CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

1.1   Background

This study is an attempt to analyze the Chamling verb morphology from the formal and functional perspectives.

Chamling is one of the Rai Kiranti languages of the Himalayish sub-group within Tibeto-Burman group of Sino-Tibetan language family. The term 'Chamling' refers to the people as well as the language they speak. According to the CBS report of Nepal (2012), the population of Chamling native speakers is 76, 800 which is about 0.3% of the total population (See: NPHC 2012, Volume 01).
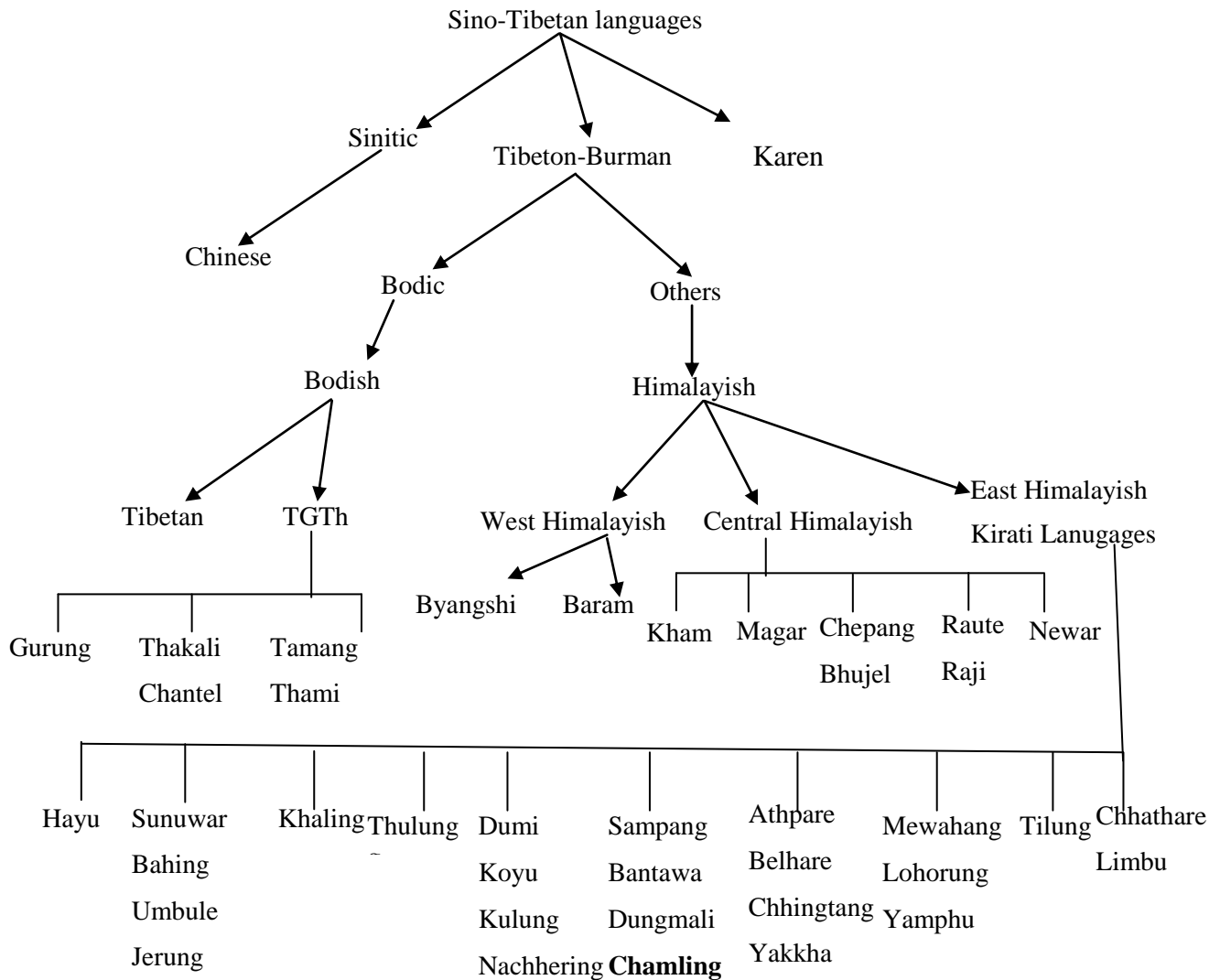
Driem (2001:708) notes that Chamling is spoken in Khotang and Udayapur districts, south of the Dumi and Sampang language areas, south of the Rava Khola and east of the Dudhkoshi, and to the west of Bantawa territory. Chamling is spoken on both the banks of the Sunkoshi, especially to the north-east of the river, though language retention amongst the younger generation is reported to be high in communities on the south-west bank such as Balamta, across the Sunkoshi from Rajapani and the Sapsukhola. The Balamta dialect has no honorofic system. Children and even other caste people residing there speak Chamling alike.

According to Grierson (1909), the languages of Nepal under the Himalayan group are divided as pronominal and non pronominal. Chamling as a pronominal language is classified as Khambu sub-dialect under the eastern sub division.

Ebert (1997:6) classifies Chamling into two major dialects-North-West (NW) and South-East (SE) dialects.

Voegelin and Voegelin (1964-5) have classified Chamling as a pronominal Khambu-dialect in Eastern Nepal sub-division under Sino-Tibetan, which resembles Bantawa. Benedict (1972) has classified Chamling in Khambu division under the Tibeto-Burman sub-division of Bahing-Hayu Kiranti.

The genetic affiliation of the Chamling language can be shown through the figure given below.

Sino-Tibetan languages

Sinitic   Tibeton-Burman   Karen

Chinese

Bodic   Others

Bodish   Himalayish

Tibetan   TGTh

West Himalayish   Central Himalayish   East Himalayish
Kirati Lanugages

Byangshi   Baram

Gurung   Thakali   Tamang
Chantel   Thami

Kham   Magar   Chepang   Raute   Newar
Bhujel   Raji

Hayu   Sunuwar   Khaling Thulung   Dumi   Sampang   Athpare   Mewahang   Tilung   Chhathare
Bahing   Koyu   Bantawa   Belhare   Lohorung   Limbu
Umbule   Kulung   Dungmali   Chhingtang   Yamphu
Jerung   Nachhering **Chamling**   Yakkha

Source: Bradeley (2002) as cited in Yadava (2002: 146).

1.2 Statement of the problem

Till the date, no attempt has been made to analyze the verb morphology of Chamling from the formal and functional perspectives. Thus, the main problem of this study is to analyze the verb morphology from these perspectives. The specific problems of the study are as follows:

(a) What is the system in inflectional morphology?
(b) What is the system in the derivational morphology?

1.3   Objectives of the study

The main objective of this study is to analyze the verb morphology in Chamling from the formal and functional perspectives. The specific objectives of the study are as follows:

(a)   To find out inflectional morphemes in verb morphology in Chamling; and

(b)   To find out the system in derivational morphology.

1.4   Review of literature

There are very few works on the Chamling verb morphology.

Ebert (1997) states that the majority of Chamling verbs constitute stem final consonants */t/,/d/ and /s/* which are elided before a consonant and if the stem vowels */a/* and */e/* remain, they are diphthongised. The stem final */k/* leaves the trace in the preconsonantal stem, the combination of *a* and *k (a+k)* yields */o/* before a consonantal suffix whereas *(i/e+k)* results in a glide *u/o*. The stem final */p/* optionally changes to */m/* before a consonant. The variation *p/m* applies also to the verbs which drop */t/, /d/* and */s/* and she states that there is no change in open stems. She says that many verbs are used transitively and intransitively without any change in the stem. The augment *<-t>* after vowel and *<-d>* after consonant (without consonant elision) make intransitive verb transitive. She states the prefixes *<ta->, <mi->* and *<pa->*, the suffixes *<-i>, <-i(m)>, <-m>, <-ka>, <-na>, <-u>   <-ci>* and also infix *<-n->* she shows the inverse configurations of North-West (NW) and South-West (SW) dialects of Chamling spoken in Khotang district. She lists eleven post verbs-*chud*(arrive), *chungs/chod*(send), *da/dyo*, (meaningful in combination only). *dha/dhas*(fall/descend), *khat/khaid*(go/take) *kas*(throw), *pak*(put), si/set(die/kill), *ŋas/ŋəid*(stay/remain/keep), *lond/lais*(come out/take out) and *pid*(give). She lists three non-finite verb forms: simultaneous converb *<-sa>,* purposive *<-si>* and infinitive *<-ma>*.

Rai (2001) describes that the root ending in *<-m->* gets deleted and *<-p->,<-s->* and *<-pd->* or *<-w>* in her examples to form a stem, she lists the stems formed by the addition of *<-d->,<-dh->,<-t->* and *<-s->* to the roots. She classifies the verbs into seven groups- intransitive, transitive, bitransitive, complement, finite, non-finite and complex verbs.

Rai (2009) lists transitive and intransitive changing of verbs. He shows their positive and negative forms in sentence making. He uses the verbs '*ruŋma* (to say), *ləima* (to keep/put), *hiŋma* (to say) and *ŋaima* (to keep/put) to show situation and conditions in sentences. He lists the verbal suffixes *<-si>, <-sa>, <-ŋa>* and *<-ce>* and prefixes *<mi->, <ta->,* and *<pa->*.

Rai (2012 a) states that a Chamling verb can end on any vowel except */ə /*. He says that the verbal stem may be suffixed with inflectional (tense) suffixes, pronominal prefixes, infinitive suffix and negative affixes. He lists eight rules for stem alternation in Chamling. He says that the verb stems ending on the consonants *<t>, <s>* and *<k>* do not show the stem alternation. The verb stems ending on the vowel phoneme *<i>*, the phoneme *<i>* is replaced by the glide */y/* before inflection. The stem final consonants /d/ and */s/* elide when followed by another consonant. In some cases, the stem final */s/* is replaced by the consonant */ŋ/*. The consonant clusters */ps/* and /pt/ are replaced by bilabial nasal */m/*. In the clusters */rs/* and /ŋs/, the syllable final */s/* is elided. The verb stems ending on *<-at>*, the stem-final cluster is replaced by the diphthong vowel phoneme *<əi>*. In the verbs stems ending on *<-ak>,<-ok>* and *<-yok>*,the stem final consonant */k/* elides entirely as the vowel value changes and if they end on the phoneme */n/* or */ŋ/*, the final consonant phoneme elides and the preceding vowel phoneme is either diphthongised and nasalised or backed raised and nasalised. He points out four intransitive and five transitive configurations of Chamling verbs. He states that prefixes and suffixes are added to the verb to mark person and number. He uses three prefixes *<ta->, <mi-> and <pa->* and the rest are suffixes. He finds *<- əĩc>* and *<-ũc>* to mark reflexive. He says that the prefix *<mi->* and suffix *<-da>* to the stem to mark negative imperatives. The states the verb '*hiŋe /hĩye'* in non-past tense and '*hiŋe ko thio'* in the past tense.

He finds compound verbs made with the help of vector verbs *kas* (to throw) and *pak* (to put), emotive verbs with '*lama*'. He mentions three non-finite verb forms : infinitive *<-ma>,* purposive *<-si>* and simultaneous converb *<-sa>*.

1.5   Significance of the study

From the review of literature above mentioned, it is easily noted that the extensive study of Chamling is a must. In order to understand sociological, anthropological and

cultural background of Chamling, it is inevitable to understand their language and its situation. A better understanding of the situation of the Chamling language will enhance any language development efforts. The analysis of the Chamling verb morphology is of great significance for the following different points of view:

a. This study will be useful in academic purposes.
b. This study will be a resource for promoting endangered languages.

1.6   Research methodology

The researcher employed both primary and secondary sources of data. For primary data collection, the researcher prepared questionaires, interview shedule, two hundred ten word list and personal query as the research tool. After preparing them, the researcher visited Balamta VDC where native speakers of the Chamling people reside. Then, the researcher built rapport with the native speakers. The researcher made them clear about the objectives of the research. The researcher selected ten males and two females from Majha Gaun, Lankatala, Chhata gaun, Rumphutu, Danda Tole, Deurali, Laku and Tirala of Balamata VDC, Udayapur. The researcher selected informants from the age group 15 to 54. The secondary data were taken from dictionaries, grammars, theses, and other reading materials. Interview schedule was the main tool of collecting primary data for this research study. The frequent discussions were held in order to verify the reliability of the data. The researcher selected twelve Chamling native speakers for data elicitation and five native speakers to varify the collected data. After collecting, transcribing and translating the data, the researcher described them.

1.7   Organization of the study

This study has been organized into four chapters. Chapter 1 deals with the Chamling language, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, review of literature, significance of the study, research methodology and organization of the study. Chapter 2 focuses on inflectional morphology. Here, we explore verb stem classes: stem alternation, affixes, agreement system in terms of person, number, case and directionality. Chapter 3 deals with derivational morphology and the last chapter deals with summary and conclusion.

CHAPTER 2
INFLECTIONAL MORPHOLOGY

2.0   Outline

This chapter deals with inflectional morphology of Chamling verbs. It consists of six different sections. In section 2.1 we classify the verbs and analyze their functions. In section 2.2, we present a brief overview of verb stem classification and inflections that occur in Chamling verbs. In section 2.3, we focus on agreement with number and person affixes found in this language. In section 2.4, we discuss tense-aspect system and their marking suffixes about past and non-past tense. In section 2.5, we discuss mood and modality with their types. The last section presents summary of this chapter.

2.1   The verbs

Verbs form an open class of words that code the core of propositions. In contrast with the prototypical noun, the prototypical verb codes temporally instable notions, i.e. actions, events and states (Givón 2001:52). Syntactically, verbs stand out as the core constituent of clauses. Verbs are the grammatical heads of clauses. Verbs project the grammatical roles and govern case on the nominal constituents. (Doornenbal, 2009:117). Verbs in Chamling are characterized by highly complex verb morphology. Eleven persons with duals, plurals, inclusive, exclusive are marked on the verb in actor and undergoer function (Ebert, 1997b).

2.1.1.   Verbs 'to be'

In Chamling, the verb *'hiŋe'* 'to be' is used in the affirmative and *paina* 'not to be' is used in the negative for both the animate and inanimate and also for singular and non-singular without any infection. The verb *'hiŋe'* is used to state the locational and existential functions. They are described in the following ways.

i.   Locational function of *'hiŋe'*

The verb *'hiŋe'* is used to state the location of somebody or something in the present context as in (1).

(1) a. *mina kʰimḍa hiŋe*

   mina   kʰim-ḍa   hiŋ-e

   man   house-LOC   be- NPST

   'The man is in the house.'

   b. *minaci kʰimḍahiŋe*

   mina-ci   kʰim-ḍa   hiŋ-e

   men-NSG   house-LOC   be- NPST

   'The men are in the house.'

In the data given in (1a-b), the verb '*hiŋ-e'* states the location of *'mina'* and *'minaci'*
and it does not inflect for number.

The verb *'paina'* is used as the suppletive derivation of the verb '*hiŋe'* states the
unavailability of somebody or something in the location in the present context as in (2).

(2) a. *mina   kʰimḍa paina*

   mina   kʰim-ḍa   paina

   man   house-LOC   NOT

   'The man is not in the house'

   b. *minacikʰimḍa paina*

   mina-ci   kʰim-ḍa   paina

   man-PL   house-LOC   NOT

   'The man is not in the house'

In the data given in (2a-b), the verb *'paina'* states the unavailability of *'mina'* and
'minaci' and it does not inflect for number.

The suffix *<-koṭhio>* is added to the verb *'hiŋe'* to state the location or somebody
something in the past and to the verb *'paina'* to state the unavailability of somebody or
something in the location in the past as in (3).

(3) a. *ase   mina kʰimḍa   hiŋekoṭhio*

   ase   mina kʰim-ḍa   hiŋe-koṭhio

   yesterday   man   house-LOC   be-PST

   'The man was in the house yesterday.'

b. *ase   mina   kʰimḍa   painakoṭhio*

   ase   mina   kʰim-ḍa   paina-koṭhio

   yesterday   man   house-LOC   be.NEG-PST

   'The man was not in the house yesterday.'

In the data given in (3 a-b), the addition of the suffix *<-koṭhio>*to the verb *'hiŋe'* and *'paina'* show the unavailability of *'mina'* in the past.

  ii. Existential function of *'hiŋe'*

The verb *'hiŋe'* states the belonging of somebody or something as existential function as in (4).

(4)   a. *kʰumo   kʰim   hiŋe*

      kʰu-mo   kʰim   hiŋ-e

      3SG-POSS   house be-NPST

      'He/she has his/her house.'

    b. *acha hiŋe*

     a - cha   hiŋ-e

     1SG.POSS-child   be-NPST

     'I have my child. '

In the data given in (4 a-b), the verb *'hiŋe'* shows the existential function.

The verb *'hiŋe'* states the universally accepted assumptions and facts as existential function as in (5).

(5)   *a. hi hipaci hiŋe*

      hi   hipaci   hiŋ-e

      blood   red   be-NPST

      'Blood is red.'

   b. *nam   bokʰim   naka   mhəipa   hiŋe*

     nam   bokʰim   naka   mhəipa   hiŋ-e

     sun   earth   COM   big   be-NPST

     'The sun is bigger than the earth.'

c. əmpayuma   *õpaci*   *hiŋe*

     əmpayuma   õpaci   hiŋ-e

     silver   white   be-NPST

     'Silver is white.'

In the data given in (5 a and c), the verb *'hiŋe"* states the colour of *'hi'* and *'əmpayuma'* and in data (5b), it states the comparision of size between *'nam'* and *'bok^him'*.

2.1.2   Complement verb

'An element of clause or sentence structure traditionally associated with 'completing' the meaning specified by the verb (Crystal, 1992). In Chamling, the complement verb is *'ţir'* 'to become'. In the sentences, such verbs make up subject complement as in (6).

(6)   a. *k^hu nəc^huŋ   ţira*

      k^hu   nəc^huŋ   ţir-a

      3SG   shaman   become -PST

      'He/she became a shaman.'

     b. *k^hana*   *na*   *mhəipa*   *ţaţira*

      k^hana   na   mhəipa   ţa-ţir-a

      2SG   PART   big   2-become-PST

      'You became big.'

The data given in (6 a-b) show that *khu* and*, khana* are subjects *nəchuŋ* and *mhəipa* are subject complements.

The verb *'mu'* means 'to do' which makes object complement as in (7)

(7) a. *k^hu k^hanaləi nəc^huŋ   mu*

      k^hu   k^hana-ləi   nəc^huŋ   mu

      3SG   2SG-DAT   shaman   do -PST

      'He/she made you a shaman.'

In the data given in (7 a), the verb *'mu'* is the object complement

2.1.3   Identificational verb

In Chamling, the verb *'əina* or *aina* (perhaps derived from *paina* /*p*/)' in isolation means 'not to be' which is used in indentifying a person, place or thing in general and it is realized only in the negative sentences as in (8).

(8)   a. *aŋa   nuŋ   ram*

       aŋa   nuŋ   ram

       1 SG. POSS   name   ram

       'My name is Ram'.

   b *aŋa   nuŋ   ram   əina.*

       aŋa   nuŋ   ram   əina.

       1 SG. POSS   name   ram   NEG

       'My name is not Ram'.

   c *oko   anicho   əina*

       oko   a-nicho   əina

       this   1SG. POSS-brother   NEG

       'This is not my brother.'

In the data given in (8a-c), it is clear that the verb *'əina* or *aina'* negates the identity of 'Ram' and my 'brother'

2.2   The verb stem classification

Most of the verb stems alternate between vocalic initial and consonantal initial suffixes in the Chamling language. Variable and invariable stems are found in the Chamling language which are discussed as follows:

a. Variable stem classes: Verb stem variation is a common feature of Kiranti languages. Chamling exhibits this feature of stem variation caused by final cluster ending and elision of stem-final consonants.

A number of Chamling verb stems end with a consonant cluster. The consonant cluster exists if it is followed by a vowel initial suffix and last consonant if it is

followed by a consonant initial suffix is deleted due to restrictions of syllable structure as in (9).

(9)   a. *kʰors-i*   followed

       kʰor-ma   follow

      b. *ʈims-a*   'ripen'

       ʈim-ma   'to ripe'

      c. *chərs-a*   'urinated'

       chər-ma   'to urinate'

      d. *hors-i*   'threw'

       hor-ma   'to throw'

From the data given in (9a-d), it is clear that stems with final cluster ending with *<s>* is deleted without any change to form the infinitive verb.

In some verb-stems, the final consonant clusters undergo morphophonemic change as in (10).

(10) a. *hupc-i*   'bathed'

       hum-ma   'to bathe'

      b. *hups-i*   'wrapped'

       hum-ma   'to wrap'

      c. *kʰrubɖ-yi* 'chewed'

       kʰrum-ma 'to chew'

      d. *kʰrups-a* 'woke up'

       kʰrumma   'to wake up'

      e. *kaps-i*   'stiched'

       kam-ma   'to stich'

From the data given in (10a-e), verb stems with final consonant clusters *<-pc>*, *<-ps>* and *<-bɖ>* undergo morphophonemic change and the clusters are replaced with *<-m>*.

(ii)   Elision of stem final consonant before a consonantal suffix as in (11).

(11) a. *huiḍ-a*   'burned'

      hui-ma   'to burn'

    b. *puḍ-i*   'taken away'

      pu-ma   'to take away'

    c. *bəiḍ-i*   'brought'

      bəi-ma   'to bring'

    d. *cəiḍ-i*   'taught'

      cəi-ma   'to teach'

    e. *iḍ-i*   'gave'

      i-ma   'to give'

From the data given in (11a-e), it is clear the final single consonant <-*ḍ*> in verb stems get elided in infinitive verb forms.

iii.   Elision of the stem final consonant /*ṭ*/ and insertion of the default vowel as in (12).

(12) *ṭaṭ*   *ṭai-ma* to bring

    oṭ   *oi-ma*   to break

    ḍhiṭ   *ḍhəi-ma*   to find time

    buṭ   *bui-ma*   to ring (time)

    ṭiṭ   *ṭui-ma* to drip

The data given in (12) show that verb stems with <- *ṭ*> preceded by a single vowel get <-*i*> in diphthongization in infinitive verb forms.

iv.   Stem final <-*p*> optionally changes to <-*m*> before a consonant as in (13).

(13) *lhap*   *ham-ma*   'to catch'

    kʰrap   *kʰram-ma*   'to cry/weep

    cap   *cam-ma*   'to be able'

    kup   *kum-ma*   'to pick up'

    ḍip   *ḍim-ma*   'to milk'

    rʰep   *rʰem-ma*   to stand

The data given in (13) show that stem final <-p> changes to <-m> in infinitive verb form.

v.   Deletion of the stem final consonant <-ŋ> and rounding of /a/ = <- õ > is motivated by the labial feature of /m/ as in (14).

(14) *raŋ*   *rõ-ma*   'to use'

   waŋ   *wõ-ma*   'to go inside'

   kʰaŋ   *kʰõ-ma*   'to look'

The data given in (14) show that verb stems with the final consonant <-ŋ> are deleted and the vowel /a/ is rounded as <-õ> in infinitive verb forms.

vi. Deletion of stem final <-k> and rounding of /a/ as in (15)

(15) *pak*   *po-ma*   'to put'

   ŋak   *ŋo-ma*   'to beg'

The data given in (15) show that verb stem final <-k> is deleted and the vowel /a/ is rounded as <o> in infinitive verb forms.

b. Invariable stem classes: Some verb stems in Chamling remain unchanged before vocalic and consonantal suffix. The suffix <-u> functions as a transitive marker and the suffix <-a> functions as an intransitive object marker. They come under invariable stem class as in (16).

(16) i. a. *ik-u*   'ground'
         ik-ma   'to grind'

      b. *uk-u*   'peeled off'
         uk-ma   'to peel off'

      c. *kol-a*   'became enough'
         kol-ma   'to become enough'

      d. *bil-i*   'squeezed'
         bil-ma   'to squeeze'

      e. *hol-a*   'got mixed'
         hol-ma   'to get mixed'

f. *phel-a*   slipped'

   phel-ma 'to slip'

g. *min-a*   'thought'

   min-ma   'to think'

h. *yor-i*   'picked out grains of maize'

   yor-ma   'to pick out grains of maize'

i. *lam-u*   'searched'

   lam-ma   'to search'

j. *yuŋ-a*   'sat'

   yuŋ-ma   'to sit'

In the data given in (16a-j), it is clear that final single consonants */k/l/m/ŋ/n/r* etc remain constant in infinitive verb forms.

ii. In open stems, there are no changes as in (17).

(17) *ŋu*   *ŋu-ma*   'to fry'

   syu   *syu-ma*   'to wash'

   mu   *mu-ma*   'to build'

   ri   *ri-ma*   'to laugh'

   si   *si-ma*   'to die'

   ŋhi   *ŋhi-ma*   'to cook vegetable'

In the data given in (17), it is clear that verb stems with final vowel ending remain constant in infinitive forms.

Table 2.1: Stem final alternation

Stem 1	Stem 2	Stem 1	Gloss	Stem 2	Gloss
Ante-vocalic	Ante-consonantal	Ante-vocalic	In English.	Ante-consonantal	In English
-ps-	*-m*	*kʰuwa borko hupsi*	He wrapped himself with a shawl.	*hum-ma*	'to wrap'
-bɖ-	*-m*	*kʰwa lapʈikho kʰrobɖyu*	He closed the door.	*kʰrom-ma*	'to close'
-ɖh-	*-mh-*	*kʰuwa mi muiɖhyi*	He blew the fire.	*mui-mha*	'to blow'

-pʈ-	-m	*kʰuwa yachaləi hupʈi*	He/she bathed a baby.	*hum-ma*	'to bathe sb'
'ŋs-	-ŋ	*kʰu ʈyoɖa kʰə̃mahiŋsa*	He/she thought to go there.	*hiŋ-ma*	'to think'
-rs-	-r	*kʰuwa luŋʈo horsyu*	He/she threw a stone.	*hor-ma*	'to throw'
-ms	-m	*kʰu imsa*	He/she slept.	*im-ma*	'to sleep'
-p-	-m	*kʰuwa wasa lhapu*	He/she caught a bird.	*lham-ma*	'to catch'
-ʈ-	ɸ	*cabha praʈa*	Tiger roared.	*prəi-ma*	'to roar'
-k-	-k	*məisi puka*	Buffalo gave birth to a young baby.	*puk-ma*	'to give brith'
-l-	-l-	*kʰu pʰela*	He/she slipped.	*pʰel-ma*	'to slip'
-ŋ-	-ŋ	*kʰu ʈyoɖa hiŋa*	He/she sat there.	*hiŋ-ma*	'to sit'
-g-	ɸ	*wa-rõga*	The rain stopped.	*rõ-ma*	'to stop'
-s-	ɸ	*kʰu mʈõ kʰisi*	He/she combed his/her hair.	*kʰi-ma*	'to comb'
-ɖ-	ɸ	*kʰuwa kãləi builɖi*	He/she called me.	*bui-ma*	'to call'

Table (2.1) presents that most of the verbs alternate between vocalic and consonantal suffixes. The final dental stop is deleted and compensated by /i/ insertion. A few of them remain unchanged.

2.3 Agreement

The verb agrees with the person (agent and patient) in number in a sentence. Chamling is characterized by complex verb paradigms in which person is marked partly by suffixes, partly by prefixes and sometimes independently of role and number. Person number marking is described as follows:

a. The second person object morpheme

Basic morph: *<-na>*
Label: 1→ 2

The morpheme *<-na>* indicates second person object in a 1→2 transitive configuration. In 1 SG →2SG form, the agent and its number are unmarked. However, in 1SG →2DU

and 1SG →2 PL forms, the person of agent is marked but its singularity of agency is unmarked. On the other hand, the object and its number are marked as in (18)

(18) a. *pʰlona*

    pʰlo   - na

    help   -1→2 . PST

    'I helped you'

  b. *pʰlonaci*

    pʰlo - na - ci

    help-1→2 -DU-PST

    'I helped you two'

  c. *pʰlonani*

    Pʰlo - na - ni

    help-1→ 2 - 2PL. PST

    'I helped you all'.

The data given in (18 a-c), show that the morpheme *<-na>* indicates second person object and suffixes *<-ci>* and *<-ni>* represent singular, dual and plural respectively.

However, the suffix *<-na>* changes to *<-n>* in non-past form of first person singular agent and second person singular object configuration as in (19).

(19) a. *pʰlone*

    pʰlo - n-e

    help-1SG→2SG-NPST

    'I help/will help you.'

It remains the same suffix with the second person dual and plural as in (20)

(20) a. *pʰlonace*

    pʰlo - na - c-e

    help-1→2-DU-NPST

    'I help/will help you two.'

  b. *pʰlonaniye*

    pʰlo - na - ni- ye

    help-1→2-2PL.NPST

    'I help/will help you all'.

b.   The third person patient morpheme

Basic morph: *<-u/ -i>*

Label 3P

A third person object is marked by *<-u/ -i>* as in (21):

(21) a. *ʈapʰloɖim*

   ʈa-pʰloɖ - i-m (a)

   2- help-3P - 2PL.A. PST

   'You helped him/her.

   b. *pʰloɖicuŋa*

   pʰlod - i - c - uŋa

   help-3P-DU- 1SG. PST

   'I helped them'

   c. *lhapu*

   lhap-u

   catch - 3P.PST

   'He/She caught him/her.'

   d. *lhapucimka*

   lhapucimka

   lhap - u - c - i - m - ka

   catch-3P- DU-3P -1NSG.A - EXCL.PST

   e. *ʈapʰloɖyi*

   ʈa - pʰloɖ-i

   2-help-2SG- 3SG .PST

   'You helped him/her'

   f. *ʈapʰloɖim*

   ʈa-pʰloɖ - u - m

   2-help-2PL-3P- 2PA. PST

   'You all helped him/her.'

In the data given in (21 a-f), the suffix *<-u>* appears in the third person patient. The suffix *<-i>* plural object with the first person singular subject. For the case of other subjects, the suffix *<-i>* is used to mark the third person object.

In the third person ditransitive verb forms, the third person object *<-u>* marks only the indirect object as in (22):

(22) a. *pʰloɖi*

    pʰloɖ-i

    help-3P. PST

    'He helped him (with something).'

  b. *iɖi*

    iɖ-i

    give-3P. PST

    'He gave her (something)'.

In the verbs given in (22 a-b), it is clear that the verbs above are ditransitive verbs because they take three arguments in the sentence level. In 1→3, 2→3 arnd 3→3 structural series, *<-u>* occurs in the fourth suffixal slot with an identical phonetic form and a common semantic distinctiveness.

c.   The first person exclusive

Basic morph <-ka>

Label: 1NSG.EXCL . S/P

The suffix *<-ka>* signals the first person subject or object non-singular exclusive meaning. It occurs as subject, agent and object in verb forms as in (23):

(23) a. *ʈaʈipsacka*

    ʈa-ʈipsa-c-ka

    2-meet-DU- EXCL

    'You met us two.'

  b. *ʈaʈipsika*

    ʈa-ʈips- i –ka

    2- meet-1PL.P- EXCL PST

    'You met us all'.

c. *paṭipsacka*

    pa-ṭipsa - c - ka

    3-meet-DU- EXCL

    'He/They met us two (he and me)'.

d. *paṭipsi ka*

    pa-ṭips-i – ka

    3-meet-1PL.P- EXCL. PST

    'He/they met us all (not you)'.

In the data given in (23 a-d), the suffix *<-ka>* occurs as the first person non-singular exclusive subject or object.

d.   **The first person singular**

Basic morph: *<-uŋa>*

Label: 1SG-S/P

The suffix *<-uŋa>* represents the first person singular subject or object in the past. It occurs as a subject, agent and object in verb forms. It has the allomorph *<-uŋ>* as in (24).

(24) a. *pusuŋa*

    pus-uŋ*a*

    go-1SG.PST

    'I went.'

  b. *senuŋa*

    sen-u-ŋa

    ask-3P-1SG.PST

    'I asked him/her.'

  c. *pasenuŋa*

    pa-sen-uŋa

    3-ask-1SG.O.PST

    'He asked me*'*.

d. ʈa-*sen-uŋa*

      2-ask-1SG. O.PST

      'You asked me'.

In the data given in (24a-d) show that the suffix *<-uŋa or uŋ>* is the first person singular subject or object patient.

e.   The duality of subjects and patient and third person non-singular object

Basic morph: *<-ci~-c->*

Label: DU

Duality of the first person subject, object and agent are marked by *<-ci~-c>*as in (25).

(25) a. *kʰrapaci*

      kʰrapa-ci

      weep-DU.PST

      'We two wept.'

    b. *ʈakhrapaci*

      ʈa-kʰrapa-ci

      2-weep-DU.PST

      'You two wept.'

    c. *khrapacka*

      kʰrapa-c-ka

      weep-DU-EXCL.PST

      'We two (not you) wept.'

    d. *ʈabuiɖacka*

      ʈa-buiɖa-c-ka

      2-call-DU-EXCL.PST

      'You called us two.'

    e. *pa buiɖacka*

      pa- buiɖa-c-ka

      3- call-DU-EXCL. PST

      'He/they called us two (he and me).'

In the data given in (25 a-d), the suffix $<$-$ci>$ appears only the duality of first person subject or object inclusivity and the duality of the second person and the suffix $<$-$c>$ appears only when the suffix $<$-$ci>$ is followed by another suffix.

f.   The duality of second person subject or object

The morpheme <-ci> marks duality of second person subject or object or agent as in (26).

(26) a. *ṭakhrupsaci*

      ṭa - kʰrupsa - ci

      2-wake up-DU.PST

      'You two woke up.'

    b. *ṭabuiḍaci*

      ṭa-buiḍa-ci

      2-call-2.DU.PST

      'You two called him/them.'

    c. *ṭabuiḍaci*

      ṭa-buiḍa-ci

      2-call-DU.PST

      'He/they called you two.'

    d. *buinaci*

      bui-na-ci

      call-1→2 - DU.PST

      'We/I called you two.'

In the data given in (26 a-d) show that the suffix $<$ci$>$ marks the duality of second person subject or object.

g.   Duality of third person subject and agent, and non-singularity of object.

Duality of the third person subject and agent and non-singularity of third person object are marked by the suffixes $<$-$ci>$ and $<$-$c>$ respectively as in (27)

(27) a. *khrapaci*

      kʰrapa-ci

      Weep-3DU. PST

      'They two wept.'

b. *palhapaci*

　　pa-lhapa-ci

　　3-catch-DU. PST

　　'They both caught him/them.'

c. *lhapuŋ cuŋ*

　　lhap-uŋ-c-uŋ

　　catch-1SG-DU-1SG.PST

　　'I caught them.'

d. *ʈalhapu cim*

　　ʈa-lhap - u - c- i - m

　　2-catch-3P-DU-3P-2PLA.

　　'You all caught them.'

In the data given in (27 a-d), the suffixes *<-ci>* and *<-c>* show third person non-singular subject or object.

h.　Plurality of subject and object

Basic morph: *<-i>*

Label: PL.S/O

The suffix *<-i>* represents the plurality of subject and object in the first and second person verb forms as in (28)

(28) a. *pusi*

　　　pus - i

　　　go-1PL. S.PST.

　　　'We all (and you) went.'

b. *ʈapusi*

　　ʈa-pus-i

　　2-go-2PL.S.PST

　　'You all went."

c. *palhapi*

　　pa - lhap - i

　　3-catch-1PL.P.PST

　　'He/they caught us all.'

d. *ʈalhapi*

    ʈa - lhap - i

    2-catch-2PL.P.PST

    'He/they caught you all.'

In the data given in (28 a-d), the suffix *<-i>* represents the plurality of subject and object in the first and second person verb forms

i. *ʈa-*

The prefix *< ʈa- >* stands for the second person in all configurations as in (29)

(29) a. *ʈakhrapa*

    ʈa-khrap-a

    2- weep - PST

    'You wept.'

    b. *ʈacuĩɖa*

    ʈa - cuĩɖ - a

    2 - ʈeach- PST

    'She/he taught you.'

In the data given in (29 a-b), the prefix *<-ʈa->* stands for the second person in all configurations.

j. *mi-*

The prefix *<mi->* represents the third person plural agent in affirmative intransitive forms as in (30).

(30) a. *mi-bul-a*

    3PL-be angry- PST

    'They all became angry.'

    b. *mi-sy-a*

    3PL- die-PST

    'They all died.'

The data given in (30 a-b) show that the prefix *<mi->* represents the third person plural agent in affirmative intransitive forms.

k. *pa-*

The prefix *<pa->* functions as an inverse marker (3→1) and also (3DU/PL→3). The third person plural transitive form have the inverse marker *<pa->* as in (31).

(31) 3DU→3   *paţekaci*

   pa-ţeka-ci

   3- see - DU. PST

   'They both saw him/them'

3PL→3   *paţeka*

   pa-ţek-a

   3- see - PST

   'They all saw him/them'

3→1SG   *pal^hapuŋa*

   pa-l^hap-uŋa

   3-catch 1SG. PST

   'He/they caught me.'

3→ 1DU.INCL *palhapaci*

   pa-lhapa-ci

   3- catch - DL

   'He/they caught us two (you and me)'

3→1DU. EXCL *palhapacka*

   pa-lhapa-c-ka

   3- catch - DU- EXCL.PST

   'He/they caught us two (him and me)'

3→1PL. INCL *palhapi*

   pa-lhap-i

   3-catch-1PL.PST

   'He/they caught us all. (and you)'

3→1PL.EXCL *palhapika*

   pa-lhap - i-ka

   3- catch- 1PL.P-EXCL.PST

   'He/they caught us all (not you)'

The data given in (31) show that the prefix *<pa->* represents the inverse configuration 3→1 and also 3DU/PL→3.

m. *-ə̃ĩc*

In Chamling, the suffix *<-ə̃ĩc>* is added to the verb stem to form reflexive verbs. It is realized in the sentences as in (32)

(32) a. kã ʈekə̃ĩcə̃ĩ

    kã ʈek-ə̃ĩc-ə̃ĩ

   1SG see-REF-1SG.NPST

   'I see myself.'

   b. kã hupʈə̃ĩcə̃ĩ

     kã hupʈ-ə̃ĩc-ə̃ĩ

   1SG bathe-REF-1SG.NPST

   'I bathe myself.'

   c. khana ʈaʈhuɖə̃ĩce

     khana ʈa-ʈʰuɖ-ə̃ĩc-e

   2SG spit-REF-NPST

   'You spit yourself.'

Chamling person and number affixes can be tentatively assigned to affix slots. It should be kept in mind that elements in different slots do not necessarily combine. The organization of verbal affixes slots can be presented in the following sway.

Table 2.2: Verb suffixes slots in Chamling verbs

Suffix						
S1	S2-	S3	S4	S5	S6	S7
-na	*-i*					
	-ci					
-ŋa						
-i						
-ci						
		-u		*-c*	*-yu*	*-ka*
		-u	*-m*	*-c*	*-um*	
			-ŋ		*-uŋ*	

Source: Ebert, 1997 a.

Table : 2.3: Intransitive agreement-past form

Agent	Prefix	Stem	Suffix
1SG	-	Σ	*-uŋa*
1 DU.EXCL	-	Σ	*-cka*
1 DU.INCL	-	Σ	*-ci*
1 PL.EXCL	-	Σ	*-i(m)ka*
1PL.INCL	-	Σ	*-i*
2 SG	*ʈa-*	Σ	*-a*
2 DU	*ʈa-*	Σ	*-ci*
2 PL	*ʈa-*	Σ	*-i*
3 SG	-	Σ	*-a*
3 DU		Σ	*-ci*
3 PL	- *mi-*	Σ	*-a*

Table (2.3) presents the prefixes and suffixes corresponding number and person in past tense. The prefix *<mi->* and all the suffixes are added to the stem of intransive verbs. The suffix *<-ka>* is the exclusive marker.

Table : 2.4: First person agent suffixes

Configuration	Stem	Suffix
1 SG →2SG	Σ	*-na*
1 SG →2DU	Σ	*-naci*
1 SG →2PL	Σ	*-nani*
1DU.EXCL→2	Σ	*-acka*
1PL.EXCL→2	Σ	*-ika*
1SG→3SG		*-uŋ(a)*
1SG→3NSG	Σ	*-cuŋ(a)*
1DU. INCL →3SG	Σ	*-aci*
1DU. INCL →3NSG	Σ	*-acka*
1PL. INCL →3SG	Σ	*-um*
1PL. INCL →3NSG	Σ	*-ucim*
1PL. EXCL →3SG	Σ	*-umka*
1PL. EXCL →3NSG	Σ	*-ucimka*
	Σ	
	Σ	

Table (2.4) presents the suffixes corresponding number and person in 1→2 or 1→3 configuration of transitive verbs in the past tense. The suffix *<-na>* is a second object marker. The suffixes *<-ci>* and *<-ni>* are dual and plural markers.

Table 2.5: Second person agent affixes

Configuration	Prefix	Stem	Suffix
2SG→3SG	*ṭa-*	Σ	*-u*
2SG→3NSG	*ṭa-*	Σ	*-uci*
2DU→3SG/NSG	*ṭa-*	Σ	*-aci*
2PL→3SG	*ṭa-*	Σ	*-um*
2PL→3NSG	*ṭa-*	Σ	*-ucim*
2SG→1SG	*ṭa-*	Σ	*-uŋ(a)*
2NSG→1SG	*ṭa-*	Σ	*-cuŋ*
2→1DU. EXCL	*ṭa-*	Σ	*-acka*
2→1PL. EXCL	*ṭa-*	Σ	*-ika*

Table (2.5) presents the prefix *<ṭa->* corresponding to the second person subject or agent and the suffixes are added to the verb stems to mark the first person or third person object.

Table 2.6: Third person agent (Inverse markings)

Configuration	Prefix	Stem	Suffix
3SG→1SG	*pa-*	Σ	*-uŋ(a)*
3NSG→1SG	*pa-*	Σ	*-cuŋ*
3→1DU. INCL	*pa-*	Σ	*-aci*
3→1DU. EXCL	*pa-*	Σ	*-acka*
3→1PL. INCL	*pa-*	Σ	*-i*
3→1PL. EXCL	*pa-*	Σ	*-ika*
3→2SG	*ṭa-*	Σ	*-a*
3→2DU	*ṭa-*	Σ	*-aci*
3→2PL	*ṭa-*	Σ	*-i*
3SG→3SG	-	Σ	*-u*
3SG→3NSG	-	Σ	*-uci*
3DU →3SG/NSG	*pa-*	Σ	*-aci*
3PL→3SG	*pa-*	Σ	*-a*
3PL→3NSG	*mi-*	Σ	*-uci*

Table (2.6) presents the prefixes and suffixes used in inverse configuration 3→1, 3→2 and 3→3.

Table 2.7 : Person number affixes

Marker	Gloss	Function
<-uŋ(a)>	1SG. PST	First person singular marker in past.
< -əĩ/õ >	1SG. NPST	First person singular marker in non-past.
<-ci>	1 DU. INCL	First person dual inclusive marker.
<-cka>	1 DU. EXCL	First person dual exclusive marker.
<-i>	1 PL. P/S	First person plural patient or subject to intransitive verb
<-ika>	1 PL.EXCL	First person plural exclusive marker.
<-m>	1NSG.A	First person non singular actor.
<-u>	1SG.P	First person singular patient.
<ʈa>	2	Second person subject and patient.
<-i>	2PL. P/S	Second person plural patient and subject to intransitive verb.
<-m>	2PL.A	First and second person plural actor.
<-ni>	1PL.P	Second person plural marker
<-ci>	2 DU	Second person dual.
<-u>	2SG.IMP	Second person singular imperative
<mi->	3PL.A	Third person plural intransitive
<-u>/<-i>	3P	Third person patient.
<pa->	3 S	Third person subject to transitive verb.
<-ci>	3NSG. P	Third person non-singular patient.

Table (2.7) presents all the prefixes and suffixes used in marking all the persons with respect to number, person and grammatical category.

2.4 Tense -aspect

Tense is a grammatical category which refers to the way the grammar marks the time at which the action denoted by the verb takes place (Payne, 2003:236).

Chamling language possesses a morphological distinction between past and non-past tenses. Chamling verbs are inflected to indicate those two tenses by means of different tense marking morphemes. The past tense refers to the situation prior to the present moment and non-past and future both. The tense system in Chamling is as follows.

2.4.1   Tense

In Chamling, there is a two-way distinction of tense: past/ non-past as in the diagram below:

```
┌──────────────────────────────┐
│  Past    │──▶  Non-past      │
│          │                    │
└──────────────────────────────┘
```
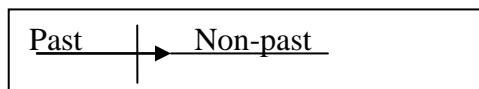
a)   Non-past tense

Non past tense refers to a specific present situation only with the stative verbs or the stative meaning component of two phase verbs (Ebert, 1997a:46). The non-past tense combines temporal and aspectual imperfective features. It is used with future time reference and in general statements independent of time reference (Ebert, 1997a:46).

The suffix <- ə̃ĩ/ õ /yo/e> is used as a non- past tense marker which is described as follows:

a.   The non-past tense marker <-ə̃ĩ>

The non-past tense morpheme is marked by the suffix <-ə̃ĩ> in the verb if the first person singular appears as the subject and the patient as in (33).

(33)   a. *kaŋa   ʈui   huḍə̃ĩ*

        kaŋa   ʈui   huḍ-ə̃ĩ

        I   clothes   buy-1SG. NPST

        'I buy/will buy clothes.'

    b. *kʰanawa   kãləi   ʈaʈekə̃ĩ*

      kʰana-wa   kã-ləi   ʈa- ʈek-ə̃ĩ

      2SG.-ERG   1SG-DAT   2 - see-1SG. NPST

      'You see/will see me'

    c. *kʰuwa kãləi   paʈekə̃ĩ*

      kʰu-wa   kã-ləi   pa- ʈek-ə̃ĩ

      3SG   1SG-DAT   3-see-1SG. NPST

      'He sees/will see me.'

d. *kaŋa   hiŋəĩ*

   kaŋa   hiŋ - əĩ

   1SG   sit - 1SG.NPST

   'I sit/will sit.'

In the data given in (33 a- d), the suffix < -əĩ > marks the first person singular patient in the non-past tense.

b.   The non-past tense marker < -õ >

The non-past tense is also marked by the suffix < -õ >in the first person singular subject and the patient in the transitive constructions in some cases as in (34).

(34)   a. *kã   kʰuləi   ʈipsõ*

       kã   kʰu - ləi   ʈips - õ

       1SG   3SG-DAT   meet-NPST

       'I meet/will meet him/her.'

       b. *kʰanawa   kãləi   ʈaʈipsõ*

       kʰana - wa   kã - ləi   ʈa - ʈips - õ

       2SG-ERG   1SG-DAT   2-meet-NPST

       'You meet/will meet me.'

The suffix <-õ >marks the nonpast tense negative for the second person singular in intransitive construction and marks the non-past tense for the intransitive- negative construciton *(pa + stem + õ)* of the first person singular and third person singular and plural subjects as in (35).

   a. *kã   pabəĩnõ*

      kã   pa - bəĩ - n - õ

      1SG   NEG - come - NEG - NPST

      'I don't come.'

   b.   *kʰu   pabanõ*

      kʰu   pa - ban - õ

      3SG   NEG-come- NPST

      'He/She doesn't come.'

c. *kʰuci*   *pabanõ*

   kʰuci   pa - ban - õ

   3PL   NEG-come- NPST

   'They don't come.'

In the data given in (35 a-c), the suffix <- *õ* > functions as a negative non past tense marker for the second person singular subject to intransitive verb.

c.   The non-past tense marker < *-yo*>

The non-past tense morpheme is also marked by the suffix < *-yo*> in the verb of the configurations. 2SG → 3, 3SG → 3 and 3PL → 3NSG as in (36).

(36). a. *kʰuwa kʰanaləi*   *ṭipsyo*

       kʰu-wa   kʰana-ləi   ṭips-yo

       3SG-ERG   2SG-DAT   meet -3SG. NPST

       'He meets/will meet you.'

   b. *kʰuwa   rõ   cyoyo*

      kʰu-wa   rõ   cyo-yo

      3SG-ERG   rice   eat -NPST

      'He eats/will eat rice.'

   c. *kʰanawa   kʰuləi   ṭaṭekyo*

      kʰana-wa   kʰu-ləi   ṭa- ṭek-yo

      2SG-ERG   he-DAT   2- see-3SG. NPST

      'You see/will see him.'

   d. *kʰanawa   kʰuciləi   ṭaṭekyo.*

      kʰana-wa   kʰuci-ləi   ṭa- ṭek -yo

      2SG-ERG   3DU/PL-DAT   2-see-2SG. NPST

      'You see/will see them.'

   e. *kʰuwa   mwəiniciləi   buiɖyocyo*

      kʰu-wa   m - wəini - ci - ləi   buiɖ-yo-cyo

      3SG-ERG   3SG.POSS-friend-DU/PL-DAT   call-3SG-NPST

      'He calls/will call his friends.'

f. *kʰuciwa*   *klaməiciləi*   *mirhõkucyo*

   kʰuci - wa   klaməi - ci - ləi   mi - rhõk - u - c - yo

   3PL-ERG   young lady-DU - DAT   3PL- chase - 3P - DU - NPST

   'They chase the young ladies.'

In the data given in (36 a - f), the suffix <- yo> marks the non-past tense.

d.   The non-past tense marker < *-e*>

The non-past tense morpheme is also marked by the suffix <-e> in the verb of the subject of any person and number except the first person singulr in the intransitive constructions. The suffix <-*e*> denotes non-past tense in the transitive and intransitive verbs as in (37).

(37) a. *kʰu kʰrape*

     Kʰu   kʰrap-e

     3SG   weep- NPST

     'He/she weeps/will weep.'

  b. *kʰana ṭyoḍa ṭakhaṭe*

    Kʰana ṭyoḍa ṭa-khaṭ -e

    1SG   there   2- go - NPST

    'You go/will go there.'

  c. *kʰuciwa*   *ṭui*   *pahuḍace*

    kʰu-ci-wa   ṭui   pa-huḍa-c-e

    He-DU-ERG   clothes   3-buy-DU-NPST

    'They two buy/will buy clothes.'

  d. *kʰana kʰim ḍa*   *ṭapuse*

    kʰana   kʰim- ḍa   ṭa-pus-e

    You-SG   home-LOC   2 - go - NPST

    'You go/will go tome.'

  e. *kʰəici kʰimḍa ṭapusace*

    kʰəici kʰim-ḍa   ṭa-pusa-c-e

    2DU   home -LOC   2- go - DU - NPST

    'You two go/will go home.'

f. *kəici   kʰim ɖa   pusace*

   kəi-ci   kʰm- ɖa   pusa-c-e

   1 DU.INCL   home - LOC   go - DU - INCL. NPST

   'We two go/will go home.'

g. *kəi   kʰim ɖa   pusiye*

   kəi   kʰim- ɖa   pus-i-ye

   1PL   home- LOC   go-1PL.S - NPST

   'We all go/will home.'

h. *kəika   kʰimɖa pusike*

   kəi-ka   kʰim- ɖa   pus-i-ke

   1 PL- EXCL   home - LOC   go - PL-EXCL. NPST

   'We all (not you) go/will go home.'

i. *kəcka   kʰimɖa pusacke*

   kəcka   kʰim- ɖa   pusa-c-k-e

   1DU.EXCL   home-LOC   go- DU-EXCL-NPST

   'We two (not you) go/will go home.'

j. *kʰuci   rõ   pacace*

   kʰu-ci   rõ   pa-ca-c-e

   3DU   rice   3- eat -DU-NPST

   'They two eat/will eat rice.'

In the data given in (37 a-j), it is clear that the final vowel <*-e*> of the verbs indicates non-past tense. In (37 g), the glide */y/* is inserted between */i/* and */e/* because the vowel sequence < *i+e* > is not allowed in the Chamling language.

b)   Past tense

According to Comrie (1958:41), the past tense refers to the situation prior to the present movement and says nothing about where the past situation occupies just as a single point prior to the present moment or an extended time period prior to the present movement, indeed the whole of the time up to present movement. The past tense in Chamling is marked differently according to the person and number. They are described as follows:

a.   The past tense marker *<-uŋa>*

The past tense marker *<uŋa>* is realized in the first person singular subject and patient. It has been described previously in the data given in (24).

*b.   The past tense marker is *<-a>**

The past tense marker *<-a>* appears only with third person singular constructions as in

(38). a. *cabʰa   kʰoliḍa   praṭa*

    cabʰa   kʰoli -ḍa   praṭ-a

    tiger   forest - LOC   roar -PST

    'The tiger roared in the forest.'

   b. *kʰu ṭyoḍa khaṭa*

      kʰu ṭyoḍa   khaṭ-a

      3SG   there   go - PST

       'He/She went there.'

   c. *kʰu ṭyoḍa sya*

       kʰu   ṭyoḍa   si - a

      3SG   there   die - PST

      'He died there.'

In the data given in (38 a-c), it is clear that the suffix *<-a>* is a past tense marker.

With all the numbers in transitive and intransitive constructions, the past tense marker *<-a>* functions as a finite base marker as in (39)

(39) a. *kʰəiciṭui ṭapakaci*

       kʰəici ṭui   ṭa -paka-c-i

       2DU   clothes   2- wear -DU-3P.PST

       'You two wore clothes.'

   b *kʰuini ṭui ṭapakum*

      kʰuini   ṭui   ṭa-pak-u-m

      2 PL   clothes   2- wear- 3P-2PL.A.PST

      'You all wore clothes.'

c. *kʰuci   kʰaba   pachyoraci*

   kʰuci   kʰaba   pa-chyora-c-i

   3DU   money 3-pay-DU-3P.PST

   'They two paid the money.'

d. *kʰuciwa   kʰaba   pachyoraci*

   kʰuci-wa   kʰaba   pa-chyora-c-i

   3DU-ERG   money 3- pay-DU- 3P.PST

   'They two paid the money.'

e. *kʰuciwa   kəcka-ləi   pa ʈipsaci*

   kʰuci-wa   kəcka-ləi   pa- ʈipsa-c-i

   3 DU-ERG   1DU- DAT   3-meet-DU-PST

   'They two met us two.'

f. *kʰuciwa   kəi. ləi pa ʈipsi(m)ka*

   kʰuci-wa   kəi- ləi   pa- ʈips-i - ka

   3DU-ERG   1PL-DAT   3-meet-1PL.P- EXCL.PST

   'They two met us all (not you).'

In the data given in (39 a-f), it is clear that the past tense marker *<-a>* is a finite base marker.With the second and third person singular in transitive construction also the past tense is unmarked as in (40).

(40)   a. *kʰana   ʈui   ʈapaku*

       kʰana   ʈui   ʈa - pak - u

       2SG clothes 2- wear - SG. PST

       'You wore clothes.'

b. *kʰuwa kʰaba chyoru*

   kʰu-wa   kʰaba   chyor-u

   3SG-ERG   money   pay-3SG.PST

   'He paid the money.'

In the data given in (40), it is clear that past tense is unmarked with the second and third person singular in transitive construction.

c.   The past tense marker *<-koṭhio>*

The past tense marker *<-koṭhio>* is composed of *<-ko>* and *<-ṭhio>*. These
morphemes might have been borrowed from Nepali. The suffix *<-ko>* is a perfective
marker and only the suffix *<-ṭhio>* indicates the past tense which is probably
borrowed from Nepali as in (41).

(41) a. *kʰu   pusaŋasakoṭhio*

      kʰu   pusa-ŋasa-koṭhio

      3SG   go-PROG-PST

      'He/she was going.'

   b. *kʰuci   pusaŋasacikoṭhio*

      kʰuci   pusa-ŋasa-ci-koṭhio

      3DU.   go-PROG-DU-PST

      'They two were going.'

   c. *kaŋa   pusuŋasuŋ(a)koṭhio*

      kaŋa   pus-u-ŋas-uŋ(a) -koṭhio

      1SG   go-1SG.S-PROG-1SG-PST

      'I was going.'

   d. *kʰuwa mcʰu   lʰapukoṭhio*

      kʰu-wa   m-cʰu   lʰap-u-ko-ṭhio

      3SG-ERG   3SG. POSS-hand   catch-3P- PERF. PST

      'He/she had caught his/her hand.'

In the data given (41 a-d), it is clear that *<-koṭhio>* is a past tense marker.

2.4.2   Aspect

Aspect refers to the internal temporal structure of an event. It indicates whether an
event, state, process or action that is denoted process or action that is denoted by a
verb is completed or in progress (Katamba, 1993:221). There are two types of aspects
of verb: lexical and grammatical (Regmi, 2007). It describes the internal temporal
shape of events or states (Payne, 2003:238). Grammatical aspect is the addition of
communicative perspective to the states or events, above or beyond their inherent

aspectuality (Givón, 2001:288). The following grammatical aspects are found in Chamling:

a.   Perfective aspect

In perfective aspect, the situation is viewed in its entirety independent of tense (Payne, 2003: 239).

The perfective aspect focuses on termination and boundless of the action. It has strong association with the past tense. (Givón, 2001:288). So, Chamling past tense always denotes perfective aspect as in the data ealier described in (38) and (39).

b.   Perfect aspect

Perfect aspect describes the currently relevant state brought by the situation (normally an event) expressed by the verb (Payne 2003:239). In Chamling, it is makred by the suffix *<-kohiŋe/kohiẽ >* as in (42)

(42) a. *kʰuwa mchu   lhapukohiŋe*

kʰu-wa   m-chu   lhap-u-ko-hiŋ-e

3SG-ERG   3SG.POSS -hand   catch- 3P-PERF-be - NPST

'He/she has caught his/her hand.'

b. *kʰuwa kəi.ləi   parhəikukohiŋe*

kʰu-wa   k∂i-ləi   pa-rhəik-u-kohiŋ-e

He/she-ERG   I-DAT   3-scold-1SG.P- be - NPST

'He/she has scolded me.'

In the data given in (42 a-b), it is clear that the suffix *<-kohiŋe/kohiẽ >* is added to the verb as a present perfect aspect marker and the auxiliary verb *'hiŋe'* comes only in the non past tense.

c. Pluperfect aspect

Pluperfect combines aspect and past tense. The effect of this combination is to shift the deitic centre (DC) from 'now' to some point in the past (Payne, 2003:240). In Chamling, it is marked by the suffix *<-koṭhio>* which has been previously described in (41).

d. Imperfective Aspect

The imperfective aspect focuses away from the termination and boundedness of the action (Givón, 2001:288) so, on the basis of the internal structure of the situation, the imperfective aspect in Chamling can be classified into habitual and progressive.

i. Habitual

Habituality is that they describe a situation which is characteristic of an extended period time, so extended in fact that the situation refered to is viewed not as an incidental property of the moment but, precisely, as a characteristic feature of a whole period (Comrie, 197: 28). It has been described in (43).

(43) a. *kʰu   kʰaʈe*

    kʰu   khᵃʈ-e

    3SG   go-NPST

    'He/she goes'.

  b. *ka kʰanaləi   kʰaŋəĩ*

    ka kʰana-ləi   kʰaŋ-əĩ

    1SG   2 SG- DAT   look-1SG.NPST

    'I look at you.'

  c. *kʰanawa   kãləi   ʈaʈipsyo*

    Kʰana-wa   kã-ləi   ʈa-ʈips-yo

    2 SG.-ERG   1SG-DAT   2-meet-2s.NPST

    'You meet me.'

  d. *kʰə ici   kʰuləi   ʈaʈipsace*

    kʰəici   kʰu-ləi ʈa-ʈipsa - c - e

    2 DU   3SG-DAT   2-meet - DU-3P.NPST

    'You two meet him.'

  e. *kʰu   mkʰim kʰaʈe*

    kʰu   m-kʰim   kʰaʈ-e

    3SG   3SG.POSS-house   go- NPST

    'He/she goes to his/her house.'

f. *kʰuwa arakʰa ḍiŋe*

    kʰu-wa   arakʰa   ḍiŋ-e

    3SG-ERG   alcohol   drink-NPST

    'He/she drinks alcohol'

In the data given in (43 a-f), the verbs show the habit of doing someting in the present situation. The verbs have zero mark to indicate habituality in Chamling.

ii.   **Progressive**

Progressive aspect refers to an action which is in progress. The progressive aspect in Chamling is expressed by the suffix *<-ŋas>* in the verb root. It is followed by the 'Be" verb. Past and non-past tense, number, and pronominal suffixes are inflected in the 'Be verb'in (44).

(44) a. *kʰu puseŋase*

    kʰu   pus-e-ŋas-e

    3SG   go-NPST-PROG-NPST

    'He/she is going'

  b. *kʰuci pusaŋasace*

    kʰu-ci   pusa-ŋasa-ce

    3-DU   go-PRO-DU.NPST

    'They two are going.'

  c. *kaŋa pusəĩ. ŋasəĩ*

    kaŋa   pus-əĩ-ŋas- əĩ

    I-SG   go-1SG. NPST-PROG-1SG.NPST

    'I am going.'

  d. *kəi pusiŋasiye*

    kəi   pus-i-ŋas-i-ye

    1PL.INCL   go-1PL.S-PROG -1PL.S-NPST

    'We all (and you) are going.'

  e. *kəika pusiŋasike*

    kəi-ka   pus-i-ŋas-i-k-e

    1PL.-EXCL   go-1PL.S-PROG-1PL.S-EXCL- NPST

    'We all (not you) are going.'

The data given in (44 a-e), it is clear that the suffix *<-ŋas>* is used to show progressive aspect. When it is followed by the nominalizer *<-ko>,* it shows the past progressive and the suffix *<-e>* in the final position of the verb refers to the non-past progressive. The suffix *<-ŋas>* is the derived form of the verb *'ŋəima'* which means 'to keep'.

2.5 Mood and modality

Mood is a grammatical category of verbs. Mood describes the speaker's attitude toward a situation including speaker's belief in its reality or likelihood. It also describes the speaker's estimation of the relevance of the situation to him or herself (Payne, 1997: 244). Mood describes the actuality of events in terms of possibility, necessity or desirability (Watters, 2005). So, mood is a grammatical reflection of the speaker's purpose in speaking.

In Chamling, 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.

2.5.1. Mood

In Chamling, 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.

a. Declarative mood

In Chamling, the regular forms of verb in statement or assertive sentences that inflect for the person, number and tense as in (45).

(45)   a. *ka*   *akʰimni*   *kʰaʈəĩ*

        ka   a-kʰim-ni   kʰaʈ-əĩ

        1SG   1SG.POSS-house-LOC   go-1SG.NPST

        'I go/will go to my house.'

b. *kã akʰimni   kʰaʈuŋ*

  kã   a-kʰim-ni   kʰaʈ-uŋ

  I.SG   1SG.POSS-house-LOC   go-1SG.PST

  'I went to my house.'

c. *oko   iʈuŋma*

  oko   i-ʈuŋma

  This   1PL.POSS-village

  'This is our village.'

d. *kʰu   mhe*

  kʰu   mh-e

  3SG   fight-NPST

  'He/she fights/will fight.'

e. *kʰu mha*

  kʰu   mh-a

  3SG   fight- PST

  'He/she fought.'

In the data given in (45 a-e), it is clear that above data are in the declarative mood. There is not particular morpheme to indicate this mood.

b. Interrogative mood

The interrogative mood in Chamling is expressed with question words and rising intonations. The yes/no type of questions are marked by the intonation as in (46).

(46) a. *kʰanawa   ʈyokoləi   ʈaʈeku*

      kʰana-wa   ʈyoko-lai   ʈa-ʈek- u

      You-SG-ERG   that-DAT   2-see-3P.PST

      'Did you see that?'

b. *ʈyoko kʰim   somo?*

  that   house whose

  'Whose house is that?'

c. *kʰu ɖelo sya?*

k^hu   ɖelo   si-a?

3SG   when   die-PST

'When did he/she die?'

d. *kʰana kʰoɖa ʈahiŋe?*

k^hana k^hoɖa ʈa-hiŋ-e

2SG where   2-stay-NPST

'Where do you stay?'

e. *kʰuci ale mikʰaʈe?*

k^huci   ale   mi-k^haʈ-e

3PL   today   3PL-go-NPST

'Do they go today?'

Adding different question words before the verb makes the interrogatives. The question words used to make an interrogative are as in (47).

(47) *ɖe*   what

    so   who

    kʰoɖa   where (at)

    ɖelo   when

    ɖono   why

    ɖoko   which

    ɖosomsa/ɖoso   how

    ɖemno/ ɖemnə   how   much

    ɖosko   of what kind

    kʰoɖa   where

    ɖemo   of what

In the data given in (47), it is clear that the words are used in making wh-questions in Chamling.

c.   **Imperative mood**

In Chamling, the suffix *<-a>* is added to a verb stem in singular, *<-ci>* is added right after *<-a>* to form dual number and *<-ni>* is added right after *<-a>* to form plural number as in (48).

(48)　a. *ʈyoda*　　　*kʰaʈa*

　　　　ʈyoda　kʰaʈa

　　　　there　go.IMP.SG

　　　　'(you alone) Go there!'

　　　b. *ʈyoda　kʰaʈaci*

　　　　ʈyoda　kʰaʈa-ci

　　　　there　go.IMP-DU

　　　　'(you two) go there!'

　　　c. *ʈyoda　kʰaʈani*

　　　　ʈyoda　kʰaʈa-ni

　　　　there　go.IMP-PL

　　　　'(You all) go there!'

The data given in (48) show that the suffix *<-a>* represents imperative sentence and the suffixes *<-ci>* and *<-ni>* are added to show dual and plural numbers.

Transitive verbs retain the patient markers in the imperative as in (49).

(49) a. *kapcʰusyu*

　　　　kap-cʰu　　　　s-yu

　　　　2SG.poss-hand　　　　wash - 2SG. IMP

　　　　'(You alone) wash your hand.'

　　　b. *kapʈui paku*

　　　　kap　　- ʈui　　　　pak-u

　　　　2SG.POSS-clothes　　　wear-2SG.IMP

　　　　'Wear your clothes.'

　　　c. *(kʰana)　　　rõ　　cyo*

　　　　(kʰana)　　　rõ　　　　c-yo

　　　　2SG　　　　rice　　　　eat-2SG.IMP

　　　　'(You) eat rice.'

d. (*kʰuici*)   *rõ*   *caci*

(kʰuici)   rõ   ca-ci

(2DU)   rice   eat- DU .IMP

'(You two) eat rice.'

e. *(kʰuini)*   *rõ*   *cani*

(kʰui-ni)   rõ   ca-ni

(2PL)   rice   eat- PL.IMP

'(You all) eat rice.'

The data given in (49 a-e) show that the suffixes *<-i>*, *<-yu>* and *<-yo>* are transitive patient markers. The suffixes *<-ci>* and *<-ni>* are dual and plural subject markers.

d. Prohibitive mood

The Negative marker *<mi->* is added before the verb stem and the auxiliary *<-ḍa>* (after intransitive verb) and *<-ḍyo>* (after transitive verb) are added to make positive imperative negative imperative as in (50).

(50) a. *rõ mu*   *rõ*   *mimḍyo/eu*

rõ   mu   rõ   mi-m-ḍyo

rice   cook.IMP   rice   NEG-cook-IMP

'Cook rice.'   'Don't cook rice.'

b. *rõ cyo*   *rõ*   *micaḍyo/eu*

rõ   c-yo   rõ   mi-ca-ḍyo/eu

rice   eat IMP.SG   rice   NEG-eat-IMP

'Eat rice.'   'Don't eat rice.'

c. *kʰaṭa*   *mikʰəiḍa*

khaṭa   mi-kʰəi-ḍa

go.2SG.IMP   NEG-go-IMP

'Go'   'Don't go.'

The data given in (50 a-c) show that the prefix *<mi->* is a negative marker in imperative sentence and the main verb takes auxiliary *<-ḍa>* in negative imperative.

First person patient forms have the infix *<-n->* as a prohibitive marker which comes instead of *<-ḍa>* after the nasalised sound as in (51).

(51) a. *mi-ṭipsnuŋ*

      mi-ṭips-n-uŋ

      NEG-meet-PROH-1SG

      'Don't meet me.'

   b. *misəĩnuŋ*

      mi-səĩ-n-uŋ

      NEG-ask-PROH-1SG. NPST

      'Don't ask me.'

With the transitive verbs in dual and plural forms, the suffix *<-ḍa>* is not used as in (52)

   a. *miḍiŋaci*

      mi-ḍiŋa-ci

      NEG - drink - DU.IMP

      'Don't drink.'

   b. *miḍiŋani*

      mi-ḍiŋa - ni

      NEG - drink - PL.IMP

      'Don't drink.'

e. Optative mood

The otative mood is restricted to the third person referents in Chamling. The optative mood is marked by the suffix *<-ne>*. It can be used with all the numbers of the third person as in (53).

(53) a. *kʰu*   *kʰimḍa*   *puŋne*

      kʰu   kʰim-ḍa   puŋ-ne

      3SG   home-LOC   go-OPT

      'May he/she go home!'

b. *kʰuci kʰimɖa pusacine*

   kʰuci kʰim-ɖa   pusa-ci-ne

   3DU   home-LOC   go-DU-OPT

   'May they two go home!'

c. *kʰuci kʰimɖa mipuŋne*

   kʰuci kʰim-ɖa   mi-puŋ-ne

   3PL   home-LOC   3PL-go-OPT

   'May they all go home!'

f. Hortative mood

The hortative mood in Chamling is marked by the suffixes *<-ine>* and *<-ace>* as in (54).

(54) a. *kʰaʈine*

     kʰaʈ-ine

     go-HORT.1PL.INCL.

     'Let's go.'

   b. *kʰaʈace*

     kʰaʈ - ace

     go-HORT.1DU.INCL.

     'Let's go'

The hortative suffixes begin with a vowel and they are used with the first person dual and plural inclusive. So, they are restricted to the first person dual and plural referent.

g. Subjunctive mood

The subjunctive mood in Chamling is generally used to express the relation between the cause and effect. It is conditional in nature. The conjunction *<nakhõ>* is use before the cause or condition as in (55).

(55) a. *wa ʈae nakʰõ kaŋa khimɖa ŋo hiŋəĩ*

     wa   ʈa-e   nakʰõ kaŋa khim -ɖa   ŋo   hiŋ-əĩ

     rain   come-NPST if 1SG. home-LOG   PART stay-1SG.NPST

     'If it rains, I will stay at home.'

b. *kʰu puse nakʰõ*   *kã puni pus əĩ*

kʰu	pus-e	nakʰõ	kã	puni	pus- əĩ
3 SG.	go-NPST	if	1SG	also	go-1SG.NPST

'If he/she goes, I will also go.'

2.5.2 Modality

Modality refers to the speech act or propositional information indicated by special grammatical markings in the verb. Modality codes the speaker's attitude or judgement. Chamling modality system can be analyzed according to the distinction between epistemic and evaluative (deontic) judgement (Givón, 2001:300) along with their sub-categories.

a.   Epistemic modality

Epistemic modality expresses the speaker's commitment to the truth, probability, certainty, belief or evidence of the proposition. The epistemic modalities include probability, certainty and evidentially (Regmi, 2007).

(i)   Probability

This mood refers to the speaker's attitude or judgement that the situation described in the proposition is probably true. It is marked by the verb *<həla>*. It may occur the same in any tense as in (56).

(56) a. *kʰu*   *ale*   *ʈaehəla*

kʰu	ale	ʈa-e-həla
3SG	today	come-NPST-PROB

'He/she might come today.'

b. *kã ale*   *kʰaʈəĩhəla*

kã	ale	kʰaʈ-əĩ -həla
1SG	today	go-1SG.NPST-PROB

'I might go today.'

In the data given in (56 a-b), it is clear that the verb *<həla>* expresses the probability by attaching to the first verb.

ii)   Certainty

This mood refers to the emphasis on the speaker's attitude or judgement that his/her proposition is true. In Chamling, it is marked by the emphatic particle *<-ŋo>*. It is directly attached to the root of the verb. It may occur the same in any tense as in (57).

(57) a. *kʰana   sela   ʈakʰrapeŋo*

      kʰana   sela   ʈa-kʰrap-e-ŋo

      2SG   tomorrow   2-weep-NPST-CERT

      'You will certainly weep tomorrow.'

    b. *oko   sieŋo*

      oko   si-e-ŋo

      This   die-NPST-CERT

      'This will certainly die.'

    c. *kʰukʰaʈeŋo*

      kʰu   kʰaʈ-e-ŋo

      3SG   go-NPST-CERT

      'He/she will certainly go.'

    d. *kã kʰuləi khaba   idə̃ĩ -ŋo*

      kã   kʰu-ləi   kʰaba   id-ə̃ĩ -ŋo

      1SG   3SG-DAT   money   give-1s-CERT

      'I will certainly give him money.'

(iii) Evidentiality

There is a binary contrast in gramaticalized evidentially direct evidentially (directly experienced) and indirect evidentiality (indirect evidence) in Chamling. Chamling lacks separate morphemes for indicating evidentially as in (58).

(58) a. *kʰuwa kaprõ cyo*

      kʰu-wa   kap-r õ   c-yo

      3SG-ERG   2SG.POSS -rice eat-.PST

      'He/she ate your rice. (as I directly witnessed.)'

b. *kʰu   kebʰa   kʰrapa*

   kʰu   kebʰa   kʰrap-a

   3SG   much   weep-PST

   'He/she wept much.'

(iv) Negation

Negation is marked by a prefix and a suffix. The negative prefixes are *<pa->* and *<mi->* and negative suffixes are *<-na>, <-ina>, <-aina>,* and *<-ai>.* The first person singular has a negative infix *<-n->.*

a.   First person

All the person verb forms take the negative prefix *<pa->* in negation. The first person singular takes an infix *<-n->* as in (59).

(59)   a. *kã   ʈyoɖa   pakʰəinnuŋa*

     kã ʈyoɖa   pa-kʰəin- n-uŋ

     1SG   there   NEG-go-INFX-1SG.PST

     'I did not go there.'

   b. *kã ʈyoɖa   pakʰəin nə ĩ*

     kã   ʈyoɖa   pa-kʰəin-n-əĩ

     1SG.   there   NEG-go-INFX-1SG.NPST

     'I do not go there.'

   c. *kəici   pakhrapacimna*

     kəici   pa-kʰrapa-c - ina

     1DU.INCL   NEG-weep-DU - NEG.PST

     'We did not weep.'

   d. *kəi   pakʰrapika*

     kəi   pa-kʰrap-i-ka

     1PL   NEG-weep-1PLS-EXCL.PST

     'We all (not you) did not weep.'

e. *kəi   paᵏhrapina*

   kəi   pa-kʰrap-ina

   1PL.   NEG-weep-NEG.PST

   'We did not weep.'

b.   Second person

The second person singular, dual and plural take the negative suffixes like *<-ina>*, *<əina>,* and *<imna>* in negation as in (60).

(60) a. *kʰana   ṭapusina*

      kʰana   ṭa-pus-ina

      2SG.   2-go-NEG.PST

      'You did not go.'

    b. *kʰə ici ṭapusacimna*

      kʰəici   ṭa-pusa-ci-na

      2DU   2-go-DU-NEG.PST

      'You two did not go.'

    c. *kʰuini ṭapusimna*

      kʰuini   ṭa-pus-imna

      2PL   2-go-PL.NEG.PST

      'You all did not go.'

c.   Third person

The third person singular, dual and plural take the negative suffixes like *<-ina>* and in negation. But the third person intransitive plural marker *<mi->* is replaced with *<pa->* as in (61).

(61) a. *kʰu   palhapina*

      kʰu   pa-lhap-ina

      3SG   3-catch-NEG.PST

      'He/she did not catch.'

    b. *kʰuci palhapacina*

      kʰuci   pa-lhapa-c-ina

      3DU   3-catch-DU-NEG.PST

      'They (two) did not catch.'

c. *kʰuci palhapicina*

    kʰuci   pa-lhap-ina

    3PL   3-catch-NEG.PST

    'They all did not catch.'

The data given in (61 a-c), show that the third person singular, dual and plural take the negative suffix *<-ina>* and replace it in transitive plural *<mi->* marker with *<pa->*.

d.   Negation in imperative

Any positive imperative takes an auxiliary verb '*ɖa*' as a post verb and a prefix *<mi->* in negative imperative as in (62).

(62) a. *rõ cyo*

      rõ   c-yo

      rice   eat-IMP

      'Eat rice.'

    b. *rõ micadyo*

      rõ   mi-ca-dyo

      rice   NEG-eat-V2.IMP

 ' Don't eat rice.'

    c. *rõ caci*

      rõ   ca-ci

      rice   eat-DU.IMP

      '(You two) eat rice'

    d. *rõ micadaci*

      rõ   mi-ca-da-ci

      rice   NEG-eat-V2-DU.IMP

      '(You two) don't eat rice.'

    e. *rõ cani*

      rõ   ca-*n*i

      rice   eat-PL.IMP

      '(You all) eat rice.'

f. *rõ mica ḍani*

    rõ   mi-ca- ḍa-ni

    rice   NEG.-eat-V2-PL.IMP

    '(You all) don't eat rice.'

First person patient form takes an infix *<-n->* after the pre-consonantal stem and the post verb is not necessary but the first person singular marker *(-uŋ)* is added after the infix as in (63).

(63) a. *misennuŋ*

    mi-sen-n-u*ŋ*

    NEG-ask-INFX-1SG.IMP

    'Don't ask me.'

    b. *milhamnuŋ*

    mi-lham-n-u*ŋ*

    NEG-catch-INFX-1SG.IMP

    'Don't catch me.'

    c. *miṭimnuŋ*

    mi- ṭim-n-u*ŋ*

    NEG-meet-INFX-1SG.IMP

    'Don't meet me.'

b.   Evaluative (Deontic) modality

Evaluative (deontic) modality expresses the desirability, preference, internal or external ability, obligation or manipulation of the speaker with respect to the completion of the situation expressed in the predicate. It may be combined with any of the tenses, either in the same morpheme or in combinations of morphemes. In Chamling, there are two evaluative modalities: ability and obligation.

i.   Ability

The ability refers to the situation in which an agent has a mental or physical ability to complete the action expressed in the proposition. It is marked by *<-cap>* as in (64).

(64) a. *kaŋa okoləi səima capəĩ*

    kaŋa   oko-ləi   səiḍ-ma   cap-əĩ

    1SG.   this-DAT   kill-INF   ABL-1SG.NPST

    'I can kill this.'

b. *kʰu   plima   capu*

   kʰu   plis-ma   cap-u

   3SG   speak-INF   ABL-3S-PST

   'He/she could speak.'

ii.   Obligation

The obligation refers to the situation in which an agent is obliged to perform the action of the verb expressed in the proposition. It is marked by *<ʈir>*. In the obligation, the verb is bound to complete the action of the main verb. the emphatic marker *<ŋo>* makes the obligaiton more forceful and the morpheme *<-is>* is a negative form of *<-ʈir>* as in (65).

(65) a. *kaŋa   əspa   kʰəima ʈire*

      kaŋa   əspa   kʰaʈ-ma   ʈire
      I SG.   now   go-INF-PART   OBLG-NPST

      'I have to go now.'

   b. *kʰana kʰəima ʈire*

      kʰana   kʰaʈ-ma   ʈir-e
      You.SG.   go-INF   OBLG-NPST

      'You have to go.'

   c. *kʰuwa plima ŋo ʈire*

      kʰuwa   plis-ma   ŋo   ʈir-e
      3SG.   talk-INF   EMPH   OBLG-NPST

      'He/She must talk.'

   d. *kʰana lamɖa emma ise*

      kʰana lam-ɖa   es-ma   is-e
      2SG.   path-LOC   pass stool- INF   NEG.OBL -NPST

      'You should not pass stool on the path.'

   e. *kəi arakʰa ɖuŋma ise*

      kəi   arakʰa   ɖuŋ- ma   is-e
      1PL.INCL   wine   drink-INF   NEG.OBL- NPST

      'We should not drink wine.'

2.6 Summary

In this chapter, we observed the infectional morphology of Chamling verbs. We have tried our best to analyze the types of verb stems and inflections that occur in Chamling verbs. Then, we examined the verb alternation on the basis of variable and invariable classes. We discussed tense marking suffixes particularly about past tense and non-past tense markers as well. In section 2.4, we discussed tense -aspect system. In section 2.5, has focused on mood and modality. Mood includes declarative, interrogative, imperative, optative hortative and subjunctive. Modality includes two sub headings: Epistemic modality and Evaluative modality. Epistemic modality consists of probability, certainty, evidentially and negation and evaluative modality consists of ability and obligation.

CHAPTER 3
DERIVATIONAL MORPHOLOGY

3.0 Outline

This chapter deals with the derivational morphology in the Chamling language. It consists of three sections. In section 3.1, we present a derivational morphology. In section 3.2, we discuss about non finite verbal construction. The last section presents summary of this chapter.

3.1 Derivational morphology

3.1.1 Causative derivation

According to Payne (1997:176), causative constructions (or causatives) is the linguistic instantiations of the conceptual notion of causation. Causative can be divided into three types: lexical, morphological and periphrastic analytic. A morphological causative is one kind of valance increasing operations.

Causativization is a valence increasing device by which the relation captured within a single clause (Whaley, 1997:191). Morphological causative morpheme *<-məiḍ->* which means 'to make' is found in Chamling. The process of causativization with *<-məiḍ->* is productive in Chamling as in (66).

(66) **Non-causative**   **Causative**

    cama   'to eat'   *'caməima'* 'to make sb eat'

    krõma   'to agree'   *'krõməima'* 'to make sb agree.'

    kʰramma- 'to weep'   *khramməima* 'to make sb weep'

    kʰõma-   'to look'   *kʰõməima* 'to make sb look'

    ḍuŋma -   'to drink'   *ḍuŋməima* 'to make sb drink'

    rima-   'to laugh'   *riməima* 'to make sb laugh'

    remma-   'to stand'   *remməima* 'to make sb stand'

The synatactic causative follows the infinitive form of a main verb as in (67).

(67) a. *kaŋa*   *acʰaləi*   *rõ*   *caməiḍuŋa*

    kaŋa   a-cʰa-ləi   rõ   ca-məiḍ-uŋa

    1SG   1SG.POSS - child-DAT   rice   eat-CAUS-1SG. PST

    'I made my child eat rice.'

b. *kʰu   rakka ŋo   kʰrapa*

   kʰu   rakka   ŋo   kʰrap-a

   3SG   very much   PART   weep-PST

   'He/she   wept very much.'

c. *mpawa   kʰuləi   kʰramməid̪i*

   m-pa-wa   kʰu-ləi   kʰram-məid̪-yi

   3SG POSS-father-ERG   3SG-DAT   weep-CAUS-PST

   'His father made him weep.'

d. *kʰana wa   ʈad̪iŋyo*

   kʰana   wa   ʈa-d̪iŋ-yo

   You.SG.   water 2-drink-NPST

   'You drink/will drink water.'

e. *kʰanawa   kãləi   wa   d̪iŋʈaməid̪uŋa*

   Kʰana-wa   kã-ləi   wa   d̪iŋ - ʈa - məid̪-uŋa

   2SG-ERG   3SG-DAT   water drink -2- CAUS-1SG.PST

   'You made me drink water.'

In the data given in (67 a-e), it is clear that causativization is formed by adding the morpheme *<məid̪>* to the verb stem.

3.1.2 Transitive derivation

The augment *-t* (after vowel) ˜ *- d* (after consonants, which are sometimes elided) makes an intransitive verb transitive (Ebert, 1997 b). It is difficult to make difference between transitivization and causativization, especially in between di-transitivization and causativization in Chamling. Examples are as follows:

Table 3.1: Comparsion among intransitive, transitive and ditransitive/causative

Intransitive	Transitive	Ditransitive/Causative
kʰaʈ- 'to go'	*kʰəiɖ-* 'to take/carry'	*kʰəi-məi-ma* 'to cause somebody to carry'
ims- 'to sleep'	*ibɖ-* 'to make somebody sleep'	*im-məi-ma* 'to cause somebody to sleep'
ri- 'to laugh'	*rit-* 'to laugh at'	*ri-məi-ma* 'to make somebody laugh'
kʰrap- 'to weep'	*kʰrabɖ-* 'to make somebody weep'	*kʰram-məi-ma* 'to make somebody weep'
rup- 'to be finished'	*rubɖ* 'to finish'	*rum-məi-ma* 'to cause somebody to finish'

Table, 3.1 presents the intransitive verbs that take the augment <*-ʈ*> after vowels and <*-ɖ* > after consonants (which are sometimes elided) to be transitive verbs. The augment <*-s*> is found in both transitive and intransitive verbs. Many verbs are used transitively and intransitively without any change in the stem. (See: Ebert, 1997:15).

3.1.3 Noun incorporation

According to Payne (1997:221), noun incorporation is where a core argument (subject or object) of a clause becomes "attached to" or "incorporated into" the verbs. In Chamling, there is the combination of noun and verb to form the process of noun incorporation. This is shown in the following formula: [X] noun + [Y] verb = [XY] verb

In this process, the core argument (subject or object) of a clause attached to or in corporate into verb as in (68).

(68) *kʰaru*   'work' + *muma*   'to do' = *kʰarumuma* 'to work'

    hiu   'wind' + *muma*   'to do' = *hiumuma*   'to blow'

    lho   'dance' + *muma*   'to do' = *chammuma* 'to dance'

    cham   'song' + *muma*   'to do' = *chammuma* 'to sing'

    '*həuwa*' 'greeting' + *muma*   'to do' = *həuwamuma* 'to request'

    '*waima*' thirst + *sima*   'to do' = *waimasima* 'to be thirsty'

'ḍikha' 'trouble' + ima   'to give'= ḍikhəima   'to trouble'

'saka''hunger' + sima   'to die'= sakasima   'to be hungry'

'rumbeli' 'salt and oil + 'nəlma''to touch'= rumbelinəlma 'to purify oneself'

modem   'kiss' + muma   'to do' = modemmuma   'to kiss'

(69) a. *mmawa*   *yac^haləi*   *modemmu*

    m-ma-wa   yac^ha-ləi   modem-m-u

    3SG.POSS-mother-ERG   baby-DAT   kiss-do-3P.PST

    'His mother kissed a baby.'

  b. *k^hu waima   sya*

    k^hu waima   si-a

    3SG   thrist   die-PST

    He/she became   thirsty

  c. *kaŋa   ṭyoḍa   k^haru   muŋko hiŋəĩ*

    kaŋa   ṭyoḍa   k^haru   muŋ-ko   hiŋ-əĩ

    1SG   there   work   done-NML   be.1SG. NPST

    'I have worked there.'

  d. *mina sie nakh kə iwa rumbeli nəlma tire*

    mina   si-e   nakho   kəi-wa   rumbeli   nəl-ma   tir-e

    Man   die-NPST if   we-ERG   salt and oil   touch-INF AUX. NPST

    'If man dies, we should purify ourselves.'

In the data given in (69 a-d), it is clear that the verbal morpheme <*-muma*> is attached to the noun to derive a noun incorporation in Chamling.

3.1.4   Verb compounding

Verb compounding is a process of forming a compound verb by combining two inflected verbs. It is also an instance of verb serialisation in which two successive verbs form a single verb phrase heading one clause. The second verb (v2 or 'post verb') loses its lexical meaning through semantic bleaching and functions as an auxiliary verb to the first verb, main verb (v1 or 'pole verb') as in (70).

(70) a. *kʰu   pʰilakʰaṭa*

       kʰu   pʰila-kʰaṭ - a

       3SG   slip - go - PST

       'He/She slipped away.'

b. *kʰuwa   rõ   cyopaku*

       kʰu - wa   rõ   c - yo - pak - u

       3SG-ERG   rice   eat - 3P - put - 3P.PST

       'He/She ate rice up.'

c. *kʰuwa   luŋṭo   horsikasi*

       kʰu - wa   luŋṭo   hors - i - kas - i

       3SG-ERG stone hurl - 3P - throw - 3P.PST

       'He/She hurled a stone away.'

In the data given in (70), the second verbs *'khaṭa'*, *'paku'* and *'kasi'* lose their lexical meaning and funciton as the auxiliary verb to the main verb.

I found the vector verbs similar to those described in Ebert (1997:34-37).

Table 3.2: Chamling post verbs

	Verb	Meaning as full verb	Role as post verb
1.	*chud*	arrive	telecizing
2.	*chuŋs/chod*	sent/send to	
3.	*da/dyo*	sent/send to	
4.	*dha/dhas*	fall/descend	
5.	*khat/khəid*	go/bring	
6.	*kas*	throw	
7.	*pak*	put	
8.	*si/set*	die/kill	
9.	*ŋas*	keep	atelicizing
10.	*ləid*	come out	inchoative
11.	*pid*	give	benefactive

(Adapted from Ebert, 1997b)

3.2 Non-finite verbal construction

3.2.1 Non-finite with normal function

a. Infinitive

In Chamling, the infinitival and gerunds may function as a nominal construction like noun and noun phrase. The infinitive suffix is added to the verb stem in both nominal constructions (i.e. in infinitival and gerund) as in (71).

(71)   a. *kaŋa*   *ʈyoḍa* *puŋma*   *pacannə̃ĩ*

       kaŋa   ʈyoḍa puŋ-ma   pa-can-n-ə̃ĩ

       1SG   there go-INF   NEG-able-NEG-1SG.NPST

       'I am not able to go there.'

    b. *kəi-wa*   *kʰuləi* *cəimha*   *paʈirə̃ĩ*

       kəi-wa   kʰu-ləi   cəi-mha   pa-ʈir-ə̃ĩ

       1PL.INCL-ERG   3SG-DAT   beat-INF   NEG-become-NPST

       'We should not beat him.'

    c. *wapoma*   *lamʈhima*   *kebhaŋo*   *khunyo*

       wapoma   lamʈh-ma   kebha ŋo   khunyo

       Morning   walk-INF   very PART   good

       'Walking in the morning is very good.'

The data given in (71 a-c) show that the suffix *<-ma>* or *<-mha>* shows infinitive inflection.

3.2.2 Non-finite with with adjectival functions

There are two kinds of participles used as adjectival function in Chamling:present participle and past participle. They may function as an adjectival construction like adjective and adjective clause. The participle suffix *<-ko>* is added to the verb stem in both adjectival constructions (i.e. in present participle and in past participle.)

a. Present participle *<-ko>*

The finite present participle suffix *<-ko>* is used to modify the nominal and to function as adjectival as in (72).

(72) a. *arakʰa ḍuŋkomina   ḍʰyakʰaṭa*

    arakʰa   ḍuŋ-ko -mina   ḍʰya-kʰaṭ -a

    Alcohol   drink-NML-person   fall down-V2-PST

    'Alcoholist fell down.'

  b. *lam   lamṭhikominawa   rõ   cyo*

    lam   lamṭhi-ko-mina-wa   rõ   c-yo

    Path   walk-NML-person-ERG   rice   eat -NPST

    'Padestrian eats/will eat rice.'

In the data given in (72a-b), the suffix*<-ko>* shows the adjectival functions.

b.   Past participle *<-ko>*

(73) a. *kʰuwa kãləi   pabuiḍuŋko*

    kʰu -wa   kã-ləi   pa-buiḍ-uŋ-ko

    3SG-ERG   1SG-DAT   3-call-1SG. PST-PERF

    'He had called me.'

  b. *kʰuwa cabha ṭekyu-ko*

    kʰu-wa   cabha ṭek-u-ko

    He-ERG   tiger see-3P-PERF

    'He has seen a tiger.'

3.2.3   Non finite with adverbial functions

a.   Present participle

(i)   Time

The adverbial clauses of time signal temporal as well as sequential relationships and utilize both the strategies of subordination. The non-finite affix *<-pa>* is used as in (74).

(74) a. *kʰu   walasi   khaṭepa,   kã   kʰanaləi   buine*

    kʰu   wa-las-si   khaṭ-e-pa   kã   kʰana-ləi   bui-ne

    3SG   water-bring-PURP go-NPST-when   1SG   2SG-DAT   call-1→2.NPST

    'When he goes to bring water, I will call you.'

  b. *buŋlima   buṭapa kã   akʰimni   pusuŋa*

    buŋlima   but-a-pa   kã   a - kʰim - ni   pus-uŋa

    bell   ring-PST-when I   1SG.POSS-house-LOC go-1SG.PST

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'When the bell rang, I went to my house.'

In the data given in (74a-b), the suffix *<-pa>* shows the time when it is added to the verb.

(ii) Manner

In Chamling, some non-finite verbs take the suffix *<-lo>* to show the manner of action as in (75).

(75) a. *kʰu   canyolo   plise*

      kʰu   can-yo-lo   plis-e

      3SG   taste good-NPST-MAN   speak-NPST

      'He speaks/will speak sweetly.'

   b. *kʰuwa   mnicholəi   ʈyukelo   cəiɖhyo*

      kʰu-wa   m-nicho-ləi   ʈyuk-e-lo   cəiɖh-yo

      3SG-ERG   3SG.POSS-brother-DAT pain-NPST-MAN   beat-NPST

      He beats/will beat his brother painfully.

   c. *kʰana caisalo ʈaplise*

      kʰana caisa-lo   ʈa-plis-e

      2SG   taste bad-MAN 2-speak-NPST

      'You speak badly.'

In the data given in (75a-c), the suffix *<-lo>* when added to the verb shows the way in which an action is carried out. Such a verb with an adverbial function comes before the finite verb.

3.3 Summary

In this chapter, we examined the derivational morphology as well as non finite verbal construction inherent in the Chamling language. We observed derivational morphology through causative derivation, transitive derivation, noun incorporation and verb compounding. In compound verbs, only the auxiliary verbs inflect for person number and tense.

CHAPTER 4

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Chamling is one of the sub- tribes of Rai. The term 'Chamling' refers to both language and tribal group. According to the CBS report of Nepal (2012), the population of Chamling native speakers is 76,800. The Chamling speakers of Balamta V.D.C, Udayapur district are fluent native speakers. They belong to Balamta dialect.

This study contains four chapters. The first chapter deals with introduction in which we outlined the objectives and methodology. We have included genetic affiliation, statements of the problems of the study, review of literature, significance of the study, research methodology and organization of the study.

The second chapter deals with the inflectional morphology. Under inflectional morphology of Chamling, there are some findings. Variable and invariable stems are found in Chamling. Most of the verb stems alternate between vocalic and consonantal suffixes. The verb affixes are grouped into three types: prefix, suffix and infix. They are analyzed in terms of person and number. The second person object morpheme is *<-na>* in a 1→2 configuration. The first person exclusive marker is *<-ka>*. The prefix *<ʈa->* indicates the second person, the prefix *<mi->* indicates third person plural and also negative imperative marker and the prefix *<pa->* indicates third person actor and also the negative marker for the first and the third person. The suffix *<-əĩ/õ>* indicates the first person singular subject and patient in the non-past tense and the suffix *<-uŋa>* indicates the first person singular subject and patient in the past tense. The suffix *<-u>* indicates the third person patient or first person singular patient. The suffix *<-i>* indicates the first and second person plural patient and subject to intransitive verb and third person patient. The suffix *<-ni>* indicates the second person plural. The suffix *<-m>* indicates the first person non-singular actor and also the second person plural actor. The suffix *<-əĩc>* is a reflexive marker. The verb 'hiŋe' states the locational and existential functions. The verb *'ʈir'* functions as a complement verb. The verb *'əina'* 'not to be' functions as an identificational verb in negative form.

The suffix *<-əĩ/õ/yo/e>* is a non-past tense marker and the suffix *<-a /uŋa/koʈhio>* is a past tense marker. The suffix *<-a>* is used as a finite base marker with all the non-

singular persons in transitive and intransitive construction. In such a case, the past tense is unmarked. The post verb *'ŋas'* 'to keep/remain' indicates the progressive aspect and *<-kohiŋe/koʈhio>* indicates the perfective marker. Likewise, different types of mood and modality have been discussed.

The third chapter deals with derivational morphology. Under derivational morphology, causative derivation, transitive derivation, noun incorporation and verb compounding have been dealt. The non-finite verbal construction has also been discussed. The causative is derived by adding *<-məiɖ>* to the verb root. The consonants */ʈ/* and */ɖ/* are added to intransitive verb root to make it transitive. The noun incorporation in Chamling is formulated as [X] noun + [Y] verb = [XY]verb and verb compounding is formulated as verb +verb = compound verb. In compound verb, the auxiliary verb inflects for person, number and tense.

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APPENDIX – I

Names of Language Consultants

S.N.	Name	Age	Sex	Address
1	Padam Kumar Rai	54	M	Balamta-4, Majha Gaun
2	Asan Bahadur Rai	47	M	Balama-5, Lankatala
3	Birkharaj Rai	34	M	Balamta-1, Chhata Gaun
4	Pratika Rai	41	F	Balamta-4, Majha Gaun
5	Parbati Rai	31	F	Balamta-6, Rumphutu
6	Hom Bahadur Rai	36	M	Balamta-2, Dandatole
7	Arjun Rai	35	M	Balamta-7, Deurali
8	Pasbin Rai	17	M	Balamta-5, Lankatala
9	Sandesh Rai	15	M	Balamta-8, Laku
10	Bibash Rai	15	M	Balamta-1, Chhata Gaun
11	Yam Bahadur Rai	30	M	Balamta-6, Tirala
12	Nabin Kishor Rai	33	M	Balamta-5, Lankatala

APPENDIX-II

Intransitive Verbs

a. The verbal paradigm of intransitive verb */plima/* 'to speak' related to tense

Pronoun	NPST	PST
1 SG	*plisəĩ*	*plisuŋ(a)*
1DU. INCL	*plisace*	*plisaci*
1DU. EXCL	*plisacke*	*plisacka*
1PL. INCL	*plisiye*	*plisi*
1PL. EXCL	*Plisike*	*plisika*
2SG	*taplise*	*taplisa*
2DU	*tamplisace*	*taplisaci*
2PL	*taplisine*	*taplisi*
3SG	*plise*	*plisa*
3DU	*plisace*	*plisaci*
3PL	*miplisace*	*miplisaci*

b. The verbal paradigm of intransitive verb related to aspect
i. Perfective aspect */kʰramma/* 'to cry'

Pronoun	Present perfective	Past perfective
1SG	*kʰrap-uŋ-kohiŋe*	*kʰrap-uŋ-koʈhio*
1DU. INCL	*kʰrapa-ci-kohiŋe*	*kʰrapa-ci- koʈhio*
1DU. EXCL	*kʰrapa-c-ka- kohiŋe*	*kʰrapa-c-ka- koʈhio*
1PL. INCL	*kʰrap-i- kohiŋe*	*kʰrap-i- koʈhio*
1PL. EXCL	*kʰrap-i-ka- kohiŋe*	*kʰrap-i-ka- koʈhio*
2SG	*ʈa- kʰrapa- kohiŋe*	*ʈa- kʰrapa- koʈhio*
2DU	*ʈa-kʰrap-ci- kohiŋe*	*ʈa-kʰrap-ci- koʈhio*
2PL	*ʈa-kʰrap-i-ye- kohiŋe*	*ʈa-kʰrap-i-ye- koʈhio*
3SG	*kʰrapa-kohiŋe*	*kʰrapa- koʈhio*
3DU	*kʰrap-ci-kohiŋe*	*kʰrap-ci- koʈhio*
3PL	*mi-kʰrap- kohiŋe*	*mi-kʰrap- koʈhio*

ii. Imperfective aspect */kʰramma/* 'to cry'

Pronoun	Present imperfective	Past imperfective
1SG	*kʰrap-əĩ-ŋas- əĩ*	*kʰrap-u-ŋas-uŋ-koʈhio*
1DU. INCL	*kʰrapa- ŋasa-c-e*	*kʰrapa- ŋasa-c-i- koʈhio*
1DU. EXCL	*kʰrapa- ŋasa-c-k-e*	*kʰrapa- ŋasa-c-ka- koʈhio*
1PL. INCL	*kʰrap-u- ŋas-i-m-e*	*kʰrap-u- ŋas-i-m- koʈhio*
1PL. EXCL	*kʰrap- u- ŋas-i-m-k-e*	*kʰrap- u- ŋas-i-m-ka- koʈhio*
2SG	*ʈa-kʰrap- u- ŋas-e*	*ʈa-kʰrap- u- ŋasa- koʈhio*
2DU	*ʈa-kʰrap- u- ŋasa-c-e*	*ʈa-kʰrap- u- ŋasa-c-i- koʈhio*
2PL	*ʈa-kʰrap- u- ŋas-i-m-e*	*ʈa-kʰrap- u- ŋas-i-m- koʈhio*
3SG	*kʰrap-u- ŋas-e*	*kʰrap-u- ŋasa- koʈhio*
3DU	*kʰrapa-ŋasa-c-e*	*kʰrapa-ŋasa-c-i- koʈhio*
3PL	*mi-kʰrap-e- ŋas-e*	*mi-kʰrapa- ŋasa- koʈhio*

APPENDIX-III

Transitive Verbs

a. **The verbal paradigm of transitive verb */cəimha/* 'to beat' related to tense**

Pronoun	NPST	PST
1SG→2SG	*cəinhe*	*cəinha*
1SG→2DU	*cəinhace*	*cəinhaci*
1SG→2PL	*cəinhance*	*cəinhaci*
1SG→3SG	*cəiɖʰəĩ*	*cəiɖʰuŋ(a)*
1SG→3DU	*cəiɖʰəĩcəĩ*	*cəiɖʰuncuŋ(a)*
1SG→3PL	*cəiɖʰəĩcəĩ*	*cəiɖʰucuŋ(a)*
1DU.INCL→2/3	*cəiɖʰəĩcəĩ*	*cəiɖʰaci*
1DU.EXCL→2/3	*cəiɖʰacke*	*cəiɖʰacka*
1PL. INCL→2/3	*cəiɖʰimne*	*cəiɖʰum*
1PL. EXCL→2/3	*cəiɖʰumke*	*cəiɖʰumke*
2SG→3SG	*ʈacəiɖʰe*	*ʈacəiɖʰi*
2SG →3DU	*ʈaciɖʰace*	*ʈacəiɖʰaci*
2SG→3PL	*ʈacəiɖʰace*	*ʈacəiɖʰaci*
2DU→3	*ʈacəiɖʰace*	*ʈacəiɖʰaci*
2PL→3	*ʈacəiɖʰimne*	*ʈacəiɖʰim*
3SG→3SG	*cəiɖʰe*	*cəiɖʰi*
3SG→3DU	*cəiɖʰice*	*cəɖʰici*
3DU→3SG	*pacəiɖʰace*	*pacəiɖʰaci*
3DU→3DU	*pacəiɖʰace*	*pacəiɖʰaci*
3SG→3PL	*ciɖʰice*	*cəiɖʰici*
3DL→3PL	*pacəiɖʰace*	*pacəiɖʰaci*
3PL→3SG	*pacəiɖʰe*	*pacəiɖʰa*
3PL→3DU	*pacəiɖʰe*	*pacəiɖʰa*
3PL→3PL	*pacəiɖʰe*	*pacəiɖʰa*
2/3SG→1SG	*ʈacəiɖʰəĩ*	*ʈacəiɖʰuŋ(a)*
2/3DU→1SG	*ʈacəiɖʰucuŋ*	*ʈacəiɖʰucuŋ(a)*

2/3PL→1SG	*ʈacəiɖʰace*	*ʈacəiɖʰucuŋ(a)*
3→IDU. INCL	*pacəiɖʰace*	*pacəiɖʰaci*
2/3 →1DU. EXCL	*pacəiɖʰacke*	*pacəiɖʰacka*
3→1PL. INCL	*pacəiɖʰine*	*pacəiɖʰi*
2/3→1PL.EXCL	*pacəiɖʰimke*	*pacəɖʰimka*
3→2SG	*ʈacəiɖʰe*	*ʈacəiɖʰa*
3→DU	*ʈacəiɖʰace*	*ʈacəiɖʰaci*
3→2PL	*ʈacəiɖʰine*	*ʈacəiɖʰi*