

TENSE, ASPECT AND MODALITY IN KHALING

A Thesis

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Abstract

This thesis aims to provide brief account of tense, aspect and modality in Khaling, a Kirati language spoken in Mapya Dudhkoshi Rural Municipality, Solukhumbu, Koshi Province, Nepal. This descriptive study is mainly based on elicited data and follows Kroeger (2005) for theoretical concepts.

Khaling has two tenses past and non-past tense in which past tense is overtly marked and non-past is not marked. The morpheme <-t-> stands for past tense marker which lies between the stem and agreement marker. The stem does not inflect for non-past tense, however stem is altered according to number and person. Stem alternation is more productive in Khaling.

In case of second person, agreement marker <i-> appears as a prefix in the stem in both tenses. In third person singular, agreement marker is also zero marked in intransitive.

Perfective, imperfective, habitual, progressive aspects remain overtly marked in both past and non-past in Khaling. A suffix <-m> denotes the perfective aspect appears after agreement marker. Imperfective, progressive and durative are identically encoded with <-toŋ> or <-to>. There is no tense morphologically marked. But, in case of habitual, past tense is morphologically marked. A morpheme <-t^her> represents the habitual aspect. Habitual is marked between stem and tense marker.

Present work explores also the modality in Khaling. Declarative, interrogative, imperative, optative mood are defined in Khaling. Among them, imperative and optative moods are remarkable in this language. Epistemic and evaluative modality are found in Khaling. Certainty is remarkable and productive in Khaling. Certainty is coded with <-ŋΛ>.

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Map 1: Area of the study

List of Abbreviations

1	First person
2	Second person
3	Third person
ABL	Ablative
ABLT	Ability
ADJ	Adjective
AGR	Agreement
ALL	Allative
ANM	Animate
AUX	Auxiliary verb
CAUS	Causative
CLF	Classifier
CLT	Clitic
COM	Comitative
COMP	Complement
CON	Concessive
COND	Conditional
CONJ	Conjunct
CONV	Converb
COP	Copula
DAT	Dative
DE	Dual exclusive
DI	Dual inclusive
DIST	Distal
DU	Dual
DUR	Durative
EMPH	Empathic
EXCL	Exclusive
GEN	Genitive
IMP	Imperative
IMPF	Imperfective

INCL	Inclusive
INF	Infinitive
INS	Instrument
INTR	Intransitive
LOC	Locative
N	Noun
NEG	Negative
NP	Noun phrase
NPST	Non-past tense
OBJ	Object
OBLG	Obligatotoin
ONOM	Onomatopoeic
OPT	Optative
PART	Particle
PE	Plural exclusive
PI	Plural inclusive
PL	Plural
PRF	Perfective
PROB	Probabilitive
PROG	Progressive
PROX	Proximal
PST	Past Tense
PURP	Purpose
REFL	Reflective
SEQ	Sequential
SG	Singular
SIM	Simultaneous
TEM	Temporal

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.0 Background of the study

This study primarily examines tense, aspect, and modality (TAM) in the Khaling language [ISO 639-3:klr], spoken in Mapya Dudhkoshi Rural Municipality, Solukhumbu district of Koshi Province, Nepal (see map 1). The research identifies various aspects of tense, aspect, and modality in Khaling, specifically focusing on non-past and past tenses, aspects, and associated markers. Additionally, the study explores the expression of mood and modalities in Khaling.

1.1 Khaling people and language

The term Khaling encompasses both the Khaling language and the Khaling people. It originates from the Khaling language term *Khyal*, which means worship of ancestors and nature (Rai, 2069 BS). An alternative term, *Khalung*, is also used interchangeably with Khaling. The morpheme (or lexeme) *lung*, meaning stone, is shared with other Kirati languages, suggesting that both Khaling and Khalung may not be of Indo-Aryan origin (Rapacha et al., 2008).

Khaling is a Kirati language belonging to the Sino-Tibetan language family (See Table 3). The Khaling people refer to their language as *Khyal bra*, where *Khyal* denotes Khaling and "bra" signifies language in Khaling. In Nepali, this language is also known as "Khaling kura" (Epele et al., 2012).

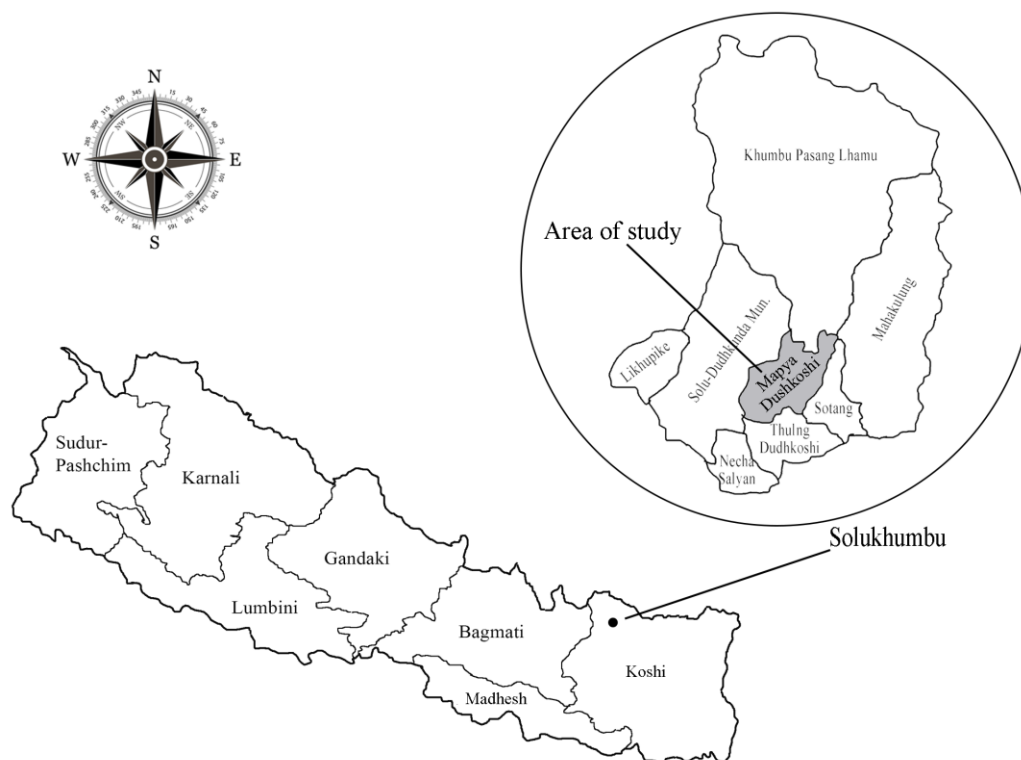
The Khaling language exhibits similarities with Dumi and Koyee (Epele et al., 2012). Kirat Rai languages Dumi, Khaling, Thulung, Sampang and Nachhiring are close language to each other in terms of linguistic features (Rai, M., 2014). In this sense, Khaling is closer to those Kirat Rai languages. Khaling language follows a Subject-Object-Verb (SOV) word order, and currently uses the Devanagari script for writing, with an alternative script known as Kirat Sirijanga also available, which is a modified version of the Sirijanga script. Khaling is tonal language. It has three grammatical numbers: singular, dual, and plural, similar to other Kirati languages (Rapacha et al., 2008).

In Khaling, verbs contrast for clusivity and agree with both subject and object simultaneously. The language does not distinguish honorifics or gender. According to

Jacques (2013), Khaling possesses a robust derivation system akin to other Kirati languages.

Map 1

Area of the study



Source: (Survey Department, 2021). Retrieved from www.dos.gov.np

1.1.2 Demography and Language distribution

The number of Khaling speakers is 16514 which is 0.06% of total population of Nepal (NSO, 2021). Khaling speakers predominantly reside in Jubhing, Phuleli, Rapchha, Kanku, Waku, and Pawai villages in the Solukhumbu district of Koshi Province. Additionally, Khaling people are dispersed throughout various parts of Eastern Nepal. According to Rai (2069 BS), Khaling Rai communities are primarily settled in the northern regions of Eastern Nepal, with Solukhumbu considered as their origin. District-wise language distribution is presented in Table.

Table 1*District wise language distribution of Khaling*

District	No. of speakers
Taplejung	357
Sankhuwasabha	1662
Solukhumbu	8954
Okhaldhunga	15
Khotang	1011
Bhojpur	400
Dhankuta	50
Terhathum	55
Panchthar	538
Ilam	665
Jhapa	359
Morang	447
Sunsari	560
Udayapur	253
Kathmandu	888
Lalitpur	176
Chitawan	29

Source: NSO (2021)

Khaling people have settled in various districts across Nepal and abroad. Rai (2069 BS) notes their presence in Khotang (Buipa, Jalapa, Hauchur, Kubhinde, Laphyang, Chyan danda, Dhuma, and Makpa villages) in Khotang district, Sankhuwasabha (Machchhe Pokhari, Siddhe Pokhari, Kharang, Pawa Khola, Baneshwor, Ghorle, Chainpur, and Bahrabise), Bhujpur (Ghodetar), Udayapur (Gaighat, Basaha Barshe, Tapeshwori, and Rampur villages), Sunsari (Dharan, Tarhara, Satisale), Panchthar (Rabi village), Ilam (Pyang), Jhapa (Surunga, Damak, Prithibi Nagar), Morang (Belbari), Okhaldhunga, and Dhankuta districts of Koshi province. Khaling speakers are settled in four provinces. Table 2 presents language distribution in provinces.

Table 2

Province wise Language distribution

Province	Speakers
Koshi	15326
Madhesh	10
Bagmati	1157
Gandaki	11

Source: NSO (2021)

Historically, Khaling ancestors migrated from Solukhumbu to these other areas for various reasons. However, the use of the Khaling language among these communities has significantly declined, and it is now considered endangered by UNESCO since 2010. No one in the Khaling community is monolingual (Epele et al., 2012).

1.1.3 Genetic affiliation

Khaling language is a western Kirati language which belongs to Himalayish group of Tibeto-Burman language family. Its genetic Affiliation is presented in Figure 1.

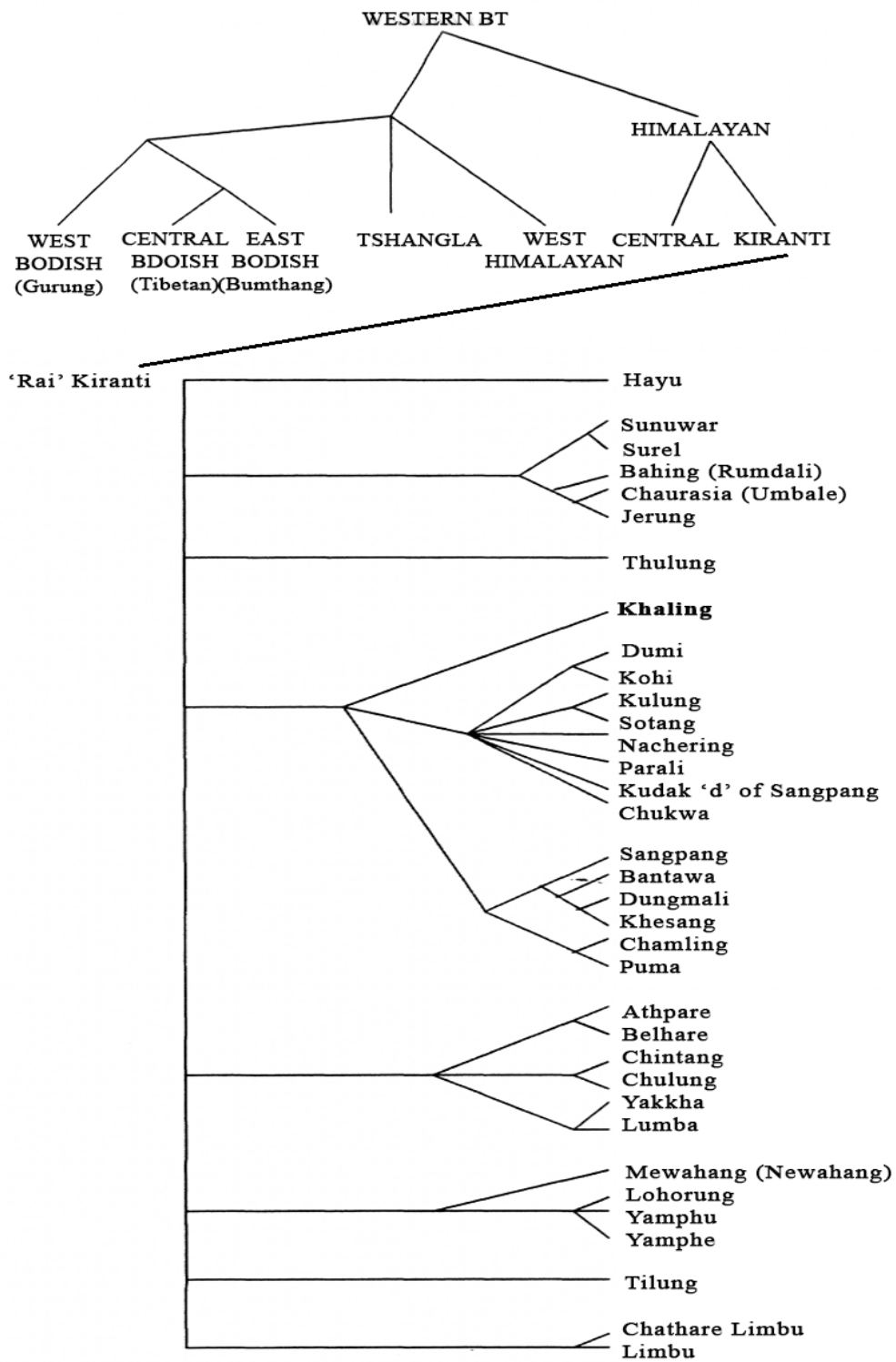


Figure 1: Genetic affiliation of Khaling language

Source: Bradley (1997)

1.2 Statement of problem

Few works are done by linguists in Khaling verb morphology, tonal alternations etc. But there is no study done on tense, aspect and modality in Khaling so far. The main problems for this study are as follows:

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

1.3 Objectives of the study

Khaling language is a very little described language of Nepal. It seems very important to study in this language. The main objectives of the study are:

- a. to identify tense system in Khaling;
- b. to explore the aspect system in Khaling;
- c. to analyze the mood and modality in Khaling;

1.4 Review of literature

Khaling language is a less described language, however few works are carried out in this language. A brief review of the works available in Khaling is presented here.

Toba (1977) prepared an article entitled *Folk art and culture change as observed in Khaling village* based on field observation. The article highlights the lifestyle of Khastap village. The author described the self-sufficiency and change brought by independence of the market. He described daily using items/utensils made by the people themselves. He suggested that after longtime Khaling people will have been stopped making their own tools and utensil, use modern tools available in the market will bring linguistic change in Khaling. He presented some typical tools and utensil providing short description along with vivid sketch as well as photograph.

Rapacha (2008) described the Khaling phoneme and demonstrative pronouns. The author mentioned consonants in terms of manner of articulation. And he provided height based demonstrative pronouns tɛ-tʌ 'up', tɛ-jʌ 'down', tɛ-jo 'level' and tɛ-bi 'neutral'.

Tambahang (2008) discussed about Khaling phonemes. Author described consonants in terms of manner of articulation and vowel in terms of height and backness. He also mentioned the syllabic pattern of pronoun, noun and verb.

Jacques et al. (2012) provided detail account of Khaling verb stem alternation and verb paradigm of transitive and intransitive in their article entitled *An Overview of Khaling Verbal Morphology*. According to the authors, the stem alternation does not match in the other language of Sino-Tibetan Family. The authors organized their article in three sections. In first section, general account of Khaling language, sociolinguistic data, synchronic phonology and basic account of verb stem is presented. In second, they provided a set of morphophonological rules, and in third section, paradigm of CVC intransitive, CVC transitive, CVCt transitive and CV roots are described.

Jacques (2013) noted the complexity on stem alternations in Khaling in article *Derivational verbal morphology in Khaling*. According to him, Khaling may be one of the Kirati languages which has most complex set of stem alternations. His study reveals that Khaling has rich system of derivation parallel to other Kirati languages. He described three derivations viz. applicative, incorporation and anti-causative in his paper.

Jacques and Lahaussois (2014) studied auditory demonstrative in Khaling. The authors explored the existence of an auditory demonstrative in Khaling. They described it in context of the spatial demonstrative system in their article. The article also included nominalization and typological perspectives. In this research, the sense of audition is used in regardless of visibility of the object. The article has four sections. The authors presented some data on nominalization relevant to demonstrative in first section. Use of the auditory demonstrative in natural discourse in second. Similarly, the authors noted in third section that there is no distinction between proximal and distal in both visible and invisible referent in third section. And, they compared the Khaling demonstrative system with other languages in fourth section. They identified the auditory demonstrative adverb *tikî* 'there' which cannot be used to indicate any visible object, taste, touch or pain. Nominalized form of auditory demonstrative adverb *tikî* 'there' is more productive. The nominalizer *-m* is modifier.

The authors exemplified auditory demonstrative *tikî* 'there' and nominalized form *tikîm* 'there'.

According to the article, it was first study in this sort of auditory system. The article indicates the past tense marker as well.

Toba and Toba (2014) compiled a dictionary (Khaling-Nepali-English). This dictionary contains three sections. First, Khaling-Nepali-English in which head word is in Devanagari and meaning is given in Nepali and English respectively with the examples. Second, reversed form i.e. Nepali-Khaling dictionary, in this section, head word (Nepali) is given in Devanagari and meaning is in Khaling. Third section also has reverse dictionary i.e. English-Khaling-Nepali.

Rai (2015) conducted a socio-linguistic survey of Khaling. The survey has explored the dialectal variation; domains and patterns of language use; language vitality, language maintenance and language attitudes; language recourses and language development.

Jacques et al. (2016) exhibited the reflexive marker <-si> the article entitled *Reflexive paradigms in Khaling*. According to them, the function of reflexive marker <-si> is to reduce the valence of verb. This article is extended in three sections. First section provides set of affixes in reflexive conjugation, compares with intransitive vowel-final conjugation and compares data with other Kirati languages. Second described stem alternations in reflexive paradigm and presented the rule to generate the form. And, third section analyzed the semantic value of reflexive derivation in Khaling verb.

Lahaussais (2015) conducted a research upon *The Kiranti comparable corpus: a prototype corpus for the comparison of Kiranti languages and mythology* in which <-te> is represents past tense.

Jacques (2016) studied on *Tonogenesis and tonal alternations in Khaling*. The author provided a historical account of the tonal alternations in the Khaling verbal system. He explained tonal alternations in two series, first, description in level and falling tones in a closed syllable with Sonorant and obstruent codas, and second, leading of loss of vowels to develop the additional falling tones.

Jacques et al. (2016) compiled a verb dictionary (Khaling-Nepali-English Dictionary). In this dictionary, the head word is in Devanagari script, pronunciation is in IPA, and meaning is given in English and Nepali respectively. Moreover, examples are presented in three languages Khaling, Nepali and English respectively.

Robert (2016) stated in his article *Generating morphological paradigms with a recurrent neural network* that Khaling is extensive in subject/object agreement, and tense/aspect/modality marking.

Khaling (2073 BS) provided brief account of Khaling Rai people on his article entitled *Khaling*. He presented prehistorical information, geography, demography, clan, language, writing system, curriculum, textbook, mundum, mother tongue literature, music, art etc. Author suggested about Mundum collection and scientific analysis, prehistorical study of Khaling, creation of literature in Khaling language, poetic study of *Risiwya*, and collection of myths and tales with their description on scientific view.

Jacques (2017) studied on *Bipartite verbs in Gyalrongic and Kiranti*. He has exemplified the progressive aspect in Khaling which the auxiliary *-dz* 'keep on' grammaticalized from the verb *dz* 'eat'

Lahaussais (2017) explored some ideophones on *Ideophones in Khaling*. The example provided exhibits past tense markers either. The ideophone $t^h\Lambda\eta$ presents the act of exploding something. Author exemplified, $tikim\ p\Lambda teka\ t^h\Lambda\eta\ b^huk-t\epsilon$ 'That firecracker we heard exploded suddenly.'

Rai (2018) prepared a dissertation on *Nyagi Ritual of Khaling Rai Community*. This study attempted to highlight all accounts of Khaling Rai and detail account of Nyagi, a worship for an ancestor, of Khaling Rai. This dissertation included the life cycle ritual of Khaling i.e. birth ritual, naming ritual, marriage ritual and death ritual. He provided detail description of Nyagi ritual as well as Mundum and festivals of Khaling.

Rai (2075 BS) highlighted the Khaling language, language preservation, code mixing, effect of inter-caste marriage in language, current situation of Khaling language in multilingual society, Nepali as a mother tongue (first language) of Khaling people, mother tongue instruction in school and administrative work on local government.

Lahaussais (2020) represented few non-past and past Khaling transitive verbs on her article *Descriptive and methodological issues in Kiranti grammar(s)*. She talks about Aktionsart and reduction of telicity of verb as well.

Borja (2020) has illustrated a distribution in intransitive non-past paradigm of Khaling verb *soɔp* 'have enough' in his article *Stem alternations in Kiranti and their implications for the morphology-phonology interface*. Here, Khaling intransitive verb *soɔp* is unmarked for non-past tense.

Rai (2078 BS) provides short account of Khaling language, contact language, cognate languages, language learning, challenge in writing, importance of mother-tongue education, language vitality and language for administrative work on his article *Khyal bra* in Khaling language.

Khaling & Rai (2022) prepared a preliminary grammar namely Practical Khaling grammar] which presents basic information of Khaling grammar. The grammar includes Khaling major word class, tense, aspect and mood, agreement, case and postposition, word formation, negation, types of sentences, homophone, question formation, voice, and speech.

These works are significant for Khaling language. Few among these either described or indicated tense, however, this study attempts to provide more detail account on tense, aspect and modality in Khaling.

1.5 Significance of the study

Khaling is one of the less described Kirati language. Tense, aspect and modality is not described topic in Khaling language. This work will help the researchers/linguists/scholars who are interested in study of Khaling language. The main significance of the study are as follows:

- a) This work will be one of the documentations of Khaling language.
- b) It will assist to the researcher in future who wants to study this language.
- c) This thesis will provide detail account of Khaling tense, aspect and modality.
- d) This document will be one of the means for language preservation for Khaling speech community.

1.6 Methodology

This research follows descriptive approach and the data used in this research are collected using elicitation.

Core of the methodology data collection, theoretical references and data processing/analysis are presented below under separate headings.

1.6.1 Data collection

Data are collected from the native speakers of the Khaling language from Mapya Dudhkoshi Rural Municipality, Solukhumbu using elicitation method. Mainly stories and daily communications from native speakers of various age group and gender are audio recorded.

1.6.2 Theoretical references

In this study, the concepts, ideas, definition are taken from Kroeger (2005). However, the insights from Bower (2008) and other linguists are also utilized.

The terms tense, aspect, and modality refer to three kinds of information that are often encoded by verbal morphology. Tense marking indicates to varying degrees of precision, the time when an event occurred or a situation existed. In other words, it specifies the situation's "location" in time. Aspect relates to the distribution of an event over time: is it instantaneous or a long, slow process?; completed or ongoing?; once only or a recurring event?

Modality covers a wide range of semantic distinctions, but generally relates to either the speaker's attitude toward the proposition being expressed (e.g. his degree of certainty about whether the proposition is true or not), or the actor's relationship to the described situation (e.g. whether he is under some kind of obligation to act in a certain way). Mood is distinguished from modality as it indicates the speaker's purpose in speaking.

Let's consider the definitions provided by linguists. The term *tense* refers to indicate time reference which is marked by grammatical elements such as affixes, auxiliaries or particles (Kroeger, 2005). According to him, tense marking indicates the time an event occurred, specifies the situations' location in time. Similarly, Comrie (1985) defines that "Tense is grammaticalised location in time. The languages which have tense they express location in time by means of grammatical categories. He adds that only small number of languages in the world does not have tense, there is exist tense in rest of the languages.

In Bybee (1985)'s definition, "Tense refers to the grammatical expression of the time of the situation described in the proposition, relative to some other time." Bhat (1999) notes, an inflectional marker of the verb is tense which indicates the temporal location of an event or situation.

Dixon (2010) defines the tense as indicator of the location in time of an event. He adds that all of the languages have some indicating means for the time of an event with respect to the moment of speaking.

Tallerman (2011) states, 'Most languages have a basic two tense oppositions past and non-past tense or future and non-future tense.' According to Ebert (1994), there are two basic forms of tense in Kiranti languages.

According to Bybee's definition, tense system defines the time of a situation with reference to another time. Kroeger (2005) notes, if the reference point is the time of the speech event, that kind of tense system is an absolute tense system, if another time is selected as the reference point, this sort of tense system is called a relative tense system.

Adverb *Now* represents the the time reference of the speech situation.

By the definitions, we can say, tense system provides the location of even event or specifies the potion in time. Kroeger notes time has only one dimension and it moves in only one direction. In this sense, time is uni-dimensional and well as uni-directional.

1.6.3 Data analysis

The recorded data are transcribed in IPA using ELAN (version 6.0) and provided four-level glossing manually under Leipzig Glossing Rules. Also, the transitive-intransitive verb paradigms are prepared from the data. After that, the glossed data are posited to the respective example of tense, aspect and modality.

1.7 Limitation of the study

This study has is focused on only the Khaling language spoken in Mapya Dudhkoshi Rural Municipality of Solukhumbu district, Koshi province of Nepal. This study has not studied other dialect of Khaling and it has not provided the account of other parts of grammar except tense, aspect and modality. And, this study is focused only on the

analysis of the forms related to tense, aspect and modality mostly on morphological level.

1.8 Organization of the study

The study is organized into five chapters. First chapter 1 introduces the present work. This chapter includes introduction of Khaling language, Khaling people, statement of problem, objectives, methodology, Significance, etc. Chapter 2, 3 and 4 explore the tense, aspect and mood respectively. And, chapter 5 concludes the whole study.

Chapter 2

Tense

2.0 Outline

Present chapter deals with Khaling tense system. This chapter is divided into four sections. In first section, we discuss about tense in Khaling. In second section, we mention about the past tense, and in last section, we discuss about non-past tense. At last section the chapter is concluded with the brief summary.

2.1 Tense in Khaling

There are two tenses past and non-past in Kirati languages (Rai, 2015). Khaling is also one of the Kirati languages, so obviously it has two tenses. There are morphological distinctions between past and non-past tense in Khaling. The verbs are inflected to indicate past tense

In Khaling language, past tense is marked and non-past tense is overtly unmarked. The tense is marked by a morpheme <-t-> which lies in between stem and agreement marker.

Khaling language has a morphological distinction between past and non-past tense. The verbs are inflected to indicate these tenses.

2.1.1 Past tense

In Khaling, the past tense marker is <-t-> lies between the stem and the agreement marker in both transitive and intransitive. The agreement markers are <-a>, <-i>, <-u>, <-iki>, <-Aka>, <t->, <-ε>, <-ti>, <-nu>, <-ε> <-su>, and <-nu> which is presented below in the table 3.

Table 3*Past tense and agreement markers in Khaling*

Subject	Agreement	Stem	Past tense	Agreement
1SG		Σ	<-t->	<-a>
1DUI		Σ	<-t->	<-i>
1DU.EXCL		Σ	<-t->	<-u>
1PL.INCL		Σ	<-t->	<-iki>
1PL.EXCL		Σ	<-t->	<-Λka>
2SG	<i->	Σ	<-t->	<-ε>
2DU	<i->	Σ	<-t->	<-i>
2PL	<i->	Σ	<-t->	<-nu>
3SG		Σ	<-t->	<-ε>
3DU		Σ	<-t->	<-su>
3PL		Σ	<-t->	<-nu>

If there is first person singular subject, the past tense marker occurs between two agreement markers in be-verb.

- (1) uŋ sat barsapo muŋatlo reskɔp ts^hukata
uŋ sat barsa-po mu-ŋa-t-Λ-lo reskɔp ts^huk-Λ-t-a
1sg seven year-gen be-1sg-pst-seq orphan be-1sg-pst-1sg
'I had been orphan in age of seven.'

Example (2) represents the first person singular subject whose past tense marker is between two agreement markers <-ŋa> and <-a>.

- (2) uŋ Indiapo Bangalorebi muŋata
uŋ India-po Bangalore-bi mu-ŋa-t-a
1SG India-GEN Bangalore-LOC be-1SG-PST-1SG
'I was at Bangalore of India.'

E.g. (3) shows the first person dual inclusive subject in which the past tense marker is between stem and the first person dual inclusive marker <-i>.

- (3) itsi kʌm kʰəsti
 itsi kʌm kʰəs-t-i
 1DU.INC home go-PST-DU.INCL
 'We^{DI} went home.'

E.g. (7) shows the first person dual inclusive subject in which the past tense marker is followed by morpheme <-u>.

- (4) Namche-tu me:spo usə kʰeimuitu
 Namche-tu me:s-po u-sə kʰeimɯ-i-t-u
 Namche-LOC buffalo-GEN POSS-meat sell-DU-PST-DU.EXCL
 '(We^{DE}) sold the buff at Namche.'

E.g. (5a-b) show the first person plural inclusive and plural exclusive subject in which the past tense marker is followed by morpheme <-iki> and <-ʌka> respectively.

- (5) a. ikʔε jiu dzəktiki
 ik-ʔε jiu dz-ək-t-iki
 1PL.INCL-ERG rice eat-1PL-PST-1PL.INCL
 'We^{PI} ate rice.'
- b. okʔε jiu dzəktʌka
 ok-ʔε jiu dz-ək-t-ʌka
 1PL.EXCL-ERG rice eat-PL-PST-1PL.EXCL
 'We^{PE} ate rice.'

The past tense marker is followed by <-ε> if subject is second person singular. Let's see example (6 a-c).

- (6) a. inε jiu idzʉtε
 in-ε jiu i-dz-ʉ-t-ε
 2SG-ERG rice 2-eat-SG-PST-SG
 'You^{SG} ate rice.'
- b. etsiʔε jiu idzəiti
 etsi-ʔε jiu i-dz-əi-t-i
 2DU-ERG rice 2-eat-DU-PST-DU
 'You^{PL} ate rice.'

- c. enʔε jiu i-dzotnu
 en-ʔε jiu i-dz-o-t-nu
 2PL-ERG rice 2-eat-2PL-PST-PL
 'You^{PL} ate rice.'

Let's check past tense marker in third person subject.

- (7) a. tʌmbe uljodz^hεmtεna b^hertε
 tʌmbe uljodz^hεm-t-ε-na b^her-t-ε
 monkey scare-PAST-3SG-SEQ fly-PST-3SG
 'Money run away by scaring.'

- b. ʌmsuʔε mi d^hʌmtεsu
 ʌm-su-ʔε mi d^hʌm-t-ε-su
 3-DU-ERG file light-PST-3-DU
 'They^{DU} lit the fire.'

- c. ʌmfεmʔε sentenu
 ʌm-fεm-ʔε sen-t-ε-nu
 3PL-PL-ERG look-t-3-nu
 'They^{PL} looked.'

Kroeger states the tense systems of some languages have distinct degrees of past tense as in The Wishram–Wacso dialect of Chinook. Wishram has four level of past tense. Remote past, far past, recent past, and immediate past are the degree of past tense in Wishram–Wacso. They are morphologically distinct to each other.

Table 4

Category of past tense in Wishram–Wacso

Remote past	ga	long, long ago'
Far past	ni	long ago'
Recent past	na	recently'
Immediate past	i	Just

Source: Kroeger (2005)

Unlike Wishram–Wacso, Khaling does not have degree of past tense. However, remote past denoted by temporal adverbs rather than by verb in Khaling. Final vowel is long which denotes remoteness in Khaling.

Table 5

Near and remote past in Khaling

Near past	Remote past
ʌdzo 'few moments ago'	ʌdzo: 'Many hours ago'
ʌnʌm 'few years ago'	ʌnʌ:m 'many year ago'

Example (8 a-b) shows that the verb is the same for both near past and remote past. However, adverbs are different to each other.

- (8) a. ʌdzo uŋ kʌm k^həsta
 ʌdzo uŋ kʌm k^həs-t-a
 few moments ago 1SG home go-PST-1SG
 'I went home few moments ago.'
- b. ʌdzo: uŋ kʌm k^həsta
 ʌdzo: uŋ kʌm k^həs-t-a
 many hours ago 1SG home go-PST-1SG
 'I went home many hours ago.'
- c. ʌnʌm uŋ kʌm k^həsta
 ʌnʌm uŋ kʌm k^həs-t-a
 years ago 1SG home go-PST-1SG
 'I went home few years ago.'
- d. ʌnʌ:m uŋ kʌm k^həsta
 ʌnʌ:m uŋ kʌm k^həs-t-ʌ
 years ago 1SG home go-PST-1SG
 'I went home many years ago.'

Through the example (8 c-d), near and remote past for years is the same in terms of tense marker.

- (9) a. uŋ restʌ
 uŋ res-t-a
 1SG laugh-PST-1SG
 'I laughed.'
- b. uŋ repʌta
 uŋ repʌ-t-a
 1SG stand-PST-1SG
 'I stood.'
- c. ʌmʔɛ sʌnʌtʰʌm rekte
 ʌm-ʔɛ sʌnʌtʰʌm rek-t-ɛ
 3SG-ERG poem write-PST.3SG
 'S/he composed a poem.'
- d. gʰrotʔɛ ribʌ tʰette
 gʰrot-ʔɛ ribʌ tʰet-t-ɛ
 goat-ERG rope break-PST-3SG
 'Goat broke the rope.'

The past tense marker <-t-> is succeeded by morpheme <-ɛ> in both transitive and intransitive verb.

- (10) a. uŋa û kakta
 uŋ-a û kak-t-a
 1SG-ERG field dig-PST-1SG
 'I dug the field.'
- b. itsiʔɛ û kakiti
 itsi-ʔɛ û kak-i-t-i
 1DU.INCL-ERG field dig-1DU.INCL-PST-1DU.INCL
 'We^{DI} dug the field.'
- c. o:tsuʔɛ û kakutu
 o:tsu-ʔɛ û kak-i-t-i
 1DU.EXCL-ERG field dig-1DU.EXCL-PST-1DU.EXCL
 'We^{DE} dug the field.'

- d. ikʔε û kaktiki
 ik-ʔε û kak-t-iki
 1PL.INCL-ERG field dig-PST-1PL.INCL
 'We^{PI} dug the field.'
- e. okʔε û kaktaka
 ok-ʔε û kak-t-aka
 1PL.INCL-ERG field dig-PST-1PL.EXCL
 'We^{PI} dug the field.'

Examples (10 a-e) represent the sentences along with past tense marker with first person. Likely examples (11 a-c), we can observe the sentences and tense marker with second person.

- (11) a. inε û ikakte
 in-ε û i-kak-t-ε
 2SG-ERG field 2-dig-PST-2SG
 'You^{SG} dug field.'
- b. e:tsiʔε û ikakiti
 e:tsi-ʔε û i-kak-i-t-i
 2DU-ERG field 2-dig-DU-PST-DU
 'You^{DU} dug the field.'
- b. enʔε û ikaktenu
 en-ʔε û i-kak-t-ε-nu
 2PL-ERG field 2-dig-PST-2/3-PL
 'You^{PL} dug the field.'

Let's see examples of past tense in third person subject.

- (12) a. amε û kakte
 am-ε û kak-t-ε
 3SG-ERG field dig-PST-3SG
 'S/he dug field.'
- b. amsuʔε û kaktεsu
 am-su-ʔε û kak-t-ε-su
 3-DU-ERG field dig-PST-2/3-DU
 'They^{DU} dug the field.'

- c. $\lambda m f \varepsilon m \text{?} \varepsilon$ \hat{u} $kakt \varepsilon nu$
 $\lambda m - f \varepsilon m - \text{?} \varepsilon$ \hat{u} $kak - t - \varepsilon - nu$
 3-DU-ERG field dig-PST-2/3-PL
 'They^{PL} dug the field.'

The past tense in Khaling is marked identically in all person and numbers. In both transitive and intransitive verbs, the past tense suffix is same.

- (13) a. $u \eta$ $k \lambda m$ $k^h \varepsilon sta$
 $u \eta$ $k \lambda m$ $k^h \varepsilon s - t - a$
 1SG home go-PST-1SG
 'I went home.'
- b. ok $k \lambda m$ $k^h \varepsilon i \text{?} t \lambda ka$
 ok $k \lambda m$ $k^h \varepsilon i \text{?} - t - \lambda ka$
 1PL home go-PST-1PL
 'We^{PE} went home.'
- c. $otsu$ $k \lambda m$ $k^h \varepsilon stu$
 $otsu$ $k \lambda m$ $k^h \varepsilon s - t - u$
 1DU.EXCL home go- PST-1DU
 'We^{DE} went home.'
- d. en $k \lambda m$ $ik^h \varepsilon st \varepsilon nu$
 en $k \lambda m$ $i - k^h \varepsilon s - t - \varepsilon - nu$
 2PL home 2-go-PST-2/3-PL
 'You^{PL} went home.'
- e. $itsi$ $k \lambda m$ $k^h \varepsilon sti$
 $itsi$ $k \lambda m$ $k^h \varepsilon s - t - i$
 2DU home go-PST-INCL
 'We^{DI} went home.'
- f. ik $k \lambda m$ $k^h \varepsilon \text{?} tiki$
 ik $k \lambda m$ $k^h \varepsilon \text{?} - t - iki$
 1PL.INC home go-PST-1PL.INCL
 'We^{PI} went home.'

g. etsi kAM ik^hesti
 etsi kAM ik^hes-t-i
 2DU home 2-go-PST-DU
 'You^{DU} went home.'

2.1.1.1 The past tense in first person plural

The past tense marker <-t-> is between stem and first person marker suffix. It can be found in both inclusive and exclusive verb forms. This is illustrated in examples (14a-b).

(14) a. t^hebelo ik mARI garobi muki
 t^hebelo ik mARI garo-bi mu-k-i
 now 1PL much difficult-LOC be-1PL-INCL
 'Now, we are in a very difficult satiation.'

b. dARAMfiem kolo sAllamuktAKA
 dARAM-fiem kolo sAllamuk-t-aka
 friend-PL with decide-PST-1PL.EXCL
 '(We) decided with among friends.'

2.1.1.2 The past tense in first person singular

The past tense is marked between stem and agreement marker in first person singular morpheme <-a>.

(15) uŋ tsai mARI delkAM mANlotε
 uŋ tsai mARI delkAM mANlo-t-ε
 1sg PART much village desire-PST-3SG
 'I desired much to go village.'

The morpheme <-t-> as the past tense marker in the 'be verb' form is illustrated in the example (16) below.

(16) dze kAM-gobi go-t-ε.
 grain house-LOC be-PST-3SG
 'The grain was inside the house.'

Table 6Paradigm of non-past and past form of verb *k^hoɔnnɛ* 'to go'

Subject	Non-past tense	Past tense
1S	k ^h oɔiŋʌ	k ^h ɛstʌ
1DI	k ^h ɛtsi	k ^h ɛsti
1DE	k ^h ɛtsu	k ^h ɛstu
1PI	k ^h oɔiʔki	k ^h oɔiʔtiki
1PE	k ^h oɔiʔkʌ	k ^h oɔiʔtʌkʌ
2S	ik ^h oɔi	ik ^h ɛste
2D	ik ^h ɛtsi	ik ^h ɛsti
2P	ik ^h oɔnni	ik ^h ɛstenu
3S	k ^h oɔi	k ^h ɛstɛ
3D	k ^h ɛtsi	k ^h ɛsti
3P	k ^h oɔnnu	k ^h ɛstenu

Let's see the example of first person singular subject.

- (17) a. mʌnʌ uŋ tsʌi ʔɛstanʌ k^hɛŋʌta
 mʌnʌ uŋ tsʌi ʔɛs-t-a-nʌ k^hɛŋ-ʌ-t-a
 then 1SG PART return-PST-1SG-SEQ come up-1SG-PST-1SG
 'Then I came back.'

- b. uŋa laskʌ tsektʌ
 uŋ-a laskʌ tsek-t-ʌ
 1SG door shut-PST-1SG
 'I shut the door.'

- c. uŋ k^hɛstʌ
 uŋ k^hɛs-t-ʌ
 1SG go-PST-1SG
 'I went.'

The past tense marker <-t-> is between stem and agreement marker <-ɛ> in a sentence with third person singular subject.

- (18) a. $\lambda m\text{?}\epsilon$ ku $t\text{u}\eta t\epsilon$
 $\lambda m\text{-?}\epsilon$ ku $t\text{u}\eta\text{-t-}\epsilon$
 3SG-ERG water drink-PST-3SG
 'S/he drank the water.'
- b. $daram\text{?}\epsilon$ laska $f\text{h}\text{e}l\text{t}\epsilon$
 $daram\text{-?}\epsilon$ laska $f\text{h}\text{e}l\text{-t-}\epsilon$
 friend-ERG door open-PST-3SG
 'Friend opened the door.'
- c. $s\epsilon$ $m\lambda k\lambda$ $f\text{h}\epsilon$ $i\text{m}o\text{t}n\text{u}$ $e\text{n}w\epsilon$
 $s\epsilon$ $m\lambda k\lambda$ $f\text{h}\epsilon$ $i\text{-m}o\text{-t-nu}$ $e\text{n-w}\epsilon$
 not sure PART what 2-do-PST-PL POSS.3SG-younger brother
 'Not sure, what did you^{PL} do your^{PL} brother'

In past tense, past tense marker lies in between verb stem and agreement marker. .
 The second person marker <i-> appears as a prefix.

2.2 Non-past tense

The non-past tense is not overtly marked in Khaling.

- (19) a. $u\eta$ $t^h\text{e}b\text{e}l\text{o}$ $t\text{s}\lambda i$ $t\text{a}m\text{p}o$ $\eta\lambda$ $d\text{e}l\text{k}\lambda\text{m}b\text{i}$
 $u\eta$ $t^h\text{e}b\text{e}l\text{o}$ $t\text{s}\lambda i$ $t\text{a}m\text{p}o$ $\eta\lambda$ $d\text{e}l\text{k}\lambda\text{m-bi}$
 1SG now PART own IMPH village-LOC
 $f\text{h}\text{e}\eta l\text{e}\eta\lambda\text{t}\text{a}m$ $m\text{u}\eta\text{a}$
 $f\text{h}\text{e}\eta l\text{e-}\eta\lambda\text{-t-a-m}$ $m\text{u-}\emptyset\text{-}\eta\text{a}$
 arrive-1SG-PST-3SG-PERF be-NPST-3SG
 'I have arrived in own village now.'
- b. $\lambda\text{m}su\text{?}\epsilon$ $g\text{o}$ $s\text{o}\text{p}su$
 $\lambda\text{m-su-?}\epsilon$ $g\text{o}$ $s\text{o}\text{p-}\emptyset\text{-su}$
 3-DU-ERG cloth wash-NPST-DU
 'They^{DU} wash cloth.'
- c. $M\text{a}p\text{y}\text{a}\text{h}\epsilon\text{m}$ $r\hat{o}p\text{o}$ $k^h\text{u}d\text{o}$ $f\text{h}\text{o}\lambda\text{b}i$ $r\hat{o}k\lambda\text{m}$ $k^h\text{o}\text{a}n\text{n}u$
 $M\text{a}p\text{y}\text{a-f}\epsilon\text{m}$ $r\hat{o}\text{-p}o$ $k^h\text{u}d\text{o}$ $f\text{h}\text{o}\lambda\text{b}i$ $r\hat{o}k\lambda\text{m}$ $k^h\text{o}\text{a}n\text{-}\emptyset\text{-nu}$
 $M\text{a}p\text{y}\text{a-PL}$ wild bee-GEN honey extract rocky hill go-NPST-3PL
 'Mapyas go to rocky hill to extract hone of wild bee.'

d. iktampo ηΛ Nepal k^hηηΛta-nΛ
 ik-tampo ηΛ Nepal k^hηη-Λ-t-a-nΛ
 POSS.1PL.INCL-own EMPH Nepal come.up-1SG-PST-1SG-SEQ
 mΛri uη tsenɤpɛ muηa
 mΛri uη tse-nɤ-pɛ mu-ø-ηa
 very 1SG feel-good-ADJ be- NPST-1SG
 'I came to own Nepal and feeling good.'

e. o:tsuʔɛ leηaksi dzøju
 o:tsu-ʔɛ leηaksi dzø-ø-ju
 1DU.EXCL-ERG banana eat-NPST-2DU.EXCL
 'We^{DE} eat banana.'

f. itsiʔɛ leηaksi dzøji
 itsi-ʔɛ leηaksi dzø-ji
 1DU.INCL banana eat-DU.INCL
 'We^{DI} eat banana.'

In the examples (19a-f) we find the paradigm of intransitive verbs *soʔp* and *dzΛ/dzø*. In *soʔptu* 'wash' in (19a) -t looks like past tense marker <-t-> but, indeed, it is part of an agreement marker <-tu>. In the stem with voiceless stop at final position, agreement marker is <-tu> for first person singular, and <-tɤ> for second and third person singular subjects. Let's observe more instances of transitive non-past tense.

(20) a. uηa jiu dzΛηΛ
 uη-a jiu dzΛ-ø-ηΛ
 1SG-ERG rice eat-NPST-1SG
 'I eat/ will eat rice.'

b. uηa Sujamlal k^hɛptsi biηΛ
 uη-a Sujamlal k^hɛptsi bi-ø-ηΛ
 1SG-ERG title name money give-NPST-1SG
 'I give money to Sujamlal.'

- c. inε sλη itsəmə
 in-ε sλη i-tsəm-ø-ɯ
 2SG-ERG wood 2-split-ø-SG
 'You^{SG} split the wood.'
- d. itsiʔε saη teli
 itsi-ʔε saη tel- ø-i
 1DU.INCL-ERG weed uproot-NPST-DU
 'We^{DI} uproot the weed.'
- e. λmʔε sλη krλptɯ
 λm-ʔε sλη krλp-ø-tɯ
 3SG-ERG wood cut-NPST-3SG
 'S/he cuts the wood.'
- f. umʔε ɦemjeweε k^{hi}:bɯ
 um-ʔε ɦemjeweε k^{hi}:-ø-bɯ
 3SG-ERG wine cook-NPST-3SG
 'S/he distils alcohol.'

Few examples of intransitive sentences in non-past tense.

- (21) a. ʔen uη k^hoɔiηa
 ʔen uη k^hoɔi-ø-ηa
 now 1SG go-NPST-1SG
 'I go now.'

- b. uη ηo:ηa
 uη ηo:-ø-ηa
 1SG cry-NPST-1SG
 'I cry.'

- c. mλlo Mapya p^hul g^hotɯ ηλ woηk^hλ
 mλlo Mapya p^hul g^ho-tɯ ηλ woηk^h-ø-λ
 but Mapya cave inside-up CERT enter- NPST-3SG
 'But Mapya enters in the cave.'

- d. Λ m uditsts^h ϵ dala: p^hû
 Λ m uditsts^h ϵ dala: p^h- \emptyset -û
 3sg morning early wake up-npst-3sg
 'S/he wakes up early in the morning.'
- e Λ msu tu:ju mutøtsi
 Λ m-su tu:ju mu-tø-tsi
 3-PL at the same place NEG-see-DU.NPST
 'they do not seem at the same place.'
- f. m ϵ m k Λ m k^hoɔi
 m ϵ m k Λ m k^hoɔ- \emptyset -i
 mother home go-NPST-3SG
 'Mother goes home.'
- g. Bisisphul m Λ risetk Λ rei
 Bisisphul m Λ risetk Λ rei- \emptyset - \emptyset
 title name loudly laugh-NPST-3SG
 'Birisphul laughs loudly.'
- h. otsu g^huru
 otsu g^hur- \emptyset -u
 1DU.EXCL run-NPST-DU.EXCL
 'We^{DE} run.'
- i. m Λ na uŋ m Λ ri k^husi muŋa
 m Λ na uŋ m Λ ri k^husi mu- \emptyset -ŋa
 then 3SG very happy be-NPST-1SG
 'Then I am very happy.'

We can clearly see that non-past tense is unmarked. First person with number affixes in the non-past form of finite verb *dz Λ /dzø* 'eat' is presented in (22 a-b).

(a) First person

Non-past tense in first person subject is not marked.

- (22) a. uŋa jiu dzΛŋa
 uŋ-a jiu dzΛ-ŋa
 1SG-ERG rice eat-Ø-1SG
 'I eat rice.'
- b. itsiʔε jiu dzəji
 itsi-ʔε jiu jə-Ø-ji
 1DU.INCL-ERG rice eat-NPST-1DU.INCL
 'We^{DI} eat rice.'
- c. otsuʔε jiu dzəju
 otsu-ʔε jiu jə-Ø-ju
 1DU.EXCL-ERG rice eat-NPST-1DU.EXCL
 'We^{DE} eat rice.'
- d. ikʔε jiu dzəki
 ik-ʔε jiu dzə-Ø-ki
 1PL.INCL-ERG rice eat-NPST-1PL.INCL
 'We^{PI} eat rice.'
- e. okʔε jiu dzəkΛ
 ok-ʔε jiu dzə-Ø-kΛ
 1PL.INCL-ERG rice eat-NPST-1PL.EXCL
 'We^{PE} eat rice.'

(b) Second person

Likely in second person subject, non-past tense is unmarked.

- (23) a. etsiʔε jiu idzəji
 etsi-ʔε jiu i-dzə-Ø-ji
 2DU-ERG rice 2-eat-NPST-DU
 'You^{DU} eat rice.'
- b. enʔε jiu idzəni
 en-ʔε jiu i-dzə-Ø-ni
 2PL-ERG rice 2-eat-NPST-2PL
 'You^{PL} eat rice.'

(c) **Third Person**

In third person subject also non-past tense is unmarked.

- (24) a. $\Lambda m\text{?}\epsilon$ jiu $dz\epsilon$
 $\Lambda m\text{-?}\epsilon$ jiu $dz\epsilon\text{-}\emptyset$
 3SG-ERG rice eat-NPST
 'S/he eats rice.'
- b. $\Lambda msu\text{-?}\epsilon$ jiu $dz\epsilon su$
 $\Lambda m\text{-}su\text{-?}\epsilon$ jiu $dz\epsilon\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}su$
 3-DU-ERG rice eat-NPST-3DU
 'They^{DU} eat rice.'
- c. $\Lambda m\text{h}\epsilon m\text{?}\epsilon$ jiu $dzenu$
 $\Lambda m\text{-h}\epsilon m\text{-?}\epsilon$ jiu $dz\epsilon\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}nu$
 3-PL-ERG 3-DU eat-PST-3PL
 'They^{PL} eat rice.'
- d. $khyal\text{h}\epsilon m\text{?}\epsilon$ $mesa$ $b\epsilon k k^h\epsilon m\epsilon nu$
 $khyal\text{-h}\epsilon m\text{-?}\epsilon$ $mesa$ $b\epsilon k k^h\epsilon m\epsilon\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}nu$
 Khaling-PL-ERG in that way describe-NPST-3PL
 'Khalings describe in that way.'

Non-past tense is unmarked in third person singular, dual and plural number. Some stems do not inflect in third person singular subject

d. Non-first person dual

In Khaling, non-first person dual morpheme <-su> is used in both: past and non-past tense of intransitive form, as in the examples (25 a-b) below.

- (25) a. $g^hrotsu\text{?}\epsilon$ g^has $k\epsilon su$
 $g^hrot\text{-}su\text{-?}\epsilon$ g^has $k\epsilon\text{-}\emptyset\text{-}su$
 goat-DU-ERG grass eat-NPST-3DL
 'Goats^{DU} eat grass.'

- b. g^hrotsuʔε g^has kutsu
 g^hrot-su-ʔε g^has kɯ-t-su
 goat-DU-ERG grass eat-PST-DU
 'Goats^{DU} ate grass.'

The non-past is not marked but position of non-past tense is between stem and non-first person marker <-u>. In example (26), the non-past is unmarked, however, its position is between the stem *fiεg* and non-first person marker <-u>. In case of past tense, the agreement marker also differs from non-past tense.

- (26) a. wε:ʔε d^ho:tser fiεgɯ
 wε:-ʔε d^ho:tser fiεg-u
 brother wheat cut-NPST.3SG
 'Brother cuts wheat.'

- b. wε:ʔε d^ho:tser fiεgtε
 wε:ʔε d^ho:tser fiεg-t-ε
 brother-ERG wheat cut-PST-3SG
 'Brother cut wheat.'

- c. tubΛ b^hale dzε biʔassunΛ
 tubΛ b^hale dzε bi-tʔs-su-nΛ
 one cock food feed-keep-3DU-SEQ
 tsiggrΛ g^hobi tsʔptεsunΛ mi d^hΛmtεsunΛ
 tsiggrΛ g^ho-bi tsʔp-t-εsu-nΛ mi d^hΛm-t-εsu-nΛ
 tsiggrΛ inside-LOC clover-PST-3DU-SEQ fire light-PST-DU-SEQ
 '(They^{DU}) fed cock and lit the fire by keeping cock inside the tsiggrΛ and'

- d. Λmfεmʔε d^ho:tser fiεgnu
 Λm-fεm-ʔε d^ho:tser fiεg-∅-nu
 3-PL-ERG wheat cut-NPST-3PL
 'They^{PL} cut the wheat.'

- e. Λmfεmʔε d^ho:tser fiεgtenu
 Λm-fεm-ʔε d^ho:tser fiεg-t-enu
 3-PL-ERG wheat cut-PST-3PL
 'They^{PL} cut the wheat.'

Non-past tense is not morphologically marked. Non-past tense represents both present and future tense

Table 7

Past tense in Khaling

Subject	Agreement	Stem	Non-past tense	Agreement
1SG		Σ	<-∅->	<-ŋa>, <-du>, <-tu>, <-ru>
1DUI		Σ	<-∅->	<-tsi>, <-ji>, <-ki>
1DU.EXCL		Σ	<-∅->	<-tsu>, <-ju>, <-ku>
1PL.INCL		Σ	<-∅->	<-ki>
1PL.EXCL		Σ	<-∅->	<-ka>
2SG	<i->	Σ	<-∅->	<-∅->
2DU	<i->	Σ	<-∅->	<-tsi>
2PL	<i->	Σ	<-∅->	<-ni>
3SG		Σ	<-∅->	<-∅->
3DU		Σ	<-∅->	<-tsi>
3PL		Σ	<-∅->	<-nu>

Agreement marker <i-> appears as a prefix in second person subject for singular, dual and plural number. The stem remains uninflected in third person singular subject.

Table 8*Tense in Khaling*

Subject	Tense	
	Past	Non-past
1SG	Σ-t-a	Σ-∅-a
1DU.I	Σ-t-i	Σ-∅-ji
1DU.EXCL	Σ-t-u	Σ-∅-ju
1PL.INCL	Σ-t-iki	Σ-∅-ki
1PL.EXCL	Σ-t-λka	Σ-∅-ka
SG	i-Σ-t-ε	i-Σ-∅-ε
DU	i-Σ-t-i	i-Σ-∅-ji
2PL	i-Σ-t-nu	i-Σ-∅-ni
3SG	Σ-t-ε	Σ-∅-ε
3DU	Σ-t-su	Σ-∅-su
3PL	Σ-t-nu	Σ-∅-nu

2.3 Summary

Past tense is overtly marked in Khaling language. The past tense is marked with <-t->, lies between stem and agreement marker. In case of second person, another agreement marker <i-> appears as a prefix. Non-past tense is morphologically unmarked in Khaling, however stem is altered according to number and person. Stem alternation is more productive in Khaling.

Chapter 3

Aspect

3.0 Outline

Chapter 3 explores aspect in Khaling. This chapter is segmented into three sections. In first section, we discuss the aspect and its types. In second section, we analyze the aspects in Khaling. And in third section, we conclude the chapter with brief summary.

3.1 Aspect and its types

Aspect is the internal temporal structure of a situation (Trask 1993). Comrie (1981) defines tense as 'different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation.' According to him, aspect could be understood as a grammatical category expressed by means of the inflectional morphology of a language. Similarly, according to Kroeger (2005) aspect stands for the shape, distribution or internal organization event in time. According to Kroeger (2005), aspect include these things: Is situation: changing or static? Spread over period of time or instantaneous? Definite ending or open ending? Single event or repeated?

Kroeger categorized aspect in two groups:

1. Lexical aspect
2. Morphological aspect

3.1.1 Lexical aspects

Aspectual components of meaning are Lexical aspect (Kroeger, 2005). Lexical aspects refer to characteristics and feature of verb of a language. Lexical aspects include lexical semantics, lexical categories, collocation, lexical access, lexical variation etc. Lexical aspects are mentioned on the basis of the states of affairs and lexical aspects and tests for determining the lexical aspect of the verbs in Khaling. Lexical aspect distinguishes events and states. Event is said to be happen whereas state is not said to be happen

Table 9

Type of event

<i>Event</i>		
Telic	Natural end	<i>die, break, recognize</i>
Atelic	Not exist end point	<i>Walk, speak, look</i>

Kroeger classifies events into two basic groups bounded *telic and atelic*. Which events have natural end that is telic. The verbs like *die, give birth* are telic. when a person is dead, the act of dying is over. Similarly, a baby is fully delivered once, the act of giving birth is over and it does not repeat again.

In the atelic verbs like *walk or shine*, a person eventually stop walking, or the sun eventually stop shining, but there is no existence of an end point of these events to be complete.

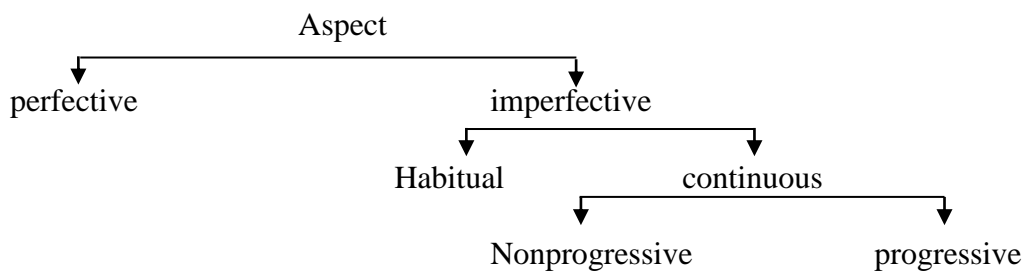
3.1.2 Morphological aspects

Morphological aspect consists of perfective and imperfective. Perfective aspect presents the event (Kroeger, 2005).

Comrie (1981) also classifies aspect in perfective and imperfective. He further classifies imperfective as Habitual and continuous, and again, classifies continuous into non-progressive and progressive. Comrie's classification of aspect is presented in table 10.

Table 10

Categories of Aspect



3.2.1 Perfective

Kroeger notes, perfective refers to entire event as a whole which is used to express past event relevant to the present situation.

Perfective refers to a telic action (Hopper & Thompson, 1980). This type of aspect is marked by the suffix <-m> which structure is Σ -PST-AGR-PRF in Khaling.

- (27) $p\epsilon p\eta\epsilon$ $k^h\epsilon p\eta\eta\epsilon$ $ts\epsilon r\eta\eta\epsilon m$ $g\emptyset$
 $p\epsilon p-\eta\epsilon$ $k^h\epsilon p\eta\eta\epsilon$ $ts\epsilon r-t-\epsilon-m$ $g\emptyset$
 father-ERG money pay-pst-3SG-PRF be.3SG.NPST
 'Father has paid money.'

The 'be' verb does not inflect for all person and number.

- (28) a. $u\eta a$ jiu $dz\eta\eta\eta\eta m$ $g\emptyset$
 $u\eta-a$ jiu $dz\eta\eta-t-a-m$ $g\emptyset$
 1SG-ERG rice eat-PST-1SG-PRF be.NPST
 'I have eaten rice.'
- b. $in\epsilon$ jiu $idz\eta\eta\eta\eta m$ $g\emptyset$
 $in-\epsilon$ jiu $i-dz\eta-t-\epsilon-m$ $g\emptyset$
 2-SG-ERG rice 2-eat-PST-3SG-PRF be.NPST
 'You^{SG} have eaten rice.'
- c. $\Lambda m\eta\epsilon$ jiu $dz\eta\eta\eta\eta m$ $g\emptyset$
 $\Lambda m-\eta\epsilon$ jiu $dz\eta-t-\epsilon-m$ $g\emptyset$
 3SG-ERG rice eat-PST-3SG-PRF be-NPST
 'S/he has eaten rice.'
- d. Λmsu $tu:ju$ $mut\eta\eta\eta\eta$
 $\Lambda m-su$ $tu:ju$ $mu-t\eta-t\eta\eta$
 3-PL at the same place NEG-see-DU.NPST
 'They^{PL} do not seem at the same place.'
- e. $\Lambda m\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\epsilon$ jiu $dz\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta m$ $g\emptyset$
 $\Lambda m-\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta-\eta\epsilon$ jiu $dz\eta-t-\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta\eta m$ $g\emptyset$
 3-PL-ERG rice eat-PST-3PL-PRF be-NPST
 They^{PL} has eaten rice.'

The 'be' verb does not inflect for all person and number in both non-past and past tense. The non-past form of be verb is *gə* and past form is *gotε*. In case of perfective, its forms are identical in both tense and be verb (aux) completes the sentence.

(29) a. *sληfiem* *tɔrtenum* *gə*
sλη-fiem *tɔr-t-enu-m* *gə*
 wood-PL break-PST-3PL-PRF be.NPST
 'Woods are broken.'

b. *sληfiem* *tɔrtenum* *gotnu*
sλη-fiem *tɔr-t-enu-m* *go-t-nu*
 wood-PL break-PST-3PL-PRF be-PST-3PL
 'Woods were broken.'

If the 'be' verb is used as an auxiliary, it remains same for all the numbers and persons in non-past tense. Example (30 a-g) show the same auxiliaries in first person with different numbers.

(30) a. *uŋa* *kem* *muŋtam* *gə*
uŋ-a *kem* *muŋ-t-a-m* *gə*
 1SG-ERG work do-.PS-PST-1SG-PRF be.3SG.NPST
 'I have done work.'

b. *itsiʔε* *kem* *mɔitim* *gə*
itsi-ʔε *kem* *mɔi-t-i-m* *gə*
 1DU.INCL-ERG work do-PST-1DU.INCL-PRF be.3SG.NPST
 'We^{DI} have done work.'

c. *o:tsuʔε* *kem* *mɔitum* *gə*
o:tsu-ʔε *kem* *mɔ-i-t-u-m* *gə*
 1DU.EXCL-ERG work do-DU-PST-DU.EXCL-PRF be.3SG.NPST
 'We^{DI} have done work.'

d. *ikʔε* *kem* *mɔtikim* *gə*
ik-ʔε *kem* *mɔk-t-iki-m* *gə*
 1PL.INCL-ERG work do-PST-1PL.INCL-PRF be.3SG.NPST
 'We^{PI} have done work.'

Gaunase	k ^h ɛpti	tsoər-ton	mu
nichname	money	pay-IMP	be.3SG

'Gaunase is paying money.'

(33)

ʌm	k ^h ɛptsi	tsoərton	mo:tɛ
ʌm	k ^h ɛptsi	tsoərt-ɔŋ	mo:-t-ɛ
3SG	money	pay-IMP	be-PST-3SG

'S/he was paying money.'

(34)

Nabin	ŋokton	mo:tɛ
Nabin	ŋok-ton	mo:-t-ɛ
Nabin	cry-imp	be-pst-3sg

'Nabin was crying.'

Khaling imperfective aspect can be divided into three types: habitual and progressive or durative.

(a) Habitual Aspect

[Comrie notes progressive and habitual are two types of imperfective. Habitual aspect represents a regular or consistent work or performance or occurrence. Habitual is coded by the affix <-t^her> in Khaling for both intransitive and transitive verbs which is illustrated in examples (35-38).

(35)

uŋ	gə:t ^h ɛ	k ^h əst ^h ertʌ
uŋ	gə:t ^h ɛ	k ^h əs-t ^h er-t-ʌ
1SG	barn	go-HAB-PST-1SG

'I used to go to the barn.'

(36)

uŋa	tsi	tʉŋt ^h ertʌ
uŋ-a	tsi	tʉŋ-t ^h er-t-ʌ
1SG-ERG	wine	drink-HAB-PST-1SG

'I used to drink wine.'

(37)

uŋa	saŋku	mutʉŋt ^h erduwa
uŋ-a	saŋku	mu-tʉŋ-t ^h er-w-a
1SG-ERG	tea	NEG-drink-HAB-IRR-1SG

'I did no use to drink tea.'

- (38) $\Lambda m f i \epsilon m$ $g e t^h \epsilon$ $k^h \epsilon s t^h e r t \epsilon n u$
 $\Lambda m - f i \epsilon m$ $g e t^h \epsilon$ $k^h \epsilon s - t^h e r - t - \epsilon n u$
 3-PL barn go-HAB-PST-3PL
 'They used to go to barn.'

(b) Progressive Aspect

Progressive Aspect describes the ongoing, temporary, or incomplete actions or events.

In Khaling language, there are two types of progressive aspects are illustrated respectively in the example (39 a-c) and (40 a-c) below.

- (39) a. $u \eta$ $k \Lambda m$ $k^h o \zeta t o \eta$ $m u \eta a$
 $u \eta$ $k \Lambda m$ $k^h o \zeta - t o \eta$ $m u - \eta a$
 1SG home go-PROG be-1SG.NPST
 'I am going home.'

- b. in $g^h \Lambda r t o \eta$ $i m u$
 in $g^h \Lambda r - t o \eta$ $i - m - u$
 2SG run-PROG 2-be-SG.NPST
 'You^{SG} are running.'

- c. Λm $g^h \Lambda r t o \eta$ $m u$
 Λm $g^h \Lambda r - t o \eta$ $m - u$
 3SG run-PROG be-3SG.NPST
 'He is running.'

- (40) a. $u \eta$ $k \Lambda m$ $k^h o \zeta t o \eta$ $u \eta a t a$
 $u \eta$ $k \Lambda m$ $k^h o \zeta - t o \eta$ $m u - \eta a - t - a$
 1SG home go-PROG be-1SG-PST-1SG
 'I was going home.'

- b. in $g^h \Lambda r t o \eta$ $i m o : t \epsilon$
 in $g^h \Lambda r - t o \eta$ $i - m o - t - \epsilon$
 2SG run-PROG 2-be-PST-3SG
 'You^{SG} were running.'

c. Δm $g^h\Delta rto\eta$ $mo:t\epsilon$
 Δm $g^h\Delta r-to\eta$ $mo':t-\epsilon$
 3SG run-PROG be-PST-3SG
 'S/he was running.'

The progressive aspect in Khaling expressed by the suffix <-to η >. Above we saw example of intransitive verb. Now, let's exemplify with transitive verb.

(41) a. in \hat{u} $kakto\eta$ imu
 in \hat{u} $kak-to\eta$ $i-m-u$
 2SG field dig-PROG 2-be-2SG
 'You^{SG} are digging up the field.'

b. Δm ju $dz\epsilon to\eta$ mu
 Δm ju $dz\epsilon-to\eta$ mu
 3SG rice eat-PROG be.3SG
 'S/he is eating rice.'

c. $o:tsu$ ju $dz\epsilon to\eta$ $m\upmu ju$
 $o:tsu$ ju $dz\epsilon-to\eta$ $m-\upmu-ju$
 1DU.EXCL rice eat-PROG be-NPST-DU.EXCL
 'We^{DE} are eating rice.'

d. $intsi$ ju $dz\epsilon to\eta$ $m\upmu ji$
 $intsi$ ju $dz\epsilon-to\eta$ $m\upmu-ji$
 1DU.INCL rice eat-PROG be-DU
 'We^{DI} are eating rice.'

If the main verb is followed by verb, <-to η > encodes the progressive marker in both transitive and intransitive.

If the main verb is followed by another main verb, in that situation, the progressive marker is <-to>. Example (42) explicit the progressive aspect in Khaling.

Example (43) and (43) present the non-past tense progressive in the sentence completed with main verb. There are exemplified transitive verb in e.g. (42) and intransitive in e.g. (43).

(42) a. in lel ŋito ik^hoɔi
 in lel ŋi-to i-k^hoɔ-i
 2SG song listen-PROG 2-go-SG.NPST
 'You^{SG} go listening a song.'

b. uŋ lel ŋito k^hoɔiŋʌ
 uŋ lel ŋi-to k^hoɔ-iŋʌ
 1SG song listen-PROG go-1SG.NPST
 'I go listening a song.'

c. ʌm lel ŋito k^hoɔi
 ʌm lel ŋi-to k^hoɔ-i
 3SG song listen-PROG go-3SG.NPST
 'S/he goes listening a song.'

(43) a. Prakash reçto k^hoɔi
 Prakash reç-to k^hoɔ-i
 Prakash laugh-PROG go-3SG.NPST
 'Prakash goes laughing.'

b. uŋ reçto k^hoɔiŋʌ
 uŋ reç-to k^hoɔ-iŋʌ
 1SG laugh-PROG go-1SG.NPST
 'I go laughing.'

c. in reçto ik^hoɔi
 in reç-to i-k^hoɔ-i
 2SG laugh-PROG 2-go-3SG.NPST
 'You^{SG} go laughing.'

Example (44) and (45) present the past tense progressive in the sentence completed with main verb. There are exemplified transitive verb in eg. (44) and intransitive in eg. (45).

(44) a. Raju dzeto k^həstɛ
 Raju dze-to k^həs-t-ɛ
 Raju speak-PROG go-PST-3SG
 'Raju went speaking.'

- b. in dzeto ik^høstɛ
in dze-to i-k^høs-t-ɛ
2SG speak-PROG 2-go-PST-3SG
'You^{SG} went speaking.'
- c. uŋ dzeto k^høstɔ
uŋ dzeto k^høs-t-ɔ
1SG speak-PROG go-PST-1SG
'I went speaking'
- (45) a. Sirise ŋokto k^høstɛ
Sirise ŋok-to k^høs-t-ɛ
Ninkname cry-PROG go-PST-3SG
'Sirise went crying.'
- b. in ŋokto ik^høstɛ
in ŋok-to i-k^høs-t-ɛ
2SG cry-PROG 2-go-PST-SG
'You^{SG} went crying.'
- c. uŋ ŋokto k^høstɔ
uŋ ŋok-to k^høs-t-ɔ
1SG cry-PROG go-PST-1SG
'I went crying.'
- d. uŋ joŋɔ kɜm mɔtoŋ muŋɔta
uŋ joŋɔ kɜm mɔ-toŋ mu-ŋɔ-t-a
1SG also work do-PROG be-1SG-PST-1SG
'I was also working.'
- e. tɛ ulɛmʔɛ tsɔi mɔt^høkinije
tɛ ulɛm-ʔɛ tsɔi mɔ-t^hø-ki-nije
this viral-ERG PART NEG-catch-ø-1PL.INCL-OPT
ʔɛiʔto yungkhulung jo uŋa tɛŋɔ ludu
ʔɛç-to yungkhulung-ø jo uŋ-a qtɛ-ŋɔ lu-ø-du
say-DURYungkhulung-DAT also 1sg-ERGthis-EMPH tell-NPST-1SG
'May this viral not catch us, I tell this to Yungkhulung'

If the main verb is followed by be-verb, progressive marker is <-toŋ> and if the main verb is followed by another main verb, the progressive marker is <-to>. This occurs in both past and non-past tense identically in transitive and intransitive. The following table summarizes the progressive marker:

Table 11

Progressive in Khaling

Stem	Progressive	following verb
Σ	-to	main verb
Σ	-toŋ	be-verb

3.2 Summary

Perfective, imperfective, habitual, progressive aspects remain overtly marked in both past and non-past in Khaling. A suffix <-m> denotes the perfective aspect which follows agreement marker. Perfective aspect's morphological structure can be represented as Σ -tense-AGR-m.

Imperfective and progressive/durative are identically encoded with <-toŋ>. It follows the stem. It requires another syntactic element to complete the sentence. Σ -toŋ is the morphological structure of imperfective and progressive/durative in Khaling.

A morpheme <-^her-> represents the habitual aspect. Habitual marker is posited between stem and agreement marker. Habitual aspect's morphological structure is Σ -^her-tense-AGR.

Chapter 4

Mood and Modality

4.0 Outline

We discuss about mood and modality in this chapter. This chapter consists of three sections. We analyze the moods in first section. Similarly, attempt to explore modality in second section. At last, we conclude this chapter providing summary in third section.

4.1 Mood and its types

'Mood is known as the expression of the degree or kind of regularity of a proposition as perceived by the speaker. Its distinctions appear to be universally present in languages and are expressed by inflection of the verb or by the use of specialized lexical items called modals' (Trask, 1993). Like any other languages, in Khaling, mood is expressed with 'modal auxiliaries'.

A grammatical reflection of the speaker's purpose while speaking is mood. In other words, mood is an expression of what the speaker is trying to do, Moods are closely relevant to particular speech acts (Kroeger, 2005). Bybee (1985) defines mood in this way- an indication of speaker what the speaker wants to do with the proposition is mood.

In Khaling, declarative and interrogative moods are inflected for all tense, person and numbers. Imperative mood is restricted to the second person, optative mood is related to the third person and hortative mood shows the relation with the first person duality and plurality.

4.1.1 Declarative mood

Declarative denotes the sentence type or verb form typically used in making a statement. In Khaling, the regular form of verb in statement or assertive sentences indicates declarative mood, in which the verb inflects for the tense, person and number. It signals the proposition expressed by a speaker's utterance. Let's see the following examples:

- (46) a. uŋ bʌdzar kʰoʊiŋa
 uŋ bʌdzar kʰoʊ-iŋa
 1SG market go-1SG.NPST
 'I go to market.'
- b. uŋa sʌŋ tsomu
 uŋ-a sʌŋ tsom-u
 1SG-ERG wood split-1SG.NPST
 'I split the wood.'
- c. itsi gʰasbi kʰetsi
 itsi gʰas-bi kʰə-tsi
 1DU.INCL grass-LOC go-1DU.INCL
 'We^{DI} go to cut grass.'
- d. ikʔε jiu dzeki
 ik-ʔε jiu dzə-ki
 1PL.INCL-ERG rice eat-1PL.INCL. NPST
 'We^{PI} eat rice.'

Example (46) has presents the declarative mood in Khaling. A sentence in the declarative mood essentially expresses a statement of fact.

4.1.2 Interrogative Mood

The interrogative mood expresses questions. In Khaling language is expressed by two types of questions: yes/no question as in example (47a) and wh-questions as in example (47b).

- (47) a. Nijame tseikʰoʊm kʰoʊi o
 Nijame tseikʰoʊm kʰoʊi o
 Nijame school go-3SG.NPST INTERG
 'Does Nijame go to the house?'
- b. Chhamase kʰεbi kʰoʊi
 Chhamase kʰεbi kʰoʊ-i
 Chhamase where.INTERG go-3SG.NPST
 'Does Chhamase go to the house?'

- c. in kΛm ik^hoəi o
 in kΛm i-k^hoə-i o
 2SG home 2-go-SG .NPST INTERG
 'Do you^{SG} go home?'
- d. tsetstsefiem kΛmbi munu goje?
 tsetstse-fiem kΛm-bi mu-nu goje?
 children-PL home-LOC be.NPST-PL INTERG
 'Are children at home?'

The declarative sentences can be changed into interrogatives by means of question words or with rising intonation in the verb. The yes/no types of questions are marked by the interrogative marker *o* which is lexical in Khaling. Example (47a-b) has shown above the interrogative marker Λ and *o*. Khaling speakers use both Λ or *o* as interrogative marker. There is no any rule for use of interrogative marker Λ and *o*. This is just individual variation only. In the same way, Khaling speakers use *goje* as a interrogative marker which are exemplified above in e.g. (47c-d).

However, Khaling speakers of youth generation use intonation either for yes/no type question. In that condition statement lacks interrogative marker as in (48).

- (48) a. te inε imutε
 te in-ε i-mu-t-ε
 this 2SG-ERG 2-do-PST-SG
 'Did you do this?'
- b. enʔε sΛnΛt^hΛm ireni?
 en-ʔε sΛnΛt^hΛm i-re-ni?
 2PL-ERG poem 2-write-2PL.NPST
 'Did You^{PL} compose a poem?'
- c. tsu del k^hostε
 tsu del k^hos-t-ε
 grandfather village go- PST-3SG
 'Did grandfather go village?'

d.	Λmfɛm	del	k ^h ɔstɛnu
	Λm-fɛm	del	k ^h ɔs-t-ɛnu
	3PL	village	go- PST-3PL
	'Did they ^{PL} go to village?'		

Example (50a-d) present yes/no question in which intonation play role to form it question and denote interrogative mood. There is appeared no lexical marker for yes/no question. They all of the sentences are in practice in Khaling speakers. Rising intonation which is realized in the end of the sentence denotes interrogative mood.

There are other question words which form the interrogatives as follows.

maŋ	'what'
sɯ	'who'
k ^h iu/k ^h ɛbi	'where'
fieɔ/fieboɔ	'when'
fiebe	'how much/ many'
maŋke/mane	'why'
ufiem	'which'

(49) a.	enʔɛ	maŋ	imɯni
	en-ʔɛ	maŋ	i-mɯ-ni
	2PL-ERG	what	2-do-PL.NPST
	'What do you ^{PL} do?'		

b.	Λmfɛm	fieboɔ	del	k ^h ɔstɛnu
	Λm-fɛm	fieboɔ	del	k ^h ɔs-t-ɛnu
	3-PL	when	village	go- PST-3PL
	'When they ^{PL} go to village?'			

4.1.3 The imperative Mood

Imperative relates to commands, request, instruction advice, exhortations, entreaties, etc. The imperative mood is restricted to the second person. Various affixes need to be added to form imperative in Khaling. The imperative mood in Khaling, is generally used to express direct commands or orders, as in the following examples:

- (50) a. in k^hətstse
in k^həts-tse
2SG go-IMP.2SG
'You^{SG} go.'
- b. en k^həsnuje
en k^h-əs-nu-je
you go-2PL-IMP
'You^{PL} go'
- c. in d^huma mudzeje
in d^huma mu-dze-je
you much NEG-speak-IMP.2SG
'You^{SG} don't speak much more.'
- d. enʔε tε mumonje
en-ʔε tε mu-mon-je
2PL-ERG this NEG-do-IMP.2PL
'You^{PL} do not do this.'
- e. ʔen in k^hətstse
ʔen in k^həts-tse
now 2SG go-IMP.2SG
'You^{SG} go now.'
- f. mε laskλ tsekte
mε laskλ tsek-te
that door close-IMP.2SG
'(You^{SG}) close the door.'
- g. in dzeje
in dz-eje
2SG speak-2SG.NPST
'You^{SG} speak.'

To make a command negative, Khaling speaker uses negative marker <mu-> before the verb in imperative sentence. Eg. (50c-d) present the negative form of the imperative mood.

(51) a. dowo bɿɿɿ k^hoɔçki
 dowo bɿɿɿ k^hoɔç-ki
 IMP soon go-1PL.INCL

'Let's go soon.'

b. ɿm dzemɯde
 ɿm dze-mu-de
 3SG speak-do-IMP.2SG

'Let him/her speak.'

Eg (51a) presents the first person plural imperatives in which a lexicon *dowo* stands for imperative and this word is basically used for verb *go*. In eg. (51b), direct command is for second person but target is third person.

Imperative markers are *je*, *te*, *de*, *tse* in Khaling. There is no any rule proposed in this study but surfacely the environment of those different imperative markers are presented below in the table:

Table 12*Imperative markers in Khaling*

Nucleus	Coda	Imperative
i/a/ɸ	-	
â/e/ê/ɸ	g	
ê/ê/i	p	
ê/ê/e/i/ɸ	l/r	je
ɸ	r/g	
ɸ/i	ŋ	
î	b	
e/ə	m	
e:/ ê/i/ɸ:	-	
e/ʌ/oɔ/a/ε/o	n	de
ʌ	l	
ʌ	r	
e/ʌ/a/ε/o/u	k	
oɔ/ʌ	t	te
oɔ/ε/e	p	
e	ts	tse
ə	ts	tse

Declarative, imperative, optative mood are exist in Khaling. Among them, imperative and optative moods are morphologically expressed in this language. Imperatives are marked with <-je>, <-de>, <-te> and <-tse>. In CVC pattern of stem, if coda is voiced velar plossive, alveolar tril, alveolar lateral, bilabial plossive, bilabial nasal, velar nasal, or zero morph in coda position, imperative marked with <-je>. If there is alveolar nasal, alveolar trill, alveolar lateral, or zero morph in coda position, the imperative marker is <-de>. If coda is plossive /p/, /t/, /k/, the imperative marker is <-te>. Similarly, if coda is palatal-plossive, the imperative marker is <-tse>.

4.1.4 Optative mood

Optative is the inflectional mood expressing wishes, desire, hope, counteractivity and remote possibility. Optative mood is used to convey the wish or hope will happen. Optative mood in Khaling is marked by the suffix <-nije> in order to express desire and wish. The optative mood is restricted to the third person referents. The number, person of duality and plurality are reflected in the verb root but not tense.

- (52) a. $\Lambda m\eta\epsilon$ $m\epsilon ni je$
 $\Lambda m-\eta\epsilon$ $m-\epsilon-ni je$
3SG-ERG do-NPST-OPT
'May s/he do it!'
- b. $\Lambda m\hbar\epsilon m$ $t^h u:n\epsilon m$ $k^h o\ddot{o}n n n u ni je$
 $\Lambda m-\hbar\epsilon m$ $t^h u n:\epsilon m$ $k^h o\ddot{o}n-nu-ni je$
3-PL jungle go-3PL.NPST-OPT
'May they^{PL} go to the jungle.'
- c. $\Lambda m\eta\epsilon$ $u\eta$ $k^h \epsilon p t s i$ $i b i \eta \Delta n j e$
 $\Lambda m-\eta\epsilon$ $u\eta$ $k^h \epsilon p t s i$ $i-bi\eta\Delta-ni je$
3SG-ERG 1SG money 3-give.NPST-OPT
'May s/he give me money.'
- d. $m\epsilon$ $\hbar \Delta s \eta \epsilon$ $k \epsilon m$ $m \epsilon ni je$
 $m\epsilon$ $\hbar \Delta s-\eta \epsilon$ $k \epsilon m$ $m-\epsilon-ni je$
that man-ERG work do-3SG-OPT
'May that man work.'

The optative mood in Khaling language is generally used to express wish, hope or desire of the speaker.

- (53) a. $\Lambda m\eta\epsilon$ $m\epsilon ni je$
 $\Lambda m-\eta\epsilon$ $m-\epsilon-ni je$
3SG-ERG DO-NPST- OPT
'May s/he do it!'
- b. $\Lambda m\hbar\epsilon m$ $t^h u n \epsilon m$ $k^h o\ddot{o}n n n u ni je$
 $\Lambda m-\hbar\epsilon m$ $t^h u n \epsilon m$ $k^h o\ddot{o}n-nu-ni je$
3-PL jungle go-3PL-OPT
'May they go to the jungle!'
- c. $t\epsilon\theta$ $t\epsilon s \eta \epsilon$ $j o$ $m u m \epsilon ni ni je$
 $t\epsilon\theta$ $t\epsilon s-\eta \epsilon$ $j o$ $m u-m\epsilon-ni-ni je$
son-daughter grad son-grand daughter-ERG also NEG-do-PL-OPT
'may generation future do not get married with Sherpa'

In Khaling, optative mood occurs in first person as well.

(54) a.	ik		pasts ^h ukkinije	
	ik		pasts ^h uk-ki-nije	
	1PL.INCL		pass-1PL.INCL-OPT	
	'May we ^{DI} pass.'			
b.	uŋ	t ^h iŋΛ	k ^h ojo	t ^h iŋΛnije
	uŋ	t ^h i-ŋΛ	k ^h ojo	t ^h i-ŋΛ-nije
	1SG	fall-1SG	even	fall-1SG-OPT
	'May I fall.'			

As mentioned above, the optative marker in Khaling is <-nije> for all contexts.

4.2 Modality

The modality is the expression of possibility, necessity, and contingency in a language.

In this section, we analyze the Khaling modality system in terms of the main distinction between epistemic and evaluative (deontic) judgement. The categories of the modality code the speaker's judgement. This is concerned with the propositional information indicated by special grammatical markings in the verb.

4.2.1 Epistemic modality

The main function of epistemic modality is to indicate the degree of commitment of the speaker to the truth of the proposition. It may be combined with any of the tenses, either in the same morphemes. Regmi (2007) states the epistemic modality includes the probability, certainty and evidentiality. In other words, epistemic modality refers to the use of modal verbs and expressions which indicates the speaker's assessment of the truth of a proposition based on evidence or belief.

(i) Probability

The probability pertains to the degree of belief or confidence of a speaker proposition based on available evidence. Probability is the kind of modality which is used to indicate that the situation described in the proposition is probably true. It is marked by

the verb inflection λ or o . It may appear with any of the tenses. The following are the examples:

(55) a. $\lambda n\acute{o}l$ $w\acute{o}$ je o
 $\lambda n\acute{o}l$ $w\acute{o}$ je o
 today rain fall.3SG.NPST PROB
 'Rain might fall today!'

b. $dis\acute{e}$ $no\eta$ je o
 $dis\acute{e}$ $no\eta$ je o
 tomorrow snow fall PROB
 'Snow might tomorrow.'

b. $dis\acute{e}$ $tseik^{h\acute{o}om}$ $k^{h\acute{o}onne}$ $m\lambda tt\acute{u}$ o
 $dis\acute{e}$ $tseik^{h\acute{o}om}$ $k^{h\acute{o}onne}$ $m\lambda tt\acute{u}$ o
 tomorrow school go-1SG must PROB
 'It might go to school tomorrow!'

(ii) Certainty

Certainty denotes that the speaker is emphasizing that the proposition is true. It refers to the speaker's expression of complete confidence in the truth of a proposition. Speakers indicate that they have no doubt about their statement.

In Khaling the marker of certainty is $\langle -\eta\lambda \rangle$. It is directly attached to the verb. It may be combined with any of the tenses, either in the same morphemes or in the combinations of morphemes. The following are the examples;

(56) a. $\eta dz\acute{e}$ $t\acute{e}$ bra in $\lambda n n\eta\lambda$
 $\acute{e} dz\acute{e}$ $t\acute{e}$ bra in $\lambda n-n\acute{e}-\eta\lambda$
 after a while this thing 2SG tell-1SG>2SG.NPST-CERT
 'I certainly tell you^{SG} this thing.'

a. $Ninwam$ $usomine$ $k\lambda m$ $k^{h\acute{o}oi}\eta\lambda$
 $Ninwam$ $usomine$ $k\lambda m$ $k^{h\acute{o}o}-i-\eta\lambda$
 $Ninwam$ evening home go-3SG.NPST-CERT
 'Ninwam certainly goes home in the evening.'

- a. mɛbi luŋ gəŋʌ
 mɛ-bi luŋ gə-ŋʌ
 dem-LOC stone be.3SG.NPST-CERT
 'There certainly is stone.'

(iii) Evidentiality

Evidentiality refers to the linguistic feature, indicates the source of information or the evidence of speaker's statement. It specifies that information is directly experienced, inferred, reported, or assumed. Evidentiality provides context about the reliability and origin of the information being conveyed.

There is found binary contrast in grammaticalised evidentiality: direct evidentiality (Information obtained through direct sensory experience) and indirect evidentiality (Information inferred from indirect evidence) in a language. Information might be reported by someone or assumed based on general knowledge in indirect evidentiality. Khaling lacks separate morphemes for indicating evidentiality.

- (57) a. ʌm kʌm kʰəstɛ
 ʌm kʌm kʰəs-tɛ
 3SG home go-PST.3SG
 'He went home (as I saw directly).'

- b. mɛm restɛm tʰəŋtʌ
 mɛm res-tɛ-m tʰəŋ-t-ʌ
 mother laugh-PST.3SG-PRF see-PST-1SG
 '(I) saw mother laughed.'

- c. mʌlo uŋ tsʌi tu-sak din lɛl
 mʌlo uŋ tsʌi tu-sak din lɛl
 but 1sg part one-two day ago
 fiŋampɔ undelbi muŋʌtʌ
 fiŋam-po un-del-bi mu-ŋʌ-t-a
 others-GEN POSS.3SG-village-LOC be-3SG-PST-1SG
 'But, I was in others' village one-two days ago.'

d.	mΛri	tseute	mΛnΛ
	mΛri	tseu-t-ε	mΛnΛ
	much	feel sad-PST-3SG	then
	'Then I feel sad.'		

4.2.2 Evaluative (Deontic) modalities

Evaluative (deontic) modality refers to the expression of obligation, necessity, and permission. This modality describes ability of the willful agent with respect to the completion of the predicate situation. They may be combined with any of the tenses, either in the same morpheme or the combinations of the morphemes. In Khaling, there two evaluative modalities which are encoded by verbal affixes. They include ability and obligation.

(i) Ability

Ability modality refers to the expression of capability, potential of possibility to perform actions. This type of modality indicates whether someone is able to do something. The ability is an agent of the verb which has the mental or physical ability to complete the action of the main verb. It is marked by <-tseb>, <-tsem> and <dz^hep>. The ability marker remains <-tseb> for first-person singular, second-person singular, and third-person singular subject. Let's see a few instances.

(58) a.	uŋa	nər	senne	tsebu	
	uŋ-a	nər	senne	tseb-u	
	1SG-ERG	tiger	kill	ABLT-1SG.NPST	
	'I can kill the tiger.'				
b.	Λmʔε	mε	kər	kΛrne	tsebte
	Λm-ʔε	mε	kər	kΛrne	tseb-t-ε
	3SG-ERG	that	load	carry	ABLT-PST-3SG
	'S/he could carry that load.'				

Another ability marker is <-tsem> for second person plural subject. Let's see an example:

(59)	enʔε	ghoɔlpε	luŋ	thεine	itseمني
	en-ʔε	ghoɔlpε	luŋ	thεine	i-tsem-ni
	2PL-ERG	big	stone	pick up	2-ABLT-2PL.NPST
	'You ^{PL} can pick up big stone.'				

Passive verb requires ability marker <dz^hεp> in Khaling as in example (70)

- (60) tε kʌr kʌrne dz^hεp
 tε kʌr kʌrne dz^hεp
 this load carry ABLT.NPST.PASS
 'This load can be carried.'

(ii) Obligation

Obligation is a concept that deals with the expression of duties, commitments, and necessities. The obligation refers to the agent obliged to perform the action of the verb. In others words, modality refers to the way in which the truth of a statement can be qualified by possibility, necessity, and obligation. In Khaling, It is indicated by the marker *mattʉ* and its past form *matte*. In the obligation of the verb is bound to complete action of the main verb, exemplified as follows:

- (61) a. inε uŋ k^hεptsi binεŋ mattʉ
 in-ε uŋ-∅ k^hεptsi binε-ŋ mattʉ
 2SG-ERG 1SG-DAT money give-EMPH OBLG.NPST
 'You have to give me money.'
- b. ʌmiski uŋ kʌm k^hoʌnnεŋʌ matte
 ʌmiski uŋ kʌm k^hoʌnnε-ŋʌ matte
 yesterday 1SG home go-EMPH OBLG.PST
 'I had to go home yesterday.'
- c. in fiesajo ts^hoʌmnεŋ mattʉ
 in fiesajo ts^hoʌmnε-ŋ mattʉ
 you anyhow dance-EMPH OBLG.NPST
 'You must dance anyhow.'

The obligatory mood in Khaling language is generally used to express obligation, duty, responsibility etc. of the speaker.

4.3 Summary

There are various moods and modalities found in Khaling. These are declarative, interrogative, imperative, optative moods and epistemic, evaluative modality. Certainty is coded with <-ŋʌ> along with the respective person and number markers.

Chapter 5

Summary and Conclusion

According to this study, there is two tenses past and non-past in Khaling. Past tense is morphologically marked whereas non-past tense is not overtly marked. The morpheme <-t-> marks the past tense which is between stem and agreement marker. The morphological structure of past tense is Σ -PST-AGR in first and third person. In second person, morphological structure of past tense is AGR- Σ -PST-AGR.

The stem does not inflect for non-past tense, however stem is altered according to number and person. Stem alternation is more productive in Khaling. The morphological structure of non-past tense for first and thirs person is Σ - \emptyset -AGR and AGR- Σ - \emptyset -AGR for second person.

The morphological structure is AGR- Σ - \emptyset -AGR if the third person subject is acting upon the first person object in both tenses.

In case of second person, agreement marker <i-> precede the stem in both tenses. The stem does not intransitive verb reflect in third person singular in non-past tense. In third person singular, agreement marker is also zero marked in intransitive. The agreement marker <i-> appears as prefix in second person.

Perfective, imperfective, habitual, progressive aspects remain overtly marked in both past and non-past in Khaling. A suffix <-m> denotes the perfective aspect which follows agreement marker. Perfective aspect's morphological structure can be represented as Σ -tense-AGR-m.

Imperfective and progressive/durative are identically encoded with <-toŋ>. It follows the stem. It requires another syntactic element to complete the sentence. Σ -toŋ is the morphological structure of imperfective and progressive/durative in Khaling.

A morpheme <-t^her> represents the habitual aspect. Habitual marker is is posited between stem and agreement marker. Habitual aspect's morphological structure is Σ -t^her-tense-AGR.

Present work has explored also mood and modality in Khaling. Declarative, imperative, optative mood are found in Khaling. Among them, imperative and

optative moods are morphologically marked in this language. Imperatives are marked with <-je>, <-de>, <-te> and <-tse>.

The assertive sentence indicates the declarative mood, but, there is no declarative mood in morphology. There is syntactically realized declarative mood in Khaling.

Interrogative mood is also more syntactic. There are used question words to form question. There is created intonation if there is not lexicon for interrogative.

Epistemic, Evaluative modality are found in Khaling. Certainty is remarkable and productive in Khaling. Certainty is coded with <-ηΛ> and negation is coded by <mu-> or <ml-> according to respective person and number.

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Appendices

Appendix I: Khaling Phonemic Inventory

1. Vowels

i i:	ɯ ɯ:	u u:
e e:	ə ə:	o o:
ɛ ɛ:	ʌ	oo
	a a:	

2. Consonants

p	t	ts	k	ʔ
p ^h	t ^h	ts ^h	k ^h	
b	d	dz	g	
b ^h	d ^h	dz ^h	g ^h	
m	n	ŋ		
	s			ʃ
	l	r		
w		j		

Source: Jacques et al. (2012).

Appendix II: Khaling Verb Paradigms

Table A

Paradigm of transitive verb dzøne 'to eat'

Subject	Past	Non-past
1SG	dzu-ŋ-t-a	dzΛ-ŋ-a
1DUI	dzø-i-t-i	dzø-j-i
1DU.EXCL	dzø-i-t-u	dzø-j-u
1PL.INCL	dzø-k-t-ik-i	dzø-k-i
1PL.EXCL	dzø-k-t-Λk-a	dzø-k-a
2SG	i-dzʌ-t-ε	i-dz-ε
2DU	i-dzø-i-t-i	i-dzø-j-i
2PL	i-dzo-t-nu	i-dzø-ni
3SG	dzʌ-t-ε	dz-ε
3DU	dzʌ-t-su	dz-ε-su
3PL	dzʌ-t-nu	dz-ε-nu

Table B

Paradigm of intransitive verb kʰoɔnne 'to go'

Subject	Past	Non-past
1SG	kʰəs-t-a	kʰoɔi-ŋ-a
1DUI	kʰəs-t-i	kʰə-ts-i
1DU.EXCL	kʰəs-t-u	kʰə-ts-u
1PL.INCL	kʰoɔç-t-ik-i	kʰoɔç-k-i
1PL.EXCL	kʰoɔç-t-Λk-a	kʰoɔç-k-a
2SG	i-kʰəs-t-ε	i-kʰoɔi
2DU	i-kʰəs-t-i	i-kʰə-ts-i
2PL	i-kʰəs-t-ε-nu	i-kʰoɔn-ni
3SG	kʰəs-t-ε	kʰoɔi
3DU	kʰəs-t-i	kʰə-ts-i
3PL	kʰəs-t-ε-nu	kʰoɔn-nu

Table C*Paradigm of intransitive verb renne 'to laugh'*

Subject	Past	Non-past
1SG	res-t-a	rei-ŋa
1DUI	res-t-i	re-ts-i
1DU.EXCL	rest-t-u	re-ts-u
1PL.INCL	reç-ti-k-i	reç-k-i
1PL.EXCL	reç-tΛ-k-a	reç-k-a
2SG	i-res-t-ε	i-rei
2DU	i-res-t-i	i-re-ts-i
2PL	i-res-t-ε-nu	i-ren-ni
3SG	res-t-ε	rei
3DU	res-t-i	rets-i
3PL	res-t-ε-nu	ren-nu

Table D*Paradigm of intransitive verb remne 'to bit'*

Subject	Past	Non-past
1SG	rɛbu-t-a	rɛb-u
1DUI	rɛpi-t-i	rɛp-i
1DU.EXCL	rɛpu-t-u	rɛp-u
1PL.INCL	rɛp-t-i-k-i	rɛp-k-i
1PL.EXCL	rɛp-t-Λ-k-a	rɛp-k-a
2SG	i-rɛp-t-ε	i-rɛb-u
2DU	i-rɛpi-t-i	i-rɛp-i
2PL	i-rɛp-t-ε-nu	i-rɛm-ni
3SG	rɛp-t-ε	rɛb-u
3DU	rɛp-t-ε-su	rɛp-su
3PL	rɛp-t-ε-nu	rɛp-nu

Table E*Verb paradigm of intransitive verb k^hoɔnɛ 'to go'*

Subject	Past	Non-past
1SG	k ^h əɔs-t-a	k ^h oɔiŋa
1DUI	k ^h əɔs-t-i	k ^h əts-i
1DU.EXCL	k ^h əɔs-t-u	k ^h əts-u
1PL.INCL	k ^h oɔç-t-i-k-i	k ^h oɔç-k-i
1PL.EXCL	k ^h oɔç-t-ʌ-k-a	k ^h oɔç-k-a
2SG	i-k ^h əɔs-t-ɛ	i-k ^h oɔi
2DU	i-k ^h əɔs-t-i	i-k ^h ə-ts-i
2PL	i-k ^h əɔs-t-ɛ-nu	i-k ^h oɔn-ni
3SG	k ^h əɔs-t-ɛ	k ^h oɔi
3DU	k ^h əɔs-t-i	k ^h əts-i
3PL	k ^h əɔs-t-ɛ-nu	k ^h oɔn-nu

Table FParadigm of transitive verb *tseinɛ* 'to cleave'

Subject	Past	Non-past
1SG	tsen-t-a	tsen-du
1DUI	tses-t-i	tse-ts-i
1DU.EXCL	tses-t-u	tse-ts-u
1PL.INCL	tsei-t-i-k-i	tsei-k-i
1PL.EXCL	tsei-t-ʌ-k-a	tsei-k-a
2SG	i- tsen-t-ɛ	i- tsen-du
2DU	i- tses-t-i	i- tses-ts-i
2PL	i- tses-t-ɛ-nu	i- tsei-ni
3SG	tsen-t-ɛ	tsen-du
3DU	tsen-t-ɛ-su	tsen-su
3PL	tsen-t-ɛ-nu	tsen-nu

Table G*Paradigm of intransitive verb t^haiⁿe 'to wake up'*

Subject	Past	Non-past
1SG	t ^h is-t-a	t ^h ai ⁿ a
1DUI	t ^h is-t-i	t ^h i-ts-i
1DU.EXCL	t ^h is-t-u	t ^h i-ts-u
1PL.INCL	t ^h ai-t-i-k-i	t ^h ai-k-i
1PL.EXCL	t ^h ai-t- Λ -k-a	t ^h ai-k-a
2SG	i-t ^h is-t- ϵ	i-t ^h ai
2DU	i-t ^h is-t-i	i-t ^h i-ts-i
2PL	i-t ^h is-t- ϵ -nu	i-t ^h ai-ni
3SG	t ^h is-t- ϵ	t ^h ai
3DU	t ^h is-t-i	t ^h i-ts-i
3PL	t ^h is-t- ϵ -nu	t ^h ai-nu

Table H*Paradigm of transitive verb p^hlmⁿe 'to trample'*

Subject	Past	Non-past
1SG	p ^h lemu-t-a	p ^h lem-u
1DUI	p ^h lem-i-t-i	p ^h lem-i
1DU.EXCL	p ^h lem-u-t-u	p ^h lem-u
1PL.INCL	p ^h lem-t-i-k-i	p ^h lem-k-i
1PL.EXCL	p ^h lem-t- Λ -k-a	p ^h lem-k-a
2SG	i-p ^h lem-t- ϵ	i-p ^h lem- \mathfrak{u}
2DU	i- p ^h lem-i-t-i	i- p ^h lem-i
2PL	i-p ^h lem-t- ϵ -nu	i-p ^h lem-ni
3SG	p ^h lem-t- ϵ	p ^h lem- \mathfrak{u}
3DU	p ^h lem-t- ϵ -su	p ^h lem-su
3PL	p ^h lem-t- ϵ -nu	p ^h lem-nu

Table I*Paradigm of transitive verb tərne 'to break'*

Subject	Past	Non-past
1SG	tur-u-t-a	tur-u
1DUI	tər-i-t-i	tər-i
1DU.EXCL	tər-u-t-u	tər-u
1PL.INCL	tʌr-t-i-k-i	tʌr-k-i
1PL.EXCL	tʌr-t-ʌ-k-a	tʌr-k-a
2SG	i- tər-t-ε	i- tər-ʌ
2DU	i- tər-i-t-i	i- tər-i
2PL	i- tər-t-ε-nu	i- tʌr-ni
3SG	tər-t-ε	tər-ʌ
3DU	tər-t-ε-su	tər-su
3PL	tər-t-ε-nu	tər-nu

Table J*Paradigm of intransitive verb ʌmsine 'to sleep'*

Subject	Past	Non-past
1SG	ʌmsi-ŋʌ-t-a	ʌmsi-ŋʌ
1DUI	ipsi-i-t-i	ipsi-j-i
1DU.EXCL	ipsii-t-u	ipsi-j-u
1PL.INCL	ʌpsik-ti-k-i	ʌpsi-k-i
1PL.EXCL	ʌpsik-tʌ-k-a	ʌpsi-k-a
2SG	i-ʌm-t-ε-si	i-ʌmsi
2DU	i-ipsi-i-t-i	i-ipsi-j-i
2PL	i-ʌm-t-ε-nnu	i-ʌmsi-ni
3SG	ʌm-t-ε-si	ʌmsi
3DU	ipsi-i-t-i	ipsi-j-i
3PL	ʌm-t-ε-nnu	ʌmsi-nu

Appendix III: Texts for analysis

Texts 1: Story in Khaling Ancestor Mapya and Dikpya (Janga Bahadur Khaling)

Mapyapo	kʌtʰa	khulukʌ	kʰoŋ
Mapya-po	kʌtʰa	khulu-kʌ	kʰ-oŋ-ø
Mapya-GEN	story	Kʰulu-ABL	com-3SG.NPST

'Story of Mapya begins from Khulu.'

Mapya	tibi	ujʌm	kolo-m	mo-t-ε
Mapya	tibi	ujʌm	kolo-m	mo-t-ε
Mapya	a bit	supernatural power	with-NMLZ	be-PST-3SG

'Mapya had a bit supernatural power.'

ʌmʔε	uruŋkuʔε	tʰame
ʌm-ʔε	uruŋku-ʔε	tʰam-ø-ε
3SG-ERG	ruŋku-inst	know- NPST-3SG

'He knows by his ruŋku.'

uruŋkuʔε	tʰame	nʌ	sikar	kʰoɔi
u-ruŋku-ʔε	tʰam-ε	nʌ	sikar	kʰoɔi-ø
POSS.3SG-ruŋku-INST	know-3SG.NPST	SEQ	hunting	go-3SG.NPST

'He goes for hunting after knowing by his ruŋku.'

ʌmpo	umei	joŋʌ	bʌŋpε	mu
ʌm-po	u-mei	joŋʌ	bʌŋpε	mu
3SG-POSS	poss-wife	also	beautiful	be.3SG.NPST

'His wife is also beautiful.'

khyalʰemʔε	mesa	bekkʰemenu
khyal-ʰem-ʔε	mesa	bekkʰemε-ø-nu
Khaling-PL-ERG	in that way	describe-NPST-3PL

'Khalings describe in that way.'

Mapya	dadzubʰaiʔε	tʰentsʰendundun	menu
Mapya	dadzubʰai-ʔε	tʰentsʰendundun	m-enu
Mapya	brother-ERG	hate	do-3PL.NPST

'Brothers hate ho Mapya.'

Mapya	senne	menu
Mapya	sen-ne	mε-ø-nu
Mapya	kill-INF	do- NPST-3PL

'(They) try to kill Mapya.'

Mapyafiem	rôpo	k ^h udo	fiɔlbi rôkɔm	k ^h oɔnnu
Mapya-fiem	rô-po	k ^h udo	fiɔlbi rôkɔm	k ^h oɔn-ø-nu
Mapya-PL	wild bee-GEN	honey	extract rocky hill	go-NPST-3PL

'Mapyas go to rocky hill to extract honey of wild bee.'

mɔlo	Mapyaʔe	lelɲa	t ^h āme
mɔlo	Mapya-ʔe	lel-ɲa	t ^h āme
but	Mapya-ERG	already-CERT	koow-3SG.NPST

'But Mapya already knows.'

Mε	rokɔambi	k ^h oɔnnu
det	rokɔam-bi	k ^h -oɔn-ø-nu
that	rocky hill-LOC	go- NPST-3PL

'(They) go to rocky hill.'

Mapya	k ^h udo	leçpe	mu
Mapya	k ^h udo	leç-pe	mu
Mapya	honey	extract-NMLZ	be.3SG.NPST

'Mappy is extracting honey.'

Mapyaʔe	ɔpt ^h ero	robi	k ^h udo	lettɔ
Mapya-ʔe	ɔpt ^h ero	ro-bi	k ^h udo	lett-ɔ
Mapya-ERG	uncomfort	rocky hill-LOC	honey	take out-3SG.NPST

'Mapya takes out honey from uncomfot rocky hill.'

ɔnɔl	isèiɲanu	ʔenne	t ^h āme
ɔnɔl	i-sèi-ɲa-nu	ʔen-ne	t ^h ām-ε
today	3-kill-3sg-3PL.NPST	say-INF	know-3SG.NPST

'(He) knows (they) kill him.'

k ^h ɔleɲak ^h udo	lettɔ	
k ^h ɔleɲak ^h udo	lett-ɔ	
entire	honey	take out-3SG-NPST

'(He) takes entire honey out.'

Mɔnɔ	bɔɲbɔɲpe	p ^h ul	g ^h o: bi tɛ	
Mɔnɔ	bɔɲbɔɲpe	p ^h ul	g ^h o:-bi tɛ	
then	fine	cave	inside-LOC	put.3SG.NPST

'Then (he) puts fine honey in the cave.'

tibi	mɔbɔɲpe	p ^h iɲse
tibi	mɔbɔɲpe	p ^h iɲ-se
a bit	bad	send-3SG.NPST

'(he) sends bad honey.'

k ^h oətnu	uk ^h otə
k ^h oət-nu	uk ^h otə
take up-3pl.NPST	up

'(They) take up.'

ud ^h emtə	lɛnnu
ud ^h em-tə	lɛn-nu
ground-LOC.upbring-3PL.NPST	

'(they) bring to ground.'

mebenΛ	Λmʔɛ	k ^h øleŋ	lɛttə
mebenΛ	Λm-ʔɛ	k ^h øleŋ	lɛtt-ə
then	3SG-ERG	whole	bring out-3SG.NPST

'Then he brings out whole.'

K ^h welɛŋ	k ^h udo	fiołne	ner
K ^h welɛŋ	k ^h udo	fiołne	ner
entire	honey	chop	finish.3SG.NPST

'entire honey extracting finish'.

Λmʔɛ	miłkΛ	p ^h iu	siprΛ	mɛ
Λm-ʔɛ	mi-lkΛ	p ^h iu	siprΛ	mɛ
3SG-ERG	below-ABL	whistle sound	whistle	do.3SG.NPST

'He whistles with p^hiu sound.'

ribΛ	petse	koksɛnu
ribΛ	petse	kok-sɛ-nu
rope	quicklycut-send-3PL.NPST	

'(they) quickly cut the rope.'

Mapya t ^h aktɛnΛ	miste	ʔɛnnu	uwêfiemʔɛ
Mapya t ^h ak-t-ɛ-nΛ	mis-t-ɛ	ʔɛn-nu	u-wê-fiem-ʔɛ
Mapya fall down-PST-3SG-SEQ	die-PST-3SG	say-3PL.NPST	poss-brother-PL-ERG

'His brothers say he died by falling down.'

mΛlo	Mapya	p ^h ul	g ^h otə	ŋΛ	wɔŋk ^h Λ
mΛlo	Mapya	p ^h ul	g ^h o-tə	ŋΛ	wɔŋk ^h -ø-Λ
but	Mapya	cave	inside-up	CERT	enter- NPST-3SG

'But Mapya enters in the cave.'

ribΛ	kòknulo	ribΛ	tΛŋ	fiam
ribΛ	kòk-nu-lo	ribΛ	tΛŋ	fiam

'if they see me they kill me'

mʌna	kuwapo	usirbi	kʰəstɛnʌ	mo:tɛ
mʌna	kuwa-po	u-sir-bi	kʰəs-t-ɛ-nʌ	mo':-t-ɛ
then	pond-GEN	POSS-top-LOC	go-PST-3SG-SEQ	be-PST-3DG

'then (he) went to top of the pond and stayed'

usrimati	ku	doɔibi	fi:tɛlo
u-srimati	ku	doɔi-bi	fi:-t-ɛ-lo
POSS-wife	water	fill up-LOC	come-PST-3SG-SIM

'at the time when his wife came to fill up water'

ʌmʔɛ	bʰʌine	kʰɛbtɛlo
ʌm-ʔɛ	bʰʌi-nɛ	kʰɛb-t-ɛ-lo
3sg-ERG	to be full-INF	nearly-PST-3SG-SIM

'at the time of being amost full'

ku	fiilo	mʌssatɛ
ku	fiilo	mʌssa-t-ɛ
water	muddy	make-PST-3SG

'(he) made water muddy'

moɔptɛnʌ	pʰeri	saŋlo	ʈʰʌktɛmsom	fiŋtɛ
moɔp-t-ɛ-nʌ	pʰeri	saŋlo	ʈʰʌk-t-ɛm-som	fiŋ-t-ɛ
throw-PST-3SG-SEQ	again	clear	be-PST-PERF-till	wait-pst-3SG

'Threw out and again waited till it was CLEAR.'

dwatte	pʰeri	meŋ	mʌssatɛ
dwat-t-ɛ	pʰeri	meŋ	mʌssa-t-ɛ
fill up-PST-3SG	again	same	do-PST-3SG

'filled up and (he) did same again.'

gʰoleŋame	mʌssatɛm	pʌtsi	
gʰole-ŋa	me	mʌssa-t-ɛm	pʌtsi
many-CERT	so	do-PST-PERF	after

'after many times doing so'

ʌnəl	tɛgʰo:tʌ	maŋ	ʈʰʌkte
ʌnəl	tɛ-gʰo:-tʌ	maŋ	ʈʰʌk-t-ɛ
today	this-inside-LOC.up	what	happen-PST-3SG

'today, what happened inside this?'

ʔestɛnɔ	sei-kʰɛstɛlo	ne	usriman	wo
ʔɛs-t-ɛ-nɔ	sei-kʰɛs-t-ɛ-lo	ne	u-sriman	wo
say-PST-3SG-SEQ	look-go-PST-3SG-SIM	PART	poss.3sg-husband	PART

'(she) found his husband when she went to look saying what happened?'

mɔnɔ	mɛbikɔ	kʉrtɛnɔ	ukɔm	kʰoɔttɛnɔ
mɔnɔ	mɛbi-kɔ	kʉr-t-ɛ-nɔ	u-kɔm	kʰoɔt-t-ɛ-nɔ
then	there-ABL	carry-PST-3SG-SEQ	POSS-home	take-PST-3SG-SEQ

'then she took him to home by carrying and'

utalɣʰotɔ	tʉtɛ	gʰole	tʰo:tsi	tʉtɛ
u-tal-gʰo-tʉ	tʉ-t-ɛ	gʰole	tʰo:tsi	tʉ-t-ɛ
POSS.3SG-storey-LOC.up	keep-PST-3SG	much	time	keep-PST-3SG

'(she) kept (him) for longtime on the storey.'

mɛbɛnɔ	kʰɔlɛŋ	dzɔnɛ	bitɛnɔ
mɛbɛnɔ	kʰɔlɛŋ	dzɔnɛ	bi-t-ɛ-nɔ
then	all	eating things	feed-PST-3SG-SEQ

'then (she) fed all foods and'

ja:tʰɔ	ne	usɔ	bektɛm	pɔtsʰi	tunɔl
ja:tʰɔ	ne	u-sɔ	bek-t-ɛ-m	pɔtsʰi	tu-nɔl
later	part	POSS.3SG-muscle	fill-PST-3SG-PERF	after	one-day

'later, one day after filling up his muscles'

ulɔpʰu	selmjo	fiɛbɛ	ɔtagɔt	bektɛ
u-lɔpʰu	selmjo	fiɛbɛ	ɔ-tagɔt	bek-t-ɛ
bow	archer	how much	POSS.1SG-power	fill-PST-3SG

'bow and archer, how much power filled up'

ʔestɛnɔ	kɔntɛlo	ne	rɔnɔnɔ	rɔnkeitsʰuktɛ
ʔɛs-t-ɛ-nɔ	kɔn-t-ɛ-lo	ne	rɔnɔnɔ	rɔnkeitsʰuk-t-ɛ
say-PST-3SG-SEQ	pull-PST-3SG-sim	PART	onomatopoeia	sound-PST-3SG

'said and sounded while pulling'

pʰeri	udadzubʰaiʔɛ	tɛ	ne	mis-t-ɛm
pʰeri	u-dadzubʰai-ʔɛtɛ	ne	ne	mis-t-ɛ-m
again	POSS.3SG-brother-ERG	this	PART	die-PST-3SG-PERF

'again, he was died his brothers '

mɔŋ	tʰuktɛnɔ	gɔrdzeitsʰu	ʔestɛnu
mɔŋ	tʰuk-t-ɛ-nɔ	gɔrdzeitsʰu	ʔɛs-t-ɛnu
what	happen-PST-3SG-SEQ	thunder.3SG.NPST	say-PST-3PL

said what happened and (he) thunders'

sε	mΛkΛ	fi	imotnu	enwε
sε	mΛkΛ	fi	i-mo-t-nu	en-wε
not sure	PART	what	2-do-PST-PL	POSS.3SG-brother

'not sure, what did you^{PL} do your^{PL} brother'

maŋ	tɛbi	ne	mumu
maŋ	tɛbi	ne	mu-mu
what	here	part	neg-be.3SG.NPST

'what, (he) is not here.'

k ^h ɔleŋ	sentɛnulo	mut ^h ɔwɛnu
k ^h ɔleŋ	sen-t-ɛnu-lo	mu-t ^h ɔ-w-ɛ-nu
all round	look-PST-PL-SIM	NEG-see-irrealis-PL

'(they) did not find while looking all round.'

utal ^h otʉ	lu:dzag ^h obi	gʉbtɛm	mote
u-tal-g ^h o-tʉ	lu:dza-g ^h o-bi	gʉb-t-ɛ-m	mo-t-ɛ
storey-inside.up	millet-inside-LOC	hide-PST-3SG-PERF	be-PST-3SG

'(he) was hidden (by her) on the storey'

ja ^h ʌ	usɔ	bektɛm	pʌts ^h i	balle	t ^h ʉktɛnʌ
ja ^h ʌ	u-sɔ	bek-t-ɛ-m	pʌts ^h i	balle	t ^h ʉk-t-ɛ-nʌ
later	POSS.3SG-muscle	fill-pst-3SG-PERF	after	fat	be-PST-3SG-SEQ

'later, after his muscle was filled up'

ʔɛn	tɛbi	munʉ	rʌits ^h ʌ
ʔɛn	tɛbi	mu-nʉ	rʌits ^h ʌ
now	here	neg-okay	EVID

'now, here look not okay'

dadzub ^h aiʔɛ	ʔɛn	iseçki	ʔɛstina
dadzub ^h ai-ʔɛ	ʔɛn	i-seç-k-i	ʔɛs-t-i-na
brothers-ERG	now	3>1-kill-PL-INCL	say-PST-DU-SEQ

'(they^{DU} said, now, brothers kill us and'

mɛbikʌ	dz ^h ʉkitim	rʌits ^h ʌ
mɛbi-kʌ	dz ^h ʉk-i-t-i-m	rʌits ^h ʌ
there-ABL	run away-DU-PST-DU-PERF	EVIDENCE

'they were ran away from there'

tubΛ	b ^h ale	dze	bitassunΛ
tubΛ	b ^h ale	dze	bi-tus-su-nΛ
one	cock	food	feed-keep-3DU-SEQ
tsiggrΛ	g ^h obi	tsaptəsunΛ	mi d ^h ΛmtəsunΛ
tsiggrΛ	g ^h o-bi	tsAp-t-əs-u-nΛ	mi d ^h Λm-t-əs-u-nΛ
tsiggrΛ	inside-LOC	clover-PST-3DU-SEQ	fire light-PST-DU-SEQ

'(They^{DU}) fed cock and lit the fire by keeping cock inside the tsiggrΛ and'

k ^h isΛ	p ^h umtussunΛ	mɛbikΛ	k ^h əsti
k ^h isΛ	p ^h um-tus-su-nΛ	mɛbi-kΛ	k ^h əs-t-i
pine wood	inset-keep-DU-SEQ	there-ABL	go-PST-DU

'(they) went from there inserting the pine wood (under the fire)

mΛnΛ	lɛmt ^h ito	k ^h əstilo
mΛnΛ	lɛmt ^h i-to	k ^h əs-t-i-lo
and	walk-PROG	go-PST-DU-SIM

'and while walking'

lɛmlɛm	kerafiɛm	rΛito	rΛito	k ^h əsti
lɛm-lɛm	kera-fiɛm	rΛi-to	rΛi-to	k ^h əs-t-i
way-way	banana-PL	chop-DUR	chop-DUR	go-PST-du

'went chopping the banana plant on the way'

mΛkΛ	fiɛbe	tu:	fΛptasom	rΛfΛitsukte
mΛkΛ	fiɛbe	tu:	fΛpta-som	rΛfΛitsuk-t-ɛ
PART	how many	one	week-till	remain-PST-3SG

'(cock) was till around one week'

sentenulo	b ^h ale	jo	miste
sen-t-enu-lo	b ^h ale	jo	mis-t-ɛ
see-PST-PL-SIM	cock	also	die-PST-3SG

'the cock was died while seeing'

la	k ^h ɛbi	k ^h əsti	ʔɛstenunΛ
la	k ^h ɛbi	k ^h əs-t-i	ʔɛs-t-enu-nΛ
EXCLAMATION	where	go-PST-DU	say-PST-PL-SEQ

'saying where did they^{DU} do'

loɔmto	k ^h əstenulo
loɔm-to	k ^h əs-t-enu-lo
look for-DUR	go-PST-PL-SIM

'while looking for'

silichong tʰukto salpa pok^hΛrik^hη̃iti e
 silichong tʰuk-tosalpa pok^hΛrik^hη̃i-t-i e
 Silichong be-DUR Salpa lake come UP-PST-DU HEARSAY
 'came up to Salpa lake through the Silichong'

koɔltenu e salpa pok^hΛrimetɔ jo
 koɔl-t-enu e salpa pok^hΛri-metɔ jo
 follow-PST-PL HEARSAY Salpa lake-LOC.up also
 'followed also in Salpa lake'

mΛlo mutɕɛbwenu mΛhაკululΛkΛ k^hη̃iti e
 mΛlo mu-tɕɛb-w-enu mΛhაკulu-lΛkΛ k^hη̃i-t-i e
 but NEG-can-IRREALIS-PL Mahakulung-ABL come up-PST-DU HEARSAY

amphulapcha pass mɔtsunΛ chhyokung lɛsti
 amphulapcha pass mɔ-t-su-nΛ chhyokung lɛs-t-i
 Amphulapcha pass do-PST-DU-SEQ Chhyokung reach-PST-DU
 'reached at Chhyokung after passing the Amphulapchha'

melo usrimΛati tɕai leine tɕemətɛgoo
 melo u-srimΛati tɕai lei-nɛ tɕemə-t-ɛ goo
 at that time POSS.3SG-wife PART take out-INF forget-PST-3SGperhaps
 'at that time, perhaps (he) forgot to take his wife'

mɛ^hΛηΛ kuludelt^hΛηΛ mote e
 mɛ^hΛ-ηΛ kulu-del-t^hΛ-ηΛ mo-t-ɛ e
 there-CERT Kulung-village-all-CERT be-PST-3SG HEARSAY
 'there, in Kulung village, (she) lived'

ʔɛntaskam imja tal-lΛ mɛjoŋ pu:te em
 ʔɛntaska-m imja tal-lΛ mɛjo-ŋ pu:-t-ɛ e-m
 present-NMLZ Imja lake-allthrogth-CERT come-PST-3SG HEARSAY-NMLZ
 '(he) came thorough the present Imja lake'

Sɛm kolo bija mɔssu
 Sɛm kolo bija mɔ-ø-ssu
 Sherpa with marriage do-PST-DU
 '(he) got marriage with Sherpa woman'

rΛm dzɔnɛ sikeimatte e mɛ geljongmyaʔɛ
 rΛm dzə-nɛ sikeimat-t-ɛ e mɛ geljongmya-ʔɛ
 salt eat-INF teach-PST-3SG hearsay that Geljongmya-ERG
 'Geljongmya taught him to eat/use salt'

pangmujemetu maiti goo
 pangmuje-metu mai-t-i goo
 Panmuje-LOC.up live-PST-DU perhaps
 'perhaps, they lived in Pangmuje'

mɛbik Λ ud^h Λ lu jeiti
 mɛbi-k Λ ud^h Λ lu jei-t-i
 there-ABL down come-PST-DU
 'they came down from there'

umeipoumupubi utse mote e
 u-mei-po u-mupu-bi u-tse mo-t-ε e
 POSS-wife-GENPOSS-belly-LOC POSS-baby be-PST-3SG hearsay
 'there was a baby in his wife's belly'

Chwamnwambi Λ pt^hero lembi umupu fiɛptɛn Λ
 Chwamnwam-bi Λ pt^hero lɛm-bi u-mupu fiɛp-t-ε-n Λ
 Chwamnwam-LOC difficult way-LOC POSS-belly stuck-PST-3SG-SEQ
 'her belly had been stocked in difficult way of Chwamnwam'

mɛbiŋa mistɛn Λ meŋ k^hlũmtutɛ
 mɛbi-ŋa mis-t-ε-n Λ meŋ k^hlũm-tu-t-ε
 there-CERT die-PST-3SG-SEQ in the same situation bury-keep-PST-3SG
 'she died there and (he) buried it in the same situation and'

mɛbemim p Λ t^hi ʔɛn tsai
 mɛbemim p Λ t^hi ʔɛn tsai
 that after now PART
 'after that, now'

Sɛm kolo bija mum Λ ŋa
 Sɛm kolo bija mu-m Λ -ø-ŋa
 Sherpa with marriage NEG-do-NPST-1SG
 'I do not get married with Sherpa'

tsə tsɛsʔɛ jo mumɛninije
 tsə tsɛs-ʔɛ jo mu-mɛ-ni-nije
 son-daughter grad son-grand daughter-ERG also NEG-do-PL-OPT
 'may generation future do not get married with Sherpa'

p^hapeimumaŋa ʔɛstɛn Λ k Λ s Λ mdzɛtɛ

phapei-mu-ma-ŋa ʔɛs-t-ɛ-nʌ kʌsʌmdzʌ-t-ɛ
 be auspicious-NEG-do-1SG say-PST-3SG-SEQ promise-PST-3SG
 'promised saying I cannot be auspicious and'

ud^hʌlu jatɛnʌ bubsabikʌ
 ud^hʌlu ja-t-ɛ-nʌ bubsʌ-bi-kʌ
 down come-PST-3SG-SEQ Bubsʌ-LOC-ABL
 'came down and from Bupsa'

wɛtɛkʌ k^hɛtipatifiɛm du:mʉtte e
 wɛtɛkʌ k^hɛtipati-fiɛm du:mʉt-t-ɛ e
 gradually cultivating-PL start-PST-3SG HEARSAY
 'gradually, (he) started to cultivate.'

u-srimʌti joŋʌ jat^hʌ fiŋkʌlamejo k^hɛste lo
 u-srimʌti joŋʌ jat^hʌ hangkʌlʌ-mɛjo k^hɛs-t-ɛ lo
 POSS.3SG-wife also later Hankʌlʌ-ALL go-PST-3SG SIM
 'while he went to Hankula, his wife'

mɛtʉŋ usilats^hukpɛ t^hɛtɛ
 mɛtʉ-ŋ usilats^hukpɛ t^hɛ-t-ɛ
 there-IMPH die-NMLZ see-PST-3SG
 'was died, he saw.'

mʌnʌ lu:dza tsiʔɛ p^hrʌptɛlo
 mʌnʌ lu:dza tsi-ʔɛ p^hrʌp-t-ɛ-lo
 and millet beer-ERG spray-PST-SIM
 'and while spraying with beer of millet'

sʌttepo motɛmʔɛ p^hɛri fʌs ŋʌ t^hʉktɛ
 sʌtte-po mo-t-ɛ-m-ʔɛ p^hɛri fʌs ŋʌ t^hʉk-t-ɛ
 true-GEN be-pst-3sg-NMLZ-ERG again human EMPH become-PST-3SG
 '(she) became human again because she was true woman.'

jatɛnʌ mɛpo usantanfiɛmŋʌ khyalfiɛm
 ja-t-ɛ-nʌ mɛ-po u-santan-fiɛm-ŋʌ khyal-fiɛm
 come down-PST-3SG-SEQ that-GEN poss-descendant-PL-IMPH Khaling-PL
 ' his descendants are Khaling.'

bubsʌ juving waku kʌku rapchha phalle t^hʉktɛnu
 bubsʌ juving waku kʌku rapchha phalle t^hʉk-t-ɛ-nu
 bubsʌ juving waku kʌku rapchha phalle become-PST-3SG-PL
 '(they) became Bubsʌ, Juving, Waku, Kʌku, Rapchha, Phalle.'

this covid 19 corona virus-ERG CAUSE

k^hɛbimejo η^λ η^λilɔpɛ gø
k^hɛbimejo η^λ η^λilɔpɛ gø-ø
everywhere EMPH fearful be-NPST

'Because of this Covid 19 Corona virus there is fear everywhere '

m^λn^λ ik lem^hiɛ mune k^høleŋ k^hɛbik^hojo
m^λn^λ ik lem^hi-ne mu-ne k^høleŋ k^hɛbik^hojo
then 1PL walk-INF stay-INF all where ever
maŋk^hojo η^λ ma^{ri} mudz^hɛp
maŋk^hojo η^λ ma^{ri} mu-dz^hɛp
whatever even much NEG-ABLT
'And we cannot walk, stay or whatever.'

t^hebelo ik ma^{ri} garobi muki
t^hebelo ik ma^{ri} garo-bi mu-k-i
now 1PL much difficult-LOC be-1PL-INCL
'Now, we are in a very difficult satiation.'

mep^hembi η^λ pa^{ri}ɛts^huk^λta
mep^hem-bi η^λ pa^{ri}ɛts^hu-k^λ-t-a
such-LOC EMPH fall-1SG-PST-1SG
'(I) fell in such situation.'

uŋ joŋ^λ k^zm ma^{to}ŋ muŋ^λta
uŋ joŋ^λ k^zm ma^{to}-ŋ mu-ŋ^λ-t-a
1SG also work do-PROG be-1SG-PST-1SG
'I was also working,'

da^{ra}mfiem kolo sa^{ll}ama^{kt}aka
da^{ra}m-fiem kolo sa^{ll}ama^{kt}-t-aka
friend-PL with decide-PST-1PL.EXCL
'(We) decided with among friends.'

uŋ tsai ma^{ri} delka^m maⁿlote
uŋ tsai ma^{ri} delka^m maⁿlo-t-ɛ
1sg PART much village desire-PST-3SG
'I desired much to go village.'

fi^λshem tem ulem[?]ɛ ma^{ri} mistenu
fi^λs-fiem tem ulem-[?]ɛ ma^{ri} mis-t-ɛ-nu
human-PL this viral-ERG much die-PST-3-PL
'People died in high range of this viral.'

mɛm	tʰəŋtam	pʌtsʰi	uŋ	joŋʌ	ʌkʰokʰoŋ	dâte
mɛm	tʰəŋ-t-a-m	pʌtsʰi	uŋ	joŋʌ	ʌkʰokʰoŋ	da-t-ɛ
that	see-PST-1SG-PERF	after	1SG	also	come	wish-PST-3SG

'After seeing that, I wished to come (to the village).'

mʌnʌ	mɛmpɛp	mʌnlote
mʌnʌ	mɛmpɛp	mʌnlo-t-ɛ
then	mother father	desire-PST-3SG

'Then I desire to meet mother and father.'

wɛfiem	wɛ:fiem	tsʰerifiem	dʌrʌmfiem
wɛ-fiem	wɛ:-fiem	tsʰeri-fiem	dʌrʌm-fiem
younger-PL	elder-PL	younger-PL	friend-PL
delkʌmbim	nonpʰoŋfiem	kʰoleŋʌ	mʌmtʌnu
delkʌm-bi-m	nonpʰoŋ-fiem	kʰoleŋʌ	mʌm-t-ʌ-nu
village-loc-NMLZ	aunt uncle-PL	entire	remember-PST-1SG-PL

'I remembered entire youngsters, elders, friends, villagers, aunt, uncle.'

mʌri	tsɛute	mʌnʌ
mʌri	tsɛu-t-ɛ	mʌnʌ
much	feel sad-PST-3SG	then

'Then I feel sad.'

uŋ	tsʌi	dʌrʌmfiemkolo	sʌllʌmʌktʌkanʌ	kʰəŋʌta
uŋ	tsʌi	dʌrʌm-fiem-kolo	sʌllʌmʌk-t-ʌka-nʌ	kʰəŋ-ʌ-t-a
1SG	PART	friends-PL-with	decide-PST-1PL.EXCL-SEQ	come-1SG-PST-1SG

'I came by deciding with friends.'

te	ulɛm-ʔɛ	i-tʰəkʰkʰʌki	nakomim
te	ulɛm-ʔɛ	i-tʰəkʰkʰʌ-ki	nakomim
this	viral-ERG	3>1-catch-1PL.INCL	COND
nʌkkʰʌki	ʔenne	jo	mugo
nʌk-kʰʌ-ki	ʔen-ne	jo	mu-go
heal-go-1PL.INCL	say-INF	also	NEG-be.3SG.NPST

'It this viral catches us there is no certainty to be healed.'

fiesʌkʰojo	tampo	delbʌjʌ	pʰlemnɛ	tʰəkʰinʌkʰomim
fiesʌkʰojo	tampo	delbʌjʌ	pʰlem-nɛ	tʰə-ki-nʌkʰomim
anyhow	own	village	step-INF	get-1PL.INCL-COND
mɛŋʌ	mʌkʌ	gʰoɔlpɛ	bat	lʌki
mɛ-ŋʌ	mʌkʌ	gʰoɔlpɛ	bat	lʌ-k-i
that-EMPH	PART	hug	thing	feel-1PL-INCL

'Anyhow, if we get chance to reach to own village, we feel that is huge thing.'

fioŋampo	undelbʌjabi	iksom	k ^h oɔinak ^h omim
fioŋam-po	un-delbʌja-bi	ik-som	k ^h oɔi-nak ^h omim
other-GEN	POSS.3PL-place-LOC	POSS.1PL.INCL-breath	go-COND

ik ^h lʌmkijo	mʌk ^h lʌmkijo	majoŋ
i-k ^h lʌm-ki-jo	mʌ-k ^h lʌm-ki-jo	majoŋ
3>1-bury-1PL.INCL-even	NEG-bury-1PL.ENCL-even	nothing

t^ha moʔo

t^ha moʔo

information no

'If we die in others' place, either (they) bury or not.'

ik	tsʌi	beptsəluptə	sʌlpu	mʌɕsi	ts ^h ukkina
ik	tsʌi	beptsəluptə	sʌlpu	mʌɕsi	ts ^h ukkina
1PL.INCL	PART	insects	birds	die-like	become-1PL.INCL-SEQ

tsemkina k^hoəɕki fiola

tsem-ki-na k^hoəɕ-ki fiola

decay-1PL-SEQ go-1PL.INCL perhaps

'Perhaps, we die like insects or birds and decay.'

me	mʌmsiŋata	mʌri	ʌnu	tseute
me	mʌm-si-ŋʌ-t-a	mʌri	ʌ-nu	tse-u-t-ɛ
so	think-REFL-PST-1SG	very	POSS-heart	feel-bad-PST-3SG

'I thought so and fell very bad.'

mʌnʌ	uŋ	tsʌi	ʔəstanʌ	k ^h əŋʌta
mʌnʌ	uŋ	tsʌi	ʔəs-t-a-nʌ	k ^h əŋ-ʌ-t-a
then	1SG	PART	return-PST-1SG-SEQ	come up-1SG-PST-1SG

'Then I came back.'

ʌnəl uŋ ts^hʌ/sat din idoŋa

ʌnəl uŋ ts^hʌ/sat din i-do-ŋa

today 1SG six/seven day 3>1-reach-1SG

'today I have been for six or seven days.'

iktampo	ŋʌ	Nepal	k ^h əŋʌta-nʌ
ik-tampo	ŋʌ	Nepal	k ^h əŋ-ʌ-t-a-nʌ
POSS.1PL.INCL-own	EMPH	Nepal	come.up-1SG-PST-1SG-SEQ

mʌri uŋ tseŋupe muŋa

mʌri uŋ tse-nu-pe mu-ø-ŋa

very 1SG feel-good-ADJ be- NPST-1SG

'I came to own Nepal and feeling good.'

uŋ ekɗam nɤpɛ muŋa
 uŋ ekɗam nɤpɛ mu-ø-ŋa
 1SG quite good be-NPST-1SG

'I am very well.'

uŋ tamponɣa bukdedel Solukhumbu piŋatam muŋa
 uŋ tampon-ŋa bukdedel Solukhumbu piŋa-t-a-m mu-ø-ŋa
 1SG own-EMPH birthplace Solukhumbu come-PST-1SG-PERF be-PST-3SG

'I have come to own birthplace Solukhumbu.'

mɔna uŋ mɔri k^husi muŋa
 mɔna uŋ mɔri k^husi mu-ø-ŋa
 then 3SG very happy be-NPST-1SG

'Then I am very happy.'

uŋpo ɔmɛm-pɛpɛɸɛm ɔtselɛpɛɸɛm ɔp^hoŋɸɛm
 uŋ-po ɔ-mɛm-pɛp-ɸɛm ɔ-tselɛ-ɸɛm ɔ-p^hoŋ-ɸɛm
 1SG-GEN POSS-mother-father-PLPOSS-brother-pl POSS-uncle-PL
 uŋpo ɔwɛɸɛm k^høleŋa tɛbiŋa munu
 uŋ-po ɔ-wɛ-ɸɛm k^høleŋa tɛbi-ŋa mu- ø-nu
 1SG-GEN POSS-younger-PL all here-EMPH be-NPST-3PL

'All my parents, brothers, uncles, younger brothers/sisters are here.'

ɔmɸɛmkolo mune t^hoŋɔlo ɔrko ŋa
 ɔm-ɸɛm-kolo mu-ne t^hø-ŋa-lo ɔrko ŋa
 3-PL-with say-INF get chace-ø-3SG-SIM next EMPH
 dzuni t^hoŋtam ɸɛŋ lɤŋa
 dzuni t^hoŋ-t-a-m ɸɛŋ lɤ- ø-ŋa
 life get-PST-1SG-PERF like feel-NPST-1SG

'I feel like, I got another life while I see them.'

mɔna mɔri k^husi muŋa
 mɔna mɔri k^husi mu-ø-ŋa
 then very happy be-NPST-1SG

'Then I am very happy.'

k^høleŋa tamtampo baɣa lɔka dzogeimɔssiki
 k^høleŋa tamtampo baɣa lɔka dzogeimɔs-si-ki
 all own place ABL avoid-REFL-ø-1PL.INCL

'Let's avoid from own place.'

te ulɛmʔɛ tsɔi mɔt^høkinije
 te ulɛm-ʔɛ tsɔi mɔ-t^hø-ki-nije
 this viral-ERG PART NEG-catch-ø-1PL.INCL-OPT

ʔeiʔto	yungkhulung	jo	uŋa	tɛŋʌ	ludu
ʔɛç-to	yungkhulung-∅	jo	uŋ-a	qtɛ-ŋʌ	lu-∅-du
say-DUR	Yungkhulung-DAT	also	1sg-ERG	this-EMPH	tell-NPST-1SG

'May this viral not catch us, I tell this to Yungkhulung'



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