangja patterns with Indo-Aryan. This is an unexpected result given Bickel's (1999c:29, 2000, 2008c:20) observations that it is a general feature of Tibeto-Burman that case and grammatical relations are independent of one another and, moreover, that primary grammatical relations and agree-marking are genetically stable.

Reflexive constructions demonstrate that a dative-marked experiencer-subject loses pivohood. Example (82) expresses a reflexive act. If, as in (82a), the active-ergative-marked agent is expressed then subject agreement is indexed on the verb. If however, the agent is not expressed, and the reflexive-subject-experiencer is in dative case, there is no

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<sup>16</sup> This does not occur in all cases, for example in Belhare in the so-called double subject (absolutive-experiencer and absolutive-stimulus) there is no agreement.

<sup>17</sup> Bickel cites, for Hayu, Michailovsky 1988, for Kathamndu and Dolakha Newari. Genetti 1994, and for Belhare, Bickel 1997.

<sup>18</sup> Bickel cites, for Maithili, Bickel & Yadava 2000, and for Kashmiri, Wali & Koul 1997, and Hook, 1990.

agreement marking on the verb. Furthermore, example (82a), in ergative case, is understood to be an intentional act and (81b), in dative, a non-intentional act.

(82) (a) *ŋa-e ŋa-laŋi-ke caku-e ŋa-ce-a-aŋ*  
 1S-ERG 1S-self-DAT knife-INST 1PRO-cut-PST-1PRO  
 'I cut myself with a knife.' (S)

(b) *ŋa-laŋi-ke caku-e ce-a*  
 1S-self-DAT knife-INST cut-PST  
 'I cut myself (accidentally) with a knife.' (S)

Significantly, morphologically downgraded genitive-experiencers do trigger subject agreement on the verb (as in seen in (80) and (81) above); and this pattern conforms to Tibeto-Burman. Thus, in Magar, just as we find different morphological patterns for marking experiencers co-existing, we also find different syntactic patterns co-existing. Magar, a Himalayish language, is at the areal intersection of the two experiencer marking types: 'experiencer-as-possessor' and 'experiencer-as-goal' and manifests features of both. It would seem that as dative-experiencer marking entered into Magar via Nepali, it brought with it a lack of pivothood; whereas the genitive-marked experiencer has retained its pivothood as in found in Tibeto-Burman languages.

### 3.4.2 Non-grammatical cases

Magar has an instrumental case, a general locative case, and specific local cases which encode distinct types of direction and location.

#### 3.4.2.1 Instrumental

The instrumental and ergative case markers are syncretic, both are marked with the suffix *-i ~ -e*. Despite their syncretism, the ergative and instrumental case are distinct in meaning and distribution. In Tanahu dialect, unlike ergative case, the instrumental does not split along aspect; thus an instrument is so marked in all aspects in both dialects.

Moreover, the cases can co-occur in a single predication and when they do they indicate two separate roles: 1. the animate agent, who wields an instrument; 2. the inanimate instrument, as in (83).

- (83) (a) *ŋa-e*            *curi-e*            *gwa*    *sat-a*  
 1S-ERG            knife-INST            bird    kill-PST  
 'I killed the chicken with a knife.' (T)
- (b) *ŋa-e*            *curi-e*            *gwa*    *ŋa-sat-a-aŋ*  
 1S-ERG            knife-INST            bird    1S.PRO-kill-PST-1S.PRO  
 'I killed the chicken with a knife.' (S)

However, an instrument can also be encoded as an indirect agent, if the understood direct animate agent is downplayed, as in (84).

- (84) *i-se-i*            *curi-e*    *wak-o*    *mi-lu*    *ce-a*  
 P.DEM-DEF-FOC    knife-ERG    pig-GEN    POSS-head    cut-PST  
 'This knife cut off the pig's head.'

### 3.4.2.2 Local cases

The local cases include: circumlative, ablative, superessive, lative and adessive. The adessive is not found in Tanahu dialect. Each local case has a core function and each has also developed extended meanings. Case compounding, specifically case-stacking, which is typical of the Bodic languages of Nepal, also occurs in Magar. Cases stacking, as Noonan (2008d: 2) defines it, is compounding in which two independent case affixes are used together to describe a complex trajectory, one that is understood as a combination of the meanings of the two case affixes.

Magar lacks cases that are otherwise attested in Himalayish languages. There are no dedicated allative, ambulative, or inessive cases in Magar. The allative sense of 'motion toward' is expressed by local cases in combination with a dynamic verb. In these

instances each case (save the locative which is general in meaning) will impart meaning a specific direction or position, as seen in (85).

- (85) (a) *ho-se*            *im-aŋ*            *nuŋ-le*  
 D.DEM-DEF          house-LOC        go-IMPF  
 'She goes into the house.'
- (b) *ho-se*            *im-lak*            *nuŋ-le*  
 D.DEM-DEF          house-CIR        go-IMPF  
 'She goes toward the house.'
- (c) *ho-se*            *im-iŋ*            *rafi-le*  
 D.DEM-DEF          house-ABL        come-IMPF  
 'She comes from the house.'
- (d) *ho-se*            *im-tuŋ*            *nuŋ-le*  
 D.DEM-DEF          house-ADS        go-IMPF  
 'She goes right up by the house.' (S)
- (e) *ho-se*            *im-tak*            *nuŋ-le*  
 D.DEM-DEF          house-SUP        go-IMPF  
 'She goes up above the house.'
- (f) *ho-se*            *i-tar*            *nuŋ-le*  
 D.DEM-DEF          house- LAT        go-IMPF  
 'She goes level with the house.' (S)

An ambulative sense, expressing 'motion to and fro,' is conveyed by reduplication of locative and circumlative case-marked nouns, as in (86).

- (86) (a) *ho-se-ko*            *langfia*    *langfia-aŋ*            *huya-mΛ*    *ŋu-mΛ*    *le*  
 D.DEM-DEF-PL          village        village-LOC        walk-NOM    sit-NOM    IMPF  
 'They are walking from village to village.'
- (b) *kan-ko*            *i-lak*            *a-lak*                    *nuŋ-a*  
 2P-PL                  P.DEM-LOC    D.DEM-LOC            go-PST  
 'We went here and there.' (T)
- (c) *kan-ko*            *i-lak*            *a-lak*                    *ka-nuŋ-a-as*  
 2P-PL                  P.DEM-LOC    D.DEM-LOC            2PL.PRO-go-PST-2PL.PRO  
 'We went here and there.' (S)

Magar does not have an inessive case. The location 'in' ~ 'within' is expressed with a Nepali postposition to which, in Syangja, a velar nasal final is added: *bfitriŋ* ((87)).

The word 'out' ~ 'outside' is also borrowed from Nepali, and is *bahiriŋ* ((88)); see §9.3.3.

(87) *dfia-dekhiŋ ho-se kauwa mantri ja bahiriŋ khyofi-a*  
burn-from D.DEM-DEF crow minister EMPH outside emerge-PST

*dfia-dekhiŋ uruwa-ko bfitriŋ ja sat-a jomfi-ak-a ra*  
burn-from owl-PL inside EMPH kill-PST ignite-CAUS-PST and  
'After the fire was burning, the crow minister, indeed, went out. After the fire was burning and the owls were, actually, burned to death inside.' (DD.080S)

(88) *ho-ta-i arbfi-aŋ ŋa-khyofi-aŋ ra ja*  
D.DEM-MNR-FOC courtyard-LOC 1PRO-emerge-1PRO and EMPH

*a-se patta-ko bahiriŋ khyofi-ŋfiak-iŋ ōs-ma le-o-le*  
R.DEM-DEF all-PL outside emerge-front-ABL look-NOM COP-MIR-IMPF  
'Then I came out into the courtyard, and, realized that, indeed, everyone had come outside and was watching'. (M.M.020S)

There are also no vertical cases and dimensional, or directional cases such as are found in the Kiranti languages, as for example, in Hayu (Michailovsky1988), Belhare (Bickel 1996:46, 1997) and Limbu (Ebert1994: 90-99) and in Kham (Watters 2002:59). In languages with such cases, the locative, allative and ablative can have the additional directional senses of 'up', 'down' or 'level'. In Magar, vertical dimension is conveyed through adverbial, directional or local expressions, as in (89); see §9.3.1 - 9.3.2.

(89) (a) *maha-ja mfiak-lak gandaki-lak nuŋ-ma le*  
woman-child down-CIR river-CIR go-NOM IMPF  
'The young woman is going downwards toward the river.'

(b) *len-ja dfiem-aŋ pahar-aŋ nuŋ-a*  
young.male-child up-LOC mountain.peak-LOC go-PST  
'The young man went up to the mountain.peak.'

(c) *ho-se-ko phenam-o lam-aŋ nuŋ-a*  
D.DEM-DEF-PL level-GEN road-LOC go-PST  
'They took the level road.'





(b) *jammaj ghadi-aj ku-se-i-da ma-sefi-ma le*  
 all watch-LOC INTRG-DEF-FOC-INDF NEG-nice-NOM IMPF  
 'Among all the watches none whatsoever is nice.' (S)

The locative, as it has a general meaning, overlaps to some extent with other cases but otherwise each case imparts its own subtle difference in meaning; for example the superessive ((94)) and, in Syangja, the adessive ((95)) as well. Tanahu speakers acknowledge no difference in meaning between (95a) and (95b) and both mean 'at the door'.

(94) (a) *larphu mi-lu-aj pufi-o*  
 shawl POSS-head-LOC wear-IMP  
 'Wear your shawl on your head!'

(b) *lurphu mi-lu-tak pufi-o*  
 cap POSS-head-SUP wear-IMP  
 'Wear your shawl on top of your head!'

(95) (a) *bfiormi galam-aj toŋfi-a*  
 man door-LOC stand-PST  
 'The man stood at the door.'

(b) *bfiormi galam-tuŋ toŋfi-a*  
 man door-ADS stand-PST  
 'The man stood right at the door.' (S)

#### 3.4.2.2.2 Circumlative

The circumlative suffix *-lak* is derived from, and co-exists with, the full noun *lak* meaning 'place'. The case-marker has a more dispersed meaning than the locative. It can have both a stative ((96)) 'in the area' and dynamic allative sense, 'toward the area' when combined with a dynamic verb ((97)).

(96) (a) *palpa-lak sefi-ca le*  
 Palpa-CIR pretty-ATT COP  
 'Palpa area is pretty.'

(b) *than nfiun-lak bajar le*  
 temple behind-CIR market COP  
 'In the area behind the temple is the market.'

(c) *dibu himal dfiem-lak le*  
 cloud mountains up-CIR COP  
 'Clouds are (scattered) up around the mountains.'

(d) *dibu himal dfiem-aŋ le*  
 cloud mountains up-LOC COP  
 'Clouds are on (and covering) the mountains.'

(97) (a) *ŋa damauli-lak nuŋ-ke le*  
 1S Damauli-CIR go-NOM COP  
 'I going toward (to the area of) Damauli.'

(b) *citua kan-ko-lak rafi-a*  
 cat 1P-PL-CIR come-PST  
 'The leopard came toward us (to our general area).'

(c) *par-lak nuŋ-na*  
 that side-CIR go-IMP  
 'Go over toward that side!'

The distinction between the locative and the circumlative can be explained in Hjelmslev's (1935) terms: 'coherence' (contact, entrance) and 'incoherence' (general proximity). The locative is coherent and the circumlative incoherent, as seen in the contrasts in (98) and (99).

(98) (a) *di khopilta-lak rafi-a*  
 water ditch-CIR come-PST  
 'Water flowed toward the ditch.'

(b) *di khopilta-aŋ rafi-a*  
 water ditch-LOC come-PST  
 'Water flowed into the ditch.'

(99) (a) *sammakushi-aŋ mu-le*  
 Sammakusi-LOC stay-IMPF  
 '(They are) living within Sammakushi'

(b) *sammakushi-lak ŋu-le*  
 Sammakusi-CIR stay-IMPF  
 '(They are) living in the Sammakushi area.'

The circumlative combines with the ablative ((100)) and, in Syangja dialect, with the adessive ((100)), both of which it precedes. Example (101) exhibits the expected order of stacked case clitics, wherein the rightmost clitic expresses a trajectory and the leftmost one a location (Noonan, 2008d: 9).

(100) (a) *im nɦun-lak-ij ram-e kumari-ke ɦos-a*  
 house behind-CIR-ABL Ram-ERG Kumari-DAT look-PST  
 'From around behind house, Ram looked at Kumari.' (T)

(b) *ɦɦuŋ pahar-lak-ij kurufi-a*  
 rock mountain.face-CIR-ABL tumble-PST  
 'Rock tumbled from around the mountain face.'

(101) (a) *ispat ku-lak-tuŋ le*  
 razor how-CIR-ADS COP  
 'Whereabouts is my razor at?' (S)

(b) *sabun-tuŋ le*  
 soap-ADS COP  
 'It's right by the soap.' (S)

### 3.4.2.2.3 Ablative

The ablative, marked with the suffix *-ij*, expresses movement away from a source, as in (102).

(102) (a) *maha-ja langɦia-ij wɦia-a*  
 woman-child village-ABL walk-PST  
 'The young woman walked from the village.'

(b) *kolom tebaɦ-ij jɦial-a*  
 pen table-ABL fall-PST  
 'The pen fell from the table.'

(c) *ɦo-se mɦiak-ij rafɦ-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF down-ABL come-PST  
 'She came from below.'

The ablative also combines with the circumlative *-lak* ((102)) and superessive *-tak* ((104)).

(103) *mɦpruŋ damauli-lak-ij rafɦ-a*  
 Mɦpruŋ Damauli-CIR-ABL come-PST  
 'Mɦpruŋ came from around Damauli.'

(104) (a) *ghis molo myertuŋ-tak-iŋ bfiur-a*  
 two eagle tree-SUP-ABL fly-PST  
 'Two eagles flew from atop the tree.'

(b) *i-se mfi-tak-iŋ bat-o*  
 P.DEM-DEF fire-SUP-ABL set-IMP  
 'Set this above the fire (away from the flame)!'

In Syangja dialect, the ablative combines with the adessive *-tuŋ* as in (105). The combination conveys the meaning of 'directly from', or 'solely from' a source. In Tanahu, this sense is conveyed with the Nepali borrowing *mantrei* 'only' as the contrasts in (106) demonstrate.

(105) (a) *koseli ŋa-tuŋ-iŋ raŋi-ca ale*  
 gift IS-ADS-ABL come-ATT COP  
 'The gift came from me alone.' (S)

(b) *ram-tuŋ-iŋ kumari-e kat-paŋhi maŋkoi dinfi-a*  
 Ram-ADS-ABL Kumari-ERG one-five.kilo corn get-PST  
 'Kumari got five kilos of corn (~ directly) from Ram alone.' (S)

(106) (a) *koseli ŋa-iŋ mantrei raŋi-cyo ale*  
 gift IS-ABL only come-ATT COP  
 'The gift came from me alone.' (T)

(b) *ram-iŋ mantrei kumari-e kat-paŋhi maŋkoi dinfi-a*  
 Ram-ABL only Kumari-ERG one-five.kilo corn get-PST  
 'Kumari got five kilos of corn only (~ directly) from Ram.' (T)

The ablative, in combination with the locative case and when in combination with temporal adverbials naming periods of time, has a temporal sense, as in (107).

(107) (a) *naŋ-ko-uŋ kitab som yak-aŋ-iŋ a-lfi-et-e* [*>yakni*]  
 2-PL-GEN book three day-LOC-ABL IRR-return-IRR  
 '(I) will return your book three days from now.' (T)

(b) *naŋ-ko-uŋ kitab som yak-aŋ-iŋ a-lfi-et-e-na* [*>yakniŋ*]  
 2-PL-GEN book three day-LOC-ABL IRR-return-IRR-IPRO  
 '(I) will return your book three days from now'. (S)

(c) *ŋa-e kam kat-sata-aŋ-iŋ a-bfiyat-e* [*>kastani*]  
 1-ERG work one-week-LOC-ABL IRR-finish-IRR  
 'I might have finished this work one week from now.' (T)

(d) *ŋa-e kajus kat-sata-aŋ-iŋ a-bfiya-na* [*>kastaniŋ*]  
 I-ERG work one-week-LOC-ABL IRR-finish-1PRO  
 'I might have finished this work one week from now.' (S)

(e) *hose-e nfis yak-aŋ-iŋ balla cho jya-a*  
 D.DEM-ERG two day-LOC-ABL only rice eat-PST  
 'He ate only after two days.'

(f) *ŋa melhes-iŋ butol-aŋ mu-ma-na*  
 I S last.year-ABL Butol-LOC sit-NOM-1PRO  
 'I have lived in Butol since last year.' (S)

(g) *ŋa melhes-iŋ butol-aŋ ŋu-ma me*  
 I S last.year-ABL Butol-LOC sit-NOM IMPF  
 'I have lived in Butol since last year.' (T)

#### 3.4.2.2.4 Superessive

The superessive case, marked with *-tak*, has the sense of 'on', or 'above', as in (108). In Tanahu dialect when used with a stative sense the superessive is followed by the locative ((108e - h)). When used with a dynamic verb it can mean 'as far up', and it does not require the support of the locative in either dialect, as in (109).

(108) (a) *mi-ja ŋa-tak mu-ma na le*  
 POSS-child 1S-SUP sit-NOM EMPH IMPF  
 'The child is sitting on top of me.' (S)

(b) *dibu pahar-tak le*  
 cloud mountain-SUP COP  
 'The clouds are (just) atop the mountain peaks.' (S)

(c) *larphu mi-lu-tak bilfi-o*  
 shawl POSS-head-SUP wear-IMP  
 'Wear your shawl on top of your head!' (S)

(d) *ŋa-o im lasargha-tak le*  
 1S-GEN house Lasargha-SUP COP  
 'My house is above Lasargha' (S)

(e) *mi-ja ŋa-tak-aŋ mu-ma na le*  
 POSS-child 1S-SUP-LOC sit-NOM EMPH IMPF  
 'The child is sitting on top of me.' (T)

(f) *dibu pahar-tak-aŋ le*  
 cloud mountain-SUP-LOC COP  
 'The clouds are (just) atop the mountain.' (T)

(g) *larphu mi-lu-tak-aŋ bilfi-o*  
 shawl POSS-head-SUP-LOC wear-IMP  
 'Wear your shawl on top of your head!' (T)

(h) *ŋa-o im lasargha-tak-aŋ le*  
 1S-GEN house Lasargha-SUP-LOC COP  
 'My house is above Lasargha' (T)

(109) (a) *ho-se ku-lak-tak a-nuŋ-e*  
 D.DEM-DEF INTRG-CIR-SUP IRR- bring-IRR  
 'How far up will he go?'

(b) *ho-se damauli-tak nuŋ-le*  
 D.DEM-DEF Damauli-SUP go-IMPF  
 'He goes up above Damauli.'

(c) *ho-se di im-tak rafi-o*  
 D.DEM-DEF water house-SUP bring-IMP  
 'Bring that water up to the house!'

As seen in (109a), the superessive combines with the circumlative. It also combines with ablative, which it precedes, as seen in (101) above.

### 3.4.2.2.5 Lative

The lative case, *-tar*, has the spatial sense of 'to the level of ', as in (110).

(110) (a) *ŋa-tar rafi-na*  
 1S-LAT come-IMP  
 'Come here level with me!'

(b) *laksmi lfiofi-mΛ nΛ le tΛrΛ ŋa-tar chanfi-le*  
 Laxmi grow-NON EMPH IMPF but 1S-LAT become-IMPF

*ma-hyok-mΛ nΛ le*  
 NEG- able-NOM EMPH IMPF  
 'Laxmi is growing but she will not be able to become (as tall) as I am.'

(c) *siŋ-tar dakre-aŋ ka-o*  
 wood-LAT basket-LOC put-IMP  
 'As much wood as there is, put (up to that much) into the basket.' (W.W.022)

The lative, when it is used with non-physical properties, has an essive sense, as in (111).

(111) (a) *ho-se ɲa-tar ma-sefi-ca le*  
 D.DEM 1S-LAT NEG-good-ATT COP  
 'He is not as good as I am.'

(b) *ho-se-o cyu-tar budfi ma-le*  
 D.DEM-GEN dog-LAT wisdom NEG-COP  
 'He hasn't as much wisdom as a dog.'

(c) *sita naŋ-tar sefi-cyo ma-le*  
 D.DEM-GEN 2S-LAT wisdom NEG-COP  
 'Sita is not as pretty as you are.'

The lative case has also developed extended temporal meanings, as in (112); see also

§9.5.

(112) (a) *kajus kat sata-tar-aŋ a-bfiya-cis-e*  
 work one week-LAT-LOC IRR-finish-DTR-IRR  
 'The work will be finished during the week.' (S)

(b) *kam kat sata-tar-aŋ a-bfiyat-e*  
 work one week-LAT-LOC IRR-finish-IRR  
 'The work will finish during the week.' (T)

The lative clitic is a versatile marker; in addition to following nouns, pronouns and demonstratives (§7.12), as all case-markers do, the lative is a verb suffix. When following a verb, it has the meaning 'do this verb to the utmost', as in (113) (repeated from (35)).

(113) *dakre-aŋ piŋfi-tar ka-o*  
 basket-LOC fill-LAT put-IMP  
 'Fill the basket as much as possible (~ to the brim).'

Also when following verbs and in combination with the locative case, the lative can have the temporal meaning of 'while' ((114)); see also §9.5. The simultaneous converb *-naŋ* conveys the a similar meaning ((115)). With a punctual (non-progressive) verb, such as *sofi* 'rise', *tar* has the meaning 'until' ((116)).

(114) (a) *ŋa mis-tar-aŋ ho-se-e por-di-s-le-sa-a*  
 1S sleep-LAT-LOC D.DEM-DEF-ERG read-LN-ITR-IMPF-INFR-PST  
 'While I was sleeping, evidently, he studied.'

(b) *ŋa wfi-a-tar-aŋ lapha dup-a*  
 1S walk-LAT-LOC friend meet-PST  
 'While walking I met friends.'

(c) *prithi mis-tar-aŋ kan-ko kam jat-le*  
 Prithi sleep-LAT-LOC 2PL-PL work do-IMPF  
 'While Prithi is sleeping we will work.' (T)

(d) *prithi mis-tar-aŋ kan-ko-e kam jat-dΛ-l*  
 Prithi sleep-LAT-LOC 2PL-PL-ERG work do-2PRO-IMPF  
 'While Prithi is sleeping we will work.' (S)

(115) (a) *ŋa mis-naŋ ho-se-e por-di-s-le-sa-a*  
 1S sleep-SEQ D.DEM-DEF-ERG read-LN-ITR-IMPF-INFR-PST  
 'While I was sleeping, evidently, he studied.'

(b) *ŋa wfi-naŋ lapha dup-a*  
 1S walk-SEQ friend meet-PST  
 'While walking, I met friends.' (T)

(c) *ŋa wfi-naŋ lapha ŋa-dup-a-aŋ*  
 1S walk-SEQ friend 1PRO-meet-PST-1PRO  
 'While walking, I met friends.' (S)

(d) *prithi mis-naŋ kan-ko kam jat-le*  
 Prithi sleep-SEQ 2PL-PL work do-IMPF  
 'While Prithi is sleeping we will work.' (T)

(e) *prithi mis-naŋ kan-ko-e kam jat-dΛ-nis*  
 Prithi sleep-SEQ 2PL-PL-ERG work do-2PRO-PL  
 'While Prithi is sleeping we will work.' (S)

(116) (a) *prithi ma-sofi-tar kan-ko kam jat-le*  
 Prithi NEG-wake-LAT 2PL-PL work do-IMPF  
 'Until Prithi wakes up we will work.' (T)

(b) *prithi ma-sofi-tar kan-ko-e kam jat-dΛ-nis*  
 Prithi NEG-wake-LAT 2PL-PL-ERG work do-2PRO-PL  
 'Until Prithi wakes up we will work.' (S)



In terms of its meaning and distribution, *tar* resembles the lative suffix *-pəi* in Kham.

The lative in Kham (Watters 2002:316) also occurs on both nouns and verbs; with nouns it means 'up to a place' and with verbs 'up to a point in time' or 'until', as in (117).

Kham (Watters 2002:312)

(117) (a) *ədəhmər la:-kin nəm o-dəhlki-na-wa-pəi*  
 mid day-ELAT sky 3S-lean-GO-APPRX-UNTIL  
 'from midday until afternoon' (lit. 'until the leaning of the sky')

(b) *o-ma-dəi-wa-pəi khim-o zə nəi-ke-o*  
 3S-NEG-find-APPRX-UNTIL search-NOM EMPH keep-PFV- 3S  
 'He kept searching until he found it.'

#### 3.4.2.2.6 Adessive

The adessive case is not present in Tanahu dialect (though it is found in other eastern dialects such as Nawalparasi dialect). It is used in Syangja dialect and is marked by *-tuŋ*. It has the locative meaning of 'close-proximity' ~ 'right by' or 'right up to', as in (118). In Tanahu dialect, this meaning is conveyed with the general locative case in combination with an adverb such as *tot* 'directly' ~ 'right on' ((121d)). The adessive has extended its meaning to both a commitative ((119)) and a possessive ((120)) sense. These meanings are conveyed in Tanahu dialect with the postposition *kathA* borrowed from Nepali ((121)). As was exemplified, the adessive combines with the circumlative ((101)) and the ablative ((105)).

(118) (a) *ho-ta-i ra ho-se galam-tuŋ da-rafi-o le-a*  
 D.DEM-MNR-FOC and D.DEM-DEF door-ADS put-come-HAB COP-PST  
 'Then, like that, he would come put them right at the door.' (DD.059S)

(c) *ŋa damauli-tuŋ nuŋ-le*  
 1S Damauli-ADS go-IMPF  
 'I go right up to Damauli.' (S)

(b) *cyu im-tuŋ le*  
 dog house-ADS COP  
 'The dog is right at the house.' (S)

(119) (a) *ŋa-tuŋ*      *rafi-na*  
 1S-ADS              come-HON.IMP  
 'Come with me!' (~ 'Come right by me!') (S)

(b) *mi-ja*      *ŋa-tuŋ*      *le*  
 POSS-child 1S-ADS              COP  
 'The child is with me.' (~ 'The child is right by me') (S)

(120) (a) *mAkoi ram-tuŋ*      *le*  
 corn      Ram-ADS              COP  
 'Ram has corn.' (~ 'The corn is right by Ram') (S)

(b) *gagri*      *kumari-tuŋ*      *le*  
 waterpot      Kumari-ADS              COP  
 'Kumari has a water pot.' (~ 'The water pot is right by Kumari') (S)

(121) (a) *gagri*      *kumari* *kAθA*      *le*  
 waterpot      Kumari      with              COP  
 'Kumari has a water pot.' (~ 'The water pot is with Kumari') (T)

(b) *mi-ja*      *ŋa*      *kAθA*      *le*  
 POSS-child 1S      with              COP  
 'The child is with me.' (T)

(c) *ŋa*      *kAθA*      *rafi-na*  
 1S      with              come-HON.IMP  
 'Come with me!' (T)

(d) *cyu*      *im-aŋ*      *tot*      *le*  
 dog      house-LOC      right      COP  
 'The dog right is at the house.' (T)

## 4 Verbs and verb morphology

This chapter treats the structure and formation of verbs, verb classes, and verb morphology. The latter includes inflectional morphology such as: tense, aspect and mood marking, the indexing of arguments on the verb (which Himalayan is also known as pronominalization) and derivational morphology including valence markers: the causative and the detransitive, as well as morphology which nativizes borrowed verbs. It also describes the morphology of converbs and processes of nominalization.

### 4.1 Structure of verb roots and stems

In this section the structure of verb roots and stems is described. As noted in chapter three, by root is meant the base form of the word; a verb root cannot be further analyzed morphologically. A verb stem may be the base including inflectional or derivational affixes to which additional affixes are added. A verb stem may also be a compound comprised of two roots which can be analyzed into compositional parts.

#### 4.1.1 Simple verb stems

Simple roots may be or monosyllabic or polysyllabic. The former are more common; both are exemplified in (1).

(1)	(a) <i>jya-</i>	'eat'	<i>ga-</i>	'drink'
	<i>ce-</i>	'cut'	<i>si-</i>	'die'
	(b) <i>arbfyat-</i>	'slip'	<i>bferet-</i>	'sow'
	<i>cirlifi-</i>	'scream'	<i>marfaŋ-</i>	'enjoy'

#### 4.1.2 Complex stems

Magar is an agglutinative language. It has morphologically complex stems which may be combinations of two semantic main verbs, and nouns and expressives combined with grammaticalized light-verbs. These are described in the following sections.

#### 4.1.2.1 Verb-verb stems

Two free verb roots can combine form a single complex stem, which has a single unary meaning (i.e. they express a single event or state); for example: *mfiuŋ-bat* {tire-set} means 'rest' and *bat-lfiət* [talk-return] means 'respond'. These stems share a single set of inflections but are not indivisible constituents as the negative morphemes can be inserted between them, as seen in (2) and (3).

(2) (a) *ho-se-ko*      *pahar-tak-aŋ*      *kalfi-ŋfiak-iŋ*      *mfiuŋ-bat-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF-PL mountain-SUP-LOC climb-front-ABL tire-set-PST  
 'They climbed up on the mountain and afterwards rested. (R.15a)

(b) *ho-se-ko*      *pahar-tak-aŋ*      *kalfi-a*      *rΛ*      *mfiuŋ-ma-bat-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF-PL mountain-SUP-LOC climb -PST and tire-NEG-set-PST  
 'They climbed up on the mountain and did not rest. (R.15b)

(3) (a) *sip-ya-e*      *mΛster-ke*      *bat-lfiət-a*  
 school-NOM-ERG teacher-DAT talk return-PST  
 'The student responded to the teacher.' (R.16a)

(b) *sip-ya-e*      *mΛstar-ke*      *bat-ma-lfiət-a*  
 school-NOM-ERG teacher-DAT talk NEG-return-PST  
 'The student did not respond to the teacher.' (R.16b)

Verb-verb stems resemble, but are distinct from, serial verbs (the latter are described in §11.2). What distinguishes them is the nature of the words combined and the productivity of the combinations. Complex verb-verb stems are unique idiomatic combinations with a lexicalized meaning; whereas serial verb combinations are productive with various different verbs filling the first verb-slot and the final verb being more-or-less fixed. Compounds are not productive in this way. In a serialization, the final verb will predictably be from a select group of verbs including: *rafi* 'come', *da* 'put', *jat* 'do' and *se* 'sense'. These verbs are semantically 'light' and the first verb in the compound carries the semantic weight; whereas in complex stems both verbs contribute more-or-less equally; for further discussion of serial verbs see §11.2.

#### 4.1.2.2 Noun-verb stems

Complex verbs may also be combinations of verbs and nouns. Similar to serial verb constructions, the final verb is often a light-verb, for example, *rafi* 'come' in (4) and *ka* 'put' in (5). Meteorological expressions, emotions, mental acts and bodily functions are frequently expressed with noun-verb compounds.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>(4) (a) <i>namas rafi-</i><br/>rain come<br/>'rain'</p> <p>(b) <i>jfier-lfiun rafi-</i><br/>clear-stone come<br/>'hail'</p> <p>(c) <i>nam-su rafi-</i><br/>sky-breath come<br/>'be windy'</p>          | <p>(d) <i>jamcho rafi-</i><br/>anger come<br/>'be angry'</p> <p>(e) <i>mi-mik rafi-</i><br/>POSS-eye come<br/>'be sleepy'</p> <p>(f) <i>mi-hyu rafi-</i><br/>POSS-blood come<br/>'bleed'</p> |
| <p>(5) (a) <i>me-ben ka-</i><br/>POSS-excrement put<br/>'defecate'</p> <p>(b) <i>mi-rfios ka-</i><br/>POSS-urine put<br/>'urinate'</p> <p>(c) <i>mi-thofi lofi-</i><br/>POSS- saliva throw<br/>'spit'</p> | <p>(d) <i>marahaŋ khyofi-</i><br/>happiness emerge<br/>'enjoy'</p> <p>(e) <i>jamcho khyofi-</i><br/>anger emerge<br/>'become angry'</p>  |
| <p>(6) (a) <i>mi-tuk ransi-</i><br/>POSS-stomach hunger<br/>'be hungry'</p>   | <p>(b) <i>di sonfi-</i><br/>water thirst<br/>'be thirsty'</p>  |

Combinations of noun plus light-verb are a common phenomenon in South Asian languages, Nepali among them. Many such combinations have been borrowed into Magar from Nepali as 'demi'-calques. In these instances, the light-verb is Magar; *jat* ((7)), *yafi* ((8)) *rafi* ((9)), and the noun Nepali. For example, Nepali *puja garnu* [worship-

do] 'to worship' becomes *puja jat* [worship-do] in Magar ((10)) and *bicar garnu* [thought-do] becomes *bicar jat* ((11)).

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>(7) (a) <i>abela</i> (N) <i>jat-</i><br/>late do<br/>'delay'</p>                                    | <p>(f) <i>man</i> (N) <i>jat-</i><br/>obey do<br/>'respect'</p>            |
| <p>(b) <i>bicar</i> (N) <i>jat-</i><br/>thought do<br/>'think'</p>                                     | <p>(g) <i>maya</i> (N) <i>jat-</i><br/>love do<br/>'love'</p>              |
| <p>(c) <i>binti</i> (N) <i>jat-</i><br/>request do<br/>'request'</p>                                   | <p>(h) <i>puja</i> (N) <i>jat-</i><br/>worship do<br/>'worship'</p>        |
| <p>(d) <i>byafi</i> (N) <i>jat-</i><br/>marriage do<br/>'marry'</p>                                    | <p>(i) <i>ujur</i> (N) <i>jat</i><br/>complain do<br/>'complain'</p>       |
| <p>(e) <i>biswas</i> (N) <i>jat-</i><br/>belief do<br/>'believe'</p>                                   | <p>(j) <i>ultha</i> (N) <i>jat-</i><br/>translation do<br/>'translate'</p> |
| <p>(8) (a) <i>bijuli pil</i> (N) <i>yafi-</i><br/>electricity flash give<br/>'lightening to flash'</p> | <p>(d) <i>mapfi</i> (N) <i>yafi-</i><br/>forgive give<br/>'forgive'</p>    |
| <p>(b) <i>dos</i> (N) <i>yafi-</i><br/>accusation give<br/>'accuse'</p>                                | <p>(e) <i>sajai</i> (N) <i>yafi-</i><br/>punishment give<br/>'punish'</p>  |
| <p>(c) <i>housla</i> (N) <i>yafi-</i><br/>encouragement give<br/>'encourage'</p>                       | <p>(f) <i>syabas</i> (N) <i>yafi-</i><br/>praise give<br/>'praise'</p>     |
| <p>(9) (a) <i>dukha</i> (N) <i>rafi-</i><br/>sorrow come<br/>'mourn'</p>                               | <p>(c) <i>bfiial</i> (N) <i>rafi-</i><br/>flood come<br/>'flood'</p>       |
| <p>(b) <i>daya</i> (N) <i>rafi-</i><br/>mercy come<br/>'have mercy'</p>                                |  |

(10) *ho-se-i*                      *bali*                      *cara-di-k-mo*                      *puja* [*>hocie*]  
 D.DEM-DEF-FOC                      sacrifice                      offering-LN-DCAUS-SEQ                      worship

*jat-mo*    *pura*                      *samaj*                      *gau-aj*                      *samaj*                      *chanfi-mo*  
 do-SEQ    entire                      society                      village-LOC                      society                      become-SEQ

*man-di-k-le*

celebrate-LN-DCAUS-IMPF

'Having made the sacrificial offering and done worship, the entire village society has come together to celebrate.' (F.F. 005T)

(11) *ho-tak-ij*                      *ho-laj*                      *tafi-rafi-ηfiak-ij*                      *abo candrama jogini-e*  
 D.DEM-SUP-ABL                      D.DEM.LOC    reach-come-front-ABL    now    moon                      devil's.eye-ERG

*bicar jat-a*    *ra*                      *ho-tak-ij*                      *pheri tika*                      *bu-cyo*                      *thaj cahin* [*>hotij*]  
 thought do-PST    and                      D.DEM-SUP-ABL                      again                      blessing                      carry-ATT                      place well

*gobar-e*                      *lak-a*                      *ra*                      *di*    *ra*                      *gobar*                      *lak-le*  
 dung-INST                      plaster-PST                      and                      water and                      dung                      plaster-IMPF

'Then after reaching their destination there and having thought of the moon and the Devil's eye then, again, they plaster the ground of this tika-receiving place with cow dung. They plaster with cow dung and water.' (E.E.019T)

As in the case of noun-verb compounds, by the criteria of 'constituent indivisibility', combinations of noun plus light-verb would not be considered compounds because the negative morpheme is interjected, as in (12). However, these combinations have a unary meaning and are considered a single event into which the noun is incorporated.

(12) (a) *mfi-a-aj*                      *hyu ma-rafi-a*  
 wound-LOC                      blood    NEG-come-PST  
 'The wound did not bleed.'

(b) *len-ja-ko-e*                      *par-lak*                      *dunga ma-ghwat-ma le* [*>maghwatme(T)*]  
 young.male-child-PL-ERG    other.side-CIRboat    NEG-stir-NOM    IMPF  
 'The young men are not paddling to the other side.'

#### 4.1.2.3 Onomatopoeic verbs

Onomatopoeic verbs are frequently attested in Tibeto-Burman and in Bodic in particular.

They may have come into Bodic from more than one source: via contact with Central

Asian languages (Turkic and Mongolic), and contact with Dravidian and Indic languages

of the South Asian area (Emeneau 1969). Onomatopoeics are typically reduplicated, either fully or partially, (Abbi 1992:12-19). Onomatopoeics, like noun-verb combinations are frequently combined with 'light' verbs, as in (13) - (15) but occur also with full verbs (16). As with noun plus light-verb combinations, many ideophonic reduplications are borrowed into Magar from Nepali; for example, *bfiΛk-bfiΛk jat* 'stutter' (13a).

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>(13) (a) <i>bfiak-bfiak jat</i><br/>           ONO-ONO do<br/>           'stutter'</p> <p>(b) <i>bilap-bilap jat</i><br/>           ONO-ONO do<br/>           'howl' ~ 'wail'</p> <p>(c) <i>coyaŋk-coyaŋk jat</i><br/>           ONO-ONO do<br/>           'crack open'</p> <p>(d) <i>gun-gun jat</i><br/>           ONO-ONO do<br/>           'hum'</p> | <p>(e) <i>pacyat-pacyat jat</i><br/>           ONO-ONO do<br/>           'crumble'</p> <p>(f) <i>raŋtaŋ-raŋtaŋ jat</i><br/>           ONO-ONO do<br/>           'tremble' ~ 'shake'</p> <p>(g) <i>tyak-tyak jat</i><br/>           ONO-ONO do<br/>           'snap one's fingers'</p> |
| <p>(14) (a) <i>khasak-khusak ka</i><br/>           ONO-ONO put<br/>           'whisper'</p>   | <p>(b) <i>khyu-khyu ka</i><br/>           ONO-ONO put<br/>           'whistle'</p>  |
| <p>(15) (a) <i>phowak phowak yafi</i><br/>           ONO-ONO give<br/>           'pat something' (T)</p> <p>(c) <i>phawk phawk jat</i><br/>           ONO-ONO do<br/>           'pat something' (S)</p>   | <p>(b) <i>bfiaryak bfiaryak yafi</i><br/>           ONO-ONO give<br/>           'bat at something'</p>  |
| <p>(16) (a) <i>pilap-pilap dfa</i><br/>           ONO-ONO burn<br/>           'flicker'</p>   | <p>(b) <i>patek patek gyok</i><br/>           ONO-ONO break<br/>           'crumble'</p>  |



Like noun plus light-verb combinations, though they have a single meaning, the collocation is divisible: the negative morpheme can be interjected, as in (17).

- (17) (a) *bilap-bilap ma-jat-na*  
 ONO ONO NEG-do-IMP  
 'Stop wailing!' (T)
- (b) *bfiΛk bfiΛk ma jat-mΛ te-o*  
 ONO ONO NEG-do-NOM say-IMP  
 'Stop wailing!' (S)

Onomatopoeics when combined with a full lexical verb, often have an adverbial function and expresses the manner in which an action is carried out, as in (18). These combinations are discussed in §9.6.

- (18) (a) *khuru-ru-tai kher*  
 ONO-ONO run  
 'run quickly'
- (b) *karuŋ-karuŋ wfiΛ*  
 ONO-ONO walk  
 'walk slowly'

#### 4.2 Transitivity marking

Degrees of transitivity are, for the majority of verbs in Magar, not formally marked on the verb. Evidence for transitive versus intransitive is syntactic, i.e. intransitive verbs have a single core argument and transitives have two or more arguments. There are, however verb root-final vestiges of a more articulated morphological transitivity marking system; one which marked four degrees of transitivity: intransitive, middle, transitive and direct causative. Synchronically, this marking system has very restricted productivity.

These are verb-root-final consonants: *-s*, *-t*, *-fi* and *-k*. The contrasting root-finals indicate differing degrees of transitivity and agentivity. These are no longer productive, with the exception of their appearance on the suffix *di-* which nativizes a loaned verb from Nepali (see §4.4); for example, *tan*, 'stretch' has the following forms: *tan-di-ke* 'to pull', *tan-di-s-ke* 'to stretch self' and *tan-di-k-ke* 'to stretch something'. Otherwise, the

alternations are lexicalized. The root-finals are probably traceable to proto-Tibeto-Burman, as will be discussed below.

As Hopper and Thompson (1980: 251-99) have demonstrated, morphosyntactic transitivity is not an absolute binary property making a contrast of only transitive versus intransitive. Transitivity is scalar and relative; it can express degrees of transitivity along a continuum ranging between cononical one- and two-participant events. The verbal morphology of Magar supports this gradient view of transitivity. In Magar, the four root-finals, *-s*, *-t*, *-ɦ*<sup>1</sup> and *-k*, each encode different degrees of transitivity and agentiveness. The four root-finals generally make their transitivity contrast in pairs: *-s*, *-t*, and *-ɦ*, *-k*, though there are also some three-way contrasts. With limited exceptions, the pair *-s* and *-t* contrast intransitive and transitive events as in (19) in which *-s* is the intransitive member and *-t* the transitive, and *-ɦ* and *-k* contrast reflexive/middle and causative events, respectively as in (20). The root-final *-ɦ* is analyzed as a reflexive/middle<sup>2</sup>, wherein the subject of verbs with *-ɦ*-final is both the initiator and the endpoint (20a). According to Lyons (1969:373), middle voice is used to express events in which the "action or state affects the subject of the verb or his interests." The root-final *-k* is analyzed as a direct causative (20b). This term is chosen to distinguish the lexical root-final from the productive causative suffix *-ak*. As Shibatani (2002:137) has observed indirect causation correlates with productive morphological causatives and direct with lexical causatives<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup>The final *-ɦ* manifests as breathy phonation and as a voiceless glottal fricative [-h] when intervocalic; this morphophonological alternation is discussed in chapter 2, §2.4.2.5.

<sup>2</sup> 'Transitivity Patterns in Magar' in preparation.

<sup>3</sup> Similar terms proposed include 'contact' and 'distant' causation as used by Nedjalkov and Sil'nickij 1969, Masica 1976, Saxena 1982,

In the transcription and glossing of this section, the finals are isolated from their stem for clarity; in the remainder of the grammar they are treated as part of the root, except on the loan-marker *di*, where they are still productive. Contrasts of root-finals follow.

(19) (a) *ram ke-s-a*  
 Ram sit-ITR-PST  
 'Ram moved.'

(b) *ram-e lfum ke-t-a*  
 Ram-ERG stone sit-TR-PST  
 'Ram moved the stone.'

(20) (a) *lam-aŋ dhwaŋ kwa-ŋi-mΛ le*  
 road-LOC hole hollow-MD-NOM IMPF  
 'A hole is forming (itself) in the road.'

(b) *byu-e lam-aŋ dhwaŋ kwa-k-a*  
 rat-ERG road-LOC hole hollow-DCAUS-PST  
 'The rat caused a hole to form in the road.'

Before proceeding to a discussion of the contrastive pairs, a word will be said about their provenance. The root-final *-s* and *-t* are traceable to the PTB morphological alternations between stem final *\*-s* and *\*-t*, which are intransitive and transitive respectively. Benedict (1972: 97-103) has reconstructed to PTB with *\*-s* as a reflexive and *\*-t* as a transitive/causative. These alternations are also widespread in TB and are found in Himalayan languages: Kham (Watters 2003:3-5) and Chepang (Caughley 1982 cited in Watters 2003: 6), and in Kiranti languages (Michailovsky 1975: 322, Sprigg 1985:1-35, 39-52, 1966, van Driem 1988:157, Bickel 2008b:19). The root-final *-k* resembles Magar's productive causative suffix *-(t)-ak* (and that of Chepang); see §4.3.1. The provenance of the Magar root-final *-ŋi* is less transparent. The verbs on which it appears (and a final *-ŋi* appears virtually exclusively on verbs) are semantically reflexive / middle, thus suggesting the PTB reflexive *\*si* (Benedict 1972: 98, LaPolla 1992) as a

probable source. According to Watters, (2003: 9) "Ultimately, the reflexive *\*-si* is very likely related to the intransitive *\*-s* in the *\*-s* vs. *\*-t* opposition." He notes that *\*-s* has followed different pathways of development across different sub-groups of the TB family. It is a perfective in Tibetan and an anterior in Tamangic languages. In Kham *-si* (from *\*-s*) has a reflexive/ middle meaning as well as functioning as a passive (Watters 2003:104). For Magar, *\*si* is a likely source for the middle-marking *fi*-final, which manifests as murmured phonation in the root-coda. Cognate root-final-*fi* verbs with middle/ intransitive/ reflexive meaning are also found in Kham and Chepang (Watters 2003, 6-7), for example:

(21) <u>Kham</u>	<u>Magar</u>	
<i>kyafi</i>	<i>gyafi</i>	'be broken'
<i>kefit</i>	<i>gyak</i>	'break'
<i>mafi</i>	<i>mfiafi</i>	'be lost'~ forgotten'
<i>se-mefit</i>	<i>mfiat</i>	'lose' ~ 'forget'
(22) <u>Chepang</u>	<u>Magar</u>	
<i>kumfi</i>	<i>gumfi</i>	'bend one's head'
<i>kum?</i>	<i>lu gumfi-ak</i>	'make a pillow of sth.'

There are, in Chepang, *fi*-final and  $\emptyset$ -final contrasts in which the *fi*-final has a middle/reflexive meaning analogous to Magar, though the specific words are not themselves cognate with Magar (23).

(23) <u>Chepang <i>fi</i>-final middles</u>	
<i>kyumfi</i>	'pull self back'
<i>kyum</i>	'pull sth. back'
<i>tufi</i>	'drain away'
<i>tuj</i>	'drink'
<i>temfi</i>	'be depleted'
<i>tem</i>	'taper'

As said, in Magar the root-finals are now limited in their productivity and the function of contrasting transitivity and valence has largely been taken over by the causative and detransitivizing morphemes, treated in §4.3.

#### 4.2.1 -s and -t alternations

As noted, in the *-s* and *-t* opposition, intransitive is encoded by *-s* and the transitive by *-t*.

There are also atypical reversals of this pattern<sup>4</sup>. As well, there are cases where one of the two pairs will be unmarked. In addition, there are verb pairs with final *-s* and *-t* that do not contrast in transitivity, but have evolved other meaning differences, as for example differences in degree or manner. The subject of intransitive clauses is in absolutive case and transitive subjects are in ergative. Intransitive-transitive contrasts follow:

<u>Intransitive</u>		<u>Transitive</u>	
<i>bhyas-</i>	'finish self'	<i>bhyat-</i>	'finish sth.'
<i>bhieres-</i>	'be sown'	<i>bhietet-</i>	'sow'
<i>ges-</i>	'play'	<i>get-</i>	'play sth.'
<i>jes-</i>	'suit, match'	<i>jet-</i>	'match things'
<i>kes-</i>	'move'	<i>ket-</i>	'move sth.'
<i>lhies-</i>	'turn over, return'	<i>lhiet-</i>	'turn, return sth.'
<i>ges-</i>	'exude pus' (T)	<i>get-</i>	'express pus' (T)
<i>yas-</i>	'overflow'	<i>yat-</i>	'spill sth.'
<i>yes-</i>	'exchange'	<i>yet-</i>	'call ~ invite'

(25) (a) *ja-ja mis-thaŋ kat-patti lfi-s-a* [*>kapatti*]  
 child-child sleep-place one-side turn-ITR-PST  
 'The child turned over in bed.'

(b) *moi-e mi-ja-ke lfi-t-a*  
 mother-ERG POSS-child-DAT turn-TR-PST  
 'The mother turned the child.'

<sup>4</sup> Transitivity reversals are recorded also for Limbu (van Dreim 1988:157) and Belhare (Bickel 2008c:20).

As Bickel (2008c:20) observes, '... the *-t*-augment is also found ... even in intransitive stems (e.g. *cháp-t-* 'to worry', *huk-t-* 'to bark', *cho-d-* 'to be hot, burning', *chu-d-* 'to be expensive', *cu-d-* 'to be many', *hi-d-* 'to be able, to finish', *nu-d-* 'to be good, healthy', *pa-d-* 'to grow', *te-d-* 'to return').

- (26) (a) *ɲfiet ke-s-mΛ le*  
 cow move-ITR-NOM IMPF  
 'The cow is moving.'
- (b) *kisan-e ɲfiet-ke ke-t-a*  
 farmer-ERG cow-DAT move-TR-PST  
 'The farmer moved the cow.'
- (27) (a) *di gfointi-ij ya-s-mΛ nΛ le*  
 water amphora-ABL spill-ITR-NOM EMPH IMPF  
 'Water is spilling from the amphora.'
- (b) *ho-se-e dut bagɲuna-ij ya-t-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF-ERG milk jug-ABL spill-TR-PST  
 'He spilled milk from the jug.'
- (28) (a) *ja-ja-ko ge-s-mΛ nΛ le*  
 child-child-PL play-ITR-NOM EMPH IMPF  
 'The children are playing.'
- (b) *ho-se-e bΛ ge-t-le*  
 D.DEM-DEF-ERG ball play-TR-IMP  
 'He plays ball.'
- (29) (a) *i-se kam chiniɲ a-bɲiya-s-e*  
 P.DEM-DEF work today IRR-finish-ITR-IRR  
 'This work may finish today.'
- (b) *ho-se-e kam bɲiya-t-a ta*  
 D.DEM-DEF-ERG work finish-TR-PST REP  
 'They say he finished his work.'

The following are examples in which one of the pair is unmarked ((30) - (35)).

<u>(30) Intransitive</u>	<u>Transitive</u>
<i>ɖɲa-</i> 'burn'	<i>ɖɲat-</i> 'stoke, kindle'
<i>se-</i> 'hear'	<i>set-</i> 'tell sth.'
<i>jos-</i> 'burn'	<i>jo-</i> 'burn sth.'
<i>phos-</i> 'be loose'	<i>pho-</i> 'loosen'
<i>ho-</i> 'shine'	<i>hot-</i> 'polish'

- (31) (a) *mɲie ɖɲa-mΛ le*  
 fire burn-NOM IMPF  
 'The fire is burning'

- (b) *nani mfi dfa-t-ak-o*  
 child fire burn-TR-CAUS-IMP  
 'Child, kindle the fire!'
- (32) (a) *kan-ko-e ŋa-fi-cA se-mA le-ij*  
 1P-PL-ERG noise-MD-ATT sense-NOM IMPF-1PRO  
 'We hear music.' (S)
- (b) *kan-ko-e naŋ-ko-ke se-t-le-ij*  
 1P-PL-ERG 2S-HON-DAT tell-TR-IMPF-1PRO  
 'We will tell you.' (S)
- (c) *kan-ko-e ŋa-fi-cA se-mA le*  
 1P-PL-ERG noise-MD-ATT sense-NOM IMPF  
 'We hear music.' (T)
- (d) *kan-ko-e naŋ-ko-ke se-t-le*  
 1P-PL-ERG 2S-HON-DAT tell-TR-IMPF  
 'We will tell you.' (T)
- (33) (a) *jutta-o tuna pho-s-a*  
 shoe-GEN lace untie-ITR-PST  
 'The shoelaces became untied.'
- (b) *jutta-o tuna pho-ak-o*  
 shoe-GEN lace untie-CAUS-IMP  
 'Untie your shoelaces!'
- (34) (a) *im jo-s-mA le*  
 house burn-ITR-NOM IMPF  
 'The house is burning.'
- (b) *ghyo-e ja-ja-ke jo-a*  
 nettle-ERG child-child-DAT burn-PST  
 'The nettle burned the child'
- (35) (a) *i-se bformi a-si-e*  
 P.DEM-DEF man IRR-die-IRR  
 'This man might die.'
- (b) *ho-se-ke sa-t-a ta*  
 D.DEM-DEF-DAT kill-TR-PST REP  
 'They say he was killed.'

There are also reversals of the contrast, as in (36) - (38).

(36) Transitive/ intransitive reversals

<i>bfiat-</i>	'break self'	<i>bfias-</i>	'break sth.'
<i>phut-</i>	'fall'	<i>phus-</i>	'fell a tree'

(37) (a) *kunda ŋa-bfi-a-s-a-aŋ*  
 clay.pot 1PRO-break-TR-PST-1PRO  
 'I broke the pot.' (S)

(b) *kunda bfi-t-a*  
 Clay.pot break-ITR-PST  
 'The pot broke'

(38) (a) *bformi-e myerfituŋ phu-s-a*  
 man-ERG tree fell-TR-PST  
 'The man felled the tree.'

(b) *myerfituŋ bformi-tak-aŋ phu-t-a*  
 tree man-SUP-LOC fall-ITR-PST  
 'The tree fell on top of the man.'

Such reversals are a frequently encountered innovation in the Kiranti languages, where *-s* is as often transitive as intransitive<sup>5</sup>. Magar is relatively consistent and reversals are infrequent; a trait it shares with the other Central-Himalayish languages: Kham and Chepang. As Watters (2003:5) observes, Magar and Kham share cognate reversals (39).

(39) <u>Kham</u>		<u>Magar</u>	
<i>was</i>	'sow seed'	<i>was</i>	'spread'
<i>ras</i>	'release'	<i>das</i>	'release'
<i>khət</i>	'match'	<i>khat</i>	'match'

In addition, in Magar, there are examples where the alternation creates a semantic contrast unrelated to transitivity (40) - (44). Among these examples there are dialectal differences; for example in Tanahu dialect the is between *chus-* and *chut-*; whereas in Syangja it is between *chu-* and *chut-* (40) and (43). In addition, the meaning of *bu-s-ak-* 'to conceive' varies between the dialects; in Syangja dialect the conception is illegitimate, this is not the sense in Tanahu.



(40) Non-transitive contrasts

<i>bfiere</i>	'be sown'	<i>bfieret</i>	'sow in rows' (Nawalparasi dailect)
<i>bu</i>	'carry'	<i>bus</i>	'conceive (illegitimately) (S)'
<i>khas</i>	'compose, build'	<i>khat</i>	'match'
<i>mfi</i>	'decrease'	<i>mfiat</i>	'disappear'
<i>yos</i>	'exchange'	<i>yot</i>	'invite'
<i>chus-</i>	'touch lightly or involuntarily'		(T)
<i>chu-</i>	'touch lightly or involuntarily'		(S)
<i>chu-t-</i>	'touch intentionally ~ wound'		

(41) (a) *ho-se-e rik-mA yo-s-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF-ERG write-NOM exchange-ITR-PST  
 'He exchanged his pen.'

(b) *budh-a-ko-e ho-se-ke yo-t-a*  
 elder-ML-PL-ERG D.DEM-DEF-DAT invite-TR-PST  
 'The elders invited him.'

(42) (a) *maha-ja-ko-e rajkwa bfiere-s-mA le*  
 young-female-child-PL-ERG millet sow-ITR-NOM IMPF  
 'The women are sowing millet.' (S)

(b) *ja-ja-e har-o nfiun-nfiun mAko-i bfiere-t-le*  
 child-child-ERG plough-GEN back-back corn sow-TR-PST  
 'The child sowed corn in rows following behind the plough.'

(43) (a) *boi-e ho-se-o mi-ja chu-s-a*  
 father-ERG D.DEM-GEN POSS-child touch-ITR-PST  
 'The father touched his child lightly' (T)

(b) *bo-e ho-se-o mi-ja chu-a*  
 father-ERG D.DEM-GEN POSS-child touch--PST  
 'The father touched his child lightly' (S)

(c) *ja-ja-ko-e me-ko-lafi me-ko-lafi-ke chut-a*  
 child-child-PL-ERG 3-PL-self 3-PL-self-DAT touch-TR-PST  
 'The children rough-housed.'

(44) *a-se-e ho-se bahun-e sark-ini-ke mi-tuk*  
 R.DEM-DEF-ERG D.DEM-DEF brahmin-ERG cobbler -FEM-DAT POSS-stomach

*bu-s-ak-le-sa mA*  
 carry-ITR-CAUS-IMPF-INFR truly

'It was apparently the Brahmin who impregnated the cobbler woman, truly.' (S)

<sup>5</sup> cf. Michailovsky for Limbu, 1975, 1985, 1999 and Sprigg for Bantawa, 1985, 1992:42)

#### 4.2.2 *-fi* and *-k* alternations

Magar root-final-*fi* contrasts in its degree of transitivity with root-final-*k*; there are also infrequent contrasts with *-s* and *-t* finals. The final-*k* is the more transitive of the pair and though final *-k* may be related to, and is possibly a lexicalization of, the causative: - (*t*)*ak*, the root-final *-k* no longer functions as a derivational causative morpheme. It has become part of the verb-root to which other derivational morphemes, including the causative, can be added, as in (45).

- (45) *kumari-e*    *ŋa-ke*    *ju*    *cha-k-ak-ke*    *te-mA*  
 Kumari-ERG 1S-DAT thorn pierce-DCAUS-CAUS-NOM say-NOM
- manas -ke*    *birfiin -a*  
 Manas-DAT send-PST
- 'Kumari wanted to make Manas to stick a thorn in me.'

As noted the lexical root-final *-k* is identified as a direct causative, first on morphological grounds, direct causatives tend to be lexical and non-productive as is the case in Magar, and, second, on semantic grounds. According to Shibatani (2002:139-140) indirect causation involves two separate events and two separate agents "X made Y do A to Z"; whereas direct causation does not involve two separate agents or indeed two wholly separate acts. As Shibatani (2002:140) observes direct causation "entails a spatio-temporal overlap of the causer's activity and the caused event, to the extent that the two relevant events are not clearly distinguishable. This spatio-temporal overlap of the causing and the caused event motivates conceptualization of the entire direct causation situation as a single event." This definition describes the situations in (46).

- (46) (a) *kumari-ke*    *ju*    *cha-k-a*  
 Kumari-DAT thorn pierce-DCAUS-PST  
 'Kumari was pierced by a thorn.'

(b) *babu-ja-ko-e mudfia gandaki-aj tha-k-a*  
 boy-child-PL-ERG log river-LOC sink-DCAUS-PST  
 'The young boys sank the log in the river.'

cf.

(b) *ram-e babu-ja-ko-ke mudfia gandaki-aj tha-k-ak-a*  
 Ram-ERG boy-child-PL-DAT log river-LOC sink-DCAUS-CAUS-PST  
 'Ram made the young boys sink the log in the river.'

The *fi*-final is analyzed as a middle-marker<sup>6</sup>. According to Kemmer (1993:3, 1994:181) middles share a general semantic property, which she calls "relative elaboration of events", which includes the notion of subject-affectedness, and which situates middles as intermediate between a transitive and intransitive event<sup>7</sup>. Examples of contrasts with *-fi* follow in (47) - (48).

(47) <u><i>-fi</i> (middle/reflexive)</u>		<u><i>-k</i> (transitive/causative)</u>	
<i>chafi-</i>	'be pierced'	<i>chak-</i>	'pierce sth.'
<i>cyafi-</i>	'wear out'	<i>cyak-</i>	'wear sth. out'
<i>chyafi-</i>	'be tied ~ wrapped'	<i>chyak-</i>	'tie sth.'
<i>thafi-</i>	'sink self'	<i>thak-</i>	'sink sth.'
<i>kwafi-</i>	'become hole'	<i>kwak-</i>	'dig hole'
<i>gufi-</i>	'bend self'	<i>guk-</i>	'bend sth.'
<i>gyafi-</i>	'snap, break off self'	<i>gyak-</i>	'snap, break off sth.'
<i>hafi-</i>	'be stuck'	<i>hak-</i>	'hinder'
<i>polofi-</i>	roll or flop on ground	<i>polok-</i>	'wipe the ground'
<i>phorofi-</i>	'burst'	<i>phorok-</i>	'burst sth.'
<i>rafi-</i>	'come' (= bring self)	<i>rak-</i>	'bring sth.'
<i>tonfi-</i>	'stop self'	<i>tonk-</i>	'stop sth.'

(48) <u>Contrasts of <i>-fi</i>, <math>\emptyset</math> and <i>-t</i></u>			
<i>cirfi-</i>	'split self'	<i>cir-</i>	'split sth.'
<i>birifi-</i>	'be afraid'	<i>birit-</i>	'frighten'
<i>khyofi-</i>	'emerge'	<i>khyo-</i>	'leave sth.'
<i>molfi-</i>	'mix, integrate self'	<i>mol-</i>	'rub sth.'
<i>phinfi-</i>	'cook'	<i>phin-</i>	'cook sth.'

<sup>6</sup> LaPolla (2004), Sun Hongkai (1982), Lui (1988) record a middle, or self-initiating form *cui* from Dulong-Rawang.

<sup>7</sup> The distinction could also be seen in terms of Perlmutter's (1978) unaccusative/unergative contrast, and Shibatani's (2002) inactive and active respectively.

Three-way contrasts are uncommon, but do exist, and are more frequent among words nativized with *-di* (49). In these contrasts, *-di-s* indicates an intransitive, and *-di-k* a direct causative or a transitive meaning. The unmarked *-di* is, by default, transitive. The combination \**di-t* does not occur. Often, two members of the triad will contrast for transitivity, and the third will have a specialized meaning; this is particularly true of native word triads (50) - (53). The three-way contrasts are not consistent across the dialects, for example, the contrast between *wfia-* 'move' and *wfia-fi-* 'empty' and *wfia-s* 'carry' is found only in Syangja dialect (52b). Tanahu dialect contrasts only *wfia-* and *wfia-fi-*. Tanahu dialect contrasts *tha* 'sink', *thafi* 'sink spontaneously by itself' and *thak* 'sink something' (53c). Syangja dialect makes only a two way contrast: *thafi* and *thak*.

(49) Three-way contrasts with *di-*:

<i>tʌn-di</i>	'pull sth.'	<i>tʌn-dis</i>	'stretch self'
<i>tʌn-dik</i>	'stretch sth.'		
<i>bʌph-di</i>	'steam sth.'	<i>bʌph-dis</i>	'be steamed'
<i>bʌph-dik</i>	'make sth. steam'		
<i>jʌm-di</i>	'freeze sth.'	<i>jʌm-dis</i>	'freeze self'
<i>jʌm-dik</i>	'make sth. freeze'		

(50) (a) Three-way contrasts in native words:

<i>bfiʌfi-</i>	'separate self'	<i>bfiʌt-</i>	'separate, break'	<i>bfiʌk-</i>	'separate others'
<i>di-s-</i>	LN-ITR	<i>di-</i>	LN	<i>dik-</i>	LN-DCAUS
<i>bas-</i>	'sit'	<i>bat-</i>	'set'	<i>bafi-</i>	'settle'
<i>laʌfi-</i>	'stick self'	<i>la-</i>	'take' (T)	<i>lak-</i>	'stick, plaster sth.'
<i>so-</i>	'rise'	<i>sot-</i>	'raise'	<i>sofi-</i>	'swell' (S)
				<i>sok-</i>	'swell' (T)

(b) Three-way contrasts in native words Syangja only:

<i>wfiʌfi-</i>	'empty out'	<i>wfiʌ-</i>	'move, walk'
<i>wfiʌs-</i>	'carry ~ support' (S)		

(c) Three-way contrasts in native words Tanahu only:

<i>thafi-</i>	'sink self'	<i>tha-</i>	'sink' (T)	<i>thak-</i>	'sink sth.'
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- (51) (a) *ho-se*      *so-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF    rise-PST  
 'She stood up.'

(b) *bu-cyo bhormi-e mñian so-t-a*  
 carry-ATT person-ERG shoulder.bag raise-TR-PST  
 'The porter lifted the shoulder bag.'

(c) *argan-o jik-cyo so-ñ-a*  
 wasp-GEN bite-ATT swell-MD-PST  
 'The wasp sting swelled.' (S)

(d) *argan-o jik-cyo so-k-a*  
 wasp-GEN bite-ATT swell-DCAUS-PST  
 'The wasp sting swelled.' (T)

(52) (a) *ho-se di-gñiat-añ wñia-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF water-well move-PST  
 'She walked to the well.'

(b) *ho-se-e di wñia-ñ-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF-ERG water move-MD-PST  
 'She emptied the water out.'

(c) *ña-e ja-ja-ke la-mo ña-wñia-s-añ*  
 1S-ERG child-child-DAT take-SEQ 1PRO-move-MD-PST  
 'I, having taken the child, carried it.' (S)

(53) (a) *ho-se di-añ tha-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF water-well sink-PST  
 'She sank in the water.'

(b) *babu-ja-ko-e mudña gandaki-añ tha-k-a*  
 boy-child-PL-ERG log river-LOC sink-DCAUS-PST  
 'The young boys sank the log in the river.'

(c) *mudña gandaki-añ tha-ñ-a*  
 log river-LOC sink-MD-PST  
 'The log sank (by itself) in the river.' (T)

Given that *k*-final is direct-causative, and given the contrast of *-k* and *-ñ*, the *ñ*-final might be analyzed as an anti-causative rather than a middle-marker<sup>8</sup>. An anti-causative adds a morpheme which, in effect, subtracts the notion of cause and therefore suggests a spontaneous event or state. This analysis fits, but does not cover the full range of meanings conveyed by root-final-*ñ*. Moreover, many of middle-marked verbs do not

have a contrasting 'direct-causative' verb ending in *-k*; in other words they are 'deponents' (middles without a morphological contrast). Kemmer (1993:221) describes deponents a class of verbs which are semantically, inherently middle, and observes that they are characteristic of middle-marking languages and notes that cross-linguistically deponent-middles fall into specific semantically-defined verb classes (1993:22). Among these classes are verbs of cognition ((54a)) and emotion ((54b)), motion ((54c)), grooming ((54d)) and spontaneous events ((54e)). In Magar, there are numerous deponents (only a few are listed here)<sup>9</sup> which fall into these semantic classes and have *fi*-final:

(54) (a) Cognition

<i>warfi-</i>	'know (a skill)'
<i>thafi dinfi-</i>	'know (a fact)'
<i>pafi-</i>	'learn'

(b) Emotion

<i>birifi-</i>	'be frightened'
<i>ganfi-</i>	'be amazed' ~ 'be startled'
<i>dorfi-</i>	'be comfortable' ~ 'at ease'
<i>ɲierfi-</i>	'be irritated'
<i>mhorfi-</i>	'be inebriated' ~ 'be confused'

(c) Motion

<i>charfiyafi-</i>	'revolve'
<i>hoyofi-</i>	'swing'
<i>kolomfi-</i>	'wind'
<i>khorofi-</i>	'fall'
<i>toɲfi-</i>	'rise'
<i>tafi-</i>	'reach'

(d) Grooming

<i>bʌdfin bilfi-</i>	'dress oneself'
<i>bʌdfin donfi-</i>	'undress oneself'
<i>ɣhosofi-</i>	'rub oneself'
<i>hurfi-</i>	'wash oneself'
<i>puhi-</i>	'cover one's head'
<i>syafi-</i>	'adorn oneself' ~ 'dance'

<sup>8</sup>This analysis was suggested by Bhim Regmi 1999.

<sup>9</sup>A fuller account of middle constructions is given in 'Transitivity patterns in Magar', in preparation.

(e) Spontaneous events<sup>10</sup>

<i>phufi-</i>	'spring up' (said of water)
<i>hoyofi-</i>	'shake' ~ 'swing'
<i>yofi- (S)</i>	'tremble'
<i>ganfi-</i>	'be startled, jerk'
<i>cufi-</i>	'cough'
<i>khyofi-</i>	'emerge'

Furthermore, as Payne (1997: 217-218) observes, middle constructions generally treat a situation as a process undergone by patient and ignore the agent. These constructions answer the question: "What happened to X?" not "What did X do?" Magar, in large part, conforms to this observation as the following (55) - (57) demonstrate. However, counter-examples do exist, such as *rafi* 'come' and *rak* 'bring' where both verbs are agentive.

(55) (a) *ram-e hi jat-a*  
 Ram-ERG what do-PST  
 'What did Ram do?'

(b) *ram-e huk gu-k-a*  
 Ram-ERG bamboo bend-DCAUS-PST  
 'Ram bent bamboo'

(56) (a) *ram-ke hi chanfi-a*  
 Ram-DATwhat become-PST  
 'What happened to Ram?'

(b) *ram-ke ju cha-fi-a*  
 Ram-DAT thorn pierce-MD-PST  
 'Ram was pierced by a thorn.'

(57) (a) *huk hi chanfi-a*  
 bamboo what become-PST  
 'What happened to the bamboo?'

(b) *huk gu-fi-a*  
 bamboo bend-MD-PST  
 'The bamboo bent.'

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<sup>10</sup> Spontaneous events can also have also been termed 'autonomous events' which are conceptualized as occurring independently of any external causer (Langacker 1991, chap. 7).

Thus, the analysis of the *fi*-final as a middle marker tallies with its semantics.

Furthermore, cross-linguistically, middle-marked verbs overlap with passives and resultatives (Kemmer 1993:205). Middle-marked verbs can indeed have these functions as in (58) and (59).

(58) (a) *bfiim-ke ju cha-fi-le*  
 Bhim-DAT thorn pierce-MD-MPF  
 'Bhim is going to be pierced by thorns.'

(b) *biruwa rop-di-mo di phu-fi-ak-ke paɾ-di-s-le*  
 sapling plant-LN-SEQ water spring-MD-CAUS-NOM must-LN-ITR-IMPF  
 'Saplings having been planted, should make water spring up.'

(59) (a) *jfi la-fi-a*  
 clay plaster-MD-PST  
 '(The wall) is plastered with clay.'

(b) *gwa siŋ-o buta-aŋ ba-fi-a*  
 bird branch-GEN branch-LOC settle-MD-PST  
 'The bird is settled on the branch.'

(c) *gandaki-aŋ mudfi tha-fi-a*  
 river-LOC log sink-MD-PST  
 'The log is sunk in the river.'

In addition, middles often have a reciprocal meaning (Kemmer 1993: 119-122). This is true of Magar *fi*-finals (60) and (61).

(60) Reciprocal events  
*dufi-* 'ram' (said of animals)  
*jamfi-* 'become acquainted'  
*jorfi-* 'greet one another'  
*kufi-* 'embrace on lap'  
*puŋfi-* 'fight'  
*petefi-* 'court' ~ 'flirt'  
*thofi-* 'receive food'  
*safi-* 'accompany'  
*yafi-* 'give'

(61) (a) *lapha-ko-e jorfi-ma le*  
 friend-PL-ERG greet-NOM IMPF  
 'The friends are greeting one another.'



- (b) *ŋa-o lapha-ko-e sa-fi-a*  
 1S-GEN friend-PL-ERG accompany-MD-PST  
 'My friends accompanied one another.'

The *fi*-final middle-marker no longer productively forms reflexives or reciprocals; but verbs with this ending can be reflexive or reciprocal in their own right as (62) demonstrates.

- (62) (a) *len-ja arnfiam pete-fi-a*  
 Young.male-child young.woman flirted-MD-PST  
 'The young men and young women flirted (with each other).'

- (b) *ho-se-ko pun-fi-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF-PL fight-MD-PAST  
 'They fought (each other).'

Verbs which are not middle-marked can have a reflexive or reciprocal meaning only in combination with the pronominal reflexive as in (63).

- (63) (a) *ho-se-ko me-ko-lafi ŋa-k-mΛ le-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF-PL 3-PL-self noise.make-DCAUS-NOM IMPF-PST  
 'They were talking with each other.'

- (b) *ŋa-e ŋa-lafi re-s-le-aŋ*  
 1S-ERG 1S-self bathe-ITR-IMPF -PRO  
 'I bathe myself.' (S)

Middle-marked verbs can combine with the reflexive pronoun as in (64). Kemmer (1994:190) observes that languages which make a formal distinction between reflexives and middles, also make a semantic distinction. This is true of Magar; the difference in meaning from (62b) and (64b) has to do with the distinctness of the two entities, which in the reciprocal event is more salient. In Kemmer's (1993:3) terms there is a greater elaboration and relative distinguishability of participants in a reflexive event, "...the reflexive implies a conceptual differentiation of the referential entity into discrete subparts, whereas the middle is lacking in this differentiation. The middle is further away

from a two-participant event" (Kemmer 1994:209). This greater conceptual unity is iconically reflected in greater morphological unity, the middle is lexicalized and non-productive. The reflexive is a separate and productive morpheme. Cross-linguistically middles are associated with and encoded morphosyntactically as intransitives (Kemmer 1994:212). In Magar, subjects of middles are non-ergative (non-agentive), i.e. they are encoded as intransitives; where reflexives are encoded as ergatives.

(64) (a) *langfja-li-ko me-ko-lafi jor-fi-a*  
 village-ASC-PL 3-PL-self embrace-MD-PST  
 'The villagers greeted one another.'(T)

(b) *ho-se-ko-i me-ko-ko-lafi pun-fi-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF-PL-ERG 3-PL-PL-self fight-MD-PAST  
 'They fought with each other.'

Certain functions of the *fi*-final and the reflexive overlap as the reflexive pronoun has taken over as the productive means to express reflexiveness and reciprocity<sup>11</sup>. This suggests that the two belong to different diachronic layers within Magar. LaPolla (2003:34) has reconstructed proto-Tibeto-Burman -marker *\*si* as a reflexive marker which has extended its use to a middle marker. This morpheme may be the source for both the middle and intransitive in Magar. Thus the *-s* and *-t* and *-fi* and *-k* contrasts could reflect different historical layers<sup>12</sup>. Though each member has its own meaning; nevertheless, the oppositions are parallel, with the two pairs both contrasting a degree of transitivity within themselves. It may be that the *-s*/*-t* pair represent an older layer, as both are etymons which have not been fully productive in any TB language since Sino-

<sup>11</sup> Watters (personal communication, April 19, 2007) observes an interesting contrast with Kham, in which the middle-marker, *si*, is still productive; consequently there has been no need to develop a reflexive pronoun in Kham.

<sup>12</sup> Personal communication, April 19, 2007.

Tibetan times. The *-fi/-k* pair would be a more recent layer superimposed upon the older.

### 4.3 Valence and voice changing morphemes

Historical root-finals indicating degrees of transitivity were discussed in §4.2 and as stated, these verb root-finals are no longer productive. Their functions have been replaced largely by other and newer derivational morphology; for example, as noted above, the reflexive pronouns, the causativizing morpheme *-ak*, (discussed in this section), and a detransitivizing suffix *-cis* (discussed in § 4.3.2). The morpheme *-cis* is not attested in Tanahu dialect, but is present in Syangja as well as Palpa and Nawalparasi dialects.

Unlike the historical root-finals, these derivational morphemes are productive. The causative and detransitive morpheme alter valence. The term valence, as it is used here, refers to the number of obligatory participants expressed explicitly in the clause, i.e. it is grammatical not semantic. Specifically, the causative increases valence by adding controlling participants. The detransitivizing morpheme can decrease valence by eliminating or demoting a controlling participant; it also performs the related function of encoding resultant states with no change in valence. The detransitive morpheme also alters diathesis, or voice<sup>13</sup>, which is the correlation between the grammatical subject and the semantic roles of agent or patient. A change in voice is an alteration of that correlation.

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<sup>13</sup> The term 'diathesis' is used for expository purposes, it does not presume a derivational framework.

### 4.3.1 Causative marking

A causative expresses a situation in which one argument coerces another to act. The causative is formed with the addition of the suffix *-ak*. In a subset of verbs, those ending in the vowel *-a*, the causative is *-t-ak*, as for example in (65) and (66). This *-t*, undoubtedly the transitive marker, is added only in the presence of the causative.<sup>14</sup> The causative morpheme undergoes metaphony and harmonizes with the root vowels; this is described in §2.5.2.7. The structure and constituents of causative clauses are discussed in §11.4.6.

(65)	<i>cha-</i>	'be ill'	<i>cha-t-ak</i>	'cause to be ill'
	<i>ka-</i>	'put'	<i>ka-t-ak</i>	'cause to put'
	<i>la-</i>	'stick'	<i>la-t-ak</i>	'cause to stick'
	<i>pa-</i>	'search'	<i>pa-t-ak</i>	'cause to search'
	<i>wfia-</i>	'move'	<i>wfia-t-ak</i>	'cause to move'

(66) (a) *bhim*            *wfia-a*  
 Bhim            walk-PST  
 'Bhim walked.'

(b) *bhim-e*    *kali-ke*            *wfia-t-ak-a*  
 Bhim-ERG    Kali-DAT            move-TR-CAUS-PST  
 'Bhim made Kali walk.'

(c) *bhim-e*    *kali-ke*    *mi-ja-ke*            *wfia-t-ak-ak-a*  
 Bhim-ERG    Kali-DAT    POSS-child-DAT    walk-TR-CAUS-CAUS-PST  
 'Bhim made Kali make the child walk.'

The causative is fully productive and can be suffixed to all verb stems regardless of the degree of transitivity. It occurs with transitive ((67a)), intransitive ((67b)) and ditransitive verbs ((67c)) as well as with verbs with lexicalized transitivity markers on the root, as in (68) and (69).

<sup>14</sup> It may also be retention of a fuller form of the causative; in Chepang (1982:44) the causative morpheme is *-tak*, the Magar form *-tak* may be cognate.

- (67) (a) *moi-e nani-ke usa jya-ak-a*  
 mother-ERG daughter-DAT medicine eat-CAUS-PST  
 'Mother made her daughter take medicine.'
- (b) *rfa-e babu-ke kher-ak-ke*  
 goat-ERG younger.brother-DAT run-CAUS-PST  
 'The goat made little brother run.'
- (c) *kutumba-e dhuula dhuulo-ke dakhina thal-aj da-ak-a*  
 Kutumba-ERG groom bride-DAT offering leaf.plate-LOC put-CAUS-PST  
 'Kutumba made the bride and groom put an offering on the leaf plate.'
- (68) *lfi-s-ak* 'cause X to return'  
 return-ITR-CAUS
- lfi-t-ak* 'cause X to return Y'  
 return-TR-CAUS
- bfa-k-ak* 'X to cause Y and Z to separate'  
 separate-I.CAUS-CAUS
- bfa-fi-ak* 'X to separate X (self) from Y'  
 separate-MID-CAUS
- (69) (a) *bhim-e manes-ke lfi-s-ak-a*  
 Bhim-ERG Manas-DAT return-ITR-CAUS-PST  
 'Bhim made Manes return.'
- (b) *bhim-e manes-ke hil-ca lfi-t-ak-a*  
 Bhim-ERG Manas-DAT count-NOM return-TR-CAUS-PST  
 'Bhim made Manes return the money.'
- (c) *bhim-e manes-ke pun-fi-cyo mi-ja-ja-ko-ke*  
 Bhim-ERG Manes-DAT fight-MD-ATT POSS-child-child-PL-DAT  
  
***bfa-fi-ak-a***  
 separate-MD-CAUS-PST  
 'Bhim made Manes make the fighting children separate themselves.'
- (d) *bhim-e manes-ke pun-fi-cyo mi-ja-ko-ke bfa-k-ak-a*  
 Bhim-ERG Manas-DAT fight-MD ATT POSS-child-PL-DAT separate-DCAUS-CAUS-PST  
 'Bhim made Manes separate the fighting children.'

The causative morpheme follows the 'nativizing' morpheme *-di-* and precedes tense and mood inflections and pronominals when present, as in (70). The causative does not occur in complex aspectual forms.

- (70) (a) *mΛster-e*    *iskul-ya-ko-ke*    *por-di-s-ak-a*  
 master-ERG    school-NOM-PL-DAT    read-LN-ITR-CAUS-PST  
 'The schoolmaster made the students study.'
- (b) *master-e*    *iskul-ya-ko-ke*    *a-tΛ-por-di-s-ak-e*  
 master-ERG    school-NOM-PL-DAT    IRR-OPT-read-LN-ITR-CAUS-IRR  
 'May the schoolmaster make the students study.'
- (c) *ŋa-e*    *iskul-ya-ko-ke*    *ŋa-por-di-s-ak-a-aŋ*  
 IS-ERG    school-NOM-PL-DAT    IPRO-read-LN-ITR-CAUS-PST-IPRO  
 'I made the students study.'

The causative morpheme is reduplicated to correspond to the number of causees. The upper limit of causative morphemes which can be collocated is three, as in (71).

- (71) *bŋim-e*    *manes-ke*    *kumari-ke*    *mi-ja-ke*    *cho*  
 Bhim-ERG    Manes-DAT    Kumari-DAT    POSS-child-DAT    rice.meal
- jya-ak-ak-ak-a*  
 eat-CAUS-CAUS-CAUS-PST  
 'Bŋim makes Manas make Kumari make the child eat a meal.'

If a further argument is added, the construction becomes a combination of morphological and periphrastic causative (72); see §11.4.6.

- (72) (a) *moi-e*    *bŋim-ke*    *manes-ke*    *kumari-ke*    *mi-ja-ke*  
 mother-ERG    Bhim-DAT    Manas-DAT    Kumari-DAT.    POSS-child-DAT
- cho*    *jya-ak-ak-ak-ke*    *birŋin-a*  
 meal    eat-CAUS-CAUS-CAUS-NOM    sent-PST  
 'Mother made Bŋim make Manas make Kumari make the child eat a meal.'

#### 4.3.2 Detransitive marking

In the Syangja dialect (as well as Palpa and Nawalparasi dialects) there is a detransitivizing suffix *-cis*. It directly follows the verb stem and precedes tense, aspect, mood inflections (see §4.5 and Table 4.2). This morpheme is absent from Tanahu dialect. According to Watters<sup>15</sup>, a parallel morpheme can be found in Kham *-si* ((73)) as

<sup>15</sup> April 2008, personal communication.

well as in Kiranti \*-*nsi* and is likely like a retention of early Tibeto-Burman reflexive \**si*;  
see also §11.3.8.

- Watters (2006:10)  
(73) *hip-si-u syakəri*  
burn-DETRANS-NML meat  
'roasted meat.'

In Syangja Magar, the addition of the morpheme *-cis* detransitivizes transitives to form patient-resultatives (74); the patient is in dative case. When *-cis* is suffixed to intransitive verbs a subject-resultative is formed (76); that subject is in absolutive case. A resultative expresses a state implying a previous event (action or process) of which that state is a consequence. (Haspelmath, König, Oesterreicher and Raible 2001: 928). Verbs with the suffix *-cis* are inflected for tense, aspect and mood, but do not take subject-verb agreement ((cf. 75)). The subject of a subject-resultative is always overt and restricted to first-person. The agent of a patient-resultative is unstated, but is also generally understood to be first-person. The restriction to first-person has parallels in certain instances in Kham and Nepali passives (Watters 2002: 241 and Bhandu, cited in Watters 2002:241 n 9). Exceptions to first-person suggest that the resultative may be expanding its semantic and syntactic field; for further discussion of this development and the resultative in general see §11.3.8.

- (74) (a) *cho phin-cis-a*  
rice.meal cook-DTR-PST  
'The meal was cooked.' (S)
- (b) *gilas chalam-cis-le*  
glass rinse-DTR-IMPF  
'The glass is rinsed (~by me).' (S)
- (c) *bʌdʃin a-hurfi-cis-e*  
clothing IRR-wash-DTR-IRR  
'The clothes might be washed (~by me).' (S)

- (d) *naŋ-ko-ke kas-cis-a*  
 2-PL-DAT feed-DTR-PST  
 'You were fed (~by me).' (S)

cf.

- (75) (a) *ŋa-e cho ŋa-phin-a-aŋ*  
 1S-ERG rice.meal 1PRO -cook-PST-1PRO  
 'I cooked the meal.' (S)

- (b) *ŋa-e naŋ-ko-ke ŋa-kas-aŋ*  
 1-ERG 2S-HON-DAT 1PRO-feed-1PST.PRO  
 'I fed you.' (S)

- (76) (a) *kan-ko i-lak tak-rafi-cis-a*  
 1P-PL P.DEM-CIR reach-come-DTR-PST  
 'We got here.' (lit. 'We are arrived here.') (S)

- (b) *ŋa mforfi-cis-a*  
 1S drunk-DTR-PST  
 'I got drunk.' (S)

- (c) *kan-ko nuŋ-cis-a*  
 1P-PL go-DTR-PST  
 'We are gone.' (S)

- (d) *kan-ko mfiuŋ-cis-a*  
 1P-PL tire-DTR-PST  
 'We got tired.' (S)

Detransitivized constructions can be formed in all tenses, moods and aspects. The following are examples from the irrealis mood ((77a)), realis past ((77b)), present habitual aspect ((77c)) and past -habitual aspect ((77d)) and continuous aspect ((77e)).

- (77) (a) *gwa a-jya-cis-e*  
 bird IRR-eat-DTR-IRR  
 'The chicken may be eaten.'

- (b) *gwa jya-cis-a*  
 bird eat-DTR-PST  
 'The chicken was eaten.'

- (c) *gwa jya-cis-le*  
 chicken eat-DTR-IMPF  
 'Chicken will be eaten.'



(d) *gwa jya-cis-o-le-a*  
 chicken eat-DTR-HAB-IMPF-PST  
 'Chicken used to be eaten.'

(e) *gwa-ko-ke kas-cis-mΛ le*  
 chicken PL-DAT feed DTR-NOM IMPF  
 'The chickens are being fed.'

#### 4.4 Loaned verb marking

Magar has a highly productive mechanism by which it incorporates verbs borrowed from Nepali into its lexicon, that is, the suffixation of the morpheme *-di* to the verb stem. For example, the Nepali verbs *tiyar* 'prepare' and *parnu* 'must' become *tΛyar-di* and *pΛr-dis* in Magar, as in (78).

(78) *yafi-cyo-ko-ke cahin tΛyar-di-ke pΛr-di-s-le*  
 give-ATT-PL-DAT well prepare-LN-NOM must-LN-ITR-IMPF  
 'The people to whom these things are given, well, must prepare.' (E.025T)

As observed in §4.2, the root-finals which mark degrees of transitivity are only productive on the loan-word marker, resulting in *-di-s* to indicate an intransitive, and *-di-k*, to indicate a causative. The unmarked *-di* is, by default, transitive. The finals *-t* and *-fi* do not occur with *-di*. Two- and three-way contrasts are possible, as in (79).

(79) *tΛn-di-* 'pull sth.' *tΛn-di-s-* 'stretch self'  
*tΛn-di-k-* 'stretch sth.'  
*phet-di-* 'dissolve sth.' *phet-di-s-* 'dissolveself'  
*pΛgal-di-* 'melt sth.' *pΛgal-di-s-* 'melt self'  
*pongar-di-* 'splash sth.' *pongar-di-s-* 'swim'

The unmarked and derived stems can combine with other additional derivational and inflectional morphemes, as for example the causative ((80b)) and sequential converb ((81)), the simultaneous converb ((82)) attributive nominalizer ((83)) and tense, aspect, mood markers ((84)).

- (80) (a) *cham-di-s-le*  
shine-LN-ITR-IMP  
'shine ~twinkle'
- (b) *cham-di-s-ak-a*  
shine-LN-ITR-CAUS-PST  
'polished (caused to shine)'
- (81) *rokotyak cahin bahire khyofi-mo bhΛg-di-s-mo nuη-a*  
frog well outside emerge-SEQ escape-LN-ITR-SEQ go-PST  
'The frog, well, having got out, ran away.' (A.A.004 T)
- (82) *cyu-ke a-lak argan-ko lΛgar-di-k-mΛ le-a*  
dog-DAT R.DEM-CIR wasp-PL chaseLN-DCAUS-NOM IMPF-PST
- lΛgar-di-k-naη lΛgar-di-k-naη los tafi-a*  
chase-LN-DCAUS-SIM chase-LN-DCAUS-SIM far reach-PST  
'The wasps having chased the dog way over there, while chasing and chasing (they) ended up far away.' (A.021 T)
- (83) *a-laq mΛdebeni-aη thakal-ni-ko-ke*  
R.DEM-LOC Madabeni-LOC Thakali FEM-PL-DAT
- bagΛ-di-s-ca ta te-o le-a mΛn* [*>teola*]  
sweep.away-LN-ITR-ATT REP say-HAB IMPF-PST truly  
'They say that over there, at Madubeni, Thakali women were swept away (in the flood), this used to be said, truly.'
- (84) *ho-ta-i bfiormi-ke jik-rafi-ke mi-sas*  
D,DEM-MNR-FOC person-DAT bite-come-NOM POSS- breath
- tΛn-di-k-le ta te-o-le-a mΛn*  
pull-LN-DCAUS-IMPF REP say-HAB-IMPF-PST truly  
'Well, then, it used to be said, that (the python) comes to bite people and draws them in with its breath, really.' (N.N.017 S)

#### 4.5 Structure of the simplex verb predicate

By simplex verb is meant a construction with a single verb stem plus any affixes.

Complex verbs, which combine a nominalized semantic stem with grammaticalized aspectual verbs, are discussed in §5.2. Serialized verbs are treated in §11.2. This section compares the structure of the verb predicate in both dialects generally. Following this, individual sections are dedicated to each constituent of the verb.

Magar is an agglutinating language, thus each affix stands for a single meaningful component; moreover, in Magar, each of these affixes has a fixed linear position. These

are diagrammed in tables 4.1 and 4.2. Like most Tibeto-Burman languages, Magar is primarily suffixing. Suffixes include, in this order: 1. the nativizing loan word morpheme *di* and attendant transitivity markers: intransitive *-s* or causative / transitive *-k*; 2. valence changing morphemes: the causative, *-ak*, or the detransitivizer, *-cis* (the latter occurs in Syangja only); 3. mood inflections 4. inferential evidential marker (described in §13.2.3); 5. tense and aspect and including the imperfective-aspect marker, *-le*, the imperative mood markers (transitive, *-o* or intransitive *-na* and the honorific *-ni(s)*), and the inclusive-hortative-marker *-ij* (mood-markers are mutually exclusive and do not combine); 6. last in the sequence of suffixes, and found in Syangja dialect only, are the pronominals. First and second-person pronominals have singular, plural and honorific forms: *-aŋ* (1S) *-iŋ* (1P) and *-as* (2S), *-nis* (2P); third-person has: *-ko* and *-kaŋ* both are plural, non-past and past respectively. As many as six suffixes can combine, for example: loan-word plus transitivity, valence, evidential, tense and pronominal, as in *por-di-s-ak-sa-a-aŋ* [read-LN-ITR-CAUS-EVID-PAST-1PRO] 'I am evidently made to read.'

The prefixes, in both dialects, are: 1. the negative morpheme *ma-*; 2. mood inflections (the irrealis *a-* and the optative *tA-*; the latter can occur only in Syangja dialect and only in the company of the irrealis; and the irrealis is a circumfix *a-Σ-e*); 3. first- and second-person pronominal prefixes, (which occur only in Syangja dialect and are: the realis past, *ŋa-* (1S), *ka-* (1P) and *na-* and *dA-* (2S)). With the exception of *dA*, pronominal prefixes directly precede the verb stem. As many as three prefixes can combine; for example, negative, irrealis and optative [ma-a-tA] which reduces to [mit] as in *m-i-t-chanh-e* [NEG-IRR-OPT-become-IRR] 'may it not be so'. (There are no prefixal pronominals in the irrealis mood).

The imperative-honorific and inclusive-hortative have the same form as second-person plural and first-person plural pronominals in Syangja dialect; thus their presence in Tanahu dialect may be a trace of pronominalization. Likewise, the optative marker may also be a vestige of a second-person pronominal in this otherwise non-person indexing dialect.

**Table 4.1 Tanahu simplex verb constructions**

TANAHU SIMPLEX VERBS	*P1.NEG	P2 MOOD	STEM				S3 MOOD/ ASPECT	S4 EVID	S5 TENSE	S6 PRO/ HON
			S1.LOAN ITR ~TR		S2. CAUS					
Realis: Past	ma-		Σ	-di	-s~k	-ak		-sa	-a	
Realis: Non-past Imperfective	ma-		Σ	-di	-s~k	-ak	-le	-sa		
Irrealis	ma** [mi-]	a	Σ	-di	-s~k	-ak	-e	-sa		
Irrealis: Optative	ma [mi?-]	a	Σ	-di	-s~k	-ak	-e	-sa		
Imperative	ma-		Σ	-di	-s~k	-ak	TR -na ITR -o			HON -ni
Hortative: inclusive	ma-		Σ	-di	-s~k	-ak	-(a)iŋ			

\*P preceding a number signifies prefix and S signifies suffix

\*\* The negative irrealis and negative optative have an irregular form.

**Table 4.2 Syangja simplex verb constructions**

SYANGJA SIMPLEX VERBS	*P1 NEG	P2 MOOD	P3 PRO	STEM				PRO	S3 MOOD/ ASPECT	S4 EVID	S5 TENSE	S6 PRO/ HON
				S1 LOAN ITR ~TR		S2 CAUS ITR						
Realis: Past	ma-		1S ŋa- 1P ka- 2S na- 2P na-	Σ	-di	-s~k	-ak -cis			-sa	-a	1S -aŋ 1P -as 2P -as 3P -kaŋ
Realis: Non-past Imperfective	ma-			Σ	-di	-s~k	-ak -cis	2S -dΛ	-le	-sa		1S -aŋ 1P -iŋ 2P -nis 3P -ko
Irrealis: Past	ma- [>mit]	a-		Σ	-di	-s~k	-ak -cis		-e	-sa	-a	1S -aŋ 1P -as 2P -as 3P -kaŋ
Irrealis: Non-past	ma- [>mit]	a-		Σ	-di	-s~k	-ak -cis		-e	-sa		1P -aŋ 2P -nis 3P -ko
Irrealis: Optative: Past	ma- [>mit]	a-tΛ-		Σ	-di	-s~k	-ak -cis		-e	-sa	-a	1S -aŋ 1P -as 2P -as 3P -kaŋ
Irrealis: Optative: Non-past	ma- [>mit]	a-tΛ-		Σ	-di	-s~k	-ak -cis		-e	-sa	-a	1P -aŋ 2P -nis 3P -ko
Imperative	ma-			Σ	-di	-s~k			TR -na ITR -o			HON-nis
Hortative	ma-			Σ	-di	-s~k			-iŋ			

\*P preceding a number signifies prefix, S signifies suffix

\*\* The negative irrealis and negative optative have an irregular form.

#### 4.5.1 Tense, aspect and mood

This section introduces the tense, aspect and mood morphology of Magar. Tense and mood markers are bound, obligatory, inflectional endings. Aspect is expressed by nominalized and periphrastic forms. Aspectual forms are introduced here, but a full discussion of these and other periphrastic forms is presented in §5.2.

##### 4.5.1.1 Tense

This section deals with morphological tense. Magar makes a past versus non-past tense distinction; the non-past encompasses both present and future.

##### 4.5.1.1.1 Past and non-past

The past tense is marked with the suffix *-a* on the verb stem as in (85a). The non-past is unmarked as in (85b).

(85) (a) *ja-ja*        *mis-a*  
           child-child    sleep-PST  
           'The child slept.'

(b) *ja-ja*        *mis-le*  
           child-child    sleep-IMPF  
           'The child sleeps ~ will sleep.'

##### 4.5.1.2 Aspect

Magar makes perfective and imperfective distinction. The perfective (following Comrie 1985) views a situation as whole and complete, that is, without internal constituency; whereas the imperfective has internal constituency.

##### 4.5.1.2.1 Perfective and imperfective

In Magar, perfective aspect is unmarked. The simple past tense, i.e. a past which is not encoded for imperfective aspect, will have a default perfective aspect meaning ((86a)).

Perfective aspect can combine with mood ((86b)) as well as with tense.

(86) (a) *ho-se-e cho jya-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF-ERG rice.meal eat-PST  
 'He ate rice.'

(b) *ho-se-e cho a-jya-e-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF-ERG rice.meal IRR-eat-IRR-PST  
 'He might have eaten rice.'

Imperfective aspect is not encoded with bound inflections as are tense and mood. It is periphrastic and signaled by the presence *le*, an auxiliary which has grammaticalized from the copular verb and signals imperfectivity, as in (87).

(87) (a) *ho-se-e cho jya-le*  
 D.DEM-DEF-ERG rice.meal eat-IMPF  
 'He eats rice.' ~ 'He will eat rice.'

(b) *ho-se-e cho jya-mΛ le*  
 D.DEM-DEF-ERG rice eat-NOM IMPF  
 'He is eating rice.'

Within imperfective aspect, Magar distinguishes: habitual ((88a)), continuous ((88b)), inceptive ((88c)) and persistive ((88d)). These nominalized and periphrastic forms are exemplified here and fully described in chapter five.

(88) (a) *ho-se-e mis-le*  
 D.DEM-DEF-ERG sleep-IMPF  
 'He sleeps.'

(b) *ho-se-e mis-mΛ le* [*>misme (T)*]  
 D.DEM-DEF-ERG sleep-NOM IMPF  
 'He is sleeping.'

(c) *ho-se-e mis-ke le*  
 D.DEM-DEF-ERG sleep-NOM IMPF  
 'He has yet to sleep.'

(d) *ho-se-e mis-mΛ mu-mΛ le*  
 D.DEM-DEF-ERG sleep-NOM sit-NOM IMPF  
 'He is still sleeping.'

### 4.5.1.3 Mood

Magar morphologically marks irrealis, optative, imperative, and hortative moods. Like tense, these are bound, obligatory inflectional affixes. Modalities are expressed in multi-clausal constructions and are described in §12.1.1.

#### 4.5.1.3.1 Realis and irrealis

The realis mood is used to express what the speaker considers to be actual, and in the absence of deliberate deceit, it is understood to express truth and / or reality. The realis mood is an unmarked form, as in (89). The irrealis, on the other hand, describes situations which are potential and speculative, as in (90). The irrealis marker is a circumflex: *a-Σ-e*. As a discontinuous morpheme, the irrealis is set apart from other affixes<sup>16</sup>.

(89) (a) *ram im-aŋ le*  
 Ram house-LOC COP  
 'Ram is in the house.'

(b) *ŋa pokhara-aŋ nuŋ-le-na*  
 1S pokhara-LOC go-IMP-1PRO  
 'I go to Pokhara.' (S)

(c) *cho la-ni(s) naŋ-ko-ke ransi-le*  
 cooked rice take -2PRO.HON 2S-HON-DAT hungry-IMP  
 'Please take food, you are hungry.'

(d) *ho-se sagarmatta-aŋ kalŋ-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF Mt.Everest-LOC climb-PST  
 'He climbed on Everest.'

(90) (a) *ram im-aŋ a-u-le-e* [*>aule*]  
 Ram house-LOC IRR-COP-IRR  
 'Ram may be in the house.'

(b) *ŋa pokhara a-nuŋ-e-na* [*> anuŋna*]  
 1S Pokhara IRR-go-IRR-1PRO  
 'I may go to Pokhara.' (S)

<sup>16</sup> A parallel irrealis circumfix exists in Sesi Kham, Watters 2003:16



- (c) *cho la-nis naŋ-ko a-tA-ransi-e-nis* [ $>atAransinis$ ]  
 cooked rice take -2PRO.HON 2S-HON IRR-OPT-hungry -IRR-2PRO.HON  
 'Take food with you, you might be hungry.' (S)
- (d) *ho-se sagarmatta-aŋ a-kalfi-e*  
 D.DEM-DEF Mt.Everest-LOC IRR-climb-IRR  
 'He may climb on Everest.'

In Tanahu dialect in the irrealis mood, only non-past tenses are attested. In Syangja dialect, both past and non-past irrealis forms are attested. The presence of past forms in Nawalparasi (NW) dialect ((91)), also an eastern dialect and one that closely parallels Tanahu, suggests the absence of past forms is a consequence of loss in Tanahu. The final part of the irrealis circumfix *-e* deletes when followed by a vocalic suffix.

- (91) (a) *laxmi kathmandu a-das-e-a* [ $> adasa$ ]  
 Laxmi Kathmandu IRR-leave-IRR-PST  
 'Laxmi may have left Kathmandu.' (L.16) (S) and (NW)
- (b) *bhim sagarmatta-aŋ a-kalfi-e-a* [ $> akalfia$ ]  
 Bhim Mt.Everest-LOC IRR-climb-IRR-PST  
 'He may have climbed on Everest. (S) and (NW)

In both dialects there are simple and continuous aspectual forms in the irrealis mood; the latter are described in §5.3.1.

#### 4.5.1.3.2 Optative

The optative expresses the speaker's hope and desire for the fulfillment of the situation.

The optative is a prefix *tA-*. This morpheme is present in Syangja dialect and in the Nawalparasi dialect (92a, b) but is absent from Tanahu dialect. In Tanahu dialect wishes are expressed periphrastically with the verb *se* 'sense', (93a) or with the borrowed Nepali hortative suffix *-us* (93b).

- (92) (a) *naŋ-ko-e ŋa-ke maŋgar dhut a-tA-paŋ-ak-e-nis*  
 2S-HON-ERG 1S-DAT Magar language IRR-OPT-learn-CAUS-IRR-2PRO  
 'May you teach me the Magar language.' (S)

(b) *ŋa-o minam im a-tA-čanfi-e*  
 1S -GEN new house IRR-OPT- become-IRR  
 'May I have a new house.' (lit. 'May my new house happen.')(S) (NW)

(93) (a) *ŋa maɣar dʃut ŋak-ŋak se-mA le* [ $>$  seme]  
 1S Magar language talk-talk sense-NOM IMPF  
 'I wish to speak the Magar language.' (T)

(b) *ŋa-o minam im čanfi-us*  
 1S -GEN new house become-N.HORT  
 'May I have a new house.' (T)

The optative follows and is dependent on the irrealis with which it must combine.

The morpheme *-tA-* occurs in all persons in both Nawalparasi and Syangja dialects.

When it occurs in the Nawalparasi dialect, it always has an optative interpretation as in (94a) and (95a). Thus the following contrast in this dialect. Examples (94b) and (95b), the irrealis, are found also in Tanahu dialect.

(94) (a) *ho-se-e činiŋ nambi-lak lapha-ke a-tA-dup-e* [ $>$  atdupe]  
 D.DEM-DEF-ERG today night-CIR friend-DAT IRR-OPT-meet-IRR  
 'This evening, may she meet a friend.' (S) (NW)

(b) *ho-se-e činiŋ nambi-lak lapha-ke a-dup-e*  
 D.DEM-DEF-ERG today night-CIR friend-DAT IRR-meet-IRR  
 'This evening, she might meet a friend.'

(95) (a) *laksmi-o galam-phet jfioko a-tA-čanfi-e*  
 Laxmi-GEN door -step.on quickly IRR-OPT-become -IRR  
 'May Laxmi be married soon.' (S) (NW)

(b) *laksmi-o galam-phet jfioko a-čanfi-e*  
 Laxmi-GEN door -step.on quickly IRR-become-IRR  
 'Laxmi might be married soon.'

However, in Syangja dialect, *a-tA-* [IRR-OPT] may have either an optative or an irrealis meaning, and the morpheme *tA-* is always present referring to second-person, suggesting that it may be traceable to a second-person morpheme ((96)).

(96) (a) *naŋ-ko kathmandu-aŋ a-tA-rafi-nis*  
 2-HON Kathmandu-LOC IRR-OPT- come-IRR  
 'May you come to Kathmandu.' ~

'You might come to Kathmandu.'

- (b) *wak ja hi-ke a-tA-le-e jfan*  
 pig EMPH what-DAT IRR-OPT-COP-IRR more  
 'Why, indeed, would you have more pigs?' ~  
 'Why, indeed, will you have more pigs? (K.K.009S)

Context disambiguates the two interpretations. In (97a), it is not the desired end that the addressee should die; thus, an optative interpretation is inappropriate, though, in Syangja dialect, it occurs with the optative morpheme. An optative reading would be appropriate for (97b).

- (97) (a) *naŋ-ko a-tA-si-nis*  
 2S-HON IRR-OPT-die-2PRO.HON  
 'You might die.' (S)

- (b) *kan-ko a-tA-dup-e-iŋ*  
 2P-PL IRR-OPT-meet-IRR-2PRO.HON  
 'May we meet again.'

In Tanahu only the irrealis is possible, as in (99).

- (98) *naŋ-ko a-si-e*  
 2S-HON IRR-die-IRR  
 'You might die.' (T)

The irrealis-optative form, in Syangja dialect, has an irregular negative with *mi-t*, as in (99).

- (99) (a) *sita-ke mi-tA-tak-rafi-e*  
 Sita-DAT NEG-IRR-OPT-reach-come -IRR  
 'May Sita not arrive.' (S)

- (b) *matasari mi-tA-cha-e*  
 Matasari NEG-IRR-OPT-sick -IRR  
 'May Matasari not become sick.' (S)

#### 4.5.1.3.3 Imperative

The imperative mood expresses commands delivered by a first-person to a second.

Neither of the speech participants is expressed in the imperative construction. The

imperative has honorific and non-honorific forms; both are morphemes suffixed to the verb stem. The honorific suffix is *-ni* in Tanahu dialect, and *-nis* in Syangja (100), and the latter is homophonous with the second-person pronominal agreement marker.<sup>17</sup> This suggests that the presence of the honorific form in Tanahu dialect may be regarded as trace of pronominal verb agreement. The non-honorific forms have a transitive-intransitive opposition. The transitive imperative is *-o* and the intransitive is *-na* as in (101). This distinction is rigorously applied in the Syangja dialect, but less so in Tanahu ((102)).

(100) (a) *sita rafi-naŋ jfi-or-ni*  
 Sita come-SIM hello-IMP.HON  
 'When Sita is coming, say hello!' (T)

(b) *nini* *ga-nis*  
 father's.younger.sister drink-IMP.HON  
 'Auntie drink!' (K.K.050S)

(101) (a) *galam tun-o*  
 door close-IMP  
 'Close the door!'

(b) *i-laŋ rafi-na*  
 P.DEM-LOC come-IMP  
 'Come here!'

(102) (a) *a-lak da-o ~ na*  
 R.DEM-CIR put-IMP  
 'Put it over there!' (T)

(b) *a-lak da-o*  
 R.DEM-CIR put-IMP  
 'Put it over there!' (S)

The honorific-imperative can be used to make polite offers and requests, as in (103).

(103) (a) *cek-tar la-ni(s)*

<sup>17</sup> Angdembe (1999; 3) speaking of Jfiadeva Magar dialect that this dual function led to ambiguity and he suggests that in an effort to disambiguate the plural and honorific a second morpheme, a plural '-s', was added to *-ni*, resulting in *-nis*.

bit- QUANT      take -HON.IMP  
 'Please take some.' (lit. 'As many bits as possible, please take!')

(b) *ŋa-ke ces-ces      yaŋ-ni(s) nΛ*  
 IS-DAT little.bit-little-bit    give -HON.IMP EMPH  
 'Please give me a little too!'

(c) *ga-ni(s)*  
 drink-IMP.HON  
 'Please drink!'

The emphatic marker, *nΛ* frequently combines with the imperative, which it follows, as in (104).

(104) (a) *raŋ-na    nΛ*  
 come-IMP    EMPH  
 'Come!' (T)

(b) *pa-o    nΛ*  
 seek-IMP    EMPH  
 'Look for it!' (T)

(c) *jya-ni(s)      nΛ*  
 do-HON.IMP      EMPH  
 'Please eat!'

#### 4.5.1.3.4 Inclusive hortative

The inclusive-hortative expresses 'let us' and is used to make polite suggestions which include the addressee, as in (105).

(105) *ga-iŋ*  
 drink-HORT  
 'Let us drink!'

An exclusive-hortative excludes the addressee; for example, 'let me' and 'let him'.

In Magar, the exclusive-hortative is a periphrastic construction; it is described in §12.1.1.6.

The inclusive hortative is a bound suffix: *-iŋ*. Like the imperative, this hortative is a non-finite form. It is homophonous with, and derived from, a

pronominal marker: a first-person plural marker *-ij* and its presence in Tanahu may be considered a vestige of pronominalization.

In Tanahu dialect, the hortative does not appear with overt subjects as in (106); whereas in Syangja dialect a subject, though not obligatory is commonly expressed, as in (107). Example (108) is a negative hortative; the form is regular.

(106) (a) *nuŋ-ij*  
go-HORT  
'Let's go.'

(b) *jya-ij*  
eat-HORT  
'Let's eat.'

(107) (a) *kaŋ-ko nuŋ-ij*  
1P-PL go-HORT  
'Let's go.' (S)

(b) *kaŋ-ko-e jya-ij*  
1P-PL-ERG eat-HORT  
'Let's eat.' (S)

(108) *ma-ga-ij*  
NEG-drink-IMPF-HORT  
'Let us not drink.'

#### 4.5.2 Negation

The negative prefix *ma-* derives from Proto-Tibeto-Burman \**ma-*. It is always the first element in the verb stem and precedes irrealis and optative morphemes when these are present, as in (109).

(109) (a) *ŋa raksi ma-ga-le*  
1S alcohol NEG-eat-IMPF  
'I do not drink alcohol.' (T)

(b) *ŋa-e raksi ma-ga-le-aŋ*  
1S-ERG alcohol NEG-eat-IMPF-1PRO  
'I do not drink alcohol.' (S)

As noted, in the optative mood, the negative-optative is irregular (110). It has a high front vowel and is *mi-t-* in Syangja. (The Nawalparasi dialect has a further reduced variant [ > miʔ]). In Tanahu dialect a negative wish is expressed periphrastically with the negated verb *se* 'sense', as in (111).

(110) *ŋa mi-t-ŋa-mis-a-aŋ* [*>mitŋamisaŋ*]  
 1S NEG-OPT-1PRO-sleep-PST-1PRO  
 'I did not wish to sleep.' (S)

(111) *ŋa mis-mis ma-se-ma le* [*> maseme*]  
 1S sleep-sleep NEG-sense-NOM IMPF  
 'I did not wish to sleep.' (T)

The negative of the equational copula *ale* (see also §11.5) is also irregular; it is *mahale* while the negative of the copular verb *le* is regular, *ma-le*, as in (112).

(112) (a) *i-se-i bfiormi daktor mafi-ale*  
 P.DEM-DEF-FOC person doctor NEG-COP  
 'This man is not a doctor.'

(b) *thapa i-laj ma-le*  
 Thapa P.DEM-LOC NEG-IMPF  
 'Thapa is not here.'

The breathy quality of the negative may serve to dissimilate the vowels and thereby maintain the integrity of each syllable; otherwise /a/ would phonologically reduce rendering the two negatives homophonous. Watters (2002:216) records a similarly negative breathy copular form Takale Kham: '*ma:hke*'. Of the breathy copula, Watters says its form is "something of a mystery"; apparently a shared mystery.

#### 4.5.3 Argument indexing: person, number and honorific status

The indexing of person, number and status agreement on the verb, since Grierson (1909: 179 and 276) and Hodgson (1874:116, 1880: 105), has been referred to by scholars of TB languages as 'pronominalization'. There is considerable controversy as to whether or not

this feature can be ascribed to Proto-Tibet Burman or whether it is a later development and attributable to language contact or 'drift'. These arguments will be summarily outlined. Van Driem (1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1999) and DeLancey (1988, 1989, 1992, 2008) ascribe indexing of person, number and status agreement on the verb to proto-Tibeto-Burman on the basis of their observation that a language with complex argument-verb agreement morphology is found in each of Tibeto-Burman's major branches: Qiangic, Nungish, Himalayish, Sal, Kuchi-Chin (DeLancey 2008). Thurgood (1984, 1985) and LaPolla (1992) argue that, given the uncertain taxonomy of major branches, no such conclusion can be drawn. LaPolla (1992:300) finds that only three of the six branches of Tibeto-Burman (Qiangic, Nungish, Himlaysiaish) show pronominalization; thus there is not sufficient reason to reconstruct this feature for the proto-language. Indeed LaPolla (1990, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 2001, 2003) claims, that no inflectional morphology should be attributed to the proto-language. LaPolla argues (1992) that the existence of pronominal verb inflection across a number of Tibeto-Burman is not an inherited feature; rather, it is recently and independently innovated. Recency, LaPolla claims, would also explain why case particles and pronominal affixes differ so greatly from language to language. DeLancey (1984) acknowledges variation and complexity but he argues that the presence of a newly developed morpheme is not evidence of the recent development of the category as a whole. There is nothing to preclude that the new morpheme simply took the place of an older one which will have existed in the proto-language.

Regardless of its provenance, participant-agreement-indexing is perhaps the most striking and significant way in which the dialects diverge. There is no verb-agreement



marking for person or number in the Tanahu dialect, and only the imperative and hortative encode honorific status. In the Syangja dialect, however, verbs have obligatory agreement-marking for person, number and status for first and second-person subjects. In the third person, honorific status is encoded on the verb and number is distinguished in honorific forms; otherwise third person is unmarked<sup>18</sup>.

Syangja Magar verb agreement differs from what is manifest in other Central Himalayish and Kiranti languages in that it indexes subjects only; objects are not indexed on the verb. Like these languages, Syangja dialect has both prefixal and suffixal agreement-marking. The prefixes redundantly carry the same information as the suffixes. Redundant indexing in Syangja dialect may be related to double indexing, which is a feature found in other Kiranti languages; for example, in Athpare (Ebert 1994:10).

Agreement affixes are neither regular, nor symmetrical across TAM combinations. They differ between the realis and irrealis moods, the past and non-past tenses and in the continuous aspect. In the realis-past there are both pronominal prefixes and suffixes; in other TAM combinations there are only suffixes. These morphemes are presented in table 4.3.

**Table 4.3 Syangja agreement affixes**

		Realis		Irrealis	
		Past	Non-past	Past	Non-past
1	SG.	ŋa-Σ-TAM-aŋ	Σ-TAM-aŋ ~ na*	Σ-TAM-aŋ	Σ-TAM-na
	PL.	ka-Σ-TAM-as	Σ-TAM-iŋ	Σ-TAM-as	Σ-TAM-iŋ
2	SG.	na-Σ-TAM	Σ-dʌ-TAM ~ na*	Σ-TAM	Σ-TAM
	PL./ HON.	na-Σ-TAM-as	Σ-dʌ-TAM-nis	Σ-TAM-as	Σ-TAM-nis
3	SG	Σ-TAM	Σ-TAM	Σ-TAM	Σ-TAM
	PL./ HON.	Σ-TAM-kaŋ	Σ-ko	Σ-TAM-kaŋ	Σ-TAM-ko

\* -na occurs in the continuous aspect and simple irrealis only; Σ = verb stem

<sup>18</sup> The Palpa dialect patterns with Syangja and Gorkha and Nawalparasi dialects with Tanahu.

Participant indexing on the verb follows a different system than case marking. In Syangja case-marking follows an ergative pattern in which only agents of transitive clauses are ergative marked (§3.4.1.3). However, in Syangja dialect, subjects of both transitive and intransitive clauses are indexed, which is a nominative-accusative pattern. Dixon (1994:95) observes that this type of 'meta-split', between case-marking and verb-indexing, is not uncommon across languages<sup>19</sup> and predicts of cross-referencing systems that "We would expect them to be on a nominative-accusative pattern - bound affixes will be accusative...and marking on free forms will be ergative". Such is the configuration found in Syangja Magar.

#### 4.5.3.1 Pronominal suffixes

The pronominal suffixes, so called because they are believed to be derived from pronouns do not closely resemble the free pronouns (unlike the prefixes, which do); in addition, their forms vary across TAM combinations, suggesting greater time-depth to accommodate the innovation of divergent forms.

The first-person suffixes have distinct singular and plural forms as well as different forms in different aspects. The first-person singular suffix is *-aŋ* and has an allomorph *-na* in the non-past-continuous aspect and the simple-irrealis as in (113.). The first-person-plural in the past is *-as* and in the non-past *-iŋ* ((113)). The past tense marker deletes before pronominals *-aŋ* and *-as*; likewise the *-e* of the irrealis circumfix deletes before pronominals.

(113) (a) *ŋa ŋa-kher-a-aŋ* [*>ŋakheraŋ*]  
 1S 1PRO-run-PST-1PRO  
 'I ran.' (S)

<sup>19</sup> He describes a meta-split for Latin, Avar (North-eastern Caucasian), Murinypata (Daly, Australian), Gahuka (Papuan), and Walpiri (Pama-Nyunga, Australian).

(b) *ŋa kher-mΛ le-na*  
 1S run-NOM IMPF-1PRO  
 'I am running.' (S)

(c) *ŋa a-kher-e-na* [*> akherna*]  
 1S IRR-run-IRR-1PRO  
 'I might run.' (S)

(114) (a) *kaŋ-ko ka-kher-a-as* [*>kakheras*]  
 1-PL 1P.PRO-run-PST-1P.PRO  
 'We ran.' (S)

(b) *kaŋ-ko kher-mΛ le-iŋ* [*>khermΛiŋ*]  
 1P-PL run-NOM IMPF-1PRO  
 'We are running.' (S)

In tables 4.4 - 4.6, underlying morphemes (those which morphophonologically reduce) have been included for clarity and pronominal affixes are highlighted. The tables show pronominalization of simple verbs stems only; tables with both simplex and complex verb forms can be found in §5.4.

**Table 4.4 Syangja first-person pronominal affixes**

SYANGJA First person	Singular	Plural/honorific
Realis: Past	<b>ŋa-Σ-a-aŋ</b>	<b>ka-Σ-a-as</b>
Realis: Non-past	Σ-le-aŋ	Σ-le-iŋ
Irrealis: Past	a-Σ-e-a-aŋ	a-Σ-e-a-as
Irrealis: Non-past	a-Σ-e-na	a-Σ-e-iŋ
Irrealis: Optative: Past	a-tΛ-Σ-e-aŋ	a-tΛ-Σ-e-as
Irrealis: Optative: Non-past	a-tΛ-Σ-e-na	a-tΛ-Σ-iŋ
Hortative: Inclusive		Σ-iŋ

The second-person plural and honorific pronominal suffix is *-as* in the past realis as in (115a). (This suffix is homophonous with the first-person plural past, and as in the first-person plural past, final [a] drops out.) In the non-past, the second-person plural and honorific suffix is *-nis* as in (115b). This combines with the second-person singular morpheme *-dΛ* in the non-continuous non-past (115c). The morpheme *-dΛ* follows the main verb; thus it may be considered a suffix, however, it is best analyzed as a prefix on the auxiliary *le*; this is discussed in §4.5.3.2.1.

- (115) (a) *naŋ-ko na-kher-a-as* [*>nakheras*]  
 2S 2PRO-run-PST-2HON.PRO  
 'You (HON /PL) ran.' (S)
- (b) *naŋ-ko kher-mΛ na-le-nis*  
 2S run-NOM 2PRO-IMPF-2HON.PRO  
 'You (HON /PL) are running.' (S)
- (c) *naŋ-ko kher-dΛ-nis*  
 2S run-2PRO-2HON.PRO  
 'You (HON) run.' (S)

**Table 4.5 Syangja second-person pronominal affixes**

SYANGJA Second person	Singular	Plural/honorific
Realis: Past	na-Σ-a	na-Σ-a-as
Realis: Non-past	Σ-dΛ-le	Σ-dΛ-nis
Irrealis: Past	a-tΛ-Σ-e-a	a-tΛ-Σ-e-a-as
Irrealis: Non-past	a-tΛ-Σ-e	a-tΛ-Σ-e-nis
Irrealis: Optative: Past	a-tΛ-Σ-e-a	a-tΛ-Σ-e-a-as
Irrealis: Optative: Non-past	a-tΛ-Σ-e	a-tΛ-Σ-e-nis
Imperative: Transitive	Σ-na	Σ-nis
Intransitive	Σ-o	

The second-person honorific *nis* is the same as the honorific imperative in Syangja dialect. In Tanahu (and Nawalparasi) dialect it is *ni-*. Angdembe (1999) reports that Jfiadeva Magar, a Palpa dialect, has both forms; furthermore, in this dialect, *-ni* is singular and *-nis* is plural. Angdembe posits that the final *-s* on *-nis* is a second layer of plural marking (which he terms 'repluralization') added to disambiguate plural from honorific morphemes. In Jfiadeva dialect the following contrast exists.

Jfiadeva Magar (Angdembe 1999:500)

- (116) (a) *na-ko mis-də-ni*  
 2-HON sleep-2PRO-HON.IMP  
 'You (SG HON) sleep!'
- (b) *na-k-ko mis-də-ni-s*  
 2-HON-PL sleep-2PRO-HON.IMP-PL  
 'You (HON PL) sleep!'<sup>20</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Angdembe does not gloss this form as honorific; however the pronoun indicates that it is.

Neither Syangja (117) nor Tanahu (118) speakers make this singular / plural distinction in the honorific; the form is consistently *-ni* (T) or *-nis* (S). I posit that the final *-s* is likely original to the morpheme, related as it is to the second-person pronominal, but was lost in Tanahu. Thus it would not be an example of re-pluralization.

(117) (a) *naŋ-ko mis-dΛ-nis*  
 2-HON sleep-2PRO-HON.IMP  
 'You sleep!' (S)

(b) *naŋ-ko-ko mis-dΛ-nis*  
 2-HON-PL sleep-2PRO-HON.IMP  
 'You (PL-HON) sleep!' (S)

(118) (a) *naŋ-ko mis-ni*  
 2-HON sleep-HON.IMP  
 'You sleep!' (T)

(b) *naŋ-ko-ko mis-ni*  
 2-HON-PL sleep-HON.IMP  
 'You (PL-HON) sleep!' (T)

Shepherd (1973), for Yanchok Magar dialect, and Subba (1972:123), for Rising

Magar dialect, both record verb-final *-s* as a 'familiar' (non-honorific) marker. Angdembe (1999:5) accounts for this by positing that the *-s* 're-pluralization marker' has 'undergone semantic flipping' and now marks a singular / familiar rather than an honorific. A simpler explanation is that Yanchok and Rising speakers have re-interpreted an extant final *-s*, on *-nis* as a familiar by analogy with the Nepali familiar marker *-s*.

The third-person singular familiar has no pronominalization; the honorific third-person is marked with *-ko* in the non-past and *-kaŋ* in the past (119a, b). The suffix *-ko* is homophonous with the nominal plural marker and *-kaŋ* is homophonous with the first-person plural free pronoun.

(119) (a) *ho-se-ko*                      *kher-le-ko*  
 D.DEM-DEF-HON                      run-IMP-3HON.PRO  
 'He (HON) runs.' (S)

(b) *ho-se-ko-ko*                      *kher-a-kaŋ*  
 D.DEM-DEF-HON-PL                  run-IMPF-3HON.PRO  
 'They (HON) ran.' (S)

**Table 4.6 Syangja third-person pronominal affixes**

SYANGJA Third person	Singular	Honorific
Realis: Past	$\Sigma$ -a	$\Sigma$ -a- <b>kaŋ</b>
Realis: Non-past	$\Sigma$ -le	$\Sigma$ -le- <b>ko</b>
Irrealis: Past	a- $\Sigma$ -e-a	a- $\Sigma$ -e-a- <b>kaŋ</b>
Irrealis: Non-past	a- $\Sigma$ -e	a- $\Sigma$ -e- <b>ko</b>
Irrealis: Optative: past	a-t $\Lambda$ - $\Sigma$ -e-a	a-t $\Lambda$ - $\Sigma$ -e-a- <b>kaŋ</b>
Irrealis: Optative: Non-past	a-t $\Lambda$ - $\Sigma$ -e	a-t $\Lambda$ - $\Sigma$ -e- <b>ko</b>

From the fact that the plural and honorific marker does not occur in the absence of an honorific-marked pronoun, it can be deduced that in third-person, the suffixes *-ko* and *-kaŋ* on verbs exclusively mark honorific status and have lost their number marking function. Angdembe (1998:3) has observed a parallel development in Jhadeva dialect.

#### 4.5.3.2 Pronominal prefixes

There are both first- and second-person pronominal prefixes in the realis-past tenses.

Additionally there are, in second-person, pronominal prefixes in certain of the non-past tenses.

The first-person singular pronominal prefix is *ŋa-*; the plural is *ka-*. The second-person prefix is *na-* in both singular and plural. The prefixes are semantically redundant as the suffixes also encode person. The pronominal prefixes closely resemble the free pronouns of Magar, with the exception of the second-person *-da*, about which more will be said shortly; see table 4.7. The first-person free pronouns are: *ŋa*, and *kaŋ*, 'I', and 'we', and the second-person are *naŋ* and *naŋ-ko* [*>nako*], 'you' and 'you-PL'. The third-person has no pronominal prefix (nor does it have a dedicated free pronoun, instead the distal demonstrative *ho-se* is used; see §7.1). The characteristics of redundancy and similarity to the free pronouns suggest that the prefixes are newer than the suffixes.

Watters (2002:15) suggests that the current prefixes have replaced an older prefixal series.

**Table 4.7 Free pronouns and prefixes**

Person		Free pronouns	Prefixes
1	SG.	ŋa	ŋa-Σ
	PL.	kaŋ	ka-Σ
2	SG.	naŋ	na-Σ
	PL.	naŋ	na-Σ

In the realis past, there are prefixes in first- and second-person *ŋa-* (1S), *ka-* (1P) and *na-* (2S and 2P) respectively, as in (120). In complex nominalized forms, these prefixes precede the auxiliary as in (121). In the irrealis mood, there are no prefixes in first- or second-person<sup>21</sup>; see also §4.5.1.3.2. As well, in first-person realis non-past there are no prefixes, as in (122). In second-person singular, realis non-past, there is a formally incongruous pronominal prefix *-da-* preceding the auxiliary (123a, b); otherwise the second-person prefix is *-na* (122c, d).

(120) (a) *ŋa ŋa-kher-a-aŋ* [*>ŋakheraŋ*]  
 1S 1PRO-run-PST-1PRO  
 'I ran.' (S)

(b) *kaŋ-ko ka-kher-a-as* [*>kakheras*]  
 1P-PL 1P.PRO-run-PST-1P.PRO  
 'We ran.' (S)

(c) *naŋ na-kher-a*  
 2S 2PRO-run-PST  
 'You ran.' (S)

(d) *naŋ-ko na-kher-a-as* [*>nakheras*]  
 2-HON 2PRO-run-PST-2HON.PRO  
 'You (HON) ran.' (S)

(121) (a) *ŋa kher-mΛ ŋa-le-a-aŋ* [*>khermΛŋalaŋ*]  
 1S run-NOM 1PRO-IMPV-PST-1PRO  
 'I was running.' (S)

<sup>21</sup> The optative marker may historically derive from a second person pronominal morpheme which it resembles in form and position.

- (b) *kaŋ-ko kher- mΛ ka-le-a-as* [*>khermΛkalas*]  
 1S run-NOM 1P.PRO-IMPF-PST-1P.PRO  
 'We were running.' (S)
- (c) *naŋ kher- mΛ na-le-a*  
 2S run-NOM 2PRO-IMPF-PST  
 'You were running.' (S)
- (d) *naŋ-ko kher- mΛ na-le-a-as* [*>khermΛnalas*]  
 2S-HON run-NOM 2PRO-IMPF-PST-2HON.PRO  
 'You (HON) were running.' (S)
- (122)(a) *ŋa kher-le-aŋ* [*>kherlaŋ*]  
 1S run-IMPF-1PRO  
 'I run.' (S)
- (b) *ŋa kher-mΛ le-na*  
 1S run-NOM IMPF-1PRO  
 'I am running.' (S)
- (123)(a) *naŋ kher-dΛ-l*  
 2S run-2PRO-IMPF  
 'You run.' (S)
- (b) *naŋ-ko kher-dΛ-nis*  
 2S-HON run-2PRO-2HON.PRO  
 'You (HON) run.' (S)
- (c) *naŋ kher-mΛ na-le*  
 2S run-NOM 2PRO-IMPF  
 'You are running.' (S)
- (d) *naŋ-ko kher-mΛ na-le-nis*  
 2S-HON run-NOM 2PRO-IMPF-2HON.PRO  
 'You (HON) are running.' (S)

Angdembe (1999:504) concluded of the morpheme *-dΛ-*, based on its prefixal position on the copula in Jhadeva Magar, that it, like *na-* is a pronominal prefix, though in non-copular verbs it follows the stem as it does in Syangja dialect.



(124) Jhadeva Magar (Angdembe 1999: 514, 516)

	'be'	'sleep'
1S	<i>le-nə</i>	<i>mis-l-aŋ</i>
1P	<i>li-iŋ</i>	<i>mis-l-iŋ</i>
2S	<i>na-le</i>	<i>mis-də-l</i>
2P	<i>na-l-nis</i>	<i>mis-də-nis</i>
3S	<i>le</i>	<i>mis-le</i>
3P	<i>le</i>	<i>mis-le</i>

The pronominal *-dA-* in Syangja dialect, unlike in Jhadeva, follows the equational copula, as in (125).

(125) (a) *naŋ-ko maŋar-ko ale-dA-nis* [*>aldAnis*]  
 2-HON Magar-PL COP-2PRO-HON  
 'You are Magar.' (S)

(b) *naŋ ŋa-o lapha ale-dA-l* [*>aldAl*]  
 2-HON 1-GEN friend COP-2PRO-IMPF  
 'You are my friend.' (S)

Nevertheless, evidence from Jhadeva and the position of the second-person prefix *na-* suggest that *-dA-* is indeed a prefix. Angdembe (1999:512) has analyzed *dA-* as an allomorph of *na* occurring when 'sandwiched' between the stem and the auxiliary: *mis-na-le > mis-dA-l*, 'sleeps'.<sup>22</sup> However, evidence from Magar and other TB languages<sup>23</sup> suggest that *-dA-* is likely an old second-person morpheme and not simply an allophone of *na-*; it would, then, predate *na-*; and rather than changing form because it was sandwiched, it retained its older form in that position. The same morpheme may also persist as the optative *-tA-* in a similarly protected environment 'sandwiched' between the irrealis prefix and the verb stem. The *na-* prefix on the existential copula and in the

<sup>22</sup> It should be noted that in similarly 'sandwiched' positions, there is no change in the morpheme, for example: *mis-mə+ na-le* 'is sleeping', does not undergo such a change. It could be that the nominalizer *mə* blocks the morphophonological change.

<sup>23</sup> This is discussed by Watters for Kham (Watters 2002:394). There is evidence that it is present in Chepang (Caughley 1982) and the Kiranti languages including: Bantawa (Rai 1985), Limbu (van Driem 1987) Chamling (Ebert 1990), Dumi Rai (van Driem 1988) as well as more distant languages: Gyarong (Nagano 1984) Rawang (Barnard 1934), Lakher (Weidert, fieldnotes) and Tiddim Chin (Henderson 1975).

continuous aspect would then be a later replacement by analogy to the newer series of prefixes based on the free pronouns.

#### 4.6 Converbs

Magar employs converbs to combine clauses and to temporally relate events. Converbs are subordinate medial-verbs in a string; they are non-finite (Haspelmath 1995: 4-7) and receive their person, number, status and TAM from the final, finite and controlling verb (Haspelmath 1995:12-17). The converb is suffixed to the verb stem. The verb stem can consist of the root and derivational morphemes (the loan-word marker, the causative, the detransitive); while inflectional morphemes (and any derivational morphemes) are on the final finite-verb. In Magar, the suffix *-mo* is the sequential converb, which signals that the event of the medial-verb antecedes that of the finite-verb. The suffix *-naŋ* is the simultaneous converb and the event described by this medial-verb is contemporaneous with the finite-verb.

##### 4.6.1 Sequential converb

The sequential converb, *-mo*, is suffixed to the verb stem of medial-verb in the subordinate clause, as in (126).

(126) (a) *babu-ja-e jfiyal khol-mo bahiriŋ ŋafi-ak-a taŋa rokotyak ma-dinfi-a*  
 boy-child-ERG window open-SEQ outside call-CAUS-PST but frog NEG-find-PST  
 'The little boy having opened the window, called out, but did not find the frog.'  
 (A.008T)

(b) *cyu-e sisi bfitri-aŋ mi-talu ka-mo ŋos-a taŋa ma-dinfi-a*  
 dog-ERG bottle inside-LOC POSS-head put-SEQ look-PST but NEG-find-PST  
 'The dog, having put his head inside the bottle, looked but did not find (the frog).' (A.007T)

(c) *galam thiun-cis-mo le-de-haŋ ŋfiŋet-ko caor-aŋ ja ale-a*  
 door close-DTR-SEQ COP-say-COND cow-PL field-LOC EMPH COP-PST  
 'If the gate had been closed, the cow would still be in the field.'

- (d) *ho-se*      *bali*      *caɽfiΛ-di-k-mo*      *puja*      *jat-mo*      *pura*  
 D.DEM-DEF    sacrifice    offer-LN-DCAUS-SEQ    worship    do make-SEQ    entire
- samaj*      *gau-aŋ*      *samaj*      *chanfi-mo*      *man-di-k-le*  
 society      village-LOC    society      become-SEQ      celebrate-LN-DCAUS-IMPF  
 'Having made the sacrificial offering and having worshiped, the entire village  
 society having come together, celebrates.' (F.F. 005T)

There is no dedicated negative sequential converb; *ma-* is used to negate the action and precedes the converb ((127)).

- (127) (a) *ho-se*      *mi-mik*      *ma-dfiŋ-mo*      *ɟfiyal-iŋ*      *mfiak-aŋ*      *ɟfi-al-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF    POSS-eye    NEG-see-SEQ    window-ABL    down-LOC    fall-PST  
 'His eyes unable to see, he fell down from the window.' (A.A.010T)
- (b) *ho-ta-ko*      *te-ahaŋ*      *da*      *hi*      *ma-chyap-mo*      *sharma*      *ale-a*  
 D.DEM-MNR-PL    say-COND    also    why    NEG-scatter-SEQ    shame    COP-PST  
 'Though intending to do it this way, having not blessed (the tiger), it was a  
 shame.' (S.S.022S)

The sequential converb can express manner, as in (128), see also §9.2.3

- (128) *mi-ja*      *kher-mo*      *ret-a*  
 POSS-child    run -SEQ      smile-PST  
 'The child ran smiling.'

#### 4.6.2 Simultaneous converb

The simultaneous converb *-naŋ* is suffixed to the verb stem of the medial-verb in the subordinate clause, as in (129).

- (129) (a) *ŋa-e*      *cho*      *ɟya-mΛ*      *ŋu-naŋ*      *mafi-a-ja*      *tafi-rafi-a*  
 1S-ERG    meal    eat-NOM    sit-SIM    young.female-child    reach-come-PST  
 'The woman arrived while I was sitting, eating a meal.' (T)
- (b) *ŋa*      *mis-naŋ*      *ja-ja-e*      *yet-a*  
 1S    sleep-SIM      child-child-ERG      summon-PST  
 'The child called me while I was sleeping.' (R.17)
- (c) *ba-s*      *kher-naŋ*      *cyu-ke*      *thofi-ak-a*  
 bus    run -SIM      dog-DAT      collide-CAUS-PST  
 'While the bus was driving, it hit a dog.'

(d) *namas rafi-naŋ ja-ja-ko im-aŋ ges-mΛ nΛ le-a*  
 rain come-SIM child-child-PL house-LOC play-NOM EMPH IMPF-PST  
 'While it was raining the grandchildren were playing in the house.'

(e) *ho-se-ko mis-naŋ batti dfa-mΛ jΛ le-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF-PL sleep-SIM lamp burn-NOM EMPH IMPF-PST  
 'They were sleeping while the lamp was burning.' (B.B.004S)

(f) *len-ja-ko rafi-naŋ arnam syafi-a*  
 young.male-child-PL come-SIM young.girl dance-PST  
 'While the young men were coming a young girl danced.'

As with the sequential converb, there is no dedicated negative simultaneous converb.

The action which does not occur is simply preceded by the negative morpheme *ma-*, as in (130).

(130) *ŋa ma-mis -naŋ ja-ja-e yet-a*  
 1S NEG- sleep-SIM child-child-ERG summon-PST  
 'I was not sleeping when the child called me.'

The simultaneous converb can also be used in an adverbial sense to express manner, as in

(131). Adverbial use of the simultaneous converb is treated in §9.2.3.

(131) *mi-ja kher-naŋ rap-mΛ nΛ le-a*  
 POSS-child run -SIM weep-NOM EMPH IMPF-PST  
 'The child ran weeping.'

The simultaneous converb is also part of a construction with the verb 'say' which expresses comparison, as in (132). This is described in more detail in §14.2.7.

(132) *dajai paŋa-ko te-naŋ balio le*  
 elder.brother all-PL say-SIM strong IMPF  
 'Elder brother is stronger than all.'

#### 4.7 Nominalization

Nominalization is a pervasive and highly productive process in the Tibeto-Burman languages. The primary functions of nominalizers are to reify and to express clauses as arguments. The Bodic languages have expanded upon these primary functions. As

Noonan (2008) observes, these languages make extensive use of nominalizations and, as a consequence, have innovated and elaborated their nominalization systems. Innovation may manifest itself in an increase in the number of nominalizers within a single language and in the development of specialized functions for each nominalizer. There is evidence of this in Magar. The language has three nominalizing suffixes: *-cyo ~ cA*, *-mA*, and *-ke*; each performs primary nominalizing functions, and, as well, each has developed other functions. For example, all play a role in the TAM system of Magar (see chapter five). In addition all have developed other specialized functions (though there is some overlap). For example, the nominalizer *-cyo ~ cA* forms adjectival attributive modifiers and relativizes. The nominalizer *-mA*, in combination with the verb 'say', marks sentential complements. The nominalizer *-ke* marks infinitives and complements and is used as the citation form of verbs. These extended functions are outlined below and are discussed in appropriate contexts throughout the grammar. The following describes not only derivation of nominals, but possible historical sources for Magar nominalizers as well.

#### 4.7.1 Nominalizer *-cyo ~ cA*

The primary function of the nominalizer *-cyo ~ -cA* (the former variant is used in Tanahu dialect and the latter in Syangja) is to signify adnominal attributives; these are described in chapter six. Examples of attributives, both simple adjectives ((133)) and complex agent ((134)) and patient clauses ((134)) are provided here, as are locative attributive participles ((136)). Complex adnominals and locative participles are all essentially adjective clauses and are discussed in §10.2.2.

(133) (a) *marfi-cA ja-ja-ko iskul-aŋ ma-nuŋ-le*  
small-ATT child-child-PL school-LOC NEG- go-IMPF  
 'Small children do not go to school.' (S)

(b) *jya-cyo ja-ja-ko ma-nak-le*  
 eat-ATT child-child-PL NEG-talk-IMPV  
 'Eating children do not talk.' (T)

(134) (a) *ho-lag nuŋ-cyo sip-ya-ko-e hil-cyo yafi-ke paŋ-dis-le*  
 D.DEM.LOC go-ATT school-NOM-PL-ERG count-ATT give-NOM must-LN-ITR-IMPV  
 'Do the students who go there have to give money?' (T)

(b) *ŋa-o bfiŋya-ke dus-ca bfiŋmi tafi-rafi-a*  
 1S-GEN younger.brother-DAT help-ATT person reach-come-PST  
 'The man who helped my younger brother arrived.' (S)

(135) (a) *bfiŋmi-e sat-cyo rangfiu ho-lag le*  
 person-ERG kill-ATT lion D.DEM.LOC COP  
 'The lion that the person killed is there.' (T)

(b) *ŋa-e ŋa-o boi-e phinfi-ca cho ra dal jak-le-ag*  
 1S-ERG 1S-GEN mother-ERG cook-ATT rice and lentil like-IMPV-1PRO  
 'I like the rice and lentils that my mother cooks.' (S)

(136) *ho-se-ko-e por-di-s-ak-ca sip ku-lag le*  
 D.DEM-DEF-HON-ERG read-LN-ITR-CAUS-ATT school where-LOC COP  
 'Where is the school where he teaches?' (S)

The nominalizer *-cyo ~ -ca* also derives free-standing agent and patient nominals. In the singular, the nominalized role of the agent is usually attributive and modifies *bfiŋmi* 'person' as in (137), but in the plural, the nominalizer alone can signal a full agent nominal, as in (138 -139).

(137) (a) *maja thapa rup-cyo bfiŋmi ale*  
 Maya Thapa sew-ATT person COP  
 'Maya Thapa is a seamstress.' (I.03T)

(b) *sita syafi-ca bfiŋmi ale*  
 Sita dance-ATT person COP  
 'Sita is a dancer' (S)

(138) (a) *ma wak ma-kok-ca-ko-e ja*  
 NEG pig NEG-tend-ATT-PL-ERG EMPH  
 'No, (we) are certainly not pig tenders.' (S)

(b) *khas-cyo-ko ma-tafi-rah-a*  
 build-ATT-PL NEG-reach-come-PST  
 'The builders haven't arrived.' (T)

(c) *karfiag-ca genthi-siq jatatai le-a ra dfaliq bfiari bu-ca-ko-e*  
 big-ATT genthi-branch everywhere COP-PST and many load carry-ATT-PL

*jfurum-a*  
 gather-PST  
 'There were big genthi branches everywhere and many load carriers gathered them.' (S)

(d) *hospital daktor de-cyo kura hyok-cyo-ko-e abo*  
 hospital doctor say-ATT matter able-ATT-PL-ERG now

*hospital-aq alfi-le*  
 hospital-LOC carry-IMPF  
 'As for hospital, doctors and such things those who are able, now, will take (their ill) to hospital.' (E.016T)

(139) (a) *rup-cyo-ko*  
 sew-ATT-PL  
 'seamstresses~tailors'

(b) *phin-cyo-ko*  
 cook-ATT-PL  
 'cooks'

(c) *syafi-cyo-ko*  
 dance-ATT-PL  
 'dancers'

(d) *bfiari bu-cyo-ko*  
 load carry-ATT-PL  
 'porters'

(e) *sat-cyo-ko*  
 kill-ATT-PL  
 'killers'

(e) *khas-cyo-ko*  
 build-ATT-PL  
 'builders'

(g) *gfioyofi-cyo-ko*  
 plough-ATT-PL  
 'ploughsmen'

(f) *jafi-cyo-ko*  
 weave-ATT-PL  
 'weavers'

The nominalizer *-cyo* (T) ~ *-ca* (S) also combines with loaned Nepali verbs, as in (140).

(140) (a) *jfiuk-di-cyo-ko*  
 lie -LN -ATT-PL  
 'liars'

(b) *bigar-di-cyo-ko*  
 destroy-LN-ATT-PL  
 'destroyers'

(c) *pongar-di-s-cyo-ko*  
 swim-LN-ITR-ATT-PL  
 'swimmers'

(d) *sikar-ges-cyo-ko*  
 hunt-play-ATT-PL  
 'hunters'

(e) *por-di-s-cyo-ko*  
 study-LN-ITR-ATT-PL  
 'students'

(f) *por-di-s-ak-cyo-ko*  
 study-LN-CAUS-ATT-PL  
 'teachers'

As well, a limited number of common nouns derived with this nominalizer as in (141 - 142) were attested, though these are not all acceptable to all speakers and the construction may be the result of an elided head noun.

(141) *genthi-sij*      *a-u-le-o*      *le*      *jΛmmai bokra*      *bfiΛr*  
 kindling-branch      COP-MIR      IMPF      all      bark      completely

*an-le-sa*      *jara i-tar*      *te-mo*      ***karfiŋ-CA***  
 go-IMPF-INFR      root P.DEM-LAT      say-SEQ      be.big-ATT

*maΛai*      *le-CA*  
 only      COP-ATT

'There was genthi wood absolutely all over! The bark, apparently, completely gone, and there were roots, only ones this big!' (N.N.014S)

(142) (a) *armfius-cyo ~ CA*  
 smell-ATT  
 'perfume'

(d) *namfi-cyo ~ CA*  
 stink-ATT  
 'malodour'

(b) *bo-cyo ~ CA*  
 white-ATT  
 'egg-white'

(e) *sefi-cyo ~ CA*  
 beauty-NOM  
 'a beauty'

(c) *namsij tyaf-cyo ~ CA*  
 afternoon light-ATT  
 'daylight'

(f) *hil-cyo ~ CA*  
 count-NOM  
 'money'

The nominalizer *cyo ~ CA* can also have a mirative effect especially if reduplicated as in (143) and (144). The nominalized verb in these instances is neither embedded nor supported by a finite auxiliary. Watters has observed this phenomenon of a 'free-standing' nominalization in Kham (2008: 350-368) and Noonan (1997:9) has observed this in specific relation to the mirative in Chantyal (see §12.1 for a discussion of mirativity).



- (143) *mirga jfiuruk so-cyo-cyo ho-se babu-ja cahine mirga-e*  
 deer suddenly rise-ATT-ATT D.DEM-DEF boy-child well deer-ERG
- jfiuruk jfiuruk mi-mi-rfiag-aj hak-ak-mo kher-ak-a*  
 suddenly suddenly POSS-POSS-horn-LOC stick-CAUS-SEQ run-CAUS-PST
- 'The deer suddenly stood up, the boy, well, the deer suddenly, suddenly,  
 with the boy having gotten stuck on his horns, (the deer) ran off with him!'  
 (A.025T)

- (144) (a) *met myafi-cyo-cyo bessari cha ses-mA nA le*  
 tarkari taste-ATT-ATT too.much salt taste-NOM EMPH IMPF
- 'The tarkari tastes way too salty!' (T)

- (b) *bahiriŋ ŋos-cA-cA ja-ja jfiyal-iŋ jfiAl-mA jA le-sa-a*  
 outside look-ATT-ATT child-child window-ABL fall-NOM EMPH IMPF-INFR-PST
- 'I was looking outside, and, evidently the child had fallen from the window!' (S)

- (c) *im-aj mu-cyo-cyo bhut-ke daŋfi-a*  
 house-LOC sit-ATT-ATT ghost-DAT see-PST
- 'I was just sitting in the house and saw a ghost!' (T)

Free-standing nominalizations with *cyo ~ cA* are also used in question-answer interchanges, as in (144). This phenomenon observed is by Ebert (1997:131) for Athpare and by Watters (2002:350-369) for Kham; the latter has an extensive bare-nominalized paradigm; see also §11.7.

- (145) (a) *naŋ-ko bo-cA rfiA sen lo-cA*  
 2S-HON white-ATT goat when take-ATT
- 'When did you buy the white goat?'

- (b) *tisiniŋ lo-cA*  
 yesterday take-ATT
- 'I bought it yesterday'

The nominalizer *-cyo ~ cA*, when following a pronoun, functions emphatically ((146)).

- (146) (a) *i-se-cA kAŋ-cA bfiat-le-sa*  
 P.DEM-DEF-ATT cup-ATT break-IMPFF-INFR
- 'Apparently, this particular cup is broken.'

- (b) *ŋa-cA ŋuŋ-laŋ*  
 1S-ATT go-IMPFF-1PRO
- 'I, alone, will go.' (S)

- (c) *ŋa-ca pihin ma-rafi-laŋ*  
 1S-ATT tomorrow NEG-come-1PRO  
 'I, in particular, will not come tomorrow.' (S)

#### 4.7.2 Nominalizer *-ke*

The nominalizer *-ke* derives action / event nominals from verbs; it is also the citation form. The nominal forms in (147) and (148) are prevalent in the Nawalparasi dialect and are less commonly used in Tanahu and Syangja, where a verb preceded by the inalienable possession marker is more common; see §3.5.1.4.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| (147) (a) <i>jfurum-ke</i><br>assemble-NOM<br>'assembly' ~ 'to assemble'                          | (b) <i>karfiŋ-ke</i><br>big-NOM<br>'boast' ~ 'to be big'                |
| (c) <i>khus-ke</i><br>thieve-NOM<br>'theft' ~ 'to steal'  | (d) <i>mfinfi-ke</i><br>ripen-NOM<br>'infection' ~ 'to ripen'           |
| (e) <i>mfiaraŋ-ke</i><br>happy-NOM<br>happiness' ~ 'to be happy'                                  | (f) <i>yon-ke</i><br>argue-NOM<br>'argument' ~ 'to argue'               |
| (g) <i>salofi-ke</i><br>sting-NOM<br>'sliver' ~ 'to sting'  | (h) <i>armfiis-ke</i><br>slimy-NOM<br>'slimy eggs' ~ 'to be slimy'      |
| (i) <i>cirlik-mΛ-get-ke</i><br>child's.scream-NOM-play-NOM<br>'child's rattle' ~ 'to scream-play' | (j) <i>nfiam-ke</i><br>flat-NOM<br>'level ground' ~ 'to level or plane' |
- (148) (a) *gorak-aŋ ho-se-e nfiis armfiis-ke jya-le*  
 morning-LOC D.DEM-DEF-ERG two slimy-NOM eat-IMPF  
 'In the morning, he eats two slimy eggs.' (lit. In the morning, he eats two slimies.) (NW)
- (b) *mfinfi-ke ho-se-o mi-hut sofi-ak-a*  
 ripe-NOM D.DEM-DEF-GEN POSS-hand swell-CAUS-PST  
 'The infection has caused his hand to swell.'

The nominalizer *-ke* is used in infinitival complement constructions, as in (149). These functions are analyzed further in §12.1.1.

(149) (a) *ram-e chiniŋ chosan rop-di-ke ja paŋ-di-s-le*  
 Ram-ERG today rice.seed plant-LN-NOM EMPH must-LN-DTR-IMPF  
 'Ram really must plant rice today.'

(b) *dut ga-ke sefi-cyo le*  
 milk drink-NOM good-ATT COP  
 'It is good to drink milk.'

Like, *-cyo ~ -ca*, *-ke* is also used in free-standing, unembedded nominalizations in question-answer interchanges, as in (150); see §5.2.2.4.

(150) (a) *ku-ta damauli-aŋ tafi-rafi-ke*  
 INTRG-MNR Damauli-LOC reach-come-NOM  
 'How does one get to Damauli?'

(b) *sarbapraθam minam baŋ-park nu-ke*  
 first.of.all new bus-park go-NOM

*pokhara nu-cyo baŋ pa-ke baŋ dinfi-ŋfiak-iŋ*  
 Pokhara go-ATT bus seek-NOM bus find-front-ABL

*tiket la-ke tiket damauli samma la-ke*  
 ticket take-NOM ticket Damauli until take-NOM

'First of all go to the new bus park; find the bus going to Pokhara.  
 After finding the bus, get a ticket, get a ticket up to Damauli.' (N.35T)

#### 4.7.3 Nominalizer *-ma*

The nominalizer *-ma* is less productive in the derivation of nouns than either *-cyo* or *-ke*, but examples do exist, such as *rik-ma*, 'pen' ((151)). The nominalizer *-ma* derives gerunds, as in (152). Its primary function is within the TAM system (see §5.2.2); all complex imperfective verb constructions, which describe states, are formed with verbs nominalized with *-ma*, for example (153)<sup>24</sup>.

(151) (a) *tisiniŋ mi-jhurum-aŋ nuŋ-naŋ ŋa-o rik-ma yes-cis-a*  
 yesterday POSS-assembly-LOC go-SIM 1S-GEN write-NOM change-DTR-PST  
 'Yesterday, while the meeting was going on, my pen was changed (with yours).'  
 (S)

<sup>24</sup> In Limbu (van Driem, 1987), the nominalizer *-pa* marks also imperfective aspect.

(b) *gap-mΛ-ca rak-le-sa*  
 scoop-NOM-ATT bring-IMPF-INFR  
 'Apparently (the girl) brings what (water) she draws.' (G.G.007S)

(152) *tamakhu ga-mΛ bat jat-mΛ lhiŋ-mΛ syafi-mΛ jat-le rodi-aŋ*  
 tobacco smoke-NOM chat do-NOM sing-NOM dance-NOM do-IMPF rodi-LOC  
 'Tobacco smoking, chatting, singing and dancing are done at 'Rodi'.' (C.007T)

(153) (a) *ren-ja-ko lhiŋ-mΛ nΛ le*  
 young.male-child-PL sing-NOM EMPH IMPF  
 'The young men are singing.'

(b) *ren-ja-ko lhiŋ-mΛ ma-bfiya-mΛ le-a*  
 young.male-child-PL sing-NOM NEG-finish-NOM IMPF-PST

*ho-tak-iŋ dajai rafi-a*  
 D.DEM-SUP-ABL elder.brother come-PST

'The young men had not finished singing and then the elder brother came.'

#### 4.7.4 Nominalizer -o

The morpheme *-o*, does not form agent or patient nominals as do the other nominalizers of Magar, though it may have done so historically. However it does reify events and states as the nominalizer *-mΛ* does. Moreover, its position in the verb-string and its phonological shape strongly suggest that it is a nominalizer. Like the nominalizer *-mΛ*, *-o* directly follows the verb stem and precedes the imperfective auxiliary *le*. This morpheme, like *-mΛ*, functions within the aspectual system of Magar. It encodes the past habitual (§ 5.2.2.1.1), as in (154), as well as miratives ((155)) (§13.1.5), which according to Noonan 2006:9 are often encoded by nominalizers. It is identical to and perhaps syncretic with the singular form of the genitive. Matisoff (1972) has observed such syncretism between nominalizers and the genitive in Lahu. Cognate nominalizers are found in related languages; *-o* (with allomorphs *~ wo ~ u*) occurs in Kham (Watters 2008:35) and *-ʔo* is found in both Bantawa (Doornenbal 2007:179) and Chepang (Caughley 1982:130).

(154) *kan-e gau-uj gfar-uj usadi upcar*  
 2P-ERG village-GEN home-GEN medicine cure

*de-naj lekha jat-o le-a*  
 say-SIM seem do-HAB IMPF-PST

'We, in our village homes, believe, we would make our medicinal cures like that.' (E.013T)

(155) *ban-ke lhet-o le*  
 arrow-DAT return-MIR IMPF

'The mystical arrow curse is exorcised!'

#### 4.7.5 Inalienable possession marker as a nominalizer

The inalienable possession marker (see §3.2.2) forms nouns when prefixed to a verb, as for example in (156) and (157).

(156) (a) *i-se-ko-uj mi-wfarfi le*  
 P.DEM-DEF-HON-GEN POSS-know COP  
 'This venerable one has knowledge.'

(b) *ho-se motor-o mi-kher kat gfianta parchas kilometer le*  
 D.DEM motor-GEN POSS-run one hour fifty kilometer COP  
 'That motor's speed is fifty kilometers per hour.'

(c) *howei-o mi-bfur lfo-ca le*  
 plane-GEN POSS-fly long-ATT COP  
 'The plane's flight is long.'

(157) (a) *mi-jfurum*  
 POSS-assemble  
 'assembly'

(b) *mi-jat*  
 POSS-do  
 'duty'

(c) *mi-dup*  
 POSS-meet  
 'a meeting ~ a touch'

(d) *mi-rap*  
 POSS-cry  
 'a tear'

(e) *mi-jya*  
 POSS-eat  
 'food'

(f) *mi-ret*  
 POSS-laugh  
 'laughter'

(g) *mi-arbfyat*  
 POSS-slip  
 'slippery things'

(h) *mi-arkhis*  
 POSS-smell putrid  
 'putrid things'

#### 4.7.6 Historical sources of nominalizers

The nominalizer *-mɿ* has PTB provenance and has at least three possible sources. It may derive from *\*-mi* 'person', or from *\*-ma* 'mother' or *\*-mo* 'female'. Cognate forms can be found across Bodic languages; for example, Classical and Modern Tibetan (Beyer 1992, Denwood 1999) and Kiranti (Ebert 1999), Qiangic (LaPolla 2003). Other possibly related nominalizers are also found in Dumi, Limbu (Van Dreim 1993), Watters (2008:9) observes cognates in Wambule, Bahing, Yamphu, Thulung and Bantawa. The inalienable possession marker may also derive from *\*-mi* 'person', it may also derive from a third person pronominal still used in Palpa dialect (which itself may derive from the PTB *\*mi*).

In Kham we find an identical nominalizer to Magar *-o*, in Banatawa and Chepang we find *-ʔo*, all of which are probable cognates. Watters (2006:35) posits that these derive from PTB *\*p < \*pa* or *\*po*. This may be the source of the nominalizer *-o*. Alternatively, *-o* may be a reduction of *-mɿ* (see §3.5.1.3) which, in its reduced form, has come to function distinctly from *-mɿ* within the TMA and evidential systems.

With respect to the nominalizer *-cyo ~ -cɿ*, Noonan (2007:7) suggests that certain "Bodic nominalizers may be traced to combinations of older nominalizers with other morphological material. One possibility is the widely attested Bodic sequential converbal suffix *\*si*". In Chantyal, the converbal suffix has merged phonologically with a nominalizer *-wa* (from PTB *\*pa*), resulting in the nominalizer *ʃo*. Noonan observes that the nominalizers in Sunwar (DeLancey 1992) and Magar, *-ʃo* and *-cyo* respectively, have likely undergone the same derivation as Chantyal. Kham (Watters 2002) also has a combination of two morphemes an 'intransitive verbalizer' *-s* plus the nominalizer *-o*,

resulting in *-so* which functions as an attributive nominalizer (see also §5.6), to which the Magar form is likely related.

The Magar nominalizer *-ke* may be cognate with Kulung *-kə* and possibly Chamling *-ko* (cited in Watters 2008:9), which raises the possibility that it is a shared retention. However, it may also have derived from the Magar dative marker with which it is homophonous. The infinitival function of *-ke* is a logical extension of the function of the dative case which marks goals (recipients), as in (158). Infinitive complements (see §12.1.1), particularly those of modal auxiliary verbs and those in purpose constructions, are also goals, as in (159).

(158) (a) *kumari-e bhim-ke gyok yafi-a*  
 Kumari-ERG Bhim-DAT basket give-PST  
 'Kumari gave a basket to Bhim.'

(159) (a) *kumari-e gyok jafi-ke pa-ma le*  
 Kumari-ERG basket weave-NOM seek-NOM IMPF  
 'Kumari wants to weave a basket.'

(b) *matiasara por-di-s-ke paŋ-di-s-le*  
 Matisari read-LN-ITR-NOM must-LN-ITR-IMPF  
 'Matisari should study.'

(c) *me-jfiol khas-ke de-mo ŋa-e dal hat-ak-le*  
 POSS-soup make-NOM say-SEQ 1S-ERG lentil boil-CAUS-IMPF  
 'To make soup, I boil lentils.'

(c) *me-jfiol khas-ke de-mo ŋa-e dal hat-ak-le-aŋ*  
 POSS-soup make-NOM say-SEQ 1S-ERG lentil boil-CAUS-IMPF- IPRO  
 'To make soup, I boil lentils.'

Such syncretism is a feature of Bodic languages and represents a stage of grammaticalization as elements that undergo formal and functional shift. Genetti (1986, 1991) presents evidence of case-marking being extended to verbs in Newari where they function as subordinators. In Magar, there may be a parallel shift of the nominal dative-

case marker to verbs with a subsequent reinterpretation as a subordinating, infinitival nominalizer. (As already noted, the lative case, and the instrumental also occurs with verbs, §3.4.2.2.5, §3.4.2.1 respectively).

#### 4.7.7 Borrowed nominalizers

Magar has also borrowed the Nepali nominalizing suffix *-a* ~ *-e*, which in Magar

becomes *-ya*; for example *gothal-a* 'goat herder' or *ghatuwar-ya* 'boats-man', *pel-ya*

'gimpy person' and *lul-ya* 'palsied person', *sip-ya* 'skilled person ~student', *rag-ya* 'striped one', as in (160).

(160) (a) *patta-jana mu-ni naŋ-ko-lafi master-e de-a*  
 all-H.CLASS sit-HON-IMP 2-PL-self teacher-ERG say-PST

***iskul-ya-ko-ke***

school-NOM-PL-DAT

'"Everyone seat yourselves!" said the teacher to the students.' (N.31T)

(b) *ku-se pari-o-ko ale ragfi-ya-ko te-ca*  
 INTRG-DEF this.side-GEN-PL COP striped-NOM-PL say-ATT

'Who are the ones from this side, these so called striped ones?' (T.T.029S)

(c) *mforfi-ke-ya ma-ŋak-o*  
 be.foolish-NOM-NOM NEG-talk-IMP

'Fool, shut-up!'

In some instances the derived Nepali nominal will be 're-derived ('re-nominalized') with the addition of the Magar nominalizer; as for example, *kurc-ya-s-cyo* [stingy-NOM-V-ATT] 'stingy person' (-V- is an intransitive verbalizer in Kham); see also §5.6.



## 5 Tense, aspect and mood

This chapter describes the forms and functions of tense, aspect and mood constructions. The simplex verbal morphology of tense and mood was dealt with in §4.5.1. This chapter, on the other hand, describes complex periphrastic and nominalized verbs. It also describes how events are conceptualized and expressed with respect to time, mood and aspect. Specifically, it describes how time is divided up in relation to a deictic centre (i.e. tense), whether an event, state or process has internal constituency or not (i.e. aspect) and how attitudes about the actuality of situations are expressed (i.e. mood). Modality and evidentiality, which are related to mood, are described in §12.1.1 and §13.2 respectively.

There is some overlap with descriptions of tense and mood in chapter four.

However, this chapter describes tense and mood in terms of meaning more so than form, and alternative tense and mood constructions are presented as well. Aspect, which is expressed in complex periphrastic forms, combining a nominalized semantic main verb with one or more auxiliary, is described in detail. The intersections and combination of tense, mood and aspect in Magar are also outlined at the end of this chapter.

### 5.1 Tense

Tense is the grammaticalization of the location of a situation in time (Comrie 1985:1).

Tense is deictic, meaning that it is relative to a reference point or 'deictic centre' which may be present time, or a reference point within a context, or a combination of these two.

Languages may grammatically contrast three temporal relations: past, present and future, or may make only a two-way contrast. Magar makes a binary distinction and contrasts past versus non-past. Past tense is inflectional and obligatorily marked. Non-past tense,

which encompasses both present and future, is unmarked. The location of an event in the non-past whether it be present or future can be inferred from aspect, mood and context.

### 5.1.1 Past

The Magar past tense marker is a bound inflectional suffix *-a*. It indicates that a situation held before the present. There is often a correlation between past tense and perfective aspect, and in Magar, a verb in the simple past tense (with the past tense marker alone) will have a perfective aspect meaning, i.e. it indicates that the situation is complete as in (1). Change-of-state verbs in the simple-past can also have a telic sense as in (2), of having reached an endpoint as in this sense it is parallel in meaning to the change of state copula *chanfi* as in (3) (see also §11.5.2 ).

(1) *ja-ja si-a*  
 child-child die-PST  
 'The child died.'

(2) (a) *dut byur-a*  
 milk sour -PST  
 'The milk soured.'

(b) *bajya des-a*  
 grandmother fat-PST  
 'Grandmother fattened up.'

(3) (a) *dut byur chanfi-a*  
 milk sour become  
 'The milk became sour.'

(b) *bajya des-CA chanfi-a*  
 Ruma fat-ATT become -PST  
 'Ruma became fat.'

Though the simple past tense, marked by *-a*, is perfective, it cannot be deemed a marker of perfective aspect, because morpheme *-a* is compatible with imperfective aspect and combines with it to form an habitual past as in (4a) and past continuous as in (4b).

(4) (a) *ja-ja namsiŋ-aŋ mis-o le-a* [*>la*]  
 child-child afternoon-LOC sleep-HAB IMPF-PST  
 'The child would (~used to) sleep in the afternoons.'

(b) *ŋa mis-naŋ ja-ja-e yet-mΛ le-a*  
 1S sleep-SIM child-child-ERG summon-NOM IMPF-PST  
 'The child was calling for me while I was sleeping.'

### 5.1.2 Non-past

The non-past tense in Magar is unmarked. In realis mood, the non-past-habitual and the continuous non-past are constructions with the *le*, a grammaticalized copula which indicates imperfective aspect. The presence of *le* in these constructions led Angdembe (1999:500) to identify *le* as a present-tense marker. However, as *le* also combines with the past tense (in past-habitual and past continuous constructions), it is better identified as an indicator of imperfective aspect and not as a tense marker.

As noted, the non-past includes present and future time, both are expressed with the imperfective marker *-le* and may have either a present-habitual as in (5) or a future interpretation as in (6) depending on context. As these examples indicate, adverbs such as *sen-da-sen* 'always ~'whenever' [when-INDF-when] or references to future time provide context and clarify meaning.

(5) (a) *ja-ja sen-da nambik bfiΛri mis-le*  
 child-child when-INDF night all sleep-IMPF  
 'The child always sleeps through the night.'

(b) *ŋa-e gorak-aŋ sen-da cha ga-le-aŋ* [*>galaŋ*]  
 1S-ERG morning -LOC when-INDF tea drink-IMPF-1PRO  
 'I always drink tea in the mornings.' (S)

(c) *ŋa-e gorak-aŋ sΛdfiai cha ga-le*  
 1S-ERG morning -LOC always tea drink-IMPF  
 'I always drink tea in the mornings.' (T)

- (6) (a) *ho-se-ko*      *aparin*      *rafi-le*      [>hosko]  
 D.DEM-DEF-PL    day.after.tomorrow    come-IMPF  
 'They will come the day after tomorrow.'
- (b) *moi*    *kafprin*      *i-laj*      *nuŋ-le*  
 mother    two.days.after.tomorrow    P.DEM-LOC    go-IMPF  
 'Mother leaves two days after tomorrow.'

The future can also be expressed with the irrealis mood as in (7a). Descriptions of the future are speculations about a potential reality; thus, there is a logical link between irrealis and the future. However, as the irrealis combines with the past tense as in (7b) it cannot be called a future tense.

- (7) (a) *ja-ja*      *a-mis-e*  
 child-child    IRR-sleep-IRR  
 'The child may sleep.'
- (b) *ja-ja*      *mis-mΛ*    *a-ule-e-a*      [>aule]  
 child-child    sleep-NOM IRR-IMPF-IRR-PST  
 'The child might have slept.'

A non-past imperfective, rather than the irrealis, is more likely to be used when a plan has been made; in other words, when there is a greater degree of certainty, as the following show.

- (8) (a) *kan-ko-e*      *ho-se-ke*      *a-lenfi-e*  
 1P-PL-ERG    D.DEM-DEF-DAT    IRR-wait -IRR  
 'We may wait for him.' (T)
- (b) *kan-ko-e*      *ho-se-ke*      *kat baŋe-iŋ*      *lenfi-le*      [>lenfi-ne]  
 1P-PL-ERG    D.DEM-DEF-DAT    one hour -ABL    wait-IMPF  
 'We will wait for him from one o'clock on.' (T)
- (c) *kan-ko-e*      *ho-se-ke*      *kat baŋe-iŋ*      *a-ruŋ-e-iŋ*      [>aruŋiŋ]  
 1P-PL-ERG    D.DEM-DEF-DAT    one hour -ABL    IRR-wait-IRR-2PRO  
 'We will wait for him from one o'clock on.' (S)
- (d) *kan-ko-e*      *ho-se-ke*      *kat baŋe-iŋ*      *ruŋ-le-iŋ*      [>ruŋliŋ]  
 1P-PL-ERG    D.DEM-DEF-DAT    one hour -ABL    wait-IMPF-2PRO  
 'We will wait for him from one o'clock on.' (S)

Certain nominalized constructions also carry the implication of future time; for example, imminent-aspectual constructions; these are discussed in §5.2.2.3. The future can also be expressed with a nominalized form of the verb *pa* 'seek ~try' which has grammaticalized and extended its meaning to express intention and, by implication, future. Examples in (9) can express both intention and a future sense. Examples in (10) were deemed questionable by some Tanahu speakers who felt inanimates could not have intention, indicating that the construction has grammaticalized further in Syangja dialect, where it is fully accepted and frequently used. These constructions are bi-clausal and are also discussed in §12.1.1.2.

(9) (a) *ŋa-o didi pokhara nuŋ-ke pa-mΛ nΛ le* [ $>$ pame (T)]  
 1S-GEN older.sister Pokhara go-NOM seek-NOM EMPH IMPF  
 'Ram intends ~ expects to go to Pokhara.' ~ 'Ram is going to Pokhara.'

(b) *suthu-e byu sat-ke pa-mΛ nΛ le*  
 Cat-ERG rat kill-NOM seek-NOM EMPH IMPF  
 'The cat intends ~ expects to kill the rat.' ~ 'The cat is going to kill the rat.'

(10) (a) *chaita-dasain rafi-ke rΛ pa-mΛ le*  
 Chaita-Dasain come-NOM also seek-NOM IMPF  
 'Chaita-Dasien is also expected to come.' ~ 'Chaita-Dasien is coming.' (I.I.004S)

(b) *dut byur-ke pa-mΛ le*  
 milk sour -NOM seek -NOM IMPF  
 'The milk is expected to go sour.' ~ 'The milk is going to go sour.'

The non-past imperfective may be used to make polite offers, as in (11) - (12).

(11) (a) *biskut jya-le*  
 biscuit eat-IMPF  
 'Would you like a biscuit?' (lit. 'Will you eat a biscuit?' ~ 'Do you eat biscuits?') (T)

(b) *jya-le*  
 eat-IMPF  
 'I would.' (lit. 'I will eat.' ~ 'I eat.') (T)

(c) *biskut jya-dΛ-nis*  
 biscuit eat-2PRO-HON  
 'Would you like a biscuit?' (lit. 'Will you eat a biscuit?' ~ 'Do you eat biscuits?') (S)

(d) *jya-le-aŋ* [*>jyalaŋ*]  
 eat-IMPF-1PRO  
 'I would.' (lit. 'I will eat.' ~ 'I eat.') (S)

(12) (a) *sikrit ga-le*  
 cigarette drink-IMPF  
 'Would you like a cigarette?' (lit. Will you smoke a cigarette ? ~ 'Do you smoke cigarettes?')

(b) *sikrit ga-le*  
 cigarette drink-IMPF  
 'I would like a cigarette.' (lit. 'I will smoke a cigarette.' 'I smoke cigarettes.')

(c) *sikrit ga-dΛ-nis*  
 cigarette drink-2PRO-HON  
 'Would you like a cigarette?' (lit. Will you smoke a cigarette ? ~ 'Do you smoke cigarettes?')

(d) *sikrit ga-le-aŋ* [*>galan*]  
 cigarette drink-IMPF-1PRO  
 'I would like a cigarette.' (lit. 'I will smoke a cigarette.' ~ 'I smoke cigarettes.')

## 5.2 Aspect

Comrie defines aspectual distinctions as "different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation." (1976: 3). A situation may be a state, a process or an event. Aspect makes a primary contrast between the perfective, with no reference to the internal constituency of a situation, and the imperfective, which is used to express situations with internal complexity. Magar makes this primary aspectual distinction of perfective versus imperfective. The perfective is unmarked and, as stated, the imperfective is signified with the grammaticalized copula *le*.

Within imperfective aspect, further distinctions are made; these are: habitual, continuous, persistive and imminent, aspects. The semantic predicte in aspectual

constructions are virtually all nominalized. This is in keeping with observations by Noonan (2008:229) that nominalizations in TB languages innovate new and extended meanings and one of these is to develop tense-aspect distinctions. In Magar distinct nominalizers encode the aspects listed above each of which is followed by the imperfective-marker *le*. Persistent aspect is more complex than other aspectual forms; it comprises a conventionalized verb chain with a second grammaticalized verb. Perfects, though they are not aspect proper, are described in this section because they share formal features with aspectual contractions and because there is a tradition of treating perfects in the context of aspect.

### 5.2.1 Perfective

Perfective situations are those which are presented as complete and non-complex. The situation is viewed 'from outside' as an unanalysable whole and without internal complexity. Perfective situations across languages are correlated with the past tense; this is due to the tendency for past situations to be perceived as whole and complete. In Magar, the simple past tense *-a* is used in perfective situations as in (13). However, as the past tense marker can combine with the imperfective aspect as in (14), it cannot be considered a perfective marker; rather perfective aspect, in Magar, is unmarked.

(13) *nɦun-iŋ*     *jʌ*     *mʌroni-kuŋ'*     *maila*     *si-a*  
 back-ABL     EMPH     Maroni-GEN     second.son     die-PST  
 'After, indeed, the second son of Maroni died.' (PP.005S)

(14) *pānc*     *din-aŋ*     *ale*     *ki*     *ku-dik-aŋ*     *ale*     *khʌsi*  
 five     day-LOC     COP or     how-QUANT-LOC     COP     castrated.goat

*la-mo*     *raɦi-mʌ*     *le-a*     *ta*     *mʌn*  
 take-SEQ     come-NOM     IMPF-PST     REP     truly

'They say that after five days or so (he) came carrying a castrated goat,

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<sup>1</sup> A *mʌroni* is a boy who plays a girl in dances. It is used here as family name.

truly.' (T.T.001S)

In narrative discourse, verbs in perfective aspect generally function differently from those in imperfective. Verbs in perfective aspect are event-markers in discourse and indicate that what has occurred is a completed event in a sequence of events, from which point the discourse will move on, while events in imperfective aspect generally provide background information. In (15) the dog is shaking the tree (imperfective), then it falls (perfective) and the dog is chased (perfective).

- (15) *cyu-e chahin myertuŋ hoyok-mΛ nΛ le-a*  
 dog-ERG now tree shake-NOM EMPH IMPF-PST
- ho-se-i argan-o gola mfiak-a jfiak-a bessari argan-e*  
 D.DEM-DEF-FOC wasp-GEN nest down-LOC fall-PST many wasp-ERG
- buah-mo cyu-ke kher-ak-a cyu-ke bfiag-di-mo kher-ak-a*  
 swarm-SEQ dog-DAT run-CAUS-PST dog-DAT chase-LN-SEQ run-CAUS-PST  
 'The dog was still shaking the tree when the wasp's nest fell down.  
 Many wasps having swarmed the dog, chased the dog and ran him off.'  
 (A.A.016-017T)

### 5.2.2 Imperfective

An imperfective situation is one that is viewed 'from the inside'; it distinguishes the internal structure and temporal phases of an event. In Magar, imperfective aspect is signaled by the grammaticalized copula *le* functioning as an auxiliary within the verb complex; see §5.4. The imperfective marker *le* occurs in final position and is finite. It has the auxiliary function of carrying inflectional information, specifically subject agreement and TAM marking (16), but does not convey the primary semantic relation, state, or activity expressed by the clause; this is expressed by main verb.

- (16) (a) *ŋa i-laŋ sen-da mis-o le-a*  
 1S P.DEM-LOC when-INDF sleep-HAB IMPF-PST  
 'I always used to sleep here.' (T)



(b) *naŋ-ko mis-mΛ a-ule-e* [*>aule*]  
 2S-HON sleep-NOM IRR-IMP-IRR  
 'You may be sleeping.' (T)

(c) *ŋa i-laŋ sen-da ŋa-mis-o le-a-aŋ* [*>ŋamisoleaŋ*]  
 1S P.DEM-LOC when-INDF 1PRO-sleep-HAB IMPF-PST-1PRO  
 'I always used to sleep here.' (S)

(d) *naŋ-ko mis-mΛ a-t-ule-e-as* [*>mismΛtulas*]  
 2S-HON sleep-NOM IRR-OPT-COP-IRR.HON  
 'You may be sleeping.' (S)

All aspectual forms are complex and vary in their degrees of complexity. They all require at least one auxiliary. The present habitual is the least complex aspectual form: the verb stem is simply followed by *le*. Other aspectual forms are all nominalized and supported by an auxiliary. Each nominalizer conveys a distinct meaning. The nominalizer used to express the past-habitual aspect is *-o*, the continuous is *-mΛ* and *-ke* expresses imminent aspect. Each is described below.

### 5.2.2.1 Habitual

Habitual aspect views a situation as characteristic, i.e. neither incidental nor momentary. It is non-dynamic and non-progressive and requires no energy to be maintained; rather, it requires energy to change (Comrie 1976: 48). An habitual situation may be iterative or non-iterative. Comrie has noted (1976:71) that the past tense typically makes more aspectual distinctions and in Magar, it is only in past tense that habitual aspect is overtly marked. The present-habitual is morphologically unmarked: it is a default interpretation of the simple aspect.

#### 5.2.2.1.1 Past habitual

The past habitual is encoded with the suffix *-o* directly following the verb stem and preceding the past-tense-marked imperfective auxiliary *le* as in (17). This morpheme is a

nominalizer (§3.5.1.4), which, has come to function within the TAM system of Magar. A homophonous morpheme, likely from the same nominalizer source, has developed in a different direction and encodes miratives in Magar (see §13.1.5).

In Syangja dialect, pronominal markers follow *-o* as in (18). The vowel /e/ of *le* is deleted resulting in [Σ-ola]. The past habitual is used to describe attributes or activities which were constant over a period of time and/ or which have recurred with such frequency that they had become characteristic of an entity, as in the following.

(17) (a) *ka-yak-iŋ janai bu-mo sya jya-ke ra mudda ga-ke*  
 one-day-ABL sacred.thread wear-SEQ meat eat-NOM and alcohol drink-NOM

**ma-čhanfi-o le-a**  
 NEG-become-HAB IMPF-PST

'From ancient days the members of the upper castes who wore a sacred thread did not used to eat meat or drink alcohol.' (T)

(b) *kan-e gau-uŋ gfiar-uŋ usadi upcar*  
 2P-ERG village-GEN home-GEN medicine cure

*de-naŋ lekha jat-o le-a*  
 say-SIM seem do-HAB IMPF-PST

'We, in our village homes, believe, we would make our medicinal cures like that.' (E.013T)

(c) *ka-yak-uŋ-ko-i ho-ta te-naŋ rafi-o le-a ta*  
 one-day-GEN-HON-FOC D.DEM-MNR say-SIM come-HAB IMPF-PST REP  
 'They say the ancient ones were thought to come like this.' (L.L.001S)

(18) (a) *ŋa gundri-aŋ ŋa-mis-o le-a-aŋ i-nfi-aŋ* [>ŋamisolaŋ]  
 1S straw.mat-LOC 1PRO-sleep-HAB IMPF-PST-1PRO P.DEM-hour

*tfi-a-u-aŋ mis-le-a-aŋ* [>mislaŋ]  
 bed-LOC sleep- IMPF-PST-1PRO

'I used to sleep on a straw mat, now I sleep in a bed.' (S)

(b) *ŋa lasargfi-a-aŋ ŋa-mu-o le-a-aŋ i-nfi-aŋ* [>laŋ]  
 1S Lasargha-LOC 1PRO-sit-HAB IMPF-PST P.DEM-hour

*kathmandu-a-aŋ mu-le-a-aŋ* [>mulaŋ]  
 Kathmandu-LOC sit-IMPF-PST-1PRO

'I used to live in Lasargha, now I live in Kathamandu.' (S)

(c) *hi ale hi ale mfiyak-mA ŋa-bfiya-a-aŋ ajkal-ca* [*>ŋabfiyaŋ*]  
 what COP what COP forget-NOM 1PRO-finish-PST-1PRO nowadays-ATT

*se-pyak ŋa-armit-o le-a-aŋ hi jat-le chena*  
 sense-after 1PRO-remember-HAB IMPF-PST-PRO what do-IMPF don't.know  
 'What is it? What is it? I have forgotten nowadays. After hearing, I used to  
 remember. What does he do? I don't know.' (O.O.005S)

### 5.2.2.1.2 Present habitual

The present-habitual is one of the interpretations of the simple-present tense. Unlike the past-habitual, it is not a nominalized form; the verb stem is simply followed by *-le*. It expresses attributes or activities that are characteristic, as seen in the following examples in (19).

(19) (a) *magar rA thakuri-ko-e kuba-o maha-ja mi-ja-ko*  
 Magar and Thakuri-PL-ERG maternal.uncle-GEN young.female-child POSS-child-PL

*rak-ke cfianfi-le* [*>cfianfine*]  
 bring-NOM become-IMPF  
 'The Magars and Thakuris have the right marry the female children of their maternal uncle.'

(b) *bahun chetri-ko-e janai bu-le*  
 Brahmin Chetri-PL-ERG sacred.thread wear-IMPF  
 'Brahmins and Chetris wear a sacred thread.'

(c) *laurfi-ya-ko-e dferai poisa rak-le*  
 expatriot-NOM-PL-ERG much money bring-IMPF  
 'Expatriats earn a lot of money.'

(d) *sen-da ŋa-e dfido ma-jya-le-aŋ*  
 when-INDF 1S-ERG millet.pudding NEG-eat -IMPFV-1PRO  
 'I never eat millet pudding.' (S)

(e) *ho-se-ko-e sen-da-sen sya ज्या-le*  
 D.DEM-DEF-PL-ERG when-INDF-when flesh eat-IMPF  
 'Do they sometimes eat meat?'

The nominalized form in the present tense:  $\Sigma$ -*o-le*, that which would paradigmatically correspond to the past-habitual, has a mirative meaning as a present-habitual, as seen in

the contrast in (20). The mirative is described in §13.1.

(20) (a) *ho-se-ko-e wak sya jya-o le* [ $>$ hoskoi]  
 D.DEM-DEF-HON-ERG pig flesh eat-MIR COP  
 'I realize to my surprise that he eats pork!'

(b) *ho-se-ko-e wak sya jya-le-ko*  
 D.DEM-DEF-HON-ERG pig flesh eat -COP-HON  
 'He eats pork.' (S)

### 5.2.2.2 Continuous

Situations expressed with continuous aspect may be continuous or progressive. They are imperfective in that they have internal complexity, but more than this they are dynamic, meaning that they require energy to continue (Comrie 1976: 48). In this respect they differ from statives and attributives which continue unchanged unless energy is exerted (see §5.2.2.3). Continuous events In Magar, the continuous aspect form is the verb stem followed by a nominalizer,  $-m\Lambda$ , and the imperfective auxiliary:  $\Sigma-m\Lambda le$ . An optional emphatic particle is often interjected into the verb complex following the nominalizer and preceding the auxiliary. In Tanahu (and Nawalparasi) this emphatic is  $n\Lambda$  and in Syangja it is usually  $j\Lambda$ , resulting in  $\Sigma-m\Lambda n\Lambda le$  or  $\Sigma-m\Lambda j\Lambda le$ . In Tanahu dialect (and in Nawalparasi) this form reduces from  $\Sigma-m\Lambda le$  to  $[\Sigma-me]$  (see also §2.5.4). Van Driem (1993:190): observed a link between the nominalizer  $-m$  and the imperfective in Dumi. The function of such nominalized construction, he says, is "to present an event as a temporally articulate situation."

In addition, to the nominalized construction, there are complex-compound forms, with an additional grammaticalized verb, which express persistent continuous aspect; this is discussed in §5.2.2.2.3. Continuous aspect combines with tense and mood resulting in

realis and irrealis past- and non-past continuous; these combinations are presented in §5.4.

### 5.2.2.2.1 Non-past continuous

The non-past continuous form is  $\Sigma$ - $m\Lambda$  *le*. It is used to describe situations which hold at the present as in (21). It contrasts, for example, with habitual aspect in which a situation holds not only at present, but always as in (22).

(21) (a) *laxmi-e*      *jya-m\Lambda le*      [>>jyame (T)]  
 Laxmi-ERG      eat-NOM IMPF  
 'Laxmi is eating (now).'

(b) *cyu-e*      *myertuŋ*      *hoyok-m\Lambda le*      [>>hoyo?me (T)]  
 dog-ERG      tree      shake-NOM IMPF  
 'The dog is shaking the tree (now).'

(22) (a) *laxmi-e*      *iskul-aŋ*      *jya-le*  
 Laxmi-ERG      school-LOC      eat-IMPF  
 'Laxmi eats at school (always).'

(b) *cyu-e*      *i-se*      *myertuŋ-aŋ*      *me-rfios*      *ka-le*  
 dog-ERG      P.DEM-DEF      tree-LOC      POSS-urine      put-ATT do-IMPF  
 'The dog pees on this the tree (habitually).'

The non-past continuous form can also have an experiential-perfect meaning, as in (23) where a perfect interpretation is conveyed by adverbials. A perfect meaning can also be understood in context, for example (24a) would be interpreted as perfect if the guests had indeed arrived and as progressive if not. If the emphatic particle, *n\Lambda* or *j\Lambda*, is interjected into the verb complex than only a progressive interpretation is admitted ((24b)).

(23) *ho-se-i*      *me-lafi-o*      *mi-ja-ke*      *som mas*      *nfun-iŋ*  
 D.DEM-DEF-FOC      3GEN      POSS-child-DAT      three month      back-ABL

*samma*      *ma-dfiŋ-m\Lambda le*      [>>madanfime(T)]  
 until      NEG- see-NOM IMPF  
 'She has not seen her son in three months.'

- (24) (a) *kan-uŋ im-aŋ paŋuna-ko rafi-mΛ le* [*>rafime (T)*]  
 2P-GEN house-LOC guest -PL come-NOM IMPF  
 'Guests have come to our house.'  
 ~ 'Guests are coming to our house.'  
 (Interpretation depends on where the guests are)

- (b) *kan-uŋ im-aŋ paŋuna-ko rafi-mΛ nΛ le*  
 2P-GEN house-LOC guest -PL come-NOM EMPH IMPF  
 'Guests are coming to our house.' (They aren't here yet)

#### 5.2.2.2.2 Past continuous

The past continuous is formed by adding the past morpheme, *-a*, to the nominalized continuous form. Past continuous aspect is used to describe actions that were on-going in the past, as in (25) and (26).

- (25) (a) *naŋ-ko ho-laŋ hi jat-mΛ le-a* [*>jatmya (T)*]  
 2S-HON D.DEM-DEF-LOC what do-NOM IMPF-PAST  
 'What were you doing there?'

- (b) *ŋa mis-mΛ le-a* [*>mismya (T)*]  
 1S sleep-NOM IMPF-PST  
 'I was sleeping.'

- (c) *naŋ-ko-e ho-laŋ hi jat-mΛ na-le-nis*  
 2S-HON-ERG D.DEM-DEF-LOC what do-NOM 2PRO-IMPF-2PRO  
 'What were you doing there?' (S)

- (d) *ŋa mis-mΛ ŋa-le-a-aŋ*  
 1S sleep-NOM 1PRO-IMPF-PST-1PRO  
 'I was sleeping.' (S)

- (26) *jarayo-e ho-se ja-ja-ke kher-ak-mΛ jΛ le-a*  
 stag-ERG D.DEM-DEF child-child-DAT run-CAUS-NOM EMPH IMPF-PST

- i-lak rΛ cyu birifi-ŋfiak-iŋ kher-mΛ jΛ le-a*  
 P.DEM-CIR and dog afraid-front-ABL run-NOM EMPH IMPF-PST  
 'The stag was really running with the boy. And the dog, after being frightened, was really running too.' (B.B026S)

In discourse and narrative, the past continuous expresses main events on the storyline (27). Background information, an event taking place when another occurred in the past, will be expressed with the simultaneous converb *-naŋ* (see §4.6), as in (28).

(27) (a) *cyu-e kat argan-o mim danfi-a ra ho-se*  
 dog-ERG one wasp-GEN nest see-PST and D.DEM-DEF

*cyu-e argan-o mim-ke don-ke pa-mΛ le-a*  
 dog-ERG wasp-GEN nest-DAT remove-NOM seek-NOM IMPF-PST  
 'The dog saw a wasp's nest, and the dog was trying to get the nest down.'  
 (B.B013S)

(b) *ra i-lak pheri ho-se dhodfiara dhem patti nhis budfi-a*  
 and P.DEM.CIR again D.DEM-DEF hollow.log up side two man-ML

*budfi-i rokotyak ra dferai ja mi-ja-ko tarara*  
 woman-FEM frog and many EMPH POSS-child-PL in.rows

*mu-mΛ le-a*  
 sit-NOM IMPF-PST  
 'And here again, above the hollow log, the two, the man and wife frogs and their  
 Many babies, indeed, were sitting in rows.' (B.B.038S)

(28) *ho-se-ko mis-naŋ batti dfa-mΛ ja le-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF-PL sleep-SIM lamp burn-NOM EMPH IMPF-PST  
 'While they were sleeping the lamp was indeed burning.' (C.C.004S)

In Tanahu (and Nawalparasi) dialect the nominalizer *-mΛ* and the imperfective auxiliary *le* conflate, resulting in [Σ-me]. When the past tense morpheme is added the phonetic result is [Σ-mya].

(29) (a) *ja-ja mis-mΛ le* [ $>$  misme]  
 child-child sleep- NOM IMPF  
 'The child is sleeping.' (T)

(b) *ja-ja mis-mΛ le-a* [ $>$  mismya]  
 child-child sleep-NOM IMPF-PST  
 'The child was sleeping.' (T)

### 5.2.2.3 Imminent

Imminent aspect views a situation as one in which a state or activity has yet to happen. It is marked with the nominalizer *-ke* supported by the imperfective auxiliary *le*, which is finite.

(30) (a) *la nuŋ-iŋ*  
 Okay go-HORT  
 'Okay, let's go.'

(b) *khalap ŋa-e cho jya-ke le*  
 One.minute 1S-ERG rice.meal eat -NOM IMPF  
 'Just a minute, I have yet to eat my meal.'

(31) (a) *gwa-man-e mi-rfiu phunfi-ke le*  
 bird-mother-ERG POSS-egg hatch-NOM IMPF  
 'The chicken has yet to hatch her eggs.'

(b) *di dun-ak-naŋ ma-dun-ak-o na*  
 water muddy-CAUS-SIM NEG-muddy-CAUS-IMP EMPH

*ŋa-e bai-ke ga-ke alfi-ke le*  
 1S-ERG mother-DAT drink-NOM carry-NOM IMPF  
 'While (the frog) was muddying the water, (the girl said) "Don't muddy it! I have yet to carry it to mother to drink.' (G.G.002-003S)

(c) *ho-ta-i thika goth-aŋ abo chiniŋ aŋ-a ōs-a*  
 D.DEM-MNR-FOC right cow.shed-LOC now today go-PST see-PST

*mfi kaile sat-ca kaile si-ke*  
 fire sometimes kill-ATT sometimes die-NOM  
 'Thereupon, as today, (the crow) looked for fire in the cow shed, sometimes it was just out, sometimes it had yet to die out.' (DD.073S)

(d) *a-lak paŋti-o le daja-o mi-ja-e byafi*  
 R.DEM-CIR side-GEN COP elder.brother-GEN POSS-child-ERG marriage

*jat-ke le*  
 do-NOM IMPF  
 'Over there, beside us, elder brother's son is yet to be married.' (K.K.031S)

The imminent can also be used to express future plans and expectations.

(32) (a) *ŋa nepal-iŋ aŋ-ke le*  
 1S Nepal-ABL go -NOM COP  
 'I have yet to leave Nepal.' ~ 'I will leave Nepal.'

(b) *wiagfia danda-aŋ gfiās ce-ke aŋ-ke le*  
 Waigfia hill -LOC grass cut -NOM go -NOM IMPF  
 'I have yet to cut grass on the Waigha hill.' ~  
 'I am going to cut grass on the Waigha hill.' (I.I.002S)



(c) *alam than-aj aŋ-ŋfiak-ij syafi-ke le*  
 Alam shrine -LOC go-front-ABL dance -NOM IMPF  
 'After going to the Alam temple we will have yet dance.' ~  
 'After going to the Alam temple we will dance.' (I.I.005S)

(d) *pihin barhamanya aŋ-ke le naŋ-ko*  
 tomorrow Barhamanya go-NOM IMPF 2S-HON  
 'Tomorrow (I'm) have yet to go to Barhamanya, (what about) you?' ~  
 'Tomorrow (I'm) going to go to Barhamanya, (what about) you?' (H.H.002S)

(e) *nepal-aj nfiis lfies nfiun-ij lfies-ke*  
 Nepal-LOC two year back-ABL return-NOM  
 '(I) have yet to return Nepal after two years.' ~  
 '(I) will return Nepal after two years.'

An imminent sense can also be conveyed with the same construction used to express a desire as in (33); see also §12.1.1.8.

(33) (a) *ho-se-e di ga ga se-mΛ nΛ le* [ $>$  seme (T)]  
 1S-ERG water drink drink feel-NOM EMPH IMPF  
 'I want to drink water.'

(b) *mfiinf-CA bir jfiäl jfiäl se-mΛ nΛ le*  
 ripen-ATT pommello fall fall feel-NOM EMPH IMPF  
 'The ripe pommello is on the verge of falling.' (lit. 'wants to fall')

The morpheme *-ke* as it appears in imminent aspect has been assumed to be the same morpheme as nominalizer *-ke*, which is used in infinitival complements (see §12.1.1) and which is homophonous with the dative marker and has likely developed from it. Given that dative case prototypically marks recipients which are goals, an extension of the semantics of the case marking 'recipient-as-goal' to 'activity-as-goal' can lead to marking verbs with a dative case and the development of an aspectual inceptive and imminent marker<sup>2</sup>. Imminent-aspect expresses a 'goal in future' and inceptive conveys 'becoming' or 'reaching a goal over time'; see also §3.5.1.5.

<sup>2</sup> *ke*, is the perfective marker in Kham and can be used to encode changes of state (Watters, 2001:531).



- (b) *mi-ja polofi-mΛ le* [*>polofime (T)*]  
 poss-child prone-NOM IMPF  
 'The child is lying down.'
- (35) (a) *ho-se cyu-e gwa-ke lagar-di-mΛ*  
 D.DEM-DEF dog-ERG bird-DAT chase-LN-NOM
- wfi-mΛ nΛ le* [*>wfime (T)*]  
 walk-NOM EMPH IMPF  
 'The dog is (persistently) chasing the chickens.'
- (a) *ho-se cyu-e gwa-ke lagar-di-mΛ le* [*>lΛgardime (T)*]  
 D.DEM-DEF dog-ERG bird-DAT chase-LN-NOM IMPF  
 'The dog is chasing the chickens'
- (36) (a) *ho-se kher-mΛ mu -mΛ nΛ le* [*>mume (T)*]  
 D.DEM-DEF run-NOM sit-NOM EMPH IMPF  
 'He is (persistently) running.'
- (b) *ho-se kher-mΛ le* [*>kherme (T)*]  
 D.DEM-DEF run-NOM IMPF  
 'He is running.'
- (37) (a) *ho-se-ko-e ōs-mΛ mu-mΛ le-a rΛ ho-se-ko-uŋ*  
 D.DEM-DEF-PL-ERG look-NOM sit-NOM IMPF-PST and D.DEM-DEF-PL-GEN
- kapada jatatai lofi-mΛ le-a*  
 clothing everywhere discard-NOM IMPF-PST  
 'They were (persistently) looking and they were throwing their clothes everywhere.' (C.C006S)
- (b) *kat-yak babu-ja rΛ cyu mis-mΛ ŋu-naŋ rokotyak sisi-iŋ* [*>kayak*]  
 one-day boy-child and dog sleep-NOM sit-SIM frog bottle-ABL
- bahire khyofi-mo nu-a*  
 outside emerge-SEQ go-PST  
 'Once while the boy and the dog were still sleeping, the frog having come out from inside the bottle, went away.' (A.003T)

Furthmore, that the verbs with which *wfi* 'walk' and *mu* (S) ~ *ŋu* (T) 'sit' combine, for example 'lying down' and 'run', are incompatible with a lexical meaning of 'sit' and walk. Examples in (36) and (37) and (38b) demonstrate that these verbs have grammaticalized aspectual meaning. Similarly the following are examples in which the full lexical

meaning and that of the main semantic verb are incompatible.

- (38) (a) *ho-se cituwa-e ηfiēt-ko dinfi-de-ahaj rΛ hi dinfi-de-ahaj*  
 D.DEM-DEF leopard-ERG cow-PL find- say-COND and what find -say-COND

*rΛ sat-mΛ wfiā-a ta*

also kill-SEQ walk-PST REP

'That the leopard, they say, killed cows if he found them; he persistently killed what he found.' (T.T.009S)

- (b) *ku-lak bfiur-uk-mΛ wfiā-mΛ le chena*  
 how-CIR fly-CAUS-NOM walk-NOM IMPF don't.know  
 'Where he is (constantly) flying to, I don't know.' (Q.Q.045S)

The emphatic *jΛ* (S) or *nΛ* (T) is often interjected into these constructions.

- (39) (a) *ho-se bfiΛrmi-e pheri i-lak toko ηak-ak-mΛ jΛ*  
 D.DEM-DEF person-ERG again P.DEM-CIR side call-CAUS-NOM EMPH

*mu-mΛ le men-o rokotyak ηak-ak-mΛ jΛ mu-mΛ le-a*  
 sit-NOM IMPF 3S-GEN frog talk-CAUS-NOM EMPH sit-NOM IMPF-PST

'The person, again on this side, was still (constantly) calling and calling to his frog.' (C.C.021S)

- (b) *rΛ cahat samma rΛ ho-se calan nΛ kan-uη ajfiā*  
 and now until and D.DEM-DEF tradition EMPH 2P-GEN still

*rΛ kes-mΛ nΛ ηu-le*  
 and use-NOM EMPH sit-IMP

'And even up until now it is still our tradition and (persistently) remains in practice.' (E.015T)

- (c) *ho-se-e Λamerika-η nu-ηfiak-iη rΛ magar dfiut*  
 D.DEM-DEF-ERG America-LOC go-front-ABL and Magar language

*anusandfiān jat-mΛ nΛ ηu-le*  
 investigation make-NOM EMPH sit-IMP

'She will continue investigating the Magar language after going to America.' (T)

- (d) *ho-se-i lfum-η kalh-mo kat siη-ke gfiok-a rΛ*  
 D.DEM-DEF-FOC stone-LOC ascend-SEQ one branch-DAT hold-PST and

*rokotyak-ke ηak-ak-mΛ ηu-mΛ le-a*  
 frog-DAT noise-CAUS-NOM sit-NOM IMPF-PST

'He climbed onto the stone and got hold of a stick and he continued to call for the frog.' (A.A.023T)

(e) *ma-sat-nis hai ŋa-o mi-ja i-ta chanfi-ca-le*  
 NEG-kill-2PRO.HON okay 1S-GEN POSS-child P.DEM-MNR become-ATT-IMPF

*ŋa rafī-le-aŋ ŋa-e pa-mΛ wfi-a-mΛ jΛ le-na*  
 1S come-IMPF-PRO 1S-ERG seek-NOM walk-NOM EMPH COP-1PRO  
 'Do not kill him, okay. My son has become like this, I will coming and will be  
 (persistently) searching for him.' (T.T019S)

The length of the persistive form, with its length and greater phonological weight, iconically signifies its meaning. Speakers further exploit this iconicity (i.e. the longer and more complex the duration, the longer and more complex the construction) by reduplicating verb forms to greater expressive effect, as in (40).

(40) (a) *ilak pheri cyu-ke argan-ko-e bessari gfiel-mΛ jΛ mu-mΛ*  
 P.DEM.CIR again dog-DAT wasp-PL-ERG very chase-NOM EMPH sit-NOM

*gfiel-mΛ jΛ mu-a kher-ak-mΛ le-a*  
 chase-NOM EMPH sit-PST run-CAUS-NOM IMPF-PST

'Here, again, many wasps were still (persistently) chasing and chasing (the dog), running after the dog.' (B.B.020S)

(b) *ho-se kauwa-e di ga-ke pa-mΛ wfi-a-mΛ-le-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF crow-ERG water drink-NOM seek-NOM walk-NOM-IMPF-PST

*di ga-ke pa-mΛ wfi-a-naŋ wfi-a-naŋ wfi-a-naŋ*  
 water drink-NOM seek-NOM walk-SIM walk-SIM walk-SIM

*wfi-a-naŋ ku-lak rΛ di ma-dinfi-a*  
 walk-SIM how-CIR also water NEG-find-PST

'This crow was (persistently) searching for water to drink. While he was (persistently) searching and searching for water to drink, he did not find water anywhere.' (J.J.002-003S)

(c) *rΛ ho-se-ko-e thaha dinfi-ŋfiak-ij ōs-mΛ*  
 and D.DEM-DEF-PL-ERG knowledge find -front-ABL look-NOM

*wfi-a-naŋ ho-se-ko-e rokotyak ōs-mΛ wfi-a*  
 walk-SIM D.DEM-DEF-PL-ERG frog look-NOM walk-PST

'And they, after they realized, were (constantly) looking for the frog, they went and looked.' (B.B.007S)

### 5.2.3.2 Completative aspectual verb

Anteriority is expressed by a grammaticalized verb chain. The chain is comprised of the semantic main verb followed by a grammaticalized verb *bfiya(t)* 'finish', which may be marked for tense as well as person and number in Syangja dialect as in (41). The addition of *bfiya(t)* conveys that an event is anterior and perfective. It is complete before another event in time (not unlike the meaning of a perfect). That the verb *bfiya(t)* has grammaticalized is demonstrated by the incompatibility of the meaning of the full verb with the lexical verbs with which it combines. It is not possible to finish snapping (unless conceived as an iterative), as in (41a) or to finish forgetting a single item in memory, as in (41b)

(41) (a) *ma-de-ahaŋ i-se ku-ta ja uruwa-e ja naŋ-ko-uŋ*  
 NEG-say-COND P.DEM-DEF INTRG-MNR EMPH owl-ERG EMPH 2-PL-GEN

*ja patta ja mi-khar gyak-ma bfiya-a ce-ma bfiya-a*  
 EMPH all EMPH POSS-wing snap-NOM finish-PST cut-SEQ finish-PST  
 'How would you? Indeed, the owl has altogether snapped off and cut  
 your wings.' (D.D.026S)

(b) *ku-dik sal-aŋ ale-a chena mfiyak-ma bfiya-le-aŋ*  
 INTRG-QUANT year-LOC COP-PST don't.know forget-NOM finish-IMPF-PRO  
 'In what year was it? I don't know, I have forgotten.'

(c) *chiniŋ nambi-lak kan-ko-e kaju ma-jat-ma bfiya-ma*  
 today night-CIR 2-PL-ERG work NEG-do-NOM finish-NOM

*ka-le-a-as ho-tak-iŋ namas rafi-a [>kalas] [> hotiŋ]*  
 2P.PRO-IMPF-PST-2P.PRO D.DEM-SUP-ABL rain come-PST

*chanfi-mo im-aŋ ka-nuŋ-a-as*  
 become-SEQ house-LOC 2P.PRO-go-PS-2P.PROT

'Last evening we had not done the work (but) then the rain came, that having  
 happened (we) went home.' (S)

### 5.3 Mood

Broadly defined, mood is the expression of the 'opinion or attitude of the speaker' (Lyons 1977: 452). Mood is traditionally broken down into two main categories: mood and modality. Mood refers to the distinction between realis versus irrealis (otherwise called 'factive versus nonfactive' or 'indicative versus subjunctive'). Modality, on the other hand, is concerned with the "necessity or possibility of acts performed by morally responsible agents" (Lyons, cited in Palmer 1986:18). Cross-linguistically, mood manifests in verbal morphology, whereas modality is analytic and periphrastic (Palmer 1986: 21). Data from Magar bears this out. Magar semantically and formally separates mood from modality. In Magar, 'mood', that is, the distinction between realis and irrealis is encoded in the verb morphology. Deontic modality, by which a speaker expresses propositions as being necessary, obligatory, advisable, possible, permissible or desirable and as benefactive or malefactive, is analytic and periphrastic. Deontic modal constructions are formed with modal verbs and other complement-taking constructions in complex clauses and are treated in §12.2.2.6.

The morphology of simplex irrealis mood constructions is described in §4.5.3.1. . This section will present the conditional mood, which is a periphrastic form and it will present aspectually complex irrealis forms which are comprised of a verb stem and auxiliary; the latter bears the irrealis circumfix *a-Σ-e*. The optative, which combines with the irrealis, also has complex forms and these are described in this section.

#### 5.3.1 Conditional

The conditional has two forms. One is built off the verb 'say', which is *de* in Tanahu dialect and *te* in Syangja. This form subordinates embedded conditional clauses. It is the

only form attested in Syangja dialect. The conditional is discussed in more detail in §12.1.1.9.3 in the context of complex clauses and in §14.2.2 as a manifestation of the extended use of the quotative. A word will be said here about its allomorphs.

The conditional morpheme has the same core form in both dialects: *-ahaC* (C = consonant), with the final consonant differing across the dialects. In Syangja, the final is a velar nasal resulting in: *te-ahaŋ* (42a) and in Tanahu it is a velar stop: *de-ahak* (42b). There are also a number of variants of these forms within the dialects. In Syangja reduces to [tyahaŋ] or [thyaŋ]. In Tanahu, likewise, there are reduced forms [dyahak], [dfhyak] and [dyaʔ]. Following the copulas *le* or *ale*, the final 'e' apocopates, and in Syangja dialect the initial consonant of *de* remains voiced, resulting in: *al-de-ahaŋ* which may reduce to [aldfiyaŋ] (42c).

(42) (a) *pokhara-aŋ danga-e ket-a te-ahaŋ di dun-le* [*>*thyaŋ]  
 lake-LOC stick-INST stir-PST say-COND water muddy-IMPF  
 'If the lake is stirred with a stick then the water will be muddy.' (S)

(b) *naŋ-ko dferai kam jat-a de-afiak naŋ-ko mfiuŋ-le*  
 2S-HON very work do-PST say-COND 2S-PL tire-IMPF  
 'If you work a lot you will get tired.' (T)

(c) *buddfi dimag-aŋ le-naŋ kan-ko rʌ batho lekha*  
 wisdom mind-LOC COP-SIM 2P-PL also clever seem

*ale de-ahaŋ ho-ta jat-ke hek-le-iŋ ma-lekha* [*>*althyaŋ]  
 COP say-COND D.DEM-MNR do-NOM able-IMPF-1PRO.HON NEG-seem

*ale de-ahaŋ hi-da ja jat-ke ma-hyok-le-iŋ* [*>*mahyokliŋ]  
 COP say-COND what-INDF EMPH do-NOM NEG-able-IMPF-1PRO  
 'But having wisdom in our minds, we also would seem to be clever if we were able to do things like that. We would not seem so, indeed, if we were not able to do like that.' (DD.083S)

The second conditional form, attested only in Tanahu dialect, is a bound morpheme - *lfiyak* which may suffix directly to the verb stem as in (43), or it may follow the verb



'say', as in (44). This form may be a reduction of the conditional *-ahaC* built off the copula *le* rather than the verb 'say': *le-ahak > lfhyak > lfhya?*. Another possible source is the Proto-Bodic conditional is \*la, found in a wide variety of functions in the contemporary Tamangic languages (Noonan 2008c:2).

(43) (a) *jyap-le han jyap-le-afhyak jyap-le raksi* [*>jyaplfhyak*]  
 tasty-IMPF millet.brew tasty-COP-COND tasty-IMPF alcohol

*han ma-jyap-le-afhyak raksi ma-jyap-le*  
 millet.brew NEG-tasty-COP-COND alcohol NEG-be.tasty-IMPF  
 'If the millet brew is tasty, the alcohol will be tasty, if the millet brew is not  
 tasty, then the alcohol will not be tasty.' (D.027T)

(b) *ŋa katha poisa le-le-afhyak ŋa-e im khas-ke le*  
 1S with money COP-COP-COND 1S-ERG house build-NOM IMPF  
 'If I have money, I am going to build a house.' (T)

(44) *rA bhayat-cyo de-le-afhyak abo kan dulha-dulfi-ke*  
 also finish-ATT say-COP-COND now 1P groom-bride-DAT

*jogya-ij sot-le*  
 marriage.fire.altar-ABL raise-IMPF  
 'And if we have finished, now, we will raise the groom and the bride from  
 marriage fire-altar.' (E.E.050T)

### 5.3.2 Irrealis and optative continuous

Continuous irrealis and optative constructions are formed with auxiliary verbs. These forms are irregular and differ across the two dialects. Syangja dialect has two alternative forms to express the irrealis. In both dialects, the auxiliary in the continuous irrealis mood may be grammaticalized from a full lexical verb meaning 'sit'; *ŋu* in Tanahu dialect and *mu* in Syangja dialect, as in (45); (*ŋu ~ mu* are also the persistive continuous auxiliary for both dialects (see §5.2.2.2.3)). This is the only form in Tanahu dialect. In Syangja dialect, there is an additional form; the continuous irrealis may also be expressed with the irrealis auxiliary *ule* (46). Also found in Syangja, but absent from Tanahu, is the

optative morpheme *tA*, which combines with and is dependent on the irrealis (see also §4.5.1.3.1). Moreover, Syangja dialect has both non-past and past irrealis (47); whereas

Tanahu dialect lacks past tenses in the irrealis mood

- (45) (a) *tihar-aŋ wak-sya jya-mA a-ŋu-e*  
 Tihar-LOC pig-flesh eat-NOM IRR-sit-IRR  
 'Will you be eating pork at Tihar?' (T)
- (b) *ŋa pihin ce-mA a-ŋu-e*  
 1S tomorrow cut-NOM IRR-sit-IRR  
 'I might be harvesting tomorrow.' (T)
- (c) *tihar-aŋ wak-sya jya-mA a-tA-mu-e-nis* [*>atmunis*]  
 Tihar-LOC pig-flesh eat-NOM IRR-OPT-sit-IRR-2PRO  
 'Will you be eating pork at Tihar?' (S)
- (d) *ŋa pihin ce-mA a-mu-e-na* [*>amuna*]  
 1S tomorrow cut-NOM IRR-sit-IRR  
 'I might be harvesting tomorrow.' (S)
- (46) (a) *tihar-aŋ wak-sya jya-mA a-ule-e-nis* [*>aulenis*]  
 Tihar-LOC pig-flesh eat-NOM IRR-COP-IRR-2PRO.HON  
 'Will you be eating pork at Tihar?' (S)
- (b) *ŋa pihin ce-mA a-ule-e-na* [*>aulena*]  
 1S tomorrow cut-NOM IRR-COP-IRR-1PRO  
 'I might be harvesting tomorrow.' (S)
- (47) *laxmi kathmandu-aŋ mu-mA a-ule-e-a* [*>munAula*]  
 Laxmi Kathmandu-LOC sit-NOM IRR-COP-IRR-PST  
 'Laxmi may have been living in Kathmandu.' (L.18) (S)

#### 5.4 Tense, aspect and mood combinations

In this chapter, complex constructions, those which are nominalized and chained have been described. This section summarizes observations made above and recaps the morphology of simplex verb forms. It outlines the linear sequence of morphemes and briefly points out differences between the two dialects. Additionally, processes of auxiliarization and grammaticalization are briefly described.

Tables 5.1 - 5.4 present the full paradigms of simplex and complex verbs for both dialects. The tables lay out the position of the roots, auxiliaries and affixes. Most affixes are suffixes and include loan-word markers, nominalizers, tense, aspect and mood markers and pronominals. Prefixes include negation, the initial part of the irrealis circumfix and the optative. In addition, Syangja dialect has prefixal and suffixal pronominals, whereas Tanahu dialect indexes the subject only with an honorific in the imperative mood. The dialects also differ with respect to valence markers; in addition to the valence-increasing causative *-ak*, Syangja has a valence-decreasing affix *-cis*, which is absent in Tanahu. Irrealis forms also diverge, Tanahu lacks irrealis-past forms, and in the continuous irrealis the grammaticalized verb *ɲu* is the auxiliary, rather than *ule* found in Syangja.

Complex verb constructions are nominalized and are supported by an auxiliary. The most frequently occurring nominalizer is *ma*, *-ke* also occurs as does *-o*. Nominalizations are generally supported by the auxiliary *le*; however, nominalizations with *-ke* may occur without an auxiliary in question-answer interchanges (see §11.7). The auxiliary of the verbs nominalized with *-ma*, and *-o* are fully inflected and finite.

Complex verb constructions are products of verb chaining and grammaticalization; specifically, in Magar, what Heine (1993:53) has identified as the 'verb to TAM chain.' In Magar, verbs and auxiliaries exist along a continuum which reflects the process of grammaticalization. The verbs that function as auxiliaries can also occur as independent stand-alone main verbs. As auxiliaries they are in the clause-final 'verb-slot' and carry subject agreement (pronominals), as well as TAM marking; thus, in these respects, they behave like full verbs. However, unlike the full verbs they support, they do not express

the full meaning (i.e. major conceptual relation, state, or activity) expressed by the clause. Rather, they express information about, and ancillary to, the main semantic verb. The copula *le* 'be' has grammaticalized and functions as an auxiliary signaling imperfective aspect. The persistive aspect and the prior perfect are also grammaticalized chains in which the verbs *mu ~ ŋu* 'sit' and *bfiya* 'finish' have come to express aspect. The verb *pa* 'seek', particularly in the Syangja dialect, has extended its meaning to express 'want, expect, intend' and still further to express a future (§5.3.2.7). Magar auxiliaries conform to Payne's (1997:84) observation: "The most likely verbs to become auxiliaries are stative verbs such as 'be', 'stand' and sit. The next most likely sources for auxiliaries are simple verbs of motion such as 'go' and 'come'. Finally complement-taking verbs such as say, 'finish', 'start', 'permit', 'make', 'force', and 'want' also become auxiliaries." Verb paradigms for both dialects and all persons follow below.

**Table 5.1 Tanahu verb paradigm (all persons)**

	Singular	Honorific
Realis: Past	Σ-a	
Realis: Past habitual	Σ-o le-a	
Realis: Past continuous	Σ-mΛ le-a	
Realis: Past continuous persistive	Σ-mΛ ŋu-mΛ le-a	
Realis: Past completative	Σ-mΛ bfiya-a	
Realis: Non-past	Σ-le	
Realis: Non-past imminent	Σ-ke le	
Realis: Non-past continuous	Σ-mΛ le	
Realis: Non-past persistive	Σ-mΛ ŋu-mΛ le	
Realis: Non-past completative	Σ-mΛ bfiya-le	
Irrealis: Non-past	a-Σ-e	
Irrealis: Non-past continuous	Σ-mΛ a-ŋu-e	
Imperative: Transitive	Σ-na	Σ-ni
Intransitive	Σ-o	
Hortative: Inclusive		Σ-iŋ

**Table 5.2 Syangja first person verb paradigm**

	Singular			Plural/honorific		
Realis: Past	ηα-Σ-a-aη			ka-Σ-a-as		
Realis: Past habitual	ηα-Σ-o	le-a-aη		ka-Σ-o	le-a-as	
Realis: Past continuous	Σ-mλ	ηα-le-a-aη		Σ-mλ	ka-le-a-as	
Realis: Past continuous persistive	Σ-mλ	mu-mλ	ηα-le-a-aη	Σ-mλ	mu-mλ	ηα-le-a-as
Realis: Past completative	Σ-mλ	ηα-bfiya-a-aη		Σ-mλ	ka-bfiya-a-as	
Realis: Non-past	Σ-le-aη			Σ-le-iη		
Realis: Non-past imminent	Σ-ke	le		Σ-ke	le	
Realis: Non-past continuous	Σ-mλ	le-na		Σ-mλ	le-iη	
Realis: Non-past continuous persistive	Σ-mλ	mu-mλ	le-na	Σ-mλ	mu-mλ	le-iη
Realis: Non-past completative	Σ-mλ	bfiya-na		Σ-mλ	bfiya-iη	
Irrealis: Past	a-Σ-e-a-aη			a-tλ-Σ-e-a-as		
Irrealis: Past continuous	Σ-mλ	a-ule-a-aη		Σ-mλ	a-ule-e-a-as	
	~	Σ-mλ	a-mu-e-a-aη	~	Σ-mλ	a-mu-e-a-as
Irrealis: Non-past	a-Σ-e-na			a-Σ-e-iη		
Irrealis: Non-past continuous	Σ-mλ	a-ule-e-na		Σ-mλ	a-ule-e-iη	
	~	Σ-mλ	a-mu-e-na	~	Σ-mλ	a-mu-e-iη
Irrealis: Optative: Past	a-tλ-Σ-e-a-aη			a-tλ-Σ-e-as		
Irrealis: Optative: Past continuous	Σ-mλ	a-tλ-ule-e-a-aη		Σ-mλ	a-tλ-ule-e-as	
	~	Σ-mλ	a-tλ-mu-e-a-aη	~	Σ-mλ	a-tλ-mu-e-as
Irrealis: Optative: Non-past	a-tλ-Σ-e-na			a-tλ-Σ-iη		
Irrealis: Optative: Non-past continuous	Σ-mλ	a-tλ-ule-e-na		Σ-mλ	a-tλ-ule-e-iη	
	~	Σ-mλ	a-tλ-mu-e-na	~	Σ-mλ	a-tλ-mu-e-iη
Hortative: Inclusive				Σ-iη		

**Table 5.3 Syangja second person verb paradigm**

	Singular			Plural/honorific		
Realis: Past	na- $\Sigma$ -a			na- $\Sigma$ -a-as		
Realis: Past immediate	$\Sigma$ -c $\Lambda$	ale		$\Sigma$ -c $\Lambda$	ale	
Realis: Past habitual	na- $\Sigma$ -o	le-a		na- $\Sigma$ -o	le-a	
Realis: Past continuous	$\Sigma$ -m $\Lambda$	na-le-a		$\Sigma$ -m $\Lambda$	na-le-a-as	
Realis: Past continuous persistive	$\Sigma$ -m $\Lambda$	mu-m $\Lambda$	na-le-a	$\Sigma$ -m $\Lambda$	mu-m $\Lambda$	na-le-a-as
Realis: Past completative	$\Sigma$ -m $\Lambda$	na-bfiya-a		$\Sigma$ -m $\Lambda$	na-bfiya-a-as	
Realis: Non-past	$\Sigma$ -d $\Lambda$ -le			$\Sigma$ -d $\Lambda$ -nis		
Realis: Non-past imminent	$\Sigma$ -ke	le		$\Sigma$ -ke	le	
Realis: Non-past continuous	$\Sigma$ -m $\Lambda$	na-le		$\Sigma$ -m $\Lambda$	na-le-nis	
Realis: Non-past continuous persistive	$\Sigma$ -m $\Lambda$	mu-m $\Lambda$	na-le	$\Sigma$ -m $\Lambda$	mu-m $\Lambda$	na-le-nis
Realis: Non-past completative	$\Sigma$ -m $\Lambda$	na-bfiya		$\Sigma$ -m $\Lambda$	na-bfiya-as	
Irrealis: Past	a-t $\Lambda$ - $\Sigma$ -e-a			a-t $\Lambda$ - $\Sigma$ -e-a-as		
Irrealis: Past continuous	$\Sigma$ -m $\Lambda$	a-t $\Lambda$ -ule-a		$\Sigma$ -m $\Lambda$	a-t $\Lambda$ -ule-a-as	
	~ $\Sigma$ -m $\Lambda$	a-t $\Lambda$ -mu-a		~ $\Sigma$ -m $\Lambda$	a-t $\Lambda$ -mu-a-as	
Irrealis: Non-past	a-t $\Lambda$ - $\Sigma$ -e			a-t $\Lambda$ - $\Sigma$ -e-nis		
Irrealis: Non-past continuous	$\Sigma$ -m $\Lambda$	a-t $\Lambda$ -ule-e		$\Sigma$ -m $\Lambda$	a-t $\Lambda$ -ule-e-nis	
	~ $\Sigma$ -m $\Lambda$	a-t $\Lambda$ -mu-e		~ $\Sigma$ -m $\Lambda$	a-t $\Lambda$ -mu-e-nis	
Irrealis: Optative: Past	a-t $\Lambda$ - $\Sigma$ -e-a			a-t $\Lambda$ - $\Sigma$ -e-a-as		
Irrealis: Optative: Past continuous	$\Sigma$ -m $\Lambda$	a-t $\Lambda$ -ule-e-a		$\Sigma$ -m $\Lambda$	a-t $\Lambda$ -ule-e-a-as	
	~ $\Sigma$ -m $\Lambda$	a-t $\Lambda$ -mu-e-a		~ $\Sigma$ -m $\Lambda$	a-t $\Lambda$ -mu-e-a-as	
Irrealis: Optative: Non-past	a-t $\Lambda$ - $\Sigma$ -e			a-t $\Lambda$ - $\Sigma$ -e-nis		
Irrealis: Optative: Non-past continuous	$\Sigma$ -m $\Lambda$	a-t $\Lambda$ -ule-e		$\Sigma$ -m $\Lambda$	a-t $\Lambda$ -ule-e-nis	
	~ $\Sigma$ -m $\Lambda$	a-t $\Lambda$ -mu-e		~ $\Sigma$ -m $\Lambda$	a-t $\Lambda$ -mu-e-nis	
Imperative: Transitive	$\Sigma$ -na			$\Sigma$ -nis		
Intransitive	$\Sigma$ -o					

**Table 5.4 Syangja third person verb paradigm**

	Singular	Plural/honorific
Realis: Past	Σ-a	Σ-a-kaŋ
Realis: Past immediate	Σ-cΛ ale	Σ-cΛ ale
Realis: Past habitual	Σ-o le-a	Σ-o le-a
Realis: Past continuous	Σ-mΛ le-a	Σ-mΛ le-a-kaŋ
Realis: Past continuous persistive	Σ-mΛ mu-mΛ le-a	Σ-mΛ mu-mΛ le-a-kaŋ
Realis: Past completative	Σ-mΛ bfiya-a	Σ-mΛ bfiya-a
Realis: Non-past	Σ-le	Σ-le-ko
Realis: Non-past imminent	Σ-ke le	Σ-ke le
Realis: Non-past continuous	Σ-mΛ le	Σ-mΛ le-ko
Realis: Non-past continuous persistive	Σ-mΛ mu-mΛ le	Σ-mΛ mu-mΛ le-ko
Realis: Non-past completative	Σ-mΛ bfiya-le	Σ-mΛ bfiya-le-ko
Irrealis: Past	a-Σ-e-a	a-Σ-e-a-kaŋ
Irrealis: Past continuous	Σ-mΛ a-u-le-e-a	Σ-mΛ a-u-le-e-a-kaŋ
	~ Σ-mΛ a-mu-e-a	~ Σ-mΛ a-mu-e-a-kaŋ
Irrealis: Non-past	a-Σ-e	a-Σ-e-ko
Irrealis: Non-past continuous	Σ-mΛ a-u-le-e	Σ-mΛ a-u-le-e-ko
	~ Σ-mΛ a-mu-e	~ Σ-mΛ a-mu-e-ko
Irrealis: Optative: past	a-tΛ-Σ-e-a	a-tΛ-Σ-e-a-kaŋ
Irrealis: Optative: past continuous	Σ-mΛ a-tΛ-u-le-e-a	Σ-mΛ a-tΛ-u-le-e-a-kaŋ
	~ Σ-mΛ a-tΛ-mu-e-a	~ Σ-mΛ a-tΛ-mu-e-a-kaŋ
Irrealis: Optative: Non-past	a-tΛ-Σ-e	a-tΛ-Σ-e-ko
Irrealis: Optative: Non-past continuous	Σ-mΛ a-tΛ-u-le-e	Σ-mΛ a-tΛ-u-le-e-ko
	~ Σ-mΛ a-tΛ-mu-e	~ Σ-mΛ a-tΛ-mu-e-ko

## 6 Adjectives and adjectivals

This chapter deals with the morphology of adjectives and adjectivals; that is, those words whose function it is to describe properties of nominals. The term 'adjectival', as it is used here, refers to adnominal descriptors that are morphologically derived via nominalization; as opposed to 'true' adjectives, which are not derived. In native Magar, virtually all are derived; adjectives borrowed from Nepali are not. The chapter also treats nouns in genitive case and those in juxtaposition whose function is adnominal modification. Comparatives, superlatives, expressive adjectives and similatives<sup>1</sup> are also described.

Tibeto-Burman languages, in general, do not have an independent category of 'true' adjective. The Tibeto-Burman pattern is to treat what would be rendered as an adjective in other languages as a noun or stative verb. The Bodic languages in particular make use of de-verbal nominalized forms to describe properties of nouns. These languages manifest what Noonan (2003:69) calls 'nominalization-attribution syncretism' whereby the morpheme that signals nominalization is identical to that which forms an adjectival or adjectival clause. He identifies this syncretism as a salient feature of Tibeto-Burman. Noonan (2003:69), records nominalized forms functioning attributively in, for example, Chantyal ((1)).

Chantyal (Noonan 1997:377)  
 (1) *thya-wa kalce naku*  
 big-NOM black dog  
 'a big black dog'

Nominalized modifiers can be found in other Central Himalayish languages; for example, Kham ((2)) and Chepang ((3)).

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<sup>1</sup> D. Watters has documented similative constructions in Kham, (2002:121); I have borrowed his term.



Kham (Watters: 2008:11)

- (2) *khyo:wo mi*  
 long-NOM person  
 'a tall person'

Chepeng (Watters: 2008:11)

- (3) *?ow?jik-?o manta*  
 that sick-NOM person  
 'the sick person'

In Magar, adjectivals are derived from verbs by the addition of a nominalizer which is *-cyo* in Tanahu dialect and *-ca* in Syangja dialect.

### 6.1 Adjectivals

The nominalizer (*-cyo* (T) ~ *ca* (S)) suffixes to the verb stem, as seen in examples (4) and (5). Examples (6) and (7) show a contrast with the non-nominalized verb and the derived adjectival. Adjectivals precede the noun they modify<sup>2</sup>.

- (4) *warfi-cyo bfiormi ahan de-a*  
 know-ATT man story say-PST  
 'The wise man told the story.' (R.R.012T)

- (5) *ho-se im-aŋ kat mfiar-ca ja-ja cyu ra kat*  
 D.DEM-DEF house -LOC one small-ATT child-child dog and one

*bfiada-aŋ cahin rokotyak le-a* [*>bfiadaŋ*], [*>la*]  
 rice.pot-LOC well frog IMPF-PST  
 'In the house there were a small child, a dog, and in a rice pot, a frog.'  
 (C.C.003S)

- (6) (a) *ret-cyo len-ja-mi-ja marfi-aŋ-ma le* [*marfi-aŋme* (T)]  
 smile-ATT young.male-child-POSS-child happy-NOM IMPF  
 'The smiling young boy is happy.'

- (b) *len-ja-mi-ja ret-le*  
 young.male-child POSS-child smile-IMPF  
 'The young boy smiles.'

- (7) (a) *mis-ca ja-ja ma-cyak-ma le-a* [*macya?mya* (T)]  
 sleeping-ATT child-child NEG-noise-NOM IMPF-PST

<sup>2</sup> DeLancey (2005) proposes that Bodic nominalizations used adnominally were originally constructed with the genitive. This may be the case in Magar; as a form of the genitive is *-o* which were it affixed to the attributive nominalizer would coalesce with the stem. Its presence however cannot be proven

'The sleeping child is quiet.' (J.19 T)

(b) *ja-ja mis-a*  
 child-child sleep-PST  
 'The child slept.'

The result of the nominalization process is, by definition, a noun; nevertheless, these particular nominalized forms, with *-cyo ~ -ca*, are described as an adjectival category because they share cross-linguistically prototypical characteristics of the class of adjectives, i.e. they modify nouns, specifically they describe the qualities or properties of nouns (Bhat 2007:11-17). The primary function of the nominalizer *-cyo ~ -ca* is to express attribution and, in doing so, to identify a referent, as in (8) and (9); hence it is glossed attributive [ATT]. The nominalizer *-cyo ~ -ca* also forms adjectival clauses, as in (9); these are treated in §10.2.2.

(8) *ho-se mfiar-cyo len-ja bfiag-di-s-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF small-ATT young.male-child flee-LN-ITR-PST  
 'The small young boy ran away.'

(9) *gya-ca gunya bil-ca nani-ja ŋa-o nani ale* [>>ŋau]  
 red-ATT skirt wear-ATT little-sister-child IS-GEN little.sister COP  
 'The young girl wearing the red skirt is my little sister.'

In Magar, properties and can also be expressed predicatively and such 'predicate adjectivals' differ from attributives in form and meaning. They are identical, in form, to verbal predicates. They are not nominalizations with *-cyo ~ -ca*; rather they are nominalized with *-ma* or *-ke*. (The nominalizers *-ma* and *-ke* have grammaticalized into aspect markers, progressive and immediate respectively (see §5.2.2.2 and §5.2.2.3)). Predicate adjectivals are clause-final and *-ma* is supported by the auxiliary *le* which is inflected for tense, mood and aspect. Predicate adjectivals do not precede the noun as adjectivals with *-cyo ~ -ca* do. In meaning and function these 'predicate adjectives' differ from attributives nominalized with *-cyo ~ -ca* in that their function is not to identify referents and they describe less time-stable properties.



(15) *manas għaŋ-CA le*  
 Manas tall-ATT COP  
 'Manas is tall.'

The characteristics which distinguish attributive, adnominal adjectivals from predicate adjectives are those which Bhat (2007: 47-49) identifies as archetypically distinguishing adjectives from verb: verbs will carry TAM information or be supported by an auxiliary, are less closely linked to the head and thus may take clitics or emphaizers, and express less permanent properties. Thus we have in Magar a gradation of adjectives and adjectivals from less to more verbal.

Non-de-verbalized adjectives borrowed from Nepali do not make these formal or meaning distinctions, as in (16), where (a) is a temporary condition and (b) is permanent; see also §6.5.

(16) (a) *ho-se dukhi le*  
 D.DEM-DEF pain COP  
 'He is upset.'

(b) *ho-se budh-a le*  
 D.DEM-DEF old-ML COP  
 'He is old.'

## 6.2 Adjectives

As said above, 'true' adjectives are virtually non-existent in native Magar. By 'true' is meant underived. The only attested underived native Magar adjective is *minam* meaning 'new', as in (17). This adjective, unlike derived adjectivals, does not take the attributive nominalizer *-cyo* ~ *-CA*, or other nominalizers; nor does it inflect ((18)).

Underived adjectives borrowed into Magar from Nepali pattern with the 'true' adjective and are treated in §6.5.

(17) (a) *ho-se di-o gagre minam le*  
 D.DEM-DEF water-GEN amphora new IMPF  
 'That brass water amphora is new.'

(b) *ho-se*      *minam di-o*      *gagre*      *ale*  
 D.DEM-DEF    new      water-GEN    amphora      COP  
 'That is a new brass water amphora.'

(18) (a) \**ho-se*      *minam-cyo ~ ca di-o*      *gagre le*  
 D.DEM-DEF    new-ATT      water-GEN    amphora IMPF

(b) \**ho-se*      *di-o*      *gagre minam-ma*      *le*  
 D.DEM-DEF    water-GEN    amphora new-NOM      IMPF

(c) \**ho-se*      *di-o*      *gagre minam-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF    water-GEN    amphora    new-PST

(d) \**ho-se*      *di-o*      *gagre a-minam-e*  
 D.DEM-DEF    water-GEN    amphora    IRR-new-IRR

According to Dixon (1982), if a language possesses only a limited set of adjectives, these adjectives will be those which describe dimension, age, value and colour. The term *minam* falls into the category of age; otherwise, colours, values and other dimension terms including *mfiar-cyo* 'small' and 'big' *karfiar-cyo* are all derived verbal nominalizations. Given this, Magar is what Dixon (1982) identifies as a 'strongly verbal' language. Bhat (2007:11) observes that certain languages have a distinct adjective category: for example, English. In Other languages adjectives are not a distinct but a sub-category (Bhat 2007: 21). In the case of Magar they are a subcategory of verbs which have been, in Bhat's terms, decategorized and recategorized by means of nominalization in order to function as adjectives, i.e. to modify and express properties of nouns.

### 6.3 Borrowed adjectives

As stated above, adjectives Magar has borrowed from Nepali generally pattern with the 'true' Magar adjective, in that they do not undergo the derivational (nominalizational) process that de-verbal forms do, i.e. they do not appear with the nominalizer *-cyo ~ -ca*, as in (19).

(19) <i>sapha bfiormi</i>	<i>*sapha-cyo bfiormi</i>	'clean person'
<i>purano bfiormi</i>	<i>*purano-cyo bfiormi</i>	'old person'
<i>chito bfiormi</i>	<i>*chito-cyo bfiormi</i>	'quick person'
<i>dfilo bfiormi</i>	<i>*dfilo-cyo bfiormi</i>	'slow person'

Like both the derived and native adjectives, borrowed adjectives, when used attributively, precede the noun they modify. Used predicatively they follow and are supported by the auxiliary *le*, (also the copula, 'be') ((20)) or the change-of-state copula *chanfi* 'become' ((21)), which are inflected.

(20) <i>ra</i>	<i>ho-se-i</i>	<i>cahin</i>	<i>kan-uj</i>	<i>prampara-ij</i>	<i>purano</i>
and	D.DEM-DEF-FOC	well	2P -GEN	beginning-ABL	old
<i>calan</i>	<i>le-a</i>				
tradition	COP-PST				

'And that, well, was, from the beginning our old tradition.' (E.014T)

(21) (a) <i>i-se</i>	<i>mahuᅇgo</i>	<i>a-chanfi-e</i>
P.DEM-DEF	expensive	IRR-become -IRR

'This might be expensive.'

(b) <i>res-nfiak-ij</i>	<i>maha-ja-ja</i>	<i>sapha</i>	<i>chanfi-a</i>
wash-front-ABL	young.female-child-child	clean	become-PST

'After bathing, the young girl had become clean.'

There are, in Magar, a small number of nominalizations borrowed from Nepali which combine the Nepali derivational morpheme *-ya* and the Magar nominalizer *-cyo ~ ca* to form adjectivals. These are: *lulya-s-cyo* 'weak, limp' which derives from: *lul-ya* (N) 'palsied person' and ultimately from *lulho* (N) 'flexible', and *pehya-s-cyo* 'gimpy' from *pel-ya* (N) 'gimpy person' from *pehya-s-ke* 'to become gimpy'. Similarly there is also the form *budfi-ya-s-cyo* 'pertaining to old people' from adjective *budfi* (N) 'old people' as in (22) (Watters 2005:345).

(22) <i>pahila</i>	<i>ja</i>	<i>raghya</i>	<i>sahila</i>	<i>babu-ko-ko-e</i>	<i>a-se-k-uj</i>
first	EMPH	Raghya	third	uncle-HON-PL-ERG	R.DEM-DEF-PL-GEN
<i>buba le-naᅇ</i>	<i>ale</i>	<i>chena</i>	<i>kat</i>	<i>nfiis</i>	<i>budfi-i-ya-s-ca-ko-i</i>
father	COP-SIM	COP	don't.know	one	two
					old.ML-NOM-V-ATT-PL-ERG
<i>kura jat-ca</i>	<i>ma-mfiyak-ma</i>	<i>ᅇa-le-aᅇ</i>			[>ᅇaleaᅇ]
things do-ATT	NEG-forget-NOM	I-PRO-COP-I-PRO			

'It was earlier, Raghya, third brother's uncle, the father of those over there, was here. I'm not sure if I am not forgetting one or two of the things the old people did.' (O.O.004S)

In these adjectivals, an *-s* is interjected between the Nepali and Magar derivational morphemes. A parallel in Kham may shed light on the identity of *-s*. Watters (2005:345) identifies this morpheme as an intransitive verbalizer, which when followed by the Kham nominalizer *-o*, results in an adjective. Examples from Kham include: *buchula* 'adze' > *buchul-ya* > [adze-SIM] 'person with a tooth protruding from upper gum' > *buchul-ya-s-o* [adze-SIM-V-NOM] 'having a protruding tooth' and *həlidə* 'turmeric' > *həlid-ya* 'turmeric-like' > *həlid-ya-s (nya)* 'to turn yellow' > *həlid-ya-s-o* [turmeric-SIM-V-NOM] 'yellow'. Having been 'verbalized' the terms must then be nominalized.

#### 6.4 Colour terms

Colour terms in Magar are a combination of native and borrowed terms. Those borrowed from Nepali are underived; whereas native colour terms pattern with adjectivals; they are verbs nominalized with *-cyo* ~ *-ca*, as in (23). Magar colour terms comply with Berlin and Kay's (1969) typological hierarchy of colour, which predicts that if a language has five colour terms these will be white, black, red and either green or yellow. Native Magar words exist for precisely these colours: *bo-cyo* 'white', *cik-cyo* 'black', *gya-cyo* 'red' and *phi-cyo* 'green' ((24a)). The words for 'blue' *nilo* and 'brown ~ grey' *khailo* are borrowed from Nepali ((24b)). For 'yellow' and 'orange' there are no dedicated colour terms. The words *or-cyo* in Tanahu and *dfiokrot-ca* in Syangja are used to describe a 'yellow-orange' hue ((24c)). These terms are also verbs which describe opening buds and carry with them the connotation of 'charming' and 'fresh'. What is perceived of as *or-cyo* or *dfiokrot-ca* varies among speakers. Some speakers will accept the use of *or-cyo* or *dfiokrot-ca* to describe, for

example, the colour of an orange ((25a)), while others describe an orange as *gya-cyo* 'red' ((25b)). Likewise, yellow grains and grasses are described as by some as *or-cyo* or *dfiokrot-cA* and by others as *phi-cyo* 'green'.

(23) (a) *ho-se-e bo-cA rfa arla-a* [*>hocei*], [*>arla*]  
 D.DEM-DEF-ERG white-ATT goat-DAT sell-PST  
 'He sold the white goat. (S)

(b) *bo-cyo rfa-ke kas-o*  
 white-ATT goat-DAT feed-IMP  
 'Feed the white goats!' (T)

(24) (a) *bo-cyo ~cA* 'white'  
*cik-cyo ~cA* 'black'  
*gya-cyo ~cA* 'red'  
*phi-cyo ~cA* 'green'

(b) *nilo* (N) 'blue'  
*khailo* (N) 'brown ~ grey'

(c) *or-cyo* (T) 'yellow ~ orange'  
*dfiokrot-cA* (S) 'yellow ~ orange'

(25) (a) *ort-cyo suntala jyap-mA le* [*>jyapme*]  
 yellow-ATT orange tasty-NOM IMPF  
 'The yellow orange is tasty.' (T)

(b) *gya-cA suntala jyap-mA le*  
 red-ATT orange tasty-NOM IMPF  
 'The red orange is tasty.' (S)

Colour terms, when used predicatively, pattern with verbs and are inflected, as seen in the contrasts in (26). As with predicate adjectives, when a colour term is used verbally it is perceived as less time-stable. In (26b), a predicative use, the colour attribute is not characteristic or permanent. The pheasant described in this example turns colour with the seasons and in this particular season it is red: *gya-mA-le* [red-NOM IMPF].

(26) (a) *gya-cyo gwa-e bir myertuŋ-aŋ mim khas-a*  
 red-ATT bird-ERG pommelo tree-LOC nest build-PST  
 'The red bird has built a nest in the pommelo tree.'



- (b) *a-se-i*                    *bel-aŋ* *gwa*    *gya-mΛ* *le*    [>beləŋ], [>gyame (T)]  
 R.DEM-DEF-FOC    time-LOC    bird            red-NOM    IMPF  
 'In that season, the bird is red.'

In example (27a), the colour term appears with the nominalizer *-mΛ* and has an inchoative sense; with the nominalizer *-ke* and *pa-mΛ na le*, the sense is one of expectation.

- (27) (a) *nam*            *gya-mΛ* *nΛ* *le*  
           sky            red-NOM    EMPH    IMPF  
           'The sky is becoming red.'
- (b) *nam*            *gya-ke* *pa-mΛ* *nΛ* *le*  
           sky            red-NOM    seek-NOM    EMPH    IMPF  
           'The sky is expected to become becoming red.'

### 6.5 Genitival adjectives

The most productive means of forming adjectivals in Magar and most Tibeto-Burman languages is nominalization. However, as Noonan has observed<sup>3</sup>, "The nominalization affix used alone in attributive constructions is not the only one found in the TB family. In many languages, one either finds the situation where the genitive is added to the nominalized form or a situation where the current nominalizer can be reconstructed as containing an old nominalizer with a suffixed genitive." An example involving a clear instance of nominalizer and a genitive is found in Gurung ((28a)). The genitive is not used when such nominalizations are predicates ((28b)).

- Gurung (Glover 1974:106)
- (28) (a) *cyŋ-bá-e*                    *ja-da*  
           young-NOM-GEN    caste  
           'junior caste'
- (b) *sa-rón*            *thé-bá*    *mu-la*  
           extremely    big-NOM    be-PLUP  
           'They were extremely big.'

<sup>3</sup> personal communication, July 2008.

Classical Tibetan also attests both the 'genitival' and 'non-genitival' adjectivals. They differ with respect to order of the head and modifier; nominalized adjectivals are post-nominal, as in (29b).

Classical Tibetan (Beyer 1992:204)

(29) (a) *mgyogs-po-i rta*  
fast-NOM-GEN horse  
'fast horse'

(b) *rta mgyogs-po*  
horse fast-NOM  
'fast horse'

In Magar, a limited number of genitival adjectivals have been attested, as in (30).

(30) (a) *i-se india-o suta ale*  
P.DEM-DEF India-GEN thread IMPF  
'This is Indian thread.'

(b) *i-se di-o gagre ale*  
P.DEM-DEF water-GEN amphora COP  
'This is a water amphora.'

(c) *i-se sig-o bela ale*  
P.DEM-DEF wood-GEN bowl COP  
'This is a wooden bowl.'

Genitival adjectivals can be both attributive (preceding the noun), or predicative, as seen in (31). The last example, *dor hut-o* 'right-handed', can also be expressed with the borrowed nominalizer *-ya*, as can 'left-handed' be (32).

(31) (a) *ho-se di-o gagre badak-o le*  
D.DEM-DEF water-GEN amphora huge-GEN IMPF  
'That brass water amphora is big.'

(b) *kanada des badak-o le*  
Canada country huge-GEN IMPF  
'Canada is a huge country.'

(c) *ho-se dor hut-o ale*  
D.DEM-DEF right hand-GEN COP  
'She is right-handed.'

(32) (a) *ho-se dori-ya ale*  
D.DEM-DEF right-NOM COP  
'She is right-handed.'

- (b) *ho-se debre-ya ale*  
 D.DEM-DEF left-NOM COP  
 'She is left-handed.' ~ 'She is a lefty.'

## 6.6 Attributive nominals

Many Tibeto-Burman languages allow nouns to modify other nouns by simply juxtaposing them; this also occurs in Magar. In these cases, attributive noun-noun combinations are largely indistinguishable from compounds. Two examples are given here in (33) and compounds are treated in §3.1.2. Where a noun modifies another noun, the first of the two nouns usually bear a hyponymous relationship to the second; i.e. it defines a sub-type.

- (33) (a) *mik di*  
 eye water  
 'tear' (S)

- (b) *laxmi sar*  
 Laxmi flower  
 'Angel's trumpet flower' (bot. *Brugmansia x candida*)

In certain cases, both a juxtaposed construction and a genitival attributive construction co-exist, as in (34) and (35), suggesting that the juxtaposed nouns may have lost their original genitive case marker.

- (34) (a) *i-se mΛkoi cho ale*  
 P.DEM-DEF corn rice.meal COP  
 'This is corn meal.'

- (b) *i-se mΛkoi-o cho ale*  
 P.DEM-DEF corn-GEN rice.meal COP  
 'This is corn meal.'

- (35) (a) *i-se mΛgar iskul ale*  
 P.DEM-DEF Magar school COP  
 'This is a Magar school.'

- (b) *i-se mΛgar-o iskul ale*  
 P.DEM-DEF Magar-GEN school COP  
 'This is a Magar school.'

Further evidence of the loss of the genitive comes from attributive constructions for which phonological and morphological reductions can be reconstructed. In the following example a noun + genitive + inherent possession + noun is reduced to a single word *gumja* meaning 'chick' coming from *gwa-o mi-ja* [bird-GEN POSS-child], as in (36). The loss of the on-glide is conditioned by the genitive suffix. This process is described in §2.5.2.1.1.

- (36) *gwa-o*      *mi-ja*      [*>gumja*]  
 bird-GEN      POSS-child  
 'chick'

### 6.7 Gender and number

Neither the Magar true adjective nor derived Magar adjectivals agree in number, gender or case with the nouns they modify, as seen in the contrasts in (37 and (38).

- (37) (a) *ho-se*      *lis-cyo*      *girhiŋ*      *ale*  
 D.DEM-DEF heavy-ATT basket COP  
 'That one is a heavy basket.'
- (b) *ho-se-ko*      *lis-cyo*      *girhiŋ-ko*      *ale*  
 D.DEM-DEF-PL heavy-ATT basket-PL COP  
 'Those ones are heavy baskets.'
- (c) *ma-marfi-cyo*      *ren-ja-ko*      *ho-laŋ*      *le*  
 heavy-ATT maturemale-child-PL D.DEM-LOC COP  
 'There are unhappy men over there.'
- (38) (a) *ho-se*      *minam sip-ya*      *ale*  
 D.DEM-DEF new skill-NOM COP  
 'That is a new student.'
- (b) *ho-se-ko*      *minam sip-ya-ko*      *ale*  
 D.DEM-DEF-PL new skill-NOM-PL COP  
 'Those are new students.'
- (c) *minam*      *sip-ya-ko*      *ho-laŋ*      *le*  
 new skill-NON-PL D.DEM-LOC COP  
 'There are new students over there.'

Adjectives borrowed from Nepali retain their contrastive finals gender marking ((39)).

- (39) *budfi-a*      *bfiormi*      'old man'  
 old-M      person

*budh-i* *bfiormi* 'old woman'  
old-FM person

In spoken Nepali, a distinction is not generally made between singular and plural adjective forms, nor is it made in borrowings into Magar. For example, in spoken Nepali and in Magar *thul-o* [great-SG] is used with a plural as in: *thul-o raja-ko* {great-SG king-PL}. Whereas, in written Nepali, adjectives take a plural form, for example adjectives ending in *-o* change the final vowel to *-a*, as in: *thul-a raja-hura*, [great-PL king-PL].

### 6.8 General and specific properties

Magar makes a distinction between properties of a specific individual and properties of a general type; this distinction is encoded via a choice of copula. Example (40) describes a property of a specific individual, by contrast (41) describe properties of a general type; and in these instances the change of state copula *chanfi* 'become' is used rather than *le*.

(40) *manas gfiag-ca le*  
Manas tall-ATT COP  
'Manas is tall.'

(41) (a) *amerikan-ko gfiag-ca chanfi-le*  
American-PL tall-ATT become-IMPF  
'Americans are tall.'

(b) *citawa-ko chitto chanfi-le*  
leopard-PL fast become-IMPF  
'Leopards are fast.'

Nepali makes an analogous distinction, as in (42); this feature in Magar is undoubtedly a borrowing.

(42) (a) *amerikaali-harnu alga-a hunchan*  
American-PL tall-PL be  
'Americans are tall.'

(b) *manas algo cha*  
 Manas tall be  
 'Manas is tall.'

### 6.9 Comparatives and superlatives

There are no morphological comparatives or superlatives in Magar. The comparative is periphrastically formed with a converbal form of the verb 'say': *de-naŋ* in Tanahu dialect and a devoiced variant *te-naŋ* in Syangja dialect. Saxena (1988: 375-388) has observed of the verb 'say', in South Asian languages, that it has been re-analyzed to cover a wide range of functions including comparison (see §14.2.7). The superlative does not have a dedicated form and can be conveyed with a comparative or with an emphatic construction.

The comparative is formed with a verb which may be nominalized with *ma*, but not with *-cyo* ~ *-ca*. In this respect it patterns with verbs, not with adjectivals. The order of elements in the comparative is: comparandum + comparatum + *de-te-naŋ* + (nominalized) verb. It is understood that the first element is the comparandum, as in (43).

- (43) (a) *karfiŋ-ca bhai marfi-ca bhai te-naŋ baŋlio-ma le*  
 big-ATT brother small-ATT brother say-SIM strong-NOM IMPF  
 'Elder brother is stronger than younger brother.' (S)
- (b) *ho-se ŋa de-naŋ karfiŋ-ma le* [*>karfiŋme*]  
 D.DEM-DEF 1S say-SIM big-NOM IMPF  
 'He is bigger than I am.' (T)
- (c) *ŋa-o gwa-e naŋ-kuŋ gwa-e te-naŋ dŋaliŋ rŋu yaŋi-le* [*>nakuŋ*]  
 1S-GEN bird-ERG 2-GEN.HON bird-ERG say-SIM more egg give-IMP  
 'My hen lays more than your hen.' (S)
- (d) *suthu cyu de-naŋ mfiar-ma le* [*>mfiarme*]  
 cat dog say-SIM small-NOM IMPF  
 'The cat is smaller than the dog.' (T)

The superlative may be conveyed in four ways: 1. as a comparative with *paŋta*, the universal quantifier, as the comparatum as in (44a); or 2. with *dŋaliŋ* 'very' and the

emphatic *ja*, meaning '(the) most' preceding and modifying an adjectival formed with *-cyo ~ -ca* as in (44b); or 3. with *pAdrei* 'most', borrowed from Nepali ((44c)); or 4. a combination of the last two (44d).

- (44) (a) *karfiag-cyo ~ca bhai pAtta te-nag balio-mA le* [>baliome (T)]  
 big-ATT brother all say-SIM strong-NOM IMPF  
 'Elder brother is strongest of all. ~ Elder brother is stronger than all'
- (b) *i-se maha-ja dhalij ja des-cyo ~ca le*  
 D.DEM-DEF young.female-child very EMPH fat-ATT IMPF  
 'This woman is (the) most fat.'
- (c) *i-se ja-ja pAdrei mfiordi-cyo ~ca ale*  
 D.DEM-DEF person most naughty-ATT COP  
 'This child is (the) most naughty.'
- (d) *i-se bfiormi dferai ja pAdrei warfi-cyo~ca le*  
 D.DEM-DEF person very EMPH most know-ATT IMPF  
 'This man is (the) most knowledgeable.'

### 6.10 Negation

Adjectivals ((45)) and borrowed adjectives ((46)) are negated, as verbs are, by the addition of the negative prefix *ma-*.

- (45) (a) *ma-sefi-cyo ja-ja-ko jofi-a*  
 NEG-good-ATT child-child-PL flee-PST  
 'The bad children ran away.'
- (b) *isa ma-armfiun-cyo sar ale*  
 P.DEM NEG-fragrant-ATT flower COP  
 'This is not a fragrant flower.'
- (46) *ma-budfia-s-cyo bfiormi rfa-ke laga-di-a*  
 NEG-old-SIM-ATT person goat-DAT chase-LN-PST  
 'The not old person chased the goat.'

### 6.11 Expressive reduplication

Adjectivals can be reduplicated for expressiveness and intensity ((47)). As in Nepali, a reduplicated adjective can also convey plurality ((48)). The adjectival can be fully ((47a, b)), or partially ((47b, 48)) reduplicated.

- (47) (a) *mandir-aj rap-cyo rap-cyo mafia-ja-ko le*  
 temple-LOC weep-ATT weep-ATT female-child-PL COP  
 'The weeping, weeping women are at the temple.'

(c) *kam dinfi-ke de-mo wfi-a-cyo wfi-a-cyo bfiormi*  
 work find-NOM say-SEQ walk-ATT walk-ATT man

*i-lak a-lak nuŋ-le*  
 P.DEM-CIR R.DEM-CIR

'In order to find work the roving man went here and there.'

(b) *kabali pas-pas-ca chanfi-le-sa*  
 pumpkin ripe ripe -ATT become-IMPF-INFR  
 'The pumpkin will, evidently, become very ripe.' (S)

(48) *pahila ja ajhaira ho-se-ko -e rokotyak-o*  
 first EMPH again D.DEM-DEF-PL -ERG frog -GEN

*mfiar-mfiar-ca mi-ja-ko-ke daŋfi-a*  
 small-small ATT POSS-child -PL-DAT see-PST  
 'First then, again, they saw the frog's many small children.'  
 (W.10 S)

The attributive nominalizer *-cyo ~ -ca* itself, when reduplicated, conveys that the event is unexpected (mirative) as in (49), and often undesirable as in (50). See §13.1 for a discussion of the mirative in Magar.

(49) *ho-se-i dfiodra mudfia a-lak patti ŋos-cyo-cyo dfiodra mudfia*  
 D.DEM-DEF-FOC hollow log R.DEM-CIR side see-ATT-ATT hollow log

*a-lak patti ŋos-cyo-cyo thuprai rokotyak-ko le-a*  
 R.DEM-CIR side see-ATT-ATT many frog-PL COP-PST

'On the other side of the hollow log where they looked, on the other side of the log, where they looked, there were many frogs!' (A.A.029T)

(50) *mirga juruk so-cyo-cyo ho-se babu-ja cahin mirga -e*  
 deer suddenly rise -ATT-ATT D.DEM-DEF boy-child well deer -ERG

*juruk juruk mi-mi-rfiŋ-aŋ hak-ak-mo kher-ak-a* [>khereka]  
 suddenly suddenly POSS-POSS-horn-LOC stick-CAUS-SEQ run -CAUS-PST

'The deer was suddenly standing, the boy, well, the deer suddenly, suddenly, with the boy having gotten stuck on his horns, (the deer) ran.' (A.025T)

In Syangja dialect, a reduplicated form of the verb with *-ca* affixed to the first verb root and with the nominalizer *-ma* affixed to the second is also expressive and emphasizes the (often alarming) persistence of the act, as in (51). Both dialects



combine nominalized reduplications with *jat-mA nA le* [do-NOM EMPH IMPF], as in (51 c, d) and (52) which reifies and highlights the action.

- (51) (a) *maha-ja rap-CA rap-mA ja le*  
 young.female-child weep-ATT weep-NOM EMPH IMPF  
 'The weeping women are still weeping!' (S)  
 (~ 'The women are weeping and weeping!')
- (b) *maha-ja mis-CA mis-mA le si-a ki ale*  
 young.female-child sleep-ATT sleep-NOM IMPF die-PST or COP  
 'The sleeping women are sleeping! Have they died?' (S)  
 (~ 'The women are sleeping and sleeping! Have they died?')
- (c) *ja-ja-ko jofi-CA jofi-mA jat mA le-a*  
 child-child flee-ATT flee-NOM do-NOM IMPF-PST  
 'The fleeing children are fleeing doing!' (S)  
 (~ 'The women are fleeing and fleeing!')
- (d) *naŋ-ko pa-CA pa-mA jat mA na-le-a-as*  
 2S-HON seek-ATT seek-NOM do-NOM 2PRO-IMPF-PST-2PRO  
 'You searching are searching doing!'  
 (~ 'You are searching and searching!') (S)
- (52) *maha-ja rap-cyo rap-cyo jat-mA nA le* [*>jatme*]  
 young.female-child weep-ATT weep-ATT do-NOM EMPH IMPF  
 'The weeping women are still weeping!'  
 (~ 'The women weeping and weeping are doing!') (T)

## 6.12 Similitives

Similitude is expressed with *lekha* 'seem' ~ 'be like' as in (53). See also §11.6.

- (53) (a) *ho-se bfiormi wak lekha jya-mA nA le* [*>jyame* (T)]  
 D.DEM-DEF man pig seem eat-NOM EMPH IMPF  
 'This man is eating like a pig.'
- (b) *ho-se siŋ myertuŋ de-cyo mirga-o mi-ram lekha le-sa*  
 D.DEM-DEF branch tree say-ATT deer-GEN POSS-antler seem COP-INFR  
 'That supposed seeming tree branch is actually a deer antler.' (A.024T)
- (c) *kat cahin sajaye jat-cyo lekha ale*  
 one well punishment do-ATT resemble COP  
 'Well, this is done to seem like a punishment' (E.E.010T)
- (d) *ŋa-e pokhara das-le de-naŋ hem*  
 1S-ERG Pokhara leave-IMPF say-SIM Hem
- ma-marfaŋ-CA lekha se-mA nA le* [*>seme* (T)]  
 NEG-happy-ATT seem sense-NOM EMPH IMPF



## 7. Pronouns, quantifiers and qualifiers

This chapter describes pronouns, qualifiers and quantifiers. These are discussed together because the latter and the third-person pronoun share a common demonstrative base, and because pronouns, quantifiers and qualifiers share related morphology and morpho-phonological processes. These processes are numerous and complex, thus they are described in detail in this chapter. The general morphophonological processes of which these are a part are described in chapter two.

### 7.1 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns are marked for person (§7.1.1) and number (§7.1.2). Second and third-person are also marked for status (§7.1.4) and may be marked for focus (§7.1.6) and, in Syangja dialect, the focus marker is homophonous with a non-honorific (~ familiar). In addition, third-person encodes deixis (§7.1.3.) as outlined in Table 7.1. Personal pronouns may also be case-marked (§7.1.5) as in Table 7.2.

**Table 7.1. Personal pronouns**

	FIRST PERSON	SECOND PERSON	THIRD PERSON					
			PROXIMAL		DISTAL		REMOTE	
				Focus ~ Non-hon. (S)		Focus ~ Non-hon. (S)		Focus ~ Non-hon. (S)
SG.	<i>ŋa</i>	<i>naŋ</i>	<i>i-se</i>	<i>i-se-i</i>	<i>ho-se</i>	<i>ho-se-i</i>	<i>a-se</i>	<i>ase-i</i>
PL. HON	<i>kan-ko</i>	<i>naŋ-ko</i>	<i>i-se-ko</i>	<i>i-se-i-ko</i>	<i>ho-se-ko</i>	<i>ho-se-i-ko</i>	<i>a-se-ko</i>	<i>ase-i-ko</i>

#### 7.1.1 Person

First and second-person pronouns are *ŋa* and *naŋ* respectively, as in (1) and (2). They are clearly Proto-Tibeto-Burman in origin, from PTB *\*ŋa* '1S' and *\*naŋ* '2S' (Matisoff 2003: 604-605).

- (1) *ŋa*            *kathmandu-iŋ* *ale*  
 D.DEM      Kathmandu-ABL COP  
 'I am from Kathmandu.'



distinct forms: *ŋa* and *kan* respectively. Though already a plural form, *kan* combines with the plural marker *-ko*, as in (5).

- (5) *kan-ko*      *kathmandu-iŋ*      *ale*      [ > kaŋko]  
 1P-PL      Kathmandu-ABL      COP  
 'We are from Kathmandu.'

Without the addition of the plural marker, *kan* on its own indicates a paucal number 'we few' (6a). Reduplication of the plural marker in all persons iconically indicates 'many', as in (6b) and (7). The plural marker also indicates honorific status; see §7.1.4.

- (6) (a) *kan langŋia-aŋ*      *rafi-mΛ*      *le*  
 1P      village-LOC      come-NOM IMPF  
 'We few are coming to the village.' (T)

- (b) *kan langŋia-aŋ*      *rafi-mΛ*      *le-iŋ*      [ >liŋ]  
 1P      village-LOC      come-NOM      IMPF-1PL.PRO  
 'We few are coming to the village.' (S)

- (c) *kan-ko-ko*      *langŋia-aŋ*      *rafi-mΛ*      *le*      [ >kaŋkoko]  
 1P-PL-PL      village-LOC      come-NOM IMPF  
 'We many are coming to the village.' (T)

- (d) *kan-ko-ko*      *langŋia-aŋ*      *rafi-mΛ*      *le-iŋ*  
 1P-PL-PL      village-LOC      come-NOM IMPF-1PL.PRO  
 'We many are coming to the village.'

- (e) *naŋ-ko-ko*      *tafi-rafi-a*  
 2P-PL-PL      reach-come-PST  
 'You many have arrived.' (T)

- (f) *naŋ-ko-ko*      *tak-rafi-a-as*  
 2P-PL-PL      reach-come-PST-2PL.PRO  
 'You many have arrived.' (S)

- (7) *ɟammai*      *rokotyak-ko*      *cahine*      *ho-se-ko-ko-e*      [ >hoseʔkoi]  
 all      frog-PL      well      D.DEM-PL-PL-ERG

- ŋos-mΛ*      *ŋu-a*  
 see-NOM      sit-PST  
 'All the frogs, well, those many were still looking.' (AA.034T)

With the addition of the plural marker, the final nasal in *kan* assimilates to the initial velar of *-ko* becoming [kaŋko]. There is some ideolectal variation of the final nasal in the first-person plural; for some speakers of Syangja dialect it is always velarized, thus it is [kaŋ] even without the addition of *-ko*.

The second and third-person plurals are: *naŋ-ko* 'you (PL)', as in (8) and *ho-se-ko* 'they', as in (9). With the addition of *-ko*, the pronominal stem undergoes morphophonological reduction: the final velar nasal of the second-person and the final vowel of the third are apocopated, resulting in [nako] and [hosko].

(8) *naŋ-ko*      *kathmandu-iŋ*      *ale*      [> nako]  
 2P-PL      Kathmandu-ABL      COP  
 'You (all) are from Kathmandu.'

(9) *ho-se-ko*      *kathmandu-iŋ*      *ale*      [> hosko]  
 D.DEM-DEF-PL      Kathmandu-ABL      COP  
 'He is from Kathmandu.'

Magar does not have dedicated dual forms as do other Tibeto-Burman languages, including close neighbours such as Kham, which *gi-n* [1-DL] and *ji-n* [2-DL] and Chepang, which has *ce*, as well as many of the Kiranti languages, for example Puma *-ci*. Duality is conveyed by the use of the plural-marked plural pronoun *kan-ko* followed by *nfiit*, which is a variant of the numeral quantifier *nfiis*, 'two,' as in *kaŋ-ko nfiit*, 'we two' ((10)).

(10) (a) *abo*    *kan-ko nfiit*    *tika*      *bus-ak-le*  
 now    2P-PL    two    blessing      carry-CAUS-IMPF  
 'Now, we two will receive the tika blessing.' (T)

(b) *abo*    *kan-ko nfiit*    *tika*      *bus-ak-le-iŋ*  
 now    2P-PL    two    blessing      carry-CAUS-IMPF  
 'Now, we two will receive the tika blessing.' (S)

Syntactically, *nfiit* behaves differently from *nfiis* and other quantifiers, which are pre-modifiers; for example, *nfiis suthu*, 'two cats'; whereas *nfiit* follows the pronoun.

### 7.1.3 Deixis

The third-person pronouns, being demonstratives, express deixis. The distal demonstrative *ho-* followed by the definite marker *-se* functions as the anaphoric third-person in discourse. The proximal and remote third-person pronouns are *i-se* and *a-se*, respectively.

- (11) (a) *i-se* P.DEM-DEF '(s)he, it right here'  
*i-se-ko* P.DEM-DEF-PL 'they right here'
- (b) *a-se* P.DEM-DEF '(s)he, it yonder ~ '(s)he, it back then'  
*a-se-ko* P.DEM-DEF-PL 'they yonder'~ they back then'

The proximal is not often used as a pronoun; typically, it is used emphatically and in contrast with a distal pronoun, as in (12).

- (12) *ho-se ho-laŋ ma-le i-se i-laŋ le*  
D.DEM-DEF D.DEM-LOC NEG-COP P.DEM-DEF P.DEM-LOC COP  
'Not that one there, this one here!'

The remote pronoun, *a-se*, is also not frequently used; and when it is, it refers to a non-anaphoric third-person not in evidence. It can also refer to situations or persons which are uncertain, psychologically distant or remote in time and nearly forgotten as in the recounting of the old practices of witches ((13a)). As well it can have an honorific sense, creating a polite distance between the speaker and the referent, as in (13b) asked of someone physically near but social distant and/or unknown.

- (13) (a) *ho-se kura cahine Abo a-se-ko-e nA a-warfi-e* [>askoi]  
D.DEM-DEF matter well now R.DEM-DEF-PL-ERG EMPH IRR-know-IRR
- ani ho-se kura-ke cahine aru cahine lata-ganda*  
then D.DEM-DEF matter-DAT well remain well ignorant-people
- ani sojo-sidfia-ko-e cahine hi-da ma-warfi-le*  
then innocent-people-PL-ERG well what-INDF NEG-know-IMPF  
'These matters, well, now they are understood only by those ones (the witches); these matters, then, would be not understood by simple and innocent persons.'  
(E.022T)

(b) <i>a-se-ko</i>	<i>su</i>	<i>ale</i>	[>asko]
R.DEM-DEF-HON	who	COP	
'That one, who is it?'			

#### 7.1.4 Honorific pronouns

In pronouns, Magar exhibits deferential number: the plural morpheme *-ko*, (in addition to number; see §7.1.2.) indicates honorific status. Such a development is common cross-linguistically and generally occurs first in pronouns (Joseph 1987: 261-265), where we find it in Magar.

(14) <i>kan-ko</i>	1P-PL	'we HON'
<i>naŋ-ko</i>	2-PL	'you HON'
<i>ho-se-ko</i>	D.DEM-DEF-PL	'(s)he HON'
<i>a-se-ko</i>	R.DEM-DEF-PL	'(s)he (distant, unknown) HON'

To encode a plural-honorific, the morpheme *-ko* may be repeated; a process which Angdembe (1999b:47) identified in Jfiadeva Magar and called 're-pluralization', resulting in *naŋ-ko-ko* 'you-all esteemed' and *ho-se-ko-ko* 'they esteemed', as in (15). ('Re-pluralized' can also indicate 'many' and a single instance can indicate 'we few'; see §7.1.2)

(15) (a) <i>naŋ-ko-ko</i>	<i>i-laŋ</i>	<i>na-le-nis</i>
2-PL-PL	P.DEM-LOC	2PRO-COP-HON
'Honorable ones, you are here.' (S)		

(a) <i>ho-se-ko-ko-e</i>	<i>tafi-rafi-a</i>	[>hosa?ko]
D.DEM-DEF-PL-PL-ERG	reach-come-PST	
'They, honorable ones, have arrived.' (T)		

(c) <i>ho-se-ko-ko-e</i>	<i>tak-rafi-kaŋ</i>
D.DEM-DEF-PL-PL-ERG	reach-come-HON-PST
'They, honorable ones, have arrived' (S)	

However, fully replicated forms are uncommon; the first instance of *-ko* is reduced to [k] in Syangja dialect and in Tanahu Magar this further reduces to a glottal stop<sup>1</sup>, as in (16).

<sup>1</sup> In Nawalparasi dialect 'ko' reduces to murmured phonations, e.g. *nafi-ko* 'you-all(hon)'.



(16) <i>kan-ko-ko</i>	→	[kan-k-ko] (S)	→	[kan-ʔ-ko] (T)
<i>naŋ-ko-ko</i>	→	[na-k-ko] (S)	→	[na-ʔ-ko] (T)
<i>ho-se-ko-ko</i>	→	[ho-se-k-ko] (S)	→	[ho-se-ʔ-ko] (T)
<i>a-se-ko-ko</i>	→	[a-se-k-ko] (S)	→	[ase-ʔ-ko] (T)

Furthermore because this replication is optional, a plural, an honorific, or an honorific-plural (and a paucal form; see §7.1.2.) may all be marked with one instance of *-ko*, as in (17), in Tanahu dialect, status contrasts are, then, neutralized.

(17) (a) <i>naŋ-ko-e</i>	<i>cha</i>	<i>ga-le</i>
2-PL-ERG	tea	drink-IMPF
'You (all) drink tea.'~		
'You, honorable one, drink tea.'		
'You, honorable ones, drink tea.' (T)		

(b) <i>ho-se-ko-e</i>	<i>cha</i>	<i>ga-le</i>
D.DEM-DEF-PL-ERG	tea	drink-IMPF
'They drink tea.'~		
'He, honorable one, drinks tea.'		
'They, honorable ones, drink tea.' (T)		

In Syangja dialect, non-honorific and honorific forms are distinguished in two ways: 1. by the addition of a non-honorific morpheme to the pronoun; and 2. by honorific pronominal agreement on the verb. The morpheme *-i* signifies a non-honorific status, resulting in the contrast *ho-se-ko-i* [D.DEM-DEF-PL-FAM] and *ho-se-ko* [D.DEM-DEF-HON] as in (18).<sup>2</sup> The final morpheme *-i*, when used, is consistently a focus marker in Tanahu (see §7.1.6) and can be used as such in Syangja as well.

(18) (a) <i>ho-se-ko-i</i>	<i>mis-le</i>
D.DEM-DEF-PL-FAM	sleep-IMPF
'They sleep.' (S)	
(b) <i>ho-se-ko</i>	<i>mis-le-ko</i>
D.DEM-DEF-PL	sleep-IMPF-HON
'They, honourable ones, sleep.' (S)	

<sup>2</sup> Shepherd 1971 found this non-honorific in Yanchok Magar, as did Subba 1971 for Rising Magar dialect.

Honorific status, in Syangja dialect, is also encoded on the verb, as the contrasts in

(18) and (19) and (20) demonstrate; see also §.4.5.3.1.

(19) (a) *naŋ langfɪa-aŋ tak-rafi-dɔ-le* [*>takrafidɔl*]  
 2S village-LOC reach-arrive-2PRO-IMPF  
 'You will arrive at the village.'

(b) *naŋ-ko langfɪa-aŋ tak-rafi-dɔ-nis*  
 2S-PL village-LOC reach-arrive-2PRO-PL  
 'You (HON) will arrive at the village.'

(20) (a) *ho-se langfɪa-aŋ tak-rafi-le*  
 D.DEM-DEF village-LOC reach-arrive-IMPF  
 'He will arrive at the village.'

(b) *ho-se-ko langfɪa-aŋ tak-rafi-le-ko*  
 D.DEM-DEF-PL village-LOC reach-arrive-IMPF-PL  
 'He (HON) will arrive at the village.'

### 7.1.5 Case

Pronouns, like proper and common nouns, are marked for case. Case-markers follow the plural ~ honorific marker in the nominal complex, as seen in Table 7.2. The adessive case is not found in Tanahu dialect.

**Table 7.2 Pronominal case paradigms**

	FIRST PERSON		SECOND PERSON		THIRD PERSON	
	singular	plural	singular	plural~ honorific	singular	plural~ honorific
ABSOLUTIVE	<i>ŋa</i>	<i>kan-(ko)</i>	<i>naŋ</i>	<i>naŋ(ko)</i>	<i>ho-se</i>	<i>ho-se(ko)</i>
ERGATIVE / INSTRUMENTAL	<i>ŋa-e</i>	<i>kan-(ko)-e</i>	<i>naŋ-e</i>	<i>naŋ-(ko)-e</i>	<i>ho-se-e</i>	<i>ho-se-(ko)-e</i>
DATIVE	<i>ŋa-ke</i>	<i>kan-(ko)-ke</i>	<i>naŋ-ke</i>	<i>naŋ-(ko)-ke</i>	<i>ho-se-ke</i>	<i>ho-se-(ko)-ke</i>
GENITIVE	<i>ŋa-o</i>	<i>kan-(k)-uŋ</i>	<i>naŋ-o</i>	<i>naŋ-(ko)-uŋ</i>	<i>ho-se-o</i>	<i>ho-se-(ko)-uŋ</i>
LOCATIVE	<i>ŋa-aŋ</i>	<i>kan-(ko)-aŋ</i>	<i>naŋ-aŋ</i>	<i>naŋ-(ko)-aŋ</i>	<i>ho-se-aŋ</i>	<i>ho-se-(ko)-aŋ</i>
ABLATIVE	<i>ŋa-iŋ</i>	<i>kan-(ko)-iŋ</i>	<i>naŋ-iŋ</i>	<i>naŋ-(ko)-iŋ</i>	<i>ho-se-iŋ</i>	<i>ho-se-(ko)-iŋ</i>
SUPERESSIVE	<i>ŋa-tak</i>	<i>kan-(ko)-tak</i>	<i>naŋ-tak</i>	<i>naŋ-(ko)-tak</i>	<i>ho-se-tak</i>	<i>ho-se-(ko)-tak</i>
CIRCUMLATIVE	<i>ŋa-lak</i>	<i>kan-(ko)-lak</i>	<i>naŋ-lak</i>	<i>naŋ-(ko)-lak</i>	<i>ho-se-lak</i>	<i>ho-se-(ko)-lak</i>
LATIVE	<i>ŋa-tar</i>	<i>kan-(ko)-tar</i>	<i>naŋ-tar</i>	<i>naŋ-(ko)-tar</i>	<i>ho-se-tar</i>	<i>ho-se-(ko)-tar</i>
ADESSIVE (S)	<i>ŋa-tuŋ</i>	<i>kan-(ko)-tuŋ</i>	<i>naŋ-tuŋ</i>	<i>naŋ-(ko)-tuŋ</i>	<i>ho-se-tuŋ</i>	<i>ho-se-(ko)-tuŋ</i>

Pronouns referring to human and animate antecedents, as is always the case for first and second-persons and often for third, combine freely with the grammatical cases:

absolute ((21a)), ergative ((21b)), dative ((21c)) and genitive (21d). Inanimates do not, unless attributed agent-like power; see §3.4.1.3.

- (21) (a) *ho-se-Ø*                      *mis-a*  
           D.DEM-DEF-ABS                sleep-PST  
           'He slept.'
- (b) *ho-se-e*                      *met*    *jya-a*  
           D.DEM-DEF-ERG            tarkari eat-PST  
           'He ate tarkari.'
- (c) *ŋa-ke*    *ju*    *cfiafi-a*  
           1S-DAT thorn pierce-PST  
           'I got pierced by a thorn.'
- (d) *i-se*                      *ŋa-o*                      *masi-o*                      *gwa*    *ale*  
           P.DEM-DEF    1S-GEN                      aunt-GEN                      chicken COP  
           'This one is my aunt's chicken.'

Pronouns also combine with the local cases, in which instance the antecedent of the pronoun has the role of position ((22a)), goal ((22b-g)) and source ((22h)). The adessive case, found in Syangja dialect can express source ((23a)) and has a comitative ((23b)), or possessive sense ((23c)).

- (22) (a) *ho-se-e*                      *naŋ-aŋ*    *di*    *hi-ke*                      *wfiafi-a*                      [> hocie], [>naŋ]  
           D.DEM-DEF-ERG 1S-LOC    water    why-DAT                      empty.out-PST  
           'Why did he dump water on you?'
- (b) *bfiormi*    *ŋa-lak*    *rafi-a*  
           man                      1S-CIR                      come-PST  
           'The man came toward me.'
- (c) *pilap*                      *ho-se-tak*                      *bafi-a*    [>hostak]  
           butterfly                      D.EM-DEF-SUP                      settle-PST  
           'The butterfly landed on (top of) her.'
- (d) *ŋa-tak*                      *batti*    *dfat-ni(s)*  
           1S-SUP                      lamp                      burn-2-HON.IMP  
           'Shine the light over me.'
- (e) *boi ra moi-ke*                      *ŋos-ca*    *jimmebari*    *ŋa-tak*    *le*  
           Father and mother-DAT look-ATT responsibility 1S-SUP    COP  
           'The responsibility to look after father and mother is on me.'

(f) *laxmi ɲa-tar ma-chanfi-me*  
 Laxmi 1S-LAT NEG-become-IMPF  
 'Laxmi has not become (as tall) as I.' (T)

(g) *ɲa-tar rafi-na*  
 1S-LAT come-IMP  
 'Come here level with me!'

(h) *koseli ɲa-tiŋ rafi-a*  
 gift 1S-ABL come-PST  
 'The gift came from me!' (T)

(23) (a) *pahur naŋ-tuŋ-iŋ rafi-ca ale* [*>natuŋ*]  
 gift 2S-ADS-ABL come-ATT COP  
 'The gift came from you.'(S)

(b) *ɲa-tuŋ rafi-na*  
 1S-ADS come-HON.IMP  
 'Come with me!' (S)

(c) *gagri ho-se-tuŋ le* [*> hostuŋ*]  
 waterpot D.DEM-ADS COP  
 'She has a water pot.' (S)

(d) *ɲa-o gwa-man a-se-tuŋ le* [*> astuŋ*]  
 1S-GEN chicken-FM R.DEM-ADS COP  
 'That (far off) one has my hen.' (S)

When referring to plural animate antecedents, the circumlative can mean 'among', as in

(24).

(24) *ho-se-laŋ ho-se-ko-lak cahin babu-ja-o rokotyak mu-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF-LOC D.DEM-DEF-PL-LOC well boy-child-GEN frog sit-PST  
 'There, among them, well, sat the boy's frog.' (A.034 T)

A number of morphophonological changes occur in pronouns with the addition of case endings. Preceding the alveolar-initial case endings (adessive, superessive and circumlative), the final velar nasal of the second-person *naŋ* assimilates to [nan]. The stem-final vowel of third-person pronoun *ho-se* apocopates before consonant-initial case-markers; for example, the dative *-ke*, the adessive *-tuŋ*, the superessive *-tak* and the

circumlative *-lak*, resulting in [hosko], [hoske], [hostuŋ], [hostak] and [hoslak] respectively. When the ergative or instrumental case-marker *-e*, or the genitive case-marker *-o* are added to first- and third-person pronouns, the vowels diphthongize. In the genitive this results in [ŋau] and [hosau]; further reduction is then undergone in first-person in Tanahu dialect resulting in [ŋu]. In both dialects, the ergative and instrumental *-e* raises, backs and rounds the first-person pronoun stem vowel resulting in [ŋoi] (from [ŋai]). In addition, the alveolar fricative [s] of the third-person *ho-se* palatalizes and the vowel rises, becoming [hocei] (from *ho-se-e*) in ergative and instrumental case; in the genitive case [hoseu] becomes [hoceu]. Also, when the locative suffix *-aŋ* is added to the stem-final vowel of the first and third-person, the vowel apocopates resulting in [ŋaŋ] and [hosaŋ].

In addition to changes induced in the pronoun stem, there are also changes that occur in the case endings. The ergative and instrumental case-marker *-e* has the allomorph *-e* when suffixed to a consonant-final stem and to the final vowels /i/ and /o/; thus, in the second-person the ergative/ instrumental is pronounced [naŋe]. In Syangja dialect this can then alter the stem vowel resulting in [neŋe]. The plural *-ko* also reduces to [k] preceding the genitive *-uŋ*.

#### 7.1.6 Focus marking

As noted, the third-person pronoun may be followed by a 'focus' marker resulting in the meaning 'that very one'. This form is used to introduce a new referent, or to confirm or emphasize an already mentioned referent. It is formed by suffixing *-i* to the pronoun, as in (25).

(25) *ho-se-i*                    *im-ij*                    *bfiAg-di-s-cyo*                    *rokotyak*                    *le-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF-FOC   house-ABL   escape-LN-ITR-ATT   frog                    COP-PST  
 'That very one was the frog that had run away from home.' (A.035T)

In the Syangja dialect, *-i* suffixed to the third-person may also indicate a non-honorific referent. Its use as a focus marker in Tanahu is likely a reinterpretation and assimilation to Nepali, which has *-i* as a focus ~ emphatic marker. The focus ~ non-honorific morpheme is homophonous with the ergative marker and induces the same morphophonological processes: the final vowel rises and diphthongizes and the alveolar fricative palatalizes (*ho-se-i* [ >hocei]), (see §71.5.). Unlike case-markers, the focus ~ non-honorific marker follows the pronoun directly and precedes other markers for example, the plural marker: *ho-se-i-ko* [D.DEM-DEF-FOC /NON-HON-PL/HON] and the indefinite marker *ku-se-i-da* [INTRG-DEF-FOC-INDF].

## 7.2 Reflexive pronouns

The reflexive pronouns are formed by the addition of a reflexive morpheme *-lafi* to a pronominal stem. The word *\*m-hla* is reconstructed in Benedict's *Sino-Tibetan Conspectus* #475 as 'spirit', 'ghost' 'shadow' and in Proto Lolo-Burmese *\*hla* (Matisoff 2003:56) means 'spirit'. This etymon is a possible source for the Magar reflexive. König, and Siemund (1999:41-74) have identified 'body', 'head', 'soul', 'bone', 'heart', and 'skin' as possible origins of reflexives. Moravcsik (1972: 271-277) observes that intensifiers which may also function as reflexives are derived from 'soul' in Tigrinya, Arabic, and Nubian.

The pronominal stem of the reflexive pronouns is identical to personal pronouns in first and second-person, but in third-person, an alternative and older form, *me-*, is used (see §7.1.1). The plural reflexives take the plural marker *-ko*, with its addition in first and

second-person the stem-final nasal apocopes resulting in [kakolafi] 'ourselves' and [nakolafi] 'yourselves'. The third-person plural reflexive may also be expressed by a reduplication of the full reflexive form: *me-lafi me-lafi* 'themselves'.

(26)	1S	<i>ŋa-lafi</i>	'myself'	
	2S	<i>naŋ-lafi</i>	'yourself'	
	3S	<i>me-lafi</i>	'him/herself'	
	1P	<i>kan-ko-lafi</i>	'ourselves'	[> kakolafi]
	2P	<i>naŋ-ko-lafi</i>	'yourselves'	[> nakolafi]
	3P	<i>me-ko-lafi</i>	'themselves'	

The antecedent of the reflexive pronouns is generally in ergative case. The pronoun itself may be in absolutive or dative case. Volition is the determining factor in case assignment; see also §3.4.1.7. Assuming that one would voluntarily wash, but not cut oneself, we see in (27) - (30) that a volitional act is encoded with an ergative antecedent and non-volitional in dative.

(27)	(a)	<i>ŋa-e</i>	<i>ŋa-lafi</i>	<i>hurfi-le</i>
		1S-ERG	1S-self	wash-IMPF
		'I wash myself (intentionally).' (T)		
	(b)	<i>naŋ-e</i>	<i>naŋ-lafi</i>	<i>hurfi-le</i>
		2S-ERG	2S-self	wash-IMPF
		'You wash yourself (intentionally).' (T)		
	(c)	<i>ho-se-e</i>	<i>me-lafi</i>	<i>hurfi-le</i>
		D.DEM-DEF-ERG	3S-self	wash-IMPF
		'S/he washes her/himself (intentionally).'		

(28)	(a)	<i>ŋa-e</i>	<i>ŋa-lafi</i>	<i>hurfi-le-aŋ</i>
		1S-ERG	1S-self	wash IMPF-1PRO
		'I wash myself (intentionally).' (S)		
	(b)	<i>naŋ-e</i>	<i>naŋ-lafi</i>	<i>res-dʌ-l</i>
		2S-ERG	2S-self	wash-2PRO-IMPF
		'You wash your face ~ head (intentionally).' (S)		

cf.

- (29) (a) *ŋa-e*      *ŋa-lafi-ke*      *ce-a*  
 1S-ERG      1S-self-DAT      cut-PST  
 'I cut myself (by accident).' (T)
- (b) *naŋ-e*      *naŋ-lafi-ke*      *ce-a*  
 2S-ERG      2S-self-DAT      cut-PST  
 'You cut yourself (by accident).' (T)
- (c) *ho-se-e*      *me-lafi-ke*      *ce-a*  
 3S-ERG      3S-self-DAT      cut-PST  
 'She cut herself (by accident).'
- (30) (a) *ŋa-e*      *ŋa-lafi-ke*      *ŋa-ce-aŋ*  
 1S-ERG      1S-self-DAT      cut-PST  
 'I cut myself (by accident).' (S)
- (b) *naŋ-e*      *naŋ-lafi-ke*      *na-ce-a*  
 2S-ERG      2S-self-DAT      cut-PST  
 'You cut yourself (by accident).' (S)

The reflexive pronoun may be followed by the emphatic *-nΛ*. This construction expresses surprise and/or pride, rather like the English expression 'all by my- ~ your- ~ itself' ((31)).

- (31) (a) *ŋa-e*      *raŋghu-ke*      *ŋa-lafi*      *nΛ*      *sat-a*  
 1S-ERG tiger-DAT      1S-self-ERG      EMPH      kill-PST  
 'I killed the lion all by myself!' (T)
- (b) *me-lafi*      *nΛ*      *rafi-a*      *rΛ*      *jik-a*  
 3S-self      EMPH      come-PST      and      sting-PST  
 'It came all by itself and stung you?' (036.T)
- (c) *naŋ-e*      *beskaŋ*      *naŋ-lafi*      *jΛ*      *na-phin-a*  
 2S-ERG      bread      2S-self      EMPH      2PRO-cook-PST  
 'You cooked bread all by yourself!' (S)

Another reflexive form exists, *men-o*, which means 'each one's' or 'their own respective' ((32)). As noted, this form *men* is the third-person pronoun still in use in Jfiadeva dialect; *men-o* would be that pronoun in genitive case. It is generally deemed to be a more familiar form and a reciprocal and/or genitival form would be used in polite circumstances ((33)); and *men-o* can have a reciprocal meaning, as in (34).



(32) (a) *ho-se-ko-e*      *men-o*      *men-o*      *kam jat-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF-ERG      3S-GEN      3S-GEN      work do-PST  
 'They each did their own work.'

(b) *men-o*      *men-o*      *kep jim-o*  
 3S-GEN      3S-GEN      ear catch-IMP  
 'Each of you, cover your ears!'

(33) (a) *me-lafi*      *me-lafi-o*      *kam jat-a*  
 3S-self      3S-self-GEN      work do-PST  
 'They each did their own work.'

(b) *naŋ-ko-e*      *naŋ-kuj*      *kep jim-ni(s)*  
 2S-HON-ERG      2S-GEN      ear catch-IMP.HON  
 'Each of you, cover your ears!'

(34) *ho-se-ko-e*      *men-o*      *men-o*      *mi-hut*      *jim- le*  
 D.DEM-DEF-PL-ERG      3S-GEN      3S-GEN      POSS-hnad      catch-IMPF  
 'They will catch hold of each other's hands.'

### 7.3 Possessive pronouns

Possessive pronouns are formed by adding the genitive case-markers *-o* (SG) or *-uj* (PL)

to pronouns and to distal, proximal and remote personal pronouns.<sup>3</sup>

(35) 1S	<i>ŋa-o</i>	'my' ~ 'mine'
2S	<i>naŋ-o</i>	'your' ~ 'yours'
3S P.DEM	<i>i-se-o</i>	'his', 'her', 'its' ~ 'his', 'hers', 'its' (right here)
3S D.DEM	<i>ho-se-o</i>	'his', 'her', 'its' ~ 'his', 'hers', 'its'
3S.R.DEM	<i>a-se-o</i>	'his' (non-anaphoric and not present)
1P	<i>kan-uj</i>	'our' ~ 'ours'
2P	<i>naŋ-ko-uj</i>	'your' ~ 'yours'
3P P.DEM	<i>i-se-ko-uj</i>	'their' ~ 'theirs' (right here)
3P D.DEM	<i>ho-se-ko-uj</i>	'their' ~ 'theirs'
3P R.DEM	<i>a-se-ko-uj</i>	'theirs' (non-anaphoric and not present)

<sup>3</sup> Magar shares this formation of possessives from a full pronoun with Eastern Himalayish languages (Sharma et. al 2008:5 ) such as "Hayu (Michailovsky 1988), Bantawa (N.K. Rai 1984), Thulung (Lahaussais 2003), Dumi (van Driem 1993), and Yamphu (Rutgers 1998) are examples where the possessive person markers are pronouns: they can bear a genitive case or a nominalizer, but like other dependent nominals, they can also be used attributively without a genitive. Belhare (Bickel 2003), Athpare (Ebert 1997b) and Limbu (van Driem 1987) are examples of languages where the possessive person markers are prefixes: as such, they cannot be case-marked, and they can only occur with a nominal stem. A noun phrase containing them may be expanded by a dependent noun or personal pronoun in the genitive. Wambule (Opgenort 2004) exemplifies phrasal prefixes that precede entire noun phrases." Kham (Watters 2002:162) has a mixed systems which combines a free pronoun with a prefix.

As observed in other pronominal forms, there is phonological reduction. In the plural possessives *-ko* reduces to [k]. Final velar nasals and the /e/ in *ho-se* are often apocoped before [k] and word finally in Tanahu, where they coalesce with the final vowel. The addition of the genitive *-o* to final /a/ results in a diphthong [au] and its addition to /e/ results in [iu], as seen in (36). In Tanahu dialect, among some speakers first and second-person possessive pronouns can reduce further to [ŋu] and [nu].

(36) 1S	[ŋau]	→ [ŋu] (T)
2S	[naŋo]	→ [nu] (T)
3S P.DEM	[icau]	
3S D.DEM	[hocau]	
3S R.DEM	[aciu]	
2P	[kanuŋ]	→ [kanū] (T)
2P	[nakuŋ]	→ [kanū] (T)
3P P.DEM	[iskun]	→ [iskū] (T)
3P D.DEM	[hoskun]	→ [hoskū] (T)
3P R.DEM	[askun]	→ [akū] (T)

The predicate and attributive forms of personal pronouns are identical, but their syntactic positions differ. Predicative personal pronouns in copular sentences, as in (37), precede the copular verb and follow the subject noun. Attributive personal possessives, as in (38), like other modifiers, precede the noun they modify.

(37) (a) <i>i-se</i>	<i>ku-se-o</i>	<i>ŋfiet</i>	<i>ale</i>	[>kuceo]
P.DEM-DEF	INTRG-DEF-GEN	cow	COP	
'This one, whose cow is it?'				
(b) <i>ŋfiet</i>	<i>ŋa-o</i>	<i>ale</i>		[>ŋau ~ >ŋu(T)]
cow	1S-GEN	COP		
'(The) cow is mine.'				
(38) <i>i-se</i>	<i>ŋa-o</i>	<i>ŋfiet</i>	<i>ale</i>	[>ŋau ~ >ŋu(T)]
P.DEM-DEF	1S-GEN	cow	COP	
'This is my cow.'				

Possessives translating as 'my own', 'your own' or 'his, her, its own' are formed with the reflexive pronoun in genitive case. The vowel of the plural *-ko* drops out before genitive case-marker. The final nasals of the second-person singular and the first-person plural apocopate before *-lafɪ* resulting in [kalafikuŋ] and [nalafio]; the latter also diphthongizes to [nalɸiau]. The third-person reflexive is not formed with the demonstrative, but with *me-*.

(39)	1S	<i>ŋa-lafɪ-o</i>	'my own'	[>ŋalɸiau]	
	2S	<i>naŋ-lafɪ-o</i>	'your own'	[>nalafio]	→ [nalɸiau]
	3S	<i>me-lafɪ-o</i>	'her own'	[>melfiau]	
	1P	<i>kan-ko-lafɪ-uŋ</i>	'our own'	[>kankoluŋ]	→ [kanuŋ] [kanũ(T)]
	2P	<i>naŋ-ko-lafɪ-uŋ</i>	'your-PL own'	[>nakoluŋ]	
	3P	<i>me-ko-lafɪ-uŋ</i>	'their own'	[>mekoluŋ]	

These forms are also used predicatively as in (40) and attributively as in (41).

(40)	(a)	<i>postʌk</i>	<i>ŋa-lafɪ-o</i>	<i>ale</i>
		book	1S-self-GEN	COP
		'The book is my own.'		

	(b)	<i>postʌk</i>	<i>naŋ-lafɪ-o</i>	<i>ale</i>
		book	2S-self-GEN	COP
		'The book is your own.'		

	(c)	<i>postʌk</i>	<i>me-lafɪ-o</i>	<i>ale</i>
		book	3S-self-GEN	COP
		'The book is her own.'		

(41)	<i>ho-se-e</i>	<i>me-lafɪ-o</i>	<i>mi-ja</i>	<i>lhies-aŋ</i>	<i>ma-dhaŋ-mʌ</i>	<i>le</i>
	D.DEM-ERG	3S-self-GEN	POSS-child	year-LOC	NEG-see-NOM	IMPF
	'She has not seen her own son in years.' (K.05bS)					

As with personal pronouns, reflexive pronouns can also be focus-marked, as in (42).

(42)	<i>ho-tak-iŋ</i>	<i>me-lafɪ-o</i>	<i>ho-se</i>	<i>rokotyak</i>	<i>rokotyak-ko</i>	<i>hul-aŋ</i>	[>hotiŋ]
	D.DEM-SUP-ABL	3S-self-GEN	D.DEM-DEF	frog	frog-PL	group-LOC	
	<i>me-lafɪ-o</i>	<i>mi-ja</i>	<i>dhari</i>	<i>rokotyak-ko</i>	<i>mi-ja-ko-uŋ</i>		
	3S-self-GEN	POSS-child	even	frog-PL	POSS-child-PL-GEN		

*hul-aŋ*      *me-laŋ-o-i*      *kok-cyo*      *ho-se*      *babu-ja-e*  
 group-LOC    3S-self-GEN-FOC    care.for-ATT    D.DEM-DEF    boy.child-ERG

*kok-cyo*      *rokotyak-ko*      *mi-ja*      *dfiari*      *daŋfi-a*  
 care.for-ATT    frog-PL            POSS-child    even            see-PST

'Then the boy saw his very own frog in the group of frogs, his own baby was also in the group of frog's children, his very own, the one he had looked after.'  
 (A.A.032T)

#### 7.4 Reciprocal pronouns

There is no dedicated reciprocal form in Magar. Reciprocals are expressed with a plural reflexive, which is optionally reduplicated ((43a-e)). As noted above for (32), *men-o* *men-o* can also have a reciprocal meaning.

(43) (a) *ho-se-ko*      *me-ko-laŋi* (*me-ko-laŋi*)      *ŋak-mΛ*    *le*  
 D.DEM-DEF-PL    3S-PL-self    (3S-PL-self)    talk-NOM    IMPF  
 'They are talking to each other.'

(b) *ho-s-ko*      *me-ko-laŋi* (*me-ko-laŋi*)      *punfi-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF-PL    3-PL-self    (3-PL-self)    fight-PST  
 'They fought with each other.'

(c) *kan-ko*    *kan-ko-laŋi* (*kan-ko-laŋi*)      *kufi-le*  
 1P-PL    1P-PL-self    (1P-PL-self)    embrace-IMPF  
 'We embrace each other.'(T)

(d) *kan-ko*    *kan-ko-laŋi* (*kan-ko-laŋi*)      *gemfi-le-iŋ*  
 1P-PL    1P-PL-self    (1P-PL-self)    embrace-IMPF-1P.PRO  
 'We embrace each other. (S)

(e) *kan-ko*    *kan-ko-laŋi* (*kan-ko-laŋi*)      *ma-a-dup-e*  
 1P-PL    1P-PL-self    (1P-PL-self)    NEG-IRR-meet-IRR-1P.PRO  
 'We might not meet each other.'(T)

(f) *kan-ko*    *kan-ko-laŋi* (*kan-ko-laŋi*)      *ma-a-tΛ-dup-e-iŋ*      [> mitdupiŋ]  
 1P-PL    1P-PL-self    (1P-PL-self)    NEG-IRR-OPT-meet-IRR-1P.PRO  
 'We might not meet each other.'(S)

#### 7.5 Demonstrative pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns are comprised of a deictic root which conveys varying degrees of distance, either *i-* proximal, *ho-* distal, or *a-* remote. The root is followed by the

morpheme *-se* which signifies a definite referent (as opposed to *-da* which is indefinite, see §7.7). The combinations result in: *i-se* 'this one' ((44a)), *ho-se* 'that one' ((44b)) and *a-se* 'that one yonder' ((44c)). Such deictic roots are common in Himalayish languages, and are found, for example, in Kham as well as Kiranti languages (Watters 2008:24).<sup>4</sup> The demonstrative *i-se* refers to things near at hand, *ho-se* to entities farther away but within the physical and/or discourse context. Both are often used in presentative constructions as in (44a, b). The remote demonstrative *a-se* refers to things or persons which are distant and/or uncertain in actual or psychological space and time, as in (44c).

(44) (a) *i-se*            *ho-se-ko-uŋ*            *im*    *ale*  
           P.DEM-DEF    D.DEM-DEF-PL-GEN    house COP  
           'This one is their house.'

(b) *ho-se*            *ŋa-o*    *im*    *ale*  
           D.DEM-DEF    1S-GEN    house    COP  
           'That one is my house.'

(c) *a-se-ko-i*            *ka-yak-aŋ*    *warfi-cyo*    *le-a*  
           R.DEM-DEF-FOC    one-day-LOC    know-ATT    IMPF-PST  
           'Those ones, in the old days, were wise.'

The distal demonstrative pronoun is homophonous with the third-person pronoun and as already observed, if used to refer to humans, *ho-se* can translate as either 'he', 'she' or 'they' ((45)).

(45) (a) *ho-se-e*            *rfa-ke*    *sat-a*  
           D.DEM-DEF-ERG    goat-DAT    kill-PST  
           'She killed a goat.' ~ 'That one killed a goat'

(b) *ho-se*            *raŋgfu*            *kAθA*    *birifi-le*  
           D.DEM-DEF    lion            with    fear-IMPF  
           'He is afraid of lions.' ~ 'That one is afraid of lions.'

<sup>4</sup> In Takale Kham, the suffixes that combine with deictic roots to form demonstratives are transparently nominalizers (Watters 2008: 24). The suffixes *-se* and *-da* may also be nominalizers in Magar, given their pronominal function and parallels in Kham; however, unlike Kham, these forms do not appear as nominalizers in other contexts, so such an interpretation cannot be unequivocally made.

- (c) *ho-se-ko*                      *cho*    *ce-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF-PL                      rice    cut-NOM IMPF-PST  
 'They cut rice.' ~ 'Those ones cut rice.'

The demonstrative pronouns are also homophonous with the attributive demonstratives; the latter function as determiners. Demonstrative determiners are not inflected for honorific status, number, or focus, as in (46a); whereas demonstrative pronouns are, as in (46b).

- (46) (a) *i-se*                      *bfiormi-ko*                      *sefi-cyo*                      *le*  
 P.DEM-DEF    men-PL                      good-ATT                      COP  
 'These men are good.'
- (b) *i-se-ko-(ko)-e*                      *sefi-cyo*                      *kam*                      *jat-a*  
 P.DEM-DEF-HON-(PL)-ERG                      good-ATT                      work                      do-PST  
 'These (honourable ones) did good work.'

The demonstrative pronouns *ho* also combines with the indefinite marker *-da* and has the meaning 'since', as in (47)

- (47) *i-se*                      *gfunda*                      *bfi-as-dekhiŋ*                      *ho-da*                      *gfunda*  
 P.DEM-DEF                      knee                      break-from                      D.DEM-INDEF                      knee
- a-se*                      *chanfi-pyak-ca*                      *a-se*                      *chanfi-le*                      *ni*  
 R.DEM-DEF                      become-after-ATT                      R.DEM-DEF                      become- IMPF                      CNFM  
 "...since breaking my knee, after that knee thing happened, that is how it is."  
 (K.K.065S)

### 7.5.1 Number and focus

As on personal pronouns, the plural and focus markers (also the non-honorific in Syangja) on demonstrative pronouns are *-ko* ((48)) and *-i* ((49)), respectively.

- (48) (a) *i-se*                      *ho-se-ko-uŋ*                      *gahara*                      *ale*  
 P.DEM-DEF                      D.DEM-DEF-PL-GEN                      paddy-field                      COP  
 'This one is their paddy-field.'

cf.

- (b) *i-se-ko-i*                      *ŋa-o*                      *bfi-oya-ko*                      *ale*                      [*>iskoi*]  
 P.DEM-DEF-PL-FOC                      1S-GEN                      younger.brother-PL                      COP  
 'These (particular) ones are my younger brothers.'



- (b) *i-se-tuŋ* P.DEM-DEF-ADS 'near ~ with this one'  
*ho-se-tuŋ* D.DEM-DEF-ADS 'near ~ with that one'  
*a-se-tuŋ* R.DEM-DEF-ADS 'near ~ with that one over there'

(52) (a) *thapa i-laŋ le*  
 Thapa P.DEM-LOC COP  
 'Thapa is here.'

(b) *ho-laŋ nfiis rokotyak-ko le-a*  
 D.DEM-LOC two frog-PL COP-PST  
 'There, there were two frogs'. (A.A.030T)

(c) *kan-ko-e siŋ a-laŋ ka-da-a-as*  
 2-PL-ERG wood R.DEM-LOC take-put-PST-2PL.PRO  
 'We piled the wood over there' (S)

(d) *a-lak i-lak yot-naŋ ra cyu-e a-lak i-lak le*  
 R.DEM-CIR P.DEM.CIR lure-SIM and dog-ERG R.DEM-CIR P.DEM.CIR COP

*ki de-mo ŋos-naŋ ra antra-aŋ argan-o gola daŋfi-a*  
 or say-SEQ look-SIM and above-LOC wasp-GEN nest see-PST  
 'While luring the frog here and there and as the dog was looking,  
 wondering if the frog was here or there, (the boy) saw above him a wasp's  
 nest. (A.013T)

(e) *ku-se-kat than ho-lak mu-le-sa* [>kuskat]  
 INTRG-DEF-one temple R.DEM-LOC remain-IMPF-EVID  
 'Which temple (do you think) remains thereabouts?' (N.38)

(f) *ho-se ren-ja i-lak-uŋ ale* [>ilakāũ (T)]  
 D.DEM-DEF male-child P.DEM-CIR-GEN COP  
 'That man is from around here.'

(g) *magar-ko ho-lak-uŋ mu-le* [>holakāũ (T)]  
 Magar-PL D.DEM-CIR-GEN come-IMPF  
 'Magars live in those parts there.'

(h) *citawa a-lak-uŋ le* [>alakāũ (T)]  
 R.DEM-CIR-GEN male-child P.DEM-CIR-GEN COP  
 'In those parts over there are leopards.'

(53) (a) *i-se-tak ho-se-tak te-naŋ karfiŋ-ma le* [>istak], [>hostak]  
 P.DEM-DEF-SUP D.DEM-DEF-SUP say-SIM big-NOM IMPF  
 'This one up here is bigger than that on up there.'



(b) *ho tot ho-se-tak-aŋ di ka-le* [ $>$  hostakaŋ]  
 D.DEM exactly D.DEM-SUP-LOC water put-IMPF  
 'Right there, put the water in atop of that one.' (D.014 T)

(c) *ŋa-e a-se-tak sen-da ma-daŋfi-a*  
 IS-ERG R.DEM-DEF-SUP when-INDR NEG-see-PST  
 'I never saw those ones up over there.'

The superessive and ablative together cases combine with the demonstrative bases to form local demonstratives, as in (54). The combination of *tak-ij* can reduce to [tiŋ]. The distal demonstrative, in addition to its spatial use, has temporal interpretations; and means not only 'from there' but 'from then' and is frequently used in discourse to present sequential events, as in (56). This sequential meaning has evolved further to a causal meaning 'hence' as in (57). These semantic extensions are treated in more detail in §9.5.

(54) (a) *i-tak-ij* P.DEM-SUP-ABL 'from atop this' [ $>$ itiŋ]  
*ho-tak-ij* D.DEM-SUP-ABL 'from atop that' ~ 'thence' [ $>$ hotiŋ]  
*a-tak-ij* R.DEM-SUP-ABL 'from atop that place yonder' [ $>$ atiŋ]  
*ku-tak-ij* INTRG-SUP-ABL 'from atop where' [ $>$ kutiŋ]

(55) (a) *lukurdfium ku-tak-ij bfiur-a*  
 owl P.DEM-SUP-ABL fly-PST  
 'From where up there did the owl fly?'

(b) *lukurdfium i-tak-ij bfiur-a*  
 owl P.DEM-SUP-ABL fly-PST  
 'The owl flew from on top of this.'

(c) *a-se-ko-e sofi-cyo duhwā a-tak-ij*  
 R.DEM-DEF-PL-ERG rise-ATT smoke R.DEM-SUP-ABL

*daŋfi-o le-a ta*  
 see-HAB IMPF-PST REP

'They say those ones used to see smoke rising from far up over there.'

(56) *pahila maŋkoy nuk-le maŋkoy nuk khasaro maŋkoy nuk-le*  
 first corn grind-IMPF corn grind large corn grind-IMPF

*ho-tak-ij tap-le tap-le ani pheri phinfi-le hai*  
 D.DEM-SUP-ABL sift-IMPF sift-IMPF then again cook-IMPF okay  
 'First, grind the corn, grind the corn in big pieces, then sift, sift again and then



### 7.6.1 Number, status and focus

As with other pronouns, the interrogative pronouns are marked for number and status, and focus / familiarity. Plural interrogative pronouns are marked by *-ko*, by reduplication, or a combination of both, as seen in Table 7.3.

**Table 7.3 Interrogative pronouns**

SINGULAR		PLURAL	
<i>su</i>	'who'	<i>su-su(i)(-ko)</i>	'who (all)'
<i>ku-se</i>	'which'	<i>ku-se(i)</i> <i>~ku-se-ku-se</i>	'which (ones)'
<i>hi</i>	'what'	<i>hi-hi</i>	'what (ones)'

The interrogatives *su*, 'who' ((60)), *hi*, 'what' ((61)) and *ku-se* 'who' ((62)), as plurals are reduplicated and *su* is optionally followed by the plural marker *-ko* ((63b)). As noted, preceding a consonant, *ku-se* reduces to [kus].

(60) (a) *su ale*  
 who COP  
 'Who is it?'

(b) *su-su-ko ale*  
 who-who-HON COP  
 'Who are they?'

(c) *su-su nuŋ-le*  
 Who-who go-IMPF  
 'Who (all) is going?'

(61) (a) *hi ale*  
 what COP  
 'What is it?'

(b) *hi-hi ale*  
 what-what COP  
 'What are they?'

(62) (a) *ku-se ale*  
 INTRG-DEF COP  
 'Who is it?'

(b) *ku-se-ku-se ale*  
 INTRG-DEF-INTRG-DEF COP  
 'Who ones are they?'

[>kuskus]

The interrogatives *su*, and *ku-se*, when referring to humans, can be marked with the honorific, as in (63a, b); however, the honorific *ku-se-ko* is uncommon. The interrogative *ku-se* is frequently marked for focus resulting in *ku-se-i*, as in (64).

(63) (a) *su-su-ko rafi-a*  
 who-who-HON come-PST  
 'Who (HON) came? (T)

(b) *su-su-ko rafi-a-kaŋ*  
 who-who-HON come-PST-3HON  
 'Who (HON) came? (S)

(c) *ku-se-ku-se-ko tafi-rafi-a*  
 INTRG-DEF-INTRG-DEF-HON reach-come-PST  
 'Which (honoured ones) have arrived?

(d) *ku-se-ku-se-ko tak-rafi-a-kaŋ*  
 INTRG-DEF-INTRG-DEF-HON reach-come-PST-3HON  
 'Which (honoured ones) have arrived?

(64) (a) *ku-se-i ale*  
 INTRG-DEF-FOC COP  
 'Which particular ones are they?

(b) *ku-se-i ale*  
 INTRG-DEF-FAM COP  
 'Which (non-honorific) ones are they? (S)

### 7.6.2 Case

Interrogative pronouns may be case-marked, as seen in (65). The pronoun *su* refers to human agents, recipients or possessors, and combines with absolutive, ergative, dative and genitive cases as in (61d, e). The pronoun *hi* is used of non-humans; thus, it does not typically combine with the grammatical cases. The pronoun *ku* can be used of humans and when it does so takes grammatical case. *ku*, as an 'all-purpose' interrogative pronoun, also combines with the local cases e.g. the adessive or circumlative, as in (62) to mean 'where'.

- (65) (a) *su tafi-rafi-a*  
 who reach-come-PST  
 'Who arrived?'
- (b) *su-e cho ज्या-a*  
 who-ERG rice.meal eat-PST  
 'Who ate the meal?'
- (b) *ku-se-e cho ज्या-a*  
 INTRG-DEF-ERG rice.meal eat-PST  
 'Who ate the meal?'
- (c) *naŋ-ko-e su-ke cho yaŋi-a*  
 2S-PL-ERG who-DAT rice.meal give-PST  
 'To whom did you give the meal?'
- (d) *i-se su-o im ale*  
 P.DEM-DEF who-GEN house COP  
 'Whose house is this?'
- (e) *i-se ku-se-o im ale* [*>kucau*]  
 P.DEM-DEF INTRG-DEF-GEN house COP  
 'Whose house is this?' (S)
- (66) (a) *ku-tuŋ-iŋ turi na-dinfi-a-as* [*>kutūiŋ*]  
 INTRG-SUP-ABL letter 2PRO-receive-PST-2PRO  
 'From whom did you receive the letter?' (S)
- (b) *ho-se ku-tiŋ le*  
 D.DEM INTRG-ADS COP  
 'With whom is he?' (S)
- (c) *ku-lak nu-a de-mo ŋos-naŋ ku-lak nu-a*  
 INTRG-CIR go-PST say-SEQ look-SIM which-CIR go-PST
- de-mo jammai lak ŋos-naŋ jutta-aŋ dŋari ŋos-a*  
 say-SEQ every place look-SIM shoes-LOC even look-PST  
 "'Where has he gone?" they asked while they looked. "Where has he gone?"  
 they wondered as they looked everywhere, even in the shoes. (A.A.006T)

### 7.7 Indefinite pronouns

Indefinite pronouns are formed with an interrogatives *su* 'who', *hi* 'what', *ku* 'which' in combination with the indefinite suffix *-da*, as in (67), which contrasts with the definite

suffix *-se* (see §7.5). Though the two contrast, they can combine following *ku*, resulting in *ku-se-i-da* [INTRG-DEF-FOC-INDF] which means 'anyone' or 'whatsoever', as in (67c).

- (67) (a) *im-aŋ su-i-da le*  
 house-LOC who-FOC-INDF COP  
 'Someone is home.' ~ 'Is someone home?'
- (b) *hi-da a-u-le-e*  
 what-INDF IRR-COP-IRR  
 'Whatever might it be?'
- (c) *im-aŋ ku-se-i-da le ki ma-le*  
 house-LOC which-DEF-FOC-INDF COP or NEG-COP  
 'Is anyone home?'

There are no negative indefinite pronouns such as 'no one' or 'nothing'; rather, the indefinite pronoun combines with a negated verb, as in (68).

- (68) (a) *im-aŋ su-i-da ma-le*  
 house-LOC who-FOC-INDF NEG-COP  
 'No one whosoever is in the house.'
- (a) *im-aŋ ku-se-i-da ma-le*  
 house-LOC INTRG-DEF-FOC-INDF NEG-COP  
 'No one whosoever is in the house.'
- (b) *hi-da ma-le*  
 what-INDF NEG-COP  
 'It is nothing whatsoever.'
- (c) *jΛmmai gfiadi-aŋ ku-se-i-da ma-sefi-mΛ le*  
 all watch-LOC which-DEF-FOC-INDF NEG-nice-NOM IMPF  
 'None whatsoever of the watches are nice.'

### 7.7.1 Number and focus

Indefinite pronouns are marked for number, as in (69a) and for focus, as in (69b, c).

Focus marking precedes the indefinite marker *-da* and the plural marker.

- (69) (a) *ŋa-o goji-aŋ hi-da-ko le*  
 1S-GEN pocket-LOC what-INDF-PL COP  
 'I have something in my pocket.'



(c) *hi chanfi-le-afiyak-da sefi-cyo a-chanfi-e* [*>chanfilfiya?da*]  
 what become-COP-COND-INDF good-ATT IRR-become-IRR  
 'Whatever happens will be for the best.' (T)

(d) *hi chanfi-de-afiyay-da sefi-ca a-ta-chanfi-e*  
 what become-say-COND-INDF good-ATT IRR-OPT-become-IRR  
 'Whatever happens may it be for the best.' (S)

(72) (a) *ku-se de-le-afiyak-da la-ni* [*>kusaldelfiya?da*]  
 INTRG-DEF say-COP-COND-INDF take-IMP  
 'Take whichever!' (T)

(b) *ku-se-de-ahay-da la-nis* [*>kustyanɔda*]  
 INTRG-DEF-say-COND-INDF take-HON.IMP  
 'Take whichever!' (S)

The indefinite forms 'wherever' or 'however' are expressed with *ku* in the circumlative case *-lak*, as in (73), or with *ku* plus the suffix *-ta* which indicates manner, as in (74).

(73) *ɲa-o rik-ma ku-lak ɲa-da-a-aɲ* [*>ɲadaɲ*]  
 1S-GEN write-NOM where-CIR 1PRO-put-PST-1PRO  
 'Wherever did I put my pen?' (S) (lit. 'whereabouts')

(74) *ho-se byu ku-ta bfiansa-aɲ raf-a*  
 D.DEM rat INTRG-MNR kitchen-LOC come-PST  
 'However did that rat come into the kitchen?' (lit. 'in what manner')

### 7.9 Quantifiers and qualifiers

Quantifiers and qualifiers are comprised of a base which will be either a demonstrative: the proximal *i-*, distal *ho-*, or remote *a-*, or the interrogative *ku* 'which'. To this base *-dik* is added to form a quantifier ((75)) and *-din* to form a qualifier ((76)).

(75) Quantifiers:

<i>i-dik</i>	P.DEM-QUANT	'this many/much'
<i>ho-dik</i>	D.DEM-QUANT	'that many/much'
<i>a-dik</i>	R.DEMQUANT	'that very much'
<i>ku-dik</i>	INTRG-QUANT	'how many/much'



(76) Qualifiers:

<i>i-din-cyo</i> ~ -cA	P.DEM-QUAL	'this kind of'
<i>ho-din-cyo</i> ~ -cA	D.DEM-QUAL	'that kind of'
<i>ku-din-cyo</i> ~ -cA	INTRG.DEM-QUAL	'what kind of'

Qualifiers are always nominalized with *-cyo* (T) ~ *-cA* (S) whether functioning attributively ((77a, 78a)), or as a pro-form ((77b, c, 78b)). Quantifiers functioning attributively do not take the attributive marker *-cyo* ~ *-cA* ((79)), but as pro-forms they do ((80)).

(77) (a) *ŋa-ke i-din-cyo bAɔfin lo-mo yafi-ni(s)*  
 1S-DAT D.DEM-QUAL-ATT clothes buy-SEQ yive-HON.IMP  
 'Buy this kind of clothing for me.'

(b) *i-din-cA biskut na-jya-a ki ma-t-na-jya-a*  
 P.DEM-QUAL-ATT biscuit 2PRO-eat-PST or NEG-2PRO-eat-PST  
 'Did you eat this kind of biscuit or not?' (D.023aS)

(c) *ŋa-e ho-din-cA ŋa-jya-a-aŋ*  
 1S-ERG D.DEM-QUAL-ATT 1PRO-eat-PST-1PRO  
 'I ate that kind.' (D.023bS)

(d) *ŋa-ke a-din-cA aruwa on-nis*  
 1S-DAT R.DEM-QUAL-ATT axe fetch-HON.IMP  
 'Fetch me that other kind of axe.' (S)

(78) (a) *ho-se-e ku-din-cyo biskut jya-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF-ERG INTRG-QUAL-ATT biscuit eat-PST  
 'Which kind of biscuit did he eat?'

(b) *ku-din-cyo le-de-aŋaŋ-da le*  
 INTRG-QUAL-ATT COP-say-COND-INDF COP  
 'Which kind would it be?'

(79) (a) *ho-se-e ku-dik biskut jya-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF-ERG INTRG-QUANT biscuit eat-PST  
 'How many biscuits did he eat?'

(b) *ho-dik biskut jya-a*  
 D.DEM-QUANT biscuit eat-PST  
 'That many biscuits.'

(c) *ho-se-ke ku-dik ga-le a-dik yafi-ni(s)*  
 D.DEM-DEF-DAT INTRG-QUANT drink-IMP R.DEM-QUANT give-HON.IMP

'Give him as much as he wants to drink.'

(80) (a) *ŋa-e*            *i-dik-cyo*            *ŋa-jya-aŋ*  
 1S-ERG            P.DEM-QUANT-ATT            1PRO-eat-PST-1PRO  
 'I ate this many.' (S)

(b) *ho-se-e*            *ku-dik-cyo*            *jya-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF-ERG            INTRG-QUANT            eat-PST  
 'How many ~ much did he eat?'

(c) *ho-se-e*            *a-dik-cyo*            *la-a*            *hottana*  
 D.DEM-DEF-ERG            INTRG-QUANT            take-PST            don't.know  
 'He took that very much, I don't know why.'

(d) *gat*    *han*            *lofi-le*            *ho-se*    *lofi-le*            *ra*    *pheri*            *arko*    *pheri*  
 spent    millet.mash            discard-IMPF            D.DEM            discard-IMPF            and            again            next            again

*ho-dik-cyo*            *na*            *han*            *ka-le*            *ra*            *pheri*            *bat-le*  
 D.DEM-QUANT-ATT            EMPH            millet.mash            put-IMPF            and            again            set-IMPF  
 'Discard the spent mash, throw that away again, and that much  
 mash again must be put in and set on (the fire).' (D.O23T)

The word *ku-se-kat*, a combination of the interrogative *ku-se* and the numeral 'one', is used as an interrogative qualifier 'which one' ((81)); it reduces to [kuskat].

(81) (a) *ku-se-kat*            *bandūk*            *a-laŋ*            *mu-a*            [*>* kuskat]  
 INTRG-DEF-one            gun            R.DEM-LOC            sit-PST  
 'Which gun remained over there?' (~ Which gun was left behind?)

(b) *ku-se-kat*            *cyu-ke*            *naŋ-e*            *cho*            *rak-a*  
 INTRG-DEF-one            dog-DAT            2S-ERG            rice.meal            bring-PST  
 'For which dog did you bring food?' (T)

(c) *ku-se-kat*            *cyu-e*            *gwa*            *jya-le-sa*  
 INTRG-DEF-one            dog-ERG            chicken            eat-IMPF-EVID  
 'Which dog (apparently) ate the chicken?'

(d) *ku-se-kat*            *gwa*            *jya-a*  
 INTRG-DEF-one            chicken            eat-PST  
 'Which chicken did (it) eat?'

## 7.9 Lative quantifier

The lative case-marker *tar*, when added to nouns, gives the meaning 'as much as' or 'to level of', as in (82); see also §3.4.2.2.5.

(82) (a) *siŋ-tar dakre-aŋ ka-o*  
 wood-LAT basket-LOC put-IMP  
 'As much wood (as there is), put (that much) into the basket.' (W.W.022)

(b) *ye abo car paŋc diŋ-tar le*  
 hey now four five day-LAT IMPF  
 'Oh, now, in as many as four or five days...' (H.H.014S)

The lative also combines with demonstratives and the interrogative pronoun *ku*, and functions as a quantifier, as in (83) and (84).

(83) *i-tar* P.DEM-LAT 'this level'  
*ho-tar* D.DEM-LAT 'that level'  
*ku-tar* INTRG-LAT 'what level'

(84) (a) *dakre ku-tar-cyo paŋ-di-s-le*  
 basket P.DEM-LAT-ATT must-LN-ITR-IMPF  
 'At what level must the basket must be' ~ 'How full must the basket be?'

(b) *dakre ho-tar-cyo paŋ-di-s-le*  
 basket P.DEM-LAT-ATT must-LN-ITR-IMPF  
 'The basket must at that level (~ that full).'

(c) *di lofi-nfiak-iŋ i-tar ja di*  
 water discard-front-ABL P.DEM-LAT EMPH water  
*la-da le*  
 take-put IMPF  
 'After throw away the water, reserving only this much water.' (D.021T)

As a quantifier *-tar* has a meaning similar to that of the quantifier *-dik*; both can be translated as 'this ~ that much'. However, the meanings are not identical. The quantifier *-dik* means 'this ~ that amount'; whereas *-tar* means 'to this ~ that level', as in (85a,b). In combination with the distal demonstrative, *tar* has come to mean 'that full', as in (86a, b) and in combination with the proximal demonstrative it has come to mean 'only a little', especially when combined with the emphatic *ja*, as in (85c), (86c) and (86b).

(85) (a) *i-se-e naŋ-ke i-dik dud yafi-a*  
 P.DEM-DER-ERG 2S-DAT P.DEM-QUANT milk give-pst  
 'This one gave you this much milk.' ~ lit. 'this amount of'

(b) *i-se-e*                    *naŋ-ke* *i-tar*                    *dud* *yafi-a*  
 P.DEM-DER-ERG      2S-DAT P.DEM-LAT milk give-pst  
 'This one gave you this much milk.' ~ 'this level of'

(c) *i-se-e*                    *naŋ-ke* *i-tar*                    *ja*                    *dud* *yafi-a*  
 P.DEM-DER-ERG      2S-DAT P.DEM-LAT EMPH milk give-pst  
 'This one gave you only this much milk.' ~ 'this level of'

(86) (a) *ku-dik* *jya-le*  
 INTRG-QUANT eat-IMPF  
 'How much will you eat?'

(b) *i-tar*                    *ja*                    *i-tar*                    *ja*  
 P.DEM-LAT EMPH P.DEM-LAT EMPH  
 'Only a bit.'

### 7.10 Demonstrative and interrogative pronoun combinations

The proximal, distal and remote demonstrative roots, as well as interrogative pronouns combine with the definite and indefinite markers, the conditional, quantifiers and qualifiers, the manner marker *ta*, which is described in §9.2.1 and with case endings.

These combinations are presented in Table 7.4.

### 7.11 Universal quantifiers

The universal quantifier *jammai* 'every' ~ 'all' is a Nepali borrowing, unlike other quantifiers, it may either precede or follow the noun, as in (87) and (88).

(87) *jammai*    *rokotyak-ko*    *cahine*    *ho-se-ko-ko*    *ŋos-mo*    *ŋu-a*  
 every          frog-PL          well          D.DEM-HON-PL    see-SEQ          remain-PST  
 'Every frog, well, having seen them, remained.'

(88) *ra*                    *cyu-e*    *argan*    *le-cyo*    *myertuŋ*    *hoyok-naŋ*    *argan* *jammai*  
 and                  dog-ERG wasp          cop-ATT    tree          shake-SIM          wasp          all

*bahire*                  *khyofi-a*  
 outside                  emerge-PST

'And while the dog was shaking the tree with the wasps in it, the wasps, all of them, came out.' (A.015T)

The word *paŋa(-ko)* (the plural marker is optional) means 'all' ~ 'everyone', as in (89).

- (89) *dajai patta-ko te-naŋ balio-mΛ le*  
 elder.brother all-PL say-SIM strong-NOM IMPF  
 'Elder brother is strongest of all.' ~ 'Elder brother is stronger than all ~  
 than everyone.'

### 7.12 Other quantifiers

Quantifiers *ces-ces*, 'a little', as in (90), *cetthar*, 'a little more,' as in (91), and *chak-chak*, meaning 'many', as in (92) all are native Magar words. The word *thorai* 'a little' is borrowed from Nepali, as in (93).

- (90) *ces-ces wak sya ŋa-jya-le-a-aŋ*  
 little-little pig flesh IPRO-eat-IMPf-PST IPRO  
 'I ate a little pork.'(S)

- (91) *ŋa-e rodi-o bishayan cetthar de-le*  
 1S-ERG rodi-GEN subject a little tell-IMPf  
 'A little about the subject of the 'Rodi, I will tell you.' (T)

- (92) *pahar-ij chak-chak lfum jfal-a*  
 mountain-ABL many-many stone fell-PST  
 'Many stones fell from the mountainside'.

- (93) *ra kat kuda-aŋ di daŋfi-le-sa-a ho-se di ra*  
 and one clay.pot-LOC water appear-IMPf-INFR-PST D.DEM-DEF water and

*thorai le-mΛ le-a*  
 a.little COP-NOM IMPF-PST

'And in a clay pot, apparently, water appeared, there was a little bit of water in it.'  
 (J.J.006S)

The quantifiers *jfian* 'more' ((94)), *dherai* and *thuprai* meaning 'many' or 'much' ((95)) are also Nepali borrowings.

- (94) *bformi-e janta-ke cahine ani almal-le jfian le*  
 person-ERG populace-DAT well then puzzle-IMPf more COP  
 'This person, well, then, puzzles the populace more.'

- (95) *ho-ta-i ho-laŋ ajfai jfian dherai thuprai men-o*  
 D.DEM-MNR-FOC D.DEM.LOC still more many many 3S-GEN

*mi-ja-ko khyofi-a*  
 POSS-child-PL emerge-PST

'Then like that, there, still many more of their own children emerged.'

### 7.13 Partitives

This section describes 'true' and 'pseudo' partitives. True partitives are actually parts of something; whereas pseudo-partitives are units of measure. Magar distinguishes between these two. In pseudo-partitive constructions, the part (the measure, e.g. 'cup', 'kilo', etc.) directly precedes the whole (i.e. the head noun) as does a quantifier. True partitive constructions are formed with a genitival possessor of which the noun is a part.

The examples in (96) - (98) are pseudo-partitive constructions. In these the measure is juxtaposed to the head noun; for example *kat batAl raksi* 'one bottle of raksi' and *som kahal barda* 'three yoke of oxen'.

(96) (a) *lam-tu* *thaj* *ho-se* *saman* *dulha-ko-uj* *patti-aj*  
 road-block place D.DEM-DEF item groom-PL-GEN side-LOC

*janti-ke* *han* *gan* *kat* *batAl* *raksi*  
 wedding.procession-DAT millet.brew cooked.vegetable one bottle alcohol

*ho-tak-ij* *sikrit* *marcis de-naŋ* *lekha* *ka-a*  
 D.DEM-SUP-ABL cigarette matches say-SIM seem put-PST

'At the roadblock, on the groom's side, items are put out for the wedding procession (by the bridesmaids) such as millet beer, vegetable dishes, a bottle of alcohol and then cigarettes and matches are the like are put there. (E.E.015T)

(b) *ŋfiət-ko* *rA* *le* *som kahal* *barda* *kat* *bacchi*  
 cow-PL also COP three pair oxen one female.calf  
 '(I) have cows as well; I have three, a yoke of oxen and a female calf.'  
 (K.K.057S)

(c) *men-o* *khas-le* *ai* *puja-jat-naŋ* *nfiis-tar* *deren* *paral*  
 3S-GEN make-IMPF IN worship-do-SIM two-LAT sheaf straw

*ka-ke* *par-di-le* *taowa* *khas-ke* *par-di-le* *ho-se*  
 put-NOM must-LN-IMPF haystack make-NOM must-LN-IMPF D.DEM-DEF

*men-o* *mi-len-ja-ke*  
 3S-GEN POSS-young.male-child-DAT

'We build his (haystack) while we worship. We should put as many as two sheaves of straw to build a haystack for her young man.' (R.R.012S)

(97) (a) *kat khap mocya*  
 one small.bunch banana  
 'one small bunch of bananas'

(b) *kat byam mocya*  
 one small.piece banana  
 'One small piece of banana'

(c) *kat tumbok mocya*  
 one cross-section banana  
 'one cross-section of banana'

(d) *kat palyak mocya*  
 one lengthwise.section banana  
 'one lengthwise section of banana'

(98) (a) *kat-chilik beskaŋ* [ $>$  kachilik]  
 one-piece bread  
 'a piece of bread'

(b) *ŋhis kaŋ cha*  
 two cup tea  
 'two cups of tea'

(c) *som kilo chosan*  
 three kilo rice.grain  
 'three kilos of rice'

An example of the head preceding the partitive is attested in Yanchok Magar dialect.

Yanchok (Shepherd 1971).

(99) *ra khursani-jire som car muthi dum-a*  
 and jire-chili.pepper three four handful pick-PST  
 'And (he) picked up three or four handfuls of jire chili peppers.' (Quail. 41)

True partitives, which are formed with the genitive, are exemplified in (100) and (101)

((101a) is repeated from (42)).

(100)(a) *ho-se beskaŋ-o kat-chilik yafi-ni*  
 D.DEM-DEF bread-GEN one-piece give-IMP  
 'Give me a piece of that bread' (lit. that bread's one piece)

(b) *ŋa-e ho-se cik-cyaŋ chiya-uŋ nhis kilo la-le*  
 1S-ERG D.DEM-DEF black-ATT tea-GEN two kilo take-IMPF  
 'I will take two kilos of that dark tea.'

(c) *ram-o som kilo churu jya-cis-a*  
 Ram-GEN three kilo rice.grain eat-DTR-PST  
 'Three kilos of Ram's rice were eaten'

(d) *churu-o som kilo olfi-le*  
 rice.grain-GEN three kilo sufficient-IMPF  
 'Three kilos of rice is sufficient.'

(e) *ho-se baphan-uj di jhiyofi-ma le*  
 D.DEM-DEF spring-GEN water clear-NOM IMPF  
 'Water from that steam is clear.'

(f) *ho-se im-o galam ma-phofi-le*  
 D.DEM-DEF house-GEN door NEG-open-IMPF  
 'The door of the house won't open.'

(101)(a) *ho-tak-ij me-lafi-o ho-se-i rokotyak rokotyak-o hul-aŋ*  
 D.DEM-SUP-ABL 3S-self-GEN D.DEM-DEF-FOC frog frog-GEN group-LOC

*me-lafi-o mi-ja dhari rokotyak-o mi-ja-k-uj hul-aŋ*  
 3S-self-GEN POSS-child even frog-GEN POSS-child-PL-GEN group-LOC

*me-lafi-o-e kok-cyo ho-se-i babu-ja-i kok-cyo*  
 3S-self-GEN-ERG care.for-ATT D.DEM-DEF-FOC boy-child-ERG care.for-ATT

*rokotyak-ko mi-ja dhari daŋfi-a*  
 frog-PL POSS-child also see-PST

'Then the boy also saw his own frog in the group of frogs, even his own baby was also in that group of frog's children, his very own, the one he had looked after.' (A.A.032T)

(b) *tika talo jat-nfiakij dasami-uj bisarjan*  
 blessing patch do-front-ABL dasami-GEN conclusion

*chanfi-le*  
 become-IMPF

'After doing the tika patch, the Dasami festival is concluded.' (F.F. 008T)



**Table 7.4 Demonstrative and interrogative pronoun combinations**

	<i>i-</i> Proximal Dem./Pro	<i>ho-</i> Distal Dem./Pro	<i>a-</i> Remote Dem./Pro	<i>ku-</i> Interrogative /Pro	<i>su-</i> Interrogative /Pro	<i>hi</i> In /P
+ identity definite	<i>i-se</i> this (one)	<i>ho-se</i> that (one) ~ (s)he, it	<i>a-se</i> that (one) yonder /past	<i>ku-se</i> what ~ which	<i>su</i> who	<i>hi</i> w (a
+ identity + (FOC) indefinite		<i>ho-da</i> since		<i>ku-se-i-da</i> whichever , whoever	<i>su-i-da</i> (T) whoever	<i>hi</i> w
+ indefinite + COND				<i>ku-se-l-de-ahaj</i> ~ <i>ku-se(de-)lfiyak</i> (T) whichsoever	<i>su-ale-de-ahaj</i> ~ <i>su-(de-)lfiyak</i> (T) whosoever	<i>hi</i> ~i w
+ quantity	<i>i-dik</i> this amount	<i>ho-dik</i> that amount	<i>a-dik</i> large amount	<i>ku-dik</i> how much/many		
+ quality	<i>i-din-cyo ~cə</i> this kind	<i>ho-din-cyo ~cə</i> that kind	<i>a-din-cyo</i> that distant~ unknown manner	<i>ku-din-cyo ~cə</i> what kind		
+ manner	<i>i-ta</i> this way	<i>ho-ta</i> that way	<i>a-ta</i> that distant~ unknown manner	<i>ku-ta</i> what way ~ how		
+ LOC	<i>i-laj</i> here	<i>ho-laj</i> there	<i>a-laj</i> over there	<i>ku-laj</i> where		
+ CIR	<i>i-lak</i> hereabouts	<i>ho-lak</i> thereabouts	<i>a-lak</i> over thereabouts	<i>ku-lak</i> whereabouts		
+ CIR + GEN	<i>i-lak-uj</i> in this part of	<i>ho-lak-uj</i> in that part of	<i>a-lak-uj</i> over in that part	<i>ku-lak-uj</i> in what part of		
+ SUP	<i>i-se-tak</i> on this	<i>ho-se-tak</i> on that	<i>a-se-tak</i> on that over there	<i>ku-se-tak</i> on what	<i>su-tak</i> on whom	
+ DEF+ SUP + ABL	<i>i-tak-ij</i> hence	<i>ho-tak-ij</i> thence	<i>a-ta-ij</i> from long ago	<i>ku-tak-ij</i> whence		
+ LAT	<i>i-tar</i> this level	<i>ho-tar</i> that level	<i>a-tar</i> that high level	<i>ku-tar</i> what level		
+ DEF + ADS (Syangja)	<i>i-se-tuj</i> near ~ with this one	<i>ho-se-tuj</i> near ~ with that one	<i>a-se-tuj</i> near ~ with that one far away	<i>ku-se-tuj</i> near ~ with whom		

## 8 Numerals

For the most part, only Nepali numerals are used by Magar speakers; this is certainly true of those who live in urban centres. Native Magar cardinal numbers 'one' though 'five', which are Tibeto-Burman in origin, are known to most speakers and are sporadically used. In the Tanahu and Syangja villages, a mixed Magar-Nepali system was still in use in 1998, but in the intervening decade this has been largely replaced by Nepali. This system is described in §8.1.2 - §8.1.5. A newly devised numeric system, which has been created as part of an attempt to revive the Magar language is described in §8.1.1.

### 8.1 Cardinal Numerals

#### 8.1.1 Newly devised numerals

As noted, the newly devised system is a product of the attempt to revitalize Magar. The system, however, has thus far not been adopted by Magar speakers. It is largely the work of M.S. Thapa Magar in consultation with other Magar speakers. He reports that it is based on Magar up to the number five (for which Magar do numbers exist) and beyond that on Tibetan and Gurung, a Tamangic language spoken in Nepal. The numbers are as follows:

(1) 'one'	<i>kat</i>	'twenty'	<i>nfiisu</i>
'two'	<i>nfiis</i>	'twenty one'	<i>nfiisu kat</i>
'three'	<i>som</i>	'thirty'	<i>somju</i>
'four'	<i>buli</i>	'forty'	<i>sibju</i>
'five'	<i>baŋa</i>	'fifty'	<i>ŋapcu</i>
'six'	<i>tu</i>	'sixty'	<i>tukcu</i>
'seven'	<i>tun</i>	'seventy'	<i>tuju</i>
'eight'	<i>kye</i>	'eighty'	<i>keju</i>
'nine'	<i>ku</i>	'ninety'	<i>kubju</i>
'ten'	<i>tsu</i>	'one hundred'	<i>kya</i>
'eleven'	<i>tsukci</i>	'one hundred and one'	<i>kya kat</i>
'twelve'	<i>tsu nfiis</i>	'one thousand'	<i>tsukya</i>

Numbers above 'five' are clearly drawn from Standard Tibetan (2), the major difference being the devoicing of the initial consonant. The number ten *tsu* in the decades is palatalized in the Magar reconstruction and assimilates in voicing to the preceding consonant, resulting in [cu ~ju].

Standard Tibetan	
(2) 'six'	<i>trug</i>
'seven'	<i>dun</i>
'eight'	<i>gyay</i>
'nine'	<i>gu</i>
'ten'	<i>ɕu</i>

The newly devised system is a decimal system and quite regular. The numbers preceding the base in compounds are multipliers, and those following are added; thus *somju kat* 'three x ten + one' is 'thirty one'. This also follows modern Standard Tibetan, as in (3).

Standard Tibetan		
(3) 'eleven'	<i>ɕu ɕi</i>	'ten + one'
'twenty'	<i>nyibɕu</i>	'two x ten'
'twenty-one'	<i>nyibɕu ɕi</i>	'two x ten + one'

Certain numerals in the newly constructed system belie its historical authenticity and expose its modernity and its artificiality. For example, the numbers 'seven' and 'forty'. The Tibetan number seven *dun*, appropriated into the new Magar system as *tun*, is, according to David Watters<sup>1</sup>, incongruous even in modern Tibetan, having been borrowed from some unknown source. The reconstructed PTB form would be \*s-nis. Variants of this morpheme occur in the Tamangic languages of Nepal. Magar, as one of the presumed older immigrants into Nepal, would certainly have had a form derived from \*s-nis. To propose the new Tibetan innovation \*b-dun, when Magar appears to be ancient in most other respects, is anomalous. In addition, the numeral 'forty' is built on the modern spoken Tibetan reflex of \*b-ley and not the written

<sup>1</sup> Personal communication, June 3, 2008

Tibetan *bzi*, a more historically accurate reconstruction for Magar would have been *blicu ~ bulicu*.

### 8.1.2 Basic numerals

As said, speakers know the Magar basic numerals 'one' through 'five' and these are sometimes used. Above 'five', now, only Nepali is used. In Syangja dialect, Nepali borrowings have a final velar nasal, as in (5), rather than final obstruents.

(4)	'one'	<i>kat</i>	
	'two'	<i>nfiis</i>	
	'three'	<i>som</i>	
	'four'	<i>buli</i>	
	'five'	<i>baŋa</i>	
(5)	'six'	<i>chā</i>	<i>caŋ</i> (S)
	'seven'	<i>sat</i>	<i>saŋ</i> (S)
	'eight'	<i>ath</i>	<i>aŋ</i> (S)
	'nine'	<i>nau</i>	<i>naŋ</i> (S)
	'ten'	<i>dʌs</i>	<i>daŋ</i> (S)

The native Magar numerals to 'five' are traceable to proto-Tibeto-Burman roots<sup>2</sup> ((6)).

(6)		PTB	Magar
	'one'	<i>*(y)ik</i>	<i>kat</i>
	'two'	<i>*g-ni-s</i>	<i>nfiis</i>
	'three'	<i>*g-sum</i>	<i>som</i>
	'four'	<i>*b-ley</i>	<i>buli</i>
	'five'	<i>*l-ŋs</i>	<i>baŋa</i>

### 8.1.3 Intermediate numerals

As noted, for numbers above 'five', virtually only Nepali is now used. However, in the mixed system, still extant in 1998, the intermediate numerals are formed with 'ten' *dʌs*, from Nepali, plus a native Magar basic number up to 'fifteen' and thereafter mixed Magar-Nepali was used.

(7)	'eleven'	<i>dʌs rʌ kat</i>
	'twelve'	<i>dʌs rʌ nfiis</i>
	'thirteen'	<i>dʌs rʌ som</i>
	'fourteen'	<i>dʌs rʌ buli</i>

<sup>2</sup> Matisoff, Handbook of Proto-Tibeto-Burman, (2003:130, 308, 347 and 352)

'fifteen'	<i>dʌs rʌ baŋa</i>	
'sixteen'	<i>dʌs rʌ cā</i> (T)	~ <i>dʌs rʌ caŋ</i> (S)
'seventeen'	<i>dʌs rʌ sat</i> (T)	~ <i>dʌs rʌ saŋ</i> (S)
'eighteen'	<i>dʌs rʌ ath</i> (T)	~ <i>dʌs rʌ aŋ</i> (S)
'nineteen'	<i>dʌs rʌ nāũ</i> (T)	~ <i>dʌs rʌ naŋ</i> (S)

#### 8.1.4 Decade numerals

In the mixed system, the Magar numbers 'twenty' and beyond are based on a vigesimal system. The word for 'twenty' is *bis(e)* (a Nepali borrowing). Numbers following this base are added to it; for example 'thirty' is *bis dʌs*, literally 'twenty-ten'. This addition function is sometimes made explicit by the use of the conjunction *rʌ*; for example *bis rʌ kat* 'twenty and one'. Numbers preceding the base *bis* are multipliers; for example, *nfiis bis* is 'two x twenty' i.e. 'forty'. The multiplier *kat* 'one' is optionally used; for example 'twenty-one' *kat bise kat* 'one (x) twenty (+) one' and above. The vigesimal system is not entirely consistent; for example 'thirty-nine' is *kat gʌti calis*, literally 'one less forty' (*calis* 'forty' is borrowed from Nepali), rather than *kat gʌti nfiis bis* 'one less two x twenty'.

#### (8) DECADES

'twenty'	<i>bis</i> (N)	
'twenty one'	<i>(kat) bis (rʌ) kat</i>	
'twenty two'	<i>(kat) bis (rʌ) nfiis</i>	
'twenty three'	<i>(kat) bise som</i>	
'twenty four'	<i>(kat) bise buli</i> (S)	
'twenty five'	<i>(kat) bise baŋa</i> (S)	
'twenty-six'	<i>(kat) bise ca</i> (T)	<i>(kat) bise caŋ</i> (S)
'twenty-seven'	<i>(kat) bise sat</i> (T)	<i>(kat) bise saŋ</i> (S)
'twenty-eight'	<i>(kat) bise ath</i> (T)	<i>(kat) bise aŋ</i> (S)
'twenty-nine'	<i>(kat) bise nāũ</i> (T)	<i>(kat) bise naŋ</i> (S)
'thirty'	<i>bis dʌs</i>	
'thirty-nine'	<i>kat gʌti calis</i> (N)	
'forty'	<i>nfiis bis</i>	
'fifty'	<i>nfiis bise dʌs</i>	
'sixty'	<i>som bis</i>	
'seventy'	<i>som bise dʌs</i>	
'eighty'	<i>car bis</i> (T)	<i>buli bis</i> (S)
'ninety'	<i>car bise dʌs</i> (T)	<i>buli bise dʌs</i> (S)

### 8.1.5 Hundreds and above

The numbers 'hundred' *sai* and 'thousand' *hAjar* are Nepali borrowings. Hundreds and thousands are multiplied by a preceding numeral, the numeral following is added, for example *nfiis sai* is 'two x hundred' (i.e. 200) and *kat sai kat* is 'one x hundred + one' (i.e. 101).

(9) HUNDREDS	
'one hundred'	<i>kat sai</i>
'one hundred one'	<i>kat sai kat</i>
'two hundred'	<i>nfiis sai</i>
'thousand'	<i>hAjar</i>
'two thousand'	<i>nfiis hAjar</i>

In Syangja dialect, traces of the vigesimal system were attested for the hundreds, for example *caŋ bis*, 'six x twenty' is 'one-hundred-twenty', as in (10); however, this multiplication of scores is inconsistently implemented; for example, in addition to *caŋ bis* and *caŋ bis dAs* 'six x twenty + ten', *kat sai bis* 'one-hundred-twenty' and *kat sai bis dAs*, 'one-hundred-thirty' are also attested, as in (11).

(10) <i>ho-se-e</i>	<i>pokhara-aŋ ho-se-i</i>	<i>caŋ-bis</i>	<i>arla-a</i>
D.DEM-DEF-ERG	Pokhara-LOC D.DEM-DEF-FOC	six-twenty	sell-PST
'He sold that one in Pokhara for one-hundred-twenty.' (S)			

(11) <i>chiniŋ</i>	<i>pihin</i>	<i>kat-sai-pacas</i>	<i>ale</i>	[>chinpin]
today	tomorrow	one-hundred-fifty	COP	

<i>kan-uŋ</i>	<i>i-laŋ</i>	<i>kat-sai-bis-dAs</i>	<i>kat-sai-dAs</i>
1P-GEN	P.DEM-LOC	one -hundred -twenty- ten	one-hundred-ten

<i>samma-naŋ</i>	<i>yafi-le</i>	<i>bis</i>	<i>samma-nfiiaŋ</i>
until-SIM	give-IMPF	twenty	until-hour

<i>i-dik-aŋ</i>	<i>chimfiyak-aŋ</i>
P.DEM-QUANT-LO	neighbourhood-LOC

'Nowadays, it is one hundred and fifty. Our people (lit. ours) here give up to one hundred thirty or one hundred and ten up to twenty in this kind neighbourhood.' (K.K.019-20S)

### 8.1.6 Position of numerals

Numerals precede the nouns they quantify, as seen in (12). This is a departure from Tibeto-Burman, where numerals generally follow the noun.

(12) (a) *kat batla bhari han ka-le ra baha-aŋ bat-le*  
 one brass.pot full millet.mash put-IMPF and grate-LOC set-IMPF  
 'Then fill a brass pot with millet mash and set it on the grate.' (D.010.T)

(b) *a-lak patta-iŋ ŋos-ma ŋu-naŋ nfiis rokotyak ŋu-ma ŋu-cyo*  
 R.DEM.CIR side-ABL look-NOM sit-SIM two frog sit-NOM sit-ATT  
*daŋfi-a*  
 see-PST  
 'Still looking on the other side, they saw two frogs sitting.' (R.03S)

(c) *ho-se maha-ja i-laŋ som lfiis-iŋ ho-da*  
 D.DEM-DEF young.female-child P.DEM-LOC three year-ABL D.DEM-INDF  
  
*mu-ma le*  
 sit-NOM IMPF  
 'The woman has been living here for three years.'

### 8.1.7 Substantivized cardinal numerals

In addition to attributive cardinal numbers which precede a noun, cardinal numbers can also be used independently as nouns ((13) and (14)). In example (14), *nfiis* is case- marked with the dative *-ke*, evidence of its nominal status.

(13) *ra nfiun-iŋ ho-se-ko nfiis khyefi-a khyefi-ŋfiak-iŋ*  
 and back-ABL D.DEM-DEF-DEF-PL two emerge-PST emerge-front-ABL

*ho-se cyu chahin len-ja ja-ja-o kadfi-a-aŋ aŋ-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF dog well young.male-child child-child-GEN shoulder-LOC go-PST  
 'And later those ones, the two emerged, after emerging the dog got onto the boy's shoulder.' (B.B.030S)

(14) *ra kher-ak-naŋ kher-ak-naŋ ho-se-ko*  
 and run-CAUS-SIM run-CAUS-SIM D.DEM-DEF-PL

*nfiis-ke kat karfi-aŋ-ca di le-ca pokhar-aŋ lofi-a*  
 two-DAT one big-ATT water COP-ATT lake-LOC throw-PAST

*ra pokhar-aŋ lofi-a*  
 and lake-LOC throw-PAST

'And while being made to run and run (the stag) threw these two into a big lake of water, (they were) thrown into the lake.' (B.B.028S)

### 8.1.8 *kat* as an indefinite article

The numeral *kat* 'one' can be used as an indefinite article, as seen in (14) above and in (15). Also seen in (15) is *nfišwan* which means 'both'; the initial part of this compound is clearly *nfiš*, 'two'. The meaning and source of *wan* is not clear. It is likely a numeral classifier in apposition to *nfiš-jʌʌʌ* 'two-H.NUM' (see §8.1.9).

(15) *ra jarayo-e nfišun-ij ho-se-ko nfiš-jʌʌʌ*  
 and stag-ERG back-ABL D.DEM-DEF-PL two -H.NUM

*nfišwan-ke kat pokhara-aŋ lofi-a na*  
 both-DAT one lake-LOC throw-PAST EMPH

*ra cyu ra len-ja ja-ja nfišwan ho-laŋ thafi-a*  
 and dog and young.male-child child-child both D.DEM-LOC sink-PST  
 'And afterwards the stag threw both of them into a pond and the dog and the boy both sank there.' (B.B.029S)

### 8.1.9. Numeral classifiers

As noted, *wan* may be a numeral classifier, but if it is, it is part of a defunct system.

Magar does not attest productive native numeral classifiers. It has borrowed classifiers from Nepali and even these are not consistently used. In Nepali, numeral classifiers make a human and non-human distinction: *jʌʌʌ* and *wata* respectively. In Magar, the distinction is animate vs. inanimate as seen above in (15) where the dog is classified with the human. In Tanahu Magar, a variant of the Nepali non-human classifier, used for inanimates, is *gata* as in (16a); in Syangja Magar *wata* is used ((16b)).

(16) (a) *buli gata-ke adfi buli rupiya paɾ-di-s-le*  
 four N.H.NUM-DAT half four rupees must-LN-INTR-IMPF  
 'Four must (cost) four and one half rupees.' (T)

(b) *som wata yafi-nis*  
 three N.H.NUM give-HON.IMP  
 'Give me three, please.' (S)



## 8.2 Ordinal numerals

In the mixed system, Magar ordinals are attested 'second' through 'fifth' (17). In this system ordinals are formed with the suffix *-(e)ra* (the first vowel of which is elided when following a vowel-final stem). The ordinal 'first' appears to be a combination of a variant of the Nepali number 'one' *ek* and the *-(e)ra* suffix. In 2008, only Nepali ordinals were attested (19). A newly devised system exists for ordinal numbers, which includes 'first' through 'fifth' in (17) as well as those in (18); however has not been implemented. Examples of ordinals in context from 1998 follow in (20).

(17) 'first'	<i>agfi-era</i>
'second'	<i>nfis-era</i>
'third'	<i>som-era</i>
'fourth'	<i>buli-ra</i>
'fifth'	<i>baŋ-era</i>

### Newly devised ordinals

(18) 'sixth'	<i>tu-ra</i>
'seventh'	<i>tun-era</i>
'eighth'	<i>ke-ra</i>
'ninth'	<i>ku-ra</i>
'tenth'	<i>tsu-ra</i>

### Nepali ordinals

(19) 'first'	<i>pʌhila</i> (N)
'second'	<i>dorso</i> (N)
'third'	<i>tesro</i> (N)
'fourth'	<i>cʌutho</i> (N)
'fifth'	<i>pacaũ</i> (N)
'sixth'	<i>cʌithaũ</i> (N)
'seventh'	<i>sataũ</i> (N)
'eighth'	<i>athaũ</i> (N)
'ninth'	<i>nawaũ</i> (N)
'tenth'	<i>dʌsaũ</i> (N)

(20) (a) *isa*                    *kher-thaŋ* *agfi-era* *chanfi-a*  
 P.DEM-DEF run-place first-ORD become-PST  
 'This one is in first place in the race.'

(b) *naŋ-ko-uŋ* *nfis-era* *nepal-aŋ* *charak-cʌ* *lfiot-cʌ* *a-chanfi-e*  
 2-HON-GEN two-ORD Nepal-LOC visit-ATT long-ATT IRR-become-IRR  
 'Your second trip to Nepal might be longer.'

(c) *som-era sikar-ges-ca-ko tak-rafi-a*  
 three-ORD hunt-play-ATT-PL arrive-come-PST  
 'The third group of hunters have arrived.'

(d) *buli-ra yak-aŋ namas bafi-a*  
 four-ORD day-LOC sky settle-PST  
 'On the fourth day the rain stopped.'

(e) *ho-se-ko-e bajar-aŋ baŋ-era im kas-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF-PL-ERG bazaar-LOC five-ORD house build-PST  
 'They have built a fifth house in the city.'

A genitive-marked number can also be used as an ordinal; as for example in (21)

in which *nauami-uŋ din-uŋ* [nine-GEN day-GEN] 'ninth day' is used.

(21) *ho-se puja yafi-ŋfiak-iŋ kan-uŋ balla chinig-uŋ*  
 D.DEM-DEF worship give-front-ABL 2P-GEN time today-GEN

*nauami-uŋ din-uŋ cahine nau durgo cahine aci*  
 ninth-GEN day-GEN well nine Durgo well still

*cahine sampadit chanfi-le*  
 well accomplishment COP-IMPF

'After giving this worship, now, today's day, the ninth day, the day of nine Goddesses, Durga, has been accomplished.' (F.F. 013T)

The Nepali borrowing *pahila* 'first' is used, not so much as an ordinal, but as an adverbial discourse marker to show sequence ((22)\_ ) and when introducing sequential events in a narrative ((23)).

(22) *pahila makoi nuk-le makoi nuk-le khasaro makoi nuk-le*  
 first com grind-IMPF com grind-IMPF coarse com grind-IMPF

*ho-tak-iŋ tap-le tap-le ani pheri phinfi-le hai* [>phinhe]  
 D.DEM-SUP-ABL winnow-IMPF winnow-IMPF then again cook-IMPF okay  
 'First, grind the corn, grind the corn in big pieces, then winnow, winnow again and let it cook.' (D.001T)

(23) *pahila ja ajfai ra ho-se-ko-e rokotyak-ko dherai ja*  
 first EMPH again and D.DEM-DEF-PL-ERG frog-PL many EMPH

*ma-marfi-ca mi-ja-ko-ke daŋfi-a*  
 small-small-ATT POSS- child-PL-DAT see-PST

'Then, again, they saw many small, small baby frogs.' (B.B.036S)

### 8.3 Multiplicatives

The multiplicatives 'once', 'twice' and 'thrice' are expressed as combinations of a cardinal number plus *pAlta* or *pAtak*, meaning 'time' or 'instance'; both are borrowed from Nepali. The word 'once' is a compound 'one' *kat* + *pAlta* or *pAtak* (the final 't' is dropped from *kat*). For 'twice' and above the number simply precedes *pAlte* (24) or *pAtak* (25). The multiplicative *pAlta* refers to a single complete event at a point in time (26). To designate a period of time, *pAtak* is used, as in (27).

- (24) 'once' *kat + pAlta* → [kapAlta]  
 'twice' *nfiis pAlta*  
 'thrice' *som pAlta*

- (25) 'one period' *kat + pAtak*, → [kapAtak]  
 'two periods' *nfiis pAtak*  
 'three periods' *som pAtak*

- (26) (a) *naŋ-ko kat-pAlta i-lak raŋ-a* [*>*kapAlta]  
 2-HON one-time P.DEM-CIR come-PST  
 'You came here once.'

- (b) *budfi-a bfiormi-e chituwa-ke nfiis pAlta ŋap-a*  
 old.-ML person-ERG leopard-DAT two time shoot-PST  
 'The old man shot the leopard twice.'

- (c) *ho-se-e buli pAlta chituwa daŋfi-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF-ERG four time leopard see-PST  
 'He saw the leopard four times.' (S)

- (d) *ŋa-e i-se bfiaisi-ke som pAlta arla-ke ŋa-pa-aŋ*  
 1S-ERG P.DEM-DEF buffalo three time sell-NOM 1PRO-try-1PRO  
 'I have tried to sell this water buffalo thrice ~ three times.' (S)

- (27) (a) *naŋ-ko kat-pAtak jat-nis* [*>*kapAtak]  
 2-HON one-period do-HON  
 'Do this for one period of time!'

- (b) *ŋa nepal-aŋ raŋi-ŋfiak-iŋ nfiis pAtak kajus-le-aŋ*  
 1S Nepal-LOC come-front-ABL two period work-IMP-1PRO  
 'I will come and work in Nepal for two periods of time.' (S)

Nepali *panya* meaning 'occurrence' in combination with a numeral is also used to express multiplicatives as seen in (28).

(28) (a) *ho-tak-iŋ*      *car*    *panya*      *lofi-naŋ*    *ra*  
 D.DEM-SUP-ABL    four    occurrence    discard-SIM    and

*baɖap-e na rik-le*  
 ash-INST    EMPH    write-IMPF

'Then throw the water away four times and mark this with ash.' (D.018T)

(b) *pānc panya lofi-naŋ ra baɖap-e na rik-le*  
 five    occurrence    discard-SIM    and    ash-INST    EMPH    write-IMPF

*chã sat ath nau dAs eghara barfia panya jammai*  
 six    seven    eight    nine    ten    eleven    twelve    occurrence    every

*baɖap-e na rik-mo panya olfi-ak-le*  
 ash-INST    EMPH    write-NOM    occurrence    be.sufficient-CAUS-IMPF

'Throw away the water five times and mark this with ash, six, seven, eight, nine, ten, eleven, twelve, every time, having marked these times with ash there will be enough (to make raksi).' (D.O19T)



**A DESCRIPTIVE GRAMMAR OF TWO MAGAR DIALECTS OF NEPAL:**

**TANAHU AND SYANGJA MAGAR**

**VOL. II**

**by**

**Karen A. Grunow-Hårsta**

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## 9 Adverbs and adverbials

This chapter describes adverbs and adverbials, i.e. words which modify verbs, adjectives, other adverbs and clauses. Magar has a limited number of non-derived adverbs. However, it has numerous morphologically complex terms drawn from other word classes that function adverbially; for example, postpositional or noun phrases, as well as local-case marked nouns, pronouns or demonstratives. The following sections look at temporal, spatial, manner and degree adverbs and adverbials.

### 9.1 Temporal terms

Magar has an elaborate set of temporal adverbials. Most are composite terms; some are transparent noun compounds; for example *kaprin* meaning 'two days after tomorrow' is from *kat* 'one' plus *aprin* 'the day after tomorrow'. Other compounds are more-or-less opaque; for example, *nam-bi* 'last night', in which *nam* is 'sky' or 'atmosphere', but the meaning of *bi* is not clear. Many temporal adverbials are marked with a local case, either the locative *-aŋ*, the circumlative *-lak*, or the ablative *-iŋ*, indicating that they are nominal. Some temporal expressions are periphrastic; for example, *nam-khan khyofi*, literally, [sky-heat (i.e. sun) -emerge] meaning 'dawn'. Temporal adverbs show different degrees of phonological reduction across the dialects. The Tanahu dialect variants are further reduced than those of Syangja.

#### 9.1.1 Time of day terms

There are terms for times of the day as in (1). Of these 'day, afternoon' 'evening' and 'night' are built off the base *nam* meaning 'sky'. There are also periphrastic expressions combining *nam* and *gorak* 'morning' ((2)). The expression 'late evening' is a circumlative case marked expression, literally 'toward night'.

- |     |              |           |
|-----|--------------|-----------|
| (1) | <i>praŋ</i>  | 'dawn'    |
|     | <i>gorak</i> | 'morning' |

<i>namsij</i>	'day', 'afternoon'
<i>nambi-lak</i>	'evening' (lit. night-CIR)
<i>somlak</i> (S)	'evening'
<i>nambi</i>	'night'

(2) <i>nam-khan khyofi-ke</i>	'dawn' (lit. sky heat (sun) emerge-NOM)
<i>nam-khan pher-ke</i>	'dawn' (lit. sky-heat (sun) appear-NOM)
<i>nam-khan kimfi-ke</i>	'dusk' (lit. sky heat disappear-NOM)
<i>gorak tyajfi-ke</i>	'dawn' (lit. morning be.bright-NOM)

Shepherd (1982:181) relates an anecdote in which a language consultant, during the day, told him about a dream he had had *chiniñ nambi*, literally 'today-night', a term, which Shepherd previous to this recounting had interpreted as 'tonight'. From this Shepherd gathered "After endless questioning....that their day must begin at nightfall, not at midnight or daybreak" (1982:181). Thus, for the Magar, this day's night is not what we consider to be 'tonight' i.e. the end of day, but as Magars conceptualize it, it is that period of darkness which begins the day, and, in English, would be 'last night' ((3)).

(3) <i>chiniñ nambi</i>	'last night' (lit. today night)
<i>chiniñ nambi-lak</i>	'last evening'(lit. today evening)
<i>tisiniñ-nambi</i>	'night before last' (lit. yesterday night)
<i>tisiniñ-nambi-lak</i>	'day before yesterday evening' (lit yesterday evening')

### 9.1.2 Calendrical cyclic terms

A native Magar term exists for 'day', *yak*. It is commonly used in Syangja dialect, but less frequently in Tanahu dialect, where Nepali *din*, 'day' is more common. The word *lfies* meaning 'year' is native to Magar and used in both dialects, though the term *bfiAR* 'year', from Nepali, is also used. Both *saha(k)* and *mas* (S) meaning 'month' are native terms ((4)); the latter is used only in Syangja dialect. The word *sata* 'week' is used only in combination with the numeral one *kat-sata* 'one-week', which reduces to [kasata]; with other quantifiers the word *hapta*, from Nepali, is used, as in *som hapta* 'three weeks'. Calendrical cyclic adverbials, including names of seasons, are

borrowed from Nepali, as in (5) and (6). Seasonal periods are also referred to with native temperature terms; for example, *jumfi-cyo sahak* [cold-ATT months], as in (7).

- (4) *yak* 'day'  
*sahak* 'month'  
*mas* (S) 'month'  
*lfies* 'year'
- (5) *din* 'day'  
*bar* 'weekday'  
*mahinaŋ* 'month'  
*sata* 'week'  
*hΛpΛ* 'week'  
*bfiΛr* 'year'  
*sanbat* 'era'  
*basanta* 'spring'  
*garm* 'summer'  
*sharad* 'autumn'  
*hiundu* 'winter'
- (6) *rodi-aŋ samae anusar hiundu-aŋ jfiyabarya syafi-ak-le*  
 rodi-LOC according season winter -LOC Jfiyabarya dance-CAUS-IMPF  
 'At Rodi festival, according to the season, in winter, Jfiyabarya is danced.' (C.008T)
- (7) (a) *ho-tak-iŋ jumfi-cyo sahak suru chanfi-nfiak-iŋ*  
 D.DEM-SUP-ABL cold-ATT season start become-front-ABL  
  
*jfiyabarya syafi-ke suru jat-le*  
 Jhyabarya dance-NOM start do-IMPF  
 'Then after the cold months have started, (we) start to dance the 'Jhyabarya'.  
 (C.012T)
- (b) *ho-se-ko khan-cyo sahak-aŋ harkapur-aŋ nuŋ-le*  
 D.DEM-DEF-PL hot-ATT season-LOC Harkapur-.LOC go-IMPF  
 'They go to Harkapur in summer.'

### 9.1.3 Calendrical deictic terms

Terms for days and years are a complex set of single deictic terms to encode immediate future and immediate past and at least two degrees beyond the immediate. Thus, in addition to 'last year', 'this year', and 'next year,' and 'yesterday' 'today and 'tomorrow', lexical stems exist for: 'year before last' and 'year after next', 'day before yesterday' and 'one day after tomorrow' through 'three days after tomorrow' and, in

Syangja, there is a term for 'four days after tomorrow'. These are outlined in Table 9.1. As noted, most temporal terms are compounds; some of which are transparent; for example, *ka-yak-ini* (S) literally [one-day-ABL] 'day before yesterday' (which is reduced to *kanin* in Tanahu). Other compounds are less clear; for example, *ciparfin* (S) 'three days after tomorrow' *parfin* derives from *aparfin* (S) 'tomorrow' and it has an ablative case ending, but the meaning of *ci-* is opaque. The compounds and their case endings are even less discernible in Tanahu due to considerable phonological reduction as shown in (8) and in examples (9) and (10).

**Table 9.1 Deictic calendrical day terms**

day before yesterday	yesterday	today	tomorrow	one day after tomorrow	two days after tomorrow	three days after tomorrow	four days after tomorrow
(S) <i>katyakniŋ</i>	<i>tisaniŋ</i>	<b><i>chiniŋ</i></b>	<i>pihin</i>	<i>aparfin</i>	<i>kaparfin</i>	<i>ciparfin</i>	<i>akwasni</i>
(T) <i>kaʔi</i>	<i>tisini</i>	<b><i>chiniŋ</i></b>	<i>pihin</i>	<i>aprin</i>	<i>kaprin</i>	<i>ciparfin</i>	

- (8) *kaʔyɪ* (T) ~ *katyakniŋ* (S) 'day before yesterday' [one-day-ABL]  
*tisini* (T) ~ *tisyakniŋ* (S) 'yesterday'  
*chiniŋ* 'today'  
*pihin* 'tomorrow'  
*aprin* (T) ~ *aparfin* (S) 'one day after tomorrow'  
*kaprin* (T) ~ *kaparfin* (S) 'two days after tomorrow'  
*ciparfin* ~ *ciparfin* 'three days after tomorrow'  
*akwasni* (S) ~ *niparin* (S) 'four days after tomorrow'
- (9) (a) *kat-aparfi-in* *kan-uŋ* *sip* *khol-di-s-le* [> *kaparfin*]  
one-day.after.tomorrow-ABL IP-GEN school open -LN-ITR-IMPF  
'School opens two days after tomorrow.' (S)
- (b) *moi* *kat-aparfi-in* *i-laŋ* *tafi-rafi-le* [> *kaprin*]  
mother one-day.from.tomorrow-ABL P.DEM-LOC reach-come-IMPF  
'My mother arrives two days after tomorrow.' (T)

The terms *kat-yak-niŋ* and *ka-yak-o* have developed stylized rhetorical meanings (*kat-yak-niŋ* reduces to [kayakiŋ]); thus, in addition to 'day before yesterday' *kat-yak-niŋ* can mean 'in the old days' ~ 'in ancient days' and *ka-yak-o*, in genitive case, means 'of old' ~ 'of ancient times', as in (10)

- (10) *kat-yak-niṅ ka-yak-o*      *bḥormi-ko lḥaṅ-ca*      *le-a*      [ >kayakiṅ ]  
 one-day-ABL one-day-GEN      man-PL      valiant-ATT IMPF-PST  
 'In ancient days, men of old were valiant.'

The set of complex deictic calendrical year terms are presented in Table 9.2 and (11).

**Table 9.2 Deictic calendrical year terms**

	year before last	last year	this year	next year	year after next
←					
	<i>ka-lḥies</i>	<i>me-lḥies</i>	<i>che-lḥies</i>	<i>nam-lḥies</i>	<i>khalam--lḥies</i> (S) ~ <i>akhaṅ-lḥies</i> (T)
					→

- (11) *ka-lḥies*      'year before last'  
*me-lḥies*      'last year'  
*che-lḥies*      'this year'  
*nam-lḥies*      'next year'  
*akhaṅ-lḥies* (T) ~ *khalam-lḥies* (S)      'year after next'

The base of these terms is the word *lḥies* meaning 'year'. The prefixal component of *ka-lḥies* is 'one' and of *me-lḥies* may be the inherent possessive marker, but *che* and *akhaṅ* have no obvious meaning; and it is not clear that *nam*, means 'sky; in this context<sup>1</sup>.

#### 9.1.4 Days of the week and months

The names of week days are mixed Magar-Nepali terms. The name of the day is from Nepali but rather than *baar*, the Nepali suffix on weekdays, Magar *yak* 'day' is used, as in (12) and (13).

- (12) *aita-yak*      'Sunday'  
*som-yak*      'Monday'  
*mangal-yak*      'Tuesday'  
*budḥa-yak*      'Wednesday'  
*bihi-yak*      'Thursday'  
*sukra-yak*      'Friday'  
*sani-yak*      'Saturday'

<sup>1</sup>Belhare (Bickel 1999:272) has the term *namniṅ* last.year and *chimmnetniṅ* year.before.last.year, the first has the morpheme *nam* for 'last'.

- (13) *sukra yak-aŋ ŋa-e delhi das-ke le*  
 Friday day-LOC 1S-ERG Delhi leave-NOM IMPF  
 'I will leave Delhi on Friday.' (T)

Magars use the Bikram Samwat calendar (abbreviated 'B.S.')(15)<sup>2</sup>, which is the official calendar of Nepal. The B.S. months correspond to the Gregorian as follows:

- |                     |                                    |
|---------------------|------------------------------------|
| (14) <i>baisakh</i> | 'mid-April to mid-May'             |
| <i>jestha</i>       | 'mid-May to mid-June'              |
| <i>asadh</i>        | 'mid-June to mid-July'             |
| <i>shrawan</i>      | 'mid-July to mid-August'           |
| <i>bhadra</i>       | 'mid-August to mid-September'      |
| <i>ashoj</i>        | 'mid-September to mid-October'     |
| <i>kartik</i>       | 'mid-October to mid-November'      |
| <i>mangshir</i>     | 'mid-November to mid-December'     |
| <i>poush</i>        | 'mid-December to mid-January'      |
| <i>magh</i>         | 'mid-January 2006 to mid-February' |
| <i>falgun</i>       | 'mid-February to mid-March'        |
| <i>chaitra</i>      | 'mid-March to mid-April'           |

- (15) *nabbe sala-aŋ bi.es. bfiuincal a-ulc-o le-a*  
 ninety year-LOC B.S. earthquake IRR-COP-MIR IMPF-IRR-PST

*kathmandu-aŋ dferai hul-ak-a*  
 Kathmandu-LOC many crumble-CAUS-PST

'I realize the earthquake may have been the year of 1990 B.S. In Kathmandu many (buildings) collapsed.' (M.M.024S)

### 9.1.5 General temporal terms

Native Magar general temporal adverbs are nominal or pronominal. Those in (16)

and (17) share the same nominal base: *caM* 'now' and are case-marked: *caM-tak*

[now-SUP'] and *caM-tak-iŋ* [now-SUP-ABL]. The additional morphemes in *caM-hāt*

(T) and *caM-mai* are unanalysable. The temporal terms in (18) and (19) all have a

deictic demonstrative base followed by the *nfiŋ* 'hour', which reduces to *naŋ* in

<sup>2</sup> Its name derives from Vikramaditya king of Ujjain, a former country in the Indian subcontinent, with whom the Rana oligarchs in Nepal aligned. The B.S. came into unofficial use alongside the then official lunar calendar of Nepal, the Shaka Sambat and eventually replaced it. The B.S. is a solar calendar based on Hindu Vedic tradition. It is 56.7 years ahead of the Gregorian calendar. Like the Gregorian calendar, the B.S. has twelve months; however, the beginning and end of months in the B.S. calendar correspond to the midway point of Gregorian months. And the New Year begins with the first day of the month Baisakh, which usually falls on the 13th or 14th of April in the Gregorian calendar.



Tanahu dialect<sup>3</sup>. To the combination of the proximal demonstrative and the indefinite marker can be added resulting in *i-nfiṅ-da* and meaning 'nowadays'. This can also be expressed by *chiniṅ-pihin* 'today-tomorrow', which reduces to [chinpin], as in (20). The distal demonstrative *ho* also combines with *-da* and has the meaning 'since', as in (21). Onomatopoeic forms such as *jokho johko* 'early' and *jhowatai* 'instantly' also express temporal adverbial senses ((22)).

- |      |                   |               |  |                         |
|------|-------------------|---------------|--|-------------------------|
| (16) | <i>cam-tak</i>    | [now-SUP]     |  | 'until now'             |
|      | <i>cam-tak-iṅ</i> | [now-SUP-ABL] |  | 'since'                 |
|      | <i>cam-hāt</i>    | [now-?]       |  | 'now'                   |
|      | <i>cam-cam</i>    | [now-now]     |  | 'just now'              |
|      | <i>cam-mai</i>    | [now-?]       |  | 'late' ~ 'this evening' |
- (17) (a) *ṅa-e cam-cam caha ṅa-rak-aṅ*  
 1S-ERG now-now tea 1PRO-bring-1PRO.PST  
 'I have just now brought tea.' (S)
- (b) *ṅa-e cam-cam ja rfiā-ke kas-ca ale*  
 1S-ERG now-now EMPH goat-DAT feed-NOM COP  
 'I have just now fed the goat.' (S)
- (c) *kaṅ-ko camhāt tafi-rafi-le*  
 2P-PL now reach-come-IMPF  
 'We are arriving now.' (T)
- (d) *naṅ cammai laṅghia-aṅ tafi-rafi-a*  
 2S late village-LOC reach-come-PST  
 'You arrived to the village late.'
- (e) *ho-se cam-tak ma-rafi-a*  
 D.DEM now-SUP NEG-come-PST  
 'He has not come till now.'
- (f) *ṅa 2004 cam-tak-iṅ kathmandu-aṅ mu-ma na le*  
 1S 2004 now-SUP-ABL Kathmandu-LOC sit-NOM EMPH IMPF  
 'I have lived in Kathmandu since 2004.' (T)
- |      |                |              |                     |
|------|----------------|--------------|---------------------|
| (18) | <i>i-nfiṅ</i>  | [P.DEM-hour] | 'presently' ~ 'now' |
|      | <i>ho-nfiṅ</i> | [D.DEM-hour] | 'at that time'      |
|      | <i>a-nfiṅ</i>  | [R.DEM-hour] | 'long ago'          |

<sup>3</sup> In Nawalparasi dialect the older third person form *me* is used rather than *ho*.

- (19) (a) *ho-se-i a-nfiŋ rafi-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF-FOC D.DEM-hour go-PST  
 'She went long ago.' (lit. 'She went at a remote hour')
- (b) *kaŋ-ko i-nfiŋ tafi-rafi-mΛ nΛ le*  
 2PL-PL P.DEM-hour reach -come-NOM EMPH IMPF  
 'We are arriving now.' (lit. 'We are arriving this hour.') (T)
- (c) *kaŋ-ko i-nfiŋ tafi-rafi-mΛ le-iŋ*  
 2PL-PL P.DEM-hour reach -come-NOM IMPF-2PL.PRO  
 'We are arriving now.' (lit. 'We are arriving this hour.')
- (d) *ho-se-e ho-nfiŋ cha rak-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF-ERG D.DEM-hour tea bring-PST  
 'She brought tea a while ago.' (lit. 'She brought tea that hour.')
- (20) (a) *i-nfiŋ-da ho-se gfiari-gfiari mfiyak-le*  
 P.DEM-hour-INDF D.DEM-DEF frequently-frequently forget-IMPF  
 'Nowadays, she frequently forgets.'
- (b) *chiniŋ-pihin ho-se gfiari-gfiari mfiyak-le* [*>chinpin*]  
 today-tomorrow D.DEM-DEF frequently-frequently forget-IMPF  
 'Nowadays, she frequently forgets.'
- (21) (a) *i-se gfiunda bfias-dekhiŋ ho-da gfiunda*  
 P.DEM-DEF knee break-from D.DEM-INDEF knee  
  
*a-se chanfi-pyak-ca a-se chanfi-le ni*  
 R.DEM-DEF become-after-ATT R.DEM-DEF become- IMPF CNFM  
 "...since breaking my knee, after that knee thing happened, that is how it is.'  
 (K.K.065S)
- (b) *ho-se maha-ja i-laŋ som lfies-iŋ ho-da*  
 D.DEM-DEF young.female-child P.DEM-LOC three year-ABL D.DEM-INDF  
  
*mu-mΛ-le* [*> mume*]  
 sit- NOM-IMPF  
 'That woman has lived here for three years.' (K.41T)
- (c) *i-nahaŋ sat baje mipuruŋ-e nfiis gfiΛnta-iŋ ho-da*  
 P.DEM-hour seven hour Mipring-ERG two bell-ABL D.DEM-INDF  
  
*kajus-mΛ le*  
 work-NOM IMPF  
 'It is now seven o'clock, Mipurung has been working for two hours.' (S)
- (d) *sen-iŋ ho-da naŋ-ko-ke chan rafi-a*  
 when-ABL D.DEM-INDF 2-PL-DAT fever come-PST  
 'Since when have you had a fever?'

- (22) (a) *ṅau-o baje raḥi-ke pa-cʌ bḥormi jokho-jokho taḥi-raḥi-a*  
 nine-GEN hour come-NOM try-ATT man quickly-quickly reach-come-PST  
 'The man who was to arrive at nine came early.' (T)
- (b) *ṅa jḥowatai lḥies-le-aṅ*  
 1S instantly return-IMPf-PRO  
 'I will be right back.' (S)

### 9.1.6 Borrowed temporal adverbs

Temporal adverbs are commonly borrowed from Nepali, as in (23); select examples follow in (24).

- (23)
- |                      |                       |
|----------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>aber</i>          | 'late'                |
| <i>abo</i>           | 'now'                 |
| <i>aci</i>           | 'still'               |
| <i>akhir</i>         | 'in the end'          |
| <i>agḥiyar</i>       | 'before' ~ 'long ago' |
| <i>ani</i>           | 'then'                |
| <i>arko</i>          | 'next'                |
| <i>bʌllʌ</i>         | 'finally'             |
| <i>pahila</i>        | 'initially'           |
| <i>pahila pahila</i> | 'long ago'            |
| <i>pheri</i>         | 'again'               |
| <i>pyak</i>          | 'after'               |
| <i>sadhai</i>        | 'always'              |
| <i>samma</i>         | 'until'               |

- (24) (a) *ku-dik aber ges-a*  
 INTRG-QUANT late play-PST  
 'How late did you play?'

- (b) *ha dḥaliṅ jʌ jat-mo abo ho-se kauwa-e hi*  
 EXCLM many EMPH do-SEQ now D.DEM-DEF crow-ERG what

*soch-di-o le de-naṅ ho-dik jat-pyak uruwa-ko-ke*  
 think-LN-MIR IMPF say-SIM D.DEM.QUANT do-after owl-PL-DAT

*tha maḥi-ale*  
 awareness NEG-COP

'Well, having done so much. Now, what did the crow realize to his surprise?  
 Even after doing all that, the owls did not notice.' (DD.063S)

- (c) *agḥiyar jʌ ale hi a-ule-e-o le-a chena*  
 long.ago EMPH COP what IRR-COP-IRR-MIR IMPF-PST don't.know  
 'It was long ago, what could it be!?! I don't know.' (O.O.013S)

(d) *akhir-aŋ ho-se-i babu-ja ra cyu danda-iŋ*  
 end-LOC D.DEM-DEF-FOC boy-child and dog hill-ABL

*mfiak-aŋ jfiak-a*  
 down-LOC fall-PST

'In the end, that little boy and the dog fell down from a hill.' (A.027T)

(e) *ho-tak-iŋ ho-laŋ dhoti aci* [*>hotiŋ*]  
 D.DEM-SUP-ABL D.DEM-LOC clothe.strips then

*jfiak kolomfi jat-mo lak-le*  
 clay wrap do-SEQ stick-IMP

'Then, on there, stick on plaster cloth strips that have been wrapped in mud.'  
 (D.012T)

(f) *ani ku-se-e ale*  
 then INTRG-DEF-ERG COP

'Then, who was it?' (Q.Q.006S)

(g) *i-lak pheri ho-se-i rokotyak bfiada-iŋ khyofi-ke*  
 P.DEM.CIR again D.DEM-DEF-FOC frog small.pot-ABL emerge-NOM

*pa-ma le-a*  
 try-NOM IMPF-PST

'Here, again the frog was trying to get out of the small pot.' (B.B.003S)

(h) *mfiak-aŋ di le-sa di-aŋ thafi di-aŋ thafi-ŋfiak-iŋ*  
 down-LOC water COP-INFR water-LOC sink water-LOC sink-front -ABL

*nfiis-jana balla balla bahire khyofi-a*  
 two-H.CLAS finally finally outside emerge-PST

'Down in the water, in the water they sank, after sinking, the two of  
 them finally got out.' (A.028T)

(i) *ho-se-e sɔdfiai kam jat-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF-ERG always work do-PST

'She has always worked.'

(j) *kan-uŋ gau-uŋ ghar-aŋ pahila pahila cahine*  
 2P-GEN village GEN home-LOC first first well

*hospital ya daktor de-cyo calan na*  
 hospital or doctor say ATT tradition EMPH

*ma-se-ma le-a ma-dfiag-ma le-a* [*>madfiagmya(T)*]  
 NEG- hear-NOM IMPF-PST NEG-see-NOM IMPF-PST

'In our village, long before, well, such a tradition of hospitals and doctors had  
 neither been heard of nor seen.' (E.E.03T)

(k) *cahin samma kan-uŋ pahunaŋ-ko ma-tafi-rafi-mΛ le*  
 well until 2P-GEN guest -PL NEG-reach-come-NOM IMPF  
 'Well, until now our guests have not arrived.'

(l) *ŋa-e ho-se-ke wak sya la-ke birfiin-cyo kat*  
 1S-ERG D.DEM-DEF-DAT pig flesh take-NOM send-ATT one

*gfiΛnta chanfi-a tARA ho-se cahin samma ma-lfies-mΛ le*  
 hour become-PST but D.DEM-DEF well until NEG-return-NOM IMPF  
 'I send him away one hour ago to buy pork, but he has not yet returned.'

(m) *mipruŋ-e panc baje samma kam jat-mΛ le*  
 Miprung-ERG five hour until work do-NOM IMPF  
 'Miprung has been working since five o'clock.'

(n) *ho-tak-iŋ ho-se an-mΛ bfiya-pyak* [*>hos*]  
 D.DEM-SUP-ABL D.DEM-DEF go-NOM finish-after

*kan-ko-e cho ka-jya-as* [*>kajyas*]  
 2P-PL-ERG rice 2PRO-eat-2PRO  
 'After he has left, we will eat.' (S)

### 9.1.7 Frequency adverbials and iteratives

Frequency and iterativity are expressed with native and borrowed adverbs and with reduplication. A reduplication of *sen*, 'when', translates as 'now and then' or 'sometimes', as seen in (25). The adverbial *sen*, when combined with the indefinite marker *-da*, has the meaning 'whenever' or 'ever' as in (26) and with a negated verb of 'never', as in (27); *sen-da-sen* means 'sometimes' ((28)). The Nepali word *kahile* 'sometimes' has also been borrowed ((29)).

(25) *rodi nu-ŋfiak-iŋ sen-sen langha-uŋ babu-ja-ko rafi-le*  
 rodi go-front-ABL when-when village GEN boy-child PL come -IMPf  
 'After (we have) come to the 'rodi', sometimes the little boys of the village come.' (C.OO3T)

(26) (a) *naŋ-ko sen-da india-aŋ nu-mΛ le*  
 2S -HON when-INDF India-LOC go-NOM IMPF  
 'Have you ever gone to India?' (K.11T)

(b) *ma ŋa sen-da india-aŋ ma-ŋu-mΛ le*  
 no D.DEM-DEF when-INDF India-LOC NEG-sit-NOM IMPF  
 'No, I have never been to India?' (K.11T)

- (27) *ḡa kathmandu-aḡ sen-da baś ma-kalfi-ma le-a*  
 1S Kathmandu-LOC when-INDF bus NEG-climb-NOM IMPF-PST  
 'I had never boarded a bus in Kathmandu.' (K.27T)
- (28) *ḡa-e sen-da-sen niḡgurya lam-lak dinfi-le-aḡ*  
 1S-ERG when-INDF-when fiddleheads path-CIR find-IMPF-1PRO  
 'I sometimes find fiddleheads around the path.' (S)
- (29) *ḡs-ke ḡfioye-ke kahile-kahile ḡa-e tahabah*  
 look-NOM plough-NOM sometimes-sometimes 1-ERG management  
  
*khas-ke khuppai ḡfioye-ke ma-hyok-le-aḡ*  
 prepare-NOM so.much plough-NOM NEG-able-IMPF-1PRO  
 'I see to the ploughing sometimes; sometimes I take care of the  
 management. I am not able to do so much ploughing.' (K.K.065S)

'Always' and 'often' may also be expressed with adverbs, borrowed from Nepali such as *paṭak*, ((30)), *barambar* ((31)) *ḡfiari-ḡfiari* ((32)) and *ektar* ((33)).

- (30) *ho-se paṭak paṭak pokhara nuḡ-le*  
 D.DEM-DEF time time Pokhara go-IMPF  
 'He always goes to Pokhara.'
- (31) *ho-se barambar namsiḡ mis-le*  
 D.DEM-DEF often afternoon sleep-IMPF  
 'He often sleeps in the afternoon.'
- (32) *i-nfiḡ-da ho-se ḡfiari-ḡfiari mfiyak-le*  
 P.DEM-hour-INDF D.DEM-DEF frequently-frequently forget-IMPF  
 'Nowadays, she frequently forgets.'
- (33) (a) *kan-ko ḡar-aḡ ektar nuḡ-le*  
 1P-PL rice.terrace-LOC always go-IMPF  
 'We always go to the rice terrace.' (T)
- (b) *kan-ko ḡar-aḡ ektar nuḡ-le-iḡ*  
 1P-PL rice.terrace-LOC always go-IMPF  
 'We always go to the rice terrace.' (S)

Iterative actions are expressed through reduplication of a temporal adverbial, as in (34), with reduplicated finite verbs, as in (35), as well as with nominalized reduplicated constructions in which the stem of the semantic main verb is reduplicated and the first verb is nominalized with *-cyo* and the second with *-ma*. These

nominalized verbs are followed by the verb *jat* 'do,' as in (36), or the imperfective auxiliary *le* ((37)).

(34) *mipruŋ-e gorak gorak basta-ke kas-ke ghans ce-le*  
 Mipruŋ-ERG morning morning livestock-DAT feed-NOM grass cut-IMPF  
 'Every morning Miprung cut grass to feed the livestock.'

(35) (a) *ho-se chis-mA nA le chis-mA nA le*  
 D.DEM-DEF sneeze-NOM EMPH IMPF sneeze-NOM EMPH IMPF  
 'He sneezed repeatedly.'

(b) *ho-se cufi-mA nA le cufi-mA nA le*  
 D.DEM-DEF cough-NOM EMPH IMPF cough-NOM EMPH IMPF  
 'He coughs repeatedly.'

(c) *kan-ko bajar-aŋ nuŋ-mA nA le nuŋ-mA nA le*  
 1P-PL bazaar-LOC go-NOM EMPH IMPF go-NOM EMPH IMPF  
 'We always go to the bazaar.'

(36) (a) *ho-se chis-cyo chis-mA jat-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF sneeze-ATT sneeze-NOM do-PST  
 'He sneezed repeatedly.'

(b) *ho-se-e cyu-ke dathup-cyo dathup-mA jat-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF-ERG dog-DAT beat-NOM beat-NOM do-PST  
 'She beat the dog repeatedly.'

(37) (a) *ho-se cufi-cyo cufi-mA le*  
 D.DEM-DEF cough-ATT cough-NOM IMPF  
 'He coughs repeatedly.'

(b) *kan-ko bajar-aŋ nuŋ-cyo nuŋ-mA le*  
 1P-PL bazaar-LOC go-ATT go-NOM IMPF  
 'We always go to the bazaar.'

Habitual activities in the past, which are not strictly iterative, are expressed with the 'past habitual' (see also §5.2.2.1), as in (38).

(38) *bfim laŋgfi-aŋ nuŋ-o le-a*  
 Bfim village-LOC go-HAB IMPF-PST

*i-nahaŋ ho-se kathamandu-aŋ mu-mA le*  
 P.DEM-LOC D.DEM-DEF Kathmandu-LOC sit-NOM IMPF  
 'Bfim used to go to the village, now he stays in Kathmandu.'

## 9.2 Manner adverbials

Manner in native Magar can be expressed in a number of different ways: with a manner pro-form, with juxtaposed nominalized verbs, with reduplicated verbs and with converbs. Manner adverbs are also borrowed from Nepali.

### 9.2.1 Manner pro-forms

To explicitly describe manner in a generic sense, for example when giving instructions, 'do X in this way', Magar has manner pro-forms built off a demonstrative base in combination with *ta* 'manner' as in (39) and (40a - d), or off the general interrogative base *ku-ta* ((40e)).

(39)	<i>i-ta</i>	[P.DEM-MNR]	'this way'
	<i>ho-ta</i>	[D.DEM-MNR]	'that way'
	<i>a-ta</i>	[R.DEM-MNR]	'that distant way'
	<i>ku-ta</i>	[INTRG-MNR]	'what way'

(40)	(a)	<i>i-se</i>	<i>kam</i>	<i>i-ta</i>	<i>jat-mo</i>	<i>jat-o</i>
		P.DEM-DEF	work	P.DEM-MNR	do-SEQ	do-IMP
		'Do this work in this way!'				

(b)	<i>ho-se</i>	<i>mantri-e</i>	<i>ŋa-e</i>	<i>ho-ta</i>	<i>te-le-aŋ</i>	
	D.DEM-DEF	minister-ERG	1S-ERG	D.DEM-MNR	say-IMP-1PRO	
	<i>ho-ta-i</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>ho-din-ca</i>	<i>tarikai</i>	<i>ŋa-e</i>	<i>khas-le-aŋ</i>
	D.DEM-MNR-FOC	and	D.DEM-QUAL-ATT	thereby	1S-ERG	make-IMP-1PRO
	<i>te-le-sa</i>	say-IMP-INTR				
	'This minister, then apparently said thus, "In that way and to that extent, I will make it happen."' (DD. O35S)					

(c)	<i>samakcha</i>	<i>maiti-ko-ke</i>	<i>ho-ta</i>	<i>jat-mo</i>	<i>yafi-le</i>
	inclusive	maternal.relative-PL-DAT	D.DEM-MNR	do-SEQ	give-IMP
	'To all of the bride's relatives in this way (items) are given.' (E.E.033T)				

(d)	<i>kan-ko-uŋ</i>	<i>kat-yak calan</i>	<i>a-ta</i>	<i>jat-o</i>	<i>le-sa-a</i>
	2PL-PL-GEN	one-day tradition	R.DEM-MNR	do-HAB	IMP-INTR-PST
	'Our ancient traditions were (apparently) done in this (remote) manner.' (T)				

(e)	<i>ho-se</i>	<i>danda</i>	<i>jat-cyo</i>	<i>ku-ta</i>	<i>jat-mo</i>	<i>jat-cyo</i>	<i>ale</i>
	D.DEM-DEF	penalty	do-ATT	INTRG-MNR	do-SEQ	do-ATT	COP



*de-lhyak* *dulha-e* *cahin* *yad* *a-jat-e*  
 say-COND groom-ERG well remember IRR-do-IRR  
 'This penalty if it is done in this way, will be done so that the groom will remember.' (E.E 011T)

### 9.2.2 Reduplication and juxtaposition

The function of reduplicated verbs conforms to observations by Abbi (1992:169) that reduplication serves to indicate manner, specifically to intensify a state or action, as in (41), and to express continuity and iteration, as in (42).

(41) (a) *siŋ-o* *dhodra dup-a* *ra* *cyu-ke* *ma-cyak* *ma-cyak*  
 wood-GEN log meet-PST and dog-DAT NEG-make.noise NEG-make.noise

*rafi-na* *de-mo*  
 come-IMP say-SEQ

'He encountered a wooden log and (the boy) told the dog, "Come without making any noise at all!"' (A.030T)

(b) *masan-e* *langha-li-ko-ke* *birifi-tak-mo* *birifi-birifi-ma* *na* *le* *ta*  
 death.spirit village-ASC-PL-DAT fear-CAUS-SEQ fear-fear-NOM EMPH IMPF REP  
 'They say the death spirit caused such fear that the villagers are terrified.'

(42) (a) *ho-se* *bhormi jya-naŋ* *jya-naŋ* *si-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF person eat -SIM eat -SIM die-PST  
 'The man, while eating and eating, died.'

(b) *ho-se* *nhis* *rokotyak-ke* *ŋos-naŋ* *ŋos-naŋ* *jaŋgaŋ-iŋ* *thuprai*  
 D.DEM-DEF two frog-DAT look-SIM look-SIM jungle -ABL many

*rokotyak* *mi-ja-ko* *khyofi-a*  
 frog POSS-child -PL emerge-PST

'While (they were) looking and looking at those two frogs, from the jungle emerged many baby frogs. (A.032T)

(c) *begar-di-s-ca* *beskaŋ* *gopal-e* *kacyap-kacyap* *taya-le*  
 discard-LN-ITR-ATT bread Gopal-ERG gnaw-gnaw chew-IMPF  
 'Gopal gnawed and gnawed away at the stale bread.' (S)

Intense sensations or perceptions may be expressed with a reduplicated verb and followed by the continuous form of the verb *se*, 'sense' ('hear' and 'feel'), as in (43).

(43) (a) *mis-mis* *se-ma* *le* [*>seme*]  
 sleep-sleep sense-NOM IMPF  
 'I want very much to sleep.' (T)

(b) *mis-mis se-mΛ-na*  
 sleep-sleep sense-NOM-1PRO  
 'I want very much to sleep.' (S)

(c) *ŋa di ga-ga se-mΛ le*  
 1S water drink-drink sense-NOM IMPF  
 'I want very much to drink water.' (T)

(d) *ŋa di ga-ga se-mΛ-na*  
 1S water drink-drink sense-NOM-1PRO  
 'I want very much to drink water.' (S)

(e) *ho-se-i cho kun-ca jya-jya se-cyo ale*  
 D.DEM-DEF-FOC rice.meal how-ATT eat-eat sense-ATT COP  
 'This food, how very tasty it is!' (lit. 'how edible it is') (T)

(f) *ho-se-i badfin kun-ca bil-bil se-ca ale*  
 D.DEM-DEF-FOC clothing INTRG-ATT wear-wear sense-ATT COP  
 'These clothes, how very beautiful they are!' (lit. 'wearable they are') (S)

(g) *naŋ-ko-e rik-ca postak por-di-s por-di-s se-ca*  
 2S-PL-ERG write-ATT book read-LN-ITR read-LN-ITR sense-ATT

*chanfi-le* [*>chanfine*]  
 become-IMPF  
 'The book you write will be very very interesting!' (lit. 'readable it will be')  
 (S)

Reduplicated verb stems, followed by the morpheme *-e*, preceding and juxtaposed to a final finite verb express manner, as in (44). This morpheme is homophonous with, and may be, the instrumental *-e*. The existence of constructions with a nominalized verb in combination with the instrumental occur, which express manner ((44); also see §12.1.2.5) suggest that the constructions in (43) are indeed followed by an instrumental and can be presumed to have lost their nominalizer.

(44) (a) *ja-ja-ko ret-e ret-e lfiŋ-le*  
 child-child-PL smile-INST smile-INST sing-IMPF  
 'The children sing smiling.'

(b) *len-ja -ko lfiŋ-e lfiŋ-e rafi-a*  
 young.male-child-PL sing-INST sing-INST come-PST  
 'The people came singing.'

(c) *mi-ja rap-e rap-e kher-a*  
 child cry-INST cry-INST ran-PST  
 'The child ran crying.'

(d) *bfiormi-ko jya-e jya-e ηu-le*  
 person-PL eat-INST eat-INST come-PST  
 'The people sit eating.'

(45) *kauwa men-o thutna-e thonfi-CA-e du dumfi-a*  
 crow 3S-GEN beak-INST reach-ATT-INST insect catch-PST  
 'By reaching with his beak the crow caught the insect.'

Local terms, when reduplicated, convey manner and direction of the verb,  
 as in (46).

(46) (a) *rokotyak-CA nfiun-nfiun rafi-le-sa ta*  
 frog-ATT back-back come-IMPF-INFR REP  
 'They say that apparently the frog kept following her.' (G.G.008S)

(b) *babu-ja rA cyu mfiak-mfiak jfiat-a*  
 young-child and dog down-down fall-past  
 'The little boy and the dog fell down and down.'

(c) *mfi-lapka dfiem-dfiem bfiur-mA le*  
 fire-flame up-up fly-NOM IMPF  
 'The the flames are flying higher and higher.'

### 9.2.3 Converbs expressing manner

The primary function of the simultaneous and sequential converbs is to temporally relate events; however, both may also express manner. An example of simultaneous converb expressing manner follows in (47).

(47) (a) *ηa cfi jya-naη ma-ηak-le*  
 1S meal eat-SIM NEG-talk-IMPF  
 'While eating meals, I do not talk' ~ 'I eat meal silently.' (T)

(a) *ηa-e cfi jya-naη ma-ηak-le-aη*  
 1S-ERG meal eat-SIM NEG-talk-IMPF-IPRO  
 'While eating meals, I do not talk' ~ 'I eat meal silently.' (S)

(b) *len-ja-ko wfi-naη lfiη-a*  
 young.male-child-PL walk-SIM sing-PST  
 'While walking, the young men sang' ~ 'The young men walked singing.'

When expressing manner, the simultaneous converb is frequently reduplicated which serves to intensify and / or prolong the action, as in (48).

- (48) *kher-naŋ kher-naŋ babu-ja rafi-a*  
 run-SIM run-SIM little.boy-child come-PST  
 'Running, running, the little boy came.' ~ 'The little boy came running.'

A non-punctual finite verb with an embedded sequential converb may overlap in time and express a single event; see §12.1.3.1. In such instances, the sequential converb expresses manner, as in (49). The sequential converb and the main verb may be linked by an emphatic, as in (50).

- (49) (a) *ho-se-i babu-ja-e men-o cyu mfiak-aŋ jfiak-cyo*  
 D.DEM-DEF-FOC boy-child-ERG 3S-GEN dog down-LOC fall-ATT  
  
*daŋ-a maya rafi-mo ho-se-i mfiak-aŋ*  
 see-PST love come-SEQ D.DEM-DEF-FOC down-LOC  
  
*kher-mo nu-a ra cyu-ke gfi-a*  
 run-SEQ go-PST and dog-DAT hold-PST  
 'The boy saw his own dog, which had fallen. Being filled with love, he went running down and held the dog.' (A.A.011T)
- (b) *damahai-ko arnat-mo marfi-aŋ-mo rafi-a*  
 drummer-PL play.instrument-SEQ be.happy-NOM come-PST  
 'The drummers came playing happily.'
- (c) *ho-se-ko ma-ŋak-mo nuŋ-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF-PL NEG- speak-SEQ go-PST  
 'They left without speaking.' ~ 'They left silently.' (R.29)
- (d) *ren-ja-ko lfiŋ-mo wfi-a*  
 young.man-child-PL sing -SEQ walk -PST  
 'The young men walked singing.' (R.23)
- (e) *lau rafi-na naŋ-o phauji ra lafi-mo rafi-na*  
 EXCLM come-IMP 2S-GEN troop and take-SEQ come-IMP  
 Hey, come, taking your troops, come!'
- (e) *me-ŋer jik-mo rak-le-sa*  
 POSS-mouth bite-SEQ bring-IMPF-INFR  
 'Holding it in his mouth, he apparently brought it.' (DD.076S)

- (50) (a) *mi-ja marfi-aŋ-mo na~ja ges-le*  
 POSS-child happy-SEQ EMPH play-IMPF  
 'The child plays very happily.'

(b) *ja-ja rap-mo nA~jA kher-a*  
 child-child weep-SEQ EMPH run-PST  
 'The child ran away weeping.' (R.20)

(c) *maha-ja-e sefi-mo nA~jA lfiij-le*  
 young.female-child-ERG beautiful-SEQ EMPH sing-IMPF  
 'The young woman sings very beautifully.'

#### 9.2.4 Borrowed manner adverbs

Manner adverbs are also frequently borrowed from Nepali ((51)); examples follow in

(52).

(51) *chito* 'quickly' ~ 'early'  
*dfilo* 'slowly' ~ 'late'  
*bistari* 'slowly'  
*besmari* 'completely' ~ 'excessively'  
*jfuruk* 'abruptly' ~ 'suddenly'  
*kAθA kAθA* 'in unison' ~ 'together'

(52) (a) *ram-e dferai bistari kam jat-le*  
 Ram-ERG very slowly work do-IMPF  
 'Ram works very slowly.'

(b) *ho-se-i argan-o gola mfiak-aŋ jfi-al-a argan-ko besmari*  
 D.DEM-DEF-FOC wasp-GEN round down-LOC fall-PST wasp-PL very

*buaŋ-mo cyu-ke kher-ak-a cyu-ke bfhog-di-mo kher-ak-a*  
 swarm-SEQ dog-DAT run-CAUS-PST dog-DAT flee-LN-SEQ run-CAUS-PST  
 'The wasp's nest fell down and the wasps having completely swarmed the  
 dog, chased the dog and made him run.' (A.A.017T)

(c) *mirga jfuruk so-cyo-cyo ho-se-i babu-ja-ke cahin*  
 deer suddenly rise-ATT-ATT D.DEM-DEF-FOC boy-child-DAT well

*mirga-e jfuruk jfuruk jfuruk mi-rfi-aŋ hak-mo*  
 deer-ERG suddenly suddenly suddenly POSS-horn-LOC stick-SEQ

*kher-ak-a*  
 run-CAUS-PST

'The deer suddenly stood up, the little boy, well, the deer, suddenly,  
 suddenly, with the little boy stuck on his horns, ran away with him.'  
 (A.025T)

(d) *len-ja amam-ko kAθA-kAθA rodi-aŋ tafi-rafi-le*  
 young.male-child young.girls-PL with-with Rodi-LOC reach-come-IMPF  
 'Young men and women arrive together at Rodi.'

### 9.3 Local adverbials

Spatial and directional adverbial senses, in native Magar, are predominantly conveyed by locational (pro-)nominals, which may case-marked and may be linked by genitive case. Locational nominals are those which indicate location in space and are linked to the noun whose location they specify by an associative construction, commonly the genitive case. In Magar the genitive marker links locational nominals to their noun; however this case-marking is not obligatory. The co-existence of the two forms indicates a continuum in Magar, one which is not uncommonly found. Noonan<sup>4</sup> has observed that forms used to signal locational senses are not only connected notionally but also diachronically, i.e. locational nominals may develop into adpositions (and these further to clitics and / or affixes). In Magar, we find locational nominals at intermediate stages of development between locational nominal and adposition. Spatial adverbs and locative nouns have also been borrowed from Nepali and are described in § 9.3.4. A single native locational *katha* 'with' is neither case-marked nor does it occur with an associative/ genitive, it can also be coordinated and is thus considered a postposition and is treated in §9.3.3.

#### 9.3.1 Locational demonstrative and interrogative pronouns

Deictic demonstrative stems and the interrogative stem *ku* combine with the locative ((53) and (54)) and the circumlative ((55) and (56)) cases. In addition, the distal demonstrative and the interrogative also combine with the superessive and ablative ((58) and (59) below). These combinations function as spatial adverbials.

(53) Demonstrative and interrogative stems + locative

<i>i-laŋ</i>	[P.DEM-LOC]	'here'
<i>ho-laŋ</i>	[D.DEM-LOC]	'there'
<i>a-laŋ</i>	[R.DEM-LOC]	'over there' ~ 'yonder'
<i>ku-laŋ</i>	[INTRG-LOC]	'where'

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<sup>4</sup> personal communication, Nov 15, 2008.

- (54) (a) *naŋ-ko-uŋ im ku-laŋ le*  
 2S-HON-GEN house where-LOC COP  
 'Where is your house?'
- (b) *ŋa-o im i-laŋ le*  
 1S-GEN house P.DEM-LOC COP  
 'My house is here.'
- (c) *ho-laŋ bahire-uŋ babu-ja-ko rafi-le bfiindai langfia-iŋ*  
 D.DEM-LOC outside-GEN boy-child-PL go-IMPF next village-ABL  
 'Young boys from outside come there, from the next village.' (C.005 T)
- (d) *ho-se-o langfia a-laŋ le*  
 D.DEM-DEF-GEN village R.DEM-LOC COP  
 'Her village is far away.'
- (55) DEMONSTRATIVE AND INTERROGATIVE STEMS + CIRCUMALTIIVE
- |               |           |                  |
|---------------|-----------|------------------|
| <i>i-lak</i>  | P.DEM-CIR | 'hereabouts'     |
| <i>ho-lak</i> | D.DEM-CIR | 'thereabouts'    |
| <i>a-lak</i>  | R.DEM-CIR | 'not hereabouts' |
| <i>ku-lak</i> | INTR-CIR  | 'whereabouts'    |
- (56) (a) *i-lak rafi-o*  
 P.DEM-CIR come-IMP  
 'Come hereabouts!'
- (b) *ho-lak hi le*  
 D. DEM-CIR what COP  
 'What is there in that area (~thereabouts).'
- (c) *hose a-lak le*  
 D.DEM-DEF R.DEM-CIR COP  
 'It is not way over in that area (~thereabouts).'
- (d) *kan-ko i-lak a-lak nuŋ-a*  
 2-PL P.DEM-LOC D.DEM-LOC go-PST  
 'We went here and there.'
- (e) *hose ku-lak le*  
 D.DEM-DEF INTRG-CIR COP  
 'Whereabouts is it?'
- (f) *rokotyak ku-lak nu-a de-mo juta-aŋ ŋos-a*  
 frog INTRG-CIR go-PST say-SEQ shoe -LOC look -PST  
 '(The little boy) wondered whereabouts the frog went.' (A.005T)

The spatial adverb *a-lak* combines with the Nepali word *patti* 'side' resulting in *a-lak-patti*, 'the other side'~ 'the far side' as in (57) and this sequence itself can be case-marked as in (57c). In Tanahu dialect, *a-lak-patti* frequently reduces to [alpatti].

(57) (a) *ra i-lak toko ho-se-ko a-lak-patti aŋ-ke pa-a*  
 and P.DEM-CIR side D.DEM-DEF-PL R.DEM-CIR-side go-NOM try-PST  
 'They tried to go from this side to that side.'

(b) *ho-se dhodra mudha a-lak-patti ŋos-cyo cyo* [> alpatti]  
 D.DEM-DEF hollow.log log R.DEM-CIR side look-ATT-ATT

*a-lak-patti dhodra-mudha a-lak-patti ŋos-cyo cyo*  
 R.DEM-CIR-side hollow.log-log R.DEM-CIR-side look-ATT-ATT

*thuprai rokotyak-ko le-a*  
 many frog-PL COP-PST

'They looked on the other side of the hollow log and on the other side they saw there were many frogs on the other side.' (A.A.029T)

(c) *siŋ dhodra a-lak-patti-aŋ ŋos-mo ŋu-naŋ*  
 wood hollow.log R.DEM-CIR-side-LOC look-SEQ sit-SIM

*nfiis rokotyak ŋu-mo ŋu-cyo daŋfi-a*  
 two frog sit-SEQ sit-ATT see-PST

'Having looked on the other side of the log, they saw two frogs seated.'  
 (A.031T)

As noted, the demonstratives and the interrogative *ku* combine with the superessive plus ablative case ((58) and (59)). These combinations phonetically reduce as seen below. The distal demonstrative *ho-tak-iŋ* has developed temporal meanings; this is discussed in §9.4.

(58) Demonstrative and interrogative stems + superessive + ablative

*i-tak-iŋ* [P.DEM- SUP-CIR] 'from there' ~ 'thereupon'  
*ho-tak-iŋ* [D.DEM- SUP-CIR] 'from there' ~ 'thereupon'  
*a-tak-iŋ* [R.DEM- SUP-CIR] 'from there' ~ 'thereupon'  
*ku-tak-iŋ* [INTRG- SUP-CIR] 'from where'

(59) (a) *bformi ku-tak-iŋ khorofi-a* [>kutiŋ]  
 man INTRG-SUP-ABL fall-PST  
 'Where did the man fall from?'

(b) *bformi ho-tak-iŋ khorofi-a* [>hotiŋ]  
 man D.DEM-SUP-ABL fall-PST  
 'The man fell from up there ~ on top of that.'



(c) *lukurdfium i-tak-ij*                      *bfiur-a*                      [*>itiŋ*]  
 owl    P.DEM-SUP-ABL                      fly-PST  
 'The owl flew from up here ~ on top of this.'

(d) *a-se-ko-e*                      *sofi-cyo*                      *duhwā a-tak-ij*                      [*>atiŋ*]  
 R.DEM-DEF-PL-ERG    rise-ATT                      smoke    R.DEM-SUP-ABL

*daŋfi-o le-a ta*  
 see-HAB IMPF-PST REP

'They say those ones used to see smoke rising from far up over there ~  
 from on top of that far over there.'

### 9.3.2 Locational nominals

As noted locational nominals, can be case-marked and linked by the genitive case to the noun whose location they specify. The nominals *dfiem* 'up', *mfiak* 'down', *nfiun*, 'back' and *ŋfiās* (S) ~ *ŋfiak* (T) 'front', combine with the following local cases: the locative case *-aŋ* ((60)-(61)), the circumlative *-lak* ((62) -(63)), and the ablative *-ij* ((67)-(68) below). The nominals *kherep* 'near' and *los* 'far' combine only with the ablative *-ij*. The terms *kherep*, *los*, *nfiun* and *ŋfiās* ~ *ŋfiak* may also be unmarked for case; *dfiem* and *mfiak* do not appear without case marking. The spatial nouns *nfiun* and *ŋfiās* ~ *ŋfiak* also have temporal meanings this is discussed in §9.5.

#### (60) Spatial nouns + locative case

<i>dfiem-aŋ</i>	[up-LOC]	'above' ~ 'up' ~ 'atop'
<i>mfiak-aŋ</i>	[down-LOC]	'below' ~ 'down' ~ 'under'
<i>nfiun-aŋ</i>	[back-LOC]	'after' ~ 'behind'
<i>ŋfiās-</i> (S) ~ <i>ŋfiak-aŋ</i> (T)	[front-LOC]	'in front' ~ 'before'

(61) (a) *dhodfiara dfiem-aŋ mi-ja-ko tarara mu-ma le-a*  
 log                      up-LOC    POSS-child-PL                      side.by.side    sit-NOM    IMPF-PST  
 'Atop the log the children sat side by side.'

(b) *cyu-e argan-o golā le-cyo myertuŋ argan-o*  
 dog -ERG    wasp -GEN    nest    COP-ATT    tree                      wasp -GEN

*hyok-naŋ argan-o mfiak-aŋ jfiā-a*  
 shake-SIM    wasp-GEN                      down -LOC                      fall-PST

'While the dog was shaking the tree with the wasp's nest, and the wasp's  
 (nest) fell down.' (A.A.014T)

(c) *nam-khan dibu nfiun-aŋ le*  
 sky-heat cloud back-LOC COP  
 'The sun is behind the clouds.'

(d) *sip-ya-ko sip nfiak-aŋ mu-ma le*  
 school-NOM-PL school front-LOC sit-NOM IMPF  
 'The students are sitting in front of the school'

Examples of spatial nouns in the circumlative case, which, in combination with a dynamic verb can have an allative sense, i.e. 'motion toward'.

(62) Spatial nouns + circumlative case

<i>dfiem-lak</i>	[up-CIR]	'above' ~ 'upward'
<i>mfiak-lak</i>	[down-CIR]	'below' ~ 'downward'
<i>nfiun-lak</i>	[back-CIR]	'behind' ~ 'backwards' ~ 'last'
<i>ŋfias- (S) ~ ŋfiak-lak</i>	[front-CIR]	'front' ~ 'forwards' ~ 'frontward'

(63) (a) *mirga dfiari men-o mi-rfiŋ gfiok-cyo tafi-a*  
 deer also 3S-GEN POSS-horn hold-ATT reach-PST

*dinfi-a hi ya gfiok-a de-mo dfiem-lak ŋos-cyo-cyo*  
 find-PST why or hold-PST say-SEQ up-CIR look-ATT-ATT

*ho-se-i babu-ja mi-rfiŋ-aŋ hafi-ak-mo hafi-ak-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF-FOC boy-child POSS-horn-LOC stick-CAUS-SEQ stick-CAUS-PST  
 'The deer realized that something had ahold of his antlers, he wondered what it was then he looked upward and saw the boy above hanging stuck on his antlers.' (A.A.025T)

(b) *ho-tak-iŋ ho-se-ke uruwa-i gfiel-naŋ gfiel-naŋ*  
 D.DEM-MNR-ABL D.DEM-DEF-DAT owl-ERG follow-SIM follow-SIM

*ho-se ja-ja cahin kat lfiuŋ mfiak-lak mu-a na*  
 D.DEM-DEF child-child now one stone down-CIR sit-PST EMPH  
 'Then, that one (the boy), the owl chasing and chasing that boy, now, stayed down below by a rock.' (C.C. 020S)

(c) *ja-ja patta-ko nfiun-lak le-a*  
 child-child all-PL back-CIR COP-PST  
 'The child was last.' lit. 'behind all the others'

(d) *gwa im-o nfiak-lak kher-a*  
 bird house-GEN front-CIR run-PST  
 'The chickens ran toward the front of the house.' (T)

(e) *nambi-lak-aŋ phauji nfias-lak wfi-a*  
 night-CIR-LOC troop front-CIR move-PST  
 'In the evening, the troop moved forward.' (S)

The circumlative also collocates with nouns borrowed from Nepali; for example, *par* and *war*; and mean 'this side' and 'that side' as in (64) and (65). The term 'side' is also expressed with the Nepali word *patti* (66).

- (64) *war-lak* [this side-CIR] 'this side ~ over here'  
*par-lak* [that side-CIR] 'that side ~ over there ~ across'

- (65) (a) *par-lak nuŋ-o*  
 that.side-CIR go-IMP  
 'Go to that side over there!'

- (b) *war-lak mu-o*  
 this.side-CIR stay-IMP  
 'Stay on this side!'

- (c) *ho-se-ko uruwa par-lak khola par-lak patti mu-ca*  
 D.DEM-DEF-PL owl this.side-CIR stream this.side-CIR side sit-ATT

*kauwa war-lak patti pipal myertuŋ mi-dhuŋ-aŋ kauwa mu-ca*  
 crow that.side-CIR side fig tree POSS-branch-LOC crow sit-ATT  
 'The owls sat on this side of the stream, the crows on this side, the crows then just sat on the branch of a fig tree.' (D.D.014S)

- (66) *ra i-lak pheri ho-se dhodfiara dhem patti nfiis budfi-a*  
 and P.DEM.CIR again D.DEM-DEF log up side two old-ML

*budfi-i rokotyak ra dherai ja mi-ja-ko tarara*  
 old-FM frog and many EMPH POSS-child-PL in.rows

*mu-ma le-a*  
 sit-NOM IMPF-PST

'And here, again, above the log, the two man and wife frogs and their many babies were sitting in rows.' (B.B. 038S)

Examples of spatial nouns in the ablative case, which in combination with a dynamic verb mean 'motion from', follow.

- (67) Spatial nouns + ablative case

<i>dhem-ij</i>	[up-ABL]	'from above'
<i>mfiak-ij</i>	[down-ABL]	'from below'
<i>nfiun-ij</i>	[back-ABL]	'from behind'
<i>ŋfias- (S) ~ ŋfiak-ij (T)</i>	[front-ABL]	'from in front'
<i>kherep-ij</i>	[near-LOC]	'from near'
<i>los-ij</i>	[far-LOC]	'from far'

(68) (a) *cyu-o mi-talu sisi-aŋ lafi-mo na nuŋ-ma mu-a*  
 dog-GEN POSS-head bottle-LOC stick-SEQ EMPH sit-NOM sit-PST

*ho-se mi-mik ma-daŋ-mo jfiyal-iŋ mfiak-iŋ jfi-al-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF POSS-eye NEG-see-SEQ window-ABL above-ABL fall-PST  
 'The dog's head got stuck in the bottle, he was walking around. With his eyes unable to see, he fell down from the window.' (A.A.010T)

(b) *ho-tak-iŋ khan-ke mfi-aŋ mfiak-iŋ mfiut-le*  
 D.DEM-SUP-ABL heat-NOM fire-LOC under-ABL blow-IMPF  
 'Then, to heat, blow on the fire from below.' (D.015T)

(c) *bul lfuy nfiun-iŋ sululutai wfi-a*  
 snake stone back-ABL ONO walk-PST  
 'The snake slithered from behind the stone.'

(d) *ho-ta te-o le-a man ho-nafi-aŋ jya-ke*  
 D.DEM-MNR say-HAB IMPF-PST truly D.DEM-hour eat-NOM

*ma-dinfi-ŋfiak-iŋ ban dumfi-ŋfiak-iŋ me-lafi jofi-ca ta*  
 NEG-find -front-ABL forest complete-front-ABL 3S-self flee-ATT REP  
 'Being like that, they say, truly, at that time, after finding nothing to eat over there, after (consuming) everything in the forest itself, they say, (the leopard) just fled.' (O.O.011S)

(e) *bfiormi-ko kherep kherep-iŋ ra los los-iŋ rafi-a*  
 person-PL near near-ABL and far far-ABL come-PST  
 'People came from near and far.'

The terms *ŋfi-as* (S) ~ *ŋfi-ak* (T) 'front' and *nfiun* 'back' derive from body parts: 'face' and 'back' respectively. Their adverbial use complies with observations made by Casad (1982) and Heine and Reh (1984)<sup>5</sup> that spatial adverbial senses frequently derive from body part terms. Their nominal status is underscored by the genitive case marking of the noun they locationally specify. This true of the nominals *kherep* 'near' and *los* 'far' as well (69). However these nominals need not be linked by genitive case, as seen above and in the contrasts in (70).

(69) (a) *ho-se than-o nfiun nuŋ-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF temple-GEN behind go-PST  
 'He went behind the temple.' (literally 'to the temple's back')

<sup>5</sup> Cited in Payne 1997:87.

(b) *cyu-e parkhal-o ηfias khofi-le*  
 dog-ERG wall-GEN front dig-IMPF  
 'The dog is digging in front of the wall.' (literally 'at the wall's front')

(c) *ra cyu cahin hose-o lfiuη-o mfiak-aη mu-a na*  
 and dog well D.DEM-GEN stone-GEN down-LOC sit-PST EMPH  
 'And the dog, well, stayed down below his rock.' (C.C. 020S)

(70) (a) *myertuη than-o kherep le*  
 tree temple-GEN near COP  
 'The tree is near the temple.'

(b) *ho-se-o langfia pokhara-o kherep le*  
 D.DEM-DEF-GEN village Pokhara-GEN near COP  
 'His village is near Pokhara.'

(c) *myertuη than kherep le*  
 tree temple near COP  
 'The tree is near the temple.'

(d) *ho-se-o langfia pokhara kherep le*  
 D.DEM-DEF-GEN village Pokhara near COP  
 'His village is near Pokhara.'

The locational nominals *bfiitre* 'inside' and *bafirie* 'outside', borrowed from Nepali, share the same characteristics as *ηfias* ~ *ηfiak*, *nfiun*, *kherep* and *los*. They may be case-marked ((71)) or unmarked ((72)) and they are also optionally linked by the genitive case ((73)), but need not be ((74)).

(71) (a) *mi-ja-ko im bfiitre-aη le*  
 POSS-child-PL house inside-LOC IMPF  
 'The children are inside the house.'

(b) *bfiormi odar bfiitre-iη khyoh-a*  
 man cave inside-ABL emerge-PST  
 'The man emerged from inside the cave.'

(c) *maha-ja im bafirie-aη le*  
 young.female-child house outside-LOC COP  
 'The woman is outside the house.'

(d) *sen-sen bfiormi-ko bahire-iη ra rafi-le*  
 when-when person-PL outside-ABL and come-IMPF  
 'And, sometimes people from outside (the village) come.'

(72) (a) *ho-se-i rokotyak-ke babu-ja-e sisi bfitre ka-mo*  
 D.DEM-DEF-FOC frog-DAT boy-child-ERG bottle inside put-SEQ  
*da-mΛ le-a*  
 keep-NOM IMPF-PST  
 'The little boy had put the frog inside a bottle was keeping it there.' (A.002T)

(b) *nambi-lak babu-ja rΛ cyu mis-mΛ bfiyat-ηfiak-ij*  
 night-CIR boy-child and dog sleep-NOM finish-front-ABL  
*rokotyak cahin bahire khyofi-mo bflog-di-s-mo nu-a*  
 frog well outside emerge-SEQ escape-LN-INTR-SEQ go-PST  
 'That evening, after the boy and the dog had fallen asleep, afterwards, well, the frog, having got out, escaped and ran away.' (A.A.004T)

(73) (a) *bahun than-o bfitre-aj le*  
 brahmin temple-GEN inside-LOC IMF  
 'The brahmin is inside the temple.'

(b) *ηa-e poisa bfianda-o bfitre dinfi-a*  
 1SG-ERG money pot-GEN inside find-PST  
 'I found the money inside the pot.'

(c) *βακΛs-o bafirie da-o*  
 box-GEN outside take-IMP  
 'Put it outside the box!'

(74) (a) *bahun than bfitre-aj le*  
 brahmin temple inside-LOC IMPF  
 'The brahmin is inside the temple.'

(b) *ηa-e poisa bfianda bfitre dinfi-a*  
 1SG-ERG money pot-GEN inside find-PST  
 'I found the money inside the pot.'

(c) *βακΛs bafirie da-o*  
 box outside take-IMP  
 'Put it outside the box!'

### 9.3.3 Postpositions

As observed above *καθα* 'with' is considered a postposition. It serves the functions as an adposition, that is, to indicate a relationship between a noun and another element in the clause and it does so without the support of an associative (the genitive); thus it is distinct from locational nominals considered above. It has a comitative sense and

expresses '(along) with' as in (75a-c); *katha* may also has an instrumental sense 'done with' (75d).

- (75) (a) *ŋa ram katha iskul nuŋ-a*  
 1S Ram with school go-PST  
 'I went to school with Ram.' (T)
- (b) *ho-se dai katha ŋu-le*  
 D.DEM-DEF older.sister with live-IMPV  
 'He lives with his older sister.'
- (c) *mi-ja-ko mi-lapha-ko katha ges-le*  
 POSS-child-PL POSS-friend-PL with play-IMPV  
 'The children play with their friends.'
- (d) *mi-ja-ko ges-ma katha get-le*  
 POSS-child-PL play-NOM with play-IMPV  
 'The children play with their toys.'

For example, in Syangja dialect, the adessive case marker *-tuŋ* has a similar meaning to *katha* (76a). Tanahu dialect admits only the example with *katha* (76b).

- (76) (a) *mi-ja ŋa-tuŋ le*  
 POSS-child 1S-ADS IMPF  
 'The child is with me.' (S)
- (b) *mi-ja ŋa katha le*  
 POSS-child 1S with IMPF  
 'The child is with me.'

### 9.3.4 Borrowed spatial adverbials

Spatial adverbials are borrowed from Nepali, as for example those in (77); select examples follow in (78).

- (77) *agadi* 'ahead' ~ 'onward'  
*bfitre* 'inside'  
*bafiire* 'outside'  
*bfiindai* 'adjacent' ~ 'next'  
*jatatatai* 'everywhere'  
*majjifala* 'between'  
*patti* 'side'  
*sojfiio* 'straight'  
*tharo* 'vertical'  
*tarara* 'in rows' (from *taraph* 'side')  
*wari-pari* 'this side-that side', 'all around'

(78) (a) *ho-se-ko-e*                    *ōs-mo* *mu-mΛ*    *le-a*    *rΛ* *ho-se-ko-uŋ*  
 D.DEM-DEF-PL-ERG    look-SEQ    sit-NOM    IMPF-PST and D.DEM-DEF-PL-GEN

*bΛdfin*                    *jatatai*            *lofi-mΛ*    *le-a*  
 clothing                    everywhere    throw-NOM IMPF-PST

'They were constantly looking and throwing their clothes everywhere.'  
 (B.B.006S)

(b) *ŋa-o*    *phauji rΛ*    *ŋa-e*    *chik-le-aŋ*                    *rΛ*    *lau*    *majfiŋ*  
 1S-GEN    troop    and 1-ERG    take.out-IMPF-1PRO    also    EXCLM    middle

*fiŋor-ak*    *chanfi-ij*    *rΛ*    *aulo majfiŋ*    *punfi-ij*    *de-le-sa*  
 meet-CAUS become-HORT and plain middle    fight-HORT    say-IMPF-INFR

'I will also take out my army, and, alright, let us meet in the middle of  
 the plain to fight.' (DD.013S)

(c) *ho-ta-i*                    *rΛ*    *aŋ-nfiak-ij*    *ho-laŋ*                    *aŋ-nfiak-ij*    *uruwa-o*  
 D.DEM-MNR-FOC and    go-front-ABL    D.DEM.LOC    go-front-ABL    owl-GEN

*men-o mim*    *sojho*                    *mfiak-lak*    *aŋ-le-sa*  
 3-GEN nest    straight                    down-CIR    go-IMPF-INFR

'Then, apparently, he went there right, beneath the owls' nest.' (DD.042S)

#### 9.4 Degree adverbials

Most degree adverbs are borrowed from Nepali. Only *dfialij* meaning 'more' ~ 'too much' in (79) and *tot* meaning 'exactly' in (80) are native.

(79) (a) *cho*                    *dfialij*    *cha-mΛ-le*  
 cooked.rice    very                    salty-NOM-IMPF  
 'The rice is too salty.'

(b) *ho-se*                    *kat*    *marfi-cyo*    *gwa-mi-ja*    *dfialij*    *mΛkoi*    *jya-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF one    small-ATT    chicken-child    much    corn    eat-PST  
 'That one small chick ate more corn.'

(80) (a) *mi-sas*                    *ma-an-ke*    *ho*    *tot*    *ho-se-tak-ij*                    *batta*  
 POSS-breath    NEG-go -NOM D.DEM    exactly    D.DEM-DEF-SUP-ABL    brass.pot

*bat-le*                    *batta-aŋ*                    *bΛdfin*    *kolomfi-le*    *ho-tak-ij*  
 set.down -IMPF    brass pot -LOC    cloth    wrap-IMPF    D.DEM-SUP-ABL

*ho-se*                    *handa*                    *me-ŋer-aŋ*                    *tot*    *da-le*  
 D.DEM-DEF large.raksi.pot    POSS-mouth-LOC    exactly    put -IMPF

'In order not to let the vapour escape, then wrap cloth around the brass pot  
 then put the raksi pot exactly on the mouth (of the pot).' (D.013 T)

(b) *ho*    *tot*                    *ho-se-tak-ij*                    *di*    *ka-le*  
 D.DEM exactly    D.DEM-DEF-SUP-LOC    water    put-IMPF  
 'Right there, in the top, put water.' (D.014 T)



The degree adverbs in (81) and (82) are among those borrowed from Nepal.

- (81) *dheray* (N) 'much ~ many'  
*ekdam* (N) 'very'  
*thuprai* (N) 'much/many'

- (82) (a) *ho-ta-i* *ho-laŋ* *ajfai jfian dferai thuprai men-o*  
 D.DEM-MNR-FOC D.DEM.LOC as.well more many many 3S-GEN

*mi-ja-ko* *khyofi-a*  
 POSS-child -PL emerge-PST

'Then, there, as well, many, many more of their own children emerged.'  
 (C.C.031S)

- (b) *ho-se-i* *ekdam sefi-cyo kam jat-le*  
 D.DEM-DEF-FOC very good-ATT work do-IMPF  
 'He does very good work.'

The lative suffix *-tar*, when added to a verb, gives the meaning 'utmost' ~ 'as much as possible', as in *piŋfi-tar* 'fill as much as possible' ((83)).

- (83) (a) *dakre-aŋ* *piŋfi-tar* *ka-o*  
 basket-LOC fill-LAT put-IMP  
 'Put as much as possible into the basket.'

- (b) *ho-se-ke* *jya-tar yafi-ke le*  
 D.DEM-DEF-DAT eat-LAT give-NOM IMPF  
 'Give him as much as he can eat.'

- (c) *ho-se-ke* *ga-tar yafi-ke le*  
 D.DEM-DEF-DAT drink-LAT give-NOM IMPF  
 'Give him as much as he can drink.'

### 9.5 Temporal uses of spatial adverbials

The distal-demonstrative base, case-marked spatial nouns, as well as the locative, ablative and lative cases, have, in addition to their spatial meaning, a temporal interpretation.

The distal-demonstrative, when marked with the superessive plus ablative, *ho-tak-iŋ*, meaning 'from up there' ((84)) also has the meaning 'thereupon' ~ 'then', and functions as a temporal adverb, as in (85). As such it used to introduce and link

clauses and sequential events in narratives, as in (85b). When used as a temporal discourse linker it reduces to [hotiŋ].

(84) (a) *ho-ta-i*                      *ho-tak-iŋ*                      *ho-se-e*                      *men-o*  
D.DEM-MNR-FOC      D.DEM-SUP.ABL      D.DEM-ERG              3S-GEN

*lenja-mi-ja-e*                      *ŋos-naŋ*                      *ŋos-naŋ*  
young.male-POSS-child -ERG      look-SIM                  look-SIM

*ho-se*              *cyu cahin*              *khorfio-a*      *ra sisi*              *bfiat-a*  
D.DEM-DEF      dog well              fall-PST              and bottle              break-PST

'Then, like that, from up there, while they each, the dog and the boy were looking and looking, the dog fell and the jar broke.' (C.C.012 S)

(85) (a) *ho-tak-iŋ*                      *ho-cyo*                      *egghara din-aŋ*    [ $>$  hotiŋ]  
D.DEM-SUP -ABL              D.DEM-NOM eleven              day-LOC

*raksi paŋ-di-k-le*  
alcohol must-LN-ICAUS-IMPF

'Then, on that eleventh day, there should be raksi.' (D.007.T)

(b) *ho-tak-iŋ*                      *ho-se*                      *im-aŋ*                      *ho-se*                      *im-aŋ*  
D.DEM-SUP-ABL      D.DEM-DEF              house -LOC      D.DEM-DEF              house -LOC

*kat cyu ra a-se*                      *cyu bfiormi*                      *ho-se*                      *im-aŋ*  
one dog and      R.DEM-DEF dog person              D.DEM-DEF              house -LOC

*mis-ma*              *mu-ma le-a*  
sleep-NOM              sit-NOM IMPF-PST

'Then, in that house, in that house, one dog, that dog and boy were still sleeping.' (B.B.002 S)

(c) *ho-tak-iŋ*                      *jfiunfi-cyo sahak*                      *suru*                      *chanfi-nfiak-iŋ*  
D.DEM-SUP-ABL              cold-ATT              month              start              become-front-ABL

*jfiyabarya syafi-ke*                      *suru*                      *jat-le*  
Jhyaurya              dance-NOM              start              do-IMPF

'Then, after the cold months have started, (we) start to dance the 'Jhyaurya'. (C.012T)

Furthermore, *ho-tak-iŋ* has undergone a semantic extension from subsequent to consequent; its temporal meaning 'thereupon' may be causal, as in (86).

(86) (a) *ho-tak-iŋ*                      *dulha-dulfi*                      *balla*                      *bat-ara*                      *abo*                      *tika*  
D.DEM-SUP-ABL              groom-bride                      time                      set-SEQ                      now                      blessing

*bu-s-ak-cyo saja tiyar jat-le*  
 carry-ITR-CAUS-ATT ritual ready do-IMPF

'Thus the groom and bride having been set on top, they are ready to do the tika receiving ritual.' (E.E.021T)

(b) *ho-tak-iq cahin balla abo byafi-o lagan-o*  
 D.DEM-SUP-ABL well time now marriage-GEN auspicious-GEN

*karyakaram sampata chanfi-le*  
 deed end become-IMPF

'Thus, well, it is time now that this auspicious marriage ceremony has come to an end.' (E.E.064T)

The distal demonstrative followed by the manner and focus markers, *ho-ta-i* meaning 'like that' or 'in that manner' also has a temporal sense of 'then' and serves to link sections of discourse ((87)).

(87) (a) *ho-ta-i ho-tak-iq ho-se -e men-o*  
 D.DEM-MNR-FOC D.DEM-SUP.ABL D.DEM-ERG 3S-GEN

*len-ja mi-ja-e ŋos-naŋ ŋos-naŋ*  
 young.male-child POSS-child-ERG look-SIM look-SIM

*ho-se cyu cahin khorho-a ra sisi bfiat-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF dog well fall-PST and bottle break-PST

'Then, like that, from up there, while they each, the dog and the boy were looking and looking, the dog fell and the jar broke.' (C.C.012 S)

(b) *ho-ta-i a-se-kat coti gorak so-naŋ cahin*  
 D.DEM-MNR-FOC R.DEM-DEF-one instance morning rise-SIM now

*ho-laŋ rokotyak ma-le-a*  
 D.DEM.LOC frog NEG-COP -PST

'Then, the next morning when they got up, the frog was not there.' (C.C.008 S)

The demonstrative construction *ho-ta-i* has also developed a causal meaning ((88)).

(88) (a) *ho-ta-i da-rafi-naŋ da-rafi-naŋ thupra jat-le-sa*  
 D.DEM-MNR-FOC put-come-SIM put-come-SIM heap do-IMPF-INFR  
 'Thus, coming and putting, coming and putting (twigs), evidently, made a heap.' (DD.061S)

(b) *ho-ta-i ja ho-se mfiē da-pyak pachi*  
 D.DEM-MNR-FOC EMPH D.DEM-DEF fire keep-after after

*mfi dfa-a*      *man*  
fire burn-PST      truly

'Thus, after having put (twigs) on the fire, the fire truly burned.' (DD.079S)

The spatial nouns *nfiun* 'back' and *ɲfiak* (T) ~ *ɲfias* (S) 'front' (§9.3.1) when case-marked with the circumlative or ablative, have developed temporal meanings. Though their spatial meanings are antonymous, their temporal meanings are similar; *nfiun-lak* 'back-CIR' can mean 'after' ((89)), *nfiun-ij* 'back-CIR' ((90)) 'later' and *ɲfiak-ij* 'front-CIR' also means 'after' ((91) repeated from (7a)).

(89) *ho-se*      *dasien*      *nfiun-lak*      *lfies-le*  
D.DEM-DEF Dasien      back-CIR      return-IMPF  
'She returns some time after Dasien.'

(90) (a) *nfiun-ij*      *babu-ja*      *ra*      *cyu*      *so-mo*      *rokotyak*      *ɲos-naɲ*  
back-ABL      boy-child and      dog      rise-SEQ      frog      look-SIM

*sisi-aɲ*      *rokotyak*      *ma-le-a*  
bottle-LOC      frog      NEG-COP-PST

'Later, the boy and the frog having gotten up, looking in the bottle saw that the frog was not there.' (A.004T)

(b) *pul*      *khas-ca-ca*      *nfiun-ij*      *ale*  
bridge make-ATT-ATT      back-ABL      COP  
'The bridge construction was really much later.' (N.N.009S)

(91) (a) *ho-tak-ij*      *jɲumfi-cyo*      *sahak*      *suru*      *chanfi-ɲfiak-ij*  
D.DEM-SUP-ABL      cold-ATT      month      start      become-front-ABL

*jɲyaurya*      *syafi-ke*      *suru*      *jat-le*  
Jhyaurya      dance-NOM      start      do-IMPF

'Then after the cold months have started, (we) start to dance the 'Jhyaurya'. (C.012T)

(b) *rodi*      *ɲu-ɲfiak-ij*      *sen-sen*      *langha-uɲ*      *babu-ja-ko*      *rafi-le*  
rodi      sit-front-ABL      when-when      village GEN      boy-child-PL      come-IMPF  
'After you have gone to rodi, sometimes the little village boys come. (C.003T)

(c) *tisiniɲ*      *ho-se-e*      *jya-ma*      *na*      *bɲiyat-ɲfiak-ij*      *pokhara*      *nuɲ-a*  
yesterday D.DEM-DEF-ERG      eat-NOM      EMPH      finish-front-ABL      Pokhara      go-PST

*ho-tak-ij*      *ho-se*      *nuɲ-ma*      *bɲiya-ɲfiak-ij*      *kan-ko-e*      *jya-a*  
D.DEM-SUP-ABL D.DEM-DEF      go-NOM      finish-front-ABL 2P-ERG      eat-PST

'Yesterday after he had eaten, he went to Pokhara, then after he had gone, we ate.' (T)

The postposition *ŋfiak-iŋ* is, it seems, further grammaticalized than *nfiun-iŋ*. *nfiun-iŋ* is an independent lexical item and can, for example, independently introduce a clause as in (92); while *ŋfiak-iŋ* forms a constituent with the verb stem as in (93). It is always suffixal and follows the bare verb stem much as the converbs do (see §4.6 and §12.1.3). Moreover, the stem and suffix are pronounced as a single phonological unit and *nfiak-iŋ* is often phonologically reduced to [ŋʌkiŋ], especially in Syangja dialect.

- (92) (a) *nfiun-iŋ* *babu-ja* *rʌ* *cyu* *so-mo* *rokotyak* *ŋos-naŋ*  
 back-ABL boy-child and dog rise-SEQ frog look-SIM  
  
*sisi-aŋ* *rokotyak* *ma-le-a*  
 bottle-LOC frog NEG-COP-PST  
 'Later, the boy and the frog having gotten up, looking in the bottle saw that the frog was not there.' (A.004T)
- (b) *nfiun-iŋ* *babu-ja* *rafi-mo* *cyu-ke* *la-a* *rʌ* *nu-a*  
 back-ABL boy-child come-SEQ dog-DAT take-PST and go-PST  
 'Later, the little boy, having come to the dog, took (him) and went off.'  
 (A.011T)
- (c) *ho-se* *nambik* *cyu* *rʌ* *bfiarmi* *mis-a* *rʌ* *nfiun-iŋ*  
 D.DEM-DEF night dog and person sleep-PST and back-ABL  
  
*rokotyak* *chahin* *bfiada-iŋ* *khyofi-a*  
 frog well small.pot-ABL emerge-PST  
 'That night, the dog and the person slept and later the frog, well, emerged from the small pot.' (C.C.007S)
- (d) *cek* *nfiun-iŋ* *ale* *ki* *hi* *rʌ* *ho-ta* *te-mʌ-le*  
 bit back-ABL COP or what also D.DEM-MNR say-NOM IMPF  
 'It was a little later, or was it, the thing we are speaking of.' (T.T.019S)
- (93) (a) *tika* *talo* *jat-ŋfiakiŋ* *dasami-uŋ* *bisarjan* *chanfi-le* [*>ŋʌk-iŋ*]  
 tika patch do-front-ABL dasami-GEN conclusion become-IMPF  
 'After doing the tika patch, Dasami, is concluded.' (F.F. 008T)
- (b) *ho-se-ko* *nfiis* *kathʌ-i* *choti* *pokhara-aŋ* *thafi-a* *rʌ* *nfiun-iŋ*  
 D.DEM-DEF-PL two with-FOC instance lake-LOC sink-PST and back-ABL  
  
*ho-se* *ja-ja* *ho-se* *ja-ja* *thafi-nfiak-iŋ* *khyofi-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF child-child D.DEM-DEF child-child sink-front-ABL emerge-PST

*ra cyu pheri ho-se-o kadfa-aŋ aŋ-a*  
 and dog again D.DEM-DEF-GEN shoulder-LOC go-PST  
 'These two, together, sunk, in an instant, into the pond and afterwards the  
 boy, the boy after sinking, got out and, with the dog on his shoulder, he went  
 on his way.' (C.C.026S)

(c) *asa uruwa-o par-lak patti an-ŋfiak-iŋ*  
 R.DEM owl-GEN side-CIR side go-front-ABL

*mfiak-aŋ me-k-uŋ im-aŋ mfiak-aŋ mu-nfiak-iŋ ra*  
 down-LOC 3S-PL-GEN house-LOC down-LOC sit- front-ABL and  
*ŋa haya babai haya babai te-le-aŋ*  
 1S groan father groan father say-IMPF-1PRO  
 'After going over there to the owl's side and after sitting below their nest,  
 I will groan "oh father, oh father".' (DD.029S)

Also frequently used to link events in discourse, especially in Syangja dialect, is

*dekhij*, a borrowing of the Nepali *dekhi* meaning 'from' or 'since' as in (94).

(94) (a) *celos-dekhij si-ca*  
 hang-from die-ATT  
 'After hanging herself, she died?' (R.R.011S)

(b) *ho-se-ko pahar-aŋ kalfi-a curcuraŋ tak-dekhij mfiuŋ*  
 D.DEM-DEF-PL rock.face-LOC climb-PST peak reach-from tire

*bat-a*  
 set-PST  
 'They climbed the rock face, after they reached the highest peak,  
 they rested.'

(c) *rop-di -ke bfiya-dekhij ho-se-ko-e gahara das-le*  
 plant -LN-NOM finish-after D.DEM-DEF-PL-ERG field leave -IMPF  
 'After they have finished planting, they will leave the field.' (R.09T)

The phonologically reduced variant of *ŋfiak-iŋ* [ŋʌk-iŋ] may be the result of  
 assimilation to Nepali *dekhi*.

Local cases, including the locative alone and in combination with the ablative,  
 and the lative case have extended their spatial meanings to temporal. The locative  
 and ablative, when in combination with temporal terms, have temporal senses as in  
 (95). These forms undergo phonological reduction as shown below.

- (95) (a) *kajus kat-sata-aŋ a-bfiya-cis-e* [*>kastaaŋ*]  
 work one-week-LOC IRR-finish-INTR-IRR  
 'The work will be done within one week (commence and finish within one week).'
- (b) *naŋ-ko-uŋ postak som yak-aŋ-iŋ a-lfiət-e* [*>yakniŋ*]  
 2-P-GEN book three day-LOC-ABL IRR-return-IRR  
 'I will return your book three days from now.' (T)
- (c) *ŋa-e kajus kat-sata-aŋ-iŋ a-bfiya-na* [*>kasataniŋ*]  
 1-ERG work one-week-LOC-ABL IRR-finish-IPRO  
 'I will have finished this work one week from now.' (S)
- (d) *naŋ-ko-uŋ postak som yak-aŋ-iŋ a-lfiət-na* [*>yakniŋ*]  
 2-PL-GEN book three day-LOC-ABL IRR-return-IPRO  
 'I will return your book in three days.'
- (e) *kajus kat-sata-tar-aŋ a-bfiya-cis-e* [*>kasatar-aŋ*]  
 work one-week-LAT-LOC IRR-finish-INTR-IRR  
 'The work will be done by the end of the week.'

The lative case, when suffixed on verbs and followed by the locative case, has extended its meaning from 'up to physical point' to 'over a period of time', and has a co-temporaneous meaning 'while' ((96)) not unlike the simultaneous converb ((97)).

- (96) (a) *ŋa wfi-a-tar-aŋ lapha ŋa-dup-a-aŋ*  
 1S walk-LAT-LOC friend 1PRO-meet-PST-PRO  
 'While walking I met friends.' (S)
- (b) *ŋa sip-aŋ porfi-di-s-tar-aŋ rut-ma le-a*  
 1S school-LOC read-LN-TER-ATT-LAT-LOC thin-NOM IMPF-PST  
 'While I was studying at school I was thin.' ~  
 'At school, during the time I was studying, I was thin.' (T)
- (c) *ŋa-e pinfi-tar-aŋ i-laŋ mu-nis*  
 1S-ERG cook-LAT-LOC P.DEM-LOC sit-HON.IMP  
 'While I am cooking, sit here!'
- (97) *ŋa wfi-a-naŋ lapha ŋa-dup-a-aŋ*  
 1S walk-SIM friend 1PRO-meet-PST-PRO  
 'While walking I met friends.' (S)

In Syangja dialect, the lative case has further extended from 'while' to 'until', as the following demonstrate ((98)).

(98) (a) *ho-se-ko-e*                      *ga-tar*                      *yafi-nis*  
 D.DEM-DEF-HON-ERG drink-LAT                      give-HON.IMP  
 'While he is drinking, give to him!' (S)  
 ~ 'Until he is satisfied, give him drink!'

(b) *dakar-aj*    *siŋ*    *ma-pin-tar*    *ka-nis*  
 Basket-LOC wood NEG-fill-LAT    put-HON.IMP  
 'While the basket is not full, put wood in it!' (S)  
 ~ 'Until the basket is full put wood in it!'

(c) *ho-se-ko-e*                      *di*                      *ma-ga-tar*    *cho*                      *ma-yafi-nis*  
 D.DEM-DEF-HON-ERG water    NEG-drink-LAT rice.meal NEG-give-HON.IMP  
 'While he has not drunk water, don not give a meal to him!' (S)  
 ~ 'Until he has drunk water, do not give him a meal!'

### 9.6 Onomatopoeic expressive adverbs

There are, in Magar, numerous onomatopoeic<sup>6</sup> adverbs which express manner and degree. According to Emeneau (1969:274), this word-class is typical of the Indic *sprachbund*. The term onomatopoeia should be understood in a broad sense. As Emeneau (1969:274) observes "We are dealing only in the most marginal way with blatantly sound-imitative forms (like English *choo-choo* or the like). Perhaps it would be more just to say that the class denotes varied types of sensation, the impingement of the material world, outside or within the person, upon the senses - not merely the five conventionally identified feelings, but all feelings both external and internal."

In Magar, onomatopoeics typically combine with a light verb (see §4.1.1.3) or may be complements of the verb 'say' (see §14.2.1). When onomatopoeic expressives combine with verbs having full semantic content, such as: *duŋ* 'hit', *bik* 'pain', *rafi* 'come' *wfi* 'walk', they function adverbially and express the manner and/or degree of that verb ((99)). Onomatopoeics can also modify adjectivals, as in (100), though this is less frequently attested. Onomatopoeics precede the verb or adjective they modify.

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<sup>6</sup> The onomatopoeic element (the ideophone) is not always a sound in strict sense but may be an asynaesthetic association with motion and a verbal expression,



(99) *namas jyam-jyam raf-a*  
 rain ONO-ONO come-PST  
 'Rain came pouring in.'

(100) *rem-rem jos-ca di*  
 ONO-ONO warm-ATT water  
 'slightly warm water' ~ 'luke warm water'

Reduplications may be full and exact as in (101), or partial as in (102); the latter are less common.

(101)(a) *kancek-kancek wfa-le* (d) *abfilak-abfilak bik-le*  
 ONO-ONO move-IMPF ONO-ONO pain-IMPF  
 'walk with a limp' 'have twinge of pain' (S)

(b) *chetek-chetek bfara-le* (e) *ram-ram la-le*  
 ONO-ONO snap-IMPF ONO-ONO take-IMPF  
 'snap suddenly' (S) 'burn itchily (as a nettle)'

(c) *chwai-chwai sor-le*  
 ONO-ONO fry-IMPF  
 'to fry sizzingly'

(102) *not-nota bik-le*  
 ONO-ONO pain-IMPF  
 'have heartburn' (Y)

Reduplicated elements may show a change of vowel ((103)). Examples are from Yankchok (Shepherd 1971: 268) and are attested in Tanahu and Syangja dialects.

(103)(a) *dadhuk-dudhuk duŋ-le* (c) *thyaŋlaŋ-thiŋliŋ bik-le*  
 ONO-ONO hit-IMPF ONO-ONO pain-IMPF  
 'hit repeatedly' (Y) 'have strong pain in the knees' (Y)

(b) *jhamarak-jhumuruk bik-le*  
 ONO-ONO pain-IMPF  
 'have paralyzing leg pain' (Y)

Most expressive constructions are duplicated; however, triplicates do exist as in (104). They typically manifest a consonant change, with the first of the series being different.

(104)(a) *hu-lu-lu-tai pas-di-le*  
 ONO enter-LN-IMPF  
 'enter narrowly' (as into the den of a small animal) (Y)

(b) *ho-lo-lo-tai pas-di-le*  
 ONO enter-LN-IMPF  
 'enter broadly' (as into the den of a large animal) (Y)

(c) *su-lu-lu-tai wfi-a-le*  
 ONO move-IMPF  
 'slither like a snake' (Y)

Unreduplicated expressives also exist, as in (105).

(105)(a) *phalet wfi-a-le* (c) *tyap jimfi-le*  
 ONO move-IMPF ONO catch-IMPF  
 'slip' (Y) 'snatch ~ grab' (S)

(b) *bfiuk duŋ-le* (d) *padiyak duŋ*  
 ONO hit-IMPF ONO hit  
 'hit hard once' (Y) 'slap'

Onomatopoeic expressive constructions, though they may seem extemporaneous, are, in fact, fixed and commonly used idioms. My own observations tally with those of Shepherd (1982:268), that expressive adverbs are used repeatedly and consistently by numerous speakers; thus are lexical items in their own right. Moreover, when expressive forms combine with different verb stems they render different but related senses. The onomatopoeic maintains a consistent meaning; for example, *ghagarak ghuguruk* consistently expresses 'commotion' in combination with different verbs of motion, as in (106).

(106)(a) *ghagarak-ghuguruk rafi-le* (c) *ghagarak-ghuguruk tarafi-le*  
 ONO-ONO come-IMPF ONO-ONO return-IMPF  
 'come with commotion.' 'arrive with commotion.'

(b) *ghagarak-ghuguruk lofi-le* (d) *ghagarak-ghuguruk chiyak-le*  
 ONO-ONO come-IMPF ONO-ONO noise-IMPF  
 'throw noisily with commotion.' 'have rumbling stomach'

The use of onomatopoeics is also consistent across dialects, with only slight variation in final nasals, as in (107).

(107)(a) *ho-se-e nye khuruŋ-khuruŋ jya-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF-ERG cucumber ONO-ONO eat-PST  
 'He crunched on the cucumber.' (T)

(b) *ho-se-e nje khurum-khurum jya-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF-ERG cucumber ONO-ONO eat-PST  
 'He crunched on the cucumber.' (S)

Shepherd (1982: 268) also observed that Magar reduplications demonstrate magnitude symbolism. This is a feature shared with Kiranti languages and Kham (Schulze 1987:63-85). In Magar, in pairs of related onomatopoeic words, those with high vowels express a lesser degree of intensity, as in (108).

(108) (a) *citik-citik bik-le* (c) *cisik-cisik bik-le*  
 ONO-ONO pain-IMPF ONO-ONO pain-IMPF  
 'have slight pain' 'have prickling pain'

(b) *cotok-cotok bik-le*  
 ONO-ONO pain-IMPF  
 'have strong pain'

Watters (2002:156) observed, for Kham, that a greater to lesser magnitude is aligned along a scale from voiced to voiceless and aspirated to non-aspirated consonants. In Magar, consonant changes do not signify a difference of magnitude, rather a difference manner, as in (109).

(109) (a) *suwiŋ-suwiŋ rafi-le* (b) *cuwiŋ-cuwiŋ rafi-le*  
 ONO-ONO come-IMPF ONO-ONO come-IMPF  
 'sweep by (like a bird)' 'zip by (like an arrow)'

Expressive adverbs tend to modify verbs expressing movement as seen in previous examples and in (110), the sensation of pain ((111)), beating ((112)) and ingestion ((113) and (114)).

(110) (a) *santa tak-tak thup-mΛ le*  
 Santa ONO-ONO step-NOM IMPF  
 'Santa is stomping about.'

(b) *mipurun petep petep wfiΛ-mΛ le*  
 Mipurung ONO-ONO walk-NOM IMPF  
 'Mipurung is walking in mules.'

(c) *cituwā khalap lfiēs-mo kher-a*  
 leopard ONO return-SEQ run-PST  
 'The leopard, having turned abruptly, ran.'

(d) *suthu riṅtiṅ riṅtiṅ wḥa-mΛ nΛ le*  
 leopard ONO ONO walk-NOM EMPH IMPF  
 'The cat is walking disjointedly.'

(111)(a) *ḡa-o mi-lu cotok-cotok bik-mΛ le*  
 1S-GEN POSS-head ONO-ONO pain-NOM IMPF  
 'I have a terrible headache.'

(b) *sisnu-e ḡa-ke rΛm-rΛm la-mΛ yaḥi-le-sa-a*  
 nettle-ERG 1S-DAT ONO ONO take-NOM give-IMPf-INFR-PST  
 'The nettle has apparently burned me.'

(c) *rokotyak-cΛ gekhekreḡ si-le-sa ta*  
 frog-ATT ONO die -IMPf-INFR REP  
 'They say that apparently, the frog stiffened up in pain and died.'  
 (G.G. 019S)

(112)(a) *bḥuk-bḥuk duḡ-le*  
 ONO-ONO hit-IMPf  
 'hit repeatedly'

(c) *ḡye ḡye duḡ-le*  
 ONO-ONO hit-IMPf  
 'hit break tissue'

(b) *tyaḡ-tyaḡ duḡ-le*  
 ONO-ONO hit-IMPf  
 'slap'

(113)(a) *cyap-cyap jya-le*  
 ONO-ONO eat-IMPf  
 'smack, munch'

(e) *ḡḥutukka mel-le*  
 ONO swallow-IMPf  
 'swallow whole'

(b) *kwam jya-le*  
 ONO eat-IMPf  
 'gulp'

(f) *gu-lu-tai mel-le*  
 ONO swallow-IMPf  
 'gag'

(c) *kacyap-kacyap taya-le*  
 ONO-ONO chew-IMPf  
 'gnaw' (as when eating old bread)

(g) *cyaplyak cup-le*  
 ONO suck-IMPf  
 'suck loudly'

(d) *surup surup ga-le*  
 ONO-ONO drink-IMPf  
 'slurp'

(h) *karem-karem jya-ke*  
 ONO-ONO- eat-IMPf  
 'crunch popcorn'

(114)(a) *byu-e beskam cerep-cerep jya-a*  
 mouse-ERG bread ONO-ONO eat-PST  
 'The mouse nibbled on the bread.' (U.U.041T)

(b) *sita-e gwa-rḥu kwappa jya-le*  
 Sita-ERG bird-egg ONO eat -IMPf  
 'Sita eats eggs in one mouthful.'

(c) *len-ja han gfiwat-gfiwat ga-le*  
 young.male-child millet-brew ONO-ONO drink-IMPF  
 'The young men guzzled the millet brew.'

Expressives are onomatopoeic; thus by definition their source is the imitation of actual sound; however, certain expressives which may not be entirely or only onomatopoeic in their origin. Their form and meaning suggests that they may be derived from full lexemes. In these cases, the expressive bears a resemblance to a noun or verb of related meaning; for example, *dadfiak dudfiuk* ((115a)) is very like both *dadfiak* 'drive animals' and/or *dathup* 'beat ~ hit'. The word *khuruk*, meaning to 'shave' or 'plane' wood, may describe a smooth motion ((115b)). The PTB \*s-rup 'to sip' may be a source for the expression *surup surup* 'slurp' (though, the PTB word may be onomatopoeic itself).

(115) (a) *dadhuk-dudhuk duŋ-le* (b) *khuruk-khuruk wfi-a-le*  
 ONO ONO hit-IMPF ONO-ONO move IMPF  
 'hit repeatedly' (Y) 'move smoothly'

The expressive *suthuk-suthuk wfi-a* 'sneak up stealthily' ((116a)) may derive from *suthu* 'cat' and *tukra-tukra jat* 'shatter' from the Nepali word *tukra* 'piece' or 'fragment' ((116b)). Likewise, *caŋgAraŋ caŋgAraŋ* may derive from the Nepali word *caŋga* meaning 'waterfall' ((116c)).

(116)(a) *suthuk suthuk wfi-a-le* (c) *caŋgAraŋ-caŋgAraŋ rak-le*  
 ONO ONO move-IMPF ONO-ONO bring-IMPF  
 'sneak up stealthily' 'crash down , cascade'

(b) *tukra-tukra jat-le*  
 ONO-ONO do-IMPF  
 'shatter'

The final syllable of many expressives in Magar is  $-(V^7)k$  ((117)). Though this is homophonous with the causative suffix (which also harmonizes with the verb root vowel, as do onomatopoeics), it is unlikely that this final syllable is the causative and

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<sup>7</sup> V stands for vowel.

more probable that it has been borrowed into Magar along with the onomatopoeic expressive. Emeneau (1969:281) has identified the ending *-(a)k(n)* as one of the most widely represented in reduplicative forms of the Indian linguistic area and found it in both in Dravidian and Indo-Aryan languages of that area. He has analyzed it as a derivational suffix one which has "almost unimpeachable IA ancestry" (1969:287), but as it occurs frequently in Dravidian languages, he posits that the existence of this suffix across both languages is a product of accidental convergence. Examples from Magar follow.

(117)(a) <i>abfilak-abfilak bik</i>	'have twinge of pain'
(b) <i>bfiak-bfiak-hak jat</i>	'stutter'
(c) <i>bfiaryak-bfiaryak yafi</i>	'bat at something'
(d) <i>chetek-chetek bfiara</i>	'drop down suddenly'
(e) <i>citik-citik bik</i>	'have slight pain'
(f) <i>cisik-cisik bik</i>	'have prickling pain'
(g) <i>cotok-cotok bik</i>	'have strong pain'
(h) <i>dadhuk-dadhuk duŋ</i>	'hit repeatedly'
(i) <i>kisik kisik ret</i>	'giggle'
(j) <i>gekherek si</i>	'seize-up in pain and die'
(k) <i>gfiagarak-gfiuguruk lofi</i>	'throw noisily'
(l) <i>khuruk-khuruk wfiara</i>	'move smoothly'
(m) <i>ŋfiakdak-ŋfiakdak thut</i>	'pull haltingly'
(n) <i>padiyak duŋ</i>	'slap'
(o) <i>phowak-phowak yafi</i>	'pat softly'

## 10 Noun phrases and adnominal modifiers

This chapter describes the word order, constituents and co-ordination of noun and adjective phrases, as well as, simple and complex adjectival phrases; the latter are nominalizations, which function adnominally. Modifying appositives are also described.

### 10.1 Noun phrases

A noun phrase consists of either a pronoun, as in (1) or of a head noun and optional modifiers [(MOD) + N,] as in (2). Modifiers may be demonstratives, quantifiers, qualifiers, genitival NPs, adjective phrases, nominal predictions (described in §10.2.1) or appositives, as in (3); the latter are described in §10.2.2).

(1) *ŋa raf-a*

1S come-PST

'I came.'

(2) *ŋa-o som marfi-cyo mi-ja-ko raf-a*

1S-GEN three small-ATT POSS-child-PL come-PST

'My three small children came.'

(3) *ho-se-i bŋeji bŋyaha ma-jat-a*

D.DEM-DEF-FOC niece marriage NEG-do-PST

'That one, niece, has not married.'

#### 10.1.1 The head of the noun phrase

The head noun may be simple ((4)), compound ((5)) or derived (via nominalization), as in (6a, b) (The nominalizer *cyo* (T) ~ *ca* (S) is used in attributive constructions; see § 3.5.1.1).

(4) *moi gan phin-le*

mother vegetable.greens cook-IMPF

'Mother cooked the vegetable greens.'

(5) *rfa-ja bŋog-di-s-a*

goat-child escape-LN-ITR-PST

'The kid escaped.'

(6) (a) *cha-cyo si-a*  
 sick-ATT die-PST  
 'The sick one died.'

(b) *gfioyofi-cyo-ko jar kyamfi-mΛ nΛ le*  
 plough-ATT-PL field clear.cut-NOM EMPH IMPF  
 'The ploughsmen are clearing-cutting the field.'

Also included in the head are the inherent-possession prefix *mi-* ((7)) and the plural suffix *-ko* ((8)); both are affixed directly to the noun stem.

(7) *mi-ja mis-a*  
 POSS-child sleep-PST  
 'The child slept.'

(8) *rfa-ko jya-a*  
 goat-PL cat-PST  
 'The goats ate.'

Magar does not have an exclusively affixal dual marker; however, it has a variant of the number 'two' *nfiis*, i.e. *nfiit* which indicates duality ((9)) (see §3.3). When used, it follows the noun in the same position as the plural marker; thus, it is considered an element of the head.

(9) *rokotyak-nfiit jaŋgəl-iŋ khyofi-a*  
 frog-two jungle -ABL emerge-PST  
 'Two frogs emerged from the jungle.' (A.032b T)

The head noun can be formalized as:  $N \rightarrow (\text{POSS}) -N-(N)-(NOM)-(NUM)$ . Case marking in Magar is enclitic and functions at phrase level; see §10.1.2 and §3.4.

### 10.1.2 Constituent order in the noun phrase

The unmarked constituent order of noun phrases is head-final, i.e. generally all modifiers: genitives, demonstratives, quantifiers and qualifiers, adjectives, and nominalized adjectivals, precede the head. Demonstratives and genitivals (GEN) including genitival demonstratives are the first elements in an NP, as in (10).



- (10) *ho-se-o langgha-li cimeki-ko mi-ris khyofi-cyo le*  
 D.DEM-DEF-GEN village-ASC neighbour-PL POSS-anger emerge-ATT COP  
 'Her village neighbours are angry.'

Quantifiers (QUANT) ((11a)) and qualifiers (QUAL) ((11b), which are built off of a distal demonstrative base, are also first elements. Numeral quantifiers follow demonstratives as in (12). Nominalized adjectivals, as in (12), adjectives, as in (13) and complex nominalized adjectival predications (adjective clauses), as in (14) also follow quantifiers. The latter three are grouped here together as modifiers (MOD).

- (11) (a) *ŋa-e ho-din-cyo phalphul ŋa-jya-a-aŋ*  
 1S-ERG D.DEM-QUAL-ATT fruit 1PRO-eat-PST-1PRO  
 'I ate that kind of fruit.'

- (b) *ho-dik huku a-laŋ le*  
 D.DEM-QUANT bamboo R.DEM-LOC COP  
 'How much bamboo is there over there?'

- (12) *ho-se-ko-uŋ som cik-cyo ŋhet-e kan-uŋ gfians jya-ma le*  
 D.DEM-DEF-PL-GEN three black-ATT cow-ERG 2P-GEN grass eat-NOM COP  
 'Their three black cows are eating our grass.'

- (13) *kan-uŋ minam gointi bfiat-cis-a*  
 1P-GEN new water.amphora break-DTR-PST  
 'Our new water amphora was broken.' (S)

- (14) *ho-se-i chosan rop-di-cyo bformi budfi-i ale*  
 D.DEM-DEF-FOC rice.seed plant-LN-ATT person old-FM IMPF  
 'That person (who is) planting rice is an old woman.' ~  
 'That rice-planting-person is an old woman.'

The noun phrase can be formalized as follows: NP → (GEN) (DEM) (QUANT) (MOD) N.

Illustrations follow in (15).

- (15) (a) *mi-ja* N → N  
 POSS-child  
 'child'

- (b) *ho-se mi-ja* NP → DEM N  
 D.DEM-DEF POSS-child  
 'that child'

- (c) *ŋa-o mi-ja* NP → GEN N  
 IS-GEN POSS-child  
 'my child'
- (d) *kat mi-ja* NP → QUANT N  
 one POSS-child  
 'one child' ~ 'a child'
- (e) *marfi-cyo mi-ja* NP → MOD N  
 small-ATT POSS-child  
 'small child'
- (f) *ho-se kat mi-ja* NP → DEM QUANT N  
 D.DEM-DEF one POSS-child  
 'that one child'
- (g) *ho-se marfi-cyo mi-ja* NP → DEM MOD N  
 D.DEM-DEF small-ATT POSS-child  
 'that small child'
- (h) *ŋa-o kat mi-ja* NP → GEN QUANT N  
 IS-GEN one POSS-child  
 'my one child'
- (i) *ŋa-o marfi-cyo mi-ja* NP → GEN QUANT N  
 IS-GEN small-ATT POSS-child  
 'my small child'
- (j) *kat marfi-cyo mi-ja* NP → QUANT MOD N  
 one small-ATT POSS-child  
 'one small child' ~ 'a small child'
- (k) *ho-se kat marfi-cyo mi-ja* NP → DEM QUANT MOD N  
 D.DEM-DEF one small-ATT POSS-child  
 'that one small child'
- (l) *ŋa-o kat marfi-cyo mi-ja* NP → GEN QUANT MOD N  
 IS-GEN one small-ATT POSS-child  
 'my one small child'
- (m) *ŋa-o ho-se marfi-cyo mi-ja* NP → GEN DEM MOD N  
 IS-GEN D.DEM-DEF small-ATT POSS-child  
 'the small child of mine'
- (n) *ŋa-o ho-se som marfi-cyo mi-ja-ko* NP → GEN DEM QUANT MOD N  
 IS-GEN D.DEM-DEF three small-ATT POSS-child-PL  
 'the three small children of mine'

When multiple modifiers occur, value precedes dimension, which, in turn, precedes colour, as in (16).

- (16) *ruma-o sefi-cyo marfi-cyo bo-cyo rfi-a-ko bhog-di-s-a*  
 Ruma-GEN beautifl-ATT small-ATT white-ATT goat-PL escaped-LN-ITR-PST  
 'Ruma's beautiful small white goats escaped.'

As noted above, case, in Magar, is enclitic, though case can attach at word level, as in *janɡal-iŋ* 'from the jungle' [jungle-ABL], it functions at phrase level, as in (17).

- (17) *ŋa-o ho-se som marfi-cyo mi-ja-ko-lak*  
 1S-GEN D.DEM-DEF three small-ATT POSS-child-PL-CIR  
 'over by the three small children of mine and my older sister.'

Thus, it is possible to formalize an NP as: NP → GEN DEM QUANT MOD N CASE

### 10.1.3 Number, case and gender agreement in the noun phrase

Demonstratives, quantifiers, qualifiers, native adjectives and adjectivals show no case, number or gender agreement with the nouns they modify. Adjectives borrowed from Nepali show gender agreement ((18)). Number agreement observed in written Nepali, but not generally in spoken Nepali, has not been borrowed into Magar (see also §6.7).

- (18) *budfi-a bfiormi* 'old man'  
 old-ML person  
  
*budfi-i bfiormi* 'old woman'  
 old-FM person

The contrasts in (19) and (20) demonstrate that there is no plural marking on modifiers.

- (19) (a) *ho-se som marfi-cyo mi-ja-ko*  
 D.DEM-DEF three small-ATT POSS-child-PL  
 'the three small children'  
  
 (b) *ho-se marfi-cyo mi-ja*  
 D.DEM-DEF small-ATT POSS-child  
 'that small child'
- (20) (a) *ho-se som budfi-i bfiormi-ko*  
 D.DEM-DEF three old-FM person-PL  
 'those three old women'



'In this matter of the mystical arrow, there are, it is said, goddesses, gods, ghosts, spirits and death-spirit's, these, well, they say are employed by the witches.' (E.019T)

(c) *kat gau-aŋ kat len-ja ja-ja kat cyu*  
 one village-LOC one young.male-child child-child one dog

*kat bada-aŋ rokotyak le-a*  
 one small.pot-LOC frog COP-PST

'In a village there were a little boy and a dog, and a frog in a small pot.'  
 (B.B.001S)

(23) *kat im-aŋ kat babu-ja cyu rΛ rokotyak ŋu-o le-a*  
 one house-LOC one boy-child dog and frog sit-HAB IMPF-PST  
 'A boy, a dog and a frog used to live in a house.' (A.A.001T)

(24) *kan-uŋ gau-uŋ ghar-aŋ pΛhila pΛhila cahin*  
 1P-GEN village-GEN home-LOC first first well

*hospital ya dΛktor de-cyo calan nΛ*  
 hospital or doctor say-ATT tradition EMPH

*ma-se-mΛ le-a ma-daŋ-mΛ le-a {>me-a}*  
 NEG-sense-NOM IMPF-PST NEG-see-NOM IMPF-PST

'In our village home, long ago, well, such a tradition of hospitals and doctors had been neither heard of nor seen.' (E.003T)

(25) *hi bar ale de-mo ginfi-ŋfiak-iŋ ki bfiane*  
 what weekday COP say-SEQ ask-front-ABL or either

*mΛŋalabar ki bfiane aitabar ekadasi rΛ aunsi*  
 Tuesday or either Sunday eleventh.day fast.day and moonless.night

*chal-di-mo ani bir-ke lfet-ke par-di-s-le*  
 except-LN--SEQ then demon-DAT return-NOM must-LN-ITR-IMPF

'After asking which day of the week, it may be either Tuesday or Sunday, but not a fast day or a moonless night, then, the demon must be exorcised.' (E.011T)

Juxtaposed noun phrases coordinated without conjunctions often become

conventionalized pairs and indistinguishable from noun compounds. This is the case for combinations such as: *dulfi-dulfi* 'groom-bride' ((25)) and *len-ja-arnam-ko* 'young.man-young.woman-PL' ((26)) and *lokonda-lokondi-ko* 'groomsman-bridesmaid-PL' ((27)).

Noun compounds are described in §3.1.2.

(26) *magar-ko-uŋ byafia laganaun din-a chahin dulfi-dulfa dulfa-o*  
 Magar-PL-GEN wedding auspicious day-LOC well bride-groom groom-GEN

*im-ij khyofi-mo rafi-cyo calan le*  
 house-ABL emerge-SEQ come-ATT tradition COP

'On the auspicious day of the Magar wedding, the tradition is that the bride and groom, having come out of the groom's house, leave from there.' (EE.001T)

(27) *ŋa-e rodi de-cyo langha-uŋ thar-aŋ len-ja-arnam-ko*  
 1S-ERG rodi say-ATT village-GEN place-LOC young.male-child/young.woman-PL

*kʌθʌ chanfi-mo ŋu-ke kʌθʌ chanfi-mo bat jat-ke lfiŋ-ke*  
 with become-SEQ go-NOM with become-SEQ chat do-NOM sing-NOM

*ra syafi-ke jat-ke thoŋ ale*  
 and dance-NOM do-NOM place COP

'The rodi, as it is called, is in our village neighbourhood, it is the place where young men and women go together to sit and to talk and to sing and to dance.' (C.002T)

(28) *ho-se-ko-ke me-lafi me-lafi-o gachya anusarai ani kat*  
 D.DEM-DEF-HON-DAT 3S-self 3S-self-GEN ability accordingly then one

*kat nɦis nɦis poisa dan jat-mo tika bus-ak-ara dulfa ra*  
 one two two money gift do-SEQ blessing carry-INTR-CAUS-SEQ groom and

*dulfi lokonda-lokondi-ko-ke ani bɦitre-ij chyuk-mo yafi-cyo*  
 bride groomsmen-bridesmaid-HON-DAT then inside-ABL send-SEQ give-ATT

'To them (the groom and bride) each one will give money gifts, one, one, two two (bills) according to their ability, after receiving the tika-blessing the groom and then the bride will be sent out from inside to the wedding party (groomsmen and bridesmaids)'. (E.E.060T)

Case-marking on NPs is enclitic and marks conjoined phrases ((29)) in the same manner as single phrases ((30)).

(29) (a) *moi-e budɦa bɦormi-ko ra len-ja-ko-ke cho yafi-a*  
 mother-ERG old man-PL and male.youth-child PL-DAT rice.meal give-PST  
 'Mother gave a meal to the old men and youths.'

(b) *ŋa-o som marfi-cyo mi-ja-ko ra ŋa-o didi-lak*  
 1S-GEN three small-ATT POSS-child-PL and 1S-GEN older.sister-CIR

*nuŋ-na*  
 go-IMP

'Go over by my three small children and my older sister!'

(30) *ho-se*            *kat marfi-cyo mi-ja-e*            *dferai cho*            *jya-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF    one small-ATT POSS-child-ERG    much    rice.meal    eat-PST  
 'That one small child ate a lot of rice.'

## 10.2 Adnominal modification

This section looks in detail at adjective and adjectival constructions, as well as, appositive constructions. Adjectival phrases are nominalized and may be simple or complex. Complex adjective phrases are nominalized predications; they parallel adjective clauses in function.

### 10.2.1 Adjectival modification

It is typical of Tibeto-Burman languages of this speech area that descriptive modifiers of nouns are derived from verbs; this is the case in Magar. As explained in §6, these derived adnominals are referred to as adjectivals in order to distinguish them from underived adjectives. Adjectivals are nominalized with the attributive marker *-cyo* (T) ~ *-ca* (S), for example *karfiṅ-cyo cik-cyo cyu* [big-NOM black-NOM dog] 'big black dog'. Being nominalizations, formally speaking, such phrases are noun, not adjective, phrases; however, because their function is to modify (describe and restrict) nouns, they are described as adjectival phrases. Noonan refers to this phenomenon as 'nominalization-attribution syncretism' (2008:221) and observes of nominalizations in Bodic languages that they have two essential features: 1. they are noun phrases which name states and activities, as well as, derive agent and patient nominals; 2. they express predications. The nominalizer *-cyo*, in keeping with this observation, functions to derive agent nominals and to nominalize clauses. Because nominalizations can express modifying predications, they can function as adjective clauses do in other languages. In Magar, both a simple verb ((31)) and a clause ((32)) can be nominalized with *-cyo* ~ *-ca*; the former is referred

to here as a simple adjective phrase and the latter as a complex adjective phrase. The former reads as a simple adjectival and the latter as an adjectival / relative clause.

- (31) *birhi-cyo ja-ja cyak-mΛ nΛ le*  
 fear-ATT child.child noise-NOM EMPH IMPF  
 'The frightened child is screaming.'  
 = 'The child who is frightened is screaming.'(T)

- (32) *myertuḡ phus-cyo bformi kher-mΛ nΛ le*  
 tree fell-ATT person run-NOM EMPH IMPF  
 'The man who fells trees is running.'  
 = 'The tree-felling man is running.'

Though (31) is simple, having only a single de-verbal form, and (32) is complex including an object within the nominalized clause, the structure of these two nominalizations is essentially the same. Nominalized clauses may also include additional auxiliary verbs, such as modals, as in (33), but they are not inflected for person, number or tense, aspect and mood.

- (33) *maha-ja-e cip-ke paḡ-di-s-cyo ḡhet-e bābā*  
 young.female-child-ERG milk-nom must-LN-ITR-ATT cow-ERG ONO  
  
*de-mΛ le*  
 say-NOM IMPF  
 'The cow the woman must milk is lowing.'  
 = 'The by-the-woman-must-be-milked-cow is lowing.'

The standard distinction between 'phrase' and 'clause' may be appropriate to languages such as English, which modifies nouns with verbal constructions that are non-finite participle phrases or finite adjective clauses. Such a distinction is not entirely applicable to Magar. What would be an adjective clause, in English, has, in Magar, a structure parallel to a simple adjective phrase, i.e. both are nominalizations which function attributively. Nevertheless, despite their parallelism, in this chapter, the two are discussed individually because of their different degrees of complexity and the



parallelism of the complex adjective phrases to adjective / relative clauses in other languages. Section 10.2.1.1 describes the word order and constituency of adjectives and simple adjectival phrases. Section 10.2.2.1 describes complex phrases.

### 10.2.1.1 Constituent order of simple adjective and adjectival phrases

Adjectival phrases are comprised of a head, which may be a derived nominalized adjectival, such as *mfiat-cA* 'lost', as in (34) or borrowed adjective *purano* 'old' ((35)) or an underived native adjective *minam* 'new' ((36)).

(34) *rA ho-se len-ja ja-ja rA cyu-e chanfi-*  
and D.DEM-DEF young.male-child child-child and dog-ERG become-

*ηfiak-ij me-lafi-ko-uη pahila mfiat-cA rokotyak-ke*  
front-ABL 3S-self-PL-GEN first lose-ATT frog-DAT

*la-ηfiak-ij wfi-aη-a*  
take-front-ABL walk-go-PST

'And, the boy and dog, after this happened, took their own previously lost frog and left.' (B.037S)

(35) *purano calan anusar kan-uη dukha bimar-aη rA*  
old tradition according 1P-GEN pain sick-LOC and

*gau-uη gfiar-uη cahin upcar usadi jat-cyo bedana*  
village-GEN home-GEN well cure medicine make-ATT procedure

'According to our old tradition, our ones in pain and sick in our village homes, well, they were cured by this procedure.' (E.001T)

(36) *sarbaprathAm minam bAs park nuη-ke*  
first.of.all new bus park go-NOM  
'First of all, you go to the new bus park.' (Q.001T)

Other constituents of the adjective and adjectival phrases may include, in this order: degree adverbs and emphatic particles, and both precede the attributive head ((37 -39)). Phrases in (39) are adjectival, i.e. derived nominalizations. Nevertheless, they are grouped with adjective phrases ((37) and (38)) because of parallel function and modification patterns.

- (37) (a) *minam* AP → A  
 new  
 'new'
- (b) *dfhaliŋ minam* AP → ADV A  
 very new  
 'very new'
- (c) *dfhaliŋ ja minam* AP → ADV EMPH A  
 very EMPH small-ATT  
 'indeed very new'
- (38) (a) *purano* AP → A  
 old  
 'old'
- (b) *dfierai purano* AP → ADV A  
 very old  
 'very old'
- (c) *dfierai ja purano* AP → ADV EMPH A  
 very EMPH old  
 'indeed very old'
- (39) (a) *marfi-cyo* AP → A (where A = V-NOM)  
 small-ATT  
 'small'
- (b) *dfierai marfi-cyo* AP → ADV A  
 very small-ATT  
 'very small'
- (c) *dfierai ja marfi-cyo* AP → ADV EMPH A  
 very EMPH small-ATT  
 'indeed very small'

Adjective and adjectival phrases can be formalized as: AP → (ADV) (EMPH) A.

### 10.2.1.2 Complex adjectivals and adjective clauses

Complex adjectivals pre-modify the noun, as do simple adjectival phrases; they have all the constituents of a simple adjectival: modifiers and a nominalized verb, and, in addition, they are full predications in their own right, as seen in (40). Nominalization-relativization syncretism has been identified by DeLancey (1986:3) as a feature of

Tibetan languages; he states that in these languages that "every relativizer originates as a nominalizer." Noonan (2008:223) identifies nominalization-relativization syncretism as a feature of Bodic languages.

Watters (2006:39) has observed that in Himalayish languages<sup>1</sup> nominalizations in adjective clauses are generally finite clauses<sup>2</sup> including tense aspect and person-number marking. According to DeLancey (2005) person-marking and tense aspect distinctions in nominalizations are a secondary development and not present in Proto-Bodic. Noonan (2008:231) attributes the development to a general process of elaboration of nominalizations in Himalayish languages. Ebert (1993, 1999) attributes person-marking and tense aspect distinctions to ancient contact with the Munda and North-Central Dravidian languages. Magar has not undergone this development and nominalizations bear no person, tense or aspect inflection. In this respect, Magar patterns with other Himalayish languages such as Chepang (Caughley 1982) and Bhujel (Regmi 2007:344-345) and with Dolakha Newari (Genetti 1994).

(40) (a) *ŋa-e rangŋu-ko sat-ca bfiormi ŋa-dup-a-aŋ*  
 1S-ERG lion-PL kill-ATT person 1PRO-meet-PAST-1PRO  
 'I met the man who kills lions.' (S)  
 ='I met the tiger-killing man.'

(b) *bfiormi-e sat-cyo rangŋu a-laŋ le*  
 person-ERG kill-ATT lion R.DEM-LOC COP  
 'The tiger which the person killed is over there.'  
 = 'The by-person-killed-tiger is over there.'

(c) *girhiŋ kas-cyo bfiormi i-laŋ le*  
 basket make-ATT man P.DEM-LOC COP  
 'The man who makes baskets is here.'  
 = 'The basket-making-man is here.'

<sup>1</sup> Watters (2006) cites Yamphu, Kulung, Wambule, Dumi, Bantawa

<sup>2</sup> Noonan (2007a) observes finite adjective clauses in Tamangic languages, specifically in Nar Phu, Dhanute Tamang,

(d) *ho-se-e*                      *girhiṅ kas-cyo yak tisiniṅ*                      *ale-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF-ERG    basket make-ATT    day yesterday                      COP-PST  
 'The day when he made the basket was yesterday.'  
 = 'The by-him-basket-making-day was yesterday'

(e) *ṅa-o*    *bḥoya-ke*                      *dus-cyo bḥormi taḥ-rah-a*  
 IS-GEN    younger.brother-DAT                      help-ATT    person                      reach-come-PST  
 'The man who helped my younger brother arrived.'  
 = 'The my-younger-brother-helped-man arrived.'

As said, in a strict formal sense these nominalized constructions are not adjective 'clauses', because, first, as noted in §10.2.1, they are not adjectives, but nouns; second, they lack the finite verb required of a clause. Moreover, as Noonan (2008:225) observes, these constructions, "are best viewed as NP's juxtaposed to NP's they are modifying, the two NP's constituting, therefore, a sort of appositional structure.....The relative clause interpretation is arrived at inferentially in a manner similar to the way compounds are understood." DeLancey (1986:1) speaking of Tibetan and Newari observes that "relativization is simply one function of nominalization, i.e. that relative clauses are simply dependent or appositive NPs." The situation in Magar is parallel<sup>3</sup>; nevertheless, as these complex adjectival nominalizations function as adjective clauses, they are examined in terms of adjective / relative clause forms and strategies. Specifically in terms of: 1. the forms these relativizations take; 2. their position; and 3. which arguments can be relativized.

With respect to form, Magar makes no morphological distinction between a subject-embedded relative clause ((41)) (in which the subject of that clause is relativized) and an object-embedded relative clause ((42)). The only difference being the syntactic role of the head; nor is there any difference whether the relative clause is subject ((41)) or object

of the matrix clause ((42)). All relativized adjectivals are nominalized with *-cyo* ~ *-ca*.

The nominalized verb is not inflected for tense mood or aspect, nor is it indexed for person number or status of the participants, cf. (41) - (42) and (43).

(41) *rangfhu sat-cyo bformi ho-laj le*  
 tiger kill-NOM person D.DEM-LOC COP  
 'The man who kills tigers is there.'

(42) *naŋ-ko-e sat-ca cituwa-ke ŋa-e ŋa-danfi-aŋ*  
 2S-HON-ERG kill-ATT leopard-DAT 1S-ERG 1PRO-see-1PRO  
 'I saw the leopard that you killed.' (S)

cf.

(43) *naŋ-ko-e cituwa-ke sat-da-le*  
 2S-HON-ERG leopard-DAT kill-2PRO-IMP  
 'You kill leopards.'

Regarding the position of the embedded adjective clause, if it is the subject of the matrix clause it is sentence initial, as seen in (41). If the embedded clause is the object of the matrix clause it may be sentence initial, as in (42), or may follow the subject of the matrix clause, as in (44).

(44) *ŋa-e naŋ-ko-e sat-ca cituwa ŋa-danfi-aŋ*  
 1S-ERG 2S-HON-ERG kill-ATT leopard 1PRO-see-1PRO  
 'I saw the leopard that you killed.' (S)

With respect to which arguments can be relativized, Magar complies with Keenan's (1985) relativization hierarchy: subject → object → indirect object → oblique → possessor. In the hierarchy, if an element to the right can be relativized, then all elements to the left can be as well. In Magar, all points on the hierarchy can be modified by a complex nominalized adjectival clause. These are subject ((45)), direct object ((46)), oblique object ((47)) and possessor ((48)). However, conformity to the hierarchy begins

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<sup>3</sup> In Tibetan adjective clauses are both nominalized and marked with the genitive, this does not appear to be the case in Magar.

to break down toward the far right. The relativized possessor is not in genitive case as are others, but in dative; moreover, there is a tendency to use a borrowed Nepali correlative construction (49), rather than the Magar construction.

- (45) (a) *indi-aŋ nuŋ-cyo mipruŋ-o mi-ja si-a*  
 India-LOC go-ATT Miprung-GEN POSS-child die-PST  
 'Miprung's son who went to India died.'
- (b) *ho-se-i chosan rop-di-cyo bfiormi budfi-i ale*  
 D.DEM-DEF-FOC rice.seed plant-LN-ATT person old-FM COP  
 'That person who is planting rice is an old woman.'
- (c) *tanahu-aŋ mu-ca ŋa-o moi kathmandu a-rafi-e*  
 Tanahu-LOC sit-ATT 1S-GEN mother Kathamandu IRR-come-IRR  
 'My mother who lives in Tanahu may come to Kathmandu.'
- (d) *par-lak mu-cyo ja-ja-ko-e phul tar-di-s-ke par-di-s-le*  
 far.side-CIR sit-ATT child-child-PL-ERG bridge cross-LN-ITR-NOM must-LN-ITR-IMP  
 'The children who live across the river must cross the bridge'
- (46) (a) *kan-ko-e kan-uŋ moi-e phinfi-cyo cho jya-a*  
 2-PL-ERG 2P-GEN mother-ERG cook-ATT rice eat-PST  
 'We ate the rice that our mother cooked.' (T)
- (b) *ges-cyo ja-ja-ko bfiim-e cin-di-s-le*  
 play-ATT child-child-PL Bfiim-ERG know-LN-ITR-IMP  
 'Bfiim knows the children who are playing.'
- (c) *ram-e kalfi-cyo hatti-ke ŋa-e ŋa-daŋfi-a-aŋ*  
 Ram-ERG ride-ATT elephant-DAT 1S-ERG IPRO-see-PST-IPRO  
 'I saw the elephant that Ram was going to ride.' (S)
- (f) *ho-ta jat-ca-ca a-se-ko-ke le ta ho-se*  
 D.DEM-MNR do-ATT-ATT R.DEM-DEF-HON-DAT COP TAG D.DEM-DEF
- raila-ko-ko halA jfiuga mu-naŋ-ca ho-se-ko-kuŋ bawai-ke*  
 sixth-HON-PL EXCLM Jhunga sit-SIM-ATT D.DEM-DEF-HON-GEN father-DAT  
 'It was the one to whom it was done like that! wasn't it? One of Raila's (the sixth son), you know, the one living in Jhunga, it was his father.'  
 (Q.Q.007S)
- (47) (a) *a-se ban-aŋ an-ca lfiuŋ rak-ca kuda-aŋ ka-a*  
 R.DEM-DEF forest-LOC go-ATT stone bring-ATT clay.pot-LOC put-PST  
 'Those stones, which he went and brought from in the forest, he put into the clay pot.' (J.J.007S)

(b) *ra cyu-e argan le-cyo myertuŋ hoyok-naŋ argan*  
 and dog-ERG wasp COP-ATT tree shake-SIM wasp

*ɟammai bahire khyofi-a*  
 every outside emerge-past

'And while the dog was shaking the tree with the wasps in it, all the wasps came out of it.' (A.015T)

(c) *ho-se a-lak patti le-a hai danda-aŋ aŋ-ca*  
 D.DEM-DEF R.DEM-CIR side COP-PST okay hill-LOC go-ATT

*lam-aŋ-tuŋ i-ta i-lak patti*  
 road-LOC-SUP P.DEM-MNR P.DEM.CIR side

'He was from over there on that side, okay, near the road that goes to the hill, like this, just this side of it.' (S.S.006S)

(d) *ho-se mis-cyo ochyaŋ jfumuŋ-cyo le-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF sleep-ATT bed cold-ATT COP-PST

'The bed he slept in was cold.'

(48) (a) *darfa gyafi-cyo hatti-ke ŋa-e ŋa-kalfi-la-aŋ*  
 tusk break-ATT elephant-DAT 1S-ERG IPRO-ride-PST-IPRO  
 'I rode the elephant whose tusks were broken.' (S)

(b) *mi-ja cha-ca bfiormi-ke ŋa-daŋ-a-aŋ*  
 POSS-child sick-ATT person-DAT IPRO-see-PST-PRO  
 'I saw the man whose child is sick.' (S)

(49) *jus bfiormi-o mi-ja cha-ma le ho-se-ke*  
 whichever man-GEN POSS-child sick-NOM COP D.DEM-DEF-DAT

*ŋa-e ŋa-daŋ-a-aŋ*  
 1S-ERG IPRO-see-PST-PRO

'I saw the man whose child is sick.'

= 'Whichever man's child is sick, I saw that one.' (S)

Adjective and adjectival modifiers, in Magar, are restrictive, i.e. they describe and limit the set of possible referents. Non-restrictive, extraneous and parallel information is presented in appositive constructions (described in §10.2.2). A demonstrative can be interposed in apposition to a relative clause to underscore the specificity and / or topicality of a referent, as in (50). But this does not distinguish restrictive from non-restrictive clauses. It is, however, often the construction given when a Magar speaker

attempts to conform to the English contrast between restrictive non-restrictive adjective clauses, because the English relative pronoun is interpreted as emphasizing specificity.

(50) (a) *langha rafi-cyo (ho-se) cha-cyo kakoi si-a*  
 village come-ATT (D.DEM-DEF) sick-ATT uncle die-PST  
 'The sick uncle who visited the village (that one) died.'  
 = 'The village-coming, (that one) sick uncle died.'

(b) *ŋa-e (ho-se) warfi-ca bfiormi-ke dus-ke*  
 1S-ERG (D.DEM-DEF) know-ATT person-DAT help-NOM  
*ginfi-le*  
 IRR-say-IRR-IPRO  
 'I will ask the man who is wise for help.'  
 = 'I will ask (that one) wise man for help.'

(c) *ŋa-o usha por-di-s-cyo (ho-se) len-ja mi-ja*  
 1S-GEN medicine read-LN-ITR-ATT (D.DEM-DEF) young.male-child POSS-child  
*amerika-aŋ le*  
 America-LOC COP  
 'My son who studies medicine (that one) is in America.'  
 = 'My medicine-studying, that son is in America.'

Location clauses are adjective clauses (see §10.2.2). The adjective clause is marked with the attributive marker *cyo ~ ca* and precedes the location it modifies, as in (51).

(51) (a) *ho-se-ko-e por-dis-ak-ca iskul ku-lag le*  
 D.DEM-DEF-HON-ERG read-LN-CAUS-ATT school INTRG-LOC COP  
 'Where is the school where he teaches?' ~  
 = 'Where is the school which he teaches at?'

(b) *ho-se-ko-e por-dis-ak-ca iskul pokhara kherep-uŋ*  
 D.DEM-DEF-HON-ERG read-LN-CAUS-ATT school Pokhara near-GEN  
*langfia-aŋ kherep le*  
 village-LOC near COP  
 'The school where he teaches is in a village near Pokhara.' ~  
 = 'The school that he teaches at is near Pokhara.'

### 10.2.1.3 Adjectival phrase coordination

Adjectival phrases are coordinated asyndetically, as for example in (52). However, the two juxtaposed phrases may be followed by an emphatic that serves to link them, as for example, *ma-ket-cyo minam ja* [NEG-use-ATT new EMPH] in (53).



(52) *ho-so-ko-e marfi-cyo phi-cyo mfiat-cyo rokotyak*  
 D.DEM-DEF-PL-ERG small-ATT green-ATT lose-ATT frog

*ŋos-mΛ nΛ le-a*  
 look-NOM EMPH IMPF-PST

'They were looking for the small green lost frog.'

(53) *ho-tak-iŋ sen-da ma-ket-cyo minam jΛ gundri*  
 D.DEM-SUP-ABL when-INDF NEG-use-ATT new EMPH straw.mat

*sen-da mat-chanfi-cyo ho-se tAYAR jat-le rΛ*  
 when-INDF NEG.IRR-become-ATT D.DEM-DEF ready do-IMPF and

*ho-tak-iŋ pheri lokanda-ko-e a-se-iŋ im-iŋ nΛ*  
 D.DEM-SUP-ABL again groomsmen-PL-ERG R.DEM-DEF-ABL house-ABL EMPH

*moca lfiΛ rak-le*  
 banana leaf bring-IMPF

'Thereupon, they make ready a never-used, brand-new straw mat, then, the groomsmen bring banana leaves, from where, from the house?' (E.E.020T)

### 10.2.2 Appositives

Noun phrases when apposed have a modifying function. The appositive is nonrestrictive and offers ancillary, parallel information, as in (54). In Magar non-restrictive modifiers follow the head noun.

(54) (a) *ruma tul-o moi kathmandu-aŋ a-tafi-rafi-e*  
 Ruma Tul-GEN mother Kathmandu-LOC IRR-reach-come-IRR  
 'Ruma, Tul's mother, may arrive in Kathmandu.'

(b) *ho-se-ko a-lak patti an-ŋfiakiŋ ŋos-naŋ ho-laŋ*  
 D.DEM-DEF-PL R.DEM-CIR side go-front-ABL see -SIM D.DEM-LOC

*nfiis budfi-a budfi-i rokotyak-ko le-a*  
 two old-ML old-FM frog-PL COP-PST

'After they went to the other side, they saw there two, husband and wife, frogs.' (C.C.029S)

(c) *bfiormi-ke janta-ke cahine ani almal-ke chanfi-le*  
 person -DAT populace-DAT well then puzzle-NOM become-IMPF  
 'People, the populace, well, now they have become puzzled'. (E.028T)

(d) *pΛila jΛ raghya sahila babu-ko-ko-e a-se-ko-uŋ*  
 first EMPH Raghya third uncle-HON-PL-ERG R.DEM-DEF-PL-GEN

*buba*    *le-naj*    *ale*  
father    COP-SIM    COP

'Earlier, Raghya, third brother's uncle, the father of those over there,  
was living here.' (O.O.004S)

## 11. Simple clauses

This chapter examines the basic constituents and their orders in simple clauses. Simple clauses, as defined here, are those with a single verb phrase. The verb within the phrase is finite and constitutes a predication. It may be simple, compound (see §4.1.1 for a description of compounds), serialized, or complex; the latter having a semantic main verb, plus nominalizers and auxiliaries (see §5.4 for a description of complex verb forms). Magar, like all Tibeto-Burman languages (with the exception of Bai and the Karenic languages<sup>1</sup>) is an SOV language, it has postpositions rather than prepositions and genitive and relative clause modifiers precede the modified noun.

For languages such as Magar, in which there are various verb forms, each grammaticalizing at different stages, and which has serialized and nominalized verbs, as well as converbs, it can be difficult to demarcate simple from complex verb phrases and simple from complex clauses. The distinctions between these are neither discrete nor binary. The forms range along a continuum of increasing complexity and from tight semantico-syntactic bonds to looser. Keeping in mind that categories are somewhat arbitrarily drawn, this chapter describes clauses which have, as well as can be determined, one main semantic verb and predicate a single event within a single clause. Sentences with multiple clauses are described in chapter twelve.

This chapter describes different clause types; these are: intransitive, transitive, ditransitive clauses, and clauses with oblique objects. As well, clauses which have undergone a change of valence: benefactives and malefactives, causative and detransitivized clauses are described. In addition, copular clauses, interrogative,

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<sup>1</sup> Dryer (2003:43) Bai and Karen languages as SVO.

imperative and hortative constructions are presented as are clause-medial and clause-final particles, and expressive exclamations.

### 11.1 The verb phrase

As stated, verbs range from simple to complex. The distinction, as it is made here, depends on the composition of the verb stem. A simple verb stem is a single verb plus derivational and inflectional morphology. A complex verb stem has all the elements of a simple stem, but in addition, it may be serialized or nominalized and have auxiliaries. Both phrase types may include modifiers; and these are treated in §11.1.4.

#### 11.1.1 The simple verb stem

As noted, a simple stem comprises a single inflected verb ((1)) including compounds ((1c)). The stem may include derivational morphemes: loan-marking ((2a)), negation ((2b)), causation ((2c)) and, in Syangja dialect, there may be detransitivization ((2d)) and pronominalization ((2e)). Inflectional and derivational morphemes may be prefixal and suffixal ((2f)), (see also §4.5 for a discussion of affixation).

(1) (a) *ja-ja-ko ges-le*  
 Child-child-PL play  
 'The children play.'

(b) *len-ja mi-ja kher-a*  
 male.youth-child POSS-child run-PST  
 'The young boy ran.'

(c) *khadkamai puja-jat-le*  
 Khadkamai worship-do-IMPF  
 'The goddess Kadkhami will be worshipped.'

(2) (a) *mi-ja-ko lɔgfiar-di-s-a*  
 POSS-child flee-LN-ITR-PST  
 'The children ran away.'

- (b) *ren-ja ma-por-di-s-le*  
 Young.man-child NEG-read-LN-ITR-IMPF  
 'The young man does not read.'
- (c) *moi-e ram-ke ηfiēt-ke kas-ak-a*  
 mother-ERG Ram-DAT cow-DAT feed-CAUS-PST  
 'Mother made Ram feed the cow.'
- (d) *ηfiēt-ke kas-cis-le*  
 cow-DAT feed-DTR-IMPF  
 'The cow is fed' (S)
- (e) *ηa-e mi-ja-ko-ke ηa-lagfiar-di-ak-a-aη*  
 1S-ERG POSS-child-DAT 1PRO-flee-LN-CAUS-PST-1PRO  
 'I made the children run away.'
- (f) *mo-e mi-ja-ko-ke mi-tΛ-lagfiar-di-ak-e*  
 1S-ERG POSS-child-DAT NEG-IRR.OPT-flee-LN-CAUS-IRR  
 'Mother does not want to make the children run away.'

The simple verb phrase may be formalized as: V → (DER)-(PRO)-(TMA)-V-(DER)-TMA-

(PRO), as in *mi-t-a-lagfiar-di-ak-e-a-aη* 'I might not have been made to run away'. See also §4.5 and Tables 4.1 and 4.2 for verb paradigms.

### 11.1.2 The complex verb stem

Complex verb stems may be a serial verb ((3)), or it may be a verb plus nominalizers and auxiliaries ((4)). Complex nominalized verbs for the most part express aspectual distinctions; thus they are described in detail in §5.2. Serial verbs are described in detail in §11.1.3.

- (3) *daja acheta than-aη da-rafi-a*  
 elder.brother offering shrine-LOC put-come-PST  
 'Elder brother came and put the offering at the shrine.'
- (4) (a) *ηa-e ges-mΛ le-a*  
 1S play-NOM IMPF-PST  
 'I was playing.' (T)
- (b) *ηa-e ges-mΛ ηa-le-a-aη*  
 1S play-NOM 1PRO-IMPF-PST-1PRO  
 'I was playing.' (S)

Complex constructions, as they have more than one verb, could be regarded as comprising separate verb phrases in separate clauses; diachronically this is undoubtedly the case. However, in nominalized constructions, the full verbs, *le* and *mu* 'sit', *wfia* 'walk' and *bfiya* 'finish' ((5)), have all undergone grammaticalization, specifically auxiliatation, a term used by Heine (1993:29) and Kuteva (2001:2) to describe to a process by which a complex lexical verb structure develops over time into a grammatical structure comprising a main lexical verb plus auxiliaries; the latter being intermediate between a full verb and a grammatical inflection and possessing features of both. In the constructions exemplified below *le*, *mu*, *wfia* and *bfiya* perform the auxiliary function of expressing aspectual information about a main lexical verb; see also §5.2.2.2.2.

(5) (a) *mi-ja-ko ges-mΛ mu-mΛ le-a*  
 POSS-child play-NOM sit-NOM IMPF-PST  
 'The children are playing and playing.'

(b) *mi-ja-ko jofi-mΛ mu-mΛ le*  
 POSS-child flee-NOM sit-NOM IMPF  
 'The children are constantly running away.' (T)

(c) *naŋ-ko-e pa-mΛ ja wfia-mΛ na-le-a-as*  
 2-PL-ERG seek-NOM EMPH walk-NOM 2PRO-IMPF-PST-2PRO  
 'You are constantly searching.' (S)

(d) *ho-nfiŋ ŋa-e jya-mΛ bfiya-mΛ ŋa-le-a-aŋ*  
 D.DEM-hour 1S-ERG eat-NOM finish-NOM 1PRO-IMPF-PST-1PRO  
 'At that time, I had eaten.' (S)

A complex verb stem, with all possible elements may be formalized as: V → V-(V)-(DER)-NOM (EMPH) (DER)-(PRO) (TMA)-AUX-TMA-(PRO) as in *lagfiar-di-ak-mΛ na mi-tΛ-a-ule-e-a-aŋ* 'I might not have been made to be running away' or *gfioyofi-rafi-mΛ na mi-tΛ-a-ule-e-a-aŋ* 'I might not have been coming to plough.'

### 11.1.3 Serial verbs

Serialized verbs are two juxtaposed verbs which share derivational and inflectional morphology. The first verb in the sequence is a bare stem and the second is inflected, as seen in (6).

(6) (a) *ho-se-e*                    *men-o* *gfioyofi-a*    *rA*    *kan-uŋ* *a-tA-gfioyofi-rafi-e*  
 D.DEM-DEF-ERG    3S-GEN    plough-PST    and    1P-GEN    IRR-OPT-plough-come-IRR  
 'He ploughed his own and may he come plough ours.' (K.K.067S)

(b) *jaja-ko*            *ŋfiət-ke*            *ma-cip-rafi-a*  
 child-child-PL    cow-DAT            squeeze-come-PST  
 'The children did not come milk the cow.'

Serial verbs, combining two verbs, might be considered parts of separate clauses.

Nevertheless, they are treated as single complex verbs, because they are unary in meaning, in other words, they express a single event/ predication. They also share a single argument and a single set of inflectional and derivational morphology, thus are considered to be one syntactic unit.

In serial verbs, the first of two verb slots is open; the second is fixed and occupied by a light-verb, by which is meant a verb whose meaning is unspecified necessitating a complement for it to function predicatively. In Magar, there are five light verbs which commonly enter into serial constructions: *rafi* 'come', *da* 'put', *jat* 'do', *rak* 'bring' and *se* 'sense'. Serial verbs resemble verb compounds; but compounds are idiosyncratic and not productive in their combinations in the way that serial verbs are (see §4.1.1.1). Serial verbs also resemble verb + auxiliary constructions; however unlike most instances of the latter, the first verb of a serial constructions is not nominalized; moreover serial constructions themselves contain an auxiliary. Examples of serial verbs follow; examples in (7) are formed with *rafi* 'come'.

- (7) (a) *kan-ko rA kAθA ma-punfi-ke pa-cA ale-sa tAra naŋ-o phaŋji*  
 IP-PL and with NEG-fight-NOM seek-ATT COP-INFR but 2S-GEN troop  
  
*rak-dekhiŋ kan-ko rA kAθA-i punfi-rafi-ak-le-o le*  
 bring-from IP-PL and with-FOC fight-come-CAUS-IMPF-MIR IMPF  
 'We had no intention to fight but after you brought your troops we realized we  
 also had to come fight.' (DD. 052S)
- (b) *ku-dik pali ŋifi-rafi-a*  
 how-QUANT times beg-come-PST  
 'How many times (they) came begging.' (K.K.032S)
- (d) *pAhila jA rit-rafi-cA ta*  
 first EMPH take.over-come-ATT REP  
 '(It was) earlier, really. They say it came and took over. (P.P. 007S)
- (e) *pheri an-o le-a rak-o le-a galam-tuŋ*  
 again go-HAB IMPF-PST bring-HAB IMPF-PST door-SUP  
  
*da-rafi-o le-a*  
 put-come-HAB IMPF-PST  
 'Again, he would go and would bring (twigs) and come put them by the  
 door step.' (DD.O60S)
- (f) *dhiem-aŋ khas-rafi-cA ale ta haA*  
 up-LOC make-come-ATT COP REP EXCLM  
  
*ho-laŋ ale-a ta ho-ta-i ho-ta an-nfiŋ*  
 D.DEM-LOC COP-PST REP D.DEM-MNR -FOC D.DEM-MNR go-hour  
  
*kancha-bfiŋi kat dut cip-rafi-cA ta haA nambi*  
 younger.son-brother-DAT one milk milk-come-ATT REP EXCLM night  
 'They say, then, that they came and built, you know. It was up there, they  
 say. Then, at that time, younger-brother, they say, came to  
 milk (the cow) you know, at night.' (Q.Q.019S)
- (h) *ho-ta-i bfiormi-ke jik-rafi-ke mi-sas-e*  
 D.DEM-MNR-FOC man-DAT bite-come-DAT POSS-breath-INST  
  
*tAn-di-le ta te-o le-a maŋ*  
 pull-LN-IMPF REP say-HAB IMPF-PST truly  
 'Then, he just comes and bites people, and with his breath, pulls them in,  
 so they say, truly.' (O.O.014S)

Like *rafi*, *da*, meaning 'put' or 'keep', occurs in serial-verb constructions, as in (8).



- (8) (a) *ho-ta-i*                      *ho-se*                      *galam-tuj* *siŋ*    *jaŋmai*    *na*  
 D.DEM-MNR -FOC    D.DEM-DEF    door-SUP    branch all            EMPH
- jat-da-ma*            *le*  
 do-keep-NOM    IMPF  
 'Then he was keeping the branches all together on the doorstep.' (QQ.S)

- (b) *di*    *lofi-ŋfiak-ij*            *i-tar-cyo*                      *di*  
 water    discard-front-ABL    P.DEM-LAT-ATT    water

- la-da*            *le*  
 take-keep    IMPF  
 'After throw away the water, reserve this much.' (D.021T)

The verb *jat* 'do' combines with verbs in serial verb constructions, as in (9), as does *rak* 'bring' in (10).

- (9) (a) *ho-tak-ij*                      *ho-laŋ*                      *dfioti*                      *aci*  
 D.DEM-SUP-ABL    D.DEM-LOC    cloth.strips            then

- jfa*    *kolomfi-jat-mo*            *lak-le*  
 clay    wrap-do-SEQ                      stick-CAUS-IMPF  
 'Then, on there, stick cloth strips that have been wrapped in clay.' (D.012T)

- (b) *usa*            *pacyat-le*                      *pacyat-a ra*                      *bfieret-le*            *bfieret-a*            *ra*  
 medicine    crumble-IMPF                      crumble-PST and                      sprinkle-IMPF    sprinkle-PST and

- kaθa*    *norfi-jat-le*                      *karaj*                      *rak-le*  
 with    gather-do-IMPF                      bamboo.basket                      bring-IMPF  
 'Crumble medicine, crumble and sprinkle, gather it up together, then bring a bamboo basket.' (D.004T)

- (10) *arkin-aŋ*    *raksi*    *acar*    *acarbicar-ko*    *wak-sya*    *ani*    *wak-o*    *hyu*  
 jar-LOC    alcohol    pickle    snacks-PL                      pig-meat                      then    pig-GEN    blood

- me-khe-ko*            *jaŋmai*    *jor-ak-mo*                      *thaŋ*    *kat*    *ka-rak-le*  
 POSS-intestine-PL all                      collect-CAUS-SEQ    place    one    put-bring-IMPF  
 'Jars of raksi, pickle, snacks, pork, then pig's blood and intestines, having been assembled together, they will be brought and put in one place.' (E.E.037T)

The verb *se*, which has the general meaning 'sensation' (specifically it can mean 'hear' or 'feel'), also occurs in serial verb constructions ((11)).

- (11) (a) *ŋa-ke*            *jhumfi-se-le-na*  
 1S-DAT            cold-sense- IMPF-1PRO  
 'I feel cold.' (S)
- (b) *ŋa-ke*            *ũmfi-se-le*  
 1S-DAT            warm-sense- IMPF  
 'I feel warm.' (T)

To recap, verb phrase constructions in Magar can be arranged along a continuum ranging from simple to complex and from more to less tightly bound, that is, from: single verbs to compounds to serial verbs to nominalized verbs with auxiliaries; see table 11.1. All of these, because they express a single event, and do not have more than one fully semantic verb, have been determined to constitute a single clause as opposed to complex clauses which include complement-taking and converbal constructions. The latter are discussed in chapter twelve.

**Table 11.1 Simple clause continuum**

SIMPLE VERB PHRASE		COMPLEX VERB PHRASE	
Single verb	Compound verb	Serial verb	Nominalized verb + auxiliary

#### 11.1.4 Modification in the verb phrase

Verb phrases, having either simple, compound, or serial stems, can be modified by adverbs and adverbials. The modifier precedes the verb, as in (12). Thus the verb phrase may be formalized as VP > (MOD) V, (where V is as described above in §11.1.1 - §11.1.3).

- (12) (a) *len-ja*            *ja-ja*    *chito*    *kher-mΛ*    *le-a*  
 young.male-child    child-child    quickly run-LN-ITR-NOM    IMPF-PST  
 'The young boy was quickly running.'
- (b) *kaŋ-ko*    *kat-chinaŋ*    *tafi-rafi-le*  
 2P-PL            one-second            reach-come-IMPF  
 'We will arrive immediately.' (T)

(c) *kaŋ-ko kat-chinaŋ tak-rafi-le-iŋ*  
 2P-PL one-second reach-come-IMPF  
 'We will arrive immediately.' (S)

(c) *ŋa jfiowattai lfiēs-le-aŋ*  
 1S instantly r eturn-IMPF-PRO  
 'I will return instantly.' (S)

(d) *renja-ko lfiŋ-mΛ wfiā-a*  
 male.youths -PL sing -NOM walk -PST  
 'The young men walked singing.' (R.23)

(e) *ho-se-i argan-o gola mfiak-aŋ jfiā-a argan-ko besmari*  
 D.DEM-DEF-FOC wasp-GEN round down-LOC fall-PST wasp-PL very

*buŋfi-mo cyu-ke kher-ak-a cyu-ke bfiΛg-di-mo kher-ak-a*  
 swarm-SEQ dog-DAT run-CAUS-PST dog-DAT chase-LN-SEQ run-CAUS-PST  
 'The wasp's nest fell down and the wasps having completely swarmed the dog, chased the dog and made him run.' (A.A.017T)

## 11.2 Constituent order in declarative clauses

Declarative clauses in Magar are fairly consistently verb-final; however word order variations are for reasons of topicalization are not uncommon in Magar.

### 11.2.1 Basic declarative constituent order

Declarative clauses which are not altered for pragmatic reason are verb-final. Only particles, for example evidentials, as in (13) (see §13.2) and those functioning as discourse-markers may follow the verb, such as *thik* and *hai* do in (14). Discourse particles are outside the clause and are discussed in §11.8.

(13) *ho-se-o mi-ja si-a ta*  
 D.DEM-DEF-GEN POSS-child die-PST REP  
 'They say her child died.'

(14) *rΛksi tΛyar chanfi-le-sa thik-hai*  
 alcohol ready become-IMPF-INFR okay-okay  
 'The raksi has become ready, alright, okay.' (D.008bT)

The basic constituent orders are SV (Subject Verb) for intransitive clauses, AOV (Agent Object Verb) for transitive clauses and AOOV (Agent Object Object Verb) for

ditransitives. Causatives allows up to four objects AOO(O)(O)V. Examples of these clause types follow:

- (15) (a) *boi mis-a* Intransitive clause → SV  
 father sleep-PST  
 'Father slept.'
- (b) *boi-e rfiā sat-a* Transitive clause → AOV  
 father-ERG goat kill-PST  
 'Father killed a goat.'
- (c) *boi-e bfiēna-ke rfiā yafi-a* Ditransitive clause → AOOV  
 father-ERG brother.in.law-DAT goat give-PST  
 'Father gave brother-in-law a goat.'
- (d) *boi-e moi-ke bfiēna-ke rfiā yafi-ak-a* Causative clause → AOOOV  
 father-ERG mother-ERG brother-in-law-DAT goat give-CAUS-PST  
 'Father made mother give brother-in-law a goat.'
- (e) *boi-e moi-ke bfiēna-ke daje-ke rfiā yafi-ak-ak-a* Causative clause → AOOOOV  
 father-ERG mother-DAT bro.in.law-DAT elder-brother-DAT goat give-CAUS-CAUS-PST  
 'Father made mother make brother-in-law give elder brother a goat.'

### 11.2.2 Topicalized declarative constituent orders

As noted, word order is affected by topicality. Examples in (16) show right dislocation of subjects. Example (17) has both a right dislocated subject and left dislocated object. In each case dislocation is employed to focus, or topicalize a particular argument.

- (16) (a) *waighā-aŋ ra los los-ke-ca hi jat-ma le chena thaha*  
 Waighā-LOC and far far-NOM-ATT what do-NOM IMPF don't.know awareness  
 'At Waigha and farther, the far-away places, I don't know what they do. We are not aware, us.' (K.K.021S)
- (b) *ho-ta-i taowa khabfiā taowa-ŋ celos-dekhiŋ*  
 D.DEM-MNR-FOC haystack pillar haystack-LOC hang-from  
 'At Waigha and farther, the far-away places, I don't know what they do. We are not aware, us.' (K.K.021S)
- (c) *si-le-sa man sarki-ni*  
 die-IMP-INTR truly cobbler-FM  
 'The cobbler died truly.'

'Then on a haystack pillar, evidently, after hanging herself (she) died, truly, the cobbler woman.' (R.R.006S)

(c) *ɟyap-le han millet.brew ɟyap-lɰyɰk ɟyap-le rɰksi*  
tasty-IMPF      millet.brew    tasty-COND    tasty-IMPF      alcohol

*han ma-ɟyap-lɰyɰk rɰksi ma-ɟyap-le*  
millet.brew      NEG-tasty-COND      alcohol      NEG-tasty-IMPF

'If the millet brew is tasty, the raksi will be tasty, the raksi. If the millet brew is not tasty, then the raksi will not be tasty.' (D.027T)

(d) *are raja hi ɟat-ke naŋ-ko rɰ kɰthɰ-i punɰ-naŋ a-se*  
EXCLM king what do-NOM 2S-HON and with-FOC fight-SIM R.DEM-DEF

*punɰ-iŋ punɰ-iŋ te-a pɰttɰ-ko-e*  
fight-HORT fight-HORT say-PAST all-PL-ERG

'Oh king, what was I to do while they were fighting with you? Back when "Let's fight, Let's fight!" everyone said.' (DD.046S)

(17) *kayakniŋ naŋ-e byafi ma-ɟat-dɰ-l kɰyasirɰdɰ*  
day.before.yesterday 2S-ERG      marriage NEG-do-2PRO-IMPF EXCLM

*abo wak rɰ yaɰ-le-aŋ ŋa-e*  
now pig also give-IMPF-PRO 1S-ERG

'The day before yesterday, (his father said) "You are not getting married, damn it, now, the pig, I will give that too, I will".'

 (K.K040S)

### 11.3 Transitivity and valence

Transitivity concerns the relationship between the verb and its arguments. Argument roles, here, are defined, semantico-syntactically. Specifically, they are defined in terms of A, S and O, where A refers to 'agent', S is the only argument of an intransitive clause and O is the object (the patient). Arguments which are optional and/or ancilliary to the verb phrase are 'obliques'. These roles are distinct from grammatical roles. Where relevant, in this section, grammatical roles of subject and direct and indirect object are also identified. Valence refers to the number and constellation of arguments in a clause. This section describes transitivity patterns, the structure of intransitive, transitive,

ditransitive clauses, benefactives and malefactive and those which change valence such as causatives and resultatives.

### 11.3.1 Transitivity patterns

Cross-linguistically, patterns of marking verb-argument relations in clauses generally follow either a nominative/accusative pattern, in which the A and S align, or an ergative/accusative pattern, in which S and P align. Magar exhibits both patterns in different contexts.

In Tanahu dialect there is no participant verb agreement. In the Syangja dialect, participant indexing on the verb (a.k.a. pronominalization) is limited to A and S; in other words, to subjects; thus it exhibits a nominative/accusative pattern. Magar diverges from other Himalayish languages, such as Chepang, Kham and the Kiranti group where both subjects (A and S) and objects (P) are indexed on the verb. This is seen in the following example from Kham.

Watters (2003: 239)

(18) *na-e      ŋa-lai    pərɪ:-na-ke-o*  
 he-ERG    me-OBJ    send-1S-PFV-3S  
 'He sent me.'

In Magar, objects are not indexed; thus, pronominalization does not encode degrees of transitivity or valence, these are gleaned from the number of participants and their case marking. Typically an A of a transitive verb will be in ergative case; the S of an intransitive will be in absolutive case; patients also will be in absolutive case. Exceptions to this are experiencer subjects (see §3.4.1.7) and primary objects (see §3.4.1.5.1), which are most often in dative case; and agents in imperfective aspect in Tanahu (see §3.4.1.1). For the most part, however, with respect to case-marking, Magar has an ergative/absolutive pattern where S and O (~ P) align and both contrast with A.

### 11.3.2 Intransitive clauses

Intransitive clauses are those with a single argument and which have an inherently intransitive verbs such as *mis* 'sleep' as in (19a, b), as well as verbs with an intransitive morpheme, final *-s* as in (20) or a middle morpheme, final *-fi* as in (21). (These finals are part of a vestigial (no longer productive) morphological transitivity-marking system, which is discussed in §4.2.1).

(19) (a) *a-se cyu rΛ bformi mis-mΛ nΛ le-a*  
 R.DEM-DEF dog and person sleep-NOM EMPH IMPF-PST  
 'That dog and boy were sleeping.' (T)

(b) *ŋa mis-le-aŋ*  
 D.DEM sleep-IMPF-1PRO  
 'I sleep.' (S)

(20) *cyu cahine jogo-di-s-a*  
 dog well safe-LN-ITR-PST  
 'The dog, well, he was safe.' (A.010 T)

(21) *ho-se-ko kΛthΛ choti pokhara-aŋ tha-fi-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF-PL with instant lake-LOC sink-MD-PST  
 'They, together, sank at once into the pond.' (C.C.026b S)

The single argument of an intransitive verb has the qualities of a subject. It is in initial position, has semantic prominence and is topical. In intransitive clauses, in both Syangja and Tanahu Magar, the subject will be in the unmarked absolutive case, unless it is an experiencer, in which case it will be dative-marked or, less frequently, in absolutive case. Subject experiencers are discussed in §3.4.1.7.

In Syangja dialect, pronominal agreement with the subject of intransitive clauses is indexed on the verb in first and second person as in (22a-c). In Tanahu, verb agreement is not encoded in any person as in (23a-c).

(22) (a) *ŋa wfi-a-le-aŋ*  
 1S move-IMPF-1S.PRO  
 'I walk.' (S)

(b) *naŋ wfiɑ-dʌ-l*  
 2S move-2PRO-IMPF  
 'You walk.' (S)

(c) *ho-se wfiɑ-le*  
 D.DEM-DEF move-IMPF  
 'He walks.' (S)

(23) (a) *ŋɑ wfiɑ-le*  
 1S move-IMPF  
 'I walk.' (T)

(b) *naŋ-ko wfiɑ-le*  
 2S-HON move-IMPF  
 'You walk.' (T)

(c) *ho-se-ko wfiɑ-le*  
 D.DEM-DEF-HON move-IMPF  
 'He walks.' (T)

### 11.3.3 Transitive clauses

Transitive clauses are those with a transitive verb, including those with vestigial transitivity finals *-t* and *-k* ((26)) (see §4.2.1), and at least two arguments: A and O (subject and patient) in that order. Agents, like the S-argument of an intransitive clause, exhibit the qualities of subjects: they are clause-initial and topical. In Syangja dialect, agents are consistently ergative ((24)). In Tanahu, agents are in ergative case in the perfective aspect only ((25)). The patient is in absolutive case unless it is a primary object, one which is high on the animacy hierarchy; these arguments are in dative case. Primary object marking is discussed in §3.4.1.5.1.

(24) (a) *ŋɑ-e lfiŋ ŋɑ-ke-t-a-aŋ*  
 1S-ERG stone 1PRO-move-TR-IMPF-PST-1PRO  
 'I moved the stone.' (S)

(b) *ŋɑ-e dfiwaŋ ŋɑ-kwa-k-a-aŋ*  
 1S-ERG hole 1PRO-dig-ICAUS-PST-1PRO  
 'I dug a hole.' (S)



(25) (a) *ŋa-e*      *lfiuŋ*                      *ke-t-a*  
 1S              stone                              move-TR-PST  
 'I moved the stone.' (T)

(b) *ŋa-e*                      *dfiwaŋ*                      *kwa-k-a*  
 1S-ERG                      hole                              dig-ICAUS-PST-1PRO  
 'I dug a hole.' (T)

As noted, objects are not indexed on the verb in either Magar dialect; thus there is no difference in the agreement morphology between intransitive and transitive verbs, as seen in the contrasts in (26).

(26) (a) *ŋa-e*                      *ho-se-ke*                      *ŋa-dathup-a-aŋ*  
 1S-ERG                      D.DEM-DEF-PL-DAT                      1PRO-hit-PST-1PRO  
 'I hit him.' (S)

(b) *ŋa*                      *ŋa-mis-a-aŋ*  
 1S                      1PRO-sleep-PST-1PRO  
 'I slept.' (S)

(c) *ŋa-e*                      *ho-se-ke*                      *dun-a*  
 1S-ERG                      D.DEM-DEF-PL-DAT                      hit-PST  
 'I hit him.' (T)

(d) *ŋa*      *mis-a*  
 1S      sleep-PST  
 'I slept.' (T)

#### 11.3.4 Ditransitive clauses

A ditransitive clause has three arguments: an agent, a patient and a recipient (a subject and two objects). In these clauses, the agent is in ergative case, the patient is in the unmarked absolutive case and the recipient (a benefactor or malefactor) is in the dative case. Prototypically ditransitive clauses are formed with verbs such as *yafi* 'give' ((27)), *kas* 'feed' ((28)), *de ~ te* 'tell' ((29)) and *ka* 'put' ((30)).

(27) (a) *ram-e*                      *kumari-ke*                      *gyok*      *yafi-a*  
 Ram-ERG                      Kumari-DAT                      basket      give-PST  
 'Ram gave a basket to Kumari.'

(b) *ho-se-ko-e*            *daktor-ke poisa yafi-ke ja*  
 D.DEM-DEF-PL-ERG    doctor-DAT money give-NOM EMPH

*paɾ-di-s-le*  
 must-LN-ITR-IMPF  
 'They must pay the doctor money.' (L.22 S)

(28) *moi-e*            *mi-ja-ke*            *dut kas-a*  
 mother-ERG            POSS-child-DAT    milk feed-PST  
 'Mother fed milk to her child.'

(29) *ŋa-e*            *chiniŋ naŋ-ko-ke*    *hi ahan*            *set-le-aŋ*  
 1S-ERG    today    2-PL-DAT            what story            tell-IMPF-1PRO

*te-ahaŋ*            *kauwa ra*            *uruwa*  
 say-COND    crow    and    owl  
 'Today, what story will I tell to you? What about 'The crow and the owl'. (W.01 S)

(30) *ra*            *rokotyak-ke*    *cahin sisi-aŋ*            *ka-mo*            *da-ma*            *le-a*  
 and    frog-DAT            well    bottle-LOC put-SEQ    put-NOM IMPF-PST  
 'And the frog, well, having been put in a bottle was kept (there). (A.A. 003T)

As seen above, the unmarked constituent order is: Agent + Recipient + Patient. The order iconically underscores the higher status on the animacy hierarchy of the recipient, which precedes the patient. If both objects are equally high on the animacy scale; for example two humans, both will generally not be dative marked. The recipient will still precede the patient, as in (31), but will be in a locative case.

(31) (a) *ram-e*            *ho-se-tuŋ*            *ŋa-ke*            *binfi-a*  
 Ram ERG    D.DEM-DEF-ADS 1S-DAT    send-PST  
 'Ram sent me to him.' (S)

(b) *ram-e*            *ho-se-lak*            *ŋa-ke*            *binfi-a*  
 Ram ERG    D.DEM-DEF-CIR    1S-DAT    send-PST  
 'Ram sent me to him.' (T)

(c) *ram*            *ho-se-lak*            *ŋa-ke*            *binfi-le*  
 Ram            D.DEM-DEF-CIR    1S-DAT    send-IMPF  
 'Ram sends me to him.' (T)

### 11.3.5 Benefactives and malefactiveives

The verb *yafi* give is used to form benefactives (32) and malefactiveives (33). In these constructions, the benefit or harm is a noun or nominalization with *-mΛ*. The verb *yafi* is clause-final and finite. The benefactor is in ergative case and precedes the beneficiary, who/which is in dative case. Unlike its meaning in ditransitives, in benefactives and malefactiveives, the verb *yafi* has a grammaticalized meaning and auxiliary function as in (33c) wherein the owl does not literally snap off the crow's wings and then give them to him, the wings are snapped off to his detriment. LaPolla (2003:33) has observed a parallel grammaticalized use of the verb 'give' in the following languages: Jingphaw (*ʃa*), Tamang (*pin*), Tsamgla (*bi*), Camling (*bi*), Belhare (*per*), Lahu (*pi*).

(32) (a) *moi-e           pariwar-ke   lfiŋ   lfiŋ-mΛ   yafi-a*  
 mother-ERG   family-DAT   song   sing-NOM   give-PST  
 'Mother sang a song for her family.' (L.47)

(b) *srijana-e   boi-ke   caha   khas-mΛ   yafi-a*  
 Srijana-ERG   father-DAT   tea   prepare-NOM   give-PST  
 'Srigana made tea for father.' (L.44)

(33) (a) *bfiaryak-bfiaryak   yafi-mΛ   le-a   ki   ma-yafi-mΛ   le-a*  
 ONO-ONO                   give-NOM IMPF-PST   or   NEG-give- NOM IMPF-PST  
 'Had you been swatting at (the wasp) or not?'

(b) *ma-yafi-mΛ   le-a*  
 NEG-give- NOM IMPF-PST  
 'Not (batting) at it.' (B. 015 - B. 016T)

(c) *uruwa-e           ho-se           kauwa-ko-uŋ   mi-khar   bfiΛr   cetek   cetek*  
 owl-ERG   D.DEM-DEF   crow-PL-GEN   POSS-wing full   ONO   ONO

*bfiarafi-mΛ           yafi-le-sa*  
 snap-NOM           give-IMPF-INFR

'The owl chopped off the crow's wings, evidently, he had snapped them right off for him.' (DD.019S)

### 11.3.7 Causative clauses

The clauses treated in this chapter express single events. Semantically causatives may be regarded as involving at two events: that performed by the causer and that performed by the causee. Nonetheless, the causative is described in this chapter because in Magar causation is morphological; i.e. the two events are expressed with a single finite verb (see also §4.3.1 for a discussion of causative morphology).

The causative increases valence of a clause, that is, it increases the number of participants expressed explicitly in the clause (not necessarily the number of events). It does so by adding an additional causer. The causative has a minimum array of three arguments and a maximum array of five arguments within a single clause. The participants include: 1. a causer (an agent of cause), who coerces a causee; 2. up to two additional causers (who are also causees); 3. an ultimate causee who is the coerced endpoint; in addition, a causative clause may include an object, as in (34).

(34) *bhim-e manas-ke kumari-ke jaja-ke cho*  
 Bhim-ERG Manas-DAT Kumari-DAT child-child-DAT meal

***kas-ak-ak-a***

feed-CAUS-CAUS-PST

'Bhim made Manas make Kumari feed the child a meal.'

If a further argument (another causer) is added, the causative becomes a combination of morphological causative and a periphrastic construction formed with the verb *birfin* 'send' in the matrix clause. In this construction, 'send' has a grammaticalized meaning of 'cause', as in (35).

(35) (a) *moi-e bhim-ke manas-ke kumari-ke mi-ja-ja-ke cho*  
 mother-ERG Bhim-ERG Manas-DAT Kumari-DAT child-child-DAT meal

***kas-ak-ak-ke***

feed-CAUS-CAUS-NOM

***birfin-a***

send-PST

'Mother made Bfim make Manas make Kumari feed the child a meal.'

(b) *boi-e moi-ke bfoya-ke daje-ke kutumba-ke rfiā*  
 father-ERG mother-DAT brother.in.law-DAT older.brother-DAT priest-DAT goat

*yafi-ak-ak-ke birfin-a*  
 give-CAUS-CAUS-NOM send-PST

'Father made mother make brother-in-law make younger brother give the priest a goat.'

When valence is increased by adding an argument, there is a corresponding change in case from ergative to dative case as causers are 'demoted' to causees. The ultimate causer is always in ergative case, as in (36).

(36) (a) *nani-e cho phin-a*  
 Little.sister-ERG rice.meal cook-PST  
 'Kali cooked a meal.'

(b) *kali-e nani-ke cho phin-ak-a*  
 Kali-ERG nani-DAT rice.meal cook-CAUS-PST  
 'Bfim made Kali cook a meal.'

(c) *bfim-e kali-ke nani-ke cho phin-ak-ak-a*  
 Bhim-ERG Kali-DAT younger.sister-DAT rice.meal cook-CAUS-CAUS-PST  
 'Bfim made Kali make younger sister cook a meal.'

The Magar causative construction conforms to Givón's (1990:556) observations on structural and conceptual integration and to Haiman's (1980:781-819) observations on structural distance in causatives; meaning that the number of syllables or segments is iconically related to the conceptual distance between the cause and the effect. In Magar, the number of morphemes in the causative construction is straightforwardly reduplicated with each additional participant and as increasingly more conceptually complex and indirect causatives are formed.

### 11.3.8 Detransitivized clauses

Syangja Magar has a detransitivizing morpheme *-cis*. This morpheme is not attested in Tanahu dialect. The morpheme *-cis* performs the function of encoding resultatives. Resultatives as defined by Nedjalkov and Jaxontov (1988:21) encode "a state that results from a previous action (and) is experienced either by the underlying subject of an intransitive action or the underlying object (patient) of a transitive action". Depending on the transitivity of the verb, resultatives have two main semantic types: 1. subject-oriented resultatives (also called S-resultatives) and 2. object-oriented- resultatives (also called patient-oriented-resultatives or P-resultatives) (Comrie 1981:68-70; Haspelmath, König, Oesterreicher and Raible 2001: 928)<sup>2</sup>. Magar evinces both types. The subject of a P-resultative corresponds to the patient (object) of a base verb and the verb is detransitivized by *-cis*. S-resultatives, on the other hand, are formed from intransitive verbs, also with *-cis*, and retain the original subject.

The morpheme *-cis* is suffixed directly to the verb stem. Verbs, with *-cis*, are finite; they take tense, aspect and mood inflections. However, they are not pronominalized, i.e. they do not bear subject-verb agreement as non-resultative verbs would do, this is demonstrated in the contrasts in (37) - (42) see also §4.3.2.1.

(37) (a) *rfa-ke khor-aŋ a-tun-cis-e*  
 goat-DAT pen-LOC IRR-close-DTR-IRR  
 'The goat might be closed in the pen (by me).' (S)

(b) *ŋa-e rfa-ke khor-aŋ a-tun-e-na*  
 1S-ERG goat-DAT pen-LOC IRR-close-IRR-1PRO  
 'I might close the goat in the pen.' (S)

<sup>2</sup> Subject-oriented resultatives may be sub-divided into two types: those derived from intransitive verbs and those derived from transitive, the latter are called possessive-resultatives and A-oriented resultatives (Comrie 1981:68-70; Haspelmath et. al. 2001: 928); such resultatives are less common cross-linguistically.

- (38) (a) *gwa-ke gho-cis-a*  
bird-DAT catch-PST-1PRO  
'The chicken was caught (by me).' (S)
- (b) *ŋa-e gwa-ke ŋa-gho-a-aŋ*  
1S-ERG Bird-DAT 1PRO-catch-PST-1PRO  
'I caught the chicken.' (S)
- (39) (a) *mi-ja-ko-ke kas-cis-le*  
POSS-child-PL-DAT feed-DTR-PST  
'The children are fed (by us).' (S)
- (b) *kan-ko-e mi-ja-ko-ke ka-kas-le-as*  
1P.PL-ERG POSS-child-PL-DAT 1P.PRO- feed-IMP-1P.PRO  
'We feed the children.' (S)
- (40) (a) *kan-ko a-tak-rafi-cis-e*  
1P-PL IRR-reach-come-DTR-IRR  
'We might get there.' (S)
- (b) *kan-ko a-tak-rafi-e-ij*  
1P-PL IRR-reach-come-IRR-1P.PRO  
'We might arrive.'
- (41) (a) *kan-ko mfiuŋ-cis-le*  
1P-PL tire-DTR-PST  
'We get tired.' (S)
- (b) *kan-ko mfiuŋ-le-ij*  
1P-PL tire-DTR-PST-1P.PRO  
'We tired.' (S)
- (42) (a) *kan-ko nuŋ-cis-a*  
1P-PL go-DTR-PST  
'We are gone.' (S)
- (b) *kan-ko ka-nuŋ-a-as*  
1P-PL 1P.PRO-go-PST-1P.PRO.PL  
'We went.' (S)

In the foregoing examples of the resultative, the underlying agent of P-resultatives and actor of S-resultatives have all been first-person. This is not happenstance, Magar generally (but, not without exception, as is discussed below) restricts a resultative actor to first-person with specific and definite reference (As noted in §4.3.2.1, Kham and Nepali

have a similar restriction). In S-resultative constructions the subject and first person; second- and third-person are unacceptable ((43)) and the subject is overt. In P-resultatives, the notional agent is unstated, but is understood to be first-person. Further examples of understood first person P-resultatives follow in (44) and (45).

(43) \*(a) *naŋ nuŋ-cis-a*  
 2S go-DTR-PST  
 'You are gone.'

\*(b) *ho-se nuŋ-cis-a*  
 D.DEM go-DTR-PST  
 'He is gone.'

(44) (a) *ku-se-ku-se-e*                      *raksi*                      *dumfi-ak-a*  
 INTRG-DEF-INTRG-DEF-ERG    alcohol                      finish-CAUS-PST  
 'Which one finished off the raksi?'

(b) *raksi dumfi-ak-cis-a*  
 alcohol finish-CAUS-DTR-PST  
 'The raksi was finished (by me).' (S)

(c) \**ram-e raksi dumfi-ak-cis-a*  
 Ram-ERG alcohol finish-CAUS-DTR-PST  
 'The raksi was finished by Ram.'

(d) *ram-e raksi dumfi-ak-a*  
 Ram-ERG alcohol finish-CAUS-PST  
 'Ram finished the raksi.'

(45) (a) *chelfies-aŋ langfia-ŋ dasain-aŋ buli gota wak*  
 this.year-LOC village-LOC Dasain-LOC four NHUM.CL pig

*dathyak-cis-a*  
 behead-DTR-PST

'This year, in the village, at dasian, four pigs were beheaded (by us).'

(b) *kat gwa-ke rA dathyak-mA bfiya-cis-mA nA le*  
 one chicken-DAT and behead-NOM finish-DTR-NOM EMPH IMPF  
 'One chicken has also been beheaded (by us).'

(c) *sat-dekhiŋ i-ca-o sya langfia-li-ko-ke puŋ-cis-le*  
 kill-from P.DEM-ATT-GEN flesh villager-ASC-PL-DAT divide.equally-DTR-IMPF  
 'After it is killed, its flesh is divided equally among the villagers (by us).'

(R.14S)



(d) *ho-laŋ*     *mʌgar*     *dfut*     *ŋak-cis-le*     *tʌrʌ*  
 D.DEM.LOC   Magar     language     talk-DTR-IMPF     but

*mʌgar dfut*     *laŋgʃia-aŋ-o*     *sipal-aŋ*     *mʌgar*     *dfut*  
 Magar   language     village-LOC-GEN     school-LOC     Magar     language

***ma-pafi-ak-cis-le***

NEG-learn-CAUS-DTR-IMPF

'There, the Magar language is spoken (by us); but the Magar language is not taught in our village schools (by us).' (S)

Properties of resultatives and passives have been observed to overlap cross-linguistically (Nedjalkov and Jaxontov 1988:46-47; Haspelmath, König, Oesterreicher and Raible 2001: 928). The contrasts above ((37)-(40)) demonstrate that Magar patient-oriented-resultatives resemble passives. In both constructions, the actor (subject) corresponds to the patient (object); the patient is foregrounded and the agent is omitted. However, the presense of S-resultatives, formed from intransitive verbs, with subject as actor, argues against a passive interpretation. Still, as will be discussed below, there is evidence that Magar may be extending the semantic and syntactic fields of its resultative and developing passive-like constructions under the influence of Nepali.

Subject-resultatives, like patient-resultatives, contrast with non-resultatives as seen above in (40)-(42). In subject-resultatives, the state of the subject presupposes an action of which that state is the logical consequence. For example in (40) the meaning is 'We left (therefore) we are gone'. Because the agent is first-person, the resultative can also have a reflexive-like interpretation; for example, (41a), implies 'We got there (by virtue of our efforts)' and (42a) '(We performed an act thus) we are tired.' S-resultatives can also have a connotation of willfulness and/or negative consequence. In this respect, the Magar S-resultative also resembles the so-called 'adversative-passive' in Japanese ((46)), which is also formed with intransitive verbs and has a reflexive-like meaning.

Japanese (Payne 1997:208)

- (46) *taro-ga tomodachi-ni ki-rare-ta*  
 Taro-NOM friend-OBL come-PASS-PST  
 'Taro's friend arrived (to his disadvantage).'

The S-resultative also resembles the catalytic passive of English, which has a reflexive meaning (Noonan 1994:7.1); for example, 'She got (herself) arrested.' Both of these passives-types imply that the actor catalyzed or undertook an action of which s/he became the undergoer. This can also be the case in Magar S-resultatives; for example (47).

- (47) *ŋa mfiordi-cis-a*  
 1S drunk-DTR-PST  
 'I (myself) got drunk.' (S)

An adversative interpretation is not necessary (nor is it in a catalytic passive, e.g. 'She got accepted at Brown.'). The following (48) combines both a P-resultative and reflexive-like S-resultative and has a positive interpretation.

- (48) *kan-ko-e i-laŋ im khas-cis-le ra mu-cis-le*  
 2-PL-ERG P.DEM-LOC house build-ITR-COP and sit-ITR-COP  
 'A house will be built (by us) and we get to live in it.' (S)

The reflexive implication of subjective resultatives suggests a possible origin for at least part of the morpheme *-cis*. The final *-s* in *-cis* is likely the PTB reflexive, \**-si*, which would have been recycled and recast as a detransitivizing morpheme now marking resultant states. The initial part of the morpheme may be a verb in serial relation to the stem, not unlike the serialized resultative verbs of Chinese (Thompson 1973). This PTB reflexive, \**-si*, has also been proposed as the origin for the middle marker *-fi*. Both the middle and the resultative can have a reflexive meaning, but a middle event is spontaneous; whereas a resultative event is a consequence of a previous action or process.

There is further evidence that the Magar resultative is taking on the semantics and syntax of a passive in P-resultatives. For example, unstated first person agents in P-resultatives can be conceived of, not only specifically and definitely as in the examples above, but generically, giving the construction the sense of an impersonal passive, as in (49). Examples in (50) demonstrate that these are very likely calques from Nepali.

(49) (a) *tihar-aŋ      baʃar -aŋ      batti      daŋ-cis-le*  
 Tihar-LOC      bazaar-LOC      lamp      see-DTR-IMPF  
 'Lamps are seen in the city at Tihar.' (S)

(b) *baʃal-iŋ      raʃsi      ga-cis-le*  
 bottle-ABL      raksi      drink-DTR-IMPF  
 'Raksi is drunk from the bottle.' (S)

(50) (a) *tihar-ko      bela baʃar -ma      batti      bal-eko      dekh-in-cha*  
 tihar-GEN      time bazaar-LOC      lamp      light-PROG      see-DTR-IMPF  
 '(Lit) Lamps are seen in the city at Tihar.' (N)

(b) *raʃsi      baʃal-bat      piu-in-cha*  
 raksi      bottle-ABL      drink-DTR-IMPF  
 'Raksi is drunk from the bottle.' (N)

Moreover, there are examples of *-cis* with a second- or third-person agents, which is atypical of Magar. These constructions are not considered acceptable by all speakers. They are also closely aligned to the so-called Nepali passive, which has no person restrictions. These constructions suggest that what was originally simply a resultative is being co-opted into service as a passive under the influence of Nepali. Compare the following from Magar ((51 a, b)) and Nepali ((52a, b)).

(51) (a) *nepal-aŋ      sarkhari kaaryaalaya-aŋ      ku-se-i      dʃut      ŋak-cis-le*  
 Nepal-LOC      official      office-LOC      INTRG-DEF-FOC      language      speak-DTR-IMPF  
 'In the Nepali government offices what language is spoken (by you / by them)?'(S)

(b) *nepali      dʃut      ŋak-cis-le*  
 Nepali      language      speak-DTR-IMPF  
 'Nepali language is spoken (by us / by them).' (S)

(52) (a) *nepal-ko sakhari kaaryaalaya-hurumaa kun bfiiasaa bol-in-cha*  
 Nepal-LOC official office -LOC which language speak-DTR-IMPF  
 'In the Nepali government offices what language is spoken (by you / by them)?'(N)

(b) *nepali bfiiasaa bol-in-cha*  
 Nepali language speak-DTR-IMPF  
 'Nepali language is spoken (by us / by them).' (N)

Nedjalkov and Jazontov (1988:46) posit that in languages where the categories, passive and resultative are related, the resultative is older than the passive. They state that "This course of evolution seems natural because the resultative meaning is more concrete." (1988:49); they cite Comrie, according to whom, ancient passives have a stative meaning (in Nedjalkov and Jazontov's, terms a resultative meaning). Thus the development in Magar is diachronically plausible.

As noted, the morpheme-*cis* is not attested in Tanahu. In this dialect, other means are used to express resultative senses; for example the sense of a P-resultative can be approximated by a change in word order to pragmatically topicalize the patient ((53)) or a completative construction may be used ((54)). The catalytic sense of an S-resultative would be conveyed by reflexive and causative ((55)).

(53) (a) *gwa-ke kan-ko-e sat-a*  
 bird-DAT 2P-PL-ERG kill-PST  
 'The chicken, we killed (it).' (T)

cf.

(b) *kan-ko-e gwa-ke sat-a*  
 2p-PL-ERG bird-DAT kill-PST  
 'We killed the chicken' (T)

(54) *beskam jya-ma bfiya-a*  
 bread eat-NOM finish-NOM IMPF  
 'The bread has been eaten.' (T)

(55) *ŋa ŋa-lafi-ke mfiorni-ak-a*  
 1S 1S-self-DAT drunk-CAUS-PST  
 'I made myself drunk.' (T)

#### 11.4 Copular verbs and clauses

Magar has three copular verbs; two are stative: *le* and *ale*, and the third, *chanfi* is a change of state copula. The function of the copula is to link two arguments, or to link an argument to a state or location. In addition to their functions as linking verbs, *le* and *chanfi* have fully independent meanings. The copula *ale* has no independent function. As a full verb *le*, means 'exist' and 'have' ((56)). The copula *chanfi* has a variety of meanings: 'be born' ((57)), 'become' ((58)), 'happen' ((59)) and 'come together' ((60)). The copula *chanfi* is also used in experiential constructions ((61)) and can express advisability and obligation ((63)) (see also §5.3.2.3). In Syangja dialect which has pronominal verb agreement, *chanfi* as a full verb exhibits verb agreement (58); in its copular function there is no agreement.

- (56) *ŋa-o nŋis ja-ja le*  
 IS-GEN two child-child be  
 'I have two children.' (lit. 'My two children are.')
- (57) (a) *ŋa harkapur-aŋ chanfi-a*  
 IS Harkapur-LOC born-PST  
 'I was born in Harkapur.' (T)
- (b) *ŋa ŋa-chanfi-a-aŋ*  
 IS IPRO-become-PST-IPRO  
 'I was born.' (S)
- (c) *kaŋ-ko ka-chanfi-a-as*  
 1P-PL IPRO-become-PST-IPRO  
 'We were born.' (S)
- (d) *naŋ na-chanfi-a*  
 2S 2PRO-become-PST  
 'You were born.' (S)
- (e) *naŋ-ko na-chanfi-a-as*  
 2-PL 2PRO-become-PST-2PRO  
 'You were born.' (S)
- (f) *ho-se chanfi-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF become-PST  
 '(S)he was born.' (S)
- (g) *ho-se-ko chanfi-kaŋ*  
 D.DEM-DEF-PL become-PST  
 'They were born.' (S)
- (58) (a) *pŋyardia-o kat maha-ja lama-ni chanfi-ma le maŋ*  
 Panyardi-GEN one young.female-child priest-FM become-NOM IMPF truly  
 'A woman from Panyardi became a priest, truly.' (Q.Q.044S)

(b) *ho-ta chanfi-le ta cituwa chanfi-mo*  
 D.DEM-MNR become-IMPF REP tiger become-SEQ

*wfia-naj rΛ chanfi-cΛ-o chanfi-mo*  
 walk-SIM and become-ATT-GEN become-SEQ

'They say that when this happens, having become a tiger, one continues as one has become, so it is.' (T.T. 021S)

(c) *bfiarmi chanfi-cΛ te-ahañ i-dik lfiot-mo me-me le ta*  
 man become-ATT say-COND P.DEM-QUANT long-SEQ POSS-tail COP REP

*a-se mferfi-le ta*  
 R.DEM-DEF grow-IMPF REP

'They say that if he becomes a man, his tail will be this long. They say it will grow.' (T.T.023S)

(d) *ho-se bacch-i ma-lofi-mo dekhij ña-ke dferai chanfi-mΛ le*  
 D.DEM-DEF calf-FM NEG-discard from IS-DAT many become-NOM IMPF  
 'After not being able to get rid of the female calf, it is becoming too much for me.' (K.K. 058S)

(e) *ho lasargfia-lak-ij rak-cΛ kat sai pacas a-u-le-e-a*  
 D.DEM Lasargfia-CIR-ABL bring-ATT one hundred fifty IRR-COP-IRR-PST

*chiniñ pihin mahunço chanfi-mΛ-le*  
 today tomorrow expensive become-NOM-IMPF

'We brought it from around Lasargha. It may have been one hundred fifty (rupees). Nowadays it is becoming expensive.' (K.K.017S)

(59) (a) *ban pa-di-s-cyo bedana-ko ku-ta*  
 mystical.arrow.curse want-LN-ITR-ATT procedure-PL how-MNR

*ku-ta jat-mo a-chanfi-e*  
 how-MNR do-SEQ IRR-become-IRR

'These are the ways a mystical arrow curse might happen.' (E.021T)

(b) *ho-ta-i rΛ mu-o le-a ta kat-yak jΛ*  
 D.DEM-MNR-FOC and sit-MIR IMPF-PST REP one-day EMPH

*hi chanfi-le-sa rokotyak jΛ gekherek si-le-sa ta*  
 what happen-IMPF-INFR frog EMPH ONO die-IMPF-INFR REP

'Then, one day, what evidently happened? They say the rokotyak apparently just stiffened and died.' (G.G.019S)

(60) (a) *ho-se-i rafi-cyo bela-aŋ dulfa-o im-aŋ dulfa-dulfi*  
 D.DEM-DEF-FOC come-ATT time-LOC groom-GEN house-LOC groom-bride

*sigar-di-s-mo sigar-paŋar chanfi-a ra jamfi-mo*  
 adorn-LN-ITR-SEQ adornment become-PST and assemble-SEQ

*lokonda-lokondi chanfi-le*  
 groomsman-bridesmaid become-IMPF

'When the time comes, at the groom's house, the groom and bride, being adorned, they come together with a groomsman and bridesmaid.' (EE.002T)

(b) *didi-ko rafi-nis didi didi hi chanfi-ca le-a*  
 sister-HON come-HON sister sister what become-ATT IMPF-PST

*i-lak rafi-nis na ŋa-te-a-aŋ*  
 P.DEM-CIR come-IMP.HON EMPH 1PRO-say-PST-1PRO

'To my elder sisters I said "Hey elder sister, elder sister what is happening, please come here".' (M.M.004S)

(c) *i-lak ra ho-ta ja chanfi-ma-le maŋ nani*  
 P.DEM-CIR and D.DEM-MNR EMPH become-NOM-IMPF truly younger.sister

*bfiuincal te-le-ko maŋ aru-ko-e te-ca*  
 earthquake say- COP-PL truly remain-HON-ERG say-ATT

'The same thing is happening here too, truly, younger-sister, they say that it is an earthquake!' (M.M.022S)

(61) (a) *naŋ-ko-ke cha chanfi-a*  
 2-HON-DAT cold become-PST  
 'You have a cold.' (lit. 'A cold has happened to you.')

(b) *ŋa-ke jora chanfi-ma le*  
 1S-DAT fever become-NOM IMPF  
 'I have a fever.' (lit. 'A fever has happened to you.')

(62) (a) *kat-yak-iŋ janai bu-ma sya jya-ke ra madda*  
 one-day-ABL sacred.thread carry-NOM flesh eat-NOM and alcohol

*ga-ke ma-chanfi-o le-a*  
 drink-NOM NEG- become-NOM IMPF-PST

'Long ago those who wore the sacred thread were not to eat meat or drink alcohol.'

Copular verbs are virtually always used in the following clause types: predicate nominal, attributive, locational, possessive and existential. The copula *ale* is used only in

predicate-nominal clauses. In Tanahu dialect, *ale* is used only in the non-past tense, and *le* is used in past-tense predicate-nominal clauses. The copula *le*, clearly related to *ale*, is used in all past-tense stative copular clauses and in attributive, locational, possessive and existential constructions. Cross-linguistically, it is common for copular verbs to grammaticalize and to function as auxiliaries; this is true of *le* which also functions as an auxiliary signalling the imperfective aspect (see §5.2.2).

#### 11.4.1 Stative copulas

Stative copulas are used in predicate-nominal, predicate-locative, possessive, existential and presentative constructions; each is described below.

##### 11.4.1.1 Predicate-nominal constructions

The copula *ale* is used to express both equation and proper inclusion. In equative constructions the copula signifies that the two nominals are identical or equal, as in (63). Proper inclusion constructions signify that a specific entity belongs to the larger class in the predication, as in (63d) - (63f). As noted, in Tanahu dialect, *ale* is used only in non-past copular equational clauses as the contrasts in (64) and (65) demonstrate. Predicate nominal constructions are schematized [NP NP COP].

(63) (a) *ŋa-o armin dhanendra rana ale ŋa syangja mu-le-aŋ*  
 1S-GEN name Dhanendra Rana COP 1S Syangja sit-IMPF-PRO  
 'My name is Dhanendra Rana. I live in Syangja.' (S)

(b) *laksmi ŋa-o natini ale*  
 Laxmi 1S-GEN granddaughter COP  
 'Laxmi is my granddaughter. (I.01T)

(c) *ho-se-i lis-cyo mŋan ale*  
 D.DEM-DEF-FOC be heavy-ATT woven.shoulder.bag COP  
 'That is a heavy bag.'



(d) *magar-ko nepal-uj khayak-uj bformi-ko ale*  
 Magar-PL Nepal-GEN ancient.days-GEN person-PL COP  
 'Magars are an ancient aboriginal tribe of Nepal.'

(e) *magar-ko mongolia-uj ale*  
 Magar-PL Mongolia-GEN COP  
 'Magars are Mongolian.'

(f) *cek-tar raithania-ko magar limbu tamañ guruñ sunwar ale*  
 some-LAT aboriginal.tribe-PL Magar Limbu Tamang Gurung Sunwar COP  
 'Some of the aboriginal tribes are Magar, Limbu, Tamang, Gurung and Sunwar.'

(64) (a) *maya thapa rup-cyo bformi ale*  
 Maya Thapa sew-ATT person COP  
 'Maya Thapa is a seamstress.'

(b) *maya thapa rup-cyo bformi le-a*  
 Maya Thapa sew-ATT person COP-PST  
 'Maya Thapa was a seamstress.' (T)

(c) *maya thapa rup-cyo bformi ale-a*  
 Maya Thapa sew-ATT person COP-PST  
 'Maya Thapa was a seamstress.' (S)

(d) *i-se bformi lama ale*  
 P.DEM-DEF person priest COP  
 'This man is a Buddhist priest.'

(f) *i-se bformi lama le-a*  
 P.DEM-DEF person priest COP-PST  
 'This man was a Buddhist priest.' (T)

(g) *i-se bformi lama ale-a*  
 P.DEM-DEF person priest COP-PST  
 'This man was a Buddhist priest.' (S)

(65) (a) *kat-yak-ij mAgar-ko buyar puja jat-cyo bformi-ko le-a*  
 One-day-ABL Magar-PL buyar worship do-ATT people-PL COP-PST  
 'Long ago the Magar were buyar (mountain god) worshipping people.' (T)

(b) *kat-yak-ij mAgar-ko buyar puja jat-cyo bformi-ko ale-a*  
 One-day-ABL Magar-PL buyar worship do-ATT people-PL COP-PST  
 'Long ago the Magar were buyar (mountain god) worshipping people.' (S)

The negative of the *ale* is irregular *mafi-ale*. The initial morpheme *mafi* is a breathy variant of the negative prefix *ma-* and *ale* is the copula ((66)) (Takale Kham also has a

similarly irregular negative equative *ma:hke* also with breathy phonation (Watters 2002:217), Chantyal has a negative *fiə*, in which the initial nasal has yielded to murmur completely (Noonan personal communication, Oct. 2008)). The negative of *le* is regular, as seen in (67).

(66) (a) *ho-se bfiormi lama mafi-ale*  
 D.DEM-DEF person priest NEG.COP  
 'That man is not a Buddhist priest.' (I.07 T)

(b) *katyak dasain magar-kuj calan mafi-ale-a*  
 One-day Dasain Magar-GEN tradition NEG-COP-PST  
 'Once Dasain was not a Magar tradition.'

(c) *ŋa kat Magar mafi-ale*  
 1S one Magar NEG-COP  
 'I am not a Magar.'

(d) *ho-se-o lenja-o armin tul ale santa mafi-ale*  
 1S-DEF-GEN male.youth-GEN name Tul COP Santa NEG-COP  
 'Her husband's name is Tul, not Santa.'

(67) *tul i-laj ma-le*  
 Tul P.DEM-LOC NEG-COP  
 'Tul is not here.'

The irrealis copula is also irregular, both when functioning as a main verb and as an auxiliary; it is *ule* ((68)). In Tanahu dialect, this irrealis auxiliary is not used in continuous aspect (see §5.12) rather *ŋu*, the grammaticalized verb 'sit' has an auxiliary function ((69)). The verb 'sit' functions as an auxiliary in other progressive aspects as well (see §5.2.2.2.3). Syangja attests continuous forms with both 'sit', which in Syangja dialect is *mu*, and *ule* ((70)).

(68) *thapa i-laj a-ule-e* [*>aule*]  
 Thapa P.DEM-LOC IRR-COP-IRR  
 'Thapa may be here.'

(69) *ho-se-ko-e wak jya-mΛ a-ŋu-e*  
 D.DEM-DEF-PL-ERG pig eat-NOM IRR-sit-IRR  
 'They may be eating pork.'

(70) (a) *ho-se-ko-e wak jya-mΛ a-mu-e*  
 D.DEM-DEF-PL-ERG pig eat-NOM IRR-sit-IRR  
 'They may be eating pork.'

(b) *ho-se-ko-e wak jya-mΛ a-u-le-e* [*>jyamaule*]  
 D.DEM-DEF-PL-ERG pig eat-NOM IRR-sit-IRR  
 'They may be eating pork.'

The negative irrealis is also irregular in both dialects: *mi-* not *ma-*, as in (71).

(71) (a) *thapa i-laŋ mi-u-le-e* [*> mi<sup>2</sup>ale*]  
 Thapa P.DEM-LOC NEG.IRR-COP-IRR  
 'Thapa may not be here.' (T)

(b) *i-se-i bfiormi dΛktor mi-u-le-e*  
 P.DEM-DEF-FOC person doctor NEG.IRR-COP-IRR  
 'This man may not be a doctor.' (S)

#### 11.4.1.2 Attributive construction

Attributive construction are those in which the predicate is an adjective ((72)) or adjectival, i.e nominalized with the attributive marker *-cyo ~ -cΛ* ((73)). The construction of these clauses is essentially the same as that of the equative nominal predicates: [NP AP COP]; however, unlike nominal predicates, the copula is *le*.

(72) (a) *i-sa-i im minam le*  
 P.DEM-DEF-FOC house new COP  
 'This house is new.'

(b) *ho-sa-i im purano le*  
 D.DEM-DEF-FOC house old COP  
 'That house is old.'

(73) (a) *nima des-cΛ le*  
 fathers.elder.sister fat-ATT COP  
 'Father's elder sister is fat.'

(b) *mi-pruŋ marfiŋ-cyo le*  
 POSS-bud delicate-ATT COP  
 'The bud is delicate.'

(c) *di chyaṅ-chyaṅ-ca le*  
 water clear-clear-ATT COP  
 'The water is clear.'

(d) *srijana seḥ-ca le*  
 Srijana beautiful-ATT COP  
 'Srijana is beautiful.'

Verbs nominalized with *-mΛ* (which expresses progressive aspect; see §5.2.2.2) can also present properties. The difference between attributive copular clauses and those expressed as predications with the nominalizer *-mΛ* is that the latter are less time-stable (see also §6.1), as in (74).

(74) (a) *chiniḡ di dun-mΛ le*  
 today water muddy-ATT COP  
 'Today the water is muddy.'

(b) *i-se-ko suntala ji-mΛ le*  
 P.DEM orange sweet-ATT COP  
 'These oranges are sweet.' (T)

(d) *dud byur-mΛ chanfi-le*  
 milk sour -NOM become-IMPF  
 'The milk is becoming sour.'

Magar also makes a distinction between attributes of a specific entity and attributes that hold generally for a group. This distinction is encoded in clauses with different copulas, as it is in Nepali. The copula *le* is used to present an attribute of a specific individual and *chanfi* for an attribute shared by a type; compare (73a, above) and (75) as well as the pairs in (76).

(75) *amerikan-ko des-ca chanfi-le*  
 American-PL tall-ATT become-IMPF  
 'Americans are fat.'

(76) (a) *i-se-i khursani dhierai thuk-ca le*  
 P.DEM-DEF-FOC chili very spice-ATT COP  
 'This chili pepper is very hot.'

(b) *khursani thuk-ca chanfi-le*  
 chili spice-ATT become-IMPF  
 'Chili peppers are hot.'

(c) *ho-se-i minam badfin mahalango le*  
 D.DEM-DEF-FOC new clothing expensive COP  
 'These new clothes are expensive.'

(d) *minam badfin mahalango chanfi-le*  
 new clothing expensive become-IMPF  
 'New clothes are expensive.'

#### 11.4.1.3 Predicate locative construction

The copula *le* is used in predicate locative clauses, where it combines with a locative case marked noun ((77)) or demonstrative ((78)).

(77) (a) *kat but-aŋ kauwa le-a*  
 one tree-LOC crow COP-PST  
 'A crow was in a tree.' (J.J.001S)

(b) *cyu dfiari jfiyal-aŋ na le-a*  
 dog even window-LOC EMPH COP-PST  
 'Even the dog was at the window.' (A.A.010T)

(78) (a) *thapa-o bat-bat-ya ho-laŋ le*  
 Thapa-GEN ONO-ONO-NOM D.DEM.LOC COP  
 'Thapa's motorcycle is over there.' (I.17)

(b) *me-lfiēs ŋa i-lak ŋa-le-a-aŋ*  
 POSS-year 1S P-CIR 1PRO-COP-PST-1PRO  
 'Last year, I was hereabouts.' (S)

#### 11.4.1.4 Possessive construction

When combined with a possessor in the genitive case, *le* forms a possessive clause as in (79). In Syangja dialect, the copula in combination with a possessor in the adessive also forms a possessive construction ((80)); (see §3.4.2.2.6).

(79) (a) *ŋa-o karfi-aŋ-cyo im le*  
 1S-GEN big-ATT house COP  
 'I have a big house.' (I.08)

(b) *na-ko-uŋ sefi-cyo ja-ja-ko le*  
 2S-HON-GEN beautiful-ATT child- child-PL COP  
 'You have beautiful children.' (I.10)

(c) *ŋa-o mantrai nfhis mi-hut le*  
 1S only two POSS-hand COP  
 'I have only two hands.' (I.14)

(80) (a) *raŋkwa bfiena-tuŋ le*  
 corn elder.sister's.husband-ADS COP  
 'Elder sister's husband has millet.' ~  
 'The millet is right by Elder sister's husband.' (S)

(b) *bat-bat-ya thapa-tuŋ le*  
 ONO-ONO-NOM Thapa-ADS COP  
 'Thapa has a motorcycle.' ~  
 'The motorcycle is right by Thapa.' (S)

#### 11.4.1.5 Existential and presentative constructions

The copula *le* is used in existential constructions, as in (81). However, it is more common for existentials to combine with a locative adjunct and to have a presentative rather than purely existential function, as in (82).

(81) (a) *srijana le ki ma-le*  
 Srijana COP or NEG-COP  
 'Is Srijana here or not?' (I.20)

(b) *ŋa-o lenja i-laŋ ma-le*  
 1S-GEN husband P.DEM-LOC NEG-COP  
 'My husband is not here.'

(c) *kathmandu-aŋ ku-laŋ de-ahaŋ-da cyu le*  
 Kathmandu-LOC INTRG-LOC say-COND-INDF dog COP

*kathmandu-aŋ ku-laŋ-da suthu ma-le-sa*  
 Kathmandu-LOC INTRG-LOC-INDF cat NEG-COP-INFR  
 'Although, there are dogs everywhere in Kathmandu, apparently nowhere in Kathmandu are there cats.' (Y.052)

(82) (a) *bo-cyo rfi a-lak le*  
 white-ATT goat R.DEM-CIR COP  
 'The white goat is over there somewhere.'

- (b) *ŋa-o len-ja ho-laŋ le*  
 1S-GEN young.male-child D.DEM-LOC COP  
 'My husband is there.'

#### 11.4.2 Change of state copula

In its copular function, *chanfi* equates one element to another as do *le* and *ale*, with the additional sense that the equation is the result of change. The copula *chanfi* is used in attributive clauses ((83)) and predicate nominal clauses ((84)). In the case of the latter, the nominal is often a temporal term ((85)).

- (83) (a) *naŋ-ko-uŋ angregi klas ku-dik lfiot-cyo chanfi-le*  
 2-PL-GEN English class what-QUANT long-ATT become-IMPF  
 'How long is your English class?' (lit. 'How long does your English class become?')

- (b) *kat khwa bfori chanfi-le*  
 one small.clay.pot full become-IMPF  
 'One small clay pot is (become) full.'

- (c) *ho-tak-iŋ ga-ke tayar chanfi-le*  
 D.DEM-SUP-ABL drink-NOM ready become-IMPF  
 'Then it is (become) ready to drink.' (D.26.T)

- (d) *ho-se-i puja-yafi-dekhiŋ kan-uŋ balla chiniŋ-uŋ nauami-uŋ*  
 D.DEM-DEF-FOC worship-give-from 1P-GEN finally today-GEN ninth-GEN

*din-uŋ nau-durgo cahin aci cahin sampadit chanfi-le*  
 day-GEN nine-durgo well then well accomplish happen-IMPF  
 'After giving worship, finally, today's day, the ninth day, the day of ninth goddess, Durga, well then worship is (become) accomplished.' (F.F. 013T)

- (84) (a) *pass chanfi-ca a-le-de-afiŋ fon jat-o ma-le-de-ahaŋ*  
 pass become ATT IRR-be-say-COND phone do-IMP NEG-be-say-COND

*ma-jat-o*  
 NEG-do-IMP  
 'If I it is (become) a pass, call me, if not, don't.' (J.05S)

- (c) *balla dulfi-o moi ra boi cahin bida chanfi-mo*  
 finally bride-GEN mother and father well farewell become-SEQ

*ho-tak-iŋ khyofi-le*  
 D.DEM-SUP-ABL emerge-IMPF

'Finally, the bride's mother and father, well, the farewells having happened, they come out. (E.E.030)

- (d) *patta jat-naŋ ku-dik chanfi-a*  
 all do-SIM how-QUANT become-PST  
 'How much does it (be)come (to) altogether?'

- (e) *ho-tak-ij jumfi-cyo sahak suru chanfi-nfiak-ij*  
 D.DEM-SUP-ABL cold-ATT month start become-front-ABL

*jhyabarya syafi-ak-ke suru jat-le*  
 jhyabarya dance-CAUS-NOM start do-IMPF

'Then, after the cold months start, we start to dance the Jhyabarya.' (lit. 'the start of the cold months happens') (C.012T)

- (85) (a) *tika talo jat-nfiak-ij dasami-uŋ bisarjana*  
 blessing patch do-front-ABL dasami-GEN conclusion

**chanfi-le**

become-IMPF

'After doing the tika patch, Dasami is (become) concluded.' (F.F.008T)

- (b) *pahila-ij ho-ta ja le karfiŋ-ca wak nfiŋ*  
 first-ABL D.DEM-MNR EMPH COP big-ATT pig hour

*tin barsa chanfi-a*  
 three year become-PST

'It was a big pig from the beginning and now it's going on three years.'  
 (K.K.035S)

- (c) *jfiŋ-le naŋ-ko-ke ma-dup-ca dfialij chanfi-a*  
 greet-IMPF 2-PL-DAT NEG-meet-ATT very become-PST  
 'Greetings, I haven't met you for a long time.'

- (d) *sen-ij-tak ho-da naŋ-ko-ke jaro chanfi-a*  
 when-ABL-SUP D.DEM-INDF 2-PL-DAT fever happen-PST

'Since when have you had a fever.' (lit. 'From when did the fever happen?') (T)

- (e) *nfiis hapta chanfi-a*  
 two week become-PST

'For two weeks.' (lit. 'It has become two weeks.')



### 11.5 Similitive constructions

Similitives function like equative copulas in that they link entities, but the equation is not one of identity; rather, it is one of similarity or semblance. These constructions are formed with *lekha* 'seem' ((86)); see also §6.1.2.

(86) (a) *a-se jʃal-ca ta donga gʃisar-di-naŋ lekha le-a*  
 R.DEM-DEF descend-ATT REP boat drag-LN-SIM seem COP-PST  
 'They say the descent (of the giant python) was like the dragging of a boat.'  
 (O.O 006S)

(b) *ho te-ahaŋ abo byafi ma-jat-ca lekha*  
 D.DEM say-COND now marriage NEG-do-ATT seem  
 'If that is so, it seems they will not be doing the marriage.' (K.K 044S)

(c) *chat chanfi-a lekha le pheri byafi jat-l-aŋ te-ma le*  
 on.the.contrary become-PST seem COP again marriage do-IMPF-PRO say-NOM IMPF  
 'On the contrary, it seems it will still happen, "I will marry" he was saying.'  
 (K.K.045S)

(d) *ho-ta jat-le ta ma-jofi-ca lekha le-ca*  
 D.DEM-MNR do-IMPF REP NEG-flee-ATT seem COP-ATT

*ja-ja-ko-ke ho-se-i te-dekhiŋ na le ta*  
 child-child-PL-DAT D.DEM-DEF-FOC say-from EMPH COP REP

*ra kep khwak-ke ta len-ja-ko-uŋ maha-ja-ko-uŋ*  
 and ear pierce-NOM REP young.male-child-PL-GEN young.female-child-PL-GEN

*naha khwak-ke le te-ke ledhen-e nunfi-le ta*  
 nose piece-NOM COP say-NOM mountain.spirit-ERG take-IMPF REP  
 'This is done to the children, they say, so that they will not seem like those the mountain spirit runs off. It is for this reason, the ears of the boys and the noses of the girls are pierced so that the mountain spirit will not take them, so they say.'  
 (Q.Q.002S)

(e) *ho-ta-i hi ale chena jya-ke dis rafi-a maŋ*  
 D.DEM-MNR-FOC what COP don't.know eat-NOM disgust come-PST truly

*ŋa-lofi-le-aŋ jya-ca lekha ŋa-jat-o le-aŋ*  
 1PRO-discard-IMPF-PRO eat-ATT seem 1PRO-do-HAB IMPF-PRO  
 'Then, I don't know, maybe to eat (the caterpillar) caused him disgust, truly, he said "I would throw it away, only seeming to eat it". (Q.Q.004S)

(f) *ho-se ŋar-uŋ choyo jya-cyo ŋfiət naŋ-ko-uŋ lekha le*  
 D.DEM field-GEN rice.seed eat-ATT cow 2-HON-GEN seem COP

*lAgfiar-di-ni*

chase-LN-HON.IMP

'The cow eating the rice seed in the field seems to be yours, chase (it away)!' (T)

(g) *ŋa-ko-uj mi-ja naŋ-ko lekha nA le-sa*

2-HON-GEN POSS-child 2-HON seem EMPH COP-INFR

'Your child seems to be like you.' (T)

## 11.6 Constituent order in interrogative clauses

Thus far the clauses described in this chapter have been declaratives. This section looks at the syntactic structure of interrogatives. The formation and structure of content / information questions are described here as are polar questions. However, as the latter are bi-clausal, they are also treated in §12.2.3. Polite questions are often expressed in bare nominalized constructions and are discussed in §11.7. Other non-declarative speech acts such as imperatives and hortatives are morphological are described in §4.5.1.3.3 and §4.5.1.3.4.

### 11.6.1 Content questions

Content/information questions, are formed with pronouns *su* 'who', *ku*, a general interrogative, and terms *hi* 'why' and *sen* 'when'. Interrogative pronouns are *in situ*, i.e. their position does not change from that of the referent in a statement, as demonstrated by the contrast in (87b) and (87c).

(87) (a) *su-su ale*  
 who-who COP  
 'Who is it?'

(b) *thapa ale*  
 Thapa COP  
 'Is it Thapa?'

(c) *thapa ale*  
 Thapa COP  
 'It is Thapa.'

The general interrogative pronoun, *ku*, has a variety of interpretations. In combination with definite or indefinite morphemes, *-se* and *-da*, as well as focus markers, quantifiers and qualifiers its functions are a determiner and can mean: 'which' ((88a)), 'where' ((88b)), 'how much ~ many ~ far' ((88c)), and 'what type' ((88d)) respectively.

(88) (a) *naŋ-ko-uŋ mi-ja ku-se-i ale*  
 2-PL-GEN POSS-child INTRG-DEF-FOC COP  
 'Which child is yours?'

(b) *lam ku-lak le*  
 path INTRG-CIR COP  
 'Where is the path?'

(c) *i-ta-iŋ pokhara ku-dik los-le*  
 P.DEM-SUP-ABL Pokhara INTRG-QUANT far-IMPF  
 'How far is Pokhara from here?'

(d) *ku-din-cyo suntala jak-le*  
 INTRG-QUAL-ATT orange like-IMPF  
 'What type of orange do you like?'

Questions asking 'what' ((89)) and 'why' ((90)) are formed with *hi*, and those asking 'when' are formed with *sen* ((91)). Interrogative terms directly precede the final verb.

(89) (a) *naŋ-ko-uŋ langfha-o armin hi ale*  
 2PL-PL-GEN town-GEN name what COP  
 'What is the name of your village?'

(b) *ŋa-o langfha-o armin rumsi ale*  
 1S-GEN town-GEN name Rumsi COP  
 'My village is called Rumsi.'

(90) *naŋ tisiniŋ hi chanfi-mo ma-rafi-a*  
 2S yesterday why become-SEQ NEG-come-PST  
 'Why didn't you come yesterday?' (T)

(91) *naŋ-ko im-aŋ sen nuŋ-da-nis*  
 2-PL-GEN home-LOC when go-IMPF  
 'When do you go home?' (S)

### 11.6.2 Polar questions

Polar questions can be posed in a number of ways. A question may be conveyed simply by rising intonation while preserving the syntactic structure of a statement ((92a)); hence they are noted in the context of simple clauses. However, polar questions may also be presented as positive and negative alternatives in bi-clausal constructions (which display varying degrees of completeness). These are exemplified here, but are described in §12.2.3.

(92) (a) *raŋkwa raŋ-a*  
millet colour-PST

(b) *raŋkwa raŋ-a ma-raŋ-a*  
millet colour-PST NEG- colour-PST

(c) *raŋkwa raŋ-a ki ma-raŋ-a*  
millet colour-PST or NEG- colour-PST  
Is the millet is ripe?

### 11.6.3 Topicalized interrogative constituent orders

The examples above have shown typical, unmarked constituent order in interrogatives.

Interrogatives display considerable flexibility in word order, more so than declaratives, as seen in (93) and (94). The function of these re-ordered clauses is to topicalize dislocated constituent.

(93) (a) *ram-e naŋ-ko-ke nfis batal raksi yafi-a*  
Ram-ERG 2-HON-DAT two bottle raksi give-PST  
'Did Ram give you two bottles of raksi?'

(b) *nfis batal raksi ale-a naŋ-ko-ke ram-e yafi-ca*  
two bottle raksi COP-PST 2S-HON-DAT Ram-ERG give-ATT  
'Was it two bottles of raksi that Ram gave to you?'

(c) *naŋ-ko-ke ale-a nfis batal raksi ram-e yafi-ca*  
2S-HON-DAT COP-PST two bottle raksi Ram-ERG give-ATT  
'Was it to you that Ram gave two bottles of raksi?'

(d) *nfiis batʌl rʌksi ram-e naŋ-ko-ke yaŋ-mʌ le-a*  
 two bottle raksi Ram-ERG 2S-HON-DAT give-NOM IMPF-PST  
 'Two bottles of raksi, Ram, did he give them to you?'

(94) (a) *ku-lak-iŋ wonfi-ca to sya-ko*  
 how-CIR-ABL get-ATT TAG meat-PL  
 'Where can you get it around here, eh, stuff like meat?' (K.K.016S)

(b) *ani ku-ta jat-mo rafi-a to ho-se-i argan*  
 then INTRG-MNR do-SEQ come-PST TAG D.DEM-DEF-FOC wasp  
 'If you were just carrying grass, eh?; why did it come, that wasp?' (B. 010T)

### 11.7 Bare nominalizations

Bare nominalizations are independent, non-subordinated nominalized clauses. They are found across Tibeto-Burman languages. Nominalized forms, unsupported by an auxiliary, have also been recorded for Athpare (Ebert 1997:131), Kiranti (Bickel 1999:271-96), Newari (Hargreaves 1986:2, cited in Watters 2008: 28), Chantyal (Noonan 1997, 2008). Kham has a full bare nominalized paradigm which parallels the finite verb paradigm (Watters 2002: 350-369). Such constructions were first described by Matisoff (1972:246-247), who, with reference to Lahu (Loloish), observed the phenomena of entire nominalized clauses which were not embedded into a higher matrix. In Magar, nominalizations are generally supported by a finite auxiliary verb, *le*, which bears the TAM and pronominal morphology. However, bare nominalizations with *-cyo ~ ca* and *-ke* do occur. Both nominalized constructions can also be supported by a copula ((97) and (104c, d)). That these constructions can be formed with or without the support of a copular auxiliary with no change in meaning, suggests that they are not non-embedded constructions (as described by Matisoff, 1972) but that they are embedded in marked instances of copular constructions from which the copula has been elided.

Bare nominalizations have specific functions. They are used to form polite questions (which also function as polite offers) ((95)) and delicate questions ((96c)). This is a function observed by Hargreaves (1986) for Newari and by Ebert (1997a:131) for Athpare. In the latter, all questions are nominalized. In Magar, if a question is posed with a bare nominalization it will be answered in kind ((97) - (100)). Bare nominalizations with *-ke* are also used when giving instructions ((101)). When used in discourse and narrative, speakers report that the choice of a bare nominalization over a full finite clause is a choice to add immediacy and effect. This resonates with Ebert's (1997b:60) interpretation of bare nominalizations which she says is "to focus on the whole utterance".

(95) (a) *naŋ-ko-e wak-sya jya-ke (le)*  
 2S-HON-ERG pig-meat eat-NOM IMPF  
 '(Would you) like to eat pork?'

(b) *jya-ke (le)*  
 eat-NOM IMPF  
 'Yes, I will eat pork.'

(96) (a) *hi usa jya-ma le mfianya*  
 what medicine eat-NOM IMPF TAG  
 'What medicine are you taking, well?'

(b) *hi-da ma-jya-a*  
 what-ever NEG-eat-PST  
 'I didn't take anything.'

(c) *hi-ma ma-jya-ca*  
 what-NOM NEG-eat- ATT  
 'Why not?'

(d) *hi de-naŋ ŋa-e ma-jak-ca*  
 what say-SIM 1S-ERG NEG-like-ATT  
 'Because I don't want to.'

(97) (a) *naŋ-ko-uŋ doka-aŋ yambir le*  
 2S-GEN shop orange IMPF  
 'Do you have any oranges in your shop?'

(b) *le ku-dik la-ke*  
 COP INTRG-QUANT take-NOM  
 'Yes, I do; how many would you like?'

(c) *buli-gota la-ke*  
 four -N.HUM.CL. take-NOM  
 'I'll take four.'

(98) (a) *naŋ-ko nepal-aŋ sen raŋi-ca*  
 2S-HON Nepal-LOC when come-ATT  
 'When did you come to Nepal?'

(b) *nfiis sata chanfi-ca*  
 two week become-ATT  
 'Two weeks ago.' (lit. 'It has become two weeks.')

(c) *nepal-aŋ ku-dik lfies mu-ke*  
 Nepal-LOC how-QUANT year sit-NOM  
 'How many years will you stay in Nepal?'

(d) *nepal-aŋ nfiis lfies mu-ke*  
 Nepal-LOC NUM year sit-NOM  
 'I will stay in Nepal for two years.'

(e) *ho-tak-iŋ hi jat-ke*  
 D.DEM-SUP-ABL what do-NOM  
 'What will you do then?'

(f) *hottana*  
 don't.know  
 'I don't know.'

(99) (a) *naŋ-ko bo-ca rfiia sen lo-ca*  
 2S-HON white-ATT goat when take-ATT  
 'When did you buy the white goat?'

(b) *tisiniŋ lo-ca*  
 yesterday take-ATT  
 'I bought it yesterday'

(100) (a) *naŋ-ko chiniiŋ hi-ma ma-rafi-ca*  
 2S-HON today what-NOM NEG-come- ATT  
 'Why didn't you come today?'

(b) *ŋa moi-o im-aŋ nuŋ-ca*  
 1S mother-GEN house-LOC go-ATT  
 'I went to my mother's house.'

(101)(a) *ku-ta damauli-aŋ tafi-rafi-ke*  
 INTRG-MNR Damauli-LOC reach-come-NOM  
 'How does one get to Damauli?'

(b) *sarbapratham minam baS-park nu-ke*  
 first.of.all new bus-park go-NOM

*pokhara nu-cyo baS pa-ke baS dinfi-nfiak-iŋ*  
 Pokhara go-ATT bus seek-NOM bus find-front-ABL  
*tiket la-ke tiket damauli samma la-ke*  
 ticket take-NOM ticket Damauli until take-NOM

'First of all go to the new bus park; find the bus going to Pokhara.  
 After finding the bus, get a ticket, get a ticket up to Damauli.' (N.35T)

(102)(a) *naŋ-ko ku-lak-iŋ rafi-ca*  
 2-HON where-CIR-ABL come-ATT  
 'Whereabouts have you come from?'

(b) *ŋa butol-iŋ rafi-ca*  
 1S Butol-ABL come-ATT  
 'I have just come from Butol.'

(c) *naŋ-ko ku-lak-iŋ rafi-ca ale*  
 2-HON where-CIR-ABL come-ATT COP  
 'Whereabouts have you come from?'

(d) *ŋa butol-iŋ rafi-ca ale*  
 1S Butol-ABL come-ATT COP  
 'I have just come from Butol.'

Bare nominalizations with *-cyo ~ ca* and *-o* are used in mirative constructions, as in (103). Similarly, Noonan (2007:5) observes that in Chantyal "when nominalizations appear as main clauses, the typical effect is one of mirativity, i.e. the sense that the predication so expressed is in some sense surprising, contrary to expectation, or in some way exasperating." See §12.1 for a discussion of mirativity.

(103)(a) *bahirin ŋos-ca-ca ja-ja jfiyal-iŋ jfiyal-ma na le-sa-a*  
 outside look-ATT-ATT child-child window-ABL fall-NOM EMPH IMPF-EVID-PST



'I was looking outside, and, evidently the child had fallen from the window!' (S)

(b) *im-aj mu-cyo-cyo bhut-ke daŋ-a*  
 house-LOC sit-ATT-ATT ghost-DAT see-PST  
 '(I was) sitting in the house and saw a ghost!' (T)

(c) *hi a-u-le-o rΛ jat-o le ŋa-te-aj* [ $\text{>aulo}$ ]  
 what IRR-COP-MIR and do-MIR IMPF IPRO-say-1PRO  
 'I wondered what is this and what should I do!?'

### 11.8 Clause-final and -medial particles

There are a number of particles in Magar whose functions are to question, to confirm, to disaffirm and to correlate ((106)).

(104) <i>hai</i>	confirmation particle
<i>lau</i>	confirmation particle
<i>thik</i>	confirmation particle
<i>halΛ</i>	confirmation particle
<i>kya</i>	tag question particle
<i>tΛ</i>	tag question particle
<i>mfianya</i>	tag question particle
<i>ni</i> (N)	tag question particle
<i>mΛn</i>	affirmation particle
<i>tΛbΛ</i>	disaffirmation particle
<i>chena</i>	disaffirmation particle
<i>ru</i>	correlation tag particle
<i>cahin</i> (N)	hesitation particle

Among the confirmation particles are: *hai* ((105)), *lau* ((106)), *thik* ((107)), *halΛ* ((108)); the first three are borrowed from Nepali. Tag questions are formed with particles: *kya*, (possibly from Nepali *ki*'or') ((109)) *tΛ* ((110)), *mfianya* ((111)) and *ni* ((112)); the latter is also borrowed from Nepali. The correlation particle is *ru* which means 'too' or 'either' depending on whether the question or statement is framed negatively ((113a)) or positively ((113b)). As well, there is an affirmation particle, *mΛn* meaning 'truly' ((114)). Disaffirmation particles are *tΛbΛ* ((115)) and *chena* ((116)). Typically these particles are clause-final, with the exception of *ru*, which is clause-medial. However, particles can be

interjected medially into the clause and if so, they emphatically confirm or disaffirm the element they follow in the clause; *thik*, may be clause initial and as such serves to link discourse.

(105) (a) *pΛhila mΛkai nuk-le mΛkai nuk-naŋ khasaro mΛkoy nuk-le*  
 first corn grind-IMPF corn grind-SIM large corn grind-IMPF

*ho-tak-iŋ tap-le tap-le ani pheri phinfi-le hai*  
 D.DEM-SUP-ABL winnow-IMPF winnow-IMPF then again cook-IMPF okay  
 'First, grind the corn, grind the corn coarsely; then, winnow, winnow again and let it cook, okay.' (D.001T)

(b) *ho-tak-iŋ gΛraŋ-le kat bahaŋ gΛraŋ-le*  
 D.DEM-SUP-ABL take.off-COP one portion take.off-COP

*ho-se arko ho-tak-iŋ bfiitre rΛksi chanfi-le hai*  
 D.DEM-DEF next D.DEM-SUP-ABL inside alcohol become -COP okay  
 'Then take off one part, take another and inside there will be alcohol, okay.'  
 (D.020T)

(c) *a-lak-iŋ litim nuŋ-a rΛ phenamo nuŋ-ni hai*  
 R.DEM-CIR-ABL straight.down go-PST and straight go-HON.IMP okay  
 'From there, go straight down and go straight, okay.'

(d) *naŋ-ke ŋa-e hai hi-da ma-chanfi-le*  
 2S-DAT 1S-ERG okay what-INDF NEG-become-IMPF  
 'I will, surely, do nothing happen to you.' (DD.053S)

(106) (a) *rΛ ho-se ban pa-di-s-cyo kan-e aci jat-ke*  
 and D.DEM-DEF arrow.curse try-LN-INTR-ATT 2P-ERG still do -NOM

*cahine yad molokhotmol jat-ke cahin jfiŋkri kΛtha nΛ*  
 well remember cure do -NOM well shaman with EMPH

*kan-e deo basal-di-mo ani jfiŋkri kΛtha nΛ ginfi-mo*  
 2P-ERG god transform-LN-SEQ then shaman with EMPH ask-SEQ

*jfiŋkri ŋak-naŋ cahine lau ban*  
 shaman talk-SIM well CNFM arrow

*lΛy-di-s-mΛ le-sa*  
 follow-LN-ITR-NOM COP INFR

'We still try to make the arrow curse, well, to do this (we) remember how to do the cure, well, the shaman, having been transformed to a god by us, we ask the shaman to curse, well, you understand, the arrow curse, apparently

follows.' (E.006.T)

(b) *ani ho-tak-ij jfiʌŋkri-ko-e cahin abo saman*  
 then D.DEM-SUP-ABL shaman-HON-ERG well now items

*jut-di-nfiak-ij lau ku-se chiniŋ ale hi tithi ale*  
 collect-LN -front -ABL CNFM INTRG-DEF day COP what good COP  
 'Then after that, the shaman, well, now after the items are collected, you see,  
 he will decide which is the auspicious day.' (E.010T)

(107) *thik pʌhila-ij ho-ta ɔs-mʌ mu-naŋ mu-naŋ ho-nfiʌŋ*  
 okay first-ABL D.DEM-MNR look-SEQ sit-SIM sit-SIM D.DEM-hour

*dup-le-sa ra ho-se me-ŋer jik-mo rak-le-sa*  
 meet-IMPF-INFR and D.DEM-DEF POSS-mouth bite-SEQ bring-IMPF-INFR  
 'Okay, from the beginning, constantly looking, at that time, he was, apparently,  
 able to find (fire) and, apparently, holding it in his mouth, he brought it.'  
 (DD.076S)

(108) *dfiem-aŋ khas rafi-ca ale ta halʌ*  
 up-LOC make come-ATT COP REP EXCLM

*ho-laŋ ale-a ta ho-ta-i ho-ta an nfiʌŋ*  
 D.DEM-LOC COP-PST REP D.DEM-MNR -FOC D.DEM-MNR go hour

*kancha-bfiʌi kat dut cip-rafi-ca ta halʌ nambi*  
 younger.son-brother-DAT one milk milk-come-ATT REP EXCLM night  
 'They say, then, that they came and built, you know. It was up there, they  
 say. Then, at that time to younger-brother, they say, (someone) came to  
 milk (the cow) you know, at night.' (Q.Q.019S)

(109)(a) *arganku-lak-ij rafi-a decyo kya*  
 wasp where-CIR-ABL come-PST say-ATT TAG  
 'Where do you suppose it came from, or what?' (B. 012T)

(b) *ma-le naŋ hi jat mʌ le-a kya*  
 NEG.COP 2S what do-nom IMPF-PST TAG  
 'Weren't you (batting at the wasp)? Had you been doing that, or what?'

(110) (a) *hi chanfi-mo jik-a ta*  
 what happen-SEQ sting-PST TAG  
 'Why did the sting happen, eh?' (B. 006T)

(b) *ŋos-nis ta ŋa-o jyaŋ bfiʌri hyu le te-le-sa*  
 look-2PRO.HON TAG 1S-GEN body altogether blood COP say-IMPF-INFR  
 "'Look, will you, my body is all bloody" he evidently said.' (DD.034S)

(c) *naṅ-ko-uṅ byaha ma-chanfi-mΛ ja ale-a ho-se tΛ*  
 2S-PL-GEN marriage NEG-become-NOM EMPH COP-PST D.DEM-DEF TAG  
 'Your marriage had not even taken place, or had it?' (O.O.003S)

(111)(a) *hi usa jya-mΛ le mḥanya*  
 what medicine eat-NOM IMPF TAG  
 'What medicine are you taking, well?'

(b) *gorak ku-lak nuṅ-me le-a tΛ mḥanya*  
 morning how-CIR go-NOM IMPF-PST TAG TAG  
 'Where did you go, this morning, eh, well?' (B. 004T)

(c) *te-ahaṅ Aḥhai rΛ naṅ-ko-e warfi-nis uruwa-e*  
 say-COND still and 2S-HON-ERG know-2PRO.HON owl-ERG

*gwa-ja ja jya-le tΛ*  
 bird-child EMPH eat-IMPF TAG

'Well, what about this, you know how owls eat baby birds, don't you?'  
 (DD.018S)

(d) *byafi jat-ke tΛ*  
 marriage do-NOM TAG  
 '(She is) getting married, you say?'

(112)(a) *ōs-ke gḥoye-ke kahile kahile ṅa-e tahabah khas-ke*  
 see-NOM plough-NOM sometimes sometimes 1S-ERG management prepare-NOM

*khuppai gḥoye-ke ma-hyok-le-aṅ i-se gḥunda bḥas-*  
 so.much plough-NOM NEG-able-IMPF-1PRO P.DEM-DEF knee break

*dekhiṅ ho-ta gḥunda a-se chanfi-pyak-cΛ a-se*  
 from D.DEM-MNR knee R.DEM-DEF become-after-ATT R.DEM-DEF

*chanfi-le ni*  
 become-IMPF TAG

'I see to the ploughing sometimes, sometimes (I) take care of the management; I am not able to do so much ploughing since breaking my knee like that, after that knee thing happened, it became so, eh.' (K.K.065S)

(b) *hΛjinkot-iṅ ale ki hi ale sanbḥiya jḥal-cΛ te-cΛ sen*  
 Hajinkot-ABL COP or what COP python descend-ATT say-ATT when  
*ale -a ni*  
 COP-PST TAG

'Was it from Hajinkot that the python descended? When do you think that was, eh?' (O.O.001S)

(c) *aŋ-naŋaŋ ku-se ale-a ta a-se nambi nambi jal*  
 go-hour INTRG-DEF COP-PST TAG R.DEM-DEF night night net

*ges aŋ-ke ho-ta-i ku-lak ale rafi-naŋ namsyak ale*  
 play go-NOM D.DEM-MNR -FOC INTRG-CIR COP come-SIM Namsyak COP

*ki ku-lak ale rafi-naŋ rākAs-e nfun a-se jat-dekhiŋ*  
 or INTRG-CIR COP come-SIM fire.spirit-ERG back R.DEM-DEF do-from

*jal puŋ-nfiak-iŋ mu-ca hi ale jat-ca te-o le-a ni*  
 net cover-front-ABL sit-ATT what COP do-ATT say-HAB IMPF-PST TAG  
 'Who was it, eh? Back then, he was going night-fishing with nets then  
 when coming back from Namsyak, or coming from wherever, the fire  
 spirit followed him, after doing this, later he was covered with the fishing  
 net and sat there. Is that what they say he did, eh?' (P.P.001S)

(113)(a) *naŋ-ko ru hi chanfi-mo ma-rafi-a*  
 2S-HON COR why become-SEQ NEG-come-PST  
 'Why didn't you come either?' (T)

(b) *naŋ-ko-e ru hi te-ma ga-ca*  
 2-PL-ERG COR what say-SEQ drink-ATT  
 'Why did you drink too?' (S)

(114) *lofi-ca daŋ-naŋ dathup-le ta te-o le-a man*  
 discard-ATT see-SIM beat-IMPf REP say-HAB IMPF-PST truly

*hi ale-a chena*  
 what COP-PST don't.know

'They say that when they saw it thrown away they beat him, this is what they say,  
 truly. I don't know what happened,' (Q.Q.005S)

(115) *chena ku-lak-iŋ rafi-a*  
 don't.know INTRG-CIR-ABL come -PAST

*ŋa-e ma-daŋ ghans bu-mo rafi-naŋ jik-a*  
 1S-ERG NEG-see grass carry-SEQ come-SIM sting-PAST

'I don't know where it came from; I didn't see; I had been coming carrying grass  
 when it stung (me). (B.014T)

(116) *bfiarmi chanfi-a ki ho-ta ja si-a*  
 person become-PST or D.DEM-MNR EMPH die-PST

*chena men-o mantar ja jofi-ca ra ma-si-a*  
 don't.know 3S-GEN magic EMPH flee-ATT and NEG-die-PST

*ki hi chanfi-a ra le chena taba*  
 or what become-PST and COP don't.know really  
 'Whether he became a man or he died, I don't know. Or whether his magic  
 left him and he didn't die. I don't know what happened, really.' (S.S.034S)

The particle *cahin(e)*, another borrowing from Nepali, is interjected into narrative and discourse, as in (117). It is attested of Tanahu speakers more frequently than of Syangja speakers. Its interjection serves as a hesitation, a pause, ((117a, b)) or as to means to change tack in discourse ((117c)).

(117)(a) *ho-se-i lamtu-cyo khaskaram cahin dulfia-ke*  
 D.DEM-DEF-FOC road block-ATT special.reason well groom-DAT

*yad dil-di-s-cyo kat cahin sajay danda*  
 remember force-LN-INTR-ATT one well punishment penalty

*jat-cyo lekha ale*  
 do-ATT seem COP

'The reason the roadblock is made, well then, is for the groom to be forced to remember, well, it is done to seem like a punishment.' (E.E.010T)

(b) *dulfia-i pheri dulfia-o mamoi-ke cahin hi men-o dastur*  
 groom-ERG again bride-GEN maternal.uncle-DAT well what 3-GEN custom

*hi le gwabfialya bara phyaha raksi roti sya*  
 what COP rooster pulse.cake bamboo.bag alcohol bread meat

*hi-din-na ka-mo cahin gyok-aŋ cahin sumpo-di-mo*  
 what-QUAL-EMPH put-SEQ well bamboo.basket-LOC well give-LN-SEQ

*yafi-le*  
 give-IMPF

'The groom, in addition, gives to the bride's maternal uncle, well, what is his own custom to give; this may be a rooster, pulse cakes in a bamboo bag, alcohol, bread, meat, everything is put into a bamboo basket and is given.' (E.E.027T)

(c) *ra gorak-lak pheri ho-se-ko-e cyu-e cahin*  
 and morning-CIR again D.DEM-DEF-PL-ERG dog-ERG well

*hosa-e sisa don-ke ma-hyok-ŋfiakij ho-ta ja*  
 D.DEM-DEF-ERG bottle remove-NOM NEG-able-front-ABL D.DEM-MNR EMPH

*wfa-ma le-a*  
 walk-NOM IMPF-PST

'And, again, toward morning, they, well, the dog, he was not able to get his head out of the jar and was wandering around like that.' (C.C.010S)

### 11.9 The emphatic clitic

Both dialects have an emphatic clitic. In Syangja dialect it is usually *ja* ((118a)) and in Tanahu dialect it is usually *na* ((118b)); however, both clitics are found in both dialects<sup>3</sup>.

There seems to be no obvious principle guiding their choice; (see also §11.9 for a discussion of emphatic linkage of clauses).

(118) (a) *naŋ-ko maŋar seh-ma ja ŋak-da-nis*  
 2S-HON Magar good-NOM EMPH speak-2PRO-HON  
 'You speak Magar really very well.' (S)

(b) *argan-e cahin argan cahin cyu-ke*  
 wasp-ERG well wasp well dog-DAT

*laŋfiar-di-s-ma na le-a*  
 chase-LN-ITR-NOM EMPH COP-PST  
 'The wasps, now, the wasps, well, they were really chasing the dog.'  
 (A.A.022T)

The clitic is flexible in terms of its position, scope and function. It may be clause medial ((119)) or final ((120)). It may appear within verb phrases ((121)) noun phrases ((122)) and between an adverbial adjunct and the main clause ((123)).

(119)(a) *tihar raŋ-ke ja le*  
 Tihar come-NOM EMPH COP  
 'Tihar is indeed yet to come.' (H.H.011S)

(b) *cyu dŋari jfiyal-aŋ na le-a*  
 dog also window-LOC EMPH COP-PST  
 'Also the dog was right at the window.' (A.A.010T)

(120)(a) *kan-e cahin ho-se-e jfiŋkri cahin hi-da na*  
 1P-ERG well D.DEM-DEF-FOC shaman well what-INDF EMPH

*ku-din-cyo de-mo a-din-cyo na*  
 INTRG-QUAL-ATT say-SEQ R.DEM-QUAL-ATT EMPH  
 'Well, well, whatever the shaman says he wants, we do that.'

<sup>3</sup> This is homophonous with a similar particle in Chantyal, Noonan, personal communication, Oct 2008.

(E.008T)

(b) *naŋ-ko-e naŋ-ko-uŋ kam na-bfiya-a-as ja*  
 2S-HON-ERG 2-HON-GEN work 2PRO-finish-PST-2PRO EMPH  
 'You finished your work, indeed.' (S)

(121)(a) *cyu-e cahin myertuŋ hoyok-mΛ nΛ le-a*  
 dog-ERG now tree shake-NOM EMPH COP-PST  
 'The dog was still shaking the tree.' (A.A.016T)

(b) *ho-se jarayo-e ho-sa ja-ja-ke kher-ak-mΛ ja le-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF stag-ERG D.DEM-DEF child-child-DAT run-CAUS-NOM EMPH IMPF-PST

*i-lak cyu rΛ birifi-nfiak-ij kher-mΛ ja le-a*  
 P.DEM.CIR dog and afraid-front-ABL run-NOM EMPH IMPF-PST  
 'The stag was really running with the boy and the dog, after being  
 frightened, was really running too.' (B.B027S)

(122) *ho-tak-ij sen-da ma-ket-cyo minam ja gundri*  
 D.DEM-SUP-ABL when-INDF NEG-use-ATT new EMPH straw.mat

*sen-da mat-chanfi-cyo ho-se tlayar jat-le*  
 when-INDF NEG.IRR-become-ATT D.DEM-DEF ready do-IMPF  
 'Then they make ready a never-used, brand new straw mat. (E.E.020T)

(123)(a) *a-lak pakh-aŋ le-ca a-lak-ij ja masan-e*  
 R.DEM-CIR shore-LOC COP-ATT R.DEM-CIR-ABL EMPH death.spirit-ERG

*chΛl-di-a man*  
 cast.spell-LN-PST truly  
 'They say that (the boy) was over there on the shore, from over there,  
 indeed, the death spirit cast a spell, truly (P.P.011S)

(b) *nfiun-ij ja maroni-ko-uŋ mahila si-a*  
 back-ABL EMPH Maroni-HON-GEN second.son die-PST  
 'Later, indeed, Maroni's second son died.' (P.P.005S)

When clause final, the scope of the emphatic clitic is the entire clause as in (124); when medial it emphasizes the constituent it follows, which may be a noun ((125)), pronoun ((126)), quantifier ((127)) or adverbial ((128)). Example (129) demonstrates that the two forms of the emphatic clitic can combine.



(124)(a) *rokotyak ahan set-ak-nis nΛ*  
 frog story tell-CAUS- 2PRO.HON EMPH  
 'Indeed, tell the frog story!' (G.G.001S)

(b) *gwa ho-lak le jΛ*  
 bird D.DEM-CIR COP EMPH  
 'There are birds out there, indeed (K.K.005S)

(c) *ku-dik sala-aŋ ale bΛhit rafi-cΛ a-se gΛndΛki-aŋ*  
 INTRG-QUANT year-LOC COP deluge come-ATT R.DEM-DEF river-LOC

*hi ale bfainsi-ko hi ale bagΛ-di-mo rak-cΛ*  
 what COP buffalo-PL what COP sweep.away-LN-SEQ bring-ATT

*im jΛ rak-cΛ te-o le-a ni gōnc-ko si-cΛ ta*  
 house EMPH bring-ATT say-HAB IMPF-PST TAG whale-PL die-ATT REP

'In what year was the big flood? The one that came and swept away buffalo in the river and even brought houses with it? They say even the dolphins died.'  
 (N.N.001S)

(125)(a) *rokotyak jΛ nfiun nfiun rafi-le-sa ta*  
 frog-ATT EMPH back back come-IMPF-INFR REP  
 'They say that, apparently, the frog kept following her. (G.G.008S)

(b) *ho-ta-i jogi-e jΛ men-o mi-ja-cΛ*  
 D.DEM-MNR-FOC yogi-ERG EMPH 3S-GEN POSS-child -ATT

*nunfi-o le-a ta*  
 take-NOM IMPF-PST REP

'They say, then, like that, indeed, the yogi, took her child!' (L.L.005S)

(c) *lo abo jΛmmai-ko nΛ bfiyat-a*  
 EXCLM now all-PL EMPH finish-PST

*de-mo kat sallfia la-le*  
 say-SEQ one discussion take-IMPF

'Lo, now, everyone, indeed, is finished thus a discussion will be had.' (E.E.049T)

(126)(a) *me-lafi nΛ rafi-a rΛ jik-a*  
 3S-self EMPH come-PST and sting-PST  
 'It just came all by itself and stung you?' (B.017T)

(b) *naŋ-ke syafi-ke le ki ma-le naŋ-ko-ke jΛ*  
 2S-DAT dance-NOM IMPF or NEG-COP 2S-HON-DAT EMPH

*syafi-ak-ke te-cΛ le*  
 dance-CAUS-NOM say-ATT IMPF

'Are you going to dance or not? You, indeed, I intend to make dance.'  
(H.H.021S)

(127) *ho-ta-i a-lak kami-ko ra bahiriŋ khyofi-mo*  
D.DEM-MNR-FOC R.DEM-CIR blacksmith-PL and outside emerge-SEQ

*mu-mΛ le-o le nfis-tar som-tar jΛ le-a*  
sit-NOM COP-MIR IMPF two-LAT three-LAT EMPH COP-PST

'Then over there, the blacksmiths had also come out and I was surprised that they were sitting there, as many as two or, indeed, three of them were there.'  
(M.M.003S)

(128)(a) *hosa Anusarai nΛ dan dΛkchina yafi-le*  
D.DEM-DEF accordingly EMPH gift offering give-IMP  
'They, accordingly, indeed, give gifts and offerings.' (E.E.044T)

(b) *i-lak purba-lak-o jΛ ale andi khola-lak ale ki*  
P.DEM.CIR east-CIR-GEN EMPH COP Andi stream-CIR COP or

*cek i-lak jΛ nΛ le*  
bit P.DEM.CIR EMPH EMPH COP

'From this side, the eastern side, really. It was around the Andi stream, or, indeed, a bit to this side.' (T.T 015S)

The emphatic and the distal demonstrative plus manner marker combine to form *ho-ta jΛ* or *ho-ta nΛ* and mean 'indeed like that' or 'just like that' as in (129a-c) and 'for no reason' as in (129d).

(129)(a) *i-laŋ-da ho-ta jΛ chanfi-mΛ le mΛn nani*  
P.DEM-LOC-INDF D.DEM-MNR EMPH happen-NOM IMPF truly younger.sister

*bfiuincal te-le-ko mΛn te-a*  
earthquake say-IMP-PL truly say-PST

'The same thing is happening over here, truly, little sister. It is an earthquake they say, truly, so they said.' (M.M 005S)

(b) *ho-ta-i jΛ tak tak thap jΛ lekha i-lak*  
D.DEM-MNR -FOC EMPH ONO ONO stair EMPH seem P.DEM-CIR

*a-lak coyok coyok te-a*  
R.DEM-CIR ONO ONO say-PST

'Then just like that, there was a sound it seemed just like stepping on the stairs, here and there, it made cracking sounds.' (M.M. 016S)

(c) *ra gorak-lak pheri cyu-e cahin ho-se-i sisa*  
 and morning-CIR again dog-ERG well D.DEM-DEF-ERG bottle

*don-ke ma-hyok-ηfiakij ho-ta ja*  
 remove-NOM NEG-able-front-ABL D.DEM-MNR EMPH

*wfia-mΛ le-a*  
 walk-NOM IMPF-PST

'And, still toward morning, the dog, well, he was not able to get his head out of the jar and was wandering around like that.' (C.C.010S)

(d) *hi chanfi-mo jik-cyo ho-ta-nΛ*  
 what become-SEQ sting-ATT D.DEM-MNR-EMPH  
 'Why had the sting happen? For no reason?' (B. 007T)

The combination of [D.DEM-MNR-FOC EMPH] *ho-t-a-i nΛ* has grammaticalized into a discourse marker which functions to link consecutive events, as in (130) (see also §9.4).

(130)(a) *ho-ta-i ja ho-se mhe da-pyak pachi mhe dfia-a man*  
 D.DEM-MNR-FOC EMPH D.DEM-DEF fire put-after after fire burn-PST truly  
 'Thereupon after having put (twigs) on the fire, the fire burned, truly.'  
 (DD.079S)

(b) *ho-ta-i nΛ a-lak ho-se-ko-e me-ko-uj cyu*  
 D.DEM-MNR-FOC EMPH R.DEM-CIR D.DEM-DEF-PL-ERG 3-PL-GEN dog

*ra len-ja len-ja-ja-ja chanfi-ηfiak-ij cyu-ke*  
 and young.male-child young.male-child-child-child become-front-ABL dog-DAT

*rokotyak-ke pa-mΛ wfia-mΛ le-a*  
 frog-DAT seek-NOM walk-NOM IMPF-PST

'Then, over there, they, the boy and his dog, after coming together with his dog, (they) went looking for the frog.' (B.B.012S)

In addition, the emphatic, when it follows converbial clauses ((131)) or adverbial adjuncts ((132)), links these to the main clause.

(131)(a) *moi-ke ra ho-ta jat-mo nΛ moi-uj bfiak*  
 mother-DAT and D.DEM-MNR do-SEQ EMPH mother-GEN portion

*de-mo cahin roti ra hi-hi yafi-le hi-din -nΛ*  
 say-SEQ well bread and what-what give-IMPF what-QUAL-EMPH

*ka-mo ho-laj ustaimatabik moi-ke ra yafi-le*  
 put.in-SEQ D.DEM.LOC similarly mother-DAT and give-IMPF

'And for the mother, having done it that way, indeed for the mother's part, wanting to give the same portion to the mother, well, bread and everything having been put in (the basket) is given.' (E.E.028T)

(b) *cyu dfiari jfiyal-aŋ nΛ le-a cyu-o mi-talu sisi-aŋ*  
 dog even window-LOC EMPH COP-PST dog-GEN POSS-head bottle-LOC

*lahi-mo nΛ nuŋ-mo mu-a ho-se-o mi-mik*  
 stick-SEQ EMPH go-SEQ sit-PST D.DEM-DEF-GEN POSS-eye

*ma-daŋ-mo jfiyal-iŋ mfiak-aŋ jfi-al-a*  
 NEG-see-SEQ window-ABL down-LOC fall-PST

'Even the dog was at the window, the dogs head, having got stuck in the bottle, was going around. His eyes not seeing, he fell down from the window.'  
 (A.A.010T)

(132) *ajakal ja ŋa-mfiayak-le-sa-aŋ*  
 nowadays EMPH IPRO-forget-IMPF-INFR-PST-IPRO  
 'Nowadays, indeed, apparently I have forgotten.' (O.O.005S)

It also links adjectives, as in (133); see also §10.2.1.3.

(133) *ho-tak-iŋ sen-da ma-ket-cyo minam ja gundri*  
 D.DEM-SUP-ABL when-INDF NEG-use-ATT new EMPH straw.mat

*sen-da mat-chanfi-cyo ho-se tayar jat-le*  
 when-INDF NEG.IRR-become-ATT D.DEM-DEF ready do-IMPF

'Thereupon, they make ready a never-used, brand-new straw mat.' (E.E.020T)

The presence of the emphatic in complex verb phrases ((134a)) (see §11.2) and in serial verb constructions ((134b)) (see §11.2) is further evidence that it functions as a linker.

Shepherd and Shepherd, for Yanchok (Hale 1973: 302), identify *nΛ* as a conjunction and 'connective between compound verbs'.

(134)(a) *ho-se men-o gfiyofi-mΛ nΛ le*  
 D.DEM-DEF 3S-GEN plough-NOM EMPH IMPF  
 'He is indeed ploughing his own (field).' (K.K.067aS)

(b) *ho-se men-o gfiyofi-a rΛ kan-uŋ gfiyofi-ke nΛ a-rafi-e*  
 D.DEM-DEF 3S-GEN plough-PST and 1P-GEN plough-NOM EMPH IRR-come-IRR  
 'He ploughed his own and may he indeed come and plough ours.' (K.K.067bS)

The emphatic marker can also function as a confirmation particle, as in (135). In interrogatives it functions as a tag question, as in (136).

(135) (a) *ho-ta-i*                      *rokotyak* *si-ca*    *te-ca*    *lekha*    *ŋa-se-o*                      *le-aŋ*  
 D.DEM -MNRFOC    frog                      die-ATT    say-ATT    seem                      1PRO-sense-MIR IMPF-PRO  
 'Then, to my surprise, I heard said that the frog seemed to be dead.' (G.G.022S)

(b) *hota*                      *ja*  
 D.DEM                      EMPH  
 'It's so, really.' (K.K.015S)

(c) *ku-ta*                      *a-kok-e*                      *te-mo*                      *na*  
 how-MNR                      IRR-tend-DAT                      say-NOM                      EMPH  
 'I wonder who will take care of it, really?' (K.K.059S)

(136)(a) *ho-nŋaŋ*                      *lasargfia*                      *waha-aŋ*                      *le-naŋ*                      *ja*  
 D.DEM-hour                      Lasargfia                      basin-LOC                      COP-SIM                      EMPH  
 'At that time you were really living in Lasargha basin?' (M.M.007S)

(b) *namsin*                      *ja*  
 afternoon                      EMPH  
 'It was afternoon, really?' (M.M.014S)

### 11.10 Expressive exclamations

In Magar one also encounters expressive exclamations, which are complete 'stand alone' utterances interjected into discourse as in (137). They are often reduplicated. Such expressives are typical of the the South Asian speech area (Emeneau 1969:374-399).

Examples in (139) are native and those in (139) are borrowed from Nepali.

(137) *naŋ-e*    *byafi*    *ma-jat-da-l*                      *khyasirada*  
 2s-ERG    marriage    NEG-do-2PRO-IMPF                      EXCLM  
 'You are not getting married. Damn it!' (K.K040S)

(138) *ibibi*                      'oh my goodness!' (an expression of dismay)  
*bala bala*                      'thank goodness!' (an expression of relief)  
*haimoiuu*                      'oh no!' (an expression of surprise and grief)  
*aboiaboi*                      'how beautiful' (an expression of approval)  
*abuu*                      'very nice!' (an expression of approval)  
*hlabai*                      'wow' (an expression of approval)  
*hoko*                      'yes, absolutely! (an expression of emphatic agreement)  
*khyasirada*                      'damn it!' (an expression used when something goes awry)

<i>jafidake</i>	"	"
(139) <i>attho</i>	'really too hot! (an expression in reaction to extreme heat)	
<i>acchu</i>	'really too cold!' (an expression in reaction to extreme cold)	
<i>ayya</i>	'that really hurts!' (an expression of surprise in reaction to pain)	
<i>hatteri</i>	'darn it!' (an expression used when something goes awry)	

## 12 Complex and coordinated sentences

This chapter describes complex and coordinated sentences. In Magar, complex sentences (§12.1) are multi-clausal constructions in which one clause is independent and serves as the matrix for a subordinate clause. This chapter examines complement, adverbial and converbal clauses; complex adnominal clauses are described with in §10.2. Co-ordinated clauses (§12.2) are two conjoined independent clauses, which, in Magar may be asyndetic, or may be overtly coordinated with a conjunction.

### 12.1 Complex sentences

Magar has the following complex clause constructions: complement clauses, adverbial clauses and converbal clauses. Watters (2006:39) observes that most Himalayish languages "distinguish between finite and non-finite nominalizations, the former being used primarily in relative clauses and complement structures, while the latter are used in adjectives, demonstratives, and participles." Magar does not make this distinction, subordinate and embedded clauses are, like adjectives and participles, virtually always non-finite and dependent. Only complements of the verbs 'say' and 'feel' may be finite. The verb 'say' has also developed into a complementizer (see §14.2.2).

#### 12.1.1 Complement clauses

Complement clauses are clauses which are the embedded argument of a predicate; one which functions as the subject or object of that predicate. Complement clauses are for the most part non-finite (exceptions are complements of 'say' and 'feel'), subordinate and nominalized with *-ke*. This nominalizer renders infinitive forms of verbs and in complement constructions serves as an infinitival complementizer. The notional subject

of the complement clauses is unstated under identity with the matrix subject (1a) or if the subject has a non-specific reference (1b)<sup>1</sup>.

(1) (a) *ŋa bʌjar nuŋ-ke cha-di-s-le*  
 1S bazaar go-NOM need -LN -ITR-IMPF  
 'I need to go to the bazaar.'

(b) *bʌjar nuŋ-ke ma-chanfi-le*  
 bazaar go-NOM NEG-become-IMPF  
 'It's not okay to go to the bazaar.'

In Magar complement clauses are the primary means of expressing modality; specifically: necessity, obligation, advisability, intention, ability, belief, permission and manipulation; these are treated in §12.1.1.2. Complements of verbs of knowing, fear and belief are formed with the verb 'say' and are treated in § 12.1.1.9.

#### 12.1.1.1 Complements of obligation verbs

Obligation is expressed with a borrowing from Nepali *par* 'must' ~ 'should' (2).<sup>2</sup> This verb forms the matrix clause of which the obligation clause is the complement. The complement clause is non-finite and nominalized with *-ke*. Obligation verbs express that an action must be performed, not one that must logically be so, as is the case in other languages; for example English, "He must be here, I see his car". This logical function is performed by the evidential system; see §13.2.3.

(2) (a) *nani-e bʌsta-ko-ke kas-ke par-di-s-le*  
 Little.sister-ERG domestic.animal-PL-DAT feed-NOM must-LN-ITR-IMPF  
 'Little sister must feed the animals.'

<sup>1</sup> Omission of the subject in a language such as Magar which has low referential density is to be expected and is not necessarily a function of complementation.

<sup>2</sup> Nawalparasi dialect uses the native term *bafi* rather than the Nepali borrowing, as in

*nani-i bʌsta-ko-ke kas-ke bafi-le*  
 little sister domestic.animal-PL-DAT feed-NOM must-IMPF  
 'Little sister must feed the animals.'



- (b) *ŋa-e lama-ke rak-cyo balya rak-ke pʌr-di-s-le*  
 1-ERG lama -DAT bring-ATT rooster bring-NOM must-LN-INTR-IMPF  
 'I must bring the lama a rooster.' (T)
- (c) *ho-se-ko-e dʌktor-ke poisa yafi-ke jʌ pʌr-di-s-le*  
 D.DEM-DEF-PL-ERG doctor -DAT money give -NOM EMPH must-LN-INTR-IMPF  
 'They really must give the doctor money.' (L.22S)
- (d) *boi-e chiniŋ chosan rop-di-ke jʌ pʌr-di-s-le*  
 mother-ERG today rice.seed plant-LN-NOM EMPH must-LN-ITR-IMPF  
 'Mother really must plant rice today.' (L.19S)

### 12.1.1.2 Complements of necessity verbs

Necessity is expressed with a Nepali borrowing: *cha* 'need'. Complement clauses expressing necessity are nominalized with *-ke*, as in (3). The need to engage in an activity is more often expressed as an obligation than as a need ((4)), see §12.1.1.1 above.

- (3) (a) *ŋa bʌjar nuŋ-ke cha-di-s-le*  
 1S bazaar go-NOM need -LN -ITR-IMPF  
 'I need to go to the bazaar.'
- (b) *ŋa-e thuri rik-ke cha-di-le-aŋ*  
 1-DAT write-NOM need-LN-IMPF  
 'I need to write a letter.' (S)
- (4) (a) *ŋa ŋar gfiyofi-ke pʌr-di-le*  
 1S field plough-NOM must-LN-IMPF  
 'I need to~ must plough the field.' (T)
- (b) *ŋa-e met pfiifi-ke pʌr-di-le-aŋ*  
 tasty-ATT tarkari cook-NOM must-LN-IMPF-1PRO  
 'I need to ~must cook tarkari.' (S)

### 12.1.1.3 Complements of advisability verbs

Advisability is expressed with the copular verb *chanfi*, 'become ~ happen' and a complement clause nominalized with *-ke*, as in (5).

- (5) (a) *gwa cyu-tuŋ nuŋ-ke jʌ ma-chanfi-le* [*>machanfine*]  
 bird dog-ADS go-NOM EMPH NEG-become-IMPF  
 'Chickens should not go near the dogs.' (S)

(c) *mi-sas khyofi-ke yafi-ke ma-chanfi-le raksi ma-jyap-le*  
 POSS-breath emerge-NOM give-PST-NOM NEG-become-IMPF raksi NEG-tasty-IMPF  
 'The vapours should not be allowed to escape, (or the raksi) will not be  
 tasty.' (T)

(d) *sukra-yak-aŋ ŋa delhi ŋu-ke ma-chanfi-le*  
 Friday-day-LOC 1S Delhi sit-NOM NEG-become-IMPF  
 'It is not advisable for me to be in Delhi on Friday.'

(e) *magar ra thakuri-ko-e kuba-o*  
 Magar and Thakuri-PL-ERG mother's elder brother-GEN

*Maha-ja mi-ja rak-ke chanfi-le*  
 young.woman-child POSS-child bring-NOM become IMPF  
 'The Magar and the Thakuri's maternal uncle's daughters can marry (the  
 mother's son).' (lit. 'become brought to')

(f) *ju lam-aŋ lofi-mo bfiormi-ke*  
 thorn road-LOC discard-SEQ person-DAT

*chafi-ak-ke ma-chanfi-le*  
 pierce-CAUS-NOM NEG-become-IMPF  
 'Thorns are not to be left on the road to cause people to be(come) pierced.'

An extension of the meaning advisability is acceptability, and *chanfi* has come to mean  
 'acceptable' ~ 'okay', as seen in (6).

(6) (a) *khopia-aŋ ho-tak-iŋ pandor mlakai gahun churu*  
 large.copper.pot-LOC D.DEM-SUP-ABL millet corn wheat uncooked.rice

*hi-da-na chanfi-le ho-se-i ka-ke*  
 why-INDF-EMPH become-IMPF D.DEM-DEF-FOC put-NOM  
 'Into a large copper pot put water, then put in either  
 millet or wheat or rice grains, whatever you think is okay.'

(b) *chanfi-le yafi-ni*  
 become-IMPF give-HON.IMP  
 'That's okay, give them to me please.'

(c) *nuŋ-ke ma-chanfi-le*  
 go-NOM NEG-become-IMPF  
 'It's not okay to go.'

Mitigated and more polite advisability is expressed with *chanfi* in the irrealis mood, as in  
 (7).

- (7) *santa-ke dup-de-ahaj jfor-ke de-ke a-chanfi-le-e* [*> achanfine*]  
 Santa-DAT meet-say-COND hello-NOM say-NOM IRR-become-IMPF-IRR  
 'If you meet Santa you might say "hello".'

#### 12.1.1.4 Complements of intention verbs

The verb *pa*, meaning 'seek ~ try', as in (8), has grammaticalized to express intention and expectation (see also §5.1.2), as in (9). The verb '*de* (T) ~ *te* (S) 'say' also expresses intention; see §12.1.1.9.

- (8) (a) *naŋ-ko-e badfin pa-mΛ nΛ le ki ma le*  
 2S-HON-ERG clothing seek-NOM EMPH IMPF or NEG COP  
 'Are you looking for clothes?'
- (b) *ho-se-ko im bahire nuŋ-mo rokotyak pa-ke thal-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF-PL house outside go-SEQ frog seek-NOM begin-PST  
 'They, having gone outside the house, began to search for the frog.'  
 (A.012T)

- (9) (a) *i-lak pheri ho-se-i rokotyak bfianda-ij khyeufi-ke*  
 P.DEM.CIR still D.DEM-DEF-FOC frog small.pot-ABL emerge-NOM

*pa-mΛ le-a*  
 seek-NOM IMPF-PST  
 'Here, still, the frog was trying to get out of the small pot.' (B.B.003S)

- (b) *naŋ mis-ke pa-mΛ le* [*>pame* (T)]  
 2S sleep-NOM seek-NOM IMPF  
 'Do you intend (and/or expect) to sleep?'

- (c) *rΛ ho-se-ko dhodfiar-ij i-lak patti an-ke*  
 also D.DEM-DEF-PL log-ABL P.DEM-CIR side go-NOM

*pa-mΛ le i-lak patti pa-mΛ le*  
 seek-NOM IMPF P.DEM-CIR side seek-NOM IMPF  
 'And they have yet to go from the log to the other side, (they) intended to go to the other side.' (B.B.033S)

The form *pa-mΛ le* [seek-NOM IMPF] has extended its meaning to express future.

Examples in (10) can have an interpretation of either intention and expectation or future;

see also §5.1.2.

(10) (a) *ram pokhara nuŋ-ke pa-mΛ le*  
 Ram Pokhara go-NOM seek-NOM IMPF  
 'Ram intends to go to Pokhara.'  
 ~ 'Ram is going to Pokhara.'

(b) *chaita-dasain rafi-ke jΛ pa-mΛ le*  
 Chaita-Dasain come-NOM EMPH seek-NOM IMPF  
 'Chaita-Dasien is also expected to come.'  
 ~ 'Chaita-Dasien is coming.'

The construction *pa-mΛ le* has also extended its meaning to express desire, as in (11).

(11) (a) *ho-se-e gyok jafi-ke pa-mΛ le*  
 D.DEM-DEF-ERG basket weave-NOM seek-NOM IMPF  
 'She wants to weave a basket.'

(b) *ho-se -e ningurya jya -ke pa-mΛ le*  
 D.DEM-DEF-ERG fern.shoots eat -NOM seek-NOM IMPF  
 'She wants to eat fern shoots.'

(c) *ŋa ŋa-o im-aŋ nuŋ-ke pa-mΛ le-na*  
 1S 1S-GEN house-LOC go-NOM seek-NOM IMPF-1PRO  
 'I want to go home.' (S)

#### 12.1.1.5 Complements of ability verbs

The verb *warfi* 'know' takes complements which express knowledge of a skill or process as in (12). The verb *hyok* 'be able' takes complements which express ability to perform an act as in (13).

(12) (a) *ŋa-e dfiakar jafi-ke warfi-le*  
 1S-ERG carrying.basket weave-NOM know-IMP  
 'I know how to weave a basket.' (T)

(b) *ŋa-e por-dis-ke ma-warfi-le-aŋ*  
 1S-ERG read-LN-NOM NEG-know-IMP-1PRO  
 'I don't know how to read.' (S)

(13) (a) *laxmi-e sefi-mΛ lfiŋ-ke hyok-le*  
 Laxmi-ERG good-NOM sing-NOM able-IMP  
 'Laxmi can sing well.'

(b) *marfi-cyo mi-ja cΛm-cΛm wfi-a-ke hyok-le*  
 small-ATT POSS-child now-now walk-NOM able-IMP  
 'The small child is now just able to walk.'

### 12.1.1.6 Complements of permission and prohibition verbs

The verb *yafi* takes complements which express permission as in (14) and prohibition as in (15). Both are expressed in a complex clause in which the nominalized clause is the complement of the matrix clause verb *yafi* 'give' and the subordinate clause is nominalized with *-ke*.

(14) (a) *boi-e mi-ja-ke bɔjar-aŋ nuŋ-ke yafi-a*  
 father-ERG POSS-child-DAT bazaar-LOC go-PRSP permit-PAST  
 'Father let daughter go to the bazaar.' (P.01T)

(b) *ŋa-e naŋ-ko-ke jya-ke yafi-le-aŋ*  
 1S-ERG 2S-HON-DAT eat-NOM give-IMPF-1PRO  
 'I will let you eat.' (S)

(c) *ŋa-e naŋ-ko-ke ŋa-o bɔdɬin hurɬ-ke ma-yafi-le*  
 1S-ERG 2S-HON-DAT 1S-GEN clothes wash-NOM NEG-give-IMPF  
 'I will not let you wash my clothes.' (T)

(15) (a) *ho-se-ke mis-ke ma-yafi-o*  
 D.DEM-DEF-DAT sleep-NOM NEG-give-IMP  
 'Don't let him sleep!'

(b) *nuŋ-ke ma-yafi-o*  
 go-NOM NEG-give -IMP  
 'Don't let him go.' (L.29)

Requests for permission for one's self or another to the exclusion of the addressee, what is called the exclusive-hortative, are expressed in complex sentences formed with the honorific imperative of the verb *yafi*, in the matrix clause. In Syangja, the honorific marker is *nis*; in Tanahu, it is *ni* as in (16).

(16) (a) *ŋa-ke nuŋ-ke yafi-ni(s)*  
 1S-DAT go-NOM give-IMP  
 'Let me go!'

(b) *ŋa-ke jya-ke yafi-ni(s)*  
 1S-DAT eat-NOM give-IMP.HON  
 'Let me eat!'

(c) *ja-ja-ko-ke ges-ke yafi-ni(s)*  
 child-child-PL-DAT play-NOM give-IMP.HON  
 'Let the children play!'

(d) *naŋ-ko-ke mis-ke yafi-ni(s)*  
 2S-HON-DAT sleep-NOM give-IMP.HON  
 'Let her sleep!'

In Magar, strong negative advisability (see §12.1.1.3) has the strength of a prohibition, as in (17).

(17) (a) *nambi-aŋ ho-se-i bafire-iŋ nuŋ-ke ma-chanfi-le*  
 night-LOC D.DEM-DEF-FOC out -ABL go-NOM NEG- become-IMPF  
 'She must not go outside at night.'

(b) *jya-naŋ naŋ-e thuk-cyo jya-ke ma-chanfi-le*  
 eat-SIM 2S-ERG spice -ATT eat-NOM NEG-become-IMPF  
 'You must not eat spicy food.' (T)

(c) *dun-ca di ga-ke ma-chanfi-le*  
 muddy-ATT water drink-NOM NEG-become-IMPF  
 'One must not drink muddy water.' (S)

#### 12.1.1.7 Complements of manipulation verbs

Manipulation verbs, such as *ŋefi* (T) ~ *ŋifi* (S) 'beg', take complements, as in (18). To force or make someone do something is expressed with the causative ((19)), not a complement clause; for a description of the causative; see §11.5.5.

(18) (a) *ŋa-o mi-ja-ko laurfya chanfi-ke ŋifi-le-aŋ te-le-sa*  
 1S-GEN POSS-child-PL soldier become-NOM beg-IMPF-1PRO say-IMPF-INFR  
 'Apparently, he said "I beg that my children become soldiers".' (Q.Q.030S)

(b) *nani-e boi-ke bAjar-aŋ nuŋ-ke ŋefi-le*  
 little.sister father-DAT bazaar-LOC go-NOM beg-IMPF  
 'Little sister begged father to go to the bazaar.' (T)

(19) *cyu-e i-lak toko cahin cyu-e argan-o mim jfi-al-ak-a*  
 dog-ERG P.DEM-CIR side well dog-ERG wasp-GEN nest fall-CAUS-PST  
 'The dog, on this side, well, the dog made the wasp nest fall down.' (C.C.017S)

### 12.1.1.8 Complements of sensation verbs

The verb *se*, which as an independent verb means 'sense' and specifically 'hear' ~ 'feel', as in (18) has extended its meaning to encompass the desiderative and volitive. The

desiderative expresses a desire and the volitive an unrealizable 'wish' (see also §5.3.2.7).

Complements of *se* unlike other verbs (with the exception of *de*, §12.1.1.9) are not nominalized with *-ke*, rather they are nominalized with *-mΛ* ((20c)), or are bare verb stems ((20a, b)).

(20) (a) *ŋa-o tuk ranci ranci se-mΛ le*  
 1S-GEN stomach hunger hunger feel-NOM IMPF  
 'I feel hungry.' (L.10bS) (lit. 'My stomach feels hunger'.)

(b) *ŋa-ke di sonfi sonfi se-mΛ le*  
 1S water thirst thirst feel-NOM IMPF  
 'I feel thirst for water.' (L.10aT)

(c) *ŋa-ke khan-mΛ se-mΛ le*  
 1S-DAT hot-NOM feel-NOM IMPF  
 'I feel hot.' (L.10aT)

#### 12.1.1.8.1 Desiderative clauses

The desiderative complement may be a reduplicated verb stem as in (21)<sup>3</sup>.

(21) (a) *ŋa-e mis-mis se-mΛ le-na*  
 1S-ERG sleep-sleep feel-NOM IMPF-1PRO  
 'I want to sleep.' (S)

(b) *ŋa-ke ga-ga se-mΛ le* [ $>$  seme]  
 1S drink-drink feel -NOM IMPF  
 'I want to drink.' (T)

(c) *baje-e sya jya-jya se-mΛ le nΛ te-a ta*  
 grandmother-ERG flesh eat-eat feel-NOM IMPF EMPH say-PST REP  
 'They say, our grandmother said "I really feel like eating meat.' (S)

(d) *sen-sen ŋa-ke gunya bil bil se-mΛ le*  
 when-when 1S-DAT skirt wear-wear feel-NOM IMPF  
 'Sometimes, I feel like wearing a skirt.' ~ 'Sometimes, I want to wear a skirt.' (T)

<sup>3</sup> Kham has a similar construction with 'sense, perceive' with a similar meaning; as in *le-le ŋəm-si-u* 'desireable to stay at' personal communication June 11 2008.

- (e) *ram pokhara nuᅇ-nuᅇ se-mΛ le ta*  
 Ram Pokhara go -go feel-NOM IMPF REP  
 'They say Ram wants to go to Pokhara.'

The verb *pa-mΛ le*, which expresses intention, expectation and future can also express desires; see §12.1.1.2.

#### 12.1.1.8.2 Volitive clauses

The volitive, which expresses an unrealizable desire, is formed with the verb *se* 'sense' in combination with the verb *lekha* 'seem' or 'resemble' in the matrix clause. The verb in the complement clause is finite (in irrealis-optative mood) as in (22). The hortative mood-marker *-us* has been borrowed into Tanahu dialect from Nepali as in (23).

- (22) (a) *ᅇa m-i-tΛ-cha-e-na lekha se-le-aᅇ* [*>mitchana*]  
 1S NEG-OPT-IRR-sick-IRR-1PRO seem feel-IMP-1PRO  
 'I wish I were not sick.' (S)
- (b) *ᅇa mi-tΛ-cha-e lekha se-le* [*>mi?chae*]  
 1S NEG-IRR-OPT-sick-IRR seem feel-IMP-1PRO  
 'I wish I were not sick.' (T)
- (c) *ᅇa naᅇ-ko a-tΛ-rafi-e-nis lekha se-le-aᅇ* [*>atrafinis*]  
 1S 2S-HON IRR-OPT-come-IRR seem feel-IMP  
 'I wish you would come.' (S)
- (d) *ᅇa gwa a-tΛ-chanfi-e lekha se-le*  
 1S bird IRR-OPT-become-IRR seem feel -IMP  
 'I wish I would become a bird.' (T)
- (23) (a) *ᅇa ma-cha-us lekha se-le*  
 1S NEG-sick-HORT seem feel-IMP  
 'I wish I were not sick.' (T)
- (b) *naᅇ-ko rafi-us lekha se-le*  
 2S-HON come-HORT seem feel-IMP  
 'I wish you would come.' (T)
- (c) *ᅇa gwa chanfi-us lekha se-le*  
 1S bird become-HORT seem feel -IMP  
 'I wish I would become a bird.' (T)



Unrealizable wishes can also be expressed with counter-factual conditionals as in (24).

(24) (a) *ŋa-o minam im le lfiya-ak-cyo boi-moi ŋa*  
 1S-GEN new house COP seem-COND-ATT father-mother IS

*kathA a-mu-le-e*

with IRR-stay-IMPF-IRR

'If only I had a new house father and mother would live with me.' (T)

(b) *i-se myertuŋ-aŋ kalŋi-ke hyok-de-afiŋ-cA*  
 P.DEM-DEF tree-LOC climb-NOM able-say-COND-ATT

*ŋa-e satak a-tA-dfiuŋ-aŋ*

1S-ERG mango IRR-OPT-pick-1.PRO

'If only I were able to climb this tree, I would pick the mangoes.' (S)

(c) *ŋa gwa chanfi-ke dinfi-de-ahaŋ a-chanfi-e-na*  
 1S bird become-NON find-say-COND IRR-become-IRR-1PRO

'I wish I would become a bird.' (S)

#### 12.1.1.9 Complements of the verb 'say'

The verb *de* (T) ~ *te* (S) 'say', in a variety of forms, takes quotative, converbial and conditional complements. Complements of 'say' are also varied in their form; they may be finite and they may also be nominalized and non-finite. Likewise functions of the verb are manifold. It functions, on sentence-level<sup>4</sup>, as a complementizer for indirect quotations and for verbs of cognition and perception. Moreover, it is apparent that the verb 'say' has extended its semantic range to express purpose, intention, comparison and condition; all of which are clauses with complements of a form of 'say'. These are briefly presented here and are dealt with in detail in §14.2. Furthermore, it is proposed that the verb *de*, 'say' has broadened its semantic field and expresses mental processes. This semantic extension is discussed in §14.4.4.

<sup>4</sup> Noonan (2006) for Chantyal from a discourse (not sentence-level) perspective analyses this sort of construction, and a large number of others involving 'say' as a rhetorical style. This applies to Magar as well and is discussed in chapter fourteen.

### 12.1.1.9.1 Quotative clauses

The verb 'say', *de* in Tanahu and *te* in Syangja, takes direct quotations as complements.

The verb 'say' is finite when used to quote directly as is the verb in the complement

clause as in (25). Quotations include onomatopoeic utterances as in (26).

(25) (a) *baje-e de-a ŋa-e chitua dinfi-le rA ŋap-le*  
 grandfather-ERG say-PST 1S-ERG leopard find-IMP and shoot-IMP  
 'Grandfather said, "I will find the leopard and shoot it."' (T)

(a) *baje-e te-a ŋa-e chitua dup-le-aŋ rA ŋap-le-aŋ*  
 grandfather-ERG say-PST 1S-ERG leopard find-IMP and shoot-IMP-IPRO  
 'Grandfather said, "I will find the leopard and shoot it."' (S)

(b) *pAtTA-jANA ōs-nis naŋ-ko-lafi-e kauwa-e te-a*  
 all-HUM.CL look-HON.IMP 2S-HON-self-ERG crow-ERG say-PST

*uruwa-ke rA uruwa-o raj-ke*  
 owl-DAT and owl-GEN king-DAT

'"Everyone, look for yourself!" said the crow to the owls and the owls' king.'  
 (DD.050S)

(26) (a) *myertuŋ coyaŋk coyaŋk te-a*  
 tree ONO ONO say-PST  
 'The tree made a loud crashing noise.' (S)

Onomatopoeic reduplications also combine with light verbs such as *jat* 'do' as in (27); see

also §4.1.1.3 and §9.6.

(27) *bilap-bilap ma-jat-o* [*>najato(S)*]  
 ONO ONO NEG-do-IMP  
 'Stop wailing!'

### 12.1.1.9.2 The verb 'say' as a complementizer

In Magar, as in other Tibeto-Burman languages of this area, for example Chantyal

(Noonan 2006) and Chepang (Caughley p.c. 2006), utterance predicates and verbs of

cognition can't take complements<sup>5</sup>. In these constructions the verb 'say' functions as a

<sup>5</sup> Noonan (p.c 2008) observes that this is a syntactic pattern analogous to what is found in motion expressions in languages of this area. For example "I to-Kathmandu run-CONVERB go-PAST" is the usual way for many languages to express 'I ran to Kathmandu' because in 'boundary-crossing' situations,

complementizer. It is in sequential converbal form *de-mo* (T) ~ *te-mo* (S) and the complement is finite, as in (28).

- (28) *babu-ja-e men-o boi-ke karfiag-di*  
 boy-child-ERG 3S-GEN father-DAT big-water  
  
*ku-laŋ ale de-mo ginfi-a*  
 INTRG-LOC COP say-SEQ ask-PAST  
 'The boy asked his father "Where is Big Water?".'

The sequential converbal form of 'say' also functions as a complementizer for verbs of cognition and emotion; for example, 'fear', 'understand' 'believe', as in (29a-d).

- (29) (a) *sarkhar phut-le de-mo ŋa birifi-ma na le* [*>birifime*]  
 government fall-IMPF say-SEQ 1S fear-IMPF EMPH IMPH  
 'I fear that the government will fall.' (T)
- (b) *sarkhar phut-le de-mo ŋa birifi-ma le-na* [*>birifimama*]  
 government fall-IMPF say-SEQ 1S fear-NOM IMPF-1PRO  
 'I fear that the government will fall.' (S)
- (c) *naŋ rafi-le de-mo warfi-mo ŋa rafi-ca ale*  
 2S come-IMPF say-SEQ understand-SEQ 1S coming-ATT COP  
 'Understanding that you came, I came.'
- (d) *patta-ko-e laksmi de-mo aghera a-chanfi-e*  
 all-PL-ERG Laxmi say-SEQ first IRR-become-IRR  
 'Everyone believes that Laxmi would be first (in studying).' (T)

The verb 'say' also functions as a complementizer in complement clauses expressing reason. These clauses are subordinated by a nominalized form of the interrogative 'why' *hi-ke*. The verb 'say' is in the simultaneous converbal form, *de-naŋ* (T) ~ *te-naŋ* (S), as in (30). The complement clause is finite.

- (30) (a) *ŋa mfiuŋ-ma le hi-ke de-naŋ ŋa-e dherai kam jat-a* [*>mfiŋme*]  
 1S tire-NOM IMPF why-NOM say-SIM 1S-ERG very work do-PST  
 'I am tired because I worked too much.' (T)

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manner verbals cannot be main verbs, only direction verbals can. Likewise utterance and cognition verbs cannot be main verbs.

(b) *ŋa mfiuŋ-mΛ le hi-ke te-naŋ ŋa dʒialiŋ ŋa-kajus-a-aŋ*  
 1S tire-NOM IMPF why-NOM say-SIM 1S-ERG very 1PRO-work-PST-1PRO  
 'I am tired because I worked too much.' (S)

Reason can also be expressed by an adverbial form of 'say' *de-ŋfiak-iŋ* [say-front-ABL]; see §12.1.1.9.3.

### 12.1.1.9.3 Complements of 'say' with extended meaning

As noted above (and discussed in detail in chapter fourteen), the verb 'say' has extended its semantic range to express, purpose, intention, reason, condition and concession. The clausal complements of the verb 'say' when expressing purpose and intention complement clauses are non-finite and nominalized with *-ke*; reason and concessive clauses are finite. There are two conditional forms, one with 'say', this takes finite complement clauses, the other does not.

Clauses expressing purpose are formed with the sequential converbal form of 'say', *de-mo* (T) ~ *te-mo* (S) (the same form it has when functioning as a complementizer).

The purpose clause precedes the matrix, as in (31).

(31) (a) *di-sya pa-ke de-mo kaŋ-ko mfiak-lak gΛndaki-aŋ nuŋ-ke le*  
 water-flesh seek-NOM say-SEQ 1P-PL down-CIR river-LOC go-NOM IMPF  
 'In order to look for fish we are going to go down-stream on the river.' (T)

Intention is expressed with a progressive form of the verb 'say' and a subordinated non-finite clause nominalized with *-ke*, as in (32).

(32) (a) *santa-e lapha-ke dup-ke te-mΛ le*  
 Santa-ERG friend-DAT meet-NOM say-NOM IMPF  
 'Santa intends to meet a friend.' (S)

(b) *tilisara-e baɗfiin hurfi-ke de-mΛ-le*  
 Tilisara-ERG clothing wash-NOM say-NOM-IMPf  
 'Tilisara intends to wash clothes.' (T)

The verb 'say' followed by the postposition *ŋfiak-ij* [front-ABL] meaning 'after' expresses reason in a finite complement clause, as in (33).

- (33) *patta-ko-e gfiel-ca ta nas jat-a te-ŋfiak-ij*  
 all-PL-ERG follow-ATT REP destruction do-PST say-front-ABL  
*banduk la-mo sya-rafi-ges-ca ta*  
 gun take-SEQ flesh-come-play-ATT REP  
 'They say everyone chased him because of the destruction he  
 wrought, (they) having taken guns, hunted him.' (S)

The conditional is expressed with the verb 'say', *de-ahaŋ* (T) *te-ahaŋ* (S), as in (34). This conditional has different allomorphs across the dialects and there is also a form *lfiyak* ((34b)), which is attested only in Tanahu dialect and which is described in §4.3.1.

- (34) (a) *pokhara-aŋ dangga-e ket-a te-ahaŋ di dun-le*  
 lake-LOC stick-INST stir-PST say-COND water muddy-IMPF  
 'If the lake is stirred with a stick then the water will be muddy.' (S)  
 (b) *naŋ-ko dferai kam jat-de-lfiyak (naŋ-ko) mfiuŋ-le*  
 2S-HON very work do-say-COND (2S-PL) tire-IMPF  
 'If you work a lot you will be tired.' (T)

The verbs in both the protasis and the apodosis of the conditional subordinated with [say-COND] are finite as in (35a). The verb of the protasis of the conditional formed with *lfiyak* is non-finite and may be nominalized; that of the apodosis is finite, as in (35b). In Syangja dialect the postposition *-pyak*, borrowed from Nepali, can also be used, as in (36).

- (35) (a) *ra bfiyat-cyo de-lfiyak abo kan dulha-dulhi-ke*  
 and finish-ATT say-COND now 1P groom-bride-DAT  
*jogya-ij sot-le*  
 marriage.fire.altar-ABL raise-IMPF  
 'And if we have finished, now, we will raise the groom and the bride from  
 marriage fire-altar.' (E.E.050T)

(b) *ŋa kaθa poisa le-lfiyak ŋa-e im khas-ke le*  
 1S with count-ATT COP-COND 1S-ERG house build-NOM IMPF  
 'If I have money, I am going to build a house.' (T)

(36) *ŋa kaθa hil-cyo le-pyak ŋa-e im khas-ke ale*  
 1S with count-ATT COP-after 1S-ERG house build-NOM COP  
 'If I have money, I am going to build a house.' (S)

Concessive clauses are formed with the conditional *de-ahaŋ* or *de-lfiyak* (T) plus *da*, the indefinite marker ((37)). Both clauses in concessives are also finite (see also §14.2.6).

(37) (a) *ho-se-e porfi-di-s-te-ahaŋ-da ma-pafi-le* [*>pordisdhyanda*]  
 D.DEM-DEF-ERG study-LN-ITR-say-COND-INDF NEG-learn-IMPF  
 'Although he studies, he does not learn.' (S)

(b) *mi-rhaŋ-aŋ hak-mo kher-naŋ cyu-e*  
 POSS-horn-LOC stick-SEQ run-SIM dog-ERG

*daŋ-mo cyu-e jfiak-ak-ke pa-de-lfiyak-da ma-hyok-a*  
 see-SEQ dog-ERG fall-CAUS-NOM try-say-COND-INDF NEG-able-PST  
 'Having seen (the little boy) stuck on the horns and being run away with, although, the dog tried to get him down, he was unable to.' (A.026T)

In Tanahu dialect, concessive clauses may also be formed with *nara* 'although'. This term may be comprised of the Nepali negative *na* and conjunction *ra*.

(38) (a) *ho-se-e ku-dik porfi-dis nara ma-pafi-le*  
 D.DEM-DEF-ERG INTRG-QUNT study-LN although NEG-learn-IMPF  
 'No matter how much he studies, he does not learn.' (T)

(b) *ku-dik jat nara ma-bfiat-le*  
 INTRG-QUNT do although NEG-finish-PST  
 'No matter how much I work, it is not finished.' (T)

(c) *ho-se-e ku-dik jya nara ma-des-le*  
 D.DEM-DEF-ERG INTRG-QUNT eat although NEG-des-IMPF  
 'No matter how much she eats, she does not bet fat.' (T)

### 12.1.2 Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses are clausal adjuncts which provide information about time, place and manner. In Magar, functions which are carried out by adverbs in other languages, are carried out by a variety of word classes. For example, manner and temporal adverbial

clauses, may be subordinated by a case-marked noun, pronoun or demonstrative.

Converbal clauses also express temporal adverbial information. Locational adverbial clauses are nominalized adjective constructions (i.e. adjective clauses, see §10.2.1.2).

Adverb clauses may also be subordinated by an adverb borrowed from Nepali.

### 12.1.2.1 Manner and degree clauses

Manner includes means and intensification. Means are expressed nominalized verbs in instrumental case, as in (39), as well as by converbal clauses; the latter are treated in §12.1.3.

(39) (a) *ho-ta chanfi-ca-e kauwa batho ja ale men kalo ale*  
 D.DEM-MNR happen-ATT-INST crow clever EMPH COP 3 black COP  
 'Then, by this happening, the crow is clever indeed and he is black.' (DD.081S)

(b) *lhuj rak-ca-e lam-o dhiwaŋ pin-ak-a*  
 stone bring-ATT-INST road-GEN hole fill-CAUS-PST  
 'By bringing stones, he filled the hole in the road.'

(c) *kauwa men-o thutna-e thonfi-ca-e du dumfi-a*  
 crow 3S-GEN beak-INST reach-ATT-INST insect catch-PST  
 'By reaching with his beak the crow caught the insect.'

(d) *mi-jamfi-ca-e daja-e path-a kat-yak-ig*  
 POSS-anger-ATT-INST elder.brother-ERG kid-ML one-day-ABL

*unnis sai-aŋ arla-a*  
 nineteen hundred-LOC sell-PST  
 'In anger elder brother sold the goat the day before yesterday  
 for nineteen hundred.' (K.K 041S)

When suffixed to a verb, the lative case conveys the meaning 'to the utmost' ~ 'as much as', as in (40) (see also §3.4.2.2.5 and §9.6).

(40) *ho-se-ke ga-tar yaŋi-ke*  
 D.DEM-DEF-DAT drink-SUP give-NOM  
 'Give him as much as he can drink.'

Intensification is expressed by reduplication of the simultaneous converb ((41)); see §12.3.1 and by persistive aspect (42); see §5.2.2.2.3.

(41) *ho-ta ja ho-se-ko-e abo ku-ta jat-mo*  
 D.DEM-MNR EMPH D.DEM-DEF-PL-ERG now INTRG-MNR do-SEQ

*khyofi-ke de-mo i-ta jat-mo ŋos-mo wfi-naŋ*  
 emerge-SEQ say-SEQ P.DEM-MNR do-SEQ look-SEQ walk-SIM

*wfi-naŋ kat dhodra mudfia-ke daŋ-a*  
 walk-SIM one hollow log-DAT see-PST

'Then, they wondered what they would have to do now to get out; having looked, while walking and walking, they saw a hollow log.' (A.A.028T)

(42) *ho-se bfiarmi-e pheri i-lak toko ŋak-mΛ ja mu-mΛ le*  
 D.DEM-DEF person-ERG again P.DEM-CIR side call-NOM EMPH sit-NOM IMPF

*men-o rokotyak ŋafi-ak-mΛ ja mu-mΛ le-a*  
 3-GEN frog call-CAUS-NOM EMPH sit-NOM IMPF-PST

'The person, again on this side, was still constantly calling to his frog, calling and calling.' (C.C.021S)

### 12.1.2.2 Location clauses

Location clauses are essentially adjective clauses (see §10.2.2). The adjective clause is marked with the attributive nominalizer *-cyo* ~ *-ca* and precedes the location it modifies, as in (43).

(43) (a) *hos-ko-e por-di-s-ak-ca iskul ku-laŋ le*  
 D.DEM-HON-ERG read-LN-ITR-CAUS-ATT school where-LOC COP

'Where is the school where he teaches?'

~ 'Where is the school which he teaches at?'

(b) *hos-ko-e por-di-s-ak-ca iskul pokhara kherep-uŋ*  
 D.DEM-HON-ERG read-LN-ITR-CAUS-ATT school Pokhara near-GEN

*laŋgha-aŋ kherep le*  
 village-LOC near COP

'The school where he teaches is in a village near Pokhara.'

~ 'The school that he teaches at is in a village near Pokhara.'

### 12.1.2.3 Temporal and causal clauses

Temporal clauses take a variety of forms. They may be subordinated by native postpositions (including case-marked nouns), by borrowed postpositions, by adverbs, or by converbs; the latter are described in §12.1.3.



Postpositional time clauses are formed with both native and borrowed postpositions.

Among the native postpositions in temporal clauses are *pyak* meaning 'after', *nfiun-ij* [back-ABL] meaning 'later' or 'secondly' and *ɲfiak-ij* [front-ABL] meaning 'after'. All three are case-marked nouns whose spatial meaning has extended to a temporal one. Postpositions are also borrowed from Nepali; for example, *pachi*, meaning 'after', and *dekhiŋ*, meaning 'from' and 'since'.

The postposition *pyak* 'after', used in Syangja dialect, suffixes to a bare verb stem of which it becomes a part, as can be seen from the fact that it precedes the nominalizer as in (44a). It subordinates a clause that expresses an event to which the main clause is subsequent. It often combines with Nepali *pachi* 'after' as in (44c).

(44) (a) *ho-se ra kaθa-i ho-se-ke bigar-di-pyak-ca*  
 D.DEM-DEF also with-FOC D.DEM-DEF-DAT damage-LN-after-ATT

*ho-se-o a-se thaŋ ja aŋ-ke paɾ-di-a maŋ*  
 D.DEM-DEF-GEN R.DEM-DEF place EMPH go-NOM must-LN-PST truly  
 'She also, after being spoiled, had to go to his (the Brahmin's) place, truly.'  
 (R.R.013S)

(b) *ho-se-ko-e rfi-a-ke cakho jat-le cakho jat-pyak*  
 D.DEM-DEF-PL-ERG goat-DAT purify do-IMPf purify do-after

*ho-se-ko-e ba-li ya-fi -le*  
 D.DEM-DEF-PL-ERG sacrifice give-IMPf  
 'They purify the goat. After it is purified, they sacrifice it.' (R.12S)

(c) *ho-ta-i ja ho-se mfi da-pyak pachi mfi*  
 D.DEM-MNR-FOC EMPH D.DEM-DEF fire put-after after fire

*dfi-a maŋ*  
 burn-PST truly  
 'And thereupon after having put (twigs) on the fire, the fire truly burned.'  
 (DD.079S)

As noted above and as described in §9.4, certain spatial nouns and demonstratives have developed temporal meanings. Both *nfiun* and *ɲfiak*, body-part nouns meaning

'back' and 'front', when ablative case-marked have developed the temporal meanings of 'later' and 'after' respectively and both serve to subordinate temporal clauses to a main clause, as seen in (45) and (46).

(45) (a) *tika talo jat-ŋfiak-ij dasami-uŋ bisarjan chanfi-le*  
 tika patch do-front-ABL dasami-GEN conclusion become-IMPF2  
 'After doing the tika patch, Dasami, is concluded.' (F.F. 008T)

(b) *nfiun-ij babu-ja rafi-mo cyu-ke la-a ra nuŋ-a*  
 back-ABL boy-child come-SEQ dog-DAT take-NOM and go-PST  
 'Later the little boy having come to the dog, took (him) and went off.' (A.011T)

(c) *ho-se nambi cyu ra bfiarmi mis-a ra nfiun-ij*  
 D.DEM-DEF night dog and person sleep-PST and back-ABL

*rokotyak cahin bfianda-ij khyofi-a*  
 frog well small.pot-ABL emerge-PST  
 'That night, the dog and the person slept and later the frog, well, emerged from the small pot.' (C.C.007S)

(d) *cek nfiun-ij ale ki hi rafi-ke te-ma le*  
 bit back-ABL COP or what come-NOM say-NOM IMPF  
 'It was a little later, or was it, the thing we are speaking of.' (T.T.019S)

(e) *ra nfiun-ij ho-se-ko nfiis khyofi-a khyofi-dekhiŋ*  
 and back-ABL D.DEM-DEF-PL two emerge-PST emerge-from

*ho-se cyu len-ja ja-ja-o kadfia-aŋ an-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF dog young.male-child child-child-GEN shoulder-LOC go-PST  
 'And later the two emerged, after emerging, the dog got onto the boy's shoulder.' (B.B.030 S)

(46) (a) *ho-se-ko nfiis kaθa-i choti pokhara-aŋ thaŋi-a ra nfiun-ij*  
 D.DEM-DEF-PL two with-FOC instance lake-LOC sink-PST and back-ABL

*ho-se ja-ja ho-se ja-ja thaŋi-ŋfiak-ij khyofi-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF child-child D.DEM-DEF child-child sink-front-ABL emerge-PST

*ra cyu pheri ho-se-o kadfia-aŋ an-a*  
 and dog again D.DEM-DEF-GEN shoulder-LOC go-PST

'These two, together, sunk, in an instant, into the pond and afterwards the boy, the boy after sinking, got out and, with the dog on his shoulder, he went on his way.' (C.C.026S)

(b) *rodi mu-ŋfiak-ij sen-sen langhja-uj babu-ja-ko rafi-le*  
 Rodi sit-front-ABL when-when village-GEN boy-child-PL come-IMP  
 'After (the young men and women) are sitting at Rodi, sometimes the young boys of the village will come.' (C.003T)

(c) *ho-tak-ij jumfi-cyo sahak suru chanfi-ŋfiak-ij*  
 D.DEM-SUP-ABL cold-ATT month start become-front-ABL

*jhyabarya syafi-ke suru jat-le*  
 Jhyabarya dance-NOM start do-IMP

'Then after the cold months have started, (we) start to dance the 'Jhyabarya'. (C.012T)

(d) *asa uruwa-o par-lak patti an-ŋfiak-ij*  
 R.DEM owl-GEN side-CIR side go-front-ABL

*mfiak-aŋ me-ko-uj im-aŋ mfiak-aŋ mu-ŋfiak-ij ra*  
 down-LOC 3S-PL-GEN house-LOC down-LOC sit-front-ABL and

*ŋa haya babai haya babai te-le-aŋ*  
 1S groan father groan father say-IMP-1PRO

'After going over there to the owl's side and after sitting below their nest, I will groan "oh father, oh father".' (DD.029S)

Also frequently used, especially in Syangja dialect, is *dekhij*, adopted from the Nepali adverb *dekhi* meaning 'from', 'after' or 'since' ((47)). The postposition *dekhij* expresses a temporal relationship and has developed a causal one, as in (48).

(47) (a) *celos-dekhij si-ca*  
 hang-from die-ATT  
 'After hanging herself, she just died?' (R.R.011S)

(b) *ho-se-ko pahar-aŋ kalfi-a curcuraŋ tak-dekhij mfiuŋ-*  
 D.DEM-DEF-PL rock.face-LOC climb-PST peak reach- from tire

*bat-a*  
 set-PST

'They climbed the rock face, after they reached the highest peak, they rested.' (S)

(48) (a) *ma-mis-dekhij ŋa ŋa-cha-aŋ*  
 NEG-sleep-from 1S 1PRO-sick-1PRO  
 'After I did not sleep, I was ill.' ~ 'Because I didn't sleep, I was ill.' (R.11S)

(b) *ho-se bacchi ma-lofi-dekhij ŋa-ke dferai chanfi-ma le*  
 D.DEM-DEF female.calf NEG-discard-from 1S-DAT very become-NOM IMP

'The female calf, after not getting rid of it, has become too much for me.'  
 ~ '...because I did not get rid of it...' (K.K. 058S)

(c) *dfia-dekhiŋ* *hos* *kauw-o* *mantri* *jʌ* *bahire-aŋ* *khyofi-a*  
 burn -from that crow-GEN minister EMPH outside-LOC emerge-PST

*dfia-dekhiŋ* *uruwa-ko* *bfitre* *jʌ* *sat-a* *jomfi-ak-a* *rʌ*  
 burn-from owl-PL inside EMPH kill-PST burn-CAUS-PST and  
 'After the fire was burning, the minister of the crows indeed, came outside.  
 After the fire was burning, the owls were burned to death inside.'  
 ~ '....because the fire was burning....' (DD.080S)

Forms of demonstratives may also have temporal meanings. The distal demonstrative in superessive plus ablative case: *ho-tak-iŋ* [D.DEM-SUP-ABL], meaning 'from on there', has extended its basic spatial meaning to a temporal meaning 'then' or 'thereupon'. It reduces to [hotiŋ ~ hʌtiŋ]. The distal demonstrative followed by the manner suffix *ho-ta* 'this way' or 'like this' has also developed temporal and causal meanings; *ho-ta* is frequently followed by the focus marker and emphatic particle, resulting in *ho-ta-i nʌ* (T) ~ *ho-ta-i jʌ* (S). These forms of the distal demonstrative are ubiquitously used to relate and link independent clauses and sections of discourse.

When the full form *ho-tak-iŋ* is used, it generally retains its spatial meaning and may combine with the reduced form which expresses a subsequent temporal relation ((49)).

(49) (a) *ho-ta-i* *ho-tak-iŋ* *ho-se-e* *men-o* *len-ja*  
 D.DEM-MNR-FOC D.DEM-SUP-ABLD.DEM-DEF-ERG 3-GEN boy-child

*mi-ja-e* *õs-naŋ* *õs-naŋ* *ho-se* *cyu* *cahin*  
 POSS-child-ERG look-SIM look-SIM D.DEM-DEF dog well

*khorfio-a* *rʌ* *sisi* *bfiat-a*  
 fall-PST and bottle break-PST

'Then, in that way, from up there, while his boy was looking and looking, the dog fell out (of the window), and the jar broke.' (C.C.012S)

(b) *ho-tak-iŋ*                    *garaŋ-le*                    *kat*                    *baha-aŋ*                    [*>hotiŋ*]  
 D.DEM-SUP-ABL                    remove-IMPF                    one                    grate-LOC

*garaŋ-le*                    *hose*                    *arko*                    *ho-tak-iŋ*  
 remove-IMPF                    D.DEM                    next                    D.DEM-SUP-ABL

*bfiitre*                    *raksi*                    *chanfi-le*                    *hai*  
 inside                    alcohol                    become-IMPF                    okay

'Then take one up from off the grate, take the next off, thus inside there will be alcohol, okay.' (D.O20T)

The following are examples of temporal linkage in discourse.

(50) (a) *ho-tak-iŋ*                    *ho-dik*                    *jat-ŋfiak-iŋ*                    *abo*                    *budfi-a-ko*                    [*>hotiŋ*]  
 D.DEM-SUP-ABL                    D.DEM-QUANT                    do-front-ABL                    now                    old-ML-PL

*ho-laŋ*                    *nuŋ-le*  
 D.DEM-LOC                    go-PST

'Then, in that way, after doing that, now, the elders will go.' (E.E.052S)

(b) *ra ho-tak-iŋ*                    *dulfi* *ra* *dulfi*                    *ani*                    *a-se-ko-e*  
 and D.DEM-SUP-ABL                    bride                    and                    groom-DAT                    then                    R.DEM-DEF-PL-ERG

*cahin mamoi*                    *mama*                    *moi*                    *ra* *boi*                    *de-mo* *fiŋor-le*  
 well                    maternal.uncle                    mother's.brother's.wife                    mother and father                    say-SEQ                    greet-IMPF  
 'And thereupon the bride and groom, the others, well, the mother's brother, his wife, mother and father, intend to greet them.' (E.E.029T)

(c) *puja* *jat-a* *ho-tak-iŋ*                    *rfa* *mi-ja*                    *ra* *gwa* *mi-ja*  
 worship do-PST                    D.DEM-SUP-ABL                    goat POSS-child and                    bird                    POSS-child

*jo-mo*                    *im-aŋ*                    *rak-a*  
 burn-SEQ                    house-LOC                    bring-PST

'Worship finished, thereupon the kid and the chicks are singed and brought home.' (T)

(51) (a) *ho-ta-i*                    *ja*                    *naŋ-o*                    *nani-ja*                    *ŋa-ke*                    *yafi-da-l*  
 D.DEM-MNR-FOC                    EMPH                    2S-GEN                    child-child                    1S-DAT                    give-2PRO-IMPF

*ra*                    *darfim*                    *jya-ke*                    *yafi-ke*                    *te-naŋ*  
 also                    pomegranate                    eat-NOM                    give-NOM                    say-SIM

'Then it was that (the yogi) asked, "Will you give me your child for a pomegranate to eat?."' (L.L.003S)

(b) *ho-ta-i*                    *a-se-kat*                    *coti gorak so-naŋ cahin ho-laŋ*  
 D.DEM-MNR-FOC R.DEM-DEF-one time morning rise-SIM well D.DEM-LOC

*rokotyak ma-le-a*  
 frog NEG-COP-PST

'Then, that long ago morning when they got up, well, the frog was not there.' (C.C.008S)

(c) *ho-ta na ho-se im-aŋ ho-se im-aŋ*  
 D.DEM-MNR EMPH D.DEM-DEF house-LOC D.DEM-DEF house-LOC

*a-se cyu kat cyu ra bfiarmi mis-ma mu-ma le-a*  
 P.DEM-DEF dog one dog and person sleep-NOM sit-NOM IMPF-PST

'Then, indeed, in that house, in that house, some dog, a dog and boy were sleeping.' (B.B.002)

Further semantic extension of *ho-ta-i* [D.DEM-MNR-FOC] and *ho-tak-ij*, from subsequence to consequence, i.e. from 'thereupon' to 'thence' or 'thus', is exemplified below in (52) and (53).

(52) (a) *ho-ta-i kauwa-ke jut-le-sa*  
 D.DEM-MNR-FOC crow-DAT win-IMPF-INFR  
 'Thus (the owl), evidently, won over the crow.' (DD.020S)

(b) *ho-ta-i ra rafi-a nfiun nfiun*  
 D.DEM-MNR-FOC and come-PST back back  
 'Thereupon, he came following behind'. (G.G.014S)

(c) *ho-ta-i ho-se lfiuŋ kuda-aŋ ka-dekhiŋ dfialiŋ*  
 D.DEM-MNR-FOC D.DEM-DEF stone clay.pot-LOC put-from more

*ja lfiuŋ ka-pyak pachi di dfiem-aŋ khyofi-a*  
 EMPH stone put-after after water up-LOC emerge-PST

'Thus, after putting many of those stones into the clay pot, indeed, after putting in more stones the water came upwards.' (J.J.008S)

(9) *ra ho-tak-ij ho-dik jat-ŋfiak-ij cahin abo tika* [>hotiŋ]  
 and D.DEM-SUP-ABL D.DEM-QUANT do-front-ABL well now tika

*karyakara bfiyat-cyo aci chanfi-le ho-tak-ij lo abo* [>hotiŋ]  
 deed finish-ATT still become-IMPF D.DEM-SUP-ABL EXCLM now

*jammai-ko na bfiyat-a de-mo kat sallfia la-le*  
 all-PL EMPH finish-PST say-SEQ one discussion take-IMPF

'And thereupon, after having done that much, well, the tika blessing ritual

has become finished, then it is said, " Lo, since everyone is finished", so a discussion will be had.' (E.E.049T)

(53) (a) *ho-tak-iŋ*            *ho-dik*            *jat-ŋfiak-iŋ*    *abo*    *budfi-a-ko*    [*>hotiŋ*]  
D.DEM-SUP-ABL    D.DEM-QUANT    do-front-ABL    now    old-ML-PL

*ho-laŋ*            *nu-le*  
D.DEM-LOC    go-PST

'Thence, in that way, after doing that, now, the elders will go ' (E.E.052T)

Verbs followed by the lative and the locative case also subordinate temporal clauses as in (54) (see also §3.4.2.2.5). This construction has a meaning parallel to that of the simultaneous converb ((55)).

(54) (a) *ŋa jya-tar ŋa ti-vi ŋos-le*  
IS eat-LAT IPRO TV look-IMPF  
'While eating, I watch TV.'

(b) *ŋa wfi-tar-aŋ ŋa-mfuŋ-a-aŋ*  
IS walk-SUP-LOC IPRO-tire-PST-IPRO  
'When I am walking, I am tired.' (S)

(c) *ŋa wfi-tar lapha-ke dup-a*  
IS walk-SUP-LOC friend-DAT meet-PST  
'While walking I met a friend.' (T)

(d) *ŋa-e jya-tar-aŋ taŋ-rafi-na*  
IS-ERG eat-SUP-LOC reach-come-2PRO  
'While I was eating, you came.' (S)

(55) (a) *ŋa iskul-aŋ nuŋ-naŋ lapha-ke dup-a*  
IS school-LOC go-SIM friend-DAT meet-PST  
'While going to school I met a friend.' (Y.015T)

Adverbs which subordinate temporal adverbial clauses are also borrowed from Nepali; for example *ani* 'then' and *agfier* 'before', *pAhilo* 'earlier'; other borrowings are listed in §9.1.6. The verb in the adverbial clause is non-finite; it is either nominalized with *-ke* ((56)) or it is converbal ((57)).

(56) *ŋa iskul-aŋ nuŋ-ke agfier ŋa cho ŋa-jya-o le-a-aŋ*  
IS school-LOC go-NOM before IS-ERG cooked rice eat-HAB IMPF-PST  
'Before going to school, I used to eat rice.' (S)

(57) *ani ho-se juwaph sawal chanfi-mo ma-bfiyat-ma le-sa*  
 then D.DEM-DEF answer question become-SEQ NEG-finish-NOM IMPF-INFR

*de-lfiyak ramailo-ramita jat-mo ranggaras jat-mo gu-le*  
 say-CAUS entertainment do-SEQ tune do-SEQ sit-IMPF

'Then when that interchange has taken place, if they are still not apparently finished, they will stay and make entertainment with tunes.'

(E.E.057T)

(58) *os-nis ja-ja-ko hi te-o le-a te-hag pahila ja*  
 look-IMP.HON child-child-PL what say-HAB IMPF-PST say-COND first EMPH

*kauwa batho ben jya-le pada lato dut ga-le te-o le-a*  
 crow clever feces eat-IMPF buffalo stupid milk drink-IMPF say-HAB IMPF-PST

'Look children, why, indeed, is it said, from the early on, that the clever crow eats stool and the stupid buffalo drinks milk? So it is said.' (DD.001S)

### 12.1.3 Converbial clauses

Converbs are verb-final suffixes which serve to embed and subordinate non-final, non-finite clauses into a finite clause matrix to form a complex clause. The converbial clause bears a temporal relationship to the predication in the matrix clause, and it is dependent on the matrix for primary tense. Magar has two converbial suffixes: *-mo*, which expresses a sequential relationship, and a simultaneous converbial suffix: *-naŋ*. In addition to a temporal relationship, converb clauses can also express manner; this is described in §9.2.3. Converbs are suffixed directly to the verb root. Converbial constructions do not permit TAM inflection, but the sequential; converb permits derivational inflection such as loan-word marking ((59a)) detransitive morphemes ((59b)) transitivity markers (the indirect causative) ((59b)) the causative ((59c)).

(59) (a) *dulfi-o boi-e ŋefi-cyo anusarai takar-di-mo*  
 bride-GEN father-ERG beg-ATT accordingly prepare-LN-SEQ

*janti khyofi-mo rafi-le*  
 wedding.procession emerge-SEQ come-IMPF

'If the demands of the bride's father are met accordingly, the wedding



procession having emerged will come.' (E.E.007T)

- (b) *rña-ke khor-aŋ tun-cis-mo ma-bfiag-di-s-le*  
 goat-DAT pen-LOC close-DTR-PST NEG-escape-LN-ITR-IMPF  
 'The goat having been closed in the pen, did not escape.' (S)

- (c) *cyu mi-talu-aŋ sisi ha-ak-mo sisi jfi-al-ak-ke*  
 dog POSS-head-LOC bottle stick-CAUS-SEQ bottle fall-CAUS-NOM

*pa-naŋ cyu-i me-laŋ na jfiyal-iŋ bahire jfi-al-a*  
 try-SIM dog-ERG 3S-self EMPH window-ABL outside fall-PST  
 'The dog having got the bottle stuck on his head, while trying to make the  
 bottle fall off, fell out of the window himself.' A.009

### 12.1.3.1 Sequential converb clauses

The sequential converb suffix *-mo* conveys that that event of the embedded clause has occurred prior to the event of the matrix clause. The event in the sequential converb clause may be punctual or it may be continuous. If punctual, then the two events will be strictly sequential, i.e. without temporal overlap, as in (60).

- (60) (a) *ho-se-i mi-ja-ko an cahin kat rokotyak phorjofi-mo*  
 D.DEM-DEF-FOC POSS-child-PL go well one frog jump-SEQ

*rafi-mo babu-ja-o mi-hut-aŋ ŋu-a*  
 come-SEQ boy-child-GEN POSS-hand-LOC sat-PST

'There, from among the children, well, one frog having jumped came and sat the little boy's hand.' (A.034T)

- (b) *ho-se-i rokotyak-ke babu-ja-i sisi bfiitre*  
 D.DEM-DEF-FOC frog-DAT little.boy-child-ERG bottle inside

*ka-mo da-ma le-a*  
 put-SEQ keep-NOM IMPF-PST

'The little boy, having put the frog inside a bottle, was keeping it there.  
 (A.002T)

- (c) *ho-se-ko im bahire-iŋ nuŋ-mo rokotyak pa-ke thal-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF-PL house outside-ABL go-SEQ frog seek-NOM begin-PST  
 'They, having gone outside the house, began to search for the frog.' (A.012T)

Non-punctual events with a sequential converbal may overlap in time, as in (61).

(61) (a) *cyu-e sisi bfitre-ij mi-talu ka-mo ηos-a tΛΛ ma-dinh-a*  
 dog-ERG bottle inside-ABL POSS-head put-SEQ look-PST but NEG-find-PST  
 'The dog having put his head in the bottle, looked but did not find (the frog).' (A.006T)

(b) *cyu-e sisi-o bfitre mi-talu ka-mo ηos-naj ho-se-i*  
 dog-ERG bottle-GEN inside POSS-head put-SEQ look-SIM D.DEM-DEF-FOC  
  
*sisi-aη cyu mi-talu-aη nΛ haf-ak-a*  
 bottle-LOC dog POSS-head-LOC EMPH stick-CAUS-PST  
 'The dog, having put his head in the bottle while looking for (the frog), got his head really stuck in the bottle.' (A.007T)

The sequential converb can also express cause, as in (62).

(62) (a) *ho-se-i argan-o gola mfiak-aη jfi-al-a argan-ko bessari*  
 D.DEM-DEF-FOC wasp-GEN nest down-LOC fall-PST wasp-PL very  
  
*bunfi-mo cyu-ke kher-ak-a cyu-ke bfi-Λg-di-mo kher-ak-a*  
 swarm-SEQ dog-DAT run-CAUS-PST dog-DAT flee-LN-SEQ run-CAUS-PST  
 'The wasp's nest fell down and the wasps having completely swarmed the dog, chased the dog and made (him) run away.' (A.A.017T)

(b) *ho-se-i babu-ja-e men-o cyu mfiak-aη jfi-al-cyo*  
 D.DEM-DEF-FOC boy-child-ERG 3S-GEN dog down-LOC fall-ATT  
  
*daη-a maya rafi-mo ho-se-i mfiak-aη*  
 see-PST love come-SEQ D.DEM-DEF-FOC down-LOC  
  
*kher-mo nu-a rΛ cyu-ke gfi-o-a*  
 run-SEQ go-PST and dog-DAT hold-PST  
 'The boy saw his own dog, which had fallen. Being filled with love, he went running down and held the dog.' (A.A.011T)

(c) *sisi jfi-aη thok-mo sisi bfiat-a*  
 bottle ground-LOC dash-SEQ bottle break-PST  
 'The bottle dashed to the ground and broke.' (A.010T)

The sequential converb may also have an instrumental sense, as in (63).

(63) (a) *kat lhum-tak-nij kalfi-a dΛ babu-ja-i siη-o myertuη de-mo*  
 one stone-SUP-ABL climb-PST also boy-child-ERG branch-GEN tree say-SEQ  
  
*gfi-o-mo men-o rokotyak-ke ηak-ak-mΛ na le-a*  
 hold-SEQ 3-GEN frog-DAT noise-CAUS-NOM EMPH COP-PST  
 'The little boy climbed from atop a stone, by getting hold of what he supposed was a branch, was calling.' (A.023T)

(b) *siŋ dhodra a-lak patti-ŋ ŋos-mo ŋu-naŋ nfis rokotyak*  
 branch hollow R.DEM-CIR side-LOC look-SEQ sit-SIM two frog

*ŋu-mΛ ŋu-cyo daŋ-a*  
 sit-SEQ sit-ATT see-PST

'By looking on the other side of the log, they saw two frogs sitting there.'  
 (A.031T)

(c) *ho-ta-i ho-se-i men-o bahun-o taowa-aŋ*  
 D.DEM-MNR -FOC D.DEM-DEF-FOC 3S-GEN brahmin-GEN haystack-LOC

*aŋ-nfiak-iŋ celos-mo si-ca ta maŋ*  
 go-front-ABL hang-SEQ die-ATT HSY truly

'Thereupon, they say, after she went to the Brahmin's own haystack, by hanging, she died, truly.' (R.R.012S)

The sequential converb may also have a conditional sense, as in (64) and (59a).

(64) *janti-ko chanfi-le janti-ko cahin*  
 wedding.procession-PL become-IMPF wedding.procession-PL well

*budfi-paka-dekhiŋ la-mo yutta adfi-bainse ja-ja-mi-ja*  
 old.man-senior -from take-SEQ youth mid -young child-child-POSS-child

*wfi-ke hyo-cyo samma la-mo yafi-a*  
 walk-NOM able-ATT until take-SEQ give-PST

'Wedding processions will form, well, the wedding processions after the elders, have been taken up, if youths, middle-aged persons and small children just able to walk are taken up, it can proceed.' (E.E.006T)

The sequential converb may also express manner, as in (65); see also §9.2.3.

(65) (a) *bfiormi ma-birifi-mo nΛ~jΛ pul ches-a*  
 person NEG-fear-NOM EMPH bridge cross-PST  
 'The man crossed the bridge very fearlessly.'

(b) *eh gfians bu-mo rafi-mΛ le-a*  
 yah grass carry-SEQ come-NOM IMPF-PST  
 'Yes, I was coming carrying grass' (B. 009T)

### 12.1.3.2 Simultaneous converb clauses

The simultaneous converb *-naŋ* expresses that the event in the subordinated converbal clause is simultaneous or temporally overlaps with, with the event of the matrix clause.

Moreover the two activities together constitute parts of a larger complex event. The

matrix clause verb is inflected for tense, mood and aspect. The verb of the matrix may be stative ((66a)), progressive ((66b)) or punctual ((66c, d)), the converbal event is continuous.

(66) (a) *ŋa lhiŋ-naŋ marfiŋ-mΛ se-le-aŋ*  
 1S sing-SIM be.happy-NOM feel-IMPF-IPRO  
 'When I am singing, I feel happy.'

(b) *namas rafi-naŋ ja-ja-ko mis-mΛ le-a*  
 rain come-SIM child child-PL sleep-NON IMPF-PST  
 'While it was raining, the children were sleeping.'

(c) *bΛs kher-naŋ cyu-ke puci-a*  
 bus run-SIM dog-DAT flatten-CAUS-PST  
 'While the bus was driving, it flattened a dog.'

(d) *naŋ kathmandu mu-naŋ naŋ-e chidiyakhana-aŋ*  
 2S Kathmandu sit-SIM 2S-ERG Chidiyakhana-LOC

*raŋfhu na-daŋfi-a-as*  
 tiger 2PRO see-PST-2PRO  
 'While you were staying in Kathmandu did you see the tiger at the Chidiyakhana zoo?' (S)

(e) *ho-ta-i a-se-kat coti gorak so-naŋ cahin*  
 D.DEM-MNR-FOC R.DEM-DEF-one instance morning rise-SIM now

*ho-laŋ rokotyak ma-le-a*  
 D.DEM.LOC frog NEG-COP -PST  
 'Then, the next morning while they were getting up, the frog was not there.'  
 (C.C.008 S)

The simultaneous converb may also have an instrumental sense, as in (67).

(67) (a) *wfi-naŋ wfi-naŋ mfiun-a*  
 walk-SIM walk-SIM tire-PST  
 'While walking and walking, (I got) tired.' (T)  
 ~ 'By walking and walking, I got tired.'

(b) *ningurya dumfi-naŋ dumfi-naŋ jhola pinfi-a*  
 fern.shoots pick-SIM pick-SIM bag fill-PST  
 'While picking and picking fern shoots, the bag filled up' (DD.017S)  
 ~ 'By picking and picking, the bag filled up.'

- (c) *han ga-naŋ ga-naŋ ga-naŋ renja-ko-e mfiŋfi-a*  
 Millet.beer drink-SIM drink-SIM drink-SIM young.man-child-PL-ERG drunk-PST  
 'While drinking and drinking and drinking millet beer the young men got drunk.'  
 ~ 'By drinking and drinking and drinking millet beer the young men got drunk.'

The examples above in (67) and those in (68) demonstrate that to convey the persistence and intensity of a simultaneous event the converb is reduplicated.

- (68) (a) *pheri ho-se-ko ŋos-mo wfi-a-naŋ wfi-a-naŋ*  
 again D.DEM-DEF-PL look-SEQ walk-SIM walk-SIM

*ho-se sisa sisa-aŋ pheri ho-se cyu-o*  
 D.DEM-DEF bottle bottle-LOC again D.DEM-DEF dog-GEN

*mi-lu ja hafi-ŋfiak-iŋ ho-dik wfi-a-ma le-a*  
 POSS-head EMPH stick-front-ABL D.DEM-QUANT walk-NOM IMPF-PST  
 'While they were looking and looking, a bottle, in a bottle then  
 the dog's head, indeed, after it got stuck he was walking around that way.'  
 (B.B.010S)

- (b) *punfi-naŋ punfi-naŋ punfi-naŋ punfi-naŋ*  
 fight-SIM fight-SIM fight-SIM fight-SIM

*uruwa-e hi jat-le-sa*  
 owl-ERG what do-IMPF-INFR  
 'While fighting, fighting, fighting, fighting, do you know what the owl  
 apparently did?' (DD.017S)

- (c) *ho-ta-i ho-tak-iŋ ho-se -e meno*  
 D.DEM-MNR-FOC D.DEM-SUP.ABL D.DEM-ERG 3S-GEN

*lenja-mi-ja-e ŋos-naŋ ŋos-naŋ*  
 young.male-POSS-child -ERG look-SIM look-SIM

*ho-se cyu cahin khorŋio-a ra sisi bfiat-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF dog well fall-PST and bottle break-PST  
 'Then, like that, from up there, while they each, the dog and the boy were  
 looking and looking, the dog fell and the jar broke.' (C.C.012 S)

- (f) *kher-naŋ kher-naŋ kat lfum-aŋ thok-a*  
 run-SIM run-SIM one stone-LOC stumble-PST  
 'Running, running, (the boy) stumbled on a stone.'

The simultaneous converb also expresses manner; see also §9.2.3.

- (69) *kher-naŋ kher-naŋ babu-ja rafi-a*  
 run-SIM run-SIM little.boy-child come-PST  
 'Running, running, the little boy came.' ~ 'The little boy came running.'

### 12.1.3.3 Converbs in discourse

In discourse and narrative, the simultaneous converb ((70)) generally provides background information and set the stage for the main events. The sequential converb ((71)), because it relates consecutive events, generally, and frequently, functions to advance the story-line.

- (70) *ho-ta-i ho-tak-ij ho-se-i men-o*  
 D.DEM-MNR-FOC D.DEM-SUP-ABL D.DEM-DEF-FOC 3S-GEN  
  
*len-ja mi-ja-e ŋos-naŋ ŋos-naŋ ho-se cyu cahin*  
 young.male-child POSS-child-ERG look-SIM look-SIM D.DEM-DEF dog well  
  
*khorofi-a rA sisa bfiat-a*  
 fall-PST and bottle break-PST  
 'Then, from there (the window), while his boy was looking and looking, the dog fell out and broke the jar.' (C.C.012S)

- (71) (a) *ho-ta ja ho-se-ko-e Abo ku-ta jat-mo*  
 D.DEM-MNR EMPH D.DEM-DEF-PL-ERG now INTRG-MNR do-SEQ  
  
*khyofi-ke de-mo i-ta jat-mo ŋos-mo wfi-naŋ*  
 emerge-SEQ say-SEQ P.DEM-MNR do-SEQ look-SEQ walk-SIM  
  
*wfi-naŋ kat dfiodra mudfia-ke daŋ-a*  
 walk-SIM one hollow log-DAT see-PST  
 'Then, they wondered what they would have to do now to get out; having looked, while walking and walking, they saw a hollow log.' (A.A.028T)
- (b) *rA rokotyak-ke cahin sisi-aŋ ka-mo da-mA le-a*  
 and frog-DAT well bottle-LOC put-SEQ put-NOM IMPF-PST  
 'And the frog, well, having been put in (a bottle) was kept (there).' (A.A.003T)
- (c) *nambi-lak babu-ja rA cyu mis-mA bfiyat-ŋfiak-ij*  
 night-CIR boy-child and dog sleep-NOM finish-front-ABL  
  
*rokotyak cahin bahire khyofi-mo bfiag-di-s-mo nu-a*  
 frog well outside emerge-SEQ flee-LN-INTR-SEQ go-PST  
 'At night, after the boy and the dog had fallen asleep, afterwards, well, the

frog, having got out and having escaped, ran away.' (A.A.004T)

## 12.2 Coordinated clauses

Coordinated clauses are conjoined independent clauses. They may be joined asyndetically or with conjunctions borrowed from Nepali; these are: *ra*, 'and', *lala* 'but', *ki* 'or'. The emphatic marker can also join clauses.

### 12.2.1 Conjunction

The coordinating conjunction *ra*, from Nepali, occurs between the two independent clauses, as in (72).

(72) (a) *ŋa howai-jahaj-girwan kherep mu-le ra CJMC-aŋ*  
 1S airport near sit-IMPF and CJMC-LOC

*porfi-di-s-le*  
 read-LN-ITR-IMPF

'I live near the airport and study at CJMC.'

(b) *ŋa-e por-dis-ke ra kam nfiswan-ca jat-le*  
 1S-ERG study-LN-NOM and work both-ATT do-IMPF

'I both study and read.'

(c) *ŋa-e kajus mAttai ma-jat-le-aŋ por-dis-ke ra jat-le-aŋ*  
 1S-ERG work only NEG-do-IMPF-1.PRO study-LN-NOM also do-IMPF-1PRO

'I not only work but also study.' (S)

(d) *ŋa-e beskam na ma-jya-le cho ra jat-le*  
 1S-ERG bread EMPH NEG-eat-IMPF cooked.rice and do-IMPF

'I eat not only rice but bread.' (T)

(e) *ho-se-i rokotyak-ke la-a ra ho-se-ko aru baŋki*  
 D.DEM-DEF-FOC frog-DAT take-PST and D.DEM-DEF-PL remain remainder

*rokotyak-ko-ke das-a ra im-lak nu-a*  
 frog-PL-DAT leave-PST and house-CIR go-PST

'Then, they took the frog and they left the other remaining frogs and went towards home.' (A.036T)

Clauses can be also be paratactically linked by simple juxtaposition, as in (73).

(73) (a) *ŋa dherai mfiuŋ-a ŋa-e mfiuŋ-bat-a*  
 1S very tire-PST 1S-ERG tire-set-PST  
 'I was very tired (and/so) I rested.' (T)

(b) *ŋa dhaliŋ ŋa-mfiuŋ-a-aŋ ŋa-e ŋa-mfiuŋ-bat-a-aŋ*  
 1S very 1PRO-tire-PST-1PRO 1S-ERG 1PRO-tire-set-PST-1PRO  
 'I was very tired (and/so) I rested.' (S)

The conjunction *rΛ* not only joins clauses, it also introduces and links new events in discourse and narrative, as in (74).

(74) (a) *rΛ ho-se-ko-e kat karfiŋ-cΛ dhodfiara siŋ*  
 and D.DEM-DEF-PL-ERG one big-ATT hollow branch  
  
*daŋfi-a rΛ pheri cyu ho-laŋ ŋak-ke*  
 see-PST and again dog D.DEM-LOC talk-NOM  
  
*pa-naŋ ho-se ja-ja-e ma-ŋak-na* [*>naŋakna*]  
 seek-SIM D.DEM-DEF child-child-ERG NEG-speak-2PRO

*te-dekhiŋ te-a*  
 say-from say-PST  
 'And they saw a big hollow log and, again, the boy thinking the dog was going to bark the boy told him 'don't bark!'. (C.C.027)

(b) *rΛ i-lak patti ho-se-ko a-lak patti nuŋ-ke pa-a*  
 and P.DEM-CIR side D.DEM-DEF-PL R.DEM-CIR side go-NOM seek-PST  
 'And, they were going to go from this side to that side.'

(c) *rΛ gorak-lak pheri ho-se-ko-e cyu-e cahin*  
 also morning-CIR again D.DEM-DEF-PL-ERG dog-ERG well

*ho-se-i sisa don-ke ma-hyok-dekhiŋ ho-din-cΛ*  
 D.DEM-DEF-FOC bottle remove-NOM NEG-able-from D.DEM-QUAL-ATT

*wfi-a-mΛ le-a*  
 walk-NOM IMPF-PST  
 'And, still toward morning, they, well, the dog, he was not able to get his head out of the jar and was wandering around like that.' (C.C.010S)

The emphatic marker also serves to link clauses as in (75); see also §11.9 for a discussion of emphatic linkage within the clause.



(75) (a) *uruwa-e jut-naŋ ja pheri kauwa-k-uŋ saIIfa*  
 owl-ERG win-SIM EMPH again crow-PL-GEN discussion

*chanfi-le-sa*

become-IMPF-INFR

'When the owls won, and, again, there, apparently, was a meeting of the owls.' (DD.021S)

### 12.2.2 Contrast

Contrasting clauses are conjoined with *tara*, 'but', from Nepali, as in (76).

(76) (a) *ŋa-e mol jfal-ak-ke pa tara*  
 1S-ERG price fall-CAUS-NOM try but

*ho-se-e*

*ma-man-di-a*

D.DEM-DEF-ERG NEG-agree-LN-PST

'I was trying to bring the price down but he would not agree.'

(b) *babu ja-e jfyal pho-mo bafiriŋ ŋafi-ak-a*  
 boy child-ERG window leave-SEQ outside call-CAUS-PST

*tara rokotyak ma-dinfi-a*

but frog NEG-find-PST

'The little boy having opened the window, called out, but did not find the frog.'

(c) *tisiniŋ ŋa swayambu nuŋ-ke le-a tara namas rafi-a*  
 yesterday 1S Swayambu go-NOM COP-PST but rain come-PST  
 'Yesterday I was to go to Swayambu, but it rained.'

(d) *cyu-e sisi bhitre-iŋ mi-talu ka-mo ŋos-a*  
 dog-ERG bottle inside-ABL POSS-head put-SEQ look-PST

*tara ma-dinfi-a*

but NEG-find-PST

'Although the dog had put his head in the bottle and looked, he did not find (the frog).' (A.006T)

(e) *mi-rfiaŋ-aŋ hak-mo kher-naŋ cyu-e*  
 POSS-horn-LOC stick-SEQ run-SIM dog-ERG

*daŋfi-mo cyu-e jfal-ak-ke pa tara ma-hyok-a*  
 see-SEQ dog-ERG fall-CAUS-NOM try but NEG-able-PST

'Having seen (the little boy) stuck on the horns and being run away with, the dog tried to get him down but was unable to.' (A.026T)

Contrast is also conveyed by the concessive, as seen in (77).

(77) (a) *cyu-e sisi bhitrig mi-talu ka-mo gos-a te-ahar-da*  
 dog-ERG bottle inside POSS-head put-SEQ look-PST say-COND-INDF

*ma-dinh-a*  
 NEG-find-PST

'Although the dog had put his head in the bottle and looked, he did not find (the frog).' (S)

(b) *mo-e met jyap-ma thofi-ma le de-lfiyak-da chansya*  
 mother-ERG tarkari tasty-NOM cook-NOM IMPF say-COND-INDF choosy

*boi ma-jya-a*  
 father NEG-eat-PST

'Although mother made tasty tarkari, choosy father did not eat it.' (T)

### 12.2.3 Alternations and polar interrogatives

To express alternatives the conjunction *ki*, from Nepali, is used, as in (78).

(78) (a) *ho-ta-i la-ghak-ig bharmi chanfi-dekhig si-ca ki*  
 D.DEM-MNR-FOC take-front-ABL person become-from die-ATT or

*citawa chanfi-ma le-a*  
 tiger become-NOM IMPF-PST

'Then after dying did he take the form of a man, or did he become a tiger?'  
 (S.S.033S)

(b) *bharmi chanfi-a ki ho-ta ja si-a*  
 person become-PST or D.DEM-MNR EMPH die-PST

*chena men-o mantar ja jofi-ca ra ma-si-a*  
 don't.know 3S-GEN magic EMPH flee-ATT and NEG-die-PST

*ki hi chanfi-a ra le chena taba*  
 or what become-PST and COP don't.know really

'Whether he became a man or he died, I don't know. Or whether his magic left him and he didn't die. I really don't know what happened.' (S.S.034S)

(c) *ga kam jat-le ki porhi-di-s-le*  
 I work do-IMPF or read-LN-ITR-IMPF

'I will work or study.' (T)

A negative alternative 'neither... nor' is expressed the conjunction *ra*, a negated verb and the two clauses conjoined with *ki* as in (79).

(79) (a) *ŋa-e kajus rʌ ma-jat-le-aŋ ki porfi-di-s rʌ*  
 1S-ERG work and NEG-do-IMPF-1.PRO or read-LN-ITR and

*ma-por-di-s-le-aŋ*  
 NEG-read-LN-ITR-IMPF-1PRO  
 'I neither work nor study.' (S)

(b) *ŋa kam rʌ ma-jat-le ki ma-porfi-di-s-le rʌ*  
 1S work and NEG-do-IMPF or NEG-read-LN-ITR-IMPF and  
 'I neither will work nor study.' (T)

The alternative form, *ki*, from Nepali is used to pose polar questions as in (80), where two clauses, one positive and one negative, are conjoined. Alternative interrogative clauses may also be juxtaposed without a conjunction as in (81). Yes / no questions are generally posed as polar questions; see also §11.8.1.

(80) (a) *syam han-e mfiordi-a ki ma-mfiordi-a*  
 Syam millet.beer-INST drunk-PST or NEG-foolish-PST  
 'Did Syam get drunk on millet beer or not?'

(b) *langfia-aŋ na-mu-o le-a-as ki ma-tʌ-mu-o le-a-as*  
 village-LOC 2PRO-sit-HAB IMPF-PST-2PRO or NEG-2PRO-sit-HAB IMPF-PST-2PRO  
 'Did you used to live in the village, or not?' (S)

(c) *naŋ-ko im-aŋ nuŋ-a ki ma-nuŋ-a*  
 2S-HON house-LOC sit-PST or NEG-sit-PST  
 'Did you go home, or not?' (T)

(d) *i-se-i ho-se-o mfiand ale ki mafi-ale*  
 P.DEM-DEF-FOC D.DEM-DEF-GEN shoulder.bag COP or NEG-COP  
 'Is this his bag, or not?'

(81) (a) *langfia-aŋ na-mu-o le-a-as ma-tʌ-mu-o le-a-as*  
 village-LOC 2PRO-sit-HAB IMPF-PST-2PRO NEG-2PRO-sit-HAB IMPF-PST-2PRO  
 'Did you used to live in the village, or not?' (S)

(b) *naŋ-ko im-aŋ nuŋ-a ma-nuŋ-a*  
 2S-HON house-LOC sit-PST NEG-sit-PST  
 'Did you go home, or not?' (T)

(c) *ho-se-o mfiand i-laŋ le ma-le*  
 D.DEM-DEF-GEN shoulder.bag P.DEM-LOC COP NEG-COP  
 'Is her shoulder bag here, or not?'

(d) *cho tʰayər ʧanɦ-ə mə-ʧanɦ-ə*  
 meal ready become-PST NEG-become-PST  
 'Is the meal ready, or not?'

The conjunction *ki*, followed by the interrogative *hi* and the copula *ale*, is used to form tag questions, which are a type of polar question, as in (82).

(82) *ho-se ja nɦun-iŋ əle ki hi əle ŋə-e rʌ se-ʧʌ*  
 D.DEM-DEF EMPH back-ABL COP or what COP 1S-ERG and sense-ATT

*əle-ə ki hi əle*  
 COP-PST or why COP

'It was not that long ago, or was it? I also just heard about it, didn't I?'  
 (T.T.018S)

### 13 Mirativity and evidentiality

The Tibeto-Burman languages exhibit systems of evidentiality, some very complex, as found, for example, in Qiang, Rgyalthang, Yongning Na, Darma, nDrapa, and Tabo<sup>1</sup>. Moreover, in the words of LaPolla (2008:1) these languages are "truly the 'birthplace' of mirativity". Both evidentiality and mirativity are well attested in Magar.

Mirativity is the encoding of surprise upon encountering previously unknown and / or unexpected information (DeLancey 1986, 1997). Evidentiality, encodes source of information, whether it be direct or indirect, inferred or hearsay (Comrie 2000, Aikhenvald 2004). In most earlier scholarship (i.e. Frajzyngier 1985; Palmer 1986; Mithun 1986; Chafe 1986; Willett 1988), evidentiality has been subsumed under the category 'epistemic modality' and as such has been understood to express the speaker's commitment to the veridical force of an utterance. However, recently, scholars such as Aikhenvald (2003, 2004) present evidentiality as an independent grammatical category, the core function of which is to encode source of information. Likewise, mirativity also merits classification as an independent category.

Data from Magar supports the view that evidentiality and mirativity are discrete categories, independent of each other and of epistemic modalities. The criteria whereby it is determined whether these are subtypes of a single category, or independent categories, are their combinatory possibilities and their distinct functions. If epistemics, evidentials and miratives can co-occur and if, when they do, they contribute an additional and independent level of meaning, they are considered to be separate categories.

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<sup>1</sup> A version of this chapter also appears in LTBA, Vol.30.2 2008.

This chapter will define the terms evidentiality and mirativity, and analyse their manifestations in Magar, separately and together. It will argue for their separate status, and in addition, it will propose a diachronic development of evidentials and the mirative.

### 13.1 Mirativity

As noted above, mirativity has been defined by DeLancey, predominantly on the basis of Tibetan, as, "the grammatical marking of unexpected information" (1997:33) and of "new knowledge that has yet to be assimilated into one's representation of the world" (1986:212). Mirativity, DeLancey insists, is an independent grammatical category and not "a minor subcategory of evidentiality [or] an exotic phenomenon found only in a few obscure languages; [it] has within recent years become recognized as a widespread and significant phenomenon." (1997:33). Scholars, such as Lazard (1999, 2001), contrary to DeLancey, question the status of the mirative as a category in its own right and prefer to subsume miratives (and evidentials) and under the category of 'mediative', saying that more often than not, languages lack grammatical marking of mirativity separate from that of evidentiality. DeLancey (1997:49) argues that all languages have the ability to express mirativity, but languages differ in the degree to which mirativity marking is integrated into the grammar. Among Tibeto-Burman languages, there is strong evidence for the mirative as an independent grammatical category, for example in Lhasa Tibetan, (DeLancey 1986, 1997 and 2001, Tournadre 1996: 203-206), Sunwar and Newari (DeLancey 1997), Kham (Watters 2002), Qiang (LaPolla 2003), Rgyalthing (Hongladarom 2008) and nDrapa (Shirai 2008). Magar also encodes mirativity independently of evidential and epistemic morphology.

### 13.1.1 Form and meaning

A statement in a mirative construction conveys surprise at what is "newly acquired and unintegrated information" for which the mind is unprepared (DeLancey 1986: 205). In fact, the mirative is as much about the surprising newness of information as it is about the information itself. A non-mirative statement simply conveys information, making no claims as to the novelty of the information or the speaker's psychological reaction to it. The following contrasts in (1) demonstrate the difference between an unmarked statement and those encoded as miratives.

(1) (a) *thapa i-laŋ le*  
 Thapa P.DEM-LOC COP  
 'Thapa is here.' (non-mirative)

c.f.

(b) *thapa i-laŋ le-o le*  
 Thapa P.DEM-LOC COP-HAB IMPF  
 '(I realize to my surprise that) Thapa is here!' (mirative)

(c) *gAndaki-aŋ thapa khorofi-cyo-cyo ra thafi-a*  
 river-LOC Thapa fall-ATT-ATT and sink-PST  
 '(I realize to my surprise that) Thapa fell into the river and sank!' (mirative)

In Magar, mirativity is expressed via nominalizations and by constructions descended from nominalizations. It may be either a bare nominalization with the nominalizer *cyo* ~ *ca* or the nominalizer *-o*, or it may be a complex verbal construction comprised of the verb stem plus nominalizer *-o* (see § 5.2.2.1.1) followed by *le*, a grammaticalized copula, functioning as an auxiliary and marker of imperfective aspect:  $\Sigma$ -*o le* [STEM-NOM IMPF]. Miratives, in Magar, are semantically and formally different from those found in Bodish languages of the Himalayas. For example, Lhasa Tibetan ((2)) and Sunwar ((3)) encode mirativity in their copular systems (DeLancey 1992). A

particular copula will imply foreknowledge, intention and volition, thus is non-mirative; whereas another implies absence of foreknowledge and expresses a mirative meaning<sup>2</sup>.

Lhasa Tibetan (DeLancey 1992: 43-44)

(2) (a) *nga-r dngul tog=tsam 'dug*  
 I-LOC money some exist  
 'I have some money!' (to my surprise)

(b) *nga-r dngul tog=tsam yod*  
 I-LOC money some exist  
 'I have some money!' (non-mirative)

Sunwar (DeLancey 1997: 41)

(3) (a) *tangka kathmandu-m 'baâ-tə*  
 Tangka Kathmandu-LOC exist-3S.PST  
 'Tangka is in Kathmandu!' (to my surprise)

(b) *tangka kathmandu-m tshaa*  
 Tangka Kathmandu-LOC exist-3S.PST  
 'Tangka is in Kathmandu!' (non-mirative)

Magar, on the other hand, concurs with the tendency for Himalayish languages to express mirative meanings through nominalizations (Noonan 1997:9, 2008:224-225); Watters 2002:289). Noonan (1997, 2008) has observed that nominalized predicates are frequently found in mirative constructions in the Himalayan region, and that these languages attest both 'bare' nominalizations and combinations with a copula; as for example in Chantyal, (Noonan 1997:9) where miratives are expressed both with non-inflected nominalized predicates subordinated to the quotative in a finite clause as in (4a), and in bare nominalizations (4b). Parallel forms are found in Magar, as in (5).

Chantyal (Noonan 1997: 9)

(4) (a) *gay palo myala-nfiari wõ-wa bfi-si-rə tipatip pari-i*  
 cow as.a.result field-INES go.in-NOM say-ANT-SEQ hurry make-happen-PERF  
 'The cow will go into the field!' having said, it made [me] hurry!'

<sup>2</sup> These copulas are part of a conjunct / disjunct system, terms coined by Hale, Austin. 1980: 95-106.



Chantyal (Noonan 2008:224)

(b) *bənnu-ye nal tato ta-si-wa*

gun-GEN barrel hot become-ANT-NOM

'The barrel of the gun had become hot!'

- (5) (a) *ciya de-cyo-cyo cik-cyo duwa chanfi-o le*  
 black.spirt say-ATT-ATT black-att smoke become-MIR IMPF  
 'The say the black spirit has become black smoke!' (T)

(b) *pənyardia-o kat maha-ja lama-ni chanfi-o le*  
 Panyardi-GEN one woman-ja priest-female become-MIR IMP

*te-o le-a man*  
 say-HAB IMPF-PST truly

'They say, a woman from Panyardi became a lama, truly.' (S)

(c) *ho-se lukurɕiam bahire khyofi-cyo-cyo babu-ja*  
 D.DEM-DEF owl outside emerge -ATT-ATT boy-child

*ganfi-mo mfiak-aŋ kurfi-a*  
 startle -SEQ down-LOC fall-PST

'The owl emerged outside! The boy, having been startled, fell down!'

(A.A.021T)

The mirative in Takale Kham (Watters 2002:289) is also a bare nominalized construction.

Additionally, the form of the nominalizer, *-o*, is identical to that in the Magar mirative formed with the auxiliary *-le*. Compare (6) and (7).

Takale Kham (Watters 2002:289)

- (6) *ya-ba-duh-wo o-le-o*  
 3p-go-PRIOR-PERF.NOMN 3sg-be-NOMN  
 'They already left!' (quite to my surprise)

Magar

- (7) (a) *ho-se-ko das-o le*  
 D.DEM-DEF-PL leave-MIR IMPF  
 '(I realize to my surprise that) They are leaving!'
- (b) *hi a-ule-o ra jat-o le ŋa-te-aŋ*  
 what IRR-COP-MIR and do-MIR IMPF 1PRO-say-1PRO  
 'I wondered what is this and what should I do!?' (M.M.019S)

### 13.1.2 Mirativity and person

Miratives in Magar are found with all persons. The bare nominalized mirative *cyo ~ca* occurs most often with third person, and the mirative formed with *-o le* is typically found in exchanges between speech act participants, i.e. first person and second person (but is not restricted to these). In miratives between speech-act participants, the subject of what would be the matrix clause in English (the surprised first person speaker) is understood and consequently unstated. In (8), what is unstated is in parenthesis.

(8) (a) *boi-e*            *cituwa-ke*            *ŋap-o*            *le*  
           father-ERG    leopard-DAT        shoot-MIR        IMPF  
           (I realize to my surprise that) 'Father shot the leopard!'

(b) *bfiut*    *wfi-a-o*            *le*  
           spirit    move-MIR            IMPF  
           (I realize to my surprise that) 'The spirit is moving!' (N.08T)

The subject of what would be the complement clause, the second person, (who inspires the mirative response) may also be omitted given that the addressee is retrievable from context. For example, two individuals are engaged in a conversation, the addressee lights up a cigarette and the speaker is surprised and exclaims 'You smoke!', as in (9).

(9) (a) *ga-o*            *le*  
           smoke-MIR        IMPF  
           (I realize to my surprise that) '(You) smoke!' (T)

(b) *ga-o-da*            *le*  
           smoke-MIR-2PRO        IMPF  
           (I realize to my surprise that) '(You) smoke!' (S)

As DeLancey observes (1997: 42), first person miratives are not intuitive given that "information about the rest of the world may be surprising, but information about oneself should not be." First person miratives may have odd interpretations (DeLancey 1997: 42); nevertheless, they do occur, as for example, in Sunwar ((10)) and Nepali ((11)).

Sunwar (DeLancey 1997:42)

- (10) *go kathamandu-m 'baâ-ti*  
 I kathmandu-LOC exist-1SG.PAST  
 'I saw myself in Kathmandu.' (as in a dream)

Nepali (Michialovsky 1996: 113)

- (11) *khâltî-mā po hālechu*  
 pocket-in but I.put.MIR  
 '(I thought I had forgotten that paper), but (I see) I had put it in  
 my pocket!'

First person miratives also occur in Magar. In the following instance ((12)), an individual looks at her empty plate and learning what it was on it, realizes that she has eaten a prohibited meat.

- (12) (a) *ŋa i-din-ca sya ŋa-jya-o le-sa-a-aŋ*  
 IS P.DEM-QUAL-ATT meat 1PRO-eat-MIR IMPF-INFR-PST-1PRO  
 (I realize to my surprise that) 'Apparently I ate this type of meat!' (S)

- (b) *ŋa i-din-cyo sya jya-o le-sa-a*  
 IS P.DEM-QUAL-ATT meat eat-MIR IMPF-INFR-PST  
 (I realize to my surprise that) 'Apparently I ate this type of meat!' (T)

Third person miratives with *-o le* are also used in narratives to express an unexpected realization on the part of a character as told by an omniscient narrator, as in (13).

- (13) *ha dŋaliŋ jat-le-sa ja abo ho-se kauwa-e hi*  
 EXCLM many do-IMPF-INFR EMPH now D.DEM-DEF crow-ERG what

*soch-di-o le te-ahaŋ ho-dik jat-pyak uruwa-ko-ke*  
 think-LN-MIR IMPF say-COND D.DEM-QUANT do-after owl-PL-DAT

*thaha maŋ-ale*  
 awareness NEG-COP

'Hah! After having done that much, apparently, what did the crow realize to his surprise? Although after doing so much, the owls did not even notice.' (DD.063S)

The following ((14)) also from narratives, are mirative nominalizations with *-cyo ~ -cA* in third person. Mirative nominalizations are not uncommonly reduplicated; see also (5c) above.

(14) (a) *mirga juruk so-cyo-cyo ho-se babu-ja cahine mirga-e*  
 deer suddenly rise-ATT-ATT D.DEM-DEF boy-child well deer-ERG

*juruk juruk mi-mi-rfiag-aŋ hak-ak-mo kher-ak-a*  
 suddenly suddenly POSS-POSS-horn-LOC stick-CAUS-SEQ run-CAUS-PST  
 'The deer suddenly stood up, the boy, well, the deer suddenly, suddenly,  
 with the boy having gotten stuck on his horns, (the deer) ran off with him.'  
 (A.025T)

(b) *rA ho-se len-ja ja-ja-e kat ho-se siŋ-ke*  
 and D.DEM-DEF young.male-child child-child -ERG one D.DEM-DEF branch -DAT

*siŋ de-ŋfiak-iŋ jim-cA chahin ho-se jarayo-o mi-rfiag*  
 branch say-front-ABL hold ATT well D.DEM-DEF stag-GEN POSS- horn

*le-cA le-sa*  
 IMPF-ATT IMPF-INFR  
 'And the boy thinking he was holding onto a branch! Well, it turned out to  
 be a stag's horn.' (B.B.024 S)

Similar mirative constructions, with *-cyo ~ cA* are also found in Yanchok Magar, as in

(15), from the story 'The Gurung who killed the man-eating leopard'.

Yanchok Magar (Shepherd in Hale 1973: 301-434)

(15) (a) *cituwa rafi-a rA mi-ja-ke sat-a rA kher-ak-cA*  
 leopard come-PST and POSS-child-DAT kill-PST and run-CAUS-ATT  
 'The leopard came, killed the baby and ran away with it!'

(b) *boi bfiak-ke nuŋ-cA ho-se bela-aŋ boi-ke purut-cA ta*  
 father separate-NOM go-ATT D.DEM-DEF time-LOC father-DAT scratch-ATT REP  
 'They say, Father, pursued him; (the leopard) at that time scratched father!'

### 13.1.3 Mirativity and interrogatives

Both mirative forms are used in interrogatives prompted by a surprising situation, as in the following which is the response of a young girl to an earthquake ((16)) and a wasp

sting ((17)). Note that in both cases the nominalization is a bare nominalization, unsupported by an auxiliary.

(16) *hi a-u-le-o rΛ jat-ke a-u-le-o le ŋa-te-aŋ*  
 what IRR-COP-MIR and do-NOM IRR-COP-MIR IMPF 1PRO-say-1PRO  
 'I wondered, what is this and what am I to do!?' (M.M.018S)

(17) *hi chanfi-mo jik-cyo ho-ta nΛ*  
 what become-SEQ sting-ATT D.DEM-MNR EMPH  
 'Why did the (wasp) sting happen, for no reason!?' (B.007T)

The mirative in interrogatives may also function as a rhetorical question, as in the utterance (18b) below, which is from a story of a Brahmin woman who would give away her child to a yogi for a pomegranate.

(18) (a) *ho-ta-i jogi-e jΛ men-o mi-ja-cΛ*  
 D.DEM-FOC yogi-ERG EMPH 3-GEN POSS-child-ATT

*nunfi-o le-a ta*  
 take-MIR IMPF-PST REP

'They say, then, like that, indeed, the yogi took her child!' (L.L005S)

(b) *hi kat-o a-u-le-o chena bfiarmi-ko rΛ*  
 what one-GEN IRR-COP-MIR don't.know person-PL also  
 'What kind of people are they!?! I don't know.' (L.L.007S)

A mirative statement of surprise and incredulity, can, by extension, have the force of a question, as in (19b) of the following exchange. In (19c) though, the information is not new to the speaker; the mirative is used because the situation is one she cannot mentally integrate.

(19) (a) *ho-ta-i taowa khanbfi taowa-aŋ celos-ŋfiak-iŋ si-le-sa*  
 D.DEM-MNR-FOC haystack pillar haystack-LOC hang-front-ABL die-IMPf-INFR

*mΛn sarki-ni*  
 truly cobbler-female

'Then, like that, on a haystack pillar, apparently, hung herself, and died, truly, that cobbler woman.'

(b) *mi-ja ma-phunfi-o le-sa si-cA ale*  
 POSS-child NEG-give birth-MIR IMPF-INFR die-ATT COP  
 'She just died, undelivered!'

(c) *ã ma-phunfi-o le-a*  
 yes NEG-give birth-MIR IMPF-PST  
 'Yes, undelivered!' (R.R.006-008 S)

### 13.1.4 Mirativity and scope of negation

The clause is in the scope of the mirative; thus the negative mirative verb, formed with the prefixation of the negative morpheme *ma* to the verb root, does not negate the realization; rather, it means that the non-occurrence of the action is unintegrated and surprising information, as in (20).

(20) (a) *hose-ko ma-tafi-rafi-o le*  
 D.DEM-PL NEG-reach-come-MIR IMPF  
 '(I realize to my surprise that) they did not arrive.'  
 \*'I did not realize that they arrived.'

(b) *ma-rafi-cyo-cyo*  
 NEG-come-ATT-ATT  
 '(I realize to my surprise that) they did not come.'  
 \*'I did not realize that they came.'

'I did not realize' would be expressed with the negated verbs *cifi* 'understand' or *warfi* 'know', as in (21). These are periphrastic statements expressing the speaker's knowledge of the situation and are not mirative.

(21) (a) *ŋa-e ma-cifi-mA ho-se-ko ma-tafi-rafi-mA le-a*  
 1S-ERG NEG-understand-NOM D.DEM-PL NEG-reach-come-NOM IMPF-PST  
 'I did not understand that they had not arrived.' (Nawalparasi)

(b) *ŋa-e ma-warfi-mA ho-se-ko das-a*  
 1S-ERG NEG-know-NOM D.DEM-DEF-PL left-PST  
 'I did not know he left.'

### 13.1.5 Mirativity, tense, mood and aspect

Mirative constructions are generally in the realis mood, but mirative constructions formed with the copula can occur in the irrealis to express surprise at events which we believe may occur, as in (22).

- (22) *gAndaki soft-le de-ahaŋ kan-ko a-si-o le-e-iŋ* [ $>$ asioliŋ]  
 river rise-IMPF say-COND 1P-PL IRR-die-MIR IMPF-IRR-IPRO  
 (I realize to my surprise that) 'If the river rises, we might die!' (S)

Miratives do not freely occur in all tenses and aspects (and in this respect they differ from evidentials; see §13.2.2). The mirative nominalized with *cyo* ~ *ca* expresses surprise when retelling a past event, and the mirative *o-le* generally expresses surprise at a situation in the non-past-imperfective aspect (though not without exception as will be discussed below). What has a mirative meaning in present tense [ $\Sigma$ -*o le*] [STEM-MIR IMPF], when in past-perfective, [ $\Sigma$ -*o le-a*] [STEM-HAB IMPF-PST], generally expresses the habitual past meaning; as can be seen in the contrast of (23) and (24).

- (23) *ban-ke lfiet-o le*  
 arrow-DAT return-MIR IMPF  
 (I realize to my surprise that) 'The mystical arrow curse is exorcised!'

- (24) *ya ban-ke lfiet-ke paŋ-di-s-le de-mo de-o le-a*  
 and arrow-DAT return-NOM must-LN-INTR-IMPF say-SEQ say-HAB IMPF-PST  
 'Then, the mystical arrow curse must, supposedly, be exorcised, so they used to say.'  
 (E.012T)

Interactions of mirativity and evidentiality with tense and aspect have been attested in other languages, among them: Sunwar, Hare (Athapaskan) and Tibetan (DeLancey 1997) and Sherpa (Woodbury 1986). Woodbury (86: 189) has observed in Sherpa (Tibeto-Burman) that evidential categories are skewed with respect to tense, "What marks a particular category in one tense takes on a different meaning in another"; specifically, what is inferred in one tense is directly experienced in another. DeLancey (1997) has

observed parallels in Sunwar, in which mirativity interacts with aspect. The same copula in different aspects has a different meaning; for example, *'baa* in the perfect aspect has an evidential meaning and in the imperfective aspect, as in Magar, it has a mirative meaning<sup>3</sup>, as in (25a, b).

Sunwar (DeLancey 1997)

(25) (a) *kyarša 'saî-šo ' baa-tə*  
 goat kill-NOM exist-3sg-PST  
 'He was killing a goat!' (I discovered) - mirative

c.f.

(b) *kyarša 'sad-a 'baa-tə*  
 goat kill-3sg exist-3sg-PST  
 'He killed a goat.' (I infer) - evidential

The correlation of the mirative with imperfective-non-past is a logical consequence of its semantics, as, typically, it is on-going events or their existing results that would be newly discovered and surprising. It is also to be expected that past-habitual actions will be expressed in past tense. What is not expected is that two paradigmatically related forms should be so seemingly unrelated in their meanings.

Insights into this disparity may come from Takale Kham. Watters (2002: 353) has observed that, in discourse, nominalized forms can present both background information and new, unexpected information. The nominalized forms are marked forms in the Givónian (1990) sense, i.e. they are structurally and cognitively more complex and less frequent than unmarked forms. These marked nominalizations in Kham can be accounted for terms of 'communicative strategies'. According to Watters (2002: 350),

...the speaker at the time of production has specific intentions concerning how the hearer should build a mental representation of what is being narrated. This includes instructions on how to integrate new, incoming

<sup>3</sup> Peterson (2000:16) notes for Nepali that when an auxiliary appears in the non-past it will have a mirative and/or inferential meaning; the same construction with a past auxiliary has a meaning of 'suddenness.'



information with what is already held in memory store - among other things whether it is part of the narrative event line or something subsidiary to it.

Watters observes that the nominalized forms are usually used to set the stage and present background information (2002:355), as in (26a). However, in Kham narratives, these nominalized forms do not always present background information. They can also present events on the main-event-line of the story; specifically: surprising and pivotal events, as in (26b).

Kham (Watters 2002:355)

(26) (a) *b:ah-kə tubu rā:di o-le-o di*  
 long.ago-LOC one widow 3S-be-NOM REP  
 'Long ago there was a certain widow woman.'

(b) *bahrlap ni borhrop nam-kə ci o-teh-wo*  
 crash and bang ground-LOC CON 3S-fall-NOM  
 'With a crash and a bang he fell to the ground.'

This unexpected function, one not coherent with the function of presenting background material, is not unlike what occurs in Magar, where the nominalized forms in the non-past have a mirative function (surprising) and those in the past, an habitual (background) function.

According to Watters, what links these seemingly at-odds functions is 'discontinuity'. He explains (2002:353) that both the new information function and the background function are discontinuous; specifically: background information is temporally discontinuous with the main-event-line, and the mirative function is discontinuous in that it presents an unexpected event, often a pivotal event which breaks the continuity of the main-event-line.

In Magar, the historial nominalization used in the past habitual [ $\Sigma$ -o *le-a*] [STEM-HAB IMPF-PST] and in the mirative [ $\Sigma$ -o *le*] [STEM-MIR IMPF] can be viewed in the same

way. The habitual past, in both natural discourse and narrative, is temporally discontinuous, *i.e.* not part of the main-story-line. It presents background or ancillary information and sets the stage by describing an event which has held in the past, at the time another event occurred, as in (27), where the boy, the dog and frog had been living together *ŋu-o le-a* [sit-HAB IMPF-PST] when the frog escaped. The escape is on the main-story-line and not nominalized.

(27) *kat im-aŋ kat babu-ja cyu ra*  
 one house-LOC one boy-child dog and

*rokotyak ŋu-o le-a ho-se rokotyak-ke*  
 frog sit-HAB IMPF-PST D.DEM-DEF frog-DAT

*ho-se rokotyak-ke babu-ja-e sisi bfitre ka-mo da-le-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF frog-DAT boy-child-ERG bottle inside put-SEQ keep-IMPF-PST  
*kat-yak babu-ja ra cyu mis-ma ŋu-naŋ rokotyak*  
 one-day boy-child and dog sleep-NOM sit-SIM frog

*sisi-aŋ bahire khyofi-mo nu-a*  
 bottle-LOC outside emerge-SEQ go-PST

'In a house lived a boy, a dog and a frog. The frog had been put in a bottle and was kept there. One day while the boy and the dog were sleeping, the frog emerged from inside the bottle and got away.' (A.001-003 T)

A nominalization in the non-past presents information or an event which is unexpected and surprising; thus thematically discontinuous, in other words, the mirative, as in (28).

(28) (a) *ho-ta-i rokotyak si-ca te-ca lekha ŋa-se-o le-aŋ*  
 D.DEM-MNR-FOC frog die-ATT say-ATT seem 1PRO-hear-MIR IMPF-1PRO

*ŋa-e ja*  
 1S-ERG EMPH

'Then, to my surprise, I heard that the frog was dead, it seems he was. I heard it was so!' (G.G.022 S)

(b) *bfiyo-e bul-ke gfiŋ-a ra ma-jik-o le*  
 younger.brother snake-DAT pick.up-PST and NEG-bite-MIR IMPF  
 'Younger brother picked up the snake and it didn't bite him!' (T)

By viewing the Magar data from Watter's perspective of discontinuity, the two functions of the nominalized form in Magar can be reconciled. This perspective has explanatory power for the use of these nominalized constructions in natural discourse and even more so in Magar narratives, where, as we shall see, the separate semantic distributions of past/habitual and non-past/mirative are blurred.

### 13.1.6 Mirativity and narrative

The mirative is employed in various ways in narratives for a variety of stylistic ends, foremost among them to lend immediacy to the story, and to mark topical discontinuity. In Magar narratives, the possibility of expressing discontinuity with nominalizations can be exploited by a narrator to signal that the event, or information, is marked as either temporally discontinuous, (background and/or extraneous), or as thematically discontinuous (unexpected and surprising). The story-teller can manipulate mirative nominalizations, particularly the *o-le* form of the mirative, for stylistic and rhetorical effect in order to lend immediacy to the story.

The mirative with the nominalization *cyo ~ ca* expresses an unexpected event in the past in narrative from the narrator's (third-person) perspective, and is frequently reduplicated to underscore intensity and signal a climax in the story-line, as in the following, where the whole of the plot has been dedicated to finding a frog and it is finally found, as in (29).

(29) *ho-se-i dhodra mudfia a-lak-patti nos-cyo-cyo dhodra mudfia*  
 D.DEM-DEF-FOC hollow log R.DEM-CIR-side see-ATT-ATT hollow.log log

*a-lak-patti nos-cyo-cyo thuprai rokotyak-ko le-a*  
 R.DEM-CIR-side see-ATT-ATT many frog-PL COP-PST

'On the other side of the hollow log where they looked, on the other side of the log, where they looked, there were many frogs!' (A.A.029T)

In Magar, narratives are generally set in the past often with interjections of direct speech in the non-past. A character who is reacting in surprise to new and unintegrated information can speak 'in the mirative', as in (30).

- (30) *kan-ko* *ra* *katha* *ma-punfi-ke* *pa-ca* *le-sa* *tara* *naŋ-o*  
 2P-PL and with NEG-fight-NOM try-ATT IMPF-INFR but 2S-GEN  
*phauji rak-dekhiŋ* *kan-ko* *ra* *katha-i* *punfi-rafi-ak* *le-o* *le*  
 troop bring-from 2P-PL and with-FOC fight-come-CAUS COP-MIR IMPF  
 'We did not try to fight, but after you brought your troops, to our surprise, we also had to come and fight.' (DD. 052S)

The mirative with *o-le* can also be used by the narrator to express an unexpected realization of the on the part of a character, as in (31) and (32).

- (31) *ho-ta-i* *an-dekhiŋ* *ho-ta-i* *uruwa-e* *uruwa-o* *im-aŋ*  
 D.DEM-MNR-FOC go-from D.DEM-MNR-FOC owl-ERG owl-GEN house-LOC  
*alfi-dekhiŋ* *ku-laŋ* *da-le-sa* *te-ahaŋ* *uruwa-ko* *bfitre-iŋ*  
 carry-from where-LOC put-IMPF-INFR say-COND owl-PL inside-LOC  
*mu-ke* *a-u-le-o* *le*  
 sit-NOM IRR-COP-MIR IMPF  
 'Then, the owl, after going and carrying (the crow) to his nest, evidently, he put there. What did (the crow) realize to his surprise? That the owls were inside.' (DD.056 S)

- (32) *ha* *dfialiŋ-sa* *ja* *jat-le* *abo ho-sa* *kauwa-e* *hi soch-di-o*  
 EXCLM many-INFR EMPH do-IMPF now D.DEM-DEF crow-ERG what think-LN-MIR  
*le* *te-ahaŋ* *ho-dik* *jat-pyak* *uruwa-ko-ke* *thaha* *mafi-ale*  
 IMPF say-COND D.DEM-QUANT do -after owl-PL-DAT awareness NEG-COP  
 'Hah!, after having done that much, apparently, what did the crow realize to his surprise? That after doing so much the owls did not notice.' (DD.063 S)

The mirative can be used in as authorial comment by a narrator who may interject her or his own voice to register (feigned) surprise at the actions of a character or event in the plot as in (33).

(33) *kauwa-ke da-le-sa i-laŋ dfioka-tuŋ*  
 crow-DAT put-IMPF-INFR P.DEM-LOC door-SUP

*ho-se maŋ kauwa-o dA mantri ale-a maŋ*  
 D.DEM-DEF truly crow-GEN also minister COP-PST truly

*a-u-le-o kauwa-ke dfioka-tuŋ da-le-sa*  
 IRR-COP-MIR crow-DAT door-SUP put-IMPF-INFR

'The crow was apparently put there on the (owl's) doorstep, truly, he, the minister of the crows was (put there), truly. (Surprisingly), this crow was put on the doorstep. (DD.057S)

In narratives, as in conversational discourse, a nominalization in the past tense can be used to set the stage, as in (27) above, to describe an iterative/habitual action in the past ((34)), or provides ancillary information in (35) where a story is being told of a young girl who must marry a frog and the narrator digresses to talk about what the girl might have eaten as a frog-wife.

(34) *ho-ta-i rA ho-se aŋ-o le-a ban-aŋ aŋ-o*  
 D.DEM-MNR-FOC and D.DEM-DEF go-HAB IMPF-PST forest-LOC go-NOM

*le-a i-tar-o siŋ-ko rak-o le-a me-ŋer-aŋ*  
 IMPF-PST P.DEM-LAT-NOM branch-PL bring-NOM IMPF-PST POSS-mouth-LOC

*ho-ta-i rA dfioka-tuŋ da-rafi-o le-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF-FOC and door-SUP put-come-HAB IMPF-PST

'Thereupon he would go into the jungle; he would go and bring a few twigs in his mouth and then he would come and put them at the door.' (DD.059S)

(35) *bfiarma bfieret rafi-cA churu a-u-le-e jauli-cho jauli-cho*  
 offering sprinkle come-ATT rice IRR-COP-IRR gruel-rice gruel-rice

*jya-ke yafi-o le-a ta*  
 eat-NOM give-HAB IMPF-PST REP

'They say, it might have been the offerings scattered (to the water god) that (the frog) would give to her to eat.' (G.G.018S)

In narrative, the tense distinctions which are usually observed in natural discourse can be blurred and, as in Kham, nominalized verbs in the past tense (the form usually reserved for habitual / background information) can introduce pivotal events and

unexpected events on the storyline. This occurs when a story is recounted in the past by a distal narrator (i.e. not in the direct speech of a character) and expresses, not background information, but new and surprising information, as in (36).

(36) (a) *ho-ta-i*                      *rokotyak kATHA-i*      *mu-o*      *le-a*                      *ta*  
 D.DEM-DEF-FOC    frog                      with-FOC                      sit-MIR    IMPF-PST                      REP  
 'They say that then, (the girl) surprisingly went to live with the frog.' (G.G017 S)

(b) *ho-ta-i*                                      *im-aŋ*                      *rafi-o*                      *le-a*                      *ta*  
 D.DEM-DEF-FOC                                      house-LOC                      come-MIR                      IMPF-PST                      REP  
 'Then, they say, the girl, just, unexpectedly, went back home.' (G.G.024 S)

(c) *genthi siŋ*      *a-ule-o*                      *jammai bokra bfiAR*                      *aŋ-le-sa*  
 Genthi    branch                      IRR-COP-MIR                      all                      bark                      completely                      go-IMPF-INFR

*jara*                      *i-tar*                                      *te-mo*                                      *karfiAŋ-CA*  
 root                      P.DEM-LAT                                      say-SEQ                                      be.big-ATT

'There was genthi wood absolutely all over! The bark, apparently, completely gone and roots, some this, big ones!' (N.N.014S)

### 13.2 Evidentiality

As already observed, evidentiality has often been subsumed under the category of epistemic modality. The works of Frajzyngier 1985; Palmer 1986; Mithun 1986; Chafe 1986; Willett 1988 are examples of this. Recent scholarship by Comrie 2000 and Aikhenvald 2003, 2004 separates evidentials from epistemics contending that the latter express the veridical force of a statement and the degree of conviction the speaker has for the proposition. Evidentiality in turn deals solely with information source, whether it is, for example, direct or indirect, seen, inferred or heard; and mirativity expresses new and unexpected information. To view evidentiality, or mirativity, as a sub-category of epistemic modality is to obscure their independent status. Aikhenvald (2003:19) observes that, "one of the current misconceptions concerning evidentiality is to do with the gratuitous extension of this term to cover every way of expressing uncertainty,

probability and one's attitude toward to the information." It is possible for source of information to be taken as evidence and to impute reliability; for example, direct-perception-source of the type: 'I saw it with my own eyes' is universally considered to be more reliable than hearsay. Thus, it is possible for these categories: epistemic modality, evidentiality and mirativity to overlap, as they do in Bodish languages. However, expression of information-source need not entail judgment about the truth of a proposition. As Comrie (2000:2) observes, "evidential systems...do not necessarily involve any casting of doubt on the reliability of information conveyed, although a form that indicates an indirect source for information may receive such an interpretation, but crucially not as its invariant meaning."

Evidentiality encodes source of information; primarily it encodes whether or not the information source is direct evidence (first-hand) or indirect evidence (second-hand). Within these two broad categories, languages make finer distinctions in their grammatical marking of source-information; for example, whether the source is 1. inferred from evidence or 2. is hearsay. Section 13.2.1 introduces categories of grammatical evidential marking in Magar. Section 13.2.2 treats evidential marking across tense-mood-aspect. And following these are sections dedicated to the inferential (§13.2.3) and the reportative (§13.2.4). The combinatory possibilities of evidentials, with each other and with epistemic markers, are discussed in §13.2.5 and how Magar fits into a typology of evidentials is discussed in §13.2.6.

### **13.2.1 Evidential Categories**

Evidentials in Magar comply with Aikhenvald's (2003, 2004) analysis and assert only information-source. Attitude towards the truth or reliability of information is expressed

by different means. For example, mood expresses whether propositions are believed to be actual, hence realis, or potential, hence irrealis. The truth value of a proposition can also be expressed lexically or via a series of epistemic particles. As will be demonstrated, these particles and mood can combine with evidentials, but represent separate systems. In this respect, Magar differs from the Bodish languages in which evidentiality is closely intertwined with epistemic notions of certainty and verity.

Not all languages grammatically mark all of the possible evidential categories. In Magar, direct, first-hand information is not marked and of the indirect information sources, Magar morphologically marks only inferred and reported evidence (a.k.a. hearsay).

Inferred evidence is marked with the morpheme *-sa*, as in (37); reported evidence is encoded with *ta*, as in (38).

(37) *ho-se*            *tafi-rafi-le-sa-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF    reach-come-IMPF-INFR-PST  
 'He has arrived.' (I see his bag.)

(38) *ho-se*            *tafi-rafi-a*    *ta*  
 D.DEM-DEF    reach-come-PST REP  
 'He has arrived.' (They say.)

Statements based on direct, factual and first-hand evidence are unmarked, as in (39).

(39) (a) *ho-se*            *tafi-rafi-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF    reach-come-PST  
 'He has arrived.' (I see him.)

(b) *mi-ja*            *rap-mΛ*    *le*  
 POSS- child    weep-NOM IMPF  
 'The baby is crying.' (I hear her.)

Likewise, gnomic statements or generic factials: 'I know this because everyone knows it' are direct and unmarked in Magar, as in (40).



- (40) *mi-ja sefi-cyo chanfi-le*  
 POSS-child good -ATT become-IMPF  
 'A child is a good thing.'

The reportative is distinct from reported speech, which is expressed by the quotative.

The quotative is not a grammatical evidential; it is periphrastic and bi-clausal, and explicitly uses the full verb *de* 'say' as a complementizer, as in (41). The quotative is treated in chapter 14.

- (41) *chitra tafi-rafi-a boi de-le*  
 D.DEM reach-come-PST father say-IMPF  
 'Father says "Chitra has arrived".'

It must be noted that morphological evidential marking is not obligatory in Magar; i.e. not every utterance must be encoded for source, be it direct or indirect. Therefore, it cannot be presumed that an unmarked utterance is based on direct-first-hand information, though it most often is. In this respect, Magar lacks the precision of grammatically encoded direct evidentials found in other Tibeto-Burman languages such as Qiang (LaPolla 2003: 27) as in (42) or Amdo Tibetan (Sun 1993:953) as in (43), which encode direct information sources.

Qiang (LaPolla 2003:27)

- (42) *the: zdzɣyta: fia-qə-(w)u*  
 3S Chengdu+LOC OR-go-VIS  
 'He went to Chengdu.' (The speaker saw it.)

Amdo Tibetan (Sun 1993:953)

- (43) *tʂaɕ<sup>h</sup>i-kə<sup>h</sup> tæ<sup>h</sup>ŋu- tʰæ*  
 Bkra.shis-ERG horse buy (COMPL)-DIR.EVID  
 'Brka-shis bought a horse.' (The speaker saw it.)

### 13.2.2 Evidentiality, tense, mood and aspect

In Magar, evidentials occur in both irrealis ((44)) and realis moods ((45, 46)) and can combine with all tense-aspect forms including, for example: the simple-past ((45a, 46a))

marked with suffix *-a*, the simple-habitual-present ((45b, 46b)) followed by the imperfective marker *le* (which is grammaticalized from a copula), the progressive ((45c, 46c)) nominalized with *mΛ* and followed by the imperfective marker; and the habitual past ((45d, 46d)), which is nominalized with *-o* and followed by the imperfective marker in past tense. By contrast, as observed in §13.1.5, the mirative nominalized with *-o* is largely restricted to non-past-imperfective.

(44) (a) *ŋa-o dai hong-kong-aŋ a-nuŋ-e-sa*  
 1S-GEN older.brother Hong Kong-LOC IRR-go-IRR-INFR  
 'Apparently my older brother might go to Hong Kong.'

(b) *ŋa-o dai hoŋ-koŋ-aŋ a-nuŋ-e ta*  
 1S-GEN older.brother Hong Kong-LOC IRR-go-IRR REP  
 'They say my older brother might go to Hong Kong.'

(45) (a) *bfiim taŋi-rafi-le-sa-a*  
 Bfiim reach-come-IMPF-INFR-PST  
 'Apparently, Bfiim arrived.'

(b) *bfiim kathmandu-aŋ mu-le-sa*  
 Bfiim kathamndu-LOC sit-IMPF-INFR  
 'Apparently, Bfiim lives in Kathmandu.'

(c) *bfiim baŋi-mΛ le-sa*  
 Bfiim settle-NOM IMPF-INFR  
 'Apparently, Bfiim is staying in Kathmandu.'

(d) *bfiim kathmandu-aŋ mu-o le-sa-a*  
 Bfiim kathamndu-LOC sit-HAB IMPF-INFR-PST  
 'Apparently, Bfiim used to live in Kathmandu.'

(46) (a) *bfiim taŋi-rafi-a ta*  
 Bfiim reach-come-PST REP  
 'Bfiim arrived, they say.'

(b) *bfiim kathmandu-aŋ mu-le ta*  
 Bfiim kathamndu-LOC sit-IMPF REP  
 'Bfiim lives in Kathmandu, they say.'

(c) *bfiim raŋi-mΛ le ta*  
 Bfiim arrive-NOM IMPF REP  
 'Bfiim is coming, they say.'

(d) *bhim kathmandu-aŋ mu-o le-a ta*  
 Bhim kathmandu-LOC sit-HAB IMPF-PST REP  
 'Bhim used to live in Kathmandu, they say.'

In the following, each of the grammatically marked evidentials is described in turn: the inferential *-sa* in §13.2.3 and the reportative *ta* in section §13.2.4.

### 13.2.3 Inferential evidential: *sa*

#### 13.2.3.1 Form and meaning

Formally, the inferential *-sa* is part of the verb complex<sup>4</sup>. It follows the verb stem, nominalizers and aspect markers ((47)) if present and it precedes tense inflection in both dialects ((48)). In Syangja Magar *-sa* also precedes the verb-final pronominal affixes, as seen in (49).

(47) *moi gan phinfi-ma le-sa*  
 mother spinach cook-NOM IMPF-INFR  
 'Apparently, mother is cooking spinach.'

(48) *men-o dasa jfon-cyo paranta ya si-ke rih-le-sa*  
 3S-GEN bad.days clear-ATT after or die-NOM mark-IMPF-INFR-PST  
 'Whether one's misfortune clears up afterwards, or, whether one is to die is evidently written.' (E.030T)

(49) *ajlakal-ca ŋa-mhyak-le-sa-aŋ*  
 nowadays-ATT 1PRO-forget-IMPF-INFR-1PRO  
 'Nowadays, apparently, I have forgotten.' (O.O.005S)

The suffix *-sa* expresses inferred or deduced opinions. It conveys that a proposition is based on circumstantial evidence perceived from sensory data. The inferential translates into English as 'apparently' or 'evidently'. In narratives, *-sa* can also express inferences based on evidence from the story. When used with first person, it displays what Aikenvald (2004: 219-233) calls 'first person effect' and can have mirative overtones. The Magar inferential system has only a single term; i.e. it does not

<sup>4</sup> An identical morpheme 'sa' which Watters (2002:187) calls a confirmation particle is found in Kham and may well be an evidential. Unlike the Magar morpheme it is clause final and not part of the verb complex.

differentiate between visual and non-visual sources of inference nor between inferences based on immediate sensations or those deduced from results as other more complex evidential systems do<sup>5</sup>. In Magar, all of the following sources of information are encoded with *-sa*:

- (i) Visual evidence
  - immediate evidence
  - deduced from results
- (ii) Non-visual evidence
  - immediate evidence
  - deduced from results

In (50), the speaker infers that Kumari is staying at Bfim's home, having seen her belongings there and the inferential *-sa* is used to express this. This contrasts with (51) which is not marked for source of information and expresses first-hand experience, i.e. the speaker has seen Kumari in residence at Bfim's.

(50) *kumari bhim-o im-aŋ mu-mΛ le-sa*  
 Kumari Bhim-GEN house-LOC sit-NOM IMPF-INFR  
 'Apparently, Kumari is staying at Bfim's house.'  
 (I infer this because I see the evidence.)

(51) *kumari bhim-o im-aŋ mu-mΛ le*  
 Kumari Bhim-GEN house-LOC sit-NOM IMPF  
 'Kumari is staying at Bfim's house.'  
 (I have seen this.)

In (52) the master of a notorious 'chicken-killing' dog, on seeing his neighbour's dead fowl, makes an inference from the visual evidence and (in classic under-statement) announces that: 'Apparently, my dog has been at your house.'

(52) *ŋa-o cyu naŋ-o im-aŋ le-le-sa*  
 1S-GEN dog 2S-GEN house-LOC COP-IMPF-INFR  
 'Apparently, my dog has been at your house.'

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<sup>5</sup> Systems which do make more distinctions are, for example, Akha (Thurgood 1986) and East Tucanoan languages in north-west Amazonia which distinguish between visual and non-visual evidence (Aikhenvald 2004: 51).

Example (53) is a response to seeing a friend whose grandfather had been on death's door and who is very upset; the speaker infers the grandfather's death.

- (53) *ho-se-o*                      *baju*                      *si-le-sa*  
 D.DEM-DEF-GEN      grandfather      die-IMPF-INFR  
 'Apparently his grandfather has died.' (I see that he is upset.)  
 (N.40T)

In (54), seeing that a theft has taken place, and that the thieves have not been apprehended, the speaker infers that the thieves escaped.

- (54) *khus-ca* *jofi-le-sa*  
 theft-ATT      flee-IMPF-INFR  
 'Apparently, the thieves escaped.' (N.39S)

In the previous examples, the evidence has been visual, either immediate evidence (Kumari's belongings), or a result (the dead chickens, upset young man, no apprehended thieves). Evidence for inferential statements, cross-linguistically, is generally visual, but not strictly so<sup>6</sup>. Non-visual evidentials are found in Magar. In example (55), the evidence is heard and felt when the car stutters to a stop and this prevails upon the driver to announce that he has apparently forgotten to fill petrol.

- (55) *petraI* *ka-ke*      *ŋa-myhak-le-sa-aŋ*  
 petrol      put-NOM      1PRO-forget-IMPF-INFR-1PRO  
 'Apparently, I forgot to put in petrol.' (S)  
 (I think this because I sense the evidence/result.)

This contrasts with (56) which is a non-inferential statement of fact.

- (56) *ŋa-e*      *petraI*      *ma-ŋa-ka-a-aŋ*  
 1S-ERG      petrol      NEG-1PRO-put-PST-1PRO  
 'I did not put in petrol.' (S)  
 (I know this, because I did (not) do this.)

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<sup>6</sup> Non-visual evidentials are found in Shipibo-Konibo (Valenzuela 2003), Cheokee (Pulte, 1985) Yukaghir (Masolva 2003) etc. cited in Aikhenvald 2004: 25 ff. and East Tucanoan (note 12).

### 13.2.3.2 Inferential and person

The inferential evidential *-sa*, combines with all persons; however propositions concerning third person are most common, and those concerning second person are more common than first-person inferences. Certain circumstances permit second and first person evidential constructions, as for example, (55) above (from Syangja) and (57a) (from Tanahu). Examples in second and third person follow in (57b, c).

(57) (a) *ŋa-e petrʌl ka-ke mfiyak-le-sa*  
 1S-ERG petrol put-NOM forget-IMPF-INFR  
 'Apparently, I forgot to put in petrol.' (T)

(b) *naŋ-e petrʌl ka-ke mfiyak-le-sa*  
 2S-ERG petrol put-NOM forget-IMPF-INFR  
 'Apparently, you forgot to put in petrol.' (T)

(c) *ho-se-e petrʌl ka-ke mfiyak-le-sa*  
 D.DEM-DEF-ERG petrol put-NOM forget-IMPF-INFR  
 'Apparently, he forgot to put in petrol.'

Examples (58) and (59a), the inferential with first person, exhibit what Aikhenvald (2004: 219-33) has called the 'first person effect'. This is the addition of overtones of lack of control or volition when non-first hand evidentials and first person combine and which can lead to a mirative extension of evidentials. In Magar, though there is a separate mirative construction, there is some semantic overlap between mirativity and first-person inferentials. The latter can express consternation and surprise and have thus extended their meaning to imply mirativity. Aikhenvald (2004: 208) has described the pathway from evidential to mirative as one from: lack of first-hand information → speaker's non-participation → lack of control → an unprepared mind and new knowledge → mirative.

### 13.2.3.3 Inferential in interrogatives

If an inferential is used in a question, assumptions will have been made by the interrogator about the information source of the addressee; that is, if the question is couched with an inferential, it is expected that the answer will be a response deduced or inferred from indirect evidence, as in (58a). Contrarily, in a non-inferential question the respondent is presumed to have the facts available, as in (58b). In other words, the speaker uses, in the question, the form s/he anticipates in the answer, as seen in the following contrast:

(58) (a) *.ku-se-kat            kitab a-laj            mu-le-sa*  
 INTRG-DEF-one book R.DEM-LOC sit-IMPF-INFR  
 'Which book (do you think) was left there?'  
 (The speaker believes the respondent must infer.)

(b) *ku-se-kat            kitab a-laj            mu-a*  
 INTRG-DEF-one book R.DEM-LOC sit-PST  
 'Which book was left there?'  
 (The speaker believes the respondent knows.)

This presupposition of information source (first-hand versus inference) is not unlike what Aikhenvald (2004: 247) has observed for Quechua wherein the use of the inferred evidential implies that the speaker "'sets the stage' for conjecture on the part of the addressee".

### 13.2.3.4 Inferential in narrative

In narratives, the reportative is typically used. However, the inferential *-sa* is used if narrating from a picture book.<sup>7</sup> In these cases the pictures are treated as visual evidence from which the plot of the story is deduced, as in (59).

<sup>7</sup> Mercer Mayer, 1974. 'Frog where are you' N.Y. Dial Books.

(59) *babu ja-e jfia-aŋ dulo daŋfi-mo jfia-o dulo*  
 boy-child-ERG ground -LOC hole see- SEQ ground -GEN hole

*bfiitre nu-a ki de-mo dulo-aŋ ŋos-a tarA*  
 inside go -PST or say-SEQ hole -LOC look -PST but

*byu dulo le-sa ho-se ho-se bfiitre-iŋ byu khyofi-a*  
 rat hole COP-INFR D.DEM-DEF D.DEM-DEF inside-ABL rat emerge -PST  
 'The boy having seen a hole in the ground went into the hole to see whether  
 (the frog was there) but, apparently, it was a rat's hole because a rat  
 emerged from it.' (A.014T)

LaPolla (2003: 7) observed, for Qiang, that inferentials may be used to recount from television. In Magar, if the source of information from the television is visual (someone sees the image but does not hear or understand the audio), the inferential is used as in (60). (Notably the speaker also uses a double mirative, so great is her disbelief). If the source of information is verbal, the reportative is used (see §13.2.4).

(60) (a) *maobA di rA raja-o phauji-ko punfi-mA le-sa*  
 Maoists and king-GEN troop-PL fight-NOM IMPF-INFR  
 '(Apparently,) the Maoists and the king's troops are fighting.'

(b) *ŋa-e tivi-aŋ daŋfi-cyo-cyo bhormi-ko du jya-o le-sa*  
 1S-ERG T.V.-LOC see-ATT-ATT people-PL-ERG insect eat-MIR IMPF-INFR  
 'I saw on T.V. (that apparently) people eat insects!' (T)

The inferential *-sa* is also used in narratives and folk stories when a character makes a deduction, and expresses it in direct speech. In (62), from 'How the Crow became Black', the owl, a character in the story, infers the moral character of the crow by his actions and proclaims:

(61) *achya ho-te-ahaŋ-cA naŋ jati jA ale-sa*  
 EXCLM D.DEM- say-COND-ATT 2S good EMPH COP-INFR  
 'Well, if it is so, you are, indeed, a good one, apparently.' (DD.051S)

The inferential may also be used by the narrator (in their voice). In these cases the narrator manipulates the inferential as a stylistic device to engage the audience. The



listener is invited to join in making inferences either about actions or states from their results or, inversely, to infer results from states or events in a story. In (62) the state of mind of a character is inferred from the resultant act, and is glossed with 'apparently must have'.

- (62) *ho-ta-i*                      *sadhai* *ja*        *hairan*    ***pa-r-di-s-le-sa***  
 D.DEM-DEF-FOC            always    EMPH    vex                      must-LN-ITR-IMPF-INFR
- ho-ta-ij*                      *uruwa*    *par-lak*    *patti*        ***le-le-sa***            *kauwa*  
 D.DEM-MNR-ABL            owl        side-CIR    shore                      COP-IMPF-INFR    crow

*war-lak*    *patti*  
 side-CIR    side

'Then as always (the crow), apparently, must have vexed the owl, and as a result, apparently, the owl is on this side of the river and the crow the other.' (D.D.009S)

In (63), from 'How a girl came to marry a frog', the actions leading up to the marriage are deduced by the narrator from the result. Specifically, the girl had promised to go away with the frog if he stopped muddying the water. She ends up married, thus the narrator infers:

- (63) *ho-ta-i*                      *ra*        *di*        *ma-dun-ak-le-sa*                      *ta*  
 D.DEM-MNR-FOC    and        water    NEG-muddy-CAUS-IMPF-INFR        REP  
 'They say that then, apparently, he did not muddy the waters. (G.G.006S)

In (64) the inferential is used when a narrator calls up a scene, or series of actions, as evidence for a result and from them deduces that result. The 'deduction' is feigned for effect; the narrator knows full well what the result is (who is the victor and that a heap of twigs is gathered); but by using the inferential the audience is involved in the process of story telling. This is not unlike the use of 'you see' in English.

- (64) (a) *uruwa-e*    *ho-se*                      *kauwa-kuṅ*    *mi-khar*        *baḥiri*    *cet-ak*    *cet-ak*  
 owl-ERG    D.DEM-DEF    crow -GEN        POSS-wing    all        cut-CAUS    cut-CAUS
- bḥarafi-mo*    ***yafi-le-sa***                      *ho-ta-i*                      *kauwa-ke*    ***jut-le-sa***

snap-SEQ give-IMPF-INFR D.DEM-MNR-FOC crow-DAT win-IMPF-INFR  
 'The owl chopped off the crow's wings, apparently, snapped them right off for him; then, you see, he, won over the crow.' (DD.019 -20S)

(b) *ho-ta-i*            *da-rafi -naŋ*        *da-rafi-naŋ*        *thupria*    *jat-le-sa*  
 D.DEM-MNR-FOC put come -SIM        put-come -SIM        pile            do-IMPF-INFR

*ittar-ca*            *ittar*    *te-naŋ*        *dhaliŋ jʌ*        *jat-le-sa*  
 few-ATT            few        say-SIM        very    EMPH    do-IMPF-INFR  
 'Then coming and bringing, coming and bringing, evidently, he piled up a few, a few in this way, you see, made many.' (DD.061 - 062S)

### 13.2.3.5 Inferentials, evidentials and epistemics

The inferential *-sa* collocates with other evidential and epistemic particles; for example, *man*. It is this particle which imparts veridical force. In this function, *man* roughly translates into English as 'believe me' or 'truly' as seen alone in (65a) and with *-sa* in (65b).

(65) (a) *bfiim lhes-mʌ rafi-a man*  
 Bfiim return-NOM come-PST truly  
 'Bfiim returned, believe me.' (I saw him.)

(b) *bfiim lhes-mʌ rafi-le-sa-a man*  
 Bfiim return-NOM come-INFR-PST truly  
 'Apparently, Bfiim returned, believe me.' (I have seen evidence of him.)

In (66) *man* combines with *-sa* in the utterance about a Brahmin who has impregnated a cobbler. In this example, though the identity of the father cannot be proven, it has been deduced from the cobbler's pregnant state and her relationship with the Brahmin. The clause-final particle *man* conveys that the speaker sets store by this evidence and believes it to be true.

(66) *aci ho-se bahon-e sark-ni-ke*  
 then D.DEM-DEF brahmin-ERG cobbler-FM-DAT

*mi-tuk bus-ak-le-sa man*  
 POSS- stomach carry-CAUS-IMPF-INFR truly  
 'Then, apparently, the Brahmin got the female cobbler pregnant, believe me'.  
 (R.R.005S)

This combination of evidential *-sa*, which conveys only that the source of the information, with an epistemic particle lends support to the separateness of the two systems; i.e. that evidentials are an independent system and not subsumed under epistemic modality.

In (67) *-sa* combines with *rA*, likely an adoption from Nepali meaning 'also' and functioning as well as an epistemic particle seen in (68). The use of *-sa* conveys that there is physical evidence of Bfim's arrival; the combination of *-sa* and *rA* adds another nuance: it conveys slight doubt or exasperation at the evidence, rather like the ironic and heavily intoned use of 'actually' in English.

(67) *bfim rafi-le-sa rA*  
 Bfim come-IMPF-INFR and  
 'Apparently, Bfim has actually come.'

Nepali (Michailovsky 1996:111)

(68) *khalak-lāi ghar kharca-ko ali muškil cha re ho?*  
 family-DAT house expense-GEN short difficult be.3S EVID is  
 'The family, it is said, has money problems, is it true?'

### 13.2.4 Reportative evidential

#### 13.2.4.1 Form and meaning

The reportative marker indicates that the speaker has not experienced what s/he is reporting, but has come by the information second-hand *via* a verbal report. It would translate as 'they say', 'it is said' or 'I heard'. Formally, the reportative/hearsay marker *ta* is a clause final particle. In (69), in the first clause, *ta* follows the subordinated verb, *jya-ke* [eat-NOM], and the main verb which is inflected for tense, mood and aspect: *yafi-o le-a* [give-HAB IMPF-PST]. In the third clause it follows *te-o le-a* [say-HAB IMPF-PST].

(69) *jauli-cho jya-ke yafi-o le-a ta rokotyak-e hi*  
 rice-gruel eat-NOM give-HAB IMPF -PST REP frog-ERG what

*jya -ke    yafi-le    ma-de-afiaŋ    te-naŋ    jauli-cho    yafi-le*  
 eat-NOM    give-IMPF    NEG-say-COND    say-SIM    rice-gruel    give-IMPF

*te-o    le-a    ta    te-o    le-a    maŋ    ale -a    ki ma-le-a*  
 say-HAB    IMPF-PST REP    say-HAB    IMPF-PST    truly    COP-PST or NEG-COP-PST  
 'They say that frog used to give rice gruel offering to his wife to eat. (The mother) would wonder "what if he does not give you anything to eat?" They say he gave her rice gruel to eat. This is what is said, really. Wasn't it so?' (G.G.021-021S)

The reportative marker is distinct from the quotative and contrasts with it in both form and function. The quotative, though it reports source of information, is not a grammatical evidential; rather, it is an independent verb used in a bi-clausal construction. By contrast the reportative, or hearsay marker, is a particle, though possibly grammaticalized from a full verb; it is not independent. It cannot be conjugated and does not show agreement and must combine with a clause containing a finite verb. In (70) the quotative *de* (T) ~ *te* (S) carries tense-aspect marking (third person is zero-marked) and precedes *ta*.

(70) *hose    bformi-e de-a    ta    ŋa-e    naŋ-ke    dinfi-le*  
 D.DEM    man-ERG    say-PST REP    1S-ERG    2S-DAT    find-IMPF  
 'They say, the man said "I will find you".'

The functions of the quotative *de* and the reportative *ta* also differ. The verb *de* meaning 'say' and 'tell' is used to quote directly and overtly, as in (71) and (72a). If not overtly, the source is always retrievable from context (see §14.1). If *ta* is used, the source of a report cannot be directly or explicitly stated; compare the reportative in (72b) with the quotative in (72a). The quotative can combine with the reportative to produce a different meaning, as in (72c). The hearsay marker cannot appear instead of *de* in a sentence with an overt direct quotation, as in (72d).

(71) *ho-se-e    dfiodfiar-aŋ    khyofi-a    na    ho-se-ko    ra    ho-sa*  
 D.DEM-DEF-ERG    log-LOC    emerge-PST    EMPH D.DEM-DEF-PL    and D.DEM-DEF

*cyu chahin ho-se len-ja ja-ja kaθa θak-ke*  
 dog well D.DEM-DEF young.male-child child-child with talk-NOM

*pa-naŋ ho-se len-ja ja-ja-e ma-θak-na de-a*  
 try-SIM D.DEM-DEF young.male-child child-child-ERG NEG-talk-IMP say -PST  
 'They came out at a hollow log, and, well, the dog with the boy was going to bark the boy told it not to bark.' (B.B.032S)

(72) (a) *cho dferai jyap-ma le bahini de-le*  
 rice.meal very savour -NOM IMPF little.sister say-IMPF  
 'Little sister says 'the meal is delicious.'

(b) *cho dferai jyap-ma le ta*  
 rice.meal very savour-NOM IMPF REP  
 'They say the meal is delicious.'

(c) *cho dferai jyap-ma-le bahini de-le ta*  
 rice.meal very savour -NOM-IMPF little.sister say-IMPF REP  
 'They say, little sister says the meal is delicious.'

(d) \**cho dferai jyap-ma-le' bahini ta*  
 rice.meal very savour -NOM-IMPF little.sister REP  
 'Little sister says the meal is delicious.'

#### 13.2.4.2 The reportative and person

As would be expected, the reportative is used in third person accounts in narratives; no examples of first person or second person reportative were recorded; in such contexts the quotative was used ((73)).

(73) (a) *i-da jat-ke paθ-di-s-le a-se uruwa-o par-lak*  
 P.DEM-INDEF do-NOM must-LN-ITR-IMPF R.DEM-DEF owl-GEN side-CIR

*patti an-θhak-iŋ mθhak-aŋ me-ko-uŋ im-aŋ mθhak-aŋ mu-dekhiŋ*  
 side go-front-ABL down-LOC 3S-PL-GEN house-LOC down-LOC sit-from

*ra θa haya babai haya babai te-le-aŋ*  
 and 1S groan father groan father say-IMP-1PRO

'The thing we must do is this, after going over to the owl's side and after sitting below their nest, I will groan saying 'ohh father' 'ohh father'.' (DD.029S)

(b) *de-o me-lafi na rafi-a ra jik-a*  
 say-IMP 3S-self EMPH come-PST and sting-PST  
 'Tell me! Did it come all by itself and sting you?' (B.019T)

### 13.2.4.3 Reportative in interrogatives

Like the inferential, questions with the reportative presume an information source. The particle *ta* can be used in questions when an individual is asked to recount reported events, as in (74).

- (74) *ku-se-ke waṅsʌlap jya-ke yafi-o le-a ta*  
 INTRG-DEF-DAT caterpillar eat-NOM give-HAB IMPF-PST REP  
 'To whom do they say they used to give the caterpillar to eat?' (Q.Q.031S)

### 13.2.4.4 Reportative and epistemic particles

In Magar, the reportative *ta* (like the inferential *-sa*) conveys source without an implicature of commitment to the truth or lack thereof. It is not used by a speaker to disassociate from the responsibility of the report or to express doubt. If doubt is expressed it is done overtly with *ma-dihi* 'not believe', as in (75), where it also combines with *ra* which conveys doubt (as was seen in (69)). Without an overt expression of doubt via a full lexeme or an epistemic particle, the reportative expresses only that the source of information is hearsay, as in (76).

- (75) *ṅa-e ma-dihi-mʌ nʌ le ho-se pokhara*  
 1S-ERG NEG-believe-NOM EMPH IMPF D.DEM-DEF Pokhara  
  
*nuṅ-ke le ta ra*  
 go-NOM IMPF REP EVID  
 'I doubt what they say, that he is about to go Pokhara.'

- (76) *hose pokhara nuṅ-ke le ta*  
 D.DEM Pokhara go-NOM IMPF REP  
 'They say he is about to go Pokhara.'

Furthermore, a clause ending in the particle *ta* frequently combines with a second clause ending in *de-o le-a* (T) ~ *te-o le-a* (S), [say-HAB IMPF-PAST], which means 'have always said' or 'used to say', and this followed by the epistemic particle *maʌn* 'truly' ~ 'I believe'. This combination with *maʌn*, conveys 'I am reporting what they have always

said and I believe it to be true', as in (77). Its collocation with *ta* supports the view that *ta* is neutral as to truth value. Furthermore, in example (77b) (and 69 above) the narrator, after using *ta* and *de ~ te-o l-a*, explicitly states that she makes no claims about the truth of her account saying: *ale-a ki ma-ale* meaning 'it may or may not be so'; *ta* encodes only a reported source.

(77) (a) *a-lak-aŋ*                      *mΛdebeni-aŋ*      *thakal-ni-ko-ke*  
 R.DEM-CIR-LOC              Madabeni-LOC      Thakali-FEM-PL-DAT

*baga-di-s-ca*                      *ta*              *te-o*              *le-a*              *man*  
 sweep.away-LN-ITR-ATT      REP              say-HAB IMPF-PST      truly  
 'They say that there around Madabeni, Thakali women were swept away in the flood, so it is said, truly.' (W.05S)

(b) *swa*      *te-naŋ*      *aŋ-le*      *ta*      *bhormi*      *ŋfiadak*  
 ONO      say-SIM      go-IMPF      REP      person      ONO

*ŋfiadak*      *ŋfiadak*      *thut*      *le*      *ta*      *me-ŋer-aŋ*              *bfiΛsak*  
 ONO      ONO      scrub      COP      REP      POSS-mouth-LOC      ONO

*aŋ-le*              *ta*              *te-o*              *le-a*              *ale-a*              *ki*              *mafi-ale*  
 go-IMPF              REP              say-HAB IMPF-PST      COP -PST      or              NEG-COP  
 'As it hisses, they say that a man stumbles and stumbles and is pulled slowly (with a scrubbing motion) into its mouth and, they say, then he is suddenly gulped. That is what they used to say; it may or may not be so.' (O.O.018S)

#### 13.2.4.5 Reportative in narrative

As would be anticipated, *ta* occurs frequently in the recounting of folklore, as an evidential used by the author to convey that the information has been handed down verbally. And as noted, it also frequently combines with the construction *de-o le-a* (T) ~ *te-o le-a* (S), [say-HAB IMPF-PST] which, as discussed above, can have epistemic value when combined with *man*. This construction in collocation with *ta* frequently signals a pivotal event on the story-line, as in (78), in this instance an exorcism. It can signal an episodic juncture, as in (79) where it is interjected between the events leading up to a

pivot; here it is interjected between the engagement of a frog to an unwitting young girl and that frog's following her home.

(78) *ya ban-ke lfi-et-ke pa-r-di-s-le*  
and arrow-DAT return-NOM must-LN-ITR-IMPF

*de-mo de-o le-a ta*  
say -SEQ say-HAB IMPF-PST REP

'And then the mystical arrow curse should be exorcised, supposedly, so they used to say.' (E.012T)

(79) *di dun-ak-a ma-n ho-ta-i ma-dun-ak-o te-naŋ*  
water muddy-CAUS-PST truly D.DEM-MNR-FOC NEG- muddy-CAUS-IMP say-SIM

*ŋa-ke rafi-de-afi-aŋ ma-dun-ak-le-aŋ ma-n te-o le-a*  
1S-DAT come-say-COND NEG-muddy -CAUS-IMPF-PRO truly say-HAB IMPF-PST

*ta ho-ta-i ra rafi-a nfi-un nfi-un*  
REP D.DEM-MNR-FOC and come-PST back back

'They say, that because the girl said "Don't make it muddy", (the frog said) "If you come to me I will truly not muddy the waters", so they say.' Thereupon, he came following behind.' (G.G.003-004 S)

Reports from radio broadcasts and television, if what is recounted is verbal information, are made with the reportative, as in (80). If the source of information is the visual image then the inferential is used (see §13.2.3.4).

(80) *maobadi ra UML men-o men-o dus ma-jat-le ta*  
maoists and UML 3S-GEN 3S-GEN help NEG-do-IMPF REP  
'They say that the Maoists and the UML (United Marxist Leninists) will not cooperate with each other.'

### 13.2.5 Evidentials combined

The inferential and the reportative combine. Aikhenvald (2004: 82) and LaPolla, for Qiang, (2003: 64) have observed that in these cases, two different sources can confirm and complement each other. In (81 a, b), the inferential (*-sa*) and the reportative (*ta*) combine to express two perceivers: 1. that of the speaker, whose source is a verbal report, hence *ta* and 2. that of those who observed evidence and inferred the original report,



hence *sa*. The two evidentials occupy different slots: the inferential is part of the verb complex and the reportative is a clause final particle.

(81) (a) *rokotyak ja nfiun nfiun rafi-le-sa ta*  
 frog EMPH back back come-IMPF-INFR REP  
 'They say that, apparently, the frog kept following her.' (G.G.008S)

(b) *kat-yak-ca hi chanfi-le-sa rokotyak ja gekhekrek*  
 one-day ATT what become-IMPF-INFR frog EMPH ONO

*si-le-sa ta*  
 die -IMPF-INFR REP

'One day, what evidently happened? They say that apparently, the frog, stiffened and died. (G.G.019S)

Moreover, as Aikenvald (2004:83) states, "If two evidentials can occur together they may well be considered as belonging to two different subsystems". Evidentials, as seen above, also combine with epistemic particles, indicating that they, too, are a separate system.

### 13.2.6 Evidential typology

Aikenvald (2004) presents a typology of evidential systems based on cross-linguistic data in which she delineates four types of evidential systems: those which have two, three, four or five evidential markers. The simplest systems are binary having only two terms; these she calls type A; type B systems have three terms, type C have four and type D five. Each of the four types is further sub-categorized and specified according to the nature of the information source; for example, a system may be first-hand versus non-first-hand, or reported versus inferred. Magar has a three-term system within which there are two marked evidential terms: the inferential *-sa* and the reportative *ta*. The third, and unmarked term, is a default 'everything else' category which includes all directly perceived information sources. Within Aikenvald's typology, Magar would be a B-type language (2004:42-52).

### 13.3 Mirativity and evidentiality

Mirativity, as observed by Aikhenvald (2004:195-209), can be an extension of an evidential system. Heine and Kuteva (2002:213) note that evidentials can develop out of miratives; as for example occurs in Korean, where *-kun*, a mirative suffix, developed into an inferential evidential. In Sunwar, *'baak*, the mirative existential copula has developed inferential/ hearsay meaning. Nevertheless, as DeLancey (2001) has demonstrated for Lhasa Tibetan, mirativity can be an independent grammatical and semantic category distinct from evidentiality. This is the case in Magar.

In Magar, the inferential, the reportative and the mirative, not only contrast in form, as has been amply demonstrated, they contrast in meaning, as in (82a - d).

#### Mirative

- (82) (a) *mira syam-o im-aŋ mu-o le*  
 Mira Syam-GEN house-LOC sit-MIR IMPF  
 (I realized to my surprise that) 'Mira lives at Syam's house.'

#### Inferential

- (b) *mira syam-o im-aŋ mu-mA le-sa*  
 Mira Syam-GEN house-LOC sit-NOM IMPF-INFR  
 'Apparently, Mira is living at Syam's house.'

#### Mirative and inferential

- (b) *mira syam-o im-aŋ mu-CA-CA mi-ja bu-le-sa*  
 Mira Syam-GEN house-LOC sit-ATT-ATT POSS-child carry-IMPF-INFR  
 (I realized to my surprise that) 'Mira lives at Syam's house and that she is, apparently, pregnant.'

#### Reportative

- (c) *mira syam-o im-aŋ mu-mA le ta*  
 Kumari Syam-GEN house-LOC sit-NOM IMPF REF  
 'They say that Mira is living at Syam's house.'

Moreover, because their senses are different, evidentials and the mirative can combine in one clause and add a new a new dimension of meaning when they do so. The nominalization *-o le* combines with both the reportative and the inferential. In addition to

being a response to direct experience, a mirative response can be induced by inference; for example, surprised to find no one home, the speaker says:

- (83) *ho-se-ko-ko*                      *das-o*      *le-sa-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF-HON-PL                  leave-MIR IMPF-INFR-PST  
 '(I realize to my surprise that), apparently, they left.'

In (84a), the speaker has seen evidence in the form of footprints of a tiger, infers that the animal has been there and is surprised by this revelation. In (84b), the speaker is surprised by evidence of an unexpected wedding.

- (84) (a) *cituwa*    *i-laj*                      *le-o*      *le-sa-a*  
 tiger            P.DEM-LOC                  COP-MIR    IMPF-INFR-PST  
 (I realize to my surprise that) 'Apparently, the tiger has been here.' (S)
- (b) *byafi*            *jat-cyo-cyo*    *ale-sa-a*  
 marriage        do-ATT-ATT    COP-INFR-PST  
 (I realize to my surprise that) 'Apparently, the marriage has taken place!' (T)
- (b) *mira syam-o*    *im-aŋ*            *mu-CA-CA*    *mi-ja*      *bu-le-sa*  
 Mira Syam-GEN    house-LOC    sit-ATT-ATT POSS-child carry-IMPF-INFR  
 (I realized to my surprise that) 'Mira lives at Syam's house and that she is, apparently, pregnant.'

The mirative can also combine with the reportative as in the following where the speaker finds what she reports unexpected.

- (85) *ho-ta-i*                      *jogi-e*    *ja*      *men-o*      *mi-ja*      *ja*  
 D.DEM-MNR-FOC                  yogi-ERG    EMPH    3S-GEN      POSS-child    EMPH  
  
*nunfi-o*    *le-a*      *ta*  
 take-MIR    IMPF-PST    REP  
 'Then, they say, indeed, the yogi (surprisingly) took her own child from her!'  
 (L.L005 S)

The bare nominalized mirative with *-cyo ~ CA* also combines with the reportative, as in (86).

- (86) (a) *cituwa-e*    *kancha-ke*    *purut-di-s-cyo-cyo*                      *ta*  
 leopard-ERG younger.brother    scratch-LN-INT-ATT-ATT                      REP  
 'They say, the leopard scratched younger brother.'

(b) *a-lak*      *pakh-aŋ*      *le-ca*      *a-lak-iŋ*      *ja*      *masan-e*  
 R.DEM-CIR shore-go-LOC COP-ATT R.DEM-CIR-ABL EMPH death.spirit-ERG

*chal-di-a*      *man*      *chal-di-ke*      *pa*      *te-dekfiŋ*      *jal-e*  
 cast.spell-LN-PST truly cast.spell-LN-NOM try say-from net-INST

***hup-ca-ca***      ***ta***  
 cover-ATT-ATT REP

'They say that (the boy) was over there on the shore, and, indeed from over there the death spirit cast a spell, truly, he thought (the death spirit) was trying to cast a spell when he covered him with the net.' (P.P.011S)

It also combines with the inferential *-sa*, which appears on the final verb of a complex clause, as in (87).

(87) *ho-se-i*      *lukurdfiam* *bahire*      ***khyofi-cyo-cyo***      *babu-ja*      *ganfi-mo*  
 D.DEM-DEF0-FOC owl outside emerge-ATT-ATT boy-child startle-SEQ

***mfiak-aŋ***      ***kurfi-cyo-cyo-sa-a***  
 down-LOC fall-ATT-ATT-INFR-PST

'Apparently, the owl just emerged outside; the boy, having been startled, fell down!' (A.021T)

All three, the mirative with *-o le*, the inferential *-sa* and the reportative *-ta*, may combine in a single clause, as in (88).

(88) (a) *cituwa-e*      *rfa-o*      *mi-hyu*      *jya-le-sa-a*      *sya*  
 leopard-ERG goat-GEN POSS-blood eat-IMPF-INFR meat

***das-o***      ***le-sa***      ***ta***  
 leave-MIR IMPF-INFR REP

'They say, that the leopard has eaten [sic] the goat's blood, but surprisingly it has apparently left the meat!' (S)

(b) *chin-pin*      *gwa* *lekha* *bfiormi-ko* *burfi-o*      *le-sa*      *ta*  
 today-tomorrow bird seem people-PL fly-MIR IMPF-INFR REP  
 'They say that today men can fly like birds!' (T)

(a) *boi-e*      *nfiis* *pareo*      *mi-ja*      *puja*      *yafi-le-sa*      *tara*  
 father-ERG two pigeon POSS-child worship give-IMPF-INFR but

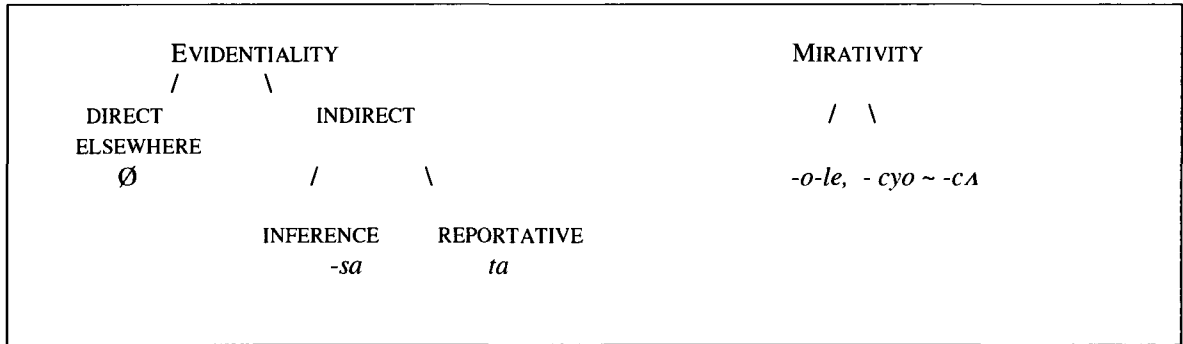
***than-o***      ***di-sya-e***      ***ma-jya-o***      ***le-sa***      ***ta***  
 temple-GEN water-flesh-ERG NEG-eat-MIR IMPF-INFR REP

'They say, (apparently) father gave two pigeon chicks in worship, but

(apparently) the temple fish didn't eat (them)!' (T)

Aikhenvald has observed that, cross-linguistically, evidential and mirative systems are formally heterogeneous, an observation with which Magar complies. As seen, the evidentials of Magar comprise: a particle within the verb complex *-sa*, a clause final particle: *ta* and the mirative, is formed with nominalizers *-cyo ~ -ca* and *-o*. In sum, the mirative and the evidentials, though they may be conceptually related, in Magar, are distinct in meaning and form. Furthermore, the mirative and evidentials also have different distributions: the mirative with *-cyo ~ -ca* is largely restricted to past and the mirative with *-o le* to imperfect-non-past; the latter is in paradigmatic relationship to the past-habitual aspect. Evidentials do not have these restrictions or relationships. The independent systems are diagrammed in Table 4.

**Table 13.1 Magar Evidential and Mirative systems**



**13.4 Possible diachronic sources**

In this section, I will venture some preliminary observations as to the origins of evidentials and miratives in Magar. I will look briefly at both the external pressures of language contact from which evidentials and miratives may result and the internal processes of grammaticalization.

Inferentials and miratives are both highly diffusible (Aikhenvald 2004: 296). Languages of the Himalayas demonstrate a proclivity which supports this observation. Evidentials and/or miratives have been found in: Sherpa (Givón 1982, Woodbury 1986), Chepang (Caughley 1982), Newari (Hargreaves 1983), Akha (Egerod 1985, Thurgood 1986), Tibetan (DeLancey 1986, 1997 and 2003, Sun 1993, Hongladarom 1993, Haller 2000, Huber 2000), Sunwar (DeLancey 1997), Ladhaki (Bhat 1999), Kinnauri (Saxena 2000), Kham (Watters 2002), Dulong-Rawang (LaPolla and Poa 2001), Qiang (La Polla 2003) and Chantyal (Noonan 1997, 2008). Evidentiality is marked as well, in Nepali (Michailovsky 1996 and Peterson 2000). Given the ease with which miratives and evidentials diffuse, the stage is set, areally, for their development.

I propose that Magar has developed miratives and evidentials following well documented pathways. Willet (1988: 79-84) Aikhenvald (2004: 271-275), Heine and Kuteva (2002: 267) have observed that grammaticalized verbs, specifically verbs of speech and perception, are common sources for evidentials. The development of reportative and quotative markers out of the verb 'say' is a widespread process in Tibeto-Burman languages. In Magar, the verb 'say' is transparently the source for the quotative (§14) and it may also be the source for the reportative. In Syangja, a de-voiced variant of *de*, 'te', is common, as in (89).

(89) *Bfim langha-aj raf-ke te-a*  
 Bfim village-LOC come-NOM say-PST  
 'Bfim said he is coming to the village.'

The reduction of *te* or *te-a* to *ta* is a phonologically plausible. More support for this comes from, Kham, which has borrowed the Magar verb 'say' *te* as its reportative

(Watters 2002: 296-300 n.2). Thus, it is also not unlikely that the reportative *ta* in Magar is also a grammaticalization of the full verb *de ~ te*.

Verbs of general perception often develop into inferentials (Aikhenvald, 2004: 273-74). In Magar, the inferential *-sa* may be a grammaticalization of the verb *se* meaning 'sense' and encompassing 'hearing' or 'feeling', as in (90) and (91).

(90) *kan-uŋ gau-uŋ ghar-aŋ pʌhila pʌhila cahine hʌspital ja dʌktor*  
 2P-GEN village-GEN home-LOC first first well hospital or doctor

*de-cyo calan na ma-se-mo ma-daj-mo*  
 say-ATT tradition EMPH neg- sense-SEQ neg- see-SEQ  
 'In our villages, long before, well, such a tradition of hospitals  
 and doctors neither had been neither heard of nor seen.' (E.003T)

(91) *ga ga se-mʌ le*  
 drink-drink sense-NOM IMPF  
 'I feel thirsty.'

The pathway by which full lexical verbs of perception or speech become grammaticalized into evidential particles involves the reanalysis and reduction of a bi-clausal construction, a matrix and a complement, into a single clause. The subordinate clause de-subordinates and the verb of the matrix clause, in these cases *se* and *de*, is reinterpreted as an evidential particle, either clause-finally or as part of the verb phrase.

The mirative is either a bare nominalization or supported by an auxiliary, both may also be reductions of a bi-clausal construction. Nominalizers often function as markers of complement clauses. Thus, the Magar nominalized mirative may be a de-subordinated subordinate complement clause. The matrix clause 'I am surprised that....', would in most cases have been retrievable from the context and via intonation or expression; thus it was rendered irrelevant and simply disappeared leaving only the nominalized verb of the complement clause as the mirative.

In conclusion, the evidential and mirativity systems in Magar are independent of the epistemic system and of each other. The evidential system encodes indirect information source, whether reported or inferred. Both evidentials are neutral with respect to the truth value or reliability of information in the utterance. The mirative encodes surprise at new and unassimilated information and is also independent of truth value. Evidence for the independence of the systems is found in their combinatory possibilities with epistemic particles and with each other. When combined, each additional morpheme contributes an additional independent level of meaning. The two evidentials: the inferential and the reportative, and the miratives are also formally different from one another. In all these respects, Magar supports Aikhenvald's and DeLancey's analysis that mirativity and evidentiality are independent grammatical categories definitions. In addition, with respect to the development of these categories, Magar has followed expected pathways of grammaticalization.



## 14 Quotative

This chapter analyzes the quotative; specifically how the quotative, which is expressed by the verb 'say', has acquired extended functions in Magar which include:

complementation, the expression of purpose, causation, condition and comparison.

Beyond these, the verb 'say' has broadened its semantic range to include the expression of mental processes: reason and intention, thought, belief, agreement, decision, hope, desire and supposition. Example (1) demonstrates a number of these functions: a quotative (*te-le*), a conditional (*te-ahaŋ*), expresses a decision (*te-ca*) and expresses 'agree' (*te-naŋ*).

(1) *ho-ta-i*            *hi*            *te-le-sa*            *te-ahaŋ*    *lau*            *ho*  
 D.DEM-MNR-FOC what    say-IMPF-INFR    say-COND    EXCLAM    D.DEM

*te-ahaŋ*    *naŋ-e*            *punfi-ij*            *punfi-ij*  
 say-COND    2S-ERG            fight-HORT            fight-HORT

*te-ca*    *lau*    *chiniŋ*    *punfi-ij*    *ku-lak*    *punfi-ij*            *te-naŋ*  
 say-ATT EXCLM today    fight-HORT INTRG-CIR fight-HORT            say-SIM

"Then what was evidently said? "If, okay, it is so, then so it is. Let's fight, let's fight" you decided okay, "Today let's fight." Where shall we agree to fight?" (D.D.015S)

Moreover, the verb 'say' has also developed an extended epistemic function, which is exploited in narratives, where the quotative is used as a rhetorical device. The quotative can be used to reveal an authorial comment about a supposed and presumed reality on the part of a character. In these instances, 'say' expresses what I call 'rhetorical doubt'; and as such it expresses a truth value, which is an epistemic function. Specifically, it presents the 'true' reality of the narrator in contrast to a character's presumed and untrue reality, as in (2).

(2) *ra ho-se len-ja ja-ja-e kat ho-se sig-ke*  
 and D.DEM-DEF young.male-child child-child-ERG one D.DEM-DEF branch-DAT

*sig te-ɲfiak-iŋ jim-ca cahin ho-se jarayo-o mi-rfiŋ*  
 branch say-front-ABL hold-ATT well D.DEM-DEF stag-GEN POSS-horn

*le-ca le-sa*  
 COP-ATT COP-INFR

'And the little boy supposing he was holding onto a branch, well, apparently it turned out to be a stag's horn.' (B.B.024S)

The quotative, in that it conveys source of information, parallels the functions of evidentials in Magar, particularly the reportative (discussed in chapter 13). However, the quotative is distinct from the reportative marker in both form and function.

This chapter will open with a section distinguishing the quotative from the reportative. It will then proceed to analyze the basic functions and extended functions of the quotative. These functions, as Saxena (1988, 1995) has observed, can be arrayed along a hierarchy from quotation to comparison. Examples of 'say' as they comply with this hierarchy are examined in §14.2.1 - 14.2.7; following this, the semantic broadening of 'say' to express mental processes is examined in §14.3, and the rhetorical use of 'say' and its epistemic extension in §14.4.

#### 14.1 The quotative and the reportative

As said, the quotative and reportative differ in both form and function. The quotative is not a grammatical evidential, as is the reportative particle *ta*; rather, it is a full and finite verb *de* (in Tanahu) ~ *te* (in Syangja), meaning 'say' or 'tell' which occurs in bi-clausal complement constructions. In (3) the quotative and reportative co-occur, with each reporting a distinct information source. The reportative reports hearsay, and the quotative direct speech.

(3) (a) *ŋa-e na-ke dɪnfi-le ho-se-o boi-e de-a ta*  
 1S-ERG 2S-DAT find-IMPF D.DEM-DEF-GEN father-ERG say-PST REP  
 'They say his father said "I will find you".' (T)

(b) *ŋa-e na-ke dɪnfi-le-aŋ ho-se-o boi-e de-a ta*  
 1S-ERG 2S-DAT find-IMPF-1PRO D.DEM-DEF-GEN father-ERG say-PST REP  
 'They say his father said "I will find you".' (S)

Their functions also differ; the verb 'say' is used to quote directly and usually overtly, as in (3) and (4a). If *ta* is used, the source of a report will generally not be directly or explicitly stated; compare the quotative with the reportative in (5a). The reportative marker does not appear instead of *de* in a sentence with an overt direct quotation, as in (5b).

(4) (a) *ho-se-i dɦodɦar-aŋ khefi-a na ho-se-ko ra*  
 D.DEM-DEF-FOC log-LOC emerge-PST EMPH D.DEM-DEF-PL and

*ho-se cyu cahin ho-se len-ja ja-ja kaɦaŋ ɦak-ke*  
 D.EM-DEF dog well D.DEM-DEF young.male-child child-child with talk-NOM

*pa-naŋ ho-se len-ja ja-ja-e ma-ɦak-na de-a*  
 try-SIM D.DEM-DEF young.male-child child-child-ERG NEG-talk-IMP say-PST  
 'They came out at a hollow log and, well, the dog that was with the boy was going to bark and the boy told it "Do not bark!"". (B.B.032S)

(b) *cho dɦerai jap-ma le bahini de-le*  
 rice.meal very savour-NOM IMPF little.sister say-IMPF  
 'Little sister says "The meal is delicious".'

(5) (a) *cho dɦerai jap-ma le ta*  
 rice.meal very savour-NOM IMPF REP  
 'They say the meal is delicious.'

(b) *\*cho dɦaliŋ jap-ma le bahini ta*  
 rice.meal very savour-NOM IMPF little.sister REP  
 'Little sister says "The meal is delicious".'

The quotative need not always explicitly state the source of information; in such cases it can have a translation similar to the reportative 'some say' or 'people say' as in (6).

However; when the quotative is used in this way, the 'people' will have been identified

earlier in the discourse. In this example, they are local villagers; by contrast, *ta* is generally used with an unspecified source.

- (6) *chiniṅ pihin-cyo daktor-ko de-le lama-ko ra de-le*  
 today today-ATT doctor-PL say-IMPF priest-PL and say-IMPF
- jaysi-ko ra de-le abo ku-lak ale ku-lak ale*  
 fortune.teller-PL and say-IMPF now how-CIR COP how-CIR COP  
 'Nowadays, some say "doctors" and some say "priests", and some say  
 "fortune tellers". Now, where to go, where to go?' (E.027T)

#### 14.2 The functions and forms of the verb 'say'

Cross-linguistically and in South Asian languages in particular, the verb 'say' covers a wide range of functions beyond that of quotation. This feature has been brought into Tibeto-Burman languages from Indo-Aryan, and specifically into Magar from Nepali. As Saxena (1988, 1995) observed these functions align to form an implicational hierarchy in which the verb 'say' expresses: quotation < complementation < purpose < condition < comparison. Magar complies with this hierarchy. In these different functions the quotative appears in different grammatical forms<sup>1</sup>. There is considerable overlap between the different forms and functions. The verb 'say' may be a finite verb, or it may be a sequential or simultaneous converb, or the conditional. The interpretation and function of the verb say is determined in part by form and in part by the context of the utterance and there is some degree of overlap in the different forms and meanings.

Noonan (2006) has examined the use of the verb 'say' in Chantyal, a Tamangic language spoken in Nepal, and has identified a cluster of interpretations for 'say' which complement Saxena's hierarchy. These include: reason and causation ((7a)), purpose and motivation ((7b)) and intention ((7c)).

<sup>1</sup> Noonan (2006:9) has observed that in Chantyal that the quotative "may appear in any of five grammatical forms: as a finite verb, as a sequential converb, as a progressive converb, as a nominalization, and as a conditional converb."

Chantyal (Noonan 2001: 9-11)

- (7) (a) *naku-se ce əriŋŋal-ye gfiar-ra dho-wa bfi-si-rə*  
 dog-ERG that hornet-GEN nest-DAT meet-NOM sat-ANT-SEQ

*bururk buruk wuphri-kəy mu*  
 jump jump.up-PROG be-NPST  
 '[I]will get that hornet's nest!' the dog having said, he is jumping up and down.'  
 ='Because the dog wants to get to that hornet's nest, he is jumping up and down.'

- (b) *na-se "ca-wa" bfi-si-rə kan fið-i*  
 I-ERG eat-NOM say-ANT-SEQ rice toast-PERF  
 'Having said "will eat" I toasted rice.'  
 = 'I toasted rice in order to eat it.'

- (c) *gfiyay lagi-wa bfi-si-rə dugri-i*  
 forest follow-NOM say-ANT-SEQ run-PERF  
 "'I will follow the forest!' having said, I ran.'  
 = 'Determined to live in the forest, I ran.'

Similar interpretations are found in Magar and these will be described below as will those functions which comply with Saxena's implicational hierarchy.

#### 14.2.1 Direct and indirect quotation and expressives

The verb 'say', *de* in Tanahu and *te* in Syangja, is used to report both direct and indirect speech and onomatopoeic expressions. Direct speech, a verbatim report of a speech event is a hallmark of Magar discourse and narratives and is much more common than indirect speech. Noonan (2006:1) identifies this as a rhetorical style, typical of languages of the Himalayan area, which he calls 'direct speech style'. The rhetorical function of direct quotation is not to give a verbatim report; the function of which is to "heightened immediacy and involvement." (2006:27)

The verb 'say' is finite when used to quote directly ((8)) and when forming expressive onomatopoeic utterances ((9)) (see also §12.1.1.9.1).

- (8) (a) *ho-se ban lfiet-cyo samagriyaŋ cahin su-ke*  
 D.DEM arrow return-ATT items well who-DAT
- cahin gwa de-le su-ke cahin rfiā de-le*  
 well bird say-IMPF who-DAT well goat say-IMPF
- su-ke cahine bombosya de-le su-ke cahin wak ra*  
 who-DAT well squash say-IMPF who-DAT well pig and
- de-le tɾɾɾ ho-se kura cahin jat-cyo-ko-e warfi-le*  
 say-IMPF but D.DEM-DEF things well do-ATT-PL-ERG know-COP
- 'The items to exorcise the mystical arrow curse, (the shaman) says to some are, well, "a chicken", to some, well, "a goat", to some he says "squash", to some, well, he says "a pig", but the ones who perform these matters know.' (E.024T)

- (b) *ho-se dfiodfiar-aŋ khyefi-a nɾ ho-se-ko rɾ*  
 D.DEM-DEF log-LOC emerge-PST EMPH D.DEM-DEF-PL and
- ho-se cyu cahin ho-se len-ja ja-ja kɾθa ŋak-ke*  
 D.DEM-DEF dog well D.DEM-DEF young.male-child child-child with talk-NOM
- pa-naŋ ho-se len-ja ja-ja-e ma-ŋak-na de-a*  
 try-SIM D.DEM-DEF young.male.child child-child-ERG NEG talk-IMP say-PST
- 'They came out at the hollow log, and the dog was going to bark, the boy said "don't bark"'. (B.B.032S)

- (9) *thor huhuka-huhuka de-mo litim-aŋ rafi-a*  
 ox ONO ONO say-SEQ straight.down-LOC come-PST
- 'The ox having said "bellow bellow", came straight down.'  
 = 'The ox came straight down bellowing.'

Magar is capable of the deitic shift required to express indirect quotations. These are formulated with a finite form of the verb 'say' plus a sequential converbal form of 'say' functioning as a complementizer, as in (10).

- (10) (a) *boi-e de-mo de-a ho-se-e cituwa*  
 father-ERG say-SEQ say-PST D.DEM-DEF-ERG leopard
- dinfi-le rɾ ŋap-le*  
 find-IMPF and shoot-IMPF
- 'Father said that he (=father) would find the leopard and shoot it.' (T)
- (b) *ho-se de-mo de-a bul-e ho-se-ke jik rafi-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF say-SEQ say-PST snake-ERG D.DEM-DEF-DAT bite come-NOM

*te-o*            *le-a*            *man*  
 say-HAB        IMPF-PST    truly  
 'They say she said that the snake came and bit her (=she), truly.'  
 (W.05S)

However, indirect reported speech is relatively rare in discourse; and, as the parallelism in (11) suggests, indirect quotation may be a product of language contact with Nepali. In both languages we find an analogous sequential converbal and finite form of 'say' as a complementizer.

(11) (a) *ho-se-e*            *pihin*    *tafi-rafi-le*    *de-mo*    *de-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF-ERG    tomorrow reach-come-IMPF say-SEQ    say-PST  
 '(He) said that he would arrive tomorrow.'

Nepali  
 (b) *bholi*    *aaŭchu*    *bhan-era*    *bhan-yo*  
 tomorrow come-3S    say-SEQ    say-PST  
 'He said that he would come tomorrow.'

#### 14.2.2 Complementation

The verb 'say' in sequential converbal form also functions as a complementizer for verbs of cognition; for example 'believe', 'fear', 'understand' or 'guess' ((12)). (Examples are repeated from §12.1.1.9.2.) In the following, both a literal and a colloquial translation are provided.

(12) (a) *maobadi* *ra*    *UML*    *men-o*    *men-o*    *dus*    *jat-le*    *de-mo*    *ma-difi-le*  
 maoists    and UML    3S-GEN    3S-GEN    help    do-IMPF    say-SEQ    NEG-believe-IMPF  
 'I do not believe having said "The Maoists and the UML will help each other".'  
 = 'I do not believe that the Maoists and the UML (United Marxist Leninists) will help each other.'

(b) *sita-e*    *men-o*            *gelti*    *le*            *de-mo*    *warfi-ŋfiak-iŋ*  
 Sita-ERG    3S-GEN            mistake    COP            say-NOM    understand -front-ABL

*ma-ŋak*    *ma-ŋak*    *mu-a*  
 NEG-talk    NEG-talk    sit-PST

'Sita, after understanding, having said, "It was her own mistake", remained very silent.'

= 'Sita, after understanding that it was her mistake, remained very silent.'

- (c) *pattA-e pardichaj santa agfiera a-chanfi-e de-mA le-a*  
 all-ERG guess Santa first IRR-become-IRR say-NOM IMPF-PST  
 'Everyone guessed, having said "Santa would be first".'  
 = 'Everyone guessed that Santa would be first.'

The sequential converbal form of 'say' is also used as a complement in reported interrogatives as in (13).

- (13) *babu-ja-e men-o boi-ke karfiag-di ku-lag ale de-mo*  
 boy-child-ERG 3S-GEN father-DAT big-watter where-LOC COP say-NOM  
  
*ginfi-a*  
 ask-PST  
 'The boy asked his father, having said "Where is 'Big Water?'"  
 = 'The boy asked his father where 'Big Water' is.'

The simultaneous converbal form of 'say' functions as a complementizer to a nominalized form of 'why' *hi-ke de ~ te-naŋ* as in (14) and (15).

- (14) (a) *ho-se kAtha dferai poisa le hi-ke*  
 D.DEM-DEF with many money IMPF why-NOM

*de-ahaŋ ho-ce-o kam sefi-cA le*  
 say-COND D.DEM-DEF-GEN work good-ATT IMPF  
 'If saying why "He has a lot of money", he has a good job.'  
 = 'He has a lot of money because he has a good job.' (S)

- (b) *ja-ja-ko-e cha-mA nA le hi-chanfi-mo*  
 child-child-ERG sick-NOM EMPH IMPF why-become-SEQ

*de-lfiyak ho-se-e di ga-a*  
 say-COND D.DEM-DEF-ERG water drink-PST  
 'If saying why "The children are indeed sick", they drank that water.'  
 = 'The children are indeed sick because they drank that water.' (T)

- (15) (a) *mi-talu hi-chanfi-mo bik-a tot mfianya*  
 POSS-head why-become-NOM pain-PST exactly TAG  
 'Exactly why did you have a headache, well ?

- (b) *hi-ke de-naŋ ŋa-e dfialij mAddfa ga-a*  
 what-DAT say-SIM 1S-ERG very alcohol drink-PAST  
 'If saying why "I drank too much alcohol.'  
 = 'Because I drank too much alcohol.'



The conditional form of the verb 'say' is used as a complementizer when posing rhetorical questions and answering them as in (16).

(16) (a) *ɲos-nis ja-ja-ko hi te-o le-a te-ahaŋ*  
 look-2PRO.HON child-child-PL what say-HAB IMPF-PST say-COND

*paɦila ja kauwa batho ben jya-le pada lato dut gale*  
 first EMPH crow clever feces eat-IMPF calf stupid milk drink-IMPF

*te-o le-a*  
 say-HAB IMPF-PST

'Look children, why is it said, if saying, that the clever crow eats stool and the stupid calf drinks milk?'

= 'Look children, why is it said that the clever crow eats stool and the stupid calf drinks milk?' (DD.001S)

(b) *ha dfialij jat-le-sa ja abo ho-se kauwa-e*  
 EXCLM many do-IMPF-INFR EMPH now D.DEM-DEF crow-ERG

*hi soch-di-o le te-ahaŋ ho-dik jat-pyak uruwa-ko-ke*  
 what think-LN-MIR IMPF say-COND D.DEM-QUANT do- after owl-PL-DAT

*thaha mafi-ale*  
 awareness NEG-COP

'Hah! after doing that much, apparently, if saying after doing that much the owls did not notice.

= 'Hah! After having done that much, apparently, what did the crow realize to his surprise? Even after doing so much, the owls did not notice.' (DD.063 S)

(c) *ɲa-e chiniŋ naŋ-ko-ke hi ahan set-le-aŋ te-ahaŋ*  
 1SG-ERG today 2SG-PL-DAT what story tell-IMPF-1PRO say-COND

*kauwa ra uruwa*  
 crow CONJ owl

'Today, what story will I tell you? If saying "The crow and the owl".'

= 'Today, what story will I tell you? How about "The crow and the owl."' (DD.002S)

(d) *ho-ta-i kauwa-e hi te-le-sa te-ahaŋ*  
 D.DEM.MNR-FOC crow-ERG what say-IMPF-INFR say-COND

*uruwa-ke ye uruwa naŋ-o sarkhar ra*  
 owl-DAT hey owl 2S-GEN government and

*kaɦaɦa kan-ko punfi-ij te-ke kauwa-e sadhain uruwa-ke*  
 with 1P-HON fight-HORT say-NOM crow-ERG always owl-DAT

'Then, what was it the crow, apparently, said to the owl? If saying to the owl "Hey owl, let us fight with your government." The crow always said this to the owl.

= 'Then, at that time, what was it that the crow, apparently, said to the owl? "Hey owl, let us fight your government." The crow always said this to the owl.'  
(DD.004S)

### 14.2.3 Purpose

The sequential converbal form of 'say' can also express purpose and translates as 'in order to' or 'accordingly'; see also §12.1.1.9.3.

(17) (a) *ŋa dus-ke de-mo rafi-a*  
IS help-NOM say-SEQ come-PST  
'I "to help" having said, came.'  
= 'I came in order to help.'

(b) *caha khas-ke de-mo ŋa-e di hat-ak-a*  
tea make-NOM say-SEQ I-ERG water boil-CAUS-PST  
"'Tea to make" having said, I boiled water.'  
= 'In order to make tea I boil water.'

(c) *ra ho-se-o aloa kat kan-uŋ bfairuŋ deuta de-mo*  
and D.DEM-DEF-GEN besides one 1P-GEN Bfairuŋ god say-NOM  
  
*man-di-k-mo chuttai than ya mandir man-di-k-mo*  
obey-LN-CAUS-NOM separate shrine or temple obey-LN-CAUS-SEQ

*rafi-ca kan-uŋ magar-kuŋ calan ale*  
come-ATT 1PL-GEN Magar-GEN tradition COP  
'And besides others, there is our god, Bfairuŋ, saying "to follow our Magar tradition", we worship him at a separate shrine or temple.'  
= 'And besides others, there is our god, Bfairuŋ, in order to follow our Magar tradition, we worship him at a separate shrine or temple.' (F.F. 011T)

(d) *cahine Bfairuŋ deuta de-mo kat wak*  
well Bfairuŋ god say-NOM one pig

*ra ani puja yafi-cyo calan le*  
and then worship give-ATT tradition COP  
'Well Bfairuŋ god, having said, "one pig" and then we worship; this is our tradition.'  
= 'Well, to this god, Bfairuŋ, in order to follow our tradition we offer a pig in worship.' (F.F.012T)

(e) *ra isa cahine alag alag de-naŋ saptami din-aŋ cahine*  
 and P.DEM-DEF well other other say-SIM seventh day-LOC well

*sakhari phulpati de-mo khadkamai-ko-uŋ nam jat-mo puja jat-le*  
 official flower say-SEQ kadkhami-HON-GEN name do-SEQ worship do-IMPF  
 'And while saying "something different", having said "well on the  
 seventh day, we worship the official flower" and an offering is made in the  
 name of the goddess Kadkhami.'

= 'And then we want to do something different, accordingly on the  
 seventh day, we worship the official flower and an offering is made in the name  
 of the goddess Kadkhami.' (F.F. 002T)

(f) *ma-sefi-cyo shiatan ma-dup-ke de-mo jaja-ko me-kep*  
 NEG-good-ATT demon NEG-meet-NOM say-SEQ child-child-PL POSS-ear  
*mi-naha kwak-le ta*  
 POSS-nose pierce-IMPF REP

'They say "evil demon not to meet" having said, children's ears and noses are  
 pierced.'

= 'They say so that children do not meet (are not taken by) evil spirits (their) ears  
 and noses are pierced.' (T)

#### 14.2.4 Reason and causation

As noted above, the simultaneous converbal form of the verb 'say' *de~ te-naŋ* can

function as a complementizer to *hi-ke* 'because' in the expression of reason and cause.

The simultaneous converbal form of 'say' alone can express reason and causation as in

(18) (see also §12.1.1.9.3). In these instances, the converbal form has extended its

meaning from contemporaneity to cause. Reason and causation can also be expressed

with the conditional in combination with *hi* 'why', as in (19).

(18) (a) *te-naŋ a-se ma-dun-ak-o ŋa-ke rafi te-ahaŋ*  
 say-SIM R.DEM-DEF NEG-muddy-CAUS-IMP 1S-DAT come say-COND

*ma-dun-ak-le-aŋ man te-o le-a ta*  
 NEG-muddy-CAUS-IMP-PRO truly say-HAB IMPF-PST REP

'They say while (the girl was) saying "Don't make it muddy" (the frog)

if saying "You come to me I will truly not make it muddy", truly, so it is told.'

= 'They say, because the girl said "Don't make it muddy", (the frog said) "If  
 you come to me I will truly not muddy the waters", so they say.' (G.G.004S)

(b) *a-se uruwa-e ho-ta-i uruwa ho-ta te-naj*  
 R.DEM-DEF owl-ERG D.DEM-MNR-FOC owl D.DEM-MNR say-SIM

*me-ko-uj ja sallfia chanfi-ma bhya-ma le-a man*  
 POSS-PL-GEN EMPH discussion become-NOM finish-NOM IMPF-PST truly  
 'That owl, then the owl was like that, while saying, "discussion had come to an end", truly.'

= 'That owl, then the owl was like that, because their discussion had come to an end, truly.' (DD.055S)

(19) (a) *baju-e raksi ra sikrit ga-o le-a tara das-a*  
 grandfather-ERG alcohol and cigarette drink-HAB IMPF-PST but leave-PST

*hi-chanfi-mo de-lfiyak ho-se-ke me-kho-aj mha khyofi-a*  
 why-become say-COND D.DEM-DEF-DAT POSS-intestine wound emerge-PST  
 'Grandfather used to drink alcohol and smoke cigarettes but he stopped because if saying "he developed a sore in his intestines".'

= 'Grandfather used to drink alcohol and smoke cigarettes but he stopped because he developed a sore in his intestines.' (T)

(b) *hose mirhanfi-tuj mirhanfi-tuj wha-ma le*  
 D.DEM-DEF unstable-ADS unstable-ADS walk-NOM IMPF

*hi te-ahaj dfialij raksi ga ma le*  
 why say-COND much raksi drink-NOM IMPF

'He is stumbling around because if saying "drinking too much raksi".' (S)  
 = 'He is stumbling around because he is drinking too much raksi.' (S)

The verb 'say', when followed by the postposition *ηfiak-ij*, [front-ABL] meaning 'after', also expresses reason and cause as in (20). In these instances, the meaning has evolved from a subsequent to a consesequent one.

(20) (a) *a-yafi-e na burtai yafi-nis te-ηfiak-ij te-o le-a ta*  
 IRR-give-IRR EMPH rather give-HON.IMP say-front-ABL say-HAB IMPF-PSTREP  
 After saying "'I would indeed rather give (my child), please give (me the pomegranate)", they used to say.'  
 = "'I would indeed rather give (my child); so please give me (the pomegranate)", (she said), so they say.' (L.L.004S)

(b) *namsin-aj coyok jat-a hi kes-le-sa*  
 afternoon-LOC ONO do-PST what move-IMPF-INFR

*rafi-le te-ηfiak-ij ηa-ōs-a-aj*  
 come-IMPF say-front-ABL 1PRO-look-PST-1PRO

'In the afternoon, (something) made a 'crack', After saying "What is evidently coming?", I looked up.'

= 'In the afternoon, (something) made a 'crack', I looked up because someone was evidently, moving (overhead). (M.M.015S)

(c) *a-se*            *lau*        *punfi-ij*    *kan-ko*    *te-naŋ*    *lau*    *ma-de-afiŋ*  
R.DEM-DEF CNFM    fight-HORT 1P-PL        say-SIM    CNFM NEG-say-COND

*te-ŋfiak-ij*    *lau*        *rak-na*    *naŋ-o*    *phauji rΛ*    *laŋi-mo*    *rafi-na*  
say-front-ABL CNFM    come-IMP 2S-GEN troop and take-SEQ come-IMP

'Over there, okay while saying "Let's fight" okay if saying, after saying, okay "Bring your troops and having taken them come!"'

= 'Over there, okay, so we fight', okay, whether we want to or not, okay, bring your troops and having taken them, come!' (DD.012S)

(d) *langha sefi-cyo*    *ale*    *de-ŋfiak-ij*    *ho-se*        *ho-laŋ*    *ŋu-le*  
village beautiful-ATT COP    say-front-ABL D.DEM-DEF D.DEM-LOC sit-IMPF

'The village is beautiful' after saying she lives there.'

= 'Because the village is beautiful, she lives there.' (T)

(e) *sajilo le*        *de-ŋfiak-ij*    *ho-se-e*                    *ho-se kam jat-a*  
easy COP    say-front-ABL D.DEM-DEF-ERG    D.DEM work do-PST

'It is easy' after saying he did that work.'

= 'Because the work is easy, he did it.' (T)

#### 14.2.5 Intention

The expression of intention with the verb 'say' demonstrates a development from a

quotation about the future to an expression of intent; in other words, it demonstrates a

shift from a temporal to a psychological event. This internalization of the meaning of

verb 'say', as shall be seen in §14.3, has led to the development of the quotative as the

expression of mental processes.

(21) (a) *ram-e*            *im*    *lak-ke*            *te-mΛ*    *le*  
Ram-ERG    house plaster-NOM    say-NOM    IMPF

'Ram is saying "will plaster the house".'

= 'Ram intends to plaster the house.' (G.23S)

(b) *bfiim-e*        *langha-aŋ*    *rafi-ke*            *de-mΛ*    *le*  
Bfiim-ERG    village-LOC    come-NOM    say-NOM    IMPF

'Bfiim is saying "will come to the village".'

= 'Bfiim intends to come to the village.' (G.29T)

(c) *ho-se mantri-e na ŋa-e ho-ta te-le-aŋ*  
 D.DEM-DEF minister-ERG EMPH 1S-ERG D.DEM-MNR say-IMPF-1PRO

*ho-ta-i ra ho-din-ca tarikai ŋa-e khas-le-aŋ*  
 D.DEM-MNR-FOC and D.DEM-QUAL-ATT way 1S-ERG make-IMPF-1PRO

*te-le-sa*  
 say-IMPF-INFR

'That very minister apparently said "I, then, say then, in this way, I will make it" I say.'

= 'That very minister apparently then, intends to accomplish it in this way'. (DD. O35S)

#### 14.2.6 Condition and concession

The verb 'say' expresses both condition ((22)) and concession ((23)) (see also

§12.1.1.9.3). The conditional has more than one form in Magar: *de-afiaŋ* and *de-lhiyak*

(*T*); these variants are discussed in §4.5.1.3.5. The concessive conditional, 'although', is

formed with the addition of *da*, the indefinite marker, to the conditional of the verb 'say',

*de-afiaŋ-da ~ de-lhiyak-da*.

(22) (a) *galam tun-cis-ma le de-afiaŋ ŋfiet-ko khor-aŋ*  
 door close-DTR-NOM IMPF say-COND cow-PL pen-LOC

*ja a-le-a*  
 EMPH IRR-COP-PST

'If saying, "The gate is closed", the cows will still be in the pen.'

= 'If the gate were closed the cows would still be in the pen.'

(b) *satak dur-ca le de-afiaŋ ma-la-nis*  
 mango expensive-ATT COP say-COND NEG-take-HON.IMP

'If saying, "Mangoes are expensive", don't take them.'

= 'If the mangoes are expensive don't buy them!'

(c) *ja-ja ma-mis-a te-afiaŋ kan-ko-e kam jat-ke*  
 child-child NEG-sleep-PAST say-COND 2S-PL-ERG work do-NOM

*ma-hyok-le-iŋ*  
 NEG-able-IMPF-1PRO

'If saying "The child does not sleep", we will be not be able to work.'

= 'If the child does not sleep we will be not be able to work.' (S)

- (d) *cahin ho-se bakhat-aŋ cahin kan-e cahin*  
 well D.DEM-DEF remote.time-LOC well 1P-ERG well
- su-da kan-uŋ dukha bimar ya dukha takliŋ chanfi-a*  
 who-INDF 1P-GEN sorrow sickness or pain affliction become-PST
- de-lfiyak kan-e lama-jfiŋkri ya gau-uŋ gfiar-uŋ***  
 say-COND 1P-ERG priest-witch-doctor or village-GEN home-GEN
- j adibutiŋ usadfi upcar-e kan-uŋ dukha bimar*  
 herbs medicine cure-INST 1P-GEN sorrow sickness

*hata-di-cyo calan le-a*  
 remove-LN-ATT tradition COP-PST

- 'Well, long ago, well, if saying, "Anyone of us who became sick or had pain, sorrow or affliction", we would cure them with the priest-witch-doctor or with medicinal herbs in our village; this was the tradition for taking way our pain.'  
 = 'Well, long ago, well, if anyone of us became sick or had pain, sorrow or affliction, we would cure them with the priest-witch-doctor, or with medicinal herbs in our village; this was the tradition for taking way our pain and sickness.'  
 (E.004T)

- (e) *ya ho-se ma-ale-de-fiŋŋ ban pa-di-s-cyo*  
 or D.DEM-DEF NEG-COP-say.COND arrow.curse try-LN-ITR-ATT

*de-cyo kat bedana ya kura cahin lama*  
 say-ATT one procedure or matter well priest

*jfiŋkri-o taraph-e cahine set-o le-a*  
 shaman-GEN side-INST well tell-HAB IMPF-PST

- 'Or, if saying, "Not be" the so-called arrow-curse-attack is a procedure, or matter for the priest and witch doctor's side which, well, used to be told.'  
 = 'Or, if not that, 'arrow-curse-attack', as it is called, is one procedure or matter, on the shaman's part, which, well, used to be spoken of.'  
 (E.005T)

- (f) *i-se myertuŋ-aŋ kalŋi-ke hyok te-afiŋ-cA ŋa-e satak*  
 P.DEM-FER tree-LOC climb-NOM able say-COND-ATT 1S-ERG mango

*at-dfiŋm-aŋ*  
 IRR-pick-IPRO

- 'If indeed saying "(I am) able to climb this tree", I would pick the mangoes.'  
 = 'If I were indeed able to climb this tree, I would pick the mangoes.' (M.18S)

(g) *ŋa-e phursad ŋa-dinfi-a-aŋ*  
 1S-ERG leisure.time 1PRO-find-PST-1PRO

**te-ahaŋ** (*ŋa-e*) *thuri a-rik-na*  
 say.COND (1S-ERG) letter IRR-write-1PRO  
 'If saying "I found time", I would have written a letter.'  
 = 'If I had found time I would have written a letter.' (S)

(23) (a) *ho-se-e ja-ja le-naŋ maŋgar dfiut ŋak-o le-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF-ERG child-child COP-SIM Magar language talk-HAB IMPF-PST

**de-lfiyak-da** *cāhin nepali dfiut ja ŋak-le*  
 say-COND-INDF now Nepali language EMPH talk-IMPF  
 'If saying, "He used to speak Magar language as a child" yet now he only speaks Nepali.'  
 = 'Although he used to speak Magar language as a child now he only speaks Nepali.' (T)

(b) *kam jat de-ahaŋ-da ŋa-tuŋ poisa ma-le-aŋ*  
 work do say-COND-INDF 1S-ADS money NEG-COP-1PRO

'If saying, "I work" yet I have no money.'  
 = 'Although I work, I have no money.' (S)

(c) *chiniŋ nepal-aŋ shanti le de-lfiyak-da pihin punfi-ma chanfi-ke*  
 today Nepal-LOC peace COP say-COND-INDF tomorrow fight-NOM happen-DAT

**hyok-le**  
 able-IMPF  
 'If saying, "Today there may be peace in Nepal", yet tomorrow there may be fighting.'  
 = 'Although today there may be peace in Nepal, tomorrow there may be fighting.' (T)

(d) *ŋa-e nfiis yak mis de-lfiyak-da mfiuŋ ma-bafi-a*  
 1SG-ERG two day sleep say-COND-INDF tire NEG-sit-PST

'If saying, "I slept for two days", yet I am not rested.'  
 = 'Although I slept for two days, I am not rested.' (T)

(e) *ho-se-e kafi ga de-ahaŋ-da ŋa-e ma-ga-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF-ERG coffee drink say-COND-INDF 1S-ERG NEG-drink-PAST

'If saying "She drinks coffee", yet I don't drink.'  
 = 'She drinks coffee, whereas I don't.'

(f) *naŋ-ko cho phin de-ahaŋ-da ma-phin de-ahaŋ*  
 2S-HON cooked.rice cook say-COND-INDF NEG-cook say-COND



*rA ŋa taŋ-rafi-le*

also 1S reach-come-IMPF

'If saying "You cooked rice." yet not cook, if saying "I will arrive."

= 'I will come whether or not you are finished cooking.' (T)

(g) *ŋa-e ho-se-ke de de-ahaŋ-da ma-ter-di-k-a*

1S-ERG D.DEM-DEF-DAT say say-COND-INDF NEG-obey-LN-CAUS-PAST

'If saying "I told him", yet he did not obey.'

= 'Although I told him, he did obey.' (T)

### 14.2.7 Comparison

Comparisons are made with the simultaneous converbal form of the very 'say', as in (24).

(24) (a) *rA ho-se-k-uj jutta me-ko te-naŋ karfaŋ-ca le-a*  
and D.DEM-DEF-PL-GEN shoes POSS-PL say-SIM big-ATT COP-PST

'And their shoes while saying "They were big."'

= 'And their shoes were bigger (than there were.)' (C.C.05S)

(b) *ŋa-o gwa-e na-o gwa-e*  
1S-GEN chicken-ERG 2S-GEN chicken-ERG

*de-naŋ dfaŋij mi-rfu rfu-le*

say-SIM many POSS-egg lay-IMPF

'My chicken, your chicken, while saying "(It) lays more eggs".'

= 'My chicken lays more eggs than your chicken.' (T)

(c) *dajai paŋta te-naŋ balio-mA le*  
elder.brother all say-SIM strong-NOM IMPF

'Elder brother, all while saying, "He is strong"

= 'Elder brother is stronger than all.' (S)

(d) *damauli-ij harkapur rumsi de-naŋ los-le*  
Damauli-ABL Harkapur rumsi say-SIM far-IMPF

'From Damauli Harkapur Rumsi while saying, "is far"

= 'Harkapur is further from Damauli than Rumsi is.'

(e) *prithi arun de-naŋ marfi-cyo le*  
Prithi Arun say-SIM small-ATT-IMPF

'Prithi Arun while saying, " is small"

= 'Prithi is smaller than Arun.' (T)

### 14.3 Speech as a mental process

As described in the previous sections, the verb 'say' has extended its range of meaning

and has become more grammaticalized in its function. It has developed from a quotative

to a complementizer. It expresses condition, concession and comparison and it has further expanded its semantic range to express reason, cause, purpose and intention. At one end of this range, 'quotation' is the objective replication of external source-information; it is an external physical act. At the other end of the range is 'intention', i.e. the expression of an internal and subjective mental act. Following this trajectory, we can expect 'say' to be used to express processes which are completely internalized, entirely mental and not spoken at all. This is, in fact, what occurs in Magar and in other Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal.

Noonan has observed that the converb 'say' *bfi-si* in Chantyal has extended its meaning to encompass mental processes, what he calls 'direct thought' as opposed to 'direct speech'. Noonan observes, for (25), that since dogs presumably don't speak, we can interpret the utterance as, "an internal monologue about the dog's intention, and example of 'direct thought'"<sup>2</sup> (2001:7)

Chantyal (Noonan 2001:7)

- (25) *naku-sə "kəlo ca-wa" bfi-si-rə thim-nfiari wə-i*  
 dog-ERG dog.food eat-NOM say-SEQ-SEQ house-INES enter-PERF  
 'The dog, having said "I will eat dog food" went into the house.'

Similarly, Watters records for Kham (2000:342) that, "there is no verb 'to think' *perse* and thoughts are expressed as intransitive speech acts." as in (26).

Kham (Watters 2000:342)

- (26) (a) *abə te ma-nei-na-ke-rə bə' həi ŋa-li-ke*  
 now FOC neg-KEEP-1S-PFV-30 also thus 1S-say-PFV  
 "'They certainly won't spare me now." I thought.'

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2 In Magar, as in other Bodic languages, such as Chantyal (Noonan 2003) and Kham (2004), stories are told using direct quotation as a rhetorical device for stylistic reasons, as Noonan (2001: ) notes to create a sense of immediacy.

(b) *'gəh-ba-zya-rə bə' həi ge-li-zya-o*  
 HOR-go-CONT-3P-OPT also thus 1P-say-CONT-NML  
 "'May they just go away." we were hoping.'

(c) *'kana o-ba- o-ta-o' həi li-ke-rə*  
 where 3S-go-NML 3S-be-NML thus say-PFV-3P  
 "'Where did he go anyway?" they wondered.'

An analogous extension has occurred in Magar, where *de* 'say' functions not only as the complementizer of cognition verbs such as: think, believe, suppose', agree, decide, intend, hope and want, but the verb 'say' *de* has actually assumed the meaning of these verbs; thus it expresses mental acts. These extended meanings are described in §14.3.1 - §14.3.4.

#### 14.3.1 'Say' as 'think' and 'believe'

In Magar, as in Kham, there is no word 'think'; it is expressed with 'say'; moreover, 'say' expresses thought processes such as 'wonder' ((27)), 'ponder' ((28)) and 'believe' ((29)).

The forms of 'say' vary, as they do for the grammaticalized functions described above, and include the sequential converb ((26)), the simultaneous converb ((27), (28a)), as well as 'say' followed by the postposition *ŋfiak-ij* ((28b, c)).

(27) (a) *thap-ij*    *jfiāl-le*    *ki*    *te-mo*    *ŋa-ŋos-aŋ*    *ho-ta-i*  
 stair-ABL    descend-IMPF    or    say-SEQ    IPRO-look-IPRO    D.DEM-MNR-FOC

*ja*            *ma-rafi-a*  
 EMPH        NEG-come-PST

'Having said "is (something) coming from the stairs", I looked but nothing came.'

= 'I wondered was coming down the stairs. I looked, then, but, nothing came.' (M.M.017S)

(b) *ku-laŋ*            *nu-naŋ*            *de-mo*            *pa-naŋ*            *jfiyal-ij*  
 INTRG-LOC        go-SIM            say-SEQ        seek-SIM        window-ABL

*dfiari*    *babu-ja-i*            *ŋak-ak-a*  
 also        boy-child-ERG        talk-CAUS-PST

'Having said "where (is the frog) going", while searching the boy also shouted from the window.'

= 'Wondering where (the frog) had gone, while searching, the boy, also called from the window.' (A.A.009T)

(c) *mirga dɸiari mi-mi-rɸiaŋ ɸiok-cyo taɸi-a diɸi-a*  
 deer even POSS-POSS-horn hold-ATT reach-PST find-PST

*hi ya ɸiok-a de-mo dɸem-lak ŋos-cyo-cyo*  
 what and hold-PST say-SEQ upwards-CIR see-ATT-ATT

*ho-se babu-ja mi-rɸiaŋ-aɸ haɸi-mo haɸi-ak-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF boy-child POSS-horn-LOC stick-SEQ stuck-CAUS-PST

'Even the deer said "(something) had got hold of my horn", when he saw the boy looking from above was hanging stuck, stuck on his horn!'

= 'Even the deer realized that something had ahold of his antlers, he wondered what it was, then he saw a boy who was looking from above and hanging stuck on his antlers.' (A.A.025 T)

(d) *a-lak i-lak yot-naŋ ra cyu-e a-lak i-lak le ki*  
 R.DEM-CIR P.DEM.CIR lure-SIM and dog-ERG R.DEM-CIR P.DEM.CIR COP or

*de-mo ŋos-naŋ ra antra-aŋ argan-o gola daŋɸi-a*  
 say-SEQ look.for-SIM and above-LOC wasp-GEN round appear-PST

'While luring the frog here and there, the dog having said " (Is it) here or there", while looking, a wasp's nest appeared above.'

= 'While luring the frog here and there, the dog was wondering where on earth the frog was, while looking, a wasp's nest appeared above.'  
 (A.013 T)

(28) (a) *kauwa-ko-e ho-ta-i achya ku-ta jat-ke paɸ-di-s-le*  
 crow-PL-ERG D.DEM-MNR-FOC EXCLM INTRG-MNR do-NOM must-LN-ITR-IMPF

*te-naŋ kauwa-k-uŋ sallɸia chanɸi-le-sa*  
 say-SIM crow-PL-GEN discussion COP-IMPF-INFR

'The crows, then, were saying "oh what must be done". Apparently, so, the crow's discussion went.'

= 'The crows, then, oh how they were pondering what they must do.  
 'Apparently, so, the crow's discussion went.' (DD.028 S)

(29) (a) *raja naŋ-ko-e ŋos-nis te-naŋ*  
 king 2S-HON-ERG look-HON.IMP say-SIM

= 'King, I am saying "Watch him!"'

'King, I believe you should watch him!' (DD.067S)

(b) *te-naŋ ma-jat-le biɸhara men-o phaɸji-e ma-ɸyak-ŋhak-iŋ*  
 say-SIM NEG-do-IMPF pitious 3S-GEN troop-ERG NEG-like-front-ABL

*me-lafi kat rafi-c $\Lambda$ -le i-se-e hi-da ja*  
 3S-RFL one come-ATT-IMPf P.DEM-DEF-ERG what-INDF EMPH

*ma-jat-le te-le-sa*  
 NEG-do-IMPf say-IMPf-INFR

'Saying "(He) will not do anything", this piteous one, rejected by his troops, he just came all alone. I say evidently "This one indeed will do nothing".  
 = 'I believe he will not do anything. This piteous one, rejected by his troops, he just came all alone. I believe this one, indeed, will do nothing.'  
 (DD.070S)

(c) *de-mo cahine jfiangkri-ko-e de- $\eta$ fiak-ij  $\Lambda$ bo*  
 say-SEQ well shaman-PL-ERG say-front-ABL now

*ho-se ku-ta jat-mo chanfi-le t $\Lambda$  de-mo*  
 D.DEM-DEF INTRG-MNR do-SEQ become-IMPf TAG say-SEQ

*ho-se-ko-e katha na jwap sawal jat-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF-PL-ERG with EMPH answer question do-PST

'Having said, "Well, the witch-doctors", after saying "Now, they have somehow become, haven't they" Having said "They can indeed make answers and questions.'  
 = 'Supposedly, well, the witch-doctors, we believe, have now somehow, indeed, become able to answer questions.' (E.007T)

(d) *boi-e moca nfiis yak- $\eta$  mfiinfi-le*  
 Father-ERG banana two day-LOC ripen-IMPf

*de-mo de-m $\Lambda$  le*  
 say-NOM say-NOM IMPf

'Father is saying, having said "The bananas will be ripe in two days.'  
 = 'Father thinks that the bananas will be ripe in two days.'

### 14.3.2 'Say' as 'decide' and 'agree'

'Say' is also used to express the mental processes of agreement ((30)) and decision ((31)).

The form of the verb 'say' may be finite ((30)), a nominalization ((31a)) or converbal

((31b)).

(30) *su-da chut-di-s-m $\Lambda$  le-sa ya ku-lak-da*  
 who-INDF leave-LN-ITR-NOM IMPf-INFR or INTRG-CIR-INDF

*bfulcuk chanfi-mo ya los-ij cahin ma-tarahi-m $\Lambda$*   
 mistake become-SEQ or far-ABL well NEG-arrive-come-NOM

*le-sa*      *de-lfiyak*      *cāhāt*      *de-naṅ*      *rA*      *bus-ak-ke*  
 IMPF-INFR      say-COND      later      say-SIM      also      carry-CAUS-NOM

*de-le*      *rA*      *ho-tak-iṅ*      *bisarjan*      *jat-le*  
 say-IMPF and D.DEM-SUP-ABL      conclusion      do-IMPF

'Whoever has apparently been left out by mistake, or coming from afar has not apparently arrived, if saying, "The latecomers", while saying, "Give tika", then we say "Conclude the programme".'

= 'Whoever has apparently been left out by mistake, or coming from afar, has not yet arrived, if we agree to conclude the programme, we intend that latecomers will give the tika later on. (E.E.051T)

(31) (a) *ṅa-e*      *ma-punfi-iṅ*      *te-cA*      *bati*      *ṅa-ke*      *ja*      *jfiertatai*  
 IS-ERG      NEG-fight-HORT      say-ATT      talk      IS-DAT      EMPH      ONO

*pAtta-ko-e*      *dathup-dekhiṅ*      *pAtta*      *ja*      *hyu*      *chik-mA*      *le*  
 all-PL-ERG      beat-from      all      EMPH      blood      despatch-NOM      IMPF

I saying "Let's not fight" talk, (but then) they indeed beat me and because of this and I am soaked in blood.'

= 'I decided to speak to them about not fighting, (but then) they beat me and because of this and I am soaked in blood.' (DD.049S)

(b) *ho-ta-i*      *rA*      *achchata*      *ma-de-afiṅ*      *a-se*      *uruwa-o*      *raja*  
 DEM-MNR-FOC and EXCLM      NEG-say-COND      R.DEM-DEF      owl-GEN      king

*te-le-sa*      *haka*      *punfi-iṅ*      *kan-ko*      *naṅ-ko*      *kauwa*      *rAka*      *kAthA*  
 say-IMPF-INFR      EXCLM      fight-HORT      1P-PL      2S-HON      crow      EXCLM      with

*te-le-sa*

say-IMPF-INFR

'Then, ahh, well, if saying, the owls' king, apparently says "Aha, Let us fight" he says "Us, you crow, with (fight)".'

= 'Then, ahh, well, whether he wanted to or not, that owls' king, apparently decided" Okay, Let us fight, with you, crow.'" (D.D010S)

(b) *hi*      *bar*      *ale*      *de-mo*      *ginfi-ṅfiakiṅ*  
 what      weekday      COP      say-SEQ      ask-front-ABL

*ki*      *bfiane*      *maṅalabar*      *ki*      *bfiane*      *aitabar*      *ekadasi*  
 or      either      Tuesday      or      either      Sunday      ekadasi

*rA*      *aunsi*      *chal-di-mo*      *ani*      *bir-ke*      *lfiet-ke*      *par-di-s-le*  
 and      black day      exceptLN-SEQ      then      demon-NOM      return-NOM      must-LN-ITR-IMPF

'Having said "What weekday" after asking (the shaman), either Tuesday or Sunday, but not a fast day or a black moonless day, then, (on that auspicious day) the possessed person must be exorcised.'

= 'The weekday was decided on after asking (the shaman), it might be

either Tuesday or Sunday, but not a fast day or a black moonless day, then, (on that auspicious day) the demon must be exorcised.' (E.011T)

### 14.3.3 'Say' as 'hope' and 'want'

Expressions of the mental states of 'hope' and 'desire' are also made with the verb 'say'.

The form of the verb is varied; it may be 'say' followed by the postposition *ɲfiak-ij*

((32)), a sequential ((33)) or simultaneous converb ((34)); it may be a conditional ((35)),

or a nominalized form ((36)).

- (32) (a) *buba te-ɲfiak-ij wfiac le kulap ma-sat-nis*  
 father say-front-ABL walk-ATT IMPF sometime NEG-kill-2PRO.HON  
 'Father after saying "(I) have kept going. Do not ever kill him!".'  
 = 'Father kept going and hoping they would never kill him.' (T.T.009S)

- (b) *naŋ-e hi te-dɔ-l hi ɲifi-dɔ-l baɾ*  
 2S-ERG what say-2PRO-IMP what beg-2PRO-IMPF boon

*te-ɲfiak-ij yafi-cɔ ale ki chena*  
 say-front-ABL give-ATT COP or don't.know  
 'What do you say, what do you beg for? "Boon" after saying "to give?" I don't know'  
 = 'What do you beg for, what boon do you want me to give? I don't know.'  
 (Q.Q.026S)

- (33) (a) *moi-ke rɔ ho-ta jat-mo nɔ moi-uŋ*  
 mother-DAT also D.DEM-MNR do-SEQ EMPH mother-GEN  
  
*bfiak de-mo cahin roti rɔ hi-hi yafi-le hi-din nɔ*  
 portion say-SEQ well bread and what-what give-IMPF what-type EMPH  
  
*ka-mo ho-laŋ ustaimatabik moi-ke rɔ yafi-le*  
 put-SEQ D.DEM-LOC similarly mother-DAT also give-IMPF  
 'And for the mother, that having been done, having said "for the mother's portion", well, bread and what is given, everything is put there (the basket) to give similarly to the mother.'  
 = 'And for the mother, that having been done, for the mother's portion, wishing to give similarly to the mother, well, bread and what is given, everything is put there (in the basket).' (E.E.028T)

- (b) *danda cakhya thofi-naŋ cahin ho-se-ko-e dferai ka-a*  
 penalty gamble collect-SIM well D.DEM-DEF-PL-ERG many put-PST

**de-mo**    *a-dik-aŋ*                      *dʌnda painco*    *lfiet-ke*                      *mafi-ale*  
 say-SEQ    R.DEM-QUANT-LOC penalty borrow    return-TR-NOM    NEG-IMPF

'While collecting gambling debts, well, they put down a lot, having said "that amount of return payment will not be".'  
 = 'While collecting their gambling debts, well, they put down a lot, not hoping to get that much in return payment. (E.E.016T)

(34) (a) *a-se*                      *lau*                      *punfi-ij*                      *kan-ko*                      *te-naŋ*                      *lau*                      *ma-de-aŋaŋ*  
 R.DEM-DEF    CNFM                      fight-HORT    1P-PL                      say-SIM                      CNFM    NEG-say-COND

**te-ŋfiak-ij**    *lau*                      *rak-na*                      *naŋ-o*                      *phauji rʌ*                      *lahi-mo*                      *rafi-na*  
 say-front-ABL    CNFM                      come-IMP    2S-GEN troop    and take-SEQ    come-IMP

'Over there, okay while saying "Let's fight" okay if saying, after saying, okay "Bring your troops and having taken them come!"  
 = 'Over there, okay, so we fight', okay, whether we want to or not, okay, bring your troops and having taken them, come!' (DD.012S)

(b) *ŋa-e*                      *ma-punfi-ij*                      *te-ca*                      *ale-a*                      *te-naŋ*                      *te-naŋ*                      *rʌ*  
 1S-ERG    NEG-fight-HORT    say-ATT    COP-PST                      say-SIM                      say-SIM                      and

*punfi-ij*    *punfi-ij*                      **te-ŋfiak-ij**                      *ŋa-ke*                      *ŋa-punfi-ak-aŋ*  
 fight-HORT    fight-HORT                      say-front-ABL    1S-DAT                      NEG-fight-CAUS-1PRO

*ŋa-e*                      *ma-punfi-ke*                      *te-ca*                      *mafi-ale-a*                      *tʌ*  
 1S-ERG    NEG-fight-NOM                      say-ATT                      NEG-COP-PST    TAG

'I said "Let's not fight", but (they were) saying saying "Let's fight, let's fight" after saying "I will not be made to fight" My saying "Not to fight" was not to be, was it.'  
 = 'I did not want to fight, but they really wanted to fight. My desire not to fight could not be, could it?' (DD.047S)

(35) (a) *ma-de-aŋaŋ*                      *i-se*                      *ku-ta*                      *ja*                      *uruwa-e*                      *ja*                      *na-ko-uŋ*  
 NEG-say-COND    P.DEM-DEF    INTRG-MNR    EMPH    owl-ERG    EMPH    2S -PL-GEN

*ja*                      *pattaja*                      *mi-khar*                      *gyak-mʌ*                      *bfiya-a*                      *ce-mʌ*                      *bfiya-a*  
 EMPH    all    EMPH    POSS-wing    snap-NOM    finish-PST    cut-SEQ    finish-PST

If saying "How would you do that"? The owl has completely broken and clipped your wings.'  
 = 'Whether you want to or not, how would you? The owl has completely broken and clipped your wings.' (DD.026S)

(b) *ma-jat-ke*                      **de-lfiyak**                      *rʌ*                      *abo*                      *a-se-ko-e*                      *cahin*                      *lau*  
 NEG-do-DAT    say-COND                      and now    R.DEM-DEF-HON-ERG    well    EXCLM

*kan-ke*    *bida*                      *yahi-ni*                      *de-le*  
 1P-DAT    leave                      give-HON.IMP    say-IMPF



'If saying "Not to do" and now to those ones (the groom's procession), well, they will say, "Oh, please give us our leave".'

= 'If they don't want to, now, to those ones (the groom's procession) they will ask to be given leave".' (E.E.054T)

(36) *te-ca ra nfiag tin barsa ra chanfi-a*  
say-ATT and hour three year and happen-PST

'Saying "And now three years have happened.'

= 'They have hoped for this (marriage) to happen for three years now.' (K.K.033S)

#### 14.3.4 'Say' as 'suppose'

In addition to the mental process described above, 'say' has also come to mean 'suppose',

or 'to posit a conjecture' ((37)). In this function 'say' may be converbal ((37a)), or

nominalized ((37b)) or followed by *ɲfiak-ij* ((37c)).

(37) (a) *ajhai bahire-aŋ khyofi-ke a-ule-e-o le te-mo*  
still outside-LOC emerge-NOM IRR-COP-IRR-MIR IMPF say-NOM

*ma-warfi-ca man*  
NEG-know-ATT truly

'Still, having said "It may be to go outside!" I just didn't know, truly.'

= 'Still, I supposed I might go outside, but, truly, I just didn't know (what to do).'

(M.M.019S)

(b) *hAjinkot-ij ale ki hi ale sanbfya jfi-al-ca*  
Hajinkot-ABL COP or what COP python descend-ATT

*te-ca sen ale-a ni*  
say-ATT when COP-PST EXCLM

'Saying" Was it from Hajinkot that the just python descended? When was that eh?'

'Was it supposed to be from Hajinkot that the python descended? When was that, eh?' (O.O.001S)

(c) *ra ho-se-ko-e kat karfiag-ca dhodfiara siŋ daŋfi-a ra pheri*  
and D.DEM-DEF-PL-ERG one big-ATT log wood appear-PST and again

*cyu ho-laŋ ŋak-ke pa-naŋ ho-se ja-ja-e*  
dog D.DEM-LOC talk-NOM seek-SIM D.DEM-DEF child-child-ERG

*ma-ŋak-na te-ɲfiak-ij te-a*  
NEG-speak-IMP say-front-ABL say-PST

'And they saw a big hollow log and, again, the dog was going to bark the boy after saying said "Don't bark!".'

= 'And they saw a big hollow log and, again, supposing the dog was going to bark the boy told him not to.' (C.C.027S)

The verb 'say' can be used to express mistaken suppositions from the perspective of hindsight. It expresses dual points of view wherein the earlier point of view (the character's mistaken supposition) is judged and cast in doubt by the later (the speaker's or narrator's) as in (38). This function is exploited especially in narrative, as described in §14.4.2.

(38) (a) *raja-e ket-ke hyok-le de-mo satta hut-aj*  
king-ERG use-NOM able-IMPF say-SEQ state.power hand-LOC

*la-de-ahan ra ket-ke ma-hyok-mo das-a*  
take-say-COND an use-NOM NEG-able-SEQ leave-PAST

'The king, having said "(I am) able to use (state power)", took power in hand; but being unable to rule, ceded.'

= 'The king, supposing he could rule, took power in hand; but being unable to rule, ceded.'

(b) *kan-ke hi-e nfias-lak alfi-ke de-mo de-le a-se-i*  
1P-DAT what-INST front-CIR carry-NOM say-NOM say-AUX R.DEM-DEF-FOC

*ja sen-sen nfun-lak alfi-le*  
EMPH when-when back-CIR carry-IMPF

'Having said, saying, "What carries us forward", that, indeed, sometimes carries us backward.'

= 'What we suppose carries us forward, that, indeed, sometimes carries us backward.'

#### 14.4 Rhetorical function

The basic function of the verb 'say' is to quote, which as was observed is a hallmark of the Magar narrative rhetorical style, one used for its immediacy. Noonan (2006:27) has observed that the immediacy of the style is in part due to the fact that complements of 'sy' unlike other complements (the verb *se* 'feel' excepted) are finite. They are therefore able to express a wider range of tense-aspect-mood categories. According to Noonan (2006:27)

The result is that, where a quotative and a non-quotative can be used to express the same basic idea, the quotative allows greater expressiveness; this, in turn, further enhances the emotive quality and heightened immediacy and involvement of quotatives. So, the effect produced by quotatives derives both from their being direct quotes and from the expressiveness permitted only to finite clauses.

The quotative, also serves the rhetorical function of naming and introducing characters into a narrative. Furthermore, the quotative has developed an epistemic rhetorical function in narratives and discourse and can express supposition and doubt, which stylistically creates suspense and interest.

#### 14.4.1 Naming and introducing referents

As noted, the quotative names and introduces of referents and characters. This function is performed by the verb 'say' nominalized with *-cyo ~ -ca*, as in the (39).

(39) (a) *rodi-o bishayan cek-tar de-le ŋa-e rodi de-cyo*  
 rodi-GEN subject little-LAT tell-IMPF 1S-ERG rodi say-ATT

*langha-uj thar-aj*  
 village-GEN place-LOC

'I will say "a little about the subject of the Rodi". "Rodi" saying is the place in the village....' (C.001T)

= 'I will say a little about the subject of the Rodi. Rodi, as it is called, is the place in the village....' (C.001T)

(b) *ho-ta chanfi-naŋ ʌbo si-ke de-cyo kura cahin*  
 D.DEM-MNR become-SIM now die-NOM say-ATT matter well

*kohi lama-ko-lak-ij bafi-le kohi jfiankri-ko-lak-ij*  
 some priest-PL-CIR-ABL settle-IMP some shaman-PL-CIR-ABL

*bafi-le kohi dʌktor-ko-lak-ij bafi-le*  
 settle-IMP some doctor-PL-CIR-ABL sit-IMP

'That being so, now, "to die" saying matter, some people recover through priests, some recover through priests, some through shamans some recover through doctors.' (E.029T)

= 'That being so, now, the matter of dying is such that some people recover through priests, some recover through priests, some through shamans some recover through doctors.' (E.029T)

(c) *ban de-cyo kura ra ho-se na le ani debi*  
 arrow say-ATT matter and D.DEM-DEF EMPH COP then goddess

*deuta-ko*   *bfiut*   *picas*   *mari-masaŋ-ko*   *ho-se*   *cahine*  
 god-PL   spirit   witch   witch-servant-PL   D.DEM-DEF   well

*boksi-ko-e*   *ket-le*   *ta*  
 witch-PL-ERG   use-IMPF   REP

'Mystical arrow, saying matter, it is said that goddesses, gods, spirits, death-spirits, these, well, are used by the witch.' (E.019T)  
 = 'In this matter of the mystical arrow, as it is called, it is said that goddesses, gods, spirits, death-spirits, these, well, are used by the witch.' (E.019T)

#### 14.4.2 Epistemic function

The basic function of quotative is to express direct and indirect speech, which is a revelation of information-source (the quoted speaker). This expression of information-source is an evidential function, and called by Aikenvald (2004:24) an 'evidential strategy'<sup>3</sup> (see also §13.2). As noted in §14.3, the quotative has come to express mental process and one of these is supposition and doubt. To express that a supposition is mistaken or dubious involves an epistemic judgement because the casting of doubt presumes a 'true' perspective, and 'truth' is an epistemic concern. Thus, in Magar, there has been a development from an evidential to an epistemic function of the verb 'say'. This function is exploited in Magar narratives, where the verb 'say' has developed as a stylistic device used by the narrator to add complexity and suspense by signalling to the audience that the character has a mistaken or untrue view of reality.

It is a quality of narratives that they present two or more perspectives, or points of view, simultaneously: first, the perspective of the (usually) omnipotent narrator, who knows the 'truth' or 'reality' in the context of their narrative; and second, the perspectives of the characters, which may be limited and at odds with the narrator's perspective. The

<sup>3</sup> The verb 'say' in Magar, which is the quotative, is lexical, i.e. not grammatical. In Aikenvald's terms, it is best regarded as an evidential strategy rather than an evidential proper.

narrator, from their omnipotent perspective, is able to evaluate and comment on misconceived perspectives of characters. In Magar, a form of *de*, 'say,' is used to reveal the authorial perspective, i.e. 'the true story', and to provide the author a means of rhetorically foregrounding and commenting on mistaken beliefs of characters, as for example in (40).

(40) *rΛ ho-se len-ja ja-ja-e kat ho-se siŋ-ke siŋ*  
and D.DEM-DEF boy-child child-child-ERG one D.DEM-DEF branch-DAT branch

*de-ŋfiak-iŋ jimfi-ca cahin ho-se jarayo-o mi-rfiŋ*  
say-front-ABL hold-ATT well D.DEM-DEF stag-GEN POSS-horn

*le-ca le-sa*  
COP-ATT COP-INFR

'And the little boy after saying "holding onto a branch", well, apparently it turned out to be a stag's horn.'

= 'And the little boy supposed that he was holding onto a branch, well, apparently it turned out to be a stag's horn.' (B.B.024S)

In this excerpt, the erroneous supposition on the part of the little boy is expressed with *de-ŋfiak-iŋ* 'after saying' which has the meaning 'presumed' or 'supposed'. It is the means by which the narrator signals to the audience that the character's belief is dubious. The sequential form *de-mo* can also express authorial comment on an incorrect assumption, as in the examples in (41).

(41) (a) *kat lfium-tak-iŋ kalfi-a rΛ babu-ja-e siŋ-o*  
one stone-SUP-LOC ascend-PAST and boy-child-ERG branch-GEN

*myertuŋ de-mo gfi-o men-o rokotyak-ke*  
tree say-SEQ hold-SEQ 3S-GEN frog-DAT

*ŋak-ak-mΛ nΛ le-a*  
call-CAUS-NOM EMPH COP-PAST

'(The boy) climbed atop a stone and the boy having said "tree branch", having held continued calling for the frog.'

= 'The boy climbed atop a stone and having got hold of what he supposed to be a tree branch, he continued calling.' (A.023T)

(b) *babu-ja-e*      *jfia-aŋ*      *dulo daŋfi-mo*    *jfia-o*      *dulo bfiitre*  
 boy-child-ERG      ground-LOC      hole appear-SEQ    ground-GEN    hole    inside

*nu-a*    *ki*    ***de-mo***    *dulo-aŋ*    *ŋos-a*    *tara*    *byu*    *dulo*  
 go-PST    or    say-SEQ    hole-LOC    look-PST    but    rat    hole

*le-o*      *le-sa*      *ho-se*      *ho-se*      *bfiitre-iŋ*    *byu*    *khyofi-a*  
 COP-MIR    IMPF-INFR D.DEM-DEF    D.DEM-DEF    inside-ABL    rat    emerge-PST  
 'The boy, having seen a hole in the ground, went, having said "in the hole" but, apparently, it was a rat hole out of which emerged a rat.'

= 'The boy, having seen a hole in the ground, went to the hole supposing (the frog was there), but, apparently, it was a rat hole out of which emerged a rat!' (A.014T)

This rhetorical use of 'say' is ubiquitous in narrative but not limited to it. The quotative has extended its use to non-fictional accounts where it has the same function of creating dual realities: the 'true' one of the speaker and the 'untrue' or 'dubious' one of those described, as in (42).

(42) (a) *de-mo*    *cahine*    *jfiŋkri-ko-e*      ***de-ŋfiak-iŋ***      *lbo*  
 say-SEQ    well      shaman-PL-ERG      say-front-ABL      now

*ho-se*      *ku-ta*      *jat-mo*      *chanfi-le*    *tA*      ***de-mo***  
 D.DEM-DEF    INTRG-MNR    do-SEQ      become-IMPF    TAG      say-SEQ

*ho-se-ko*      *katha*      *na*      *jwap sawal*    *jat-a*  
 D.DEM-DEF-PL    with      EMPH      answer question    do-PST

'Having said well, "witch-doctors", after saying "now they somehow become able to answer questions".'

= 'Supposedly, well, the witch-doctors, we believe, they have now somehow become able to answer questions.' (E.007T)

(b) *ya*      *ban-ke*      *lfiŋet-ke*      *par-di-s-le*  
 and      arrow-DAT    return-NOM      must-LN-ITR-IMPF

***de-mo***    *de-o*      *le-a*  
 say-SEQ    say-HAB    IMPF-PST

'And the mystical arrow should be exorcised, having said, they used to say.'

= 'And the mystical arrow should be exorcised, supposedly, or so they used to say.' (E.012T)

(c) *boks-i-ko-e ket-le ta de-mo cahine patta-e na*  
 witch-ML-PL-ERG use-IMPF REP say-SEQ well all-ERG EMPH

*ho-da de-le*  
 D.DEM-INDF say-COP

'They say "male witches use", having said, well," all these kinds of things."  
 = 'They say the male witches, supposedly, well, use all these kinds of things.'  
 (E.020T)

As said, the core function of evidentials and evidential strategies such as the quotative is to convey source of information; whereas the core function of epistemics is to convey the speaker's perception of the veridical force of a statement i.e. whether or not he or she believes it to be true. Aikenvald (2004) argues that across languages evidentials and epistemics are separate systems. As seen in chapter 13, evidence from Magar bears this out. However, Aikenvald has also observed that there is an attested pathway of development across languages along which evidentials can expand their functions to those of epistemics; and, furthermore, that evidentials "may acquire additional stylistic overtones [as]... a part of the narrative." (2004:9). This is also borne out in Magar, where the quotative, considered by Aikenvald to be "universal evidential strategy" (2004:26), has in narrative contexts and beyond, come to express doubt, i.e. an epistemic value.

To sum up the discussion of the verb 'say', the quotative has developed a number of functions, which comply with areal typology and the implicational hierarchies as described by Noonan and Saxena. Saxena considers these uses of 'say' across languages of the South Asia to be evidence of language convergence; moreover, parallelism between Magar and Nepali in their use of 'say' as a quotative and complementizer support her conclusions. Noonan has observed that rhetorical styles are easily and often diffused

through language contact<sup>4</sup>; it has clearly come into use in maar. Noonan has also observed that the verb 'say' also manifests a semantic extension from speech to thought; this is also manifest in Magar. Moreover, according to Aikenvald, its extension from an evidential to an epistemic is an attested historical pathway.

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<sup>4</sup> According to Noonan (2006:29) "Rhetorical styles can easily be borrowed and tend to be relatively stable overtime, coming to define speech areas. Within speech areas, bilingualism facilitates the spread of linguistic features through loan translations and grammatical calques, often unidirectionally from the local centers of prestige and power. The borrowing of a rhetorical style does not entail the borrowing of any lexical material and consequently can be affected relatively quickly without widespread bilingualism, though obviously widespread bilingualism can speed up the process. Many languages of South and Central Asia employ the DSS in one form or another [Meenakshi 1983, Tikkanen 1988, Bashir 1996]."



## Magar texts

The following are sample texts from both dialects. The texts are broadly transcribed as they would be spoken in each dialect, so that they will correspond to audio files. Thus, it is the forms which have undergone morphophonological changes which are transcribed. When this occurs, a full morpheme-by-morpheme transcription appears in square brackets to the right of the line. For example, in A.A.001, the transcription reads *l-a* as it would be spoken, this a morphophonological reduction and the full form appears to the right as [*<le-a*] (Only the first instance is transcribed in full form). This is a reversal of the transcription format in the body of the grammar, where full morphological forms are transcribed in the examples and the reduced forms appear to the right.

### Tanahu Magar texts

#### 1. Frog Story, Tanahu Magar

A.A.001

*kat im-aŋ kat babu-ja cyu rA rokotyak*  
 one house-LOC one boy-child dog and frog

*ŋu-o l-a* [*<le-a*]  
 sit-HAB IMPF-PST

'A boy, a dog and a frog lived in a house.'

A.A.002

*nambi mis-cyo bel-aŋ rokotyak-ke caŋi cyu* [*<bela-aŋ*]  
 night sleep-ATT time-LOC frog-DAT well dog

*rA babu-ja-i sisi-aŋ ka-mo d-a rA* [*<babu-ja-e*] [*<da-a*]  
 and boy-child-ERG bottle-LOC put-SEQ keep-PST and

*cyu rA babu-ja kaθA mis-a*  
 dog and boy-child with sleep-PST

'At night-sleeping time, having put and kept the frog in a bottle, the dog and the boy went to sleep together.'

## A.A. 003

*rA rokotyak-ke cahī sisi-aŋ ka-mo da-m-y-a* [*<da-mA le-a*]  
 and frog-DAT well bottle-LOC put-SEQ put-NOM-IMPF-PST

'And the frog, well, having been put in (a bottle), was kept (there).'

## A.A.004

*nambi-lak babu-ja rA cyu mis-mA bfiyat-nfiak-iŋ*  
 night-CIR boy-child and dog sleep-NOM finish-front-ABL

*rokotyak cahī bahire khyofi-mo bfiAg-di-s-mo nu-a*  
 frog well outside emerge-SEQ escape-LN-INTR-SEQ go-PST

'That evening, after the boy and the dog had fallen asleep, afterwards, well, the frog, having got out, ran away.'

## A.A.005

*gorak chanfi-nfiak-iŋ babu-ja-i rA*  
 morning become-front-ABL boy-child-ERG and

*cyu-i sisi-aŋ ŋos-nfiak-iŋ rokotyak m-ale-a* [*<cyu-e*] [*<ma-ale-a*]  
 dog-ERG bottle-LOC see-front-ABL frog NEG-COP-PST

'After it became morning, the boy and the dog, after looking in the bottle and found the frog was not there.'

## A.A.006

*ku-lak nuŋ-a de-mo ŋos-naŋ ku-lak nu-a de-mo*  
 where-CIR go-PST say-SEQ look-SIM where-CIR go-PST say-SEQ

*ŋammai-lak ŋos-naŋ jutta-ŋ dfiari ŋos-a* [*<jutta-aŋ*]  
 every-CIR look-SIM shoes-LOC even look-PST

'"Where has he gone?" they wondered while they looked. "Where has he gone" they wondered as they were looking everywhere, even in their shoes.'

## A.A.007

*cyu-e rokotyak-ke ŋu-cyo sisi-aŋ bfiitre mi-talu ka-mo*  
 dog-ERG frog-DAT sit-ATT bottle-LOC inside POSS-head put-SEQ

*ŋos-naŋ cyu-o mi-talu sisi-aŋ hafi-a*  
 look-SIM dog-GEN POSS-head-LOC bottle-LOC stick-PST

'The dog, while looking for the frog, after putting his head inside the bottle got his head stuck; the bottle got stuck on the dog's head.'

A.A.009

*ku-laj nuŋ-aŋ de-mo pa-naŋ jfiyal-ij*  
 where-LOC go-SIM say-SEQ seek-SIM window-ABL

*dfiari babu-ja-i ŋak-ak-a*  
 even boy-child-ERG talk-CAUS-PST

'Wondering where (the frog) was going, the boy, while searching, called from the window.'

A.A.010

*cyu dfiari jfiyal-aŋ nʌ le-a cyu-o mi-talu sisi-aŋ*  
 dog even window-LOC EMPH COP-PST dog-GEN POSS-head bottle-LOC

*lafi-mo nʌ nuŋ-mʌ mu-a ho-se-u mi-mik* [*>ho-se-o*]  
 stick-SEQ EMPH go-NOM sit-PST D.DEM-DEF-GEN POSS-eye

*ma-daŋ-mo jfiyal-ij mfiak-aŋ jfi-al-a*  
 NEG-appearSEQ window-ABL down-LOC fall-PST

'Even the dog was at the window, the dog's head got stuck in the bottle and he was walking around. His eyes covered, he fell down from the window.'

A.A.011

*ho-se babu-ja-i me-lafi-o cyu mfiak-aŋ jfi-al-cyo*  
 D.DEM-DEF boy-child-ERG 3-self-GEN dog down-LOC fall-ATT

*daŋ-a maya rafi-mo ho-ce-i* [*<ho-se-e*]  
 sec-PST love come-SEQ D.DEM-DEF-ERG

*mfiak-aŋ kher-mo nu-a rʌ cyu-ke gfiok-a*  
 down-LOC run-SEQ go-PST and dog-DAT hold-PST

'The boy saw his dog, which had fallen. Being filled with love, he went running down and held the dog.'

A.A.012

*ho-se-ko-i im bahire le dfiari rokotyak-ke*  
 D.DEM-PL-ERG house outside COP even frog-DAT

*ŋak-ak-a ŋak-a rʌ ŋak-a rʌ jaŋga-l-aŋ tafi-a*  
 call-CAUS-PST call-PST and call-PST and jungle-LOC reach-PST

'They were outside the house and even there they called for the frog, they called and called and reached the jungle.'

A.A.013

*jaŋga-l-aŋ ho-s-ko-i argan-o gola daŋ-a* [*<ho-se-ko-e*]

jungle-LOC D.DEM-DEF-PL-ERG wasp-GEN nest see-PST  
 'In the jungle they saw a wasp's nest.'

## A.A.014

*argan-o gol-əŋ cyu-e argan-o gol-əŋ le-cyo*  
 wasp-GEN nest-LOC dog-ERG wasp-GEN nest COP-ATT

*myertuŋ hoyok-naŋ argan-o gola mfiak-əŋ jfi-al-a*  
 tree shake-SIM wasp-GEN nest down-LOC fall-PST

'A wasp's nest, while the dog was shaking the tree with the wasp's nest, and the wasp's nest fell down.'

## A.A.15

*byu dula dfiari le-a ho-ce-i babu-ja byu-lak dfiari*  
 rat hole even COP-PST D.DEM-DEF-FOC boy-child rat-CIR even

*ginfi-cyo na a-ul-e-o le ho-ce-i ginfi-a byu bahire*  
 ask-ATT EMPH IRR-COP-IRR-MIR IMPF D.DEM ask-PST rat outside

*khyofi-a ho-ce-i babu-ja ganfi-a*  
 emerge-PST D.DEM-DEF-FOC boy-child startle-PST

'There was even a rat hole, even near the rat hole the boy was asking (for the frog)! When he asked the rat came out and startled the boy.'

## A.A.016

*cyu-e cahi myertuŋ hoyok-ma na le-a*  
 dog-ERG well tree shake-NOM EMPH COP-PST

'The dog was still shaking the tree.'

## A.A.017

*ho-ce-i argan-o gola mfiak-əŋ jfi-al-a argan-ko bessari*  
 D.DEM-DEF-FOC wasp-GEN round down-LOC fall-PST wasp-PL very

*bunfi-mo cyu-ke kher-ek-a cyu-ke bfi-ag-di-mo kher-ek-a[<kher-ak-a]*  
 swarm-SEQ dog-DAT run-CAUS-PST dog-DAT flee-LN-SEQ run-CAUS-PST

'The wasp's nest fell down and the wasps having completely swarmed the dog, chased the dog made (him) run away.'

## A.A.018

*argan-o mim-iŋ argan khyofi-mo cyu-ke la-gar-di-a*  
 wasp-GEN POSS-house-ABL wasp emerge-SEQ dog-DAT chase-LN-PST

'The wasps came out of the wasp's nest, chased the dog.'

## A.A.019

*i-lak babu-ja cahi jammai-lak ŋos-ma wfi-a myertuŋ-əŋ*  
 P.DEM.CIR boy-child well every-CIR look-NOM move-PST tree-LOC

*dfari kalfi-mo myertuj dula-aŋ ho-ce-i rokotyak-ke*  
 even ascend-SEQ tree hole-LOC D.DEM-DEF-FOC frog-DAT

*ŋak-ak-a rokotyak-ke ŋak-ak-ke ŋak-ak-a*  
 call-CAUS-PST frog-DAT talk-CAUS-NOM talk-CAUS-PST

'The boy, looked and looked everywhere. He even climbed a tree, and having done this, he called into a hole in the tree for the frog, (he was) calling and calling for the frog.'

A.A. 020

*rΛ ho-ce-i lukurdfiam-o lukurdfiam-o mim le-o sa*  
 and D.DEM-DEF-FOC owl-GEN owl-GEN nest COP-MIR INFR

'and that was apparently an owl's, an owl's nest!'

A.A. 021

*ho-se lukurdfiam bahire khyofi-cyo-cyo babu-ja ganfi-mo*  
 D.DEM-DEF owl outside emerge-ATT-ATT boy-child startle-SEQ

*mfiak-aŋ kurfi-s-a* [*<kurfi-sa-a*]  
 down-LOC fall-INFR-PST

'The owl emerged outside! The boy having been startled, fell down!'

A.A.022

*argan cahī argan cahī cyu-ke*  
 wasp well wasp well dog-DAT

*lAgar-di-s-mΛ nΛ le-a lAgar-di-a*  
 chase-LN-ITR-NOM EMPH COP-PST chase-LN-PST

'The wasps, now, the wasps, well, they were chasing after the dog. They chased after (him).'

A.A.023

*kher-naŋ kher-naŋ kat lfum-ā tafi-a ho-ce-i lukurdfiam cahī*  
 run-SIM run-SIM one stone-LOC reach-PST D.DEM-DEF-FOC owl well

*me-lfi-o mim-aŋ nΛ lfies-mo nuŋ-a ho-ce-i* [*<me-lafi-o*]  
 3S-self-GEN nest-LOC EMPH return-SEQ go-PST D.DEM-DEF-FOC

*lfum-aŋ kalfi-mo kat siŋ-ke gho-a rΛ rokotyak-ke*  
 stone-LOC ascend-SEQ one branch-DAT hold-PST and frog-DAT

*ŋak-ak-mΛ ŋu-m-y-a* [*<ŋu-mΛ le-a*]  
 noise-CAUS-NOM sit-NOM-IMPf-PST

'Running, running (the boy) came to a stone, the owl, well, it went and returned to its nest. (The boy) climbed onto the stone and got hold of a stick and he continued to call for the frog.'

A.A. 024

*rokotyak-ke*    *ɲak-ak-mo*    *ho-ce-i*    *gfiok-cyo*    *siŋ*  
 frog-DAT    call-CAUS-SEQ    D.DEM-DEF-FOC    grab-ATT    branch

*de-mo*    *gfiok-cyo*    *chanfi-mo*    *mirga-o*    *mi-rfiŋ-ke*    *gfiok-le-sa*  
 say-SEQ    hold-ATT    become-SEQ    deer-GEN    POSS-horn-DAT    grab-IMPF-INFR

'Having called for the frog, he got hold of what he supposed was a branch, it turned out that he was holding a deer's horn.'

A.A.025

*mirga*    *ɖhari*    *men-o*    *mi-rfiŋ*    *gfiok-cyo*    *tafi-a*    *dinfi-a*    *hi*    *ya*  
 deer    even    3-GEN    POSS-horn    hold-ATT    arrive-PST    find-PST    what    or

*gfiok-a*    *de-mo*    *ɖhem-lak*    *ɲos-cyo-cyo*    *ho-ce-i*    *babu-ja*  
 hold-PST    say-SEQ    up-CIR    see-ATT-ATT    D.DEM-DEF-FOC    boy-child

*mi-rfiŋ-aŋ*    *hafi-mo*    *hafi-ak-a*  
 POSS-horn-LOC    stick-SEQ    stick-CAUS-PST

'The deer realized that something had ahold of his antlers, he wondered what it was, then he saw a boy who was looking from above and hanging stuck on his antlers.'

A.A.026

*mirga*    *ɖhari*    *birifi-mo*    *bessari*    *kher-cyo*    *bfiŋ-iŋ*    *ho-ce-i*  
 deer    even    afraid-SEQ    very    run-ATT    cliff-ABL    D.DEM-DEF-FOC

*cyu ra*    *babu-ja*    *mfiak-aŋ*    *jfiŋal-mo*    *kurfi-a*    *mfiak-aŋ*    *jfiŋal-a*  
 dog and boy-child    down-LOC    fall-SEQ    slip-PST    down-LOC    fall-PST

'Even the deer, having been very frightened, ran. From a cliff, the dog and the boy having fallen down, slipped and fell down.'

A.A.027

*ho-s-ko*    *mfiak-aŋ*    *jfiŋal-a*    *ra*    *di-aŋ*    *thafi-a*    *cyu*    *ra*    [*ho-se-ko*]  
 D.DEM-DEF-PL    down-LOC    fall-PST    and    water-LOC    sink-PST    dog    and

*babu-ja*    *di-aŋ*    *thafi-a*  
 boy-child    water-LOC    sink-PST

'They fell down and sank in the water, the dog and the boy sank in the water.'

A.A. 028

*ho-ta*    *ja*    *ho-se-ko-i*    *ʌbo*    *ku-ta*    *jat-mo*    *khyofi-ke*  
 D.DEM-MNR    EMPH    D.DEM-DEF-PL-ERG    now    INTRG-MNR    do-SEQ    emerge-SEQ

*de-mo*    *i-ta*            *jat-mo*    *nos-mo*    *wfia-naŋ*    *wfia-naŋ*    *kat*  
 say-SEQ    P.DEM-MNR    do-SEQ    look-SEQ    walk-SIM    walk-SIM    one

*dhodra*    *mudfia-ke*            *daŋ-a*  
 hollow    log-DAT                see-PST

'Then, they wondered what they would have to do now to get out; having looked while walking, and walking they saw a hollow log.'

A.A.029

*ho-se*            *dhodra*    *mudfia*    *a-l-patti*                    *nos-cyo-cyo*                    [*<a-lak-patti*]  
 D.DEM-DEF    hollow    log            R.DEM-CIR-side    see-ATT-ATT

*dhodra*    *mudfia*    *a-l-patti*                    *nos-cyo-cyo*    *thuprai*    *rokotyak-ko*    *le-a*  
 hollow    log            R.DEM-CIR-side    see-ATT-ATT    many    frog-PL            COP-PST

'On the other side of the hollow log where they looked, on the other side of the log, where they looked, there were many frogs!'

A.A.030

*ho-laŋ*            *nfiis*    *rokotyak-ko*            *dhari*    *le-a*  
 D.DEM-LOC    two    frog-PL                    even    COP-PST

'Over there was even a pair of frogs.'

A.A. 031

*rokotyak-uŋ*    *mi-ja-ko*            *dhari*    *thuprai*    *rafi-a*  
 frog-GEN            POSS-child-PL    even    many    come-PST

'These frogs' many children also came.'

A.A.032

*ho-t-iŋ*            *me-lfi-o*    *ho-ce-i*                    *rokotyak*    *rokotyak-ko*                    [*<ho-tak-iŋ*]  
 D.DEM-SUP-ABL    3S-self-GEN    D.DEM-DEF-FOC    frog            frog-PL

*hul-aŋ*    *me-lfi-o*    *mi-ja*            *dhari*    *rokotyak-ko*    *mi-ja-kuŋ*            *hul-aŋ*    [*<me-lafi-o*]  
 group-LOC    3S self-GEN    POSS-child    even    frog-PL            POSS-child-GEN    group-LOC

*me-lfi-o-i*            *kok-cyo*            *ho-ce-i*                    *babu-ja-i*            *kok-cyo*  
 3S-self-GEN-ERG    care.for-ATT    D.DEM-DEF-FOC    boy-child-ERG    care.for-ATT

*rokotyak-ko*    *mi-ja*            *dhari*            *daŋ-a*  
 frog-PL            POSS-child    even                see-PST

'Then the boy also saw his very own frog in the group of frogs, his own baby was also in that group of frog's children, the one he had looked after.'

A.A.033

*ho-se-ko-i me-lfi-o rokotyak daŋ-a mi-hut-aŋ la-mo*  
 D.DEM-DEF-ERG 3S-self-GEN frog see-PST POSS-hand-LOC take-SEQ

*pari ces-mo rafi-a*  
 across cut-SEQ come-PST

'They saw their own frog. The boy, having taken it in his hand, cut across to the other side.'

A.A.034

*ʃammai rokotyak-ko caɦi ho-se-ko-ko ŋos-ma ŋu-a*  
 all frog-PL well D.DEM-PL-PL see-NOM sit-PST

'All the other frogs, well, sat watching.'

## 2. Rodi, Tanahu Magar

C.001<sup>1</sup>

*ŋo-i rodi-u bishayan cek-tar de-le* [*<ŋa-e*] [*<rodi-o*]  
 1S-ERG rodi-GEN subject a.little-LAT say-IMPF

'I will say a little about the subject of the Rodi.'

C.002

*ŋo-i rodi de-cyo langfia-uŋ thar-aŋ*  
 1S-ERG rodi say-ATT village-GEN place-LOC

*lenja-arnam-ko kaɦa chanfi-mo ŋu-ke*  
 young.man-young.woman-PL with become-SEQ go-NOM

*kaɦa chanfi-mo bat jat-ke lfiŋ-ke ra*  
 with become-SEQ chat do-NOM sing-NOM and

*syafi-ke jat-ke thaŋ ale*  
 dance-NOM do-NOM place COP

'The rodi, as it is called, is in our village, it is the place where, young men and women go together, to sit and talk and sing and dance.'

C.003

*rodi ŋu-ŋfiak-ij sen-sen langfia-uŋ babu-ja-ko rafi-le*  
 Rodi sit-front-ABL when-when village-GEN boy-child-PL come-IMPF

<sup>1</sup> The alphabetical codes are not consecutive as they are the codes used in a larger body of texts from which these examples are drawn.



'After they are at Rodi, sometimes the little boys of the village will come.'

C.004

*sen-sen bahir-uŋ bhormi-ko ra rafi-le*  
when-when outside-GEN person-PL and come-IMPF

'Sometimes people from outside (the village) will also come.'

C.005

*ho-laŋ bahir-uŋ babu-ja-ko rafi-le*  
D.DEM.LOC outside-GEN boy-child-PL come-IMPF

*bfiindai langgha-iŋ*  
next village-ABL

'Young boys from outside the village come there, from the next village.'

C.006

*bfiindai langgha-aŋ bhormi-ko rafi-a de-lhiyak*  
next village-GEN person-PL come-PST say-COND

*arnam-ko-ke sikrit tamakhu yafi-le*  
young.woman-PL-DAT cigarette tobacco give-IMPF

'If people come from the next village, they give cigarettes and tobacco to the young women.'

C.007

*tamakhu ga-mΛ bat jat-mΛ lfiŋ-mΛ syafi-mΛ jat-le*  
tobacco smoke-NOM chat do-NOM sing-NOM dance-NOM do-IMPF

'At Rodi, there is tobacco smoking, chatting, singing and dancing.'

C.008

*rodi-aŋ samae anusar hiund-aŋ jfiyabarya syafi-ak-le*  
rodi-LOC according season winter-LOC Jfiyabarya dance-CAUS-IMPF

'According to the season, in winter, Jfiyabarya is danced.'

C.009

*khan-cyo sahak-aŋ garmi sahak-aŋ karufia syafi-ak-le*  
hot-ATT month-LOC hot month-LOC Karuha dance-CAUS-IMPF

'In the hot months, in the summer months the Karuha is danced.'

C.010

*caita-lak-ij kafirua syafi-ak-le*  
 May-CIR-ABL Kahrua dance-CAUS-IMPF

'From the time of May, the Karuha is danced.'

C.011

*caita-lak-ij asar samma asar majjha samma*  
 May-CIR-ABL September until September middle until

*karuha syafi-ak-le*  
 Kanrafia dance-CAUS-IMPF

'From May until September, the middle of September, the Karuha is danced.'

C.011

*ho-t-ij takkalap din hottana ŋu-le* [*<ho-tak-ij*]  
 D.DEM-SUP-ABL sequence day without sit-IMPF

'Then there remain a sequence of days without doing anything.'

C.012

*hot-ij jumfi-cyo sahak suru chanfi-nfiak-ij*  
 D.DEM-ABL cold-ATT month start become-front-ABL

*jhyabarya syafi-ke suru jat-le*  
 Jhyabarya dance-NOM start do-IMPF

'Then after the cold months have started, (we) start to dance the 'Jhyabarya'.'

C.013

*dasain-aŋ nacan syafi-ak-le dasain*  
 dasain-LOC Nacan dance-CAUS-IMPF Dasain

*tihar-aŋ ekadasi-aŋ ho-t-ij pheri i-se*  
 Tihar-LOC Ekadasi-LOC D.DEM-SUP-ABL again P.DEM-DEF

*nΛ dofiar-di-s-le harek lfesa*  
 EMPH repeat-LN-INTR-IMPF every year

'At Dasain, we dance the Nacan, at Dasain, at Tihar and Ekadasi. Then, again, this is repeated every year.'

### 3. Raksi preparation, Tanah Magar

D.001

*paḥila maḥkoi nuk-le maḥkoi nuk-naŋ khasaro maḥkoi*  
 first corn grind-IMPF corn grind-SIM coarse corn

*nuk-le ho-t-iŋ tap-le tap-le ani pheri* [*<ho-tak-iŋ*]  
 grind-IMPf D.DEM-SUP-ABL winnow-IMPf winnow -IMPf then again

*phinfi-ne hai* [*<phinfi-le*]  
 cook-IMPf okay

'First, grind the corn, grind the corn coarsely; then, winnow, winnow again and let it cook, okay.'

## D. 002

*mako-i-aŋ pādor molfi-o-k-mo bat-le phin-ne* [*<molfi-ak-mo*]  
 corn-LOC millet mix-CAUS-SEQ set-IMPf cook-IMPf

*ho-t-iŋ bafu-di-k-le bafu-di-k-le ket-le ra*  
 D.DEM-SUP-ABL steam-LN-CAUS-IMPf steam-LN-CAUS-IMPf stir-IMPf and

*bafu-di-k-le hai*  
 steam-LN-CAUS-IMPf okay

'After having mixed the millet into the corn, set it down and cook it, after that, steam it, steam it, stir and steam, okay.'

## D.003

*ho-t-iŋ pheri ho-t-iŋ dhiakaŋ yafi-le*  
 D.DEM-SUP-ABL again D.DEM-SUP-ABL lid give-IMPf

*ho-t-iŋ garaŋ-le*  
 D.DEM-SUP-ABL lift-IMPf

'Then again, then, put on the lid and then lift it (off the fire).'

## D.004

*ho-t-iŋ molfi-le gundri-aŋ khyas-le khyas-a ra marfi-cyo*  
 D.DEM-SUP-ABL mix-IMPf straw.mat-LOC spread-IMPf spread-PST and small-ATT

*usa pacyat-le pacyat-a ra bheret-le bheret-a ra katha*  
 medicine crumble-IMPf crumble-PST and sprinkle-IMPf sprinkle-PST and with

*norfi-jat-le karaŋ rak-le*  
 gather-do-IMPf bamboo.basket bring-IMPf

'Then spread the mix on a straw mat, when it is spread, crumble a little medicine (fermentation agent), when it is crumbled, sprinkle it and when it is sprinkled, gather it up, then bring a bamboo basket.'



*di ka-le rA bat-le*  
water put-IMPF and set-IMPF

'Then, on that, put water, put water on the millet brew and set (it on the fire).'

D.012

*ho-t-ij ho-laj dfioti aci jfia kolomfi-*  
D.DEM-SUP-ABL D.DEM-LOC clothe.strips then clay wrap

*jat-mo lak-le* [*<lak-ke*]  
do-SEQ stick-IMPF

'Then, on there, stick on cloth strips that have been wrapped in mud.'

D.013

*mi-sas ma-an-ke ho tot ho-s-tak-aŋ* [*<ho-se-tak-aŋ*]  
POSS-breath NEG-go-NOM D.DEM right.on D.DEM-DEF-SUP-LOC

*batta bat-le batta-ŋ bAdfiin kolomfi-le ho-t-ij* [*<batta-aŋ*]  
brass.pot set-IMPF brass.pot-LOC clothe wrap-IMPF D.DEM-SUP-ABL

*ho-se handa me-ŋer-aŋ tot da-le*  
D.DEM-DEF large.raksi.pot POSS-mouth-LOC right.on keep-IMPF

'To not let the vapour escape, put it right an top of the brass pot , wrap cloth around the brass pot, then put the raksi pot right on it's mouth.'

D.014

*ho-t tot ho-s-tak-aŋ di ka-le* [*<ho-ta*]  
D.DEM-MNR right.on D.DEM-DEF-SUP-LOC water put-IMPF

'Like that, right there, in the top, put water.'

D.015

*ho-t-ij khan-ke mfi-ŋ mfiak-ij mfiut-le* [*<mfi-ŋ*]  
D.DEM-SUP-ABL hot-NOM fire-LOC down-ABL blow-IMPF

'Then, to heat, blow on the fire from below.'

D.016

*Antar-i di khan-ne ho-ce-i lofi-le rA* [*<khan-le*]  
above-ABL water hot-IMPF D.DEM-DEF-FOC discard-IMPF also

*kat panya lofi-naŋ bAdap-e rik-le*  
one occurrence discard-SIM ash-INST mark-IMPF

*nfiis panya lofi-naŋ rik-le bʌdap-e*  
 two occurrence discard-SIM write-IMPF ash-INST

'From above the water will heat, discard that (water) and when you throw it away once, mark with ash, then the second time, when you throw it away, mark this with ash.'

## D.017

*ani nfiis chanfi-a hai ani ho-ce-i pheri*  
 then two become-PST okay then D.DEM-DEF-FOC again

*som panya lofi-naŋ pheri bʌdap-e rik-le*  
 three occurrence discard-SIM again ash-INST write-IMPF

'Then, when two are done, okay, then again a third time throw away (the water) and mark this with ash.'

## D.018

*ho-t-iŋ car panya lofi-naŋ rʌ bʌdap-i rik-le*  
 D.DEM-SUP-ABL four occurrence discard-SIM and ash-INST write-IMPF

'Then, the fourth time, throw it away and mark this with ash.'

## D.019

*pānc panya lofi-naŋ rʌ bʌdap-e nʌ rik-le*  
 five occurrence discard-SIM and ash-INST EMPH mark-IMPF

*chā sat ath nau das eggfiara barfia panya jʌmmai*  
 six seven eight nine ten eleven twelve time all

*bʌdap-i nʌ rik-mo panya olfi-ok-le* [*<olfi-ak-le*]  
 ash-INST EMPH write-SEQ occurrence sufficient-CAUS-IMPF

'Five times, throw it away and mark this with ash, six, seven, eight, nine, ten, eleven, twelve times, having marked all these times with ash it will be sufficient.'

## D.020

*ho-t-iŋ garaŋ-le kat bahan garaŋ-le ho-ce-i*  
 D.DEM-SUP-ABL lift-IMPF one portion lift-IMPF D.DEM-DEF-FOC

*arke ho-t-iŋ bfiitre rʌksi chanfi-ne hai*  
 different D.DEM-SUP-ABL inside alcohol become-IMPF okay

'Then take off one, take off the other, then inside there will be alcohol, okay.'



'Watching the raksi drop inside the small clay pot, one small clay pot will become full of raksi.'

D. 026

*ho-t-iŋ*                      *ga-ke*                      *tɔyar*    *chanfi-ne*  
D.DEM-SUP-ABL    drink-NOM    prepare    become-IMPF

'Then is ready to drink.'

D.027

*jyap-le*    *han*                      *jyap-lyak*    *jyap-le*                      *rɔksi*  
tasty-IMPF    millet.brew    tasty-COND    tasty-IMPF                      alcohol

*han*                      *ma-jyap-lyak*                      *rɔksi*                      *ma-jyap-le*  
millet.brew    NEG-tasty-COND    alcohol                      NEG-tasty-IMPF

'If the millet brew is tasty, the alcohol will be tasty. If the millet brew is not tasty then the alcohol will not be tasty.'

#### 4. Shaman Cure, Tanah Magar

E.001

*purano*    *calan*                      *anusar*                      *kan-uŋ*                      *dukha*    *bimar-aŋ*                      *rɔ*  
old                      tradition                      according                      1P-GEN                      pain                      sick-LOC                      and

*gau-uŋ*    *ghar-uŋ*                      *cahĩ*                      *upcar*                      *usadi*                      *jat-cyo*                      *bedana*  
village-GEN    home-GEN                      well                      cure                      medicine                      make-ATT                      procedure

'According to our old tradition, our ones in pain and sick in our village homes, well, they were cured by this procedure.'

E.002

*ban*                      *par-di-s-cyo*                      *bedana-ko*                      *ku-ta*                      *ku-ta*  
mystical.arrow    experience-LN-INTR-ATT                      procedure-PL                      INTRG-MNR                      INTRG-MNR

*jat-mo*    *a-chanfi-ne*                      [*<a-chanfi-e-le*]  
do-SEQ                      IRR-become-IMPF

'What are the ways in which a mystical arrow experience (curse) might happen?'

E.003

*kan-uŋ*    *gau-uŋ*                      *ghar-aŋ*                      *pɔhila*    *pɔhila*                      *cahĩ*  
1P-GEN    village-GEN                      home-LOC                      first                      first                      well

*hospital*    *ya*                      *dɔktor*    *de-cyo*    *calan*                      *nɔ*                      *ma-se-m-y-a*                      [*<ma-se-mɔ le-a*]  
hospital                      or                      doctor    say-ATT    tradition    EMPH    NEG-sense-NOM-IMPF-PST



*ma-daŋ-m-y-a*  
NEG-see-NOM-IMPF-PST

[<ma-daŋ-mʌ le-a]

'In our village home, long ago, well, such a tradition of hospitals and doctors had been neither heard of nor seen.'

E.004

*cahī ho-se bakhat-aŋ cahī kan-i cahī su-da*  
well D.DEM.DEF that.time-LOC well 1P-ERG well who-INDF

*kan-uŋ dukha bimar ya dukha takliḥ chanfi-a de-lyak kan-i*  
1P-GEN pain sick or pain trouble become-PST say-COND 1P-ERG

*lama-jhaŋkri ya gau-uŋ ghar-uŋ jadibuti usadi*  
priest-shaman or village-GEN home-GEN herb medicine

*upcar-i kan-uŋ dukha bimar hata-di-cyo calan le-a*  
cure-INST 1P-GEN pain sick remove-LN-ATT tradition COP-PST

'Well, long ago, well, if anyone of us became sick or had pain, sorrow or affliction, we would cure them with the priest-witch-doctor, or with medicinal herbs in our village; this was the tradition for taking way our pain and sickness.'

E.005

*ya ho-ce-i ma-d-fiyaŋ ban pa-di-s-cyo* [*ma-de-aŋaŋ*]  
or D.DEM-DEF-FOC NEG-say-COND mystical.arrow experience-LN-INTR-ATT

*de-cyo kat bedana ya kura cahī lama-jhaŋkri-uŋ*  
say-ATT one procedure or matter well priest shaman-GEN.HON

*taraph cahī set-o l-a* [*set-o-le-a*]  
side well tell-HAB IMPF-PST

'Or, if not that, the 'arrow-curse-attack', as it is called, is one procedure, or matter, on the shaman's part, well, which used to be spoken of.

E.006.

*ra ho-se ban pa-di-s-cyo kan-i*  
and D.DEM-DEF mystical.arrow experience-LN-INTR-ATT 1P-ERG

*aci jat-ke cahī yad molokhotmol jat-ke cahī*  
still do-NOM well remember cure do-NOM well

*jhaŋkri kaḥa na kan-i deo basal-di-mo*  
shaman with EMPH 1P-ERG god transform-LN-SEQ

*ani*      *jfiʌŋkri*    *kʌθʌ*    *nʌ*      *gɪnfi-mo*      *jfiʌŋkri*    *ŋak -naŋ*  
 still      shaman      with      EMPH      ask-SEQ      shaman      talk-sim

*cahĩ*    *lau*              *ban*              *lʌy-di-s-mʌ*      *le-sa*  
 well    CNFM            mystical.arrow    undergo-LN-NOM    IMPF-INFER

'We still try to make the arrow curse, well, to do this (we) remember how to do it, well, the shaman, having been transformed to a god by us, we ask the shaman to curse, well, you understand, the arrow curse, apparently follows.'

## E.007

*de-mo*      *cahĩe*    *jfiʌŋkri-ko*              *de-nfiʌk-iŋ*    *ʌbo*  
 say-SEQ      well      shaman-HON              say-front-ABL    now

*ho-se*      *ku-ta*              *jat-mo*    *chanfi-ne*      *tʌ*                              [*<chanfi-le*]  
 D.DEM      how-MNR            do-SEQ    become-IMPF    TAG

*demo*    *ho-s-ko-i*              *kʌθʌ*    *nʌ*      *jwap*    *sawal*              *jat-a*    [*<ho-se-ko-i*]  
 say-SEQ    D.DEM-DEF-HON    with      EMPH      answer    question      do-PST

'Supposedly, well, the witch-doctors, we believe, have now somehow, indeed, become able to answer questions, so they say.'

## E.008

*kan-i*    *cahĩ*    *ho-se*              *jfiʌŋkri*      *cahĩ*  
 1P-ERG    well    D.DEM-DEF      shaman      well

*hi-da*      *nʌ*              *ku-din-cyo*              *de-mo*  
 what-INDF    EMPH            INTRG-QUAL-ATT      say-SEQ

*a-din-cyo*                              *nʌ*  
 R.DEM-QUAL-ATT                      EMPH

'Well, well, whatever the shaman says he wants, we do that.'

## E.009

*cahĩ*    *kan-i*              *tʌyar-di-mo*              *samargri*      *jut-di-a*      *rʌ*  
 well    1P-ERG            prepare-LN-SEQ      items      collect-LN-PST    and

*ban*                              *lfiʌt-cyo*              *calan*    *le-a*  
 mystical.arrow            return-ATT            tradition    COP-PST

'Well, the tradition is that we, having prepared and collected items, the tradition is to have the exorcism of the mystical arrow.'

## E.010

*ani*    *ho-t-iŋ*              *jfiʌŋkri-ko-i*              *cahĩ*    *abo*    *saman*      [*<ho-tak-iŋ*]  
 then    D.DEM-SUP-ABL      shaman-HON-ERG      well      now    items

*jut-di-nfiakiŋ*    *lau*    *ku-dik*    *chiniŋ*    *ale*    *hi*    *tithi*    *ale*  
 collect-LN-front-ABL    CNFM    which.QUANT    today    COP    what    auspicious.day    COP

'Then after that, the shaman, well, now after the items are collected, okay, (asks)  
 "Is today the auspicious day?">'

E.011

*hi*    *bar*    *ale*    *de-mo*    *ginfi-nfiak-iŋ*    *ki*    *bfiane*  
 what    weekday    COP    say-SEQ    ask-front-ABL    or    either

*m᳚᳚alabar*    *ki*    *bfiane*    *aitabar*    *ekadasi*  
 Tuesday    or    either    Sunday    eleventh.day.fast.day

*ra*    *aunsi*    *chal-di-mo*    *ani*    *bir-ke*  
 and    moonless.night    except-LN--SEQ    then    demon-DAT

*lfiet-ke*    *par-di-s-le*  
 return-NOM    must-LN-INTR-IMPF

'The weekday was decided on after asking (the shaman), it might be either Tuesday or Sunday, but not a fast day or a black moonless night, then, the demon must be exorcised.'

E.012

*ya*    *ban-ke*    *lfiet-ke*    *par-di-s-le*  
 or    mystical.arrow-DAT    return-NOM    must-LN-INTR-IMPF

*de-mo*    *de-o*    *l-a*    [*<le-a*]  
 say-SEQ    say-HAB    IMPF-PST

'Then, the mystical arrow curse should be exorcised, supposedly, so they used to say.'

E.013

*ho-ta*    *jat-mo-na*    *kan-i*    *gau-uŋ-gfiar-uŋ*  
 D.DEM-MNR    do-SEQ-EMPH    1P-ERG    village-GEN-home-GEN

*usadi*    *upcar*    *de-naŋ*    *lekha*    *jat-o*    *l-a*  
 medicine    cure    say-SIM    seem    do-HAB    IMPF-PST

'Then, having done it that way, we, in our village home, we used to do it because it seemed like a cure.'

E.014

*ra*    *ho-ce-i*    *cahī*    *kan-uŋ*    *prampara-iŋ*    *purano*  
 and    D.DEM-DEF-FOC    well    1P-GEN    beginning-ABL    old

*calan*      *le-a*  
tradition      COP-PST

'And that, well, was, from the beginning our old tradition.'

E.015

*rA*    *cāhāt*    *samma*    *rA*    *ho-ce-i*            *calan*    *nA*    *kan-uŋ*    *ajhā*  
and    now      until      and    D.DEM-DEF-FOC    tradition    EMPH    IP-GEN    still

*rA*    *kes-mA*    *nA*      *ŋu-le*  
and    use-NOM    EMPH    sit-IMPF

'And even until now, it is still our tradition, and remains in practice.'

E.016

*hospital*    *dAktor*    *de-cyo*    *kura*      *hyok-cyo-ko-i*    *abo*  
hospital    doctor    say-ATT    matter    able-ATT-PL-ERG    now

*hospital-aŋ*      *alfi-le*  
hospital-LOC      carry-IMPF

'As for hospital, doctors and such things those who are able, now, will take (their ill) to hospital.'

E.017

*dAktor-lak*            *alfi-le*            *dAktor-ko-ke*    *cahī*            *ani*  
doctor-CIR            carry-IMPF        doctor-HON-DAT    well            then

*upcar*    *usadi*            *jat-ak-mo*            *ani*    *niko*            *rA*            *jat-le*  
cure    medicine    do-CAUS-SEQ    then    recovery    and            do-IMPF

'(They) are taken over to the doctor. The doctors, well then, make a cure with medicine, then (the sick) also make a recovery.'

E.018

*tA rA*    *kan-uŋ*    *purano*    *calan*            *caltiuŋ*    *hisapai*    *cahī*  
but    1P-GEN    old      tradition      frequently    calculation    well

*cahī*            *kan-uŋ*            *cahī*            *lama-jhaŋkri*    *nA*    *jat-mo*  
well            1P-GEN            well            priest-shaman    EMPH    do-SEQ

*cahī*            *jibika*            *jat-mo*            *cahī*    *kan-uŋ*            *dukha*    *bimar*  
well            subsistence    do-SEQ    well    1P-GEN            pain            sick  
*takliph*    *jat-mo cahī*            *kan-i*            *jibikar*            *ket-mA*    *ŋu-le*  
trouble    do-SEQ well    1P-ERG            subsistence    use-NOM    sit-IMPF

'But, according to our old tradition, it is frequently calculated that it is by use of shamans

that we continue our subsistence, that we endure our sickness, troubles and continue our existence.

E.019

*ban*                    *de-cyo*    *kura*    *rΛ*            *ho-se*        *nΛ*    *le*    *ani*    *debi*  
mystical.arrow    say-ATT    matter    and            D.DEM-DEF EMPH    COP    then    goddess

*deuta-ko*    *bfiut*    *picas*    *mari-masaŋ-ko*    *ho-se*            *cahĩ*  
god-PL        ghost    spirit    death-spirit-PL    D.DEM-DEF    well

*boksi-ko-i*            *ket-le*        *ta*  
witch-PL-ERG        use-IMPF    HSY

'In this matter of the mystical arrow, then, it is said, goddesses, gods, ghosts, spirits, death-spirits, these, well, are used by the witches.'

E.020

*boks-i-ko-i*                    *ket-le*        *ta*            *de-mo*    *cahĩ*  
witch-ML-PL-ERG        use-IMPF    HSY            say-SEQ    well

*patta*    *nΛ*        *ho-ta*            *de-le*  
all        EMPH    D.DEM-MNR    say-IMPF

'They say that the male witches supposedly, well, use all these kinds of things.'

E.021 (interjection)

*yefi*    *kancha-boy*                                    *ghas*    *ce-mo*    *rafi-a*  
ahoy    younger.brother-father                    grass    cut-SEQ    come-PST

'Ahoy, uncle (lit. younger father), have you come from cutting grass?'

E.022

*ho-s*            *kura*    *cahĩ*    *Λbo*    *a-se-ko-i*                    *nΛ*    *a-warfi-e*            [*<ho-se>*]  
D.DEM-DEF    matter    well    now    R.DEM-DEF-PL-ERG    EMPH    IRR-know-IRR

*ani*    *ho-se*            *kura-ke*    *cahĩ*    *aru*    *cahĩ*    *lata-ganda*  
then    D.DEM-DEF    matter-DAT    well    remain    well    ignorant-people

*ani*    *sojo-sidfia-ko-i*                    *cahĩ*            *hi-da*        *ma-warfi-le*  
then    innocent-people-PL-ERG        well            what-INDF    NEG-know-IMPF

'These matters, well, now they are understood only by those ones (the witches); these matters, then, would be not understood by simple and innocent persons.'

E.023

*a-se-ko-i*                    *hi-da*        *nΛ*        *a-se*            *a-se*            *kura-o*        *nΛ*  
R.DEM-DEF-PL-ERG    what-INDF EMPH    R.DEM-DEF    R.DEM-DEF    matter-GEN    EMPH

*ani biswas la-mo ani ban lfiet-mo ka-mo ani*  
 then belief take-SEQ then mystical.arrow return-SEQ put-SEQ then

*anek tatwa jat-mo jat-le*  
 different rituals do-SEQ do-IMPF

'Whatever those ones do, those matters, having been believed, the mystical arrow-curse having been exorcised, then the various rituals having been observed, what is to be done will be done.'

## E.024

*ho-s ban lfiet-cyo samagriyaṅ cahī*  
 D.DEM-DEF mystical.arrow return-ATT items well

*su-ke cahī gwa de-le su-ke cahī*  
 who-DAT well bird say-IMPF who-DAT well

*rfa de-le su-ke cahī bombosya de-le*  
 goat say-IMPF who-DAT well squash say-IMPF

*su-ke cahī wak ra de-le tara ho-ce-i*  
 who-DAT well pig and say-IMPF but D.DEM

*kura cahī jat-cyo-ko-i warfi-le*  
 things well do-ATT-PL-ERG know-IMPF

'The items to exorcise the mystical arrow curse, (the shaman) says to some are, well, a chicken, to some, well, a goat, to some he says squash, to some, well, he says a pig, but the ones who perform these matters know.'

## E.025

*yafi-cyo-ko-ke cahī tayar-di-ke par-di-s-le*  
 give-ATT-PL-DAT well prepare-LN-NOM must-LN-INTR-IMPF

'The people to whom these things, are given, well, must prepare.'

## E.026

*ani ho-se kura cahī lbo dferai de-ma ṅu-ke ra*  
 then D.DEM-DEF things well now many say-NOM sit-NOM and

*kan-uṅ purano calan-uṅ anusarai ho-ce-i l-a*  
 1P-GEN old tradition-GEN according D.DEM-DEF COP-PST

'Then, (I) have been saying many things, and accordingly this was our old tradition.'

## E.027

*chiniṅ pihin-cyo daktor-ko de-le lama-ko ra de-le*

today today-ATT doctor-PL say-IMPF priest-PL and say-IMPF

*jaysi-ko* *ra* *de-le* *abo* *ku-lak* *ale* *ku-lak* *le*  
 fortune.teller-PL and say-IMPF now INTRG-CIR COP INTRG-CIR COP

'Nowadays, some say doctors and some say priests, and some say fortune tellers. Now, where to go, where to go?'

E.028

*bhormi-ke* *janta-ke* *cahī* *ani* *almalle* *cfianfi-le*  
 person-DAT populace-DAT well then puzzled become-IMPF

'People, the populace, well then they become puzzled.'

E.029

*ho-da* *chanfi-naŋ* *abo* *si-ke* *de-cyo* *kura*  
 D.DEM-INDF become-SIM now die-NOM say-ATT matter

*cahī* *kohi* *lama-ko-lak-ij* *bafi-le*  
 well some priest-PL-CIR-ABL settle-IMPF

*kohi* *jfanŋkri-lak-ij* *bafi-le* *kohi*  
 some shaman-CIR-ABL settle-IMPF some

*daktor-ko-lak-ij* *bafi-le*  
 doctor-PL-CIR-ABL settle-IMPF

'That being so, now, the matter of dying is such that some people recover through priests, some recover through shamans, some through doctors.'

E.030

*men-o* *dasa* *jfon-cyo* *paranta* *ya* *si-ke*  
 3-GEN misfortune clear-ATT after or die-NOM

*rifi-me-sa* *de-lfiyak* *hi* *yafi-naŋ* *ra* [*<rifi-m $\lambda$  le-sa*] [*<de-lfiyak*]  
 mark-IMPF-INFR say-COND what give-SIM and

*cahī* *si-mo* *ŋu-le*  
 well die-SEQ sit-IMPF

'Whether one's misfortune clears up afterwards, or, whether one is to die is written, evidently, if this is what (fate) is giving, then, one will die.'

E.031

*mana* *ma-dum-me-sa* *de-lfiyak* [*<ma-dum-m $\lambda$  le-sa*]  
 measure.of.grain NEG-deplete-IMPF-INFER say-COND

*bafi-le*  
settle-IMPF

'If one's days have not been meted out, evidently, one will recover'

E.032

*ani bafi-mo ra lama jfiɔŋkri jas ra dinfi-ne* [*<dinfi-le*]  
then settle-SEQ and priest shaman thanks and find-IMPF

'Then, one having recovered, the shaman-priest also receives thanks.'

E.033

*ho-ce-i kura an-ke cahī abo agadi hi de-ke ta*  
D.DEM-DEF-FOC matter go-NOM well now forward what say-NOM TAG

'Well, now, what is there further that I can say on this matter, eh?'

### Syangja Magar texts

#### 6. How the girl married the frog, Syangja Magar

G.G.001

*rokotyak ahan set-ak-nis na*  
frog story tell-CAUS-2PRO.HON EMPH

'Tell the frog story!'

G.G.002

*di dun-uk-naŋ ma-dun-uk-o na* [*<dun-ak-naŋ*]  
water muddy-CAUS-SIM NEG-muddy-CAUS-IMP EMPH

'While (the frog) was muddying the water, (the girl said) "Don't muddy it!"

G.G.003

*ŋo-i bai-ke ga-ke alfi-ke le* [*<ŋo-i*]  
1S-ERG mother-DAT drink-NOM carry-NOM IMPF

'I have yet to carry it to mother to drink.'

G.G.004

*te-naŋ a-se ma-dun-uk-o ŋa-ke rafi-d-fiyaŋ* [*<rafi-de-ahaŋ*]  
say-SIM R.DEM NEG-muddy-CAUS-IMP 1S-DAT come-say-COND

*ma-dun-uk-l-aŋ maŋ te-o le-a ta* [*<dun-ak-le-aŋ*]  
NEG-muddy-CAUS-IMPF-PRO truly say-HAB IMPF-PST REP

'They say, that when the girl said "Don't make it muddy." (the frog said)"If you come to me, I will truly not muddy the waters", truly, so it is told.'



G.G.005

*a-rafi-na*      *na-dun-uk-o*      *te-o*      *le-a*      *ta*      [*<ma-dun-ak-o*]  
 IRR-come-1.PRO NEG-muddy-CAUS-IMP say-HAB IMPF-PST REP

'They say, she said "I will come. Don't make it muddy!"; so it is told.'

G.G.006

*ho-ta-i*      *ra*      *di*      *ma-dun-uk-le-sa*      *ta*  
 D.DEM-DEF-FOC and water NEG-muddy-CAUS-IMPF-INFR REP

'They say, then like that (he), evidently, did not make the water muddy.'

G.G.007

*gap-ma-ca*      *rak-le-sa*  
 scoop-NOM-ATT bring-IMPF-INFR

'Apparently (the girl) brought the scooped (water).'

G.G.008

*rokotyak ja*      *nfiun nfiun rafi-le-sa*      *ta*  
 frog-ATT EMPH back back come-IMPF-INFR REP

'They say that, apparently, the frog kept following her.'

G.G.009

*me*      *hi-ke*      *rafi-ca*      *ale*      *te-naŋ*  
 EXCLM what-NOM come-ATT COP say-SIM

'Gosh, (she) wondered, why is he coming'

G.G.010

*a-se*      *ŋa-ke*      *rafi-l-aŋ*      *na-te-a*      *ra rafi-ca*      *nfiak*      [*<rafi-le-aŋ*]  
 R.DEM-DEF 1S-DAT come-IMPF-1PRO 2PRO- say-PST and come-ATT EXCLM

'Back there you said "I will come to you" and, just so, I am coming after ( you).

G.G.011

*hi*      *te-mo*      *wfi-a-le*      *ra*      *le*      *nani*      *naŋ-o*      *nfiun nfiun-ca*  
 what say-SEQ walk-IMPF and COP child 2S-GEN back back-ATT

*rokotyak*      *ra*      *te-o*      *l-a*      *ta*      [*<le-a*]  
 frog and say-HAB IMPF-PST REP

'They say, (her mother asked) "Why, my child, do you suppose the frog is following you?"'

## G.G.012

*ho-ta-i*            *rʌ*            *na-te-o*            *le*            *rʌ*            *le*            *te-naŋ*  
 D.DEM-MNR-FOC    and            2PRO-say-MIR    IMPF            and            COP            say-SIM

'And then, (Mother) wondered "What could you have you said!''

## G.G.013

*di*            *dun-uk-a*            *mʌn*            *ho-ta-i*            *ma-dun-uk-o*            [*<dun-ak-a*]

water    muddy-CAUS-PST    truly    D.DEM-MNR -FOC    NEG-muddy-CAUS-IMP

*te-naŋ*    *ŋa-ke*            *rafi-d-fiyaŋ*            *ma-dun-uk-l-aŋ*            [*<rafi-de-aŋaŋ*]  
 say-SIM    1S-DAT    come-say-COND    NEG-muddy-CAUS-IMPF-PRO

*mʌn*            *te*            *l-a*            *ta*            [*<le-a*]  
 truly            say-HAB    IMPF-PST            REP

'They say (the girl answered) that "(the frog) had really muddied the water; when I said to him "Stop muddying it" (he said)"I will not muddy the water if you marry me" (lit. 'come to me'), so it is said.'

## G.G.014

*ho-ta-i*            *rʌ*            *rafi-a*            *nfiun nfiun*  
 D.DEM-MNR-FOC    and            come-PST            back    back

'Thereupon, he came following behind'.

## G.G.015

*hi*            *ŋa-te-aŋ*            *rʌ*            *te-naŋ*            *ku-ta*            *ku-ta*  
 what            1PRO-say-1PRO            and            say-SIM    INTRG-MNR    INTRG-MNR

*ma-te-o*            *l-a*  
 NEG-say-HAB    IMPF-PST

'"What did I say?" the girl wondered. "How could this be? How could this be? I did not say it!'

## G.G.016

*ku-ta*            *ma-te-o*            *l-a*            *rʌ*            *ho-se-i*  
 INTRG-MNR    NEG-say-HAB    IMPF-PST            and            D.DEM-DEF-FOC

*te-o*            *l-a*            *mʌn*  
 say-HAB    IMPF-PST            truly

How could this be? It was not said and he..." This is what they say, believe me.'

G.G017.

*ho-ta-i*                    *rokotyak*    *kʌthʌ-i*                    *mu-o*    *l-a*                    *ta*  
 D.DEM-MNR-FOC    frog                    with-FOC                    sit-MIR    IMPF-PSTREP  
 'They say, then, like that, (the girl) was living with the frog!'

G.G 018.

*bfiarma*    *bfieret*            *rafi-ca*                    *churu*                    *a-ul-e*                    *jauli*                    *cho*  
 offering            sprinkle            come-ATT                    rice.grain                    IRR-COP-IRR    rice.gruel                    meal

*jauli*                    *cho*                    *jya-ke*                    *yafi-o*    *l-a*                    *ta*  
 rice.gruel                    meal                    eat-NOM                    give-HAB    IMPF-PST                    REP

They say, it might have been scattered rice grain or rice gruel offerings (that the frog) used to give to her to eat.'

G.G.019

*ho-ta-i*                    *ra*    *mu-o*    *l-a*                    *ta*  
 D.DEM-MNR-FOC    and    sit-HAB    IMPF-PST    REP

'They say, then like that, (the girl) lived with the frog!'

*ka-yak*    *jʌ*                    *hi*    *chanfi-ne-sa*                    *rokotyak*    *jʌ*                    [*<chanfi-le-sa*]  
 one-day                    EMPH    what    happen-IMPF-INFR                    frog                    EMPH

*gekherek*    *si-le-sa*                    *ta*  
 ONO                    die-IMPF-INFR                    REP

'Then, one day, what evidently happened? They say the *rokotyak* apparently just stiffened and died.'

G.G.020.

*jauli*                    *cho*                    *jya-ke*                    *yafi-o*    *l-a*                    *ta*                    *rokotyak-e*    *hi*  
 rice.gruel                    meal                    eat-NOM                    give-HAB    IMPF-PST                    REP                    frog-ERG                    what

*jya-ke*                    *yafi-le*                    *ma-de-ahaj*    *te-naj*                    *jauli-cho*                    *yafi-le*  
 eat-NOM                    give-IMPF                    NEG-COND                    say-SIM                    rice.gruel -meal                    give-IMPF

*te-o*                    *l-a*                    *ta*  
 say-HAB    IMPF-PST                    REP

'They say that frog used to give rice gruel offering to his wife to eat. (The mother) would wonder "what if he does not give you anything to eat?" They say he gave her rice gruel to eat.'

G.G.021

*te-o*                    *l-a*                    *maʌn*    *ale-a*                    *ki*                    *ma-le-a*  
 say-HAB    IMPF-PST                    truly                    COP-PST                    or                    NEG-COP-PST



'There was a crow in a tree.'

J.J.002

*ho-s kauwa-i di ga-ke pa-mΛ wfi-mΛ le-a* [*<ho-se*]  
 D.DEM-DEF crow-ERG water drink-NOM seek-NOM walk-NOM IMPF-PST

'This crow was searching persistently for water to drink.'

J.J.003

*di ga-ke pa-mΛ wfi-naŋ wfi-naŋ wfi-naŋ*  
 water drink-NOM seek-NOM walk-SIM walk-SIM walk-SIM

*wfi-naŋ ku-lak rΛ di ma-dfiin-a*  
 walk-SIM INTRG-CIR and water NEG-find-PST

'While searching and searching for water to drink, he did not find water anywhere.'

J.J.004

*di ma-dfiin-aŋ ho-ce-i ku-ta goth-aŋ* [*<ho-se-i*]  
 water NEG-find-SIM D.DEM-DEF-ERG INTRG-MNR cow.shed-LOC

*an-ne-sa* [*<an-le-sa*]  
 go-IMPF-INFR

'Not finding water, he somehow, apparently, went into a cowshed.'

J.J.005

*rΛ kat kuda-aŋ di daŋ-le-sa ho-se di rΛ thorai*  
 also one clay.pot-LOC water see-IMPF-INFR D.DEM-DEF water and a.little

*le-mΛ nΛ men-o thutna-i ma-thonfi-a*  
 COP-NOM EMPH 3-GEN beak-INST NEG-reach-PST

'And in a clay pot he apparently saw water; there was a little water (but he) could not reach with his beak.'

J.J.006

*ma-thonfi-naŋ ho-ce-i lfiuŋ osar-di-a*  
 NEG-reach-SIM D.DEM-DEF-ERG stone fetch-LN-PST

'Not reaching, he fetched stones.'

J.J.007

*a-se ban-aŋ an-cΛ lfiuŋ rak-cΛ kuda-aŋ k-a* [*<ka-a*]  
 R.DEM-DEF forest-LOC go-ATT stone bring-ATT clay.pot-LOC put-PST



looked up, didn't I, but nothing came.'

## M.M.002

A.	<i>ho-ta-i</i>	<i>jʌ</i>	<i>i-ta</i>	<i>chanfi-a</i>	<i>raŋtaŋ</i>	<i>raŋtaŋ</i>
	D.DEM-MNR-FOC	EMPH	P.DEM-MNR	become-PST	ONO	ONO
	<i>ho-ta-i</i>	<i>bahiriŋ</i>	<i>ŋa-khyofi-aŋ</i>	<i>bahiriŋ</i>	<i>khyofi-ca</i>	
	D.DEM-MNR-FOC	outside	I-PRO-emerge-I-PRO	outside	emerge-ATT	
	<i>maŋkoi-jfiŋta</i>	<i>i-ta</i>	<i>hoyofi-ma</i>			
	corn-sheaf	P.DEM-MNR	shake-NOM			

'Then, it began like this, shuddering and shuddering, then I just went outside, when I emerged, the corn sheaves were shaking like this.'

## M.M.003

A.	<i>ho-ta-i</i>	<i>a-lak</i>	<i>kami-ko</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>bahiriŋ</i>	<i>khyofi-mo</i>	<i>mu-ma</i>
	D.DEM-MNR-FOC	R.DEM-CIR	blacksmith-PL	also	outside	emerge-SEQ	sit-NOM
	<i>le-o</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>nfiis-tar</i>	<i>som-tar</i>	<i>jʌ</i>	<i>le-a</i>	
	COP-MIR	IMPF	two-QUANT	three-QUANT	EMPH	COP-PST	

'Then, over there, blacksmiths had also come out and I was surprised that they were sitting there, indeed as many two or three of them were there.'

## M.M.004

A.	<i>didi-ke</i>	<i>rafi-nis</i>	<i>didi</i>	<i>didi</i>	<i>hi</i>	<i>chanfi-ca</i>	<i>le-a</i>
	elder.sister-DAT	come-HON	elder. sister	elder.sister	what	become-ATT	IMPF-PST
	<i>i-lak</i>	<i>rafi-nis</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>ŋa-te-a-aŋ</i>			
	P.DEM-CIR	come-IMP.HON	EMPH	I-PRO-say-PST-I-PRO			

'To my elder sister I said "Please come here elder sister. Elder sister what is happening? Please come here."'

## M.M.005

A.	<i>i-laŋ</i>	<i>dʌ</i>	<i>ho-ta</i>	<i>jʌ</i>	<i>chanfi-ma-le</i>	<i>maŋ</i>	<i>nani</i>
	P.DEM-LOC-INDF	D.DEM-MNR	EMPH	happen-NOM-IMPF	truly	younger.sister	
	<i>bfiuincal</i>	<i>te-le-ko</i>	<i>maŋ</i>	<i>te-a</i>			
	earthquake	say-IMPF-3HON	truly	say-PST			

'The same thing is happening over here, truly, little sister. It is an earthquake they say, truly, so they said.'

## M.M.006

A.	<i>ho-nfiŋ</i>	<i>kan-uŋ</i>	<i>im</i>	<i>sarbaswa</i>	<i>bfiafi-ma</i>	<i>le-a</i>
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D.DEM-hour 1P-GEN house everything separate-NOM IMPF-PST

*dui pakhya im*  
two side house

'At that time, our house was splitting apart. (It was) a two sided house.' (i.e. it had a two sided roof, not a Magar round house.)

M.M.007

B. *ho-nfiag lasargfia waha-ŋ le-naŋ ja* [*<waha-aŋ*]  
D.DEM-hour Lasargfia basin-LOC COP-SIM EMPH

'At that time were you living in the Lasargha basin?'

M.M.008

A. *maddia*  
EXCLM

'yes!'

M.M.009

B. *ku-dik barsa-o na-le-a-as ra na-ko* [*<naŋ-ko*]  
how-QUANT year-GEN 2PRO- COP-PST-2PRO.HON also 2SG-HON

'How many years of age were you?'

M.M.010

A. *chena ta das barfia barsa ŋa-le-a-aŋ ra khup-le*  
don't.know TAG ten twelve year 1PRO-COP-PST-1PRO also maximum-IMPF

*de-ahaŋ marfi-ma a-t-o l-aŋ tekya-ko lekha* [*<a-ta-o-le-aŋ*]  
say-COND small-NOM IRR-OPT-HAB IMPF-PRO Tekya-PL seem

'I don't know, really, I could have been ten or twelve years of age at most. I would say I was small like those of Tekya's age.'

M.M.011

B. *eh bajyu-ko ku-lak nuŋ-ca ni*  
EXCLM grandfather-HON how-CIR go-ATT TAG

'Oh, where had grandfather gone to, then?'

M.M.012

A. *su-da ma-le-a im-aŋ ku-lak an-o le-a chena*  
who-INDF NEG-COP-PST house-LOC how-CIR go-HAB IMPF-PST don't.know

'No one was home. I don't know where he used to go to.'



## M.M.013

A. *ku-lak an-o le-a ku-lak ŋa-lafi-kat gfians ce-l-aŋ* [*<ce-le-aŋ*]  
 how-CIR go-HAB IMPF-PST how-CIR 1S-self-one grass cut-IMPF-1PRO

*ki ku-lak an-ma ŋa-le-aŋ ho-ta-i rafi-nfiak-iŋ cho*  
 or where-CIR go-NOM 1PRO-IMPF-1PRO D.DEM-MNR-FOC come-front-ABL meal

*jya-ma ŋa-l-aŋ ho-ta-i jA antar-aŋ* [*<ŋa-le-aŋ*]  
 eat-NOM 1PRO-IMPF-1PRO D.DEM-MNR-FOC EMPH upstairs-LOC

'Where would he go, where? I was by myself cutting grass, or where had I gone?  
 Then after having come from there, I was having a meal, then upstairs.....'

## M.M.014

B. *namsin jA*  
 afternoon EMPH

'Was it in the afternoon?'

## M.M.015

A. *namsin-aŋ coyok jat hi kes-le-sa rafi-le te-nfiak-iŋ*  
 afternoon -LOC ONO do what move-COP-INFR come-IMPF say-front-ABL

*ŋa-ōs-aŋ*  
 1PRO-look-1PRO

'In the afternoon, it made a 'crack', I looked up wondering what is apparently moving,  
 and coming.'

## M.M. 016

A. *ho-ta-i jA tak tak thap jA lekha i-lak*  
 D.DEM-MNR-FOC EMPH ONO ONO stair EMPH seem P.DEM-CIR

*a-lak coyok coyok te-a*  
 R.DEM-CIR ONO ONO say-PST

'Then there were sounds just like stepping on the stairs, here and there, there were  
 cracking sounds.'

## M.M.017

A. *thap-iŋ jfi-al-le ki te-mo ŋa-ŋos-aŋ ho-ta-i*  
 stair-ABL descend-IMPF also say-SEQ 1PRO-look-1PRO D.DEM-MNR-FOC

*jA ma-rafi-a ho-ta-i jA i-ta chanfi-a*  
 EMPH NEG-come-PST D.DEM-MNR-FOC EMPH P.DEM-MNR become-PST

*raŋtaŋ raŋtaŋ raŋtaŋ chanfi-a*  
 ONO ONO ONO become-PST

'I wondered what was coming down the stairs, I looked, then, but, nothing came, then, like that, it happened, it began to shudder and shudder and shudder.'

## M.M. 018

A. *hi a-ul-o ra jat-o le ŋa-te-aŋ* [*<a-ule-o*]  
 what IRR-COP-MIR and do-MIR IMPF 1PRO-say-1PRO  
 'I wondered what is this and what should I do!?'

## M.M.019

A. *ajhai bahiriŋ khyofi-ke a-ul-o le te-mo*  
 still outside emerge-NOM IRR-COP-MIR IMPF say -NOM

*ma-warfi-ca maŋ*  
 NEG-know-EMPH truly

'Still, I supposed I might go outside, but, truly I didn't know!'

## M.M.020

A. *ho-ta-i arbfi-a-ŋ ŋa-khyofi-aŋ ra ja a-se* [*<arbfi-a-aŋ*]  
 D.DEM-MNR-FOC courtyard-LOC 1PRO-emerge-1PRO and EMPH R.DEM-DEF

*patta-ko bahir-aŋ khyofi-nfiak-iŋ ōs-ma le-o le*  
 all-PL outside-LOC emerge-front-ABL look-NOM COP-MIR IMPF

'Then I came out into the courtyard, and, indeed, after coming out, everyone was outside and looking!'

## M.M.021

A. *ŋa-te-aŋ bhiriŋ antar-iŋ hi jfi-al-le te-mo*  
 1PRO-say-1PRO inside upstairs-ABL what descend-IMPF say-SEQ

*ho-ta-i ja eh didi didi hajur i-lak*  
 D.DEM-MNR-FOC EMPH EXCLM elder.sister elder.sister please P.DEM-CIR

*rafi-nis na hi chanfi-ca le-a rafi-le didi*  
 come-IMP.HON EMPH what become-ATT IMPF-PST come-IMPF elder.sister

*i-ta raŋtaŋ raŋtaŋ chanfi-a ŋa-te-aŋ*  
 P.DEM-MNR ONO ONO become-PST 1PRO-say1PRO

'I wondered what was inside coming down from the stairs, then I said "eh elder-sister, elder-sister, please do come here! What is happening? What is coming elder sister? It is shuddering and shuddering this way." I wonder what's happening?'

## M.M.022

A. *i-lak*      *rA ho-ta*      *ja*      *chanfi-mA-le*      *mAn nani*  
 P.DEM-CIR    also D.DEM-MNR    EMPH    become-NOM-IMPf    truly    younger.sister

*bhuincal te-le-ko*      *mAn aru-ko-e*      *te-ca*  
 earthquake say-IMPf-HON    truly    remain-HON-ERG    say-ATT

'The same thing is happening here too, younger-sister, they say that it is an earthquake!'

## M.M.023

A. *ga-e hi chanfi-ca ale sen-da ma-warfi-ca*  
 1S-ERG what    become-ATT COP    when-INDF    NEG-know-ATT

*a-ul-o man*  
 IRR-COP-MIR      truly

'I never understood what was happening, truly!'

## M.M.024

B. *nabbe sal-aḡ bhuincal a-ul-a kathmandu-aḡ*      [*< a-ule-e-a*]  
 ninety year-LOC    earthquake    IRR-COP-IRR-PST    Kathmandu-LOC

*dherai hul-uk-a ani a-se*      [*< hul-ak-a*]  
 many    crumble-CAUS-PST    then    R.DEM-DEF

'It may have been the year of 1990 B.S. In Kathmandu many (buildings) collapsed there back then.'

## M.M.025

A. *ale-a ki hi ale-a*  
 COP-PST or      what    COP-PST

'Was it so?'

## M.M.026

B. *nabbe sal-aḡ bhuincal a-ul-a*      [*< a-ule-e-a*]  
 ninety year-LOC earthquake    IRR-COP-IRR-PST

'It might have been the year 1990 B.S.'

## M.M.027

A. *ho-t-iḡ rA kan-uḡ buba si-mA bhya-ca ale-a*      [*< ho-tak-iḡ*]  
 D.DEM-SUP-ABL    and 1P-GEN    father    die-NOM    finish-ATT    COP-PST

*ki ale-a ki kan-uḡ buba nabbe sal-aḡ ale-a ki ena*  
 or    COP-PST    or    1P-GEN    father    ninety    year-LOC    COP-PST    or    one

*nabbe-aŋ ale-a ki ku-ta le si-ca ale man*  
 ninety-LOC COP-PST or how-MNR COP die-ATT COP truly

'Our father had just died, or had he? Our father, in the year 1990 or 1992, when was it that he had just died?'

## M.M.028

B. *nabbe sal-aŋ a-le-de-haŋ naŋ-ko barŋa barsa-o*  
 ninety year-LOC R.DEM-COP-say-COND 2-HON twelve year-GEN

*a-tA-ul-a-s man* [*<a-tA-ule-a-as*]  
 IRR-OPT-COP-PST-2PRO truly

'If it was in the year 1990, I realize you might have been 12 years old, truly.'

## M.M.029

A. *ho-ta nA ale-o ho-ta-i a-se*  
 D.DEM-MNR EMPH COP-MIR D.DEM-MNR-FOC R.DEM-DEF

*pucharya bawai rA kAtha nA ale tA*  
 Pucharya father and with EMPH COP TAG

'I realize it must be so. Back then, it was like that, Pucharya (and) father were also there with us, weren't they.'

## M.M.030

A. *rA ku-dik sal-aŋ te-o l-a chena mfiyak-l-aŋ*  
 and how-QUANT year-LOC say-HAB IMPF-PST don't.know forget-COP-1PRO

*ho-s pucharya ku-tar-o marfi-mA le-a kAtha-i ale ki hi*  
 D.DEM-DEF Pucharya how-LAT-GEN small-NOM IMPF-PST with-FOC COP or what

'What year do they say it was? I don't know, I forget. That one, Pucharya, how small was she, was she with us or not, what.....'

## 8. Flood Story, Syangja Magar

## N.N. 001

A. *ku-dik sal-aŋ ale baŋhit rafi-ca a-se gandaki-aŋ hi ale*  
 what-QUANT year-LOC COP deluge come-ATT R.DEM-DEF river-LOC what COP

*bfainsi-ko hi ale bagA-di-mo rak-ca im jA rak-ca*  
 buffalo-PL what COP sweep.away-LN-SEQ bring-ATThouse EMPH bring-ATT

*te-o l-a ni gōnc-ko si-ca ta* [*<te-o le-a*]  
 say-MIR IMPF-PST EXCLM whale-PL die-ATT HSY

'In what year was the big flood? The one that came and swept away buffalo in the river and even brought houses with it? They say even the dolphins died.'

N.N. 002

A. *ku-dik*      *rak-a*      *ku-dik*      *ho-ta*      *jʌ*      *ku-dik*      *pali*  
 how-QUANT    bring-PST    how-QUANT    D.DEM-MNR    EMPH    how-QUANT    times

*rak-a*      *ku-dik*      *pali*  
 bring-PST    how-QUANT    times

'How much it brought, how much, like that, and how many times it brought (stuff), how many times.'

N.N. 003 (incomplete interjection)

B. *baʌsi-aŋ*    *hafi-ca*  
 hook-LOC      stuck-ATT

'... entangled on a fish hook....'

N.N. 004

A. *a-se*                      *thaŋ*    *pul-aŋ*      *hafi-ca*    *mfiak-aŋ*    *deopatā-aŋ*  
 R.DEM-DEF              place    bridge-LOC    stuck-ATT    down-LOC    Deopatan-LOC

'It was at that place over there, at the bridge down at Deopatan, that it got stuck.'

N.N.005

A. *bfiirkuthum*    *hafi-rafi-ca*    *buta*    *te-le*      *caŋgaraŋ*    *caŋgaraŋ*    *rak-ca*  
 bhirkuthum      stuck-come-ATT    tree    say-IMP    ONO              ONO              bring-ATT

*te-o*              *l-a*              *mʌn*  
 say-HAB          IMPF-PST    truly

'They say, truly, that, at Bhirkuthum, a tree came and got stuck, (the flood) brought it scraping, scraping along.'

N.N. 006

A. *ku-dik*              *sal-aŋ*      *ale-a*    *chena*    *mfiyak-mʌ*    *bfiya-l-aŋ*    [*<bfiya-le-aŋ*]  
 how-QUANT      year-LOC    COP-PST    don't.know    forget-NOM    finish-COP-PRO

'In what year? I don't know, I have completely forgotten.'

N.N. 007

B. *pul*      *khas-mʌ*      *bfiya-nfiak-iŋ*  
 bridge    make-NOM      finish-front-ABL

'Was it after the bridge construction was finished?'

N.N. 008

A. *ǝ*  
yes

'Yes.'

N.N.009

B. *pul khas-ca ja nfun-ij ale*  
bridge make-ATT EMPH back-ABL COP

'The bridge construction was really much later.'

N.N. 010

A. *chena*  
don't.know

'I don't know.'

N.N. 011

B. *pul khas-ca ja nfun-ij ɲo-i ra warfi-l-aŋ* [*<ɲa-e*] [*<warfi-le-aŋ*]  
bridge make-ATT EMPH back-ABL 1S-ERG and know-IMPF-PRO

'The bridge was built much later, I know that.'

N.N. 012

A. *nfun-ij pul khas-dakiŋ an-naŋ ra ho-ta rak-o l-a* [*<le-a*]  
back-ABL bridge make-after go-SIM also D.DEM-MNR bring-HAB IMPF-PST

'Later, after the bridge was built, while going, like that, (the flood) would bring things.'

N.N. 013

A. *kaŋ-ko an-naŋ waigha-lak chena pɔhila ja ho-t ja* [*<kan-ko*]  
1P-PL go-SIM basin-CIR don't.know first EMPH D.DEM-MNR EMPH

*kan-uj buba si-mɔ bfiya-ca ale-a ki hi ale*  
1P-GEN father die-NOM finish-ATT COP-PST or what COP

*babu-ko-ko-i siŋ gfiok-ke mfiak-aŋ rak-ca mijadi-lak*  
uncle-HON-PL-ERG branch catch-NOM down-LOC bring-ATT Mijadi-CIR

'When were we going to the river basin, I'm not sure, was it just before that? Perhaps our father had just died and it was the uncles who went down to gather the branches brought to Mijadi.'

N.N. 014

A. *genthi sij a-ule-o jammai bokra bhār*  
 kindling branch IRR- COP-MIR altogether bark full

*an-ne-sa jara i-tar te-mo karfiḡ-CA* [*<an-le-sa*]  
 go-IMPf-INFR root P.DEM-LAT say-SEQ big-ATT

*matai le-CA*  
 only COP-ATT

'There was genthi wood absolutely all over! The bark, apparently, completely gone, and there were roots, only ones this, big!'

N.N. 015

A. *baḡako sij sij rak-CA gfiorkyak khas-CA*  
 large branch branch bring-ATT sickle.sheath make-ATT

*khas-CA ho-nfiḡ ku-nfiḡ ku-nfiḡ ho-s* [*<ho-se*]  
 make-ATT D.DEM-hour INTRG-hour INTRG-hour D.DEM-DEF

*ra m-armit-l-aḡ* [*<ma-armit-le-aḡ*]  
 and NEG-remember-IMPf-IPRO

'From the large branches that were brought sickle sheathes were made, made at that time. When was it, when was it? I don't remember.'

N.N. 016

A. *sij te-ahaḡ lan-CA le-a paṭṭa-ke daḡ-CA rafi-a bfiuincal-e*  
 branch say-COND fetch-ATT COP-PST all-DAT see-ATT come-PST earthquake-INST

*CA ku-dik sal-aḡ ale-sa rafi-le chena ṭaba*  
 EMPH INTRG-QUANT year-LOC COP-INFR come-IMPf don't.know EXCLM

'If there was wood fetched, everything that we saw, came because of the earthquake. What year was it that it came? I just don't know.'

N.N. 017

A. *a-laḡ maḡdubeni-aḡ thakal-ni-ko-ke*  
 R.DEM-LOC Madubeni-LOC Thakali-FEM--PL-DAT

*baḡa-di-s-CA ta te-o l-a man*  
 sweep.awayLN-ITR-ATT REP say-HAB IMPf-PST truly

'They say that over there, at Madubeni, Thakali women were swept away (in the flood), this used to be said, truly.'

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