

Mouton Grammar Library 4

van Driem
A Grammar of Limbu

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George van Driem

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Table of Contents

Abbreviations	xii
Transliteration and transcription	xiv
Maps	xvi
0. INTRODUCTION	xix
0.1. The Limbu	xix
0.2. The language	xxii
0.3. This grammar	xxvi
1. PHONOLOGY AND PHONETICS	1
1.1. Limbu phonemes and the native phoneme system	1
1.2. Allophones and phonetic description of Limbu phonemes	2
1.3. The Limbu word	15
1.3.1. Hiatus	15
1.3.2. Syllable structure	16
1.4. Assimilation and dissimilation	17
1.5. The orthography	19
2. NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY	20
2.1. Adjectives	20
2.1.1. Agreement in adjective	20
2.1.2. The nominalizing suffix <i>-tanba</i>	22
2.1.3. The colour affixes	23
2.2. Pronouns	25
2.2.1. Personal possessive prefixes	26
2.2.2. Personal pronouns: an analysis	28
2.3. Dualization and pluralization	29
2.3.1. The dual and generalized dual morphemes	31
2.3.2. Numerals and the dual suffix	32
2.4. Cases or postfixes	34
2.4.1. Absolutive	34
2.4.2. Ergative	39
2.4.3. Instrumental	41
2.4.4. Genitive	43
2.4.4.1. The genitive of time	45
2.4.4.2. The independent genitive	45
2.4.5. Vocative	47
2.4.6. Locative	49
2.4.7. Comitative	49
2.4.8. Mediative	51
2.4.9. Elative	51
2.4.10. Allative	51

2.4.11.	Intrative	52
2.4.12.	Comparative 'than'	52
2.4.13.	The loan <i>-la·gi</i> and the genitive infinitive	54
2.5.	Compounding	54
3.	THE VERBS 'TO BE'	55
3.1.	The identity operator	56
3.1.1.	Negative suffixal 'to be' and nexal negation.....	59
3.2.	Existential 'to be' and 'not to be'	61
3.3.	Locational 'to be'	63
3.4.	Adhesive 'to be'	64
3.5.	Attributive 'to be'	66
3.6.	Inchoative 'to be'	67
4.	MORPHEMIC ANALYSIS OF THE SIMPLICIA	69
4.1.	Verb stems	71
4.2.	Conjugations and irregularity	74
4.3.	Morphophonology	76
4.4.	Person marker morphemes	77
4.4.1.	The first person marker	77
4.4.2.	The second person morpheme	80
4.4.3.	Third person morphemes	81
4.4.3.1.	The third person subject/agent morpheme	81
4.4.3.2.	The third person patient morpheme	82
4.4.4.	Morphemes of subject/agent number	83
4.4.5.	The morpheme of reflexivity/reciprocity	86
4.4.6.	The 1→2 <i>portemanteau</i> morpheme	88
4.4.7.	Tense morphemes	89
4.4.8.	The morpheme of agent duality	92
4.4.9.	Patient markers	94
4.4.10.	The first person singular <i>portemanteaux</i>	96
4.4.11.	Morphemes of agent singularity	98
4.4.12.	Non-singular agent morphemes	99
4.4.12.1.	The morpheme of agent plurality	99
4.4.12.2.	The morpheme of agent non-singularity	100
4.4.12.3.	The preterit first person plural exclusive agent/subject morpheme	100
4.4.13.	Patient number morphemes	101
4.4.14.	Copied morphemes	102

4.4.15.	Morpheme of inclusivity and exclusivity	102
4.5.	Negation (non-nexal)	103
5.	ASPECT AND ASPECTIVIZERS	105
5.1.	Aspect	106
5.2.	The imperious future	117
5.3.	Aspectivizers	118
5.3.1.	The terminative aspectivizers <i>cu?ma?</i> and <i>su?ma?</i>	118
5.3.2.	The dimittive aspectivizer <i>te·ma?</i>	120
5.3.3.	The cadent and dejective aspectivizers <i>thama?</i> and <i>tha·ma?</i>	121
5.3.4.	The relinquitive aspectivizer <i>thama?</i> ..	121
5.3.5.	The resultative aspectivizer <i>khepma?</i> ..	123
5.3.6.	The impendent aspectivizer <i>netma?</i>	124
5.3.7.	The sustained action aspectivizer <i>ca·ma?</i>	126
5.3.8.	The dative aspectivizer <i>pi·ma?</i>	128
5.3.9.	The ponent aspectivizers <i>yunma?</i> and <i>phɔpma?</i>	129
5.3.10.	The mechrithanatos aspectivizers <i>sima?</i> and <i>se?ma?</i>	130
5.3.11.	The probative aspectivizer <i>sa?ma?</i>	131
5.3.12.	The totalizing aspectivizer <i>wapma?</i> ...	131
5.3.13.	The inceptive aspectivizer <i>he·kma?</i> ...	131
5.3.14.	The perseverative aspectivizer <i>ne·ma?</i>	132
5.3.15.	Miscellaneous aspectivizers	132
6.	MODE	133
6.1.	Optative	133
6.2.	Conditional	135
6.3.	Irrealis and the neverthelessive	140
6.4.	Interrogative	142
7.	GERUNDS AND PERIPHRASTIC TENSES	148
7.1.	The gerunds	148
7.2.	The focused continuous	152
7.3.	The spatially defocused continuous	158
7.4.	The temporally defocused continuous	160
7.5.	The periphrastic perfect tenses	163
7.5.1.	The suffix <i>-aŋ</i>	169
7.5.2.	The negative perfect tenses	178
8.	OTHER VERBAL CONSTRUCTIONS	184
8.1.	Adhortative	184
8.2.	Imperative	187
8.3.	The nominalizer suffix <i>-pa</i>	193
8.4.	The active participle and its negative	199
8.5.	The passive participle	207

x Contents

8.6. The infinitive	209
8.7. The supine	212
8.8. The passivizer <i>-tətma?</i>	215
8.9. The impersonal inclusive	218
8.10. The polite inclusive	221
9. SUBORDINATION	223
9.1. Indirect speech and direct quotes	224
9.2. The subordination <i>phaʔaŋ</i>	225
9.3. The subordinator <i>-phelle</i>	228
9.4. <i>-ille</i> subordination	230
9.5. Concessive clauses with <i>goro</i>	235
9.6. Subordination with <i>-ten</i>	236
9.7. Subordination with <i>-kusiŋ, e·kke</i>	237
9.8. Reported speech	238
9.9. Exigency <i>po·ŋma?</i>	240
9.10. Clause-final adverbs and mood particles	241
10. CAUSATIVES AND ERGATIVITY	245
10.1. Unproductive causatives	245
10.2. Productive, periphrastic causatives	268
10.3. Transitivity and actant coding	270

APPENDICES

I. TEXTS	277
1. Culinary	
Millet beer recipe	277
Serving instructions	279
<i>Kināmā</i> recipe	281
2. Everyday Life	
Conversation in the <i>lokkhum</i>	283
<i>Nārāyaŋ</i> 's aspirations	296
<i>Netra Bahādur</i> 's work	297
Mother comes home to prepare a meal	299
Discussing the video on <i>hāṭ-bajār</i> day	300
Midday conversation inside	301
Torch	309
Reciprocity	310
Evolution	311
<i>Bhagī Māyā</i> 's father	311
<i>Sādhe</i> 's mother	312
Two Ladies on the Porch	314
<i>Durgā Bahādur</i> meets his friend's grandmother	315
<i>Yuma</i> 's tirade	317
Racist attitudes	317
Black millet rolls	318

Unwelcome interruption	318
Reprimand	319
Small talk	319
Brief exchange 1	320
Brief exchange 2	320
Village elder addressing the author	321
Meeting the village elders	322
Changing the subject	323
Mendicant	325
The jackal and the goat	327
Short conversation between <i>Kānchī</i> and visitor	329
The road to <i>Ilām</i>	330
Vulgar prattle by <i>Candra Hāñ</i>	331
3. Myth and Legend	
Creation and the origins of Man	331
The mortality of Man	335
The Legend of <i>Myaṅluṅ</i>	340
4. Fable	
The jackal and the camel	345
The fox and the tiger	349
5. Anecdote	
Radio	351
Thief	354
Two boys	355
Two friends 1	357
Two friends 2	358
The man who lost his watch	360
Whose grandfather is tallest	362
6. Riddles	364
Solution to riddles	366
II. PARADIGMS	367
1. Regular verbs	367
2. Irregular verbs	387
2.1. Regular apophony: intransitives	387
2.2. Irregular apophony: intransitives	390
2.3. Regular apophony: transitives	392
III. LIMBU-ENGLISH GLOSSARY	403
IV. ANTHOLOGY OF KIRANTI SCRIPTS	550
References	559
List of Plates	567

Abbreviations

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

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

¹ also as a superscript to disambiguate English glosses

Transliteration and Transcription

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

	<i>a</i>		<i>ā</i>	
	<i>i</i>		<i>ī</i>	
	<i>u</i>		<i>ū</i>	
			ɽ	
	<i>e</i>		<i>ai</i>	
	<i>o</i>		<i>au</i>	
	<i>ṃ</i>		<i>ḥ</i>	
<i>k</i>	<i>kh</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>gh</i>	<i>ṅ</i>
<i>c</i>	<i>ch</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>jh</i>	<i>ñ</i>
<i>ṭ</i>	<i>ṭh</i>	<i>ḍ</i>	<i>ḍh</i>	<i>ṇ</i>
<i>t</i>	<i>th</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>dh</i>	<i>n</i>
<i>p</i>	<i>ph</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>bh</i>	<i>m</i>
	<i>y</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>v</i>
	<i>ś</i>	<i>ṣ</i>	<i>s</i>	
		<i>h</i>		

- (1) Silent *a* is not rendered in the transliteration, even though it is generally not deleted in the *devanāgarī* orthography.
- (2) The distinctions between *i* and *ī*, *u* and *ū*, *b* and *v*, *ś* and *ṣ* and *s*, preserved in conservative orthography, are also rendered in the transliteration, although they do not correspond to any phonemic distinctions in modern spoken Nepali.
- (3) The *candrabindu* used to indicate vowel nasality in *devanāgarī* is rendered by the symbol *~* above the vowel.

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

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

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

Tibetan				Burmese				
<i>k</i>	<i>kh</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>ñ</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>hk</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>ñ</i>
<i>c</i>	<i>ch</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>ñ̃</i> ²	<i>s</i>	<i>hs</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>ñ̃</i> ²
<i>t</i>	<i>th</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>ht</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>n</i>
<i>p</i>	<i>ph</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>ht</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>n</i>
<i>ts</i>	<i>tsh</i>	<i>dz</i>		<i>p</i>	<i>hp</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>bh</i>	<i>m</i>
<i>w</i>	<i>ʒ</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>ḥ</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>θ</i>
<i>y</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>l</i>			<i>h</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>a</i>	
<i>ś</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>a</i>		<i>i</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>ε</i>	
<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>o</i>		<i>ɔ</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>u</i>	

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

syllable-initials						syllable-finals	
<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>θ</i>	ʔ	~
<i>p^h</i>	<i>t^h</i>	<i>k^h</i>	<i>c^h</i>	<i>s^h</i>			
<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>ḏ</i>	vowels	
<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	<i>ɲ</i>				
<i>ṃ</i>	<i>ṇ</i>	<i>ŋ̣</i>	<i>ɲ̣</i>			<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>
<i>l</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>h</i>		<i>e</i>	<i>o</i> ³
<i>ḷ</i>	<i>ẉ</i>	<i>f</i>				<i>ε</i>	<i>ə</i> ³ <i>ɔ</i>
						<i>a</i>	

and the diphthongs⁴
ai, au, ou

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

³ not in closed syllables.

⁴ not in open syllables.

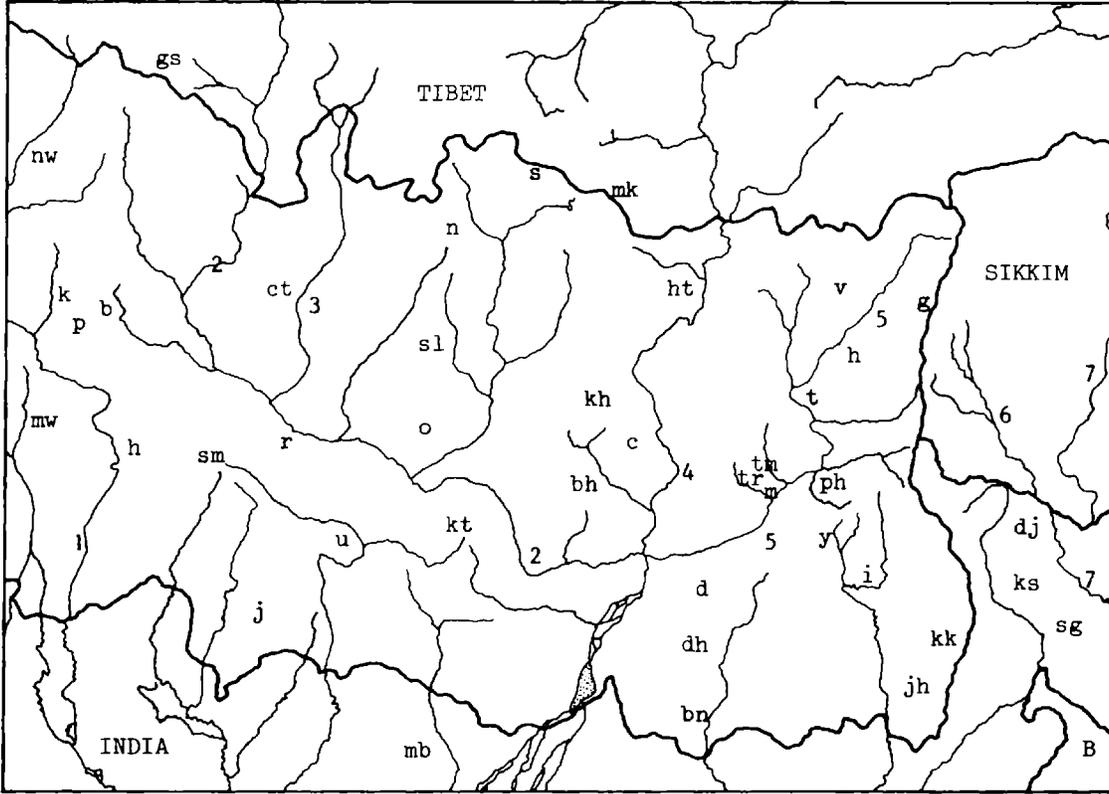
Key to Maps

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

b	<i>Bhādgāũ</i> (<i>Bhaktapur</i>)	kt	<i>Khoṭāñ</i>
bh	<i>Bhojpur</i>	m	<i>Myāñluñ</i>
bn	<i>Birāṭnagar</i>	mb	<i>Madhubanī</i>
c	<i>Cainpur</i>	mk	<i>Makālũ</i> 8481m
ct	<i>Carikoṭ</i>	mw	<i>Makvānpur</i>
d	<i>Dhankuṭā</i>	n	<i>Nāmce Bajār</i>
dh	<i>Dharān</i>	nw	<i>Nuvākoṭ</i>
dj	<i>Dārjīliñ</i> (<i>Darjeeling</i>)	o	<i>Okhalḍhuṅgā</i>
h	<i>Hellok</i>	p	<i>Pāṭan</i> (<i>Lalitpur</i>)
ht	<i>Haṭiyā</i>	ph	<i>Phidīm</i>
g	<i>Gañs-chen-mdzod-lña</i> (<i>Kāñcanjanḡhā</i> , <i>Kum-</i> <i>bhakarṇa</i>) 8598m	r	<i>Rāmechāp</i>
gs	<i>Gosāñthān</i> 8013m	s	<i>Sagarmāthā</i> (<i>Mt.</i> <i>Everest</i>) 8848m
h	<i>Harihar Gaḍhī</i>	sg	<i>Silīgaḍī</i>
i	<i>Ilām</i>	sl	<i>Solusallerī</i>
j	<i>Janakpur</i>	sm	<i>Sindhulīmāḍī</i>
jh	<i>Jhāpā</i>	t	<i>Tāplejuñ</i>
k	<i>Kāṭhmāṅḍũ</i> (<i>Kāṭhmāḍau</i>)	tm	<i>Tamphulā</i>
kh	<i>Khādbārī</i> (<i>Sañkhuvā</i> <i>Sabhā</i>)	tr	<i>Tehrathum</i>
kk	<i>Kākaḍbhittā</i>	u	<i>Uḍāypur Gaḍhī</i>
ks	<i>Karsiyāñ</i> (<i>Kurseong</i>)	v	<i>Vālañchuñ Golā</i>
		y	<i>Yāśok</i>
1	<i>Bāgmatī</i>	5	<i>Tamor</i>
2	<i>Sunkosī</i>	6	<i>Raṅgit</i>
3	<i>Tāmākosī</i>	7	<i>Ṭiṣṭā</i>
4	<i>Aruṅ</i>		

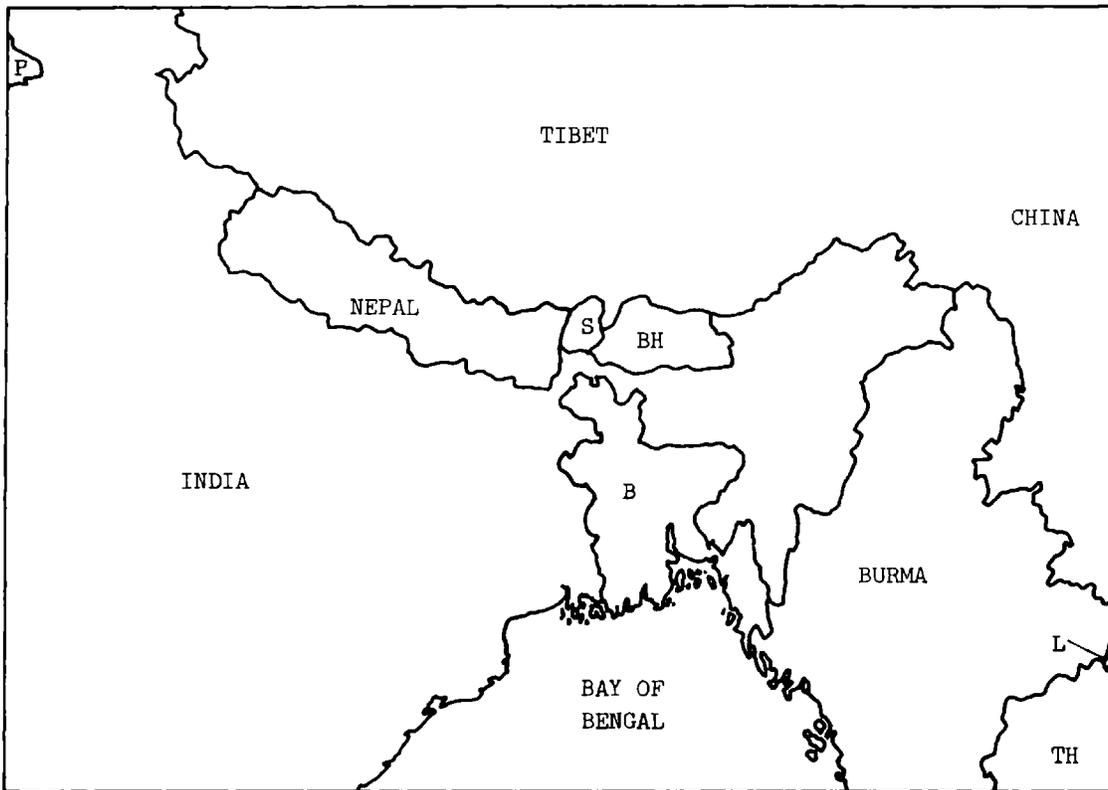
MAP 2: Nepal in South Asia
approximate scale 1 : 20 800 000

B	Bangladesh
BH	Bhutan
L	Laos
P	Pakistan
S	Sikkim
TH	Thailand



MAP 1

MAP 2



Introduction

0.1. The Limbus

The Limbus are a sedentary agriculturalist people of the Mongoloid race dwelling in the hills of the *Košī* and *Mecī* zones of eastern Nepal, parts of Sikkim to the west of the Tista and in Darjeeling district. By far the largest part of the Limbu nation lives within eastern Nepal, which is the home of approximately 180,000 speakers of Limbu (Subba 1976: 142). The Limbus designate themselves by the name *Yakthunba* and their language by the name *Yakthunpa·n* or *Yakthunba pa·n*. Dās (1896b: 31) claims that the autonym¹ 'Yāk-thumbā' means yak-herd, but I can find no evidence to support this etymology, and I have been unable to find any Limbu who could tell me the origin or meaning of the term *yakthunba*. The component *yak-* is probably identical to the first part of the autonym of the more northerly dwelling *Kirātī* people, the Yakkhas or *Yākhā*, amongst whom it has, however, recently become fashionable to call themselves *Jimī*, *Majhiyā* or *Devān* (Regmi 1983). The component *-thunba* may derive from the etymon **thun-* of which the adjective *kedhunba* 'brave, heroic, manly, bold' appears to be an active participle. The word *Limbū* is a Nepali ethnonym, and the Limbu homeland in eastern Nepal is known in Nepali as *Limbuvān*. Campbell (1840: 595) believes the term *Limbū* to be a Gorkha corruption of the autonym 'Ekthoomba', although I suspect that the origin of the term *Limbū* must be sought elsewhere. Of the Limbu homeland Campbell (595) writes:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

0.2. The language

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

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

Pācthare is literally the dialect of the *pāc thar* or 'five clans', *Chathare* of the *cha thar* or 'six clans'. *Pācthare* is spoken to the east of the *Tamor* river. Centres of population in *Pācthare* speaking *Limbuvān* are *Yāsok*, *Phidīm*, *Ilām*, beyond which *Pācthare* speaking *Limbuvān* extends to the east and eastnortheast. *Chathare* (including the *tḥætthor pokhori* and *daṅappat hōmōrdzuṅ* sub-dialects³) is spoken in parts of *Dhankuṭā* district away from the bazar and in parts of *Tehrathum* district fringing *Dhankuṭā* district. I have observed that the Limbu of *Chathare* speakers is virtually wholly unintelligible to *Phedāppe* speakers of the village of *Tamphulā* (where the dialect described in this grammar is spoken) who must even resort to Nepali to

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

³ Sub-dialect names, given in IPA, are those of *Dillī Vikram Inṅvābā Subbā*, alias B. Subba (personal communication, 1984).

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

Tāplejuñe (including the *tamarkhole*, *janrupe* and *mōiwa-khole* sub-dialects³) is the dialect spoken to the north of *Phedāp* along and especially north of the *Tamor* River in *Tāplejuñ* district and beyond. Whereas the dialect boundary between *Phedāppe* and *Pācthare* is an abrupt transition as one crosses the *Tamor* between *Tehrathum* and *Yāsok*, the differences between *Phedāppe* and *Tāplejuñe* as one moves north appear to be gradual, and the differences are on the whole less pronounced than between any of the other two dialects.

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

The dialects of Limbu are traditionally classified as belonging to the Khambu subtype⁴ of languages within the Kiranti (*Kirātī*) group or Bahing-Vayu nucleus, one of the eight main nuclear groups in Benedict's classification of

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

Tibeto-Burman⁵. Benedict's Bahing-Vayu nucleus, the Kiranti group, corresponds to the Complex Pronominalized languages of Eastern Himalayan in Konow's older classification (1909), so called because the transitive verb's agreement system codes for both agent and patient actants and because, with a singular, dual and plural and with an inclusive/exclusive distinction in the first person, there are eleven pronominal categories. Major historical work on pronominal morphology in Tibeto-Burman has been done by Bauman (1975).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

and the English in Roman alphabet.

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

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

0.3. This grammar

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Limbu, like other Tibeto-Burman languages⁷, is characterized by the syntactic element order SOV. Coordination in Limbu is straightforward and is discussed in Chapter 7 because it is intimately tied to the meaning and probably the genesis of perfect gerunds. Subordination in Limbu is treated in 8.3 and Chapter 9.

⁷ except Karen.

Chapter One

Phonology and Phonetics

1.1. Limbu phonemes and the native phonemic system

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

Consonant phonemes

<i>k</i>	<i>kh</i>	<i>(g)</i>	<i>(gh)</i>	<i>ŋ</i>
<i>c</i>		<i>(dz)</i>	<i>(dzh)</i>	
<i>(t̥)</i>	<i>(t̥h)</i>	<i>(d̥)</i>	<i>(d̥h)</i>	<i>(ŋ)</i>
<i>t</i>	<i>th</i>	<i>(d)</i>		<i>n</i>
<i>p</i>	<i>ph</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>(bh)</i>	<i>m</i>

<i>y</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>w</i>
	<i>s</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>ʔ</i>

Vowel phonemes

<i>i/ī</i>	<i>u/ū</i>
<i>ē</i>	<i>ō</i>
<i>ɛ/ɛ̄</i>	<i>ə</i>
	<i>ɔ/ɔ̄</i>
	<i>a/ā</i>

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

<i>b</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>ph</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>w</i>		
	<i>t</i>	<i>th</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>l</i>
	<i>c</i>				<i>y</i>	
	<i>k</i>	<i>kh</i>		<i>ŋ</i>		
	<i>ʔ</i>		<i>h</i>			

2 1. Phonology and phonetics

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

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

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

1.2. Allophones and phonetic description of Limbu phonemes

Consonants - native phonemes

/k/	syllable-initially: unaspirated voiceless dorso-velar plosive	[k]
	syllable-finally: the same, unreleased with simultaneous glottal stop	[k̚]
	after a nasal, glottal stop or intervocalically: unaspirated voiced dorso-velar plosive	[g],
	rarely	[k],
	eg. in the loan <i>ma·ki</i> 'maize'.	
/kh/	aspirated voiceless dorso-velar plosive after a nasal or glottal stop and	[k ^h]

	intervocally: aspirated voiced dorso-velar plosive	[g ^h],
	rarely	[k ^h],
	eg. <i>mi-kho-ʔ</i> 'smoke', <i>ma-khi</i> 'blood'.	
/ŋ/	voiced dorso-velar nasal	[ŋ]
/t/	syllable-initially: unaspirated voiceless apico-dental plosive	[t]
	word-internally syllable-finally: unreleased with simultaneous glottal stop	[t̚]
	word-finally or before /ʔ/ or /h/: lateralized preceded by a glottal stop	[ʔl]
	after a nasal, glottal stop or intervocally: unaspirated voiced apico-dental plosive	[d]
/th/	aspirated voiceless apico-dental plosive	[t ^h]
	after a nasal, glottal stop or intervocally: aspirated voiced apico-dental plosive	[d ^h]
/n/	voiced apico-dental nasal	[n]
/p/	syllable-initially: unaspirated voiceless bilabial plosive	[p]
	syllable-finally: unreleased with simultaneous glottal stop	[p̚]
	after a nasal, glottal stop or intervocally: unaspirated voiced bilabial plosive	[b]
/b/	unaspirated voiced bilabial plosive	[b];
	in a considerable number of loans ¹ , the hybrid <i>biha-ndik</i> 'morning' and the native words <i>ke·b</i> 'tiger', <i>ke·b</i> (also <i>ke·ʔe·ba</i>) 'mute', <i>la·b</i> 'moon' (and its derivatives <i>la·bbutthun</i> 'lunar foam', <i>la·bbherik</i> 'counter-clockwise', <i>la·b-ne·tti</i> 'lunar cord'), <i>la·bbhək</i> 'tuber'	

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

4 1. Phonology and phonetics

and *la·bdzo·kma?* 'cost'.

/b/ has an optional intervocalic/post-nasal allophone in the form of voiced median labial-velar approximant

[w],

eg. */nuba/* as either [nuba] or [nuwa],
/co·gunba/ as either [tʃo·gunba] or [tʃo·gunwa], */ande·ben/* [ande·wen].

/ph/

aspirated voiceless bilabial plosive after a nasal, glottal stop or intervocalically: aspirated voiced bilabial plosive

[p^h]

rarely

[b^h],

eg. *pa·nphe* 'village'.

[p^h],

/m/

voiced bilabial nasal

[m]

/c/

unaspirated voiceless lamino-postalveolar affricate

[tʃ]

after a nasal, glottal stop or intervocalically: unaspirated voiced lamino-postalveolar affricate

[dʒ]

/l/

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

[l],

2. syllable-initially in word-internal position and word-initially in clitics:

In these positions the phoneme */l/* has two allophones, the laminoalveolar trill and the voiced apico-alveolar lateral approximant

[r]

[l].

These two allophones occur in complementary distribution in all affixes and parts of speech, with the exception of nouns taking possessive prefixes and the second members of a few

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

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

/l/ → [r] / { $\begin{matrix} V \\ ? \end{matrix} \} \text{ — , except in some composita}^2$

/l/ → [l] / { $\begin{matrix} C \\ \text{(except ?)} \end{matrix} \} \text{ —}$

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

eg.

genitive suffix:	
<i>menda?-re ku-sa?</i>	(goat-GEN its-offspring) 'the goat's offspring'
<i>phak-le ku-mi</i>	(pig-GEN its-tail) 'the pig's tail'
<i>pha-re siŋ</i>	(bamboo-GEN wood) 'the wood of bamboo'
<i>mik-le raŋ</i>	(eye-GEN colour) 'the colour of the eyes'
<i>ku-la·p-le ku-raŋ</i>	(its-wing-GEN its-colour) 'the colour of its wings'

² I have often heard bilingual Limbus confuse Nepalese /r/ and /l/ in their Nepali, eg. *āmā re* for *āmā le* 'mother (ERG)'.
³ eg. *wətchya?dɔk* 'cooked rice' < *wətchya* 'uncooked rice' + *tɔk* 'cooked grain, *bhāt*'

clitic *lɔk/rɔk* 'only':

angaʔin-lɔk-ʔi (mine-only-Q) 'Mine only?'
anchi-rɔk-le-i (we^{di}-only-GEN-Q)
 'Only ours^{di}?'

in verbs:

wameranʔe 'They'll make me wet.'
wamenlanʔen 'They won't make me wet.'

assertive particle *lo·/ro·*:

keniŋwa məye ro·! 'You've lost your mind!'
anga pe-gan lo·! 'I'm off!'

deprehensative particle *ləcə/rəcə*:

ma-ŋgha kennisun ləcə 'You seem to be myopic'
kəŋ lɛ·su rəcə 'He appears to know'

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

3. syllable-finally: in loans

[l],

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

4. as the second member of an initial cluster:

[r],

eg. *cɔkkrɔkma* 'uvula', *phuphudre* 'elder sister's husband (female speaking)', *sangatra* 'citrus fruit', *lɔtthrake* 'tree squirrel'. Initial clusters containing /l/ as a post-consonantal glide are never word-initial.

/r/	lamino-alveolar trill word-initially: only in the loans <i>ru-maʔl</i> 'handkerchief', <i>rupi</i> 'rupī-bird', <i>raŋ</i> 'colour'. syllable-initially in word-internal position: eg. <i>khɔ·mre·ʔ</i> 'peach tree', <i>samrippa</i> 'silhouette'. syllable-finally: in loans, eg. <i>pi·r</i> 'suffering', <i>pardzo·kmaʔ</i> 'be situated', and in the onomatopoea <i>phirli·</i> 'whirling'.	[r]
/w/	voiced median labial-velar approximant	[w]
/y/	voiced median palatal approximant	[j]
/s/	voiceless lamino-alveolar fricative after /t/ or /n/: voiceless aspirated lamino-postalveolar affricate	[s] [tʃ ^h] ⁴
/h/	voiced glottal fricative [ɦ]	
/ʔ/	syllable-finally: non-released glottal stop syllable-initially in word-internal position: released glottal stop	[ʔ'] [ʔ]

Consonants - loan phonemes

/g/	unaspirated voiced dorso-velar plosive occurs in the loans <i>ga·ro·</i> 'wall', <i>go·li</i> 'bullet' and <i>gundri</i> (often [<i>kundri</i>]) 'straw mat'. ⁶	[g]; ⁵
/gh/	aspirated voiced dorso-velar plosive in one loan [<i>g^ha·s</i>] 'fodder'.	[g ^h],

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

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

8 1. Phonology and phonetics

/d/	unaspirated voiced apico-dental plosive in the loans <i>ḡa·ri</i> 'beard', <i>ḡarta</i> 'registration' and <i>ḡoi</i> 'yoghurt'. ⁷	[ḡ];
/bh/	aspirated voiced bilabial plosive in the loans <i>bhiḡiyo·</i> 'video', <i>bhitra</i> 'inside', <i>bhitta</i> 'the walls', <i>bheḡṭa</i> 'eggplant' and in the word <i>bha·tra</i> 'forest fire' which I believe to be of Indo-Aryan etymology.	[b ^h];
/dz/	unaspirated voiced lamino-postalveolar affricate in the loans <i>dzanti</i> 'participants in a procession', <i>dze·</i> 'that which', <i>dzilla</i> 'district', <i>dzoro·</i> 'fever', ⁸ <i>dzun</i> 'that which', <i>dzutta</i> 'shoe'. ⁹	[dz],
/dzh/	aspirated voiced lamino-postalveolar affricate in the lone loan <i>dzhan</i> 'even more so, yet more'.	[dz ^h]
/ṭ/	unaspirated voiceless retroflex in <i>ṭika</i> 'ṭīkā-powder' (also <i>tika</i> and <i>bheḡṭa</i> 'eggplant').	[ṭ],
/ṭh/	aspirated voiceless retroflex in <i>ṭhikai</i> 'right' ¹⁰ and <i>ko·ṭha</i> 'room', <i>muṭhi</i> 'fist'.	[ṭ ^h],
/ḡ/	unaspirated voiced retroflex in the loans <i>ḡasana</i> 'mattress', <i>ḡo·li</i> 'palanquin', <i>baḡkyo·la</i> 'shit pellet', <i>cuḡe·l</i> (type of apparition).	[ḡ],

as *gɔ·*. Following a word ending in a voiceless plosive,
gɔ·, /kɔ·/, is realized as [kɔ·]. See also 1.5.

⁶ alongside native *lo·tna* 'straw mat'.

⁷ alongside native *nudak* 'yoghurt'.

⁸ alongside native *tun* 'fever'.

⁹ alongside native *lanṣup* 'shoe'.

¹⁰ alongside native *nu* 'right', *po·ṇ* 'alright', *lo* 'O.K.'

/dʰ/	aspirated voiced retroflex in the loan <i>dʰiki</i> 'rice thrasher'.	[dʰ̠],
/ŋ/	voiced retroflex nasal in <i>bheŋʈa</i> 'eggplant' and in the affected pronunciation by some bilingual speakers of Nepali proper names containing Nepali <i>ŋ</i> .	[ŋ].

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

'it'll get mixed', *pu* 'bird'; *an̄ghɔ̄tn̄n̄* 'we're^{pi} not hoarse', *an̄ghɔ̄·n̄n̄* 'we're^{pi} not going to utter incantations'; *m̄cma·tn̄n̄* 'it won't get used up', *m̄cma·n̄n̄* 'it won't get lost'.

/k/ - ø: *s̄ndik* 'night', *s̄ndi* 'good-bye (1pi/ADH)'; *phak* 'swine'; *pha* 'bamboo'; *ko·kma?* 'prop up', *ko·ma?* 'stand guard'; *ɔ·kma?* 'cry', *ɔ·ma?* 'drool'; *ya·k* 'gift', (*k̄emik*) *ya·* '(you'll) be horrified'.

/ʔ/ - /p/: *saʔma?* 'visit someone', *sapma?* 'write'; *m̄chaʔn̄n̄* 'it won't catch on fire', *mahapn̄n̄* 'it won't get stuck (up there)'; *ho·ʔ* 'furuncle', *ho·p* 'there is not'; *liʔ* 'slingshot', *lip* 'it's heavy'.

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

/ʔ/ - /k/: *h̄eʔma?* 'get or become shattered', *h̄ekma?* 'cut with a sickle'; *t̄aʔma?* 'bring, fetch', *t̄akma?* 'fetch (water), tap'; *saʔ* 'child', *sak* 'it is difficult'.

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

The mutual distinctiveness of the syllable-final allophones of /p/, /t/ and /k/ (viz. [p̄], [t̄]/[ʔl] and [k̄]) is illustrated by the following minimal pairs and near minimal pairs:

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

/p/ - /k/: *sapma?* 'write', *sakma?* 'be difficult'; *la·p* 'wing', (*ase·ʔl*) *la·k* '(I'm) hungry'; *tupma?* 'sweep', *tukma?* 'ache'; *luk* 'it'll be completed', *lup* 'leech'.

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

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

/k/ - /kh/: *ko·reʔl* 'clay slingshot pellet', *kho·reʔl* 'type of bowl'; *keŋ* 'he'll stumble and fall', *khəŋ* 'that, he, she'; *kəŋ* 'this, he, she', *khəŋ* 'he'll get hit with a stick'; (*saʔhaʔ*) *məgəktu* 'they'll bear (young)', (*siŋ*) *məgəktu* 'they'll chop (wood)'.

/t/ - /th/: *təkpeʔl* 'straight up', *tho·kpeʔl* 'rhododendron'; *təʔl* 'leaf', *thəʔl* 'spit'; *tək* 'cooked rice', *thək* 'body'; *kədaktwi·* 'are you going to show it to him?', *kədhaktwi·* 'did you bring it up?'; *mədəŋ* 'they shall meet', *mədhəŋ* 'they'll engage in combat'.

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

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

/p/ - /b/: *khənəʔ* *kə·pnei·ʔ* 'shall I pinch you?', *khənəʔ* *kə·bnei·ʔ* 'are you mute?'; *la·p* 'wing', *la·b* 'moon'.

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

/y/ - ø: *mənchya* 'maiden', *mənchaʔ* 'grandchild'; *sya* 'uncooked rice', *sa* 'meat'; *kəbyəŋsi* 'your rice terraces', *kəbəŋsi* 'he sent youP'.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Vowel phonemes

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

/ɔ/	unrounded short mid-low back vowel regular allophone in after bilabials	[ʌ] [ɔ]
/ɔː/	unrounded long mid-low back vowel	[ʌ:]
/a/	short unrounded mid central	[a]
/aː/	long unrounded mid central	[a:]

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

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

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

/ɛ/ - /ɛː/: *abhe* 'he'll lay down matting for us', *abhe·* 'he'll release us [birds]'; *medheŋ?enchiŋ* 'I won't pen them in', *medhe·ŋ?enchiŋ* 'I won't tear them'; *keghɛksu* 'you dried it (meat)', *keghɛ·ksu* 'you chipped it'; *tepma?* 'consent to give', *te·pma?* 'become overcooked'.

/a/ - /aː/: *kamma?* 'tuck in', *kha·mma?* 'yawn'; *keyaŋ lo·* 'hey, you'll get hit (by a projectile)', *keya·ŋ lo·* 'hey, you'll get dizzy (up there)'; *maŋ* 'deity', *ma·ŋ* 'it is far'; *yaŋ* 'money', *ya·ŋ* 'he is dizzy'; *haŋ* 'king', *ha·ŋ* 'it will taste spicy'; *anaŋ* 'we^{P1} shall go crazy', *ana·ŋ* 'my younger siblings (of the same sex as I am)'; *laŋ* 'leg, foot', *la·ŋ* 'dances'; *laktu* 'it's boiling', *la·ktu* 'he tramples underfoot'; *kedaŋba* (*cum*) 'intimate (friend)', *keda·ŋba* 'tree-feller'; *mesaktu* 'they locked him up', *mesa·ktu* 'they castrated him'.

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

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

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

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

/i/ - /e·/, /i/ - /ε/: *khi* 'thread', *khe·* 'yam'; *lim* 'is sweet', *le·m* 'is slippery'; *tim* 'gets full', *tεm* 'grabs a hold of'; *pɔʔiʔl* 'cucumber', *pɔʔe·ʔl* 'winnowing basket'; *sendi* 'good-bye (1pi/ADH)', *sεnde* 'split up'; *phik* 'talks loudly', *phεk* 'unfolds, blooms, unfurls'.

/e·/ - /ε, ε·/: *pe·ma?* 'vomit', *pε·ma?* 'fly'; *ye·ppa* 'he is laughing', *yεppa* 'standing'; *phe·suŋ* 'I farted', *phe·suŋ* 'I let fly'; *ke·b* 'tiger', *kε·b* 'mute'; *khe·ŋ* 'fishing rod', *kheŋ* 'that'; *ke·mba* 'tall', *kεmba* 'your father'; *le·m* 'is slippery', *lεm* 'kidney'.

/ε/ - /a/: *tεm* 'grabs a hold of', *ta·m* 'refuse (n.)'; *phεk* 'unfolds, blooms, unfurls', *phak* 'swine'; *lεm* 'kidney', *lam* 'way'; *sεma?* 'spill, scatter', *sama?* 'deliver'.

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

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

/o·/ - /u/: *po·ʔl* 'he'll lose his way', *puʔl* 'misses'.

/i/ - /u/: *piʔl* 'bull, cow', *puʔl* 'it will become blended'.

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

Whispered vowels occur regularly in Limbu. Their devoiced quality is subphonemic. The vowels /i/ and /u/ may become voiceless in unstressed position in lengthy words, eg. /*niseɛtɕuge·*/ [*niseɛ^htɕuge·*] 'we^{de} saw it', /*hipsusi·ge·*/ [*hipsus^hi·ge·*] 'we^{de} hit them', /*miksurumba*/ [*mi^hk^hsy^h-rumba*] 'blind', /*siradhaŋba*/ [*s^hira^hd^haŋba*] 'pleasing'.

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

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

¹¹ At this subphonemic level of description, however, it

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

1.3. The Limbu word

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

1.3.1. Hiatus

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

/a·i·r·ε/	[ʔaʔi:rε]	We ^P wandered.
/hi-a-e·s-ε-tch-u/	[hiʔaʔe·sεtʃ ^h u]	We ^{di} shat.
/khunεʔ ku-ɪŋhɔŋ hɛn wa·/	[khunεʔ kuʔɪŋhɔŋ hɛn wa:]	What's his news?

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

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

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

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

<i>yʉɛ</i>	He sat down.	<i>pɛ·gɛ</i>	He went.
<i>yʉŋʔɛ</i>	I'm sitting.	<i>pɛ·kʔɛ</i>	I'm going.
<i>yʉŋɛʔ</i>	Sit down!	<i>pɛ·gɛʔ</i>	Go!

1.3.2. Syllable structure

The canonical syllable structure¹⁴ observed in native Limbu may be schematized as follows:

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹⁶ eg. *adhge·k* 'my head'.

ph,¹⁷ b, m, ʔ/ and, as the onset of an intervocalic geminate, /l/.

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

Intervocalic voiced plosives and intervocalic /ŋ/ are ambisyllabic. The allophone of /t/ preceding a glottal stop initial syllable, [ʔl], straddles both syllables, eg. *piʔl* + *-ʔin* → *piʔlin* [*piʔ-lin*] 'cow (ABS)'.¹

1.4. Assimilation and dissimilation:

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

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

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

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

eg. */mɛ-n-kɔt-mʔna-haʔ* *ke-kɔt-pa-haʔ* [*mɛŋgɔpmʔnahaʔ* *kegɔp-pahaʔ*] 'the haves and the have-nots', */mɛ-n-mɛt-paŋ/* [*mɛm-mɛppaŋ*] 'I did not tell him', */ɔ·mɔt-maʔ/* [*ɔ:mɔpmaʔ*] 'to look at', */ke·t-mʔna-bɛ-n/* [*ke·pmʔnabɛn*] 'the inserted', */ke·t-maʔ/* [*ke·pmaʔ*] 'add'.

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

¹⁷ In the loan *haphta* 'week'.

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

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

/m/ → [ŋ] / /ŋ/ __ , eg. /haŋ-mʔna/ [haŋ-ŋʔna]

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

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

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} /m/ \\ /n/ \\ /ŋ/ \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow [l] \quad / \quad _ /l/$

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

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

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

- *hɛn co·kma?* *allɔ?*

- *thi· dhunma?*

/*thunma?*/

- What to do now?

- Drink millet beer.

- *anige hɛn dzo·kmaʔʔ* /co·kmaʔ/
 - *pe·kmʔ bo·ŋ.* /po·ŋ/
 - What shall we^{pe} do?
 - It's time [for you^P] to go.
- *kheŋ-aŋ o·ʔmyaŋ bheŋɕa bhitra akmʔ po·ŋ.*
anɡa co·ɡuŋ bi·ne thebae·, kheŋeʔ ɡo·! /pi·ne/
 - Having roasted that too, [I'll] have to
 put it inside the eggplant. I'll make
 it and give it to you, grandpa, for you!

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

1.5. The orthography

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

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

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

Chapter Two

Nominal Morphology

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

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

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

2.1. Adjectives

2.1.1. Agreement in adjectives

Adjectives agree in gender but not in case or number with the nouns they modify. Adjectives, including verbal adjectives, ending in */-pa/* have corresponding feminine forms in */-ma/*, eg. *yamba yembitcha* 'big man', *yamma menchuma* 'big lady', *cukpa pi?l* 'small bull/cow', *cukma pitma* 'small

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.1.2. The nominalizing suffix *-taŋba*

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

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

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

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

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

- (4) *yɔŋyɔŋ-daŋba co·g-ɛ.*
 light-*vālā* be-PT
 It was a light one.
- (5) *kɔŋ a·kkhya·k se·se·-daŋba mənə ni gɔ·!*
 this how_much clear-minded-*vālā* man CTR then
 What a clear-minded man this is!

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

- (6) *kɔŋ-in tha·ŋle·kwa kusinɔaŋba məna rəcə.*
 this-ABS cuckoo one_like man DEPR.
yeʔlɪŋ pa·nɪŋ. khɛnɛʔ
 repeatedly change_one's_tune. you^s
tha·ŋle·kwa kusin
 cuckoo like
pa·n-kɛ-lɛŋ-ŋi·ʔ
 change_one's_tune-2-change_one's_tune-Q
hɛkke·lɔʔrik
 in_that_fashion
pa·n-mɛl-lɛŋ-ʔɛʔ!
 change_one's_tune-NEG-change_one's_tune-IMP
 This guy is like a cuckoo bird. He's always
 changing his tune. (turning to the person in
 question) Are you changing your story like a
 cuckoo? Don't keep changing your story in
 that fashion!
- (7) *kɔŋ kuʂinɔaŋbɛ-lɪe a-niŋ lɛʔr-u.*
 this one_like-ERG my-ire release-3P
 I get fed up with people like him.
- (8) - *khɛnɛʔ kɛ-mba-i·ʔ*
 you^s your^s-father-Q
 - *mɛ·n... ǎ, kusinɔaŋba.*
 no... yes, one_like
 - Is that your father?
 - No... yes, it's someone who looks like
 him.

2.1.3. The colour affixes

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

<i>ku-mak-la</i>	black
<i>ku-bhɔ-ra</i>	white
<i>ku-hɛt-la</i>	red
<i>ku-hik-la</i>	green

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

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

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

<i>mak-tanba</i>	black, black-kind; a black one.
<i>phɔ-danba</i>	white, white-kind; a white one.
<i>hɛt-tanba</i>	red, red-kind; a red one.
<i>hik-tanba</i>	green, green-kind; a green one.

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

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

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

<i>mak-kɛ-lɔʔ-ba</i>	black-AP-appear-AP
<i>phɔ-gɛ-lɔʔ-ba</i>	white-AP-appear-AP
<i>hɛt-kɛ-lɔʔ-ba</i>	red-AP-appear-AP
<i>hik-kɛ-lɔʔ-ba</i>	green-AP-appear-AP

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

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

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

2.2. Pronouns

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

<i>anga</i>	I	1s
<i>anchi</i>	we	1di
<i>anchige</i>	we	1de
<i>ani</i>	we	1pi
<i>anige</i>	we	1pe
<i>khɛnɛʔ</i>	you	2s
<i>khɛnchi</i>	you	2d
<i>khɛni</i>	you	2p
<i>khunɛʔ</i>	he, she	3s
<i>khɛŋ</i>	he, she, it	3s
<i>khunchi</i>	they	3d/3ns
<i>khɛŋhaʔ</i>	they	3p/3ns

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

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

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

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

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

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

Demonstrative pronouns, *khɛŋ* 'that', *kɔŋ* 'this' etc., and indefinite pronouns, *wiʔsma* 'another kind of', *eʔyanba* 'other' etc., invariably precede the noun when used adnominally.

2.2.1. Personal possessive prefixes

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

'your grandfather', *keməra huʔreʔ!* 'Shut your mouth!', *kuməra huʔreʔ!* 'Shut him up!, Have him shut up!', *ku-ba·ni hekke· habha* 'His habit is just like that', *kemiŋ hen? - amiŋ Gra·m Baha·dur* 'What is your name? - My name is *Grām Bahādur*'.

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

When possessive prefixes are added, some nouns, predominantly kinship terms and terms similar in meaning (eg. *cum*, *-ndzum* 'friend'), have a prothetic nasal which manifests itself after the singular possessive prefixes *a-*, *ke-* and *ku-*, eg. *cum* 'friend', *andzum* 'my friend', *pa* 'father', *amba* 'my father', *phoŋaʔ* 'uncle', *kembhoŋaʔ* 'your uncle', *sumaʔ* 'aunt', *kunchumaʔ* 'his aunt'. Some nouns (inc. two kinship terms) drop the vowel of their first syllable when a possessive prefix is attached, eg. *thege·k* 'head', *kedh-ge·k* 'your head', *neʔneʔ* 'older sister', *kunneʔ* 'his elder sister', *mudhuk* 'moustache', *amdruk* 'my moustache', *nusaʔ* 'sibling', *kunsaʔ* 'his sibling'.

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

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

2.2.2. Personal pronouns: an analysis

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

<i>anga</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ga</i>	
	l		e	
<i>anchi</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>si</i>	
	l		d	
<i>ani</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>i</i>	
	l		p	
<i>anchige</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>ge</i>
	l		d	e
<i>anige</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ge</i>
	l		p	e

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

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

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

		s p e a k e r	
		inclusive	exclusive
a d d r e s s e e	inclusive	<i>anchi</i>	<i>khɛnɛ?</i>
		<i>ani</i>	<i>khɛnchi</i>
	exclusive	<i>anga</i>	<i>khunɛ?</i>
		<i>anchige</i>	<i>khunchi</i>
		<i>anige</i>	<i>khɛŋha?</i>

2.3. Dualization and pluralization

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

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

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

<i>məna te·</i>	A man came.
<i>məna mɛde·</i>	The men came./Some men came.
<i>mənaha? mɛde·</i>	The men came./A number of men came.
<i>sapla wa·</i>	There is a book.
<i>sapla mɛwa·</i>	There are books./The books are there.
<i>saplaha? mɛwa·</i>	There are all sorts of books./There are many books./There are various pieces of writing.

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

- (14) *Prabhu Ra·m-ha? khettho· ya·mbok me-dzo·g-u.*
Prabhu Rām-p up_uthere work nsAS-do-3P
 (lit. The *Prabhu Rāms* work up there.) 'Prabhu Rām
 and those like him (viz. his colleagues) work
 up there'
- (15) *sarumba-ha? me-be·k. e·?yanba me-ya·k.*
second-born-p nsAS-go. other nsAS-be
 The second-born [son] and crew will go. Everybody
 else will stick around.

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

thεge·k?i hair on scalp
thεge·k?iha? hairs on scalp

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

- (16) *kεrεk-le ku-mεn-ha? me-ghik.*
all-GEN its-price-p nsAS-be_uexpensive
 The prices of everything are too high.
- (17) *kεrεk-le ku-mεn-ha? khik.*
all-GEN its-price-p be_uexpensive
 The prices of everything is too high.

The absolute forms of interrogative and indefinite pronouns such as *e·n* 'who', *hεn* 'what' and *e·?yanba* 'other' may take the plural suffix. Adjectives may also be pluralized when used as nouns themselves.

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

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

(19) *kheŋha?* ɔ·kt-ε-tchi.
 they^P scream-PT-dPS
 They (two) screamed.

(20) - *habha hεkke· ni kε-dza-m-mi·?*
 just_{so} that_{way} 2-eat/3P-pA-Q
 - *o·ʔ-s-u-waŋ mu ca-s-u-ba.*
 roast-dA-3P-pfG REP eat-dA-3P-IPF
 - Do you^P eat it just like that (viz. raw)?
 - (butting in:) They said they^d eat it after
 having roasted it first.

2.3.1. The dual and generalized dual morphemes

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

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

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

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

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

2.3.2. Numerals and the dual suffix

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

2	<i>netchi</i>	6	<i>tuksi/thuksi</i>
3	<i>sumsi</i>	7	<i>nusi</i>
4	<i>lisi</i>	8	<i>yetchi/yenchi</i>
5	<i>nasi</i>	9	<i>phaṅsi</i>

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

(21) *yaṅ-dhik pi·r-aṅ-ε?*
 money-a give-1sP-IMP
 Give me a rupee.

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

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

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

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

the numerals 10, 20 and 30, and *-kip*³ in the decades 40, 50, 60, 70, 80 and 90 as a suffix and in 100 as the root. In the numeral 10, *thik* 'one' occurs as *thi*. In the numeral 20, 'two' occurs as its allomorph *-ni-*, whereas elsewhere it occurs in its more usual form *-net-*. The morpheme 'eight' *-yet-/-yen-* occurs as *-ye-* in the eighties.

10 <i>thibo·ŋ</i>	20 <i>nibo·ŋ</i>	40 <i>likip</i>	70 <i>nukip</i>
11 <i>thikthik</i>	21 <i>netthik</i>	41 <i>lithik</i>	71 <i>nuthik</i>
12 <i>thikneʔl</i>	22 <i>netneʔl</i>	42 <i>lineʔl</i>	
13 <i>thiksum</i>	23 <i>netchum</i>		80 <i>ye·kip</i>
14 <i>thikli</i>	etc.	50 <i>nakip</i>	81 <i>ye·thik</i>
15 <i>thikna</i>		51 <i>nathik</i>	
16 <i>thikthuk</i>	30 <i>sumbo·ŋ</i>	52 <i>naneʔl</i>	90 <i>phanḡip</i>
17 <i>thiknu</i>	31 <i>sumdhik</i>		91 <i>phanḡdhik</i>
18 <i>thikyεʔl</i>	32 <i>sumneʔl</i>	60 <i>thukkip</i>	
19 <i>thikphan</i>	etc.	61 <i>thukthik</i>	100 <i>kipthik</i>

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

1	<i>thikphu</i>
2	<i>nepphu</i>
3	<i>sumbhu</i>
4	<i>libhu</i>
5	<i>nabhu</i>
6	<i>thukphu</i>
7	<i>nubhu</i>
8	<i>yepphu</i>
9	<i>phanbhu</i>

Ordinal numbers are not attested. The only fraction is *kumbhre·ŋ* 'one half', eg. *yaḡ-dhik-ʔaḡ kumbhre·ŋ pi·r-aḡ-εʔ* (money-a-and one_half give-1sP-IMP, lit. Give me a rupee and a half) 'Give me one rupee and eight annas'.

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

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

2.4. Case and postpositions

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

2.4.1. Absolutive

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

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

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

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

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

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

- (25) *anghoʔin kedzɔi·ʔ* Will you eat my ear?
amikʔin kedzɔi·ʔ Will you eat my eye?
kumgɔkʔin nisun! I saw her asshole!

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

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

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

- (27) *kɛ-məra pɛʔlaʔwarekpe-n.*
 your^s-mouth agape-ABS
 Your mouth is agape.

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

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

The definite absolutive suffix <-?in> undergoes the following morphophonological alternations:

After the voiceless stops /k/, /p/, /t/ and /ʔ/ there is no change in the basic form of the ending, eg. *tɔkʔin* 'cooked rice', *la·pʔin* 'wing', *piʔlin* /*pit-ʔin*/ 'cow', *pe·naʔin* /*pe·naʔ-ʔin*/ 'millet', *ya·n-dhik-ʔin* *mɛ-gho·-ʔɛ-n* 'I'm not getting a single day off'. Occasionally, after /ʔ/ the case ending is realized as /-ʔɛn/, eg. *kɔŋ waʔɛn* *hɛn* *co·kʔaŋ ya·kpa* 'What's this chicken up to?', *waʔɛn* /*waʔ-ʔɛn*/ *kɛdzɔi·?* - *caŋ* 'Do you eat chicken - I do', *waʔin* /*waʔ-ʔin*/ *kɛdzɔi·?* 'Do you eat chicken?', *mɛndaʔɛn* /*mɛndaʔ-ʔɛn*/ *sa·rik ɔ·kte* 'the goat has been bleating incessantly'.

After /b/ the form of the definite absolutive case ending is /ɛn/, eg. *la·bɛn* 'moon'.

After the nasals /m/, /n/ and /ŋ/ the initial glottal stop of the ending may assimilate to the preceding nasal, eg. *himʔin*, *himmin* 'house', *immaʔdɛnʔin*, *immaʔdɛnnin* 'place to sleep', *luŋʔin*, *luŋŋin* 'rock', *waʔdhi·n-nin* *ɛɛʔ!* 'Eat the egg!', *thanbɛn-nin* *ta* 'The lad is on his way here'.

After vowels, the definite absolutive ending is realized as /·n/, lengthening the preceding vowel, eg. *yɛmbitcha* → *yɛmbitcha·n* 'man', *mɛnchuma* → *mɛnchuma·n* 'lady', *məna* → *məna·n* 'man, person', *adwa·n* *to·kte* 'I bumped my forehead', seldom as /ʔin/, eg. *pha* → *pha·n*, *phaʔin* 'bamboo', *waʔsa* *kɛdzɔi·?*, *waʔsaʔin* *kɛdzɔi·?* 'Do you eat chicken meat?', *ko·co·-ʔin* *hɔ·sɛ* 'The dog barked', *thɛbaʔin* *yaŋ pi·rɛʔ!* 'Give the old man some money!', *mənaʔin* *ɔ·kte* 'the man hollered', *kheŋ luŋgi·-n* *sa·rik khɛmdu* 'It (viz. the fact that the *luŋgī* has now been sewn together at the seam) looks good on that *luŋgī*'.

The definite article when attached to any derivational suffix ending in *-a*, eg. *-pa/-ma*, *-mʔna*, *-ʔmʔnaba*, is realized as /-n/ and fronts the *-a* to *-ɛ* in the preceding suffix, eg. *kappo·ba* → *kappo·bɛn* 'old man', *sammyaŋ kɛwa·p-ma* → *sammyaŋ kɛwa·pmɛn* 'gold wearer (f)', *mɛnchukma* → *mɛnchukmɛn* 'pregnant one', *mɛŋgɔpmʔna* → *mɛŋgɔpmʔnɛn* 'indigent person', *hukʔo· wa·pmʔnaba* → *hukʔo· wa·pmʔnabɛn* 'wrist-watch', even in those derivatives in which the ending has to some extent coalesced with the stem, eg. *ku-su·pnɛ-n* *phund-u-ŋ* (its-lid-ABS remove-3P-1sA) 'I took off its lid' [*< su·pmʔna*].

- (29) *ke-yuŋ-be-n e·n?*
AP-sit-AP-ABS who
Who's that sitting [there]?
- (30) *yaŋsarumbε-n⁴ la·ks-ε-i·?*
third_born-ABS dance-PT-Q
Did third-born dance?
- (31) *sarumba tɔre·-be-n a·tto· pe·g-ε?*
second_born guest-NOM-ABS where go-PT
Where did the second-born male guest go to?
- (32) *yumlakpe-n ha·ŋd-ε-i· me-ha·ŋd-ε-n-ni·?*
acār-ABS be_hot-PT-Q NEG-be_hot-PT-NEG-Q
Is the *acār* spicy hot or isn't it?
- (33) *ande·-we-n cur-ε-i·?*
before-NOM-ABS end-PT-Q
Did the one from before finish yet?

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

- (34) *kɔŋ kheŋ mənə-re-n.*
this that man-GEN-ABS
This is that man's.
- (35) *sa-re-n yumlakpa.*
meat-GEN-ABS *acār*
The *acār* is [made] of meat.

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

- (36) *ke·b-εn a·tto· tha·-siŋ-ba?*
dumb-ABS where drop-REF-IPF
Where's the dumb one headed?
- (37) *ke·b-ha? me-dha·-siŋ-ba.*
dumb-p nsAS-drop-REF-IPF
The dumb ones are off somewhere.

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

The absolutive form of the pronoun 'who', *e·n*, contains an *-n* of the definite suffix⁵, as compared to *e·lle* 'who (ERG)', but the form *e·n* is opaque and may be pluralized: *e·nha?* 'whoP'.

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

- (38) *dza·pa·n-le yen anige-rε-n yan tɔŋ.*
japan-GEN yen we-GEN-ABS money meet
Our money has the same value as the Japanese Yen.
- (39) *anige yansa?r-i-ge, anige yo·-bε-n*
we^{pe} be_poor-PPS-e, we^{pe} low-NOM-ABS
sige·k.
social_class
We are poor and low class.
- (40) *kɔŋ inghɔŋ-ŋin khunε? hakt-ε?!*
this news-ABS him send-IMP
Send him this news!/As for this news, send it to
him!
- (41) *kε-mba-rε-n ku-miŋ hεn?*
your^s-father-GEN-ABS his-name what
What's your father's name?

⁵ The forms **e·nnin* or **e·nin*, unlike *hennin*, are rejected.

- (42) *ke-mba-re-n ku-bo·den hen?*
 your-father-GEN-ABS his-status what?
ke-mma-re-n hen?
 your-mother-GEN-ABS what?
 What is your father's position in society? And
 what's your mother's?
- (43) *kheŋ miksurumbε-n anŋa a-ndheba-re*
 that blind_man-ABS I my-grandfather-GEN
ku-nsa pho·kwa-ma-re-n
 his-younger_sibling youngest_born-f-GEN-ABS
ku-sa? tumba. kheŋ a-ndumba. khunε?
 her-son eldest. he my-uncle he
phe·daŋma ya·mbək-?aŋ co·k.
 witch_doctor work-too does.
 That blind man is the eldest male child of my
 grandfather's youngest sister. He is
 therefore my uncle, and he practices the
 profession of medicine man.
- (44) *kheŋ-le thik ya·n ləkthik mənə-re-n huk-?o*
 that-ERG one day one man-GEN-ABS hand-LOC
wa·p-mna-bε-n khutt-u-waŋ lo·kt-ε rəcə.
 wear-PP-NOM-ABS steal-3P-and run-PT DEPR
 It turned out that one day he stole a man's wrist-
 watch and made off.

2.4.2. Ergative

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

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

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

After a final vowel, with the exception of derivational endings in final /a/, we find definite /-ʔille/ and indefinite /-lle/, eg. *khεŋ yεmbitcha-lle ku-ndzum-min hipt-u* 'that guy struck his friend', *yεmbitcha-lle mεchuma·n hipt-u* 'the man hit the woman', *mεchuma-lle yεmbitcha·n hipt-u* 'the woman struck the man', *kɔŋ məna-lle piʔl-in nis-u* 'this man saw the cow', *məna-ʔille mεndaʔ seʔr-u* 'the man killed a goat', *hεkkelle khεŋ məna-lle nis-u-waŋ to·pi-hεtla-dhik u·tt-u* 'So when that man saw it, he called a policeman', *kɔŋ ku-sa-lle sapla·n kusiqni·tt-u* 'This child of his understands the book'.

In the plural, where the definite article is zero, one finds only the ergative suffix /-le/ whether the plural suffix is overtly realized or not. After the plural marker /-haʔ/, /-le/ is realized as [-re], eg. *khεŋ-haʔ-re liŋ mε-hεg-u* 'They cut the thatching', *kε-nik-siq-ba-haʔ-re khunchi-saʔ lɔ·n* (AP-fuck-REF-AP-p-GEN their-child come_{out}) 'The illicit lovers have conceived a child', *khεŋ yεmbitcha-haʔ-re khunchi-cum-haʔ mε-hipt-u* 'Those men hit their friends', *waʔ-haʔ-re mε-dzɔ* (chicken-p-ERG nsAS-eat/3P) 'The chickens'll eat it'.

In vowel-final nouns where the plural suffix is not expressed, /-le/, realized as [-rε], contrasts with the singular ergative suffix /-lle/, eg. *yεmbitcha-re kε-m-ye·ʔl* 'the guys will laugh at you^s', *məna-re mεndaʔ-ʔεn mε-seʔr-u* 'the men killed the goat', *məna-re mε-nis-u* 'the men saw it'. When the plural suffix is not overtly realized, the singular and plural ergative of consonant-final nouns are not formally distinct. The verb or larger context disambiguates the number of the noun, eg. *saʔ-re suŋ mε-*

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

After derivational endings with final /a/, there is no definite/indefinite distinction. The definite ergative suffix fronts the /a/ to /ε/ and is itself realized as /-lle/, eg. *yaŋsarumba* → *yaŋsarumbε-lle* 'third-born (ERG)', *him-ʔo·ke-wa·-mε-lle* 'the lady who was in the house (ERG)', *mεŋ-gɔpmnε-lle* 'the indigent person (ERG)'.

The demonstratives *kheŋ* and *kɔŋ* and the interrogative *hen* 'what' have ergative forms *khelle*, *kɔlle* and *helle* next to *kheŋle*, *kɔŋle* and *henle*.

2.4.3. Instrumental

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

(45) *a-mik-le mεn-ni-ʔe· wa·-ʔε. pa·n-nεn lɔk*
 my-eye-INST npG-see-npG be-1sPS/NPT. word-ABS only
khεps-u-ŋ.
 hear-3P-1sA.

I haven't seen it myself (lit. with my eyes), I've only heard it said.

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

(47) *ke-dzi·-bε-lle pi·r-εʔ!*
 AP-be_cold-AP-INST give-IMP
 Give it to him with the cold one (viz. the
 khukuri)!

(48) *nam-ille ni-he·ʔ-mε-dεt-nεn.*
 sun-INST see-be_able-NEG-PAS-NEG
 It couldn't be seen because of the sun.

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

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

- (50) *kəŋ kusinɗaŋbɛ-lle a-niŋ lɛʔr-u.*
 this one_{like}-ERG my-gall release-3P
 People like him really get on my nerves.
- (51) *kħcŋ tɛ·ʔl-in caŋ-mɛ-lle caŋ-mɛ-lle a-niŋ*
 that clothes-ABS wear-INF-ERG wear-INF-ERG my-gall
lɛʔr-u.
 release-3P
 Constantly wearing those same clothes has gotten
 me fed up.
- (52) *tɔk-le sa·rik a-niŋ lɛʔr-ɛ.*
bhāt-INST very my-gall be_{release}-PT
 I'm fed up with cooked rice.
- (53) *kħɛni-pa·n-le sa·rik a-niŋ lɛʔr-ɛ.*
 yourP-word-INST very my-gall be_{released}-PT
 I'm fed up with what you guys have to say.
- (54) *thi·-lle ku-niŋ lɛʔ.*
 millet_{beer}-INST his-gall be_{released}
 He'll be fed up with millet beer [when he wakes up
 in the morning].

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

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

2.4.4. The genitive

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

- (56) *khuncʔ tumma-re ku-saʔ. anɡa*
 he first_wife-GEN her-child. I
pakma-re ku-saʔ-ʔɛ.
 second_wife-GEN her-child-am
 He's the son of [our father's] first wife; I'm
 the son of [our father's] second wife.

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

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

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

- (57) *lɔkθhik ke·mba siŋbo·ŋ-ille ku-bo·ŋ-ʔo·*
 one tall tree-GEN its-base-LOC
mɛ-yuŋ-ɛ.
 nsAS-sit-PT
 They sat down at the base of a tall tree.
- (58) *anchi siŋbo·ŋ-le ku-bo·ŋ-ʔo· yuŋ-si!*
 we^{di} tree-GEN its-base-LOC sit-d/ADH
 Let's^{di} sit down under the tree!
- (59) *yaŋsiŋ-ille ku-nak-ʔin a-huk-ʔo·*
 Schima_wallichii-GEN its-splinter-ABS my-hand-LOC4
la·s-ɛ.
 enter-PT.
 A Schima splinter has gotten into my hand.

Nouns in the genitive are generally followed by a noun with the third person possessive prefix *ku-* or, in the plural, *khunchi-*, eg. *mendaʔ-re ku-mi* 'the goat's tail', *phak-le ku-saʔ* 'The pig's offspring', *waʔ-re ku-sa-ʔin kɛ-dzɔ-1.ʔ* 'Do you eat chicken meat?', *saŋgatra-re ku-se·* 'the pit of the grapefruit', *mendaʔ-re ku-ghi·ŋ* 'the goat's gall bladder', *menda-ʔre ku-saʔ* 'the goat's offspring', *te·ʔla·se·ʔ-re ku-bo·ŋ* 'banana tree', *khɛŋ mənə-re khunchi-piʔl* 'those guys' cow'.

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

- (60) *si·-re khɔrɛ·ŋ caŋ.*
 wheat-GEN bread eat/1s→3s
 I ate wheat bread.
- (61) *tɔk-ʔaŋ hɛkdaŋba kha·l-le ca-m-be!*
bhāt-too that_kind_of type-GEN eat-pA-e
 And we^{pe} even eat that type of *bhāt* too!
- (62) *hɛl-le mundhum-in gɔ· ho·!*
 what-GEN story-ABS then ho
 Well, what sort of story [should I tell]?

2.4.4.1. The genitive of time

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

- (63) - *thik ya·n-le ke-ge?r-ε-tchi-?i·?*
 one day-GEN 2-arrive-PT-dPS-Q
 - *thik ya·n-le rok ke?r-ε-tchi-ge.*
 one day-GEN only arrive-PT-dPS-e
 - Did you^d get there in one day?
 - Yes, it took us only one day to get there.
- (64) *nepphu hendza? thik ya·n-le ke-bo·η-ba*
 two boy one dat-GEN AP-be_born-AP
way-ε-tchi.
 be-PT-dPS
 Once there were two boys who had been born on the same day.

2.4.4.2. The independent genitive

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

- (65) - *e·-lle-n pi?i?*
 who-GEN-ABS bull
 - *na·pmi-re-n.*
 other-GEN-ABS
 - Whose is the bull?
 - It's someone else's.
- (66) *tumba-re-n yamba co·k.*
 elder(m)-GEN-ABS big is
 Big brother's is big.

- (67) - *hɛm-ba?*
 what-NOM
 - *hapcyange·n nakpa yamba-rɛ-n.*
 trousers nephew big-GEN-ABS
 - What's this?
 - These trousers are big nephew's.
- (68) *ta·bilo· panyo· kusin̄ kərə sin̄-lɛ-n*
ta·bilo panyo· like but wood-GEN-ABS
co·k-ɲa-ba.
 make-PP-NOM
 A *ta·bilo* is like a *panyo·* but made of wood.
- (69) *khɛŋ kɛ-bhɛm-bɛ-n mən̄a-rɛ-n ku-ndzum.*
 that AP-come-AP-ABS man-GEN-ABS his-friend
 He's the friend of that man who has come.

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

<i>an̄gaʔin</i>	mine
<i>anchiʔin</i>	ours (di)
<i>anchigen</i>	ours (de)
<i>aniʔin</i>	ours (pi)
<i>anigen</i>	ours (pe)
<i>khɛnɛʔin</i>	yours (s)
<i>khɛnchiʔin</i>	yours (d)
<i>khɛniʔin</i>	yours (p)
<i>khɛŋin/kɔŋin</i>	his/hers
<i>khunɛʔin</i>	his/hers
<i>khunchiʔin</i>	theirs (d)
<i>khɛŋhaʔrɛn/kɔŋhaʔrɛn</i>	theirs (p)

- (70) *anchigen yamba co·k.*
 ours^{de} big be
 Ours^{de} is big!
- (71) *mɛn-ha·p-ʔɛ?! anchigen-nan̄ mɛ-gɔt-ch-u-gɛ-n.*
 NEG-cry-IMP! ours^{de}-too NEG-have-dA-3P-e-NEG
 Don't cry! We^{de} don't have ours either.

- (72) *khεnεʔin-niʔ*
yours^s-Q
Is it yours?

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

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

2.4.5. Vocative

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

- (74) - *yuma-e·*, *ko·co·-lle haʔ*, *me·n-niʔ*
grandmother-VOC, dog-ERG bite, no-Q
- *o· mencha-e·*, *a-n-haʔ-nεn!*
oh grandchild-VOC 1-NEG-bit-NEG
- Grandma, the dog will bite, won't it? (boy
teasing grandmother)
- Oh grandchild, it doesn't bite. (lit. 'it
won't bite us', 8.9)
- (75) *a-ndzum-me·*, *kɔtna phεr-εʔ o·!*
my-friend-VOC, here come-IMP oh
Come here, my friend!
- (76) *kɔŋ-haʔ hεnaŋ mε-so·t-paʔ* *kɔtna kɔtna*
this-p why nsAS-misbehave-IPF? here here
pher-amm-εʔ, *hendzaʔ-s-e·!*⁶
come-2p-IMP, child-ns-VOC
Why are they misbehaving [again]? Come here,
children!

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

- (77) *adhaŋba-s-e·, yuŋ-i ro·!*
gentleman-p-VOC, sit-pADH ASS
Let's sit down, gentlemen.
- (78) *paŋli-re· kɔtna pheʔr-amm-εʔ o·!*
daughter_in_law-VOC/p hither come-2p-IMP oh
Come here, daughters-in-law!
- (79) *yum kε-dza-ba-re· cutt-aʔm-εʔ-yaŋ*
salt AP-eat-AP-VOC/p sprinkle-2p-IMP-pfG
cy-amm-εʔ!
eat-2p-IMP
Salt eaters, sprinkle on a bit and eat!
- (80) *theba-re· ciʔ saʔr-εʔ!*
grandfather-VOC little_bit taste-IMP
Taste a little bit, grandpa!

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

- (81) - *menche·!* - Grandchild!
- *hɛn gɔ· ho·, thebae·!* - Say what, grandpa!
- (82) - *thebae·!* - Grandpa!
- *hɛn gɔ· ho·, menchae·!* - What's up, grand-
child?
- *hɛn kɛdzo·kʔ* - What're you doing?
- *habha yuŋʔε.* - Just sitting
around.

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

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

2.4.6. Locative

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

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

- (83) - *anga allo-waŋ pe·k-ʔε!*
 I now-too go-1sPS/NPT
 - *a·tto·?*
 where
 - *nyaʔ-re-ʔo·. ta·ndik lok yu-ʔε.*
 aunt-GEN-LOC tomorrow only come_{down}-1sPS/NPT
 - I'm going now too!
 - Whereto?
 - To auntie's. I'll only come back down
 tomorrow.

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

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

2.4.7. The comitative

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

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

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

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

- (85) *allo· khənɛʔ-nu a-m-ba·t-chi-n, anchi.*
now you^s-COM 1-NEG-talk-dPS-NEG, we^{di}.
Now, I'm not talking to you anymore.
- (86) *Nara·yan-nu pit-chi-ge.*
Nārāyaŋ-COM go-dPS-e
I'm going with *Nārāyaŋ*.
- (87) *Yaŋsarumbɛ-n-nu kɛ-bi-tchi-ba-i·ʔ*
third-born-ABS-COM 2-go-dPS-IPF-Q
Are you^s going with third-born?
- (88) *syaʔl-le-nu ũʔh-ille so·ʔl-in yəllik*
fox-ERG-COM camel-ERG sugar_cane-ABS much
ce·-s-u.
eat/3P-dA-3P
The fox and the camel ate lots of sugar cane.

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

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

2.4.8. The mediative

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

2.4.9. The relative

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

- (90) *tɔŋba nasi thun-u-ŋ hekkelle khɛŋ*
tuŋbā five drink-3P-1sA so that
cumlun-ʔo·-lam pu-e·kke· pe·r-aŋ-ba.
 bazar-LOC-MED bird-like fly-1sPS/PT-IPF
 I drank five *tuŋbās*, so I flew back from that
 bazar like a bird.

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

2.4.10. Allative

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

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

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

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

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

2.4.11. Intrative

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

- (95) *anchi-lum-?o· mi ne·.*
 we^{di}-midst-LOC fire be_situated
 There is a fire between us^{di}
- (96) *ku-lum-?o· me-bhan-u-ba way-ε.*
 its-midst-LOC nsAS-erect_a_barrier-3P-NOM be-PT
 In between there was a partition they had erected./They had it fenced off in between.

2.4.12. The comparative 'than'

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

- (97) *khεnε?-nulle ke·n-?ε.*
 you^s-than be_tall-1sPS/NPT
 I'm taller than you are.
- (98) *khunε?-nulle me-dɔ·ŋ-?ε-n.*
 he-than NEG-be_short-1sPS/NPT-NEG
 I'm no shorter than he is.
- (99) *ta·mar ba·gmatī-nulle ke·mba co·k.*
Tamor Bāgmatī-than long be
 The *Tamor* river is longer than the *Bāgmatī*.
- (100) *anga-nulle tɔ·ŋ.*
 I-than be_short
 He's shorter than me.

- (101) *sammyaŋ-nulle khik!*
gold-than be_expensive
It's more expensive than gold!⁸
- (102) *khunε?-nulle yaŋhaŋ lɔk te. ku-ndzum-in*
he-than later only come/PT his-friend-ABS
yaŋhaŋ lɔk thaŋ-ε!
later only come_up-PT
He only showed up after he did. His friend only
came up after that!

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

- (103) *him-?o. pe·k-ma?-nulle paille· sya iŋ-m. bo·ŋ.*
house-LOC go-INF-than first rice buy-INF must
[We'll] have to buy rice before we go home.
- (104) *khεnε? kε-nsa-nulle khunε?*
you^s your^s-younger_sibling-than he
ku-nsa kapmo·ma co·k.
his-younger_sibling elder(f) be
Your younger sister is older than his younger
sister.

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

- (105) *yaŋsarumbε-n-nulle yetchi tɔŋbe· kε-dum.*
third-born-ABS-than eight year 2-be_old
You are eight years older than third-born.

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

- (106) *sakhεkya kεrεk-nulle kudzanu.*
sukuṭī everything-than be_delicious.
Sukuṭī (Nepalese jerky) is the most delicious
thing there is.

⁸ viz. a legendary resin with magical properties, Nep.
kālo gujargānā.

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

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

- (107) *ni·p-mε-lle la·gi yəllik yaŋ cahadzo·k.*
 study-INF-GEN for much money be_uneeded
 Lots of money is required to study.

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

2.5. Compounding

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

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

Chapter Three

The Verbs 'To Be'

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

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

<p>the identity operator <i>wa·ma?</i> <i>ho·pma?</i> <i>ya·kma?</i> <i>pɔtma?</i> <i>co·kma?</i> <i>po·ŋma?</i></p>	<p>suffixal 'to be' existential 'to be' negative existential 'to be' locational 'to be' adhesive 'to be' attributive 'to be' inchoative 'to be'</p>
--	---

for example:

<p><i>aŋga ku-yɛmba-ʔɛ.</i> <i>sukwa-ʔo· phedza wai·</i> <i>ho·pʔi·ʔ</i> <i>mɛnchuma himʔo· ya·k.</i> <i>mɛnchuma himʔo· wa·.</i> <i>kɛhaʔo· kumakla pɔʔl.</i> <i>kɔŋ mɛnchuma yamma co·k.</i> <i>namʔo· nuba po·ŋ.</i></p>	<p>I'm her husband. Is there a knife in the bag or isn't there? The lady is in the house. There is a lady in the house. There's something black stuck to your^s teeth. This lady is big. It's pleasant in the sun.</p>
--	--

3.1. The identity operator

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

1s	?ε
1di, 1pi, 3d, 3p	si
1de, 1pe	sige
2s	ne
2d	netchiŋ
2p	niŋ
3s	∅

for example:

<i>anga yembitcha-?ε.</i>	I am a man.
<i>anchi yembitcha-si.</i>	We ^{di} are men.
<i>ani yembitcha-si.</i>	We ^{pi} are men.
<i>khunchi yembitcha-si.</i>	They ^d are men.
<i>kheŋha? yembitcha-si.</i>	They ^p are men.
<i>anchige yembitcha-sige.</i>	We ^{de} are men.
<i>anige yembitcha-sige.</i>	We ^{pe} are men.
<i>khene? yembitcha-ne.</i>	You ^s are a man.
<i>khenchi yembitcha-netchiŋ.</i>	You ^d are men.
<i>kheni yembitcha-niŋ.</i>	You ^p are men.
<i>kheŋ/khune? yembitcha.</i>	He is a man.

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

- (1) *kəŋ menchuma a-me-?l.*
 this lady my-wife
 This lady is my wife.

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

- (2) *anga ke-ndzum-ille ku-mbhəŋa?-?ε.*
 I your^s-friend-GEN his-uncle-am
 I am the younger brother of your friend's father.

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

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

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

- (5) *khunchi yarik la·ttha?-ba-si.*
 they^d very difference-NOM-be
 They differ greatly [in age].
- (6) *kɔŋ hendza? a·kdanba-si na gɔ·? kuca*
 this child what_kind_of-be EMPH then truth
pa·tt-u-ŋ-ŋi·?
 speak-3P-1sA-Q
 What kind of children are they? Do you want me to
 tell the truth?
- (7) *ani kedhunba-si.*
 we^{Pi} brave-be
 we^{Pi} are brave ones.

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

siŋbo·ŋ tree
siŋbo·ŋsi trees^d
siŋbo·ŋha? trees^P

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

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

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

- (8) *anige yakthunba-ha? thi--han-sige. anchige*
 we^{pe} Limbu-p millet_beer-king-be. we^{de}
thi--re han-sige, hεkkelle khεnε?
 millet_beer-GEN king-be, so you^s
kε-mɔ·y-ε. anchige mεm-mɔ·-?e.
 2-inebriate-PT. we^{de} npG-inebriate-npG
wa--si-ge. yakthunba thi--po·η
 be-dPS-e. Limbu millet_beer-born
han-sige!
 king-be
 We^{pe} Limbus are the millet beer kings. We^{de} are
 the kings of millet beer, so you^s have gotten
 drunk. We^{de} have not gotten drunk. We^{de} are
 beer-born kings!

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

- (9) *na·pmi-rε-n khunchi-menda?*
 someone_else-GEN-ABS their-goat
 It's someone else's goat.
- (10) *kɔη an·ge-ni·p-ma?-him-min.*
 this our^{pe}-study-INF-house-ABS
 This is our school.
- (11) *khεnε? a·kdanba hina·nde·*
 you^s what_kind_of full-of-shit
məna··n-nε-ni-gɔ·!
 person-ABS-be-CTR-then
 What a full-of-shit person you are!
- (12) *a·kkhya·k ke·mba ku-miksaη-ηin!*
 how_much long his-eyelashes-ABS
 What long eyelashes he has!

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

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

- (14) *kheni kerək ke-gop-pa-niŋ.*
 you^P all AP-have-AP-be
 You^P all are rich.
- (15) *aŋga soḡmaŋ pi·-niŋ.*
 I in_a_second give-1s→2p
 I'll give it to you^P in a second.

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

- (16) *ani ləkthik.* (17) *neḡmaŋ ləkthik.*
 we^{P1} one both one
 We are one. They are both the same.

3.1.1. Negative suffixal 'to be' and nexal negation

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

- (18) *aŋga Nara·yan me·n-ʔε, khunε? Nara·yan.*
 I Nārāyaŋ NOT-be, he Nārāyaŋ
 I'm not Nārāyaŋ, he's Nārāyaŋ.
- (19) *khenchi a-ndzum me·n-netchiŋ.*
 you^d my-friend NOT-be
 You^d're not my friends.
- (20) *khunε? me·n!*
 he NOT
 Not him!

- (21) *anige Tumbahanphe· me·n-chige, anige kerck*
weP° Tumbāhāñphe NOT-be weP° all
Panyangu.
Pāyāñgu
 We aren't *Tumbāhāñphes*, We are all *Pāyāñgu*.

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

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| <i>an̄ga men̄chuma me·nduk.</i> | I am not a woman. |
| <i>khun̄e? pe·niba māna me·nduk,</i> | He is not a Nepali, |
| <i>khun̄e? siñhek.</i> | he is a Newari. |
| <i>kh̄eñha? ya·kthun̄ba me·nduk.</i> | They aren't Limbus. |
| <i>hen̄aṅ me·nduk!</i> | It's nothing!/Not a thing! |

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

- (22) *pitcha ke-dzo me·n.*
 beef 2-eat NOT
 It is not the case that you^s eat beef. (The speaker is somewhat horrified at the idea.)
- (23) *phaksa ke-n-dzo-n̄en.*
 pork 2-NEG-eat-NEG
 You don't eat pork.
- (24) *sim ke-dzan̄ me·n.*
sim 2-wear NOT
 It is not so that you^s wear women's clothes. (said to a man)
- (25) *th̄eba-re kh̄eps-an̄ me·n.*
 grandfather-ERG hear-1sPS/PT NOT
 It is not so that grandpa heard me.

- (26) *khɛnɛ? rɔk me·l lo·!*
anɡa rɔk me·l lo·!
a·kkhe· co·kma? ɡɔ·!
 you^s only NOT ASS
 I only NOT ASS
 how do-INF then
 (from a song sung at weddings:)
 It [viz. marriage] doesn't just happen to you!
 It doesn't just happen to me!
 What can we do!

The interrogative suffix *-i·* can be attached to suffixal 'to be' as it can to any full verb, eg. *kummai· kumbai·* 'is it a male or a female?'. Attached to *me·n* it results in the much used tag question *me·nni·* similar to French *n'est-ce pas*, eg. *hekke·, me·nni·?* 'Comme ça, n'est-ce pas?'.
 We must seem like jungle men [to you], don't we?

- (27) *an·ge ta·mbhuŋ-?o·-ba mənə kusiŋ loʔr-i-ge,*
 weP^e jungle-LOC-NOM man like seem-pPS-e,
me·n-ni·?
 NOT-Q
 We must seem like jungle men [to you], don't we?
- (28) *anɡa sa·rik kɛ-ɡɔp-pa mənə, me·nni·?*
 I very AP-have-AP man, NOT-Q
 I'm a really rich guy, ain't I?

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

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

- (29) *khɛni yəllik a-ndzum kɛ-way-i*
 youP many my-friend 2-be-pPS
 There youP are, my many friends.
- (30) *khɛnɛ? kɛ-nsa? wa-i· ho·p-?i·*
 you^s 2-younger_sibling be-Q not_be-Q
 Do you^s have younger siblings or don't you^s?
- (31) *khunchi a-ndzum-si wa·-si.*
 they^d my-friend-d be-dPS
 They, my two friends, are there.

- (32) *ciḍiyakhana-ʔo*² *kerek way-ε. səkpa rək*
 zoo-LOC all be-PT Yeti only
ho-pt-ε.
 not_be-PT.
 In the Kathmandu-zoo, there was everything. There
 was only no Yeti.
- (33) *aṅga khəni-ba-ṅphe--ʔo wa--ʔε,*
 I yourP-village-LOC be-1sPS/NPT,
a-ba-ṅphe--ʔo ho-p-ʔε. hən
 my-village-LOC not_be-1sPS/NPT. what
co-k-ma? allə?
 do-INF now
 Here I am in yourP village, I am absent in my own
 village. So, what can I do?
- (34) *wa? wa.*
 chicken be
 There's a chicken.

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

- (35) *khenchi nətchi kε-wa--si.*
 you^d two 2-be-dPS
 There are two of you^d.
- (36) *kheni a·kkhen kε-way-i?/kheni a·kkhya·k kε-way-i?*
 youP how_many 2-be-pPS youP how_many 2-be-pPS
 How many of youP are there?/How many of youP are
 there?
- (37) *anige sumbo·ṅ way-i-ge.*
 weP^e three be-pPS-e
 There are three of usP^e.
- (38) *mənchya a·kkhya·k mε-way-ε, thanḅən a·kkhya·k*
 lassy how_many nsAS-be-PT, lad how_many
mε-way-ε?
 nsAS-be-PT
 How many girls were there, how many lads were
 there?

² *ciḍiyākhānā*, Nep. zoo

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

- (39) *anga maktanba wa·-?ε.*
 I black_one be-1sPS/NPT
 I am a black one.
- (40) *anga yakthunba wa·-?ε.*
 I Limbu be-1sPS/NPT
 I am Limbu.
- (41) *anga anchen-nan-tho· sakmendza wa·-?ε.*
 I yesterday-too-since famished be-1sPS/NPT.
εn sakmendza wa·-?ε.
 today famished be-1sPS/NPT
 I've been famished since yesterday. I'm famished today.

3.3. Locational 'to be'

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

- (42) *anga e·gan ya·k-?ε.*
 I in_back be-1sPS/NPT
 I'm out back.
- (43) *khunε? yo· ya·k.*
 he below be
 He is below.

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

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

- (44) *lɔkkhum-ʔo· mənə-həʔ mə-ya·k.*
 farmyard-LOC man-p nsAS-be
 The men are in the farmyard.
- (45) *lɔkkhum-ʔo· mənə-həʔ mə-wa·.*
 farmyard-LOC man-p nsAS-be
 There are men in the farmyard.
- (46) *him-ʔo· wa·-ʔɛ.*
 house-LOC be-1sPS/NPT
 I am in the house (i.e. I am present in the house
 and am not going anywhere).
- (47) *him-ʔo· ya·k-ʔɛ.*
 house-LOC be-1sPS/NPT
 I am in the house (i.e. I can be found here in the
 house).

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

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

3.4. Adhesive 'to be'

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

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

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

- (49) *a-dhək-ʔo· maila pɔʔl.*
 my-body-LOC dirt be
 There's dirt stuck to my body.
- (50) *hənəŋ mə-bət-nən ɡɔʔ?*
 why NEG-be-NEG then
 Why isn't it there? (viz. an indication of which day is full moon on a calendar)
- (51) *ku-bo·ŋ-ʔo· sɔrɔŋ mə-bɔʔl.*
 its-tree-LOC lemon nsAS-be
 There are lemons hanging in the tree.
- (52) *piʔl-le ku-dhək-ʔo· siʔ mə-bɔʔl.*
 cow-GEN its-body-LOC louse nsAS-be
 The cow has lice.
- (53) *a-mik pɔʔl, nədɛŋba pɔʔl.*
 my-eye be, cheek be
 I have eyes, I have cheeks.
- (54) *mɛndaʔ-re ku-mik pɔʔl.*
 goat-GEN its-eye be
 The goat has eyes.
- (55) *a-nbo·-lle ku-sik-ʔo· a-məra pɔʔl.*
 my-nose-GEN its-underneath-LOC my-mouth be
 My mouth is located beneath my nose.
- (56) *nəkɬa pɔʔl.*
 picture be
 The photograph is [hanging] there.

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

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

- (58) *ke-ha-ʔo· kumakla pɔʔl.*
 your^s-tooth-LOC black be
 There's something black stuck to your^s teeth.

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

- (59) *khunεʔ rɔk pɔʔl.*
 he only be
 He's the only one there.
- (60) *kheni-ʔo· a·kkhya·k mε-bɔʔl?*
 you^P-LOC how_{many} nsAS-be
 How many are there amongst you^P?

3.5. Attributive 'to be'

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

- (61) *yakthunba pa·n-εn yəllik nuba co·k.*
 Limbu language-ABS very good be
 The Limbu language is really nice.
- (62) *kɔŋ mənə-·n ca·ʔrik ke-ba·p-pa ke-ye·p-pa co·k.*
 this man-ABS very AP-talk-AP AP-laugh-AP be.
 This man is really a talker and a laugher.
- (63) *kɔŋ ko·ʔha-·n khamak-mʔ lumba co·k*
 this room-ABS be_{dark}-INF all-around be
 This room is dark all over.
- (64) *kheŋ yembitcha-·n sa·rik pa·n-ke-bɔŋ-ba co·k.*
 that man-ABS very word-AP-carry-AP be
 That man is a real agitator.

- (65) *khɛnɛ? sa·?rik muso·kke· kɛ-dzo·k, mɛ·n-ni·?*
 you^s very comedian 2-be NOT-Q
 You^s are a real comedian, aren't you?
- (66) *ya-khu·ŋ yərik kɛdzi·ba co·k.*
 river very cold be
 The river is very cold.
- (67) *yaso·k niŋaŋ mɛ-dzo·k-nɛn.*
Yāsok nearby NEG-be-NEG
Yāsok is not nearby.
- (68) *aŋga yəmba co·k-?ɛ.*
 I big be-1sPS/NPT
 I am big.

Sometimes in exclamations of the type *kɛndzummin a·kkhya·k ca·pca·ppa gɔ·!* 'what a clever friend, you^s have!', attributive 'to be' may be left out. In (69), *co·kma?* occurs with a descriptive verb rather than an adjective. More usual are *a·kkhya·k kudzanu* (how_{much} be_{delicious}) or *a·kkhya·k kudzanuba co·k* (how_{much} be_{delicious}-NOM be). Its occurrence in (69) is unusual and stresses the subjectiveness of the evaluation.

- (69) *a·kkhya·k kudzanu co·k!*
 how_{much} be_{delicious} be
 How delicious it is!

3.6. Inchoative 'to be'

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

- (70) *nam-?o· yuŋ-ma? nuba po·ŋ.*
 sun-LOC sit-INF nice be
 It's nice to sit in the sun.
- (71) *ta·mbhuŋ kuhikla po·ŋ.*
 jungle green be
 The jungle is green/it's green in the jungle.

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

- (72) *ke-ghyik-pa po·ks-ε.*
 AP-be_bitter-AP be-PT
 It has gotten bitter.
- (73) *ke-ghyik-pa co·g-ε.*
 AP-be_bitter-AP be-PT
 It was bitter.
- (74) *mak po·ks-ε.*
 black be-PT
 It has gotten black.
- (75) *mak loʔr-ε.*
 black look-PT
 It appeared or looked black.
- (76) *mak co·g-ε.*
 black be-PT
 It was black.
- (77) *loʔkthik loʔk po·ks-ε.*
 one only be-PT
 There's only one left.

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

- (78) *lisi nasi ya·n po·ks-ε anga koʔo· ty-an-ba.*
 four five day be-PT I here come-1sPS/PT-IPF
 I came here four or five days ago./It has been
 four or five days since I came here.

Chapter Four

Morphemic Analysis of Simplicia

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1	}	A vs. PS
2		
3d		

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

3s	}	AS vs. P
3p		
3ns		
1pe/PT		

4.1. Verb stems

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

The first stem is either the only form of the verb stem or, in verb stems with more than one form, its full form which occurs when the stem is immediately followed by a vowel-initial suffix. In the latter case it contains a post-syllabic consonant. The second stem is the form of the verb when followed by a consonant-initial suffix. A second stem form is provided in glossary entries only when it differs from the first form. A third stem form is given in the glossary for verbs with a second stem in final /t/. Such third stems in [ʔ1] are no more than allophonic forms of the second stem when the verb stem is immediately followed by a glottal stop initial suffix or when it is word-final.

For example, the verbs *kammaʔ* 'develop an attachment to', *midza·ʔmaʔ* 'warm oneself by the fire' and *lepmaʔ* 'take leave of, quit' have the stems *-kam-*, *mi-ca·ʔr-/mi-ca·ʔ-* and *-leʔr-/leʔt-/leʔ1* respectively. The single stem of the verb *kammaʔ* occurs both before a vowel-initial suffix as well as before a consonant-initial suffix and as a bare stem, eg.

<i>ko·co· kamε.</i>	The dog has grown attached.
<i>ko·co· kam laʔba.</i>	The dog will probably grow attached.
<i>nurik kam1o!</i>	May he develop an attachment!

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

<i>midza·ʔranba.</i>	I warmed myself by the fire.
<i>mikendza·ʔretchinni·ʔ</i>	Didn't you two warm yourselves by the fire?
<i>mikedza·ʔretchiʔi·ʔ</i>	Did you two warm yourselves by the fire?
<i>midza·ʔʔεba.</i>	I'm warming myself by the fire.
<i>mikedza·ʔsibai·ʔ</i>	Are you two warming yourselves by the fire?
<i>mikendza·ʔsinni·ʔ</i>	Won't you two warm yourselves by the fire?
<i>midza·ʔ.</i>	He's warming himself by the fire.

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

<i>anchige mɛlɛʔrɛtchige.</i>	They left us ^{de} .
<i>anchi amlɛʔrɛtchi.</i>	They left us ^{di} .
<i>anchige mɛlɛtchige.</i>	They'll leave us ^{de} .
<i>anchi amlɛtchi.</i>	They'll leave us ^{di} .
<i>khunɛʔ lɛʔlɛ.</i>	He'll leave me.
<i>ani alɛʔl.</i>	He'll be leaving us ^{pi} .

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

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

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

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

GROUP I		GROUP II			
<i>g - k</i>	40 ²	<i>ŋ</i>	35		
<i>b - p</i>	22	<i>m</i>	12		
<i>kt - k</i>	94	<i>ŋd - ŋ</i>	6		
<i>pt - p</i>	48	<i>md - m</i>	6		
<i>tt - t - ?l</i>	86	<i>nd - n</i>	76		
<i>ks - ŋ</i>	81	<i>ŋs - ŋ</i>	20		
<i>ps - m</i>	35	<i>ms - m</i>	14		
<i>tch - t - ?l</i>	4	<i>nch - n</i>	6		
GROUP III		GROUP IV	GROUP V		
<i>?r - t - ?l</i>	10	<i>?r - ?</i>	44	<i>?r - n</i>	4
<i>r - t - ?l</i>	15	<i>r - ø</i>	20	<i>r - n</i>	4
		<i>V·r - V·?</i>	2	<i>tch - n</i>	2
		<i>V·r - V?</i>	2		
GROUP VI		GROUP VII			
<i>s - ø</i>	66 ³	<i>Vy - V·</i>	14		
		<i>V·y - V·</i>	3		
GROUP VIII		GROUP IX	GROUP X		
<i>s - t - ?l</i>	1	<i>g - ŋ</i>	1	<i>?t - ?</i>	2

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

4.2. Conjugations and irregularity

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

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

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

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

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

pf1	person marker first person: <i>a-</i> second person: <i>kε-</i> third person: \emptyset	pf2	non-dual agent/ subject number non-singular agent/subject: <i>mε-</i> , <i>m-</i> singular agent/ subject: \emptyset
pf3	negation: <i>mε-</i> , <i>n-</i> , <i>mεn-</i>	sf1	reflexive and 1→2 <i>portemanteau</i> reflexivity/reciprocity: <i>-siη</i> , <i>-nε</i> 1→2 <i>portemanteau</i> : <i>-nε</i>
sf2	tense preterit: <i>-ε</i> nonpreterit: \emptyset	sf3	dual agent: <i>-s/-tch</i>
sf4	patient slot: patient person marker or patient/subject number third person (patient): <i>-u</i> dual (patient/subject): <i>-si/-tchi</i> plural (patient/subject): <i>-i</i> 1sPS/NPT, 1s→3/NPT: <i>-?ε</i> 1sPS/PT: <i>-aη</i> 1s→3/PT <i>portemanteau</i> : <i>-paη</i> sPS: \emptyset		

		sf5	agent singularity first person singular agent: $-\eta$ singular agent: \emptyset
sf6	negation: $-n$		
		sf7	non-singular agent number non-singular agent: $-tchi$ plural agent: $-m$ 1peAS/PT: $-m?na$
sf8	patient number non-singular patient: $-si$ singular patient: \emptyset		
		sf9	agent marker copy first person singular agent: $-\eta$ plural agent: $-m$
sf10	exclusive: $-ge$ inclusive: \emptyset		
		sf11	negation: $-nen, -n$

4.3. Morphophonology

Allomorphy is treated in the individual sections together with the morpheme concerned, but the main morphophonological rules operative in indicative verb forms are listed in the following synopsis. The *portemanteaux* are $\langle -?e \rangle$, $\langle -an \rangle$, $\langle -ne \rangle$, $\langle -pan \rangle$ and $\langle -m?na \rangle$.

1. For the exclusive morpheme: $\langle -ge \rangle \rightarrow \langle -be \rangle / /m/ \underline{\quad}$
2. *Vocalis ante vocalem corripitur*: The $/\epsilon/$ of the PT suffix, dual reflexives and 1 \rightarrow 2 morpheme elides before a vowel-initial suffix.

a:	$\langle -\epsilon \rangle \rightarrow \emptyset / \underline{\quad} V$,	$\langle -\epsilon \rangle + \langle -u \rangle \rightarrow /u/$
	PT	$\langle -\epsilon \rangle + \langle -i \rangle + \langle -ge \rangle \rightarrow /-ige/$
		$\langle -\epsilon \rangle + \langle -i \rangle \rightarrow /-i/$
b:	$\langle n\epsilon- \rangle \rightarrow \langle -n \rangle / \underline{\quad} \langle -\epsilon \rangle$,	$\langle -n\epsilon \rangle + \langle -\epsilon \rangle + \langle -i \rangle + \langle \eta \rangle \rightarrow$
	1 \rightarrow 2	$/-ni\eta/$
		$\langle -n\epsilon \rangle + \langle -i \rangle + \langle \eta \rangle \rightarrow /-ni\eta/$
		$\langle -n\epsilon \rangle + \langle -\epsilon \rangle + \langle -tchi \rangle + \langle \eta \rangle \rightarrow$
		$/-netchi\eta/$
		$\langle -n\epsilon \rangle + \langle -tchi \rangle + \langle \eta \rangle \rightarrow$
		$/-netchi\eta/$
c:	$\langle n\epsilon- \rangle \rightarrow \langle -n \rangle / \underline{\quad} \langle -\epsilon \rangle$	
	REF	

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

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

$$\langle m\epsilon- \rangle \rightarrow \langle m- \rangle / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \langle k\epsilon- \rangle \\ \langle a- \rangle \end{array} \right\} \text{ ---}$$

5. For the negative morphemes NEG₁ and NEG₂ respectively:

$$\begin{array}{l} \langle m\epsilon- \rangle \rightarrow \langle n- \rangle / \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \langle k\epsilon- \rangle \\ \langle m\epsilon- \rangle \\ \langle a- \rangle \end{array} \right\} \text{ ---} \\ \text{NEG}_1 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{l} \langle -n\epsilon n \rangle \rightarrow \langle -n \rangle / V \text{ ---}^4 \\ \text{NEG}_2 \end{array}$$

4.4. Person markers

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

4.4.1. The first person morpheme

basic morph : <a->
label : 1

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

⁴ NEG₂ retains its full form after a consonant-final suffix and after a verb stem, regardless of the stem final. It contracts to <-n> only following a vowel-final affix.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(4) *a-ab-ø-u-m-si-m-ø-ø.*
 1-shoot-NPT/PT-3P-pA-nsP-pA-i-PF
 We^{Pi} shall shoot them./We^{Pi} shot them.

When the morpheme <a->, or its semantic equivalent <na·pmi>, co-occurs with the prefix of second person involvement <kε->, the relationship is necessarily 2→1 because a 1→2 relationship is always indicated by the 1→2 morpheme <-nε>.⁶

⁵ viz. the 1sPS/NPT morpheme <-?ε> or 1sPS/PT morpheme <-aη> in sf4, the 1sA morpheme <-η> in sf5, the 1→2 morpheme <-nε> in sf1, the 1peAS/PT morpheme <-m?na> in sf7 and, in negative forms, the 1s→3/NPT and 1s→3/PT *portemanteaux* <-?ε> and <-paη> in sf5.

⁶ The verbal paradigms in the speech of *Phedāppe* dialect

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

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

- (6) *a-be·g-ε-tchi-ø-ø.*
 1-go-PT-dPS-i-PF
 We^{di} went.
- (7) *ta·ndik lək a-geʔl-ø-ø-ø-ø.*
 tomorrow only 1-arrive-NPT-pPS-i-PF
 We^{pi} won't get there till tomorrow.

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

- (8) *a-ø-m-nis-ε-tchi-ø-ø.*
 1-3-nsAS-see-PT-dPS-i-PF
 They saw us^{di}.
- (9) *a-ø-m-bi·r-ε-ø-ø-ø.*
 1-3-nsAS-give-PT-pPS-i-PF
 They gave it to us^{pi}.

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

4.4.2. The second person morpheme

basic morph : <kε->
label: :2

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

When <kε-> co-occurs with a first person patient morpheme (viz. <-?ε>, <-aŋ>, <na·pmi>) or the third person patient morpheme <-u>, the nature of the second person involvement is agency.

- (10) *na·pmi kε-hip-∅-∅-?i·?*
 1 2-hit-NPT-PF-Q
 Are you going to hit me/us?
- (11) *na?-gε-nu?-?ε-∅-i·?*
 love-2-love-1sPS/NPT-sA-Q
 Do you^s love me?
- (12) *kε-ghεps-ε-tch-u-∅-∅.*
 2-hear-PT-dA-3P-sP-PF
 You^d heard it.
- (13) *kε-nis-∅-u-m-si-m-∅.*
 2-see-NPT/PT-3P-pA-nsP-pA-PF
 You^P will see them./You^P saw them.

When the morpheme <kε-> co-occurs with the morpheme of first person involvement <a->, the relationship is necessarily 2→1 because a 1→2 relationship is always indicated by the 1→2 morpheme <-nε>, eg. (2), (5).

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

- (14) *ya?-gε-ra·kt-∅-i-∅.*
 rice-2-dance-NPT-pPS-PF
 You^P will take part in rice harvest dance.
- (15) *kε-im-∅-∅ lo·!*
 2-sleep-NPT-sPS ASS
 So, you^s're still asleep!

(16) *abbhelle kε-geʔr-ε-tchi-∅?*
 when 2-arrive-PT-dPS-PF
 When did you^d arrive?

(17) *a·tto· kε-be·k-∅-∅-pa?*
 where 2-go-NPT-sPS-IPF
 Where are you^s going?

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

(18) *kε-∅-∅-ghεm-∅-∅-∅.*
 2-3-sAS-hear-NPT-sPS-PF
 He'll hear you^s.

(19) *kε-∅-m-hip-∅-∅-∅.*
 2-3-nsAS-hit-NPT-sPS-PF
 They'll hit you^s.

(20) *kε-∅-∅-n-hip-∅-∅-nεn-∅.*
 2-3-sAS-NEG-hit-NPT-sPS-NEG-PF
 He won't hit you^s.

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

4.4.3. Third person morphemes

4.4.3.1. The third person subject/agent morpheme

basic morph :∅
 label: :3

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

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

- (22) $\emptyset-\emptyset-pe\cdot g-\varepsilon-\emptyset$.
3-sAS-go-PT-PF
He went.
- (23) $\emptyset-\emptyset-pi\cdot r-\emptyset-u-\emptyset-\emptyset$.
3-sAS-give-NPT/PT-3P-sP-PF
He'll give it to her./He gave it to her.

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

4.4.3.2. The third person patient morpheme

basic morph :<-u>
label :3P

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

- (24) $a-hipt-\emptyset-u-m-si-m-\emptyset-\emptyset$.
1-hit-NPT-3P-pA-nsP-pA-i-PF
We^{Pi} shall hit them.
- (25) $\emptyset-\emptyset-ni\cdot r-\emptyset-u-\emptyset-\emptyset$.
3-sAS-read-PT-3P-sP-PF
He read it.
- (26) $a-dhu\eta-\emptyset-u-m-\emptyset-\emptyset-\emptyset$.
1-drink-NPT-3P-pA-sP-i-PF
We^{Pi} shall drink it.
- (27) $\emptyset-m\epsilon tt-\varepsilon-tch-u-\emptyset-ge-\emptyset$.
1-do_unto/say-PT-dA-3P-sP-e-PF
We^{de} said it to him.
- (28) $k\varepsilon-nis-\emptyset-w-\emptyset-\emptyset-i\cdot?$
2-see-NPT-3P-sA-sP-Q
Can you* see [it]?
- (29) $\emptyset-t\sigma y-\emptyset-u-m-\emptyset-be-\emptyset$.
1-sew-NPT-3P-pA-sP-e-PF
We^{pe} shall sew it.

4.4.4. Morphemes of subject/agent number

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

The morpheme of agent/subject singularity	basic morph label	: \emptyset :sAS
The morpheme of agent/subject non-singularity	basic morph label	:<mc-> :nsAS

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

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

- (30) \emptyset -mc-s ω ns- \emptyset -u- \emptyset - \emptyset .
3-nsAS-sell-NPT-3P-sP-PF
They sell it.
- (31) \emptyset -mc- ω g- \emptyset -u-si- \emptyset .
3-nsAS-till_the_soil-PT-3P-nsP-PF
They tilled them (i.e. the rice paddies).
- (32) mikco·? \emptyset -mc-i? η r- \emptyset -u-si.
keep_an_eye-3-nsAS-keep_an_eye-NPT-3P-nsP
They're keeping an eye on them.
- (33) kotna \emptyset -mc-da? η r- \emptyset -u- \emptyset .
here 3-nsAS-bring-PT-3P-PF
They brought it here.

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

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

⁸ See, however, note 11 on pp.92-93.

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

- (34) *khunchi* \emptyset - ɔ -*kt-ɛ-tchi*- \emptyset .
 they 3-scream-PT-dPS-PF
 They^d screamed.
- (35) *khunchi* \emptyset -*mɛ-ɔ-kt-ɛ- \emptyset* ⁹.
 they 3-nsAS-scream-PT-PF
 They^P screamed.
- (36) *luŋdze·k* \emptyset -*phuŋ-s- \emptyset -u- \emptyset* .
 pebbles 3-scrape_together-dA-PT-3P-PF
 They^d scraped the pebbles together.
- (37) *luŋdze·k* \emptyset -*mɛ-bhuks- \emptyset -u- \emptyset* .
 pebbles 3-nsAS-scrape_over-PT-3P-PF
 They^P scraped the pebbles together.

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

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

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

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

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

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

<ke-> + <me-> + root → /kem-/ + root
 2 nsAS 2-nsAS-

<a-> + <me-> + root → /am-/ + root
 1 nsAS 1-nsAS-

(40) *ke-∅-m-hip-∅-∅-∅.*
 2-3-nsAS-hit-NPT-SPS-PF
 They'll hit you^s.

(41) *a-∅-m-hu?r-ε-tchi-∅-∅.*
 1-3-nsAS-teach-PT-dPS-i-PF
 They taught us^{di}.

(42) *ke-∅-m-hip-t-ε-∅-∅-i·?*
 2-3-nsAS-hit-PT-SPS-PF-Q
 Did they hit you^s?

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

<ke-> + <me-> + <me-> → /kemεn-/
 2 nsAS NEG 2-nsAS-NEG-

<a-> + <me-> + <me-> → /amεn-/¹⁰
 1 nsAS NEG 1-nsAS-NEG-

(43) *ke-∅-me-m-bho·t-∅-nεn-∅.*
 2-3-nsAS-NEG-take_the_piss-NPT-NEG-PF
 They won't be able to make a fool out of you^s.

¹⁰ Allomorphy of the negative morpheme is discussed under 4.5.

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

basic morph : <-siŋ>
label : REF

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

- (44) *ø-mε-bi·-siŋ-ε-ø.*
3-nsAS-give-REF-PT-PF
They gave each other what for./They gave each other [gifts].
- (45) *maktan̄ kε-dzo·k-siŋ-ø-ø-ba-i·?* *maktan̄ba kε-sira*
black 2-do-REF-NPT-SPS-IPF-Q? black 2-please
dhan̄-ba-i·?
please-IPF-Q
Are you^s trying to make yourself black? (said facetiously to someone who has been sitting out in the bright sun too long) Do you^s like [being] a black one?
- (46) *khε?o· m̄ana-ha? mε-n-χεt-χiŋ-nεn.*
there man-p nsAS-NEG-kill-REF-NEG.
People don't kill each other there.
- (47) *anchige nik-nε-tchi-ge pha?an̄ khunε? i·tt-u.*
we^{de} fuck-REF-dPS-e bhanera he think-3P
He thinks we^{de} are having an illicit relationship.
- (48) *a·tto· kε-dha·-nε-ø-tchi-ba?*
where 2-fall-REF-NPT-dPS-IPF
Where are you^d off to?/Where are you^d headed?
- (49) - *kε-ni·t-χiŋ-ø-ø-ø-i·?*
2-count-REF-NPT-SPS-PF-Q
- *ni·t-χiŋ-aŋ-ø.*
count-REF-1sPS/PT-PF
- Are you^s counting yourself too? (to someone counting all the people present at a gathering)
- Yes, I've counted myself.

- (50) *huʔ-siŋ-ʔε-∅*.
teach-REF-1sPS/NPT-PF
I learn.
- (51) *warum-siŋ-aŋ-∅*.
bathe-REF-1sPS/PT-PF
I took a bath./I bathed.
- (52) *∅-khet-chiŋ-∅-i-ge-∅*.
1-chase-REF-NPT/PT-pPS-e-PF
We^{pe} shall run./We^{pe} ran.
- (53) *∅-uŋ-n-ε-tchi-∅*.
3-tug/pull-REF-PT-dPS-PF
They^d played tug-of-war.

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

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

4.4.6. The 1→2 portemanteau morpheme

basic morph :<-nε>
label :1→2

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

The morpheme <-nε> simultaneously denotes a first person agent and a second person patient, thus signaling a 1→2 transitive relationship. Like the reflexive morpheme, the 1→2 portemanteau is a sf1 filler.

- (54) *hip-nε-∅-∅-∅-∅.*
hit-1→2-NPT-sPS-sA-PF
I'll hit you^s.
- (55) *u·t-nε-∅-∅-∅-∅.*
call-1→2-NPT-sPS-sA-PF
I'll call you^s.
- (56) *ni-n-ε-tchi-ge-∅.*
see-1→2-PT-nsA-e-PF
We^e saw you.
- (57) *tum-nε-∅-tchi-ge-∅.*
run_into-1→2-NPT-nsA-e-PF
We^e'll run into you.
- (58) *ni-n-ε-tchi-η-∅.*
see-1→2-PT-dPS-1sA-PF
I saw you^d.
- (59) *mε-bi·-nε-n mε-bi·-nε-n!*
NEG-give-1→2-NEG NEG-give-1→2-NEG
I won't give [it] to you^s, I won't!
- (60) *khεm-nε-∅-tchi-η.*
hear-1→2-NPT-dPS-1sA
I hear you^d.
- (61) *na?nu?-nε-∅-∅-∅.*
love-1→2-NPT-sPS-sA
I love you^s.

(62) *pi·-n-∅-i-ŋ-∅.*
 give-1→2-NPT-pPS-1sA-PF
 I shall give it to you^P.

(63) *pi·-nε-∅-∅-∅-∅.*
 give-1→2-NPT-sPS-sA-PF
 I'll give it to you^s.

4.4.7. Tense morphemes

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

The nonpreterit morpheme	basic morph	:∅
	label	:NPT

The preterit morpheme	basic morph	:<-ε>
	label	:PT

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

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

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

<i>limdε</i>	It tastes/tasted sweet.	<i>lim</i>	It'll taste sweet.
<i>syuttε</i>	It tastes/tasted sour.	<i>syu?l</i>	It'll taste sour.
<i>khiktε</i>	It tastes/tasted bitter.	<i>khik</i>	It'll taste bitter.

<i>so·sɛ</i>	It itches/itched.	<i>so·</i>	It'll itch.
<i>ko·sɛ</i>	It feels/felt hot.	<i>ko·</i>	It'll feel hot.

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

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

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

- (65) *a-him-?o· kɛ-im me·n-ni·?*
 my-house-LOC 2-sleep NOT-Q
 You^s're sleeping at my house, aren't you^s?
- (66) *kɛ-ips-ɛ-tchi-ba-i·?*
 2-sleep-PT-dPS-IPF-Q
 Are you^d sleeping?/Have you^d fallen asleep?
- (67) *kɛ-ips-ɛ-∅.*
 2-sleep-PT-sPS
 You^s slept./You^s were asleep.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The tense distinction in nonstative verbs, which are all telic, is a straightforward preterit/nonpreterit distinction. The preterit verb of (71) shows activity in past time. The transition of nonstative verbs is generally attained at the natural terminus of the activity, eg. (72-73).

- (71) \emptyset -mε-uks-ε-tch-u-n-chi-n- \emptyset .
3-NEG-pick-PT-dA-3P-NEG-nsP-NEG-PF
They^d did not pick them.
- (72) a-sappo·k-ʔo· gundri-lle ku-yo·k lɔ·nd-ε.
my-belly-LOC gundrī-GEN its-imprint emerge-PT
The straw mat has left an impression on my abdomen.
- (73) ku-nu lɔ·n.
her-milk exude
She's lactating.

So, the nonpreterit forms of *pe·kmaʔ* 'to go' indicate action in non-past time; the transition inherent in the meaning of *pe·kmaʔ* has not taken place: *allɔ na·dha·mbi pe·kʔε* 'now I'm going to the opposite slope, now I'm going across the valley', *ta·ndik pe·k* 'he's going tomorrow', *aŋgaʔaŋ so·rik pe·kʔε* 'I'm coming along too', *khεŋhaʔ nasim himmo· mεbe·k* 'they're going to the next house'. The preterit of *pe·kmaʔ* indicates that the transition has taken place, i.e. that the subject is gone: *pe·gε* 'he is gone', *abe·gεtchi* 'we^di went', *kεmbe·gεn* 'you^s didn't go'.

Some nonstative verbs denote punctual action: *iŋwa ka* 'the cock crows (i.e. it is his habit to do so), the cock is crowing, the cock will crow', *iŋwa kase* 'the cock crowed'; *timmək phɔk* 'the rifle will go off', *timmək phɔkte* 'the rifle went off'.

4.4.8. The morpheme of agent duality

basic morph	:<-s>
label	:dA

The morpheme of agent duality <-s> has a regular allomorph <-tch> after the preterit morpheme <-ε>. The dual agent morpheme in sf3 always co-occurs with the third person patient morpheme <-u> in sf4.¹¹ In transitive forms with a first or second person patient, non-singular agents are not differentiated for duality and plurality.

¹¹ Aside from the 3d→3 forms, I found attested two discrete 3d→1s forms, and it is possible that 3d→ forms formerly existed for the rest of the paradigm as well but have disappeared. The anomalous 3d→1s/PT form in the follow-

- (74) \emptyset - \emptyset -tɛms-ɛ-tch-u- \emptyset - \emptyset .
3-3-catch-PT-dA-3P-sP-PF
They^d caught it.
- (75) kɛ- \emptyset -bi·- \emptyset -s-w- \emptyset - \emptyset -i·?
2-3-give-NPT-dA-3P-sP-PF-Q
Are you^d going to give it to him?
- (76) piʔl-haʔ \emptyset -kɔm- \emptyset -s-u-si-ge- \emptyset .
cow-p 1-graze-NPT-dA-3P-nsP-e-PF
We^{de} are going to graze the cattle.

ing utterance is probably an artifact:

kɔtt-ɛ-tch-u-lle gɔ· pi·r-aŋ-si-ŋ-men-ni·?
have-PT-dA-3P-SUB then give-1sPS/PT-dA-1sPS-CON-Q
If they^d had had some, would they have given me any?
(uniharusaṅha bhaeko bhae malāī dine thie ki?)

The informant responsible for this utterance, *Jay Kumār*, concurred that the 3ns→1s form *mɛbi·raŋmenni·* would also have been possible in this sentence, but felt that his own choice of verb form was better. On another occasion, I noted a nonpreterit 3d→1s artifact in his speech:

khunchi nepmaŋ-le pi·-ʔɛ-tchi-ŋ laʔba.
they^d both-ERG give-1sPS/NPT-dA-1sPS probably
They'll both probably give it to me.

I was unsuccessful in my attempts to obtain comparable forms for other verbs. Suffice it to say that these two forms are probable artifacts. If these forms were to be incorporated in this chapter's analysis, the full form of the dual agent morpheme would be shown to be <-si>, and its position in the suffixal string would have to be specified as preceding the 3P morpheme <-u> but following the 1sPS morphemes <-ʔɛ> and <-aŋ>, all of which are considered in the present analysis to be sf4 fillers, whereas the dA morpheme is considered to be an sf3 filler.

Secondly, the reduplicable 1sA morpheme <-ŋ> in sf9 would then best be reinterpreted as a reduplicable 1s morpheme, signaling either 1s patient or 1s agent.

4.4.9. Patient markers

There are two types of patient markers: the person marker for a third person patient and the patient/subject number markers. The former has been treated above under 4.4.3.2, the latter are treated here. All patient morphemes are sf4 or sf8 fillers.

The morpheme of patient/subject	basic morph	:∅
singularity	label	:sPS

Singularity of a second person patient/subject is formally unmarked, cf. (17), (20), (40), (42), (45), (55), (63). Singularity of a first person patient/subject is indicated by the *portemanteau* morphs 1sPS/NPT <-?ε> and 1sPS/PT <-aη> (vide 4.4.10).

The morpheme of patient/subject	basic morph	:<-si>
duality	label	:dPS

The dual patient/subject morpheme <-si> has a regular allomorph in <-tchi> after the /ε/ of the preterit morpheme <-ε> or 1→2 *portemanteau* <-nε>.

The morpheme <-si> indicates duality of subject in all three persons and of patient in the first and second person. Third person patients can be either singular or non-singular, but non-singular third person patients are not formally differentiated for plurality or duality in verbal agreement indices.

(77) *a-∅-∅-bi·r-ε-tchi-∅-∅.*
 1-3-sAS-give-PT-dPS-i-PF
 He gave it to us^{di}.

(78) *∅-∅-mε-dum-∅-si-ge-∅.*
 1-3-nsAS-run_into-NPT-dPS-e-PF
 They'll run into us^{de}.

(79) *kε-∅-m-ghεps-ε-tchi-∅.*
 2-3-nsAS-hear-PT-dPS-PF
 They heard you^d.

(80) *ni-n-ε-tchi-η-∅.*
 see-1→2-PT-dPS-lsA-PF
 I saw you^d.

(81) *khem-ne-ø-tchi-ŋ-ø.*
hear-1→2-NPT-dPS-1sA-PF
I shall hear you^d.

(82) *ø-ɔ·kt-ε-tchi-ø.*
3-yell-PT-dPS-PF
They^d yelled.

The morpheme of patient/subject	basic morph	:<-i>
plurality	label	:pPS

The suffix <-i> indicates plurality of subject and patient in the first and second person.

(83) *ke-yuŋ-ø-i.*
2-sit-NPT-pPS
You^P sit.

(84) *ke-ye·r-ø-i.*
2-laugh-PT-pPS
You^P laughed.

(85) *ø-ye·-i-ge-ø.*
1-come_down/PT-pPS-e-PF
We^{pe} came down.

(86) *ø-ips-ø-i-ge.*
1-sleep-NPT-pPS-e
We^{pe} shall sleep.

(87) *ø-ce·-i-ge.*
1-eat/PT-pPS-e
We^{pe} ate.

(88) *met-n-ø-i-ŋ-ø.*
tell-1→2-NPT-pPS-1sA-PF
I'll tell you^P.

(89) *ke-ø-ø-dum-ø-i-ø* *ø-ø-1ɔʔr-ε-ø.*
2-3-sAS-run_into-PT-pPS-PF 3-sAS-say-PT-PF
She said that she ran into you^P.

(90) *ø-ø-mε-u·tt-ø-i-ge-ø.*
1-3-nsAS-call-PT-pPS-e-PF
They called us^{pe}.

The plural patient/subject morpheme <-i> has a regular zero allomorph in first person plural inclusive forms.

(91) *a-ye·?l-∅-∅-∅.*
1-laugh-NPT-pPS-i
WePⁱ laugh.

(92) *a-ye·r-ε-∅-∅*
1-laugh-PT-pPS-i
WePⁱ laughed.

(93) *a-yεp-∅-∅-∅.*
1-stand-NPT-pPS-i
WePⁱ stand.

(94) *a-yεb-ε-∅-∅.*
1-stand-PT-pPS-i
WePⁱ stood.

4.4.10. The first person singular *portemanteaux*

There are three *portemanteau* morphemes signaling involvement of a first singular actant. First, the morpheme <-?ε> signals a first person singular patient or subject in the nonpreterit.

basic morph	:<-?ε>
label	:1sPS/NPT or 1s→3/NPT

(95) *yεp-?ε.*
stand-1sPS/NPT
I stand.

(96) *na?-gε-nu?-?ε-∅-i·?*
love-2-love-1sPS/NPT-sA-Q
Do you^s love me?

(97) *∅-∅-tum-?ε-∅.*
3-sAS-meet/encounter-1sPS/NPT-PF
He'll bump into me.

(98) *∅-mε-bi·-?ε-∅.*
3-nsAS-give-1sPS/NPT-PF
They'll give it to me.

- (99) \emptyset -mɛ-n-ghɛm- \emptyset -ʔɛ-n- \emptyset .
 3-nsAS-NEG-hear-NPT-1sPS-NEG-PF
 They don't hear me.

In negated nonpreterit 1s→3 forms, the morpheme <-ʔɛ> denotes a first person singular agent and third person patient.

- (100) mɛ-lɛ-ʔɛ- \emptyset -n.
 NEG-know-1s→3/NPT-sP-NEG
 I don't know [it].
- (101) mɛ-dum-ʔɛ-n-chi-n- \emptyset .
 NEG-run_into-1s→3/NPT-NEG-nsP-NEG-PF
 I won't run into them.

Secondly, the *portemanteau* <-aŋ> denotes a first person singular patient or subject in preterit time. It is optionally replaced by the morpheme <-paŋ> in negative intransitive forms, giving rise to doublets such as mɛ-yy-aŋ-nɛn (NEG-come_down-1sPS/PT-NEG) 'I didn't come down', mɛ-n-yu-baŋ (NEG-NEG-come_down-1sPS/PT) 'I didn't come down'; yaʔ-mɛ-ra·kt-aŋ-nɛn (rice-NEG-dance-1sPS/PT-NEG) and yaʔ-mɛ-n-la·k-paŋ (rice-NEG-NEG-dance-1sPS/PT) 'I did not do the rice harvest dance', where the forms with the suffix <-paŋ> are far more common. The morpheme <-paŋ> is treated in the following section.

basic morph : <-aŋ>
 label : 1sPS/PT

- (102) ye·r-aŋ.
 laugh-1sPS/PT
 I laughed.
- (103) \emptyset -mɛ-ghɛps-aŋ- \emptyset .
 3-nsAS-hear-1sPS/PT-PF
 They heard me.
- (104) kɛ-bho·ks-aŋ- \emptyset - \emptyset .
 2-wake up-1sPS/PT-sA-PF
 You^s woke me up.
- (105) \emptyset -mɛ-huʔr-aŋ- \emptyset .
 3-nsAS-teach-1sPS/PT-PF
 They taught me.

- (106) \emptyset - \emptyset -*hakt-an*- \emptyset .
 3-sAS-send_something_to_someone-1sPS/PT-PF
 He sent it to me.

Thirdly, the morpheme <-*paŋ*> occurs either in the negated preterit of intransitive or of 1s→3 forms. In intransitive forms, it indicates a first singular subject in the preterit. In 1s→3 forms, it combines the notions of first person agent, third person patient and preterit.

basic morph : <-*paŋ*>
 label : 1sPS/PT or 1s→3/PT

- (107) *mε-n-huʔ-baŋ-si-ŋ*- \emptyset .
 NEG-NEG-bring_and_give-1s→3/PT-nsP-1sA-PF
 I did not bring and give it to them.
- (108) *mε-n-ni-baŋ*- \emptyset .
 NEG-NEG-see-1s→3/PT-PF
 I didn't see him.
- (109) *mε-l-lε--baŋ*.
 NEG-NEG-know-1s→3/PT
 I didn't know [it].
- (110) *mε-m-mεp-paŋ*.
 NEG-NEG-tell-1s→3/PT
 I didn't tell him.
- (111) *mε-ŋ-gεp-paŋ*.
 NEG-NEG-arrive-1sPS/PT
 I haven't arrived.

4.4.11. Morphemes of agent singularity

The singularity of a second person agent is formally unmarked, eg. (11), (28). In 1→2 forms, the singularity of a first person agent is also formally unmarked, cf. (61) and (63).

basic morph : \emptyset
 label : sA

In other cases, the singularity of a first person agent is indicated by one of the three 1s *portemanteaux*.

The morpheme of first person	basic morph	:<-ŋ>
singular agency	label	:1sA

The *portemanteau* morpheme <-ŋ> embodies the notion of first person and singular agent. The *portemanteau* <-ŋ> is copied after certain suffixes in an affixal string, vide 4.4.14.

- (112) *nams-ø-u-ŋ-ø*.
smell-NPT-3P-1sA-sP
I can smell it.
- (113) *huŋ-ø-u-ŋ-ø-ø*.
pay-NPT-3P-1sA-sP-PF
I'll pay for it.
- (114) *khɛm-n-ø-i-ŋ*.
hear-1→2-PT-pPS-1sA
I heard you^P.
- (115) *na·tt-ø-u-ŋ-si-ŋ-ø*.
chase/drive-PT-3P-1sA-nsP-1sA-PF
I drive them (viz. livestock).
- (116) *met-ne-ø-tchi-ŋ-ø*.
tell-1→2-NPT-dPS-1sA-PF
I'll tell you^d.
- (117) *hɔnd-ø-u-ŋ-ø-ø*.
open-NPT-3P-1sA-sP-PF
I'll open it (viz. door/window).

4.4.12. Non-singular agent morphemes

4.4.12.1. The morpheme of agent plurality

basic morph	:<-m>
label	:pA

The plurality of a first or second person agent is indicated by the suffix <-m> in sf7. It does not occur in a suffixal string where agent plurality is indicated by the 1peAS/PT *portemanteau* morph.

- (118) *ke-ghɔnch-ø-u-m-si-m-ø*.
2-stir-PT-3P-pA-nsP-pA-PF
You^P stirred them (viz. pots of food on a fire).

- (119) *ninwa a-butχ-∅-u-m-∅-∅-∅.*
 mind 1-forget-PT-3P-pA-sP-i-PF
 We^P forgot [it].
- (120) *a-hinχ-∅-u-m-si-m-∅-∅.*
 1-raise/rear-NPT-3P-pA-nsP-pA-i-PF
 We^P shall raise them.
- (121) *kε-gom-∅-u-m-si-m-∅-mi·?*
 2-graze-PT-3P-pA-nsP-pA-PF-Q
 Did you^P take them out to graze?

4.4.12.2. The morpheme of agent non-singularity

basic morph :<-tchi>
 label :nsA

The morpheme of agent non-singularity occurs solely in 1→2 forms in sf7.

- (122) *met-n-ε-tchi-ge-∅.*
 tell-1→2-PT-nsA-e-PF
 We^e told you(s,d,p).
- (123) *tum-nε-∅-tchi-ge-∅.*
 run_into-1→2-NPT-nsA-e-PF
 We^e'll run into you(s,d,p).

4.4.12.3. The preterit first person plural exclusive agent/subject morpheme

basic morph :<-m?na>
 label :1peAS/PT

Like the two preceding morphemes, <-m?na> is a sf7 filler. In intransitive forms, this *portemanteau* denotes a 1pe subject in the preterit. In transitive forms, it denotes a 1pe→3 relation in the preterit.¹²

¹² Modern written *Pāc̣ḥhare* (cf. Subba & Subba, 1978) has the endings *-mānā* and *-mānāsi* in forms which appear to correspond to *Phedāppe* forms in *-m?na*. For example, written *Pāc̣ḥhare* has *cāmānā* for *cam?na* 'we^{pe} ate',

- (124) *yu-m?na-∅*.
come_down-1peAS/PT-PF
WeP^e came down.
- (125) *mɛ-n-im-m?na*.
NEG-NEG-sleep-1peAS/PT
WeP^e didn't sleep.
- (126) *kɛŋ-ŋ?na-∅*.
stumble_and_fall-1peAS/PT-PF
WeP^e stumbled and fell.
- (127) *ca-m?na-∅-∅*.
eat-1peAS/PT-sP-PF
WeP^e ate [it].
- (128) *hu?-m?na-si-∅*.
bring_and_give-1peAS/PT-nsP-PF
WeP^e brought it and gave it to them.
- (129) *tɔ·-m?na-∅-∅*.
sew-1peAS/PT-sP-PF
WeP^e sewed it.

4.4.13. Patient number morphemes

The morpheme of patient singularity	basic morph label	:∅ :sP
The morpheme of patient non-singularity	basic morph label	:<-si> :nsP

The patient number morphemes are sf8 fillers. Third person patient number is differentiated for singularity vs. non-singularity. The singularity of a third person patient is formally unmarked, eg. (25-30), (36-37).

The non-singular patient morpheme always co-occurs with the third person patient morpheme <-u>. It has a regular allophonic form [chi-] after the nasal of negative morpheme III.

hāmānā for *ha?m?na* 'weP^e bit', but also *tāmānā* for which no corresponding form **tam?na* exists in *Phedāppe*; cf. *ta?ige* 'weP^e come', *te·?ige* 'weP^e came'.

- (130) *∅-hiŋs-∅-u-m-si-m-be.*
1-raise/rear-PT-3P-pA-nsP-pA-e
We^{pe} raised them.
- (131) *khɔnch-∅-u-ŋ-si-ŋ-∅.*
stir(+ liquid)-PT-3P-1sA-nsP-1sA-PF
I stirred them (viz. pots of edible fluids).
- (132) *∅-mɛ-yɔŋ-ɛ-tch-u-n-chi-n-∅.*
3-NEG-lift_{up}-PT-dA-3P-NEG-nsP-NEG-PF
They^d didn't lift them up.
- (133) *∅-∅-nis-∅-u-si.*
3-sAS-see-NPT-3P-nsP
He sees them.

4.4.14. Copied morphemes

The first person singular agent morpheme <-*ŋ*> and the first and second person plural agent morpheme <-*m*> occur as copies in sf9 in a suffixal string containing the non-singular patient morpheme <-*si*> in sf8. The 1sA morpheme <-*ŋ*> occurs as a copy of either the 1sA morpheme <-*ŋ*>, the 1s→3/PT morpheme <-*paŋ*> or the 1→2 *portemanteau* <-*nɛ*>, eg. (58), (60), (62), (107), (114-116). The plural morpheme for first and second person agents <-*m*> occurs in sf9 only as a copy of itself, eg. (4), (13), (24), (118), (120).

4.4.15. Morphemes of inclusivity and exclusivity

The inclusive morpheme	basic morph	:∅
	label	:i
The exclusive morpheme	basic morph	:<- <i>ge</i> >
	label	:e

Morphemes indicating the inclusivity or exclusivity of a first person actant are sf10 fillers. Inclusivity of a first person actant is always formally unmarked. The inclusive morpheme always co-occurs with an overt marker of the first person, eg. (3), (4), (6-9).

The exclusive morpheme <-*ge*> has a regular allomorph in <-*be*> following the plural agent morpheme <-*m*>. The exclusive morpheme is absent in 2→1 forms, in which the exclusivity of the first person actant is implied, eg. (1), (2),

(5). The exclusive morpheme is also absent in a suffixal string containing the 1peAS/PT *portemanteau*, which already includes the notion of exclusivity.

- (134) \emptyset - \emptyset -*mɛ-nis-ɛ-tchi-ge*.
1-3-nsAS-see-PT-dPS-e
They saw us^{de}.
- (135) \emptyset - \emptyset -*mɛ-hipt- \emptyset -i-ge- \emptyset* .
1-3-nsAS-strike-PT-pPS-e-PF
They struck us^{pe}.
- (136) \emptyset -*pe·g-ɛ-tchi-ge- \emptyset* .
1-go-PT-dPS-e-PF
We^{de} went.
- (137) \emptyset -*kɔtt- \emptyset -u-m-si-m-be*.
1-have-NPT-3P-pA-nsP-pA-e
We^{pe} have them.
- (138) \emptyset - \emptyset -*mɛ-su·s- \emptyset -i-ge- \emptyset* .
1-3-nsAS-touch-PT-pPS-e-PF
They touched us^{pe}.
- (139) \emptyset -*uks-ɛ-tch-u-si-ge- \emptyset* .
1-pick-PT-dA-3P-nsP-e-PF
We^{de} picked them.

4.5. Negation (non-nexal)

A simplex may undergo either nexal or non-nexal negation. Nexal negation has been discussed above under 3.1.1. The morphemes of simple or non-nexal negation are discussed here.

A simplex is negated by at least two and no more than three negative morphemes in the affixal string. The first and second negative morphemes are obligatory in any negated form, whereas the third negative morpheme is lacking in some forms, optional in others and obligatory in negated 1s→3ns forms. The negative morphemes occur in positions pf3, sf6 and sf11.

Negative morpheme I	basic morph label	:<me-> :NEG ₁
Negative morpheme II	basic morph label	:<-nen> :NEG ₂
Negative morpheme III	basic morph label	:<-n> :NEG ₃

The first negative morpheme <me-> occurs as a prefix in pf3 and has a regular allomorph in <n-> after any other overt prefix, eg. (20), (43), (68), (70), (71), (99-101), (107-111).

The second negative morpheme <-nen> has a regular allomorph in <-n> after an affix ending in a vowel. After a consonant or after a verb stem, regardless of the stem final, NEG₂ maintains its full form, eg. (20), (43), (68), (70), (71), (99-101). It occurs as a suffix in sf11 except in forms containing the 1s→3/PT *portemanteau* <-paŋ> or the 1peAS/PT *portemanteau* <-mʔna>. In such forms, it occurs as a prefix in pf3, immediately following negative morpheme I in the same slot, eg. (107-111). The first and second negative morpheme are obligatory features of any negated simplex.

The third negative morpheme is an sf6 filler and always co-occurs with the nsP morpheme <-si>, which is a sf7 filler. It is optional in negated 1di/2s/2d/3s/3d→3ns forms, eg. (71). It is obligatory in negative nonpreterit 1s→3ns forms, eg. (101).

Chapter Five

Aspect and Aspectivizers

Complex verb forms consist of a simplex form plus an overt mode and/or aspect marker, and include the periphrastic tenses. Aspect markers are suffixal slot 13 fillers and constitute the topic of 5.1. Also discussed in this chapter are the imperious future (5.2) and aspectivizers (5.3).

Mode markers are suffixal slot 12 fillers and are treated in the next chapter. Periphrastic tenses consist of a gerundivized simplex with an auxiliary and are discussed in Chapter 7.

sf12	sf13	clitics (optional)
<p><i>-lɔ/-rɔ</i> OPT</p>	<p><i>(-pa)</i> IPF</p>	<p><i>lo·/ro·</i> ASS</p>
<p><i>-mɛN</i> + <i>(-pa)</i> CON IPF</p>	<p><i>(-pa)</i> IPF</p>	<p><i>lɛcə/rɛcə</i> DEPR</p>
<p><i>-gɔni</i> + <i>(-pa)</i> IRR IPF</p>	<p><i>-pa</i> IPF</p>	

periphrastic tenses (more detailed diagram in Ch. 7)

<p><i>-lɔ/-rɔ</i> + auxiliary prG</p>	<p>+ auxiliary</p>	<p><i>-lo·/-ro·</i> ASS</p>
<p><i>-aŋ</i> + auxiliary pfG</p>	<p>+ auxiliary</p>	<p><i>-lɛcə/-rɛcə</i> DEPR</p>

5.1. Aspect

Nonstative verbs with perfective meaning have no overt aspect marker, whereas corresponding imperfective forms take the marker *-pa*. Stative verbs have only imperfective meaning and take no marker, eg. *na?nu?ma?* 'to love', *i·tma?* 'to think', *se·kma?* 'to shine (of the sun)':

- (1) *na?-ke-nu?-?ε-i·?*
love-2-love-1sPS/NPT-Q
Do you^s love me?
- (2) *a-miη-?o· hεn-dik ke-i·tt-u?*
my-name-LOC what-IND 2-think-3P
What exactly do you^s think about me?
- (3) - *nam mε-se·k-nεn.*
sun NEG-shine-NEG
- *sɔpman se·k. sɔpman kha·kmi?l*
in_a_moment shine in_a_moment cloud
cɔt-chiη.
budge-REF
- The sun isn't shining.
- It'll shine in a second. The cloud'll move in a second.
- (4) *kheη-in ku-mma-re ku-sebəŋba-?o· im.*
he-ABS his-mother-GEN her-thigh-LOC sleep
He's sleeping on his mother's lap
- (5) *a-ndzum-in im.*
my-friend-ABS sleep
My friend is asleep, is sleeping.

Stative *le·ma?* 'to know' takes no imperfective suffix: *le·suη* 'I know', *mεle·?εn* 'I don't know', *melle·baη* 'I didn't know', in the same way as its English counterpart cannot occur in the progressive.¹

Certain stative verbs such as *imma?* 'to sleep' and *yo·?ma?* 'to attain', whilst taking no aspect marker in the nonpreterit, may take an imperfective suffix in the preterit, eg. (4-7) and, in 4, (66).

¹ When forms in *-pa* of *le·ma?* 'to know' and other stative verbs do occur, these are not imperfectives but are invariably simplicia with the homophonous nominalizing

- (6) - *a·kkhen tənbe· ke-yo·??*
 how_many year 2-attain
 - *anga nasi tənbe· yo·-?ε.*
 I five year attain-1sPS/NPT
 - How old are you^s?
 - I am five years old.
- (7) *kipthik tənbe· yo·?r-ε-ba se·.*
 one_hundred year attain-PT-IPF die/PT
 She died at the age of one hundred.

The suffix *-pa* can be added to both the preterit and non-preterit simplices of nonstative verbs as well as to irrealis and conditional forms (5.6-5.7). The perfective is formally and semantically unmarked: any simplex of a non-stative verb without an overt aspect marker is a perfective form and does not exclude an imperfective reading. Rather, it is the imperfective marker *-pa* which excludes a perfective reading.

Use of the perfective portrays a situation in its totality. As such, the perfective is suitable for expressing a situation with a result which still obtains in the present. The perfective views the situation as a complete whole and can therefore be used to add a terminative, punctual or inceptive dimension to the situation described. By contrast, the imperfective indicates a situation with inner temporal structure by viewing the situation as composed of component events, by virtue of its lasting through time without point of inception or termination or by virtue of its being a temporally articulate or progressive situation.

A situation viewed as a totality may be a punctual event, eg. *yun-ε?! ke-ga·η la?ba* (sit-IMP 2-step_over probably) 'Remain seated! He'll probably step over you^s', *pa·ncha·tne!* (call_to-1→2) 'I called you^s!', *kusiη khepsun* 'that's the way I heard it', *nisaη* 'he saw me', but need not be punctual. However, viewing an action in its totality as a complete whole does not preclude viewing the action as having taken place for a length of time. The unmarked perfective is not incompatible with actions of some duration: *iηwa pe·* 'the rooster is flying', *pu pe·ε* 'the bird flew'.

In the following sentences, the event referred to by the speaker may well be punctual but might just as plausibly last for some duration of time. Crucial is that the event

suffix *-pa*, eg. *mele·?emba* 'that which I don't know', *le·sunba* 'that which I know'; vide 8.4.

is viewed as a rounded off whole: *anchen cha pa·ttuŋ* (yesterday EMPH say-3P-1sA) 'I said it/told yesterday', *ta·ndik lək pa·ttuŋ* (tomorrow only say-3P-1sA) 'I won't say it/tell till tomorrow'.

In (8), imperfective *hendunba* portrays the act of appraisal as a temporally articulate process, whereas the speaker's use of perfective *hendun* immediately thereafter depicts the act of appraisal in its totality, with the result of that appraisal.

- (8) : *a·kkhya·k se·r ya·k?*
 how_much *ser* be
 - *phak-?in hend-u-ŋ-ba.* *khəŋ phak-?in nusi*
 pig-ABS estimate-3P-1sA-IPF that pig-ABS seven
 se·r hend-u-ŋ.
 ser estimate-3P-1sA
 - How many *ser* does it weigh (lit. are in it)?
 - I'll evaluate the pig. I'd estimate that pig at
 7 *ser*.²

One of the facets of the perfective/imperfective distinction in the preterit is that the perfective stresses the result of the action, eg. *mənɔrɛn* 'there isn't any left', *nɔrɛ* 'there's some left', whereas the imperfective is denotative, indicating simply that the action has taken place indifferent of the outcome. In (9-11), the imperfective clearly contrasts with the perfective in that the former is indifferent to the attainment of any result, whereas the perfective makes an implicit claim about the non-attainment of the result of the action. In (9) the imperfective 1s→3s form of *pha·ŋma?* 'to untie' indicates that the action of untying has taken place but makes no contention as to whether it has attained its natural result. The immediately ensuing 3s perfective form of *pa·ŋma?* 'to come undone' indicates that the efforts of the speaker did not have the desired effect. In (10) and (11), the imperfective use of *həŋma?* 'to seek' and *pho·ŋma?* 'to wake someone up' contrasts with the perfective use of *khɔmma?* 'to find' and *po·kma?* 'to get up' in the same way. In all three, the imperfective renders an activity which is temporally articulate.

² 7 *ser* = approximately 8.19 kg.

- (9) *pha·ks-u-η-ba mc-ba·ks-ε-n.*
 untie-3P-1sA-IPF NEG-come_undone-PT-NEG
 I tried to untie the knot, but it did not come
 undone.
- (10) *an·ge piʔl-in hɔŋ-ηna-ba*
 we^{pe} cow-ABS search-1peAS/PT-IPF
me-η-ghɔm-mna.
 NEG-NEG-find-1peAS/PT
 We^{pe} looked for(IPF) the cow but didn't find(PF)
 it.
- (11) *pho·ks-u-η-ba mc-bo·g-ε-n. ando· ando·*
 wake_up-3P-1sA-IPF NEG-wake_up-PT-NEG. later later
pho·ks-u-η.
 wake_up-3P-1sA
 I tried to wake him up, but he didn't wake up.
 I'll wake him up later.

The preterit imperfective depicts a situation as articulated in time and is suitable for describing situations lasting through time³ as in *a·kkhen tɔŋbe· keyuŋba kɔʔo·ʔ* 'How many years have you^s been living here?', or to describe a situation consisting of several component events as in *khe·dεʔl thuŋuba* 'He's been drinking millet beer [by the looks of him]'. However, the denotative imperfective may state a matter of fact in the preterit without necessa-

³ Occurrence of the imperfective preterit is somehow restricted by definite time adverbials in a way the perfective preterit is not. For example, the imperfect is disallowed in **anchen kendzɔnɛnbai·ʔ* as against perfective *anchen kendzɔnɛnni·ʔ* (*hijo khānu bhaena?*) 'didn't you^s eat yesterday?' and *anchen kendzɔnɛnnaŋi·ʔ* (*hijo khānu bhaena ra?*) 'didn't you^s eat yesterday?/you^s ate yesterday, didn't you^s?'. The imperfective preterit and definite time adverbial may co-occur, eg. *anchen henaŋ kendzɔnɛnba?* (*hijo kina khānu bhaena?*) 'why didn't you^s eat yesterday?/why weren't you^s eating yesterday?', but their co-occurrence seems to be more limited than the co-occurrence of perfective preterit and definite time adverbial.

In general, when Limbu is translated into Nepali, the perfective nonpreterit is translated into the Nepali general present, the imperfective nonpreterit into the Nepali present progressive tense or into the future in-

rily conveying any sense of the action's temporally articulate character whatsoever, eg. *a·tto· kε?iquba* 'where did you^s buy it?', *mε-baŋs-aŋ-ba* (nsAS-send-1sPS/PT-IPF) 'They sent me', *andzumle pi·raŋba* 'my friend gave it to me', *aŋga kerεk ya·mbok co·gunba* 'I did all the work', *a·tto· kede·?-rusiba* 'where have you^s taken those things away to?', *a·tto·-nu keda·?rumsimba* 'where did you^P get those things from?'. Denotative use of the preterit imperfective is the neutral counterpart of a result-oriented use of the preterit perfective, eg. *pe·gε* (3sAS/PT/PF) 'He went, he is gone, he has gone, he has left' (the implication is that he is still gone) vs. *pe·gεba* 'he has gone, he went'. In reply to the question *Yaŋsarumba a·tto·?* 'Where is third-born', only the former, *pe·gε* 'he's gone', is an appropriate response if the intent is to indicate that he is gone. However, the imperfective of *pe·kma?* may be used in responses with a locative like *pa·ŋdzummo· pe·gεba* 'he has gone to the bazar'.

definite, the perfective preterit into the Nepali past definite, and the imperfective preterit into the present perfect, eg.

<i>khomma?</i> 'pick up'		<i>la·pma?</i> 'enter'	
<i>khopsuŋ</i>	<i>ṭīpchu</i>	<i>la·?l</i>	<i>pascha</i>
<i>khopsuŋba</i>	<i>ṭīpnechu</i>	<i>la·ppa</i>	<i>pasnecha</i>
<i>khopsuŋ</i>	<i>ṭīpě</i>	<i>la·sε</i>	<i>pasyo</i>
<i>khopsuŋba</i>	<i>ṭīpeko</i>	<i>la·sεba</i>	<i>paseko</i>

supma? 'shut'

<i>lamdhe·?l subuŋ</i>	<i>ḍhokā band garchu</i>
<i>lamdhe·?l subuŋba</i>	<i>ḍhokā band garnechu</i>
<i>lamdhe·?l subuŋ</i>	<i>ḍhokā band garě</i>
<i>lamdhe·?l subuŋba</i>	<i>ḍhokā band gareko chu</i>

khamakma? 'get dark'

PF/NPT	<i>khamak</i>	It will get dark, it's getting dark.
IPF/NPT	<i>khamakpa</i>	It's getting dark.
PF/PT	<i>khamakte</i>	It has gotten dark, it got dark.
IPF/PT	<i>khamakteba</i>	It has become dark, it got dark, it was getting dark.

The girl's choice of imperfective in her reply in (12) is denotative. It does not deny the inquirer's insinuation that the result of the action does not obtain, i.e. that she is unclean. In her defence, the girl merely maintains that the action has taken place at some time in the past.

- (12) - *kε-na·n* *kε-hɔpt-w-i·?*
 your^s-face-ABS 2-wash-3P-Q
 - *hɔpt-u-η-ba.*
 wash-3P-1sA-IPF
 - Did you^s wash your face?
 - I did.

In (13-14), the imperfectives *po·ksɛba* and *aʔkɛbhe·subai·* simply denote an event emphasizing whether or not it has taken place, whereas perfective *po·ksɛ* and *aʔphe·sun* focus on the valid result:

- (13) - *ku-huk-ʔo·* *yanghe·k po·ks-ε-ba.*
 her-hand-LOC wound be-PT-IPF
 - *hɛn po·ks-ε?*
 what be-PT
 - *ti·η-le* *thub-u-aη.*
 thorn-ERG pierce-3P-pfG
 - Her hand has been wounded
 - What happened?
 - Having been pierced by a thorn.

- (14) *anga aʔphe·s-u-η, aʔ-kɛ-bhe·s-u-ba-i·?*
 I throw-3P-1sA throw-2-throw-3P-IPF-Q
 I threw it. Have you^s thrown already?

In (15) the imperfective *lo·k-ηna-ba* 'we^{pe} raced' is denotative and sets the backdrop for the perfective victory *nanduŋsiη* 'I beat them'.

- (15) *ɛn* *anige sumsi mɛna anga a-ndzum-dhik-nu*
 today we^{pe} three man I my-friend-one-COM
 tiliŋga-dhik-nu lo·k-ηna-ba. anga
 policeman-one-COM race-1peAS/PT-IPF I
 nand-u-η-si-η.
 win-3P-1sA-nsP-1sA
 Today we^{pe} three guys, I and a friend of mine and
 a policeman, raced against each other, and I
 beat them.

The imperfective of *phemma?* 'to come' in (16) establishes a matter of fact, whereas the perfectives of *sa?ma?* 'to visit' in (17) portray the act of visiting as a complete whole.

- (16) - *hɛnaŋ kɛ-bhɛr-ɛ-ba?*
 - *khɛni sa?-sɛ.*
 - Why have you^s come?
 - To visit you^P.

- (17) - *kɛ-sa?r-u-si-?i.?*
 - *sa?r-u-ŋ-si-ŋ.*
 - Did you^s visit them?
 - I did.

The perfective is likewise appropriate to stressing the result of an action in the nonpreterit:

- (18) - *kɛ?l-i.?*
 - *kɛ?l.*
 - Will it get there?
 - It will.

- (19) *co·g-u-ŋ bha?aŋ so·kt-u-ŋ-ba.*
 do-3P-1sA *bhanera* aim-3P-1sA-IPF
 I was(/had been) intending to do it.

- (20) *nɔn la?ba.*
 be_left_over probably
 There'll probably be some left over.

In the nonpreterit, the imperfective denotes continuous action in the present or imperfective future, eg. *pe·k?ɛ* (1sPS/NPT/PF) 'I'm going to go, I shall go', as in *Ya·k-pɔ·ppo·ŋ pe·k?ɛ* 'I'm going to *Ya·k-pɔ·ppo·ŋ*'⁴ vs. *pe·k?ɛba* (1sPS/NPT/IPF) 'I am going, I am in the process of going, I shall go', or *kɛndzɔnɛnbai.?* 'aren't you^s eating?'. The present progressive meaning of the imperfective nonpreterit is illustrated by the following examples:

⁴ the speaker's house named after the large *Engelhardtia spicata* or *ya·k-pɔ·ppo·ŋ* which used to stand at the site of the house.

- (21) *suruŋ me-ab-u-ba.*
tunnel nsAS-blast-3P-IPF
They're blasting a tunnel. (the blast is heard at
the moment of utterance).
- (22) *a·tto· ke-be·k-pa?*
where 2-go-IPF
Where are you^s going?
- (23) *henəŋ khem-ghem-aŋ ke-n-la·p-?e-m-ba?*
why hear-hear-and 2-NEG-ignore-1sPS/NPT-NEG-IPF
Why are you^s pretending not to hear me?
- (24) *henəŋ ke-ɔ·k-pa əgɔ·?*
why 2-shout-IPF then
Why are you^s hollering now?
- (25) *a·kkhya·k sa·rik me-ɔ·k-pa!*
how_much very nsAS-shout-IPF
How awfully they are hollering!
- (26) *bhitra kyak-pa mənə·n se·ndo·s-ε? "e·n*
inside be-NOM man-ABS ask-IMP whom
ke-həks-u-ba?"
2-look_for-3P-IPF
Ask the man inside whom he is looking for.
- (27) *kəŋha? henəŋ me-so·t-pa? kətna kətna*
this-p why nsAS-misbehave-IPF here here
phε?r-amm-ε? hɛndza?-se·!
come-2p-IMP child-VOC/p
Why are they misbehaving [again]? (turning to the
children:) Come here children!
- (28) - *henəŋ ke-ye·p-pa?*
why 2-laugh-IPF
- *habha.*
like_that
- Why are you^s laughing?
- Just so.
- (29) *kəŋ wa?-?εn hen co·k-?aŋ ya·k-pa?*
this chicken-ABS what do-pfG be-IPF
What's this chicken up to?

- (30) *nəksa mə-bi--siŋ-ba.*
 picture nsAS-give-REF-IPF
 They are exchanging snapshots.
- (31) *hənən phɛdza--n kɛ-yutt-u-ba?*
 why khukuri-ABS 2-sharpen-3P-IPF
 Why are you^s sharpening the khukuri?

The use of the imperfective future, less frequent than the use of the perfective future, places an event in an indefinite future:

- (32) *kɛ-ndzum hən co·k-se phɛm-ba? takɔ·n-che*
 your^s-friend what do-SUP come-IPF wander-SUP
ɔ·mɔt-che rɔk-ʔi·?
 look-SUP only-Q
 What is your^s friend coming to do? Just to wander
 about and do the scenery?
- (33) *abhɛlle pe·k-pa?*
 when go-IPF
 When is she going?
- (34) *tha·ʔ-ʔɛ dha-ʔɛ-ba mu.*
 leave_behind_for-1sPS/NPT leave-1sPS/NPT-IPF REP
 They say he'll be leaving it behind for me.
- (35) *ando· caŋ-ba.*
 later eat/1s→3-IPF
 I shall be eating later on [at that time].
- (36) *ɛn kɛ-n-dzɔ-nɛn-ba-i·?*
 today 2-NEG-eat/3P-NEG-IPF-Q
 Aren't you^s going to eat today?

Stative verbs which are inherently imperfective do not take the imperfective marker to indicate progressive present, eg. (37), whereas nonstatives do take the marker in the present progressive, eg. (38-40).

- (37) *hənən kɛ-i·t-chiŋ ɡɔ·? hara pa·tt-ɛ?!*
 why 2-think-REF then quickly speak-IMP
 Why are you^s reflecting so? Speak quickly!
- (38) *kɛ-dha·-siŋ-ba-i·?*
 2-drop-REF-IPF-Q
 Are you^s off again?

- (39) *a·tto· kε-dha·-nε-tchi-ba?*
 where 2-drop-REF-dPS-IPF
 Where are you^d headed?/Where are you^d off to?
- (40) *ɔ·-gε-mət-chiη-i·?*
 look-2-look-REF-Q
 Are you^s looking at yourself [in the mirror]?

In the nonpreterit, the perfective or plain simplex indicates perfective future or unmarked (i.e. not explicitly progressive), general present. So the unmarked form *hεn kεdzo·k?* may be used to mean both 'What are you^s up to?', 'what are you^s doing?' and 'What are you^s going to do?'. Whereas both *caη* 'I am eating' and *caηba* 'I am eating' are suitable when uttered whilst the speaker is eating, the imperfective form *caηba* is more appropriate if the speaker wishes to stress that he has not yet finished eating. Both *cwa?l ho·p* 'there is no water' and *cwa?l ho·ppa* 'there is no water' are fitting ways to indicate that there's no water; the difference is but a subjective nuance. The perfective nonpreterit expressing general present places no emphasis on the temporal articulacy of the action:

- (41) *wa?dhi·n thεnd-u-η.*
 egg boil-3P-1sA
 I'm boiling an egg.
- (42) *hεkyaη allɔ hεn kε-sapt-u?*
 and now what 2-write-3P
 And so what are you^s writing now?
- (43) *ku-dhge·k?i··n kε-ghəkt-w-i·?*
 his-hair-ABS 2-cut-3P-Q
 So, you^s're cutting his hair, are you^s?

The use of the nonpreterit perfective in a definite future sense is more frequent than the imperfective or indefinite future.

- (44) *allɔ him-?o· abhelle kε-nu·η?*
 now house-LOC when 2-return
 Now when are you^s going to return home?
- (45) *pitnu yəllik wa· rəcə, ando· ma·?l.*
 milk much be DEPR, later be_ufinished
 There appears to be a lot of milk, but later it'll
 all be finished.

- (46) *kεrεk maŋdɔk-ʔin kε-ma·nd-w-i·ʔ*
 all *maŋdɔk*-ABS 2-finish-3P-Q
 Will you^s finish all the *maŋdɔk*?
- (47) *a·tto· kε-akt-uʔ*
 where 2-put-3P
 Where'll you^s put it?
- (48) - *kε-hip-ʔε-i·ʔ*
 2-hit-1sPS/NPT-Q
 - *mε-hip-nε-n.*
 NEG-hit-1→2-NEG
 - Are you^s going to hit me?
 - No.

In addition to definite future, the nonpreterit perfective expresses suppositional future:

- (49) *si-aŋ mε-o·ʔr-u.*
 die-pfG nsAS-roast-3P
 If someone dies, they'll cremate him. (said of
 less traditional Limbu)⁵
- (50) *thik ha·p, thik mε-ha·p-nεn.*
 one cry one NEG-cry-NEG
 One will cry, the other won't.

As opposed to general present usage of the nonpreterit perfective, eg. (41-43), a perfective present often represents a present of immediate realization, eg. *kεnye·tnɛnni·ʔ* 'Aren't you^s going to laugh?', *timmək phɔk!* 'The rifle's going to go off!', *kεnyeɸnɛnni·ʔ* 'Aren't you^s going to stand up?'

Example (51) illustrates the contrast between perfective nonpreterit (definite future) and imperfective nonpreterit (present progressive).

⁵ Campbell (1840) describes the Limbu as disposing of their dead by cremation. In the *Phedāppe* area, however, burial of the dead appears to be a practice of great antiquity. Many old clan burial grounds crowded with numerous weathered *suʔluŋ* can be found in the *Phedāp*. Cremation of young females by those not observing traditional burial is in fact considered to give rise to the third type of *sugup* (q.v.). Dās (1896b: 33) also notes that the Limbu 'generally bury the dead'.

- (51) *allo· a-geɬ-chi o·! hɛnaŋ hara hara kɛ-lo·k-pa?*
 now 1-arrive-dPS hey why fast fast 2-run-IPF
 We'll^{di} be there in a moment! Why are you^s running
 so quickly?

5.2. The imperious future - (DEF)

The imperious future is an emphatic future form which guarantees that the action will definitely take place.

The imperious aspectivizer is a glottal stop which can be added to a nonpreterit simplex to give a definite or guaranteed future tense. The glottal stop is only distinctive in nonpreterit simplicia ending in a vowel or nasal, as word-final plosives are already phonetically glottalized.

<i>ande· caŋ</i>	I ate before, I have already eaten.
<i>ando· caŋ</i>	I'll eat later.
<i>ando· caŋ?</i>	I will eat later. (certain future event)
<i>adze·su</i>	we ^{di} ate, we ^{di} have eaten.
<i>adzasu</i>	we ^{di} eat, we ^{di} shall eat.
<i>adzasu?</i>	we ^{di} will eat. (certain future event)

Preterit simplicia do not take an imperious glottal stop, eg. **adze·su?*.

- (52) *anga luŋ-ille tho·-ghɛŋ mənə··n*
 I stone-INST above-that man-ABS
yaŋs-u-ŋ-?-i· mɛ-yaŋ-?ɛ-n-?-i·?
 hit-3P-1sA-DEF-Q NEG-hit-1sPS/NPT-NEG-DEF-Q
 Will I [be able to] hit that man up there with a
 stone or not?

- (53) *sɔpmaŋ he·-?*
 in_a_second dry-DEF
 It'll be dry in a second.

In meaning and in usage the Limbu imperious future resembles the Ubykh (Northwest-Caucasian) tense which Georges Dumézil called 'le futur immédiat ou impérieux ou certain' (1975: 147), whence I have acquired the term.

5.3. Aspectivizers

Aspectivizers are simplicia which occur as postpositive augments to perfective verbs or, in the case of *se?ma?* and *he·kma?*, as augments to an infinitive. Aspectivizers add an extra semantic dimension to the perfective aspect of such verbs.

5.3.1. The terminative aspectivizers *cu?ma?* and *su?ma?*

The intransitive verb *cu?ma?* as a main verb means 'to be completed, to be finished' and also serves as the terminative aspectivizer for intransitive verbs.

(54) *te· cur-ε.*
 come/PT be_completed-PT
 He is finally here.

(55) *the·s-ε cur-ε.*
 be_dissected-PT be_completed-PT
 It has been completely dissected. (of a pig carcass)

(56) *ya·mbək po·η cu?l.*
 work be be_completed
 The work will be finished. (i.e. there will be no work left to do; cf. ex. (84) infra)

The intransitive verbs *lukma?* 'to be completed (esp. of a task)' and *ma·pma?* 'to be used up' may also occur as terminative aspectivizers, but since their meaning is more specific than *cu?ma?*, their use is highly restricted. The following is an example of *ma·pma?* 'to be used up' as a terminative augment to an intransitive verb:

(57) *sa··n to·kt-ε-i· ma·r-ε-i·?*
 meat-ABS be_sold-PT-Q be_used_up-PT-Q
 Is the meat sold out?

The transitive verb *su?ma?* means 'to finish, to complete' when used as a main verb and is the terminative aspectivizer for transitive verbs.

- (58) - *suttε?*
 - *suttuŋ suruŋ*.
 - Taste it! (*tɔŋba*)
 - I've finished tasting it/I've already
 tasted it.

- (59) *the·s-u-ŋ sur-u-ŋ*.
 dissect-3P-1sA finish-3P-1sA
 I have completely carved up [the pig].

- (60) *hipt-u sur-u*.
 hit-3P finish-3P
 He finished hitting him.

- (61) *yaŋ te·s-u-ŋ sur-u-ŋ*.
 money spend-3P-1sA finish-3P-1sA
 I've spent all the money.

- (62) *kε-dza-m kε-sur-u-m-aŋ ta-?ε*.
 2-eat/3P-pA 2-finish-3P-pA-and show_up-1sPS/NPT
 I'll show up when youP have finished eating.

The following sentence in the narrative (viz. perfective) present shows reflexive conjugation of the transitive aspectivizer with a reflexive verb:

- (63) *warum-siŋ-ma?-aŋ sut-chiŋ-aŋ ku-de·?1*
 bathe-REF-INF-pfG finish-REF-pfG his-clothes
ku-bhuŋ cak-siŋ-aŋ ku-him-lepsaŋ
 his-clothes dress-REF-pfG his-house-toward
tha·-siŋ.
 drop-REF
 He finishes bathing, he dons his clothes and heads
 toward his house.

The transitive aspectivizer *su?ma?* also occurs, albeit infrequently, intransitively conjugated as the terminative augment to an intransitive verb when the verb has an agentive character.

- (64) *kεŋ-aŋ sur-aŋ-bε-n*
 trip_and_fall-1sPS/PT finish-1sPS/PT-NOM-ABS
a-ndzum-ille tcms-aŋ.
 my-friend-ERG catch-1sPS/PT
 My friend caught me just before I finished falling
 to the ground. (i.e. just as I was about to
 hit the ground).

5.3.2. The dimittive aspectivizer *te·ma?*

As a main verb transitive *te·ma?* means 'to spend' and, as an augment to other transitive verbs, *te·ma?* means 'to dispatch', eg. *pi·ru de·su* 'he gave it away to him' as opposed to merely *pi·ru* 'he gave it to him'.

- (65) *pi?l na·tt-u-ŋ de·s-u-ŋ.*
 cow drive_away-3P-1sA dispatch-3P-1sA
 I sent the cow on its way.
- (66) *kεŋs-u de·s-u.*
 trip-3P dispatch-3P
 He made him stumble and fall.
- (67) *caŋ de·suŋ. (khāī diě)*
 eat-1s→3 dispatch-3P-1sA
 I sent it down the hatch.
- (68) *khεŋ lε·ŋwa··n phi·nd-ε? de·s-ε?!*
 that puddle-ABS sweep_away-IMP dispatch-IMP
 Sweep that puddle away!
- (69) *a-niŋwahu·p ho·p hεnanbhelle mε-ba·tt-u-ba*
 my-intellect not_be because nsAS-say-3P-NOM
pa·n niŋwa mutch-u-ŋ de·s-u-ŋ.
 word forget forget-3P-1sA dispatch-3P-1sA
 I am apparently not very intelligent because I
 have forgotten what they had said.

In the following example, the suffixal 3P morpheme <-u> is not repeated in the aspectivizer. It is a far more widespread tendency to eliminate endmost suffixes in the main verb which appear in the aspectivizer augment (see also 5.3.8).

- (70) *thi·-n kε-dhuŋ-u kε-de·-i·?*
 millet_beer-ABS 2-drink-3P 2-dispatch-Q
 Are you^s going to guzzle down some millet beer?

5.3.3. The cadent and dejective aspectivizers *thama?* and *tha·ma?*

The intransitive verb *thama?* as a main verb means 'to fall'. As an aspectivizing augment to intransitives it underlines the cadent motion designated by the main verb.

- (71) *kudza?-ha?* *mε-lu·g-ε* *mε-dhe·.*
 fruit-p nsAS-fall_from_a_tree-PT nsAS-fall/PT
 The fruits have fallen from the tree.

- (72) *ku-bhckwa* *kεrek lu·g-ε* *dhe·.*
 its-foliage all fall_from_a_tree-PT fall-PT
 The tree has shed all its leaves.

The transitive verb *tha·ma?* means 'to knock down' or 'to drop' when used as a main verb. As dejective aspectivizer it accentuates the perfectivity of any verb which denotes bringing something down.

- (73) *kudza?* *lu·ks-u-η* *dha·s-u-η.*
 fruit shake_out-3P-1sA knock_down-3P-1sA
 I shake the fruits out of the tree.

5.3.4. The relinquitive aspectivizer *thama?*

The irregular verb *thama?* occurs only as an augment to transitive verbs. It highlights the relinquishing of the patient; it accentuates its having been left at its place of destination.

In contrast to *tho· yuks-u-η* 'I put it up there', the following sentence stresses the patient having been abandoned at the place it was put.

- (74) *tho· yuks-u-η* *dha-η.*
 above put-3P-1sA leave/3P-1sA
 I left it up there.

- (75) *yuks-u dhɔ.* (*rākhi rākhyo*)
 put-3P leave/3P
 He left it there.

These combinations of verb and aspectivizer and similar aspectual combinations must be distinguished from double predicates in a single syntagm such as the following:

- (76) *yuks-u-ŋ tha·?r-u-ŋ.*
 put-3P-1sA leave_behind_for_someone-3P-1sA
 I placed it there, leaving it behind for him.

Note that the third person patients of the two different predicates are not coreferential, whereas a verb and its aspectivizer always agree with the same actants:

- (77) *hu?r-u-ŋ dhaŋ. (lagi/puryāi diě)*
 bring_and_give-3P-1sA leave/3P-1sA
 I brought and gave it.
- (78) *tha·?-?ε dha-?ε la?ba.*
 leave_behind_for-1sPS/NPT leave-1sPS/NPT probably
 He'll probably leave it behind for me.
- (79) *kε-dha·?r-ε kε-dhe·-i·?*
 2-leave_behind_for-PT 2-leave/PT-Q
 Did he leave it behind for you^s?

The verbs meaning 'to forget' only combine with the relin-
 quitive aspectivizer *thama?* in the preterit:

- (80) *niŋwa mutch-u-ŋ dha-ŋ. (birsī rākhě)*
 forget forget-3P-1sA leave/3P-1sA
 I forgot all about it.
- (81) *...warum-siŋ-ε-ba-tεn-?o· huk-?o·*
 ...bathe-REF-PT-NOM-place-LOC hand-LOC
wa·p-mna-bε-n niŋwa mutch-u
 wear-PP-NOM-ABS forget forget-3P
dhə rəcə.
 leave/3P DEPR
 It seemed he had forgotten (*birsī rākhyo*) the
 watch at the place he had bathed.
- (82) *niŋwa kε-bhutch-u kε-dhə.*
 forget 2-forget-3P 2-leave/3P
 You^s forgot.

In the nonpreterit, the verbs 'to forget' take *yuŋma?* 'to
 put' as an aspectivizer augment, eg. *niŋwa mutchu yuksu*
la?ba (birsī rākcha holā) 'He'll probably forget it'.

A combination of verb and aspectivizer may have such a
 specific meaning that the aspectivized combination as a
 whole has become lexicalized. For example, the combination
 of *sama?* 'to deliver' with *thama?* yields the meaning 'to

escort', and while *sama?* takes only inanimate patients, *sama?-dhama?* takes only animate patients:

- (83) *him-mo· sy-an-dhy-an.*
house-LOC escort-1sPS/PT-escort-1sPS/PT
He escorted me home.

5.3.5. The resultative aspectivizer *khepma?*

The aspectivizer *khepma?* stresses the resultative dimension of the perfective and occurs only in combination with intransitive verbs.

- (84) *kəŋ ya·mbək pə·ŋ ghe?l la·!* (*yo kām bhaī hālcha*
this work be RES EMPH *ni*)
Don't worry about it; this work will get done!
(cf. (56) supra)
- (85) *kəŋ ya·mbək pə·ks-ε ghe?r-ε.*
this work be-PT RES-PT
This work has gotten done.
- (86) *ta·ndik sa iŋ ghe?l.* (*bholī nai vyāpak*
tomorrow EMPH be_known RES *huncha*)
Tomorrow it will be common knowledge.
- (87) *yəllik thuŋ-mε-lle se·?ma?l lə·n ghe?l.*
much drink-INF-SUB urine come_out RES
If you drink a lot, you have to pee.
- (88) - *cumlun pəŋ-ε-i· nε·-i·?*
bazar get_up-PT-Q sit-Q
- *mε-bəŋ-ε mε-ghe?r-ε.*
nsAS-get_up-PT nsAS-RES-PT
- Has the *hāṭ-bajār* been broken up or is it
still going on?
- They've all gotten up and left.
- (89) *kheŋ e·?yaŋba nepphu mənə-ha?-aŋ ke?r-ε-tchi-lle*
that other two man-p-and arrive-PT-dPS-SUB
gə· kheŋ hendza?-in khet-chiŋ khe?r-ε.
then that lad-ABS chase-REF RES-PT
By the time the two other men got there, the boy
had run off.

- (90) *siʔ-ε* *khεʔ1-ε* *laʔba.*
 die-1sPS/NPT RES-1sPS/NPT probably
 I'll probably be dead [by that time/by the time
 you get back].
- (91) *yanghe·k lo·n* *ghεʔ1.* (*niskī hālcha*)
 wound come_out RES
 A wound will develop.

With verbs of locomotion, *khεpmaʔ* stresses the utter completion or result of the movement, which usually means that the subject is gone, eg. *lo·kte khεʔre*, *khεtchiŋ(ε) khεʔre*. The semantics of the combination *langhe·ʔge khεʔre*, however, is such that it cannot apply to a human referent, being instead suitable to a crawling insect.

5.3.6. The impendent aspectivizer *nεtmaʔ*

The aspectivizer *nεtmaʔ* is an augment to both transitive and intransitive verbs in the sense of 'to be about to, be on the verge of doing something'. *Nεtmaʔ* may literally indicate that an action is or was about to take place, as in the following three sentences (arranged from most polite to least respectful) expressing someone's imminent death:

- (92) *a-1εʔ1* *a-nεʔ1.*
 1-take_leave 1-impend
 He's about to leave us^{Pi}, i.e. die.
- (93) *ma·-siŋ* *nεʔ1.*
 lose-REF impend
 He's on the verge of passing away.
- (94) *si* *nεʔ1.*
 die impend
 He's about to die.

or it may just indicate a particularly strong inclination, as in the following three examples which do not so much express serious intent as an emotional disposition.

- (95) *sεʔ1-ε* *nεʔ1-ε.* (*malāī mārnu āʔeko thiyo*)
 kill-1sPS/NPT impend-1sPS/NPT
 She's about to kill me.

(96) *seʔr-u-ŋ nɛtt-u-ŋ. (malāī mārna āṭyo)*
 kill-3P-1sA impend-3P-1sA
 I'm about to kill him

(97) *seʔr-aŋ nɛtt-aŋ. (uslāī mārnu āṭě)*
 kill-1sPS/PT impend-1sPS/PT
 He was on the verge of killing me.

The impendent is an apt and often used device to express the imminent realization or near completion of any verbal activity or process.

(98) *keʔl nɛʔl. (āī pugnu āṭyo)*
 arrive impend
 He's almost there.

(99) *aŋga keʔl-ɛ nɛʔl-ɛ. (āī pugnu āṭě)*
 I arrive-1sPS/NPT impend-1sPS/NPT
 I'm almost there.

(100) *suriʔl ke·dzɔŋ ta nɛʔl lo·! ke-nis-w-i·?*
 wind storm come impend ASS 2-see-3P-Q
 Gale-force winds are about to strike; can you^s
 see?

In temporal clauses, this aspectivizer is apt for designating a moment precisely before the culmination of an activity.

(101) *cur-ɛ nɛtt-ɛ-lle ...*
 finish-PT impend-PT-SUB
 As it was about to finish, ...

(102) *keŋ-ɛ nɛtt-ɛ-lle sa·rik ɔ·kt-ɛ.*
 stumble_and_fall-PT impend-PT-SUB much shout-PT
 As he was about to stumble, he cried out loud.

This aspectivizer is often used in telling time:

(103) *lisi muk nɛʔl.*
 It is about to strike four o'clock/it's nearly
 four.

(104) *lisi mukte nɛtte.*
 It was about to strike four o'clock/it was nearly
 four o'clock.

- (105) *tuksi muk neʔl.*
It's about to strike six/it's nearly six o'clock.

5.3.7. The sustained action aspectivizer *ca·maʔ*

Irregular intransitive *ca·maʔ* as a main verb means 'to perform (an activity), to play (a game)' and, as an aspectivizer to both transitive and intransitive verbs, *ca·maʔ* indicates sustained action.

- (106) *keŋ-ε dze-i·ʔ*
fall-PT SUS/PT-Q
Was it going to fall?

This sentence was said of a *kunda* from which the person addressed had filled his *phogəna*. After he had quickly tilted it back into place, the *kunda* wobbled back and forth by itself because of the water sloshing to and fro inside. Here the impendent aspectivizer *nepmaʔ* is not used because the *kunda* did not fall over and was not actually on the verge of falling at any given point. Use of the aspectivizer *ca·maʔ* here indicates the *kunda*'s sustained and threatening wobbling.

In verbs indicating stationary activity, *ca·maʔ* indicates sustained or prolonged immobility, eg. *yebe dze·* 'He kept on standing there', *yuŋ dza·* 'He just keeps on sitting there, he just sits there continuously', *yuŋʔε dza·ʔε* 'I'm just sitting here [all day], I'm just taking it easy', as opposed to strictly perfective *keŋ məna·n yuŋε* 'That man sat, that man sat down'.

- (107) *lamdhe·ʔl-in hɔnd-u-ŋ-ille keʔo· menchuma-dhik*
door-ABS open-3P-1sA-SUB there lady-one
yuŋ-ε dze·.
sit-PT SUS/PT
As I opened the doors, there a woman (just)
sitting there.

- (108) *keŋ məna··n yuŋ-ε dze·.* (*tyo mānche basi raheko*
that man-ABS sit-PT SUS/PT *thiyo*)
That man hung around, sitting.

As an augment to *wa·maʔ*, the aspectivizer *ca·maʔ* indicates sustained presence:

- (109) *kɛ-mikci?bɛnbɛn* *way-ɛ dze·!*
 your^s-purulent_{ophthalmic_discharge} be-PT SUS/PT
hɛn kɛ-dzo·k?
 what 2-do
 Your^s eye is covered with mucous exudate! What're
 you^s gonna do?
- (110) *kheŋ məna-·n way-ɛ dze·.*
 that man-ABS be-PT SUS/PT
 That man kept hanging around.

(110) was said of a man who kept wandering about the farm-
 yard and nearby property and wouldn't go away. The sentence
 contrasts with *kheŋ məna·n wayɛ* 'There was that man'.
 Aspectivized *wa·ma?* in (111) has the special meaning of
 just sitting there and not running out on a situation.

- (111) *anga əgɔ· dzhan a-sa?-re abhya·k sa·rik*
 I then even_{more} my-child-ERG extremely much
mɛtt-aŋ-saŋ wa·-?ɛ
 do_{unto}-1sPS/PT-even be-1sPS/NPT
dza-?ɛ.
 SUS-1sPS/NPT.
 Even though I've been treated far worse by my own
 children, I just sit here and take it.

As an aspectivizer of sustained action, *ca·ma?* may indicate
 a customary or habitual activity, as in the following two
 sentences taken from myths:

- (112) *anche·-ba məna-ha? sika·r-rɔk mɛ-dzo·g-u*
 before-NOM man-p hunting-only nsAS-do-3P
mɛ-dze·.
 nsAS-SUS/PT
 Ancient men used to hunt only, i.e. ancient man
 was a hunter-gatherer.
- (113) *maŋ-ha?-nu məna sika·r mɛ-dzo·g-u mɛ-dze·.*
 deity-p-COM man hunting nsAS-do-3P nsAS-SUS/PT
 [Primordial] man used to hunt with the gods.

5.3.8. The dative aspectivizer *pi·ma?*

As a main verb *pi·ma?* denotes 'to give, to endow', and as an augment to transitive verbs, it adds a sense of 'giving' or 'applying' the action to its recipient.

- (114) *ku-nčhikkhək yəllik pɔʔl ləcə. wahɔp-m?*
 its-caked_{on} snot much be DEPR. wash-INF
bi·-m? bərne·.
 give-INF ought

There appears to be lots of dried-out snot caked [onto the child's cheeks]. She'll have to be given a scrubbing.

The use of *pi·ma?* as aspectivizer and main verb can, in cases like (115), be distinguished on the basis of non-coreferential patient agreement. Here *ha·ma?* 'to apportion' agrees with that which was apportioned and given (as opposed to its derivative *ha·tma?* 'apportion out to' which takes an animate patient), and *pi·ma?* agrees with those to whom it was given.

- (115) *ma·ki yummaʔl ha·s-u-ŋ*
 maize vegetables apportion-3P-1sA
pi·r-u-ŋ-si-ŋ.
 give-3P-1sA-nsP-1sA

I dealt out the maize and vegetables, giving it to them.

Aspectivizers contain all the agreement suffixes even when, in the case of lengthy and unwieldy suffixal strings, the endmost suffix or suffixes are omitted from the main verb, as in (116).

- (116) *nɔks-aŋ pi·r-aŋ-εʔ!*
 shave-1sP give-1sP-IMP
 Give me a shave!

Use of the dative aspectivizer is just as appropriate when the patient is the maleficiary of an action as when it is the beneficiary:

- (117) *ku-dhge·k-ʔin mə-bhund-u mə-bu·r-u.*
 his-head-ABS nsAS-dislodge-3P nsAS-give-3P
 They lopped its head off.

- (118) *ku-sikla-ʔo· putt-u-ŋ bi·r-u-ŋ.*
 his-throat-LOC grab-3P-1sA give-3P-1sA
 I grabbed him by his throat.
- (119) *a-ndzum-ille yəllik sama·n-haʔ khu·tt-aŋ*
 my-friend-ERG much belonging-p rob-1sPS/PT
pi·r-aŋ.
 give-1sPS/PT
 My friend robbed me of many belongings.

5.3.9. The ponent aspectivizers *yuŋmaʔ* and *phəpmaʔ*

Yuŋmaʔ as a main verb means 'to put, to place', and as an augment to transitive verbs it signals assuming a position or retaining the position or result of the action indicated by the aspectivized verb.

- (120) *ke-huk-ʔo· putt-εʔ yuks-εʔ!*
 your^s-hand-LOC squeeze-IMP put-IMP
 Hold it tightly in your^s hand! (cf. *sapla puttu*
 'He crumpled up the piece of paper in his
 hand'.)
- (121) *miŋ khəs-εʔ yuks-εʔ! (nāũ ʔipī rākha)*
 name jot-IMP put-IMP
 Jot [his] name down!
- (122) *ke-huk-ʔo· tɛms-εʔ yuks-εʔ!*
 your^s-hand-LOC catch-IMP put-IMP
 Catch a hold of it!
- (123) *aŋga pa·tt-u-ŋ lo·! khɛps-εʔ ro· yuks-εʔ ro·!*
 I speak-3P-1sA ASS! listen-IMP ASS put-IMP ASS
 Hey, I'm talking! Listen up and lend an ear!
 (*ma bolchu hai! sunī rākh hai!*)

The verb *phəpmaʔ*, which as a main verb means 'to suspend, to put something up on high', aside from its directional specificity, works much the same way as *yuŋmaʔ*.

- (124) *tɛms-εʔ phətch-εʔ!*
 catch-IMP suspend-IMP
 Catch it!

- (125) *pho·nd-ε?* *phɔtch-ε?!*
 hang_up-IMP suspend-IMP
 Hang it up!

5.3.10. The mechrithanatus aspectivizers *sima?* and *sε?ma?*

The verb *sima?* 'to die' when used as an aspectivizer augment to intransitive verbs carries much the same meaning as figurative usage of 'to die' in English:

- (126) *kε-gis-ε-i·* *kε-se-i·?*
 2-be_afraid-PT-Q 2-die/PT-Q
 Were you^s scared to death?
- (127) *yaŋ-?ε* *si-?ε.*
 tremble-1sPS/NPT die-1sPS/NPT
 I was terrified.
- (128) *ya·s-aŋ* *sy-aŋ.*
 be_tickled-1sPS/PT die-1sPS/PT
 I was tickled to death.
- (129) *mε-ya·* *mε-si.*
 nsAS-be_tickled nsAS-die
 They'll die from all that tickling.

The combination of *sima?* with *ciŋma?* 'to be greedy, be selfish' yields a lexicalized compound verb with the special meaning 'be impotent, be incapable, be cowardly'.

- (130) *kε-dzitt-ε* *kε-se· ro·*
 2-be_selfish-PT 2-die/PT ASS
 You^s're really not capable of much anything!/Why,
 you^s're impotent!

The verb *sε?ma?* 'to kill' occurs as an augment to the infinitive of *yaŋma?* 'to tremble' in the lexicalized collocation *yaŋma? sε?ma?* 'to scare to death, terrify, haunt'.

- (131) *so·gha-re yaŋ-ma?* *a-sε?l.*
 ghost-ERG tremble-INF 1-kill
 Ghosts haunt you.

5.3.11. The probative aspectivizer *saʔmaʔ*

The probative aspectivizer *saʔmaʔ* means 'to try, make an attempt, have a go at' and occurs as an augment to both transitive and intransitive verbs, eg. *co·geʔ saʔreʔ!* (*garī hernuhos*) 'try to do it!', *hipteʔ saʔreʔseʔ!* 'Try and see if you^s can hit them! (2s→3ns/IMP)', *kemhipsi kɛmsaʔsi* (*kuṭī herchan*) 'They'll try to hit you^d (3ns→2d)', *pa·tteʔ saʔreʔ!* (*bhanī hernuhos*) 'Try to say it!', *lo·kteʔ saʔreʔ!* (*kudī hernuhos*) 'Try and see if you^s can run', *lo·kʔe saʔʔe* 'I'll try to run, I'll see if I can run'.

5.3.12. The totalizing aspectivizer *wapmaʔ*

Attested only with verbs of motion, *wapmaʔ* totalizes the movement and is restricted to gerundive constructions in *-aŋ* of the type: *pheraŋ wattanaŋ...* 'Having come (1s), ...', *pheretichige wattetchigeaŋ...* 'Having come (1di), ...', *pe·gaŋ wattanaŋ...* 'Having gone (1s), ...', eg.

- (132) *phett-aŋ watt-aŋ-aŋ pe·g-ε.*
 fetch-1sPS/PT TOT-1sPS/PT-pfG go-PT
 Having fetched it for me, he went away.
 (*malāī lyāī vari...*[3s→1s/PT])

5.3.13. The inceptive aspectivizer *he·kmaʔ*

The inceptive aspectivizer occurs as an augment, not to a simplex form, but to a transitive or intransitive verb stem or infinitive and signals commencement of the action, eg. *wiʔ! tha he·kte* 'It started to rain', *samlo·maʔ he·kʔe* 'I'll start to sing', *pa·pmʔ he·ktuŋ* 'I started to talk', *cam· he·ktuŋ* 'I started to eat', *biha·ndik tuksi mukte-lle hukʔo· wa·pmnaben la·bdzo·k he·kte* 'The watch started to sound at 6 in the morning', *an·ge-tok kudzaphen he·ktei·ʔ* 'Has our *bhāt* begun to taste bad [to you]?', *kerck kuhikla po·ŋ he·kte* 'Everything has started to turn green'.

5.3.14. The perseverative aspectivizer *ne·ma?*

The verb *ne·ma?* meaning 'to lie, be situated' (vi.) or 'to lay something down, to situate' (vt.) occurs as an augment to verbs in the sense of 'to persist, to keep on doing something', eg. *ke?ipse kene·se* 'You^s just kept on sleeping', *te·?l men-he·-?e wa· he· ne·* 'The clothes have not yet dried. They're sitting there drying', *khune? kheŋ kemdu ne·su* 'He held him pressed to the ground', *hskke·lɔ?rik himlepsaŋ te·sira pətchetchille ca·rik?e wabakle kube·se?-?o· keŋe ne·setchi* 'As they^d were coming homeward, they just collapsed by the side of a pond', ... *kərə kheŋ re·diyo·n ca·?rik?e ɔ·kte ne·se* '... but that radio just kept on screaming', *pa·?re ne·seba rok khəpsu* 'All she heard was that it kept on talking', *kərə kheŋ re·diyo·lle mendza?e ɔ·kte pa·?re ne·seba rok* '... but that radio, not having eaten a thing, just kept on screaming and talking'. The following example is odd in that the agent of the transitive verb and subject of the intransitive aspectivizer are coreferential: *saptu ne·se* 'He kept on writing'.

5.3.15. Miscellaneous aspectivizers

The use of aspectivizers is exceedingly common in everyday speech. In many cases it is difficult to distinguish between aspectivizer and a second predicate. In some cases the second verb may even be no more than a jingle, eg. *ya·mbək co·kme-lle na·saŋ khipsaŋ* (work do-INF-INST grow_tired-1sPS/PT jingle-1sPS/PT) 'I am totally fagged from doing the work'. The composition of two verbs either serves to add a new dimension to or reinforce the meaning of the first, eg. *naks-ε ke?r-ε* (go_crazy-PT arrive-PT) 'He's gone stir crazy', *kha·s-aŋ tims-aŋ lo·!* (be_sated-1sPS/PT fill_up-1sPS/PT ASS) 'I sure am full!', or to relate a complex action, eg. *a-ndzum-ille siŋ-in pəks-u te·?r-u* (my-friend-ERG wood-ABS carry_in_one's_hand-3P take_away-3P) 'My friend carried off the wood'. Occasionally such combinations become lexicalized in a specific meaning, eg. *anu ada* 'No, we're alright (polite inclusive)', where *numa?-tama?* means 'to prosper' [*< numa?* be alright + *tama?* come].

Chapter Six Mode

Mode suffixes are suffixal slot 12 fillers. The modi are the optative, conditional and irrealis. The optative suffix is always the last member of a suffixal string in which it occurs. The conditional and irrealis may be followed by the imperfective aspect suffix (see diagram, p.105). The interrogative suffix is dealt with in 6.4.

6.1. Optative (OPT)

Added to any simplex the optative suffix <-lɔ> yields an optative form, eg.

s	<i>pa·tturɔ</i>	May he speak! May he say it!
	<i>mɛba·ttunlɔ</i>	May he not speak! May he not say it!
d	<i>pa·tchurɔ</i>	May they ^d speak! May they ^d say it!
	<i>mɛba·tchunlɔ</i>	May they ^d not speak! May they ^d not say it!
p	<i>mɛba·tturɔ</i>	May they ^P speak! May they ^P say it!
	<i>mɛmba·ttunlɔ</i>	May they ^P not speak! May they ^P not say it!

The optative indicates a wish or a desired situation, eg. *khɛnɛ? keya·mbɔk nuba po·ŋlɔ! khɛnɛ? keya·mbɔk kerɛk sa·rik nuba po·ŋlɔ!* 'May your^s work turn out good! May all your^s work be very successful!', *mɛnnuba mɛbo·ŋnɛnlɔ! nuba po·ŋlɔ!* 'May it not become bad! May it turn out well!'. In a coordinated predicate, the second verb takes the optative suffix: *mɛbe·kʔaŋ mɛwa·rɔ* 'May they^P go away and stay there!'.
The optative exists in all persons and numbers, including the second person alongside the imperative, eg. (1-2), and the first person inclusive alongside the adhortative, eg. (3). Except for the defective identity operator, any indicative form, including the passive, can be made into an optative form, eg. (4).

(1) *khɛnɛ? yɛmba mɛna kɛ-bo·ŋ-lɔ!*
you^s big man 2-become-OPT
May you^s become a great man!

- (2) *kusiŋ ke-ni-tt-u-ro! kusiŋ*
 understand 2-understand-3P-OPT like_uthat
ke-nis-u-ro!
 2-see-3P-OPT
 May you^s understand it! May you^s see it as it is!
- (3) *hεkke co-k-mε-lle go ta·ndi-yaŋ*
 like_uthat do-INF-SUB then in_afew_udays-too
a-dum-lɔ ro!
 1-meet-OPT ASS
 If we^{Pi}'re going to do it that way, then may we^{Pi}
 meet again [concerning this matter] in a few
 days!.
- (4) *piʔl-le sa ca-ma? kho·-he·ʔ-mε-det-nεn-lɔ!*
 cow-GEN meat eat-INF find-be_uable-NEG-PAS-NEG-OPT
 May it not occur that beef be eaten!

In contrast to the direct command of an imperative, the optative, even when intended as an indirect command, need not be exclusively addressed to the person immediately concerned. As an indirect command, it is less harsh, and it also differs from the imperative in that its use as an indirect command must be couched in authority of some sort.

For example, the busy mater familias emerges from the house and walks across the farmyard where most of the offspring are engaged in sundry activities. She proclaims: *cwaʔl mεge-tturɔ!* 'Let them add [more boiling] water [to the *tɔnbas* of the guests]!' It is understood by everyone that it is the daughters whom the mother has in mind. Mother is going out on an errand and cannot see to it herself that her wish is carried out. Her use of the optative makes her wish everyone's responsibility, especially implicating her sons in the farmyard who must see to it that the daughters do as desired.

Two boys have just begun to speak ill of a friend of the family and their father proclaims: *mεba-tchunlɔ!* 'May they^d not speak!', and his sons desist at once in compliance with their father's wish. The father's choice of the optative is milder than the imperative would have been, but his choice of the third person shows aloofness and some disdain.

An older brother expresses to one of his younger brothers his wish that his younger sister bring him his clothes: *khunε? a-de·ʔl-in phεtturɔ!* (she my-clothes-ABS bring-3P-OPT) 'May she bring my clothes!', implying that the younger brother addressed see to it that she do so.

In general, the optative as an indirect command is presumptuous and highly unbecoming when used by someone without an authoritative position within the family hierarchy vis-à-vis the person intended, unless, as in (5), the younger siblings are engaged in a cooperative effort and the exigencies of coordinating the effort necessitate issuing commands.

- (5) *e·ʔyənba tanna·n neʔneʔ-re lo·s-u-ro!*
 other sheet-ABS older_sister-ERG lay_out-3P-OPT
 May older sister lay out the other sheet!

6.2. The conditional (CON)

The conditional expressed by the suffix <-*mɛn*> indicates hypothetical possibility. The conditional suffix is generally affixed to preterit simplicia, seldom to nonpreterit simplicia. Negative conditional forms are formed from negative simplicia.

Conditional forms dichotomize along the perfective/imperfective aspect parameter by non-affixation or affixation of the imperfective suffix *-pa*. When the conditional suffix *-mɛn* is followed by the imperfective suffix *-pa*, the final nasal of the conditional suffix regressively assimilates for place of articulation and the initial of the imperfective suffix progressively assimilates for voice, giving *-mɛmba*.

The perfective conditional occurs in a strictly conditional sense, eg. *mɛtt-aŋ-mɛn* (tell-1sPS/PT-CON) 'He would have told me', *kɛ-dzo·g-u-mɛn* (2-do-3P-CON) 'You* would have done it', *hipt-u-ŋ-mɛn* (hit-3P-1sA-CON) 'I would have hit him', *kɛ-hipt-u-mɛn* (2-hit-3P-CON) 'You* would have hit him'. It expresses the possibility of an event taking place at a single point in time within the situational framework specified by a subordinate clause in *-ille* or by the larger context of the discourse. The hypothetical condition supposed by the subordinate clause is specified in the perfective preterit.

- (6) *way-ɛ-ille go· kɛ-dzo-mɛn-ni·ʔ*
 be-PT-SUB then 2-eat/3P-CON-Q
 Would you* eat it if it were available?

- (7) *a-se·-mɛn-ni·ya.*
 1-die/PT-CON-probably.
 WePⁱ probably would have died.

- (8) *khεnε? kε-se·k la·kt-ε-11e go· tok*
 you^s your^s-hunger be_in_effect-PT-SUB then *bhāt*
kε-dzɔ-mεn.
 2-eat/3P-CON
 If you^s were hungry, you^s would eat *bhāt*.
- (9) - *mut-kε-dhe·-11e kε-se·-mεn.*
 fall-2-fall/PT-SUB 2-die/PT-CON
 - *me·nduk. mutthy-aη-ille go·*
 no fall-1sPS/PT-SUB then
sy-aη-mεm-ba.
 die-1sPS/PT-CON- IPF
 - You^s would die if you^s fell [here].
 - No, I wouldn't. I might die if I fell [here].
- (10) *pe·g-aη-ille go· nis-u-η-mεn.*
 go-1sPS/PT-SUB then see-3P-1sA-CON
 I would see it if I were to go.
- (11) *mε-lε·s-u-11e go· mε-dzo·g-u-mεn.*
 nsAS-know-3P-SUB then nsAS-do-3P-CON
 They would do it if they knew how.
- (12) *mε-gɔtt-u-11e go· mε-bi·r-aη-mεn-ni·?*
 nsAS-have-3P-SUB then nsAS-give-1sPS-CON-Q
 Would they have given it to me if they had had it?
- (13) - *sendik kɔ?o· kε-sɔkma hik lɔ?-i·?*
 at_night here your^s-breath stifle get-Q
 - *kɔ?o· mε-?im-?ε-n.*
 here NEG-sleep-1sPS/NPT-NEG
 - *kε-hikt-ε-mεn.*
 2-stifle-PT-CON
 - Do you^s have difficulty breathing here at night?
 - I don't sleep here.
 - You^s would have difficulty breathing here [if you^s did].
- (14) *anga gupha po·khri pe·g-aη-ille go*
 I *Guphā Pokharī* go-1sPS/PT-SUB then
pho·ktanluη nis-u-η-mεn-ni·?
 Kangchenjunga see-3P-1sA-CON-Q
 Would I [be able to] see Kangchenjunga if I were to go to *Guphā Pokharī*?

- (15) *ke-gott-u-wan ke-in-u-lle po·ks-ε-mεn.*
 2-have-3P-and 2-buy-3P-SUB be-PT-CON
 If you^s had [the money] and were to buy, it would
 be.

The imperfective conditional denotes general potentiality not restricted to a single point in time. It may or may not be used conditionally.

- (16) *way-ε-lle go· ke-dhuη-u-mεm-ba-i·?*
 be-PT-SUB then 2-drink-3P-CON-IPF-Q
 Might you^s drink it if it were available?
- (17) *ke-le·s-u-lle go· ke-dzo·g-u-mεm-ba.*
 2-know-3P-SUB then 2-do-3P-CON-IPF
 You^s might do it if you^s knew how.
- (18) *yan ke-gott-u-lle ke-in-u-mεm-ba.*
 money 2-have-3P-SUB 2-buy-3P-CON-IPF
 You^s might buy it if you^s had the money.
- (19) *a-ndzum-in me-ghutt-ε-n-ille go· anchige*
 my-friend-ABS NEG-steal-PT-NEG-SUB then we^{de}
so·rik way-ε-tchi-ge-mεm-ba kərə
 together be-PT-dPS-e-CON-IPF but
a-ndzum-ille yəllik sama·n-ha?
 my-friend-ERG much belonging-p
khu·tt-aη pi·r-aη. aηga tər-u-η.
 rob-1sPS/PT give-1sPS/PT I curse-3P-1sA
həkyan əkkhelle go· send-ε-tchi-ge.
 so, presently then split_up-PT-dPS-e
enda·ndik ko· tum-si-ge-saη
 nowadays then meet-dPS-e-even
o·mo?matche·-rək ca·-si-ge kərə
 exchanging_glances perform-dPS-e but
mε-ba·t-chi-ge-n.
 NEG-speak-dPS-e-NEG.

If my friend had not stolen we^{de} might still be together, but my friend robbed me of many belongings. I cursed him. So, presently then we^{de} have split up. Nowadays when we^{de} meet, we^{de} only exchange glances but we^{de} don't speak [to each other].

The general, open-ended possibility expressed by the imperfective conditional contrasts with the definite probability

expressed by the perfective conditional, as illustrated in the following pairs of examples.

- (20) *a-se·-mɛn!*
1-die/PT-CON
WePⁱ would have died!
- (21) *a-se·-mɛm-ba.*
1-die/PT-CON-IPF
WePⁱ might have died.
- (22) *kɛ-gɛŋ-ɛ-lle* *gɔ· kɛ-se·-mɛn.*
2-stumble_and_fall-PT-SUB then 2-die/PT-CON
If you^s were to stumble and fall [on this part of
the trail], you^s would die.
- (23) *kɛ-gɛŋ-ɛ-lle* *gɔ· kɛ-se·-mɛm-ba.*
2-stumble_and_fall-PT-SUB then 2-die/PT-CON-IPF
If you^s were to stumble and fall, you^s might die.
- (24) *lɛ·s-u-ŋ-ille* *gɔ· co·g-u-ŋ-mɛn.*
know-3P-1sA-SUB then do-3P-1sA-CON
I would do it if I knew how.
- (25) *lɛ·s-u-ŋ-ille* *gɔ· co·g-u-ŋ-mɛm-ba.*
know-3P-1sA-SUB then do-3P-1sA-CON-IPF
I might do it if I knew how.
- (26) *way-ɛ-lle* *gɔ· caŋ-mɛm-ba* *kərə ho·p.*
be-PT-SUB then eat/1s→3-CON-IPF but not_be
I might eat it if it were available, but it isn't.
- (27) *way-ɛ-lle* *gɔ· aŋga caŋ-mɛn.*
be-PT-SUB then I eat/1s→3-CON
I would eat it if it were available.

Although the conditional morpheme <-mɛn-> normally occurs as a suffix, I have recorded one instance of the conditional morpheme occurring as a prefix:

- (28) *aŋga khɛps-u-ŋ-ille* *gɔ· 'khɛnɛ?*
I hear-3P-1sA-SUB then you^s
kɛ-sa·p-ma? *məna-?ɛ-i·?*
your^s-ridicule-INF person-am-Q
mɛn-mɛtt-u-ŋ.
CON-say-3P-1sA.

If I had heard it (i.e. if she had talked to me that way), I would have said, 'Am I someone whom you^s may ridicule?'

Conditional meaning is sometimes expressed by the preterit imperfective without the conditional suffix, eg.

- (29) *khɛŋ him-ʔin thub-ɛ. ani khɛʔyo. khɛŋ*
 that house-ABS cave_in-PT we^{Pi} down_there that
him-ʔo. a-way-ɛ-ille a-se--ba-i.ʔ
 house-LOC 1-be-PT-SUB 1-die/PT-IPF-Q
 That house caved in. Would we^{Pi} have died if we
 had been down there in that house?

Such conditional use of the preterit imperfective is well attested in sentences with an irrealis in the subordinate (6.3).

The following three sentences illustrate the difference between the conditional sense of a non-conditional verb form and that of the conditional forms.

- (30) *kɔŋ langhe-ʔg-mʔ kusa-kɛ-bhɛm-ba*
 this walk-INF be_arduous-AP-be_arduous-AP
a-gɛŋ-ille gɔ. a-si.
 1-stumble_and_fall-SUB then, 1-die
 If we^{Pi} stumble and fall whilst arduously walking
 this path, we^{Pi} shall die.

- (31) *kɔŋ langhe-ʔg-mʔ kusa-kɛ-bhɛm-ba*
 this walk-INF be_arduous-AP-be_arduous-AP
a-gɛŋ-ille gɔ. a-se-mɛn.
 1-stumble_and_fall-SUB then, 1-die/PT-CON
 If we^{Pi} stumble and fall whilst arduously walking
 this path, we^{Pi} would die.

- (32) *kɔŋ langhe-ʔg-mʔ kusa-kɛ-bhɛm-ba*
 this walk-INF be_arduous-AP-be_arduous-AP
a-gɛŋ-ille gɔ. a-se-mɛm-ba.
 1-stumble_and_fall-SUB then, 1-die/PT-CON-IPF
 If we^{Pi} stumble and fall whilst arduously walking
 this path, we^{Pi} might die.

Hypothetical time is usually preterit. A conditional form based on a nonpreterit simplex indicates a hypothetical possibility in the real future. Compare:

- (33) *pe·g-an-mem-ba.*
 go-1sPS/PT-CON-IPF
 I might have gone.
- (34) *he·ʔr-u-ŋ-ille go· pe·k-ʔε-mem-ba,*
 be_able-3P-1sA-SUB then go-1sPS/NPT-CON-IPF
mε-he·ʔ-ʔε-n.
 NEG-be_able-1sPS/NPT-NEG
 I might have gone [now] if I were able, but I
 can't.

6.3. The irrealis (IRR) and the neverthelessive

The irrealis denotes an unreal or unrealizable action. It supposes something which is not the case. The irrealis is indicated by suffixation of the morpheme <-*gɔ·ni*>. The morpheme may be derivationally analysed as incorporating both the adversative adverbs *gɔ·* 'then' and *ni* (also *niʔ*) 'contrary to expectation, of all things'. The irrealis suffix is attached exclusively to preterit simplicia, and the intonation invariably rises on /*ni*/. Negative irrealis forms are formed from negative preterit simplicia. When co-occurring with the imperfective suffix *-pa*, the irrealis suffix immediately precedes the aspect suffix in the suffixal string.

The imperfective irrealis occurs as an independent statement to lament the irreality of something. Imperfective irrealia most often tend to have a derisive flavour.

- (35) *kε-lε·s-u-gɔ·ni-ba.*
 2-know-3P-IRR-IPF
 If only you^s knew how.
- (36) *kε-gɔt-ch-u-gɔ·ni-ba!*
 2-have-dA-3P-IRR-IPF
 If only you^d had some!
- (37) *kε-be·g-ε-gɔ·ni-ba!*
 2-go-PT-IRR-IPF
 If only you^s had gone!
- (38) *yan kott-u-gɔ·ni-ba!*
 money have-3P-IRR-IPF
 If only he had the money!

The perfective irrealis is restricted to suppositional subordinate clauses. The contingent event in the main clause is in the preterit imperfective.

- (39) *kε-be·g-ε-gɔ·ni, kε-nis-u-ba.*
 2-go-PT-IRR 2-see-3P-IPF
 If only you^s had gone, you^s would have seen it.
- (40) *kε-gɔtt-u-gɔ·ni, kε-dzo·g-u-ba.*
 2-have-3P-IRR 2-do-3P-IPF
 If only you^s had had it, you^s would have [been able] to do it.
- (41) *kε-dzo·g-u-gɔ·ni, kε-lε·s-u-ba.*
 2-do-3P-IRR 2-know-3P-IPF
 You^s're only going to know how if you^s do it./If only you^s were to do it, you^s would know how.
- (42) *yaŋ kɔtt-u-ŋ-gɔ·ni iŋ-u-ŋ-ba.*
 money have-3P-1sA-IRR buy-3P-1sA-IPF
 If only I had the money, I would buy it.
- (43) *kε-gɔtt-u-gɔ·ni kε-dzɔ-ba.*
 2-have-3P-IRR 2-eat/3P-IPF
 If only you^s had something [to eat], you^s would [be able to] eat.

It seems appropriate to introduce the verbal form which I call the nevertheless here in conjunction with the irrealis. The nevertheless consists of a concatenation of the postpositive adverb *-aŋ* 'too', the adverb *ni* (also *ni?*) 'contrary to expectation' and the suffix of the imperfective. This chain of suffixes attached to a simplex indicates that the event will (or will not) or did (or did not) take place 'nonetheless, at any rate, anyway'.

- (44) *co·g-u-lle gɔ· lε·s-u-ba ya kərə*
 do-3P-SUB then know-3P-IPF EMPH but
mε-dzo·g-u-n-naŋ-ni-ba.
 nsAS-do-3P-NEG-too-CTR-IPF
 If he were to have to do it, he would know how, but he's just not going to do it anyway.

- (45) *pa·tt-u-ŋ-ille gɔ· lɛ·s-u-ŋ ŋa,*
 speak-3P-1sA-SUB then know-3P-1sA EMPH
mɛ-ba·ʔl-ɛ-n-naŋ-ni-ba.
 NEG-speak-1s→3-NEG-too-CTR-IPF
 I would know what to say if I had to, but I'm not
 going to say it anyway.
- (46) *aŋga kuŋŋ-mɛ-n-ni·ʔl-ɛ-n-naŋ-ni-ba.*
 I recognize-nsAS-NEG-recognize-1sPS-NEG-too-
 CTR-IPF
 They won't recognize me anyway [because we've
 never met].

6.4. The yes/no interrogative (Q)

The suffix *-i·* can be affixed to any utterance to create a yes/no-question. It morphophonologically assimilates to the preceding segment in a unique way: following any vowel except /i/, there is no glottal hiatus. The resultant diphthongization primarily affects the preceding vowel¹ which, when long, is reduced in length: *a· + -i· → ai·*, *o· + -i· → oi·*, *e· + -i· → ei·*, eg.

- (47) - *a·tto· kɛbe·kpa?* - Where are you^s going?
 - *ahimmo·.* - Home. (lit. to my
 house)
 - *kɛhimʔoi·?* - Home? (lit. to your^s
 house)
 - *ã.* - Yes.

The vowel /u/ is in fact usually reduced to the glide /w/ and the vowel /ɛ/ to a near glide: *u + -i· → [wi·]*, *ɛ + -i· → [ɛ̃i·]*, eg.

- (48) *kɛ-nis-w-i·?*
 2-see-3P-Q
 Can you^s see?

¹ I suspect that the interrogative endings *-pi/-bi* in other Limbu dialects (Konow LSI 1909, Sprigg 1966) are confluations of the imperfective and interrogative suffixes which in *Phedāppe* remain distinct, *-pai·/-bai·*.

- (49) *kerək maŋdɔk-ʔin ke-ma·nd-w-i·?*
all millet_rolls-ABS 2-finish-3P-Q
Will you^s finish all the millet rolls?
- (50) *kɔŋ mikphuʔla-·n naks-ε-i·? hɛn na?*
this white_eye-ABS go_crazy-PT-Q? what EMPH?
Has this whiteman gone crazy or what?
- (51) *sɔŋwɛtnu-·n to·kt-ε-i· mɛ-do·kt-ε-n-ni·?*
buffalo_milk-ABS be_sold-PT-Q NEG-be_sold-PT-NEG-Q
Is the buffalo milk sold out or isn't it?

After final /k/, /p/, /t/, /ʔ/ and the like vowel /i/, the form of the interrogative suffix is <-ʔi·>: /-iʔi·/, /-kʔi·/, /-pʔi·/, /-tʔi·/ [ʔli·], /-ʔʔi·/ [-ʔi·], eg.

- (52) *ke-huʔ-nɛ-tchi-ʔi·?*
2-teach-REF-dPS-Q
Are you two guys learning?
- (53) *haʔ-i· mɛ-haʔ-nɛn-ni·?*
catch_fire-Q NEG-catch_fire-NEG-Q
Will it catch fire or won't it?
- (54) - *pi·rɛʔ!*
- *kerək-ʔi·?*
- *kerək pi·rɛʔ!*
- Give it to him!
- All of it?
- Give him everything!
- (55) - *khɛnɛʔ ciʔ-i·?*
- *aŋga ciʔaʔ.*
- Shall I give you^s a little bit?
- Just a little bit for me.

Nasals are doubled before the interrogative suffix.²

- (56) *ke-gho·s-u-m-mi·?*
2-find-3P-pA-Q
Did you^P find it?

² See footnote 13 on p.15.

- (57) *kε-n-nu·n-nεn-ni·?*
2-NEG-feel_ashamed-NEG-Q
Aren't you^s ashamed?
- (58) *kε-m-ba·t-nεn-ni·?* (to a parrot)
2-NEG-speak-NEG-Q
Aren't you^s going to talk?
- (59) *kε-n-nu-nεn-ni·?*
2-NEG-be_alright-NEG-Q
Aren't you^s feeling well?
- (60) *kε-sira dhaη-ηi·?*
your^s-pleasure come_up-Q
Do you^s like it?

The interrogative particle is generally utterance-final, but there is one degree of freedom in its position in the suffixal string of a verb. In an imperfective verb form, it may occur either immediately before or immediately after the aspect suffix. The resultant semantic distinction is that an interrogative suffix in penultimate position in the suffixal string falls within the scope of the aspect suffix.

A three-way opposition in both nonpreterit and preterit interrogative is illustrated by the following 3s→1s forms of *mεpma?* 'to tell someone, do unto'.

- a) *mε?lεi·?*
Will he tell me?
- b) *mε?lεi·ba?*
Do you think he'll tell me?/Will he tell me or won't he?
- c) *mε?lεbai·?*
Will he tell me?/Is he going to tell me?
- a) *mεttαηi·?*
Did he tell me?
- b) *mεttαηi·ba?*
Did he tell me or didn't he?/Is it so that he has told me already?
- c) *mεttαηbai·?*
What, did he just insult me? (Others heard and understood the insult but the purport of the insult has eluded the speaker.)

In the nonpreterit, an interrogative suffix in penultimate position yields a hypothetical or suppositional question, whereas verb-final <-i> converts the verb into a straightforward yes/no interrogative, cf. (61-70). In the hypothetical question, the interrogative morpheme gets both the main prosodic stress and a rising intonation. Often, especially in the preterit, the hypothetical question order is a request for new objective information or an objective evaluation, whereas the straightforward question order is either rhetorical or a request for a subjective evaluation, cf. (71-79).

- (61) *kε-yaŋs-w-i·* *kε-n-yaŋs-u-n-ni·?*
 2-get_a_hold_of-3P-Q 2-NEG-get_a_hold_of-3P-NEG-Q
 Did you^s manage to get hold of one or didn't you^s?
- (62) *kε-yaŋs-u-i·-ba?*
 2-get_a_hold_of-3P-Q-IPF
 Do you^s think you'll be able to secure one, do
 you^s think you'll^s manage to get hold of it?
- (63) *ma·kidɔk* *kε-dzɔ-i·-ba?*
 maize-*bhāt* 2-eat/3P-Q-IPF
 Would you^s eat maize-*bhāt*?
- (64) *ma·ki-dɔk* *kε-dzɔ-ba-i·?*
 maize-*bhāt* 2-eat/3P-IPF-Q
 Are you^s eating maize-*bhāt*?/Have you^s eaten maize-
bhāt?
- (65) *mε-be·k-ʔi·-ba?*
 nsAS-go-Q-IPF
 Are they going or aren't they?/Do you think
 they'll go?
- (66) *mε-be·k-pa-i·?*
 nsAS-go-IPF-Q
 Are they going?
- (67) *na·kt-u-ŋ-si-l-le* *mε-bi·-ʔε-i·-ba?*
 ask_for-3P-1sA-nsP-1sA-SUB nsAS-give-1sPS-Q-IPF
 Will they give it to me if I ask them for it?
- (68) *na·k-maʔ-si-lle* *a-m-bi·-ʔi·-ba?*
 ask_for-INF-nsP-SUB 1-nsAS-give-Q-IPF
 Will they give it to us^{Pi} if we ask them for it?

- (69) *na·k-ma?-si-lle ke-m-bi·-?i·-ba?*
 ask_for-INF-nsP-SUB 2-nsAS-give-Q-IPF
 Will they give it to you^s if you^s ask them for it?
- (70) *ku·-m? ya·n-ch-u-i·-ba? ku·-m?*
 carry-INF be_capable-dA-3P-Q-IPF carry-INF
mε-ya·nd-u-i·-ba?
 nsAS-be_capable-3P-Q-IPF
 Would they^d be capable of carrying it? Would they^p
 be capable of carrying it?
- (71) *nuba mε-dɔy-u-i·-ba?*
 good nsAS-sew-3P-Q-IPF
 Did they sew it well?
- (72) *nuba mε-dɔy-u-ba-i·?*
 good nsAS-sew-3P-NOM-Q
 Is this what you call well sewn?
- (73) *nu-ba-i·?*
 be_alright-NOM-Q
 Is this [what you consider] good?
- (74) *nu-i·-ba?*
 be_alright-Q-IPF
 Is this good?
- (75) *te·?r-u-η lo·! nu-i·-ba?*
 take_away-3P-1sA ASS be_alright-Q-IPF
 I'm taking [this shovel]! Will it be/is it all
 right? (i.e. Is it alright if I take this
 shovel?)
- (76) *ke-m-bi·r-ε-i·-ba?*
 2-nsAS-give-PT-Q-IPF
 Did they give it to you^s?
- (77) *ke-gho·s-u-i·-ba?*
 2-find-3P-Q-IPF
 Did you^s find him?
- (78) *mi nε-i·-ba?*
 fire be_situated-Q-IPF
 Is there fire there or isn't there?

- (79) *ke-ba·ηphe·-?o· mikho·? ho·p-pa wa-i·-ba?*
 your^s-village-LOC smoke not_{be}-IPF be-Q-IPF
 Don't they have smoke where you^s come from (lit.
 in your^s village)?³

Since the normal position of the interrogative suffix is utterance-final, it follows the adverb *-aη* 'too' when the adverb is suffixed to a verb:

- (80) *anchen ke-m-ba·tt-u-n-naη-i·?*
 yesterday 2-NEG-tell-3P-NEG-too-Q
 Didn't you^s tell him [to do it] yesterday either?
- (81) *anchen ke-n-dzo·g-u-n-naη-i·?*
 yesterday 2-NEG-do-3P-NEG-too-Q
 Didn't you^s do it yesterday either?
- (82) *anchen-sinya·n me-dzo·g-u-n-naη-i·?*
 the_{other}_{day} NEG-do-3P-NEG-too-Q
 Didn't he do it the other day either?

The interrogative suffix may be omitted in questions of intention like (83) in which the speaker asks his father whether he is to let the chickens out of their adobe coop. The speaker is not asking whether he will do so, i.e. not 'Will I let the chickens out of their coop', but inquiring whether it is his father's intention that he do so.

- (83) *wa?-ha? le?r-u-η-si-η?*
 chicken-p release-3P-1sA-nsP-1sA
 Shall I let the chickens out of their coop?

³ said to someone whose eyes are irritated by the smoke; Limbu households traditionally lack chimneys for their *sumha?luη*.

Chapter Seven

Gerunds and Periphrastic Tenses

7.1. The gerunds

There are three types of gerunds which may occur both adverbially and together with auxiliaries to form periphrastic tenses. These are the present gerund (prG), the perfect gerund (pfG) and the separate negative perfect gerund (npG). Moreover, present gerunds are used to form periphrastic causatives (10.2).

The present gerund of a verb is formed by suffixation of the morpheme <-lɔ> to its simplex. The present gerund indicates action at or during a point of orientation or focus. When a present gerund is used adverbially, the event or activity it indicates occurs simultaneously to the event of the main verb, eg. (1-7). The present gerund as adverb agrees with the main verb in tense. A preterit present gerund agrees with a preterit main verb and does not by virtue of its tense signify action preceding that of the main verb, eg. (4-7).

The perfect gerund is formed by suffixation of the morpheme <-aŋ> to a simplex. Adverbial use of the perfect gerund is illustrated in examples (3-4). Adverbially and in the perfect tenses, the perfect gerund signifies action before a point of orientation or focus. The meaning and origin of the perfect gerund is intimately bound up with the coordinative suffix <-aŋ> to which a separate section (7.5.1) is devoted. The perfect gerund and coordinative suffix <-aŋ> are separated from a preceding /a/ or consonant by a hiatic glottal stop, eg. (84), (89) from a preceding back vowel by /w/, eg. (1), (88), and from a preceding front vowel by either hiatic glottal stop or /y/, eg. (4), (50), (106), (109). The hiatic glottal stop may assimilate to a preceding nasal, eg. (82).

Negative present gerunds are taken from negative simplicitia. Negative perfect gerunds in temporally defocused forms are likewise taken from negative simplicitia, but adverbially and in the perfect tenses there is a separate negative perfect gerund, which is discussed under 7.5.2.

- (1) *khikwa ca·-rɔ yu-waŋ pɔʔl.*
 whistle whistle-prG come_down-pfG be
 He's coming down the hill whistling.

- (2) *samlo·-rɔ phɛn-an pɔʔl* He's on his way here,
asinging.
samlo·-rɔ phɛn-lɔ pɔʔl He's on his way here,
asinging.
samlo·-rɔ tha·ŋ-an pɔʔl He's on his way up,
asinging.
- (3) *khɛnɛʔ kɛ-im-lɔ anɡa ta-ʔɛ-ŋ*
you^s 2-sleep-prG I come-1sPS/NPT-and
pho·ŋ-nɛ.
wake_up-1→2
While you^s are sleeping I shall come and wake you^s
up.
- (4) *te·rathum-me· paŋmi-ʔin-nan te· rɔcə*
Tehrathum-adj son_in_law-ABS-too come/PT DEPR
mɛ-lɔʔr-ɛ-yan kye·la·ŋ-maʔ
nsAS-say-PT-and perform_the_cyābruñ_nāc-INF
mɛ-baŋs-an. hɛkyaŋ cidziʔ
nsAS-send-1sPS/PT so little_bit
cidziʔ tub-u-ŋ-rɔ
little_bit pick_up-3P-1sA-prG
te·ʔr-u-ŋ.
take_away-3P-1sA
Having said that the Tehrathum son-in-law appeared
to have come also, they sent me to do the
cyābruñ-nāc [with him]. And then, getting the
gist of it a little bit, I got away with it.¹
- (5) *se·l le·ks-u-rɔ pɔtch-ɛ-rɔ*
riceflour_flatbread deep_fry-3P-prG be-PT-prG
phɛʔlaʔr-ɛ. Tumla-re ti·s rupaiyã²
get_angry-PT Tumlā-GEN thirty rupees
ku-yaŋ-in hara pi·r-amm-ɛʔ!
her-money-ABS quickly give-2p-IMP
As she was deep-frying riceflour-flatbread, she
got angry. Give *Tumlā* back her 30 Rs.
quickly!

¹ The speaker is from the valley beyond the far north ridge where the *cyābruñ-nāc* is performed differently than in Tehrathum district.

² *ti·s rupaiyã* = Nep. *tīs rupaiyā* 'thirty rupees'

- (6) *kusaphε?r-ε-rɔ ya·mbɔk-ha? sur-u-η.*
 be_difficult-PT-prG work-p finish-3P-1sA
 I completed the tasks with great difficulty, with
 many a setback.
- (7) *kusanur-ε-rɔ ya·mbɔk-ha? su?-m?na.*
 be_easy-PT-prG work-p finish-1peAS/PT
 We^{pe} completed the tasks with great ease.

The present gerund may occur with attributive 'to be' as an attribute, eg. (9), or verbal complement, eg. (10), or idiomatically in the following expression:

- (8) *pe·k-?ε-rɔ pe·g-aη!*
 go-1sPS/NPT-prG go-1sPS/PT
 I'm off!
- (9) *a-nghɔ? kumbhre·η thekt-u-rɔ co·k.*
 my-ear half cover-3P-prG be
 It (viz. my hair) covers half my ear.
- (10) *luη-?o· phεdza-·n hasuk-lɔ yutt-u-η lo·!*
 stone-LOC knife-ABS be_sharp-prG whet-3P-1sA ASS
 I'm whetting this knife sharp against a stone!

Present gerunds combine with the auxiliaries *pɔtma?* and *ya·kma?* to yield the focused continuous, and with the auxiliary *wa·ma?* to yield the spatially defocused continuous. Perfect gerunds combine with the auxiliaries *pɔtma?* and *ya·kma?* to yield the temporally defocused continuous, and with the auxiliary *wa·ma?* to yield the periphrastic perfect tenses.

For all but the perfect tenses, it holds that periphrastic tenses have both preterit and nonpreterit forms whereby main verb and auxiliary agree in tense, eg. *ni·t-ch-u-rɔ ya·k-si* (read-dA-3P-prG be-dPS) 'they^d are reading', *ni·r-ε-tch-u-rɔ ya·g-ε-tchi* (read-PT-dA-3P-prG be-PT-dPS) 'they^d were reading'.³ Furthermore, both the simplex and the auxiliary agree with the nominal arguments. An intransitive gerund agrees with the subject, and a transitive gerund agrees with both agent and patient. The auxiliaries *pɔtma?*, *ya·kma?* and *wa·ma?* are intransitive and agree with the agent or subject. Both gerund and auxiliary are negated in

³ Forms not agreeing for tense **ni·rεtchurɔ ya·ksi*, **ni·t-churɔ ya·gεtchi* are rejected.

PERIPHRASTIC TENSE	AFFIRMATIVE FORM	NEGATIVE FORM
focused continuous	NPT/PT simplex (verbs of motion) + -lɔ + <i>pɔtma?</i> NPT/PT	negative NPT/PT simplex (verbs of motion) + -lɔ + <i>pɔtma?</i> NPT/PT
	NPT/PT simplex (other verbs) + -lɔ + <i>ya·kma?</i> NPT/PT	negative NPT/PT simplex (other verbs) + -lɔ + <i>ya·kma?</i> NPT/PT
spatially defocused continuous	NPT/PT simplex + -lɔ + <i>wa·ma?</i> NPT/PT	-
temporally defocused continuous	NPT/PT simplex (verbs of motion) + -aŋ + <i>pɔtma?</i> NPT/PT	negative NPT/PT simplex (verbs of motion) + -aŋ + <i>pɔtma?</i> NPT/PT
	NPT/PT simplex (other verbs) + -aŋ + <i>ya·kma?</i> NPT/PT	negative NPT/PT simplex (other verbs) + -aŋ + <i>ya·kma?</i> NPT/PT
perfect tenses	PT intransitive simplex + -aŋ + <i>wa·ma?</i> NPT/PT	<i>mɛn-</i> stem + -?ɛ + <i>wa·ma?</i> NPT/PT
	PT transitive simplex + -aŋ + <i>wa·ma?</i> NPT/PT (only 3s forms!)	

negative forms. The spatially defocused continuous has no negative counterpart (vide 7.3).

A synoptic overview of the periphrastic tenses appears on p.151.

7.2. The focused continuous

The two periphrastic tenses formed on the basis of the present gerund are the focused continuous and the spatially defocused continuous.

The focused continuous is made up of a present gerund in combination with the auxiliary *pɔtmaʔ* or *ya·kmaʔ*, adhesive and locational 'to be' respectively (vide 3). The meaning of the focused continuous is a product of the present gerund, denoting continuous activity, and the auxiliaries locational and adhesive 'to be' which denote simultaneity with the point of orientation in narrated time.

- (11) *sɔbya-ʔaŋ sɔbyaʔ hɛn kɛ-dzo·k-lɔ kɛ-ya·kʔ*
furtively-and furtively what 2-do-prG 2-be
What are you^s carrying out so furtively?
- (12) *piʔl-haʔ thɔk-si-rɔ ya·k-si.*
bull-p clash-dPS-prG be-dPS
The bulls have locked horns in combat./The bulls
are at loggerheads.
- (13) *taŋsaŋ-ʔo--lam yu-ʔɛ-rɔ pɔʔl-ɛ.*
heaven-LOC-from come_down-1sPS-prG be-1sPS
I am descending from the heavens.
- (14) *anga lɔʔlɔʔl yu-ʔɛ-rɔ pɔʔl-ɛ*
I just_now come_down-1sPS/NPT-prG be-1sPS/NPT
hɛnaŋbɛlle su·s-aŋ.
because be_late-1sPS/PT
I am just coming down now because I was delayed.⁴
- (15) *khunɛʔ waʔ-sa khɔkt-u-rɔ ya·k.*
he chicken-meat cut-3P-prG be
He's cutting up the chicken meat.

⁴ The speaker says this as he enters the farmyard, having just arrived.

- (16) *khunε? khɔre·ŋ le·ks-u-rɔ ya·k.*
 he bread knead-3P-prG be
 He's kneading dough./He's making bread.

Atelic verbs may take continuous forms, although the continuous of an atelic verb is semantically marked. For example, in (17) the atelic verb *sɔkma so·mma?* 'to breathe' is semantically so imperfective that its continuous form is highly marked. It is far more usual to say simply *sɔkma so·ndu* 'he's breathing'. The continuous form in (17) is used because the agent is nearly dead but still breathing.⁵

- (17) *sɔkma so·nduro ya·k.*
 breath breathe-3P-prG be
 It's [still] breathing.

Some atelic verbs can be made continuous but necessitate another verb in the English translation where the corresponding English stative verb cannot be made into a progressive, eg. *nima?* 'see': *nisuro ya·ksi* 'they^d are watching it', *meni?enlɔ meya·k?en* 'I am not watching it', *menisuro meya·ge* 'they were looking at it', *nisunlɔ pɔ?le* 'I see it, I am looking at it', *meni?enlɔ mebo?len* 'I am not watching it'.

The focused continuous in subordinate clauses creates a temporal backdrop, relating an event in progress when the event designated by the main clause verb takes place, eg. (18-22).

- (18) *hekke·lɔ?rik me·nu·ks-ε-rɔ me·boʔch-ε-lle*
 in_{that} fashion nsAS-return-PT-prG nsAS-be-PT-SUB
ca·rik-?e· khadam-ε. mak lɔ?r-ε.
 very-EMPH get_{dark}-PT black appear-PT
 As they were on their way back, it got very dark.
 It turned black.

- (19) *tɔk?-in lakt-u-rɔ pɔʔch-ε-lle lɔkthik luŋ-dhik*
 rice-ABS boil-3P-prG be-PT-SUB one stone-one
attitti yaŋ he·kt-ε.
 intensely tremble begin-PT
 As the rice was boiling, one of the rocks began to tremble.

⁵ In this case, the speaker was talking about a dying animal. Informants claimed that it would be too insensitive ever to talk about humans in this way. About a

- (20) *na·tt-ε-tch-u-rɔ* *pɔtch-ε-tchi-lle khɛŋ*
 drive_away-PT-dA-3P-prG be-PT-dPS-SUB that
hendza?-in ku-him-ʔo· *kɛʔr-ε-yaŋ*
 boy-ABS his-house-LOC arrive-PT-and
ku-mba *hɛn mɛtt-u* *phɛlle*
 his-father what say_to-3P *bhanera*
'a-mbo· *a-mbo·,* *ɛn* *anige sumsi*
 my-father/VOC my-father/VOC today we^{pe} three
məna anga a-ndzum-dhik-nu
 man I my-friend-one-COM
tilinga-dhik-nu lo·k-ŋna-ba *anga*
 policeman-one-COM race-1pePS/PT-IPF I
nand-u-ŋ-si-ŋ!
 win-3P-1sA-nsP-1sA

As they^d were chasing after him, the boy arrived at his home and said to his father, 'Father! Father! Today three of us^{pe} had a race, I, a friend of mine and a policeman, and I beat them!'

- (21) *hɛkke·* *pa·tt-u-rɔ* *ya·g-ε-lle khɛŋ e·ʔyaŋba*
 like_that speak-3P-prG be-PT-SUB that other
nɛpphu məna-haʔ-aŋ kɛʔr-ε-tchi-lle *gɔ·*
 two man-p-too arrive-PT-dPS-SUB then
khɛŋ hendza?-in khɛt-chiŋ khɛʔr-ε.
 that boy-ABS chase-REF RES-PT

As he was speaking that way, by the time those other two men also arrived, that boy had already made off.

- (22) *hɛkke·lɔʔrik* *him-lɛpsaŋ* *tɛ·-si-rɔ*
 in_that_fashion home-toward come/PT-dPS-prG
pɔtch-ε-tchi-lle ca·rik-ʔe· wabak-le
 be-PT-dPS-SUB very-EMPH pond-GEN
ku-be·sɛʔ-ʔo· *kɛŋ-ε* *nɛ·s-ε-tchi.*
 its-edge-LOC fall_down-PT stay-PT-dPS

As they^d were coming home, they fell down [exhausted] by the side of a watering hole.

The focused continuous in a narrative likewise creates the temporal backdrop for events to be described.

human, however, one may say: *sa·rik sɔkma so·nduro ya·gɛ*
 'he was breathing heavily'.

- (23) *lokthik mēna ku-de-ʔl-ku-bhuŋ huk-ʔo·*
 one man his-clothes-his-clothing hand-LOC
wa·p-mna-ba kerək phend-u-waŋ
 wear-PP-NOM everything take_off-3P-and
warum-siŋ-lɔ ya·g-ε.
 bathe-REF-prG be-PT
 One man, having taken off all his clothing and his
 watch, was bathing.

The choice between the two auxiliaries *pətmaʔ* and *ya·kmaʔ* is to a large extent lexical. Verbs of determinate locomotion invariably take the auxiliary *pətmaʔ*, eg. *pe·kɫɔ pɔʔl* 'he is going', *yu-ʔε-rɔ pɔʔl-ε* 'I am coming down', *phen-lɔ pɔʔl* 'he is coming', *mε-dhaŋ-lɔ mε-bɔʔl* 'they are coming up', *mε-ye·-rɔ mε-bətch-ε* 'they were coming down', *yy-aŋ-lɔ pətch-aŋ* 'I was coming down', *langhe·k-ʔε-rɔ pɔʔl-ε* 'I am walking'. Present gerunds of such verbs with *ya·kmaʔ* are rejected.

Verbs of motion not indicating determinate locomotion do not take *pətmaʔ* as their auxiliary. The verbs *wa·mmaʔ* (vt.) 'rock' and *wa·nchiŋmaʔ* (vr.) 'sway, rock to and fro' are verbs of motion, but not of locomotion, and take *ya·kmaʔ* as their auxiliary: *wa·ndurɔ ya·k* 'he is fanning it away, he is rocking it', *wa·nchiŋʔεrɔ ya·kʔε* 'I'm swaying to and fro', *wa·nnetchirɔ ya·ksi* 'they^d are swaying to and fro'. Similarly, *mummaʔ* 'to go, to run' (Nep. *calnu*): *munde* 'it ran', *munderɔ ya·gε* 'it was running, it was working', *munlɔ ya·k* 'it's running'. The verb *lo·kmaʔ* 'to run' is a verb of indeterminate locomotion and so takes the auxiliary *ya·kmaʔ*, perhaps also because exertion is a prominent component in the meaning of *lo·kmaʔ* more so than in other verbs of motion: *mε-lo·k-lɔ mε-ya·k* 'They^p are running', *lo·k-si-rɔ ya·k-si* 'They^d are running'. *Takɔmmaʔ* is also a verb of indeterminate locomotion and exclusively⁶ takes *ya·kmaʔ*: *takɔnʔεrɔ ya·kʔε* 'I am wandering about' (vi.), *takɔnduŋlɔ ya·kʔε* 'I am wandering about' (vt.).

Verbs denoting activity other than determinate locomotion usually take the auxiliary *ya·kmaʔ*,⁷ eg. *po·ŋwa·sigεrɔ*

⁶ Combinations like **takɔnʔεrɔ pɔʔlε* are rejected.

⁷ <i>caŋlɔ ya·kʔε</i>	I am eating
<i>adzasurɔ aya·ksi</i>	We ^{di} are eating
<i>casugεrɔ ya·ksige</i>	We ^{de} are eating
<i>adzamlɔ aya·k</i>	We ^{pi} are eating
<i>camberɔ ya·gige</i>	We ^{pe} are eating
<i>kεdzɔrɔ keya·k</i>	You ^s are eating

ya·ksige 'we^{de} are playing', *co·g-u-η-lɔ ya·k-ʔε* 'I am doing it', *khikwa ce·rɔ ya·g-ε* 'He was whistling', *saptuη-lɔ ya·kʔε* 'I am writing', *ɔ·memɔtturɔ meya·ge* 'they were watching', *tho·ηsurɔ ya·ksi* 'they^d are ploughing', *ɔ·guηlɔ ya·gaη* 'I was digging', *khεpsurɔ ya·k* 'he's listening'. In fact, most verbs do not allow the use of *pɔtmaʔ*. In all the following three examples, *pɔtmaʔ* would be inappropriate: *piη ca·ʔεrɔ ya·kʔε* 'I am playing on the ferris wheel', *tɔk caηlɔ ya·kʔε* 'I am eating rice', *i·tchiηʔεrɔ ya·kʔε* 'I am thinking'.

However certain verbs, such as those denoting speech action, take either auxiliary, eg. *pa·tt-u-η-lɔ pɔʔl-ε* 'I am speaking', *pa·tt-u-η-lɔ ya·k-ʔε* 'I am speaking'. In such cases, the two forms are neither semantically nor stylistically equivalent. Their semantic difference seems to underlie the choice of auxiliary even in those cases where it is lexically determined. This is illustrated by the semantic distinction in the verbs which allow either auxiliary. *Co·guηlɔ ya·kʔε* (*gardai chu*) 'I am doing it' is the unmarked form signaling that the speaker is engaged in the act at the moment of utterance; the combination with adhesive 'to be', *co·guηlɔ pɔʔle* (*gari raheko chu*) 'I am doing it', places emphasis on sustained activity, activity without pause. While both *saptuηlɔ pɔʔle* (*lekhi raheko chu*) and *saptuηlɔ ya·kʔε* (*lekhdai chu*) mean 'I am writing', the former emphasizes sustained motion of the speaker's hands.

<i>kedzasurɔ keya·ksi</i>	You ^d are eating
<i>kedzamlɔ keya·gi</i>	You ^P are eating
<i>cɔrɔ ya·k</i>	He/she is eating
<i>casurɔ ya·ksi</i>	They ^d are eating
<i>medzɔrɔ meya·k</i>	They ^P are eating
<i>caηlɔ ya·gaη</i>	I was eating
<i>adze·surɔ aya·getchi</i>	We ^{di} were eating
<i>ce·sugεrɔ ya·getchige</i>	We ^{de} were eating
<i>adzamlɔ aya·ge</i>	We ^{Pi} were eating
<i>camʔnarɔ ya·kηʔna</i>	We ^{Pe} were eating
<i>kedzɔrɔ keya·ge</i>	You ^s were eating
<i>kedze·surɔ keya·getchi</i>	You ^d were eating
<i>kedzamlɔ keya·gi</i>	You ^P were eating
<i>cɔrɔ ya·ge</i>	He/she was eating
<i>ce·surɔ ya·getchi</i>	They ^d were eating
<i>medzɔrɔ meya·ge</i>	They ^P were eating

wiʔl thamaʔ 'to rain' takes either auxiliary. The combination with *ya·kmaʔ* is unmarked, *wiʔl tharo ya·k* 'it is raining', *wiʔl the·ro ya·ge* 'it was raining', whereas the collocation with *poʔtmaʔ* conveys the image of incessant rains, of rain which does not look as if though it is going to stop: *wiʔl tharo poʔl* 'it is raining', *wiʔl the·ro poʔtche* 'it was raining'. Although *kenmaʔ* 'to stumble and fall down' seems too punctual to be made into a continuous form, its present gerund may occur only with the auxiliary *poʔtmaʔ*, indicating sustained or incessant motion, and yields the meaning 'to tumble', eg. *luŋin kenlo poʔl* 'the rock is tumbling [down the hill]'. Likewise, *ya·mbok po·ŋlo ya·k* and *ya·mbok po·ŋlo poʔl* mean 'the work is underway, the work is being carried out', but the former indicates continuous activity, whereas the latter indicates incessant activity.

But the distinction is subtler. Besides the semantic component of incessant or relentless activity, adhesive 'to be' as an auxiliary also has a colloquial or casual flavour. It is avoided in polite speech when referring to elders. For example, whereas *keyuŋlo keya·k* 'you^s are sitting' or *keyuŋsiro keya·ksi* 'you^d are sitting', *yuŋlo ya·k* 'he is sitting' are acceptable in referring to one's parents, the corresponding forms with *poʔtmaʔ* are not: *keyuŋlo kebɔʔl* 'you^s are sitting', *keyuŋsiro kebɔtchi* 'you^d are sitting', *yuŋlo poʔl* 'he is sitting'. *Poʔtmaʔ* is characteristic of a casual style or register and suggests intimacy or familiarity.

There are a number of verbs other than those denoting determinate motion for which *poʔtmaʔ* appears to be the more usual auxiliary, eg. *immaʔ* 'to sleep'⁸, *lakmaʔ* 'to boil': *lakturo poʔl* 'it's boiling', *lakturo poʔtche* 'it was boiling'.

⁸	<i>im-ʔe-ro poʔl-e</i>	I am sleeping
	<i>aʔim-si-ro a-bɔt-chi</i>	We ^{di} are sleeping
	<i>im-si-ge-ro poʔt-chi-ge</i>	We ^{de} are sleeping
	<i>aʔim-lo a-bɔʔl</i>	We ^{Pi} are sleeping
	<i>ips-i-ge-ro poʔtch-i-ge</i>	We ^{Pe} are sleeping
	<i>keʔim-lo ke-bɔʔl</i>	You ^s are sleeping
	<i>keʔim-si-ro ke-bɔt-chi</i>	You ^d are sleeping
	<i>keʔips-i-ro ke-bɔtch-i</i>	You ^P are sleeping
	<i>im-lo poʔl</i>	He/she is sleeping
	<i>im-si-ro poʔt-chi</i>	They ^d are sleeping
	<i>meʔim-lo me-bɔʔl</i>	They ^P are sleeping

7.3. The spatially defocused continuous

The spatially defocused continuous relates continuous activity not restricted to a single locality.⁹ The indicated activity takes place more than once, accompanied by spatial displacement of the actant either during the period of activity or between bouts of performing the activity. In the latter case, the spatially defocused continuous may have habitual meaning, though displacement of the actant remains the essential condition. The meaning of this periphrastic tense is the product of the non-adhesive non-locational meaning of the auxiliary *wa·ma?*, existential 'to be', and the continuous meaning of the present gerund.

Spatially defocused continuous forms lack negated counterparts. Instead, negated simplicia are used.

The difference between the spatially defocused continuous in (24) and the focused continuous in (25) is that the pig in (24) is rooting up the soil in an itinerant fashion, gorging itself on the denizens of a vast underground network of termites. The piglet in (25) is standing in one place feeding on termites.

<i>ips-an-lɔ pɔtch-an</i>	I was sleeping
<i>aʔipe-tchi-rɔ abɔtch-ε-tchi</i>	We ^d i were sleeping
<i>ips-ε-tchi-ge-rɔ</i>	
<i>pɔt-che-tchi-ge</i>	We ^{de} were sleeping
<i>aʔips-ε-rɔ a-bɔtch-ε</i>	We ^P i were sleeping
<i>im-mna-rɔ pɔt-mna</i>	We ^{pe} were sleeping
<i>keʔips-ε-rɔ ke-bɔtch-ε</i>	You ^s were sleeping
<i>keʔips-ε-tchi-rɔ</i>	
<i>ke-bɔtch-ε-tchi</i>	You ^d were sleeping
<i>keʔips-i-rɔ ke-bɔtch-i</i>	You ^P were sleeping
<i>ips-ε-rɔ pɔtch-ε</i>	He/she was sleeping
<i>ips-ε-tchi-rɔ pɔtch-ε-tchi</i>	They ^d were sleeping
<i>mεʔips-ε-rɔ mε-bɔtch-ε</i>	They ^P were sleeping

⁹ One of my informants, Jay Kumār, who as an employee of the *Nepāl Parivār Niyōjan* travels constantly throughout *Limbuvān*, maintains that there is a dialectal difference in the use of auxiliaries. For example, speakers of the *Pācthare* dialect use *wa·ma?* with verbs of locomotion as a simple focused continuous, eg. *pe·klɔ wa·*, *yuʔεrɔ wa·ʔε*, where *Phedāppe* speakers use *pɔtma?*: *pe·klɔ pɔʔl*, *yuʔεrɔ pɔʔlε*. This *Pācthare* usage struck him as particularly comical.

- (24) *phak-ʔille nim-haʔ cɔ-si-rɔ wa.*
 swine-ERG termite-p eat/3P-nsP-prG be
 The pig is [wandering about] eating termites.
 (*suŋgur le chicimroharu khāndai ghumdai cha.*)
- 25) *phak-ʔille nim-haʔ cɔ-si-rɔ ya.k.*
 swine-ERG termite-p eat/3P-nsP-prG be
 The pig is [standing there] eating termites. (*suŋ-
 gur le chicimroharu (ek ʔhāũ mā basdai/ubhin-
 dai) khāndai cha.*)

A similar distinction exists between (26) and (27). The speaker in (26) is not necessarily writing at the moment of utterance. The speaker, a farmer who is also a part-time employee of the anti-malarial campaign, is walking about the village writing down people's names. The speaker in (27) is writing at the moment of utterance.

- (26) *sapt-u-ŋ-lɔ wa-ʔε.*
 write-3P-1sA-prG be-1sPS/NPT
 I am writing.
- (27) *sapt-u-ŋ-lɔ ya.k-ʔε.*
 write-3P-1sA-prG be-1sPS/NPT
 I am writing.

Similarly, in (28) the speaker claims to have thought of the person addressed not just at a given moment in the past, but to have done so intermittently for some period (*ʔāḍhā belā*) of time, viz. during the prolonged absence of the person addressed. Sentence (29) occurs as part of a narrative. It denotes continuous action at the point of orientation in the preterit and sets the scene for an event in the following sentence which is described by the speaker as having occurred at the very moment he was reminiscing about the person addressed.

- (28) *khεnεʔ i.t-nε-rɔ way-aŋ.*
 you^s think-1→2-prG be-1sPS/PT
 I was thinking of you^s.
- (29) *khεnεʔ i.t-nε-rɔ ya.g-aŋ. hεkyan ke-iŋghoŋ*
 you^s think-1→2-prG be-1sPS/PT then your^s-news
keʔr-ε.
 arrive-PT.
 I was thinking of you^s. Then your^s letter came.

The spatially defocused continuous may have habitual meaning. The verb *takɔmma?* 'to wander' denotes an inherently spatially diffuse activity. In (30) the spatially defocused form of *takɔmma?* has habitual meaning; it describes a habit of the speaker who likes to go on walks.

- (30) *takɔn-ʔɛ-rɔ* *wa·-ʔɛ*.
wander-1sPS/NPT-prG be-1sPS/NPT
I am wandering around.

7.4. The temporally defocused continuous

The temporally defocused continuous is formed on the basis of a perfect gerund in combination with the auxiliary *pɔtma?* or *ya·kma?*.¹⁰

In contradistinction to the focused continuous, the temporally defocused continuous indicates activity in progress but not necessarily being enacted at the point of orientation in narrated time.

¹⁰ *pɔtma* for locomotive verbs and *ya·kma?* for activity verbs, eg.

<i>pe·ganaŋ pɔtchan</i>	I was going
<i>pe·kʔɛaŋ pɔʔlɛ</i>	I am going
<i>pe·geaŋ pɔtche</i>	He was going
<i>pe·kʔaŋ pɔʔl</i>	He is going
<i>mɛbe·gerɔ mɛbɔtche/</i>	
<i>mɛbe·rɔ mɛbɔtche</i>	They were going
<i>mɛbe·klɔ mɛbɔʔl</i>	They are going
<i>allo ni·ruŋaŋ ya·kʔɛ</i>	<i>ni·ruŋaŋ ya·gaŋ</i>
Now I am reading	I was reading
<i>anchi ani·tchuaŋ aya·ksi</i>	<i>ani·retchuaŋ aya·getchi</i>
We ^{di} are reading	We ^{di} were reading
<i>ni·tchuaŋ ya·ksige</i>	<i>ni·retchuaŋ ya·getchige</i>
We ^{de} are reading	We ^{de} were reading
<i>ani·ruman aya·k</i>	<i>ani·ruman aya·ge</i>
We ^{pi} are reading	We ^{pi} were reading
<i>ni·rumbeaŋ ya·gige</i>	<i>ni·pmʔnaŋ ya·kŋʔna</i>
We ^{pe} are reading	We ^{pe} were reading
<i>kɛni·ruaŋ keya·k</i>	<i>kɛni·ruaŋ keya·ge</i>
You ^s are reading	You ^s were reading
<i>kɛni·tchuaŋ keya·ksi</i>	<i>kɛni·retchuaŋ keya·getchi</i>
You ^d are reading	You ^d were reading

- (a) *co·guŋaŋ ya·kʔε* I am doing it. *gardai chu*
 (b) *co·guŋaŋ ya·gaŋ* I was doing it. *gardai thiē*
 (c) *co·guŋlɔ ya·kʔε* I am doing it. *gari raheko chu*
 (d) *co·guŋlɔ ya·gaŋ* I was doing it. *gari raheko thiē*

- (a) *khikwa ca·ʔaŋ ya·k* He is whistling.
 (b) *khikwa ce·ʔaŋ ya·gε* He was whistling.
 (c) *khikwa ca·rɔ ya·k* He is whistling.
 (d) *khikwa ce·rɔ ya·gε* He was whistling.

The focused continuous in (c) and (d) is used when the agent is engaged in the indicated activity at the point of orientation, whereas the temporally defocused continuous in (a) and (b) is said when the activity is in progress, even when a rest or break is being taken. The *process* indicated must be in progress but need not be being carried out at the moment of reference. The situations in which (c) or (d) are a suitable utterance is a subset of the set of cases for which (a) or (b) are a suitable utterance.

Forexample, *yuwaŋ pɔʔl* (come_down-pfG be) 'He is on his way down' is appropriate to describe a situation where the referent is presently in the process of coming down the mountain into the valley, even though he may be observed not be propelling himself down the mountain at the exact moment of utterance; he may have stopped somewhere on his way down to chat or to drink tea or whey. In (31) the speaker is sitting on a veranda as he speaks, not actively engaged in the construction work. In (32) the hypothetical friend uses the temporally defocused continuous because he asks what the speaker is up to today, not in what activity the speaker is engaged at the moment he poses the question.

- (31) *tho·dho·ʔ kɔsɔŋ him co·g-u-ŋ-aŋ ya·k-ʔε.*
 up_there new house build-3P-1sA-pfG be-1sPS/NPT
 I'm building a new house up there.

kɛni·ruman keya·gi
 YouP are reading
ni·ruaŋ ya·k
 He is reading
ni·tchuaŋ ya·ksi
 They^d are reading
meni·ruaŋ meya·k
 TheyP are reading

kɛni·ruman keya·gi
 YouP were reading
ni·ruaŋ ya·gε
 He was reading
ni·rɛtchuaŋ ya·gɛtchi
 They^d were reading
meni·ruaŋ meya·gε
 TheyP were reading

- (32) *cum-ille* 'hen ke-dzo·k-?aŋ ke-ya·k' *pha?aŋ*
 friend-ERG what 2-do-pfG 2-be whether
se·n-a-do·-lle, na·mthadhak
 ask-1-ask-SUB, till₁ sunset
thiŋ-ma?-re yuŋ-ma?-ro:k saba.
 masturbate-INF-EMPH sit-INF-only EMPH-IPF
 If a friend asks us^{Pi} 'what are you^s doing', [we
 say] just sitting and masturbating all day
 till sundown. (*sāthīle ke gardai chaũ bhanera*
sodhdā, dinbhar (lit. *ghām najharunjel*)
khulkāūdai basnu ta ho ni.)

- (33) *koŋ wa?-en hen co·k-?aŋ ya·k-pa?*
 this hen-ABS what do-pfG be-IPF
 What's this chicken up to?

However, the temporally defocused continuous does not exclude continuous activity at the moment of reference. Cases in which the focused continuous is applicable form a specific subset of the cases in which the temporally defocused continuous is appropriate, eg. *anga langhe·k?eaŋ ya·k?e* 'I'm strolling, I'm on a stroll', *warumsiŋ?eaŋ ya·k?e* 'I am [in the process of] bathing', *mε?ɔ·k?aŋ mεya·k* 'they're shouting', *mε?ɔ·geyaŋ mεya·ge* 'they were shouting', *mεghe·-yaŋ mεya·k* 'they^P are having a fight', *co·ksuwaŋ ya·ksi* 'they^d are doing it', *co·geŋtchuwaŋ ya·geŋtchi* 'they^d were doing it', *ni·ruwaŋ ya·k* 'he is reading', *ni·ruwaŋ ya·ge* 'he was reading'.

- (34) *hekyaŋ khunchi i·tt-ε-tch-u*
 then they^d think-PT-dA-3P
'anchige-im-ma?-dεn-?o· la·s-ε-tchi-ge-yaŋ
 we^{de}-sleep-INF-place-LOC enter-PT-dPS-e-pfG
ya·k-si-ge' pha?aŋ i·tt-ε-tch-u.
 be-dPS-e *bhanera* think-PT-dA-3P
 Then they^d thought, 'We^{de} are now entering our
 sleeping place.'

A stative verb may be in the temporally defocused continuous, even though it is evident that the activity takes place at the point of orientation. The temporally diffuse form of stative verbs has a durative sense, eg. *mi ti?laŋ ya·k* 'the fire is burning' (*āgo bali raheko cha*) as against *ti?l* 'it's burning'.

7.5. The periphrastic perfect tenses

The periphrastic perfect tenses are the perfect and pluperfect. Both perfect and pluperfect are formed on the basis of a *preterit* perfect gerund in combination with the auxiliary *wa·ma?*. Nonpreterit *wa·ma?* yields perfect tense and indicates present relevance of a past action; preterit *wa·ma?* yields pluperfect and indicates relevance at some point of reference in the past of a preterit action, eg. *co·getchuwan wa·* 'they^d have done it', *co·getchuwan wayε* 'they^d had done it'.¹¹

In the perfect tenses of intransitive verbs, both preterit gerund and auxiliary agree with the subject,¹² except in the interrogative (vide infra), eg. *pa·?raŋaŋ wa·?ε* 'I have talked', *pa·?raŋaŋ wayaŋ* 'I had talked',¹³ *mεbe·geyaŋ mewa·* 'they have gone', *mεbe·geyaŋ mewayε* 'they had gone', *pe·gaŋaŋ wayaŋ* 'I had gone', *pe·gaŋaŋ wa·?ε* 'I have gone', *takondaŋ wayaŋ* 'I had gone out for a stroll', *i·raŋaŋ wa·?ε* 'I have wandered about', *i·raŋaŋ wayaŋ* 'I had wandered about', *yunaŋaŋ wayaŋ* 'I had sat down', *khεnc? a·tto·kebe·-?aŋ ke-wε·* 'where had you^s gone?, where have you^s been?'.

¹¹ Nonpreterit perfect gerunds do not combine with *wa·ma?*:
 **co·ksuwan wa·*, **co·ksuwan wayε*.

¹² The perfect and pluperfect of *pe·kma?* 'to go' are as follows:

1s	<i>pe·k?εŋ wa·?ε</i>	<i>pe·gaŋaŋ wa·?ε</i>
1di	<i>abitχiaŋ awa·si</i>	<i>abe·getχiaŋ awa·si</i>
1de	<i>pitchiaŋ wa·sige</i>	<i>pe·getχiaŋ wa·sige</i>
1pi	<i>abe·k?aŋ awa·</i>	<i>abe·geŋ awa·</i>
1pe	<i>pe·gigeŋ wa·?ige</i>	<i>pe·kŋ?naŋ wa·?ige</i>
2s	<i>kebe·k?aŋ kewa·</i>	<i>kebe·geŋ kewa·</i>
2d	<i>kebitχiaŋ kewa·si</i>	<i>kebe·getχiaŋ kewa·si</i>
2p	<i>kebe·giaŋ kewayi</i>	<i>kebe·giaŋ kewayi</i>
3s	<i>pe·k?aŋ wa·</i>	<i>pe·geŋ wa·</i>
3d	<i>pitchiaŋ wa·si</i>	<i>pe·getχiaŋ wa·si</i>
3p	<i>mεbe·k?aŋ mewa·</i>	<i>mεbe·geŋ mewa·</i>

¹³ Non-interrogative combinations of intransitive pfG and *wa·ma?* not agreeing in person and number, eg. **pa·?raŋaŋ wa·*, **pa·?raŋaŋ wayε*, **pe·gaŋaŋ wayε*, *pe·gaŋaŋ wa·*, are ungrammatical.

- (35) *siŋya·n khunε? ku-ba·n*
 day_before_yesterday he his-speech
khɔʔr-ε-ŋ way-ε,
 be_delirious-PT-pfG be-PT,
ma·-siŋ-neʔl.
 lose-REF-be_on_the_verge
 The day before yesterday he was delirious, he is
 about to pass away.
- (36) *aŋga ta·ple·dzuŋ-ʔo·-lam ty-aŋ-aŋ*
 I Tāplejuñ-LOC-from come-1sPS/PT-pfG
wa·-ʔε.
 be-1sPS/NPT
 I have come from Tāplejuñ.
- (37) *kheŋhaʔ kerek takɔn-che me-be·g-ε-ŋ me-wa·.*
 they all stroll-SUP nsAS-go-PT-pfG nsAS-be
 They have all gone out on a stroll.
- (38) *ma·khi rɔk pe·s-ε. khɔkmelle se·.*
 blood only vomit-PT almost die/PT
nur-ε-aŋ way-ε.
 recuperate-PT-pfG be-PT
 He was only vomiting blood. He almost died, [but]
 he has recovered.
- (39) *cuciʔ rɔk nɔr-ε-aŋ way-ε.*
 little_bit only be_left-PT-pfG be-PT
 There was only a little bit left over.
- (40) *heŋ co·g-ε-aŋ way-ε?*
 what do-PT-pfG be-PT
 What had he been doing?
- (41) *dzirikhimti pe·g-ε-tchi-ge-aŋ way-ε-tchi-ge*
Jirikhimtī go-PT-dPS-e-pfG be-PT-dPS-e
a·kkheŋ gate·?
 how_many date
 What date was it that we^{do} went to Jirikhimtī?

Whereas the auxiliary agrees in intransitive perfects, *pa·ʔraŋaŋ wa·ʔε*, *pa·ʔraŋaŋ wayaŋ*, the auxiliary does not agree in the corresponding transitive forms: *pa·ttuŋaŋ wa·* 'I have spoken', *pa·ttuŋaŋ wayε* 'I had spoken'. In the perfect tenses of transitives, the preterit gerund agrees with agent and patient, but the auxiliary *wa·maʔ* conjugates impersonally, invariably appearing in the preterit or non-

preterit third singular, eg. *ni·ruwaŋ wa·* 'he has read it', *ni·ruwaŋ wayɛ* 'he had read it', *saptuŋaŋ wa·* 'I have written it, it has been written by me', *saptuŋaŋ wayɛ* 'I had written it, it had been written by me', *mɛdzo·guwaŋ wa·* 'they have done it', *mɛdzo·guwaŋ wayɛ* 'they had done it', *pho·ksuŋaŋ wayɛ* 'I had woken him up'.¹⁴

- (42) - *pɔ·tthaŋ khu·ks-w-aŋ way-ɛ-i·?*
pacchyaaurā drape-3P-pfG be-PT-Q
 - *ã.*
 yes
 - *a·kdaŋba pɔ·tthaŋ khu·ks-w-aŋ way-ɛ?*
 what_kind_of *pacchyaaurā* drape-3P-pfG be-PT
 - Had she put on a *pacchyaaurā*?
 - Yes.
 - What kind of *pacchyaaurā* had she put on?
- (43) *anhen kɛ-hipt-aŋ-aŋ wa·. allo· anga*
 yesterday 2-hit-1sPS/PT-pfG be. now I
hip-ne! anche·-aŋ kɛ-hipt-aŋ-aŋ way-ɛ.
 hit-1→2 before-too 2-hit-1sPS/PT-pfG be-PT.
 Yesterday you^s hit¹⁵ me. Now I'm going to hit
 you^s! You^s had hit me before too.
- (44) *hekkelle khunchi-cum-ha?-re yəllik thi·*
 so their-friend-p-ERG much millet_beer
mɛ-de·?r-u-waŋ way-ɛ rəcə.
 nsAS-bring-3P-pfG be-PT DEPR
 So their friends appeared to have brought lots of
 millet beer.
- (45) *tɛ·?l-in tha·ŋs-u-ŋ-aŋ wa·.*
 clothes-ABS send_up-3P-1sA-pfG be.
 The clothes have been sent up by me./I have sent
 the clothes up.

¹⁴ Combinations of transitive pfG and *wa·ma?* agreeing in person and number, e.g. **saptuŋaŋ wa·?ɛ*, **saptuŋaŋ wayaŋ*, **mɛdzo·guwaŋ mɛwa·*, **mɛdzo·guwaŋ mɛwayɛ*, **kehiptaŋ-aŋ kɛwa·*, **kehiptaŋaŋ kɛwayɛ*, **kehiptaŋaŋ wa·?ɛ*, **kehiptaŋaŋ wayaŋ*, **pa·ttuŋaŋ wa·?ɛ*, **pa·ttuŋaŋ wayaŋ*, are rejected.

¹⁵ The definite time adverb 'yesterday' precludes a perfect translation in English. The Limbu verb is perfect.

- (46) *so·kt-u-η-aη wa·.*
aim-3P-1sA-pfG be
That's what I had in mind.

In the interrogative of intransitive perfects, the auxiliary may or may not show agreement, eg. *kege?reyaη wa·* 'you^s have arrived', *kege?reyaη kewa·* 'you^s have arrived', *kege?reyaη wayε* 'you^s had arrived', *kege?reyaη kewayε* 'you^s had arrived', *ke-be·g-ε-yaη wai·?* 'have you^s gone?', *khεη-ha? madhan me·la mebe·geyaη wai·?* 'have they gone to the Madhan Melā?', *khεηha? mebe·geyaη mewai·?* 'have they gone?', *khεηha? mebe·geyaη mewayεi·?* 'had they gone?', *kheni madhan me·la kebe·giyaη wai·ba?* 'have you guys^P gone to the Madhan Melā or haven't you^P?'.

- (47) *khεηha? me-ge?r-ε-lle ande· ke-ge?r-ε-yaη*
they nsAS-arrive-PT-SUB earlier 2-arrive-PT-pfG
ke-way-ε-i· ke-η-ge?r-ε-n-ni·?
2-be-PT-Q 2-NEG-arrive-PT-NEG-Q
Had you^s already gotten there or not when they had arrived?

- (48) - *khεη mōna-nu ke-ba·?r-ε-yaη ke-wa-i·? khεη*
that man-COM 2-talk-PT-pfG 2-be-Q that
mōna-nu ta-ke-dzεks-ε-yaη ke-wa-i·?
man-COM converse-2-converse-PT-pfG 2-be-Q
- *pa·?r-aη-aη wa·-?ε.*
talk-1sPS/PT-pfG be-1sPS/NPT
- Have you^s talked with that guy? Have you^s had a chat with him?
- I have.

- (49) *allo khεε? a·tto· ke-yuη-ε-aη wa·?*
now you^s where 2-sit-PT-pfG be.
Where have you^s gone and sat down now?

- (50) *kheni kerεk ke-ge?r-i ke-dzur-i-yaη*
you^P all 2-arrive-pPS 2-finish-pPS-pfG
ke-way-i-?i·?
2-be-pPS-Q
Have you^P all finished getting here?¹⁶

¹⁶ Said by the mater familias to a family of guests who have trickled in for dinner instead of arriving all at once.

The perfect gerund is used adverbially to indicate a perfective action, an event or situation which preceded the main verb event, eg. (3-5), (51-58).

- (51) *kheŋ thi·n kerεk me-bo·ks-ε-yaŋ*
 that millet_{beer}-ABS all nsAS-be-PT-pfG
me-dhuŋ-u-lle go· ca·rik-ʔe· kheŋ
 nsAS-drink-3P-SUB then very-EMPH that
nepphu cum-haʔ moy-u-si.
 two friend-p inebriate-3P-nsP.
 When they had all gotten together and drank that
 millet beer, those two friends got really
 drunk.
- (52) - *kuhukʔo· yanghe·k po·kseba.*
 - *heŋ po·kseʔ*
 - *ti·ŋle thubu-aŋ.*
 - Her hand has been wounded
 - What happened?
 - Having been pierced by a thorn.
- (53) *anga nakca-dhik ma·s-u-ŋ-aŋ tukhe· caŋ.*
 I pen-one lose-3P-1sA-pfG grief eat/1s→3
 Having lost my pen, I was sad.
- (54) *a-ndzum-in tum-u-ŋ-aŋ tadzeŋ-si-ge.*
 my-friend-ABS meet-3P-1sA-pfG converse-dPS-e
 Having met my friend, we^{de}'ll converse.
- (55) *pa·tt-u-ŋ-aŋ pe·k-ʔε.*
 speak-3P-1sA-pfG go-1sPS/NPT
 Having spoken, I'll go.
- (56) *ke-dza-m ke-sur-u-m-aŋ lok ta-ʔε.*
 2-eat/3P-pA 2-finish-3P-pA-pfG only come-1sPS/NPT
 I'll show up only when you^P have finished eating.
- (57) *pa·tt-u-aŋ pe·k.*
 speak-3P-pfG go
 Having spoken, he'll go.

- (58) *sett-u-ŋ* *sur-u-ŋ-ŋaŋ* *cumlun-ʔo·*
 build_a_wall-3P-1sA finish-3P-1sA-pfG bazar-LOC
pe·k-mʔ bo·ŋ.
 go-INF EXIG
 After having finished building the wall, I'll have
 to go to the bazar. (*gāro lagāi sake pachi*
bajār jānu parcha.)
- (59) *anga im-my-aŋ* *sapla ni·r-u-ŋ.*
 I sleep-INF-pfG book read-3P-1sA
 After having slept, I'll read a book.
- (60) *iŋ-u-ŋ-aŋ* *te·ʔr-u-ŋ.*
 buy-3P-1sA-pfG bring-3P-1sA
 Having bought it, I'll bring it. (*kinera lyāūchu*)
- (61) *a-bi-tchi-aŋ a-wa·-si ... ta·ndik*
 1-go-dPS-pfG 1-be-dPS ... tomorrow
atchenda·n.
 the_day_after_tomorrow
 We^{di} shall go one of these days.

Perfect gerunds derive from the combination of preterit simplicia with the coordinator <-aŋ>. Unlike the perfect tenses, which are grammaticalized combinations of perfect gerund and existential 'to be' *wa·maʔ*, perfect gerunds used adverbially may be both preterit and nonpreterit, eg. (54-58). Perfect gerunds are formed from both preterit and nonpreterit simplicia and infinitives through suffixation of the coordinator <-aŋ>: *abitichiaŋ* 'having gone (1di/NPT)', *abe·getchiaŋ* 'having gone (1di/PT)', *pe·kʔeŋ nisunsiŋ* 'having gone (1s/NPT), I shall see them (1s→3ns/NPT), I shall go and see them', *dzirikhimti pe·kʔeŋ yaʔra·k-ʔe* 'Having gone to *Jirikhimtī*, I'll take part in the rice dance', *pe·ganaŋ nisunsiŋ* 'having gone (1s/PT), I saw them (1s→3ns/PT), I went and saw them'.¹⁷

The coordination of a nonpreterit simplex and *wa·maʔ* often approaches perfect meaning in nonpreterit time, eg. (62), (63), although Limbu lacks a systematic future perfect, eg. *pe·kʔe-ŋ wa·ʔe* 'having gone away, I'll stay away', *i·ʔeŋ wa·ʔe*, 'I'll have gone off awandering', *anga te·rathum-ʔo· yuŋʔeŋ wa·ʔe* 'I live in *Tehrathum*', *heŋ*

¹⁷ Perfect gerunds do not occur with temporally defocused continuous forms: **khikwa ca·ʔaŋ yuwaŋ pɔʔl*, **samlo·waŋ phenan pɔʔl*, **samlo·waŋ thanaŋ pɔʔl*.

gedzo·kʔaŋ kɛwa· (*ke gari hīḍchasʔ*) 'what are you^s up and about for?'

- (62) *kɛ-da-ʔille anga ta-ʔɛ-ŋ*
 2-show_up-SUB I show_up-1sPS/NPT-pfG
wa·-ʔɛ.
 be-1sPS/NPT
 By the time you^s show up, I shall have come [back].

- (63) *ba·is¹⁸ gate· yammu ta-ʔɛ-ŋ*
 twenty-two date again come-1sPS/NPT-pfG
wa·-ʔɛ.
 be-1sPS/NPT
 I'll have come back and be here again by the 22nd.

For an understanding of the origin of the perfect tenses, a detailed description of the suffix *-aŋ* as a clausal coordinator is given below.

7.5.1. The suffix *-aŋ*

The suffix *<-aŋ>* serves two semantically related purposes. It serves as a postposition meaning 'also, too', as in the following examples:

- (64) *anga-aŋ ya·mbək tɔŋ-siŋ-ʔɛ-ŋ*
 I-too work make_fit-REF-1sPS/NPT-pfG
co·g-u-ŋ!
 do-3P-1sA
 I too will work if I can get a job!
- (65) *anga se·dzɔŋwa-ʔaŋ thi·-ʔaŋ kɛrɛk*
 I millet_brandy-too millet_beer-too everything
thuŋ-u-ŋ.
 drink-3P-1sA
 I also drink millet brandy, millet beer too and everything.
- (66) *yaŋhaŋ-ŋaŋ dhara·n kɛ-be·k-ʔi·ʔ*
 later-too *Dharān* 2-go-Q
 Are you^s going to *Dharān* later on as well?

¹⁸ *ba·is* = Nep. *bāis* 'twenty-two'.

- (67) *anga ançen-naŋ-tho· sakmendza wa·-?ε.*
 I yesterday-too-since famished be-1sPS/NPT.
en sakmendza wa·-?ε.
 today famished be-1sPS/NPT
 I've been hungry since yesterday, and I'm hungry
 today.
- (68) *haŋ-aŋ-was-ε. khene?*
 be_hot-too-be_hot-PT. you^s
haŋ-aŋ-was-ε-i·?
 be_hot-too-be_hot-PT-Q
 I think it's hot out too. Do you^s also think it's
 hot out?
- (69) *anga?aŋ! anga?aŋ! anga?aŋ! anga?aŋ!*
 me too! me too! me too! me too!
- (70) - *allo abhelle me-lo·tt-u bhelle...*
 now when nsAS-take_out-3P SUB...
hekkelle pi-tchi ne·!
 therefore go-dPS/ADH EMPH
 - *yusik me-lo·tt-u-aŋ biha·ndik*
 evening nsAS-take_out-3P-and morning
me-l-lo·tt-u-n. anche·
 nsAS-NEG-take_out-3P-NEG before
ke-lo·p-pa-ha?-re en-aŋ
 AP-take_out-AP-p-ERG today-too
me-lo·tt-u.
 nsAS-take_out-3P
 - Now, in order to find out when they'll take it
 [the video] out. That's why, so let's^{di} go!
 - They take it out in the evenings and they don't
 take it out in the mornings. Those who took
 it out before will take it out today as well.

The suffix <-aŋ> coordinates verbs, clauses, adverbs and numerals, eg. (71). As a conjunction between two verbal predicates, it indicates activity prior to an orientation point, whence I believe it derives its function as gerund in the perfect tenses. When two verbs X and Y are coordinated by <-aŋ> and the first verb takes the suffix, X-aŋ Y, then event X precedes event Y. The linear order reflects the chronological order of events, eg. (72).

- (71) *sumsi-aŋ kumbhre·ŋ mukt-ε.*
 three-and one_half strike-PT
 It's half past three.

- (72) *khɔrɛ·ŋ khe·ks-u-ŋ-aŋ caŋ.*
bread break_off_a_piece-3P-1sA-and eat/1sA→3P
I shall break off a piece of bread and eat it.
- (73) *khɛtt-u-aŋ cikɛs-u-ba ho·!*
chase-3P-and hide-3P-IPF hey
Hey, he chased him away and hid it! (*bhagāera lukāeko ho*)
- (74) *ɖe·ra-ʔo· pi-tchi-gy-aŋ so·rik ni·t-ch-u-ge.*
ɖerā-LOC go-dPS-e-and together study-dA-3P-e
ɖe·ra-ʔo· a-bi-tchi-aŋ so·rik a-ni·t-ch-u.
ɖerā-LOC 1-go-dPS-and together 1-study-dA-3P
After going to the *ɖerā*, we'll^{de} study together.
After going to the *ɖerā*, we'll^{di} study
[there] together.
- (75) *maŋɖɔk i·-my-aŋ le·b-u-ŋ.*
maŋɖɔk roll-INF-and mould_into_rolls-3P-1sA
Having rolled the *maŋɖɔk* to and fro, I mould it
into rolls.
- (76) - *hɛn caha-gɛ-dzo·g-u?*
what desire-2-desire-3P
- *yu-my-aŋ yuŋ-ma?*
come_down-INF-and sit-INF
- What do you^s want?
- To come down and just sit.
- (77) *sepmaŋ kɔʔo· kɛ-wa·-bɛ-n na· kɛ-be·k-ʔaŋ*
dream here AP-be-AP-ABS there 2-go-and
kɛ-ma·kt-w-i· kɛ-m-ma·kt-u-n-ni·?
2-dream-3P-Q 2-NEG-dream-3P-NEG-Q
Are you^s going to dream of being here [in *Tam-phulā*]
when you've^s gone back there?
- (78) *anga him-bhitra pe·k-ʔɛ-ŋ khɛŋha?*
I house-inside go-1sPS/NPT-and they
mɛ-ye·ʔl.
nsAS-laugh
As soon as I go inside, they shall laugh.
- (79) *yaŋ tɔŋ-my-aŋ lɔp-ma?*
money earn-INF-and spend-INF
Having earned money, spend it.

- (80) *anga sapla pi·r-u-η-an khunε? ni·r-u-?*
 I book give-3P-1sA-and he read-3P-DEF
 When I've given him the book, he'll read it.

Only seldom does the linear order not reflect chronological order:

- (81) *khunε? rɔk mε-dzitt-u-n-naη kerck*
 him alone NEG-hate-3P-NEG-and all
mikphu?la-ha? citt-u-si.
 white_eye-p hate-3P-nsP
 With the exception of him alone, he hates all Europeans.

When the second verb takes the coordinator suffix, X Y-*an*, it indicates that either event may be the case. There is no chronological precedence of one event before the other.

- (82) *hεkkεlle mɔna-re mε-dzɔ mε-n-dzɔ-nεn-naη.*
 therefore man-ERG pAS-eat pAS-NEG-eat-NEG-also
 So, some people will eat it, whereas others will not. (viz. a goat which has been killed by a jackal)

When both verbs take the affix, X-*an* Y-*an*, it indicates that both of them are true simultaneously, again without chronological precedence.

- (83) *cun-an-mε-dzi·k-nεn*
 be_cold-also-NEG-be_cold-NEG
han-an-mε-wa-nεn.
 be_warm-also-NEG-be_warm-NEG
 It is neither cold nor hot out.

- (84) *yεkyck-?an sumsum-?an ya·mbɔk-?in*
 carefully-too conscientiously-too work-ABS
co·k-m· bo·ks-ε.
 do-INF EXIG-PT
 The work must be done both carefully and conscientiously.

By far the most common usage of the clausal coordinator is in sequences of the first type, X-*an* Y, which may stretch on into lengthy concatenations, examples of which may be found in the texts in Appendix I.

- (85) *khəkmelle hum-aŋ-aŋ sy-aŋ.*
 almost sink-1sPS/PT-and die-1sPS/PT
 I almost drowned.
- (86) *khəkmelle kəŋ-aŋ-aŋ sy-aŋ.*
 almost stumble_and_fall-1sPS/PT-and die-1sPS/PT
 I almost fell to my death.
- (87) *kε-ʔim-ba mənə-·n ka·kt-u-ŋ-aŋ*
 AP-sleep-AP man-ABS step_over-3P-1sA-and
pe·g-aŋ.
 go-1sPS/PT
 I stepped over the sleeping man and went on./
 Having stepped over the sleeping man, I went
 on.
- (88) *ya·mbək-ʔin εtt-u-waŋ mε-bo·ks-ε-n.*
 work-ABS halt-3P-and NEG-be-PT-NEG
 He brought the work to a halt, and it didn't get
 done.
- (89) *pa·ŋdzum kε-be·k-ʔaŋ hən kε-dzo·k?*
 bazar 2-go-and what 2-do
 What'll you^s do when you go to the bazar?/What
 shall you^s do, having gone to the bazar?
- (90) *Te·rathum ty-aŋ-aŋ cum me·ʔe·*
Tehrathum come-1sPS/PT-and friend without
way-aŋ.
 be-1sPS/PT
 I came to *Tehrathum* and was without friends./
 Having come to *Tehrathum*, I was without
 friends.
- (91) *pind-ε-aŋ lə·nd-ε.*
 jump_up-PT-and come_out-PT
 It has jumped up and come out. (of a kernel of
 popcorn which has popped up and jumped out of
 the *karəhi* or wok landing on the ground next
 to the fire.)

- (92) *khɛnɛ? kɛ-him-ʔo· kɛ-be·k-ʔaŋ a·tto·*
 you^s your^s-house-LOC 2-go-and where
kɛ-be·k-pa?
 2-go-IPF
 Where are you^s going when you've^s gone home?/
 Having gone home, where will you^s go to [from
 there]?
- (93) *hɛn co·g-ɛ-aŋ yuŋ-ɛ?*
 what do-PT-and sit-PT
 Having done what, has he gone and sat down? (i.e.
 What has he done that he is now sitting down
 to rest?)
- (94) *ɔkdaŋba kumakla sakca-ʔo·*
 this_kind_of COL-black-COL *dāl*-LOC
mɛ-akt-u-waŋ mɛ-dzo ni ã·.
 nsAS-add-3P-and nsAS-eat/3P CTR huh
habha ke·sra ke·sra mɛ-dho·kt-u-aŋ
 like_that clove clove nsAS-fry-3P-and
mɛ-dzo. hekkelle mɛ-ha·ŋ-nɛn, me·n
 nsAS-eat/3P so nsAS-be_spicy-NEG no
nã? kɔŋ ma·kkho·ʔ-ʔin ce·pi-nulle ha·ŋ
 huh this garlic-ABS onions-than be_spicy
ni i·!
 CTR EMPH
 (ridiculing someone who uses too much garlic:)
 Having added it to this kind of black *da·l*,
 they'll eat it, huh! After frying clove after
 clove like that they eat it. So, it isn't
 spicy that way, no, huh? This garlic just
 happens to be hotter than onions!
- (95) *i·t-chiŋ-ʔɛ-aŋ pa·tt-u-ŋ.*
 think-REF-1sPS/NPT-and speak-3P-1sA
 I'll reflect and then speak.
- (96) *pa·tt-u-ŋ-aŋ po·ŋ.*
 speak-3P-1sA-and be_alright
 After I've spoken, it'll be okay.
- (97) *khɛnɛ? yakthunpa·n kɛ-huʔ-siŋ-ɛ-aŋ*
 you^s Limbu_language 2-teach-REF-PT-and
kɛ-him-ʔo· kɛ-be·k-ʔi·?
 2-house-LOC 2-go-Q
 Are you^s going back to your home when you've^s
 learned Limbu?

- (98) *an·ge se·-i-gy-aŋ* *kheni hen ke-dzo·g-u-m*
 we^{pe} die/NPT-pPS-e-and you^P what 2-do-3P-pA
ke-dza-m?
 2-eat/3P-pA
 After we^{pe} have died, what will you^P do and what
 will you^P eat?
- (99) *anchige tho· pe·g-ε-tchi-gy-aŋ* *hava·i_dzaha·dz*¹⁹
 we^{de} above go-PT-dPS-e-and aeroplane
nis-ε-tch-u-ge.
 see-PT-dA-3P-e
 We^{de} went up the hill and saw the plane.
- (100) *anchige se·?ma?l se·r-i-gy-aŋ*²⁰ *cumlun*
 we^{de} urine exude-pPS-e-and bazar
pi-tchi-ge.
 go-dPS-e
 Having shed our urine, we^{de} are going to the
 bazar.
- (101) *khen-aŋ o·?-my-aŋ* *bheŋta bhitra ak-m?*
 that-too roast-INF-and eggplant inside put-INF
po·ŋ. anga co·g-u-ŋ bi·-ne theba-e·,
 EXIG. I do-3P-1sA give-1→2 grandfather-VOC
kheŋε? go·!
 you^s then
 Having roasted it too, [I'll] have to put it
 inside the eggplant. I'll make it and give it
 to you^s, grandpa, for you^s!

The coordinator <-aŋ> also coordinates indicative forms with imperatives and adhortatives, or two imperatives or adhortatives.

- (102) *ke-ndzum-in* *khe·ks-ε?-aŋ*
 your^s-friend-ABS break_off_a_piece-IMP-and
pi·r-ε?!²¹
 give-IMP
 Break off a piece and give it to your^s friend!

¹⁹ Nep. *havāī jahāj* = aeroplane.

²⁰ facetious expression for urinate, cf. *se·ma?*.

²¹ The word order *khe·ksε?aŋ kendzumin pi·rε?* is also acceptable.

- (103) *ke-ba·ηphe·-?o· ke-be·k-?aη sapt-aη-ε?!*
 2-village-LOC 2-go-and write-1sP-IMP
 After you've^s gone back to your^s village, write
 me!
- (104) *yuη-si-aη thuη-s-u.*
 sit-dPS/ADH-and drink-dA-3P/ADH
 Let's^{d1} sit down and have a drink.
- (105) *khεη him-?o· lɔ·nd-ε?-aη thaη-ε? o·!*
 that house-LOC come_out-IMP-and come_up-IMP oh
 Come out of that house and come on up here!
- (106) *khεε? lan-sup-thik ke-iη-ε-?aη pi·r-aη-ε?!*
 you^s shoe-one 2-buy-PT-and give-1sP-IMP
 Having bought a pair of shoes, give them to me!
- (107) *khεε? ke-be·k gɔrɔ lamdhe·?l-in sub-ε?-aη*
 you^s 2-go if door-ABS shut-IMP-and
pe·?!
 go/IMP
 Close the door behind you^s!

Occasionally, the verb bearing the suffix seems to present a contingency for the second verb:

- (108) *yəllik ca-my-aη yəllik huη-m· po·η.*
 much eat-INF-ans much pay-INF EXIG
 If you eat a lot, you have to pay a lot too.
- (109) *si-?aη mε-?o·?r-u.*
 die-and nsAS-roast-3P
 If someone dies, they'll cremate him.²²
- (110) *se·dzɔŋwa ke-dhuη-u-η ke-naη.*
 millet_brandy 2-drink-3P-and 2-go_crazy
 You^s'll drink *raksī* and go crazy.

Coordinative *-aη* must be distinguished from the postposition *-saη* 'even though, although'.

²² Said of less traditional Limbus who no longer bury their dead; see footnote 5 on p.116.

(111) *ɔkhhelle-saŋ yusik biha·ndik cundzi·k.*
 presently-even evening morning be_cold
 Even now, it gets cold in the mornings and in the
 evenings.

(112) *kɔŋ ya·mbɔk-ʔin co·g-εʔ phaŋ yeʔllinkhɔŋ*
 this work-ABS do-IMP *bhanera* repeatedly
mɛt-ne-saŋ khɛmghɛmaŋ
 say_to-1→2-even ignore
kɛ-n-la·pt-aŋ-nɛn, me·n-ni·ʔ khɛŋ
 2-NEG-ignore-1sPS/PT-NEG NOT-Q that
pa·ŋphe-ʔo·pe·g-εʔ phaŋ yeʔllinkhɔŋ
 village-LOC go-IMP *bhanera* repeatedly
mɛt-ne-saŋ kɛ-m-be·g-ε-n, me·n-ni·ʔ
 say_to-1→2-even 2-NEG-go-PT-NEG, NOT-Q
khɛŋ ya·mbɔk-ʔin co·g-εʔ phaʔaŋ yeʔllinkhɔŋ
 that work-ABS do-IMP *bhanera* repeatedly
mɛt-ne-saŋ kɛ-n-dzo·g-u-n-ni·ʔ (to a
 say_to-1→2-even 2-NEG-do-3P-NEG-Q
 third person:) *yeʔllinkhɔŋ mɛtt-u-ŋ-aŋ*
 repeatedly say_to-3P-1sA-and
lɔk co·g-u.
 only do-3P

Even though I've repeatedly told you^s to do this
 job, you've pretended not to hear me, haven't
 you^s? Even though I've repeatedly told you^s
 to go to that village, you^s haven't gone,
 have you? Aren't you^s going to do that work,
 even though I have repeatedly told you^s to do
 so? (turning to someone else:) He only does
 it when you repeatedly tell him to do so.

(113) *pa·nchatt-u-ŋ-saŋ khɛmghɛmaŋ*
 call-3P-1sA-even ignore
mɛ-la·pt-aŋ-nɛn.
 NEG-ignore-1sPS/PT-NEG
 Even though I called to him, he pretended not to
 hear me.

(114) *ke·p-maʔ-saŋ mɛŋ-ge·p-maʔ-saŋ lɔkthik.*
 add-INF-even NEG-add-INF-even one
 It's all the same to me whether you add [more hot
 water to my *tɔŋba*] or not.

- (115) *a-nsikpɛ-n ho·p. hɛkke·saŋ, kɔŋ-in nurik*
 my-brain-ABS not_{be} nonetheless this-ABS well
le·s-u-ŋ.
 know-3P-1sA
 I have no brain. Nonetheless, I know this well.
- (116) *syut-chaŋ nɛdɛŋba-·n ha·mha·m mett-u.*
 taste_{sour}-even cheek-ABS warm do_{to}-3P
syut-chaŋ nɛdɛŋba-·n ha·mha·m lɔʔ.
 taste_{sour}-even cheek-ABS warm appear
 Even though it tastes sour, it (viz. the *tɔŋba*)
 makes the cheeks warm. Even though it tastes
 sour, the cheeks get warm.
- (117) *kappo·bɛ-n allo·-saŋ kye·laŋ-maʔ*
 old_{man}-ABS now-even perform_{the}_{cyābruñ}_{nāc}-INF
thum.
 fulfill_a function
 Even now it is the old men who fulfill the
 function of performing the *cyābruñ nāc*.
 (*būḍho ajhai pani cyābruñ nācnu daro.*)

7.5.2. The negative perfect tenses

The negative counterparts of the perfect tenses are formed by the combination of the negative perfect gerund with non-negated forms of the *wa·maʔ*. The negative perfect gerund (npG) is an invariable form which shows no agreement with any nominal argument. It consists of a stem to which the prefix <men-> and the suffix <-ʔe·> have been affixed.

In negative perfect tenses, the auxiliary *wa·maʔ* agrees with the subject in an intransitive scenario and with the agent in a transitive scenario. Nonpreterit *wa·maʔ* yields negated perfect forms; preterit *wa·maʔ* yields negated pluperfect.²³

²³ eg. *mɛn-dza-ʔe· wa·ʔɛ* 'I have not eaten', *mɛn-dza-ʔe· mɛwa·* 'They have not eaten', *mɛn-dza-ʔe· mɛwayɛ* 'they had not eaten', *mɛn-dza-ʔe· kɛwayi* 'you_P have not eaten', *mɛm-be·k-ʔe· wa·* 'he has not gone', *mɛnchapʔe· wa·ʔɛ* 'I have not written', *mɛnchapʔe· awa·si* 'we^{di} have not written', *mɛnchuʔle· wa·sige* 'we^{de} haven't finished', *mɛnchuʔle· wa·ʔɛ* 'I haven't finished', *mɛnchiʔe· wa·ʔɛ* 'I have not died', *mɛnchiʔe· wa·* 'he has not died', *mɛnʔi·ʔe· wa·ʔɛ* 'I have not wandered about', *mɛn-*

The negative perfect is distinct from the simple preterit in that it indicates present relevance of a negative state in the preterit:

- ǎhá? la mənchu·baŋ* No siree, I'm not late.
ǎhá? la məsu·saŋnən No siree, I didn't come late.
ǎhá? la mənchu·?e· wa·?ε No siree, I have not come late.

- (118) *phaŋsi məm-muk-?e· wa·, ɔ·mɔp-ma? po·ŋ la?ba.*
 nine npG-strike-npG be look-INF EXIG probably
 It has not yet struck nine; perhaps we should check though.
- (119) *be·la məŋ-ge?l-e· wa·.*
 time npG-arrive-npG be
 It's not time yet.
- (120) *ku-miŋ wa·-m· barne·, məl-lε·-?e· wa·-?ε.*
 its-name be-INF ought npG-know-npG be-1sPS/PT
 It should have a name, but I don't know it (i.e. There ought to be some name for it, but I haven't ever come to know it.)
- (121) *a-sira go· thaŋ kərə mən-ni-?e·*
 my-pleasure then come_{up} but npG-see-npG
wa·-?ε.
 be-1sPS/NPT
 I'm sure I would like it, but I've never seen one.
- (122) *pradha·npaŋc εn mən-da-?e· wa·.*
Pradhānpāc today npG-come-npG be
 The *Pradhānpāc* didn't show up today.

?i·?e· məwa· 'they have not wandered about', *məŋga?le· wa·* 'it hasn't been transported./he has not transported it', *aŋga awa məmmik?e· wa·* 'I have not become thirsty', *məmbho·ŋ?e· wa·* 'he didn't wake him up', *wamənlumsiŋ?e· wa·?ε* 'I haven't bathed', *wamənlumsiŋ?e· awa·si* 'we^{di} have not [yet] bathed', *wamənlumsiŋ?e· kəwa·* 'you^s have not bathed', *mənni?e· wayaŋ* 'I had not seen it'.

- (123) *ya·mbək-ha? kerək na·tchri-po·tchri po·ks-ε*
 work-p all in_a_chaotic_state be-PT
hənənbhelle thik-?əŋ nurik mən-dzu?l-e·
 because one-too well npG-finish-npG
wa·.
 be
 All the affairs have gotten into a state of chaos
 because not one of them has been properly
 completed.

- (124) *te·?l mən-he·-?e· wa·. he· nε·.*
 clothes npG-dry-npG be dry sit
 The clothes have not yet dried. They're sitting
 there drying.

- (125) - *po·ks-ε-i· mε-bo·ks-ε-n-ni·?*
 be-PT-Q NEG-be-PT-NEG-Q
 - *məm-bo·ŋ-?e· wa·.*
 npG-be-npG be
 - Is it done or isn't it? (of an egg)
 - It isn't.

- (126) - *hi-kε-e·s-w-i·?*
 shit-2-shit-3P-Q
 - *mən-e·-?e· wa·-?ε.*
 npG-shit-npG be-1sPS/NPT
 - Did you^s shit?
 - No, I haven't.

- (127) *anchige thi·-re haŋ-si-ge hεkkelle khεnc?*
 we^{de} millet_beer-GEN king-be so you^s
kε-məy-ε. anchige məm-mə·-?e·
 2-intoxicate-PT we^{de} npG-intoxicate-npG
wa·-si-ge.
 be-dPS-e
 We^{de} are the kings of millet beer, so the millet
 beer has gotten you^s drunk, but not us^{de}.

- (128) - *khεnc? ma·ki kε-de·s-w-i·?*
 you^s maize 2-sow-3P-Q
 - *mən-de·-?e· wa·-?ε.*
 npG-sow-npG be-1sPS/NPT
 - Have you^s sown the maize?
 - No, I haven't.

- (129) - *ande·-we-n cur-ε-i·?* (*aghi ko sakiyo?*)
 before-NOM-ABS be_finished-PT-Q
 - *mɛn-dzuʔl-e· wa·.* (*sakieko chaina.*)
 npG-end-npG be
 - Has the one from before finished?
 - No, it hasn't finished yet.

- (130) *mɛn-ni-ʔe· kɛ-wa-i·?*
 npG-see-npG 2-be-Q
 Haven't you^s seen it?

- (131) *khɛŋ anga mɛtt-u-ŋ-ba pa·n*
 that I say_to-3P-1sA-NOM word
kusiŋ-mɛn-ni·ʔl-e· wa·.
 understand-npG-understand-npG be
 He has not understood what I told him.

- (132) *ɛn kha-mɛm-mak-ʔe· wa·.*
 today get_dark-npG-get_dark-npG be
 It hasn't gotten dark out yet today.

The negative perfect gerund is also used adverbially or to make an adverb of a clause, eg. (133-142). The negative perfect gerund also occurs with the negated auxiliary of exigency *po·ŋmaʔ* in the meaning of an adamant command, eg. (143-144).

- (133) - *ɔŋʔe·kwa saʔ kɛ-wa·-ma mɛnchuma-haʔ rɔk*
 baby child AP-be-AP/f lady-p only
pi·r-u-m-si-m-be.
 give-3P-pA-nsP-pA-e
 - *anga-ʔaŋ mɛ-m-bi·-ʔɛ-n-ni·?*
 I-too nsAS-NEG-give-1sPS/NPT-NEG-Q
 - *dərta mɛn-dzo·k-ʔe·*
 registartion npG-do-npG
mɛ-m-bi·r-u-n-chi-n. dərta
 nsAS-NEG-give-3P-NEG-nsP-NEG. registration
co·k-m· bo·ŋ.
 do-INF EXIG
 - WeP^o [= the *Nepāl Parivār Niyojan*] only
 give it [= multiple vitamins] to women who
 have baby children.
 - They won't give any to me either?
 - Not having registered, they won't give
 anyone any. You'll have to register.

- (134) *aŋga thi· mən-dhuŋ-ʔe·-saŋ pa·t-maʔ*
 I beer npG-drink-npG-also speak-INF
sukt-u-ŋ.
 be_able-3P-1sA
 I can speak, even without having drunk millet
 beer.
- (135) *mən-ʔo·ʔ-ʔe· sa kε-dzɔ-i·ʔ*
 npG-roast-npG meat 2-eat/3P-Q
 Do you^s eat meat unroasted?
- (136) *ku-ndzum-in mən-u·ʔl-e· pe·g-ε.*
 his-friend-ABS npG-call-npG go-PT
 He went without calling his friend.
- (137) *yaŋsarumbε-n-nu mən-gεŋ-ʔe· kε-gεʔr-ε-tchi-i·ʔ*
 third-born-ABS-COM npG-fall-npG 2-arrive-PT-dPS-Q
 Did you^d and third-born manage to get there with-
 out falling [off a cliff]?
- (138) *nam mεl-liŋ-ʔe· pe·g-ε-tchi.*
 sun npG-rise-npG go-PT-dPS
 They^d left before the sun came up.
- (139) *saŋkra·nti mεŋ-gεʔl-e· lam-ʔo·*
Sākrāntī npG-arrive-npG road-LOC
khadha·pt-aŋ.
 get_dark_on_someone-1sPS/PT
 Not having gotten to *Sākrāntī*, it got dark on me
 out on the road.
- (140) - *ta·mbhuŋ-ʔo·-ba məna-haʔ-re sa rɔk*
 jungle-LOC-NOM man-p-ERG meat only
mε-dzɔ.
 nsAS-eat/3P
 - *kumaŋwayεʔl mε-dzɔ-i·, mε-dho·kt-u-aŋ*
 raw nsAS-eat/3P-Q, nsAS-cook-3P-pfG
mε-dzɔ-i·ʔ
 nsAS-eat/3P-Q
 - *mən-dho·k-ʔe· mε-dzɔ.*
 npG-cook-npG nsAS-eat/3P
 - Jungle men only eat meat.
 - Do they eat it raw or having cooked it?
 - They eat it without having cooked it.

- (141) *tɔre· mɛŋ-geɪ-thalik ɔ·mɔtt-u-ŋ.*
 guest npG-arrive-until watch-3P-1sA
 I will watch till the guests arrive.
- (142) *mɛn-ʔim-ʔe· thɔ·tt-u-ŋ.*
 npG-sleep-npG tolerate-3P-1sA
 I can go on without sleeping, without having
 slept.
- (143) *mɛm-be·k-ʔe· mɛ-bo·ŋ-nɛn! (nagaī hundaina)*
 npG-go-npG NEG-must-NEG
 There will be no mention of not going!
- (144) *mɛn-huŋ-ʔe· mɛ-bo·ŋ-nɛn! (natirī hundaina)*
 npG-pay-npG NEG-must-NEG
 There can be no mention of not paying!

Chapter Eight

Other Verbal Constructions

This chapter is devoted to a number of non-indicative constructions which are neither simplicia nor complex forms derived from simplicia through affixation. These are: the adhortative, imperative, nominalizer, active and passive participles, supine and infinitive. In addition, passive voice and the impersonal and polite inclusive are discussed in this chapter.

8.1. Adhortative

In transitive verbs, the adhortative is derived by dropping the first person prefix <a-> from the corresponding nonpreterit simplex forms. Negative adhortatives are formed by adding the nexal negator *me·n*.

nonpreterit simplex	adhortative	negative adhortative
<i>adzo·ksu</i> we ^d i do it.	<i>co·ksu</i> let's ^d do it!	<i>co·ksu-me·n</i> let's ^d not do it!
<i>adzo·gum</i> we ^P i do it.	<i>co·gum</i> let's ^P do it!	<i>co·gum-me·n</i> let's ^P not do it!
<i>anisū</i> we ^d i see it.	<i>nisu</i> let's ^d see it!	<i>nisu-me·n</i> let's ^d not see it!
<i>anisum</i> we ^P i see it.	<i>nisum</i> let's ^P see it!	<i>nisum-me·n</i> let's ^P not see it!
<i>asapsu</i> we ^d i write it.	<i>sapsu</i> let's ^d write it!	<i>sapsu-me·n</i> let's ^d not write it!
<i>asaptum</i> we ^P i write it.	<i>saptum</i> let's ^P write it!	<i>saptum-me·n</i> let's ^P not write it!
<i>ani·tchu</i> we ^d i read it.	<i>ni·t-ch-u</i> let's ^d read it!	<i>ni·t-ch-u-me·n</i> let's ^d not read it!
<i>ani·rum</i> we ^P i read it.	<i>ni·r-u-m</i> let's ^P read it!	<i>ni·r-u-m-me·n</i> let's ^P not read it!
<i>adhun̄su</i> we ^d i drink it.	<i>thun̄-s-u</i> let's ^d drink it!	<i>thun̄-s-u-me·n</i> let's ^d not drink it!

<i>adhunum</i>	<i>thuŋ-u-m</i>	<i>thuŋ-u-m-me·n</i>
we ^{Pi} drink it.	let's ^P drink it!	let's ^P not drink it!

(1) *e·ʔyanba pa·n ce·ks-u-m.*
 other word discuss-3P-pADH
 Let's^{Pi} talk about something else./Let's change
 the subject.

(2) *ca-m.*
 eat/3P-pADH
 Let's eat^{Pi}

(3) *te·ʔl caŋ-s-u.*
 clothes get_dressed-dADH-3P
 Let's^{di} get dressed./Let's put on clothes.

(4) *lek-s-u!*
 trade-dADH-3P
 Let's^{di} trade!

(5) *kheŋ mənə-·n phe·ʔr-u-m!*
 that man-ABS fart_at-3P-pADH
 Let's^{Pi} fart at that guy!

(6) - *khenchi məkwa kedhuŋsuwi·ʔ*
 - *ã.*
 - *allo thuŋum! anga huŋuŋ.*
 - Will you^d drink tea?
 - Yes.
 - Then let's^P drink! I'll pay.

(7) *na· hɔks-u-m.*
 there search-3P-pADH
 Let's^{Pi} go search over there.

Adhortatives of intransitive verbs are also derived from nonpreterit simplicia by dropping the prefix <a->, but in the plural the pPS suffix <-i> is added. Indeed, dropping the <a-> from a nonpreterit plural inclusive leaves only the bare stem which would be read as a third singular nonpreterit form.

<i>abitchi</i>	<i>pitchi</i>	<i>pitchi-me·n</i>
we ^{di} go.	let's ^d go!	let's ^d not go!
<i>abe·k</i>	<i>pe·gi</i>	<i>pe·gi-me·n</i>
we ^{Pi} go.	let's ^P go!	let's ^P not go!

<i>a-im-si</i>	<i>im-si</i>	<i>im-si-me·n</i>
we ^d i sleep.	let's ^d sleep!	let's ^d not sleep!
<i>a-im</i>	<i>ips-i</i>	<i>ips-i-me·n</i>
we ^P i sleep.	let's ^P sleep!	let's ^P not sleep!

<i>a-ba·t-chi</i>	<i>pa·t-chi</i>	<i>pa·t-chi-me·n</i>
we ^d i talk.	let's ^d talk!	let's ^d not talk!
<i>a-ba·ʔl</i>	<i>pa·ʔr-i</i>	<i>pa·ʔr-i-me·n</i>
we ^P i talk.	let's ^P talk!	let's ^P not talk!

(8) *məkwə tɰŋ-s-u-aŋ yəŋsarumbɛ-n hɔŋ-se*
 tea drink-dADH-3P-and third_born-ABS search-SUP
i·-se pit-chi.
 wander-SUP go-dADH
 Let's^d drink tea and then go wander about and look
 for third-born.

(9) *anchi siŋbo·ŋ-le ku-bo·ŋ-ʔo· yuŋ-si.*
 we^di tree-GEN its-base-LOC sit-dADH
 Let's^d sit down at the base of the tree.

(10) *adhaŋba-se· yuŋ-i ro·!*
 gentleman-VOCp sit-ADHp ASS
 Let's^Pi sit down, gentlemen!

(11) *yo·-ʔo·-ba pi·-nɛ-tchi-ge. mençhya phɛtt-ɛʔ!*
 below-LOC-NOM give-1→2-nsA-e lady fetch-IMP
an·ge yo·-ʔo·-ba-dhik pi·-nɛ-tchi-ge,
 we^Pe below-LOC-NOM-one give-1→2-nsA-e
hɛkyaŋ ani
 then we^Pi
phuʔ-nisaʔ-e·kke· yuŋ-i!
 elder_brother-younger_sibling-like sit-pADH
 We'll give you one [a lady] from down here [to
 marry]. Fetch a lassy! We'll give you one
 from down here. Then let us^Pi sit like
 brothers!

(12) *khɛtna pe·g-i-me·n a-ya·ŋ laʔba!*
 there go-pADH-NEG 1-get_dizzy probably
 Let's^Pi not go there! We^Pi'll probably get dizzy!

(13) *anga khenchi tum-i ro·!*
 I you^d meet-pADH ASS
 Let's^Pi meet somewhere!

- (14) *ani yakhu·ŋ-ʔo· wadzak-se pe·g-i ro·!*
 we^{Pi} river-LOC swim-SUP go-pADH ASS
 Let's^P go swim in the river!

The adhortative of reflexive verbs is formed in the same way:

- (15) *anchi cak-ne-tchi!*
 we^{di} dress-REF-dADH
 Let's^{di} get dressed!

The suffix <-i> in plural intransitive adhortatives sometimes elides before the nexal negator <me·n>.

- (16) *cɬlɬkɬkpa ɬʔ me·l ɬo·!*
 adolescent be NOT ASS
 Let's^{Pi} cut it out! (Let's not be boisterous!)

- (17) *yəllik ke·llik tadzɛŋ me·n!*
 much at_length converse NOT
 Let's^{Pi} not be so verbose and long-winded!

- (18) *ca·ʔrik ware·ʔ co·k me·n!*
 very sarcasm be NOT
 Let's^{Pi} not be so sarcastic!

8.2. Imperative

The imperative is addressed to a second person with which it agrees in number. The sign of the imperative is <-εʔ>, and it occurs as the final suffix in all imperative forms. The singular is expressed by zero, the dual by the suffix -*etch* and the plural by the suffix -*amm* (2s: X-εʔ, 2d: X-*etch*-εʔ, 2p: X-*amm*-εʔ), eg. *thund-εʔ!* 'mend it!', *lag-amm-εʔ!* 'lick it!' (said to a herd of cows to which salt has been given), *tadzɛks-amm-εʔ* 'you^P all go on and talk [while I continue working] (i.e. don't mind me)!', *khəttho· yuks-amm-εʔ!* 'put it up there!', *cumdzum tɔŋ-amm-εʔ!* 'make up and be friends again', *cukpa tumba tɔŋs-εʔ!* 'make the small one and the big one fit together!', *sɔpman yuŋ-amm-εʔ* 'sit down for a second!', *kennisun. niseʔ! kusiŋ keni·ttu. kerɛk kusiŋ keni·ttu* 'you^s didn't see it. see it! then you^sll understand. you^sll understand everything.', *tadzɛks-etch-εʔ!* 'go on and converse!', *yɛb-εʔ!* 'stand up!', *a-ba·n kheps-εʔ* (my-word hear-IMP) 'listen to what I have to say!'. Imperatives are negated by the prefix <men->. In the

negative the imperative morpheme $\text{?}\epsilon$ has a regular allomorph $-\text{?}\epsilon\text{?}$ in singular imperatives, and the 2d suffix has a regular allomorph $-s$ (2s: $m\epsilon n-X-\text{?}\epsilon\text{?}$, 2d: $m\epsilon n-X-s\epsilon\text{?}$, 2p: $m\epsilon n-X-amm\epsilon\text{?}$), eg. $h\epsilon n\eta n\ \text{m}\epsilon n\text{ch}\alpha p\text{?}\epsilon\text{?}$! 'do not write anything!', $m\epsilon n\text{ch}\eta\text{?}l\epsilon\text{?}$! 'don't finish [it]!', $m\epsilon n\text{ch}\eta\text{?}\epsilon\text{?}$! 'don't die!', $m\epsilon n\text{?}i\text{?}\epsilon\text{?}$! 'don't wander!', $m\epsilon n-n\alpha\cdot t\text{-ch-}\epsilon\text{?}$! 'don't drive it off! (2d \rightarrow 3s)', $m\epsilon n-dz\alpha-\text{?}\epsilon\text{?}$! 'don't eat it!', $m\epsilon n-dz\alpha\text{-?}l\text{-}\epsilon\text{?}$! 'don't feed him!/don't play!'¹

¹ examples of intransitive imperative forms, affirmative and negative:

		<i>imma?</i> 'sleep'
2s	<i>ips-}\epsilon?</i>	<i>m\epsilon n-im-}\epsilon?</i>
2d	<i>ips-}\epsilon tch-}\epsilon?</i>	<i>m\epsilon n-im-s-}\epsilon?</i>
2p	<i>ips-amm-}\epsilon?</i>	<i>m\epsilon n-ips-amm-}\epsilon?</i>
		<i>lo\cdot kma?</i> 'run, sprint, race'
2s	<i>lo\cdot kt-}\epsilon?</i>	<i>m\epsilon l-lo\cdot k-}\epsilon?</i>
2d	<i>lo\cdot kt-}\epsilon tch-}\epsilon?</i>	<i>m\epsilon l-lo\cdot k-s-}\epsilon?</i>
2p	<i>lo\cdot kt-amm-}\epsilon?</i>	<i>m\epsilon l-lo\cdot kt-amm-}\epsilon?</i>
		<i>numa?</i> 'be alright, get well'
2s	<i>nur-}\epsilon?</i>	<i>m\epsilon n-nu-}\epsilon?</i>
2d	<i>nur-}\epsilon tch-}\epsilon?</i>	<i>m\epsilon n-nu-s-}\epsilon?</i>
2p	<i>nur-amm-}\epsilon?</i>	<i>m\epsilon n-nur-amm-}\epsilon?</i>
		<i>ph\epsilon mma?</i> 'come'
2s	<i>ph\epsilon?r-}\epsilon?</i>	<i>m\epsilon m-bh\epsilon n-}\epsilon?</i>
2d	<i>ph\epsilon?r-}\epsilon tch-}\epsilon?</i>	<i>m\epsilon m-bh\epsilon n-ch-}\epsilon?</i>
2p	<i>ph\epsilon?r-amm-}\epsilon?</i>	<i>m\epsilon m-bh\epsilon?r-amm-}\epsilon?</i>
		<i>khe\cdot ma?</i> fight
2s	<i>khe\cdot y-}\epsilon?</i>	<i>m\epsilon \eta-ghe\cdot-}\epsilon?</i>
2d	<i>khe\cdot y-}\epsilon tch-}\epsilon?</i>	<i>m\epsilon \eta-ghe\cdot-s-}\epsilon?</i>
2p	<i>khe\cdot y-amm-}\epsilon?</i>	<i>m\epsilon \eta-ghe\cdot y-amm-}\epsilon?</i>
		<i>y\eta nma?</i> sit
2s	<i>y\eta n-}\epsilon?</i>	<i>m\epsilon n-y\eta n-}\epsilon?</i>
2d	<i>y\eta n-}\epsilon tch-}\epsilon?</i>	<i>m\epsilon n-y\eta n-s-}\epsilon?</i>
2p	<i>y\eta n-amm-}\epsilon?</i>	<i>m\epsilon n-y\eta n-amm-}\epsilon?</i>
		<i>pe\cdot kma?</i> go
2s	<i>pe\cdot g-}\epsilon?/pe\cdot?</i>	<i>m\epsilon m-be\cdot k-}\epsilon?</i>
2d	<i>pe\cdot g-}\epsilon tch-}\epsilon?/pe\cdot-s-}\epsilon?</i>	<i>m\epsilon m-be\cdot k-s-}\epsilon?/m\epsilon m-be\cdot t-ch-}\epsilon?</i>
2p	<i>pe\cdot g-amm-}\epsilon?</i>	<i>m\epsilon m-be\cdot g-amm-}\epsilon?</i>

The imperatives of transitive verbs also agrees for number with a third person patient (sP, nsP).² The singular is unmarked, and the non-singular suffix is <-εs>. Patient suffixes immediately precede the final imperative suffix <-ε?>. The 2p suffix <-amm> and nsP suffix <-εs> assimilate to <-ams->, eg. *mεttamε?* *yu·ramε!* 'tell them and bring them down (2p→3ns)!', *te·ʔlha?* *yɔŋamε?* 'pick (2p) up those clothes!'. A comparison of the →3s and →3ns imperative forms reveals the affixation of the non-singular patient morpheme to be straightforward and regular except in non-negated 2d→3ns forms where, probably for haplological reasons, the suffix fuses with the second dual morpheme, eg. 2d→3ns *paŋsεε?* [< **paŋsetchεε?*] 'send them', as against 2d→3s *paŋsetchε?* 'send him'. As a result, the

² examples of transitive imperatives:

paŋma? 'send (a person somewhere)'

	→3s/AFF	→3s/NEG
2s	<i>paŋs-ε?</i>	<i>mεm-baŋ-ʔε?</i>
2d	<i>paŋs-εtch-ε?</i>	<i>mεm-baŋ-s-ε?</i>
2p	<i>paŋs-amm-ε?</i>	<i>mεm-baŋs-amm-ε?</i>
	→3ns/AFF	→3ns/NEG
2s	<i>paŋs-εs-ε?</i>	<i>mεm-baŋs-εs-ε?</i>
2d	<i>paŋs-εs-ε?</i>	<i>mεm-baŋ-s-εs-ε?</i>
2p	<i>paŋs-am-s-ε?</i>	<i>mεm-baŋs-am-s-ε?</i>

na·pma? 'drive away'

	→3s/AFF	→3s/NEG
2s	<i>na·tt-ε?</i>	<i>mεn-na·ʔl-ε?</i>
2d	<i>na·tt-εtch-ε?</i>	<i>mεn-na·t-ch-ε?</i>
2p	<i>na·tt-amm-ε?</i>	<i>mεn-na·tt-amm-ε?</i>
	→3ns/AFF	→3ns/NEG
2s	<i>na·tt-εs-ε?</i>	<i>mεn-na·tt-εs-ε?</i>
2d	<i>na·tt-εs-ε?</i>	<i>mεn-na·t-ch-εs-ε?</i>
2p	<i>na·tt-am-s-ε?</i>	<i>mεn-na·tt-am-s-ε?</i>

iŋma? 'buy'

	→3s/AFF	→3s/NEG
2s	<i>iŋ-ε?</i>	<i>mεn-iŋ-ʔε?</i>
2d	<i>iŋ-εtch-ε?</i>	<i>mεn-iŋ-s-ε?</i>
2p	<i>iŋ-amm-ε?</i>	<i>mεn-iŋ-amm-ε?</i>
	→3ns/AFF	→3ns/NEG
2s	<i>iŋ-εs-ε?</i>	<i>mεn-iŋ-εs-ε?</i>
2d	<i>iŋ-εs-ε?</i>	<i>mεn-iŋ-s-εs-ε?</i>
2p	<i>iŋ-am-s-ε?</i>	<i>mεn-iŋ-am-s-ε?</i>

non-negated 2s→3ns and 2d→3ns transitive imperatives are homophonous.

Transitive imperatives with a first person patient do not differentiate for number of second person addressee, nor do they fully differentiate for number of first person. There is a specific 2s→1s imperative form and a general 2→1

u·pma? 'call'

	→3s/AFF	→3s/NEG
2s	<i>u·tt-ε?</i>	<i>mεn-u·?1-ε?</i>
2d	<i>u·tt-εtch-ε?</i>	<i>mεn-u·t-ch-ε?</i>
2p	<i>u·tt-amm-ε?</i>	<i>mεn-u·tt-amm-ε?</i>
	→3ns/AFF	→3ns/NEG
2s	<i>u·tt-εs-ε?</i>	<i>mεn-u·tt-εs-ε?</i>
2d	<i>u·tt-εs-ε?</i>	<i>mεn-u·t-ch-εs-ε?</i>
2p	<i>u·tt-am-s-ε?</i>	<i>mεn-u·tt-am-s-ε?</i>

phεtma? 'bring'

	→3s/AFF	→3s/NEG
2s	<i>phεtt-ε?</i>	<i>mεm-bhε?1-ε?</i>
2d	<i>phεtt-εtch-ε?</i>	<i>mεm-bhεt-ch-ε?</i>
2p	<i>phεtt-amm-ε?</i>	<i>mεm-bhεtt-amm-ε?</i>
	→3ns/AFF	→3ns/NEG
2s	<i>phεtt-εs-ε?</i>	<i>mεm-bhεtt-εs-ε?</i>
2d	<i>phεtt-εs-ε?</i>	<i>mεm-bhεt-ch-εs-ε?</i>
2p	<i>phεtt-am-s-ε?</i>	<i>mεm-bhεtt-am-s-ε?</i>

tɔŋma? 'reconcile, join, make congruent'

	→3s/AFF	→3s/NEG
2s	<i>tɔŋs-ε?</i>	<i>mεn-dɔŋ-?ε?</i>
2d	<i>tɔŋs-εtch-ε?</i>	<i>mεn-dɔŋ-s-ε?</i>
2p	<i>tɔŋs-amm-ε?</i>	<i>mεn-dɔŋs-amm-ε?</i>
	→3ns/AFF	→3ns/NEG
2s	<i>tɔŋs-εs-ε?</i>	<i>mεn-dɔŋs-εs-ε?</i>
2d	<i>tɔŋs-εs-ε?</i>	<i>mεn-dɔŋ-s-εs-ε?</i>
2p	<i>tɔŋs-am-s-ε?</i>	<i>mεn-dɔŋs-am-s-ε?</i>

hu?ma? 'shut'

	→3s/AFF	→3s/NEG
2s	<i>hu?r-ε?</i>	<i>mεn-hu?-?ε?</i>
2d	<i>hu?r-εtch-ε?</i>	<i>mεn-hu?-s-ε?</i>
2p	<i>hu?r-amm-ε?</i>	<i>mεn-hu?r-amm-ε?</i>
	→3ns/AFF	→3ns/NEG
2s	<i>hu?r-εs-ε?</i>	<i>mεn-hu?r-εs-ε?</i>
2d	<i>hu?r-εs-ε?</i>	<i>mεn-hu?-s-εs-ε?</i>
2p	<i>hu?r-am-s-ε?</i>	<i>mεn-hu?r-am-s-ε?</i>

imperative. The specific 2s→1s imperative takes the first singular patient suffix <-aŋ>, eg. *co·gaŋε?* 'do me!', *saptε?* 'write me!', *mɛndzo·gaŋε?* 'don't do me!', *mɛmbhe·?r-aŋ-?ε?* 'don't fart at me!', *tho·-lam hu?raŋε?* 'bring it to me from up there!', *o·ndhaktε?* 'Show [it] to me!', *pi·raŋε?* 'give [it] to me!', *mɛmbi·raŋε?* 'don't give it to me!', *ɔ·mɔttε?* 'look at me!'. The general 2→1 imperative takes the first person patient prefix <a-> or

pi·ma? give (to someone)

	→3s/AFF	→3s/NEG
2s	<i>pi·r-ε?</i>	<i>mɛm-bi·-?ε?</i>
2d	<i>pi·r-εtch-ε?</i>	<i>mɛm-bi·r-εtch-ε?</i> (<i>mɛm-bi·-s-ε?</i>)
2p	<i>pi·r-amm-ε?</i>	<i>mɛm-bi·r-amm-ε?</i>
	→3ns/AFF	→3ns/NEG
2s	<i>pi·r-εs-ε-?</i>	<i>mɛm-bi·-s-ε?</i>
2d	<i>pi·r-εtch-εs-ε?</i>	<i>mɛ-bi·r-εtch-εs-ε?</i> (<i>mɛm-bi·-s-εs-ε?</i>)
2p	<i>pi·r-am-s-ε?</i> (<i>pi·r-am-ε-sε?</i>)	<i>mɛm-bi·r-am-s-ε?</i>

sapma? 'write'

2s	<i>sapt-ε?</i>	<i>mɛn-chap-?ε?</i>
2d	<i>sapt-εtch-ε?</i>	<i>mɛn-chap-s-ε?</i>
2p	<i>sapt-amm-ε?</i>	<i>mɛn-chapt-amm-ε?</i>

thunma? 'drink'

2s	<i>thun-ε?</i>	<i>mɛn-dhun-?ε?</i>
2d	<i>thun-εtch-ε?</i>	<i>mɛn-dhun-s-ε?</i>
2p	<i>thun-amm-ε?</i>	<i>mɛn-dhun-amm-ε?</i>

nima? 'see'

2s	<i>nis-ε?</i>	<i>mɛn-ni-?ε?</i>
2d	<i>nis-εtch-ε?</i>	<i>mɛn-ni-s-ε?</i>
2p	<i>nis-amm-ε?</i>	<i>mɛn-nis-amm-ε?</i>

ni·pma? 'read'

2s	<i>ni·r?ε?</i>	<i>mɛn-ni·?l-ε?</i>
2d	<i>ni·r-εtch-ε?</i>	<i>mɛn-ni·t-ch-ε?</i>
2p	<i>ni·r-amm-ε?</i>	<i>mɛn-ni·r-amm-ε?</i>

co·kma? 'do'

2s	<i>co·g-ε?</i>	<i>mɛn-dzo·k-?ε?</i>
2d	<i>co·g-εtch-ε?</i>	<i>mɛn-dzo·k-s-ε?</i>
2p	<i>co·g-amm-ε?</i>	<i>mɛn-dzo·g-amm-ε?</i>

its free morph equivalent <na·pmi>. In the negative 2→1 imperative, only the variant with <na·pmi> is possible, eg. *ta·ndik ahakte?*, *ro?* 'send it to us tomorrow, alright?', *o·n?adhakte?* 'show us!', *na·pmi co·ge?*!, *adzo·ge?*! 'do us!', *na·pmi mendzo·ge?*! 'don't do us!', *abi·re?*! 'give it to us!', *na·pmi pi·re?*! 'give it to me!/give it to us!', *na·pmi membi·?e?*! 'don't give it to us!', *sa·dzi? na·pmi pi·re?*! 'give me a bit of meat!', *asapte?*! 'write us!'.

In compound imperatives, the 3ns suffix is often omitted in the first verb, eg. *phogəna penche?-yukseεe?*! 'put the *lohoças* away, neatly lined up!', *nuram-tasamme?*! 'be prosperous!'. The 2p→3ns forms may be confluations of once fuller forms. Alongside the regular 2p→3ns forms like *na·ttamsε?* 'drive them away!', there are fuller but less frequent 2p→3ns forms of the type *na·ttamsime?* 'drive them away!', *menda?ha? o·mottamsime?*! 'watch the goats!'.

The reflexive imperative is formed in the same way as the intransitive imperative.³

In addition to the imperative forms discussed thus far, there is a pre-emptive imperative, formed by changing the imperative ending <-ε?> to <-?o·>, eg. *keyak melle?o·!* 'don't get angry!', *cellεklekpa melle?rammo·!* 'don't behave adolescently boisterously!'. The difference between the regular and the pre-emptive imperative is illustrated by the following pairs: *menye·?le?* 'don't laugh!' (the person addressed is already laughing) vs. *menye·?lo·* 'don't laugh!' (the person addressed looks as if he might laugh or the speaker anticipates that he may laugh), *menha·p?e?*

³ examples of the reflexive imperative, affirmative and negative:

hi·siŋma? 'look back'

2s	<i>hi·-siŋ-ε?</i>	<i>men-hi·-siŋ-?e?</i>
2d	<i>hi·-ne-tch-ε?</i>	<i>men-hi·-ne-tch-ε?</i>
2p	<i>hi·-siŋ-amm-ε?</i>	<i>men-hi·-siŋ-amm-ε?</i>

hu?siŋma? 'learn'

2s	<i>hu?-siŋ-ε?</i>	<i>men-hu?-siŋ-?e?</i>
2d	<i>hu?-ne-tch-ε?</i>	<i>men-hu?-ne-tch-ε?</i>
2p	<i>hu-siŋ-amm-ε?</i>	<i>men-hu-siŋ-amm-ε?</i>

warumsiŋma? 'wash oneself, bathe'

2s	<i>warum-siŋ-ε?</i>	<i>wa-mel-lum-siŋ-?e?</i>
2d	<i>warum-ne-tch-ε?</i>	<i>wa-mel-lum-ne-tch-ε?</i>
2p	<i>warum-siŋ-amm-ε?</i>	<i>wa-mel-lum-siŋ-amm-ε?</i>

'don't cry!' (the person addressed is crying) vs. *mən-ha·pʔo·* 'don't cry!' (the person addressed looks as if though he might start crying), *mɛmba·ʔlɛʔ* 'don't talk!' (the person addressed is talking) vs. *mɛmba·ʔlo·* 'don't talk! (the person addressed looks as if he might start talking), *ɔ·mɛmmɔʔlɛʔ* 'don't look!' (the person addressed already is), *ɔ·mɛmmɔʔlo·* 'don't look!' (the speaker anticipates that the person addressed might look).

8.3. The Nominalizer suffix *-pa*

The nominalizer suffix *-pa* may be affixed to a verb stem, simplex, adverb or interrogative pronoun to create a nominal which can be used adnominally as an adjective or independently as a noun taking case suffixes.

The suffix *-pa* is used to nominalize adverbs to yield adjectives which may be used independently or adnominally, eg. *anchɛn* 'yesterday' + *-pa* → *anchɛm-ba* 'yesterday's', *kɔŋ anchɛmba* 'this is yesterday's', *anchɛmba inghɔŋ* 'yesterday's news', *allɔ ɪʔlɪʔlɪ-pa* (now just_now-NOM) 'fresh'. Most common are adjectives derived from adverbs of place, as in *siŋbe·k-ʔo·-ba mudho·k-kusiŋ murik* (lit. chin-LOC-NOM moustache-like body_hair), one of the possible expressions to translate Nepali *dāhrī* or 'beard', a feature which ethnic Limbus lack.

When the nominalizer is suffixed to adverbs, the resultant form cannot show gender agreement. For example, in (11) above, a human female is intended by the form *yo·ʔo·ba* 'someone from down here', but a corresponding specifically feminine form **yo·ʔo·ma* is rejected.

(19) *amarika-ba mənə·n tha·na-ʔo· mɛ-sakt-u.*
 America-NOM man-ABS gaol-LOC nsAS-lock_up-3P
 They locked the American up in gaol.

(20) *ku-la·p-ʔo·-ba murik kumakla kubhɔra co·k.*
 his-wing-LOC-NOM body_hair black white be
 The feathers on its wings are white and black.

- (21) *Yuma: khɛnɛ? sa kɛ-dzɔ-i.?*
 grandmother you^s meat 2-eat/3P-Q
Tɔre·ba: mɛ-dza-ʔɛ-n.
 guest NEG-eat-1s→3/NPT-NEG
Pho·kwama: khunɛ? mɛ-dzɔ-nɛn.
 youngest_daughter he NEG-eat/3P-NEG
Yansarumba: ku-nbo·-lle ku-sikto·-ʔo·-ba
 third_born his-nose-GEN its-beneath-LOC-NOM
phu?ku-ʔo· rɔk akt-u!
 cave-LOC only put-3P
 Grandmother: Do you^s eat meat?
 Guest: No, I don't.
 Youngest daughter: No, he doesn't eat meat.
 Third-born: Nah, he just puts it in the cave
 underneath his nose!
- (22) *kɛ-ba·ŋphe·-ʔo·-ba mənə a·kkhɛn tɔŋbe·*
 your^s-village-LOC-NOM man how_many years
kɛ-hiŋ-i.?
 2-live-pPS
 What is the life expectancy in your^s village?
- (23) *kheʔo·-bɛ-n kɛdzi·ba co·k.*
 there-NOM-ABS cool be
 [Water] from there (viz. from a certain *kuvā*) is
 cool.
- (24) *wakho·mba-ʔo·-ba cwaʔl-in takt-u-ŋ.*
kuvā-LOC-NOM water-ABS tap-3P-1sA
 I tap the water in the *kuvā*.
- (25) *an·ge ta·mbhuŋ-ʔo·-ba mənə kusin ɔʔr-i-ge,*
 we^{pe} jungle-LOC-NOM man like seem-pPS-e
mɛ·n-ni.?
 no-Q
 We^{pe} must seem like jungle men [to you], mustn't
 we?

The suffixation of *-pa* to verb stems and to conjugated simplicia results in the nominalization of a verb or clause. The addition of *-pa* to bare stems is an old process which underlies many adjectives: *ke·mba* (*ke·n-* + *-pa*) 'long, tall', *yamba* (*yən-* + *-pa*) 'big', *tɔŋba* (*tɔŋ-* + *-pa*) 'short', *tumba* (*tum-* + *-pa*) 'old', *nuba* (*nu-* + *-pa*) 'good'.

Some of the nominals derived this way, though originally adjectival in meaning, have become lexicalized as nouns, eg. *limba* 'a sweet, a confection' (*lim-* + *-pa*)⁴. In cases

where lexicalization has not occurred, adjectives are readily used independently as nominal heads as well, eg. *na dhaba* 'he is someone who has lost face', *en haŋwaba* 'today is a scorcher'. Suffixation of *-pa* to nominalize verb stems is a productive process in modern Limbu.

- (26) *khεnε?* *kε-ndzum-in siradhaŋ-ba rəcə.*
 you^s 2-friend-ABS please-NOM DEPR
 Your^s friend turns out to be a likeable, congenial
 person.

Nominalized verb stems are negated by the prefix <*mεn-*>, eg. *nuba* 'good', *mεnnuba* 'bad'. Nominalized verb stems, unlike nominalized adverbs, agree in gender with animate referents of the female sex, eg. *khεŋ nuba co·k* 'he/it is good', *khεŋ numa co·k* 'she is good'.

Nominalization of conjugated simplicia results in the nominalization of an entire clause which can in turn be subordinated as a constituent of the main clause. For nonstative verbs in isolation it is impossible to discern by formal criteria alone whether one is dealing with an imperfective form in *-pa* or a nominalized simplex, eg. *hiptuŋba* can be both 'I hit him' and 'he whom I have hit'. In many cases, the nominalized reading is the most obvious because the imperfective would be unusual or, at best, semantically marked as, for example, a negative nonpreterit imperfective, eg. *mεni?εmba* 'he whom I did not see', *mchip-?εmba* '[the child] whom I have not struck'. In the case of stative verbs, which do not take an imperfective suffix, the only possible reading is as a nominalization: *mεlε--?εmba* 'that is something I don't know', *lε·suŋba* 'that's something I know'.

In natural usage, such nominalized forms seldom occur in isolation and always occur in a context, but even so, a nominalized form is sometimes difficult to distinguish semantically from an imperfective, eg. (in reference to the Limbu dish of *cεmghik* or 'soy-bitter', which is unfamiliar to the inhabitants of the *Tarāī*) *kəŋ kusin-ε-n-ni-tt-u-m-ba* (this be_familiar_with-nsAS-NEG-be_familiar_with-3P-NEG-NOM) 'this is something they're not familiar with', *mε-dza·nd-u-ba* (nsAS-colour-3P-NOM) 'this has been painted by them/this is what they painted'. The distinction is formally explicit when a nominalized form takes case suf-

* as opposed to the active participle *kεlimba* 'sweet'. Such participles are treated in the next section.

fixes, eg. *ke-bhatt-u-m-be-n-ni?* (2-bring-3P-pA-NOM-ABS-Q)
'is [this] the one youP brought?'

Subordination of clauses by means of nominalization is a widespread phenomenon in Limbu, eg. (27-46) and, under 5.3.1, (64).

(27) *ku-lum-?o· me-bhaŋ-u-ba way-ε.*
its-between-LOC nsAS-fence_off-3P-NOM be-PT
In between there was a separating wall they had
built.

(28) *khεŋ re·diyo·-n sɔpma-dzi? khεps-u-lle gɔ·*
that radio-ABS moment-few listen-3P-SUB then
re·diyo·-lle pa·tt-u-be-n
radio-ERG speak-3P-NOM-ABS
kusiŋ-me-ni·tt-u-n.
understand-NEG-understand-3P-NEG
Listening to that radio for a little while, she
did not understand what the radio was saying.

(29) *so·kt-u-ŋ-ba ya·mbɔk-?in co·k-m?*
aim-3P-1sA-NOM work-ABS do-INF
me-n-he·?-baŋ.
NEG-NEG-be_able-1s→3/PT
I was unable to do the work I had had in mind.

(30) *lɔ?r-aŋ-ba ya·mbɔk-?in co·k-m?*
say-1sPS/PT-NOM work-ABS do-INF
me-n-he·?-baŋ.
NEG-NEG-be_able-1s→3/PT
I was unable to do the work I had said [I would
do].

(31) *anchi a-ba·tt-ε-tch-u-ba*
we^{di} 1-speak-PT-dA-3P-NOM
kusiŋ-me-ni·tt-w-i·?
understand-nsAS-understand-3P-Q
Did they understand what we^{di} were saying?

(32) *anchige thuŋ-ε-tch-u-ge-be-n thi·*
we^{de} drink-PT-dA-3P-e-NOM-ABS millet_beer
kudzaphe?r-ε.
taste_bad-PT
The millet beer we^{de} drank tasted bad.

- (33) *pe·g-ε-ba ke-nis-w-i·?*
 go-PT-NOM 2-see-3P-Q
 Did you^s see her go?/Did you^s see that she went
 away?
- (34) *pa·ʔr-ε ne·s-ε-ba rək kheps-u.*
 speak-PT stay-PT-NOM only hear-3P
 All she heard was that it kept on talking.
- (35) *khεnε? ke-huʔr-aη-ba kusin̄ni·tt-u-η.*
 you^s 2-teach-1sPS/PT-NOM understand-3P-1sA
 I understand what you^s have taught me.
- (36) *pa·t-mʔ na·ʔr-ε-be-n nis-u-waη 'kəη-le*
 speak-INF give_up-PT-NOM-ABS see-3P-and this-ERG
kəη-e· na·kt-u-ba rəcə' phaʔaη
 this-EMPH ask_for-3P-NOM DEPR bhanera
i·tt-u.
 think-3P
 Having seen that it had given up speaking, she
 thought, 'So, this is what it was asking
 for.'
- (37) *hεkkelle gə· khunchi wabak pe·sεʔ-ʔə·*
 so then they^d pond edge-LOC
ne·s-ε-tchi-ba nis-u.
 stay-PT-dPS-NOM see-3P
 Only then did he see that they^d had been sleeping
 at the edge of a watering hole pond.
- (38) *khunε? huʔr-aη-ba kusin̄ni·tt-u-η.*
 he teach-1sPS/PT-NOM understand-3P-1sA
 I understand what he has taught me.
- (39) *angga a-mma-re thapt-aη-ba ku-saʔ-ʔε.*
 I my-mother-ERG bear-1sPS/PT-NOM her-son-am
 I am [her] son that my mother bore./I am the son
 my mother bore.
- (40) - *kəη ke-ʔiη-u-m-ba-i·?*
 this 2-buy-3P-pA-NOM-Q
 - *kappo·be-lle.*
 old_man-ERG
 - Is this the one you^P bought?
 - No, it's the one the old man bought.

- (41) *na·m-ille cɔ-ba ho·rik ti·kt-ε.*
 sun-ERG eat-NOM skin peel-PT
 The skin which has been burned (lit. eaten) by the
 sun is peeling.
- (42) *anchen ke-hu?r-ε-be-n*
 yesterday 2-bring_and_give-PT-NOM-ABS
ke-η-gɔtt-u-n-ni·?
 2-NEG-have-3P-NEG-Q
 Don't you^s have what he brought and gave you^s
 yesterday?
- (43) *mε-n-ni-baη-ba mənə-lle a-yaη-in*
 NEG-NEG-see-1s→3-NOM man-ERG my-money-ABS
khutt-u.
 steal-PT
 A man I didn't see stole my money.
- (44) - *henəη ke-su·s-ε-ba?*
 why 2-be_late-PT-IPF
 - *angə tho· lanpho·ηga mε-dza·tt-u-rɔ*
 I above football nsAS-play-3P-prG
mε-ya·g-ε-be-n ɔ·mɔtt-u-η. hekyaη
 nsAS-be-PT-NOM-ABS look_at-3P-1sA. So,
su·s-aη-ba. a-ndzum-ha?
 be_late-1sPS/PT-IPF. my-friend-p
mε-dze·-rɔ mε-ya·g-ε. hekkelle angə-aη
 nsAS-play/PT-prG nsAS-be-PT. so I-too
ɔ·mɔtt-u-η gɔrɔ a-sira dhaη.
 watch-3P-1sA if my-pleasure come_up.
 - Why are you^s late?
 - I was up there watching the guys playing
 football. That's why I'm late. My friends
 were playing football. So, I too enjoy
 myself if I watch.
- (45) *khəη ho·pt-ε-ba nis-ε-tch-u-waη ku-ndzum-ille*
 that not_be-PT-NOM see-PT-dA-3P-pfG his-friend-ERG
mεtt-u 'huk-?o· wa·p-mna-be-n mund-ε-rɔ
 say-3P hand-LOC wear-PP-NOM-ABS run-PT-prG
way-ε-i· mεm-mun-?e· way-ε-i·?'
 be-PT-Q npG-run-npG be-PT-Q
 When they^d saw that it was not there, his friend
 said to him, 'Was the watch running or wasn't
 it?'

- (46) *ke-ma·nd-u-ba po·ks-ε.*
 2-finish-3P-NOM be-PT
 It has gotten used up by you^s.
- (47) *anga pa·tt-u-η-be-n ke-ghεps-w-i·?*
 I say-3P-1sA-NOM-ABS 2-hear-3P-Q
 Did you^s hear what I said?
- (48) *an·ge a-mma-re tho·kt-u-ba tək*
 we^{pe} my-mother-ERG cook-3P-NOM rice
kerεk-nulle kudzanu-ba co·k!
 everything-than be_udelicious-NOM be
 The rice our^{pe} mother cooks is the most delicious!

When the nominalizer suffix *-pa* is added to the absolutive form of the interrogative pronouns *hεn* or *e·n*, the speaker is more concerned with the generic identity of the unknown referent, although it would be going too far to translate *hεmba* and *e·mba* with 'what kind of thing' or 'what kind of person' because the distinction between *hεn*, *e·n* and *hεmba*, *e·mba* is subtler. This distinction is not readily translated into languages lacking a similar construction, such as English. A similar distinction can be expressed in English by modulating the intonation or, in Nepali, by omitting the form 'to be' in the following, but these contrivances are clearly not equivalent.

<i>kəŋ hεn?</i>	What is <i>this</i> ?	<i>yo ke?</i>
<i>kəŋ hεmba?</i>	What is this?	<i>yo ke ho?</i>

<i>kəŋ e·n?</i>	Who is this?/who is <i>this</i> ?
<i>kəŋ e·mba?</i>	Who is this?

- (49) *tho·ghεŋ hεmba?*
 What is that up there?

8.4. The active participle and its negative

Simultaneous affixation of the prefix <*ke-*> and the suffix <*-pa*> to a verb stem yields its active participle. The active participle (AP) of a transitive verb pertains to its agent, eg. *keεppa* 'he who kills', *ke·de·?ba* 'he who takes away', *keghuppa* 'he who steals, thief, thieving', *ke?iŋba* 'he who buys', *keniba* 'he who sees', *kebi·ba* 'he who gives', *kehu?ba* 'he who teaches', *kesukpa* 'he who is able', *kedho·kpa* 'he who cooks', *ke?u·ppa* 'he who calls', *ninŋan*

kebhukpa 'a killjoy, he who spoils the fun', *kebi·ppa* 'he who sucks', *kebheppa* 'he who brings', *kedzo·kpa* 'a working man', *kedhuṅba* 'a drinking man'.

- (50) *sa ke-dho·k-pa e·n me-way-ε?*
 meat AP-cook-AP who nsAS-be-PT
 Who were the people who were cooking the meat?
- (51) *piʔl ke-gom-be-n a·tto·?*
 bull AP-graze-AP-ABS where
 Where's the guy grazing the cattle?

The active participle of an intransitive verb pertains to its subject, eg. *keḍi·ppa* 'that which burns (of a fire)', *kesiba* 'he who is dying', *keʔiṅba* 'he who is famous, that which is well known', *kebe·ba* 'that which flies'.

- (52) *ke-syut-pa ke-dzo-i·?*
 AP-taste_sour-AP 2-eat/3P-Q
 Do you^s eat sour?
- (53) *kheneʔ heṅaṅ*
 you^s why
mone·-ke-dhik-pa?
 mumble_invectives-AP-mumble_invectives-AP
e·-lle heṅ ke-mett-ε?
 who-ERG what 2-say_to-PT
 Why are you^s mumbling invectives under your
 breath? Who told you^s what?
- (54) - *khēṅ laṅ-ge-ghe·k-pa mṅa e·n na? e·n cha o·?*
 that walk-AP-walk-AP man who EMPH? who EMPH oh!
 - *lamdiʔpaṅ laʔba.*
 wayfarer probably.
 - Who's that guy walking there? Who is it?
 - Probably just a wayfarer.
- (55) *nam-ke-bhet-chiṅ-ba ke-bo·ks-ε-ba-i·?*
 sun-AP-fetch-REF-AP 2-become-PT-IPF-Q
 Have you^s turned into someone who likes to dry
 himself out in the sun (said to someone who
 has recently developed a habit of falling
 asleep and taking naps out in the hot sun).
- (56) *ke-ʔi·-ba te·!*
 AP-wander-AP come/PT
 The wanderer (wandering one) has come!

When an intransitive verb's agentivity is high, eg. *sarɔ·n-di kɛdza·ba* 'he who plays on the slide', the active participle relates that the subject performs the indicated action or exhibits the indicated quality, eg. (52-56). When the agentivity of an intransitive the verb is low, eg. *kchɛppa* 'that which is shattered', the active participle indicates that the subject has already undergone the action, eg. (57-59).

- (57) *nɛpphu hɛndza? thik ya·n-le kɛ-bo·ŋ-ba*
 two boy one day-GEN AP-be_born-AP
way-ɛ-tchi.
 be-PT-dPS
 There were once two boys who had been born on the same day.
- (58) *kɛ-de·ŋ-ba tɛ·ʔl-in thund-u.*
 AP-tear-AP clothes-ABS mend-3P
 He mends torn clothes.
- (59) *ɛn kɛ-dhup-pɛ-n sɛt-m? bo·ŋ*
 today AP-cave_in-AP-ABS build_a_wall-INF EXIG
la?ba.
 probably
 I guess what caved in will have to be repaired today.
- (60) *pitcha mɛ-n-dzɔ-nɛn, kɛ-si-bɛ-rɛ-n*
 beef nsAS-NEG-eat-NEG, AP-die-AP-GEN-ABS
mɛ-ghɛks-u.
 nsAS-dry-3P
 They don't eat beef, but they will dry the meat of a dead one. (In reference to the Tibetans of *Tāplejuñ* who abstain from beef in respect to Nepalese law but will prepare *sukuṭī* or fried jerky from a cow which has died a natural death.)

Note the expression *him kɛho·ppa* 'a destitute' (Nep. *sukum-bāsī*) in which the active participle of non-existential 'to be' *ho·pma?* pertains to *him* 'house', although the collocation as a whole has a human referent. The same is illustrated in (61).

- (61) *yetchaba hem-bhelle, yetchaba bhelle ku-mma*
 orphan what-bhanera orphan bhanera his-mother
ku-mba ke-ho·p-pa.
 his-father AP-not_be-AP
 What is an orphan, an orphan is someone without a
 mother or father.

The active participle is a nominal and can be used both as an adnominal modifier, eg. *kenanba mæna* 'a crazy person', or as an independent noun taking nominal case and number suffixes, eg. *kegoppa-ha? mengoppma-ha?* 'the haves and the have-nots', eg. (62-73) and, in Chapter 7, (70).

- (62) *ke-nik-siη-ba-ha?-re khunchi-sa? lo·n.*
 AP-fuck-REF-AP-p-GEN their-child come_out
 Those who copulate get children.
- (63) *ku-be·se?-?o· ku-ndzum-dhik ke-wa·-be-n kheη*
 his-vicinity-LOC his-friend-one AP-be-AP-ABS that
pa·n-nin mett-u.
 word-ABS say_to-3P
 So he told that story to a friend of his who
 happened to be there in his vicinity.
- (64) *ke-ma·-be-lle mett-u 'mund-ε-rɔ way-ε'.*
 AP-lose-AP-ERG say_to-3P run-PT-prG be-PT
 The guy who had lost it said to him, 'It was
 running [at the time].'
- (65) *kheη ke-bhem-be-n mæna-re-n ku-ndzum.*
 that AP-come-AP-ABS man-GEN-ABS his-friend
 He's the friend of that man who has come.
- (66) *kheη kudza ke-bhɔ·η-be-n e·n na?*
 that food AP-divide-AP-ABS who EMPH
 Who's that dividing up the food?
- (67) *kɔη yumma?l ke-ha·-be-n e·n na?*
 this vegetables AP-apportion-AP-ABS who EMPH
 Who is this guy distributing the vegetables?
- (68) *kudza-ke-nu-be-n ke-m-bi·!*
 taste_good-AP-taste_good-AP-ABS 2-nsAS-give
 They'll give you^s the good tasting stuff!

- (69) *le·gha·k le·wa bhelle hem-bhelle? le·wa bhelle*
 smegma sperm bhaneko what-bhaneko sperm bhaneko
bhitra-lam ke-lɔ·m-ba. le·gha·k bhelle
 inside-from AP-come_out-AP smegma bhaneko
pa·kkha ke-bɔp-pe-n. le·-ʔo·-lam
 outside AP-stick-AP-ABS penis-LOC-from
ke-lɔ·m-be-n le·wa. kɔʔo· kabhri
 AP-come_out-AP-ABS sperm here all_around
kabhri ke-bɔp-pe-n le·gha·k.
 all_around AP-stick-AP-ABS smegma

What are sperm and smegma? Sperm is that which comes out from inside, whereas smegma is that which remains sticking on the outside. That which comes out from inside the penis is sperm. What is stuck here all over the place is smegma.

- (70) *na·-nu ke-bhem-be-n ke-ndzum-in*
 there-from AP-come-AP-ABS your^s-friend-ABS
kheneʔ-nulle tum-mi· pak-ʔi·
 you^s-than be_older-Q be_younger-Q
 Is your^s friend who is coming from over there older or younger than you^s?

- (71) *kɔʔo· ke-yuŋ-me-n khɛŋ kappo·be-lle*
 here AP-sit-AP/f-ABS that old_man-GEN
ku-bho·kwama.
 his-youngest_sister
 The lady sitting here is that old man's youngest sister.

- (72) *sammyaŋ ke-wa·p-ma-ha? nəksa ke-dzo·g-u-si-ʔi·?*
 gold AP-wear-AP/f-p picture 2-make-3P-nsP-Q
 Are you^s going to take a photograph of the ladies wearing gold jewelry?

- (73) *sammyaŋ ke-wa·p-ma-ha?*
 gold AP-wear-AP/f-p
yaʔ-ge-rak-pa-ha? ɔ·mɔp-maʔ-si
 rice_dance-AP-rice_dance-AP-p watch-INF-nsP
po·ŋ
 EXIG
 It's time to go watch the ladies wearing gold and the people performing the rice harvest dance.

The choice of tense in qualitative verbs enables the following distinction: *sak* 'it is difficult', *sakte* 'it was difficult'. Roughly the same meaning can be conveyed by using the active participle with attributive 'to be' *co·k-ma?*. The difference, however, lies in the fact that the combination of active participle and *co·kma?* presents the quality indicated as an attribute rather than something inherent: *kɔŋ ya·mbɔk kɛsakpa co·k* 'this work is difficult', *kɛsakpa co·ge* 'it was difficult'. The active participle is not chosen in the sentence *sammyaŋ lip* 'gold is heavy' because the weight of gold is an inherent quality.

Moreover, an active participle can also combine with transitional 'to be' *po·ŋma?* and relate meanings which the qualitative verb cannot convey in a conjugated form, eg. *kɛsakpa po·kse* 'it has become difficult', *kɛsakpa po·ŋ* 'it is difficult (as an inherent state or process)'.⁵

The active participles of nonstative verbs also combine with *co·kma?* to express an attribute, where the verb itself would only indicate the performance of an activity, as in (74) where a habit of the lady in question is pointed out. Examples (75-82) also illustrate the attributive sense of the active participle.

- (74) *kheŋ menchuma sa·rik co·kphuŋ ke-dzo·k-ma co·k*
 that lady very fabrication AP-do-AP/f be
henanbhelle co·kphuŋ pa·n lɔk pa·ʔl.
 because fabrication speech only speak
 This lady is a real tall tale teller because she
 only tells exaggerated stories.

- (75) *kheŋ ke-ndzum-in muso·k ke-dzo·k-pa co·k.*
 that your^s-friend-ABS humour AP-do-AP be
 That friend of yours is a barrel of laughs.

- (76) *kɔŋ mənə--n ca·ʔrik ke-ba·p-pa ke-ye·p-pa co·k.*
 this man-ABS very AP-talk-AP AP-laugh-AP be
 This man is really a talker and a laugher.⁵

- (77) *yaŋsarumbɛ-n sa·rik ke-su--ba ke-dɔp-pa*
 third_born-ABS very AP-be_late-AP AP-be_lazy-AP
co·k.
 be
 Third-born is a very lazy person who tends never
 to be on time.

⁵ qualities positively valued in Limbu society.

- (78) *anga-an yan-ge-sa?-ba co·k-?ε. hckyan*
 I-too be_poor-AP-be_poor-AP be-1sPS/NPT so
hen co·k-ma? yan-men-cha?-mna-e·?
 what do-INF be_poor-NP-be_poor-NP-VOC
 I too am indigent. So, what should I do, oh
 unafflicted one?
- (79) *khunε? yəllik yan kətt-u, həkkelε khunε?*
 he much money have-3P so he
yan-men-cha?-mna co·k.
 be_indigent-NP-be_indigent-NP be
 He has lots of money, so he's not poor.
- (80) *sapla ni·p-ma? na·si kε-dhə·p-pa co·k.*
 book read-INF persevere AP-persevere-AP be
 He is persistently reading books.
- (81) *a·kkhen tənbe· kε-gep-pa kε-yo·?*
 how_many year AP-arrive-AP 2-reach
 How many years old are you^s?/What age have you^s
 attained?
- (82) *khεn menchya a-nsa-nulle*
 that girl my-younger_sibling-than
kusiη-ge-ni·p-pa co·k.
 understand-AP-understand-AP be
 That girl is more intelligent than my kid brother.

In fact, the verb *takphe·ma?* 'be irate' corresponding to the active participle *takkεbhe·ba* 'irate' is never used other than as an active participle because nobody is permanently or inherently irate.

As in (71-73) above and (133) in chapter 7, the active participle agrees for gender with animate female referents, eg. *ya·mbək kədzo·kpa mənə* 'a working man', *ya·mbək kε-dzo·kma menchuma* 'a working woman', *keyuηma menchuma* 'the sitting lady', *keyuηba mənə* 'the sitting man', *ma·ki kədza-ba mənə* 'the man eating maize', *ma·ki kədzama menchuma* 'the woman eating maize', *tha·k kədha·kma menchuma* 'the woman weaving', *tha·k kədha·kpa mənə* 'the man weaving', *kədhuηba mənə* 'the man drinking', *kədhuηma menchuma* 'the woman drinking'.

The negative participle (NP) is formed by simultaneous affixation of the prefix <men-> and the suffix <-mna> to the verb stem, eg. *kədhumba* 'industrious, hard-working', *mendhumna* 'not hard-working, not industrious', *wakerakpa* 'wet, that which has become wet', *wamenlakηna* 'not wet, eg.

(78-79). Active participles of stative verbs lack negative counterparts, eg. **mennumna* (cf. *kenuba*). The negative participle is originally exclusively the negative form of the passive participle (8.6) and has come to fulfill the function of negative active participle for nonstative verbs:

- (83) *ha-mɛn-chuk-mʔnɛ-lle* *nɔŋ-mɛ-lle*
 be_cutting-NP-be_cutting-NP-INST shave-INF-SUB
sa·rik tuk.
 very hurt
 It really hurts when you shave with a blunt razor.
- (84) *kɔŋ mənə-·n ya·mbɔk co·k-mʔ na·si*
 this man-ABS work do-INF persevere
kɛ-dhɔ·p-pa co·k, khɛŋ mənə-·n ya·mbɔk
 AP-persevere-AP be that man-ABS work
co·k-mʔ na·si mɛn-dhɔ·p-mʔna co·k.
 do-INF persevere NP-persevere-NP be
 This is a man who perseveres in his work, that is
 a man who does not persevere in his work.
- (85) *hu·pciki mɛm-ba·ŋ-ŋna.*
 tangled_knot NP-come_undone-NP
 The knot is untangleable.

A negative active participle may be nominalized by addition of the suffix *-pa*. Affixed to a verb form, *-pa* agrees in gender, eg. *mɛn-dhuŋ-ŋna-ba* 'a non-drinker (m)', *mɛn-dhuŋ-ŋna-ma* 'a non-drinker (f)'.

The difference between a nominalized verb stem and its active participle lies in the more dynamic, absolute meaning of the active participle. Compare: *khɛŋ nuba co·k* 'that is good, he is good', *numa co·k* 'she is good' as opposed to *khɛŋ kenuba co·k* 'that is [definitely] good, he is [truly] good', *khɛŋ kenuma co·k* 'she is [definitely] good'; *kudzanuba tɔk* 'delicious *bhāt*' as opposed to *kudza-kenuba tɔk* 'good-tasting *bhāt*'. The use of active participle in (86) and (87) is far more positive and complimentary than the use of the nominalized stem would be.

- (86) *kuʔitla kɛ-nu-ba.*
 his-voice AP-be_good-AP
 His voice is good.

- (87) *kudza-kε-nu-ba* *rəcə.*
 taste_{good}-AP-taste_{good}-AP DEPR
 As it turns out, this is the good-tasting stuff.

Adverbs have no active participles but may either be nominalized, eg. *sumsum* 'in a civilized, well-mannered, modest, unassuming fashion' to yield an adjective, eg. *sumsumba* 'civilized, well-mannered, modest, unassuming' or may combine with the active participle of *lɔʔmaʔ*, eg. *sumsum kɛlɔʔba* 'someone who behaves in a well-mannered fashion, behaving in a well-mannered fashion'.

8.5. The passive participle

The passive participle is formed through suffixation of <-*mna*, -*mʔna*> to the verb stem. Passive participles may be nominalized by addition of the suffix <-*pa*> and used adnominally, eg. *khεŋ-ŋna-ba sa* 'dried meat, jerky', *warəŋ-ŋna-ba te·ʔl* 'clothes which have been made wet', or independently, eg. *khak-ŋna-ba* 'that which has solidified (of smolten metal which has solidified)'. The nominalized passive participle is a productive process in deriving all sorts of patientive nouns: *sapmnaba* 'something written', *camnaba* 'something to eat', *ɔ·mɔpmnaba* 'something to watch', *hakŋnaba* 'something to send', *wa·pmnaba* 'something to wear', *thuŋŋnaba* 'a drink, a beverage', *khikwa ca·mnaba* 'a whistle', *nisaŋ phukŋnaba* 'spoilt fun', *ho·pmnaba* (inhale-PP-NOM) 'Limbu cigarette, Nepali cigarette or *biḍī*, Western cigarette'.

The passive participle suffix is homophonous with the 1peAS/PT suffix but homophony is generally disambiguated by the context, eg. *thuŋ-ŋna-ba* (drink-PP-NOM) *thi·kudzaphεʔ-rc* 'the millet beer which was drunk [by all of us^{Pi}] tasted like shit', *anige thuŋ-ŋna-ba* (drink-1peAS/PT-NOM) *thi·kudzaphεʔrc* 'The millet beer we^{Pe} drank tasted like shit.'

- (88) *kε-ba·ŋphe·-ʔo·* *pe·g-εʔ-aŋ huk-ʔo·*
 your^s-village-LOC go-IMP-and hand-LOC
wa·ʔ-mʔna-bε-n haŋ-εʔ.
 wear-PP-NOM-ABS send-IMP
 Go back to your^s village and send [me] a watch./Having gone back to your^s village, send [me] a watch.

- (89) - *phuli hen?*
phulī what
 - *phuli nebho--?o· wa·p-mna-ba.*
phulī nose-LOC wear-PP-NOM
 - What is a *phulī*? (Nepali for golden floriform nose ornament)
 - A *phulī* is something you wear in your nose.
- (90) *wa?dhi·n a·kdanba ke-sira dhan?*
 egg what_kind_of your^s-pleasure come_up
tho·k-ṅna-ba-i· them-mna-ba-i·?
 fry-PP-NOM-Q boil-PP-NOM-Q
 How do you^s like your egg? Fried or boiled?
- (91) *wa·p-mna-be-n hakt-an-ε?*
 wear-PP-NOM-ABS send-1sP-IMP
 Send me a watch!
- (92) *mok-mna-ba cwa?l pitnu.*
 heat_up-PP-NOM water milk
 Heated up milk and water.
- (93) - *wcthya?-dok-?i· ma·ki-dok-?i·?*
 rice-*bhāt*-Q maize-*bhāt*-Q
 - *wcthya?-dok ma·ki-dok phup-mna-ba.*
 rice-*bhāt* maize-*bhāt* mix-PP-NOM
 - Is this rice-*bhāt* or maize-*bhāt*?
 - This is rice-*bhāt* and maize-*bhāt* mixed together.
- (94) *kappo·ba ke-dums-ε, ko?o· phup-mna-ba.*
 elderly_man 2-ripen-PT here mix-PP-NOM
 You^s've aged into an old man, here (pointing at the temples of the addressed) you've got grey hairs.
- (95) *sammaṅ-?o· wa?*
 deity-LOC chicken
hi·p-mna-ba rok wa·.
 keep_as_a_sacrificial_animal-PP-NOM only be
 [That] chicken is being kept exclusively as a sacrificial animal.

Passive participles are negated by addition of the negative prefix <*mən-*>, eg. *mən-chu-mna* (NEG-touch-PP) 'undergoing or in menstruation, in a four-day state of untouchability due to menstruation' (lit. untouchable).

- (96) *kəŋ mençuma-·n men-çhu-mna po·ks-ε.*
 this lady-ABS NEG-touch-PP be-PT
 This lady is in menstruation, i.e. has become
 temporarily impure and untouchable.

The nominalized form *men-çhu-mna-ba* signifies 'untouchability, viz. menstruation, the four-day state of impurity and untouchability due to menstruation'.

The passive participle has no particular agent, eg. in the extra-linguistic context of (97) it was clear by whom patience was lost.

- (97) *na·si men-dhə·p-mna-ba.*
 patience NEG-retain-PP-NOM
 Patience/perseverance has been lost.
- (98) *yum men-?ak-ηna-ba.*
 salt NEG-add-PP-NOM
 [tea] to which no salt has been added.

8.6. The Infinitive

The infinitival ending is *-ma?*. In allegro speech the infinitival ending may shorten to *-ma*, *m?* or *-m·*, eg. (99-100), (125), (130). The ending *-ma?* shortens to *-mε* before the subordinating instrumental/ergative suffix *-ille*, giving *-mεlle* (9.4). The combination of infinitive and genitive suffix is discussed under 2.4.13 and 9.4. Before *-aŋ* 'and, also, too', the suffix shortens to *-my*, giving *-myaŋ*, eg. (102).

- (99) *ya·mbək co·k-m? gε-dzə?l.*
 work do-INF 2-be_{fast}
 You^s're working fast.
- (100) - *co·k-m? a-m-bha·k-?i· a-mε-m-bha·k-nεn-?i·?*
 do-INF 1-nsAS-permit-Q 1-nsAS-NEG-permit-NEG-Q
 - *a-m-bha·k i·ya.*
 1-nsAS-permit probably
 - Will they let us^{Pi} do it or won't they?
 - They probably will.

Infinitives may function as the complement of a finite form, eg. (99-101), serve as an instructional imperative (102) or blessing (103), or indicate an action or situation as such without making explicit reference to actants, eg.

(104-105). For example, there is no Limbu noun meaning 'end'. Rather the infinitive *cu?ma?* 'to come to an end' is used, eg. *cu?me-lle* 'at or towards the end'. Similarly, in questions such as (106-107) the infinitive is used to ask whether the action should or should not be undertaken at all.

- (101) *phup-ma? me-nu-nen.*
 mix-INF NEG-be_{alright}-NEG
 It's no good to mix it (viz. *cemghik* with *sikwa* on one's plate).
- (102) *cwa?l-in le·η-ma?. yumma?l-in lak-lɔ.*
 water-ABS add-INF vegetables-ABS be_{salty}-OPT
tɔk-?in yɔη-my-an sa·η-ma?.
 rice-ABS lift-INF-pfG stir-INF
 Add water. Let the vegetables be salty. Stir the rice after having lifted it off the fire.
- (103) *ɔkkhe·lɔ?rik co·k-ma? dza-ma?.*
 in_{this}_{fashion} do-INF eat-INF
 Continue doing and eating as you were.⁶
- (104) *kɔη a·kkhyaη kusin̄ni·p-ma??*
 this how understand-INF
 How is this to be understood?
- (105) *yakthun̄lilimhaη ke-dhuη-ba haη sa?-se*
 ancestral_{Limbu}_{kings} AP-drink-AP king visit-SUP
anga əgɔ· kətə?wa mulo·p-ma? thi·
 I then fern lay_{down}-INF millet_{beer}
khe·dɛp-ma? thi· thun̄-u-η-an
 season-INF millet_{beer} drink-3P-1sA-and
a-nsik-?in lo·ks-u-an naηnam
 my-brain-ABS cause_{to}_{run}-3P-and crazy
thapthap lɔ?r-an lo·!
 berserk seem-1sPS/PT ASS
 In order to visit the ancestral kings of *Limbuvān*, the millet beer drinking kings, I lay down ferns, add the magic ingredient and having drunk the millet beer, it set my brain a-running and I become like a crazy mad lunatic.

⁶ said by a clan elder to his progeny as he enters a house were everyone is eating.

The infinitive is negated by the negative prefix <men->, eg. *ka?ma?*, *menga?ma?* 'transport', *co·kma?*, *mendzo·kma?* 'do', *pe·kma?*, *membe·kma?* 'go', *cama?*, *mendzama?* 'eat', *ye·pma?*, *menye·pma?* 'laugh', *u·tma*, *men?u·tma?* 'call', *ya?ra·kma?*, *ya?menla·kma?* 'perform the rice dance', *wahop-ma?*, *wamenhɔpma?* 'wash'.

- (106) *tɔŋba ke·p-ma-i· men-ge·p-ma-i·?*
tuñbā set_out-INF-Q NEG-set_out-INF-Q
 [Shall I/we] put out the *tuñbās* or not?
- (107) *pa·t-ma?-i·? mem-ba·t-ma?-i·?*
 speak-INF-Q NEG-speak-INF-Q
 [Shall I] say it or shan't I?
- (108) *wi?l mɛl-la·p-ma? parne·.*
 rain NEG-enter-INF ought
 The rain shouldn't come in.⁷
- (109) *thi· thun-ma? gɔrɔ ta?-ma?, thi·*
 millet_beer drink-INF if bring-INF millet_beer
men-dhun-ma? gɔrɔ men-da?-ma?.
 NEG-drink-INF if NEG-bring-INF
 If they (the guests) will drink millet beer, take
 it out, and if not, don't.⁸

The transitive infinitive shows agreement with a non-singular patient through suffixation of the nsP morpheme <-si>, eg.

- (110) *yale·k saŋ-ma?-si bo·ŋ, yale·k*
 field_work convoke-INF-nsP EXIG, field_work
saŋ-u-ŋ-si-ŋ.
 convoke-3P-1sA-nsP-1sA
 They must be summoned to work in the fields, I
 shall call them to work.
- (111) *na·k-ma?-si-lle a-m-bi·-?i·-ba?*
 ask_for-INF-nsP-SUB 1-nsAS-give-Q-IPF
 Will they give [it] to usⁱ if we ask them for it?

⁷ It's raining heavily outside, and the speaker has just sealed off the door with rags.

⁸ said by the host in answer to his wife's question as to whether or not to get out the *tɔŋba*.

- (112) *na·k-ma?-si-lle ke-m-bi·-?i·-ba?*
 ask_for-INF-nsP-SUB 2-nsAS-give-Q-IPF
 Will they give [it] to you^s if you ask them for
 it?
- (113) *lan-sup pi·-ma?-si-?i·? hip-ma?-si-?i·?*
 shoe give-INF-nsP-Q hit-INF-nsP-Q
 Give them shoes or hit them?⁹
- (114) *menda? hen-ha? ɔ·mɔp-ma?-si?*
 goat what-p look-INF-nsP
 What do the goats think they're looking at?/ What
 is there for the goats to be looking at that
 way.¹⁰

8.7. Supine

The suffix of the supine is *-se*, meaning 'in order to'. The possessive prefixes (2.2.1) are attached to transitive supine forms to indicate patient agreement:

<i>a-hɔŋ-se pe·ge</i>	He went off to look for me.
<i>anchi-hɔŋse pe·ge</i>	He went off to look for us ^{di} .
<i>anchige-hɔŋse pe·ge</i>	He went off to look for us ^{de} .
<i>ani-hɔŋse pe·ge</i>	He went off to look for us ^{pi} .
<i>anige-hɔŋse pe·ge</i>	He went off to look for us ^{pe} .
<i>ke-hɔŋse pe·ge</i>	He went off to look for you ^s .
<i>khɛnchi-hɔŋse pe·ge</i>	He went off to look for you ^d .
<i>khɛni-hɔŋse pe·ge</i>	He went off to look for you ^p .
<i>ku-hɔŋse pe·ge</i>	He went off to look for him/her/it.
<i>khunchi-hɔŋse pe·ge</i>	He went off to look for them.

- (115) *hɛkkelle ku-hɔŋ-se te·.*
 therefore 3s-search-SUP come/PT
 So he came to look for it.

⁹ said by an endeared father of his children who are begging for shoes.

¹⁰ The goats all suddenly look in one direction, but move their heads about as if though they see a swarm of flies.

- (116) *atchenda·n* *a-ba·ŋphe·-ʔo· pe·k-ʔε.*
 The_day_after_tomorrow my-village-LOC go-1sPS/NPT
hɛkyaŋ a-him-ʔo· yuŋ-ʔε. a-ndzum-haʔ
 then my-house-LOC sit-1sPS/NPT my-friend-p
a-dum-se mɛ-da.
 me-meet-SUP nsAS-come
 The day after tomorrow I'll go home. Then, I'll
 sit at home, and my friends will come to meet
 me.

- (117) *kɛ-dum-se ty-aŋ-ba.*
 you^s-meet-SUP come-1sPS/PT-IPF
 I have come to meet you^s.

The supine expresses intent or purpose, and generally translates as an infinitive.¹¹

- (118) - *hɛn co·k-se kɛ-ye·-ba.*
 what do-SUP 2-come_down/PT-IPF
 - *anga mikphuʔla pa·n-ɛn huʔ-siŋ-se*
 I white_eye language-ABS teach-REF-SUP
yy-aŋ-ba.
 come_down-1sPS/PT-IPF
 - What have you^s come down to do?
 - I have come down here to learn English.

- (119) - *a·tto· kɛ-be·k-paʔ*
 where 2-go-IPF
 - *ta·mbhuŋ-ʔo·.*
 jungle-LOC
 - *hɛn co·k-seʔ*
 what do-SUP
 - *siŋ thaŋ-se.*
 wood have_brought_up-SUP
 - Where are you^s going?
 - to the jungle.
 - To do what?
 - to send up wood/to have wood brought up.

- (120) *piʔl kɔm-se pe·k-ʔε.*
 cow graze-SUP go-1sPS/NPT
 I'm going to graze the cows.

¹¹ The LSI (Konow, 1909: 294) aptly calls it the infinitive of purpose.

- (121) *sopman lok pe·k-?ε, warum-siη-se.*
 in_a_second only go-1sPS/NPT bathe-REF-SUP
 I'm going in a little while (i.e. not right away),
 to bathe.
- (122) *somabha-ha? sa?-se abhelle ke-be·k?*
 male_siblings¹²-p visit-SUP when 2-go
 When are you^s going to visit your maiden home?
- (123) *cuη-se pe·k-η?na.*
 wrestle-SUP go-1peAS/PT
 We^{pe} went off to wrestle.
- (124) *allo tok ca-se phe?r-ε?!*
 now bhāt eat-SUP come-IMP
 Come eat bhāt now!
- (125) *nam ca-se pe·k-m· bo·η.*
 sunshine eat-SUP go-INF EXIG
 [We] have to go catch some sun.
- (126) - *εn khεnε? hεn ke-dzo·k?*
 today you^s what 2-do
 - *εn anga ya? mo·-se pe·k-?ε.*
 today I paddy dig-SUP go-1sPS/NPT
 - *εn a·kkhen ya? ke-mo·-ba mena*
 today how_many paddy AP-dig-AP man
ke-gott-u-si?
 2-have-3P-nsP
 - *εn anga ya? ke-mo·-ba nasi*
 today I paddy AP-dig-AP five
kott-u-η-si-η.
 have-3P-1sA-nsP-1sA
 - What are you^s going to do today?
 - I'm going to dig paddy.
 - How many paddy digging field hands do you^s
 have?
 - Today I have five paddy diggers.

¹² married female speaking.

- (127) - *cumlun pe·k-?ε*.
 bazar go-1sPS/NPT
 - *hεn co·k-se?*
 what do-SUP
 - I'm going to the bazar.
 - In order to do what?

The supine ending has a regular allophonic form *-che* after *-t* or *-n*:

- (128) *takən-che tɔr-ε-tch-u-ge*.
 wander-SUP curse-PT-dA-3P-e
 We^{de} told him to go fly a kite (lit. We^{de} cursed
 him to go take a walk).
- (129) *anga ni·t-che pe·k-?ε*.
 I read-SUP go-1sPS/NPT
 I'm going to study.

The supine occurs particularly often as the complement of *pe·kma?* 'to go' and other verbs of locomotion to indicate the reason or purpose for going, eg. (130-132). Finite verbs indicating exigency, desirability and the like take an infinitive complement, not a supine, eg. (130).

- (130) *te·?l wahɔp-se pe·k-m· bo·ks-ε*.
 clothes wash-SUP go-INF EXIG-PT
 [I/we/you] must go wash the clothes.
- (131) *ya? ɔ·k-se pe·g-i!*
 paddy dig-SUP go-pADH
 Let's^{Pi} go plant paddy!
- (132) *po·ŋwa·-se pi-tchi-ge*.
 play-SUP go-dPS-e
 We^{de}'re going off to play.

8.8 The passivizer *-tɛtma?*

The bound verb *-tɛtma?* is the passive converter. It attaches immediately to a verb stem and makes it passive. There can be no overt agent in a syntagm with passive verb. If the speaker wishes to specify an agent, active voice must be used, eg. *ɔse·kle mənə ɔgu* 'Someone has been bitten by a snake'. Passives show intransitive agreement with the subject.

- (133) *ni-dεʔl.*
see-PAS
it is visible./It will be seen.
- (134) *cirik pha·k-tεʔl. (paʔyāunu sakincha)*
cloth fold-PAS
The cloth is capable of being folded./...lends
itself to being folded.
- (135) *piʔl-le ku-sa ca-maʔ kho·-mε-dεt-nεn-lɔ!*
cow-GEN its-meat eat-INF find-NEG-PAS-NEG-OPT
May the eating of beef not be encountered!
- (136) *kε-miŋla nuba khεm-dεʔl.*
your^s-reputation good hear-PAS
Your^s reputation is heard to be good.
- (137) *ku-nam khεm-mε-dεt-nεn,*
its-scent detect-NEG-PAS-NEG
mε-ŋ-ghεm-baŋ.
NEG-NEG-detect-1s→3/PT
Its scent won't be detected. I didn't detect it.
- The passive converter may be suffixed to a chain of two verb stems, the second of which is then most often that of the verb *he·ʔmaʔ* 'to be able'. Such chains indicate the possibility or impossibility of an event taking place with respect to the subject.
- (138) *ni-he·ʔ-dεʔl.*
see-can-PAS
it is capable of being seen./It can be seen.
- (139) *kho·-he·ʔ-mε-dεt-nεn. (pāūdaina/pāinna)*
find-can-NEG-PAS-NEG
It does not occur./It can not be found (to
occur)./It is not available.
- (140) *kɔʔo· pho·ktaŋluŋ ni-he·ʔ-mε-dεt-nεn,*
here Kangchendzonga see-can-NEG-PAS-NEG
mε-dha·p-nεn.
NEG-be_visible-NEG
Kangchendzonga cannot be seen from here, it's not
visible.

- (141) *koŋ ni-he·ʔ-dεʔl-i· ni-he·ʔ-mε-dεt-nεn-ni·ʔ*
 this see-can-PAS-Q see-can-NEG-PAS-NEG-Q
 Can this be seen or can't it?

Note the difference between passive forms with and without *he·ʔmaʔ* 'can' indicating possibility: *co·k-dεʔl-i·ʔ* 'is this done?', *co·k-he·ʔ-dεʔl-i·ʔ* 'can this be done?', *kho·-mε-dεt-nεn* 'it is not encountered/it does not occur', *kho·-he·ʔ-mε-dεt-nεn* 'it cannot be encountered/ it cannot occur'. Compare with examples (133) and (138), the negative forms: *ni-mε-dεt-nεn* 'it is not seen', *ni-he·ʔ-mε-dεt-nεn* 'it cannot be seen'. Similar but not identical in meaning is the verb *tha·pmaʔ* 'to be visible, to appear, to be apparent', eg. *hilo·-ʔo· ku-lanyo·p mε-dha·p* 'his footprints are to be seen in the mud', *mε-dha·p-ʔε-n* 'I'm invisible', *khesεmik niʔ mε-n-dha·p-nεn* 'the stars aren't out tonight', and the verb *nidha·pmaʔ* 'be visible, be able to be seen', eg. *ni-dha·p* 'it is visible'. The nuance is that in example (a) the visibility or possibility of seeing Kangchendzonga is in question, in (b) the appearance or being visible of Kangchendzonga is in question, and in (c) it is the ability of Kangchendzonga's being seen which is inquired after.

- (a) *anga pe·g-aŋ-ille go· pho·ktanluŋ kheʔ-o·-lam*
ni-dεʔl-i·ʔ
 (b) *anga pe·g-aŋ-ille go· pho·ktanluŋ kheʔ-o·-lam*
ni-dha·pʔi·ʔ
 (c) *anga pe·g-aŋ-ille go· pho·ktanluŋ kheʔ-o·-lam*
ni-he·ʔ-dεʔl-i·ʔ

- (a) If I were to go, would Kangchendzonga be seen/visible from there?
 (b) If I were to go, would Kangchendzonga be visible from there?
 (c) If I were to go, would it be possible to see Kangchendzonga from there?

The passive with *he·ʔmaʔ* 'to be able' can co-occur with the stem of the almost synonymous verb *sukmaʔ* 'can, to be able':

- (142) *ca-maʔ suk-he·ʔ-mε-dεt-nεn.*
 eat-INF be_able-can-NEG-PAS-NEG
 It's inedible.

- (143) *suk-he·ʔ-mε-dεt-nεn.*
 be_able-can-NEG-PAS-NEG
 It's impossible.
- (144) *kɔŋ kεrεk ca-he·ʔ-dεʔl-i·-ba?*
 this all eat-can-PAS-Q-IPF
 Can [we] finish all this?/Can all this be
 finished?

He·ʔma? is not the only verb to occur in chains with the passive. However, note that the verb *ma·mma?* 'finish, use up' in (145) is virtually identical in meaning to *he·ʔma?* in the corresponding form in (144).

- (145) *ca-ma·n-dεʔl-i·-ba?*
 eat-finish-PAS-Q-IPF
 Can [we] finish it?/Can it be finished?

8.9. The impersonal inclusive

The first person plural inclusive may be used impersonally in a way comparable to impersonal use of the second person in English. Impersonal use of the first plural inclusive has only been observed to occur through patient or subject agreement of the verb. The first plural inclusive is not used to express an impersonal agent. Impersonal agents are rendered by transitives with non-referential third singular agent agreement (4.2), eg. (146). Certain transitive verbs are exclusively impersonal, eg. (147-148). The first plural inclusive pronoun *ani* is never used impersonally.

- (146) *kheʔo· a-ya·ŋ-i· a-n-ya·ŋ-nεn-ni·?*
 there 1-scare-Q 1-NEG-scare-NEG-Q
 Does it get scary there or doesn't it? (lit. Will
 it scare us there or won't it?)
- (147) *thi· mεn-dhuŋ-ʔε? hεnanbhelle*
 millet_beer NEG-drink-IMP because
thi·-re a-mɔ·!
 millet_beer-ERG 1-inebriate
 Don't drink millet beer because it will get you
 drunk!
- (148) *thuŋ-mε-lle a-mɔ·.*
 drink-INF-SUB 1-inebriate
 If you drink, you'll get drunk.

- (149) *canɔkwa ca-mɛ-lle kɛ·b-ba a-bo·ŋ.*
canɔkwa eat-INF-SUB mute-NOM 1-become
 If you eat *canɔkwa*, you'll become mute.
- (150) *sendik idik yuŋ-mɛ-lle ca·rik a-gha·m.*
 night a_long_time sit-INF-SUB very 1-yawn
 If you sit for a long time at night, you really
 have to yawn.
- (151) *a-yaŋ!*
 1-strike
 It'll strike us! (of a projectile)
- (152) *co·?co·? mɛm-mɛp-mɛ-lle sam-le a-ha?*
co·?co·? NEG-observe-INF-SUB ghost-ERG 1-bite
 Disincarnate spirits will afflict you if you don't
 observe the practice of *co·?co·? mɛpma?*.
- (153) *hɛkke· co·k-mɛ-lle a-si!*
 like_that do-INF-SUB 1-die
 You'll die if you do it that way!

As in (154) impersonal 1pi agreement is generally non-referential. Utterance (155) was used in a concrete situation in which the speaker refers to the fact that he has cut *himself* on the thatching. His choice of the impersonal portrays the situation more as an event involving the thatching and its quality of having nasty sharp edges than involving the speaker as patient. Examples (156-157) illustrate cases of the same verb with referential patient agreement. Likewise, the 1s patient agreement in (158) is referential, whereas the 1pi patient agreement in (159) is not.

- (154) *liŋ-le a-hɛk.*
 thatching-ERG 1-cut
 The thatching material cuts./You'll cut yourself
 on the thatching.
- (155) *liŋ-le a-hɛg-ɛ.*
 thatching-ERG 1-cut-PT
 I cut myself on the thatching.
- (156) *liŋ-le hɛg-aŋ.*
 thatching-ERG cut-1sPS/PT
 I cut myself on the thatching.

- (157) *liŋ-le heg-u.*
thatching-ERG cut-3P
He cut himself on the thatching.
- (158) *haʔ-ʔε phaʔaŋ ki-ʔε.*
bite-1sPS/NPT *bhanera* be_afraid-1sPS/NPT
I'm afraid it will bite me.
- (159) *a-haʔ phaʔaŋ ki-ʔε.*
1-bite *bhanera* be_afraid-1sPS/NPT
I'm afraid it will bite.

Because, as in (155) and (159), impersonal 1pi agreement may imply a referential patient or subject, it may on occasion be difficult to discern whether a 1pi form is intended to agree with a 1pi referent or not. Naturally borderline cases exist where the impersonal inclusive can be misconstrued as referring to a 1pi actant. Probably every speaker of English will have experienced cases of impersonal second person being misinterpreted by a listener as applying to himself. Example (160) is such a case, whereas (161-163) are referential.

- (160) *siŋhek yaŋhek. siŋhek a-hek.*
Newari money_chopper Newari 1-chop
The Newars are money-choppers. The Newars will chop us [i.e. you].¹³
- (161) *swaʔl! a-m-seʔl!*
quiet 1-nsAS-kill
Quiet! They'll kill us^{Pi}!
- (162) *khctna pe·g-i-me·n. a-ya·ŋ laʔba.*
there go-ADHp-NEG 1-get_dizzy probably
Let's^{Pi} not go there! We^{Pi}'ll probably get dizzy.

¹³ *Siŋhek*, the Limbu ethnonym for the Newars, literally means 'wood-cutter' or 'wood-chopper'. The Newars are noted for selling goods at a handsome profit, and this saying is an admonition that the mercantile Newars will reap handsome profits from the pockets of the agrarian Limbu. The attitude revealed here is characteristic of the elderly lady whose adage it is, but by no means typifies the Limbu attitude towards their Newari brethren.

- (163) *a-ma·!*
 1-lose_track
 WePⁱ'll lose track of each other!

8.10. The polite inclusive

It is a common speech habit when talking to people with whom one is unacquainted or vis-à-vis whom one must retain a demeanour of respect to use the inclusive rather than second person forms. The apparent psychological reasoning behind the polite inclusive is that one implicates and, if such be the case, incriminates oneself in the verbal scenario. It is also polite by virtue of being less direct than the second person.

For example, a *thanben* or youth encountering a *menchuma* or young lady on a mountain path says:

- (164) *hcn a-dzo·k-si-rɔ a-ya·k-si?*
 what 1-do-dPS-prG 1-be-dPS
 What are we^{di} [i.e. you^s] doing?

- (165) - *tuk-ma? sak-ma? a·kkhe· a-lɔ??*
 be_ill-INF be_difficult-INF how 1-seem
 - *a-nu-a-da.*
 1-prosper-1-prosper
 - Are wePⁱ experiencing any difficulty?/Is there anything the matter?
 - No, wePⁱ're alright.

In using the polite inclusive, the dual is used when addressing one person, and the plural when addressing two or more persons, eg. *hcn a-dzo·k-lɔ a-ya·k?* or *hcn adzo·-gumlɔ aya·k?* 'what are wePⁱ [i.e. you(ns)] doing?'.
 Sentence (166) was uttered by a young man to a group of girls he encountered on a mountain trail outside his village. His choice of auxiliary, adhesive 'to be', which suggests familiarity, is offset by his use of the polite inclusive. The choice of polite inclusive in (167) is motivated by the fact that the concerned host is asking two guests what had caused their lack of appetite the previous day. He would not be inclined to use the polite inclusive to one of his own offspring unless the child were ill. The polite inclusive has a gentle quality about it.

- (166) *a·tto·-lam a-da-rɔ a-bɔp-pa ya?*
 where-from 1-come-prG 1-be-IPF EMPH
 So where are we^{Pi} [i.e. you(ns)] all coming from?
- (167) *anchɛn tɔk hɛnaŋ a-n-dza-m-nɛn-ba ya?*
 yesterday *bhāt* why 1-NEG-eat/3P-pA-NEG-IPF EMPH
 Why didn't we^{Pi} [i.e. you(ns)] eat *bhāt* yesterday?

The polite inclusive is useful in addressing superiors to whom one must retain a respectful attitude even when saying something contrary or disagreeable. The question in (168) is posed to two elderly women who are saying awkward and undiplomatic things and to whom the speaker wishes to express his disapproval in a friendly way. Here the polite inclusive is a friendly way of indicating that the speaker is the boss. It suggests that the speaker has 'everything under control', as when parents address ailing children in the inclusive. The polite inclusive is chosen in (169) where the speaker, although he suspects he is being laughed at, wants to indicate that he has not (or at least, not yet) taken offense.

- (168) *hɛnaŋ hɛkke· a-ba·tt-u-m-ba ya?*
 why like_{that} 1-speak-3P-1A-IPF EMPH
 Why are we^{Pi} [i.e. you two] speaking in that fashion?
- (169) *hɛnaŋ a-ye·r-ɛ-ba?*
 why 1-laugh-PT-IPF
 Why are you(ns) laughing?

The ridicule and derision of a son of the household by two village elders who have come to drink *tɔŋba* prompted the reaction in (18) on p.187, a compromise between the need to show deference and irritation. The son would normally address the village elders in the second person. Limbu lacks a discrete second person for showing deference. Sons would not usually, for example, use the polite inclusive to address their father, as this would be taken as blatantly cajoling.

Chapter Nine Subordination

This chapter will be devoted to subordination. One type of subordination has already been discussed: adnominal use of a nominalized clause through affixation of *-pa* (8.3). Below, in addition to subordination, indirect speech and certain clausal modifiers will be dealt with.

Coordination of nominal arguments has been dealt with under 2.4.7 on the comitative suffix *-nu*. Verbs, predicates and clauses are coordinated with the clausal coordinator suffix *-aŋ*¹ (7.5.1). Aside from this suffixal coordinator, clauses may be coordinated by the causal and adversative conjunctions *hɛnaŋbhelle* 'because' and *kərə* 'but':

- (1) *pha* *cɛp-ma?* *mɛ-nu-nɛn* *him*
bamboo chop-INF NEG-be_alright-NEG house
 khap-ma? *mɛ-nu-nɛn* *hɛnaŋbhelle*
 thatch-INF NEG-be_alright-NEG because
 mangalba·r-le ku-ya·n mɛn-nuba ya·n.
 Tuesday-GEN its-day NEG-good day
Chopping bamboo is not permitted, thatching houses
is not permitted because Tuesday is an inaus-
picious day.
- (2) *khɛŋha?* *ɔ·mɔ?mathe·* *rɔk mɛ-dza·* *kərə*
they exchanging_glances only nsAS-perform but
 mɛ-m-ba·t-nɛn.
 nsAS-NEG-speak-NEG
They only exchange glances but don't speak [to
each other].

The conjunction *kərə* may be a Nepali loan [< *tara* 'but']. It is omitted more often than not. The conjunction *hɛnaŋbhelle* appears to be a calque of Nepali *kinabhane* 'because', composed of *hɛnaŋ* 'why' and the subordinator *-bhelle* by analogy to Nepali *kina* 'why' plus *-bhane*, a subordinator which behaves like Limbu *-phelle* (vide 9.3).

¹ The postpositive adverb *-aŋ* 'also, too', eg. *ta·ndik-?aŋ kɛ-yu-i·?* 'are you^s coming down tomorrow too?', and coordinative *-aŋ* reflect two functions of the same element.

9.1. Indirect speech and direct quotes

Direct quotes are generally made without the aid of any overt subordinator. The quote may be introduced as in (3), but more usual is that the quote is pre-posed, eg. (4-5).

- (3) *bhitra kyak-pa m̄ana·n se·ndo·s-ε? 'e·n*
 inside be_situated-NOM man-ABS ask-IMP whom
kε-hɔks-u-ba?'
 2-look_for-3P-IPF
 Ask the man inside the house whom he is looking for.

- (4) *anga pe·niba·n-nu se·ndo·s-u-η. 'a·tto·*
 I Nepali-COM ask-3P-1sA where
kε-be·k-pa' m̄tt-u-η-ille gɔ·,
 2-go-IPF say_to-3P-1sA-SUB then
'a·ndzum-le-?o· pe·k-?ε-ba' ni?
 my-friend-GEN-LOC go-1sPS/NPT-IPF CTR
m̄tt-an. anga gɔ· yaŋ-ma?
 say_to-1sPS/PT I then tremble-INF
sy-an. hεkyan khunε? gɔ· 'a-se·wa
 die-1sPS/PT then he just my-obeisance
ro·' ni? lɔk. sa·rik nurik pa·tt-u.
 ASS CTR only very well speak-3P
 I asked him in Nepali. When I said 'Where are you^s going?', he said to me [in Limbu], 'I'm going to my friend's'. I was shocked! Then he just said 'My greetings to you!'. He really spoke extremely well!

- (5) *'anga-?an pe·k-?ε ro·!' lɔ?r-ε.*
 I-too go-1sPS/NPT ASS say-PT
 He said, 'I'm coming too!'

The quote marker *lɔ?rik* may optionally be postpositioned to a quote:

- (6) *'huk-?o· wa·p-mna-be-n mund-ε-rɔ way-ε-i·*
 hand-LOC wear-PP-NOM-ABS work-PT-prG be-PT-Q
m̄m-mun-?e· way-ε-i·?' lɔ?rik se·ndo·s-u.
 npG-run-npG be-PT-Q saying ask-3P.
 He asked him [saying], 'Was the wristwatch running at the time or wasn't it?'

Indirect speech is not marked by a subordinator either. Characteristic of indirect speech is the switch of actant

reference with respect to a direct quote, eg. (7-8). The same type of ambiguity as in English pairs like 'He said I was coming' and 'He said, "I was coming"' also exists in Limbu. Just as English can disambiguate such pairs by using the overt subordinator 'that' for indirect speech, Limbu may use *lɔʔrik* to mark a direct quote, eg. (6).

(7) *kɛ-hɔks-ɛ kɛ-hɔks-ɛ mɛ-lɔʔr-ɛ.*
 2-search-PT 2-search-PT nsAS-say-PT
 They said that he looked all over for you^s.

(8) *kɛ-dum-i lɔʔr-ɛ.*
 2-meet-pPS say-PT
 She said that she had run into you^P.

9.2. The subordinator *phaʔaŋ*

The subordinator *phaʔaŋ* may mark a direct quote, eg. (9-10), and also, as in (11), an alleged quote.

(9) *khɛŋ ya·mbɔk-ʔin co·g-ɛʔ phaʔaŋ yeʔllinkhɔŋ*
 that work-ABS do-IMP *bhanera* repeatedly
mɛt-nɛ-saŋ kɛ-n-dzo·g-u-n-ni·ʔ
 say_{to}-1→2-even 2-NEG-do-3P-NEG-Q
 Aren't you^s going to do that work even though I
 have repeatedly told you^s to do so?

(10) *khɛnɛʔ kɛ-dzo·g-u-ba ya·mbɔk-ʔin po·ks-ɛ-i·*
 you^s 2-do-3P-NOM work-ABS be_{alright}-PT-Q
mɛ-bo·ks-ɛ-n-ni· phaʔaŋ
 NEG-be_{alright}-PT-NEG-Q *bhanera*
se·ndo·-mɛ-lle po·ks-ɛ gɔrɔ cum-ille
 ask-inf-SUB be_{alright}-PT if friend-ERG
 'wend-u' a-mɛʔl.
 be_{in}-progress-3P 1-say_{to}
 If you ask someone whether his work is going all
 right or not, and if it is going alright, he
 will say 'It's getting along'.

(11) *maŋɔk mɛ-bi·r-aŋ bhaʔaŋ kɛ-ha·b-ɛ-i·ʔ*
maŋɔk nsAS-give-1sPS/PT *bhanera* 2-cry-PT-Q
 Are you^s crying because they gave you *maŋɔk* [to
 eat]?

The subordinator *phaʔaŋ* may mark a complement clause in main clauses with a *verbum sentiendi aut dicendi*. Actant

reference in such clauses is as in indirect speech, and *phaʔaŋ* can be translated as 'that' or be left untranslated.

- (12) *him bhitra laʔʔl phaʔaŋ kis-aŋ*
 house inside enter *bhanera* be_afraid-1sPS/PT
sy-aŋ, pa·n-mc-n-cha·p-paŋ.
 die-1sPS/PT call-NEG-NEG-call-1s→3/PT
 I was scared to death that she might come inside
 the house, so I didn't call to her.
- (13) *anchige nik-ne-tchi-ge phaʔaŋ khunεʔ i·tt-u.*
 we^{de} fuck-REF-dPS-e *bhanera* he think-3P
 He thinks we^{de} are having an illicit relationship.
- (14) *co·g-u-ŋ bhaʔaŋ so·kt-u-ŋ-ba.*
 do-3P-1sA *bhanera* aim-3P-1sA-IPF
 I had in mind that I would do it./I intended to do
 it.

When the main clause does not contain a *verbum sentiendi aut dicendi*, the subordinator *phaʔaŋ* often indicates a contingency and translates roughly as 'if that be the case' or 'if it be the case that'.

- (15) *khunεʔ bhaʔaŋ pi·r-u-ŋ-ba. hεkkεlle khεnεʔ*
 he if_be give-3P-1sA-IPF therefore you^s
me·nduk ləcə.
 NOT DEPR
 Well, if [you meant] him, I gave [it] to him al-
 ready. I didn't know you^s didn't mean your-
 self.²

² i.e. The speaker had given it to the person to whom he was supposed to give it, and had not given it to the listener. The listener asked where it was, and the speaker, misinterpreting the question as a request for the object, responded in irritation as if to say 'what business is it of yours?'. The listener asked again where it was, and the speaker realized that the listener was merely trying to find out whether he had already given it to the person to whom he was supposed to give it. In saying utterance (15) the speaker explains to the listener why he reacted with irritation the first time the question was posed.

- (16) *kɔŋ phaʔaŋ mɛ-nis-u.*
 this *bhanera* nsAS-see-3P
 If you mean this, they saw it already.
- (17) *khɛŋ bhaʔaŋ ab-aŋ.*
 he *bhanera* shoot-1sPS/PT
 If you mean him, yes, that's the one who shot at
 me [with a *ko·rɛʔl*].
- (18) *mi··n se· bhaʔaŋ yammu mup-ma·*
 fire-ABS die/PT *bhanera* again blow-INF
mɛ-nu-nɛn.
 NEG-be_ualright-NEG
 If the fire dies out [in the preparation of
samdɔk], it is not permitted to fan it back
 to life again.
- (19) *lu tɔr-amm-ɛʔ phaʔaŋ*
 alright curse-2p-IMP *bhanera*
tha·ʔr-u-ŋ-si-ŋ.
 leave_ubehind_ufor-3P-1sA-nsP-1sA
 Alright, go ahead and make fun of him; if that be
 the case, I'll leave it behind for them.

When *phaʔaŋ* co-occurs with *-saŋ* 'even though', these fuse into *phaʔsaŋ* 'even though it is the case that':

- (20) - *hɔ·nɛ·-rɔ bhaʔsaŋ nakip lɔ·t-m·*
 be_uthat_uway-prG even_uthough fifty take_uout-INF
bo·ŋ allɔ na· kɛrɛk-le mɛ-lɔʔ-aŋ
 EXIG now over_uthere all-ERG nsAS-say-pfG
mɛ-ya·k!
 nsAS-be
 - *allɔ kɔm ba·dzi-yaŋ ca-s-w-i· me·n-ni·?*
 now this time-too eat-dA-3P-Q NOT-Q
 - *mɛ-dza-s-u-ŋ gɔrɔ khunchi-lɔk-ʔin*
 NEG-eat/3P-dA-3P-NEG if their-portion-ABS
thɔbɔkkə kɔʔyo· na·pmi huʔr-ɛʔ!
 furtively down_uhere 1 bring-IMP
 - Even though the situation is like that,
 everybody over there has been saying that
 you now have to pay fifty rupees!
 - Now, will they^d eat it this time too or
 won't they?
 - If they^d don't eat it, bring their portion
 secretly down here to us!

In combination with the optative *phaʔaŋ* marks a complement clause relating aim, purpose or intent. In such clauses, *phaʔaŋ* may be translated as 'so that':

(21) *kɛ-lɛ·s-u-rɔ bhaʔaŋ hɛkke· mɛt-nɛ-ba.*
 2-know-3P-OPT *bhanera* like_{that} say_{to-1}→s-IPF
 I told you^s in that way so that you^s would know
 it!

(22) *hɛkyaŋ khɛŋ re·diyo·-n a-mma-re khɛps-u-rɔ*
 then that radio-ABS my-mother-ERG hear-3P-OPT
bhaʔaŋ samlo·-mɛ-n lɔ·tt-u pi·r-u-aŋ
bhanera sing-INF-ABS take_{out}-3P give-3P-and
ku-mma tɔk tho·kt-ɛ-ba-dɛn-ʔo·
 his-mother rice cook-PT-IPF-place-LOC
ku-mma-re ku-be·sɛ-ʔo· yuks-u
 his-mother-GEN her-side-LOC put-3P
pi·r-u-aŋ khunɛʔ takɔn-che pe·g-ɛ.
 give-3P-and he wander-SUP go-PT
 Then he tuned the radio to a song so that his
 mother might listen to it and put it in the
 place his mother used to cook and then went
 out for a stroll.

Phaʔaŋ is not necessary to convey the sense of 'whether' in introducing complement clauses like the one in (23).

(23) - *kudzaʔ pɔʔl-i· mɛ-bɔt-nɛn-ni·ʔ*
 fruit hang-Q NEG-hang-NEG-Q
 - *pɔʔl-i· mɛ-bɔt-nɛn-ni· ɔ·-mɛ-m-mɔp-paŋ.*
 hang-Q NEG-hang-NEG-Q look-NEG-NEG-look-1s→3/PT
 - Are there already fruits hanging [in the
 tree] or aren't there?
 - I have not yet looked to check whether or
 not there are any fruits hanging [in the
 tree] yet.

9.3 The subordinator *-phɛlle*

The postpositive subordinator *-phɛlle* appears to derive from the same etymon as the subordinator *phaʔaŋ*. Where the latter displays suffixed *-ʔaŋ*, *-phɛlle* appears to incorporate the suffix *-ille* (9.4). As mentioned above, Limbu *-phɛlle* behaves in much the same way as its counterpart *bhane* does in Nepali to mark a contingency, eg. (24-25). In other cases it translates aptly as Nepali *bhaneko* 'meaning'

and, as such, takes part in circumlocutions to pinpoint some proposition or phenomenon subsequently described or defined in the main clause, eg. (26-27) below or, in Chapter 8, (69).

- (24) *pe·niba·n mem-ba·tt-amm-ε? bhelle pe·niba·n lok*
 Nepali NEG-speak-2p-IMP *bhane* Nepali only
mε-ba·?l!
 nsAS-speak
 If I tell them 'Don't speak Nepali', then they
 talk only Nepali!

- (25) *Yansarumba: kudzanur-ε hen na gɔ·?*
 taste_good-PT what EMPH then
Pho·kwama: a·kkhya·k ɔ·k-nε-ba gɔ·!
 how_much scream-1→2-IPF then
mεm-ba·t-ch-ε? bhelle
 NEG-speak-2d-IMP *bhane*
kε-η-gheps-ε-tch-u-n-ni·?
 2-NEG-hear-PT-dA-3P-NEG-Q
Yansarumba: (teasing:) Does it taste good or
 what?
Pho·kwama: (to *Yansarumba:*) Look how much
 you've got me yelling at you^s! (to
Sarumba and *Yansarumba* both:) Didn't
 you^d hear that I told you^d not to talk!

- (26) *ɔkkhe· po·η-ma? he·?: hεm bo·η bhelle, kheη*
 like_this be-INF can what be *bhane* that
kε-da?r-u-ba menchuma··n na·pmi-re
 2-bring-3P-NOM lassy-ABS somebody_else-ERG
mε-n-de·?r-u-n-ille gɔ· mε-da-nεn
 nsAS-NEG-take-3P-NEG-SUB then NEG-come-NEG
yaη. ku-sira dhaη-ma? po·η.
 money his-pleasure come_up-INF EXIG
 It can be like this: What can happen is that if
 nobody else will take the lassy you^s brought,
 you won't get any money. The girl must please
 him.

- (27) *myaŋluŋ bhelle hɛm bhelle? myaŋ bhelle*
Myaŋluŋ bhaneko what bhaneko cat bhaneko
pe·ni·ba·n·nu bira·lo·. luŋ bhelle
 Nepali-language-COM *birālo* rock *bhaneko*
ḍhunga.
ḍhungā
 What does [the name of the village] *Myaŋluŋ* mean?
Myaŋ means 'cat' in Nepali. *Luŋ* means
 'stone'.

9.4. *-ille* subordination

The suffixal subordinator *-ille* is suffixed to finite verbs and infinitives to subordinate entire clauses. The subordinator *-ille* marks causal clauses, contingencies and temporal clauses. The examples below show that these three types of subordinate clause are not distinct but represent a continuous semantic spectrum covered by *-ille*.

The resemblance of this subordinator to the instrumental, ergative and genitive goes beyond mere formal similarity. It indicates cause in the same way as the instrumental, eg. (28-29) and may mark a clause as an instrumental actant in a main clause verbal scenario requiring an instrumental actant, eg. (30-31). An *-ille* clause may constitute an agent in a transitive verbal scenario requiring an ergatively marked actant, eg. (32-33).

- (28) *ani a-dzo·g-u-m-ille wi?l mɛ-dha-nɛn,*
wePⁱ 1-do-3P-pA-SUB rain NEG-fall-NEG
a-n-nu·nd-ɛ-n-ni·?
1-NEG-be_ashamed-PT-NEG-Q
 Because of what wePⁱ've done, rain will not fall.
 Aren't wePⁱ ashamed?³

- (29) *ya·mbɔk co·k-mɛ-lle na·s-aŋ khips-aŋ.*
work do-INF-SUB tire-1sPS/PT jingle-1sPS/PT
 I have gotten tired from doing the work.

³ Sarcastically intended because the speaker and the persons addressed did not take part in the procession following the *ya·kwa pudza* for fear of getting wet.

- (30) *hekke· ke-ba·tt-u-m-ille a-niη le? le?!*
 like_{that} 2-speak-3P-pA-SUB 1-ire unleash unleash
 If you^P are going to talk that way, I'll get fed
 up!
- (31) *nur-am tas-amm-ε?! ɔkkhe·lɔ?rik a-sa?*
 prosper-2p prosper-2p-IMP like_{this} my-child
a-məncha? a-mbaηli
 my-grandchild my-offspring-in-law
ke-nur-i ke-das-i-1le anga-?aη
 2-prosper-pPS 2-prosper-pPS-SUB I-too
ca·?rik a-sira dhaη.
 very my-pleasure come_{up}
 Be prosperous! When ye, my children, my grand-
 children, my children-in-law prosper, I too
 shall be content.
- (32) *kɔη yembitcha-·n sa·?rik muso·k co·k-ille sa·rik*
 this guy-ABS very joking do-SUB very
khemd-u.
 suit-3P
 When this guy makes people laugh, he really is
 appealing.
- (33) *ke-ye·?l-ille sa·?rik ke-ghem.*
 2-laugh-SUB very 2-suit
 You^s're handsome when you^s laugh.

Subordinate clauses functioning as instrumental or ergative actants often specify a contingency, eg. (30-33). The subordinator *-ille* also marks subordinate clauses indicating a proviso or contingency where an ergative, instrumental or causative interpretation is unlikely. They resemble temporal genitives in meaning. In this function the *-ille* subordinator shows the same variety of form characteristic of the genitive ending after infinitives (2.4.4.1, 2.4.13).

- (34) *pe·k-mε-1le lɔk a-gε?l!*
 go-INF-SUB only 1-arrive
 We^Pi'll only get there if we get a move on!
- (35) *pe·k-ma?-re po·η.*
 go-INF-SUB be_{alright}
 It'll be alright if we go.

- (36) *im-mε-lle khəŋəkwə kε-dza·-ba-ha?*
 sleep-INF-SUB snore AP-perform-AP-p
citt-u-ŋ-si-ŋ.
 hate-3P-1sA-nsP-1sA
 I hate people who snore in their sleep.
- (37) *na·kt-u-ŋ-si-l-le mε-bi·-?ε-i·-ba?*
 ask_for-3P-1sA-nsP-1sA SUB nsAS-give-1sPS-Q-IPF
 Will they give it to me if I ask them for it?
- (38) *se·wa mə·-ma? wa· gəŋə se·wa*
 obeisance proffer-INF be if obeisance
məy-amm-ε?! khunε? mεtt-u-lle
 proffer-2p-IMP he do-3P-SUB
mεbo·ŋnən!
 NEG-be_alright-NEG
 If you are to proffer obeisance, then show
 obeisance! His doing it won't do!⁴
- (39) *kəŋ həndza?bitcha?-ha?-re mε-ni·r-u-lle*
 this children-p-ERG nsAS-study-3P-SUB
a·kkhya·k la·bdzo·k?
 how_much cost
 How much will it cost to teach these children?

The contingency meaning of the *-ille* subordinator may be a natural extension of its strictly temporal genitive use to mark temporal clauses:

- (40) *hεkke· pa·tt-u-rə ya·g-ε-lle khεŋ e·?yanba*
 like_that speak-3P-prG be-PT-SUB that other
nεpphu mənə-ha?-aŋ kε?r-ε-tchi-lle gə·
 two man-p-too arrive-PT-dPS-SUB then
khεŋ həndza?-in khεt-chiŋ khε?r-ε.
 that lad-ABS chase-REF RES-PT
 Speaking like this, by the time the other two guys
 got there, that lad had already made off.
- (41) *biha·ndik nasi muk-?ille pe·k.*
 morning five strike-SUB go
 He'll go at five o'clock in the morning.

⁴ proffer obeisance by bowing to one's parents' feet; his doing it won't do because his wife, being female, must proffer obeisance first.

- (42) *en sendik a-nsa-nu*
 today night my-younger_sibling-COM
ips-ε-tchi-ge-lle a-nsa
 sleep-PT-dPS-e-SUB my-younger_sibling
hɔʔmaŋ-ʔo· pa·ʔr-ε ɔkt-ε lo·kt-ε
 sleep-LOC speak-PT shout-PT run-PT
ha·b-ε ye·r-ε samlo·r-ε.
 cry-PT laugh-PT sing-PT
 Last night as my kid brother and I were sleeping,
 he spoke, shouted, ran, cried, laughed and
 sang in his sleep.
- (43) *kɔŋ menchuma-·n langhe·g-ʔille ku-lanbuk*
 this lady-ABS walk-SUB her-footsteps
sa·rik muk.
 very beat
 When this lady walks, her footsteps make a lot of
 noise.
- (44) *kε-ips-ε-lle loʔkthik mənə-lle kε-ga·ks-ε.*
 2-sleep-PT-SUB one man-ERG 2-step_over-PT
 Someone stepped over you^s while you^s were asleep.
- (45) *kε-da-ʔille aŋga ta-ʔε wa·-ʔε.*
 2-come-SUB I come-1sPS/NPT be-1sPS/NPT
 By the time you^s show up, I'll have come [back].
- (46) *kheŋ thi·-n kerεk me-bo·ks-ε-yaŋ*
 that millet_beer-ABS all nsAS-be-PT-and
me-dhuŋ-u-lle gɔ· ca·rik-ʔe· kheŋ nepphu
 nsAS-drink-3P-SUB then very-EMPH that two
mɔy-u-si.
 inebriate-3P-nsP
 When they had all gotten together as they were
 drinking that millet beer, those two got
 really drunk.
- (47) *kɔŋ hem-ba? lim-ʔi· suʔl-i· ca-mε-lle?*
 this what-NOM be_sweet-Q be_sour-Q eat-INF-SUB
 What's this? Is it sweet or sour in the eating?
- (48) *ya·mbɔk co·k-mε-lle ɔkkhe·loʔrik co·k-m· bo·ŋ.*
 work do-INF-SUB like_this do-INF EXIG
 When working, you have to do it this way.

- (49) *biha·ndik tək kɛ-dzɔ-rɔ kɛ-ya·k-ʔille*
 morning *bhāt* 2-eat/3P-prG 2-be-SUB
kɛ-ndzum-in ta-ille ku-nhi ma·
 your^s-friend-ABS come-SUB his-amazement be
iʔre·ʔe·
 probably
 When your^s friend comes and sees you^s here eating
bhāt in the morning, he'll probably be
 amazed.
- (50) - *anhen a·kkhen mukt-ɛ-ille kɛʔips-ɛ*
 yesterday how_{much} strike-PT-SUB 2-sleep-PT
mw-e·
 REP-EMPH
 - *thik mukt-ɛ-ille ni·r-u-ŋ-lɔ ya·g-an·*
 one strike-PT-SUB read-3P-1sA-prG be-1sPS/PT
la·mdhe·ʔl-in hɔnd-u-ŋ-ille khɛʔo·
 door-ABS open-3P-1sA-SUB there
menchuma-dhik way-ɛ dze·
 lady-one be-PT SUS/PT
 - *hen kɛ-mɛtt-u?*
 what 2-say_{to}-3P
 - *lamdhe·ʔl sub-u-ŋ.*
 door close-3P-1sA
 - At what time did you say that you^s went to
 sleep last night?
 - At one o'clock I was reading. Then I opened
 the door and a lassy was sitting there.
 - What did you^s do/say to her?
 - I shut the door.
- (51) *kɛ-dzam-lɔ kɛ-ya·g-i-ille ta-ʔɛ.*
 2-eat/2P→3S-prG 2-AUX-pPS-SUB show_{up}-1sPS/NPT
 I'll show up when you^P are eating.
- (52) *allɔ ta·ndi kɛ-da-ille an·ge-him-ʔo·*
 now later_{on} 2-come-SUB our^{pe}-house-LOC
kɛ-ne·-rɔ po·ŋ.
 2-stay-prG EXIG
 Next time you^s come, you^s'll have to stay in our
 house.

In some people's speech, the suffix *-ille* is of the form *-ilya*, eg. *mɛ-dzo·g-ilya* 'as they were doing it' for *mɛ-dzo·g-ille*.

The subordinated form of *khəkma?* 'to chop' gives the adverb 'almost', eg. (53-54), and subordinated *mɛpma?* 'to say' is used idiomatically as an invective, eg. (55).

- (53) *khək-mɛ-llɛ hum-aŋ-aŋ sy-aŋ.*
 chop-INF-SUB sink-1sPS/PT-pfG die-1sPS/PT
 I almost drowned.
- (54) *khək-mɛ-llɛ kɛŋ-aŋ-aŋ*
 chop-INF-SUB stumble_and_fall-1sPS/PT-pfG
sy-aŋ.
 die-1sPS/PT
 I almost fell to my death.
- (55) *pɛ·g-ɛ? pɛ·g-ɛ? pɛ·g-ɛ? pɛ·g-ɛ? mɛp-mɛ-llɛ ɡɔ·!*
 go-IMP go-IMP go-IMP go-IMP say-INF-SUB then
 Go away, go away, go away, go away, I tell ya!

9.5. Concessive clauses with *ɡɔɔ*

The postpositive subordinator *ɡɔɔ* 'if' marks concessive clauses. *ɡɔɔ* forms part of the frequent expression *hɛkkɛ·ɡɔɔ* 'in that case'.

- (56) *mɛ-bi·-?ɛ ɡɔɔ thun-u-ŋ.*
 nsAS-give-1sPS/NPT if drink-3P-1sA
 If they give it to me, I'll drink it.
- (57) *khɛnɛ? kɛ-be·k ɡɔɔ lamdhe·ʔl-in sub-ɛ?-aŋ*
 you^s 2-go if door-ABS close-IMP-and
pɛ·ʔ!
 go/IMP
 Close the door behind you^s!
- (58) *ɔ·mɛtt-ɛ?! ɔkkhe·lɔʔrik se·dzɔŋwa kɛ-dhun ɡɔɔ*
 look-IMP like_this millet_brandy 2-drink if
hara kɛ-si ro·!
 quickly 2-die ASS
 Look, if you^s keep on drinking millet brandy this way, you'll die soon!
- (59) *kɛ-dhun-u ɡɔɔ thun-ɛ?!*
 2-drink-3P if drink-IMP
 If you^s're going to drink, then drink!

- (60) *khεnε? kε-si gɔɔ kε-me·ʔl⁵ ha·p.*
 you^s 2-die if your^s-wife cry
 If you^s die, your^s wife'll cry.
- (61) *kε-be·k gɔɔ pe·k-ʔε ho·!*
 2-go if go-1sPS/NPT oh
 If you^s go, I'm going [with you]!
- (62) *piʔl-ha? mε-da gɔɔ na·tt-εs-ε?*
 cow-p nsAS-come if chase_away-nsP-IMP
 If the cows come here, chase them away.

9.6. Subordination with *-tεn*

As in (22) above, the following two examples illustrate how the suffix *-tεn* 'place', affixed to an infinitive or finite verb form, subordinates a clause indicating the place of an event or situation. Like *-ille* subordination, the locative nominalizer *-tεn* makes a clause or verbal construction into a nominal constituent of the main clause.

- (63) *lamde·ŋ kεʔr-ε-ille huk-ʔo· wa·p-mna-bε-n*
 halfway arrive-PT-SUB hand-LOC wear-PP-NOM-ABS
i·tt-u-ille gɔɔ
 remember-3P-SUB then
warum-siŋ-ε-ba-tεn-ʔo· huk-ʔo·
 bathe-REF-PT-IPF-place-LOC hand-LOC
wa·p-mna-bε-n niŋwa mutch-u dhɔ
 wear-PP-NOM-ABS forget forget-3P leave/3P
rəcə.
 DEPR

Having gotten halfway, and then remembering his watch, he realized he had forgotten his watch in the place he had been bathing.

⁵ This sentence is part of a conversation between young unmarried males. In more formal registers of speech the term *kεme·ʔl* 'your wife' is considered impolite. It is proper to refer to the wife of someone to whom you are speaking with a kinship term such as *andre·ʔ* 'my elder brother's wife' or *anchuma?* 'my father's younger brother's wife'.

- (64) *hckyaŋ neɾmadzaŋ po·ks-ε-tchi-yaŋ niŋwa*
 so both be-PT-dPS-pfG forget
mutch-u-ba-tɛn-ʔo· huk-ʔo·
 forget-3P-IPF-place-LOC hand-LOC
wa·p-mna-bɛ-n ku-la·se pe·-si-lle go·
 wear-PP-NOM-ABS it-search go/PT-dPS-SUB then
huk-ʔo· wa·p-mna-bɛ-n ne·s-u-ba-tɛn-ʔo·
 hand-LOC wear-PP-NOM-ABS put-3P-IPF-place-LOC
ho·pt-ε.
 not_be-PT

Then the both of them having gotten together, they went to look for the watch in the place where he had forgotten it, but the watch was not in the place he had left it.

9.7. Subordination with *kusiŋ*, *e·kke·*

The subordinators *kusiŋ* and *e·kke·* mean 'in the fashion of, like, as' subordinate clauses. Both may also be used as a postposition to nouns.

- (65) *ma·r-ε kusiŋ loʔ.*
 finish-PT like appear
 It looks as if though it's has been used up.
- (66) *wiʔl tha kusiŋ loʔ.*
 rain fall like seem
 It looks as if it's going to rain.
- (67) *ku-na-·n kappo·ba kusiŋ loʔ.*
 his-face-ABS old_man like seem
 His face looks [like an] elderly [man's].
- (68) *mɛ-be·k kusiŋ loʔr-ε.*
 nsAS-go like seem-PT
 It looked as if they will be going.
- (69) *po·g-ε kusiŋ loʔ hɛnaŋbhɛlle ku-laŋ-in*
 get_up-PT like seem because his-leg-ABS
nidha·p.
 be_visible
 It looks like he's gotten up because his leg can be seen.

- (70) *yaṅsarumbɛ-n te·-e·kke· lɔʔ.*
 third_born-ABS come/PT-like appear
 It looks like third-born has come.
- (71) *tɔŋba nasi thuŋ-u-ŋ. hekkelle kheŋ*
tuñbā five drink-3P-1sA so that
cumlŋ-ʔo·-lam pu-e·kke· pe·r-aŋ-ba.
 bazar-LOC-from bird-like fly-1sPS/PT-IPF
 I drank five *tɔŋbas*. So I flew back from that
 bazar like a bird.

9.8. Reported speech

The reported speech particle *mu* indicates that the information in the sentence did not come to the knowledge of the speaker through direct observation but rather by word of mouth. Such sentences indicate reported speech but leave the source of the information unspecified, although it may be evident who the source of the information is, eg. (73). The particle *mu* usually occurs after a verb and occasionally interspersed through a lengthy piece of reported discourse, but in (81) it is incorporated in the suffixal string of the verb before the aspect suffix.

- (72) *ku-sikla-ʔo· me-bhind-u me-ser-u mu.*
 his-throat-LOC nsAS-strangle-3P nsAS-kill-3P REP
 It is said that they strangled him to death./He
 said that they strangled him to death./They
 say that they strangled him to death.
- (73) *anchen a·kkhen mukt-ɛ-lle keʔips-ɛ*
 yesterday how_much strike-PT-SUB 2-sleep-PT
mw-e·ʔ
 REP-EMPH
 At what time did you say that you^s went to sleep
 last night?
- (74) *sa·rik yəllik tɔk caŋ mu.*
 very much *bhāt* eat/1s→3 REP
 He says I'm eating very much rice.
- (75) *cɔ-ba mu.*
 eat/3P-IPF REP
 He says he's eating.

- (76) *mε-be·k-pa mu.*
 nsAS-go-IPF REP
 They say they're going.
- (77) *surum-mε-n hεn-dik-?i· hu?-ma?*
 third_born-NOM/f-ABS what-IND-EMPH teach-INF
parne·? dhik mu wa· hu?r-ε? o·!
 ought one REP be teach-IMP oh
 What should [I] teach third-born(f)? All she said
 was 'Go teach her!'
- (78) *anga co·g-u-η-ba mu.*
 I do-3P-1sA-IPF REP
 He said I am to do it.
- (79) *a·kkhya·k mukt-ε mu.*
 how_many strike-PT REP
 He asked, 'What time is it?'
- (80) *khεηha?-re ɔ·-mε-m-mətt-u-m-ba mu.*
 they-ERG look-nsAS-NEG-look-3P-NEG-IPF REP
 They say they're not going to watch.
- (81) *kəŋ pa·n-in thik-le khεps-u-aŋ 'me·n na· anchi*
 this word-ABS one-ERG hear-3P-and no EMPH we^{di}
gɔ· thik ya·n-le kε-bo·η-ba-si-mu-ba.
 then one day-GEN AP-be_born-AP-be-REP-IPF
a·kkhε-lle khεnε? tuksi tɔŋbe· rɔk
 how-INST you^s seven year only
kε-gε?r-ε? yɛtchi tɔŋbe· a-gε?r-ε-tchi
 2-arrive-PT eight year 1-arrive-PT-dPS
na·!' mətt-u-lle thiksəmc-lle pa·tt-u ...
 EMPH say-3P-SUB the_other-ERG speak-3P
 When he heard this, he said, 'No, silly, it is
 said that we^{di} were born on the same day. How
 can it be that you^s are only seven years old?
 We^{di}'re both eight years old!', to which the
 other replied...

9.9. Exigency *po·ŋma?*

The verb *po·ŋma?* occurs with infinitives (82), negative preterit gerunds (eg. in 7.5.2) and with present gerunds, eg. (83-88). The auxiliary of exigency *po·ŋma?* is impersonally conjugated. When it occurs with an infinitive or negative preterit gerund, the referents implied are left unspecified, and though they may be obvious from the context in which the utterance is said, the exigency only overtly applies to the action or event which is supposed to take place or be enacted. When the auxiliary of exigency occurs with a present gerund, the referents are specified. Preterit forms of *po·ŋma?* not only indicate exigency in the preterit. More often the preterit of *po·ŋma?* indicates exigency in the present. While the nonpreterit form *po·ŋ* may be translated as 'the need arises that...', the preterit form *po·kse* most often translates as 'the need has arisen that ...', eg. (86-87).

- (82) *po·ŋ-ma? po·ŋ.*
 be-INF EXIG
 It should be./It has to be./It must be.
- (83) *allɔ hɛn sapt-u-ŋ-lɔ po·ŋ.*
 now what write-3P-1sA-prG EXIG
 What am I supposed to write down now?
- (84) *hɛkyaŋ yakthun pa·n kɛ-hu?-siŋ-lɔ po·ŋ.*
 so Limbu language 2-learn-REF-prG EXIG
 So you^s must learn Limbu.
- (85) *casma wa·r-u-ŋ-lɔ po·ŋ. casma me·nne·*
 glasses wear-3P-1sA-prG EXIG glasses without
nurikkha me·ni-?ɛ-n.
 well NEG-see-1s→3/NPT-NEG
 I must wear glasses. I can't see well without
 them.
- (86) *pa·tt-u-ŋ-lɔ po·ks-ɛ.*
 speak-3P-1sA-prG EXIG-PT
 I'll have to say it.
- (87) *kɛ-ba·t-ch-u-rɔ po·ks-ɛ.*
 2-speak-dA-3P-prG EXIG-PT
 You^dll have to say it.

- (88) *nis-u-ŋ-si-ŋ-lɔ po·ŋ.*
 see-3P-1sA-nsP-1sA-prG EXIG
 I must see them.

Exigency can also be indicated with the clause-final particle *parne·* borrowed from Nepali [< *parne*]. This exigency is milder in intensity, indicating what 'ought' to be the case. *Parne·* only combines with infinitives, eg. (89). The probable explanation for the omission of the preverb *nam* of *namphɛpma?* 'to dry in the sun' in (89) is haplology: the word *nam* 'sun' already occurs in the sentence.

- (89) *nam-ʔo· yaʔro·n phɛp-mʔ barne·.*
 sun-LOC *biskun* fetch-INF ought
 The *biskun* has to be dried in the sun.

9.10. Clause-final adverbs and mood particles

A number of particles occurring at the end of an utterance or clause convey an emotional state or attitude of the speaker with respect to what is being said. The most notable are the deprehensative, the assertive and the emphatic.

The deprehensative particle *lɔcə/rɔcə* is a transphonologized loan which derives from Nepali *rahecha* and, like *rahecha*, serves to indicate that the purport of the statement has only just come to the knowledge of the speaker or that the speaker has only just discovered or just become aware of that which he is reporting, eg. (90-94).

- (90) *ma·ŋgha kɛ-n-nis-u-n lɔcə.*
 far 2-NEG-see-3P-NEG DEPR
 So, you^s are myopic, it seems.
- (91) *kɛ-nuʔpa him-min a·ŋlaba·ri*
 2-father_in_law house-ABS pine_grove
nanaʔ cuksa rɔk yuŋ lɔcə, me·n-ni·ʔ
 way_over_there tiny only sit DEPR NOT-Q
 Your^s father-in-law's house looks tiny situated
 way over there in the pine grove, doesn't it.
- (92) *are· ho·! kɔŋ lɛ·s-u rɔcə.*
 gee whiz this know-3P DEPR
 So, hey! He knows it!

- (93) *khɛnɛʔ sendik im-mɛ-lle sa·rik khɔnɔkwa*
 you^s night sleep-INF-SUB very snore
ke-dza· rɛcə.
 2-perform DEPR
 When you^s sleep at night, you^s sure do snore alot!
- (94) *ɔkkhɛlle phi·r-ɛ rɛcə.*
 presently grow_thin-PT DEPR
 He appears to have gotten thinner (at the present time).

The clause-final particle *lo·/ro·* makes an utterance assertive. An assertive utterance is one in which an appeal is made to the listener to pay attention and heed the *implications* of the what is being said.

- (95) *ke-niŋwa mɔy-ɛ ro·!*
 2-mind get_lost-PT ASS
 You^s've really lost your mind!
- (96) *pe·g-aŋ lo·!*
 go-1sPS/PT ASS
 I'm on my way!
- (97) *pe·g-i ro·!*
 go-pADH ASS
 Come on, let's go!
- (98) *ke-gɛŋ lo·!*
 2-stumble_and_fall ASS
 You^s'll stumble and fall if you don't watch out.

Intense use of the assertive particle as a demand for the listener's attention is characteristic of lively Limbu conversation in which assertive clauses are volleyed back and forth with an escalating effect, as if to say 'Well, if you think that's bad, listen to what I have to say'.

There is a particle *o·* which is similar in effect to the assertive particle but less adamant. In conversation it has exclamatory and cheerful emotive value. It is frequent in imperatives, where it transforms stark command into friendly suasion, eg. (99-100).

- (99) *pher-ɛʔ o·..., tɔk ca-se!*
 come-IMP oh *bhāt* eat-SUP
 Come eat *bhāt*!

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

The emphatic particle *ʔa*, *sa* differs from both the depre-
 hensative and assertive particle in not being exclusively
 clause-final, eg. *allo· wa alaŋin thɔmɛ* 'now, my leg is
 asleep'. The initial glottal stop of its underlying form *ʔa*
 assimilates to preceding continuants. When the particle is
 clause-final, the speaker indicates that he feels the
 listener should already have known what the speaker is
 telling him or that the listener should be taking into
 account what the speaker is saying, eg. *to·k ʔa!* 'it could
 be on sale, you know!'.
 A number of clause modifying adverbials occur clause-
 finally⁶ and indicate the speaker's evaluation of the
 probability of a proposition. These are: *ʔi·ya*, *iʔre·ʔe·*,
laʔba. *ʔi·ya* 'perhaps' indicates possibility and is
 speculative and non-committal, whereas *iʔre·ʔe·* and *laʔba*
 indicate suspected probability, eg. *to·k i·ya* 'it might
 perhaps be on sale', *to·k laʔba* 'it might be on sale/it's
 probably on sale'. The semantic difference between *iʔre·ʔe·*
 and *laʔba* is minimal. *iʔre·ʔe·* indicates greater certainty
 on the part of the speaker than *laʔba*, eg. *wiʔl tha*
iʔre·ʔe· 'it'll probably rain', *wiʔl tha laʔba* 'It might
 rain/it'll probably rain'. The initial of *ʔi·ya* assimilates
 to a preceding continuant, including the continuant allo-
 phone of /t/, eg. (102-104). *iʔre·ʔe·* and *laʔba* behave as
 full words, eg. (49), (105).

- (101) - *kɔŋ hɛm-baʔ*
 this what-NOM
 - *ko·co·-mikkho·k i·ya.*
 dog-skull probably
 - What's this?
 - Probably a dog skull.

⁶ Not all clause modifying adverbs are clause-final, eg.

kuca wiʔl tha.
 verily rain fall It's really going to rain.

wiʔl kuca tha.
 rain verily fall It's really going to rain.

**wiʔl tha kuca*

- (102) *kətna ləpsaŋ gə· piʔl-in mə-be·-nən ni·ya*
 here toward then cow-ABS NEG-go/PT-NEG perhaps
hənəŋbhelle ku-ləŋyo·p ho·p-pa.
 because its-footprint not_{be}-IPF
 Perhaps the cow didn't come this way because there
 aren't any of its footprints here.
- (103) *ta·ndik yaŋ-in mə-də·ŋ-nən ni·ya,*
 tomorrow money-ABS NEG-be_{used}_{up}-NEG perhaps
mə-ma·t-nən ni·ya.
 NEG-be_{finished}-NEG perhaps
 Tomorrow the money will not all have been used up
 maybe. It might not all be finished.
- (104) *ya·ʔl li·ya.*
 groan perhaps
 He's perhaps groaning.
- (105) *ya·ʔl laʔba.*
 groan probably
 He's probably groaning.

Chapter Ten

Causatives and Ergativity

10.1. Improductive causative formation

There are three improductive types of causative formation. Improductive causatives reflect TB processes of affixation, now defunct.

Type I causative formation is reflected by pairs of verbs consisting of a basal stem beginning with /*c, k, p, t*/ and a causative counterpart whose stem begins with /*s, kh, ph, th*/. Both the aspiration of /*k, p, t*/ to yield /*kh, ph, th*/ and fricativization of /*c*/ to /*s*/ reflect the TB causative prefix **s-* (STC, 105-6).

Type II causative formation is represented by pairs or trios of verbs consisting of a basal form, a directive member in *-t* and a causative member in *-s*. Suffixation of *-t* and *-s* reflect the TB directive **-t* and causative **-s* suffixes respectively¹. Type II causatives include a separately listed sub-group IIb with a basal stem ending in *-ʔr, -r* or *-s* and a corresponding directive stem in *-nd*. Directives ending in *-nd* reflect TB **-t* when affixed to TB verb roots in *-ʔr, -r* and *-s*.

Type III causative formation is represented by verb pairs and trios in which both of the above TB affixal derivation processes are reflected.

On the following pages are exhaustive lists of these three types of improductive causatives as found in my material.²

¹ The term 'directive' is used by Wolfenden (1929: 66) for Tibetan. Directive **-t* and causative **-s* have been established as common Tibeto-Burman morphological processes (STC, 97-103). Michailovsky (1985: 366) describes the directive as covering a range of related meanings from a 'causative' sense to 'applied', 'benefactive' and 'malefactive'.

² The improductive morphological processes discussed here in 10.1 were first identified and described for Limbu by Boyd Michailovsky in 1977 in a lucid and valuable paper presented at the 12th International Conference on Sino-Tibetan Languages and Linguistics (19-21 October 1979) in Paris and published in 1985. His work was based on the Limbu language as it is spoken in the *Maivā-Mevā*

Type I causatives

basal stem	causative stem
-co·nd-/-co·n- topple, fall over [vi.]	-so·nd-/-so·n- topple, fell [vt.]
-cur-/-cut-/cu?l be finished, be completed; termina- tive aspectivizer with intransitives [vi.]	-sur-/-sut-/-su?l finish, complete; terminative aspec- tivizer with tran- sitives [vt.]
-ka·nd-/-ka·n- be wounded [vi.]	-kha·nd-/-kha·n- wound someone [vt.]
-pa·ks-/-pa·ŋ- come undone (of a string or knot), become untangled [vi.]	-pha·ks-/-pha·ŋ- undo, untangle [vt.]
-pa·n -pe·nd-/-pe·n- something incorrect be said, be uttered in an erroneous, awkward or uncomely fashion [vi.]	pa·n -phe·nd-/-phe·n- say something wrong, be mistaken in speech, say something in an erroneous, awkward or uncomely fashion [vt.]
-pend-/-pen- slip off, be- come taken off (clothes) [vi.]	-phend-/-phen- slip out of something (clothes) [vt.]

Valleys of *Tāplejuñ* District. Not surprisingly there are semantic and lexical differences between his material and the material presented here, but the overall homogeneity of the material is striking. For the sake of completeness, I note a paper prepared by Alfons Weidert for the Linguistic Society of Nepal in 1982 in which problems of morphological reconstruction in causatives are discussed on the basis of *Pācthare* Limbu material.

-piʔr-/-piʔ-
dent, get
dented [vi.]

-phiʔr-/-phiʔ-
dent something
[vt.]

-pind-/-pin-
jump up, splash up,
jump up and down
[vi.] (q.v. etiam
infra sub II)

-phi·nd-/-phi·n-
sweep away [vt.]

-pi·ks-/-pi·ŋ-
be pulled out,
come out (any
long thing like
nails, pen-tops)
[vi.]

-phi·ks-/-phi·ŋ-
pull out, take
out (long things
like nails) [vt.]

-po·nd-/-po·n-
be abundant, be
numerous [vi.]
(q.v. etiam infra
sub IIb)

-pho·nd-/-pho·n-
propagate, generate,
produce [vt.]

-pɔ·nd-/-pɔ·n-
disperse, scatter,
swarm out [vi.]

-phɔ·nd-/-phɔ·n-
disperse, scatter,
cause to disperse
[vt.]

-puʔr-/-puʔ-
become severed
[vi.]

-phuʔr-/-phuʔ-
sever [vt.]

-pund-/-pun-
become dis-
lodged [vi.]

-phund-/-phun-
dislodge, re-
move, decapi-
tate [vt.]

-putt-/-put-/-puʔl
mix, blend [vi.]

-phutt-/-phut-/-phuʔl
mix, blend [vt.]

-takt-/-tak-
display to some-
one [vt.]

o·n-dhakt-/-o·n-dhak-
show someone, tell
someone [vt.]

-tekt-/-tek-
be enough, be
sufficient
(food) [vi.],
fill, be enough
to fill someone,
sate (food) [vt.]

-teks-/-teŋ-
tear, be
torn [vi.]

-tik-/-tiŋ-
the foreskin be
pulled back such
that the glans
penis be exposed
(subject: *le·*)
[vi.]

-tims-/-tim-
become full, get
filled [vi.]

-ti·kt-/-ti·k-
peel [vi.]

-to·ʔr-/-to·ʔ-
be well lit, be
illuminated [vi.]

-tund-/-tun-
become stirred
up, disturbed
[vi.]

-tu·ks-/-tu·ŋ-
be bent, bend
[vi.]

-thekt-/-thek-
to overfill one-
self, stuff one-
self [vt. with 3s
patient marker]

-the·ks-/-the·ŋ-
tear [vt.]

-thi·ks-/-thi·ŋ-
retract or pull
back the foreskin
exposing the glans
penis (occasionally
used in threats)
[vt.]

-thims-/-thim-
fill up [vt.]

-thi·kt-/-thi·k-
peel [vt.]

-tho·ʔr-/-tho·ʔ-
shed light on,
illuminate [vt.]

-thund-/-thun-
stir up, agitate,
disturb [vt.]

-thu·ks-/-thu·ŋ-
bend [vt.]

Type II causatives

basal stem	directive stem	causative stem
-ab-/-ap- shoot [vt.]		-aps-/-am- winnow [vt.]
-a·g-/-a·k- be uprooted [vi.]		-a·ks-/-a·ŋ- uproot [vt.]
-ca- eat [vt.]	-ca·tt-/-ca·t-/ -ca·ʔl feed, inflict [vt.]	
-ca·-/-ce·- perform, play (a game) [vi. irr.]	-ca·tt-/-ca·t-/ -ca·ʔl play (a game) [vt.]	
-caks-/-caŋ- get dressed, wear (clothes, not jewelry) [vt.]	-cakt-/-cak- dress someone [vt.]	
-cib-/-cip- become silent, fall silent, quiet down, cease making noise, stop raining [vi.]		-cips-/-cim- shut someone up, stop someone or something from making noise, turn something off [vt.]
	-ci·kt-/-ci·k- cool off [vi.] cuŋ-dzi·kt-/cuŋ- dzi·k- be cold (weather) [vi.]; feel cold [vt. imp.]	-ci·ks-/-ci·ŋ- cool off [vt.]
-cɔb-/-cɔp- dry up, evapo- rate [vi.]		-cɔps-/-cɔm- boil dry, drain [vt.]

-cənd-/-cən-
shove [vt.]

-cətt-/-cət-/
cəʔl push from
one place to
another [vt.]

-cub-/-cup-
(of a hole:)
close up, get
filled in,
close back up
[vi.]

-cups-/-cum-
(of a hole:)
fill back in,
close back up
[vt.]

-εg-/-εk-³
break, snap
[vi.]

-εks-/-εŋ-
break, snap
[vt.]

-haŋ-
send something
[vt.]

-hakt-/-hak-
send someone
something [vt.]

-hapt-/-hap-
get stuck [vi.]

-haps-/-ham-
hang up [vt.]

-ha·s-/-ha·-
share, distri-
something, deal
out, apportion
[vt.]

-ha·tt-/-ha·t-/
-ha·ʔl distribute
amongst, share out
to, share between,
portion out to
[vt.]

-ha·b-/-ha·p-
cry [vi.]

-ha·pt-/-ha·p-
mourn someone
[vt.]

-ha·ps-/-ha·m-
cause someone
to cry [vt.]

-he·r-/-he·-
dry in the sun
[vi.]

-he·s-/-he·-
dry in the sun
[vt.]

³ In Limbu speech in the vicinity of *Sākrāntī* north of *Myāñluñ*, *εkma* and *εŋma* have corresponding forms in *cekma* and *seŋma* respectively, in which forms a TB causative *s- prefix is also reflected.

hi-e·s-/hi-e·-
shit, defaecate
[vt.]

hi-e·tt-/hi-e·t-/
hi-e·ʔl shit on
something or some-
one [vt.]

-hiŋ-
live, be alive
[vi.]

-hiŋs-/hiŋ-
raise, rear
[vt.]

-hɔŋ-
be pierced, be
bored (a hole)
[vi.]

-hɔŋs-/hɔŋ-
pierce, bore a
hole [vt.]

-hum-
sink [vi.]

-hums-/hum-
cause to sink
[vt.]

-hus-/hu-
disclose some-
one's secrets,
expose someone
[vt.]

-huʔr-/huʔ-
teach someone
[vt.]

-ind-/in-
scrub, push,
massage [vt.];
budge [vi.]

-ips-/im-
press (*niŋε*
'oil')

-iŋ-
become known,
spread (of news),
become common
knowledge [vi.]

-iŋs-/iŋ-
slander, ma-
lign, spread
news, make
known [vt.]

-ips-/im-
sleep [vi.]

-ipt-/ip-
put to bed (esp.
children) [vt.]

-i·r-/i·-
wander about
[vi.]

-i·s-/i·-
cause to wander
about (eg.
livestock),
give someone a
tour [vt.]

-kam-develop an attachment to,
be or become dependent on
[vi.]**-kams-/-kam-**break in (a dog),
domesticate, cause
to grow accustomed,
habituate [vt.]**-kaŋ-**dry or warm up
at the edge of
a fire (animate
or edible)
[vi.]**-kaŋs-/-kaŋ-**dry (edible materials or clay
slingshot pellets)
at the edge of a
fire [vt.]**-keŋ-**trip, stumble
and fall [vi.]**-keŋs-/-keŋ-**trip someone, cause
someone to stumble
and fall [vt.]**-keʔr-/-ket-/****-keʔl** arrive
[vi.]**-kett-/-ket-/keʔl**get something or
someone to a place;
fulfill one's promise [vt.]**-ko·ks-/-ko·ŋ-**get oneself a
pillow, use something as a pillow [vt.]**-ko·kt-/-ko·k-**prop something up
[vt.]**-kuy-/-ku·-**carry something
on one's back
[vt.]**-ku·tt-/-ku·t-/****-ku·ʔl** have someone
carry a load (on his
back [vt.]**-khaps-/-kham-**cover oneself
with bedclothes
when going to
bed [vt.]**-khapt-/-khap-**tuck someone in,
cover someone with
bedclothes; thatch
or re-thatch a roof
[vt.]**-kha·s-/-kha·-**be satiated (with
food) [vi.]**-kha·tt-/-kha·t-/****-kha·ʔl** satiate
someone with food
[vt.]

-khekt-/-khek-
be ignited, spark
(a match, a flint-
stone) [vi.]

-kheks-/-kheŋ-
strike (a match,
a flintstone) [vt.]

-khe·kt-/-khe·k-
be chipped off,
be broken off
(a piece of the
whole); be nick-
ed [vi.]

-khe·ks-/-khe·ŋ-
break off a piece
[vt.]

-khe·y-/-khe·-
fight [vi.]

*-khe·tt-/-khe·t-/
-khe·ʔl* dispute
something [vt.]

-khekt-/-khek-
dry (meat)
[vi.]

-kheks-/-kheŋ-
dry (meat) [vt.]

-khipt-/-khip-
stick [vi.]

-khips-/-khim-
stick [vt.]

-khiŋ-
be taut [vi.]

-khiŋs-
stretch, make taut
[vt.]

-khɔŋ-
get hit with a
stick [vi.]

-khɔks-/-khɔŋ-
hit with a stick
[vt.]

-khu·ŋ-/-khu·ks-
cover oneself
with something,
wrap oneself in
some covering
[vt.]

-khu·kt-/-khu·k-
cover someone with
something, wrap
something around
someone [vt.]

-lag-/-lak-
lick [vt.]

-laks-/-laŋ-
give to lick [vt.]

-lakt-/-lak-
boil (liquid)
[vi.]

-laks-/-laŋ-
boil (a liquid)
[vt.]

-la·ks-/-la·ŋ- dance [vi.]	-la·kt-/-la·k- trample, walk	
kye·-la·ks-/-kye·- -la·ŋ- perform the Limbu drum dance [vi.]	underfoot [vt.] yaʔ-ra·kt-/-yaʔ-ra·k- perform the Limbu rice harvest dance [vi.]	
-leʔr-/-leʔ- become unleashed [vi.]	-leʔr-/-leʔt-/-leʔl take leave of, quit, release, let go [vt.]	
-leŋ- wander about because one has lost his way [vi.]	-lekt-/-lek- trade, exchange [vt.]	-leks-/-leŋ- turn over [vt.]
-le·ŋ- smear, rub, rub in [vt.]		-le·ks-/-le·ŋ- knead, make dough [vt.]
-liŋ- climb [vt.]		-liŋs-/-liŋ- break through (said of the sun); grow (of plants) [vi.]
-li·g-/-li·k- enter into an opening [vi.]	-li·kt-/-li·k- infect someone [vt.]	-li·ks-/-li·ŋ- insert something into an opening in order to conceal [vt.]
-lo·kt-/-lo·k- run, sprint, jump [vi.]		-lo·ks-/-lo·ŋ- make someone run [vt.]
-lo·s-/-lo·- underlay, lay down underneath, lay down a sub- strate [vt.]	-lo·tt-/-lo·t-/ -lo·ʔl lay some- thing underneath someone, underlay someone [vt.]	

-lɔ·nd-/-lɔ·n-
emerge, exude,
egress, come
out [vi.]

*-lɔ·tt-/-lɔ·t-/
-lɔ·ʔl* take out
[vt.]

-lug-/-luk-
be completed
[vi.]

-luks-/-luŋ-
complete [vt.]

*-luŋma -hips-/
-him-* yearn,
miss, experience
nostalgia, ex-
perience the
grief of sepa-
ration [vi.]

*luŋma -hi·pt-/
-hi·p-* miss some-
one [vt.]

-lu·g-/-lu·k-
fall (foliage
or fruits from
a tree) [vi.]

-lu·ks-/-lu·ŋ-
shake fruits
out of a tree;
husk maize (the
leaves from the
cob) [vt.]

-lupt-/-lup-
be buried [vi.],
bury [vt.]

-lups-/-lum-
pile up [vt.]

*maŋ-kho·y-/maŋ-
-kho·-* rant
and rave [vi.]

*maŋ-kho·tt-/maŋ-
-kho·t-/maŋ-kho·ʔl*
exorcise [vi.vt.]

-mɔy-/-ma·-
get, become
lost [vi.]

-ma·s-/-ma·-
lose [vt.]

-mɛg-/-mɛk-
run out of
(a supply of
something)
[vi.]

-mɛks-/-mɛŋ-
to 'have done it
again' (sarcastic)
[vt.]

-mukt-/-muk-
strike, sound
(of a bell, clock,
musical instru-
ment) [vi.]

-muks-/-muŋ-
sound, strum,
strike, play (a
musical instru-
ment) [vt.]

-naʔr-/-naʔ-
 abandon; ab-
 stain from
 eating some-
 thing [vt.]

-nakt-/-nak-
 be confused,
 be at a loss
 for words, be
 overwhelmed
 [vi.]

-nam-
 smell [vi.]

-na·b-/-na·p-
 drive off (eg.
 an animal) [vt.]

*-niŋwa -hi·r-/
 -hi·-* change
 one's mind [vi.]

-niŋwa -ta-
 be pleased [vi.
 irr.]

-nis-/-ni-
 see [vt.]

*-nett-/-net-/
 -neʔl* abstain
 from salt (*yum*);
 be in mourning
 [vt.]

-na·pt-/-na·p-
 drive off from
 (eg. an animal
 from another ani-
 mal or away from
 something; both
 patient) [vt.];
 cf. *-na·tt-/-na·t-
 na·ʔl*, vt., drive
 away (livestock)

*-ni·r-/-ni·t-/
 -ni·ʔl* read,
 study, count [vt.]
*kusiŋ-ni·tt-/
 kusiŋ-ni·t-/kusiŋ-
 -ni·ʔl* recognize,
 comprehend, under-
 stand, be familiar
 with [vt.]

-naks-/-naŋ-
 go crazy [vi.]

-nams-/-nam-
 smell [vt.]

-niŋwa -hi·s-/-hi·-
 convince someone,
 change someone's
 mind [vt.]

-niŋwa -tas-/-ta-
 please [vt.]

-nər-/-nən-
be left over,
remain [vi.]

-nənch-/-nən-
set aside, save
for later, keep
leftovers [vt.]

-nu·ks-/-nu·ŋ
return; void
[vi.]

-nu·kt-/-nu·k-
return [vt.]

-ɔg-/-ɔk-
become unstuck,
come loose,
become unglued
[vi.]

-ɔks-/-ɔŋ-
unstick, unglue,
pull free, pull
loose [vt.]

*-pa·r-/-pa·t-/
-pa·ʔl* speak
[vi.]

*-pa·tt-/-pa·t-/
-pa·ʔl* say (some-
thing) to someone
[vt.]

-pe·s-/-pe·-
vomit [vt.]

-pe·ʔr-/-pe·ʔ-
vomit on something
or someone [vt.]

-pind-/-pin-
jump up (ver-
tically) [vi.]
(q.v. etiam
supra sub I)

-pitt-/-pit-/-piʔl
jump over some-
thing (vertically)
[vt.]

-pɔg-/-pɔŋ-
kick up (of
the wind) [vi.]
-pɔŋ-
get up and
leave, be broken
up (of a *hāṭ-*
baḡār) [vi.]

-pɔks-/-pɔŋ-
lift up with one's
hand, carry in
one's hands [vt.]

*-pətch-/-pət-/
-pəʔl* hang in
a tree (fruit),
be or rest sus-
pended (celes-
tial phenomena),
remain sticking
(eg. smegma),
be (an amount)
[vi.] (vide
etiam infra
sub III)

-phe·s-/-phe·-
fart [vt.]

-pheʔr-/-phen-
come (along a
horizontal
plane) [vi.]

-phɛs-/-phɛ-
lay down (mat-
ting), situate
(a stool or
chair) [vt.]

-phind-/-phin-
strangle, squeeze
the juice out of
something; de-
press (a lever)
[vt.]

-phi·r-/-phi·-
grow thin [vi.]

-phəkt-/-phək-
go off, explode
(rifle, bomb)
[vi.]

*-phətt-/-phət-/
-phəʔl* cover
something, sus-
pend or hold
something above
something or
someone [vt.]
*-pətt-/-pət-/
-pəʔl* bespatter
[vt.]

-phe·ʔr-/-phe·ʔ-
fart within ol-
factory range of
someone, fart at
someone [vt.]

*-phɛtt-/-phɛt-/
-phɛʔl* bring
(along a hori-
zontal plane)
[vt.]

-pheʔr-/-pheʔ-
lay down (mat-
ting) for some-
one, get a seat
for someone [vt.]

*-phitt-/-phit-/
phiʔl* pinch;
(with *huk* 'hands')
stick into one's
armpits or between
one's thighs (eg.
for warmth) [vt.]

*-phəttch-/-phət-/
-phəʔl* put up
somewhere, place on
high, hang up, sus-
pend [vt.]

-phench-/-phen-
send, have brought
(along a horizontal
plane) [vt.]

-phi·s-/-phi·-
allow to get thin
[vt.]

-phəks-/-phəŋ-
allow to go off,
allow to explode
(rifle, bomb) [vt.]

-se·s-/-se·-
piss, urinate
[vt.]

-se·ʔr-/-se·ʔ-
piss on some-
thing or some-
one [vt.]

*-ser-/-set-/
-seʔl* kill
[vt.] (q.v.
etiam infra)

*-sett-/-set-/
-seʔl* ritually
slaughter an ani-
mal as *phudo·ŋ*
in honour of an
esteemed guest
[vt.]

-si-
die [vi. irr.]

-ser-/-set-/-seʔl
kill [vt.] (q.v.
etiam supra)

-si·pt-/-si·p-
be stuck between
something, be
wedged inbetween
[vi., vt. imp.]

-si·ps-/-si·m-
insert a long object
into wickerwork,
matting, thatching,
meshwork or some
reticulate material
[vt.]

-soŋ-
be done (food)
[vi.]

-soŋd-/-soŋ-
cause to become
done (food) [vt.]

-sub-/-sup-
be shut, be
closed (door,
box, *təŋba*)
[vi.]; shut
[vt.]

-su·pt-/-su·p-
close off, shut
off, seal off,
put a lid on, cap
(a bottle) [vt.]

-supt-/-sup-
take draughts
through a *pi·t-*
chiŋ [vt.]

*-sutt-/-sut-/
-suʔl* taste by
taking a draught
through a *pi·t-*
chiŋ [vt.]

-ta-
come, appear
[vi.]

-tar-/-taʔ-
bring, deliver
[vt.]

-tas-/-ta-
reach [vt.]

ta-dzεks-/ta-
-dzεη- con-
 verse [vi.]

-cεkt-/cεk-
 discuss someone
 or something,
 tell about some-
 one or something
 [vt.]

-cε·ks-/cε·η-
 discuss someone or
 something [vt.]

-tεnd-/tεn-
 agree, consent,
 believe, obey
 [vi.]

-tεtt-/tεt-/
-tε?l consent to
 give something
 [vt.]

-tɔη-
 meet, fit, make
 sense, be correct
 or fitting, come
 together, be re-
 conciled [vi.]

-tɔηs-/tɔη-
 fit together, make
 fit, repair, ar-
 range, reconcile
 [vt.]

-tɔy-/tɔ·-
 sew [vt.]

-tɔ?r-/tɔ?-
 have sewn for
 someone, have
 sewn [vt.]
-thɔtt-/thɔt-/
-thɔ?l sew
 (leaves) to make
 disposable
 dishes [vt.]

-tum-
 run into some-
 one, meet, en-
 counter [vt.]

-tums-/tum-
 gather; arrange a
 meeting between
 people; complete
 (a task initiated
 but unfinished)
 [vt.]

-tha-
 relinquitive
 aspectivizer
 'to leave'
 [v. irr.]

-tha·?r-/tha·?-
 leave behind for
 someone, relin-
 quish something
 you've kept for
 someone, give away
 [vt.]

-tha-
fall [vi. irr.]

-thas-/-tha-
thrash, shake off
[vt.]
-thaps-/-tham-
shake out (dust)
[vt.]
-tha·s-/-tha·-
knock down (eg. by
throwing sticks and
stones); cause to
fall (as aspecti-
vizer) [vt.]
-tha·ps-/-tha·m-
trip someone, throw
someone or something
to the ground [vt.]

-thab-/-thap-
be born [vi.]

-thapt-/-thap-
bear (offspring)
[vt.]

-tha·b-/-tha·p-
be visible [vi.]
ni-tha·b-/ni-
-tha·p- be vi-
sible, be able
to be seen [vi.]

-tha·ps-/-tha·m-
show [vt.]

-thəŋ-
come up [vi.]

-thəkt-/-thək-
bring up [vt.]

-thəŋs-/-thəŋ-
have brought up,
send up [vt.]

-thəŋ-/-thək-
forge, weld,
pound, work
(metal) [vt.]

-thəkt-/-thək-
have someone
work metal, have
jewelry made
[vt.]

-thəkt-/-thək-
clash, come to
blows; (of
cattle) lock
horns; (of *mik*
'eyes') meet
[vi.]

-thəks-/-thəŋ-
instigate, incite
to fight; (of *mik*
'eyes') flirt
through eye con-
tact, make eyes
at [vt.]

-thub-/-thup-
cave in, col-
lapse [vi.]

-thuŋ-
drink [vt.]

-ug-/-uk-
comb, scratch,
claw [vt.]

-us-/-u-
direct, lead
[vt.]
kha-us-/kha-u-
deliver a
speech [vt.]

wa-rakt-/wa-rak-
get wet [vi.]

-wa·r-/-wa·ʔ
wear, put on
(jewelry, orna-
ments) [vt.]

-yaks-/-yaŋ-
tremble, shake
[vi.]

*-ye·r-/-ye·t-/
-ye·ʔl* laugh
[vi.]

-yeɓ-/-yeɓ-
stand, stand up
[vi.]

-ye·kt-/-ye·k-
wear, wear away,
grow blunt [vi.]

-thups-/-thum-
demolish, destroy,
cause to cave in
[vt.]

-thunɓ-/-thuŋ-
give to drink [vt.]

-uks-/-uŋ-
pull, pluck, pick
[vt.]

*-u·tt-/-u·t-/
-u·ʔl* call sum-
mon [vt.]

wa-raks-/wa-raŋ-
make wet, moisten,
dampen [vt.]

*-wa·tt-/-wa·t-/
-wa·ʔl* put (je-
welry, ornaments)
on someone [vt.]

-yaŋɓ-/-yaŋ-
hit with a
projectile
[vt.]

*-ye·tt-/-ye·t-/
-ye·ʔl* laugh at
someone [vt.]

-yeɓɓ-/-yeɓ-
stand something up
[vt.]

-ye·ks-/-ye·ŋ-
chew (with diffi-
culty), grind [vt.]

-yo·r-/-yo·-
amount to, at-
tain, reach
(weight, sum
of money) [vi.],
be enough, be
sufficient for
someone [vt.]

-yo·ʔr-/-yo·ʔ-
give someone a
second or third
helping [vt.]

-yɔr-/-yɔ-
cave in [vi.]

-yɔs-/-yɔ-
demolish [vt.]

-yu-
come down [vi.]

-yur-/-yuʔ-
bring down [vt.]

-yus-/-yu-
cause to come
down by condensa-
tion; distill [vt.]

-yuŋ-
sit [vi.]

-yukt-/-yuk-
sit on something,
mount [vt.]

-yuks-/-yuŋ-
put, set [vt.]

-yups-/-yum-
put on a belt
(phɔʔi·), buckle
oneself up [vt.]

-yupt-/-yup-
put a belt (phɔʔi·)
on someone, buckle
someone up [vt.]

Type IIb causatives

base stem	directive stem	causative stem
- <i>haʔr-</i> / <i>-haʔ-</i> catch on fire, catch flame [vi.]	- <i>ha·nd-</i> / <i>-ha·n-</i> burn [vt.]	
- <i>hɔ·r-</i> / <i>-hɔ·t/</i> - <i>hɔ·ʔl</i> burst open [vi.]	- <i>hɔnd-</i> / <i>-hɔn-</i> open (a door or window) [vt.]	- <i>hɔ·s-</i> / <i>-hɔ·-</i> puncture, burst open [vt.]
- <i>ki·r-</i> / <i>-ki·-</i> decompose, rot, putrefy [vi.]	- <i>ki·nd-</i> / <i>-ki·n-</i> putrefy, allow to rot [vt.]	
- <i>lis-</i> / <i>-li-</i> insert one's hand into some- thing (patient: <i>huk</i>) [vt.]	- <i>li·nd-</i> / <i>-li·n-</i> stick something (= patient) through a hole [vt.]	
- <i>ma·r-</i> / <i>-ma·t-</i> / - <i>ma·ʔl</i> be fi- nished, be used up [vi.]	- <i>ma·nd-</i> / <i>-ma·n-</i> finish, use up [vt.]	
<i>mut-tha-</i> fall (from a height) [vi.]	- <i>tha·nd-</i> / <i>-tha·n-</i> succeed (= ? cause to fall into place) (with in- finitive) [vt.]	<i>mut-thas-</i> / <i>mut-tha-</i> drop something [vt.]
- <i>ɔʔr-</i> / <i>-ɔʔ-</i> break off (a piece of the whole) [vi.]	- <i>ɔnd-</i> / <i>-ɔn-</i> remove and put aside that which is in excess [vt.]	- <i>ɔ·s-</i> / <i>-ɔ·-</i> spit out [vt.]
- <i>po·r-</i> / <i>-po·-</i> grow (of ani- mals, inc. hu- mans) [vi.] - <i>nara</i> - <i>po·r-</i> / - <i>po·-</i> gain in esteem [vi.]	- <i>po·nd-</i> / <i>-po·n-</i> be abundant, be numerous [vi.] (q.v. etiam supra sub I)	- <i>po·s-</i> / <i>-po·-</i> make bigger [vt.] - <i>nara</i> - <i>po·s-</i> / <i>-po·-</i> laud, praise [vt.]

<i>phɛʔ-laʔr-/phɛʔ-</i> <i>-laʔ-</i> be spoilt, be ruined [vi.]	<i>phɛʔ-la·nd-/phɛʔ-</i> <i>-la·n-</i> spoil, ruin [vt.]	
<i>-scr-/sct-/scʔl</i> be scattered, be spilt [vi.]	<i>-scnd-/scn-</i> split up, go one's separate ways, disperse [vi.], sepa- rate (eg. good rice from bad rice) [vt.]	<i>-scs-/sc-</i> scatter, spill, sow [vt.]
<i>-sɔ·r-/sɔ·n-</i> ooze down, slither [vi.]	<i>-sɔ·nd-/sɔ·n-</i> slide [vi.], slide [vt.]	
<i>-te·ʔr-/te·ʔ-</i> take away [vt.]	<i>wa-de·nd-/wa-</i> <i>-de·n-</i> let some- thing float away in a current of water [vt.]	<i>-te·s-/te·</i> spend [vt.]; (as <i>-de·s-/de·-</i>) as- pectivizer with transitive verbs

Type III causatives

base stem	directive stem	causative stem
<i>-cups-/-cum-</i> form a crowd, become amassed, gather together, accumulate [vi.]	<i>-sund-/-sun-</i> scrape together with the blade of hand [vt.]	<i>-sups-/-sum-</i> amass, convene, accumulate, as- semble, gather together, collect [vt.]
<i>kha-da·m-</i> get dark (night- fall) [vi.]	<i>kha-dha·pt-/-kha-</i> <i>-dha·p-</i> get or turn dark on some- one [vt.]	
<i>-niŋsaŋ -pug-/</i> <i>-puk-</i> be crest- fallen [vi.]	<i>niŋsaŋ -phukt-/</i> <i>-phuk-</i> spoil the fun, be a killjoy (patient: <i>niŋsaŋ</i>) [vt.]	<i>-niŋsaŋ -puks-/</i> <i>-puŋ-⁴</i> disappoint someone [vt.]
<i>-pa·ks-/-pa·ŋ-</i> come undone (knot, string) [vi.]	<i>-pha·kt-/-pha·k-</i> fold, fold up (cloth, clothes) [vt.]	<i>-pha·ks-/-pha·ŋ-</i> undo (knot string) [vt.]
<i>-pe·r-/-pe·-</i> fly [vi.]		<i>-phe·s-/-phe·-</i> let fly, release (birds), fly (an airplane) [vt.]
<i>-po·g-/-po·k-</i> wake up, get up; rise (of leavened comes- tibles) [vi.]		<i>-pho·ks-/-pho·ŋ-</i> wake someone up [vt.]

⁴ The causative member of this set reflects only causative
*-s, not *s-.

*-po·tt-/-po·t-/
-poʔl* lose
one's way [vi.]

*-pho·tt-/-pho·t-/
-phoʔl* mislead,
deceive, trick,
make a fool of
someone, take the
piss, take someone
for a ride [vt.]

-pho·s-/-pho·-
stir about to fa-
cilitate the dry-
ing process [vt.]

*-pətch-/-pət-/
-pəʔl* hang in
a tree (fruit),
be or rest sus-
pended (celestial
phenomena), re-
main sticking
(eg. smegma),
be (an amount)
[vi.] (vide etiam
supra sub IIa)

*-pho·nd-/-pho·n-
-phoʔl* hang up [vt.]
(cf. *po·ro·ʔl*,
glossary)

*-putt-/-put-
-puʔl* be mixed,
be motley, be
varicoloured
[vi.]

*-phutt-/-phut-/
-phuʔl* mix,
blend [vt.]

-phuks-/-phuḡ
mix, blend [vt.]

*ta·kənd-/-ta·kən-
wander, stroll
[vi.], cover on
foot, wander
through (places,
an area) [vt.]
-kənd-/-kən-
cover on foot,
wander through
(places, an area)
[vt.].*

*-khənch-/-khən-
stir (liquid)
[vt.]*

*-tiŋd-/-tiŋ-
flower, bloom;
swell up, become
erect [vi.]*

*-thiŋs-/-thiŋ-
masturbate (male),
cause to flower
or swell up.*

10.2. Productive, periphrastic causatives

The productive, periphrastic causatives consist of an optative in combination with a simplex of *co·kma?* 'to do', eg. (1-7), or *paŋma?* 'to send someone', eg. (8-10). The optative indicates the desired situation and is a complement of the main verb. *Co·kma?* and *paŋma?* show patient agreement with the subject or agent of the optative complement, eg. (7-8), (15). The combination of a supine and *paŋma?* is distinct from the causative combination of *paŋma?* and optative complement, eg. (11) vs. (8-10).

- (1) *pu·?t-ε-rɔ* *kε-dzo·g-u-ba!*
boil_{over}-PT-OPT 2-do-3P-IPF
You^s've let it boil over.
- (2) *lakt-u-rɔ* *co·k-m· po·ŋ.*
boil-3P-OPT do-INF EXIG
It must be brought to a boil.
- (3) *cib-ε-rɔ* *co·g-u.*
keep_{quiet}-PT-OPT do-3P
He made him keep quiet.
- (4) *cɔb-ε-rɔ* *co·g-u-ŋ.*
evaporate-PT-OPT do-3P-1sA
I let it evaporate.
- (5) *tug-ε-rɔ* *kε-dzo·g-w-i·?*
ache-PT-OPT 2-do-3P-Q
Did you^s hurt him?
- (6) *hasukt-ε-rɔ* *co·g-u-ŋ.*
be_{cutting}-PT-OPT do-3P-1sP
I'll make it cut well. (cf. *ya?laptuŋ* I'll sharpen
it, *yuttuŋ* I'll whet it.)
- (7) *hipt-aŋ-lɔ* *kε-dzo·g-u-ba-i·?*
hit-1sPS/PT-OPT 2-do-3P-IPF-Q
Did you^s make him hit me?
- (8) *hɛndza?-ha?* *cum-ha?* *cuŋ-ma?*
child-p friend-p wrestle-INF
 paŋs-u-ŋ-si-ŋ.
 send-3P-1sA-nsP-1sA
I sent the kids off to wrestle.

- (9) *a-dho·ps-i-rɔ paŋs-u.*
1-spy-pPS-OPT send-3P
He sent him to spy on usⁱ.
- (10) *ɔ·-a-mət-chi-rɔ paŋs-u.*
watch-1-watch-dPS-OPT send-3P
He sent him to watch us^{di}.
- (11) *a-tho·m-se paŋs-u.*
1-spy-SUP send-3P
He sent him in order to spy on me.

Rarely, the verb *paŋma?* is compounded to the stem of another verb to give its causative. For example, compounded to *khɔkma?* 'to cut' and *iŋma?* 'to buy', it yields *khɔkpaŋma?* 'to have cut' (Nep. *kāṭnu* vs. *kāṭāunu*) and *iŋbaŋma?* 'to have someone buy something', eg. *khɔkpaŋsaŋ* 'he had me cut it', *khɔkpaŋsuŋ* 'I had him cut it', *iŋbaŋsuŋ* 'I sent him to buy [it]'. It also occurs, albeit infrequently, that *paŋma?* or *co·kma?* take an infinitive complement rather than an optative, eg. (8), (16).

An optative may also be the complement of a verb other than *co·kma?* or *paŋma?* but the combination must be semantically plausible, eg. (14).

- (14) *luŋ-ʔo· phɛdza··n hasuk-lɔ yutt-u-ŋ*
stone-LOC knife-ABS be_{cutting}-OPT whet-3P-1sA
lo·!
ASS
I'm whetting the knife against a stone until it's sharp!

Periphrastic causatives are used to express a causative relationship of verbs which lack lexical causatives. For example, there is no verb 'to tickle', whereas there is a verb *ya·ma?* which means 'to experience the sensation of being tickled', eg. (15). Where Michailovsky (1985: 375) notes a causative *-phind-* 'to cause to jump' alongside *-pind-* 'to jump' in the dialect of the *Maivā-Mevā* Valleys, in the dialect treated in the present grammar, the causative of *pimma?* 'to jump' is *phi·mma?* 'to sweep away'.⁵ This leaves a semantic gap which is filled by the periphrastic causative in (16). Similarly, whereas the verb *po·kma?* 'get

⁵ *Phi·mma?* 'to sweep away' has vowel length and forms a minimal pair with *phimma?* meaning 'to strangle'.

up' has an old causative in *pho·ŋma* 'get someone up, get someone out of bed', the verb *ni·tchiŋma?* 'come to consciousness, wake up' lacks a lexical causative counterpart. It is periphrastically causativized in (17) where someone wakes a friend with whom he is sleeping for a brief chat in the middle of the night, not to get him out of his bed.

(15) *ya·s-aŋ-lɔ* *mɛ-dzo·g-u.*
 be_utickled-1sPS/PT-OPT nsAS-do-3P
 They tickled me. (lit. they caused me to feel tickled)

(16) *pim-ma?* *paŋs-u-ŋ.*
 jump-INF send-3P-1sA
 I made him jump.

(17) *sɛndik sɔpma?-dzi?* *ni·t-chiŋ-aŋ.* *khunɛ?-aŋ*
 night moment-few count-REF-1sPS/PT he-too
ni·t-chiŋ-lɔ *co·g-u-ŋ.*
 count-REF-OPT do-3P-1sA
 I woke up in the middle of the night for a few minutes, so I woke him up too.

10.3. Transitivity and actant coding

Limbu actant agreement shows split ergativity. Most conspicuous is that the conjugation of intransitive forms is identical to that of transitive forms with a third singular agent, with the exception of the third person. As a result, impersonally conjugated transitive verbs agreeing with a non-referential third person agent, eg. *mɔ·ma?* 'inebriate', are virtually indistinguishable from intransitive verbs except in the third person, eg. *khɛŋha?* *mɔyusi* 'they_P became inebriated' (3s→3ns) where an intransitive 3p form is rejected. Case marking also provides no clue because both patients and subjects take the absolutive case.

Whereas verbal agreement dichotomizes the third person affixes into agent/subject markers and patient markers, the first and second person markers are dichotomized into those marking agent and those marking patient/subject (see p.70). The agent marker of the first and second person plural, the suffix *-m*, probably derives from the same etymon as the non-singular third person agent/subject prefix *mɛ-*. That the affixes for the first and second person on the whole form a well defined group against the affixes of the third person reflects an animacy hierarchy, as does the strict

dual/plural distinction in the first and second person where in the third person the dual/plural distinction seems to have undergone some degree of erosion.⁶

The ergative suffix occurs only with a transitively conjugated verb⁷; a usually transitive verb can be labile and sometimes be intransitively conjugated, eg. *co·kma?* 'to do' which, with an indefinite or generic patient, inclines to be intransitively conjugated (18-20). Whereas intransitively conjugated *hen kedzo·k* 'what are you^s doing?/what are you^s up to?' is the more usual question, transitive *hen kedzo·gu* 'what are you^s doing' expresses a greater concern with the identity of the patient. An absolutivized patient occurs only with a transitively conjugated verb, eg. *hen co·klo ya·k* 'what is he doing', *hen co·guro ya·k?* 'what is he doing', *hennin co·guro ya·k?* 'what is he doing?', not **hennin co·klo ya·k*.

(18) *kəŋ wa?-ən hen co·k-?əŋ ya·k-pa?*
 this chicken-ABS what do-pfG be-IPF
 What is this chicken up to?

(19) *tha·k tha·k-ma? ya·mbək co·k.*
 weave weave-INF work do
 He weaves [professionally].

⁶ Comrie (1981: 123-4) points out that distinct case assignment patterns for first and second as against third person actants in Dyrbal reflects animacy hierarchy, and that distinct singular and plural forms 'are a characteristic of noun phrases with high animacy in languages that have a split' (p.180).

⁷ The only exception is the verb *maŋkho·pma?* 'to exorcise'. Whereas it is normally transitively conjugated showing patient agreement with the person being exorcised, eg. *phe·danmelle khene? maŋgəgho·ttɛi·?* 'Has the *phe·danma* exorcised you^s?', I have recorded the following: *phe·danmelle maŋho·?ɪ* 'the *phe·danma* is engaged in exorcism', (with an unusual form of *netchi* 'two':) *phe·danmahətchi maŋho·tchi* 'the two *phe·danma* were busy exorcising spirits', and *phe·danmaha?re maŋməgho·ttɛ* 'the *phe·danma* were busy exorcising spirits'. That this verb contains an incorporated object *maŋ* 'deity' may account for the occurrence of an ergative suffix in combination with an intransitively conjugated verb.

- (20) *siŋhɛk-le yaŋhɛk-le ya·mbɔk lɔk mɛ-dzo·k.*
 Newari-ERG money_chopper-GEN work only nsAS-do
 Newaris only do the work of money-chopper.⁸

In (21), normally transitive *thuŋma?* 'to drink' is intransitively conjugated where the speaker intends the activity of drinking as such, and in (22), *pa·tma?* 'to speak, to say' is intransitively conjugated for the same reason even though there is an overt patient, *co·kphuŋ pa·n* 'fish stories'.

- (21) *mɛ-dhuŋ gɔrɔ pi·-ma?-si bo·ŋ.*
 nsAS-drink if give-INF-nsP EXIG
 If they're going to drink, they'll have to be given something.
- (22) *kheŋ menchuma sa·rik co·kphuŋ kɛ-dzo·k-ma co·k*
 that lady very tall_tale AP-make-AP be
henanɣbɛlle co·kphuŋ pa·n lɔk pa·ʔl.
 because tall_tale word only speak
 That lady is a real tall tale teller because she only tells exaggerated stories.

In the list in 10.1, the causatives and directives of intransitive verbs are transitive, eg. *ha·pma?*, *-ha·b-/-ha·p-* 'cry', *ha·pma?*, *-ha·pt-/-ha·p-* 'mourn someone', *ha·mma?*, *-ha·ps-/-ha·m-* 'make someone cry', *ca·ma?* 'play', *andzumha?* *medze·rɔ meya·ge* 'my friends were playing', *ca·tma?*, *-ca·tt-/-ca·t-/-ca·ʔl*, *lanpho·ŋga medza·ttu* 'they play football'.

The verb *pi·ma?* 'give, endow' shows patient agreement with the recipient or beneficiary, not with the object given. This widespread tendency in Limbu patient agreement attests to an animacy hierarchy. The causative or directive counterpart of a transitive verb taking an inanimate patient often takes two actants aside from the agent rather than just one: an animate and an inanimate actant. These directive and causative verbs invariably agree with the animate actant, the patient, not the inanimate one, the object. For example, *tɔ·ma?* 'to sew' shows patient agreement with that which is sewn, and its directive derivative *tɔʔma?* 'to have something sewn for someone' shows agreement with the beneficiary. *Khamma?* 'cover oneself with bedclothes' shows agreement with the bedclothes, whilst its

⁸ See note 13 on p.220.

directive derivative *khapma?* 'tuck someone in' agrees with the person being tucked in. *Lakma?* 'to lick' agrees with the patient being licked, and its causative counterpart *lanma?* 'give to lick' agrees with the entity, eg. a cow, to whom something, eg. salt, has been proffered to lick.

Also in labile verbs, transitivity is bound up with animacy. The verb *khupma?* 'to steal, to rob' shows preferential agreement with an animate patient even when the animate patient is not expressed, eg. (23-25). But when the booty is the salient actant and the maleficiary or victim is left unexpressed, *khupma?* shows agreement with the inanimate actant, eg. (26). In one set of cases, *khupma?* translates as 'to rob', in the other 'to steal'.

- (23) *a-ndzum-ille sapla khutt-aŋ.*
my-friend-ERG book rob-1sPS/PT
My friend robbed me of my book.
- (24) *khunε? yaŋ te·?1 khutt-u.*
him money clothes rob-3P
He robbed him of his clothes and money.
- (25) *khεnε? yaŋ kε-ghutt-u-si-i·?*
you^s money 2-rob-3P-nsP-Q
Did you^s rob them of their money?
- (26) *mε-n-ni-baŋ-ba mæna-lle a-yaŋ-in*
NEG-NEG-see-1s→3/PT-NOM man-ERG 1-money-ABS
khutt-u.
steal-3P
A man I didn't see stole the [= my] money.

Khupma? may also be intransitively conjugated with but a single actant. The meaning depends on the animacy of the subject. An animate subject is inherently agentive, enacting the theft, whereas an inanimate actant gets stolen.

- (27) *a-ndzum-in khutt-ε.*
my-friend-ABS steal-PT
My friend committed a theft.
- (28) *yaŋ khu?1.*
money steal
The money will get stolen.

(29) *syaʔ1 ke-sep-pa-haʔ me-ghuʔ1.*
 jackal AP-kill-AP-p nsAS-steal
 Jackal killers⁹ are thieves.

(30) *sapla khutt-ε.*
 book steal-PT
 The book was stolen.

Other labile verbs operate in a similar way, eg. *khikmaʔ*, *-khikt-/ -khik-* (vi.) 'taste bitter', (vt.) 'taste bitter to someone', *lupmaʔ*, *-lupt-/ -lup-* (vi.) 'be buried, get buried', (vt.) 'bury someone or something', *takommaʔ*, *ta-kond-/ta-kon-* (vi.) wander about, *pa·ŋphe·ʔo· takəŋʔε* 'I'll wander about the village', (vt.) cover on foot, *him thəkma takondunsiŋ* 'I covered every house'. The normally transitive *the·maʔ* 'to dissect (a carcass)' is intransitively conjugated in (31) where it occurs with the intransitive terminative aspectivizer *cuʔmaʔ*, indicating that the dissection of the slaughtered pig has been completed.

(31) *the·s-ε cur-ε.*
 dissect-PT finish-PT
 The dissection is finished.

Haʔmaʔ 'to bite' is normally conjugated transitively to agree with the person or thing bitten, but in (32) *haʔmaʔ* is intransitive and describes a latent activity without any real patient.

(32) *netchi mənare ande· syaʔ1-ille haʔr-an*
 two man-ERG earlier jackal-ERG bite-SP
ya·g-ε-lle nis-ε-tch-u.
 be-PT-SUB see-PT-dA-3P
 Earlier two men had seen that the jackal was on the prowl.

Non-existential 'to be' *ho·pmaʔ* is infrequently conjugated as a transitive verb in the meaning 'be lacking unto someone', eg. *ya·ndik ho·p-ʔε* (leisure_time not_be-1sPS/NPT) 'I have no leisure time'. Intransitive 'to come' *tamaʔ* also has a transitive conjugation in combination with *ya·ndik*, eg. *ya·ndik kedei·ʔ* 'were you^s free?', *ya·ndik taʔε* 'I'll be free' (lit. 'leisure time will come to me').

⁹ An epithet for an inhabitant of the *Tarāī* or of India; cf. Nep. *syālmārā*.

The type of patient with which a verb agrees is generally lexically determined. Semantically related verbs need not, however, be derivationally related. For example, *haŋma?*, *hakma?* and *paŋma?* all mean 'to send', but *haŋma?* shows agreement with the object sent, which is always a non-human patient, eg. *haŋuŋ* 'I sent it', *haŋε?!* 'send it off!'. Its directive derivative *hakma?* agrees with the animate beneficiary, eg. *kεmhaktε* 'they sent it to you^s', but if the entity being sent is a human, the etymologically unrelated verb *paŋma?* is used. *Paŋma?* normally shows agreement with the envoy or reconnoiterer, eg. *paŋsuŋ* 'I sent him', *mεbaŋsaŋ* 'they sent me', *kεmbaŋσε* 'they sent you^s'. Yet beneficiaries appear to be salient in the animacy hierarchy, for when one person is sent to someone else, *paŋma?* has three animate actants: the dispatcher, the envoy and the beneficiary. *Paŋma?* shows preferential patient agreement with the beneficiary, eg. (33). Note that the object *kheŋ mōna·n* is in the absolutive case even though the verb shows no agreement with it. The case marking of the envoy may be attributed to both its high animacy and its topicalization (see p.38) in this sentence.

- (33) *kheŋ mōna·n paŋs-aŋ bi·r-aŋ-ε?!
 that man-ABS send-1sP give-1sP-IMP
 Send that man to me!*

A number of transitive verbs indicating bodily functions show agreement with a third singular patient, eg. *se·ma?* 'to urinate', *phe·ma?* 'to fart', *hi?e·ma?* 'to shit'. In such cases, the third singular agreement is clearly referential to that which is being expelled, although no overt nominal reference to the discharge be made in the sentence. *Hi?e·ma?* 'to shit' may also be intransitively conjugated, *hi?e·?ε* 'I shit' and *hi?e·saŋ* 'I shat', though this is curiously limited to the first singular. *No·ma?* 'to shave' is similar in that it either agrees with the animate patient being shaved or shows non-referential third singular patient agreement; intransitive forms are not attested. The verb *me·?ma?* 'be fat, be overweight' is intransitive, eg. *kεme·?rε* 'you^s've gotten fat', *me·??ε* 'I'll get fat', but occasionally it shows non-referential third singular agreement, eg. *me·?* 'he'll get fat', *me·?rε* 'he is fat', *me·?ru ?i·ya* 'he'll probably get fat'.

A number of verbs are labile for no obvious reason, eg. *lakma?* 'boil', *cwa?l laktε* 'the water is boiling', *cwa?l*

laktu 'the water is boiling', *ha?ma?* 'catch fire', *ha?i·mcha?nenni·?* 'has it caught fire or hasn't it?', *ha?ru* 'it has caught fire'.

The verbs *le·ma?* 'to know', *sukma?* 'be able to' and *he·?ma?* 'be able to' are infrequently conjugated intransitively when negated, while intransitively conjugated non-negated forms are rejected.

- (34) *hɛn-an a·phai co·k-m? mɛ-sukt-u-n.*
 what-too on_{one's own} do-INF NEG-be_{able}-3P-NEG
pa·t-m?-an mɛ-le·-nen.
 talk-INF-too NEG-know-NEG
 She can't do anything on her own. She doesn't know how to talk [reasonably] either.

An explanation for the intransitive conjugation in the negative is that perhaps negative forms are in some cases less transitive in meaning. When the action or event indicated does not take place, there is no real-world patient, and the agent is low in agentivity. In the negative, the 1s→3s nonpreterit forms of all verbs are formally identical to the first singular intransitive forms, eg. *pe·k?ɛ* 'I'm going', *mɛbe·k?ɛn* 'I'm not going', *hiptun* 'I'll hit him', *mɛhip?ɛn* 'I won't hit him'.

Unusual is the nominalized verb in (36). In (35) transitive *so·kma?* agrees with the modified patient *ya·mbɔk* 'work, task', but in (36), *lɔ?ma?* 'to say' is an intransitive verb and modifies an argument, again *ya·mbɔk*, with which it can show no patient agreement.

- (35) *so·kt-u-ŋ-ba ya·mbɔk-?in co·k-m?*
 aim-3P-1sA-NOM work-INF do-INF
mɛ-n-he·?-baŋ.
 NEG-NEG-be_{able}-1s→3/PT
 I was unable to do the work I had had in mind.
- (36) *lɔ?r-an-ba ya·mbɔk-?in co·k-m?*
 say-1sPS/NPT-NOM work-INF do-INF
mɛ-n-he·?-baŋ.
 NEG-NEG-be_{able}-1s→3/PT
 I was unable to do the work I had said [I would do].

Appendix I

Texts

1. Culinary

thi· tho·k-ma-lle ta·rika
millet_beer cook-INF-GEN recipe
Millet Beer Recipe

thi· tho·k-ma? thik ya·n la·bdzo·k. ku-het-la
millet_beer cook-INF one day take COL-red-COL

pe·na?-?in (ku-bho-ra pe·na?-re-n-naŋ
millet-ABS (COL-white-COL millet-GEN-ABS-also

po·ŋ)¹ ... pe·na?-?in ta?-ma?-aŋ hɔp-ma?
be_acceptable) millet-ABS bring-INF-pfG wash-INF

thi· tho·k-mɛ-lle khɔppe·?-?o· pe·na?-?in
millet_beer cook-INF-SUB pot-LOC millet-ABS

ak-my-aŋ khɔm-ma? po·ŋ. hekyan lakt-u gɔrɔ cidzi?
put-INF-pfG stir-INF EXIG then boil-3P if a_little

cidzi? ti·?l-lɔ co·k-ma? po·ŋ. mɛ-ghip-nɛn-lɔ
a_little burn-prG do-INF EXIG NEG-stick-NEG-prG

co·k-mɛ-lle la·gi cidzi? cidzi? khɔm-ma? po·ŋ.
do-INF-GEN for a_little a_little stir-INF EXIG

lakt-u-ba cwa?l-in cɔp-?aŋ yɔŋ-ma? bo·ŋ.
boil-3P-NOM water-ABS evaporate-pfG lift_up-INF EXIG

hekyan sa·ŋ-ma? bo·ŋ. sɔŋ-ɛ-i· mɛ-sɔŋ-ɛ-n-ni·
then stir-INF EXIG be_done-PT-Q NEG-be_done-PT-NEG-Q

khɛŋ-aŋ ɔ·mɔp-ma? po·ŋ. sɔŋ-ɛ-aŋ cik-lɔ
that-too check-INF EXIG be_done-PT-pfG cool_off-prG

¹ A conversation on millet preceded the speaker's narration of this recipe. The author pointed out to the speaker that the millet available in Europe is yellow. Light millet does not, in fact, exist in *Limbuvān* where the millet has the colour of dark burgundy.

ya·m-m· bo·ŋ. sɔpmaʔdzi? yuŋ-my-aŋ
 cause-INF EXIG for_a_little_while let_stand-INF-pfG

lo·mbheʔl taʔ-my-aŋ lo·mbheʔl-o· tha·p-maʔ po·ŋ.
 mādro bring-INF-pfG mādro-LOC serve-INF EXIG

cidzi? sɛm-maʔ po·ŋ. hɛkyaŋ kheŋ thi·-n
 a_little spread_out-INF EXIG then that millet_beer-ABS

kerek cik-lɔ co·k-maʔ bo·ŋ. kheŋ thi·-lle ku-ha·ŋgu
 all cool_off-prG do-INF EXIG that beer-GEN its-vapour

pe·k-lɔ co·k-m· bo·ŋ kərə sa·rik cik-lɔ-yaŋ co·k-m·
 go-prG do-INF EXIG but very cool_off-prG-also do-INF

mɛ-bo·ŋ-nɛn... mɛ-nu·-nɛn. hɛkyaŋ khesuŋ
 NEG-be_acceptable-NEG... NEG-be_alright-NEG then leaven

yup-maʔ cidzi? rək ko·-rɔ khesuŋ ak-my-aŋ
 add-INF little_bit only be_hot-prG leaven put-INF-pfG

sɔʔ-maʔ po·ŋ. lumbhuʔl-o· ya·ŋ-maʔ. hɛkyaŋ te·ʔl-le
 mix-INF EXIG thunse-LOC transfer-INF then clothes-INST

tɛp-maʔ po·ŋ. ha·ŋwa-lle thik ya·n-le po·k. sa·rik
 cover-INF EXIG be_warm-SUB one day-GEN rise very

cunʔzi·k gɔrɔ yəllik te·ʔl lumbhuʔl-o· ke·p-m·na-bɛ-n
 be_cold if many clothes thunse-LOC put-PP-NOM-ABS

khap-maʔ bo·ŋ. hɛkyaŋ nɛtchi sumsi ya·n-le po·g-ɛ-i·
 cover-INF EXIG then two three day-GEN rise-PT-Q

mɛ-bo·g-ɛ-n-ni· ɔ·mɔp-maʔ bo·ŋ. po·k-ille ku-na·m lɔ·n.
 NEG-rise-PT-NEG-Q check-INF EXIG rise-SUB its-aroma exude

hɛkyaŋ po·g-ɛ gɔrɔ khe·mba-ʔo· ya·ŋ-maʔ po·ŋ.
 then rise-PT if jug-LOC transfer-INF EXIG

khe·mba-re ku-məra·-n nurik sup-maʔ bo·ŋ hɛnaŋbhelle
 jug-GEN its-mouth-ABS well cork-INF EXIG because

so·riʔl laʔl-ille syuʔl. yəllik ya·n yuŋ-mɛ-lle
 wind enter-SUB turn_sour many day sit-INF-SUB

tum-aŋ kudza-kɛ-nu-ba po·ŋ.
 ripen-pfG be_delicious-AP-be_delicious-AP become

haphta-dhik yuŋ-ma?-aŋ *thuŋ-ma?*
 week-one let_sit-INF-pfG drink-INF

Serving Instructions

tɔŋba wahɔp-ma?. khe?o?-lam wahɔp-m?na-ba tɔŋba-?o.
tuŋbā wash-INF there-from wash-PP-NOM tuŋbā-LOC

kerɛk-nulle pəilla ke-go--ba mɔkwa ci?
 all-than first AP-be_hot-AP boiling_water a_little

ke·p-m? bo·ŋ. khe?o?-lam ke-dum-ba sɔŋa?-?in
 put-INF EXIG there-from AP-ripen-AP fermented_millet-ABS

ke·p-m· bo·ŋ. hekyan ku-dzɔŋ-?o. cuci?
 put-INF EXIG then its-on_top-LOC a_little_bit

mɔkwa cwa?l yammu ke·p-m· bo·ŋ. ke·p-m· cu?l-aŋ
 boiling_water water again put-INF EXIG put-INF finish-pfG

tɔŋba ku-sup-m?na-lle sup-ma? po·ŋ. yammu
tuŋbā its-close-PP-INST cover-INF EXIG again

ku-sup-m?na-lle ku-hɔŋ-in-naŋ tɛtla-re hu?-ma?
 its-close-PP-INST its-hole-ABS-too leaf-INST stop_up-INF

po·ŋ. hekyan sɔpma-dzi? yuŋ-my-aŋ lɔk
 EXIG then moment-few let_sit-INF-pfG only

pi·tchiŋ-in le·p-my-aŋ thuŋ-ma? po·ŋ.
 bamboo_straw-ABS insert-INF-pfG drink-INF EXIG

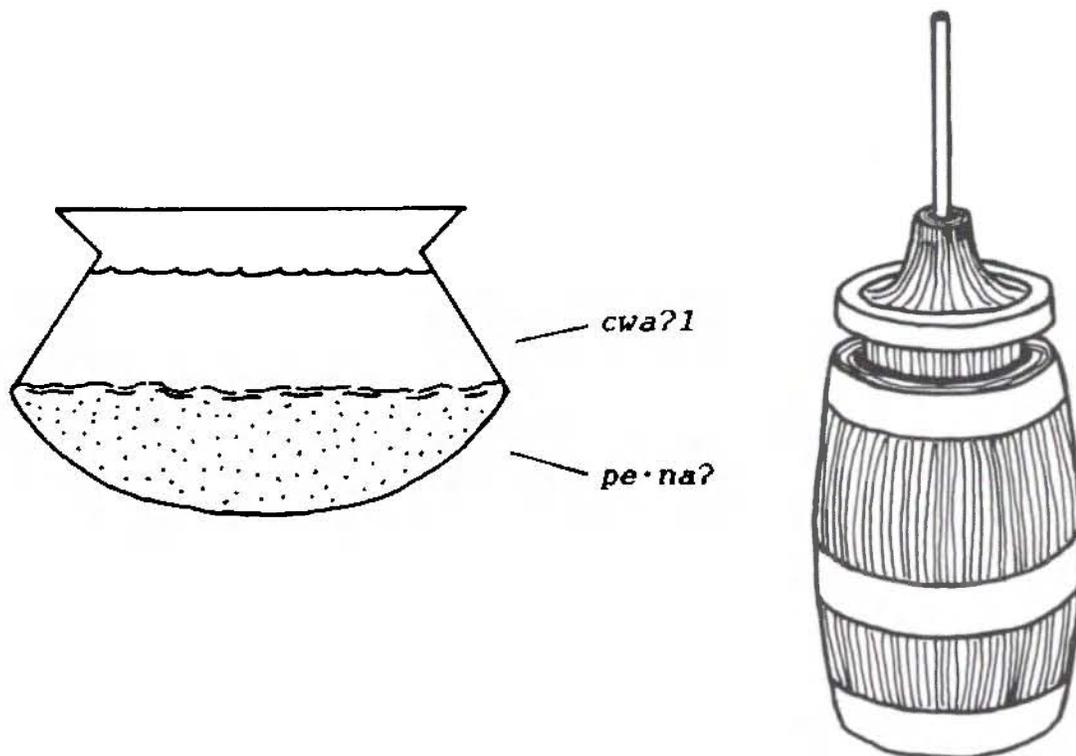
nireŋ-sumleŋ cwa?l ma·?l lɔk pi·t-m? po·ŋ.
 twice-thrice water be_finished only suck-INF EXIG

translation:

Recipe:

It takes one day to cook the millet beer. Bring the red millet (white millet will also do) and wash it. To cook the millet beer, put the millet in a pan and stir. When it has begun to boil, the fire must be made to burn slowly. In order to prevent it from sticking, you must keep on stir-

ring it slightly all the time. When the boiled water has all dried up, it [viz. the millet] must be lifted [from the fire]. Then it must be stirred. Check whether it is done or not. If it is done, it must be cooled off. Let it stand for a little while and then bring in a *mādro* [i.e. a large rectangular bamboo mat] and tip it out onto the *mādro*. Spread it out and have all of that millet cool off. All the steam must be allowed to escape from the millet, but it is not good to let it get too cold. Then add the leaven. When it is only slightly warm, add the yeast and mix. Transfer the millet into a *thunse* [i.e. large triangular fine-meshed wicker basket]. Then cover it with clothes. In warm weather it may rise in a day. If it's very cold, put lots of clothes-covering around the *thunse*. Then check if it has risen after two or three days. If it has risen, it will exude an aroma. Then, if it has risen, transfer it into a jug. The mouth of the jug must be well corked because if the wind gets into it, it will turn sour. If it has sat for many days it will ripen and become delicious. Let it sit for about a week and then drink it.



Serving Instructions:

Wash the *tuñbā*. From there, first of all, add a little bit of hot boiling water into the washed *tuñbā*. From there, put in the ripened fermented millet. Then add a little more

boiling water on top of that. When you've finished adding the boiling water, close the *tuñbā* with its lid. Then close up the hole in the lid with a leaf. Then only after having let it stand for a little while, insert the bamboo straw [through the hole in the lid] and drink. Suck until the second or third water is finished. [i.e. The *tuñbā* may be replenished once or twice with boiling water before it is spent.]

cemghik-le ku-ta·rika
kināmā-GEN its-recipe
Kināmā Recipe

cembi··n me-dhend-u. kheʔo·-lam kheŋ me-dhend-u-ba
 soybean-ABS nsAS-boil-3P there-from that nsAS-boil-3P-NOM

cembi··n me-hag-u. me-hag-u-lle cuc1?
 soybean-ABS nsAS-pound-3P nsAS-pound-3P-SUB little_bit

cuc1? thappu-waŋ me-ge·tt-u. kheŋ-in sidha
 little_bit ash-too nsAS-add-3P that-ABS medicine

me-mett-u. nuba phurluŋ-ʔo· hapla me-mett-u.
 nsAS-say_to-3P good basket-LOC ripening_stock nsAS-put-3P

thappu me-ge·tt-u kərə hen gɔ· khesuŋ
 ash nsAS-add-3P but what then yeast

me-n-ge·tt-u-n. kheʔo·-lam phurluŋ-ʔo· tetla-re
 nsAS-NEG-add-3P-NEG there-from basket-LOC leaf-INST

me-lo·tt-u-waŋ me-dept-u. hekyan thik ya·n ni
 nsAS-underlay-3P-pfG nsAS-cover-3P then one day two

ya·n swaʔ1 me-yuks-u. hekyan hem-ba bhelle kheŋ
 day quiet nsAS-put-3P then what-NOM bhane that

cembi··n me-lo·tt-u. hekkelle nuba po·ŋ gɔɔ
 soybean-ABS nsAS-take_out-3P then good be if

te·r-ε te·r-ε loʔ. men-nuba po·ŋ gɔɔ
 be_stringy-PT be_stringy-PT appear not-good be if

te·r-ε te·r-ε me-loʔ-nen. ca-me-lle nuba
 be_stringy-PT be_stringy-PT NEG-appear-NEG eat-INF-SUB good

po·ŋ gɔrɔ le·m. mɛn-nuba po·ŋ gɔrɔ
 be if be_slippery not_good be if

mɛ-le·m-nɛn, hɛkyaŋ syuʔl. khɛŋ-in cɛmghik
 NEG-be_slippery-NEG then taste_sour that-ABS kināmā

mɛ-mɛtt-u. kudzanu kərə hi kusin ki· kərə
 nsAS-say_to-3P be_delicious but shit like putrefy but

hi kusin mɛ-nam-nɛn, nam-mɛ-suʔ-nɛn. cɛmghik-le
 shit like NEG-smell-NEG stink-NEG-stink-NEG kināmā-GEN

ku-nam kɛ-gi·-ba nam.
 its-scent AP-putrefy-AP smell

translation:

They boil soybeans. From there they pound the soybeans they've boiled. Whilst pounding you add a little, little bit of ash too. That they call the magic ingredient. They put the ripening stock in a good basket. They add ash but, well, they don't add any yeast. From there they underlay and cover the basket with leaves. Then they let it stand quietly for a day or two. What they do then is remove the soybeans. If it is good, it will appear as if it comes out stringy. If it is not good, it won't appear stringy. If it is good, it'll feel slippery when you eat it. If it is not good, it won't feel slippery, and then it will taste sour. They call that *cɛmghik*. It's delicious but it putrefies like shit, but it doesn't smell like shit. It doesn't stink. The scent of *cɛmghik* smells [as if it is] rotting.

2. Everyday Life

Conversation in the *lɔkkhum*
at the *Panyangu* house
(V.S. 2041 *Phālgun* 2)

background information:

The conversationalists are *Nārāyaṇ*, *Nārāyaṇ*'s mother, *Padam*'s mother, a *menchya* or young lady, and *Grām Bahādur* (*Nārāyaṇ*'s older brother) who has just returned from attending a friend's wedding in *Dharān*.

Topic of their discussion is the recent goings-on in the household of *Lāl Kumār*'s parents, who are their relatives.

Indra, *Lāl Kumār*, *Tilocan*, *Dalle* and *Damantī* are brothers. *Indra* is the eldest, and *Lāl Kumār* is the second-born. *Indra* took his newlywed bride with him when he left his parental home in pursuit of employment in neighbouring *Phidīm* district in violation of Limbu tradition. In the traditional Limbu agrarian economy, a newlywed bride is a newly acquired economic asset to the bridegroom's paternal household once she leaves her maiden parental home. It is not uncommon for a newlywed bride to stay on in her maiden paternal home for a period for on up to several years after the wedding before cohabitating with her spouse and becoming fully economically tied to her husband's paternal home. *Indra*'s wife left her maiden home to become a member of *Indra*'s parental household almost immediately after their wedding. *Indra*'s wife is a hard working lady, but *Indra*'s taking her with him to *Phidīm* so soon after their wedding left his paternal home bereft of the fruits of her household labour, something for which *Indra*'s mother has never forgiven them. This aggravated an already severe personality conflict between *Indra*'s mother and *Indra*'s wife.

This conversation takes place about one week after the wedding of *Indra*'s younger brother, *Lāl Kumār*. *Indra* and his wife returned for this occasion but stayed for only one week, an affront to *Indra*'s mother. *Lāl Kumār* is known to be lazy, and his newlywed bride has a personality to match his. *Indra*'s and *Lāl Kumār*'s mother is a cantankerous woman. To make things worse, *Lāl Kumār* who, like his brother, stays only a week and takes his newlywed bride with him when he returns to his employment in *Phidīm* district immediately after the elaborate wedding ceremonies have all been completed. *Indra*'s and *Lāl Kumār*'s father

blames their mother, his cantankerous wife, for driving them out of the house with her caustic tongue.

Nārāyaṇ's mother: *kəŋ mɛndaʔ-haʔ gha·s-ciʔ*
 this goat-p fodder-little_bit
huʔr-ɛs-ɛʔ.
 bring-nsP-IMP

Nārāyaṇ: *bhitra kyak-pe-n pi·-maʔ-si-lle po·ŋ*.
 inside be_put-NOM-ABS give-INF-nsP-SUB be_alright
kəŋ-le ku-ba·ni habha hekdaŋba.
 this-GEN its-habit like_that that_kind_of
 (viz. bleating)

Padam's mother (to *Grām Bahādur* who has just returned from *Dharān* where he has attended the marriage of a friend):
biha·n balla kɛ-ma·nd-u-aŋ kɛ-dhaŋ-ɛ-i·ʔ
 marriage-ABS finally 2-finish-3P-pfG 2-come_up-PT-Q

Grām Bahādur: *ã, ma·nd-u-ŋ-aŋ thaŋ-aŋ*.
 yes, finish-3P-1sA-pfG come_up-1sPS/PT

menchya: *mɛndaʔ-ʔin abhelle thab-ɛʔ*
 goat-ABS when yean-PT

Nārāyaṇ: *ɛn lisi nasi ya·n po·ks-ɛ*.
 today four five day happen-PT

Padam's mother: *abhelle kɛ-de·ʔ*
 when 2-come/PT

Grām Bahādur: *anchen yusik lək*.
 yesterday evening only

Nārāyaṇ (to *Padam*'s mother): *kətna yuŋ-ɛʔ*
 here sit-IMP
a-yuma-e·!
 my-grandmother-VOC!
a-mbhəŋaʔ-si mɛ-be·g-ɛ-i·ʔ
 my-uncle-d nsAS-go-PT-Q

Padam's mother: *ande· biha·ndik mɛ-be·g-ɛ*.
 earlier morning nsAS-go-PT

Nārāyaṇ: *hɛkyaŋ a-mbhɔŋa? rɔk pe·g-ɛ-i· a-nchuma?-aŋ*
 so my-uncle only go-PT-Q my-aunt-also
te·?r-u-wi·?
 take-3P-Q

menchya: *suma?-aŋ te·?r-u-? mɛ-lɔ?r-ɛ.*
 aunt-too take-3P-DEF nsAS-say-PT

Padam's mother: *khunchi thege·k lɔk a·ks-u-ŋ*
 they^d hair_on_head only uproot-3P-1sA
pi·r-u-ŋ-si-ŋ!
 give-3P-1sA-nsP-1sA

Nārāyaṇ's mother: *yuŋ-ɛ? a· kundri-?o·!*
 sit-IMP EMPH straw_mat-LOC!

Padam's mother: *po·ŋ-ŋa na·m se·k-?ille go·.*
 be_alright-EMPH sun shine-SUB then

menchya: *a-mma-re go· hɛkke· mu¹ te·?r-u-ba*
 my-mother-ERG then like_that REP take_away-3P-IPF
mu hɛkyaŋ go· aŋga go· na· nurik yamba
 REP and_then then I then there well big
pa·ŋdzum-?o· nurik kerɛk sa·dhan
 bazar-LOC well all wares
kett-a-m-si-m-?o·²
 get_something_to_a_place-1-pA-nsP-pA-IMP
mett-u-ŋ de·s-u-ŋ ni?
 say_to-3P-1sA dispatch-3P-1sA CTR

Nārāyaṇ: *tho· a-nchuma?-si-aŋ mɛ-be·k-?i· mɛ-be·k-nɛn nã?*
 above my-aunt-d-also nsAS-go-Q NEG-go-NEG huh
hɛkyaŋ e·n e·n mɛ-be·g-ɛ? anɛn cha
 and who who nsAS-go-PT yesterday EMPH
a-mbhɔŋa?-nu a-nchuma? kɔ?yo· phe?r-ɛ-tchi-aŋ
 my-uncle-COM my-aunt down_here come-PT-dPS-pfG
way-ɛ-tchi kɔ?yo· go· mɛ-yuŋ-nɛn-ba mu.
 be-PT-dPS down_here then NEG-sit-NEG-IPF REP
me·n-na³! a·kkɛn mukt-ɛ-lle ni? mɛ-be·g-ɛ
 no-EMPH how_much strike-PT-SUB CTR nsAS-go-PT

¹ the *menchya's* mother addressing *Lāl Kumār* and his brother *Indra*.

² anomalous pre-emptive 2p→1 imperative: 'bring us some'.

³ *Lāl Kumār* and his newlywed spouse do not wish to remain in *Tamphula* where this conversation takes place.

gɔː?
then?

Padam's mother: *biha·ndik sa tuksi nusi mukt-ε-lle*
morning EMPH six seven strike-PT-SUB
mε-be·g-ε-ba ya.
nsAS-go-PT-IPF EMPH

menchya: *na· pe·k-ʔaŋ yaŋ hakt-u-ba-si⁴ mu,*
there go-pfG money send-3P-IPF-nsP REP
mε-lɔʔr-ε-ba. so·rik niʔ pe·-si-i·! anche·
nsAS-say-PT-IPF together CTR go/PT-dPS-EMPH before
sa mε-dεn-nεn mε-lɔʔr-ε-aŋ mε-ya·g-ε-ba
EMPH NEG-concur-NEG nsAS-say-PT-pfG nsAS-be-PT-NOM
mu. anchen cha mε-dεn-nεn lɔʔr-ε-aŋ
REP yesterday EMPH NEG-concur-NEG say-PT-prG
ya·g-ε. e· abhelle! budhəba·r ta lɔʔ-aŋ ya·k
be-PT hey when Wednesday come say-prG be
mε-lɔʔr-ε. hen yuŋ gɔː?⁵
nsAS-say-PT what sit then

Nārāyaṇ's mother: *biha-lle⁶ biha·ndik mu*
marriage-GEN morning REP
tummε-lle⁷ pheʔr-ε watt-ε-aŋ mu "kɔm-be·la
older_sister-ERG come-PT TOT-PT-pfG REP this-period
gɔː aŋga əgɔː pɔ·g-aŋ-aŋ kεrɛk kεrɛk
then I then get_up-1sPS/PT-pfG everything everything
co·g-u-ŋ de·s-u-ŋ-ba. ta·m-maŋ tu·g-u-ŋ.
do-3P-1sA dispatch-3P-1sA-IPF dirt-too sweep-3P-1sA
lɔkkhum-aŋ i·ks-u-ŋ. tɔŋba-ʔaŋ akt-u-ŋ" mu
farmyard-too clean-3P-1sA tuñbā-too put-3P-1sA REP
lɔʔr-ε hekyan gɔː hekyan gɔː "a-biha-lle⁸ siŋ-aŋ
say-PT and then and then my-marriage-GEN wood-too
taʔr-u-ŋ tεʔl-aŋ thɔtt-u-ŋ" lɔʔr-ε.
bring-3P-1sA leaf-too sew-3P-1sA say-PT
siŋya·ŋ gɔː mamma⁹ gɔː tama·s
the_day_before_yesterday then mama then amazement

⁴ anomalous element order in suffixal string.

⁵ *Lāl Kumār* came on a Wednesday and left the following Wednesday with his bride. He did not particularly enjoy the week he spent with his family and so had no reason for staying on.

⁶ at the time of *Lāl Kumār*'s wedding.

⁷ viz. *Indra*'s wife.

⁸ viz. at the time of her marriage to *Indra*.

ɔ·kt-ε-ni?-ba. pappa pho·ksarumbe-11e-yaŋ¹⁰
 scream-PT-CTR-IPF papa fourth_born-ERG-too
 "subi. allo men-ɔ·k-?ε?!" mett-u mu. "khene?
 let_it_be now NEG-shout-IMP say_to-3P REP you^s
 ke-naŋ goɔ naks-ε?-aŋ lond-ε?! kerek ko?o·
 2-go_crazy if go_crazy-IMP-and go_out-IMP all here
 dze· co·k-m? barne an·ge co·g-u-m-be. kuca-aŋ
 that_which do-INF ought we^{de} do-3P-pA-e true-too
 pa·t-me-11e, a-sa? yamba-re pa·n-dhik-?aŋ
 speak-INF-SUB my-child big-ERG word-one-too
 men-hi-?e· wa·. khēha?¹¹ send-ε-tchi-ba.
 npG-talk_back-npG be they abandon-PT-dPS-IPF
 khene? ke-dzo·g-u-11e send-ε-tchi-ba" mett-u.
 you^s 2-do-3P-INST abandon-PT-dPS-IPF" say_to-3P
 habha ɔ·kt-ε-ro⁹ ɔ·kt-ε-ro ta·m-man tu·g-u
 like_that scream-PT-prG scream-PT-prG dirt-too sweep-3P
 de·s-u khōppe·?-yaŋ i·ks-u sur-u kerek
 dispatch-3P jug-too clean-3P finish-3P everything
 ni? co·g-u sur-u. aŋga¹² go· swa?l yuŋ-aŋ.
 CTR do-3P finish-3P I then quiet sit-1sPS/PT
 ta·m-man pōtya·k ne·s-ε. khōppe·?-n-aŋ tōla-?o·
 dirt-too a_whole_bunch sit-PT jug-ABS-too attic-LOC
 "koŋ a-sa?-re iŋ-u-ba"¹³ lo?r-ε-yaŋ cik-s-u. hekyaŋ
 this my-son-ERG buy-3P-NOM say-PT-and hide-3P then
 "'a-sa?-re me-dzo·g-u me-bi·-?ε-ŋ caŋ'
 my-son-ERG nsAS-do-3P nsAS-give-1sPS/NPT-pfG eat/1s→3
 ke-lo-?i·? allo naks-aŋ¹³ allo naks-aŋ.
 2-say-Q now go_crazy-1sPS/PT now go_crazy-1sPS/PT
 netchi lisi tōŋbe· naŋ-?ε lo·n-?ε."
 two four year go_crazy-1sPS/NPT go_out-1sPS/NPT
 hēnaŋ hekke· pa·t-ma? de·-ma? go·? allo swa?l
 why like_that speak-INF dispatch-INF then now hush
 ya. khune?⁷ go· ke-dhum-ma ke-ba·p-pa
 EMPH she then AP-be_diligent-AP AP-talk-AP
 ke-dzo·k-pa co·g-ε. thikai po·ks-ε. kərə hēnaŋ hekkye·
 AP-do-AP be-PT okay be-PT but why like_that
 pa·t-ma?? allo sa aŋga bhelle¹⁴ go· "ke-dzo·g-u
 speak-INF now EMPH I bhane then 2-do-3P

⁹ viz. *Lāl Kumār's* mother.

¹⁰ *Lāl Kumār's* father is a fourth-born son. Here he addresses his wife, *Lāl Kumār's* mother.

¹¹ viz. *Indra* and his wife.

¹² *Nārāyaṇ's* mother speaking about herself.

¹³ *Lāl Kumār's* mother speaking.

¹⁴ i.e. If I (*Nārāyaṇ's* mother) had been her (*Lāl Kumār's*

ke-ba·tt-u ke-dhums-ε-yan idik ke-yuη-ε"
 2-speak-3P 2-be_diligent-PT-pfG long_time 2-sit-PT
men-mett-u-η. kheη-be·la sa mεp-m· barne.
 POT-say_to-3P-1sA that-period EMPH say_to-INF ought
hεkyan pappare¹⁵ mett-u "o·mott-ε?! abhelle
 then papa-ERG say_to-3P look-IMP when
kumakla-re¹⁶ ke-hip? e·?yanba kusin ke-nis-u."
 black-ERG 2-hit other like 2-see-3P
"kerεk-le mε-hip-?ε-rε kumakla-ry-an
 everyone-ERG nsAS-hit-1sPS/NPT-OPT black-ERG-too
tilocan-ly-an damanti-ry-an dalle-lly-an
Tilocan-ERG-too Damantī-ERG-too Dalle-ERG-too
hip-?ε-rε" lo?-an ya·k. khe?o· mamma
 hit-1sPS/NPT-OPT say-pfG be there mama
sarumma-?an¹⁷ yuη-ba "ke-nsa? le·m-amm-ε?
 second_born-too sit-IPF 2-younger_sibling explain-2p-IMP
o·! e·?yanbe-lle mε-le·m-u-lle hen kheps-u go·?"
 oh other-ERG nsAS-explain-3P-SUB what hear-3P then
"anga¹⁸ εgo· dzhan a-sa?-re abhya·k sa·rik
 I then even_more my-child-ERG extremely much
mett-an-san wa·-?ε dza-?ε". "allo swa?l
 do_onto-1sPS/PT-even be-1sPS/NPT SUS-1sPS/NPT now quiet
la," pa·tt-u de·s-u¹⁹ "allo lug-ε."
 EMPH say-3P dispatch-3P now be_finished-PT
mε-ghe·tt-u-ba mukhya go· phak-tok-?in. habha
 nsAS-dispute-3P-NOM main then pig-bhāt-ABS like_that
khunchi bhitra rεk lo·, e·?yanba ho·p lo·. netchi
 they inside only EMPH other not_be EMPH two
ba·ha·n-dhik mu yo·?r-ε. sida·m
bāhān-one REP be_enough-PT distillation_residue
sεndik sa mu atin-ha?-re mε-de·?r-i·
 evening EMPH REP which-p-ERG nsAS-take_away-PT/EMPH
mε-de·?r-i· mu "kheη sida·m-in
 nsAS-take_away-PT/EMPH REP that distillation_residue-ABS

mother), then I would have told her (*Lāl Kumār's* older brother's wife) ...

¹⁵ *Lāl Kumār's* father addressing his wife, *Lāl Kumār's* mother.

¹⁶ nickname for *Lāl Kumār* at his parental home.

¹⁷ *Lāl Kumār's* mother's older (second-born) sister is also present and it is to her that *Lāl Kumār's* father now turns.

¹⁸ *Lāl Kumār's* mother's elder second-born sister to *Lāl Kumār's* mother.

¹⁹ *Indra's* wife is speaking.

paṅli-e *yus-ε?* *o."* *mu*²⁰ *mett-u.*
 daughter-in-law-VOC distill-IMP oh REP say_to-3P
ba·ha·n-dhik kɔ· *yus-u-aŋ*⁷ *kεrɛk mu*
 time-one then distill-3P-pfG all REP
ha·tt-u-si. *lɔkthik yuks-u-aŋ yuŋ-ε.* *khεŋ*
 distribute-3P-nsP one put-3P-pfG sit-PT that
yus-u-ba *ba·ha·n-dhik-?in ha·tt-u-rɔ*
 distill-3P-NOM time-one-ABS distribute-3P-prG
tε·?r-u-si-lle *mε-yo·r-ε-n* *hεkkelle*
 take_away-3P-nsP-SUB NEG-be_enough-PT-NEG so
*gɔ· khunε?*⁹ *gɔ· attitti* *ɔ·kt-ε* *hε·kt-ε* *mu.*
 then she then intensely scream-PT begin-PT REP
"a-sa?-nu phuks-u-ŋ-ba *cawa··n"*¹³ *lɔ?rik mu*
 my-son-COM save-3P-1sA-NOM feed-ABS saying REP
ku-mikwa cɔk-cɔk *ã...* *ɔ·kt-ε* *mu hεkkelle gɔ·*
 her-tears drip-drip ah... . scream-PT REP so then
*"khεnε?*²⁰ *gɔ· him-mo-ba* *məna-nε.* *khεŋ cawa-ha?*
 you^s then house-LOC-NOM person-are that feed-p
gɔ· na·pmi-ha? *ha·t-ma?-si* *bo·ŋ"* *mu mett-u.*
 then other-p distribute-INF-nsP EXIG REP say_to-3P
ando· *gɔ· khεŋ yus-u-bε-n* *phɔsi-nu kɔtna*
 earlier then that distill-3P-NOM-ABS pot-COM hither
hu?r-u *dhɔ* *mu "allo"*¹⁹
 bring_and_give-3P leave/3P REP now
kε-dhum-ma *paṅli-ha?* *mε-da-yaŋ*
 AP-be_diligent-AP/f daughter-in-law-p nsAS-come-pfG
kε-m-dzo·k kε-m-bi·." *hεkyaŋ gɔ· na·pmi-re*
 2-nsAS-do 2-nsAS-give so then other-ERG
ku-mbaṅli··n *tum-mε-n*⁷
 her-daughter_in_law-ABS eldest-NOM/f-ABS
mε-dɔr-u-lle *gɔ· "ware·?"*¹⁹ *pa·tt-u-ŋ-ba* *ni?"*
 nsAS-reprove-3P-SUB then kidding say-3P-1sA-IPF CTR
mu lɔ?r-ε. *khεŋ-ly-aŋ* *ku-nu?mε-n*
 REP say-PT that-ERG-too her-mother_in_law-ABS
sa·p-ma? *nu-i·?* *anga*¹² *khεps-u-ŋ-ille* *gɔ·*
 ridicule-INF be_alright-Q I hear-3P-1sA-SUB then
"khεnε? kε-sa·p-ma? *məna-?ε-i·?"* *mεn-mett-u-ŋ*¹⁴.
 you^s your-ridicule-INF person-am-Q POT-say_to-3P-1sA
kεrɛk *e·?yaŋba-ca·ĩ* *bhiḍiyɔ* *ɔ·mɔt-che* *mε-be·g-ε*
 everbody other-IND video watch-SUP nsAS-go-PT
rɛcə. *khunε?*⁹ *rɔk* *ɔ·kt-ε-rɔ* *ɔ·kt-ε-rɔ* *ta·m-maŋ*
 DEPR she only scream-PT-prG scream-PT-prG dirt-too
tu·g-u *de·s-u* *khɔppe·?-yaŋ* *i·ks-u* *de·s-u*
 sweep-3P dispatch-3P pan-too clean-3P dispatch-3P

²⁰ *Lāl Kumār's* mother addressing *Indra's* wife.

kerek sur-u de·s-u ni? ă... nga¹² əgɔ·
 everything finish-3P dispatch-3P CTR ah... I then
swa?l yuŋ-aŋ dz-aŋ. tɔk wahaŋ
 quiet sit-1sPS/PT SUS-1sPS/PT rice put_on_to_boil
yuks-u.
 put-3P

menchya: anchen biha·ndik khettho·-nu
 yesterday morning up_there-from
nu·ks-aŋ-ille pi·nda le·ŋ-nu²¹ ya·g-ε.
 return-1sPS/PT-SUB adobe smear-COM be-PT
ku·ndre·²² ca·ĩ swa?l yεb-ε dze·.
 her-elder_brother's_wife IND quiet stand-PT SUS/PT
hekdaŋba-dhik-?aŋ wa-i·-ba? kɔŋ gɔ· tho· kuna
 such_a_one-one-too be-Q-IPF this then above kunā
ka·pca-?o·²³ tha-ma? barne! e·-lle kɔ?o·
kāpcā-LOC fall-INF ought who-ERG here
lup-ma? sukt-u-si gɔ·? allɔ gɔ· kheŋha?
 teach_manners-INF be_able-3P-nsP then now then they
so·rik mε-gott-u-si-ille rɔk po·ŋ. nuby-aŋ
 together nsAS-have-3p-nsP-SUB only be_alright good-too
caha ke-dzo·k-pa madzy-aŋ wa·-ma? ke-hɔŋ-ba! e·-lle
 desire AP-do-AP fun-too be-INF AP-search-AP who-ERG
kɔ?o· kɔp-ma? sukt-u-si?
 here have-INF be_able-3P-nsP

Nārāyaŋ's mother: hekke·-rɔ kerek mε-de·.
 like_that-prG everybody nsAS-come/PT
paila cwa?l-aŋ ke-ho·p-pa "cwa?l¹³ thik hu?r-ε?".
 first water-too AP-not_be-AP water one bring-IMP
"cwa?l²⁴ lɔk ho·p rəcə. pare·ya-dhik cwa?l
 water only not_be DEPR earthenware_mug-one water
phett-u-ŋ-ille a-yo·-si, me·n-ni·?" "anchi²⁵
 bring-3P-1sA-SUB 1-be_enough-dPS NOT-Q we^{di}

²¹ anomalous suffix.

²² *Lāl Kumār's* younger sister is working hard plastering fresh adobe onto the house. Her elder brother's wife (viz. *Lāl Kumār's* newlywed wife) is just standing there doing nothing.

²³ Nep. *kunā kāpcā* a crevice, cleft or niche in the rocks.

²⁴ *Lāl Kumār's* mother addressing *Lāl Kumār's* father sarcastically.

²⁵ *Lāl Kumār's* father, angered, responds in kind to his wife, *Lāl Kumār's* mother.

gɔ̃· ko·ni²⁶ a-yõ--si-ʔi·
 then don't know 1-be_enough-dPS-Q
 a-n-yõ--si-n-ni·," mett-u "allo sumsi
 1-NEG-be_enough-dPS-NEG-Q say_to-3P now three
 nusa me-wã·. allo gɔ̃· lug-ε
 younger_brothers nsAS-be now then be_finished-PT
 laʔba. ko·ni.²⁶ luk-ʔi·? yɔ̃mba yɔ̃mba rɔ̃k
 probably don't know be_finished-Q big big only
 mε-hɔ̃ks-w-i·? khen-an sa ho· sε ro·!" hɛkyaŋ
 nsAS-look_for-3P-Q that-too EMPH oh EMPH ASS and
 hɛkke· lɔ̃ʔ-mʔna-rɔ̃ yuŋ-ŋʔna-lle ando· gɔ̃·
 thus say-1peAS/PT-prG sit-1peAS/PT-SUB later then
 "kε-mma²⁷ bhiḍiyo· ɔ̃·mɔ̃t-che tεʔr-ε. nuba men-nuwa
 your-mother video watch-SUP take_off-PT good not-good
 a-mεʔl, me·n-ni·? a-mεʔl lo·! paila ku-bo·ŋ-ʔo·²⁸
 1-tell NOT-Q 1-tell ASS first its-beginning-LOC
 gɔ̃· yaŋ-an yəllik way-ε-ba. kɔ̃m-be·la gɔ̃·
 then money-too alot be-PT-IPF this-time then
 mutthe·-an wã·." hɛkke· lɔ̃ʔ-mʔna-rɔ̃
 fall/PT-pfG be like_that say-1pePS/PT-prG
 "ku-bo·ŋ-ʔo· das²⁹ rɔ̃k
 its-beginning-LOC ten only
 kett-u-ŋ-an way-ε..."
 get_something/someone_somewhere-3P-1sP-pfG be-PT
 a·ttõ--nu o·khre· maila³⁰ tε·-i tε·-i.
 there-from Okhre Mahilā come/PT-EMPH come/PT-EMPH

²⁶ ko·ni < Nep. kuni 'I don't know'.

²⁷ Lāl Kumār's father now turns to Nārāyaŋ's mother to deride his wife indirectly in the third person in her presence.

²⁸ Videos run on lawnmower-type generators were first introduced into the district centres of Limbuvān in late 1984. The Nevarī or Madesī owners initially asked NRs. 10 for a ticket to a Hindi film on video. Afterwards, prices fell due to competition once a second video operator showed up in town. Video tickets are very expensive by local standards.

²⁹ Nep. *daś* ten.

³⁰ Okhre Mahilā (lit. the Okhre tree second-born) is one of the local *phe·danma*, but due to chronic alcoholism, he has *de facto* assumed the role of village idiot. He walks about both amusing and terrorizing his relatives by saying annoying, humorous and obnoxious things in a loud, hoarse and histrionic voice.

hekyaṇ gɔ· khunɛ? gɔ· "paṇli-re
 and then he then daughter_in_law-ERG
ke-bhett-u-? ke-bhett-u-? dasai³¹ ke-bhett-u-?.³²
 2-bring-3P-DEF 2-bring-3P-DEF ten/EMPH 2-bring-3P-DEF
ṅga huṇ-ma? mɛ-he·?-ɛ-n. a·phai khunɛ?"
 I pay-INF NEG-be_able-1s→3-NEG own he

translation:

Nārāyaṇ's mother: Give those goats a little bit of fodder!
Nārāyaṇ: If I give them what's inside that'll be good enough. That's just their habit [viz. bleating incessantly].

Padam's mother (to *Grām Bahādur* who has just returned from *Dharān* where he has attended the marriage of a friend):
 Did you come back up after you had finally finished [attending] the marriage (i.e. after the marriage was finally over)?

Grām Bahādur: Yes, I came up when it was finished.

menchya: When did the goat yean?

Nārāyaṇ: About four or five days ago today.

Padam's mother: When did you show up here?

Grām Bahādur: Only yesterday evening.

Nārāyaṇ: Sit down here, grandma! Have my uncle and aunt gone already?

Padam's mother: They went off earlier this morning.

Nārāyaṇ: So, did my uncle go alone or did he also take my aunt along with him?

menchya: They said that he would take auntie too.

Padam's mother: I'll pull their hair out of their heads!³³

Nārāyaṇ's mother: Sit down now, on the straw mat!

³¹ Nep. *dasai* ten (emphatic).

³² When *Okhre Mahilā's* eldest son got married, *Nārāyaṇ's* mother gave *Okhre Mahilā* ten NRs.

³³ *Padam's* mother has recently had an encounter with an apparition of the *yuma-sammaṇ* who is alleged to have taken her off in the night after she had insulted the deity in speech. The *yuma-sammaṇ* tossed her into a poisonous thorn bush which resulted in a ghastly wound leaving her right hand paralysed. The family expects *Nārāyaṇ's* uncle, *Lāl Kumār*, to leave his newlywed wife behind to assist his mother, esp. now that *Padam's* mother cannot assist her.

Padam's mother: Well, alright, as long as the sun is shining.

menchya: My mother said: If he is going to take her, then I (the *Tarunī's* mother)'ll send him to get me all of those nice wares in that nice big bazar.

Nārāyaṇ: So did my two aunts go away up there [to *Phidīm*] or didn't they, huh? And who has gone exactly? Just yesterday my uncle and aunt (viz. *Lāl Kumār* and his wife) had come down here. They said: she's not staying down here. No, siree! So at what time did they go then after all?

Padam's mother: Oh, they went this morning at six or seven 'o clock.

menchya: They said he would send them money when he goes, but now they've gone off together! Before they had said that he didn't intend [to take her along]. Just yesterday he had said that he didn't intend [to take her along]. ... hey, and when! They said that he had said he would show up on Wednesday. What was he going to stay then?

Nārāyaṇ's mother: On the morning of the marriage after he had come back, his (*Lāl Kumār's*) older brother's wife said "At this time, after I got up, I did absolutely everything. I swept away the dirt, I also cleaned up the courtyard, I also set out the *tuñbās*." And then, and then she said "At my own wedding I also brought the firewood and sewed leaves together [to make the plates for the rice]". Yesterday his (*Lāl Kumār's*) mother was shouting in an awful way. Then fourth-born father too said [to *Lāl Kumār's* mother] , "Let it be. Stop shouting!" and "if you want to go crazy, go ahead and go out of your mind. Everything that has to be done here, we^e will do. To tell the truth, our eldest son didn't say one word back [when you were scolding him like that]. And now they^d (viz. *Indra* and his wife) have left the house. Because of what you did they^d are gone," he said to her. Then screaming all the while, she (*Lāl Kumār's* mother) said that she had swept the dirt, scrubbed the pots, and done and completed everything. I just sat there and kept silent. It sure was a dirty mess there too! And that jug on the upstairs floor... she said "This is the one my son bought" and hid it. And then [*Lāl Kumār's* mother continued, addressing her husband] "and you say 'my children do everything and give me so that I can eat'? Now, I've gone crazy! Now, I've gone crazy! For two or four years now I've been going out of my mind!" Why speak in such a fashion? Now

hush! She [the eldest son's wife] was a hard-working, eloquent, diligent person, and that's great, but why talk that way? Now, if I it had been me (i.e. if I had been *Lāl Kumār's* mother), then I would have said "You have worked, you have spoken, you have been diligent and you have stayed on a long time." That's what should have been said at that time!³⁴ Then papa said "When will the black one (nickname for *Lāl Kumār*) ever hit you? Then you'll see it as others do!" [She countered:] "Let them all hit me! The black one, and *Tilocan*, and *Damantī*, and *Dalle*," she went on saying. Second-born mother (viz. *Lāl Kumār's* mother's older sister) was there too, [and to her he said:] "Try to make your younger sibling understand. What does she listen when others try to make her understand?". [Then her elder sister said:] "Even though I've been treated far worse by my own children, I just sit here and take it." [*Lāl Kumār's* elder brother's wife said] "Now, shut up! it's finished."

The main thing they were disputing was [just] pig-feed. That's the way it went when they were alone and no one else was there with them. They said that distilling the millet beer twice would have been enough. But, they said, that someone^P had made off with the distillation residue the night before "Oh daughter-in-law," she (*Lāl Kumār's* mother) said to her (viz. *Lāl Kumār's* elder brother's wife) "distill it!". They said that she (*Lāl Kumār's* eldest brother's wife) steeped the beer one time and apportioned it out to everybody. Then she put that one (viz. the distillation residue) aside and just sat there [intending to keep the *sida·m* for herself]. When she had taken it around distributing (to them) what she had filtered through one time, it turned out not to be enough [for everybody]. So, they say, she [*Lāl Kumār's* mother] began to cry intensely, saying "The feed I have saved up with my son!" and her tears .. drip drip, ah... She shouted, so she said to her (*Indra's* wife), "You are a member of this household. You have to distribute that feed out to others." Then, they say that later she brought out the distilled filtrate there with a pot. Then she (*Indra's* wife) said, "Here now, the diligent

³⁴ i.e. That's what *Lāl Kumār's* mother should have quipped sarcastically (according to *Nārāyaṇ's* mother) because *Lāl Kumār's* older brother's wife didn't stay on a long time after their wedding, and that is the point she should have been trying to make.

daughters-in-law will come and provide for you (viz. *Lāl Kumār's* mother)". Then when the others reproved the (lit. her) eldest daughter-in-law, she said, "I was just kidding." Is it alright for her to speak sarcastically to her mother-in-law like that?! If I had heard it, I would have said, "Am I someone to whom you can speak sarcastically?" It turns out that all the others had gone off to watch the video. So she (*Lāl Kumār's* mother) was left there screaming, screaming to sweep up the dirt all by herself, wash out the pans and finish everything! I kept on sitting there, remaining quiet. She put on the rice to cook.

menchya: As I was coming back from up there yesterday morning, she (*Lāl Kumār's* younger sister) was plastering fresh adobe [onto the house]. Her elder brother's wife (*Lāl Kumār's* newlywed wife) just stood there with her mouth shut [doing nothing]. Would she be one of those too (i.e. a lazy one like *Lāl Kumār*)? She really ought to fall into a crevice somewhere! Who here can teach them (*Lāl Kumār* and his wife) manners? Now, when you've got them both off together, that's alright, they who want the good and are in search of there being fun! (i.e. the selfish thrill-seekers!) Who here would be able to have them?

Nārāyaṇ's mother: Things being like that, everybody came. First since there was no water, [*Lāl Kumār's* mother said] "Go get some water!" Then, [turning to her husband, she quipped], "The only thing which is lacking is water. If I fetch one mug-full, that will be enough for us^{di}, won't it? [*Lāl Kumār's* father responded,] "Gee, I don't know if it will be enough for us^{di} or not," he said to her. "Now there are three younger brothers here. It's probably finished already. I don't know. Will it be enough? Do only the really big ones look for it (i.e. look for water when they require it)? Them too, oh no! Oh my gosh!" Then after we^{pe} had spoken and sat like that for a while, [*Lāl Kumār's* father began talking to me, saying] "your mother (viz. his wife, *Lāl Kumār's* mother) took off to watch the video. She'll tell us whether it was good or not, won't she? Aw, she'll tell us^{pi}! First, in the beginning, it would be a lot of money. Presently, [the prices] have fallen." Speaking^{pe} like that, [he continued,] "In the beginning I would only have to manage to provide for ten [rupees]..." At that point, *Okhre Mahilā* came in! And then he [began ranting], "[Your] daughter-in-law will bring it to you. She'll bring it to you! She'll bring you ten, she will!

But I can't pay. So each [will have to pay] his own [way]!"...

Nārāyaṇ's Aspirations

anḡa ta·ndi yəllik sapla ni·r-u-ŋ-aŋ hən po·ŋ-ma?
I tomorrow many book study-3P-1sA-pfG what become-INF

a-sira dhaŋ bhelle pailot-ḡa·kṡər po·ŋ-ma?. allo
my-pleasure come_up bhane aeroplane-pilot become-INF now

gɔ· sapla ni·r-u-ŋ-aŋ ya·k-ʔɛ. ɔkdaŋba
then book study-3P-1sA-pfG be-1sPS/NPT such_a

po·ŋ-ma?-re la·gi yəllik ni·p-ma? po·ŋ. hekkelle sapla
become-INF-GEN for much study-INF EXIG and_so book

ni·p-mɛ-lle la·gi yəllik yaŋ caha-dzo·k. an·ge
study-INF-GEN for much money need-be weP^o

yo·-bɛ-n siḡe·k po·ŋ-ŋ?na. hekke· po·ŋ-mɛ-lle
below-NOM-ABS class be-1peAS/PT like_that become-INF-INST

an·ge yəllik yaŋ hənəŋ ho·p-pa kərə yəllik sapla
weP^o much money nothing not_be-IPF but much book

ni·p-ma? niŋwa co·k-my-aŋ lək hən co·k-ma? gɔ·? kərək
study-INF desire do-INF-and only what do-INF then all

məna-re yəllik ni·p-ma? yəmba po·ŋ-ma? sira dhaŋ.
man-ERG much study-INF big become-INF pleasure come_up

katai¹ maŋ-ille co·g-u-lle yəllik ni·p-ma? kho·s-u-ŋ
wherever deity-ERG do-3P-SUB much study-INF find-3P-1sA

i· lɔ-ʔɛ. yəllik anḡa kɔ?o· rək me·nduk. na·
whether say-1sPS/NPT much I here only not there

kheni-ʔo· phəm-ma? a-sira dhaŋ-aŋ wa·. kəm-be·la
youP-LOC come-INF my-pleasure come_up-pfG be this-period

¹ *katai* Nep., wherever.

sa na· phen-?ε lɔ-?ε kərə yəllik sapla
 EMPH there come-1sPS/NPT say-1sPS/NPT but many book

mən-ni-ʔl-e· wa·-?ε. hən co·k-maʔ.
 npG-study-npG be-1sPS/NPT what do-INF

translation:

What I would like to become in the future when I have studied alot of books is an aeroplane pilot. So now, I study. In order to become (such a) one, one must study alot. And in order to study books, lots of money is required. We^P have come to constitute the low class. Having become like that, we don't have any such thing as alot of money, but what can one do, having only the desire to study many books? Everybody would like to study alot and become important. If the deity be doing her work wherever [she may be], I shall say whether I shall find [the opportunity] to study alot. It is not so that having studied alot, I shall only [stay] here. It would be my pleasure to come there amongst you^P (viz. to Europe). Presently I say that I shall come there, but I have not studied many books. What to do?

Netra Bahādur's work

anga allɔ pa·ŋphe·-ʔo· pe·k-?ε mɛʔl-ε. hənəŋ
 I now village-LOC go-1sPS/NPT do-1sPS/NPT why

pe·k-?ε bhelle pa·ŋphe·-ʔo· mənə-haʔ mɛ-duk
 go-1sPS/NPT bhane village-LOC man-p nsAS-be_ill

mɛ-la·k. hckkelle anga khunchi-huk-ʔin
 nsAS-be_in_effect so I their-hand-ABS

lɔkt-u-ŋ-si-ŋ-an sidha pi·r-u-ŋ-si-ŋ.
 prick-3P-1sA-nsP-1sA-pfG medicine give-3P-1sA-nsP-1sA

hɛl-le sidha bhelle dzoro-re sidha
 what-GEN medicine bhane fever-GEN medicine

pi·r-u-ŋ-si-ŋ. ma·khi sisa-ʔo· khips-u-ŋ. khən
 give-3P-1sA-nsP-1sA blood bottle-LOC stick-3P-1sA that

sidha ume·r-anusa·r pi·r-u-η-si-η. kheṅ sisa-ʔo·
 medicine umer-anusār¹ give-3P-1sA-nsP-1sA that bottle-LOC

ma·khi-ʔin tɛmbho·tuṅ-ṅin na· maikroskɔp-ʔo·
 blood-ABS malaria-ABS there microscope-LOC

ɔ·-mɛ-mɔtt-u hɛnaṅbhelle kheṅ ma·khi-ʔo·
 look-nsAS-look-3P because that blood-LOC

tɛmbho·tuṅ-le-n kira mɛ-dha·p. dzun ma·khi-ʔo·
 malaria-GEN-ABS bug nsAS-be_visible that_which blood-LOC

kira tha·p, kheṅ-in tɛmbho·tuṅ-le sidha
 bug be_visible that-ABS malaria-GEN medicine

pi·-maʔ-si bo·ṅ. hekkelle anige him thɔkma bhitta-ʔo·
 give-INF-nsP EXIG so weP^o house each walls-LOC

miṅ sapt-u-m-be. hekyaṅ ku-yam ke-duk-pa mɛ-wa-i·
 name write-3P-pA-e then his-body AP-be_ill-AP nsAS-be-Q

mɛ-ho·p-ʔi· bhaʔaṅ se·ndo·s-u-m-si-m-be.
 nsAS-not_be-Q bhanera ask-3P-pA-nsP-pA-e

translation:

Now, I go off into the villages. I go because in the villages people fall ill. So I prick their hands and give them medicine. The medicine I give them is fever medicine. I stick the blood in a bottle. I give them that medicine according to their age. Over there they look through the microscope at the blood in that bottle for malaria because the malaria bugs are visible in that blood. In whoever's (lit. whichever) blood the bug is seen, to them the malaria medicine must be given. So weP^o write down the names within the walls of each house. Then weP^o ask whether there are or aren't any ailing [people].

¹ *umer-anusār* Nep., age-wise, according to age.

Mother comes home to prepare the meal

Nārāyaṇ: *tɔr-u-ŋ-si-ŋ-aŋ* *hɛkkelle habha*
 scold-3P-1sA-nsP-1sA-pfG therefore just_so
mɛ-ni·r-u. [to one of the children:] *hɛn*
 nsAS-study-3P what
kɛ-ba·tt-u-ba?
 2-say-3P-IPF

Nārāyaṇ's mother: *culēsī-nu cɛtthe·-dhik na·pmi pi·r-ɛ?!*
culēsī-COM dish-one 1 give-IMP

Nārāyaṇ: *a·tto· ni yuks-u-ŋ-aŋ yuŋ gɔ·? yəllik kɔ·*
 where CTR put-3P-1sA-pfG sit then many then
mɛ-dzɔ-nɛn. [to the children:] *mɛm-ba·ʔr-amm-ɛ?!*
 NEG-eat/3P-NEG NEG-speak-2p-IMP

Nārāyaṇ's mother: *culēsī-·n pi·r-ɛ? a·!*
culēsī-ABS give-IMP EMPH

Nārāyaṇ: [to the children:] *pe·niba·n mɛm-ba·ʔr-amm-ɛ?!*
 Nepali NEG-speak-2p-IMP
pe·niba·n mɛm-ba·t-ma?
 Nepali NEG-speak-INF
mɛtt-u-ŋ-si-ŋ.
 say_to-3P-1sA-nsP-1sA

translation:

Nārāyaṇ: I scolded them [viz. the children]. That's why they're studying like that. [to one of the children:] What are you saying?

Nārāyaṇ's mother: Give me a *culēsī* and a dish.

Nārāyaṇ: But where did I put it and [where could] it be? He doesn't eat much. [to the children:] Don't talk!

Nārāyaṇ's mother: Come on, give me the *culēsī*!

Nārāyaṇ: [to the children:] Don't speak Nepali! [to mother:] I told them not to speak Nepali.

Discussing the video¹ on *hāṭ-bajār*
day while cooking

Yansarumba: *a·kkhya·k a·kkhya·k ke-huṅ-u-m?*
how_much how_much 2-pay-3P-pA

Kumma: *su-sumsi huṅ-ṅna.*
three-three pay-1peAS/PT

Yansarumba: *kerək-le-i·?*
all-ERG-Q

Kumma: *libhu-re thibo·ṅ yaṅ me-huṅ-u.*
four-ERG ten money nsAS-pay-3P

Yansarumba: [to *Pho·kwama*] *phett-ε? a-yaṅ-in.* [when she
fetch-IMP my-money-ABS
returns with the money:]
tək-?in ku-ya·-?o·
rice-ABS its-side-LOC
yuṅ-ma?-saṅ po·ṅ.
put-INF-even be_alright

Kumma: *cwa?l-in le·ṅ-ma?. yumma?l-in lak-lɔ.*
water-ABS pour-INF vegetables-ABS be_salty-OPT
tək-?in yɔṅ-my-aṅ sa·ṅ-ma?. a-be·se?-o·
rice-ABS lift_up-INF-pfG stir-INF my-vicinity-LOC
ke-yuṅ-ma pe·ni-ma-dhik sa·rik ha·b-ε. ha·b-se
AP-sit-AP/f Nepali-NOM/f-one very cry-PT cry-SUP
ke-dhaṅ-ε-ba-i·, bhiḍiyō. ɔ·mɔt-che ke-dhaṅ-ε-ba-i·?
2-come_up-PT-IPF-Q video watch-SUP 2-come_up-PT-IPF-Q
cu?-me-lle nurik ke-mep-pa me-leṅ-siṅ. kheṅ
finish-INF-SUB well AP-do-AP nsAS-turn-REF that
yemba ke-hɔṅ-ma-ha? sumsi me-lɔ·n rəce.
husband AP-search-AP/f-p three nsAS-come_out DEPR

Yansarumba: *anga-?aṅ eṅ gɔ· ɔ·mɔt-che pe·k-m· po·ks-ε.*
I-too today then watch-SUP go-INF EXIG-PT
tɔre· meṅ-geṭ-thalik ɔ·mɔtt-u-ṅ.
guest npG-arrive-until watch-3P-1sA

Sarumba: *en yusik-?aṅ ke-be·k-?i·?*
today evening-too 2-go-Q

¹ See footnote 28 on p.291.

Kumma: *ke-naks-i ro! yəllik bhidiyo.*
 2-go_crazy-pps ASS much video
ɔ-mem-mətt-amm-ε?!
 watch-NEG-watch-2p-IMP

translation:

Yaṅsarumba: How much did youP pay for it [entrance to the video]?

Kumma: WeP^e paid three Rs. a person.

Yaṅsarumba: All of you?

Kumma: They paid ten Rs. for the four of them.

Yaṅsarumba: [to *Pho·kwama*] Go fetch my money. [to *Pho·kwama* when she returns with the money] It'll even be O.K. if you just put the rice next to it.

Kumma: [giving instructions to *Yaṅsarumba* as they cook] Pour water. Let the vegetables be salty. Lift up the rice [off the fire] and stir it. [resuming her story] A Nepali woman that was sitting next to me cried terribly. [So, I said,] "Did you come here to cry or did you come here to watch the video?" At the end [of the film] they (viz. the bad guys) turned into good guys. There were three whores that came out [in the film].

Yaṅsarumba: I'll have to go see it today too. I'll watch until the guests arrive.

Sarumba: Are you going again this evening?

Kumma: YouP are going crazy! Don't watch so much video!

Midday Conversation Inside

Yaṅsarumba: *tho me-yuṅ-aṅ yusik thokma sapla*
 above nsAS-sit-and evening each book
mε-n-ni·r-u-n. bhidiyo· rək mε-ni·r-u.
 nsAS-NEG-read-3P-NEG video only nsAS-study-3P

...

se·l le·ks-u-rə pətch-ε-rə
 riceflour_flatbread deep_fry-3P-prG be-PT-prG
phε?la?r-ε! Tumla-re ti·s rupaiyā¹ ku-yaṅ-in
 spoil-PT Tumlā-GEN thirty rupees her-money-ABS
hara pi·r-amm-ε?! aṅga se?r-aṅ nett-aṅ!
 quickly give-2p-IMP me kill-1sPS/PT impend-1sPS/PT

¹ *ti·s rupaiyā* = Nep. *tīs rupaiyā* thirty NRs.

Kumma: hɛnaŋ ti·s rupaiyã?
 why thirty rupees

Yansarumba: Tumla-re ku-yaŋ-in pi·r-amm-ε?! kɔŋ
Tumlā-GEN her-money-ABS give-2p-IMP this
dzyake·ṭ²-in-aŋ huʔr-amm-ε?! khɛni
 jacket-ABS-too bring_and_give-2p-IMP youP
kɛ-m-bi·r-u-m-nɛn ɡɔɔ aŋɡa yaŋ-in na·pmi
 2-NEG-give-3P-pA-NEG if me money-ABS 1
pi·r-ε?! aŋɡa a·phai huŋ-u-ŋ. mɛ·n ɡɔɔ kɔʔo· aŋɡa
 give-IMP I myself pay-3P-1sA NOT if here me
sɛʔl-ɛ nɛʔl-ɛ. khunɛ? yo· Tərahəra
 kill-1sPS/NPT impend-1sPS/NPT she below Taraharā
pɛ·k-pa mu, khunɛ? tumma-re ku-saʔ-re
 go-IPF REP she eldest_sister-GEN her-son-GEN
ku-biha-ʔo·. hɛkke· pɔ·ks-ɛ-lle kharca³ ho·p-pa
 his-wedding-LOC like_that be-PT-SUB fare not_be-IPF
mu bhaʔaŋ ɔ·k-pa ɔ·k-pa-ɛ wa·.
 REP bhanera cry-IPF cry-IPF-EMPH be

...
se·dzɔŋwa··n-nu phak-sa··n ta·ndik yusik
 millet_brandy-ABS-COM pig-meat-ABS tomorrow evening
tɔ-m· bo·ŋ.
 curse-INF EXIG

...
ku-nbho·-pɛ-n ɔɔ·ŋghik pɔ·ŋ.
 his-nose-NOM-ABS pig-like become

Kumma: Suna-re ku-mma··ŋ phɛn lo· bhaŋ, Suna-re,
Sunā-GEN her-mother-too come ASS bhanera Sunā-GEN
anɛn-cha lɔʔr-ɛ. pheʔr-ɛ-aŋ tho·-naŋ la·s-ɛ.
 yesterday-EMPH say-PT come-PT-pfG via_above enter-PT

Yansarumba: mamma hɛnaŋ bhidiyo· phe·məs⁴ kɛ-bo·ks-ɛ.
 Mama why video famous 2-become-PT

Pho·kwama: mamma-rɛ-n calti⁵ wa·.
 Mama-GEN-ABS sphere_of_action be

² *dzyake·ṭ* < Nep. < Eng. jacket.

³ Nep. *kharca* 'fare'.

⁴ *phe·məs* 'preoccupied, infatuated' < Eng. 'famous'

⁵ *calti* < Nep. *caltī* 'usage, currency, reputation, popularity, sphere of action'.

Yan̄sarumba: *bhidiyo· ɔ·mɔt-che kɔʔo· niʔ mɛ-da.*
 video watch-SUP here CTR nsAS-come
 "paŋli-re kɔtna pheʔr-amm-ɛʔ o·" mɛ-lɔʔr-ɛ.
 daughter_in_law-VOC here come-2p-IMP oh nsAS-say-PT
kɔtna mɛ-bhɛn.
 here nsAS-come

Kumma: *kɛ-mbhɔŋaʔ tho· thaŋ-ɛ-aŋ way-ɛ-aŋ*
 your-uncle above come_up-PT-pfG be-PT-pfG
kɛ-mbhɔŋaʔ mett-u-ŋ-ba maŋ-rɛ-n ɔ·mɔtt-u-m-be
 your-uncle say_to-3P-1sA deity-GEN-ABS watch-3P-pA-e
mɛ-lɔʔr-ɛ-aŋ ɛn tho· thaŋ-amm-ɛʔ o·
 nsAS-say-PT-pfG today above come_up-2p-IMP oh
mett-u-ŋ-si-ŋ-aŋ way-ɛ. kɛrɛk mɛ-dha·ŋ-lɔ
 say_to-3P-1sA-nsP-1sA-pfG be-PT all nsAS-come_up-OPT
ro· mett-u-ŋ.
 ASS say_to-3P-1sA

Yan̄sarumba: *khɛnɛʔ-in gɔ· lɔ·p-maʔ*
 you^s-ABS/GEN then take_out-INF
par-mɛ-dzo·k-nɛn laʔba.
 have_to-NEG-have_to-NEG probably

Kumma: *aŋga lɔ·tt-u-ŋ lo·! kɛrɛk-le yaŋ-in*
 I take_out-3P-1sA ASS all-ERG money-ABS
phuks-u-ŋ-aŋ pi·r-u-ŋ-si-ŋ. bhidiyo·
 gather-3P-1sA-pfG give-3P-1sA-nsP-1sA video
ɔ·mɛp-maʔ mɛ·n rɛcə.
 watch-INF NOT DEPR

Pho·kwama: *aŋ·ge pəilla ɔ·mɔp-m·na-lle tuksi nusi*
 we^P first watch-1peAS/PT-SUB six seven
məna-dhik wa·-m·na.
 man-only be-1peAS/PT

Yan̄sarumba: *mɛn-nubɛ-n o· ɔ·-gɛ-mɔtt-u-m-maŋ.*
 NEG-good-ABS oh watch-2-watch-3P-pA-too

Pho·kwama: *hɛn naʔ hɛm-baʔ*
 what EMPH what-NOM

...

Yan̄sarumba: *ande· biha·ndik Nautune· Ka·nchi na·*
 before morning Nautune Kānchī there
khɛtna cɔiʔa⁶ khɔps-u-aŋ ya·g-ɛ.
 over_there wood_chips pick_up-3P-pfG be-PT

Pho·kwama: a·tto·?
where

Yansarumba: na· khɛtna. na·-nu pheʔr-ɛ, me·n-ni·?
there over_{there} there-from come-PT, NOT-Q
tho·nan-nu pheʔr-ɛ ga·ro·-lle ci? dho·dho·?
via_{above}-COM come-PT wall-GEN little_{bit} way_{up}_{there}
kɛʔr-ɛ-aŋ ammu nu·ks-ɛ-aŋ yo·
arrive-PT-pfG again return-PT-pfG below
ani-pyaŋsi-lepmaŋ pheʔr-ɛ. aŋga əgɔ· e·n ni?
our^{Pi}-terrace_{field}-toward come-PT I then who CTR
gɔ· loʔr-aŋ-aŋ swaʔl ɔ·mɔtt-u-ŋ-aŋ
then say-1sPS/PT-pfG silently watch-3P-1sA-pfG
yeɓ-aŋ. khunɛʔ gɔ· pheʔr-ɛ watt-ɛ-aŋ
stand-1sPS/PT she then come-PT TOT-PT-pfG
pyaŋsi-ʔo·-ba coiʔa-haʔ khɔps-u he·kt-u.
terrace_{field}-LOC-NOM wood_{chips}-p pick_{up}-3P begin-3P
hɛkkelle gɔ· aŋga-ʔaŋ lo·kt-aŋ-aŋ pe·g-aŋ-aŋ
so then I-too run-1sPS/PT-pfG go-1sPS/PT-pfG
ku-dhɔŋga-ʔo·-ba coiʔa-haʔ ho·ks-u-ŋ-aŋ
her-_{doko}-LOC-NOM wood_{chips} spill_{out}-3P-1sA-pfG
ku-dhɔŋga-sik yo· lapphe·s-u-ŋ bi·r-u-ŋ. hɛkyaŋ
her-_{doko}-soko below toss-3P-1sA give-3P-1sA and_{then}
phyakt-u-ŋ.
upbraid-3P-1sA

Kumma: hɛkyaŋ niʔ lupeʔl sadziʔ nɛ·s-ɛ.
then CTR pile somewhat be_{situated}-PT

...

nɛtchi yaŋ-le yuʔ-mɛ-lle haphta-dhik
two money-GEN bring_{down}-INF-SUB week-one
yo·.
be_{enough}

Rappo·ba: kɔŋ khunɛʔ ku-ba·ŋphe·-ʔo·-nu ta·r-u-ba-i·,
this he his-village-LOC-COM bring-3P-NOM-Q
kɔʔo· iŋ-u-ba-i·?
here buy-3P-IPF-Q

Yansarumba: ku-ba·ŋphe·-ʔo·-nu ta·r-u-ba me·nduk,
his-village-LOC-COM bring-3P-NOM NOT

⁶ *coiʔa* < Nep. *coiʔā* 'wood chips used as kindling'.

theba-ʔe. anchige *Pã·cthar pe·g-ε-tchi-ge-an*
 grandfather-VOC we^{de} *Pãcthar*⁷ go-PT-dPS-e-pfG
way-ε-tchi-ge. kheʔo· ku-ba·ŋphe·-ʔo·-ba mæna nɛpphu
 be-PT-dPS-e there his-village-LOC-NOM man two
wa·-si. kheŋhaʔ-re yællik mɛ-gɔtt-u hɛkyaŋ
 be-dPS they-ERG much nsAS-have-3P then
kheŋhaʔ-re thik pyake·ʔ⁸ mɛ-bi·r-u
 they-ERG one packet nsAS-give-3P
mɛ-bhɛnch-u-ba rɔk.
 ns-have_sent-3P-IPF only

Kappo·ba: kɔʔo· kho·-he·ʔ-mɛ-dɛt-nɛn-ni·ʔ
 here find-can-NEG-PAS-NEG-Q

Yaŋsarumba: Ne·pa·l-ʔo· gɔ· kho·-he·ʔ-dɛʔl laʔba kərə
Nepāl-LOC then find-can-PAS probably but
ani-pa·ŋphe·-ʔo· gɔ· kho·-he·ʔ-mɛ-dɛt-nɛn
 our^{Pi}-village-LOC then find-can-NEG-PAS-NEG
na, theba-e.
 EMPH grandfather-VOC

Kumma: e·ʔyaŋbɛ-n kɛ-ma·nd-ε-tch-w-i· i· kɛ-gɔt-ch-w-i·ʔ
 other-ABS 2-finish-PT-dA-3P-Q or 2-have-dA-3P-Q

Yaŋsarumba: atɪŋʔ came·li⁹-n-ni·ʔ
 which jasmine-ABS-Q

Kumma: ǎ.
 yes

Yaŋsarumba: kheŋ gɔ· mɛm-ma·ʔl-e· wa· ya.
 that then npG-finish-npG be EMPH

⁷ Nep. *Pãcthar*, name of a Limbu district (lit. 'five tribes') on the other (eastern) side of the *Ta·mar* river. Here *Yaŋsarumba* is referring to a trek he made with the author to *Phidīm* via *Yāsok*. There they met two Dutch foreign aid workers employed in the forestry department residing above *Phidīm*. Having been sent there via the United Nations, they had a large luggage allowance and had taken with them fifty packs of Douwe Egberts *snelfiltermaling* ground coffee.

⁸ *pyake·ʔ* < Nep. *pyākeṭ* < Eng. packet.

⁹ *came·li* < Nep. *camelī* 'jasmine'; the author had brought a pack of Chinese jasmine tea with him from Kathmandu.

Kappo·ba: *came·li··n kudzanu-ba-i·?* *kɔŋ maktaŋbe-n*
 jasmine-ABS be_delicious-NOM-Q this black-ABS
kudzanu-ba-i·?
 be_delicious-NOM-Q

Yansarumba: *anga əgɔ· kɔŋ ke-ghik-pe-n-cha*
 I then this AP-be_bitter-AP-ABS-EMPH
a-sira dhaŋ-ε. kudza··ŋ-nur-ε.
 my-pleasure come_up-PT be_delicious-too-be_delicious-PT
theba-re ci? sa?r-ε? a·kkhe· lɔ?·i·?
 grandfather-VOC little_bit taste-IMP how be_like-Q

Kappo·ba: *thuŋ-ma? sa?-ma? a·kkhe· lɔ?-i·?*
 drink-INF taste-INF how be_like-Q

Yansarumba: *yuma-re ci?-aŋ ke-dhuŋ-w-i·?¹⁰*
 grandmother little_bit-too 2-drink-3P-Q

Grandmother: *na?-?ε ro·! anga əgɔ· anche·*
 abstain-1sPS/NPT ASS I then before
cuci? na·pmi ke-bi·r-ε-be-n-le
 little_bit 1 2-give-PT-NOM-ABS-INST
kha·s-aŋ. kheŋ ke-ghik-pe-n gɔ·
 be_sated-1sPS/PT that AP-be_bitter-AP-ABS then
mε-dhuŋ-?ε-n lo·! kheŋ came·li-lle
 NEG-drink-1s→3/NPT-NEG ASS that jasmine-GEN
ku-mεn a·kkhya·k?
 its-price how_much

Yansarumba: *kheŋ came·li-lle ku-mεn khunchi-?o· gɔ·*
 that jasmine-GEN its-price their-LOC then
nasi kɔ?o· gɔ· nεtna po·ŋ. [addressing the
 five here then twenty-five be
 author] *an·ge gɔ· kɔŋ came·li··n-naŋ khikt-ε*
 usP^o then this jasmine-ABS-too be_bitter-PT
henanbhelle thuŋ-mε-lly-aŋ ke-ghik-pa
 because drink-INF-SUB-too AP-be_bitter-AP
ku-mεn-aŋ ke-ghik-pa co·k.¹¹ hεkke·
 its-price-too AP-be_expensive-AP be that_way

¹⁰ *Yansarumba* has already had grandmother taste the coffee and is well aware of the fact, as he asks this question, that she found its bitter taste foul and disgusting.

¹¹ a pun in Limbu: *khikma?* 'to be expensive', *khikma?* 'to be bitter'.

po·ks-ε-lle an·ge gɔ· kɔŋ came·li-·n-naŋ
 be-PT-SUB we^P then this jasmine-ABS-too
mε-dhuŋ-u-m-bε-n mε-iŋ-u-m-bε-n-naŋ. kɔŋ
 NEG-drink-3P-pA-e-NEG NEG-buy-3P-pA-e-NEG-too this
came·li iŋ-ma? yaŋ-ille gɔ· an·ge-ʔo·-ba mɔkwa
 jasmine buy-INF money-INST then our^P-LOC-NOM tea
iŋ-mε-lle yəllik ya·n tɔkt-i-ge. kɔŋ came·li-·n
 buy-INF-SUB many day last-pps-e this jasmine-ABS
hara ma·ʔl. an·ge-ʔo·-ba hara mε-ma·t-nεn.
 quickly finish our^P-LOC-NOM quickly NEG-finish-NEG

translation:

Yaŋsarumba: They sit above [in the bazar on the ridge] and every evening they don't study their books; they only study the video.

...

As she was deep-frying riceflour-flatbread, she got angry. Give *Tumlā* her 30 RS. back! She was about to kill me.

Kumma: Why thirty rupees?

Yaŋsarumba: Give^P *Tumlā* back her money (viz. the money the family has lent from her)! Bring this jacket back to her too (viz. the jacket *Yaŋsarumba* has lent from *Tumla's* son *Milan*)! If you guys don't give it to her, give me the money. Then I'll pay her myself. If not, she's about to [come down and] kill me here. She says she's going down to *Taraharā* (near *Dharān* in the *Tarāī*). She [is going to] her eldest sister's son's wedding. And it's gotten this way that she's screaming and screaming that she hasn't the money to pay the fare.

...

Yaŋsarumba: We'll have to consume the millet brandy and pork tomorrow evening.

...

Yaŋsarumba: (pointing at *Yamba*) He turns his nose up at it (viz. the video).

Kumma: Yesterday she said, "*Sunā's* mother is coming too, *Sunā's* mother!" She came and came in through the upper entrance way.

Yaŋsarumba: Mama, why have you become so preoccupied with the video?

Pho·kwama: That's mama's sphere of action.

Yaŋsarumba: They come here to watch the video of all things! They said, "Daughters-in-law, come here!", and they come here!

Kumma: Your uncle had come up there, and I told your uncle. They said, "We^e were going up to watch the one about the deities (i.e. the old black and white Hindi film *Sampūrṇa Rāmāyaṇa*)." I had told them, "Come^p on up today!" I said to him, "May they all come up!"

Yaṅsarumba: [You] probably didn't have to take yours out [i.e. you probably didn't have to pay yourself (for rounding up all the relatives)]

Kumma: I did take out (i.e. I did have to pay my own way)! I gathered all the money (of the relatives I had rounded up) and gave it to them (the Newari owners of the video). But get to watch the video [for free], no!

Pho·kwama: When we first went to watch [the video], there were only six or seven of us.

Yaṅsarumba: And it was a lousy one that you^p [i.e. you and your friends] went to see too!

Pho·kwama: What for? What? (i.e. why do you say that?)

...

Yaṅsarumba: Earlier this morning *Nautune Kānchī* was over there picking up the wood chips [which had been left on the ground after the tree chopping activities the eldest brother *Jay Prasād* had carried out the previous day on the family's property].

Pho·kwama: Where?

Yaṅsarumba: Over there! She came from there, didn't she? She came by the high road. Having gotten to a little ways above past the wall, she came back down and she came towards ourⁱ terraced field. And then I said [to myself], "Who could this be?!" and I watched her, not saying a thing, and I stood up. Then having gotten onto the terraced field, she proceeded to pick up the wood chips that were on the terraced field. So, I too ran and went there, and I spilled out all the wood chips that were in her *ḍoko*, and I threw her *ḍoko* and all down the hill. Then I upbraided her.

Kumma: So that's why it was all more or less in a pile [when I returned home].

...

Kumma: If they bring down two Rs. worth of tea, that should be enough for a week

Kappo·ba: Is this something he brought from his village, or is it something he bought here?

Yaṅsarumba: This isn't something he brought with him from his village, grandfather. We^{de} had gone to *Pācthar*. There there are two guys from his village. They have lots of it, so they just gave him one packet to take with him.

Kappo·ba: Can it be got her?

Yaṅsarumba: It might be possible that it can be got in Nepal, but it sure can't be got in our^{Pi} village, grandpa.

Kumma: Did you two finish the other stuff or do you still have some?

Yaṅsarumba: Which one? The jasmine [tea]?

Kumma: Yes.

Yaṅsarumba: That's not used up yet!

Kappo·ba: Does the jasmine [tea] taste good? Does this black stuff taste good?

Yaṅsarumba: As for me, I like this bitter stuff. It's delicious too. Grandpa, taste a little bit to see what it's like.

Kappo·ba: Drink some and taste it to see what it's like?

Yaṅsarumba: Will grandmother taste a little bit too?

Grandmother: I abstain! As for me, I'm quite sated with the little bit you gave me earlier! I'm not going to drink any of that bitter stuff! How much did that jasmine [tea] cost?

Yaṅsarumba: That jasmine [tea] cost five Rs. in their currency, twenty-five in the local currency. [addressing the author] For us^{Pe} this jasmine [tea] is bitter too because it's bitter to drink and it's price is expensive too! That is why we^{Pe} don't drink this jasmine [tea] nor do we buy it. Compared to buying this jasmine [tea], if we buy our own local tea, it lasts us^{Pe} many days. This jasmine [tea] finishes quickly. Our local stuff doesn't use up quickly.

Torch

Pho·kwama: [to *Amma*] *yəmbɛ-11e ku-laiɕ¹-ɛn*
big_one-GEN his-torch-ABS
yuʔr-u laʔba.
bring_down-3P probably

Amma: [to *Yəmba*] *khɛnɛʔ-in o.ʔ1-1.ʔ*
you^s-ABS/GEN shine-Q

Yəmba: *ahã?*
no

Amma: *hɛnaŋ mɛ-o.t-nɛm-ba?*
why NEG-shine-NEG-IPF

¹ *laiɕ* [< Nep. < Eng. light] torch.

Yaŋsarumba: e·m pi·-m· barne·?
whom give-INF ought

translation:

Pho·kwama: [to *Anma*] He has probably brought big one's
torch down.

Anma: [to *Yamba*] Does yours work?

Yamba: No.

Anma: Why isn't it working?

Yaŋsarumba: To whom should I give it [viz. my torch]?

Reciprocity

Sarumba: *yaŋsarumbɛ-n khai!*
third_born-ABS khai

Yamba: *yaŋsarumbɛ-lle hɔks-aŋ-ba-i·?*
third_born-ERG look_for-1sPS/PT-IPF-Q

Sarumba: *ã.*
yes

Yamba: *aŋga-?aŋ khune? hɔks-u-ŋ-ba.*
I-too him look_for-3P-1sA-IPF
mɛ-n-dum-baŋ me-ŋ-gho·-baŋ. henəŋ
NEG-NEG-meet-1s→3/PT NEG-NEG-find-1s→3/PT why
kɛ-ye·?r-ɛ?
2-laugh-PT

Sarumba: *habha-e.*
just_so-EMPH

Sarumba: Where's third-born!

Yamba: Was third-born looking for me?

Sarumba: Yes.

Yamba: I too have been looking for him, but I haven't run
into him. I haven't found him. Why are you laughing?

Sarumba: Just so.

Evolution

anche· anche· mēna a·kkhyaṅ a-bo·ks-ε? həkdaṅba pa·n
 before before man how 1-become-PT that_kind_of matter

lε--ma? sa·rik siradhaṅ. kheṅ-le pa·n-le mundhum-dhik
 know-INF very desire that-GEN matter-GEN story-one

wa·. anche· anche· ani mēna a-ho·pt-ε kərə mēna a·kkhyaṅ
 be before before we^{PI} man 1-not_be-PT but man how

a-bo·ks-ε bhelle saba-ha? mēsu mēsu habha kheṅ
 1-become-PT bhane monkey-p slowly slowly like_that those

saba-ha? e· mēna a-bo·ks-ε-ba mu mε-lɔ?
 monkey-p from man 1-become-PT-IPF REP nsAS-say.

translation:

How did we become man a long time ago? That's what I would really like to know. There is a story about that matter. A long time ago we men did not exist, but how we became men, they say, is that from monkeys ever so gradually, like that, from those monkeys we evolved into men.

Bhagī Māyā's Father

anchige tho· tṅba thuṅ-se pi-tchi-ge bha?aṅ tho·
 we^{de} above tuṅbā drink-SUP go-dPS-e bhanera above

tha·ṅmaṅ pe·g-ε-tchi-ge-ro pətch-ε-tchi-ge-lle tho· bhagi
 uphill go-PT-dPS-e-prG AUX-PT-dPS-e-SUB above Bhagī

ma·ya--re ku-mba pha·gu-?in nə "aṅga-?aṅ pe·k-?ε
 Māyā-GEN her-father Phāgu-ABS EMPH I-also go-1sPS/NPT

ro·!" lɔ?r-ε-aṅ ya·g-ε. anchige tho· tṅba thuṅ-se
 ASS say-PT-pfG be-PT we^{de} above tuṅbā drink-SUP

pitchige bha?aṅ cum-se· "aṅga-?aṅ pe·k-?ε ro·!"
 go-dPS-e bhanera friend-p/VOC I-too go-1sPS/NPT ASS

lɔʔr-ε. "anchige gɔ· suriʔl ca-se tho· kε-him-mo·
say-PT we^{de} then wind eat-SUP above your^s-house-LOC

tho· pi-tchi-ge-ba. khεnεʔ-ʔaŋ suriʔl ca-se
above go-dPS-e-IPF you^s-too wind eat-SUP

kε-be·k-pa-i·ʔ anchige gɔ· tɔŋba thun-se pi-tchi-ge-ba
2-go-IPF-Q we^{de} then tuñbā drink-SUP go-dPS-e-IPF

me·nduk anchige-nu so·rik suriʔl kε-dzɔ-i·ʔ" "e... khεŋ
not we^{de}-COM together wind 2-eat-Q Oh... that

gɔ· mε-dza-ʔε-n" lɔʔr-ε-aŋ nu·ks-ε.
then NEG-eat-1s→3-NEG say-PT-pfG return-PT

translation:

Having said "we^{de} are going up to drink *tuñbā*", as we were above going uphill, *Bhagī Māyā*'s father *Phāgu* (family name) was there saying, "Hey, I'm coming along too!" As we^{de} were going on up to drink *tuñbā*, he said "Friends! I'm coming along too!" [But we replied,] "We^{de} are going towards your house to get some fresh air up there. Are you coming along too? It is not the case that we^{de} are off to drink *tuñbā*. But are you going to come with us^{de} to catch some fresh air together?" "Oh," he said "No, I won't," and turned back.

Sāndhe's Mother

background:

The video run on a lawnmower-like generator and showing Hindi films has just made its debut in *Limbuvān*. The ladies have gone to the district centre to watch the film. *Nārāyaŋ*'s mother takes offence at the high price asked for a video ticket by the Newari owners, her motto being "*siŋhεk yaŋhεk. siŋhεk aħεk*" (The Newaris, lit. the woodchoppers, are money-choppers! The Newaris will chop you!). Even *Bhīmī*, a befriended Newari, is there trying to draw people in to the video. *Sāndhe*'s mother, like everyone else, cannot understand Hindi but, unlike everyone else, is not sufficiently impressed with the novelty of the video not to take objection to this fact, especially in view of the high

price paid. *Nārāyaṇ*'s mother comes home and tells about *Sādhē*'s mother's distracting behaviour.

Nārāyaṇ's mother: *bhimi-yaṇ ni?* "subba-e· yuṇ-ε?"
Bhīmī-too CTR *Subbā*-VOC sit-IMP
swa?l-aṇ muṭhi putt-u-ṇ-aṇ
 quiet-too fist clench-3P-1sA-pfG
pi·r-u-ṇ.
 give-3P-1sA

Nārāyaṇ: *məna mε-ya·g-ε-i·?*
 man nsAS-be-PT-Q

Nārāyaṇ's mother: *cidzi?* *gɔ· mε-ya·g-ε. sɔpma dzi?*
 little_bit then nsAS-be-PT moment few
ɔ·mɔpm?na··ṇ "pe·gi pe·gi" lɔ?
 look-1peAS/PT-pfG go-p/ADH go-p/ADH say
he·kt-ε.
 begin-PT

Nārāyaṇ: *e·n na?*
 who EMPH

Nārāyaṇ's mother: *Sā·dhe--re ku-mma.* "kɔ?ɔ· hɛnaṇ
Sādhē-GEN her-mother here why
ye--ba?" "pe·g-i pe·g-i!" lɔ?r-ε. ṅga əgɔ·
 come_down/PT-IPF go-p/ADH go-p/ADH say-PT I then
"mε-be·k-?ε-n mε-be·k-?ε-n". "khɛnɛ? sa·rik
 NEG-go-1sPS-NEG NEG-go-1sPS-NEG you* very
kε-sira dhaṇ-i·?" ṅga əgɔ· "sa·rik a-sira
 2-pleasure come_up-Q I then very my-pleasure
dhaṇ." lɔ·nd-ε-yaṇ pe·g-ε. sɔpma dzi? aṇ ammu
 come_up go_out-PT-pfG go-PT moment few also again
nu·ks-ε te·. "sa·rik kε-sira dhaṇ-aṇ
 return-PT come/PT. very 2-pleasure come_up-pfG
kε-yuṇ-ba-i·?" aṅga əgɔ· "a-sira dhaṇ
 2-sit-IPF-Q I then my-pleasure come_up
yuṇ-?ε mε-be·k-?ε-n." hɛkyaṇ sɔpma dzi? aṇ
 sit-1sPS/NPT NEG-go-1sPS/NPT-NEG then moment few too
po·g-ε-aṇ pe·g-ε. cu?-ma? be·la-lle...
 get_up-pfG go-PT end-INF time-GEN

translation:

Nārāyaṇ's mother: *Bhīmī*, too, [was there canvassing, crying], "Hey Subba, sit down!" Saying nothing, I made a fist (clutching the money) and gave it to her.

Nārāyaṇ's: Were there people there?

Nārāyaṇ's mother: There were just a few. After weP° had

watched for a few moments, she started saying "Let's^{Pi} go! Let's go!"

Nārāyaṇ's: Who?

Nārāyaṇ's mother: *sāṅdhe*'s mother. [I said,] "Why did you come here then?" "Let's^{Pi} go! Let's go!" she said. So I [said], "I'm not going. I'm not going." "Do you like it so much?" [she asked]. So I [said], "I like it very much." She went out and left. After a few moments, she came back again, [and said,] "Do you like it so much that you're just going to stay here?" So I [said], "I like it. I'm staying. I'm not going." Then after a few moments, she got up and left. Then at the time it was finishing ...

Two ladies on the porch

- lady A: *warum-siṅ-se phe?r-ε-ṅ wa·.*
bathe-REF-SUP come-PT-pfG be
- lady B: *khunε? rɔk ya·k-?i· e·?yaṅba-?aṅ mε-wa-i·?*
he only be-Q other-too nsAS-be-Q
- lady A: *a·kkhyeṅ khem-ma? gɔ· hɔ·? kε-mbhɔṅa? dzasari-saṅ*
how hear-INF then oh 2-uncle *jasarī*¹-even
him-mo·. theba-si mε-ho·p-?i·? ku-laṅ-in
house-LOC grandfather-d nsAS-not_be-Q his-leg-ABS
tug-ε-aṅ yuṅ. hen po·ks-ε?
hurt-PT-pfG sit what happen-PT
- lady B: *suma?-aṅ kε-de·?r-u-ba-i·? mεm-be·k-?ε?*
aunt-too 2-take_away-3P-IPF-Q NEG-go-IMP
mεtt-u-ṅ-ille mε-dεn-nεn. (turning to her young
say_to-3P-1sA-SUB NEG-agree-NEG
daughter:) *khεnε? hεnaṅ*
you^s why
wa-gε-n-lum-siṅ-nεn-ba he·? nurik nurik
bathe-2-NEG-bathe-REF-NEG-IPF hey well well
warum-siṅ-ε?! (turning back to lady A) tɔk
bathe-REF-IMP rice
tho·k-ma? mēna··ṅ caha co·k ṅa!
cook-INF man-too want do EMPH

¹ *jasarī* Nep., how, in which way; cf. *jasarī pani* no matter what, in any event.

translation:

lady A: (looking at the *kuvā* in the distance which she can barely make out through the foliage) She has come to bathe.

lady B: Is she there alone or are there others too?

lady A: How am I supposed to be able to hear that? Your uncle is at home in any case. Aren't the grandfathers there? Having hurt her leg, she's just sitting there. What happened?

lady B: If I ask him "Are you also taking auntie along with you?" and tell him "Don't go!", he won't listen. (turning to her young daughter) Hey, why are you not washing yourself? Wash yourself very well! (turning back to lady A) He wants a rice cooking woman!

*Durgā Bahādur Meets His
Friend's Grandmother*

- Yuma:* *kε-ndzum a·tto· wa·?*
your^s-friend where be
- Durgā:* *kɔʔo· wa·.*
here be
- Yuma:* *kɔŋ kε-ndzum-mi·? abhelle kε-de·-ba?*
this your^s-friend-Q when 2-come/PT-IPF
- Durgā:* *thibo·ŋ ya·n po·ks-ε.*
ten day be-PT
- Yuma:* *kε-ndzum-in-nu abhelle kε-dum-ε-tchi?*
your^s-friend-ABS-COM when 2-meet-PT-dPS
- Durgā:* *miʔlɪŋ sa tum-ε-tchi-ge-ba.*
last_year EMPH meet-PT-dPS-e-IPF
- Yuma:* *allɔ abhelle kε-be·k?*
now when 2-go
- Durgā:* *anga mε-lε·-ʔε-n.*
I NEG-know-1sPS/NPT-NEG
- Yuma:* *khεnε? kε-l-lε·s-u-n-ni·? kε-ndzum-in nurik*
you^s 2-NEG-know-3P-NEG-Q your^s-friend-ABS good
mεtt-ε? o·! a-mencha? ni?!
do_unto-IMP oh my-grandchild CTR
- Durgā:* *e·...*
oh
- Yuma:* *kuca. kε-ndzum-in se·ndo·s-ε?*
true your^s-friend-ABS ask-IMP
ku-yuma-ʔε-i· me·n-ni·! khεnε?-aŋ
his-grandmother-am-Q NOT-Q you^s-too

mēncha-e *mēt-ne* *hēnanphēlle*
 grandchild-VOC say_to-1→2 because
a-mmēncha?-re *ku-ndzum* *a-mmēncha?-e*
 my-grandchild-GEN his-friend my-grandchild-EMPH
po·ŋ.
 be

Durgā: *āṅga kē-mmēncha?-?ε-i·? khēnε?*
 I 2-grandchild-am-Q you^s
a-yuma-·n-nε-i·?
 my-grandmother-ABS-be-Q

Yuma: *ā, allō-ŋ-dho· khēnε? āṅga "yuma-e·"*
 yes now-since you^s me grandmother-VOC
mēt-t-aŋ-ε? *o·!*
 say_to-1sP-IMP oh

translation:

Yuma: Where is your friend?

Durgā: (pointing at *Nārāyaṇ*) He's here.

Yuma: Is this your friend? When did you come here [to our village]?

Durgā: Ten days ago.

Yuma: When did you [first] meet your friend.

Durgā: It was last year that we^{de} met.

Yuma: Now when are you going [from our village]?

Durgā: I don't know.

Yuma: You don't know? Do good unto your friend! He is my grandchild!

Durgā: Really?

Yuma: It's the truth. Ask your friend whether I'm his grandmother or not! I will call you grandchild too because my grandson's friend is as a grandchild unto me too.

Durgā: (pleased) I'm your grandchild? You're my grandmother?

Yuma: Yes, from now on, you say "Grandmother" to me!

Yuma's tirade

allo abhelle biha ke-dzo·k ko· mencha-e·?
 now when marriage 2-do then grandchild-VOC

habha hekke· kappo·ba ke-dum-lo ke-wa-i·?
 like-that in_that_way old_man 2-ripen-prG 2-be-Q

biha men-dzo·k-?e· a·kkhyaṅ khene? ke-bo·ks-ε.
 marriage npG-do-npG how you^s 2-happen-PT

biha co·k-my-aṅ lok sa? wa·! ke-ba·ṅphe·-?o·
 marriage do-INF-pfG only child be your^s-village-LOC

biha me-n-dzo·k-nen-chaṅ sa? me-go?l-i·?
 marriage nsAS-NEG-do-NEG-even child nsAS-have-Q

translation:

Now, when are you going to get married, grandchild? Are you just going to keep sitting that way ripening into an old man? Without a marriage having taken place, how would you ever have been born? Only having married, can there be a child! Do they have children in your village without getting married?!

Racist attitudes

Padam: kerək pe·ni-ba māna-ha? a-sira
 all Nepali-NOM man-p 1-pleasure
me-n-dhaṅ-nen.
 nsAS-NEG-come_up-NEG

Nārāyaṅ: kerək ko· pa·t-ma? me-suk-?ε-n.
 all then say-INF NEG-be_able-1sPS/NPT-NEG

Padam: I don't like any *Brāhmaṅs* or *Kṣatriyas*.

Nārāyaṅ: Well, I can't say that about all of them.

maṅdɔk
Black Millet Rolls

- Candra:* a·tto· kɛ-be·k-pa?
where 2-go-IPF
- Yamba:* a-ndzum-le ku-him-ʔo·.
my-friend-GEN his-house-LOC
- Candra:* hɛnaŋ?
why
- Yamba:* tɔk ca-se.
bhāt eat-SUP
- Candra:* atɪŋ tɔk?
what_kind_of bhāt
- Yamba:* maṅdɔk.
deity_bhāt
- Candra:* kɛ-ha-ʔo· mɛ-ghip-nɛn-ni·?
your^s-tooth-LOC NEG-stick-NEG-Q
- Yamba:* mɛ·n, a-sira dhaŋ!
NOT my-pleasure come_up

- Candra:* Where are you going?
- Yamba:* To my friend's house.
- Candra:* Why?
- Yamba:* To eat bhāt.
- Candra:* What kind of bhāt?
- Yamba:* deity-bhāt.
- Candra:* Doesn't it stick to your teeth?
- Yamba:* No, I like it!

Unwelcome interruption

- Candra:* a·tto· kɛ-be·k-pa?
where 2-go-IPF
- Yaṅsarumba:* hiʔe·-se.
shit-SUP
- Candra:* hɛnaŋ?
why
- Yaṅsarumba:* hi lɔ·nd-ɛ.
shit exude-PT

Candra: Where are you going?
Yaṅsarumba: To shit.
Candra: Why?
Yaṅsarumba: The shit's [already] coming out.

Reprimand

Amma: *nam-ille soṅd-w-i?*
 sun-ERG bake-3P-Q
Yəmba: *ã.*
 yes
Amma: *həkkelle ti·kt-ε. nam-kε-bhət-chiṅ-ε-aṅ*
 therefore peel-PT sun-2-fetch-REF-PT-pfG
kε-ho·rik-?in ti·kt-ε.
 your^s-skin-ABS peel-PT

Amma: Has the sun baked it (viz. your skin)?
Yəmba: Yes.
Amma: That's why it's peeling. (chiding:) Having put yourself out in the sun to dry, your skin has begun to peel.

Small Talk

Yaṅsarumba: *ku-biha·n po·ks-ε. ku-sa?-dhik wa·.*
 his-marriage-ABS be-PT his-child-one be
Cum: *atiṅ ya·mbək kətt-u?*
 what_kind_of work have-3P
Yaṅsarumba: *mmm.*
 hmm
Cum: *ninwa mε-de·-nen-ni·? nurik i·t-chiṅ-ε?!*
 mind NEG-come/PT-NEG-Q well think-REF-IMP
 (changing the subject:) *kε-mba a·tto·?*
 your^s-father where
Yaṅsarumba: *a·... him-mo· wa·.*
 yes house-LOC be
Cum: *habha yuṅ.*
 just sit
Yaṅsarumba: *ã.*
 yes
Cum: *cumluy-?o· kε-way-ε.*
 bazar-LOC 2-be-PT

Yaṅsarumba: ǎ.

yes

Cum: *hɛn co·k-se?*
what do-INF

Yaṅsarumba: *luṅgi tɔ·-se, sapla iŋ-se la·se.*
luṅgī have_{sewn}-SUP book buy-SUP get_{SUP}

translation:

Yaṅsarumba: He's married. He has one child.

Cum: What kind of job does he have?

Yaṅsarumba: hmmm.

Cum: Don't you remember? Think! (changing the subject:)
Where's your father?

Yaṅsarumba: ah... He's at home.

Cum: He's just sitting there.

Yaṅsarumba: Yeah.

Cum: You were at the bazar.

Yaṅsarumba: Yeah.

Cum: To do what?

Yaṅsarumba: To have a *luṅgī* sewn, to buy and get a book.

Brief Exchange 1

<i>Pho·kwama</i> : <i>kɔŋ hɛn?</i>	What's that?
<i>Sarumba</i> : <i>atiŋ-in?</i>	Which? (ABS)
<i>Pho·kwama</i> : <i>khe?o·.</i>	There.
<i>Sarumba</i> : <i>siŋdze·k.</i>	Stick.

Brief Exchange 2

Yaṅsarumba: *lɔ?l kɛ-ye·-i·?*
just_{now} 2-come_{down}/PT-Q

Sarumba: *biha·ndik yy-aŋ.*
morning come_{down}-1sPS/PT

Yaṅsarumba: *hɛkyəŋ habha kɛ-yuŋ-ba-i·?*
then just_{so} 2-sit-IPF-Q

Sarumba: ǎ.
yeah

Yan̄sarumba: Did you just get down here?
Sarumba: I came down this morning.
Yan̄sarumba: And you've just been sitting here since?
Sarumba: Yeah.

A Village Elder
 Addressing the Author

khɛnɛʔ kɛ-ba·ŋphe·-ʔo·-nu kɛ-de·-yaŋ yakthun̄ba
 you^s your^s-village-LOC-COM 2-come/PT-pfG Limbu

pa·n huʔ-siŋ kɛ-he·kt-ɛ. hɛkkɛlle kɛ-huʔ-ba
 language teach-REF 2-begin-PT so AP-teach-AP

kɛ-ndzum yəllik mɛ-bo·ks-ɛ. yakthun̄ba pa·n sa·ʔrik
 2-friend many nsAS-become-PT Limbu language very

nuba co·k. khɛnɛʔ kɛ-huʔ-siŋ-ɛ-ba-dɛn myan̄luŋ-le
 good be you^s 2-teach-REF-PT-NOM-place *Myan̄luŋ*-GEN

ku-sikto·ʔ-ʔo· pa·ŋbhe· pardzo·k. anche·-naŋ-tho·
 its-beneath-LOC village be_situated before-too-since

allo-dhak dza·gira¹ ca·-ʔɛ-rɔ wa·-ʔɛ.
 now-until *jāgīra* perform-1sPS/NPT-prG be-1sPS/NPT

dza·gira ca·-maʔ mɛp-mʔna-bɛ-n nuba. pa·ŋbhe·
jāgīra perform-INF say_to-PP-NOM-ABS good village

kɔm-maʔ mən̄a-nu tadzɛŋ-maʔ pa·t-maʔ yəllik nuba.
 wander-INF man-COM chat-INF speak-INF much good

translation:

You have come from your village and started learning the Limbu language. So you have got many friends to teach you. The Limbu language is very good. The place where you have been learning Limbu is a village which lies below *Myan̄luŋ*. Since long ago until now I have been working as a civil servant. Working as a civil servant is what we call good.

¹ *jāgīra* Nep. civil service, a job with H.M.G., a steady job.

To wander about the villages, talk and converse with the people is very good.

Meeting with village elders

Kappo·ba: *khεnε? ma·ŋgha kε-yuŋ-be-n-nc. an·ge kɔ?o·*
 you^s faraway AP-live-AP-ABS-be weP^o here
tamphula kε-yuŋ-ba-sige. kε-ya·mbɔk-?ille
Tamphulā AP-live-AP-be your^s-work-ERG
co·g-u-lle ani ɔkkhe·lɔ?rik a-dum-ε. allo
 do-3-SUB wePⁱ in_this_way 1-meet-PT now
ani phu-nusa-e·kke. wa·-m?
 wePⁱ elder_brother-younger_sibling-as be-INF
bo·ŋ. allo· kappo·ba-ha?-re pa·tt-u-m-be! anige
 EXIG now elder-p-ERG speak-3P-pA-e weP^e
sa?-dhik-nu cum co·k-nc-tchi-ge pha?aŋ
 child-one-COM friend make-1→2-nsA-e *bhanera*
i·tt-u-m-be. a·kkhe· kε-lɔ? hekke·
 think-3P-pA-e how 2-say like_that
kε-dεn-ni·? kε-n-dεn-nεn-ni·?
 2-agree-Q 2-NEG-agree-NEG-Q

the author: *tεn-?ε.*

concur-1sPS/NPT

Kappo·ba: *kɔtna kheps-ε?! anchige kappo·ba-ha?-re*
 here listen-IMP we^{de} elder-p-ERG
pa·t-ch-u-ge-ba pa·n-in kε-dεl-lɔ po·ŋ.
 speak-dA-3P-e-NOM word-ABS 2-obey-prG EXIG
hckkelle ŋga a-sa? yaŋsarumba khen-nu
 therefore I my-child third_born him-COM
khenchi cum co·k-nc-tchi-ge-lle a·kkhe·
 you^d friend do-1→2-dPS-e-SUB how
kε-lɔ?? kε-dεn-ni· kε-n-dεn-nεn-ni·?
 2-say 2-consent-Q 2-NEG-consent-NEG-Q

translation:

Kappo·ba: You are someone who lives far away. WeP^o are the ones who live here in *Tamphulā*. Because of your work wePⁱ have met in this fashion. Now wePⁱ must be as brothers. Now the elders speakP^e! WeP^e have decided that we shall make friends (1nse→2) with a child. What do you say to that? Do you agree or don't you?

the author: I concur.

Kappo·ba: Listen here! You *must* agree to what we^{de} elders say. So, we shall join you^d with him, my third-born son, in friendship. What do you say to that? Do you consent or don't you?

Changing the subject

background:

Relatives tried to sell millet brandy to *Nārāyaṇ*'s mother and her friend at an outrageous price. *Nārāyaṇ*'s mother refused to buy it at that price and was offended by the fact that they tried to sell the millet brandy to her at such a price. After she left in silence they sent someone after her with a gourd of millet brandy to make up for the insult. Upon hearing what his mother has to say, *Nārāyaṇ* shares his mother's indignation.

There is a long-standing dispute between *Nārāyaṇ* and his youngest sister about the way the youngest sister cooks when *Nārāyaṇ*'s mother is not there to cook. She adds too much garlic and salt to *Nārāyaṇ*'s taste.

Nārāyaṇ's mother: *ke-mba ta-lle aṅga koṅ*
 your^s-father come-SUB I this
ke-nnakpa-re soṅs-u hekyaṅ aṅga iṅ-u-ṅ bi--ne
 your^s-nephew¹-ERG sell-3P then I buy-3P-1sA give-1→2
mett-u. heṅaṅ meṅ-na·k-ma?? niṅsaṅ phuk-ṅna-be-n
 say_to-3P why NEG-ask_for-INF fun spoil-PP-NOM-ABS
kho--mna. habε, suk?aṅ suk.
 get-1peAS/PT cry-PT sob-and sob.

Nārāyaṅ: *nasi yaṅ kho--me-lle heṅaṅ meṅ-yu?-ma??*
 five rupee get-INF-SUB why NEG-bring_down-INF

Nārāyaṅ's mother: *habha kheṅ-le ku-meṅ bhəri-saṅ*
 like_that she-ERG its-price *bharī*²-even
nuba. swa?l yy-aṅ me-n-de--baṅ ro·
 good silently come_down-1sPS/PT NEG-NEG-take-1s→3 ASS
mett-u-ṅ. hekyaṅ ko?yo· yy-aṅ-ille
 say_to-3P so down_here come_down-1sPS/PT-SUB

¹ Ego's brother's son (female speaking).

² *bharī* Nep., wholly, completely.

indre·-niʔ-re se·dzɔŋwa iŋ-u-aŋ pi·r-aŋ.
 Indra-CTR-ERG millet_brandy buy-3P-pfG give-1sPS/PT
khɛŋbe·la phuŋwaʔl me-hɔks-w-aŋ me-ya·g-ɛ.
 at_that_time gourd nsAS-search-3P-pfG nsAS-be-PT
Nārāyaŋ: hɛnaŋ me-hɔks-u-ba? kərə nu, dzay
 why nsAS-look_for-3P-IPF but be_alright jay
dzay rɔk po·ŋ-lɔ.
 jay³ only be-OPT
Nārāyaŋ's mother: yummaʔl-ʔo· yum ke-akt-u-m-mi·ʔ
 vegetables-LOC salt 2-add-3P-pA-Q
Nārāyaŋ: mɛn-ak-ʔe· wa·. pho·kwa-mɛ-lle
 npG-add-npG be youngest_born-f/NOM-ERG
akt-u-lle yum lak-lɔ rɔk co·g-u.
 add-3P-SUB salt be_salty-prG only do-3P
Pho·kwama: mɛl-lak-ŋna gɔ· a-sira me-dhaŋ-nɛn.
 NP-be_salty-NP then my-pleasure NEG-come_up-NEG
Nārāyaŋ's mother: yum ke-dza-ba-re cutt-aʔm-ɛʔ-yaŋ
 salt AP-eat-AP-VOC sprinkle-2p-IMP-pfG
cy-amm-ɛʔ.
 eat-2p-IMP
Pho·kwama: cut-my-aŋ ca-mna-bɛ-n kudzanu-i·ʔ
 sprinkle-INF-pfG eat-PP-NOM-ABS be_delicious-Q
hɛkyaŋ gɔ·ʔ
 and_then then
Nārāyaŋ: ando· lɔkthik muʔi cutt-ɛʔ-aŋ cy-ɛʔ!
 later one fist sprinkle-IMP-pfG eat-IMP
kudzanu-i·ʔ me-nu-nɛn-ni·ʔ
 be_delicious-Q NEG-be_delicious-NEG-Q
Pho·kwama: a·ci kɔbhrɔk-ʔi·ʔ
 ācī⁴ only_this_much-Q
Nārāyaŋ's mother: mɛna-re me-dzutt-w-e· me-dzɔ.
 man-ERG nsAS-sprinkle-3P-EMPH nsAS-eat
thik-le ke-lak-pa me-dzɔ.
 one-ERG AP-be_salty-AP nsAS-eat
thiksemmɛ-lle mɛn-lak-ŋna medzɔ.
 the_other-ERG NP-be_salty-NP nsAS-eat

translation:

Nārāyaŋ's mother: "When your father comes, I'll..., your nephew is selling and I'll buy it and give it to you," she said to her. Why [should we] not ask for it? All

³ *jay* Nep., hurrah.

⁴ *ācī* Nep., yuck.

we^{pe} got was spoilt fun. She cried, sob-sob.

Nārāyaṇ: If she got five rupees, why not bring it down?

Nārāyaṇ's mother: [She went on] like that [saying], "Its price is completely good." I told her, "I came down without saying a word, [but] I didn't take it [at that price]!" So on my way down here, *Indra* (of all people) bought millet brandy and gave it to me. At that time they were looking for an [empty] gourd.

Nārāyaṇ: What were they doing that for? But alright, let it be just 'three cheers' [for them].

Nārāyaṇ's mother: Have you^p added salt to the vegetables?

Nārāyaṇ: No, we haven't. If youngest-born adds salt, she only makes it too salty.

Pho·kwama: I don't like it unsalted.

Nārāyaṇ's mother: Salt eaters, sprinkle a little bit and eat!

Pho·kwama: [sarcastically] Does what you eat taste good when you sprinkle a little bit? Well then?

Nārāyaṇ: [sarcastically] Well, then sprinkle a fistfull [of salt] later and eat it! Will it taste good or won't it?

Pho·kwama: [sarcastically] Yuck! only this much?! (i.e. only a fist-full?)

Nārāyaṇ's mother: [placating] People sprinkle a little and eat. Some eat it salty, others eat it unsalty.

Mendicant

Sarumba: *him-bhitra la·ʔl phaʔaṅ kis-aṅ*
house-inside enter *bhanera* be_{afraid}-1sPS/PT
sy-aṅ. pa·n-mε-n-cha·p-paṅ.
die-1sPS/PT call_{to}-NEG-NEG-call_{to}-1s→3/PT
ku-ha·n tha·ps-u. "i···" loʔr-ε.
her-tooth-ABS show-3P "eee" say-PT

Yaṅsarumba: *a·kkhya·k tɔṅbe· ke-yo·-ma co·g-ε?*
how_{many} year AP-reach-AP/f be-PT
khɔda·kmi co·g-ε-i·, hendza? co·g-ε-i·?
adult be-PT-Q child be-PT-Q

Sarumba: *menhya kusin loʔr-ε.*
maiden like appear-PT

Yaṅsarumba: *hen co·g-ε-aṅ yuṅ-ε? kɔk-ʔaṅ kɔtt-w-i·?*
what do-PT-pfG sit-PT burden-too have-3P-Q

Sarumba: *henṅ mε-gɔtt-u-n.*
nothing NEG-have-3P-NEG

Yaṅsarumba: *pɔ·tthan khuks-w-aṅ way-ε-i·?*
pachyaurā drape_{about}-3P-pfG be-PT-Q

Sarumba: *ã*.

yes

Yansarumba: *a·kdanba pɔ·tthan̄ khuks-w-an*
 what_kind_of pachyaurā drape_about-3P-pfG
way-ε?
 be-PT

Sarumba: *hiktan̄ba co·g-ε.*
 greenish be-PT

Yansarumba: *hen co·g-ε-an̄ way-ε?*
 what do-PT-pfG be-PT

Sarumba: *han̄s-an̄-ba la?ba.*
 wait_for-1sPS/PT-IPF probably

Yansarumba: *hekyan̄ ando· ando· pe·g-ε-i· mε-be·g-ε-n-ni·?*
 then later later go-PT-Q NEG-go-PT-NEG-Q
pe·g-ε-ba ke-nis-w-i·?
 go-PT-NOM 2-see-3P-Q

Sarumba: *mε-n-ni-ban̄. sapla ni·r-u-η-an̄*
 NEG-NEG-see-1sPS/PT book read-3P-1sA-pfG
ips-an̄.
 sleep-1sPS/PT

Yansarumba: [to Yamba] *khene? ta·ndik biha·ndik a·kkhen*
 you^s tomorrow morning how_much
muk-?ille ke-yu? ta·ndik sammyan̄ ke-wa·p-ma-ha?
 strike-SUB 2-come_down tomorrow gold AP-wear-AP/f-p

naksa co·k-m? bo·η. kumakla kubhōra ri·l¹
 picture make-INF EXIG black white film
ke-gott-w-i·?
 2-have-3P-Q

Yamba: *ã*.

yeah

Yansarumba: *allo im-m· po·η la?ba.*
 now sleep-INF EXIG probably

translation:

Sarumba: I was scared to death that she might come in, [so] I didn't call to her. She showed her teeth. She did "eee..." (the speaker imitates the mendicant who looked inside, peering about with her lips curled up baring her teeth.)

Yansarumba: How old a one was she? Was she an adult or a child?

¹ *ri·l* < Nep. *rīl* < Eng. 'reel', i.e. roll of film.

Sarumba: She seemed like a maiden.

Yaṅsarumba: What did she sit there doing? Did she have a burden?

Sarumba: She didn't have anything.

Yaṅsarumba: Was she draped in a *pachyaurā*?

Sarumba: Yes.

Yaṅsarumba: What kind of *pachyaurā* was she draped in?

Sarumba: It was a greenish one.

Yaṅsarumba: What was she doing?

Sarumba: She was probably waiting for me.

Yaṅsarumba: Well, did she go away later on or didn't she? Did you see her go away?

Sarumba: I didn't. I read a book and fell sleep.

Yaṅsarumba: [to *Yamba*] At what time are you coming down tomorrow morning? You have to take photographs of the women wearing gold tomorrow. Do you have a black and white film?

Yamba: Yes.

Yaṅsarumba: Now it's probably time to go to bed.

The Jackal and the Goat

Yaṅsarumba: *kheŋ menda?-in ca·lɔm-se ye--aŋ*
that goat-ABS graze-SUP come_down/PT-pfG

way-ε. hɛkkelle syaʔl-ille nis-u-waŋ haʔr-u-waŋ
be-PT therefore jackal-ERG see-3P-pfG bite-3P-pfG

seʔr-u. menda?-in an·ge--n me·nduk.
kill-3P goat-ABS ours^{pe}-GEN/ABS NOT

na·pmi-rɛ-n khunchi-menda?. kheŋ menda?-re
someone_else-GEN-ABS their-goat that goat-GEN

ku-sa ca-maʔ nu-?. hɛkkelle mɔna-re
3s-meat eat-INF be_alright-DEF therefore man-ERG

mɛ-dzɔ mɛ-n-dzɔ-nɛn-naŋ.
nsAS-eat nsAS-NEG-eat-NEG-pfG

Yamba: *khɛnɛ? a·kkhyeŋ kɛ-lɛ·s-u?*
you* how 2s-know-3P

Yaṅsarumba: *anga a·kkhyeŋ lɛ·s-u-ŋ phɛlle nɛtchi mɔna-re*
I how know-3P-1sA bhane two man-ERG

ande· syaʔ1-ille haʔr-an ya·g-ε-1le nis-ε-tch-u.
 earlier jackal-ERG bite-pfG be-PT-SUB see-PT-dA-3P

hekyaŋ kheŋhaʔ nepmaŋ pe·-si-an na·b-ε-tch-u.
 and_then they both go/PT-dPS-pfG drive_off-PT-dA-3P

hekyaŋ lam-ʔo·-dhak lo·tt-ε-tch-u-waŋ ne·s-ε-tch-u.
 and_then road-LOC-ALL remove-PT-dA-3P-pfG put-PT-dA-3P

koʔna anige-him-mo· pheʔr-ε-tchi-an "e·-1le
 hither our^P-house-LOC come-PT-dPS-pfG who-GEN

ku-mendaʔ-thik syaʔ1-ille haʔr-u-waŋ seʔr-u"
 his-goat-one jackal-ERG bite-3P-pfG kill-3P

loʔr-ε-tchi. kheŋ kheps-u-ŋ-an aŋga se·ndo·s-u-ŋ
 say-PT-dPS that hear-3P-1sA-pfG I ask-3P-1sA

"e·-1le ku-mendaʔ? a·kdaŋba co·g-ε?"
 who-GEN 3s-goat what_kind_of be-PT

mett-u-ŋ-si-ŋ-ille kheŋhaʔ-re pa·tt-ε-tch-u.
 say_to-3P-1sA-nsP-1sA-SUB they-ERG say-PT-dA-3P

"kheŋ mendaʔ-in go· ku-mak-la ku-bho-ra
 that goat-ABS hmm COL-black-COL COL-white-COL

ke-bhup-pa co·k. yamba me-dzo·k-nen cuk-cukpa dzo·k"
 AP-mix-AP be big NEG-be-NEG small-small be

loʔr-ε-tchi. hekyaŋ aŋga lo·kt-an-an
 say-PT-dPS and_then I run-1sPS/PT-pfG

pe·g-an-ille kheŋ mendaʔ-in ammu co-waŋ ya·g-ε.
 go-1sPS/PT-SUB that goat-ABS again eat/3P-pfG be-PT

aŋga pe·g-an nume·nnu kheŋ syaʔ1-εn
 I go-1sPS/PT forthwith that jackal-ABS

na·tt-u-ŋ de·s-u-ŋ. mendaʔ-in
 drive_away-3P-1sA dispatch-3P-1sA goat-ABS

poʔks-u-ŋ-an yuʔr-u-ŋ. koʔbhrək.
 carry-3P-1sA-pfG bring_down-3P-1sA this_much_only.

translation:

speaker A: That goat had come down to graze. So, the jackal saw it, bit it and killed it. The goat is not ours. It's somebody else's goat. It's alright to eat that goat's meat. So, some people will eat it, whereas others will not.

speaker B: How do you know that?

speaker A: How I know is that earlier two men had seen the jackal biting. And then they both went and drove it off. And then they removed it [viz. the goat] and brought it up as far as the road. Then they came here to our house and said 'Whose one goat has the jackal bitten to death?' Hearing that, I asked 'Whose goat? What kind was it?' Having put this to them, they said, 'The goat was mottled black and white.' They said, 'It wasn't big; it was rather small.' And then I ran and, as I went, it [the jackal] was eating that goat again. I went immediately and drove that jackal away. I carried the goat and brought it down. That's all.

Short Conversation between *Kānchī*
and a Visitor

- Kānchī*: *məkwə kɛ-dhuŋ-w-i·?*
tea 2-drink-3P-Q
- Visitor: *andə· thuf-u-ŋ.*
before drink-3P-1sA
- Kānchī*: *ammu kɛ-dhuŋ-w-i·?*
again 2-drink-3P-Q
- Visitor: *ã, thuf-u-ŋ.*
yes drink-3P-1sA
- Kānchī*: *ho·p-pa.*
not_be-IPF
- Visitor: *həkke· gɔrɔ, mɛ-dhuŋ-ʔɛ-n.*
like_that if NEG-drink-1s→3/NPT-NEG

translation:

- Kānchī*: Will you have some tea?
- Visitor: I have already drunk tea.
- Kānchī*: Would you like some more?
- Visitor: Alright then, I shall have some more.
- Kānchī*: There isn't any.
- Visitor: Well, in that case, I shan't drink any tea.

The Road to *Ilām*

kɔʔo--nu ila·m pe·k-maʔ netchi sumsi ya·n la·bdzo·k.
 here-COM *Ilām* go-INF two three day take

kɔʔo--nu pe·k-mɛ-lle saŋmaŋ-e saŋmaŋ pe·k-maʔ po·ŋ.
 here-COM go-INF-SUB downhill-EMPH downhill go-INF EXIG

kheʔo--nu ammu tha·ŋmaŋ-e tha·ŋmaŋ pe·k-my-aŋ ciʔ
 there-COM again uphill-EMPH uphill go-INF-pfG little_bit

pɛrɛm pe·k-my-aŋ yasɔk a-geʔl. kheʔo· kɛrɛk yakthunba
 level go-INF-pfG *Yāsok* 1-arrive there all Limbu

pa·ŋbhe· co·k. hekyaŋ kheʔo--nu pe·k-maʔ-e pe·k-ma-lle
 village be then there-COM go-INF-EMPH go-INF-SUB

netchi sumsi ya·n-le ila·m a-geʔl. ila·m-ʔo· yamba
 two three day-GEN *Ilām* 1-arrive *Ilām*-LOC big

pa·ŋdzum dzo·k. kheʔo· kheŋ ila·m-ʔo· yamba ciyaba·ri¹
 bazar be there that *Ilām*-LOC big tea_garden

ne·.
 be_situated

translation:

It takes two or three days to get to *Ilām* from here. Going from here one has to keep on going downhill a long ways. After going steeply uphill from there for quite a ways and then proceeding level for a little bit, one will arrive in *Yāsok*. There all the villages are Limbu. Then if you keep on going from there, you'll get to *Ilām* in two or three days. In *Ilām* there is a big bazar. There in that *Ilām*, big tea plantations are located.

¹ < Nep. *ciyābārī* 'tea garden'.

Vulgar Prattle by *Candra Hāñ*

kε-me·ʔl, a·kdanba hira co·k?
lɔ lɔʔ-ille hɛn mɛp-maʔʔ?
hɔtt-u-i·-ba?
hɔtt-u-ba-i·?
tɛn-ni·-ba?

3. Myth and Legend

Creation and the Origins of Man
 narrated by *Netra Bahādur Paṅyangu*

anche· anche· hɛn aŋ ho·pt-ε. hɛn aŋ hɛn aŋ
 before before what also not_be-PT what also what also

ho·pt-ε. hɛkkelle some·t-tin ke·dzɔŋ lɔk mu way-ε.
 not_be-PT therefore air-ABS gale only REP be-PT

hɛkkelle gɔ· cwaʔl lɔk ne·s-ε.
 therefore then water only sit-PT

tataɾɛn-ninwa-bhu-man-in i·t-chin. la·b-bhɛrik
 Tataɾɛn-mind-white-god-ABS think-REF moon-mandhanī

nam-bhɛrik kube· uks-u. hɛkkelle uks-u-lle mu
 sun-mandhanī start pull-3P therefore pull-3P-SUB REP

la·b-ne·tti nam-ne·tti cupsaŋ-diŋ uks-u-lle
 moon-churning sun-churning right-toward pull-3P-SUB

la·b-butthuŋ nam-butthuŋ kheŋ cwaʔl-o·-lam lɔ·nd-ε.
 moon-foam sun-foam that water-LOC-MED emerge-PT

sidoʔl lɔ·nd-ε-yaŋ kheŋ ku-butthuŋwa-·n anche· kheŋ-in
 much emerge-3P-pfG that its-foam-ABS before that-ABS

kha·m po·ks-ε. hɛkyaŋ iks-u-lle ku-butthuŋwa-·n
 dirt become-PT and_then pull-3P-SUB its-foam-ABS

kε-bim-bɛ-n thegumaŋwa po·ks-ε mu. hɛkyaŋ
 AP-splash_up-AP-ABS mountain_ranges become-PT REP and_then

thegumanwa menchamdiŋ-yamna·pmi me·ʔe·
 mountain_ranges sentient_man-incarnate_man without

kha·mbe·k me-ghemd-u-n. hekyaŋ
 earth NEG-suit-3P-NEG and_then

po·ro·t-mi-yambha-mi-maŋ-in tataren-niŋwa-bhu-maŋ-ʔo·
 hanging-tail-large-tail-god-ABS Tataren-mind-white-god-LOC

se·ndo·-se se·llap-se pe· ro·. hekyaŋ
 ask-SUP inquire-SUP go/PT ASS and_then

tataren-niŋwa-phu-maŋ-ille "sammyaŋ-nu yuʔpa phutt-εʔ-aŋ
 Tataren-mind-white-god-ERG gold-and silver mix-IMP-and

məna coʔiʔl co·g-εʔ" mett-u-waŋ po·ro·ʔl-mi-maŋ-in "yammu
 man image make-IMP say-3P-and hanging-tail-god-ABS again

koŋna pheʔr-εʔ". hekyaŋ sammyaŋ-nu yuʔpa phutt-u-waŋ
 hither come-IMP and_then gold-and silver mix-3P-and

menchamdiŋ-yamna·pmi co·g-u-waŋ sa·ŋgo· sɔkma
 sentient_man-incarnate_man make-3P-and life_force breath

ke·tt-u kərə hekyaŋ pa·ncha·tt-u. huhu mett-u
 put_in-3P but and_then call_to-3P hoo-hoo say_to-3P

haha mett-u kərə me-ba·ʔr-ε-n. hekyaŋ yammu
 ha-ha say_to-3P but NEG-speak-PT-NEG and_then again

tataren-niŋwa-bhuman-ʔo· se·ndo·-se·llap-se pe·g-ε.
 Tataren-mind-white-god-LOC ask-inquire-SUP go-PT

"sammyaŋ yuʔpa phuks-u-ŋ-aŋ ya·mna·pmi co·g-u-ŋ.
 gold silver blend-3P-1sA-pfG incarnate_man make-3P-1sA

hekkelle huhu haha mett-u-ŋ sa·ŋgo· sɔkma
 then hoo-hoo ha-ha say_to-3P-1sA life-force breath

ke·tt-u-ŋ kərə me-ba·ʔr-ε-n. allo ŋga a·kkhe·
 put_in-3P-1sA but NEG-speak-PT-NEG now I how

co·g-u-ŋ." phaʔaŋ "yammu ŋga se·ndo·-se·llap-se
 do-3P-1sA bhane again I ask-inquire-SUP

pheʔr-aŋ" mett-u. "hekke· goɔɔ"
 come-1sPS/PT say_to-3P like_that if

tataren-ninwa-bhu-man-ille "tho·-gɔɔ-tho· la·sa· lepman
Tataren-mind-white-god-ERG way_up_there Lhasa toward

pe·-ʔ-an semikla-khappu yu·r-εʔ yo·-gɔɔ-yo·
go-IMP-and reed-ash bring_down-IMP way_down_below

tɔʔigɛnnamge·piba pe·g-εʔ-an waʔ-hi phett-εʔ.
to_the_northeast go-IMP-and chicken-shit fetch-IMP

hekke· sɔʔr-εʔ-an menchamdiŋ-yamna·pmi-cɔʔiʔl
that_way knead-IMP-and sentient_man-incarnate_man-image

co·g-εʔ. hekyaŋ pa·ncha·tt-εʔ" mett-u bhench-u.
make-IMP and_then call_to-IMP say_to-3P send-3P

hekyaŋ khiŋ pa·tt-u-ba kusin naragen menchamdiŋ-cɔʔiʔl
and_then that say-3P-NOM like figure sentient_man-image

co·g-u. hekyaŋ huhu mett-u haha mett-u. huhu
make-3P and_then hoo-hoo say_to-3P ha-ha say_to-3P hoo-hoo

mett-u-lle hu lɔʔr-ε, haha mett-u-lle ha lɔʔr-ε.
say_to-3P-SUB hoo say-PT ha-ha say_to-3P-SUB ha say-PT

"e· --- hekke· gɔɔ khɛnɛʔ sammyaŋ-nu yuʔpa
hey! like_that if you^s gold-and silver

phuks-u-ŋ-an mɛna co·g-u-ŋ-an pa·ncha·t-nɛ-lle
blend-3P-1sA-pfG man make-3P-1sA-pfG call_to-1→2-SUB

ke-m-ba·ʔr-ε-n. thappu-nu waʔ-hi ka·ŋs-u-ŋ-an
2-NEG-speak-PT-NEG ash-and chicken-shit mould-3P-1sA-pfG

menchamdiŋ-yamna·pmi co·g-u-ŋ-an pa·nchat-nɛ-lle
sentient_man-incarnate_man make-3P-1sA-pfG call-1→2-SUB

ke-ba·ʔr-ε. thukka mett-u-ŋ."
2-speak-PT curse say_to-3P-1sA

translation:

A long, long time ago, there was nothing. There was nothing, nothing at all. And so, it is said, the air was only in a state of tempest. And so, below there was only water. The immaculate-minded god Tataræn reflected. He then began to churn the waters to the left (lunar churn) and to the right (solar churn). And so, it is said that as he was churning, alternately pulling at the lunar string and at the solar string, as he was churning in a clockwise direction, lunar foam [originating from the left] and solar foam [originating from the right] emerged from that water. A great amount came out, and that very foam long ago became the land. Then it is said that, as he churned, the foam splashing up became the mountain ranges. And so, the mountain ranges came into existence, but there being no sentient incarnate man, the earth appeared unseemly. So, the hanging-tail-large-tailed god went to ask and to inquire of the immaculate-minded Tataræn. And so, the immaculate-minded god Tataræn said to the hanging-tailed god, "Mix gold and silver together, and make the image of man! And then come back here." And so, he mixed gold and silver and created the image of sentient incarnate man and instilled life force and breath into him, but then he called to him: He said 'hoo-hoo' to him, and he said 'ha-ha' to him, but it did not speak. Then he went again to ask and to inquire of the immaculate-minded god Tataræn. He said to him, "Having mixed gold and silver together, I made incarnate man. And so, I said 'hoo-hoo' and 'ha-ha' and instilled life force and breath into him, but he spoke not. Now what am I to do? Again I have come to ask and inquire." "In that case," said the immaculate-minded god Tataræn, "Go way up high in the direction of Lhasa, and bring from there the ash of reeds, and go way down below eastward to whence the sun rises [which is the abode of many deities], and fetch chicken-shit. Knead it like this and make the image of sentient incarnate man. And then, call to him!" he said and dispatched him. And so, he made the embodied image of sentient man in the manner he had been told. And then he said 'hoo-hoo' to him, and he said 'ha-ha' to him. As he said 'hoo-hoo' to him, he responded 'hoo'. As he said 'ha-ha' to him, he responded 'ha'. [Then the hanging-tail-large-tailed god exclaimed:] "Oh, if that be the case, when I mixed gold and silver and made you man and called you, you did not speak. When I moulded ashes and chicken guano and created [from it] the image of sentient incarnate man and called to you, you spoke. I curse him [viz. man]!"

The Mortality of Man

A Limbu myth in which primordial Man, a hunter-gatherer endowed with supernatural powers, offends the gods with whom he undertakes to hunt. He becomes bereft of his supernatural powers and is banned, after which Man assumes the role of sedentary agriculturalist. Today only certain individuals still occasionally display some of the supernatural powers which Man once possessed.

anche·-ba mənə-ha? sika·r-rək mə-dzo·g-u mə-dze·.
before-NOM man-p hunting-only nsAS-do-3P nsAS-SUS/PT

e·?yəŋba ya·mbək mə-n-dzo·g-ε-n. maŋ-ha?-re
another work nsAS-NEG-do-PT-NEG deity-p-GEN

khunchi-ba·ni cu·ci? cu·ci? rək ca-ma? way-ε.
their-habit little_bit little_bit only eat-INF be-PT

anche· anche· maŋ-ba·la·-lle ləkthik mənə-re maŋ-ille
before before deity-period-GEN one man-ERG deity-GEN

ku-sa?-dhik, menchuma·n, biha· co·g-u-waŋ həkkelle
his-child-one lady-ABS marriage do-3P-pfG therefore

maŋ-nu so·-so·rik mə-way-ε. maŋ-ha?-nu mənə
god-COM together-together nsAS-be-PT deity-p-COM man

sika·r mə-dzo·g-u mə-dze·. thik ya·n maŋ-ha?-re
hunting nsAS-do-3P nsAS-SUS/PT one day deity-p-ERG

ləkthik puša?l-thik sə?-ma? pha?aŋ mə-na·tt-u.
one birdie-one kill-INF bhanera nsAS-chase_after-3P

mə-na·tt-u-mə-na·tt-u-lle mənə-lle
nsAS-chase_after-3P-nsAS-chase_after-3P-SUB man-GEN

ku-be·sə?-o· puša?l-in te·. mənə-lle ɔ·mott-u.
his-vicinity-LOC birdie-ABS come/PT man-ERG look-3P

"kəŋya·psa puša?l-thik a·tto·-lam te·?" khəŋ mənə-lle
such_a_small birdie-one where-MED come/PT that man-GEN

ku-liʔ-ille hipt-u-ser-u-waŋ ku-sukwa-ʔo·
his-slingshot-INST strike-3P-kill-3P-pfG his-bag-LOC

akt-u. hɛkkelle maŋ-haʔ mɛ-lo·kt-ɛ-rɔ mɛ-de·. hɛkyaŋ
put-3P and_so deity-p nsAS-run-PT-prG nsAS-come/PT then

mɛna-·n sɛ·n-mɛ-do·s-u "anige na·tt-u-m-be-ba pu-·n
man-ABS ask-nsAS-ask-3P weP^o chase-3P-pA-e-NOM bird-ABS

kɔʔo· te·. kɛ-nis-w-i·ʔ" "a·kdaŋba puʔ aŋga
here come/PT 2-see-3P-Q what_kind_of bird I

mɛ-n-ni-baŋ. yɔmba-i· cukpa-i·ʔ" "maŋbhaya·ppa."
NEG-NEG-see-1s→3/PT big-Q small-Q medium-sized

hɛkyaŋ mɛna-lle hɛkke· ku-sukwa-ʔo·-lam
and_then man-ERG like_that his-bag-LOC-MED

lɔ·tt-u-waŋ o·nda·kt-u-si. "kɔŋ-i·ʔ" mɛtt-u-si.
take_out-3P-and show-3P-nsP this-Q say_to-3P-nsP

hɛkkelle maŋ-haʔ mɛ-sɔtt-ɛ-rɔ "ho·! habha
and_so deity-p nsAS-rejoice-PT-prG hey! such

kɔŋ-in-chaʔ" mɛ-lɔʔr-ɛ. kheŋ mɛ-la·b-u
this-ABS-EMPH nsAS-say-PT that nsAS-singe-3P

mɛ-dhe·s-u-waŋ mɛna-·n ku-səbɔŋba-dhik mɛ-bi·r-u.
nsAS-gut-3P-pfG man-ABS its-thigh-one nsAS-give-3P

hɛkyaŋ maŋ-haʔ mɛ-be·g-ɛ. mɛna-lle ku-niŋwa-ʔo· i·tt-u
and_then deity-p nsAS-go-PT man-GEN his-mind-LOC think-3P

"kɔŋ maŋ-haʔ a·kdaŋba-si kɔŋya·psa pu-·n
this deity-p what_kind_of-be such_a_small bird-ABS

attitti mɛ-na·tt-u-waŋ mɛ-ya·kʔ" hɛkke·
so_intensely nsAS-chase-3P-pfG nsAS-be like_that

i·tt-u-rɔ him-ʔo· pe·g-ɛ. him-ʔo· ku-me·ʔ1-in
think-3P-prG home-LOC go-PT home-LOC his-wife-ABS

tha·ktha·g-ɛ-rɔ ya·g-ɛ. mɛna-lle ku-sikwa-ʔo·-lam kheŋ
weave-PT-prG be-PT man-ERG his-bag-LOC-MED that

pu-lle ku-səbɔŋbɛ-n lɔ·tt-u-waŋ ku-me·ʔ1-in
bird-GEN its-thigh-ABS remove-3P-pfG his-wife-ABS

lapphe·s-u pi·r-u-rə ku-me·ʔl-in mett-u "kəŋ
 fling-3P give-3P-prG his-wife-ABS say_to-3P this

kε-maiti kε-mphu-
 your-maiden_household your-older_brother-

kε-nsa-re kε-m-hakt-ε-ba." hεkkelle
 your-younger_sibling-ERG 2-nsAS-send_to-PT-NOM therefore

gə· pusaʔl-ille ku-laŋ-ille ku-me·ʔl-ille ku-səbəŋba-ʔə·
 then birdie-GEN its-leg-INST his-wife-GEN her-thigh-LOC

yaŋs-u-waŋ ku-səbəŋbe-n lənd-ε rəcə. allo
 strike-3P-pfG her-thigh-ABS become_dislocated-PT DEPR now

hen po·ks-ε phaʔaŋ ku-mphu-ku-nsa
 what happen-PT bhane her-elder_brother-her-younger_sibling

ku-maiti-haʔ mε-u·tt-u-si hεkyaŋ
 her-maiden_household-p nsAS-summon-3P-nsP. and_then

mε-de·-yaŋ ku-nchammaba-haʔ-re
 nsAS-come/PT-pfG her-male_siblings-p-ERG

ə·-mε-mətt-u-lle pu-lle ku-laŋ-ille mənchuma-lle
 look-nsAS-look-3P-SUB bird-GEN its-leg-INST lady-GEN

ku-laŋ-in lənd-ε-rə co·g-u rəcə. hεkyaŋ
 her-leg-ABS become_dislocated-PT-prG do-3P DEPR and_then

maŋ-haʔ sa·rik khunchi-yak lεʔr-ε. "allo kəŋ mənə-haʔ-nu
 deity-p very their-anger arise-PT now this man-p-COM

wa·-ma mε-nu-nən ləcə. allo kəŋ mənə-nu
 live-INF NEG-be_alright-NEG DEPR now this man-COM

sεm-mʔ bo·ŋ" mε-ləʔr-ε-yaŋ mənə·n-naŋ
 split_up-INF EXIG nsAS-say-PT-pfg man-ABS-also

mε-mett-u kərə mənə-lle a·kkhya·k
 nsAS-say_to-3P but man-ERG how_much

mε-dənd-ε-n-chaŋ "sεm-me·n" phaʔaŋ
 NEG-agree-PT-NEG-even split_up-NOT bhanera

mett-u-si-saŋ maŋ-haʔ mε-dənd-ε-n. hεkyaŋ kələ·m
 say_to-3P-nsP-even deity-p NEG-agree-PT-NEG and_then lots

tɛʔl-haʔ-phɛkwa-haʔ mɛ-da·r-u-waŋ mik-thɛk-thɛk
 leaf-p-foliage-p nsAS-bring-3P-pfG eye-cover_up-cover_up

mɛ-dzo·g-u-lle atin tɛʔl-haʔ-phɛkwa-ry-aŋ
 nsAS-do-3P-SUB which leaf-p-foliage-ERG-also

mɛ-dhɛkt-u-n. kərə ando· kətəʔwa-lle
 NEG-cover_up-3P-NEG but afterward fern-INST

mik-thɛk-thɛk mɛ-dzo·g-u-lle mənə-lle maŋ-haʔ
 eye-cover_up-cover_up nsAS-do-3P-SUB man-ERG deity-p

mɛ-nis-u-n-chi-n. hɛkyaŋ maŋ-haʔ-re "allo ani
 NEG-see-3P-NEG-nsP-NEG and_then deity-p-ERG now wePⁱ

abhelle·-yaŋ a-n-dum-nɛn. a-dum gɔrɔ phɛdzikkum-
 when-also 1-NEG-meet-NEG 1-meet if sorcerers-

phe·daŋ-nu-rɔk a-dum lo·" mɛ-lɔʔr-ɛ-yaŋ
 shaman-COM-only 1-meet ASS nsAS-say-PT-pfG

mɛ-mɔy-ɛ mɛ-ghɛr-ɛ. hɛkyaŋ-dho· mənə-nu maŋ
 nsAS-get_lost-PT nsAS-RES-PT then-since man-COM deity

a-n-dum-nɛn-ba.
 1-NEG-meet-NEG-IPF.

epilogue:

allo·-ba mənə-ry-aŋ ma·ŋgha langhe·k-mʔ po·ŋ gɔrɔ
 now-NOM man-ERG-also far walk-INF EXIG if

hendzaʔbitcha-re khunchi-thɛge·k-ʔo· kətəʔwa
 children-ERG their-head-LOC fern

mɛ-sips-u-si mɛ-bi·r-u-si hənəŋbhelle kətəʔwa
 nsAS-insert-3P-nsP-nsAS give-3P-nsP because fern

sim-my-aŋ ɔŋʔə·kwa hendzaʔbitcha
 insert-INF-pfG infant children

sisam-henyawɛnya-haʔ-re mɛ-n-nis-u-n-chi-n.
 ghost-etcetera-p-ERG nsAS-NEG-see-3P-NEG-nsP-NEG

sisam-henyawɛnya-haʔ-re a-m-ni gɔrɔ a-m-haʔ.
 ghost-etcetera-p-ERG 1-nsAS-see if 1-nsAS-afflict

translation:

Ancient men only went a hunting [for a living]. They did no other work. It was the custom of the gods to eat only a very very little bit. A long long time ago, in the era of the gods, one man had married a certain daughter of a god. And so, man lived together with the gods. It was man's habit to go hunting together with the gods. One day, the gods were chasing after a certain small bird so as to kill it. As they were chasing it, the little bird landed in the vicinity of the man. The man looked at it, [thinking:] "Where could such a small fledgling-bird have come from?" That man struck it with his slingshot [using the slingshot as a little club] and killed it and put it into his bag. And then, the gods came running up. And they asked the man, "The bird which we were chasing came this way. Did you see it?" [The man countered:] "What kind of bird? I haven't seen it. Was it a large one or a small one?" "It was a medium-sized one", [they said.] And so, the man took it out of his bag like this and showed it to them. "This one?" he said to them [incredulously]. And so, the gods said, rejoicing, "Hey, it's this very one!" When they had singed off its feathers and gutted it, they gave the man one of its thighs. And then the man went off. The man thought to himself, "What kind of [beings] are these gods anyway that they go about chasing fiercely after such a small bird?" Thinking thus, he went home. At home, his wife was weaving. The man took that bird's thigh from his bag and, flinging it to his wife, said to her " This is what your brothers, elder and younger, and the members of your maiden household have sent to you." But then, when the bird's leg struck his wife's thigh, it became dislocated! So what happened was that they called her brothers, elder and younger, and the members of her maiden household. And then, having come, as her brothers looked, [they saw that] the bird's leg had dislodged the lady's leg. Therefore, the gods grew fiercely angered, "Now, it is clear that it is no good to live with these mortals. Now we must take leave of these mortals," they said and told it to the man likewise. but however much the man disagreed, saying to them "Let us not split up!", the gods would not concur. And so, they brought lots of leaves and foliage and covering [his] eyes with them, [it appeared that] not any of the types of foliage could blind-fold him. But afterwards covering [his] eyes with a fern frond, the man was unable to see the gods. And so, the gods

said, " Now, we shall never meet again. If we meet, we shall only meet with sorcerers and shamans," and vanished. From that time onward, the gods do not meet with us men.

epilogue:

[Because presentday disembodied spirits are believed to have the same powers of vision as primordial man in the above myth, the following practice is observed in *Limbu-vān*:]

Today's man, too, if it be that he must walk far, inserts and fastens fern fronds to [the backs of] children's heads because, after having inserted and fastened fern fronds, disembodied spirits, ghosts and phantoms cannot see them. If disembodied spirits, ghosts and phantoms see you, they will afflict you.

The Legend of *Myanluṅ*

te·rathum dzilla-?o· myanluṅ pa·ṅphe· ne·. kheṅ
Tehrathum district-LOC *Myāṅgluṅ* village be_situated that

pa·ṅphe·-?in a·kkhyeṅ ke-iṅ-ba po·ks-ε bhelle
village-ABS how AP-be_known-AP become-PT *bhane*

kṅ-le loṅthik mundhum-dhik wa·. kheṅ hem-bhelle anche·
this-GEN one story-one be that what-*bhane* before

anche· kṅ?o·-nu kṅk-ke-gu·-ba-ha? dhara·n me-be·k
before here-COM load-AP-carry-AP-p *Dharān* nsAS-go

me-dhaṅ-ille yo·suma lam-mo·-nu laṅ-me-ghe·?g-ε.
nsAS-come_up-SUB lower road-LOC-COM walk-nsAS-walk-PT

allṅ-saṅ yo·suma lam-mo·-nu ye· laṅ-me-ghe·k. hekkelle
low-even lower road-LOC-COM EMPH walk-nsAS-walk and_so

thik ya·n hen po·ks-ε bhelle sumsi kṅk-ke-gu·-ba-ha?...
one day what happen-PT *bhane* three load-AP-carry-AP-p

khurkuṭe aha·l-ille koṅnana? phu?ku-dhik
Khurkuṭe reservoir-GEN close_to_here cave-one

ne·. lam-ille ku-be·se?·?o· cauta·ra· ne·.
be_situated road-GEN its-vicinity-LOC bench be_situated

kheʔo· nerik khiŋ sumsi kək-ke-gu--ba-haʔ me-yuŋ-siŋ-ε.
 there about those three load-AP-carry-AP-p nsAS-sit-REF-PT

kheʔo· tək tho·k-maʔ ca-maʔ-re la·gi sumsi mənə-haʔ
 there rice cook-INF eat-INF-GEN for three man-p

sumsi-bisaŋ me-dha--siŋ-ε-aŋ lək-ləkthik luŋ
 three-directions nsAS-drop-REF-PT-pfg one-one rock

me-da·r-u. ləkthik cumdhik siŋ hən-se pe·g-ε.
 nsAS-bring-3P one friend-one wood look_for-SUP go-PT

e·ʔyənba cum-dhik cwaʔl pha·t-che pe·g-ε. ləkthik
 other friend-one water fetch-SUP go-PT one

cum-dhik-le culo· co·g-u-waŋ mi tupt-u. hekyaŋ
 friend-one-ERG stove make-3P-and fire kindle-3P and_then

tək tho·k-maʔ me-he·kt-ε. tək-ʔin lakt-u-rə
 rice cook-INF nsAS-begin-PT rice-ABS boil-3P-prG

pətch-ε-lle ləkthik luŋ-dhik attitti yaŋ he·kt-ε.
 be-PT-SUB one rock-one intensely tremble begin-PT

hekyaŋ "hen-nin po·ks-ε gə·ʔ hen-nin po·ks-ε gə·ʔ"
 and_then what-ABS happen-PT then what-ABS happen-PT then

me-ləʔr-ε-rə ə--me-mətt-u-lle attitti
 nsAS-say-PT-prG look-nsAS-look-3P-SUB intensely

yaks-ε-ba me-nis-u. hekyaŋ ləkthik-le ku-sakken
 tremble-PT-NOM nsAS-see-3P and_then one-GEN his-anger

po·g-ε-aŋ phedza·n tərək lə·tt-u-waŋ khiŋ
 arise-PT-and knife-ABS all_of_a_sudden take_out-3P-pfg that

luŋ-in cept-u. hekkelle gə· khiŋ luŋ-in dzhan
 stone-ABS cut-3P and_so then that stone-ABS even_more

sa·rik yaks-ε-rə "myaŋ myaŋ" ləʔ he·kt-ε. khiŋ
 very tremble-PT-prG meow meow say begin-PT that

luŋ-ʔo--nu attitti ma·khi lə·nd-ε. "hen-nin po·ks-ε
 rock-LOC-COM intensely blood exude-PT what-ABS happen-PT

gə·ʔ" me-ləʔr-ε-yaŋ attitti me-ə·kt-ε-lle
 then nsAS-say-PT-pfg intensely nsAS-scream-PT-SUB

pa·ŋphe·-?o·-ba kerek me-dzups-ε-yaŋ me-de·.
village-LOC-NOM all nsAS-crowd-PT-pfG nsAS-come/PT

hekkelle khenha? kerek me-ghet-chiŋ-ε-aŋ me-be·.
therefore they all nsAS-chase-REF-PT-pfG nsAS-go/PT

kheŋ luŋ-in-naŋ "myaŋ myaŋ" loʔr-ε-ro ke-ghet-chiŋ-ba
that rock-ABS-also meow meow say-PT-prG AP-chase-REF-AP

məna-ha? na·tt-u-si. habha kheŋ luŋ-in ke·b
man-p drive_away-3P-nsP like_that that stone-ABS tiger

po·ks-ε-aŋ kheŋ ke-dzep-pa məna·n ug-u-waŋ ser-u.
become-PT-pfG that AP-cut-AP man-ABS claw-3P-pfG kill-3P

e·?yaŋba netchi məna-ha? pa·ŋphe·-?o·-ba-ha?-re
other two man-p village-LOC-NOM-p-ERG

me-dems-u-si-yaŋ "kheni an·ge-maŋ-in okkhe·
nsAS-catch-3P-nsP-pfG youP our^o-deity-ABS like_this

ke-mett-u-m" me-loʔr-ε-yaŋ kheŋ netchi
2-do_onto-3P-pA nsAS-sat-PT-pfG that two

kək-ke-gu·-ba-ha? yo· ko·si-?o·
load-AP-carry-AP-p below Kosī-LOC

me-de·ʔr-u-si-yaŋ wa-me-de·nd-u-si.
nsAS-take_away-3P-nsP-pfG let_be_taken_away_by_the_current-

okdanba
nsAS-let_be_taken_away_by_the_current-3P-nsP this_kind_of

po·ks-ε-ba tuksi yenchi ya·n-le kheŋ pa·ŋphe·-?o·-ba
happen-PT-IPF six eight day-GEN that village-LOC-NOM

kerek-nulle kappo·ba-dhik sepmaŋ-me·-?o· kheŋ-maŋ-ille
all-than old_man-one dream-in-LOC that-deity-ERG

mett-u rəcə. "aŋga hara koʔo·-nu na·pmi te·ʔr-ε?
say_to-3P DEPR I quickly here-COM other take_away-IMP

simha de·bi maŋ-?ε" mett-u rəcə. hekyan kheŋ
lion goddess deity-am say_to-3P DEPR and_so that

kappo·be-ille biha·ndik po·g-ε-yaŋ kheʔo·-ba yamba
old_man-ERG in_the_morning get_up-PT-pfG there-NOM big

məna-ha? *kərək mətt-u-si* "səpman-me--ʔo· *anɡa*
 man-p all say_{to}-3P-nsP dream-in-LOC I

əkdanba *nis-u-ŋ* *kəŋ ɡo· maŋ rəçə.*" "ani *kərək*
 this_kind_of see-3P-1sA this then deity DEPR weP¹ all

po·ks-i-an *yun-ma-dən* *co·g-u-m"* *mɛ-lɔʔr-ɛ.*
 become-p/ADH-pfG sit-INF-place make-3P-pA nsAS-say-PT

həkyaŋ *kheʔo·-ba* *yəmba-yəmba* *cukpa* *kərək*
 then there-NOM big-big small everybody

mɛ-bo·ks-ɛ-an *mun-ŋ·na-ba* *badza-nu* *ʔo·li*
 nsAS-become-PT-pfG play-PP-NOM instrument-COM palanquin

mɛ-dzo·g-u-waŋ *ʔo·li-ʔo·-nu* *attitti*
 nsAS-make-3P-pfG palanquin-LOC-COM intensely

dzanti-nu *khurkuʔe·* *cauta·ra·-ʔo·-ba*
 members_of_a_procession-COM *Khurkuʔe* *Cautārā*-LOC-NOM

pipəl-ʔo· *mɛ-yuks-u.* *kheŋ* *ya·n-naŋ* *kərək* *məna-ha?*
*Pīpal*_fig-LOC nsAS-put-3P that day-too all man-p

se·wa *co·k-m·* *mɛ-he·kt-ɛ.* *kheŋ* *mɛ-yuks-u-ba* *ci?*
 obeisance do-INF nsAS-begin-PT that nsAS-put-3P-NOM a_few

ya·n-le *ɔ·-mɛ-mətt-u-lle* *kheŋ* *luŋ-in* *na·*
 day-GEN look_at-nsAS-look_at-3P-SUB that rock-ABS there

khīp-siŋ-pe·-aŋ *ya·g-ɛ.* *kheŋ* *mɛ-nis-u-lle* *dzhan*
 stick-REF-go/PT-pfG be-PT that nsAS-see-3P-SUB even_more

ude·k *mɛ-bo·ks-ɛ.* "kəŋ *ɡo·* *kucase·* *maŋ* *rəçə*"
 amazement nsAS-become-PT this then verily deity DEPR

mɛ-lɔʔr-ɛ-yaŋ *kheŋ-ʔo·* *nurik* *mɛ-dzo·g-u* *mɛ-bu·r-u.*
 nsAS-say-PT-pfG that-LOC well nsAS-do-3P nsAS-give-3P

kheŋ *luŋ-ʔo·* *mɛ-dzɛpt-u-ba* *allɔ-saŋ* *ni-he·ʔ-deʔl.* *kheŋ*
 that rock-LOC nsAS-cut-3P-NOM now-even see-be_able-PAS that

luŋ-in "myaŋ myaŋ" *lɔʔr-ɛ-yaŋ* *kheŋ* *pə·ŋphe·-ʔille*
 rock-ABS meow meow say-PT-pfG that village-GEN

ku-miŋ-aŋ *myaŋluŋ* *mɛ-yuks-u-ba.* *myaŋluŋ* *bhelle*
 its-name-too *Myāṅgluṅ* nsAS-put-3P-IPF *Myāṅgluṅ* *bhane*

hem-bhelle. myaṅ bhelle pe·ni-ba·n-nu bira·lo· luṅ
 what-bhane myaṅ bhane Nepali-language-COM cat luṅ

bhelle ḍhunga. kheṅ miṅ-ille allo-saṅ ke-iṅ-ba
 bhane rock that name-ERG now-even AP-be_known-AP

co·g-u-waṅ ku-miṅ-aṅ myaṅluṅ me-yuks-u-ba.
 make-3P-pfG its-name-too *Myāṅgluṅ* nsAS-put-3P-IPF

translation:

In Tehrathum District lies the village of *Myāṅgluṅ*. There is a story of how that village became famous. How does this story go? Well, long long ago, when the porters used to come and go to *Dharān*, they went by the lower road. They still walk by this lower road even to this day. So, one day what happened is that three porters... on the near side of the *Khurkuṭe* pond there is a cave. Next to the road there is a stone bench. Round about there those three porters sat themselves down. In order to cook rice and eat at that place the three men went off in three directions and each one of them brought back a rock. One of the friends went to look for wood. Another one of the friends went to fetch water. One of the friends made the fireplace and lit the fire. Then, they started to cook the rice. As the rice was boiling one of the rocks began to tremble intensely. Then saying "What's happening? What's happening?", as they looked, they say it trembling intensely. Then one of them became angry and all of sudden drew his khukuri and chopped that stone. And so, that stone, trembling even more fiercely, began to say "meow, meow". And the rock bled profusely. "What is happening?" they said, and as they cried intensely, the villagers all came and assembled. So, they [viz. the porters] all ran and went away. Even as that rock was saying "meow, meow", it drove away the running men. Just like that, that stone turned into a tiger and scratched and killed the man who had cut it. The villagers caught the other two men and said "You^p have done like this unto our^e god!" and took those two porters down below to the *Kosī* and let them be carried off by the current.

It happened like this that about six or eight days later, the oldest man of that village in a dream was spoken to by that goddess. It appears that she said to him, "Take me away from here quickly. I am the *Simha Devī* goddess." So when that old man woke up in the morning, he summoned all the local important men [and said], "In a dream I saw that

this is really a deity." They said, "Let's all assemble and build a place for her." So the local men, all the really important men and even the small, got together and made musical instruments and a palanquin and in a vast procession brought her in the palanquin to the *Pīpal* fig at *Khurhuṭe Cautārā*. On that very day, men began to proffer their obeisance to her. After a few days, as they looked on to what they had situated there, that rock rejoined itself together into one piece. When they saw that, they were even more amazed. They said "This verily appears to be a genuine deity", and they made it very nice there. The wound where they had cut into that rock can still be seen to this very day. Since that rock said "meow, meow", they also named that village *Myanluṅ*. What does *Myanluṅ* mean? *Myan* means *birālo* (i.e. cat) in Nepali and *luṅ* means *ḍhuṅgā* (i.e. rock). That name has made it (viz. the village) famous to this very day, and so they have retained the name *Myanluṅ*.

4. Fable

The Jackal and the Camel

anche· anche· mu ya·kkha-?o· ləkthik sya?l-dhik mu
before before REP jungle-LOC one jackal-one REP

way-ε. e·klai rok way-ε. ta·ndi ta·ndi thikkhe? ləkthik
be-PT alone only be-PT later later once one

ũṭha-nu tum-ε-tchi. həkyaṅ sya?l-nu ũṭha khunchi
camel-COM meet-PT-dPS and_then jackal-COM camel they^d

cum co·g-ε-tch-u. həkyaṅ sa·rik nurik ya·kkha-?o·
friend be-PT-dA-3P then very nice jungle-LOC

khunchi təṅ-ε-tchi-aṅ way-ε-tchi. thik-təṅ
they^d get_together-PT-dPS-pfG be-PT-dPS one-time

sya?l-εn i·r-ε-ro pe·k-le thik tən-no· ke·?r-ε.
jackal-ABS wander-PT-prG go-SUB one place-LOC arrive-PT

khε?o· ke·mba wabak-thik nε·s-ε. khεṅ-le
there long pond-one be_situated-PT that-GEN

na·ndhan so·ʔ1-gha·ri. syaʔ1-le i·tt-u
 opposite_side sugar_cane-thicket jackal-ERG think-3P

na·ndhan a·kkhyeŋ pe·k-maʔ. hɛkke·ʔ1ɔ·rik i·tt-u-rɔ
 far_side how go-INF In_that_fashion think-3P-prG

yuŋ-ille ku-ndzum-in te·. hɛkyan syaʔ1-ille
 sit-SUB his-friend-ABS come/PT then jackal-ERG

ku-ndzum-in mett-u "na· ɔ·mɔtt-εʔ a·kkhya·k
 his-friend-ABS say_to-3P there look-IMP how_much

so·ʔ1 yuŋ! anchi khɛtna pi-tchi-aŋ ca-s-u! se·k
 sugar_cane sit we^{di} there go-dADH-and eat-dADH-3P hunger

la·kt-ε." hɛn-aŋ kho·-he·ʔ-mɛ-dɛtt-ε-n. hɛkyan
 be_in_effect what-also find-can-NEG-PAS-PT-NEG then

ũʔh-ille kudzɔŋ-ʔo· ku-ʔe·k-ʔo· syaʔ1-ɛn la·s-ε.
 camel-ERG on_top-LOC his-back-LOC jackal-ABS enter-PT

hɛkyan ũʔh-ille wabak-ʔo· syaʔ1-ɛn mɛn-hum-ʔe· na·ndhan
 then camel-ERG pond-LOC jackal-ABS npG-sink-npG far_side

lɔ·tt-u. hɛkyan syaʔ1-le-nu ũʔh-ille so·ʔ1-in
 take_out-3P then jackal-ERG-COM camel-ERG sugar_cane-ABS

yəllik cɛ·s-u. syaʔ1-ille ku-sappo·k-ʔin
 much eat/PT-dA-3P jackal-GEN its-belly-ABS

cukt-ε-ba po·ks-ε-lle hara kha·s-ε kərə
 be_small-PT-IPF be-PT-INST quickly be_sated-PT but

ũʔh-ɛn mɛŋ-gha·-ʔe· way-ε. syaʔ1-ille ũʔh-ɛn
 camel-ABS npG-be_sated-npG be-PT jackal-ERG camel-ABS

mett-u, "aŋgaʔ əgɔ· kha·s-aŋ kha·-ʔeime·nni·
 say_to-3P I then be_sated-1sPS/PT be_sated-?¹

ɔ·kmaʔ rɔk lɛ·s-u-ŋ." lɔʔr-ε-ŋ "hu hu" lɔʔrik ɔ·kt-ε.
 cry-INF only know-3P-1sA say-PT-pfG hoo-hoo saying shout-PT

¹ unanalysed form, meaning 'after having become sated',
 Nep. *aghāī pachi*.

ku-ndzum ũṭh-ille "mɛn-ɔ·k-ʔɛʔ" mɛtt-u-saŋ
 his-friend camel-ERG NEG-shout-IMP say_to-3P-even

mɛ-dɛnd-ɛ-n. hɛkyaŋ ɔ·kt-ɛ sɔpma-dziʔ-aŋ so·ʔl-ille
 NEG-obey-PT-NEG then cry-PT moment-few-and sugar_cane-GEN

ku-ndhaŋba mɔna-haʔ mɛ-de. hɛkkelle ũṭh-ille
 its-proprietor man-p nsAS-come/PT so camel-ERG

so·ʔl-in cɔ-waŋ ya·g-ɛ-ba mɛ-nis-u. hɛkyaŋ
 sugar_cane-ABS eat/3s→3s-PAR be-PT-IPF nsAS-see-3P then

ũṭh-ɛn sa·rik mɛ-lɔ·ps-u mɛ-hipt-u. syaʔl-lɛn-dza·ĩ
 camel-ABS very nsAS-lynch-3P nsAS-hit-3P jackal-ABS-IND

ande· sa ciŋ-siŋ-ɛ-aŋ mɛ-n-nis-u-n. hɛn-aŋ
 before EMPH hide-REF-PT-pfG nsAS-NEG-see-3P-NEG what-also

mɛ-m-mɛtt-u-n. ando· ando· ũṭh-ɛn i·r-ɛ-rɔ
 nsAS-NEG-do_unto-3P-NEG later later camel-ABS wander-PT-prG

i·r-ɛ-rɔ wabak ku-be·sɛʔ-ʔo. te. hɛkkelle gɔ·
 wander-PT-prG pond its-viceinity-LOC come/PT so then

syaʔl-ɛn-aŋ te. ku-ndzum ũṭh-ɛn nis-u-aŋ
 jackal-ABS-too come/PT his-friend camel-ABS see-3P-and

nurik kɛ-mɛp-pa lɛŋ-siŋ-lɔ ku-ndzum-ʔin se·ndo·s-u
 nice AP-do-AP turn-REF-prG his-friend-ABS ask-3P

"sa·rik kɛ-m-hipt-ɛ-i. i cidziʔ rɔk-ʔi·ʔ"
 very 2-nsAS-hit-PT-Q or little_bit only-Q

mɛtt-u-rɔ lɛ·m hɛ·kt-u. kɔtna ũṭh-ɛn-ca·ĩ "ɔkdaŋba
 say_to-3P-PAR seduce begin-3P hither camel-ABS-IND such_a

cum kɛ-dzo·k rɛcə" phaʔaŋ nis-u. hɛkyaŋ "aŋga-ʔaŋ
 friend 2-be DEPR bhanera see-3P then I-too

kums-u-ŋ" phaʔaŋ ku-niŋwa-ʔo. i·tt-u. hɛkyaŋ
 avenge_oneself-3P-1sA bhanera his-mind-LOC think-3P then

cumdzum po·ks-ɛ-tchi-aŋ wabak-ʔo. la·s-ɛ-tchi.
 friend-friend become-PT-dPS-pfG pond-LOC enter-PT-dPS

syaʔl-lɛn ũṭh-ille ku-dzɔŋ-ʔo. sɔtt-ɛ-rɔ la·s-ɛ.
 jackal-ABS camel-GEN his-top-LOC rejoice-PT-prG enter-PT

wabak-ille kubhren keʔr-ε-tchi-ille ũṭh-ille syaʔl-εn
pond-GEN its-half arrive-PT-dPS-SUB camel-ERG jackal-ABS

mett-u "anɡaʔ əɡɔ· kha·-ʔε-η wadzak-maʔ ba·ni
say_to-3P I then be_sated-1sPS/NPT-pfG swim-INF habit

kott-u-η. allo wadzak-ʔε ro·" mett-u. syaʔl-ille
have-3P-1sA now swim-1sPS/NPT ASS say_to-3P jackal-ERG

a·kkhya·k le·m-u-saη me-dend-ε-n.
how_much sweat_talk-3P-even NEG-consent-PT-NEG

syaʔl-lεn-dza·ĩ kis-ε-aη yaη he·kt-ε
jackal-ABS-IND be_afraid-PT-pfG tremble begin-PT

kərə-saη ũṭh-εn wadzag-ε. ũṭh-εn wadzag-ε-ille
but-even camel-ABS swim-PT camel-ABS swim-PT-SUB

syaʔl-εn ɡɔ· cwaʔl-ille pɔks-u te·ʔr-u.
jackal-ABS then water-ERG take_away-3P take_away-3P

hekyan-dho· ũṭh-ille e·n-nu-aη cum me-dzo·ɡ-ε-n.
and_then-since camel-ERG who-COM-too friend NEG-make-PT-NEG

e·kle· rɔk way-ε. syaʔl-lεn-dza·ĩ kha·-yaη ɔ·k-maʔ
alone only be-PT jackal-ABS-IND be_sated-and cry-INF

ku-ba·ni me-lεʔr-u-n.
his-habit NEG-give_up-3P-NEG

translation:

It is said that long ago there was a certain jackal in the jungle. He was all by himself. Then once, some time later, he met with a camel. And the jackal and the camel made friends. Then they got together in a very nice jungle and stayed there. One time as the jackal was going wandering about, he came to a certain place. There was a long pond, and at its far end a sugar cane thicket. The jackal thought of how to get the opposite side. As he sat thinking in this fashion, his friend showed up. And the jackal said to his friend, "Look there how much sugar cane there is! Let's go over there and eat it! I'm hungry." Yet none of it was to be got at. So, the jackal got on top of the camel, on his back. Then without the jackal sinking, the camel secured

the opposite shore. Then the jackal and the camel ate lots of the sugar cane. The jackal's stomach being small, however, he was quickly sated, but the camel was not full. The jackal said to the camel, "I am full, and after I have eaten my fill the only thing I know to do is howl," and saying this he began to cry, saying "hoo hoo". Even though his friend the camel said to him, "do not howl!", he would not obey. And so, he howled. Then after a few moments the proprietors of the sugar cane showed up. So, they saw that the camel was still eating the sugar cane. Then they hit the camel and gave him quite a beating. The jackal, however, had already concealed himself so they did not see him, and they did not do a thing to him.

A long time later, as he was wandering about, the camel arrived at the edge of the pond. Then after a little while, the jackal showed up too. Seeing his friend and assuming the air of a nice-doer, he asked his friend, "did they hit you alot or just a little bit?", which having said, he began to sweat-talk the camel. At this point the camel realized, "This is what kind of friend you are." Then he thought in his mind, "I shall get back at him too." Then having become friends [again] they entered into the pond. The jackal got on top of the camel rejoicing. When they had arrived at the middle of the pond, the camel said to the jackal, "I have the habit of swimming when I get full." "Now, I'm going to have a swim!" he said. However much the jackal sweat-talked him, he didn't listen. Even though the jackal grew afraid and started to tremble, the camel swam. As the camel swam, the jackal was taken away and carried off by the water. Ever since, the camel has not made friends with anybody. He is all by himself. And the jackal has not abandoned his habit of crying when he has eaten his fill.

The Fox and the Tiger

thik ya·n syaʔl-thik-nu ke·b-dhik way-ε-tchi. kɛŋhaʔ
 one day jackal-one-COM tiger-one be-PT-dPS they

sika·r co·k-mʔ niŋwa co·g-ε-tchi-yaŋ sika·r co·k-se
 hunting do-INF idea do-PT-dPS-pfG hunting do-SUP

pe·g-ε-tchi. ta·mbhuŋ-ʔo· takond-ε-tchi takond-ε-tchi-lle
 go-PT-dPS jungle-LOC stroll-PT-dPS stroll-PT-dPS-SUB

gɔ· piʔl-thik nis-ε-tch-u. khiŋ piʔl-in gɔ· ke·b-ille
 then cow-one see-PT-dA-3P that cow-ABS then tiger-ERG

ser-u. hekyan syaʔl-en mett-u "allo kheneʔ ku-hen-in
 kill-3P then jackal-ABS say-3P now you^s its-what-ABS

ke-bɔks-u?" syaʔl-ille "ku-bhɔksɔ·-n pɔks-u-ŋ"
 2-carry-3P jackal-ERG its-lungs-ABS carry-3P-1sA

pa·tt-u henanbhelle kɔŋ syaʔl-en ca·ppa co·g-ε.
 say-3P because this jackal-ABS clever be-PT

ke·b-ille piʔl-in the·s-u-waŋ ku-bhɔksɔ·-n
 tiger-ERG cow-ABS eviscerate-3P-pfG its-lungs-ABS

lɔ·tt-u pi·r-u. hekyan "allo him-ʔɔ·
 take_out-3P give-3P then now house-LOC

te·ʔ-s-u-waŋ pi-tchi!" mett-u. hekyan nepmadzan
 take_away-dA-3P-and go-dPS say_to-3P then both

him-lepsaŋ tha·-net-chi kərə ke·b-en hara him-ʔɔ·
 house-toward drop-REF-dPS but tiger-ABS quickly house-LOC

keʔr-ε-yaŋ ku-ndzum syaʔl-en idik haŋs-u-yaŋ
 arrive-PT-pfG his-friend jackal-ABS a_long_time wait-3P-and

lɔk ando· ando· te·. syaʔl-ille pɔks-u-ba
 only later later come/PT jackal-ERG carry-3P-NOM

ku-bhɔksɔ·-n lamlam uks-u-rɔ ta·r-u-lle lam-ʔɔ·
 its-lungs-ABS on_the_way drag-3P-prG bring-3P-SUB road-LOC

ke-yuŋ-ba yərik ti·ŋ-haʔ-re khiŋ ku-bhɔksɔ·-n
 AP-sit-AP many thorn-p-ERG that its-lungs-ABS

ug-u-waŋ khiŋ ku-bhɔksɔ·-lle-n ku-sɔkmana·m-il-lɔk
 scratch-3P-pfG that its-lung-GEN-ABS its-trachea-ABS-only

nɔr-ε-yaŋ taʔr-u. khiŋ ku-sɔkmana·m-il-lɔk ke·b-ille
 be_left-PT-pfG bring-3P that its-trachea-ABS-only tiger-ERG

nis-u-waŋ "e·ʔyaŋba sa-haʔ a·tto· ke-sɔ?" phaŋ
 see-3P-pfG other meat-p where 2-deliver/3P bhanera

syaʔl-en pa·n mett-u-lle gɔ· syaʔl-ille pa·tt-u
 jackal-ABS word say_to-3P-SUB then jackal-ERG say-3P

"*lamlam yərik a-ndzum-a-nde·ŋ-ha? me-way-ε. khɛŋha?*
 one_the_way many my-friends-my-buddy-p nsAS-be-PT they

kerek cyə?cyə? ha·tt-u-ŋ-si-ŋ-ŋaŋ
 all in_small_amounts distribute_to-3P-1sA-nsP-1sA-pfG

kəŋ ku-səkmana·m-il-lək nər-ε".
 this its-trachea-ABS-only be_left_over-PT

translation:

One day there was a jackal and a tiger. They got the idea of going hunting and went off to hunt. As they strolled about in the jungle, they saw a cow. So the tiger killed that cow. Then he said to the jackal, "Now what part of it are you going to carry?" The jackal said, "I'll carry its lungs" because this jackal was clever. The tiger gutted the cow and took out its lungs. Then [the tiger] said to [the jackal], "Now let's take it home and go!" Then they both headed homeward, but the tiger quickly arrived at the house and only when he had waited a long time for his friend the jackal did he come much later. As the jackal brought [the lungs], dragging the lungs that he carried along the road, the many thorns which were on the road tore at those lungs so that only the trachea of those lungs remained and [that's what] he brought. When the tiger saw only that trachea, and when he demanded of the jackal, "Where have you delivered the other pieces of meat?", the jackal replied, "There were many of my buddies on the road. I distributed it all to them in small amounts. Only this trachea is left."

5. Anecdotes

Radio

anche· anche· ləkthik yakthuŋ-ma kapmo·ma-dhik-le
 before before one Limbu-f/NOM elderly-one-GEN

ku-sa?, yembitcha-dhik, way-ε. khɛŋ ku-sa-·n britiʃ
 her-child man-one be-PT that her-son-ABS British

a·rmi-ʔo· pe·g-ε. yaŋsi ku-him-ʔo· nu·ks-ε-lle
 Army-LOC go-PT afterwards his-house-LOC return-PT-SUB

lɔkthik re·diyo·-dhik ta·r-u. həkyaŋ khεŋ re·diyo·-n
 one radio-one bring-3P then that radio-ABS

a-mma-re khεpsurɔ bhaʔaŋ samlo·-mε-n lɔ·tt-u
 my-mother-ERG hear-3P-OPT bhanera sing-INF-ABS take_out-3P

pi·r-u-aŋ ku-mma tɔk tho·kt-ε-ba-dεn-ʔo·
 give-3P-pfG his-mother rice cook-PT-IPF-place-LOC

ku-mma-re ku-be·sεʔ-o· yuks-u pi·r-u-aŋ khunεʔ
 his-mother-GEN her-vicinity-LOC place-3P give-3P-pfG he

takɔn-che pe·gε. khεŋ re·diyo·-n sɔpma-dziʔ khεps-u-lle
 stroll-SUP go-PT that radio-ABS moment-few hear-3P-SUB

gɔ· re·diyo·-lle pa·tt-u-bε-n
 then radio-ERG say-3P-NOM-ABS

kusiŋ-mε-ni·tt-u-n, kərə khεŋ re·diyo·-n
 understand-NEG-understand-3P-NEG but that radio-ABS

ca·rik-ʔe· ɔ·kt-ε nε·s-ε. pa·ʔr-ε nε·s-ε-ba rɔk
 very-EMPH scream-PT sit-PT speak-PT sit-PT-NOM only

khεps-u. həkyaŋ khunεʔ i·tt-u "kɔŋ-le ca·rik-ʔe·
 hear-3P so she think-3P this-GEN very-EMPH

ku-se·ʔl la·kt-ε". həkyaŋ khunεʔ khεŋ re·diyo·-n tɔk
 its-hunger apply-PT then she that radio-ABS rice

yummaʔl sa kεrεk kεrεk "kɔŋ-in cy-εʔ!"
 vegetables meat everything everything this-ABS eat-IMP

phaʔaŋ yuks-u pi·r-u, kərə khεŋ re·diyo·-lle mεn-dza-ʔe·
 bhanera place-3P give-3P but that radio-ERG npG-eat-npG

ɔ·kt-ε pa·ʔr-ε nε·s-ε-ba rɔk. yammu khεps-u. hεkkelle
 scream-PT speak-PT sit-PT-IPF only again hear-3P so

gɔ· khεŋ kapmo·-mε-lle ku-sik cigεʔ cigεʔ
 then that elderly-f/NOM-GEN her-irritation very very

lɔʔr-ε-yaŋ ku-yak lεʔr-ε kɔŋ-le
 well_up-PT-pfG her-anger become_unleashed-PT this-ERG

hen-nin na·ktuba phaʔaŋ ɔ·kte. ca·rik-ʔe· ku-yak
 what-ABS request-3P-IPF whether cry-PT very-EMPH her-anger

leʔr-ε-yaŋ tokkaʔl-thik-le kheŋ re·diyo·-n
 become_unleashed-PT-pfG stick-one-GEN that radio-ABS

ca·rik hipt-u. hekkelle kheŋ re·diyo·-n pheʔlaʔr-ε-yaŋ
 very hit-3P so that radio-ABS spoil-PT-pfG

pa·t-maʔ na·ʔr-ε. pa·t-mʔ na·ʔr-ε-be-n
 speak-INF give_up-PT speak-INF give_up-PT-NOM-ABS

nis-u-waŋ "kəŋ-le kəŋ-e· na·kt-u-ba rəcə" phaʔaŋ
 see-3P-pfG this-ERG this-EMPH request-3P-IPF DEPR *bhanera*

i·tt-u. sɔpmaŋ ku-sa·-n te·-yaŋ ku-mma·-n
 think-3P in_a_moment her-son-ABS come/PT-pfG her-mother-ABS

se·ndo·s-u. "a-mm-o· re·diyo·n khai? a·tto· wa·ʔ"
 ask-3P my-mother-VOC radio-ABS *khai*¹ where be

phaʔaŋ se·ndo·s-u-lle ande·-ba pa·n-in kerək mett-u.
bhanera ask-3P-SUB earlier-NOM word-ABS all tell-3P

hekkelle ku-sa-lle ku-nhi məy-ε.
 so her-son-GEN his-amazement be_aroused-PT

translation:

Once long ago, there was a son of a certain old Limbu lady. That son went into the British Army. Afterwards when he returned home, he brought a radio with him. Then when he had given that radio and tuned it to a song so that his mother might listen to it and had put it down next to his mother in the place where his mother was cooking rice, he went out to stroll. As she listened to the radio for a few moments, she did not understand what the radio was saying, but that radio just kept on screaming loudly. She heard that it only kept on talking. So she thought: "It must be very hungry". So she gave that radio cooked rice, meat, vegetables and everything, saying "Here, eat this!", but that radio, not having eaten a thing, just kept on talking and screaming. Again she listened. So that old lady grew

¹*khai* Nep. interjection expressing not knowing.

increasingly irritated and then became angry and hit that radio severely with a stick. So the radio broke down and gave up talking. When she saw that it had given up talking, she thought, "So, this is what it was asking for." In a few moments her son came back and asked his mother. When he asked his mother, "Mom, what's with the radio? Where is it?", she told him all that had transpired before. Her son was dumbfounded.

Thief

lɔkθhik mən-nuba ya·mbɔk lɔk kɛ-dzo·k-pa kɛ-ghup-pa
one NEG-good work only AP-do-AP AP-steal-AP

hɛndzaʔ-dhik way-ɛ. khɛŋ-le θhik ya·n lɔkθhik mən-a-rɛ-n
boy-one be-PT that-ERG one day one man-GEN-ABS

huk-ʔo· wa·p-mna-bɛ-n khutt-u-waŋ lo·kt-ɛ rəcə.
hand-LOC wear-PP-NOM-ABS steal-3P-pfG run-PT DEPR

hɛkkɛlle khɛŋ mən-a-lle nis-u-waŋ to·pihɛtla-dhik-ʔaŋ
so that man-ERG see-3P-and policeman-one-also

u·tt-u. hɛkyaŋ nɛpphu po·ks-ɛ-tchi-yaŋ khɛŋ kɛ-ghut-pa
call-3P then two become-PT-dPS-pfG that AP-steal-AP

hɛndzaʔ-in na·tt-ɛ-tch-u. na·tt-ɛ-tch-u-ro
boy-ABS chase-PT-dA-3P chase-PT-dA-3P-prG

pɔtch-ɛ-tchi-lle khɛŋ hɛndzaʔ-in ku-him-ʔo·
be-PT-dPS-SUB that boy-ABS his-house-LOC

kɛʔr-ɛ-yaŋ ku-mba hɛn mɛtt-u phɛlle
arrive-PT-pfG his-father what say_to-3P bhane

"a-mb-o· a-mb-o·, ɛn anige sumsi mən-a, aŋga
my-father-VOC my-father-VOC today we^{pe} three man I

a-ndzum-dhik-nu tilinga-dhik-nu, lo·k-ŋna-ba. aŋga
my-friend-one-COM policeman-one-COM run-1peAS/PT-IPF I

nand-u-ŋ-si-ŋ. hɛkyaŋ aŋga huk-ʔo· wa·p-mna-ba-dhik
win-3P-1sA-nsP-1sA then I hand-LOC wear-PP-NOM-one

mε-bi·r-an. *o·mott-ε? gɔ· a-mb-o·!"* *hεkke·*
 nsAS-give-1sPS/PT look-IMP then my-father-VOC thus

pa·tt-u-rɔ *ya·g-ε-lle khεη e·?yanba nεpphu mɔna-ha?-an*
 speak-3P-prG be-PT-SUB that other two man-p-too

kε?r-ε-tchi-lle *gɔ· khεη hεndza?-in khεtchiη khε?r-ε.*
 arrive-PT-dPS-SUB then that boy-ABS run RES-PT

khεη hεndza?-ille ku-mba-in *iηlεkt-u-ba pa·n khεη*
 that boy-ERG his-father-ABS lie-3P-NOM speech that

ya·pmi mɔna-ha?-re hεndza?-ille ku-mba-·n
 other man-p-ERG boy-GEN his-father-ABS

mεtt-ε-tch-u.
 say_to-PT-dA-3P

translation:

There was once a boy who stole and did only bad things. It turned out that one day he stole a man's wristwatch and ran off. So, when the man saw that, he called a policeman too. And then the two of them chased that thieving boy. As they chased him, that boy got home and said to his father, "Father! father! Today, the three of us, me, a friend of mine and a policeman, held a race and I beat them. So they gave me a wristwatch. Look, father!" As he spoke thus, by the time those other two men too arrived, he had run off. The two other men told the boy's father that what that boy had told him had been a lie.

nεpphu hεndza?
 Two Boys

nεpphu hεndza? thik ya·n-le kε-bo·η-ba way-ε-tchi. thik
 two boys one day-GEN AP-be_born-AP be-PT-dPS one

ya·n khεηha? nisa·mhim-?o· pe·g-ε-tchi. khεηha? yetchi
 day they school-LOC go-PT-dPS they eight

tɔηbe· kε?r-ε-tchi-yan way-εtchi. khunchi-siksa·mbe-lle
 years arrive-PT-dPS-pfG be-PT-dPS their-teacher-ERG

kheŋ hendzaʔ-haʔ "a·kkheŋ a·kkheŋ tɔŋbe· ke-geʔr-ε-tchi"
 that boys-p how_many how_many year 2-arrive-PT-dPS

phaʔaŋ se·ndo·s-u-si. thik-le pa·tt-u "anga yetchi tɔŋbe·
bhanera ask-3P-nsP one-ERG say-3P I eight years

keʔr-aŋ" pa·tt-u. thiksəmme-lle pa·tt-u. "anga nusi
 arrive-1sPS/PT say-3P other-ERG say-3P I seven

tɔŋbe· keʔr-aŋ". kɔŋ pa·n-in thik-le kheps-u-aŋ
 year arrive-1sPS/PT this word-ABS one-ERG hear-3P-pfG

"me·n na. anchi go· thik ya·n-le ke-bo·ŋ-ba-si-mu-ba.
 no EMPH we^{di} then one day-GEN AP-be_born-AP-be-REP-IPF

a·kkhelle kheŋeʔ nusi tɔŋbe· rok ke-geʔr-ε? yetchi
 at_what_time you^s seven year only 2-arrive-PT eight

tɔŋbe· a-geʔr-ε-tchi na·" mett-u-lle thiksəmme-lle
 years 1-arrive-PT-dPS EMPH say_to-3P-SUB other-ERG

pa·tt-u "anga əgo· tɔŋbe·-dhik tug-aŋ inna·. hckyan
 say-3P I then year-one be_ill-1sPS/PT EMPH so

nusi tɔŋbe· rok keʔr-aŋ."
 seven years only arrive-1sPS/PT

translation:

There were two boys who had been born on the same day. One day they went to school. They had become eight years old. Their teacher asked those boys, "How many years old are you^d?" One of them said, "I am eight years old." The other said, "I am seven years old." When the first one heard this, he said, "No, silly! we^{di} are said to have been born on the same day. When did you become only seven years of age? We^{di} are eight years old, silly!", to which the other replied, "I was ill for one year, silly. So, I'm only seven years old."

netchi cum - 1
Two Friends

netchi cum way-ε-tchi. kηη-ha? thik ya·n thi·
two friends be-PT-dPS that-p one day beer

thuη-ma? mōtto· co·g-ε-tch-u-waη thi· thuη-se
drink-INF idea do-PT-dA-3P-pfG beer drink-SUP

pe·g-ε-tchi. hēkyan yēllik thi· thuη-ε-tch-u-waη
go-PT-dPS then much beer drink-PT-dA-3P-pfG

mōy-u-si. hēkyan khunchi him-lepsaη tha·-ne-tchi.
inebriate-3P-nsP then they^d house-toward drop-REF-dPS

hēkke·lō?rik him-lepsaη te·-si-rō pōtch-ε-tchi-lle
in_{that}way house-toward come/PT-dPS-prG be-PT-dPS-ERG

ca·rik-?e· wabak-le ku-be·se?-?o· kηη-ε
very-EMPH pond-GEN its-vicinity-LOC fall_{down}-PT

ne·s-ε-tchi. khunchi po·k-ma? me-he·?r-ε-tchi-n-naη
stay-PT-dPS they^d get_{up}-INF NEG-be_{able}-PT-dPS-NEG-pfG

habha kηe?yo· senchen ips-ε-tchi. na·mdata?l
like_{that} there all_{night}long sleep-PT-dPS till_{sunrise}

ne·s-ε-tchi. kha?o·tt-ε-lle lokthik cum ni·t-chiη-ε.
stay-PT-dPS dawn-PT-SUB one friend wake_{up}-REF-PT

hēkkelle go· khunchi wabak pe·se?-?o· nes-ε-tchi-ba
therefore then they^d pond vicinity-LOC stay-PT-dPS-NOM

nis-u. hēkyan ku-ndzum-in "anchi go· men-nuba¹
see-3P then his-friend-ABS we^d_i then NEG-good

wabak-ten-?o· a-nes-ε-tchi rēcə. hara po·g-ε?!
pond-place-LOC 1-stay-PT-dPS DEPR quick get_{up}-IMP

¹ *mennuba*: In Limbu lore it is considered highly inauspicious to spend the night next to a pond because of the malevolent aquatic deities which inhabit such bodies of water.

him-ʔo· pit-chi! anɡa əɡɔ· pe·ɡ-an lo·!" phaʔan
 house-LOC go-dPS I then go-1sPS/PT ASS *bhanera*

ku-ndzum-in mett-u-lle ɡɔ· ku-ndzum
 his-friend-ABS say_to-3P-SUB then his-friend

kε-im-bε-lle "khεnεʔ kε-be·k ɡɔrɔ lamdhe·ʔl-in
 AP-sleep-AP-ERG you^s 2-go if door-ABS

sub-εʔ-an pe·-ʔ!" mett-u.
 shut-IMP-pfG go-IMP say_to-3P

translation:

There once were two friends. One day when they^d had gotten the idea to drink millet beer, they^d went off to drink millet beer. So when they^d had drunk lots of beer, they^d became inebriated. Then they^d headed homeward. As they^d were coming homeward, they^d just collapsed by the side of a pond. They^d could not get up and so slept there the whole night long. They^d remained there until sunrise. As it got light, one friend came to. Then he saw that they^d had been sleeping by the side of a pond. So he said to his friend, "We^di appear to have stayed at the place of an inauspicious pond," to which his sleeping friend responded, "If you go, shut the door behind you!"

netchi cum - 2
 Two Friends

netchi cum way-ε-tchi. kheŋhaʔ ta·mbhuŋ tɔk ca·-se
 two friend be-PT-dPS they jungle rice eat-SUP

khunchi-cum-haʔ-nu pe·ɡ-ε-tchi-yaŋ way-ε-tchi. hekkelle
 their-friend-p-COM go-PT-dPS-pfG be-PT-dPS so

khunchi-cum-haʔ-re yəllik thi· mε-de·ʔr-u-waŋ way-ε rəcə.
 their-friend-p-ERG much beer nsAS-take-3P-pfG be-PT DEPR

kheŋ thi·-n kεrɛk mε-bo·ks-ε-yaŋ mε-dhuŋ-u-lle ɡɔ·
 that beer-ABS all nsAS-be-PT-pfG ns-drink-3P-SUB then

ca·rik-ʔe· kheŋ nepphu cum-haʔ məy-u-si. hekyaŋ
 very-EMPH that two friend-p inebriate-3P-nsP then

ta·mbhuŋ-ʔo·-lam him-lepsaŋ mə-nu·ks-ε. kheŋ nepphu-yaŋ
 jungle-LOC-MED home-toward nsAS-return-PT that two-too

nu·ks-ε-tchi. hekke·lɔʔrik mə-nu·ks-ε-rɔ
 return-PT-dPS In_that_way nsAS-return-PT-prG

mε-bɔtch-ε-lle ca·rik-ʔe· khadam-ε mak lɔʔr-ε.
 nsAS-be-PT-SUB very-EMPH get_dark-PT black appear-PT

kərə-saŋ khunchi him-ʔo· te·-si. kheŋhaʔ-re
 but-even they^d home-LOC come/PT-dPS they-ERG

khunchi-im-maʔ-dɛn na·nhaŋ kɔtna·nhaŋ e·ʔe·
 their-sleep-INF-place that_side this_side separate

nε·s-ε ku-lum-ʔo· mε-bhaŋ-u-ba
 be_situated-PT its-between-LOC nsAS-build_a_wall-3P-IPF

way-ε, kərə khunchi-im-maʔ-dɛn-nin mak lɔʔr-ε-yaŋ
 be-PT but their-sleep-INF-place-ABS black appear-PT-pfG

mε-n-nis-ε-tch-u-n-naŋ lɔkthik-le ku-im-maʔ-dɛn-ʔo·
 nsAS-NEG-see-PT-dA-3P-NEG-pfG one-GEN his-sleep-INF-LOC

la·s-ε-tchi rəcə. hekyaŋ cumdzum
 enter-PT-dPS DEPR then each_other

kusiŋ-mε-ni·t-nɛt-chi-n hɛnaŋbhelle ca·rik-ʔe·
 recognize-NEG-recognize-REF-dPS-NEG because very-EMPH

məy-u-si-yaŋ way-ε. hekyaŋ khunchi i·tt-ε-tch-u
 inebriate-3P-nsP-pfG be-PT then they^d think-PT-dA-3P

"anchige-im-maʔ-dɛn-ʔo· la·s-ε-tchi-ge-yaŋ ya·k-si-ge"
 our^{de}-sleep-INF-place-LOC enter-PT-dPS-e-pfG be-dPS-e

phaʔaŋ i·tt-ε-tch-u kərə lɔkthik-le ku-im-maʔ-dɛn
bhanera think-PT-dA-3P but one-GEN his-sleep-INF-place

la·s-ε-tchi kərə kusiŋ-mε-ni·t-nɛt-chi-n-naŋ
 enter-PT-dPS but recognize-NEG-recognize-REF-dPS-NEG-pfG

nɛpmadzaŋ ɔ·kt-ε-tchi "anga a-im-maʔ-dɛn-ʔo·
 both scream-PT-dPS I my-sleep-INF-place-LOC

e·n-dhik te·-i· te·-i·!" phaʔaŋ ɔ·kt-ε-tchi.
 who-one come/PT-EMPH come/PT-EMPH *bhanera* scream-PT-dPS

hckke·lɔʔrik khunchi nepmadzaŋ ca·rik-ʔe· ɔ·kt-ε-tchi-ro
 in_that_way they^d both very-EMPH scream-PT-dPS-prG

cuŋ-ε-tchi.
 wrestle-PT-dPS

translation:

One there were two friends. They had gone to the jungle with their friends to eat rice. And it turned out that their friends had taken lots of millet beer. When they were all there and drank that millet beer those two became very inebriated. Then they turned back homeward from the jungle. Those two also turned back. When they were on their way back, it got very dark and turned pitch black outside. Nevertheless they managed to get home. Their sleeping places were adjacent to one another but separate. Inbetween there was a wall they had put up, but as their sleeping spots were pitch black they could not see them and turned out to have entered the sleeping spot of one of them. They didn't recognize each other because they had gotten so very drunk. So they thought, "we^{de} have gotten into our sleeping spots" but they had really gotten into the sleeping spot of one of them, but they did not recognize each other, so they both cried "Someone has gotten into my sleeping spot!" With both of them screaming in this way, they started wrestling.

The Man Who Lost His Watch

lɔkthik mæna ku-de·ʔl-ku-bhuŋ huk-ʔo· wa·p-mna-ba
 one man his-clothes-his-garb hand-LOC wear-PP-NOM

kεrεk phend-u-waŋ warum-siŋ-lɔ ya·g-ε. hεkyan
 all take_off-3P-pfG bathe-REF-prG be-PT then

warum-siŋ-maʔ-aŋ sut-chiŋ-ŋaŋ ku-de·ʔl-ku-bhuŋ
 bathe-REF-INF-pfG finish-REF-pfG his-clothes-his-garb

cak-siŋ-aŋ ku-him-lεpsaŋ tha·siŋ. lamde·ŋ
 dress-REF-pfG his-house-toward drop-REF halfway

kεʔr-ε-lle huk-ʔo· wa·p-mna-bε-n i·tt-u-lle
 arrive-PT-SUB hand-LOC wear-PP-NOM-ABS remember-3P-SUB

gɔ· warum-siŋ-ε-ba-tεn-ʔo· huk-ʔo· wa·p-mna-bε-n
 then bathe-REF-PT-IPF-place-LOC hand-LOC wear-PP-NOM-ABS

niŋwa mutch-u dho rəcə. həkyaŋ khεʔyo·
 mind forget-3P leave/3P DEPR then up_{there}

ku-be·sεʔ-ʔo· ku-ndzum-dhik kε-wa·-bε-n khεŋ pa·n-in
 its-vicinity-LOC his-friend-one AP-be-AP-ABS that word-ABS

mεtt-u. həkyaŋ nεpmadzaŋ po·ks-ε-tchi-yaŋ niŋwa
 say_{to}-3P then both become-PT-dPS-pfG mind

mutch-u-ba-tεn-ʔo· huk-ʔo· wa·p-mna-bε-n ku-la·se
 forget-3P-IPF-place-LOC hand-LOC wear-PP-NOM-ABS it-get_{SUP}

ku-hɔŋ-se yammu pe·-si-lle gɔ· huk-ʔo·
 it-search-SUP again go/PT-dPS-SUB then hand-LOC

wa·p-mna-bε-n nε·s-u-ba tεn-ʔo· ho·pt-ε. khεŋ
 wear-PP-NOM-ABS put-3P-NOM place-LOC not_{be}-PT that

ho·pt-ε-ba nis-ε-tch-u-waŋ ku-ndzum-ille mεtt-u
 not_{be}-PT-NOM see-PT-dA-3P-pfG his-friend-ERG say_{to}-3P

"huk-ʔo· wa·p-mna-bε-n mund-ε-rɔ way-ε-i· mεm-mun-ʔe·
 hand-LOC wear-PP-NOM-ABS work-PT-prG be-PT-Q npG-run-npG

way-ε-i·?" lɔʔrik se·ndo·s-u. kε-ma·-bε-lle mεtt-u
 be-PT-Q saying ask-3P AP-lose-AP-ERG say_{to}-3P

"mund-ε-rɔ way-ε". ku-ndzum-ille mεtt-u "mund-ε-rɔ
 work-PT-prG be-PT his-friend-ERG say_{to}-3P run-PT-prG

way-ε gɔrɔ langhe·ʔg-ε-aŋ pe·g-ε. allɔ
 be-PT if run-PT-pfG go-PT now

kho·-he·ʔ-mε-dεt-nεn."
 find-can-NEG-PAS-NEG

translation:

One man took off his clothes and wristwatch and everything and was bathing. Then when he had finished bathing, he put his clothes back on and headed home. Halfway there, remembering his watch, it appeared that he had forgotten his watch at the place he had bathed. So he told this to a friend who happened to be up there near him. So the two of them went back to look for and get the watch in the place where he had forgotten it, but the watch was not there in the place he had left it. When they^d saw that it was not there, his friend spoke to him, asking, "Was your watch running or wasn't it?" The one who had lost [the watch] said, "It was running." Then his friend said, "If it was running, then it has gone and run away. Now it's nowhere to be found."

Whose Grandfather is Tallest?

sumsi hendza? me-way-ε. thik ya·n so--so·rik
three lad nsAS-be-PT one day together-together

me-way-ε. sa·rik nam se·kt-ε-yaŋ sumraŋ ləkthik ke·mba
nsAS-be-PT very sun shine-PT-pfG all-three one tall

siŋbo·ŋ-ille ku-bo·ŋ-?o· me-yuŋ-ε. ləkthik-le "kəŋ
tree-GEN its-base-LOC nsAS-sit-PT one-ERG this

siŋbo·ŋ-in tha·mba a-ndheba way-ε" ləʔr-ε. e·ʔyaŋba
tree-ABS tall my-grandfather be-PT say-PT other

məna-le "ke-ndheba hən habhya?-thik ke·nd-ε-i·?
man-ERG your-grandfather what that_much-only be_tall-PT-Q

aŋga? a-ndheba ɡə· ya? namphεp-ma?-le
I my_grandfather then paddy dry_in_the_sun-INF-SUB

kha·kmi?l-le nam thekt-u ɡəʔə a-ndheba-re
cloud-ERG sun obscure-3P if my-grandfather-ERG

ku-huk-ille kha·kmi?l wa·nd-u-waŋ thik na·ndan
his-hand-INST cloud brush_aside-3P-pfG one direction

paŋs-u de·s-u. a-ndheba habhya? ke·nd-ε"
send-3P dispatch-3P my-grandfather that_much be_tall-PT

pa·tt-u. kərə e·ʔyənba ku-ndzum-in ku-sik
 say-PT but other his-friend-PAT his-irritation

khən-ε-yaŋ yuŋ-ε. khənha?-re khunchi-pa·n-in khəps-u-waŋ
 well-up-pfG sit-PT they-GEN their-speech-ABS hear-3P-pfG

ku-niŋwa-ʔo· ku-ye·p-my-aŋ yuʔs-ε. həkyaŋ
 his-mind-LOC his-laugh-INF-also be_activated-PT and_then

khunε? pa·tt-u: "khənchi-thəba həbhya? rək
 he speak-3P your^d-grandfather that_much only

ke·nd-ε-tchi-ʔi·? e·-lle-n ku-ndhəba ke·nd-ε
 be_tall-PT-DPS-Q who-GEN-ABS his-grandfather be_tall-PT

həkyaŋ taŋsaŋ-ʔo· kε-bəp-pa kha·kmiʔl
 and_then heaven-LOC AP-be_suspended-AP cloud

kε-na·p-pa ku-ndhəba kε-wa·-bε-lle
 AP-drive_off-AP his-grandfather AP-be-AP-SUB

kəŋ-lε-n-nulle a-ndhəba-e· ke·nd-ε rəcə".
 this-GEN-ABS-than my-grandfather-EMPH be_tall-PT DEPR

"e·, kε-ndhəba habhya? ke·nd-ε-i·?
 Oh your-grandfather this_much be_tall-PT-Q

kε-ndhəba-re taŋsaŋ-ʔo·-ba kha·k-miʔl-in
 your-grandfather-ERG heaven-LOC-NOM cloud-ABS

wa·nd-u-lle hənəŋ mε-gho·s-u-n-ni·?" e·ʔyənba
 brush_aside-3P why NEG-find-3P-NEG-Q other

həndza?-ille ku-niŋwa-ʔo· i·tt-u: "allo 'mε-gho·s-u-n'
 lad-ERG his-mind-LOC think-3P now NEG-find-3P-NEG

pa·t-m? bhelle 'kε-ndhəba habhya?
 say-INF if your-grandfather that_much

mε-ge·nd-ε-n' a-mεʔl. həkkelte 'kho·s-u' pa·tt-u-ŋ."
 NEG-be_tall-PT-NEG 1-say therefore find-3P say-3P-1sA

həkyaŋ "kho·s-u" pa·tt-u. "ho·, kho·s-u gərcə khən-in-cha?
 and_then find-3P say-3P Yeah find-3P if he-ABS-EMPH

a-ndhəba-re ku-le·dhi·mba."
 my-grandfather-GEN his-testicles

translation:

There were three lads. One day they were together. As the sun shone intensely, they all three sat down at the base of a tall tree. One of them said, "My grandfather was as tall as this tree." The other [second] guy responded, "Was your grandfather only that tall? Well, if a cloud would obscure the sun when my grandfather was drying paddy in the sun, my grandfather would brush the cloud to one side with his hand and send it on its way. That's how tall my grandfather was." But the other [third] friend just sat, extremely irritated. Having heard what they had said, he laughed inside himself. Then he spoke, "Were your grandfathers only this tall? It appears that my grandfather was taller than whoever's grandfather it was that towered so high and reached up into the heavens, driving off clouds." [The second lad countered:] "Oh, so was your grandfather that tall? Why then did your grandfather not run into him [viz. my grandfather] when he was brushing away the clouds which were in the heavens?" The other [third] lad thought to himself "If I say 'he didn't run into him', they'll say to me, 'so your grandfather wasn't that tall after all'. Therefore, I'll say 'he did run into him'." And so he said, "He did run into him." [The second lad replied:] "Yeah, if he [viz. your grandfather] ran into him, then what he ran into was my grandfather's balls."

6. Riddles

1. *tɔre ɔʔcɔʔ*
2. *tho·dho·ʔ pe·k*
ku-bhɛgwa phɛnd-u
tho·-dho·ʔ pe·k
ku-bhɛgwa phɛnd-u
3. *nɛpphu ku-mphu ku-nsa wa--si*
"pit-chi-ge" lɔʔ-si, yammu nu·ŋ-si
4. *suriʔl-lɛ-n go·li*
se·ʔho·rik-lɛ-n timmæk
kha·mbe·k-ʔo· a-buŋ-ba
taŋsaŋ-ʔo· yaŋs-u

5. *nam phirli*.¹
nam phirli.
ku-hi cyɔʔcyɔʔ lo·n
6. *ya·kke·k sam-ʔo·*
nudak ka·nde·
... hɛn!
7. *pe·k-ʔille ye·ʔ1-lo pe·k.*
ta-lle ha·p-lo ta.
8. *ku-mma-re ku-saʔ se·wa mett-u-ba.*
hɛn?
9. *siŋbo·ŋ-dhik wa·.*
liŋ-men-deʔ1.
suʔwa-dhik wa·.
thim-men-deʔ1.
10. "*taŋsaŋ-in lokt-u-ŋ*" *phaʔaŋ pe·k*
me1-lok-ʔe· yammu yaŋ-nu nu·ŋ.
hɛn!
11. *netchi piʔ1 "thok-si-ge" loʔ-si,*
kəɾə loktɰik thegu-lle thekt-u-si-aŋ thok-maʔ
mɛ-he·ʔ-si-n.
khɛŋ hɛn!
12. *ma·le· piʔ1-in khum-men-deʔ1.*²
tokkaʔ1 ti-re-n tem-men-deʔ1.
hɛn khɛŋ-le-n?
13. *a-him səllak!*

¹ See glosses of both *nam* and *phirli* and of *namphirli*.

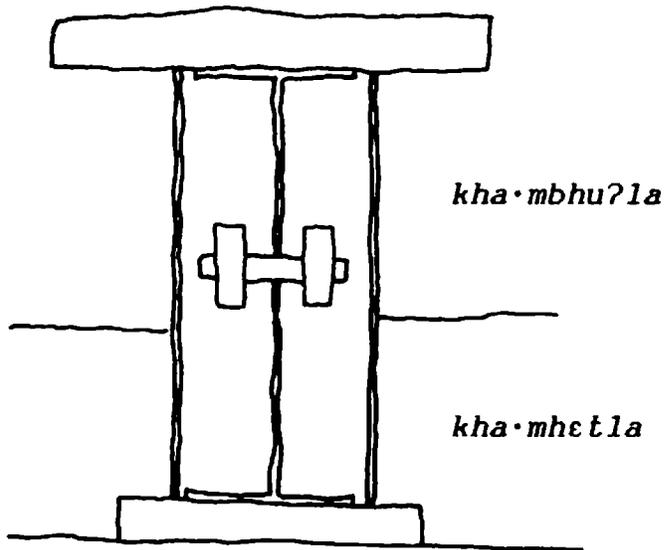
² The regular passive forms are: *khummedɛtɛnɛn*, *temmedɛtɛnɛn*.

Solutions to Riddles

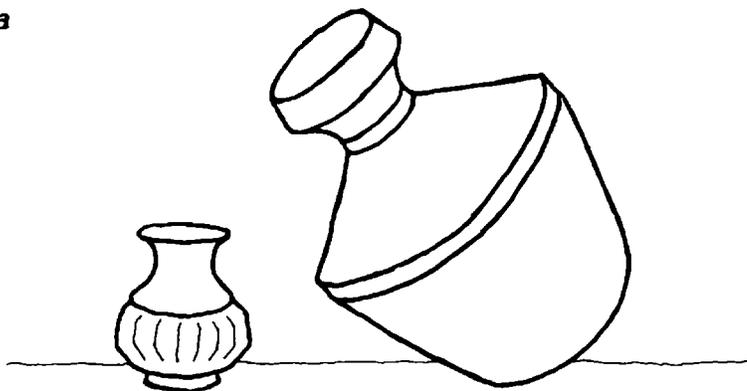
1. *tɔŋba.*
2. *phahək*
3. *lamdhe·ʔl*

lamdhe·ʔl

the door of a
Limbu household:
thin wooden double
doors with bolt,
massive wooden
lintel and door-
sill, no door-
jambs.



4. *phe·ʔmaʔl*
5. *luŋsum*
6. *ya·kke·k-ʔin nebo·
nudak-ʔin nehik
ka·nde--ʔin nebo·həŋ-haʔ*
7. *cire·ʔ*
8. *ku-sa-·n phəgəna
ku-mma-·n khe·mba*



9. *siŋbo·ŋ-in sikwa
suʔwa-·n sappo·k*
10. *pha-·n*
11. *mik-nu nebo·*
12. *ke·b-ɛn-nu ɔse·k-ʔin*
13. *ta·msəri*

Appendix II Paradigms

1. Regular verbs

Three conjugations of the simplex forms along with morphological analyses are provided below for the transitive verb *hu?ma?* 'to teach', the intransitive verb *nu·ηma?* 'to return' and the reflexive verb *leηsiηma?* 'to change'. The conjugations of all regular verbs follow the pattern given for these three verbs. For each agreement class (eg. 1s→2s, 1s→2d etc.), the non-negated and negated nonpreterit and preterit simplicia are given. Morphemes of the simplex conjugation and their allomorphs are discussed in Chapter Four. The slots and slot fillers are as given on pp.75-76. In the morphological analysis below, all morphemes are given in their appropriate slot, and zero morphemes are indicated by their morpheme label as given in Chapter Four.

Affixes are attached directly to the core syllable or root. Prefixes therefore follow the first syllable (or syllables) or preverb of a polysyllabic verb. The conjugations of the regular disyllabic transitive verbs *ɔ·mɔpma?* 'to look, watch' and *warumma?* 'to bathe' are given on pp. 377-381. In the conjugation of regular transitive *nima?* 'to see', given on pp.381-383, hyphens are used to distinguish the stem final /s/ from dual suffixes beginning with /s/.

The regular reflexive conjugations of *ɔ·mɔpma?*, *warumma?* and *nima?* are given on pp.383-384: *ɔ·mɔtchiηma?* 'to look at oneself', *warumsiηma?* 'to bathe oneself' and *nisiηma?* 'to see oneself'.

The simplex conjugations of the regular intransitives *thaηma?* 'to come up', *hiηma?* 'to live, be alive', *i·ma?* 'to wander' and *imma?* 'to sleep' are given on pp.384-387.

Imperative paradigms are provided in 8.2, adhortative paradigms in 8.1.

1s→3s

	<i>huʔr</i>	NPT	<i>u</i>	<i>ŋ</i>		sP	
	<i>huʔr</i>	PT	<i>u</i>	<i>ŋ</i>		sP	
<i>mε</i>	<i>huʔ</i>		<i>ʔε</i>			sP	<i>n</i>
<i>mε-n</i>	<i>huʔ</i>		<i>baŋ</i>			sP	

1s→3ns

	<i>huʔr</i>	NPT	<i>u</i>	<i>ŋ</i>		<i>si</i>	<i>ŋ</i>
	<i>huʔr</i>	PT	<i>u</i>	<i>ŋ</i>		<i>si</i>	<i>ŋ</i>
<i>mε</i>	<i>huʔ</i>		<i>ʔε</i>		<i>n</i>	<i>chi</i>	<i>n</i>
<i>mε-n</i>	<i>huʔ</i>		<i>baŋ</i>			<i>si</i>	<i>ŋ</i>

1di→3s

<i>a</i>		<i>huʔ</i>	NPT	<i>s</i>	<i>u</i>		sP	<i>i</i>
<i>a</i>		<i>huʔr</i>	<i>ε</i>	<i>tch</i>	<i>u</i>		sP	<i>i</i>
<i>a</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>huʔ</i>	NPT	<i>s</i>	<i>u</i>		sP	<i>i n</i>
<i>a</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>huʔr</i>	<i>ε</i>	<i>tch</i>	<i>u</i>		sP	<i>i n</i>

1di→3ns

<i>a</i>		<i>huʔ</i>	NPT	<i>s</i>	<i>u</i>		<i>si</i>	<i>i</i>
<i>a</i>		<i>huʔr</i>	<i>ε</i>	<i>tch</i>	<i>u</i>		<i>si</i>	<i>i</i>
<i>a</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>huʔ</i>	NPT	<i>s</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>(n)</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>i n</i>
<i>a</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>huʔr</i>	<i>ε</i>	<i>tch</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>(n)</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>i n</i>

1nse→2

	<i>huʔ</i>	<i>ne</i>	NPT			<i>tchi</i>	<i>ge</i>
	<i>huʔ</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ε</i>			<i>tchi</i>	<i>ge</i>
<i>mε</i>	<i>huʔ</i>	<i>ne</i>	NPT			<i>tchi</i>	<i>ge n</i>
<i>mε</i>	<i>huʔ</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>ε</i>			<i>tchi</i>	<i>ge n</i>

1de→3s

<i>1</i>		<i>huʔ</i>	NPT	<i>s</i>	<i>u</i>		sP	<i>ge</i>
<i>1</i>		<i>huʔr</i>	<i>ε</i>	<i>tch</i>	<i>u</i>		sP	<i>ge</i>
<i>1</i>	<i>mε</i>	<i>huʔ</i>	NPT	<i>s</i>	<i>u</i>		sP	<i>ge n</i>
<i>1</i>	<i>mε</i>	<i>huʔr</i>	<i>ε</i>	<i>tch</i>	<i>u</i>		sP	<i>ge n</i>

1de→3ns

<i>1</i>		<i>huʔ</i>	NPT	<i>s</i>	<i>u</i>		<i>si</i>	<i>ge</i>
<i>1</i>		<i>huʔr</i>	<i>ε</i>	<i>tch</i>	<i>u</i>		<i>si</i>	<i>ge</i>
<i>1</i>	<i>mε</i>	<i>huʔ</i>	NPT	<i>s</i>	<i>u</i>		<i>si</i>	<i>ge n</i>
<i>1</i>	<i>mε</i>	<i>huʔr</i>	<i>ε</i>	<i>tch</i>	<i>u</i>		<i>si</i>	<i>ge n</i>

1pi→3s

<i>a</i>		<i>huʔr</i>	NPT	<i>u</i>		<i>m</i>	sP	<i>i</i>
<i>a</i>		<i>huʔr</i>	PT	<i>u</i>		<i>m</i>	sP	<i>i</i>
<i>a</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>huʔr</i>	NPT	<i>u</i>		<i>m</i>	sP	<i>i nεn</i>
<i>a</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>huʔr</i>	PT	<i>u</i>		<i>m</i>	sP	<i>i nεn</i>

1pi→3ns

<i>a</i>		<i>huʔr</i>	NPT	<i>u</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>i</i>
<i>a</i>		<i>huʔr</i>	PT	<i>u</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>i</i>
<i>a</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>huʔr</i>	NPT	<i>u</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>i nɛn</i>
<i>a</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>huʔr</i>	PT	<i>u</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>i nɛn</i>

1pe→3s

<i>1</i>		<i>huʔr</i>	NPT	<i>u</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>sP</i>	<i>be</i>
		<i>huʔ</i>			<i>mʔna</i>	<i>sP</i>	
<i>1</i>	<i>mɛ</i>	<i>huʔr</i>	NPT	<i>u</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>sP</i>	<i>bɛ n</i>
	<i>mɛ-n</i>	<i>huʔ</i>			<i>mʔna</i>	<i>sP</i>	

1pe→3ns

<i>1</i>		<i>huʔr</i>	NPT	<i>u</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>be</i>
		<i>huʔ</i>			<i>mʔna</i>	<i>si</i>		
<i>1</i>	<i>mɛ</i>	<i>huʔr</i>	NPT	<i>u</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>bɛ n</i>
	<i>mɛ-n</i>	<i>huʔ</i>			<i>mʔna</i>	<i>si</i>		

2s→1s

<i>kɛ</i>		<i>huʔ</i>	NPT	<i>ʔɛ</i>	<i>sA</i>		
<i>kɛ</i>		<i>huʔr</i>		<i>aŋ</i>	<i>sA</i>		
<i>kɛ</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>huʔ</i>	NPT	<i>ʔɛ</i>	<i>sA</i>		<i>n</i>
<i>kɛ</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>huʔr</i>		<i>aŋ</i>	<i>sA</i>		<i>nɛn</i>

2→1

<i>a-gɛ</i>		<i>huʔ</i>	NPT				<i>e</i>
<i>a-gɛ</i>		<i>huʔr</i>	<i>ɛ</i>				<i>e</i>
<i>a-gɛ</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>huʔ</i>	NPT				<i>e nɛn</i>
<i>a-gɛ</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>huʔr</i>	<i>ɛ</i>				<i>e n</i>

2s→3s

<i>kɛ</i>		<i>huʔr</i>	NPT	<i>u</i>	<i>sA</i>	<i>sP</i>	
<i>kɛ</i>		<i>huʔr</i>	PT	<i>u</i>	<i>sA</i>	<i>sP</i>	
<i>kɛ</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>huʔr</i>	NPT	<i>u</i>	<i>sA</i>	<i>sP</i>	<i>n</i>
<i>kɛ</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>huʔr</i>	PT	<i>u</i>	<i>sA</i>	<i>sP</i>	<i>n</i>

2s→3ns

<i>kɛ</i>		<i>huʔr</i>	NPT	<i>u</i>	<i>sA</i>	<i>si</i>	
<i>kɛ</i>		<i>huʔr</i>	PT	<i>u</i>	<i>sA</i>	<i>si</i>	
<i>kɛ</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>huʔr</i>	NPT	<i>u</i>	<i>sA (n)</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>n</i>
<i>kɛ</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>huʔr</i>	PT	<i>u</i>	<i>sA (n)</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>n</i>

2d→3s

<i>kɛ</i>		<i>huʔ</i>	NPT	<i>s</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>sP</i>	
<i>kɛ</i>		<i>huʔr</i>	<i>ɛ</i>	<i>tch</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>sP</i>	
<i>kɛ</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>huʔ</i>	NPT	<i>s</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>sP</i>	<i>n</i>
<i>kɛ</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>huʔr</i>	<i>ɛ</i>	<i>tch</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>sP</i>	<i>n</i>

2d→3ns

<i>kε</i>		<i>hu?</i>	NPT	<i>s u</i>		<i>si</i>	
<i>kε</i>		<i>hu?r</i>		<i>ε tch u</i>		<i>si</i>	
<i>kε</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>hu?</i>	NPT	<i>s u</i>	(<i>n</i>)	<i>si</i>	<i>n</i>
<i>kε</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>hu?r</i>		<i>ε tch u</i>	(<i>n</i>)	<i>si</i>	<i>n</i>

2p→3s

<i>kε</i>		<i>hu?r</i>	NPT	<i>u</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>sP</i>	
<i>kε</i>		<i>hu?r</i>	PT	<i>u</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>sP</i>	
<i>kε</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>hu?r</i>	NPT	<i>u</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>sP</i>	<i>nen</i>
<i>kε</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>hu?r</i>	PT	<i>u</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>sP</i>	<i>nen</i>

2p→3ns

<i>kε</i>		<i>hu?r</i>	NPT	<i>u</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>si m</i>	
<i>kε</i>		<i>hu?r</i>	PT	<i>u</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>si m</i>	
<i>kε</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>hu?r</i>	NPT	<i>u</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>si m</i>	<i>nen</i>
<i>kε</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>hu?r</i>	PT	<i>u</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>si m</i>	<i>nen</i>

3s→1s

3	<i>sAS</i>	<i>hu?</i>	NPT	<i>?ε</i>			
3	<i>sAS</i>	<i>hu?r</i>		<i>aη</i>			
3	<i>sAS mε</i>	<i>hu?</i>	NPT	<i>?ε</i>			<i>n</i>
3	<i>sAS mε</i>	<i>hu?r</i>		<i>aη</i>			<i>nen</i>

3s→1di

<i>a-3</i>	<i>sAS</i>	<i>hu?</i>	NPT	<i>si</i>		<i>i</i>	
<i>a-3</i>	<i>sAS</i>	<i>hu?r</i>		<i>ε tchi</i>		<i>i</i>	
<i>a-3</i>	<i>sAS n</i>	<i>hu?</i>	NPT	<i>si</i>		<i>i n</i>	
<i>a-3</i>	<i>sAS n</i>	<i>hu?r</i>		<i>ε tchi</i>		<i>i n</i>	

3s→1de

1-3	<i>sAS</i>	<i>hu?</i>	NPT	<i>si</i>		<i>ge</i>	
1-3	<i>sAS</i>	<i>hu?r</i>		<i>ε tchi</i>		<i>ge</i>	
1-3	<i>sAS mε</i>	<i>hu?</i>	NPT	<i>si</i>		<i>ge n</i>	
1-3	<i>sAS mε</i>	<i>hu?r</i>		<i>ε tchi</i>		<i>ge n</i>	

3s→1pi

<i>a-3</i>	<i>sAS</i>	<i>hu?</i>	NPT	<i>pPS</i>		<i>i</i>	
<i>a-3</i>	<i>sAS</i>	<i>hu?r</i>		<i>ε pPS</i>		<i>i</i>	
<i>a-3</i>	<i>sAS n</i>	<i>hu?</i>	NPT	<i>pPS</i>		<i>i nen</i>	
<i>a-3</i>	<i>sAS n</i>	<i>hu?r</i>		<i>ε pPS</i>		<i>i n</i>	

3s→1pe

1-3	<i>sAS</i>	<i>hu?r</i>	NPT	<i>i</i>		<i>ge</i>	
1-3	<i>sAS</i>	<i>hu?r</i>	PT	<i>i</i>		<i>ge</i>	
1-3	<i>sAS mε</i>	<i>hu?r</i>	NPT	<i>i</i>		<i>ge n</i>	
1-3	<i>sAS mε</i>	<i>hu?r</i>	PT	<i>i</i>		<i>ge n</i>	

372 Appendix II: Paradigms

3s→2s

<i>ke-3</i>	sAS	<i>hu?</i>	NPT	sPS	
<i>ke-3</i>	sAS	<i>hu?r</i>	ε	sPS	
<i>kε-3</i>	sAS <i>n</i>	<i>hu?</i>	NPT	sPS	<i>nεn</i>
<i>kε-3</i>	sAS <i>n</i>	<i>hu?r</i>	ε	sAS	<i>n</i>

3s→2d

<i>ke-3</i>	sAS	<i>hu?</i>	NPT	<i>si</i>	
<i>ke-3</i>	sAS	<i>hu?r</i>	ε	<i>tchi</i>	
<i>kε-3</i>	sAS <i>n</i>	<i>hu?</i>	NPT	<i>si</i>	<i>n</i>
<i>kε-3</i>	sAS <i>n</i>	<i>hu?r</i>	ε	<i>tchi</i>	<i>n</i>

3s→2p

<i>ke-3</i>	sAS	<i>hu?r</i>	NPT	<i>i</i>	
<i>ke-3</i>	sAS	<i>hu?r</i>	PT	<i>i</i>	
<i>kε-3</i>	sAS <i>n</i>	<i>hu?r</i>	NPT	<i>i</i>	<i>n</i>
<i>kε-3</i>	sAS <i>n</i>	<i>hu?r</i>	PT	<i>i</i>	<i>n</i>

3s→3s

3	sAS	<i>hu?r</i>	NPT	<i>u</i>	sP
3	sAS	<i>hu?r</i>	PT	<i>u</i>	sP
3	sAS <i>mε</i>	<i>hu?r</i>	NPT	<i>u</i>	sP <i>n</i>
3	sAS <i>mε</i>	<i>hu?r</i>	PT	<i>u</i>	sP <i>n</i>

3s→3ns

3	sAS	<i>hu?r</i>	NPT	<i>u</i>	<i>si</i>
3	sAS	<i>hu?r</i>	PT	<i>u</i>	<i>si</i>
3	sAS <i>mε</i>	<i>hu?r</i>	NPT	<i>u</i>	(<i>n</i>) <i>si</i> <i>n</i>
3	sAS <i>mε</i>	<i>hu?r</i>	PT	<i>u</i>	(<i>n</i>) <i>si</i> <i>n</i>

3d→3s

3		<i>hu?</i>	NPT <i>s</i>	<i>u</i>	sP
3		<i>hu?r</i>	ε <i>tch</i>	<i>u</i>	sP
3	<i>mε</i>	<i>hu?</i>	NPT <i>s</i>	<i>u</i>	sP <i>n</i>
3	<i>mε</i>	<i>hu?r</i>	ε <i>tch</i>	<i>u</i>	sP <i>n</i>

3d→3ns

3		<i>hu?</i>	NPT <i>s</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>si</i>
3		<i>hu?r</i>	ε <i>tch</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>si</i>
3	<i>mε</i>	<i>hu?</i>	NPT <i>s</i>	<i>u</i>	(<i>n</i>) <i>si</i> <i>n</i>
3	<i>mε</i>	<i>hu?r</i>	ε <i>tch</i>	<i>u</i>	(<i>n</i>) <i>si</i> <i>n</i>

3ns→1s

3	<i>mε</i>	<i>hu?</i>	NPT	?ε	
3	<i>mε</i>	<i>hu?r</i>		<i>aŋ</i>	
3	<i>mε n</i>	<i>hu?</i>	NPT	?ε	<i>n</i>
3	<i>mε n</i>	<i>hu?r</i>		<i>aŋ</i>	<i>nεn</i>

3ns→1di

a-3	m	hu?	NPT	si	i
a-3	m	hu?r	ε	tchi	i
a-3	mε n	hu?	NPT	si	i n
a-3	mε n	hu?r	ε	tchi	i n

3ns→1de

1-3	mε	hu?	NPT	si	ge
1-3	mε	hu?r	ε	tchi	ge
1-3	mε n	hu?	NPT	si	ge n
1-3	mε n	hu?r	ε	tchi	ge n

3ns→1pi

a-3	m	hu?	NPT	pPS	i
a-3	m	hu?r	ε	pPS	i
a-3	mε n	hu?	NPT	pPS	i nen
a-3	mε n	hu?r	ε	pPS	i n

3ns→1pe

1-3	mε	hu?r	NPT	i	ge
1-3	mε	hu?r	PT	i	ge
1-3	mε n	hu?r	NPT	i	ge n
1-3	mε n	hu?r	PT	i	ge n

3ns→2s

kε-3	m	hu?	NPT	sPS	
kε-3	m	hu?r	ε	sPS	
kε-3	mε n	hu?	NPT	sPS	nen
kε-3	mε n	hu?r	ε	sPS	n

3ns→2d

kε-3	m	hu?	NPT	si	
kε-3	m	hu?r	ε	tchi	
kε-3	mε n	hu?	NPT	si	n
kε-3	mε n	hu?r	ε	tchi	n

3ns→2p

kε-3	m	hu?r	NPT	i	
kε-3	m	hu?r	PT	i	
kε-3	mε n	hu?r	NPT	i	n
kε-3	mε n	hu?r	PT	i	n

3p→3s

3	mε	hu?r	NPT	u	sP
3	mε	hu?r	PT	u	sP
3	mε n	hu?r	NPT	u	sP n
3	mε n	hu?r	PT	u	sP n

3p→3ns

3	<i>mε</i>	<i>huʔr</i>	NPT	<i>u</i>		<i>si</i>	
3	<i>mε</i>	<i>huʔr</i>	PT	<i>u</i>		<i>si</i>	
3	<i>mε n</i>	<i>huʔr</i>	NPT	<i>u</i>	(<i>n</i>)	<i>si</i>	<i>n</i>
3	<i>mε n</i>	<i>huʔr</i>	PT	<i>u</i>	(<i>n</i>)	<i>si</i>	<i>n</i>

INTRANSITIVE CONJUGATION:

1s

		<i>nu·η</i>	NPT	<i>ʔε</i>			
		<i>nu·ks</i>		<i>aη</i>			
	<i>mε</i>	<i>nu·η</i>	NPT	<i>ʔε</i>			<i>n</i>
	<i>mε</i>	<i>nu·ks</i>		<i>aη</i>			<i>nεn</i>

1di

<i>a</i>		<i>nu·η</i>	NPT	<i>si</i>			<i>i</i>
<i>a</i>		<i>nu·ks</i>	<i>ε</i>	<i>tchi</i>			<i>i</i>
<i>a</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>nu·η</i>	NPT	<i>si</i>			<i>i n</i>
<i>a</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>nu·ks</i>	<i>ε</i>	<i>tchi</i>			<i>i n</i>

1de

1		<i>nu·η</i>	NPT	<i>si</i>			<i>ge</i>
1		<i>nu·ks</i>	<i>ε</i>	<i>tchi</i>			<i>ge</i>
1	<i>mε</i>	<i>nu·η</i>	NPT	<i>si</i>			<i>ge n</i>
1	<i>mε</i>	<i>nu·ks</i>	<i>ε</i>	<i>tchi</i>			<i>ge n</i>

1pi

<i>a</i>		<i>nu·η</i>	NPT	pPS			
<i>a</i>		<i>nu·ks</i>	<i>ε</i>	pPS			
<i>a</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>nu·η</i>	NPT	pPS			<i>nεn</i>
<i>a</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>nu·ks</i>	<i>ε</i>	pPS			<i>n</i>

1pe

1		<i>nu·ks</i>	NPT	<i>i</i>			<i>ge</i>
		<i>nu·η</i>			<i>ηʔna</i>		
1	<i>mε</i>	<i>nu·ks</i>	NPT	<i>i</i>			<i>ge n</i>
	<i>mε-n</i>	<i>nu·η</i>			<i>ηʔna</i>		

2s

<i>kε</i>		<i>nu·η</i>	NPT	sPS			
<i>kε</i>		<i>nu·ks</i>	<i>ε</i>	sPS			
<i>kε</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>nu·η</i>	NPT	sPS			<i>nεn</i>
<i>kε</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>nu·ks</i>	<i>ε</i>	sPS			<i>n</i>

2d

<i>kε</i>		<i>nu·η</i>	NPT	<i>si</i>	
<i>kε</i>		<i>nu·ks</i>	ε	<i>tchi</i>	
<i>kε</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>nu·η</i>	NPT	<i>si</i>	<i>n</i>
<i>kε</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>nu·ks</i>	ε	<i>tchi</i>	<i>n</i>

2p

<i>kε</i>		<i>nu·ks</i>	NPT	<i>i</i>	
<i>kε</i>		<i>nu·ks</i>	PT	<i>i</i>	
<i>kε</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>nu·ks</i>	NPT	<i>i</i>	<i>n</i>
<i>kε</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>nu·ks</i>	PT	<i>i</i>	<i>n</i>

3s

3	<i>sAS</i>	<i>nu·η</i>	NPT		
3	<i>sAS</i>	<i>nu·ks</i>	ε		
3	<i>sAS mε</i>	<i>nu·η</i>	NPT		<i>nεn</i>
3	<i>sAS mε</i>	<i>nu·ks</i>	ε		<i>n</i>

3d

3		<i>nu·η</i>	NPT	<i>si</i>	
3		<i>nu·ks</i>	ε	<i>tchi</i>	
3	<i>mε</i>	<i>nu·η</i>	NPT	<i>si</i>	<i>n</i>
3	<i>mε</i>	<i>nu·ks</i>	ε	<i>tchi</i>	<i>n</i>

3p

3	<i>mε</i>	<i>nu·η</i>	NPT		
3	<i>mε</i>	<i>nu·ks</i>	ε		
3	<i>mε n</i>	<i>nu·η</i>	NPT		<i>nεn</i>
3	<i>mε n</i>	<i>nu·ks</i>	ε		<i>n</i>

REFLEXIVE/RECIPROCAL CONJUGATION:

1s

		<i>leη</i>	<i>siη</i>	NPT	<i>?ε</i>
		<i>leη</i>	<i>siη</i>		<i>aη</i>
	<i>mε</i>	<i>leη</i>	<i>siη</i>	NPT	<i>?ε</i>
	<i>mε</i>	<i>leη</i>	<i>siη</i>		<i>aη</i>
					<i>n</i>
					<i>nεn</i>

1di

<i>a</i>		<i>leη</i>	<i>nε</i>	NPT	<i>tchi</i>
<i>a</i>		<i>leη</i>	<i>n</i>	ε	<i>tchi</i>
<i>a</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>leη</i>	<i>nε</i>	NPT	<i>tchi</i>
<i>a</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>leη</i>	<i>n</i>	ε	<i>tchi</i>
					<i>n</i>
					<i>n</i>

1de

1		leŋ	ne	NPT	tchi	ge
1		leŋ	n	ε	tchi	ge
1	mε	leŋ	ne	NPT	tchi	ge n
1	mε	leŋ	n	ε	tchi	ge n

1pi

a		leŋ	siŋ	NPT	pPS	
a		leŋ	siŋ	ε	pPS	
a	l	leŋ	siŋ	NPT	pPS	nen
a	l	leŋ	siŋ	ε	pPS	n

1pe

1		leŋ	siŋ	NPT	i	ge
		leŋ	siŋ			η?na
1	mε	leŋ	siŋ	NPT	i	ge n
	mε-n	leŋ	siŋ			η?na

2s

ke		leŋ	siŋ	NPT	SPS	
ke		leŋ	siŋ	ε	SPS	
ke	l	leŋ	siŋ	NPT	SPS	nen
ke	l	leŋ	siŋ	ε	SPS	n

2d

ke		leŋ	ne	NPT	tchi	
ke		leŋ	n	ε	tchi	
ke	l	leŋ	ne	NPT	tchi	n
ke	l	leŋ	n	ε	tchi	n

2p

ke		leŋ	siŋ	NPT	i	
ke		leŋ	siŋ	PT	i	
ke	l	leŋ	siŋ	NPT	i	n
ke	l	leŋ	siŋ	PT	i	n

3s

3	SAS	leŋ	siŋ	NPT		
3	SAS	leŋ	siŋ	ε		
3	SAS mε	leŋ	siŋ	NPT		nen
3	SAS mε	leŋ	siŋ	ε		n

3d

3		leŋ	ne	NPT	tchi	
3		leŋ	n	ε	tchi	
3	mε	leŋ	ne	NPT	tchi	n
3	mε	leŋ	n	ε	tchi	n

3p

3	me		leŋ	siŋ	NPT	
3	me		leŋ	siŋ	ε	
3	me	l	leŋ	siŋ	NPT	nen
3	me	l	leŋ	siŋ	ε	n

ɔ·mɔpmʔ, ɔ·-mɔtt-/ɔ·-mɔt-/ɔ·-mɔʔl look at

1s→2s	ɔ·mɔtne ɔ·memɔtnen	ɔ·mɔtne ɔ·memɔtnen
1s→2d	ɔ·mɔtnetchiŋ ɔ·memɔtnetchiŋnen	ɔ·mɔtnetchiŋ ɔ·memɔtnetchiŋnen
1s→2p	ɔ·mɔtniŋ ɔ·memɔtniŋnen	ɔ·mɔtniŋ ɔ·memɔtniŋnen
1s→3s	ɔ·mɔttuŋ ɔ·memɔʔlen	ɔ·mɔttuŋ ɔ·memmɔppaŋ
1s→3ns	ɔ·mɔttuŋsiŋ ɔ·memɔʔlenchiŋ	ɔ·mɔttuŋsiŋ ɔ·memmɔppaŋsiŋ
1di→3s	ɔ·ʔamɔtchu ɔ·ʔammɔtchun	ɔ·ʔamɔttetchu ɔ·ʔammɔttetchun
1di→3ns	ɔ·ʔamɔtchusi ɔ·ʔammɔtchusin	ɔ·ʔamɔttetchusi ɔ·ʔammɔttetchusin
1nse→2	ɔ·mɔtnetchige ɔ·memɔtnetchigen	ɔ·mɔtnetchige ɔ·memɔtnetchigen
1de→3s	ɔ·mɔtchuge ɔ·memɔtchugen	ɔ·mɔttetchuge ɔ·memɔttetchugen
1de→3ns	ɔ·mɔtchusige ɔ·memɔtchusigen	ɔ·mɔttetchusige ɔ·memɔttetchusigen
1pi→3s	ɔ·ʔamɔttum ɔ·ʔammɔttumnen	ɔ·ʔamɔttum ɔ·ʔammɔttumnen
1pi→3ns	ɔ·ʔamɔttumsim ɔ·ʔammɔttumsimnen	ɔ·ʔamɔttumsim ɔ·ʔammɔttumsimnen
1pe→3s	ɔ·mɔttumbe ɔ·memɔttumben	ɔ·mɔpmʔna ɔ·memmɔpmʔna
1pe→3ns	ɔ·mɔttumsimbe ɔ·memɔttumsimben	ɔ·mɔpmʔnasi ɔ·memmɔpmʔnasi
2s→1s	ɔ·gemɔʔle ɔ·gemmɔʔlen	ɔ·gemɔttaŋ ɔ·gemmɔttaŋnen
2→1	ɔ·ʔagemɔʔl ɔ·ʔagemɔʔlen	ɔ·ʔagemɔtte ɔ·ʔagemɔtten
2s→3s	ɔ·gemɔttu ɔ·gemmɔttun	ɔ·gemɔttu ɔ·gemmɔttun
2s→3ns	ɔ·gemɔttusi ɔ·gemmɔttunchin	ɔ·gemɔttusi ɔ·gemmɔttunchin
2d→3s	ɔ·gemɔtchu ɔ·gemmɔtchun	ɔ·gemɔttetchu ɔ·gemmɔttetchun

3ns→3s	ɔ·memɔttu ɔ·memmɔttun	ɔ·memɔttu ɔ·memmɔttun
3ns→3ns	ɔ·memɔttusi ɔ·memmɔttunchin	ɔ·memɔttusi ɔ·memmɔttunchin

warumma?, wa-rups-/wa-rum- bathe

1s→2s	warumne wamerumnen	warumne wamerumnen
1s→2d	warumnetchin wamerumnetchin	warumnetchin wamerumnetchin
1s→2p	warumni wamerumni	warumni wamerumni
1s→3s	warupsun wamerum?en	warupsun wamenlumban
1s→3ns	warupsunsi wamerum?en	warupsunsi wamenlumbansi
1di→3s	wa?arumsu wa?anlumsun	wa?arupsetchu wa?anlupsetchun
1di→3ns	wa?arumsusi wa?anlumsunchin	wa?arupsetchusi wa?anlupsetchunchin
1nse→2	warumnetchige wamerumnetchigen	warumnetchige wamerumnetchigen
1de→3s	warumsuge wamerumsugen	warupsetchuge wamerupsetchugen
1de→3ns	warumsusige wamerumsusigen	warupsetchusige wamerupsetchusigen
1pi→3s	wa?arupsum wa?anlupsumnen	wa?arupsum wa?anlupsumnen
1pi→3ns	wa?arupsumsim wa?anlupsumsimnen	wa?arupsumsim wa?anlupsumsimnen
1pe→3s	warupsumbe wamerupsumben	warumm?na wamenlumm?na
1pe→3ns	warupsumsimbe wamerupsumsimben	warumm?nasi wamenlumm?nasi
2s→1s	wagerum?e wagelum?en	wagerupsan wagelum?anen
2→1	wa?agerum wa?agenlumn	wa?agerupse wa?agenlupsen
2s→3s	wagerupsu wagelum?en	wagerupsu wagelum?en
2s→3ns	wagerupsusi wagelum?en	wagerupsusi wagelum?en
2d→3s	wagerumsu wagelumsum	wagerupsetchu wagelum?en

2d→3ns	<i>wagerümsusi</i> <i>wagenlumsunchin</i>	<i>wagerupsetchusi</i> <i>wagenlupsetchunchin</i>
2p→3s	<i>wagerupsum</i> <i>wagenlupsumnen</i>	<i>wagerupsum</i> <i>wagenlupsumnen</i>
2p→3ns	<i>wagerupsumsim</i> <i>wagenlupsumsimnen</i>	<i>wagerupsumsim</i> <i>wagenlupsumsimnen</i>
3s→1s	<i>warum?ε</i> <i>wamerum?εn</i>	<i>warupsaŋ</i> <i>wamerupsaŋnen</i>
3s→1di	<i>wa?arumsi</i> <i>wa?anlumsin</i>	<i>wa?arupsetchi</i> <i>wa?anlupsetchin</i>
3s→1de	<i>warumsige</i> <i>wamerumsigen</i>	<i>warupsetchige</i> <i>wamerupsetchigen</i>
3s→1pi	<i>wa?arum</i> <i>wa?anlumnen</i>	<i>wa?arupε</i> <i>wa?anlupsen</i>
3s→1pe	<i>warupsige</i> <i>wamerupsigen</i>	<i>warupsige</i> <i>wamerupsigen</i>
3s→2s	<i>wagerum</i> <i>wagenlumnen</i>	<i>wagerupε</i> <i>wagenlupsen</i>
3s→2d	<i>wagerumsi</i> <i>wagenlumsin</i>	<i>wagerupsetchi</i> <i>wagenlupsetchin</i>
3s→2p	<i>wagerupsi</i> <i>wagenlupsin</i>	<i>wagerupsi</i> <i>wagenlupsin</i>
3s→3s	<i>warupsu</i> <i>wamerupsun</i>	<i>warupsu</i> <i>wamerupsun</i>
3s→3ns	<i>warupsusi</i> <i>wamerupsunchin</i>	<i>warupsusi</i> <i>wamerupsunchin</i>
3d→3s	<i>warumsu</i> <i>wamerumsun</i>	<i>warupsetchu</i> <i>wamerupsetchun</i>
3d→3ns	<i>warumsusi</i> <i>wamerumsunchin</i>	<i>warupsetchusi</i> <i>wamerupsetchunchin</i>
3ns→1s	<i>wamerum?ε</i> <i>wamenlum?εn</i>	<i>wamerupsaŋ</i> <i>wamenlupsaŋnen</i>
3ns→1di	<i>wa?amlumsi</i> <i>wa?amenlumsin</i>	<i>wa?amlupsetchi</i> <i>wa?amenlupsetchin</i>
3ns→1de	<i>wamerumsige</i> <i>wamenlumsigen</i>	<i>wamerupsetchige</i> <i>wamenlupsetchigen</i>
3ns→1pi	<i>wa?amlum</i> <i>wa?amenlumnen</i>	<i>wa?amlupε</i> <i>wa?amenlupsen</i>
3ns→1pe	<i>wamerupsige</i> <i>wamenlupsigen</i>	<i>wamerupsige</i> <i>wamenlupsigen</i>
3ns→2s	<i>wagemlum</i> <i>wagemenlumnen</i>	<i>wagemlupε</i> <i>wagemenlupsen</i>
3ns→2d	<i>wagemlumsi</i> <i>wagemenlumsin</i>	<i>wagemlupsetchi</i> <i>wagemenlupsetchin</i>
3ns→2p	<i>wagemlupsi</i> <i>wagemenlupsin</i>	<i>wagemlupsi</i> <i>wagemenlupsin</i>

3ns→3s	wamerupsu wamenlupsun	wamerupsu wamenlupsun
3ns→3ns	wamerupsusi wamenlupsunchin	wamerupsusi wamerupsunchin

nima?, -nis-/-ni- see

1s→2s	nine meninen	nine meninen
1s→2d	ninetchiŋ meninetchiŋnen	ninetchiŋ meninetchiŋnen
1s→2p	niniŋ meniniŋnen	niniŋ meniniŋnen
1s→3s	nis-uŋ meniʔen	nis-uŋ mennibaŋ
1s→3ns	nis-uŋsiŋ meniʔenchiŋ	nis-uŋsiŋ mennibaŋsiŋ
1di→3s	ani-su anni-sun	anis-etchu annis-etchun
1di→3ns	ani-susi anni-susin	anis-etchusi annis-etchusin
1nse→2	ninetchige meninetchigen	ninetchige meninetchigen
1de→3s	ni-suge meni-sugen	nis-etchuge menis-etchugen
1de→3ns	ni-susige meni-susigen	nis-etchusige menis-etchusigen
1pi→3s	anis-um annis-umnen	anis-um annis-umnen
1pi→3ns	anis-umsim annis-umsimnen	anis-umsim annis-umsimnen
1pe→3s	nis-umbe menis-umben	nimʔna mennimʔna
1pe→3ns	nis-umsimbe menis-umsimben	nimʔnasi mennimʔnasi
2s→1s	keniʔe kenniʔen	kenis-aŋ kennis-aŋnen
2→1	ageni ageninen	agenis-e agenis-en
2s→3s	kenis-u kennis-un	kenis-u kennis-un
2s→3ns	kenis-usi kennis-unchiŋ	kenis-usi kennis-unchiŋ
2d→3s	keni-su kenni-sun	kenis-etchu kennis-etchun

2d→3ns	<i>keni-susi</i> <i>kenni-sunchin</i>	<i>kenis-etchusi</i> <i>kennis-etchunchin</i>
2p→3s	<i>kenis-um</i> <i>kennis-umnen</i>	<i>kenis-um</i> <i>kennis-umnen</i>
2p→3ns	<i>kenis-umsim</i> <i>kennis-umsimnen</i>	<i>kenis-umsim</i> <i>kennis-umsimnen</i>
3s→1s	<i>niʔe</i> <i>meniʔen</i>	<i>nis-aŋ</i> <i>menis-aŋnen</i>
3s→1di	<i>ani-si</i> <i>anni-sin</i>	<i>anis-etchi</i> <i>annis-etchin</i>
3s→1de	<i>ni-sige</i> <i>meni-sigen</i>	<i>nis-etchige</i> <i>menis-etchigen</i>
3s→1pi	<i>ani</i> <i>anninen</i>	<i>anis-ε</i> <i>annis-εn</i>
3s→1pe	<i>nis-ige</i> <i>menis-igen</i>	<i>nis-ige</i> <i>menis-igen</i>
3s→2s	<i>keni</i> <i>kenninen</i>	<i>kenis-ε</i> <i>kennis-εn</i>
3s→2d	<i>keni-si</i> <i>kenni-sin</i>	<i>kenis-etchi</i> <i>kennis-etchin</i>
3s→2p	<i>kenis-i</i> <i>kennis-in</i>	<i>kenis-i</i> <i>kennis-in</i>
3s→3s	<i>nis-u</i> <i>menis-un</i>	<i>nis-u</i> <i>menis-un</i>
3s→3ns	<i>nis-usi</i> <i>menis-unchin</i>	<i>nis-usi</i> <i>menis-unchin</i>
3d→3s	<i>ni-su</i> <i>meni-sun</i>	<i>nis-etchu</i> <i>menis-etchun</i>
3d→3ns	<i>ni-susi</i> <i>meni-sunchin</i>	<i>nis-etchusi</i> <i>menis-etchunchin</i>
3ns→1s	<i>meniʔe</i> <i>menniʔen</i>	<i>menis-aŋ</i> <i>mennis-aŋnen</i>
3ns→1di	<i>ameni-si</i> <i>amenni-sin</i>	<i>amenis-etchi</i> <i>amennis-etchin</i>
3ns→1de	<i>meni-sige</i> <i>menni-sigen</i>	<i>menis-etchige</i> <i>mennis-etchigen</i>
3ns→1pi	<i>ameni</i> <i>amenninen</i>	<i>amenis-ε</i> <i>amennis-εn</i>
3ns→1pe	<i>menis-ige</i> <i>mennis-igen</i>	<i>menis-ige</i> <i>mennis-igen</i>
3ns→2s	<i>kemeni</i> <i>kemenninen</i>	<i>kemenis-ε</i> <i>kemennis-εn</i>
3ns→2d	<i>kemeni-si</i> <i>kemenni-sin</i>	<i>kemenis-etchi</i> <i>kemennis-etchin</i>
3ns→2p	<i>kemenis-i</i> <i>kemennis-in</i>	<i>kemenis-i</i> <i>kemennis-in</i>

3ns→3s	<i>menis-u</i> <i>mennis-un</i>	<i>menis-u</i> <i>mennis-un</i>
3ns→3ns	<i>menis-usi</i> <i>mennis-unchin</i>	<i>menis-usi</i> <i>mennis-unchin</i>

ɔ·mətchiŋma? vr. look at oneself

1s	<i>ɔ·mətchiŋ?e</i> <i>ɔ·memətchiŋ?en</i>	<i>ɔ·mətchiŋaŋ</i> <i>ɔ·memətchiŋaŋnen</i>
1di	<i>ɔ·ʔamətnetchi</i> <i>ɔ·ʔammətnetchin</i>	<i>ɔ·ʔamətnetchi</i> <i>ɔ·ʔammətnetchin</i>
1de	<i>ɔ·mətnetchige</i> <i>ɔ·memətnetchigen</i>	<i>ɔ·mətnetchige</i> <i>ɔ·memətnetchigen</i>
1pi	<i>ɔ·ʔamətchiŋ</i> <i>ɔ·ʔammətchiŋnen</i>	<i>ɔ·ʔamətchiŋe</i> <i>ɔ·ʔammətchiŋen</i>
1pe	<i>ɔ·mətchiŋige</i> <i>ɔ·memətchiŋigen</i>	<i>ɔ·mətchiŋiŋ?na</i> <i>ɔ·memətchiŋiŋ?na</i>
2s	<i>ɔ·gemətchiŋ</i> <i>ɔ·gemmətchiŋnen</i>	<i>ɔ·gemətchiŋe</i> <i>ɔ·gemmətchiŋen</i>
2d	<i>ɔ·gemətnetchi</i> <i>ɔ·gemmətnetchin</i>	<i>ɔ·gemətnetchi</i> <i>ɔ·gemmətnetchin</i>
2p	<i>ɔ·gemətchiŋi</i> <i>ɔ·gemmətchiŋin</i>	<i>ɔ·gemətchiŋi</i> <i>ɔ·gemmətchiŋin</i>
3s	<i>ɔ·mətchiŋ</i> <i>ɔ·memətchiŋnen</i>	<i>ɔ·mətchiŋe</i> <i>ɔ·memətchiŋen</i>
3d	<i>ɔ·mətnetchi</i> <i>ɔ·memətnetchin</i>	<i>ɔ·mətnetchi</i> <i>ɔ·memətnetchin</i>
3p	<i>ɔ·memətchiŋ</i> <i>ɔ·memmətchiŋnen</i>	<i>ɔ·memətchiŋe</i> <i>ɔ·memmətchiŋen</i>

warumsiŋma? vr. bathe oneself

1s	<i>warumsiŋ?e</i> <i>wamerumsiŋ?en</i>	<i>warumsiŋaŋ</i> <i>wamerumsiŋaŋnen</i>
1di	<i>waʔarumnetchi</i> <i>waʔanlumnetchin</i>	<i>waʔarumnetchi</i> <i>waʔanlumnetchin</i>
1de	<i>warumnetchige</i> <i>wamerumnetchigen</i>	<i>warumnetchige</i> <i>wamerumnetchigen</i>
1pi	<i>waʔarumsiŋ</i> <i>waʔanlumsiŋnen</i>	<i>waʔarumsiŋe</i> <i>waʔanlumsiŋen</i>
1pe	<i>warumsiŋige</i> <i>wamerumsiŋigen</i>	<i>warumsiŋiŋ?na</i> <i>wamenlumsiŋiŋ?na</i>
2s	<i>wagerumsiŋ</i> <i>wagenlumsiŋnen</i>	<i>wagerumsiŋe</i> <i>wagenlumsiŋen</i>

2d	<i>wagerumnetchi</i> <i>wagenlumnetchin</i>	<i>wagerumnetchi</i> <i>wagenlumnetchin</i>
2p	<i>wagerumsiŋi</i> <i>wagenlumsiŋin</i>	<i>wagerumsiŋi</i> <i>wagenlumsiŋin</i>
3s	<i>warumsiŋ</i> <i>wamerumsiŋnen</i>	<i>warumsiŋe</i> <i>wamerumsiŋen</i>
3d	<i>warumnetchi</i> <i>wamerumnetchin</i>	<i>warumnetchi</i> <i>wamerumnetchin</i>
3p	<i>wamerumsiŋ</i> <i>wamenlumsiŋnen</i>	<i>wamerumsiŋe</i> <i>wamenlumsiŋen</i>

nisiŋma? vr. see oneself

1s	<i>nisiŋ?e</i> <i>menisiŋ?en</i>	<i>nisiŋaŋ</i> <i>menisiŋaŋnen</i>
1di	<i>aninetchi</i> <i>anninetchin</i>	<i>aninetchi</i> <i>anninetchin</i>
1de	<i>ninetchige</i> <i>meninetchigen</i>	<i>ninetchige</i> <i>meninetchigen</i>
1pi	<i>anisiŋ</i> <i>annisiŋnen</i>	<i>anisiŋe</i> <i>annisiŋen</i>
1pe	<i>nisiŋige</i> <i>menisiŋigen</i>	<i>nisiŋiŋ?na</i> <i>mennisisiŋiŋ?na</i>
2s	<i>kensisŋ</i> <i>kennisisiŋnen</i>	<i>kensisŋe</i> <i>kennisisiŋen</i>
2d	<i>keninetchi</i> <i>kenninetchin</i>	<i>keninetchi</i> <i>kenninetchin</i>
2p	<i>kensisŋi</i> <i>kennisisiŋin</i>	<i>kensisŋi</i> <i>kennisisiŋin</i>
3s	<i>nisiŋ</i> <i>menisiŋnen</i>	<i>nisiŋe</i> <i>menisiŋen</i>
3d	<i>ninetchi</i> <i>meninetchin</i>	<i>ninetchi</i> <i>meninetchin</i>
3p	<i>menisiŋ</i> <i>mennisisiŋnen</i>	<i>menisiŋe</i> <i>mennisisiŋen</i>

thaŋma?, *-thaŋ-* come up

1s	<i>thaŋ?e</i> <i>medhaŋ?en</i>	<i>thaŋaŋ</i> <i>mendhaŋbaŋ</i>
1di	<i>adhansi</i> <i>andhansiŋin</i>	<i>adhaŋetchi</i> <i>andhaŋetchin</i>
1de	<i>thaŋsige</i> <i>medhaŋsigen</i>	<i>thaŋetchige</i> <i>medhaŋetchigen</i>

1pi	<i>adhaŋ</i> <i>andhaŋnen</i>	<i>adhaŋe</i> <i>andhaŋen</i>
1pe	<i>thaŋige</i> <i>medhaŋigen</i>	<i>thaŋŋ?na</i> <i>mendhaŋŋ?na</i>
2s	<i>keɖhaŋ</i> <i>kendhaŋnen</i>	<i>keɖhaŋe</i> <i>kendhaŋen</i>
2d	<i>keɖhaŋsi</i> <i>kendhaŋsin</i>	<i>keɖhaŋetchi</i> <i>kendhaŋetchin</i>
2p	<i>keɖhaŋi</i> <i>keɖhaŋin</i>	<i>keɖhaŋi</i> <i>keɖhaŋin</i>
3s	<i>thaŋ</i> <i>medhaŋnen</i>	<i>thaŋe</i> <i>medhaŋen</i>
3d	<i>thaŋsi</i> <i>medhaŋsin</i>	<i>thaŋetchi</i> <i>medhaŋetchin</i>
3p	<i>medhaŋ</i> <i>mendhaŋnen</i>	<i>medhaŋe</i> <i>mendhaŋen</i>

hiŋma?, *-hiŋ-* live, be alive

1s	<i>hiŋ?e</i> <i>mehiŋ?en</i>	<i>hiŋaŋ</i> <i>mehiŋaŋnen</i>
1di	<i>ahiŋsi</i> <i>ahiŋsin</i>	<i>ahiŋetchi</i> <i>ahiŋetchin</i>
1de	<i>hiŋsige</i> <i>mehiŋsigen</i>	<i>hiŋetchige</i> <i>mehiŋetchigen</i>
1pi	<i>ahiŋ</i> <i>ahiŋnen</i>	<i>ahiŋe</i> <i>ahiŋen</i>
1pe	<i>hiŋige</i> <i>mehiŋigen</i>	<i>hiŋŋ?na</i> <i>meniŋŋ?na</i>
2s	<i>kehiŋ</i> <i>kenhiŋnen</i>	<i>kehiŋe</i> <i>kenhiŋen</i>
2d	<i>kehiŋsi</i> <i>kenhiŋsin</i>	<i>kehiŋetchi</i> <i>kenhiŋetchin</i>
2p	<i>kehiŋi</i> <i>kenhiŋin</i>	<i>kehiŋi</i> <i>kenhiŋin</i>
3s	<i>hiŋ</i> <i>mehiŋnen</i>	<i>hiŋe</i> <i>mehiŋen</i>
3d	<i>hiŋsi</i> <i>mehiŋsin</i>	<i>hiŋetchi</i> <i>mehiŋetchin</i>
3p	<i>mehiŋ</i> <i>meniŋnen</i>	<i>mehiŋe</i> <i>mehiŋen</i>

i·ma?, *-i·r-/-i·-* wander

1s	<i>i·ʔε</i> <i>mεʔi·ʔen</i>	<i>i·raŋ</i> <i>mεʔi·raŋnen</i>
1di	<i>aʔi·si</i> <i>anʔi·sin</i>	<i>aʔi·retchi</i> <i>anʔi·retchin</i>
1de	<i>i·sige</i> <i>mεʔi·sigen</i>	<i>i·retchige</i> <i>mεʔi·retchigen</i>
1pi	<i>aʔi·</i> <i>anʔi·nen</i>	<i>aʔi·re</i> <i>anʔi·ren</i>
1pe	<i>i·rige</i> <i>mεʔi·rigen</i>	<i>i·mʔna</i> <i>menʔi·mʔna</i>
2s	<i>keʔi·</i> <i>kenʔi·nen</i>	<i>keʔi·re</i> <i>kenʔi·ren</i>
2d	<i>keʔi·si</i> <i>kenʔi·sin</i>	<i>keʔi·retchi</i> <i>kenʔi·retchin</i>
2p	<i>keʔi·ri</i> <i>kenʔi·rin</i>	<i>keʔi·ri</i> <i>kenʔi·rin</i>
3s	<i>i·</i> <i>mεʔi·nen</i>	<i>i·re</i> <i>menʔi·ren</i>
3d	<i>i·si</i> <i>menʔi·sin</i>	<i>i·retchi</i> <i>menʔi·retchin</i>
3p	<i>mεʔi·</i> <i>menʔi·nen</i>	<i>mεʔi·re</i> <i>menʔi·ren</i>

imma?, *-ips-/-im-* sleep

1s	<i>imʔε</i> <i>mεʔimʔen</i>	<i>ipsaŋ</i> <i>menʔimbaŋ</i>
1di	<i>aʔimsi</i> <i>anʔimsin</i>	<i>aʔipsetchi</i> <i>anʔipsetchin</i>
1de	<i>imsige</i> <i>mεʔimsigen</i>	<i>ipsetchige</i> <i>mεʔipsetchigen</i>
1pi	<i>aʔim</i> <i>anʔimnen</i>	<i>aʔipse</i> <i>anʔipsen</i>
1pe	<i>ipsige</i> <i>mεʔipsigen</i>	<i>immʔna</i> <i>menʔimmʔna</i>
2s	<i>keʔim</i> <i>kenʔimnen</i>	<i>keʔipse</i> <i>kenʔipsen</i>
2d	<i>keʔimsi</i> <i>kenʔimsin</i>	<i>keʔipsetchi</i> <i>kenʔipsetchin</i>
2p	<i>keʔipsi</i> <i>kenʔipsin</i>	<i>keʔipsi</i> <i>kenʔipsin</i>
3s	<i>im</i> <i>mεʔimnen</i>	<i>ipse</i> <i>mεʔipsen</i>

3d	<i>imsi</i> <i>mɛʔimsin</i>	<i>ipseɬchi</i> <i>mɛʔipseɬchin</i>
3p	<i>mɛʔim</i> <i>mɛnʔimnen</i>	<i>mɛʔipse</i> <i>mɛnʔipseɛn</i>

2. Irregular Verbs

Two groups of irregular verb can be distinguished: a group of transitive and intransitive verbs showing regular apophony in the stem and the verb *pe·kmaʔ* 'to go' which shows irregular apophony in the stem. Verbs showing regular apophony constitute one of the thirty verb stem types in Limbu (see 4.1). These are vowel-final stems which have been subjected to the ravages of pronominalization.

2.1. Regular Apophony: Intransitives

Regular tense-motivated apophony in intransitive verbs is illustrated below by the conjugations of the verbs *ca·maʔ* 'to perform', *mutthamaʔ* 'to fall through the air', *yumaʔ* 'to come down' and *simaʔ* 'to die'. In tense-motivated apophony the vowel of preterit stem has historically undergone Umlaut through absorption of the preterit morpheme <-ɛ>. The apophonic pattern is reversed in the 1pe forms where the preterit stem takes a consonant-initial *portemanteau* and the non-preterit stem is followed by the plural patient/subject morpheme <-i>.

ca·maʔ perform

1s	<i>ca·ʔɛ</i> <i>mɛdza·ʔɛn</i>	<i>cya·ŋ</i> <i>mɛdzya·ŋnen/mɛndza·baŋ</i>
1di	<i>adza·si</i> <i>andza·sin</i>	<i>adze·si</i> <i>andze·sin</i>
1de	<i>ca·si</i> <i>mɛdza·sin</i>	<i>ce·si</i> <i>mɛdze·sin</i>
1pi	<i>adza·</i> <i>amdza·nen</i>	<i>adze·</i> <i>amdze·nen</i>
1pe	<i>ce·ʔige</i> <i>mɛdze·ʔigen</i>	<i>ca·mʔna</i> <i>mɛndza·mʔna</i>
2s	<i>kɛdza·</i> <i>kɛndza·nen</i>	<i>kɛdze·</i> <i>kɛndze·nen</i>
2d	<i>kɛdza·si</i> <i>kɛndza·sin</i>	<i>kɛdze·si</i> <i>kɛndze·sin</i>

2p	<i>kedza·ʔi</i> <i>kendza·ʔin</i>	<i>kedze·ʔi</i> <i>kendze·ʔin</i>
3s	<i>ca·</i> <i>medza·nen</i>	<i>ce·</i> <i>medze·nen</i>
3d	<i>ca·si</i> <i>medza·sin</i>	<i>ce·si</i> <i>medze·sin</i>
3p	<i>medza·</i> <i>mendza·nen</i>	<i>medze·</i> <i>mendze·nen</i>

eg.	<i>khikwa ca·ʔε</i>	I whistle.
	<i>khikwa cya·ŋ</i>	I whistled.
	<i>khikwa ca·</i>	He whistles.
	<i>khikwa ce·</i>	He whistled.

mut-thamaʔ fall (through the air)

1s	<i>mut-thaʔε</i> <i>mut-methaʔen</i>	<i>mut-thyaŋ</i> <i>mut-methyaŋnen/</i> <i>mut-mendhabaŋ</i>
1di	<i>mut-adhasi</i> <i>mut-andhasin</i>	<i>mut-adhe·si</i> <i>mut-andhe·sin</i>
1de	<i>mut-thasi</i> <i>mut-medhasin</i>	<i>mut-the·si</i> <i>mut-medhe·sin</i>
1pi	<i>mut-adha</i> <i>mut-amdhanen</i>	<i>mut-adhe·</i> <i>mut-amdhe·nen</i>
1pe	<i>mut-the·ʔige</i> <i>mut-medhe·ʔigen</i>	<i>mut-thamʔna</i> <i>mut-mendhamʔna</i>
2s	<i>mut-kedha</i> <i>mut-kedhanen</i>	<i>mut-kedhe·</i> <i>mut-kedhe·nen</i>
2d	<i>mut-kedhasi</i> <i>mut-kedhasin</i>	<i>mut-kedhe·si</i> <i>mut-kedhe·sin</i>
2p	<i>mut-kedhaʔi</i> <i>mut-kedhaʔin</i>	<i>mut-kedhe·ʔi</i> <i>mut-kedhe·ʔin</i>
3s	<i>mut-tha</i> <i>mut-medhanen</i>	<i>mut-the·</i> <i>mut-medhe·nen</i>
3d	<i>mut-thasi</i> <i>mut-medhasin</i>	<i>mut-the·si</i> <i>mut-medhe·sin</i>
3p	<i>mut-medha</i> <i>mut-mendhanen</i>	<i>mut-medhe·</i> <i>mut-mendhe·nen</i>

yuma? come down

1s	<i>yu?ε</i> <i>meyu?εn</i>	<i>yyan</i> <i>menyuban</i>
1di	<i>ayusi</i> <i>anyusin</i>	<i>aye·si</i> <i>anye·sin</i>
1de	<i>yusige</i> <i>meyusigen</i>	<i>ye·tchige</i> <i>meye·tchigen</i>
1pi	<i>ayu</i> <i>anyunen</i>	<i>aye·</i> <i>anye·nen</i>
1pe	<i>ye·?ige</i> <i>meye·?igen</i>	<i>yum?na</i> <i>menyum?na</i>
2s	<i>keyu</i> <i>kenyunen</i>	<i>keye·</i> <i>kenye·nen</i>
2d	<i>keyusi</i> <i>kenyusin</i>	<i>keye·si</i> <i>kenye·sin</i>
2p	<i>keyu?i</i> <i>kenyu?in</i>	<i>keye·?i</i> <i>kenye·?in</i>
3s	<i>yu</i> <i>meyunen</i>	<i>ye·</i> <i>meye·nen</i>
3d	<i>yusi</i> <i>meyusin</i>	<i>ye·si</i> <i>meye·sin</i>
3p	<i>meyu</i> <i>menyunen</i>	<i>meye·</i> <i>menye·nen</i>

Imperatives

2s	<i>kɔt-yo· yε?</i>
2d	<i>kɔt-yo· yetche?</i>
2p	<i>kɔt-yo· yeamme?</i>

sima? die

1s	<i>si?ε</i> <i>məsi?εn</i>	<i>syan</i> <i>menchiban</i>
1di	<i>asisi</i> <i>anchisin</i>	<i>ase·si</i> <i>anche·sin</i>
1de	<i>sisige</i> <i>məsisigen</i>	<i>se·sige</i> <i>mese·sigen</i>
1pi	<i>asi</i> <i>anchinen</i>	<i>ase·</i> <i>anche·nen</i>
1pe	<i>se·?ige</i> <i>mese·?igen</i>	<i>sim?na</i> <i>menchim?na</i>
2s	<i>kəsi</i> <i>kenchinen</i>	<i>kese·</i> <i>kenche·nen</i>

2d	<i>kɛsisi</i>	<i>kɛse·si</i>
	<i>kɛnchisin</i>	<i>kɛnche·sin</i>
2p	<i>kɛsiʔi</i>	<i>kɛse·ʔi</i>
	<i>kɛnchiʔin</i>	<i>kɛnche·ʔin</i>
3s	<i>si</i>	<i>se·</i>
	<i>mɛsinɛn</i>	<i>mɛse·nɛn</i>
3d	<i>sisi</i>	<i>se·si</i>
	<i>mɛsisin</i>	<i>mɛse·sin</i>
3p	<i>mɛsi</i>	<i>mɛse·</i>
	<i>mɛnchinɛn</i>	<i>mɛnche·nɛn</i>

2.2. Irregular Apophony: Intransitives

There is no regular reversal of the tense-motivated apophony in the first plural exclusive forms in the conjugations of *tamaʔ* 'to come, appear, show up' and *wa·maʔ*, existential 'to be'. In the preterit 1pe forms of *tamaʔ*, the 1peAS/PT *portemanteau* is replaced by the suffixes of the nonpreterit forms (viz. /-i-ge/ pPS-e) augmented to a preterit apophonic stem. The verb *wa·maʔ* has both the expected 1pe preterit form *wa·mʔna* and an irregular form analogous to that of the *tamaʔ* conjugation, *wɛ·ʔige*. The nonpreterit 1pe forms of both *tamaʔ* and *wa·maʔ* are based on the nonpreterit stem rather than on the preterit stem. Future comparative data might provide some clue as to whether the *tamaʔ*-type conjugation or the *yumaʔ*-type conjugation is closer to the original intransitive apophonic paradigm and which of the two is the product of analogy and re-analysis.

Finally the verb *pe·kmaʔ* 'to go' is apophonic and irregular. The stem *-pe·g-/-pe·k-* becomes *-pit-* in nonpreterit dual forms. The nonpreterit 3s and 3p forms *pe·k* and *mɛbe·gɛ* have contracted allegro speech pronunciations: *pe·ʔ* and *mɛbe·ʔ*. The preterit 3s and 3p forms *pe·gɛ* and *mɛbe·gɛ* have contracted forms: *pe·* and *mɛbe·*. The dual imperative of *pek·maʔ* occurs in both a regular and contracted form: *pe·gɛtchɛʔ* and *pe·sɛʔ*. See footnote 1 on p.188.

tamaʔ come, appear

1s	<i>taʔɛ</i>	<i>tyaŋ</i>
	<i>mɛdaʔɛn</i>	<i>mɛndabaŋ</i>
1di	<i>adasi</i>	<i>ade·si</i>
	<i>andasin</i>	<i>ande·sin</i>

1de	<i>tasige</i> <i>mɛdasigen</i>	<i>tɛ·sige</i> <i>mɛdɛ·sigen</i>
1pi	<i>ada</i> <i>andanɛn</i>	<i>adɛ·</i> <i>andɛ·nɛn</i>
1pe	<i>ta·ʔige</i> <i>mɛda·ʔigen</i>	<i>tɛ·ʔige</i> <i>mɛdɛ·ʔigen</i>
2s	<i>kɛda</i> <i>kɛndanɛn</i>	<i>kɛdɛ·</i> <i>kɛndɛ·nɛn</i>
2d	<i>kɛdasi</i> <i>kɛdasin</i>	<i>kɛdɛ·si</i> <i>kɛndɛ·sin</i>
2p	<i>kɛdaʔi</i> <i>kɛndaʔin</i>	<i>kɛdɛ·ʔi</i> <i>kɛndɛ·ʔin</i>
3s	<i>ta</i> <i>mɛdanɛn</i>	<i>tɛ·</i> <i>mɛdɛ·nɛn</i>
3d	<i>tasi</i> <i>mɛdasin</i>	<i>tɛ·si</i> <i>mɛdɛ·sin</i>
3p	<i>mɛda</i> <i>mɛndanɛn</i>	<i>mɛdɛ·</i> <i>mɛndɛ·nɛn</i>

wa·maʔ existential 'to be'

1s	<i>wa·ʔɛ</i>	<i>wayaŋ</i>
1di	<i>awa·si</i>	<i>awayɛtchi/awɛ·si</i>
1de	<i>wa·sige</i>	<i>wayɛtchige/wɛ·sige</i>
1pi	<i>awa·</i>	<i>awayɛ/awɛ·</i>
1pe	<i>wayige</i>	<i>wa·mʔna/wɛ·ʔige</i>
2s	<i>kɛwa·</i>	<i>kɛwayɛ/kɛwɛ·</i>
2d	<i>kɛwa·si</i>	<i>kɛwayɛtchi/kɛwɛ·si</i>
2p	<i>kɛwayi</i>	<i>kɛwɛ·i</i>
3s	<i>wa·</i>	<i>wayɛ/wɛ·</i>
3d	<i>wa·si</i>	<i>wayɛtchi/wɛ·si</i>
3p	<i>mɛwa·</i>	<i>mɛwayɛ/mɛwɛ·</i>

pe·kmaʔ go

1s	<i>pe·kʔɛ</i> <i>mɛbɛ·kʔɛn</i>	<i>pe·gaŋ</i> <i>mɛmbɛ·gaŋnɛn</i>
1di	<i>abitchi</i> <i>ambitchin</i>	<i>abɛ·gɛtchi/abɛ·si</i> <i>ambe·gɛtchin/ambe·sin</i>
1de	<i>pitchige</i> <i>mɛbitchigen</i>	<i>pe·gɛtchige/pe·sige</i> <i>mɛbɛ·gɛtchigen/mɛbɛ·sigen</i>
1pi	<i>abɛ·k</i> <i>ambe·kɛnɛn</i>	<i>abɛ·gɛ/ambe·</i> <i>ambe·gɛn/ambe·nɛn</i>
1pe	<i>pe·gige</i> <i>mɛbɛ·gigen</i>	<i>pe·kŋʔna</i> <i>mɛmbɛ·kŋʔna</i>

2s	<i>kεbe·k/kεbe·?</i> <i>kεmbe·knen</i>	<i>kεbe·ge/kεbe·</i> <i>kεmbe·gen/kεbe·nen</i>
2d	<i>kεbitchi</i> <i>kεmbitchin</i>	<i>kεbe·getchi/kεbe·si</i> <i>kεmbe·getchin/kεmbe·sin</i>
2p	<i>kεbe·gi</i> <i>kεmbe·gin</i>	<i>kεbe·gi</i> <i>kεmbe·gin</i>
3s	<i>pe·k/pe·?</i> <i>mεbe·knen</i>	<i>pe·ge/pe·</i> <i>mεbe·gen/mεbe·nen</i>
3d	<i>pitchi</i> <i>mεbitchin</i>	<i>pe·getchi/pe·si</i> <i>mεbe·getchin/mεbe·sin</i>
3p	<i>mεbe·k/mεbe·?</i> <i>mεmbe·knen</i>	<i>mεbe·ge/mεbe·</i> <i>mεmbe·gen/mεmbe·nen</i>

Imperative

2s	<i>pe·?</i>
2d	<i>pe·getche?/pe·se?</i>
2p	<i>pe·gammε?</i>

2.3. Regular Apophony: Transitives

Apophony in irregular transitive verbs is illustrated by the conjugations of *cama?* 'to eat', *sama?-dhama?* 'to escort' and the relinquitive aspectivizer *thama?*.

In *cama?* 'to eat', apophony appears to have been caused by fusion of the stem vowel with the preterit suffix <-ε>. Everywhere in the paradigm where the preterit morpheme is affixed directly to the stem, apophony of the stem vowel occurs whereby the /a/ is unlauded to /e·/: viz. in 1d→3, 2→1, 2d→3, 3→1 (except 3→1s), 3→2 and 3d→3. Wherever the preterit is indicated by a *portemanteau* (viz. 1pe→3, 2s→1s, 3→1s), a *portemanteau* precedes the preterit suffix shielding the stem (viz. 1s→2), or the vowel of the preterit /ε/ is elided before the 3P morpheme <-u> (1s→3, 1pi→3), there is no apophony. It is worthy of note that while elision of the preterit morpheme before <-u> would seem to account for the lack of apophony in 1s→3 and 1pi→3 forms, tense-motivated apophony *does* occur in 3→2p forms before the pPS suffix <-i>. This suggests that the fusion of preterit and stem vowels was anterior to contact between the PT and dPS morphemes or that the apophony in 3→2p morphemes arose secondarily by analogy. When the stem is followed by a final 3P suffix, the /a/ of the stem coalesces with the 3P morpheme to give /ɔ/: viz. in 2s→3, 3→3 (except 3d→3) forms. When the 1s preterit patient morpheme <-aŋ> or the suffix of the 2p imperative <-amm> is suffixed directly to

the stem, the stem vowel /a/ is reduced to /y/, cf. *caŋ* (1s→3s) 'I ate it' vs. *cyaŋ* (3s→1s/PT) 'It ate me'.

The conjugation of *sama?* 'to deliver' differs from *cama?* 'to eat' in that the 2s→3ns and 3→3ns forms exhibit tense-motivated apophony, where the corresponding 2s→3s and 3→3s forms ending in /ɔ/ do not.

The relinquitive aspectivizer *thama?* 'to leave' behaves differently in the lexicalized combination *sama?-dhama?* 'to escort' (a compound of the two apophonic transitives *sama?* 'to deliver' and the relinquitive aspectivizer) than when it occurs in free combination as the aspectivizer to a transitive verb. In the compound *sama?-dhama?* it echoes the apophonic changes in the stem of *sama?*. In free combination, it exhibits tense-motivated apophony throughout the paradigm whenever there is no tense *portemanteau*, as illustrated below by the paradigm of the aspectivized combination *tha·?ma?* 'leave something behind for someone (= patient)' and the aspectivizer *thama?*.

cama? eat

	non-preterit	preterit
1s→2s	<i>cane</i> <i>medzanen</i>	<i>cane</i> <i>medzanen</i>
1s→2d	<i>canctchiŋ</i> <i>medzanetchiŋ</i>	<i>canctchiŋ</i> <i>medzanetchiŋ</i>
1s→2p	<i>caniŋ</i> <i>medzaniŋnen</i>	<i>caniŋ</i> <i>medzaniŋnen</i>
1s→3s	<i>caŋ</i> <i>medza?ɛn</i>	<i>caŋ</i> <i>mɛndzabaŋ</i>
1s→3ns	<i>caŋsiŋ</i> <i>medza?ɛnchin</i>	<i>caŋsiŋ</i> <i>mɛndzabaŋsiŋ</i>
1di→3s	<i>adzasu</i> <i>andzasun</i>	<i>adze·su</i> <i>andze·sun</i>
1di→3ns	<i>adzasusi</i> <i>andzasusin</i>	<i>adze·susi</i> <i>andze·susin</i>
1nse→2	<i>canctchige</i> <i>medzanetchigen</i>	<i>canctchige</i> <i>medzanetchigen</i>
1de→3s	<i>casuge</i> <i>medzasugen</i>	<i>ce·suge</i> <i>mɛdze·sugen</i>
1de→3ns	<i>casusige</i> <i>medzasusigen</i>	<i>ce·susige</i> <i>mɛdze·susigen</i>
1pi→3s	<i>adzam</i> <i>andzamnen</i>	<i>adzam</i> <i>andzamnen</i>

1pi→3ns	<i>adzamsim</i> <i>andzamsimnen</i>	<i>adzamsim</i> <i>andzamsimnen</i>
1pe→3s	<i>cambe</i> <i>medzamben</i>	<i>cam?na</i> <i>mendzam?na</i>
1pe→3ns	<i>camsimbe</i> <i>medzamsimben</i>	<i>cam?nasi</i> <i>mendzam?nasi</i>
2s→1s	<i>kedza?ε</i> <i>kendza?εn</i>	<i>kedzyaŋ</i> <i>kendzyaŋnen</i>
2→1	<i>agedza</i> <i>agendzanen</i>	<i>agedze·</i> <i>agendze·nen</i>
2s→3s	<i>kedzo</i> <i>kendzonen</i>	<i>kedzo</i> <i>kendzonen</i>
2s→3ns	<i>kedzosi</i> <i>kendzosingin</i>	<i>kedzosi</i> <i>kendzosingin</i>
2d→3s	<i>kedzasu</i> <i>kendzasun</i>	<i>kedze·su</i> <i>kendze·sun</i>
2d→3ns	<i>kedzasusi</i> <i>kendzasusingin</i>	<i>kedze·susi</i> <i>kendze·susingin</i>
2p→3s	<i>kedzam</i> <i>kendzamnen</i>	<i>kedzam</i> <i>kendzamnen</i>
2p→3ns	<i>kedzamsim</i> <i>kendzamsimnen</i>	<i>kedzamsim</i> <i>kendzamsimnen</i>
3s→1s	<i>ca?ε</i> <i>medza?εn</i>	<i>cyaŋ</i> <i>medzyaŋnen</i>
3s→1di	<i>adzasi</i> <i>andzasingin</i>	<i>adze·si</i> <i>andze·singin</i>
3s→1de	<i>casige</i> <i>medzasingen</i>	<i>ce·sige</i> <i>medze·singen</i>
3s→1pi	<i>adza</i> <i>andzanen</i>	<i>adze·</i> <i>andze·nen</i>
3s→1pe	<i>ca?ige</i> <i>medza?igen</i>	<i>ce·?ige</i> <i>medze·?igen</i>
3s→2s	<i>kedza</i> <i>kendzanen</i>	<i>kedze·</i> <i>kendze·nen</i>
3s→2d	<i>kedzasi</i> <i>kendzasingin</i>	<i>kedze·si</i> <i>kendze·singin</i>
3s→2p	<i>kedza?i</i> <i>kendza?ingin</i>	<i>kedze?i</i> <i>kendze·?ingin</i>
3s→3s	<i>co</i> <i>medzonen</i>	<i>co</i> <i>medzonen</i>
3s→3ns	<i>cosi</i> <i>medzosingin</i>	<i>cosi</i> <i>medzosingin</i>
3d→3s	<i>casu</i> <i>medzasun</i>	<i>ce·su</i> <i>medze·sun</i>
3d→3ns	<i>casusi</i> <i>medzasingin</i>	<i>ce·susi</i> <i>medze·susingin</i>

3ns→1s	<i>mɛdzaʔɛ</i> <i>mɛndzaʔɛn</i>	<i>mɛdzyaŋ</i> <i>mɛndzyaŋnɛn</i>
3ns→1di	<i>amdzasi</i> <i>amɛndzasin</i>	<i>amdze·si</i> <i>amɛndze·sin</i>
3ns→1de	<i>mɛdzasige</i> <i>mɛndzasigen</i>	<i>mɛdze·sige</i> <i>mɛndze·sigen</i>
3ns→1pi	<i>amdza</i> <i>amɛndzanɛn</i>	<i>amdze·</i> <i>amɛndze·nɛn</i>
3ns→1pe	<i>mɛdzaʔige</i> <i>mɛndzaʔigen</i>	<i>mɛdze·ʔige</i> <i>mɛndze·ʔigen</i>
3ns→2s	<i>kɛmdza</i> <i>kɛmɛndzanɛn</i>	<i>kɛmdze·</i> <i>kɛmɛndze·nɛn</i>
3ns→2d	<i>kɛmdzasi</i> <i>kɛmɛndzasin</i>	<i>kɛmdze·si</i> <i>kɛmɛndze·sin</i>
3ns→2p	<i>kɛmdzaʔi</i> <i>kɛmɛndzaʔin</i>	<i>kɛmdzeʔi</i> <i>kɛmɛndze·ʔin</i>
3ns→3s	<i>mɛdzɔ</i> <i>mɛndzɔnɛn</i>	<i>mɛdzɔ</i> <i>mɛndzɔnɛn</i>
3ns→3ns	<i>mɛdzɔsi</i> <i>mɛndzɔsin</i>	<i>mɛdzɔsi</i> <i>mɛndzɔsin</i>

Imperatives

Adhortatives

2s	<i>cɛʔ/cyɛʔ</i>		
2d	<i>cɛsɛʔ/cɛ·sɛʔ</i>	1di	<i>casu</i>
2p	<i>cyammɛʔ/cɛmmɛʔ</i>	1pi	<i>cam</i>

eg. *kɛʔe·kʔo·kɛdze·i·ʔ*

Has [the sun] burned you on your back?

samaʔ-dhamaʔ escort

1s→2s	<i>sane-dhane</i> <i>mesanɛn-medhanɛn</i>	<i>sane-dhane</i> <i>mesanɛn-medhanɛn</i>
1s→2d	<i>sane-dhanɛtchiŋ</i> <i>mesanɛn-medhanɛtchiŋnɛn</i>	<i>sane-dhanɛtchiŋ</i> <i>mesanɛn-</i> <i>medhanɛtchiŋnɛn</i>
1s→2p	<i>saniŋ-dhaniŋ</i> <i>mesaniŋnɛn-medhaniŋnɛn</i>	<i>saniŋ-dhaniŋ</i> <i>mesaniŋnɛn-</i> <i>medhaniŋnɛn</i>
1s→3s	<i>saŋ-dhaŋ</i> <i>mesaʔɛn-medhaʔɛn</i>	<i>saŋ-dhaŋ</i> <i>menchabaŋ-mendhabaŋ</i>
1s→3ns	<i>sansiŋ-dhansiŋ</i> <i>mesaʔɛnchin-medhaʔɛnchin</i>	<i>sansiŋ-dhansiŋ</i> <i>menchabaŋsiŋ-</i> <i>mendhabaŋsiŋ</i>

1di→3s	<i>asasu-adhasu</i> <i>anchasun-andhasun</i>	<i>ase·su-adhe·su</i> <i>anche·sun-andhe·sun</i>
1di→3ns	<i>asasusi-adhasusi</i> <i>anchasusin-andhasusin</i>	<i>ase·susi-adhe·susi</i> <i>anche·susin-</i> <i>andhe·susin</i>
1nse→2	<i>sanɛtchige-dhanɛtchige</i> <i>mɛsanɛtchigen-mɛdhanɛtchigen</i>	<i>sanɛtchige-</i> <i>dhanɛtchige</i> <i>mɛsanɛtchigen-</i> <i>mɛdhanɛtchigen</i>
1de→3s	<i>sasuge-dhasuge</i> <i>mɛsasugen-mɛdhasugen</i>	<i>se·suge-dhe·suge</i> <i>(se·suge-dhɛtchuge)</i> <i>mɛse·sugen-</i> <i>mɛdhe·sugen</i>
1de→3ns	<i>sasusige-dhasusige</i> <i>mɛsasusigen-mɛdhasusigen</i>	<i>se·susige-</i> <i>dhe·susige</i> <i>mɛse·susigen-</i> <i>mɛdhe·susigen</i>
1pi→3s	<i>asam-adham</i> <i>anchamnen-andhamnen</i>	<i>asam-adham</i> <i>anchamnen-andhamnen</i>
1pi→3ns	<i>asamsim-adhamsim</i> <i>anchamsimnen-andhamsimnen</i>	<i>asamsim-adhamsim</i> <i>anchamsimnen-</i> <i>andhamsimnen</i>
1pe→3s	<i>sambe-dhambe</i> <i>mɛsamben-mɛdhamben</i>	<i>samʔna-dhamʔna</i> <i>mɛchamʔna-</i> <i>mɛndhamʔna</i>
1pe→3ns	<i>samsimbe-dhamsimbe</i> <i>mɛsamsimben-mɛdhamsimben</i>	<i>samʔnasi-dhamʔnasi</i> <i>mɛnchamʔnasi-</i> <i>mɛndhamʔnasi</i>
2s→1s	<i>kɛsaʔɛ-kɛddhaʔɛ</i> <i>kɛnchaʔɛn-kɛndhaʔɛn</i>	<i>kɛsyaŋ-kɛdhyaŋ</i> <i>kɛnchyaŋnen-</i> <i>kɛndhyaŋnen</i>
2→1	<i>agɛsa-agɛdha</i> <i>agenchanen-angɛndhanen</i>	<i>agɛse·-agɛdhe·</i> <i>agenche·nen-</i> <i>agɛndhe·nen</i>
2s→3s	<i>kɛsɔ-kɛdhɔ</i> <i>kɛnchɔnen-kɛndhɔnen</i>	<i>kɛsɔ-kɛdhɔ</i> <i>kɛnchɔnen-kɛndhɔnen</i>
2s→3ns	<i>kɛsɔsi-kɛdhɔsi</i> <i>kɛnchɔsin-kɛndhɔsin</i>	<i>kɛsɔsi-kɛdhɔsi</i> <i>kɛnchɔsin-kɛndhɔsin</i>
2d→3s	<i>kɛsasɔ-kɛdhasɔ</i> <i>kɛnchasun-kɛndhasun</i>	<i>kɛse·su-kɛdhe·su</i> <i>(kɛse·su-kɛdɛtchu)</i> <i>kɛndhe·sun-</i> <i>kɛndhe·sun</i>
2d→3ns	<i>kɛsasusi-kɛdhasusi</i> <i>kɛnchasusin-kɛndhasusin</i>	<i>kɛse·susi-</i> <i>kɛdhe·susi</i> <i>kɛnche·susin-</i> <i>kɛndhe·susin</i>

2p→3s	<i>kesam-kedham</i> <i>kenchammen-kendhamnen</i>	<i>kesam-kedham</i> <i>kenchammen-</i> <i>kendhamnen</i>
2p→3ns	<i>kesam-kedhamsim</i> <i>kenchammen-kendhamsimnen</i>	<i>kesam-kedhamsim</i> <i>kenchammen-</i> <i>kendhamsimnen</i>
3s→1s	<i>saʔε-dhaʔε</i> <i>mesaʔεn-medhaʔεn</i>	<i>syɑŋ-dhyaŋ</i> <i>mɛsyaŋnɛn-</i> <i>mɛdhyɑŋnɛn</i>
3s→1di	<i>asasi-adhasi</i> <i>anchasin-andhasin</i>	<i>ase·si-adhe·si</i> <i>anche·sin-andhe·sin</i>
3s→1de	<i>sasige-dhasige</i> <i>mesasigen-medhasigen</i>	<i>se·sige-dhe·sige</i> <i>mese·sigen-</i> <i>mɛdhe·sigen</i>
3s→1pi	<i>asa-adha</i> <i>amchanen-amdhanen</i>	<i>ase·-adhe·</i> <i>amche·nɛn-amdhe·nɛn</i>
3s→1pe	<i>saʔige-dhaʔige</i> <i>mesaʔigen-medhaʔigen</i>	<i>se·ʔige-dhe·ʔige</i> <i>mese·ʔigen-</i> <i>mɛdhe·ʔigen</i>
3s→2s	<i>kesa-kedha</i> <i>kenchanen-kendhanen</i>	<i>ke·se·-ke·dhe·</i> <i>kenche·nɛn-</i> <i>kɛndhe·nɛn</i>
3s→2d	<i>kesasi-kedhasi</i> <i>kenchasin-kendhasin</i>	<i>ke·se·si-ke·dhe·si</i> <i>kenche·sin-</i> <i>kɛndhe·sin</i>
3s→2p	<i>kesaʔi-kedhaʔi</i> <i>kenchaʔin-kendhaʔin</i>	<i>ke·se·ʔi-ke·dhe·ʔi</i> <i>kenche·ʔin-</i> <i>kɛndhe·ʔin</i>
3s→3s	<i>sɔ-dhɔ</i> <i>mesɔnɛn-medhɔnɛn</i>	<i>sɔ-dhɔ</i> <i>mɛsɔnɛn-mɛdhɔnɛn</i>
3s→3ns	<i>sasi-dhasi</i> <i>mesasin-medhasin</i>	<i>se·si-dhe·si</i> <i>mɛse·sin-mɛdhe·sin</i>
3d→3s	<i>sasu-dhasu</i> <i>mesasun-medhasun</i>	<i>se·su-dhe·su</i> <i>mɛse·sun-mɛdhe·sun</i>
3d→3ns	<i>sasusi-dhasusi</i> <i>mesasusin-medhasusin</i>	<i>se·susi-dhe·susi</i> <i>mɛse·susin-</i> <i>mɛdhe·susin</i>
3ns→1s	<i>mesaʔε-medhaʔε</i> <i>menchaʔεn-mendhaʔεn</i>	<i>mɛsyaŋ-mɛdhyɑŋ</i> <i>mɛnchyaŋnɛn-</i> <i>mɛndhyɑŋnɛn</i>
3ns→1di	<i>amsasi-amdhasi</i> <i>amenchasin-amendhasin</i>	<i>amse·si-amdhe·si</i> <i>amenche·sin-</i> <i>amɛndhe·sin</i>
3ns→1de	<i>mesasige-medhasige</i> <i>menchasingen-mendhasigen</i>	<i>mɛse·sige-</i> <i>mɛdhe·sige</i> <i>mɛnchasingen-</i> <i>mɛndhe·sigen</i>

3ns→1pi	<i>amsa-amdha</i> <i>amenchanen-amendhanen</i>	<i>amse·-amdhe·</i> <i>amenche·nen-</i> <i>amendhe·nen</i>
3ns→1pe	<i>mesa?ige-medha?ige</i> <i>mencha?igen-mendha?igen</i>	<i>mese·?ige-</i> <i>medhe·?ige</i> <i>menche·?igen-</i> <i>mendhe·?igen</i>
3ns→2s	<i>kemsa-kemdha</i> <i>kemenchanen-kemendhanen</i>	<i>kemse·-kemdhe·</i> <i>kemenche·nen-</i> <i>kemendhe·nen</i>
3ns→2d	<i>kemsasi-kemdhasi</i> <i>kemendhasin-kemendhasin</i>	<i>kemse·si-kemdhe·si</i> <i>kemenche·sin-</i> <i>kemendhe·sin</i>
3ns→2p	<i>kemsa?i-kemdha?i</i> <i>kemencha?in-kemendha?in</i>	<i>kemse·?i-kemdhe·?i</i> <i>kemenche·?in-</i> <i>kemendhe·?in</i>
3ns→3s	<i>meso-medho</i> <i>menchonen-mendhonen</i>	<i>meso-medho</i> <i>menchonen-mendhonen</i>
3ns→3ns	<i>mesasi-medhasi</i> <i>menchasin-mandhasin</i>	<i>mese·si-medhe·si</i> <i>menche·sin-</i> <i>mendhe·sin</i>

Imperative

2s→3s	<i>se?dhe?/se·dhesε?</i>
2s→3ns	<i>se?dhesε?/se·dhesεεε?</i>
2d→3s	<i>setche?-dhesε?</i>
2d→3ns	<i>setche?-dhesεεε?</i>
2p→3s	<i>syamme?-dhyamme?</i>
2p→3ns	<i>syamsε?-dhyamsε?</i>
2s→1s	<i>syane?-dhyane?</i>
2→1	<i>asa?ε?-adha?ε?/na·pmi se·?dhe?</i>

eg. *kesasu-kedhasuro po·η la?ba.* (2d→3s/NPT)
 You^d will probably have to escort her [back home].
sasu-dhasuro po·η la?ba. (3d→3s/NPT)
 They^d will probably have to escort her [back home].
kesoro-kedhoro po·η la?ba. (2s→3s/NPT)
 You^s will probably have to escort him [back to the
 bazar].

tha·?ma? dhama? relinquatively aspectivized
'leave [something] behind for someone'

1s→2s	<i>tha·?ne dhane</i> <i>medha·?nen medhanen</i>	<i>tha·?ne dhane</i> <i>medha·?nen medhanen</i>
1s→2d	<i>tha·?netchiṅ dhanetchiṅ</i>	<i>tha·?netchiṅ</i> <i>dhanetchiṅ</i>
1s→2p	<i>medha·?netchiṅnen</i> <i>medhanetchiṅnen</i> <i>tha·?niṅ dhanṅ</i> <i>medha·?niṅnen medhaniṅnen</i>	<i>medha·?netchiṅnen</i> <i>medhanetchiṅnen</i> <i>tha·?niṅ dhanṅ</i> <i>medha·?niṅnen</i> <i>medhaniṅnen</i>
1s→3s	<i>tha·?ruṅ dhanṅ</i> <i>medha·??en medha?en</i>	<i>tha·?ruṅ dhanṅ</i> <i>mendha·?baṅ</i> <i>mendhabaṅ</i>
1s→3ns	<i>tha·?ruṅ dhansṅ</i> <i>medha·??en medha?enchiṅ</i>	<i>tha·?ruṅ dhansṅ</i> <i>mendha·?baṅ</i> <i>medhabansṅ</i>
1di→3s	<i>adha·?su adhasu</i> <i>andha·?sun adhasun</i>	<i>adha·?retchu adhe·su</i> <i>andha·?retchun</i> <i>andhe·sun</i>
1di→3ns	<i>adha·?su adhasusi</i> <i>andha·?sun andhasusin</i>	<i>adha·?retchu</i> <i>adhe·susi</i> <i>andha·?retchun</i> <i>andhe·susin</i>
1nse→2	<i>tha·?netchige dhanetchige</i> <i>medha·?netchigen</i> <i>medhanetchigen</i>	<i>tha·?netchige</i> <i>dhanetchige</i> <i>medha·?netchigen</i> <i>medhanetchigen</i>
1de→3s	<i>tha·?suge dhasuge</i> <i>medha·?sugen medhasugen</i>	<i>tha·?retchuge</i> <i>dhe·suge</i> <i>medha·?retchugen</i> <i>medhe·sugen</i>
1de→3ns	<i>tha·?suge dhasusige</i> <i>medha·?sugen medhasusigen</i>	<i>tha·?retchuge</i> <i>dhe·susige</i> <i>medha·?retchugen</i> <i>medhe·susigen</i>
1pi→3s	<i>adha·?rum adham</i> <i>andha·?rumnen andhamnen</i>	<i>adha·?rum adham</i> <i>andha·?rumnan</i> <i>andhamnen</i>
1pi→3ns	<i>adha·?rum adhamsim</i> <i>andha·?rumnen andhamsimnen</i>	<i>adha·?rum adhamsim</i> <i>andha·?rumnen</i> <i>andhamsimnen</i>
1pe→3s	<i>tha·?rumbe dhambe</i> <i>medha·?rumben medhamben</i>	<i>tha·?m?na dham?na</i> <i>mendha·?m?na</i> <i>mendham?na</i>

1pe→3ns	<i>tha·ʔrumbe dhamsimbe</i> <i>medha·ʔrumben medhamsimben</i>	<i>tha·ʔmʔna dhamʔnasi</i> <i>mendha·ʔmʔna</i> <i>mendhamʔnasi</i>
2s→1s	<i>kedha·ʔʔe kedhaʔe</i> <i>kendha·ʔʔen kendhaʔen</i>	<i>kedha·ʔraŋ kedhyaŋ</i> <i>kendha·ʔraŋnen</i> <i>kendhyaŋnen</i>
2→1	<i>agedha·ʔ agedha</i> <i>agendha·ʔnen agendhanen</i>	<i>agedha·ʔre agedhe·</i> <i>agendha·ʔren</i> <i>agendhe·</i>
2s→3s	<i>kedha·ʔru kedha</i> <i>kendha·ʔrun kendhanen</i>	<i>kedha·ʔru kedhe·</i> <i>kendha·ʔrun</i> <i>kendhe·nen</i>
2s→3ns	<i>kedha·ʔru kedhasi</i> <i>kendha·ʔrun kendhasin</i>	<i>kedha·ʔru kedhe·si</i> <i>kendha·ʔrun</i> <i>kendhe·sin</i>
2d→3s	<i>kedha·ʔsu kedhasu</i> <i>kendha·ʔsun kedhasun</i>	<i>kedha·ʔretchu</i> <i>kedhe·su</i> <i>kendha·ʔretchun</i> <i>kendhe·sun</i>
2d→3ns	<i>kedha·ʔsu kedhasusi</i> <i>kendha·ʔsun kendhasusin</i>	<i>kedha·ʔretchu</i> <i>kedhe·susi</i> <i>kendha·ʔretchun</i> <i>kendhe·susin</i>
2p→3s	<i>kedha·ʔrum kedham</i> <i>kendha·ʔrumnen kendhamnen</i>	<i>kedha·ʔrum kedham</i> <i>kendha·ʔrumnen</i> <i>kedhamnen</i>
2p→3ns	<i>kedha·ʔrum kedhamsim</i> <i>kendha·ʔrumnen kedhamsimnen</i>	<i>kedha·ʔrum kedhamsim</i> <i>kendha·ʔrumnen</i> <i>kedhamsimnen</i>
3s→1s	<i>tha·ʔʔe dhaʔe</i> <i>medha·ʔʔen medhaʔen</i>	<i>tha·ʔraŋ dhyaŋ</i> <i>medha·ʔraŋnen</i> <i>medhyaŋnen</i>
3s→1di	<i>adha·ʔsi adhasi</i> <i>andha·ʔsin andhasin</i>	<i>adha·ʔretchi adhe·si</i> <i>andha·ʔretchin</i> <i>andhe·sin</i>
3s→1de	<i>tha·ʔsige dhasige</i> <i>medha·ʔsigen medhasigen</i>	<i>tha·ʔretchige</i> <i>dhe·sige</i> <i>medha·ʔretchigen</i> <i>medhe·sigen</i>
3s→1pi	<i>adha·ʔ adha</i> <i>andha·ʔnen andhanen</i>	<i>adha·ʔre adhe·</i> <i>andha·ʔren andhe·nen</i>
3s→1pe	<i>tha·ʔrige dhaʔige</i> <i>medha·ʔrigen medhaʔigen</i>	<i>tha·ʔrige dhe·ʔige</i> <i>medha·ʔrigen</i> <i>medhe·ʔigen</i>
3s→2s	<i>kedha·ʔ kedha</i> <i>kendha·ʔnen kendhanen</i>	<i>kedha·ʔre kedhe·</i> <i>kendha·ʔren</i> <i>kendhe·nen</i>

3s→2d	<i>kedha·ʔsi kedhasi</i>	<i>kedha·ʔretchi</i> <i>kedhe·si</i>
	<i>kendha·ʔsin kendhasin</i>	<i>kendha·ʔretchin</i> <i>kendhe·sin</i>
3s→2p	<i>kedha·ʔri kedhaʔi</i>	<i>kedha·ʔri kedhe·ʔi</i>
	<i>kendha·ʔrin kendhaʔin</i>	<i>kendha·ʔrin</i> <i>kendhe·ʔin</i>
3s→3s	<i>tha·ʔru dha</i>	<i>tha·ʔru dhe·</i>
	<i>medha·ʔrun medhanen</i>	<i>medha·ʔrun medhe·nen</i>
3s→3ns	<i>tha·ʔru dhasi</i>	<i>tha·ʔru dhe·si</i>
	<i>medha·ʔrun medhasin</i>	<i>medha·ʔrun medhe·sin</i>
3d→3s	<i>tha·ʔsu dhasu</i>	<i>tha·ʔretchu dhe·su</i>
	<i>medha·ʔsun medhasun</i>	<i>medha·ʔretchun</i> <i>medhe·sun</i>
3d→3ns	<i>tha·ʔsu dhasusi</i>	<i>tha·ʔretchu dhe·susi</i>
	<i>medha·ʔsun medhasusin</i>	<i>medha·ʔretchun</i> <i>medhe·susin</i>
3ns→1s	<i>medha·ʔʔe medhaʔe</i>	<i>medha·ʔraŋ medhyaŋ</i>
	<i>mendha·ʔʔen mendhaʔen</i>	<i>mendha·ʔraŋnen</i> <i>mendhyaŋnen</i>
3ns→1di	<i>amdha·ʔsi amdhasi</i>	<i>amdha·ʔretchi</i> <i>amdhe·si</i>
	<i>amendha·ʔsin amendhasin</i>	<i>amendha·ʔretchin</i> <i>amendhe·sin</i>
3ns→1de	<i>medha·ʔsige medhasige</i>	<i>medha·ʔretchige</i> <i>medhe·sige</i>
	<i>mendha·ʔsigen mendhasigen</i>	<i>mendha·ʔretchigen</i> <i>mendhe·sigen</i>
3ns→1pi	<i>amdha·ʔ amdha</i>	<i>amdha·ʔre amdhe·</i>
	<i>amendha·ʔnen amendhanen</i>	<i>amendha·ʔren</i> <i>amendhe·nen</i>
3ns→1pe	<i>medha·ʔrige medhaʔige</i>	<i>medha·ʔrige</i> <i>medhe·ʔige</i>
	<i>mendha·ʔrigen mendhaʔigen</i>	<i>mendha·ʔrigen</i> <i>mendhe·ʔigen</i>
3ns→2s	<i>kemdha·ʔ kemdha</i>	<i>kemdha·ʔre kemdhe·</i>
	<i>kemendha·ʔnen kemendhanen</i>	<i>kemendha·ʔren</i> <i>kemendhe·nen</i>
3ns→2d	<i>kemdha·ʔsi kemdhasi</i>	<i>kemdha·ʔretchi</i> <i>kemdhe·si</i>
	<i>kemendha·ʔsin kemendhasin</i>	<i>kemendha·ʔretchin</i> <i>kemendhe·sin</i>
3ns→2p	<i>kemdha·ʔri kemdhaʔi</i>	<i>kemdha·ʔri kemdhe·ʔi</i>
	<i>kemendha·ʔrin kemendhaʔin</i>	<i>kemendha·ʔrin</i> <i>kemendhe·ʔin</i>

3ns→3s	<i>mɛdha·ʔru mɛdha</i> <i>mɛndha·ʔrun mɛndhanɛn</i>	<i>mɛdha·ʔru mɛdhe·</i> <i>mɛndha·ʔrun</i> <i>mɛndhe·nɛn</i>
3ns→3ns	<i>mɛdha·ʔru mɛdhasi</i> <i>mɛndha·ʔrun mɛndhasin</i>	<i>mɛdha·ʔru mɛdhe·si</i> <i>mɛndha·ʔrun</i> <i>mɛndhe·sin</i>

Note that the aspectivizer *thamaʔ* combines only with preterit simplicia of the verbs *mupmaʔ* and *phupmaʔ* 'to forget', eg. *anchige niŋwa mutchɛtchuge dhɛtchuge* 'we^{de} clear forgot it', *khenchi niŋwa kebhutɛtchu kedɛtchu* 'you^d totally forgot it', *niŋwa kebɛtchu kedɛɔ* 'you^s have completely forgotten it'. The ponent aspectivizer *yunmaʔ* combines with their non-preterit forms, eg. *niŋwa mutchu yuksu laʔba* (*birsī rākhcha holā*) 'he'll probably forget it', *mutchuŋ dhaŋ* (*birsī rākhě*) 'I forget it'.

The posterior suffixes in the suffixal string tend to be dropped from the first member of an aspectivized verb pair, cf. *tha·ʔrunsiŋ* vs. *tha·ʔruŋ dhaŋsiŋ* (see 5.3).

Appendix III Limbu-English Glossary

The alphabetical order of the glossary is as follows:

<i>ʔ</i>	<i>ɖ</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>s</i>
<i>a</i>	<i>ɖh</i>	<i>gh</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	<i>t</i>
<i>a·</i>	<i>dz</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>o·</i>	<i>th</i>
<i>b</i>	<i>dzh</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>ɔ</i>	<i>ʈ</i>
<i>bh</i>	<i>e·</i>	<i>i·</i>	<i>ɔ·</i>	<i>ʈh</i>
<i>c</i>	<i>ɛ</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>u</i>
<i>ch</i>	<i>ɛ·</i>	<i>kh</i>	<i>ph</i>	<i>u·</i>
<i>d</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>w</i>
<i>dh</i>		<i>m</i>		<i>y</i>

Verbs are listed in their infinitive form, after which the stem forms are given according to the principles put forth in 4.1.

a

a- pf., my.

a?ho·? part., emotive particle conveying a sense of powerlessness on the part of the speaker to do anything about the situation, i.e. 'well, that's just the way things are', 'that's the way it is', 'there's nothing I can do about it' or 'oh no!'.

a?i? n., porcupine.

a?nemma adv., next year; cf. *atche·ma*, *enniη*, *mi?lliη*, *sumliη*.

a?phe·ma?, a?-phe·s-/-a?-phe·- vt., vide *la?phe·ma?*.

abhya·k adv., extremely.

adhamba n., respected personage, sir, gentleman.

aha·l n., [*< Nep. ahāl*] watering hole; small body of water in which buffaloes wallow.

ahckhekpa adj., sharp, pointy.

aho· interj. conveying amazement.

akma?, -akt-/-ak- vt., put in; add to.

ali n., [*< Nep. ālī* furrow in a field] furrow in a field.

allo adv., now.

allo-thalik adv. until now, till now.

allo· adv., [*< allo* now] now (emphatic).

allo·ba adj., [*< allo* now + *-pa* nom.sf.] contemporary, modern, of today, today's.

amba vide *pa*.

amma vide *ma*.

amma pakma vide *ma pakma*.

amma tumma vide *ma tumma*.

amma?, -ams-/-am- vt., dry something (inedible, eg. *sapla*, *te·?l*) at the edge of a fire; cf. *he·ma?*, *kaηma?*.

amma?, -aps-/-am- vt., [*caus. < apma?* shoot] winnow; *su-ri?l-o· pɔ?e·?l-le aps-u-η* (wind-LOC winnowing basket-INST winnow-3P-1sA) I'm winnowing in the wind with the winnowing basket; cf. *ekma?*, *εpma?*, *thoηma?*.

ammu vide *yammu*.

amphu vide *phu*.

amphudre· vide *phuphudre·*.

an vide *ən*.

anche· adv., [*< anchen* yesterday] before, af few days ago, then, at that time, during that (past) period; cf. *ta·ndi*.

anche·-anche· adv., long ago; cf. *ande·-ande·*.

anchen adv., [*< sən* eve; cf. *sendik*] yesterday.

anchen-sinya·n adv., [lit. yesterday - the day before yesterday] the other day; Nep. *hijo-asti*; cf.

ta·ndik-atçenda·n.

- anchi* pro., we, us (dual inclusive).
anchi- pf., our (dual inclusive).
anchige pro., we, us (dual exclusive).
anchige- pf., our (dual exclusive).
anchiṅma? vr., make an effort, try.
ande· adv., before (antonym: *ando·* later); already, *ande· caṅ* I already ate.
ande·-ande· adv., [*< ande·* before] a long time ago; cf. *anche·*, *ta·ndi*.
ando· adv., later (antonym: *ande·* before).
ando·-ando· adv., [*< ando·* later] in the future; cf. *ta·n-di*, *anche·*.
ani pro., we, us (plural inclusive).
ani- pf., our (plural inclusive).
anige pro., we, us (plural exclusive).
anige- pf., our (plural exclusive).
aṅ postp.adv., 1) too, also; 2) pfG, vide 7.5.1; 3) and.
aṅga pro., I, me.
apma?, *-ab-/-ap-* vt., 1) shoot; cf. *li?*, *timmək*; 2) blast; *suruṅ mɛ?abuba* They're blasting a tunnel; cf. *amma?*.
ase·wa vide *se·wa*.
atçhe·ma adv., [*<*at-* after next, cf. *atçenda·n*] in two years; the year after next; cf. *atçenda·n*, *a?nem-ma*, *enniṅ*, *mi?lliṅ*, *sumliṅ*.
atçenda·n adv., [**at-* after next (cf. *atçhe·ma*) + *scn* eve + **ta·n* tomorrow] the day after tomorrow.
atiṅ pro., 1) someone, some; 2) which.
attitti adv., [*< Nep. *atyatti < tyatti*] much, intensely.
ã part., yes.

a·

- a·bhya?* adv., how much; cf. *habhya?*, *hebhya?*.
a·itiba·r n., [*< Nep. āitabār (ravivār)*] Sunday.
a·k n., burp, belch; (with *lɔ?ma?*) *a·k lɔ?rɛ* She burped.
a·kdaṅba adj.n., [**a·k(kh)* interr.pf. + *-taṅba* 2.1.2] what kind of; cf. *hekdaṅba*, *ɔkdaṅba*.
a·kkhe· adv., [**a·k(kh)* interr.pf.] how; *a·kkhe· lɔ?rɛ?* How was it?; cf. *hekke·*, *ɔkkhe·*.
a·kkhe·lɔ?rik adv., [*a·kkhe·* how + *lɔ?rik* fashion] how, in which way; cf. *hekke·lɔ?rik*, *ɔkkhe·lɔ?rik*.
a·kkhelle adv., [*a·kkhe·* how + *-ille* SUB] at what time; when; cf. *hekke·lle*, *ɔkkhe·lle*.
a·kkhen adv. [**a·k(kh)* interr.pf.] how much, how many;

a·kkhɛn yaŋ po·ksɛ (how_much money become-PT) how much is it?; a·kkhɛn mukɛ (how_much strike-PT) what time is it?.

a·kkhɛnbe·la, a·kphe·la adv., [a·kkhɛn how much + be·la < Nep. *belā* period of time] at which time.

a·kkhyaŋ adv. [a·kkhe· how + -aŋ] how, in what manner.

a·kkhya·k, a·kkhya·kpa adv., [< a·kkhya·pma? be how much + -pa nom.sf.] how many, how much; a·kkhya·kpa co·k? How much is it?; a·kkhya·k kede·?ru how much did you take?.

a·kkhya·k-idik adv., [a·kkhya·k how much + idik a long time] how long, until when; a·kkhya·k-idik keya·k Until when are you staying?

a·kkhya·kpa vide a·kkhya·k.

a·kkhya·pma?, a·k-khya·r-/a·k-khya·t-/a·k-khya·?l vi., [*a·k(kh) interr. pf. + ya·pma? be an amount] be how much; a·kkhya·?l How much is it?; cf. a·k-khya·k, kɔnya·pma?, khɛnya·pma?.

a·kkhyaŋ vide a·kkhyaŋ.

a·kma?, -a·g-/-a·k- vi., be uprooted; sinbo·ŋ a·gɛ The tree has been uprooted; cf. a·ŋma?.

a·kphe·la vide a·kkhɛnbe·la.

a·mbe· n., [< Nep. *मैप*] mango.

a·mbe·?bo·ŋ n., [a·mbe· mango, -bo·ŋ tree] mango tree.

a·ŋbo·ŋ n., [a·ŋ *P. roxburghii* + bo·ŋ tree] pine tree of the species *Pinus roxburghii*, Nep. *sallā ko rukh*.

a·ŋlaba·ri n., [a·ŋ *Pinus roxburghii*, ba·ri garden < Nep. *bārī*] pine grove; Nep. *sallā-ghārī*.

a·ŋma?, -a·ks-/-a·ŋ- vt., [caus. < a·kma? be uprooted] uproot, extirpate, pull out (hair, weeds); ya?in a·ksuŋ I'm uprooting paddy; cf. phi·ŋma?.

a·ŋsiŋ n., [a·ŋ *Pinus roxburghii* + siŋ wood] pine wood.

a·phai adv., [< Nep. *āphai*] on one's own, by oneself, oneself.

a·sa n., [< Nep. *āsā*] hope; cf. co·kma? (4).

b

badam n., [< Nep. *badam*] peanuts.

baḍkyo·la n., [< Nep. *baḍakyaūlo*] shit pellet (eg. of a rabbit or goat).

badza n., [< Nep. *bājā*] musical instrument or instruments, cf. muŋm?naba.

bakulla n., [< Nep. *bakullā*] white river crane.

balla adv., [< Nep. *balla*] finally, at last.

barne· vide parne·.

- ba·dzi* n., [*< Nep. bājī*] time, go, round; Nep. *paṭak*.
ba·ha·n n., [*< Nep. bāhān*] one time, one go (in the process of cooking or distillation).
ba·kas n., [*< Nep. bākas*] box.
ba·ni n., [*< Nep. bānī*] custom, habit.
ba·ri n., [*< Nep. bārī* garden, terrace (of a field)] garden, terraced rice field on a slope; cf. *pyaṅsi*.
ba·ula n., [*< Nep. bāhulā*] sleeve.
be·l n., [*< Nep. bel*] the thorny *bel* tree (? *Aegle marmelos*) or its fruit; the tree bears white flowers, trifoliate leaves and a wood-coloured smooth, round, hard-shelled fruit with a yellow-orange pomegranate-like interior; the fruit is edible before it hardens.
be·la n., [*< Nep. belā*] time.
bəm n., [*< Nep. bam*] bomb.
bətti n., [*< Nep. battī*] lamp.
biha n., [*< Nep. bihā < vivāha*] marriage.
biha·ndik adv., [*biha·n* (*< Nep. bihān*) morning + *-*dik* period of day] in the morning; cf. *idik*, *lendik*, *sendik*, *ya·ndik*, *yunchik* and esp. *ta·ndik*.
bihiba·r n., [*< Nep. bihībār (bṛhaspativār)*] Thursday.
-bisaṅ postp., (after noun or num.) direction, in a certain direction or directions.
budhəba·r n., [*< Nep. budhavār*] Wednesday.

bh

- bhaʔaṅ* vide *phaʔaṅ*.
bhaṅ vide *phaʔaṅ*.
bha·tra n., brush fire, forest fire; Nep. *ḍaḍhelo*.
-bhelle vide *-phelle*.
bheṅṭa n., [*< Nep. bhyāṅṭā*] eggplant.
bhiḍiyo· n., [*< Nep. bhīḍiyo < Eng.*] video, first introduced into district centres of *Limbuvān* in late 1984 where they are run on lawnmower-like generators in order to show popular Hindi films.
bhitra adv., postp., [*< Nep. bhitra*] inside.
bhitta n., [*< Nep. bhittā*] the walls (of a house).

c

caha-dzo·kma?, -co·g-/-co·k- [*< Nep. cāhanu* 'to want' + *co·kma?* 'to do'] 1) vi., be necessary, be needed; *ni·pmelle la·gi yəllik yaŋ cahadzo·k* In order to study lots of money is required; cf. Nep. *cāhincha*; 2) vt., want, desire, require; *cahakɛdzo·gwi·?* Do you want it?; cf. *niŋwa co·kma?*.

cakma?, -cakt-/-cak- vt., dress someone, put clothes on someone; *kensa·n cakte?*! Get your younger brother/sister dressed!

cama? vt.irr., eat; cf. *ca·tma?*.

camma?, -cand-/-can- vt., put something (= patient) on top of something else; *siŋ mɛdzandu* They put the wood on top; *anga sapla adhge·k?o· canduŋ* I put the book on my head.

canɔkwa n., [*< *wa* water] cooked red millet, to be leavened and fermented in the production of *thi·*, q.v.; *canɔkwa* may not be eaten as such because it is believed to cause loss of the faculty of speech; cf. *soŋa?*, *sida·m*.

caŋga n., [*< Nep. caŋgā*] kite.

caŋma?, -caks-/-caŋ- vt., wear (clothes, not jewelry), be dressed; *khɛnɛ? hɛn kɛdzaksu* What are you going to wear?; *khɛnɛ? ade·?lin kɛdzakswi·?* Are you wearing my clothes?; *yɛmbitchare phɛgwa mɛdzaksu* Men wear loincloths; cf. *khu·ŋma?*, *wa·pma?*.

caksinŋma? vr., [*cakma?* dress someone] get dressed, put on (clothes, not jewelry or ornaments); *anchi caknɛt·chi* Let's^{di} get dressed.

casma n., [*< Nep. casmā*] glasses, spectacles.

cautara n., [*< Nep. cautārā*] clay or stone terrace or bench alongside the road or path, ideally underneath a tree.

cawa n., [*< cama?* eat] feed for livestock; Nep. *cāro*.

ca·?l n., [*< ca·tma?* play] game.

ca·?rik vide *sa·?rik*.

ca·ĩ, *dza·ĩ* postp., [*< Nep. cāhĩ*] contrastive individualizing nominal postposition; cf. *dik*, *dzik*.

ca·lɔmma? vi., graze, forage; *khɛŋ mɛnda?-in ca·lɔm-se ye·-aŋ way-ɛ* (that goat-ABS graze-SUP come_down/PT-pfG be-PT) That goat had come down in order to graze.

ca·ma? vi.irr., 1) perform; play; *piŋ ca·?elle sa·rik ya·ŋ?ɛ si?ɛ* I'm stricken with vertigo when I go around on the ferris wheel; cf. *ca·tma?*, *po·ŋwa·-ma?*; 2) *ɔ·mɔ?mathe· ca·ma?* exchange glances, look

at one another; *khunchi ɔ·mɔ?matche· rək ca·si kərə maba·tchin* They^o only exchange glances but don't say a word [to one another]; 3) *he·sɔŋwa ca·ma?* pant, gasp, be out of breath; cf. *se·ŋkwa*; 4) *pəkɔ·ndi ca·ma?* cry "hūlululululu" at a high pitched voice (usu. in groups) on festive occasions, whilst playing *piŋ*, or whilst trekking through the mountains; both males and females perform *pəkɔ·ndi*; Nep. *kurlinu*; 5) *khɔnɔkwa ca·ma?* to snore; *sɛndik immelle khɔnɔkwa kɛdza·banu asira mɛdhanɛn* I don't like to sleep at night with someone who snores; 6) *khikwa ca·ma?* whistle; *sɛndik khikwa ca·m? mɛnunen him bhitra?aŋ mɛnunen, so·gha mɛda* It's no good to whistle at night, nor is it any good to whistle inside the house, for it draws ghosts; 7) sustained activity aspectivizer, vide 5.3.7.

ca·ma?, *-ca·r-/-ca-* vi., be difficult; *sa?ha? yəllik mɛ-wa·. sapla hu?ma?si ca·rɛ* I have so many children. It is difficult (viz. expensive) to educate them; cf. *sakma?*.

ca·mma?, *-ca·nd-/-ca·n-* vt., colour, paint, dye; *kɛm-dza·ndɛi·?* Did they get you? ('they' being non-Limbu Nepalis celebrating *Holi*).

ca·pca·ppa adj., [*ca·ppa* clever] very clever, very intelligent, quick-witted.

ca·ppa adj., clever.

ca·rik vide *sa·?rik*.

ca·tma?, *-ca·tt-/-ca·t-/-ca·?l* vt., [dir. < *cama?* eat] 1) feed; *ca·ttuŋsiŋ* I fed them; *tək kɛdza·ttwi·?* Did you feed him *bhāt?*; 2) inflict, *tukhe· ca·tt-aŋ* (pain feed-1sPS/PT) He hurt me;

ca·tma?, *-ca·tt-/-ca·t-/ca·?l* vt. [dir. < *ca·ma?* play, perform] play (a game, a festive activity), eg. *piŋpiŋ, sarɔ·ndi*, q.v.; *khɛnɛ? hɛn hɛn ca·ma? kɛlɛ·su?* What games do you know how to play?; *piŋpiŋ ca·ttuŋsiŋ* I swung them in the game of *piŋ*; *piŋ kɛdza·ttwi·?* Did you swing the ferris wheel around in the game of *piŋ?*; *lanpho·ŋga ca·tche pe·gi* Let's^{Pi} go play football.

ce·k n., piece, fragment.

ce·li, *-ndze·li-* n., married sister who has left the common paternal home to join the household of her spouse, male sibling speaking.

ce·mma?, *-ce·m-* vt., (with 3s patient agreement) glare, be unpleasantly light; *namille amik?in ce·mu* The sun is glaring in my eyes.

ce·pi n., onion.

cekma?, -*ceg-*/*-cek-* vi., dialectal variant of *ekma?* in the vicinity of *Sākrāntī* to the north of *Myāñluñ*; vide *ekma?*.

cekma?, -*cekt-*/*-cek-* vt., discuss someone or something, tell all about someone or something; *ni·r-u-be-n e·?yanba mēna·n cekt-u* (read-3P-NOM-ABS other man-ABS tell_all_about-3P) He told all about the other man whom he had read about; cf. *ce·ŋma?*, *tadzeŋma?*.

celleklekpa, *celleklekma* adj., adolescent, lively, full of zest, boisterous, laughing and jeering; *celleklekpa mellō?ramm?o!* Don't behave boisterously!; cf. *cellekwa*.

cellekwa n., adolescence, puberty; boisterousness; *kōŋ hendza?ille kudzcellekwa lō·nde* This girl has attained puberty; *kesa?ille kudzcellekwa nē· rācē* Your son seems to have reached puberty; cf. *celleklekpa*, *hillikwa*, *kepma?* (3), *kepma?* (3).

cembi n., soybeans, esp. roasted soybeans (eaten as *lēn-dzya* or midday snack with popcorn, vide *ma·ki*); Nep. *bhaṭmās*; cf. *i·mbrin*.

cemghik n., [*cem-* < *cembi* soybean + *khik-* < *khikma?* be bitter] 'soy-bitter', a fermented soybean dish, prepared by putrefying cooked soybeans with a minute admixture of ash for several days; see recipe in Appendix I; Nep. *kināmā*.

ceŋdze·ba n., shins.

cepma?, -*cept-*/*-cep-* vt., 1) cut or chop (*sa* meat, *siŋ* wood, etc.); *siŋ cepma?* chop wood (fell trees); cf. *khōkma?*; 2) (with animate patient) slaughter; *mēnda? ceptu* He slaughtered the goat.

cepsi n., emaciated person.

ceṭthe· n., dish.

ceṭthya vide *ceṭthe·*.

ce·dhi n., giant intestinal roundworms, *Ascaris lumbricoides*.

ce·ŋma?, -*ce·ks-*/*-ce·ŋ-* vt., discuss; *khēŋ yēmbitcha·n ce·ksēṭchuge* We^{de} discussed that guy; cf. *cekma?*, *tadzeŋma?*.

cemma?, -*cēm-* vt., laud, praise, speak well of someone; *khēŋ mēna·n cēmṃ?na* We^{pe} spoke well of that man; *kēndzumin mēdzəmu* They spoke well of your friend.

cəppəl n., [*<* Nep. *cappal*] sandal, slipper.

ci? adv., 1) a bit, a few; 2) postp., a little bit.

ci?a? adv., [*<* *ci?* a bit] just a little bit, teensy bit.

cibuk adj.adv., excited; (with *lō?ma?*) *kesik cibuk cibuk*

- lɔ? he·kte?* Have you started getting all excited?;
cf. *sik*.
- cidzi?* adv., [*< ci?*] a little bit.
- cige?* adv., intensifier in the expression *sik lɔ?ma?*,
q.v.; *kɛsik cige? cige? lɔ?rɛ rɛcə* Oh, it seems
you've become mighty irritated.
- cigip* n., glue, sticky resin any sticky fluid; *cigip*
khipte the glue stuck.
- cila·pphe·pma* n., [*< lap* wing] butterfly; cf. *haŋma*.
- cimma?*, *-cips-/-cim-* vt., [*caus. < cipma?* be quiet] shut
someone up, stop something or someone from making
noise, turn something off.
- cindzinma* n., large shrub *Brassaiopsis hainla* and, occa-
sionally, *glomerulata*; Nep. *culetro*.
- ciŋma?*, *-ciks-/-ciŋ-* vt., hide, conceal.
- cipma?*, *-cib-/-cip-* vi., 1) be quiet, not speak, not say
anything; 2) fall silent, quiet down, become
silent, cease making noise; 3) stop raining; cf.
cimma?.
- cipsiŋ* n., [*< siŋ* wood] species of small tree bearing
leaves with whitish undersides and sticky flowers;
Nep. *ghurbiso*.
- cire·?* n., circular fishing net with clattering metal
rings fastened about the perimeter which centrifugally
pull the net open when it is flung spinning
out over the water. The rings sink enveloping the
fish in the net.
- cirik* n., cloth, pieces of cloth, woven materials; cf.
ne?l.
- citma?*, *-citt-/-cit-/-ci?l* vi., be greedy, be selfish, be
mean; *sa·rik kɛdzi?l lɛcə* It appears you are ter-
ribly greedy; *khɛŋ mənə·n sa·rik ci?l* That guy's a
real miser; cf. *khi·mma?*.
- citma?*, *-citt-/-cit-/-ci?l* vt., hate someone; *khɛŋlɛ kɛ-*
dzi?l He hates you; *sa·rik ci?lɛ* He really hates
me.
- citma?-sima?* vi.vi., [*citma?* be selfish + *sima?* die] be
impotent, be incapable, be cowardly; *kɛdzitte*
kɛsɛ·ro·! You're really not capable of much any-
thing!
- ciyɔrik-kusiŋ* adv., mostly, generally; *a·kkhe·lɔ·rik*
kɛ?im? - *ciyɔrikkusiŋ lɛrɛhaŋ im?ɛ* How do you
sleep? - Generally, I sleep on my back.
- ci·kma?*, *-ci·kt-/-ci·k-* vi., cool off; *mɔkwa thuŋɛ?!*
ci·kte i?re·?ɛ Drink your tea! It's probably
gotten cold already; cf. *ci·ŋma?*.
- ci·mma?*, *-ci·nd-/-ci·n-* vt., foul, defile; cf. *na·mma?*.

ci·ŋma?, -ci·ks-/-ci·ŋ- vt., [caus. < *ci·kma?* cool off] cool off (eg., *tɔk* cooked rice, *mɔkwa* tea, *canɔkwa* cooked red millet to be leavened and fermented).

co·?co·? mɛpma? vide *mɛpma?* (3).

co·?co·? phimma? vide *co·?co·? mɛpma?*.

co·?lluŋ n., entirety, whole, completion; *ku-dzo·?lluŋ co·g-amm-ɛ?*! (its-entirety do-2p-IMP) Finish it from beginning to end!

co·kma?, -co·g-/-co·k- vi., attributive 'to be', vide 3.5.

co·kma?, -co·g-/-co·k- vt., 1) do; make, build; *lam co·gu* He's building the road; 2) *nadho· co·kma?* perform an offering to the jungle goddess *ta·mbhuŋna* or to the deity of the outdoors *pa·kkhabɛn* by wrapping some fresh blood or a piece of cooked meat from a slaughtered animal in a leaf and leaving it at the jungle's edge or in some remote place outside; 3) *mikthɛkthɛk co·kma?* [*mik* eye + *thɛk-thɛk* cover, obscure] cover someones' eyes, blindfold someone; 4) *a·sa co·kma?* hope; *a·sa co·guŋba* I had hoped so; 5) *ŋlɛk co·kma?* vide *ŋlɛkma?*.

co·mma?, -co·nd-/-co·n- vi., topple, fall over; *pha·n co·nde* The bamboo has fallen over; cf. *so·mma?*.

co·kphuŋ n., [*co·kma?* make + *phuŋ* flower] fabrication, artifice, exaggeration, fish story, tall tale.

co·?i?l n., image, likeness, appearance, look.

cɔkkrɔkma n., uvula.

cɔkma?, -cɔkt-/-cɔk- vt., join, rejoin; *cəppəl pu? gɔrɔ cɔkte?*! If the sandal breaks, put it back together!; *sikki? cɔktuŋba* I rejoined the broken line.

cɔkmak n., [< Nep. *cakmak*] flint.

cɔkna·ŋ n., [< *na·ŋ* younger sibling, same sex as ego] second younger sibling of the same sex as ego; cf. *na·ŋ*, *penna·ŋ*.

cɔmma?, -cɔnd-/-cɔn- vt., shove, push; give a push with one's hand; *mɛndzɔn?ɛ?*! Don't shove!; cf. *cɔtma?*, *imma?*, *phɛŋma?*, *phɛpma?*, *phimma?* (2).

cɔmma?, -cɔps-/-cɔm- vt., [caus. < *cɔpma?* dry up] boil dry, drain (a field).

cɔŋdzɔŋ adj., (with *yam* 'body') recuperated, feeling better; *anchennulle ɛn ci? kuyam cɔŋdzɔŋ lɔ? mu* He says that today he's feeling a little bit better than yesterday; cf. *lɔ?ma?* (10).

cɔpma?, -cɔb-/-cɔp- vi., dry up, dry out, evaporate; *kɛ-ho·rik cɔbɛ* Your skin has dried out; *cwa?lin cɔp* The water will evaporate; cf. *cɔmma?*, *he·ma?*.

cɔtchiŋma? vr., [< *cɔtma?* push from one place to another]

budge, move from one place to another; *nam mɛse·k-nɛn - sɔpmaŋ sɛ·k, sɔpmaŋ kha·kmi?l cɔtchiŋ* The sun's not shining - It'll start shining in a second, the cloud will move.

cɔtma?, -cɔtt-/-cɔt-/-cɔ?l vi., be on time, be early; be fast, be quick; *khɛnɛ? sa·rik kɛdzɔttɛ* You've come rather early; *anga cɔ?lɛ* I'm quick; (with infinitive) be quick; *anga langhe·km? cɔ?lɛ* I walk quickly; *pa·pm? kɛdzɔ?l* You're talking fast; *lo·km? kɛdzɔ?l!* You're running too fast!; cf. *su·ma?*.

cɔtma?, -cɔtt-/-cɔt-/-cɔ?l vt., [dir. < *cɔmma?* shove] push from one place to another; *phɔgəna kɛdzɔt- twi·? - kɔŋ phɔgəna kɔtna anga cɔttuŋ* Did you move the *lohoṭā?* - I pushed this *lohoṭā* over here; cf. *imma?*, *imma?*, *phɛŋma?*, *phɛpma?*, *phimma?* (2,3), *phipma?*.

cɔ·ŋghik adv.adj., turned-up like a pig's nose; *kunbho·pɛn cɔ·ŋghik po·ŋ* His nose gets like a pig's nose, i.e. He turns his nose up at it.

cu?ma?, -cur-/-cut-/-cu?l vi., 1) be finished, be completed; 2) terminative aspectivizer with intransitive verbs, vide 5.3.1; cf. *su?ma?*.

cuci? adv., a little bit.

cuḍe·l n., [< Nep. *cuḍel*] spirit of a young unmarried Indo-Aryan (*pe·nima*) woman who has died; she haunts men with whom she has had an illicit love affair or whom she has loved or who have loved her. Like a female *sugup*, a *cuḍe·l* only frequents places where men are and avoids the company of living women.

cukma?, -cukt-/-cuk- vi., come out, appear (of *phɔkwa* 'blisters'); *phɔkwa cuktɛba* A blister has come up.

cukma?, -cukt-/-cuk- vi., be small.

cukpa adj., [*cuk* < *cukma?* be small + *-pa* nom.sf.] small.

cukpa n., [< *cukpa* small] 1) little one, pre-pubescent male child; 2) as a term of address to young boys, to be used only by female speakers; cf. *cukma?*, *hɛndza?*.

cukma n.f. [f. of *cukpa* small] 1) little one, pre-pubescent female child; 2) as a term of address to young girls by either male or female speakers; cf. *cukpa*, *hɛndza?*.

cuksa adj., [< *cukpa* small + **-sa* dim.sf.] tiny.

culṣi n., [< Nep. *culṣī*] fancy S-shaped implement for cutting foodstuffs, equipped with a flat wedge fixed perpendicularly to the base of the blade and

a talisman or bauble hanging from an eye at the tip of the blade. The flat wedge is held to the ground by foot, and the user sits on the ground in front of the *culēsi* and cuts the meat or vegetables by pushing them away from himself through the blade; the *culēsi*'s cutting edge is on the near side of the blade.

culo n., [*< Nep. cuhlo*] stove, oven, fireplace encased in a rectangular structure built up of clay with a hole or holes on top; as opposed to the indigenous Limbu household fireplace consisting of three *haʔluŋ*, q.v.

cum, *-ndzum-* n., friend; vide *kundzum*; cf. *cumde·ŋ*, *te·ŋba*.

cumde·ŋ, *-ndzum-* *-nde·ŋ-* n.col., [*cum* friend + *te·ŋ* < *te·ŋba* comrade] friends and comrades, buddies.

cumdzum adv., [*< cum* friend] each other.

cumlun n., [*< cum* friend] market, bazar.

cumma?, *-cups-/-cum-* vt., [*caus. < cupma?* close up] (of a hole) fill back in, close back up; *kuhɔŋin cupsun* I closed [its] hole back up.

cumma?, *-cups-/-cum-* vi., assemble, gather together, form a crowd, accumulate, become amassed; *cupsi* Let's^{di} get together!; *yaŋ kɛrɛk cupse* All the money has accumulated; cf. *summa?*.

cundzundanba adj., soft, pudding-like, runny; *a-hi·n cundzundanba co·k* (my-shit-ABS runny be) my shit is runny; cf. *kha·kkha·kwa*.

cun n., the cold (not the illness).

cundzi·kma?, *cun-dzi·kt-/-cun-dzi·k-* [*< cun* cold (cf. *cunge·k*) + *ci·kma?* cool off] 1) vi., be cold (environmental temperature); *cun-aŋ-mɛ-dzi·k-nɛn haŋ-aŋ-mɛ-wa-nɛn* (be_cold-also-NEG-be_cold-NEG be_warm-also-NEG-be_warm-NEG) It is neither cold nor hot out; 2) vt.imp., be cold, feel cold to someone; *cundzi·ktaŋ* I'm cold; *cungɛdzi·kɛi·?* Are you cold?; cf. *kɛdzi·ba*.

cunge·k n., [*< cun* cold, cf. *cundzi·kma?*] the dry and cold season, the winter; cf. *wage·k*.

cunma?, *-cun-* vi., wrestle; fight (physically); The Limbu wrestling technique consists of attempting to throw one's opponent to the ground whilst both parties maintain a mutual embrace about each other's neck and shoulders. The victor ends up lying on top, vide *thamma?*; *hendza? mɛ-dzun-e* (child nsAS-fight-PT) The children wrestled; *a-dzun-si-ʔi· aʔho·? a-mphu-e·?* (1-wrestle-dPS-Q

- oh_my my-elder_brother-VOC) Oh my [expressing mock fear], are we going to wrestle, big brother?.
- cupma?*, -*cub*-/-*cup*- vi., (of a hole) close up, close back up, get filled in; cf. *cumma?*.
- cupma?*, -*cutt*-/-*cut*-/-*cu?l* vt., sprinkle, add a pinch of.
- cupsaŋ* adv., right (antonym: *phenchaŋ* left).
- cupsaŋba* adj., [*cupsaŋ* right + *-pa* nom.sf.] right (as opposed to left).
- cupsaŋdiŋ* adv., [*cupsaŋ* right] to the right, clockwise.
- cwa?l* n., water.
- cwa?l kelakpa* n. + adj., [*cwa?l* water + AP of *lakma?* 'to lick'] (lit. water-licker) an epithet for the *pe·niba* or higher caste Nepali, alluding to their status of being pure caste (Nep. *cokho jāt*) or 'water-acceptable caste' (Nep. *pānī calne jāt*).
- cyanya* adv., on one's side; *cyanya im?ε* I sleep on my side; cf. *lerchaŋ*, *hə?pe?l*.
- cyə?cyə?* adv., in small amounts, in successive globs, in small batches.

d

- da·ri* n., [*< Nep. dāhrī*] vide *siŋbe·k-məyuy-mudhuk*.
- dɛn* sf., place at which; suffixed to the simplex or infinitive of a verb, eg. *yuymadɛn* place to sit, *imma-dɛn* place to sleep, *se·madɛn* place to urinate, *tək tho·kteba-dɛn?o*. In the place she used to cook *bhāt*.
- dərta* n., [*< Nep. dartā*] registration.
- dik* postp., contrastive individualizing nominal postposition; cf. *ca·ī*, *dzik*.
- dɔi* n., [*< Nep. dahī*] yoghurt, curd; cf. *nudak*.

dh

- dhak* allative sf., up unto, until; *na·m-tha-dhak* (sun-falls-ALL) until sunset; (with locative suffix) up as far as; *lam-?o-dhak* (road-LOC-ALL) up as far as the road; *cumluy-thak* up as far as the bazar; *cumluy?o-dhak* up into the bazar.
- dhik* vide *-thik*.

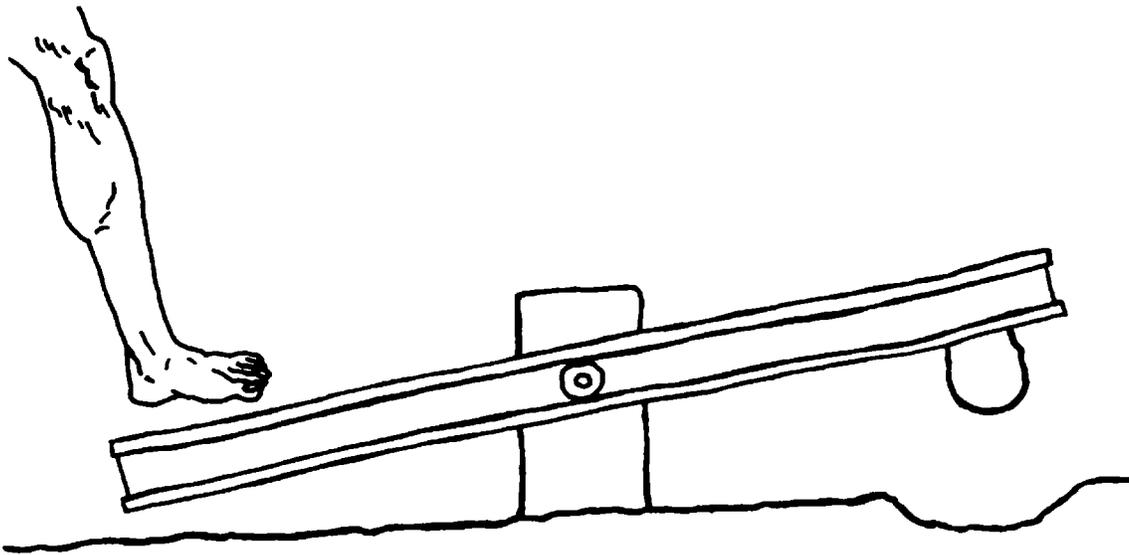
ḍ

ḍasana n., [*< Nep. ḍasanā*] mattress, bedding.

ḍo·li n., [*< Nep. ḍolī*] palanquin.

ḍh

ḍhiki n., [*< Nep. ḍhikī*] a rice thrasher consisting of a long wooden lever pivoting on a short horizontal axle protruding from a wooden post or pylon above a stone floor. A mound-shaped stone is affixed to the underside of the lever at one end, and the lever is depressed by foot at the opposite end and released so as to lift the pounding stone and allow it to come down repeatedly on to the paddy placed in a depression in the stone floor; cf. *hakma?*, *phimma?*.

*ḍhiki**dz*

dzanti n., [*< Nep. jantī*] participants in a procession.

dze· pro., [*< Nep. je*] that which.

-dzik postp., contrastive individualizing nominal postposition; cf. *ca·ī*, *dik*.

dzilla n., [*< Nep. jillā*] district.

dzoro· n., [*< Nep. jaro*] fever; cf. *tun*.

dzun pro., [*< Nep. jun*] that which.

dzutta n., [*< Nep. juttā*] shoe; cf. *lanṣup*.

dzh

dzhan adv., [*< Nep. jhan*] even more, yet more so.

e·

e·, i· postp.emph.part., esp. in the emphatic locative:
e·, oe·.

e·?e· adv., separately, apart.

e·?ma?, -e·?r-/-e·?- vt., bore someone, get to be too much for someone, cause someone to develop a disinterest or *dégoût*; *kəŋ te·?lille anga e·?raŋ* I'm fed up with these clothes; *ta·ndi ta·ndi ke?e·?* One day soon it will no longer appeal to you; *e·?-?ε la?ba* It'll probably bore me; cf. -nbo·
hipma?, *niŋ le?ma?*.

e·?yaŋba, e·?yaŋba adj., other, another {used like Dutch *ander* or Russian *drugoĵ*, not like English *other* or Nepali *arke*, eg.: *e·?yaŋba pi·r-aŋ-ε?!* (other give-1sP-IMP) Give me another! [the implication is: I am not satisfied with the one I already have]; *yammu-dhik pi·r-aŋ-ε?!* (again-one give-1sP-IMP) Give me [yet] another! [the implication is: I have already finished the first one]}; cf. *thiksamma*, *wi?sma*.

e·gaŋ [*< e·k* back] 1) postp., behind; 2) adv., in back, behind; cf. *tagaŋ*.

e·k n., back.

e·ka n. parrot, parakeet; Nep. *sughā*, *sugā*.

e·kke· postp.adv., like, as, in the fashion of; *khunc? kappo·ba e·kke· tha·p i·nna* He really looks like an old man; *kəŋ?e·kke· lə?i·?* Does it do like this?; cf. *kusiŋ*, *lə?rik*.

e·klai, e·kle· adv., [*< Nep.*] alone.

e·ksi n., [*< e·k* back] backbone, spine.

e·lle pro.erg., who.

e·n pro.abs., who, whom.

e·pma?, -e·pt-/-e·p- vt., 1) overheat or burn slightly so as to allow an edible crust to form; scorch; *tək-?in e·ptu* He's scorching a rice crust; 2) inspire with awe, instill fear; *yamba mənare cukpa mənaha? e·ptusi* A big man inspires small men with awe; *yamba mənaha?re am?e·p* Big men inspire us with awe.

ε

ekma?, -εg-/-εk-, *cekma?*, -ceg-/-cek- vi., snap, break;
siŋbo·ŋ-le ku-haŋga-dhik εg-ε dhe· (tree-GEN
 its-branch-one snap-PT fall/PT) One of the tree's
 branches snapped and fell; *pha·n εge* The bamboo
 snapped; cf. *εŋma?*.

ekma?, -εkt-/-εk- vt., shake back and forth in small ho-
 rizontal increments whilst holding the *pɔʔe·ʔl*
 (winnowing basket) level; cf. *amma?*, *εpma?*, *thɔŋ-*
ma?.

ellamba adv., [*< εn* today] this year; cf. *enniŋ*.

εn adv., today.

enda·ndik adv., [*εn* today + *ta·ndik* tomorrow] nowadays.

εŋma?, -εks-/-εŋ-, *seŋma?*, -seks-/-seŋ- vt., [caus. <
ekma? break, snap] snap, break; *siŋ eksu* He broke
 the stick.

enniŋ adv., [*< εn* today] this year; cf. *atche·ma*, *aʔnemma*,
ellamba, *miʔlliŋ*, *sumliŋ*.

εpma?, -εpt-/-εp- vt., fan away the chaff with a winnowing
 basket (*pɔʔe·ʔl*) whilst the grain lies spread out
 on the ground; cf. *amma?*, *ekma?*, *thɔŋma?*.

εpma?, -εtt-/-εt-/-εʔl vt., 1) lock; *lamdhe·ʔlin meʔettu*;
 2) stop, bring to a halt; *ya·mbɔkʔin ettuwəŋ*
mebo·ksen He brought the work to a halt and it
 didn't get done.

ə

əgɔ· vide *gɔ·*.

ən n., horse.

əncha n., [*ən* horse + *sa* meat] horsemeat.

g

ga·ro· n., [*< Nep. gāro*] wall.

go·li n., [*< Nep. golī*] bullet; cf. *ko·reʔl*.

gɔ· part., then, exactly, just (often left untranslated);
 emphasizes or highlights the preceding element:
khuneʔ gɔ· as for him; *kembe·knenni· kheneʔ gɔ·ʔ*
 So you! Aren't you going?

gundri, *kundri* n., [*< Nep. gundrī*] vide *lo·tna*; cf.
lo·mbheʔl.

gh

gha·s n., [< Nep. *ghās*] fodder.

h

ha n., tooth.

ha?luŋ n., [*ha* tooth + *luŋ* stone] one of three long rectangular-prismatic stones buried upright in a circle within the domestic Limbu fireplace, about one-fifth of the actual length protruding above ground and providing the points of support for the *karəhi* or wok when cooking; soot of the *ha?luŋ* may be used to annoint the forehead in order to ward off evil spirits during nighttime outings or nocturnal forays; children may anoint themselves with *ha?luŋ*-soot even during the day; cf. *sumha?luŋ*; see illustration under *migho·mbe·*, p. 469.

ha?ma?, *-ha?r-/-ha?-* vi., catch flame, catch on fire; *siŋ ha?re* The wood caught on fire; cf. *ha·mma?*, *ti·?-ma?*.

ha?ma?, *-ha?r-/-ha?-* vt., [< *ha* tooth] 1) bite; 2) afflict, viz. diseases caused by displeased or malevolent supernatural entities; *co·?co·? memmepmelle samle aha?* If you don't observe the practice of *co·?co·?*, disincarnate spirits will afflict you; cf. *sisam*, *so·gha*, *sugup*.

habo·? n., [< *Pācthare* Limbu] dentition; vide *hadzeŋ*.

habu n., [< *ha* tooth] cavity, caries, tooth decay; cf. *ha?luŋ*, *ha?ma?*, *habo·?*, *hadanba*, *hadzeŋ*, *hadzə*, *hadzi?*, *hama*.

habha adv., like this, like that.

habhya? adv., this much; cf. *a·bhya?*, *həbhya?*.

hadanba n., [*ha* tooth + *-tanba* 2.1.2] jaw; cf. *ha?luŋ*, *ha?ma?*, *habo·?*, *habu*, *hadzeŋ*, *hadzə*, *hadzi?*, *hama*.

hadi·ŋ n., [*ha* tooth + *ti·ŋ* thorn] stubbornness, fuss, obstinacy, resistance; cf. *thəkma?* (3).

hadzeŋ n., [< *ha* tooth] dentition; cf. *ha?luŋ*, *ha?ma?*, *habo·?*, *habu*, *hadanba*, *hadzə*, *hadzi?*, *hama*.

hadzə n., [< *ha* teeth] fore-teeth, viz. canines and incisors; cf. *ha?luŋ*, *ha?ma?*, *habo·?*, *habu*, *hadanba*, *hadzeŋ*, *hadzi?*, *hama*.

hadzi? n., [*ha* tooth + *ci?* bit] pieces of un-ingested food stuck between the teeth; cf. *mikci?*; cf. *ha?luŋ*, *ha?ma?*, *habo·?*, *habu*, *hadanba*, *hadzeŋ*, *hadzə*, *hama*.

hakma?, -*hag*-/-*hak*- vt., thresh, remove the grains, pound (as on a *ḍhiki*), husk (patient: *ya?* paddy); cf. *so·mma?*.

hakma?, -*hakt*-/-*hak*- vt., [dir. < *haŋma?* send something] send (patient: beneficiary or benefacted individual); *khunε? iŋhōŋ haktəŋ* He sent me the news; *iŋhōŋ hakne* I'll send you* the news; cf. *haŋma?*, *paŋma?*.

hakma?, -*hakt*-/-*hak*- vt., drive into the ground.

hakŋnaba n., [nominalized passive part. of *hakma?* 'drive into the ground'] stake, pylon.

hakwa, *hakwaba* n., rice soup similar to Nep. *khole* or *jāulo*.

hama n., [< *ha* teeth] molars; cf. *hukma*, *laŋma*; cf. *ha?*-*luŋ*, *ha?ma?*, *habo·?*, *habu*, *hadəŋba*, *hadzeŋ*, *hadzə*, *hadzi?*.

hama?, -*hand*-/-*han*- vide *hōmma?*.

hama?, -*haps*-/-*ham*- vt., [caus. < *hapma?* get stuck] hang something up; *te·?lin tho· hapsuŋ* I hung the clothes upstairs.

haŋ n., king.

haŋba·la· n., [*haŋ* king + *ba·la·* < Nep. *pālā* period, era] the olden times when the Limbu kings still reigned over *Limbuvān*.

haŋga n., [< Nep. *hāgā*] branch; vide *siŋsara?l*.

haŋma n., butterfly; cf. *cila·pphe·pma*.

haŋma n., [< *haŋ* king] queen.

haŋma?, -*haŋ*- vt., send (patient: object sent; third person patient only); cf. *hakma?*, *paŋma?*.

haŋma?, -*haŋs*-/-*haŋ*- vi., wait.

haŋsa? n., [*haŋ* king + *sa?* child, offspring] prince.

haŋwa n., [*haŋwama?* be hot, **wa* water] water brought to a boil for cooking rice; *khōppe·?o· tok tho·kma?re la·gi cwa?l yuŋm· bo·kse*, *me·nni·? cwa?l yuŋ*, *e·*, *me·nni·? kheŋ cwa?lin haŋwa memettu*. In order to cook rice, you have to put in the pot, don't you? There's water [in it], isn't there? They call that water *haŋwa*.

haŋwakuma?, *haŋwa-kus*-/*haŋwa-ku*- vt.imp., feel warm, feel hot; *khene? haŋwakegusei·?* Are you hot?; *anga haŋwakusaŋ* I'm warm; cf. *haŋwama?*.

haŋwama?, *haŋ-was*-/*haŋ-wa*- vi., be hot (ambient, environmental temperature); be the hot season; cf. *haŋwa-kuma?*, *ko·ma?*, *le·kma?*, *mōkma?*, *ya·mma?*, *ye·mma?*.

hapcyange·n n., trousers.

hapla n., any fermenting substance contained in a *phurluŋ* or *lumbhu?l*, eg. leavened *canōkwa* which is ripen-

ing into *sɔŋa?* in a *phurluŋ* or *lumbhu?l*, cooked *cembi* ripening into *cemghik* in a *phurluŋ*.

hapma?, *-hapt-/-hap-* vi., get stuck, get caught up, get hung up; *na-re ku-di.ŋ a-sikla-?o. hapt-ε* (fish-GEN its-fishbone my-throat-LOC get_stuck-PT) The fishbone got stuck in my throat; *sɔrɔŋ tha-sunba, tho. haptε* I knocked the lemon down, but it got stuck [in the branches of the tree] on its way down; cf. *hamma?*.

haphta n., [*< Nep. haphtā*] week.

ha'ra adv., quickly.

ha'ra-ha'ra adv., quickly, hastily.

hasukma?, *ha-sukt-/-ha-suk-* vi., [*? < ha?- bite + sukma?* be able to] be cutting, be sharp (of a knife or sickle); *ha-mɛn-chuk-m?nɛ-lle nɔ.ŋ-mɛ-lle sa.rik tuk* (be_sharp-NP-be_sharp-NP-INST shave-INF-SUB very hurt) If you shave with a blunt [blade], it really hurts; *hasukterɔ co.guŋ* I'll make it cut well (i.e. I'll sharpen it, cf. *ya?lapma?*).

ha.l thunma? vide *thunma?*.

ha.ma?, *-ha.s-/-ha.-* vt., apportion, share, distribute something; *ma.ki yumma?l ha.suŋ-pi.ruŋsiŋ* I apportioned the maize and vegetables; *kɔŋ yumma?l kɛ-ha.-bɛ-n e.n na* (this vegetables AP-apportion-AP-ABS who EMPH) Who is this guy distributing the vegetables?; cf. *ha.tma?*, *phɔ.ŋma?*.

ha.mbe.k n., ginger root.

ha.mha.m adj.adv., [*ha.mma?* burn] aglow with warmth, warmed up; *syutchan nedɛŋba.n ha.mha.m mɛttu* Even though [the *tɔŋba*] tastes sour, it sets one's cheeks aglow with warmth.

ha.mma?, *-ha.nd-/-ha.n-* vt., [dir. *< ha?ma?* catch on fire] burn (*bətti* lamp, or an object in a fire); set something on fire; *sapla kɛha.ndubai.?* Are you burning a piece of writing?; cf. *lapma?*, *tukma?*, *tupma?*.

ha.mma?, *-ha.ps-/-ha.m-* vt., [caus. *< ha.pma?* cry] cause someone to cry, make someone cry.

ha.ŋgu n., steam, vapour.

ha.ŋma?, *-ha.ŋd-/-ha.ŋ-* vi., taste spicy hot.

ha.pma?, *-ha.b-/-ha.p-* vi., weep, cry; cf. *ha.mma?*, *ha.p-ma?*.

ha.pma?, *-ha.pt-/-ha.p-* vt., [dir. *< ha.pma?* weep] mourn.

ha.rundi n., [*< Bihari, Bhojpuri, Maithili hardī, Hindi hardī, haradī, haldī, haladī, haladdī, harada, haridra, in Bengali dialects halud* (Turner 1966)] root of the plant *Curcuma longa*, i.e. curcuma,

turmeric; Nep. *besar*.

ha·tma?, *-ha·tt-/-ha·t-/-ha·ʔl* vt., [dir. < *ha·ma?* appor-
tion] deal, portion out to, distribute amongst,
share between; *mənaha?* *ha·ttunsiŋ* I distributed
[it] amongst the men; cf. *ha·ma?*, *phɔ·ŋma?*.

he·ʔma?, *-he·ʔr-/-he·ʔ-* vt., be able to; *pe·km?* *mənhe·ʔ-*
nən They are unable to go; cf. *sukma?*.

he·kma?, *-he·kt-/-he·k-* vi., hiccough, have the hic-
coughs; *kche·ktɛi·?* Did you just hiccough? Do you
have the hiccoughs?

he·kma?, *-he·kt-/-he·k-* vi.vt., (with an infinitive or
bare stem) the inceptive aspectivizer 'to begin',
vide 5.3.13.

he·ma?, *-he·r-/-he·-* vi., dry in the sun; dry (inedible,
eg. *sapla*, *te·ʔl*) at the edge of a fire; *te·ʔl*
sɔpman he· The clothes'll be dry in a second;
te·ʔl he·rɛ The clothes are dry; cf. *cɔpma?*, *he·-*
ma?, *kaŋma?*.

he·ma?, *-he·s-/-he·-* vt., [caus. < *he·ma?* dry in the sun]
dry in the sun; *nam-ille te·ʔl-in he·s-u* (sun-ERG
clothes-ABS dry-3P) The sun has dried the clothes;
nam-kɛ-bhɛtt-u-aŋ kɛ-he·s-w-i·? (sun-2-fetch-3P-
pfG 2-dry_in_the_sun-3P-Q) Having put it out in
the sun, have you managed to get it dry yet?; cf.
namphepma?, *amma?*, *kaŋma?*.

he·ma?, *-he·s-/-he·-* vt., strap on, gird, arm oneself
with, lash on, buckle; *phɛdza··n he·s-u-ŋ* (khu-
kuri-ABS gird-3P-1sA) I will strap on my khukuri.

he·sɔŋwa n., shortness of breath, panting, gasping; vide
ca·ma? (3).

hebhya? adv., [< **hek* distal pf.] that much; cf. *a·bhya?*,
habhya?.

hekdaŋba adj., [< **hek* distal pf. + *-taŋba* 2.1.2] that
kind of; cf. *a·kdaŋba*, *ɔkdaŋba*.

hekke· adv., [< **hek* distal pf.] like that; such, so
(distal); *hekke·saba* that's the way it is; cf.
a·kkhe·, *ɔkkhe·*.

hekke·gɔrɔ adv., [lit. like that - if] in that case.

hekke·lɔʔrik adv., [*hekke·* like that + *lɔʔrik* fashion] in
that way, in that manner; cf. *a·kkhe·lɔʔrik* and
ɔkkhe·lɔʔrik.

hekke·saŋ adv., [*hekke·* such + *-saŋ* even though] nonethe-
less, nevertheless, even so, however.

hekke·ille adv., [*hekke·* like that + *-ille* SUB] and then, at
that time; therefore, and so; cf. *a·kkhe·ille*, *ɔk-*
khelle.

hekma?, *-heg-/-hek* vt., cut with a sickle (*waphe·ʔ-ille*

sickle-INST).

hekyaŋ 1) conj., and; moreover, then; and then; 2) clause-final part., well then, in that case; so what; *tək tho·km·bo·ŋ - mi phette? hekyaŋ!* The rice has to be cooked - Well, fetch fire then!

hekyaŋdho· adv., [*hekyaŋ* then + *-tho·* since] ever since that time, ever since, thenceforth.

hemma?, *-hend-/-hen-* vt., appraise, estimate, evaluate, guess (the weight of); *a·kkhya·k se·r ya·k?* How much does it weigh (lit. How many *ser* (Nep. 1.17 kg) are there [in it]?) - *phak?in henduŋba, kheŋ phak?in nusi se·r henduŋ* I'm guessing/appraising [the weight of] the pig, I estimate that pig at seven *ser* (about eight kg); *wa? hende?! Estimate [the weight of] the chicken!*

hen pro., what.

henan pro., [*hen* what + *an* also] (with negated verb form) nothing; *henan medzo·gumben WeP^e* haven't done anything.

henan adv., why; *henan ɔ·?amottettchi* Why were they watching us^{di}?

henanbhelle conj., [*henan* why + *-bhelle*, q.v.] because; *anga medza?en henanbhelle asappo·k?in tuk* I'm not eating because my stomach hurts.

henchiŋma? vr., [*< hemma?* appraise] boast (lit. appraise oneself); *kheŋ māna·n sa·rik henduŋ* That man boasts terribly.

hendik pro., [*< hen* what + *-dik* ind.sf.] something, what thing.

hendza? n., lass, pre-pubescent child, lad (in the vocative used only to address pre-pubescent girls, not pre-pubescent males); cf. *celləkwa, cukpa, cukma, hendza?bitcha, hillikwa*.

hendza?bitcha n., [*hendza?* pre-pubescent girl + **bitcha* pre-pubescent boy; cf. *yembitcha*] (pre-pubescent) children; this word finds a chiasmic parallel in Nep. *keṭākeṭī*.

hepma?, *-her-/-het-/-he?l* vi., shatter, burst; *lanpho·nga here* the football burst apart; *sisə he?l* the bottle will shatter; *phogəna keŋaŋ he?l lo·!* Hey, the *lohoṭā* will fall and shatter if you don't watch out!; cf. *ka·kma?*.

hetkelɔ?ba adj., [*het* red + AP of *lɔ?ma?* appear] red; cf. *kuhetla, hettaŋba*.

hettaŋba adj.n., [*het* red + *-taŋba* 2.1.2] red, red-kind; a red one; cf. *kuhetla, hetkelɔ?ba*.

hi n., shit.

hi? n., chaff, Nep. *bhus*.

hi?e·ma?, *hi-e·s-/hi-e·-* vt., shit, defaecate; cf. *hi-?e·tma?*.

hi?e·tma?, *hi-e·tt-/hi-e·t-/hi-e·?l* vt., [dir. < *hi?e·ma?* shit] shit on something or someone; *ku-mik-?in pu-lle hi?e·tt-u* (his-eye-ABS bird-ERG shit-3P) The bird shit in his eye; *ku-de·?l-o· hi?e·ttu* (his-clothes-LOC shit-3P) He shit himself; *ke-yukna·n hi-ge·e·tt-w-i·?* (your-seat-ABS shit-2-shit-3P-Q) Did you shit on your chair?

hidu?l n., [< *hi* shit] intestines, guts, viscera; cf. *sappo·k*, *thəŋya·n*.

higa·kma n., [< *hi* shit] oblong turd (Nep. *lěḍ*).

higho·mba n., [< *hi* shit] ass, buttocks; cf. *məgək*.

hik vide *hikma?*, *lɔ?ma?* (3).

hikkɛlɔ?ba adj., [*hik* green + AP of *lɔ?ma?* appear] green; cf. *kuhikla*, *hiktaŋba*.

hikma?, *-hikt-/hik-* vi., 1) feel close, smothered, stuffy, stifled; experience tightness in the chest; *ke-hik-i·?* (2-stifle-Q) Are you feeling tight in the chest?; *tɔkle hiktaŋ* I choked on the rice; 2) in the expression *-səkma hik lɔ?ma?*, *-lɔ?r-/lɔ?-:* *sendik ku-səkma hik lɔ?r-ɛ* (at_night 3-breath stifle get-PT) He had difficulty breathing last night, cf. *lɔ?ma?* (3).

hiktaŋba adj., [*hik* green + *-taŋba* 2.1.2] green, green-kind; a green one; cf. *kuhikla*, *hikkɛlɔ?ba*.

hikwa n., frost.

hillik, *hilliklik*, *hillikcellək* adj.adv., adolescent, boisterous, playful; *sa·rik hilliklik məlɔ?* They're very playful, *hillikcellək məlɔ?* They are boisterous; cf. *hillikwa*.

hillikcellək vide *hillik*.

hilliklik vide *hillik*.

hillikwa n., adolescence, puberty; playfulness; *kuhillikwa nə·rəcə* She appears to have attained puberty; cf. *celləkwa*, *hillikcellək*, *kepma?* (3), *kepma?* (3).

hilo· n., [< Nep. *hilo*] mud.

him n., house, home.

him keho·ppa n. + vt., [*him* house + AP of *ho·pma?* not to be] destitute, indigent, homeless; Nep. *sukumbāsī*.

himma?, *-hips-/him-* vide *-luŋma himma?*.

hina·nde· adj., [*hi* shit + *na·nde·* < *na·mma·?* smear onto (a human body)] full-of-shit; *kəŋ a·kdaŋba hina·nde· məna·n ni? gɔ·!* What a full-of-shit person this is!

hiŋma?, *-hiŋ-* vi., be alive, live; *kchiŋ kenčinən* You'll

live; you won't die; cf. *hiŋma?*.

hiŋma?, -*hiŋs-/-hiŋ-* vt., [caus. < *hiŋma?* live] rear, raise (livestock, children).

hipma?, -*hipt-/-hip-* vt., hit, strike; cf. -*nbo*· *hipma?*.

hira n., vagina.

hiramurik n., [*hira* vagina + *murik* body hair] female pubic hair.

hisa·*b* n., [< Nep. < Arabic] mathematics, arithmetic.

hi·*ma?*, -*hi*·*r-/-hi*·- vi., vide -*niŋwa hi*·*ma?* (vi.).

hi·*ma?*, -*hi*·*s-/-hi*·- vt., 1) turn about, head off and divert, make someone or some animal go in the other direction, turn someone or some animal around; *menda?* *hisuŋ* I turned the goat around (i.e., I made it go the other way); 2) *pa*·*n hi*·*ma?* make a parry (in speech), talk back, be sassy, smart or impertinent; *pa*·*nle* (word-INST) *hi*·*ma?* retort; *pa*·*nle hi*·*suŋ* I retorted; 3) *niŋwa hi*·*ma?*, -*hi*·*s-/-hi*·- vide -*niŋwa hi*·*ma?* (vt.).

hi·*mma?*, -*hi*·*nd-/-hi*·*n-* vi., be very disappointed, have a bad experience, be disillusioned, be let down, become disenchanted (with infinitive) *phidim pe*·*kma?* *mchi*·*nde henaŋbhelle sa*·*rik namille tɔrusi. lam*?*o*·*henaŋ iŋm?* *cam?* *mɛŋgho*·*sun. hɛkyan mchi*·*nde*. They had a bad experience going to *Phidīm* because they were severely scorched by the sun. They could find nothing to buy or eat on the way. So they are disenchanted. (i.e. They shall not go to *Phidīm* again).

hi·*pma?*, -*hi*·*b-/-hi*·*p-* vi., be or get planed with a *phɛdza*, be scraped off (of an outer layer or pellicle); 2) vt., plane, scrape off (an outer layer); *hi*·*buŋ* I'm scraping/planing.

hi·*pma?*, -*hi*·*pt-/-hi*·*p-* vt., keep and raise a sacrificial animal in honour of deity (sacrificial animals, once designated as such, may not be bartered or sold); *khɛŋ phak?* *in hi*·*ptumbe* We are raising that pig as a sacrificial animal [in honour of a deity]; *sammaŋ?**o*·*wa?* *hi*·*pm?**naba rɔk wa*· [That] chicken is being kept exclusively as a sacrificial animal for the deity.

hi·*pma?*, -*hi*·*pt-/-hi*·*p-* vide *luŋma hi*·*pma?*.

hi·*siŋma?* vr., [< *hi*·*ma?*, q.v.] turn about, look back, look around; *hi*·*siŋan* *ɔ*·*mottuŋ* I turned around and looked; *hi*·*siŋɛ?*! Turn around!/Look back!

ho·? n., furuncle, abcess; cf. *lɔ*·*mma?*, *mikwa*, *phimma?*, *subaho*·?

ho·*mbrikwa* n., [< **wa* water] sweat.

- ho·mma?*, -*ho·ps-*/*-ho·m-* vt., insert the *migho·mbe·* into the used fire laying it diagonally across one of the *ha?luŋ* for support; cf. *migho·mbe·*; cf. *ha?luŋ*.
- ho·ndge·k* vide *hɔ·ndge·k*.
- ho·ŋma?*, -*ho·ks-*/*-ho·ŋ-* vt., overturn, turn over, spill out.
- ho·pma?*, -*ho·pt-*/*-ho·p-* vi., not to be, not to exist, not to be available; the negative counterpart of existential 'to be' *wa·ma?*, vide 3.2.
- ho·pma?*, -*ho·pt-*/*-ho·p-* vt., inhale (with *sɔkma* 'breath', *suri?l* 'wind'), take; take a draw, drag or puff (whilst smoking); cf. *pi·pma?*.
- ho·pm?naba* n., [nominalized passive part. of *ho·pma?* 'to take'] Limbu cigarette (freshly crumbled tobacco rolled in a piece of *ma·ksip* or corncob husk); Nepali cigarette or *biḍī*; Western cigarette.
- ho·rik* n., skin, peel, shell, integument, bark; cf. *saho·rik*, *siŋhɔk*.
- hɔ?ma?ŋ* n., sleep, the state of being asleep; (with the locative) *hɔ?ma?ŋ-?o· mɛ-ba·?l* (sleep-LOC nsAS-talk) They talk in their sleep; cf. *imma?*, *ipmna*, *kha?l*, *mi?*, *mikluŋ*.
- hɔ?pe?l* adv., on one's back; *hɔ?pe?l im* He sleeps on his back; cf. *cyanya*, *lɛrɛhaŋ*, *sa·mbo·n*.
- hɔk* n., cortex, crust, rind, husk.
- hɔmma?*, -*hɔnd-*/*-hɔn-* vi., be bloated all over one's body, suffer from dropsy.
- hɔmma?*, -*hɔnd-*/*-hɔn-* vt., [dir. < *hɔ·pma?* burst open] open (door *lamdhe·?l*, bag *su?wa*); *lamdhe·?l-in hɔnd-ɛ?!* (door-ABS open-IMP) Open the door!; cf. *pha·ŋma?*, *the·ŋma?*.
- hɔŋ* n., hole; often *kuhɔŋ*.
- hɔŋma?*, -*hɔks-*/*-hɔŋ-* vt., search, look for; (also used as an intimidating threat: *kɛhɔkswi·?* lit. 'are you looking for something?'); cf. *ko·pma?*.
- hɔŋma?*, -*hɔŋ-* vi., [*< hɔŋ* hole] be pierced, be bored (a hole); cf. *hɔŋma?*.
- hɔŋma?*, -*hɔŋs-*/*-hɔŋ-* vt., [caus. < *hɔŋma?* q.v.] pierce, bore a hole; *nɛghɔ mɛhɔŋsu* They pierced their ears; cf. *tɔ·ma?*.
- hɔŋsa* n., soul, spirit, esp. spirit of the deceased, astral body; cf. *sam*.
- hɔpma?*, -*hɔpt-*/*-hɔp-* vt., wash; *kɛ-na··n kɛ-hɔpt-u-wi·?* - *hɔpt-u-ŋ-ba* (your-face-ABS 2-wash-3P-Q - wash-3P-1sA-IPF) Did you wash your face? - I did.
- hɔtma?*, -*hɔtt-*/*-hɔt-*/*-hɔ?l* vt., fit, fit into; *su?wa?o·*

hɔttui· mɛhɔttunni·? Does it fit into the bag or not?

hɔ·maʔ, -hɔ·s-/-hɔ·- vi., bark; *maktanba sa·rik hɔ·sɛ*
Blacky barked terribly.

hɔ·maʔ, -hɔ·s-/-hɔ·- vt., [caus. < *hɔ·pmaʔ* burst open]
puncture, burst open.

hɔ·mbrikwa vide *hɔ·mbrikwa*.

hɔ·ndge·k n., lizard.

hɔ·nɛ·maʔ, *hɔ·-nɛ·s- / hɔ·-nɛ·-* vi., [*< nɛ·maʔ* be situated]
to be that way (of a situation).

hɔ·pmaʔ, -hɔ·r-/-hɔ·t-/-hɔ·ʔ1 vi., burst open; *thɛŋ-u-ŋ-*
-ba cwaʔ1-in hɔ·r-ɛ (inclose-3P-1sA-NOM water-ABS
burst-PT) The water I bundled in has burst; cf.
hɔmmaʔ, *hɔ·maʔ*.

huʔma n., [*< PP *huʔmʔna < huʔmaʔ* stop, shut] cork, stop-
per; cf. *su·pna*.

huʔmaʔ, -huʔr-/-huʔ- vt., stop up, shut, cork (a bottle),
close (bottle, mouth; not a window); cf. *su·pmaʔ*.

huʔmaʔ, -huʔr-/-huʔ- vt., bring and give, fetch and give;
tho·lam huʔraŋɛʔ! Bring it to me from up there!

huʔmaʔ, -huʔr-/-huʔ- vt., teach; cf. *humaʔ*.

huʔsiŋmaʔ vr., [*< huʔmaʔ* teach] 1) learn, teach oneself;
2) teach each other.

huk n., arm, hand.

hukco·ʔ1 n., [*huk* hand, arm + **co·ʔ1* digit] finger; cf.
lanco·ʔ1, *makco·ʔ1*.

hukma n., [*< huk* hand, arm] thumb, cf. *hama*, *lanma*.

hukmik n., [*huk* hand + *mik* eye] knuckles; cf. *lanmik*.

hukmurik n., [*huk* hand, arm + *murik* body hair] arm hair,
hand hair.

hukpho·ŋga n., [*huk* hand, arm + *pho·ŋga* ball] volleyball,
cf. *lanpho·ŋga*.

huksik n., [*huk* hand, arm + *sik* marrow] arm marrow; cf.
lanjik, *nesik*.

huksup n., [*< huk* hand] gloves; cf. *lanjsup*.

huksupmaʔ, *huk-supt- / huk-sup-* vt., [*< huk* hand] hand over.

huktappe· n., [*< huk* hand, arm] palm of the hand; cf.
lanjtappe·.

humaʔ, -hus-/-hu- vt., [caus. < *huʔmaʔ* teach] expose
someone, discuss someone, disclose someone's
secrets; *mchusu* They exposed him for what he
really is.

hummaʔ, -hum- vi., sink (into water); drown; *cwaʔlo· humɛ*
It sank into the water; cf. *hummaʔ*, *mi·kmaʔ*.

hummaʔ, -hums-/-hum- vt., [caus. < *hummaʔ* sink] drown,
cause to sink, dunk under (in water or mud).

humsiŋmaʔ vr., [*< hummaʔ* sink] go underwater; drown one-

self.

huŋma?, -*huŋ-* vt., pay; *anŋa iŋuŋ, khene? kehuŋwi·?* I'll buy it, will you pay for it?

hupma?, -*hutt-/-hut-/-hu?l* vt., rub, scrub (with soap, oil, ashes); cf. *imma?*.

hu·p n., knot; cf. *idzige·k*.

hu·pciki n., [*< hu·p* knot] a tangled knot, knot which will not come undone, an untiabable knot, a knot with Gordian propensities; *hu·pciki mem·ba·ŋ-ŋ?na* (tangled_knot NP-come_undone-NP) The tangled knot cannot be untangled.

i

i conj., or.

i n., a hair (on one's head); cf. *thege·k, murik*.

i?lko·ma?, *i?l-ko·s- /i?l-ko·-* vi. (or vt. with 3sP agreement) [*< ko·ma?* guard, watch over] guard the harvest (against livestock and rodents); *en i?lke-go·, ta·ndik anŋa i?lko·?e* Today you guard the harvested grain. I'll watch over it tomorrow.

i?re·?e· clause-final part., probably; *wi?l tha i?re·?e·* It'll probably rain; *lam po·?le i?re·?e·* I'll probably lose my way; cf. *i·ya, la?ba*.

ida·k n., [*< Pãcthare* Limbu] string, rope; cf. *sikki?, takpa*.

idik n., [*< -*dik* period of day] a long period of time, a long time; cf. *biha·ndik, lendik, sendik, ta·ndik, yunchik*.

idzige·k n., knot, tangle; cf. *hu·p*.

ighe·ŋma?, -*i-ghe·ks- /i-ghe·ŋ-* vt., tie, make a knot; tie up; *keghuppaha?re ikemghe·ŋ* The robbers will come and tie you^s up!; *ikεghe·kswi·?* Did you tie it up?

ikla, itla n., voice; *khene? ke-ikla nu* (you^s your^s-voice be_alright) You have a nice voice; cf. *sitla*.

ikma?, -*ig- /-ik-* vt., roll up, make round, ball up.

iksa-kha·mbe·k n.poet., [*< Pãcthare* Limbu *iksaŋ* 'heavens, firmament' + *kha·mbe·k* 'the Earth'] the Earth, Nature, the land; *hile·-?o·-waŋ iksa-kha·mbe·k-?aŋ nuba ne·-ro co·k, me·n-ni·?* (*Hile*-LOC-also Nature-too good be_situated-prG be, no-Q) In *Hile*, Nature is more beautiful as well, isn't it?; cf. *telokkentansan*.

iksa-kha·mbe·k-lo·kpe·-tɔrɔŋ n.poet., [*iksa-kha·mbe·k* the Earth, *lo·kpe· < lo·kma?* run + *pe·kma?* go, *tɔrɔŋ* bridge] car, truck, automobile; cf. *telok-tansan*-

-phɛ·be·-tɔrɔŋ.

iksəŋ n., [*< Pācthare Limbu*] heavens, firmament, sky; cf. *təŋsəŋ*.

ilya part., highlights preceding substantive; *kendzum ilya a·kkhya·k kədhuŋba* How big a drinker is your friend?

imʔim məpmaʔ vide *məpmaʔ* (4).

imbrikpa n., lightning-bug, firefly (Nep. *jūnkīrī*, lit. moon-fly); cf. *o·dhingə*.

immaʔ, -iks-/-iŋ- vt., churn (*mɔi* whey *< Nep. mahī*).

immaʔ, -ind-/-in- I) vi., budge; *inde* It budged; II) vt., 1) scrub, massage; cf. *hupmaʔ*; 2) push, push against, give a push with one's body, apply pressure against something with the weight of one's body; *hənəŋ kɛʔinʔɛ* Why are you pushing against me?; cf. *cɔmmaʔ*, *immaʔ*, *phɛŋmaʔ*, *phɛpmaʔ*, *phimmaʔ* (2,3), *phipma*.

immaʔ, -ips-/-im- vi., sleep; cf. *hɔʔmaʔŋ*, *ipmaʔ*, *ipmna*, *khaʔl*, *miʔ*, *mikluŋ*, *yu·maʔ*.

immaʔ, -ips-/-im- vt., [caus. *< immaʔ* scrub, push, budge] press (eg. *niŋɛ* oil); cf. *cɔmmaʔ*, *phɛŋmaʔ*, *phɛpmaʔ*, *phimmaʔ* (2,3), *phipma*.

immadɛn n., [*immaʔ* sleep + *-dɛn* place] place to sleep, bedstead.

imsiŋmaʔ vr., [*< immaʔ* sleep] take shelter for the night.

iŋdo· məpmaʔ vide *məpmaʔ* (5).

iŋghɔŋ n., [*< iŋmaʔ* make known] news, message, letter.

iŋlɛk n., lie.

inlɛkmaʔ, *iŋ-lɛkt-/-iŋ-lɛk-* vt., lie to someone, deceive; *inlɛktaŋ* He lied to me; cf. *co·kmaʔ* (5).

iŋmaʔ, -iŋ- vi., become known, spread (of news), become common knowledge; cf. *iŋmaʔ*.

iŋmaʔ, -iŋ- vt., buy, purchase.

iŋmaʔ, -iŋs-/-iŋ- vt., [caus. *< iŋmaʔ* become known] spread news, make known; slander, malign; *kɛrɛk iŋsu rəcə* I see he's told everything.

iŋpho·mmaʔ, *iŋ-pho·nd-/-iŋ-pho·n-* vt., [*iŋmaʔ* make known + *pho·mmaʔ* toss] call to someone at a distance in a loud voice; cf. *pa·ncha·tmaʔ*, *u·pmaʔ*.

iŋwaʔ n., [*< waʔ* chicken] 1) cockerel, rooster; 2) dawn, daybreak; 3) the brighter arc of a rainbow (*nam-de·ŋgu*); cf. *waʔmaʔma*.

ipmaʔ, -ipt-/-ip- vt., [dir. *< immaʔ* sleep] put to bed (esp. children); *asa·n iptuŋ* I put my child to bed.

ipmna n., [fossilized PP of *ipmaʔ* put to sleep] sleep; (with *phemmaʔ*, -phɛʔr-/-phɛn- vi., 'spoil' and

numa?, *-nur-/-nur-* 'be good'); *ku?ipmna phen læcə*
 He appears to be sleeping uneasily; *kɛ?ipmna nurc*
kusiŋ lɔ?rɛ It looked as if though you were
 sleeping soundly; cf. *hɔ?ma?ŋ*, *imma?*, *kha?l*, *mi?*,
mikluŋ.

ipun n., grave. A Limbu grave is characterized by an
 oblong gravestone situated upright above the place
 of the navel of the interred corpse; cf. *sambo·k*,
su?luŋ.

iremremba adj., lazy.

itchaba n., ego's child-in-law's father, i.e. father-in-
 law of ego's offspring.

itchama n., ego's child-in-law's mother, i.e. mother-in-
 law of ego's offspring.

itla vide *ikla*.

i· emph.part., vide *e·*.

i· interr.sf.

i·ma?, *-i·r-/-i·-* vi., wander, loiter, stroll about, (of
 birds) fly about aimlessly; *mɔyaha? mɛ?i·yaŋ*
mɔya·k The vultures are circling about overhead;
 vide *-niŋwa i·ma?*; cf. *i·ma?*.

i·ma?, *-i·s-/-i·-* vt., [caus. < *i·ma?* wander about] cause
 to wander about, cause to roam about; roll some-
 thing about, cause something to roll to and fro;
wa?ha? i·sumsimbe We^{pe} had the chickens roam
 about; *mɛnda?ha? i·suŋsiŋ* I wandered the goats
 about; *mɛ?i·saŋ* They showed me around.

i·mbrin n., [*Pācthare* Limbu] vide *cɛmbi*.

i·mma?, *-i·nd-/-i·n-* vt., imitate; *hɛnaŋ kɛ?i·n?ɛ* Why are
 you imitating me?

i·nna · emph.part., *khunɛ? kappo·ba?e·kke· tha·p i·nna* He
 really looks like an old man.

i·ŋma?, *-i·ks-/-i·ŋ-* vt., brush one's teeth (*ha?* teeth);
 scrub, clean, sweep; *phɔgɛnaha? i·kɛɛɛ?!* Scrub
 the *lohoṭās!*; *kho·rɛ?lha? i·kɛɛɛ?!* Scrub the
 bowls!; *tə·m i·ŋma?* sweep the garbage.

i·tchiŋma? vr., [*i·tma?* think, recall] reflect, contem-
 plate.

i·tma?, *-i·tt-/-i·t-/-i·?l* vt., think; think of, contem-
 plate, remember; *khɛnɛ? hɛn kɛ?i·ttu?* What do you
 think?; *i·ttɛ?!* remember!

i·ya clause-final part., maybe; cf. *i?re·?e·*, *la?ba*.

k

kabhri adv., all over the place, everywhere; *kabhri kabhri kerək thegulle thektuwan nε*. All the mountains here are situated, blocking the view in every direction.

kabhriŋ adv., [*< kabhri* everywhere] here and there, all over the place, everywhere; *kabhriŋ kerək ayuŋ WePⁱ* are sitting all over the place (i.e. the room is full of us).

kace. n., sickle, smaller than a *waphe*?

kakpetta adj., round.

kakmo·ma vide *kapmo·ma*.

kama?, *-kas-/-ka-* vi., crow (subject: *iŋwa?* cockerel, rooster).

kambal n., [*< Nep.*] blanket; cf. *khamnaba*.

kamma?, *-kam-* vi., develop an attachment to, be or become dependent on (Nep. *palkinu*); *ko·co·?in kame* The dog has grown attached [to us]; cf. *kamma?*, *khumma?*.

kamma?, *-kams-/-kam-* vt., [*caus. < kamma?* develop an attachment] break in (a dog), domesticate, cause to grow accustomed, habituate (Nep. *palkāunu*); *ko·co·-?in kams-u-ŋ* (dog-ABS habituate-3P-1sA) I have broken in the dog (i.e. made him feel that his home is with me); cf. *khumma?*.

kamma?, *-kams-/-kam-* vt., prepare, make ready, make; *lam-dhe·?l siŋ-le kams-u-ŋ* (door wood-INST make-3P-1sA) I have prepared a door of wood.

kaŋma?, *-kaŋ-* vi., dry or warm up at the edge of a fire (of something animate or edible); *kaŋε* He has become dry/warmed up at the edge of the fire; *kegaŋεi·?* - *kaŋaŋ* Have you warmed up (from sitting by the fire)? - Yes, I have; cf. *a·mma?*, *he·ma?*, *kaŋma?*.

kaŋma?, *-kaŋs-/-kaŋ-* vt., [*caus. < kaŋma?* q.v.] dry (something edible or clay slingshot pellets) at the edge of a fire; *amma-re sa kaŋs-u* (mother-ERG meat dry-3P) Mother is drying meat by the fire; *ko·re?l kaŋsuŋsiŋ* I'm going to dry the clay pellets at the edge of the fire; cf. *amma?*, *he·ma?*, *kaŋsiŋma?*.

kaŋsiŋma? vr., [*< kaŋma?* vt., dry at the edge of a fire] dry oneself by the fire (eg., after coming in from the rain); cf. *mica·?ma?*.

kapma?, *-kar-/-kaŋ-/-ka?l-* vt., carry, convey, transport by porter.

kapmo·ma, *kakmo·ma* adj.n.f., elderly, elderly woman;

khunc? *anga-nulle kakmo·ma co·k* She is older than me; cf. *kappo·ba*, *tumma?*.

kappo·ba adj.n.m., an elderly man, a sage; elderly; cf. *kapmo·ma*.

kapsaba n., twin.

karəhi n., [*< Nep. karāhī*] wok.

karuwa n., [*< Nep. karuvā*] bronze vessel closely resembling a *phəgəna* (q.v.) but with a spout protruding from the side; the vessel is usually employed as a communal drinking vessel for cold water, whereby the spout is used to pour a stream of cold water into one's mouth but is itself not touched by the lips.

kasəŋ vide *kəsoŋ*.

ka·kma?, *-ka·kt-/-ka·k-* vi., crack, bust; *sisə ka·k* the bottle will crack; *lamdhe·?l ka·ktε* the door has cracked; cf. *hε?ma?*.

ka·kma?, *-ka·kt-/-ka·k-* vt., step over; *kε?imba mənə·n ka·ktuŋəŋ pe·gaŋ* I stepped over the sleeping man and went on; *yuŋε?! kεga·ŋ la?ba*. Remain seated! He'll probably step over you; cf. *na·ŋma?*, *pipma?*.

ka·kwa n., crow.

ka·mma?, *-ka·nd-/-ka·n-* vi., be wounded; *kəŋ mənə·n ka·n-dε* This man is wounded; cf. *kha·mma?*.

ka·nde· n., tube-shaped vessel made of a segment of mature bamboo for holding liquids, esp. *nudak*; Nep. *ḍhuŋgro*.

ka·ndruk n., [*< Nep. gundruk*] condiment consisting of, usually leafy, vegetables (eg. cabbage, garden radish) which have been boiled in a clay pot and then dessicated.

ka·ŋ n., hoe, spade.

ka·ŋma?, *-ka·ŋs-/-ka·ŋ-* vt., mould, form into balls or mounds, roll into shape.

ka·phal n., [*< Nep. kāphal*] the long-leaved tree *Merica esculenta* with red fruit ripening in the month of *Baiśākh*; the fruit is green before it ripens.

ke·?e·ba n.adj., 1) mute, dumb; cf. *kε·b*; 2) dumb, stupid.

ke·b n., tiger.

ke·dzəŋ n., gale; tempest; *suri?l ke·dzəŋ tə nε?l lo·!* *kəniswi·?* Gale winds are about to start kicking up! Can you see?

ke·llik adv., [*< ke·n- < ke·mma?* be long + **-lik* adv.sf.; cf. *nurik*, *yəllik*] at length.

ke·mba adj., [*< ke·mma?* be tall] tall, long (non-human); cf. *tha·mba*.

ke·mma?, *-ke·nd-/-ke·n-* vi., be tall, be long (both human

and non-human; cf. *ke·mba*, *tha·mba*); *khenc?nulle ke·n?ε* I'm taller than you; *kendheba hen habhya?-thik ke·ndei·?* What, was your grandfather only that tall?

ke·pma?, *ke·pt-/-ke·p-* vt., sit on something (inanimate patient); cf. *yukma?*.

ke·pma?, *-ke·tt-/-ke·t-/-ke·?l* vt., 1) put into, insert, put; 2) bring out and put down; put out (serve).

ke·sra n., [*< Nep. kesrā*] clove (of a bulb of garlic), segment (of a citrus fruit); cf. *kubok*.

ke- pf., your (singular).

ke?e·?ba adj., [AP of *e·?ma?* be bored] bored, spoiled.

keba·ppa adj., [AP of *pa·pma?* 'to speak'] eloquent, well-spoken, frank, of good character.

kedamba adj., wise, sage; *kappo·ben anche·san kedamba co·geba*, *allōsan kappo·ben kedamba co·k* In olden times an elderly man used to be wise, now too an elderly man is wise.

kedanba adj., [*<? AP *tanma?*] (of a friend *cum*) easy-going, calm, intimate.

kedimba adj., [AP of *timma?*] full.

kedhumba adj., [AP of *thumma?*] diligent, industrious, full of stamina.

kedhunba adj., brave, heroic, bold, manly.

kedhunba adj., AP of *thunma?*, q.v.

kedzippa adj., AP of *citma?*, q.v.

kedzi·ba [*< AP of ci·kma?* cool off] I) adj. cold (of water or metal); Nep. *ciso*; II) n. 1) money (slang); 2) khukuri (vide *phedza*); *kedzi·belle pi·re?! Give it to him with the khukuri!* (i.e. Stab him!).

kego·ba adj., AP of *ko·ma?*, q.v.

keghikpa, *keghyikpa* adj., AP of *khikma?*, q.v.

keghi·mba adj., AP of *khi·mma?*, q.v.

kelimba adj., AP of *limma?*, q.v.; cf. *limba*.

kelippa adj., AP of *lipma?*, q.v.

kcme·?ba adj., [AP of *me·?ma?*] fat, pudgy, overweight.

kemma?, *-kemd-/-kem-* vt., hold someone pinned down to the ground with one's body; press someone down with one's body; *andzumin kemduṅ ne·suṅ* I held my friend pressed down to the ground; *immelle anga kheṅha? kemduṅsiṅ* Whilst sleeping, I rolled over on top of [the other guys]; cf. *thamma?*, *phoppma?*.

kemokpa adj., [AP of *mokma?* be hot] hot (of liquids, eg. *cwa?l* 'water', *pitnu* 'milk').

kenanba adj.n., [AP of *nanma?* go crazy] crazy, berserk; lunatic, *kenanba mēna* a crazyman.

keniksṅba n.pej., [ref. AP of *nikma?* fuck] term of abuse.

kēni·ppa-kēsappa adj.n., [AP of *ni·pma?* 'read', *sapma?* 'write'] literate, a literate man.

kēṇma?, -*kēṇ-* vi., stumble and fall; *kēgeṇ lo·! - megeṇ-?en* Watch out or you'll fall! - No, I won't!; cf. *kēṇma?*, *mutthama?*.

kēṇma?, -*kēṇs-/-kēṇ-* vt., [caus. < *kēṇma?* stumble and fall] cause someone to stumble and fall, trip someone; *kēṇs-u de·s-u* (cause_to_stumble-3P dispatch-3P) He made him stumble and fall.

kēṇya adv.adj., in a waddling fashion, in the manner of a goose; *khēṇ kēme·?ba kēṇya?ṇ kēṇya a·tto· tha·-siṇ?* Where is that fatso waddling off to?

kēpma?, -*kē?r-/-kēt-/-kē?l* vi., 1) arrive; *ta·ndik lək aḡe?l* We^{Pi} won't get there till tomorrow; *kə?o· anchen kē?rētchige* We^{de} got here yesterday; *aba·ṇ phe·?o· ba·is gate·* (Nep. *bāis gate*: the 22nd) *kē?le* I'll get back to my village on the twenty-second; cf. *kēpma?*; 2) have been to a place, have gotten to a place; *mala·ya kēṅe?renni·?* - *mēṅgeppaṇ* Haven't you ever been to Malaysia? - No, I haven't; 3) *mēṅchya kēpma?*, *thanben kēpma?* attain adulthood, attain the age of a young lady, attain the age of a mature youth; *thanben kē?re rəcə* He appears to have grown up into a young man; cf. *cellekwa*, *hillikwa*, *kēpma?* vt. (3).

kēpma?, -*kēt-/-kēt-/-kē?l* vt., [dir. < *kē?ma?* arrive] 1) get something or someone to a place; *kētṭu ta?ru* He got it here alright; 2) fulfill a promise; *kētṭuṇ* I'll fulfill my promise; 3) *mēṅchya kēpma?*, *thanben kēpma?* raise children into young adults; *allə gə· kēsə?ha? gə· thanben mēṅchya kēḡettusi rəcə* It appears you've raised your children into young ladies and young men (i.e. I see your children are already full grown); cf. *cellekwa*, *hillikwa*, *kēpma?* vi. (3).

kerek 1) num., all, every; 2) n., everyone, everything.

kerek-le adv., [*kerek* everyone, everything + *-le* INST] altogether.

kēsə·ba AP of *sə·ma?*.

kēsytṭa AP of *sytṭma?*, q.v.

kē·b n., mute person; cf. *kē·?e·ba*.

kē·bba vide *kē·?e·ba*.

kē·pma?, -*kē·pt-/-kē·p-* vt., pinch; *khēṅe? kē·pnei·?* Shall I pinch you?; cf. *phipma?* (1).

kərə conj., but.

kə'tə?wa n., fern, frond.

kidhi n., the Himalayan yellow-throated marten, *Martes flavigula* (Nep. *malsāpro*), with predominantly dark fur with some reddish colouration, a blond throat and a reddish, long, fluffy tail, alleged to feed on wild pears (Nep. *nāspātī*) and other wild fruit and small prey, such as chickens, of which it is said to consume only the blood; in Limbu folklore the *kidhi* is considered to be a rapacious creature, whence the expression *kidhi lo·kma?* 'to be hungry'; *na·dha·mbi kidhi lo·ktei· mēlo·ktenni·?* (lit. Is the marten running on yonder slope or isn't it?) Are you hungry or aren't you?; cf. *se·?l la·kma?*.

kikkroka n., small black crested passerine bird with a black crest on the head and feathers of lighter colouration on the ventral side; Nep. *jurelī*; cf. *pe·kkroka*.

kitthok n., human fleas, *Pulex irritans* (Nep. *upiyā*).

kima?, *-kis-/-ki-* vi., (with comitative complement) fear, be frightened; *so·ghanu kegisēi·?* Were you afraid of the phantom?; *wa?nu ki?ε* I'm afraid of the chicken.

kira n., [*<* Nep. *kīrā*] bug.

ki·ma?, *-ki·r-/-ki·-* vi., decompose, rot, putrefy; cf. *ki·mma?*.

ki·mma?, *-ki·nd-/-ki·n-* vt., [*dir. <* *ki·ma?* rot] putrefy, allow to rot; *cemghik ki·nduṅ* I shall putrefy the soybean dish.

ko·co· n., dog.

ko·co·dɔk n., [*ko·co·* dog + *tɔk* cooked rice] dog food, leftover rice for the dog.

ko·co·sa?l n., [*ko·co·* dog + *sa?l* ~ *sa?* child, offspring] puppy; cf. *luṅsa?l*, *menda?sa?l*, *myaṅsa?l*, *pusa?l*, *phaksa?l*, *wa?sa?l*.

ko·co·-sidza n., [*lit. dog-fly*] small streamlined greyish black botflies of the family *Æstridae* that live in dogs' fur, burrowing into the skin.

ko·dzi n., [*<* Nep. *gojī*] pocket.

ko·kma?, *-ko·kt-/-ko·k-* vt., [*dir. <* *ko·kma?* q.v.] prop something up; *ke-gɔk-?in me-yuṅ-nen gɔrɔ luṅ-ille ko·kt-ε?!* (your-load-ABS NEG-sit-NEG if rock-INST prop_up-IMP) If your pack won't stay put, prop it up with a stone!

ko·m n., jew's harp; Nep. *murcuṅgā*, *bināyo*.

ko·ma?, *-ko·s-/-ko·-* vi., be hot (of substances and objects not undergoing combustion); *haṅwa ko·* The rice water is hot; cf. *haṅwama*, *le·kma?*, *mɔkma?*,

ya·mma?, yemma?.

ko·ma?, -ko·s-/-ko·- vt., guard, care for, look after; *kedukpa mēna·n ko·suŋ* I'm taking care of the sick man; *him ko·sε?! Look after the house!/keep an eye on the house!*

ko·ŋma?, -ko·ks-/-ko·ŋ- vt., get oneself a pillow, use something as a pillow; *ko·ksε?! get yourself a pillow!*; *sira·ni ko·ksuŋ* I've got myself a pillow; cf. *ko·kma?*.

ko·pma?, -ko·tt-/-ko·t-/-ko·ʔ1 vt., [*< Pācthare Limbu*] look for, search; cf., *hōŋma?*.

ko·rεʔ1 n., clay slingshot pellet (Nep. *maḡyāgro*); vide *li?*.

ko·si n., [*< Nep. kosī*] the *Kosī* River, the *Ta·mar*, q.v.

ko·ḡha n., [*< Nep. koḡhā*] room.

kəʔo· adv., [**kət proximal + ʔo· LOC*] here.

kəʔtho· vide *kəttho·*.

kəʔyo· vide *kət-yo·*.

kəbhrək adv., [**kət proximal + rək only*] only this much, only that much.

kək n., [*< kəkma?* bear q.v.] load, pack, burden.

kəkma?, -kəkt-/-kək- vi., grow stiff (due to the cold or to rigor mortis); *cuŋ-ille kəktaŋ* I'm frozen stiff because of the cold.

kəkma?, -kəkt-/-kək- vt., bear young (nonhuman agent), bring forth (*yaŋ* money, *kudza?* fruit); cf. *thap-ma?*.

kəksiŋ, kək n., the lumber tree *Michelia chaupaca*, characterized by long leaves, yellow flowers and bearing fruits in clusters; Nep. *cāp*, *cāpo*.

kəmbē·la adv., [*kəŋ this + < Nep. belā period*] at this time, presently.

kəmma?, -kəm- vt., graze (patient: livestock).

kəmma?, -kənd-/-kən- vt., cover on foot, walk, walk down; *kerek him kənduŋsiŋ* I covered all the houses (cf. Dutch *aflopen* in, for example, *ik heb de hele stad afgelopen*); cf. *təkəmma?*.

kəpma?, -kətt-/-kət-/-kəʔ1 vt., have, possess; *ya·k ke-gəttuwi·?* Have you got a gift?

kəŋ 1) pro., he, she it (proximal); cf. *kheŋ*; 2) dem., this.

kəŋma?, -kəks-/-kəŋ- vi., get unsure footing; *kəks-aŋ-aŋ keŋ-aŋ* (get_unsure_footing-1sPS/PT-pfG stumble_and_fall-1sPS/PT) My footing became unsure, and I stumbled and fell.

kəŋya·pma?, *kəŋ-ya·r-/-kəŋ-ya·t-/kəŋ-ya·ʔ1* vi., [*kəŋ this + ya·pma?* be an amount] be this much, amount to

this much; cf. *a·kkhya·pma?*, *kəŋya·ppa*, *khəŋya·p-ma?*.

kəŋya·ppa adj., [*kəŋya·pma?* be this much + *-pa* nom.sf.] this big, such a big (proximal); *kəŋya·ppa co·gei·i khəŋya·ppa?* Was it this big or that big?; cf. *kəŋya·psa*, *khə?ya·ppa*, *maŋbhaya·ppa*.

kəŋya·psa adj., [*kəŋya·ppa* this much + **-sa* dim.df.] this small, such a small (proximal); cf. *kəŋya·ppa*, *khəŋya·psa*.

kəʂəŋ, *kaŋəŋ* adj., new.

kəʂəŋnuba adj., [*kəʂəŋ* new + *nuba* good] fresh.

kəʂna adv., [**kəʂ* proximal + *na·* there] over here, hither; *kəʂna ɔ·məʂte?*! Look this way!; *kəʂna phe?re?*! Come here!

kəʂnana? adv., [*kəʂna* hither] hither, to this side, on the near side.

kəʂna·dha·mbi adv., [**kəʂ* proximal + *na·dha·mbi*, q.v.] on this slope, on this slope (of this mountain ridge); cf. *na·dha·mbi*, *khəʂna·dha·mbi*.

kəʂna·nhaŋ adv., [*kəʂna* hither + **nahaŋ* direction] to this side; *na·nhaŋ kəʂna·nhaŋ* on this side and that, next to each other, juxtaposed.

kəʂna·sime·n adv., [*kəʂna* here] adjacent, near, proximal; neighbouring; Nep. *allo*, *vallo*; cf. *na·si-me·n*, *khəʂna·sime·n*.

kəʂtho· adv., [**kəʂ* proximal + *tho·* up, above] up here.

kəʂ-yo· adv., [**kəʂ* proximal + *yo·* below, down] down here.

kəʂ· adj., (slang) wow, the best; *kəŋ thi·n kəʂ co·k* This millet beer is the best.

ku- pf., his, its, her.

ku?wa? vide *khu?wa?*.

kube· adv., begin to, start; *kube· uksu* He began to pull; *kube· mettū* He began to speak; cf. *he·kma?*.

kube·se? vide *pe·se?*.

kubo·ŋ vide *po·ŋ*.

kubək n., bulb (of onion or garlic); Nep. *poṭī*; cf. *kesra*.

kubəŋ n., peas, beans, gram.

kubutthəŋwa vide *putthəŋwa*.

kubhaŋ kubhaŋ adv., piled on top of each other, in a heap, in a pile; *kubhaŋ kubhaŋ yuksəŋ* I've put it all in one pile.

kubhəra adj.n., [*phə* white + colour affixes] white; cf. *phədaŋba*, *phəgele?ba*.

kubhre·ŋ vide *kumbhre·ŋ*.

kuca adj.adv., true, real; *kuca-?i-?* really?; *khəŋ kuca nuba co·k* That's really good.

kucase· adv., [*kuca* true, real + *-se·* emph.part.] veri-

ly, genuinely.

kudi?-kudi? adv., in single file, in a queue; *cumse·*,
a·tto· kudi?-kudi? kedha·netchi? Friends, where
are you^d off to in single file?

kudza n., [*< cama?* eat] food.

kudza? n., 1) fruit; *kudza? pɔʔ1-li· me-bət-nen-ni·?*
(fruit hang-Q NEG-hang-NEG-Q) Is there already
fruit in the tree or not?; 2) meat (as opposed to
gravy), *kudza?nu kugwa* meat and gravy.

kudzanuma?, *kudza-nur-/kudza-nu-* vi., [*kudza* food + *numa?*
be alright] taste delicious; be delicious (esp.
food); *mi·n kudzanu*, *məncha?e·!* The fire is deli-
cious (i.e. delightfully warm), grandchild!

kudzaphemma?, *kudza-phe?r-/kudza-phen-* vi., [*kudza* food +
pemma? spoil; cf. *kusaphemma?*, *phe?la?ma?*, *phe?-
la·mma?*] taste bad, taste awful; *kɔŋ tɔk?in sa·rik
kudzaphen* This rice really tastes awful.

kudzɔŋ postp., [with petrified 3s poss.pf. *ku-*] above;
kheŋ thegulle kudzɔŋ?o· kha·kmi?1 pɔʔ1 There's a
cloud hanging above that mountain; cf. *sikto·?*.

kugwa n., juice; gravy.

kughi·ŋ vide *khi·ŋ*.

kuhetla adj.n., [*< het* red + colour affixes] red (includes
orange and brown); cf. *hettaŋba*, *hetkelɔʔba*.

kuhi? vide *hi?*.

kuhikla adj.n., [*< hik* green + colour affixes] green (in-
cludes blue and gold, not yellow); *kuhikla a·phis*
[< Eng. office] military base, military post, bar-
racks; cf. *hiktaŋba*, *hikkkelɔʔba*; *sahi?1*, *ɔmdaŋba*.

kuhɔŋ vide *hɔŋ*.

kuhu?ma vide *hu?ma*.

kuhu·p vide *hu·p*.

kule·m, *kule·n* n., lots, alot, a bunch.

kulekwa n., [*ku-* its + *lekwa* exchange] exchange, something
given in exchange for something else, barter
value.

kumakla adj.n., [*mak* black + colour affixes] black; cf.
maktaŋba, *makkkelɔʔba*.

kumaŋwaye?1 adj., [with lexicalized 3s pf. *ku-*] raw, un-
cooked; *kumaŋwaye?1 sa* raw meat; cf. *kusɔŋwaye?1*.

kumbhre·ŋ, *kumbhre·ŋ* n., [with lexicalized 3s possessive
pf. *ku-*] one-half; *sumsi mukte kumbhre·ŋ* It's half
past three.

kumma?, *-kums-/-kum-* vt., avenge oneself on someone, get
back at someone.

kunda n., large metallic or earthenware jug; Nep. *gāgrī*.

kundri vide *gundri*.

- kundzum* n., [*ku-* his + *-ndzum* friend] term of address used without the vocative case ending, stylistically marked, facetious or jovial, as opposed to *andzum* 'my friend'; *e· kundzum!* Hey, fellow!, Hey, guy!
- kuᅇba*, *-ᅇᅇᅇba-* n., 1) ego's wife's elder or younger brother, 2) ego's elder or younger sister's husband (male speaking).
- kupma?*, *-kupt-/-kup-* vt., 'take under one's wing', afford maternal protection (in addition to fowl, also said of dogs protecting their pups, goats protecting their kids, wolves their whelps, and so forth; only said facetiously of human beings) *kuptusiba* [The chicken] took [her chicks] under her wing; *kumakla kuptu* [Blacky's mother] went to stand by Blacky (her puppy).
- kusanuma?*, *kusa-nur-/kusa-nu-* vi., [*< numa?* be good] be fun, be easy, go well; *kusanurero ya·mbokha? su?m?na* We^{pe} completed the tasks with great ease; cf. *kusaphemma?*.
- kusaphemma?*, *kusa-pho?r-/kusa-pho- vi.*, [*< phemma?* spoil; cf. *kudzaphemma?*, *pho?la?ma?*, *pho?la·mma?*] be a disappointment, not be any fun, be difficult, be arduous; *kusapho?rero ya·mbokha? suruᅇ* I completed the tasks with great difficulties, with many setbacks; cf. *kusanuma?*.
- kusik* vide *sik*.
- kusik* vide *sikto·?*.
- kusikto·?* vide *sikto·?*.
- kusiᅇ* adv., like, as; cf. *e·kke·*.
- kusiᅇdanba* adj., [*kusiᅇ* like + *-tanba* 2.1.2] someone like x, something like x; *khene? kusiᅇdanba rəcə* He appears to be someone like you.
- kusiᅇni·pma?*, *kusiᅇ-ni·tt-/-kusiᅇ-ni·t-/-kusiᅇ-ni·?l* vt., [*kusiᅇ* like, as + *ni·pma?* read, study] understand, comprehend, recognize, be familiar with.
- kuso·?l* vide *so·?l* 'fat'.
- kusəᅇwaye?l* adj., [with lexicalized 3s pf. *ku-*] cooked, not raw; cf. *kumanwaye?l*.
- kusup·na* vide *su·pna*.
- kuwa* n., [*< Nep. kuvā*] vide *wakho·mba*.
- ku·ma?*, *-kuy-/-ku·-* vt., carry on one's back, esp. suspended from a *kha?nam* lashed across one's forehead; *cumlun?o· kək kuyun* I carried [my] load to the bazar; cf. *ku·tma?*, *pəᅇma?*.
- ku·siᅇma?* vr., [*< ku·ma?* carry on one's back] load or strap onto one's back in order to carry.
- ku·tma?*, *-ku·tt-/-ku·t-/-ku·?l* vt., [dir. *< ku·ma?* carry

on one's back] have someone carry a load on one's back; *mɛgu·ʔlɛ* They'll have me carry it/They'll have me convey it on my back.

kwa?, *-ŋgwa?* n., 1) ego's maternal uncle, 2) husband of ego's paternal aunt.

kyakma?, *-kyakt-/-kyak-* vi., be put.

kyakpa adj., [*< kyakma?* be put, *-pa* nom.sf.] situated, positioned; *bhitra kyakpa mɔna·n se·ndo·sɛ?* 'e·n *kɛhɔksuba*' Ask the man inside whom he is looking for.

kyan n., large wooden pestle about one metre in length and club-shaped at either end (Nep. *musal*, *muslī*), used in conjunction with a *sumba·ŋ*.

kye· n., large oblong Limbu drum, worn up front hanging at about abdominal height, suspended diagonally from a strap about the neck, played at official Limbu ceremonies, rituals and functions, esp. in the form of the *kye·la·ŋma?* (q.v.); In Nepali the Limbu drum is known as the *cyābruñ*.

kye·la·ŋma?, *kye·-la·ks-/-kye·-la·ŋ-* vi., [*< kye·* Limbu drum or *cyābruñ* + *la·ŋma?* dance, cf. *ya?la·kma?*, *la·ŋma?*] perform the Limbu drum-dance or (Nep.) *cyābruñ-nāc*; performed by men at wedding ceremonies, the *kye·la·ŋma?* is a stately and solemn dance consisting of synchronized stepping patterns performed by a group of two or more men whilst pounding the *kye·* (q.v.); the men take shifts performing the dance because the dance must be performed continuously throughout the duration of the marriage which lasts three days.

kh

kha?l n., morning stupor; with *pa·ŋma?* 'become undone': wake up refreshed, wake up bright-eyed and bushy-tailed; *ɛn agha?l pa·ksɛ* Today I woke up refreshed and invigorated; *hara kugha?l abhelle·saŋ mɛba·ŋ·nɛn* She never gets up on the right side of bed, It always takes her quite a while to get into a civil mood in the morning; *kugha?l mɛmba·ŋ?e· wa·* He's not yet over his morning stupor, He's not quite wide awake yet; cf. *hɔ?ma?ŋ*, *imma?*, *ipmna*, *mi?*, *mikluŋ*.

kha?o·tma?, *kha?-o·tt-/-kha?-o·t-/-kha?-o·ʔl* vi., [*< o·tma?* shine, q.v.] dawn, get light at daybreak.

kha?uma?, *kha-us-/-kha-u-* vt., [*uma?* direct, lead] deliver

a speech; *khamε?usu* They gave speeches.

kha?nam n., wicker-strap lashed across one's forehead from which a *thongga* (q.v.) is suspended and carried on one's back.

khada·mma?, *kha-da·m-* vi., get dark (outside during night-fall); *khada·m* it is getting dark outside; *khada·mε* night has fallen; cf. *khadha·pma?*.

khadha·pma?, *kha-dha·pt-/kha-dha·p-* vt., [dir. < *khada·mma?* get dark] get dark on somebody, get dark on something; *kεmik khadha·ptuwi· khamεdha·ptunni·?* Did you it get black before your eyes or not?, i.e. Did you see stars? (said to someone who has just knocked his head badly against the door post); *saṅkra·nti mεngε?le· lam?o· khadha·ptaṅ* Not having gotten to *Sākrāntī*, it got dark on me out on the road.

khamakma?, *-kha-makt-/kha-mak-* vi., [< *mak* black] get dark (either inside or outside; cf. *khada·mma?*).

khamda·k n., hard palate.

khamda·?l n., spider.

khamda·tma n.f., spider.

khamma-yansan n., the realm or dwelling place of good spirits (*khemma*) in the hereafter.

khamma?, *-khaps-/kham-* vt., cover oneself with bedclothes (patient: eg. *sirak* quilt, *kambal* blanket, *pɔ·tthaṅ* shawl) when retiring to bed, tuck oneself in under some covering; *ammare sirak khapsu* Mother covered herself with a quilt; *im?εlle pɔ·tthaṅ khapsuṅ* When I go to sleep, I cover myself with a *pachyaurā*; cf. *khapma?*, *khu·ṅma?*.

khamnaba n., [nominalized PP of *khamma?*, q.v.] blanket, quilt, *sirak* q.v.

khapma?, *-khab-/khap-* vt., pick up; cf. *khɔma?*.

khapma?, *-khapt-/khap-* vt., [dir. < *khamma?* cover oneself with bedclothes] 1) tuck someone in, cover someone or something with bedclothes; *anḡa andzum-in pɔ·tthaṅille khaptuṅba* I've tucked my friend in under the *pachyaurā*; 2) thatch (a roof); *liṅ mεghaptuba* They're re-thatching the roof; *him khapma? pɔ·ṅ* The house must be re-thatched.

khayā n., [< Nep. *khayā*, *khoyo* maize cob without the kernels] maize cob or corn cob without the kernels; cf. *phe·*.

kha·kkha·kwa adj., [< *kha·kma?*, q.v.] hard (consistency); *ahi·n kha·kkha·kwa co·k* my shit is hard; cf. *cun-dzundaṅba*.

kha·kma?, *-kha·kt-/kha·k-* vt.imp., harden, solidify, con-

geal, coagulate; *ahi·n kha·ktu* my shit has turned hard; cf. *takmaʔ*.

kha·kmiʔl n., [*< kha·kmaʔ* condense; cf. *kha·kmitpa*, *kha·kweʔl*, *le·gha·k*, *migha·k*, *mi-kho·ʔ*, *namdziʔkho·ʔ*, *nehikkhok*] cloud; *kha·kmiʔl-le nam-min thekt-u* (cloud-ERG sun-ABS obscure-3P) the cloud obscured the sun.

kha·kmitpaʔ n., [*< kha·kmiʔl* cloud *< kha·kmaʔ* condense] mist; *na·dha·mbi pa·ŋphe·ʔ-ʔo· kha·kmiʔlpaʔ po·g-ε* (over_{there} on_{the} facing_{slope} village-LOC mist rise-PT) over there on the facing slope mist has enshrouded the village.

kha·kweʔl n., [*< kha·kmaʔ* congeal; cf. *kha·kmiʔl*, *kha·kmitpa*, *le·gha·k*, *migha·k*, *mi-kho·ʔ*, *namdziʔkho·ʔ*, *nehikkhok*] phlegm, coughed-up sticky mucus; cf. *o·maʔ*.

kha·l n., [*< Nep. khāl*] sort, type.

kha·m n., clay, soil.

kha·maʔ, *-kha·s-/-kha·-* vi., be sated (with food), be full; *kha·s-aŋ tims-aŋ* (be_{sated}-1sPS/PT be_{filled}-1sPS/PT) I'm quite full; cf. *tekmaʔ*, *ya·kmaʔ*, *yo·maʔ*; cf. *kha·pmaʔ*.

kha·mbaŋ n., [*< kha·m* clay, dirt, soil] the Earth; cf. *kha·mbe·k*.

kha·mbe·k n., [*< kha·m* clay, dirt, soil] the Earth; cf. *kha·mbaŋ*.

kha·mbokna n., [*< kha·m* clay, soil] dirt clod, clod of soil.

kha·mbhuʔla n., [*< kha·m* clay + *phuʔ* (*pho ~ phuʔ*) white + *-la* colour suffix] naturally occurring, dazzlingly white clay for making white adobe; cf. *kha·mhεt-la*, *mikphuʔla*.

kha·mdziʔ n., [*kha·m* clay + *ciʔ* bit] bits of clay, little clods of earth; cf. *kha·mbokna*, *lundziʔ*.

kha·mhεtla n., [*< kha·m* clay + *hεt* red + *-la* colour suffix] naturally occurring red clay for making red adobe; cf. *kha·mbhuʔla*.

kha·mkunda n., [*kha·m* clay + *kunda* q.v.] earthenware *kunda*.

kha·mmaʔ, *-kha·md-/-kha·m-* vt., chew; *kha·mdurɔ ya·k* He's chewing [on it]; cf. *ye·ŋmaʔ*.

kha·mmaʔ, *-kha·nd-/-kha·n-* vt., [caus. *< ka·mmaʔ* be wounded] wound someone; *mεgha·ndu* They wounded him.

kha·mmaʔ, *-kha·ps-/-kha·m-* vi., yawn.

kha·pmaʔ, *-kha·tt-/-kha·t-/-kha·ʔl* vt., [dir. *< kha·maʔ* be sated] satiate someone with food.

khe· n., 1) white yam; 2) potato; cf. *panghi*.

- khe·dε?1* n., 1) the ground powder of a certain tuber, an essential ingredient in the preparation of *thi·* which, in addition to *khεsun*, serves to give the *thi·* its characteristic savour; 2) poet., same as *thi·*; *khe·dε?1 thunuba* He's been drinking millet beer.
- khe·dεtma?*, *khe·-dεtt-/-khe·-dεt-/-khe·-dε?1* vt., add *khe·-dε?1*, season with *khe·dε?1*.
- khe·kya·?* n., fluted earthenware pot placed directly onto the fire, in which to pop corn; cf. *phudzik*.
- khe·ma?*, *-khe·y-(-khe·s-)/-khe·-* vi., argue, quarrel; fight (physically or verbally); *anga co·g-u-η-ille mc-ghe·y-ε* (I do-3P-lsA-INST nsAS-fight-PT) Because of what I did they fought; cf. *khe·pma?*, *thokma?*.
- khe·mba* n., large spherical clay earthenware pot with a tight narrow neck and evolved aperture.
- khe·η* n., fishing rod.
- khe·ηma?*, *khe·ks-/-khe·η-* 1) vi., be or get tied up; *khe·ksc* He got tied up; 2) vt., tie, tie up; *sikki-lle khe·ksu* He tied it up with string; *pi?lin meghe·ksu* They tied the cow up; *meghe·ksan* They've tied me up!
- khe·ηma?*, *-khe·ηs-/-khe·η-* vt., eat foodstuffs which must be taken out of a shell, pod or peel; *thεmm?naba wa?dhi·nin, cεmbi·n, badamin, sεrεη aghe·ηsumsim* We^{pl} eat boiled eggs, soybeans, peanuts, lemons; cf. Dutch *oppeuzelen*.
- khe·pma?*, *-khe·pt-/-khe·p-* vt., yoke (cattle for ploughing); *khεptunsiη* I've yoked them.
- khe·pma?*, *-khe·tt-/-khe·t-/-khe·?1* vt., [dir. < *khe·ma?* quarrel] argue about something (= patient), fight about something, dispute something.
- khe·su·ma?*, *khe·su?ma?* n., bee.
- khe·suη* vide *khεsun*.
- khe·wa?* n., [*< wa?* chicken] the red jungle fowl *Gallus gallus*, predecessor of all domesticated chickens; cf. *tikwa?*.
- khε?ma?*, *-khε?r-/-khε?-* vt., 1) (said of the *wase·ri* or water nymph) afflict someone by causing infected wounds, furuncles, carbuncles or tooth decay; *wase·ri-lle keghe?rei·?* Have you been afflicted by the water nymph?; *wase·ri aha·n khε?ru* The water nymph has afflicted my tooth; *wakho·mba?o· mem-be·k?ε?*, *wase·ri keghe?* Don't go to the *kuvā*, the water nymph will afflict you!; 2) make ill, cause to be ill (said of an ingested foodstuff through

non-observance of a ritual or food taboo); *kɛdzo ɡɔɔ khɛŋlə kɛghɛʔ* If you eat it, it'll make you sick; *sa-llɛ khɛʔraŋ* I have fallen ill due to the meat (viz. by non-observance of *coʔcoʔ mɛpmaʔ* whilst eating that meat).

khɛʔo adv., [**khɛʔ* non-proximal + *ʔo* LOC] there, in that place.

khɛʔsiŋmaʔ vr., [*< khɛʔmaʔ* afflict] (said of the *wase·ri*) be active; *wase·ri khɛʔsiŋ* The water nymph is active (i.e. it is dangerous to make use of the *wakho·mba* for the time being); cf. *wase·ri*.

khɛʔtho vide *khɛttho*.

khɛʔyo adv., [**khɛʔ* non-proximal + *yo* below] down there.

khɛbɔk n., crab, crayfish, freshwater lobster, crustacean.

khɛkmaʔ, *-khɛkt-/-khɛk-* vi., spark, ignite (eg., *sala·i* match, *cɔkmak* flint); cf. *khɛŋmaʔ*.

khɛkmaʔ, *khɛkt-/-khɛk-* vi., dry (meat); *sa·n khɛkt-ɛ* (meat-ABS dry-PT) The meat has dried; cf. *khɛŋmaʔ*, *sakhɛkya*.

khɛmghɛmaŋ la·pmaʔ or *khɛmghɛmaŋ mɛlla·pmaʔ*, *-la·pt-/-la·p-* vt., [*< khɛmmaʔ* hear] (used in the negative only) ignore someone, pretend not to hear; *pa·ncha·ttansan khɛmghɛmaŋ mɛlla·ppan* Even though he started speaking to me, I pretended not to hear him; *hɛnan khɛmghɛmaŋ kɛnla·pʔɛmbaʔ* Why are you pretending not to hear me?; cf. *niniyan la·pmaʔ*.

khɛmma n., a good spirit, i.e. the disincarnate spirit or soul of a deceased person who has not perpetrated grievously evil deeds in his life; the *khɛmma* of a deceased person passes on into *khamma-yansan*; cf. *hɔŋsa*.

khɛmmaʔ, *-khɛmd-/-khɛm-* vt., suit, flatter, look good in; *kɔŋ simille khɛnɛʔ sa·rik kɛghɛm* This dress suits you very well, this dress looks good on you; *mɛnchamdiŋ-yamna·pmi mɛ·ʔe· kha·mbe·k mɛghɛmdun* There being no sentient incarnate man, the earth appeared unseemly; *siŋbo·ŋʔo· la·ʔlɛi·ʔ khɛmʔɛi·ʔ* Shall I get into the tree? Will I look good there?; *tɛ·ʔille khɛnɛʔ kɛghɛm* The clothes suit you; *khɛŋ khɛmdu* It suited him well; *kɔŋ andzumin yɔ·ʔlille sa·ʔrik khɛmdu* It really suits this friend of mine when he laughs (i.e. my friend really looks handsome when he laughs); (with body parts:) *kɛmdho·kʔille sa·ʔrik kɛghɛm* Your moustache really suits you; *kumikʔille sa·ʔrik khɛmdu* He has very beautiful eyes; *kunbo·lle sa·ʔrik mɛghɛmdun* She has a very uncomely nose; Nep.

suhāunu.

khemma?, -*kheps*-/-*khem*- vt., 1) hear; 2) smell, sense, detect; cf. *khemghemaṅ la·pma?*.

kheṅe? pro., you (singular).

kheṅchi pro., you (dual).

kheṅchi- pf., your (dual).

kheṅi pro., you (plural).

kheṅi- pf., your (plural).

kheṅ 1) pro., he, she, it (non-proximal); 2) dem., that; cf. *kəṅ*.

kheṅbe·la adv., [*kheṅ* that + *be·la* < Nep. *belā* period of time] at that time.

kheṅha? pro., they, them (plural).

kheṅma?, -*kheks*-/-*kheṅ*- vt., [caus. < *kheksma?* be struck] strike (*sala·i* a match, *cəkmak* flint).

kheṅma?, -*kheks*-/-*kheṅ*- vt., [caus. < *kheksma?* dry (meat)] dry (meat); *kheṅ-le sa··n kheks-u* (he-ERG meat-ABS dry-3P) He dries meat; *kheṅ-ṅna-ba sa* (dry-PP-NOM meat) dried meat, Nepalese buffalo jerky, Nep. *sukuṭī*; cf. *sakhekyā*.

kheṅma?, -*kheṅ*- vi., well up; *ku-sik kheṅ-ε* (his-irritation well_up-PT) He became irritated.

kheṅya·pma?, *kheṅ-ya·r*-/*kheṅ-ya·t*-/*kheṅ-ya·ʔl* vi., [*kheṅ* that + *ya·pma?* be an amount] be that much, amount to that much; cf. *a·kkhya·pma?*, *kəṅya·pma?*, *kheṅ-ya·ppa*.

kheṅya·ppa adj., [*kheṅya·pma?* be that much + *-pa* nom.sf.] that big, such a big (non-proximal); cf. *kəṅya·ppa*, *kheṅya·psa*, *maṅbhaya·ppa*.

kheṅya·psa adj., [*kheṅya·ppa* that much + **-sa* dim.sf.] that small, such a small (non-proximal); cf. *kəṅ-ya·psa*, *kheṅya·ppa*.

kheṅma?, -*khept*-/-*khep*- vt., harness, yoke; *piʔl-ha? khep-mʔ-si po·ṅ* (cow-p harness-INF-nsP EXIG) The cows must be harnessed; *kheṅ piʔl-ha? hara-hara khept-u-ṅ-si-ṅ* (those cow-p quickly yoke-3P-1sA-nsP-1sA) I'm going to yoke those cows quickly.

kheṅma?, -*khet*-/-*khet*-/-*kheʔl* vt., chase.

kheṅma?, -*kheʔr*-/-*khet*-/-*kheʔl* vi., resultative aspectivizer, vide 5.3.5; *kəṅ ya·mbək po·ṅ-ghēʔl la* (this work be-RES EMPH) This work will get done (emphatic promise); *ta·ndik sa iṅ-ghēʔl* (tomorrow EMPH become_known-RES) By tomorrow it will be common knowledge.

kheṅe·ʔ n., star.

kheṅe·k n., walnut.

kheṅe·kbo·ṅ n., [*kheṅe·k* walnut + *-bo·ṅ* tree] the walnut,

Juglans regia; Nep. *okhar*.

khɛsɛmik vide *khɛsumik*.

khɛsumik, *khɛsɛmik*, *khɛsumikpa*, *khɛsɛmikpa* n., [*khɛsɛ·?* star + *mik* eye] star.

khɛsuŋ, *khɛ·suŋ* n., white yeast culture for fermenting red millet (*pe·na?*) to yield red millet beer (*thi·*), sold as hard flat round powdery cakelets, wrapped in fern fronds.

khɛtchiŋma? vr., [*< khɛɕma?* chase] run.

khɛtna adv., [**khɛt* non-proximal + *na·* there] over there, thither.

khɛtna·dha·mbi adv., [**khɛt* non-proximal + *na·dha·mbi*, q.v.] on the far side of the opposite or next mountain ridge, on the far slope (i.e. the slope not invisible to the onlooker) of an adjacent mountain or the far side of the same mountain on which one is standing; cf. *na·dha·mbi*, *kɔtna·dha·mbi*.

khɛtna·sime·n adj.adv., [*< khɛtna* there] distant; cf. *kɔtna·sime·n*, *na·sime·n*.

khɛttho· adv., [**khɛt* non-proximal + *tho·* above, up] up there.

khɛ·?ma?, *-khɛ·r/-khɛ·?* vt., split (*siŋ* wood, *pha* bamboo) lengthwise with the grain; *kɛrɛk pha mɛgɛ·ru rɛcɛ* It appears that they've split all the bamboo.

khɛ·kma?, *-khɛ·kt/-khɛ·k-* vi., have a piece broken off of the whole, be chipped off, flake off, be nicked (eg., *khɔrɛ·ŋ* bread, *siŋ* a piece of wood, *tɔndi* hatchet, *phɛdza·n* khukuri); cf. *khɛ·ŋma?*.

khɛ·ma?, *-khɛ·s/-khɛ·-* vt., make circles, spin, whirl, dance around in circles; *hɛndza?bitchare mɛgɛ·su* The children are dancing around in circles.

khɛ·ŋma?, *-khɛ·ks/-khɛ·ŋ-* vt., [caus. *< khɛ·kma?* be chipped off] break off a piece, chip off, nick; *khɔrɛ·ŋ khɛ·ksuŋaŋ caŋ* I'll break off and eat a piece of the bread; *kɛndzumin khɛ·ksɛ?aŋ pi·rɛ?!* Break off a piece and give it to your friend!

khikma?, *khikt/-khik-* vi., 1) taste bitter; 2) be expensive; *sa·rik khik* It's terribly expensive.

khikma?, *-khikt/-khik-* vt., taste bitter to someone.

khikwa n., whistle, vide *ca·ma?* (6).

khilli n., [*< Nep. khillī*] one rolling-paper-full (of tobacco), one small scoop or handful (of any such household commodity).

khimma?, *-khips/-khim-* vt., [caus. *< khipma?* stick] stick; *him?o· sapla khipsu* He stuck the poster/calendar up onto the house; cf. *ɔŋma?*.

khiṇma?, -*khiṇ-* vi., be taut; *kye·-n khiṇ-ε* (drum-ABS be_taut-PT) The drum is taut; cf. *khiṇma?*.

khiṇma?, -*khiṇs-/-khiṇ-* vt., [caus. < *khiṇma?* be taut] make taut, stretch; *kheṇ-le kye·-n khiṇs-u* (he-ERG drum-ABS stretch-3P) He stretched the skin over the drum taut.

khipma?, -*khipt-/-khip-* vi., stick; *cigip khiptε* the glue stuck; *hilo·?o· khiptaṅ* I got bogged down in the mud; cf. *khimma?*, *okma?*.

khipse·ma n., the fig *Ficus nemoralis*; Nep. *dudhilo*.

khi· n., thread.

khi·?ma?, -*khi·r-/-khi·?* vi., grow weary, grow fatigued, get tired; *to·nd-u-ṅ-ille khi·r-aṅ na·s-aṅ* (move_a_heap-3P-1sA-INST get_tired-1sPS/PT become_exhausted-1sPS/PT) I'm totally exhausted from moving that pile.

khi·mma?, -*khi·nd-/-khi·n-* vi., be greedy, be avaricious, be gluttonous; cf. *citma?*.

khi·mma?, -*khi·nd-/-khi·n-* vt., scrape off; *karəhi?o· keghippa pitnu·n khi·nduṅba* I'm scraping off the milk which is caked onto the [inside of the] wok.

khi·ṅ n., [*khikma?* taste bitter] gall bladder.

kho·bo·? n., slender jet black long-tailed subspecies of the Hanuman or common langur with white mains around the face, *Presbytis entellus achilles*; Nep. *ḍheḍhu*, *ḍheḍu*; cf. *saba*.

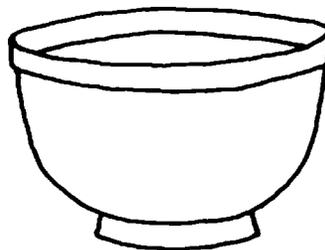
kho·he·?dεtma?, *kho·he·?-dεtt-/-kho·he·?-dεt-/-kho·he·?-dε?l* vi., [*kho·ma?* find + *he·?ma?* be able + PAS] be able to be found, occur, be encountered.

kho·ma?, -*kho·s-/-kho·-* vt., find.

kho·pma?, -*kho·pt-/-kho·p-* vt., reach (around something), embrace and close about, engirdle something; *khunc? kuhuk?in meṅgho·ppaṅ* His wrist was so big around that my fingers couldn't reach all the way around; *siṅbo·ṅ meṅgho·ppaṅ* I couldn't reach all the way around the tree.

kho·pma?, -*kho·tt-/-kho·t-/-kho·?l* vt., comb (eg. one's hair); scratch, scrape; cf. *ukma?*.

kho·rε?l n., small bowl, cup or beaker for *yum-ma·?l*; cf. *lumba*, *tokkrima*.



kho·rε?l

kho·sa? n., [*kho·ma?* find + *sa?* child] foundling, bastard.

khəʔma?, *-khəʔr-/-khəʔ-* 1) vi., (with *pa·n* 'speech') be delirious; *ku·ba·n khəʔr-ε* (his-speech be_{delirious}-PT) He is delirious; *siŋya·n khunε? kuba·n khəʔreŋ wayε, ma·siŋne?l* The day before yesterday, he was delirious, he's about to die; 2) vt., be speechless, be dumbfounded, be dumbstruck; *ku·ba·n khəʔru* He was speechless; cf. *pa·nbuk yuŋ-siŋma?*.

khəda·kmi n., a middle-aged person, an adult.

khəkma?, *-khəkt-/-khək-* vt., 1) chop, clip (hair), cut (eg. *siŋ* wood, *sa* meat) into pieces, eg. *siŋ khəkma?* chop wood into smaller pieces (cf. *cep-ma?*); *kudhge·k?in keghəktuwi·?* Are you cutting his hair?; *amdruk?in khəktuŋba* I've trimmed my moustache (cf. *nə·ŋma?*); *ma·kilaŋle khəktan* I cut myself on a cornstalk; cf. *phedza*; 2) *lam khəkma?* bar someone's path, cut someone off; *kelam khəktubai·?* Did he cut your path off? Did he bar your way?.

khəkma?l n., sturdy wooden stirring spoon (eg. for *maŋdək*).

khəkmelle adv., [*khəkma?* chop, *-ille* SUB] almost, nearly.

khəkse· n., the fig *Ficus semicordata*; Nep. *khanāyo*, *kaniū*, *khanyū*.

khəma?, *-khəs-/-khə-* vt., 1) pick up; *phedza-·n ke-ghəs-u* (knife-ABS 2-pick_{up}-3P) You pick up the knife; cf. *khapma?*; 2) jot down; *miŋ khəse? yukse?!* Jot [his] name down!.

khəmma?, *-khəps-/-khəm-* vt., lift up.

khəmma?, *-khəŋch-/-khəŋ-* vt., [caus. < **kəmma?* in *təkəmma* 'roam about'] move, stir (+ liquid, cf. *mumma?*, *sa·ŋma?*).

khəŋkwa n., snore, vide *ca·ma?* (5).

khəŋbe·? n., boat.

khəŋma?, *-khəŋ-* vi., get hit with a stick; cf. *khəŋma?*.

khəŋma?, *-khəks-/-khəŋ-* vt., [caus. < *khəŋma?* get hit with a stick] hit with a stick; *keghəksεi·?* Did he hit you with a stick?; cf. *lepma?* (2), *tε?ma?*, *yaŋma?* (1).

khəpma?, *-khətt-/-khət-/-khə?l* vi.imp., have a parched throat, be hoarse; *khətte* [I am/you are/he is] hoarse.

khɔppe·ʔ n., large cooking vessel, pan.

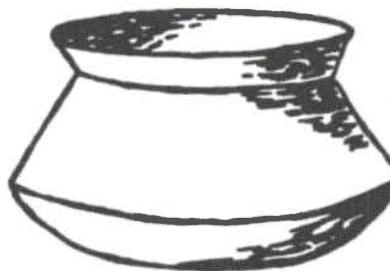
khɔppe·ʔ kegu·ba n. + vt., [khɔppe·ʔ pan + AP of ku·maʔ carry on one's back] snail.

khɔppi n., game played by tossing clay marbles or ko·reʔl into a ring drawn on the ground, Nep. *khopī*; cf. *pho·mmaʔ*.

khɔre·ŋ n., bread.

khɔro· interj., Make way, make room, get out of the way!

khɔ·maʔ, -khɔ·y-/ -khɔ·- I) vi., chant, pray, utter incantations, perform a religious service (sometimes tautologically with the loan *pudza* 'worship service'); *pudza meghɔ·yeɓa* They were performing a religious ritual; II) vt., address, invoke, commune with the gods; *phe·danme-lle maŋ khɔ·y-u* (shaman-ERG god invoke-3P) The shaman invokes the god; vide *manghɔ·maʔ*; 1) *ya·kwa khɔ·maʔ* perform the vernal pluvio-elicitive prayer service or *ya·kwa pudza* (q.v.); The *ya·kwa pudza* is performed following the full moon night in the month of *Caitra* or *Cait* in order to ensure adequate rainfall, a good planting season and the fertility of the seed to be sown. Mounds of clay are moulded to represent the deity, each with a stick protruding from its centre. Some rice, *ʔika* and freshly slaughtered chicken's blood are offered to these mounds. The *kye·* is struck continuously during the course of the entire service, which lasts the whole day, and during the ensuing procession. The sacrificial food consisting of rice and meat, contributed by every household in the community, is prepared and eaten outside whilst the *phe·danma* performs rituals and utters incantations known only to the *phe·danmas*. Large amounts of *thi·* are imbibed. Leftovers may be taken home by members of the community participating in the service but may not be taken indoors. Only when the sacrificial food has been consumed outdoors may the empty receptacles be taken inside. At the end of the service all the men of the community march in



khɔppe·ʔ

procession through the village and *cumlun* or bazar, shouting loudly to invoke the rain god and spraying each other with water whilst the women and children in the houses also toss water down on them; *ya·kwa meghə·yuba, wi?l me?u·ppa* They are invoking the rain god; they are calling down rain; 2) *əkwama khə·ma?* perform the prayer service in honour of *əkwama* the deity of the main house, invoke the goddess *əkwama*; The worship to honour *əkwama* is carried out entirely within the main house. A small pig is slaughtered inside the main house and prepared and consumed there as sacrificial food. No salt may be utilised in the preparation of this sacrifice as this would anger the *yumməndzama samman* (q.v.). A hole is dug in the floor after the repast, and the bones and any other remains of the pig are interred within the mud floor, as no part of the sacrifice is to leave the main house; *əkwama khə·yumbə WeP^e* performed the sacrifice to the goddess of the main house.

khə·mre·? n., [*< re·?* tree suffix,, cf. *ti·nre·?*] peach tree, *Prunus persica*, with fruit ripening in the month of *Aṣāḍh*; Nep. *ārū*.

khu?wa? n., [*< wa?* chicken] small dark bird resembling, but smaller than, a cuckoo.

khumma?, *-khums-/-khum-* vt., 1) (with non-human patient) train, bridle, tame; *ambare khəṅ ənin khumsu* My father trained that horse; cf. *kamma?*; 2) (with human patient) restrain, control, keep in check; subjugate; *mənaha? khumsuṅsiṅ* I kept the men in check.

khunchi pro., they, them (dual).

khunchi- pf., their (non-singular).

khunc? pro., he, she, him, her.

khupma?, *-khutt-/-khuṭ-/-khu?l* I) vt., rob someone; steal something; II) vi., 1) steal, commit a theft; 2) be stolen.

khuriya n., [Nep. *< *khoriyā < khorī*] small metal cup.

khu·kma?, *-khu·kt-/-khu·k-* vt., [dir. *< khu·ṅma?* cover oneself with something] cover someone (= patient) with a coverlet, wrap someone in a covering; *andzumin pə·tṭhanille khu·ktuṅba*; I draped a *pachyaurā* over my friend [to keep him warm].

khu·ṅma?, *-khu·ks-/-khu·ṅ-* vt., cover oneself with something, wrap oneself in something (= patient); wear (headdress); *cunḍzi·k?ille pə·tṭhan pho·ktaṅ?o·khu·ksuṅ* When it gets cold I drape a *pachyaurā*

across my shoulders; *khεnc? hεnaŋ to·pi kεghu·ksu?*
Why are you wearing a *ṭopī?*; cf. *caŋma?*, *khamma?*,
wa·pma?; cf. *khu·kma?*.

khyikma? vide *khikma?*.

khyu n., [*< Nep. ghiu*] ghee, clarified butter.

1

la vide *na*.

la?ba adv., perhaps, possibly, maybe (clause-final particle); *tha·?-?ε dha·?ε la?ba* (leave_behind_for-1sPS leave-1sPS probably) He'll probably leave it behind for me; cf. *i?re·?e·*, *i·ya*.

la?ba n., adulterer, cuckold; *la?ba la?ba abhelleyaŋ men-dɔŋnɛn* Two *la?bas* never reconcile; a *la?ba-la?ba* relationship is inherently irreconcilable; cf. *la?ma*.

la?ma n., adulteress, illicit mistress, illicit lover (f), wife whose husband has been unfaithful; *la?ma la?ma tɔŋma? mche·?*, *tɔŋmyaŋ yuŋma?aŋ mche·?* Two *la?mas* may be reconciled, having become reconciled they may even dwell together; a *la?ma-la?ma* relationship is potentially reconcilable, and may grow into a *tumma-pakma* relationship.

la?phe·ma?, *la?-phe·s-/la?-phe·-* vt., [*la? < *lapma?* discard; cf. *pha?lapma?*] toss to someone, fling through the air at or to someone; cf. *la?phuma?*.

la?phuma?, *la?-phus-/la?-phu-* vt., [*la? < *lapma?* discard; cf. *pha?lapma?*] throw out; cf. *la?phe·ma?*.

lakma?, *-lag-/lak-* vt., 1) lick; 2) *səllak lakma?* lick clean; *kεrεk tɔk?in səllak lagu* He licked his plate clean; cf. *laŋma?*.

lakma?, *-lakt-/lak-* vi., be salty; be too strong (to the taste).

lakma?, *-lakt-/lak-* 1) vi., boil (of a liquid); *pitnu lak* The milk is boiling; *cwa?lin lakte* The water was boiling; 2) vt.imp., (with non-referential 3sA) boil (patient: liquid); *cwa?l lakt-u* (water boil-3P) The water is boiling; cf. *laŋma*, *themma?*.

lakphε?l n., the leech of the wet season, lurking on vegetation and in ponds, groping about blindly in search of a host to whom it can latch onto and occasionally standing upright inchworm-like on its posterior extremity; cf. *lup*.

laksinma? vr., lick each other (of livestock); *mεnda? mεlaksin* The goats lick each other; *pi?l laknetchi*

The two cows lick each other.

- lam* 1) n., road, way; cf. *khəkma?* (2), *yaŋsu*; 2) postp., via; from.
- lambo* n., a cold, a cough; collocates with the verb *tɔma?*, q.v.
- lamde·ŋ* adv., [*lam* way] halfway.
- lamdi?paŋ* n., [*lam* road] wayfarer, passer-by, pedestrian, stranger.
- lamdhe·ʔl* n., [*lam* way, road + **the·ʔl* threshold, cf. *namdhe·ʔl*] door.
- lami* n., hog, castrated boar raised for its meat; cf. *phak*, *yo·ppa*.
- lamlam* adv., [*lam* road] on the way, on the road, along the road.
- lamlambya?l* n., [*pya?l* cricket] grasshopper.
- lamsa?*, *-llamsa?* n., ego's sister's child (male speaking).
- lamsa? paŋli*, *-llamsa? paŋli* n., ego's sister's son's wife (male speaking).
- lamsa? paŋmi*, *-llamsa? paŋmi* n., ego's sister's daughter's husband (female speaking).
- laŋ* n., leg, foot.
- laŋbuk* n., [*laŋ* leg + **buk* voice, sound; cf. *pa·nbuk*] footsteps; (with *mukma?* 'sound') *kulaŋ sa·ʔrik muk* His footsteps sound very loudly.
- laŋco·ʔl* n., [*laŋ* leg, foot + **co·ʔl* digit; *hukco·ʔl*, *makco·ʔl*] toe.
- laŋε?l* n., south.
- laŋghe·ʔkma?*, *laŋ-ghe·ʔg-/laŋ-ghe·k-* vi., [*laŋ* foot, leg] walk, go on foot, stride.
- laŋghe·kma?*, *laŋ-ghe·kt-/laŋ-ghe·k-* vide *laŋghe·kma?*.
- laŋka·kthimba* n., [*laŋ* foot, leg] heel.
- laŋkhembo·k* n., [*laŋ* leg] calf, calves of the leg.
- laŋma* n., [*laŋ* foot, leg] big toe; cf. *hama*, *hukma*.
- laŋma?*, *-laks-/laŋ-* vt., [caus. < *lakma?* boil] boil (a liquid); *pitnu?in laksuŋ* I'm boiling the milk; *a-laŋ-s-u* We^d shall boil it; cf. *laŋma?*, *themma?*.
- laŋma?*, *-laks-/laŋ-* vt., [caus. < *lakma?* lick] give to lick; *pi?lha? yum laksuŋsiŋ*, *pi?lha?re mɛlagu* I gave the cows salt to lick, and the cows licked it up.
- laŋmik* n., [*laŋ* leg + *mik* eye] ankle; cf. *hukmik*.
- laŋmurik* n., [*laŋ* leg, foot + *murik* body hair] leg hair, foot hair.
- laŋpho·ŋga* n., [*laŋ* leg, foot + *pho·ŋga* ball] football; cf. *hukpho·ŋga*.
- laŋsik* n., [*laŋ* leg + *sik* marrow] leg marrow; cf. *huksik*, *nesik*.

- lan̄sup* n., [*lan̄* leg, foot] shoe; cf. *dzutta*, *huk̄sup*.
- lan̄sup k̄ed̄o·ba* n., [*lan̄sup* shoe + AP of *t̄o·ma?* 'to sew'] ethnonym for the *Sārki* or leatherworkers' caste.
- lan̄tappe·* n., [*lan̄* leg, foot] sole of the foot; cf. *huk̄tappe·*.
- lan̄yo·p* n., [*lan̄* leg + *yo·p* imprint, impression] footprint.
- lapma?*, -*lab-*/*-lap-* vt., 1) singe off feathers or hair (*murik*) of a slaughtered animal; *wa?in labu* He's singing the feathers off the chicken; 2) set fire to; *bha·tra melabu* They started a brush fire; cf. *ha?ma?*, *ha·mma?*, *tukma?*, *tupma?*.
- lauro·* n., [*Nep. lauro*] stick; vide *siṅdze·k*, *t̄okka?l*.
- la·b* n., moon.
- la·bbutthun̄* n.myth., [*la·b* moon + *putthun̄* foam, cf. *putthun̄wa*] lit. lunar foam; foam originating from the left whilst churning, originating from counter-clockwise rotation of the churning rod; cf. *nambutthun̄*.
- la·bbherik* adv.myth., [*la·b* moon + *pherik* churning rod, q.v.] lit. lunar churning rod; churning counter-clockwise, to the left; cf. *nambherik*.
- la·bbh̄ok* n., large white radish-like tuber, *Nep. m̄ulā*.
- la·bdzo·kma?*, *la·b-dzo·g-*/*la·b-dzo·k-* vi., [*?< Nep. lābh* profit, advantage + *co·kma?* do; cf. *pardzo·kma?*] 1) cost; *a·kkhya·k la·bdzo·k* How much does it cost?; 2) take (time) *thi· tho·kma? thik ya·n la·bdzo·k* It takes a day to cook red millet (in the manufacture of *thi·*); 3) go off (of a bell or alarm); *biha·ndik tuksi muktelle huk?o· wa·pmnaben la·bdzo·k he·kte* The wristwatch began to sound at six in the morning.
- la·bne·tti* adv., [*la·b* moon + **ne·tti* cord, string, cf. *ne·tti* clitoris] lit. lunar cord; pulling at the lunar (left) cord wound about the churning rod (*pherik*, q.v.); cf. *namne·tti*.
- la·gi* postp., [*Nep. lāgi* for] (with genitive) for, in order to; *m̄e-ghip-n̄en-l̄o co·k-m̄e-lle la·gi cidzi? cidzi? kh̄om-ma? po·ṅ* (NEG-stick-NEG-prG do-INF-GEN for a_little a_little stir-INF EXIG) [You] have to keep stirring it a little bit all the time in order to prevent it from sticking.
- la·kma?*, -*la·kt-*/*-la·k-* vi., apply, be in effect, as in the expressions: 1) *-se·?l la·kma?* be hungry (lit. hunger apply); *k̄e-se·?l sa·rik la·kt-ε ro· cum-me·!* (your^s-hunger very apply-PT ASS friend-VOC) You are very hungry, my friend!; cf. *kidhi*;

2) *-yak la·kma?* be angry (lit. anger apply); *a-yak me-la·k-nen* (my-anger NEG-apply-NEG) I won't be angry.

la·kma?, *-la·kt-/-la·k-* vt., [dir. < *la·ŋma?* dance] trample, stamp, walk underfoot, kick; *piʔl-ille la·kt-aŋ* (cow-ERG trample-1sPS/PT) The cow walked me underfoot.

la·lti·n n., [*< Nep. lālṭīn*] kerosene lamp.

la·lṭi·n vide *la·lti·n*.

la·ŋma?, *-la·ks-/-la·ŋ-* vi., dance; cf. *kye·la·kma?*, *la·kma?*, *yaʔla·kma?*.

la·bde·ŋgu n., [*< la·b moon*] ring around the moon; cf. *namde·ŋgu*.

la·p n., wing.

la·pma?, *-la·pt-/-la·p-* vide *khemghemaŋ la·pma?*, *niniyaŋ la·pma?*.

la·pma?, *-la·pt-/-la·p-* vt.imp., be lightweight; cf. *lipma?*, *yɔŋyɔŋ*.

la·pma?, *-la·s-/-la·t-/-la·ʔl* vi., enter, go into, come into.

la·pphipma n., [*< la·p wing*] armpit.

-la·se vt. + sup.sf., [fossilised supine < **la·ma?* take someone along, take someone away, get someone] (with verbs of motion) *aŋga kula·se pe·kʔɛba* I'm going to get him; *ala·se mebhen* They're coming to take me away.

la·ttha? n., difference, amelioration; cf. *meɸma?* (9).

la·tthaʔba n.adj., [*< la·thha?* difference] differing, esp. in age; *khunchi yərik la·tthaʔbasi* They differ greatly in age; *yəllik la·tthabasige* We^o differ greatly in age.

le· n., penis.

le·dhi·mba n., [*le· penis + thi·n egg + -pa nom.sf.*] testicles.

le·gha·k n., [*le· penis + < kha·kma?* congeal; cf. *kha·kmiʔl*, *kha·kwɛʔl*, *migha·k*, *mikho·ʔ*, *namdziʔkho·ʔ*, *nehhikkhɔk*] smegma; cf. *le·wa*.

le·kma?, *-le·kt-/-le·k-* vt., scald, burn (of a liquid); *mɔkwa-ille le·ktaŋ* The hot water scalded me; cf. *haŋwama?*, *ko·ma?*, *o·ʔma?*, *ya·mma?*, *yemma?*.

le·mma?, *-le·ps-/-le·m-* vi., 1) slip, slide; *kcle·psɛi·ʔ* Did you slip?; *ale·m lo·!* We'll slip if we don't watch out!; cf. *le·ŋma?*, *lyanma?*; 2) be slippery (of a surface or substance).

le·ŋma?, *-le·ŋ-* vt., pour (fluid), add (fluid).

le·ŋma?, *-le·ks-/-le·ŋ-* vt., fry in oil, deep-fry.

le·ŋwa n., [*< le·ŋma?* pour, **wa* water] puddle.

- le·pma?, -le·b-/-le·p- vt., make into rolls, form into rolls (eg. *mandok*).
- le·pma?, -le·tt-/-le·t-/-le·ʔl vt., plunge into something, thrust into, stick into, drive into.
- le·pma?, -le·tt-/-le·t-/-le·ʔl vt., shuck maize (kernels from the cob); cf. *lu·ŋma?*.
- le·murik n., [le· penis + *murik* body hair] male pubic hair.
- le·wa n., [le· penis + **wa* water] sperm; cf. *le·gha·k*.
- leʔma?, -leʔr-/-leʔ- 1) vi., (with -*yak* 'anger') become unleashed; *sa·rik khunchi-yak leʔr-ε* (very their-anger become_unleashed-PT) They became very angry; *keyak leʔi· mɛleʔnenni·?* Are you going to get angry [about that] or aren't you?; 2) vi.vt., (with *niŋ* 'gall', 'spleen') be fed up with something (= inst. or erg.), have had enough of something; *tɔk-le sa·rik aniŋ leʔrɛ* I'm fed up with cooked rice; *khɛni-pa·n-le sa·rik aniŋ leʔrɛ* I'm fed up with what youP have to say; *thi·-lle kuniŋ leʔ* He'll be fed up with millet beer [when he wakes up in the morning]; *hekke· keba·ttumille aniŋ leʔ leʔ lo·!* If you guys are going to talk that way, I'm going to get fed up!; cf. *e·ʔma?*, *lepma?*, -*nbo· hipma?*.
- lekca adj., naked, nude.
- lekma?, -lekt-/-lek- vt., [dir. < *leŋma?* wander about lost] trade, exchange; *leksu* Let's^{di} trade.
- lekwa n., [< *lekma?* exchange, trade] exchange, barter.
- lem n., 1) kidney, side; *lemsi* (dual) kidneys; 2) lack of spunk, lack of energy (with *yu·ma?*, q.v.).
- lemma?, -lend-/-len- vi., become dislocated, jump or slide out of its socket or place.
- lendik n., [len day + **dik* period of day] in the daytime; *enda·ndik lendik cuŋmedzi·knɛn* It's not cold in the daytime these days; cf. *biha·ndik*, *idik*, *sen-dik*, *ta·ndik*, *ya·ndik*, *yunchik*.
- lendzya n., [len daytime + *cama?* eat] midday snack generally consisting of *nɔ·mnaba ma·ki* (popcorn) and roasted *cɛmbi* (soybeans); Nep. *khājā*.
- lenlen adv., [< *len* daytime] the whole day long, during the whole daytime period; cf. *senchen*.
- leŋ n., [< *leŋma?* turn over] turn.
- leŋma?, -leŋ- vi., wander about lost; *leŋaŋ* I've lost my way; cf. *lekma?*, *leŋma?*, *ma·ma?*, *pa·nleŋma?*, *po·tma?*.
- leŋma?, -leks-/-leŋ- vt., [caus. < *leŋma?* wander about] turn over, flip over; vide -*niŋwa leŋma?*.

leŋsiŋma? vr., [*leŋma?* turn over] change.

lepma?, -*leʔr-*/*leʔt-*/*leʔl* vt., [dir. < *leʔma?* become released] 1) give up, take leave of, quit; *keba·ŋphe· keleʔruba a·kkhen ya·n po·kse* How many days has it been since you left your village?; *allɔ anchi amlətchi* They'll leave us^di now; *aleʔl aneʔl* [3s→1pi] He's about to leave us (i.e. to pass away); *kundzumille leʔru* His friend took leave of him; cf. *naʔma?*; 2) let go, release; undo (eg. a *piʔlchikki* from around a cow's neck, *khi·* from a ball of thread, *hu·p* 'knot'; cf. *pha·ŋma?*); *piʔlin keleʔruwi·?* - *leʔrun* Did you release the cow? - I did; *pare·wa··n leʔrunba* I've let the pigeon go.

lepma?, -*lept-*/*-lep-* vt., 1) cast, throw, toss (overhand; cf. *pho·mma?*); *khen luŋin keleptui·?* Did you throw that stone?; 2) hit someone or something with a thrown object; *luŋille leptaŋ* He hit me with a rock (he threw); *khəŋma?*, *teʔma?*, *yaŋma?* (1).

-*lepmaŋ* postp., toward.

-*lepsaŋ* postp., toward; *khunchi him-lepsaŋ thanətchi* They^d headed homeward.

lepsaŋ n., office, division, area (of work); *atiŋ lepsaŋ-ʔo· ya·mbək kedzo·guba?* In which office do you work?.

lerchaŋ adv., on one's stomach; *lerchaŋ im* He sleeps on his stomach; cf. *həʔpeʔl*, *cyanya*.

leso·ʔl, -*lso·ʔl-* n., tongue.

le·kma?, -*le·kt-*/*-le·k-* vi., peel severely, shed one's skin (cf. *ti·kma?*); *cwaʔlille le·ktaŋ* I peeled severely because of the water; (of insects or reptiles:) moult; cf. *ti·kma?*.

le·ma?, -*le·s-*/*-le·-* vt., know.

le·mma?, -*le·m-* vt., sweat-talk, deceive, flatter, seduce, talk someone into, bring someone to reason, try to make someone understand; cf. *niŋwa hi·ma?*.

le·mma?, -*le·md-*/*-le·m-* vt., darn, mend or patch up (a hole in a garment); *kuhəŋin le·mm·bo·ŋ* The hole must be darned.

le·mma?, -*le·nd-*/*-le·n-* vt., pull down and snap off, strip (eg. branches from a tree); *sinsaraʔl le·n- duŋ dha·suŋ* I stripped off the branches.

le·ŋma?, -*le·ks-*/*-le·ŋ-* vi., slip; *khen mənə··n le·ks-ε*, *khuneʔ lam-ʔo· le·ŋ-lɔ ya·k* (that man-ABS slip-PT, he road-LOC slip-prG be) That guy slipped, he's slipping all over the road; *pitma·n le·kse* The cow slipped; cf. *le·mma?*.

le·ŋma?, -*le·ks-*/*-le·ŋ-* vt., [caus. < *le·ŋma?* rub, smear]

knead, make dough; *khɔre·ŋ ke-le·ks-u* (bread 2-
-knead-3P) You make bread; *khunε? khɔre·ŋ le·ksuro*
ya·k He's kneading dough; cf. *so?ma?*.

le·ŋma?, -*le·ks-/-le·ŋ-* vt., 1) clear (land), chop down;
ya·kkha? le·ksu He cleared the jungle; 2) cause
to disperse; *māna-ha? le·ks-u-ŋ-si-ŋ* (man-p dis-
perse-3P-1sA-nsP-1sA) I drove all the people away.

le·ŋma?, -*le·ŋ-* vt., smear, rub, rub in, daub, overpaint,
esp. whitewash or redwash houses with pigmented
clay and manure (eg., *kham-ille*, *cwa?l-ille* with
clay, with water); *pi?lhi-nu kha·m so?-ma?-aŋ him-*
-ha? le·ŋ-ma? bo·ŋ (manure-and clay mix_by_hand-
-INF-and house-p smear-INF EXIG) Manure and clay
must be mixed and the houses recoated; cf. *le·ŋ-*
ma?.

læcə, *ræcə* cl. [< Nep. *rahecha*] clause-final deprehensa-
tive particle indicating that what is stated in
the clause has only recently come to be realized
or discovered by the speaker.

læghe·?l n., Nepalese shirt, torso garment or upper part
of the official Nepalese costume for men, Nep.
daurā; cf. *sumba*.

li? n., 1) slingshot, catapult; vide *ko·re?l*; 2) bow; cf.
to·ŋ.

libhu num.col., four; cf. *lisi*.

lima?, -*lis-/-li-* vt., insert one's hands into something;
ahuk?in su?wa?o· lisunba I stuck my hand into the
bag; *cun?dzi·kte*, *kehuk?in kego·dzi?o· lise?!* It
has turned cold. Stick your hands in your poc-
kets!; cf. *li·mma?*.

limba n., [*limma?* be sweet + -*pa* nom.sf.] sweets, candy;
cf. *kelimba*.

limma?, -*limd-/-lim-* vi., taste sweet, be sweet; taste
salty, be salty; *limdεi·?* Does it taste sweet
(salty)?; cf. *limba*, *kelimba*; *lakma?*.

liŋ n., thatch, thatching.

liŋma?, -*liŋ-* vt., climb; cf. *liŋma?*.

liŋma?, -*liŋs-/-liŋ-* vi., [caus. < *liŋma?* climb] 1) (of
the sun) suddenly begin to shine, come up over the
horizon or from behind a mountain, break through
the clouds; *nam liŋsε* The sun broke through [eg.
the clouds], the sun rose; 2) grow (of plants);
ma·ki liŋsε The maize is growing; cf. *po·ma?*.

liŋma?, -*liŋs-/-liŋ-* vt., pour; cf. *wεpma?*.

lipma?, -*lib-/-lip-* vt., twine (eg., *sikki?* rope); cf.
pho·ma?, *tha·ktha·kma?*.

lipma?, -*lipt-/-lip-* vi., be heavy, weigh much; *sa·rik*

lipte It's gotten to be quite heavy; cf. *la·pma?*,
yoŋyoŋ.

lireŋ adv., [*li* four + *leŋ* turn] four times.

lisi num., four.

li·kma?, *-li·g-/-li·k-* vi., enter into an opening; cf.
li·kma?, *li·ŋma?*.

li·kma?, *-li·kt-/-li·k-* vt., [dir. < *li·kma?* enter into an opening] infect someone, pass a disease onto someone.

li·mma?, *-li·nd-/-li·n-* vt., [caus. < *lima?* insert one's hand into something] stick through a hole; *li·nd-ε?* *phench-ε?*! (stick_through-IMP have_brought-IMP) Send it through the hole; *sammi?l-ille kuhəŋ-?o· khi·-n li·nd-u* (needle-GEN its-hole-LOC thread-ABS stick_through-3P) She passed the thread through the eye of the needle.

li·ŋma?, *-li·ks-/-li·ŋ-* vt. [caus. < *li·kma?* enter into an opening] insert into an opening in order to conceal.

lo·kma?, *-lo·kt-/-lo·k* vi., run, sprint, race, jump; cf. *kidhi lo·kma?*, *lo·ŋma?*.

lo·ma?, *-lo·s-/-lo·-* vt., underlay, lay down a substrate (= patient, eg. *gundri* straw mat, *dasana* bedding), lay down underneath; cf. *lo·pma?*.

lo·mbhe?l n., large broad rectangular mat of split bamboo (Nep. *mādro*); cf. *gundri*.

lo·ŋma?, *-lo·ks-/-lo·ŋ-* vt., [caus. < *lo·kma?* run] have someone run, make someone run; *kəlo·kse ro·!* He sure had you on the run!

lo·pma?, *-lo·tt-/-lo·t-/-lo·?l* vt., [dir. < *lo·ma?* underlay] underlay someone, lay something underneath someone, give someone (= patient) something to sit on, lay down a substrate for someone.

lo·tna n., [*< *lo·tm?na* PP < *lo·pma?* underlay someone] long rectangular straw mat, Nep. *gundrī*; cf. *lo·mbhe?l*.

lo, *le*, *ro*, *re* interj., alright, O.K., alright then.

lo?l adv., just, just now.

lo?l-lo?l adv., just now, just.

lo?llo?lpa adj., [*< lo?l-lo?l* just now + *-pa* nom.sf.] fresh.

lo?ma?, *-lo?r-/-lo?-* 1) vi., 1) say; 2) look, seem, appear; *khene? hendza? kusin? kəlo?* You act like a child, you behave like a child; cf. *tha·pma?*; 3) *-so?kma hik lo?ma?* vi., feel tightness in the chest; have difficulty breathing; *sendik ku-so?kma hik lo?r-ε* (at night 3-breath stifle get-PT) He

had difficulty breathing last night; cf. *hikmaʔ*;
 4) *ɔkkhum lɔʔmaʔ* vi., duck, stoop; 5) *swaʔl lɔʔmaʔ* vi., keep silent; *swaʔl lɔʔ-m·-bo·ŋ* (keep silent-INF-EXIG) [You/we/one] must keep silent; *hɛn aŋ mɛn·chap·ʔɛʔ, swaʔl lɔʔ-ŋ ips·ɛʔ!* (what also NEG-write-IMP, keep_silent-pfG sleep-IMP) Don't write anything [anymore], shut up and go to sleep!; 6) *-na mak lɔʔmaʔ* be upset, be grieved, be annoyed; *kuna mak lɔʔ* He's upset (lit. His face appears black); *ana mak lɔʔ! - hɛnaŋ habha ?* I'm upset! - What for?; 7) *-niŋ sisi lɔʔmaʔ* be listless, not be in the mood to do something, be too disinterested to undertake something; *aniŋ sisi lɔʔrɛ* I'm just not in the mood; cf. *yu·maʔ* (2), *tɔ·pmaʔ*; 8) *pe·ʔe·go· lɔʔmaʔ* have ants in one's pants, feel the urge to get up and go; *pe·ʔe·go· lɔʔɛ* I'm getting the urge to get up and go; 9) *-yam se·se· lɔʔmaʔ* be invigorated, full of zest, refreshed; *kuyam se·se· lɔʔ mu* He says he feels invigorated; 10) *-yam cɔŋdzɔŋ lɔʔmaʔ* feel better, feel recuperated; *ɛn ayam cɔŋdzɔŋ lɔʔ* I feel better today; cf. *mɛpmaʔ* (9); II) vt., in the expression *lyɛ·ŋ lɔʔmaʔ*, q.v.

lɔʔrik postp.adv., [*< lɔʔmaʔ* say] saying (often as a postposition demarcating a direct quote); in which manner; cf. *e·kke·, kusin*.

lɔk n., portion, lot.

-lɔk, -rɔk postp.adv., only.

lɔkkhum n., courtyard, farmyard (Nep. *āgan*).

lɔkmaʔ, -lɔkt-/-lɔk- vt., pierce, jab, prick, stab.

lɔkthik num., [*lɔk* only + *-thik* one] 1) one; 2) the same; *nɛpmaŋ lɔkthik* They're both the same.

lɔŋmaʔ, -lɔŋ- vi., chip off, flake off (of plastered on adobe *pi·nda*).

lɔpmaʔ, -lɔʔr-/-lɔt-/-lɔʔl vt., swallow; *anga cwaʔl lɔʔr-uŋ* I swallowed the water.

lɔtthrake· n., tree squirrel *Callosciurus maclellandi* with two black lines extending from head to tail; Nep. *lokharke*.

lɔ·mmaʔ, -lɔ·nd-/-lɔ·n- vi., come out, emerge, exude, egress; *ku·nu lɔ·n* (her-milk exude) She's lactating; *anhik lɔ·ndɛ* (my-snot come_out-PT) My nose is runny; *anga ho·ʔ rɔk lɔ·nʔɛ* All I do is break out in furuncles; *ho·ʔ lɔ·ndɛ* A furuncle has developed; cf. *se·maʔ* 'exude'; cf. *lɔ·pmaʔ*.

lɔ·mmaʔ, -lɔ·ps-/-lɔ·m- vt., 1) lynch someone; 2) give someone a beating, give someone a clubbing.

- lɔ·pma?*, -*lɔ·tt-*/*-lɔ·t-*/*-lɔ·ʔl* vt., [dir. < *lɔ·mma?*]
 1) remove, take off, take out; 2) cause to come out or hatch; *waʔdzyak lɔ·ttusiba* [The hen hatched the chicks; 3) (slang) pay; cf. *huŋma?*.
- lu* clause-initial part., well, alright, so; *lu, tɔrammɛʔ phaʔaŋ tha·ʔruŋsiŋ* Alright, go ahead and make fun of it, if that be the case, I'll leave it behind for them.
- lukma?*, -*lug-*/*-luk-* vi., be completed; *ya·mbɔk co·k-m-lug-ɛ* (work do-INF be_completed-PT) The work has been completed; *a·phis pe·kmaʔ lugɛ* (office go-INF be_completed-PT) My job at the office is over; cf. *luŋma?*.
- lum-ʔo·*, -*lum-mo·* postp., [*lum* + *ʔo·* LOC] between, inbetween; *anchi-lum-ʔo· mi nɛ·* there's a fire between us.
- lumba* n., large bowl or cup, eg. *thi·dhuŋba lumba* a large bowl for drinking *thi·*; cf. *kho·rɛʔl*.
- lumbhuʔl* n., large basket similar to a *thɔŋga* (q.v.) but with a tighter mesh of split reeds or splintered bamboo or *the·*, not able to stand upright well without being propped up, used as a receptacle in deriving *sɔŋaʔ* from *canɔkwa*; *Pācthare* Limbu *səp-po·ʔ*, Nep. *thunse*, *thunce*.
- lumma?*, -*lups-*/*-lum-* vt., [caus. < *lupma?* bury] pile up.
- luŋ* n., stone, rock.
- luŋaʔ*, -*lluŋaʔ* n., ego's cousin through maternal uncle or paternal aunt.
- luŋze·k* n., [*luŋ* rock + *ce·k* piece] small stone, pebble; cf. *luŋdziʔ*.
- luŋdziʔ* n., [*luŋ* rock + *ciʔ* bit] gravel, pebbles; cf. *kha·mdziʔ*, *luŋze·k*.
- luŋgi* n., [ʔ< Nep. *luŋgī*] male casual dress consisting of one large coloured sheet of cloth wrapped around the legs and tucked in at the waist, identical to the casual dress worn by the Indo-Aryans in the *Tarāī* and the Burmese national dress or *lunkhyi* (*loũji*). As opposed to the Burmese, Limbus do not wear a *luŋgi* outside of a domestic situation.
- luŋghuŋ* n., [< *luŋ* rock, stone] large flat stone on the ground used as a surface for pounding spices (Nep. *śilauṭā*), in conjunction with a *luŋsaʔl*, q.v.
- luŋhi* n., [*luŋ* rock, stone + *hi* shit, excrement] lichen (used by the Limbus in ointment for cuts and wounds).
- luŋma* n., liver; heart, vide *nɛrɛʔl*; cf. -*luŋma himma?*, *luŋma hi·pma?*.

luṅma n., [< *luṅ* stone, rock] (in compounds only) mountain range; vide *pho·ktaṅluṅma*, *senche·luṅma*, *waraṅluṅma*.

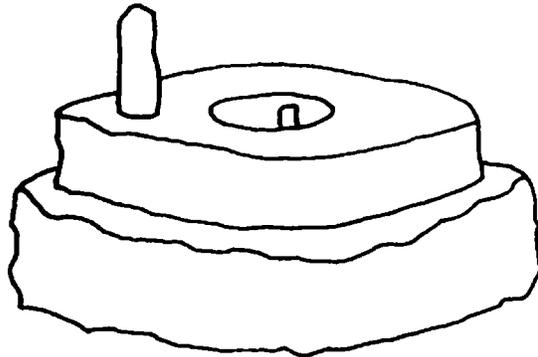
-luṅma himma?, *-hips/-him-* vi., 1) [*luṅma* liver] miss yearn, experience nostalgia, experience the grief of separation (Nep. *viraha lāgnu*); *sa·ʔrik a-luṅma him* (very my-heart yearn/nostalgia/miss) I am extremely overwhelmed by the grief of separation, by nostalgia; *kəluṅma him ləcə* I see you're overwhelmed with longing; 2) with unidentified pf. (possibly for purposes of metre) in the proverb: *yəkma-yo· te·him luṅma pəhim* When away from home, one inevitably becomes homesick; cf. *luṅma hi·p-ma?*.

luṅma hi·pma?, *-luṅma hi·pma?*, *-hi·pt-/-hi·p-* vt., [dir. < *-luṅma himma?* experience yearning] miss someone; *luṅma kəhiptwi·?* Do you miss him?; *khəncə? kəbe·k-ʔille go· luṅma hipne ro·!* I'll sure miss you when you're gone!; *kəbe·kʔille khəncə? luṅma hi·pnet-chige* We'll miss you when you go; *andzumin sa·ʔrik aluṅma hi·ptuṅ* I miss my friend very much.

luṅma?, *-luks-/-luṅ-* vt., [dir. < *lukma?* be completed] complete; *ya·mbək en lək luks-u-ṅ* (work today only complete-3P-1sA) I shall only be able to complete the work today (i.e. I have not gotten around to completing it before today); *pa·n luksuṅ* I have said what I have to say; *nisa·mhim pe·k-ma? luks-u-ṅ* (school go-INF complete-3P-1sA) I have finished going to school, I don't go to school anymore.

luṅsaʔl n., [*luṅ* rock, stone + *saʔl* offspring, child] irregular oblong egg-shaped pounding stone held in the hand and used in conjunction with a *luṅhuṅ*, q.v.; cf. *ko·co·saʔl*, *mendaʔsaʔl*, *myaṅsaʔl*, *pu-saʔl*, *phaksaʔl*, *waʔsaʔl*.

luṅsum n., [< *luṅ* rock, stone + **sum* ?mortar (cf. *sum-bo·ṅ*)] 1) gizzard; 2) circular hand-driven grinding stone consisting of two circular slabs lying one atop the other, the upper one equipped with a stick handle and a hole in the centre through which a wooden pivot loosely holds it in place with respect to the slab underneath; *ma·ki-luṅsum* a large *luṅsum* for grinding maize (*ma·ki* maize); *pe·naʔ-luṅsum* a smaller *luṅsum* for grinding red millet (*pe·naʔ* millet); See the illustration at the top of the following page.

*lunsum*

lup n., large grey leech whose larvae infest puddles and drinking holes, whence they enter the nostrils and sinuses of cattle where they mature; when full-grown and glutted they abandon their roost through the nostrils of the drinking cow to re-enter the water and multiply; the *lup* can be lured out of its bovine host by splashing water up the cow's nose and grabbing the hydrophilic *lup* as it gropes downward with its posterior extremity; the *lup* seldom infests humans, but can then be extracted following the same procedure; cf. *lakphe?l*.

lupε?l n., pile, heap.

lupma?, -*lupt*-/-*lup*- vt., teach manners, cause to behave, have take care of, run (a household).

lupma?, -*lupt*-/-*lup*- 1) vi., be buried; *luptε* It is buried; 2) vt., bury something; cf. *lumma?*.

lu adv., ahead, on ahead.

lu·kma?, -*lu·g*-/-*lu·k*- vi., fall (from or out of a tree); *kudza?·ha? mε-lu·g-ε mε-dhe·* (fruit-p nsAS-fall from the tree-PT-nsAS fall/PT) The fruits have fallen from the tree; *ku-bhekwa kεrek lu·g-ε dhe·* (its-foliage all fall from the tree-PT fall/PT) The tree has shed all its leaves.

lu·ηma?, -*lu·ks*-/-*lu·η*- vt., 1) husk (*ma·ki* maize, i.e. the leaves from the cob); cf. *le·pma?*; 2) shake fruits (*kudza?*) out of a tree; *kudza? lu·ks-u-η dhas-u-η* (fruit shake out-3P-1sA knock down-3P-1sA) I shook the fruits out of the tree.

lya interj. expressing exasperation on the part of the speaker.

lyanma?, -*lyaks*-/-*lyan*- vi., slide, slip; cf. *le·ηma?* *le·mma?*.

lye·ŋ onomatopoeia, slap across the face; *lye·ŋ kusin*
lɔʔmaʔ slap someone across the face; *lye·ŋ kusin*
lɔʔne! I'll slap you across the face!; cf. *lɔʔmaʔ*
 (II), *pyak*.

m

- ma*, *-mma* n., mother, (also familiarly: mother-in-law).
ma pakma, *-mma pakma* n., ego's father's second wife (if
 ego is the child of the first wife).
ma tumma, *-mma tumma* n., ego's father's first wife (if ego
 is the child of the second wife).
maʔin n., ego's mother's bond-friend or *se·ma*, q.v.
maʔyu n., bear.
madza n., [*< Nep. majjā*] fun.
maikro·skɔp n., [*< Nep. māikroskop (sūkṣmadarśak yantra) <*
Eng.] microscope.
maila n., [*< Nep. mailā*] dirt.
maiti n., [*< Nep. maitī*] members of the paternal or maiden
 household of a married girl who has joined the
 household of her spouse; cf. *sammaba*.
mak adj., black; *mak lɔʔ* It looks black, it is black; cf.
lɔʔmaʔ (2,6).
makco·ʔl n., [*< mak* black + *co·ʔl* digit; cf. *hukco·ʔl*,
laŋco·ʔl] black or charred embers; cf. *midhappu*,
midzula, *migha·k*, *migho·mbe·*, *mihaʔl*, *misaŋ*.
makkelɔʔba adj., [*mak* black + AP of *lɔʔmaʔ* 'to appear']
 black; cf. *kumakla*, *maktaŋba*.
maklep n., [*< mak* black] birth mark.
maktaŋba adj.n., [*mak* black + *-taŋba* 2.1.2] black, black-
 kind; a black one; cf. *kumakla*, *makkelɔʔba*.
mamma n., mama.
maŋ n., deity.
maŋba·la· n., [*maŋ* deity + *ba·la· < Nep. pālā* period, era]
 ancient times, the period when primordial man
 lived together in harmony with the gods; cf. *haŋ-*
ba·la·.
maŋbhaya·ppa adj., [**maŋbha* medium-sized + *ya·ppaʔ* be an
 amount, *-pa* nom. sf.] medium-sized; cf. *kɔŋya·p-*
pa, *khɔŋya·ppa*.
maŋdɔk n., [*maŋ* deity + *tɔk* cooked rice] a staple made of
 black millet meal, ground on a *pe·naʔ-luŋsum*, then
 cooked and molded into large black cucumber-shaped
 rolls which are traditionally eaten with a *yummaʔl*
 made of stinging nettle (*sikwa*).
maŋgalba·r n., [*< Nep. māgalvār*] Tuesday.

maŋgho·ma?, *maŋ-gho·y-/maŋ-gho·-* vi., [*< maŋ god + kho·-*
ma? invoke, q.v.] cry wildly or half-wittedly,
rant and rave; *o·khre· maila yəmmu maŋgho·* (*Okhre*
Mahilā again rants) *Okhre Mahilā* is ranting and
raving again; cf. *maŋkho·pma?*.

maŋkho·pma?, *maŋ-kho·tt-/maŋ-kho·t-/maŋ-kho·?l* vt.vi.,
[*maŋ deity + dir. < kho·ma?* pray] exorcise spirits
from someone (= patient); *phe·daŋme-lle khene?*
mangegho·?l The shaman will exorcise you; *phe·daŋ-*
maha?re maŋmegho·tte The shamans exorcised.

masi n., barley.

masi-phe·?rum n., barley flour.

ma·ki n., [*< Nep. makai*] maize; *no·mnaba ma·ki* popcorn;
cf. *lendzya, khe·kya*.

ma·kibo·n n., [*< ma·ki maize*] whitely popped, well popped
popcorn (as opposed to the half-popped or poorly
popped pieces).

ma·kibhe· n., [*ma·ki maize + phe· cob*] corn cob, maize
cob.

ma·kidok n., [*ma·ki maize + tok cooked grain*] a *tok* made
from coarsely ground maize; *phutm?naba ma·kidok*
(lit. mixed *ma·kidok*) a half and half mixture of
ma·kidok and *wetchya?dok*, q.v.

ma·kilaŋ n., [*ma·ki maize + laŋ leg*] maize stalk, corn-
stalk.

ma·ki-phe·?rum n., maize flour.

ma·khi n., blood.

ma·khilam n., [*ma·khi blood + lam road*] vein, artery,
blood vessel.

ma·kkho·? n., garlic.

ma·kkhunde· [*< mak black*] 1) adj., turbid, muddy; *cwa?l*
ma·kkhunde· co·k The water is muddy; 2) n., muddy
water; also: slang for *thi·*, served lukewarm, cf.
the metaphorical usage of *se·dzəŋwa*.

ma·kma?, *-ma·kt-/ma·k-* vt., see (in the expression: *sep-*
maŋ ma·kma? 'to dream').

ma·ksip n., [*< ma·ki maize*] corn cob leaf, maize cob leaf,
used as rolling papers; cf. *ho·pm?naba*.

ma·le· adj., [*< Nep. māle*] motley, particoloured (with
regard to the colouration of livestock).

ma·ma?, *-ma·s-/ma·-* vt., [caus. *< ma·ma?* become lost]
lose; cf. *ma·ma?*, *niŋwa ma·ma?*.

ma·ma?, *-moj-/ma·-* vi., be lost, get lost, become lost;
amoye kusin lo? It looks like we've lost track of
each other; cf. *leŋma?*, *ma·ma?*, *nehi ma·ma?*,
po·tma?.

ma·mma?, *-ma·nd-/ma·n-* vt., [dir. *< ma·pma?* be used up]

finish, use up; *kəŋ ma·ki kəma·ndubai·?* Have you finished all this maize?

ma·ŋgha adv., far.

ma·ŋma?, -*ma·ks-*/*ma·ŋ-* vi., be far, be faraway; *ma·ksc* It has gotten to be far away; *sa·rik ma·ŋ* It's extremely far away.

ma·pma?, -*ma·r-*/*-ma·t-*/*-ma·ʔ1* vi., be finished, be used up; *yaŋ ma·rc* there's no more money left; *pitnu ma·ʔ1* the milk will be used up; cf. *ma·mma?*.

ma·siŋma? vr., [*< ma·ma?* lose] pass away, decease; *ma·siŋnɛʔ1* He's about to die; *thəŋʔo· ma·siŋɛ* He passed away in the war; cf. *sima?*.

me·'ʔe·, *me·nne·* postp., [*< npG* affixes] without; *tə·ra·thum tyaŋaŋ cum me·ʔe· wayaŋ* I came to Tehrathum and was without friends.

me·ʔ1 n., wife.

me·ʔma?, -*me·ʔr-*/*-me·ʔ-* 1) vi., be fat, be pudgy, be overweight; 2) vi. (or vt., with non-referential 3sP agreement) get fat, become overweight.

me·kma?, -*me·kt-*/*-me·k-* vi., bleat (of goats).

me·me·thumma n., widow.

me·n vi., negative 'to be', vide 3.1.1; i.e. 'it is not the case that'.

me·nduk vi.inv., 1) no; 2) is not (the negative form of the suffixal 'to be', vide 3.1.1).

me·nne· vide *me·ʔe·*.

me·wa n., [*< Nep. mevā*] papaya.

mckma?, -*mɛg-*/*-mɛk-* vi., run out (of a supply of something), become depleted; *syaʔ yəllik yaŋkho·tt-u-ŋ yuks-u-ŋ-ba, mɛg-ɛ rəcə* (husked rice much stockpile-3P-1sA put-3P-1sA-IPF [but] run_out-PT DEPR) I stockpiled a lot of rice, but it seems to have run out.

melluŋ n., dowry; cf. *phuʔsiŋma?*.

mɛn n., value, price.

mencha?, -*mmencha-* n., [*mɛn + saʔ* child] grandchild.

menchamdiŋ n., [*mɛn <? mənə* man + *sam* spirit, soul + **-diŋ* directional suffix, cf. *cupsaŋdiŋ, phenchaŋdiŋ*] sentient man, man as an embodied spirit or soul.

menchukma adj.f., [*mɛn-* NEG + *sukma?* be able + *-ma* NOM/f] pregnant.

menchumʔna adj., [NP of *suma?* 'to touch'] (lit. untouchable) in menstruation, in a four-day state of untouchability due to menstruation; a menstruating person bathes herself on the first and fourth day of her period and refrains from 'contaminating' other people's food, water or speech in the inte-

rim; *kəŋ menchuma·n menchum?na po·kse* This girl has started menstruating, i.e. is temporarily impure and untouchable; cf. Nep. *nachune* < *chunu* 'to touch'.

menchum?naba n., [*menchum?na* (q.v.) + *-pa* nom.sf.] lit. untouchability, viz. menstruation, four-day state of impurity and untouchability due to menstruation.

menchuma n., woman, lady.

menchuma-sa? n., [lit. woman-child] daughter (term used to disambiguate gender of *sa?* when this is not obvious).

menchya n., maiden, young lady; cf. *kepma?* (3).

menchya-purup n., [*menchya* maiden + **purup* cluster] the Pleiades (constellation).

menchya yamma thegu n., (lit. large maiden mountain) name of the highest peak visible from *Tamphulā* to the northnorthwest; *pe·ni-ba·n-lam kheŋ-le ku-miŋ ho·p-pa, menchya yamma thegu rək me-mett-u* (Nepali-language-via that-GEN its-name not_to_be-IPF, maiden large mountain only nsAS-say-3P) There's no name for it in Nepali, it is just called (in Limbu) the large maiden mountain.

menda? n., goat.

menda?sa?l n., [*menda?* goat + *sa?l* ~ *sa?* child, offspring] kid; cf. *ko·co·sa?l, luŋsa?l, myaŋsa?l, pusa?l, phaksa?l, wa?sa?l*.

menda?sikki? n., [lit. goat-rope] leash or rope to tie up a goat to a post or tree.

mennuba adj., [*mən-* NEG + *nuba* good] bad.

meŋma?, *-meks-/-meŋ-* vt., [caus. < *mekma?* get depleted] to 'have done it again' (sarcastic); *hendza?bitcha-re yəllik me-meks-u rəcə* (children-ERG much nsAS-'have_done_it_again' DEPR) It seems the children have really done it again; *yəllik ke-meks-u rəcə* (much 2-'have_done_it_again'-3P DEPR) You've really made a mess of it this time; *a·kkhya·k ke-meks-u* (how_much 2-'have_done_it_again'-3P) What have you pulled this time?

meɸma?, *-mett-/-mēt-/-me?l* vt., 1) tell someone, say to someone (takes animate patient, except in the expression *kəŋ-in pe·ni-ba·n-lam heŋ me-mett-u* (this-ABS Nepali-language-via what nsAS-say_to-3P) What do they say to this in Nepali, i.e. What do they call this in Nepali?; *idzige·k memmettunni?* Don't they (viz. speakers of *Pācthare* Limbu) call this a 'knot'?; cf. *pa·tma?*); 2) do unto someone;

commit; 3) observe (viz. a practice); *co·?co·? mɛpma?* - n. + vt., (also *co·?co·? phimma?*, -*phind-*/*-phin-*) observe the practice of *co·?co·?*, i.e. the practice of sprinkling a bit of cooked rice onto the floor next to one's plate prior to commencement of any meal in order to feed and thereby appease any malicious spirits which might be in the house. *Co·?co·?* is performed again if anyone should enter the house or be heard rustling about outside during the course of the meal, thereby possibly unwittingly escorting a malevolent ghost to dinner from outdoors; the practice of *co·?co·?* is also observed when eating out of doors on the road where the risk of becoming afflicted by a *so·gha*, *sugup* or *sisam* is greater; the practice is meant to show deference to and placate disincarnate spirits, lest they afflict (*ha?ma?*) one of those partaking of the meal; *apsānī caḍhāunu*; 4) *im?im mɛpma?* vt., wink at someone; 5) *inḍo·mɛpma?*, n. + vt., afflict someone with an illness; this type of affliction is caused only by the jungle goddess *ta·mbhuṇṇa* or the outdoor deity *pa·kkhaben*. Young children are particularly, though not exclusively, susceptible to *inḍo·*; *ta·mbhuṇṇelle inḍo· mettū* The jungle goddess afflicted him; *pa·kkhabelle inḍo· mettāṇ* The outdoor deity afflicted me; cf. *ha?ma?*; 6) *pho·ṇ mɛpma?* kick someone; *pho·ṇ mettε?! Kick him!*; cf. *tamma?*; 7) apply (eg. *sidha* 'medicine'); *sidha mɛt-chiṇ-ε?! (medicine apply-REF-IMP) Put some ointment on [yourself]!*; 8) *tho·waṇ yo·waṇ mɛpma?* suffer from dysentery, have to vomit and excrete diarrhoea simultaneously; *tho·waṇ yo·waṇ mettāṇ, khokmelle syaṇ!* I had dysentery and almost died!; cf. *phi·pma?*; 9) *la·ttha? mɛpma?* (used impersonally) get better, recuperate; *ci? la·ttha? mettāṇ* I've gotten a little better; cf. *lɔ?ma?* (10); 10) *pa·n mɛpma?* scold, attack (verbally), demand an explanation.

məna n., man, person.

məna-nu n., [lit. human-nipple] nipple, breast; this compound disambiguates *nu*, which is homophonous with the 3s/NPT form of *numa?* 'be good' and with *nu* 'milk'.

məna-sidza n., [lit. man-fly] housefly, *Musca domestica*.

məne·thikma?, *məne·-thikt-/məne·-thik-* vi., mutter curses to oneself in anger, mumble invectives under one's

breath.

mə'ra n., mouth.

mə'rasik n., [*< məra* mouth] upper lip.

mə'rawase n., [*< məra* mouth] lip.

məsu adv., 1) slowly, gradually; *məsu langhe·ʔgeʔ, alaŋ tuk!* Walk slowly, my leg hurts!; 2) quietly; *məsu pa·ʔreʔ, amghem!* Talk softly, they'll hear us^{P1}!

mi n., tail.

mi n., fire

-miʔ n., sleepiness, drowsiness; in the expression: *-miʔ wamaʔ, -miʔ yu·maʔ, vide wamaʔ, yu·maʔ; cf. im-maʔ.*

miʔllin adv., last year; cf. *atche·ma, aʔnemma, enniŋ, sumlin*.

midikmaʔ, mi-dig-/mi-dik- vi., [*< mi* fire] become burnt (of food which has been overheated), become charred.

midore n., [*< mi* tail] large black bird with a long beautiful black-and-white and dazzling, blue, banner-shaped tail; Nep. *lāmpucchre*.

midhappu n., [*mi* fire + *thappu* ash] half-burnt piece of wood, to be re-used in the next fire; cf. *mak-co·ʔl, midzula, migha·k, migho·mbe·, mihaʔl, misaŋ.*

midza·ʔmaʔ, mi-ca·ʔr-/mi-ca·ʔ- vi., [*< mi* fire + *ca·ʔmaʔ*] warm oneself by the fire; cf. *kaŋsiŋmaʔ, nam-ca·ʔmaʔ.*

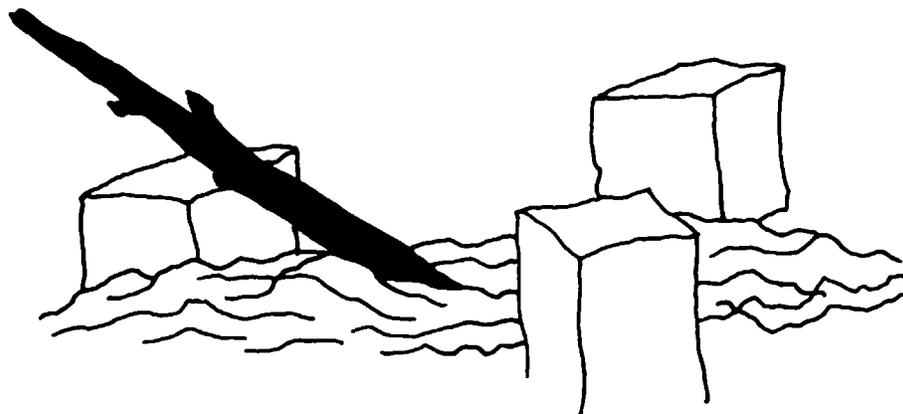
midzula n., [*mi* fire + *cula* *< Nep. cuhlā, cuhlo*] fireplace (not a *cuhlo!*); cf. *makco·ʔl, midhappu, migha·k, migho·mbe·, mihaʔl, misaŋ.*

migha·k n., [*mi* fire + *< kha·kmaʔ* congeal; cf. *kha·kmiʔl, kha·kweʔl, le·gha·k, mikho·ʔ, namdziʔkho·ʔ, nehik-khok*] a glowing ember, smouldering red ember; cf. *makco·ʔl, midhappu, midzula, migho·mbe·, mihaʔl, misaŋ.*

migho·mbe· n., [*< mi* fire] a stick shoved into the smouldering embers of a used fire after all the half-burned pieces of wood (*midhappu*) have been salvaged for subsequent use. The *migho·mbe·* keeps the fire alive under the powdery ash and is used to relight the next fire; See the illustration at the top of the following page; cf. *ho·mmaʔ; cf. mak-co·ʔl, midhappu, midzula, migha·k, mihaʔl, misaŋ.*

mihaʔl n., [*< mi* fire] a bed of glowing embers; cf. *makco·ʔl, midhappu, midzula, migha·k, migho·mbe·, misaŋ.*

mik n., eye; cf. *-mik ya·maʔ.*

*migho·mbe·*

mikci? n., [*mik* eye + *ci?* bit] dirt in one's eyes, exudate in one's eyes due to infection; *amikci?* *sa·rik lo·n* There's lots of exudate in my eyes; Nep. *ciprā, kacerā*; cf. *mikci?bənben, mikhi, hadzi?*.

mikci?bənben n., [<*mikci?* eye exudate] profuse purulent exudate or mucous secretion covering the eye resulting from an infection.

mikco·?i?ma?, *mikco·?-i?r-/mikco·?-i?-* vt., [< *mik* eye] keep an eye on someone or something; *pi?lha? mikco·?i?ma?si po·ŋ. mikco·?i?reŋe?! - mikco·?i?ruŋ-siŋ ŋa!* The cattle will have to be kept track off. Keep an eye on them! - Don't worry, I will.

mikhetla n., [*mik* eye + *het* red + *-la* colour suffix] 1) bloodshot eyes; 2) money (slang).

mik-hi n., [*mik* eye + *hi* shit, excrement] eye detritus; cf. *mikci?*, *negho?hi*.

mikkho· n., [< *mik* eye] brow.

mikkho·k n., [< *mik* eye] skull.

mikkhuŋ, mikkhunba n., [< *mik* eye] eyebrows.

mikluŋ n., [< *mik* eye] condition of having slept enough, state of having gotten enough sleep (with *kepma?* 'arrive'); *kemikluŋ ke?rei·ba? - amikluŋ ke?re* Have you gotten enough sleep? - Yes, I have; cf. *ho?ma?ŋ, imma?, ipma, kha?l, mi?*.

mikma?, *-mikt-/mik-* vi., be in effect (of *wa* 'thirst'); *awa mikte* I'm thirsty.

mikphuŋ n., [< *mik* eye + *phuŋ* flower] eyelashes; cf. *miksaŋ*.

mikphu?la n., [*mik* eye + *phu?* (*pho ~ phu?*) white + *la* colour suffix] Englishman, European (cf. Bur.

myak-hna-phyu, lit. white face: *myakhna* 'face [*myak* 'eye' + *hna* 'nose'] + *phyu* 'be white'); cf. *kha·mbhu?la*.

miksaŋ n., [< *mik* eye] eyelashes; cf. *mikphuŋ*.

miksuk n., [*mik* eye + *suk* < *sukma?* be able] vision, eyesight; (collocates esp. with *numa?*, *ya·kma?* and *mennuma?*, *ho·pma?*) *kumiksuk nu rəcə* His eyesight appears to be O.K.; *kəmitsuk ya·k?i·ba* Is your eyesight alright.

miksu'rumba adj., [< *mik* eye + *sur-* < *su?ma?* finish] blind.

miksyə·n n., [< *mik* eye] points of recognition, familiar places or faces; *po·ttaŋ, amiksyə·n ho·p* I've lost my way, I have no points of recognition.

mikthəkthək vide *co·kma?* (3).

mikwa n., [*mik* eye + **wa* water] 1) tear; cf. *thapma?*; 2) puss; *ho·?o· lam mikwa lə·ndε* puss came out of the furuncle.

mikwara·p n., [*mikwa* tear + *la·p* wing] bat.

mikwya·ŋsi n., [< *mik* eye, < *-si* dual sf.] eyelid, eyelids.

-mik ya·ma?, *-ya·s-/-ya·-* vi., be horrified by something one sees or imagines will happen; *kumik ya·sε* She was horrified to see it; *anga ɔ·mεmɔ?lɛn hɛnaŋ·bhelle amik ya·* I'm not going to look at it because I'll be horrified at the sight of it.

mi-kho·? (with absolutive suffix: *mi-kha·?-in*) n., [*mi* fire + < *kha·kma?* condense; cf. *kha·kmi?l*, *kha·k-wε?l*, *le·gha·k*, *migha·k*, *namdzi?kho·?*, *nɛhikkhək*] smoke; cf. *tɔma?* (1).

miŋ n., name.

miŋla n., [< *miŋ* name] reputation, honour; *kumiŋla nuba khεmde?l, sumsum kεlɔ?ba* His reputation is heard to be good, he's a well-mannered person.

misaŋ n., [< *mi* fire] flame; cf. *makco·?l, midhappu, midzula, migha·k, migho·mbe·, miha?l*.

mise·k n., [< *mi* fire] spark.

mise·k-sammaŋ n., [lit. spark-deity] household deity, consort of the *thεba-sammaŋ* and *yuma-sammaŋ*; it becomes irate when neglected, and it is therefore important to sacrifice an egg to it roughly every six months. If angered, it causes the eruption of boils or blisters (*phəkwa*) all over the body which may subside if the *mise·ksammaŋ* is appeased by the sacrifice of an egg.

miya? n., [*mi* fire + *ya?* paddy] *ya?ro·n* dried by the fire.

mi·kma?, *-mi·g-/-mi·k-* vi., sink away, sink into (eg. mud,

not water; cf. *humma?*); *khεnε? hilo·?o· kemi·k lo·!* You'll sink into the mud if you don't watch out!

mo·ma?, -mɔy-/mo·- vt., dig with a spade, till the soil, work the soil.

mɔci n., [*<? Hindi mirca*] chilly pepper; Nep. *khorsānī*, *khursānī*.

mɔ'gɔk, -mgɔk n., anus; cf. *higho·mba*.

mɔi n., [*< Nep. mahī*] whey.

mɔkma?, -mɔkt-/mɔk- 1) vi., be hot (of liquids); *ci? ci? mɔk mɔk* (lit. a little, little bit warm) lukewarm; cf. *haŋwama?*, *le·kma?*, *ko·ma?*, *ya·mma?*, *yeɽmma?*; 2) vt., boil, cook, warm up, heat up (liquids); *pitnu mɔktuŋ* I'm boiling the milk.

mɔkwa n., [*< mɔkma? to boil + *wa water*] 1) hot scalding water; 2) tea.

mɔtto· n., [*< Nep. mato*] opinion, idea, notion.

mɔya n., vulture.

mɔ·ma?, -mɔy-/mɔ·- vt.imp., intoxicate, inebriate; *khεŋha? mɔy-u-si* (they^P inebriate-3P-nsP) They are drunk; *thi·-re ke-mɔy-ε* (millet_beer-ERG 2-inebriate-PT) The *jāḍ* has gotten you drunk; *thi· men-dhuŋ-?ε? hεnaŋbhelle thi·-re a-mɔ·!* (millet_beer NEG-drink-IMP because millet_beer-ERG 1-inebriate) Don't drink millet beer because it gets you drunk!; *mɔ·-?ε* (inebriate-1sPS/NPT) I'm getting drunk.

mɔ·ma?, -mɔy-/mɔ·- vt., (with *se·wa* 'greetings') show obeisance, greet formally, bow; *se·wa mɔ·ma? wa·gɔɔ se·wa mɔyammε?!* If you^P must proffer obeisance, then do so!

mu reported speech part.; *tha·?-?ε dha-?ε-ba mu* (leave_behind_for-1sPS/NPT leave-1sPS/npt-IPF REP) They say/It is said he's leaving it behind for me.

mudho·k vide *mudhuk*.

mudhuk, *mudho·k* n., 1) moustache; cf. *tha·ŋtho·k*; 2) (non-human) whiskers.

mukma?, -mukt-/muk- vi., strike, sound (of a bell, clock, musical instrument); *a·kkhεn mukt-ε* (how_much strike-PT) what time is it? (Nep. *kati bajyo*); cf. *muŋma?*.

mukhya n., [*< Nep. mukhya main*] the main thing.

mulo·pma?, *mu-lo·tt-/mu-lo·t-/mu-lo·?l* vt., [*< lo·pma?* underlay] lay down underneath, lay down a substrate, underlay.

mumma? vide *-niŋwa mumma?*.

mumma?, -mund-/mun- vt., stir up; cf. *khɔmma?*, *sa·ŋma?*.

mundhum n., story.

muṅma?, *-muks-/-muṅ-* vt., [caus. < *mukma?* sound] sound, strum, strike, play (a musical instrument, bell, drum).

mupma?, *-mutt-/-mut-/-mu?1* vt., blow at something; *mi·n se· bha?aṅ yammu mupma? menunen* If the fire dies out [in the preparation of *samdok*], it is not permitted to fan it (back to life) again; cf. *pho·te·*.

murik n., body hair, feathers; cf. *hiramurik*, *hukmurik*, *laṅmurik*, *le·murik*.

murukkuruk adv., very high, extreme (collocates with *tha·-ma?* (vi.), q.v.).

muse·ṅ n., smile, vide *muse·ṅ ye·pma?*.

muso·k n., comedy, funniness, laughs.

muso·kke· n., [*muso·k* q.v. + *-ke·* nom.sf.; cf. *səllakke·*, *ware·?ge·*] comedian, humorist, jokesmith.

mutche· n., breadfruit, breadfruit tree *Artocarpus lakoocha*; Nep. *baḡahar*.

mutthama? vi.irr., fall (through the air); cf. *muttha·ma*.

muttha·ma?, *mut-tha·s-/-mut-tha·-* vt., [caus. < *mutthama?* fall] drop something; *ke-dhge·k-?o· muttha·s-u-ṅ* (your^s-head-LOC drop-3P-1sA) I dropped it on your head.

mutthuk adj.adv., spastically, hastily, hurriedly, headlong; *en kenzumin mutthuk?aṅ mutthuk a·tto· tha·-siṅba ya?* Where is your friend off to in such a hurry today?; *sullisulli*.

muṭhi, *muṭi* n., [< Nep. *muṭhī*] fist; cf. *muṭhi pupma?*.

mu·mencha?, *mu·mencha-* n., [< *mencha?* grandchild] great-grandchild.

myaṅ n., cat; tom cat.

myaṅluṅ n., [*myaṅ* cat + *luṅ* stone, rock] mythological name of the village in which a portion of the field work which formed the basis of this study was conducted. The village *myaṅluṅ* (Nep. *myāṅluṅ*) is located in Tehrathum district, Koshi (*kośī*) zone in eastern Nepal.

myaṅma n., [< *myaṅ* cat] 1) pussy cat; 2) (secretive slang) *se·dzəṅwa*, q.v.

myaṅsa?1 n., [*myaṅ* cat + *sa?1* ~ *sa?* child, offspring] kitten; cf. *ko·co·sa?1*, *luṅsa?1*, *menda?sa?1*, *pu·sa?1*, *phaksa?1*, *wa?sa?1*.

n

na n., fish.

na n., face; cf. *lɔʔmaʔ* (6), *nara*.

na, *la* emphatic clitic.

naʔmaʔ, *-naʔr-/-naʔ-* vt., 1) abandon someone or something, neglect someone or something; *kundzumille naʔru* His friend abandoned him; cf. *leʔmaʔ*; 2) vi.vt., abstain from, not eat something; *sa kɛnaʔi·ʔ* Do you not eat meat?; *tɔk kɛdzɔi· kɛnaʔ-i·ʔ* Are you going to eat or aren't you?; *kɛnaʔru-bai·ʔ - naʔruŋba* Aren't you going to eat it? - I will abstain; cf. *nepmaʔ*.

naʔnuʔmaʔ, *naʔ-nuʔr-/-naʔ-nuʔ-* vt., love (ἔρωσ as between lovers, not as between parent and child); cf. *siradhaŋmaʔ*.

naʔnuʔsiŋmaʔ vr., [*< naʔnuʔmaʔ* love] love one another.

nabhu num.col., five; cf. *nasi*.

nadha·kkriŋ adj., [*< na* face] deaf; cf. *namɛŋghɛmmʔna*.

nadho·co·kmaʔ vide *co·kmaʔ* (2).

nak n., splinter.

nakca n., [*< nak* splinter] pen, pencil.

nakma, *-nnakma* n., ego's brother's daughter (female speaking).

nakma paŋmi, *-nnakma paŋli* n., ego's brother's daughter's husband (female speaking).

nakmaʔ, *-nakt-/-nak-* vi., be confused, be at a loss for words, be overwhelmed; *kɛnaktɛbai·ʔ* Are you confused?; *lamʔo·naktəŋ* I got confused on the way; cf. *naŋmaʔ*, *po·tmaʔ*.

nakpa, *-nnakpa* n., ego's brother's son (female speaking).

nakpa paŋli, *-nnakpa paŋli* n., ego's brother's son's wife (female speaking).

naksumba n., elbow.

nam, *na·m* n., sun, sunshine; cf. *liŋma*, *nam tha·ma* under *tha·maʔ* (5), *tɔmaʔ*, *thamaʔ*.

nam n., [*< nammaʔ* smell] smell, aroma; *phuŋ-ille ku-nam nu* (flower-GEN its-aroma be good) The flower smells good; cf. *nammaʔ*, *namsuʔmaʔ*.

nam n., basket handle.

nam n., [*< nammaʔ* smell] smell, aroma; *phuŋ-ille ku-nam nu* (flower-GEN its-aroma be good) The flower smells good; cf. *nammaʔ*, *namsuʔmaʔ*.

nam n., basket handle.

namʔiʔkho·ʔ vide *namdziʔkho·ʔ*.

nambutthun n.myth., [*nam* sun + *putthun* foam, cf. *putthun-wa*] lit. solar foam; foam originating from the

left whilst churning, originating from clockwise rotation; cf. *la·bbutthun*.

nambherik adv. myth., [*nam* sun + *pherik* churning rod, q.v.] lit. solar churning road; churning clockwise, to the right; cf. *la·bbherik*.

nambhor n., sunburn; *nambhor lo·nd-ε-ba* (sunburn come_out-PT-IPF) [I've/he's/you've] got sunburned.

namca·?ma?, *nam-ca·?r-/nam-ca·?-* vi., [*nam* sun + *ca·?ma?*] warm oneself in the sun; *kheni hēnaŋ namkēndza·?rin?* Why aren't you going to get any sun?; *anŋa namca·?ε* I'm going to go get some sun; cf. *kaŋsiŋ-ma?*, *mica·?ma?*.

namde·ŋgu, *namdhiŋgo·* n., [< *nam* sun] rainbow; rainbow-ring around the sun (the latter type of rainbow is interpreted to be a gathering of deities (*maŋha?*) who debate on the death of some important person. The side of the rainbow which fades away first indicates the geographical direction in which the death is to occur); cf. *iŋwa?* (3), *la·bde·ŋgu*, *wa?ma?ma* (2).

namdha vide *namtha*.

namdhanahaŋ [*namdha* west + **nahaŋ* direction] 1) n., west; 2) adv., in the west, westward.

namdhe·?l n., [*nam* sun + **the·?l* threshold, cf. *lamdhe·?l*] the borderline between shadow and sun; *namdhe·?lin a·tto· kε?re?* How far has the sun gotten (How much has the shade-line receded)?; cf. *namdzi?kho·?*, *samrippa*.

namdhiŋgo· vide *namde·ŋgu*.

namdzi?kho·?, *nam?i?kho·?* n., [*nam* sun, *dzi?* < *ci·kma* cool off, *kho·?* < *kha·kma?* congeal; cf. *kha·kmi?l*, *kha·kwe?l*, *le·gha·k*, *migha·k*, *mikho·?*] shade, shadow; cf. *namdhe·?l*, *samrippa*.

namēŋghemm?na adj., [*na* face + NGP of *khemma?* 'to hear'] be obstinate, be unlistening, pretend not to hear; cf. *nadha·kkriŋ*.

namla·ŋma n., [lit. sun-dance] drought; *namla·ŋma wendu* There's a drought.

namma?, *-nam-* vi., smell; *pɔ·?l pɔ·?l kēname* You smelled like fungus; *hi hi kēnam* You smell like shit; cf. *namma?*, *namsu?ma?*.

namma?, *-nams-/-nam-* vt., [caus. < *namma?* smell] smell; *phuŋin namsuŋ* I smell the flower; *namsε?! - hi nam la?ba* smell [vt.] it! - (refusing) it probably smells [vi.] like shit; cf. *khemma?*.

namma?, *-nand-/-nan-* vt., be victorious over someone, out-do, defeat or beat someone, win against someone;

anga cum-dhik-nu lo·kt-ε-tchi-ge-ba, nand-u-η (I friend-one-COM race-PT-dPS-e-IPF, win-3P-1sA) I raced against a friend and won; *nandε?! win!*; *anga andzumdhiknu tilingadhiknu lo·kηnaba, anga na·n-dunsiη* I raced against a friend and a policeman, and I and beat them; cf. *thamma?*.

namne·tti adv., [*nam* sun + **ne·tti* cord, string, cf. *ne·tti* clitoris] lit. solar cord; pulling at the solar (viz. right) cord wound about the churning rod (*pherik*, q.v.); cf. *la·bne·tti*.

namphεpma?, *nam-phεtt-/nam-phεt-/nam-phε?l* vt., [*nam* sun + *phεpma?* fetch, bring] place out in the sun to dry; *te·?l-ha?* *namphεttunsiη* I've put the clothes out in the sun to dry; *nam-kε-bhεtt-u-aη kε-he·s-w-i·?* (sun-2-fetch-3P-pfG 2-dry_in_the_sun-3P-Q) Having put it out in the sun, have you managed to get it dry yet?

namphεtchiηma? vr., [*namphεpma?* place out in the sun to dry] let oneself dry off or dry up in the sun; *nambhεtchiηε?aη nε·sε?! Just sit there and dry out in the sun!*.

namphir'li· adv., [*nam* sun + *phirli·* whirling] condition of the sun appearing as a cold and large red flat disk shortly after sunrise or before sunset.

namsu?ma?, *nam-su?s-/nam-su?-* vi., [*nam* smell] stink, smell; cf. *nam*.

namtha, *namdha* n., [*nam* sun + *< thama?* fall] west.

namya? n., [*nam* sun + *ya?* paddy] *ya?ro·n* dried in the sun; cf. *miya?*.

nana? adv., [*na·* there] way over there.

nange·n n., [*nangetnahan* east] east.

nangetnahan [*nam* sun + *kεt < kepma?* arrive + **nahan* direction] 1) n., east; 2) adv., in the east, eastward.

naηma?, *-naks-/naη-* vi., [caus. *< nakma?* be confused] go crazy, go berserk.

naηnam adj., [*naηma?* go crazy] berserk.

nara n., [*na* face] face, countenance, visage; cf. *po·ma?*, *po·mma?*.

naragen n., [*nara* countenance] face, embodiment, image, figure.

naragen-co?ittanηma-man n., [*naragen* figure, embodiment + *co?i?l* image, likeness + *-tanηma* one who, one which (f) + *man* deity] the Supreme Being, the Creator and Benificent Actor, the divine Existence-Sustainer, the deity who moulds men and allows man and all things to exist.

nareŋ adv., [*na* five + *leŋ* turn] five times.

nası num., five.

nasim adj., adjacent, next, juxtaposed; Nep. *pallo*.

na· adv., there.

na·?ma?, *-na·?r-/-na·?-* vi., (with infinitive) give up doing something, cease doing something.

na·dha·mbi adv., [*< na·* there] on the opposite (i.e. visible) slope, on the facing slope across the valley; cf. *kɔtna·dha·mbi*, *khɛtna·dha·mbi*.

na·-gɔrɔ-na· adv., [*na·* there + *gɔrɔ* if] way over there.

na·kma?, *-na·kt-/-na·k-* vt., 1) request something, ask for something; 2) ask someone for something; *mɛ-na·ktaŋ mɛbi·?ɛnchin* They asked me for it, but I won't give it to them; cf. *sɛ·ndo·ma?*.

na·kheŋ dem., [*na·* there + *kheŋ* that] that one there, that there, that.

na·m vide *nam*.

na·ma?, *-na·s-/-na·-* vi., be exhausted; *na·saŋ* I'm exhausted.

na·mdata?1, *na·mtada?1* adv., [*nam* sun, *< tama?* come] until sunrise; cf. *na·mthadak*.

na·mma? vide *namma?*.

na·mma?, *-na·nd-/-na·n-* vt., (onto a human body) smear, soil, get dirty, befoul; *ahuk?in hi?o· na·nduŋ* I got my hand dirty in shit; *kɛsalle kundzumin hilo·?o· na·ndu* Your child has smeared his friend all over with mud; cf. *ci·mma?*.

na·mma?, *-na·ps-/-na·m-* vt., put down a load for a breather, put down a burden for a little while to rest a bit; *kugɔk?in na·psu* He put down his load to rest a little; Nep. *bhārī bisāunu*.

na·mtada?1 vide *na·mdata?1*.

na·mthadhak adv., [*nam* sun + *tha* falls + *-dhak* until] until sunset, Nep. *ghām najharunjel*; cf. *na·mdata?1*.

na·nchiŋma? vr., [*< na·mma?* befoul] shit oneself, wet oneself, befoul oneself; get oneself dirty (eg. *hi?o·* in shit, *sɛ·?ma?1-o·* in urine, *hilo·?o·* in mud); *ɔn?e·kwa nanchiŋɛ* The baby shit himself; smear onto one's body; *kusa·n hi kɛrɛk na·nchiŋɛ* His son smeared himself all over with shit.

na·ndhaŋ, *na·ndaŋ* n., [*< *nahaŋ-* direction] 1) direction; 2) opposite side, far side.

na·nhaŋ adv., [*na·* there + *-*nahaŋ* direction] on that side, to that side; *na·nhaŋ kɔtna·nhaŋ* on this side and that, adjacent to one another, in juxtaposition.

na·ŋ n., snow; *na·ŋ tha* It's snowing; cf. *thama?*.

na·ŋ 1) n.col., younger siblings of same sex as ego;
2) n., the next younger sibling of the same sex as ego; cf. *cozna·ŋ*, *penna·ŋ*.

na·ŋma?, *-na·ks-/-na·ŋ-* vt., 1) jump horizontally across a border, boundary or point, broad jump; *kena·ŋ* He'll jump across you; *na·ksuŋ* I jumped across [it]; *ke?ipselle lokthik mənalle kega·kse* Someone stepped over you while you were asleep; cf. *ka·kma?*, *pipma?*; 2) pass (a horizontal point en route to one's destination); *allo myaŋluŋ na·ksu la?ba* He'll have passed *Myāñluñ* by now; *na·kheŋ thegu na·ksetchu la?ba* They^d will have passed that peak by now.

na·pma?, *-na·b-/-na·p-* vt., drive off; cf. *na·pma?*, *na·pma?*.

na·pma?, *-na·pt-/-na·p-* vt., take, help oneself to, take a portion of; *na·ptuŋaŋ caŋ* I took and ate it.

na·pma?, *-na·pt-/-na·p-* vt., [dir. < *na·pma?* drive off] drive someone (usu. an animal) away from something (both arguments: patient); *anga sya?lin mēnda?in na·ptuŋ* I drove the jackal away from the goat; Nep. *khasāunu*; cf. *na·pma?*, *na·pma?*.

na·pma?, *-na·tt-/-na·t-/-na·?l* vt., drive; drive away (patient: livestock); *pi?lha? na·ttuŋsiŋ* I drove the cows away; Nep. *khedāunu*; cf. *na·pma?*, *na·pma?*.

na·pmi n., man.

na·pmi pro., 1) someone else; other; cf. *e·?yaŋba*, *thik-səmma*; 2) signals first person patient in 2→1 forms.

na·si vide *na·si tho·?ma?*.

na·sime·n adj.adv., [*na·* there] a bit further away, a bit distant, to the far side; cf. *koṭna·sime·n*, *khētna·sime·n*; Nep. *pallo*.

na·tchri-po·tchri adj.adv., in a state of chaos, in a chaotic fashion; *kerck ma·ki pe·na? ya? na·tchri-po·tchri po·kse rəcə* All the maize, millet and rice has gotten mixed up; *koŋ mēna·n na·tchri-po·tchri tadzeŋ. okdaŋba mēna anga sa·rik cittuŋsiŋ*. This man talks chaotically. I dislike this kind of man.

ne·ŋma?, *-ne·ks-/-ne·ŋ-* vt., smear in, daub, rub in, rub on.

ne·tti n., [**ne·tti* cord; cf. *namne·tti*, *la·bne·tti*] clitoris; cf. *nepcaŋ*.

-nbo·hipma?, *-hipt-/-hip-* vt., [lit. strike someone's

nose] instill someone with a revulsion for something; *tɔkʔille sa·rik anbo· hiptu* I'm fed up with *bhāt*; cf. *e·ʔmaʔ*, *-niŋ leʔmaʔ*.

neʔ1 n., [*< nepmaʔ* abstain whilst mourning, q.v.] rituals, practices and taboos observed by relatives of the deceased during a certain period after his death; Nep. *barkhī*; cf. *puʔmaʔ*, *yukmaʔ*.

neʔ1 n., cloth, material; cf. *cirik*.

neʔ1-keɔɔ·ba n., [*neʔ1* cloth + AP of *tɔ·maʔ* 'to sew'] lit. cloth-sewer, *Damāī*, member of the tailor's caste.

neʔneʔ, *-nneʔ* n., 1) elder sister, 2) elder female cousin through paternal uncle or maternal aunt, 3) elder sister of ego's spouse (wife's elder sister, husband's elder sister), 4) wife of ego's spouse's elder brother (wife's elder brother's wife, husband's elder brother's wife).

nebo·, *-nbo·* vide *nebho·*.

nebo·hɔŋ vide *nebho·hɔŋ*.

nebho·, *-nbho·* n., nose; cf. *-nbo· hipmaʔ*.

nebho·hɔŋ n., [*nebho·* nose + *hɔŋ* hole] nostril.

nebho·pa n., vide *nebho·*.

nedɛŋba n., cheek.

nedhaŋba, *-ndhaŋba* n., proprietor.

nedzo·ppi n., crown of the head.

neghɔʔ, *nekhoʔ*, *-nghɔʔ* n., ear.

neghɔʔhi n., [*neghɔʔ* ear + *hi* shit] ear wax; cf. *mikhi*, *nehikkhɔk*.

neghɔʔse·ʔ, *nekhoʔse·ʔ*, *-nghɔʔse·ʔ* n., [*neghɔʔ* ear + **se·ʔ* protuberance] earlobes.

nehi ma·maʔ, *-nhi -mɔy-/-nhi -ma·-* vi., [*< ma·maʔ* be lost] be amazed; *anhi·n mɔye* I was amazed; *kenhi ma·!* You'll be amazed!

nehik, *-nhik* n., snot, mucus.

nehikkhɔk n., [*nehik* snot, *khɔk* < *kha·kmaʔ* congeal; cf. *kha·kmiʔ1*, *kha·kweʔ1*, *le·gha·k*, *namdziʔkho·ʔ*, *migha·k*, *mikho·ʔ*] caked-on snot (esp. on children's cheeks); dried-out snot (in one's nostrils).

neksa n., [*< sa* meat] 1) muscle, flesh (alive); *kuneksa·n ti·kte* His flesh is peeling; 2) lean meat, with fat and skin removed; *ku-neksa··n lɔk ke-dzɔ-i·ʔ* (its-lean_{meat}-ABS only 2-eat-Q) Do you only eat [its] lean meat?

nendre·ʔ, *-ndre·ʔ* n., ego's elder brother's wife.

nendzaŋ n., crest (of a bird, eg. rooster, *kikkroknə*).

nepcaŋ n., clitoris; cf. *ne·tti*.

nepmaʔ, *-nett-/-net-/-neʔ1* vt.vi., the impendent aspectivizer: be about to, be on the verge of doing

something, vide 5.3.6; *se?le ne?le* She's about to kill me.

nepma?, *-nett-/-net-/-ne?l* vt., [dir. < *na?ma?* abstain] (patient: *yum* 'salt') abstain from salt, i.e. be in mourning; *yum menettu* They are in mourning; cf. *yukma?* (2).

nepmadzan num.adv., both, both of them; cf. *nepman*.

nepman num.adv., both; cf. *nepmadzan*.

nepphu num.col., two; cf. *netchi*.

nephu, *-mphu-* n., elder brother.

nerε?l, *nerεtpa* n., heart.

nerik postp., nearby, close to, near.

nese·? n., [**se·?* protuberance] Limbu earrings, huge hollow golden rings worn through holes in the earlobe.

nesik, *-nsik-* n., [*sik* marrow] brain, brains, marrow; cf. *huksik*, *laṅsik*.

netchi num., two.

ne·ma?, *-ne·s-/-ne·-* 1) vi., lie, be lying down, repose, lie down; *keṅe·bai·?* Are you going to lie down?; reside, dwell, stay, inhabit, be situated, stay the night; 2) vt., put, lay something somewhere; *su?wa ko?o· ne·se?! Put your bag down here!*

ne·ndi n., gums.

ne·pma?, *ne·pt-/-ne·p-* vt., press into; *pha·n kha·m·o· ne·pt-u* (bamboo-ABS clay-LOC push_into-3P) He pushed the bamboo into the clay; cf. *phε·pma?*, *keṅma?*.

naksa n., [*Nep. naksā* map] picture.

ni num., two; *thik ya·n ni ya·n* for a day or two; cf. *netchi*.

ni?, *ni* adv., contrary to expectation, of *all* things!, of *all* people!, however; cf. *Nep. po*.

nidha·pma?, *ni-dha·b-/-ni-tha·p-* vi., [*nima?* see + *tha·p-ma?* be visible, q.v.] be visible.

nihe·?dεtma?, *nihe·?-dεtt-/-nihe·?-dεt-/-nihe·?-dε?l* vi., [*nima?* see + *he·?ma?* be able + PAS] be able to be seen, be visible.

nikma?, *-nikt-/-nik-* vt., fuck, copulate,

nim n., termites, red ants.

nima?, *-nis-/-ni-* vt., see; cf. *niniyaṅ la·pma?*, *ni·pma?*.

nimro·k n., navel; cf. *numro·k*, *sambo·k*.

niniyaṅ la·pma? or *niniyaṅ mella·pma?*, *-la·pt-/-la·p-* vt., [*ni* < *nima?* 'to see'] (used only in the negative) ignore, pretend not to see; *niniyaṅ mela·ptanṅen* He pretended not to see me; *niniyaṅ kella·p?enni·?* Are you ignoring me? Are you pretending not to see

me?; *niniyaŋ kɛla·ptɛn* He pretended not to see you; cf. *khemghemaŋ la·pma?*.

niŋ n., poison;

niŋ n., 1) mind, inclination; cf. *lɔʔma?* (7); 2) in the expression *niŋ lɛʔma?*: ire, wrath, gall, spleen; vide *lɛʔma?* (2).

niŋɛ n., 1) oil, cooking oil; 2) oil or kerosene for lamps.

niŋgo·ro· n., large edible hirsute fern croziers.

niŋlɛʔlɛʔ adv., [*< -niŋ lɛʔma?* be too much for someone] too much, too many, too.

niŋsaŋ n., mind, love, mood.

-niŋsaŋ pukma?, *-pug-/-puk-* n. + vi., be crestfallen; *kheʔo· pe·-lle ku-niŋsaŋ pug-ɛ* (there go/PT-SUB his-mood fall-PT) When he had gone there he became crestfallen; cf. *niŋsaŋ puŋma?*, *niŋsaŋ phukma?*.

-niŋsaŋ puŋma?, *-puks-/-puŋ-* n. + vt., [caus. *< niŋsaŋ pukma?* be crestfallen] disappoint someone; *ku-ndzum-le ku-niŋsaŋ puks-u bi·r-u* (his-friend-ERG his-mood disappoint-3P give-3P) His friend let him down.

niŋsaŋ phukma, *-phukt-/-phuk-* n. + vt., [dir. *< niŋsaŋ pukma?* be crestfallen] spoil the fun, be a killjoy; *niŋsaŋ phuktu*, *niŋsaŋ kɛbhukpa mɛna rɛcɛ* He spoiled all the fun, he's a real killjoy.

niŋwa n., 1) mind, memory, remembrance; 2) desire, satisfaction, intent.

-niŋwa co·kma?, *-co·g-/-co·k-* vt., 1) desire, want; 2) get an idea, (with infinitive) get the idea to do something.

-niŋwa hi·ma?, *-hi·r-/-hi·-* vi., be convinced, change one's mind; *kuniŋwa hi·rɛ* He's changes his mind; cf. *niŋwa hi·ma?*.

-niŋwa hi·ma?, *-hi·s-/-hi·-* vt., [caus. *< niŋwa hi·ma?* change one's mind] convince someone, get someone to change his mind (eg. by repeating a *mantra* with concentrated effort or by more conventional means).

niŋwahu·p n., [*niŋwa* mind + **hu·p* strength, force] power of memory, quickness of mind, intelligence.

-niŋwa i·ma?, *-i·r-/-i·-* n. + vi., [*i·ma?* wander] become dizzy, become faint; *aniŋwa i·rɛaŋ kɛŋaŋ*; I became dizzy and fell; *kɛniŋwa i·rɛi·?* Did you get dizzy?

-niŋwa i·ma?, *-i·s-/-i·-* n. + vt., [*i·ma?* cause to wander] make dizzy, make one's head spin; *yɛllik thuy-my-aŋ niŋwa i·s-u* (much drink-INF-pfG mind make_spin-3P) Having drunk much, it made him

dizzy.

-niŋwa leŋma?, *-leks-/-leŋ-* vi., [*leŋma?* flip over (vt.)] black out, lose consciousness; *aniŋwa lekse* I blacked out; *aniŋwa leŋ-ne?!* I'm on the verge of blacking out.

-niŋwa ma·ma?, *-məy-/-ma·-* vi., lose one's mind; *keŋniŋwa məyei·?* Have you lost your mind?; *keŋniŋwa məye ro·!* You've really lost your mind!

niŋwa mumma?, *-mutch-/-mun-* 1) vi., forget, be forgotten, slip someone's mind; *niŋwa mun* [You]'ll forget!; 2) vt., forget; *niŋwa mutchuŋ* I shall forget it; *niŋwa munne!* I'll forget you!; cf. *niŋwa phumma?*, *niŋwa phupma?*.

-niŋwa phe?la?ma?, *phe?-la?r-/-pha?-la?-* vi., turn sour (of someone's mood); *ku-niŋwa phe?la?re* He got into a bad mood.

niŋwa phumma?, *-phutch-/-phun-* vi., forget, be forgotten; cf. *niŋwa phupma?*.

niŋwa phupma?, *-phutt-/-phut-/-phu?!* vt., forget; *niŋwa kebhutchu kedho* You've clear forgotten it; cf. *niŋwa mumma?*, *niŋwa phumma?*.

-niŋwa tama? n. + vi.irr., [*tama?* come, appear] 1) be pleased, be satisfied; *ke-niŋwa te·-i· me-de·-nen-ni·?* (your-satisfaction come/PT-Q NEG-come/PT-NEG-Q) Are you pleased or not?; *a-niŋwa te·* (my-satisfaction come/PT) I'm pleased; cf. *niŋwa tama?*; 2) remember; *niŋwa mede·neni·?* Don't you remember?.

-niŋwa tama?, *-tas-/-ta-* n. + vt., [caus. < *niŋwa tama?* be pleased] satisfy, please; *a-niŋwa ke-das-u* (my-satisfaction 2-reach-3P) You please me; *ke-niŋwa tas-u-ŋ-i·?* (your-satisfaction reach-3P-1sA) Do I please you?; (antonym: *-niŋwa sepma?*).

-niŋwa sepma?, *-se?r-/-set-/-se?!* n. + vt., [*sepma?* kill] displease, spoil the fun; *keŋ mənə-re sa·rik niŋwa ser-u* (that man-ERG very satisfaction kill-3P) That man [always] spoils the fun.

-niŋwa?o· yuŋma?, *-yuks-/-yuŋ-* vt., [lit. put in mind] keep in mind, remember.

nipma?, *-nitt-/-nit-/-ni?!* vi., be nearby; *ma·ŋ-i· ni?!* -*i·?* Is it far away or nearby?

nireŋ adv., [*ni* two + *leŋ* turn] twice.

nisik n., 1) brain; 2) marrow.

nisiŋma? vr., [< *nima?* see] see oneself (eg. in a mirror).

nitaŋ postp., [< *nipma?* be nearby] nearby, close by.

ni·pma?, *-ni·r-/-ni·t-/-ni·?!* vt., [dir. < *nima?* see] 1) read, study; 2) count.

- ni·sa·mhim* n., [*< ni·pma?* study, *< sapma?* write, *him* house] school.
- ni·tcha·msa?* n., [*< ni·pma?* study, *< sapma?* write, *sa?* child] student, pupil.
- ni·tchiŋma?* vr., [*ni·pma?* study, count] 1) wake up, come to, come to consciousness; *keni·tchiŋei·?* Are you awake?; cf. *po·kma?*; 2) count oneself; *ni·tchiŋ-aŋi·?* Did I not [forget to] include myself?
- nɔmma?*, *-nɔnch-/-nɔn-* vt., [caus. *< nɔmma?* be left over] set aside, save for later; keep leftovers; *tɔk nɔnchun* I shall set aside some *tɔk* for later; *dhara·n ke-be·-aŋ a·kkhya·k yaŋ ke-nɔnch-u-aŋ ke-bhett-u* (Dharān 2-go/PT-and how_much money 2-save-3P-pfg 2-bring-3P) Having gone to Dharān, how much money have you managed not to spend and bring back with you?.
- nɔmma?*, *-nɔr-/-nɔn-* vi., be left over, remain; *yumma?l nɔrɛ. kedzɔi·?* There is *yumma?l* left over. Will you eat it?; cf. *nɔmma?*.
- nɔ·ma?*, *-nɔy-/-nɔ·-* 1) vi., be popped; be roasted, be grilled; *ma·ki nɔyɛ* The popcorn is done; 2) vt., pop (*ma·ki* corn, maize; cf. *khe·kya·?*); roast, grill (meat *sa*).
- nɔ·ŋma?*, *-nɔ·ks-/-nɔ·ŋ-* vt., 1) (with non-referential 3sP agreement) shave oneself; *nɔ·ksun* I shaved [myself]; 2) shave someone or something; *adhge·k?in nɔ·ksunba* I've shaved my head; (with *pi·ma?* 'to give') give someone a shave, vide 5.3.8; *nɔ·ksaŋ pi·raŋ* He gave me a shave.
- nu* n., 1) breast, nipple; cf. *məna-nu*, *nuse·?*; 2) milk; *ku-nu lɔ·n* (her-milk exude) She's lactating.
- nu?ma* n., [*< ma* mother] mother-in-law.
- nu?pa* n., [*< pa* father] father-in-law.
- nuba* adj., [*< numa?* be alright] good.
- nubhu* num.col., seven; cf. *nusi*.
- nudak* n., [*< nu* milk] yoghurt, curd; cf. *dɔi*.
- nudhi* n., spinach, often eaten as *yumma?l*; includes Nep. *sāg*, *pāluŋgo sāg* and *ṭākī ko muṇṭā*.
- nukma?*, *-nug-* vt., grind, squeeze, compress.
- nulle* postp., [*-nu* COM + *-ille* INST] than; eg. *na·-nu ke-bhem-be-n ke-ndzum-in khene?-nulle tum-mi-pak-?i·?* (there-COM AP-come-AP-ABS yours^s-friend-ABS you^s-than older-Q younger-Q) Is that friend of yours who is on his way here (thence) older or younger than you?.
- numa?*, *-nur-/-nu-* vi., be alright, be O.K., be well, be fitting, be suitable, be in good health, get well.

numa?-tama? vi.vi., [*numa?* be alright + *tama?* reach] prosper; *nuram-tasamme?! ɔkkhe-lɔʔrik asa? amencha? ambaŋli kenuri kedasille angaʔaŋ caʔrik asira dhaŋ*. Be prosperous! If ye, my children, my grandchildren, my children-in-law prosper, I too shall be very pleased.

numro·k n., fontanel; for a period of one year after the birth of a Limbu child, the fontanel atop the skull is rubbed in daily with warm mustard oil, allegedly to prevent the child's body from becoming cold or susceptible to diseases traditionally attributed to 'cold' by the Limbus; cf. *nimro·k*.

nureŋ adv., [*nu* seven + *leŋ* turn] seven times.

nurik adj., [*nu* < *numa?* be alright, *-rik* adv.sf., cf. *yəllik*, *kə·llik*] good, nice.

nurikkha adv., [< *nurik*] well.

nusa?, *-nsa?* n., 1) younger sibling, 2) younger cousin through paternal uncle or maternal aunt, 3) spouse of ego's spouse's younger sibling (wife's younger brother's wife, wife's younger sister's husband, husband's younger brother's wife, husband's younger sister's husband).

nuse·? n., [*nu* breast + **se·?* protuberance] nipple, teat.

nusi num., seven.

nu·kma?, *-nu·kt-/ -nu·k-* vt., [dir. < *nu·ŋma?* return] return, give back; *kɛsuʔwa·n nu·ktuŋ* I'll give you back your bag.

nu·mma?, *-nu·nd-/ -nu·n-* vi., feel ashamed.

nu·mma?-sima? vi.vi., [*nu·mma?* feel ashamed + *sima?* die] die of shame, feel extremely ashamed, feel embarrassed; *nu·nʔɛ-siʔɛ* I'm embarrassed to death.

nu·ŋma?, *-nu·ks-/ -nu·ŋ-* vi., 1) return, go back; *ta·ndik na· kɛ-ba·ŋphe·-ʔo· khɛnɛʔ kɛ-nu·ŋ-ille pi·-nɛ-ʔ* (tomorrow there your-village-LOC you* 2-return-SUB give-1→2-DEF) I'll give it [back] to you tomorrow when you go back yonder to your village; 2) void, pass urine or faeces; cf. *nu·kma?*.

nya? n., 1) ego's paternal aunt, 2) wife of ego's maternal uncle.

o·

o· postp. locative.

o·ʔmaʔ, *-o·ʔr-/-o·ʔ-* vt., 1) roast, bake 2) cremate; *siʔaŋ meʔo·ʔru* If someone dies, they cremate him (said of less traditional Limbus); 3) burn (of fire or substances undergoing combustion) *migha·kle o·ʔraŋ* I burnt myself on the hot ember; cf. *haŋwamaʔ*, *ko·maʔ*, *le·kmaʔ*, *ye·mmaʔ*; 4) badmouth someone, slander someone's name, dispraise, vilify, defame; *aʔo·ʔretchu ro·!* We^{di} sure vilified him!

o·dhiŋga n., glow-worm; cf. *imbrikpa*.

o·ho· vide *aho·*.

o·ndhakmaʔ, *o·n-dhakt-/-o·n-dhak-* vt., [dir. < *takmaʔ* show] show someone something (esp. something with which the onlooker is unfamiliar; cf. *takmaʔ*), tell someone, point out to someone (patient: benefacted individual or individuals); *o·ndhaktuŋsiŋ* I showed it to them; *o·ndhaktəŋeʔ!* Show me!; cf. *tha·mmaʔ*.

o·tmaʔ, *-o·tt-/-o·t-/-o·ʔl* shine, give light (of the moon, a lamp or torch); *la·b o·tte* The moon is shining; cf. *se·kmaʔ*.

o·wa part., yes.

o

oʔmaʔ, *-oʔr-/-oʔ-* vi., break off (a piece of the whole); *luŋin oʔre* The stone broke off [of the wall]; cf. *ommaʔ*, *o·maʔ*.

oʔcoʔ interj., uttered to the recipient whilst presenting or handing over something, meaning roughly 'take this!'

okdanba adj., [*< *ok(kh) proximal pf. + -tanba 2.1.2*] this kind of; cf. *a·kdanba*, *hekdanba*.

okkhe· adv., [*< *ok(kh) proximal pf.*] like this; such, so (proximal); *okkhe· loʔ* He'll say it this way; cf. *a·kkhe·*, *hekke·*.

okkhelle adv., [*okkhe· like this + -ille SUB, 9.4*] presently, at the present time; cf. *a·kkhelle*, *hek-kelle*.

okkhe·loʔrik adv., [*< *ok(kh) proximal pf. + loʔrik fashion*] in this way, in this manner; cf. *a·kkhe·-loʔrik*, *hekke·loʔrik*.

okkhum loʔmaʔ vide *loʔmaʔ* (4).

okmaʔ, *-oŋ-/-ok-* vt., peck, strike (agent eg.: *pu* bird, *ose·k* snake); *waʔmaʔma keʔok* The hen will peck at

you!; ɔse·kle mənə ɔgu A snake bit somebody, Somebody has been bitten by a snake.

ɔkma?, -ɔg-/-ɔk- vi., become unglued, come loose, become unstuck; cf. *khipma?*, *ɔŋma?*.

ɔkwama n., goddess of the main house (ideally, in addition to the main house, one and occasionally two minor dwellings abut onto the Limbu farmyard or *lɔk-khum*); Nep. *mūlghar ko devatā*; vide *ɔkwama khɔ·ma?* under *khɔ·ma* (II.2).

ɔmdaŋba adj., [*< -taŋba 2.1.2*] yellow, the pure yellow of yellow daffodils; cf. *kuhikla*, *sahi?l*.

ɔmma?, -ɔnd-/-ɔn- vt., [*dir. < ɔ?ma?* break off] remove and put aside that which is in excess; *ɔnduŋaŋ yuksuŋ* I took out what was too much and put it aside.

ɔŋ?e·kma n., [*f. form < ɔŋ?e·kwa* infant] ego's younger brother's wife.

ɔŋ?e·kwa n., infant, baby.

ɔŋ?e·kwa-tɔk n., [*lit. baby-bhāt*] the Limbu name to refer to the Newari-Nepali practice of *pāsne* or *pāsni* whereby a child who has reached the age of six months (five months for a female infant) is fed its first solid meal of *tɔk*. Many people are invited to come and proffer presents to the infant.

ɔŋma?, -ɔks-/-ɔŋ- vt., [*caus. < ɔkma?* become unglued] pull free, unstick, unglue, pull loose; cf. *khimma?*.

ɔse·k n., snake, serpent.

ɔse·kna n., [*lit. snake-fish*] eel.

ɔ·

ɔ·kma?, -ɔ·g-/-ɔ·k- vt., dig, spade.

ɔ·kma?, -ɔ·kt-/-ɔ·k- vi., cry, yell, shout.

ɔ·ma?, -ɔ·s-/-ɔ·- vt., [*caus. < ɔ?ma?* break off] drool, spit out, allow to fall down from the mouth to a surface below; *ɔ·sɛ? ɔ·sɛ?! Spit it out, spit it out!*; *the?l ɔ·ma?* let spit fall vertically from one's mouth; *a-gha·kwɛ?l ɔ·s-u-ŋ* (1-phlegm drool-3P-1sA) I let my phlegm drip vertically down from my mouth to the ground; cf. *tho·kma?*, *-the?l*, *sɔ·ma?*.

ɔ·mɛpma? vide *ɔ·mɔpma?*.

ɔ·mɔ?mathe· n., [*< ɔ·mɔpma?* look at] exchange of glances, looking at one another; *ɔ·mɔ?mathe· ca·ma?*, vide *ca·ma?* (2).

ɔ·mɔpma?, *ɔ·-mɔtt-/ɔ·-mɔt-/ɔ·-mɔ?l* (also: *ɔ·mɛpma?*, *ɔ·-mɛtt-/ɔ·-mɛt-/ɔ·-mɛ?l*) vt., [*< mɛpma?* do unto]

look at, watch.

ɔ·mɔtchiŋma? vr., [*< ɔ·mɔpma?* look at] look at oneself
(eg. in a reflection).

p

pa, -mba n., father; also familiarly: father-in-law.

paʔiŋ n., ego's father's bond-friend or *sə·ba*, q.v.

paha·ra pe·kma?, *-pe·g-/-pe·k-* vi., (polite) go to the toilet, answer the call of nature; cf. *hiʔe·pma?*, *sə·ma?*.

pakma n., [*< pakma?* be the younger + *-ma* NOM/f] someone's second wife; *angga pakma-re kusaʔ-ʔɛ* I am the son of the second wife; (bigamy is a traditionally accepted though by no means widespread practice in Limbu society; bigamy is legal under current Nepali law, provided neither the first wife nor a sympathizer have filed a complaint with the authorities within 45 days after the second marriage, but polygamy involving more than two wives is illegal); cf. *tumma*.

pakma?, *-pag-/-pak-* vt., 1) delve, draw soil, mine; 2) scrape or rake towards oneself.

pakma?, *-pakt-/-pak-* vi., be younger, be the younger one.

pa-khu·ŋ n., [*< *khuŋ* river valley] valley; cf. *ya-khu·ŋ*.

panyo· n., [*< Nep. panyū*] long-handled metal spoon with a flat circular scoop for stirring and serving rice, usu. of steel or aluminium; cf. *ta·bilo·*.

paŋghi n., [*< khe·* white yam] yam.

paŋli, -mbaŋli n., 1) son's wife, 2) brother's son's wife (male speaking), 3) sister's son's wife (female speaking); Also occasionally: 4) sister's son's wife (male speaking), 5) brother's son's wife (female speaking).

paŋmi, -mbaŋmi n., 1) daughter's husband, 2) brother's daughter's husband (male speaking), 3) sister's daughter's husband (female speaking); Also occasionally: 4) sister's daughter's husband (male speaking), brother's daughter's husband (female speaking).

paŋma?, *-paŋs-/-paŋ-* vt., send someone somewhere (patient: person sent); cf. *hakma?*, *haŋma?*.

paŋmik, -mbaŋmik n., younger sister's husband (female speaking).

pappa n., papa.

pappadzya·k n., thistle.

pardzo·kma?, *par-dzo·g-/par-dzo·k-* vi., [*< Nep. parnu + co·kma?* be; cf. *la·bdzo·kma?*] be located, be situated; *tamphula te·rathum-ille ku-sikto·?-o· par-dzo·k* Tamphula is located underneath Tehrathum.

pare·ba vide *pekwa*.

pare·ya n., large earthenware mug; Nep. *ghaiṭo*.

parne·, *barne·* v.imp., [*< Nep. parne*] (with an infinitive) ought to; *ko?o· dze· co·km? barne· an·ge co·gumbe* WeP^o shall do whatever ought to be done here.

parse·kpa n., the tree *Savronia nepalensis*; Nep. *gogan*.

pa·kkha adv., outside, outdoors.

pa·kkhaben n., deity of the outdoors; cf. *iṅdo· mepma?*, *nadho· co·kma?*.

pa·kwa n., ladle for scooping up *yumma?1*.

pa·lam n., Limbu song sung during the *ya?ra·kma?*, q.v.

pa·mbi·ma?, *pa·n-pi·r/pa·n-pi·-* vt., [*pa·n* word + *pi·ma?* give] invite someone; *pa·mmεbi·raṅ* They invited me.

pa·n n., [*pa·pma?* talk, speak] 1) word, language, speech; cf. *khɔ?ma?*, *mepma?* (10), *pe·mma?*, *phe·mma?*; 2) word, say; Nep. *kurākānī*; *kuba·n hen wa·?* What did he have to say?; *a-ndzum-le ku-ba·n sapt-u-ṅ* (my-friend-GEN his-word write-3P-1sA) I'm writing about what my friend said.

pa·nbuk n., [*pa·n* word + **buk* voice sound, cf. *laṅbuk*] (with *yunsiṅma?* sit oneself down) be tongue-tied, be at a loss for words; be dumbfounded; *kuba·nbuk yunsiṅc* The cat's got his tongue; cf. *khɔ?ma?* (2).

pa·ncha·tma?, *pa·n-sa·tt-/pa·n-sa·t-/pa·n-sa·?1* vt., [*pa·n* word, speech + *sa·tma?* jeer] address, call unto, call to, strike up a conversation with someone; cf. *iṅpho·mma?*, *u·pma?*.

pa·n hi·ma? vide *hi·ma?*.

pa·n kebcəṅba n. + adj., [AP of *pa·npəṅma?* gossip, agitate] gossipy, gossiper, agitator; *aṅga pa·nkebcəṅba co·k?ε*, *me·nni·?* I'm an agitator, am I not?

pa·nleṅma?, *pa·n-leṅ-* vi., [*pa·n* word + *leṅma?* vi. wander about] change one's story, change one's tune.

pa·npəṅma?, *pa·n-pəks-/pa·n-pəṅ-* vi., [*pa·n* word + *pəṅma?* vt. carry] gossip, agitate, instigate; *kəṅ māna·n ca·?rik pa·npəṅ* That man really agitates/gossips.

pa·ṅma?, *-pa·ks-/pa·ṅ-* vi., come undone, become untangled (*sikki?* rope, *kuhu·p*, *idzige·k* knot); cf. *kha?1*, *pha·kma?*, *pha·ṅma?*.

pa·ṅdzum n., [*< Pācthare* Limbu, **pa·ṅ* village + *cum* friend] bazar, market; cf. *cumlun*.

- pa·ŋphe·* n., [**pa·ŋ* village, cf. *pa·ŋdzum*] village.
- pa·ŋphe·ʔ-kə'bu* n., village and its surroundings, village including dwellings in the surrounding vicinity; cf. Nep. *gāũ-dehāt*.
- pa·pmaʔ*, *-pa·ʔr-/-pa·t-/-pa·ʔl* vi., speak, talk; cf. *pa·pmaʔ*.
- pa·pmaʔ*, *-pa·tt-/-pa·t-/-pa·ʔl* vt., [dir. < *pa·pmaʔ* talk] say something, tell something, declare, say (patient: utterance).
- pe·ʔe·go·* n., [*pe·kmaʔ* go] (with *lɔʔmaʔ*) the urge to get up and go, 'ants in one's pants', restlessness; *pe·ʔe·go· kɛlɔʔrɛi·ʔ* Have you got ants in your pants; vide *lɔʔmaʔ* (8).
- pe·ʔmaʔ*, *-pe·ʔr-/-pe·ʔ-* vt., [dir. < *pe·maʔ* vomit] vomit on something or someone; *pe·ʔruŋ* I vomited all over it.
- pe·ʔmaʔl* n., [*pe·maʔ* vomit] vomit.
- pe·dɔk* n., frog; cf. *warup*.
- pe·dɔklun* n., [*pe·dɔk* frog + *luŋ* rock, stone] stone or rock of micaceous earth, considered to be a poor quality, albeit widely used, building stone, ubiquitous throughout *Limbuvān*.
- pe·kkɔkna* n., small black brown passerine bird resembling the *kikkɔkna* (q.v.) but lacking a crest and showing conspicuous red colouration of the perianal feathers.
- pe·kmaʔ*, *-pe·g-/-pe·k-* vi. irr., go; *allɔ pe·gaŋ lo·!* Now I'm off!; Now, I'm on my way!; *pu pe·* The bird took off; *kudiʔ kudiʔ pe·gige* We^{pe} are going in single file; cf. *tha·siŋmaʔ*.
- pe·kmaʔ him* n., [*pe·kmaʔ* go + *him* house] the house and household into which a girl marries and to which she goes from her *po·ŋmaʔ him*, q.v.
- pe·maʔ*, *-pe·s-/-pe·-* vt., vomit; cf. *pe·ʔmaʔ*, *pe·ʔmaʔl*.
- pe·mmaʔ*, *-pe·nd-/-pe·n-* vi., (with *pa·n* word, speech) something incorrect be uttered, something erroneous be said, something be said in an awkward or uncomely fashion; cf. *phe·mmaʔ*.
- pe·naʔ* n., red millet, dried in the sun and beaten with a staff in the preparation of *thi·*, or ground to a powder in the preparation of *maŋdɔk*.
- pe·naʔkhɔrɛ·ŋ* n., flat bread made from red millet meal.
- pe·ni* n., Nepali.
- pe·niba* adj., Nepali, Indo-Aryan, *Brāhmaṇa*, *Kṣatriya* etc. (Nep. *bāhun*, *chetrī*).
- pe·ŋwa* n., deer; Nep. *mṛg*.
- pe·sɛʔ* n., vicinity, proximity; *māna-lle ku-be·sɛʔ-ʔo·*

- pusaʔl-in te*. (man-GEN his-vicinity-LOC fledgling-ABS come/PT) The little bird landed near the man.
- peʔlaʔwarekpa* adj., wide open, agape; *keməra pɛlaʔwarekpen* Your mouth is agape!
- pekwa* n., pigeon (Nep. *parevā*).
- penmaʔ*, -*pend*-/-*pen*- vi., (of clothes) slip off, be taken off, be removed; *ku-sumba-n pend-ε* (his-*suruvāl*-ABS slip_off-PT) He slipped out of his *suruvāl*; cf. *phemmaʔ*.
- penchiŋmaʔ* vr., [*penmaʔ* arrange in a line] form a queue, queue up, get in a line, line up next to; *penchiŋ-my-aŋ yuŋ-maʔ* (line_up-INF-pfG sit-INF); *mɛben-chiŋe-aŋ mɛyuŋε* They all sat down in a line.
- penmaʔ*, -*pench*-/-*pen*- vt., line up, arrange in rows or in a line; *penmaʔ yuŋmaʔsi* (line_up-INF put-INF-nsP) put things away neatly lined up; *phɔgəna pencheʔ yuksεεʔ!* Put the *lohotās* away neatly lined up [on the shelf]!
- penna·ŋ* n., [*na·ŋ* younger sibling, same sex as ego] third younger sibling, same sex as ego; cf. *cək-na·ŋ*, *na·ŋ*.
- pepmaʔ*, -*pett*-/-*pet*-/-*peʔl* vt., drag, draw; *yamba siŋbo·ŋ mɛ-bett-u* (big tree nsAS-drag-3P) They dragged the large tree; *ali-n pett-u-ŋ* (furrow-ABS draw-3P-1sA) I plough a furrow.
- perɛm* adv., on a horizontal plane, i.e. not uphill, not downhill (Nep. *terso*); *kheʔyo·lam aŋga perɛm pe·kʔε* And from down there, I'll proceed along a horizontal plane; cf. *saŋmaŋ*, *thaŋmaŋ*.
- pettɛktekpa* n.adj., chattering, blabbermouth, full of hot air, unreliable; *kəŋ a·kkhya·k pettɛktekpa mənə gɔ!* What a blabbermouth!
- pettɔk* adj.adv., in many short strides (of a person's gait), in quick small steps; pitter-patter (on short legs); *pettɔkʔaŋ pettɔk a·tto· tha·siŋʔ* Where is he pitter-pattering off too?
- pe·maʔ*, -*pe·r*-/-*pe·*- vi., fly; cf. *phe·maʔ*.
- pəila* adv.adj., [*Nep. pahilā*] first.
- pəkɔ·ndi* vide *ca·maʔ* (4).
- pətslək-pətslək* onomatopoeia, slosh-slosh.
- piʔl* n., bull; cow; cf. *pitma*.
- piʔmaʔ*, -*piʔr*-/-*piʔ*- vi., get dented, be dented; *kɛdwa·n piʔ ro!* You'll dent your forehead if you don't watch out!; *piʔrε* There's a dent in it; cf. *phiʔ-maʔ*.
- pimmaʔ*, -*pind*-/-*pin*- vi., jump up vertically, splash up; jump up and down; cf. *na·ŋmaʔ*; cf. *pipmaʔ*, *phi·m-*

ma?.*piŋ* vide *piŋpiŋ*.*piŋpiŋ* n., the game of *piŋ* 'ferris wheel' (Nep. *piñ*) played during the feast of *Daśai*; vide *ca·ma?*.*pipəl* n., [*<* Nep. *pīpal*] the *Pīpal* tree, *Ficus religiosa*.*pipma?*, *-pitt-/-pit-/-piʔl* vt., [*dir. <* *pimma?* jump vertically] jump over something or someone (vertically); *pipma? kehe·ʔruwi·ʔ kenhe·ʔnen*. Can you jump over this? You can't. - *he·ʔrun!* I can too!; *lɔkkhum-ʔo· ke-ips-ε-lle ke-bitt-ε* (farmyard-LOC 2-sleep-PT-SUB 2-jump_over-PT) He jumped over you when you were sleeping in the farmyard; cf. *na·ŋma?*.*pitcha* n., [*piʔl* cow + *sa* meat] beef.*pitchidza* n., [*piʔl* cow + *sidza* fly] gadfly, botfly, horsefly.*pitchikki?* n., [*lit. cow-rope*] leash or rope with a loose non-adjustable noose to tie up a cow or bull to a post or tree.*pitcho·ʔl* n., [*piʔl* cow + *so·ʔl* fat] beef fat.*pitchule·* n.pej., [*<* *le·* penis] pipsqueak, squirt.*pitma* n., cow.*pitnu* n., [*piʔl* cow + *nu* milk] cow's milk.*pi·ma?*, *-pi·r-/-pi·-* vt., 1) give to someone, endow (patient: beneficiary, not object given); 2) allow, permit; *timmək kɔpma? kembi·rinni·ʔ* Don't they [*viz. the local authorities*] permit you^P to have rifles?; cf. *pha·kma?*.*pi·nda* n., wet adobe clay.*pi·ŋma?*, *-pi·ks-/-pi·ŋ-* vi., fall out (eg. teeth), come out, be pulled out (any long object such as nails, pen tops, pins); *phəyŋin pi·ksε* The handle of the knife came off; cf. *phi·ŋma*.*pi·pma?*, *-pi·tt-/-pi·t-/-pi·ʔl* vt., suck; cf. *ho·pma?*, *supma?*.*pi·r* n., [*<* Nep. *pīr*] suffering, harm, discomfort, pain, hurt (with *pi·ma?* 'to give').*pi·siŋma?* vr., [*<* *pi·ma?* give] 1) exchange gifts, give to each other; 2) give each other what for, fight.*pi·tchiŋ* n., [*<* *pi·pma?* suck] bamboo straw through which *tɔŋba* is drunk.*po·ʔye·ppa* n., the fig tree *Ficus roxburghii*; Nep. *ne-bhāro*, *nibāro*.*po·den* n., position in society, post; *kembaren kubo·den hen?* What is your father's position in society?*po·kma?*, *-po·g-/-po·k-* vi., 1) get up; *po·gε?* Get out of bed!; *kha·kmiʔl sa·ʔrik po·gε* It's very cloudy

today; cf. *ni·tchiŋma?*, *pho·ŋma?*; 2) rise (of leavened comestibles); 3) be set up, be going on (of a *hāṭ-bajār*) *cumlun po·klɔ ya·k* The *hāṭ-bajār* is on; cf. *pəŋma?*.

po·ma?, -po·s-/-po·- vt., [caus. < *po·ma?* grow] 1) make bigger, increase, enlarge; *kəŋ him-min allɔ cukpa co·k kərə ta·ndik-atçenda·n po·s-u-ŋ-aŋ yamba co·g-u-ŋ* (this house-ABS now small be but one of these days enlarge-3P-1sA-pfG large make-3P-1sA) Now this house is small, but one of these days I shall enlarge it and make it big; 2) -*nara po·ma?* [*nara* countenance] laud, praise, commend; *kunara mebo·su* They lauded him; cf. *po·mma?* (2).

po·mma?, -po·nd-/-po·n- vi., [dir. < *po·ma?*] be abundant, be numerous; *məna me·bo·nd-ε* (man nsAS-abound-PT) There were many men; *sidzaha? mebo·ndε rəcə* The flies appear to abound; cf. *pho·mma?*.

po·mma?, -po·r-/-po·n- vi., 1) grow (of animals, inc. humans); cf. *liŋma?*; 2) -*nara po·ma?* [*nara* countenance] gain in esteem, gain in prestige; *khənc? kədzogulle kənara po·rε* You have gained in esteem because of what you have done; cf. *po·ma?* (2).

po·ŋ n., base; *lɔkthik ke·mba siŋbo·ŋ-ille ku·bo·ŋ-?o·mε-yuŋ-ε* (one tall tree-GEN its-base-LOC nsAS-sit-PT) They sat at the base of one tall tree.

po·ŋma?, -po·ks-/-po·ŋ- vi., be born.

po·ŋma?, -po·ks-/-po·ŋ- vi., 1) inchoative 'to be', become, happen, vide 3.6; the preterit form *po·kse* sometimes translates as 'ago': *lisi nasi ya·n po·kse* four or five days ago; 2) be alright, be acceptable; *phən gɔrɔ po·ŋ* It's O.K. if she comes.

po·ŋma?, -po·ks-/-po·ŋ- vi., must (as the auxiliary of exigency in impersonal constructions with a verb in the infinitive); *ta·ndik yəllik iŋ-ma? po·ŋ* (tomorrow much buy-INF EXIG) tomorrow we must buy many things, or tomorrow many things will have to be bought; *allɔ anige pe·k-ma? po·kse* (Now weⁱ go-INF EXIG-PT) Now we must go (i.e. the need has arisen that we go), vide 9.9.

po·ŋma? him n., [*po·ŋma?* be born + *him* house] parental home, the house of one's *sammabaha?*; cf. *pe·kma? him*.

po·ŋwa·ma?, *po·ŋ-way-/-po·ŋ-wa·-* vi., play (of little children; cf. *ca·tma?*).

po·ro·?l adv., [< *pətma?* hang, be suspended] hanging, suspended; Nep. *tundruñai*, *tundruñai*; cf. *telləm*.

po·ro·?l-mi-yəmbha-mi-maŋ, *po·ro·t-mi-yəmbha-mi-maŋ* n.,

[*po·ro·ʔl* hanging + *mi* tail + *yəmbha* < *yəmba* large + *mi* tail + *maŋ* deity] the hanging-tail-large-tailed god, the male aspect (*yəmbhami* big-tailed) and the female aspect (*po·ro·ʔlmi* hanging-tail) are united in one long-tailed hermaphrodite god which is occasionally portrayed as a couple, residing in the deepest jungle where they determine the fate of Man, the creator of mankind in the Limbu pantheon.

po·tma?, -*po·tt*-/-*po·t*-/-*po·ʔl* vi., err, lose one's way; *aŋga him pe·gaŋille lam po·ttaŋ* I got lost on my way home; *lam kebo·ttei·?* Did you lose your way?

poʔe·ʔl n., flat circular winnowing basket (Nep. *nāñlo*).

poʔiʔl n., cucumber; *kākrā*.

po·kwa n., basket (Nep. *ḍālo*).

po·kwa vide *teʔteʔ po·kwa*.

po·mma?, -*pənd*-/-*pən*- vt., 1) mould (eg. *kha·m-ille* with clay, *piʔhi-ille* with cow dung, *hilo·-lle* with mud); 2) (with *thege·kʔi*) ball up one's hair into a bun.

poŋgre·ba n., *Castanopsis hystrix* and occasionally *Castanopsis indica*, both trees of the beech family Fagaceae, with prickly casing containing a white fruit and seed inside, seeds borne in clusters, larger than the *sigəp* (q.v.), a lighter fruit and tending to grow at lower elevations, viz. ca. 250 m; Nep. *paṭpaṭe kaṭus* and *ḍhālne kaṭus* respectively.

poŋma?, -*pəg*-/-*pəŋ*- vi., (of the wind) begin to blow, kick up, start up; *suriʔl pəg-ε ro·!* (wind kick_{up}-PT ASS) The wind has kicked up!

poŋma?, -*pəŋ*- vi., be broken up (of a *hāṭ-bajār*), get up and leave; *cumləŋ pəŋei· nei·?* - *məbəŋe meḡheʔre* Has the *hāṭ-bajār* been broken up or is it still going on? - They've all gotten up and left; cf. *po·kma?* (3).

poŋma?, -*pəks*-/-*pəŋ*- vt., [caus. < *poŋma?* q.v.] 1) lift up with one's hand, carry in one's hand; push upward with one's hand, carry across one's shoulder using one's hands; *məndaʔsaʔlin pəksu te·ʔru* He carried off the kid; cf. *ku·ma?*, *pa·n kebəŋba*; 2) carry away, carry off (agent: current of water); cf. *wade·mma?*.

po·tma?, -*pətch*-/-*pət*-/-*poʔl* vi., 1) adhesive 'to be', vide 3.4; be suspended, hang (fruits in a tree, clouds in the sky); remain sticking to (eg. smegma); *kehaʔo· kumakla poʔl* There's something

black stuck to your teeth; cf. *pətma?*; 2) be situated (of a heavenly body, the sky or body parts); *tɛlɔkkɛntaŋsaŋ nitaŋ pətɬɔ co·k kusiŋ lɔ?* It looks as if though the heavens are nearby; cf. Nep. *phalī rākheko*; be or become manifest; 3) be (an amount); *khunɛ? rɔk pɔ?l* He is the only one there; *kheni?o· a·kkhya·k məbo?l* How many of you are there?; *suntala a·kkhya·k məbo?l* How many oranges are there?.

pətma?, -pət-/-pət-/-pɔ?l vt., [dir. < *pətma?* be suspended, hang] cast mud, clay, eggs etc. at someone or something; bespatter; *himin hilo·lle pəttu* He bespattered the house with mud; *kəndzumin hilo·lle kəbət̪wi·?* Did you throw mud all over your friend?

pət-ya·k n., whole bunch, a whole lot.

pɔ·?l n., mushroom, fungus.

pɔ·mma?, *pɔ·nd-/-pɔ·n-* vi., disperse, scatter, swarm out; *sidzaha? məbo·ndɛ* The flies swarmed out; *mənaħa? kɛrɛk məbo·ndɛ* The men have all dispersed; cf. *phɔ·mma?*.

pɔ·tħaŋ n., large shawl, worn by women as a headdress and torso-covering, also used as bedclothes (Nep. *pachyaurā*, *pacheurā*).

pu n., bird.

pu?ma?, -pu?r-/-pu?- vi., 1) get severed, become severed, break, snap, come apart; *siŋdze·k pu?rɛ* The stick has been severed; 2) (of *nɛ?l*) be discontinued; *nɛ?l pu?rɛi· məbu?rɛnni·?* Have the funereal observances been discontinued or not?; cf. *phu?ma?*.

pudza n., [< Nep. *pūjā*] prayer service, worship service, religious ritual.

pukma? vide *niŋsaŋ pukma?*.

pumma?, -pund-/-pun- vi., spring (of water); *kɛ-bum-ba cwa?l* (AP-spring-AP water) spring water.

pumma?, -pund-/-pun- vi., become dislodged, (of a a head) become decapitated, be removed; *luŋin pundɛ* The rock became dislodged; cf. *phumma?*.

puŋbe·kma?, *puŋ-pe·g-/puŋ-pe·k-* vi., [< *pe·kma?* go] go to work (= *ya·mbɔk co·kse pe·kma?*).

puŋma? vide *niŋsaŋ puŋma?*.

puŋsammaŋ n., [< *sammaŋ*] the deity of the hunt, to which a sacrifice is offered prior to the hunt to ensure success in the undertaking.

pupma?, -pu?r-/-pu?l-/-pu?l vi.imp., (with *yo·m*) experience missing someone who has died or gone far away; *ku-yo·m pu?r-ɛ* (his-longing be_felt) He misses him; *a-yo·m pu?l* (my-longing be_felt) I'll

miss you/him/them; cf. *luŋma himma?*.

pupma?, -*putt-/-put-/-pu?*1 vi., become or be mixed, mix, become or be blended, blend; be or become varicoloured, motley; *kɛdɥe·k?i puttɛ* Your hair is turning grey; cf. *phupma?*.

pupma?, -*putt-/-put-/-pu?*1 vt., 1) grab, squeeze in one's hand, crumple up in one's hand, hold firmly in one's hand; *kusikla?o· puttun bu·run* I grabbed him by the throat (cf. *phimma?*); *kɛhuk?o· puttɛ?* *yukɛ?!* Hold it firmly in your hand!; *sapla puttu* He crumpled up the piece of paper; 2) *mu?hi pupma?* make a fist.

pupma?, -*putt-/-put-/-pu?*1 vt., sift, strain, filter; *thi·puttu* She's filtering the millet beer; cf. *si·pma?*, *yuma?*.

pusa?1 n., [*pu* bird + *sa?1* ~ *sa?* child, offspring] fledgeling, birdie; small bird (eg. hummingbird or small passerine bird); cf. *ko·co·sa?1*, *luŋsa?1*, *mɛnda?sa?1*, *myaŋsa?1*, *phaksa?1*, *wa?sa?1*.

putthunwa n., [*putthun* foam + **wa* water] foam, suds, lather, froth.

pu·?ma?, -*pu·?t-/-pu·?-* vi., boil over; *yumma?1 pu·?t-ɛ* (vegetables boil_{over}-PT) The vegetables have boiled over; *sopman pu·?!* It'll boil over in a second!.

pya?1 n., cricket.

pyak onomatopoeia, slap; *pyak lɔ?rik hipma?* slap someone; *pyak lɔ?rik hiptan* She slapped me; cf. *lyɛ·ŋ*.

pyaŋsi n., field, terrace (in slope farming).

ph

pha n., bamboo.

pha?an sub., [**pha-* sub. + *-?an* pfG] (vide 9.2) that, if that be the case, whether; *lu, tɔr-amm-ɛ? pha?an tha·?r-u-ŋ-si-ŋ* (alright, ridicule-2p-IMP if-so leave_{behind}_{for}-3P-1sA-nsP-1sA) Alright, go ahead and make fun of him, if that be the case, I'll leave it behind for them; *kɛnɛ? kɛdzo·guba ya·m-bɔk?in po·ksɛi· mɛbo·ksɛnni· pha?an se·ndo·melle po·ksɛ gɔrɔ cumille 'wɛndu' amɛ?1* If you ask a friend whether his working is going alright or not, and it's going alright, he'll say 'It's getting along!'; cf. Nep. *bhanera*.

pha?lapma?, *pha?-lab- /pha?-lap-* vt., [*< *lapma?* discard; cf. *la?phe·ma?*, *la?phuma?*] clear land by fire,

burn dried weeds or raked up leaves, burn vegetable refuse.

- pha?ma?*, *-pha?r-/-pha?-* vt. help someone, assist someone.
- phahɔk* n., [*pha* bamboo + *hɔk* rind, cortex, husk, cf. *phak-hɔk*, *siŋhɔk*] bamboo integument, bamboo shells or casings which are shed as the bamboo plant grows; Nep. *bās paṭyās*, *bāsko khapaṭā*, *bāsko khapiṭā*.
- phak* n., pig.
- phakhɔk* n., [*phak* pig + *hɔk* rind, cortex, husk, cf. *phahɔk*, *siŋhɔk*] the gutted carcass of a slaughtered pig; Nep. *khokpā*; cf. *melluŋ*.
- phakkho·ŋ* n., [*< phak* pig] feeding trough for pigs.
- phakma* n., [*< phak* pig] sow.
- phaksa* n., [*phak* pig + *sa* meat] pork.
- phaksa?1* n., [*phak* pig + *sa?1* ~ *sa?* child, offspring] piglet; cf. *ko·co·sa?1*, *luŋsa?1*, *menda?sa?1*, *myaŋsa?1*, *pusa?1*, *wa?sa?1*.
- phakso·?1* n. [*phak* pig + *so·?1* fat] pork fat.
- phaktɔk* n., [*phak* pig + *tɔk* cooked rice] pig-feed, often leftovers and *sida·m*.
- phanɔk* m., [*< pha* bamboo] 1) bamboo shoot; 2) spicy dish made from young bamboo shoots; Nep. *mesu*.
- phaŋ* vide *pha?aŋ*.
- phaŋbhu* num.col., nine; cf. *phaŋsi*.
- phaŋleŋ* adv., [*phaŋ* nine + *leŋ* turn] nine times.
- phaŋma*, *-phaŋ-* vt., fence off, barricade.
- phaŋsi* num., nine.
- pha·kma?*, *-pha·kt-/-pha·k-* vt., [dir. *< pa·ŋma?* come undone] fold (eg. *cirik* cloth, *te·?1* clothes); cf. *phɛkma?*.
- pha·kma?*, *-pha·kt-/-pha·k-* vt., (with infinitive) allow, permit; *pa·pm? mebha·ktun* They didn't allow him to speak; cf. *pi·ma?* (2).
- pha·ndo·* n., type of *yumlakpa* made from soybeans (*cɛmbi*); Nep. *dhulo acār*.
- pha·ŋma?*, *-pha·ks-/-pha·ŋ-* vt., [caus. *< pa·ŋma?* come undone] 1) undo, untangle (*sikki?* rope, *kuhu·p* knot, *idzige·k* knot); *idzige·k pha·ksu* He undid the knot; 2) open (the mouth of an animal not putting up any resistance); cf. *hɔmma?*, *le?ma?*, *the·ŋma?*.
- pha·tma?*, *-pha·tt-/-pha·t-/pha·?1* vt., scoop water from one receptacle into another; fetch (water); cf. *takma?*.
- phe·* n., maize cob, corn cob; cf. *khayā*.
- phe·?ma?*, *-phe·?r-/-phe·?-* vt., [dir. *< phe·ma?* fart] fart at someone, fart in the presence or within olfac-

tory range of someone; *abhe·ʔre rəcə!* He has fart-ed at us^{Pi}!

phe·ʔmaʔl n., [*< phe·maʔ* fart] fart; *abhe·ʔmaʔl sa·rik lə·n* I keep on having to fart terribly; cf. *phe·maʔ*, *phe·ʔmaʔ*.

phe·ʔrum n., meal, flour.

phe·daŋma n., Limbu priest, wizard, medicine man (Nep. *jhākri*).

phe·maʔ, *-phe·s-/-phe·-* vt., (with 3sP agreement) fart, break wind; *kəbhe·swi·ʔ* Did you fart?; cf. *phe·ʔmaʔ*.

phe·mmaʔ, *-phe·nd-/-phe·n-* vt., [caus. *< pe·mmaʔ*, q.v.] (with *pa·n* speech, word) say something erroneous, utter something in an awkward or uncomely fashion, say something wrong, be mistaken in speech.

phe·nda n., tomato (tomatoes in *Limbuṽān* are small like cocktail-tomatoes).

phe·sutte· n., [*< phe·* maize cob] a heavy porridge-like *tək* made of maize meal or maize flour.

pheʔlaʔmaʔ, *pheʔ-laʔr-/-pheʔ-laʔ* vi., [*< phemmaʔ* spoil; cf. *kudzaphemma*, *kusaphemmaʔ*, *pheʔla·mmaʔ*] 1) spoil, be spoiled, be ruined; 2) become angry.

pheʔla·mmaʔ, *pheʔ-la·nd-/-pheʔ-la·n-* vt., [dir. *< pheʔ-laʔmaʔ* be spoiled] spoil, ruin; dishonour; *pheʔke-la·ndε* He dishonoured you; *piʔlille kha·m pheʔ-la·ndu* The bull messed up the clay.

pheʔmaʔ, *-pheʔr-/-pheʔ-* vt., [dir. *< phemaʔ*, q.v.] put down a seat for someone, lay down matting for someone (= patient); *yukna pheʔne* I'll put down a stool for you.

phedza n., [*< *phe* metal; cf. *phendze·k* iron] knife, khukuri (Nep. *khukurī*); cf. *pheyuŋ*.

phedzikkum n.poet., sorcerer, in the compound *phedzikkum-phe·daŋ*.

phedzikkumphe·daŋ n.poet., [*phedzikkum* sorcerer + *phe·daŋ* shaman] sorcerers, wizards and shamans (collectively).

phego· n., burnt edible crust of cooked rice or *maŋdək* on the bottom of the *karəhi* or *khəppe·ʔ*.

phəgwa n., loincloth.

phəkmaʔ, *-phəkt-/-phək-* vi., unfold, bloom, unfurl, burgeon; cf. *pha·kmaʔ*.

phəkmaʔ, *-phəkt-/-phək-* vt., upbraid, reprove, reprimand.

phəkwa n., [*< phəkmaʔ* unfold] foliage.

-phəlle/-bhəlle sub., [**pha-* sub. + *-ille* SUB] vide 9.3; Nep. *bhane*, *bhaneko*.

phemaʔ, *-phəs-/-phə-* vt., lay a mat down, situate a stool

(yukna stool, gundri straw mat, lo·mbhe?l bamboo mat); cf. phe?ma?.

phemma?, -phe?r-/-phen- vi., 1) spoil (with ipmna 'sleep', q.v.); 2) in the compounds kudzaphemma?, kusa-phemma?.

phemma?, -phend-/-phen- vt., [caus. < pemma? q.v.] slip out of, take off, undo one's clothes, strip; hapcyange·n phende?! Take your trousers off!; kusimin phendu She removed her dress.

phemma?, -pher-(-phe?r-)/-phen- come (movement along a horizontal plane); cf. tama?, thanma?, yuma?; cf. phemma?, phepma?.

phemma?, -phench-/-phen- vt., [caus. < phemma? come] 1) send, have brought (along a horizontal plane); 2) pass over, toss over, hand across to someone; phenche?! Pass it over!.

phenchan adv., left (antonym: cupsan right).

phenchanba adj., left (antonym: cupsanba right).

phenchandiη adv., to the left, counter-clockwise.

phendze·k n., [< *phe metal; cf. phedza] iron.

phenma?, -phend-/-phen- vt., press; cf. comma?, imma?, phepma?, phimma? (2,3), phipma?.

phepma?, -phet-/-phet-/-phe?l vt., [dir. < phemma? come] fetch (what is in view or readily available, as opposed to ta?ma?); bring (along a horizontal plane); cf. pha·tma?, ta?ma?, takma?, thakma?, yu?ma?.

phepma?, -phet-/-phet-/-phe?l vt., squeeze; press, depress with one's hand, hold down with one's hand; cf. comma?, imma?, poma?, phenma?, phimma? (2), phipma?.

pherik n., wooden churning rod with baffled stirring blades at the bottom, for churning nudak (yoghurt) to yield khyu (ghee) and moī (whey). The nudak is churned in an earthenware jug with a narrow opening by pulling to and fro strings wound about the top of the rod, causing the rod to spin; Nep. mandhanī.

pheyuη n., [< *phe metal + yuη handle] handle of a phedza, q.v.

phe·ma?, -phe·s-/-phe·- vt., [caus. < pe·ma? fly] let fly, release (of birds); fly (an airplane); kerək pare·baha? mebhε·susiba They've released all the pigeons (one of the rituals of the ya·kwa pudza).

phi?co·? n., falcon.

phi?ma?, -phi?r-/-phi?- vt., [caus. < pi?ma? dent] dent; mebbhi?ru They dented it.

phikma?, -*phikt-/phik-* vi., talk loudly, talk with raised voice; Nep. *cicyāunu*.

philinge· n., [*< Nep. philinge*] shiny black seeds pounded to make a type of *yumlakpa*.

phimma?, -*phind-/phin-* 1) vt., strangle; *ku-sikla-?o· phind-u-η* (his-throat-LOC strangle-3P-1sA) I strangled him; *ku-sikla-?o· mε-bhind-u mε-se?r-u mu* (his-throat-LOC nsAS-strangle-3P nsAS-kill-3P REP) It is said that/They say that they strangled him to death; *kheη mēna·n phindu* He strangled that man; 2) squeeze something out, squeeze the juice out of something (eg. *kudza?* fruit, *ho·?* furuncle, *yanghe·k* wound); cf. *comma?*, *imma?*, *phεpma?*, *phipma?*; 3) depress (a lever, eg. a *qhiki*, q.v.); cf. *phεηma?*; 4) *co·?co·? phimma?* vide *mεpma* (3).

phipma?, -*phitt-/phit-/phi?l* vt., [*dir. < phimma?* squeeze] 1) pinch; *kheβokle kebhi?l* The crab will pinch you; cf. *ke·pma?*; 2) (with *huk* hands) press one's hands between one's thighs or under one's armpits (eg. for warmth); *ahuk phittuη* I'm putting my hands in my armpits; cf. *comma?*, *imma?*, *phεηma?*, *phεpma?*, *phimma?*.

phir'li· adv., whirling, rotating.

phitta n., [*< Nep. phittā*] wick of a kerosene lamp.

phi·ma?, -*phi·r-/phi·-* vi., grow thin; *ku-sappo·k-?in phi·r-ε* (his-stomach-ABS grow_thin-PT) He's gotten thin; *mεn-nu-ba kudza·n ke-dzo goro ke-bhi·?l, ke-n-dzo-nεn goro ke-bhi·* (NEG-good food-ABS 2-eat if 2-have_diarrhoea, 2-NEG-eat-NEG if 2-grow_thin) If you eat bad food you'll get diarrhoea, if you don't eat you'll get thin; cf. *phi·ma?*.

phi·ma?, -*phi·s-/phi·-* vt., [*caus. < phi·ma?* grow thin] 1) cause to grow thin, let grown thin; *sappo·k-?in ke-bhi·s-u* (stomach-ABS 2-let_get_thin-3P) You're letting yourself get thin; 2) deflate; *lanpho·nga phi·sun* I deflated the football.

phi·mma?, -*phi·nd-/phi·n-* vt., [*caus. < pimma?* jump up] sweep away; *kheη le·ηwa·n phi·nd-ε? de·s-ε?!* (that puddle-ABS sweep_away-IMP dispatch-IMP) Sweep that puddle away!

phi·mma?, -*phi·nd-/phi·n-* vt., milk; *pi?lin phi·nduba* She's milking the cow; *kebhi·nduwi·?* Are you milking?

phi·ηma?, -*phi·ks-/phi·η-* vt., [*caus. < pi·ηma?* q.v.] extract, pull out, take out (any long object such as nails, teeth, pins which are rooted in or have been driven into something else), extirpate;

waphe·?ille kuyunin phi·ksunba I took off the sickle's handle; cf. *a·ŋma?*.

phi·pma?, *-phi·tt-/-phi·t-/-phi·?l* vi., have diarrhoea; *men-nuba kudza··n ke-dzo goro ke-bhi·?l* (NEG-good food-ABS 2-eat if 2-have diarrhoea) If you eat bad food, you'll get diarrhoea.

pho·ksarumba adj.n.m., fourth-born (of offspring or sibling).

pho·ksarumma adj.n.f., fourth-born (of offspring or sibling).

pho·ktaŋ n., shoulder

pho·ktaŋluŋ n., [lit. 'shoulder-boulder', *pho·ktaŋ* shoulder + *luŋ* stone, rock] Mount Kangchenjunga, at 8598m the world's third highest peak and world's tallest volcano, forming the northeastern backdrop to *Limbuvān* (Nep. *kumbhakarṇa*, Tib. *gañs-chen-rze-lña* [lit. the five kings of the great snows] or *gañs-chen-mdzod-lña* [lit. the five treasure chests of the great snows], whence Eng. Kangchenjunga).

pho·ktaŋluŋma n., [lit. the mountain range (*luŋma*) of which Mt. Kangchenjunga (*pho·ktaŋluŋ*, q.v.) forms the central part] the eastern Himalayan range from Mount Everest to Mt. Kangchenjunga, Nep. *Kumbhakarṇa*, *Umbhek* and *Lumbā-Sumbā Himāl*; cf. *senche·luŋma*, *waraŋluŋma*.

pho·kwaba adj.n.m., youngest born (of offspring or sibling).

pho·kwama adj.n.f., youngest born (of offspring or sibling).

pho·ma?, *-pho·s-/-pho·-* vt., [caus. < *pətma?* be situated, hang] stir about grain which is drying in the sun (*ya?ro·n*) in order to facilitate the drying process.

pho·mma?, *-pho·nd-/-pho·n-* vt., toss (underhand), esp. to toss clay marbles (*ko·re?l*) whilst playing *khoppi*; cf. *lepma?*.

pho·mma?, *-pho·nd-/-pho·n-* vt., [dir. < *pətma?* be situated, hang] hang something up, hang somebody; *pin pho·mma?* hang on (during the game of *pinpin*).

pho·mma?, *-pho·nd-/-pho·n-* vt., propagate, produce, generate; *wa? yəllik pho·ndusi* He produced many chickens.

pho·nchiŋma? vr., [< *pho·mma?* hang] 1) hang oneself; *pho·nchiŋe* He hung himself; 2) suspend oneself (eg. playfully from a branch).

pho·nda? n., basket for carrying a child, worn by a woman on her back.

pho·ŋ n., kick; cf. *mepma?* (6), *tamma?*.

pho·ŋma?, *-pho·ks-/-pho·ŋ-* vt., [caus. < *po·kma?* get up] wake someone up.

pho·tə· n., large wooden tube to blow at the fire with, held at about two hand-breadths distance from one's mouth whilst blowing; cf. *mupma?*.

pho·tma?, *-pho·tt-/-pho·t-/-pho·ʔ1* vt., [dir. < *po·tma?* lose one's way] 1) cause to lose the way, mislead; *aŋga khene?* *pho·tne* I'll make you lose your way; 2) deceive, take someone for a ride, take the piss with someone, make a fool of someone; *ke-m-bho·ʔ1 lo·!* *ke-m-bho·ʔ1 lo·!* (2-nsAS-take_the_piss ASS 2-nsAS-take_the_piss ASS) They're sure making a fool out of you!; *ambho·ʔ1* They're taking the piss with us^{P1}; *məbho·ttan* They made a fool out of me.

pho adj., white; *khəŋ mənaha?* *pho məlɔ?* Those people are white [men].

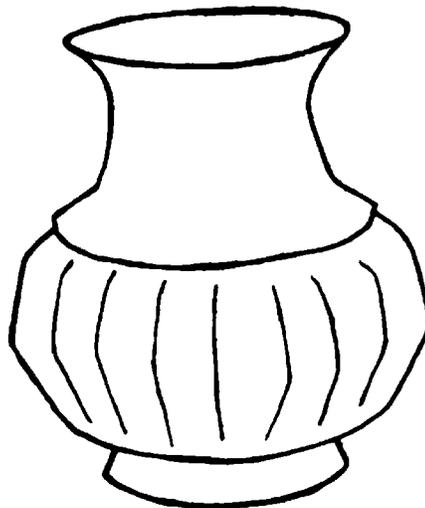
phoʔe·ʔ1 vide *poʔe·ʔ1*.

phoʔi· n., belt.

phoɔdanba adj.n., [*pho* white + *tanba* that which, he who] white, white-kind; a white one; cf. *kubhōra*, *phogelɔʔba*.

phogelɔʔba adj., [< *pho* white + AP of *lɔʔma?* 'to appear'] white; cf. *kubhōra*, *phoɔdanba*.

phogəna n., bronze vase-shaped water vessel to drink from but not to be touched by the lips, also used for pouring water on hands or feet; Nep. *lohoṭā*, *loṭā*; cf. *kho·reʔ1*, *təkkrima*.



phogəna

phokma?, *-phokt-/-phok-* vi., 1) go off, explode (*timmək* rifle, *bəm* bomb); emit a loud noise; erupt; *ke-hukʔin phokte ro·!* Your hands sure emitted a loud clap!; *timməkʔin phokte* The rifle went off; cf. *phoŋma?*; 2) rupture, cave in; *kubo·ŋʔo· phokte rəcə* So, it caved in at the base; cf. *thupma?*, *ɔma?*.

phəkthimba n., owl.

phəkwa n., [*< phəkma?* erupt] boil, blister, furuncle; *phəkwa lɔ·ndɛ* A blister come out; *phəkwa po·gɛ* A boil came up; cf. esp. *cukma?*.

phɔ·n n., hail, hailstones; *phɔ·n the·* It showered hailstones.

phɔŋa?, *-mbhɔŋa?* n., 1) ego's father's younger brother, 2) ego's mother's younger sister's husband.

phɔŋma?, *-phɔks-/-phɔŋ-* vt., [caus. *< phəkma?* go off, erupt] let go off, allow to explode (*timmək* rifle, *bəm* bomb); *timmək məbhɔksu*, *allɔ anga phɔksuŋ* They fired the rifle, now I'm going to fire the rifle.

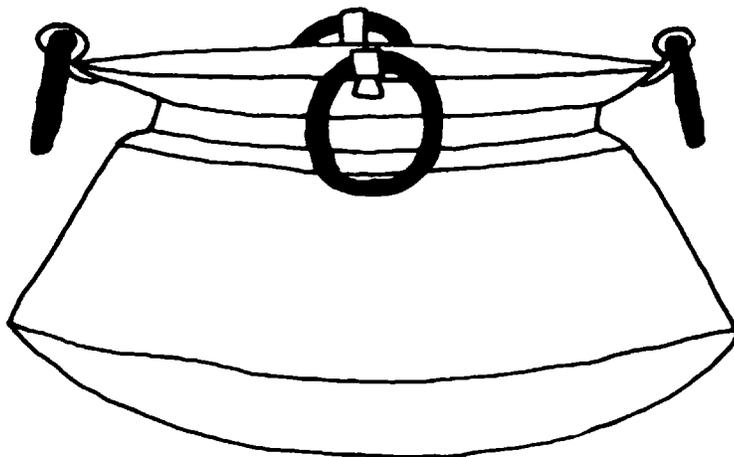
phɔpma?, *-phɔtch-/-phɔt-/-phɔʔl* vt., employ someone in manual labour; employ someone as a field hand; *abhɔtchiʔi· ambhɔtchinni·?* Will he give us^{d1} the work or won't he?; *khɛŋle ɛn yalɛ·k abhɔtchɛtchi*, *mɛ·nni·?* Well, he employed us today, didn't he?; cf. *səŋma?*.

phɔpma?, *-phɔtch-/-phɔt-/-phɔʔl* vt., [caus. *< pɔtma?* hang, be situated] put something up high somewhere, place something up in a place, hang up, suspend.

phɔpma?, *-phɔtt-/-phɔt-/-phɔʔl* vt., [dir. *< pɔtma?* hang, be situated] cover something, hold something above something or someone, suspend above something; cf. *su·pma?*.

phɔpma?, *-phɔtt-/-phɔt-/-phɔʔl* vt., pounce upon; cf. *kɛm·ma?*, *thamma?*.

phɔsi n., large round copper pot about one metre in diameter, outfitted with four large equidistantly spaced rings along the evolute upper rim, Nep. *khaḍkuḍā*, *khaḍkūlo*.



phɔsi

phɔtchinma? vr., be in a hurry, make haste; *kɛbhɔtchinɔŋ*
kɛsi ro! You'll die if you keep up going at that
 pace!

phɔ·ma?, *phɔy-/-phɔ·-* vt., braid, plait, intertwine (eg.
thɛgɛ·kʔi hair, *pɔʔɛ·ʔl* winnowing basket, *lo·m-*
bhɛʔl a *mādro*, *pɔkwa* basket, *khaʔnam* strap of a
thɔŋga); cf. *lipma?*, *tha·ktha·kma?*.

phɔ·mma?, *-phɔ·nd-/-phɔ·n-* vt., [caus. < *pɔ·mma?* scatter]
 disperse, cause to disperse; *khe·suʔmaha?* *phɔ·n-*
dunsiŋ I dispersed the bees; *hendzaʔ-ha?* *mɛbhɔ·n-*
dusi They caused the children to disperse.

phɔ·ŋma?, *-phɔ·ks-/-phɔ·ŋ-* vt., divide; *kheŋ kudza kɛ-*
-bhɔ·ŋ-bɛ-n ɛ·n na (that food AP-divide-AP-ABS who
 EMPH) Who's that dividing up the food?; cf. *ha·t-*
ma?, *ha·ma?*.

phɔ·thak n., rabbit, hare.

phu, *-mphu* n., 1) elder brother, 2) elder male cousin
 through paternal uncle or maternal aunt, 3) wife's
 elder sister's husband, 4) husband's elder bro-
 ther, 5) husband's elder sister's husband.

phudo·ŋ n., an animal ceremoniously slaughtered (*setma?*)
 in honour of a revered guest or visitor, esp. on
 his first visit to a household.

phudzik n., earthenware pot for cooking rice (large *phu-*
dzik) or serving as a receptacle for *yum* 'salt'
 (small *phudzik*); cf. *khe·kya·ʔ*.

phuʔku n., cave, cavity under a rock ledge or overhang.

phuʔma?, *-phuʔr-/-phuʔ-* vt., [caus. < *puʔma?* be severed]
 sever.

phuʔsiŋma? vr., [< *phuʔma?* sever] (with *mɛlluŋ* 'dowry' as
 object complement and the bride as subject) claim
 one's dowry, take one's dowry from one's parental
 home (*po·ŋma?* *him*) to the home of one's husband
 (*pe·kma?* *him*). On her first visit to her parental
 home after her marriage, the bride, unaccompanied
 by her husband, takes a *phakhɔk* as a gift from her
 new household to her parental home where a festive
 repast takes place. A *Phedāppe* Limbu dowry does
 not include real estate, as women do not tradi-
 tionally inherit real estate, but comprises an
 inordinate amount of wares and money. Until the
 dowry is given (which is traditionally supposed to
 occur on the occasion of the bride's coming home
 with the *phakhɔk*), the parental home retains
 financial liability for the high costs of the
 bride's burial or cremation in the event of her
 death. The debt of an unpaid dowry passes on to

the male heirs or *sammabaha?* (q.v.), the bride's brothers, should their parents die.

phukma? vide *niṅsaṅ phukma?*.

phumma, -*phund-*/*-phun-* vt., [caus. < *pumma?* be dislodged] 1) dislodge; *luṅha?* *mēbhunduba* They are dislodging the rocks (i.e. pulling rocks out of the ground, out of a rock face or a rock pile); 2) dislodge, remove (lid, horns); *kusu·pnēn phunduṅ* I removed its lid; *pi?ile kudaṅin kēbhundubai·?* Have you removed the bull's horns?; uncork, unplug; *kunda phundu* She uncorked the *gāgrī*; cf. *su·pma?*; 3) decapitate; *kudhge·k?in mēbhundu mēbu·ru* They lopped off its head.

phumma? vide *niṅwa phumma?*.

phuṅ n., flower.

phuṅma?, -*phuks-*/*-phuṅ-* vt., blend, mix; cf. *phupma?*.

phuṅma?, -*phuks-*/*-phuṅ-* vt., save up, gather together, scrape together (large objects like rocks or things which are already in close proximity to each other); cf. *summa?*, *summa?*.

phuṅwa?1 n., [< *phuṅ* flower] gourd (both as fruit and as flask).

phupma?, -*phutt-*/*-phut-*/*-phu?1* vt., [caus. < *pupma?* be mixed] mix, blend; cf. *phuṅma?*.

phupma? vide *niṅwa phupma?*.

phuphudre·, -*mphudre·* n., ego's elder sister's husband (female speaking).

phurluṅ n., [< Nep. *phurluṅ*] small basket made of split reeds or splintered bamboo (*the·*), used as a receptacle for ripening *hapla*.

phyakma? vide *phēkma?*.

r

raṅ n., [< Nep. *raṅ*] colour.

rəcə vide *ləcə*.

rɔ, *rə* vide *lɔ*, *lə*.

-*rək* vide *-lək*.

ruma?1 n., [< Nep. *rumā1*] cloth, towel, handkerchief.

rupi n., [< Nep. *rupī*] dark grey yellow-billed passerine bird with bands of white-on-crimson dots, often seen roosting on livestock and feeding on their parasites.

s

sa n., meat.

-sa, -ʔa emph.postp.part., initial consonant assimilates to preceding liquid or nasal; *kəŋ ya·mbək pə·ŋ gheʔl la* (this work be RES EMPH) This work will get done (emphatic promise); *ta·ndik sa in gheʔl* (tomorrow EMPH become_known RES) By tomorrow it will be common knowledge; *menchuma sa gə· ciʔl lo·!* The girl, I tell you, is selfish!; *o· sa ba* You know it's true!/Of course it is! (Nep. *ho ta ni!*); cf. *saba, saka*.

saʔ, sa- n., I) child, offspring (*saʔl* in compounds: *ko·co·saʔl, luŋsaʔl, mendaʔsaʔl, myaŋsaʔl, pusaʔl, phaksaʔl, waʔsaʔl*); *ku-sa·n te·ʔl təʔr-u* (her-child-ABS clothes have sewn-3P) She'll have her son some clothes made; II) (as a kinship term) 1) ego's child (son or daughter), 2) ego's brother's child (male speaking), 3) ego's sister's child (female speaking).

-saʔ emph.sf. vide -sa.

saʔiʔl n., a large type of *sangatra* (q.v.), the thick spongy peel of which is edible.

saʔmaʔ, -saʔr-/-saʔ- vt., visit someone; *saʔraŋ* He came to visit me; *asaʔre* He came to visit us^{pl}.

saʔmaʔ, -saʔr-/-saʔ- 1) vi.vt., probative aspectivizer 'to try'; *kəmhipsi kəmsaʔsiʔi·?* Will they try to hit you^{sg}?; *co·guŋ saʔruŋba* I tried to do it; *saʔreʔ!* Try it!; 2) vt., taste, try; cf. *supmaʔ*.

saba, səba n., rhesus monkey, *Macaca mulata*; Nep. *bādhar, bādar, vānar*; cf. *kho·bo·ʔ*.

saba vide *hekke·*; cf. *sa, saka*.

sadziʔ adv., [-sa emph.part. + *ciʔ* bit] more or less, somewhat.

sadziʔ n., [*sa* meat + *ciʔ* bit] little bits of meat, chunks of meat.

sahiʔl adj., azure, blue, the colour of the *Tamor* river near *Tamphulā* in the dry season (overlaps with *kuhikla* to include green and gold); cf. *əmdaŋba* and *kuhikla*.

sahittaŋba adj., [< *sahiʔl* azure + -*taŋba* 2.1.2] blue, azure (overlaps with *kuhikla* to include green and gold); cf. *kuhikla* and *əmdaŋba*.

saho·rik n., [*sa* meat + *ho·rik* skin] any edible animal skin, esp. pork rinds.

sak n., ire, wrath, anger.

sa'ka adv., emphatic part.; *saptuŋ saka* Can't you see I'm

writing?; cf. *sa*, *saba*.

sakca n., pulse, lentils; *kumakla sakca* black lentils; Nep. *dāl*.

sakken n., [*< sak ire*] fury, dander, ire.

sakma?, *-sakt-/-sak-* vi., be difficult.

sakma?, *-sakt-/-sak-* vt., shut up, lock up, pen up, round up (cattle); *wa?ha? saktunsiŋ* I locked the chickens up.

sakmendza adj., [*sakma?* be difficult + *men-* neg.pf. + *ca-ma?* eat] famished, starved, ravenous; *yaŋsarumben sakmendza po·kɛ* Third-born has become famished.

sakus vide *sikus*.

sakwa, *sakwama* n., bad harvest, famine (with the verbs *po·kma?*, *tɔma?*, *wemma?* q.v.); *ɛllamba sakwa mebo·gen* There was no famine this year; Nep. *anikāl*.

sakhekya n., [*sa* meat + *khɛkma?* dry (meat)] spiced buffalo jerky, cut and dried in long strips; Nep. *sukuṭī*; cf. *ti·mma?*.

sala·i n., [*< Nep. salāi*] match.

sam n., peak, summit, top.

sam n., consciousness, spirit; Nep. *sāto*; cf. *hoŋsa*.

sama? vt.irr., deliver; *kɛsai·?* - *menchabaŋ* Did you deliver it? - No, I didn't; *saŋ* I delivered it.

sama?-dhama? vt.irr. + vt.irr., [*sama?* deliver + *thama?* relinquitive aspectivizer 'to leave'] escort someone, accompany someone; *himmo· syaŋdhyāŋ* He escorted me home.

sa'ma·n n., [*< Nep. sāmān*] materials, things, belongings, baggage, stuff.

samba·n n., [*sam* spirit + *pa·n* word] punishment; (with *meɸma?* 'inflict' or *thama?* 'fall') *khunc? samba·n memɛttu* They punished him; *samba·n tha?ɛ* I'm undergoing punishment.

sambe·k n., rice crispies; Nep. *ciurā*.

sambo·k n., [*< sam* spirit] navel; cf. *ipuŋ*, *nimro·k*, *su?luŋ*.

samdɔk n., [*sam* spirit + *tɔk* rice] one *mānā* (roughly a half litre) of cooked rice laid in the grave of the deceased and buried with him. In the preparation of *samdɔk* the fire may be lit and fanned just once until it is well ablaze but may not be fanned thereafter; the fire must be allowed to die out of itself and may not be rekindled. The *samdɔk* is then wrapped up, whether the rice is fully done or not, and laid in the grave of the deceased.

samlo· n., [*< samlo·ma?* sing] song, Nep. *gīt*.

- samlo·ma?*, *sam-lo·r-/sam-lo·-* vi., [*?*< *sam* spirit + *lo·pma?* take out, cause to come out] sing.
- sammaba*, *-nchammaba-*, *səŋmabha*, *-nchəŋmabha-* n., (usu. in the plural) male sibling (married female speaking).
- samman* n., [*< man* deity] household deity.
- sammi?l* n., needle.
- sammyaŋ* n., gold.
- samrippa* n., [*< sam* spirit + **rippa* dark, shade; vide STC, p.113, note 318] silhouette, shadow; cf. *nam-dhe·?l*, *namdzi?kho·?*.
- saniwa·r* n., [*< Nep. śanivār*] Saturday.
- sangatra* n., type of yellow grapefruit with a very thick spongy peel.
- sango·* n., [*< sam* consciousness] life force.
- saŋma?*, *-saks-/saŋ-* vt., shake out (water); splutter, splash; *te·?l saksε?! Shake out the clothes!;* cf. *thamma?*.
- saŋma?*, *-saŋ-* vt., (with *yale·k*) summon someone (= patient) to work in the fields; *yale·k saŋma?si bo·ŋ*, *yale·k saŋŋsiŋ* They must be summoned to work in the fields, I shall call them to work; *yale·k amsaŋ* They will call us to work in the fields; cf. *phəpma?*.
- saŋmaŋ* adv., downhill; Nep. *orālo*; cf. *pεrεm*, *thaŋmaŋ*.
- saŋsiŋma?* vr., [*< saŋma?* shake out (water)] said only of fowl: ruffle up one's feather's and shake out the dust (in contradistinction to *saŋsiŋma?*, the non-reflexive form *saŋma?* denotes 'to shake out water'; cf. *thamma?* 'to shake out dust'); *midzula ha?luŋ pe·sε?o· wa?ha? mεdayaŋ mεsaŋsiŋille tɔre·mεda mεlo? yakthunba mənaha?re* If chickens come near to the fireplace and ruffle their feathers up and shake out the dust, [we] Limbus say [this omen mean] that guests are on their way.
- sap* n., root.
- sapla* n., [*< sapma?* write] book, any piece of writing.
- sapma?*, *-sapt-/sap-* vt., write.
- sappo·k* n., stomach, abdomen, belly (the area as opposed to the internal organ, cf. *hidu?l*, *thəŋya·n*).
- sarə·ndi* n., slide; *sarə·ndi ca·?ε* I'm playing on the slide; cf. *ca·ma?*.
- sarumba* adj.m., n., second-born (of siblings or offspring).
- sarumma* adj.f., n., second-born (of siblings or offspring).
- sa·?rik*, *sa·rik* adv., very; much.

- sa·dhan n., [*Nep. sādhan*] wares, materials.
- sa·kma?, -sa·kt-/-sa·k- vt., castrate.
- sa·mbo·n adv., prostrate, on one's belly; cf. *ho?pe?l*.
- sa·mma?, -sa·m- vt., shield from heat, cover with some material to protect from heat; pick up or hold some hot object with protected hands.
- sa·mma?, -sa·ps-/-sa·m- vt., prepare to strike someone, assume the stance of being about to strike someone, threaten someone with a blow; *kesa·m lo·!* Hey, he's threatening to hit you!
- sa·msiṅma? vr., [*sa·mma?* shield from heat] shield oneself from heat, protect oneself from heat (eg. by using pot-holders); *sa·msiṅe?aṅ tɛmse?! Shield your hands with pot-holders and pick it up!*; *sa·m-siṅe?aṅ pɔkse?! Shield your hands from the heat with pot-holders and carry it!*
- sa·ṅma?, -sa·ks-/-sa·ṅ- vt., stir (+ solid, eg. *tɔk* rice, *yumma?l* vegetables); *tɔk sa·kse?! Stir the rice!*; cf. *khɔmma?*, *mumma?*.
- sa·ṅma?, -sa·ṅd-/-sa·ṅ- vi., erupt in blisters, blister; *khunchi-laṅ-in sa·ṅde* Their feet have erupted in blisters.
- sa·rik vide *sa·?rik*.
- sa·pma?, -sa·tt-/-sa·t-/-sa·?l vt., ridicule, mock, deride; *kɛsa·?lɛi·?* Are you making fun of me?
- sa·pma?, -sa·tt-/-sa·t-/-sa·?l vt., dig an irrigation ditch, lead water through irrigation ditches (patient: *cwa?l* 'water').
- sa·pse·? n., [**se·?* protuberance] blood-sucking tick.
- se· n., pit, seed, kernel (of husked grain).
- se·?ho·rik n., [*ho·rik* skin, bark] hide, leather.
- se·?l n., hunger; *se·?l la·kma?* be hungry, vide *la·kma?* (1); cf. *kidhi*.
- se·?ma?, -se·?r-/-se·?- vt., [dir. < *se·ma?* urinate] urinate on something or someone.
- se·?ma?l n., [*se·ma?* urinate] urine.
- se·ba n.m., bond-friend; *se·ba co·kma?* become each other's bond-friend; *Nep. mit lagāunu*.
- se·dzɔṅwa n., [**wa* water] 1) crystal clear water; 2) eau-de-vie, millet brandy distilled from *thi·*, q.v.; *Nep. raksī*; cf. similar metaphorical usage of *ma·kkhunde·*.
- se·k vide *se·?l*.
- se·kma?, -se·g-/-se·k- vt., choose, select.
- se·kma?, -se·kt-/-se·k- 1) vi., appear, start to shine, shine (collocates only with *nam* in the expression: *nam se·kte* the sun is shining; cf. *Nep. ghām*

lāgyo); 2) vt., shine on someone; *na·m-ille se·kt-an* (sun-ERG shine-1sPS/PT) The sun shone on me; cf. *o·tma?*.

se·l n., [*< Nep. sel*] deep-fried flatbread made of rice flour.

se·llapma?, *se·n-lapt-/se·n-lap-* vt., [**se·n* inquiry] inquire of someone, inform oneself through someone.

se·ma n.f., bond-friend.

se·ma?, *-se·r-/se·-* vi., exude, permeate out, seep through a generalized surface; cf. *a-ho·mbrikwa lo·nd-ε* (my-sweat exude-PT) I'm sweating (at one spot on my body, eg. the forehead); *aho·mbrikwa se·rε* I'm sweating (viz. all over my body or a large surface thereof); *ma·khi lo·ndε* It's bleeding (from a cut); *ma·khi se·rε* It's bleeding (from an abrasion).

se·ma?, *-se·s-/se·-* vt., piss, urinate; cf. *se·?ma?*, *se·?ma?l*.

se·ndo·ma?, *se·n-do·s-/se·n-do·-* vt., [**se·n* inquiry] ask someone; *se·n-gε-n-do·s-u-n-ni·?* (ask-2-NEG-ask-3P-NEG-Q) Aren't you going to ask him?; cf. *na·k-ma?*.

se·ŋkwa n., [*< Pācthare* Limbu] panting, shortness of breath; *a-se·ŋkwa lo·nd-ε* (my-panting egress-PT) I was short of breath; cf. *he·soŋwa*.

se·sapma?, *se·-sapt-/se·-sap-* vt., make a network of bamboo (*pha*) and split bamboo (*the·*) to serve as the underlying foundation to a thatched roof; *se·mεsaptuba* They're making a bamboo thatching foundation; *en anige se·saptumbe* Today we^{pe} are going to make the bamboo foundation for the roof.

se·se· adj., invigorated, fresh, refreshed, full of zest; cf. *lo·?ma?* (9).

se·se·danba n.adj., [*se·se·* full of zest + *tanba* 2.1.2] able, energetic, quick-witted, adept, agile, clear-headed.

se·wa n., obeisance, greetings, respect; *a-se·wa ro·!* (my-greetings ASS) Greetings!; Nep. *namaste*; cf. *mo·ma?*.

se·'banba, *se·'boŋba* n., thigh; (of prepared fowl) drumstick.

se·ma?, *-se·s-/se·-* vt., [*caus. < se·pma?* be scattered] scatter, spill (either intentionally or unintentionally); sow; *wa·?ha? ma·ki se·s-ε? pi·r-εs-ε?!* (chicken-p maize scatter-IMP give-nsP-IMP) give the chickens maize!; *pho·kwabc-llε kεrek sya? se·s-u* (youngest male offspring-ERG all rice spill-3P)

Youngest brother spilt all the rice.

scmikla n., a mythological reed.

scmikla-khappu n., [*scmikla* reed + *khappu* < *thappu* ash] the ash of a mythological reed from Tibet.

scmma?, -*scnd*-/-*scn*- [dir. < *sepma?* be scattered] I) vi., 1) split up, go one's separate ways, disperse or break up (after a gathering); *scnchi*, *sendi* (the idi and lpi adhortative) good-bye; 2) leave the parental or *po·ŋma?* *him* 'birth home' (said of a *ce·li*, viz. daughter/sister taking up residence in the household of her spouse after marriage); II) vt., separate; *sya?* *numba mennuba scnd-u-ŋ* (rice good bad separate-3P-1sA) I'm separating the good from the bad rice.

scnchen adv., [< *scn* night] the whole night long; cf. *lenlen*.

scnche·luŋma n., [< *luŋma* mountain range] the *Mahābhārat Lek* range, running roughly parallel to and to the south of the Great Himalayan range; cf. *pho·ktaŋ-luŋma*, *waraŋluŋma*.

sendik adv., [*scn* night + *-*dik* period of day] at night, from midnight to dawn; *sendik phen?ε* I'll come after midnight; cf. *anchen*, cf. *biha·ndik*, *idik*, *lendik*, *ta·ndik*, *yunchik*.

sendhuk, *senduk* n., toenail, fingernail; talon, claw.

scŋma?, -*scks*-/-*scŋ*- vt., dialectal variant of *εŋma?* in the vicinity of *Sākrāntī* to the north of *Myāñluñ*, vide *εŋma?*.

sepma?, -*se?r*-/-*set*-/-*se?l* vt., [dir. < *sima?* die] kill, extinguish; *ma?yu set-che pe·g-i* (bear kill-SUP go-p/ADH) Let's go bear hunting!; *se?lε ne?lε* She's about ready to kill me; cf. *niŋwa sepma?*, *setma?*.

sepma?, -*ser*-/-*set*-/-*se?l* vi., 1) be scattered, be spilt; *ma·ki kerεk serε* the maize has all spilt out and scattered; 2) go one's separate ways, split up, break up (a gathering); *sɔpmaŋ ani ase?l* We^{pl} shall get up and go our separate ways in a second; *seri* Let's^{pl} break up the gathering; cf. *scmma?*.

sepmaŋ n., dream; vide *ma·kma?*.

sepmaŋme·?o· adv., [*sepmaŋ* dream + *-me· ?* + *?o·* LOC] in a dream, whilst dreaming.

serɔŋ vide *sɔrɔŋ*.

setchiŋma? vr., [< *setma?* pile up, build a wall] 1) be vain, conduct oneself vainly, be arrogant; *kεset-chiŋ* You're vain; *kɔŋ a·kkhya·k setchiŋba!* How vainly he conducts himself!; 2) speak in obscura-

tive slang, speak in riddles (Limbu is rife with secretive slang and cryptonyms); *khene? sa·rik keṣetchiṅba keḍzo·k* You sure do speak in riddles!/
You really have a way with words!

setchiṅma? vr., [*< seṗma?* kill] commit suicide; *setchiṅeba*
He committed suicide.

setma?, *-sett-/-set-/se?l* vt., pile up, build a wall or pile (eg. *luṅ* rocks, *sapla* books, *siṅ* pieces of wood).

setma?, *-sett-/-set-/se?l* vt., [dir. *< seṗma?* kill] traditionally slaughter a *phudo·ṅ* (q.v.) for an important guest, esp. on his first visit; *phudo·ṅ settumbe - hen keṣettum? - phak?in settumbe* We are going to slaughter a *phudo·ṅ* - What are you slaughtering as a *phudo·ṅ*? - We shall slaughter a pig.

səba vide *saba*.

səllak adv., [*< lakma?* lick] licking clean, lick away; cf. *lakma?*, *səllakke·*.

səllakke· n., [*< səllak* licking clean + *-ke·* nom.sf.; cf. *muso·kke·*, *ware·?ge·*] same as *yumlakpa*, q.v.

sə'yε?l n., [*< sa* meat + *yε?l* bone, q.v.] bone.

sərcṅ vide *sərcṅ*.

si? n., louse.

si?dhi·n n., [*si?* louse + *thi·n* egg] louse egg.

si?laṅ n., [*< laṅ* leg] pillar, post; *yaṅsiṅbe-re-n si?laṅ* (Schima_wallichii-GEN-ABS) a pillar made of a Schima wallichii trunk.

sida·m n., filtered *sṅa?*, *sṅa?* from which *thi·* has been extracted or which has been used in the preparation of *se·dzṅwa*; cf. *canṅwa*, *sṅa?*.

sido?l n., a great amount, a lot.

sido?l-hekke· adv., [calque *< Nep. dherai jaso*] most of them, the majority, for the greater part.

sidha n., [?*< Nep. auṣadhi*] medicine, ointment; cf. *meṗma?* (7).

sidza n., fly.

sidzo·ngre·k n., swallow.

siḡa·p vide *siḡṅp*.

siḡe·k n., socio-economic class.

siḡi? vide *sikki?*.

siḡip n., bedbug, Cimex lectularius (Nep. *uḡus*).

siḡṅp, *siḡa·p* n., Castanopsis tribuloides, tree of the beech family Fagaceae, with delicate leaves and with sweet, white fruit contained in a black thorny casing and ripening in the month of *kārtik*; the *siḡṅp* tends to grow at higher elevations (viz.

ca. 2000 m) than the *pəŋgre·ba*, q.v.; Nep. *musure kaṭus*, *musurī kaṭus*, *sāno kaṭus*.

sik n., irritation; *ku-sik kheŋ-ε* (his-irritation well_up-PT) He grew irritated; also cf. *cibuk*, *cige?*, *yak*.

sik vide *sikto·?*

sika·r n., [*<* Nep. *śikār*] hunting, hunt.

sikco·ʔl n., ant.

sikco·tthi·n n., [*sikco·ʔl* ant + *tthi·n* egg] 1) ant eggs; 2) [metaphorically] rice, i.e. *wətchyaʔdɔk*, q.v.

sikki?, *sikki* n., rope, string.

sikkuma n., the back of the neck; cf. *sikla*, *tɔkkrumba*.

sikkhi n., condition of bad stomach, loose bowels, indigestion, intestinal cramps.

sikla, *sitla* n., [*<* *itla* voice] neck, throat; the neck as a whole; cf. *sikkuma*, *tɔkkrumba*.

siksa·mba n., [*<* Nep. *śikṣā* education, *śikṣak* teacher] teacher, instructor.

siksa·mma n.f., [*<* Nep. *śikṣā* education, *śikṣak* teacher] female teacher, female instructor.

sikto·?, *sik* n., underneath, underside, below, under; *tamphula te·rathumille kusikto·ʔo· pardzo·k* Tamphula lies below Tehrathum; *anbo·lle kusikʔo· aməra pɔʔl* My mouth is located beneath my nose.

sikus n., [*<* Nep. *iskus*] vegetable marrow,

sikwa n., stinging nettle (often prepared as *yummaʔl*); cf. *sugikpa*.

sikwa vide *sukwa*.

sim n., Limbu female dress, more elaborate and voluminous than a *lungi*.

sima? vi.irr., 1) die; cf. *ma·siŋma?*; 2) die out (of a fire); *mi·n se·* The fire has gone out.

simha de·bi n., [*<* Nep. *simha devī*] lion goddess.

simma?, *-sips-/-sim-* vt. hide by sticking into, by inserting; conceal by inserting into lengthwise.

siŋ n., wood.

siŋbe·ʔl vide *siŋbe·k*.

siŋbe·k n., chin.

siŋbe·k-meyuŋ-mudhuk n., [*siŋbe·k* chin + *yuŋ-* sit, be situated + *mudhuk* moustache] circumlocution to denote beard, whiskers (human); Nep. *dāhrī*; note: Ethnic Limbus generally lack facial hair. A moustached Limbu is uncommon, and bearded Limbus do not exist.

siŋbo·ŋ n., [*siŋ* wood + *-bo·ŋ* tree] tree.

siŋdze·k n., [*siŋ* wood + *ce·k* piece] stick, twigs, kindling; cf. *lauro·*.

siṅhək n., [*siṅ* wood + < *həkma?* chop] ethnonym for the Newari (lit. wood-chopper), one of the peoples of Nepal.

siṅhək n., [*siṅ* wood + *hək* crust, cortex, husk; cf. *pha-hək*, *phakhək*] bark (of a tree).

siṅki n., [< Nep. *sinkī*] fermented vegetable dish, consisting of boiled, sliced tubers to which a pinch of ash (optional) has been added as a leaven, and which is left buried for several days, either wrapped in cloth or interred in an earthenware container to ripen.

siṅmudzik n., [< *siṅ* wood] pile of wood, heap of sticks.

siṅsa·p n., [*siṅ* tree, wood] root.

siṅsara?l n., [< *siṅ* wood] branch; cf. *haṅga*.

siṅse· n., [*siṅ* wood + *se·* pit] 1) jungle vegetation; 2) ethnonym for the Rai, any of the various Tibeto-Burman ethnic groups of eastern Nepal covered by the term *Rāī*, a person belonging to any Rai ethnic group.

siṅya·n adv., [< *ya·n* day] the day before yesterday, the other day.

-sira-dhaṅma?, *-dhaṅ-* vi., [< *thaṅma?* come up, well up] (*-sira* takes poss. prefixes) 1) please, like, be desired or desirable; *sa·rik kusiradhaṅ ləcə* (very 3-please DEPR) It seems that he likes it very much; *kε-sira-mε-dhaṅ-nεn-ni·?* (2-please-NEG-please-NEG-Q) Don't you like it?; 2) love, like, be pleased with someone; *amma amba khunchi-sira dhaṅ?ε* My parents love me, my parents are pleased with me; cf. *na?nu?ma?*.

sirak n., [< Nep. *sirak*] quilt; cf. *khəmnaba*.

sira·ni n., [< Nep. *sihrānī*] pillow.

sisā n., [< Nep. *śīśā* glass] bottle.

sisam n., [*si-* die + *sam* spirit] 1) phantom, apparition of someone's disembodied spirit seen wandering about outside of and often far away from his body during a delirium or coma associated with a serious or terminal illness; a *sisam* sighting is usually indicative of the impending death of the person whose spirit has been seen wandering; 2) the ghost of a person who has died in the absence of others or at an unknown moment; cf. *so·gha*, *sugup*.

sisam-henyawenya n.col. ghosts and phantoms, paranormal apparitions.

sisī adv., vide *lɔ?ma?* (7).

sitla vide *sikla*.

si· n., wheat.

- si·kma?*, -*si·kt*-/-*si·k*- vt., measure.
- si·mma?*, -*si·ps*-/-*si·m*- vt., [caus. < *si·pma?* get wedged inbetween] insert a long object into wickerwork, matting, thatching, meshwork or any reticulate material (eg. insert a ballpoint pen or a golden pin into someone's hair, insert a stick or spike into the thatching of a roof, rethatch a hole in the roof thatching (cf. *khapma?*), insert a pin into fabric for safekeeping).
- si·ŋma?*, -*si·ks*-/-*si·ŋ*- vt., roll up (+ *ba·ula* sleeves); tuck up; *ya·mbok co·kmelle ba·ula·n si·ŋm· bo·ŋ* One must roll up one's sleeves whilst working.
- si·pma?*, -*si·pt*-/-*si·p*- vt., filter, strain (as part of the distillation process); *thi· siptamme?*! (millet_beer strain-2p-IMP) strain the millet beer!; *thi· me-si·pt-u* (millet_beer nsAS-strain-3P) They strain the millet beer; cf. *pupma?*, *yuma?*.
- si·pma?*, -*si·pt*-/-*si·p*- vt., get or be stuck between, be wedged inbetween; *aha·n tuge. - henaŋ? - sa·n si·ptu*. My tooth hurts. - Why? - Meat has gotten stuck between them.
- si·pm?naba* n., [nominalized PP of *si·pma?* strain, filter] nickname for *thi·*, q.v.
- si·-phe·?rum* n., wheat flour.
- si·tok* n., [*si* wheat + *tok* cooked grain] staple of cooked wheat.
- so·ri?l* vide *suri?l*.
- so·gha* n., a restless and occasionally panic-ridden ghost of a man or women who has died an inauspicious death by drowning, being burned alive or falling to one's death; a *so·gha* is wan and conspicuously taller than a living man; a *so·gha* is not inherently evil, but an encounter with a *so·gha* invariably portends evil; cf. *sisam*, *sugup*.
- so·kma?*, -*so·kt*-/-*so·k*- vt., 1) aim at, point, point out; 2) have in mind, envision, intend; *so·ktuŋba ya·mbok?in mebo·ksen* The work I had in mind didn't come through; 3) be out after someone, harbour designs against someone; *khεŋ mənə-re khεnε kem-so·k lo·! yekeyk?aŋ wayε?!* Those guys are out to get you! Be careful!
- so·?l* n., sugar cane.
- so·?l* n., 1) fat, grease; usu. *kuso·?l*; 2) tears (figuratively), in the proverb: *so·pmelle so·?l lo·n* If you keep on pestering [each other], tears will follow; cf. *mikwa*.
- so·?l-gha·ri* n., [*so·?l* sugar cane + < Nep. *ghārī* thicket,

grove] grove of sugar cane, sugar cane thicket.

so·m n., [*< so·ma?* itch] itch-mite, mange; cf. *tōma?*

so·ma? vi., be fat, be strong, be well endowed with adipose tissue; *kəŋ phaksa so·* This pork contains lots of fat; *kəso·ba məna* a fat and strong man, a large man (as opposed to *kəme·?ba*, q.v.).

so·ma?, *-so·s-/-so·-* vi., itch; *so·sε* It itches; *sa·rik so·sεi·?* Does it itch badly?; *ayam so·sε* My body has begun to itch.

so·mba·r n., [*< Nep. somva·r*] Monday.

so·mma?, *-so·nd-/-so·n-* vt., [*caus. < co·mma?* topple, fall] topple, fell; *siŋbo·ŋ so·ndεtchuge* We^{de} felled the tree; cf. *ta·ŋma?*

so·mma?, *-so·nd-/-so·n-* vt., (with *səkma*) breathe; *səkma so·nduŋ* I'm breathing.

so·mma?, *-so·nd-/-so·n-* vt., remove the chaff, husk; *pe·na?·re ku·hi? mə·so·nd·u* (millet-GEN its-chaff nsAS-remove_chaff-3P) They remove the chaff from the millet; cf. *hakma?*

so·mma?, *-so·ps-/-so·m-* vt., grope, feel about, frisk (in search of something); *kε·so·ps·ε·i·?* (2-frisk-PT-Q) Did he frisk you?; *yaŋ pi·r·aŋ·ε?! - yaŋ ho·p. - so·ps·ε?!* (money give-1sP-IMP - money not_be - frisk-IMP) Give me some money! - I have no money - Check!

so·pma?, *-so·tt-/-so·t-/-so·?!* vt., pester someone, misbehave.

so·rik adv., together.

so·-so·rik adv., together; more intimate and unified than *so·rik*.

so?ma?, *-so?r-/-so?-* vt., knead, mix by hand; *pi?lhinu kha·m so?ma?aŋ himha? lε·ŋma? bo·ŋ* Manure and clay must be mixed and the houses recoated; cf. *lε·ŋma?*

sobyas? adv.adj., stealthily, furtively, meticulously; *sobyas?aŋ sobyas? a·tto· kedha·siŋ?* Where are you sneaking off to?; *sobyas?aŋ sobyas? heŋ kedzo·klo keya·k?* What are you carrying out so furtively?

səkma n., breath; vide *hikma?*, *ho·pma?*, *so·mma?*, *uŋma?*.

səkmana·m n., [*< səkma* breath] windpipe, trachea; cf. *tō?lumbe·?*

səkpa n., Yeti, the abominable snowman of the Himalayas.

səme·t n., air.

səmma, *-səŋch-/-səŋ-* vt., stretch out, straighten out; *kelaŋin səŋche?!* Put your leg straight!

səŋa? n., fermented red millet from which the juice is extracted to yield *thi·*, q.v. (Nep. *cābro*); cf.

canɔkwa, sida·m.

sɔŋmaʔ, -sɔŋ- vi., be cooked, be done (cooking); *tɔk sɔŋɛi·ʔ* (rice be_done-PT-Q) Is the rice done?; *kɛsɔŋba co·k* It's done; cf. *sɔŋmaʔ*.

sɔŋmaʔ, -sɔŋd-/-sɔŋ- vt., [dir. < *sɔŋmaʔ* be done] make done (food), cause to become done (food); cf. *tho·kmaʔ*.

sɔŋmaʔ, -sɔŋs-/-sɔŋ- vt., 1) sell (with inanimate patient); 2) rip someone off, dupe, defraud, take advantage off (with animate patient); *amsɔŋ amdza·* (1-nsAS-rip_off 1-nsAS-perform) They'll rip us off.

sɔŋmabha, -nchɔŋmabha- vide *sammaba*.

sɔŋwɛʔl n., male buffalo.

sɔŋwetla n., [*sɔŋwɛʔl* male buffalo] buffalo.

sɔŋwetma n., [*sɔŋwɛʔl* buffalo] female buffalo.

sɔŋwetcha n., [*sɔŋwɛʔl* buffalo + *sa* meat] buffalo meat.

sɔŋwetnu n., [*sɔŋwɛʔl* buffalo + *nu* milk] buffalo milk.

sɔpma n., moment, instant.

sɔpmaʔ, -sɔtt-/-sɔt-/-sɔʔl vi., rejoice, be glad, be happy, enjoy; *andzumin talle angaʔ sɔʔlɛ* I'll rejoice when my friend comes; *kundzumin te·lle kheŋin sɔtte* He was glad when his friend came.

sɔpmaʔdziʔ adv., [*sɔpma* moment + *ciʔ* little bit] for or in a little while, for or in a few moments.

sɔpman adv., [*sɔpma* moment] in a second, in a little while, in a minute.

sɔ'ɾɔŋ n., small sour yellow lemon (Nep. *jyāmira*, as distinct from the *kāgatī*).

sɔ·mmaʔ, -sɔ·nd-/-sɔ·n- [dir. < *sɔ·mmaʔ* slither, ooze down] I) vi., slide down; *luŋin sɔ·ndɛ* The rock slid down; cf. *lɛ·ŋmaʔ*; II) vt., 1) slide something down; *luŋin sɔ·nduŋ* I slid the rock; 2) *-na sɔ·mmaʔ* dishearten, sadden; *kuna sɔ·ndu* (his-face slide_down-3P) He caused him to be disheartened; *kɛna·n sɔ·ndwi·ʔ* Has he made you sad?.

sɔ·mmaʔ, -sɔ·r-/-sɔ·n- vi., 1) ooze down, run down, slither; *ɔse·k sɔ·n* The snake slithers; *-thɛʔl sɔ·maʔ* drool, *kɛ-dhɛʔl sɔ·r-ɛ* (your-spit ooze_down-PT) You're drooling, cf. *ɔ·maʔ, tho·kmaʔ*; 2) *-na·n sɔ·maʔ* frown, sulk angrily, *ku-na·n sɔ·r-ɛ* (his-face-ABS ooze_down-PT) He's frowning.

suʔluŋ n., [*supmaʔ* finish, bring to an end + *luŋ* stone] Limbu tombstone, placed above ground above the navel (*sambo·k*) of the interred corpse.

supmaʔ, -sur-/-sut-/-suʔl vt., 1) complete, finish; *suruŋ* I'll finish it; 2) finish someone off; *kheŋle*

khencʔ kcsuʔ1 loʔ! He'll finish you off if you don't watch out; 3) terminative aspectivizer with transitive verbs; vide 5.3.1.

suʔwa n., bag, sack, rucksack.

suba n., rat.

suba-hoʔ n., [lit. mouse-furuncle] small furuncle with small pit (Nep. *ḍallā*); cf. *hoʔ*.

subba n., common Limbu family name and often generic name for the Limbus (formerly: powerful *Kirāt* officer with both administrative and military authority in the hill regions, esp. in *Limbuvān*, in rank below the *devān* but above the *jamindār* in the collection of revenue, subordinate to the *sardār* in military affairs; also: a Limbu nobleman); Limbu.

subi exp., let it be!

sugikpa n., [*Pācthare* Limbu] stinging nettle; cf. *sikwa*.

sugup n., a malevolent ghost of: 1) children who have died before the age of three and whose spirit is too immature to pass on into the hereafter of *khamma-yansan* and must therefore be reincarnated, 2) married or unmarried females who have died a violent death, 3) young females whose fresh blood within the bone marrow has been exposed to the air due to improper burial or cremation, 4) exceptionally wicked and evil people, incapable of passing into *khamma-yansan*; cf. *soḡha*, *sisam*.

suk onomatopoeia, sob.

sukmaʔ, *-sug-/-suk-* vt., wait in ambush; *sugeʔaŋ hipteʔ!* Wait in ambush and hit him [when he comes]!

sukmaʔ, *-sukt-/-suk-* vt., be able, know how, be capable of; *anga thi men-dhuŋ-ʔe--saŋ pa-t-maʔ sukt-u-ŋ* (I millet_beer npG-drink-npG-even talk-INF can-3P-1sA) I'm able to talk even without having drunk millet beer; *kemeʔba mōna langhe-kmaʔ menchuktun* Fat men don't know how to walk; cf. *heʔmaʔ*.

sukraba·r n., [*Nep. śukravār*] Friday.

sukwa vide *suʔwa*.

sukhe· vide *tukhe--sukhe·*.

sukhe· n., [*syut-* be_bitter + *khe·* white yam] black bitter edible tuber found in the jungle.

sullilli vide *sullisulli*.

sullisulli adj.adv., running about frantically, scampering about frenetically; *khuncʔ sullisulli co·k* He's dashing about frantically; *a·kkhya·k sullilliba kelʔba!* What a frenetic scamperer!; cf. *mutthuk*.

sumaʔ, *-nchumaʔ* n., 1) ego's mother's younger sister,

2) ego's father's younger brother's wife.

suma?, -sus-/-su- vt., touch; *khene? sunci·?* Shall I touch you?; cf. *menchum?na*.

sumba n., pajama-like trousers, tight at the calves and ankles, part of the official Nepalese dress; Nep. *suruvāl*; cf. *læge·?l*.

sumba·ŋ n., [**sum* ?mortar (vide *luŋsum*) + *-bo·ŋ* tree] mortar made of a large hollowed out log or tree stump (Nep. *okhalī*); for pounding dry spices, esp. *ha·rundi* 'turmeric', used in conjunction with a *kyan*.

sumbo·ŋ num.adv., all three; cf. *sumraŋ*.

sumbhu num.coll. three; cf. *sumsi*.

sumha?luŋ n., [*< sum* three] the configuration of three equidistant *ha?luŋ* (q.v.) constituting the traditional Limbu indoor fireplace.

sumipma n., younger sisters of ego's spouse, i.e. husband's younger sister, wife's younger sister.

sumippa n., husband's younger sister.

sumlæŋ adv., [*sum* three + *læŋ* turn] thrice, three times.

sumliŋ adv., [*< sum* three] two years ago; cf. *atche·ma*, *a?nemma*, *enniŋ*, *mi?lliŋ*.

summa?, -sund-/-sun- vt., [dir. *< cumma?* accumulate] scrape together with the blade of the hand; cf. *phuŋma?*, *summa?*.

summa?, -sups-/-sum- vt., [caus. *< cumma?* accumulate] (takes either an animate or inanimate patient; the inanimate patient may be things particulate or far apart, eg. meal, money; cf. *phuŋma?*, *summa?*) accumulate, save, amass, gather together, convene, assemble; *khene? yan kenchupsunni·?* Aren't you saving money?; *supsunsiŋ* I convened them.

sumraŋ num., all three; cf. *nepma?*, *nepmadzaŋ*, *sumbo·ŋ*.

sumsi num., three.

sumsum adv., honestly, conscientiously, well-mannered, unassuming, modestly.

suntala n., [*< Nep. suntālā*] orange.

suŋ n., [*< suŋma?* wrap up] gift, present.

suŋma?, -suks-/-suŋ- vi., cough.

suŋma?, -suŋ- vt., pack, wrap up; *aŋga yan ruma?l?o· suŋuŋ* I wrapped the money in a handkerchief.

supma?, -sub-/-sup- 1) vi., be shut, be closed; *lamdhe·?l sup* The door'll shut; *ba·kas/təŋba subε* The box/the *təŋba* is shut; 2) vt., close (door or window) *lamdhe·?lin subε?aŋ pe·?!* Close the door as you go!; *lamdhe·?l subu* He closed the door; *su?wa subuŋ* I shut the bag; cf. *su·pma?*; cf. *hōmma?*,

hu?ma?.

supma?, -*supt*-/-*sup*- vt., suck up, take draughts through a *pi·tchiŋ*; *təŋba məsuptu* They suck up their *təŋba*; cf. *pi·pma?*.

supma?, -*sutt*-/-*sut*-/-*su?l* vt., [dir. < *supma?* suck up] taste by taking a draught through a *pi·tchiŋ* (collocates with *təŋba*); *suttuŋ suruŋ* I'm done tasting it; cf. *sa?ma?*.

suri?l n., wind.

surti n., [*< Nep. surtī*] tobacco.

surubunge n., potpourri, stew, hodge-podge; *en an·ge surubunge cambe* Today we^{pe} are eating a hodge-podge.

suruŋ n., [*< Nep. suruŋ*] tunnel.

su·ma?, -*su·s*-/-*su·*- vi., be late; *hənaŋ kəsū·səba* Why are you late?; *su·saŋi·?* Am I late?; (with infinitive) be slow at doing something; *khunε? langhe·kma? su·* She walks slowly; *kəsū· - su·?ε* You'll be late - Yes, I will; cf. *cətma?*.

su·mma?, -*su·nd*-/-*su·n*- 1) vi., become scarce, few, a little bit; *su·ndε* There's not much left; 2) vt., (with *na* face) stroke over someone's face in a downward direction with the palm of one's hand as a sign of aggression, anger and as a challenge to fight; *ku·na··n su·nd-u-ŋ* (his-face-ABS stroke-3P-1sA).

su·pma?, -*su·pt*-/-*su·p*- vt., [dir. < *supma?* q.v.] cap (a bottle), close a lid, put a lid on, close (a door or window), close off, put a cover on, shut off, seal off; *təŋba su·ptuŋ* I'll close off the *təŋba*; *wa?dzak?in kudo·pille su·ptu* He covered the chick with his *ʈopī*; *kha·mkunda su·pm?na* We^{pe} corked the *gāgrīs*; *thəŋgalle wa?dzyakha? su·ptusi* He's put the chicks under the *ɖoko*; cf. *hu?ma?*, *phəpma?*, *phumma?* (2), *supma?* (2), *tεpma?*.

su·pna n., [*< su·p*- close + *-m?na* PP] lid, top, cap, cover (Nep. *birko*); *kəl-le ku·su·pna wa-i·?* (this-GEN its-lid be-Q) Does this have a lid (or cap)?; cf. *hu?ma*.

su·thəba n., [*< thəba* grandfather] 1) great-grandfather, 2) great-grand-uncle.

su·yuma n., [*< yuma* grandmother] 1) great-grandmother, 2) great-grand-aunt.

swa?l lə?ma? vide *lə?ma?* (5).

sya n., [*< ya?* paddy] husked rice; husked grain; cf. *tək*.

sya?l n., sting; (with *lə?ma?*) *sya?l lə?rε* It stung; Nep. *cirikko duḥkha*.

syaʔl n., [< Nep. *syāl*] the Eurasian jackal, *Canis aureus*; in fables also: fox.

syaʔl kεεppa n., [Nep. calque < *syālmārā* jackal-killer] pejorative ethnonym for an Indian or Indo-Aryan inhabitant of the *Tarāī*; Nep. *madesī*.

syutmaʔ, *-syutt-/-syūt-/-syuʔl* vi., be sour, taste sour, turn sour; *syuttεi·ʔ* Does it taste sour?

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taʔmaʔ, *-ta·r-/-taʔ-* vt., [dir. < *tamaʔ* come] bring, fetch (something which must be looked for, as opposed to *phεpmaʔ*, q.v.); deliver (from afar); cf. *takmaʔ*, *thakmaʔ*, *yuʔmaʔ*.

tadzεŋ n., [< *tadzεŋmaʔ* converse] conversation.

tadzεŋmaʔ, *ta-dzεks-/-ta-dzεŋ-* 1) vi., converse; 2) vt., discuss; *anchen biha-re ku-ba·n ta-a-dzεks-ε-tch-u* (yesterday marriage-GEN its-word discuss-1-discuss-PT-dA-3P) Yesterday we^{di} discussed the marriage; cf. *cεkmaʔ*, *cε·ŋmaʔ*.

tagaŋ adv., in front, up front, before; cf. *e·gaŋ*.

takkebbe·ba adj., [AP of *takphe·maʔ*, q.v.] furious, enrages, seething with rage; *ko·co·ʔin takkebbe·ba co·k* The dog is seething with rage; *kεŋ mēna·n takkebbe·ba co·k ləcə* This man appears to be furious.

takmaʔ, *-takt-/-tak-* vi., congeal, coagulate (of molten animal fat or curd); cf. *kha·kmaʔ*.

takmaʔ, *-takt-/-tak-* vt., 1) tap, fetch water; *wakho·mba-ʔo· cwaʔl-in tak-se pe·* (*kuvā*-LOC water-ABS tap-SUP go-PT) He went to fetch water at the *kuvā*; cf. *pha·tmaʔ*, *phεpmaʔ*, *taʔmaʔ*; 2) receive (*talab* salary); *kheŋhaʔre talab mεdaktu* They'll get their salary.

takmaʔ, *-takt-/-tak-* vt., display to someone (esp. something which with the onlooker is already familiar); cf. *o·ndhakmaʔ*, *tha·mmaʔ*.

takommaʔ, *ta-kond-/-ta-kon-* 1) vi., wander about, go for a stroll, take a walk, roam; *yəllik taʔagəndεtchi* We^{di} sure took a long walk; *pa·ŋphe·ʔo· takonʔε* I'll stroll about in the village; 2) vt., cover on foot; *kεrεk pa·ŋphe·haʔ takənduŋsiŋ* I covered all the villages; *him thəkma takənduŋsiŋ* I covered all the houses; cf. *kommaʔ*.

takphe·maʔ, *tak-phe·s-/-tak-phe·-* vi., be permanently or inherently ill-tempered or furious; vide *takke-*

bhe·ba.

takphedza n., [*< phedza* knife, *khukuri*] penknife.

takpa n., [*< Sherpa*] rope, string; Tib. *thagpa*; cf. *sikki?*.

talab n., [*< Nep. < Arab.*] salary.

tama? vi.irr., appear, show up, come (from afar); vide *-niṅwa tama?*; cf. *phemma?*, *thanma?*, *yuma?*; cf. *ta?ma?*, *tama?*.

tama?, *-tas-/-ta-* [*caus. < tama?* come] I) vt., 1) reach (in an upward direction); *hendza?bitchaha?re kemdasai?* Where the children able to reach you?; *kəŋ kedaswi· kendasunni?* Can you reach up this high or can't you?; 2) be as tall as; *kedaset-chwi?* Were you^d as tall as she was?; cf. *niṅwa tama?*; II) vi., in the expression *numa? tama?*, q.v.

tama·s adv., [*< Nep. tamās* amazement] in amazement, in consternation.

tamma?, *-tar-/-tan-* vt., kick (human agent; cf. *tho·ŋma?*); cf. *pho·ŋ*, *mepma?* (6).

tanna n., [*< Nep. tannā*] sheet.

taŋ n., horn; *pi?lle taŋ* a cow's horn.

taŋsaŋ, *taŋsaŋba* n., heaven, heavens, sky.

tataren-niṅwa-bhu-maŋ, *tataren-niṅwa-phu-maŋ* n., [*tataren* ?proper name + *niṅwa* mind, intellect + **phu ~ pho* white (cf. *mikphu?la*) + *maŋ* deity] the immaculate-minded god *Tataren*, the genderless god of wisdom, knowledge and supreme intellect, whose substance is like the wind, creator of heaven and earth, a supreme deity of the indigenous Limbu pantheon.

ta·bilo· n., long-handled wooden spoon with a flat circular scoop for stirring and serving *tək*; *ta·bilo·panyo· kusinṅ kərə siŋlen co·kṅnaba* A *ta·bilo·* is like a *panyo·* except that it's made of wood; cf. *panyo·*.

ta·kli n., riddle (with *te·ma?*: *ta·kli te·ma?*, *-te·s-/-te·-* tell riddles; riddles may only be told at night, for it is taboo to tell riddles in daylight); *ta·kli te·suŋlɔ ya·k?ɛ* I'm telling riddles; Nep. *gāũ khāne kathā*.

ta·laŋ adv., [*< Nep. talā* upstairs storey] on the upstairs floor; *ta·laŋ meya·gɛ* They were upstairs.

ta·m n., garbage, trash, refuse; Nep. *phohar-mailā*.

ta·mar n., [*?whence > Nep. tamor-kholā, tāmar-kholā*] one of the *Saptakosī* or seven major rivers of eastern Nepal, tributary of the *Kosī*, originating in the highland between the *Umbhek Himāl* and *Lumbā-Sumbā*

Himāl, winding through *Limbuwān* toward its confluence with the *Aruṅ* near *Dhankuṭā*.

ta·mba n., [< Nep. *tāmā*] copper.

ta·mbhuṅ n., jungle, dense forest; cf. *ya·kkha?*.

ta·mbhuṅna n., [*ta·mbhuṅ* jungle] the jungle goddess; cf. *iṅdo·mepma?*, *nadho·co·kma?*.

ta·msəri n., [< *ta·m* refuse] broom.

ta·ncho·ba n., [**ta·n* morrow + **so·ba*] morning star, Venus; cf. *yuncho·ba*, *ta·ndik*.

ta·ndi adv., [< *ta·ndik* tomorrow] in a few days, later on; cf. *anche·*.

ta·ndik adv., [**ta·n* morrow + *-*dik* period of day] tomorrow; (the original meaning 'morrow' may have included 'morning' and a narrowing of this meaning to 'tomorrow' may have made room for the hybridized Nepali loan *biha·ndik*, q.v.); cf. *biha·ndik*, *idik*, *lendik*, *sendik*, *yunchik*, *ya·ndik*.

ta·ndik-atcenda·n adv., (lit. tomorrow - the day after tomorrow) one of these days; *ta·ndik-atcenda·n tadzeṅm·bo·ṅ* [We'll] have to discuss it one of these days; cf. *anchen-siṅya·n*.

ta·ṅma?, *-ta·ṅ-* vt., fell; *an·ge siṅbo·ṅin ta·ṅumbe* We'll^{pe} fell the tree; cf. *so·mma?*.

ta·rika n., [< Nep. *tārikā*] recipe.

te·ʔl n., clothes.

te·ʔla·se·ʔ n., [< *se·ʔ* protuberance] banana, banana tree.

te·ʔl-phuṅ n., [< *te·ʔl* + jingle] clothes; Nep. *lugā-phāṭo*, *lugā-sugā*.

te·him n., [< *him* house] hut, small house, shanty; cf. *yokma-yo·*.

te·wa, *-dwa* n., forehead, also: *twaba*.

te·ʔma?, *-te·ʔr-/-te·ʔ-* vt., take away, remove; *a·tto·kede·ʔrusiba* Where have you^s taken those things to?; *a·tto·kede·ʔrumsimba* Where did you^p take those things from?; cf. *te·ma?*.

te·ma?, *-te·r-/-te·-* vi., come out thread-like, be stringy, be filamentous.

te·ma?, *-te·s-/-te·-* vt., [caus. < *te·ʔma?*] 1) spend; *yaṅ te·s-u-ṅ sur-u-ṅ* (money spend-3P-1s finish-3P-1sA) I spent all the money; 2) sow; *ma·ki te·se pe·geba* He has gone off to sow the maize; 3) give someone a beating, rough someone up; *khunε? te·suṅba* I gave him a beating; 4) (as *-de·s-/-de·-*) dimittive aspectivizer with transitive verbs, 'to dispatch'; *piʔl natt-u-ṅ de·s-u-ṅ* (cow drive_{away}-3P-1sA dispatch-3P-1sA) I drove the cow away; vide 5.3.2.

te·ṅba, *-nde·ṅba* n., [*Pächhare* Limbu] buddy, comrade; cf.

cum, cumde·ŋ.

tɛʔl n., leaf; cf. *tɛtla*.

tɛʔlhaʔphɛkwahaʔ n., [*tɛʔl* leaf + *-haʔ* p + *phɛkwa* foliage + *-haʔ* p] fallen leaves; Nep. *pāt-patīgar*.

tɛʔmaʔ, *-tɛʔt-/-tɛʔ-* vt., strike someone or something (said of a falling object); *luŋille tɛʔtaŋ* The rock hit me; cf. *khəŋmaʔ*, *lepmaʔ* (2), *yaŋmaʔ* (1).

tɛʔresɪŋ n., [*sɪŋ* wood] willow tree *Salix* sp.; Nep. *baīs*.

tɛʔtɛʔ pəkwa adv. + n., [*tɛʔtɛʔ* < *tɛʔmaʔ* hit something or someone (of a falling object) + **wa* water] drop-by-drop droplet-water (with *thamaʔ* 'fall') drip; *tɛʔtɛʔ pəkwa the* It was dripping drop-by-drop.

tekmaʔ, *-tekt-/-tek-* 1) vi., be sufficient; *tək tekte* The rice was sufficient; 2) vt., sate, be sufficient for, reach; *tək kerek tektusi*, *khəŋ medektun* The rice was enough for everybody to eat his fill, but wasn't enough to fill him; cf. *kha·maʔ*, *ya·kmaʔ*, *yo·maʔ*; cf. *thekmaʔ*.

telleŋ adv., hung up, suspended, Nep. *tuŋdruŋai*, *tundruŋai*; cf. *po·ro·ʔl*.

tɛlɔkkentansəŋ n.poet., [*tansəŋ* heaven] the firmament, the heavens; *hile·-ʔo· tɛlɔkkentansəŋ-ŋaŋ nitəŋ nɛ·-rə co·k* (*Hile-LOC* firmament-also nearby be_situated-prG be) In *Hile* even the heavens are nearby (note: *Hile* is a foggy town atop a low ridge more or less constantly enshrouded in mist rising up from both the *Aruŋ* and *Tāmar* rivers); cf. *iksa-kha·mbe·k*.

tɛlɔk-tansəŋ-phɛ·-be·-tɔrɔŋ n.poet., [*tɛlɔkkentansəŋ* the firmament, *phɛ·* < *phɛ·mmaʔ* fly (vt.), *be·* < *pe·k-maʔ* go, *tɔrɔŋ* bridge] aeroplane; cf. *iksa-kha·mbe·k-lo·kpe·-tɔrɔŋ*.

tɛmbho· n., lowland, the plains, the low-lying areas; *tɛmbho·-ʔo· a-wa·-lle nambhɔr lɔ·n* (lowland-LOC 1-be-SUB sunburn come_out) If one is in the low-lying areas, one gets sunburned; cf. *tɔksɔŋ*.

tɛmbho·tuŋ n., [*tɛmbho·* lowland + *tuŋ* fever] malaria.

tɛmmaʔ, *-tɛnd-/-tɛn-* vi., agree, concur, believe, consent, obey; cf. *tɛpmaʔ*.

tɛmmaʔ, *-tɛms-/-tɛm-* vt., catch, grab a hold of.

tɛn n., place; cf. *-dɛn*.

tɛpmaʔ, *-tɛpt-/-tɛp-* vt., cover, enshroud, wrap, swaddle; place a cover on; cf. *su·pmaʔ*; 2) brood (an egg); *waʔre thi·n theptu* The hen broods [her] egg.

tɛpmaʔ, *-tɛtt-/-tɛt-/-tɛʔl* vt., [dir. < *tɛmmaʔ*] consent to give something (patient: object given).

tɛtmaʔ, *-tɛtt-/-tɛt-/-tɛʔl* vi., the bound passivizer; vide

8.8.

- tɛtla* n., leaf; cf. *tɛʔl*.
- tɛ·ŋmaʔ*, *-tɛ·ks-/-tɛ·ŋ-* vi., tear, be torn; *tɛ·ʔlin tɛ·ksc*
The clothes tore; *kɛdɛ·ŋba tɛ·ʔlin thundu* He mends
the torn clothes; cf. *thɛ·ŋmaʔ*.
- tɛ·pmaʔ*, *-tɛ·r-/-tɛ·t-/-tɛ·ʔl* vi., be overcooked; *tɔk-ʔin*
tɛ·r-ɛ (rice-ABS be_{overcooked}-PT) The rice is
overcooked; *tɔk sɔpmaŋ tɛ·ʔl lo·!* (rice in_a
second be_{overcooked} ASS) Hey, the rice will be
overcooked in a second!.
- təla* n., [*< Nep. talā*] upstairs floor, storey, attic.
- ti* n., switch, reed, cane, twig.
- tika* vide *ʔika*.
- tikwaʔ* n., [*< waʔ* chicken] the grey jungle fowl *Gallus*
soneratii; cf. *khe·waʔ*.
- tilinga* n., police, patrol.
- timmaʔ*, *-tims-/-tim-* vi., be full, fill up, get or become
full; cf. *thimmaʔ*.
- timmək* n., rifle.
- tiŋmaʔ*, *-tik-/-tiŋ-* vi., the glans penis be exposed, the
foreskin be retracted; *kɛ-le·-n tiks-ɛ* (your^a-
penis-ABS be_{pulled back}-PT) Your glans is ex-
posed/Your foreskin is retracted; cf. *tiŋmaʔ*,
ti·kmaʔ, *thiŋmaʔ*, *thi·ŋmaʔ*.
- tiŋmaʔ*, *-tiŋd-/-tiŋ-* vi., 1) flower, bloom; 2) get an
erection; *kɛ-le·-n tiŋd-ɛ-i·?* (your-penis-ABS
become_{erect}-PT-Q) Do you have an erection?; cf.
tiŋmaʔ, *thiŋma*, *thi·ŋma*; 3) point upward (of the
hand of a clock or weighing scale).
- titri* n., [*< Nep. titrī*] type of tamarind tree or its
fruit.
- ti·ʔmaʔ*, *-ti·r-/-ti·t-/-ti·ʔl-* vi., burn (said of a fire);
mi·-n ti·r-ɛ (fire-ABS burn-PT) The fire burned;
mi ti·ʔl The fire is burning; cf. *tupmaʔ*, *haʔmaʔ*.
- ti·kmaʔ*, *-ti·kt-/-ti·k-* vi., peel; *aʔe·kʔin ti·kt-ɛ* (my-
back-ABS peel-PT) My back is peeling; *kɛ-ho·rik*
tik·t-ɛ o·! *hɛnaŋ nam-kɛ-bhɛt-chiŋ-ɛ?* *nam-mɛm-*
-bhɛt-chiŋ-ʔɛ? (your-skin peel-PT ASS why sun-2-
fetch-REF-PT sun-NEG-fetch-REF-IMP) Hey, your
skin is peeling! Why do you roast yourself in the
sun? Don't put yourself out to dry in the sun!;
cf. *lɛ·kmaʔ*; cf. *tiŋmaʔ*, *thi·kmaʔ*.
- ti·mmaʔ*, *-ti·ms-/-ti·m-* vt., cut into long strips (eg. *sa*
'meat' in preparing *sakhekya 'sukuṭī'*).
- ti·ŋ* n., thorn, fishbone.
- ti·ŋre·ʔ* n., [*ti·ŋ* thorn + *-re·ʔ* tree suffix, cf. *khɔ·m-*
re·ʔ] the thorn tree *Crateagus crenulata*; Nep.

ghāgāru.

to·ʔmaʔ, *-to·ʔr-/-to·ʔ-* vi., be illuminated (in the dark); be lit up; *lam me-do·ʔr-ε-n* (road NEG-be_illuminated-PT-NEG) The road is not visible for want of light; cf. *tho·ʔmaʔ*.

to·ʔmaʔ, *-to·ʔr-/-to·ʔ-* vt., weigh down, press, stamp.

to·kmaʔ, *-to·kt-/-to·k-* vi., stub, knock or bump part of one's body (= patient), esp. one's head, against something; *kedo·ktei·ʔ* Did you bump your head [against the doorpost]?; *to·ktaŋaŋ keŋaŋ* I stubbed [my toe], stumbled and fell; *anaksumben to·kte* I bumped my elbow; *laŋma to·kte* [I/you/he] stubbed his big toe; *yekyekʔaŋ wayεʔ!* *kedhge·k to·k lo·!* Be careful! You'll bump your head if you don't watch out!.

to·kma, *-to·kt-/-to·k-* vi., 1) be sold out; *sa·n to·ktei·ma·rei·ʔ* Is the meat all sold out?; *soŋwetnu·n to·ktei·medo·ktenni·ʔ* Is the buffalo milk sold out or isn't it?; 2) be on sale, be sold, be for sale.

to·ŋ n., arrow; cf. *liʔ*, *to·ŋliʔ*.

to·ŋliʔ n., [*to·ŋ* arrow + *liʔ* bow] bow and arrow.

to·pi n., [*<* Nep. *ʔopī*] *ʔopī*-hat.

to·pi-hetla n., [*to·pi* 'ʔopī-hat' + *het* red + *-la* colour sf.] epithet for *tilinga*.

toʔigen-nange·piba adv., [*toʔigen* mythical realm of deities in the north + *naŋ* *<* *nam* sun + **ge·* *<* *keʔmaʔ* arrive + *piba* toward] to the northeast (mythological); cf. *nange·n*.

toʔi·nahaŋ [*toʔi·* north + **nahaŋ* direction] n., north; adv., to the north, northward.

toʔlumbe·ʔ n., oesophagus; cf. *toʔkrumba*, *soʔkmana·m*.

toʔmaʔ, *-toʔr-/-toʔ-* vt., [dir. *<* *to·maʔ* sew; cf. *thoʔmaʔ*] have sewn for someone; *a-ndzum-in te·ʔl toʔr-u-ŋ* (my friend-ABS clothes have sewn-3P-1sA) I'll have clothes sewn for my friend; *ku-sa-·n te·ʔl toʔr-u* (her-child-ABS clothes have sewn-3P) She'll have her son some clothes made; *kheŋ-le kheŋεʔ ke-dεʔ* (he-ERG you^s 2-have sewn) He'll have clothes sewn for you.

toʔk n., cooked rice (Nep. *bhāt*), generally used as a synonym for *wetchaʔdoʔk*, cf. *syaʔ*, *yaʔ*; any cooked grain eaten as the staple during the morning or evening meal together with *yummaʔl* and/or meat; cf. *maŋdoʔk*, *ma·kidok*, *wetchyaʔdoʔk*.

toʔkciʔ n., [*toʔk* cooked rice + *ciʔ* bits, morsels] little bits of cooked rice sprinkled either deliberately

(as in the practice of *co·ʔco·ʔ mɛpmaʔ*) or inadvertently on the floor.

tɔkkaʔl n., stick, rod, staff.

tɔkkrima n., stout, stumpy bronze goblet for serving *yumlakpa* or *se·dzɔŋwa* or children's portions of *thi·*; cf. *kho·rɛʔl*, *phɔgəna*.

tɔkkrumba n., throat, the front of the neck; cf. *sikla*, *sikkuma*, *tɔʔlumbe·ʔ*.

tɔkmaʔ, -*tɔkt*-/-*tɔk*- vt., 1) hold up, support, keep up straight; *siʔlan-ille himin mɛdɔktu*

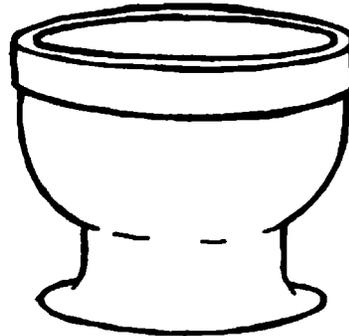
The pillars support the house; *siŋin tɔktuŋ yuksuŋ* I'm holding the stick up vertically so that it won't fall over; 2) last someone (of a supply); *an·geʔo·ba mɔkwa iŋmelle yəllik ya·n tɔktige* If we buy our^{pe} local tea, it lasts us^{pe} many days.

tɔkpeʔl adv., [*< tɔkmaʔ* keep up straight] with a straight spine, straight up; *tɔkpeʔl yuŋɛʔ!* sit up straight!

tɔksikwa n., [*tɔk* cooked rice + *sikwa* stinging nettle] leftovers.

tɔksɔŋ n.adv., highland, the mountains, the mountainous regions; *tɔksɔŋ na·ŋ tha* Snow falls in the highlands; cf. *tɛmbho·*.

tɔmaʔ, -*tɔr*-/-*tɔn*- vt., I) 1) curse someone, reprove someone, ridicule; *kheŋle tɔraŋ* He cursed at me, He insulted me; 2) [slang] eat; II) 1) afflict; *cun-ille ke-dɔn* (cold-ERG 2-afflict) You'll be cold; *allɔ anɡa pe·kʔɛ ro·*, *cunille tɔraŋ* Hey, I'm going now, the cold has gotten to be too much for me; *so·mille kedɔrɛi·ʔ* Have you got mites, mange?; *mikho·ʔre sa·rik tɔraŋ* I've got too much smoke in my eyes; *lamʔo· namille tɔrusi* The sun scorched them on the way; 2) (with *lambo·* 'a cold', q.v.) catch a cold; *lambo·-lle ke-dɔr-ɛ-i·ʔ* (cold-ERG 2-catch/infect-PT-Q) Have you caught a cold? (i.e. Has the cold caught you?); 3) (with *sakwama* 'famine') suffer a famine, suffer a bad harvest; *anige sakwame-ille tɔrige* We^{pe} shall suffer a



tɔkkrima

famine (lit. a famine will afflict us);

tɔma?, -*tɔr*-/-*tɔ*- vi., (with *le*· penis, *hira* vagina) [vulgar] be itchy; be horny; *kɛ-le-n tɔ-i me-dɔ-nɛn-ni?* (your-penis-ABS feel_like_it-Q NEG-feel_like_it-NEG-Q) Are you horny or not?; *kɛ-hira·n tɔi?* Does your vagina itch? (viz. Are you horny?).

tɔŋba n., 1) hot millet beer served in a wooden barrel-shaped vessel with a lid, filled roughly halfway with fermented red millet (*sɔŋa?*) to which boiling water is added; the beer is imbibed through a bamboo straw (*pi·tchiŋ*) running through the centre of the lid and finely slit at the bottom to prevent the *sɔŋa?* from entering the straw; the boiling water may be replenished several times; when served, the *pi·tchiŋ* is offered separately in a *phɔgəna* filled with water, and a small dish of meat or *yumlakpa* is offered as a side-dish; (Nep. *tuñbā*); 2) the receptacle in which *tɔŋba* (1) is served; See illustration on p.280.

tɔŋbe· n., year.

tɔŋma?, -*tɔŋ*- vi., meet, fit, make sense, be correct or fitting, come together, be reconciled; *cumdzum tɔŋ-amm-ɛ?*! (friend-friend be_reconciled-2p-IMP) Make up and be friends again!; *mɛdɔŋnɛn* It doesn't make sense, that's not correct; cf. *tɔŋma?*.

tɔŋma?, -*tɔŋs*-/-*tɔŋ*- vt., [caus. < *tɔŋma?*] fit together, make fit, repair, arrange, reconcile; *siŋ cukpa tumba tɔŋs-u-ŋ* (wood small large make_fit-3P-1sA) I made the two uneven pieces of wood fit; *tɔŋba ke·mba tɔŋs-ɛ?*! (long short make_fit-IMP) Make the long and short one fit!; *cum-ha? tɔŋs-am-s-ɛ?*! (friend-p reconcile-2p-nsP-IMP) Get them to make up and be friends again!

tɔŋsiŋma? vr., [*tɔŋma?* make_fit] find oneself something, arrange something (eg. a job) for oneself, get oneself something.

tɔre·, *tɔre·ba* n., guest, visitor.

tɔrɔk adv., all of a sudden; Nep. *svāṭṭai*.

tɔrɔŋ n., bridge.

tɔ·ma?, -*tɔy*-/-*tɔ*- vt., sew; *te·?l tɔyŋ* I sew the clothes; cf. *tɔ?ma?*, *thɔpma?*.

tɔ·ma?, -*tɔy*-/-*tɔ*- vt., dig up; *khe· tɔyŋ* I dig up white yam.

tɔ·ma?, -*tɔy*-/-*tɔ*- vt., put a hole in something, make holes; cf. *hɔŋma?*.

tɔ·mma?, -*tɔ·nd*-/-*tɔ·n*- vt., transfer a heap of something, move a pile or heap of things from one place to

another.

to·nde·? n., axe, hatchet (Nep. *bācero*).

to·ndi vide to·nde·?.

to·ŋba adj., [*< to·ŋma? be short*] short.

to·ŋma?, -to·ŋ- 1) vi., remain (of money), be saved; *yaŋin mɛdɔ·ŋɛn, ma·re* There's no money left, it's been used up; cf; *nɔmma?*; vt., earn, acquire (esp. *yaŋ* 'money').

to·ŋma?, -to·ŋ- vi., be short; *anganulle to·ŋ* He's shorter than me; *khunɛ?nulle mɛdɔ·ŋ?ɛn* I'm no shorter than he is!.

to·pi vide to·pi.

to·pma?, -to·b-/-to·p- vi., be lazy, be indolent, be lethargic, be slothful; cf. *lo?ma?* (7), *yu·ma?* (2).

tukma?, -tug-/-tuk- vi., ache, hurt, be ill; *a-yam sa·rik tuk* (my-body very be_ill) I'm very ill; *kɛ-sappo·k-?in tug-ɛ-i·?* (your-stomach-ABS hurt-PT-Q) Does your stomach ache?; *a-dhɔk-in tug-ɛ* (my-organism-ABS be ill-PT) I am ill; *alaŋin kedukpa co·k* There's something wrong with my leg; *kendzumin kedukpa co·k?i·?* Is your friend ill?

tukma?, -tukt-/-tuk- vt., light (*ho·pɲnaba* Limbu cigarette, *surti* tobacco); cf. *tupma?*, *ha·mma?*.

tukphu num.col., six; cf. *tuksi*.

tuksi, *thuksi* num., six.

tukhe· n., [*< Nep. duḥkha*] pain, sadness, discomfort, grief; *tukhe· ca·tma?* (lit. feed someone grief) hurt, cause someone grief; *tukhe· ca·ttaŋ* He hurt me.

tukhe·-sukhe· n., [*< Nep. duḥkha-sukha*] the ups and downs of life.

tumba adj., [*< tumma?* ripen, grow aged] 1) big, large; 2) adj.n.m., firstborn (of siblings and offspring); *tumma* adj.n.f. first-born (of siblings and offspring).

tumba, -ndumba n., [*< tumma?* ripen, grow aged] 1) ego's father's elder brother, 2) ego's mother's elder sister's husband.

tumbe· n., seam; *ku-dumbe·-?o· tɛ·kse* It's torn at the seam.

tumma vide tumba, adj. (2).

tumma, -ndumma n., [*< tumma?* ripen, grow aged] I) 1) ego's mother's elder sister, 2) ego's father's elder sister's wife; II) someone's first wife; cf. *pakma*.

tumma?, -tum- vt., meet, run into, encounter, bump into, run across; *ta·ndik tumsi!* (d/ADH) See you to-

morrow!; *anchen tumaŋ* He ran into me yesterday;
cf. *tumma?*.

tumma?, -*tums-/-tum-* vt., [caus. < *tumma?* meet] 1) gather, gather together; *siŋ tums-u* (wood gather-3P) He has gathered wood; 2) arrange a meeting, cause to meet; *tums-u-ŋ-si-ŋ* (cause_to_meet-3P-1sA-nsP-1sA) I arranged a meeting betweenm them; 3) complete (a task initiated but unfinished); *tumsuŋ* I have completed it.

tumma?, -*tums-/-tum-* vi., ripen, be ripe (of fruits); mature, grow old, become aged, become elderly (of people); *khεε?nulle khunε? tum!* He's older than you!; *te·?la·se·? cidzi? rək tumε* The banana is only a little ripe.

tumma?, -*tund-/-tun-* vi., become agitated, disturbed or stirred up; (with *makkunde·* 'turbid') make turbid; *mεnghon?ε?, makkunde· tundε!* Don't stir it, it has become muddy!; cf. *thumma?*.

tuna?l n., [?? < Nep. *dūnā*] disposable dish of leaves sewn together, larger than a *thopəra*, q.v.

tun n., 1) fever; *kuduŋ te·* (lit. his-fever came) He has run up a fever; 2) slang for 'fucking', *tun kεdɔrεi·?* Do you feel like fucking?; cf. *tɔma?*.

tupma?, -*tub-/-tup-* vt., 1) sweep; 2) get the gist of something, pick something up, get the knack of doing something.

tupma?, -*tupt-/-tup-* vt., ignite, kindle, light (patient: *mi* fire); *mi tuptε?! Light the fire!*; cf. *ha·mma?*, *ti·?ma?*, *tukma?*.

tutugentumyanhan̄sa n.poet., [**tutugen* honest, virtuous; *tum* < *tumma?* be mature, *yan̄* money, *han̄sa* < *han̄sa?* prince] important personage.

tu·kma?, -*tu·g-/-tu·k-* vt., sweep, sweep away.

tu·ŋma?, -*tu·ks-/-tu·ŋ-* vi., bend; cf. *thu·ŋma?*.

twaba n., forehead, also: *te·wa*.

th

thakma?, -*thakt-/-thak-* vt., [dir. < *than̄ma?* come up] bring up; *kεdhaktwi· kεndhaktunni·?* Did you bring it up with you or didn't you?; cf. *phεpma?*, *ta·ma?*, *yu?ma?*; cf. *than̄ma?*.

thalik vide *thelik*.

thama? vi.irr., 1) fall; *wi?l tha* It's raining; *wi?l tha kusin̄ lɔ?* It looks as though it's going to rain; *na·ŋ the·* It snowed; cf. *thama?*, *thamma?*, *tha·ma?*,

tha·mma?; 2) set (of the sun) *nam the·* The sun set; 3) *-na thama?* lose face; *sa·?rik ana the·* (very my-face fall/PT) I have really lost face, I have really been put to shame; *kcna thei·?* Have you been dishonoured?; *kuna tha* He will be disgraced; cf. *tha·ma?* (4); 4) (with *samba·n* 'punishment') undergo punishment, be punished; *samba·n kc-dha-?* [punishment 2-fall-DEF] You'll be punished; 5) cadent aspectivizer highlighting falling motion, vide 5.3.3; *kubhekwa lu·ge dhe·* The tree has shed its leaves.

thama? v. irr., relinquitive aspectivizer 'to leave', vide 5.3.4; *tho· yuks-u-ŋ dha-ŋ* (above put-3P-1sA leave-1sA) I left it up there; *tha·?-?ε-dha-?ε la?ba* (leave_behind_for-1sPS/NPT leave-1sPS/NPT probably) He'll probably leave it behind for me; cf. *tha·?ma?*.

thama?, *-thas-/-tha-* vt. [caus. < *thama?* fall; cf. *thamma*, *tha·ma?*] shake off, thrash; cf. *thamma?*, *tha·mma?*.

thamma?, *-thaps-/-tham-* vt., be victorious in a Limbu wrestling match (vide *cuŋma?*), lay on top of one's opponent; get on top of, pounce on top of; *cum-dhik-nu cuŋ-ε-tchi-ge-ba*, *thaps-u-ŋ* (friend-one-COM wrestle-PT-dPS-e-IPF lay_on_top-3P-1sA) I wrestled with my friend and won; *anga e·klai wayaŋ*, *yellik mεbo·kse mεdhapsaŋ* I was there alone, there were many of them and they pounced on top of me; cf. *namma?*; cf. *kemma?*, *phɔpma?*.

thamma?, *-thaps-/-tham-* vt., [< *thama?* fall] shake out dust; *te·?l thapsε?!?* Shake out the clothes!; cf. *saŋma?*, *thama?*, *tha·ma?*, *tha·mma?*.

thanben n., young man, lad, youth; cf. *kepma?* (3).

thane?l n., north.

thanma?, *-thaŋ-* vi., come up (movement ascending toward goal); *thaŋ-ε-i· mε-dhaŋ-nεn-ni·?* (come_up-PT-Q NEG-come_up-NEG-Q) Did it come up [through the *pi·tchiŋ*] or won't it? (said of hot *thi·* in a *tɔŋba*); cf. *yuma?*, *phemma?*, *tama?*; cf. *thakma?*, *thanma?*.

thanma?, *-thans-/-thaŋ-* vt., [caus. < *thanma?* come up] have brought up, send up.

thanmaŋ adv., [< *thanma?* come up] uphill; Nep. *ukālo*; cf. *perεm*, *saŋmaŋ*.

thapma?, *-thab-/-thap-* vi., 1) be born; 2) bear offspring (non-human), yean, whelp, calve, foal, lamb, etc.,; *mεnda? thabε* The goat has yeaned; cf. *thapma?*; 3) shed (*mikwa* 'tears').

thapma?, *-thapt-/-thap-* vt., [dir. < *thapma?* be born] bear offspring (human and non-human); cf. *kəkma?*.

thappu n., ashes.

thapthap adj.adv., like a crazyman, like a lunatic.

tha·?ma?, *-tha·?r-/-tha·?-* vt., [dir. < *thama?* fall] relinquish, leave something behind for someone, give away, relinquish something one has kept for someone; *tha·?r-u-η-si-η* (leave_behind_for-3P-1sA-nsP-1sA) I left it behind for them; *ke-dha·?r-ε ke-dhe-i·?* (2-leave_behind_for-PT-2 leave/PT-Q) Did he leave it behind for you?

tha·k-tha·kma?, *tha·k-tha·g-/-tha·k-tha·k-* vt., weave (eg. *cirik* cloth, *kundri* straw mat); cf. *lipma?*, *phə·ma?*.

tha·ma?, *-tha·s-/-tha·-* vt., [caus. < *thama?* fall]
 1) knock something or someone down (eg., by throwing sticks and stones); *səɾəŋ tha·suŋba*, *tho·haptε* I knocked the lemon down, but it got stuck [on its way down]; *tha·saŋ* He knocked me down;
 2) dejective aspectivizer, vide 5.3.3; *siŋsara?l le·nduŋ dha·suŋ* I stripped down the branches [from the tree]; 3) drop; cf. *thama?*, *thamma?*, *tha·mma?*;
 4) *-na tha·ma?* (*na* face) put someone to shame, make someone lose face; *ana kedha·sum!* YouP have put me to shame!; cf. *thama?* (3); 5) *nam tha·ma?* [lit. drop the sun, make the sun go down] spend the day, pass the time *kusanurəɾə nam tha·suŋ* I spent the day in a fun way.

tha·ma?, *-tha·s-/-tha·-* vi., run up a fever; *en cəmgħik caŋba murukkuruk tha·saŋ* I ate *kināmā* today and have run up a very high fever; *sa·rik kedha·sε* You've run up quite a fever.

tha·mba adj., tall, long (human); cf. *ke·mba*.

tha·mma?, *-tha·nd-/-tha·n-* vt., succeed; *tha·nduŋ* I succeed; *ya·mbək ca·m· mε-dha·nd-u-n* (task perform-
 -INF NEG-succeed-3P-NEG) He did not succeed in carrying out the task; *mε-n-dha·m-baŋ* (NEG-NEG-
 -succeed-1s→3/PT) I did not succeed at it; *tha·n-dwi· mεdha·ndunni·?* Did he succeed or didn't he?

tha·mma?, *tha·ps-/-tha·m-* vt., [caus. < *thapma?* be visible] show to someone; *tha·psεsε?! Show it to them!*; *tha·mma? mεhe·?run* He was unable to show it; cf. *o·ndha·kma?*, *ta·kma?*.

tha·mma?, *-tha·ps-/-tha·m-* vt., [< *thama?* fall] let someone fall, trip someone, throw someone or something to the ground; *hεnaŋ ke-dha·ps-u?* (why 2-trip-3P) Why did you trip him?; cf. *thama?*, *thamma?*, *tha·-*

ma?.

tha·msiŋma? vr., [*< tha·mma? trip*] trip, trip and fall;
 tha·m-siŋ-ε (trip-REF-PT) He tripped and fell.

tha·na n., [*< Nep. thānā*] gaol; *amarika-ba māna·n tha·na-
 ?o· mēsaktu* They locked the American up in gaol.

tha·ŋle·kwa n., passerine bird resembling a cuckoo which
 mimics other birds.

tha·ŋma?, -tha·ŋs-/-tha·ŋ- vt., weigh, compare, consider;
 tha·ŋs-ε?! a·kkhya·k yo·? (weigh-IMP how_much
 amount_to) Weigh it! How much does it weigh?.

tha·ŋtho·k n., moustache; cf. *mudhuk*.

tha·pma?, -tha·b-/-tha·p- vi., be visible; *khēsūmik mē-
 dha·b-ε* (star nsAS-be_visible-PT) The stars were
 visible; *allō yəllik khēsūmik mēdha·p* (many star
 nsAS-be_visible) There are many stars out tonight;
hilo·?o· kulanyo·p mēdha·p His footprints are to
 be seen in the mud; appear, look; *khēnc? hēndza?
 kusīŋ kēdha·p* You look like a child; cf. *lō?ma?,
 nidha·pma?, tha·mma?*.

tha·pma?, -tha·b-/-tha·p- vt., serve (food) to someone.

tha·siŋma? vr., [*< tha·ma? drop*] be off to, be headed
 toward; *atto· kē-dha-siŋ-ba* (where 2-be_off_to-
 -IPF) where are you headed?.

the· n., [*< the·ma? split*] split bamboo, esp. for use in
 wickerwork baskets and the wickerwork foundations
 of thatched rooves, Nep. *coyā*, *coyo*.

the·bha n., [*the· q.v. + pha bamboo*] bamboo from which
the· is made, bamboo suitable for the production
 of *the·*, q.v.

the·ma?, -the·s-/-the·- vt., gut, eviscerate, clean.

the·ma?, -the·s-/-the·- vt., split (eg. *siŋ* wood, *pha* bam-
 boo) with the grain.

the?l n., spit, saliva; cf. *ō·ma?, tho·kma?*.

theba, -ndheba- n., 1) grandfather, 2) grand-uncle,
 3) title of respect to an elderly man.

theba-samman n., [lit. grandfather-deity] a household
 deity to whom male animals are sacrificed, esp.
 cockerels; the *theba-samman* has the form of the
 wind and is capable of inflicting serious, long-
 term and often fatal illnesses when displeased;
 the spouse of the *yuma-samman*, q.v.

thege·k, -dhge·k n., head.

thege·k-1, -dhge·k?1 n., hair (on scalp).

thege·ksi? n., [*thege·k head + si? louse*] human head lice,
Pediculus humanus capitis.

thege n., mountain, peak.

thege-manwa n., [*< thege mountain*] mountain range or

ranges.

- thekma?*, -*thekt*-/-*thek*- vt., blindfold; cover someone's eyes; obscure from view; *kha·kmi?l-le nam-min thekt-u* (cloud-ERG sun-ABS obscure-3P) The cloud covered the sun; *mikthekthek co·kma?* vide *co·kma?*.
- thekma?*, -*thekt*-/-*thek*- vt., [dir. < *tekma?* be sufficient, sate] (with non-referential 3sP agreement) glut oneself with something, over-eat, over-indulge; *tək thektuŋ* I glutted myself with rice; *adhektum ləcə* It seems wePⁱ over-ate.
- thelik* postp., until, till; *ta·ndik-thelik ya·k?ε* I'm staying till tomorrow; *atchenda·n-thelik kenya·k-nenni·?* Won't you stay until the day after tomorrow?
- themma?*, -*them*- vt., criticize someone (in his presence), point out someone his bad points; *khunε? theməŋ* He criticized me.
- themma?*, -*thend*-/-*then*- vt., boil something in a liquid; *wa?dhi·n thendu* he's boiling the egg; cf. *lakma?*, *lanma?*.
- thəŋma?*, -*thəŋ*- vt., gather together and inclose, gather and confine, enclose, package, shut in, pen in, immure.
- thəŋya·n* n., stomach (as an internal organ); cf. *hidu?l*, *sappo·k*.
- thə·ma?*, -*thə·s*-/-*thə·*- vt., break open (ripe fruit); dissect, carve (a slaughtered animal carcass); *pə?i?l-in thə·s-u-ŋ* (cucumber-ABS break_{open}-3P-1sA) I'm going to break open the cucumber; *phak-?in thə·s-u* (pig-ABS carve-3P) He has cut up the pig.
- thə·ŋma?*, -*thə·ks*-/-*thə·ŋ*- vt., [caus. < *tε·ŋma?*] 1) tear; 2) force open; *ko·co·-lle kuməra·n thə·ksuŋ* I forced open the dog's mouth; cf. *həmma?*, *pha·ŋma?*.
- thi?ma?*, -*thi?r*-/-*thi?*- vt., 1) infect someone with one's bad habits; *yaŋsarumbε-lle kε-dhi?r-ε rəcə* (third_{born}-ERG 2-infect-PT DEPR) It seems you've picked up some of third-born's bad habits; 2) afflict by ingestion of taboo body parts of animals; *hendza?-bitcha-re wa?-re ku-laŋ ca-m· mε-nu-nən hənəŋ-bhelle adhi?. wa?-re ku-lso·?l, phak-rε-n, menda?-rε-n-naŋ ca-m· mε-nu-nən. ku-lap, nesik, ku-mi, nεghə*. (children-ERG chicken-GEN its-claw eat-INF NEG-be_{alright}-NEG because 1-afflict. chicken-GEN its-tongue, pig-GEN-ABS, goat-GEN-ABS-too eat-INF NEG-be_{alright}-NEG. its-wing, brain, its-tail, nose.) It is not good for children to eat the claw of a chicken because it will afflict you. It is

also not good to eat the tongue of a chicken, a pig or a goat. The wing, the brain, the tail, the nose.; It is held that: (a) ingestion of a chicken's claw or wing by a child will cause illegible handwriting, poor penmanship and manual coordination, (b) ingestion of an animal's tongue by a child may result in some sort of speech defect or peculiar speech habit, (c) ingestion of the brain will cause the child's thinking to become like the animal's whose brain it has eaten with the obvious resultant mental impairment, (d) ingestion of the tail will afflict the child with superfluous swaying movements in his gait and gestures and, especially in later life, in the comportment of his head, (e) ingestion of an animal's ears will afflict the child with uncontrollable and often ungrounded fears in later life and a general disposition to paranoia; *wa?-re ku-laŋ-ille thi?r-u* (chicken-GEN its-claw-ERG afflict-3P) He's been afflicted by a chicken's claw.

-thik, -dhik postp.num., 1) one, a, a certain; 2) only.

thik-khε? adv., [*< thik one*] one time, once.

thik1εŋ adv., [*thik one + 1εŋ turn*] one turn, once.

thikma?, -thikt-/-thik- vt., accuse someone.

thikphu num.col., [*< thik one*] one; cf. *1okthik*.

thiksamma n.adj., [*< thik one*] the other; *thikle ... pa-t-tu*, *thiksamelle ... pa-ttu* The one said ..., the other said ...; cf. *e-?yanba*, *wi?sma*.

thik-tŋ adv., [*< thik one*] one time.

thik-ya-n-thokma adv., [lit. one-day-each] every single day.

thimbŋ n., bladder.

thimma?, -thims-/-thim- vt., [caus. *< timma?* fill up] fill up.

thiŋma?, -thiŋs-/-thiŋ- vt., [caus. *< thiŋma?* become erect] masturbate (male); cause to flower or swell up; cf. *tiŋma?*, *thi-ŋma?*.

thi n., millet beer, squeezed out of fermented red millet; can be drunk as a lukewarm milky liquid (Nep. *jāḍ*) or hot as *tŋba*.

thi-kma?, -thi-kt-/-thi-k- vt., [caus. *< ti-kma?* peel] peel (eg. fruits); cf. *thi-ŋma?*.

thi--kunda n., large metallic or earthenware jug for fermenting *thi*.

thi-mma?, -thi-nd-/-thi-n- vt., lay an egg; *a-sirak-?o-wa?-ille thi-nd-u* (my-quilt-LOC chicken-ERG lay_an_egg-3P) The chicken layed an egg in my quilt.

thi·n n., egg; cf. *siʔdhi·n*, *waʔdhi·n*, *le·dhi·mba*.

thi·ŋmaʔ, *-thi·ks-/-thi·ŋ-* vt., [caus. < *tiŋmaʔ* be exposed] expose the glans penis by retracting the foreskin; (as in the pugnacious threat:) *thi·ks-u-ŋ-aŋ tak-nε-ʔ* (expose_glans-3P-1sA-pfG display-1→2-DEF) I'll pull back my foreskin and show you! (i.e. I'll show you a thing or two!); cf. *tiŋmaʔ*, *thiŋmaʔ*, *thi·kmaʔ*.

tho· adv., above; upstairs; up.

-tho· postp., since.

tho·ʔmaʔ, *-tho·ʔr-/-tho·ʔ-* vt., [dir. < *to·ʔmaʔ* be illuminated] shed light on something in the dark, illuminate (eg., with lantern or torch); *lam tho·ʔruŋ* I'll light up the path; *kəʔo· tho·ʔrεʔ!* Shine the light down here!

tho·dho·ʔ adv. [< *tho·* above] way up there.

tho·-gərcə-tho· adv., [*tho·* above + *gərcə* if] way up high, way up there.

tho·ghεŋ dem., [*tho·* above + *kheŋ* that] that (one) up there.

tho·kmaʔ, *-tho·kt-/-tho·k-* vi., bear fruit; *sərcəŋ yəllik tho·kte* The lemon tree bore much fruit.

tho·kmaʔ, *-tho·kt-/-tho·k-* vt., cook (patient: *tək*, *ma·ki*, *sa*), sauté, fry; cf. *səŋmaʔ*.

tho·kmaʔ, *-tho·kt-/-tho·k-* vt., spit at a distance, spew; *thεʔl tho·kmaʔ* spit one's saliva (diagonally or vertically); cf. *ə·maʔ*.

tho·kpeʔl n., rhododendron (Nep. *lāligurās*).

tho·mmaʔ, *-tho·ps-/-tho·m-* vt., spy on someone, eavesdrop, observe furtively.

tho·naŋnu adv., [*tho·* above, **naŋ* < **nahaŋ* direction, -*nu* COM] via the high road; cf. *yo·naŋnu*.

tho·ŋmaʔ, *-tho·ks-/-tho·ŋ-* vt., 1) kick someone, strike someone with the hind legs (non-human agent; cf. *tammaʔ*); 2) strike someone with one's horns, gore someone; *piʔlille tho·ksaŋ* The cow struck at me with his horns.

tho·ŋmaʔ, *-tho·ks-/-tho·ŋ-* vt., plough.

tho·waŋ-yo·waŋ n., [< *tho·* above, < *yo·* below] simultaneous vomiting and diarrhoea, dysentery; cf. *mεp-maʔ* (8); (fig.) *kheŋεʔ tho·waŋ yo·waŋ memba·ʔl-o·!* Don't you start talking shit!

thəbe·n n., ladder, stairway; Nep. *bharyāñ*, *lisnu*.

thəbəkke adv., [< Nep. *thabakka-khurukka*] furtively, secretly.

thək n., body (including the head and the limbs), organism; *adhək in tuε* I am ill; *adhəkʔ in thu·tte* My

body twitched; cf. *yam*.

thokma postp.adj., each, every.

thokma?, -*thog*-/-*thok*- vt., forge, weld, pound, work (metal); *nese·? medhogu* They're forging Limbu earrings; cf. *thokma?*.

thokma?, -*thokt*-/-*thok*- vt., [dir. < *thokma?* forge] have someone jewelry made (metallic).

thokma?, -*thokt*-/-*thok*- vi., 1) clash, come to blows; *thon?o· medhoktoba* They met in combat, they began to wage war; (of bulls) lock horns, skirmish, come to loggerheads; cf. *khe·ma?*, *thonma?*; 2) (with *mik* eye) glances be exchanged, eyes be made (at someone), eyes meet; *mik thokte* [Their] eyes met; 3) *hadi·η thokma?* put up a fuss, resist, be stubborn; *khene? henaη hadi·η kedhok? khene? yallik hadi·η mendhok?e?! Why are you being so stubborn? Don't put up such a fuss!*; *sa·?rik hadi·η thoktuη* I put up quite a fuss; cf. *thonma?*.

thomma?, -*thom*- vi., be 'asleep' (of limbs), be numb; *allo·wa alanin thome* Now, my leg is asleep.

thon n., [*thonma?* engage in battle] war, battle; *thon?o· pe·ge* He went off to war.

thonga n., sturdy large triangular woven basket, made of split bamboo (Nep. *bās* or *nigālā*), open at the top, carried upon the back and suspended from a wicker-strap or *kha?nam* lashed across the forehead, employed by porters for transporting freight or those working in the field in transporting and distributing manure, water, etc.; a stick with a horizontal portion at the top is used in conjunction with the *thonga* both as a walking stick for stability on steep stretches and as a support for the *thonga* during rest pauses, the horizontal portion of the cane fitting neatly underneath the bottom of the triangular basket, (Nep. *ḍoko*); cf. *lumbhu?l*.

thonga-sik n., [*thonga* q.v. + jingle] *thonga*, *kha?nam* and contents; cf. Nep. *ḍoko-soko*.

thonma?, -*thoks*-/-*thon*- vt., shake up and down in small vertical increments whilst holding the *po?e·?l* or winnowing basket level; *ammare nuba haguba mennuba haguba thoksu* Mother is shaking up and down the well husked and the poorly husked [grain] in the winnowing basket; cf. *amma?*, *ekma?*, *epma?*.

thonma?, -*thoks*-/-*thon*- [caus. < *thokma?* clash] I) vi., engage in combat, go off to war; II) vt., 1) incite to fight, instigate someone to fight, agi-

tate; *thəksuŋsiŋ* I incited them to fight; 2) make eyes at, have one's eyes meet, flirt through eye contact; *mik thəksətchu* They^d made eye contact.

thəŋmaʔ, *-thəŋd-/-thəŋ-* vi., be or feel bloated; *kesap-po·kʔin thəŋdei·ʔ* Does your stomach feel bloated?; *kuhukʔin thəŋde* Her hand is swollen; *kelaŋin thəŋde rəcə* Your leg appears to be swollen; cf. *həmmaʔ*.

thəŋmaʔ, *-thəŋs-/-thəŋ-* vt., compare; *mədhoŋsu* They'll compare it.

thəpəra n., [*thəpmaʔ* sew (leaves)] small disposable dish of leaves sewn together; cf. Nep. *ṭaparī*; cf. *tunaʔl*.

thəpmaʔ, *-thətt-/-thətt-/-thəʔl* vt., last someone; *kəŋ lungi-lle yəllik ya·n thəʔl-ε* (this *luŋgī*-ERG many day last-1sPS/NPT) This *luŋgī* will last me a long time.

thəpmaʔ, *-thətt-/-thətt-/-thəʔl* vt., [dir. < *tə·maʔ* sew; cf. *təʔmaʔ*] sew (patient: *tətla* leaves) in order to make dishes (*tunaʔl* and *thəpəra*) to eat *tək* from on festive occasions when many plates are required.

thə·pmaʔ, *-thə·tt-/-thə·t-/-thə·ʔl* I) vt., put up with, bear, endure; *cunɟzi·kmaʔ nurik thə·ttu* (be_{cold}-INF well endure-3P) He endures the cold well; *thə·ttεʔ!* Just put up with it!; *kəŋin thə·pm-suktwi·ʔ* Can it stand that?; *namin thəttuŋ* I can bear the sun well; II) *na·si thə·ʔmaʔ* 1) vi., slow down, become lackadaisical and listless, grow languid; *na·mʔo· na·si kədho·ʔl lo·!* You'll become enervated in the sun!; 2) vt., (often with infinitive) persevere, be patient, persist; *kəŋ mənə·n ya·mbək co·kmʔ na·si kədho·ppa co·k* That is a man who perseveres in his work; *sapla ni·pmaʔ na·si kədho·ppa co·k* He is a persistent reader of books; *sapla ni·pmaʔ na·si mədho·ttun* He gave up reading the book, he grew impatient with reading the book; *na·si thəttuŋ* I take my time, I carry on, I persevere, I am patient.

thukka n., [*Nep. thukka* interjection of contempt] curse, *Nep. sarāp*.

thukleŋ adv., [*thuk* six + *leŋ* turn] six times.

thuksi vide *tuksi*.

thumbo·ʔ, *thuŋbo·ʔ* n., knee.

thumbruk n., the tree *Choerospondias axillaris*, bearing sticky sou_m fruit with a hard pit; *Nep. lapsī*.

thummaʔ, *-thums-/-thum-* vi., 1) be diligent, work hard, be

industrious, be full of stamina; 2) appoint oneself, fulfill (a post or position); Nep. *darnu*; *kappo·ben allo·saṅ kye·laṅma? thum* Even today the old men fulfill the position of performing the *cyābruñ-nāc*.

thumma?, -*thund*-/-*thun*- vt., mend; *kede·ṅba te·?lin thundu* He mends torn clothes.

thumma?, -*thund*-/-*thun*- vt., [caus. < *tumma?* be agitated] disturb, agitate, stir up; *yanghe·k?in thundu* He picks at his wound; *cwa?lin ma·kkhunde· thundu* He made the water muddy.

thumma?, -*thups*-/-*thum*- vt., [caus. < *thupma?* collapse] destroy, cause to cave in, cause to collapse; *ba·ri-·n me-dhups-u* (terrace-ABS nsAS-cause_to_collapse-3P) They caused the rice terrace to cave in; cf. *yoma?*.

thunbo·? vide *thumbo·?*.

thunma?, -*thuks*-/-*thun*- vt., (with *ha·l* < Nep. *halo*, *hal* plough) plough; *ha·l kedhukwi·?* Are you going to plough?

thunma?, -*thun*- vt., 1) drink; cf. *thunma?*; 2) smoke; *ho·p-m?na-be-n ke-dhun-w-i·?* (toke-PP-NOM-ABS 2-smoke-3P-Q) Will you smoke a cigarette?

thunma?, -*thun*s-/-*thun*- vt., [caus. < *thunma?* drink] give someone to drink; *nu thunsu* She's breastfeeding; *se·dzṅwa kedhunwi·?* Did you give him millet brandy to drink?

thupma?, -*thub*-/-*thup*- vt., pierce, wound by piercing; *ti·ṅle adhup* Thorns sting!; cf. *sya?l*.

thupma?, -*thub*-/-*thup*- vi., cave in, collapse; cf. *thumma?*, *yoma?*.

thu·ṅma?, -*thu·ks*-/-*thu·ṅ*- vt., [caus. < *tu·ṅma?* bend] bend.

thu·pma?, -*thu·tt*-/-*thu·t*-/-*thu·?l* vi., twitch, undergo a spasm or tremor, *kemik?in thu·tte* Your eye twitched; *adhok?in thu·tte* A tremor went through my body.

‡

‡ika, *tika* n., [< Nep. *‡ikā*] *‡ikā* powder, coloured powder for anointing and beautifying.

ṭh

ṭhikai adv., [*< Nep. ṭhīk, ṭhīkai*] correct, O.K., alright.

u

ude·k n., amazement, wonder.

ukma?, *-ug-/-uk-* vt., scrape, scratch; cf. *kho·pma?*, *uṅma?*.

uma?, *-us-/-u-* vt., direct, lead; *usuṅsiṅ* I directed them.

umbhuṅ n., cherry tree *Prunus cerasoides*; Nep. *paiyũ*, *paiñyu*.

uṅma?, *-uks-/-uṅ-* vt., [*caus. < ukma?* scrape] 1) pick, pluck, pull, drag; 2) *sokma uṅma?* inhale, *sokma uksuṅ* I inhale; *mikho·? ke?uksuwi·?* Are you taking in smoke (said to a person coughing by the fire); 3) *the· uṅma?* produce *the·* from bamboo (*pha*); *the· uṅma? po·ṅ* The bamboo must be split to produce *the·*; cf. *khε?ma?*.

uṅsiṅma? vr., [*< uṅma?* pick, pluck, pull] play tug-of-war (only with non-singular subject).

u·pma?, *-u·tt-/-u·t-/-u·?l* [*dir. < uma?* direct] 1) vt., call somebody, summon someone; 2) vi., (with *wi?l* 'rain') invoke rain; *phe·danma·ha?·re wi?l me·u·p·pa* (shaman-p-ERG rain nsAS-summon-IPF) The shamans are calling down rain; cf. *pa·ncha·tma?*, *iṅpho·mma?*.

w

wa n., [**wa* water] thirst; vide *mikma?*.

wa? n., chicken.

wa?dhi·n n., [*wa?* chicken + *thi·n* egg] chicken egg.

wa?dzyak n., chick.

wa?hi n., [*wa?* chicken + *hi* shit] chicken guano.

wa?ma?ma n., [*< wa?* chicken] 1) hen; 2) the less intense arc of a rainbow (*namde·ṅgu*); cf. *iṅwa?*.

wa?sa?l n., [*wa?* chicken + *sa?l* ~ *sa?* child, offspring] chick; cf. *ko·co·sa?l*, *luṅsa?l*, *menda?sa?l*, *myaṅsa?l*, *pusa?l*, *phaksa?l*.

wa?so·?l n., [*wa?* chicken + *so·?l* fat] chicken fat.

wabak n., [*< *wa* water] pond.

wade·mma?, *wa·de·nd-/-wa·de·n-* vt., [*< *wa* water, *caus. < te·?ma?* take away] let something float away, let something be carried away in the current (human

agent, as opposed to *cwa?l* 'water' as agent; cf. *poŋma?* (2)).

wadzakma?, *wa-dzag-/wa-dzak-* vi., [*< *wa water*] swim.

wage·k n., [*< *wa water*] the monsoon, the wet season; cf. *cunġe·k*.

wahaŋma?, *wa-haŋ-* vt., [*< *wa water + haŋma?* send something] put water on the fire in which to boil something (= patient).

wahɔpma?, *wa-hɔpt-/wa-hɔp-* vt., [**wa-* water + *-hɔpma?* wash] wash with water, rinse; *ha?* *wahɔpma?* rinse one's mouth out (lit. rinse one's teeth).

wahɔpsinma? vr., [*< wahɔpma?*] wash up (one's face and hands); cf. *warumsinma?*.

walɔ·mma?, *wa-lɔ·nd-/wa-lɔ·n-* vi., [**wa water + lɔ·mma?* exude, egress] leak.

wakho·mba n., [*< *wa water*] little semi-artificial water reservoir, encased and covered with boulders and large rock slabs, fed and replenished by a natural (sometimes re-channeled and occasionally sluggish but generally constant) source; cf. *kuwa*.

wama?, *-was-/wa-* vi., experience, in the expression: *-mi?* *wama?* be sleepy; *kɛ-mi?* *was-ɛ-i·?* (2-sleepy experience-PT-Q) Are you sleepy?; cf. *yu·ma* (1).

wa·ma?, *-way-/wa·-* vi.irr., existential 'to be', sit, dwell, exist, be available; *anġa biha co·g-u-ŋ, a-sa?* *mɛ-wa·* (I marriage do-3P-1sA, my-child nsAS-be) I am married and have children; vide 3.2.

wamepma?, *wa-mɛtt-/wa-mɛt-/wa-mɛ?l* vt., [*< *wa water*] irrigate, water; *khe· wamepma?* *po·ŋ* The potatoes must be irrigated; cf. *waraŋma?*.

wapma, *-watt-/wat-/wa?l* vi.vt., totalizing aspectivizer; vide 5.3.12.

waphe·? n., sickle.

warakma?, *wa-rakt-/wa-rak-* vi., [*< *wa water*] get wet, become wet; cf. *waraŋma?*.

waraŋluŋma n., [*waraŋ-* make wet + *luŋma* mountain range] the (moist) Siwalik hills above the Terai, running parallel to and to the south of the *Mahābhārat Lekh*; Nep. *cure pahād*, *śivālik*; cf. *pho·ktaŋluŋma, senche·luŋma*.

waraŋma?, *wa-raks-/wa-raŋ-* vt., [caus. *< warakma?* get wet] make wet, moisten, dampen; *anġa wageraŋ?ɛbai·?* Are you going to make me wet?; *anige kheŋ waraŋŋ?naba* WeP^e made him wet; *khunɛ?* *kheŋ waraksuba* She made him wet; cf. *wamepma?*.

ware·? n., sarcasm, kidding, joking, insult (with *co·kma?* and *pa·pma?*); cf. *ware·?ge·*.

- ware·?ge·* n., [*ware·?* sarcasm + *-ke·* nom.sf.; cf. *muso·k-ke·*, *səllakke·*] joker, crackpot.
- ware·kpa* n., Litsea citrata, a tree whose leaves the Tibetans are said to use in making *yumlakpa*; Nep. *siltimur*.
- warumma?*, *wa-rups-/-wa-rum-* vt., [**wa* water] give a bath to, bathe someone; *anga ko·co·?in warupsuŋ* I gave the dog a bath.
- warumsiŋma?* vr., [**warumma?* bathe] bathe oneself; cf. *wahopsiŋma?*.
- warup* n., [**wa* water] large edible frog (Nep. *pāhā*); cf. *pe·dɔk*.
- wase·ri* n., [**wa* water] malevolent water nymph inhabiting the *wakho·mba*; the water nymph afflicts users of the *wakho·mba* whom she dislikes with gaping and infected wounds, furuncles and carbuncles; she also causes tooth decay; vide *khe?ma?*, *khe?siŋma?*.
- waso·pma* n., *Alnus nepalensis*, the Nepalese alder tree; Nep. *uttis*.
- wa·mma?*, *-wa·nd-/-wa·n-* vt., 1) brush aside, wave aside; *andhebare kuhuk?ille kha·kmi?l wa·nduwan thik na·ndaŋ paŋsu-de·su* My grandfather brushed the cloud aside his hand and sent it on its way; 2) blow away; *suri?l-le wa·nduba* The wind blew it away; 3) shake, rock, sway to and fro; *ɔŋ?e·kwa·n wa·ndε?! Rock the baby!*; *pho·nda? wa·ndu* He's rocking the baby basket; *siŋbo·ŋ mewa·ndu* They're swaying the tree back and forth; *kundzumin wa·n-duba* He shook his friend back and forth; *wa·ndε?! Shake it back and forth!*
- wa·nchiŋma?* vr., [**wa·mma?* sway back and forth] sway or slosh back and forth; *pitnu kho·re?lo· sa·rik wa·nchiŋε* The milk sloshed violently back and forth in the beaker.
- wa·pma?*, *-wa·r-/-wa·t-/-wa·?l* vt., put on, wear, apply (jewelry, ornaments, cosmetics; not clothes); *neŋse·? mewa·ru* They're wearing Limbu earrings; cf. *caŋma?*, *khu·ŋma?*.
- wa·pma?*, *-wa·tt-/-wa·t-/-wa·?l* vt., [dir. < *wa·pma?* put on jewelry] put jewelry or ornaments on someone, apply cosmetics to someone; *tika wa·tne* I'll put *ṭikā* on your forehead; *wa·ttaŋ* She dressed me up (viz. with jewelry and cosmetics).
- wa·tchiŋma?* vr., [**wa·pma?*] apply to oneself, put on; *anga casma wa·tchiŋ?ε* I'll put on my glasses.
- wemma?*, *-wend-/-wen-* vt.imp., be done, be in effect, move,

be in process, be in progress; *namla·ŋma wɛndu* There's a drought; *ɛllamba sakwama wɛndu* This year there is famine; *khɛnɛ? kɛdzo·guba yambɔk?in po·ksci· mɛbo·ksɛnni· pha?aŋ se·ndo·melle po·ksc ɡɔrɔ cumille 'wendu' amɛ?l* If you ask a friend whether his work is getting along alright or not, and it is, he'll say 'It's getting along'; Nep. *calnu*.

wɛpma?, -*wɛtt-/-wɛt-/-wɛ?l* 1) vi., be spilled, be poured; *wɛttɛ* It spilled; 2) vt., (unintentionally:) spill, (intentionally:) make wet by pouring, pour over; *wɛttɛ?! pour it over [it]!*; cf. *liŋma?*.

wɛtchya n., [**wɛt Oryza? + sya* husked rice, grain] husked rice.

wɛtchya?dɔk n., [*wɛtchya* husked rice + *tɔk* cooked rice] cooked rice.

wɛ·mma?, -*wɛ·nch-/-wɛ·n-* vt., heal.

wi?l n., rain; *wi?l tha* it's raining, vide *thama?*.

wi?sma adj., of another type, different; *kɔŋ mɛna·n yak-thuŋba-nulle wi?sma co·k* That man is different from a Limbu; cf. *e·?yaŋba*, *thiksəmma*.

y

ya? n., unhusked rice; paddy; cf. *sya*, *tɔk*.

ya?lapma?, *ya?-lapt-/-ya?-lap-* vt., sharpen (as a barber sharpens a razor, whisking it to and fro against a leather strap, as opposed to *yupma?*, q.v.).

ya?ra·kma?, *ya?-ra·kt-/-ya?-ra·k-* vi., [*< ya?* paddy + dir. *< la·ŋma?* dance] perform the rice dance, a traditional Limbu dance performed during the night of the full moon till well after dawn. Young lads and unmarried girls join hands in circles or, occasionally, in rows and chant the hypnotic *pa·lam* (q.v.); ideally girls and young men alternate so that no two persons of the same gender join hands in the circle; *ya?kɛnla·ktɛnni·? - mɛnla·kpaŋ* Did you take part in the rice harvest dance? - No, I didn't.

ya?ro·n n., [*< ya?* paddy] grain spread out on the ground or on a mat to dry, usu. in the sun (Nep. *biskun*); cf. *miya?*, *namya?*.

yak n., anger, wrath, ire; vide *la·kma?* (2), *lɛ?ma?* (1); cf. *sik*.

yakkhula n., [*< Nep. yākkhulā*] fatty cartilagenous hump-like protuberance hanging from the thoracic region

of a buffalo, treasured as a delicacy.

yakse· n., small, soft alpine tuber, *Calladium arumaciae*, with a potato-like gloss and an exquisite, mild taste when boiled; Nep. *pīḍālū*.

yakthunba n.adj., Limbu.

yakthunba pa·n adj. + n., the Limbu language; vide *yakthunpa·n*.

yakthunḍho· n., daydream; *yakthunḍho·-?e· wa·* (daydream-LOC/EMPH be) He's daydreaming.

yakthunlilimhan n.poet., [*yakthun-* Limbu, **lilim* government, *han* king] king of *Limbuvān*, the ancestral Limbu kings.

yakthunpa·n n., [*yakthun* Limbu + *pa·n* language, word, speech] Limbu (the language).

ya-khu·ṅ n., [**khuṅ* river valley] river; cf. *pa-khu·ṅ*.

yale·k n., [**ya?* paddy] field hand in temporary employ; Nep. *khetālā*.

yam n., body (excluding the head but including the limbs); cf. *thək*; cf. *lɔ?ma?* (9,10), *yu·ma?* (5).

yambi?l n., [*yam* body] body.

yammu adv., again; *yammu-dhik pi·r-aṅ-ε?!* (again-one give-1sP-IMP) Give me another one; cf. *e·?yənba*; back *yammu ma·gh-ille ta-?ε* (again *Māgh*-GEN come-1sPS/NPT) I'll come back in the month of *Māgh*.

yamna·pmi n., [*yam* body + *na·pmi* man] incarnate man.

yamsi? n., [*yam* body + *si?* louse] human body lice, *Pediculus humanus corporis* (may also denote human crab lice *Phthirus pubis*); cf. *sigip*, *thege·ksi?*.

yaṅ n., money, rupee, coin.

yaṅhan adv., later on; cf. *yaṅsi*.

yaṅhe·k n., wound.

yaṅkho·pma?, *yaṅ-kho·tt-/yaṅ-kho·t-/yaṅ-kho·?l* vt., stockpile, store up something; *sya yəllik yaṅkho·ttuṅ I* have stocked up on lots of rice.

yaṅma?, *-yaks-/yaṅ-* vi., tremble, shake.

yaṅma?, *-yaṅs-/yaṅ-* vt., [caus. < *yaṅma?* shake] 1) strike, hit with a projectile; *anga luṅ-ille tho·-ghen mēna·n yaṅs-u-ṅ-?-i· mē-yaṅ-?ε-n-?-i·?* (I rock-INST up_{there}-that man-ABS strike-3P-1sA-DEF-Q NEG-strike-1s→3-NEG-DEF-Q) Shall I be able to hit that man up there with a stone or not?; *yaṅsaṅ* It hit me; cf. *khəṅma?*, *lepma?* (2), *tε?ma?*; 2) manage to get hold of (viz. something scarce or quickly sold out), secure; *keyaṅswi·kenyaṅsunni·?* Did you manage to get a hold of one or didn't you?; *keyaṅsui·ba?* Do you think you'll be able to secure one?

yaŋma? seɸma?, inf. + vt., [*yaŋma?* tremble, shake + *seɸma?* kill] terrify, scare to death; haunt; *so·gha-re yaŋ-ma? a-se?l* (ghost-ERG tremble-INF 1-kill) The ghosts will haunt us^{P1}.

yaŋma?-sima? vi.vi., [*yaŋma?* tremble, shake + *sima?* die] be startled, be frightened suddenly, be shocked, be stunned, be terrified, be horrified; *yaŋ?ε si?ε* I'm scared to death; cf. *yaŋma? seɸma?*.

yaŋsa?ma?, *yaŋ-sa?r-/yaŋ-sa?-* vi., be poor, be unfortunate, be needy, indigent, impoverished; *anige yaŋsa?rige*, *anige yo·ben sige·k* We^{Pe} are unfortunate, we^{Pe} are low class.

yaŋsarumba adj.m., n., third-born (of siblings or offspring).

yaŋsarumma adj.f., n., third-born (of siblings or offspring).

yaŋsi adv., afterwards; cf. *yaŋhaŋ*.

yaŋsiŋ n., the tree *Schima wallichii* (Nep. *cilāune ko boḥ*).

yaŋsiŋba vide *yaŋsiŋ*.

yaŋsiŋbo·ŋ vide *yaŋsiŋ*.

yaŋsiŋgukundze·li n.poet., [*< yaŋsiŋ Schima wallichii; -ndze·li-* married sister who has left the paternal household to join the household of her spouse] the female sex, womankind, the weaker sex.

yaŋsu n., path, trail; cf. *lam*.

yaŋyaŋ vide *yɔŋyɔŋ*.

ya· n., next to, side; *tɔk?in kuya·?o· yuŋmasaŋ po·ŋ* It's even alright to put the rice beside it.

ya·kpɔɸma vide *ya·kpɔɸpo·ŋ*.

ya·kpɔɸpo·ŋ, *ya·kpɔɸma* n., [*< -po·ŋ* tree] the tree *Engelhardtia spicata*, bearing delicate white flowers, large leaves and a peach-like fruit; Nep. *mahuvā*; also used to refer to Nep. *bādare phal*, *bādare rukh*.

ya·k n., gift, present.

ya·kke·k n., cliff, precipice, abyss, chasm.

ya·kkha? n., forest, jungle; cf. *ta·mbhuŋ*.

ya·kkho· n., pumpkin.

ya·kma?, *-ya·g-/ya·k-* vi., locational 'to be', vide 3.3.

ya·kma?, *-ya·kt-/ya·k-* vi., stay up somewhere, get stuck up somewhere, remain (in a higher place).

ya·kma?, *-ya·kt-/ya·k-* vt., (with non-referential 3sP agreement) be adequate, be sufficient (of food); *ya·ktu* That'll be enough; cf. *kha·ma?*, *tɔkma?*, *yo·ma?*.

ya·kwa n., [*< *wa* water] the rain god.

ya·kwa pudza n., [*ya·kwa* rain goddess + *pudza* < Nep. *pūjā* prayer] prayer service invoking the rain god to initiate the pre-monsoon rains and grant a successful planting season; Nep. *sāsārī pūjā*, *dhul pūjā*; vide *ya·kwa khɔ·ma?* under *khɔ·ma?* (II.1).

ya·mbɔk n., work, task.

ya·ma?, *-ya·s-/-ya·-* vi., 1) be tickled, feel tickled, be ticklish (intensified with the aspectivizer *sima?*); 2) vide *mik ya·ma?*.

ya·mma?, *-ya·nd-/-ya·n-* 1) vt., (of a knife) cut, succeed at cutting; *meya·ndun* It didn't cut [it]; cf. *hasukma?*; 2) vt., succeed in getting something done, get something done, be capable of taking something on, be 'up to' a task or undertaking; *kheŋle meya·ndun* He's not up to it, it's too much for him; *ku·m? ya·nchui·ba* Would they^d manage to carry it?; 3) vt., (in a sexual sense) be 'up to', be capable of handling, be capable of taking someone on; *kheŋ menchuma--n ke-ya·nd-u-i·?* (that lady-ABS 2-be_capable_of-3P-Q) Can you take that girl on?; 4) vi., (sexual) be successful, work out, succeed; *ya·ndei· meya·ndenni·?* Did it happen or didn't it?.

ya·mma?, *-ya·nd-/-ya·n-* vt.imp., 1) (of water) be hot; *cwa?lin ya·ndui· meya·ndunni·?* Has the water gotten hot yet or not?; cf. *hanwama?*, *ko·ma?*, *le·kma?*, *mɔkma?*, *ycmma?*; 2) become enraged, become hot with rage; *anga a-sakken-ille ya·nd-an* (I my-ire-INST become_enraged-1sPS/PT) I became all hot with anger.

ya·n n., day; *thik ya·n so--so·rik mewaye* One day they were together.

ya·ndik n., [*ya·n* day + **-dik* period of day] free time, respite, leisure time; *ya·ndik ho·pma?* be busy, be without leisure time; *ya·ndik ho·p?e* I am busy; *ya·ndik tama?* be free, have leisure time; *ya·ndik kedei·?* Were you free?; *ya·ndik ta?e* I'll probably be free; cf. *lendik*, *idik*, *sendik*, *ta·ndik*, *yun-chik*.

ya·ŋma?, *-ya·ks-/-ya·ŋ-* 1) vi., be dizzy, feel vertiginous; (with intensifying aspectivizer *sima?*) have chills run down one's spine, experience sudden vertigo, be suddenly terrified, be scared to death, experience a vertiginous fright; *ya·ksaŋ syaŋ* I was dizzy as all hell; Nep. *jīu sirihā hunu*; 2) vt., frighten, shock.

ya·ŋma?, *-ya·ŋ-* vt., transfer.

ya·pma?, ya·r-/-ya·t-/-ya·ʔ1 vi., moan, groan.

ya·pma?, ya·r-/-ya·t-/-ya·ʔ1 vi., be (an amount); a·kkhen ya·ʔ1? How much is it?; a·kkhen ya·re? How much was it?; cf. a·kkha·pma?, koŋya·pma?, khenya·pma?, manbhaya·ppa.

ya·pmi vide na·pmi.

ya·rrrrr onomatopoeia, grrr; ko·co·ʔin ya·rrrrr lɔʔre The dog growled.

ye· emph.part.

ye· n., [*< ye·pma?* laugh] urge to laugh; vide *yu·ma?* (4).

ye·ŋma?, -ye·ks-/-ye·ŋ- vi., chatter, grind (of teeth) in one's sleep; sendik sa·rik kuha ye·kse His teeth really chattered in his sleep last night; khene? sendik sa·rik kcha keye·ŋ ləcə It appears you have the habit of really grinding your teeth in your sleep at night.

ye·pma?, -ye·r-/-ye·t-/-ye·ʔ1 vi., 1) laugh; cf. *ye·pma?*, *yu·ma?* (4); 2) *muse·ŋ lɔʔrik ye·pma?* smile.

ye·pma?, -ye·tt-/-ye·t-/-ye·ʔ1 vt., [dir. *< ye·pma?* laugh] laugh at someone; keye·ʔ1 lo·! (2-laugh_at ASS) He'll laugh at you if you don't watch out!

yeʔ1 n., bone; yeʔ1 is more apt to refer to a sun-bleached bone or bones found lying in the jungle, whereas səyeʔ1 is more apt to refer to bones in humans or in living or slaughtered animals.

yeʔ1leŋ vide yeʔ1lin.

yeʔ1lin, yeʔ1leŋ adv., [*< leŋ* turn, time] extremely; incessantly, constantly.

yeʔ1linkhəŋ adv., [*yeʔ1lin* extremely + *inghəŋ* news] repeatedly; *yeʔ1linkhəŋ mətneba*, *kendzo·gunni·?* I have told you repeatedly; Aren't you going to do it?

yekeyek adv., carefully, alertly, cautiously; *yekeyek co·geʔ!* Be careful!; *yekeyek lɔ·ndeʔ!* Come out carefully!

yemba n., husband.

yemba kehəŋma n., [lit. someone (f) who looks for a husband, husband + AP.f. of *həŋma?* 'look for'] whore, lascivious woman.

yembitcha n., [*< yemba* husband; *-*bitcha* pre-pubescent boy, cf. *hendzaʔbitcha*] man.

yembitcha-sa? n., [lit. man-child] son (circumlocution to disambiguate *sa?* if the gender is not obvious from the context).

yemma?, -yemd-/-yem- 1) vi., feel warm inside (said of ingested warm foodstuffs); 2) vt., scorch, burn (agent: the sun or a solid not undergoing combus-

tion); *keyem lo!* It'll burn you! (i.e. Don't touch it!); *meyemdunni?* Didn't it scald [your skin]? cf. *hanwama?*, *ko·ma?*, *le·kma?*, *mokma?*, *o?ma?*, *ya·mma?*.

yemma?, -*yeps*-/-*yem*- [caus. < *yepma?* stand] 1) vt., stand something up; 2) vt.imp., begin, start (of a season) *wage·k yepsu he·ktu* The monsoon has begun.

yenchi vide *yetchi*.

yepma?, -*yeb*-/-*yep*- vi., stand.

yepphu num.col., eight; cf. *yetchi*.

yetchaba n.m., orphan.

yetchama n.f., orphan.

yetchi, *yenchi* num., eight.

yetlen adv., [*yet* eight + *len* turn] eight times

ye·kma?, -*ye·kt*-/-*ye·k*- vi., wear, wear away, wear out, grow blunt (eg., *phedza·n* knife, *luḡin* rock).

ye·ḡma?, -*ye·ks*-/-*ye·ḡ*- vt., chew (with difficulty), grind; cf. *kha·mma?*, *yupma?*.

yəklagensuhanṣa n.poet., [**yəklagen* ?domestically well-situated + *su* < *subba* Limbu nobleman + *hanṣa* < *hanṣa?* prince] important personage.

yəllik, *yərik* adv., [*yən*- big < *yəmma?* + **-lik* adv.sf.; cf. *ke·llik*, *nurik*] much, many.

yəmba adj., [< *yəmma?* be large] large, big.

yəmma?, -*yənd*-/-*yən*- vi., be large; *cuk?i· yən?i?* Is it small or big?

yərik vide *yəllik*.

yo· adv., below, downstairs.

yo·ba adj. [< *yo·* below] lower, low.

yo·?ma?, -*yo·?r*-/-*yo·?*- vt., [dir. < *yo·ma?* be enough] give someone a second or third helping; add onto; *yo·?ruḡ* I gave him a second helping.

yo·-gərcə-yo· adv., [*yo·* below + *gərcə* if] way down there, way down below.

yo·ghəḡ dem., [*yo·* below + *khəḡ* that] that (one) down there.

yo·hi n., the oak species *Quercus glauca* and *lamellosa*; Nep. *phalāṭ*.

yo·k vide *yo·p*.

yo·m vide *pu?ma?*.

yo·ma?, -*yo·r*-/-*yo·-* 1) vi., amount to, attain, reach (eg. weight, sum of money); *a·kkhən təḡbe· keyo?* How many years old are you?; 2) vt.imp., be enough, be sufficient for someone; *yo·?e* It'll be enough for me; *khəḡha? yo·rusi* (3s→3ns) It will be enough for them; cf. *kha·ma?*, *təkma?*, *ya·kma?*.

yo·mma?, -*yo·nd*-/-*yo·n*- vi., 1) (with *tḡe?l* 'saliva')

salivate; *ku-dheʔl yo·nd-ε* (his-spit flow-PT) His mouth is watering; 2) dissolve; *yumin nurik me-yo·nden kusin lɔʔ* It looks as if the salt is not dissolving well.

yo·naŋnu adv., [*yo·* below, *-naŋ-* < **nahaŋ* direction, *-nu* COM] via the low road; cf. *tho·naŋnu*.

yo·p n., imprint, impression.

yo·ppa n., boar, an uncastrated hog raised for breeding purposes; cf. *phak*, *lami*.

yo·suma adj., [*< yo·* below] lower.

yo·waŋ vide *tho·waŋ-yo·waŋ*.

yo·yo·ʔ adv., [*< yo·* below] way down there.

yoʔmaʔ, *yoʔr-/yoʔ-* vt., grab someone by the back of the neck and push to the ground, causing him to fall.

yɔkma n., cattle-shed, pigsty, stable.

yɔkma-yo· n., [lit. shed-below] temporary lean-to or shed where one can spend the night, located in the fields downhill from and usu. at a considerable distance from the farmhouse; in the proverb: *yɔkma-yo· te·him luŋma pəhim* When away from home, one will get homesick.

yɔkmaʔ, *-yɔg-/yɔk-* vt., poke with one's finger (eg. in the dirt, in someone's side, in the entrails of a slaughtered animal).

yɔmaʔ, *-yɔr-/yɔ-* vi., cave in; *sɔpmaŋ yɔ iʔre·ʔe·* It'll probably cave in in a second; cf. *thupmaʔ*, *yɔmaʔ*.

yɔmaʔ, *-yɔs-/yɔ-* vt., [caus. < *yɔmaʔ* cave in] demolish; cf. *thummaʔ*.

yɔŋmaʔ, *-yɔŋ-* vt., lift up.

yɔŋyɔŋ adj.adv., [*< yɔŋmaʔ* lift up] lightweight; *yɔŋyɔŋ lɔʔ* It's light; *yɔŋyɔŋ lɔʔre* It didn't weigh much; cf. *la·pmaʔ*.

yɔŋyɔŋdanba n.adj., [*< yɔŋyɔŋ* lightweight + *-tanba* 2.1.2] light; the lightweight one, the light one.

yuʔmaʔ, *-yu·r-/yuʔ-* vt., [caus. < *yumaʔ* come down] bring down; cf. *phɛpmaʔ*, *taʔmaʔ*, *thakmaʔ*.

yuʔpa n., silver.

yukmaʔ, *-yukt-/yuk-* vt., [dir. < *yunmaʔ* sit] 1) sit on someone or some animal (animate patient; cf. *ke·pmaʔ*); mount; *ən-in yukt-u-ŋ* (horse-ABS mount-3P-1sA) I mount the horse; *ko·co· yukt-u-ŋ anga!* (dog mount-3P-1sA I) I'm going to mount the dog, I am! (child speaking); 2) (with *neʔl* [*< nepmaʔ* q.v.]) observe; *neʔl ayuktum* We are now observing the funereal practices and taboos.

yukna n., [*< yunmaʔ* sit] 1) stool, seat, chair; 2) bedding, bedding materials; Nep. *ochyān*.

yum n., salt; cf. *nepma?*, *yukma?* (2).

yuma n., 1) grandmother, 2) grand-aunt, 3) title of respect to an elderly lady.

yuma-sammaŋ n., [lit. grandmother-deity] an irritable household goddess who is born anew each dawn, matures during the course of the day and becomes an aged woman at night only to be reborn again at dawn; the attic of the main house is sacrosanct to her and off limits to non-family members; many taboos pertain to the attic such as not being allowed to sleep there alone; non-observance of any such household taboos arouses the anger of the *yuma-sammaŋ* who retaliates in all sorts of prankish and unpleasant ways; occasional sacrifices of female animals must be made to her, and it is imperative that the first single grain of the millet, rice and maize harvests be sacrificed to her; If neglected, she may inflict a member of the family with goiter, paralysis of one side of the face or cause some calamitous mishap; spouse of the *thc̄ba-sammaŋ*, q.v.

yuma? vi.irr., come down (movement descending toward goal); *tho·lam yyaŋ* I came down from up there; cf. *phemma?*, *tama?*, *thaŋma?*.

yuma?, -*yus*-/-*yu*- vt., [caus. < *yuma?* come down] distill; bring down through condensation; filter leavened grain; cf. *pupma?*, *si·pma?*.

yumlakpa n., [*yum* salt + < *lakma?* lick + -*pa* nom.sf.] salty spicy vegetable condiment; Nep. *acār*.

yumma?, -*yund*-/-*yun*- vi., [? < *yum* salt] vide *yo·mma?* (2).

yumma?, -*yups*-/-*yum*- vt., put on a belt (*phoʔi·*), gird, buckle oneself up; cf. *yupma?*.

yumma?l n., any cooked vegetable eaten during the main morning or evening meal together with some form of *tɔk*; Nep. *tihun*.

yummendzama sammaŋ n., [*yum* salt + *mɛn*- NEG + *ca*- eat + -*ma* NOM/f + *sammaŋ* household deity] household goddess who prohibits the eating of salt during *ɔkwama khɔ·ma?* (q.v.) and during the period of abstention following the death of a relative; cf. *nepma?*, *yukma?* (2).

yunchik, *yusik* adv., [*yun* evening + **sik* < -**dik* period of day] in the evening, from dusk to midnight; cf. *biha·ndik*, *idik*, *lendik*, *sendik*, *ta·ndik*, *ya·ndik*.

yuncho·ba n., [*yun* evening + **so·ba*] evening star, Venus; *ta·ncho·ba*, *yunchik*.

yunŋ n., [< *yunma?* put] handle.

yur̥maʔ, -yuks-/-yur̥- vt., [caus. < *yur̥maʔ* sit] 1) place, put, set, set aside; *suʔwa kɔʔo· ne·seʔ!* Put [your] bag down here!; *niŋwaʔo· yur̥maʔ vide -niŋwaʔo· yur̥maʔ*; 2) as aspectivizer: 'to hold' or 'to keep'; *kɛhukʔo· tɛmseʔ yukseʔ!* Catch [this] in your hand and hold it!; *kɛhukʔo· putteʔ yukseʔ!* Grab it and hold it firmly!

yur̥maʔ, -yur̥- vi., 1) sit, sit down; 2) reside, dwell, be located in a place.

yur̥madɛn n., [*yur̥maʔ* sit + -*dɛn* place] place to sit, seat; vide *yur̥masiŋ*.

yur̥masiŋ n., [*yur̥maʔ* sit + *siŋ* wood] chair, stool; esp. what in Nep. is referred to as a *muḍā*, an hour-glass-shaped bamboo wicker stool with deer hide stretched across the circular bottoms at either end.

yur̥siŋmaʔ vr., [< *yur̥maʔ* place, set] 1) sit oneself down; 2) *pa·nbuk yur̥siŋmaʔ vide pa·nbuk*.

yupmaʔ, -yupt-/-yup- vt., [dir. < *yummaʔ* put a belt on] put a belt (*phɔʔi·*) on someone, buckle someone up.

yupmaʔ, -yupt-/-yup- vt., leaven, add yeast (*khesuŋ*) to; add spices to.

yupmaʔ, -yutt-/-yut-/-yuʔl vt., 1) whet, sharpen (with repeated movements in the same direction, as opposed to *yaʔlapmaʔ*, q.v.); *henəŋ phɛdza·n keyuttuba* Why are you sharpening the knife?; 2) grind; *khunɛʔ luŋsumʔo· pe·naʔ yuttu* He's grinding millet on the *luŋsum*.

yusik vide *yunchik*.

yu·maʔ, -yu·s-/-yu·- vi., be activated, in the expressions: 1) -*miʔ yu·maʔ* feel sleepy; *amiʔ yu·se* I'm sleepy; cf. *wamaʔ*; 2) -*lɛm yu·maʔ* [*lɛm* kidney] lack the energy to do something, lack the spunk; *alɛm yu·se* I don't have the spunk; cf. *lɔʔmaʔ* (7), *tɔ·pmaʔ*; 3) with *immaʔ* 'to sleep' in the impersonal construction: *immaʔ yu·/yu·se* become/became sleepy; cf. Nep. *nidrā lāgcha/lāgyo*; 4) with *ye·ʔmaʔ* 'to laugh' or -*ye·* 'urge to laugh' in eg.: *ku-ye·ʔ-my-aŋ yu·s-ɛ* (his-laugh-INF-also be_activated-PT) He too felt the urge to laugh; *aye·pmʔ yu·* I shall have to laugh; *henəŋ keye·reʔ - keʔ-i·ndaŋ, hekkelle aye· yu·se* Why are you laughing? - You imitated me, so I had to laugh; 5) -*yam yu·maʔ* not look forward to doing something; *ayam yu·se ro!* Oh, I'm not looking forward to doing it at all!; cf. *lɔʔmaʔ* (7), *tɔ·pmaʔ*, *yu·maʔ* (2).

Appendix IV

Anthology of Kiranti Scripts

A brief history of the Kiranti script is given in section 0.2 of the Introduction.

The original Kiranti script attributed to the Limbu Buddhist monk *Śirijaṅgā* (probably died between 1775-1777) is reproduced on pp.552-553. The Kiranti script operates on the same basis as any Indic script. Like the Lepcha or Róng script in Sikkim, the original Kiranti script was Tibetan-inspired. Basically, the syllable initial is written in its full form and the associated vowel and, if applicable, post-consonantal glide are added as a diacritic flourish. The unmarked vowel corresponding to the grapheme 'a' is not indicated by a diacritic. It is the inherent vowel of any consonant unless replaced by another vowel or deleted by a *halant* or *virām* (see p.555-556). Only syllable-initial vowels are written in their full form.

Śirijaṅgā's script contains consonant symbols for the following phonetic values, using the notation in Campbell (1855):

k	kh	ng	
t	th	n	
b	bh	m	
j	ch	ny	
y	r	l	w
sh	s	h	

The legendary *Śirijaṅgā* appears to have felt that voicing in plosives was subphonemic, for his script does not distinguish voiced from voiceless stops, and it closely resembles the native phonemic system given for *Phedāppe* Limbu on p.1. The most striking difference between *Śirijaṅgā*'s script and the native phonemic system on p.1 is that there are two sibilant graphemes in *Śirijaṅgā*'s script: 's' and 'sh'. *Śirijaṅgā*'s 'ch' is probably a grapheme for the allophone of sibilant 's', as in *Phedāppe* (p.7).

Furthermore, the script has special symbols for rendering syllable final 'p', 'm', 'k', 'ng', 'l' and 'h'. One of the vowels, the 'i' which 'can take no final after et [sic; = it]', and the diacritic for the 'acute accent' are candidates for syllable final glottal stop.

If the anomalous 'ĩ' and the diphthong 'ai' are left out of consideration, the original Kiranti script appears to distinguish four vowel heights as does the native phonemic system:

ĩ				u
	ē		ō	
		ě	ǒ	
		a		

The original script has conventions for showing vowel length before final 'k' and 'ng'. Final 'h' might have been an independent device for indicating vowel length, but it might also be a misprint in Campbell's specimen. The diacritic rendering final 'h' according to Campbell corresponds to the diacritic for final *n* in the Limbu writing books in vol. 84 of the Hodgson Collection at the India Office Library in London and to *Cemjoñ*'s final *n* diacritic. The selfsame symbol is also given the value of final 'l' in Campbell's specimen. Final 'l', when it appears at all in the Hodgson books, is rendered by the symbol Ψ . There are also diacritics to indicate the postconsonantal glides *y* and *r*.

Two marks of punctuation are the full stop and the symbol for the clause-final assertive particle *lo*· (see 9.10).

In his very different and more *Devanāgarī*-inspired version of the Kiranti script some two centuries later, *Cemjoñ* (2010) had not only doubled the amount of occlusive graphemes by fabricating symbols for both voiced and voiceless stops (whereby the original stop graphemes sometimes served as the new voiced, sometimes as the new unvoiced stop graphemes), but also reshuffled the original script by re-assigning new values to some of the original graphemes:

ng	→	<i>t</i>	o	→	<i>ā</i>
t	→	<i>d</i>	ē	→	<i>eḥ</i>
sh	→	<i>ṣ</i>	ě	→	<i>e</i>
ch	→	<i>s</i>	ǒ	→	<i>o</i>
s	→	<i>ś</i>			

Cemjoñ re-designed virtually all of the letters to varying degrees and added orthographic equivalents for the Indo-Aryan graphemes *tr* and *jñ*, omitted the old symbol for 'ai', and added new symbols for *ai* and *au* and a Tibetan-inspired symbol for *aḥ* (probably *ɔ*).

Sirijaṅgā's original Kiranti script
as it was presented to Campbell by Lieut. Mainwaring
Campbell (1855) - Plate I

<p>The Limboo, or Yakthung ba Language consists of Twenty Eight Letters viz. nineteen Consonants, and nine vowels, which are as follow.</p>	<p>- ० āng - ० āng - ॰ ah - ॰ ap. Similar with the Tibetan and Lepcha this language has also a "ya x Ra" affixed</p>
<p>Consonants.</p>	<p>thus</p>
<p>Ka Ba Ma Ta Ya ॠ ॡ ॢ ॣ ।</p>	<p>- ॠ ya - ॡ Ra The vowels, Finals and ya</p>
<p>Tha Na Sha Nga Sa ॥ ० ॡ ॢ ॣ</p>	<p>& Ra are thus affixed to the Letters.</p>
<p>Wa Ha La Ja Bha । ॥ ॡ ॢ ॣ</p>	<p>ॠ Ka ॡ Kē ॢ Kē ॣ Kē । Ki ॥ Ku ॡ Kō ॢ Kō</p>
<p>Kha Ra Chat Nya । ॥ ॡ ॢ</p>	<p>ॠ Kai ॡ Kāk ॢ Kēk ॣ Kēk</p>
<p>Vowels. a ē ē ī ī u ō ō ai ॠ ॡ ॢ ॣ । ॥ ० ॡ ॢ ॣ ।</p>	<p>ॠ Kōk ॡ Kōk ॢ Kōk ॣ Kōk । Kōk ॥ Kōk ॠ Kāk ॡ Kēk ॢ Kēk ॣ Kēk । Kōk ॥ Kōk</p>
<p>There are also Seven</p>	<p>ॠ Kōk ॡ Kōk ॢ Kōk ॣ Kōk । Kōk ॥ Kōk ॠ Kam ॡ Kēm ॢ Kēm</p>
<p>Finals - ॠ āk - ॡ āk - ॢ am</p>	

Sirijaṅgā's original Kiranti script
 as it was presented to Campbell by Lieut. Mainwaring
 Campbell (1855) - Plate II

<p> $\text{ᳵ} \text{Kim}$ $\text{ᳶ} \text{Kum}$ $\text{᳷} \text{Kōm}$ $\text{᳸} \text{Kōm}$ $\text{᳹} \text{Kaim}$ $\text{ᳺ} \text{Kāṅ}$ $\text{᳻} \text{Kēṅ}$ $\text{᳼} \text{Kēṅ}$ $\text{᳾} \text{Kīṅ}$ $\text{᳿} \text{Kūṅ}$ $\text{᳽} \text{Kōṅ}$ $\text{᳾} \text{Kōṅ}$ $\text{᳽} \text{Kaing}$ $\text{᳾} \text{Kaṅ}$ $\text{᳽} \text{Kēṅ}$ $\text{᳽} \text{Kēṅ}$ $\text{᳾} \text{Kīṅ}$ $\text{᳿} \text{Kūṅ}$ $\text{᳽} \text{Kōṅ}$ $\text{᳾} \text{Kōṅ}$ $\text{᳽} \text{Kaṅ}$ $\text{᳾} \text{Kal}$ $\text{᳽} \text{Kēl}$ $\text{᳽} \text{Kēl}$ $\text{᳾} \text{Kil}$ $\text{᳿} \text{Kul}$ $\text{᳽} \text{Kōl}$ $\text{᳾} \text{Kōl}$ $\text{᳽} \text{Kail}$ $\text{᳾} \text{Kap}$ $\text{᳽} \text{Kēp}$ $\text{᳽} \text{Kēp}$ $\text{᳾} \text{Kip}$ $\text{᳿} \text{Kup}$ $\text{᳽} \text{Kōp}$ $\text{᳾} \text{Kōp}$ $\text{᳽} \text{Kaip}$ </p>	<p> $\text{᳾} \text{Kyāk}$ $\text{᳽} \text{Kjēk}$ $\text{᳽} \text{Kjēk}$ $\text{᳾} \text{Kyīk}$ $\text{᳿} \text{Kjūk}$ $\text{᳽} \text{Kyōk}$ $\text{᳾} \text{Kyōk}$ $\text{᳽} \text{Kyaik}$. $\text{᳾} \text{Kyāk}$ &c: and so on with the remaining finals.. $\text{᳾} \text{Kara}$ $\text{᳽} \text{Kēre}$ $\text{᳽} \text{Kēre}$ $\text{᳾} \text{Kiri}$ $\text{᳿} \text{Kuru}$ $\text{᳽} \text{Kōro}$ $\text{᳾} \text{Kōro}$ $\text{᳽} \text{Kairai}$ $\text{᳾} \text{Karāk}$ $\text{᳽} \text{Kērek}$ $\text{᳽} \text{Kērāk}$ $\text{᳾} \text{Kirīk}$ $\text{᳿} \text{Kuruk}$ $\text{᳽} \text{Kōrōk}$ $\text{᳾} \text{Kōrōk}$ $\text{᳽} \text{Kairaik}$ $\text{᳾} \text{Karāk}$ $\text{᳽} \text{Kēre}$ &c: &c: ᳾ Can take no final after et ○ Placed over a letter gives it an acute accent, as $\text{᳾} \text{kī}$ ᳾ Is sounded looooo it is me- rely a prolonged final note to the reading chaunt. Is the colon stop. </p>
<p> $\text{᳾} \text{Kya}$ $\text{᳽} \text{Kjē}$ $\text{᳽} \text{Kjē}$ $\text{᳾} \text{Kyī}$ $\text{᳿} \text{Kju}$ $\text{᳽} \text{Kyō}$ $\text{᳾} \text{Kyō}$ $\text{᳽} \text{Kjai}$ </p> <p>In like manner with $\text{᳾} \text{a}$ and the rest of the Conso- nants.</p>	

The Kiranti script as it appears in *Cemjoñ* (2010:21-23)
with phonetic equivalents in transliterated *devanāgarī*

𑄠	𑄡	𑄢	𑄣	𑄤
a	ā	i	u	e
𑄥	𑄦	𑄧	𑄨	𑄩
ai	o	au	aḥ	eḥ
𑄪	𑄫	𑄬	𑄭	𑄮
k	kh	g	gh	ṅ
𑄯	𑄰	𑄱	𑄲	𑄳
c	ch	j	jh	ñ
𑄴	𑄵	𑄶	𑄷	𑄸
t	th	d	dh	n
𑄹	𑄺	𑄻	𑄼	𑄽
p	ph	b	bh	m
𑄾	𑄿	𑅀	𑅁	𑅂
y	r	l	v	tr
𑅃	𑅄	𑅅	𑅆	𑅇
ś	ṣ	s	h	jñ

Syllable finals - *Cemjoñ* (2010)

 <i>kak</i>	 <i>kat</i>	 <i>kap</i>
 <i>kañ</i>	 <i>kan</i>	 <i>kam</i>
	 <i>kal</i>	

Post-consonantal glides - *Cemjoñ* (2010)

 <i>kya</i>	 <i>kra</i>	 <i>kva</i>
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The script has symbols for syllable final *k*, *t*, *p*, *ñ*, *n*, *m* and *l* and diacritics for the post-consonantal glides *y*, *r* and *v*.

Although *Cemjoñ* re-designed a new expanded version of the Kiranti script, he appears never to have published anything in this script. The first to start publishing systematically in the Kiranti script was B.B. Subba.

In the '70s, B.B. Subba started publishing textbooks in the Kiranti script for primary 1 through 5 for use by Limbu-speaking children at Sikkimese schools. The script he uses is largely based on *Cemjoñ*'s new Kiranti script, but he drops the graphemes for *jh*, *ñ*, *ş*, *tr* and *jñ* and modifies the appearance of some remaining letters. *Cemjoñ*'s diacritic for the glide *r* becomes Subba's new diacritic for syllable final *r*, while Subba introduces a new diacritic for post-consonantal *r*.

Subba introduces three important diacritics: the *mukphrèñ*, the *kemphrèñ* and the *sa-i*. The *mukphrèñ* indicates final glottal stop, the *kemphrèñ* vowel length, and the *sa-i* acts as a 'halant' to strip a consonant of its inherent

The Kiranti Script according to B.B. Subba (1976, 1979)

Vowel Symbols **कुठुं-सक** *kubuh-śak*

अ	आ	इ	उ	ए
a	ā	i	u	é
अइ	ओ	आउ	ऑ	ए
ai	o	au	ö	e

Consonant Symbols **कुठक-सक** *kuthak-śak*

क	ख	ग	घ	ङ
ka	kha	ga	gha	ṅa
च	छ	ज	झ	ञ
ca	cha	ja	śa	śa
ट	ठ	ड	ढ	न
ta	tha	da	dha	na
प	फ	ब	भ	म
pa	pha	ba	bha	ma
य	र	ल	व	ह
ya	ra	la	wa	ha

Syllable Finals **कुठुं-सक** *kèdumbā-śak*

क	क०	क̣	क०
kak	kañ	kat	kan
कय	कय	क̣	कय
kap	kam	kar	kal

Post-consonantal Glides **एकुठुं** *ektumbā*

कय	कय	कय
kya	kra	kwa

Diacritics in Subba's New Kiranti Script (1979)

<i>mukphrèn</i>	मुट्छे०	eg.	ᳵ,ᳶ	'to knead' <i>Phedāppe: so?ma?</i>
			᳷,᳸	'down here' <i>Phedāppe: ko?yo.</i>
<i>kemphrèn</i>	कुपुछे०	eg.	᳹,ᳺ	'to be late' <i>Phedāppe: su·ma?</i>
			᳻,᳼	'to share, to serve' <i>Phedāppe: ha·ma?</i>
<i>sa-i</i>	सि	eg.	᳽,᳾	'to enter' <i>Phedāppe: la·tma?</i>
			᳿,᳾	'sobbing'

The *mukphrèn* is certainly not originally an innovation of Subba's, for it appears in the Limbu title of *Cemjoñ's* dictionary (2010) for the glottal stop in the word *mik-phu?lā* 'English'. The dictionary also has a Nepali title and is itself written in *devanāgarī* script. *Cemjoñ* does not explain this diacritic in his brief discussion on the Kiranti script.

The *kemphrèn* and *sa-i* can also probably not be ascribed to B.B. Subba, although he is the first to explain their use of these diacritics and the first to use them in publications in the Limbu language. Subba also uses Kiranti decimal-based numerals, which are probably of his own creation, in page numbering as early as 1976. These are:

ᳶ	᳷	᳸	᳹	ᳺ	᳻	᳼	᳽	᳾	᳿
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0

In 1983, *J. Māden* published an instruction booklet on the Kiranti script and numerals. The numerals he presents are those of Subba (1976), but the script is a *mélange* of the symbols we find in *Cemjoñ* (2010) and Subba (1979). However, he omits the *kemphrèñ*, *mukphrèñ* and *sa-i* and adds two innovations of his own, an orthographic variant of the *ch*-grapheme and a Kiranti question mark:



ch



?

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List of Plates

- Plate 1 A characteristic Limbu house in *Tamphulā* with fodder stored in a tree, not far from *Ya·k-pɔ·ppo·ŋ* (see p.xxvi)
- Plate 2 A visiting *nɛndre·ʔ* with child in the *lɔkkhum* of the *Panyangu* family
- Plate 3 *Amma* (*Bhīm Matī Panyangu*), the mater familias
- Plate 4 On the veranda at *Ya·k-pɔ·ppo·ŋ*, from left to right: *pho·ksarumba* (*Lay Prasād*), a neighbourhood *luŋaʔ* and *pho·kwama* (*Dhan Kumārī*, alias *bābā*)
- Plate 5 *Kānchī* (*tumma*, see p.v) scrubbing the pots and pans with ashes at the edge of the *lɔkkhum* above the pigsty
- Plate 6 *Pho·kwama* (*Dhan Kumārī*, alias *bābā*) doing her hair on the veranda
- Plate 7 *Yuma* (right) and two neighbours on the veranda at *Ya·k-pɔ·ppo·ŋ*
- Plate 8 A genetically unrelated '*luŋaʔ*', who has come down from *Saṅkrāntī* with *Nārāyaṇ Prasād*'s paternal aunt (*nyaʔ*) and her children to carry their baggage for them, drinks *tɔŋba* on the veranda at *Ya·k-pɔ·ppo·ŋ* (see pp.277-280).
- Plate 9 *Nyaʔre kubho·kwaba saʔ* or *luŋaʔ pho·kwaba* (*Nārāyaṇ Prasād*'s paternal aunt's youngest son) defiling a *phɔgəna* in ignorant bliss
- Plate 10 *Nyaʔre kudumba saʔ* or *luŋaʔ tumba* (*Nārāyaṇ Prasād*'s paternal aunt's eldest son) on the *lɔkkhum* at *Ya·k-pɔ·ppo·ŋ* with a *thɔŋga* on the ground in front of him



1



2



3



4





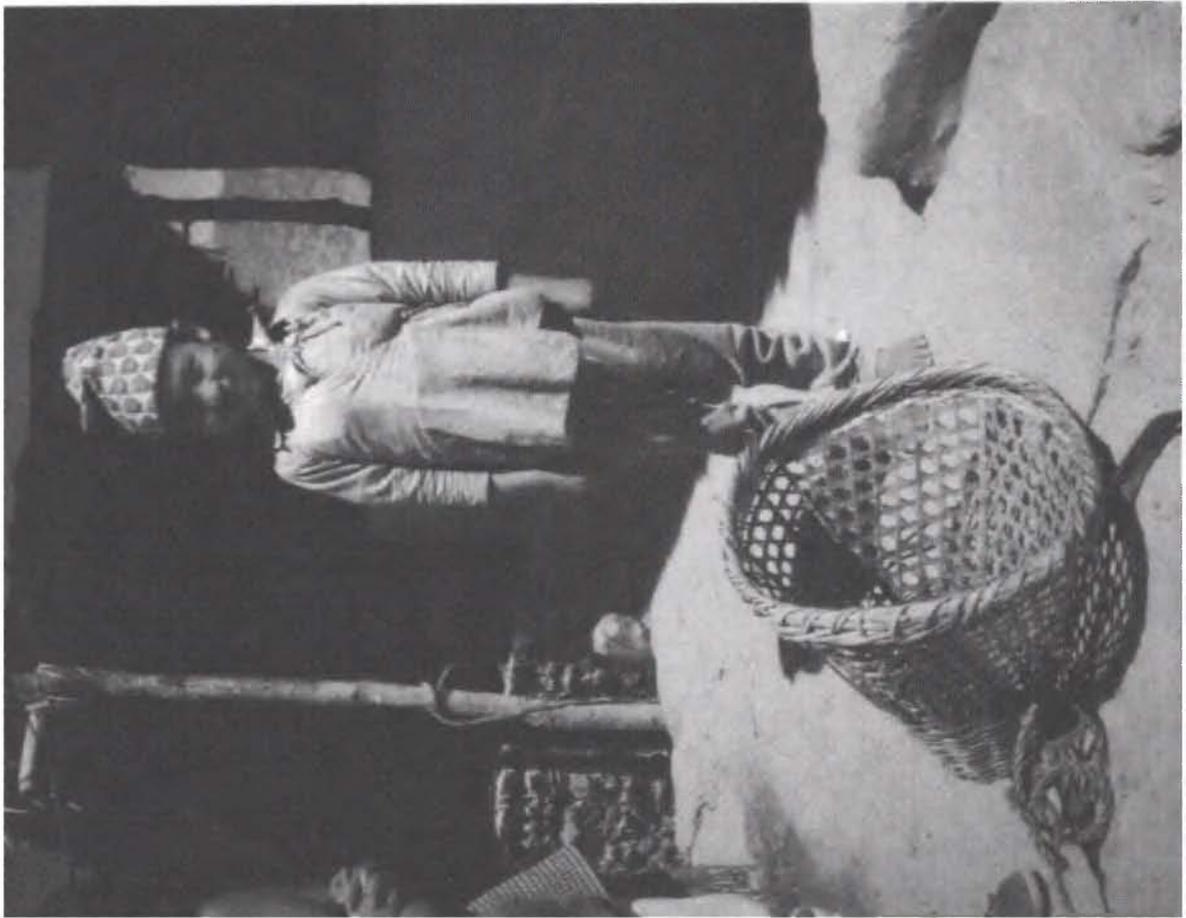
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