A GRAMMAR OF HILE SHERPA

by

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Abbreviations

1	First Person
2	Second person
3	Third person
ABL	Ablative
ART	Article
AUG	Augment
COMPL	Completed Action Particle
CAUSE	Causative
COL	Collective
COND	Conditional
CONS	Consecutive
COP	Copula
DESC	Descentive
DICT	Dictative
DSJ	Disjunctive
DSJT	Disjunct
ERG	Ergative
EXCL	Exclusive
GEN	Genitive
IMPER	Imperative
IMPF	Imperfective
INCHO	Inchoative
INCL	Inclusive
INF	Infinitive
LOC	Locative
MIR	Mirative
NOM	Nominative
OBS	Observational
PRF	Perfective
PL	Plural
POBS	Past Observational
POSS	Possibility
POT	Potential
PROL	Prolative
PTCPL	Participle
SG	Singular
VOL	Volitional

Abstract

A Grammar of Hile Sherpa

by

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This dissertation is a study of the main grammatical structures of Hile Sherpa, which is a subdialect of the Solu dialect of Sherpa. It is spoken in the southeastern part of the Solukhumbu District of Nepal, by the inhabitants of at least two villages, Hile and Kurima. The two villages are respectively located on the north and south faces of a valley.

Sherpa has four tones which are realized over the word as a whole and not individual syllables, except, of course, when the word is monosyllabic. The four word tones are high, high-falling, low, low-rising. There are 34 consonant phonemes which include a palatal stop series and affricates. There are 8 basic oral vowels with 8 corresponding nasal vowels that are more restricted in their distribution than the oral vowels. Syllabic structure is (C) V (C).

There is split ergativity based on the aspect of the main verb of a clause. The subject is in the unmarked or nominative when the verb root is imperfective and in the genitive when the verb root is perfective.

Sherpa has evidential marking that is based on whether or not the speaker was present at the inception of an event or action. Additionally, verbs are also inflected based on the speaker's knowledge of an action's volitionality.

1 Introduction

This dissertation is a study of the main grammatical structures of Hile Sherpa, which is a subdialect of the Solu dialect of Sherpa.

Chapter One covers the Sherpa language and its relationship to the other Tibetan dialects, the consultant who is the source of the data used herein, the collected corpus used in the study, and previous literature on Sherpa. Chapter Two covers the phonology, basic phonetics, phonotactics, word tones and sentential intonation of Sherpa. Chapter Three is about the verbal morphology of Sherpa. Chapter Four concerns case clitics, postpositions, and relator nouns. Chapter Five examines the various components of the noun phrase. Chapter Six deals with clause and sentence structure. Chapter Seven analyzes a text about a mouse who outwits a cat. There are also two texts and a word list in appendices.

Sherpa is often categorized as a Tibetan dialect, which is comparable to the characterization of the various Chinese languages as dialects. Just as the so-called Chinese dialects are actually diffferent but closely related languages, the Tibetan dialects like Sherpa are actually different languages. Bradley (1997) classifies Sherpa as being a language in gTsang subgroup of Central Bodish (Tibetan), which includes Lhasa Tibetan. Central Bodish (Tibetan) is a subgroup of Bodish, which is a branch of Western Tibeto-Burman. Sherpa has genetic linguistic ties and religious ties to the Tibetan language. Written Tibetan is analogous to Classical Latin for various Bodish languages that share a common religious heritage with the Lama Buddhism. The synchronic spoken languages are not mutually comprehensible. Although the phonemic and grammatical systems of Sherpa and Lhasa Tibetan diverge, there are some cognates whose surface forms are the

same. My consultant informs me that he can understand, at best, maybe 35% of spoken Lhasa Tibetan. It is also the case, though, that many Sherpa can understand Lhasa Tibetan, especially those who study at the monasteries.

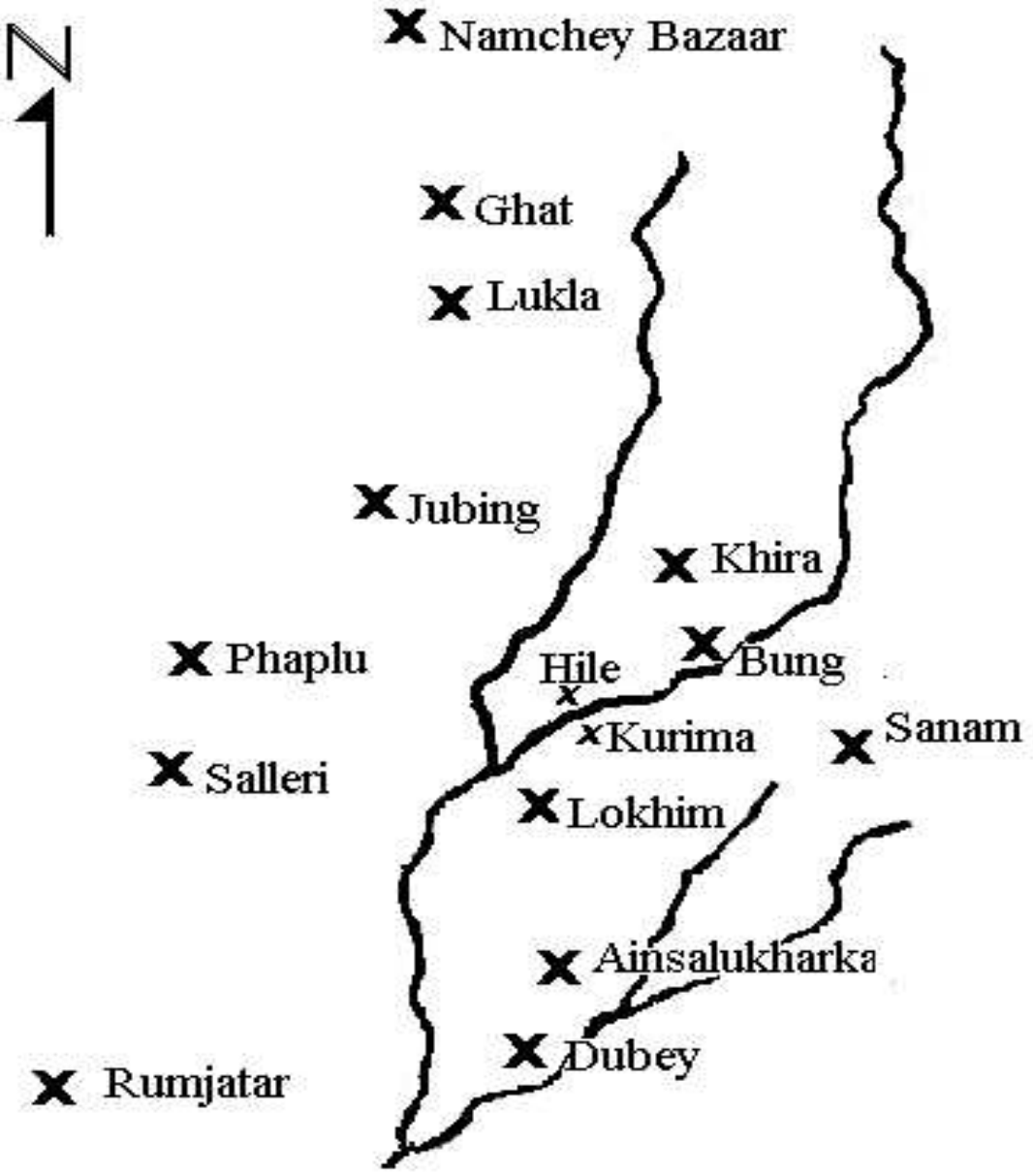
The Sherpa language is mainly spoken in the country of Nepal with a minor number of speakers in India. The number of Sherpa speakers varies significantly depending on the source. Somewhere between 15,000 and 70,000 is the usual range that one encounters. Because most Sherpa speakers live in Nepal in the Himalayan mountain range where there are no roads, it puts into doubt any number given as being anything more than an estimate. My consultant informs me that many of the Sherpa that he has met expressed surprise that there were any Sherpa living where his village is located. (One Sherpa-produced tour book that my consultant showed me put the number of Sherpa speakers at 250,000.) Bradley (1997) claims that there are at least 50,000 speakers of Sherpa. The three main dialects of Sherpa are Solu, Khumbu, and Ramechap. There are also various minor dialects.

According to my consultant, various dialects of Sherpa are spoken in northeastern Nepal from the districts of Dolkha and Ramechap in the eastern part of the central region of the country to the most northeastern district of Taplejung. He indicated the there were also some speakers in the district of Bhojpur, which is southeast of the Solukhumbu district. The majority of Sherpa speakers are located in the district of Solukhumbu. The two dialects of Sherpa located in the district are Khumbu in the north and Solu in the south. The Solu dialect is centered around the city of Salleri, which is located in the southwestern part of the district.. The Solu dialect has the most speakers and is centrally located with respect to the other Sherpa dialects. My consultant is from a small village

called Hile in the southeastern part of the Solukhumbu district. It is on the northern side of a valley across from the village of Kurima, which is situated on the southern side of the same valley. My consultant informs me that neither of these villages is shown on any map that he has seen. The closest village named on the maps is Lokim, which is populated by the Rai ethnic group.

Both villages speak the consultant's subdialect of Solu Sherpa. According to my consultant, whose name is Sherku, both villages are inhabited by approximately 100 to 200 families each. This would give a minimum estimate of around 1,000 speakers of this subdialect. There was a small school that Sherku attended and where he first learned some Nepali. The closest market village is several hours walk to the south[1]. According to Sherku, Sherpa was the main language of communication in his village except for the school setting where Nepali is the language used. Sherku's later profession as a trekking guide brought him into contact with Sherpas who spoke other dialects of Sherpa, so he is knowledgeable about some of the difference between various dialects.

[1] Sherpas are well known for being able to walk very fast. In fact, where Sherku referred to walking distances, he would give two figures, one for Sherpas and one for other people.



1.1 Data and Method

The data for this study was collected over the span of four years during individual sessions with Sherku Sherpa. Sherku Sherpa is a Sherpa from Nepal who has now in New York State with his wife and children for over eight years. While he was a trekking guide, he met an American who he eventually married, and then moved to the United States. He currently runs his own landscaping business in western New York. He speaks

Nepali as well as Sherpa and while his English is not native, his fluency in English is excellent enough to conduct business over the phone and mix easily with monolingual English speakers at social gatherings. He is an excellent consultant who is often able to provide insight into the grammatical functions of various structures.

Because so much of the study of the Bodish languages, which are characterized as Tibetan dialects, has focused primarily on Tibetan and the analysis of other related languages has been so influenced by looking at the data through 'Tibetan tinted glasses', I have analyzed Sherpa synchronically without explicit reference to the previous viewpoints posited in the literature such as just assuming that the alternating roots of verbs are based on tense merely because this is how previous works have labeled the related phenomena in other Tibetan languages. The body of literature on Sherpa proper is somewhat small and will benefit from a grammar of the language that is not overly influenced by previous perspectives on Tibetan grammar.

The various types of data collected during our sessions were individual words, sentences, texts of personal narratives and cultural stories, and the re-elicitation of data previously published by other researchers of the Sherpa language for comparison purposes.

The data collected can be roughly divided into six categories:

1. elicitation of individual lexemes,
2. sentential equivalents of English sentences,
3. situationally contexted clausal and sentential sequences based on hypothetical situations posed to the consultant,
4. personal narratives of the consultant,

5. instructional discourses in Sherpa (e.g. how to cook nettle soup), and
6. one fable with a moral.

Each elicitation session was recorded on cassette tape. There were approximately 40 sessions of one to two hours each over the space of 4 years. Since Sherku was very busy with his landscaping business during good weather, the sessions were all held during winter weather from November through March. The corpus of collected data was systematized by making a sound file for each elicited utterance using the Praat software. Each utterance was then typed out in a Word document file.

Additionally I am learning to speak Sherpa to the best of my abilities because I feel that it aids my research in that I gain greater insight into the pragmatics, semantics, syntax and phonology of the language when I attempt to produce acceptable Sherpa utterances with my consultant in situational contexts. The experience related by Benjamin Whorf when he first attempted to produce grammatical Hopi sentences influenced me to believe that this is a necessary prerequisite of good language description.

1.2 Previous Literature

To date, the greatest amount of Sherpa documentation has been published by Burkhard Schöttelndreyer (Schöttelndreyer 1973, 1975a, 1975b, 1978, 1980a, 1980b, 1980c; Schöttelndreyer and Hale. 1970). The dialect of Schöttelndreyer's study is a variety of the Solu dialect which is centered on the village of Kyerung which is about a half day's walking distance from Salleri in the Solu area. The previously undocumented

Hile is a subdialect to the Solu dialect, which has the most speakers among the various major dialects according to my consultant. In spite of the fact that the Sherpa people are known world-wide because they are tour guides in the Himalayan Mountains, very little documentation exists on the Sherpa language and no grammar on any Sherpa dialect has yet been produced, except for a short description by Kelly (2005). The focus of Kelly's study is a variety from the southern area of the Khumbu dialect, which my consultant informs me varies much from his dialect. The dialect of my consultant, Hile Sherpa, shows some interesting variations from the documentation of Solu Sherpa by Schöttelndreyer.

Most of the documentation of the Bodish branch of Tibeto-Burman has focused on literary Tibetan and the spoken Lhasa dialect. There is much documentation on a wide variety of Tibetan 'dialects' (i.e. languages) but to date Sherpa has scant documentation as mentioned above. As mentioned above, the bulk of the work that has been done on the Sherpa language has been produced by Burkhard Schöttelndreyer. His main articles are:

'Sherpa texts' (Schöttelndreyer and Schöttelndreyer 1973) comprises a series of stories in Sherpa from a variety of consultants with interlinear glosses in English supplemented by an equivalent English translation at the end of each story.

'Clause patterns in Sherpa' (Schöttelndreyer 1975a) is a tagmemic description of Sherpa syntax.

'Vowels and tone in the Sherpa verb.' (Schöttelndreyer 1975b) attempts to relate the various surface forms of verbs to abstract underlying forms that are posited by the author.

‘Narrative discourse in Sherpa.’ (Schöttelndreyer 1978) is a tagmemic account of Sherpa on grammatical levels higher than the clause.

‘Glides in Sherpa’ (Schöttelndreyer 1980a) covers a method of relating the surface phones of Sherpa vowels to a proposed system of underlying phonemes.

‘Person markers in Sherpa’ (Schöttelndreyer 1980b) tried to describe the verb agreement patterns in Sherpa based on the notion of disjunct and conjunct agreement, which patterns only partially with the notion of person.

‘Vowel and tone patterns in the Sherpa verb’ (Schöttelndreyer 1980c) is basically the same article as ‘Vowel and tone in the Sherpa verb’ listed above.

‘A note on Sherpa vowels’ (Schöttelndreyer and Hale 1970) is a discussion about the most appropriate manner to phonemically classify Sherpa vowels.

Other researchers have written articles on Sherpa or articles which contain Sherpa language data:

Syntax (Givon 1984) contains a limited number of sentences in Sherpa that are used to support his discussion in the book. For example, he uses two Sherpa sentences as an example of a language that marks experiencer subjects with the locative.

‘Sherpa texts’ (Gordon and Gordon 1970) is a collection of two Sherpa language texts with interlinear English glosses.

Sherpa phonemic summary (Gordon 1969) is a phonemic analysis of spoken Sherpa. It takes a somewhat unusual theoretical view on the relationship of Sherpa phones to the posited phonemes. For example, Gordon’s analysis views the aspirated stop series as an underlying sequence of a voiceless stop plus ‘h’ because it reduces the number of phonemes in the Sherpa phonemic inventory.

‘Sherpa segmental synopsis’ (Gordon and Schöttelndreyer 1970). is another work listing a variety of Sherpa words to delineate the phonology and phonotactics of Sherpa.

‘Sherpa tone and higher levels’ (Gordon 1970) is another work on the phonology and phonetics of Sherpa.

‘A survey of clause patterns’ (Hale and Watters 1973) includes Sherpa sentences in a tagmemic analysis of some languages spoken in Nepal.

Clause, sentence, and discourse patterns in selected languages of Nepal 4: Word lists (Hale, 1973a) contains a word list of several hundred Sherpa words.

‘Towards the systematization of display grammar’ (Hale 1973b) is an article on a tagmemic theoretical work on how to analyze clauses in Hale’s posited tagmemic framework. It uses Sherpa sentences to illustrate the discussion.

‘Some dimensions of contrast in Sherpa phonology’ (Hale 1969) is an early analysis of segmental contrasts in Sherpa using posited minimal pairs to demonstrate contrasts among various consonants.

‘Paired-sentence reversals in the discovery of underlying and surface structures in Sherpa discourse’ (Pike and Schöttelndreyer 1972) is an article that attempts to support the tagmemic view of structural levels that are higher than the clause by having consultants switch around sentences in previously elicited texts and retell the stories.

A guide to Sherpa tone (Schöttelndreyer, Heiderose 1971) is another study on the four word tones of the Sherpa language.

‘Interactions of Tense and Evidentiality: A Study of Sherpa and English’ (Woodbury 1986) discuss the Sherpa evidential system. His analysis is somewhat different from the conclusions that my data would support.

‘Language Shift from Sherpa to Nepali, Among the Sherpas of Nepal.’ (Lama 2004) is a web published sociolinguistic work on the parameters of Sherpa language use among the Sherpa in Nepal.

Collected papers on Sherpa, Jirel. (Hale 1975) is a reprint of ‘Vowel and tone patterns in the Sherpa verb’ (Schöttelndreyer 1980c) and ‘Clause patterns in Sherpa’ (Schöttelndreyer, 1975a).

‘A grammar and glossary of Sherpa’ (Kelly 2005) is a basic grammar of what seems to be a variety of the Khumbu dialect. The data therein is much divergent from the data collected for the present work.

‘Pitch in Sherpa’ (Maddieson 1980) is an examination of the word tone system of Sherpa.

‘Vocalic alternations in the Balti, the Lhasa and the Sherpa verb’ (Sprigg 1980) includes phonetic data from some dialect of Sherpa.

‘Tonal contrasts in Sherpa’ (Watters 1999) examines the word tone system of Sherpa.

‘The sounds and tones of five Tibetan languages of the Himalayan region’ (Watters 2002) compares the tone system of Sherpa to four other Tibetan languages.

1.3 Structure of the dissertation

This dissertation is a descriptive grammar of the structures that the author has encountered while collecting data from the consultant. It does not pretend to be comprehensive, but all of the major structures encountered in the data are described herein. This dissertation focuses on the grammatical structures of the language and only considers the basic phonology of the language because the latter has been explored much more in the extant literature than the former. In fact, except for Kelly (2005), all the other grammatical descriptions follow Pike's tagmemic model. This dissertation is intended to focus on the grammar from a basic descriptive viewpoint and is not theory specific but eclectically uses common concepts generally familiar to linguists which is the theoretical framework of basic linguistic theory.

The research for this dissertation has encountered some forms that have not been described elsewhere or can be interpreted differently from what has been previously posited. For example, the verbal ending /-si/ is referred to as the conditional elsewhere, but the conditional is actually a function of the dictative form /-si/, which can also be found in other constructions like Schöttelndreyer's /-sima/ the consecutive form. Here the "consecutive" is analyzed as the concatenation of two clitics, /-si/ the dictative and /-ma/ the descentive. There are also instances of homomorphic forms which can only be delineated through the senses manifested in context. For example, the volitional ending /-ɂ/ and the durative+participle ending /-ɂ/ have the same form but are very different in origin and function, both paradigmatically and syntagmatically.

Except when used as a general term where the word Sherpa is used to refer to the language or the ethnic group as a whole, it should be taken here to mean the Hile subdialect of the Solu dialect of Sherpa.

1.4 The future of Sherpa as a living language

Even though Sherpa has 10,000 or more speakers, the modern world threatens the survival of the language. Walking has been the main mode of transportation for centuries. Technology has brought transportation and opportunity for the Sherpa people. Many of my consultant's relatives no longer live in the remote highlands of Nepal. They have relocated, either to Kathmandu or further away. In the Buffalo, NY area I met two native Sherpa speakers; they both were living there with American wives.

My consultant, Sherku, and his brothers usually speak in Nepali with they get together. Lama (2004) describes language choice among the Sherpa, comparing 1950s usage with current usage:

> "By the 1980's an entire generation of Sharwa youth spoke, read, wrote, sang and danced in competent Nepali.
>
> Nepali is now the Sharwa language of choice for business, transactions with Nepalese authorities, and general socializing with both Nepalese and Sharwa friends. Sharwa language is widely considered to be linguistically poor, especially by the young. Youth complain that Sharwa is a language that can only describe the lifestyle of the past. When asked why they are speaking Nepali with

> their Sherpa friends in their Sherpa home in their Sherpa village, Sharwa youth are likely to answer that you can't talk about the modern world using Sharwa language because "there is no word for it in Sherpa." By contrast, there are modern Nepali movies and twenty-four-hour Nepali radio including a daily BBC Nepali broadcast that can be heard in even the most remote Sharwa village. There are Nepali newspapers and Nepali websites. Nepali is considered strong, expressive, and modern; a unifying national language that breaks down ethnic barriers, facilitates inter-group cooperation, and provides access to economic opportunity."

Lama, however, also points out that Sherpa has also gained much social prestige during the last five decades due to tourism and the climbing expeditions on Mt. Everest. So social pressure favoring the use of Nepali does not necessarily mean an end to the Sherpa language. It is also the case that while there is migration away from Sherpa areas, there is also an increasing flow of technology to Sherpa areas.[2] Sherku has spoken of various plans to bring electricity to his village of approximately 200 families living on the slope of a valley. While it is expected that those Sherpa who move to Kathmandu or elsewhere will have offspring who do not speak Sherpa, those who remain in the Sherpa 'homeland' may possibly retain their language.

[2] The current Maoist war against the Nepali government may inhibit such development.

1.5 Terminological Conventions

In this dissertation, grammatical structures will be labeled using many traditional grammatical terms. The use of this terminology is in no way intended to suggest some kind of "universal grammar". The terms used are only intended to be convenient labels that have mnemonic value for the various grammatical structures in Hile Sherpa. For example, the use of the term 'strong verb' to refer to those verbs which have an alternation in the root vowel in Sherpa is not intended to suggest that there is some universal grammatical principle that links Old English strong verb vowel alternations with those of Sherpa. At most, it suggests that both Sherpa and Old English have verbs that show alternations in the root vowel and nothing more. Likewise the cases of Sherpa at most suggest their most canonical functions in terms of traditional Indo-European grammars. Thus the "nominative" case cover both agentive and patient functions. Additionally, the "locative" functions as an object with some verbs. For example, in a clause of one elicited sentence a rock strikes the narrator in the head and "head" is in the locative case though the narrator was then knocked unconscious. Therefore most of the terminology has been chosen for mnemonic purposes and the actual functions are discussed when a term is introduced.

One must also take note of the fact that this work uses the eclectic basic linguistic theory and is intended to be a functionalist descriptive grammar. The use of terminology such as noun, verb, or adjective in no way implies a theoretical stance. The reason for the use of these terms is that they aid efficient description, especially since what is the "subject" in a Sherpa clause is often only vaguely definable. And it is description, in the simplest terms possible, that is the goal of this grammar, so that the individual linguist

may easily convert the data into the form with which she is most comfortable. The use of basic linguistic theory allows individual linguists to optimally constrain the data as they see fit into their most theoretically beautiful models.

2 Phonetics and Phonology

Gordon (1969, 1970), Gordon and Schöttelndreyer (1970), Hale, (1969, 1970,), Schöttelndreyer (1980a), and Schöttelndreyer and Hale (1970) have done extensive analyses of the phonetics and phonology of Sherpa. The analysis given here is basic and applies to the elicited data of my consultant. It is not intended to be comprehensive but to provide a basis for further examination of the grammatical structures of Sherpa which have been only lightly examined in previous works to date.

2.1 Inventory of Phonemes

There are 34 consonant phonemes. This analysis differs somewhat from the phonemic systems posited by other researchers. Sherpa has 7 places of articulation, which are bilabial, dental, alveolar, retroflex, palatal, velar, and glottal. It also has 5 general manners of articulation stops, fricatives, affricates, liquids , and glides. These 5 general manners of articulation can be further subdivided into 13 specific manners of articulation which are voiceless stop, aspirated stop, voiced stop, nasal stop, voiceless affricate, aspirated affricate, voiced affricate, voiceless fricative, voiceless lateral, voiced lateral, voiceless rhotic, voiced rhotic, and voiced glide. The following description will posit the phonemes and then describe some possible phonetic variation under each specific phoneme.

Table 1: Consonant Inventory

	bilabial	dental	alveolar	retroflex	palatal	velar	glottal
voiceless stop	p	t̪		ʈ	c	k	
aspirated stop	pʰ	t̪ʰ		ʈʰ	cʰ	kʰ	
voiced stop	b	d̪		ɖ	ɟ	g	
nasal stop	m		n		ɲ	ŋ	
voiceless affricate			ts		č		
aspirated affricate			tsʰ		čʰ		
voiced affricate			dz		ǰ		
voiceless fricative			s		š		h
voiceless lateral		l̥					
voiced lateral		l					
voiceless rhotic			r̥				
voiced rhotic			r				
voiced glide	w				y		

There are eight basic oral vowels.

Table 2: Basic vowel phonemes

	front	back
high	i	u
mid-high	e	o
mid-low	ɛ	ɔ
low	a	ʌ

The eight basic oral vowels all have nasal equivalents in certain constructions. Nasality is generally found in a restricted number of verb inflexions although there are a small number of other words that have nasal vowels. Nasal vowels have also been borrowed from originally Nepali words.

There is no generalized phonemic length distinction. However the low vowels /a/ and /ʌ/ carry a phonetic length distinction between them with /a/ generally being longer than /ʌ/. Nasal vowels are somewhat longer than oral vowels phonetically.

Table 3: Vowel phonemes

	front		back	
	oral	nasal	oral	nasal
high	i	ĩ	u	ũ
mid-high	e	ẽ	o	õ
mid-low	ɛ	ɛ̃	ɔ	ɔ̃
low	a	ã	ʌ	ʌ̃

Consonants, Minimal Pairs:

Below are some tables of minimal pairs and near minimal pairs to better delineate the phonemic inventory of Hile Sherpa.

Table 4: Minimal Pairs for p, pʰ, b, & m

pʰè	'bite.IMPER'	pè	'open.IMPER'
pa	'meat'	ba	'hide. IMPER'
bʌkpa	'mask'	pʰʌkpa	'boar/hog'
bʌŋi	'a.lot.of'	pʌŋ-i	'outside-GEN'
pē	'throw.out.IMPER'	pʰē	'flower.white'
bín	'give.IMPER'	mín	'NEG.COP.IMPF'
pʌrtsi	'often'	mʌ̀rtsi	'chili.pepper'
mar	'butter, ghee'	pʰar	'thither, away'

Table 5: Minimal Pairs for ʈ, ʈʰ, ɖ, & n

ɖʌ́	arrow point, bow'	ʈʌ̀	'horse'
ɖʌma	'corn ear'	nʌma	'bride'
ɖuŋ-u	'beat, sting-IMPF'	ʈuŋ-u	'touch-INF'
ná	'barley.short.grain'	ʈʰá	'hawk'
nʌkpu	'black'	ɖʌ́kpu	'1PL.INCLU'
né	'sacred.place'	ɖɛ	'here'
nɛnbu	'sharp'	ʈʰɛmbu	'tall'
nùm	'oil'	ʈùm	'wrap.PTCPL'
ʈʰʌ̄k	'blood'	ʈʌ̄k	'lion'
ʈʰuŋ-u	'drink-INF'	ʈuŋ-u	'touch-INF'

Table 6: Minimal Pairs for ʈ, ʈʰ, & ɖ, and ʈ, ʈʰ, & ɖ

ʈʰeŋbu	'true'	ʈeŋbu	'honest'
ʈíci	'ask-DSJ'	ʈíci	'3SG-GEN'
ʈʰoŋba	'plough'	ʈoŋba	'property'
ʈoŋu	'promise-INF'	ʈoŋu	'discuss-INF'
ʈou	'tie'	ʈou	'grind'
ʈúk	'poison'	ʈúk	'six'
ɖʌ́	'arrow point, bow'	ɖʌ́	'enemy'
ɖʌmba	'best'	ɖʌmba	'cheek'
ɖɛ́n	'carpet'	ɖɛn	'party.throw'
ɖi	'go.IMPF.DSJ'	ɖi	'THIS.DEM'
ɖíkpa	'sin, curse'	ɖikpa	'agreement'
ʈʰʌ̄k	'blood'	ʈʌk	'rock.ledge'

Table 7: Minimal Pairs for ʈ, ʈʰ, ɖ

ʈʌk	‘rock.face’	ʈʰʌ̄k	‘blood’
ʈa	‘wheat’	ɖa	‘rice’
ɖi	‘go.IMPF.DSJ’	ʈʰí	‘knife’

Table 8: Minimal Pairs for c, cʰ, ɟ, ɲ

cɛ̄-p	‘birth-INF’	ɟép	‘behind’
ɟá	‘spoon’	ca	‘do.PRF.ROOT’
ɟūk	‘go.IMPER’	ŋu	‘weep.IMPER’
ku	‘statue’	ŋu	‘weep.IMPER’

Table 9: Minimal Pairs for c, cʰ, ɟ, & ɲ versus k, kʰ, g, & ŋ

kʰa	‘hill/mountain’	ca	‘do.PRF.ROOT’
có	‘bend.ROOT’	kʰɔ	‘bring.ROOT’
kà	‘stick’	ca	‘do.PRF.ROOT’
ɟar	‘millet’	garʌ	‘terrace’
cùr-u	‘throw-INF’	kʰùr-u	‘carry-INF’
kʰurwu	‘load’	curwu	‘sour’
ɲʌ	‘fish’	ŋʌ	‘1SG.NOM’
kʰap	‘needle’	cʰʌ̄p	‘complete.ROOT’
kʰɔ	‘bring.PRF.ROOT’	cʰɔ	‘spoon’

Table 10: Minimal Pairs for k. kʰ, g, ŋ

kʌlʌk	‘crow’	kʰʌlʌk	‘relatives’
kūr	‘bread’	kʰūr	‘carry.root’
ga	‘happy/happiness’	kʰa	‘hill/mountain’
kʌ̀rmu	‘white’	ŋʌ̀rmu	‘sweet’
kɔ	‘skin/leather’	gɔ	‘outside’
kɔ-p	‘dig-INF’	kʰɔ̀u	‘bring-INF’

Table 11: Minimal Pairs for m, n, ɲ, ŋ

ɲʌ	‘fish’	ŋʌ	‘1SG.NOM’
ŋɔ-p	‘cry-INF’	ɲɔp	‘buy-INF’
mʌ̀	‘wound, injury’	nʌ	‘swearing’
ɲɔ-suŋ	‘buy.PRF-POBS’	mɔ-suŋ	‘plow.PRF-POBS’

Table 12: Minimal Pairs ʦ, ʦʰ, ʣ

ʦʰaka	‘surprised’	ʦaka	‘(bee) hive’
ʣali’	‘net/strainer’	ʦʰàl	‘search.ROOT’
ʣɛ́	2 days aft. tomorrow	ʦɛ	‘a.little’

Table 13: Minimal Pairs for ts, tsʰ, ʣ, versus ʧ, ʧʰ, ʤ

tsa	‘beside, near’	ʧa	‘iron’
tsʰa	‘ink’	ʧʰa	‘dung.dry’
ʣe	‘climb.root’	ʤe	‘spoor/track’

Table 14: Minimal Pairs for ʧ, ʧʰ, ʤ

ʧó	‘lama.garment’	ʤó	‘udder’
ʧʰa	‘dung.dry’	ʧa	‘iron’
ʤu	‘arrow.bow’	ʧʰū	‘water’

Table 15: Minimal Pairs for ʣ, ʤ, s, ʃ

ʃʌ̄	‘meat raw’	sʌ̄	‘tooth’
ʣɔ	‘do.IMPER’	sɔ	‘eat.IMPER’
ʃu	‘paper’	ʣu	‘body’
ʃik	‘louse’	ʤik	‘tiger’
ʤe	‘spoor/track’	ʣe	‘climb.root’
suk	‘pain’	ʤúk	‘after/later’

Table 16: Minimal Pairs r & ɻ versus l & ɭ

ɭā	‘see.root’	lā	‘mountain.pass’
ɻʌ̄	‘hair’	rʌ	‘goat’

Phonemic Description:

Bilabial

There are five bilabial phonemes.

/p/ is a bilabial voiceless stop. It occurs as both a syllable onset and a syllable coda. It has the following four allophones:

[p] is the usual realization as a syllable onset.

[p̚] is the usual realization as a syllable coda.

[ɸ] occurs word medial as a syllable coda before a fricative onset.

[pʰ] occurs word final as an emphatic pronunciation.

Table 17: The phoneme /p/

pukʌ	'kiss'	pō	'incense'	permi	'wife'
pū	'hair, fur'	pɔ̄	'downhill'	pe	'COMPL'
pū	'hair'	pul	'wool'	pɛ	'rat'
pè	'story'	púm	'girl'	pì	'outside'

/pʰ/ is an aspirated voiceless bilabial stop. It occurs only as a syllable onset. It is sometimes pronounced as [ɸ] in fast speech.

Table 18: The phoneme /pʰ/

pʰila	'thigh'	pʰe	'bite'	pʰè	'time'
pʰin	'go'	pʰʌkpa	'hog'	pʰē	'flour'
pʰò	'away'	pʰā	'far'	pʰùr	'fly'
pʰúrtsok	'stick.small'	pʰēn̪tu	'bite'	pʰūrma	'moss'

/b/ is a voiced bilabial stop. It occurs only as a syllable onset.

Table 19: The phoneme /b/

ba	'hide'	ban̪tak	'quick'	bu	'bug'
bán̪ta	'rafter'	bela	'time'	bun̪tuk	'quick'
bʌkpa	'mask'	bɛrmʌŋ	'cat'	buk	'depression'
bala	'spear'	bín	'gave'	bombu	'round'

/m/ is a bilabial voiced nasal stop. It occurs as both a syllable onset and a syllable coda.

Table 20: The phoneme /m/

mʌ̀	'wound'	mʌŋmu	'much'	mʌ̄li	'earing'
mʌk	'war'	mar	'down'	mār	'root'
mʌkpa	'bridegroom'	mama	'mama'	lɛmu	'good'
mʌma	'mother'	mʌrtsi	'pepper'	lam	'road, path'

/w/ is a labio-velar glide. It occurs only as a syllable onset.

Table 21: The phoneme /w/

wa	'from'	wɔn̪tu	'come'	won̪tu	'have, exist'
wʌ̀wu	'dog.bark'	wók	'under'	wún̪tuŋ	'real'
wɛ́	'copula.conj'	woma	'milk'	wur	'flame'
wɔ	'come'	woru	'sound'		

Dental

There are six dental phonemes.

/t̪/ is a voiceless apical dental stop. It occurs as both a syllable onset and a syllable coda. It has the following three allophones:

[t̪] is the usual surface form as a syllable onset.

[t̪̚] is the usual surface form as a syllable coda.

[t̪ʰ] occurs word final as an emphatic pronunciation.

Table 22: The phoneme /t̪/

t̪ʌ́ldʑok	‘whip’	t̪ʌ	‘now’	t̪oŋla	‘ago’
t̪ʌ́ma	‘then’	t̪iŋba	‘heel’	t̪ō̄kolok	‘dwarf’
t̪ʌ̀	‘horse’	t̪ʌ̀mɲe	‘language’	t̪ō̄ŋ	‘set’
t̪end̪en	‘true’	t̪ʌ̀pci	‘therefore’	t̪úk	‘poison’

/t̪ʰ/ is an voiceless aspirated apical dental stop. It occurs only as a syllable onset.

Table 23: The phoneme /t̪ʰ/

t̪ʰē̄pt̪ok	‘finger’	t̪ʰa	‘loom’	t̪ʰì̀kpe	‘small’
t̪ʰì̀muŋ	‘rabbit’	t̪ʰʌ́la	‘earth’	t̪ʰì̀muŋ	‘rabbit’
t̪ʰóršok	‘comb’	t̪ʰʌ́lǰum	‘ash’	t̪ʰukpu	‘thick’
t̪ʰoŋbʌl	‘plough’	t̪ʰuŋu	‘drink’	t̪ʰul	‘down’

/d̪/ is a voiced apical dental stop. It occurs only as a syllable onset.

Table 24: The phoneme /d̪/

d̪ʌ́	‘arrow’	d̪iŋ	‘under’	d̪emba	‘correct’
d̪ʌ́kpu	‘1PL’	d̪íkpa	‘sin’	d̪ep	‘plant’
d̪ʌ́ldʑa	‘friend’	d̪o	‘stone’	d̪erpa	‘greed’
d̪ʌkčir	‘mud’	d̪ɔ	‘gather’	d̪et̪u	‘arrive’

/n/ is a voiced apical dental nasal stop. It occurs as both a syllable onset and a syllable coda. It is retroflex before a retroflex stop.

Table 25: The phoneme /n/

nʌ́ŋla	'in, inside'	nú̱p	'night'	ŋunbu	'blue'
nʌ̀kpu	'black'	nʌ̀mǰok	'ear'	sɛn	'seed'
nʌ̀m	'sky'	nù̱m	'oil'	rin	'cost'
na̱tuŋ	'forest'	num	'young.sis'	sin	'finish'

/l̥/ is a voiceless pre-aspirated apical dental lateral proximate. It occurs only as a syllable onset.

Table 26: The phoneme /l̥/

l̥ò	'south'	l̥ā	'see'	l̥āsa	'look'
l̥ʌ̀ŋʌŋ	'temple'	l̥ʌ̄	'god, idol'	l̥ɛ̀	'navel'
l̥ē-i	'see.DSJ'	l̥èrmu	'dance'	l̥ʌ̀wa	'slave'

/l/ is a voiced apical dental lateral approximate. It occurs only as a syllable onset or coda. [l] may be realized as a voiceless lateral word-finally and word-medially before another voiceless consonant.

Table 27: The phoneme /l/

la	'month'	lí̱tsi	'corn'	lo̱t̪ʌrce	'squirrel'
lʌ́	'hill'	lɔ	'surface'	lúk	'ram'
lʌ́kpa	'arm, hand'	lò	'cough'	luŋba	'country'
làŋ	'bull'	lɔ̀	'year'	lū	'music'

Alveolar

There are six alveolar phonemes.

/ts/ is a voiceless alveolar affricate. It only occurs as a syllable onset.

Table 28: The phoneme /ts/

tsī̱la	'why'	tsʌ̀ka	smallpox	tsí̱p	near
tsɔ	'sell'	tsace	reed, hay	tsì̱m	rib
tsò	'lake'	tsala	side, near	tsɛ̄p	play
tsɔŋ	'sell'	tsʌŋbu	'stream'	tsèlʌk	tongue

/tsʰ/ is a voiceless alveolar aspirated affricate. It only occurs as a syllable onset.

Table 29: The phoneme /tsʰ/

tsʰiluk	‘fat’	tsʰí	‘joint’	tsʰàl	‘search’
tsʰoŋ	‘shop’	tsʰík	‘burn’	tsʰaŋ	‘nest’
tsʰúlʌŋ	‘rhinoceros’	tsʰíluk	‘grease’	tsʰermʌŋ	‘vegetable’
tsʰukpu	‘merchant’	tsʰìn̪i	‘hot’	tsʰermu	‘daytime’

/ʣ/ is a voiced alveolar affricate. It only occurs as a syllable onset.

Table 30: The phoneme /ʣ/

ʣʌ	‘rainbow’	ʣík	‘tiger’	ʣiwu	‘drunk’
ʣʌprʌŋ	‘married’	ʣiŋba	‘throat’	ʣompa	‘meeting’
ʣan	‘family’	ʣinok	‘lie, false’	ʣú’	‘body’
ʣemu	‘pretty’	ʣimu	‘hold’	ʣù’	‘peel’

/s/ is a voiceless alveolar fricative. It only occurs as a syllable onset.

Table 31: The phoneme /s/

sʌ́rʈum	‘ring’	sʌ̀	‘ground’	sèr	‘gold’
sum	‘three’	sʌ̀mba	‘new’	sèrmu	‘fingernail’
sur	‘from’	sʌ̀ŋbu	‘next year’	sem	‘mind’
sū	‘who’	sàŋe	‘pious’	sem̪uk	‘sorrow’

/ɾ̥/ is a voiceless pre-aspirated alveolar rhotic tap. It only occurs as a syllable onset.

Table 32: The phoneme /ɾ̥/

ɾ̥ōk	‘soul’	ɾ̥ʌ́n̪i	‘ghost’	ɾ̥eku	‘cremation’
ɾuʈa	‘string’	ɾaka	‘kindling’	ɾɛ	‘bake’
ɾ̥ìpčʌŋ	‘shadow’	ɾ̥ʌ̄	‘hair’	ɾ̥ēwu	‘mixed’
ɾ̥iū’	‘monkey’	ɾ̥élma	‘pea’	ɾ̥ɔ̀kpu	‘rough’

/r/ is a voiced alveolar rhotic tap. It occurs as a syllable onset and a syllable coda.

Table 33: The phoneme /r/

rʌ	‘goat’	rʌmbu	‘strong’	rici	‘potato’
ráŋ	‘honey’	rʌŋmʌŋ	‘fly’	riŋbu	‘long’
rʌ́ŋ	‘even’	réruk	‘kid’	ro	‘corpse’
rú	‘caste’	rúl	‘snake’	rók	‘bone’

Retroflex

There are three retroflex phonemes. These phonemes are not strongly retroflex and could be alternately labeled as post-alveolar.

/ʈ/ is a voiceless apical retroflex stop. It occurs as both a syllable onset and a syllable coda. It has the following three allophones:

[ʈ] is the usual surface form as a syllable onset.

[ʈ̚] is the usual surface form as a syllable coda.

[ʈʰ] occurs word final as an emphatic pronunciation.

Table 34: The phoneme /ʈ/

ʈoŋ	'promise'	ʈʌ́k	'rock'	ʈema	'scent'
ʈoŋba	'property'	ʈáktsa	'echo'	ʈeŋbu	'honest'
ʈu	'boat'	ʈʌ́yiwok	'cave'	ʈeŋe	'cold'
ʈúk	'six'	ʈàp	'plant'	ʈi	'ask'

/ʈʰ/ is a voiceless aspirated apical retroflex stop. It occurs only as a syllable onset.

Table 35: The phoneme /ʈʰ/

ʈʌ́yiwok	'cave'	ʈʰʌʈok	'jealous'	ʈʰim	'judgement'
ʈʰʌ̀ɖiŋi	'bright'	ʈʌŋa	'money'	ʈʰiwa	'bile'
ʈʰʌ̀ma	'veranda'	ʈʌwa	'novice.monk'	ʈʰen	'pulling'
ʈʰʌ̄	'hawk'	ʈʰeme	'perfume'	góʈʰe	cowshed

/ɖ/ is a voiced apical retroflex stop. It occurs only as a syllable onset.

Table 36: The phoneme /ɖ/

ɖakur	'rice broth'	ɖikpa	'compromise'	ɖɔk	'put away'
ɖʌmba	'cheek'	ɖɔ́p	'go'	ɖa	'rice'
ɖʌmyʌŋ	'string.inst'	ɖoŋʈil	'apron.front'	kʌ̀mɖa	'fire tongs'

Palatal

There are nine palatal phonemes.

/c/ is a voiceless palatal stop. It occurs only as a syllable onset. It neutralizes with /k/ befor the high front vowel /i/.

Table 37: The phoneme /c/

coŋbu	'severe'	cuwa	'ladle'	curwu	'sour'
cur-u	'remove-INF'	ca	'do.PRF	cùr-u	'throw-INF'
cèlɖʌŋ	'backside'	ciru	'do'		
cìšik	'flea'	cī	'dog'		

/cʰ/ is a voiceless aspirated palatal stop. It occurs only as a syllable onset. It neutralizes with /kʰ/ before the high front vowel /i/.

Table 38: The phoneme /cʰ/

cʰʌ̄p	'complete'	cʰókpedza	'boy'	core	'2SG.GEN'
cʰɔ́	'2PL'	cʰɔrʌŋ	'2SG'	cʰowa	'husband'
cʰemu	'cheap'	cʰēndzʌr	'miracle'	cʰɛ́wa	'cold'

/ɟ/ is a voiced palatal stop. It occurs only as a syllable onset. It neutralizes with /g/ before the high front vowel /i/.

Table 39: The phoneme /ɟ/

ɟáŋ	'completely'	ɟaluk	'tray'	ɟamu	'stout'
ɟʌ́p	'back'	ɟɛ́	'eight'	ɟʌpʈil	'apron'
ɟél	'victory'	ɟépu	'throw, hit'		
ɟéluŋ	'mirror'	ɟéšikpa	'moth'		

/ɲ/ is a voiced palatal nasal stop. It occurs only as a syllable onset.

Table 40: The phoneme /ɲ/

ɲénɖuk	'obedient'	ɲʌ	'fish'	ɲàšiŋ	'yoke'
ɲʌkʈa	'chain'	ɲénme	'slender'	ɲɛ̀ldzok	'shutter'
ɲèrčum	'wrinkle'	ɲēcok	'pot'	ɲērme	'weak'
ɲi	'two'	ɲíraŋ	'1PL.EXC'	ɲìlok	'sleep'

/č/ is a voiceless palatal affricate. It only occurs as a syllable onset.

Table 41: The phoneme /č/

čʌ́mu	‘hen’	čaŋbu	‘clever’	čílasisi	‘because’
čʌ	‘bird’	čenḏi	‘heavy’	čì̀k	‘one’
čʌ́bruk	‘chick’	čúruk	‘bead’	čipčʌŋ	‘jackal’
čʌkpu	‘careful’	čù̀čᵘ	‘elder bro.’	čokči	‘bench’

/čʰ/ is a voiceless aspirated palatal affricate. It only occurs as a syllable onset.

Table 42: The phoneme /čʰ/

čʰɔ	‘run’	čʰū	‘water’	čʰukpu	‘rich’
čʰowa	‘coat’	čʰúŋma	‘animal’	čʰo	‘knowledge’
čʰóŋbʌl	‘jump’	čʰa	‘iron’	čʰʌ́ku	‘brittle’
čʰaŋ	‘rice beer’	čʰʌrwa	‘rain’	čʰɛ̄	‘boss’

/ǰ/ is a voiced palatal affricate. It only occurs as a syllable onset.

Table 43: The phoneme /ǰ/

ǰóku	‘put’	ǰókni	‘except’	ǰu	‘sit’
ǰowu	‘barley’	ǰúk	‘later’	ǰʊ̄	‘since’

/š/ is a voiceless palatal fricative. It only occurs as a syllable onset.

Table 44: The phoneme /š/

šʌ́muŋ	‘hat’	šì̀m	‘dew’	šiša	‘comb’
šà̀rʌŋgʌ	‘skinny’	šì̀k	‘louse’	šimbu	‘tasty’
šaɻ	‘bright’	šì̀ŋ	‘wood’	šī̀ŋḏʌk	‘snake’
šʌ̄	‘meat’	šì̀rʌŋ	‘bee’	šōmʌk	‘leaf’

/y/is a voiced palatal glide. It occurs only as a syllable onset.

Table 45: The phoneme /y/

yʌ̀ŋ	‘indeed’	yeţi	‘yeti’	yúl	‘village’
yal	‘float’	yʌ́k	‘yak’	yúlwa	‘neighbor’
yéyu	‘up’	yoma	‘above’	yuk	‘walk’
yèmba	‘other’	yo	‘up there’	yūk	‘stalk’

Velar

There are four velar phonemes.

/k/ is a voiceless velar stop. It occurs as both a syllable onset and a syllable coda. It has three allophones.

[k] is the usual surface form as a syllable onset.

[k̚] is the usual surface form as a syllable coda.

[kʰ] occurs word final as an emphatic pronunciation.

Table 46: The phoneme /k/

kʌ́ŋ	‘what’	kʌ̀lʌk	‘crow’	kuu̱u	‘apply’
kʌ́ni	‘where’	kora	‘around’	kūr	‘bread’
káše	‘hard’	kor	‘fence’		

/kʰ/ is a voiceless aspirated velar stop. It only occurs as a syllable onset.

Table 47: The phoneme /kʰ/

kʰa	‘mountain’	kʰà	‘snow’	kʰòkpa	‘belly’
kʰʌ́	‘top’	kʰɔwa	‘husband’	kʰurmen	‘porter’
kʰà	‘mouth’	kʰūr-u	‘carry-INF’	kʰurpa	‘knife’

/g/ is a voiced velar stop. It only occurs as a syllable onset.

Table 48: The phoneme /g/

ga	‘happy	gomu	‘night’	gokpa	‘garlic’
gàŋ	‘bowls	gu	‘nine’	goldʑok	‘lock’
gʌka	‘grandma’	gam	‘box’		

/ŋ/ is a voiced nasal velar stop. It only occurs as a syllable onset.

Table 49: The phoneme /ŋ/

ŋʌ́	‘drum, five’	ŋotsʰa	‘shame’	ŋùl	‘silver’
ŋʌ̀ma	‘tail’	ŋònbu	‘green’	ŋunbu	‘blue’
ŋʌ̀mu	‘quick’	ŋormu	‘sweet’	nūŋla	‘ago’
ŋʌ	‘1SG.NOM’	ŋou̱uŋ	‘face’	guršiŋ	‘sugarcane’

Glottal

There is one glottal phoneme.

/h/ is a glottal fricative which only appears in syllable onset position.

Table 50: The phoneme /h/

hʌ́tsʰu	'sneeze'	heŋge	'light'	hin	'COP.IMPF'
há̱t̪	'market'	hícik	'hiccup'	hor	'yell'
hʌ̀k	'know'	hìn̪i	'Hindi'	ho̱t̪-u	'COP.PRF-INF'
hariŋ	'today'	hin	'follow'	húphup	'humid'

Vowels and Allophones:

Sherpa has eight basic oral vowel phonemes.

/i/ is a high front unrounded vowel.

Table 51: The phoneme /i/

ā̆ji	'older sister'	tsíp	'near'	lítsi	'corn'
bálip	'butterfly'	tsìm	'rib'	mí	'person'
čìk	'one'	hícik	'hiccup'	mìk	'eye'
tsʰʌ́n̪i	'hot'	hín	'COP.IMPF'	nìŋba	'old'

It has the allophone /ɪ/ between consonants and in closed syllables.

Table 52: Allophone of /i/

[bálɪp]	'butterfly'	[tsíp]	'near'	[mìk]	'eye'
[čìk]	'one'	[tsìm]	'rib'	[nìŋba]	'old'

/u/ is a high front rounded vowel.

Table 53: The phoneme /u/

bú̱t̪ok	'bellows'	čʌkpu	'careful'	n̪ʌ́kpu	'1PL'
bū̱cok	'depression'	čʰukpu	'rich'	n̪akur	'rice broth'
guršiŋ	'sugarcane'	húphup	'humid'	ǰúk	'later'
ǰu	'sit'	kʌ̀rmu	'white'	lū̱	'song'

It has the allophone /ʊ/ between consonants and in closed syllables.

Table 54: Allophone of /u/

[mʊ̀kpa]	‘cloud’	[c̆ʰʊkpu]	‘rich’	[d̪̊akʊr]	‘rice broth’
[mī̀bʊr]	‘eyebrow’	[hʊ́phʊp]	‘humid’	[j̆ʊ́k]	‘later’

/e/ is a mid-high front unrounded vowel.

Table 55: The phoneme /e/

c̆èŋge	‘clean’	d̪én	‘carpet’	d̪erpa	‘greed’
tsʰermu	‘daytime’	géluŋ	‘mirror’	heŋge	‘light’
lèp	‘arrive’	mé	‘fire’	niŋj̆e	‘pity’
pʰē	‘flower’	pedʑa	‘child’	sèr	‘gold’

/o/ is a mid-high back rounded vowel.

Table 56: The phoneme /o/

t̪óm	bear	go	head	t̪ʰóp-u	able-inf
dʑo-p	make-INF	ţ̪óp-la	‘morning-LOC’	ŋotsʰa	‘shy’
hórt̪uk	‘wind’	lo	‘year’	c̆ōmì̀n	‘candle wax’
kor	‘fence’	móŋmu	‘moss’	t̪ʰóršok	‘comb’

/ɛ/ is a mid-low front unrounded vowel.

Table 57: The phoneme /ɛ/

bɛ́rmʌŋ	‘cat’	bɛlʌ	‘time’	d̪̊ɛmbu	‘guest’
c̆ʰɛ́	‘boss’	tsɛ-i	‘a.little’	jɛ́	‘eight’
pɛ	‘rat/mouse’	cɛ̄-p	‘birth-INF’	ɻ̊ɛ̀-suŋ	‘burn.PRF-POBS’
t̪ɛ́	‘there’	dʑɛ́	‘3 days later’	l̥ɛ̀	‘navel’

/ɔ/ is a mid-low back rounded vowel.

Table 58: The phoneme /ɔ/

bɔ	‘hide-IMPER’	t̪ɔ-sa	‘grind-EMPH’	sɔ	‘eat.IMPER’
dʑɔ-u	‘make.PRF-INF’	cʰɔ	‘spoon’	mɔ̀t̪-u	‘badmouth-INF’
ɲɔ-p	buy-INF	lɔ-la	‘surface-LOC’	gɔmu	‘night, evening’
kɔsa	‘hearth kitchen’	hɔ-suŋ	‘come.PRF-POBS’	gɔkpa	‘garlic, onion’

/a/ is a low front unrounded vowel.

Table 59: The phoneme /a/

ʌ̀ŋa	'child'	tsʰà	'salt'	hačі	'later'
ārʌk	'brandy.corn'	ga	'happy'	làŋ	'ox'
bà	'goiter'	l̥ā	'look.ROOT'	ráŋ	'honey'
pʰā	'far'	sámb-i	bridge-gen	gál	go.PRF.DSJ

/ʌ/ is a low back unrounded vowel.

Table 60: The phoneme /ʌ/

ʌbuŋ	'oak'	bʌŋi	'lots of'	ʌ̀ŋa	'child'
ārʌk	'brandy.corn'	kʰʌ́	'top'	šʌ́muŋ	'hat'
bʌlwa	'frog'	šʌ̄	meat raw	šʌ̀muŋ	'mushroom'
sʌ̄	tooth	t̪ʌ̄k	lion	t̪ʰʌ̄	'hawk'

While some of the minimal pairs below differ in tone, this is not relevant because all the posited phonemic vowels occur in words with all of the four word tones.

Table 61: Minimal Pairs : Vowels

bɔ	'hide.IMPER'	bu	'bug/insect/grub'
čʌ́	'tea'	ča	'iron'
čé	'bird.GEN'	čʌ́	'tea'
pɛ	'rat/mouse/mole'	pa	'meat.dried'
pè	'story'	pɛ	'rat/mouse/mole'
ʤʌ	'rainbow'	ʤe	'climb'
ʤo	'make.root'	ʤu	'body'
sa	'copper'	sʌ	'tomorrow'
ri	'mountain, hill'	ro	'corpse'
rók	'bone/skeleton'	ruk	'collect.ROOT'
ru	'pile/collect.IMPER'	ro	'corpse'
pɔ̄	'dip-IMPER'	pō	'incense'
mùkpa	'cloud/fog'	mùkpu	'snail'
mùkp-i	'cloud-GEN'	mùkpu	'snail'

2.2 Phonotactics & Syllable Structure

The structure of a syllable isV, CV, or CVC.

Consonant clusters only occur word-internally across syllable boundaries, usually in words of the structure (C)VC.CV(C). Words having two syllables have the structure (C)V(C).CV(C).

Table 62: Consonant Clusters & Bisyllabic Words

bartsaŋ	‘bush.red’	ʌmǰi	‘doctor’	búkšel	‘cymbals’
bʌlwa	‘frog’	bʌ́lǰʌŋ	‘spider’	ʌŋgi	‘dress’
bʌkpa	‘mask’	bɛ́rmʌŋ	‘cat’	ā̱rcɔk	‘horn’
bombu	‘round/fat’	bonmarʌ	‘daisy’	čʌ́pruk	‘chick’
čʰʌpča	‘neglect’	čʰʌrwa	‘rain’	čèn̪i	‘heavy’
čʰóŋbʌl	‘leap’	čòr̪en	‘stupa’	čokči	‘bench/table’
čʰúŋma	‘cattle’	čúp̪ok	‘beak’	čʰukpu	‘rich’
sɔŋma	‘stalk’	d̪ʌ́ldza	‘friend’	d̪ʌ́myʌŋ	‘guitar’
d̪ʌmba	‘cheek’	d̪ʌmǰa	‘duck’	d̪ʌmyin	‘guitar.like’
d̪ʌmsa	‘molar’	d̪aŋgʌn	‘pheasant’	d̪ʌpsuŋ	‘begonia’
d̪erpa	‘greed(y)’	d̪okt̪ok	‘kicking’	d̪oŋbu	‘tree’
d̪oŋt̪il	‘apron.front’	d̪orǰi	‘PROPER.MALE’	mʌrtsi	‘spicey’
t̪akt̪uk	‘all’	ùkla	‘moon’	t̪òŋmʌr	‘rhododendron’
t̪íkpe	‘small	t̪ɛpt̪ɔk	‘digits’	t̪érma	‘wizard.male’
dzinba	‘throat’	t̪ʰoŋba	‘plough’	t̪óŋmaŋ	‘ant’
tsʌŋbu	‘stream’	dzompa	‘meeting’	dzópcok	‘yak’

Words having three and four syllables have the structure (C)V(C)CV(C)CV(C)V(C). There are a few examples of three or four syllable words that have been encountered.

Table 63: Some Trisyllabic Words

dzʌ́mbiliŋ	‘world’	čéprʌši	‘lizard’
bákuli	‘condor’	bonmarʌ	‘daisy’
t̪anʌpiu	‘chikadee’		

2.3 Tones

There are four phonemic tones in Sherpa. The domain of each tone is the word. The tones are high, high-falling, low, and low rising for both monosyllabic and polysyllabic words.

Table 64: Minimal pairs between a high tone and a high-falling tone

ʧʰʌ̄	'pair'	ʧē-nɔk	'shut.PRF-MIR'
ʧʰʌ̀	'knowledge'	ʧè-nɔk	'cut.PRF-MIR'
kūr	'bread'	l̥ā-suŋ	'see.PRF-POBS'
kùr	'tent'	l̥à-suŋ.	'boil.PRF-POBS'

Table 65: Minimal pairs between a high tone and a low-rising tone

ʧʰʌ̄ŋa	'ceremony'	kʰʌ̄	'mouth'
ʧʰʌ́ŋa	'face'	kʰʌ́	'top'
ʧʰī	'water.GEN'	mār	'root'
ʧʰí	'joint'	már	'butter'

Table 66: Minimal pairs between a high tone and a low tone

kʰā	'snow'	nūm	'oil'
kʰa	'hill/mountain'	num	'sister.younger'
pʰā	far	sʌ̄	tooth
pʰa	soup	sʌ	tomorrow

Table 67: Minimal pairs between a high-falling tone and a low-rising tone

ŋà	'five'	ʦʰà	'salt'
ŋá	'drum'	ʦʰá	'fever'
pè	'open.IMPER'	pʰì-la	'away-LOC'
pé	'Tibet'	pʰíla	'thigh'

Table 68: Minimal pairs between a high-falling tone and a low tone

lù-ɾ̃	‘pour.PRF-VOL’	ŋɔ̀-p	‘count.IMPF-INF’
lu-ɾ̃	‘comfort.PRF-VOL’	ŋɔ-p	‘cry.IMPF-INF’
bà	‘goiter’.	t̪ʰin-u	‘pull.IMPF-INF’
ba	‘hide.ROOT’	t̪ʰìn-u	‘extend.IMPF-INF’

Table 69: Minimal pairs between a low-rising tone and a low tone

rú	‘caste’	ʤú	‘body’
ru	‘collect.IMPER’	ʤu	‘plant.IMPER’
sʌ́i	‘earthquake’	ʧé	‘bird.GEN’
sʌ-i	‘eat.IMPF-DUR’	ʧe	‘dung.cow/yak’

2.4 Intonation

There are three major intonational effects in a Sherpa utterance involving the following three domains : 1) a question, 2) a sentence or clause, and 3) a nominal phrase or a verbal phrase.

A question has a pronounced intonational rise on the last syllable of an utterance regardless of the normal tone of the word.

A complete sentence or clause also has a rising tone on the last syllable of the sentence but the slope is much less than that of a question.

A nominal phrase or a verbal phrase has an overall fall in tone register (downdrift) and the next phrase starts at a higher register and again exhibits downdrify until the last syllable of the whole sentence or clause which has a slightly rising tone in a statement and a marked rise in tone with a question.

2.5 Some Morphophonemic Rules and Neutralization

The palatal stops /c/, /cʰ/, and /ɟ/ are neutralized with the corresponding velar stops /k/, /kʰ/, and /g/ before the vowels /i/, /e/, and /ɛ/. There is a further neutralization of /ŋ/ and /n/ with /ɲ/ before the vowels /i/, /e/, and /ɛ/. /l/ and /r/ are phonetically devoiced word finally or before a voiceless consonant. A word-final /k/ may become /ʔ/ in informal speech. /ʔ/. A monosyllabic word with an /a/ vowel in the root changes the /a/ to /ʌ/ when the genitive ending is added: lam + ci = lʌm-gi. (path-GEN). When the disjunctive ending /-ci/ is added to a word that ends in a nasal or voiced liquid, the /k/ voices to /g/: *col + ci = col-gi.* (deliver.IMPF-DSJ). When the genitive ending /-ci/ is added to a word that ends in a nasal or voiced liquid, the /k/ voices to /g/: lam + ci = lʌm-gi. (path-GEN). When the genitive ending /-(k)i/ is added to a disyllabic word that ends in /a/, /ʌ/, or /u/, the vowel changes to /i/. *čʰʌrwa + ci = čʰʌrw-i* (rain-GEN); *tsʌŋbu + ci = tsʌŋb-i* (stream-GEN).

When the genitive ending /-(k)i/ is added to a monosyllabic word that ends in /u/, the vowel changes to /i/. *čʰū + ci = čʰī* (water.GEN). When the genitive ending /-(k)i/ is added to a monosyllabic word that ends in /a/ or /ʌ/, the vowel changes to /i/. *tsʌ̄ + ci = tsē* (grass.GEN); *čʌ́ + ci = čé* (tea.GEN) . When the genitive ending /-(k)i/ is added to a bisyllabic word that ends in /ʌŋ/, the vowel changes to /i/ and the coda consonant is lost.. *bɛ́rmʌŋ + ci = bɛ́rm-i* (cat-GEN). When the genitive ending /-(c)i/ is added to a word that ends in /i/, there is no change in the genitive form. *cī + ci = cī* (dog-GEN).

3 Verbal Morphology

3.1 Overview

Sherpa verbal morphology manifests itself in two ways. One of these involves changes to verb stems, most often changes in vowels, but sometimes changes in final consonants. It is possible to distinguish seven such stems. For some verbs, all seven of these stems are identical. But for any pair of these seven stems, there is at least one verb for which these two stems take different forms. These seven stems are those listed below.

1. imperfective infinitive
2. imperfective volitional
3. imperfective disjunct
4. perfective infinitive
5. perfective volitional
6. perfective disjunct
7. imperative

Inspection of the names of these seven stems reveals that apart from the imperative stem, the other six stems are defined on the basis of two dimensions of contrast, imperfective vs. perfective and infinitive vs. volitional vs. disjunct.

The second type of verbal morphology involves suffixes that are added to the stems. For most suffixes, there is a unique stem of the seven above to which that suffix can be attached. While it is most common to have only one such suffix, it is possible to have at least three or to have none. The suffixes are (1) infinitive; (2) disjunct; (3) past

observational; (4) mirative; (5) volitional; (6) augmentative; (7) participle; (8) durative; (9) dictative; (10) descentive; (11) ablative; and (12) locative. The last three of these are all homophonous to case clitics or morphemes that combine with case clitics on noun phrases, and clearly are either instances of those nominal morphemes or derived historically from them. At any rate, I use the same names for these morphemes that I use for the nominal ones.

The verb forms vary across two major semantic dimensions. The first of these is perfectivity; apart from imperatives, every verb form in Sherpa is either perfective or imperfective. The second of these is evidentiality. Four of the suffixes listed above are associated with four evidential types: disjunct, past observational, mirative, and volitional. Verb forms in Sherpa are most commonly inflected for one of these four values, though there are many verb forms that are not specified for evidentiality. The four possible types of evidentiality interact with perfectivity in that disjunct clauses are usually though not necessarily imperfective while past observational is necessarily perfective and mirative is more usually perfective. Volitional clauses can be either perfective or imperfective.

3.2 Perfective and Imperfective

All nonimperative verb forms make at least a covert distinction between perfective and imperfective. Perfective versus imperfective is coded most directly by

different stems. For example (1) employs the perfective stem *ba* of the verb for 'hide', while (2) employs the imperfective stem *bʌ* of the same verb.

(1) ɖaŋ ɲɛ ʧʰɛ̀ni ba-ɾ̃.
yesterday 1SG.GEN cup hide.PRF-VOL
Yesterday I hid the cup.

(2) sʌla ŋʌ ʧʰɛ̀ni bʌ-ɾ̃.
tomorrow 1SG.NOM cup hide.IMPF-VOL
Tomorrow I will hide the cup.

This distinction is expressed overtly only for some verbs; other verbs employ the same stems for both aspects. For example the verb for 'grab' employs the stem *ʤim* for both aspects, as in (3) and (4).

(3) ɲɛ ɖo ʤim-ɾ̃.
1SG.GEN rock grab.PRF-VOL
I grabbed the rock.

(4) ŋʌ ɖo ʤim-ɾ̃.
1SG rock grab.IMPF-VOL
I will grab the rock.

Although many verbs employ the same stem for both the imperfective and perfective, there are other grammatical manifestations of the perfective-imperfective distinction. In (1) and (3), the genitive form of the pronoun indicates that the clause is perfective, since, as discussed in Chapter 4, the subject of transitive clauses in perfective aspect occurs in the genitive case, illustrated by *ɲɛ* in (3), while the subject of imperfective clauses is nominative, illustrated by *ŋʌ* in (4). The same contrast in the case

of the subject pronouns is illustrated by (5) and (6), but there is additional evidence that (5) is perfective while (6) is imperfective. Namely, the past observational suffix in (5) is only possible in perfective aspect, while the disjunctive suffix in (6) is only possible with imperfective aspect if the subject is not first person.

(5) ʈʰí-ci ɖo ʤim-suŋ.
3SG-GEN rock grab.PRF-POBS
He grabbed the rock.

(6) ʈʰí ɖo ʤim-gi.
3SG rock grab.IMPF-DSJ
He will grab the rock.

Sherpa has been described as having tense. Schöttelndreyer describes the perfective-imperfective distinction as a distinction between past and non-past. This point of view can probably be traced back to the fact that Classical Tibetan has tense so that modern spoken Tibetan and languages that are closely related to Tibetan are also viewed as having tense. Denwood (1999) maintains that there is tense for spoken Lhasa Tibetan. He states (p. 141) "One does not have to listen to spoken Tibetan for very long to hear instances of these tenses referring to events at the 'wrong' time..." He then follows with a complex explanation for 'tense' referring to the wrong time. For Sherpa, at least, a simpler explanation can be posited. Sherpa has two aspects: perfective and imperfective. Comrie (1998) point out that the perfective and imperfective aspects of Arabic and Yoruba have a default interpretation of past tense and present or future tense respectively. This is similar to the system employed in Sherpa. I will most commonly gloss perfective sentences with English past tense and imperfective with English future.

Both perfective and imperfective verbs can appear in the same sentence, both with reference to past time, which is problematic for the idea of a simple past/non-past distinction in Sherpa. In sentence (7), the action of getting drunk from rhododendron nectar in the past is represented by the imperfective and contrasts with the result of having not brought a full load of wood, which is in the perfective.

(7) ɲɛ ʈ̪ɔ̀ŋmʌr ráŋ
1SG.GEN rhododendron nectar
I stayed sipping

ʈ̪ʰɛ̀-n ʈ̪ʰuŋ-i ɖ̪e-n,
pull.out.IMPF-PTCPL drink.IMPF-DUR stay.PTCPL
the rhododendron nectar,

šì̀ŋ kʰùrwu má laŋʌ cã̀ kʰɔ̀-ĩ̀.
wood load NEG.PRF risen do.PRF.PTCPL bring.PRF-VOL
(so) I brought a load of wood that was not full.

In sentence (8), the first clause employs an imperfective verb which denotes an event extended through time which encompasses the perfective act of Ongchu having come, which is expressed in the second clause.

(8) ɖ̪aŋ ɲɛ sʌma ʤɔ-ĩ̀ bɛlʌ,
yesterday 1SG.GEN food make.IMPF-VOL time
Yesterday when I was making food,

oŋʧʰu ɲire kʰʌŋb-i gɔ́-la hɔ-suŋ.
proper.male 1SG.EXCL.GEN house-GEN door-LOC come.PRF-POBS
Ongchu came to the door of our house.

The perfective can be used to denote events that take place in the future if they denote a telic accomplishment. Sentences (9) and (11) exhibit the default assignation of a

future sense to the imperfective and a past sense to the perfective. But sentence (10) has a perfective stem and a genitive subject to denote that the food will be made and finished. Because the action will happen in the future, the past observational would be semantically incompatible, so the verb has a disjunctive suffix.

(9) sʌla ŋʌ samʌ ʤɔ-ĩ.
tomorrow 1SG.NOM food make.IMPF-VOL
Tomorrow I will make some food.

(10) sʌla ʈ̪ɪ́-ci samʌ ʤo-ci.
tomorrow 3SG-GEN food make.PRF-DSJ
Tomorrow he will have the food.

(11) ɖ̪aŋ ɲɛ samʌ ʤʌ-ĩ.
yesterday 1SG.GEN food make.PRF-VOL
Yesterday I made some food.

Sentences (12) through (15) are two more pairs of sentences with imperfective and perfective verbs with different stems for the two aspects.

(12) sʌla ʈ̪ɪ́ ʧʰɛ̀ni bʌ-i.
tomorrow 3SG.NOM cup hide.IMPF-DSJ
Tomorrow he will hide the cup.

(13) ɖ̪aŋ ʈ̪ɪ́-ci ʧʰɛ̀ni ba-suŋ.
yesterday 3SG-GEN cup hide.PRF-POBS
Yesterday he hid the cup.

(14) ʧʰū ɭ̥ʌ̀-i.
water boil.IMPF-DSJ
The water will boil.

(15) ǰʰū ɻà-suŋ.
water boil.PRF-POBS
The water boiled.

Because the verb *bʌ-u/bɔ-u* 'hide' exhibits a difference in stems between perfective (*bʌ-u*) and imperfective (*bɔ-u*) , sentences, (16) through (19) serve to show the difference in the stems. Sentences (16) and (17) are both perfective, but parallel the past-future distinction of sentences (9) and (11) above. Sentence (19) employs an instance of the imperfective infinitive stem *bɔ* contrasting with the perfective infinitive stem *bʌ* in sentence (17).

(16) ʈ̱ɨ́-ci ǰɛ̀ni bʌ-suŋ.
3SG-GEN cup hide.PRF-POBS
He hid the cup.

(17) ɖ̱aŋ ɲɛ bʌ-u ǰʰɛ̀ni ʈ̱ɨ́ ɟerpu wɛ.
yesterday 1SG.GEN hide.PRF-INF cup DEF big OBS
The cup that I hid yesterday is big.

(18) ʈ̱ɨ́ mɨ́ ʈ̱ɨ́-ci ǰɛ̀ni bʌ-i.
DEM man 3SG-GEN cup hide.IMPF-DSJ
That man will hide his cup.

(19) háǰʰi ǰɛ̀ni bɔ-u mɨ́ ʈ̱ɨ́ hó ʈ̱ɨ́ hɨ́n.
then cup hide.IMPF-INF man DEF COP.PRF DEF COP.IMPF
Then, he was the person who hides the cup.

3.3 Principal Parts of Verbs

The stem of a Sherpa verb generally exhibits a (CV)CV(C) pattern with most verb stems being CVC. The first main distinction among verb forms is that of imperfective, perfective and imperative stems. While the stem of all three forms is the same in many verbs, it is also the case that many verbs have related but different stems for the three forms. Sentences (20), (21), and (22) are examples of the verb *ǰó-u/ǰák-u* 'to put' with different stems respectively for the imperfective, perfective, and imperative forms.

(20) ʈ́í-ci lʌ́kpa ʈ́í-ci kʰʌ́-la ǰó-i.
3SG.GEN hand 3SG-GEN top-LOC put.IMPF.DSJ
(He) will put his hand on her.

(21) ʈ́í-ci lʌ́kpa ʈ́í-ci kʰʌ́-la ǰák-suŋ.
3SG-GEN hand 3SG-GEN top-LOC put.PRF.POBS
(He) put his hand on her.

(22) cʰóre lʌ́kpa ʈ́í-ci kʰʌ́-la ǰɔ́k!
2SG.GEN hand 3SG-GEN top-LOC put.IMPER
Put your hands on her!

There are more than three surface forms, however, that a verb stem may exhibit. Some verbs like *ʣim-u* 'grab' have only one surface form. But some verbs exhibit as many as seven different surface stems. Imperfective and perfective stems can each differ according to whether they are what I will call infinitives, volitional forms, or disjunct forms. The verb *ǰè(ʈ)-* 'cut' for example, employs the stem *ǰèʈ-* for volitional forms, regardless of aspect, as illustrated in (23) and (24) and the stem for *ǰè-* disjunct forms, again regardless of aspect, as illustrated in (25) and (26).

(23) ŋʌ maʈʌk čèʈ-ɾ̃.
1SG rope cut.IMPF-VOL
I will cut the rope.

(24) ɲɛ maʈʌk čèʈ-ɾ̃.
1SG.GEN rope cut.PRF-VOL
I cut the rope.

(25) ʈí maʈʌk čè-ci.
3SG rope cut.IMPF-DSJ
He will cut the rope.

(26) ʈí-ci maʈʌk čè-suŋ.
3SG-GEN rope cut.PRF-POBS
He cut the rope.

There are seven principal parts that are necessary to account for all forms of a verb, including irregular verbs. These seven principal parts are based on the seven stems that were also listed above:

1. imperfective volitional, (IMPF.VOL)
2. perfective volitional, (PRF.VOL)
3. imperfective disjunct, (IMPF.DSJT)
4. perfective disjunct, (PRF.DSJT)
5. imperfective infinitive, (IMPF.INF)
6. perfective infinitive, (PRF.INF)
7. imperative, (IMPER).

The principal parts are based on each stem, plus a canonical suffix commonly associated with that stem, though negative clauses usually employs the stem alone. With both

volitional forms, the volitional suffix *–ĩ* is employed. With both infinitive forms, the infinitive suffix *–u* ~ *–p* is employed. With the imperfective disjunct form, the disjunctive suffix *-i* ~ *-ci* ~ *-gi* is employed. And with the perfective disjunct form, the past observational suffix *–suŋ* is employed. Some of the more common verbs like *ɖɔ-p* 'go' and *cir-u* 'do' do not employ all of these suffixes overtly so to better illustrate the diversity of surface verbs forms, these suffixes will be listed with their respective principal part stems in the tables below.

I will divide the verbs into two classes, weak verbs and strong verbs. Weak verbs are verbs that have the same stems for all seven principal parts, while strong verbs are those that have at least two distinct stems. The differences among the stems of strong verbs involve suppletion, initial consonant alternation, stem vowel alternation, change of tone, and stem coda consonant deletion. The two most common are stem vowel alternations and coda consonant dropping. There are a variety of patterns and much irregularity among the strong verbs. Verbs with a high vowel in the stem are usually weak, whereas those with mid and low vowels are most commonly strong.

Since there are many patterns, a sampling of various patterns will be listed below in a succession of tables. The stems of these seven principal parts are basic for deriving all other verbal forms. Verbs vary greatly in exhibiting different stems for all parts. Some, like *ʤím-u* 'catch/grab' retain the same stem throughout all forms. Other verbs, like *ɖéʈ-u* 'remain, stay', have more than one stem, but they are clearly similar. Still other verbs, like *ɖ-ɔp* 'go', have different stems related only by suppletion and have as many as five different stems among the seven principal parts.

Table 70 lists the seven principal parts for a number of weak verbs. Note that with these verbs, the two infinitive forms and the two volitional forms are identical. The notation '(t)' in the tables in this section denotes a transitive verb while '(i)' denotes an intransitive verb.

Table 70: The seven principal parts of some weak verbs

GLOSS	imperfective infinitive	imperfective volitional	imperfective disjunct	perfective infinitive	perfective volitional	perfective disjunct	imperative
carry	kʰūr-u	kʰūr-ĩ	kʰūr-ci	kʰūr-u	kʰūr-ĩ	kʰūr-suŋ	kʰū
catch/grab	ʣím-u	ʣím-ĩ	ʣím-gi	ʣím-u	ʣím-ĩ	ʣím-suŋ	ʣím
chew/sip	ǰíp-u	ǰíp-ĩ	ǰíp-ci	ǰíp-u	ǰíp-ĩ	ǰíp-suŋ	ǰíp
circle.around	kor-u	kor-ĩ	kor-ci	kor-u	kor-ĩ	kor-suŋ	kor
climb.on	čūr-u	čūr-ĩ	čūr-ci	čūr-u	čūr-ĩ	čūr-suŋ	čūr
fall.down/off	lúm-u	lúm-ĩ	lúm-gi	lúm-u	lúm-ĩ	lúm-suŋ	lúm
finish	sin-u	sin-ĩ	sin-gi	sin-u	sin-ĩ	sin-suŋ	sin
fly	pʰùr-u	pʰùr-ĩ	pʰùr-ci	pʰùr-u	pʰùr-ĩ	pʰùr-suŋ	pʰùr
hide.self	yùp-u	yùp-ĩ	yùp-ci	yùp-u	yùp-ĩ	yùp-suŋ	yùp
jump	pʰìr-u	pʰìr-ĩ	pʰìr-ci	pʰìr-u	pʰìr-ĩ	pʰìr-suŋ	pʰìr
listen	ɲɛ̀n-u	ɲɛ̀n-ĩ	ɲɛ̀n-gi	ɲɛ̀n-u	ɲɛ̀n-ĩ	ɲɛ̀n-suŋ	ɲɛ̀n
mix	ɖum-u	ɖum-ĩ	ɖum-gi	ɖum-u	ɖum-ĩ	ɖum-suŋ	ɖum
prepare.food	tsò-u	tsò-ĩ	tsò-ci	tsò-u	tsò-ĩ	tsò-suŋ	tsò
pull	ʈʰēn-u	ʈʰēn-ĩ	ʈʰēn-gi	ʈʰēn-u	ʈʰēn-ĩ	ʈʰēn-suŋ	ʈʰēn
push	pùl-u	pùl-ĩ	pùl-gi	pùl-u	pùl-ĩ	pùl-suŋ	pùl
receive	ʈʰóp-u	ʈʰóp-ĩ	ʈʰóp-ci	ʈʰóp-u	ʈʰóp-ĩ	ʈʰóp-suŋ	ʈʰóp
swirl(t/i)	cʰīr-u	cʰīr-ĩ	cʰīr-ci	cʰīr-u	cʰīr-ĩ	cʰīr-suŋ	cʰīr
thicken	ɕʰá-u	ɕʰá-ĩ	ɕʰá-ci	ɕʰá-u	ɕʰá-ĩ	ɕʰá-suŋ	ɕʰá
throw	cùr-u	cùr-ĩ	cùr-ci	cùr-u	cùr-ĩ	cùr-suŋ	cùr
tie.tight	ɖʎ́m-u	ɖʎ́m-ĩ	ɖʎ́m-gi	ɖʎ́m-u	ɖʎ́m-ĩ	ɖʎ́m-suŋ	ɖʎ́m
wear	kòn-u	kòn-ĩ	kòn-gi	kòn-u	kòn-ĩ	kòn-suŋ	kòn

At the opposite end of the spectrum from weak verbs are the strong verbs that exhibit suppletion, but these are few in number, listed in Table 71. The verb for 'give' has *ʈèr* as its imperfective stem, but *bín* as its perfective and imperative stems. The verb for 'do' has *cir* as its imperfective infinitive and imperfective volitional stem, *c* as its imperfective disjunct stem, *ca* as its perfective stem, and *ci* as its imperative stem. The

verb for ‘come’ has *huŋ* as its imperfective infinitive stem, *hɔŋ* as its imperfective volitional stem, *g* as its imperfective disjunct stem, *hɔ* as its perfective stem and *šō̃k* as its imperative stem. And the verb for ‘go’ has *ɖɔ* as its imperfective infinitive and imperfective volitional stem, *ɖ* as its imperfective disjunct stem, *gʌ́l* as is perfective infinitive and perfective volitional stem, *gál* as its perfective disjunct stem, and *ɟúk* as its imperative stem. In addition, the past observational form of the verb for ‘go’ is irregular in that it employs just the stem, without the suffix *-suŋ*.

Table 71: Suppletive verbs

GLOSS	imperfective infinitive	imperfective volitional	imperfective disjunct	perfective infinitive	perfective volitional	perfective disjunct	imperative
give	ʈə̀r-u	ʈə̀r-ĩ	ʈə̀r-ci	bə́n-u	bə́n-ĩ	bə́n-suŋ	bə́n
do	cir-u	cir-ĩ	c-i	ca-u	ca-ĩ	ca-suŋ	ci
come	huŋ-u	hɔŋ-ĩ	g-i	hɔ-u	hɔ-ĩ	hɔ-suŋ	šō̃k
go	ɖɔ-p	ɖɔ-ĩ	ɖ-i	gʌ́l-u	gʌ́l-ĩ	gál	ɟúk

Another common pattern is the alternation of stem vowels between the perfective and imperfective stems, illustrated by the verbs in Table 72. Note that the imperative stem for the first five verbs in Table 72 is the same as the perfective stem, while for the last two verbs, the imperative stem is different from the other two stems.

Table 72: Alternation of stem vowels between the perfective and imperfective

GLOSS	imperfective infinitive	imperfective volitional	imperfective disjunct	perfective infinitive	perfective volitional	perfective disjunct	imperative
chase	šɔ̀r-u	šɔ̀r-ĩ	šɔ̀r-ci	šʌ̀r-u	šʌ̀r-i	šʌ̀r-šuŋ	šʌ̀r
fry.pan	lɔ̀m-u	lɔ̀m-ĩ	lɔ̀m-gi	lʌ̀m-u	lʌ̀m-ĩ	lʌ̀m-gi	lʌ̀m
sell	tsoŋ-u	tsoŋ-ĩ	tsoŋ-i	tsʌŋ-u	tsʌŋ-ĩ	tsʌŋ-suŋ	tsʌŋ
tear/rip(t)	ɾɔ́l-u	ɾɔ́l-ĩ	ɾɔ́l-gi	ɾʌ́l-u	ɾʌ́l-ĩ	ɾʌ́l-suŋ	ɾʌ́l
touch/see	ʈʰoŋ-u	ʈʰoŋ-ĩ	ʈʰoŋ-i	ʈʰuŋ-u	ʈʰuŋ-ĩ	ʈʰuŋ-suŋ	ʈʰuŋ
burn/bake(t)	ɾè-u	ɾè-ĩ	ɾè-ci	ɾɛ̀-u	ɾɛ̀-ĩ	ɾɛ̀-suŋ	ɾɛ̀k
deliver	cɔ̀l-u	cɔ̀l-ĩ	cɔ̀l-gi	cɛ̀l-u	cɛ̀l-ĩ	cɛ̀l-suŋ	cɔ̀l

Table 73 lists verbs where the stem vowel of the imperfective forms varies. The verb *ɻròm-u* ‘destroy’ has three different vowels for the three different imperfective forms. The other verbs in this table have two different vowels among the three imperfective stems though they vary as to which two imperfective stems are identical. With the second through fifth verbs in this table, the imperfective volitional and imperfective infinitive stems are identical, while for the last three verbs it is the imperfective volitional and imperfective disjunct stems which are identical. For some of these verbs, the perfective stem is the same as one of the imperfective stems, while for others it is not. For the first three verbs and the last verb in this table, the imperative stem is the same as the perfective stem, while for the other verbs, it is not; for the verb *bɔ-u* ‘hide’ the imperative stem is the same as the imperfective infinitive stem, while for the others, the imperative stem is distinct from all the imperfective and perfective stems.

Table 73: Vowels of the imperfective stems vary

GLOSS	imperfective infinitive	imperfective volitional	imperfective disjunct	perfective infinitive	perfective volitional	perfective disjunct	imperative
destroy(t)	ɻòm-u	ɻʌ̀m-ɾ̃	ɻùm-gi	ɻʌ̀m-u	ɻʌ̀m-ɾ̃	ɻʌ̀m-suŋ	ɻʌ̀m
buy	ɲɔ́-p	ɲɔ́-ɾ̃	ɲʌ́-i	ɲɔ́-u	ɲɔ́-ɾ̃	ɲɔ́-suŋ	ɲɔ́
gather	ʈʰɔ̄-p	ʈʰɔ̄-ɾ̃	ʈʰū-i	ʈʰū-u	ʈʰū-ɾ̃	ʈʰū-suŋ	ʈʰū
eat	sa-p	sa-ɾ̃	sʌ-i	so-u	so-ɾ̃	so-suŋ	sɔ
look.at	ɻā-p	ɻā-ɾ̃	ɻē-i	ɻá-u	ɻá-ɾ̃	ɻá-suŋ	ɻɔ̄
hide(t)	bɔ-u	bʌ-ɾ̃	bʌ-i	ba-u	ba-ɾ̃	ba-suŋ	bɔ
tie	ʈo-u	ʈʌ-ɾ̃	ʈʌ-i	ʈa-u	ʈa-ɾ̃	ʈa-suŋ	ʈɔ
sweep	ʧò-u	ʧʌ̀-ɾ̃	ʧʌ̀-i	ʧà-u	ʧà-ɾ̃	ʧà-suŋ	ʧà

Then there are also verbs where the stem vowel of the perfective forms vary and the three stem vowels of the imperfective stems are the same, illustrated in Table 74. As with the imperfective forms in the preceding table, the pattern of the alternation is not consistent. With the verb *ʧʰo-u* ‘break’ the perfective infinitive and disjunct stems are the

same and with the verb *cʰòm-u* ‘dance’ the perfective volitional and disjunct stems are the same, but for the other verbs in this table the perfective infinitive and the perfective volitional are the same. With both the perfective and imperfective stems it seems to be more common for the infinitive and volitional stem vowels to be the same if the stem vowels alternate. The last verb in this table, *pok-u* ‘land on’, also exhibits variation in the imperfective stems, though the vowel remains the same. Note also how *gom-u* ‘dry out (trans)’ exhibits a different initial consonant in the imperfective stem from the other stems. Again, the verbs in this table vary as to whether the imperative stem is the same as one of the other stems, and if it is the same, which stem it is the same as.

Table 74: Vowels of the perfective stems vary

GLOSS	imperfective infinitive	imperfective volitional	imperfective disjunct	perfective infinitive	perfective volitional	perfective disjunct	imperative
break(t)	cʰo-u	cʰo-ĩ	cʰo-i	cʰak-u	cʰʌ-ĩ	cʰak-suŋ	cʰak
dance	cʰòm-u	cʰòm-ĩ	cʰòm-gi	cʰʌ̀m-u	cʰàm-ĩ	cʰàm-suŋ	cʰòm
dig/steal	kɔ̀-p	kɔ̀-ĩ	kɔ̀-i	kù̀n-u	kù̀n-ĩ	kɔ̀-suŋ	kù̀
dry.out(t)	gomu	gomĩ	gom-gi	kʌ̀mu	kʌ̀mi	kàm-suŋ	kʌ̀m
land.on	pok-u	pok-ĩ	po-ci	pàp-u	pàp-ĩ	pʌ̀p-suŋ	pàp

It is also the case that the vowels of both perfective and imperfective forms can vary, illustrated by the two verbs in Table 75.

Table 75: Vowels of both the imperfective and perfective stems vary

GLOSS	imperfective infinitive	imperfective volitional	imperfective disjunct	perfective infinitive	perfective volitional	perfective disjunct	imperative
boil(t)	l̥à-u	l̥ʌ̀-ĩ	l̥ʌ̀-i	l̥àk-u	´l̥ʌ̀k-ĩ	l̥à-suŋ	l̥ɔ̀k
put	ǰó-u	ǰó-ĩ	ǰʌ́-i	ǰʌ́k-u	ǰʌ́-ĩ	ǰák-suŋ	ǰʌ́k

While the imperative stem vowel often matches that of the perfective forms, some imperative stems have a different vowel, which is most commonly /ɔ/, as illustrated in

Table 76. However, the imperative stem vowel of the verb *ʧʰòm-u* ‘dance’ is not /ɔ/ and is the same as the imperfective stem vowel rather than the perfective stem vowel.

Table 76: Imperative stem vowel differs from the perfective stem vowel

GLOSS	imperfective infinitive	imperfective volitional	imperfective disjunct	perfective infinitive	perfective volitional	perfective disjunct	imperative
boil(t)	ɻà-u	ɻʌ̀-ĩ	ɻʌ̀-i	ɻàk-u	ɻʌ̀k-ĩ	ɻà-suŋ	ɻɔ̀k
dance	ʧʰòm-u	ʧʰòm-ĩ	ʧʰòm-gi	ʧʰʌ̀m-u	ʧʰàm-ĩ	ʧʰàm-suŋ	ʧʰòm
deliver	còl-u	còl-ĩ	còl-gi	cɛ̀l-u	cɛ̀l-ĩ	cɛ̀l-suŋ	cɔ̀l
eat	sa-p	sa-ĩ	sʌ-i	so-u	so-ĩ	so-suŋ	sɔ
hide(t)	bɔ-u	bʌ-ĩ	bʌ-i	ba-u	ba-ĩ	ba-suŋ	bɔ
look.at	ɻā-p	ɻā-ĩ	ɻē-i	ɻá-u	ɻá-ĩ	ɻá-suŋ	ɻɔ̄
make/build	ʤɔ-p	ʤɔ-ĩ	ʤʌ-i	ʤo-u	ʤo-ĩ	ʤo-suŋ	ʤɔ
rise	lʌ̀ŋ-u	lʌ̀ŋ-ĩ	lʌ̀ŋ-i	la-u	la-ĩ	la-suŋ	lɔ
run	ʧʰoŋ-u	ʧʰoŋ-ĩ	ʧʰoŋ-i	ʧʰoŋ-u	ʧʰoŋ-ĩ	ʧʰoŋ-suŋ	ʧʰɔ
tie	ʈo-u	ʈʌ-ĩ	ʈʌ-i	ʈa-u	ʈa-ĩ	ʈa-suŋ	ʈɔ

In addition to stem vowel alternation, coda consonants may be dropped between perfective and imperfective stems, as in Table 77. Either the perfective or imperfective stem may have the dropped coda consonant.

Table 77: Dropping of the coda consonant between the perfective and imperfective

GLOSS	imperfective infinitive	imperfective volitional	imperfective disjunct	perfective infinitive	perfective volitional	perfective disjunct	imperative
beat	ɖuŋ-u	ɖuŋ-ĩ	ɖuŋ-i	ɖu-u	ɖu-ĩ	ɖu-suŋ	ɖu
strike	ɟé-u	ɟé-ĩ	ɟé-i	ɟép-u	ɟép-ĩ	ɟép-suŋ	ɟép
touch.bad	ré-u	ré-ĩ	ré-i	rék-u	rék-ĩ	rék-suŋ	rék

An accompanying stem vowel alternation with a dropping of the coda consonant is also found, as illustrated in Table 78.

Table 78: Stem vowel alternation with a dropping of the coda consonant

GLOSS	imperfective infinitive	imperfective volitional	imperfective disjunct	perfective infinitive	perfective volitional	perfective disjunct	imperative
bring	kʰù̱ŋ-u	kʰù̱ŋ-ĩ̆	kʰù̱ŋ-gi	kʰɔ̀-u	kʰɔ̀-ĩ̆	kʰɔ̀-suŋ	kʰɔ̀
rise	lʌ̀ŋ-u	lʌ̀ŋ-ĩ̆	lʌ̀ŋ-i	la-u	la-ĩ̆	la-suŋ	lɔ
say	sí̱r-u	sí̱-ĩ̆	sí̱r-i	sa-u	sa-ĩ̆	sa-suŋ	sa

Table 79 lists a number of verbs which have a coda consonant (usually /t̲/) in the perfective infinitive and volitional stems that is dropped in the perfective disjunct stem. Some of these verbs show a similar pattern with imperfective stems, with the same coda consonant present in the imperfective infinitive and volitional stems but dropped in the imperfective disjunct stem. When the imperfective disjunct suffix is *-ci* (the alternation between *-ci* and *-i* is not predictable), a stem final /t̲/ is apparently always dropped. Many but not all of these verbs also drop the coda consonant in the imperative stem.

Table 79: Loss of the stem coda consonant of the perfective disjunct form with the past observational suffix *–suŋ*

GLOSS	imperfective infinitive	imperfective volitional	imperfective disjunct	perfective infinitive	perfective volitional	perfective disjunct	imperative
apply/perform	kù̱t̲-u	kù̱t̲-ĩ̆	kù̱-ci	kù̱t̲-u	kù̱t̲-ĩ̆	kù̱-suŋ	kù̱
ask	t̲i-u	t̲i-ĩ̆	t̲i-i	t̲it̲-u	t̲it̲-ĩ̆	t̲i-suŋ	t̲i
bite	pʰè̱t̲-u	pʰè̱t̲-ĩ̆	pʰè̱t̲-i	pʰè̱t̲-u	pʰè̱t̲-ĩ̆	pʰè̱-suŋ	pʰè̱
boil(t)	l̥à-u	l̥ʌ̀-ĩ̆	l̥ʌ̀-i	l̥àk-u	´l̥ʌk-ĩ̆	l̥à-suŋ	l̥ɔ̀k
close(t)	čè̱t̲-u	čè̱t̲-ĩ̆	čè̱-ci	čè̱t̲-u	čè̱t̲-ĩ̆	čè̱-suŋ	čè̱
find	ɲɛ-u	ɲɛ-ĩ̆	ɲɛ-ci	ɲɛt̲-u	ɲɛt̲-ĩ̆	ɲɛ-suŋ	ɲɛt̲
open(t)	bé̱t̲-u	bé̱t̲-ĩ̆	bé̱-ci	pè̱t̲-u	pè̱t̲-ĩ̆	pè̱-suŋ	pè̱
put.into	ǰí̱t̲-u	ǰí̱t̲-ĩ̆	ǰí̱-ci	čì̱t̲-u	čì̱t̲-ĩ̆	čì̱-suŋ	čì̱
stay/rest/sit	d̲é̱t̲-u	d̲é̱t̲-ĩ̆	d̲é̱-ci	d̲é̱t̲-u	d̲é̱-t̲ĩ̆	d̲é̱-suŋ	d̲é̱

Another alternation is the loss of the coda consonant in the two disjunct stems, as in Table 80.

Table 80: Loss of the coda consonant for the imperfective and perfective disjunct stems

GLOSS	imperfective infinitive	imperfective volitional	imperfective disjunct	perfective infinitive	perfective volitional	perfective disjunct	imperative
cause/put	ǰíʈ-u	ǰíʈ-ĩ	ǰí-ci	číʈ-u	číʈ-ĩ	čí-suŋ	čí
close(t)	čèʈ-u	čèʈ-ĩ	čè-ci	čèʈ-u	čèʈ-ĩ	čè-suŋ	čè
fall/get.down	pòp-u	pòp-ĩ	pò-ci	pàp-u	pàp-i	pàp-suŋ	pàp
open(t)	béʈ-u	béʈ-ĩ	bé-ci	pèʈ-u	pèʈ-ĩ	pè-suŋ	pè

Another pattern for the loss of the coda consonant is that some verbs with a /ʈ/ coda in the imperfective infinitive and volitional stems lose this coda in all of the other stems.

Table 81: Loss of /ʈ/ coda

GLOSS	imperfective infinitive	imperfective volitional	imperfective disjunct	perfective infinitive	perfective volitional	perfective disjunct	imperative
badmouth	mɔ́ʈ-u	mɔ́ʈ-ĩ	mɔ́-ci	mɔ́-u	mɔ́-ĩ	mɔ́-suŋ	mɔ́
blow.on	puʈ-u	puʈ-ĩ	pu-ci	pu-u	pu-ĩ	pu-suŋ	pu
plow	mɔ̀ʈ-u	mɔ̀ʈ-ĩ	mɔ̀-ci	mɔ-u	mɔ-ĩ	mɔ-suŋ	mɔ

An alternation of the initial consonants between imperfective and perfective stems is also found, illustrated in Table 82. In all such verbs, the imperfective stem has an initial voiced stop or affricate and the perfective has the corresponding voiceless stop or affricate.

Table 82: Alternation of the initial consonant

GLOSS	imperfective infinitive	imperfective volitional	imperfective disjunct	perfective infinitive	perfective volitional	perfective disjunct	imperative
cause/put	ǰíʈ-u	ǰíʈ-ĭ	ǰí-ci	číʈ-u	číʈ-ĭ	čí-suŋ	čí
dig(hole)	ɖu-u	ɖu-ĭ	ɖu-i	ʈu-u	ʈu-ĭ	ʈu-suŋ	ʈu
dry.out(t)	gomu	gomĭ	gom-gi	kʌ̀mu	kʌ̀mi	kʌ̀m-suŋ	kʌ̀m
hit.on.top	bop-u	bop-ĭ	bop-ci	pʰʌ̄p-u	pʰʌ̄p-ĭ	pʰʌ̄p-suŋ	pʰʌ̄p
lift	ɖɛ́k-u	ɖé-ĭ	ɖé-i	ʈek-u	ʈek-ĭ	ʈek-suŋ	ʈek
offer	búl-u	búl-ĭ	búl-gi	pʊ̀l-u	pʊ̀l-ĭ	pʊ̀l-suŋ	pʊ̀l
open(t)	béʈ-u	béʈ-ĭ	bé-ci	pɛ̀ʈ-u	pɛ̀ʈ-ĭ	pɛ̀-suŋ	pɛ̀
plant	ɖóp-u	ɖóp-ĭ	ɖóp-ci	ʈʌ̀p-u	ʈʌ̀p	ʈʌ̀p-suŋ	ʈʌ̀p
put.into	ǰíʈ-u	ǰíʈ-ĭ	ǰí-ci	čìʈ-u	čìʈ-ĭ	čì-suŋ	čì
take.from.fire	bók-u	bók-ĭ	bók-i	pʊ̀k-u	pʊ̀k-ĭ	pʊ̀k-suŋ	pʊ̀k

In addition to other alternations, there may also be a tone change between the imperfective and the perfective stems, illustrated in Table 83. Most such verbs apparently exhibit some other differences between the imperfective and perfective stems. An exception to this is *ɻā̄-p* ‘look at’, where the imperfective infinitive and volitional stems are *ɻā̄,* while the perfective stems are *ɻá.* The tone does not seem to ever vary among imperfective stems or among perfective stems. The tone of the imperative stem with these verbs is almost always the same as the tone of the perfective stems. Again, *ɻā̄-p* ‘look at’ is an exception: the imperative stem *ɻɔ̄* has the same tone as the imperfective.

Table 83: Tone change between the imperfective and the perfective stem

GLOSS	imperfective infinitive	imperfective volitional	imperfective disjunct	perfective infinitive	perfective volitional	perfective disjunct	imperative
give	ʈèr-u	ʈèr-ĩ	ʈèr-ci	bín-u	bín-ĩ	bín-suŋ	bín
go	ɖɔ-p	ɖɔ-ĩ	ɖi	gʌ́l-u	gʌ́l-ĩ	gʌ́l	ɟúk
hit.on.top	bop-u	bop-ĩ	bop-ci	pʰʌ̄p-u	pʰʌ̄p-ĩ	pʰʌ̄p-suŋ	pʰʌ̄p
land.on	pok-u	pok-ĩ	po-ci	pʌ̀p-u	pʌ̀p-ĩ	pʌ́p-suŋ	pʌ̀p
land.on	pok-u	pok-ĩ	po-ci	pʌ̀p-u	pʌ̀p-ĩ	pʌ́p-suŋ	pʌ̀p
lift	ɖɛ́k-u	ɖé-ĩ	ɖé-i	ʈek-u	ʈek-ĩ	ʈek-suŋ	ʈek
look.at	ɭā-p	ɭā-ĩ	ɭē-i	ɭá-u	ɭá-ĩ	ɭá-suŋ	ɭɔ̄
offer	búl-u	búl-ĩ	búl-gi	pùl-u	pùl-ĩ	pùl-suŋ	pùl
open(t)	béʈ-u	béʈ-ĩ	bé-ci	pèʈ-u	pèʈ-ĩ	pè-suŋ	pè
plant	ɖóp-u	ɖóp-ĩ	ɖóp-ci	ʈʌ̀p-u	ʈʌ̀p	ʈʌ̀p-suŋ	ʈʌ̀p
plow	mòʈ-u	mòʈ-ĩ	mò-ci	mɔ-u	mɔ-ĩ	mɔ-suŋ	mɔ
rise	lʌ̀ŋ-u	lʌ̀ŋ-ĩ	lʌ̀ŋ-i	la-u	la-ĩ	la-suŋ	lɔ
send	ʈōŋ-u	ʈōŋ-ĩ	ʈōŋ-i	ʈàŋ-u	ʈàŋ-ĩ	ʈàŋ-suŋ	ʈàŋ
take.from.fire	bók-u	bók-ĩ	bók-i	pòk-u	pòk-ĩ	pòk-suŋ	pòk

3.4 Verbal Suffixes

Table 84 indicates which stems are used by individual suffixes.

Table 84: Verbal stems and suffixes

	stem→	imperfective infinitive	imperfective volitional.	imperfective disjunct	perfective infinitive	perfective volitional.	perfective disjunct	imperative
suffix↓								
INF	-u/-p	X			X			
DSJ	-(k)i			X			X	
POBS	-suŋ						X	
MIR	-nɔk			X			X	
VOL	-ĩ		X			X		
AUG	(s)a							X
PTCPL	CṽC) /-n	X			X			
DUR	-i	X			X			
DICT	-si	X			X			
ABL	-ne	X			X			
LOC	-la	X			X			

3.4.1 Infinitive

The infinitive is one of a number of forms that involve the addition of a suffix to what I am calling the infinitive stems. The infinitive suffix in Sherpa has two basic forms, *-u* and *-p*, the former of which is more common. Some examples are given in Table 85.

Table 85: Infinitives

ɟɛl-u	ʈ̪èr-u	kɔ̀-p	bɔ-u
win.IMPF-INF	give.IMPF-INF	dig.IMPF-INF	hide.IMPF-INF
to win (a game)	to give	to dig	to hide

The infinitive forms in Table 85 are in the imperfective but perfective infinitives also occur. This distinction is only evident with verbs that have distinct imperfective and perfective infinitive stems, as in sentences (27) and (28).

(27) ɖaŋ ŋu-u pʉ́m ʈ̪í ʈ̪́ikpe nɔ́k.
yesterday cry.PRF-INF girl DEF small MIR
The girl who cried yesterday is small.

(28) sʌla ŋɔ-p pʉ́m ʈ̪í ʈ̪́ikpe nɔ́k.
tomorrow cry.IMPF-INF girl DEF small MIR
The girl who will cry tomorrow is small.

Sentences (29) to (36) are analogous pairs of perfective and imperfective infinitives for other verbs. These examples, like those in (27) and (28) above, illustrate one function of the infinitive, that of marking the verb in a relative clause. (I am not sure why the first person pronouns in (30) and (36) are genitive, since they appear to be subjects of transitive imperfective clauses, which are normally nominative. This requires

further investigation. Note that the first person subject in (32) is in the expected nominative case.)

(29)	ɲɛ	pèt̪-u	čʰū	t̪í	t̪èŋa	nɔ́k.
	1SG.GEN	spill.PRF-INF	water	DEF	cold	MIR

The water that I spilled is cold.

(30)	ɲɛ	bɛ́t̪-u	čʰū	t̪í	t̪èŋa	hín.
	1SG.GEN	spill.IMPF-INF	water	DEF	cold	COP.IMPF

The water that I will spill is cold.

(31)	ɲɛ	sʌ-la	ǰʌ́k-u	čɛ̀ni	t̪í	čʰàŋ-nɔk.
	1SG.GEN	ground-LOC	put.PRF-INF	cup	DEF	break.PRF-MIR

The cup that I put on the ground broke.

(32)	ŋʌ	sʌ-la	ǰó-u	čɛ̀ni	t̪í	čʰʌ́-i.
	1SG	ground-LOC	put.PRF-INF	cup	DEF	break.PRF-MIR

The cup that I will put on the ground will break.

(33)	d̪aŋ	čʰʊ̃ŋ	gʌ́l-u	t̪ʌ̀	t̪í	ɟerpu	nɔ́k.
	yesterday	run.IMPF.PTCPL	go.PRF-INF	horse	DEF	big	MIR

The horse that ran yesterday is big.

(34)	sʌla	čʰɔ̃ŋ	d̪ɔ-p	t̪ʌ̀	t̪í	ɟerpu	nɔ́k.
	tomorrow	run.IMPF.PTCPL	go.PRF-INF	horse	DEF	big	MIR

The horse that will run tomorrow is big.

(35)	t̪í-ci	kʉ̃̀	ca-u	t̪ʌ̀ŋa	t̪í	kʰʌŋb-i	nʌ	wɛ́.
	3SG-GEN	steal.PRF.PTCPL	do.PRF-INF	money	DEF	house-GEN	inside	OBS

The money that he stole is in the house.

(36)	ɲɛ	kʉ̃̀	cir-u	t̪ʌ̀ŋa	t̪í	kʰʌŋb-i	nʌ	wɛ́.
	1SG.GEN	steal.PRF.PTCPL	do.IMPF-INF	money	DEF	house-GEN	inside	OBS

The money that I will steal is in the house.

Three more examples illustrating infinitives used for verbs in relative clauses are given in (37), (38), and (39).

(37) ʈ̪í làŋ mɔ-u šiŋ ʈ̪í lɛ̀mba nɔk.
DEM ox plow.PRF-INF land DEF wet MIR
That plowed land is wet.

(38) ɖ̪i ɻɛ̀-u sʌma ʈ̪í kormu nɔk.
this baked.PRF-INF food DEF expensive MIR
That baked food was expensive.

(39) ŋʌ páp-u šì̀ŋ-i haŋa ʈ̪í riŋbu nɔk.
1SG.NOM land.PRF-INF wood-GEN branch DEF long MIR
The branch that I landed on is long.

A second function of infinitives is to head clauses that express generalized actions that do not necessarily refer to specific actors. Sentences (40) through (44) are from narratives of my consultant's childhood while growing up in the village of Hile. Sentence (40) refers to the experiences of the school children while playing soccer during the lunch break.

(40) kʰʌ̀ŋb-i sermuŋ ɖ̪ɛp cʰɛn gal sinʌŋ,
foot-GEN nail break cut.PTCPL INCHO in.spite.of
Even though you broke off a toenail,

kʌsim rʌ̄ŋ meʈ̪-u.
diddlesquat even NEG.COP.IMPF-INF
(you) did not care.

Sentences (41) and (42) are about the expectations of the consultant's parents that he do all of his school work before going to bed at night even though he had to work collecting wood after he got out of school.

(41)	hačʰi	gomu	sɛru	yan	čʰẽ	sinʌŋ,
	next	evening	very	tired	happen-PTCPL	although

Even though you were tired in the evening,

nilɔk	mɛ	ɲɛ-u.
sleep	NEG	find.IMPF-INF

you couldn't go to sleep.

(42) ṭáḳṭuk	cit̪ʌp	kʰʌlʌp	t̪ʌ̄ŋ	sin
all	book	memorize	with	finish.PTCPL

After you finished memorizing

t̪ʌ̃	ca-si-mʌ	ke
send.PRF-PTCPL	do.PRF-DICT-DESC	instead

all the book,

nilɔk	lɔ̀ŋ	ɲɛt̪-u.
sleep	again	find.PRF-INF

you finally got to sleep.

Sentence (43) states what the results of a fight would be.

(43)	t̪í-ci	t̪í-la	d̪uŋ-u.
	3SG-GEN	3SG-LOC	beat.PRF-INF

He got beat up.

And sentence (44) talks about getting enough wood collected after school even though the child had played too much with his friends instead of getting to his after-school work immediately.

(44) hàči kè ɖʌwaɖʌwa šìŋ tsʰð,
later.on instead quickly wood search.IMPF-PTCPL
Later you would instead quickly look for wood,

kʰuru ʤð kʰʌŋba kʰu-n huŋ-u.
load make.IMPF.PTCPL house carry-PTCPL come-INF
make a load, and carry it home.

The infinitive is also used to mark reference to a second person subject's actions in the past. All of the verbs in sentences (45), (46), (47), and (48) have perfective stems and are questions. Sentences (45) and (46) have a second person singular subject, while sentences (47) and (48) have a second person plural subject. (The fact that all of these examples are questions does not appear to be important; it simply reflects the fact that declarative sentences with second person subjects are often pragmatically unnatural.)

(45) córe ʈʰʌp-ci kʰʎ́-ci ʈasʌla pok-u?
2SG.GEN fireplace-GEN top-GEN pot take.off.PRF-INF
Did you take the pot off the fire?

(46) cʰuruŋ pʰìr-u?
2SG jump.PRF-INF
Did you jump?

(47) ɖaŋ cʰíre ɖa ʈʌ̄ŋ lítsi ɖum-u?
yesterday 2PL.GEN rice with corn mix.PRF-INF
Did you all mix the corn and the rice yesterday?

(48) ɖaŋ cʰírʌŋ kʰʌŋb-i nʎ́ ɖéʈ-u?
yesterday 2SG.PL house-GEN inside stay.PRF-INF
Did you all stay in the house yesterday?

An infinitive or infinitive clause can also function as a gerund and serve as the subject of a copular predicate. Sentence (49) has an unmodified infinitive serving as the

subject. Sentence (50) has a transitive infinitive plus object as the subject of the matrix clause. In (51) an infinitive plus a locative phrase serves as the subject of the higher clause. Sentence (52) illustrates the construction that is used to express the fact that someone likes to perform some activity. The experiencer takes the locative case and the activity is expressed with an infinitive.

(49) pʰir-u ʈ̪í lɛmu hḯn.
jump.IMPF-INF DEF good cop.IMPF
It is fun to jump.

(50) šér̀w-i ʈ̪ʌ̀mɲɛ lò̀p-u lɛmu hḯn.
sherpa-GEN word speak.IMPF-INF good COP.IMPF
It is good to speak Sherpa.

(51) šì̀ŋ-i haŋ-i kʰʌ́-la pok-u ʈ̪i lɛmu hḯn.
wood-GEN branch-GEN top-LOC land.IMPF-INF DEF good COP.IMPF
It is good to land on the branch.

(52) ŋʌ-la lū lʌ̀ŋ-u ga wɛ́.
1SG-LOC song raise.IMPF-INF happy OBS
I like to sing.

Finally an infinitive headed clause is used to modify the word *bɛlʌ* ‘time’ in order to create a dependent temporal clause that has a meaning like a *when*-clause in English, as in sentence (53). This construction could be considered a specialized use of a relative clause.

(53) irwu, lítsi ʈsɔ̀ hoʈ-u bɛlʌ,
summer corn ripe-PTCPL COP.PRF-INF time
In summer, when the corn is ripe,

ʈóm hɔ-ne lítsi yɛ́m so-nɔk.
bear come.PRF-ABL corn lots eat.PRF.DSJT-MIR
a bear came and ate a lot of corn.

3.4.2 Disjunctive

The disjunctive suffix attaches to the imperfective disjunct stem and refers to current or future actions where the speaker does not have firsthand knowledge of the volitionality or where the action is not volitional on the part of the speaker. The disjunctive suffix is /–ci/ ~ /–i/ ~ /-gi/. The choice between the first two allomorphs is not phonologically predictable. The last of these is used after the stem coda consonants /m/, /n/, /ŋ/, and /l/.

Sentences (54) through (60) are transitive clauses with future reference. In sentence (54) the disjunctive suffix takes the form /–ci/.

(54) ʈí kʰʌŋba kor-ci.
3SG house circle.around.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
He will circle around the house.

Sentences (55), (56), and (57) have imperfective verb stems that end in a nasal or the lateral and the disjunctive suffix thus has the form /–gi/.

(55) sʌla ʈí ḍa ʈʌ̄ŋ lítsi mula ḍum-gi.
tomorrow 3SG rice with corn together mix.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
Tomorrow he will mix rice and corn together.

(56) sʌla ʈ̪ɪ́ čèni kʰùŋ-gi.
tomorrow 1SG cup bring.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
Tomorrow he will bring the cup.

(57) sʌ-la ʈ̪ɪ́ šù ɽ̥ɔ́l-gi.
tomorrow 3SG paper tear.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
Tomorrow he will tear the paper.

In sentences (58), (59), and (60) the disjunctive suffix takes the form /–i/. The choice of /–i/ versus /–ci/ is specific to individual verbs and there is no general rule to predict which form is used.

(58) sʌla ʈ̪ɪ́ ri ʈ̪ʰū-i.
tomorrow 3SG-NOM potato gather.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
Tomorrow he will gather the potatoes.

(59) ʈ̪ɪ́-ci aŋʌ lu-i.
3SG.NOM baby comfort.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ.
He will comfort the baby.

(60) ʈ̪ɪ́ ʈ̪ɪ́ kʰʌŋba ʤʌ-i.
3SG.NOM DEF house make.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
He will build a house.

3.4.3 Past Observational and Mirative

There are certain cases in Sherpa where the form of verbs varies depending on the person of the subject. While these might look like some sort of verb agreement, these differences actually represent evidential contrasts, and it is only because the speaker often has a different basis of knowledge about themselves from knowledge of others that verbs with first person subjects often take different suffixes from verbs that take second or third

person subjects. Furthermore, questions with second person subjects often involve different verbal suffixes from those with first or third person subjects for the same reason.

One of the main concepts that determines verb marking in Sherpa is the concept of firsthand knowledge versus secondhand knowledge. Firsthand knowledge is knowledge that the speaker has from directly experiencing an event or observing an event from its inception. Secondhand knowledge is all other knowledge that the speaker has that is not obtained from directly experiencing it or observing it from its inception; it is knowledge of an event that the speaker has discovered or found out after the inception of the event. Firsthand knowledge of an event in the past is encoded by the past observational (POBS) suffix /-suŋ/. Secondhand knowledge of an event that had its inception in the past is encoded by the mirative (MIR) suffix /–nɔk/.

Sentences (61) and (62) both have first person subjects. The past observational suffix is used in these examples since being sick or finding money is something the speaker will have firsthand knowledge of from their inception.

(61) ŋʌ na-suŋ.
1SG sick.IMPF.DSJT-POBS
I was sick.

(62) d̪aŋ ŋʌ-la ʈ̣ʌ̀ŋa ɲɛ̀-suŋ.
Yesterday 1SG-LOC money found.PRF.DSJT-POBS
Yesterday I found money.

Sentence (63), with the mirative suffix, is marginally acceptable but could possibly be uttered in response to a question in a situation where a person did not think that he was sick and went to a doctor who told him that he was indeed sick.

(63) ʔŋʌ na-nɔk.
1SG.NOM sick.dsjt-MIR
I was sick.

However, sentence (64) is unacceptable because the meaning of 'find' is such that one does not find something if one is unaware of having found it.

(64) *d̪aŋ ŋʌ-la ʈʌ̀ŋa ɲɛ̀-nɔk.
Yesterday 1SG-LOC money found.PRF.DSJT-MIR
Yesterday I found money.

Sentences (65) and (66), (67) and (68), and (69) and (70) are three pairs of sentences that respectively have the past observational and the mirative suffixes. Sentence (65), with the past observational, could only be used if the speaker was there when the digging in the field began. If the speaker arrives at the scene after the digging has begun or finds out about the digging by being told about or infers the digging by seeing the holes in the field, then (66), with the mirative suffix, must be used.

(65) d̪aŋ ʈ̪ʲí-ci šiŋ kɔ̀-suŋ.
yesterday 1SG-GEN field dig.PRF.DSJT-POBS
Yesterday he dug the field.

(66) d̪aŋ ʈ̪ʲí-ci šiŋ kɔ̀-nɔk.
yesterday 1SG-GEN field dig.PRF.DSJT-MIR
Yesterday he dug the field.

Likewise with sentences (67) and (68), the speaker must have been there at the inception of the giving to use sentences (67) with the past observational. Even if the speaker walks into the room seconds after the gold has been exchanged and the gold is still in the recipient's hand, sentence (68) must be used.

(67) ʈ́í-ci ʈ́í-la sèr bín-suŋ.
3SG-GEN 3SG-LOC gold give.PRF.DSJT-POBS
He gave the gold to him.

(68) ʈ́í-ci ʈ́í-la sèr bín-nɔk.
3SG-GEN 3SG-LOC gold give.PRF.DSJT-MIR
He gave the gold to him.

Sentences (69) and (70) are similar. To use (69), with the past observational, the speaker must have been present from the inception of the mixing. On the other hand, if the speaker walks into the room and the corn and rice are still being mixed, sentence (70), with the mirative, must be used.

(69) ɖaŋ ʈ́í-ci ɖa ʈ̄ʌ̄ŋ lítsi ɖum-suŋ.
yesterday 3SG-GEN rice with corn mix.PRF.DSJT-POBS
Yesterday he mixed the corn and the rice.

(70) ɖaŋ ɲɛ ɖa ʈ̄ʌ̄ŋ lítsi ɖum-nɔk.
yesterday 1SG.GEN rice with corn mix.PRF.DSJT-MIR
Yesterday he mixed the corn and the rice.

The perfective disjunct of the verb *ɖɔ-p* 'go' does not take the past observational suffix but does take the mirative as can be seen by comparing sentences (71) and (72).

However, with this verb, the form *gal* is used in contexts in which the past observational suffix would be used with other verbs, and so this form, illustrated in (71), could be described as a past observational form.

(71) ʈ̪ɪ́ pɛ hoʈ̪-u kʰʌŋb-i nʌ́ŋ-la gal.
3SG rat COP.PRF-INF house inside-LOC go.PRF.DSJT
He went into the house where the rats were.

(72) ʈ̪ɪ́ pɛ hoʈ̪-u kʰʌŋb-i nʌ́ŋ-la gal-nɔk.
3SG rat COP.PRF-INF house inside go.PRF.DSJT-MIR
He went into the house where the rats were.

The meaning of some verbs is such that only the past observational or only the mirative may be used with a given subject. The act of growing up is an accomplishment that happens over a long period of time so the speaker can only use the past observational with the verb *tsʰʌ́r-u* 'grow up', as in sentence (73). Sentence (74), with the mirative, would somehow imply that the speaker was not there while he was growing up.

(73) ŋʌ tsʰár-suŋ.
1SG grow.up.PRF.DSJT-POBS
I grew up.

(74) *ŋʌ tsʰár-nɔk.
1SG grow.up.PRF.DSJT-MIR
I grew up.

The situation is reversed when speaking about a third person, as with sentence (75). The speaker is not always there while someone else is growing up so the use of (76) would be infelicitous, although perhaps parents could utter this sentence about their own child.

(75) ʈ̪ʰí tsʰár-nɔk.
3SG grow.up.PRF.DSJT-MIR
He grew up.

(76) *ʔʈ̪ʰí tsʰár-suŋ.
3SG grow.up.PRF.DSJT-POBS
He grew up.

With sentence (77) the speaker either saw the cup being broken or broke it himself while sentence (78) would be used otherwise.

(77) ɲɛ sʌ-la ǰó-u čɛ̀ni ʈ̪ʰí čʰaŋ-suŋ.
1SG.GEN ground-LOC put.PRF-INF cup DEF break.PRF.DSJT-POBS
The cup that I put on the ground is broken.

(78) ɲɛ sʌ-la ǰó-u čɛ̀ni ʈ̪ʰí čʰaŋ-nɔk.
1SG.GEN ground-LOC put.PRF-INF cup DEF break.PRF.DSJT-MIR
The cup that I put on the ground is broken.

3.4.4 Volitional

The volitional suffix is used when the speaker knows that the clause denotes a volitional action on the part of the speaker, and can refer to the past, present, or future. Because of its meaning, it is only used with first person subjects (or in questions with second person subjects). Note that the choice of the volitional overrides the past observational and mirative, so that use of these forms with first person subjects implies a lack of volitionality. The form of the volitional suffix is /-ɤ̃/.

Both sentences (79) and (80) have verbs that are inflected for the volitional. The verb in (79) is imperfective while that in (80) is perfective.

(79) ŋʌ sʌ̀ ǰʌ̀-ɾ̃.
1SG ground sweep.IMPF-VOL
I will sweep the floor.

(80) ɲɛ sʌ̀ ǰà-ɾ̃.
1SG.GEN ground sweep.PRF-VOL
I swept the floor.

The pair of sentences in (81) and (82) and the pair in (83) and (84) are two more pairs of sentences illustrating imperfective and perfective uses of the volitional.

(81) sʌla ŋʌ lʌ̄ma-la mé̱ɖɔk búl-ɾ̃.
tomorrow 1SG.NOM lama-LOC flower offer.IMPF-VOL
Tomorrow I will offer flowers to the lama.

(82) ɖaŋ ɲɛ lʌ̄ma-la mé̱ɖɔk pùl-ɾ̃.
yesterday 1SG.GEN lama-LOC flower offer.PRF-VOL
Yesterday I offered flowers to the lamas.

(83) sʌla ŋʌ ǰèni kʰùŋ-ɾ̃.
tomorrow 1SG.NOM cup bring.IMPF-VOL
Tomorrow I will bring the cup.

(84) ɖaŋ ɲɛ ǰèni kʰɔ̀-ɾ̃.
yesterday 1SG.GEN cup bring.PRF-VOL
Yesterday I brought the cup.

However, it is not the case that all first person subjects take the volitional suffix since some actions, such as getting sick, are not volitional. Listening to music (85) and

lifting a table (86) are actions that are volitional on the part of the speaker and the speaker is aware of the volitionality.

(85) ɖaŋ lù̀n lū ɲè̀n-ɤ̃.
yesterday again music listen.PRF-VOL
Yesterday I listened to music again.

(86) ŋʌ ǰɔktsi ɖé-ɤ̃.
1SG.NOM table lift.IMPF-VOL
I will lift the table.

But a person usually does not intend to sink in the water so sentence (87) has the past observational verb suffix because the speaker was there at the inception of sinking into the water but did not do so purposefully.

(87) ɖaɲ ŋʌ ǰʰī nʌ ɖù̀p-suŋ.
yesterday 1SG.NOM water.GEN inside sink.PRF.DSJT-POBS
Yesterday I sank in the water.

Sentence (88) and (89) also show that the volitional cannot be used when the action is not intended by the speaker; therefore both the first person and third person subjects have the same disjunctive inflection of the verb.

(88) ʈ́ʰí ʈʰóp-u-la kòm-gi.
3SG fight-INF-LOC lose.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
He will lose the fight.

(89) ŋʌ ʈʰóp-u-la kòm-gi.
1SG fight-INF-LOC lose.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
I will lose the fight.

Also an action like getting along with someone is usually not viewed as necessarily volitional so sentences (90) and (91) take the disjunctive and past observational suffixes respectively.

(90) ɲirʌŋ ʈʰin-gi.
1PL.EXCL get.along.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
We get along.

(91) ɖaŋ ɲirʌŋ ʈʰin-suŋ.
yesterday 1PL.EXCL get.along.PRF-POBS
Yesterday we got along.

But it is possible to use the volitional with first person plural subjects, even though the speaker presumably cannot have firsthand knowledge of the other actors that compose the subject, as illustrated by sentences (92) and (93).

(92) ɲirʌŋ mikʈum ɖu-ɪ̃.
1PL.EXCL hole dig.IMPF-VOL
We will dig a hole.

(93) ɲire mikʈum ʈu-ɪ̃.
1PL.EXCL.GEN hole dig.PRF-VOL
We dug a hole.

Since the form of the disjunctive suffix with some verbs is /-i/, the only thing that distinguishes the volitional suffix from the disjunctive with these verbs is the nasality of the vowel on the volitional suffix /-ɪ̃/, as exemplified in sentences (94) and (95).

(94) ŋʌ ŋɔ́-ɾ̃.
1SG cry.IMPF-VOL
I will cry.

(95) t̪í ŋɔ́-i.
3SG cry.IMPF-DSJ
He will cry.

Sentence (96) is an imperfective sentence with future reference and is a question with a second person subject. The volitional verb suffix is employed here, presumably because the addressee has firsthand knowledge of whether s/he had a volitional intention to take the pot off the fire. This contrasts with sentence (97), where the infinitive suffix is used for a question with a past tense reference using a perfective stem.

(96) cʰuruŋ t̪ʰʌp-ci kʰʌ́-ci t̪asʌla bo-ɾ̃?
2SG fireplace-GEN top-GEN pot take.off.IMPF-VOL
Will you take the pot off the fire?

(97) cɔre t̪ʰʌp-ci kʰʌ́-ci t̪asʌla po-u?
2SG.GEN fireplace-GEN top-GEN pot take.off.PRF-INF
Did you take the pot off the fire?

3.4.5 Imperative

The imperative forms do not generally involve any suffix but consist only of the verb stem. With strong verbs, the form of imperative stem is not predictable. With some verbs, the imperative stem is the same as one of the other six stems, while with other verbs, it is not. See the examples of imperative stems in Table 70 to Table 83 in section

3.3 above. With the verb *ḏɔ-p* ‘go’, the imperative stem is suppletive, as can be seen by comparing sentences (98) and (99) with (100).

(98) ṯ́ mí kʰʌŋba ḍi.
DEM man house go.IMPF,DSJT
That man will go home.

(99) ṯ́ mí kʰʌnba gal.
DEM man house go.PRF.DSJT
That man went home.

(100) lá-ne cʰɔ́re čālʌk kʰūr-ne kʰʌnba júk!
rise.PRF-ABL 2SG.GEN things carry.IMPF-ABL house go.IMPER
Get up, pick up your things, and go home!

In these three sentences, there is an imperfective, *ḍi*, a perfective, *gal*, and an imperative form, *júk,* of the verb ‘go’.

In addition to bare stem imperatives like those above and in (101), (102), and (103), the imperative stem may take an augment as a suffix. This suffix is /-sa/ if the imperative stem ends in a vowel, as in (104), (105), and (106), or /-a/ if the imperative stem ends in a consonant as in (107), (108), and (109). The augment is probably derived form from the perfective stem (*sa*) of the verb *sír-u* ‘say’. Imperative forms with the augment do not seem to differ in meaning from those without.

(101) kʰòk lɔ!
up.right rise.IMPER
Stand up!

(102) yʉ̃ ɲuk!
walk.PTCPL go.IMPER
Walk!

(103) ʈ̪í-la ɲen!
3SG-LOC listen.IMPER
Listen to him!

(104) aŋʌ lu-sa!
baby comfort.IMPER-AUG
Comfort the baby!

(105) laŋ mɔ-sa!
ox plow.PRF.IMPER-AUG
Plow!

(106) šiŋ kʰʌ́-la yu-sa!
field top-LOC walk.PRF.IMPER-AUG
Walk around the field!

(107) ʈ̪í-la ɲen-a!
3SG-LOC listen.IMPER-AUG
Listen to him!

(108) mʌr ʈ̪ʰù-la ɲúk-a!
downward downhill-LOC go.IMPER-AUG
Go downhill!.

(109) ǰiwa má cir-a!
fear NEG.PRF do.IMPER-AUG
Do not be afraid!

The negative of the imperative (the prohibitive) is formed by inserting the perfective negative particle *má* directly before the imperative form, as in sentences (111) and (113).

(110) šì rɔk cɔ̀l-a!
blanket deliver.IMPER-AUG
Deliver the blanket!

(111) šì rɔk má cɔ̀l-a!
blanket NEG.PRF deliver.IMPER-AUG
Do not deliver the blanket!

(112) yu-sa!
walk.IMPER-AUG
Walk!

(113) má yu-sa!
NEG.PRF walk.IMPER-AUG
Do not walk!

3.4.6 Participles

The participle is formed from both imperfective and perfective infinitive stems, usually by nasalizing the vowel of the verb stem and deleting a final stem consonant if there is one, obligatorily if the consonant is a stop, optionally if it is /r/ or /l/. As discussed in section 3.4.7 below, the participle can also be formed from a durative verb form, in which case it is the vowel in the durative suffix that nasalizes.

Sentences (114) through (116) show the verb *ʈ̪ʰè-u* 'meet' in the perfective, imperfective and participle forms.

(114) ŋʌ-la ɖaŋ ɖʌ́lʤa mʌ́ŋmu ʈ̪ʰè-suŋ.
1SG-LOC yesterday friend many meet.PRF.DSJT-POBS
I met many friends yesterday.

(115) sʌla ŋʌ-la ɖ̪ʌ́ldʑa ʈ̪ʰè-ci.
tomorrow 1SG-LOC friend meet.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
I will meet my friend tomorrow.

(116) sʌla ŋʌ ɖ̪ʌ́ldʑa ʈ̪ʰɛ̀ ɖ̪ɔ-ɾ̃.
tomorrow 1SG.NOM friend meet.PTCPL go.IMPF-VOL
Tomorrow I will go to meet friends.

Similarly, examples (117), (118) and (119) illustrate the same three forms for the verb *sa-p* 'eat'.

(117) ɖ̪aŋ ɲɛ sʌma so-ɾ̃.
yesterday 1SG.GEN food eat.PRF-VOL
Yesterday I ate the food.

(118) ɖ̪i sʌma ʈ̪í ŋʌ sʌla sa-ɾ̃.
this food DEF 1SG tomorrow eat.IMPF-VOL
I will eat this food tomorrow.

(119) ŋʌ čìk cè sõ cʰúruŋ mʌ ɖ̪ʌ́-i.
1SG one instead eat.PRF.PTCPL 2SG NEG.IMPF be.full.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
If you eat only me, it will not be enough.

Sentence (120) illustrates the disjunctive imperfective form of *ʦʰàl-u* 'search', while (121) illustrates the imperfective participle form.

(120) sēr ʈ̪í ʦʰòl-gi.
gold DEF search.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
Let's look for the gold.

(121) pɛ ʈ́ikpe ʈ́ gɔla
mouse small DEF outside
The small mouse came out

sʌma tsʰðl hɔ-u-i-nɔk.
food search.IMPF.PTCPL come.IMPF-INF-DUR-MIR
searching for food.

A less common alternative participle form involves replacing the final consonant of the stem with /-n/. This alternative form is apparently possible with any verb. The nasalization of the stem vowel probably had its origin from this participle /-n/ coda. In fact, it may be the case that the two forms are simply differences in register, with the nasalization rather than the nasal consonant simply reflecting faster speech. Example (122) illustrates a nonparticiple form of the verb *yu-u* 'walk', (123) the normal participle form of the same verb, with nasalization of the stem vowel, and (124) the alternative participle form of the same verb, with suffix *-n*.

(122) šiŋ kʰʌ́-la yu-sa!
field top-LOC walk.PRF-IMPER
Walk around the field!

(123) yũ̀ ɟuk!
walk.PTCPL go.IMPER
Walk!

(124) ʈ́-ci ʈ̀ŋ-no-sur mí maŋmu yu-n ɖi-nɔk.
3SG-GEN behind-ABL-PROL man many walk-PTCPL go.IMPF.DSJT-MIR
A large crowd was following him.

Further examples of participle forms are given in (125) to (131).

(125) mɨ̀kʈum tsa-la ʈɪ́ gʊ̃ ɖe-suŋ.
hole near-LOC 3SG wait.PTCPL stay.IMPF.DSJT-POBS
He was waiting near a hole.

(126) ʈɪ́-ci ɲɪ́ŋ rʌmbu ʤð,
3SG-GEN courage strong make.PTCPL
With strong courage, he

kʰʌ́ŋb-i nʌŋ-la gãl ʈaŋʌ laŋ-suŋ.
house-GEN inside-LOC go.PRF.PTCPL money request.PRF.DSJT-POBS
went in the house and asked for some money.

(127) cʰuruŋ-la ʈɪ̀ ɲɛ̃ hɔ-u
2SG-LOC follow.PTCPL find.PTCPL come.PRF-INF
The cow that followed you (sg)

ʧʰúŋma ʈɪ́ nʌkpu nɔ́k.
cow DEF black MIR
was black.

(128) ʈɛ-ma ɲiraŋ tsuʈi-la, ʈákʈuk
there-DESC 1PL.EXCL breaktime-LOC all
Then at breaktime, we all

gɔ́-la tsɛrmi tsɛ̃ ɖi.
door-LOC game play.PTCPL go.IMPF.DSJT
would go outdoors to play games.

(129) ʈɪ́ peʤa ʈɪ́ kʰòʈe nʌ́ŋ-no-sur ʈɛ̃n ɖé-suŋ.
DEM child DEF room.GEN inside-ABL-PROL extend.PTCPL stay.DSJT-POBS
That boy, coming out of the room, stayed.

(130) rimuŋ lʌm-gi pʰò-no-ma ʧʰɜ ɖi-nɔk.
rabbit road-GEN over.there-ABL-DESC run.PTCPL go.IMPF.DSJT-MIR
A rabbit is running down from over there on the road.

(131) ʈʌ́ma ʈɔ́i ca-si-ma ʈɛmʌ ɖɪ́ŋ kʰa-suŋ,
then DEM.PL do.PRF-DICT-DESC scent rise smell.PRF-POBS
After those things were done, I smelled a scent rising,

ʈʌ́ma kʰə̃ cɛ̀ ʈì̀ŋ-no ŋʌ ʈõ gʌl-ɪ̃.
then smell.PTCPL even behind-ABL 1SG run.PTCPL go.PRF-VOL
then after it smelled even behind me, I ran away.

The difference between the imperfective and perfective forms is often neutralized in the surface form because final stops and sometimes the liquids /l/ and /r/ are dropped. For example, the imperfective infinitive stem of *ce-u* 'depart' is *ce*, while the perfective infinitive stem is *ceʈ*, but because of the deletion of the /ʈ/ in forming the perfective participle, both the imperfective and perfective participles are *cə̃*, or *cen* in the alternative form. Sentences (132), (133), and (134) have a perfective and two imperfective main verbs respectively but there is no surface marking to distinguish whether the participles are actually perfective or imperfective.

(132) ʈí cə̃ gal.
3SG depart.PTCPL go.PRF.DSJT
He left, or he had left.

(133) ʈí cə̃ ɖi.
3SG depart.PTCPL go.IMPF.DSJT
He is leaving/will leave.

(134) ɲirʌŋ cə̃ ɖɔ-ɪ̃.
1PL.EXCL depart.PTCPL go.IMPF-VOL
We will leave.

It is the same situation with sentences (135) and (136).

(135) ŋʌ cʰõ ɖó-ɪ̃.
1SG.NOM run.PTCPL go.IMPF-VOL
I will go running.

(136) ŋʌ ʧʰʊ̃ gʌl-ɪ̃.
1SG.NOM run.PTCPL go.PRF-VOL
I ran. (I went running, or I had run.)

The participle has basically two uses. One is roughly equivalent to a temporal subordinate clause in English, or to the first of two conjoined clauses with the same subject. In other words, Sherpa will normally use a participial clause plus a main clause where English would have two conjoined clauses with the same subject. On its second use, the participle is used before a motion verb to denote motion associated with the act denoted by the participle, as in sentences (132) through (136) above, as well as sentence (138) below. The difference between the perfective and imperfective forms of the participle can be seen in sentences (137) and (138). The participle in (137) denotes a completed action in the perfective before the subsequent occurrence of another action. The imperfective participle in (138) denotes an ongoing action in the past that to that point had not been successfully completed.

(137) ʈ̪í pèǰa tsʰɐ̀l gɔ-la gal.
3SG book search.PRF.PTCPL outside-LOC go.PRF.DSJT
Having searched for the book, he went outside.

(138) bɛ́rm-i pɛ tsʰʊ̀l gal.
cat-GEN mouse search.IMPF.PTCPL go.PRF.DSJT
The cat went searching for mice.

3.4.7 Durative

The durative (DUR), illustrated in (139), is formed by adding the suffix /-i/ either directly to the same stem that is used to form an infinitive without the infinitive suffix or to the infinitive (which is formed by adding the infinitive suffix to the infinitive stem).

(139) oŋʧʰ-i kʰaŋba ʣo-i.
Ongchu-GEN house built.PRF.INF-DUR
Ongchu was building a house.

It occurs with both perfective and imperfective verbs.

The durative is employed to denote an action or state lasting through an extent of time. Sentence (140) has the sense of the subject iteratively offering flowers to the lamas in the past. The verb in (140) is durative and can be compared to the verb in (141), which has the past observational suffix and thus does not comment on the temporal extent of the action of offering flowers.

(140) ɖaŋ ʈɨ́-ci lɅ̄ma-la mɛ́ɖɔk pʊ̀l-i.
yesterday 3SG-GEN lama-LOC flower offer.PRF.INF-DUR
Yesterday he kept offering flowers to the lamas.

(141) ɖaŋ ʈɨ́-ci lɅ̄ma-la mɛ́ɖɔk pʊ̀l-suŋ.
yesterday 3SG-GEN lama-LOC flower offer.PRF.DSJT-POBS
Yesterday he offered flowers to the lamas.

Sentence (142) has an imperfective disjunctive verb and contrasts in surface form with the use of the durative in the past.

(142) hariŋ ʈ̪í lɐ̄ma-la mɛ́ɖ̪ɔk bùl-gi.
today 3SG lama-LOC flower offer.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
Today he will offer flowers to the lamas.

Sentence (143) has the durative suffix on the verb in a negative sentence with the meaning that the subject of the sentence will not be doing an action that extends through time, which would be walking in circles around the house. Sentence (143) contrasts with sentence (144), which is disjunctive.

(143) sʌla ʈ̪í kʰʌŋba mó kor-i.
tomorrow 3SG house NEG.IMPF circle.around.IMPF.INF-DUR
Tomorrow he will not circle around the house.

(144) sʌla ʈ̪í kʰʌŋba kor-ci.
tomorrow 3SG house circle.around.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
Tomorrow he will circle around the house.

The durative does not co-occur with the volitional and disjunctive forms and this neutralizes the volitional-nonvolitional contrast. Sentences (145), (146). and (147) are essentially equivalent sentences with future, present, and past reference respectively. The surface form of the verb is the same for the past and future, whereas the durative form has the observation evidential.

(145) ŋʌ maʈ̪ʌk ʧèʈ̪-ĩ.
1SG.NOM rope cut.IMPF-VOL
I will cut the rope.

(146) ŋʌ maʈ̪ʌk čèʈ̪-i. wɛ́.
1SG.NOM rope cut.IMPF.INF-DUR OBS
I am cutting the rope.

(147) ɲɛ maʈ̪ʌk čèʈ̪-ĩ.
1SG.GEN rope cut.PRF-VOL
I cut the rope.

The observation evidential is often used with durative construction having a first person subject as in sentences (148) and (149) below as well as (146) above.

(148) ŋʌ čʰoŋ-i wɛ́.
1SG.NOM run.IMPF.INF-DUR OBS
I am running.

(149) ŋʌ pʰur-i wɛ́.
1SG.NOM fly.IMPF.INF-DUR OBS
I am flying.

But the durative can be used alone to denote an on-going action, as in sentence (150), to denote a situationally contexted event or with the mirative suffix to denote a discovered event, as in (151).

(150) čʰʌrwa čɛ̀ʈ̪uŋba ɟé-i.
rain heavily strike.IMPF.INF-DUR
It is raining heavily.

(151) čʰū ɭ̥à-i-nɔk.
water boil.IMPF.INF-DUR-MIR
The water is boiling.

The durative suffix can also take a participle form, with nasalization of the suffix vowel. It denotes an action that is subsidiary to the action of the main verb of the clause and that the action took place over a period of time. In sentence (152), the durative participle form indicates that the searching was extended over the time period of "all day" and is subsidiary to the cat not finding a mouse.

(152) bɛ́rm-i ɲin ʈák pɛ tsʰól-ĩ̃ má ɲɛ.
cat-GEN day all mouse search.IMPF-DUR.PTCPL NEG find.PRF
The cat was searching for mice all day and didn't find (any.)

The durative participle in sentence (153) suggests that the use of the rock extended over a period of time and implies iterative action.

(153) ɖaŋ ɲɛ ɖo ʈʰó-ĩ̃ ɟép-u cī ʈí na-nɔk.
yesterday 1SG.GEN rock use.IMPF-DUR.PTCPL strike.PRF-INF dog DEF sick.IMPF.MIR
The dog that I was hitting with the rock yesterday is sick.

In sentence (154), the reduplicative use of the durative participle for 'look' three times amply conveys the sense of looking around for something, in this case a bear.

(154) ʈʌ́ma ɭā-ĩ̃ ɭā-ĩ̃ ɭā-ĩ̃ gál-si-mʌ,
then look.PRF-DUR.PTCPL REDUP REDUP go.PRF.DSJT-DICT-DESC
Then after having looked around a while,

nì̀kʌr ʈóm-gi tsà-la ʈʰen-u-i-nɔk.
two.COL bear-GEN near-LOC pull-INF-DUR-MIR
both of them got close to the bear.

The durative also appears in a unique narrative construction that seemingly puts the listener "inside the action" so to speak. It consists of a perfective stem plus the

infinitive suffix plus the durative suffix and finishes with the mirative suffix. In sentence (155) it serves to introduce a participant in a story.

(155) yúl-la mí ʧʰukpu-i hoʈ-u-i-nɔk.
village-LOC PERSON rich-INDEF COP.PRF-INF-DUR-MIR
There was a rich person in the village.

Sentences (156) and (157) use the construction with the verb *sír-u* 'say' to move the dialogue forward.

(156) "hariŋ hín-sa gɔm-i sʌma ʈí ɲɛ-suŋ,"
today COP.IMPF-EMPH evening-GEN food DEF find.PRF-POBS
"Since today I have found dinner,"

sa-u-i-nɔk.
say.PRF-INF-DUR-MIR
(he) said.

(157) bɛ́rmaŋ ʈí-ci sa-u-i-nɔk, "mín,
cat DEF-GEN say.PRF-INF-DUR-MIR NEG.COP.IMPF
The cat said, "No,

cʰɔ́re ʤinok ʤo-suŋ."
2SG.GEN lie make.PRF-POBS
you lied."

Its use in sentence (158) emphasizes the continuance of the cat believing "his words."

(158) bɛ́rmaŋ ʈí-ci ʈí-ci ʈʌmɲɛ pʌʈe ca-u-i-nɔk.
cat DEF-GEN 3SG-GEN words belief do.PRF-INF-DUR-MIR
The cat believed his words.

With verbs that form their disjunctive form with the suffix /-i/ and whose infinitive stem is identical to the nonvolitional stem, the durative is homophonous with the disjunctive form.

3.4.8 Hortative

The suffix used in the hortative (first person plural imperative) in Sherpa is the disjunctive suffix or a suffix homomorphous with it. The hortative clause often uses the hortative particle *lo* in addtion, to begin the clause, and often lacks an overt subject, but since the second person imperative usually has a distinct verb form this does not cause ambiguity.

(159) lo, kʰʌŋba ḍi.
HOR house go.IMPF.DSJT
Let's go home.

(160) lo, sʌma sʌ-i.
HOR food eat.IMPF-DSJ
Let's eat (food).

(161) lo, šiŋ ţe-i.
HOR wood chop.IMPF-DSJ
Let's chop wood.

However, the use of *lo* is not obligatory, as illustrated in (162) and (163).

(162) gʌm-gi kʰʌ́ bé-ci.
box-GEN top open.IMPF-DSJ
Let's open the box.

(163) sēr ʈ̪ɪ́ tsʰɔ̀l-gi.
gold DEF search.IMPF-DSJ
Let's look for the gold.

If the subject (agent) is specifically mentioned, it must be the inclusive form of the first person plural pronoun.

(164) ɖ̪ʌ́kpu mɪ̀kʈ̪um ʈu-ci.
1.INCL.PL hole dig.IMPF-DSJ
Let us dig a hole.

(165) *ɲirʌŋ mɪ̀kʈ̪um ʈu-ci.
1SG.EXCL.PL hole dig.IMPF-DSJ
Let us dig a hole.

The negative hortative employs the negative imperfective prefix with the disjunctive form of the verb.

(166) lo, kʰʌŋba mi-ɖi.
HOR house NEG-go.IMPF-DSJ
Let's not go home.

(167) lo, sʌma mʌ-sʌ-i.
HOR food NEG-eat.IMPF-DSJ
Let's not eat (food).

(168) lo, šin me-ʈe-i.
HOR wood NEG-chop.IMPF-DSJ
Let's not chop wood.

(169) gʌm-gi kʰʌ́ me-bé-ci.
box-GEN top NEG-open.IMPF-DSJ
Let's not open the box.

(170) sēr ʈí mo-tsʰòl-gi.
gold DEF NEG-search.IMPF-DSJ
Let's not look for the gold.

(171) ɖʌ́kpu mìkʈum mu-ʈu-ci.
1SG.INCL.PL hole NEG-dig.IMPF-DSJ
Let us not dig a hole.

The examples in (172) to (177) illustrate various forms of the expression *ɲìlok ɖɔ-p* 'go to sleep'. The last two illustrate hortative uses.

(172) ʈí ɲìlok gal.
3SG sleep go.PRF.DSJT
He went to sleep.

(173) ʈí ɲìlok ɖi.
3SG sleep go.IMPF.DSJT
He will go to sleep.

(174) ʈí ɲìlok mi ɖi.
3SG sleep NEG.IMPF go.IMPF.DSJT
He will not go to sleep.

(175) ʈí ɲìlok ɟuk!
3sg sleep go.IMPER
Go to sleep!

(176) lo ɲìlok ɖi.
HOR sleep go.IMPF.DSJT
Let's sleep.

(177) lo ɲìlok mi ɖi.
HOR sleep NEG.IMPF go.IMPF.DSJT
Let's not sleep.

Sentences (178) through (184) are examples of the hortative in context.

(Deciding what to do while at home.)

(178) lo pʰilim-la ɖi.
HOR movie-LOC go.IMPF.DSJT
A: Let's go to the movies.

(179) ŋʌ pʰilim rʌ̀ŋ-la mo ɖɔ, kʰʌŋba rʌ̀ŋ ɖeʈ-ɾ̃.
1SG movie even-LOC NEG.IMPF go.IMPF house even stay.IMPF-VOL
B: I won't to go to the movies, I'll stay home.

(While walking through the village.)

(180) lo, oŋcʰ-i kʰʌŋba ɖi.
HOR PROPER.MALE-GEN house go.IMPF.DSJT
A: Let's go to Ongchu's house.

(181) mɪ́n, ɖʌ́m-i kʰʌŋba ke ɖi.
NEG.COP.IMPF PROPER.FEM-GEN house instead go.IMPF.DSJT
B: No, (let's) go to Damu's house instead.

(Choosing which way to go.)

(182) tsūko-i ʈʰaka ɖi?
which-INDEF way go.IMPF.DSJT
A: Which way should we go?

(183) ɖi ʈʰaka ɖi.
this way go.IMPF.DSJT
B: (Let's) go this way.

(184) mɪ́n, ɖi ʈʰaka ke ɖi.
NEG.COP.IMPF this way instead go.IMPF.DSJT
C: No, (Let's) go this way instead.

3.4.9 Dictative

The dictative (DICT) suffix is used in narratives much like, perhaps, the English present, in order to make the action seem more immediate and compelling. This suffix has the same form as the imperfective verb stem for the verb *sír-u* 'say'; hence the name "dictative" from the Latin verb *dīcere* 'say/speak/tell'.

Sentence (185) is from a story about the consultant going out to chase a type of pheasant (which for some reason he calls a *jungle chicken* in English) when he was an adolescent.

(185) pàle gɔmu sórip sórip-la
one.day evening twilight twilight-LOC
One evening at twilight

rìǰo šòr ɖɔ-sĩ gʌ́l-si.
jungle.chicken chase.IMPF go.IMPF-DICT.PTCPL go.PRF-DICT
(I) went to go chase jungle chickens.

Sentences (186) and (187) are from a story about the consultant failing to collect enough wood after school one day because he had spent too much time getting drunk on rhododendron nectar.

(186) čùǰɛ re ʈʰɛ̀-n ʈʰuŋ-si.
hour about suck.IMPF-PTCPL drink-DICT
(I) drank for about an hour.

(187) kʰʌŋba hɔ-si ʈí tsʰɛrmuŋ mʌ́mi ɲirma má ca.
house come.PRF-DICT DEM day mother anger NEG.PRF do.PRF.DSJT
That day (when I) came to the house, mother did not get mad.

Sentences (188) and (189) are from a fable about a mouse outwitting a cat who wants to eat him; sentence (189) illustrates that the nasalization associated with participles can occur on the dictative suffix.

(188) pɛ pʌ́la "ŋʌ sʌma tsʰò̀l-u hɔ-si."
mouse turn 1SG food search.IMPF-INF come.PRF-DICT
The mouse (said), "I came looking for food."

(189) bɛ́rmaŋ ʈ̪í gɔ́-la gu-sĩ̌ gu-sĩ̌
cat DEF outside-LOC wait.IMPF-DICT.PTCPL REDUP
The cat waited and waited outside

pɛ nʌ́mlʌŋ má hɔ.
mouse never NEG.PRF come.PRF.
(but) the mouse never came.

Another structure where the dictative appears is in the composite suffix /-si-ma/, which consists of the dictative and descentive suffixes and which is used to denote that the actions in a clause temporally precede those of the subsequent clauses. Sentences (190) and (191) are from a story about the consultant's cousins' encounter with a bear that had been eating the corn in their field. The sentences are successive in the tale and nicely demonstrate how the dictative-descentive suffix serves to temporally delineate the action.

(190) ʈ̪ʌ́ma l̥ā-ĩ̌ l̥ā-ĩ̌ l̥ā-ĩ̌ gʌ́l-si-ma,
then look.PRT-DUR.PTCPL REDUP REDUP go.PRF-DICT-DESC
Then after having looked around a while,

nì-kʌr ʈ̪óm-gi tsà-la ʈ̪ʰen-u-i-nɔk.
two-CLC bear-GEN near-LOC pull-INF-DUR-MIR
both of them got close to the bear.

(191) ʈʌ́ma ʈóm-gi tsa-la ʈʰen-si-ma,
then bear-GEN near-LOC pulled.be.PRF-DICT-DESC
Then after getting close to the bear,

nì-kʌr pʰʌ̄r-ne,
two-COL afraid.be.IMPF-ABL
both of them from being afraid,

hāi ʈʌ̄ŋ húi sa-u ʈɔ̀̃,
hai with hui say.PRF.INF hear.IMPF.PTCPL
uttered yells and hearing them,

ʈom ʈi kʰòk la-nɔk.
bear DEF upright rise.PRF.MIR
the bear got up.

3.4.10 Ablative

The ablative verb suffix (ABL) is of the form /-ne/, the same as the ablative case clitic that occurs with noun phrases, and is used to denote successive actions between clauses with some degree of a causal relationship. Sentence (192) is a simple sentence with the subject having caught something in the past. The same verb is used in the ablative in sentence (193) followed by the main verb, which is the perfective form of *ɖɔ-p* 'go'. The verb *ʤím-u* 'catch' is transitive and so takes a genitive subject in (192) but since the main verb of (193) is intransitive, the subject is in the nominative since it does not agree with the dependent ablative verb form. There is the sense in (193) that the going of the subject is somehow causally related to the subject having caught something.

(192) ʈí-ci ʤím-suŋ.
3SG-GEN catch.PRF.DSJT-POBS
He caught (it).

(193) t̪í dʑím-ne gal.
3SG catch.PRF-ABL go.PRF.DSJT
He caught (it) and went.

Sentences (194) and (195) better illustrate the causal and successive temporal ordering to the employment of the ablative. In (194), it is the cat's belief in the words of the mouse that leads to the cat uttering the words in the second clause. In sentence (195), it is the event of the subject's being afraid in the second clause that leads to their yelling in the third clause.

(194) bɛ́rmaŋ t̪í-ci t̪í-ci t̪ʌ̀mɲɛ pʌt̪e ca-ne,
cat DEF-GEN 3SG-GEN words belief do.PRF-ABL
After the cat believed his words,

“lo t̪ʌ́ma d̪oŋ-a!” sa-u-i-nɔk.
HOR then front.IMPER-AUG say.PRF-INF-DUR-MIR
“Then lead the way!” he said.

(195) t̪ʌ́ma t̪óm-gi ʦa-la t̪ʰen-si-ma,
then bear-GEN near.LOC extend.PRF-DICT-DESC
Then after getting close to the bear,

nì-kʌr pʰʌ̄r-ne,
two-COL afraid.be.IMPF-ABL
both of them from being afraid,

hāi t̪ʌ̄ŋ húi sa-u,
hai with hui say.PRF-INF
uttered yells, and

t̪ð̀ t̪om t̪i kʰòk la-nɔk.
hear.IMPF.PTCPL bear DEF upright rise.PRF.DSJT-MIR
hearing them, the bear got up.

3.4.11 Locative

The locative (LOC) verbs suffix takes the form /-la/, again the same form as the locative case clitic, and is attached to the inflected infinitive verb form, and is used to denote that the subject did the action in the main clause for the purpose of the action of the verb in the locative clause. Sentences (196), (197), and (198) contain examples of this structure.

(196) ɖam-i sa-p-la sʌma tsò-suŋ.
PROPER.FEM-GEN eat.IMPF-INF-LOC food cook.PRF.DSJT-POBS
Damu cooked food in order to eat.

(197) ʤaŋmu ɲì̀lok ɖɔ-p-la kʰʌŋba gá́l.
PROPER.FEM sleep go.IMPF-INF-LOC house go.PRF.DSJT
Zangmu went home in order to go to sleep.

(198) bɛ́rmʌŋ ɲʌ ʤí́m-u-la ʨʰī̄ tsí́p-la gu-nɔk.
cat fish catch.IMPF-INF-LOC water.GEN beside-LOC wait.PRF.DSJT-MIR
A cat waited by the water in order to catch a fish.

One could simply analyze this as an instance of the locative case clitic, combining with clauses.

3.5 Copula verbs and evidential particles

Clauses with nonverbal predicates behave differently from clauses with verbal predicates and need to be discussed separately.

Sherpa uses the same copula for existence (199), location (200), identity (201), and the predicate use of adjectives (202). The copula is defective in its conjugation but includes both perfective and imperfective forms. The imperfective form *hín* is invariant.

(199) ʈɛ́ yul hín.
up.there village COP.IMPF
There is a village there.

(200) kʰʌnb-i ɟɛp-la góʈʰe hín.
house-GEN back-LOC cowshed COP.IMPF
The cowshed is behind the house.

(201) ʈí ɟeken hín.
3SG.NOM teacher COP.IMPF
He is a teacher.

(202) ɖaŋ ɲɛ ʤɔ-u ʤìnɔk ʈí mɛlwa hín.
yesterday 1SG.GEN make.PRF-INF lie DEF bad COP.IMPF
The lie that I told yesterday is bad.

(203) ʈí-la sèr ʈèr-u mí ʈí hó ʈí hín.
3SG-LOC gold give.IMPF-INF man DEF COP.PRF 3SG COP.IMPF
He was the person who gave the gold to him.

The perfective form *hɔʈ-u* is conjugated like other verbs when semantic restrictions are taken into account, such as the fact that the volitional ending *–ĩ* is not encountered with *hɔʈ-u* since the copula is not congruent with knowledge of willful volitionality. The perfective copula normally refers to a past state, as in (204) and (205).

(204) ʈí mí bombu hoʈ-u.
DEM man fat COP.PRF-INF
That man was fat.

(205) ɲirʌŋ ʈeŋbu hoʈ̪-u.
1PL.EXCL honest COP.PRF-INF
We were honest.

The examples in (204) and (205) occur in infinitive form. The form in (204) illustrates the durative form, while that in (205) illustrates a durative form with the mirative suffix.

(206) ʈ̪í hoʈ̪-u ʈ̪í ɖ̪ɛ ho-i pe.
3SG COP.PRF-INF DEF here COP.PRF-DUR COMPL
He was the one who was here.

(207) yúl-la mí ʧʰukpu-i hoʈ̪-u-i-nɔk.
village-LOC PERSON rich-INDEF COP.PRF-INF-DUR-MIR
There was a rich person in the village.

It is possible for both copulas to appear in the same clause, as in (208). This sentence talks about a previous time when Ongchu was handsome and implies that he is no longer so.

(208) oŋʧʰu ʤemu hoʈ̪-u hín pe.
Ongchu handsome COP.PRFINF COP.IMPF COMPL
Onchu used to be handsome.

There are two other words in Sherpa that might seem to function as copulas, *wɛ́* and *nɔ́k*, since they often appear at the end of clauses with nonverbal predicates without the copula verb *hín/hoʈ̪u*. However, these two words are actually evidential particles and there are cases where both a copula and one of these particles appear in the same clause, in which case the evidential follows the copula, as in (209) amd (210).

(209) ɲíǰi bɛ́rmʌŋ t̪í sɛru l̥ɔ̀ la-u hǐn-nɔk.
one.day cat NMZ very hunger rise.PRF-INF COP.IMPF-MIR
One day a cat was very hungry.

(210) gɔla bɛ́rmʌŋ gʊ̃ d̪et̪-u t̪í,
outside cat wait.PTCPL stay.IMPF-INF DEF
the cat that stayed waiting outside,

ʧʰʌ̀ mɛ́t̪-u hǐn-nɔk.
known NEG.COP-INF COP.IMPF-MIR
he was unaware of.

The evidential particles *wɛ́* and *nɔ́k* carry evidential notions of firsthand knowledge and discovered knowledge respectively and are referred to in this work as the observational and the mirative. The mirative word *nɔ́k* is identical to the mirative suffix that appears on verbs. The meaning of the observational suffix *wɛ́* is similar to that of the past observational verbal suffix *-suŋ* except that *wɛ́* may refer to present states as well as past states whose effects extend to the present.

There are in general four sorts of clauses with nonverbal predicates: (1) those with imperfective *hǐn*; (2) those with perfective *hot̪u*; (3) those with observational *wɛ́* ; and (4) those with mirative *nɔ́k*. There are thus four different ways to express the meaning 'that person is/was fat'. Sentence (211) with the observational evidential *wɛ́* implies that the speaker has known the fat man for a long time and assumes that the listener is not familiar with the fat man.

(211) t̪í mí bombu wɛ́.
DEM man fat OBS
That man is/was fat.

Sentence (212) with the mirative evidential *nɔ́k* implies that the speaker has found out that the man is fat and makes no assumption as to the listener's knowledge of this fact. With both sentences (212) and (211), the reference to the man's fatness may be either as a current or past fact.

(212) ʈ́í mí bombu nɔ́k.
DEM man fat MIR
That man is/was fat.

Sentence (213) with the imperfective copula *hín* makes the assumption that both the speaker and the listener are familiar with the man's fatness, and that the fatness is a currently known fact.

(213) ʈ́í mí bombu hín.
DEM man fat COP.IMPF
That man is fat.

Sentence (214) with the perfective copula *hóʈu* makes the assumption that both the speaker and the listener are familiar with the man's fatness, and that the fatness was a past fact.

(214) ʈ́í mí bombu hoʈ-u.
DEM man fat COP.PRF-INF
That man was fat.

Since the evidentials only cover a semantic subset of the semantic space of the copula, a hierarchical relationship of Observational > Mirative > Copula delimits the parameters of which one is used:

- *ʈí mí bombu nɔ́k.* "That man is/was fat.'

Here the speaker discovered that he was fat when the speaker met him or saw a picture of him.

- *ʈí mí bombu wɛ́.* "That man is/was fat.'

Here the speaker lived around the fat man as he grew fat..

- *ʈí mí bombu hín.* "That man is fat.'

Here the fat man is known to the community so it is general knowledge that he is fat.

- *ʈí mí bombu hóʈu.* "That man was fat.'

Here the man used to live in the community or has lost weight. The evidential *wɛ́* is highest in the hierarchy because it covers the smallest semantic space which denotes that the speaker has firsthand knowledge of a fact or an event. After this is the notion of discovery of a fact or event which is more likely than that of firsthand knowledge. The copula covers the semantic space of general knowledge that is likely to be known to both the speaker and the listener.

Sentences (215) and (216) show further differences between the copula and observational. Sentence (215) shows that the speaker was there at the inception of the hiding of the cup, whereas (216) assumes that the listener is aware of the cup that will be hidden tomorrow.

(215) ɖaŋ ɲɛ ba-u čɛ̀ni ʈí̱ ɟerpu wɛ́.
yesterday 1SG.GEN hide.PRF-INF cup FOC big OBS
The cup that I hid yesterday is big.

(216) sʌla ɲɛ bʌ-u čɛ̀ni ʈí̱ ɟerpu hĺn.
tomorrow 1SG.GEN hide.IMPF-INF cup DEF big COP.IMPF
The cup that I will hid tomorrow is big.

Sentence (217) assumes that the listener knows both Damu and Zangmu or that they are both present when the sentence is uttered.

(217) ɖámu ʤʌŋmu sinʌŋ ɟɛrpu hĺn.
PROPER.FEM PROPER.FEM than big COP.IMPF
Damu is bigger than Zangmu.

Sentence (218) does not assume that the listener is familiar with Sherku but neither evidential may be used here because *wɛ́* would assume that Sherku was present at the inception of deciding on his name and *nɔ́k* would mean that Sherku just found out his name and did not know what it was previously.

(218) ŋʌ šɛrku hĺn.
1sg.NOM PROPER.MALE COP.IMPF
I am Sherku.

Sentence (219) again assumes that Zangmu's fatness is somehow general knowledge.

(219) ʤʌŋmu bombu hĺn.
PROPER.FEM fat COP.IMPF
Zangmu is fat.

Sentence (220) does not assume that the listener is familiar with the speaker's father but neither evidential may be used here because *wɛ́* would assume that the speaker was present at the inception of the speaker's father becoming his father and *nɔ́k* would mean that the speaker just found out who is father is and did not know who he was previously.

(220) ʈ̪ɪ́ ɲɛ pʌ́lu hɪ́n.
3SG.NOM 1SG.GEN father COP.IMPF
He is my father.

Sentence (221) implies that it is general knowledge that Zangmu is from Nepal.

(221) ʤʌŋmu yo nɛpal-no-ma hɪ́n.
PROPER.FEM up.there Nepal.ABL-DESC COP.IMPF
Zangmu is from up there in Nepal.

The difference between (222) and (223) revolves around how the speaker knows whether or not there is water inside the bottle under consideration.

(222) poŋ nʌ́ ʧʰū nɔ́k.
bottle inside water MIR
There is water in the bottle.

(223) poŋ nʌ́ ʧʰū wɛ́.
bottle inside water OBS
There is water in the bottle.

If the speaker had previously opened the bottle and thus discovered that there was water inside then the sentence that would be used is (222). On the other hand, if the speaker

were the one who had poured the water into the bottle or was present and observed the water being poured into the bottle then (223) would be used.

The use of the copula *hín/hó̱tu* with sentence (224) would be pragmatically infelicitous since it presupposes that the bottle under consideration is in the state of always having water in it for some reason and that this would be general knowledge.

(224) ʔpoŋ nʌ́ ɕʰū hín.
bottle inside water COP.IMPF
There is water in the bottle.

Sentences (225) and (226) contrast somewhat differently. Sentence (225) means that the student goes to a school of which the speaker is well aware and it is general knowledge within the community that the person is a student. Sentence (226) means that the speaker discovered that the person is a student and had no reason to think that she was before discovering this fact.

(225) t̪í lɔpt̪ʰa hín.
3SG student COP.IMPF
She is a student.

(226) t̪í lɔpt̪ʰa nɔ́k.
3SG student MIR
She is a student.

However the use of *wɛ́* would not be semantically felicitous here because it would imply that the speaker somehow caused the person's state of studenthood outside the normal parameters of becoming a student and that this fact was not general knowledge.

Cases involving general real world knowledge that anybody would be expected to have must use *hín*, as in sentences (227) and (228).

(227) yo nʌm-la kʌ̀rma maŋmu. hín.
up.there sky-LOC star many COP.IMPF
There are many stars up in the sky.

(228) nʌm-la ŋormu hín.
sky-LOC blue COP.IMPF
The sky is blue.

Contrast these two sentences with sentences (229) and (230) which are quite infelicitous since they imply that the speaker was there at the inception of the many stars being in the sky and the sky being made blue.

(229) *yo nʌm-la kʌ̀rma maŋmu. wɛ́.
up.there sky-LOC star many OBS
There are many stars in the sky.

(230) *nʌm-la ŋormu wɛ́.
sky-LOC blue OBS
The sky is blue.

Sentences (231) and (232) are somewhat less infelicitous than (229) and (230) since one could imagine circumstances where a person had never seen the sky.

(231) *ʔyo nʌm-la kʌ̀rma maŋmu. nɔ́k.
up.there sky-LOC star many MIR
There are many stars in the sky.

(232) *ʔnʌm-la ŋormu nɔ́k.
sky-LOC blue MIR
The sky is blue.

The evidential particles only occur in main clauses, so only the copula verb can appear in subordinate clauses with nonverbal predicates, as in the relative clause in (233).

(233) ʈ̪ɪ́ ʌ̀ŋa hoʈ̪-u kʰò̩ʈa nʌ́ gal.
3SG child COP.PRF-INF room inside go.PRF.DSJT
He entered the room where there was child.

Sentence (234) contains two instances of *hoʈ̪u*, the perfective copula. The first is the infinitive form used here in a headless relative clause. The second instance is the form *ho-i*, which is conjugated in the durative form since the speaker has knowledge of the previous whereabouts over time of the person referred to in the initial argument, *ʈ̪ɪ́ hoʈ̪u ʈ̪ɪ́*.

(234) ʈ̪ɪ́ hoʈ̪-u ʈ̪ɪ́ ɖ̪ɛ ho-i pe.
3SG COP.PRF-INF DEF here COP.PRF-DUR COMPL
He was the one who was here.

The contrast between sentences (235) and (236) highlights the relative time reference between the use of the copular particles and *hoʈ̪u*. The former has a present time reference and thus employs the imperfective copula *hɪn*. The latter has a relative time reference to the past of the time of utterance so the copula occur with the perfective copula *hoʈ̪u*.

(235) ḏʌkpu ḏɛ hoṯ-u ṯí ga hín.
1PL.INCL here cop.PRF-INF DEF happy COP.IMPF
It is good for us to have been here.

(236) ḏʌkpu ṯɛ́ hoṯ-u ṯí ga ho-i pe.
1PL.INCL there COP.PRF.INF FGA happy COP.PRF-DUR COMPL
It was good for us to have been there.

In addition to the two primary evidentials, *nɔ́k* and *wɛ́*, the word *sinɔ́k* marks the hearsay evidential. The hearsay evidential is derived from a combination of the dictative particle with the mirative particle. It marks knowledge that was provided by another individual. It contrasts with the two primary evidentials because *wɛ́*, the observational evidential, marks the notion that the information is first hand knowledge of the speaker, while *nɔ́k*, the mirative evidential, implies that the information is secondhand knowledge and was discovered or found out by the speaker.

In sentences (237) and (238), the speaker can use the mirative form of a verb alone or the mirative form a verb followed by the hearsay evidential. It is interesting to note that the hearsay evidential follows a verb that already is inflected with the mirative evidential.

(237) ḍa sá-p mí ṯí hɛmbur-la ḏe-ci-nɔk.
rice eat.IMPF-INF person DEF PNP-LOC stay-DSJ-MIR
The person who eats rice lives in Kathmandu.

(238) ḍa sá-p mí ṯí hɛmbur-la ḏe-ci-nɔk. sí-nɔk.
rice eat.IMPF-INF person DEF PNP-LOC stay-DSJ-MIR DICT-MIR
The person who eats rice lives in Kathmandu.

However, the use of the observational evidential would not be felicitous here because of the semantic space that this evidential suffix covers. It would somehow imply that the speaker was somehow present at the inception of the rice-eating person living in Kathmandu.

(239) *ḍa sá-p mí ʈí hɛmbur-la ɖe-ci wɛ́.
rice eat.IMPF-INF person DEF PROPER-LOC stay-DSJ OBS
The person who eats rice lives in Kathmandu.

The evidential particle *wɛ́* occurs not only in clauses with nonverbal predicates but also in clauses with verbs, more specifically, durative imperfective verbs, as in (240) to (244).

(240) ʈóm làŋ šòr-i wɛ́.
bear.NOM ox.NOM chase.IMPF-DUR OBS
The bear is chasing the ox.

(241) ŋʌ sʌma sʌ́-i wɛ́.
1SG.NOM food.NOM eat.IMPF-DUR OBS
I am eating food.

(242) ŋʌ ná ɖuŋ-i wɛ́.
1SG barley beat.IMPF-DUR OBS
I am beating the barley.

(243) ŋʌ maʈʌk čèʈ-i. wɛ́.
1SG.NOM rope cut.IMPF-DUR OBS
I am cutting the rope.

(244) ŋʌ čʰoŋ-i wɛ́.

1SG.NOM run.IMPF-DUR OBS
I am running.

It is also possible to get *wɛ́* with perfective verbs, as in (245).

(245) ɲɛ ʈ̪í-ci kʰʌŋba ʤo-ɽ̃ wɛ́.
1SG.GEN 3SG-GEN house make.PRF-VOL OBS
I built his house.

The mirative evidential particle *nɔ́k* is identical in form to the mirative suffix on verbs, so it is difficult to determine whether there are clauses with the particle following a verb. I have analyzed all instances of the evidential morpheme occurring at the end of clauses as the suffix.

The observational evidential is used when the speaker is present and aware of an event from its inception. Sentence (246) employs the observational evidential particle because the speaker is aware of the fact that he is beating the barley and was aware of the inception of the action. On the other hand, the use of the mirative evidential in the same situation, as in sentence (247), would be infelicitous because it would imply that somehow the speaker did not know that he had started beating the barley nor that he was doing so until, at one point in the course of the activity, he suddenly discovered that he was doing so.

(246) ŋʌ ná ɖ̪uŋ-i wɛ́.
1SG barley beat.IMPF-DUR OBS
I am beating the barley.

(247) *ŋʌ ná ɖuŋ-i-nɔk.
1SG barley beat.IMPF-DUR-MIR
*I am beating the barley.

With a third person as subject the use of both the mirative evidential and the observational evidential would be felicitous but the circumstances of the speaker's knowledge of the activity would be different. Sentence (248) would be used, for example, if the speaker came into a room where someone was already beating the barley and thus discovered that the activity was taking place.

(248) ʈí ná ɖuŋ-i-nɔk.
3SG barley beat.IMPF-DUR-MIR
He is beating the barley.

Sentence (249) would be used if the speaker was present when the other person (x) began beating the barley and could be used if the speaker left the room where the barley was being beaten and then encountered another person (y) who inquired as to what the other person (x) was doing.

(249) ʈí ná ɖuŋ-i wɛ́.
3SG barley beat.IMPF-DUR OBS
He is beating the barley.

3.6 Negation

Negation is expressed sometimes by verb morphology and sometimes by a particle immediately preceding the verb. The negative particle is *má* and it is used with

perfective verbs. I actually have little evidence whether the negative particle used in perfective clauses is a separate word rather than a prefix, but the discussion here treats it as a separate word. With perfective verbs, neither the volitional ending nor the past observational ending is usually found in the negative construction; the perfective verb stem without inflection is employed instead. The mirative suffix, however, does occur on the verb when a negative particle is used. Sentences (250) through (259) are five pairs of sentences, the first an affirmative sentence, the second the corresponding negative.

(250) ɲɛ ɖorʌ kòn-ɾ̃.
1SG.GEN gi wear.PRF-VOL
I wore the gi.

(251) ɲɛ ɖorʌ má kòn.
1SG.GEN gi NEG.PRF wear.PRF
I did not wear the gi.

(252) ʈí-ci ɖorʌ kòn-suŋ.
3SG-GEN gi wear.PRF.DSJT-POBS
He wore the gi.

(253) ʈí-ci ɖorʌ má kòn.
3SG-GEN gi NEG.PRF wear.PRF.DSJT
He did not wear the gi.

(254) ʈí yú-suŋ.
3SG walk.PRF.DSJT-POBS
He walked.

(255) ʈí má yúk.
3SG NEG.PRF walk.PRF.DSJT
He did not walk.

(256) t̪ɪ́-ci salmʌ ɻɛ̀-suŋ.
3SG-GEN garbage burn.PRF.DSJT-POBS
He burnt the garbage.

(257) t̪ɪ́-ci salmʌ má ɻɛ̀.
3SG-GEN garbage NEG.PRF burn.PRF.DSJT
He did not burn the garbage.

(258) t̪ɪ́ tsʰár-nɔk.
3SG grow.up.PRF-MIR
He grew up.

(259) t̪ɪ́ má tsʰár-nɔk.
3SG NEG.PRF grow.up.PRF-MIR
He did not grow up.

With imperfective verbs, the negative morpheme is more clearly a prefix, since its form is determined by the phonology of the verb stem. It takes the general form *mV-,* where the vowel of the negative is the same as the first vowel of the verb stem. As with the perfective, the various suffixes are not used with the negative; rather, the verb consists of only the negative prefix and the verb stem. Sentences (260) through (269) are five pairs of imperfective sentences, the first an affirmative sentence, the second the corresponding negative.

(260) ŋʌ d̪orʌ kòn-ɪ̃.
1SG gi wear.IMPF-VOL
I will wear the gi.

(261) ŋʌ d̪orʌ mò-kon.
1SG gi NEG-wear.IMPF
I will not wear the gi.

(262) ʈ́í yú-i.
3SG walk.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
He will walk.

(263) ʈ́í mu-yú.
3SG NEG-walk.IMPF.DSJT
He will not walk.

(264) ʈ́í salmʌ ɻɛ̀-i.
3SG garbage burn.IMPF.DSJT.DSJ
He will burn garbage.

(265) ʈ́í salmʌ mɛ-ɻɛ̀.
3SG garbage NEG-burn.IMPF.DSJT
He will not burn garbage.

(266) ʈ́í tsʰʌ̀r-ci.
3SG grow.up.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
He will grow up.

(267) ʈ́í mʌ-tsʰʌ̀r.
3SG NEG-grow.up.IMPF.DSJT
He will not grow up.

(268) ŋʌ mì̀kʈum ɖu-ɤ̃.
1SG hole dig.IMPF-VOL
I will dig a hole.

(269) ŋʌ mì̀kʈum mu-ɖu.
1SG hole NEG-dig.IMPF
I will not dig a hole.

The copula verb has two irregular negative forms, one imperfective the other perfective. The negative form of imperfective *hín* is *mín*, as contrasted in sentences (270) through (274).

(270) ʤʌŋmu ɲɛ num mɪ́n, aǰi hɪ́n.
PROPER.FEM 1SG.GEN younger.sister NEG.COP.IMPF older.sister COP.IMPF
Zangmu is not my younger sister, (she) is (my) older sister.

(271) ɖ̲ámu šɛraŋga hɪ́n.
PROPER.FEM skinny COP.IMPF
Damu is skinny.

(272) ɖ̲ámu šeraŋga mɪ́n.
PROPER.FEM skinny NEG.COP.IMPF
Damu is not skinny.

(273) ŋʌ lɔpʈʰa hɪ́n.
1SG student COP.IMPF
I am a student.

(274) ŋʌ lɔpʈʰa mɪ́n.
1SG student NEG.COP.IMPF
I am not a student.

The negative form of perfective *hoɖ̲u* is *meɖ̲u,* as contrasted in sentences (275) through (278). Copular clauses thus contrast with other verbal clauses in that negation is represented by the verb morphology and not by a separate word or morpheme..

(275) cʰuruŋ cʷʰukpu hoɖ̲-u.
2SG rich COP.PRF-INF
You were rich.

(276) cʰuruŋ cʷʰukpu meɖ̲-u.
2SG rich NEG.COP.PRF-INF
You were not rich.

(277) ɲirʌŋ ʈeŋbu hoʈ̪-u.
1PL.EXCL honest COP.PRF-INF
We were honest.

(278) ɲirʌŋ ʈeŋbu meʈ̪-u.
1PL.EXCL honest NEG.COP.PRF-INF
We were not honest.

The evidential particles *nɔ́k* and *wɛ́* also have negative forms (and to that extent are like verbs). The negative form of the mirative evidential particle *nɔ́k* is *miɖ̪uk*. Sentence (279) implies that the speaker discovered that the person is not a student.

(279) ʈ̪í lɔpʈʰa miɖ̪uk.
3SG.NOM student NEG.MIR
She is not a student.

And since one does not normally deliberately cook bad food, the negativity of the food's goodness must have been discovered by the speaker by tasting it, so sentence (280) uses the negative form of the mirative particle.

(280) ɖ̪aŋ ɲɛ ʤo-u sʌma ʈ̪í lɛmu miɖ̪uk.
yesterday 1SG.GEN make.PRF-INF food DEF good NEG.COP.IMPF
The food that I made yesterday is not good.

The negative form of the observational evidential particle *wɛ́* is *mɛ́*, as in sentence (281), which would be used in a situation where, for example, the person was told to fill the bottle with water and had not yet done so when questioned about the fact.

(281) pòŋ-gi nʌ́ŋ-la ʧʰū mɛ́.
bottle-GEN inside-LOC water NEG.OBS
There is not water in the bottle.

Other examples of the use of *mɛ́* are given in (282) and (283).

(282) “t̪ʌ sɛ́k, ɲɛ ʤinok ʤɔ-p ʧʰʌ̀ mɛ́.”
now until, 1SG.GEN lie make.IMPF-INF known NEG.OBS
“I do not remember lying, up till now.”

(283) cī kʰʌ̀ŋb-i nʌ́ŋ-la mɛ́.
dog house-GEN inside-LOC NEG.OBS
A dog is not in the house.

4 Case Clitics, Postpositions, and Relator Nouns

There are a number of different types of elements that serve as case markers in Sherpa, that serve the functions of case affixes and adpositions in other languages. These are case clitics which attach to the last word in the noun phrase, postpositions, and relator nouns.

4.1 Patterns of Case Marking

4.1.1 Overview

There are four cases in Sherpa: the nominative (NOM), the genitive (GEN), the locative (LOC), and the ablative (ABL). The nominative is formally unmarked. The genitive, the locative, and the ablative are marked by clitics on the last word of a noun phrase. In so far as these are clitics, it is somewhat inaccurate calling them cases, since clitics do not code inflectional categories. It will be convenient, however, to refer to nouns or pronouns appearing in a particular case. Furthermore, as discussed below, the genitive case clitic fails to behave as a clitic by some criteria in that the genitive form of some nouns is lexically determined. In that sense, the genitive case behaves like phrase-final inflection.

Sentence (1) has the first person singular pronoun in the nominative case and the word *ʈʰʌ* 'dirt' in the locative case.

(1) ŋʌ ʈ̪ʰʌ́-la ɟɛp-suŋ.
1SG dirt-LOC strike.PRF.DSJT-POBS
I fell to the ground.

Sentence (2) has the third person singular pronoun in the nominative case and the word 'tree' in the genitive case to modify the word *go* 'head', which itself bears the locative clitic, signaling its relationship to the verb.

(2) ʈ̪í ɖ̪oŋb-i go-la ʤɛ́-suŋ.
3SG tree-GEN head-LOC climb.PRF.DSJT-POBS
He climbed to the top of the tree.

Before discussing the individual cases at length, it is worth summarizing the basic function of the cases in marking arguments at the clause level. Using the terminology of S, A, and P, which roughly correspond to the informal notions of intransitive subjects, transitive subjects, and objects, we can summarize the case patterns as follows:

1. With most intransitive predicates, the S occurs in the nominative case.
2. With some adjectives, the S occurs in the locative case.
3. In transitive clauses in imperfective aspect, the dominant pattern is for both the A and the P to occur in the nominative case.
4. In transitive clauses in perfective aspect, the dominant pattern is for the A to occur in the genitive case and the P in the nominative case.
5. With some verbs, the A occurs in the locative case and the P in the nominative case (regardless of aspect).

6. With some verbs, the A occurs in the genitive case in perfective aspect and the P is locative.

7. With the verbs in Pattern 6, the A occurs in the nominative case in imperfective aspect and the P is locative.

In other words, despite their names, the genitive and locative cases are widely used for marking arguments of verbs. Occasionally it is convenient in the discussion to refer informally to arguments as subjects. No theoretical claim is intended by using this label. Where used, it roughly means S or A. Whether instances of locative A's or S's ought to be considered as bearing a grammatical relation of subject is not clear. At the very least, I know of no evidence that there is some grammatical relation that includes locative A's and S's.

Patterns 3 and 4 above reflect split ergativity in Sherpa. With normal transitive verbs, the A is in the genitive case if the clause is perfective, as in (3), but in the nominative case if the clause is imperfective, as in (4).

(3) ʈ̪ǿm-gi lǐtsi so-nɔk.
bear-GEN corn eat.PRF.DSJT-MIR
The bear ate the corn.

(4) ʈ̪ǿm lǐtsi sʌ-i.
bear corn eat.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
The bear will eat the corn.

The use of the genitive case here is what is typically associated with ergative cases. I refer to the case as the genitive case since it is also used for possessors modifying nouns. Other pairs illustrating this split in ergativity are given in (5) through (18).

(5) ɖaŋ ɲɛ samʌ ʤʌ-ĩ.
yesterday 1SG.GEN food make.PRF-VOL
Yesterday I made some food.

(6) sʌla ŋʌ samʌ ʤɔ-ĩ.
tomorrow 1SG food make.IMPF-VOL
Tomorrow I will make some food.

(7) ɖaŋ ʈ̪í-ci ʧʰɛ̀ni ba-suŋ.
yesterday 3SG-GEN cup hide.PRF.DSJT-POBS
Yesterday he hid the cup.

(8) sʌla ʈ̪í ʧʰɛ̀ni bʌ-i.
tomorrow 3SG cup hide.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
Tomorrow he will hide the cup.

(9) ɲɛ maʈ̪ʌk ʧè̪ʈ̪-ĩ.
1SG.GEN rope cut.PRF-VOL
I cut the rope.

(10) ŋʌ maʈ̪ʌk ʧè̪ʈ̪-ĩ.
1SG rope cut.IMPF-VOL
I will cut the rope.

(11) ʈ̪í-ci maʈ̪ʌk ʧè-suŋ.
3SG-GEN rope cut.PRF.DSJT-POBS
He cut the rope.

(12) ʈ̪í maʈ̪ʌk ʧè-ci.
3SG rope cut.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
He will cut the rope.

(13) ɲire mikʈum ʈu-ɾ̃.
1PL.EXCL.GEN hole dig.PRF-VOL
We dug a hole.

(14) ɲirʌŋ mikʈum ɖu-ɾ̃.
1PL.EXCL hole dig.IMPF-VOL
We will dig a hole.

(15) ɖaŋ ʈí-ci lʌ̄ma-la méɖɔk pùl-suŋ.
yesterday 3SG.GEN lama-LOC flower offer.PRF.DSJT-POBS
Yesterday he offered flowers to the lamas.

(16) hariŋ ʈí lʌ̄ma-la méɖɔk bùl-gi.
today 3SG lama-LOC flower offer.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
Today he will offer flowers to the lamas.

(17) sʌla ŋʌ ʧʰū-la ɖo ɟé-ɾ̃.
tomorrow 1SG water-LOC rock strike.IMPF-VOL
Tomorrow I will hit the water with a rock. (I will hit to the water a rock.)

(18) ɖaŋ ɲɛ ʧʰū-la ɖo ɟép-ɾ̃.
yesterday 1SG.GEN water-LOC rock strike.PRF-VOL
Yesterday I hit the water with a rock. (I hit to the water a rock.)

If the clause is intransitive, the S is nominative, whether the clause is perfective, as in (19), or imperfective, as in (20).

(19) loʈʰʌrce lúm-nɔk.
squirrel fall.PRF.DSJT-MIR
The squirrel fell (out of the tree.)

(20) loʈʰʌrce lúm-gi.
squirrel fall.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
The squirrel will fall (out of the tree.)

Similar pairs of intransitive clauses illustrating a nominative S whether the clause is perfective or imperfective, are given in (21) through (26).

(21) ʈ̪ɪ́ mɪ́ kʰʌnba gal.
that man house go.PRF.DSJT
That man went home.

(22) ʈ̪ɪ́ mɪ́ kʰʌŋba ɖi.
that man house go.IMPF.DSJT
That man will go home.

(23) tsaŋbu ɹʌ-nɔk.
river swell.PRF.DSJT-MIR
The river swelled.

(24) tsaŋbu ɹʌ-ci.
river swell.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
The river will swell.

(25) ʧʰū ɻ̥à-suŋ.
water boil.PRF.DSJT-POBS
The water boiled.

(26) ʧʰū ɻ̥ʌ̀-i.
water boil.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
The water will boil.

We now consider the seven patterns in greater detail.

4.1.2 Case Pattern 1: Nominative S

The S, the sole argument in an intransitive clause, is normally in the nominative case. This includes agentive S's, as in (27) through (29).

(27) ʈ́í mí kʰʌnba gal.
that man house go.PRF.DSJT
That man went home.

(28) rimuŋ lʌm-gi nʌŋ-no-ma ʧʰɔŋ-i-nɔk.
rabbit road-GEN within-ABL-DESC run.DSJT-DUR-MIR
The rabbit is running down from the road.

(29) pɛ ʈ́íkpe hɔ-u-i-nɔk.
mouse small come.IMPF-INF-DUR-MIR
A small mouse came along.

It also includes nonagentive S's of intransitive verbs, as in (30) to (33).

(30) ʧʰʌrwa ge-i-nɔk.
rain strike.DSJT-DUR-MIR
It is raining.

(31) ɖi ʧe ʈ́ɔ́ktsi ʈ́í ʧʰaŋ-suŋ.
this iron.GEN shovel DEF break.DSJT.POBS
This iron shovel broke.

(32) ŋʌ bombu ɖi.
1SG fat INCHO.IMPF.DSJT
I am getting fat.

(33) loʈʰʌrce lúm-nɔk.
squirrel fall.PRF.DSJT-MIR
The squirrel fell (out of the tree.)

It also includes the subject of clauses with nonverbal predicates, namely adjectives, as in (34) to (37), nouns, as in (38), noun phrases, as in (39), and locative phrases, as in (40) and (41).

(34) ŋʌ na-suŋ.
1SG sick.DSJT-POBS
I was sick.

(35) ŋʌ pʰār-suŋ.
1SG scared.PRF.DSJT-POBS
I got scared.

(36) ŋʌ ʈ̣íkpe hín.
1SG little COP.IMPF
I am little.

(37) ʈ̣í-ci pòŋ ɟerpu nɔ́k.
3SG-GEN container big MIR
His container is big.

(38) ʈ̣í ɟeken hín.
3sg teacher COP.IMPF
He is a teacher.

(39) ʈ̣í ɲɛ pʌ́lu hín.
3sg 1sg.GEN father COP.IMPF
He is my father.

(40) ʤʌŋmu yo nɛpal-no-ma hín.
PROPER.FEM up.there Nepal.ABL-DESC COP.IMPF
Zangmu is from up there in Nepal.

(41) poŋ nʌ́ ʧʰū wɛ́.
bottle inside water OBS
There is water in the bottle.

4.1.3 Case Pattern 2: Locative S

A few adjectives take subjects in locative rather than nominative case, as in (42) and (43).

(42) ŋʌ-la ga wɛ́.
1SG-LOC happy OBS
I am happy.

(43) t̪í-la kʰɛ̄wa nɔ́k.
3SG-LOC cold MIR
He feels cold.

Note that both of the adjectives in these examples involve experiencer subjects. But not all intransitive predicates with experiencer subjects take locative subjects. For example, the verb *pʰār* 'to be scared' occurs with a nominative subject, as in (44).

(44) ŋʌ pʰār-suŋ.
1SG scared.PRF.DSJT-POBS
I got scared.

Perhaps this is related to the fact that this is a verb rather than an adjective.

4.1.4 Case Pattern 3: Imperfective transitive clause, both A and P nominative

Pattern 3 is the normal pattern for transitive clauses in imperfective aspect. Examples include the following.

(45) ŋʌ šì rɔk cò̀l-ɤ̃.
1SG blanket deliver.IMPF-VOL
I will deliver the blanket.

(46) ʈ́í ná ɖuŋ-i wɛ́.
3SG barley beat.IMPF.DSJT-DUR OBS
He is beating the barley.

(47) sʌla ŋʌ lʌ̄ma-la mɛ́ɖɔk búl-ɤ̃.
tomorrow 1SG lama-LOC flower offer.IMPF-VOL
Tomorrow I will offer flowers to the lama.

(48) čʌ́ bu sʌ-i nɔ́k.
bird bug eat.IMPF.DSJT-DUR MIR
The bird was eating the bug.

(49) ŋʌ lū ɲɛ́n-ɤ̃.
1SG music listen.IMPF-VOL
I will listen to music.

4.1.5 Case Pattern 4: Perfective transitive clause, genitive A and nominative P

Pattern 4 is the normal pattern for transitive clauses, with the A in the genitive case (functioning as an ergative case) and the P in the nominative case (functioning as an absolutive case).

(50) ʈí mí ʈí-ci čɛ̀ni bʌ-i.
that man 3SG-GEN cup hide.PRF.DSJT-DSJ
That man will hide the cup.

(51) ɖaŋ ʤʌ́ŋm-i kūr ɻɛ̀-suŋ.
yesterday PROPER.FEM-GEN bread bake.PRF.DSJT-POBS
Yesterday Zangmu baked some bread.

(52) ʈóm-gi rimuŋ ʈʰoŋ-suŋ.
bear-GEN rabbit see.PRF.DSJT-POBS
The bear saw the rabbit.

(53) ɲɛ šìrɔk cél-ɤ̃.
1SG.GEN blanket deliver.PRF-VOL
I delivered the blanket.

(54) ɲɛ šōluk ɻè-ɤ̃.
1SG.GEN leaf burn.PRF-VOL
I burnt the leaves.

(55) ʈi-ci kʰʌŋba náʈʌŋ-suŋ.
3SG-GEN house destroy.PRF.DSJT-POBS
He destroyed the house.

(56) ʈ́i-ci ʈ́i-la sèr bín-suŋ.
3SG-GEN 3SG-LOC gold give.PRF.DSJT-POBS
He gave the gold to him.

(57) ɖaŋ ŋɛ kʰʌŋba kor-ɤ̃.
yesterday 1SG.GEN house circle.around.PRF-VOL
Yesterday I circled around the house.

(58) bɛ́rmaŋ ʈ́i-ci ʈ́i-ci ʈʌmɲɛ pʌʈe ca-u-i-nɔk.
cat DEF-GEN 3SG-GEN words belief do.PRF-INF-DUR-MIR
The cat believed his words.

4.1.6 Case Pattern 5: Locative A and nominative P

Pattern 5 is similar to Pattern 2 in that the subject occurs in the locative case, except that verbs following Pattern 5 are semantically transitive and the P occurs in the nominative case. As with Pattern 2, the subjects of these verbs are nonagentive. In some cases they are experiencers, as in (59) and (60).

(59) ŋʌ-la mɨ̀lʌm šʌ́r-ci.
1SG-LOC dream dream.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
I will dream.

(60) ŋʌ-la ārʌk ʈema ga wɛ́.
1SG-LOC corn.liquor smell happy OBS
I like the smell of corn liquor.

Note that the predicate in (59) is a verb, while that in (60) is an adjective. The adjective *ga* 'happy, like' also occurs with a locative experiencer and an infinitival phrase expressing what is liked, as in (61) and (62).

(61) ɲirʌŋ-la kʰʌŋba ʤɔ-p ga wɛ.
1PL.EXCL-LOC house make.IMPF-INF happy OBS
We like to build houses. (Building houses is happy to us.)

(62) ŋʌ-la lū ɲɛ́n-u ga wɛ́.
1SG-LOC music listen.IMPF-INF happy OBS
I like to listen to music. (Listen to music is happy to me.)

Another verb with experiencer subject that takes a subject in the locative case is the verb *ʈʰo* 'hear', as in (63).

(63) oŋʧʰu-la ɖʌ́myʌŋ horu ʈʰo-nɔk.
PROPER.MALE-LOC guitar sound hear.PRF.DSJT-MIR
Onchu heard the sound of the guitar.

Note, in contrast, that the verb *ʈʰoŋ* 'see' is a normal transitive verb in that it follows Patterns 3 and 4, as illustrated by the perfective example in (64), showing genitive case marking on the A.

(64) ʈóm-gi rimuŋ ʈʰoŋ-suŋ.
bear-GEN rabbit see.PRF.DSJT-POBS
The bear saw the rabbit.

Some of the verbs taking locative subjects are not verbs with experiencer subjects, but nonagentive subjects of some other sort, illustrated in (65) to (68).

(65) sʌla ŋʌ-la ɖʌ́lʤa ʈʰè-ci.
tomorrow 1SG-LOC friend meet.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
I will meet my friend tomorrow.

(66) ɖakpu-la malʌm ʈʰóp-suŋ.
1SG.INCL-LOC wish receive.PRF.DSJT-POBS
We received the wish.

(67) ɖakpu-la malʌm ʈʰóp-ci.
1SG.INCL-LOC wish receive.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
We will receive the wish.

(68) ɖaŋ ʈí-la ʈanʌ ɲɛ-suŋ.
Yesterday 1SG-LOC money find.PRF.DSJT-POBS
Yesterday he found money.

A final construction involving a locative subject is the construction for 'have', which involves the copula verb, with the thing possessed in the nominative case and the possessor in the locative, as in (69).

(69) ʈí-wɔ-la mʌ́ŋmu-i hín.
3-PL-LOC much-INDEF COP.IMPF
They have a lot.

4.1.7 Case Pattern 6: Perfective clause with ergative A and locative P

The remaining two patterns are associated with verbs that take a P in the locative case, but like other transitive verbs, the A is genitive in the perfective but nominative in the imperfective. The fact that the A is genitive in the perfective implies that the clause is transitive, which in turn implies that the P is an object, although we will see that for some of these verbs, a second object with a different semantic role is possible, and this second object will be nominative (which raises questions about the applicability of the label 'P' to the locative object).

Many of the verbs that follow Patterns 6 and 7 are verbs of 'hitting'. The examples in (70) and (71) involve two different verbs of hitting, with the A in the genitive and the P in the locative (since these examples are perfective).

(70) ɖaŋ ʈí-ci ʈí-la pʰʌ̄m-nɔk.
yesterday 3SG-GEN 3SG-LOC hit.on.top.PRF.DSJT-MIR
Yesterday he hit him (on the head.)

(71) cʰɔkpeʤ-i cʰúŋma sēr wu-la ɟép-suŋ.
boy-GEN cow yellow-LOC strike.PRF.DSJT-POBS
The boy hit the yellow cow.

The following examples involve three other verbs that could be considered verbs of 'hitting' in an extended sense; again in all three cases, the A is in the genitive and the P in the locative.

(72) ʈí-ci ŋʌ-la mɔ́-ci-nɔk.
3SG-GEN 1SG-LOC badmouth.DSJT-DSJ-MIR
He badmouthed me.

(73) ʈí-ci ʈí-la ɖuŋ-nɔk.
3sg-GEN 3SG-LOC beat.PRF.DSJT-MIR
He beat him up.

(74) cī bɛ́rmʌŋ kʌ́ni pʰè-suŋ?
dog.GEN cat where bite.PRF.DSJT-POBS
Where did the dog bite the cat?

With at least the verb *ɟép* 'strike', it is possible to have a third argument expressing the thing with which the A hit what I have been calling the P, and this third argument will be in the nominative, as illustrated in (75).

(75) ɖaŋ ɲɛ ʧʰū-la ɖo ɟép-ɤ̃.
yesterday 1SG.GEN water-LOC rock strike.PRF-VOL
Yesterday I hit the water with a rock.

When *ɟép* 'strike' occurs with a third argument, it can be described as a normal transitive verb, with the A in the genitive and the P in the nonmative in perfective clauses (where I am now using 'P' to denote the thing with which the A hit something). And the locative case of the thing hit now seems natural, conforming to a pattern that is independently found in Sherpa with the verbs *ɣák* 'put' and *bín* 'give', as illustrated in (76) and (77).

(76) ɖaŋ ʈí-ci ʧèni sʌ-la ɣák-suŋ.
yesterday 3SG-GEN cup ground-LOC put.PRF.DSJT-POBS
Yesterday he put the cup on the ground.

(77) ʈí-ci ʈí-la sèr bín-nɔk.
3SG-GEN 3SG-LOC gold give.PRF.DSJT-MIR
He gave the gold to him.

But although we have an explanation for the locative case when *ɟép* 'strike' occurs with two objects, this verb occurs naturally without a nominative case-marked object, so that it is possible for a verb to occur with two arguments, one in the genitive and the other in the locative. Furthermore, I am not aware that the other verbs of 'hitting' allow the possibility of adding a second object in the nominative case, so we must recognize Patterns 6 and 7 as a distinct pattern from Patterns 3 and 4.

Another verb that can occur with a genitive subject and a second argument in the locative is *sa* 'speak, say', as in (78).

(78) ʈi-ci ʈʹí-la sa-u-i-nɔk.
3SG-GEN 3SG-LOC say.PRF-INF-DUR-MIR
He was saying to him.

But this verb can also occur with a third argument in the nominative case, denoting the thing said, as in (79).

(79) ʈʹí mʹí ʈʹíla tsūk sʹír-u ʈʹí ʤoḷomu hʹín?
that man 3SG-LOC which say.IMPF-INF DEF easy COP.IMPF
Which is easier to say to that man?

Two other verbs that follow Pattern 6 are *ʈì̗ʈ* 'follow' and *šò̗r* 'follow', as in (80) and (81).

(80) ŋʌ ʧʰúŋma-la ʈʹì̗ ɲɛ̃ ɖɔ-ĩ.
1SG cow-LOC follow.PTCPL find.PTCPL go.IMPF-VOL
I was following the cow.

(81) rimuŋ-la kʹʌ́ŋ-i šò̗r-ci-nɔk?
rabbit-LOC what-INDEF chase.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ-MIR
What is chasing after the rabbit?

But in (81) the locative is used in the sense of 'to chase after' whereas the concept of chasing after the patient where the path is specified uses the unmarked nominative for the P as with (82) to (85).

(82) ɖaŋ ɲɛ rimuŋ kʰʌŋba-no-sur šʌ̀r-ĩ.
yesterday 1SG.GEN rabbit house-ABL-PROL chase.PRF-VOL
Yesterday I chased the rabbit out of the house.

(83) ɖaŋ ʈí-ci rimuŋ gó[ʰ]ʈe-no-ma šʌ̀r-šuŋ.
yesterday 3SG.GEN rabbit cowshed-ABL-DESC chase.POBS
Yesterday he chased the rabbit down from the cowshed.

(84) sʌ-la ŋʌ rimuŋ pʌŋɔk-la šòr-ɤ̃.
tomorrow-LOC 1SG rabbit meadow-LOC chase.IMPF-VOL
Tomorrow I will chase a rabbit in the meadow.

(85) ʈóm làŋ šòr-i wɛ́.
bear ox chase.IMPF-DUR OBS
The bear is chasing the ox.

4.1.8 Case Pattern 7: Imperfective clause with nominative A and locative P, with verbs that follow Pattern 6 if perfective

Pattern 7 is the imperfective analog of Pattern 6, with the A in the nominative and the P in the locative, as in (86).

(86) ŋʌ kar-la ɟe-ɤ̃.
1SG bed-LOC strike.IMPF-VOL
I will strike the bed.

4.2 Description of the cases

In this section, I discuss the individual cases, summarizing their uses and the forms of the clitics for that case.

4.2.1 Nominative

The nominative is the formally unmarked case, with no case clitic at the end of the noun phrase [3] . The nominative may be the S (intransitive subject) of a clause as in (87) to (89).

(87) ʧʰʌrwa ge-i-nɔk.
rain.NOM strike.DSJT-DUR-MIR
It is raining.

(88) pɛ ʈ́ikpe hɔ-u-i-nɔk.
mouse.NOM small.NOM come.IMPF-INF-DUR-MIR
A small mouse came along.

(89) mí̱ ʈʰí̱l-ne gal.
man.NOM wrap.PRF-ABL go.PRF.DSJT
After wrapping (it), the man went.

Or it may be the P (the object) of a clause, as in (90) to (92).

(90) ɖaŋ ʤʌ́ŋm-i kūr ɽɛ̀-suŋ.
yesterday PROPER.FEM-GEN bread.NOM bake.PRF.DSJT-POBS
Yesterday Zangmu baked some bread.

[3] Nominatives forms will be marked with the gloss '.NOM' in this section for the purpose of clarity.

(91) ʈ́i-ci rimuŋ šʌ̀r-nɔk.
3SG-GEN rabbit.NOM chase.PRF.DSJT-MIR
It chased a rabbit.

(92) ʈ́óm-gi rimuŋ ʈʰ́oŋ-suŋ.
bear-GEN rabbit.NOM see.PRF.DSJT-POBS
The bear saw the rabbit.

It can also be the A of a transitive clause in imperfective aspect, in which case both the subject and object of a clause will appear in the nominative case, as in (93) through (96).

(93) sʌla ʈ́i rimuŋ šòr-ci.
tomorrow 3SG.NOM rabbit.NOM chase.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
Tomorrow he will chase rabbits.

(94) čʌ́ bu sʌ-i nɔ́k.
bird.NOM bug.NOM eat.IMPF.DSJT-DUR MIR
The bird was eating the bug.

(95) ʈ́óm làŋ šòr-i wɛ́.
bear.NOM ox.NOM chase.IMPF.DSJT-DUR OBS
The bear is chasing the ox.

(96) ŋʌ sʌma sʌ́-i wɛ́.
1SG.NOM food.NOM eat.IMPF-DUR POBS
I am eating food.

In addition to its use with A's, P's and S's, the nominative case is also used for nominal predicates, as in (97) and (98).

(97) ʈ́i ɟeken hín.
3sg.NOM teacher.NOM COP.IMPF
He is a teacher.

(98) ʈ́í ɲɛ pʌ́lu hḯn.
3sg.NOM 1sg.GEN father.NOM COP.IMPF
He is my father.

4.2.2 Genitive

4.2.2.1 Uses of the Genitive

The genitive case is used for two primary functions, both of them illustrated in (99): 1) to indicate the A in a transitive perfective clause, illustrated by the first word *ɲɛ* '1SG.GEN'; and 2) to indicate a possessor modifying a possessed noun, illustrated by *ʈ́í-ci* '3SG-GEN' in *ʈ́í-ci kʰʌŋba* 'his house'.

(99) ɲɛ ʈ́í-ci kʰʌŋba ʤo-ĩ wɛ́.
1SG.GEN 3SG-GEN house make.PRF-VOL OBS
I built his house.

As with possessors in other languages, the range of meanings associated with "possession" is very broad. It can involve a part-whole relation, as in (100) and (101).

(100) ʈ́óm-gi pū bɔ-suŋ.
bear-GEN fur wet.be.PRF.DSJT-POBS
The bears fur got wet.

(101) méši go ɟerpu nɔk.
water.buffalo.GEN head big MIR
The water buffalo's head is big.

It can involve a kinship relation, as in (102), ownership, as in (103), the material which the possessee is made of, as in (104), or some more abstract relationship, as in (105) to (109)

(102) ʈ̪ɪ́ mɪ́ ʈ̪ɪ́-ci lopʈ̪a sʌmb-i sʌma so-suŋ.
that person DEF-GEN student new-GEN FOOD eat.PRF.DSJT-POBS
That person ate the new student's food.

(103) ɖ̪i púm ʈ̪ikp-i mɛ́ɖ̪ɔk mʌrwu hɪ́n.
this girl small-GEN flower red COP.IMPF
The little girl's flower is red.

(104) ɖ̪e ʈ̪ʌ̄k sēr̄wu nɔk.
stone.GEN lion yellow MIR
The stone lion is yellow.

(105) ɖ̪i če ʈ̪ɔ́ktsi ʈ̪ɪ́ čʰaŋ-suŋ.
this iron.GEN shovel DEF break.PRF.DSJT-POBS
This iron shovel broke.

(106) bɛ́rm-i pʌla: "mɪ́n cʰɔ́re ʣinok ʣo-suŋ."
cat-GEN turn NEG.COP.IMPF 2SG.GEN lie make.PRF.DSJT-POBS
The cat's turn: "No, you lied."

(107) mé ʈ̪ala nʌkpu wɛ.
fire.GEN ash black OBS
The fire ashes are black.

(108) ʈ̪ɪ́ šiŋ-i lɪ́tsi šimbu nɔ́k.
that field-GEN corn tasty MIR
The corn from that field is tasty.

(109) ʈ̪ɪ́ kʰʌŋb-i mʌ́ma lɛmu hɪ́n.
that house-GEN mother good COP.IMPF
The mother of that house is good.

A final use of genitive case is with relator nouns. This use could be construed as a subtype of part-whole use. Relator nouns in such genitive constructions replace most of the functions that prepositions fulfill in English. In (110), the genitive case-marked *ʦsɛ̄* 'grass.GEN' occurs with the relator noun *kʰʌ́* 'top' to convey the meaning 'on the grass'.

(110) ɖi tsɛ̄ kʰʌ́-la pómok nɔ́k.
this grass.GEN top-LOC frost MIR
There is frost on this grass.

In (111), the genitive case-marked *ɖoŋb-i* 'tree-GEN' occurs with the relator noun *go* 'head' to convey the meaning 'up the tree'.

(111) ɖoŋb-i go-la ʤer-u ʈí lɛmu hḯn.
tree-GEN head-LOC climb.IMPF-INF DEF good COP.IMPF
It is fun to climb a tree.

The examples in (112) to (115) contain two different genitive noun phrases. In (112), the first genitive *oŋʧʰ-i* 'Ongchu-GEN' is genitive because it is the A of a transitive perfective clause., while *ɖe* 'stone.GEN' is genitive since it is the material which the shed is made of.

(112) oŋʧʰ-i ɖe góʈʰe ʤo-suŋ.
Ongchu-GEN stone.GEN shed build.PRF.DSJT-POBS
Ongchu built a stone shed.

In (113), *ʃɪ̀ŋ* 'wood' is genitive as the material that the branch is made of while *haŋ-i* ' branch-GEN' occurs with the relator noun *kʰʌ́* 'top'.

(113) ǩʌ šì̀ŋ-i haŋ-i kʰʌ́-la pʌp-suŋ.
bird wood-GEN branch-GEN top-LOC land.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
The bird landed on the branch.

In (114), *ʈʰoŋb-i* 'plow-GEN' is genitive expressing the cause of the furrow, while *ʈʰoŋb-i ǰe* 'the plow's furrow' occurs with the relator noun *nʌ́ŋ* 'inside'.

(114) ʈʰoŋb-i ǰe nʌ́ŋ-la ǩʰū nɔk.
plow-GEN furrow.GEN inside-LOC water MIR
The plow's furrow is filled with water.

In (115), *ɲɛ* '1SG.GEN' is genitive because of the social relationship of friendship, which is analogous to a kinship relation, and *ɲɛ ɖʌ́ldʑi* 'my friend' is a genitive modifying *sù̀k* 'pain', where it is the friend who has the pain.

(115) ɲɛ ɖʌ́ldʑ-i sù̀k ʈò̀r-suŋ.
1SG.GEN friend-GEN pain disappear.PRF.DSJT-POBS
My friend's pain disappeared.

In sentence (116) the genitive is used three times. The phrase *ʈí ɭʌ̀ŋʌŋ nʌ́-i* 'inside the monastery' modifies the noun *mí* 'man' in an abstract relationship. with the meaning 'the man inside the monastery'. This noun phrase itself bears the genitive clitic, attached to the definite article *ʈí* at the end of the noun phrase, because this noun phrase is functioning as the A in a transitive perfective clause. The third occurrence is inside the quotation, where *ɲɛ* '1SG.GEN' is also the A in a transitive perfective clause.

(116) ʈ̪ḯ ɭ̊ʌ̀ŋʌŋ nʌ́-i mḯ ʈ̪ḯ-ci
that monastery inside-GEN man DEF-GEN
That man inside the monastery

lópʈ̪a sʌ̀mba ʈ̪ḯ-la
student new DEF-LOC
said to the new student,

“cʰúruŋ-la ɲɛ cʰʌ̀ wɛ,” sa-suŋ.
2SG-LOC 1SG.GEN known OBS say.PRF.DSJT-POBS
“I know who you are.”

4.2.2.2 Forms of the Genitive

The most common forms of the genitive clitic are *-ci* and *-i*. However the surface form is realized in a number of ways, many of which involve replacing the final segments of the word to which the genitive clitic is attached, some of which are not phonologically predictable. These irregularities provide an argument that the genitive clitic is not really a clitic, but rather some sort of phrase-final inflection. However, I will continue to refer to it as the genitive clitic. The set of words that can occur with the genitive clitic are those words that can occur at the end of noun phrases, namely nouns, adjectives, quantifiers, and the definite and indefinite articles. Because of the irregularities in forming genitives, I will refer to the genitive forms of these various words.

Type 1: Consonant-final stems + *-ci*

The productive form of the genitive clitic when it attaches to nouns ending in consonants other than /n/ and /m/ is *-ci*. Examples are given in Table 86.

Table 86: Genitives with *-ci*

Nominative	Gloss	Genitive	Gloss
rar	‘desire’	rar-ci	‘desire-GEN’
sù̀m-kʌr	‘three-COL’	sù̀m-kʌr-ci	‘three-COL-GEN’
yúl	‘village’	yúl-ci	‘village-GEN’
pʌ́ŋɔk	‘meadow’	pʌ́ŋɔk-ci	‘meadow-GEN’
t̪ʰʌp	‘fireplace’	t̪ʰʌp-ci	‘fireplace-GEN’
šūr	‘sheath’	šūr-ci	‘sheath-GEN’

Type 2: *-gi* after the nasals /n/ and /m/.

Stems ending in /n/ or /m/ take a genitive clitic of the form *-gi*. as in Table 87.

Table 87: Genitives with *-gi* after the nasals /n/ and /m/

Nominative	Gloss	Genitive	Gloss
d̪en	‘carpet’	d̪en-gi	‘carpet-GEN’
rin	‘cost/price’	rin-gi	‘cost/price-GEN’
t̪ʌ́m	‘bear’	t̪ʌ́m-gi	‘bear-GEN’

The three nouns in Table 88 follow this pattern, but in addition change the stem vowel from /a/ to /ʌ/. This is true for all three noun stems ending in /am/.

Table 88: Genitives that change the stem vowel from /a/ to /ʌ/

Nominative	Gloss	Genitive	Gloss
nám	‘sky’	nʌ́m-gi	‘sky-GEN’
lam	‘road’	lʌm-gi	‘road-GEN’
gam	‘box’	gʌm-gi	‘box-GEN’

Type 3: Stems ending in /ŋ/ take genitives in *-i*

A number of different patterns are found for stems ending in /ŋ/. The most common involves adding a genitive clitic of the form /-i/, as in Table 89.

Table 89: Genitives with stems ending in /ŋ/

Nominative	Gloss		Genitive	Gloss
hʌmuŋ	'female'	→	hʌmuŋ-i	'female-GEN'
nʌ́ŋ	'inside'	→	nʌ́ŋ-i	'inside-GEN'
šì̀ŋ	'wood'	→	šì̀ŋ-i	'wood-GEN'
šiŋ	'field'	→	šiŋ-i	'field.GEN'
ʈɛŋ	'every'	→	ʈeŋ-i	'every-GEN'

Type 4: Vowel-final polysyllabic stems, replace final vowel by *-i*

Perhaps the most common genitive forms are ones in which a final vowel is replaced by /i/. This is the normal way to form genitives of words that contain more than one syllable and that end in a vowel. Table 90 lists instances with stems ending in /u/.

Table 90: Genitives with stems ending in /u/

Nominative	Gloss	Genitive	Gloss
uru	'aunt'	ur-i	'aunt-GEN'
tsʰʌu	'brother-in-law'	tsʰʌ-i	'brother-in-law-GEN'
bu ɟerpu	'big bug'	bu ɟerp-i	'bug big-GEN'
mau	'cousin'	ma-i	'cousin-GEN'
kʰʌrnu	'yesterday'	kʰʌrn-i	'yesterday-GEN'
lù̀mu	'flute'	lù̀m-i	'flute-GEN'
pʌlu	'dad'	pʌl-i	'dad-GEN'
ʧʰukpu	'rich'	ʧʰukp-i	'rich-GEN'
ɖʌ́kpu	'1PL.INCL'	ɖʌ́kp-i	'1PL.INCL-GEN'
ɖoŋbu	'tree'	ɖoŋb-i	'tree-GEN'
tsʌŋbu	'stream'	tsʌŋb-i buk	'stream-GEN'
ɟelwu	'king'	ɟelw-i	'king-GEN'
mù̀kpu	'snail'	mù̀kp-i	'snail-GEN'
ʈeŋbu	'true, honest'	ʈeŋb-i	'honest-GEN'
šè̀rku	'Sherku'	šè̀rk-i	'Sherku-GEN'

Table 91 gives examples where the stem ends in /a/.

Table 91: Genitives where the stem ends in /a/

Nominative	Gloss	Genitive	Gloss
d̪ʌ́ldʑa	‘friend’	d̪ʌ́ldʑ-i	‘friend-GEN’
gɔkpa	‘garlic’	gɔkp-i	‘garlic-GEN’
curtsʰa	‘sour ivy’	curtsʰ-i	‘sour.ivy-GEN’
t̪ʰoŋba	‘plow’	t̪ʰoŋb-i	‘plow-GEN’
mʌǰa	‘dress’	mʌǰ-i	‘dress-GEN’
ʧʰʌrwa	‘rain’	ʧʰʌrw-i	‘rain-GEN’
ʧʰúŋma	‘cattle, animal’	ʧʰúŋm-i	‘animal-GEN’
haŋa	‘branch’	haŋ-i	‘branch-GEN’
hòma	‘milk’	hòm-i	‘milk-GEN’
katsa	‘shoe.man’	kats-i	‘shoe-GEN’
kʌ̀ŋba	‘leg’	kʌ̀ŋb-i	‘leg-GEN’
kʰʌŋba	‘house’	kʰʌŋb-i	‘house-GEN’
kɔsa	‘hearth/kitchen’	kɔs-i	‘hearth-GEN’
mʌ́kpa	‘bridegroom’	mʌ́kp-i	‘bridegroom-GEN’
ɲima	‘sun/day’	ɲim-i	‘sun-GEN’
mù̀kpa	‘cloud/fog’	mù̀kp-i	‘cloud-GEN’
nʌ̀ma	‘bride’	nʌ̀m-i	‘bride-GEN’
pʰʌkpa	‘boar, hog’	pʰʌkp-i	‘boar-GEN’
sámba	‘bridge’	sámb-i	‘bridge-GEN’
šèrwa	‘Sherpa’	šèrw-i	‘Sherpa-GEN’
sʌmba	‘new’	sʌmb-i	‘new-GEN’
t̪í-wa	‘3-PL’	t̪í-w-i	‘3-PL-GEN’

I am aware of only one stem ending in /e/ that forms its genitive by replacing the /e/ by /i/. shown in Table 92.

Table 92: Genitive by replacing the /e/ by /i/

Nominative	Gloss	Genitive	Gloss
t̪íkpe	‘small’	t̪íkp-i	‘small-GEN’

Finally, for stems ending in /i/, the /i/ is replaced by /i/ so to speak, so that the nominative and genitive forms are the same. Examples are given in Table 93.

Table 93: Genitives that the nominative and genitive forms are the same

Nominative	Gloss	Genitive	Gloss
méši	'water.buffalo'	méš-i	'water.buffalo-GEN'
čɔktsi	'table'	čɔkts-i	'table-GEN'
čɛ̀ni	'cup'	čɛ̀n-i	'cup-GEN'

Type 5 Monosyllabic stems ending in /u/ replace the /u/ by /i/.

Type 4 above involves polysyllabic stems ending in a vowel. A number of different patterns are found with monosyllabic stems ending in a vowel. Monosyllabic stems ending in /u/ pattern the same way as polysyllabic stems ending in a vowel in that the /u/ is replaced by /i/, as in Table 94.

Table 94: Genitives with the /u/ replaced by /i/

Nominative	Gloss	Genitive	Gloss
bu	'bug'	b-i	'bug-GEN'
čʰū	'water;	čʰ-ī	'water.gen'
sū	'who'	s-ī	'who.gen'

Type 6: Monosyllabic stems ending in a front vowel: genitive is same as nominative

For monosyllabic stems ending in /i/ or /e/, the genitive form is the same as the nominative form, as in Table 95.

Table 95: Genitive form is the same as the nominative form

Nominative	Gloss	Genitive	Gloss
cī	'dog'	cī	'dog-GEN'
mé	'fire'	mé	'fire-GEN'
ǰe	'furrow'	ǰe	'furrow.GEN'

Type 7: Monosyllabic stems with genitives in /e/

The regular pattern for the remaining monosyllabic stems ending in a vowel, essentially stems ending in /ʌ/, /a/ or /o/, is for the final vowel to be replaced by /e/, as in Table 96.

Table 96: Genitives with final vowel to be replaced by /e/

Nominative	Gloss	Genitive	Gloss
čʌ́	'bird'	č-é	'bird-GEN'
tsʌ̄	'grass, weeds'	ts-ē	'grass-GEN'
kʰʌ̄	'mouth'	kʰ-ē	'mouth-GEN'
sʌ̀	'ground'	s-è	'ground-GEN'
šʌ̄	'meat raw'	š-ē	'meat-GEN'
ṭʌ̀	'horse'	ṭ-è	'horse-GEN'
lʌ́	'hill'	l-é	'hill.GEN'
ṭʰà	'barley'	ṭʰ-è	'wheat-GEN'
tsa	'near'	ts-e	'near-GEN'
ča	'iron'	č-e	'iron-GEN'
lo	'year'	l-e	'year-GEN'
ḍo	'stone'	ḍe	'stone.GEN'
tsò	'lake'	tsè	'lake.GEN'
gó	'door'	gé	'door.GEN'

It is worth noting that the deletion of the stem vowel in the examples in Table 96 above is not a general phonological rule of the language without surface exceptions, since the two stems in Table 97, from Table 90 above, as ones whose genitive forms end in /ʌi/ or /ai/.

Table 97: Genitive forms end in /ʌi/ or /ai/

Nominative	Gloss	Genitive	Gloss
tsʰʌu	'brother-in-law'	tsʰʌ-i	'brother-in-law-GEN'
mau	'cousin'	ma-i	'cousin-GEN'

Type 8: Irregular stems

The remaining patterns involve stems which do not conform to the types above. The only productive rule for adding a genitive clitic of the form *-ci* is in Type 1 above, with nouns ending in nonnasal consonants. However, a number of monosyllabic stems ending in vowels also form their genitives this way, as in Table 98. These are stems that one might expect to follow the pattern of Types 6 or 7.

Table 98: Monosyllabic genitives suffixing *-ci*

Nominative	Gloss	Genitive	Gloss
ɲʌ	'fish'	ɲʌ-ci	'fish-GEN'
lɔ	'surface'	lɔ-ci	'surface-GEN'
ʈ̪ɪ́	'3SG/DEF'	ʈ̪ɪ́-ci	'3SG-GEN/DEF-GEN'
kʰʌ́	'top'	kʰʌ́-ci	'top-GEN'

The stems in Table 99 are monosyllabic stems ending in vowel in which the vowel is not replaced, but *-i* is added. One might expect the first of these stems to follow the pattern of Types 5 and and the other two to follow the pattern of Type 7.

Table 99: Monosyllabic genitives suffixing *-i*

Nominative	Gloss	Genitive	Gloss
ʤu	'body'	ʤu-i	'body-GEN'
nʌ́	'inside'	nʌ́-i	'inside-GEN'
pʰò	'over.there'	pʰò-i	'over.there-GEN'

It should be noted that the relator noun *nʌ́* 'inside' also has a longer form *nʌ́ŋ* , with genitive *nʌ́ŋ-i*, which follows the general pattern for stems ending in /ŋ/; the fact that the reduced form *nʌ́* also takes *-i* is presumably a reflection of the pattern found with the

nonreduced form. Perhaps there is some similar historical explanation for *ʤu* 'body' as well.

As noted above, the most common pattern with stems ending in /ŋ/ is to add *-i*. The two stems in Table 100 do not follow this pattern. The first, *pòŋ* 'bottle', follows the pattern otherwise found after /n/ and /m/ in taking a genitive clitic in *-gi*, while the second, *puǰuŋ* 'boy, son', takes -ci, following the pattern found with nouns ending in nonnasal consonants.

Table 100: Genitive nasals with *-ci*

Nominative	Gloss	Genitive	Gloss
pòŋ	'bottle'	pòŋ-gi	'bottle-GEN'
puǰuŋ	'boy, son'	puǰuŋ-ci	'boy-gen'

The two nouns in Table 101 both end in /aŋ/, and form their genitives by replacing the /aŋ/ by /i/.

Table 101: Genitive *–aŋ* to*-ci*

Nominative	Gloss	Genitive	Gloss
ɖɛrmaŋ	'bowl'	ɖɛrm-i	'bowl.GEN'
bɛ́rmaŋ	'cat'	bɛ́rm-i	'cat-GEN'

The two stems in Table 102 end in /m/, which would lead us to expect a genitive with *-gi*, but instead form their genitive with *-i*.

Table 102: Genitive bilabial nasal adds *-i*

Nominative	Gloss	Genitive	Gloss
pú̱m	'girl-GEN'	pú̱m-i	'girl-GEN'
gɔm	'evening'	gɔm-i	'evening-GEN'

The three nouns in Table 103 form their genitives in *-i*, rather than *-ci*.

Table 103: Genitive with stop adds *-i*

Nominative	Gloss	Genitive	Gloss
nup	'brother'	nup-i	'brother-GEN'
čì̱k	'one'	čì̱k-i	'one-GEN'
ţ́ákţuk	'all'	ţ́ákţuk-i	'all-GEN'

The noun *nup* 'brother' contrasts with *t̪ʰʌp* 'fireplace'; both end in /p/, but the genitive of *t̪ʰʌp* is *t̪ʰʌp-ci.* The stems *čì̱k* 'one' and *ţ́ákţuk* 'all' may not not really be exceptions, since I am aware of only one stem ending in /k/ that adds *-ci* to form their genitive, namely *pʌ́ŋɔk* 'meadow', with genitive *pʌ́ŋɔk-ci*. Two other stems ending in /k/ both form their genitives by replacing the final /k/ (or more) by *-i*, as illustrated in Table 104.

Table 104: Genitives with final /k/ to *-i*

Nominative	Gloss	Genitive	Gloss
puk	'rock ledge'	pu-i	'rock ledge-GEN'
rúwɔk	'bone'	rú̱-i	'bone-GEN'

There are two proper names in my data that end in vowels, which form their genitives by adding *-i*, without deleting the vowel. The first of these we would expect to follow the pattern of Type 4, with deletion of the /a/; the second stem is unusual in ending in a /ʌ/.

Table 105: Proper names genitives with *-i*

Nominative	Gloss	Genitive	Gloss
l̥ʌma	'PROPER.MALE'	l̥ʌma-i	'PROPER.MALE-GEN'
gomʌ	'PROPER.MALE'	gomʌ-i	'PROPER.MALE-GEN'

Finally, there are disyllabic two nouns ending in vowels which replace the final vowel by /e/ rather than by /i/. The first of these nouns is a borrowing from Nepali, but this does not seem to explain the irregularity.

Table 106: Genitives with *-e*

Nominative	Gloss	Genitive	Gloss
kʰò̩ta	'room'	kʰò̩te	'room.GEN'
gó̩ʰe	'shed'	gó̩ʰe	'shed.GEN'

A third person genitive pronoun has sometimes appeared in the consultant's data that is from dialects further to the north. The word *'kʰore'* is used instead of the expected *'t̪i-ci'*. Sentences (117) and (118) are examples of this.

(117) oŋc̆ʰu kʰore mik t̪ul-gi-nɔk.
PROPER.MALE 3SG.GEN eye rub.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ-MIR
Ongchu rubs his eyes.

(118) t̪ɪ́-ci d̪ɛn kʰóre d̪ʌ́ldʑa-la bin-suŋ.
3SG-GEN carpet 2SG.GEN friend-LOC give.PRF.DSJT-POBS
He gave the carpet to his friend.

(119) mɪ́ gʌ́m-gi kʰʌ́ c̆ʰɛ̄t̪-suŋ.
someone box-GEN top shut.PRF.DSJT-POBS
Someone shut the box.

4.2.3 Locative

The locative clitic always takes the form *-la*. Some of the functions of the locative are:

1) to indicate where something is located or an action occurs,
2) a path of an action,
3) the indirect object (or recipient) of a ditransitive clause,
4) a benefactive argument of a clause,
5) the object of verbs of 'hitting',
6) the experiencer subject with some adjectives,
7) the A of certain transitive verbs (always nonagentive).

1) Indicating where something is located or where an action occurs:

In sentence (120), the corn and rice are located in the house. In sentence (121), the searching takes place outside. In sentence (122), someone is told to walk around the field.

(120) d̪aŋ ɲɛ mula d̪um-u lí́tsi ʈ̪ʌ̄ŋ ɖa
yesterday 1SG.GEN together mix.PRF-INF corn with rice
The corn and the rice that I mixed together yesterday

kʰʌŋb-i nʌ́ŋ-la wɛ́.
house-GEN inside-LOC OBS
is in the house.

(121) ʈ̪í́-ci gɔ-la pèǰa tsʰʌl-nɔk.
3SG-GEN outside-LOC book search.PRF.DSJT-MIR
He searched for the book outside.

(122) šiŋ kʰʌ́-la yu-sa!
field top-LOC walk.IMPER-AUG
Walk around the field!

2) The path of an action:

Sentences (123) to (127) all show the end point or direction of a path of movement. Sentence (123) shows the general downhill direction of the subject.

(123) šèrku mʌr ʈʰù-la gal-nɔk.
PROPER.MALE downward downhill-LOC go.PRF.DSJT-MIR
Sherku went downhill.

Sentences (124), through (129) all show the end point of the path of movement.

(124) ŋʌ sʌ-la ʈʌ̀-la ʈe-ci.
1SG ground-LOC dirt-LOC slip.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
I will slip to the ground.

(125) ʧʰúŋma ʈí góʈʰe ʈì̀ŋ-la gʌl-u-i-nɔk.
cow DEF shed.GEN behind-LOC go.PRF-INF-DUR-MIR
The cow went behind the shed.

(126) sʌ̀-la pʰáp-u šóluk ʈí mʌrwu nɔk.
ground-LOC blow.down.PRF-INF leaf DEF red MIR
The leaves that blew down are red.

(127) mʌmumʌmu naʈʰuŋ ɖiŋ-la lɛ́m-nɔk.
way.far.down forest within-LOC arrive.PRF.DSJT-MIR
They arrived deep in the forest.

(128) ɖaŋ ʈí-ci čɛ̀ni sʌ-la ǰák-suŋ.
yesterday 3SG.GEN cup ground-LOC put.PRF.DSJT-POBS
Yesterday he put the cup on the ground.

(129) čʰúŋma šiŋ kʰʌ́-la šù-nɔk.
cow field top-LOC enter.PRF.DSJT-MIR
The cow got into the field.

Sentence (130) shows a path of movement toward a moving end point.

(130) rimuŋ-la kʌ́ŋ-i šòr-ci-nɔk?
rabbit-LOC what-INDEF chase.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ-MIR
What is chasing the rabbit?

3) Indirect object:

Sentences (131) through (136) all show examples of indirect objects or recipients.

(131) sʌla ŋʌ lʌ̄ma-la mɛ́ɖɔk búl-ɤ̃.
tomorrow 1SG lama-LOC flower offer.IMPF-VOL
Tomorrow I will offer flowers to the lama.

(132) ʈi-ci ʈí-la sa-u-i-nɔk.
3SG-GEN 3SG-LOC say.PRF-INF-DUR-MIR
He was saying to him.

(133) sʌla ʈí lʌ̄ma-la mɛ́ɖɔk búl-gi.
tomorrow 3SG lama-LOC flower offer.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
Tomorrow he will offer flowers to the lama.

(134) ɖaŋ ɲɛ lʌ̄ma-la mɛ́ɖɔk pùl-ɤ̃.
yesterday 1SG.GEN lama-LOC flower offer.PRF-VOL
Yesterday I offered flowers to the lamas.

(135) ɖaŋ ʈí-ci lɑ̄ma-la mɛ́ɖɔk pù̀l-i.
yesterday 3SG-GEN lama-LOC flower offer.PRF.DSJT-DUR
Yesterday he was offering flowers to the lamas.

(136) ʈí-ci ɖɛn kʰóre ɖʌ́ldʑa-la bin-suŋ.
3SG-GEN carpet 2SG.GEN friend-LOC give.PRF.DSJT-POBS
He gave the carpet to his friend.

4) Benefactive:

Sentence (137) has a benefactive marked with the locative clitic and (138) has three benefactive phrases.

(137) oŋʧʰ-i ɖamu-la pedʑa ŋo-suŋ.
PROPER.MALE-GEN PROPER.FEM-LOC book buy.PRF.DSJT-POBS
Onchu bought a book for Damu.

(138) lo góʈʰe sù̀m ʤʌ-i, ʧì-wa ʈí cʰúruŋ-la,
HOR shed three make.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ one-PL DEF 2SG-LOC
Let us make three shelters, one of them for you,

ʧì-wa ʈí ŋʌ-la, ʧì-wa ʈí l̥ʌ̀kpa-la.
one-PL DEF 1SG-LOC one-PL DEF PROPER.MALE-LOC
one of them for me, one of them for Lhakpa.

5) The affected object with verbs of hitting:

Both sentences (139) and (140) have verbs of ‘hitting’ with their objects in the locative case.

(139) ŋʌ kar-la ɟe-ɾ̃.
1SG bed-LOC strike.IMPF.DSJT-VOL
I will strike the bed.

(140) ʈ́i-ci ʈ́i-la ɖuŋ-nɔk.
3sg-GEN 3sg-LOC beat.PRF.DSJT-MIR
He beat him up.

Note that the subject in (140) is genitive in a perfective clause, showing that the clause is transitive and that the locative case-marked argument is grammatically an object in some sense.

For the purpose of comparison, sentences (141) through (145) are variations of the same sentence with a canonical patient. Sentences (141) and (142) have imperfective verbs with a first person subject with the latter sentence having an overt instrument *ɖo* 'rock'. Sentence (143) is basically the same as the previous sentence except that the verb is perfective and the time reference is past instead of future.

(141) sʌla ŋʌ cʰū-la ɟé-ɾ̃.
tomorrow 1SG water-LOC strike.IMPF-VOL
Tomorrow I will strike the water.

(142) sʌla ŋʌ cʰū-la ɖo ɟé-ɾ̃.
tomorrow 1SG water-LOC rock strike.IMPF-VOL
Tomorrow I will strike the water with a rock.

(143) ɖaŋ ɲɛ cʰū-la ɖo ɟép-ɾ̃.
yesterday 1SG.GEN water-LOC rock strike.PRF-VOL
Yesterday I struck the water with a rock.

Sentences (144) and (145) are the same as sentences (142) and (143) except that the subjects are third person.

(144) sʌla ʈ́í ʧʰū-la ɖo ɟé-i.
tomorrow 3SG water-LOC rock strike.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
Tomorrow he will strike the water with a rock.

(145) ɖaŋ ʈ́í-ci ʧʰū-la ɖo ɟép-suŋ.
yesterday 3SG-GEN water-LOC rock strike.PRF.DSJT-POBS
Yesterday he struck the water with a rock.

Object that are not physically affected can also be in the locative, as in sentences (146), (147), and (148), though this verb could be construed as a type of 'hitting' in a metaphorical sense.

(146) ʈ́í-ci ʈ́í-la mɔ́-ci-nɔk.
3SG-GEN 3SG-LOC badmouth-DSJ-MIR
He badmouthed him.

(147) ɖaŋ ɲɛ ʈ́í-la mɔ́-ɤ̌.
yesterday 3SG-GEN 3SG-LOC badmouth-DSJ-MIR
I badmouthed him.

(148) ʈ́í-ci ŋʌ-la mɔ́-ci-nɔk.
3SG-GEN 1SG-LOC badmouth-DSJ-MIR
He badmouthed me.

6) The experiencier subject with some adjectives

Adjectives denoting psychological states take their subjects in the locative case, as in (149) and (150).

(149) ŋʌ-la ga wɛ́.
1SG-LOC happy OBS
I am happy.

(150) t̪í-la kʰɛ̄wa nɔ́k.
3SG-LOC cold MIR
He feels cold.

7) The nonagentive subject with certain transitive verbs

The examples in (151) through (160) illustrate transitive verbs whose subjects are in the locative case.

(151) ŋʌ-la mɨ̀lʌm šʌ́r-ci.
1SG-LOC dream dream.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
I will dream.

(152) ŋʌ-la ārʌk t̪ema ga wɛ́.
1SG-LOC corn.liquor smell happy OBS
I like the smell of corn liquor.

(153) ɲirʌŋ-la kʰʌŋba ʤɔ-p ga wɛ.
1PL.EXCL-LOC house make.IMPF-INF happy OBS
We like to build houses.

(154) ŋʌ-la lū ɲɛ́n-u ga wɛ́.
1SG-LOC music listen.IMPF-INF happy OBS
I like to listen to music.

(155) oŋʧʰu-la ḍʌ́myʌŋ horu t̪ʰo-nɔk.
PROPER.MALE-LOC guitar sound hear.PRF.DSJT-MIR
Onchu heard the sound of the guitar.

(156) sʌla ŋʌ-la ɖ̪ʌ́ldʑa ʈ̪ʰè-ci.
tomorrow 1SG-LOC friend meet.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
I will meet my friend tomorrow.

(157) ɖ̪akpu-la malʌm ʈ̪ʰóp-suŋ.
1SG.INCL-LOC wish receive.PRF.DSJT-POBS
We received the wish.

(158) ɖ̪akpu-la malʌm ʈ̪ʰóp-ci.
1SG.INCL-LOC wish receive.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
We will receive the wish.

(159) ɖ̪aŋ ʈ̪í-la ʈ̪anʌ ɲɛ-suŋ.
Yesterday 1SG-LOC money find.PRF.DSJT-POBS
Yesterday he found money.

(160) ʈ̪í-wɔ-la mʌ́ŋmu-i hín.
3-PL-LOC much-INDEF COP.IMPF
They have a lot.

(161) ʈ̪óm-gi rimuŋ ʈ̪ʰoŋ-suŋ.
bear-GEN rabbit see.PRF.DSJT-POBS
The bear saw the rabbit.

4.2.4 Ablative

The ablative clitic has the form *-ne* or *-no*. It indicates the origin of movement. In English, it would usually be expressed by the word *from*. There are two further subtypes that indicate generalized downward motion, and a generalized outward motion from a source or a prolative notion of along a surface. The postclitic suffix morpheme *-ma* must be attached after the ablative clitic to indicate downward motion. The postclitic suffix morpheme *-sur* must be attached to after the ablative clitic to indicate

outward motion or motion along a path. The ablative clitic has the form *-no* if it occurs with the postclitic suffixes *-ma* or *-sur*; otherwise the form is *-ne*.

Sentence (162) has the ablative clitic without a post clitic and a path is indicated as being from the road to a deictic 'there'.

(162) rimuŋ lʌm-gi nʌ́ŋ-ne ʈɛ́-la ɖi-nɔk.
rabbit road-GEN inside-ABL there-LOC go.IMPF.DSJT-MIR
A rabbit is going there from the road.

In (163) the ablative clitic also occurs without a postclitic since the source is distant so that neither a downward nor outward nor prolative motion is indicated.

(163) ɖamu ìnɖiɛ-ne ɖɛ hɔ-nɔk.
PROPER.FEM India-ABL here come.PRF.DSJT-MIR
Damu cames here from India.

Example (164) is again ambiguous regarding the path since no postclitic is involved, though presumably a postclitic could have been used to make the path more definite.

(164) rimuŋ lʌm-gi tsa-ne ʧʰoŋ-i-nɔk.
rabbit road-GEN near-ABL run.IMPF.DSJT-DUR-MIR
The rabbit is running from near the road.

Sentences (165) through (170) all contain the postclitic *-ma* and involve a notion of downward motion.

(165) rimuŋ lʌm-gi pʰò-no-ma ʧʰɔ̃ ɖi-nɔk.
rabbit road-GEN over.there-ABL-DESC run.PTCPL go.IMPF.DSJT-MIR
A rabbit is running down from over there on the road.

(166) ʈ̪í ʈ̪ʌ̀mɲɛ lòp-ɾ̃ hoʈ̪-u bɛlʌ,
3SG word speak.IMPF.DSJT-DUR.PTCPL COP.PRF-INF time
When he was talking,

ʈ̪í-ci ɖ̪ʌ́ldʑa kʰʌŋb-i nʌ́ŋ-no-ma lé-suŋ.
3SG-GEN friend house-GEN inside-ABL-DESC arrive.DSJT-POBS
his friend came down from the house.

(167) rimuŋ lʌm-gi pʰò-ma ʧʰoŋ-i-nɔk.
rabbit road-GEN over.there run.IMPF.DSJT-DUR-MIR
The rabbit is running down from the road over there.

(168) rimuŋ lʌm-gi tsa-no-ma ʧʰoŋ-i-nɔk.
rabbit road-GEN near-ABL-DESC run.IMPF.DSJT-DUR-MIR
The rabbit is running down from near the road.

(169) rimuŋ pʌŋɔk lɔ-no-ma ʧʰoŋ-i-nɔk.
rabbit meadow surface-ABL-DESC run.IMPF.DSJT-DUR-MIR
The rabbit is running down through the meadow.

(170) rimuŋ lʌm-gi nʌ́ŋ-no-ma ʧʰoŋ-i-nɔk.
rabbit road-GEN inside-ABL-DESC run.IMPF.DSJT-DUR-MIR
A rabbit is running down from the middle of the road.

And (171) through (175) have the postclitic *-sur* with the notion of outward motion or prolative motion along a path.

(171) rimuŋ lʌm-gi nʌ́ŋ-no-sur buk-la gi-nɔk.
rabbit road-GEN inside-ABL-PROL low.area-LOC come.IMPF.DSJT-MIR
A rabbit is coming (towards us) along the road.

(172) t̪í pedʑa t̪í kʰọ̀t̪e nʌ́ŋ-no-sur t̪ɛ̋n d̪é-suŋ.
that child DEF room.GEN inside-ABL-PROL extend.PTCPL stay.DSJT-POBS
That boy, coming out of the room, stayed.

(173) t̪í-ci t̪ìŋ-no-sur mí mʌ́ŋmu yú-n ḍi-nɔk.
3SG-GEN behind-ABL-PROL person many walk-PTCPL go.IMPF.DSJT-MIR
Many people walked along behind him.

(174) mí kʰʌŋb-i nʌ́ŋ-no-sur čʰɔ̌ gal.
person house-GEN inside-ABL-PROL run.PTCPL go.PRF.DSJT
A person ran out from the house.

(175) oŋčʰu mo hoŋ-no-sur le-suŋ.
PROPER.MALE down below-ABL-PROL arrive.PRF.DSJT-POBS
Ongchu arrived from down below.

4.3 Postpositions

There are relatively few words that could be called postpositions (other than the case clitics, which could be considered such since they combine with noun phrases), but at least two words occur that seem to be postpositions. In sentence (176), the word *sɛ́k* ‘until’ comes after the noun *ʦara* ‘bottom’ and in sentence (177) the word *kora* ‘around’ comes after the noun *kʰʌŋba* ‘house’ with the meaning “around the house.”

(176) t̪í r̥a t̪í go-no-ma ǰɔ̋ ʦara sɛ́k rʌ-nɔk.
that cloth DEF head-ABL-DESC put.IMPF.PTCPL bottom until rip.PRF.DSJT-MIR
The cloth was torn from top to bottom.

(177) kʰʌŋba kora d̪e kʰór hín.
house around stone.GEN fence COP.IMPF
There is a fence of stone around the house.

4.4 Relator Nouns

4.4.1 Overview

There is a subclass of nouns that is used to indicate spatial and metaphorically abstract relationships between nouns. These will be referred to as relator nouns, following the terminology used by DeLancey (1997) for Tibetan. Relator nouns function to mark spatial notions that are usually marked by prepositions in English and serve to denote both abstract and concrete relationships. Such spatial notions are also extended metaphorically to temporal and abstract relationships. The construction that uses relator nouns formally involves a genitive construction, with a complement in the genitive case preceding the relator noun. The relator noun can itself take case clitics to indicate the general semantic relationship in the clause. The construction with relator nouns thus takes the following form:

Noun-GEN + RelatorNoun-(CASE)

The sentences (178) to (182) below differ only in the relator nouns and the subforms of the ablative case to give different senses of the relationship of a rabbit running to a road. The word *nʌŋnoma* in (178) contains the relator noun *nʌŋ* with the ablative clitic *-no* and the descentive postclitic *-ma*, which gives one of two readings. The first is that the rabbit is running downhill inside the road's boundaries. The second is that the rabbit is running downhill from a point that originated within the road's boundaries.

(178) rimuŋ lʌm-gi nʌŋ-no-ma ʧʰɔŋ-i-nɔk.
rabbit road-GEN within-ABL-DESC run.DSJT-DUR-MIR
The rabbit is running down from the road.

The use of the relator noun *pʰò*, 'over there' in (179) yields the same two readings as (178) except that the relator noun makes reference to the speaker's distance from the action.

(179) rimuŋ lʌm-gi pʰò-no-ma ʧʰɔŋ-i-nɔk.
rabbit road-GEN over.there-ABL-DESC run.DSJT-DUR-MIR
The rabbit is running down from over there on the road.

Sentence (180), with *kʰʌ́* 'top', has only one reading, which is that the rabbit's running in a downward direction remains on the top of the road.

(180) rimuŋ lʌm-gi kʰʌ́-no-ma ʧʰɔŋ-i-nɔk.
rabbit road-GEN top-ABL-DESC run.DSJT-DUR-MIR
The rabbit is running down while on the top of the road.

Sentence (181) has the reading that the rabbit is running along the side of the road. The use of the ablative postclitic prolative *-sur* implies that the motion is along a level surface matching a path parallel with the path of the road.

(181) rimuŋ lʌm-gi tsa-no-sur ʧʰɔŋ-i-nɔk.
rabbit road-GEN near-ABL-PROL run.DSJT-DUR-MIR
The rabbit is running along side the road.

Sentence (182) has much the same reading as (181) except that a downward motion is indicated by the use of the descentive suffix attached to the ablative.

(182) rimuŋ lʌm-gi tsa-no-ma ʧʰɔŋ-i-nɔk.
rabbit road-GEN side-ABL-DESC run.DSJT-DUR-MIR
The rabbit is running down from the side of the road.

There are many relator nouns. Some of the more common ones are listed below, with examples of their use.

4.4.2 *kʰʌ́* 'top'

(183) ŋʌ šìŋ haŋ-i kʰʌ́-la pap-ĩ.
1SG wood branch-GEN top-LOC land.PRF-VOL
I landed on the branch.

(184) ŋʌ šìŋ-i haŋ-i kʰʌ́-la pop-ĩ.
1SG wood-GEN branch-GEN top-LOC land.PRF-VOL
I will land on the branch.

(185) ʈí-ci ʈʌ̀pk-i kʰʌ́-ci ʈasʌla bo-i.
3sg-GEN fireplace-GEN top-GEN pot remove.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
He will take the pot off the fire.

(186) ʧʌ šìŋ-i haŋ-i kʰʌ́-la po-ci.
bird wood-GEN branch-GEN top-LOC land.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
The bird will land on the branch.

(187) ʧʰúŋma šiŋ kʰʌ́-la šù-i.
cow field top-LOC enter.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
The cow will get into the field.

(188) ʈí-ci pɛ̀rk-i kʰʌ́-la kòn-suŋ.
3SG-GEN stick-GEN top-LOC put.on.PRF.DSJT-POBS
He put (it) on a stick.

(189) ʈ̪ɪ́-ci ʈ̪èru čɔkʦ-i kʰʌ́-la ǰák-suŋ.
3SG-GEN all table-GEN top-loc put.PRF.POBS
He put all (of them) on top of the table.

(190) ʈ̪ɪ́-ci pɛ̀rk-i kʰʌ́-la kòn-suŋ.
3SG-GEN stick-GEN top-LOC put.on.PRF.DSJT-POBS
He put it on a stick.

In (191), *kʰʌ̄* occurs in the nominative case, since it is the object of the verb. This further illustrates the nominal nature of relator nouns.

(191) ʈ̪ɪ́ mɪ́ ʈ̪ɪ́-ci kʰʌ́ŋb-i kʰʌ̄ cur-ci.
that man 3SG-GEN house-GEN top remove.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
That man will remove the roof (top) of his house.

4.4.3 *ɖ̪iŋ* 'into'

(192) pɛ̀rka sè ɖ̪iŋ-la nɔ́k.
stick ground.GEN into-LOC MIR
The stick is (stuck) in the ground.

(193) ʈ̪ʌ́ma pɛ ʈ̪ɪ́ mɪ̀kʈ̪um ɖ̪iŋ-la šu-u-i-nɔk.
then mouse DEF hole into-LOC enter.PRF-INF-DUR-MIR
Then the mice went into the hole.

(194) ŋʌ naʈ̪uŋ ɖ̪iŋ-la yu-ɪ̃.
1SG jungle into-LOC walk-VOL
I want to walk in the jungle.

(195) mʌmumʌmu ʈ́í naʈuŋ ɖiŋ-la lɛ́p-ci.
way.far.down 3SG forest into-LOC arrive.PRF.DSJT-DSJ
He arrived deep in the forest.

4.4.4 *lɔ* 'surface'

(196) šɨ̀ŋ-i ɖoŋb-i lɔ-la mé bár-ci-nɔk.
wood-GEN bush-GEN surface-LOC fire flare.up.PRF.DSJT-DSJ-MIR
The fire flared up on the tree.

(197) rimuŋ lʌm-gi lɔ-no-ma ʧʰɔŋ-i-nɔk.
rabbit road-GEN surface-ABL-DESC run.IMPF.DSJT-DUR-MIR
The rabbit is running down over the surface of the road.

(198) rimuŋ pʌ́ŋɔk-ci lɔ-no-ma ʧʰɔŋ-i-nɔk.
rabbit meadow-GEN surface-ABL-DESC run.IMPF.DSJT-DUR-MIR
The rabbit is running down through the surface of the meadow.

(199) šɛ̀rku čɔkʦ-i lɔ-ci čɛ̀ni kʰūr-u-la gɪ́.
PROPER.MALE table-GEN surface-GEN cup carry.IMPF-INF-LOC come.IMPF.DSJT
Sherku will come to take the cup off the table.

(200) ŋʌ lé lɔ-la yu-ɽ̃.
1SG hill.GEN surface-LOC walk-VOL
I want to walk on the hill.

4.4.5 *ʈɨ̀ŋ* 'behind'

(201) bɛ́rmaŋ ʈ́í ɖoŋb-i ʈɨ̀ŋ-la gʌl-u-i-nɔk.
cat DEF tree-GEN behind-LOC go.PRF-INF-DUR-MIR
The cat went behind the tree.

(202) ŋʌ ʈì̀ŋ čé-suŋ.
1SG behind cut.PRF.DSJT-POBS
I was late.

(203) ŋʌ pɛ ʈakʈuk ʈì̀ŋ gí ɖɔ sa-u-i-nɔk.
1SG mouse all behind come.IMPF go.IMPF.VOL say.PRF-INF-DUR-MIR
"I will go to come back with all the mice" he said.

(204) ʈí-ci ʈì̀ŋ-no-sur mí maŋmu yu-n ɖi-nɔk.
3SG-GEN behind-ABL-PROL man many walk-PTCPL go.IMPF.DSJT-MIR
A large crowd was following him.

(205) ʈí sʌ̀rʌŋ ʈʌ̄ŋ suruŋ sur-u ʈì̀ŋ-no
that rustle with rustle rustling.IMPF-INF behind-ABL
(I) went chasing

šʌ̄-n gʌl-si.
chase.IMPF-PTCPL go.PRF-DICT
behind that rustling.

Sentence (206) shows the use of *ʈì̀ŋ* for an abstract time relationship.

(206) la ʈúk ʈiŋ-la ʈí-wɔ yɛr
month six behind-LOC 3-PL up.high
Six months later, they went up on

kʰʌ̀ŋri jɛrpu ʤɛ-p gal.
mountain big climb.PRF-INF go.PRF.DSJT
a high mountain by themselves.

4.4.6 *tsa* 'near'

(207) ŋʌ tsa-la huŋ-u ʈɛn-suŋ.
1SG near-LOC come.PRF-INF extended.be.PRF.DSJT-POBS
I got close.

(208) ŋʌ ʈ̪í kʰʌŋb-i tsa-la ʈ̪ɛn-gi.
1SG that house-GEN near-LOC extended.be.IMPF.DSJT-DSJS
I will get close to that house.

(209) tsa-la ɟuk!
near-LOC go.IMPER
Go close!

(210) ʈ̪í-ci ɖ̪o ʈ̪ʰʌ-la ʈ̪ʌ̄ŋ kʰʌ́ŋb-i gé tsa-la cal-suŋ.
3SG-GEN stone soil-LOC with house-GEN door.GEN near-LOC deliver.PRF.DSJT-POBS
He rolled a stone on the dirt against the door of the house.

(211) mìkʈ̪um tsa-la ʈ̪í gʊ̃ ɖ̪e-suŋ.
hole near-LOC 3SG wait.PTCPL stay.IMPF.DSJT-POBS
He was waiting near a hole.

4.4.7 *ɟɛ́p* 'back/behind'

(212) ʈ̪í-ci kʰʌŋb-i ɟɛ́p-la ri ʈ̪ʌ̀p-suŋ.
3SG-GEN house-GEN back-LOC potato plant.PRF.DSJT-POBS
He planted potatoes behind the house.

4.4.8 *kuŋ* 'into/inside'

(213) nakpu ʤúp-i kuŋ-la
black twilight?-GEN in-LOC
In the dark twilight

sʌ̀rʌŋ ʈ̪ʌ̄ŋ suruŋ sĩ̃ lè-suŋ.
rustle with rustle say.IMPF-PCTPL arrive.DSJT-POBS
there was a rustling.

4.4.9 *nʌ́ŋ* 'inside'

nʌ́ŋ 'inside' is one of the more frequent relator nouns.

(214) cī kʰʌ̀ŋb-i nʌ́ŋ-la mɛ́.
dog house-GEN inside-LOC NEG.OBS
A dog is not in the house.

(215) cī kʰʌ̀ŋb-i nʌ́ŋ-la wɛ́.
dog house-GEN inside-LOC OBS
A dog is in the house.

(216) nʌ́ŋ-la tsʰɛ́nd̪i nɔ́k.
inside-LOC warm MIR
It's warm inside.

nʌ́ŋ often occurs in the reduced form *nʌ́*. In some instances, it appears without the locative clitic, suggesting that it is grammaticalizing into a postposition. In () it appears in nonreduced form, but without a locative clitic.

(217) cī kʰʌ̀ŋb-i nʌ́ŋ mɛ́.
dog house-GEN inside NEG.OBS
A dog is not in the house.

In (218) and (219), it occurs in reduced form, and without the locative case clitic.

(218) cī kʰʌ̀ŋb-i nʌ́ mɛ́.
dog house-GEN inside NEG.OBS
A dog is not in the house.

(219) t̪ʰù cʰī nʌ́ d̪ùp-ci.
boat water.GEN inside sink.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
The boat will sink into the water.

In (220), it occurs in a modifier of a noun, and as such, occurs in the genitive case.

(220) ʈ̪í ɻaŋaŋ nʌ́-i mí ʈ̪í-ci lopʈa sʌmba ʈ̪í-la
that monastery inside-GEN man DEF-GEN student new DEF-LOC
The man inside the monastery said to the new student,

cʰúruŋ-la ɲɛ cʸʰa wɛ sa-suŋ.
2SG-LOC 1SG.GEN known OBS say.PRF.DSJT-POBS
"I know who you are."

5 Noun Phrases

5.1 Structure of noun phrases

Noun phrases in Sherpa have the following general structure:

(Demonstrative) (Prenominal Modifier) Noun (Adjective) (Quantifier) (Article) (Case Clitic)

The prenominal modifier may be a bare noun, a noun in the genitive case, or a relative clause. The only surface element necessary for a noun phrase, however, is the noun. Phrases (1) through (9) give some examples of various possible forms of a noun phrase.

(1) ḏi šìŋ-i gó ɟerpu-la
this wood-GEN door big-LOC
to this big wood door

(2) ḏi šìŋ gó ɟerpu-la
this wood door big-LOC
to this big wood door

(3) ḏi šìŋ-i gó-la
this wood-GEN door-LOC
to this wood door

(4) ḏi šìŋ gó-la
this wood door-LOC
to this wood door

(5) d̪i gó ɹerpu-la
this door bid-LOC
to this big door

(6) d̪i gó-la
this door-LOC
to this door

(7) gó-la
door-LOC
to a/the door

(8) d̪i gó
this door
this door

(9) gó
door
a/the door

Sentence (10) illustrates a noun phrase containing a relative clause.

(10) ʈ̪í ʌ́ŋa hoʈ̪-u kʰòʈa ɹerpu ʈ̪í-la
that child exist-INF room big DEF-LOC
to that big room where there is a child

Additionally, a noun phrase may contain an article. There is a definite article *ʈ̪í* and an indefinite article *-i* which encliticizes onto the preceding word, an adjective or quantifier if there is one, the noun if there is not. The article delineates the rightmost boundary of the noun phrase and will then take the case clitic, if there is one. Example (11) contains both prenominal and postnominal modifiers.

(11) d̪i šìŋ-i gó sē̄rwu t̪í-no-ma
this wood-GEN door yellow DEF-ABL-DESC
down from this yellow wooden door

Phrases (10) and (11) contain all six structural elements mentioned above, other than a quantifier. In (10), the determiner *t̪í* 'that' is followed by a relative clause *aŋʌ hot̪u* 'there is a child', which modifies *kʰòʈa* 'room', which is followed by an adjective *ɟɛrpu* 'big', which is followed by the article *t̪í* , to which is attached the locative clitic, *-la*. In (11), the demonstrative *d̪í* 'this' is followed by a modifying genitive noun *sīŋi* 'made of wood', which modifies *gó* 'door', which is in turn followed by the adjective *sē̄rwu* 'yellow'. The noun phrase ends with by the definite article *t̪í* , to which is attached the locative clitic *-no-ma*.

If we start with a noun phrase consisting only of a bare noun, as in (12),

(12) kʰòʈa
room
a/the room

then the noun may then be modified by any of the optional elements given above depending on the intended meaning as in phrases (13) to (17) below.

(13) t̪í kʰòʈa
that room
that room

(14) kʰòʈa-la
room-LOC
to a/the room

(15) t̪í kʰòʈa ɟerpu-la
that room big-LOC
to that big room

(16) kʰòʈa ɟɛrpu
room big
a/the big room

(17) aŋʌ hot̪u kʰòʈa t̪í
child exist.INF room DEF
the big room where there is a child

5.2 Personal Pronouns

5.2.1 Pronominal forms

A noun phrase can also consist of just a pronoun. While nouns are not declined for number in Sherpa, the personal pronouns have distinct singular and plural forms in all three persons. The first person plural distinguishes inclusive from exclusive. The pronouns occur in the nominative, genitive, and locative cases. Table 107 gives the pronominal forms.

Table 107: Sherpa Personal Pronouns

	Singular			Plural		
	Nominative	Genitive	Locative	Nominative	Genitive	Locative
1st Inclusive	--	--	--	d̪ʌkpu	d̪ʌkpi	d̪ʌkpula
1st Exclusive	ŋʌ	ɲɛ	ŋʌla	ɲirʌŋ	ɲire	ɲirʌŋla
2nd	cʰuruŋ	cʰore	cʰuruŋla	cʰírʌŋ	cʰíre	cʰírʌŋla
3rd	t̪í	t̪íki	t̪íla	t̪iwɔ́	t̪íwi	t̪iwɔ́la

The words that function as third person personal pronouns are formally demonstrative pronouns, and the nominative form of the third person singular pronoun is identical to the distal adnominal demonstrative. The third person plural pronoun is formed by adding the suffix *-wɔ́* to the singular form. This form does not occur as an adnominal demonstrative; these do not inflect for number so a noun marked by an adnominal demonstrative can be interpreted as either singular or plural depending on the context. However both the singular and plural forms are identical to the forms of the definite article (which follows the noun, unlike the demonstrative, which precedes). Hile Sherpa differs from other dialects of Sherpa in lacking third person pronouns distinct from the demonstratives; other dialects use pronouns, cited in the work of Schöttelndreyer and Kelly that are lacking in Hile Sherpa and that are cognate to the pronouns in Lhasa Tibetan. My consultant is aware of those pronouns but says that people in his village usually do not use them.

My data contains two instances of a distinct form of the third person singular pronoun, in both instances in the genitive case, with the form *kʰore*. This form is the common third singular pronoun in other dialects of Sherpa.

(18) oŋʧʰu kʰore mik ʈul-gi-nɔk.
PROPER.MALE 3SG.GEN eye rub.IMPF-DSJ-MIR
Ongchu rubs his eyes.

(19) ʈɨ́-ci ɖɛn kʰóre ɖʌ́lʤa-la bin-suŋ.
3SG-GEN carpet 2SG.GEN friend-LOC give.PRF.DSJT-POBS
He gave the carpet to his friend.

The distinction between the adnominal demonstrative and third person pronoun functions is illustrated in (20) to (23).

(20) ʈ́í mí ʧʰukpu hín.
that person rich COP.IMPF
That person is rich.

(21) ʈ́í šìŋ rul-gi.
that wood rot.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
That wood will rot.

(22) ʈ́í ʧʰukpu mí hín.
3SG rich person COP.IMPF
He is a rich person.

(23) ʈ́í ʧɛ̀ni sʌ̀-la ǰʌ́-i.
3SG cup ground-LOC put.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
He will put the cup on the ground.

The example in (24) illustrates the proximal demonstrative being used pronominally, with anaphoric rather than strict deictic meaning, to contrast with another pronominal reference that uses the distal demonstrative anaphorically.

(24) ʈ́í-ci ʈ́í hí ɖi-la còl-gi.
3SG-GEN that letter this-LOC deliver.PRF-INF
He delivered that letter to him.

5.2.2 Nominative use of pronouns

The examples in (25) through (36) illustrate nominative uses of the pronouns. Examples (25) to (29) illustrate nominative pronouns functioning as the S in intransitive imperfective clauses,

(25) ŋʌ sʌ̀ ǩʌ̀-ɾ̃.
1SG ground sweep.IMPF-VOL
I will sweep the floor.

(26) ɖakpu ǩɛ̀ni sʌ̀-la ǰó-ɾ̃.
1PL.INCL cup ground-LOC put.IMPF-VOL
We will put the cups on the ground.

(27) ɲirʌŋ ǩʰɔ gʌl-ɾ̃.
1PL.EXCL run.IMPF go.IMPF-VOL
We went running.

(28) ʈí ǩʰukpu mí hín.
3SG rich person COP.IMPF
He is a rich person.

(29) ʈí-wɔ ŋɔ́-i-nɔk.
3-PL cry.IMPF-DUR-MIR
They are crying.

Examples (30) to (31) illustrate nominative pronouns functioning as the S in intransitive perfective clauses.

(30) ɖaɲ ɲirʌŋ ǩʰī nʌ ɖù̀p-suŋ.
yesterday 1PL.EXCL water.GEN inside sink.PRF.DSJT-POBS
Yesterday we sank in the water.

(31) cʰīrʌŋ ḍi-u?
2PL reconcile.PRF-INF
Did you make up?

Examples (32) to (35) illustrate nominative pronouns functioning as the A in transitive imperfective clauses.

(32) sʌla cʰuruŋ lɑ̄ma-la mɛ́ḍɔk búl-gi.
tomorrow 2SG lama-LOC flower offer.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
Tomorrow you (sg) will offer flowers to the lama.

(33) sʌla cʰírʌŋ lɑ̄ma-la mɛ́ḍɔk búl-gi.
tomorrow 2PL lama-LOC flower offer.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
Tomorrow you (plural) will offer flowers to the lama.

(34) ṭí čɛ̀ni sʌ̀-la ǰʌ́-i.
3SG cup ground-LOC put.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
He will put the cup on the ground.

(35) sʌla ṭí šìŋ ṭe-i.
tomorrow 3SG wood saw.cut.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
Tomorrow he will saw the wood.

Example (36) illustrates a nominative pronoun functioning as the P in a transitive clause.

(36) ŋʌ čìk cè sð cʰúruŋ mʌ-ḍʌ́-i.
1SG one instead eat.PRF.PTCPL 2SG NEG-be.full.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
If you eat only me, it will not be enough.

5.2.3 Genitive use of pronouns

The genitive forms of pronouns are formed in ways analogous to the genitive forms of nouns, although with greater irregularity. The genitive of the first person plural inclusive pronoun *ɖʌkpu* is *ɖʌkpi*, replacing the /u/ by /i/ as with nouns that end in /u/. The other genitive forms are all in some way irregular. The final vowel or VC is replaced by /e/ with the first person plural exclusive and second person forms: *ɲirʌŋ* '1PL.EXCL' to *ɲire*, *cʰuruŋ* '2SG' to *cʰore*, and *cʰírʌŋ* '2PL' to *cʰíre*. Note, however, that there is also a change in the vowel in the first syllable of *cʰuruŋ* '2SG'. There is also a change in the initial nasal in the first person singular from /ŋ/ to /ɲ/: *ŋʌ* '1SG.NOM' to *ɲɛ* '1SG.GEN'.

The examples in (37) through (48) illustrate uses of the genitive forms of different pronouns. Examples (37) to (41) illustrate possessive uses.

(37) ɲɛ pòŋ ʧʰák-suŋ.
1SG.GEN container break.PRF.DSJT-POBS
My bamboo container broke.

(38) ɖʌkp-i kʰùrwu ʈí ɟerpu wɛ́.
1PL.INCL-GEN load DEF big OBS
Our loads are big.

(39) ʈí-ci ɲire ʧʰúŋma tsò-suŋ.
1SG-GEN 1PL.EXCL.GEN animals graze.PRF-VOL
He grazed our animals.

(40) ʈí-ci sùk ʈòr-suŋ.
3SG-GEN pain disappear.PRF.DSJT-POBS
His pain went away.

(41) ʈ́í-w-i ɖʌ́ldʑa šɛ-p tsʌ-ŋ wɛ.
their friend die-INF search-PTCPL OBS
Their friend is at the point of death.

Examples (42) to (48) illustrate genitive forms being used for the A in perfective clauses.

(42) ɲɛ čɛ̀ni sʌ̀-la ǰʌ́-ɾ̃.
1SG.GEN cup ground-LOC put.PRF-VOL
I put the cup on the ground.

(43) ɖʌkp-i sʌ̀ čá-ɾ̃.
1PL.INCL-GEN ground sweep.PRF-VOL
We swept the floor.

(44) ɖaŋ ɲire kʰʌŋba ʤo-ɾ̃.
yesterday 1PL.EXCL.GEN house make.IMPF-VOL
Yesterday we built a house.

(45) ɖaŋ cʰore pòŋ-i kʰʌ́ ɖám-suŋ.
yesterday 2SG.GEN container-GEN top tie.top.PRF-VOL
Yesterday you (singular) tied the container shut.

(46) ɖaŋ cʰíre kʰùrwu ʈa-suŋ.
yesterday 2SG.GEN load tie.PRF.DSJT-POBS
Yesterday you (plural) tied on the load.

(47) ɖaŋ ʈ́í-ci šì̀ŋ ʈɛ-suŋ.
yesterday 3SG-GEN wood saw.cut.PRF.DSJT-POBS
He sawed the wood yesterday.

(48) ɖaŋ ʈ́í-w-i čɛ̀ni sʌ̀-la ǰák-suŋ.
yesterday 3-PL-GEN cup ground-LOC put.PRF.DSJT-POBS
Yesterday they put the cups on the ground.

5.2.4 Locative uses of pronouns

The locative forms of the pronouns are all formed transparently from the nominative forms by adding the locative case clitic *-la*. Examples (49) through (58) illustrate various uses of locative forms of pronouns. Examples (49) and (50) illustrate locative case on the S with certain intransitive verbs or adjectives.

(49) ɲirʌŋ-la kʰʌŋba ʤɔ-p ga wɛ.
1PL.EXCL-LOC house make.IMPF-INF happy OBS
We like to build houses.

(50) d̪akpu-la malʌm t̪ʰóp-suŋ.
1SG.INCL-LOC wish receive.PRF.DSJT-POBS
We received the wish.

Examples (51) to (53) illustrate locative case on the P with certain semantically transitive verbs.

(51) ŋʌ-la ɲísɔk ɟép-suŋ.
1SG-LOC sleepiness strike.PRF.DSJT-POBS
I am sleepy. (literally*:* 'Sleepiness struck me')

(52) cʰírʌŋ-la ɲísɔk ɟép-suŋ.
2PL-LOC sleepiness strike.PRF.DSJT-POBS
You all are sleepy.

(53) cʰuruŋ-la t̪ɪ̀ ɲɛ̃ hɔ-u ʧʰúŋma t̪í nʌkpu nɔ́k.
2SG-LOC follow.PTCPL find.PTCPL come.PRF-INF cow DEF black MIR
The cow that followed you (sing) was black.

Examples (54) to (58) illustrate locative case of pronouns with recipients of various ditransitive verbs.

(54) ʈ̪ɪ́ ŋʌ-la ʈ̪ɔ́ktsi ɲɛ́n-gi.
3SG 1SG-LOC shovel lend.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
He will lend the shovel to me.

(55) cʰuruŋ ʈ̪ɪ́-la sèr ʈ̪èr-ɪ̃?
2SG 3SG-LOC gold give.IMPF-VOL
Will you give the gold to him?

(56) òŋčʰ-i ʈ̪ɪ́-wɔ-la čʰʌpče ci-nɔk.
PROPER.MALE-GEN 3-PL-LOC badmouth do.PRF.DSJT-MIR
Ongchu talked bad about them.

(57) ʈ̪ɪ́-la sèr ʈ̪èr-u mɪ́ ʈ̪ɪ́ hó ʈ̪ɪ́ hɪ́n.
3SG-LOC gold give.IMPF-INF man DEF COP.PRF 3SG COP.IMPF
He was the person who gave the gold to him.

(58) ʈ̪ɪ́-la còl-u hɪ́ ʈ̪ɪ́ gerpu nɔ́k.
3SG-LOC deliver.IMPF-INF letter DEF big MIR
The letter that will be delivered to him is big.

5.3 Indefinite pronouns

There is one word that appears in the data that is exclusively an indefinite pronoun, *lala* 'someone', as in sentence (59).

(59) lala-i gɔ́-la hɔ-nok.
someone-INDEF door-LOC come.PRF.DSJT-MIR
Someone came to the door.

Sentences (60) through (63) have words used as indefinite pronouns that are also used as quantifiers, *ʦɛ̀* 'few', *mʌ́ŋmu* 'much', and *ʈ̪ákʈ̪uk* 'all'.

(60) ŋʌ-la tsɛ̀-i hḯn.
1SG-LOC little-INDEF COP.IMPF
I have a little.

(61) ʈ̱ḯ-wɔ-la mʌ́ŋmu-i hḯn.
3-PL-LOC much-INDEF COP.IMPF
They have a lot.

(62) ʈ̱ákʈ̱uk-la ŋotsʰa la-suŋ.
all-LOC shyness raise.PRF.DSJT-POBS
(I) was shy of everybody.

(63) ʈ̱ḯ gɔ́la ʈ̱ákʈ̱uk-ci ʈ̱ʰuŋ-u ʈ̱ɛ gal.
3SG outside all-GEN see.IMPF-INF there go.PRF.DSJT
He went outside where all saw him.

The quantifiers *lala, tsɛ̀*, and *mʌ́ŋmu*, sometimes have the indefinite article clitic *-i* whereas *ʈ̱ákʈ̱uk* 'all' does not. This is probably due to the semantic incongruity of indefiniteness with the notion of 'all'.

5.4 Demonstratives

There are two demonstratives, the distal or default demonstrative *ʈ̱ḯ* and the proximal demonstrative *ɖ̱i*. They occur either pronominally, as in (64), or adnominally, as in (65) and (66).

(64) ʈ̱ḯ sḯnʌŋ ɖ̱i cʰɛ́ hḯn.
that than this senior COP.IMPF
This one is older than that one.

(65) ʈ́í šɨ̀ŋ rul-gi.
that wood rot.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
That wood will rot.

(66) ɖi ɖo ɟerpu hḯn.
this wood big COP.IMPF
This rock is big.

The adnominal demonstratives come first in a noun phrase.

(67) ʈ́í šɨ̀ŋ rul-nɔk.
that wood rot.PRF.DSJT-MIR
That wood rotted.

(68) ɖi ʧʰū seru šimbu nɔ́k.
this water very tasty MIR
This water is very tasty.

(69) ɖi tsē kʰʌ́-la pómok nɔ́k.
this grass top-LOC frost MIR
There is frost on this grass.

It is possible to have a noun phrase consisting of a demonstrative pronoun plus a numeral, like *ʈí-wɔ nì* 'those two' in (70), rather analogous to English.

(70) ʈ́í-wɔ nì nʌ̀ndʑaŋ hḯn.
that-PL two couple COP
Those two are a couple.

There is also a demonstrative plural form *ʈɔ́i* that appears to only occur in the idiom *ʈɔ́i ca* 'do these/those things', as in (71) to (73).

(71) ʈɔ́i ca-si-ma, níǰi nú̍p-i yʌ̀ŋ
those do.PRF-DICT-DESC one.day night-INDEF indeed
after doing those things, one night indeed

pʌ́pʧʰɛ gomʌ-i ʈɛ́ hɔ-ne...
uncle PROPER.MALE-GEN there come.PRF-ABL
uncle Goma came there...

(72) ʈɔ́i cã,
those do.PRF.PTCPL
doing these things,

šì̀ŋ kʰù̀rwu má́ laŋʌ cã kʰɔ̀-si.
wood load NEG.PRF risen do.PRF.PTCPL bring.PRF-DICT.
(I) did not bring a full load of wood.

(73) ʈʌ́ma ʈɔ́i ca-si-ma ʈɛmʌ ɖí̍ŋ kʰa-suŋ,
then those do.PRF-DICT-DESC scent rise smell.PRF.DSJT-POBS
After those things were done, I smelled a scent rising,

ʈʌ́ma kʰã cè ʈì̀ŋ-no ŋʌ ʈõ gʌl-ĩ.
then smell.PTCPL even behind-ABL 1SG run.PTCPL go.PRF-VOL
then after it smelled even behind me, I ran away.

Its use is apparently purely anaphoric.

5.5 Articles

Sherpa has two articles, which occur finally in the noun phrase, followed only by the case clitics. One of these, the definite article, is a separate word, illustrated in (74), while the other, the indefinite article, is an enclitic that attaches to the preceding word, illustrated in (75).

(74) pɛ ʈ̪íkpe ʈ̪í gɔla sʌma tsʰðl hɔ-u-i-nɔk.
mouse small DEF outside food search.IMPF.PTCPL come.IMPF-INF-DUR-MIR
The small mouse came out searching for food.

(75) mí čukpu-i yul-la hɔ-u-i-nɔk.
man rich-INDEF village-LOC come.PRF-INF-DUR-MIR
A (certain) rich man had come to the village.

5.5.1 The definite article

Whether the word that I am calling the definite article should be called such is perhaps open to debate. It is not as frequent as definite articles in many languages and the majority of instances of noun phrases that could be construed as definite occur without it. It does seem to occur only with noun phrases that are interpreted as definite.

The definite article is identical in form to the distal or default demonstrative *ʈ̪í*, except that in its adnominal use the demonstrative lacks a plural form *ʈ̪í-wɔ*, though this plural form also occurs in the use of demonstratives as third person personal pronouns. It differs in position from the adnominal demonstrative in that it occurs at the end of the noun phrase while the adnominal demonstrative occurs at the beginning of the noun phrase. Example (76) illustrates an adnominal demonstrative preceding the noun, while (77) illustrates the same form following the noun, but functioning as a definite article.

(76) ʈ̪í ɖ̪e kʰʌŋba ɹerpu nɔ́k.
THAT STONE.GEN house big MIR
That stone house is big.

(77) sēr ʈí tsʰòl-gi.
gold DEF search.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
Let's look for the gold.

It is possible for the adnominal demonstrative and the definite article to co-occur in the same noun phrase, as in (78) and (79).

(78) ʈí púmpeʤa ʈí kʌ́ŋ ci?
that girl DEF what do.IMPF.DSJT
What is that girl doing?

(79) ʈí ʌ̀ŋa ʈí kʰòk la-ne yu-u ʈʰále ca-suŋ.
that child DEF upright rise.PRF-ABL walk-INF start do.PRF.DSJT-POBS
It was that child that got up and started walking.

Example (80) is similar, except that here the definite article co-occurs with the proximal demonstrative.

(80) ɖí šì ŋ-i gɔ́ ʈí ʧʰák-suŋ.
this wood -GEN door DEF break.PRF.DSJT-POBS
This wood door broke.

It is even possible for a noun phrase to consist only of a demonstrative and a definite article, as in (81), though the demonstrative in this usage is apparently the demonstrative functioning as a third person pronoun rather than as an adnominal demonstrative.

(81) ʈí ʈí kʰʌŋba ʤʌ-i.
3SG DEF house make.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
He will build a house.

In (82), each of the demonstratives, functioning pronominally, occur with the definite article.

(82) ʈ̪ʰí ʈ̪ʰí sʰínʌŋ ɖ̪i ʈ̪ʰí ɟerpu hʰín.
that DEF than this DEF big COP.IMPF
He is bigger than him.

My consultant felt that it was more natural not to include the definite articles with the demonstrative if the noun phrase was being used with clearly deictic as opposed to anaphoric meaning, as in (83).

(83) ʈ̪ʰí sʰínʌŋ ɖ̪i cʰɛ́ hʰín.
that than this senior COP.IMPF
This one is older than that one.

There are a number of factors that appear to condition use of the definite article. One is that when an infinitival phrase functions nominally, as an argument in a clause, the infinitive phrase normally occurs with the definite article, as in (84) to (87)

(84) mɨ̀kʈ̪um ʈ̪u-u ʈ̪ʰí lɛmu hʰín.
hole dig.PRF-INF DEF good COP.IMPF
Digging a hole is good.

(85) ri ɖ̪óp-u ʈ̪ʰí pʰì-suŋ.
potato plant.IMPF-INF DEF late.PRF.DSJT-POBS
It's getting late to plant potatoes

(86) ʈ̪ɔ lɔ̀m-u ʈ̪ʰí l̥ɛmu hʰín.
radish fry.IMPF-INF DEF good COP.IMPF
It is good to fry radishes.

(87) ʈ́í mí ʈ́í-la tsūk sír-u ʈ́í ʤoɻomu hín,
that man DEF-LOC which say.IMPF-INF DEF easy COP.IMPF
Which is easier to say to that man,

kʰòk lɔ sír-u ʈ́í,
upright rise.IMPER say.IMPF-INF DEF
get up (or)

yʊ̃ ɲuk sír-u ʈ́í?
walk.ptcpl go.IMPER say.IMPF-INF DEF
walk?

In this usage, the definite article could be characterized as a nominalizer.

The definite article is also particularly common in noun phrases containing relative clauses, as in the examples in (88) to (90).

(88) sʌ̀-la pʰáp-u šóluk ʈ́í mʌrwu nɔ́k.
ground-LOC blow.down.PRF-INF leaf DEF red MIR
The leaves that blew down are red.

(89) ɖaŋ ɲɛ ɽ́ʌ́l-u šù ʈ́í sērwu nɔ́k.
yesterday 1SG.GEN tear.PRF-INF paper DEF yellow MIR
The paper that I tore yesterday is yellow.

(90) ʈ́í ɽʌ̀m-u kʰʌŋba ʈ́í ɲèrpu hín.
THAT destroy.PRF-INF house DEF BIG COP.IMPF
That house that was destroyed is big.

In these and possibly other instances, the definite article helps signal the end of the noun phrase, making the structure of the sentence clearer to the hearer.

More overt examples of the disambiguation function of the definite article occur illustrated in sentences (91) and (92) below. The Sherpa word for 'fish' is *ɲʌ* and the genitive form is *ɲɛ*, which is identical to the genitive form of the first person singular pronoun, *ɲɛ*. This means that sentence (91) is ambiguous, meaning either 'the fish's eyes are red' or 'my eyes are red'. While context would probably disambiguate which meaning is intended, the consultant said that sentence (92) would be used for the meaning, "the fish's eyes are red," so that the listener would not be confused.

(91) ɲɛ mìk mʌrwu nɔ́k.
fish.GEN/1SG.GEN eye red MIR
The fish's/my eyes are red.

(92) ɲʌ ʈ́i-ci mìk mʌrwu nɔ́k.
fish DEF-GEN eye red MIR
The fish's eyes are red.

Similarly, the definite article in (93) helps to prevent the hearer from interpreting *sērwu* 'yellow' as modifying the noun *čɛ̀ni* 'cup'.

(93) ɲɛ čɔktsi-la ǰó-u čɛ̀ni ʈ́i sērwu hín.
1SG.GEN table-LOC put.IMPF-INF cup DEF yellow COP.IMPF
The cup that I will put on the table is yellow.

Further examples of the disambiguating argument marking function of the definite article are given in sentences (94) through (97). Both sentence (94) and sentence (95) are grammatical but the consultant says that sentence (95) with the definite article is preferable, probably because it neatly divides the subject from the predicate. It is much

the same with sentences (96) and (97). Sentence (97) is preferable because of the three succeeding verb forms that modify *ʧʰúŋma* 'cow'.

(94) ɲɛ ɖʌ́r-u kʰurpa pʰò wɛ́.
1SG.GEN sharpen.PRF-INF knife over.there OBS
The kurpa that I sharpened is over there.

(95) ɲɛ ɖʌ́r-u kʰurpa ʈí pʰò wɛ́.
1SG.GEN sharpen.PRF-INF knife DEF over.there OBS
The kurpa that I sharpened is over there.

(96) ŋʌ-la ʈɽ̀ ɲɛ̃ hɔ-u ʧʰúŋma nʌkpu nɔ́k.
1SG-LOC follow.PTCPL find.PTCPL come.PRF-INF cow black MIR
The cow that followed me was black.

(97) ŋʌ-la ʈɽ̀ ɲɛ̃ hɔ-u ʧʰúŋma ʈí nʌkpu nɔ́k.
1SG-LOC follow.PTCPL find.PTCPL come.PRF-INF cow DEF black MIR
The cow that followed me was black.

Sentences (98) is problematic. In sentence (98) the sequence *kʰurpa šūr-ci* could be interpreted as a noun phrase, 'knife sheath' that is composed of a noun *kʰurpa* 'knife' functioning adjectivally to modify the word *šūr-ci* 'sheath-GEN'. This leads to a confusing interpretation. In sentence (99), the definite article serves to divide the two nouns so that the subject is clearly marked. In sentence (98), the verb of the infinitive clause is not separated from the predicate adjective of of the main clause. This leads to confusion as to how the sentence should be parsed. But in sentence (99), the definite article clearly divides the subject from the predicate. In (98), The sequence *kʰurpa šūr-ci* could be interpreted as a noun phrase meaning 'knife sheath' that is composed of a noun *kʰurpa* 'knife' modifying the noun *šūr-ci* 'sheath-GEN', which would yield the

meaning ‘I inserted something inside the sharpened knife sheath’, which is an odd meaning, since sheaths are not sharpened. But the sentence could also have a structure where *kʰurpa* ‘knife’ heads a noun phrase *ɲɛ ɖʌ́r-u kʰurpa* ‘the knife that I sharpened’ that serves as the object of the sentence, with the meaning ‘I put the knife that I sharpened into the sheath’.

(98) ʔɲɛ ɖʌ́r-u kʰurpa šūr-ci nʌ́ čì̱-ĩ̃.
1SG.GEN sharpen.PRF-INF knife sheath-GEN inside insert.PRF-VOL
I inserted something inside the sharpened knife sheath.
or I inserted the sharpened knife into the sheath.

This ambiguity could lead to confusion, and my consultant said that the first meaning that comes to mind is the one that is odd. If we add a definite article, as in sentence (99), the definite article serves to divide the two nouns so that the only interpretation is one in which *ɲɛ ɖʌ́r-u kʰurpa* ‘the knife that I sharpened’ is the object of the verb.

(99) ɲɛ ɖʌ́r-u kʰurpa ṭí šūr-ci nʌ́ čì̱-ĩ̃.
1SG.GEN sharpen.PRF-INF knife DEF sheath-GEN inside insert.PRF-VOL
The kurpa that I sharpened is in the sheath.

The definite article, like the pronominal use of the demonstrative, occurs in the plural, as in (100).

(100) ṭí mí ṭí-wɔ kʰʌ́ŋb-i kʰʌ̄ pó-ci.
that person DEF-PL house-GEN top remove.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
The men will remove the roof of the house.

The definite article serves as the host for case clitics, since it appears last in the noun phrase, as in (101), where *ʈ́í mí́ ʈ́í-ci* 'that person' is marked genitive as the A in a perfective clause.

(101) ʈ́í mí́ ʈ́í-ci kʰurpa nɛ̀nbu ʈ́ʰǒ maʈʌk čé-suŋ.
that person DEF-GEN knife sharp use.PTCPL rope cut.PRF.DSJT-POBS
That person cut the rope with a sharp knife.

Example (102) shows the definite article in plural form hosting the genitive case clitic.

(102) ʈ́í mí́ ʈ́í-w-i kʰʌ́ŋb-i kʰʌ̄ pɔ̀-suŋ.
that person 3-PL-GEN house-GEN top remove.PRF.DSJT-POBS
The men removed the roof of the house.

5.5.2 The indefinite article

The indefinite article is an enclitic *-i* that attaches to the last content word of a noun phrase. It is used to introduce an entity into the discourse and has a meaning that is in the area of 'a certain'. It is not widely used; noun phrases which are semantically indefinite more often lack the indefinite article. It seems to be associated with introducing referents that are important in the subsequent discourse, as in (103) and (104).

(103) yúl-la mí́ čʰukpu-i hoʈ-u-i-nɔk.
village-LOC PERSON rich-INDEF COP.PRF-INF-DUR-MIR
There was a rich person in the village.

(104) yúl-la ɖe kʰʌŋba ɹerpu-i hín.
VILLAGE-LOC STONE.GEN house big-INDEF make.IMPF-VOL
There is a (specific) big stone house in the village.

The indefinite article is common with certain indefinite expressions, such as *ʦɛ* 'a little', as in (105).

(105) ŋʌ-la ʦɛ̀-i hín.
1SG-LOC a.little-INDEF COP.IMPF
I have a little.

The indefinite article can occur on the interrogative word *kʌ́ŋ* 'what', as in (106).

(106) rimuŋ-la kʌ́ŋ-i šòr-ci-nɔk?
rabbit-LOC what-INDEF chase.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ-MIR
What is chasing the rabbit?

An unsual use occurs in (107), where it appears, in contrast to its position elsewhere in the data, on a prenominal interrogative modifier *ʦūko* 'which', rather than on the last word in the noun phrase.

(107) ʦūko-i ʈʰaka ɖi?
which-INDEF way go.IMPF.DSJ
Which way should we go?

Case clitics attach after the indefinite article, as in (108).

(108) háči kur-i-la pɛ ʈíkpe hɔ-u-i-nɔk.
next a.little.while-INDEF-LOC mouse small come.PRF-INF-DUR-MIR
Next, in a little while, a small mouse came out.

5.6 Adjectives

Adjectives modifying a noun follow the noun, as in (109), where *bamʌ* 'burnt' modifies the noun *šóluk* 'leaf' and (110), were *ʈeŋʌ* 'cold' modifies *čʰū* 'water'.

(109) šóluk bamʌ nʌkpu hín.
leaf burnt black COP.IMPF
Burnt leaves are black.

(110) ɖi čʰū ʈeŋʌ šimbu nɔ́k.
this water cold tasty MIR
This cold water is tasty.

The adjectives *nʌkpu* 'black' and *šimbu* 'tasty' in the same sentences are predicates and do not modify the nouns unlike *bamʌ* 'burnt' and *ʈeŋʌ* 'cold' even though they also come after the nouns. Adjectives used as predicates show no difference in form from those that directly modify nouns, as illustrated by *ʈeŋʌ* 'cold', which is modifying a noun in (110) above but is predicate in (111).

(111) čʰū ʈeŋʌ nɔ́k.
water cold MIR
The water is cold.

Adjectives will take the case clitics if they are the last word of the noun phrase. Sentences (112), (113), and (114) have adjectives with the genitive, locative, and ablative case clitics respectively.

(112) bɛ́rmʌŋ ɖo ɹerp-i kʰʌ́-la ɖe-nɔk.
cat rock big-GEN top-LOC stay-MIR
A cat is on the big rock.

(113) cʰɔkpedʑ-i cʰúŋma sērwu-la ɟép-suŋ.
boy-GEN cow yellow-LOC strike.PRF.DSJT-POBS
The boy hit the yellow cow.

(114) rimuŋ kʰʌŋba ʈ́ikpe-no-ma cʰɔ̃ gal-nɔk.
rabbit house little-ABL-DESC run.PTCPL go.PRF.DSJT-MIR
The rabbit ran down from the house.

While it does not happen frequently, it is possible to have two adjectives directly modifying a noun as in (115).

(115) ʈ́í mí̀ ò̀ŋbu rʌmbu ʈ́í cʰukpu nɔ́k.
that man handsome strong DEF rich MIR
The handsome and strong man is rich.

Sentence (116) has the same adjective reduplicated to expand on its basic meaning.

(116) mí̀ mʌŋmu-la nerpa kuʈ̪up kuʈ̪up ɟem-ne na-nɔk.
person many-LOC disease different different strike.PRF-ABL be.sick-MIR
Many people were ill with various diseases.

5.6.1 Genitive Modifiers of Nouns

Noun phrases bearing the genitive case clitic modify nouns, with the meaning of possession, broadly construed. The genitive noun phrase precedes the head noun, as in (117).

(117) méš-i go
water.buffalo-GEN head
the water buffalo's head

See section 4.2.2 for further discussion and examples.

5.6.2 Noun Modifiers of Nouns

Nouns may be used as modifiers in a noun phrase. Unlike adjectives, the modifying noun comes before the head noun which it modifies. The noun appears either as a bare noun or with the genitive case clitic. Compare the two phrases in English: *a stone fence* or *a wood door* and *a fence of stone* or *a door of wood*. Sherpa is somewhat analogous to English in having two structures, as in (118) and (119).

(118) ɖo kʰór ~ ɖe kʰór
stone fence stone.GEN fence
stone fence fence of stone

(119) šìŋ gɔ́ ~ šìŋ-i gɔ́
wood door wood -GEN door
wood door door of wood

Sentence (120), (121), and (122) all have instances of nouns being modified by nouns marked with the genitive clitic. The semantic relationship is that of the head noun being composed of the material of the genitive noun.

(120) šɪ̀ŋ-i ɖoŋb-i lɔ-la mé bár-ci-nɔk.
wood-GEN bush-GEN surface-LOC fire flare.up.DSJT-DSJ-MIR
The fire flared up on the tree (literally: 'wood bush').

(121) kʰʌŋba kora ɖe kʰór hín.
house around stone.GEN fence COP.IMPF
There is a stone fence around the house.

(122) ɖí šɪ̀ŋ-i gɔ́ ʈí čʰák-suŋ.
this wood -GEN door DEF break.PRF.DSJT-POBS
This wood door broke.

However, it is the case that some nouns phrases that have the 'noun1-GEN noun2' structure also appeared in the data with the same meaning in the form 'noun1 noun2' without the genitive structure, as in sentences (123) and (124). Example (123) also employs *ɖo* 'stone' modifying the noun *kʰór* 'fence', but unlike (121) above where it bears the genitive case clitic, in (123) it is a bare noun.

(123) ʈí ɖo kʰór rʌmbu hín.
that stone fence strong COP.IMPF
That stone fence is strong.

Example (124) employs the same noun *šɪ̀ŋ* 'wood' that appears in (122) above with the genitive clitic, but in (124) it is a bare noun.

(124) šɪ̀ŋ gɔ́-ci lɔ-la bu mʌ́ŋmu nɔ́k.
wood door-GEN surface-LOC bug many MIR
There are many bugs on the wood door.

The use of noun modifiers as illustrated above often involves the notion of one thing being made of another material. However, other nouns may modify a noun without

a genitive case clitic even when the meaning does not involve something being composed of a material and might be expected to occur with the genitive clitic, as in (125) to (128).

(125) oŋʧʰu-la ɖʌ́myʌŋ horu ʈʰo-nɔk.
PROPER.MALE-LOC guitar sound hear.PRF.DSJT-MIR
Onchu heard the sound of the guitar.

(126) ʧòmin mé tsʰɛ́nɖi hín.
candle.butter fire hot COP.IMPF
A candle's fire is hot.

(127) ɖí ɟeʈʰum lūmɖɔk ʧa nɔ́k.
this bucket handle iron MIR
This bucket's handle is iron.

(128) ŋʌ-la ārʌk ʈema ga wɛ́.
1SG-LOC corn.liquor smell happy OBS
I like the smell of corn liquor.

5.6.3 Quantifiers

I refer to as quantifiers both numeral words as well as words like *bʌ́ŋi* 'lots of', *mʌ́ŋmu* 'much', *ʈákʈuk* 'all', and *yɛ́m* 'lots'. Quantifiers follow the nouns they modify, as in (129) through (136).

(129) cī ʧìk
dog one
one dog

(130) ʈ́óm ɲì
bear two
two bears

(131) kʌlʌk čì̀ʈʌmba
crow ten
ten crows

(132) mí sù̀m hɔ-nɔk.
person three come.PRF.DSJT-MIR
Three people have come.

(133) háči núp-la čʰúŋma ʈákʈuk pár-suŋ.
then night-LOC cow all scared.PRF.DSJT-POBS
Then during the night all the cows got scared.

(134) ʤʌŋm-i gàŋ bʌ́ŋi tso-suŋ.
PROPER.FEM-GEN bowl lots sell.PRF.DSJT-POBS
Zangmu sold lots of bowls.

(135) níǰi tsʰɛrmuŋ núp-la ʈ́óm hɔ-ne,
one.day day night-LOC bear come.IMPF-ABL
One day a bear was coming at night,

lítsi yɛ́m so-nɔk.
corn lots eat.PRF.MIR
and ate lots of corn.

(136) yúl-gi mí ʈákʈuk gal-ne
village-GEN person all go.PRF-ABL
All the people in the city went and

kʰʌ́ŋb-i gɔ́-la ɲé-ĩ ɖé-ci-nok.
house-GEN door-LOC strike.IMPF-DUR.PTCPL stay-DSJ-MIR
gathered at the door of the house.

There is also a collective suffix *-kar* with the meaning of "all together" as illustrated in (137).

(137) ʈ̪í ʈ̪ɔ́m ʈ̪í-w-i sù̀m-kʌr šiŋ-gi lí̀tsi yɛ́m so-nɔk.
that bear DEF-PL-GEN three-COL field-GEN corn lots eat.PRF.DSJT-MIR
All three of those bears ate lots of corn in the field.

This example also illustrates a construction analogous to English *three of those bears*, where the numeral is preceded by a noun phrase with the genitive case clitic.

Sherpa derives the ordinal numerals from the cardinal numerals by suffixing *–pa* to the cardinal number, as in (138).

(138) yúl-ne lʌm-gi tsí̀p-ci kʰʌŋba ʈ̪úk-pa wɛ́.
village-ABL path-GEN beside-GEN house six-ORD OBS
It is the sixth house beside the path from the village.

Table 108 gives the cardinal, ordinal, and collective series for one through ten.

Table 108: Cardinal, ordinal, and collective numerals ‘one’ through ‘ten’

cardinal		ordinal		collective	
‘one’	*čì̀k*	‘first’	*čì̀k-pa*		
‘two’	*ɲì̀*	‘second’	*ɲì̀-pa*	‘both’	*ɲì̀-kʌr*
‘three’	*sù̀m*	‘third’	*sù̀m-pa*	‘all.three’	*sù̀m-kʌr*
‘four’	*ǰi*	‘fourth’	*ǰi-pa*	‘all.four’	*ǰi-kʌr*
‘five’	*ŋà̀*	‘fifth’	*ŋà̀-pa*	‘all.five’	*ŋà̀-kʌr*
‘six’	*ʈ̪úk*	‘sixth’	*ʈ̪úk-pa*	‘all.six’	*ʈ̪úk-kʌr*
‘seven’	*ɖ̪in*	‘seventh’	*ɖ̪in-pa*	‘all.seven’	*ɖ̪in-kʌr*
‘eight’	*ɟɛ́*	‘eighth’	*ɟɛ́-pa*	‘all.eight’	*ɟɛ́-kʌr*
‘nine’	*gu*	‘ninth’	*gu-pa*	‘all.nine’	*gu-kʌr*
‘ten’	*čì̀ʈ̪ʰʌmba*	‘tenth’	*čì̀ʈ̪ʰʌmba-pa*		

Table 109 gives a selection of numerals between ‘eleven’ and ‘one hundred and one’.

Table 109: Some cardinal numerals through ‘one hundred and one’

čù̀čik	‘eleven’	*kʰʌ́lsum*	‘thirty’
čì̀ŋŋi	‘twelve’	*kʰʌ́ljik ʈʌ̄ŋ čù̀čik*	‘thirty-one’
čù̀psum	‘thirteen’	*kʰʌ́lsum ʈʌ̄ŋ ɲì̀*	‘thirty-two’
čù̀pǰi	‘fourteen’	*kʰʌ́ljik ʈʌ̄ŋ sù̀m*	‘thirty-three’
čɛ̀ŋa	‘fifteen’	*kʰʌ́ljik ʈʌ̄ŋ ǰi*	‘thirty-four’
čúruk	‘sixteen’	*kʰʌ́lǰi*	‘forty’
čupɖin	‘seventeen’	*kʰʌ́lǰi ʈʌ̄ŋ ǰi*	‘forty-four’
čʌ́pcɛ	‘eighteen’	*kʰʌ̀lŋa*	‘fifty’
čurku	‘nineteen’	*kʰʌ̀lŋa ʈʌ̄ŋ ŋà*	‘fifty-five’
kʰʌ́ljik	‘twenty’	*kʰʌ́lʈuk*	‘sixty’
ɲɛ̀šu	‘twenty’	*kʰʌ́lʈuk ʈʌ̄ŋ ʈúk*	‘sixty-six’
kʰʌ́ljik ʈʌ̄ŋ čì̀k	‘twenty-one’	*kʰʌ́lɖin*	‘seventy’
kʰʌ́ljik ʈʌ̄ŋ ɲì̀	‘twenty-two’	*kʰʌ́lɖin ʈʌ̄ŋ ɖin*	‘seventy-seven’
kʰʌ́ljik ʈʌ̄ŋ sù̀m	‘twenty-three’	*kʰʌ́lɟɛ*	‘eighty’
kʰʌ́ljik ʈʌ̄ŋ ǰi	‘twenty-four’	*kʰʌ́lɟɛ ʈʌ̄ŋ ɟɛ́*	‘eighty-eight’
kʰʌ́ljik ʈʌ̄ŋ ŋà	‘twenty-five’	*kʰʌ́lgu*	‘ninety’
kʰʌ́ljik ʈʌ̄ŋ ʈúk	‘twenty-six’	*kʰʌ́lgu ʈʌ̄ŋ ɟɛ́*	‘ninety-eight’
kʰʌ́ljik ʈʌ̄ŋ ɖin	‘twenty-seven’	*kʰʌ́lgu ʈʌ̄ŋ gu*	‘ninety-nine’
kʰʌ́ljik ʈʌ̄ŋ ɟɛ́	‘twenty-right’	*kʰʌ̀l čì̀ʈʰʌmba*	‘hundred’
kʰʌ́ljik ʈʌ̄ŋ gu	‘twenty-nine’	*kʰʌ̀l čì̀ʈʌmba ʈʌ̄ŋ čì̀k*	‘hundred and one’

The quantifiers other than the numerals can also function adverbially. In (139), *ʈákʈuk* ‘all’ is separated by a locative phrase from the pronoun with which it is semantically associated, namely *ɲiraŋ* ‘we’.

(139) ʈɛ-ma ɲiraŋ tsuʈi-la, ʈákʈuk
there-DESC 1PL.EXCL breaktime-LOC all
Then at breaktime, we all

gɔ́-la tsɛrmitsɛ̃ ɖi.
door-LOC game play.PTCPL go.IMPF.DSJT
would go outdoors to play games.

The quantifier *yém* ‘lots’ can also function adverbially, as in (140); while *yém* comes after the noun *go* ‘head’ in (140), it does not modify the noun, but rather modifies the verb *na* ‘be.sick’ since the meaning would be something like ‘my many heads are sick’ if *yém* were modifying the noun.

(140) ɲɛ go yém na-suŋ.
1SG.GEN head lots be.sick-POBS
My head hurt a lot.

5.6.4 Relative clauses

Relative clauses in Sherpa precede the noun, as in (141).

(141) lítsi sa-p ʈ̪óm
corn eat.IMPF-INF bear
bear that eats corn

The verb in the relative clause occurs in what I am calling the infinitive form.

Noun phrases containing relative clauses often include the definite article *ʈ̪í*, as in (142), (143), and (144), where the nouns *šiŋ* ‘field’, *hí* ‘letter’, and *kʰʌŋba* ‘house’ are modified by relative clauses.

(142) ɖ̪aŋ ŋʌ yu-u šiŋ ʈ̪í ɟerpu nɔ́k.
yesterday 1SG walk.PRF-INF field DEF big MIR
The field that I walked around yesterday is big.

(143) ʈ̪í-la cò̀l-u hí ʈ̪í gerpu nɔ́k.
3SG-LOC deliver.IMPF-INF letter DEF big MIR
The letter that will be delivered to him is big.

(144) ʈ̪í ɾ̪ʌ̀m-u kʰʌŋba ʈ̪í jèrpu hín.
that destroy.PRF-INF house FOC BIG COP.IMPF
That house that was destroyed is big.

Further examples containing relative clauses are given in (145) through (149).

(145) ʈ̪í-ci ŋʌ-la ɲɛ́n ʈ̪ɑ̄ŋ-u ʈ̪ɔ́ktsi ʈ̪í čáŋ-nɔk.
3SG-GEN 1SG-LOC lend.PTCPL send-INF shovel DEF break.PRF.DSJT-MIR
The shovel that he lent to me is broken.

Note that a noun phrase containing a relative clause need not be an argument of a clause, but, like other noun phrases, can function as a genitive modifier of a noun, as in (146), or as the genitive modifier of a relator noun, as in (147).

(146) lítsi sa-p ʈ̪óm-gi pè
corn eat.IMPF-INF bear-GEN story
The story of the corn-eating bear

(147) ʈ̪í púmpedʑʌ ʈ̪í na-u mí ʈ̪í-ci tsa-la hɔ-ne,
that girl DEF be.sick-INF person DEF-GEN near-LOC come.PRF-ABL
That girl came near the sick person,

lū la-ne na-u mí ʈ̪í-ci
song rise.PRF-ABL be.sick-INF person DEF-GEN
and after singing

kʌ̀ŋba tsíp-la lúm-nɔk.
foot/leg beside-LOC fall.PRF.DSJT-MIR
fell at his feet.

Sentences (148) and (149) illustrate noun phrases containing relative clauses as one of the arguments in an equational clause with a copula.

(148) ʈ̪í ʧɛ̀ni bʌ-u mí ʈ̪í ʈ̪í hín.
that cup hide.PRF-INF man DEF 3SG COP.IMPF
He is the person who hid that cup.

(149) ʈ̪í-la sèr ʈ̪èr-u mí ʈ̪í hó ʈ̪í hín.
3SG-LOC gold give.IMPF-INF man DEF COP.PRF 3SG COP.IMPF
He is the person who gave the gold to him.

Note that in both these examples, the other argument of the copula is a pronoun which immediately precedes the verb, suggesting that it is the complement of the copula while the long noun phrase is the subject. This is somewhat odd since the subject of an equational clause is typically the topic rather than the focus crosslinguistically and the complement of the copula the focus, and it is less natural for a third person pronoun to be focus.

5.6.5 Infinitival phrases as noun phrases

A subjectless clause in Sherpa can be used as an argument of a higher clause. The clausal argument will then have the infinitive ending on the verb and be followed by the definite article *ʈ̪í*, as in (150) to (152).

(150) mìkʈ̪um ʈ̪u-u ʈ̪í lɛmu hín.
hole dig.PRF-INF DEF good COP.IMPF
Digging a hole is good.

(151) ri ɖ̪óp-u ʈ̪í pʱì-suŋ.
potato plant.IMPF-INF DEF late.PRF.DSJT-POBS
It is getting late to plant potatoes. (literally: The planting of potatoes is late.)

(152) ʈ̪ɔ lòm-u ʈ̪í l̥ɛmu hín.
radish fry.IMPF-INF DEF good COP.IMPF
It is good to fry radishes.

Note that while these share the property with relative clauses that the infinitive form of the verb is used, they differ semantically in that the infinitival phrase as noun phrase denotes a event, while a relative clause characterizes a participant in the event.

While infinitival phrases functioning as arguments often occur with the definite article, this is not always the case, as in sentence (153).

(153) lakʌ-la ɖ̥ɔ́-p pʱì-suŋ.
work-LOC go.IMPF-INF late.PRF.DSJT-POBS
(I am) late going to work.

6 Clause and Sentence Structure

6.1 Clause Word Order

Sherpa is a strictly verb-final language. All clausal arguments and modifiers come before the verb complex. The only elements that can follow a verb are a small number of particles: the observational evidential particle *wɛ́,* as in (1), the completed action particle illustrated in (2); the particle *ʈam* expressing possibility, as in (3).

(1) ŋʌ ʧʰoŋ-i wɛ́.
1SG run.IMPF-DUR OBS
I am running.

(2) ɖaŋ ɲɛ šìŋ ʈɛ-u hĺn-si,
yesterday 1SG.GEN wood chop.PRF-INF COP.IMPF-DICT
If I had chopped wood yesterday,

ŋʌ-la mé ʈōŋ-u šìŋ lʌ̀ŋ-i pe.
1SG-LOC fire send.IMPF-INF wood rise.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ COMPL
I would have had wood for the fire.

(3) šìŋ-i ɖoŋbu lʌ́kpa nalɔk ʈʰaka ʧʰʌ̀-i ʈam.
wood-GEN plant arm right side break.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ POT
The tree might fall to the right.

It is also possible for the definite article to occur at the end of a clause, with the meaning ‘it is a fact that’, as in (4).

(4) pɛ ɲíŋ šɛ̄-p bɛlʌ lép-u ʈ̤í.
mouse self die-INF time arrive-INF DEF
The mouse himself arrived at the time of dying.

The most frequent word order is SOV, but OSV word order is usually grammatical as well, as illustrated by (5).

(5) ɖ̤i lū ŋʌ ɲɛ́n-i wɛ́.
this music 1SG listen.IMPF-DUR OBS
I am listening to this music.

However there are various factors that determine the order of arguments in a clause. Semantic considerations are a better predictor of case assignment and word order than the canonical concepts of subject and object. It is also the case that there are no voice distinctions that are marked in the verb complex. Therefore it is better to view the motivation for argument position in a clause as being motivated by semantics and animacy rather than the grammatical relationships of subject and object.

It is not uncommon for a clause to contain a sequence of two verbs, as in (6) and (7), although the first verb will always be a participle or a similar nonfinite verb form, while the last verb will be finite, bearing the inflections for the clause.

(6) ŋʌ ɕ̆ʰðˇ ɖ̥ɔ-i wɛ́.
1SG run.IMPF.PTCPL go.IMPF-DUR OBS
I am running.

(7) ŋʌ ɕ̆ʰðˇ gʌ́l-ɤ̃.
1SG run.IMPF.PTCPL go.IMPF-VOL
I ran.

It is also possible to have a clause with no verb, but only a nonverbal predicate followed by one of the evidential particles *wɛ́* or *nɔ́k*. This predicate can be an adjective, as in (8) and (9), a noun phrase, as in (10), a locative case-marked noun phrase, as in (11). a locative adverb, as in (12) and (13).

(8) ŋʌ-la ga wɛ́.
1SG-LOC happy OBS
I am happy.

(9) ʈ̪í mí bombu nɔ́k.
that man fat MIR
That man is/was fat.

(10) yúl-ne lʌm-gi tsíp-ci kʰʌŋba ʈ̪úk-pa wɛ́.
village-ABL path-GEN beside-GEN house six-ORD OBS
It is the sixth house beside the path from the village.

(11) cī kʰʌŋb-i nʌ́ŋ-la wɛ́.
dog house-GEN inside-LOC OBS
The dog is in the house.

(12) ŋʌ ɖ̪ɛ wɛ́.
1sg here OBS
I am here.

(13) ɲɛ ɖ̪ʌ́r-u kʰurpa pʰò wɛ́.
1SG.GEN sharpen.PRF-INF knife over.there OBS
The kurpa that I sharpened is over there.

In existential clauses, it is common for the subject to immediately precede the evidential particle, as in (14).

(14) poŋ nʌ́ ʧʰū wɛ́.
bottle inside water OBS
There is water in the bottle.

Sentences (15) through (20) are three sets of paired sentences with future, present, and past time reference respectively for each set. The first sentence of each set has a first person subject and the second sentence of each set has a third person subject. Each sentence begins with a time adverb. The verb in all six sentences is *ḏéṯ-u* 'to stay/rest/sit'. The locational reference in the sentences is *kʰʌŋb-i nʌ* 'inside the house'. The locational reference phrase comes directly before the verb. Sentences (15) and (16) referring to the future and (19) and (20) referring to the past all have the same sentence structure of TIME.ADVERB + SUBJECT.PRONOUN + NOUN-GEN + RELATOR.NOUN + VERB. Sentences (17) and (18) also have the same structure with the addition of a clause final evidential which is triggered by the durative verb suffix that is employed with a present durative time reference.

(15) sʌla ŋʌ kʰʌŋb-i nʌ́ ḏeṯ-ɾ̃.
tomorrow 1SG house-GEN inside stay.IMPF-VOL
Tomorrow I will stay in the house.

(16) sʌla ṯí kʰʌŋb-i nʌ́ ḏe-ci.
tomorrow 3SG house-GEN inside stay.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
Tomorrow he will stay in the house.

(17) hariŋ ŋʌ kʰʌŋb-i nʌ́ ḏeṯ-i wɛ́.
today-LOC 1SG house-GEN inside stay.IMPF-DUR OBS
Today I am staying in the house.

(18) hariŋ ʈ́í kʰʌŋb-i nʌ́ ɖeʈ-i nɔ́k.
today-LOC 3SG house-GEN inside stay.IMPF.DSJT-DUR MIR
Today she is staying in the house.

(19) ɖaŋ ŋʌ kʰʌŋb-i nʌ́ ɖeʈ-ɤ̃.
yesterday 1SG house-GEN inside stay.PRF-VOL
Yesterday I stayed in the house.

(20) ɖaŋ ʈ́í kʰʌŋb-i nʌ́ ɖe-nɔk.
yesterday 3SG house-GEN inside stay.PRF.DSJT-MIR
Yesterday he stayed in the house.

When a noun in the locative case is a recipient in a ditransitive clause, it usually come between the subject and the object arguments, as in sentences (21), (22), and (23).

(21) ɖaŋ ɲɛ lʌ̄ma-la mɛ́ɖɔk pʊ̀l-ɤ̃.
yesterday 1SG.GEN lama-LOC flower offer.PRF-VOL
Yesterday I offered flowers to the lamas.

(22) ʈ́í ŋʌ-la ʈɔ́ktsi ɲɛ́n-gi.
3SG 1SG-LOC shovel lend.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
He will lend the shovel to me.

(23) ʈ́í ʈ́í-la sèr ʈèr-ci.
3SG 3SG-LOC gold give.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
He will give the gold to him.

In contrast to these ditransitive verbs, in clauses with the verb *ɟó-u/ɟʌ́k-u* ‘ʈo put’, which in addition to its subject takes an object and a locative expression, the locative expression most often appears after the object, immediately before the verb, whether the locative expression involves a locative case-marked relator noun, as in (24), (25), and (26) or simply a locative case-marked noun, as in (27) through (30).

(24) ʈ̪í-ci ʈ̪èru kʰʌ́-la ǰák-suŋ.
1SG-GEN all top-LOC put.PRF.DSJT-POBS
She put them all on top.

(25) ɲɛ čɛ̀ni ɖ̪en-gi kʰʌ́-la ǰʌ́-ɾ̃.
1SG.GEN cup carpet-GEN top-LOC put.PRF-VOL
I put the cup on on top of the carpet.

(26) ɖ̪aŋ ʈ̪í-ci čɛ̀ni čɔkʦ-i kʰʌ́-la ǰák-suŋ.
yesterday 3SG-GEN cup table-GEN top-LOC put.PRF.DSJT-POBS
Yesterday he put the cup on top of the table.

(27) ŋʌ katsa ɖ̪en-la ǰó-ɾ̃.
1SG shoe carpet-LOC put.IMPF-VOL
I will put the shoes on the carpet.

(28) ɖ̪aŋ ɲɛ čɛ̀ni sʌ̀-la ǰʌ́-ɾ̃.
yesterday 1SG.GEN cup ground-LOC put.PRF-VOL
Yesterday I put the cup on the ground.

(29) ʈ̪í ɖ̪o sʌ̀-la ǰʌ́-i.
3SG rock ground-LOC put.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
He will put the rock on the ground.

(30) čɛ̀ni ʈ̪ákʈ̪uk čɔkʦi-la ǰő ʈ̪í ɖ̪é-suŋ.
cup all table-LOC put.IMPF.PTCPL 3SG sit.PRF.DSJT-POBS
Putting all the cups on the table, she sat down.

Sentences (31) through (35) have a clausal subjects and adjectival predicates. Sentence (31) ends with the imperfective copula, and sentence (32) end with the mirative evidential. The copulas and the evidential are syntagmatically similar is such sentences.

(31) ɲɛ bɛ̀t̪-u ʨʰū t̪í ṭèŋa hín.
1SG.GEN spill.IMPF-INF water DEF cool COP.IMPF
The water that I will spill is cold.

(32) ɲɛ pɛ̀t̪-u ʨʰū t̪í ṭèŋa nɔ́k.
1SG.GEN spill.PRF-INF water DEF cool MIR
The water that I spilt is cold.

With a negative copula, as in sentence (33), there is no difference from the affirmative counterparts other than the negative form of the copula or evidential that is employed in the same syntactic position.

(33) d̪aŋ ɲɛ ʥo-u samʌ t̪í lɛmu mid̪uk.
yesterday 1SG.GEN make.PRF-INF food DEF good NEG.COP.IMPF
The food that I made yesterday is not good.

While the definite article is usually present to mark infinitival phrases that function as the argument of the predicate, as in (34), this is not always the case, as (35) illustrates.

(34) t̪ʌ̀-la t̪et̪-u t̪í mɛlwa hín.
dirt-LOC slip.IMPF-INF DEF bad COP.IMPF
To slip is bad.

(35) ŋʌ-la kʰʌŋba ʥɔ-p ga wɛ́.
1SG.LOC house make.IMPF-INF happy OBS
I like to build houses.

The animacy of a noun plays a role in determining the word order of a Sherpa clause. The more animate of the arguments in a clause tend to come first before the other

arguments. For example, (36) illustrates a clause with an inanimate subject following an animate object.

(36) ŋʌ-la ɖo pòk-suŋ.
1SG-LOC rock hit.PRF.DSJT-POBS
A rock hit me.

It is interesting to note that in this example at least the inanimate noun, being the only possible surface noun to serve as subject, does not take the genitive case clitic, even though the clause is perfective.

It is possible, however, for an inanimate subject to precede an animate object, as in (37), or for an inanimate object to precede an animate subject, as in (38) and (39).

(37) ɖo ŋʌ-la pòk-suŋ.
rock 1SG-LOC hit.PRF.DSJT-POBS
A rock hit me.

(38) čèni sʌla ŋʌ kʰùŋ-ɤ̃.
cup tomorrow 1SG bring.IMPF-VOL
Tomorrow I will bring the cup.

(39) ʈ́í lū ŋʌ ɲɛ́n-ɤ̃.
that music 1SG listen.IMPF-VOL
I will listen that music.

The construction in (40), (41), and (42) is used to express the notion that someone likes something. The experiencer is in the locative case. Sentence (40) is possible but

the word order in sentences (41) and (42) is the more usual order, placing the animate experiencer in clause-initial position.

(40) ʈ̪ʰí lū ɲɛ́n-u ŋʌ-la ga wɛ́.
that music listen.IMPF-INF 1SG-LOC happy OBS
I like to listen to that music.

(41) ŋʌ-la ʈ̪ʰí lū ɲɛ́n-u ga wɛ́.
1SG-LOC that music listen.IMPF-INF happy OBS
I like to listen to that music.

(42) ŋʌ-la lū ɲɛ́n-u ga wɛ́.
1SG-LOC music listen.IMPF-INF happy OBS
I like to listen to music.

A third person object pronoun is usually unexpressed in Sherpa. Sentence (43) has a nominal object. Sentence (44) is the equivalent sentence with an unexpressed pronominal object. Sentences (45), (46), and (47) are more examples of this with varying subject person and perfectivity. Even though there are no overt objects with the perfective roots in (44) and (46), ergative marking with the genitive case is triggered for the subjects.

(43) ʈ̪ʰí-ci ɖo ʤim-suŋ.
3SG-GEN rock grab.PRF.DSJT-POBS
He grabbed the rock.

(44) ʈ̪ʰí-ci ʤim-suŋ.
3SG-GEN grab.PRF.DSJT-POBS
He grabbed it.

(45) t̪ɪ́ dʑim-gi.
3SG grab.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
He will grab it.

(46) ɲɛ dʑim-ĩ.
1SG.GEN grab.PRF-VOL
I grabbed it.

(47) ŋʌ dʑim-ĩ.
1SG grab.IMPF-VOL
I will grab it.

6.2 Particles

In addition to the evidential particles *wɛ́* and *nɔ́k*, there are three other particles to discuss. One is the completed action particle *pe*, the other two are the discourse particles *yʌ̀ŋ* and *cè*.

6.2.1 Completed action particle *pe*

The clause-final particle *pe* marks an action as completed. Sentences (48) and (49) are equivalent sentences referring to the present and past respectively, the latter using the particle *pe*.

(48) d̪ʌkpu d̪ɛ hot̪-u t̪ɪ́ ga hɪ́n.
1PL.INCL here COP.PRF-INF DEF happy COP.IMPF
It is good that we were here.

(49) ɖʌkpu ʈɛ́ hoʈ-u ʈí ga ho pe.
1PL.INCL THERE COP.PRF-INF DEF happy COP.PRF COMPL
It was good for us to have been there.

Sentence (50) is from a narrative where the consultant realizes that the object that he was chasing in the dark was not a jungle chicken. The particle *pe* marks the event of going as completed relative to the speaker's realization that the thing going was not a jungle chicken.

(50) ʈʌ́ma ɲɛ lʌkp-i hóŋ-ne cī čì̀ne
then 1SG.GEN arm-GEN underneath-ABL dog like/as
Then underneath my arms, something like a dog,

ɟerpu-i ǰúk ʈʰɛn gal pe.
big-INDEF elongated extend go.PRF COMPL
a big one, went through.

Sentence (51) is from a narrative about the consultant's first day at school when the teacher asked his name. The successive sentences relate that he was shy and could not reply.

(51) mašʈʌ ʈi-ci˙ ŋʌ-la,
teacher 3SG-GEN 1SG-LOC
The teacher asked me,

"cʰɔre min kʌ́ŋ hĺn?" sa-suŋ. pe.
2SG.GEN name what COP.IMPF say.PRF.DSJT-POBS COMPL
"What is your name?"

6.2.2 The discourse particles *yʌ̀ŋ* and *cè*

The discourse particles *yʌ̀ŋ* and *cè* are somewhat similar in meaning: both mark a clause as assertive. I have glossed the particle *yʌ̀ŋ* as 'indeed'. The particle *cè* is used to counter a presupposition or expectation which the speaker thinks that the hearer has, and is glossed as 'instead' and can also mean something like 'moreover'.

Sentence (52) merely states 'I am here', but sentence (53), which uses both particles, has an expanded meaning of something like, 'Yes indeed, I am here today in spite of your thinking that I would not be here.'

(52) ŋʌ ḏɛ wɛ́.
1sg here OBS
I am here.

(53) hariŋ ŋʌ yʌ̀ŋ ḏɛ cè wɛ́!
today 1SG indeed here instead OBS
Today I am indeed here!

Sentences (54) and (55) would be uttered to counter the supposed presupposition of the listener that the subject of the sentence was not going or was not eating. Sentence (56) comes from a story about a mouse tricking a cat out of eating him. The mouse counters the cat's belief that eating the mouse alone would be enough.

(54) ṯí ḏo-ĩ̃ cè nɔ́k.
3sg go.IMPF-DUR.PTCPL instead MIR
He was going.

(55) ʈ̪ɪ́ sʌ-ɾ̃ cɛ̀ nɔ́k.
3sg eat.IMPF-DUR.PTCPL instead MIR
She is eating.

(56) ŋʌ čɪ̀k cɛ̀ sõ,
1sg one instead eat.PRF.PTCPL
If you eat only me,

cʰúruŋ mʌ-ɖʌ́-i.
2SG NEG-be.full.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
it will not be enough.

In sentence (57) the assertive particle, *yʌ̀ŋ*, reinforces the idea of the bear going to another person's field to eat corn during the night.

(57) ʈ̪ɔ́i ca-si-ma, nɪ́ǰi nú̱p-i yʌ̀ŋ
those do.PRF-DICT-DESC one.day night-INDEF indeed
after doing those things, one night indeed

pʌ́pčʰɛ gomʌ-i ʈ̪ɛ́ hɔ-ne,
uncle PROPER.MALE-GEN there come.PRF-ABL
after (he) came to uncle Goma's place,

ʈ̪ɔ́m-gi lɪ́tsi yɛ́m so-u-i-nɔk.
bear-GEN corn a.lot eat.PRF-INF-DUR-MIR
the bear was eating a lot of corn.

Sentences (58) through (60) are a short dialogue between "A" and "B" over the issue of "B" being smart and sentence (60), with the particle *yʌ̀ŋ*, reaffirms the assertion of "A" that "B" is smart.

(58) cʰuruŋ čʌŋbu hɪ́n.
2SG smart COP.IMPF
A: You are smart.

(59) mín, ŋʌ čʌŋbu mín.
NEG.COP.IMPF 1SG smart NEG.COP.IMPF
B: No, I am not smart.

(60) cʰuruŋ yʌ̀ŋ čʌŋbu hín.
2SG indeed smart COP.IMPF
A: You are indeed smart.

Sentences (61) and (62) is a short exchange over whether something is called a blackboard in English. "A" points to an object and says sentence (61) to which "B" responds with sentence (62).

(61) ʈí ʈí *blackboard* hín?
that DEF blackboard COP.IMPF
A: Is that a blackboard?

(62) ɖi yʌ̀ŋ *blackboard* mín.
this indeed blackboard NEG.COP.IMPF
B: This is not a blackboard.

Sentences (63) and (64) are one last dialogue where "B" counters the assertion of "A" with sentence (64) and uses both of the particles, *yʌ̀ŋ* and *cè*.

(63) ɖi ʈí cʰore čɛ̀ni hín.
this DEF 2SG.GEN cup COP.IMPF
A: Here's your cup.

(64) ɖi yʌ̀ŋ ɲɛ čɛ̀ni mín, ɖi ʈí cè hín.
this indeed 1SG.GEN cup NEG.COP.IMPF this DEF instead COP.IMPF
B: This is not my cup, this one is.

6.3 Questions

6.3.1 Polar questions

Polar questions in Sherpa have the same form as declarative sentences. The only difference is that there is a distinct rising intonation on the last word of the interrogative sentence. This intonation also occurs in content questions. No question particle has been encountered in the data for Hile Sherpa.

Polar questions with second person subjects in Sherpa pattern like declarative sentences with first person subjects. They occur with the infinitive, volitional, or durative suffixes. Sentences (65), (66), and (67) are questions referring to a past action and use the infinitive ending, which is used for clauses denoting events without reference to the evidential categories of volitionality or observation.

(65) cʰore salmʌ ʂrɛ̀-u?
2SG.GEN garbage burn.PRF-INF
Did you burn garbage?

(66) cʰore hici ʈʌ̄ŋ-u?
2SG.GEN letter send.PRF-INF
Did you send the letter?

(67) cʰír ʌŋ ʂi-u?
2PL reconcile.PRF-INF
Did you make up?

Sentences (68) and (69) have the volitional ending in imperfect clauses referring to the future because the question asks the addressees if they have the willful intentions of performing the action in question.

(68) cʰúruŋ salmʌ ɻɛ̀-ĩ?
2SG garbage burn.IMPF-VOL
Will you burn garbage?

(69) cʰúruŋ hici t̪ɔ̄ŋ-ĩ?
2SG letter send.IMPF-VOL
Will you send the letter?

Sentences (70) and (71) are imperfective clauses with the durative suffix that refer to the present and which inquire if the action is currently being performed. The observational evidential particle is used with reference to the perception of the second person being questioned.

(70) cʰúruŋ salmʌ ɻɛ̀-i wɛ́?
2SG garbage burn.IMPF-DUR OBS
Are you burning the garbage?

(71) cʰúruŋ hici t̪ɔ̄ŋ-i wɛ́?
2SG letter send.IMPF-DUR OBS
Are you sending the letter?

With polar questions with third person subjects, the only difference between a statement and a polar question is the rising intonation on the last word of the clause. Sentences (72) through (77) are three pairs of sentences with the disjunctive verb suffix, the first sentence of the pair being the declarative sentence and the second being the polar question. Sentences (72) and (73) have a transitive verb with an iterative sense.

(72) ʤaŋmu ɲí̀mi ʈɛŋ kūr cè-i.
PROPER.FEM day every bread bake.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
Zangmu bakes bread every day.

(73) ʤaŋmu ɲí̀mi ʈɛŋ kūr cè-i?
PROPER.FEM day every bread bake.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
Does Zangmu bake bread every day?

Sentences (54) and (75) have a transitive verb with a recipient in the locative case.

(74) ʈ̪í ŋʌ-la ʈ̪ɔ́ktsi ɲɛ́n-gi.
3SG 1SG-LOC shovel lend.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
He will lend the shovel to me.

(75) ʈ̪í ŋʌ-la ʈ̪ɔ́ktsi ɲɛ́n-gi?
3SG 1SG-LOC shovel lend.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
Will he lend the shovel to me?

Sentences (76) and (77) have a transitive verb with a compound object.

(76) ʈ̪í ɖa ʈ̪ʌ̄ŋ lí̀tsi mula ɖ̪um-gi.
3SG rice with corn together mix.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
He will mix rice and corn together.

(77) ʈ̪í ɖa ʈ̪ʌ̄ŋ lí̀tsi mula ɖ̪um-gi?
3SG rice with corn together mix.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
Will he mix rice and corn together?

Sentences (72) through (77) above have future or nomic reference while sentences (78) through (87) have past reference, using the past observational or mirative verb suffixes. These also exhibit no difference other than intonation between the declarative

sentence and the corresponding polar question. Sentences (78) and (79) have a transitive verb and the past observational ending. The statement would be uttered by someone who had observed the sweeping of the floor from its inception. The question would be asked of someone whom the speaker assumes had observed the sweeping of the floor from its inception.

(78) ʈ̪ɨ́-ci sʌ̀ ǰà-suŋ.
3SG-GEN ground sweep.PRF.DSJT-POBS
He swept the floor.

(79) ʈ̪ɨ́-ci sʌ̀ ǰà-suŋ?
3SG-GEN ground sweep.PRF.DSJT-POBS
Did he sweep the floor?

The same sense of direct observation that applies to sentences (78) and (79) above also applies to sentences (80) and (81) below. These latter two sentences with the past observational suffix contrast with sentences (82) and (83), which have the mirative suffix. Sentence (82) is a statement that would be uttered by someone who did not observe the lie being told, but had found out later that what was said was a lie. Therefore, sentence (83) would be asked of someone who the speaker assumes had found out about the lie after the fact.

(80) ʈ̪ɨ́-ci ʤinok ʤo-suŋ.
3SG-GEN lie make.PRF.DSJT-POBS
He lied.

(81) ʈ̪ɨ́-ci ʤinok ʤo-suŋ?
3SG-GEN lie make.PRF.DSJT-POBS
Did he lie?

(82) ʈ̪ɪ́-ci dzinok dzo-nɔk.
3SG-GEN lie make.PRF.DSJT-POBS
He lied.

(83) ʈ̪ɪ́-ci dzinok dzo-nɔk?
3SG-GEN lie make.PRF.DSJT-POBS
Did he lie?

Sentences (84) through (87) are two more pairs of sentences with the mirative verb suffix. With sentence (85), the question is whether the listener has discovered whether the cup was brought, and with sentence (87) whether the water had spilt through observation or inference after the fact but not direct observation from inception.

(84) ʈ̪ɪ́-ci ɲɛ čèni kʰɔ̀-nɔk.
3SG-GEN 1SG.GEN cup bring.PRF.DSJT-MIR
He brought my cup.

(85) ʈ̪ɪ́-ci ɲɛ čèni kʰɔ̀-nɔk?
3SG-GEN 1SG.GEN cup bring.PRF.DSJT-MIR
Did he bring my cup?

(86) ʧʰū pʰè-nɔk.
water spill.PRF.DSJT-MIR
The water spilled.

(87) ʧʰū pʰè-nɔk?
water spill.PRF.DSJT-MIR
Did the water spill?

In all these cases with third person subjects, the polar question differs from the corresponding declarative sentence only in intonation.

Polar questions with first person subjects were difficult to elicit. The questions elicited were in the volitional, the past observational, and the mirative. The consultant said that such questions were a bit strange since a person would have to be drunk and not remember in order to ask about what one's own self had done.

There are some differences between polar questions with first person subjects and corresponding declarative sentences. Sentence (88) is a declarative sentence about the past that employs the volitional verb suffix; the corresponding polar question in sentence (89) employs the past observational because the hearer cannot possibly have firsthand knowledge of the volitionality of the action.

(88) ŋʌ ŋu-ɤ̃.
1SG cry.PRF-VOL
I cried.

(89) ŋʌ ŋu-suŋ?
1SG cry.PRF.DSJT-POBS
Did I cry?

Similarly, in sentences with future reference, the volitional is used in the declarative sentence in (90) while the disjunctive is used in the corresponding polar question in (91).

(90) ŋʌ kʰʌŋba ʤo-ɤ̃.
1SG house make.IMPF-VOL
I will build a house.

(91) ŋʌ kʰʌŋba ʤʌ-i?
1SG house make.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
Will I build a house?

Sentences with first person plural subjects behave differently from those with first person singular subjects, since the addressee will have firsthand knowledge of the volitionality of the action. It is thus possible to employ volitional forms with both a declarative sentence and its corresponding polar question, as illustrated in sentenccs (92) and (93).

(92) d̪ʌkpu cɛ̃ d̪ɔ-ĩ̆.
1PL.INCL depart.PTCPL go.IMPF-VOL
We will leave.

(93) d̪ʌkpu cɛ̃ d̪ɔ-ĩ?
1PL.INCL depart.PTCPL go.IMPF-VOL
Will we leave?

Sentence (94) shows that a first person question in the past can use the infinitive verb suffix, like second person questions in the past.

(94) ŋʌ d̪i čɛ̀ni ʈ́i-la ʈ̪èr-u?
1SG this cup 3SG-LOC give.IMPF-INF
Did I give him the cup?

6.3.2 Content questions and interrogative words

Content questions also basically follow the syntax of declarative sentences in that the interrogative phrases remain *in situ*. except that interrogative subjects often occur immediately before the verb rather than at the beginning of the sentence. Sentence (95) is a simple content question with the interrogative word *kʌ́ŋ* 'what' as an object in the normal position for objects, after the subject and before the verb.

(95) cʰuruŋ kʌ́ŋ tsò-ci?
2SG what prepare.food.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
What are you cooking?

Sentences (78) and (97) are a content question with the corresponding answer. Since the question is about an action, the verb *cir-u* 'to do' is employed along with the interrogative pronoun *kʌ́ŋ* functioning as object.

(96) ʈ́í púmpedza ʈ́í kʌ́ŋ ci?
THAT girl DEF what do.IMPF.DSJT
What is that girl doing?

(97) púmpedza ʈ́í cʰɔkpedza-la sʌ̄ ɖóp-ci-nɔk.
girl DEF boy-LOC tooth plant.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ-MIR
The girl is biting the boy.

When the interrogative pronoun *kʌ́ŋ* 'what' is used as complement of the copula verb, it immediately precedes the copula, as in sentence (98), with the same word order as the answer, as in sentence (99).

(98) pʰò-i ʈ̪í kʌ́ŋ hĺn?
over.there-GEN THAT what COP.IMPF
What is that over there?

(99) pʰò-i ʈ̪í čɛ́ mɛ́ɖ̪ɔk hĺn.
over.there-GEN THAT bird.GEN flower COP.IMPF
That over there is an egg.

Sentences (100) and (101) are similar.

(100) ɖ̪i kʌ́ŋ hĺn?
this what COP.IMPF
What is this?

(101) ʈ̪í naktsa hĺn.
that map COP.IMPF
That is a map.

When the verb *sír-u* 'to say' is used in the sense of 'x is called y', x occurs in the locative case while y is not case-marked and appears immediately before the verb, as in (102).

(102) ʈ̪í-la pèǰa sĺ.
THAT-LOC book say.IMPF.DSJT
That is called a book.

The corresponding content question, given in (103), is similar.

(103) ɖ̪i-la kʌ́ŋ sĺ?
this-LOC what say.IMPF.DSJT
What is this called?

Sentence (104) uses the same structure to inquire about one's name.

(104) cʰore min-la kʌ́ŋ sí?
2SG.GEN name-LOC what say.IMPF-DSJT
What is your name?

The same meaning can be expressed with a copula verb, as in (105).

(105) cʰore min kʌ́ŋ hĺn?
2SG.GEN name what COP.IMPF
What is your name?

One way in which content questions differ from declarative sentences is that interrogative pronouns functioning as subject often appear immediately before the verb rather than at the beginning of the sentence, as in sentence (106), where the subject is the interrogative pronoun *kʌ́ŋ* 'what'.

(106) rimuŋ-la kʌ́ŋ šòr-ci-nɔk?
rabbit-LOC what chase.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ-MIR
What is chasing the rabbit?

The interrogative pronoun for 'who' has two forms, *sū* for the nominative and *sī* for the genitive. Sentences (107) through (110) are transitive imperfective clauses and use the nominative form *sū* of the interrogative pronoun.

(107) cʰɔkpedza ʈ́ĺ-la sū sʌ̄ ɖ́óp-ci-nɔk?
boy DEF-LOC who tooth plant.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ-MIR
Who is biting the boy?

(108) sū kʰʌŋba ʤʌ-i?
who house make.PRF.DSJT-DSJ
Who will build a house?

(109) sʌla sū lɑ̄ma-la mɛ́ɖɔk búl-gi?
tomorrow who lama-LOC flower offer.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
Who will offer flowers to the lama tomorrow?

(110) sʌla sū čèni kʰùŋ-gi?
tomorrow who cup bring.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
Tomorrow who will bring the cup?

Sentences (111) and (112) are intransitive and thus also use the nominative form *sū*.

(111) sū yul-la ɖɔ?
who town-LOC go.IMPF.DSJ
Who will go to town?

(112) sū hariŋ yul-la gál-nɔk?
who today town-LOC go.PRF.DSJT-MIR
Who went to town today?

Sentence (113) is a transitive perfective sentence so the subject interrogative pronoun occurs in its genitive form, *sī*.

(113) ɖaŋ ʈi cʰɔkpeʤa ʈí-la sī sʌ̄ ʈʌ̀p-suŋ?
Yesterday that boy DEF-LOC who-GEN tooth plant.PRF.DSJT-POBS
Who bit the boy yesterday?

The corresponding answer in given in (114). Note the difference in word order: in the interrogative sentence (113), the subject appears after the object *cʰɔkpeʤa ʈí-la* 'the boy', while in declarative (114). the subject appears before the object.

(114) ɖaŋ ʈi púmpeʤa ʈʃí-ci cʰɔkpeʤa-la sʌ̄ ʈʌ̀p-suŋ.
Yesterday that girl DEF-GEN boy-LOC tooth plant.PRF.DSJT-POBS
That girl bit the boy yesterday.

Sentences (115) and (116) are two more examples of transitive perfective clauses with genitive *sī* 'who' as the subject. In these sentence, interrogative pronoun precedes object; this is common when the object is inanimate,

(115) sī salmʌ ɽɛ̀-nɔk?
who-GEN garbage burn.PRF.DSJT-MIR
Who burnt the garbage?

(116) sī gʌ́m-i kʰʌ́ ʧʰē̱ʈ-u?
who-GEN box-GEN top shut.PRF-INF
Who shut the box?

The interrogative word *kʌ́ni* 'where' normally comes immediately before the verb or evidential particle if there is no verb, as in (117), (118), and (119).

(117) cʰuruŋ kʌ́ni wɛ́?
2SG where OBS
Where are you?

(118) cʰuruŋ ɖaŋ kʌ́ni gʌ́l-u?
2SG yesterday where go.PRF-INF
Where did you go yesterday?

(119) ʈʃí-ci kʰʌŋba kʌ́ni nɔ́k?
3SG house where MIR
Where is her house?

However, in sentence (120) the interrogative adverb *kʌ́ni* 'where' comes before the object *lakʌ* 'work'. This is probably because the construction here is a light verb construction with the actual meaning content residing in the object noun.

(120) ʈ̪ʰí kʌ́ni lakʌ ci?
3SG where work do.IMPF.DSJT
Where does she work?

Sentences (121) and (122) are essentially the same sentence differing in future and past reference. In both cases the interrogative word comes directly before the verb.

(121) ʈ̪ʰí-wɔ kʰʌŋba kʌ́ni ʤʌ-i?
3-PL house where make/build.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
Where will they build the house?

(122) ʈ̪ʰí-w-i kʰʌŋba kʌ́ni ʤo-nɔk?
3-PL-GEN house where make/build.PRF.DSJT-MIR
Where did they build the house?

Sentences (123) and (124) illustrate and interesting property of the semantics of 'where' in Sherpa. Sentence (123) could only mean 'at what place' did the dog bite the cat since to specify 'where on the cat did the dog bite', a relatior noun that is in a genitive construction with the word 'cat' is needed, as in sentence (124).

(123) čʰī bɛ́rmʌŋ kʌ́ni pʰè-suŋ?
dog.GEN cat where bite.PRF.DSJT-POBS
Where did the dog bite the cat?

(124) čī bɛ́rm-i lɔ-la kʌ́ni pʰè-suŋ?
dog.GEN cat-GEN surface-LOC where bite.PRF.DSJT-POBS
Where did the dog bite the cat?

Sentences (125) through (128) contain the content interrogative word *nʌm* 'when'. In all of the sentences, it occurs immediately after the subject, preceding other phrases.

(125) ḏʌkpu nʌm šiŋ kɔ̀-ĩ?
1PL when field dig.IMPF-VOL
When will we dig in the field?

(126) cʰuruŋ nʌm la-u?
2SG when rise.PRF-INF
When did you get up?

(127) cʰuruŋ nʌm ɲì̀lok ḏi?
2SG when sleep go.IMPF.DSJT
When do you go to bed?

(128) cʰuruŋ nʌm yúl-la ḏɔ-ĩ?
2SG when village-LOC go.IMPF-VOL
When will you go to the village?

Another content interrogative word *tsù̀koi* seems to roughly cover the semantic space of 'how' in the sense of 'how is x'. Sentences (129) and (130) are a question and the corresponding answer. Sentence (131) is another question containing *tsù̀koi*. In both of the questions below, the interrogative word comes directly before the verbal element.

(129) hɛ̄mbur tsù̀koi nɔ́k?
PROPER.PLACE how MIR
How is Katmandu?

(130) hɛ̄mbur sɛru lɛmu nɔ́k.
PNP very good MIR
Katmandu is very good.

(131) cʰore permi-la tsùkoi wɛ́?
2SG.GEN wife-LOC how OBS
How's your wife?

Another interrogative word which seems to be closely related to *tsùkoi* is *tsūk*. as in sentences (132) and (133) below. The interrogative word *tsūk* seems to cover a semantic space similar to the English interrogative pronoun 'which', used pronominally where there is a clearly defined and assumed set of alternatives.

(132) tsūk cir-u?
what do.IMPF-INF
What to do?

(133) ʈí mí ʈíla tsūk sír-u ʈí ʤoḷomu hín?
that man 3SG-LOC which say.IMPF-INF DEF easy COP.IMPF
Which is easier to say to that man?

kʰòk lɔ sír-u ʈí
up.right rise.imper say.IMPF-INF DEF
get up (or)

yʉ̃ juk sír-u ʈí?
walk.ptcpl go.IMPER say.IMPF-INF DEF
walk?

The interrogative word *tsīla* covers the semantic space of 'why', as in sentences (134), (135), and (136).

(134) ʈ̪í mí ʈ̪í tsī̀la ɖ̪oko-i ʈ̪ʌ̀mɲɛ lop-ci?
that man DEF why thus-INDEF words speak.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
Why does this man speak this way?

(135) cʰúruŋ tsī̀la ǰiwʌ ci?
2SG why fear do.IMPF.DSJT
Why are you afraid?

(136) ʈ̪í mí ʈ̪í tsī̀la ɖ̪oko-i ʈ̪ʌ̀mɲɛ lop-ci?
that man DEF why thus-INDEF words speak.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
Why does this man speak this way?

6.4 Clause Chaining

As mentioned in sections 3.4.6 & 3.4.10 above, Sherpa frequently uses either participles or ablative forms of verbs for the first of two clauses where English might employ conjoined clauses. Example (137) illustrates the participle construction, while (138) illustrates the ablative construction.

(137) ŋʌ gʌm-gi kʰʌ́ pè-n gɔ́la ɖ̪ɔ́-ɾ̃.
1SG box-GEN top open.PRF-PTCPL outside go.IMPF-VOL
I will open the box and go outside.

(138) púm ʈ̪í rici tsʌŋ-ne, kʰʌŋba-la yu gál-nɔk.
girl DEF potato sell.PRF-ABL house-LOC walk.PRF go.PRF.DSJT-MIR
After selling the potatoes, the girl walked home.

Both perfective participles and the ablative construction imply that the event in the subordinate clause precedes the even in the main clause. It is not clear what determines

the choice between these two constructions. The imperfective participle, in contrast, indicates simultaneity, as in (139); in such cases only the participle is possible.

(139) ʈ̪ʰí-ci yúl-la yʊ̃,
3SG-GEN village-LOC walk.IMPF.PTCPL
While walking to the village,

lʌm-gi tse mɛ́ɖ̪ɔk l̪á-nɔk.
path-GEN near.GEN flower look.at.PRF.DSJT-MIR
she looked at the flowers along the path.

Further examples of ablative forms are given in (140) to (146); in all examples, the events are sequentially ordered.

(140) ʈ̪ʰí ɖ̪o ʈ̪ʰʊ́ kʌ̀rum ʧʰak-ne, gɔ́la gál.
3SG rock use.PTCPL window break(t).PRF-ABL outside go.PRF
After he broke the window with a rock, [he] went outside.

(141) gʌm-gi kʰʌ́ pè-ne gɔ́la ɟuk!
box-GEN top open.PRF-ABL outside go.IMPER
Open the box and go outside.

(142) nʰíǰi tsʰɛrmuŋ pʌ́pʌʧʰɛ gomʌ-i šʰíŋ-i kʰʌ́la ʈ̪ʰóm-gi hɔ-ne,
one.day day uncle PN-GEN field-GEN top.LOC bear-GEN come.IMPF-ABL
One day a bear came to uncle Goma's field,

yɛ́m so-i-nɔk.
lots eat.PRF.DSJT-DUR-MIR
and ate a lot.

(143) ʈ̪ʰóm ʈ̪ʰí ɖ̪a-ne nʲìlʌŋ ɖ̪éʈ̪-u-i-nɔk.
bear DEF be.full-ABL sleep stay.IMPF-INF-DUR-MIR
The bear, from being full, was sleeping.

(144) ʈ́í ɖé-ne gɔ́la gál.
3SG sit.PRF-ABL outside go.PRF.DSJT
After sitting, he went outside.

(145) ʈ́í gɔ́la gál-ne ɖé-suŋ.
3SG outside go.PRF-ABL sit.PRF.DSJT-POBS
After going outside, he rested.

(146) karum cɛ̀ŋ-ne pòŋ kal-nɔk.
ice freeze.PRF -ABL bottle break.PRF.DSJT-MIR
The ice froze and broke the bottle.

A further example of perfective participles are given in (147); with perfective participles, the events are sequentially ordered.

(147) ʈ́í pɛ̀ǰa tsʰà̀l gɔ́la gal.
3SG book search.PRF.PTCPL outside go.PRF.DSJT
Having searched for the book, he went outside.

The short section below in (148) from the cat and mouse story has a couple of instances of perfective participles. In the first sentence, the participle suffix with the dictative is used to extend the action of thinking into the following clauses. The mouse's thinking leads to what he says to the cat. In the last sentence, another participle occurs with the verb *sa-p* 'to eat' to extend the eating to the following clause where the result of the eating will be that the cat will not be full. These two examples illustrate the participle form's function of extending an action into the following clauses.

(148) pɛ ʈ́í nasʌm ʈ̄ōŋ-sĩ̌ ʈoŋ-sĩ̌.
mouse DEF thought send.IMPF-DICT.PTCPL send.IMPF-DICT.PTCPL
The mouse was thinking and thinking.

bʌlʌbʌlʌ bɛ́rmaŋ t̪í-la sa-u-i-nɔk,
finally cat DEF-LOC say.PRF-INF-DUR-MIR
Finally, he said to the cat,

"lo t̪ʰákur, ŋʌ-la má sá.
HOR please, 1SG-LOC NEG.PRF eat.IMPER
"Please do not eat me.

ŋʌ ʈíkpe hín.
1SG little COP.IMPF
I am little.

ŋʌ čìk cè sɔ̃, cʰuruŋ má ɖʌ́-i."
1sg one instead eat.PRF.PTCPL 2SG NEG.IMPF be.full.PRF.DSJT-DSJ
If you eat only me, it will not be enough."

Further examples of imperfective participles are given in (149) to (151); in all cases the events are simultaneous or the event of the main clause occurred within the time frame of the event in the participial clause.

(149) oŋčʰu salmʌ r̥ɛ̀ sʌma sʌ-i.
PROPER.MALE garbage burn.IMPF-PTCPL food eat.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
While burning the garbage, Ongchu will eat.

(150) oŋčʰu sʌma sʌ̃ pʌŋ-la yu-nɔk.
PROPER.MALE food eat.IMPF-PTCPL outside-LOC walk.IMPF-MIR
While eating, Ongchu walks outside.

(151) t̪í kūr sʌ̃ gɔ́la ɖi.
3SG bread eat.IMPF-PTCPL outside go.IMPF.DSJ
While eating the bread, she will go outside.

The principles governing case marking of the shared subject with these constructions are not clear since my data contains conflicting examples. Sentences (152) and (153) illustrate a sentence with two clauses, where the first verb is in participle form,

differing in that the main verb in (152) is perfective while the main verb in (153) is imperfective. Note that the case of the subject pronoun is different in the two examples, nominative in (152) but genitive in (153). The case is determined partly by the first clause, partly by the second clause. If the case was determined entirely by the participial clause, we would expect the subject pronoun to be genitive in both sentences, since the participle is perfective in both examples. On the other hand, if the case was determined entirely by the main clause, we would expect the subject pronoun to be nominative in both sentences, since the main verb is intransitive. The pattern we find suggests that it is the transitivity of the first clause that matters but that it is the perfectivity of the second clause that matters.

(152) ŋʌ gʌm-gi kʰʌ́ pè-n gɔ́la ɖɔ́-ɾ̃.
1SG box-GEN top open.PRF-PTCPL outside go.IMPF-VOL
I will open the box and go outside.

(153) ɲɛ gʌm-gi kʰʌ́ pè-n gɔ́la gʌl-ɾ̃.
1SG.GEN box-GEN top open.PRF-PTCPL outside go.PRF-VOL
I opened the box and went outside.

The pair of sentences in (154) and (155) are similar.

(154) ʈ́í gʌm-gi kʰʌ́ pè-n gɔ́la ɖ́í.
3SG box-GEN top open.PRF-PTCPL outside go.IMPF
He will open the box and go outside.

(155) ʈ́í-ci gʌm-gi kʰʌ́ pè-n gɔ́la gal.
3SG-GEN box-GEN top open.PRF-PTCPL outside go.PRF
He opened the box and went outside.

Unfortunately, there are other examples in my data which pattern differently and I have not had the opportunity to collect further data that might clarify the matter. Example (137), for example, is analogous to (153) and (155) in that the participle is transitive and the main verb intransive, but the subject *ʈ̈í* is nominative, not genitive. These examples suggest that what matters is whether the main clause, rather than the participle clause, is transitive that determines the case of the subject.

(156) ʈ̈í pèǰa tsʰȁl gɔ́la gal.
3SG book search.PRF.PTCPL outside go.PRF.DSJ
Having searched for the book, he went outside.

(157) ʈ̈í ɖo ʈ̈ʰő kʌ̀rum ʧʰak-ne, gɔ́la gál.
3SG rock use.PTCPL window break(t).PRF-ABL outside go.PRF.DJST
After he broke the window with a rock, he went outside.

(158) púm ʈ̈í rici tsʌŋ-ne, kʰʌŋba-la yu gál-nɔk.
girl DEF potato sell.PRF-ABL house walk.PRF go.PRF.DSJT-MIR
After selling the potatoes, the girl walked home.

Example (159) points to the same conclusion, except that here it is the participle which is intransitive and the main verb which is transitive, and this time we get the genitive form of the subject pronoun, so in this case it is again apparently the transitivity of the main verb that determines the case of the shared subject.

(159) ʈ̈í-ci yúl-la yʉ̃,
3SG-GEN village-LOC walk.IMPF.PTCPL
While walking to the village,

lʌm-gi tse mɛ́ɖɔk l̥á-nɔk.
path-LOC near.GEN flower look.at.PRF.DSJT-MIR
she looked at the flower along the path.

Similarly, (160) and (161) contrast in that in (160) the participle is transitive and the main verb intransitive, and we get a nominative subject pronoun, apparently because the main verb is intransitive, while in (161) the participle is intransitive and the main verb transitive, and here we get a genitive subject pronoun, again apparently because the main verb is transitive.

(160) ʈ̪í ɖ̪o ʈ̪ʰɔ́ kʌ̀rum ʧʰak-ne, gɔ́la gál.
3SG rock use.PTCPL window break(t).PRF-ABL outside go.PRF.DSJT
After he broke the window with a rock, he went outside.

(161) ʈ̪í-ci gɔ́la gál-ne,
3SG-GEN outside go.PRF-ABL
After going outside,

ɖ̪o ʈ̪ʰɔ́ kʌ̀rum ʧʰak-suŋ.
rock use.PTCPL window break(t).PRF.DSJT-POBS
he broke the window with a rock.

My best guess at this point is that the genitive case on the subject in (153) and (155) is an error. My consultant occasionally produced genitive case on examples where on deeper reflection he decided that the nominative was correct. It is also possible that the use of the genitive is in the process of being extended to contexts where it previously was not allowed and that his producing genitives that he later decided were erroneous actually reflects an emerging variety of the language.

In the sentences above, the subject comes first, before the participle clause, but this is not necessarily the case. In sentence (162), the subject comes after the participle clause.

(162) šiŋ-i kʰʌ́-la d̪ɛ́, d̪am-i lū la-suŋ.
field-GEN top-LOC sit.IMPF.PTCPL PROPER.FEM-GEN song rise.PRF.DSJT-POBS
While sitting in the field, Damu sang a song.

The examples above all have the same subjects for the dependent and main clauses. Sentences (163) through (167) have different subjects for the dependent and the main clause. In all cases the case marking of the subjects matches the transitivity and perfectivity of their specific clause.

(163) oŋčʰu t̪ʰá d̪ũ cʰɔkpedz-i sʌma so-suŋ.
PROPER.MALE wheat beat.IMPF.PTCPL boy-GEN food eat.PRF.DSJT-POBS
While Ongchu beat the wheat, the boy ate food.

(164) púmpedza d̪ɛ́ cʰɔkpedz-i sʌma so-suŋ.
girl rest.IMPF.PTCPL boy-GEN food eat.PRF.DSJT-POBS
While the girl rested, the boy ate food.

(165) cʰɔkpedz-i sʌma so-ne t̪i-ci mʌ̀ma yúl-la d̪i-nɔk.
boy-GEN food eat.PRF-ABL 3SG-GEN mother village-LOC go.IMPF-MIR
After the boy eats, his mother will go to the village.

(166) kʌ̀rmu čʰàŋ-ne t̪í gɔ́la gál.
window break(i).PRF-ABL 3SG outside go.PRF.DJST
After the window broke, he went outside.

(167) t̪í d̪o t̪ʰɔ́ kʌ̀rum čʰak-ne t̪i-wɔ gɔ́la gál.
3SG rock use.PTCPL window break(t).PRF-ABL 3-PL outside go.PRF.DJST
After he broke the window with a rock, they went outside.

6.5 Although Clauses

The particle *sínʌŋ* has two different functions. First, it occurs in a comparative construction, with a meaning like 'than' in English.

(168) ŋʌ sínʌŋ cʰuruŋ čʰé nɔ́k.
1SG than 2SG senior MIR
You are older than me.

(169) ʈí ʈí sínʌŋ ɖi ʈí ɹerpu hín.
that DEF than this DEF big COP.IMPF
That one is bigger than this one.

Second, it is used to connect two clauses with a meaning that is comparable to the English 'although'. In (170) is a short section from a personal narrative of the speaker's youth when he got drunk on rhododendron juice. It contains two examples of the use of *sínʌŋ* to connect clauses, one on the first line, the other on the last line.

(170) ʈʰuŋ-sĩ̌ ʈʰuŋ-sĩ̌,
drink.IMPF-DICT.PTCPL drink.IMPF-DICT.PTCPL
Although while drinking and drinking,

pʌrtsi nʌkʣup gál sínʌŋ,
sometimes dark INCHO.PRF although
it sometimes got dark,

šìŋ kʰurwu čìk kʰūn mɛ-ɲɛ-u.
wood load one carry.IMPF.PTCPL NEG-find.IMPF-INF
(you) did not find a full load of wood for carrying.

ʈʌ́ma háči cè ɖʌwʌɖʌwʌ šìŋ tsʰðl,
then next instead quickly wood search.IMPF.PTCPL
Then (you) would quickly look for wood,

kʰurwu ʣʒ, kʰʌŋba-la kʰūn huŋ-u.
load make.IMPF.PTCPL house-LOC carry.IMPF.PTCPL come.IMPF-INF
make a load, and carry it to the house.

hʌ̀na ʈ̪òŋmʌr ráŋ ʈ̪ʰɛ̃́n ʈ̪ʰuŋ-i ɖ̪e-n,
before rhododendron nectar pull.IMPF.PTCPL drink.IMPF-DUR stay-PTCPL
Having stayed and sipped the rhododendron juice before,

šì̀ŋ kʰù̀rwu má laŋʌ cã kʰɔ̀-ci.
wood load NEG.PRF risen do.PRF.PTCPL bring.PRF.DSJT-DSJ
a full load of wood was not being brought.

kʰʌŋba hɔ-u sí́nʌŋ mʌ́mi ɲirma má ca.
house come.PRF-INF although mother anger NEG.PRF do.PRF.DSJT
Although (when I) came home, mother did not get angry.

In (171) is a short section from a personal narrative of the consultant's childhood about playing soccer. On the third line, *sínʌŋ* is used to contrast the behavior of the boy's playing soccer with what one would normally expect from someone who had just had a toenail ripped off.

(171) pʌrtsi kʌ̀ŋb-i sɛ̀rmuŋ ɖ̪ɛp ʧ̌ɛ̀n gal.
sometimes foot-GEN toenail break cut.PTCPL INCHO.PRF
Sometimes a toenail would get broken off.

ʈ̪í́ bɛla tsɛrmi tsɛ̄-u rar-ci,
that time game play.IMPF-INF desire-GEN
Because of the desire to play,

kʌ̀ŋb-i sɛ̀rmuŋ ɖ̪ɛp ʧ̌ɛ̀n gál sí́nʌŋ,
foot nail break cut.PTCPL INCHO although
although a toenail gets broken off,

kʌsim rʌ̀ŋ meʈ̪-u.
diddlesquat even NEG.COP.PRF-INF
did not mean diddlesquat.

kʰɔ̀k lã, akʰʌ má sa, ʧ̌ʰɔ̃ŋ gal.
upright rise.PRF.PTCPL ouch NEG.PRF say.PRF run.PTCPL go.PRF.DSJT
(You) would get up without saying "ouch" and go running.

6.6 Conditional Clauses

There is no specific marker for conditional clauses. The notion of conditionality is accomplished by the use of the dictative verb suffix. The dictative is a transparent derivation from the imperfective root of the verb 'to say'. Its use as a conditional marker is similar to analogous structures in English. For example, the sentence, "Say you're walking along and find some money, then you wouldn't be broke," does not contain the word "if" but is equivalent to a conditional statement. The equivalent to the English sentence, "Say I had not swept yesterday, then the floor would be dirty," is in sentence (172).

(172) ɲɛ ɖaŋ má čà-si, sʌ̀ ʈí̱ mɛ̀tsʌŋ nɔ́k.
1SG.GEN yesterday NEG.PRF sweep.PRF-DICT ground DEF dirty MIR
If I had not swept yesterday, the floor would be dirty.

One interesting construction involving the dictative verb suffix with the participle is encountered in a short passage from the corn eating bear story below in sentences (173) through (176). It has roughly the sense of, "if talking about," and seems to be some sort of topic construction. In sentence (173) it is attached to the perfective root of the clause final verb 'to eat' in order to bring to the top of the discourse how much corn a bear can eat in one night. In sentence (175) it occurs with a locative noun phrase meaning 'downhill' in order to comment on the fact that the downhill direction for the bear was a sheer cliff.

(173) ɲimʌ-la nup.nup-i ʈ̱ɔ́m-gi litsi sɔ́-sɪ̃̌,
day.LOC night.RD-INDEF bear-GEN corn eat.PRF-DICT-PTCPL
If talking about a bear eating corn in one night,

(174) ʈɔ litsi kɔʈʌ-i jɛ̄-u ʈi sʌ̀-i.
those corn cord.IND strike.IMPF.INF DEF eat.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
it can eat a cord of corn.

(175) ʈʰul-la sɨ́-sɨ̃,
downhill-LOC say.IMPF-DICT.PTCPL
if talking about downhill,

(176) ʈak sʌ̄ri hoʈ-u-i-nɔk.
cliff sheer COP.PRF-INF-DUR-MIR
there was a sheer cliff.

Sentences (177) and (178) are corresponding affirmative and negative statements using the verb *ʤɔ-p* 'to make' with the perfective root. The dependent 'if' clause in Sherpa uses the perfective root with the dictative verb suffix for a present conditional statement, as in sentences (179) and (180).

(177) ʈɨ́-ci ʈʰoŋbʌ ʤo-nɔk.
3SG-GEN plough make.PRF.DSJT-MIR
He made a plough.

(178) ʈɨ́-ci ʈʰoŋbʌ má ʤo.
3SG-GEN plough NEG.PRF make.PRF.DSJT
He did not make a plough.

(179) ʈɨ́-ci ʈʰoŋbʌ ʤo-si. ŋʌ ɲɔ́-ɨ̃.
3SG-GEN plough make.PRF-DICT 1SG buy.IMPF-VOL
If he makes a plow, I will buy it.

(180) ʈɨ́-ci ʈʰoŋbʌ ʤo-si. ʈɨ́ ɲʌ́-i.
3SG-GEN plough make.PRF-DICT 3SG buy.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
If he makes a plow, she will buy it.

The counterfactual construction involves the use of a verb in the infinitive followed by the imperfective copula with the dictative verb suffix, as in sentences (181) and (182).

(181) ɖaŋ ŋʌ sʌ̀-la ɖéʈ-u hí́n-si,
yesterday 1SG floor-LOC sit.PRF-INF COP.IMPF-DICT
If I had sat on the floor yesterday,

ɲì́lok ɟé-i.
sleep strike.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
I would have gone to sleep.

(182) ɖaŋ ɲɛ šì́ŋ ʈɛ-u hí́n-si,
yesterday 1SG.GEN wood chop.PRF-INF COP.IMPF-DICT
If I had chopped wood yesterday,

ŋʌ-la mé ʈṓŋ-u šì́ŋ lʌ̀ŋ-i pe.
1SG-LOC fire send.IMPF-INF wood rise.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ COMPL
I would have had wood for the fire.

6.7 When clauses

Dependent temporal or 'when' clauses use the word *bɛlʌ* 'time' as a grammaticalized clause-final particle to mark the temporal clause. The verb in the dependent temporal clause only takes the infinitive suffix. As with other sorts of adverbial clauses, the temporal clause comes first in the sentence, before the main clause.

Sentence (183) has an intransitive verb with a third person subject in the dependent clause and a transitive verb with a first person subject in the main clause,

while sentence (184) has an intransitive verb with a first person subject in the dependent clause and a transitive verb with a third person subject in the main clause.

(183) ʈ̪ɪ́ ʈ̪ɪ́ huŋ-u bɛlʌ, ŋʌ ǰʌ́ ʈ̪ʰuŋ-i wɛ́.
3SG DEF come.IMPF-INF time 1SG TEA drink.IMPF-DUR OBS
When he came, I was drinking tea.

(184) ŋʌ huŋ-u bɛlʌ, ʈ̪ɪ́-ci ǰʌ́ ʈ̪ʰuŋ-nɔk.
1SG come.IMPF-INF time 3SG-GEN tea drink.PRF.DJST-MIR
When I came, he had drunk the tea.

In both cases, the verbs in the dependent clauses are imperfective, presumably because it is within the action of coming that the realization of the tea drinking occurs.

In sentence (185) the perfective copula *hoʈ̪-u* is employed in the dependent clause while the content verb takes the durative verb suffix in order to emphasize the ongoing action of the talking while the arriving of the friends occured.

(185) ʈ̪ɪ́ ʈ̪ʌ̀mɲɛ lɔ̀p-i hoʈ̪-u bɛlʌ,
3SG word talk.IMPF-DUR COP.PRF-INF time
When he was talking,

ʈ̪ɪ́-ci ɖ̪ʌ́ldʑa kʰʌŋb-i nʌ́ŋ-no-ma lép-suŋ.
3SG-GEN friend house-GEN inside-ABL-DESC arrive.PRF.DSJT-POBS
his friends arrived from the house.

In sentence (186), both the dependent and main clauses are imperfective and the mirative evidential occurs at the end of the sentence because the durative verb suffix on the main verb implies that the drinking was already occurring at the time of the coming.

(186) ŋʌ nʌ́ŋ-la huŋ-u bɛlʌ,
1SG inside-LOC come.IMPF-INF time
When I came in,

ʈ́í ʈ́í sʌma tsò-i nɔ́k.
3SG DEF food cook-DUR MIR
he was cooking some food.

In sentence (187) the dependent clause is also imperfective, but in sentence (188) the dependent clause is perfective, presumably because the action of arriving is perceived as an achievement.

(187) ŋʌ kʰʌŋba huŋ-u bɛlʌ,
1SG house come.IMPF-INF time
When I came home,

pedza ʈ-ɔ́ tsɛrmi tsɛ̄-i nɔ́k.
child DEF-PL game play.IMPF-DUR MIR
the children were playing.

(188) ŋʌ kʰʌŋba lép-u bɛlʌ,
1SG house arrive.PRF-INF time
When I arrived home,

ʈ́í ʈ́í pedza tsʰòl-i nɔ́k.
3SG DEF child search.IMPF-DUR MIR
she was looking for the child.

Sentences (189) and (190) also have perfective dependent clauses because the action of finding something is also perceived as an achievement.

(189) ʈ́í-la pedza ɲɛʈ-u bɛlʌ, ŋʌ kʰʌŋb-i nʌ́ŋ-la wɛ́.
3SG-LOC child find.PRF-INF time 1SG house-GEN inside-LOC OBS
I was in the house when she found the child.

(190) cʰuruŋ-la pedza ɲɛʈ-u bɛlʌ, ʈí ʈí kʰʌŋb-i nʌ́ŋ-la wɛ́.
2SG-LOC child find.PRF-INF time 3SG DEF house-GEN inside-LOC OBS
He was in the house when you found the child.

6.8 Dictative-Descentive Clauses

Another type of adverbial clause employs the dictative verb suffix followed by the descentive suffix to express succession in time, as in (191) to (193).

(191) mukšele ɭʌmawɔ kʰʌŋba lɛ́p-si-ma,
PROPER.MALE PROPER.MALE house arrive.PRF-DICT-DESC
After Hlamawo from Mukshele arrived home,

la sù̀m na-u-i-nɔk.
month three sick-INF-DUR-MIR
he was sick for three months.

(192) kʰʌŋba hɔ́-si-ma go yɛ́m na-suŋ.
house come.PRF-DICT-DESC head lots sick.be.PRF.DSJT-POBS
After coming home, (my) head hurt a lot.

(193) kʰʌŋba hɔ́-si-ma mʌ́mi "kʌ́ŋ ca-suŋ?" sa-suŋ.
house come.PRF-DICT-DESC mother what do.PRF.DSJT-POBS say.PRF.DSJT-POBS
After (I) came home, mother asked, "what happened?"

6.9 Serial Verbs

Sherpa has serial verb constructions. The first verb usually denotes manner in terms of cause and effect, while the final verb is usually motion or path. Only the last

verb of the series is conjugated. All preceding verbs are in the participle form. Examples are given in (194) to (196).

(194) šiŋ kʰʌ́-la yʊ̃ ɖɔ-p lɛmu hĺn.
field top-LOC walk.IMPF-PTCPL go.IMPF-INF good COP.IMPF
It is good to walk around the field.

(195) mí kʰʌŋb-i nʌ́ŋ-no ɕʰʊ̃ gál.
person house-GEN inside-ABL run.PTCPL go.PRF
Someone ran from the house.

(196) lo tsè pʰar cɛ̃ ɖi.
HOR lake.GEN yonder cut.through.IMPF.PTCPL go.IMPF
Let us cross over to the other side of the lake.

In sentence (197), there is a cause ‘slip’, followed by an effect ‘carry’, and ending with a motion verb.

(197) cʰuruŋ ʈí tsʌŋb-i nʌ́ ʈe-n kʰū-n ɖi.
2SG that river-GEN inside slip.PTCPL carry.IMPF.PTCPL go.IMPF
You will drown in the river.

Sentences (198) and (199) are not true serial verb constructions. Sentence (198) involves associated motion (‘go and x’) and sentences (199) is actually two clauses with the same subject. Two verbs in a row do not necessarily count as a serial verb construction.

(198) ʈí cī ɖuŋ-u gál.
3SG dog beat.IMPF-INF go.PRF.DSJT
She went and beat the dog.

(199) ʈ̪í cī ɖ̪u-ne gál.
3SG dog beat.PRF-ABL go.PRF
She beat the dog and went.

However, in contrast to the association motion construction in sentence (198), sentences (194) to (196) above are serial verb constructions combining a motion verb expressing the manner with the path/motion verb *ɖ̪ɔ-p* 'to go'. In sentence (194), the manner is walking. In sentence (195) the manner is running. And in sentence (196), the manner is crossing or cutting through.

The notion of 'to follow' is expressed by two verbs *ʈ̪ɪ̃̀* the participle form of 'to follow' and *ɲɛ̃̀* the participle form of 'to find', plus a motion/path verb. Sentences (200) and (201) have two different path verbs because of the perspective of the speaker of the sentences.

(200) ŋʌ cʰúŋma-la ʈ̪ɪ̃̀ ɲɛ̃ ɖ̪ɔ-ɪ̃.
1SG cow-LOC follow.PTCPL find.PTCPL go.IMPF-VOL
I was following the cow.

(201) ŋʌ-la ʈ̪ɪ̃̀ ɲɛ̃ hɔ-u cʰúŋma ʈ̪í nʌkpu nɔ́k.
1SG-LOC follow.PTCPL find.PTCPL come.PRF-INF cow DEF black MIR
The cow that followed me was black.

Sentences (202) through (205) offer an interesting case of a serial verb construction being used with past reference but not with future reference. Sentences (202) and (203) are imperfective with future reference and employ only the verb *ɲɛ́n-u* 'to lend', whereas sentences (204) and (205) have past reference and employ the verb *ɲɛ́n-u* 'to lend' as a participle while the main verb is *ʈ̪ōŋ-u* 'to send'.

(202) ɲʌ ʈ̪í-la ʈ̪ɔ́ktsi ɲɛ́n-ɾ̃.
1SG 3SG-LOC shovel lend.IMPF-VOL
I will lend him the shovel.

(203) ʈ̪í ŋʌ-la ʈ̪ɔ́ktsi ɲɛ́n-gi.
3SG 1SG-LOC shovel lend.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
He will lend the shovel to me.

(204) ɲɛ ʈ̪í-la ʈ̪ɔ́ktsi ɲɛ́-n ʈ̪àŋ-ɾ̃.
1SG.GEN 3SG-LOC shovel lend-PTCPL send.PRF-VOL.
I lent the shovel to him.

(205) ʈ̪í-ci ŋʌ-la ʈ̪ɔ́ktsi ɲɛ́-n ʈ̪àŋ-suŋ.
3SG-GEN 1SG-LOC shovel lend-PTCPL send.PRF.DSJT-POBS.
He lent the shovel to me.

Sentence (206) has the manner and the result expressed by a serial verb construction.

(206) ʈ̪í-ci čɛ̀n-i nʌ́ ārʌk lʊ̃̀ cɛn-suŋ.
3SG-GEN cup-GEN inside corn.liquor pour.PTCPL fill.PRF.DSJT-POBS
He filled a cup with arak.

And sentence (207) has a result and a perfectively expressed manner as the serial verb construction.

(207) ɲɛ ɖ̪ʌ́ldʑa šɛ̄-p tsʰàl-u wɛ́.
1SG.GEN friend die-INF search.PRF-INF OBS
My friend is at the point of death.

Sentences (208) and (209) employ the same verb as the last and first elements respectively of serial verb constructions.

(208) čhuŋma dʑð làk-suŋ.
cattle graze.IMPF.PTCPL return.PRF.DSJT-POBS
The cattle came back grazing.

(209) čhuŋma lòŋ lep-suŋ.
cattle return.IMPF.PTCPL arrive.PRF.DSJT-POBS
The cattle arrived back.

Sentence (210) employs a manner verb with a verb denoting the result to express the notion of the wind dying down.

(210) horʈuk ɟɛ́ ʈòr-suŋ.
wind strike.IMPF.PTCPL disappear.PRF.DSJT-POBS
The wind died down.

6.10 Light and inherent complement verbs

In Sherpa there are verbs where the main semantic content is in the object of the verbs. These are referred to here as light verbs. Some of these constructions are discussed in this section. The light verb in a given construction usually bears at least some semantic relationship to the meaning of the construction as a whole.

The verb *ɟé-u/ɟép-u* 'to strike' is often used the a noun to form a meaning that is dependent on the meaning of the noun. For example, in sentence (211) a landslide literally strikes.

(211) ʈ̪ókpa ɟép-suŋ.
landslide strike.PRF.DSJT-POBS
A landslide happened.

In sentences (212) and (213) the construction *nórʈ̪u ɟé-u* 'to stumble' uses the noun *nórʈ̪u* 'stumble' as the object of *ɟé-u/ɟép-u* 'to strike'. Note that even though there is in some sense an "object" of the verb, we do not get ergative marking on the subject when the clause is perfective, as illustrated in (212), analogous to the imperfective clause in (213).

(212) ŋʌ nórʈ̪u ɟép-suŋ.
1SG stumble strike.PRF.DSJT-POBS
I stumbled.

(213) ŋʌ nórʈ̪u ɟé-ĩ̃.
1SG stumble strike.IMPF-VOL
I will stumble.

But with the construction *ŋà̀ ɟé-u/ɟép-u* 'to cast a spell', illustrated in sentences (214) and (215), we do get ergative marking on the subject when the clause is perfective. The difference between this construction and the previous one may be semantic in that *nórʈ̪u* 'stumble' is somehow not a true object so that 'to stumble' is perceived as not being transitive in its meaning. In contrast, a spell is perceived metaphorically as an object and thus we get ergative marking with this construction.

(214) ʈ̪í ɖ̪a mí́ ʈ̪í-ci ŋà ɟép-suŋ.
that wizard person 3SG-GEN magic strike.PRF.DSJT-POBS
The shaman cast a spell.

(215) ʈ̪í ɖ̪a mí ʈ̪í-ci ŋʌ-la ŋà ɟép-suŋ.
that wizard person 3SG-GEN 1SG-LOC magic strike.PRF.DSJT-POBS
The shaman cast a spell on me.

The verb *cir-u* 'to do' is often used as the verb in light verb constructions, as in *lakʌ cir-u* 'to work', literally 'to do work', *suk cir-u* 'to hurt', literally 'to do pain', *čú cir-u* 'to trick (someone)', literally 'to do trick', and *pʌʈ̪e cir-u* 'to believe', literally 'to do belief'. The last of these is illustrated in sentences (216) through (219). Note the ergative subjects in the perfective examples in (216), (218), and (219) with the perfective since it is semantically transitive even when no overt object is expressed, as can be seen by comparing sentence (216), which has an overt object with the three following sentences which have no overt objects.

(216) bɛ́rmaŋ ʈ̪í-ci ʈ̪í-ci ʈ̪ʌ̀mɲɛ pʌʈ̪e ca-u-i-nɔk.
cat DEF-GEN 3SG-GEN words belief do.PRF-INF-DUR-MIR
The cat believed his words.

(217) ŋʌ pʌʈ̪e cir-ĩ.
1SG belief do.IMPF-VOL
I will believe.

(218) ɲɛ pʌʈ̪e ca-ĩ.
1SG.GEN belief do.PRF-VOL
I believed.

(219) ʈ̪í-ci pʌʈ̪e ca-suŋ.
3SG-GEN belief do.PRF.DSJT-POBS
He believed.

Note also that in (216), there is a separate noun phrase *ʈ̪í-ci ʈ̪ʌ̀mɲɛ* 'his words', apparently functioning as object, denoting the thing believed.

The construction in (220) with *kʰʌnd̪ʌp cir-u* 'to argue', literally 'to do an argument', we do not get ergative subject marking with a perfective verb.

(220) ʈ̪ʰí-wɔ ɲì-kʌr kʰʌnd̪ʌp ca-suŋ.
3SG-PL two-COL argument do.PRF.DSJT-POBS
They argued with each other.

Similarly, the construction *gɔ́ʈe cir-u* 'to laugh' does not use ergative subject marking with a perfective verbs, as can be seen by comparing sentences (221) through (225).

(221) ʈ̪ʰí-wɔ ʈ̪ʰí-la gɔʈɛ ca-suŋ.
3SG-PL 3SG-LOC laughter do.PRF.DSJT-POBS
They laughed at him.

(222) ŋʌ gɔʈɛ ca-ĩ.
1SG laugh do.PRF-VOL
I laughed.

(223) ŋʌ gɔ́ʈe ca-ĩ.
1SG laugh do.PRF-VOL
I laughed.

(224) ŋʌ gɔ́ʈe cir-ĩ.
1SG laugh do.IMPF-VOL
I will laugh.

(225) ʈ̪ʰí gɔ́ʈe ca-suŋ.
3SG laugh do.PRF.DSJT-POBS
He laughed.

Two more light verb constructions with the verb *cir-u* 'to do' are *ǰiwʌ cir-u* 'to fear' and *nosuk cir-u* 'to be proud', as in sentences (226) and (227).

(226) cʰúruŋ tsɪ̄la ǰiwʌ ci?
2SG why fear do.IMPF
Why are you afraid?

(227) ṭ́í nosuk ca-suŋ.
3SG pride do.PRF.DSJT-POBS.
He acted proud.

In Sherpa, one does not dream but a dream shines to someone with the construction *mɨ̀lʌm šʌ́r-u* 'to dream'. Since dreaming is a non-volitional act, the verb occurs with disjunct endings, as in sentences (59) through (231).

(228) ŋʌ-la mɨ̀lʌm šʌ́r-ci.
1SG-LOC dream shine.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
I will dream.

(229) ṭ́í-la mɨ̀lʌm šʌ́r-ci.
3SG-LOC dream shine.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
He will dream.

(230) ŋʌ-la mɨ̀lʌm šʌ́r-suŋ.
3SG-LOC dream shine.PRF.DSJT-POBS
I dreamed.

(231) ṭ́í-la mɨ̀lʌm šʌ́r-nɔk.
3SG-LOC dream shine.PRF.DSJT-MIR
He dreamed.

Also, the concept of ‘thinking’ is expressed by ‘sending a thought’, as in sentences (232) with the construction *nasʌm ʈo̱ŋ-u* ‘to think’.

(232) pɛ ʈí nasʌm ʈo̱ŋ-sĭ̃ ʈoŋ-si.
mouse DEF thought send.IMPF-DICT.PTCPL send.IMPF-DICT
The mouse was thinking and thinking.

With the construction *ʤinɔk ʤɔ-p* ‘to lie’, with the verb *ʤɔ-p* ‘to make’, as in sentences (233) through (236), we get ergative case marking on subjects when the clause is perfective.

(233) ŋʌ ʤinɔk ʤɔ-ĭ̃.
1SG lie make.IMPF-VOL
I will tell a lie.

(234) ɲɛ ʤinɔk ʤo-ĭ̃.
1SG.GEN lie make.PRF-VOL
I told a lie.

(235) ʈí-ci ʤinɔk ʤo-suŋ.
3SG-GEN lie make.PRF.DSJT-POBS
He told a lie.

(236) ʈí ʤinɔk ʤʌ-i.
3SG lie make.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
He will tell a lie.

Sherpa also has constructions that require a default object if another specific object is not used. One common inherent complement verb of this sort is *sʌma sa-p* ‘to eat’. The inherent complement *sʌma* ‘food’ must be present on the surface if another object is not specified. Sentences (237) through (246) contain various examples of the

verb *sa-p* ‘to eat’, some with the inherent complement object and some with other objects, to illustrate the point. Even the imperative form in sentence (246) must have the inherent complement in order to be grammatical.

(237) oŋʧ^{h}u sʌma sa-i-nɔk.
Ongchu food eat.IMPF-DUR-MIR
Ongchu is eating food.

(238) oŋʧ^{h}u šʌmuŋ sʌ-i.
Ongchu mushroom eat.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
Ongchu will eat mushrooms.

(239) oŋʧ^{h}-i sese so-suŋ.
Ongchu-GEN cherry eat.PRF.DSJT-POBS
Ongchu ate cherries.

(240) ŋʌ búculuk sa-i wɛ́.
1SG fiddle.fern eat.IMPF-DUR OBS
I am eating fiddle fern.

(241) ŋʌ ḍa sa-ĩ.
1SG rice eat.IMPF-VOL
I will eat rice.

(242) ɲɛ ḍal-i pà so-ĩ.
1SG.GEN lentil-GEN soup eat.PRF-VOL
I ate lentil soup.

(243) cʰuruŋ sʌma sa-i wɛ́?
2SG food eat.IMPF-DUR OBS
Are you eating food?

(244) cʰuruŋ sʌma sa-ĩ?
2SG food eat.IMPF-VOL
Will you eat food?

(245) cʰore sʌma so-u?
2SG.GEN food eat.PRF-INF
Did you eat food?

(246) sʌma sɔ!
food eat.IMPER
Eat!

One also ‘speaks words’ in Sherpa, as in sentences (247) and (248). If one is speaking a language, then the name of the language replaces the word *ʈʌ̀mɲɛ* ‘word’, as in sentence (249) .

(247) oŋʧʰu ʈʌ̀mɲɛ lòp-i-nɔk.
PROPER.MALE word talk.IMPF-DUR-MIR
Ongchu is talking.

(248) oŋʧʰ-i ʈʌ̀mɲɛ là̀p-suŋ.
PROPER.MALE-GEN word talk.PRF.DSJT-POBS
Ongchu talked.

(249) oŋʧʰu nɛpali lòp-ci.
PROPER.MALE Nepali talk.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
Ongchu will talk in the Nepali language.

Notice the ergative genitive marking on the subject in (248). And it is the same for the construction *tsɛrmi tsɛ̄-p* ‘to play a game’ as illustrated by sentences (250) through (252).

(250) ɲimi ʈɛŋ ɲirʌŋ tsɛrmi tsɛ̄-suŋ.
day every 1PL.EXCL game play.PRF.DSJT-POBS
We played games every day.

(251) cʰore pʰuʈbal tsē-u?
2SG.GEN soccer play.PRF-INF
Did you play soccer?

(252) tsɛrmi tsē!
game play.IMPER
Play!

The construction *laŋ moʈ-u* 'to plow' requires the object *laŋ* 'ox', as in sentences (253) through (256). This construction also employs ergative marking on the subject when the clause is perfective, as in sentences (255) and (256).

(253) sʌla ŋʌ laŋ moʈ-ĩ.
tomorrow 1SG ox plow.IMPF-VOL
Tomorrow I will plow.

(254) sʌla ʈí laŋ mò-ci.
tomorrow 3SG ox plow.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ.
Tomorrow he will plow.

(255) ɖaŋ ɲɛ laŋ mɔ-ĩ.
yesterday 1SG.GEN ox plow.PRF-VOL
Yesterday I plowed.

(256) ɖaŋ ʈí-ci laŋ mɔ-suŋ.
yesterday 3SG-GEN ox plow.PRF.DSJT-POBS
Yesterday he plowed.

6.11 Auxiliary Verbs and Related Words

The meaning 'must' is expressed by the verb *go-u* ; it occurs with the bare stem of the other verb, as in sentences (257) through (259).

(257) l̥ʌ̀kpa sʌma tsò̀ go-i.
PROPER.MALE food prepare.IMPF must.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
Lhakpa must cook some food.

(258) hariŋ ɖ̪ʌkpu lakʌ ci go-i.
today 1PL,INCL work do.IMPF must.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
We must work today.

(259) ŋʌ yúl-la ɖ̪ɔ go-i.
1SG village-LOC go.IMPF must.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
I must go to the village today.

Possibility is expressed by the postverbal particle *ṭ̪am*, as in sentences (260) through (263).

(260) ṭ̪í ši ʤʌ-i ṭ̪am.
3SG necklace make.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ POT
She might make the necklass.

(261) ṭ̪í ši mɔ-ʤɔ ṭ̪am.
3SG necklace NEG-make.IMPF POT
She may not make the necklass.

(262) ŋʌ yul-la ɖ̪ɔ-ĩ ṭ̪am.
1SG town-LOC go.IMPF POT
I might go to town today.

(263) šì̀ŋ-i ɖ̪oŋbu lʌ́kpa nalɔk ṭ̪ʰaka ʧ̬ʌ̀-i ṭ̪am.
wood-GEN plant arm right side break.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ POT
The tree might fall to the right.

To denote the idea of starting or beginning an action, the noun *ʈʰále* ‘start’ is used with the verb *cir-u* ‘to do’ and the verb of the inceptive action is in the infinitive, as in (264) and (265).

(264) ŋʌ lakʌ cir-u ʈʰále cir-ɾ̃.
1SG work do.IMPF-INF start do.IMPF-VOL
I am starting to work.

(265) ʈí-ci kʰʌŋba ʤɔ-p ʈʰále ca-suŋ.
3SG-GEN house build.IMPF-INF start do.PRF-POBS
He started building a house.

The inchoative verb for ‘become’ is the verb *ɖɔ-p* ‘to go’, as illustrated in sentences (266) through (272).

(266) ŋʌ bombu hín.
1SG fat COP.IMPF
I am fat.

(267) ŋʌ bombu ɖi.
1SG fat INCHO.IMPF
I am getting fat.

(268) ŋʌ bombu gál.
1SG fat INCHO.PRF
I got fat.

(269) ŋʌ bombu gʌ́l-u hín-nɔk.
1SG fat INCHO.PRF-INF COP.IMPF-MIR
I have gotten fat.

(270) ɖaŋ ɲɛ pí-u čɔktsi ʈí mètsʌŋ gal.
yesterday 1SG.GEN wipe.PRF-INF table DEF dirty INCHO.PRF
The table that I wiped yesterday is now dirty.

(271) ʈí mí ʈí čʰukpu gʌ́l-u hín-nɔk.
that person DEF rich INCHO.PRF-INF COP.IMPF-MIR
That person has gotten rich.

(272) rici ɖoŋbu ɲerpu gʌ́l-u hín-nɔk.
potato plant big INCHO.PRF-INF COP.IMPF-MIR
The potato plant has gotten big.

The causative verb comes after the bare stem form of the other verb, as in sentences (273) through (276).

(273) ŋʌ ʈí-la ciʈʌp ɭá ǰíʈ-ɤ̃.
1SG 3SG-LOC book read.IMPF CAUSE.PRF-VOL
I made him read the book.

(274) ʈí ʈí-la ɭá ǰí-ci.
3SG 3SG-LOC read.IMPF CAUSE.PRF.DSJT-DSJ
He will make him read the book.

(275) ʈí-ci ʈí-la ciʈʌp ɭá čí-suŋ.
3SG-GEN 3SG-LOC book read.IMPF CAUSE.PRF.DSJT-POBS
He made him read the book.

(276) ɲɛ ʈí-la ciʈʌp ɭá číʈ-ɤ̃.
1SG.GEN 3SG-LOC book read.IMPF CAUSE.PRF-VOL
I made him read the book.

7 Analysis of a Text

The following 45 sentences are from the cat and mouse story related by the consultant. In some cases, alternate or reiterative examples of sentences were produced by the consultant during the elicitation and have been left in the text for the purpose of comparison.

Sentence (1) begins the story with the time adverb, *ɲíǰi* 'one day', follow by the subject *bɛ́rmʌŋ* 'cat', which is marked by the definite particle. The cat is one of the two actors in the story. The sentence is two nested clauses. The first clause ends in *la-u* 'to rise' which is dependent on the copular predicate *hín-nɔk*. The use of *hín-nɔk* makes the conditions expressed in the dependent clause extend into the following discourse as the imperfective copula has the sense of an action or event being durative. The phrase *l̥ɔ̀ la-u* 'to be hungry' (hunger rose) is modified by the adverbial particle of intensity *sɛru* 'very'. It syntactically comes before the phrase nut is modifying the verb and not the noun. If it were an adjective modifying the noun, it would follow the noun. The mirative evidential is here used with the copula. Though the evidentials and the copula are often in a complementary distribution, this is not always the case when, like here, both the durative sense of the copula and the discovery sense of the evidential are deemed necessary to the discourse by the speaker.

(1) ɲíǰi bɛ́rmʌŋ t̪í sɛru l̥ɔ̀ la-u hín-nɔk.
one.day cat DEF very hunger rise.PRF-INF COP.IMPF-MIR
One day a cat was very hungry.

Sentence (2) consists of three main clauses. The first clause, *l̥ɔ̀ la-ne*, 'from being hungry' is a dependent clause referring to the hunger mentioned in the preceding clause as the reason for the action in the following clause which is going to search for mice to eat. The participle form with a durative verb suffix of the verb *tsʰɔ̀l-u* 'to search' is uttered twice in succession to give the sense of a long and ongoing search for mice. The participles are followed by the motion verb *gʌ́l-u* 'to go' to give a sense of path. The second clause ending in *gʌ́l-u* is embedded as the subject in the main clause, which ends in the copular form *hí̃n-nɔk*, which, like the preceding sentence, again extends the actions down through the following discourse.

(2) l̥ɔ̀ la-ne pɛ tsʰɔ̃̀l-ɪ̃̌
hunger rise.PRF-ABL mice search.IMPF-DUR.PTCPL
From hunger, he went looking and

tsʰɔ̃̀l-ɪ̃̌ gʌ́l-u hí̃n-nɔk.
search.IMPF-DUR.PTCPL go.PRF-INF COP.IMPF-MIR
looking for mice.

Sentences (3) through (6) are actually dependent clauses of the main clause in (7). Sentence (3) ends with the dictative-descentive verb suffix which denotes temporal succession from one clause to the next. The perfective verb root *tsʰàl* 'searched' is repeated twice in the perfective form to mirror the use of the imperfective form of the same verb above and remind the listener that the cat had been searching all day. Like sentence (1), this sentence begins with a time adverbial. In this case the adverbial is a phrase consisting the time adverbial proper *ɲin* 'day' and a quantification adverbial *ʈák* 'all' to emphasize how long the action of searching had endured.

(3) ɲin ʈák pɛ tsʰàl tsʰàl-si-ma,
day all mice search.PRF search.PRF-DICT-DESC
After having looked for mice all day,

Sentences (4) and (5) are iterations of the same sentence with slight differences. They end in the ablative verb suffix which denotes a reason or cause, in this case the cat's tiredness. Sentence (4) has an initial temporal conjunction, and has a pronominal surface form for the third person subject which is not contextually necessary, as illustrated in the following sentence, which lacks an explicit pronoun. Sentence (5) has two, instead of one, clause-initial temporal conjunctions.

(4) hǎči ʈ̪í yɛn ʧʰé-ne,
next 3SG tiredness happen.PRF-ABL
then from him being tired,

(5) ʈ̪ʌ́ma hǎči yɛn ʧʰé-ne,
then next tiredness happen.PRF-ABL
then next from being tired,

Sentence (6) is a false start of sentence (7) as a dependent clause using the dictative-descentive verb suffix. The narrator then decides that the meaning should be that of a main clause and so repeats the same clause using the mirative verb suffix, which properly ends a main clause. Sentence (7) does not explicitly mention the actor in the surface form since this is retrievable from context. The verb is a sequence of two verbs, *guʈ̪-u* 'to wait' in the participle form and the verb *ɖéʈ̪-u* 'to stay'. This gives the sense of an ongoing process of waiting. The word *mɨ̀kʈum* 'hole' modifies the relator noun *tsa* 'near' without taking the genitive case marking. Sometime bisyllabic words, ending in a consonant, fail to trigger genitive marking when used to modify the following noun.

(6) mìkʈum tsa-la gʊ̃ ɖé-si-ma...
hole near-LOC wait.PARTICPL stay.IMPF-DICT-DESC
he waited near a hole...

(7) mìkʈum tsa-la gʊ̃ ɖé-nɔk.
hole near-LOC wait.PARTICPL stay.PRF-MIR
He waited near a hole.

Sentence (8) starts with the temporal succession conjunction *háči* 'next', which is followed by an adverbial time construction, *kur-i-la* 'a little while'. This is followed by the introduction of the other actor of the story, the mouse. The subject of the sentence *pɛ* 'mouse' is modified by the adjective *ʈíkpe* 'small'. Adjectives follow the nouns that they modify. The verb is intransitive and takes the compound verb suffix construction, *-u-i-nɔk*, which consists of the infinitive suffix, the durative suffix, and the mirative suffix. This ending may be related to the infinitive verb plus *hín-nɔk* construction above in sentences (1) and (2) since the meaning is essentially the same by extending the effect of the action into the following discourse.

(8) háči kur-i-la pɛ ʈíkpe hɔ-u-i-nɔk.
next a.little.while-ART-LOC mouse small come.PRF-INF-DUR-MIR
Next, in a little while, a small mouse came out.

Sentence (9) reiterates some of the information in sentence (8) and adds new information. The subject noun phrase is delineated by the definite article, *ʈí*, which serves to put focus on the mouse as an emerging participant in the story. The subject is followed by the spatial adverbial *gɔla* 'outside'. Adverbial expressions of time, space, intensity, and manner usually come either clause-initial or before the verb, including the

object of the verb. The sentence employs a serial verb construction. The first verb denotes manner and the second verb denotes path. The object *sʌma* 'food' is the object of the first verb *tsʰòl-u* 'to search', which is realized as a participle form before the second component of the serial construction, which is inflected as the final verbal component of the clause.

(9) pɛ ʈ́ikpe ʈ́í gɔla
mouse small DEF outside
The small mouse came outside

sʌma tsʰðl hɔ-u-i-nɔk.
food search.IMPF.PTCPL come.IMPF-INF-DUR-MIR
searching for food.

Sentences (10), (11), and (12) are essentially the same sentence with slight differences among them as the narrator restated himself. In sentence (10), the first clause is a dependent time clause that refers back to the mouse searching for food. The second clause ends in the definite particle to mark it as the subject argument of the following infinitive clause ,which is subordinate to the copular *hín-nɔk* construction.

(10) sʌma tsʰðl-u huŋ-u bɛlʌ,
food search.IMPF-INF come.IMPF-INF time
when (he) came to look for food,

gɔ-la bɛ́rmʌŋ gʊ̃ ɖ́éʈ́-u ʈ́í,
outside-LOC cat wait.PTCPL stay.IMPF-INF DEF
the cat staying waiting outside,

c̆ʰʌ̀ mɛ́ʈ́-u hín-nɔk.
known NEG.COP.IMPF-INF COP.IMPF-MIR
(he) was unaware of.

Sentences (11), and (12) add an overt subject to the initial dependent clause of (10) and add the spatial adverb *gɔla* 'outside' before the object of the clause. The word for 'outside' also appears in the second clause of all three sentences, clause-initial in the first sentence and as the second word of the clause of the next two sentences.

(11) pɛ ʈ̣íkpe ʈ̪í
mouse small DEF
the little mouse

gɔla sʌma tsʰól-u huŋ-u bɛlʌ,
outside food search.IMPF-INF come.IMPF-INF time
when he came outside to find food,

bɛ́rmʌŋ gɔla hóʈ̪-u ʈ̪í,
cat outside COP.IMPF-INF DEF
The cat being outside,

ʧʰʌ̀ mɛ́ʈ̪-u hín-nɔk.
known NEG.COP-INF COPI-MIR
(he) was unaware of.

The second clause of sentence (11) is less complicated than that of sentence (12). Sentence (11) merely states that there was a cat outside whereas sentence (12) states that the cat stayed outside waiting for the mouse. The third and fourth clauses of all three sentences are the same.

(12) pɛ ʈ̣íkpe ʈ̪í
mouse small DEF
The small mouse

gɔla sʌma tsʰól-u huŋ-u bɛlʌ,
outside food search.IMPF-INF come.IMPF-INF time
when he came outside to find food,

ʈ̪í-la gɔla bɛ́rmʌŋ gʊ̃ ɖeʈ̪-u ʈ̪í
3SG-LOC outside cat wait.PTCPL stay.IMPF-INF DEF
that the cat stayed waiting outside for him

čʰʌ̀	mɛ́t̪-u	hı́n-nɔk.
known	NEG.COP.IMPF-INF	COPI-MIR

(he) was unaware of.

Sentence (13) continues the story with two clauses. The first clause has the relator noun *nʌ́ŋ* 'inside' with the compound ablative-prolative case marking, *-no-sur*, which means 'out from' or 'along from'. The second clause starts with a time adverb and has a serial verb with an unexpressed object from the subject of the first clause. In the second clause there is again a serial verb construction of an accomplishment of manner followed by manner verb with the durative verb suffix to give the sense of the extension of the holding action through time.

(13)	pɛ	ʈ̣ı́kpe	t̪ı́	mı̀kʈ̣um	nʌ́ŋ-no-sur	t̪ʰɛ̄n	nı́ŋ,
	mouse	small	DEF	hole	inside-ABL-PROL	exit.IMPF.PTCPL	self

The little mouse, exiting himself out of the hole,

mid̪ʌla	bɛ́rm-i	ʈ̣ʰı̌	ʥim-i	nɔ́k.
immediately	cat-GEN	wrap.PTCPL	hold-DUR	MIR

the cat immediately grabbed and held him.

Sentence (14) begins with a switch reference structure which consists of the noun *pʌ́la* 'turn' directly following the subject noun. The sentence contains dialogue which ends with the dictative verb suffix leading into the rest of the quote in sentence (15). The quote ends in the inchoative verb, *d̪ɔ-p*, which is actually a form of the verb 'to go'.

(14)	pɛ	pʌ́la	"ŋʌ	sʌma	ʦʰɔ̀l-u	hɔ́-si.
	mouse	turn	1SG	food	search.IMPF-INF	come.PRF-DICT

The mouse (said), "I came looking for food.

(15) ŋʌ mí sʌma-la gál," sa-u-i-nɔk.
1SG man food-LOC INCHO say.PRF-INF-DUR-MIR
I have become man food," he said.

Sentences (16) and (17) contain dialogue of the cat, and both end with the reported speech verb, *sa-u-i-nɔk*. Sentence (16) begins with a dependent ablative clause follow by a spoken exclamation of joy in the main clause. Sentence (17) is dialogue except for the main verb *sír-u* 'to say' at the end of the sentence. The embedded dialogue sentence contains the verb for *ɲɛ-u* 'to find', which uses the past observational verb suffix since finding something is not a volitional action.

(16) ʈ̪ʌ́ma bɛ́rmaŋ ʈ̪í ga la-ne,
then cat def happy rise.PRF-ABL
Then the cat from being happy,

"ló ʈ̪ʌ́ma," sa-u-i-nɔk.
look then say.PRF-INF-DUR-MIR
"All right!" he said.

(17) "hariŋ hín-sa!
today COPI-AUG
Today, it is!

gɔm-i sʌma ʈ̪í ɲɛ-suŋ," sa-u-i-nɔk.
evening-GEN food DEF find.PRF-POBS say.PRF-INF-DUR-MIR
I have found dinner," he said.

Sentence (18) and (19) are essentially the same sentence but contain different structures involving the main verb of the clause, *lép-u* 'to arrive'. Sentence (18) has the verb conjugated with the infinitive verb suffix followed by the definite particle. Sentences with a final definite particle have a meaning similar to, 'it is a fact that'. In contrast,

sentence (19) has the genitive verb clitic attached to the infinitive form to connect the meaning of the sentence causally with the following clause.

(18) pɛ ɲíŋ šɛ̄-p bɛlʌ lép-u ʈ́í.
mouse self die-INF time arrive-INF DEF
The mouse himself arrived at the time of dying.

(19) pɛ ɲíŋ šɛ̄-p bɛlʌ lép-u-ci,
mouse self die-INF time arrive-INF-GEN
The mouse arriving's at the time of dying,

Sentence (19) leads into the thoughts of the mouse in (20). Sentence (20) is the mouse thinking about what to do to get out of the situation. The mouse questions himself with the content question word 'which' twice with the infinitive form of the verb 'to do'. The use of the inchoative infinitive embedded in the copular clause means that the mouse has realized that a situation has arisen that needs a solution and he is trying to figure out which alternative is the best.

(20) "tsū̄k cir-u, tsū̄k cir-u, gʌ́l-u hí́n-nɔk?"
which do.IMPF-INF which do.IMPF-INF INCHO.PRF-INF COPI-MIR
"Which to do, which to do, (has become the situation)?"

The direct thoughts of (20) are expressed more generally in sentence (21) to lead into the follow utterances of the mouse. Sentence (21) consists of two clauses. The first clause reduplicates the verb *ʈ́ōŋ̄-u* 'to send' with the dictative and participle verb suffixes. This extends the action of thinking into the second clause, which starts with a temporal adverb to introduce the next action, which is saying something to the cat. To emphasize that the cat is being addressed, the word 'cat' is marked with the definite particle, which

takes the locative case. The subject in the first clause is in the nominative case and is unexpressed in the second clause though if it were there, it would be in the genitive case.

(21) pɛ ʈ̪í nasʌm ʈ̪õŋ-sĩ̌ ʈ̪oŋ-sĩ̌,
mouse DEF thought send.IMPF-DICT.PTCPL send.IMPF-DICT.PTCPL
The mouse was thinking and thinking,

bʌlʌbʌlʌ bɛ́rmaŋ ʈ̪í-la sa-u-i-nɔk.
finally cat DEF-LOC say.PRF-INF-DUR-MIR
finally, he said to the cat.

Sentences (22) through (27) are a series of statements by the mouse pleading with the cat in order to trick him. Almost every statement is short and direct without dependent clauses. Sentence (22) has a negative command and the initial word is the imperative form of the verb *l̪ʌ́-u* 'to look' used before the word *ʈ̪ʰákur* 'please'.

(22) "lɔ̃ ʈ̪ʰákur, ŋʌ-la má sá."
look please 1SG-LOC NEG.PRF eat.IMPER
"Please do not eat me."

Sentence (23) is an example with a copular predicate.

(23) "ŋʌ ʈ̪íkpe hín."
1SG little COP.IMPF
"I am little."

Sentence (24) has two clauses. The first clause has a perfective verb root inflected with the participle to give the sense of having done an action. The second clause has an intransitive verb with the disjunctive verb suffix to indicated the future result of only eating the mouse.

(24) ŋʌ čì̀k cè sõ, cʰúruŋ mʌ ḍʌ́-i.
1sg one instead eat.PRF.PTCPL 2SG NEG.IMPF be.full.IMPF-DSJ
Having eaten only me, you will not be full.

Sentence (25) starts with an exclamation. It has an embedded clause, 'over there where there are many mice', which is then repeated with the locative adverb *ʈɛ* 'there' followed by the verb *ʈiʈ-u* 'to lead' with the volitional verb suffix. The sentence contains a benefactive phrase which is the second person pronoun in the locative case.

(25) bʌ́ru! ŋʌ cʰúruŋ-la, pʰò kʌ́n-i pɛ mʌ́ŋmu nɔ́k,
Well! 1sg 2SG-LOC, over.there where-ART mouse many MIR.
Well, I, for you, over there where there are many mice,

ʈɛ ʈiʈ-ĩ.
there lead.IMPF-VOL
will lead you there.

The locative adverb *ʈɛ* 'there' is repeated in sentence (26) to connect the utterance with the previous clause. The sentence starts with the sequencing conjunction 'then'. It has two clauses. The first clause has an intransitive verb that is inflected with the compound dictative-descentive verb suffix to place the action of arriving before the action of eating the mouse in the second clause. The verb in the second clause takes the general infinitive inflection on a perfective root to imply a completed accomplishment.

(26) ʈʌ́ma ʈɛ lè̀p-si-ma,
then there arrive.PRF-DICT-DESC
Then after arriving there,

cʰúruŋ ŋʌ-la so-u.
2SG 1SG-LOC eat.PRF-INF
you eat me.

The completed accomplishment of sentence (26) leads directly to the suggested action in (27) where the disjunctive verb suffix implies the future action of finding the other mice in order to eat them. The mouse's plea is then ended with the verb form *sa-u-i-nɔk* which is employed for reported speech.

(27) ʈ̪ʌ́ma cʰúruŋ-la hɛm mʌ́ŋ sa-u
then 2SG-LOC other many eat.PRF-INF
then you can find a lot of other (mice) to eat,"

luŋ ɲe-ci," sa-u-i-nɔk.
also find.IMPF-DSJ say.PRF-INF-DUR-MIR
he said.

In sentence (28) the switch reference marker is used after the subject of the sentence. The past observational verb suffix is used on the verb of the dialogue because the cat has just observed the mouse speaking.

(28) bɛ́rmaŋ ʈ̪í-ci pʌla "mín,
cat DEF-GEN turn NEG.COP.IMPF
The cat's turn: "no,

cʰɔ́re ʤinok ʤo-suŋ," sa-u-i-nɔk.
2SG.GEN lie make.DSJT.PRF-POBS say.PRF-INF-DUR-MIR
you lied," he said.

In sentence (29) the switch reference marker is again used after the subject of the sentence to return the dialogue to the mouse's words. The sentence contains a negative verb construction with an imperfective root so the vowel of the negative particle mimics

the root vowel of the verb. The volitional verb suffix is employed because telling a lie is clearly a volitional activity of which the speaker has firsthand knowledge.

(29) pɛ pʌ́la "ŋʌ ʤinok mɔ ʤɔ-ĩ.
mouse turn 1SG lie NEGI lie.IMPF-VOL
Mouse turn, "I do not lie.

Sentence (30) contains an example of an actual postposition, *sɛ́k* 'until', in Sherpa. Here it is used after a relative time adverb, *ʈ̈ʌ* 'now'. This sentence also contains the structure for knowing how to do something which consists of a clause with the verb for what is known inflected with the infinitive verb suffix followed by the morpheme *ʧʰʌ̀* 'known' followed by either the evidential *wɛ́* or the evidential *nɔ́k*. The evidential *wɛ́* is used here because the fact of not lying is firsthand knowledge of the mouse.

(30) ʈ̈ʌ sɛ́k, ɲɛ ʤinok ʤɔ-p ʧʰʌ̀ mɛ́."
now until 1SG.GEN lie make.DSJT.IMPF-INF known NEG.OBS
I have never lied/I do not remember lying, up till now."

Sentence (31) contains the word *ʈ̈ʌ́-ci* twice, serving two different functions. The first instance is the definite article, which goes with the subject and takes the ergative marking of the genitive case. The second instance is a genitive pronoun referring to the cat. The first clause employs the construction for believing something, which consists of the noun, *pʌʈ̈ɛ* 'belief, and the verb 'to do'. The second clause begins with the hortative exclamation, *lɔ̄ ʈ̈ʌ́ma*, 'look then', and a command form with the augmentative verb suffix *-(s)a* that is often used with imperative roots.

(31) bɛ́rmaŋ ʈ́í-ci ʈ́í-ci ʈʌmɲɛ pʌʈe ca-ne,
cat DEF-GEN 3SG-GEN words belief do.PRF-ABL
After the cat believed his words,

"lɔ̃ ʈ́ʌma, ɖóŋ-a!" sa-u-i-nɔk.
Look then, go.forward.IMPER-AUG say.PRF-INF-DUR-MIR
"then go on!" he said.

Sentence (32) has three clauses. The first clause employs a construction used as a discourse "conjunction" from one part of the discourse to the next. The second clause is a causative construction with the causative verb in the participle form since it is a dependent clause of the third clause. The third clause contains a reduplicated relator noun with the case marking only on the second noun. The verb of the main clause has the compound verb suffix of 'INF-DUR-MIR' to give the sense of an ongoing action in the past.

(32) ʈ́ɔ́i ca-si-ma,
those.things do.PRF-DICT-DESC
After doing these things,

pɛ gɔmal ci čì-n,
mouse first do.IMPF CAUSE.PTCPL
tmaking the mouse go first,

bɛ́rmaŋ ʈ́í ʈì̀ŋ ʈì̀ŋ-la gʌl-u-i-nɔk
cat DEF behind behind-LOC go.PRF-INF-DUR-MIR
the cat went behind.

With sentence (33), there is the reduplication of the verb 'to go' in the imperfective in a durative participle form followed by the same verb in the perfective, to give the sense that the 'going' went on in the past. The verb is conjugated with the dependent compound verb suffix of 'DICT-DESC' to denote the succession of actions. The following action in the second clause begins with a place adverb *pʰ̀ò* 'over there'. There

is no overt reference to the subject of the clause but it is pragmatically taken to be the mouse.

(33) háči ḍo-ĩ ḍo-ĩ gál-si-ma,
next go.IMPF-DUR.PTCPL go.IMPF-DUR.PTCPL go.PRF-DICT-DESC
Next after going and going,

pʰò mìkʈum ʈíkpe ʈ̪ʰuŋ-i-nɔk.
over.there hole little see.IMPF-DUR-MIr
over there, (he) saw a small hole.

Sentence (34) has a somewhat late switch reference marker which refers to the last clause of the sentence above as well as the current clause. Then follows a conjunction which implies that the switch reference was uttered as an afterthought, then the recipient of the speech to follow in the next sentence is specifically mentioned.

(34) pɛ ʈ̪í-ci pʌ́lʌ, ʈ̪ʌ́ma bɛ́rmaŋ-la sa-u-i-nɔk.
mouse DEF-GEN turn then cat-LOC say.PRF-INF-DUR-MIR
then the mouse said to the cat.

With sentences (35), the mouse's spiel of trickery reaches to the climax. This sentence is marked by the definite article used as a sentential particle to assert the fact that there were a lot of mice there.

(35) "ló, ḍɛ rʌ́ŋ pɛ mʌ́ŋmu hoʈ̪-u ʈ̪í.
HOR there even mouse many COP.IMPF-INF DEF
"Look, there are a lot of mice there.

Then sentence (36) reasserts the part of the information in the preceding sentence with a copular construction of location.

(36) lɔ̄, d̪ɛ rʌ́ŋ hḯn.
Look there even COP.IMPF
Hey, it's right here.

And (37) reasserts the existence of a lot of mice using the sentential definite particle.

(37) pɛ mʌ́ŋmu hot̪-u t̪ḯ."
mouse many COP.IMPF-INF DEF
There are a lot of mice."

Sentence (38) starts with a switch reference to initiate the cat's response. The evidential *nɔ́k* is used as this is discovered information.

(38) bɛ́rmaŋ pʌ́la, "kɔ̄ kʌ́ni nɔ́k?
cat turn where where MIR
The cat's turn, "where? where?"

Sentence (39) is a false start that is corrected with the switch reference marker in (40).

(39) pɛ sa-u-i-nɔk.
mouse say.PRF-INF-DUR-MIR
The mouse said.

Sentence (40) has the recipent of the words in the locative case and the dialogue consists of a command telling the cat to wait here outside.

(40) pɛ pʌ́la bɛ́rmaŋ-la, “cʰúruŋ d̪ɛ rʌ́ŋ gɔla gu-sa.”
mouse turn cat-LOC 2sg here even outside wait.IMPER-AUG
The mouse said to the cat, “You wait here outside.”

The narrator then repeats the above sentence in (41) without the locative adverb *gɔla* ‘outside’ for some reason.

(41) pɛ pʌ́la bɛ́rmaŋ-la, “cʰúruŋ d̪ɛ rʌ́ŋ gu-sa.
mouse turn cat-LOC 2sg there even wait.IMPER-AUG
The mouse said to the cat, “You wait here.

The mouse completes the last of the dialogue in sentence (42). The first clause is a perfective participle construction to denote ‘having gone’. The second clause contains a relator noun used in the function of a adverbial complement to the verb ‘to come’ to denote path.

(42) ŋʌ, mo ŋʌ́ŋ-la gɤ̃l,
1SG down inside-LOC go.PRF.PTCPL
I, having gone down inside,

pɛ ʈakʈuk ʈḭ̀ŋ gí ɖɔ,” sa-u-i-nɔk.
mouse all behind come.IMPF go.IMPF say.PRF-INF-DUR-MIR
will come back with all the mice” he said.

Sentence (43) contains the termination of one of the two participants in the story from the scene. It starts with the sequencing conjunction *ʈ̪ʌ́ma* ‘then/next’. The verb is in the perfective-durative construction to indicate that the effect of the action continues into the subsequent discourse.

(43) ʈ̪ʌ́ma pɛ ʈ̪í mḭ̀kʈum d̪iŋ-la šu-u-i-nɔk.
then mouse DEF hole into-LOC enter.PRF-INF-DUR-MIR
Then the mice went into the hole.

Sentence (44) expresses the result of the action in sentence (43). The first clause refers back to the previous sentence by repeating the last part of the sentence and using the dictative-descentive verb suffix to denote succession of the action to the second clause. The second clause contains the negative adverb *nʌ́mlʌŋ* 'never' which reinforces a negative verbal construction.

(44) mì̗kʈum ɖiŋ-la šu-si-ma,
hole into-LOC enter.PRF-DICT-DESC
After entering into the hole,

nʌ́mlʌŋ ʈʰɛ̄n má hɔ-u-i-nɔk.
never exit.IMPF.PTCPL NEG.P come.PRF-INF-DUR-MIR
(he) never came back out.

Sentence (45) completes the story in three clauses. The first two are participle constructions setting the stage for the final action in the last clause, which is the cat going home.

(45) bɛ́rmaŋ gɔla gu-sĩ̌ gu-sĩ̌,
cat outside wait.IMPF-DICT.PTCPL wait.IMPF-DICT.PTCPL
The cat, waiting and waiting outside,

l̥ɔ̀ lã̃,
hunger rise.PRF.PTCPL
getting hungry,

kʰʌŋba gal-u-i-nɔk.
house go.PRF-DUR-MIR
went on home.

Texts

Personal Narratives

ískulla ɖɔp ‘Going to School’

(1) ʈóŋla ɲirʌŋ ʈ́ík bɛlʌ,
long.ago 1PL.EXCL little time
When we were kids,

lo ɖì̀n ʤó-i gʌ́l-u bɛlʌ,
year seven make.PRF-DUR go.PRF-INF time
around seven years old,

lo ɖì̀n-la mí́n, lo gu-la,
year seven-LOC NEG.COP.IMPF year nine-LOC
not seven years, nine years,

ískul-la borʌn ci gʌ́l-ɾ̃.
school-LOC admission do.IMPF go.PRF-VOL
(I) went to school to be admitted.

(2) mórok ŋʌ ískul-la ɖɔ-p bɛlʌ,
first.time 1SG school-LOC go.IMPF-INF time
It was the first time to go to school,

borʌn ci-la ɖɔ-p gʌ́l-u tsʰɛrmuŋ
admission do.IMPF-LOC go.IMPF-INF go.PRF-INF day
the day of going to be admitted,

ʈákʈuk-la ŋotsʰa la-suŋ.
all-LOC shyness rise.PRF.DSJT-POBS
(I was) shy of everybody.

(3) gʌ́l-u tsʰɛrmuŋ mašʈʌ ʈí ho-nɔk.
go.PRF-INF day teacher DEF COP.PRF-MIR
The day that I went, there was a teacher.

(4) mašʈʌ ʈí-ci ŋʌ-la,
teacher 3SG-GEN 1SG-LOC
The teacher asked me,

"cʰore min kʌ́ŋ hín?" sa-suŋ.
2SG.GEN name what COP.IMPF say.PRF.DSJT-POBS
"What's your name?"

(5) mašʈʌ ʈí-ci nɛpal-i ʈʌ̀mɲɛ nʌ́,
teacher 3SG-GEN PN-GEN language inside
The teacher asked in the Nepali language,

"cʰore min kʌ́ŋ hín?" sa-suŋ.
2SG.GEN name what COP.IMPF say.PRF.DSJT-POBS
"What's your name?"

(6) ŋotsʰa lã̃, háʈʌ-rʌŋ má sa.
shyness rise.PRF-PTCPL quick-even NEG.PRF say.PRF
Having been shy, (I) did not answer quick.

(7) tsɛ pʰar-no-ma ǰõ̌
little.bit yonder-ABL-DESC put.IMPF.PTCPL
After a while of

ískul-la ɖɔ-ĩ̌ gʌ́l-si-ma,
school-LOC go.IMPF-DUR.PTCP go.PRF-DICT-DESC
going to school,

ɲimi ʈɛŋ ɖɔ-ĩ̌ gʌ́l-si-ma,
day every go.IMPF-DUR.PTCP go.PRF-DICT-DESC
after going every day,

ʈákʈuk ʈʌ̄ŋ čʰʌni gál.
everybody with used.to/familiar INCHO.PRF
(I) got used to everybody.

(8) ískul-la ʈí ek búǰi-la biʈʌ ɖi-nɔk.
school-LOC DEF one o'clock-LOC breaktime go.IMPF.DSJ-MIR
At school, there is a break at one o'clock.

(9)

t̪ìpin	tsut̪i-la	č̌ʰūǰɛ	tsut̪i	t̪èr-ki-nɔk.
lunchbox	breaktime-LOC	hour	breaktime	give.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ-MIR

At break time, they would give a one hour break.

(10)

t̪ʌ́ma	ɲirʌŋ	ṭákṭuk	gɔla	tsɛrmi	tsɛ̄	ḍi.
then	1PL.EXCL	all	outside	game	play.IMPF	go.IMPF.DSJT

Then we would all go outside to play.

(11)

tsɛ̀rmi	nʌ́ŋ-la	t̪í	mʌ́ŋ	ʥɔ-i
game	inside-LOC	DEF	much	make.IMPF-DUR

The most popular games (were)

d̪ɔkt̪ɔk	t̪ʰóp-u	t̪ʌ̄ŋ	pʰut̪bʌl	tsɛ̄-p.
kickboxing	fight.IMPF-INF	with	soccer	play.IMPF-INF

kickboxing and playing soccer.

(12)

tsɛrmi	tsɛ̄-p	d̪asa-la,	sɛru	d̪o	mʌ́ŋmu	nɔ́k.
game	play.IMPF-INF	place-LOC	very	rock	many	MIR

On the playground, there were lots of stones.

(13)

d̪ɔkt̪ɔk	t̪ʰóp-u	t̪ʌ̄ŋ	pʰut̪bʌl	tsɛ̄-p.	bɛlʌ,
kickboxing	fight.IMPF-INF	with	soccer	play.IMPF-INF	time

When kickboxing and playing soccer,

pʌrtsi	pʰut̪bʌl	ɟé-u	bɛlʌ,
sometimes	soccer	strike.IMPF-INF	time

sometimes when kicking the soccerball,

kʌ̀ŋb-i	sɛ̀rmuŋ	d̪ɛp	č̌ʰè-n	gál.
foot-gen	nail	split.apart	cut.through-PTCPL	INCHO.PRF

toenails would get broken off.

(14)

kʌ̀ŋb-i	sɛ̀rmuŋ	d̪ɛp	č̌ʰè-n	gál	sínʌŋ,
foot-gen	nail	split.apart	cut.through-PTCPL	INCHO.PRF	although

Although (your) toenail broke off,

‘aka’	má	sa	cã,	kʰòk	lã,
‘ouch’	NEG.PRF	say.PRF	do.PRF.PTCPL	UPRIGHT	rise.PRF.PTCPL

without saying ‘ouch’,(you) would get up,

lòŋ pʰuʈbʌl tsɛ̄ ɖɔ-p.
again soccer play.IMPF go.IMPF-INF
(and) again go play soccer.

(15) tsɛrmi tsɛ̄-p-ci rar ʈʰí...
game play.IMPF-INF-GEN desire DEF
The desire of playing games...

ʈʰí bɛlʌ, tsɛrmi tsɛ̄-p-ci rar ʈʰí,
dem time game play.IMPF-INF-GEN desire DEF
that time, the desire of playing games,

kʌ̀ŋb-i sɛ̀rmuŋ ɖɛp ʧʰè-n gál sínʌŋ...
foot-GEN nail split.apart cut.through-PTCPL INCHO.PRF although
although (your) toenail broke off...

(16) kʌ̀ŋb-i sɛ̀rmuŋ ʧʰè-n ɖɔ-p karʌn ʈʰí,
foot-GEN nail cut.through-PTCPL go.IMPF-INF reason DEF
The reason (we) lost toenails,

kʌ̀ŋba-la katsa me-ʈɛ̀r-ci
foot-LOC shoe NEG-give.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
(we) were not given shoes for (our) feet.

šì̀ŋ ʈʰú ɖɔp, 'Going to collect wood'

(17) ískul-la gɐ́l, tsɛrmi tsɛ̃, kʰʌŋba hɔ-si-ma,
school-LOC go.PRF.PTCPL game play.PRF.PTCPL house come.PRF-DICT-DESC
After having gone to school, played games, and come home,

hɛ́luŋ mʌ̀m-i šì̀ŋ tsʰɔ̀l ʈʰōŋ-i.
again mother-GEN wood search.IMPF send.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
mother would again send (me) to search for wood.

(18) šì̀ŋ tsʰɔ̀l ʈʰàŋ-si-ma, šì̀ŋ ʈʰú ɖɔ-p,
wood search.IMPF send.PRF-DICT-DESC wood collect go.IMPF-INF
After having been sent to look for wood, going to collect wood,

hɛ́luŋ pʌrtsi šì̀ŋ mɛ-ɲɛ.
again sometimes wood NEG-find.IMPF
again sometimes (you) would not find wood.

(19) pʌrtsi lòŋ šì̀ŋ ʈʰú ɖɔ-p ʈo̅ŋ-si,
sometimes again wood collect go.IMPF-INF send.IMPF-DICT
Sometimes again being sent to go collect wood,

šì̀ŋ ʈʰú ɖɔ-p bɛlʌ,
wood collect go.IMPF-INF time
when (you) were going to collect wood,

pʰò lòŋ ʈòŋmʌr go-la ʤɛ́,
over.there again rhododendron head-LOC climb.PRF.PTCPL
(you) would again climb to the top of a rhododendron bush,

ʈòŋmʌr ráŋ, šì̀ŋ ʈʰű́ŋ mí̀n.
rhododendron nectar wood collect.IMPF.PTCPL NEG.COP.IMPF
rhododendron nectar, (so you) would not be collecting wood.

(20) šì̀ŋ kʰurwu mʌ-lʌ̀ŋ.
wood load NEG-rise.IMPF
There would not be a full load of wood.

(21) šì̀ŋ ʈʰú ɖɔ-p, šì̀ŋ kʰurwu laŋʌ kʰù̀ŋ go-u.
wood collect.IMPF go.IMPF-INF wood load full bring.IMPF DEON-INF
Going to collect wood, (you) have to bring a full load of wood.

(22) šì̀ŋ kʰurwu laŋʌ mu-kʰù̀ŋ-si,
wood load full NEG-bring.IMPF-DICT
If a full load of wood was not brought,

kʰʌ̀ŋba hɔ-si-ma, mʌ̀m-i ɖuŋ-u ci.
house come.PRF-DICT-DESC mother-GEN beat.IMPF-INF do.IMPF.DSJT
after having come home, mother would beat (you).

(23) ʈɔ́i ca-si-ma, lòŋ gɔm-i sʌma so-si-ma,
those do.PRF-DICT-DESC again evening food eat.PRF-DICT-DESC
After doing those things, and again eating dinner,

hɛ́luŋ hí l̥ʌ́ go-u.
again letter look.at.IMPF DEON-INF
again (you) had to study.

(24) l̥ā-p, cít̪ap l̥ʌ́ go-u.
look.at.IMPF-INF book look.at.IMPF DEON-INF
To read, (you) have to read books.

(25) homwʌrk ci go-u.
homework do.IMPF DEON-INF
(You) have to do homework.

(26) sɛru yɛn čʰé-suŋ,
very tired occur.MAKE.PRF.DSJT-POBS
(You) are very tired, (but)

ɲı̀lok mɛ-ɲɛ-u, ṭákṭuk l̥á-suŋ, ɲı̀lok-u.
sleep NEG-find.IMPF-INF all look.at.PRF.DSJT-POBS sleep.IMPF-INF
(you) do not sleep, (you) read everything, (and then) sleep.

(27) ɲı̀lok-si-ma hɛ́luŋ napʰɛ-la čúǰɛ d̪ı̀n, ɟɛ̀,
sleep-DICT-DESC again morning hour seven eight
After sleeping, again at seven, eight in the morning,

tsʰòl-u-la lòŋ šı̀ŋ t̪ʰú tsʰòl-u la go-u.
search.IMPF-INF-LOC again wood collect search.IMPF-INF rise.PRF DEON-INF
in order to search, again (you) have to get up to look for and collect wood.

gunbula šı̀ŋ t̪ʰú ‘Collecting Wood in Winter’

(28) pʌrtsi gunbu hı́n-se.
sometimes winter COP.IMPF-AUG.GEN
Sometimes because it is winter,

šìŋ ʈʰú tsʰòl ɖɔ-p bɛlʌ,
wood collect.IMPF search.IMPF go.IMPF-INF time
when (you) go to gather wood,

hɛ́luŋ pómɔk kʰʌ́-la rɛ̃...
again frost top-LOC freeze.PTCPL
frost is freezing on top...

(29) pómɔk kʌ̀rmu ʈīki hoʈ-u kʰʌ́-la rʌ̀ŋ,
frost white spread.out COP.PRF-INF top-LOC even
White frost is spread out on top (of everything),

hɛ́luŋ kʌ̀ŋba katsarma ɖɔ go-u.
again foot barefoot go.IMPF DEON-INF
again (you) have to go barefoot.

(30) tso re-suŋ lòŋ,
how much freezing.cold.PRF.DSJT-POBS again
No matter how freezing cold it was, again

šìŋ, so-ŋ kʰʊ̀ŋ ʈí, rʌ̀ŋ kʰʌŋba hɔ-u.
wood greens-also bring.IMPF-PTCPL DEF only house come.PRF-INF
(you had to) bring wood and greens,and come home.

(31) so kʰurwu má ca kʰʌŋba hɔ-si,
greens load NEG.PRF do.PRF house come.PRF-DICT
If (you) do mot bring greens,

hɛluŋ mʌm-i pʌl-i sʌma me-ʈer-ci.
again mother-GEN father-GEN food NEG-give.impf.dsjt-dsj
mother and father will not feed (you).

ʤenɖi hoʈu bɛlʌ ‘When There is a Wedding’

(32) pʌrtsi ʤenɖi hoʈ-u bɛlʌ,
sometimes wedding COP.PRF-INF time
Sometimes, when there is a wedding,

ɖɔ-p sɛru rahu hoʈ-u.
go.IMPF-INF very thrilled COP.PRF-INF
(we) are very thrilled to go.

(33) ʤenɖi len-si, ʈákʈuk ɖʌ́lʤa ʈʰen-u ʈí.
wedding arrive.PTCPL-DICT all friend meet-INF DEF
If (you) arrive at a wedding, (you) meet all your friends.

(34) ʤenɖi len-si,
wedding arrive.PTCPL-DICT
If (you) arrive at a wedding,

sɛru tsɛ̀rmi tsɛ̄-p ɲɛ-ci ʈákʈuk ca-u.
very game play.IMPF-INF find.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ all do.PRF-INF
you get to play a lot with everybody.

(35) ʤenɖi-la, ʧʰé ʈákʈuk nʌ́ŋ-la ʧʰaŋ ʈʰŭŋ-u bɛlʌ,
wedding-LOC adult all inside-LOC beer drink.IMPF-INF time
At the wedding when all the parents are drinking beer inside,

ɲirʌŋ ʈákʈuk gɔla ɖɔkʈɔk ʈʰə̃m...
1PL.EXCL all outside kickbox fight.IMPF.PTCPL
we all (are) kickboxing outside...

(36) nupsip ɖɔkʈɔk ʈʰòp-u ɖé-n
night.time kickbox fight.IMPF-INF stay.IMPF-PTCPL
(We) kickfight all night long

ɲirʌŋ ɲì má ca,
1PL.EXCL sleep NEG.PRF do.PRF
and without sleep,

napʰela kʰʌŋba hɔ-u.
morning.early house come.PRF-INF
(we) come home early.

(37) hɛ́luŋ šì̀ŋ ʈʌ̄ŋ so-la ʈʰú go-u.
again wood with greens-LOC collect-IMPF DEON-INF
Again (you) have to collect wood and greens.

ʈòŋmʌr ráŋ ‘Rhododendron Juice’

(38) ʧʰúŋma bʌŋi hoʈ-u ʈí,
cattle lots.of COPP-INF def
(Because) there are a lot of cows,

so ʈʌ̄ŋ šíŋ-la má gál-si,
greens with wood-LOC NEG.PRF go.PRF-DICT
if (you) did not go for greens and wood,

ʧʰúŋma-la so méʈ-u ʈí.
cattle-LOC greens NEG.COP-INF DEF
there would be no greens for the cows.

(39) palɛ hín-si šìŋ ʈʰú gál-si,
one.time copi-dict wood collect go.prf-dict
Once I went to collect wood,

baisak-la hín ʈí ʈòŋmʌr mɛ́ɖɔk lɛmu šʌ́r-nɔk.
April-LOC COP.IMPF DEF rhododendron flower good bloom
it was in April, and good rhododendron was blooming.

(40) pale šìŋ ʈʰú gál-si, baisak re ji,
one.day wood collect go.PRF-DICT April around come.IMPF.DJST
One day I went to collect wood, coming around April

ʈòŋmʌr mɛ́ɖɔk yɛ́m šʌ́r-nɔk.
rhododendron flower lots bloom.PRF-MIR
and lots of rhododendron was blooming.

(41) sɛru ʈòŋmʌr mɛ́ɖɔk šʌ̏n nɔ́k.
very rhododendron flower bloom.PTCPL MIR
The rhododendron was very much blooming.

(42) pìpi kʰùn, ʈòŋmʌr mɛ́ɖɔk,
grass.straw bring.impf.ptcpl rhododendron flower
Bringing a grass pipe, rhododendron flowers,

pì̀pi kʰù̀n, ʈò̀ŋmʌr mé̤ɖɔk,
grass.straw bring.impf.ptcpl rhododendron flower
Bringing a grass pipe, rhododendron flowers,

ʈò̀ŋmʌr ráŋ čúǰɛ re ʈʰɛ̃n ʈʰuŋ-si.
rhododendron nectar hour about pull.IMPF.PTCPL drink.IMPF-DICT
(I) drank rhododendron juice for about an hour.

(43) ʈò̀ŋmʌr ráŋ kʰarmʌ nɔ́k.
rhododendron nectar strong MIR
The rhododendron juice was strong.

(44) ʌ̄la-i cè ʤí-suŋ.
quite.a.bit-INDEF moreover drunk.PRF.DSJT-POBS
I got real drunk.

(45) kʰʌŋba hɔ-si, go yɛ́m na-suŋ.
home come.PRF-DICT head lots sick.be.PRF.DSJT-POBS
Coming home, I got a bad headache.

(46) mʌm-i “kʌ́ŋ ca-suŋ?” sí-nɔk.
mother-GEN what do.PRF.DSJT-POBS say.IMPF.DSJT-MIR
Mother said, “What did you do?”

(47) “hé! “ʧʰʌmba ʈʌ jɛ́nʌ go na-suŋ.”
INTJ cold now stricken head sick.be.PRF.DSJT-POBS
“Oh! I caught a cold and have a headache.”

(48) ʈò̀ŋmʌr ráŋ ʈʰɛ̃n ʈʰŭŋ ɖɛ̃́-n,
rhododendron nectar pull.IMPF.PTCPL drink.IMPF-PTCPL stay.IMPF-PTCPL
I stayed drinking rhododendron juice,

sì̀ŋ kʰurwu má laŋʌ cã,
wood load NEG.PPF risen do.PRF.PTCPL
not getting a full load of wood,

go na-suŋ.
head sick.be.PRF.DSJT-POBS
and got a headache.

(49) mʌm-i, “tsila šìŋ ɖoke kʰū-n hɔ?” sa-suŋ.
mother-GEN why wood so.little carry-PTCPL come.PRF say.PRF.DSJT-POBS
Mother said, “Why (did you) bring so little wood?”

(50) “ʧʰʌmba ɟé-u tsʰàl-suŋ hɛ́luŋ go na-ci.”
cold strike.IMPF-INF search.PRF.DSJT-POBS again head sick.be-DSJ
“It feels like (I am) catching a cold, and (my) head hurts.”

(51) ʈʌ́ma mʌm-i ɲirmu má ca.
then mother-GEN angry NEG.PRF do.PRF.DSJT
Then mother did not get angry.

Jungle Chicken

(52) hɛ́luŋ pale yʌ̀ŋ ʤom gɔ́ʈʰe ɖɔ-ĭ
again one.day indeed yak.female shed go.IMPF-VOL
One day I was going to the yak shed

mʌr u-ne ʧʰúŋma ʤo gʌ́l-si.
down through-ABL cow graze go.PRF-DICT
to take the cows down to graze.

(53) ʈí bɛlʌ baisak-la yʌ̀ŋ ʈákʈuk šōluk pàm,
that time April-LOC indeed all leaf fall.down.PTCPL
That time in April, all the leaves are falling,

kʌ̀nosur šōluk ʈʌ̄ŋ šōluk ʈí rʌ̀ŋ šōluk kʌ̀mbu nɔ́k.
everywhere leaf with leaf DEF even leaf dry MIR
everywhere there are dry leaves.

(54) pʌ́le gɔmu šórip šórip-la
one.time night twilight twilight-LOC
One evening in the twilight

ríǰo šðr ɖo-ĭ-si gʌl-si.
jungle.chicken chase.IMPF.PTCPL go.IMPF-DUR.PTCPL-DICT go.PRF-DICT
(I) went to go chase jungle chickens.

(55) sʌ̀rʌŋ ʈɑ̄ŋ suruŋ sɨ́-nɔk.
rustling with rustling say.IMPF-MIR
It was making lots of noise.

(56) ɲɛ pála, rɨ́ǰo hɨ́n-ʈe nɔ́k, šɜ̏r gʌ́l-si.
1SG turn jumgle.chicken COP.IMPF-POSS MIR chase.PTCPL go.PRF-DICT
I thought it was a jungle chicken and I chased it.

(57) sʌ̀rʌŋ ʈɑ̄ŋ suruŋ ʈʰɛ̀n
rustling with rustling pulled.be.PTCPL
Moreover,I went chasing

ʈiŋ-la šɜ̏r gʌ́l-si cè.
behind-LOC chase.PTCPL go.PRF-DICT moreover
behind the noise.

(58) sʌ̀rʌŋ ʈɑ̄ŋ suruŋ sɨ́ lép-suŋ.
rustling with rustling say.IMPF.PTCPL arrive.PRF.DSJT-POBS
The noise came towards me.

(59) ɲɛ pála, rɨ́ǰo hɨ́n-ʈe nɔ́k.
1SG turn jungle.chicken COPI-POSS MIR
I thought it was a jungle chicken.

(60) hai hai sɨ́, ɟera kuk-si.
yell yell say.IMPF-PTCPL arm.trap apply.PRF-DICT
Yelling, I tried to trap it in my arms.

(61) háči ɲɛ lʌ́kp-i hóŋ-ne kɨ̄ čɨ̀ŋe ʈʰɛ̏n gál pe.
then 1SG arm-GEN underneath-ABL dog like pulled.be.PTCPL go.PRF.DSJT COMPL
Then something like a dog ran under my arms.

(62) ʈema ɖɨ́ŋ kʰà-suŋ.
smell risen smell.PRF.DSJT-POBS
I smelled it.

(63) ʈ̪ɛ́ma ʈ̪í sɛ́m-la ‘kʌ́ŋ hí̵n-nɔk?’
there.from DEF thought-LOC what COPI-MIR
After that I realized something.

(64) gɔ́ʈ̪ʰe ʧʰðŋ gʌl-ɾ̃.
cowshed run.PTCPL go.PRF-VOL
I ran to the cowshed.

(65) háči núp-la ʧʰúŋma sɛru pʰā̵r-suŋ.
then night-LOC cattle very afraid.be.prf.dsjt-pobs
Then that night animals were very scared.

(66) ɲire pála, l̪ai ʈ̪ʌ̄ŋ húi sɾ̃
1PL.GEN turn scream with shout say.IMPF.PTCPL
We made lots of noise

horu ʈ̪ʰɛ̃n ʧʰúŋma ʤʌma ʤo-ɾ̃.
noise pull.PTCPl cattle collected make.PRF-VOL
and collected the animals.

(67) ʈ̪í sʌla, ɖ̪aŋ ŋʌ ɟera ku ʈ̪è̵r-u
that tomorrow yesterday 1SG arm.trap apply.IMPF give.IMPF-INF
The next morning I went to where I thought the jungle chicken was,

l̪ʌ́ gʌ́l-si ɟera ku ɖ̪asa šì̵mse wɛ́.
look.at.IMPF go.PRF-DICT arm.trap apply.IMPF place muddy OBS
it was a muddy area.

(68) l̪ʌ́ gʌ́l-si, nè̵biyu ǰe nɔ́k.
look.at.IMPF go.PRF-DICT night.walker tracks mir
When I saw the tracks, they were tiger tracks.

(69) ʈ̪ɛ́ma ǰiwa la-ki, ʈ̪ɛ́ma ríǰo má šʌ̀r.
there.from fear rise.PRF-DSJ there.from jungle.chicken NEG.PRF chase.PRF
Since then I got scared and quit chasing jungle chicken.

‘The Corn Eating Bear’ *litsi sap ʈom*

(1) irwu lítsi ʈsð̌ hoʈ-u bɛlʌ,
summer corn ripe.PRF-PTCPL COP.PRF-INF time
In summer, when the corn was ripe,

níǰi tsʰɛrmuŋ núp-la ʈóm hɔ-ne,
one.day day night-LOC bear come.PRF-ABL
one day a bear came at night,

lítsi yɛ́m so-nɔk.
corn lots eat.PRF-MIR
and ate a lot of corn.

(2) ɲimʌ-la núpnup-i ʈóm-gi lítsi so-sǐ,
daily-LOC night.RD.ART bear-GEN corn eat.PRF-DICT.PTCPL
If talking about a bear eating corn in one night,

ʈɔ́ lítsi kɔʈʌ-i ɟē-u ʈí sʌ-i.
those corn cord-INDEF put.up-INF DEF eat.IMPF.DSJT-DSJ
it eats a cord of corn.

(3) níǰi tsʰɛrmuŋ é· pʌ́pčʰɛ gomʌ-i šiŋ-i kʰʌ́-la
one.day day INTJ uncle PROPER.MALE-GEN field-GEN top-LOC
Then one day to uncle Goma’s field

ʈóm hɔ-ne,
bear come.PRF-ABL
a bear came,

yɛ́m so-u-i-nɔk.
lots eat.PRF-INF-DUR-MIR
and ate a lot.

(4) lòŋ pʌ́pčʰɛ gomʌ-i
again uncle PROPER.MALE-GEN
Again, after having eaten

šiŋ-i kʰʌ́-la so-si-ma,
field-GEN top-LOC eat.PRF.-DICT-DESC
at Uncle Goma’s field,

ʈóm ʈí gál-ne,
bear FOC go.PRF-ABL
the bear went,

pʰò mukšɛle ɻamʌ-i šiŋ-i kʰʎ́-la so-nɔk.
yonder PROPER.PLACE PROPER.MALE-GEN field-GEN top-loc eat.PRF-MIR
and ate yonder at the field of Hlamawo from Mukshele.

(5) ʈʎ́ma ʈí lítsi so-u ŋirma,
then that corn eat.PRF-INF anger
Then angry at that corn having been eaten,

ʈí-ci, purʌtsiri ʈʌ̄ŋ mukšɛle ɻamʌwɔ,
3PL-GEN PROPER.NALE with PROPER.PLACE PROPER.MALE
they, Puratsiri and Hlamawo from Muksheke,

ʈóm-gi ǰe tsʰà ɕʰɛ̀n gʎ́l-u-i-nɔk.
bear-GEN track search.PRF follow.PTCPL go.PRF-INF-DUR-MIR
went and followed the bear tracks.

(6) tsʰà ɕʰɛ̀n ʈʌ̄ŋ ɕʰɛ̀ gʎ́l-si-ma,
search.PRF follow.PTCPL with follow.PTCPL go.PRF-DICT-DESC
After following the tracks,

mʎ́mumʌmu naʈuŋ ɖiŋ-la lép-si-ma,
way.far.down forest within-LOC arrive-DICT-DESC
and after arriving deep in the forest,

ɻā-ĭ ʈʌ̄ŋ ɻā-ĭ gʎ́l-u ʈí
look-DUR.PTCPL with look-DUR.PTCPL go.PRF-INF DEF
they look around and saw

ʈóm ʈí ɖa-ne,
bear DEF full-ABL
the bear, who from being full,

nì̀lʌŋ ɖéʈ-u-i-nɔk.
asleep stay-INF-DUR-MIR
was asleep.

(7) ʈʌ́ma ɭā-ɾ̃ ɭā-ɾ̃ ɭā-ɾ̃ gʌ́l-si-ma,
then look-DUR.PTCPL look-DUR.PTCPL look-DUR.PTCPL go.PRF-DICT-DESC
Then after having looked around a while,

nì-kʌr ʈóm-gi tsa-la ʈʰēn-u-i-nɔk.
two-COL bear-GEN near-LOC pull-INF-DUR-MIR
both of them got close to the bear.

(8) ʈʌ́ma ʈóm-gi tsa-la ʈʰēn-si-ma,
then bear-GEN near-LOC pull-DICT-DESC
Then after getting close to the bear,

nì-kʌr pʰār-ne,
two-COL afraid.be-ABL
both of them from being afraid,

hāi ʈʌ̄ŋ húi sa-u ʈʊ̃,
hai with hui say.PRF-INF hear-PTCPL
uttered yells and hearing them,

ʈóm ʈʲí kʰòk la-nɔk.
bear DEF upright rise.PRF-MIR
the bear got up.

(9) ʈóm kʰòk la-si-mʌ,
bear upright rise.prf-DICT-DESC
After the bear got up,

ʈʰul-la si-sɾ̃
downhill-LOC say.IMPF-DICT.PTCPL
if talking about downhill,

ʈak sʌ̄ri hoʈ-u-i-nɔk.
cliff sheer exist.INF-DUR-MIR
there was a sheer cliff.

(10) ʈóm ʈʰul-la ʧʰóŋbal ɟém ɖɔ-p lam
bear downhill-LOC jump strike-PTCPL go-INF path
After the bear did not find a way

má ɲé-si-ma,
NEG.PRF find.PRF-DICT-DESC
to go downhill,

ʈóm ʈí yɛ́p ʈí ʈí-wɔ-la pʰē̄ hɔ-i-nɔk.
bear DEF upward DEF 3-PL-LOC bite come.DUR.MIR
the bear was coming upward to bite.

(11) pʰē̄ hɔ-si-ma,
bite come.PRF-DICT-DESC
After it came to bite,

mukšɛle ɭʌma-i bɛlʌ
PROPER.PLACE PROPER.MALE-GEN time
Hlamawo from Mukshele slashed

kùrpʌ ʈʰʒ̃ gʌp ɟep-u-i-nɔk.
knife use.PTCPL slash strike-INF-DUR-MIR
with his knife.

(12) ʤʌ́n ʈɔi ca-si-ma,
more.over those do.PRF-DICT-DESC
Even more after having done that,

ʈom ɲirmʌ-la mukšɛle ɭamawɔ-la pʰèʈ-u-i-nɔk.
bear anger-LOC PROPER.PLACE PROPER.MALE-LOC bite-INF-DUR-MIR
the bear, from anger, was biting Hlamawo from Mukshele.

(13) mukšɛle ɭamawɔ-la pʰè-si-ma,
PROPER.PLACE PROPER.MALE-LOC bite.PRF-DICT-DESC
After Hlamawo from Mukshele was bitten,

purʌtsiri ʈí-ci bɛlʌ ɭài ʈʌ̄ŋ ɭài sĩ̌ ʈʌ̄ŋ
PROPER.MALE 3SG-GEN time hlai with hlai say.IMPF.PTCPL with
Puratsiri was then screaming and

kurpʌ ʧʰʌ̀r-u-i-nɔk.
knife slash.INF-INF-DUR-MIR
slashing with his knife.

(14) hǎ́či ʈɔi ca-si-ma,
next those do.PRF-DICT-DESC
After doing those things,

ʈʌma ʈom ʈí-la purʌtsiri kʰurpa jʌp ma cè-si-ma,
then bear DEF-LOC PROPER.MALE knife slash NEG deliver.DICT-DESC
then after Puratsiri could not strike the bear with his slashes,

jʌp ʈʌ̄ŋ gup kʰurpa ʧʰar-si-ma,
slash with slash knife slash-DICT-DESC
after slashing with his knife,

háčʰi ʈóm ʈí ʈʰul-la ʈʒ gal-nɔk.
next bear DEF downhill-LOC run.PTCPL go.PRF.DSJT-MIR
then the bear ran downhill.

(15) ʈɔi ca-si-ma,
those do.PRF.-DICT-DESC
After those things had been done,

mukšɛle ɻamawɔ-la ʧʰʌ̀r-u-la gʌ́rak guruk ʤo-ne,
PROPER.PLACE PROPER.MALE-LOC slash-INF-LOC scratch scratch do.PRF-ABL
and after Hlamawo from Mukshele was scratch up,

ʈʌma purʌtsiri ʈíci bɛlʌ mukšɛle ɻʌmawɔ kʰūr-ne
then PROPER.MALE 3SG time PROPER.PLACE PROPER.MALE carry-ABL
then Puratsiri carried Hlamawo from Mukshele

pɛ̀kamba gal-nɔk.
back.shoulder go.PRF.DSJT-MIR
on his back.

(16) mukšɛle ɻʌmawɔ kʰaŋbʌ lép-si-ma,
PROPER.PLACE PROPER.MALE house arrive.DICT-DESC
After Hlamawo from Mukshele arrived home,

la sù̀m na-u-i-nɔk.
month three sick.be.INF-DUR-MIR
he was sick for three months.

Word List

ENGLISH - SHERPA

#	
1PL.EXCL	ɲirʌŋ
1PL.EXCL.GEN	ɲire
1PL.INCL	ɖ́ʌkpu
1PL.INCL-GEN	ɖ́ʌkp-i
1SG	ŋʌ
1SG.GEN	ɲɛ
2PL	cʰírʌŋ
2PL.GEN	cʰíre
2SG	cʰuruŋ
2SG.GEN	cʰɔre
3-PL	ʈí-wɔ
3-PL-GEN	ʈí-w-i
3SG	ʈí
3SG.GEN	kʰóre
3SG-GEN	ʈí-ci
A	
a.bit.later-LOC	kur-la
-ABL	-ne
about	re
admission	borʌnʌ
afraid.be.IMPER	pʰār
afraid.be.IMPF-DSJ	pʰʌ̄r-ci
afraid.be.IMPF-INF	pʰʌ̄r-u
afraid.be.IMPF-VOL	pʰār-ĩ
afraid.be.PRF-INF	pʰār-u
afraid.be.PRF-POBS	pʰār-suŋ
afraid.be.PRF-VOL	pʰār-ĩ
after	ʈìru
after/later/at.last	ǰúk
again	hɛ́luŋ
again	lùŋ
again/return	lòŋ
aged	gawa gowa
ago	nūŋla
all	ʈèru
all	ʈák
All right! (Look, then!)	lɔ̄ ʈʌ́ma
all.right	lou
all/everybody	ʈákʈuk
along	ʈʰʌl
also	lʌ̀ŋ
although/while	lensi
always/ever	nʌ́msʌŋ
anger	ɲirma
anger do.PRF-INF	ɲirma ca-u
angry	ɲirmu
animal food/ greens/food	so
ant	ʈóŋmaŋ
apple.tree	šʌu
apply/perform.IMPER	kù
apply/perform.IMPF-DSJ	kù-ci
apply/perform.IMPF-INF	kùʈ-u
apply/perform.IMPF-VOL	kùʈ-ĩ
apply/perform.PRF-INF	kùk-u
apply/perform.PRF-POBS	kù-suŋ
apply/perform.PRF-VOL	kùk-ĩ
apron.back	ɟapʈil
apron.front	ɖoŋʈil
arborvite	šukpa
depression/corner	buk
around	kora
arrive.PRF-INF	lép-u
arrive.PRF-MIR	lém-nɔk
arrive.PRF-POBS	lép-suŋ
arrow.bow	ǰu
arrow/arrow.point'bow	ɖ́ʌ́
ask.IMPER	ʈi
ask.IMPF-DSJ	ʈi-i
ask.IMPF-INF	ʈi-u
ask.IMPF-VOL	ʈi-ĩ
ask.PRF-INF	ʈiʈ-u
ask.PRF-POBS	ʈi-suŋ
ask.PRF-VOL	ʈiʈ-ĩ
ask-MIR	ʈi-nɔk
assertive	yʌ̀ŋ
attract.root	lì

aunt/fath.bro.wife/ mom.young.sis	uru
aunt/father.sis/ moth.bro.wife	ʌní
axe	ʈèri
B	
baby	ʌ́ŋa
back.animal	ʤura
back.lower/backside/ waist	cèlɖʌŋ
back.shoulder	pɛ̀kamba
backside	ɟɛ́p
bad.luck/curse/sin	ɖíkpa
bad/ugly/rough	mɛlwa
bad/wrong/evil	mélʌkpa
badmouth	čʰʌpče
badmouth do.IMPF-INF	čʰʌpče cir-u
badmouth.IMPER	mɔ́
badmouth.IMPF-DSJ	mɔ́-ci
badmouth.IMPF-INF	mɔ́ʈ-u
badmouth.IMPF-VOL	mɔ́ʈ-ĩ
badmouth.PRF-INF	mɔ́-u
badmouth.PRF-POBS	mɔ́-suŋ
badmouth.PRF-VOL	mɔ́-ĩ
bake.IMPF-DSJ	cè-i
bamboo.big	pʌ̄ʈip
bamboo.joint/elbow/ joint	tsʰí
bamboo.small	ɲuŋmʌ
barley.fry.grind	pak
barley.short.grain	ná
basement	hɔŋʌhɔk
basket	šom
basket	ʈolum
basket.net	tsèuŋ
bat	pʰōmiʈɔʈɔk
be.full.IMPF-INF	ɖʌ-u
be.full.PRF-DSJ	ɖʌ́-i
be.full-abl	ɖa-ne
bead/onyx	ʤi
bean.string	pɛrʌtsi
bear	ʈóm
beard/mustache	ɟerɔk
beat.IMPER	ɖu
beat.IMPF-DSJ	ɖuŋ-i
beat.IMPF-INF	ɖuŋ-u
beat.IMPF-VOL	ɖuŋ-ĩ
beat.PRF-INF	ɖu-u
beat.PRF-POBS	ɖu-suŋ
beat.PRF-VOL	ɖu-ĩ
beautiful/handsome	ʤemu
bed	kar
bee	šìrʌŋ
beer	čʰaŋ
before	hʌ̀na
before/previously	kʰʌ́rtse
begonia	ɖʌpsuŋ
behind	ʈìŋ
belief	pʌʈe
belief do.PRF-INF	pʌʈe ca-u
belly	kʰɔ̀kpa
below-LOC	cʰɛ-la
bench.bedN	kʰaʈ
bend(t).IMPER	guk
bend(t).IMPF-DSJ	gu-i
bend(t).IMPF-INF	gu-u
bend(t).IMPF-VOL	gu-ĩ
bend(t).PRF-INF	guk-u
bend(t).PRF-POBS	guk-suŋ
bend(t).PRF-VOL	gu-ĩ
bent.over (old person)	kúkše
best	ɖʌmba
between	pʌr
big	ɟerpu
big tea pot	ʈìpli
birch.white	ʈakpa
bird.gen	čɛ́
bird/chicken	čʌ́
bite.IMPER	pʰè
bite.IMPF-DSJ	pʰèʈ-i
bite.IMPF-INF	pʰèʈ-u
bite.IMPF-VOL	pʰèʈ-ĩ
bite.PRF-INF	pʰèʈ-u
bite.PRF-POBS	pʰè-suŋ
bite.PRF-VOL	pʰèʈ-ĩ
bitter	kʰakʈi
black	nʌkpu
blanket	šìrɔk
blood	ʈʰʌ̄k
blow.on.IMPER	pu
blow.on.IMPF-DSJ	pu-ci
blow.on.IMPF-INF	puʈ-u

blow.on.IMPF-VOL	puʈ̪-ĩ
blow.on.PRF-INF	pu-u
blow.on.PRF-POBS	pu-suŋ
blow.on.PRF-VOL	pu-ĩ
blue	ŋunbu
boat	ʈ̪ù
body	ʤu
boil(t).IMPER	ɻ̥ɔ̀k
boil(t).IMPF-DSJ	ɻ̥ʌ̀-i
boil(t).IMPF-INF	ɻ̥à-u
boil(t).IMPF-VOL	ɻ̥ʌ̀-ĩ
boil(t).PRF-INF	ɻ̥àk-u
boil(t).PRF-POBS	ɻ̥à-suŋ
boil(t).PRF-VOL	ɻ̥ʌ̀k-ĩ
bone	rúwɔk
book	pʌsʈ̪uk
book	pèǰa
book	cíʈ̪ap
boss/parents/priests/ senior/adult	ʧʰɛ́
both	ɲì-kʌr
bottle	šìši
bottle/ container.bamboo	pòŋ
bowl.copper	gàŋ
bowl.for.rice	cú
bowl.silver	ɖ̪ɛ̀rmʌŋ
box.general	gam
boy	cʰɔkpeʤa
brain	ɻ̥ɛ̀ʈ̪ʌ
branch	haŋa
bread	kūr
break(i).IMPF-DSJ	ʧʰʌ̀-i
break(i).IMPF-INF	ʧʰò-u
break(i).PRF-INF	ʧʰàŋ-u
break(i).PRF-POBS	ʧʰàŋ-suŋ
break(t).IMPER	ʧʰak
break(t).IMPF-DSJ	ʧʰo-i
break(t).IMPF-INF	ʧʰo-u
break(t).IMPF-VOL	ʧʰo-ĩ
break(t).PRF-INF	ʧʰak-u
break(t).PRF-POBS	ʧʰak-suŋ
break(t).PRF-VOL	ʧʰʌ-ĩ
breakfast	ʤʌra
breath	ù
breeze	lúŋ
bride	nʌ̀ma
bridegroom	mʌ́kpa
bridge	sámba
bring.IMPER	kʰɔ̀
bring.IMPF-DSJ	kʰùŋ-gi
bring.IMPF-INF	kʰùŋ-u
bring.IMPF-VOL	kʰùŋ-ĩ
bring.PRF-INF	kʰɔ̀-u
bring.PRF-POBS	kʰɔ̀-suŋ
bring.PRF-VOL	kʰɔ̀-ĩ
broth/soup/lentils	pà
brother&sister	nupnum
brother.elder	ʌčʊ
brother.younger	nup
bucket.milk	ǰeʈ̪ʰum
bucket.water	ɖ̪íŋar
buffalo.water	mɛ́ši
bug/insect/grub	bu
bull	làŋ
burn/bake(t).IMPER	ɻ̥ɛ̀k
burn/bake(t).IMPF-DSJ	ɻ̥è-ci
burn/bake(t).IMPF-INF	ɻ̥è-u
burn/bake(t).IMPF-VOL	ɻ̥è-ĩ
burn/bake(t).PRF-INF	ɻ̥ɛ̀-u
burn/bake(t).PRF-POBS	ɻ̥ɛ̀-suŋ
burn/bake(t).PRF-VOL	ɻ̥ɛ̀-ĩ
burnt	bamʌ
burst.apart(i).IMPF-DSJ	kʌl-gi
burst.apart(i).IMPF-INF	kʌl-u
burst.apart(i).PRF-INF	kal-u
burst.apart(i).PRF-POBS	kal-suŋ
bush.green	purumaŋ
bush.red	bartsaŋ
butter/ghee	már
butterfly	pólɛk
buy.IMPER	ɲɔ́
buy.IMPF-DSJ	ɲʌ́-i
buy.IMPF-INF	ɲɔ́-p
buy.IMPF-VOL	ɲɔ́-ĩ
buy.PRF-INF	ɲɔ́-u
buy.PRF-POBS	ɲɔ́-suŋ
buy.PRF-VOL	ɲɔ́-ĩ
C	
calf	píu
candle.butter	ʧʰòmin
candle.reg	mòmbʌʈ̪i

carpet	ɖɛn
carry.IMPER	kʰū
carry.IMPF-DSJ	kʰūr-ci
carry.IMPF-INF	kʰūr-u
carry.IMPF-VOL	kʰūr-ĩ
carry.PRF-INF	kʰūr-u
carry.PRF-POBS	kʰūr-suŋ
carry.PRF-VOL	kʰūr-ĩ
cat	bɛ́rmʌŋ
cat female	bɛ́rmʌŋ hʌmuŋ
cat male	bɛ́rmʌŋ hʌu
catch/grab.IMPER	ʤím
catch/grab.IMPF-DSJ	ʤím-gi
catch/grab.IMPF-INF	ʤím-u
catch/grab.IMPF-VOL	ʤím-ĩ
catch/grab.PRF-INF	ʤím-u
catch/grab.PRF-POBS	ʤím-suŋ
catch/grab.PRF-VOL	ʤím-ĩ
caterpillar	bu tsʰìkpʌ
cat-GEN	bɛ́rm-i
cause.IMPER	číɻ̱
cause.IMPF-DSJ	ǰí-ci
cause.IMPF-INF	ǰíɻ̱-u
cause.IMPF-VOL	ǰíɻ̱-ĩ
cause.PRF-INF	číɻ̱-u
cause.PRF-POBS	čí-suŋ
cause.PRF-VOL	číɻ̱-ĩ
cave (ledge-gen under)	ʈʌ́-i hɔk
centi/milliped	gaʤura
char.PRF-MIR	tsìm-nɔk
chase.IMPER	šʌ̀r
chase.IMPF-DSJ	šòr-ci
chase.IMPF-INF	šòr-u
chase.IMPF-VOL	šòr-ĩ
chase.PRF-INF	šʌ̀r-u
chase.PRF-POBS	šʌ̀r-šuŋ
chase.PRF-VOL	šʌ̀r-i
cheek	ɖamba
cherry	sese
chest	tsʰɛkɔk
chew/sip.IMPER	ǰíp
chew/sip.IMPF-DSJ	ǰíp-ci
chew/sip.IMPF-INF	ǰíp-u
chew/sip.IMPF-VOL	ǰíp-ĩ
chew/sip.PRF-INF	ǰíp-u
chew/sip.PRF-POBS	ǰíp-suŋ
chew/sip.PRF-VOL	ǰíp-ĩ
chick	čʌ́pruk
chickadee	ʈanʌpiu
child(ren)	peʤa
child.young	ʌ̀ŋa
chili.pepper	mʌ̀rtsi
chisel	ʤoŋ
cicada	čorɛŋ
cinder.ash	tsʰì̀kpa
circle.around.IMPER	kor
circle.around.IMPF-DSJ	kor-ci
circle.around.IMPF-INF	kor-u
circle.around.IMPF-VOL	kor-ĩ
circle.around.PRF-INF	kor-u
circle.around.PRF-POBS	kor-suŋ
circle.around.PRF-VOL	kor-ĩ
claw	ɖersʌŋ
clean	tsèŋa
clear	ʈʰʌ̀k
cliff/boulder	ʈʰak
climb.IMPER	ʤɛ́
climb.IMPF-DSJ	ʤé-ci
climb.IMPF-INF	ʤér-u
climb.IMPF-VOL	ʤé-ĩ
climb.on.IMPER	čūr
climb.on.IMPF-DSJ	čūr-ci
climb.on.IMPF-INF	čūr-u
climb.on.IMPF-VOL	čūr-ĩ
climb.on.PRF-INF	čūr-u
climb.on.PRF-POBS	čūr-suŋ
climb.on.PRF-VOL	čūr-ĩ
climb.PRF-INF	ʤɛ́-u
climb.PRF-POBS	ʤɛ́-suŋ
climb.PRF-VOL	ʤɛ́-ĩ
close(t).IMPER	čèɻ̱
close(t).IMPF/PRF-INF	čèɻ̱-u
close(t).IMPF/PRF-VOL	čèɻ̱-ĩ
close(t).IMPF-DSJ	čè-ci
close(t).PRF-POBS	čè-suŋ
cloth	ra
cloth.rough.wool	gumrari
clothes	mʌǰa
clothes.man	čubak
clothing.male	ɖorʌ
clothing.type	čupa
cloud/fog	mùkpa

coat ʧʰowa
cobra rùluʧʰɛ
cockaroach bir
coffee kàpʰi
coin ʈola
cold ʈeŋʌ
cold(sick) ʧʰʌmba
collect(t) ʈʰú
collect.IMPER-AUG ru-sa
collect/pile.up.imper ru
collected ʤʌma
comb šiša
come.IMPER šō̃k
come.IMPF-DSJ gi
come.IMPF-INF huŋ-u
come.IMPF-VOL hɔŋ-ĩ̃
come.PRF-INF hɔ-u
come.PRF-POBS hɔ-suŋ
come.PRF-VOL hɔ-ĩ̃
comfort.IMPER-AUG lu-sa
comfort.IMPF-DSJ lu-i
comfort.IMPF-INF lɔ-p
comfort.IMPF-VOL lɔ-ĩ̃
comfort.PRF-POBS luk-suŋ.
completely (PreV) ɹaŋ
COMPR/compared.to/ever/although sínʌŋ
compromise/agreement ɖikpa
cooked.cornrice lítsi kʰakšir
cooking area puci
cool ʧʰéwa
COP.IMPF hín
COP.PRF-INF hoʈ-u
copper sa
cord-ART kɔʈʌ-i
corn lítsi
corn.ground kʰākšir
corpse ro
correct ɖemba
cost/price rin
cotton.dry ɽa
count.IMPER ŋɔ̀
count.IMPF-DSJ ŋɔ̀-i.
count.IMPF-INF ŋɔ̀-p
count.IMPF-VOL ŋɔ̀-ĩ̃.
count.PRF-INF ŋɔ̀-p
count.PRF-POBS ŋɔ̀-suŋ
count.PRF-VOL ŋɔ̀-ĩ̃
country/land/turf luŋba
couple/spouse nʌ̀nʤaŋ
cow pʌ́lʌŋ
cow/cattle/animal ʧʰúŋma
cowshed gɔ́ʈʰe
creek tsʌŋbu ʈíkpe
cricket/mantis pɛʈʰɛkpa
crooked kōkɔrɔk
cross/jump.over gom
crow kʌlʌk
crowbar ǰambʌl
crowd.together-PTCPL tsʰɜ̄̃
crowded/bunched.up tsʰùm
CRSM ʤʌ
cucumber puri
cup ʧɛ̀ni
curly ʤikɔrɔk
curry ʤanʌ
cut.through(i) ʧʰè-suŋ
cut.through(i)IMPF-DSJ ʧʰè-ci
cut.through(t).IMPER ʧèʈ
cut.through(t).IMPF/PRF-INF ʧèʈ-u
cut.through(t).IMPF/PRF-VOL ʧèʈ-ĩ̃
cut.through(t).IMPF-DSJ ʧè-ci
cut.through(t).PRF-POBS ʧè-suŋ
cymbals bukšɛl

D

daily ɲímʌ
daisy.like.flower bonmarʌ
damp.wet lɛ̀mba
dance.IMPER ʧʰòm
dance.IMPF-DSJ ʧʰòm-gi
dance.IMPF-INF ʧʰòm-u
dance.IMPF-VOL ʧʰòm-ĩ̃
dance.PRF-INF ʧʰʌ̀m-u
dance.PRF-POBS ʧʰàm-suŋ
dance.PRF-VOL ʧʰàm-ĩ̃
dance.type širu
dark/dusk/darkness nʌkʤup
day ɲimi
day/daytime tsʰɛrmuŋ
day/sun ɲima

daylight	ɲǐmu
days.past	kartse
deer	ʈɛ̀šu
deer.whitetail	kášɛ
deliver.IMPER	cɔ̀l
deliver.IMPF-DSJ	còl-gi
deliver.IMPF-INF	còl-u
deliver.IMPF-VOL	còl-ĩ
deliver.PRF-INF	cɛ̀l-u
deliver.PRF-POBS	cɛ̀l-suŋ
deliver.PRF-VOL	cɛ̀l-ĩ
DEM	ʈǐ́
DEM.-LOC	ʈǐ́-la
DEM.PL-ART	ʈɔ́-i
DEM-GEN	ʈǐ́-ci
DEON-DSJ	go-i
DEON-INF	go-u
DEON-POBS	go-suŋ
depart.IMPF-INF	ce-u
depart.PTCPL	cɛ̃
depression, deep spot	bū̄cok
desire	ɖɛ
desire-GEN	rar-ci
destroy(i).IMPF-DSJ	rʌ́m-gi
destroy(i).IMPF-INF	rʌ́m-u
destroy(i).PRF-INF	rám-u
destroy(i).PRF-POBS	rám-suŋ
destroy(t).IMPER	ɽʌ̀m
destroy(t).IMPF-DSJ	ɽùm-gi
destroy(t).IMPF-INF	ɽòm-u
destroy(t).IMPF-VOL	ɽʌ̀m-ĩ
destroy(t).PRF-INF	ɽʌ̀m-u
destroy(t).PRF-POBS	ɽʌ̀m-suŋ
destroy(t).PRF-VOL	ɽʌ̀m-ĩ
destruction	naʈʌŋ
diddlesquat	kʌsim
die.DSJ	šī
die.IMPER	šī
die-INF	šɛ̄-p
die-MIR	šī-nɔk
die-POBS	šī-suŋ
different/various	kúʈuk kúʈuk
dig(field)/steal.IMPER	kù
dig(field)/steal.IMPF-DSJ	kɔ̀-i
dig(field)/steal.IMPF-INF	kɔ̀-p
dig(field)/steal.IMPF-VOL	kɔ̀-ĩ
dig(field)/steal.PRF-INF	kùn-u
dig(field)/steal.PRF-POBS	kɔ̀-suŋ
dig(field)/steal.PRF-VOL	kùn-ĩ
dig(hole).IMPER	ʈu
dig(hole).IMPF-DSJ	ɖu-i
dig(hole).IMPF-INF	ɖu-u
dig(hole).IMPF-VOL	ɖu-ĩ
dig(hole).PRF	ʈuk
dig(hole).PRF-INF	ʈu-u
dig(hole).PRF-POBS	ʈu-suŋ
dig(hole).PRF-VOL	ʈu-ĩ
dirty	mètsʌŋ
disappear.IMP-DSJ	ʈòr-ci
disappear.PRF-INF	ʈō̄r-u
disappear.PRF-POBS	ʈòr-suŋ
disease	nerpa
do.IMPER	ci
do.IMPF.DSJ	ci
do.IMPF-INF	cir-u
do.IMPF-VOL	cir-ĩ
do.PRF-INF	ca-u
do.PRF-POBS	ca-suŋ
do.PRF-VOL	ca-ĩ
dog	cī
dog female	cī hamuŋ
dog male	cī hʌu
door	gɔ́
double teeth	ɖare
dough	ʈamɖɔk
down	mʌr
down	mð
downhill	ʈʰul
dream	mì̀lʌm
dress.woman	ʌŋgi
drink.IMPER	ʈʰuŋ
drink.IMPF-DSJ	ʈʰuŋ-i
drink.IMPF-INF	ʈʰuŋ-u
drink.IMPF-VOL	ʈʰuŋ-ĩ
drink.PRF-INF	ʈʰuŋ-u
drink.PRF-POBS	ʈʰuŋ-suŋ
drink.PRF-VOL	ʈʰuŋ-ĩ
drum	ŋʌ̀
drunk.PRF-POBS	ʤǐ́-suŋ
dry	kʌ̀mbu
dry.out(t).IMPER	kʌ̀m

dry.out(t).IMPF-DSJ gom-gi
dry.out(t).IMPF-INF gom-u
dry.out(t).IMPF-VOL gom-ĭ
dry.out(t).PRF-INF kʌ̀mu
dry.out(t).PRF-POBS kʌ̀m-suŋ
dry.out(t).PRF-VOL kʌ̀mi
duck ɖʌmǰa
dung.cow/yak če
E
eagle bákuli
ear nʌ̀mǰok
earring māli
earthquake sʌ́i
earthworm bu ɟélɖʌŋ
east.sunrise šʌr
easy ʤol̥omu
eat.IMPER sɔ
eat.IMPF-DSJ sʌ-i
eat.IMPF-INF sa-p
eat.IMPF-VOL sa-ĭ
eat.PRF-INF so-u
eat.PRF-POBS so-suŋ
eat.PRF-VOL so-ĭ
egg čɛ́ méɖɔk
eight ɟɛ́
eighteen čʌ́pcɛ
eighth ɟè-pa
eighty kʰʌ́lɟɛ
elephant lʌŋbu
eleven čùčik
EMPH -sa
enough/too.much l̥ʌ̀kpa
enter.IMPER šù
enter.IMPF-DSJ šù-i
enter.IMPF-INF šù-u
enter.IMPF-VOL šù-ĭ
enter.PRF-INF šù-u
enter.PRF-POBS šù-suŋ
enter.PRF-VOL šù-ĭ
escape (preV) píšʌn
ethnic.group guruŋ
ethnic.group rai
ethnic.group raini
ETHNIC.GROUP ʈamaŋ
ethnic.language ɖoŋmu
every/each ʈ̬ɛŋ
expensive.too kormu
extend.IMPF-DSJ ʈʰen-gi
extend.IMPF-INF ʈʰen-u
extend.PRF-INF ʈʰen-u
extend.PRF-POBS ʈʰen-suŋ
eye mì̀k
eyebrow/antenna mibur
F
face čʰʌ́ŋa
face ŋoʈuŋ
fall.down/off.IMPER lúm
fall.down/off.IMPF-DSJ lúm-gi
fall.down/off.IMPF-INF lúm-u
fall.down/off.IMPF-VOL lúm-ĭ
fall.down/off.PRF-INF lúm-u
fall.down/off.PRF-POBS lúm-suŋ
fall.down/off.PRF-VOL lúm-ĭ
fall/get.down.IMPER pàp
fall/get.down.IMPF-DSJ pò-ci
fall/get.down.IMPF-INF pòp-u
fall/get.down.IMPF-VOL pòp-ĭ
fall/get.down.PRF-INF pàp-u
fall/get.down.PRF-POBS pʌ̀p-suŋ
fall/get.down.PRF-VOL pàp-i
family ʤan
far pʰā
far away pʰā pʰò
father pʌ̀lu
father pʌ̀pa
father-in-law mém
fear ǰiwa
feather pùšok
feelings/spirit/thought sɛ́m
female hʌmuŋ
fence/enclosure kʰór
fern ʈɔkʤɔk
few-art tsɛ̀-i
fiddle.fern búculuk
field/land šiŋ
fifteen čéŋa
fifty kʰʌ̀lŋa
fight.impf.ptcpl ʈʰàm
fight/dispute kʰʌ̀nɖʌp
fight-inf ʈʰòp-u
fill.PRF-POBS cɛn-suŋ.
finally bʌlʌbʌlʌ

find.IMPER	ɲɛ(t̪)
find.IMPF-DSJ	ɲɛ-ci
find.IMPF-INF	ɲɛ-u
find.IMPF-VOL	ɲɛ-ĩ
find.PRF-INF	ɲɛt̪-u
find.PRF-POBS	ɲɛ-suŋ
find.PRF-VOL	ɲɛt̪-ĩ
finger	t̪ʰɛ̄pt̪ɔk
finish.IMPER	sin
finish.IMPF-DSJ	sin-gi
finish.IMPF-INF	sin-u
finish.IMPF-VOL	sin-ĩ
finish.PRF-INF	sin-u
finish.PRF-POBS	sin-suŋ
finish.PRF-VOL	sin-ĩ
fire	mé
fire set.PRF-INF	mé ɟép-u
fire.gen	mé
fireplace	t̪ʰap
first	čì̀k-pa
first	gomala
first.time	mórok
fish	ɲʌ
fish	màtsʌ
fish.gen	ɲɛ
fist	ɔ́kt̪um
five	ŋà
flare.up.IMPF-INF	bʌr-u
flea	cì̀šik
floating.thing	ǰā
flood.prf-pobs	ɟa-suŋ
flour	pʰē
flower/egg	mɛ́d̪ɔk
flower/rhododen.small	kʌlma
flute	lù̀mu
flute.long	ɟeliŋ
flute.short	lù̀muŋ
fly	rʌŋmʌŋ
fly.IMPER	pʰù̀r
fly.IMPF-DSJ	pʰù̀r-ci
fly.IMPF-INF	pʰù̀r-u
fly.IMPF-VOL	pʰù̀r-ĩ
fly.PRF-INF	pʰù̀r-u
fly.PRF-POBS	pʰù̀r-suŋ
fly.PRF-VOL	pʰù̀r-ĩ
follow.PTCPL	t̪ì̀
follow-PTCPL	t̪ì̀-n
food	sʌma
forehead	t̪ʌla
foreigner	mì̀k kʌ̀rwu
forest,jungle	naţuŋ
forget.PRF-DSJ	ǰe-ci
forget.PRF-INF	ǰe-u
forget.PRF-MIR	ǰe-nɔk
forty	kʰalǰi
four	ǰi
fourteen	čupǰi
fox	kɔ̀r
freeze(i).IMPF-DSJ	cʰè-i
freeze(i).IMPF-INF	cʰè-u
freeze(i).PRF-INF	čʰɛ̀ŋ-u
freeze(i).PRF-POBS	čʰɛ̀ŋ-suŋ
freezing.cold.IMPF.PTCPL	rɛ̃
freezing.cold.PRF-POBS	re-suŋ
friend	d̪ʌ́ldza
friends.be-INF	t̪inu
frog.long.leg	t̪ʰuŋʌŋ
frog.short.legs	bʌlwa
frost	pómɔk
fruit.peachy	pɔmiald̪ɔk
fry.pan.IMPER	lʌ̀m
fry.pan.IMPF-DSJ	lɔ̀m-gi
fry.pan.IMPF-INF	lɔ̀mu
fry.pan.IMPF-VOL	lɔ̀m-ĩ
fry.pan.PRF-INF	lʌ̀m-u
fry.pan.PRF-POBS	lʌ̀m-gi
fry.pan.PRF-VOL	lʌ̀m-ĩ
frying pan	t̪ʌpce
full	laŋʌ
funeral	ɟewɔ
funeral.ceremony	čʰáŋd̪a
G	
game	tsɛ̀rmi
garbage	salmʌ
garlic, onion	gɔkpa
gather(potatoes).IMPER	lʌ̀m
gather(potatoes).IMPF-DSJ	lɔ̀m-gi
gather(potatoes).IMPF-INF	lɔ̀mu
gather(potatoes).IMPF-VOL	lɔ̀m-ĩ

gather(potatoes).PRF-INF lʌ̀m-u
gather(potatoes).PRF-POBS lʌ̀m-gi
gather(potatoes).PRF-VOL lʌ̀m-ĩ
get.along.IMPF-INF ʈ̪ʰin-u
getalong.IMPF-DSJ ʈ̪ʰin-gi
getalong.PRF-PSTDSJ ʈ̪ʰin-suŋ
getalong-DSJ-MIR ʈ̪ʰiŋ-gi-nɔk
gift cɛ̀ka
ginger ɲùŋʌŋ
girl púmpedza
girl/daughter púm
give.IMPER bín
give.IMPF-DSJ ʈ̪èr-ci
give.IMPF-INF ʈ̪èr-u
give.IMPF-VOL ʈ̪èr-ĩ
give.me.imper nʌ̀ŋ
give.PRF-INF bín̋-u
give.PRF-POBS bín̋-suŋ
give.PRF-VOL bín̋-ĩ
give.up cimɟ̆ʌŋ
go.IMPER ɟúk
go.IMPF-DSJ ɖi
go.IMPF-INF ɖɔ-p
go.IMPF-VOL ɖɔ-ĩ
go.PRF-INF gʌ́l-u
go.PRF-POBS gál
go.PRF-VOL gʌ́l-ĩ
goat rʌ
goat.gen ré
goat.kid réruk
god/idol ɭ̊ʌ̄
goiter ba
gold sèr
good, gentle, well, nice lɛmu
goodbye kole pʰíp
goodnight ʤimʌ̀ ci
goodnite.to.child nilo
grandfather pʌ̀gawa
grandmother gʌka
grass, weeds tsʌ̄
grass.gen tsɛ̄
graze(t).IMPER ʤo
graze(t).IMPF-DSJ ʤo-i
graze(t).IMPF-INF ʤo-p
graze(t).IMPF-VOL ʤo-ĩ
graze(t).PRF-INF ʤo-u
graze(t).PRF-POBS ʤo-suŋ
graze(t).PRF-VOL ʤo-ĩ
green ŋòrmu
grief/sorrow semɖuk
grind.IMPER-AUG ʈ̪ɔ-sa
grinder lakur
grind-INF ʈ̪o-u
ground/floor sʌ̀
ground-GEn sè
ground-LOC sʌ̀-la
grow.up.IMPF-DSJ tsʰʌ́r-ci.
grow.up.IMPF-INF tsʰʌ́r-u
grow.up.PRF-MIR tsʰár-nɔk
grow.up.PRF-POBS tsʰár-suŋ
guitar ɖʌ́myʌŋ
H
hail sēr
hair ʂʌ̄
hair/feather/fur/hair pū
half pʰéka
half-indef pʰéka-i
hammer ʈ̪ʰɔ
hammer ʈ̪ʰɔ
hammer ʈ̪ʰɔ
hand.measure ʈ̪ʰa
hand/arm lʌ́kpa
handsome/pretty ʤemu
happy,happiness ga
hard ɟoŋbu
hard (preverb) kʌ́še
harmonica padza
harvest.put.away-INF ɖo-u
hat šʌ́muŋ
hawk ʈ̪ʰʌ̄
hawk.small ʈ̪ʰē pɛ̀n
head go
heart ɲìŋ
hearth/kitchen/fireplace kɔsa
hearth-gen ashes kɔs-i ʈ̪ala
heavily čɛ̀ʈ̪uŋba
heavy čèn̪i
heavy heŋʌ
heel ʈ̪iŋba

hello	ʈašiɖʌle
hemlock	ɭɛšiŋ
hemp	sì̀m
hen	čʎ́muŋ
herd.animal-abl	tsò-ne
here	ɖɛ
here.you.go	ɲā
hide(t).IMPER	bɔ
hide(t).IMPF-DSJ	bʌ-i
hide(t).IMPF-INF	bɔ-u
hide(t).IMPF-VOL	bʌ-ĩ
hide(t).PRF-INF	ba-u
hide(t).PRF-POBS	ba-suŋ
hide(t).PRF-VOL	ba-ĩ
hide.self.IMPER	yù̀p
hide.self.IMPF-DSJ	yù̀p-ci
hide.self.IMPF-INF	yù̀p-u
hide.self.IMPF-VOL	yù̀p-ĩ
hide.self.PRF-INF	yù̀p-u
hide.self.PRF-POBS	yù̀p-suŋ
hide.self.PRF-VOL	yù̀p-ĩ
hill	kʰá
hill	lʎ́
hill	pomɖok
hill	ʈalók
hill/mountain	ri
Hindi	hì̀nɖi
hit.on.top.IMPER	pʰʌ̄p
hit.on.top.IMPF-DSJ	bop-ci
hit.on.top.IMPF-INF	bop-u
hit.on.top.IMPF-VOL	bop-ĩ
hit.on.top.PRF-INF	pʰʌ̄p-u
hit.on.top.PRF-POBS	pʰʌ̄p-suŋ
hit.on.top.PRF-VOL	pʰʌ̄p-ĩ
hole	mì̀kʈum
holly	gikšiŋ
holly.china	pišiŋ
honey/nectar	ráŋ
HOR	lo
horn.conch	ʈuŋ
horn/antler	ʌ̄rcɔk
horse	ʈʌ̀
horse/colt	ʈecu
horse-GEN	ʈɛ̀
hot	ʈinbu
hot.warm.be	tsʰì̀nɖi
hot/warm	tsʰɛ́nɖi
hour	čúǰɛ
hour	čùǰɛ
hour	čʰūǰe
house/home	kʰʌŋba
how	tsùkoi
how, how much	tso
humid	húphup
hundred-ninety	kʰalčurkʰu
hundred-thirty	kʰalčupsum
hunger	ɭɔ̀
hurriedly	hʌʈʌp huʈup
hurt.PRF-DUR-MIR	sùk-i-nɔk
husband	cʰewɔ
I	
ice	kʰàrum
idol.GEN	ɭē
in.contrast	ɲíŋ
in.front.of/opposite	ɖoŋ
in.front-gen	ɖoŋ-i
in.front-loc	ʈoŋ-la
incense	pò
incense from a type of bush	pūrumaŋ
INCHO.IMPF	ɖi
INCHO.PRF	gál
INCHO-MIR	gál-nɔk
indeed/it.is.the.case.that	yʌ̀ŋ
India	hì̀nɖiɛ
India	ínɖiɛ
infrequent	pʎ́rtsi pʎ́rtsi
ink	nʌ̀ktsi
ink/paint	tsʰa
inside	nʌ
inside	nʎ́ŋ
inside-abl	nʎ́ŋ-no
inside-ABL-DESC	nʎ́ŋ-no-ma
inside-ABL-PROL	nʎ́ŋ-no-sur
inside-GEN	nʎ́ŋ-i
inside-LOC	nʎ́ŋ-la
instead/moreover	cè
intelligent	kʰamu
into/within	kuŋ
invite	kʌ̄ʈoŋ
invite.PRF-INF	kʌ̄ʈoŋ-u
iron	ča

iron.gen čɛ
itch(y) sɛ̀
ivy.sour/medicine/ sour.person cʰurtsʰa
J
jackal čipčʌŋ
jackal/small.lynx rɛmbɛr
joint/elbow.joint tsʰíŋgur
joke ɲá
judge ʈ̪ʰim čʰèʈ̪u mí
judge(ment) ʈ̪ʰim
judge-abl ʈ̪ʰim čʰèni
jump.IMPER pʰì̀r
jump.IMPF-DSJ pʰì̀r-ci
jump.IMPF-INF pʰì̀r-u
jump.IMPF-VOL pʰì̀r-ĩ̌
jump.PRF-INF pʰì̀r-u
jump.PRF-POBS pʰì̀r-suŋ
jump.PRF-VOL pʰì̀r-ĩ̌
June ǰe
jungle.chicken ríǰ̌o
just.now mɔ́lʌ
K
key limi
Khumbu-loc kʰumbu-la
kickbox ɖ̪ɔkʈ̪ɔk
kill sè
kill sɛ̄
kill sɛ̄
kill.imper sɛ̄
kill.IMPF-DSJ sè-ci
kill.IMPF-INF sèʈ̪u
kill.PRF-INF sèʈ̪u
kill.PRF-MIRA sènɔk
kill.PRF-POBS sè-suŋ
kill.root sè(ʈ̪)
kill-abl sè-ne
kill-INF-DUR-MIR sèʈ̪-u-i-nɔk
kill-INF-LOC sèʈ̪-u-la
kill-MIR sènɔk
kilo pʰam
kilo.3 pʰʌʈ̪ʰi
king ɟelwu
kiss pukʌ
kitten bɛ́rm-i čʌ́pruk
knee kʌŋb-i tsiŋgur
knife ʈ̪ʌ̄pʈ̪i
knife ʈ̪èpʈ̪i
knife.gurkali kʰurpa
knife.scythe sor
knife.sheath kʰurp-i šup
knife.small tsùri
knife.small ʈ̪èw
knife.small ʈ̪íu
knife.small ʈ̪ì̀u
knife.smaller tsúpi
know hʌ̀k
know šè
know-DSJ šèci
knowledge čʰo
known NEG.OBS čʰʌ̀ mɛ́
known OBS čʰʌ̀ wɛ́
known.long.time ɲiŋba
known/knowledge čʰʌ̀
know šɛ́
L
ladder ʈ̪apa
lake, pond, well tsò
lama lʌ̄ma
lama.long.horn sʌ́ŋɖ̪un
lama's.long. copper.horn sʌnɖ̪uŋ
land.on.IMPER pàp
land.on.IMPF-DSJ po-ci
land.on.IMPF-INF pok-u
land.on.IMPF-VOL pok-ĩ̌
land.on.PRF-INF pàp-u
land.on.PRF-POBS pʌ̀p-suŋ
land.on.PRF-VOL pàp-ĩ̌
landslide ʈ̪ókpa
last night ɖ̪aŋ gomu
last year nʌ̀niŋ
late.be.PRF-POBS pʰì̀-suŋ
late.be.PRF-POBS ʈ̪ʰī̀-suŋ
later.on ʈ̪ì̀ru
laughter gɔʈ̪ɛ
lead.IMPF.PTCPL ʈ̪ĩ̌
lead.IMPF-VOL ʈ̪iʈ̪-ĩ̌
lead.PRF-ABL ʈ̪i-ne
leaf ɖ̪amak
leaf šō̄luk
leaf šō̄mʌk

leap	ʧʰóŋbʌl	listen.PRF-INF	ɲén-u
leap.over	ʧʰóŋbʌl ɟe-u	listen.PRF-POBS	ɲén-suŋ
learn.IMPER	lɑ̄p	listen.PRF-VOL	ɲén-ĩ
learn.IMPF-DSJ	lɑ̀p-ci	little	tsɛ
learn-DICT	là̱p-si	little.bit	tsɛtsɛ-i
learn-INF	lɑ̄-p	little.bit-ART-LOC	kur-i-la
leave-dur	ʈòŋ-i	liver	lɔ̀
leave-dur.ptcpl	ʈòŋ-ĩ	lizard	čɛ́prʌši
leech	baʈak	load	kʰurwu
left foot	pʰi lakpi	-LOC	-la
left.behind.PRF-INF	lu-u	long.ago	ʈóŋla
left.behind.prf-mir	lu-nɔk	long/straight	riŋbu
left.hand	pʰi lakpa	look.at.IMPER	ɭɔ̄
left-handed	lʌ́kpa pʰì lʌ́kpa	look.at.IMPF-DSJ	ɭɛ̄i
leg/foot	kʌ̀ŋba	look.at.IMPF-INF	ɭʌ́-u
leg-gen/foot	kʌŋb-i ɖamak	look.at.IMPF-INF	ɭā-p
lend.IMPF-DSJ	ɲɛ́n-gi	look.at.IMPF-VOL	ɭā-ĩ
lend.IMPF-VOL	ɲɛ́n-ĩ	look.at.PRF-INF	ɭá-u
lend-PTCPL	ɲɛ́-n	look.at.PRF-POBS	ɭá-suŋ
lentil	ɖal	look.at.PRF-VOL	ɭá-ĩ
leopard.snow	kor	lose(gamble/fight).IMPF-DSJ	pʰòm-gi
let's go	lō ɖì		
lets.go	ɖiu	lose(gamble/fight).IMPF-INF	pʰòm-u
letter	hɪ́		
letter	hɪ́ci	lose(gamble/fight).PRF-POBS	pʰàm-suŋ
lice.body	šìk		
lie	ʤinɔk	lots	hɛ́m
lift.IMPER	ʈek	lots	yɛ́m
lift.IMPF-DSJ	ɖé-i	lots of	bʌŋi
lift.IMPF-INF	ɖɛ́k-u	lots.of	bʌ́ŋi
lift.IMPF-VOL	ɖé-ĩ	luck.bad	ɖʌ́sa
lift.PRF-INF	ʈek-u	lunch	ɲirmi sʌma
lift.PRF-POBS	ʈek-suŋ	M	
lift.PRF-VOL	ʈek-ĩ	magic	ŋà
lightening	tsɪ̄lʌm	magnolia	paʈʌkʌri
LIKE/AS	čì̱ŋe	make/build.IMPER	ʤɔ
lime.earth	ʈʰāk	make/build.IMPF-DSJ	ʤʌ-i
lime/whitewash/clay	pʌ́k	make/build.IMPF-INF	ʤɔ-p
lion	ʈʌ̄k	make/build.IMPF-VOL	ʤɔ-ĩ
lips	čùʈuk	make/build.PRF-INF	ʤo-u
lips/bill/beak	čúpʈok	make/build.PRF-POBS	ʤo-suŋ
liquor.corn	ārʌk	make/build.PRF-VOL	ʤo-ĩ
listen.IMPER	ɲén	make-DUR	ʤó-i
listen.IMPF-DSJ	ɲɛ́n-gi	man old	mɪ́ gawa
listen.IMPF-INF	ɲɛ́n-u	many/more/much	mʌ́ŋmu
listen.IMPF-VOL	ɲɛ́n-ĩ	many/much(preverb)	mʌ́ŋ

map naktsa
March/April bʌ́isʌp
market hát̪
marriage jɛ̃
married nʌŋʤʌŋ
married ʤʌprʌŋ
mask bʌkpa
mat.rice.stalk gun̪ri
mat.woven rʌlɖ̪i
maybe káinʌ
meadow pʌ́ŋɔk
measure.IMPER t̪ʌp
measure.IMPF-DSJ t̪ʌp-ci
measure-INF t̪ʌp-u
measure-inf-loc t̪óp-u-la
measuring.line t̪ʰīk
meat dried pa
meat raw šʌ̄
meat.gen šē
med.food.poison poŋmar
med.headache cʰenba
med.salve burmarʌ
medicine/poison mɛn
meet.IMPF.PTCPL t̪ʰɛ̀
meet.IMPF-DSJ t̪ʰè-ci
meet.IMPF-MIRA t̪ʰè-nɔk
meet.PRF-POBS t̪ʰè-suŋ
melt.IMPF-INF šit̪-u
melt.PRF-MIR ši-nɔk
melt.PRF-POBS ši-suŋ
midday ɲirmu
milk hòma
millet ɟar
MIR nɔ́k
mirror ɟéluŋ
mix.IMPER ɖ̪um
mix.IMPF-DSJ ɖ̪um-gi
mix.IMPF-INF ɖ̪um-u
mix.IMPF-VOL ɖ̪um-ĩ
mix.PRF-INF ɖ̪um-u
mix.PRF-POBS ɖ̪um-suŋ
mix.PRF-VOL ɖ̪um-ĩ
mix.together.IMPER ɖ̪ʌ́r
mix.together.IMPF-DSJ ɖ̪ór-ci
mix.together.IMPF-INF ɖ̪úr-u
mix.together.IMPF-VOL ɖ̪ór-ĩ
mix.together.PRF-INF ɖ̪ʌ́r-u
mix.together.PRF-POBS ɖ̪ʌ́r-suŋ
mix.together.PRF-VOL ɖ̪ʌ́r-ĩ
molar ɖamsa
mom.young.bro aǰaŋ
monastary.courtyard ɖ̪ɛŋ
monastery/temple l̥ʌ̀ŋʌŋ
money t̪ʌ̀ŋa
monkey ɾ̥īu
monkey.white ɾ̥acʰe
month la
more,too.much l̥ʌ̀kpa
morning t̪óp
morning.early napʰela
morning-loc t̪óp-la
mosquito čai
mosquito čʰʷài
moss màŋmʌŋ
moth.big pʰolɛk
mother mʌ̀ma
mother's.older.sister mʌ̀ma čʰʷɛ
mother's.younger.sister mʌ̀ma t̪ʲíkpe
mother-in-law ì̀wi
mountain kʌ́ŋri
mountain kʌŋri
mountain kʰʷʌ̄ŋrí
mountain.goat.himalayan riruk
mountain.pass lā
mouth kʰʷʌ̄
mouth-gen cʰē
move.around.cows.IMPF-INF ɖa-u
move.around.cows.PTCPL ɖã
move.around.cows.PTCPL go.IMPF-INF ɖã ɖɔ-p
mtn.side t̪ak
much.time t̪ʌ́ŋbo
much/many/too much/very ʌ̄la
mud ɖ̪ʌ́mbu
mud ɖ̪ʌkčir
muddy.area/dew šì̀m
muddy šì̀mse
mud-GEN ɖ̪ʌ́mb-i

mushroom šʌ̀muŋ
mushroom šʌmuŋ
music lū
mustard t̪ori
mustard.like t̪ou
N
nail sɛ̀rmuŋ
Namche kumbur
name min
navel l̪ɛ̀
near tsa
near/beside tsí̵p
near-LOC tsa-la
neck ǰiŋba
necklass ši
necklass.bead ǰuruk
necklass.gold kʌnt̪ʰa
necklass.silgold sut̪ʰuk
necklass.stone ǰi
needle kʰʌ́p
needle kʰap
needle kʰʌ̄p
NEG.come.IMPF-DSJ mɛ̀ŋ-gi
NEG.COP.IMPF mí̵n
NEG.COP-INF mɛ́t̪-u
NEG.MIR miɖuk
neg.obs mɛ́
NEG.PRF má
negative méŋ
neg-come.impf mɛ́ŋ-gi
Nepal nɛpal
nephew tsʌpyuk
nest/cradle/web tsʰaŋ
net.strainer ʤali
nettle.cornrice lumɖi
nettle.dried gunɖruk
nettle-hemp ló
never nʌ́mlʌŋ
new sʌ̀mba
niece tsʌpyuŋma
niece/nephew/ mother's.sister.child mawu
night núp
night/evening gɔmu
night-LOC núp-la
nine gu
nineteen čurkʰu
ninety kʰalgu
ninety-eight kʰʌlgu t̪ʌ̄ŋ ȷé
ninety-nine kʰʌlgu t̪ʌ̄ŋ gu
nits.lice.egg l̪um
noise/sound horu
none kʌ́ŋ mí̵n
noon tsakʌla
north čaŋ
nose, nostril nʌ̀u
novice.monk t̪ʌwa
now until t̪ʌ sɛ́k
now/later.little t̪ʌ
nowadays t̪asʌm
O
oak ʌbuŋ
OBS wɛ́
occasionally pʌ́rtsi
occur.make.IMPF-INF čʰé-u
occur.make.PRF-MIR čʰé-nɔk
occur.make.PRF-POBS čʰé-suŋ
occur/happen.PRF-MIR čuŋ-nɔk
occur/happen.PRF-POBS čuŋ-suŋ
occur/make.IMPF-DSJ čʰé-i
offer.IMPER pù̀l
offer.IMPF-DSJ búl-gi
offer.IMPF-INF búl-u
offer.IMPF-VOL búl-ɤ̃
offer.PRF-INF pù̀l-u
offer.PRF-POBS pù̀l-suŋ
offer.PRF-VOL pù̀l-ɤ̃
often/sometimes pʌrtsi
oil nù̀m
oil.cookingN t̪él
OK là
old nì̀ŋba
old, old(man) gawa
one instead (only) čì̀k ce
one.day ɲí̵ǰi
one.time/day pʌ́le
onion rambʌr
only kʰali
only t̪irʌŋ
only/even rʌ̀ŋ
open(t).IMPER pè
open(t).IMPF-DSJ bé-ci

open(t).IMPF-INF	bé̱t̪-u
open(t).IMPF-VOL	bé̱t̪-ĩ̌
open(t).PRF-INF	pè̱t̪-u
open(t).PRF-POBS	pè-suŋ
open(t).PRF-VOL	pè̱t̪-ĩ̌
orange	mʌriyokpa
other	hɛmba
other.side.river/hill	pàrcɛn
outside	gɔ́la
outside	gɔla
outside	pʌŋ
outside	pʰì
outside-abl	pʰìnosur
over	t̪ʌ̀ŋ
over.there	pūit̪i
over.there/away/yonder	pʰò
over.there	pʰò-i t̪í
owl	kulḏuk
ox	làŋ
P	
packed.down	t̪ɛmbɛlɛk
pain	suk
paint/color	tsʰó
painting.religious	t̪aŋka
paper	šù
party	ḍɛn
path/road.	lam
peach	kʰãbuŋ
pen.bamboo	ɲù̀p
pen.pencil (N)	kalam
person/man	mí
pheasant.bird1	tsirmoŋ
pheasant.bird2	homoŋ
pheasant.bird3	ḏaɲɛn
pig/boar/hog	pʰʌkpa
pigeon	gʌmḏɛr
pine.white	ɲɛt̪aŋ ḏoŋbu
pious	sʌ̀ŋe
pitchfork	kat̪ʰa
pity	niŋǰe
place	ḏasa
place.on.stove.IMPF-DSJ	kʰʌ̀l-i
place.on.stove.PRF-POBS	kʰól-suŋ
place.sacred	nɛ̀
plaid.colorful	paŋre
plant, cover, use	ʤu
plant.IMPER	t̪ò̀p
plant.IMPF-DSJ	ḏó̱p-ci
plant.impf-inf	ḏepu
plant.IMPF-INF	ḏó̱p-u
plant.IMPF-INF	ḏó̱p-u
plant.IMPF-VOL	ḏó̱p-ĩ̌
plant.leafy	kɔplɛn
plant.PRF-INF	t̪ʌ̀p-u
plant.PRF-POBS	t̪ò̀p-suŋ
plant.PRF-VOL	t̪ʌ̀p-ĩ̌
play.IMPER	tsɛ̄
play.IMPF-DSJ	tsɛ̄-ci
play.IMPF-INF	tsɛ̄-p
play.IMPF-VOL	tsɛ̄-ĩ̌
play.PRF-INF	tsɛ̄-u
play.PRF-POBS	tsɛ̄-suŋ
play.PRF-VOL	tsɛ̄-ĩ̌
please	t̪ʰákur
plough	t̪oktsi
plough	t̪ʰoŋbʌ
plow.IMPER	mɔ
plow.IMPF-DSJ	mò-ci
plow.IMPF-INF	mò̱t̪-u
plow.IMPF-VOL	mò̱t̪-ĩ̌
plow.PRF-INF	mɔ-u
plow.PRF-POBS	mɔ-suŋ
plow.PRF-VOL	mɔ-ĩ̌
PNF.FEM-GEN	ḏʌm-i
PNM	oŋc̆ʰu
poison	t̪úk
poor.people	pèrʌŋbu
popcorn.fried	yo
porch	limuŋ
porcupine	raŋpitsir
porridge	cʰu
porridge.barley	ná cʰu
porridge.barley	ṭecu
porridge.wheat	t̪ʰe cʰu
porter	kʰúrmin
pot	ɲɛ̄cɔk
POT	t̪am
pot.cooking	t̪asʌla
pot.copper	c̆ʰūsa
potato	ri
potato	rici

potato.like.tuber ʈɔ
potato.sweet sirʌkʰʌnɖʌ
pound manʌ
pour.IMPER lù
pour.IMPF-DSJ lù-i
pour.IMPF-INF lù-u
pour.IMPF-VOL lù-ĩ
pour.PRF-INF lùk-u
pour.PRF-POBS lùk-suŋ
pour.PRF-VOL lùk-ĩ
prayer.wheel mʌni
prepare.food.IMPER tsò
prepare.food.IMPF-DSJ tsò-ci
prepare.food.IMPF-INF tsò-u
prepare.food.IMPF-VOL tsò-ĩ
prepare.food.PRF-INF tsò-u
prepare.food.PRF-POBS tsò-suŋ
prepare.food.PRF-VOL tsò-ĩ
pride/proud nosuk
PROPER.FEM ɖamu
PROPER.FEMALE ʤaŋmu
PROPER.MALE ɖorǰi
PROPER.MALE gomʌi
PROPER.MALE ɭʌ̀kpa
PROPER.PLACE sermišɛp
PROPER.PLACE-ABL mábirkū-ne
property ʈoŋba
prox ɖi
prox.manner ɖuk
prox.manner/this.way ɖʌ́k
PROX-GEN ɖi-ci
prox-pl/these ɖi-wɔ
prox-pl-gen ɖi-w-i
pull.IMPER ʈʰēn
pull.IMPF-DSJ ʈʰēn-gi
pull.IMPF-INF ʈʰēn-u
pull.IMPF-VOL ʈʰēn-ĩ
pull.PRF-INF ʈʰēn-u
pull.PRF-POBS ʈʰēn-suŋ
pull.PRF-VOL ʈʰēn-ĩ
puppy rìu
purple kariyokpʌ
push.IMPF-DSJ pùl-gi
push.IMPF-INF pùl-u
push.IMPF-VOL pùl-ĩ
push.PRF-INF pùl-u
push.PRF-POBS pùl-suŋ
push.PRF-VOL pùl-ĩ
push-IMPER pùl
put.IMPER ǰʌ́k
put.IMPER ǰɔ́k
put.IMPF-DSJ ǰʌ́-i
put.IMPF-INF ǰó-u
put.IMPF-VOL ǰó-ĩ
put.into.IMPER čì
put.into.IMPF-DSJ ǰí-ci
put.into.IMPF-INF ǰíʈ-u
put.into.IMPF-VOL ǰíʈ-ĩ
put.into.PRF-INF čìʈ-u
put.into.PRF-POBS čì-suŋ
put.into.PRF-VOL čìʈ-ĩ
put.PRF-INF ǰʌ́k-u
put.PRF-POBS ǰák-suŋ
put.PRF-VOL ǰʌ́-ĩ
put.up-INF ɹē-u
Q
quick bʌʈʌk
quick buʈuk
quick/fast háʈʌk
quickly bʌʈʌk buʈuk
quickly ɖʌwʌɖʌwʌ
quite.a.bit-INDEF ʌ̄la-i
R
rabbit rimuŋ
raddish-like root’ ʈɔ
radish ʈɔ
Rai.caste ɖóŋbu
rain čʰʌrwa
rainbow ʤʌ
rasberry ɲaɲim
rat/mouse/mole pɛ
realization rikpa
receive.IMPER ʈʰóp
receive.IMPF-DSJ ʈʰóp-ci
receive.IMPF-INF ʈʰóp-u
receive.IMPF-VOL ʈʰóp-ĩ
receive.PRF-INF ʈʰóp-u
receive.PRF-POBS ʈʰóp-suŋ
receive.PRF-VOL ʈʰóp-ĩ
reconcile.IMPER ɖi
reconcile.IMPF-DSJ ɖi-i
reconcile.IMPF-INF ɖik-u

reconcile.IMPF-VOL	ɖik-ĩ
reconcile.PRF-INF	ɖi-u
reconcile.PRF-POBS	ɖi-suŋ
reconcile.PRF-VOL	ɖi-ĩ
red	mʌrwu
relatives/clan	kʰalʌk
return.PRF-POBS	làk-suŋ
rhododen.small1	kɔlmi
rhododendron	ʈòŋmʌr
rice	ɖa
rice straw.stalk	ɖa sɔŋma
rice.for.chang	nurma
rich/rich.man/merchant	ʧʰukpu
right.after	miɖʌla
right.hand	na lakpa
right.then/this situation	bʌru
rise.IMPER	lɔ
rise.IMPF-DSJ	lʌ̀ŋ-i
rise.IMPF-INF	lʌ̀ŋ-u
rise.IMPF-VOL	lʌ̀ŋ-ĩ
rise.PRF-INF	la-u
rise.PRF-POBS	la-suŋ
rise.PRF-VOL	la-ĩ
risen	ɖíŋ
river	tsʌŋbu ɹerpu
river side	tsʌŋb-i buk
river.in	ʧʰal
robin	tsartsare
rock ledge	puk
rockcliff	ʈʌ̄yikʰa
rockcliff.rock	ʈʌ́k
rockcliff.rock.face	ʈʌk
roof	ʈʰō̄k
roof.metal	ǰɛʈʌr
room	kʰò̀ʈa
rooster	čáu
root	mār
rope	maʈʌk
rot.IMPF-DSJ	rúl-gi
rot.IMPF-INF	rúl-u
rot.PRF-INF	rúl-u
rot.PRF-POBS	rúl-nɔk
round/big/fat/large	bombu
run.IMPER	ʧʰɔ
run.IMPF-DSJ	ʧʰoŋ-i
run.IMPF-INF	ʧʰoŋ-u
run.IMPF-VOL	ʧʰoŋ-ĩ
run.PRF-INF	ʧʰoŋ-u
run.PRF-POBS	ʧʰoŋ-suŋ
run.PRF-VOL	ʧʰoŋ-ĩ
rustle with rustle	sʌ̀rʌŋ ʈʌ̄ŋ suruŋ
rustle.IMPF-INF	sur-u
S	
sacred.place	nɛ́
saliva	čɛ̀mʌk
salt	tsʰà
salty	tsʰà kʰʌ́-no
sand	pɛma
saw/cut/chop.IMPER	ʈɛ
saw/cut/chop.IMPF-DSJ	ʈe-i
saw/cut/chop.IMPF-INF	ʈek-u
saw/cut/chop.IMPF-VOL	ʈe-ĩ
saw/cut/chop.PRF-INF	ʈɛ-u
saw/cut/chop.PRF-POBS	ʈɛ-suŋ
saw/cut/chop.PRF-VOL	ʈɛ-ĩ
say.IMPER	ša
say.IMPF-DSJ	sí
say.IMPF-DUR	sír-i
say.IMPF-INF	sír-u
say.IMPF-VOL	sí-ĩ
say.PRF-INF	sa-u
say.PRF-POBS	sa-suŋ
say.PRF-VOL	sa-ĩ
school	ískul
scratch.IMPER	ʈé
scratch.IMPF-DSJ	ʈé-i
scratch.IMPF-INF	ʈék-u
scratch.IMPF-VOL	ʈék-ĩ
scratch.PRF-INF	ʈé-u
scratch.PRF-POBS	ʈé-suŋ́
scratch.PRF-VOL	ʈé-ĩ
scream with shout	ɭai ʈʌ̄ŋ húi
search.IMPER	tsʰàl
search.IMPF-DSJ	tsʰòl-gi
search.IMPF-INF	tsʰòl-u
search.IMPF-VOL	tsʰòl-ĩ
search.PRF-INF	tsʰàl-u
search.PRF-POBS	tsʰàl-suŋ
search.PRF-VOL	tsʰàl-ĩ
seed	sɛn
sell.IMPER	tsʌŋ
sell.IMPF-DSJ	tsoŋ-i

sell.IMPF-INF	tsoŋ-u
sell.IMPF-VOL	tsoŋ-ĩ
sell.PRF-INF	tsʌŋ-u
sell.PRF-POBS	tsʌŋ-suŋ
sell.PRF-VOL	tsʌŋ-ĩ
send.IMPER	ʈàŋ
send.IMPF-DSJ	ʈōŋ-i
send.IMPF-INF	ʈōŋ-u
send.IMPF-VOL	ʈōŋ-ĩ
send.PRF-INF	ʈàŋ-u
send.PRF-POBS	ʈàŋ-suŋ
send.PRF-VOL	ʈàŋ-ĩ
sentence final CRSM	ʤʌ
seven	ɖìn
seven	ɖin
seventeen	čupɖin
seventy	kʰalɖin
shadow	ʂìpčʌŋ
shaman	ɖa
shaman	ɖami
sharp, pointed	nɛ̀nbu
sheath-GEN	šūr-ci
sheep, ram	lúk
sheep.blue	ɟʌ
sheep.blue	ɟɛ
sheep.blue	ɟɛ̀
shell	tsim
Sherku	šɛ̀rku
Sherpa	šerwa
Sherpa-GEN	šèrw-i
shine.PRF-INF	šór-u
shine/dream/bloom. IMPF-DSJ	šʌ́r-ci
shine/dream/bloom. IMPF-INF	šʌ́r-u
shine/dream/bloom.PRF -MIR	šʌ́r-nɔk
shine/dream/bloom.PRF -POBS	šʌ́r-suŋ
shine-ABL	šórne
shirt	šimšir
shoe	ʤuʈʰa
shoe.male	katsa
shoe-GEN	katsa
shoe-GEN	kats-i
shoot.gun-inf	ɟék-u
short	ʈì ŋme
shoulder-LOC carry.IMPF-INF	ʤɔ-la kʰūr-u
shovel	ʈɔ́ktsi
shut	čʰē-u
shut.PRF-VOL	čʰɛ̄ʈ-ĩ
shyness	ŋotsʰa
sick.be.IMPF-DSJ	na-ci
sick.be.IMPF-INF	na-u
sick.be.PRF-INF	na-u
sick.be.PRF-POBS	na-suŋ
sickle	sóri
side	ʈʰaci
side/way	ʈʰaka
silver	ŋùl
since	ǰũ
sink.IMPF.INF	ɖùp-u
sink.IMPF-DSJ	ɖùp-ci
sink.PRF.INF	ɖùp-u
sink.PRF-MIR	ɖùm-nɔk
sink.PRF-POBS	ɖùp-suŋ
sink.PRF-POBS	ɖùp-suŋ
sis.child	sʌpyuk
sis.daugh	sʌpǰuŋmʌ
sister.in.law	tsʌm
sister.older	ʌ́ǰi
sister.younger	num
sister-in-law	ɲèrmu
sit.down.POLITE.IMPER	ǰu
sit.down-INF	ǰu-u
sit-INF-DUR-MIR	ǰu-u-i-nɔk
six	ʈúk
sixteen	čuruk
sixty	kʰalʈuk
skillful	kʰawa
skin,leather	kɔ
skinny	šʌrʌŋga
skull	kʌ̀pli
sky	nàm
sleep	ɲì
sleep	ɲìlʌŋ
sleep	ɲìlok
sleepiness	ɲìsɔk
sleep-inf	ɲìlok-u
slip.IMPF-INF	ʈeʈ-u
slip-ABL	ʈe-ne

slip-DSJ ʈe-ci
slip-POBS ʈe-suŋ
slow kóle
slowly kóle kóle
slug mukp-i bu
small teapot cìʈi
small.water.jar ɖíŋʌr
small/little ʈík
small/little ʈíkpe
smart/clever čʌŋbu
smell.PRF-MIR kʰà-nɔk
smell.PRF-POBS kʰà-suŋ
smell.PTCPL kʰâ
smell/taste ʈema
smooth/soft ǰambu
snail ǰɛloraši
snail mùkpu
snake rūl
snake, vine šinɖʌk
snake.big rúlwuǰe
snatch-ptcpl ʈʰô
snow kʰà
snow.slushy kʰá šiʈu
soccer pʰuʈbʌl
soil/dirt ʈʌ̀
soil/earth/dirt-LOC ʈʰʌ-la
soil/earth/ground/soil ʈʰʌ́la
sole kʌ̀ŋb-i hɔ́k
Solu šōruŋ
somebody lʌ́lʌ
some-INDEF tsɛ-i
someone-GEN lala-i
someone-INDEF lala-i
song rise.IMPF-INF lū lʌŋ-u
song, music lū
soul la
sound ɖɛŋ
sound/breath-ABL u-no
soup.lentil ɖal-i pà
soup.needle ʈukp-i pà
soup.nettle tsʰɛrmʌŋ pà
sour curwu
south ɻò
south/India ɻe
soybean mɔʈʰe
sparrow bʌŋera
spice.forrest1 ɖum
spice.jungle2 ɻermaŋ
spider bʌ́lǰʌŋ
spindle šiŋʌl
spirit/heart sèm
spit-inf cur-u
spitting.nasty čʰenɖur ɻe-i
split.apart(i)-inf ɖɛp-u
spoon ɻá
spoon ɻo
spoon cʰɔ
spoon/ladle ʈʌ̀i
spoor/track ǰe
spread-abl1 ʈʌmne
spruce.blue ʈašiŋ
squirrel lɔʈʰʌrce
stag kʰaša
stag ša
stalk sʌŋma
stalk soŋma
star kʌ̀rma
start do.IMPF-INF ʈʰále cir-u
statue kù
stay/rest/sit.IMPER ɖé
stay/rest/sit.IMPF-DSJ ɖé-ci
stay/rest/sit.IMPF-INF ɖéʈ-u
stay/rest/sit.IMPF-VOL ɖéʈ-ĩ
stay/rest/sit.PRF-INF ɖéʈ-u
stay/rest/sit.PRF-POBS ɖé-suŋ
stay/rest/sit.PRF-VOL ɖé-ʈĩ
stela mʌ̄nī
stew šakpa
stick kà
stick lʌ́kʌm
stick šī̄ŋʌ̀l
stick.bamboo pɛ̀rka
stick.in.root ɖam
stick.small pʰúrtsok
stick.Tshaped ʈɔklin
sticky ǰʌ ɻékuk
stomach.ache suk giru
stomach/belly sùp
stone/rock ɖo
store pʌsʌla
storm (rain & wind) čʰʌrwa ʈʌ̄ŋ úrʈuŋ
story pè

story tell.impf-inf	pè šèʈ-u	swell.IMPF-DSJ	ɟa-ci
stove.3stone	ɟepʊ̃	swell.PRF-MIR	ɟa-nɔk
straight (preV)	ʤuwu	swim	čal ge-u
strap.load	nɛmin	swirl.IMPER	cʰī̀r
strawberry	lumu	swirl.IMPF-DSJ	cī̀r-ci
stream, river	tsʌŋbu	swirl.IMPF-INF	cʰī̀r-u
stretched out	ǰúk	swirl.IMPF-VOL	cʰī̀r-ĩ̀
strike.IMPER	ɟép	swirl.PRF-INF	cʰī̀r-u
strike.IMPF-DSJ	ɟé-i	swirl.PRF-POBS	cī̀r-suŋ
strike.IMPF-INF	ɟé-u	swirl.PRF-VOL	cʰī̀r-ĩ̀
strike.IMPF-VOL	ɟé-ĩ̀	sword	ʈi
strike.PRF-INF	ɟép-u	T	
strike.PRF-POBS	ɟép-suŋ	table	čɔktsi
strike.PRF-VOL	ɟép-ĩ̀	tail	ŋʌ̀ma
string.thread,yarn	ɻùʈa	take.care.kid-INF	lɔ-p
stripes	ɖarcʰe	take.from.fire.IMPER	pɔ̀k
strong	rʌmbu	take.from.fire.IMPF-DSJ	bɔ́k-i
strong,husky, stout	ɟamu	take.from.fire.IMPF-INF	bɔ́k-u
strong/spicey	kʰarmʌ	take.from.fire.IMPF-VOL	bɔ́k-ĩ̀
strong/tall/perfect	ɔ̀ŋbu rʌmbu	take.from.fire.PRF-INF	pɔ̀k-u
student	lópʈa	take.from.fire.PRF-POBS	pɔ̀k-suŋ
student	lɔpʈʰa	take.from.fire.PRF-VOL	pɔ̀k-ĩ̀
student/school	lʌ̀pʈa	take-ABL	là-ne
study.IMPER	lɔ̀p	take-INF	lʌ̀ŋ-u
study.IMPF-DSJ	lɔ̀p-ci	take-PTCPL	lɜ̀
stumble	nórʈu	talk	lʌ̀m
stumble strike.IMPF-INF	nórʈu ɟe-u	talk	lʌ̀p
stumble.cross	góm	talk	ʈʌ̀mɲɛ lɔ̀p-ci
stump	sórʈok	talk.IMPF-INF	lɔ̀p-u
stupa	čɔ̀rʈen	talk.PRF-INF	lʌ̀p-u
such.as/thus/like	ɖoce	talk.PRF-MIR	lap-nɔk
sugarcane	gùršiŋ	talk-ABL	lap-ne
summer	irwu	talking	ʈʌ̀mɲɛ ci
sunny.it's	ɲima šar	tall/high	ʈʰémbu
surface	lɔ	tasty	šimbu
surface-ABL-DESC	lɔ-no-ma	tea	čʌ́
surface-LOC	lɔ-la	teacher	ɟecen
sweep.IMPER	čà	tear	mikčur
sweep.IMPF-DSJ	čʌ̀-i	tear.IMPER	ɻɔ́l
sweep.IMPF-INF	čɔ̀-u	tear.IMPF-DSJ	ɻɔ́l-gi
sweep.IMPF-VOL	čʌ̀-ĩ̀	tear.IMPF-INF	ɻɔ́l-u
sweep.PRF-INF	čà-u	tear.IMPF-VOL	ɻɔ́l-ĩ̀
sweep.PRF-POBS	čà-suŋ	tear.PRF-INF	ɻʌ́l-u
sweep.PRF-VOL	čà-ĩ̀	tear.PRF-POBS	ɻʌ́l-suŋ
sweepings	ʤʌkʌr ʤúkur	tear.PRF-VOL	ɻʌ́l-ĩ̀
sweet	ŋʌrmu	tell	ʤe

tell.IMPF-DSJ	šè-ci
tell.IMPF-VOL	šèʈ-ĩ
tell.PRF-POBS	šè-suŋ
tell.PRF-VOL	šèʈ-ĩ
tell/speak.IMPER	šē
tell/speak.IMPF-DSJ	šē-ci
ten	čìʈʰʌmba
tent	kùr
tent	pal
tent.peg	tsaŋ
tent.post	ʤo
terrace	garʌ
thank.you	ʈučeče
that, 3SG.DEM	ʈí
theft	kù ciru
then/next/later/ moment/after	háči
then/now/next	ʈʌ́ma
there.after	ʈɛ́ma
there/yonder	ʈɛ́
therefore	ʈʌ̀pci
these	ɖi ~ ʈɔ
thick/heavy	ʈʰukpu
thief	kù
thief	kurmin
thigh	pʰila
things	čālʌk
think (thought send)	nasʌm ʈoŋ-u
thinking/thought	nasʌm
thirst	kōmba
thirteen	čupsum
thirty	kʰalsum
thirty-nine	kʰʌlǰik ʈʌ̄ŋ čurkʰu
thirty-one	kʰʌlǰik ʈʌ̄ŋ čùčik
this.kind	ʈūkʌ
this.way	ɖuk
thither-loc	pʰʌ̀la
three	sùm
three-gen	sùm-ki
throat, neck	ʤiŋba
throat.inside	míʈa
through	uno
through (preV satellite)	sʌrʌsar
throw.IMPER	cùr
throw.IMPF-DSJ	cùr-ci
throw.IMPF-INF	cùr-u
throw.IMPF-VOL	cùr-ĩ
throw.PRF-INF	cùr-u
throw.PRF-POBS	cùr-suŋ
throw.PRF-VOL	cùr-ĩ
thunder	ʈʰɔ̄k
thus/that.way/ in.this.manner	ʈúk
Tibet	pé
Tibetan	pepa
tick	lɛmba
tie.IMPER	ʈɔ
tie.IMPF-DSJ	ʈʌ-i
tie.IMPF-INF	ʈo-u
tie.IMPF-VOL	ʈʌ-ĩ
tie.PRF-INF	ʈa-u
tie.PRF-POBS	ʈa-suŋ
tie.PRF-VOL	ʈa-ĩ
tie.tight.IMPER	ɖʌ́m
tie.tight.IMPF-DSJ	ɖʌ́m-gi
tie.tight.IMPF-INF	ɖʌ́m-u
tie.tight.IMPF-VOL	ɖʌ́m-ĩ
tie.tight.PRF-INF	ɖʌ́m-u
tie.tight.PRF-POBS	ɖʌ́m-suŋ
tie.tight.PRF-VOL	ɖʌ́m-ĩ
tiger	ʤík
time	bɛlʌ
time	ʈéŋbo
time waste.IMPF-VOL	làʈʌp čo-ĩ.
time waste.PRF-VOL	làʈʌp čʌ-ĩ.
time waste-POBS	làʈʌp čak-suŋ
tired happen-mir	yen čʰe-nɔk
tired(ness)	yɛn
toad	ʈūŋʌŋ
tobacco	ʈʰʌ̄ma
today	hariŋ
together	mula
together	mula mula
together	ʤama
tomorrow	sʌ
tomorrow	sʌla
tomorrow + 1	nā
tomorrow + 2	ǰɛ
tomorrow + 3	gu
tomorrow + 4 days	ču
2 days after tomorrow	ʤɛ́
tomorrow+1	nʌ̀

tongue tsɛ̀lʌk
tonight hariŋ gomu
tools lʌ́kčɛ
tools ʈɔktsiǰalak
tooth sʌ̄
tooth.front ɖoŋisʌ̄
tooth.incisor cī̃sʌ̄
toothbrush sʌ̀pʈul
toothpaste sòpʈul
top kʰʌ́
touch.bad.IMPER ré́k
touch.bad.IMPF-DSJ ré́-i
touch.bad.IMPF-INF ré́-u
touch.bad.IMPF-VOL ré́-ĩ̌
touch.bad.PRF-INF ré́k-u
touch.bad.PRF-POBS ré́k-suŋ
touch.bad.PRF-VOL ré́k-ĩ̌
touch/see.IMPER ʈʰuŋ
touch/see.IMPF-DSJ ʈʰoŋ-i
touch/see.IMPF-INF ʈʰoŋ-u
touch/see.IMPF-VOL ʈʰoŋ-ĩ̌
touch/see.PRF-INF ʈʰuŋ-u
touch/see.PRF-POBS ʈʰuŋ-suŋ
touch/see.PRF-VOL ʈʰuŋ-ĩ̌
tree.leafy galʌm
tree/plant ɖoŋbu
tree-GEN ɖoŋb-i
trick do.IMPF-INF čú cir-u
trick do.PRF-PTCPL čú cã̌
trick/plan čú
trouble, painful ɖúkpa
true, honest ʈeŋbu
trunk tsélʌk
turn pʌla
turn (N) pála
twelve čī̃ŋŋi
twenty kʰalǰik
twenty ɲešu
twenty-nine kʰʌlǰik ʈʌ̄ŋ gu
twenty-two kʰʌlǰik ʈʌ̄ŋ ɲì
twigs tsɛ̀kʌrak
twilight ʣúp
twilight twilight-LOC sórip sórip-la
U
udder núm
umbrella saʈʌ
uncle pʌ̀pčʰɛ́
uncle/brother.elder čùčʉ
uncle/fa.bro.young ʌu
uncle/fa.sis.hub tsʌu
uncle/ father.sister.husband tsʰʌ́u
uncle/mother.brother čʌ̀čʌŋ
uncle/mother.brother čɛ̀čʌŋ
uncle/mother.brother čʌčʌŋ
under hɔ́k
under-ABL-PROL hɔ́ŋ-no-sur
underneath-ABL hóŋ-ne
undress.imper pī̃
until pʌ́rsʌk
until sɛ́k
up yɐr
up.above ʈèla
up.there yo
up.there-desc yo-ma
up-DESC down-LOC yo-ma ʈʰul-la
uphill cè
up-LOC ʈèla
upright kʰòk
use.PTCPL ʈʰő
use/able.IMPF-INF ʈʰóp-u
use/able.PRF-INF ʈʰō-u
use-ABL ʈʰó-ne
used to be pe
used.to/familiar čʰʌni
V
valley bucʰɔk
vegetable, nettle.wild tsʰɛrmʌŋ
vegetable.greens tsʰɛrmʌŋ
very sɛru
vest.sherpa hapgʌnǰi
victory, win ɟél
village yúl
vulture giʈʰa
W
wait.IMPER gu
wait.IMPER-AUG gu-sa
wait.IMPF-DICT.PTCPL gu-sĩ̌
wait.IMPF-DSJ gu-ci
wait.IMPF-INF guʈ-u
wait.IMPF-VOL guʈ-ĩ̌
wait.PRF-INF gu-u

wait.PRF-POBS gu-suŋ
wait.PRF-VOL gu-ĭ
wait.PTCPL gŭ
wait-POT gu-ǰi
walk.IMPER yu
walk.IMPER-AUG yu-sa
walk.IMPF-DSJ yu-i
walk.IMPF-INF yu-u
walk.IMPF-VOL yu-ĭ
walk.PRF-INF yu-u
walk.PRF-POBS yu-suŋ
walk.PRF-VOL yu-ĭ
want-inf ɖʌu
warm ʈinbu
warm.up ʂo
wash-abl ʈù-ne
wash-inf ʈùʈu
waste time láʈʌp čou
water čʰū
water leech lík
water.GEN čʰī
watermill čʰūʈʌk
wave.shake-INF yū-u
wax.candle mɔmbʌɖʰi
way.far.down mʌ́mumʌmu
way.up yúyu
weak ŋérme
weap.IMPER ŋu
weap.IMPF-DSJ ŋɔ-i
weap.IMPF-INF ŋɔ-p
weap.IMPF-VOL ŋɔ-ĭ
weap.PRF-INF ŋu-u
weap.PRF-POBS ŋu-suŋ
weap.PRF-VOL ŋu-ĭ
wear.IMPER kòn
wear.IMPF-DSJ kòn-gi
wear.IMPF-INF kòn-u
wear.IMPF-VOL kòn-ĭ
wear.PRF-INF kòn-u
wear.PRF-POBS kòn-suŋ
wear.PRF-VOL kòn-ĭ
wear-ABL kon-ne
wear-MIR kon-nɔk
week (N) hapɖʰa
west/sunset núp
wetten.IMPF/PRF-INF bɔ-u
wetten.IMPF-DSJ bɔ-ci
wetten.IMPF-MIR bɔ-nɔk
wetten.PRF-POBS bɔ-suŋ
what? kʌ́ŋ
what? huh? lá
wheat.straw ʈʰé soŋma
wheat.bread ʈʰé kur
wheat.mash ʈʰé sɛn
wheat/barley.long.grain ʈʰá
wheat-GEN ʈʰé
when nʌm
where kʌ́ni
where where kɔ̄ kʌ́ni
where.is? cɛ̄
whet/sharpen.impf-dsj ɖórci
whet/sharpen.IMPF-INF ɖór-u
whet-inf ɖór-u
whetsharpen.PRF-INF ɖʌ́r-u
which.manner/thus tsūk
whip ʈʌ́lʤok
whirlpool čʰū kʰī ru
white kʌ̀rmu
white kʌ̀rwu
white sɛrwu
who.GEN sī
who.relative cʰè
who? sū
why.say.if/because čʰílasisi
why? tsʰíla
wife permi
win ɟeluk
win.IMPF-INF ɟɛl-u
win-abl ɟélni
wind hórʈuk
wind húrʈuk
wind urʹʈuŋ
window kʌ̀rum
window kòruŋ
window kɔ̀ruŋ
window koruŋ
wine pʰī
wing pùšok
wing šokpa
winnow.imper ʈʌ́p
winnow.IMPF-INF ʈóp-u
winnow.PRF-ABL ʈʌ́m-ne

winnow.PRF-POBS	ʈʌ́p-suŋ
winter	gunbu
wipe.IMPF-INF	pí̱ʈ̱-u
wipe.IMPF-VOL	pí̱-ci
wipe.IMPF-VOL	pí̱ʈ̱-ĩ
wipe.PRF-INF	pí̱-u
wipe.PRF-POBS	pí̱-suŋ
wipe.PRF-VOL	pí̱-ĩ
wipe-PTCPL	pĩ̱
wish	malʌm
witch	pɛ̄m
with.do.PRF.PTCPL	ʈ̱ʌ̄ŋcã
with/and	ʈ̱ʌ̄ŋ
within/under	ɖ̱iŋ
without	mɛ́ʈ̱ʌŋcã
wizard	pernbu
wizard.male	ʈ̣érma
woman.old	gama
woman.old	mí gama
woman.old-gen	gam-i
wonder.I	wʌʈ̱aŋ
wood	šìŋ
wood.aromatic	cɛnba
wood.aromatic	cʰēnba
wood.pieces	sekʌrʌk
wood-GEN	šìŋ-i
wood-gen	šīŋ-i
wool	nʌ̀mbu
wool	pál
wool	pu
wool	uni
wool.on.sheep	pal
word/language/ advice/speech/talk	ʈ̱ʌ̀mŋɛ
work	lakʌ
work do.IMPF-INF	lakʌ cir-u
worship	sàŋ
wound/sore	mʌ̄
wrap.IMPER	ʈ̱ʰʍ́il
wrap.PRF-ABL	ʈ̱ʰʍ́il-ne
wrap.PRF-POBS	ʈ̱ʰʍ́il-suŋ
wrap.PTCPL	ʈ̱ʰʍ́ĩ
wrinkles	ŋɛ̀čum
writing	hici

Y

yak	ʤópcok
yak	ʤopruk
yak.female1	ʤom
yak.female2	nak
yak.male	yʌ̄k
yak-cow.female	pomuŋ
yak-cow.male	ʤʌpkʰʌ
year	lo
year after next	nʌŋbu
year.2.ago	ǰíniŋ
year.3ago	guniŋ
year.GEN	le
year.last	nʌniŋ
year.next	sʌ̀ŋbu
yell-dur	ʈ̱ʰen-i
yellow/tan.lightwood	sērwu
yesterday	ɖ̱aŋ
yesterday.day.before	kʰornuŋ
yeti	yeʈ̣i
yogurt	kʌ̀rǰu
yogurt	ʈ̱ara
yoke	ɲà
yoke	ɲàšiŋ
yonder/thither/away	pʰar
young	ǰenɖ̱a

Z

zigzag	koru

SHERPA-ENGLISH

aǰaŋ	mom.young.bro
ārʌk	liquor.corn
ʌbuŋ	oak
ʌčᴜ	brother.elder
ʌ́ǰi	sister.older
ʌ́ŋa	baby
ʌŋgi	dress.woman
ʌní	aunt
ʌu	uncle/fa.bro.young
ʌ̄la	much/many/too much
ʌ̄la-i	quite.a.bit-INDEF
ʌ̄rcɔk	horn/antler
ba	goiter
bákuli	eagle

ba-ɪ̃	hide(t).PRF-VOL
bamʌ	burnt
bartsaŋ	bush.red
ba-suŋ	hide(t).PRF-POBS
baⱡak	leech
ba-u	hide(t).PRF-INF
bʌ́isʌk	March/April
bʌ́lǰʌŋ	spider
bʌ́ŋi	lots.of
bʌ-i	hide(t).IMPF-DSJ
bʌ-ɪ̃	hide(t).IMPF-VOL
bʌkpa	mask
bʌlʌbʌlʌ	finally
bʌlwa	frog.short.legs
bʌŋera	sparrow
bʌŋi	lots of
bʌru	right.then/this situation
bʌr-u	flare.up.IMPF-INF
bʌⱡʌk	quick
bʌⱡʌk buⱡuk	quickly
bé-ci	open(t).IMPF-DSJ
béⱡ-ɪ̃	open(t).IMPF-VOL
béⱡ-u	open(t).IMPF-INF
bɛ́rmʌŋ	cat
bɛ́rmʌŋ hʌu	cat male
bɛ́rm-i	cat-GEN
bɛlʌ	time
bɪ́n	give.IMPER
bɪ́n-ɪ̃	give.PRF-VOL
bɪ́n-suŋ	give.PRF-POBS
bɪ́n-u	give.PRF-INF
bir	cockaroach
bók-i	take.from.fire.IMPF-DSJ
bók-ɪ̃	take.from.fire.IMPF-VOL
bók-u	take.from.fire.IMPF-INF
bombu	round/big/fat/large
bonmarʌ	daisy.like.flower
bop-ɪ̃	hit.on.top.IMPF-VOL
bop-ci	hit.on.top.IMPF-DSJ
bop-u	hit.on.top.IMPF-INF
borʌnʌ	admission
bɔ	hide(t).IMPER
bɔ-nɔk	wetten.IMPF-MIR
bɔ-ci	wetten.IMPF-DSJ
bɔ-suŋ	wetten.PRF-POBS
bɔ-u	hide(t).IMPF-INF
bɔ-u	wetten.IMPF/PRF-INF
bu	bug/insect/grub
bu tsʰɪ̀kpʌ	caterpillar
bu ɟélⱡʌŋ	earthworm
búl-gi	offer.IMPF-DSJ
búl-ɪ̃	offer.IMPF-VOL
búl-u	offer.IMPF-INF
búculuk	fiddle.fern
buk	depression/corner
bukšɛl	cymbals
bucʰɔk	valley
burmarʌ	med.salve
buⱡuk	quick
bū̀cok	depression, deep spot
ca-ɪ̃	do.PRF-VOL
ca-suŋ	do.PRF-POBS
ca-u	do.PRF-INF
cè	instead/moreover
cè	uphill
cè-i	bake.IMPF-DSJ
cèⱡʌŋ	back.lower/backside/waist
ce-u	depart.IMPF-INF
cɛ̃	depart.PTCPL
cʰè	who.relative
cʰɛ-la	below-LOC
cʰenba	med.headache
cɛnba	wood.aromatic
cʰewɔ	husband
cʰē	mouth-gen
cɛ̄	where.is?
cʰēnba	wood.aromatic
cʰè	who.relative
cʰɛ-la	below-LOC
cʰenba	med.headache
cɛnba	wood.aromatic
cʰewɔ	husband
cʰē	mouth-gen
cɛ̄	where.is?
cʰēnba	wood.aromatic
cɛ̀ka	gift
cɛ̀l-ɪ̃	deliver.PRF-VOL
cɛ̀l-suŋ	deliver.PRF-POBS
cɛ̀l-u	deliver.PRF-INF
cɛn-suŋ.	fill.PRF-POBS
cʰè	who.relative
cʰɛ-la	below-LOC

cʰenba	med.headache
cɛnba	wood.aromatic
cʰewɔ	husband
cʰē	mouth-gen
cɛ̄	where.is?
cʰēnba	wood.aromatic
ci	do.IMPER
ci	do.IMPF.DSJ
cít̪ap	book
cìšik	flea
cìt̪li	small teapot
cimǰʌŋ	give.up
cir-ĩ	do.IMPF-VOL
cir-u	do.IMPF-INF
cī	dog
cī hamuŋ	dog female
cī hʌu	dog male
cīsʌ̄	tooth.incisor
cɔ̀l-gi	deliver.IMPF-DSJ
cɔ̀l-ĩ	deliver.IMPF-VOL
cɔ̀l-u	deliver.IMPF-INF
cɔ̀l	deliver.IMPER
cú	bowl.for.rice
cùr	throw.IMPER
cùr-ĩ	throw.IMPF-VOL
cùr-ĩ	throw.PRF-VOL
cùr-ci	throw.IMPF-DSJ
cùr-suŋ	throw.PRF-POBS
cùr-u	throw.IMPF-INF
cùr-u	throw.PRF-INF
cur-u	spit-INF
curwu	sour
cʰè-i	freeze(i).IMPF-DSJ
cʰè-u	freeze(i).IMPF-INF
cʰè	who.relative
cʰɛ-la	below-LOC
cʰenba	med.headache
cɛnba	wood.aromatic
cʰewɔ	husband
cʰē	mouth-gen
cɛ̄	where.is?
cʰēnba	wood.aromatic
cʰè	who.relative
cʰɛ-la	below-LOC
cʰenba	med.headache
cɛnba	wood.aromatic
cʰewɔ	husband
cʰē	mouth-gen
cɛ̄	where.is?
cʰēnba	wood.aromatic
cʰɛ́wa	cool
cʰè	who.relative
cʰɛ-la	below-LOC
cʰenba	med.headache
cɛnba	wood.aromatic
cʰewɔ	husband
cʰē	mouth-gen
cɛ̄	where.is?
cʰēnba	wood.aromatic
cʰírʌŋ	2PL
cʰíre	2PL.GEN
cʰīr	swirl.IMPER
cʰīr-ĩ	swirl.IMPF-VOL
cʰīr-ĩ	swirl.PRF-VOL
cʰīr-ci	swirl.IMPF-DSJ
cʰīr-suŋ	swirl.PRF-POBS
cʰīr-u	swirl.IMPF-INF
cʰīr-u	swirl.PRF-INF
cʰɔ	spoon
cʰɔkpeʥa	boy
cʰɔre	2SG.GEN
cʰu	porridge
cʰurt͡sʰa	ivy.sour/sour.person
cʰuruŋ	2SG
ča	iron
čáu	rooster
čai	mosquito
čà	sweep.IMPER
čà-ĩ	sweep.PRF-VOL
čà-suŋ	sweep.PRF-POBS
čà-u	sweep.PRF-INF
čaŋ	north
čālʌk	things
čʌŋbu	smart/clever
čʌ́	bird/chicken
čʌ́	tea
čʌ́muŋ	hen
čʌ́pcɛ	eighteen
čʌ́pruk	chick
čʌ̀čʌŋ	uncle/mother.brother
čʌ̀-i	sweep.IMPF-DSJ
čʌ̀-ĩ	sweep.IMPF-VOL

čʌŋbu	smart/clever
če	dung.cow/yak
čéŋa	fifteen
čènd̪i	heavy
čè-ci	close(t).IMPF-DSJ
čè-ci	cut.through(t).IMPF-DSJ
čè-suŋ	close(t).PRF-POBS
čè-suŋ	cut.through(t).PRF-POBS
čèt̪	close(t).IMPER
čèt̪	cut.through(t).IMPER
čèt̪-ĩ	close(t).IMPF/PRF-VOL
čèt̪-u	close(t).IMPF/PRF-INF
čɛ	iron.gen
čé	bird.gen
čé méd̪ɔk	egg
čéprʌši	lizard
čèčʌŋ	uncle/mother.brother
čèmʌk	saliva
čèni	cup
čèt̪uŋba	heavily
čílasisi	why.say.if/because
čí-suŋ	cause.PRF-POBS
čít̪	cause.IMPER
čít̪-ĩ	cause.PRF-VOL
čít̪-u	cause.PRF-INF
čì	put.into.IMPER
čìk ce	one instead (only)
čìk-pa	first (one-ORD)
čìk	one
čìŋe	LIKE/AS
čì-suŋ	put.into.PRF-POBS
čìt̪ʰʌmba	ten
čìt̪-ĩ	put.into.PRF-VOL
čìt̪-u	put.into.PRF-INF
čipčʌŋ	jackal
čīŋŋi	twelve
čòrt̪en	stupa
čò-u	sweep.IMPF-INF
čorɛŋ	cicada
čʰɔ	run.IMPER
čɔktsi	table
ču	tomorrow + 4 days
čubak	clothes.man
čú	trick/plan
čú cã	trick do.PRF-PTCPL
čú cir-u	trick do.IMPF-INF
čúǰɛ	hour
čúpt̪ok	lips/bill/beak
čùčik	eleven
čùču	uncle/brother.elder
čùǰɛ	hour
čùt̪uk	lips
čuŋ-nɔk	occur/happen.PRF-MIR
čuŋ-suŋ	occur/happen.PRF-POBS
čupa	clothing.type
čupd̪in	seventeen
čupǰi	fourteen
čupsum	thirteen
čurkʰu	nineteen
čuruk	sixteen
čūr	climb.on.IMPER
čūr-ĩ	climb.on.IMPF-VOL
čūr-ĩ	climb.on.PRF-VOL
čūr-ci	climb.on.IMPF-DSJ
čūr-suŋ	climb.on.PRF-POBS
čūr-u	climb.on.IMPF-INF
čūr-u	climb.on.PRF-INF
čʰài	mosquito
čʰàm-ĩ	dance.PRF-VOL
čʰàm-suŋ	dance.PRF-POBS
čʰàŋ-suŋ	break(i).PRF-POBS
čʰàŋ-u	break(i).PRF-INF
čʰak	break(t).IMPER
čʰak-suŋ	break(t).PRF-POBS
čʰak-u	break(t).PRF-INF
čʰal	river.in
čʰaŋ	beer
čʰáŋd̪a	funeral.ceremony
čʰài	mosquito
čʰàm-ĩ	dance.PRF-VOL
čʰàm-suŋ	dance.PRF-POBS
čʰàŋ-suŋ	break(i).PRF-POBS
čʰàŋ-u	break(i).PRF-INF
čʰak	break(t).IMPER
čʰak-suŋ	break(t).PRF-POBS
čʰak-u	break(t).PRF-INF
čʰal	river.in
čʰal ge-u	swim
čʰaŋ	beer
čʰʌmba	cold(sick)
čʰʌni	used.to/familiar
čʰʌpče	badmouth

čʰʌpče cir-u	badmouth do.IMPF-INF
čʰʌrwa	rain
čʰʌ́ŋa	face
čʰʌ-ĭ	break(t).PRF-VOL
čʰʌ̀	known/knowledge
čʰʌ̀ mɛ́	known NEG.OBS
čʰʌ̀ wɛ́	known OBS
čʰʌ̀-i	break(i).IMPF-DSJ
čʰʌ̀m-u	dance.PRF-INF
čʰʌmba	cold(sick)
čʰʌni	used.to/familiar
čʰʌpče	badmouth
čʰʌpče cir-u	badmouth do.IMPF-INF
čʰʌrwa	rain
čʰé-i	occur/make.IMPF-DSJ
čʰé-nɔk	occur.make.PRF-MIR
čʰé-suŋ	occur.make.PRF-POBS
čʰé-u	occur.make.IMPF-INF
čʰè-ci	cut.through(i)IMPF-DSJ
čʰè-suŋ	cut.through(i)
čʰenn̪ur ɟe-i	spitting.nasty
čʰē-u	shut
čʰɛ́	boss/parents/senior/adult
čʰɛ̀ŋ-suŋ	freeze(i).PRF-POBS
čʰɛ̀ŋ-u	freeze(i).PRF-INF
čʰɛ̄t̪-ĭ	shut.PRF-VOL
čílasisi	why.say.if/because
čí-suŋ	cause.PRF-POBS
čít̪	cause.IMPER
čít̪-ĭ	cause.PRF-VOL
čít̪-u	cause.PRF-INF
čì	put.into.IMPER
čìk ce	one instead (only)
čìk-pa	first
čìŋe	LIKE/AS
čì-suŋ	put.into.PRF-POBS
čìt̪ʰʌmba	ten
čìt̪-ĭ	put.into.PRF-VOL
čìt̪-u	put.into.PRF-INF
čipčʌŋ	jackal
čʰī	water.GEN
čīŋɲi	twelve
čʰo	knowledge
čʰóŋbʌl	leap
čʰóŋbʌl ɟe-u	leap.over
čʰo-i	break(t).IMPF-DSJ
čʰo-ĭ	break(t).IMPF-VOL
čʰòm	dance.IMPER
čʰòm-gi	dance.IMPF-DSJ
čʰòmin	candle.butter
čʰòm-ĭ	dance.IMPF-VOL
čʰòm-u	dance.IMPF-INF
čʰò-u	break(i).IMPF-INF
čʰoŋ-i	run.IMPF-DSJ
čʰoŋ-ĭ	run.IMPF-VOL
čʰoŋ-ĭ	run.PRF-VOL
čʰoŋ-suŋ	run.PRF-POBS
čʰoŋ-u	run.IMPF-INF
čʰoŋ-u	run.PRF-INF
čʰo-u	break(t).IMPF-INF
čʰowa	coat
čʰɔ	run.IMPER
čɔktsi	table
ču	tomorrow + 4 days
čubak	clothes.man
čú	trick/plan
čú cã	trick do.PRF-PTCPL
čú cir-u	trick do.IMPF-INF
čújɛ	hour
čʰúŋma	cow/cattle/animal
čúpt̪ok	lips/bill/beak
čùčik	eleven
čùču	uncle/brother.elder
čùjɛ	hour
čùt̪uk	lips
čʰukpu	rich, rich man, merchant
čuŋ-nɔk	occur/happen.PRF-MIR
čuŋ-suŋ	occur/happen.PRF-POBS
čupa	clothing.type
čupn̪in	seventeen
čupǰi	fourteen
čupsum	thirteen
čurkʰu	nineteen
čuruk	sixteen
čʰū	water
čʰū kʰīru	whirlpool
čʰūǰe	hour
čūr	climb.on.IMPER
čūr-ĭ	climb.on.IMPF-VOL
čūr-ĭ	climb.on.PRF-VOL
čūr-ci	climb.on.IMPF-DSJ
čūr-suŋ	climb.on.PRF-POBS

čūr-u	climb.on.IMPF-INF
čūr-u	climb.on.PRF-INF
čʰūsa	pot.copper
čʰūʈʌk	watermill
ɖa	shaman
ɖal	lentil
ɖal-i pà	soup.lentil
ɖam	stick.in.root
ɖamak	leaf
ɖaŋɛn	pheasant.bird3
ɖamu	PROPER.FEM
ɖaŋ	yesterday
ɖaŋ gomu	last night
ɖare	double teeth
ɖasa	place
ɖʌ́	arrow/arrow.point'bow
ɖʌ́k	prox.manner/this.way
ɖʌ́kp-i	1PL.INCLU-GEN
ɖʌ́kpu	1PL.INCLU
ɖʌ́ldʑa	friend
ɖʌ́m	tie.tight.IMPER
ɖʌ́mb-i	mud-GEN
ɖʌ́mbu	mud
ɖʌ́m-gi	tie.tight.IMPF-DSJ
ɖʌ́m-ĭ	tie.tight.IMPF-VOL
ɖʌ́m-ĭ	tie.tight.PRF-VOL
ɖʌ́m-suŋ	tie.tight.PRF-POBS
ɖʌ́m-u	tie.tight.IMPF-INF
ɖʌ́m-u	tie.tight.PRF-INF
ɖʌ́r	mix.together.IMPER
ɖʌ́r-ĭ	mix.together.PRF-VOL
ɖʌ́r-suŋ	mix.together.PRF-POBS
ɖʌ́r-u	mix.together.PRF-INF
ɖʌ́r-u	whetsharpen.PRF-INF
ɖʌ́sa	luck.bad
ɖʌkčir	mud
ɖʌmba	best
ɖʌm-i	PNF.FEM-GEN
ɖʌmǰa	duck
ɖʌpsuŋ	begonia
ɖʌu	want-inf
ɖe	desire
ɖé	stay/rest/sit.IMPER
ɖé-i	lift.IMPF-DSJ
ɖé-ĭ	lift.IMPF-VOL
ɖé-ci	stay/rest/sit.IMPF-DSJ
ɖé-suŋ	stay/rest/sit.PRF-POBS
ɖéʈ-ĭ	stay/rest/sit.IMPF-VOL
ɖé-ʈĭ	stay/rest/sit.PRF-VOL
ɖéʈ-u	stay/rest/sit.IMPF-INF
ɖéʈ-u	stay/rest/sit.PRF-INF
ɖemba	correct
ɖepu	plant.impf-inf
ɖersʌŋ	claw
ɖɛ	here
ɖék-u	lift.IMPF-INF
ɖèrmʌŋ	bowl.silver
ɖɛn	carpet
ɖɛŋ	monastary.courtyard
ɖɛŋ	sound
ɖɛp-u	split.apart(i)-inf
ɖi	prox/this
ɖíkpa	bad.luck/curse/sin
ɖíŋ	risen
ɖíŋʌr	bucket.water
ɖìn	seven
ɖin	seven
ɖiŋ	within/under
ɖi-ci	PROX-GEN
ɖi-w-i	prox-pl-gen
ɖi-wɔ	prox-pl/these
ɖo	stone/rock
ɖóp-ĭ	plant.IMPF-VOL
ɖóp-ci	plant.IMPF-DSJ
ɖóp-u	plant.IMPF-INF
ɖóp-u	plant.IMPF-INF
ɖór-ĭ	mix.together.IMPF-VOL
ɖórci	whet/sharpen.impf-dsj
ɖór-ci	mix.together.IMPF-DSJ
ɖór-u	whet/sharpen.IMPF-INF
ɖoce	such.as/thus/like
ɖoŋ	in.front.of/opposite
ɖoŋb-i	tree-GEN
ɖoŋbu	tree/plant
ɖoŋ-i	in.front-gen
ɖoŋisʌ̄	tooth.front
ɖoŋmu	ethnic.language
ɖoŋʈil	apron.front
ɖorʌ	clothing.male
ɖorǰi	PROPER.MALE
ɖɔkʈɔk	kickbox
ɖu	beat.IMPER

ɖ́ukpa	trouble, painful
ɖúr-u	mix.together.IMPF-INF
ɖu-ɨ̃	beat.PRF-VOL
ɖù̀m-nɔk	sink.PRF-MIR
ɖù̀p-ci	sink.IMPF-DSJ
ɖù̀p-suŋ	sink.PRF-POBS
ɖù̀p-suŋ	sink.PRF-POBS
ɖù̀p-u	sink.IMPF.INF
ɖù̀p-u	sink.PRF.INF
ɖuk	prox.manner
ɖuk	this.way
ɖum	mix.IMPER
ɖum-gi	mix.IMPF-DSJ
ɖum-ɨ̃	mix.IMPF-VOL
ɖum-ɨ̃	mix.PRF-VOL
ɖum-suŋ	mix.PRF-POBS
ɖum-u	mix.IMPF-INF
ɖum-u	mix.PRF-INF
ɖuŋ-i	beat.IMPF-DSJ
ɖuŋ-ɨ̃	beat.IMPF-VOL
ɖuŋ-u	beat.IMPF-INF
ɖu-suŋ	beat.PRF-POBS
ɖu-u	beat.PRF-INF
ɖa	rice
ɖa sɔŋma	rice straw.stalk
ɖamba	cheek
ɖami	shaman
ɖamsa	molar
ɖa-ne	be.full-abl
ɖa-u	move.cows.IMPF-INF
ɖã	move.around.cows.PTCPL
ɖʌ́-i	be.full.PRF-DSJ
ɖʌ́myʌŋ	guitar
ɖʌ-u	be.full.IMPF-INF
ɖʌwʌɖʌwʌ	quickly
ɖɛn	party
ɖi	go.IMPF-DSJ
ɖi	INCHO.IMPF
ɖi	reconcile.IMPER
ɖi-i	reconcile.IMPF-DSJ
ɖi-ɨ̃	reconcile.PRF-VOL
ɖik-ɨ̃	reconcile.IMPF-VOL
ɖikpa	compromise/agreement
ɖik-u	reconcile.IMPF-INF
ɖi-suŋ	reconcile.PRF-POBS
ɖiu	lets.go
ɖi-u	reconcile.PRF-INF
ɖóŋbu	Rai.caste
ɖo-u	harvest.put.away-INF
ɖɔ-ɨ̃	go.IMPF-VOL
ɖɔ-p	go.IMPF-INF
ɖu-i	dig(hole).IMPF-DSJ
ɖu-ɨ̃	dig(hole).IMPF-VOL
ɖum	spice.forrest1
ɖu-u	dig(hole).IMPF-INF
ga	happy,happiness
gál	INCHO.PRF
gʌ́l-ɨ̃	go.PRF-VOL
gál-nɔk	INCHO-MIR
gʌ́l-u	go.PRF-INF
gà̀ŋ	bowl.copper
gʌka	grandmother
galʌm	tree.leafy
gam	box.general
gama	woman.old
gʌmɖɛr	pigeon
gam-i	woman.old-gen
garʌ	terrace
gawa	old, old(man)
gawa gowa	aged
gaʤura	centi/milliped
gʌka	grandmother
gʌ́l-ɨ̃	go.PRF-VOL
gʌ́l-u	go.PRF-INF
gʌmɖɛr	pigeon
go	head
góm	stumble.cross
go-i	DEON-DSJ
gom	cross/jump.over
gomʌi	PROPER.MALE
gomala	first
gom-gi	dry.out(t).IMPF-DSJ
gom-ɨ̃	dry.out(t).IMPF-VOL
gom-u	dry.out(t).IMPF-INF
go-suŋ	DEON-POBS
go-u	DEON-INF
gɔ́	door
gɔ́la	outside
gɔ́ʈʰe	cowshed
gɔkpa	garlic, onion
gɔla	outside
gɔmu	night, evening

gɔt̩ɛ	laughter
gu	nine
gu	tomorrow + 3
gu	wait.IMPER
gu-i	bend(t).IMPF-DSJ
gu-ĩ	bend(t).IMPF-VOL
gu-ĩ	bend(t).PRF-VOL
gu-ĩ	wait.PRF-VOL
gu-ǰi	wait-POT
gùršiŋ	sugarcane
guk	bend(t).IMPER
guk-suŋ	bend(t).PRF-POBS
guk-u	bend(t).PRF-INF
gumrari	cloth.rough.wool
gunbu	winter
gun̪ri	mat.rice.stalk
gun̪ruk	nettle.dried
guniŋ	year.3ago
gu-ci	wait.IMPF-DSJ
guruŋ	ethnic.group
gu-sa	wait.IMPER-AUG
gu-sĩ	wait.IMPF-DICT.PTCPL
gu-suŋ	wait.PRF-POBS
gut̪-ĩ	wait.IMPF-VOL
gut̪-u	wait.IMPF-INF
gu-u	bend(t).IMPF-INF
gu-u	wait.PRF-INF
gũ	wait.PTCPL
ɟá	spoon
ɟamu	strong,husky, stout
ɟaŋ	completely (PreV)
ɟa-nɔk	swell.PRF-MIR
ɟapt̩il	apron.back
ɟa-ci	swell.IMPF-DSJ
ɟar	millet
ɟa-suŋ	flood.prf-pobs
ɟʌ	sheep.blue
ɟe	south/India
ɟé-i	strike.IMPF-DSJ
ɟé-ĩ	strike.IMPF-VOL
ɟék-u	shoot.gun-inf
ɟél	victory, win
ɟélni	win-abl
ɟéluŋ	mirror
ɟép	strike.IMPER
ɟép-ĩ	strike.PRF-VOL
ɟép-suŋ	strike.PRF-POBS
ɟép-u	strike.PRF-INF
ɟé-u	strike.IMPF-INF
ɟè-pa	eighth
ɟecen	teacher
ɟeliŋ	flute.long
ɟeluk	win
ɟelwu	king
ɟepũ	stove.3stone
ɟermaŋ	spice.jungle2
ɟerɔk	beard/mustache/whiskers
ɟerpu	big
ɟɛ̃	marriage
ɟewɔ	funeral
ɟē-u	put.up-INF
ɟɛ	sheep.blue
ɟɛ́	eight
ɟɛ́p	backside
ɟɛ̀	sheep.blue
ɟɛl-u	win.IMPF-INF
ɟi	come.IMPF-DSJ
ɟi	come.IMPF-DSJ
ɟikšiŋ	holly
ɟikšiŋ	holly
ɟit̪ʰa	vulture
ɟit̪ʰa	vulture
ɟo	spoon
ɟoŋbu	hard
ɟúk	go.IMPER
háči	then/next/later/afterwards
há̱t̪	market
há̱t̪ʌk	quick/fast
haŋa	branch
hapgʌnǰi	vest.sherpa
hapt̪ʰa	week (N)
hariŋ	today
hariŋ gomu	tonight
hʌ̀k	know
hʌ̀na	before
hʌmuŋ	female
hʌt̪ʌp hut̪up	hurriedly
heŋʌ	heavy
hɛ́luŋ	again
hɛ́m	lots
hɛmba	other
hí	letter

hín	COP.IMPF
híci	letter
hìnɖi	Hindi
hìnɖiɛ	India
hici	writing
hóŋ-ne	underneath-ABL
hórʈuk	wind
hòma	milk
homoŋ	pheasant.bird2
horu	noise, sound
hoʈ-u	COP.PRF-INF
hɔ́k	under
hɔ́ŋ-no-sur	under-ABL-PROL
hɔ-ĩ	come.PRF-VOL
hɔŋʌhɔk	basement
hɔŋ-ĩ	come.IMPF-VOL
hɔ-suŋ	come.PRF-POBS
hɔ-u	come.PRF-INF
húphup	humid
húrʈuk	wind
huŋ-u	come.IMPF-INF
índiɛ	India
ískul	school
irwu	summer
ìwi	mother-in-law
ǰák-suŋ	put.PRF-POBS
ǰambʌl	crowbar
ǰambu	smooth/soft
ǰā	floating.thing
ɟá	spoon
ɟʌ	sheep.blue
ǰʌ ɟékuk	sticky
ǰʌ́-i	put.IMPF-DSJ
ǰʌ́-ĩ	put.PRF-VOL
ǰʌ́k	put.IMPER
ǰʌ́k-u	put.PRF-INF
ǰe	June
ǰe	spoor/track
ǰenɖa	young
ǰe-nɔk	forget.PRF-MIR
ǰe-ci	forget.PRF-DSJ
ǰe-u	forget.PRF-INF
ǰeʈʰum	bucket.milk
ǰɛ	tomorrow + 2
ǰɛloraši	snail
ǰɛʈʌr	roof.metal
ǰi	four
ǰi	necklass.stone
ǰíniŋ	year.2.ago
ǰíp	chew/sip.IMPER
ǰíp-ĩ	chew/sip.IMPF-VOL
ǰíp-ĩ	chew/sip.PRF-VOL
ǰíp-ci	chew/sip.IMPF-DSJ
ǰíp-suŋ	chew/sip.PRF-POBS
ǰíp-u	chew/sip.IMPF-INF
ǰíp-u	chew/sip.PRF-INF
ǰí-ci	cause.IMPF-DSJ
ǰí-ci	put.into.IMPF-DSJ
ǰíʈ-ĩ	cause.IMPF-VOL
ǰíʈ-ĩ	put.into.IMPF-VOL
ǰíʈ-u	cause.IMPF-INF
ǰíʈ-u	put.into.IMPF-INF
ǰiŋba	neck
ǰiwa	fear
ǰó-ĩ	put.IMPF-VOL
ǰó-u	put.IMPF-INF
ǰɔ́k	put.IMPER
ǰu	arrow.bow
ǰu	sit.down.POLITE.IMPER
ǰúk	after/later/at.last
ǰúk	stretched out
ǰuruk	necklass.bead
ǰu-u	sit.down-INF
ǰu-u-i-nɔk	sit-INF-DUR-MIR
ǰũ	since
ga	happy,happiness
gál	go.PRF-POBS
gál	INCHO.PRF
gʌ́l-ĩ	go.PRF-VOL
gál-nɔk	INCHO-MIR
gʌ́l-u	go.PRF-INF
gàŋ	bowl.copper
gʌka	grandmother
galʌm	tree.leafy
gam	box.general
gama	woman.old
gʌmɖɛr	pigeon
gam-i	woman.old-gen
ɟamu	strong,husky, stout
ɟaŋ	completely (PreV)
ɟa-nɔk	swell.PRF-MIR
ɟapʈil	apron.back

ɟa-ci	swell.IMPF-DSJ
ɟar	millet
garʌ	terrace
ɟa-suŋ	flood.PRF-POBS
gawa	old, old(man)
gawa gowa	aged
gaʤura	centi/milliped
ɟɛ	sheep.blue
ɟe	south/India
ɟɛ́	eight
ɟé-i	strike.IMPF-DSJ
ɟé-ĩ	strike.IMPF-VOL
ɟék-u	shoot.gun-inf
ɟél	victory, win
ɟélni	win-abl
ɟéluŋ	mirror
ɟɛ́p	backside
ɟép	strike.IMPER
ɟép-ĩ	strike.PRF-VOL
ɟép-suŋ	strike.PRF-POBS
ɟép-u	strike.PRF-INF
ɟé-u	strike.IMPF-INF
ɟɛ̀	sheep.blue
ɟè-pa	eighth
ɟecen	teacher
ɟeliŋ	flute.long
ɟɛl-u	win.IMPF-INF
ɟeluk	win
ɟelwu	king
ɟepũ	stove.3stone
ɟermaŋ	spice.jungle2
ɟerɔk	beard/mustache/whiskers
ɟerpu	big
ɟẽ	marriage
ɟewɔ	funeral
ɟē-u	put.up-INF
gi	come.IMPF-DSJ
gikšiŋ	holly
giʈ̪ʰa	vulture
go	head
ɟo	spoon
gɔ́	door
gɔ́la	outside
góm	stumble.cross
gɔ́ʈ̪ʰe	cowshed
go-i	DEON-DSJ
gɔkpa	garlic, onion
gɔla	outside
gom	cross/jump.over
gomʌi	PROPER.MALE
gomala	first
gom-gi	dry.out(t).IMPF-DSJ
gom-ĩ	dry.out(t).IMPF-VOL
gɔmu	night, evening
gom-u	dry.out(t).IMPF-INF
ɟoŋbu	hard
go-suŋ	DEON-POBS
go-u	DEON-INF
gɔʈ̪ɛ	laughter
gu	nine
gu	tomorrow + 3
gu	wait.IMPER
ɟúk	go.IMPER
gu-i	bend(t).IMPF-DSJ
gu-ĩ	bend(t).IMPF-VOL
gu-ĩ	bend(t).PRF-VOL
gu-ĩ	wait.PRF-VOL
gu-ǰi	wait-POT
gùršiŋ	sugarcane
guk	bend(t).IMPER
guk-suŋ	bend(t).PRF-POBS
guk-u	bend(t).PRF-INF
gumrari	cloth.rough.wool
gunbu	winter
gunɖ̪ri	mat.rice.stalk
gunɖ̪ruk	nettle.dried
guniŋ	year.3ago
gu-ci	wait.IMPF-DSJ
guruŋ	ethnic.group
gu-sa	wait.IMPER-AUG
gu-sĩ	wait.IMPF-DICT.PTCPL
gu-suŋ	wait.PRF-POBS
guʈ̪-ĩ	wait.IMPF-VOL
guʈ̪-u	wait.IMPF-INF
gu-u	bend(t).IMPF-INF
gu-u	wait.PRF-INF
gũ	wait.PTCPL
katsa	shoe.male
káinʌ	maybe
kášɛ	deer.whitetail
kà	stick
kàm-suŋ	dry.out(t).PRF-POBS

kàpʰi	coffee
kalam	pen.pencil (N)
kal-suŋ	burst.apart(i).PRF-POBS
kal-u	burst.apart(i).PRF-INF
kar	bed
kartse	days.past
kariyokpʌ	purple
kaʈʰa	pitchfork
kʌ́ŋ	what?
kʌ́ŋ mɨ́n	none
kʌ́ni	where
kʌ́ŋri	mountain
kʌ́še	hard (preverb)
kʌ̀m	dry.out(t).IMPER
kʌ̀mbu	dry
kʌ̀mi	dry.out(t).PRF-VOL
kʌ̀mu	dry.out(t).PRF-INF
kʌ̀ŋba	leg/foot
kʌ̀ŋb-i hɔ́k	sole
kʌ̀pli	skull
kʌ̀rɟu	yogurt
kʌ̀rma	star
kʌ̀rmu	white
kʌ̀rum	window
kʌ̀rwu	white
kʌlʌk	crow
kʌl-gi	burst.apart(i).IMPF-DSJ
kʌlma	flower/rhododen.small2
kʌl-u	burst.apart(i).IMPF-INF
kʌŋb-i ɖamak	leg-gen/foot
kʌŋb-i tsiŋgur	knee
kʌŋri	mountain
kʌnʈʰa	necklass.gold
kʌsim	diddlesquat
kʌ̄ʈoŋ	invite
kʌ̄ʈoŋ-u	invite.PRF-INF
kóle	slow
kóle kóle	slowly
kòn	wear.IMPER
kòn-gi	wear.IMPF-DSJ
kòn-ĩ	wear.IMPF-VOL
kòn-ĩ	wear.PRF-VOL
kòn-suŋ	wear.PRF-POBS
kòn-u	wear.IMPF-INF
kòn-u	wear.PRF-INF
kòruŋ	window
kole pʰíp	goodbye
kon-ne	wear-ABL
kon-nɔk	wear-MIR
kor	circle.around.IMPER
kor	leopard.snow
kora	around
kor-ĩ	circle.around.IMPF-VOL
kor-ĩ	circle.around.PRF-VOL
kormu	expensive.too
kor-ci	circle.around.IMPF-DSJ
kor-suŋ	circle.around.PRF-POBS
koru	zigzag
kor-u	circle.around.IMPF-INF
kor-u	circle.around.PRF-INF
koruŋ	window
kōkɔrɔk	crooked
kōmba	thirst
kɔ	skin,leather
kɔ̀-i	dig(field)/steal.IMPF-DSJ
kɔ̀-ĩ	dig(field)/steal.IMPF-VOL
kɔ̀-p	dig(field)/steal.IMPF-INF
kɔ̀r	fox
kɔ̀ruŋ	window
kɔ̀-suŋ	dig(field)/steal.PRF-POBS
kɔlmi	rhododen.small1
kɔplɛn	plant.leafy
kɔsa	hearth/kitchen/fireplace
kɔs-i ʈala	hearth-gen ashes
kɔʈʌ-i	cord-ART
kɔ̄ kʌ́ni	where where
kúkše	bent.over (old person)
kʰúrmin	porter
kúʈuk	different/various
kúʈuk	
kù	apply/perform.IMPER
kù	dig(field)/steal.IMPER
kù	statue
kù	thief
kù ciru	theft
kùk-ĩ	apply/perform.PRF-VOL
kùk-u	apply/perform.PRF-INF
kʰùŋ-gi	bring.IMPF-DSJ
kʰùŋ-ĩ	bring.IMPF-VOL
kùn-ĩ	dig(field)/steal.PRF-VOL

kʰùŋ-u	bring.IMPF-INF
kùn-u	dig(field)/steal.PRF-INF
kù-ci	apply/perform.IMPF-DSJ
kùr	tent
kù-suŋ	apply/perform.PRF-POBS
kùʈ-ĩ	apply/perform.IMPF-VOL
kùʈ-u	apply/perform.IMPF-INF
kulɖuk	owl
kʰumbu-la	Khumbu-loc
kumbur	Namche
kuŋ	into/within
kur-i-la	little.bit-ART-LOC
kur-la	a.bit.later-LOC
kurmin	thief
kʰurpa	knife.gurkali
kʰurp-i šup	knife.sheath
kʰurwu	load
kʰū	carry.IMPER
kūr	bread
kʰūr-ĩ	carry.IMPF-VOL
kʰūr-ĩ	carry.PRF-VOL
kʰūr-ci	carry.IMPF-DSJ
kʰūr-suŋ	carry.PRF-POBS
kʰūr-u	carry.IMPF-INF
kʰūr-u	carry.PRF-INF
kʰá	hill
kʰà	snow
kʰà-nɔk	smell.PRF-MIR
kʰàrum	ice
kʰà-suŋ	smell.PRF-POBS
kʰǎ̀	smell.PTCPL
kʰakʈi	bitter
kʰalʌk	relatives/clan
kʰalčupsum	hundred-thirty
kʰalčurkʰu	hundred-ninety
kʰalɖin	seventy
kʰalgu	ninety
kʰali	only
kʰalǰi	forty
kʰalsum	thirty
kʰalʈuk	sixty
kʰamu	intelligent
kʰap	needle
kʰarmʌ	strong/spicey
kʰaša	stag
kʰaʈ	bench.bedN
kʰawa	skillful
kʰãbuŋ	peach
kʰākšir	corn.ground
kʰʌ́	top
kʰʌ́lɟɛ	eighty
kʰʌ́p	needle
kʰʌ́rtse	before/previously
kʰʌ̀l-i	place.on.stove.IMPF-DSJ
kʰʌ̀lŋa	fifty
kʰʌ̀nɖʌp	fight/dispute
kʰalɖin	seventy
kʰʌlgu ʈʌ̄ŋ ɟé	ninety-eight
kʰʌlgu ʈʌ̄ŋ gu	ninety-nine
kʰʌlǰik	twenty
kʰʌlǰik ʈʌ̄ŋ čùčik	thirty-one
kʰʌlǰik ʈʌ̄ŋ čurkʰu	thirty-nine
kʰʌlǰik ʈʌ̄ŋ gu	twenty-nine
kʰʌlǰik ʈʌ̄ŋ ɲì	twenty-two
kʰʌŋba	house/home
kʰʌ̄	mouth
kʰʌ̄ŋrí	mountain
kʰʌ̄p	needle
kʰól-suŋ	place.on.stove.PRF-POBS
kʰór	fence/enclosure
kʰóre	3SG.GEN
kʰòk	upright
kʰòkpa	belly
kʰòʈa	room
kʰornuŋ	yesterday.day.before
kʰɔ̀	bring.IMPER
kʰɔ̀-ĩ	bring.PRF-VOL
kʰɔ̀-suŋ	bring.PRF-POBS
kʰɔ̀-u	bring.PRF-INF
kʰúrmin	porter
kʰùŋ-gi	bring.IMPF-DSJ
kʰùŋ-ĩ	bring.IMPF-VOL
kʰùŋ-u	bring.IMPF-INF
kʰumbu-la	Khumbu-loc
kʰurpa	knife.gurkali
kʰurp-i šup	knife.sheath
kʰurwu	load
kʰū	carry.IMPER
kʰūr-ĩ	carry.IMPF-VOL

kʰūr-ĭ	carry.PRF-VOL
kʰūr-ci	carry.IMPF-DSJ
kʰūr-suŋ	carry.PRF-POBS
kʰūr-u	carry.IMPF-INF
kʰūr-u	carry.PRF-INF
la	month
la	soul
-la	-LOC
lá	what? huh?
láʈʌp čou	waste time
la-ĭ	rise.PRF-VOL
là	OK
làk-suŋ	return.PRF-POBS
làŋ	bull
làŋ	ox
là-ne	take-ABL
làp-si	learn-DICT
làʈʌp čʌ-ĭ.	time waste.PRF-VOL
làʈʌp čo-ĭ.	time waste.IMPF-VOL
lə̀	take-PTCPL
lakʌ	work
lakʌ cir-u	work do.IMPF-INF
lakur	grinder
lala-i	someone-GEN
lala-i	someone-INDEF
lam	path/road.
laŋʌ	full
lap	talk
lap-ne	talk-ABL
lap-nɔk	talk.PRF-MIR
la-suŋ	rise.PRF-POBS
la-u	rise.PRF-INF
lā	mountain.pass
lʌ́	hill
lʌ́kʌm	stick
lʌ́kčɛ	tools
lʌ́kpa	hand/arm
lʌ́lʌ	somebody
lʌ̀m	fry.pan.IMPER
lʌ̀m	gather(potatoes).IMPER
lʌ̀m	talk
lʌ̀m-gi	fry.pan.PRF-POBS
lʌ̀m-gi	gather(potatoes).PRF-POBS
lʌ̀m-ĭ	fry.pan.PRF-VOL
lʌ̀m-ĭ	gather(potatoes).PRF-VOL
lʌ̀m-u	fry.pan.PRF-INF
lʌ̀m-u	gather(potatoes).PRF-INF
lʌ̀ŋ	also
lʌ̀ŋ-i	rise.IMPF-DSJ
lʌ̀ŋ-ĭ	rise.IMPF-VOL
lʌ̀ŋ-u	rise.IMPF-INF
lʌ̀ŋ-u	take-INF
lʌ̀p	talk
lʌ̀p-ci	learn.IMPF-DSJ
lʌ̀p-u	talk.PRF-INF
lʌ̀pʈa	student/school
lʌŋbu	elephant
lʌ̄ma	lama
lʌ̄p	learn.IMPER
lʌ̄-p	learn-INF
le	year.GEN
lém-nɔk	arrive.PRF-MIR
lép-suŋ	arrive.PRF-POBS
lép-u	arrive.PRF-INF
lensi	although/while
lɛ̀mba	damp.wet
lɛmba	tick
lɛmu	good, gentle, well, nice
lì	attract.root
lík	water leech
limi	key
limuŋ	porch
lítsi	corn
lítsi kʰakšir	cooked.cornrice
lo	HOR
lo	year
ló	nettle-hemp
lópʈa	student
lòm-gi	fry.pan.IMPF-DSJ
lòm-gi	gather(potatoes).IMPF-DSJ
lòm-ĭ	fry.pan.IMPF-VOL
lòm-ĭ	gather(potatoes).IMPF-VOL
lòmu	fry.pan.IMPF-INF
lòmu	gather(potatoes).IMPF-INF
lòŋ	again/return
lòp	study.IMPER
lòp-ci	study.IMPF-DSJ
lòp-u	talk.IMPF-INF
lou	all.right
lɔ	rise.IMPER
lɔ	surface
lɔ-ĭ	comfort.IMPF-VOL

lɔ̀	liver
lɔ-la	surface-LOC
lɔ-no-ma	surface-ABL-DESC
lɔ-p	comfort.IMPF-INF
lɔ-p	take.care.kid-INF
lɔpʈ̣ʰa	student
lɔʈ̪ʰʌrce	squirrel
lɔ̄ ʈ̪ʌ́ma	All right! (Look, then!)
lú̱k	sheep, ram
lú̱m	fall.down/off.IMPER
lú̱m-gi	fall.down/off.IMPF-DSJ
lú̱m-ɾĭ	fall.down/off.IMPF-VOL
lú̱m-ĭ	fall.down/off.PRF-VOL
lú̱m-suŋ	fall.down/off.PRF-POBS
lú̱m-u	fall.down/off.IMPF-INF
lú̱m-u	fall.down/off.PRF-INF
lúŋ	breeze
lu-i	comfort.IMPF-DSJ
lù	pour.IMPER
lù-i	pour.IMPF-DSJ
lù-ɾĭ	pour.IMPF-VOL
lùk-ĭ	pour.PRF-VOL
lùk-suŋ	pour.PRF-POBS
lùk-u	pour.PRF-INF
lùmu	flute
lùmuŋ	flute.short
lùŋ	again
lù-u	pour.IMPF-INF
luk-suŋ.	comfort.PRF-POBS
lumɖ̪i	nettle.cornrice
lumu	strawberry
luŋba	country/land/turf
lu-nɔk	left.behind.prf-mir
lu-sa	comfort.IMPER-AUG
lu-u	left.behind.PRF-INF
lū	music
lū	song, music
lū lʌŋ-u	song rise.IMPF-INF
l̥á-ĭ	look.at.PRF-VOL
l̥á-suŋ	look.at.PRF-POBS
l̥á-u	look.at.PRF-INF
l̥ai ʈ̪ʌ̄ŋ húi	scream with shout
l̥àk-u	boil(t).PRF-INF
l̥à-suŋ	boil(t).PRF-POBS
l̥à-u	boil(t).IMPF-INF
l̥ā-ɾĭ	look.at.IMPF-VOL
l̥ā-p	look.at.IMPF-INF
l̥ʌ́-u	look.at.IMPF-INF
l̥ʌ̀-i	boil(t).IMPF-DSJ
l̥ʌ̀-ɾĭ	boil(t).IMPF-VOL
l̥ʌ̀k-ɾĭ	boil(t).PRF-VOL
l̥ʌ̀kpa	enough/too.much
l̥ʌ̀kpa	PROPER.MALE
l̥ʌ̀ŋʌŋ	monastery/temple
l̥ʌ̄	god/idol
l̥ē-i	look.at.IMPF-DSJ
l̥è	navel
l̥èʈ̪ʌ	brain
l̥ɛšiŋ	hemlock
l̥ɛ̄	idol.GEN
l̥ò	south
l̥ɔ̀	hunger
l̥ɔ̀k	boil(t).IMPER
l̥ɔ̄	look.at.IMPER
lɔ̄ ʈ̪ʌ́ma	All right!
má	NEG.PRF
mábirkū-ne	PROPER.PLACE-ABL
már	butter/ghee
màtsʌ	fish
màŋmʌŋ	moss
malʌm	wish
manʌ	pound
maʈ̪ʌk	rope
mawu	niece/nephew/mother's.sister.child
māli	earring
mār	root
mʌ́kpa	bridegroom
mʌ́ŋ	many/much(preverb)
mʌ́ŋmu	many/more/much
mʌ̀	wound/injury
mʌǰa	clothes
mʌ̀ma	mother
mʌ̀ma ɕʰɛ	mother's.older.sister
mʌ̀ma ʈ̣íkpe	mother's.younger.sister
mʌrtsi	chili.pepper
mʌni	prayer.wheel
mʌr	down
mʌriyokpa	orange
mʌrwu	red
mʌ̄	wound/sore
mʌ̄nī	stela

mé	fire
mé	fire.gen
mé ɟép-u	fire set.PRF-INF
mélʌkpa	bad/wrong/evil
mém	father-in-law
mètsʌŋ	dirty
meʈ̪-u	NEG.COP-INF
mɛ́	NEG.OBS
mɛ́ɖ̪ɔk	flower/egg
mɛŋ-gi	neg-come.IMPF-DSJ
mɛ́ši	buffalo.water
mɛ́ʈ̪ʌŋcã	without
mɛ́ʈ̪-u	NEG.COP-INF
mɛlwa	bad/ugly/rough
mɛn	medicine/poison
mibur	eyebrow/antenna
miɖ̪ʌla	right.after
miɖ̪uk	NEG.MIR
mí	person/man
mí gama	woman.old
mí gawa	man old
mín	NEG.COP.IMPF
míʈ̪a	throat.inside
mìk	eye
mìk kʌ̀rwu	foreigner
mìkʈ̪um	hole
mìlʌm	dream
mikčur	tear
min	name
mórok	first.time
mòmbʌʈ̪i	candle.reg
mò-ci	plow.IMPF-DSJ
mòʈ̪-ĩ	plow.IMPF-VOL
mòʈ̪-u	plow.IMPF-INF
mõ	down
mɔ	plow.IMPER
mɔ́	badmouth.IMPER
mɔ́-ĩ	badmouth.PRF-VOL
mɔ́lʌ	just.now
mɔ́-ci	badmouth.IMPF-DSJ
mɔ́-suŋ	badmouth.PRF-POBS
mɔ́ʈ̪-ĩ	badmouth.IMPF-VOL
mɔ́ʈ̪-u	badmouth.IMPF-INF
mɔ́-u	badmouth.PRF-INF
mɔ-ĩ	plow.PRF-VOL
mɔmbʌʈ̪ʰi	wax.candle
mɔ-suŋ	plow.PRF-POBS
mɔʈ̪ʰe	soybean
mɔ-u	plow.PRF-INF
mùkpa	cloud/fog
mùkpu	snail
mukp-i bu	slug
mula	together
mula mula	together
na lakpa	right.hand
ná	barley.short.grain
ná cʰu	porridge.barley
nàm	sky
nak	yak.female2
naktsa	map
napʰela	morning.early
na-ci	sick.be.IMPF-DSJ
nasʌm	thinking/thought
nasʌm ʈ̪oŋ-u	think (thought send)
na-suŋ	sick.be.PRF-POBS
naʈ̪ʌŋ	destruction
na-u	sick.be.IMPF-INF
na-u	sick.be.PRF-INF
naʈ̪uŋ	forest,jungle
nā	tomorrow+1.day
nʌ	inside
nʌ́mlʌŋ	never
nʌ́msʌŋ	always/ever
nʌ́ŋ	inside
nʌ́ŋ-i	inside-GEN
nʌ́ŋ-la	inside-LOC
nʌ́ŋ-no	inside-ABL
nʌ́ŋ-no-ma	inside-ABL-DESC
nʌ́ŋ-no-sur	inside-ABL-PROL
nʌ̀ktsi	ink
nʌ̀ma	bride
nʌ̀mbu	wool
nʌ̀mǰok	ear
nʌ̀ŋ	give.me.imper
nʌ̀niŋ	last.year
nʌ̀ndʑaŋ	couple/spouse
nʌ̀u	nose/nostril
nʌkpu	black
nʌkʤup	dark/dusk/darkness
nʌm	when
nʌŋbu	year.after.next
nʌniŋ	year.last

nʌŋʤʌŋ	married
-ne	-ABL
ŋérme	weak
nerpa	disease
nɛ̀	place.sacred
nɛ̀nbu	sharp, pointed
nɛmin	strap.load
nɛpal	Nepal
ŋotsʰa	shyness
nórt̪u	stumble
nórt̪u ɟe-u	stumble strike.IMPF-INF
ŋòrmu	green
nosuk	pride/proud
ŋot̪uŋ	face
nɔ́k	MIR
ŋɔ-i	weap.IMPF-DSJ
ŋɔ-ĩ	weap.IMPF-VOL
ŋɔ̀	count.IMPER
ŋɔ̀-i.	count.IMPF-DSJ
ŋɔ̀-ĩ	count.PRF-VOL
ŋɔ̀-ĩ.	count.IMPF-VOL
ŋɔ̀-p	count.IMPF-INF
ŋɔ̀-p	count.PRF-INF
ŋɔ̀-suŋ	count.PRF-POBS
ŋɔ-p	weap.IMPF-INF
ŋu	weap.IMPER
núm	udder
núp	west/sunset/night
núp-la	night-LOC
ŋu-ĩ	weap.PRF-VOL
ŋùl	silver
nùm	oil
num	sister.younger
ŋunbu	blue
nup	brother.younger
nupnum	brother&sister
nurma	rice.for.chang
ŋu-suŋ	weap.PRF-POBS
ŋu-u	weap.PRF-INF
nūŋla	ago
ɲá	joke
ɲà	yoke
ɲàšiŋ	yoke
ɲaɲim	rasberry
ɲā	here.you.go
ɲʌ	fish
ɲʌ́-i	buy.IMPF-DSJ
ɲén	listen.IMPER
ɲén-ĩ	listen.PRF-VOL
ɲén-suŋ	listen.PRF-POBS
ɲén-u	listen.PRF-INF
ɲèrmu	sister-in-law
ɲešu	twenty
ɲɛ	1SG.GEN
ɲɛ	fish.gen
ɲɛ(t̪)	find.IMPER
ɲɛ́-n	lend-PTCPL
ɲɛ́n-gi	lend.IMPF-DSJ
ɲɛ́n-gi	listen.IMPF-DSJ
ɲɛ́n-ĩ	lend.IMPF-VOL
ɲɛ́n-ĩ	listen.IMPF-VOL
ɲɛ́n-u	listen.IMPF-INF
ɲɛ-ĩ	find.IMPF-VOL
ɲɛ̀čum	wrinkles
ɲɛ-ci	find.IMPF-DSJ
ɲɛ-suŋ	find.PRF-POBS
ɲɛt̪aŋ ɖoŋbu	pine.white
ɲɛt̪-ĩ	find.PRF-VOL
ɲɛt̪-u	find.PRF-INF
ɲɛ-u	find.IMPF-INF
ɲɛ̄cɔk	pot
ɲì̀ŋba	old
ɲilo	goodnite.to.child
ɲiŋǰe	pity
ɲíǰi	one.day
ɲímʌ	daily
ɲímu	daylight
ɲíŋ	in.contrast
ɲì̀	sleep
ɲì̀-kʌr	both
ɲì̀lʌŋ	sleep
ɲì̀lok	sleep
ɲì̀lok-u	sleep-inf
ɲì̀ŋ	heart
ɲì̀sɔk	sleepiness
ɲima	day/sun
ɲima šar	sunny.it's
ɲimi	day
ɲiŋba	known.long.time
ɲirʌŋ	1PL.EXCL
ɲire	1PL.EXCL.GEN
ɲirma	anger

ɲirma ca-u	anger do.PRF-INF
ɲirmi sʌma	lunch
ɲirmu	angry
ɲirmu	midday
ɲɔ́	buy.IMPER
ɲɔ́-ĩ	buy.IMPF-VOL
ɲɔ́-ĩ	buy.PRF-VOL
ɲɔ́-p	buy.IMPF-INF
ɲɔ́-suŋ	buy.PRF-POBS
ɲɔ́-u	buy.PRF-INF
ɲùŋʌŋ	ginger
ɲùp	pen.bamboo
ɲuŋmʌ	bamboo.small
ŋà	five
ŋà	magic
ŋʌ	1SG
ŋʌ̀	drum
ŋʌ̀ma	tail
ŋʌrmu	sweet
ŋérme	weak
ŋotsʰa	shyness
ŋòrmu	green
ŋoʈuŋ	face
ŋɔ-i	weap.IMPF-DSJ
ŋɔ-ĩ	weap.IMPF-VOL
ŋɔ̀	count.IMPER
ŋɔ̀-i.	count.IMPF-DSJ
ŋɔ̀-ĩ	count.PRF-VOL
ŋɔ̀-ĩ.	count.IMPF-VOL
ŋɔ̀-p	count.IMPF-INF
ŋɔ̀-p	count.PRF-INF
ŋɔ̀-suŋ	count.PRF-POBS
ŋɔ-p	weap.IMPF-INF
ŋu	weap.IMPER
ŋu-ĩ	weap.PRF-VOL
ŋùl	silver
ŋunbu	blue
ŋu-suŋ	weap.PRF-POBS
ŋu-u	weap.PRF-INF
òŋbu rʌmbu	strong/tall/perfect
oŋcʰu	PROPER.MALE
ɔ́kʈum	fist
pa	meat dried
pál	wool
pála	turn (N)
pà	broth/soup/lentils
pàp	fall/get.down.IMPER
pàp	land.on.IMPER
pàp-i	fall/get.down.PRF-VOL
pàp-ĩ	land.on.PRF-VOL
pàp-u	fall/get.down.PRF-INF
pàp-u	land.on.PRF-INF
pàrcɛn	other.side.river/hill
pak	barley.fry.grind
pal	tent
pal	wool.on.sheep
paŋre	plaid.colorful
paʈʌkʌri	magnolia
padza	harmonica
pʌ́k	lime/whitewash/clay
pʌ́lʌŋ	cow
pʌ́le	one.time/day
pʌ́ŋɔk	meadow
pʌ́rtsi	occasionally
pʌ́rtsi pʌ́rtsi	infrequent
pʌ́rsʌk	until
pʌ̀gawa	grandfather
pʌ̀lu	father
pʌ̀pa	father
pʌ̀pčʰé	uncle
pʌ̀p-suŋ	fall/get.down.PRF-POBS
pʌ̀p-suŋ	land.on.PRF-POBS
pʌla	turn
pʌŋ	outside
pʌr	between
pʌrtsi	often/sometimes
pʌsʌla	store
pʌsʈuk	book
pʌʈe	belief
pʌʈe ca-u	belief do.PRF-INF
pʌ̄ʈip	bamboo.big
pe	completed.action.particle
pé	Tibet
pè	open(t).IMPER
pè	story
pè šèʈ-u	story tell.IMPF-INF
pèǰa	book
pèrʌŋbu	poor.people
pè-suŋ	open(t).PRF-POBS
pèʈ-ĩ	open(t).PRF-VOL
pèʈ-u	open(t).PRF-INF
pepa	Tibetan

permi	wife
pernbu	wizard
pedza	child(ren)
pɛ	rat/mouse/mole
pɛ̀kamba	back.shoulder
pɛ̀rka	stick.bamboo
pɛma	sand
pɛrʌtsi	bean.string
pɛt̪ʰɛkpa	cricket/mantis
pɛ̄m	witch
pí-ĭ	wipe.PRF-VOL
pí-ci	wipe.IMPF-VOL
píšʌn	escape (preV)
pí-suŋ	wipe.PRF-POBS
pít̪-ĭ	wipe.IMPF-VOL
pít̪-u	wipe.IMPF-INF
píu	calf
pí-u	wipe.PRF-INF
pišiŋ	holly.china
pī	undress.imper
pī̃	wipe-PTCPL
pólɛk	butterfly
pómɔk	frost
pò	incense
pòk	take.from.fire.IMPER
pòk-ĭ	take.from.fire.PRF-VOL
pòk-suŋ	take.from.fire.PRF-POBS
pòk-u	take.from.fire.PRF-INF
pòŋ	bottle/container.bamboo
pòp-ĭ	fall/get.down.IMPF-VOL
pòp-u	fall/get.down.IMPF-INF
pò-ci	fall/get.down.IMPF-DSJ
pok-ĭ	land.on.IMPF-VOL
pok-u	land.on.IMPF-INF
pomd̪ok	hill
pomuŋ	yak-cow.female
poŋmar	med.food.poison
po-ci	land.on.IMPF-DSJ
pɔmiald̪ɔk	fruit.peachy
pu	blow.on.IMPER
pu	wool
púm	girl/daughter
púmpedza	girl
pu-ĭ	blow.on.PRF-VOL
pùl	offer.IMPER
pùl	push-IMPER
pùl-gi	push.IMPF-DSJ
pùl-ĭ	offer.PRF-VOL
pùl-ĭ	push.IMPF-VOL
pùl-ĭ	push.PRF-VOL
pùl-suŋ	offer.PRF-POBS
pùl-suŋ	push.PRF-POBS
pùl-u	offer.PRF-INF
pùl-u	push.IMPF-INF
pùl-u	push.PRF-INF
pùšok	feather
pùšok	wing
puk	rock ledge
pukʌ	kiss
puci	cooking area
pu-ci	blow.on.IMPF-DSJ
puri	cucumber
purumaŋ	bush.green
pu-suŋ	blow.on.PRF-POBS
put̪-ĭ	blow.on.IMPF-VOL
put̪-u	blow.on.IMPF-INF
pu-u	blow.on.PRF-INF
pū	hair/feather/fur/hair
pūit̪i	over.there
pūrumaŋ	incense from bush
pʰàm-suŋ	lose(fight).PRF-POBS
pʰam	kilo
pʰar	yonder/thither/away
pʰā	far
pʰā pʰò	far away
pʰār	afraid.be.IMPER
pʰār-ĭ	afraid.be.IMPF-VOL
pʰār-ĭ	afraid.be.PRF-VOL
pʰār-suŋ	afraid.be.PRF-POBS
pʰār-u	afraid.be.PRF-INF
pʰʌ̀la	thither-loc
pʰʌkpa	pig/boar/hog
pʰʌt̪ʰi	kilo.3
pʰʌ̄p	hit.on.top.IMPER
pʰʌ̄p-ĭ	hit.on.top.PRF-VOL
pʰʌ̄p-suŋ	hit.on.top.PRF-POBS
pʰʌ̄p-u	hit.on.top.PRF-INF
pʰʌ̄r-ci	afraid.be.IMPF-DSJ
pʰʌ̄r-u	afraid.be.IMPF-INF
pʰéka	half
pʰéka-i	half-indef
pʰè	bite.IMPER

pʰè-suŋ bite.PRF-POBS
pè-suŋ open(t).PRF-POBS
pʰèʈ-i bite.IMPF-DSJ
pʰèʈ-ĩ bite.IMPF-VOL
pʰèʈ-ĩ bite.PRF-VOL
pʰèʈ-u bite.IMPF-INF
pʰèʈ-u bite.PRF-INF
pʰē flour
pʰi lakpa left.hand
pʰi lakpi□ left foot
pʰì outside
pʰì-no-sur outside-ABL-PROL
pʰìr jump.IMPER
pʰìr-ĩ jump.IMPF-VOL
pʰìr-ĩ jump.PRF-VOL
pʰìr-ci jump.IMPF-DSJ
pʰìr-suŋ jump.PRF-POBS
pʰìr-u jump.IMPF-INF
pʰìr-u jump.PRF-INF
pʰì-suŋ late.be.PRF-POBS
pʰila thigh
pʰī wine
pʰò over.there/away/yonder
pʰò-i ʈí over.there-art nmz
pʰòm-gi lose(fight).IMPF-DSJ
pʰòm-u lose(fight).IMPF-INF
pʰolɛk moth.big
pʰōmiʈɔʈɔk bat
pʰúrtsok stick.small
pʰùr fly.IMPER
pʰùr-ĩ fly.IMPF-VOL
pʰùr-ĩ fly.PRF-VOL
pʰùr-ci fly.IMPF-DSJ
pʰùr-suŋ fly.PRF-POBS
pʰùr-u fly.IMPF-INF
pʰùr-u fly.PRF-INF
pʰuʈbʌl soccer
ra cloth
rám-suŋ destroy(i).PRF-POBS
rám-u destroy(i).PRF-INF
ráŋ honey/nectar
rai ethnic.group
raini ethnic.group
rambʌr onion
raŋpitsir porcupine
rar-ci desire-GEN
rʌ goat
rʌ́m-gi destroy(i).IMPF-DSJ
rʌ́m-u destroy(i).IMPF-INF
rʌ̀ŋ only/even
rʌlʈi mat.woven
rʌmbu strong
rʌŋmʌŋ fly
re about
ré goat.gen
ré-i touch.bad.IMPF-DSJ
ré-ĩ touch.bad.IMPF-VOL
rék touch.bad.IMPER
rék-ĩ touch.bad.PRF-VOL
rék-suŋ touch.bad.PRF-POBS
rék-u touch.bad.PRF-INF
réruk goat.kid
ré-u touch.bad.IMPF-INF
re-suŋ freezing.cold.PRF-POBS
rɛmbɛr jackal/small.lynx
rɛ̃ freezing.cold.IMPF.PTCPL
ri hill/mountain
ri potato
ríǰo jungle.chicken
rìu puppy
rikpa realization
rimuŋ rabbit
rin cost/price
riŋbu long/straight
rici potato
riruk mountain.goat.himalayan
ro corpse
ru collect/pile.up.imper
rúl-gi rot.IMPF-DSJ
rúl-nɔk rot.PRF-POBS
rúl-u rot.IMPF-INF
rúl-u rot.PRF-INF
rúlwuǰe snake.big
rúwɔk bone
rùluč^{h}ɛ cobra
ru-sa collect.IMPER-AUG
rūl snake
ɻra cotton.dry
ɻrač^{h}e monkey.white
ɻrʌ́l-ĩ tear.PRF-VOL
ɻrʌ́l-suŋ tear.PRF-POBS
ɻrʌ́l-u tear.PRF-INF

ɽʌ̀m	destroy(t).IMPER
ɽʌ̀m-ĩ	destroy(t).IMPF-VOL
ɽʌ̀m-ĩ	destroy(t).PRF-VOL
ɽʌ̀m-suŋ	destroy(t).PRF-POBS
ɽʌ̀m-u	destroy(t).PRF-INF
ɽʌ̄	hair
ɽè-ĩ	burn/bake(t).IMPF-VOL
ɽè-ci	burn/bake(t).IMPF-DSJ
ɽè-u	burn/bake(t).IMPF-INF
ɽɛ̀-ĩ	burn/bake(t).PRF-VOL
ɽɛ̀k	burn/bake(t).IMPER
ɽɛ̀-suŋ	burn/bake(t).PRF-POBS
ɽɛ̀-u	burn/bake(t).PRF-INF
ɽì̀pčʌŋ	shadow
ɽī̀u	monkey
ɽo	warm.up
ɽòm-u	destroy(t).IMPF-INF
ɽɔ́l	tear.IMPER
ɽɔ́l-gi	tear.IMPF-DSJ
ɽɔ́l-ĩ	tear.IMPF-VOL
ɽɔ́l-u	tear.IMPF-INF
ɽùm-gi	destroy(t).IMPF-DSJ
ɽùn̪a	string.thread,yarn
ɽum	nits.lice.egg
sa	copper
-sa	-AUG
sámba	bridge
sa-ĩ	eat.IMPF-VOL
sa-ĩ	say.PRF-VOL
sàŋ	worship
salmʌ	garbage
sa-p	eat.IMPF-INF
sa-suŋ	say.PRF-POBS
sat̪ʌ	umbrella
sa-u	say.PRF-INF
sʌla	tomorrow
sʌ́i	earthquake
sʌ́ŋd̪un	lama.long.horn
sʌ-i	eat.IMPF-DSJ
sʌ̀	ground/floor
sʌ̀-la	ground-LOC
sʌ̀mba	new
sʌ̀ŋbu	year.next
sʌ̀ŋe	pious
sʌ̀pt̪ul	toothbrush
sʌla	tomorrow
sʌma	food
sʌnd̪uŋ	lama's.long.copper.horn
sʌŋma	stalk
sʌrʌsar	through
sʌ̄	tooth
sè	kill
sèm	spirit/heart
sè-ne	kill-abl
sènɔk	kill.PRF-MIRA
sènɔk	kill-MIR
sè-ci	kill.IMPF-DSJ
sèr	gold
sè-suŋ	kill.PRF-POBS
sèt̪u	kill.IMPF-INF
sèt̪u	kill.PRF-INF
sèt̪-u-i-nɔk	kill-INF-DUR-MIR
sèt̪-u-la	kill-INF-LOC
sekʌrʌk	wood.pieces
semd̪uk	grief/sorrow
sermišɛp	PROPER.PLACE
sese	cherry
sē	kill.imper
sēr	hail
sērwu	yellow/tan.lightwood
sɛ̀	ground-GEn
sɛ́k	until
sɛ́m	feelings/spirit/thought
sɛ̀	itch(y)
sèrmuŋ	nail
sɛn	seed
sɛru	very
sɛrwu	white
sí	say.IMPF-DSJ
sí-ĩ	say.IMPF-VOL
sínʌŋ	compared.to/ever/although
sír-i	say.IMPF-DUR
sír-u	say.IMPF-INF
sì̀m	hemp
sin	finish.IMPER
sin-gi	finish.IMPF-DSJ
sin-ĩ	finish.IMPF-VOL
sin-ĩ	finish.PRF-VOL
sin-suŋ	finish.PRF-POBS
sin-u	finish.IMPF-INF
sin-u	finish.PRF-INF
sirʌkʰʌnd̪ʌ	potato.sweet

sī	who.GEN
so	animal food/greens/food
sóri	sickle
sórʈok	stump
so-ĩ	eat.PRF-VOL
sòpʈul	toothpaste
soŋma	stalk
sor	knife.scythe
so-suŋ	eat.PRF-POBS
so-u	eat.PRF-INF
sɔ	eat.IMPER
sùk-i-nɔk	hurt.PRF-DUR-MIR
sùm	three
sùm-ki	three-gen
sùp	stomach/belly
suk	pain
suk giru	stomach.ache
sur-u	rustle.IMPF-INF
suʈʰuk	necklass.silgold
sū	who
ša	say.IMPER
ša	stag
šakpa	stew
šʌ́muŋ	hat
šʌ́r-nɔk	shine/dream/bloom.PRF-MIR
šʌ́r-ci	shine/dream/bloom.IMPF-DSJ
šʌ́r-suŋ	shine/dream/bloom.PRF-POBS
šʌ́r-u	shine/dream/bloom.IMPF-INF
šʌ̀muŋ	mushroom
šʌ̀r	chase.IMPER
šʌ̀r-i	chase.PRF-VOL
šʌ̀r-šuŋ	chase.PRF-POBS
šʌ̀r-u	chase.PRF-INF
šʌmuŋ	mushroom
šʌr	east.sunrise
šʌrʌŋga	skinny
šʌu	apple.tree
šʌ̄	meat raw
šèci	know-DSJ
šè-ci	tell.IMPF-DSJ
šèrw-i	Sherpa-GEN
šè-suŋ	tell.PRF-POBS
šèʈ-ĩ	tell.IMPF-VOL
šèʈ-ĩ	tell.PRF-VOL
šerwa	Sherpa
šē	tell/speak.IMPER
šē-ci	tell/speak.IMPF-DSJ
šɛ̄-p	die-INF
ši	necklass
šìk	lice.body
šìm	muddty.area/dew
šìmse	muddy
šìŋ	wood
šìŋ-i	wood-GEN
šìrʌŋ	bee
šìrɔk	blanket
šìši	bottle
šimbu	tasty
šimšir	shirt
šiŋ	field/land
šiŋʌl	spindle
šinɖʌk	snake, vine
ši-nɔk	melt.PRF-MIR
širu	dance.type
šiša	comb
ši-suŋ	melt.PRF-POBS
šiʈ-u	melt.IMPF-INF
šī	die.DSJT
šī	die.IMPER
šīŋʌ̀l	stick
šīŋ-i	wood-gen
šī-nɔk	die-MIR
šī-suŋ	die-POBS
šórne	shine-ABL
šór-u	shine.PRF-INF
šòr-ĩ	chase.IMPF-VOL
šòr-ci	chase.IMPF-DSJ
šòr-u	chase.IMPF-INF
šokpa	wing
šom	basket
šōk	come.IMPER
šōluk	leaf
šōmʌk	leaf
šōruŋ	Solu
šù	enter.IMPER
šù	paper
šù-i	enter.IMPF-DSJ
šù-ĩ	enter.IMPF-VOL
šù-ĩ	enter.PRF-VOL
šù-suŋ	enter.PRF-POBS
šù-u	enter.IMPF-INF
šù-u	enter.PRF-INF

šukpa	arborvite
šūr-ci	sheath-GEN
ʈam	POT
ʈàŋ	send.IMPER
ʈàŋ-ĩ	send.PRF-VOL
ʈàŋ-suŋ	send.PRF-POBS
ʈàŋ-u	send.PRF-INF
ʈak	mtn.side
ʈakpa	birch.white
ʈalók	hill
ʈamaŋ	ETHNIC.GROUP
ʈamɖɔk	dough
ʈamɲɛ	words
ʈanʌpiu	chickadee
ʈaŋka	painting.religious
ʈara	yogurt
ʈasʌla	pot.cooking
ʈasʌm	nowadays
ʈašiɖʌle	hello
ʈašiŋ	spruce.blue
ʈʌ	now/later.little
ʈʌ sɛ́k	now until
ʈálʤok	whip
ʈʌ́ma	then/now
ʈʌ́m-ne	winnow.PRF-ABL
ʈʌ́ŋbo	much.time
ʈʌ́p	winnow.imper
ʈʌ́p-suŋ	winnow.PRF-POBS
ʈʌ̀	horse
ʈʌ̀	soil/dirt
ʈʌ̀i	spoon/ladle
ʈʌ̀mɲɛ	word/language/talk
ʈʌ̀mɲɛ ci	talking
ʈʌ̀ŋ	over
ʈʌ̀p-ĩ	plant.PRF-VOL
ʈʌ̀pci	therefore
ʈʌ̀p-u	plant.PRF-INF
ʈʌp	measure.IMPER
ʈʌpce	frying pan
ʈʌp-ci	measure.IMPF-DSJ
ʈʌp-u	measure-INF
ʈʌ̄k	lion
ʈʌ̄ŋ	with/and
ʈʌ̄ŋcã	with.do.PRF.PTCPL
ʈʌ̄pʈi	knife
ʈél	oil.cookingN
ʈèla	up-LOC
ʈèpʈi	knife
ʈèri	axe
ʈèr-ĩ	give.IMPF-VOL
ʈèr-ci	give.IMPF-DSJ
ʈèru	all
ʈèr-u	give.IMPF-INF
ʈèw	knife.small
ʈek	lift.IMPER
ʈek-ĩ	lift.PRF-VOL
ʈek-suŋ	lift.PRF-POBS
ʈek-u	lift.PRF-INF
ʈecu	horse/colt
ʈɛ́	there/yonder
ʈɛ́ma	there.after
ʈɛ̀	horse-GEN
ʈɛ̀šu	deer
ʈɛmbɛlɛk	packed.down
ʈʃ́	3SG
ʈʃ́	DEM
ʈʃ́	that, 3SG.DEM
ʈʃ́u	knife.small
ʈʃ́-w-i	3-PL-GEN
ʈʃ́-wɔ	3-PL
ʈì̀ŋ	behind
ʈì̀pli	big tea pot
ʈì̀ru	after
ʈì̀ru	later.on
ʈì̀u	knife.small
ʈʃ̀	follow.PTCPL
ʈiŋba	heel
ʈinbu	hot
ʈinu	friends.be-INF
ʈirʌŋ	only
ʈiʈ-ĩ	ask.PRF-VOL
ʈʃ̀-n	follow-PTCPL
ʈókpa	landslide
ʈóm	bear
ʈóŋla	long.ago
ʈóp-u	winnow.IMPF-INF
ʈóp-u-la	measure-inf-loc
ʈòŋ-ĩ	leave-dur.ptcpl
ʈòŋ-i	leave-dur
ʈòŋmʌr	rhododendron
ʈòp	plant.IMPER
ʈòp-suŋ	plant.PRF-POBS

ʈòr-ci	disappear.IMP-DSJ
ʈòr-suŋ	disappear.PRF-POBS
ʈoktsi	plough
ʈola	coin
ʈolum	basket
ʈoŋ-la	in.front-loc
ʈori	mustard
ʈōŋ-i	send.IMPF-DSJ
ʈōŋ-ĩ	send.IMPF-VOL
ʈōŋ-u	send.IMPF-INF
ʈōr-u	disappear.PRF-INF
ʈɔ	these
ʈɔ	potato.like.tuber
ʈɔ́ktsi	shovel
ʈɔktsiǰalak	tools
ʈɔklin	stick.T.shaped
ʈɔkʤɔk	fern
ʈučeče	thank.you
ʈúk	poison
ʈúk	thus/that.way
ʈukp-i pà	soup.needle
ʈuŋ	horn.conch
ʈūkʌ	this.kind
ʈūŋʌŋ	toad
ʈʰa	hand.measure
ʈʰá	wheat/barley.long.grain
ʈʰákur	please
ʈʰàm	fight.impf.ptcpl
ʈʰak	cliff/boulder
ʈʰaka	side/way
ʈʰap	fireplace
ʈʰaci	side
ʈʰāk	lime.earth
ʈʰʌ́la	soil/earth/ground/soil
ʈʰʌ̀k	clear
ʈʰʌl	along
ʈʰʌ̄ma	tobacco
ʈʰé	wheat-GEN
ʈʰé kur	wheat.bread
ʈʰé soŋma	wheat straw
ʈʰe cʰu	porridge.wheat
ʈʰè-nɔk	meet.IMPF-MIRA
ʈʰè-ci	meet.IMPF-DSJ
ʈʰè-suŋ	meet.PRF-POBS
ʈʰè-u	meet.IMPF-INF
ʈʰề	meet.IMPF.PTCPL
ʈʰen-gi	extend.IMPF-DSJ
ʈʰen-i	yell-dur
ʈʰen-suŋ	extend.PRF-POBS
ʈʰen-u	extend.IMPF-INF
ʈʰen-u	extend.PRF-INF
ʈʰēn	pull.IMPER
ʈʰēn-gi	pull.IMPF-DSJ
ʈʰēn-ĩ	pull.IMPF-VOL
ʈʰēn-ĩ	pull.PRF-VOL
ʈʰēn-suŋ	pull.PRF-POBS
ʈʰēn-u	pull.IMPF-INF
ʈʰēn-u	pull.PRF-INF
ʈʰémbu	tall/high
ʈʰɛsɛn	wheat.mash
ʈʰɛ̄pʈɔk	finger
ʈʰin-gi	getalong.IMPF-DSJ
ʈʰiŋ-gi-nɔk	getalong-DSJ-MIR
ʈʰin-suŋ	getalong.PRF-PSTDSJ
ʈʰin-u	get.along.IMPF-INF
ʈʰīk	measuring.line
ʈʰī-suŋ	late.be.PRF-POBS
ʈʰó-ne	use-ABL
ʈʰóp	receive.IMPER
ʈʰóp-ĩ	receive.IMPF-VOL
ʈʰóp-ĩ	receive.PRF-VOL
ʈʰóp-ci	receive.IMPF-DSJ
ʈʰóp-suŋ	receive.PRF-POBS
ʈʰóp-u	receive.IMPF-INF
ʈʰóp-u	receive.PRF-INF
ʈʰóp-u	use/able.IMPF-INF
ʈʰő	use.PTCPL
ʈʰòp-u	fight-inf
ʈʰồ	snatch-ptcpl
ʈʰoŋbʌ	plough
ʈʰoŋ-i	touch/see.IMPF-DSJ
ʈʰoŋ-ĩ	touch/see.IMPF-VOL
ʈʰoŋ-u	touch/see.IMPF-INF
ʈʰōk	roof
ʈʰō-u	use/able.PRF-INF
ʈʰɔ	hammer
ʈʰú	collect
ʈʰukpu	thick/heavy
ʈʰul	downhill
ʈʰuŋ	drink.IMPER
ʈʰuŋ	touch/see.IMPER
ʈʰuŋ-i	drink.IMPF-DSJ

ʈ̪ʰuŋ-ĩ̃	drink.IMPF-VOL
ʈ̪ʰuŋ-ĩ	drink.PRF-VOL
ʈ̪ʰuŋ-ĩ̃	touch/see.PRF-VOL
ʈ̪ʰuŋ-suŋ	drink.PRF-POBS
ʈ̪ʰuŋ-suŋ	touch/see.PRF-POBS
ʈ̪ʰuŋ-u	drink.IMPF-INF
ʈ̪ʰuŋ-u	drink.PRF-INF
ʈ̪ʰuŋ-u	touch/see.PRF-INF
ʈák	all
ʈákʈuk	all/everybody
ʈa-ĩ̃	tie.PRF-VOL
ʈapa	ladder
ʈa-suŋ	tie.PRF-POBS
ʈa-u	tie.PRF-INF
ʈʌ́-i hɔk	cave (ledge-gen under)
ʈʌ́k	rockcliff.rock
ʈʌ-i	tie.IMPF-DSJ
ʈʌ-ĩ̃	tie.IMPF-VOL
ʈʌ̀ŋa	money
ʈʌk	rockcliff.rock.face
ʈʌla	forehead
ʈʌm-ne	spread-ABL
ʈʌwa	novice.monk
ʈʌ̄yikʰa	rockcliff
ʈé	scratch.IMPER
ʈé-i	scratch.IMPF-DSJ
ʈé-ĩ̃	scratch.PRF-VOL
ʈék-ĩ̃	scratch.IMPF-VOL
ʈék-u	scratch.IMPF-INF
ʈéŋbo	time
ʈérma	wizard.male
ʈé-suŋ́	scratch.PRF-POBS
ʈé-u	scratch.PRF-INF
ʈe-i	saw/cut/chop.IMPF-DSJ
ʈe-ĩ̃	saw/cut/chop.IMPF-VOL
ʈek-u	saw/cut/chop.IMPF-INF
ʈema	smell/taste
ʈeŋʌ	cold
ʈeŋbu	true, honest
ʈe-ne	slip-ABL
ʈe-ci	slip-DSJ
ʈecu	porridge.barley
ʈe-suŋ	slip-POBS
ʈë̪-u	slip.IMPF-INF
ʈɛ	saw/cut/chop.IMPER
ʈɛ-ĩ̃	saw/cut/chop.PRF-VOL
ʈɛŋ	every/each
ʈɛ-u	saw/cut/chop.PRF-INF
ʈi	ask.IMPER
ʈi	sword
ʈík	small/little
ʈíkpe	small/little
ʈi-i	ask.IMPF-DSJ
ʈi-ĩ̃	ask.IMPF-VOL
ʈì̀ŋme	short
ʈinbu	warm
ʈi-ne	lead.PRF-ABL
ʈi-nɔk	ask-MIR
ʈi-suŋ	ask.PRF-POBS
ʈï̪-ĩ̃	lead.IMPF-VOL
ʈï̪-u	ask.PRF-INF
ʈi-u	ask.IMPF-INF
ʈĩ̃	lead.IMPF.PTCPL
ʈóŋmaŋ	ant
ʈóp	morning
ʈóp-la	morning-loc
ʈoŋba	property
ʈou	mustard.like
ʈo-u	grind-INF
ʈo-u	tie.IMPF-INF
ʈɔ	tie.IMPER
ʈɔ-sa	grind.IMPER-AUG
ʈu	dig(hole).IMPER
ʈu-ĩ̃	dig(hole).PRF-VOL
ʈù	boat
ʈù-ne	wash-abl
ʈù̪̈-u	wash-inf
ʈuk	dig(hole).PRF
ʈúk	six
ʈ̪ʰuŋʌŋ	frog.long.leg
ʈu-suŋ	dig(hole).PRF-POBS
ʈu-u	dig(hole).PRF-INF
ʈ̪ʰʌ̄	hawk
ʈ̪ʰʌ̄ wokpa	owl
ʈ̪ʰʌ̄k	blood
ʈ̪ʰʍ́l	wrap.IMPER
ʈ̪ʰʍ́l-ne	wrap.PRF-ABL
ʈ̪ʰʍ́l-suŋ	wrap.PRF-POBS
ʈ̪ʰʍ̃	wrap.PTCPL
ʈ̪ʰɔ	hammer
ʈ̪ʰuŋʌŋ	frog.long.leg
tsa	near

tsakʌla	noon
tsa-la	near-LOC
tsaŋ	tent.peg
tsartsare	robin
tsʌm	sister.in.law
tsʌŋ	sell.IMPER
tsʌŋb-i buk	river side
tsʌŋbu	stream, river
tsʌŋbu ʈ́ikpe	creek
tsʌŋ-ĩ	sell.PRF-VOL
tsʌŋ-suŋ	sell.PRF-POBS
tsʌŋ-u	sell.PRF-INF
tsʌu	uncle/fa.sis.hub
tsʌ̄	grass, weeds
tsélʌk	trunk
tsèŋa	clean
tsèuŋ	basket.net
tsɛ̄	play.IMPER
tsɛ̄-ĩ	play.PRF-VOL
tsɛ̄-suŋ	play.PRF-POBS
tsɛ̄-u	play.PRF-INF
tsɛ	little
tsɛtsɛ-i	little.bit
tsɛ-i	some-INDEF
tsɛ̀kʌrak	twigs
tsɛ̀lʌk	tongue
tsɛ̀rmi	game
tsɛ̄	grass.gen
tsɛ̄-ĩ	play.IMPF-VOL
tsɛ̄-p	play.IMPF-INF
tsɛ̄-ci	play.IMPF-DSJ
tsíla	why?
tsíp	near/beside
tsì̄m-nɔk	char.PRF-MIR
tsim	shell
tsirmoŋ	pheasant.bird1
tsī̄lʌm	lightening
tso	how, how much
tsò	lake, pond, well
tsò	prepare.food.IMPER
tsò-ĩ	prepare.food.IMPF-VOL
tsò-ĩ	prepare.food.PRF-VOL
tsò-ci	prepare.food.IMPF-DSJ
tsò-suŋ	prepare.food.PRF-POBS
tsò-u	prepare.food.IMPF-INF
tsò-u	prepare.food.PRF-INF
tsoŋ-i	sell.IMPF-DSJ
tsoŋ-ĩ	sell.IMPF-VOL
tsoŋ-u	sell.IMPF-INF
tsúpi	knife.smaller
tsùri	knife.small
tsùkoi	how
tsʰùm	crowded/bunched.up
tsū̄k	which.manner/thus
tsʰa	ink/paint
tsʰár-nɔk	grow.up.PRF-MIR
tsʰár-suŋ	grow.up.PRF-POBS
tsʰà	salt
tsʰà kʰʌ́-no	salty
tsʰàl	search.IMPER
tsʰàl-ĩ	search.PRF-VOL
tsʰàl-suŋ	search.PRF-POBS
tsʰàl-u	search.PRF-INF
tsʰaŋ	nest/cradle/web
tsʰʌ́r-ci.	grow.up.IMPF-DSJ
tsʰʌ́r-u	grow.up.IMPF-INF
tsʰʌ́u	uncle/father.sister.husband
tsʰɛ́nd̪i	hot/warm
tsʰɛkɔk	chest
tsʰɛrmʌŋ	vegetable.greens
tsʰɛrmʌŋ pà	soup.nettle
tsʰɛrm-i ré-u	tsermu-gen bad.touch.impf-inf
tsʰɛrmuŋ	day/daytime
tsʰí	bamboo.joint/elbow/joint
tsʰíŋgur	joint/elbow.joint
tsʰìkpa	cinder.ash
tsʰìnd̪i	hot.warm.be
tsʰó	paint/color
tsʰòl-gi	search.IMPF-DSJ
tsʰòl-ĩ	search.IMPF-VOL
tsʰòl-u	search.IMPF-INF
tsʰƷ	crowd.together-PTCPL
tsʰùm	crowded/bunched.up
ù	breath
uni	wool
uno	through
uŕt̪uŋ	wind
uru	aunt
wʌt̪aŋ	wonder.I
wɛ́	OBS
yʌ̀ŋ	indeed/it.is.the.case.that

yʌ̄k	yak.male
yer	up
yeṭi	yeti
yɛ́m	lots
yɛn	tired(ness)
yo	popcorn.fried
yo	up.there
yo-ma	up.there-desc
yu	walk.IMPER
yúl	village
yúyu	way.up
yu-i	walk.IMPF-DSJ
yu-ĩ	walk.IMPF-VOL
yu-ĩ	walk.PRF-VOL
yù̀p	hide.self.IMPER
yù̀p-ĩ	hide.self.IMPF-VOL
yù̀p-ĩ	hide.self.PRF-VOL
yù̀p-ci	hide.self.IMPF-DSJ
yù̀p-suŋ	hide.self.PRF-POBS
yù̀p-u	hide.self.IMPF-INF
yù̀p-u	hide.self.PRF-INF
yu-sa	walk.IMPER-AUG
yu-suŋ	walk.PRF-POBS
yu-u	walk.IMPF-INF
yu-u	walk.PRF-INF
yū-u	wave.shake-INF
ʤali	net.strainer
ʤan	family
ʤanʌ	curry
ʤaŋmu	PROPER.FEMALE
ʤʌ	rainbow
ʤʌ-i	make/build.IMPF-DSJ
ʤʌma	collected
ʤʌpkʰʌ	yak-cow.male
ʤʌprʌŋ	married
ʤʌra	breakfast
ʤe	tell
ʤé-ĩ	climb.IMPF-VOL
ʤé-ci	climb.IMPF-DSJ
ʤér-u	climb.IMPF-INF
ʤemu	beautiful/handsome
ʤé	climb.IMPER
ʤɛ́	tomorrow plus 2days
ʤɛ́-ĩ	climb.PRF-VOL
ʤɛ́-suŋ	climb.PRF-POBS
ʤɛ́-u	climb.PRF-INF
ʤi	bead/onyx/necklass.piece
ʤík	tiger
ʤím	catch/grab.IMPER
ʤím-gi	catch/grab.IMPF-DSJ
ʤím-ĩ	catch/grab.IMPF-VOL
ʤím-ĩ	catch/grab.PRF-VOL
ʤím-suŋ	catch/grab.PRF-POBS
ʤím-u	catch/grab.IMPF-INF
ʤím-u	catch/grab.PRF-INF
ʤí-suŋ	drunk.PRF-POBS
ʤikɔrɔk	curly
ʤiŋba	throat/neck
ʤinɔk	lie
ʤo	graze(t).IMPER
ʤo	tent.post
ʤó-i	make-DUR
ʤópcok	yak
ʤo-i	graze(t).IMPF-DSJ
ʤo-ĩ	graze(t).IMPF-VOL
ʤo-ĩ	graze(t).PRF-VOL
ʤo-ĩ	make/build.PRF-VOL
ʤoḷomu	easy
ʤom	yak.female1
ʤoŋ	chisel
ʤo-p	graze(t).IMPF-INF
ʤopruk	yak
ʤo-suŋ	graze(t).PRF-POBS
ʤo-suŋ	make/build.PRF-POBS
ʤo-u	graze(t).PRF-INF
ʤo-u	make/build.PRF-INF
ʤɔ	make/build.IMPER
ʤɔ-ĩ	make/build.IMPF-VOL
ʤɔ-p	make/build.IMPF-INF
ʤu	body
ʤu	plant, cover, use
ʤúp	twilight
ʤura	back.animal
ʤuṯʰa	shoe
ʤuwu	straight (preV)

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