

# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.0 Background

This study is an attempt to analyze about Tamang verb morphology focusing mainly on the tense, aspect and mood of the Tamang language of Khahare Pangu, Kavre district.

Tamang is one of the Tibeto-Burman languages spoken by the Tamang community in Nepal, living primarily in the surrounding districts of the Kathmandu valley. The word 'Tamang' denotes both the ethnic community and the language of the Tamang people. Within the Tamang community, people share their feeling through 'Tamang *Tam*', 'Tamang *Kai*' and 'Tamang *Gyot* or *Gyoi*' etc. All these different words mean speech, and language.

Tamang geographic and demographic location is best illustrated by Varenkamp (1996) as "Tamang people's heartland is a non-uniform circle encompassing the districts around the Kathmandu valley to one district beyond that in nearly every direction. Mazaudon (1973:18) says, "80 percent of the Tamangs of Nepal live in a roughly rectangular region of 100 kilometers north-south by 180 km east-west...about meridian 85° east to meridian 86°30'25". Tamang speakers heavily populate in most of the districts of the Bagmati Zone and many districts of the Janakpur Zone, as well as significantly populous districts of the Narayani, Gandaki and Sagarmatha Zones". Rasuwa, Nuwakot, Dhading, Kathmandu, Lalitpur, Bhaktapur, Kavrepalanchok, Dolakha, Makawanpur, Ramechhap, and Sindhuli are the districts where Tamang people have been densely populated. In these districts, Tamang language, culture and identity is high in prominence. Beside these districts Tamangs are found scattered across the country.

The total population of the Tamang community is reported to be 1,539,830 and the number of active speakers is 1,353,311 (5.19%) (CBS, 2011). Most of the Tamang settlements are mixed with other ethnic groups like Newars, Brahmins, Chhetris and others. These mixed settlements have greatly influenced in the choices of language use

for communication. Beside the mixed settlement, employment, migration, dispersion, education, modernity etc also play the crucial role in language change and language shift.

Despite the language shift, mother tongue retention in Tamang is high compare to other nationalities languages. It shows that there is a strong sense of language loyalty and viability in the Tamang community. At the same time, there is a growing consciousness within the larger Tamang community to preserve their tradition, language and culture. Nepal Tamang Ghedung, a national organization of Tamang people and other organizations have been making concerted efforts for preserving and promoting the Tamang language and culture.

Tamang dialects are classified into various geographical locations it can mainly be distinguished into two dialect categories eastern and western. Ethnologue (2012:83) has divided the Tamang language into Eastern, Eastern- Gorkha, North West, South Western and Western. Varenkamp's sociolinguistic survey has classified the Tamang language of the Eastern variety into Outer-Eastern language, Central-Eastern Tamang. The eastern Tamang variety seems to stretch from the Bagmati Zone towards the Eastern Development Region. But in the Eastern Development Region other Tamang dialects do seem to be in existence in parallel with the Eastern variety. On my own observation, Eastern Tamang can be further divided into Chobke, Kandoke and Palanchowke. Chobke variety is spoken in Bhojpur district and spreads towards the other eastern districts. Khandoke is mainly spoken in Khotang and Sankhasabha districts. Palanchowke is the variety similar to the Sindupalchowk, Ramechhap and Kavre variety and can be generally regarded as the central variety as prescribed by Varenkamp (1996).

### **1.1 Statement of problem**

Tamang is one of the major ethnic languages spoken in Nepal. Some studies have been carried out as an attempt to explore the community and its language. Most of the Tamang studies have been focused on the western variety. However, the Kavre variety of the eastern dialect of Tamang language has not come under the attention of the linguistic study. Tamang language is still in the process of documentation and development. The problem of this study is to present 'Tamang Verb Morphology' mainly spoken in

Khahare Pangu region of Kavre district. The study has attempted to answer the following questions:

- a. What is the tense system in Tamang language?
- b. How are aspects realized in the language?
- c. How are mood and modality encoded in the language?

### **1.2 Objectives of the study**

The main objective of the study is to analyze verb morphology in Tamang from the formal and functional perspective framework. The specific objectives of the study are as follows:

- a. to analyze the tense in Tamang;
- b. to examine the aspectual relation in Tamang and
- c. to analyze the mood and modality present in Tamang.

### **1.3 Review of literature**

Many considerable efforts have been made to describe the various aspects of the Tamang language by different scholars from home and abroad. Tamang language is still in the process of documentation and study. However, the studies have particularly been focused in the morphological and syntactic aspects of the language till date. Here are some of the significant studies regarding Tamang language:

Taylor (1973) has worked on the clause patterns in western Tamang from the Tagmemic theory of the western Tamang. In her study, she has discussed the contrastive system and the role maker system. He has contrasted between state and event and defined that the simple past tense is inherently an expression of an event and stative tenses are inherent expression of a state. With the contrastive system, she has shown that tense aspect and mood inflected patterns and eventivising, stativising and other rules in derived patterns.

Varenkamp (1996) has carried out a sociolinguistic research on Eastern Tamang which focuses on the vitality and distribution of dialects of Eastern Tamang. His study was conducted with a view that it could be a prerequisite to other linguistic endeavors. He tries to show the complex situation of the Tamang dialects with in the eastern dialects. He has described the Tamang people from academic and also from the historical

development point of view. He has also discussed Tamang tone system and stressed that Temal area is the most prominent area for Tamang language development.

Kansakar (1999) has studied similarity and difference between the Newar and Tamang language on the basis of syntactic typology. His chosen Tamang language was also of the eastern variety. He has elicited the data of ten class of stem-final consonant and divides the Tamang verb into three category of transitive, intransitive and finite and infinite. He points out that *-ji* and *-ci* are used for past tense and *-laa* for non-past tense. He also asserts that in Tamang the non-past can be of present and future time referencing. In aspectual relation he states that marker *-baa* is for perfect aspect and *-baan* for imperfective (progressive). The *-baa* is also used in habitual as perfective and *-laa* in habitual as imperfective.

Chalise(1999) has studied the verb morphology of the western Tamang. He has classified the Tamang stems into different sets. Tamang verbal system does not distinguish the tense, aspect and modality independently which is fused into single unit. The tense in Tamang is categorized into absolute tense which is further divided into past and non-past tense. He asserts that the Tamang tense system should be divided into eventive and stative situations where the past stative situations is expressed by non-past tense and past eventive with past tense. He argues that modality system is prominent in Tamang and mood will not be able to capture all the behaviour of the language. He further adds that Tamang is an agglutinating and monosyllabic language where the same morpheme can function as word and as an affix.

Poudel (2002) has studied the Tamang language spoken in the Dhankuta District. He has described about different classes and their functions of the Tamang language. In the verbal categories, he presented the structure of the finite verb and the copular verb and analyzed the tense-aspect and modality.

He asserts that the auxiliary follows the verb and modal follows the auxiliary but is not obligatory. He has distinguished the imperative mood markers into *p*-group, which is inflected into *-ci* and *-cim* markers and *b*-group into *-zi* and *-zim* as realized in past event.

The tense is realized into simple compound and unknown in the non-past and past tense respectively. He also has presented five moods in Tamang.

Mazaudon (2003) has summarized the Tamang language of Risangu of Sindhupalchowk district. She has focused on the phonology, typology, noun phrase, verb phrase etc. She has tried to cover the important aspect of the Tamang language from the grammatical point of view. The paper summarizes the features of Tamang language of the eastern variety. She points that stative verbs carry verbal suffixes which can be used in perfective with an inchoative meaning. She further adds that copula is not that mandatory in Tamang language and states that *hin* and *mu* are the main copula of the language and copular *ta* can be used in the meaning of excess.

She stresses that *mu* and *hin* are the non-perfective suffixes and that *-la* does not have its usual future/irealis value rather it is a plain non-past or imperfective. The stative verb is used as an expressing inchoative meaning in perfective. She describes modality as verb to verb constructions which could be complex verb phrase belonging to a single clause.

The literature review mentioned above represents some of the major linguistic study on Tamang language. However, none of these works describes verb morphology of the eastern variety. Moreover, these studies are namely based on dictated sentences rather than corpus data.

#### **1.4 Significance of the study**

This study focuses on the eastern dialect of Tamang spoken in Kavre Palanchowk district of Khahare Pangu area, which in VarenKamp's classification falls into Central Eastern type. This study tries to attempt to present the linguistic description of the Tamang central-eastern variety which may be of great importance

- This study can be the foundation for the further research of the language.
- This study can be beneficial for the scholars, researchers and educators and others, who desire to know more about the language.
- As this study is focused on the eastern-central Tamang variety of Kavre district, the study can be used in the dialectal study of other Tamang variety.

- It can be useful for the development of the Tamang language in the field of education for development of the teaching materials.
- It can be useful in preservation and promotion of the language.
- This variety of Tamang language is widely used in media and in communication within the Kathmandu valley.

## 1.5 Research methodology

This research methodology applied in this study is as follows:

### 1.5.1 Area of study

The study area lies in the central part of the Kavre District of the Bagmati zone. The area lies on the south from the Dulikhel and south west from Dapcha.



Source <http://www.thekingdomofnepal.com/kavrepalanchok-district-map/>

### **1.5.2 Sources of data**

In this study, both primary and secondary data were collected. The primary data of the study were recorded from the two native Tamang speakers of the Khahare Pangu. The primary speakers selected were one male and one female from the area and they were Pritam Lama and Basanti Lama. Both of the speakers were students and were brother and sister in relation who stayed in Kritipur. All the primary data were collected in Kritipur at their residence.

The primary data collected were audio texts including the interviews, stories and basic sentences. Interviews were conducted in Tamang language by Rajendra Thokar in Tamang language for five minutes. Interviews main objective was to gather the past, present and future structures from the speakers. One story was collected from the speaker. Story was a pre-mediated event as it was told beforehand and was made to retold in Tamang language from the speaker. Basic sentences were not recorded but were discussed in order to get a general overview of the language structure.

Similarly, the secondary data were collected from the available texts, publications, and research works on Tamang language. All related research materials, publications on the Tamang languages were thoroughly accessed and analyzed during the study.

### **1.5.3 Theoretical framework**

This study has analyzed the tense, aspect and mood in Tamang. The analysis of tense, aspect and mood is topological based mainly functional typological framework based on Talmy Givon(2001), DNS Bhat(1999), Bybee, Perkins, and Pegliuca (1994), B. Comrie (1976, 1985) and further supplemented by Palmer (1986) and Timberlake (2006).

### **1.5.4 Analysis**



All the spoken texts were recorded using the ZOOM1 recording device in wave format. The texts are transcribed using the IPA (International Phonetic Alphabet) and their corresponding meanings were noted in a notebook. The transcription was done according to the phonemic chart in Table 1.1 and Table 1.2. The translation and appropriate abbreviation were all were done in writing. Then the corrected and finalize data were inserted into the ToolBox 1.5.5 software.

Firstly, the basic sentences were inserted in the ToolBox as it were easy to break into appropriate morpheme. Then it was interlinearize with appropriate meaning, translation and abbreviation. The interviews data and the story data had been rechecked many times for accuracy. The final translation from Tamang into English also took many changes from the initial draft.

Table 1.1: Vowel Inventory

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e		o
Low		a	

Table 1.2: Consonant inventory

PLACE OF ARTICULATION 	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
MANNER OF ARTICULATION 						
Plosives	p b p <sup>h</sup>	t d t <sup>h</sup>	T D T <sup>h</sup> D		k g k <sup>h</sup>	h
Affricate			c j c <sup>h</sup>			
Nasal	m	n			ŋ	
Trill			r			
Fricative			s			
Approximant	w			y		
Lateral			l			

### 1.6 Limitation of study

This study is limited only to verb morphology of the Khahare Pangu Tamang language spoken in Kavre with the limited corpus of two hundred and forty five discourse sentences. Even with this amount of the sentences the study further had to use extra fourteen elicited sentences to supplement in the grammatical description. This study is based on spoken data based on the limited people of Khahare Pangu and genre used for

building corpus was also limited. So this study provides the partial description of verb morphology of Tamang.

### **1.7 Organization of the study**

This study has been organized into five chapters. The first chapter deals with the background of the study, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, research methodology and method of data collection. Chapter Two discuss about the general overview of Tamang verb with copula verbs. Chapter Three discuss about the tense and aspect of the language. The proposition expressed by the speaker, agent's internal or external volition which we refer as mood and modality is dealt in Chapter four. Chapter five presents the summary of the findings of the study. At the end, the reference and annexes are presented of the analyzed text.

# CHAPTER TWO

## TAMANG VERB

### 2.0 Outline

In this chapter, we discuss about the different forms of Tamang verb stems. This chapter mainly focuses on the Tamang verb stems and different verb forms. It is organized into six sections. We discuss the Tamang verb stem in section 2.1 where we discuss the syllable structure and classification. In section 2.2 we deal with the causative stem and section 2.3 Negative stem. In section 2.4 General features of Tamang verb where we discuss about the compound verb, complex verb, derived verb, honorific verb, borrowed verb and distinct verb. In section 2.5 copular verb is discuss where we discuss about the *hin-*, *mu-* and *re* copular verb. The whole chapter is summarized in section 2.6.

### 2.1 Tamang verb stem

Tamang verb stems are generally mono-syllabic in nature and functions as the root of the verb (Mazaudon2003:293). The verb stem carries the lexical meaning of the verb. The verb stem are attached with different temporal morpheme to express tense, aspect and modality and sometimes other grammatical notion.

#### 2.1.1 Syllable structure

Tamang verb stem can be represented simply by the syllable structure. The basic Tamang verb syllable can both be open or closed and they do end in consonant or vowel. From the collected data following syllable structures were seem to be prominent.

Table 2.1 Syllable structure of Tamang verb stem

	Syllable	Verb stem	Gloss
I	cv	<i>ca</i>	‘eat’
II	cvv	<i>tai</i>	‘cook’
III	cvc	<i>cuj</i>	‘catch’
IV	ccv	<i>bra</i>	‘walk’
V	ccvc	<i>mraŋ</i>	‘see’

### 2.1.2 Verb stem classification

Tamang verb stem can be classified according to final ending into two groups as consonant final ending and vowel final ending.

#### A. Consonant final ending

Consonant final ending are the verb stems that falls on the grouping of III and V of Table 2.1 of the Tamang syllable structure of Tamang verb. The collected data are presented in (1a-g).

- (1)
- |    |     |                         |            |
|----|-----|-------------------------|------------|
| a. | /p/ |                         |            |
|    |     | <i>rup</i>              | 'meet'     |
|    |     | <i>r<sup>h</sup>ap</i>  | 'play'     |
|    |     | <i>lop</i>              | 'teach'    |
| b. | /t/ |                         |            |
|    |     | <i>net</i>              | 'laugh'    |
|    |     | <i>set</i>              | 'kill'     |
| c. | /k/ |                         |            |
|    |     | <i>dik</i>              | 'conspire' |
| d. | /n/ |                         |            |
|    |     | <i>pin</i>              | 'give'     |
|    |     | <i>han</i>              | 'cut'      |
|    |     | <i>man</i>              | 'feel'     |
| e. | /ŋ/ |                         |            |
|    |     | <i>mraŋ</i>             | 'see'      |
|    |     | <i>cuŋ</i>              | 'catch'    |
|    |     | <i>k<sup>h</sup>ruŋ</i> | 'wait'     |
| f. | /r/ |                         |            |
|    |     | <i>yar</i>              | 'run'      |
| g. | /l/ |                         |            |

*kyal* 'swim'  
*sil* 'birth'

Seven consonant final ending verb stems are found in the collected data.

### **B. Vowel final ending**

Vowel ending are the verb stem ending in the syllable structure of I, II and IV in Table 2.

1. Vowel ending verb stems are presented in (2a-e).

- (2)
- |    |     |           |              |
|----|-----|-----------|--------------|
| a. | /i/ |           |              |
|    |     | <i>bi</i> | 'say'        |
| b. | /e/ |           |              |
|    |     | <i>se</i> | 'understand' |
| c. | /a/ |           |              |
|    |     | <i>la</i> | 'do'         |
| d. | /u/ |           |              |
|    |     | <i>su</i> | 'plant'      |
| e. | /o/ |           |              |
|    |     | <i>yo</i> | 'steal'      |

In the collected data from (2a-e) the five verbs appear to end with vowel at the stem. Verbs stem do play an important role in the morphophonemic changes with the tense, aspect and mood marker in the Tamang language.

#### **2.1.3 Morphophonemic change**

Morphophonemic change is the important features of Tamang language. In this study, the general morphophonemic change in tense and imperative are been discussed.

#### **A. With Tense**

The consonant verb stem can further be classified into two groups structurally; viz. *-n* ending and non *-n* ending. Structurally, the *-n* ending verb stem behave differently when

the non-past *la-* tense marker is suffixed to it. Table 2.2 presents the different conjugation of Tamang verb stem with the tense marker with the *-n* ending consonant final.

Table 2.2: Table showing the *-n* ending verb root with past and non-past tense

Stem	Gloss	Past Tense <i>-ji</i>	Non-past Tense <i>-la</i>
pin	‘give’	<i>pin-ji</i>	<i>pin-na</i>
hen	‘cut’	<i>han-ji</i>	<i>han-na</i>
man	‘feel’	<i>man-ji</i>	<i>man-na</i>

The data presented in Table 2.2 shows the change in the suffix *-la* when it is attached to the verb stem. The suffix *-la* is changed to *-na*. The suffix is assimilated with the consonant which immediately precedes the suffix. Thus, the classification of the verb stems into *-n* ending versus non *-n* is relevant.

Some of the voiceless consonant ending in *-p* changed the non-past tense marker *-ba* into *-pa* which is illustrated in the table 2.3.

Table 2.3: Table showing the *-p* ending verb root with Non-past tense *-la* and *-ba*

Stem	Gloss	Non-Past Tense <i>-la</i>	Non-Past Tense <i>-ba</i>
rap	‘play’	<i>rap-la</i>	<i>rap-pa</i>
kyap	‘put’	<i>kyap-la</i>	<i>kyap-pa</i>

The verb ending in the voiceless consonant like *-p* changed the non-past tense marker voiced maker *-ba* into voiceless *-pa*.

### **B. Imperative formation**

Tamang verb stems behave differently with the imperative markers *-o*, *-u* and *-go* with the verb stem. The imperative markers that get attached with the verb stem depend upon the verb final ending which can be presented in tabulated form in table 2.4.

Table 2.4: Tamang verb stem finals with imperative markers.

Verb stem final	Imperative	Examples
Consonant	-o	pin-o
Vowel	-u	ni-u
Breathy	-go	paŋ-go

The imperative marker *-o* is used with the consonant endings and *-u* marker with vowel ending and with breathy *-go* is attached while making imperative. The examples of the imperative are given in section 4.3.1.

## 2.2 Causative stem

Causative in Tamang is morphologically marked by *-na* marker in the main verb and *-la* ‘do’ verb. The examples of causative stem with respect to non-causative are presented both with transitive and intransitive in examples (3a-b).

(3) a(i) *nimase kan caji* (BL\_BS.044)

nima -se kan ca -ji  
Nima -ERG rice eat -PST

'Nima ate rice.'

(ii) *pemase nimada kan cana laji* (BL\_BS.045)

pema -se nima -da kan ca -na la -ji  
Pema -ERG Nima -DAT rice eat -CAUS do -PST

'Pema made Nima eat rice.'

b(i) *ɲani ɲeji* (BL\_BS.046)

ɲa -ni ɲe -ji  
1SG -PL.EXCL laugh -PST

'We laughed.'

(ii) *ese ɲanida ɲena laji* (BL\_BS.047)

e -se ɲa -ni -da ɲe -na la -ji  
2SG.N-HON -ERG 1SG -PL.EXCL -DAT laugh -CAUS do -PST

'You made us laugh.'

In the examples (3a.i) and (3b.i) are the non-causative sentences where as the examples (3a.ii) and (3.bii) are the examples of the causative sentences with *-na* causativizers.

### 2.3 Negative Stem

Negation stem is morphologically with *a-* prefixed on a verb stem. The example of negative stem is presented in examples (4 a-b).

(4) a. *ŋa airak at<sup>h</sup>uŋba* (BL\_BS.016)

*ŋa airak a- t<sup>h</sup>uŋ -ba*  
 1SG wine NEG- drink -NPST  
 'I don't drink liquor.'

b. *ŋani t<sup>h</sup>iri ani* (BL\_BS.040)

*ŋa -ni t<sup>h</sup>i -ri a- ni*  
 1SG -PL.EXCL there -LOC NEG- go  
 'We don't go there.'

In examples (4a-b) negative *a-* morpheme negate the verb by attaching as a prefix with the verb stem.

### 2.4 General Features of Tamang Verb

#### 2.4.1 Compound verb

Compound stems are formed by the combination of more than one verb roots acting as a single unit. Each of these conjoined verbs in the compound verbs has their own distinct lexical meaning. Usually, in the construction of the compound verb the first verbs' lexical meaning is retained as the lexical meaning of the compound verb and the second verb in the series usually carries the temporal or other grammatical information. But in some instances, the compound verb yields a new meaning from the combination. I apply the term 'meaning changing' for the compound verb which manifests a new meaning and 'meaning preserving' for compound verb which retains which retains one of the lexical meaning of the conjoined verbs.

## I. Meaning changing

In this compound verb the two verbs join to give a new meaning. The joining verbs lose its core meaning and the new compound verb carries a new meaning; irrespective of their original lexical meanings. This is illustrated in the example (5).

- (5) *benanda dimri nibiba T<sup>h</sup>yakka lundi dok<sup>h</sup>ajim* (BL\_ST.035)  
benan-da dim -ri ni -bi -ba T<sup>h</sup>yakka lundi do -k<sup>h</sup>a -jim  
all -DAT house -LOC go -say -NMLZ exact jackal reach -come -EVID  
'When all were about to return home, the jackal arrived.'

In example (5), the *do-* 'reach' and *-k<sup>h</sup>a* 'come' jointly becomes 'arrive'. The core meanings of both the verbs get lost and yield a new meaning<sup>1</sup>.

## B. Meaning preserving

In this kind of compound verb, the meaning of the conjoined verbs is not lost. The first verb that carries the core meaning is preserved and the second verb that conjoined carries the aspectual value. Further, it can be made into finite by the help of copular verb. The example of meaning preserving is presented in example (6).

- (6) *ηai kan cajinba muba* (PL\_BS.035)  
ηa -i kan ca -jin -ba mu -ba  
1SG -ERG rice eat -finish -PRF be -NPST  
'I had eaten rice.'

In the example (4), the *ca-* 'eat' and *-jin* 'finish' verb conjoined to give the meaning for the completion of eating food. The copular verb *mu-* with appropriate tense or aspect marking determines the act was completed in the temporal setting. In example (4), it is evident that the *jin-* 'finish' verb carries the grammatical notion<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> This is a kind of serial verb construction. Hildebrandt (2014:422) notes that in Manange, a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in Manang "sequences of verbs lacking any conjunctions that together form a single complex predicate."

<sup>2</sup> Some Tibeto-Burman languages (Tibetan varieties) also make use of the verb *-sin* 'finish' as the second member in serial verb construction (Huber 2002:203)

### 2.4.2 Complex verb stem

Complex verb stem are formed by the combination of verb with other class. From the collected data complex verb is formed with combination of noun and adjective.

#### A. Noun and verb

In this type of complex verb the noun and the verb are combined to form the complex stem. Examples are provided in (7a-b).

- (7) a. *t<sup>h</sup>ese cyanpunji* (EL\_DT.012)  
t<sup>h</sup>e -se cyan -pun -ji  
3sg -ERG urine -hit -PST  
'He urinated'
- b. *tirem t<sup>h</sup>e memamase kola najim* (BL\_ST.011)  
tirem t<sup>h</sup>e me -mama -se kola na -jim  
once that cow -female -ERG baby birth -EVID  
'Once, that cow gave birth to calf.'

In example (7a), the verb *pun-* 'hit' forms the complex verb stem with noun *cyan* 'urine'. Similarly, in example (7b) the *na-* 'birth' verb forms the complex verb with noun *kola* 'baby'.

### 2.4.3 Derived verb

In Tamang, derivation process of changing noun or adjective into verb is not very productive. The process of changing of noun into verbs does not happen automatically. It follows the reduplication process where the first noun remains as the noun and the second noun functions as the verb with appropriate verbs marker. Example (8) illustrated the process of changing of noun into verb.

- (8) *ese tilma jyaba kwan kwanban muba* (BL\_BS.023)  
e -se tilma jyaba kwan kwan -ban mu -ba  
2SG.N-HON-ERG yesterday good cloth wear -PROG be -NPST  
'Yesterday you were wearing beautiful cloth.'

In example (8), the *kwan* ‘cloth’ has changed into the verb to give the verb meaning of ‘wear’.

#### 2.4.4 Honorific Verb

Some Tamang verbs do show the honorificity. Honorific verbs are generally used in special cases specially for showing respect to elders, guests and other respected folks. The honorific verb in Tamang shows the gradation of respect shown by the speaker. Generally, three levels of honorific verb stems are found in Tamang which are presented in (9a-c).

- (9) a. *ale dimri Tiba* (PL\_BS.051)  
 ale                    dim -ri    Ti -ba  
 younger brother house -LOC sit -NPST  
 'Young brother is at home'
- b. *lop<sup>h</sup>engade lop<sup>h</sup>aŋri syuba* (PL\_IT.040)  
 lop<sup>h</sup>en -gade lop<sup>h</sup>aŋ -ri    syu    -ba  
 teacher -PL school -LOC sit.HON -NPST  
 'Teachers are staying at school.'
- c. *lama gumbari danc<sup>h</sup>yaba* (BL\_BS.054)  
 lama gumba -ri    danc<sup>h</sup>ya -ba  
 lama gumba -LOC sit.HHON -NPST  
 'Lama stays in gumba.'

In the example above different (9a), the verb *Ti-* ‘stay’ is used in a general form. But the more honorific of the same In example (9b), a higher honorific form of the verb is used as *syu-* for *Ti-*. Similarly in example (9c), the highest honorific form *danc<sup>h</sup>ya* is used for respect for the Lama.

Some elicited honorific verbs are given in Table 2.4.

Table 2.5: Honorific verb with gradation

Verb stem	Gloss	Normal	Higher	Highest
<i>Ti-</i>	‘stay’	<i>Ti-</i>	<i>syu-</i>	<i>danc<sup>h</sup>ya-</i>
<i>ni-</i>	‘go’	<i>ni-</i>	<i>se-</i>	<i>p<sup>h</sup>ep-</i>
<i>ca</i>	eat	<i>ca-</i>	<i>sol-</i>	<i>c<sup>h</sup>yo-</i>

#### 2.4.5 Borrowed Verbs

Tamang language has a tendency to borrowed verbs from Nepali and other languages. From the collected data few of Nepali verbs are found in the text. The borrowed verbs are not used as they are used in Nepali language. They are used as lexicalized Tamang verbs.

- (10) a. *ŋa labritori haier sekondari iskulri paDab laba* (PL\_IT.004)  
 ŋa labritori haier sekondari iskul-ri paDab la-ba  
 1SG Laboratory higher secondary school-LOC study do-NPST  
 'I study at Laboratory Higher Secondary School.'
- b. *ah p<sup>h</sup>aTa lundi syoŋri haimai me lagab tala* (BL\_ST.040)  
 ah p<sup>h</sup>aTa lundi syoŋ-ri k<sup>h</sup>aima-i me lagab ta-la  
 ah liar jackal river-LOC when-INT fire feel be-NPST  
 'Ah! liar jackal, "How can there be fire in the river?"'

In the examples (10a-b), the Nepali verb root *pad* ‘read’ and *lag* ‘feel’ is lexicalized and the mono-syllable of the root word is changed into bi-syllabic word as *paD-ab* and *lag-ab*. In some Tamang dialects, the nepali verb root are added with Tiba ‘stay’ as *paD-Tiba* to give the meaning as ‘studying’.

#### 2.4.6 Distinct verb

Certain Tamang verbs are used particularly to describe certain action or state. I termed this type of verbs as ‘distinct’ type. The distinct verbs with distinguishing examples are presented in (11a-b).

- (11) a. *ela mriŋse ja nagai* (BL\_BS.043)  
 e-la mriŋ-se ja na-gai  
 2SG.N-HON-GEN wife-ERG son birth-OPT

'May your wife give birth to a son.'

- b. *t<sup>h</sup>eraŋba meglapse kola silba hende* (BL\_ST.042)  
t<sup>h</sup>eraŋban me -glap -se kola sil -ba hende  
that way cow -male -ERG baby birth -NMLZ from  
*syoŋri hoja me lagab tala om*  
syoŋ-ri ho -ja me lagab ta -la om  
river -LOC that -INT fire feel be -NPST REP  
"From that time, the ox had given birth to a calf, the fire  
caught the river", Jackal replied.'

In the examples (11a-b), 'birth' is encoded with Tamang verb *na-* and *sil-*. The verb *na-* in example (11a) is used for humans whereas *sil-* in example (11b) is used with animals. These verbs show the distinction in use between human and non-human.

Similarly, the verb 'play' in Tamang can also be distinguished between playing game and playing musical instrument as presented in examples (12a-b).

- (12) a. *t<sup>h</sup>e mhigadese klan klanba mula* (PL\_BS.027)  
t<sup>h</sup>e mhi -gade -se klan klan -ba mu -la  
that person -PL-ERG play play -PFV be -NPST  
'That people have played the game'.  
b. *t<sup>h</sup>e p<sup>h</sup>undi rhapban mula* (PL\_BS.030)  
t<sup>h</sup>e p<sup>h</sup>undi rhap -ban mu -la  
3SG madal play -PROG be -NPST  
'S/he is playing madal.'

Similarly, in the example (12a) the verb *klan* is a general verb used in the sense of playing. But verb *rhap* is used particular for playing the musical instrument as in example (12b).

## 2.5 Copula verb

There are mainly two copula verbs in Tamang *hin-* 'be', *mu-* 'be' but *ta-* 'be or become' also function as copula. These copula verbs have their own independent functions to capture different proposition in Tamang. Mazaudon (2003:294) notes, "The absence of a copula is very frequent. But, there exist two main copulas and some others. *mu-* is mostly used for existence and attribution, and *hin-* for identification." She further discusses that several other verbs can be used as copulas.

### 2.5.1 *Hin-* copula verb

The copula *hin-* is used for the identification and attribution. It is also used in asking yes-no question and for recognizing something or someone. The speaker's assertion is strong with *hin-* copula verb. The identification function of *hin-* copula verb is presented in examples (13a-c) and attribution function in example (14). Similarly, in example (15) yes no question is presented.

(13) a. *ŋala min basanti lama hinna* (BL\_IT.001)

ŋa -la min basanti lama hin -na  
1SG -GEN name Basanti Lama be -NPST  
'My name is Basanti Lama.'

b. *cu ŋala dim hinna* (BL\_BS.006)

cu ŋa -la dim hin -na  
this 1SG -GEN house be -NPST  
'This is my house.'

c. *ŋala iskulla min shree lak<sup>h</sup>imi narajan ucca* (BL\_IT.011)

ŋa -la iskul -la min shree lak<sup>h</sup>imi narajan ucca  
1SG -GEN school -GEN name Shree Laxmi Narayan ucca  
*madyamik biDyalaye hinna*  
madyamik biDyalaye hin -na  
madhyamik bidhayalaye be -NPST  
'My school name is Shree Laxmi Narayan Uchha Madhyamik Bidhayala.'

(14) *ŋala namsa jyaba hinna* (PL\_IT.039)

ŋa -la namsa jyaba hin -na  
1sg -GEN village good be -NPST  
'My village is beautiful'

(15) *paisa kamai labari ahin* (PL\_IT.028)

paisa kamai la -ba -ri a -hin  
money earn do -NMLZ -LOC NEG -be  
'..is not for earning money.'

Examples (13a-c) denote the identification function of the copula verb *hin-*. Similarly, in example (14) the speaker identifies the village using adjective 'beautiful'. In example (15) the statement is the response in the yes/ no question.

### 2.5.2 *mu-* copula verb

The copula verb *mu-* in Tamang is used for expressing existential, locational, possession, attribution, assertion and compulsion. The different meanings of the verb *mu-* are discussed in sub-section below.

#### A. Existential

The copula verb *mu-* expresses the state of being real or actual. The examples of existential function are presented in (16a-b) (cf. Mazaudon 2003:294).

(16) a. *tamaŋgade mula* (BL\_IT.013)

tamaŋ -gade mu -la  
tamaŋ -PL be -NPST  
'Tamang (students) are there.'

b. *ale mula* (BL\_IT.032)

ale mu -la  
younger brother be -NPST  
'Younger brother is (lives with me).'

In examples (16a-b) expressed the existential of state captured by the copula *mu-* in

Tamang.

### B. Locational

The copula *mu-* captures the positioning in locative clauses. Examples are presented in (17a-b). (cf. Mazaudon 2003:294).

- (17) a. *jakkargi namsari jakkargi dim muba* (BL\_ST.002)  
jakkargi namsa -ri jakkargi dim mu -ba  
only village -LOC only house be -NPST  
'In a village (there) was a house.'
- b. *namsarinon muba* (BL\_IT.038)  
namsa -ri -non mu -ba  
village -LOC -INT be -NPST  
'(Parents) are in the village.'

In (17a-b) the existential context of something in respect to a location is captured by the copula verb *mu-*.

### C. Possession

Mazaudon(2003:294) points out that copula *mu-* be is used to show possession. The examples are presented in (18a-b).

- (18) a. *kirtipurri nana ale* (BL\_IT.003)  
kirtipur -ri nana ale  
Kirtipur -LOC elder sister younger brother  
*asyaŋ asugade mula*  
asyaŋ asu -gade mu -la  
uncle aunt -PL be -NPST  
'At Kirtipur (I) have elder sister, younger brother, maternal uncle and auntie.'
- b. *ŋala som nanadugu mula* (BL\_BS.007)  
ŋa -la som nana -dugu mu -la

1SG -GEN three elder sister -PL be -NPST

'I have three elder sisters.'

In examples (18a-b), the meaning of possession is captured by the copula *mu-*.

#### D. Attribution

The copula verb *mu-* is used in attributive clause. An example of this is illustrated in examples (19a-c).

- (19) a. *aba ama k<sup>h</sup>eppa k<sup>h</sup>ui doljin muba* (BL\_ST.004)  
aba ama k<sup>h</sup>eppa k<sup>h</sup>ui do -la -jin mu -ba  
father mother old.M old.F become -do -finish be -NPST  
'Father and mother (Parents) had already been old enough.'
- b. *jyojyoja jakki calak muba* (BL\_ST.008)  
jyo jyo -ja jakki calak mu -ba  
elder brother -INT a bit clever be -NPST  
'The elder brother was a bit clever.'
- c. *jyaban mula* (BL\_IT.033)  
jyaba -ban mu -la  
good -PROG be -NPST  
'It is good.'

In the example (19a-c), the speaker is expressing the attribution of the human qualities.

#### 2.5.3 *re* copula verb

In Tamang *re* copula verb is used in negating the proposition. In fact, it is used with negative marker *a-* prefixed on it and worked as a single combined word *are*. It is used in direct opposition of the existential copula *mu*. The examples of *are* are given in examples (20 a-c).

- a. *datte kalejrim tamangri jakkarg are* (BL\_IT.034)  
datte kalej -ri -m tamang -ri jakkargi are  
now College -LOC -FOC tamang -LOC only NEG

'There is no Tamang (student) in this college.'

- b. *masTar soba sem mi are ηala* (BL\_IT.041)  
masTar so -ba sem mi are ηa -la  
master make -NMLZ thought FOC NEG 1SG -GEN  
*t<sup>h</sup>eraŋnon semhaba*  
t<sup>h</sup>eraŋban -non sem -ha -ba  
that way -INT thought -come -NPST  
'I do not have a will to be a teacher, so do I feel.'

- c. *tara datte dona t<sup>h</sup>eraŋba jakki agaDi* (BL\_IT.042)  
tara datte dona t<sup>h</sup>eraŋban jakki agaDi  
but now upto such a bit ahead  
*baDap taba tamanggade areba*  
baDap ta -ba tamang -gade are -ba  
progress be -NMLZ tamang -PL NEG -NPST  
'But till now, there are no such Tamang who have progressed ahead.'

In examples (20a-c) the negation of the state or eventual facts are presented. In Tamang negation is done in two ways one with the negative morpheme *a-* prefixed on a verb stem and by negative verb *are*. The negation by *are* is presented in examples (20a-c) and the examples negative morpheme are presented in example(21a-b).

- (21) a. *ηa airak at<sup>h</sup>uŋba* (BL\_BS.016)  
ηa airak a - t<sup>h</sup>uŋ -ba  
1SG wine NEG - drink -NPST  
'I don't drink liquor.'
- b. *ηani t<sup>h</sup>iri ani* (BL\_BS.040)  
ηa -ni t<sup>h</sup>i -ri a- ni  
1SG -PL.EXCL there NEG- go  
'We don't go there.'

In examples (21a-b) negative *a-* morpheme negate the verb by attaching as a prefix with the verb stem.

## 2.6 Summary

This chapter discusses about the general features about the Tamang verb. The Tamang verb stem can be broadly classified into consonant or vowel final. The morphophonemic changes do seem to occur according to the verb stem final. The consonant ending verb stems behave differently with the non-past tense marker and in the formation of imperative. There are separate morpheme that distinguish between causative and negative stem with the general Tamang verb. The compound verbs are formed by combining more than one verbs constituent in Tamang which display the meaning changing and meaning preserving form. The complex verb structure is form in conjugation with other word classes in Tamang. The derived verbs are formed by the changing of the original class into verb. Honorificity is seen in Tamang from the use of distinct honorific forms in relation with the social hierarchy. Tamang verbs do tend to have a feature to distinguish between the human and non-human referents and also tend to borrow verbs from Nepali in lexicalized form.

The copula verb plays an integral part in the language for expressing different proposition. The copula verbs *hin-* and *mu-* are the main copula verb found in Tamang. In spite of these, other copula like *re* is also being discussed. The different function these copula verbs expressed is discussed accordingly.

# CHAPTER THREE

## TENSE AND ASPECT

### 3.0 Outline

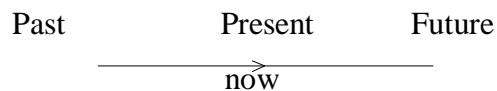
This chapter deals with tense and aspect in Tamang. It is divided into four sections. In section 3.1, we discuss about the background information of the tense. In section 3.2, we discuss about the past and non-past tense of Tamang tense. The perfective and imperfective aspect of Tamang is discussed in section 3.3. In section 3.4 the whole chapter is summarized.

### 3.1 Background information on tense

Tense is the systematic and grammatical coding of time axis of the two points along the time axis. According to Comrie (1976:2) tense is a deictic category which means that tense tries to capture the event in relationship between the time axis at the time of uttering the sentence that encodes the event. In reference to time axis, past tense locates a situation to the left of the present moment in time of utterance. Thus, the meaning of past tense is to locate a situation prior to the present moment (Comrie 1985:41). Similarly, Payne (1997:236) also describes tense to be the grammatical expression of the relation of the time of an event to some reference point in time, usually the moment the clause is uttered. Besides this, tense is also an inflectional marker of the verb used for denoting the temporal location of an event (Bhat 1999:13).

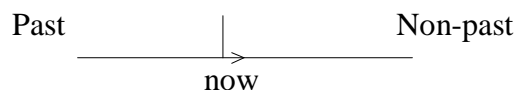
If we think of time as a line, with "now" represented by a point moving from left to right, we can conceptualize tense in terms of the following diagram:

Figure 1: Diagrammatic representation of time axis with tense.



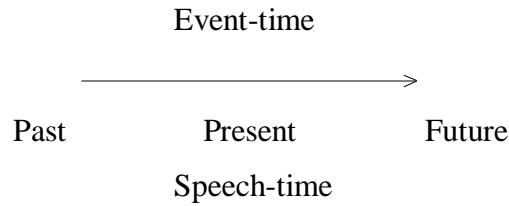
Payne (1997:236) also presents probably more common two-way distinction as past and non-past:

Figure 2: Diagrammatic representation of tense in two fold.



Similarly, Givón (2001:286) illustrates reference time and event time diagrammatically:

Figure 3: Tense and temporal anchoring



In this study, we look into only binary distinctions of the tense viz., past and non-past.

### 3.2 Tamang tense system

Tamang has no pure tense system rather it is fused in T.A.M (Chalise1999: 43). So, the Tense system does not fully encode the Tamang tense. As the Tamang tense system morphologically lacks to make a distinction from past, present and future temporal location of events.

The verbal suffixes in Tamang viz. *-ji*, *-ba*, and *-la*, are attached to the verb stems to capture different events in time. Among them, *-ji* suffix marker denotes the past tense and *-ba* and *-la* denotes the non-past tense. These tense markers are presented in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1 Tense markers

Past tense Marker	Non-past tense Marker
-ji	-ba / -la

#### 3.2.1 Past tense

Past tense<sup>1</sup> refers to some completed action or event. According to Bybee et al. (1994:82), past express the meaning of occurring before the moment of speech. Poudel (2002:287) notes that in tamang past tense is used for definite event which have taken place in the past. Similarly, Chalise (1999:45) express that the past tense in Tamang is used for expressing past eventive situations.

Past tense simply locates a situation prior to the present moment. In Tamang, it does not locate a situation in a specific time slot in the past. The past tense is denoted by the *-ji* morpheme attached to the verb. For a general marking of time in the past, a past time

<sup>1</sup> Poudel(2002:287) has further divided the past tense into simple and unknown.



As shown in Figure 4 and in the examples (22) and (23); the suffix *-ji* in Tamang is suffixed with the past events and is contrasted with other tense suffixes like *-ba* and *-la*.

### 3.2.2 Non-past tense

Non-past tense suffix suggests that an event is closer or nearer in the time axis with the utterance reference. In Tamang, two suffixes such as *-ba* and *-la* are used in non-past. Chalise (1999) has divided the Tamang tense system into non-past into NPST1 and NPST2 but in this study no such distinction is made. Instead only one NPST is used for the non-past tense. The examples of non-past with marker *-ba* are presented in (24a-c) and with *la-* marker in (25a-c) and an example (26) is with *-la* marker with time adverbial.

- (24) a. *t<sup>h</sup>e hanan̩ Tiba* (BL\_BS.003)  
 t<sup>h</sup>e hanan̩ Ti -ba  
 3SG where sit -NPST  
 'Where does s/he live?'
- b. *ŋa yamburi Tiba* (BL\_BS.004)  
 ŋa yambu -ri Ti -ba  
 1SG Kathmandu -LOC sit -NPST  
 'I live in kathmandu.'
- c. *k<sup>h</sup>aimak<sup>h</sup>aima ŋani dim-ri ge la-ba* (PL\_BS.026)  
 k<sup>h</sup>aima -k<sup>h</sup>aima ŋa -ni dim -ri ge la -ba  
 sometimes -REDUP 1SG -PL.EXCL house -LOC work do -NPST  
 'Sometimes we work at home'
- (25) a. *tini nam taila tala* (PL\_BS.021)  
 tini nam tai -la ta -la  
 today rain fall -NPST be -NPST  
 'It will rain today.'
- b. *t<sup>h</sup>e p<sup>h</sup>undi r<sup>h</sup>apban mula* (PL\_BS.030)  
 t<sup>h</sup>e p<sup>h</sup>undi r<sup>h</sup>ap -ban mu -la  
 3SG madal play -PROG be -NPST



In figure 5 the marker *-ba* can be used for past stative situation but exact distinction of the past event from the deictic center is rather confusing. Chalise(1999:50) also states that the marker *-ba* does not determine a specific time from the deictic center. This can be illustrated in examples (28a -b).

- (28) a. *t<sup>h</sup>e dimrija aba ama gorŋi kola muba* (BL\_ST.003)  
 t<sup>h</sup>e dim -ri -ja aba ama gor -ŋi kola mu -ba  
 that house -LOC -INT father mother CLF -two baby be -NPST  
 'There were father, mother and two children in that house.'
- b. *aba ama k<sup>h</sup>eppa k<sup>h</sup>ui doljin muba* (BL\_ST.004)  
 aba ama k<sup>h</sup>eppa k<sup>h</sup>ui do -la -jin mu -ba  
 father mother old.M old.F become -do -finish be-NPST  
 'Father and mother (parent) had already been old enough.'

In example (28a) the *-ba* marker is attached to the verb stem <sup>2</sup>*mu-* to denote the situation of present relevance. But in the aspectual use of the perfect as in example (28b), the *-ba* is used to capture the past time reference.

Unlike the marker *-la*, the *-ba* marker is a multifunctional marker in Tamang. It encodes the perfective aspect, habitual aspect and also functions as a nominalizer. The *-ba* marker as perfect aspect and habitual is discussed under aspect subsection (3.3.2) under the heading (B) and (C).

### 3.3 Aspect

Comrie (1976:6) notes that aspect “refers to the grammaticization of expression of internal temporal constituency”. It indicates the temporal structure of an event, i.e. the way in which the event occurs in time (on-going or completed, beginning, continuing or ending, iterative or semifactive etc) (Bhat 1999:43).

Givón (1984a:272) pointed out that, tense involves primarily, though not exclusively, time as seen in terms of points in sequence, whereas aspect is concerned with the boundedness of spans of time.

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<sup>2</sup> In tamang copular verb *mu-* does not has past form *\*muji*. The past eventive situations are captured by *muba* whereas non-past forms are captured by *mula*. The *mu-* is tagged as non-past even though it gives the meaning of the past.

In Tamang the aspect in can be morphologically distinguished into perfective and imperfective aspect. Perfective aspect is marked by the *-ji* the past tense marker attached to a verb. Within the imperfective aspect; habitual and progressive are marked in verbal suffixes viz: *-ba*, and *-baigen/-ban* respectively. The perfect is marked by the *-jin* 'finish' verb with *la/ba* markers on the copula *mu-* verb.

The morphological aspects of Tamang are discussed in the following section include , perfective and habitual, progressive and perfect under imperfective aspect.

### 3.3.1 Perfective Aspect

Comrie (1976:18) asserts perfectivity indicates a completed action. It does indeed denote a complete situation, with beginning, middle and end. Perfective forms to be used in situations that are internally complex, such as those that last for a considerable period of time, or include a number of distinct internal phases, provided only that the whole of the situation is subsumed as a single whole (Comrie 1976:21). The past tense maker *-ji* is used to indicate the completion of the event. The examples of perfective aspect are presented in (29a-c).

- (29) a.     *aŋa dimri niŋi* (BL\_BS.012)  
           *aŋa                 dim -ri     ni -ji*  
           younger sister   house -LOC   go -PST  
           'Younger sister went home.'
- b.     *ŋai kuise kwan k<sup>h</sup>ruji* (BL\_BS.020)  
           *ŋa -i     kui   -se   kwan k<sup>h</sup>ru -ji*  
           1SG -ERG water -INS cloth wash -PST  
           'I washed cloth with water.'
- c.     *t<sup>h</sup>ese ŋala c<sup>h</sup>oyidep Deji* (BL\_BS.033)  
           *t<sup>h</sup>e -se   ŋa -la     c<sup>h</sup>oyidep De -ji*  
           3SG -ERG 1SG -NPST book       tear -PST  
           'S/he tore my book.'

In the examples (29a-c) the verb stem are attached with ' *-ji*' for stating the completion of the event with the perfective aspect marker. The verb with the ' *-ji*' marker indicates that the verb indicating the event is completed.

### 3.3.2 Imperfective aspect

The imperfective aspect indicates the event that is not complete and highlights the internal development of the event. The habitual progressive aspects are found to be imperfective aspects. However, there is no clear distinct marker that distinguishes imperfective from perfective aspect in Tamang.

#### A. Habitual aspect

Comrie (1976:28) states “The feature that is common to all habitual, whether or not they are also iterative, is that they describe a situation which is characteristics of an extended period of time, so extended in fact that the situation referred to is viewed not as an incidental property of the moment but, precisely, as a characteristic feature of a whole period.” The examples of habitual aspect in Tamang are presented in (30a-c).

- (30) a.     *ŋa syori reba* (BL\_BS.009)  
          ŋa   syo -ri           re    -ba  
          1SG morning -LOC getup -NPST  
          'I wake up in the morning.'
- b.     *geri niba* (BL\_BS.011)  
          ge -ri           ni -ba  
          work -LOC go -NPST  
          'Goes to work.'
- c.     *ŋa airak at<sup>h</sup>uŋba* (BL\_BS.016)  
          ŋa   airak a-    t<sup>h</sup>uŋ -ba  
          1SG wine NEG - drink -NPST  
          'I don't drink wine.'

Examples (30a-c) represent the habitual aspect in Tamang. In the example (30a) ‘the repetitive action of waking in the morning’ and ‘the regularity of going to work’ has been illustrated in example (30b). Similarly, the habit of not drinking alcohol is expressed in example (30c).

#### B. Progressive aspect

Progressive aspect in Tamang expresses continuous event or action. In Tamang

progressive suffixes are *-baigen* and *-ban*<sup>3</sup>. The progressive aspect in Tamang, can be categorized into past and non-past. They are presented in the examples (31-33).

- (31) a. *ɲani tam paŋbaigen ge labaigen mula* (BL\_BS.034)  
 ɲa -ni tam paŋ -baigen ge la -baigen mu -la  
 1SG -PL.EXCL talk tell -PROG work do -PROG be -NPST  
 'We are talking and working.'
- b. *datte ɲa jubiliant kalejri paDab* (BL\_IT.015)  
 datte ɲa jubiliant kalej -ri paDab  
 now 1SG Jubilant College -LOC study  
*labaigen mula*  
 la -baigen mu -la  
 do -PROG be -NPST  
 'Now I am studying at Jubilant College.'
- (32) a. *ale syori ɲeban muba* (BL\_BS.017)  
 ale syo -ri ɲe -ban mu -ba  
 younger brother morning -LOC laugh -PROG be -NPST  
 'Younger brother was laughing early in the morning.'
- b. *tʰese ge laban muba* (PL\_BS.017)  
 tʰe -se ge la-ban mu -ba  
 3SG -ERG work do -PROG be -NPST  
 'S/he was working.'

In examples (31a-b) progressive marker *-baigen* and in examples (32a-b) marker is *-ban* is presented. The progressive aspect marker with *mula* indicate the non-past progressive aspect and with the *muba* the past progressive.

### C. Perfect aspect

Perfect is generally described as a past event with present relevance (Bhat 1999:7). In Tamang, perfect is expressed from the compound verbs. The verb stem is attached with

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<sup>3</sup> The suffix *-ban* is the contracted form of *-baigen*.

verb *-jin* meaning ‘finish’ with marker *-ba*. The *-ba* suffix in the compound verb appears as a perfect marker. The compound verb expresses notion of completion of an event. The type of the event that is completed is expressed by the verb that get attached to the *-jin* verb. The examples of the perfect aspect in Tamang is given in (33a-b) and (34a-b).

(33) a. *ŋai c<sup>h</sup>oyidep Dojinba mula* (PL\_BS.029)

ŋa -i c<sup>h</sup>oyidep Do -jin -ba mu -la  
1SG -ERG book read -finish -PRF be -NPST

'I have read the book.'

b. *dawase nam<sup>h</sup>ar brijinba mula* (BL\_BS.029)

dawa -se nam<sup>h</sup>ar bri -jin -ba mu -la  
Dawa -ERG story write -finish -PRF be -NPST

'Dawa have written a story.'

(34) a. *t<sup>h</sup>ese Taŋa pinjinba muba* (BL\_BS.030)

t<sup>h</sup>e -se Taŋa pin -jin -ba mu -ba  
3SG -ERG money give -finish -PRF be -NPST

'S/he had given money.'

b. *ŋai Doba ge lajinba muba* (BL\_BS.031)

ŋa -i Do -ba ge la -jin -ba mu -ba  
1SG -ERG read -NMLZ work do -finish -PRF be -NPST

'I finished reading work.'

In the examples (33a-b) the perfect aspect marker *-ba* followed by *mula* which suggest a non-past perfect aspect and with the *muba* suggesting a past perfect aspect as in examples (34a-b). The examples (33a-b) express the completion of events with present relevance in the non-past tense. Similarly, the examples (34a-b) express the completion of events with present relevance in the past tense. In example (33a), it expresses the 'giving of the money had completed' and the consequences of the event. The person might not have few or no money left. Similar kind of expression is expressed the non-past tense copula verb *muba* in examples (34a-b) is used to denote some past events.

Perfect aspect in Tamang can be ‘completive’ by removing of the copula ‘*mu-*’ verb. As

Bybee, Revere and Pagliuca (1994:53) also have find that 'finish' as a source for completives...and stative auxiliaries such as 'be' and 'have' plus participles as sources for resultative, anterior, past, and perfective. which is illustrated in example (35a-b).

- (35) a.     *ŋai kui t<sup>h</sup>uŋjinba* (PL\_BS.038)  
           ŋa -i     kui    t<sup>h</sup>uŋ -jin    -ba  
           1SG -ERG water drink -finish -PRF  
           'I already drank the water.'
- b.     *ŋai c<sup>h</sup>oyidep Dojinba* (PL\_BS.029)  
           ŋa -i     c<sup>h</sup>oyidep Do -jin    -ba  
           1SG -ERG book        read -finish -PRF  
           'I already read the book.'

The example (35a-b) is an example of past perfect aspect without the copula verb *mu-*. The examples (35a-b) shows the completive of an event by the verb ‘-*jin*’ meaning ‘finish’ to be past.

### 3.4 Summary

In this chapter we discussed about tense and aspect systems in Tamang. Tamang verbs do exhibit the contrast of past and non-past tense. The marker that is attached to the verb stem are *-ji* for the past tense and perfective aspect and *-ba* and *-la* for non-past tense. The marker *-ba* is used for habitual imperfective and with *jin* ‘finish’ verb with copular *mu-* ‘be’ verb forms the perfect aspect. The imperfective for iterative action *-baigen* and *-ban* is used to form the progressive aspect.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **MOOD AND MODALITY**

#### **4.0 Outline**

This chapter deals with mood and modality in Tamang. The chapter is divided into four sections. In section 4.1, we discuss about the general theoretical outline of mood and modality. In section 4.2, we discuss about the Epistemic mood where we discuss about the realis and irrealis, judgement and evidentials and interrogative. In section 4.3, we deal with the Deontic mood where imperative, obligation, necessity, ability and desire is discussed. We present the request, hortative, optative and prohibition in Tamang under the subsection of imperative. In section 4.4 we present the summary of the chapter.

#### **4.1 General theoretical outline**

Mood refers to a formally grammatical category of the verb. It is expressed inflectionally in distinct sets of verbal paradigms, e.g. indicative, subjunctive, optative, imperative, conditional etc. Modality in other hand; is the semantic domain pertaining to elements of meaning that languages express. Bybee, Revere and Pagliuca (1994:2) notes it covers a broad range of semantic nuances –jussive, desiderative, intentive, hypothetical, potential, obligative, dubitative, hortatory, exclamation etc whose common denominator is the addition of a supplement or overlay of meaning to the most neutral semantic value of the proposition of an utterance, namely factual and declarative. Modality is expressed in a variety of ways: morphological, lexical syntactic or via intonation. Timberlake (2007:315) writes, Modality is about alternatives – how we come to know and speak about the world, how the world came to be as it is, whether it might be other than it is, what needs to be done to the world to make it what we want. The alternatives are sorted out and evaluated by some sort of authority, often the speaker, or, if not the speaker, some other participant or even another situation. Modality, then, is consideration of alternative realities mediated by an authority.

Some scholars prefer to treat mood and modality together. Bybee, Revere and Pagliuca (1994:197) mention, “Mood and modality are not so easily defined as tense and aspect. A definition often proposed is that modality is the grammaticalization of speakers’

(subjective) attitudes and opinions.” I have followed Bhat (1999:63-64) to discuss the categories related to mood and modality. I have also used insights from Bybee, Revere and Pagliuca (1994) to discuss the distinct terms within the mood category.

In this study, I have adopted the term ‘mood’ for both ‘mood and the modality’ to discuss the mood and modality of the Tamang modal system as used by Bhat (1999:63-64) and based all my finding accordingly. Bhat (1999:63-64) categories the modal system from three parameters of *judgment*, *evidence* and *need* according to the actuality of the event which can be presented in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1 Mood classification according to Bhat.

Modal Categories				
Epistemic Mood				Deontic Mood
Realis and Irrealis	Judgement and Evidential	Interrogative		

Bybee, Revere and Pagliuca (1994) classify the world languages into modality into four categories as: agent-oriented, speaker-oriented, epistemic and subordinating.

#### 4.2 Epistemic Mood

Epistemic Mood involves the notion of possibility and necessity but to any modal system that indicate the degree of commitment by the speakers to what he says (Palmer 1995:51). In this context, Bybee, Revere and Pagliuca (1994:179) note: “Epistemic modality applies to assertions and indicates the extent to which the speaker is committed to the truth of the proposition. The unmarked case in this domain is total commitment to the truth of the Proposition, and markers of epistemic modality indicate something less than a total commitment by the speaker to the truth of the proposition. The commonly expressed epistemic modalities are possibility, probability, and inferred certainty”.

##### 4.2.1 Realis and Irrealis

Realis form the events that are portrayed as actualized or as actually occurring on the one hand, and the ones that are portrayed as still within the realm of thought. The Realis event

is associated with the past and perfective events and the future and imperfective events are tends to be Irrealis events (Bhat 1999:65).

### A. Realis Mood

Realis mood is related to speech event that are habitual or have already been finished at the time of speaking. The realis<sup>1</sup> stem in Tamang is *-ji* of past tense marker. These markers show the completion events. The realis mood can be realized in the examples presented from (36a-d).

- (36) a. *ŋani yamburi doji* (BL\_BS.005)  
 ŋa -ni yambu -ri do -ji  
 1SG -PL.EXCL Kathmandu -LOC reach -RLS  
 'We reached Kathmandu.'
- b. *aŋa dimri niŋi* (BL\_BS.012)  
 aŋa dim -ri ni -ji  
 younger sister house -LOC go -RLS  
 'Younger sister went home.'
- c. *t<sup>h</sup>e dimri niŋi* (BL\_BS.015)  
 t<sup>h</sup>e dim -ri ni -ji  
 3SG house -LOC go -RLS  
 'S/he went home.'
- d. *ŋai kuise kwan k<sup>h</sup>ruji* (BL\_BS.020)  
 ŋa -i kui -se kwan k<sup>h</sup>ru -ji  
 1SG -ERG water -INS cloth wash -RLS  
 'I washed cloth with water.'

Examples (36a-d) represent the completion of an event of the *-ji* past time marker is the realis mood.

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<sup>1</sup> Mazaudon(2003:203) also have asserted the use of *ci-* in realis mood but here it is written as *-ji*.

## B. Irrealis Mood

The irrealis mood expresses the potential of an event to occur at future time. In Tamang irrealis mood is expressed by the *-la* non-past tense marker attached to a verb. The irrealis mood is presented in the example (37a-b).

- (37) a. *ɲani teme caban mula* (PL\_BS.033)  
ɲa-ni teme ca -ban mu -la  
1SG-PL.EXCL potato eat -PROG be -IRR  
'We are eating sweet potato.'
- b. *t<sup>h</sup>e c<sup>h</sup>e t<sup>h</sup>aban mula* (BL\_BS.025)  
t<sup>h</sup>e c<sup>h</sup>e t<sup>h</sup>a -ban mu -la  
3SG grass cut -PROG be -IRR  
'S/he is cutting grass.'

From the examples (37a-b) both the examples are potential to occur at the time of the speaking. The non-past tense marker *-la* denoting the potential future time is the irrealis mood.

### 4.2.2 Judgements and Evidentials

#### I. Judgements

Judgements denotes a speaker's own assessment of the occurrence of the event based on the evidence that was actually seen or experienced, heard or of the source which it is reported, etc. The judge events can be real or unreal, certain, definite, probable or improbable (Bhat 1999: 64).

#### IA Declarative

The declarative can moreover be regarded as the unmarked or "unmodalized" member of an epistemic system (Palmer, 1995: 51). Tamang declarative is unmarked and indicate the strong commitment of a speaker towards the proposition he has made. The declaratives are presented in (38a-c).

- (38) a. *ɲa kra-ji* (PL\_BS.003)  
ɲa kra -ji  
1SG weep -RLS

'I wept.'

- b. *aṅa dimri niḡi* (BL\_BS.012)  
aṅa            dim   -ri   ni -ḡi  
younger sister house -LOC go -RLS  
'Younger sister went home.'

- c. *ṅada netpa haḡi* (PL\_BS.018)  
ṅa -da   net   -ba   ha -ḡi  
1SG -DAT laugh -NMLZ come -RLS  
'I felt laughing.'

In the examples (38a-c) expresses the strong commitment of speaker towards the proposition which is the *-ḡi* past tense marker.

### **I.B Probability**

The probability<sup>2</sup> expresses the speaker's belief of some event to occur in the future or the situation described to be probably true. Examples of probability are presented in (39).

- (39) *darem t<sup>h</sup>arD yar jinsi paṅla tala* (BL\_IT.022)  
darem   t<sup>h</sup>arD   jar   jin   -si   paṅ -la   ta -la  
now   third   year   finish -CP   tell -PROB   be -IRR  
'After having completed third year, (they) may.'

Example (39) express that the speaker is hopeful that the event may occur in the future after she has completed her third year. Here the verb *jin-si* 'finished' act as the justification point after which the event can be more likely be true. Similarly, the construction of possibility is also constructed with modal verb *-ta*.

### **I.C Possibility**

Bybee, Revere and Pagliuca (1994:180) define possibility to indicate the proposition that is more likely to be true. An example of possibility in Tamang is given in example (40).

- (40) *tini nam taila tala* (PL\_BS.021)

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<sup>2</sup> Bybee, Revere and Pagliuca (1994:180) notes that **Probability** more greater likelihood of the proposition than possibility does.

tini nam tai -la ta -la  
 today rain fall -POSB be -IRR  
 'It will rain today.'

Here the examples (40) express the probability in Tamang. Here the speaker is more likely that an event expressed by him will occur in the future. Similarly, in the example (40) the construction of possibility is also with modal verb *-ta* in non-past tense denoting the future time.

## II. Evidential

Evidential expresses that a speaker can use for specifying the reality of an event by actually observing it or experiencing it through one own senses (Bhat 1999: 64). In Tamang evidential is marked by the suffix *-m* after it is attached to the past tense marker *-ji*. The examples of evidential are presented in (41a-d).

- (41) a. *silai*ba *memamaja* *alda* *pinjim* (BL\_ST.010)  
 si -la -i -ba me -mama -ja al -da  
 die -do -INT -NMLZ cattle -female -INT younger brother -DAT  
  
 pin -ji -m  
 give -PST -EVID  
 'The dying cow was given to the younger brother.'
- b. *tirem t<sup>h</sup>e* *memamase* *kola* *najim* (BL\_ST.011)  
 tirem t<sup>h</sup>e me -mama -se kola na -ji -m  
 once that cattle -female -ERG baby birth -PST -EVID  
 'Once, that cow gave birth to a calf.'
- c. *kola naba belari t<sup>h</sup>e* *mela* *kola* *yarsi* *nijim* (BL\_ST.012)  
 kola na -ba bela -ri t<sup>h</sup>e me -la kola yar -si  
 baby birth -NMLZ time -LOC that cow -GEN baby run -CP  
  
 ni -ji -m  
 go -PST -EVID  
 'After the birth, the baby calf ran away.'
- d. *gor<sup>n</sup>i* *meglapla* *biccari* *nisi* *Tijim* (BL\_ST.013)

gor -ŋi me -glap -la bicca -ri ni -si Ti -ji -m  
 CLF -two cattle -male -GEN middle -LOC go -CP sit -PST -EVID  
 'Then, the young calf went in the middle of the oxen.'

In the examples (41a-d) expressed that the events are expressed with evidential marker *-m* attached with the realis marker *-ji* to expressed an experienced by the sense or that has been observed.

## II.A Report

Report indicates that speaker was told about the information by someone else and the evidence of its truth-value cannot be justified. Report in Tamang is marked with post verbal particle *om*. The examples of report are presented in (42a-c).

- (42) a. *tirem t<sup>h</sup>e aba ama siji om* (BL\_ST.005)  
 ti -re -m t<sup>h</sup>e aba ama si -ji om  
 that -time -EVID that father mother die -PST REP  
 'One day, father and mother (the parents) passed away.'
- b. *jyojyola goT<sup>h</sup>ri meglapla biccari* (BL\_ST.016)  
 jyo -jyo -la goT<sup>h</sup> -ri me -glap -la bicca-ri  
 elder brother -REDUP -GEN cow shed -LOC cow -male -GEN middle -LOC  
*niba tinijim tiba mranjim om*  
 ni -ba ti -ni -ji -m ti -ba mranj -ji -m om  
 go -NOM sit -go -PST -EVID sit -NOM see -PST -EVID REP  
 'The younger brother saw that the calf was sitting in the middle of the oxen of his elder brother's cowshed.'
- c. *benan namsalagade t<sup>w</sup>aa tajim om* (BL\_ST.044)  
 benan namsa -la -gade t<sup>w</sup>aa ta -ji -m om  
 all village -GEN -PL t<sup>w</sup>aa be -PST -EVID REP  
 'All villager's were suprised.'

In the examples (42a-c) the speaker is only reporting about the incident and the speaker is uncertain about the proposition made.

### 4.2.3 Interrogative Mood

Bhat (1999:64) asserts that the speaker uses the interrogative sentence in order to augment or strengthen his knowledge about an event. Interrogative in Tamang is formed by using with i) content words and ii) raising intonation.

#### A.1 Using content words

In Tamang, interrogative words like *tiga* ‘what’, *hanaŋ* ‘where’, and *kade or gade* ‘how much’ etc, are used in asking question. The examples of interrogative content words are presented in (43a-c).

- (43) a. *ela min tiga* (BL\_BS.001)  
e -la min tiga  
2SG.N-HON -GEN name what  
'What is your name?'
- b. *ela dim hanaŋ* (BL\_BS.002)  
e -la dim hanaŋ  
2SG.N-HON -GEN house where  
'Where is your home?'
- c. *cugyam baudakade t<sup>h</sup>areŋ mula* (PL\_BS.045)  
cu -gyam bauda -gade t<sup>h</sup>areŋ mu -la  
this -ABL Baudha -PL far be -NPST  
'How far is Baudha from this road?'

In the examples (43a-c) are the examples of the interrogative with Tamang question words.

#### A.2 Sentence with Raising Intonation

A declarative sentence can be made interrogative by uttering with rising intonation for making a question. Sentences with raising intonation are provided in examples (45a-c).

- (45) a. *t<sup>h</sup>ese tini kan taiji* (PL\_BS.015)  
t<sup>h</sup>e -se tini kan tai -ji  
3SG -ERG today rice boil -RLS  
'Today s/he cooked rice?'

- b. *ese benan kan caji* (PL\_BS.016)  
 e -se                    benan kan ca -ji  
 2SG.N-HON -ERG all rice eat -RLS  
 'You ate all the rice?'
- c. *ese t<sup>h</sup>e gaŋ mraŋba* (PL\_BS.019)  
 e -se                    t<sup>h</sup>e gaŋ mraŋ -ba  
 2SG.N-HON -ERG that hill see -NMLZ  
 'Have you seen that hill?'

The examples from (45a-c) do not contain any question words. The statements are uttered in raising tone for making statements into questions.

### 4.3 Deontic Mood

Deontic mood denotes the compulsion which makes it possible or necessary for an event to take place. This compulsion may be internal to one or more of the participants of the event, or external to them; that is, internal notions like ability, willingness and desire and external notions like necessity, request and order can be brought under deontic mood (Bhatt 1999: 64).

#### 4.3.1 Imperative

Bhat(1999:62) notes that imperative encodes the external compulsions that force an event to take place. Imperative is an issuing of direct command to a second person (Bybee, Revere and Pagliuca 1994:179). It is used directly by a speaker as a speech act in order to get something done from the addressee. In Tamang *-u*, *-o* and *-go* markers are used as imperative and the examples are given in (46-48).

- (46) a. *e niu* (PL\_BS.004)  
 e                    ni -u  
 2SG.N-HON go -IMP  
 'You go.'
- b. *curi hau* (PL\_BS.005)  
 cu -ri ha -u  
 this -LOC come -IMP

- 'Come here.'
- c. *jyanale briu* (PL\_BS.006)  
 jyanale bri -u  
 well write -IMP  
 'Write well.'
- d. *pema niu kan cau* (BL\_BS.036)  
 pema ni -u kan ca -u  
 Pema go -IMP rice eat -IMP  
 'Pema! go and eat rice.'
- (47) a. *t<sup>h</sup>eda brigu pino* (EL\_DT.001)  
 t<sup>h</sup>e -da brigu pin -o  
 3SG -DAT pen give -IMP  
 'Give him the pen.'
- b. *t<sup>h</sup>e r<sup>h</sup>ada boro* (EL\_DT.002)  
 t<sup>h</sup>e r<sup>h</sup>a -da bor -o  
 that goat -DAT take -IMP  
 'Take that goat.'
- (48) a. *ale t<sup>h</sup>e kamara cunjo* (EL\_DT.003)  
 ale t<sup>h</sup>e kamara cun -go  
 younger brother that camera buy -IMP  
 'Younger brother buy that camera.'
- b. *aa.. raju ka k<sup>h</sup>a paŋgo* (EL\_DT.004)  
 aa raju ka k<sup>h</sup>a paŋ -go  
 aa.. Raju ka kha tell -IMP  
 'Ah.. Raju say ka kha.'
- c. *ŋa nanġar bahra baje namsari dogala* (BL\_ST.029)  
 ŋa nanġar bahra baje namsa -ri do -ga -la  
 1SG tomorrow twelve o'clock village -LOC reach -FOC -NPST  
  
*benanda ŋyoisi t<sup>h</sup>aŋgo bijim*

benan-da nyoi -si t<sup>h</sup>aŋ -go bi -ji -m  
 all -DAT call -CP put -IMP say -PST-EVID

'The Jackal said" Tomorrow I will be here at 12 o'clock" and said "to call the villagers".'

The examples from (46-48) are the imperative statements in Tamang. The imperative marker with the vowel ending verbs are presented in example (46a-d) marked with *-u* marker whereas the consonant endings are presented in examples (47a-b) with marker *-o*. In the examples (48a-c) presents *-go* marker with the verbs ending in breathy sound.

### A. Request

Request is the softer imperative where the speaker is courteously to the addressee for action in a polite way. In tamang *-le* is suffixed after the imperative stem of the verb. The elicited examples of request are presented in examples (49a-c).

- (49) a. *e t<sup>h</sup>e dim ge briule* (EL\_DT.005)  
 e t<sup>h</sup>e dim ge bri -u -le  
 2SG.N-HON that house work write -IMP -REQ  
 '(You) Write your homework'
- b. *t<sup>h</sup>e c<sup>h</sup>oyidep ŋada pinole* (EL\_DT.006)  
 t<sup>h</sup>e c<sup>h</sup>oyidep ŋa -da pin -o -le  
 that book 1SG -DAT give -IMP -REQ  
 'Will you give me that book.'
- c. *tam paŋgole* (EL\_DT.007)  
 tam paŋ -go -le  
 talk tell -IMP -REQ  
 'Say something.'

The examples (49a-c) are the request with *-le* marker in Tamang which is a polite form of imperative.

### B. Hortative

Bybee, Revere and Pagliuca (1994:179) note that in hortative, the speaker encourages or incites someone to perform an action. In Tamang suffix *-ke* is added to a verb by the

speaker in order to encourage other for an action. Examples of hortative are presented in (50a-c).

- (50) a. *tamaŋla yigi tamyig lopke k<sup>h</sup>etke* (EL\_DT.008)  
 tamaŋ -la yigi tamyig lop -ke k<sup>h</sup>et -ke  
 Tamang -GEN letters Tamyig read -HORT teach -HORT  
 'Lets read and teach Tamang's alphabet Tamyig.'
- b. *cu k<sup>h</sup>aba namduŋla 19, 20, 21 re kunu tasela* (EL\_DT.009)  
 cu k<sup>h</sup>a -ba namduŋ -la 19 20 21 re kunu ta -se -la  
 this come -NMLZ Namdung -GEN 19 20 21 time day be -FOC -NPST  
*yambu tamaŋ gheduŋla som jomna jyana lage*  
 yambu tamaŋ gheduŋ -la som jomna jyana la -ke  
 Kathmandu Tamang Ghedung -GEN three assembly well do -HORT  
 'Let's make this third Tamang Ghedung third assembly successful on  
 coming month of Namdung on 19, 20 and 21.'
- c. *tamaŋ gheduŋ koŋna lage c<sup>h</sup>arna lage* (EL\_DT.010)  
 tamaŋ gheduŋ koŋna la -ke c<sup>h</sup>arna la -ke  
 Tamang Ghedung stronger do -HORT develop do -HORT  
 'Lets make and build stronger Tamang Ghedung.'

The examples of (50a-c) are the hortative statements inciting for performance by *-ke* marker in Tamang.

### C. Optative

Optative expresses the speakers hopefully, will and wishes. It is seen as a weaker imperative to make an event to occur. In Tamang suffix *-gai* is used to express wish or hope in a form of blessing from elders or from respected persons. The example of optative is presented in example (51a-b).

- (51) a. *ela mriŋse ja nagai* (BL\_BS.043)  
 e -la mriŋ -se ja na -gai  
 2SG.N-HON -GEN wife -ERG son birth -OPT  
 'May your wife give birth to a son.'

- b. *ta l<sup>h</sup>oc<sup>h</sup>ar san 2002-200 ri mokkon* (EL\_DT.011)  
 ta l<sup>h</sup>o -c<sup>h</sup>ar san 2002-2003 -ri mokkon  
 horse year -new time 2002-2003 -LOC all
- taman<sup>h</sup>duguda konc<sup>h</sup>ok sumse c<sup>h</sup>ere<sup>h</sup> pin<sup>h</sup>gai*  
 taman<sup>h</sup> -dugu -da konc<sup>h</sup>ok sum -se c<sup>h</sup>e -re<sup>h</sup> pin -gai  
 Tamang -pl -DAT precious three -ERG life -long give -OPT  
 'On this Horse New Year 2002-2003, May the trinity give longevity to all  
 Tamangs.'

In the example (51a-b), the marker *-gai* is a optative marker attached with the verb. In the example (51a) the speaker is wished that addressee's wife would bear a son in the future. Similarly, in the example (51b) New Year's wish for longevity for all Tamang is expressed.

#### D. Prohibition

In Tamang negation are generally with *a-* negative marker but strong negation i.e; prohibition or command is done with *tha-* morpheme. The use of *tha-* is the strong negative command from the speaker to cease the event that is ongoing or likely to happen in the future is presented in examples (52a-b).

- (52) a. *e t<sup>h</sup>iri t<sup>h</sup>aniu* (BL\_BS.014)  
 e t<sup>h</sup>iri t<sup>h</sup>a -ni -u  
 2SG.N-HON there PROH -go -IMP  
 'You don't go there.'
- b. *l<sup>h</sup>anan tam t<sup>h</sup>alau* (BL\_BS.035)  
 l<sup>h</sup>anan tam t<sup>h</sup>a -la -u  
 much talk PROH -do -IMP  
 'Don't talk to much.'

In the examples (52a-b) *tha-* express the strong negative command from the speaker towards the listener.

### 4.3.2 Obligation

Bybee, Revere and Pagliuca (1994:177) state that obligation reports the existence of external social conditions compelling an agent to complete the predicate actions. The obligation in Tamang is marked by *-to* ‘need’, which came as an infix in between the tense marker and the verb stem. The examples of obligation are provided in (57 a-b).

- (57) a. *ɲainon sotola* (BL\_IT.031)  
ɲa        -i        -non so        -to        -la  
1SG       -INT       -INT make    -need -NPST  
'I need to prepare meal myself.'
- b. *ese lopk<sup>h</sup>enla tam ɲyantola* (PL\_BS.043)  
e -se                    lopk<sup>h</sup>en -la tam        ɲyan -to -la  
2SG.N-HON -ERG teacher -GEN saying listen -need -NPST  
'You need to listen to the teacher's lecture.'

Example (57a-b) expresses the obligation in Tamang. The action performed by the agent has some social pressure in performing the event. As in example (57a) the agent has to perform the cooking of the food being the youngest of the family. Similarly, social condition is expressed in example (57b).

### 4.3.3 Necessity

Bybee, Revere and Pagliuca (1994) note that, “Necessity reports the existence of physical condition compelling an agent to complete the predicate action”. In Tamang the obligation marker *-to* is also used in expressing the necessity as in example in (58a).

- (58) a. *pac baje resi tayar lasi c<sup>h</sup>a baje nitola* (BL\_IT.028)  
pac baje        re        -si        tayar la -si        c<sup>h</sup>a baje        ni -to        -la  
five o'clock get up -PFV ready do -PFV six o'clock go -need -NPST  
'I get up at five o'clock and be ready and then have to go (to college) at 6 o'clock.'

Example (58a) express the agent’s is compelled to perform some physical action in order to complete the predicate action. Here the agent had to early in order so she would not miss her classes.

#### 4.3.4 Ability

Bybee, Revere and Pagliuca (1994:177) describes ability reports the existence of internal enabling conditions in the agent with respect to the predicate action. The suffix *-ham* express the ability in Tamang. It is attached to the verb stem and the tense marker as an infix. Examples are provided from (59 a-b).

- (59) a. *nima kan cahamla* (BL\_BS.037)  
Nima kan ca -ham -la  
Nima rice eat -ABLY -NPST  
'Nima can eat rice.'
- b. *t<sup>h</sup>e t<sup>h</sup>iri ni aham* (BL\_BS.041)  
t<sup>h</sup>e t<sup>h</sup>i -ri ni a -ham  
3SG place -LOC go NEG -ABLY  
'S/he cannot go there.'

The example (59a) is a positive sentence expressing the physical ability of an agent to perform the action and example (56b) is the negation of it.

#### 4.3.5 Desire

“Desire reports the existence of internal volitional conditions in the agent with respect to the predicate action”, Bybee, Revere and Pagliuca (1994:178). Example of desire in Tamang is presented in (60).

- (60) a.. *jakki jyaba ge labarin* (BL\_IT.026)  
a jakki jyaba ge la -ba -ri -n  
a.. a bit good work do -NMLZ -LOC -INT
- paDablaba biba*  
paDab -la -ba bi -ba  
study -do -NMLZ say -NPST
- 'Ah, to get a good job (in the future) they told me to study.'

In the example (60) the agent is inferring to the existence of internal volitional by expressing to get a better job she has to study well.

#### **4.4 Summary**

In this chapter we discuss about the mood and modality found in Tamang. In discussing the mood and modality I have followed the Bhat (1999) use of the term mood and his classification. I have chosen not only Bhat(1999) but also from Bybee, Revere and Pagliuca (1994) in the explanation of the mood and modality where necessary.

Under the Epistemic Mood the Realis and Irrealis, Judgements and Evidentials and Interrogative have been discussed. The realis mood is found with the past tense marker and irrealis mood with non-past tense marker with future time reference. Under the Judgements, declarative, probability and possibility have been discussed.

In Deontic mood, external condition imperative, social constrain like obligation, physical action to complete the action like necessity have been discussed. Similarly the internal enabling conditions in the agent i.e; ability is been discussed. The expression of internal violation conditions of an agent; desire has being discussed.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### CONCLUSION

This study entitled ‘Verb morphology of Tamang’ is based on the spoken language of the Khahare Pangu of Kavre district. The core objectives of this research are to present the tense, aspect and mood of the Tamang language of eastern variety. This study primarily focuses on the Tense, Aspect and Mood in Tamang.

The study is conducted using the corpus of data collected from the speakers of the Khahare Pangu. The collected texts are of different genres mainly interviews, basic sentences and a story. The collected texts are interlinearized using the ToolBox software where the morphemes are carefully tagged. Due to the time constraints the data gathered was limited other verbal features necessary for the study have been elicited. Even within limited data, we were able to present the information on T.A.M of the language.

Tamang verb root is primarily mono-syllabic and mono-morphemic in syllable structure. The verb root can be classified according to the consonant and vowel ending. The classifications do help in understanding of the morphophonemic change within the verb paradigm.

The consonant final *n*- ending verb changed to *-na* with the non-past tense marker *-la*. Similarly, voiceless *-p* ending consonant change the voiced *-ba* tense marker into *-pa*. In the formation of imperative words the imperative markers *-o*, *-u* and *-go* are attached according to the final ending in the verb root. Depending on the verb root final if it is consonant the *-o* gets attached, with the vowel *-u* gets attached and with the breathy sound *-go* is attached.

The causative statements are formed in both transitive and intransitive verb. The causative is marked with *-na* marker attached to the main verb that is supported by the ‘do’ verb *laji*. The negation of the verb is generally with the prefix of *a*- morpheme.

In the language, new verbs are formed by different process which are terms here as compound verb, complex verb and derived verb. There are verbs used in particular situation to distinguish from normal use termed in the study as honorific verb, borrowed

verb and distinct verb. Compound verbs are formed by the combination of more than one verbs acting as a single whole. In the compound construction two types of formation can be distinguished. In the first type of construction, the lexical meaning of the conjoined verbs is changed and it generates a new lexical meaning. In second type of construction, the compound verb formed do not suggest a new meaning but shares the original meanings for the proposition thus formed. Compound verb construction is a serial verb construction like in other Tibeto-Burman languages. Like compound verb, the verbs are also formed by combination with other word class to form complex verb. In the study, the noun is seen in combination with the verb to give rise a new verb. Generally, complex verb is seen in the formation of action-oriented verb which cannot be separated otherwise. Derivation process in Tamang is not that productive even though the process is evident in the language. In the study the noun *kwan* ‘cloths’ is verbalized into ‘wearing’ by the formation of *kwan-ban*.

The honorificity in Tamang is seen in special social function. But honorific are used accordancing with the gradation by the speakers own judgemental hierarchy. The honorific form of *ti* ‘stay’ verb has higher form *syu* and highest form *danc<sup>h</sup>ya*. Honorifics verbs are generally limited in Tamang as all the verbs do not have the honorific form. Tamang language do tend to borrow verbs from Nepali. These borrowed verbs are lexicalised in Tamang and result of which the monosyllabic Nepali root is changed with bi-syllabic by addition of *ab*. In some dialect of Tamang the Nepali verb roots are conjoined with *Tiba* ‘stay’ verb like *pad-Tiba* for studying. In Tamang there are some specify verbs that distinguish the animate from inanimate like the verb *na-* and *sil-* for ‘birth’. The verb *na-* is used for human and *sil-* for animal. Similarly, there are Tamang verbs which are used in a specific event and distinguished from the general use.

In Tamang there are mainly few copula verbs which are *hin-*, *mu-* and *re*. The copula *hin-* is used for identification and attribution and it’s negative form is *a-hin*. Similarly, the copula *mu-* is used for expressing the existential, locational, possessive, and attributive meanings. The negative form of *mu-* is *are* which does not inflected with negative *a-* morpheme. The copula *re* is a negativizer copula which full form is *are*. The *are* copula plays in the direct opposition of copula *mu-*.

Tamang tense system can be distinguished between the past and non-past tense. The past sentence structure took the *-ji* marker on the verb to encode the past event. Non-past tense marker in Tamang takes the *-ba* and *-la* marker. The *-ba* is used for denoting present time and sometime in the past time depending on the verb. The non-past tense marker *-la* is used for present time and also used in future time reference. The future reference of the *-la* marker and *-ba*'s past time referencing events are only clearer with the time adverbials. In the case of the copula *mu-* the *-ba* marker is used for past tense and as a nominalizer and *-la* is used for present tense. Besides tense marker *-ba* function is a multi-functional marker works as a nominalizer and marker of aspectual temporal relation in habitual and perfect aspect.

The aspect of the Tamang can be divided into perfective and imperfective aspect. The perfective aspect in tamang is *-ji* marker for to denote the completion of the event. The imperfective is aspect can further divide into the habitual, progressive and perfect aspect. The marker *-ba* is used for habitual and for progressive aspect *-baigen* and *-ban* marker is used to denote the continuation of event. The *-ban* is the contracted form of the *-baigen* marker. In the perfect aspect the verb *-jin* 'finish' verb with the *mu-* act as a completive function with the *-ba* marker on *-jin* acting as the perfect marker with copula *mu-*. The copula *mu-* in the perfect aspect gives the sense of present relevance of completed action. Removing the copula verb *mu-* of the perfect aspect changes the perfect aspect to completive.

In the discussion of the mood and modality, I have followed the Bhat(1999) classification and also followed the term 'mood' for discussing the mood and modality of the language. Under the Bhat(1999) model the modal categories is divided into two mood: Epistemic mood and Deontic Mood. Under the Epistemic mood, Realis and Irrealis, Judgement and Evidential and Interrogative were discussed. The realis mood in Tamang is marked by *-ji* marker where as the irrealis mood is formed by the *-la* marker with the non-past tense. Under the judgement and evidential category of the epistemic mood; judgement is unmarked so is the declarative statements. The probability and possibility can only be differentiated in the proposition expressed by the speaker as both the mood used the same marker *-la* on the main verb. The evidentials in Tamang is marked by *-m* with the realis marker *-ji* for specifying the reality of an event from observation or by experience.

Unlike the evidential, information shared by someone which is harder to justified is marked with post-verbal particle *om* as Report. In tamang the information gathering by asking interrogative are formed by content words and with raising tone.

Deontic mood expresses the compulsion of internal notions like imperative, obligation, necessity, ability and desire are discussed. The imperative markers *-o* is for the consonant ending verb stem, *-u* for vowel ending verb and *-go* marker is for the verb ending in breathy sound. Under the imperative :- request, hortative, optative and prohibition is discussed. The request in Tamang is marked by *-le* marker and hortative with *-ke* marker. Similarly, optative is expressed with marked *-gai* marker and prohibition is marked by *-tha*.

Obligation which expressed the social constrain and necessity which expressed the physical action to complete the predicate both use the *-to-* marker. Like obligation, necessity is also marked by *-to* which differs in the physical compulsion of the speaker. The existence of internal enabling conditions i.e, ability is expressed with *-ham*. Similiarly, the internal volitional conditions of the agent as desire is unmarked and expressed by the proposition in the agent.

From this study of the Tamang verbal system of the eastern variety that Tamang verbal system can be best described through the mood and modality then with tense and aspect.

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## ANNEXES

### ANNEX A: Basic Sentences

Basanti Lama, Khahare Pangu, Kavre.

BL\_BS.001

*ela min tiga*  
e -la min tiga  
2SG.N-HON -GEN name what  
'What is your name?'

BL\_BS.002

*ela dim hanaŋ*  
e -la dim hanaŋ  
2SG.N-HON -GEN house where  
'Where is your home?'

BL\_BS.003

*t<sup>h</sup>e hanaŋ Tiba*  
t<sup>h</sup>e hanaŋ Ti -ba  
3SG where sit -NPST  
'Where does s/he live?'

BL\_BS.004

*ŋa yamburi Tiba*  
ŋa yambu -ri Ti -ba  
1SG Kathmandu -LOC sit -NPST  
'I live in kathmandu.'

BL\_BS.005

*ŋani yamburi doji*  
ŋa -ni yambu -ri do -ji  
1SG -PL.EXCL Kathmandu -LOC reach -PST  
'We reached Kathmandu.'

BL\_BS.006

*cu ŋala dim hinna*  
cu ŋa -la dim hin -na  
this 1SG -GEN house be -NPST  
'This is my house.'

BL\_BS.007

*ŋala som nanadugu mula*  
ŋa -la som nana -dugu mu -la  
1SG -GEN three elder sister-PL be-NPST  
'I have three elder sisters.'

BL\_BS.008

*ŋai tʰiri niba are*  
ŋa -i tʰiri ni -ba are  
1SG -ERG there go -NMLZ NEG  
'I haven't been there.'

BL\_BS.009

*ŋa syori reba*  
ŋa syo-ri re -ba  
1SG morning- LOC get up -NPST  
'I wake up in the morning.'

BL\_BS.010

*tʰe syori reba*  
tʰe syori re -ba  
3SG morning get up -NPST  
'S/he gets up in the morning.'

BL\_BS.011

*geri niba*  
ge -ri ni -ba  
work -LOC go -NPST  
'(S/he) goes to work.'

BL\_BS.012

*aŋa dimri niji*  
aŋa dim -ri ni -ji  
younger sister house -LOC go -PST  
'Younger sister went home.'

BL\_BS.013

*tʰe liccʰa dimri Tiba*  
tʰe liccʰa dim -ri Ti -ba  
3SG after house -LOC sit -NPST  
'After that s/he sits at home.'

BL\_BS.014

e tʰiri tʰaniu  
e tʰiri tʰa-ni -u  
2SG.N-HON there PROH -go -IMP  
'You don't go there.'

BL\_BS.015

*tʰe dimri niji*  
tʰe dim -ri ni -ji  
3SG house -LOC go -PST  
'S/he went home.'

BL\_BS.016

*ŋa airak atʰuŋba*  
ŋa airak a- tʰuŋ -ba  
1SG liquor NEG- drink -NPST  
'I don't drink liquor.'

BL\_BS.017

*ale syori ŋeban muba*  
ale syo -ri ŋe -ban mu -ba  
younger brother morning -LOC laugh -PROG be -NPST  
'Younger brother was laughing in the morning.'

BL\_BS.018

*kan caba mhi hala*  
kan ca -ba mhi ha -la  
rice eat -NMLZ person come -NPST  
'The person who eats rice (will) come.'

BL\_BS.019

*ŋai kwan kʰruji*  
ŋa -i kwan kʰru -ji  
1SG -ERG cloth wash -PST

'I washed the cloth.'

BL\_BS.020

*ŋai kuisse kwan k<sup>h</sup>ruji*  
ŋa -i kui -se kwan k<sup>h</sup>ru -ji  
1SG -ERG water -INS cloth wash -PST  
'I washed cloth with water.'

BL\_BS.021

*t<sup>h</sup>e kwan eda halse cuŋji*  
t<sup>h</sup>e kwan e -da hal -se cuŋ -ji  
that cloth 2SG.N-HON -DAT who -ERG sell -PST  
'Who sold you that cloth?'

BL\_BS.022

*cu kwan eda halse cuŋji*  
cu kwan e -da hal -se cuŋ -ji  
this cloth 2SG.N-HON -DAT who -ERG sell -PST  
'Who sold you this cloth?'

BL\_BS.023

*ese tilma jyaba kwan kwanban muba*  
e -se tilma jyaba kwan kwan -ban mu -ba  
2SG.N-HON -ERG yesterday good cloth wear -PROG be -NPST  
'Yesterday you were wearing a beautiful cloth.'

BL\_BS.024

*ŋa c<sup>h</sup>oyidep Doban muba*  
ŋa c<sup>h</sup>oyidep Do -ban mu -ba  
1SG book read -PROG be -NPST  
'I was reading a book.'

BL\_BS.025

*t<sup>h</sup>e c<sup>h</sup>e t<sup>h</sup>aban mula*  
t<sup>h</sup>e c<sup>h</sup>e t<sup>h</sup>a -ban mu -la  
3SG grass cut -PROG be -NPST  
'S/he is cutting grass.'

BL\_BS.026

*cu η<sup>h</sup>e t<sup>h</sup>uŋba mhi pemba hinna*  
cu η<sup>h</sup>e t<sup>h</sup>uŋ -ba mhi pemba hin -na  
this milk drink -NMLZ person Pemba be -NPST  
'This milk drinking person is Pemba.'

BL\_BS.027

*pembase cyan mraŋji*  
pemba -se cyan mraŋ -ji  
Pemba -ERG tiger see -PST  
'Pemba saw the tiger.'

BL\_BS.028

*ηai kan taijinba mula*  
ηa -i kan tai -jin -ba mu -la  
1SG -ERG rice cook -finish -PRF be -NPST  
'I have finished cooking rice.'

BL\_BS.029

*dawase namt<sup>h</sup>ar brijinba mula*  
dawa -se namt<sup>h</sup>ar bri -jin -ba mu -la  
Dawa -ERG story write -finish -PRF be -NPST  
'Dawa has written a story.'

BL\_BS.030

*t<sup>h</sup>ese Taŋa pinjinba muba*  
t<sup>h</sup>e -se Taŋa pin -jin -ba mu -ba  
3SG -ERG money give -finish -PRF be -NPST  
'S/he has given money.'

BL\_BS.031

*ηai Doba ge lajinba muba*  
ηa -i Do -ba ge la -jin -ba mu -ba  
1SG -ERG read -NMLZ work do -finish -PRF be -NPST  
'I finished reading.'

BL\_BS.032

*ηala c<sup>h</sup>oyidep Deji*  
ηa -la c<sup>h</sup>oyidep De -ji  
1SG -GEN book tear -PST

'My book was torn.'

BL\_BS.033

*t<sup>h</sup>ese        ηala        c<sup>h</sup>oyidep    Deji*  
t<sup>h</sup>e   -se   ηa   -la   c<sup>h</sup>oyidep   De   -ji  
3SG   -ERG   1SG   -NPST   book        tear   -PST  
'S/he tore my book.'

BL\_BS.034

*ηani                tam   paηbaigen        ge   labaigen        mula*  
ηa   -ni            tam   paη   -baigen        ge   la   -baigen        mu   -la  
1SG   -PL.EXCL   talk   tell   -PROG        work   do   -PROG        be   -NPST  
'We are talking and working.'

BL\_BS.035

*l<sup>h</sup>anan   tam        t<sup>h</sup>alau*  
l<sup>h</sup>anan   tam        t<sup>h</sup>a   -la   -u  
much   talk        PROH   -do   -IMP  
'Don't talk too much.'

BL\_BS.036

*pema   niu        kan   cau*  
pema   ni   -u        kan   ca   -u  
Pema   go   -IMP   rice   eat   -IMP  
'Pema! go and eat rice.'

BL\_BS.037

*nima   kan        cahamla*  
nima   kan   ca   -ham        -la  
Nima   rice   eat   -be   able   -NPST  
'Nima can eat rice.'

BL\_BS.038

*ηa   kan   ca        aham*  
ηa   kan   ca   a-        ham  
1SG   rice   eat   NEG-   be   able  
'I cannot eat rice.'

BL\_BS.039

*nimase        kan   catoba                muba*

nima -se kan ca -to -ba mu -ba  
nima -ERG rice eat -need -NMLZ be -NPST  
'Nima need to eat rice.'

BL\_BS.040

*ŋani tʰiri ani*  
ŋa -ni tʰiri a- ni  
1SG -PL.EXCL there NEG- go  
'We don't go there.'

BL\_BS.041

*tʰe tʰiri ni aham*  
tʰe tʰiri ni a- ham  
3SG there go NEG- be able  
'S/he cannot go there.'

BL\_BS.042

*ela sunʝi mʰarkan tagai*  
e -la sunʝ -ri mʰar - kan ta -gai  
2SG.N-HON -GEN mouth -LOC ghee - rice be -OPT  
'Let there be ghee and rice (sweet thing) in your mouth.'  
'May there be prosperity in your life.'

BL\_BS.043

*ela mriŋse ja nagai*  
e -la mriŋ -se ja na -gai  
2SG.N-HON -GEN wife -ERG son birth -OPT  
'May your wife give birth to a son.'

BL\_BS.044

*nimase kan caji*  
nima -se kan ca -ji  
Nima -ERG rice eat -PST  
'Nima ate rice.'

BL\_BS.045

*pemase nimada kan cana laji*  
pema -se nima -da kan ca -na la -ji  
Pema -ERG Nima -DAT rice eat -CAUS do -PST  
'Pema made Nima eat rice.'

BL\_BS.046

*ɲani*            *ɲeji*  
ɲa -ni        ɲe -ji  
1SG -PL.EXCL laugh -PST  
'We laughed.'

BL\_BS.047

*ese*                    *ɲanida*                    *ɲena*                    *laji*  
e        -se        ɲa -ni -da        ɲe -na        la -ji  
2SG.N-HON -ERG    1SG -PL.EXCL -DAT    laugh -CAUS    do -PST  
'You made us laugh.'

BL\_BS.048

*kola kraji*  
kola kra -ji  
baby weep -PST  
'Baby cried.'

BL\_BS.049

*dawase kolada krana laji*  
dawa -se kola -da kra -na la -ji  
Dawa -ERG baby -DAT weep -CAUS do -PST  
'Dawa made baby weep.'

BL\_BS.050

*ɲa syaji*  
ɲa sya -ji  
1SG dance -PST  
'I danced.'

BL\_BS.051

*r<sup>h</sup>oduguse*                    *ɲada*                    *syana*                    *laji*  
r<sup>h</sup>o        - dugu -se    ɲa -da    sya    -na    la -ji  
friend - PL    -ERG 1SG -DAT dance -CAUS do -PST  
'Friends made me dance.'

BL\_BS.052

*aɲase*                    *k<sup>h</sup>u*                    *taiji*  
aɲa                    -se    k<sup>h</sup>u    tai    -ji  
younger sister    -ERG curry cook -PST

'Younger sister cooked the curry.'

BL\_BS.053

*nanase aṅada k<sup>h</sup>u taina laji*  
nana -se aṅa -da k<sup>h</sup>u tai -na la -ji  
elder sister -ERG younger sister -DAT curry cook -CAUS do -PST  
'Elder sister made younger sister cook curry.'

BL\_BS.054

*lama gumbari danc<sup>h</sup>yaba*  
lama gumba -ri danc<sup>h</sup>ya -ba  
lama gumba -LOC sit.HHON -NPST  
'Lama stays in gumba.'

BL\_BS.055

*nanase kan cala*  
nana -se kan ca -la  
elder sister -ERG rice eat-NPST  
'Elder sister eats (will) rice.'

## Annex-B

### Basanti Lama. Khahare Pangu, Kavre. Interview.

BL\_IT.001

*ηala min basanti lama hinna*  
ηa -la min basanti lama hin -na  
1SG -GEN name Basanti Lama be -NPST  
'My name is Basanti Lama.'

BL\_IT.002

*datte ηa kirtipurri Tila*  
datte ηa kirtipur -ri Ti -la  
now 1SG Kirtipur -LOC sit -NPST  
'Now I live in Kirtipur.'

BL\_IT.003

*kirtipurri nana ale*  
kirtipur -ri nana ale  
Kirtipur -LOC elder sister younger brother  
  
*asyaη asugade mula*  
asyaη asu -gade mu -la  
maternal uncle maternal aunt -PL be -NPST  
'At Kirtipur (I) have elder sister, younger brother, maternal uncle and auntie.'

BL\_IT.004

*asyaη asula dim rautahatri hinna*  
asyaη asu -la dim rautahat -ri hin -na  
maternal uncle maternal aunt -GEN house Rautahat -LOC be -NPST  
'Maternal uncle and aunt's house is in Rautahat.'

BL\_IT.005

*cu b<sup>h</sup>anda ηacc<sup>h</sup>a dimri paDab la -ba*  
cu b<sup>h</sup>anda ηacc<sup>h</sup>a dim -ri paDab la -ba  
this COMP first house -LOC study do -npst  
'Before coming here, I studied at home.'

BL\_IT.006

*aba amada jakkar geri sayog laba*  
aba ama -da jakkar ge-ri sayog la -ba  
father mother -DAT few work -LOC help do -NPST

'At home I study and help father and mother with their work.'

BL\_IT.007

*r<sup>h</sup>a c<sup>h</sup>aba c<sup>h</sup>e han-ba*  
r<sup>h</sup>a c<sup>h</sup>a -ba c<sup>h</sup>e han -ba  
goat graze -NMLZ grass cut -NMLZ

*t<sup>h</sup>eraṅban laba mula*  
t<sup>h</sup>eraṅban la -ba mu -la  
such do -NPST be -NPST

'I do grazing goat and cutting grass and so on.'

BL\_IT.008

*aba ama buri kyar ge laba t<sup>h</sup>eraṅban*  
aba ama bu -ri kyar ge la -ba t<sup>h</sup>eraṅban  
father mother field -LOC around work do -NPST such

'Father and mother (parents) work around the field.'

BL\_IT.009

*are*  
are  
NEG  
'Not.'

BL\_IT.010

*benan namsari yasyalsi dona namsari lasi ani*  
benan namsa -ri yasyalsi dona namsa -ri la -si ani  
all village -LOC S.L.C upto village -LOC do -PFV and  
'I had my study upto S.L.C in the village.'

BL\_IT.011

*ṅala iskulla min shree lakc<sup>h</sup>imi narayan ucca*  
ṅa -la iskul -la min shree lakc<sup>h</sup>imi narayan ucca  
1SG -GEN school -GEN name Shree Laxmi Narayan ucha

*madyamik biDyalaye hinna*  
madyamik biDyalaye hin -na  
madhyamik bidhayalaye be -NPST

'My school name is Shree Laxmi Narayan Uchha Madhyamik Bidhayalaye.'

BL\_IT.012

*masTargade t<sup>h</sup>eraᅇban das barajana mula*  
masTar -gade t<sup>h</sup>eraᅇban das bahra -jana mu -la  
master -PL such ten twelve - CLF be -NPST  
'There are ten to twelve teachers.'

BL\_IT.013

*tamaᅇgade mula*  
tamaᅇ -gade mu -la  
tamaᅇ -PL be -NPST  
'Tamang (students) are also there.'

BL\_IT.014

*c<sup>h</sup>etri bahungade mula*  
c<sup>h</sup>etri bahun -gade mu -la  
chetri bahun -PL be -NPST  
'Chetri and Bahuns are also there.'

BL\_IT.015

*datte ᅇa jubiliant kalejri paDab*  
datte ᅇa jubiliant kalej -ri paDab  
now 1SG Jubilant College -LOC study  
  
*labaigen mula*  
la -baigen mu -la  
do -PROG be -NPST  
'Now I am studying at Jubilant College.'

BL\_IT.016

*datte byaclar seken yarri*  
datte byaclar seken yar -ri  
now bachelor second year -LOC  
'Now I am in Bachelor second year.'

BL\_IT.017

*l<sup>h</sup>anan ahin*  
l<sup>h</sup>anan a- hin  
much NEG- be  
'Not much.'

## BL\_IT.018

*nananjigade*                      *jakkargi*      *byaclar*   *t<sup>h</sup>arD*   *yarri*  
 nana                      -ŋi   -gade   *jakkargi*      *byaclar*   *t<sup>h</sup>arD*   *yar*   -ri  
 elder sister   -two   -PL   only                      bachelor   third year   -LOC

*jakkargi*   *seken*      *yarri*      *mula*  
*jakkargi*   *seken*      *yar*   -ri   *mu* -la  
 only                      second   year   -LOC   be   -NPST

'Among the two elder sister one is in Bachelor third year and another in second year.'

## BL\_IT.019

*nani*                      *namsarinon*                      *pahile*  
 nana                      -ŋi   *namsa*   -ri   -non   *pahile*  
 elder sister   -two   village   -LOC   -INT   before

'Two sisters were at village before.'

## BL\_IT.020

*nananji*                      *jakkar*                      *ge*   *labaigen*  
 nana                      -ŋi   *jakkar*                      *ge*   *la*   -baigen  
 elder sister   -two   few                      work do -PROG

'Two elder sisters do some work.'

## BL\_IT.021

*datte*   *dona*   *paŋba*                      *are*  
 datte   *dona*   *paŋ*   -ba   *are*  
 now   upto tell   -NMLZ   NEG

'Upto now (they) haven't said.'

## BL\_IT.022

*darem*   *t<sup>h</sup>arD*   *yar*   *jinsi*                      *paŋla*      *tala*  
 darem   *t<sup>h</sup>arD*   *jar*   *jin*   -si   *paŋ* -la   *ta* -la  
 now   third   year   finish -PFV   tell -NPST   be -NPST

'After having completed third year, (they) may.'

## BL\_IT.023

*nani*                      *lala*                      *jakkar*      *dimgyamse*  
 nana                      -ŋi   -se   *la* -la      *jakkar*      *dim*   -gyam   -se  
 elder sister   -two   -ERG   do -NPST   few                      house   -ABL   -INT

*puigala*                      *jakkar*  
*pui*   -ga   -la      *jakkar*  
 send -FOC   -NPST   few

'Some support is received from the elder sisters and some from house.'

BL\_IT.024

*paṅla            paisa    pinbuimula*  
paṅ -la    paisa    pin -bui -mu -la  
tell -NPST money give -send -be -NPST  
'Yes I inform them, they send me money.'

BL\_IT.025

*jakkargi    jyaba    byankari    ge    laba            sem            mula*  
jakkargi    jyaba    byanka -ri    ge    la -ba    sem    mu -la  
only        good    bank -LOC    work    do -NMLZ    thought    be -NPST  
'Recently (I) like to work at a good bank.'

BL\_IT.026

*a..    jakki    jyaba    ge            labarin*  
a    jakki    jyaba    ge            la    -ba -ri    -n  
a..    a bit    good    work    do    -NMLZ    -LOC -INT

*paDablaba            biba*  
paDab -la -ba    bi -ba  
study -do -NMLZ say -NPST  
'Ah, to get a good job (in the future) they told me to study.'

BL\_IT.027

*syori            c<sup>h</sup>a    tis            hende    suru    tala*  
syo    -ri    c<sup>h</sup>a    tis            hende    suru    ta -la  
morning -LOC six    thirty    from    start    be -NPST  
'Class starts from six thirty in the morning.'

BL\_IT.028

*pac    baje        resi            tayar    lasi        c<sup>h</sup>a    baje        nitola*  
pac    baje        re        -si    tayar    la    -si    c<sup>h</sup>a    baje        ni -to    -la  
five    o'clock    get up -PFV    ready    do -PFV    six    o'clock    go -need -NPST  
'I get up at five o'clock and be ready and then have to go (to college) at 6 o'clock.'

BL\_IT.029

*pac    baje        syori            nanse            sola            kan*  
pac    baje        syo        -ri    nana            -se    so    -la    kan  
five    o'clock    morning -LOC    elder    sister    -ERG    make -NPST    rice

'At five o'clock early in the morning elder sister prepares meal.'

BL\_IT.030

*ηaiseja*

ηa -i -se -ja  
1SG -INT -ERG -INT  
'By me.'

BL\_IT.031

*ηainon sotola*

ηa -i -non so -to -la  
1SG -INT -INT make -need -NPST  
'I need to prepare meal myself.'

BL\_IT.032

*ale mula*

ale mu -la  
younger brother be -NPST  
'Younger brother lives with me.'

BL\_IT.033

*jyaban mula*

jyaba -ban mu -la  
good -PROG be -NPST  
'It is good.'

BL\_IT.034

*datte kalejrim tamanri jakkargi are*  
datte kalej -ri -m tamanj -ri jakkargi are  
now College -LOC -FOC tamang -LOC only NEG  
'There is no Tamang (student) in this college.'

BL\_IT.035

*ajyaba manna*

a- jyaba -ba man -na  
NEG- good -NMLZ feel -NPST  
'I feel not good.'

BL\_IT.036

*dat dona k<sup>h</sup>alai arem tamanggade*  
datte dona k<sup>h</sup>alai are -m tamang -gade  
now upto someone NEG -FOC tamang -PL  
'Till now, there is no Tamang in this college.'

BL\_IT.037

*jakki agaDi paDablaba*  
jakki agaDi paDab -la -ba  
a bit ahead study -do -NMLZ

*t<sup>h</sup>eraŋban soc hala*  
t<sup>h</sup>eraŋban soc ha -la  
such thinking come -NPST  
'I am thinking to proceed with my further study.'

BL\_IT.038

*namsarinon muba*  
namsa -ri -non mu -ba  
village -LOC -INT be -NPST  
'(Parents) live in the village.'

BL\_IT.039

*jakkarrinon cutor areba*  
jakkar -ri -non cu -tor are -ba  
few -LOC -INT this -top NEG -NMLZ  
'No one is here.'

BL\_IT.040

*k<sup>h</sup>ai areba*  
k<sup>h</sup>ai are -ba  
well NEG -NMLZ  
'Well not.'

BL\_IT.041

*masTar soba sem mi are ŋala*  
masTar so -ba sem mi are ŋa -la  
master make -NMLZ thought FOC NEG 1SG -GEN  
  
*t<sup>h</sup>eraŋnon semhaba*  
t<sup>h</sup>eraŋban -non sem - ha -ba

that way -INT thought - come -NPST  
'I do not have a will to be a teacher, so do I feel.'

BL\_IT.042

*tara datte dona t<sup>h</sup>eraŋba jakki agaDi*  
tara datte dona t<sup>h</sup>eraŋban jakki agaDi  
but now upto such a bit ahead

*baDap taba tamanggade areba*  
baDap ta -ba tamang -gade are -ba  
progress be-NMLZ tamang -PL NEG -NPST

'But till now, there are no such Tamang who have progressed ahead.'

BL\_IT.043

*t<sup>h</sup>eraŋse jakki ajyaba manba sem*  
t<sup>h</sup>eraŋban -se jakki a- jyaba man -ba sem  
such -INT a bit NEG- good feel -NPST thought  
'Such has made me feel sad.'

BL\_IT.044

*paDai b<sup>h</sup>anda arkom tilai ge laba are*  
paDai b<sup>h</sup>anda arko -m tilai ge la -ba are  
study COMP next -FOC what ever work do -NPST NEG  
'Beside study, there is no other work.'

BL\_IT.045

*tiba cabaje*  
ti -ba ca -ba -je  
sit -NMLZ eat -NMLZ -INT  
'Only siting and eating.'

## Annex-C

### Basanti Lama. Kavre, Khahare Pangu: Story of Jackal

BL\_ST.001

*tiremla tam hinna*  
tirem -la tam hin -na  
once -GEN saying be -NPST  
'Once upon a time.'

BL\_ST.002

*jakkargi namsari jakkargi dim muba*  
jakkargi namsa -ri jakkargi dim mu -ba  
only village -LOC only house be -NPST  
'In a village (there) was a house.'

BL\_ST.003

*t<sup>h</sup>e dimrija aba ama gor<sup>h</sup>ji kola muba*  
t<sup>h</sup>e dim -ri -ja aba ama gor -<sup>h</sup>ji kola mu -ba  
that house -LOC -INT father mother CLF -two baby be -NPST  
'There were father, mother and two children in that house.'

BL\_ST.004

*aba ama k<sup>h</sup>eppa k<sup>h</sup>ui doljin muba*  
aba ama k<sup>h</sup>eppa k<sup>h</sup>ui do -la -jin mu -ba  
father mother old.M old.F become -do -finish be-NPST  
'Father and mother (Parents) had already been old enough.'

BL\_ST.005

*tirem t<sup>h</sup>e aba ama sijiom*  
tirem t<sup>h</sup>e aba ama si -ji om  
once that father mother die -PST REP  
'One day, father and mother (the parents) passed away.'

BL\_ST.006

*jyojyo alda a<sup>h</sup>sabanDaja*  
jyojyo ale -da a<sup>h</sup>sabanDa -ja  
elder brother younger brother -DAT property share -INT  
  
*ladoba geri*  
la -to -ba ge -ri

do -need -NMLZ work -LOC

'Older brother and younger brother need to divide the property.'

BL\_ST.007

*aṅsabanDari meglap den memama*  
aṅsabanDa -ri me -glap t<sup>h</sup>en me -mama  
property share -LOC cattle -male and cattle -female

*boladobari*

bo -la -to -ba -ri  
share -do -need -NMLZ -LOC  
'The property share need to be done was (between) ox and cow.'

BL\_ST.008

*jyojyoja jakki calak muba*  
jyo jyo -ja jakki calak mu -ba  
elder brother -INT a bit clever be -NPST  
'The elder brother was a bit clever.'

BL\_ST.009

*horanlasi jyotseja*  
horan la -si jyojyo -se -ja  
such do -CP elder brother -ERG -INT

*gorṅi meglap borsi niḅi*  
gor -ṅi me -glap bor -si ni -ḅi  
CLF -two cattle -male take -CP go -PST

'In such a way, the elder brother took away the two oxen.'

BL\_ST.010

*silaiḅa memamaja*  
si -la -i -ba me -mama -ja  
die -do -INT -NMLZ cattle -female -INT

*alda pinjim*  
ale -da pin -ḅi -m  
younger brother -DAT give -PST -EVID

'The dying cow was given to the younger brother.'

BL\_ST.011

*tirem t<sup>h</sup>e memamase kola najim*  
tirem t<sup>h</sup>e me -mama -se kola na -ḅi -m

once that cattle -female -ERG baby birth -PST -EVID  
'Once, that cow gave birth to a calf.'

BL\_ST.012

*kola naba belari t<sup>h</sup>e mela*  
kola na -ba bela -ri t<sup>h</sup>e me -la  
baby birth -NMLZ time -LOC that cattle -GEN

*kola yarsinijim*

kola yar -si -ni -ji -m  
baby run -PFV -go -PST -EVID  
'After the birth, the baby calf ran away.'

BL\_ST.013

*gorŋi meglapla biccari nisi Tijim*  
gor -ŋi me -glap -la bicca -ri ni -si Ti -ji -m  
CLF -two cattle -male -GEN middle -LOC go -CP sit -PST -EVID  
'Then, the young calf went in the middle of the oxen.'

BL\_ST.014

*syo tama alese*  
syo ta -ma ale -se  
morning be -PURP younger brother -ERG  
'Early in the morning younger brother.'

BL\_ST.015

*aljase memamala*  
ale -ja -se me -mama -la  
younger brother -INT -ERG cow -female -GEN

*kola maisigen*

*bramam*  
kola mai -si -GEN bra -ma -m  
baby search -CP -PROG walk -PURP -FOC  
'The younger brother went in search of the calf.'

BL\_ST.016

*jyojyola goT<sup>h</sup>ri meglapla biccari*  
jyo -jyo -la goT<sup>h</sup> -ri me -glap -la bicca -ri  
elder brother -REDUP -GEN cow shed -LOC cattle -male -GEN middle -LOC  
*Tinijim Tiba mranjim om*  
Ti -ni -ji -m Ti -ba mraj -ji -m om





## BL\_ST.025

*maisigen brama jakkargi lundi ruptajim*  
 mai -si -GEN bra -ma jakkargi lundi rup -ta -ji -m  
 search -CP -PROG walk -while only jackal meet -be -PST -EVID  
 'As he walked in search (for the speaker), he met a jackal.'

## BL\_ST.026

*lundida benan tam seba hendem*  
 lundi -da benan tam se -ba hende -m  
 jackal -DAT all talk tell.HON -NMLZ from -FOC  
 'After having said everything to the Jackal.'

## BL\_ST.027

*lundise ηada curan curan tasi biji*  
 lundi -se ηa -da cu -ran cu -ran ta -si bi -ji  
 jackal -ERG 1SG -DAT this -self this -self be -CP say -PST  
 'Jackal told me to do this and that.'

## BL\_ST.028

*benan tamsema*  
 benan tam -se -ma  
 all talk -understand -PURP  
*lundise e niu d<sup>h</sup>ukka taji*  
 lundi -se e ni -u d<sup>h</sup>ukka ta -ji  
 jackal -ERG 2.SG.N-HON go -IMP well be -CP  
 'After understanding the matter, Jackal said "You go, everything will be alright".'

## BL\_ST.029

*ηa nanḡar bahra baje namsari dogala*  
 ηa nanḡar bahra baje namsa -ri do -ga -la  
 1SG tomorrow twelve o'clock village -LOC reach -FOC -NPST  
*benanda ηyoisi t<sup>h</sup>anḡo bijim*  
 benan -da ηyoi -si t<sup>h</sup>anḡ -go bi -ji -m  
 all -DAT call -CP put -IMP say -PST -EVID  
 'The Jackal said "Tomorrow I will be here at 12 o'clock" and said "to call the villagers".'

## BL\_ST.030

*aljase nanḡardanse*  
 ale -ja -se nanḡar -danḡ -se  
 younger brother -INT -ERG tomorrow -from -INT

*benanda ruplasi jakkargi glari t<sup>h</sup>anjim*  
 benan -da rup -la -si jakkargi gla -ri t<sup>h</sup>añ -ji -m  
 all -DAT gather -do -CP only place -LOC put -PST -EVID  
 'From the early morning younger brother gathered people for the meeting.'

BL\_ST.031

*benan lundi hala bisi k<sup>h</sup>ruṅsi Tijim*  
 benan lundi ha -la bi -si k<sup>h</sup>ruṅ -si Ti -ji -m  
 all jackal come -NPST say -CP wait -CP sit -PST -EVID  
 'Everyone had waited for the jackal's arrival.'

BL\_ST.032

*lundi gaisai ahaji*  
 lundi gai -sai a- ha -ji  
 jackal late -COND NEG- come -PST  
 'The jackal didnot arrive even it was late.'

BL\_ST.033

*bahra baje ha-la-ga bahra baje ahaji*  
 bahra baje ha -la -ga bahra baje a- ha -ji  
 twelve o'clock come -NPST -FOC twelve o'clock NEG- come -PST  
 'The jackal did not came even after at12 o'clock.'

BL\_ST.034

*ek baje tasai ahaji*  
 ek baje ta -sai a- ha -ji  
 one o'clock be -COND NEG- come -PST  
  
*due baje tasai ahaji*  
 due baje ta -sai a- ha -ji  
 two o'clock be -COND NEG- come -PST  
 'Jackal didnot arrive even after 1 o'clock and after 2 o'clock.'

BL\_ST.035

*benanda dimri nibiba T<sup>h</sup>ayakka lundi dok<sup>h</sup>ajim*  
 benan -da dim -ri ni - bi -ba T<sup>h</sup>ayakka lundi do -k<sup>h</sup>a -ji -m  
 all -DAT house -LOC go - say -NMLZ exact jackal reach -come -PST -EVID  
 'When all were about to return home, the jackal arrived.'

## BL\_ST.036

*lundi dok<sup>h</sup>aba lundila sunri*  
 lundi do -k<sup>h</sup>a -ba lundi -la sunj -ri  
 jackal reach -come -NMLZ jackal -GEN mouth -LOC

*kyar mlaŋ mlaŋgaderim*  
 kyar mlaŋ mlaŋ -gade -rim  
 around black black -PL -EVID

'While the jackal arrived his mouth was black in colour.'

## BL\_ST.037

*benanse nyoiyim lundi ale*  
 benan -se nyoi -ji -m lundi ale  
 all -ERG call -PST -EVID jackal younger brother

*e tiljada gaiba om bibam*  
 e til -ja -da gai -ba om bi -ba -m  
 2SG.N-HON what -INT -DAT late-NMLZ REP say -NMLZ -FOC

"Many asked, "Jackal brother, what was the reason for being late?"

## BL\_ST.038

*lundise paŋjim syonri me lagab tajim*  
 lundi -se paŋ -ji -m syonj -ri me lagab ta -ji -m  
 jackal -ERG tell -PST -EVID river -LOC fire feel be -PST -EVID

'Jackal replied, "There was a fire in the river".'

## BL\_ST.039

*tarŋa cana cana casi casi hama gajim*  
 tarŋa cana cana ca -si ca -si ha -ma gai -ji -m  
 fish piece piece eat -CP eat -CP come -while late -PST -EVID

'I got late as I was eating pieces of fishes in the river".'

## BL\_ST.040

*aa.. p<sup>h</sup>aTa lundi syonri haimai me lagab tala*  
 aa p<sup>h</sup>aTa lundi syonj -ri k<sup>h</sup>aima -i me lagab ta -la  
 aa.. liar jackal river -LOC when -INT fire feel be -NPST

'Ah! liar jackal, "How come there be fire in the river?"'

## BL\_ST.041

*onja haimai*  
 on -ja haima -i  
 that -INT how -INT

"How is that?" (Jackal replied)'

BL\_ST.042

*t<sup>h</sup>eranba meglapse kola silba hende*  
t<sup>h</sup>eranban me -glap -se kola sil -ba hende  
that way cow -male -ERG baby birth -NMLZ from

*syonri hoja me lagab tala om*  
syonj -ri ho -ja me lagab ta -la om  
river -LOC that -INT fire feel be -NPST REP

'From that time, the ox had given birth to a calf, the fire caught the river", Jackal replied.'

BL\_ST.043

*ode t<sup>h</sup>aare bisi paṅban*  
o -de t<sup>h</sup>aha -are bi -si paṅ -ban  
o -that know -NEG say -CP tell -PROG

'Don't you know that" he said.'

BL\_ST.044

*benan namsalagade t<sup>w</sup>a tajim om*  
benan namsa -la -gade t<sup>w</sup>a ta -ji -m om  
all village -GEN -PL surprise be -PST -EVID REP

'All the villagers were surprised!'

BL\_ST.045

*benan t<sup>h</sup>e denc<sup>h</sup>yam lundi*  
benan t<sup>h</sup>e denc<sup>h</sup>yam lundi  
all that with jackal

*denc<sup>h</sup>yam tam paṅhamna dosi nijim*  
denc<sup>h</sup>yam tam paṅ - a- ham -na do -si ni -ji -m  
with talk tell - NEG - be.able -NPST reach -CP go -PST -EVID

'After noone has any words to say to the Jackal, they returned.'

BL\_ST.046

*tʰe mela kola*  
tʰe me -la kola  
that cattle -GEN baby

*aljada pinjim*  
ale -ja -da pin -ji -m  
younger brother -INT -DAT give -PST -EVID  
'Then that calf was given to the younger brother.'

## Annex-D

### Pritam Lama, Kavre, Khahare Pangu . Basic Sentence.

PL\_BS.001

*ŋa kirtipurri Tiba*  
ŋa kirtipur -ri Ti -ba  
1SG Kirtipur -LOC sit -NPST  
'I stay at kirtipur.'

PL\_BS.002

*ŋa kan casi hala*  
ŋa kan ca -si ha -la  
1SG rice eat -PFV come -NPST  
'Having eaten rice, I (will) come.'

PL\_BS.003

*ŋa kra-ji*  
ŋa kra -ji  
1SG weep -PST  
'I wept.'

PL\_BS.004

*e niu*  
e ni -u  
2SG.N-HON go -IMP  
'You go.'

PL\_BS.005

*curi hau*  
cu -ri ha -u  
this -LOC come -IMP  
'Come here.'

PL\_BS.006

*jyanale briu*  
jjanale bri -u  
well write -IMP  
'Write well.'

PL\_BS.007

*tʰese cu ge ala*  
tʰe -se cu ge a- la  
3SG -ERG this work NEG- do  
'S/he does not do this work.'

PL\_BS.008

*cu ge tʰalau*  
cu ge tʰa -la -u  
this work PROH -do -IMP  
'Don't do this work.'

PL\_BS.009

*ese kui tʰuŋji*  
e -se kui tʰuŋ -ji  
2SG.N-HON -ERG water drink -PST  
'You drank water.'

PL\_BS.010

*cu kui hinna*  
cu kui hin -na  
this water be -NPST  
'This is water.'

PL\_BS.011

*tʰe mʰar hinna*  
tʰe mʰar hin -na  
that ghee be -NPST  
'That is ghee.'

PL\_BS.012

*e dimri ni*  
e dim -ri ni -ji  
2SG.N-HON house -LOC go -PST  
'You went home.'

PL\_BS.013

*lakpase tilma tik laji*  
lakpa -se tilma tik la -ji  
Lakpa -ERG yesterday what do -PST

'What did Lakpa do yesterday?'

PL\_BS.014

*ese                    benan   geŋ            caji*  
e            -se    benan   geŋ            ca        -ji  
2SG.N-HON -ERG all       flatbread    eat       -PST  
'You ate all the bread.'

PL\_BS.015

*t<sup>h</sup>ese            tini    kan    taiji*  
t<sup>h</sup>e    -se    tini    kan    tai    -ji  
3SG   -ERG today rice    cook -PST  
'Today s/he cooked rice?'

PL\_BS.016

*ese                    benan   kan    caji*  
e            -se    benan   kan    ca    -ji  
2SG.N-HON -ERG all       rice    eat -PST  
'You ate all the rice?'

PL\_BS.017

*t<sup>h</sup>ese            ge    laban        muba*  
t<sup>h</sup>e    -se    ge    la    -ban    mu    -ba  
3SG   -ERG work    do -PROG be    -NPST  
'S/he was working.'

PL\_BS.018

*ŋada            netpa            haji*  
ŋa    -da    net    -ba    ha    -ji  
1SG   -DAT laugh -NMLZ come -PST  
'I felt laughing.'

PL\_BS.019

*ese                    t<sup>h</sup>e    gaŋ    mraŋba*  
e            -se    t<sup>h</sup>e    gaŋ    mraŋ    -ba  
2SG.N-HON -ERG that    hill    see    -NMLZ  
'Have you seen that hill?'

PL\_BS.020

*ŋai ela r<sup>h</sup>o mraŋba mula*  
ŋa -i e -la r<sup>h</sup>o mraŋ -ba mu -la  
1SG -ERG 2SG.N-HON -GEN friend see -NMLZ be -NPST  
'I have seen your friend.'

PL\_BS.021

*tini nam taila tala*  
tini nam tai -la ta -la  
today rain fall -NPST be -NPST  
'It will rain today.'

PL\_BS.022

*tini nam ataila tala*  
tini nam a- tai -la ta -la  
today rain NEG- fall -NPST be -NPST  
'It may not rain today.'

PL\_BS.023

*tini nam taitola*  
tini nam tai -to -la  
today rain fall -need -NPST  
'It should rain today.'

PL\_BS.024

*tini nam ataitola*  
tini nam a -tai -to -la  
today rain NEG -fall -need -NPST  
'It should not rain today'

PL\_BS.025

*ŋai kan cajinji*  
ŋa -i kan ca -jin -ji  
1SG -ERG rice eat -finish -PST  
'I have eaten rice.'

PL\_BS.026

*k<sup>h</sup>aimak<sup>h</sup>aima ŋani dim-ri ge la-ba*  
khaima -khaima ŋa -ni dim -ri ge la -ba  
sometimes -REDUP 1SG -PL.EXCL house -LOC work do -NPST

'Sometimes we work at home'

PL\_BS.027

*t<sup>h</sup>e mhigadese klan klanban mula*  
t<sup>h</sup>e mhi -gade -se klan klan -ban mu -la  
that person -PL -ERG game play -PROG be -NPST  
'These peoples are playing a game.'

PL\_BS.028

*t<sup>h</sup>e mhigadese klan klanba mula*  
t<sup>h</sup>e mhi -gade -se klan klan -ba mu -la  
that person -PL -ERG play play -NMLZ be -NPST  
'These peoples have played a game'.

PL\_BS.029

*ŋai c<sup>h</sup>oyidep Dojinba mula*  
ŋa -i c<sup>h</sup>oyidep Do -jin -ba mu -la  
1SG -ERG book read -finish -PFV be -NPST  
'I have read the book.'

PL\_BS.030

*t<sup>h</sup>e p<sup>h</sup>undi r<sup>h</sup>apban mula*  
t<sup>h</sup>e p<sup>h</sup>undi r<sup>h</sup>ap -ban mu -la  
3SG madal play -PROG be -NPST  
'S/he is playing madal.'

PL\_BS.031

*t<sup>h</sup>enigade doŋ suban mula*  
t<sup>h</sup>e -ni -gade doŋ su -ban mu -la  
3SG -PL.EXCL -PL tree plant -PROG be -NPST  
'They are planting trees.'

PL\_BS.032

*pema kan caban muba*  
pema kan ca -ban mu -ba  
Pema rice eat -PROG be -NPST  
'Pema was eating rice.'

PL\_BS.033

*ɲani teme caban mula*  
 ɲa -ni teme ca -ban mu -la  
 1SG -PL.EXCL potato eat -PROG be -NPST  
 'We are eating sweet potato.'

PL\_BS.034

*chiriŋ magari caban muba*  
 chiriŋ magari ca -ban mu -ba  
 chiring corn eat -PROG be -NPST  
 'Chiring was eating corn.'

PL\_BS.035

*ɲai kan cajinba muba*  
 ɲa -i kan ca -jin -ba mu -ba  
 1SG -ERG rice eat -finish -PFV be -NPST  
 'I had eaten rice.'

PL\_BS.036

*tʰese kan cajinba muba*  
 tʰe -se kan ca -jin -ba mu -ba  
 3SG -ERG rice eat -finish -PFV be -NPST  
 'S/he had eaten rice.'

PL\_BS.037

*yaŋse kan cajinba muba*  
 yaŋ -se kan ca -jin -ba mu -ba  
 3SG.INCL -ERG rice eat -finish -PFV be -NPST  
 'We had eaten rice.'

PL\_BS.038

*ɲai kui tʰuŋjinba muba*  
 ɲa -i kui tʰuŋ -jin -ba mu -ba  
 1SG -ERG water drink -finish -PFV be -NPST  
 'I had drunk water.'

PL\_BS.039

*Taŋa yolaba mhi haji*  
 Taŋa yo -la -ba mhi ha -ji  
 money steal -do -NMLZ person come -PST

'The person who stole the money came.'

PL\_BS.040

*t<sup>h</sup>ese goja cuŋji*  
t<sup>h</sup>e -se goja cuŋ -ji  
3SG -ERG knife catch -PST  
'S/he caught the knife.'

PL\_BS.041

*ge laba mhi haji*  
ge la -ba mhi ha -ji  
work do -NMLZ person come -PST  
'The person who worked came.'

PL\_BS.042

*lamase t<sup>h</sup>aba seba ge ala*  
lama -se t<sup>h</sup>a -ba se -ba ge a- la  
lama -ERG cut -NMLZ kill -NMLZ work NEG- do  
'Lama does not do cutting and killing.'

PL\_BS.043

*ese lopk<sup>h</sup>enla tam nyantola*  
e -se lopk<sup>h</sup>en -la tam nyan -to -la  
2SG.N-HON -ERG teacher -GEN talk listen -need -NPST  
'You need to listen to the teacher's lecture.'

PL\_BS.044

*ŋai c<sup>h</sup>oyidep Dojinjiba mula*  
ŋa -i c<sup>h</sup>oyidep Do -jin -ji -ba mu -la  
1SG -ERG book read -finish -REDUP -PFV be -NPST  
'I have finished reading a book.'

PL\_BS.045

*cugyam bauda kade t<sup>h</sup>areŋ mula*  
cu -gyam bauda kade t<sup>h</sup>areŋ mu -la  
this -ABL Baudha how far be -NPST  
'How far is Baudha from this road?'

PL\_BS.046

*r<sup>h</sup>ala kola siji*  
r<sup>h</sup>a -la kola si -ji  
goat -GEN baby die -PST  
'A young goat died.'

PL\_BS.047

*pemase r<sup>h</sup>ala kola setji*  
pema -se r<sup>h</sup>a -la kola set -ji  
Pema -ERG goat -GEN baby kill -PST  
'Pema killed a young goat.'

PL\_BS.048

*eda jyaba tagai*  
e -da jyaba ta -gai  
2SG.N-HON -DAT good be -OPT  
'May it be good for you.'

PL\_BS.049

*e gren mhi tagai*  
e gren mhi ta -gai  
2SG.N-HON big person be -OPT  
'May you be a great person.'

PL\_BS.050

*mui syonri kyalban muba*  
mui syon -ri kyal -ban mu -ba  
buffalo river -LOC swim -PROG be -NPST  
'A buffalo was swimming in the morning.'

PL\_BS.051

*ale dimri Tiba*  
ale dim -ri Ti -ba  
younger brother house -LOC sit -NPST  
'Young brother is at home'

PL\_BS.052

*datte ge taba are*  
datte ge ta -ba are  
now work be -NMLZ NEG

'Now the work is not done.'

PL\_BS.053

*ŋa kan ca-ba*

ŋa kan ca -ba

1SG rice eat -NPST

'I eat rice.'

## Annex-E

### Pritam. Lama. Dapcha Interview Kritipur

PL\_IT.001

*ηala min pritam lama hinna*  
ηa -la min pritam lama hin -na  
1SG -GEN name Pritam Lama be -NPST  
'My name is Pritam lama.'

PL\_IT.002

*datte ηa kirtipurri Tila*  
datte ηa kirtipur -ri Ti -la  
now 1SG Kirtipur -LOC sit -NPST  
'Now I live in Kirtipur.'

PL\_IT.003

*ηa paDab laba*  
ηa paDab la -ba  
1SG study do -NPST  
'I am studying.'

PL\_IT.004

*ηa labriTori hayer sekondari iskulri paDab laba*  
ηa labriTori hayer sekondari iskul -ri paDab la -ba  
1SG Laboratory higher secondary school -LOC study do -NPST  
'I am studying at Laboratory Higher Secondary School.'

PL\_IT.005

*nanja carjana aru t<sup>h</sup>aha are*  
nana -ja car -jana aru t<sup>h</sup>aha are  
elder sister -INT four -CLF other know NEG  
'I have four elder sisters other (I) don't know.'

PL\_IT.006

*kabrepalancok dapca gyamse*  
kabrepalancok dapca gyam -se  
kavre palanchok dapca ABL -INT  
'From Kavre palanchok Dapcha.'

PL\_IT.007

*dimri gorbli nana ŋa aba tʰen ama*  
 dim -ri gor - bli nana ŋa aba tʰen ama  
 house -LOC CLF - four elder sister 1SG father and mother  
 'At home (there are) four sisters, me, father and mother.

PL\_IT.008

*dimri Tiba paDablaba*  
 dim -ri Ti -ba paDab -la -ba  
 house -LOC sit -NMLZ study -do -NMLZ  
 '(I) Stay at home and study.'

PL\_IT.009

*tilai are*  
 tilai are  
 what ever NEG  
 'Nothing '

PL\_IT.010

*sebaga*  
 se -ba -ga  
 understand -NMLZ -FOC  
 'I understand.'

PL\_IT.011

*yamburi nana asyaŋ asu*  
 yambu -ri nana asyaŋ asu  
 Kathmandu -LOC elder sister uncle aunt  
 'Elder sister, maternal uncle and auntie are in Kathmandu.'

PL\_IT.012

*nanagade paDab labaigen*  
 nana -gade paDab la -baigen  
 elder sister -PL study do -PROG  
 'Elder sisters are studying.'

PL\_IT.013

*aba buri amainon buri ge labanga*  
 aba bu -ri ama -i -non bu -ri ge la-ban -ga  
 father farm -LOC mother -ERG -INT field -LOC work do -PROG -FOC  
 'Father and mother both work in the farm.'

PL\_IT.014

*gren mhi ahin p<sup>h</sup>uTbal pleyer dobaga*  
gren mhi a- hin p<sup>h</sup>uTbal pleyer do -ba -ga  
big person NEG- be football player become -NMLZ -FOC  
'Not a great person, (rather) to be a football player.'

PL\_IT.015

*yamburi nananiga*  
yambu -ri nana -nji -ga  
Kathmandu -LOC elder sister -two -FOC  
'Two elder sisters are in Kathmadu.'

PL\_IT.016

*kan taiba ge nanhiga*  
kan tai -ba ge nana -nji -ga  
rice cook -NMLZ work elder sister -two -FOC  
'Two elder sisters prepare meal.'

PL\_IT.017

*caba Tiba paDab laba oden*  
ca -ba Ti -ba paDab la -ba oden  
eat -NMLZ sit -NMLZ study do -NMLZ only  
'Eating, sitting and studying that's it.'

PL\_IT.018

*dasairi dimri labaga namsari kyar*  
dasai -ri dim -ri la -ba -ga namsa -ri kyar  
dasai -LOC house -LOC do -NMLZ -FOC village -LOC around

*Tika kyappa pinna*  
Tika kyap -ba pin -na  
tika put -NMLZ give -NPST  
'Dasai is celebrated at home; tika is also put on around the village.'

PL\_IT.019

*tiharri nanji hala Tika kyapla*  
tihar -ri nana -nji ha -la Tika kyap -la  
tihar -LOC elder sister -two come -NPST tika put -NPST  
'Two elder sisters come (home) to put tika in Tihar.'

PL\_IT.020

*iskul gyamse kahile r<sup>h</sup>ogade c<sup>h</sup>yam klanla*  
 iskul gjam -se kahile r<sup>h</sup>o -gade c<sup>h</sup>yam klan -la  
 school ABL -INT sometime friend -PL with play -NPST  
 'At school, I play (football) with friends.'

PL\_IT.021

*iskulrinon c<sup>h</sup>uTTi taba hinde namsala*  
 iskul -ri -non c<sup>h</sup>uTi ta -ba hinde namsa -la  
 school -LOC -INT holiday be -NPST after village -GEN

*r<sup>h</sup>ogade t<sup>h</sup>en klanba*  
 r<sup>h</sup>o -gade t<sup>h</sup>en klan -ba  
 friend -PL and play -NMLZ  
 'After the school is over, I play football with my village friends.'

PL\_IT.022

*klanbanm*  
 klan -ban -m  
 play -PROG -FOC  
 'Playing.'

PL\_IT.023

*yamburi hasinon klanban*  
 yambu -ri ha -si -non klan -ban  
 Kathmandu -LOC come -PST -INT play -PROG  
 'After having come to Kathmandu, (I) start playing.'

PL\_IT.024

*curinon sar mula p<sup>h</sup>uTbal loppari*  
 cu -ri -non sir mu -la p<sup>h</sup>uTbal loppa -ri  
 this -LOC -INT sir be -NPST football teach -LOC

*t<sup>h</sup>en ranlan khusga*  
 t<sup>h</sup>en ranlan khus -ga  
 and oneself happy -FOC  
 'Here, teacher teaches us football, that's makes me happy.'

PL\_IT.025

*klaŋba sem musam klaŋji*  
klaŋ -ba sem mu -sam klaŋ -ji  
play -NMLZ thought be -if play -PST  
'I played if I want.'

PL\_IT.026

*klaŋtobaja biba are*  
klaŋ -to -ba -ja bi -ba are  
play -need -NMLZ -INT say -NMLZ NEG  
'Playing is not compulsory.'

PL\_IT.027

*paisa kamai labari ahin*  
paisa kamai la -ba -ri a- hin  
money earn do -NMLZ -LOC NEG- be  
'Not to earn money.'

PL\_IT.028

*paisam geladorom arunai*  
paisa -m ge -la -to -ri om arunai  
money -FOC work -do -need -LOC REP next  
'To earn money, should do other kind of work.'

PL\_IT.029

*p<sup>h</sup>uTbal klaŋsi t<sup>h</sup>aha are*  
p<sup>h</sup>uTbal klaŋ -si t<sup>h</sup>aha are  
football play -PFV know NEG  
'Don't know by playing football.'

PL\_IT.030

*jamekolagade klaŋla*  
jame -kola -gade klaŋ -la  
female -baby -PL play -NPST  
  
*laba mula*  
la -ba mu -la  
do -NMLZ be -NPST  
'Girls do play (football).'

PL\_IT.031

*koi myac Daba koi myac breba*  
koi myac Da -ba koi myac bre -ba  
some match win -PST some match lost -PST  
'Some match were won and some were lost.'

PL\_IT.032

*Daba l<sup>h</sup>anan mula*  
Da -ba l<sup>h</sup>anan mu -la  
win -PST plenty be -NPST  
'I have won many match.'

PL\_IT.033

*..namsari kyarnon brebaga*  
namsa -ri kyar -non bre -ba -ga  
village -LOC around -INT lost -NMLZ -FOC  
'...have lost matches in the village.'

PL\_IT.034

*yamburin jyaba sargade talarom*  
yambu -ri -n jyaba sir -gade ta -la -ri -m  
kathmandu -LOC -INCL good sir -PL be -NPST -LOC -FOC  
*p<sup>h</sup>uTbal loppari*  
p<sup>h</sup>uTbal loppa -ri  
football teach -LOC  
'In Kathmandu there is a good teacher to learn football.'

PL\_IT.035

*namsarim*  
namsa -ri -m  
village -LOC -FOC  
'In the village.'

PL\_IT.036

*naṅgar ṅa dimri nila*  
naṅgar ṅa dim -ri ni -la  
tomorrow 1SG house -LOC go -NPST  
'Tomorrow I will go home'

PL\_IT.037

*ŋala namsa jyaba hinna*  
*ŋa -la namsa jyaba hin -na*  
1sg -GEN village good be -NPST  
'My village is beautiful'

PL\_IT.038

*lop<sup>h</sup>engade lop<sup>h</sup>aŋri syuba*  
*lop<sup>h</sup>en -gade lop<sup>h</sup>aŋ -ri syu -ba*  
teacher -PL school -LOC sit -NPST  
'Teachers are staying at school.'

PL\_IT.039

*ŋai ge laba are*  
*ŋa -i ge la -ba are*  
1sg -ERG work do -NMLZ neg  
'I have not done the work.'

## ANNEX F: Elicited Data

EL\_DT.001

*t<sup>h</sup>eda*        *brigu*    *pino*  
t<sup>h</sup>e -da        brigu    pin -o  
3SG -DAT    pen        give -IMP  
'Give him the pen.'

EL\_DT.002

*t<sup>h</sup>e*    *r<sup>h</sup>ada*        *boro*  
t<sup>h</sup>e    r<sup>h</sup>a -da        bor -o  
that    goat -dat        take -IMP  
'Take that goat.'

EL\_DT.003

*ale*                    *t<sup>h</sup>e*    *kamara*    *cunjo*  
ale                    t<sup>h</sup>e    kamara    cuŋ -go  
younger brother    that    camera    buy -IMP  
'Younger brother buy that camera.'

EL\_DT.004

*aa..*    *raju*    *ka*        *k<sup>h</sup>a*    *paŋgo*  
aa    raju    ka        k<sup>h</sup>a    paŋ -go  
aa..    Raju    ka        kha    tell -IMP  
'Ah.. Raju say ka kha.'

EL\_DT.005

*e*                    *t<sup>h</sup>e*    *dim*    *ge*        *briule*  
e                    t<sup>h</sup>e    dim    ge        bri    -u        -le  
2SG.N-HON    that    house work    write -IMP    -REQ  
'(You) Write your homework'

EL\_DT.006

*t<sup>h</sup>e*    *c<sup>h</sup>oyidep*        *ŋada*                    *pinole*  
t<sup>h</sup>e    c<sup>h</sup>oyidep        ŋa    -da    pin -o    -le  
that    book            1SG    -DAT    give -IMP -REQ  
'Will you give me that book.'

EL\_DT.007

*tam paᅅgole*  
 tam paᅅ -go -le  
 talk tell -IMP -REQ  
 'Say something.'

EL\_DT.008

*tamaᅅla yigi tamiyig lopke k<sup>h</sup>etke*  
 tamaᅅ -la yigi tamiyig lop -ke k<sup>h</sup>et -ke  
 Tamang -GEN letters Tamiyig read -HORT teach -HORT  
 'Lets read and teach Tamang's alphabet Tamiyig.'

EL\_DT.009

*cu k<sup>h</sup>aba namduᅅla 19, 20, 21 re kunu tasela*  
 cu k<sup>h</sup>a -ba namduᅅ -la 19 20 21 re kunu ta -se -la  
 this come -NMLZ Namdung -GEN 19 20 21 time day be -FOC -NPST  
  
*yambu tamaᅅ gheduᅅla som jomna jyana lage*  
 yambu tamaᅅ gheduᅅ -la som jomna jyana la -ke  
 Kathmandu Tamang Ghedung -GEN three assembly well do -HORT  
 'Let's make this third Tamang Ghedung third assembly successful on coming month of Namdung on 19, 20 and 21.'

EL\_DT.010

*tamaᅅ gheduᅅ koᅅna lage c<sup>h</sup>arna lage*  
 tamaᅅ gheduᅅ koᅅna la -ke c<sup>h</sup>arna la -ke  
 Tamang Ghedung stronger do -HORT develop do -HORT  
 'Lets make and build stronger Tamang Ghedung.'

EL\_DT.011

*ta l<sup>h</sup>oc<sup>h</sup>ar san 2002-2003 ri mokkon*  
 ta l<sup>h</sup>o -c<sup>h</sup>ar san 2002-2003 -ri mokkon  
 horse year -new time 2002-2003 -LOC all  
  
*tamaᅅduguda konc<sup>h</sup>ok sumse c<sup>h</sup>ereᅅ pingai*  
 tamaᅅ -dugu -da konc<sup>h</sup>ok sum -se c<sup>h</sup>e -reᅅ pin -gai  
 Tamang - pl -DAT precious three -ERG life -long give -OPT  
 'On this Horse new year 2002-2003, May the trinity give long life to all Tamangs.'

EL\_DT.012

*t<sup>h</sup>ese*            *cyanpunji*  
t<sup>h</sup>e -se            cyan -pun -ji  
3sg -ERG        urine -hit -PST  
'He urinated'

EL\_DT.013

k<sup>h</sup>ana            paDTiba  
k<sup>h</sup>ana            paD - ti -ba  
where            study - that -NMLZ  
'Where (are you) studying?'