

# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

Language is the principal means of communication for human beings. It is primarily spoken, although it can be transferred into other media, such as writing. By the use of language, human beings share their thoughts, beliefs, experiences, feelings and impulses with one another. Language is a basic need like food and shelter for human life. Cultural dynamism runs by means of language in the society; without language culture would not be possible. Language transfers the human civilization from one generation to next generation. So, it is an important property of a society. The study of a language makes that language more advanced and the advancement of language plays important role in the development of a society.

### 1.1. General Background

Linguistically, agreement refers to a formal relationship between the grammatical elements whereby a form of one word requires a corresponding form of another. Selection of one linguistic item determines the presence or absence of another linguistic item. In English, for example, singular verb is used with singular noun.

Subject and verb are grammatical functions of a language. The subject is a grammatical performer of action. It typically performs the action expressed by the verb. The part of a sentence or utterance usually a noun, noun phrase, or equivalent, that the rest of the sentence asserts something about and that agrees with the verb. *He* and *The cow* are the subjects of the sentences "*He gave me the book*" and "*The cow was grazing*" respectively. Verb is a word used to describe an action, state, or occurrence, and forming the main part of the predicate of a sentence, such as *gave* and *was grazing* in the above example. The relationship between the subject and the verb in sentences or expressions is

known as the subject-verb agreement in a language. The occurrence of the verb is predicted according to the selection of the subject.

According to Microsoft Encarta (2009) the inflection of the verb is known as conjugation. Conjugation in general involves changes of form according to person and number (who and how many performed the action), tense (when the action was performed), voice (indicating whether the subject of the verb performed or received the action), mood (indicating the frame of mind of the performer), gender (whether the speaker is male or female) etc.

Subject-verb agreement system is language specific. This is to say that subject-verb agreement rules may differ from language to language. This research work studies the subject-verb agreement system of the Kulung language and compares it with the subject-verb agreement system of the English language.

### **1.1.1. The English Language in Nepal**

English Language is primary language of the majority of people in the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and other former colonies of Britain. It is classified as an Indo-European language of the Germanic subfamily. By the end of the twentieth century English was already well on its way to becoming a genuine lingua franca that is a language used widely for communication between people who do not share the same first or even a second language (Harmer, 2007, p. 13). Now English has been used as second or foreign language in many countries of the world.

English Language Teaching (ELT) began in Nepal in 1854 when the Prime Minister, Jung Bahadur Rana, established a school in Kathmandu, popularly known as Durbar High School. Since then, the English language has been taught and learnt as a foreign language in the schools and colleges of Nepal. According to Bhattarai (2006) almost all university education, tertiary educational colleges and privately run academic institutions use English for all academic purposes – teaching, evaluation and research.

Phyak (2010) says that despite the fact that indigenous languages are on the verge of extinction, there is a craze of learning English among students and parents also aspire to educate their children in English medium schools. This aspiration has been already reflected in the educational language policy of the Ministry of Education (MoE) to introduce English from grade one in community schools. In the same way, the MoE has already given the authority to management committees of the community managed public schools to shift themselves from Nepali to English medium of instruction. The number of schools switching to English medium is increasing every year. On the other hand, English is both subject and medium of instruction from pre-primary level in private schools.

Karn's (2010) ELT survey concludes that some 50 regular publications, including dailies, weeklies and magazines, are regularly published in English. Similarly, FM, Radio and Television have become no exception to this point of occupying high position by the English language. A large number of books, journals and periodicals are produced in English. Nepali literature – stories, essays, novels and poems have been translated into English for wider readership. The cyber culture has fascinated this generation immensely and, therefore, the use of English has considerably gone up. Tourism in Nepal is another field which is being developed due to the influence and access of the English language. Obviously, tourism development keeps in relationship with economy and cultural transfers. Hence, the contribution of the English language should be sincerely consented in uplifting economy and exchanging cultures and traditions as well (Graddol, 1997). Trade is also the field that cannot be excluded from the fields influenced by the English language. Most of the youngsters and professionals long to learn life style, trend and attitude of English people; so the fans of English are increasing enormously.

What is more, in the Nepali society, speaking in English adds to one's status. All these have ultimately led to a craze among Nepalese to learn and speak English. English has become indispensable vehicle to the transmission of

modern civilization in the nation. It is a passport through which one can visit the whole world. Rai (2006) claims that a different variety of English is developing in Nepal; the Nepali variety of English, or Nenglish, shows not only remarkable disparity from the native dialects like British, American varieties but also from the Indian English, comically known as Hinglish (as it is influenced immensely by the Hindi language). As a matter of fact, English spoken in Nepal has considerably changed over the years. It has been observed that the way Nepalese speak English differs from the way other nationals speak, not only in terms of vocabulary but also structure and meaning and pronunciation.

### **1.1.2. Linguistic Scenario of Nepal**

Nepal is a multilingual nation where many languages flourish with diversified socio-cultural properties. It is a garden where many languages as flowers decorate it beautifully. According to the CBS 2001, the languages spoken in Nepal belong to the four great language families, viz. Indo-European, Sino-Tibetan, Austro-Asiatic and Dravidian. Bhattarai and Gautam (2007) believe that Nepal is the richest living laboratory which has more than one hundred living languages distributed along the ecological zones. Different species of languages are surviving in Nepal. Linguists have claimed to have found as many as 120 languages however the CBS (2001) has recorded 92.

The Constitution (1990) declared Nepali with Devanagari script as the national and the official language of the country and all the other languages used in different communities as the language of nation. According to the population census (2001), 48.61 percent of the total population use Nepali as their mother tongue. And The Interim Constitution of Nepal (2007) made the following provisions for the languages of Nepal:

1. All the languages spoken as the mother tongue in Nepal are the national languages of Nepal.
2. The Nepali language in Devanagari script shall be the official language.

3. Notwithstanding anything contained in clause.
4. It shall not be deemed to have hindered to use the mother language in local bodies and offices. State shall translate the languages so used to an official.

*(The Interim Constitution of Nepal, 2007, Part 1, Article 5; cited in Yadava, 2007)*

Regarding the education and cultural right, the constitution enshrines the following provisions:

1. Each community shall have the right to get basic education in their mother tongue as provided for in the law.
2. Each community residing in Nepal shall have the right to preserve and promote its language, script, culture, cultural civility and heritage.

*(The Interim Constitution of Nepal 2007, Part 3, Article 17; cited in Yadava, 2007)*

Although, Nepal has been a multilingual nation from ancient time, indigenous languages have been neglected by the government; consequently some of the languages are on the verge of extinction now. Rai (2067/068 VS) says that ‘One nation – one language’ policy of the past is still dear to the present ruler class of Nepal. This can later be the fatal cause to the death of many endangered languages. Yadava, (2007) says “A single language has been given power, recognition and prestige while, as a corollary, the remaining minority languages are impoverished and marginalized.”

Recently with the restoration of democracy, there is a growing concern and awareness towards the promotion and preservation of the indigenous languages. With the introduction of the mother tongue education policy at primary level education, the government also has taken initiative towards the establishing and supporting mother tongue education through 14 indigenous languages in formal education (CDC).

Most of the indigenous languages are still confined to their oral traditions. They are rich in their oral heritage of traditional folk literatures handed down from their ancestors to offspring from generation to generation, such as the Mundhum in Kiratese. However, these oral tales are disappearing with the growth of literacy and with increased language shift because of ignorance of the government towards the development of these languages. It is therefore time to document these spoken forms and make timely updated before they are lost to posterity.

### **1.1.3. The Kulung People**

The Kulung people trace their lineage to descent from the Kirati ancestor Khambuho. The ethno-linguistic region inhabited by Kulung is called 'The Maha-Kulung' (Greater Kulung), located in Sagarmatha Zone. Kulung are the tribes of basically Mongoloid race and descents of Kirats, concentrated in the Hills of eastern Nepal, specifically in Solukhumbu, Sankhuwasava and Bhojpur districts. They are related to the large Mongoloid population of the Tibeto-Burman speaking tribal people spread eastward through the Sub-Himalayan regions and the Hills of the county.

The population of Kulung according the Census 2001 is 18,686; while some others estimate it about 15,000 to 19,000 (Winter, 1991, p. 51 and van Driem, 2001, p. 699). However, estimation by some organizations working in the Kulung communities shows more than 35,000. In fact, there is no alternative way to find the exact number of Kulung population except waiting the result of the recently conducted census.

Kulung tradition and culture got good environment to flourish in The Hungu Valley of the Maha-Kulung Area, a northeastern tributary of the Dudh Kosi River, and further east, in the drainages of Sankhuwa and Sisuwa Rivers, which flow into the Arun River. Kulung are a tribe of traditionally sedentary farmers whose main crops are millet, maize and barley. They are used to prepare varieties of foods and can be sold for cash in the local markets. Millet is not

only the ingredient from which a kind of paste is made locally called *yu*: which forms the staple diet of Kulung. These crops are also used to prepare various types of local beers. They sometimes bestow the crops to the god for their prosperity.

Collecting firewood and working in the fields are the main tasks of a Kulung household; however, from the recent decades children are sent to schools for studying. Their living tradition relates with hunting, farming, fishery and carrying on trade with the natives of the plains in tusk, yak-tails, pony, shellac, herbs, cardamoms etc. from the earliest periods. Marriage takes place between members of different clans within Kulung and intercaste marriage is less practised but is acceptable. Though, a number of new generation youths seem to be wondering for intercaste marriage, too. Only in special circumstances members of the same clan intermarry.

Ritual tradition is the most wonderful aspect of the Kulung cultural life. Rites, lasting for one or more days, are sometimes quite elaborate and are always performed by a local shaman. To ensure good health and prosperity rites have to be performed by a household at regular intervals, especially *Uv uli* and *Ud<sup>h</sup> uli Puja* and the neglect of rites is said to cause illness and material loss. Unlike the Hindu people, Kulung bury their death. The main festival of Kulung is *Chakchakur*, celebrated in the month of Pous 15 to 17. And also they celebrate *Chandi Purnima*, *Dhanya Purnima*, *Chaite Dashain*, *Maghe Sankranti*, *Saune Sankranti* as the local festivals.

### **1.1.3.1. Origin of the Kulung People**

There are many beliefs and folklores about the origin of Kulung people but it lacks written history. The facts about the origin of Kulung written by different scholars and local folklore are as follows:

**Tilasankhar Kulung (cited in Thomros, B. 2050 VS):** Khambuho, the priest of Kirati had six sons: Chamling, Bantawa, Tumsoli, Dismi, Nasmi and Sajimi. Later the Dismi had three sons: Khaling, Thulung and Kulung.

**Charles McDougal (1979):** Three Kirati brothers, Khambuho, Menho and Meratup, followed the gorge of Sun Kosi, Dudh Kosi and Arun Kosi. Once through the gorge the brothers separated, each taking his respective followers, and set out independently, as they penetrated up the different river valleys. The descendents of Meratup and Menho did not flourish as did those of Khambuho. Later, Kulung, Khaling, Bahing etc. are settled in the east-northern parts of the country as the descents of Khambuho.

**Bhupadhwaj Thomros (2050 VS):** Tumno, the ancestral priest had three sons. They were Meche-Koche (ancestors of Tharu); Khambuho and Limbu. Meche and Koche settled in the Terai region, Khambuho and Limbu followed the gorge of Dudh Kosi and Arun River respectively in the eastern region of Nepal. Later, Khambuho settled spreading in the hilly and Sub-Himalaya region in the north-eastern parts of the country, historically called the Middle-Kirat. They are known as Kulung, Khaling, Bahing, Bantawa, Chamling, Mewahang, etc. The Limbu ancestors settled in eastern parts from the Arun River, and the gorge of the Tamor Valley, historically in the Far-Kirat.

**www.kulung.net.np** (The official website of the Association of Nepal Kirat Kulung Language and Cultural Development): Kulung ancestor, Khambuho living in Rawakhola (Rawa River) had four sons: Khapdulu, Ratamkhu, Tamsi and Chhemi. Among them, Khapdulu went to Pilmong throughout Hungu, Ratamkhu to Pomlalung throughout Darsandhunga, Chhemi to Chhemi throughout Hulu and Tamsi to Chheskam throughout Hulu. Rawakhola is situated in the south-west of the Hungu Valley and is a tributary of Dudh Kosi. In the New Nepal, Maha-Kulung Area comprises of Gudel, Chheskam, Bung and Sotang VDCs.

**Martino Nicoletti (2006, p. 15):** The figure of Khokchilip celebrates the ancestors' exit from the forest and foundation of the first dwelling. The first dwelling is the concrete sign of the sedentary transformation of the Kulung and their participation in an agricultural and pastoral dimension. It is the



dawn of a new world, which, with a more marked pace, distances itself from the web of the sylvan world in order to conquer deforested spaces suited to the needs of the village and of agricultural life.

**Kulung Oral Tradition:** Before getting settlement in the Hungu Valley the Kulung ancestors: Chhemsu and Tamsi were living in Rawa Khola. To get settlement in the Hungu Valley they waged war against the local people called Rupiyongchha. Eventually Rupiyongchha were defeated and tried to escape to the sun with the aid of a ladder made of piles of buckwheat-*phaparko diro*. Eventually it collapsed and fell into Bung, killing many Rupiyongchhas.

The statements above reflect the ancient and historical flashback about the origin of Kulung. Most of them show that Khambuho (Khambuhang) is the ancestral father of Kulung and other Kirati people. Tilasankar, McDougal Thomros stated Khambuho as the ancestral father of Kulung which relates to the Nicoletti's Khokchilip, because Khokchilip has a great role in the folklores of Kulung. Chhemsu and Tamsi, the descendents of Khambuho, settled in Chhemsu and Chheskam respectively of Solukhumbu district. And all the generations after Chemsu and Tamsi are called Kulung in these days. It is believed that the territories where Khambuho had settlement and flourished are called Khambuwan in the present time.

The Kulung peoples' origin took place in the Maha-Kulung Area of Solukhumbu district, though some foreign researchers (McDougal, 1979 and Nicoletti, 2006) wrote Barhakshetra in the Terai region of the country. Native writers and thinkers believe that Kulung people reached different places of the Sub-Himalayan regions, Hilly regions and Low Lands of the east Nepal in order to get good settlement. Meanwhile they reached to the gorge of the Kosi River called the Barhakshetra and lived for long time and got back to the Maha-Kulung Area, later.

### **1.1.3.2. The Kulung Settlement**

Kulung originally have settlement in the Hills and the Sub-Himalayan ranges, in the upper eastern parts of Nepal at about 1400 to 3300 meters of elevation. Kulung flourished in the Maha-Kulung Area of the Hungu Valley and scattered throughout the eastern parts of the country. In the present time, they are settled in Solukhumbu, Sankhuwasava, Bhojpur, Khotang, Sunsari, Tehrathum, Panchthar, Ilam, Morang and Jhapa districts (Winter, 1991, pp. 51-52) as well as in some parts of India and Bhutan.

In Solukhumbu district, Kulung community is found in the south-eastern corner of the high Hills and Sub-Himalayan topography. The main Kulung living VDCs in the district are: Gudel, Chheskam, Bung and Sotang. In Sankhuwasava, Kulung cover a larger area and they live at least in the following VDCs: Sisuwakhola, Bala, Tamku, Yaphu, Mangtewa, Makalu, Pawakhola and Diding as well as Khandbari Municipality. These VDCs are situated in the west-northern and central part of the district. In Bhojpur, Kulung people live in the north-eastern parts of the district. Kulung are also found in Sikkim, West Bengal, Jalpaiguri, Dehradun and Assam of India.

### **1.1.3.3. The Kulung Language**

The Kulung language is genetically affiliated to the Tibeto-Burman language family. In the Languages of the Himalayas, van Driem (2001, p. 698) stated that the Kulung language belongs to the Central Kiranti group that is divided further into the Khumbu group and the Southern Kirati group.

The native language of the Kulung people is *Kulung* which is mostly called *Kulu Ring* in the Kulung community. Kulung is one of the Kirati languages spoken in the hills of eastern Nepal. The earlier census (CBS, 2001) reported 22 languages under 'the Kirat Rai language group'. Kulung language is an important member with its own native speakers in that group.

According to Tolsma (1994) Kirati languages are characterized by an elaborate system of verbal endings. That is said to have been the result of a historical process that traditionally has been called 'complex pronominalising'. Which is the incorporation of personal pronouns in the verb system and Kulung language, being the member of the Kirati group of language is no exception.

#### **1.1.3.4. Dialects of the Kulung Language**

Linguists believe that Kulung has three dialects, namely Kulung, Sotang and Nachhiring. The Kulung as a dialect is spoken in almost all the Kulung communities whereas the Sotang and the Nachhiring dialects have got the limited areas of their speech community, especially Sotang and Hulu respectively in Solukhumbu district. Tolsma (2006, p. 1) says that ethnic Kulung living in the village of Sotang call their language Sotang Ring (the Sotang language), but consider themselves to be Kulung and easily understand the Kulung dialect spoken in Chhemsu and Chheskam, the main Kulung speaking villages. He (p. 4) denotes that further downstream in the village Hulu, people refer to call themselves as Nachhiring, but their language may also be considered as a dialect of Kulung. Thomros (2007 VS, p. 43) writes "Though, there is not found any difference in the grammar of the language spoken in Bung, Chheskam, Gudel and Sotang, they themselves prefer to name the Kulunge and the Sotange languages." All the dialects of the Kulung language share the similar linguistic paradigm and prevail mutual intelligibility among all (Winter, 1991, p. 48). Therefore, Sotang and Nachhiring are the dialects of the Kulung language none other than the distinct language. However this study is mainly based on the Kulung language – its verb agreement system is compared with that of English verb agreement system.

#### **1.1.4. Contrastive Analysis: An Overview**

Contrastive Analysis (CA) is a branch of applied linguistics which compares the systems of two or more languages to determine the similarities or differences between them either for theoretical or for pedagogical purposes.

van Els et al. (1984, p. 38) defines CA as the systematic comparison of specific linguistic characteristics of two or more languages. The CA hypothesis (theoretical basis of CA) explains how contrastive analysis predicts learner's errors. The basic assumption of CA is that while the learners are learning an L2, they will tend to use their L1 structure, and where structures in their target language differ from their native language, they will commit error/s.

It was Sir William Jones who made the first attempt to compare and contrast between languages in 1786. That was the birth of comparative philology- the study of historical or genetic connection between languages in which two languages are related. This is to say that languages are developed from one and the same language or single source of two or more languages does not indicate that their formal characteristics are similar in all or most respects. CA was developed in the late 1940s and 50s as an application of structural linguistics to language teaching by C.C. Fries and Robert Lado with the opinion that languages with different sources or genetically unrelated languages may resemble each other sharing some features. In this regard, historical approach (diachronic) to language comparison was shifted into contemporary- approach (synchronic). This is also termed typological comparison. In this way, the credit of comparing languages goes to CA (Corder, 1973).

In course of studying about different languages, the practice of comparison and contrast is naturally made between two or among different languages. James (1980: 3) defines CA as “A linguistic enterprise aimed at producing inverted (i.e. contrastive, not comparative) two valued typologies (a CA is always concerned with a pair of languages), and founded on the assumption that languages can be compared.” Therefore, CA is carried out to compare the linguistic systems of two languages. There are similarities and differences between an L1 and L2. The study of these similarities and differences helps us to predict the areas of ease or difficulty in learning L2. To quote Sthapit's CA hypothesis, the greater the difference between languages the greater the difficulty in learning the target language and accordingly, the greater the

number of errors in performance. James (1980, p. 14) quotes Lado (1957, p. 2) “CA is founded on the assumption that L2 learners will tend to transfer . . . to the foreign language and culture.” While learning L2, the learners transfer the system of their L1. If there are similarities between two languages i.e. L1 and L2, the L1 facilitates in L2 learning. If there are differences between two languages (L1 and L2), the L1 interferes in L2 learning. The facilitation made by the L1 is called positive transfer and interference is called negative transfer. CA, not only predicts the tentative errors but also explains the sources and reasons of the L2 learners' errors.

CA, the theory of comparison, is divided into two types. The first is known as interlingual comparison in which two languages are compared. The second one is intralingual comparison in which one can compare dialectal differences occurring within a language. This study is an interlingual comparison.

## **1.2. Review of Related Literature**

Though the Kulung language is spoken in different parts of Nepal, India and Bhutan the research work on this language is rarely accomplished. The literature in this language is not developing properly. Some of the non-Kulung researchers carried out research works on the Kulung language for their academic dissertations.

Brain Houghton Hodgson had collected lists of Kulung words in 1857. Gierson, in 1909 had briefly described about the Kulung language. Wolfenden, in 1935 studied on A Specimen of the Kulung Dialect. Andreas Holzhausen had done research on Phonological Survey Report of the Kulunge Language in 1973. In 1973, Anna Holzhausen wrote Kulung Clause Types. Krishna Prasad Rai, Anna Holzhausen and Andress Holzhausen had composed Kulung-Nepali-English Glossary in 1975. Winter, in 1991 had done linguistic survey on The Rai of Eastern Nepal: Ethnic and Linguistic Grouping. Gerard J. Tolsma had carried out many researches on the Kulung language viz. Internal Reconstruction and Comparative Evidence of Long Vowels in Kulung in 1999,

A study in Kulung Verbal Morphology in 1994, Descriptive Linguistics in the Himalayas of Nepal: The Kulung Language and Tradition in 1996, The Verbal Morphology of Kulung in 1997 and A grammar of Kulung in 1999 (published in 2006). Thomros composed a Kulung Nepali Dictionary in 2062 VS.

*Some of the researches carried out by different people in Tribhuvan University related to the subject-verb agreement system are given below:*

Tharu (2001) has conducted a comparative study on 'The Subject-Verb Agreement in Tharu and English language'. His study shown that the nominative and accusative personal pronouns in English are marked by person, number and gender whereas they are marked by person and number only in Tharu. The second and third person pronouns are changed for honorific forms in Tharu but not in English. Tharu verbs are marked for formal and informal forms and agree with the grammatical categories of person whereas English verbs agree with person and number and are not marked for formal and informal forms. He found auxiliary 'be' verb in English and equivalent terms 'ba' for present tense and 'raha' for past tense in Tharu. The subject verb agreement is determined by person and honorific forms of the subject in Tharu whereas the honorifics do not show agreement in English. In both languages, verbs agree with the subject in a clause or sentence and do not agree with gender.

Basnet (2002) has conducted a comparative research on 'Noun Phrase Structure in Thulung and English'. His study shows that there are more differences than similarities in Thulung and English languages. The head of the noun phrase is preceded by determiners and pre-modifiers and is not followed by the post-modifiers in Thulung whereas it is preceded by determiners and pre-modifiers as well as followed by the post modifiers in English. Clauses and phrases are pre-modifier in Thulung and post modifier in English. Thulung has singular, dual and plural number but dual number is absent in English.

Rai (2004) in his study 'A Comparative Study of English and Rai Bantawa Kinship Terms' has conducted a research intending to compare and contrast Bantawa and English kinship terms. After his work, he has found that English has a few terms in comparison to Bantawa's kinship terms. There is distinction between male and female ego in Bantawa whereas is not found in English except 'husband' and 'wife' in English. No term exists in English to show elder and younger but Bantawa takes such terms. Almost all relations are addressed by kinship terms in Bantawa; on the other hand, most of relations are addressed by name in English.

Adhikari (2009) has done a research work on 'Subject-Verb Agreement in English and Dhimal'. The objectives of the study were to identify the subject-verb agreement system of the Dhimal language and find out similarities and differences between the subject-verb agreement systems of Dhimal and English. The findings of the study were that the Dhimal language possesses numbers (singular, dual and plural) and verbs agree with person, number and tense. Selection of the verbs in Dhimal also doesn't vary in terms of number of object and gender difference. The perfect progressive aspect and the inclusive and exclusive pronouns do not exist in the Dhimal language. The identical verb formation is employed for male and female in both Dhimal and English languages. In both languages, change in tense causes change in verb inflection, verbs agree with aspect, no inclusive and exclusive distinction is found, and has the system of being pluralised and the indefinite personal pronouns. Dhimal and English subject-verb agreement systems vary in terms of the sentence patterns (soV in Kulung and SVO in English), number systems (singular, dual and plural in Dhimal but dual doesn't exist in English) and verb inflection (third person singular verb inflection is only found in English).

Rai (2009) has accomplished a research on 'Subject-Verb Agreement in Yamphu and English'. He purposed to identify the subject-verb agreement system of Yamphu and compare and contrast it with the subject-verb agreement systems of English. He identified that Yamphu verbs agree with

personal pronouns (inclusive and exclusive) and number (singular, dual and plural), aspect, tense and object. Both dual and plural objects agree with the same verb inflection but singular object agrees with separate verb inflection. Gender doesn't have any effect in the selection of verbs in the both languages. He noted that change in tense causes change in verb inflection, verbs agree with the third person singular and plural personal pronouns in simple aspect of present tense in the both languages. He found some contrasts in the sentence patterns (soV in Kulung and SVO in English), number system (dual-only in Yamphu), personal pronouns (inclusive and exclusive -only in Yamphu). He added that the first person pronouns in Yamphu take different verbal forms whereas the same verbal form is used in English. Yamphu second person singular, dual and plural personal pronouns agree with separate verb inflections.

Rai (2010) has carried out a research on 'A Semantic Analysis of English and Kulung Verbs'. The objectives of the research were set to find out the semantic equivalence between English and Kulung verbs and the semantic analysis of Kulung verbs. To accomplish the study he selected fifty Kulung verbs equivalent to ten groups of English verbs. On the basis of semantic description of fifty English and Kulung verbs, he found that twenty three English verbs had one to one correlation with Kulung verbs. They represented the case of semantic equivalence across languages. Out of twenty three Kulung verbs, thirteen verbs were homonymy. Eleven verbs revealed the case of divergence and convergence, i.e. the same English verb diverged into four different meanings represented by four different Kulung verbs. Sixteen verbs had the case of semantic inclusion across languages. English verbs have wider coverage than Kulung verbs. The study shown, out of fifty verbs twelve verbs were found to be overlapped in their meaning within or across languages.

Rai (2066 VS) has done a research on 'Subject-Verb Agreement in English and Bantawa'. He has studied the subject-verb agreement system in Bantawa on the basis of the variables: nouns (proper, common, collective, material and



abstract), pronouns (personal, demonstrative and interrogative), honorificity, verbal clauses and gender. He has done this study comparatively and contrastively in relation with the subject-verb agreement system of English and he has also postulated some pedagogical recommendations.

### **1.3. Objectives of the Study**

The objectives of the study were as follows:

1. to identify the subject-verb agreement system of the Kulung language in terms of the following variables:
  - ) person and number
  - ) tense and aspect: simple, continuous, perfect and perfect continuous
  - ) gender
2. to compare and contrast the subject-verb agreement system of Kulung and English;
3. to suggest some pedagogical implications.

### **1.4. Significance of the Study**

This study may have a greater importance in the indigenous and endangered linguistic paradigm. Kulung is still a virgin with its long history and speech community to have got an indepth study. In this situation, this study may be a milestone in the development of the Kulung language and may provide relief to the Kulung speakers and learners. This is equally important for the Kulung syllabus designers, textbook writers, teachers, students, scholars, and linguists as well. It is hardly available books and documents in and about the Kulung language. The research on the subject- verb agreement in the Kulung language is yet to be accomplished. Thus, it is a genuine research of appreciation of the Kulung language in the Department of English Education, Tribhuvan University.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **METHODOLOGY**

To accomplish the specific goals set out for Subject-Verb Agreement in Kulung and English, the following methods and techniques were adopted:

#### **2.1. Sources of Data**

To fulfil the objectives of the study, the researcher had used both primary and secondary sources of data.

##### **2.1.1. Primary Sources of Data**

The primary sources of data were the native speakers of Kulung.

##### **2.1.2. Secondary Sources of Data**

The secondary sources of data were the books, journals, articles, census reports, governmental and official publications, websites, and other online resources related to the study. Most specifically, Thomson and Martinet (1979), Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman (1999), Tolsma (2006) and Cowan (2009) were used as the secondary sources of data in this study.

#### **2.2. Population of the Study**

The native speakers of Kulung available in Kathmandu at the time of data collection were the population of the study.

#### **2.3. Sampling Procedure**

The researcher selected the sample population using non-random judgmental or purposive sampling procedure from the specified place. The sample population of the study was fifteen graduate native speakers of Kulung. There would be both male and female respondents.

## **2.4. Tools for Data Collection**

The researcher used the linguistic elicitation questionnaires as a tool for data collection. The simple statements in English will be in the linguistic elicitation questionnaires. Those statements were to be translated into equivalent form of Kulung by the respondents.

## **2.5. Process of Data Collection**

The secondary sources of data were used to identify the English subject-verb agreement system and the primary sources of data were used for the Kulung subject-verb agreement system. The researcher visited the graduate native speakers of Kulung available in Kathmandu at the time of data collection. In sum, the researcher followed the following procedures to collect the primary data:

1. The researcher established the affinity with the native speakers of Kulung.
2. The researcher explained the research objectives to them.
3. The researcher took the required information using linguistic elicitation questionnaire from the sampled population.
4. Responses were written in Roman transliterated form.

## **2.6. Limitations of the Study**

The study had the following limitations:

1. The sample population was only fifteen native speakers of Kulung.
2. The study only attempted to study Subject-Verb Agreement System of the Kulung dialect.
3. The subject-verb agreement system in Kulung was limited within the specified variables.
4. The subject-verb agreement system in English was taken from the secondary sources of data.

## CHAPTER THREE

### ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA

In this chapter the collected data had been analysed and interpreted descriptively and contrastively so as to meet the objectives of the study. English subject-verb agreement system is studied by many scholars; whereas Kulung subject-verb agreement system is yet to be studied. This chapter includes the detail study of the subject-verb agreement systems of the Kulung language and the contrastive study with the English language.

#### 3.1. Subject-Verb Agreement Systems in Kulung

The subject-verb agreement system also refers to the verbal conjugation in a language. In this section the verbal conjugation of the Kulung language is analysed in terms of *person* and *number*, *tense* and *aspect*, and *gender*.

##### 3.1.1. Kulung Subject-Verb Agreement in Terms of Person and Number

An inflected verb form in Kulung consists of a verb stem to which affixes are attached, which express person and number agreement with one or two agents. Trommer (2010, p. 231) says "The morphemic composition of affix combinations in Kulung is heavily obscured by morpho-phonological processes, most notably deletion of vowel sound hiatus." Alternation of a number of different conjugation types can be identified on the basis of the fixed pattern of paradigmatic verb stem. Tolsma (1997, p. 103) says "The different verb stems in Kulung do not have any meaning, but are the result of historical phonological processes." Kulung distinguishes ten pronominal categories. Unlike most of the Kirati languages, Kulung makes no formal distinction between third person dual and plural personal pronouns. Subjects of intransitive verbs and patients of transitive verbs appear in the absolutive case marked by  $\emptyset$ , and agents of transitive verbs occur in the ergative case marked '-

a'. The subject-verb agreement system in terms of person and number in the Kulung language has been presented below.

### **3.1.1.1. Kulung First Person Subjects and Verb Agreement**

There are five first person personal pronouns in the Kulung language, viz. 'ko ', 'kas', 'kaska', 'kei' and 'keika'. 'ko ' is the first person singular pronoun; 'kas' and 'kaska' are the first person dual pronouns; and 'kei' and 'keika' are the first person plural pronouns. The dual and plural personal pronouns have distinct features: *inclusive* and *exclusive* where 'kas' and 'kei' are the inclusive and 'kaska' and 'keika' are the exclusive personal pronouns. An inclusive pronoun includes other person whereas an exclusive pronoun excludes from other.

#### **I. First Person Singular Subject-Verb Agreement**

The first person singular subject 'ko ' agrees with the particular verbal inflections. In the transitive verb conjugation the ergative marker '-a' is added in the first person singular subject 'ko ' - 'ko -a' in the Kulung language. In the first person singular subject, a fixed set of personal endings is found for the intransitive and transitive verb conjugation in both preterite and non-preterite tenses.

##### **A. Intransitive Verb Agreement Paradigms**

The first person singular (1s) subject 'ko ' agrees with intransitive verbs in both non-preterite and preterite tenses in the Kulung language. For non-preterite tense, the suffix '-o:' is added to the stem of the intransitive verbs and the negative suffix '-no' is further added to make negative expressions as in the examples (1) - (5). And for the preterite tense, the suffix '-o' is added to the stem of the intransitive verbs and only one prefix in Kulung 'man' is used before the stem of the verbs to make negative expressions such as in the examples (6) - (10).

## Non-preterite

1. ko           ims-o:  
(*Is*           *sleep-1s.NPT*)  
'I sleep.'
2. ko           bes-o:-no  
(*Is*           *fart-1s.NPT-NEG.NPT*)  
'I do not fart.'
3. ko           nam           app -to       ims-o:  
(*Is*           *sun*           *shine-conj.*   *sleep-1s.NPT*)  
'I sleep till the sun shines.'
4. ko           ges-o:  
(*Is*           *laugh-1s.NPT*)  
'I laugh.'
5. ko           c<sup>h</sup>uks-o:-no  
(*Is*           *cough-1s.NPT-NEG.NPT*)  
'I do not cough.'

## Preterite

6. ko           ims-o  
(*Is*           *sleep-1s.PT*)  
'I slept.'
7. ko           mam-bes-o  
(*Is*           *NEG.PT-fart-1s.PT*)  
'I did not fart.'
8. ko           nam           app -to       ims-o  
(*Is*           *sun*           *shine-conj.*   *sleep-1s.PT*)  
'I slept till the sun shine.'
9. ko           ges-o  
(*Is*           *laugh-1s.PT*)  
'I laughed.'

10. ko            man-c<sup>h</sup>uks-o  
       (1s            NEG.PT-cough-1s.PT)  
       'I did not cough.'

## B. Transitive Verb Agreement Paradigms

### a. First Person Singular Subject    Second Person Singular Object

In Kulung, the first person singular (1s) subject and the second person singular (2s) object agree with the transitive verbs. For non-preterite tense, the suffix '-yan' is added to the stem of the transitive verbs and the negative suffix '-no' is further added in the negative expressions, such as in the examples (11) - (14). And for the preterite tense, the suffix '-n' is added to the stem of the transitive verbs and the negative prefix 'man' is used before the stem of the transitive verbs to make negative expressions as in the examples (15) - (18) respectively.

Non-preterite

11. ko -a            an                    si -a            ker-yan  
       (1s-ERG        2s                    wood-ERG    beat-1s    2.NPT)  
       'I beat you with a stick.'

12. ko -a            an                    rum            k<sup>h</sup>ur-yan-no  
       (1s-erg        2s                    salt            bring-1s    2.NPT-NEG.NPT)  
       'I will not bring you salt.'

13. ko -a            an                    samk<sup>h</sup>e            pi-yan  
       (1s-ERG        2s                    potato        give-1s    2.NPT)  
       'I like you.'

14. ko -a            an                    k<sup>h</sup>im            t<sup>h</sup>o-yan-yo  
       (1s-erg        2s                    house        bring up-1s    2.NPT-Q)  
       'Should I bring you upto house?'

Preterite

15. ko -a          an                  si -a                  ker-na  
(1s-ERG      2s                  wood-ERG      beat-2s.PT)  
'I beat you with a stick.'
16. ko -a          an                  rum                  ma -k<sup>h</sup>ur-na  
(1s-ERG      2s                  salt                  NEG.PT-bring-2s.PT)  
'I did not bring you salt.'
17. ko -a          an                  samk<sup>h</sup>e                  pin-na  
(1s-ERG      2s                  potato                  give-2s.PT)  
'I gave you potato.'
18. ko -a          an                  k<sup>h</sup>im                  man-t<sup>h</sup>o-na  
(1s-ERG      2s                  house                  NEG.PT-bring up-2s.PT)  
'I did not bring you up to house.'

**b. First Person Singular Subject      Second Person Dual Object**

In Kulung, the first person singular (1s) subject and the second person dual (2d) object agree with the particular verbal inflections in transitive verbs. For non-preterite tense, the suffixes '-yan-ci' are added to the stem of the verbs such as in the examples (19) - (21). And for the preterite tense, the suffixes '-n-ci' are added to the stem of the verbs as in the examples (22) - (24) respectively.

Non-preterite

19. ko -a          anci                  ui                  k<sup>h</sup>ur-yan-ci  
(1s-ERG      2d                  Q                  bring-1s      2.NPT-d)  
'What shall I bring for you?'
20. ko -a          anci      si                  lam                  vo-yan-ci-no  
(1s-ERG      2d      firewood      search-INF      help-1s      2.NPT-d-NEG.NPT)  
'I do not help you to collect firewood.'
21. ko -a          anci                  k<sup>h</sup>apcima                  pi-yan-ci  
(1s-ERG      2d                  money                  give-1s      2.NPT-d)  
'I shall give you money.'



Preterite

22. ko -a        anci        ui        k<sup>h</sup>ur-n-ci  
(1s-ERG    2d        Q        bring-2s.PT-d)

'What did I bring for you?'

23. ko -a        anci        man-vo-n-ci  
(1s-ERG    2d        NEG.PT-help-2s.PT-d)

'I did not help you.'

24. ko -a        anci        k<sup>h</sup>apcima    pi-n-ci  
(1s-ERG    2d        money    give-2s.PT-d)

'I gave you money.'

### c. First Person Singular Subject    Second Person Plural Object

In Kulung, the first person singular (1s) subject and the second person plural (2p) object agree with the particular inflections in the transitive verbs. For non-preterite tense, the suffixes '-yan-ni' are added to the stem of the transitive verbs as in the examples (25) - (27). And for the preterite tense, the suffixes '-n-ni' are added to the stem of the transitive verbs as in the examples (28) - (30) respectively.

Non-preterite

25. ko -a        anni        yu:        pi-yan-ni-yo  
(1s-ERG    2p        millet paste    give-1s    2.NPT-2p-Q)

'Shall I give you staple millet?'

26. ko -a        anni        mais        yu-yan-ni-no  
(1s-ERG    2p        hungry        stay-1s    2.NPT-2p-NEG.NPT)

'I do not make you stay hungry.'

27. ko -a        anni        school        po-yan-ni  
(1s-ERG    2p        sesmok<sup>h</sup>im    send-1s    2.NPT-2p)

'I shall send you to school.'

Preterite

28. ko -a        anni        yu:        pi-n-ni-yo  
(1s-ERG    2p        millet paste    give-2s.PT-2p-Q)  
'Did I give you millet paste?'

29. ko -a        anni        mais        man-yu-n-ni  
(1s-ERG    2p        hungry        NEG.PT-stay-2s.PT-2p)  
'I did not make you stay hungry.'

30. ko -a        anni        sesmok<sup>h</sup>im    po-n-ni  
(1s-ERG    2p        school        send-2s.PT-2p)  
'I sent you to school.'

#### **d. First Person Singular Subject    Third Person Singular Object**

The first person singular (1s) subject and the third person singular (3s) object agree with the particular inflections in the transitive verbs in the Kulung language. For non-preterite tense, the suffix '-o:' is added to the stem of the verbs as in the examples (31) - (33). And for the preterite tense, the suffix '-u' is added to the stem of the verbs as in the examples (34) - (36) respectively.

Non-preterite

31. ko -a        k<sup>h</sup>        si:s        piy-o:  
(1s-ERG    3s        soya bean    give-1s.NPT)  
'I give her soya bean.'

32. ko -a        k<sup>h</sup>        rap-o:  
(1s-ERG    3s        block-1s.NPT)  
'I block him.'

33. ko -a        k<sup>h</sup>        moro:        ra -o:-no  
(1s-ERG    3s        without any cause    scold-1s.NPT-NEG.NPT)  
'I do not scold her without any cause.'

Preterite

34. ko -a k<sup>h</sup> si:s pi-u  
(1s-ERG 3s soya bean give-1s 3.PT)

'I gave her soya bean.'

35. ko -a k<sup>h</sup> rap-u  
(1s-ERG 3s block-1s 3.PT)

'I blocked him.'

36. ko -a k<sup>h</sup> moro: man-ra -u  
(1s-ERG 3s without any causes NEG.PT-scold-1s 3.PT)

'I did not scold her without any cause.'

### e. First Person Singular Subject Third Person Non-Singular Object

In Kulung, the first person singular (1s) subject and the third person non-singular (3ns) object agree with the particular inflections in the transitive verbs. For non-preterite tense, the suffixes '-o:-ci' are added to the stem of the transitive verbs as in the examples (37) - (39). And for the preterite tense, the suffixes '-u-ci' are added to the stem of the transitive verbs as in the examples (40) - (42) respectively.

Non-preterite

37. ko -a k<sup>h</sup> s hogo kac<sup>h</sup>ui-o:-ci  
(1s-ERG 3ns later invite-1s.NPT-3ns)

'I shall invite them later.'

38. ko -a k<sup>h</sup> s k<sup>h</sup>im k<sup>h</sup>eyupui-o:-ci  
(1s-ERG 3ns house buy-1s.NPT-3ns)

'I shall buy them a house.'

39. ko -a k<sup>h</sup> s c i-o:-ci-no  
(1s-ERG 3ns tease-1s.NPT-3ns-NEG.NPT)

'I do not tease with them.'

Preterite

40. ko -a        k<sup>h</sup> s        kac<sup>h</sup>-u-ci  
(1s-ERG        3ns        call-1s 3.PT-3ns)

'I called them.'

41. ko -a        k<sup>h</sup> s        k<sup>h</sup>im        k<sup>h</sup>eyup-u-ci  
(1s-ERG        3ns        house        buy-1s 3.PT-3ns)

'I bought them a house.'

42. ko -a        k<sup>h</sup> s        man-c i-u-ci  
(1s-ERG        3ns        NEG.PT-tease-1s 3.PT-3ns)

'I did not tease them.'

## II. First Person Dual Inclusive Subject-Verb Agreement

In Kulung, the first person dual inclusive subject 'kas' agrees with the particular verbal affixations. For the transitive verb conjugation, the ergative marker '-a' is added in the first person dual inclusive subject 'kas' as 'kac-a' in the Kulung language. Here, the phoneme /s/ changes into /c/ with the influence of the following long vowel /a/. The subject-verb agreement system in terms of the first person dual inclusive subject is presented below.

### A. Intransitive Verb Agreement Paradigms

The first person dual inclusive (1d.i) subject 'kas' agrees with the intransitive verbs in both non-preterite and preterite tenses in the Kulung language. For non-preterite tense the suffix '-ci' is added to the stem of the intransitive verbs and the non-preterite negative marker '-no' is further added to make negative expressions as in the examples (43) - (46). And for the preterite tense, the suffixes '-a-ci' or '-ci' can be added to the stem of the intransitive verbs as in the examples (47) - (48) and (49) - (50) and the preterite negative marker 'man' precedes the stem of the preterite intransitive verbs to make negative expressions.

Non-preterite

43. kas            buls-ci-no  
(*1d.i*            *run-d-NEG.NPT*)  
'We do not run.'
44. kas            g t<sup>h</sup>a-pi        tu:-ci  
(*1d.i*            *shed-LOC*    *live-d*)  
'We live in the cow shed.'
45. kas            watam        p i-ci  
(*1d.i*            *slow*        *grow-d*)  
'We grow slowly.'
46. kas            cai:            l i-ci-?o  
(*1d.i*            *bad*        *feel-d-Q*)  
'Do we feel bad?'

Preterite

47. kas            cu -a        man-si:-a-ci  
(*1d.i*            *cold-ERG*    *NEG.NPT-die-PT-d*)  
'We did not die because of cold.'
48. kas            g tha-pi        tu:-a-ci  
(*1d.i*            *shed-LOC*    *live-PT-d*)  
'We lived in the cow shed.'
49. kas            watam        p m- -ci  
(*1d.i*            *slow*        *grow-PT-d*)  
'We grew slowly.'
50. kas            cai:            l m- -ci-?o  
(*1d.i*            *bad*        *feel-PT-d-Q*)  
'Did we feel bad?'

## B. Transitive Verb Agreement Paradigms

### First Person Dual Inclusive Subject      Third Person Object

The first person dual inclusive (1d.i) subject and the third person singular (3s) and non-singular (3ns) objects agree with the particular inflections in the transitive verbs in the Kulung language. For non-preterite tense, the suffix '-cu' is added to the stem of the transitive verbs and the negative suffix '-no' is further added to make negative expressions such as in the examples (51) - (54). And for the preterite tense, the suffixes '-a-cu' are added to the stem of the transitive verbs and the negative prefix 'man' is used before the stem of the transitive verbs to make negative expressions as in the examples (55) - (58) respectively.

#### Non-preterite

51. kac-a          k<sup>h</sup> s          i:          dedam          kac<sup>h</sup> i-cu  
(1d.i-ERG    3ns                  our    ritual rite    invite-d 3)  
'We invite them in our ritual rite dedam.'

52. uroi          kac-a          k<sup>h</sup>          lok          pi:-cu-k i  
(Q                  1d.i-ERG    3s          loan          give-d 3-TOP)  
'Why do we give her loan?'

53. kac-a          n p          sic<sup>h</sup>o-ci          det-cu-no  
(1d.i-ERG    good    tree-p          cut-d 3-NEG.NPT)  
'We do not cut the useful trees.'

54. kac-a          u:i          cai-cu  
(1d.i-ERG    Q                  eat-d 3)  
'What shall we eat?'

#### Preterite

55. kac-a          k<sup>h</sup> s          i:          dedam          kac<sup>h</sup>-a-cu  
(1d.i-ERG    3ns                  our    ritual rite    invite-PT-d 3)  
'We called them in our ritual rite dedam.'

56. uroi            kac-a            k<sup>h</sup>            lok            pi:-a-cu-k i  
       (*Q*            *1d.i-ERG*    *3s*            *loan*            *give-PT-d 3-TOP*)  
       'Why did we give her loan?'
57. kac-a            n p            sic<sup>h</sup>o-ci            man-det-a-cu  
       (*1d.i-ERG*    *good*            *tree-p*            *NEG.PT-cut-PT-d 3*)  
       'We did not cut the useful trees.'
58. kac-a            u:i            cam-a-cu  
       (*1d.i-ERG*    *Q*            *eat-PT-d 3*)  
       'What did we eat?'

### III. First Person Dual Exclusive Subject-Verb Agreement

'kaska' is the first person dual exclusive (1d.e) subject in the Kulung language. The first person dual exclusive subject agrees with the particular verbal affixations in non-preterite and preterite tenses. The subject-verb agreement system in terms of the first person dual exclusive subject is presented below.

#### A. Intransitive Verb Agreement Paradigms

The first person dual exclusive (1d.e) subject agrees with the particular inflections in the intransitive verbs in the Kulung language. For non-preterite tense, the suffixes '-ci-ka' are added to the stem of the intransitive verbs such as in the examples (59) - (63) and for the preterite tense, the suffixes '-a-ci-ka' or '-a-s-ka' or '-s-ka' are added to the stem of the intransitive verbs as in the examples (64) - (68) respectively.

Non-preterite

59. kaska            sepa-sepa                            si -pi            k<sup>h</sup>at-ci-ka  
       (*1d.e*            *early in the morning*            *wood-LOC*    *go-d-e*)  
       'We go to collect firewood early in the morning.'
60. kaska            decc<sup>h</sup>a            nus            p k-ci-ka-no  
       (*1d.e*            *morning*            *early*            *get up-d-e-NEG.NPT*)  
       'We do not get up early in the morning.'

61. kaska        hadei        dibuwa-pi-ka        tai-ci-ka  
 (*1d.e*        *Q*        *hunting-LOC-ABL*    *come-d-e*)  
 'When shall we come from hunting?'

62. kaska        n i-ci-ka  
 (*1d.e*        *fine-d-e*)  
 'We are fine.'

63. kaska        cai:        l i-ci-ka  
 (*1d.e*        *bad*        *feel-d-e*)  
 'We feel bad.'

Preterite

64. kaska        sepa-sepa        si -pi        k<sup>h</sup>at-a-ci-ka  
 (*1d.e*        *early in the morning*        *wood-LOC*    *go-PT-d-e*)  
 'We went to collect firewood early in the morning.'

65. kaska        decc<sup>h</sup>a:        nus        man-p k-a-ci-ka  
 (*1d.e*        *morning*        *early*        *NEG.PT-get up-PT-d-e*)  
 'We did not get up early in the morning.'

66. kaska        hadei        dibuwa-pi-ka        tam-a-s-ka  
 (*1d.e*        *Q*        *hunting-LOC-ABL*    *come-PT-d-e*)  
 'When did we come from hunting?'

67. kaska        n m- -s-ka  
 (*1d.e*        *fine-PT-d-e*)  
 'We were fine.'

68. kaska        cai:        l m- -s-ka  
 (*1d.e*        *bad*        *feel-PT-d-e*)  
 'We felt bad.'



## B. Transitive Verb Agreement Paradigms

### a. First Person Dual Exclusive Subject    Second Person Singular Object

In Kulung, the first person dual exclusive (1d.e) subject and the second person singular (2s) object agree with the particular verbal inflections in the transitive verbs. For non-preterite tense, the suffix '-e' is added to the stem of the verbs and is omitted if it is followed by non-preterite negative marker '-no' as in the examples (69) - (71). And for the preterite tense the suffix '-a' is added to the stem of the verbs as in the examples (72) - (74) respectively.

#### Non-preterite

69. kaska            an                    li oksi                    pi-e  
(1d.e            2s                    banana                    give-n1s.P)  
'We shall give you banana.'
70. kaska            an                    sesmok<sup>h</sup>im                    c<sup>h</sup>oks-e-yo  
(1d.e            2s                    school                    send-n1s.P-Q)  
'Should we send you to school?'
71. kaska            an                    sep                    k<sup>h</sup>ur-Ø-no  
(1d.e            2s                    basket                    bring-n1s.P-NEG.NPT)  
'We shall not bring you a basket.'

#### Preterite

72. kaska            an                    li oksi                    pi-a  
(1d.e            2s                    banana                    give-PT)  
'We gave you banana.'
73. kaska            an                    sesmok<sup>h</sup>im                    c<sup>h</sup>oks-a-yo  
(1d.e            2s                    school                    send-PT-Q)  
'Did we send you to school?'
74. kaska            an                    sep                    ma -k<sup>h</sup>ur-a  
(1d.e            2s                    basket                    NEG.PT-bring-PT)  
'We shall not bring you a basket.'

## b. First Person Dual Exclusive Subject    Second Person Dual Patient

In Kulung, the first person dual exclusive (1d.e) subject and the second person dual object (2d) agree with the particular verbal inflections in the transitive verbs. For non-preterite tense, the suffix '-ci' is added to the stem of the transitive verbs such as in the examples (75) - (77). And for the preterite tense the suffixes '-a-ci' are added to the stem of the transitive verbs as in the examples (79) - (80) respectively.

### Non-preterite

75. kaska            anci            hadei            kac<sup>h</sup> i-ci  
       (1d.e            2d            Q            invite-d)

'When shall we invite you?'

76. kaska            anci            lu -a            g<sup>h</sup> k-ci-no  
       (1d.e            2d            stone-ERG    strike-d-NEG.NPT)

'We do not strike you with stone.'

77. kaska            anci            no:-a            t<sup>h</sup>up-ci  
       (1d.e            2d            loan-INS      fire-d)

'We will fire you up of loan.'

### Preterite

78. kaska            anci            hadei            kac<sup>h</sup>-a-ci  
       (1d.e            2d            Q            invite-PT-d)

'When did we invite you?'

79. kaska            anci            lu -a            ma -g<sup>h</sup> k-a-ci  
       (1d.e            2d            stone-INS      NEG.PT-strike-PT-d)

'We do not strike you with stone.'

80. kaska            anci            no:-a            t<sup>h</sup>up-a-ci  
       (1d.e            2d            loan-INS      fire-PT-d)

'We will fire you up of loan.'

### c. First Person Dual Exclusive Subject    Second Person Plural Object

In Kulung, the first person dual exclusive (1d.e) subject and the second person dual (2p) object agree with the particular verbal inflections in the transitive verbs. For non-preterite tense, the suffix '-ni' is added to the stem of the transitive verbs such as in the examples (81) - (83). And for the preterite tense the suffixes '-a-ni' are added to the stem of the transitive verbs as in the examples (84) - (86) respectively.

#### Non-preterite

81. kaska            anni            ui            k<sup>h</sup>ur-ni  
       (1d.e            2p            Q            bring-2p)

'What shall we bring for you?'

82. kaska            anni            mobile        k<sup>h</sup>eipi-ni  
       (1d.e            2p            mobile        buy-2p)

'We buy mobile for you.'

83. kaska            anni            di:            puppi-ni-no  
       (1d.e            2p            local beer    prepare-2p-NEG.NPT)

'We will not prepare di: (local beer) for you.'

#### Preterite

84. kaska            anni            ui            k<sup>h</sup>ur-a-ni  
       (1d.e            2p            Q            bring-PT-2p)

'What did we bring for you?'

85. kaska            anni            mobile        k<sup>h</sup>eap-a-ni  
       (1d.e            2p            mobile        buy-PT-2p)

'We bought mobile for you.'

86. kaska            anni            di:            man-pupap-a-ni  
       (1d.e            2p            local beer    NEG.PT-prepare-PT-2p)

'We do not prepare di: (local beer) for you?'

#### d. First Person Dual Exclusive Subject    Third Person Object

The first person dual exclusive (1d.e) subject and the third person singular (3s) and non-singular (3ns) object agree with the particular verbal inflections in the transitive verbs. For non-preterite tense, the suffixes '-cu-ka' are added to the stem of the transitive verbs such as in the examples (87) - (90). And for the preterite tense the suffixes '-a-cu-ka' are added to the stem of the transitive verbs as in the examples (91) - (94) respectively.

##### Non-preterite

87. kaska            k<sup>h</sup>                    um    k<sup>h</sup>im                    c<sup>h</sup>oks-cu-ka  
(1d.e                3s                    her    home                    send-d 3-e)

'We drive her to her home.'

88. kaska            k<sup>h</sup> s                    computer                    i:m-cu-ka  
(1d.e                3ns                    computer                    instruct-d 3-e)

'We instruct them the computer.'

89. kaska            jujurpa                    n t-cu-ka-no  
(1d.e                sour                    like-d 3-e-NEG.NPT)

'We do not like sour.'

90. kaska            usai                    ja:                    k<sup>h</sup>et-cu-ka  
(1d.e                Q                    rice                    buy-d 3-e)

'We do not have money; how to buy rice?'

##### Preterite

91. kaska            k<sup>h</sup>                    um                    k<sup>h</sup>im                    c<sup>h</sup>oks-a-cu-ka  
(1d.e                3s                    her                    home                    send-PT-d 3-e)

'We sent her to her home.'

92. kaska            k<sup>h</sup> s                    computer                    i:m-a-cu-ka  
(1d.e                3ns                    computer                    instruct-PT-d 3-e)

'We instructed them the computer.'

93. kaska            jujurpa                    nat-a-cu-ka-no  
(1d.e                sour                    like-PT-d 3-e-NEG.NPT)

'We did not like sour.'

94. kaska            usai            ja:            k<sup>h</sup>et-a-cu-ka  
       (*Id.e*            *Q*            *rice*            *buy-PT-d 3-e*)  
       'We did not have money; how did we buy rice?'

#### IV. First Person Plural Inclusive Subject-Verb Agreement

In Kulung, 'kei' is the first person plural inclusive (1p.i) subject which agrees with the particular verbal affixations in the transitive and intransitive verbs. In the transitive verb conjugation the ergative marker '-a' is added in the first person plural subject 'kei' - 'kei-a'. The subject-verb agreement system in term of the first person plural inclusive subject is presented below.

##### A. Intransitive Verb Agreement Paradigms

In Kulung, the first person plural inclusive (1p.i) subject agrees with the particular verbal affixations in the intransitive verbs. For non-preterite tense, the suffix '-ya' is added to the stem of the verbs as in the examples (95) - (98) and for the preterite tense, the suffix '-i' is added to the stem of the verbs as in the examples (99) - (102) respectively.

Non-preterite

95. kei            hapikai            yu:w-ya  
       (*1p.i*            *Q*            *come down-1p.NPT*)  
       'From where do we come down?'

96. kei            sepa-sepa            p k-ya  
       (*1p.i*            *early in the morning*            *get up-1p.NPT*)  
       'We get up early in the morning.'

97. kei            i:-ji:            n i-lo            c<sup>h</sup> m-ya  
       (*1p.i*            *our-joy*            *become INF-COM dance-1p.NPT*)  
       'We dance when we become joyous.'

98. kei            dumo            ims-ya-no  
       (*1p.i*            *more*            *sleep-1p.NPT -NEG.NPT*)  
       'We do not sleep more.'

Preterite

99. kei            hapikai            yu:w-i  
(*1p.i*            *Q*            *come down-1p.PT*)  
'From where did we come down?'
100. kei            sepa-sepa            p k-i  
(*1p.i*            *early in the morning*            *wake up-1p.PT*)  
'We woke up early in the morning.'
101. kei            i:-ji:            n -lo            c<sup>h</sup> m-i  
(*1p.i*            *our-joy*            *become PT-COM*            *dance-1p.PT*)  
'We danced when we became joyous.'
102. kei            dumo            ma -ims-i  
(*1p.i*            *more*            *NEG.PT-sleep-1p.PT*)  
'We did not sleep more.'

## B. Transitive Verb Agreement Paradigms

### a. First Person Plural Inclusive Subject and Third Person Objects

The first person plural inclusive (1p.i) subject 'kei' is also marked by an ergative marker '-a' as 'kei-a' in its transitive verb conjugation. For non-preterite tense, the suffix '-am' is added to the stem of the transitive verbs as in the examples (103) - (108) and for the preterite tense the suffix '-um' or '-m' is added to the stem of the transitive verbs as in the examples (109) - (114) respectively.

Non-preterite

103. kei-a            ini:mba            c<sup>h</sup>ow-t<sup>h</sup>emlu            mi-am-no  
(*1p.i-ERG*            *now days*            *bird-trap*            *set-1p 3.NPT-NEG.NPT*)  
'Now days, we do not set the bird-trap.'
104. kei-a            amni            li:s            hek-am  
(*1p.i-ERG*            *2p.POS*            *millet*            *harvest-1p 3.NPT*)  
'We harvest your millet.'

105. kei-a            television            k<sup>h</sup>o -am-yo  
       (1*p.i-ERG*    television            watch-1*p*    3.NPT-Q)  
       'Do we watch the television?'
106. kei-a            k<sup>h</sup> /s            dumo-            n t-am  
       (1*p.i-ERG*    3*s/ns*            very much-EMP    like-1*p*    3.NPT)  
       'We like him/them very much.'
107. kei-a            c<sup>h</sup>uburi-pa-ka            t i-am-no  
       (1*p.i-ERG*    far away-LOC-ABL    see-1*p*    3.NPT-NEG.NPT)  
       'We cannot see from far away.'
108. kei-a            i:            k<sup>h</sup>im            m i-am  
       (1*p.i-ERG*    1*p.i.POS*    house            build-1*p*    3.NPT)  
       'We build our house.'

Preterite

109. kei-a            ini:mba            c<sup>h</sup>ow-t<sup>h</sup>emlu            mam-mi-um  
       (1*p.i-ERG*    now days            bird-trap            NEG.PT-set-1*p*    3.PT)  
       'Now days, we did not set the bird-trap.'
110. kei-a            amni            li:s            hek-um  
       (1*p.i-ERG*    2*p.POS*            millet            harvest-1*p*    3.PT)  
       'We harvested your millet.'
111. kei-a            television            k<sup>h</sup>o -um-yo  
       (1*p.i-ERG*    television            watch-1*p*    3.PT-Q)  
       'Did we watch the television?'
112. kei-a            k<sup>h</sup> /s            dumo-            n t-um  
       (1*p.i-ERG*    3*s/ns*            very much-EMP    like-1*p*    3.PT)  
       'We liked him/them very much.'
113. kei-a            c<sup>h</sup>uburi-pa-ka            man-t -m  
       (1*p.i-ERG*    far away-LOC-ABL    NEG.PT-see-1*p*    3.PT)  
       'We cannot see from far away.'

114. kei-a            i:            k<sup>h</sup>im            m -m  
       (*1p.i-ERG*    *1p.i.POS*    *house*            *build-1p 3.PT*)  
       'We built our house.'

## V. First Person Plural Exclusive Subject-Verb Agreement

In Kulung 'keika' is the first person plural exclusive (1p.e) subject which also agrees with the particular verbal affixations. The subject-verb agreement system in term of the first person plural exclusive subject is presented below.

### A. Intransitive Verb Agreement Paradigms

The Kulung first person plural exclusive subject agrees with the particular verbal affixations in the intransitive verbs. For non-preterite tense, the suffixes '-ya-ka' are added to the stem of the intransitive verbs such as in the examples (115) - (117) and for the preterite tense, the suffixes '-i-ka' are added to the stem of the intransitive verbs as in the examples (118) - (120) respectively.

Non-preterite

115. keika            seser- a            tu-ya-ka  
       (*1p.e*            *fine-EMP*            *be-1p.NPT-e*)  
       'We are fine.'

116. keika            buls-ya-ka-?o  
       (*1p.e*            *run-1p.NPT-e-Q*)  
       'Shall we run?'

117. keika            mis            si:-lo            vas-ya-ka  
       (*1p.e*            *people*            *die INF-conj.*            *shout -1p.NPT-e*)  
       'We shout when people die.'

Preterite

118. keika            seser- a            tu-i-ka  
       (*1p.e*            *fine-EMP*            *be-1p.PT-e*)  
       'We were fine.'



119. keika            buls-i-ka-?o  
       (1p.e            run-1p.PT-e-Q)  
       'Did we run?'

120. keika            mis            si:-a-lo            vas-i-ka  
       (1p.e            people        die-PT-conj. shout -1p.PT-e)  
       'We shouted when people died.'

## B. Transitive Verb Agreement Paradigms

### a. First Person Plural Exclusive Subject    Second Person Singular Object

In Kulung, the first person plural exclusive (1p.e) subject and the second person singular (2s) object agree with the particular verbal inflections in the transitive verbs. For non-preterite tense, the suffix '-e' is added to the stem of the verbs but it is omitted if followed by the non-preterite negative '-no', such as in the examples (121) - (123). And for the preterite tense the suffix '-a' is added to the stem of the verbs as in the examples (124) - (126) respectively.

#### Non-preterite

121. keika            an            si            lam            v -e  
       (1p.e            2s            firewood    collect-INF help-n1s.P)  
       'We shall help you to collect firewood.'

122. kaska            an            kau-a            ci:-Ø-no  
       (1p.e            2s            water-ERG wet-n1s.P-NEG.NPT)  
       'We do not wet you with water.'

123. kaska            an            ker-e-yo  
       (1p.e            2s            beat-n1s.P-Q)  
       'Do we beat you?'

#### Preterite

124. keika            an            si            lam            v -a  
       (1p.e            2s            firewood    collect-INF help-PT)  
       'We helped you to collect firewood.'

125. kaska            an            kau-a            man-ci:-a  
       (1*p.e*        2*s*            water-ERG    NEG.PT-wet-PT)

'We did not wet you with water.'

126. kaska            an            ker-a-yo  
       (1*p.e*        2*s*            beat-PT-Q)

'Did we beat you?'

### **b. First Person Plural Exclusive Subject    Second Person Dual Object**

In Kulung, the first person plural exclusive (1*p.e*) subject and the second person dual (2*d*) object agree with the particular inflections in the transitive verbs. For non-preterite tense, the suffix '-ci' is added to the stem of the transitive verbs as in the examples (127) - (129). And for the preterite tense the suffixes '-a-ci' are added to the stem of the transitive verbs as in the examples (130) - (132) respectively.

Non-preterite

127. keika            anci            faji            pi-ci  
       (1*p.e*        2*d*            bag            give-d)

'We give you bag.'

128. keika            anci            wadi            k<sup>h</sup>ur-ci-no  
       (1*p.e*        2*d*            egg            bring-d-NEG.NPT)

'We shall not bring you egg.'

129. keika            anci            lukspa            b ipi-ci  
       (1*p.e*        2*d*            nettle curtain    knit-d)

'We will knit lukspa (nettle curtain) for you.'

Preterite

130. keika            anci            faji            pi-a-ci  
       (1*p.e*        2*d*            bag            give-PT-d)

'We gave you bag.'

131. keika           anci           wadi           ma -k<sup>h</sup>ur-a-ci  
 (1p.e           2d           egg           NEG.PT-bring-PT-d)  
 'We brought you egg.'

132. keika           anci           lukspa           baip-a-ci  
 (1p.e           2d           nettle curtain           make-PT-d)  
 'We made lukspa (nettle curtain) for you.'

**c. First Person Plural Exclusive Subject    Second Person Plural Object**

In Kulung, the first person plural exclusive subject (1p.e) and the second person plural (2p) object agree with the particular inflections in the transitive verbs. For non-preterite tense, the suffix '-ni' is added to the stem of the transitive verbs as in the examples (133) - (135). And for the preterite tense the suffixes '-a-ni' are added to the stem of the transitive verbs as in the examples (136) - (138) respectively.

Non-preterite

133. keika           anni           je:u           d i-ni-no  
 (1p.e           2p           barley           save-2p-NEG.NPT)  
 'We save the barley for you.'

134. keika           anni    amni    pa:-m    ni    t t-ni-ke  
 (1p.e           2p    2p.POS    father-GEN    name    ask-2p-IMP)  
 'Shall we ask you your father's name?'

135. keika           anni           mosum-pi           tui-ni  
 (1p.e           2p           upper indoor-LOC    give seat-2p)  
 'We give you seat in upper indoor.'

Preterite

136. keika           anni           je:u           man-do:m-a-ni  
 (1p.e           2p           barley           NEG.PT-save-PT-2p)  
 'We saved the barley for you.'

137. keika anni amni pa:-m ni t t-a-ni-ke  
 (1p.e 2p 2p.POS father-GEN name ask-PT-2p-IMP)  
 'We asked you your father's name!'

138. keika anni mosum-pi tui-a-ni  
 (1p.e 2p upper indoor-LOC give seat-PT-2p)  
 'We gave you seat in upper indoor.'

#### d. First Person Plural Exclusive Subject Third Person Objects

In Kulung, the first person plural exclusive 'keika' (1p.e) subject and the third person singular (3s) and non-singular (3ns) objects agree with the particular inflections in the transitive verbs. For non-preterite tense, the suffixes '-am-ka' are added to the stem of the transitive verbs such as in the examples (139) - (141). And for the preterite tense the suffixes '-um-ka' or '- m-ka' are added to the stem of the transitive verbs as in the examples (142) - (146) respectively.

##### Non-preterite

139. keika k<sup>h</sup> /s huy-am-ka-no  
 (1p.e 3s/ns fire-1p 3.NPT-e-NEG.NPT)  
 'We do not fire her/them up.'

140. keika k /s uroi bat-am-ka  
 (1p.e 3s/ns Q exchange-1p 3.NPT-e)  
 'Why don't we exchange this/these?'

141. keika samk<sup>h</sup>e-ci b l-am-ka  
 (1p.e potato-p dig-1p 3.NPT-e)  
 'We dig the potatoes.'

##### Preterite

142. keika k<sup>h</sup> /s ma -huy-um-ka  
 (1p.e 3s/ns NEG.PT-fire-1p 3.PT-e)  
 'We did not fire her/them up.'

143. keika            k /s            uroi            bat-um-ka  
           (1p.e            3s/ns            Q            exchange-1p 3.PT-e)  
           'Why didn't we exchange this/these?'
144. keika            samk<sup>h</sup>e-ci            b l-um-ka  
           (1p.e            potato-p            dig-1p 3.PT-e)  
           'We dug the potatoes.'
145. keika            c<sup>h</sup>ara-ci            m m- m-ka  
           (1p.e            goat-p            care-1p 3.PT-e)  
           'We looked after the goats.'
146. keika            k<sup>h</sup>odolo            u:i            p m- m-ka  
           (1p.e            at that time            Q            say-1p 3.PT-e)  
           'What did we say at that time?'

### 3.1.1.2. Kulung Second Person Subjects and Verb Agreement

There are three second person personal pronouns in the Kulung language, viz. 'an', 'anci' and 'anni'. The pronoun 'an' is the second person singular which includes only one agent; the pronoun 'anci' is the second person dual which includes two agents; and the pronoun 'anni' is the second person plural which includes more than two agents. The subject verb agreement system in term of the second person personal pronouns are stated below.

#### I. Second Person Singular Subject-Verb Agreement

In Kulung 'an' is the second person singular (2s) subject which also agrees with the particular verbal affixations. The subject-verb agreement system of the second person singular subject is presented below.

##### A. Intransitive Verb Agreement Paradigms

In Kulung, the second person singular (2s) subject agrees with the particular inflections in the intransitive verbs. For non-preterite tense, the suffix '-e' is added to the stem of the non-preterite intransitive verbs such as in the examples (147), (148) and (151). In the non-preterite tense, the second person singular

intransitive verb marker suffix '-e' is omitted in the presence of the non-preterite negative marker '-no' as in the examples (149) and (150). And for the preterite tense, the suffix '-a' or '- ' is added to the stem of the non-preterite intransitive verbs as in the examples (152) - (154) and (155) - (156) respectively.

#### Non-preterite

147. an                    c<sup>h</sup>uks-e-?o  
       (2s                    cough-nls.P-Q)  
       'Do you cough?'
148. an                    alin :-to                    ges-e  
       (2s                    beautiful-adv.            laugh-nls.P)  
       'You laugh beautifully.'
149. an                    lam-lam                    k<sup>h</sup>at-Ø-no  
       (2s                    along the way            go-nls.P-NEG.NPT)  
       'You do not go along the way.'
150. an                    uroi                    n -to                    p i-Ø-no  
       (2s                    Q                    proper-adv.            grow-nls.P-NEG.NPT)  
       'Why don't you grow properly?'
151. an                    dai                    l i-e  
       (2s                    Q                    feel-nls.P)  
       'How do you feel?'

#### Preterite

152. an                    c<sup>h</sup>uks-a-?o  
       (2s                    cough-PT-Q)  
       'Did you cough?'
153. an                    alin -to                    ges-a  
       (2s                    beautiful-adv.            laugh-PT)  
       'You laughed beautifully.'

154. an lam-lam ma -k<sup>h</sup>at-a  
 (2s along the way NEG.PT-go-PT)  
 'You went along the way.'
155. an uroi n -to man-p m-  
 (2s Q proper-adv. NEG.PT-grow-PT)  
 'Why didn't you grow properly?'
156. an dai l m-  
 (2s Q feel-PT)  
 'How did you feel?'

## B. Transitive Verb Agreement Paradigms

### a. Second Person Singular Subject First Person Singular Object

In Kulung, the second person singular (2s) subject and the first person singular (1s) object agree with the particular inflections in the transitive verbs. For non-preterite tense, the suffix '-o:' is added to the stem of the transitive verbs such as in the examples (157) - (159) and for the preterite tense, the suffix '-o' is added to the stem of the transitive verbs as in the examples (160) - (162) respectively.

Non preterite

157. an-a ko uro:i c<sup>h</sup>ek-o:-k i  
 (2s-ERG 1s Q pinch-1s.NPT-TOP)  
 'Why do you pinch me?'
158. an-a ko dumo- ra -o:  
 (2s-ERG 1s more-EMP scold-1s.NPT)  
 'You scold me more.'
159. an-a ko ker-o:-no  
 (2s-ERG 1s beat-1s.NPT-NEG.NPT)  
 'You do not beat me.'

Preterite

160. an-a            ko            uro:i            c<sup>h</sup>ek-o-k i  
(2s-ERG        1s            Q            pinch-1s.PT-TOP)

'Why did you pinch me?'

161. an-a            ko            dumo-            ra -o  
(2s-ERG        1s            more-EMP    scold-1s.PT)

'You scolded me more.'

162. an-a            ko            ma -ker-o  
(2s-ERG        1s            NEG.PT-beat-1s.PT)

'You did not beat me.'

### **b. Second Person Singular Subject    First Person Dual Exclusive Object**

In Kulung, the second person singular (2s) subject and the first person dual exclusive (1d.e) object agree with the particular inflections in the transitive verbs. For non-preterite tense, the suffixes '-ci-ka' are added to the stem of the transitive verbs such as in the examples (163) - (165) and for the preterite tense, the suffixes '-a-ci-ka' are added to the stem of the transitive verbs as in the examples (166) - (168) respectively.

Non-preterite

163. an-a            kaska            saplok<sup>h</sup>e            k<sup>h</sup>ur-ci-ka-?o  
(2s-ERG        1d.e            wild root fruit    bring-d-e-Q)

'Do you bring us wild root fruit?'

164. an-a            kaska            dicam            pi:-ci-ka  
(2s-ERG        1d.e            local beer        give-d-e)

'You will give us local beer.'

165. an-a            kaska            binayo            dum            i:-ci-ka  
(2s-ERG        1d.e            binayo            play-INF        teach-d-e)

'You teach us to play the binayo (a local musical instrument made up of wild bamboo).'



Preterite

166. an-a            kaska            saplok<sup>h</sup>e            k<sup>h</sup>ur-a-ci-ka-?o  
(2s-ERG        1d.e            wild root fruit        bring-PT-d-e-Q)  
'Did you bring us wild root fruit?'

167. an-a            kaska            dicam            pi:-a-ci-ka  
(2s-ERG        1d.e            local beer        give-PT-d-e)  
'You gave us local beer.'

168. an-a            kaska            binayo            dum            i:-a-ci-ka  
(2s-ERG        1d.e            binayo            play-INF        teach-PT-d-e)  
'You taught us to play the binayo (a local musical instrument made up of wild bamboo).'

### c. Second Person Singular Subject    First Person Plural Exclusive Object

In Kulung, the second person singular (2s) subject and the first person plural exclusive (1p.e) object agree with the particular inflections in the transitive verbs. For non-preterite tense, the suffixes '-ya-ka' are added to the stem of the transitive verbs such as in the examples (169) - (171) and for the preterite tense, the suffixes 'i-ka' are added to the stem of the transitive verbs as in the examples (172) - (174) respectively.

Non-preterite

169. an-a            keika            lat<sup>h</sup>a            s k-ya-ka  
(2s-ERG        1p.e            foot            kick-1p.NPT-e)  
(You kick us on foot.)

170. an-a            keika            lis    bi:u            pi-ya-ka-?o  
(2s-ERG        1p.e            millet seed        give-1p.NPT-e-Q)  
'Do you give us millet seed?'

171. an-a            keika            saka:            bas-ya-ka-no  
(2s-ERG        1p.e            hungry            dry-1p.NPT-e-NEG.NPT)  
'You do not keep us hungry.'

Preterite

172. an-a            keika            lat<sup>h</sup>a            s k-i-ka  
(2s-ERG        1p.e            foot            kick-1p.PT-e)

'You kicked us on foot.'

173. an-a            keika            lis            bi:u            pi:-i-ka-?o  
(2s-ERG        1p.e            millet        seed            give-1p.PT-e-Q)

'Did you give us millet seed?'

174. an-a            keika            saka:            ma -bas-i-ka  
(2s-ERG        1p.e            hungry        NEG.PT-dry-1p.PT-e)

'You did not keep us hungry.'

#### **d. Second Person Singular Subject    Third Person Singular Object**

In Kulung, the second person singular (2s) subject and the third person singular (3s) object agree with the particular inflections in the transitive verbs. For non-preterite tense, the suffix '- ' is added to the stem of the transitive verbs such as in the examples (175) - (177) and for the preterite tense, the suffix '-u' is added to the stem of the transitive verbs as in the examples (178) - (180) respectively.

Non-preterite

175. an-a            hopc<sup>h</sup>o            danai            c<sup>h</sup>iss-  
(2s-ERG        porch            Q            sweep-2s.3    3.NPT)

'How do you sweep the porch?'

176. an-a            k<sup>h</sup>            n tt-  
(2s-ERG        3s            like-2s.3    3.NPT)

'You like her.'

177. an-a            k -pi            c<sup>h</sup>app-  
(2s-ERG        here-LOC    write-2s.3    3.NPT)

'You will write here.'

Preterite

178. an-a            hopc<sup>h</sup>o            danai            c<sup>h</sup>iss-u  
(2s-ERG          porch            Q                sweep-1s 3.PT)

'How did you sweep the porch?'

179. an-a            k<sup>h</sup>                n tt-u  
(2s-ERG          3s                like-1s 3.PT)

'You liked her.'

180. an-a            k -pi            c<sup>h</sup>app-u  
(2s-ERG          here-LOC        write-1s 3.PT)

'You wrote here.'

### e. Second Person Singular Subject    Third Person Non-Singular Object

In Kulung, the second person singular (2s) subject and the third person non-singular (3ns) patient agree with the particular inflections in the transitive verbs. For non-preterite tense, the suffixes '-ci' are added to the stem of the transitive verbs such as in examples (181) - (183). And for the preterite tense, the suffix '-ci' is added to the stem of the transitive verbs as in the examples (184) - (186) respectively.

Non-preterite

181. an-a            k<sup>h</sup> s            sesmocum      k<sup>h</sup>ur- -ci-yo  
(2s-ERG          3ns                book            bring-2s.3 3.NPT-3ns-Q)

'Will you bring them the book?'

182. an-a            k s          am            mobile pi:- -ci-no  
(2s-ERG          3ns          2s.POS        mobile        give-2s.3 3.NPT-3ns-NEG.NPT)

'You do not give them your mobile.'

183. an-a            k s            t<sup>h</sup> y- -ci  
(2s-ERG          these            bring up-2s.3 3.NPT-3ns)

'You bring up these.'

Preterite

184. an-a            k<sup>h</sup> s            sesmocum            k<sup>h</sup>ur-ci-yo  
(2s-ERG        3ns            book            bring-3ns-Q)  
'Did you bring them the book?'
185. an-a            k s        am        mobile        man-pi:-ci  
(2s-ERG        3ns        2s.POS    mobile        NEG.PT-give-3ns)  
'You did not give them your mobile.'
186. an-a            k s            t<sup>h</sup> -ci  
(2s-ERG        those        bring up-3ns)  
'You brought up those.'

## II. Second Person Dual Subject-Verb Agreement

In Kulung, 'anci' is the second person dual (2d) subject which also agrees with the particular verbal affixations in the Kulung language. The subject-verb agreement system in term of the second person dual subject is stated below.

### A. Intransitive Verb Agreement Paradigms

In Kulung, the second person dual (2d) subject agrees with the particular inflections in the intransitive verbs. For non-preterite tense, the suffix '-ci' is added to the stem of the intransitive verbs such as in the examples (187) - (190) and for the preterite tense, the suffixes '-a-ci' or '-ci' are added to the stem of the intransitive verbs as in the examples (191) - (193) and (194) - (195) respectively.

Non-preterite

187. anci            har i            k<sup>h</sup>at-ci            bu?a  
(2d            Q            go-d            elder brother)  
'Where do you go elder brother?'
188. anci            c<sup>h</sup> -c<sup>h</sup>            ims-ci  
(2d            relaxed        sleep-d)  
'You sleep relaxed.'

189. *anci*                    *dumo-*                    *v s-ci*  
       (*2d*                    *more-EMP*            *howl-d*)  
       'You howl loudly.'
190. *anci*                    *duwa*                    *l i-ci-no-fo*  
       (*2d*                    *helpless*              *feel-d-NEG.NPT-Q*)  
       'Don't you feel helpless?'

#### Preterite

191. *anci*                    *har i*                    *k<sup>h</sup>at-a-ci*            *bu?a*  
       (*2d*                    *Q*                      *go-PT-d*              *elder brother*)  
       'Where did you go elder brother?'
192. *anci*                    *c<sup>h</sup> -c<sup>h</sup>*                    *ims-a-ci*  
       (*2d*                    *relaxed*                *sleep-PT-d*)  
       'You slept relaxed.'
193. *anci*                    *dumo-*                    *v s-a-ci*  
       (*2d*                    *more-EMP*              *howl-PT-d*)  
       'You howled loudly.'
194. *anci*                    *duwa*                    *man-l m- -ci*  
       (*2d*                    *helpless*              *NEG.PT-feel-PT-d*)  
       'Didn't you feel helpless?'
195. *anci*                    *k<sup>h</sup>unto*                    *man-p m- -ci*  
       (*2d*                    *as much as*            *NEG.PT-grow-PT-d*)  
       'You did not grow as much as you had to.'

### B. Transitive Verb Agreement Paradigms

In the second person dual subject 'anci' the ergative marker '-a' is added for transitive verb agreement where '-i' is omitted and it becomes 'anc-a' in the Kulung language.

### a. Second Person Dual Subject    First Person Singular Object

In Kulung, the second person dual (2d) subject and the first person singular (1s) object agree with the particular inflections in the transitive verbs. For non-preterite tense, the suffixes '-o:-ci' are added to the stem of the transitive verbs such as in the examples (196) - (198) and for the preterite tense, the suffixes '-o-ci' are added to the stem of the transitive verbs as in the examples (199) - (201) respectively.

#### Non-preterite

196. anc-a            ko            d<sup>h</sup>amro        len-o:-ci  
       (2d-ERG        1s            cliff            pull down-1s.NPT-d)  
       'You will pull me down from the cliff (send someone into problem).'
197. anc-a            ko            u:i            k<sup>h</sup>ur-o:-ci  
       (2d-ERG        1s            Q                bring-1s.NPT-d)  
       'What will you bring for me?'
198. anc-a            ko            n mlo        c<sup>h</sup>et-o:-ci-no  
       (2d-ERG        1s            well            know-1s.NPT-d-NEG.NPT)  
       'You do not know me well.'

#### Preterite

199. anc-a            ko            d<sup>h</sup>amro        len-o-ci  
       (2d-ERG        1s            cliff            pull down-1s.PT-d)  
       'You pulled me down from the cliff (send someone into problem).'
200. anc-a            ko            u:i            k<sup>h</sup>ur-o-ci  
       (2d-ERG        1s            Q                bring-1s.PT-d)  
       'What did you bring for me?'
201. anc-a            ko            n mlo        man-c<sup>h</sup>et-o-ci  
       (2d-ERG        1s            well            NEG.PT-know-1s.PT-d)  
       'You did not know me well.'

## b. Second Person Dual Subject    First Person Dual Exclusive Patient

The second person dual (2d) subject and the first person dual exclusive (1d.e) patient agree with the particular inflections in the transitive verbs in the Kulung language. For non-preterite tense, the suffixes '-ci-ka' are added to the stem of the transitive verbs such as in the examples (202) - (204) and for the preterite tense, the suffixes 'a-ci-ka' are added to the stem of the transitive verbs as in the examples (205) - (207) respectively.

### Non-preterite

202. anc-a            kaska            lamcam            k<sup>h</sup>ur-ci-ka  
(2d-ERG        1d.e            ration            bring-d-e)

'You will bring us the ration.'

203. anc-a            kaska            yen-ci-ka-no  
(2d-ERG        1d.e            hear-d-e-NEG.NPT)

'You do not hear us.'

204. anc-a            kaska            c<sup>h</sup>et-ci-ka-?o  
(2d-ERG        1d.e            know-d-e-Q)

'Do you know us?'

### Preterite

205. anc-a            kaska            lamcam            k<sup>h</sup>ur-a-ci-ka  
(2d-ERG        1d.e            ration            bring-PT-d-e)

'You brought us the ration.'

206. anc-a            kaska            man-yen-a-ci-ka  
(2d-ERG        1d.e            NEG.PT-hear-PT-d-e)

'You did not hear us.'

207. anc-a            kaska            c<sup>h</sup>et-a-ci-ka-?o  
(2d-ERG        1d.e            know-PT-d-e-Q)

'Did you know us?'

### c. Second Person Dual Subject    First Person Plural Exclusive Object

In Kulung, the second person dual (2d) subject and the first person plural exclusive (1p.e) object agree with the particular inflections in the transitive verbs. For non-preterite tense, the suffixes '-ya-ka' are added to the stem of the transitive verbs such as in the examples (208) - (210) and for the preterite tense, the suffixes '-i-ka' are added to the stem of the transitive verbs as in the examples (211) - (213) respectively.

#### Non-preterite

208. anc-a            keika            t i-ya-ka-yo  
       (2d-ERG        1p.e            see-1p.NPT-e-Q)

'Can you see us?'

209. anc-a            keika            na:-k -pa            c<sup>h</sup>ip-ya-ka  
       (2d-ERG        1p.e            there-sub-LOC        meet-1p.NPT-e)

'You will meet us there (straight forward).'

210. anc-a            keika            lam-ya-ka-no  
       (2d-ERG        1p.e            search-1p.NPT-e-NEG.NPT)

'You do not search us.'

#### Preterite

211. anc-a            keika            t -i-ka-yo  
       (2d-ERG        1p.e            see-1p.PT-e-Q)

'Did you see us?'

212. anc-a            keika            na:-k -pa            c<sup>h</sup>ip-i-ka  
       (2d-ERG        1p.e            there-SUB-LOC        meet-1p.PT-e)

'You met us there (straight forward).'

213. anc-a            keika            man-lam-i-ka  
       (2d-ERG        1p.e            NEG.PT-search-1p.PT-e)

'You did not search us.'



#### d. Second Person Dual Subject Third Person Objects

In Kulung, the second person dual (2d) subject and the third person singular (3s) and non-singular (3ns) objects agree with the particular inflections in the transitive verb. For the non-preterite tense, the suffix '-cu' is added to the stem of the transitive verbs such as in the examples (214) - (216) and for the preterite tense, the suffixes '-a-cu' are added to the stem of the transitive verbs as in the examples (217) - (219) respectively.

##### Non-preterite

214. anc-a            uroi            k<sup>h</sup> s            wok-cu  
           (2d-ERG        Q            3ns            scold-d 3)  
           'Why do you scold them?'

215. anc-a            k<sup>h</sup>            ac<sup>h</sup>e-            n t-cu  
           (2d-ERG        3s            really-EMP    like-d 3)  
           'You really like him.'

216. anc-a        telpos-ci-m        ma -n p            m i-cu-no  
           (2d-ERG    villager p-GEN    NEG.PT-positive    do-d 3-NEG.NPT)  
           'You don't do against villagers.'

##### Preterite

217. anc-a            uroi            k<sup>h</sup> s            wok-a-cu  
           2d-ERG        Q            3ns            scold-PT-d 3  
           'Why did you scold them?'

218. anc-a            k<sup>h</sup>            ac<sup>h</sup>e-            n t-a-cu  
           (2d-ERG        3s            really-EMP    like-PT-d 3)  
           'You really liked him.'

219. anc-a        telpos-ci-m        ma -n p            ma -m m-a-cu  
           (2d-ERG    villager p-GEN    NEG.PT-positive    NEG.PT-do-PT-d 3)  
           'You didn't do against villagers.'

### III. Second Person Plural Subject-Verb Agreement

In Kulung, 'anni' is the second person plural (2p) subject which also agrees with the particular verbal affixations. The subject-verb agreement system in term of the second person plural subject is stated below.

#### A. Intransitive Verb Agreement Paradigms

In Kulung, the second person plural (2p) subject agrees with the particular inflections in the intransitive verbs. For non-preterite tense, the suffix '-ni' is added to the stem of the intransitive verbs such as in the examples (220) - (222) and for the preterite tense, the suffixes '-a-ni' or '- -ni' are added to the stem of the intransitive verbs as in the examples (223) - (225) and (226) - (227) respectively.

Non-preterite

220. anni            ese:            hapi            l t-ni  
(2p            today            Q            emerge-2p)  
'Where do you emerge today?'

221. anni            daloi            at-ni  
(2p            Q            come back-2p)  
'When will you come back?'

222. anni            kis-ni-no  
(2p            fear-2p-NEG.NPT)  
'You do not fear.'

Preterite

223. anni            ese:            hapi            l t-a-ni  
(2p            today            Q            emerge-PT-2p)  
'Where did you emerge today?'

224. anni            daloi            at-a-ni  
(2p            Q            come back-PT-2p)  
'When did you come back?'

225. anni            ma -kis-a-ni  
 (2p            NEG.PT-fear-PT-2p)  
 'You did not fear.'
226. anni            dai            l m- -ni  
 (2p            Q            feel-PT-2p)  
 'How did you feel?'
227. anni-            cis            ma -n m- -ni  
 (2p-REF      a little      NEG.PT-good-PT-2p)  
 'You yourselves were not good at all.'

## B. Transitive Verb Agreement Paradigms

### a. Second Person Plural Subject    First Person Singular Object

In Kulung, the second person plural (2p) subject and the first person singular (1s) object agree with the particular inflections in the transitive verbs. For non-preterite tense, the suffixes '-o:-ni' are added to the stem of the transitive verbs such as in the examples (228) - (230) and for the preterite tense, the suffixes '-o-ni' are added to the stem of the transitive verbs as in the examples (231) - (233) respectively.

Non-preterite

228. ann-a            ko            oroto    k<sup>h</sup>apcima    pi-o:-ni-?o  
 (2p-ERG      1s      much    money      give-1s.NPT-2p-Q)  
 'Will you give me much of money?'
229. ann-a            ko            hu -o:-ni-no  
 (2p-ERG      1s            wait-1s.NPT-2p-NEG.NPT)  
 'You do not wait me.'
230. ann-a            ko            si            yutopoy-o:-ni  
 (2p-ERG      1s            wood      bring down-1s.NPT-2p)  
 'You will bring firewood for me.'

Preterite

231. ann-a ko k<sup>h</sup>apcima pi-o-ni-?o  
(2p-ERG 1s money give-1s.PT-2p-Q)

'Did you give me money?'

232. ann-a ko man-hu -o-ni  
(2p-ERG 1s NEG.PT-wait-1s.PT-2p)

'You did not wait me.'

233. ann-a ko si yutop-o-ni  
(2p-ERG 1s wood bring down-1s.PT-2p)

'You brought firewood for me.'

### **b. Second Person Plural Subject First Person Dual Exclusive Object**

The second person plural (2p) subject and the first person dual exclusive (1d.e) object agree with the particular inflections in the transitive verbs in the Kulung language. For non-preterite tense, the suffixes '-ci-ka' are added to the stem of the transitive verbs such as in the examples (234) - (236) and for the preterite tense, the suffixes '-a-ci-ka' are added to the stem of the transitive verbs as in the examples (233) - (229) respectively.

Non-preterite

234. ann-a kaska dur-ci-ka-no  
(2p-ERG 1d.e defeat-d-e-NEG.NPT)

'You will not defeat us.'

235. ann-a kaska ker-ci-ka-no-fo  
(2p-ERG 1d.e beat-d-e-NEG.NPT-Q)

'Don't you beat us?'

236. ann-a kaska ja: i:pi-ci-ka  
(2p-ERG 1d.e rice cook-d-e)

'You will give us rice.'

## Preterite

237. ann-a            kaska            man-dur-a-ci-ka  
(2*p*-ERG        1*d.e*            NEG.PT-defeat-PT-d-e)  
'You did not defeat us.'
238. ann-a            kaska            ma -ker-a-ci-ka-fo  
(2*p*-ERG        1*d.e*            NEG.PT-beat-PT-d-e-Q)  
'Didn't you beat us?'
239. ann-a            kaska            ja:                i:ap-a-ci-ka  
(2*p*-ERG        1*d.e*            rice              cook-PT-d-e)  
'You gave us rice.'

### c. Second Person Plural Subject    First Person Plural Exclusive Object

In Kulung, the second person plural (2*p*) subject and the first person plural exclusive (1*p.e*) object agree with the particular inflections in the transitive verbs. For non-preterite tense, the suffixes '-ya-ka' are added to the stem of the transitive verbs such as in the examples (240) - (242) and for the preterite tense, the suffixes '-i-ka' are added to the stem of the transitive verbs as in the examples (243) - (245) respectively.

## Non-preterite

240. ann-a            keika            dumo-            ruks-ya-ka  
(2*p*-ERG        1*p.e*            more-EMP        shake-1*p.NPT-e*)  
'You shake us more (in the tree).'
241. ann-a            keika            ui                k<sup>h</sup>ur-ya-ka  
(2*p*-ERG        1*p.e*            Q                bring-1*p.NPT-e*)  
'What will you bring us?'
242. ann-a            keika            v :                b i:pi-ya-ka-yo  
(2*p*-ERG        1*p.e*            basket            make-1*p.NPT-e-Q*)  
'Will you make a basket for us?'

Preterite

243. ann-a            keika            dumo-            ruks-i-ka  
(2*p*-*ERG*        1*p.e*            *more-EMP*     *shake-1p.PT-e*)  
'You shook us more.'
244. ann-a            keika            ui                k<sup>h</sup>ur-i-ka  
(2*p*-*ERG*        1*p.e*            *Q*                *bring-1p.PT-e*)  
'What did you bring us?'
245. ann-a            keika            v :                b i:p-i-ka-yo  
(2*p*-*ERG*        1*p.e*            *basket*            *make-1p.PT-e-Q*)  
'Did you make a basket for us?'

### e. Second Person Plural Subject    Third Person Objects

In Kulung, the second person plural (2*p*) subject and the third person singular (3*s*) and non-singular (3*ns*) objects agree with the particular inflections in the transitive verbs. For non-preterite tense, the suffix '-num' is added to the stem of the transitive verbs such as in the examples (246) - (248) and for the preterite tense, the suffixes '-a-num' are added to the stem of the transitive verbs as in the examples (249) - (251) respectively.

Non-preterite

246. ann-a            k<sup>h</sup> /s            pa:m-num-no  
(2*p*-*ERG*        3*s/ns*            *scratch-2p*    3-*NEG.NPT*)  
'You do not scratch her/them.'
247. ann-a            yac<sup>h</sup>abim        k<sup>h</sup>et-num  
(2*p*-*ERG*        *broom*            *buy-2p*    3)  
'You will buy the broom.'
248. ann-a            ka                det-num-yo  
(2*p*-*ERG*        3*s*                *chop down-2p*    3-*Q*)  
'Will you chop it down?'

Preterite

249. ann-a            k<sup>h</sup> /s            man-pa:m-a-num  
(2*p-ERG*        3*s/ns*            *NEG.PT-scratch-PT-2p 3*)

'You did not scratch her/them.'

250. ann-a            yac<sup>h</sup>abim        k<sup>h</sup>et-a-num  
(2*p-ERG*            *broom*            *buy-PT-2p 3*)

'You bought the broom.'

251. ann-a            ka            det-a-num-yo  
(2*p-ERG*            3*s*            *chop down-PT-2p 3-Q*)

'Did you chop this down?'

### 3.1.1.3. Kulung Third Person Subjects and Verb Agreement

Unlike other Kirati languages, Kulung lacks third person dual personal pronoun. It means there are only two third person personal pronouns in the Kulung language, viz. 'k<sup>h</sup> ' and 'k<sup>h</sup> s'. The former signifies as the third person singular pronoun or single agent and the latter as the non-singular pronoun or two or more than two agents. The third person singular and non-singular subjects agree with the same verbal affixation in the Kulung language. Kulung subject verb agreement systems in terms of the third person personal pronouns and numbers are stated below.

#### A. Intransitive Verb Agreement Paradigms

The third person singular (3s) and non-singular (3ns) subjects agree with the particular inflections in the intransitive verbs in the Kulung language. For non-preterite tense, the suffix '-e' is added to the stem of the intransitive verbs such as in the examples (252), (254) and (255) and the third person singular verbal suffix '-e' is omitted when it is followed by the non-preterite negative marker '-no' as in examples (253) and (256). And for the preterite tense, the suffix '-a' or '- ' is added to the stem of the intransitive verbs as in the examples (257) - (258) and (259) - (261) respectively.

Non-preterite

252. k<sup>h</sup>            English-lo            Kulu    ri -pi-ka                    nen-e  
           (3s            *English-conj.*        *Kulung language-LOC-ABL*    *speak-n1s.P*)  
           'She speaks in English and Kulung.'
253. k<sup>h</sup> s            c<sup>h</sup>ou-to                    per-Ø-no  
           (3ns            *bird-like*                    *fly-n1s.P-NEG.NPT*)  
           'They do not fly like a bird.'
254. k<sup>h</sup> s            inimba            n i-e-?o  
           (3ns            *now days*        *be fine-n1s.P-Q*)  
           'Are they fine now days? (How are they?)'
255. k<sup>h</sup>            duwa            l i-e  
           (3s            *unhealthy*        *feel-n1s.P*)  
           'She feels unhealthy.'
256. k<sup>h</sup>            uroi            n :-to                    p i-Ø-no  
           (3s            *Q*                    *proper-adv.*                    *grow-n1s.P-NEG.NPT*)  
           'Why doesn't she grow properly?'

Preterite

257. k<sup>h</sup>            English-lo            Kulu    ri -pi-ka                    nen-a  
           (3s            *English-conj.*        *Kulung language-LOC-ABL*    *speak-PT*)  
           'She spoke in English and Kulung language.'
258. k<sup>h</sup> s            c<sup>h</sup>ou-to                    man-per-a  
           (3ns            *bird-like*                    *NEG.PT-fly-PT*)  
           'They do not fly like a bird.'
259. k<sup>h</sup> s            inimba                    n m- -?o  
           (3ns            *now days*                    *be fine-PT-Q*)  
           'Were they fine now days? (How were they?)'
260. k<sup>h</sup>            duwa                    l m-  
           (3s            *unhealthy*                    *feel-PT*)  
           'She felt unhealthy.'



261. k<sup>h</sup> uroi n :-to man-p m-  
 (3s Q proper-adv. NEG.PT-grow-PT)  
 'Why didn't she grow properly?'

## B. Transitive Verb Agreement Paradigms

### a. Third Person Subjects First Person Singular Object

In Kulung, the third person singular (3s) and non-singular (3ns) subjects and the first person singular (1s) object agree with the particular inflections in the transitive verbs. For non-preterite tense, the suffix '-o:' is added to the stem of the transitive verbs such as in the examples (262) - (264) and for the preterite tense, the suffix '-o' is added to the stem of the transitive verbs as in the examples (265) - (267) respectively.

#### Non-preterite

262. k<sup>h</sup> c-a ko no: piy-o:  
 (3ns-ERG 1s loan give-1s.NPT)  
 'They will give me the loan.'

263. k<sup>h</sup> s-a ko lam-o:-?o  
 (3s-ERG 1s search-1s.NPT-Q)  
 'Will she search me?'

264. k<sup>h</sup> c-a ko g k-o:-no-fo  
 (3ns-ERG 1s strike-1s.NPT-NEG.NPT-Q)  
 'Won't they strike me?'

#### Preterite

265. k<sup>h</sup> c-a ko no: piy-o  
 (3ns-ERG 1s loan give-1s.PT)  
 'They gave me the loan.'

266. k<sup>h</sup> s-a ko lam-o-?o  
 (3s-ERG 1s search-1s.PT-Q)  
 'Did she search me?'

267. k<sup>h</sup> c-a            ko                    ma -g k-o-fo  
       (3ns-ERG        1s                    NEG.PT-strike-1s.PT-Q)  
       'Didn't they strike me?'

**b. Third Person Subjects    First Person Dual Inclusive Object**

In Kulung, the third person singular (3s) and non-singular (3ns) subjects and the first person dual inclusive object agree with the particular inflections in the transitive verbs. For non-preterite tense, the suffix '-ci' is added to the stem of the transitive verbs such as in the examples (268) - (270) and for the preterite tense, the suffixes '-a-ci' are added to the stem of the transitive verbs as in the examples (271) - (273) respectively.

Non-preterite

268. k<sup>h</sup> c-a            kas                    you:                    len-ci  
       (3ns-ERG        1d.i                    river                    submerge-d)  
       'They will submerge us into the river. (They will deceive us.)'

269. k<sup>h</sup> c-a            kas            lam-pi-ka-                    at-ci-no-fo?  
       (3ns-ERG        1d.i            way-LOC-ABL-EMP    return-d-NEG.NPT-Q)  
       'Won't they make us return from the half of the way?'

270. k<sup>h</sup> s-a            kas                    lem-ci  
       (3s-ERG        1d.i                    persuade -d)  
       'She persuades us.'

Preterite

271. k<sup>h</sup> c-a            kas                    you                    len-a-ci  
       (3ns-ERG        1d.i                    river                    submerge-PT-d)  
       'They submerged us into the river. (They deceived us.)'

272. k<sup>h</sup> c-a            kas            lam-pi-ka-                    ma -at-a-ci-fo  
       (3ns-ERG        1d.i            way-LOC-ABL-EMP    NEG.PT-return-PT-d-Q)  
       'Didn't they make us return from the half of the way?'

273. k<sup>h</sup> s-a          kas                  lem-a-ci  
       (3s-ERG        1d.i                  persuade-PT-d)  
       'She persuaded us.'

**c. Third Person Subjects    First Person Dual Exclusive Object**

The third person singular (3s) and non-singular (3ns) subjects and the first person dual exclusive (1d.e) object agree with the particular inflections in the transitive verbs in the Kulung language. For non-preterite tense, the suffixes '-ci-ka' are added to the stem of the transitive verbs such as in the examples (274) - (276) and for the preterite tense, the suffixes '-a-ci-ka' are added to the stem of the transitive verbs as in the examples (277) - (279) respectively.

Non-preterite

274. k<sup>h</sup> s-a          kaska                  lu -a                  ap-ci-ka  
       (3s-ERG        1d.e                  stone-INS        hit-d-e)  
       'He strikes us with stone.'

275. k<sup>h</sup> c-a          kaska                  mi:-a                  em-ci-ka  
       (3ns-ERG        1d.e                  fire-INS            heat-d-e)  
       'They heat us with fire.'

276. k<sup>h</sup> s-a          kaska                  k l-ci-ka  
       (3s-ERG        1d.e                  run after-d-e)  
       'He runs after us.'

Preterite

277. k<sup>h</sup> s-a          kaska                  lu -a                  ap-a-ci-ka  
       (3s-ERG        1d.e                  stone-INS        hit-PT-d-e)  
       'He struck us with stone.'

278. k<sup>h</sup> c-a          kaska                  mi:a                  em-a-ci-ka  
       (3ns-ERG        1d.e                  fire-INS            heat-PT-d-e)  
       'They heated us with fire.'

279. k<sup>h</sup> s-a          kaska          k l-a-ci-ka  
       (3s-ERG        1d.e            run after-PT-d-e)  
       'He ran after us.'

**d. Third Person Subjects      First Person Plural Inclusive Object**

In Kulung, the third person singular (3s) and non-singular (3ns) subjects and the first person plural inclusive (1p.i) object agree with the particular inflections in the transitive verbs. For non-preterite tense, the suffix '-ya' is added to the stem of the transitive verbs such as in the examples (280) - (282) and for the preterite tense, the suffix '-i' is added to the stem of the transitive verbs as in the examples (283) - (285) respectively.

Non-preterite

280. k<sup>h</sup> s-a          kei            um-k<sup>h</sup>im      kac<sup>h</sup> i-ya-?o  
       (3s-ERG        1p.i            her-house      invite-1p.NPT-Q)  
       'Does she invite us in her house?'
281. k<sup>h</sup> s-a          kei            lam-pi-ka      at-ya-no  
       (3s-ERG        1p.i            way-LOC-ABL    return-1p.NPT-NEG.NPT)  
       'He will not return us from the half of the way.'
282. k<sup>h</sup> c-a          kei            kim            mi-ya  
       (3ns-ERG        1p.i            fear            make-1p.NPT)  
       'They make us feel fear.'

Preterite

283. k<sup>h</sup> s-a          kei            um-k<sup>h</sup>im      kac<sup>h</sup> -i-?o  
       (3s-ERG        1p.i            her-house      invite-1p.PT-Q)  
       'Did she invite us in her house?'
284. k<sup>h</sup> s-a          kei            lam-pi-ka      ma -at-i  
       (3s-ERG        1p.i            way-LOK-ABL    NEG.PT-return-1p.PT)  
       'He did not return us from the half of the way.'

285. k<sup>h</sup> c-a      kei      kim      miy-i  
           (3ns-ERG    1p.i      fear      make-1p.PT)  
           'He made us feel fear.'

**e. Third Person Subjects    First Person Plural Exclusive Object**

In Kulung, the third person singular (3s) and non-singular (3ns) subjects and the first person plural exclusive (1p.e) object agree with the particular inflections in the transitive verbs. For non-preterite tense, the suffixes '-ya-ka' are added to the stem of the transitive verbs such as in the examples (286) - (288) and for the preterite tense, the suffixes '-i-ka' are added to the stem of the transitive verbs as in the examples (289) - (291) respectively.

Non-preterite

286. k<sup>h</sup> c-a      keika      kaw-a      kui-ya-ka-yo  
           (3ns-ERG    1p.e      water-INS    pour-1p.NPT-e-Q)  
           'Will they pour water to us?'

287. k<sup>h</sup> s-a      keika      mi-a      ke -ya-ka  
           (3s-ERG    1p.e      fire-INS      heat-1p.NPT-e)  
           'She will heat us with fire.'

288. k<sup>h</sup> c-a      keika      colom i-ya-ka  
           (3ns-ERG    1p.e      manage-1p.NPT-e)  
           'They will manage for us.'

Preterite

289. k<sup>h</sup> c-a      keika      kaw-a      ku-i-ka-yo  
           (3ns-ERG    1p.e      water-INS    pour-1p.PT-e-Q)  
           'Did they pour water to us?'

290. k<sup>h</sup> s-a      keika      mi-a      ke -i-ka  
           (3s-ERG    1p.e      fire-INS      heat-1p.PT-e)  
           'She heated us with fire.'

291. k<sup>h</sup> c-a          keika          colom -i-ka  
       (3ns-ERG      1p.e          manage-1p.PT-e)  
       'They managed for us.'

**f. Third Person Subject      Second Person Singular Object**

The third person singular (3s) and non-singular (3ns) subjects and the second person singular (2s) object agree with the particular inflections in the transitive verbs in the Kulung language. For non-preterite tense, the suffix '-e' is added to the stem of the transitive verbs such as in the examples (292) - (293) and for the preterite tense, the suffix '-a' is added to the stem of the transitive verbs as in the examples (295) - (297) respectively. In the agreement of the third person subjects and the second person singular object, the suffix '-e' in the non-preterite tense is omitted when it is followed by the non-preterite negative marker '-no' in the Kulung language.

Non-preterite

292. k<sup>h</sup> c-a          an                  ese:                  pan-e-?o  
       (3ns-ERG      2s                  today                  meet-n1s.P-Q)  
       'Do they meet you today?'

293. k<sup>h</sup> s-a          an                  t<sup>h</sup>i:-e  
       (3s-ERG      2s                  kick-n1s.P)  
       'She will kick you.'

294. k<sup>h</sup> c-a          an                  d p-Ø-no  
       (3ns-ERG      2s                  respect-n1s.P-NEG.NPT)  
       'They do not respect you.'

Preterite

295. k<sup>h</sup> c-a          an                  ese:                  pan-a-?o  
       (3ns-ERG      2s                  today                  meet-PT-Q)  
       'Did they meet you today?'

296. k<sup>h</sup> s-a            an            t<sup>h</sup>i:-a  
       (3s-ERG        2s            kick-PT)  
       'She did kick you.'
297. k<sup>h</sup> c-a            an            man-d p-a  
       (3ns-ERG        2s            NEG.PT-respect-PT)  
       'They didn't respect you.'

### g. Third Person Subjects    Second Person Dual Object

In Kulung, the third person singular (3s) and non-singular (3ns) subjects and the second person dual (2d) object agree with the particular inflections in the transitive verbs. For non-preterite tense, the suffix '-ci' is added to the stem of the transitive verbs such as in the examples (298) - (300) and for the preterite tense, the suffixes '-a-ci' are added to the stem of the transitive verbs as in the examples (301) - (303) respectively.

#### Non-preterite

298. k<sup>h</sup> s-a            anci            ker-ci-no  
       (3s-ERG        2d            beat-d-NEG.NPT)  
       'She does not beat you.'
299. k<sup>h</sup> c-a            anci            ra -ci-?o  
       (3ns-ERG        2d            scold-d-Q)  
       'Do they scold you?'
300. k<sup>h</sup> c-a            anci            ui            k<sup>h</sup>ur-ci  
       (3ns-ERG        2d            Q            bring-d)  
       'What do they bring for you?'

#### Preterite

301. k<sup>h</sup> s-a            anci            man-ker-a-ci  
       (3s-ERG        2d            NEG.PT-beat-PT-d)  
       'She did not beat you.'

302. k<sup>h</sup> c-a            anci            ra -a-ci-?o  
           (3ns-ERG    2d            scold-PT-d-Q)  
           'Did they scold you?'
303. k<sup>h</sup> c-a            anci            ui            k<sup>h</sup>ur-a-ci  
           (3ns-ERG    2d            Q            bring-PT-d)  
           'What did they bring for you?'

#### **h. Third Person Subjects    Second Person Plural Object**

In Kulung, the third person singular (3s) and non-singular (3ns) subjects and the second person plural (2p) patient agree with the particular inflections in the transitive verbs. For non-preterite tense, the suffix '-ni' is added to the stem of the transitive verbs such as in the examples (304) - (306) and for the preterite tense, the suffixes '-a-ni' are added to the stem of the transitive verbs as in the examples (307) - (309) respectively.

##### Non-preterite

304. k<sup>h</sup> c-a            anni            p<sup>h</sup>e ga            b pi-ni  
           (3ns-ERG    2p            nettle coat    knit-2p)  
           'They knit a nettle coat for you.'
305. k<sup>h</sup> s-a            anni            do -ni-no  
           (3s-ERG    2p            regard-2p-NEG.NPT)  
           'He will not regard (ritual regard) you.'
306. k<sup>h</sup> s-a            anni            dei            v i-ni  
           (3s-ERG    2p            Q            help-2p)  
           'How much does she help you?'

##### Preterite

307. k<sup>h</sup> c-a            anni            p<sup>h</sup>e ga            b p-a-ni  
           (3ns-ERG    2p            nettle coat    knit-PT-2p)  
           'They knitted a nettle coat for you.'



308. k<sup>h</sup> s-a            anni            man-do -a-ni  
       (3*s*-*ERG*        2*p*            *NEG.PT-regard-PT-2p*)

'He did not regard (ritual regard) you.'

309. k<sup>h</sup> s-a            anni            dei            vom-a-ni  
       (3*s*-*ERG*        2*p*            *Q*            *help-PT-2p*)

'How much did she help you?'

### **i. Third Person Singular Subject    Third Person Singular Object**

In Kulung, the third person singular (3*s*) subject and the third person singular (3*s*) object agree with the particular inflections in the transitive verbs. For non-preterite tense, the suffix '- ' is added to the stem of the verbs such as in the examples (310) - (312) and for the preterite tense, the suffix '-u' is added to the stem of the verbs as in the examples (314) - (316) respectively.

Non-preterite

310. k<sup>h</sup> s-a            Sumnima        si:rip        pi-  
       (3*s*-*ERG*        *sumnima*        *si:rip*        *give-2s.3 3.NPT*)

'He will give si:rip (embroidery) to Sumnima.'

311. k<sup>h</sup> s-a            bu            bikk- -no  
       (3*s*-*ERG*        *flower*        *pluck up-2s.3 3.NPT-NEG.NPT*)

'She does not pluck up the flower.'

312. uroi            k<sup>h</sup> s-a        mu k        rupp-  
       (*Q*            3*s*-*ERG*        *that*        *chop-2s.3 3.NPT*)

'Why does he chop that?'

Preterite

313. k<sup>h</sup> s-a            Sumnima        si:rip        pi-u  
       (3*s*-*ERG*        *sumnima*        *si:rip*        *give-3.P.PT*)

'He gave si:rip (embroidery) to Sumnima.'

314. k<sup>h</sup> s-a            bu            man-bikk-u  
       (3*s*-*ERG*        *flower*        *NEG.PT-pluck up-3.P.PT*)

'She did not pluck up the flower.'

315. uroi            k<sup>h</sup> s-a            mu k            rupp-u  
           (Q            3s-ERG            that            chop-3.P.PT)  
 'Why did he chop that?'

**j. Third Person Non-Singular Subject    Third Person Objects**

In Kulung, the third person non-singular (3ns) subject and the third person objects agree with the particular inflections in the transitive verbs. For non-preterite tense, the suffixes '-ci' are added to the transitive verb stem such as in the examples (316) - (318) and for the preterite tense, the suffix '-ci' is added to the transitive verb stem as in the examples (319) - (321) respectively.

Non-preterite

316. k<sup>h</sup> c-a            c<sup>h</sup>ara            k<sup>h</sup>o -ci  
           (3ns-ERG            goat            look after-2s.3    3.NPT-3ns)  
 'They look after goat.'
317. k<sup>h</sup> c-a            k<sup>h</sup>ep-ci            k ll- -ci  
           (3ns-ERG            dog-p            chase-2s.3    3.NPT-3ns)  
 'They chase the dogs.'
318. k<sup>h</sup> c-a            faji            k<sup>h</sup>et- -ci  
           (3ns-ERG            bag            buy-2s.3    3.NPT-3ns)  
 'They buy bag.'

Preterite

319. k<sup>h</sup> c-a            c<sup>h</sup>ara            k<sup>h</sup>o -ci  
           (3ns-ERG            goat            look after-3ns)  
 'They looked after goat.'
320. k<sup>h</sup> c-a            k<sup>h</sup>ep-ci            k ll-ci  
           (3ns-ERG            dog-p            chase-3ns)  
 'They chased the dogs.'
321. k<sup>h</sup> c-a            faji            k<sup>h</sup>et-ci  
           (3ns-ERG            bag            buy-3ns'  
 'They bought bag.'

### Affixes of the Intransitive Verb Conjugation in Terms of Person and Number

	Non-preterite	Preterite
1s	-o: -o:-no	-o man- -o
1d.i	-ci -ci-no	-a-ci man- -a-ci/- - -ci
1d.e	-ci-ka -ci-ka-no	-a-ci-ka/ -a-s-ka/ - -s-ka man- -a-ci-ka/- -a-s-ka/- - -s-ka
1p.i	-ya -ya-no	-i man- -i
1p.e	-ya-ka -ya-ka-no	-i-ka man- -i-ka
2s	-e -Ø-no	-a man- -a
2d	-ci -ci-no	-a-ci man- -a-ci
2p	-ni -ni-no	-a-ni/ - -ni man- -a-ni/- - -ni
3	-e -Ø-no	-a man- -a

*Table 1: Intransitive verbal affixations*

## Affixes of the Transitive Verb Conjugation in Terms of Person and Number

	1s	1d.i	1d.e	1p.i	1p.e	2s	2d	2p	3s	3ns	
1s	p a t i e n t a g e n t										
1d.i											
1d.e											
1p.i											
1p.e											
2s	-o: -o								- -u	- -ci -ci	
2d	-o!:-ci -o-ci		-ci-ka -a-ci-ka		-ya-ka -i-ka				-cu -a-cu		
2p	-o!:-ni -o-ni								-num -a-num		
3s	-o: -o			-ya -i		-e -a	-ci -a-ci	-ni -a-nni	- -u	- -ci -ci	
3ns											

Table 2: Transitive verbal affixations

### **3.1.2. Kulung Subject-Verb Agreement in Terms of Tense and Aspect**

There are two concepts used to describe time and action in verbs - *tense* and *aspect*. Verb forms indicate both *the time of the action expressed by the verb* and *the speaker's view of the action in time*. Cowan (2009, p. 350) states that tense in verbs expresses the time that an action occurs in relation to the moment of speaking: *present, past* and *future*. Aspect expresses how the speaker views the action of the verb; for example, bounded and complete action (perfect aspect), incomplete action (progressive/continuous aspect), repeated action (iterative aspect) and regular action (habitual aspect). In Kulung, tense and aspect are expressed through the inflection of the verbs. The subject-verb agreement system In terms of tense and aspect are analysed below.

#### **3.1.2.1. Simple Tenses**

In simple past, simple present and simple future tenses, verbs are inflected for tense in the Kulung language. These three tenses are called 'simple' because they do not involve aspect or is sometimes called *zero aspect*. The Kulung subject verb agreement system in terms of the simple tenses is stated below.

##### **I. Simple Present and Simple Future Tenses**

It is interesting that the simple present and simple future tenses are indicated by the same verbal inflections in the Kulung language. In other words, there is no any formal difference between the simple present and the simple future tenses but they imply present or future tenses exclusively. The simple present tense expresses the present actions, states, habitual actions, scientific truth etc. and simple future tense expresses future actions. The simple present and simple future tenses in the Kulung language is analysed below.

Here is given a full paradigm of simple present and simple future tenses of the intransitive verb *imma* (stem - *ims-*, *im-*) 'to sleep' and the transitive verb *kerma* (stem *ker-*) 'to beat/hit'.

## A. First Person Singular Subject

Kulung is an ergative language; most agreement markers follow either an absolutive or an ergative-portmanteau pattern i.e. they show agreement with transitive agents and transitive patients. In intransitive verb agreement of the first person singular (1s) subject, the first person singular non-preterite suffix '-o:' indicates simple present and simple future tenses as in the example (322). In Kulung, transitive verb agreement of the first person singular subject varies according to the selection of the object or patient as in the examples (323) - (328). The following table shows the transitive verb agreement paradigms for simple present and simple future tenses of the first person singular subject and the possible objects in the Kulung language.

subject	object	suffixes	indicate
1s	2s	1s 2.NPT '-yan'	simple present and simple future tenses
	2d	1s 2.NPT and dual '-yan-ci'	
	2p	1s 2.NPT and plural '-yan-ni'	
	3s	first singular non-preterite '-o:'	
	3ns	first singular non-preterite and dual '-o:-ci'	

*Table 3: Affixes of the first person singular subject and objects in simple present and simple future tenses*

322. ko                      ims-o:  
       (1s                      *sleep-1s.NPT*)  
       'I shall sleep/ I sleep.'

323. ko -a                  an                      ker-yan-no  
       (1s-ERG              2s                      *beat-1s 2.NPT-NEG.NPT*)  
       'I shall not beat you.'

324. ko -a                  anci                      ker-yan-ci  
       (1s-ERG              2d                      *beat-1s 2.NPT-d*)  
       'I beat you.'

325. ko -a            anni            ker-yan-ni-ke  
       (*1s-ERG*        *2p*            *beat-1s 2.NPT-2p-IMP*)  
       'Shall I beat you?'
326. ko -a            k<sup>h</sup>            ker-o:  
       (*1s-ERG*        *3s*            *beat-1s.NPT*)  
       'I beat her.'
327. ko -a            k<sup>h</sup> s           ker-o:-ci-no  
       (*1s-ERG*        *3ns*           *beat-1s.NPT-NEG.NPT*)  
       'I shall not beat them.'

### B. First Person Dual Inclusive Subject

In intransitive verb agreement of the first person dual inclusive (1d.i) subject, the dual marker '-ci' indicates simple present and simple future tenses as in the example (328). In transitive verb agreement of the first person dual inclusive subject and the third person patients, the transitive portmanteau suffix '-cu' indicates simple present and simple future tenses as in the examples (329) - (330) respectively.

328. kas            ims-ci-no  
       (*1d.i*            *sleep-d-NEG.NPT*)  
       'We shall/do not sleep.'
329. kac-a            k<sup>h</sup>            ker-cu  
       (*1d.i-ERG*        *3s*            *beat-d 3*)  
       'We beat her.'
330. kac-a            k<sup>h</sup> s           uroi            ker-cu  
       (*1d.i-ERG*        *3ns*            *Q*            *beat-d 3*)  
       'Why do we beat them?'

### C. First Person Dual Exclusive Subject

In intransitive verb agreement of the first person dual exclusive (1d.e) subject, the dual and exclusive markers '-ci-ka' indicate simple present and simple future tenses as in the example (331). In Kulung, transitive verb agreement of

the first person dual exclusive subject varies according to the selection of the object or patient as in the examples (332) - (334). The following table shows the transitive verb agreement paradigms for simple present and simple future tenses of the first person dual exclusive subject and the possible objects in the Kulung language.

subject	object	suffixes	indicate
1d.e	2s	non-first person singular '-e'	simple present and simple future tenses
	2d	dual '-ci'	
	2p	plural '-ni'	
	3	the d 3 and exclusive '-cu-ka'	

*Table 4: Affixes of the first person dual exclusive subject and objects in simple present and simple future tenses*

331. kaska            u-pi:            ims-ci-ka  
*(1d.e            Q-LOC            sleep-d-e)*  
 'Where shall/do we sleep?'

332. kaska            an            ker-e  
*(1d.e            2s            beat-n1s.P)*  
 'We shall beat you.'

333. kaska            anci            ker-ci-no  
*(1d.e            2d            beat-d-NEG.NPT)*  
 'We do not beat you.'

334. kaska            anni            ker-ni  
*(1d.e            2p            beat-2p)*  
 'We beat you.'

335. kaska            k<sup>h</sup> /k<sup>h</sup> s            ker-cu  
*(1d.e            3s/3ns            beat-d 3)*  
 'We shall beat her/them.'

#### **D. First Person Plural Inclusive Subject**

In intransitive verb agreement of the first person plural inclusive (1p.i) subject, the first person non-preterite suffix '-ya' indicates simple present and simple



future tenses as in the example (336). In transitive verb agreement of the first person plural inclusive subject and the third person singular and non-singular objects, the non-preterite portmanteau suffix '-am' indicates simple present and simple future tenses as in the examples (337) - (338).

336. kei                   ims-ya-yo  
       (*1p.i*               *sleep-1p.NPT-Q*)  
       'Shall/Do we sleep? '
337. kei-a               k<sup>h</sup>               ker-am  
       (*1p.i-ERG*       *3s*               *beat-1p 3.NPT*)  
       'We shall beat him.'
338. kai-a               k<sup>h</sup> s             uroi             ker-am  
       (*1p.i-ERG*       *3ns*             *Q*               *beat-1p 3.NPT*)  
       'Why do we beat them?'

### E. First Person Plural Exclusive Subject

In intransitive verb agreement of the first person plural exclusive (1p.e) subject, the first person plural non-preterite suffix and exclusive maker '-ya-ka' indicate simple present and simple future tenses as in the example (339). In Kulung, transitive verb agreement of the first person plural exclusive subject varies according to the selection of the object or patient as in the examples (340) - (343). The following table shows the transitive verb agreement paradigms for simple present and simple future tenses of the first person plural exclusive subject and the possible objects in the Kulung language.

subject	object	suffixes	indicate
1p.e	2s	non-first person singular '-e'	simple present and simple future tenses
	2d	dual '-ci'	
	2p	plural '-ni'	
	3	1p 3.NPT and exclusive '-am-ka'	

*Table 5: Affixes of the first person plural exclusive subject and objects in simple present and simple future tenses*

339. keika            u-pi:            ims-ya-ka  
       (*1p.e*            *Q-LOC*            *sleep-1p.NPT-e*)  
       'Where shall/do we sleep?'
340. keika            an                ker-e  
       (*1p.e*            *2s*                *beat-1s.P*)  
       'We beat you.'
341. keika            anci              ker-ci-no  
       (*1p.e*            *2d*                *beat-d-NEG.NPT*)  
       'We shall not beat you.'
342. keika            anni              ker-ni  
       (*1p.e*            *2p*                *beat-2p*)  
       'We beat you.'
343. keika            k<sup>h</sup> /k<sup>h</sup> s        ker-am-ka  
       (*1p.e*            *3s/3ns*            *beat-1p 3.NPT-e*)  
       'We shall beat her/them.'

## F. Second Person Singular Subject

In intransitive verb agreement of the second person singular (2s) subject, the non-first person singular suffix '-e' indicates simple present and simple future tenses as in the example (344). In the case of transitive verb agreement, the affixes of the table (6) show simple present and simple future tenses of the second person singular subject and the possible objects in the Kulung language.

subject	object	suffixes	indicate
2s	1s	first singular non-preterite '-o:'	simple present and simple future tenses
	1d.e	dual and exclusive '-ci-ka'	
	1p.e	first plural non-preterite and exclusive '-ya-ka'	
	3s	third person patient non-preterite '- '	
	3ns	third person patient non-preterite and third person non-singular '- -ci'	

*Table 6:* Affixes of the second person singular subject and objects in simple present and simple future tenses

344. an                    dumo                    ims-e  
       (2s                    more                    sleep-n1s)  
       'You sleep more/You will sleep more.'
345. an-a                ko                        ker-o:-no  
       (2s-ERG            1s                        beat-1s.NPT-NEG.NPT)  
       'You will not beat me.'
346. an-a                kaska                   ker-ci-ka-?o  
       (2s-ERG            1d.e                    beat-d-e-Q)  
       'Don't you beat us? '
347. an-a                keika                   ker-ya-ka  
       (2s-ERG            1p.e                    beat-1p.P.NPT-e)  
       'You will beat us.'
348. an-a                k<sup>h</sup>                        ker-  
       (2s-ERG            3s                        beat-2s.3 3.NPT)  
       'You beat her.'
349. an-a                k<sup>h</sup> s                    ker- -ci  
       (2s-ERG            3ns                    beat-2s.3 3.NPT-3ns)  
       'You will beat them.'

### G. Second Person Dual Subject

In intransitive verb agreement of the second person dual (2d) subject, the suffix '-ci' indicates simple present and simple future tenses as in the example (350). The affixes of the following table show the simple present and simple future tenses of the second person dual subject and possible objects in the Kulung language.

subject	object	suffixes	indicate
2d	1s	first singular non-preterite and dual '-o:-ci'	simple present and future tenses
	1d.e	dual and exclusive '-ci-ka'	
	1p.e	first plural non-preterite and exclusive '-ya-ka'	
	3	the d 3 '-cu'	

Table 7: Affixes of the second person dual subject and objects in simple present and simple future tenses

350. *anci*                    *ims-ci*  
       (*2d*                    *sleep-d*)  
       'You will sleep/You sleep.'
351. *anc-a*                *ko*                    *ker-o:-ci-no*  
       (*2d-ERG*            *1s*                    *beat-1s.NPT-d-NEG.NPT*)  
       'You do not beat me.'
352. *anc-a*                *kaska*                *ker-ci-ka-?o*  
       (*2d-ERG*            *1d.e*                    *beat-d-e-Q*)  
       'Will you beat us?'
353. *anc-a*                *keika*                *ker-ya-ka*  
       (*2s-ERG*            *1p.e*                    *beat-1p.P.NPT-e*)  
       'You beat us.'
354. *anc-a*                *k<sup>h</sup> /k<sup>h</sup> s*            *ker-cu*  
       (*2d-ERG*            *3s/3ns*                *beat-d 3*)  
       'You will beat her/them.'

## H. Second Person Plural Subject

In intransitive verb agreement of the second person plural (2p) subject, the second person plural suffix '-ni' indicates simple present and simple future tenses as in the example (355). For the transitive verb agreement, the affixes of the table (8) show simple present and simple future tenses of the second person plural subject and the possible objects in the Kulung language.

subject	object	suffixes	indicate
2p	1s	first singular non-preterite and plural '-o:-ni'	simple present and simple future tenses
	1d.e	dual and exclusive '-ci-ka'	
	1p.e	first plural non-preterite and exclusive '-ya-ka'	
	3	the 2p 3 '-num'	

*Table 8:* Affixes of the second person plural subject and objects in simple present and simple future tenses

355. anni            k<sup>h</sup>unto            ims-ni-no  
       (2p            so much            sleep-2p-NEG.NPT)  
       'You will/do not sleep so much.'
356. ann-a            ko            ker-o:-ni-no  
       (2p-ERG        1s            beat-1s.NPT-2p-NEG.NPT)  
       'You do not beat me.'
357. ann-a            kaska            ker-ci-ka-?o  
       (2p-ERG        1d.e            beat-d-e-Q)  
       'Will you beat us?'
358. ann-a            keika            ker-ya-ka  
       (2p-ERG        1p.e            beat-1p.P.NPT-e)  
       'You beat us.'
359. ann-a            k<sup>h</sup> /k<sup>h</sup> s            ker-num  
       (2p-ERG        3s/3ns            beat-2p 3)  
       'You will beat her/them.'

### I. Third Person Subjects

In intransitive verb agreement of the third person singular (3s) and non-singular (3ns) subjects, the non-first person singular morpheme '-e' indicates simple present and simple future tenses as in the example (360). In Kulung, transitive verb agreement of the third person subjects varies according to the the object or patient as in the examples (361) - (370). The table (9) shows the transitive verb agreement paradigms for simple present and simple future tenses of the third person subjects and the possible objects in the Kulung language.

360. k<sup>h</sup> /k<sup>h</sup> s            ims-e  
       (3s/3ns            sleep-n1s)  
       'He/They sleeps/sleep.'  
       'He/They will sleep.'
361. k<sup>h</sup> s-a            ko            ker-o:-no  
       (3s-ERG        1s            beat-1s.NPT-NEG.NPT)  
       'She does not beat me.'

subject	object	suffixes	indicate
3	1s	first singular non-preterite '-o:'	simple present and simple future tenses
	1d.i	dual '-ci'	
	1d.e	dual and exclusive '-ci-ka'	
	1p.i	first plural non-preterite '-ya'	
	1p.e	first plural non-preterite and exclusive '-ya-ka'	
	2s	non-first person singular '-e'	
	2d	dual '-ci'	
	2p	second person plural 'ni'	
	3ns	third person patient non-preterite and non-singular '- -ci'	
3s	3s	third person patient non-preterite '- '	

Table 9: Affixes of the third person subject and objects in simple present and simple future tenses

362. k<sup>h</sup> c-a      kas      ker-ci  
*(3ns-ERG      1d.i      beat-d)*  
 'They will beat us.'
363. k<sup>h</sup> c-a      kaska      ker-ci-ka-?o  
*(3ns-ERG      1d.e      beat-d-e-Q)*  
 'Will they beat us?'
364. k<sup>h</sup> s-a      kei      ker-ya  
*(3s-ERG      1p.i      beat-1p.P.NPT)*  
 'He beats us.'
365. k<sup>h</sup> s-a      keika      ker-ya-ka  
*(3s-ERG      1p.e      beat-1p.P.NPT-e)*  
 'She will beat us.'
366. k<sup>h</sup> c-a      an      uroi      ker-e  
*(3ns-ERG      2s      Q      beat-n1s.P)*  
 'Why do they beat you?'
367. k<sup>h</sup> s-a      anci      ker-ci-no  
*(3s-ERG      2d      beat-d-NEG.NPT)*  
 'He will not beat you.'

368. k<sup>h</sup> c-a            anni            ker-ni-yo  
           (3ns-ERG        2p            beat-2p-Q)  
           'Do they beat you?'
369. k<sup>h</sup> c-a            k<sup>h</sup> /k<sup>h</sup> s        ker- -ci  
           (3ns-ERG        3s/3ns        beat-2s.3    3.NPT-3ns)  
           'They beat her/them.'
370. k<sup>h</sup> s-a            k<sup>h</sup>            ker-  
           (3s-ERG        3s            beat-2s.3    3.NPT)  
           'She will beat her.'

## II. Simple Past Tense

The simple past expresses action carried out prior to the time of speaking. The inflection in the verb form makes the simple past tense in Kulung. The simple past tense in Kulung is analysed below.

Here is given a full paradigm of simple past tense of the intransitive verb *gema* (stem - *ges-*) 'to laugh' and the transitive verb *maima* (stem *mai-*, *mat-*) 'to forget'.

### A. First Person Singular Subject

In intransitive verb agreement of the first person singular (1s) subject, the first person singular preterite suffix '-o' indicates simple past tense as in the example (371). For the transitive verb agreement, the affixes of the table (10) show the transitive verb agreement paradigms for simple past tense of the first person singular subject and the possible objects in the Kulung language.

subject	object	suffixes	indicate
1s	2s	second singular preterite '-na'	simple past tenses
	2d	second singular preterite and dual '-n-ci'	
	2p	second singular preterite and second plural '-n-ni'	
	3s	1s 3 preterite '-u'	
	3ns	1s 3 preterite and third non-singular '-u-ci'	

Table 10: Affixes of the first person singular subject and objects in simple past tense

371. ko ges-o  
 (1s laugh-1s.PT)  
 'I laughed.'
372. ko -a an ma -mai-na  
 (1s-ERG 2s NEG.PT-forget-2s.PT)  
 'I did not forget you.'
373. ko -a anci mai-n-ci  
 (1s-ERG 2d forget-2s.PT-d)  
 'I forgot you.'
374. ko -a anni mai-n-ni-ke  
 (1s-ERG 2p forget-2s.PT-2p-IMP)  
 'I forgot you.'
375. ko -a k<sup>h</sup> mat-u  
 (1s-ERG 3s forget-1s 3.PT)  
 'I forgot her.'
376. ko -a k<sup>h</sup> s ma -mat-u-ci  
 (1s-ERG 3ns forget-1s 3.PT-3ns)  
 'I did not forget them.'

## B. First Person Dual Inclusive Subject

In intransitive verb agreement of the first person dual inclusive (1d.i) subject, the preterite and dual morphemes '-a-ci' indicate simple past tense as in the example (377). In transitive verb agreement of the first person dual inclusive subject and the third person patients, the preterite and the transitive portmanteau morphemes '-a-cu' indicate simple past tense as in the examples (378) - (379) respectively.

377. kas ma -ges-a-ci  
 (1d.i NEG.PT-laugh-PT-d)  
 'We did not laugh.'



378. kac-a            k<sup>h</sup>            mat-a-cu  
       (1d.i-ERG    3s            forget-PT-d 3)  
       'We forgot her.'
379. kac-a            k<sup>h</sup> s            uroi            mat-a-cu  
       (1d.i-ERG    3ns            Q            forget-PT-d 3)  
       'Why did we forget them?'

### C. First Person Dual Exclusive Subject

In intransitive verb agreement of the first person dual exclusive (1d.e) subject, the preterite, dual and exclusive markers '-a-ci-ka' indicate simple past tense as in the example (380). In Kulung, transitive verb agreement of the first person dual exclusive subject varies according to the selection of the object or patient as in the examples (381) - (384). The following table shows the transitive verb agreement paradigms for simple past tense of the first person dual exclusive subject and the possible objects in the Kulung language.

subject	object	suffixes	indicate
1d.e	2s	preterite '-a'	simple past
	2d	preterite and dual '-a-ci'	
	2p	preterite and plural '-a-ni'	
	3	preterite, the d 3 and exclusive '-a-cu-ka'	

Table 11: Affixes of the first person dual exclusive subject and object in simple past tense

380. kaska            uroi            ges-a-ci-ka  
       (1d.e            Q            laugh-PT-d-e)  
       'Why did we laugh?'
381. kaska            an            mat-a  
       (1d.e            2s            forget-PT)  
       'We forgot you.'
382. kaska            anci            ma -mat-a-ci  
       (1d.e            2d            NEG.PT-forget-PT-d)  
       'We did not forget you.'

383. kaska            anni            mat-a-ni  
       (*1d.e*            *2p*            *forget-PT-2p*)  
       'We forgot you.'

384. kaska            k<sup>h</sup> /k<sup>h</sup> s        mat-a-cu-ka  
       (*1d.e*            *3s/3ns*        *forget-PT-d 3-e*)  
       'We forgot her/them.'

#### **D. First Person Plural Inclusive Subject**

In intransitive verb agreement of the first person plural inclusive (1p.i) subject, the first person plural preterite morpheme '-i' indicates simple past tense as in the example (385). In transitive verb agreement of the first person plural inclusive subject and the third person singular and non-singular objects, the preterite portmanteau morpheme '-um' indicates simple past tense as in the examples (386) - (387).

385. kei                ges-i-yo  
       (*1p.i*            *laugh-1p.PT-Q*)  
       'Did we laugh?'

386. kei-a            k<sup>h</sup>                mat-um  
       (*1p.i-ERG*    *3s*                *forget-1p 3.PT*)  
       'We forgot him.'

387. kai-a            k<sup>h</sup> s                uroi                mat-um  
       (*1p.i-ERG*    *3ns*                *Q*                *forget-1p 3.PT*)  
       'Why did we beat them?'

#### **E. First Person Plural Exclusive Subject**

In intransitive verb agreement of the first person plural exclusive (1p.e) subject, the first person plural preterite suffix and exclusive maker '-i-ka' indicate simple past tense as in the example (388). In Kulung, transitive verb agreement of the first person plural exclusive subject varies according to the selection of the object or patient as in the examples (389) - (392). The following table shows the transitive verb agreement paradigms for simple past tense of the first

person plural exclusive subject and the possible objects in the Kulung language.

subject	object	suffixes	indicate
1p.e	2s	preterite '-a'	simple past tense
	2d	preterite and dual '-a-ci'	
	2p	preterite and plural 'a-ni'	
	3	1p 3 preterite and exclusive '-um-ka'	

*Table 12: Affixes of the first person plural exclusive subject and objects in simple past tense*

388. keika                    ges-i-ka-?o  
       (*1p.e*                    *laugh-1p.PT-e-Q*)  
       'Did we laugh?'
389. keika                    an                    mat-a  
       (*1p.e*                    *2s*                    *forget-PT*)  
       'We forgot you.'
390. keika                    anci                    ma -mat-a-ci  
       (*1p.e*                    *2d*                    *NEG.PT-forget-PT-d*)  
       'We did not forget you.'
391. keika                    anni                    mat-a-ni  
       (*1p.e*                    *2p*                    *forget-PT-2p*)  
       'We forgot you.'
392. keika                    k<sup>h</sup> /k<sup>h</sup> s                    mat-um-ka  
       (*1p.e*                    *3s/3ns*                    *forget-1p 3.PT-e*)  
       'We forgot her/them.'

## G. Second Person Singular Subject

In intransitive verb agreement of the second person singular (2s) subject, the preterite morpheme '-a' indicates simple past tense as in the example (393). In Kulung, transitive verb agreement of the second person singular subject varies according to the selection of the object or patient as in the examples (394) - (398). The following table shows the transitive verb agreement paradigms for

simple past tense of the second person singular subject and the possible objects in the Kulung language.

subject	object	suffixes	indicate
2s	1s	first singular preterite '-o'	simple past
	1d.e	preterite-dual and exclusive '-a-ci-ka'	
	1p.e	first plural preterite and exclusive '-i-ka'	
	3s	patient of a transitive verb '-u '	
	3ns	third person non-singular '-ci'	

*Table 13:* Affixes of the second person singular subject and objects in simple past tense

393. an        dumo        ges-a  
       (2s        more        laugh-PT)  
       'You laugh more.'
394. an-a        ko        ma -mat-o  
       (2s-ERG    1s        NEG-PT-forget-1s.PT)  
       'You did not forget me.'
395. an-a        kaska        mat-a-ci-ka-?o  
       (2s-ERG    1d.e        forget-PT-d-e-Q)  
       'Did you forget us?'
396. an-a        keika        mat-i-ka  
       (2s-ERG    1p.e        beat-1p.P.PT-e)  
       'You forgot us.'
397. an-a        k<sup>h</sup>        mat-u  
       (2s-ERG    3s        forget-3.P.PT)  
       'You forgot her.'
398. an-a        k<sup>h</sup> s        mat-ci  
       (2s-ERG    3ns        forget-3ns)  
       'You forgot them.'

## G. Second Person Dual Subject

In intransitive verb agreement of the second person dual (2d) subject, the preterite and dual morphemes '-a-ci' indicate simple past tense as in the

example (399). In Kulung, transitive verb agreement of the second person dual subject varies according to the selection of the object or patient as in the examples (400) - (403). The following table shows the transitive verb agreement paradigms for simple past tense of the second person dual subject and the possible objects in the Kulung language.

subject	object	suffixes	indicate
2d	1s	first singular preterite and dual '-o-ci'	simple past tense
	1d.e	preterite, dual and exclusive '-a-ci-ka'	
	1p.e	first plural preterite and exclusive '-i-ka'	
	3	preterite and d 3 '-a-cu'	

*Table 14:* Affixes of the second person dual subject and objects in simple past tenses

399. *anci ges-a-ci*  
 (2d *laugh-PT-d*)  
 'You laugh.'
400. *anc-a ko ma -mat-o-ci*  
 (2d-ERG *1s NEG.PT-forget-1s.PT-d*)  
 'You did not forget me.'
401. *anc-a kaska mat-a-ci-ka-?o*  
 (2d-ERG *1d.e forget-PT-d-e-Q*)  
 'Did you forget us?'
402. *anc-a keika mat-i-ka*  
 (2s-ERG *1p.e forget-1p.P.PT-e*)  
 'You forgot us.'
403. *anc-a k<sup>h</sup> /k<sup>h</sup> s mat-a-cu*  
 (2d-ERG *3s/3ns forget-PT-d 3*)  
 'You forgot her/them.'

## H. Second Person Plural Subject

In intransitive verb agreement of the second person plural (2p) subject, the preterite and the second person plural morphemes '-a-ni' indicate simple past tense as in the example (404). In Kulung, transitive verb agreement of the second person plural subject varies according to the selection of the object or patient as in the examples (405) - (408). The following table shows the transitive verb agreement paradigms for simple past tense of the second person plural subject and the possible objects in the Kulung language.

subject	object	suffixes	indicate
2p	1s	first singular preterite and plural '-o-ni'	simple past tense
	1d.e	preterite-dual and exclusive '-a-ci-ka'	
	1p.e	first plural preterite and exclusive '-i-ka'	
	3	preterite and the 2p 3 '-a-num'	

*Table 15: Affixes of the second person plural subject and objects in simple past tenses*

404. anni    k<sup>h</sup>unto    ma -ges-a-ni  
 (2p    so much    NEG.PT-laugh-PT-2p)  
 'You did not laugh so much.'
405. ann-a    ko    ma -mat-o-ni  
 (2p-ERG    1s    NEG.PT-forget-1s.PT-2p)  
 'You did not forget me.'
406. ann-a    kaska    mat-a-ci-ka-?o  
 (2p-ERG    1d.e    forget-PT-d-e-Q)  
 'Did you forget us?'
407. ann-a    keika    mat-i-ka  
 (2p-ERG    1p.e    forget-1p.P.PT-e)  
 'You forgot us.'
408. ann-a    k<sup>h</sup> /k<sup>h</sup> s    mat-a-num  
 (2p-ERG    3s/3ns    forget-PT-2p 3)  
 'You forgot her/them.'

## I. Third Person Subjects

In intransitive verb agreement of the third person singular (3s) and non-singular (3ns) subjects, the preterite morpheme '-a' indicates simple past tense as in the example (409). In Kulung, transitive verb agreement of the third person subjects varies according to the selection of the object or patient as in the examples (410) - (419). The following table shows the transitive verb agreement paradigms for simple past tense of the third person subjects and the possible objects in the Kulung language.

subject	object	suffixes	indicate
3	1s	first singular preterite '-o'	simple past tense
	1d.i	preterite and dual '-a-ci'	
	1d.e	preterite, dual and exclusive '-a-ci-ka'	
	1p.i	first plural preterite '-i'	
	1p.e	first plural preterite and exclusive '-i-ka'	
	2s	preterite '-a'	
	2d	preterite and dual '-a-ci'	
	2p	preterite and second plural 'a-ni'	
3ns	third person non-singular '-ci'		
3s	3s	patient of a transitive verb '-u '	

Table 16: Affixes of the third person subject and objects in simple past tense

409. k<sup>h</sup> /k<sup>h</sup> s          ges-a  
 (3s/3ns          laugh-PT)  
 'He/they laughed.'

410. k<sup>h</sup> s-a          ko          ma -mat-o  
 (3s-ERG          1s          NEG.PT-forget-1s.PT)  
 'She did not forget me.'

411. k<sup>h</sup> c-a          kas          mat-a-ci  
 (3ns-ERG          1d.i          forget-PT-d)  
 'They forgot us.'

412. k<sup>h</sup> c-a          kaska          mat-a-ci-ka-?o  
 (3ns-ERG          1d.e          forget-PT-d-e-Q)  
 'Did they forget us?'

413. k<sup>h</sup> s-a            kei            mat-i  
           (3s-ERG        1p.i            forget-1p.P.PT)  
           'He forgot us.'
414. k<sup>h</sup> s-a            keika            mat-i-ka  
           (3s-ERG        1p.e            forget-1p.P.PT-e)  
           'She forgot us.'
415. k<sup>h</sup> c-a            an            danai            mat-a  
           (3ns-ERG        2s            Q            forget-PT)  
           'How did they forget you?'
416. k<sup>h</sup> s-a            anci            ma -mat-a-ci  
           (3s-ERG        2d            NEG.PT-forget-PT-d)  
           'He did not forget you.'
417. k<sup>h</sup> c-a            anni            mat-a-ni-yo  
           (3ns-ERG        2p            forget-PT-2p-Q)  
           'Did they forget you?'
418. k<sup>h</sup> c-a            k<sup>h</sup> /k<sup>h</sup> s        mat-ci  
           (3ns-ERG        3s/3ns        forget-3ns)  
           'They forgot her/them.'
419. k<sup>h</sup> s-a            k<sup>h</sup>            mat-u  
           (3s-ERG        3s            forget-3.P.PT)  
           'She forgot him.'

### 3.1.2.2. Continuous Aspects

Continuous aspect is also known as progressive aspect. It expresses ongoing action at different times: *present*, *past* and *future*. The Kulung subject-verb agreement system in term of the continuous aspect is stated below.

#### I. Present Continuous Tense

The present continuous or present progressive tense expresses the ongoing action at the time of speaking. The continuous suffixes '-coi-', '-cai-' and '-c i-' indicate present progressive or continuous aspect in the Kulung language. The



continuous verb conjugation varies in relation with the occurrence of the agent and patient in the Kulung sentences.

Here is given a full paradigm of present continuous/progressive tense of the intransitive verb *imma* (stem - *ims-*, *im-*) 'to sleep' and the transitive verb *kerma* (stem *ker-*) 'to beat/hit'.

### A. First Person Singular Subject

In intransitive verb agreement of the first person singular (1s) subject, the suffixes '-o-coi-o:' indicate present continuous tense as in the example (420). In Kulung, transitive verb agreement of the first person singular subject varies according to the occurrence of the object or patient as in the examples (421) - (425). The table (17) shows the transitive verb agreement paradigms for present continuous tense of the first person singular subject and the possible objects in the Kulung language.

subject	object	suffixes	indicate
1s	2s	'-n-cai-yan'	present continuous tense
	2d	'-n-cai-yan-ci'	
	2p	'-n-cai-yan-ni'	
	3s	'-u-coi-o:'	
	3ns	'-u-coi-o:-ci'	

*Table 17:* Affixes of the first person singular subject and patients in present continuous tense

420. ko                      *ims-o-coi-o:*  
       (*1s*                      *sleep-1s.PT-CNT-1s.NPT*)  
       'I am sleeping.'
421. ko -a                an                      *ker-n-cai-yan-no*  
       (*1s-ERG*            *2s*                      *beat-2s.PT-CNT-1s 2.NPT-NEG.NPT*)  
       'I am not beating you.'
422. ko -a                anci                    *ker-n-cai-yan-ci*  
       (*1s-ERG*            *2d*                      *beat-2s.PT-CNT-1s 2.NPT-d*)  
       'I am beating you.'

423. ko -a            anni            ker-n-cai-yan-ni  
       (1s-ERG        2p            beat-2s.PT-CNT-1s 2.NPT-2p)  
       'I am beating you.'
424. ko -a            k<sup>h</sup>            ker-u-coi-o:-?o  
       (1s-ERG        3s            beat-3.P.PT-CNT-1s.NPT-Q)  
       'Am I beating her?'
425. ko -a            k<sup>h</sup> s           ker-u-coi-o:-ci-no  
       (1s-ERG        3ns           beat-3.P.PT-CNT-1s.NPT-3ns-NEG.NPT)  
       'I am not beating them.'

### B. First Person Dual Inclusive Subject

In intransitive verb agreement of the first person dual inclusive (1d.i) subject, suffixes '-cai-ci' indicate present continuous tense as in the example (426). In transitive verb agreement of the first person dual inclusive subject and the third person patients, the suffixes '-cai-cu' indicate present continuous tense as in the examples (427) - (428) respectively.

426. kas            ims-cai-ci-no  
       (1d.i            sleep-CNT-d-NEG.NPT)  
       'We are not sleeping.'
427. kac-a            k<sup>h</sup>            ker-cai-cu  
       (1d.i-ERG        3s            beat-CNT-d 3)  
       'We are beating her.'
428. kac-a            k<sup>h</sup> s           uroi            ker-cai-cu  
       (1d.i-ERG        3ns           Q            beat-CNT-d 3)  
       'Why are we beating them?'

### C. First Person Dual Exclusive Subject

In intransitive verb agreement of the first person dual exclusive (1d.e) subject, the suffixes '-cai-ci-ka' indicate present continuous tense as in the example (429). In Kulung, transitive verb agreement of the first person dual exclusive subject varies according to the selection of the object or patient as in the

examples (430) - (433). The following table shows the transitive verb agreement paradigms for present continuous tense of the first person dual exclusive subject and possible objects in the Kulung language.

subject	object	suffixes	indicate
1d.e	2s	'-cai'	present continuous tense
	2d	'-cai-ci'	
	2p	'-cai-ni'	
	3	'-cai-cu-ka'	

*Table 18:* Affixes of the first person dual exclusive subject and objects in present continuous tense

429. kaska            u-pi:            ims-cai-ci-ka  
       (*1d.e*            *Q-LOC*        *sleep-CNT-d-e*)  
       'Where are we sleeping?'
430. kaska            an                ker-cai  
       (*1d.e*            *2s*                *beat-CNT*)  
       'We are beating you.'
431. kaska            anci              ker-cai-ci-no  
       (*1d.e*            *2d*                *beat-CNT-d-NEG.NPT*)  
       'We are not beating you.'
432. kaska            anni              ker-cai-ni  
       (*1d.e*            *2p*                *beat-CNT-2p*)  
       'We are beating you.'
433. kaska            k<sup>h</sup> /k<sup>h</sup> s        ker-cai-cu-ka  
       (*1d.e*            *3s/3ns*        *beat-CNT-d 3-e*)  
       'We are beating her/them.'

#### **D. First Person Plural Inclusive Subject**

In intransitive verb agreement of the first person plural inclusive (1p.i) subject, the suffixes '-i-cai-ya' indicate present continuous tense as in the example (434). In transitive verb agreement of the first person plural inclusive subject and the third person singular and non-singular patients, the suffixes '-um-cai-am' indicate present continuous tense as in the examples (435) - (436).

434. kei        ims-i-cai-ya-yo  
       (*1p.i    sleep-1p.PT-CNT-1p.NPT-Q*)  
       'Are we sleeping?'
435. kei-a        k<sup>h</sup>                ker-um-cai-am  
       (*1p.i-ERG    3s                beat-1p 3.PT-CNT-1p 3.NPT*)  
       'We are beating him.'
436. kai-a        k<sup>h</sup> s    uroi        ker-um-cai-am  
       (*1p.i-ERG    3ns    Q                beat-1p 3.PT-CNT-1p 3.NPT*)  
       'Why are we beating them?'

### E. First Person Plural Exclusive Subject

In intransitive verb agreement of the first person plural exclusive (1p.e) subject, the first morphemes '-i-cai-ya-ka' indicate present continuous tense as in the example (437). In Kulung, transitive verb agreement of the first person plural exclusive subject varies according to the selection of the object or patient as in the examples (438) - (441). The table (19) shows the transitive verb agreement paradigms for present continuous tense of the first person plural exclusive subject and the possible objects in the Kulung language.

subject	object	suffixes	indicate
1p.e	2s	'-cai'	present continuous tense
	2d	'-cai-ci'	
	2p	'-cai-ni'	
	3	'-um-cai-am-ka'	

*Table 19: Affixes of the first person plural exclusive subject and objects in present continuous tense*

437. keika        u-pi                ims-i-cai-ya-ka  
       (*1p.e                Q-LOC                sleep-1p.PT-CNT-1p.NPT-e*)  
       'Where are we sleeping?'
438. keika        an                ker-cai  
       (*1p.e                2s                beat-CNT*)  
       'We are beating you.'

439. keika            anci            ker-cai-ci-no  
       (1p.e            2d            beat-CNT-d-NEG.NPT)  
       'We are not beating you.'
440. keika            anni            ker-cai-ni  
       (1p.e            2p            beat-CNT-2p)  
       'We are beating you.'
441. keika            k<sup>h</sup> /k<sup>h</sup> s        ker-um-cai-am-ka  
       (1p.e            3s/3ns        beat-1p 3.PT-CNT-1p 3.NPT-e)  
       We are beating her/them.

### G. Second Person Singular Subject

In intransitive verb agreement of the second person singular (2s) subject, the suffixes '-cai-e' indicate present continuous as in the example (442). In Kulung, transitive verb agreement of the second person singular subject varies according to the selection of the object or patient as in the examples (443) - (447). The table (20) shows the transitive verb agreement paradigms for present continuous tense of the second person singular subject and the possible objects in the Kulung language.

subject	object	suffixes	indicate
2s	1s	'-o-coi-o:'	present continuous tense
	1d.e	'-cai-ci-ka'	
	1p.e	'-i-cai-ya-ka'	
	3s	'-c i- '	
	3ns	'-c i- -ci'	

Table 20: Affixes of the second person singular subject and objects in present continuous tense

442. an            dumo            ims-cai-e  
       (2s            more            sleep-CNT-n1s)  
       'You are sleeping more.'
443. an-a            ko            ker-o-coi-o:-no  
       (2s-ERG    1s            beat-1s.PT-CNT-1s.NPT-NEG.NPT)  
       'You are not beating me.'

444. an-a                    kaska                    ker-cai-ci-ka-o  
       (2s-ERG                1d.e                    beat-CNT-d-e-Q)  
       Are you beating us?
445. an-a                    keika                    ker-i-cai-ya-ka  
       (2s-ERG                1p.e                    beat-1p.PT-CNT-1p.P.NPT-e)  
       'You are beating us.'
446. an-a                    k<sup>h</sup>                    ker-c i-  
       (2s-ERG                3s                    beat-CNT-2s.3 3.NPT)  
       'You are beating her.'
447. an-a                    k<sup>h</sup> s                    ker-c i- -ci  
       (2s-ERG                3ns                    beat-CNT-2s.3 3.NPT-3ns)  
       'You are beating them.'

### G. Second Person Dual Subject

In intransitive verb agreement of the second person dual (2d) subject, the suffixes '-cai-ci' indicate present continuous tense as in the example (448). In Kulung, transitive verb agreement of the second person dual subject varies according to the selection of the object or patient as in the examples (449) - (452). The following table shows the transitive verb agreement paradigms for present continuous tense of the second person dual subject and the possible objects in the Kulung language.

subject	object	suffixes	indicate
2d	1s	'-o-coi-o:-ci'	present continuous tense
	1d.e	'-cai-ci-ka'	
	1p.e	'-i-cai-ya-ka'	
	3	'-cai-cu'	

*Table 21: Affixes of the second person dual subject and objects in present continuous tense*

448. anci                    ims-cai-ci  
       (2d                    sleep-CNT-d)  
       'You are sleeping.'

449. anc-a            ko            ker-o-coi-o:-ci-no  
       (2*d*-ERG        1*s*            beat-1*s*.PT-CNT-1*s*.NPT-*d*-NEG.NPT)  
       'You are not beating me.'
450. anc-a            kaska        ker-cai-ci-ka-?o  
       (2*d*-ERG        1*d.e*        beat-CNT-*d-e-Q*)  
       'Are you beating us?'
451. anc-a            keika        ker-i-cai-ya-ka  
       (2*s*-ERG        1*p.e*        beat-1*p*.PT-CNT-1*p.P*.NPT-*e*)  
       'You are beating us.'
452. anc-a            k<sup>h</sup> /k<sup>h</sup> s     ker-cai-cu  
       (2*d*-ERG        3*s/3ns*     beat-CNT-*d 3*)  
       'You are beating her/them.'

## H. Second Person Plural Subject

In intransitive verb agreement of the second person plural (2p) subject, the morphemes '-cai-ni' indicate present continuous tense as in the example (453). In Kulung, transitive verb agreement of the second person plural subject varies according to the selection of the object or patient as in the examples (454) - (457). The following table shows the transitive verb agreement paradigms for present continuous tense of the second person plural subject and the possible objects in the Kulung language.

subject	object	suffixes	indicate
2p	1 <i>s</i>	'-o-coi-o:-ni'	present continuous tense
	1 <i>d.e</i>	'-cai-ci-ka'	
	1 <i>p.e</i>	'-i-cai-ya-ka'	
	3	'-cai-num'	

*Table 22: Affixes of the second person plural subject and objects in present continuous tense*

453. anni            k<sup>h</sup>unto        ims-cai-ni-no  
       (2*p*            *so much*     sleep-CNT-2*p*-NEG.NPT)  
       'You are not sleeping so much.'

454. ann-a ko ker-o-coi-o:-ni-no  
 (2p-ERG 1s beat-1s.PT-CNT-1s.NPT-2p-NEG.NPT)  
 'You are not beating me.'
455. ann-a kaska ker-cai-ci-ka-?o  
 (2p-ERG 1d.e beat-CNT-d-e-Q)  
 'Are you beating us?'
456. ann-a keika ker-i-cai-ya-ka  
 (2p-ERG 1p.e beat-1p.PT-CNT-1p.P.NPT-e)  
 'You are beating us.'
457. ann-a k<sup>h</sup> /k<sup>h</sup> s ker-cai-num  
 (2p-ERG 3s/3ns beat-CNT-2p 3)  
 'You are beating her/them.'

### I. Third Person Subjects

In intransitive verb agreement of the third person singular (3s) and non-singular (3ns) subjects, the suffixes '-cai-e' indicate present continuous tense as in the example (458). In Kulung, transitive verb agreement of the third person subjects varies according to the selection of the object or patient as in the examples (459) - (468). The following table shows the transitive verb agreement paradigms for present continuous tense of the third person subjects and the possible objects in the Kulung language.

subject	object	suffixes	indicate
3	1s	'-o-coi-o:'	present continuous tense
	1d.i	'-cai-ci'	
	1d.e	'-cai-ci-ka'	
	1p.i	'-i-cai-ya'	
	1p.e	'-i-cai-ya-ka'	
	2s	'-cai'	
	2d	'-cai-ci'	
	2p	'cai-ni'	
	3ns	'-c i- -ci'	
3s	3s	'-c i- '	

Table 23: Affixes of the third person agents and patients in present continuous tense



458. k<sup>h</sup> /k<sup>h</sup> s        ims-cai-e  
       (3s/3ns        sleep-CNT-n1s)  
       'He/they is/are sleeping.'
459. k<sup>h</sup> s-a        ko        ker-o-coi-o:-no  
       (3s-ERG        1s        beat-1s.PT-CNT-1s.NPT-NEG.NPT)  
       'She is not beating me.'
460. k<sup>h</sup> c-a        kas        ker-cai-ci  
       (3ns-ERG        1d.i        beat-CNT-d)  
       'They are beating us.'
461. k<sup>h</sup> c-a        kaska        ker-cai-ci-ka-?o  
       (3ns-ERG        1d.e        beat-CNT-d-e-Q)  
       'Are they beating us?'
462. k<sup>h</sup> s-a        kei        ker-i-cai-ya  
       (3s-ERG        1p.i        beat-1p.PT-CNT-1p.P.NPT)  
       'He is beating us.'
463. k<sup>h</sup> s-a        keika        ker-i-cai-ya-ka  
       (3s-ERG        1p.e        beat-1p.PT-CNT-1p.P.NPT-e)  
       'She is beating us.'
464. k<sup>h</sup> c-a        an        uroi        ker-cai  
       (3ns-ERG        2s        Q        beat-CNT-n1s.P)  
       'Why are they beating you?'
465. k<sup>h</sup> s-a        anci        ker-cai-ci-no  
       (3s-ERG        2d        beat-CNT-d-NEG.NPT)  
       'He is not beating you.'
466. k<sup>h</sup> c-a        anni        ker-cai-ni-yo  
       (3ns-ERG        2p        beat-CNT-2p-Q)  
       'Are they beating you?'
467. k<sup>h</sup> c-a        k<sup>h</sup> /k<sup>h</sup> s        ker-c i- -ci  
       (3ns-ERG        3s/3ns        beat-CNT-2s.3 3.NPT)  
       'They are beating her/them.'

468. k<sup>h</sup> s-a            k<sup>h</sup>            ker-c i-  
       (3s-ERG        3s            beat-CNT-2s.3 3.NPT)  
       'She is beating her.'

## II. Past Continuous Tense

The past continuous or past progressive tense expresses the ongoing action in the past. The morphemes '-co-', '-ca-' and '-c -' indicate past continuous tense in the Kulung language. The continuous verb conjugation varies in relation with the occurrence of the subject and the object of the transitive verbs in the Kulung sentences.

Here is given a full paradigm of past continuous/progressive tense of the intransitive verb *bulma* (stem - *buls-*) 'to run' and the transitive verb *c<sup>h</sup>e:ma* (stem *c<sup>h</sup>e:k-*, *c<sup>h</sup>e:-*) 'to pinch'.

### A. First Person Singular Subject

In intransitive verb agreement of the first person singular (1s) subject, the suffixes '-o-co' indicate past continuous tense as in the example (469). In Kulung, transitive verb agreement of the first person singular subject varies according to the occurrence of the object or patient as in the examples (470) - (475). The following table shows the transitive verb agreement paradigms for past continuous tense of the first person singular subject and the possible objects in the Kulung language.

subject	object	suffixes	indicate
1s	2s	'-n-ca-na'	past continuous tense
	2d	'-n-ca-n-ci'	
	2p	'-n-ca-n-ni'	
	3s	'-u-co'	
	3ns	'-u-co-ci'	

Table 24: Affixes of the first person singular subject and objects in past continuous tense

469. ko        buls-o-co  
       (*1s        run-1s.PT-CNT*)  
 'I was running.'
470. ko -a        an            man-c<sup>h</sup>e:-n-ca-na  
       (*1s-ERG        2s            NEG.PT-pinch-2s.PT-CNT-2.PT*)  
 'I was not pinching you.'
471. ko -a        anci            c<sup>h</sup>e:-n-ca-n-ci  
       (*1s-ERG        2d            pinch-2s.PT-CNT-2.PT-d*)  
 'I was pinching you.'
472. ko -a        anni            c<sup>h</sup>e:-n-ca-n-ni  
       (*1s-ERG        2p            pinch-2s.PT-CNT-2.PT-2p*)  
 'I was pinching you.'
473. ko -a        k<sup>h</sup>            c<sup>h</sup>e:k-u-co-?o  
       (*1s-ERG        3s            pinch-1s 3.PT-CNT-Q*)  
 'Was I pinching her?'
474. ko -a        k<sup>h</sup> s            man-c<sup>h</sup>e:k-u-co-ci  
       (*1s-ERG        3ns            NEG.PT-pinch-1s 3.PT-CNT-3ns*)  
 'I was not pinching them.'

## B. First Person Dual Inclusive Subject

In intransitive verb agreement of the first person dual inclusive (1d.i) subject, the suffixes '-ca-ci' indicate past continuous tense as in the example (475). In transitive verb agreement of the first person dual inclusive subject and the third person objects, the suffixes '-ca-cu' indicate past continuous tense as in the examples (476) - (477) respectively.

475. kas        mam-buls-ca-ci  
       (*1d.i        NEG.PT-run-CNT-d*)  
 'We were not running.'
476. kac-a        k<sup>h</sup>            c<sup>h</sup>e:k-ca-cu  
       (*1d.i-ERG        3s            pinch-CNT-d 3*)  
 'We were pinching her.'

477. kac-a            k<sup>h</sup> s            uroi            c<sup>h</sup>e:k-ca-cu  
           (1d.i-ERG    3ns            Q            pinch-CNT-d 3)  
           'Why we were pinching them?'

### C. First Person Dual Exclusive Subject

In intransitive verb agreement of the first person dual exclusive (1d.e) subject, the suffixes '-ca-ci-ka' indicate past continuous tense as in the example (478).

In Kulung, transitive verb agreement of the first person dual exclusive subject varies according to the selection of the object or patient as in the examples (479) - (482). The following table shows the transitive verb agreement paradigms for past continuous tense of the first person dual exclusive subject and the possible objects in the Kulung language.

subject	object	suffixes	indicate
1d.e	2s	'-ca'	past continuous tense
	2d	'-ca-ci'	
	2p	'-ca-ni'	
	3	'-ca-cu-ka'	

Table 25: Affixes of the first person dual exclusive subject and objects in past continuous tense

478. kaska            uroi            buls-ca-ci-ka  
           (1d.e            Q            run-CNT-d-e)  
           'Why we were running?'

479. kaska            an            c<sup>h</sup>e:k-ca  
           (1d.e            2s            pinch-CNT)  
           'We were pinching you.'

480. kaska            anci            ma -c<sup>h</sup>e:k-ca-ci  
           (1d.e            2d            NEG.PT-pinch-CNT-d)  
           'We were not pinching you.'

481. kaska            anni            c<sup>h</sup>e:k-ca-ni  
           (1d.e            2p            pinch-CNT-2p)  
           'We were pinching you.'

482. kaska            k<sup>h</sup> /k<sup>h</sup> s        c<sup>h</sup>e:k-ca-cu-ka  
       (*1d.e*            *3s/3ns*            *pinch-CNT-d 3-e*)  
       'We were pinching her/them.'

#### **D. First Person Plural Inclusive Subject**

In intransitive verb agreement of the first person plural inclusive (1p.i) subject, the suffixes '-i-ca-i' indicate past continuous tense as in the example (483). In transitive verb agreement of the first person plural inclusive subject and the third person singular and non-singular patients, the suffixes '-um-ca-am' indicate past continuous tense as in the examples (484) - (485).

483. kei        buls-i-ca-i-yo  
       (*1p.i*        *run-1p.PT-CNT-1p.PT-Q*)  
       'Were we running?'

484. kei-a            k<sup>h</sup>        c<sup>h</sup>e:k-um-ca-am  
       (*1p.i-ERG*        *3s*        *pinch-1p 3.PT-CNT-1p 3.NPT*)  
       'We were pinching him.'

485. kai-a            k<sup>h</sup> s        uroi        c<sup>h</sup>e:k-um-ca-am  
       (*1p.i-ERG*        *3ns*        *Q*        *pinch-1p 3.PT-CNT-1p 3.NPT*)  
       'Why were we pinching them?'

#### **E. First Person Plural Exclusive Subject**

In intransitive verb agreement of the first person plural exclusive (1p.e) subject, the suffixes '-i-ca-i-ka' indicate past continuous tense as in the example (486). In Kulung, transitive verb agreement of the first person plural exclusive subject varies according to the selection of the object or patient as in the examples (486) - (490). The table (26) shows the transitive verb agreement paradigms for past continuous tense of the first person plural exclusive subject and the possible objects in the Kulung language.

subject	object	suffixes	indicate
1p.e	2s	'-ca'	past continuous tense
	2d	'-ca-ci'	
	2p	'-ca-ni'	
	3	'-um-ca-am-ka'	

Table 26: Affixes of the first person plural exclusive subject and objects in past continuous tense

486. keika    buls-i-ca-i-ka  
*(1p.e    run-1p.PT-CNT-1p.PT-e)*  
 'We were running?'
487. keika            an                    c<sup>h</sup>e:k-ca  
*(1p.e                2s                    pinch-CNT)*  
 'We were pinching you.'
488. keika            anci                    man-c<sup>h</sup>e:-ca-ci  
*(1p.e                2d                    NEG.PT-pinch-CNT-d)*  
 'We were not pinching you.'
489. keika            anni                    c<sup>h</sup>e:k-ca-ni  
*(1p.e                2p                    pinch-CNT-2p)*  
 'We were pinching you.'
490. keika            k<sup>h</sup> /k<sup>h</sup> s                c<sup>h</sup>e:k-um-ca-am-ka  
*1p.e                3s/3ns                pinch-1p    3.PT-CNT-1p    3.NPT-e)*  
 'We were pinching her/them.'

### G. Second Person Singular Subject

In intransitive verb agreement of the second person singular (2s) subject, the suffix '-ca' indicates past continuous tense as in the example (491). In Kulung, transitive verb agreement of the second person singular subject varies according to the selection of the object or patient as in the examples (492) - (496). The table (27) shows the transitive verb agreement paradigms for past continuous tense of the second person singular subject and the possible objects in the Kulung language.

subject	object	suffixes	indicate
2s	1s	'-o-co'	past continuous tense
	1d.e	'-ca-ci-ka'	
	1p.e	'-i-ca-i-ka'	
	3s	'-c '	
	3ns	'-c -ci'	

Table 27: Affixes of the second person singular subject and objects in past continuous tense

491. an                      dumo                      buls-ca  
(2s                      more                      run-CNT)  
'You were running more.'
492. an-a                      ko                      man-c<sup>h</sup>e:k-o-co  
(2s-ERG                      1s                      NEG.PT-pinch-1s.PT-CNT)  
'You were not pinching me.'
493. an-a                      kaska                      c<sup>h</sup>e:k-ca-ci-ka-?o  
(2s-ERG                      1d.e                      pinch-CNT-d-e-Q)  
'Were you pinching us?'
494. an-a                      keika                      c<sup>h</sup>e:k-i-ca-i-ka  
(2s-ERG                      1p.e                      pinch-1p.PT-CNT-1p.PT-e)  
'You were pinching us.'
495. an-a                      k<sup>h</sup>                      c<sup>h</sup>e:k-c  
(2s-ERG                      3s                      pinch-CNT)  
'You were pinching her.'
496. an-a                      k<sup>h</sup> s                      ker-c -ci  
(2s-ERG                      3ns                      pinch-CNT-3ns)  
'You were pinching them.'

### G. Second Person Dual Subject

In intransitive verb agreement of the second person dual (2d) subject, the suffixes '-ca-ci' indicate past continuous tense as in the example (497). In Kulung, transitive verb agreement of the second person dual subject varies according to the selection of the object or patient as in the examples (498) -

(501). The following table shows the transitive verb agreement paradigms for past continuous tense of the second person dual subject and the possible objects in the Kulung language.

subject	object	suffixes	indicate
2d	1s	'-o-co-ci'	past continuous tense
	1d.e	'-ca-ci-ka'	
	1p.e	'-i-ca-i-ka'	
	3	'-ca-cu'	

Table 28: Affixes of the second person dual subject and objects in past continuous tense

497. *anci*      *buls-ca-ci*  
 (2d      *run-CNT-d*)  
 'You were running.'

498. *anc-a*              *ko*              *man-c<sup>h</sup>e:k-o-co-ci*  
 (2d-ERG      1s              NEG.PT-pinch-1s.PT-CNT-d)  
 'You were not pinching me.'

499. *anc-a*              *kaska*              *c<sup>h</sup>e:k-ca-ci-ka-?o*  
 (2d-ERG      1d.e              pinch-CNT-d-e-Q)  
 'Were you pinching us?'

500. *anc-a*              *keika*              *c<sup>h</sup>e:k-i-ca-i-ka*  
 (2s-ERG      1p.e              pinch-1p.PT-CNT-1p.PT-e)  
 'You were pinching us.'

501. *anc-a*              *k<sup>h</sup> /k<sup>h</sup> s*              *c<sup>h</sup>e:k-ca-cu*  
 (2d-ERG      3s/3ns              pinch-CNT-d 3)  
 'You were pinching her/them.'

## H. Second Person Plural Subject

In intransitive verb agreement of the second person plural (2p) subject, the suffixes '-ca-ni' indicate past continuous tense as in the example (502). In Kulung, transitive verb agreement of the second person plural subject varies according to the selection of the object or patient as in the examples (503) - (506). The following table shows the transitive verb agreement paradigms for



past continuous tense of the second person plural subject and the possible objects in the Kulung language.

subject	object	suffixes	indicate
2p	1s	'-o-co-ni'	past continuous tense
	1d.e	'-ca-ci-ka'	
	1p.e	'-i-ca-i-ka'	
	3	'-ca-num'	

*Table 29: Affixes of the second person plural subject and objects in past continuous tense*

502. anni    k<sup>h</sup>unto    mam-buls-ca-ni  
 (2p    so much    NEG.PT-run-CNT-2p)  
 'You were not running so much.'
503. ann-a    ko    man-c<sup>h</sup>e:k-o-co-ni  
 (2p-ERG    1s    NEG.PT-pinch-1p.PT-CNT-2p)  
 'You were not pinching me.'
504. ann-a    kaska    c<sup>h</sup>e:k-ca-ci-ka-o  
 (2p-ERG    1d.e    pinch-CNT-d-e-Q)  
 'Were you pinching us?'
505. ann-a    keika    c<sup>h</sup>e:k-i-ca-i-ka  
 (2p-ERG    1p.e    pinch-1p.PT-CNT-1p.PT-e)  
 'You were pinching us.'
506. ann-a    k<sup>h</sup> /k<sup>h</sup> s    c<sup>h</sup>e:k-ca-num  
 (2p-ERG    3s/3ns    pinch-CNT-2p 3)  
 'You were pinching her/them.'

### I. Third Person Subjects

In intransitive verb agreement of the third person singular (3s) and non-singular (3ns) subjects, the suffix '-ca' indicate past continuous tense as in the example (507). In Kulung, transitive verb agreement of the third person subjects varies according to the selection of the object or patient as in the examples (508) - (517). The table (30) shows the transitive verb agreement paradigms for past

continuous tense of the third person subjects and the possible objects in the Kulung language.

subject	object	suffixes	indicate
3	1s	'-o-co'	past continuous tense
	1d.i	'-ca-ci'	
	1d.e	'-ca-ci-ka'	
	1p.i	'-i-ca-i'	
	1p.e	'-i-ca-i-ka'	
	2s	'-ca'	
	2d	'-ca-ci'	
	2p	'ca-ni'	
3ns	'-c -ci'		
3s	3s	'-c '	

Table 30: Affixes of the third person agents and patients in past continuous tense

507. k<sup>h</sup> /k<sup>h</sup> s      buls-ca  
 (3s/3ns      run-CNT)  
 'He/they was/were running.'
508. k<sup>h</sup> s-a      ko      man-c<sup>h</sup>e:k-o-co  
 (3s-ERG      1s      NEG.PT-pinch-1s.PT-CNT)  
 'She was not pinching me.'
509. k<sup>h</sup> c-a      kas      c<sup>h</sup>e:k-ca-ci  
 (3ns-ERG      1d.i      pinch-CNT-d)  
 'They were pinching us.'
510. k<sup>h</sup> c-a      kaska      c<sup>h</sup>e:k-ca-ci-ka-o  
 (3ns-ERG      1d.e      pinch-CNT-d-e-Q)  
 'Were they pinching us?'
511. k<sup>h</sup> s-a      kei      c<sup>h</sup>e:k-i-ca-i  
 (3s-ERG      1p.i      pinch-1p.PT-CNT-1p.PT)  
 'He was pinching us.'
512. k<sup>h</sup> s-a      keika      c<sup>h</sup>e:k-i-ca-i-ka  
 (3s-ERG      1p.e      pinch-1p.PT-CNT-1p.PT-e)  
 'She was pinching us.'

513. k<sup>h</sup> c-a            an            uroi            c<sup>h</sup>e:k-ca  
           (3ns-ERG        2s            Q            pinch-CNT)  
           'Why were they pinching you?'
514. k<sup>h</sup> s-a            anci            man-c<sup>h</sup>e:k-ca-ci  
           (3s-ERG        2d            NEG.PT-pinch-CNT-d)  
           'He was not pinching you.'
515. k<sup>h</sup> c-a            anni            c<sup>h</sup>e:k-ca-ni-yo  
           (3ns-ERG        2p            pinch-CNT-2p-Q)  
           'Were they pinching you?'
516. k<sup>h</sup> c-a            k<sup>h</sup> /k<sup>h</sup> s        c<sup>h</sup>e:k-c -ci  
           (3ns-ERG        3s/3ns        pinch-CNT-3ns)  
           'They were pinching her/them.'
517. k<sup>h</sup> s-a            k<sup>h</sup>            c<sup>h</sup>e:k-c  
           (3s-ERG        3s            pinch-CNT)  
           'She was pinching her.'

### III. Future Continuous Tense

The future continuous or future progressive tense basically expresses the ongoing action in the future. The continuous suffixes '-coi-', '-cai-' and '-c i-' and a tardive auxiliary 'c<sup>h</sup>u:ma' make future progressive or continuous tense in the Kulung language. The continuous verb conjugation varies in relation with the occurrence of the subject and objects in the Kulung sentences.

Here is given a full paradigm of future continuous/progressive tense of the intransitive verb *imma* (stem - *ims-*, *im-*) 'to sleep' and the transitive verb *kerma* (stem *ker-*) 'to beat/hit'.

#### A. First Person Singular Subject

In intransitive verb agreement of the first person singular (1s) subject, the suffixes '-o-coi-o:-k c<sup>h</sup>u-o:' indicate future continuous tense as in the example (518). In Kulung, transitive verb agreement of the first person singular subject varies according to the occurrence of the object or patient as in the examples



## B. First Person Dual Inclusive Subject

In intransitive verb agreement of the first person dual inclusive (1d.i) subject, the suffixes '-cai-ci-k c<sup>h</sup>u-ci' indicate future continuous tense as in the example (524). In transitive verb agreement of the first person dual inclusive subject and the third person patients, the suffixes '-cai-cu-k c<sup>h</sup>u-ci' indicate future continuous tense as in the examples (525) - (526) respectively.

524. kas        ims-cai-ci-k                    c<sup>h</sup>u-ci-no  
       (1d.i    sleep-CNT-d-SUB                be-d-NEG.NPT)  
       'We shall not be sleeping.'

525. kac-a            k<sup>h</sup>        ker-cai-cu-k                    c<sup>h</sup>u-ci  
       (1d.i-ERG        3s        beat-CNT-d    3-SUB        be-d)  
       'We will be beating her.'

526. kac-a            k<sup>h</sup> s            ker-cai-cu-k                    c<sup>h</sup>u-ci-?o  
       (1d.i-ERG        3ns            beat-CNT-d    3-SUB        be-d-Q)  
       'Shall we be beating them?'

## C. First Person Dual Exclusive Subject

In intransitive verb agreement of the first person dual exclusive (1d.e) subject, the suffixes '-cai-ci-ka-k c<sup>h</sup>u-ci-ka' indicate future continuous tense as in the example (527). In Kulung, transitive verb agreement of the first person dual exclusive subject varies according to the selection of the object or patient as in the examples (528) - (531). The following table shows the transitive verb agreement paradigms for future continuous tense of the first person dual exclusive subject and the possible objects in the Kulung language.

subject	object	suffixes	indicate
1d.e	2s	'-cai-k c <sup>h</sup> u-ci-ka'	future continuous tense
	2d	'-cai-ci-k c <sup>h</sup> u-ci-ka'	
	2p	'-cai-ni-k c <sup>h</sup> u-ci-ka '	
	3	'-cai-cu-ka-k c <sup>h</sup> u-ci-ka '	

Table 32: Affixes of the first person dual exclusive subject and objects in future continuous tense

527. kaska            u-pi:            ims-cai-ci-ka-k            c<sup>h</sup>u-ci-ka  
 (1d.e            Q-LOC            sleep-CNT-d-e-SUB            be-d-e)  
 'Where shall we be sleeping?'
528. kaska            an            ker-cai-k            c<sup>h</sup>u-ci-ka  
 (1d.e            2s            beat-CNT-SUB            be-d-e)  
 'We will be beating you.'
529. kaska            anci            ker-cai-ci-k            c<sup>h</sup>u-ci-ka-no  
 (1d.e            2d            beat-CNT-d-SUB            be-d-e-NEG.NPT)  
 'We shall not be beating you.'
530. kaska            anni            ker-cai-ni-k            c<sup>h</sup>u-ci-ka  
 (1d.e            2p            beat-CNT-2p-SUB            be-d-e)  
 'We will not be beating you.'
531. kaska            k<sup>h</sup> /k<sup>h</sup> s            ker-cai-cu-ka-k            c<sup>h</sup>u-ci-ka  
 (1d.e            3s/3ns            beat-CNT-d 3-e-sub            be-d-e)  
 'We shall be beating her/them.'

#### D. First Person Plural Inclusive Subject

In intransitive verb agreement of the first person plural inclusive (1p.i) subject, the suffixes '-i-cai-ya-k c<sup>h</sup>u-ya' indicate future continuous tense as in the example (532). In transitive verb agreement of the first person plural inclusive subject and the third person singular and non-singular patients, the suffixes '-um-cai-am-k c<sup>h</sup>u-ya' indicate future continuous tense as in (533) - (534).

532. kei            ims-i-cai-ya-k            c<sup>h</sup>u-ya-yo  
 (1p.i            sleep-1p.PT-CNT-1p.NPT-SUB            be-1p.NPT-Q)  
 'Shall we be sleeping?'
533. kei-a            k<sup>h</sup>            ker-um-cai-am-k            c<sup>h</sup>u-ya  
 (1p.i-ERG            3s            beat-1p 3.PT-CNT-1p 3.NPT-SUB            be-1p.NPT)  
 'We shall be beating him.'
534. kai-a            k<sup>h</sup> s uroi            ker-um-cai-am-k            c<sup>h</sup>u-ya  
 (1p.i-ERG            3ns            Q            beat-1p 3.PT-CNT-1p 3.NPT-SUB            be-1p.NPT)  
 'Why shall we be beating them?'

## E. First Person Plural Exclusive Subject

In intransitive verb agreement of the first person plural exclusive (1p.e) subject, the suffixes '-i-cai-ya-ka-k c<sup>h</sup>u-ya-ka' indicate future continuous tense as in the example (535). In Kulung, transitive verb agreement of the first person plural exclusive subject varies according to the selection of the object or patient as in the examples (536) - (539). The table (33) shows the transitive verb agreement paradigms for future continuous tense of the first person plural exclusive subject and the possible objects in the Kulung language.

subject	object	suffixes	indicate
1p.e	2s	'-cai-k c <sup>h</sup> u-ya-ka'	future continuous tense
	2d	'-cai-ci-k c <sup>h</sup> u-ya-ka'	
	2p	'-cai-ni-k c <sup>h</sup> u-ya-ka'	
	3	'-um-cai-am-ka-k c <sup>h</sup> u-ya-ka'	

Table 33: Affixes of the first person plural exclusive subject and objects in future continuous tense

535. keika      u-pi      ims-i-cai-ya-ka-k      c<sup>h</sup>u-ya-ka  
*(1p.e      Q-LOC      sleep-1p.PT-CNT-1p.NPT-e-SUB      be-1p.NPT-e)*  
 'Where shall we be sleeping?'
536. keika      an      ker-cai-k      c<sup>h</sup>u:-ya-ka  
*(1p.e      2s      beat-CNT-n1s.P-SUB      be-1p.NPT-e)*  
 'We shall be beating you.'
537. keika      anci      ker-cai-ci-k      c<sup>h</sup>u-ya-ka-no  
*(1p.e      2d      beat-CNT-d-SUB      be-1p.NPT-NEG.NPT)*  
 'We will not be beating you.'
538. keika      anni      ker-cai-ni-k      c<sup>h</sup>u-ya-ka  
*(1p.e      2p      beat-CNT-2p-SUB      be-1p.NPT-e)*  
 'We shall be beating you.'

539. keika k<sup>h</sup> /k<sup>h</sup> s ker-um-cai-am-ka-k  
 (1p.e 3s/3ns beat-1p 3.PT-CNT-1p 3.NPT-e-SUB  
 c<sup>h</sup>u-ya-ka  
 be-1p.NPT-e)  
 'We shall be beating her/them.'

### G. Second Person Singular Subject

In intransitive verb agreement of the second person singular (2s) subject, the suffixes '-cai-k c<sup>h</sup>u-e' indicate future continuous tense as in the example (540). In Kulung, transitive verb agreement of the second person singular subject varies according to the selection of the object or patient as in the examples (541) - (545). The following table shows the transitive verb agreement paradigms for future continuous tense of the second person singular subject and the possible objects in the Kulung language.

subject	object	suffixes	indicate
2s	1s	'-o-coi-o: -k c <sup>h</sup> u-e'	future continuous tense
	1d.e	'-cai-ci-ka-k c <sup>h</sup> u-e'	
	1p.e	'-i-cai-ya-ka-k c <sup>h</sup> u-e'	
	3s	'-c i- -k c <sup>h</sup> u-e'	
	3ns	'-c i- -ci-k c <sup>h</sup> u-e'	

Table 34: Affixes of the second person singular subject and objects in future continuous tense

540. an ims-cai-k c<sup>h</sup>u-e  
 (2s sleep-CNT-SUB be-n1s)  
 'You will be sleeping more.'

541. an-a ko ker-o-coi-o:-k c<sup>h</sup>u-no  
 (2s-ERG 1s beat-1s.PT-CNT-1s.NPT-SUB be-NEG.NPT)  
 'You will not be beating me.'

542. an-a kaska ker-cai-ci-ka-k c<sup>h</sup>u-Ø-?o  
 (2s-ERG 1d.e beat-CNT-d-e-SUB be-n1s-Q)  
 'Will you be beating us?'



543. an-a            keika            ker-i-cai-ya-ka-k            c<sup>h</sup>u-e  
 (2s-ERG        1p.e            beat-1p.PT-CNT-1p.P.NPT-e-SUB    be-n1s)  
 'You will be beating us.'
544. an-a            k<sup>h</sup>            ker-c i- -k            c<sup>h</sup>u-e  
 (2s-ERG        3s            beat-CNT-2s.3    3.NPT-SUB    be-n1s)  
 'You will be beating her.'
545. an-a            k<sup>h</sup> s            ker-c i- -ci-k            c<sup>h</sup>u-e  
 (2s-ERG        3ns            beat-CNT-2s.3    3.NPT-3ns-SUB    be-n1s)  
 'You will be beating them.'

### G. Second Person Dual Subject

In intransitive verb agreement of the second person dual (2d) subject, the suffixes '-cai-ci-k c<sup>h</sup>u-ci' indicate future continuous tense as in the example (546). In Kulung, transitive verb agreement of the second person dual subject varies according to the selection of the object or patient as in the examples (547) - (550). The following table shows the transitive verb agreement paradigms for future continuous tense of the second person dual subject and the possible objects in the Kulung language.

subject	object	suffixes	indicate
2d	1s	'-o-coi-o:-ci-k c <sup>h</sup> u-ci'	future continuous tense
	1d.e	'-cai-ci-ka-k c <sup>h</sup> u-ci'	
	1p.e	'-cai-ya-ka-k c <sup>h</sup> u-ci'	
	3	'-cai-cu-k c <sup>h</sup> u-ci'	

Table 35: Affixes of the second person dual subject and objects in future continuous tense

546. anci        ims-cai-ci-k            c<sup>h</sup>u-ci  
 (2d        sleep-CNT-d-SUB    be-d)  
 'You will be sleeping.'
547. anc-a        ko        ker-o-coi-o:-ci-k            c<sup>h</sup>u-ci-no  
 (2d-ERG        1s        beat-1s.PT-CNT-1s.NPT-d-SUB    be-d-NEG.NPT)  
 'You will not be beating me.'

548. anc-a            kaska            ker-cai-ci-ka-k            c<sup>h</sup>u-ci-?o  
           (2*d*-ERG        1*d.e*            beat-CNT-*d-e*-SUB        be-*d-Q*)

'Will you be beating us?'

549. anc-a            keika            ker-i-cai-ya-ka-k            c<sup>h</sup>u-ci  
           (2*s*-ERG        1*p.e*            beat-1*p*.PT-CNT-1*p*.P.NPT-*e*-SUB        be-*d*)

'You will be beating us.'

550. anc-a            k<sup>h</sup> /k<sup>h</sup> s            ker-cai-cu-k            c<sup>h</sup>u-ci  
           (2*d*-ERG        3*s/3ns*            beat-CNT-*d*    3-SUB        be-*d*)

'You will be beating her/them.'

## H. Second Person Plural Subject

In intransitive verb agreement of the second person plural (2p) subject, the morphemes '-cai-ni-k c<sup>h</sup>u-ni' indicate future continuous tense as in the example (551). In Kulung, transitive verb agreement of the second person plural subject varies according to the selection of the object or patient as in the examples (552) - (555). The following table shows the transitive verb agreement paradigms for future continuous tense of the second person plural subject and the possible objects in the Kulung language.

subject	object	suffixes	indicate
2p	1s	'-o-coi-o:-ni-k c <sup>h</sup> u-ni'	future continuous tense
	1 <i>d.e</i>	'-cai-ci-ka-k c <sup>h</sup> u-ni '	
	1 <i>p.e</i>	'-i-cai-ya-ka-k c <sup>h</sup> u-ni '	
	3	'-cai-num-k c <sup>h</sup> u-ni'	

Table 36: Affixes of the second person plural subject and objects in future continuous tense

551. anni    k<sup>h</sup>unto            ims-cai-ni-k            c<sup>h</sup>u-ni-no  
           (2*p*        *so much*        sleep-CNT-2*p*-SUB        be-2*p*-NEG.NPT)

'You will not be sleeping so much.'

552. ann-a        ko            ker-o-coi-o:-ni-k            c<sup>h</sup>u-ni-no  
           (2*p*-ERG    1*s*            beat-1*s*.PT-CNT-1*s*.NPT-2*p*-SUB        be-2*p*-NEG.NPT)

'You will not be beating me.'

553. ann-a            kaska            ker-cai-ci-ka-k            c<sup>h</sup>u-ni-?o  
 (2p-ERG        1d.e            beat-CNT-d-e-SUB        be-2p-Q)  
 'Will you be beating us?'
554. ann-a            keika            ker-i-cai-ya-ka-k            c<sup>h</sup>u-ni  
 (2p-ERG        1p.e            beat-1p.PT-CNT-1p.P.NPT-e-SUB        be-2p)  
 'You will be beating us.'
555. ann-a            k<sup>h</sup> /k<sup>h</sup> s            ker-cai-num-k            c<sup>h</sup>u-ni  
 (2p-ERG        3s/3ns            beat-CNT-2p 3-SUB        be-2p)  
 'You will be beating her/them.'

### I. Third Person Subjects

In intransitive verb agreement of the third person singular (3s) and non-singular (3ns) subjects, the suffixes '-cai-k c<sup>h</sup>u-e' indicate future continuous tense as in the example (556). In Kulung, transitive verb agreement of the third person subjects varies according to the selection of the object or patient as in the examples (557) - (566). The table (36) shows the transitive verb agreement paradigms for future continuous tense of the third person subjects and the possible objects in the Kulung language.

subject	object	suffixes	indicate
3	1s	'-o-coi-o:-k c <sup>h</sup> u-e'	future continuous tense
	1d.i	'-cai-ci-k c <sup>h</sup> u-e'	
	1d.e	'-cai-ci-ka-k c <sup>h</sup> u-e'	
	1p.i	'-i-cai-ya-k c <sup>h</sup> u-e'	
	1p.e	'-i-cai-ya-ka-k c <sup>h</sup> u-e'	
	2s	'-cai-k c <sup>h</sup> u-e'	
	2d	'-cai-ci-k c <sup>h</sup> u-e'	
	2p	'cai-ni-k c <sup>h</sup> u-e'	
	3ns	'-c i- -ci-k c <sup>h</sup> u-e'	
3s	3s	'-c i- -k c <sup>h</sup> u-e'	

Table 37: Affixes of the third person subject and objects in future continuous tense

556. k<sup>h</sup> /k<sup>h</sup> s            ims-cai-k            c<sup>h</sup>u-e  
 (3s/3ns            sleep-CNT-SUB        be-n1s)  
 'He/they will be sleeping.'

557. k<sup>h</sup> s-a ko ker-o-coi-o:-k c<sup>h</sup>u-Ø-no  
 (3s-ERG 1s beat-1s.PT-CNT-1s.NPT-SUB be-n1s-NEG.NPT)  
 'She will not be beating me.'
558. k<sup>h</sup> c-a kas ker-cai-ci-k c<sup>h</sup>u-e  
 (3ns-ERG 1d.i beat-CNT-d-SUB be-n1s)  
 'They will be beating us.'
559. k<sup>h</sup> c-a kaska ker-cai-ci-ka-k c<sup>h</sup>u-Ø-?o  
 (3ns-ERG 1d.e beat-CNT-d-e-SUB be-n1s-Q)  
 'Will they be beating us?'
560. k<sup>h</sup> s-a kei ker-i-cai-ya-k c<sup>h</sup>u-e  
 (3s-ERG 1p.i beat-1p.PT-CNT-1p.P.NPT-SUB be-n1s)  
 'He will be beating us.'
561. k<sup>h</sup> s-a keika ker-i-cai-ya-ka-k c<sup>h</sup>u-e  
 (3s-ERG 1p.e beat-1p.PT-CNT-1p.P.NPT-e-SUB be-n1s)  
 'She will be beating us.'
562. k<sup>h</sup> c-a an uroi ker-cai-k c<sup>h</sup>u-e  
 (3ns-ERG 2s Q beat-CNT-SUB be-n1s)  
 'Why will they be beating you?'
563. k<sup>h</sup> s-a anci ker-cai-ci-k c<sup>h</sup>u-Ø-no  
 (3s-ERG 2d beat-CNT-d-NEG.NPT-SUB be-n1s-NEG.NPT)  
 'He will not be beating you.'
564. k<sup>h</sup> c-a anni ker-cai-ni-k c<sup>h</sup>u-Ø-yo  
 (3ns-ERG 2p beat-CNT-2p-SUB be-n1s-Q)  
 'Will they be beating you?'
565. k<sup>h</sup> c-a k<sup>h</sup> /k<sup>h</sup> s ker-c i- -ci-k c<sup>h</sup>u-e  
 (3ns-ERG 3s/3ns beat-CNT-2s.3 3.NPT-SUB be-n1s)  
 'They will be beating her/them.'
566. k<sup>h</sup> s-a k<sup>h</sup> ker-c i- -k c<sup>h</sup>u-e  
 (3s-ERG 3s beat-CNT-2s.3 3.NPT-SUB be-n1s)  
 'She will be beating her.'

### 3.1.2.3. Perfect Aspects

Perfect aspect describes the action that has been completed. Three tenses formed by the combination of time and perfect aspect have the present, past, and future perfect. The perfective suffixes '-din-' and '-dit-' indicate perfect aspect in the Kulung language. In the perfective suffix '-dit', the sound /di/ may be omitted with the first person singular 'ko', the first person plural inclusive 'kei' and the first person plural exclusive 'keika'. The Kulung subject verb agreement system in term of the perfect aspects is stated below.

#### I. Present Perfect Tense

Generally, present perfect tense expresses a recently completed action. The present perfect verb conjugation varies in relation with the occurrence of the subject and object in the Kulung sentences.

Here is given a full paradigm of present perfect tense of the intransitive verb *imma* (stem - *ims-*, *im-*) 'to sleep' and the transitive verb *kerma* (stem *ker-*) 'to beat/hit'.

#### A. First Person Singular Subject

In intransitive verb agreement of the first person singular (1s) subject, the suffixes '-o-dit-o' indicate present perfect tense as in the example (567). In Kulung, transitive verb agreement of the first person singular subject varies according to the occurrence of the object or patient as in the examples (568) - (572). The table (38) shows the transitive verb agreement paradigms for present perfect tense of the first person singular subject and the possible objects.

567. ko        *ims-o-dit-o/ims-o-t-o*  
      (*1s        sleep-1s.PT-PRF-1s.PT*)  
      'I have slept.'

568. ko -a        an        ma -ker-n-din  
      (*1s-ERG        2s        NEG.PT-beat-2s.PT-PRF*)  
      'I have not beaten you.'

subject	object	suffixes	indicate
1s	2s	'-n-din'	present perfect tense
	2d	'-n-din-ci'	
	2p	'-n-din-ni'	
	3s	'-u-dit-u'	
	3ns	'-u-dit-u-ci'	

*Table 38: Affixes of the first person singular subject and objects in present perfect tense*

569. ko -a            anci            ker-n-din-ci  
*(1s-ERG        2d            beat-2s.PT-PRF-d)*  
'I have beaten you.'
570. ko -a            anni            ker-n-din-ni  
*(1s-ERG        2p            beat-2s.PT-PRF-2p)*  
'I have beaten you.'
571. ko -a            k<sup>h</sup>            ker-u-dit-u-?o/ker-u-t-u-?o  
*(1s-ERG        3s            beat-1s    3.PT-PRF-1s    3.PT-Q)*  
'Have I beaten her?'
572. ko -a            k<sup>h</sup> s            ma -ker-u-dit-u-ci/ ma -ker-u-t-u-ci  
*(1s-ERG        3ns            NEG.PT-beat-1s    3.PT-PRF-1s    3.PT-3ns)*  
'I have not beaten them.'

## **B. First Person Dual Inclusive Subject**

In intransitive verb agreement of the first person dual inclusive (1d.i) subject, the suffixes '-dit-a-ci' indicate present perfect tense as in the example (573). In transitive verb agreement of the first person dual inclusive subject and the third person patients, the suffixes '-dit-a-cu' indicate present perfect tense as in the examples (574) - (575) respectively.

573. kas            ma -ims-dit-a-ci  
*(1d.i            NEG.PT-sleep-PRF-PT-d)*  
'We have not slept.'

574. kac-a            k<sup>h</sup>            ker-dit-a-cu  
       (*1d.i-ERG*    3s            *beat-PRF-PT-d* 3)  
       (We have beaten her.)
575. kac-a            k<sup>h</sup> s            uroi            ker-dit-a-cu  
       (*1d.i-ERG*    3ns            *Q*            *beat-PRF-PT-d* 3)  
       'Why have we beaten them?'

### C. First Person Dual Exclusive Subject

In intransitive verb agreement of the first person dual exclusive (1d.e) subject, the suffixes '-dit-a-ci-ka' indicate present perfect tense as in the example (576). In Kulung, transitive verb agreement of the first person dual exclusive subject varies according to the selection of the object or patient as in the examples (577) - (580). The table (39) shows the transitive verb agreement paradigm for present perfect tense of the first person dual exclusive subject and the possible objects in the Kulung language.

subject	object	suffixes	indicate
1d.e	2s	'-dit-a'	present perfect tense
	2d	'-dit-a-ci'	
	2p	'-dit-a-ni'	
	3	'-dit-a-cu-ka'	

*Table 39: Affixes of the first person dual exclusive subject and objects in present perfect tense*

576. kaska            u-pi:            ims-dit-a-ci-ka  
       (*1d.e*            *Q-LOC*            *sleep-PRF-PT-d-e*)  
       'Where have we slept?'
577. kaska            an            ker-dit-a  
       (*1d.e*            2s            *beat-PRF-PT*)  
       'We have beaten you.'
578. kaska            anci            ma -ker-dit-a-ci  
       (*1d.e*            2d            *NEG.PT-beat-PRF-PT-d*)  
       'We have not beaten you.'

579. kaska            anni            ker-dit-a-ni  
       (*1d.e*            *2p*            *beat-PRF-PT-2p*)

'We have beaten you.'

580. kaska            k<sup>h</sup> /k<sup>h</sup> s        ker-dit-a-cu-ka  
       (*1d.e*            *3s/3ns*        *beat-PRF-PT-d 3-e*)

'We have beaten her/them.'

#### D. First Person Plural Inclusive Subject

In intransitive verb agreement of the first person plural inclusive (1p.i) subject, the suffixes '-i-dit-i' indicate present perfect tense as in the example (581). In transitive verb agreement of the first person plural inclusive subject and the third person singular and non-singular patients, the suffixes '-um-dit-um' indicate present perfect tense as in the examples (582) - (583).

581. kei                ims-i-dit-i-yo/ims-i-t-i-yo  
       (*1p.i*                *sleep-1p.PT-PRF-1p.PT-Q*)

'Have we slept?'

582. kei-a            k<sup>h</sup>                ker-um-dit-um/ker-um-t-um  
       (*1p.i-ERG*        *3s*                *beat-1p 3.PT-PRF-1p 3.PT*)

'We have beaten him.'

583. kai-a            k<sup>h</sup> s            uroi            ker-um-dit-um/ker-um-t-um  
       (*1p.i-ERG*        *3ns*            *Q*                *beat-1p 3.PT-PRF-1p 3.PT*)

'Why have we beaten them?'

#### E. First Person Plural Exclusive Subject

In intransitive verb agreement of the first person plural exclusive (1p.e) subject, the suffixes '-i-dit-i-ka' indicate present perfect as in the example (584). In Kulung, transitive verb agreement of the first person plural exclusive subject varies according to the selection of the object or patient as in the examples (585) - (588). The table (40) shows the transitive verb agreement paradigms for present perfect tense of the first person plural exclusive subject and the possible objects in the Kulung language.



subject	object	suffixes	indicate
1p.e	2s	'-dit-a'	present perfect tense
	2d	'-dit-a-ci'	
	2p	'-dit-a-ni'	
	3	'-um-dit-um-ka'	

Table 40: Affixes of the first person plural exclusive subject and objects in present perfect tense

584. keika            u-pi:            ims-i-dit-i-ka/ims-i-t-i-ka  
*(1p.e            Q-LOC            sleep-1p.PT-PRF-1p.PT-e)*  
 'Where have we slept?'
585. keika            an                ker-dit-a  
*(1p.e            2s                beat-PRF-PT)*  
 'We have beaten you.'
586. keika            anci              ma -ker-dit-a-ci  
*(1p.e            2d                NEG.PT-beat-PRF-PT-d)*  
 'We have not beaten you.'
587. keika            anni              ker-dit-a-ni  
*(1p.e            2p                beat-PRF-PT-2p)*  
 'We have beaten you.'
588. keika            k<sup>h</sup> /k<sup>h</sup> s        ker-um-dit-um-ka/ker-um-t-um-ka  
*(1p.e            3s/3ns            beat-1p 3.PT-PRF-1p 3.PT-e)*  
 'We have beaten her/them.'

## G. Second Person Singular Subject

In intransitive verb agreement of the second person singular (2s) subject, the suffixes '-dit-a' indicate present perfect as in the example (589). In Kulung, transitive verb agreement of the second person singular subject varies according to the selection of the object or patient as in the examples (590) - (594). The table (41) shows the transitive verb agreement paradigms for present perfect tense of the second person singular subject and the possible objects in the Kulung language.

subject	object	suffixes	indicate
2s	1s	'-o-dit-o'	present perfect tense
	1d.e	'-dit-a-ci-ka'	
	1p.e	'-i-dit-i-ka'	
	3s	'-dit-u'	
	3ns	'-dit-ci'	

*Table 41:* Affixes of the second person singular subject and objects in present perfect tense

589. an        dumo        ims-dit-a  
       (2s        more        sleep-PRF-PT)  
       'You have slept more.'
590. an-a            ko            ma -ker-o-dit-o/ ma -ker-o-t-o  
       (2s-ERG        1s            NEG.PT-beat-1s.PT-PRF-1s.PT)  
       'You have not beaten me.'
591. an-a            kaska        ker-dit-a-ci-ka-?o  
       (2s-ERG        1d.e        beat-PRF-PT-d-e-Q)  
       'Have you beaten us?'
592. an-a            keika        ker-i-dit-i-ka  
       (2s-ERG        1p.e        beat-1p.PT-PRF-1p.PT-e)  
       'You have beaten us.'
593. an-a            k<sup>h</sup>            ker-dit-u  
       (2s-ERG        3s            beat-PRF-1s 3.PT)  
       'You have beaten her.'
594. an-a            k<sup>h</sup> s        ker-dit-ci  
       (2s-ERG        3ns        beat-PRF-3ns)  
       'You have beaten them.'

### G. Second Person Dual Subject

In intransitive verb agreement of the second person dual (2d) subject, the suffixes '-dit-a-ci' indicate present perfect tense as in the example (595). In Kulung, transitive verb agreement of the second person dual subject varies according to the selection of the object or patient as in the examples (596) - (599). The following table shows the transitive verb agreement paradigms for

present perfect tense of the second person dual subject and the possible objects in the Kulung language.

subject	object	suffixes	indicate
2d	1s	'-o-dit-o-ci'	present perfect tense
	1d.e	'-dit-a-ci-ka'	
	1p.e	'-i-dit-i-ka'	
	3	'-dit-a-cu'	

*Table 42: Affixes of the second person dual subject and objects in present perfect tense*

595. *anci*                      *ims-dit-a-ci*  
*(2d*                      *sleep-PRF-PT-d)*  
 'You have slept.'
596. *anc-a*                      *ko*                      *ma -ker-o-dit-o-ci/ ma -ker-o-t-o-ci*  
*(2d-ERG*                      *1s*                      *NEG.PT-beat-1s.PT-PRF-1s.PT-d)*  
 'You have not beaten me.'
597. *anc-a*                      *kaska*                      *ker-dit-a-ci-ka-?o*  
*(2d-ERG*                      *1d.e*                      *beat-PRF-PT-d-e-Q)*  
 'Have you beaten us?'
598. *anc-a*                      *keika*                      *ker-i-dit-i-ka*  
*(2s-ERG*                      *1p.e*                      *beat-1p.PT-PRF-1p.PT-e)*  
 'You have beaten us.'
599. *anc-a*                      *k<sup>h</sup> /k<sup>h</sup> s*                      *ker-dit-a-cu*  
*(2d-ERG*                      *3s/3ns*                      *beat-PRF-PT-d 3)*  
 'You have beaten her/them.'

## H. Second Person Plural Subject

In intransitive verb agreement of the second person plural (2p) subject, the suffixes '-dit-a-ni' indicate present perfect tense as in the example (600). In Kulung, transitive verb agreement of the second person plural subject varies according to the selection of the object or patient as in the examples (601) - (604). The following table shows the transitive verb agreement paradigms for

present perfect tense of the second person plural subject and the possible objects in the Kulung language.

subject	object	suffixes	indicate
2p	1s	'-o-dit-o-ni'	present perfect tense
	1d.e	'-dit-a-ci-ka'	
	1p.e	'-i-dit-i-ka'	
	3	'-dit-a-num'	

*Table 43: Affixes of the second person plural subject and objects in present perfect tense*

600. anni                    k<sup>h</sup>unto                    ma -ms-dit-a-ni  
 (2p                    so much                    NEG.PT-sleep-PRF-PT-2p)  
 'You have not slept so much.'
601. ann-a                    ko                    ma -ker-o-dit-o-ni/ ma -ker-o-t-o-ni  
 (2p-ERG                    1s                    NEG.PT-beat-1s.PT-PRF-1s.PT-2p)  
 'You have not beaten me.'
602. ann-a                    kaska                    ker-dit-a-ci-ka-?o  
 (2p-ERG                    1d.e                    beat-PRF-PT-d-e-Q)  
 'Have you beaten us?'
603. ann-a                    keika                    ker-i-dit-i-ka  
 (2p-ERG                    1p.e                    beat-1p.PT-PRF-1p.PT-e)  
 'You have beaten us.'
604. ann-a                    k<sup>h</sup> /k<sup>h</sup> s                    ker-dit-a-num  
 (2p-ERG                    3s/3ns                    beat-PRF-PT-2p 3)  
 'You have beaten her/them.'

### **I. Third Person Subjects**

In intransitive verb agreement of the third person singular (3s) and non-singular (3ns) subjects, the suffixes '-dit-a' indicate present perfect tense as in the example (605). In Kulung, transitive verb agreement of the third person subjects varies according to the selection of the object or patient as in the examples (606) - (615). The following table shows the transitive verb

agreement paradigms for present perfect tense of the third person subjects and the possible objects in the Kulung language.

subject	object	suffixes	indicate
3	1s	'-o-dit-o'	present perfect tense
	1d.i	'-dit-a-ci'	
	1d.e	'-dit-a-ci-ka'	
	1p.i	'-i-dit-i'	
	1p.e	'-i-dit-i-ka'	
	2s	'-dit-a'	
	2d	'-dit-a-ci'	
	2p	'-dit-a-ni'	
	3ns	'-dit-ci'	
3s	3s	'-dit-u'	

Table 44: Affixes of the third person subjects and objects in present perfect tense

605. k<sup>h</sup> /k<sup>h</sup> s      ims-dit-a  
 (3s/3ns      sleep-PRF-PT)  
 'He/they has/have slept.'
606. k<sup>h</sup> s-a      ko      ma -ker-o-dit-o/ ma -ker-o-t-o  
 (3s-ERG      1s      NEG.PT-beat-1s.PT-PRF-1s.PT)  
 'She has not beaten me.'
607. k<sup>h</sup> c-a      kas      ker-dit-a-ci  
 (3ns-ERG      1d.i      beat-PRF-PT-d)  
 'They have beaten us.'
608. k<sup>h</sup> c-a      kaska      ker-dit-a-ci-ka-?o  
 (3ns-ERG      1d.e      beat-PRF-PT-d-e-Q)  
 'Have they beaten us?'
609. k<sup>h</sup> s-a      kei      ker-i-dit-i/ker-i-t-i  
 (3s-ERG      1p.i      beat-1p.PT-PRF-1p.PT)  
 'He has beaten us.'
610. k<sup>h</sup> s-a      keika      ker-i-dit-i-ka/ker-i-t-i-ka  
 (3s-ERG      1p.e      beat-1p.PT-PRF-1p.PT-e)  
 'She has beaten us.'

611. k<sup>h</sup> c-a            an            uroi            ker-dit-a  
       (3ns-ERG        2s            Q            beat-PRF-PT)  
       'Why have they beaten you?'
612. k<sup>h</sup> s-a            anci            ma -ker-dit-a-ci  
       (3s-ERG        2d            NEG.PT-beat-PRF-PT-d)  
       'He has not beaten you.'
613. k<sup>h</sup> c-a            anni            ker-dit-a-ni-yo  
       (3ns-ERG        2p            beat-PRF-PT-2p-Q)  
       'Have they beaten you?'
614. k<sup>h</sup> c-a            k<sup>h</sup> /k<sup>h</sup> s        ker-dit-ci  
       (3ns-ERG        3s/3ns        beat-PRF-3ns)  
       'They have beaten her/them.'
615. k<sup>h</sup> s-a            k<sup>h</sup>            ker-dit-u  
       (3s-ERG        3s            beat-PRF-1s 3.PT)  
       'She is beaten her.'

## II. Past Perfect Tense

The past perfect expresses a past action completed prior to another event or time in the past. The past perfect verb conjugation varies in relation with the occurrence of the subject and object in Kulung sentences.

Here is given a full paradigm of past perfect tense of the intransitive verb *imma* (stem - *ims-*, *im-*) 'to sleep' and the transitive verb *kerma* (stem *ker-*) 'to beat/hit'.

### A. First Person Singular Subject

In intransitive verb agreement of the first person singular (1s) subject, the suffixes '-o-dit-o-k tu-o' indicate past perfect tense as in the example (616). In Kulung, transitive verb agreement of the first person singular subject varies according to the occurrence of the object or patient as in the examples (617) - (621). The following table shows the transitive verb agreement paradigms for

past perfect tense of the first person singular subject and the possible objects in the Kulung language.

subject	object	suffixes	indicate
1s	2s	'-n-din-k tu-o'	past perfect tense
	2d	'-n-din-ci-k tu-o'	
	2p	'-n-din-ni-k tu-o'	
	3s	'-u-dit-u-k tu-o'	
	3ns	'-u-dit-u-ci-k tu-o'	

Table 45: Affixes of the first person singular subject and objects in past perfect tense

616. ko      ims-o-dit-o-k /ims-o-to-k      tu-o  
 (*1s*      *sleep-1s.PT-PRF-1s.PT-SUB*      *be-1s.PT*)  
 'I had slept.'
617. ko -a      an      ker-n-din-k      man-tu-o  
 (*1s-ERG*      *2s*      *beat-2s.PT-PRF-SUB*      *NEG.PT-be-1s.PT*)  
 'I had not beaten you.'
618. ko -a      anci      ker-n-din-ci-k      tu-o  
 (*1s-ERG*      *2d*      *beat-2s.PT-PRF-d-SUB*      *be-1s.PT*)  
 'I had beaten you.'
619. ko -a      anni      ker-n-din-ni-k      tu-o  
 (*1s-ERG*      *2p*      *beat-2s.PT-PRF-2p-SUB*      *be-1s.PT*)  
 'I had beaten you.'
620. ko -a      k<sup>h</sup>      ker-u-dit-u-k /ker-u-t-u-k      tu-o-yo  
 (*1s-ERG*      *3s*      *beat-1s*      *3.PT-PRF-1s*      *3.PT-SUB*      *be-1s.PT-Q*)  
 'Had I beaten her?'
621. ko -a      k<sup>h</sup> s      ker-u-dit-u-ci-k /ker-u-t-u-ci-k  
 (*1s-ERG*      *3ns*      *beat-1s*      *3.PT-PRF-1s*      *3.PT-3ns-SUB*  
 man-tu-o  
*NEG.PT-be-1s.PT*)  
 'I had not beaten them.'

## B. First Person Dual Inclusive Subject

In intransitive verb agreement of the first person dual inclusive (1d.i) subject, the suffixes '-dit-a-ci-k tu-a-ci' indicate past perfect tense as in the example (622). In transitive verb agreement of the first person dual inclusive subject and the third person objects, the suffixes '-dit-a-cu-k tu-a-ci' indicate past perfect tense as in the examples (623) - (624) respectively.

622. kas        ims-dit-a-ci-k                    man-tu-a-ci  
       (1d.i    sleep-PRF-PT-d-SUB        NEG.PT-be-PT-d)  
       'We had not slept.'

623. kac-a            k<sup>h</sup>        ker-dit-a-cu-k                    tu-a-ci  
       (1d.i-ERG        3s        beat-PRF-PT-d    3-SUB    be-PT-d)  
       'We had beaten her.'

624. kac-a            k<sup>h</sup> s        uroi        ker-dit-a-cu-k                    tu-a-ci  
       (1d.i-ERG        3ns        Q        beat-PRF-PT-d    3-SUB    be-PT-d)  
       'Why had we beaten them?'

## C. First Person Dual Exclusive Subject

In intransitive verb agreement of the first person dual exclusive (1d.e) subject, the suffixes '-dit-a-ci-ka-k tu-a-ci-ka' indicate past perfect tense as in the example (625). In Kulung, transitive verb agreement of the first person dual exclusive subject varies according to the selection of the object or patient as in the examples (626) - (629). The table (46) shows the transitive verb agreement paradigms for past perfect tense of the first person dual exclusive subject and the possible objects in the Kulung language.

subject	object	Suffixes	indicate
1d.e	2s	'-dit-a'	past perfect tense
	2d	'-dit-a-ci'	
	2p	'-dit-a-ni'	
	3	'-dit-a-cu-ka'	

Table 46: Affixes of the first person dual exclusive subject and objects in past perfect tense



625. kaska            u-pi:            ims-dit-a-ci-ka-k            tu-a-ci-ka  
 (*1d.e*            *Q-LOC*            *sleep-PRF-PT-d-e-SUB*    *be-PT-d-e*)  
 'Where had we slept?'
626. kaska            an            ker-dit-a-k            tu-a-ci-ka  
 (*1d.e*            *2s*            *beat-PRF-PT-SUB*            *be-PT-d-e*)  
 'We had beaten you.'
627. kaska            anci            ker-dit-a-ci-k            man-tu-a-ci-ka  
 (*1d.e*            *2d*            *beat-PRF-PT-d-SUB*            *NEG.PT-be-PT-d-e*)  
 'We had not beaten you.'
628. kaska            anni            ker-dit-a-ni-k            tu-a-ci-ka  
 (*1d.e*            *2p*            *beat-PRF-PT-2p-SUB*            *be-PT-d-e*)  
 'We had beaten you.'
629. kaska            k<sup>h</sup> /k<sup>h</sup> s            ker-dit-a-cu-ka-k            tu-a-ci-ka  
 (*1d.e*            *3s/3ns*            *beat-PRF-PT-d*    *3-e-SUB*    *be-PT-d-e*)  
 'We had beaten her/them.'

#### D. First Person Plural Inclusive Subject

In intransitive verb agreement of the first person plural inclusive (1p.i) subject, the suffixes '-i-dit-i-k tu-i' indicate past perfect tense as in the example (630). In transitive verb agreement of the first person plural inclusive subject and the third person singular and non-singular patients, the suffixes '-um-dit-um-k tu-i' indicate past perfect tense as in the examples (631) - (632).

630. kei            ims-i-dit-i-k            tu-i-yo  
 (*1p.i*            *sleep-1p.PT-PRF-1p.PT-SUB*            *be-1p.PT-Q*)  
 'Had we slept?'
631. kei-a            k<sup>h</sup>            ker-um-dit-um-k /ker-um-t-um-k            tu-i  
 (*1p.i-ERG*            *3s*            *beat-1p*    *3.PT-PRF-1p*    *3.PT-SUB*    *be-1p.PT*)  
 'We had beaten him.'

632. kai-a            k<sup>h</sup> s uroi ker-um-dit-um-k / ker-um-t-um-k            tu-i  
 (1p.i-ERG 3ns Q beat-1p 3.PT-PRF-1p 3.PT-SUB be-1p.PT)  
 'Why had we beaten them?'

### E. First Person Plural Exclusive Subject

In intransitive verb agreement of the first person plural exclusive (1p.e) subject, the suffixes '-i-dit-i-ka-k tu-i-ka' indicate past perfect as in the example (633). In Kulung, transitive verb agreement of the first person plural exclusive subject varies according to the selection of the object or patient as in the examples (634) - (637). The following table shows the transitive verb agreement paradigms for past perfect tense of the first person plural exclusive subject and the possible objects in the Kulung language.

subject	object	suffixes	indicate
1p.e	2s	'-dit-a'	past perfect tense
	2d	'-dit-a-ci'	
	2p	'-dit-a-ni'	
	3	'-um-dit-um-ka'	

Table 47: Affixes of the first person plural exclusive subject and objects in past perfect tense

633. keika u-pi:            ims-i-dit-i-ka-k /ims-i-t-i-ka-k            tu-i-ka  
 (1p.e Q-LOC sleep-1p.PT-PRF-1p.PT-e-SUB be-1p.PT-e)  
 'Where had we slept?'

634. keika            an            ker-dit-a-k            tu-i-ka  
 (1p.e            2s            beat-PRF-PT-SUB be-1p.PT-e)  
 'We had beaten you.'

635. keika            anci            ker-dit-a-ci-k            man-tu-i-ka  
 (1p.e            2d            beat-PRF-PT-d-SUB NEG.PT-be-1p.PT-e)  
 'We had not beaten you.'

636. keika            anni            ker-dit-a-ni-k            tu-i-ka  
 (1p.e            2p            beat-PRF-PT-2p-SUB be-1p.PT-e)  
 'We had beaten you.'

637. keika k<sup>h</sup> /k<sup>h</sup> s ker-um-dit-um-ka-k /ker-um-t-um-ka-k tu-i-ka  
 (1p.e 3s/3ns beat-1p 3.PT-PRF-1p 3.PT-e-SUB be-1p.PT-e)  
 'We had beaten her/them.'

### G. Second Person Singular Subject

In intransitive verb agreement of the second person singular (2s) subject, the suffixes '-dit-a-k tu-a' indicate past perfect as in the example (638). In Kulung, transitive verb agreement of the second person singular subject varies according to the selection of the object or patient as in the examples (639) - (643). The following table shows the transitive verb agreement paradigms for past perfect tense of the second person singular subject and the possible objects in the Kulung language.

subject	object	suffixes	indicate
2s	1s	'-o-dit-o-k tu-a'	past perfect tense
	1d.e	'-dit-a-ci-ka-k tu-a'	
	1p.e	'-i-dit-i-ka-k tu-a'	
	3s	'-dit-u-k tu-a'	
	3ns	'-dit-ci-k tu-a'	

Table 48: Affixes of the second person singular subject and objects in past perfect tense

638. an dumo ims-dit-a-k tu-a  
 (2s more sleep-PRF-PT-SUB be-PT)  
 'You had slept more.'

639. an-a ko ker-o-dit-o-k /ker-o-t-o-k man-tu-a  
 (2s-ERG 1s beat-1s.PT-PRF-1s.PT-SUB NEG.PT-be-PT)  
 'You had not beaten me.'

640. an-a kaska ker-dit-a-ci-ka-k tu-a-?o  
 (2s-ERG 1d.e beat-PRF-PT-d-e-SUB be-PT-Q)  
 'Had you beaten us?'

641. an-a keika ker-i-dit-i-ka-k tu-a  
 (2s-ERG 1p.e beat-1p.PT-PRF-1p.PT-e-SUB be-PT)  
 'You had beaten us.'

642. an-a                    k<sup>h</sup>                    ker-dit-u-k                    tu-a  
 (2s-ERG                    3s                    beat-PRF-1s    3.PT-SUB    be-PT)

'You had beaten her.'

643. an-a                    k<sup>h</sup> s                    ker-dit-ci-k                    tu-a  
 (2s-ERG                    3ns                    beat-PRF-3ns-SUB    be-PT)

'You had beaten them.'

## G. Second Person Dual Subject

In intransitive verb agreement of the second person dual (2d) subject, the suffixes '-dit-a-ci-k tu-a-ci' indicate past perfect tense as in the example (644). The transitive verb agreement of the second person dual subject and the possible objects is presented in the following table.

subject	object	suffixes	indicate
2d	1s	'-o-dit-o-ci-k tu-a-ci'	past perfect tense
	1d.e	'-dit-a-ci-ka-k tu-a-ci'	
	1p.e	'-i-dit-i-ka-k tu-a-ci'	
	3	'-dit-a-cu-k tu-a-ci'	

Table 49: Affixes of the second person dual subject and objects in past perfect tense

644. anci                    ims-dit-a-ci-k                    tu-a-ci  
 (2d                    sleep-PRF-PT-d-SUB                    be-PT-d)  
 'You had slept.'

645. anc-a                    ko                    ker-o-dit-o-ci-k / ker-o-t-o-ci-k                    man-tu-a-ci  
 (2d-ERG                    1s                    beat-1s.PT-PRF-1s.PT-d-SUB                    NEG.PT-be-PT-d)  
 'You had not beaten me.'

646. anc-a                    kaska                    ker-dit-a-ci-ka-k                    tu-a-ci-?o  
 (2d-ERG                    1d.e                    beat-PRF-PT-d-e-SUB                    be-PT-d-Q)  
 'Had you beaten us?'

647. anc-a                    keika                    ker-i-dit-i-ka-k                    tu-a-ci  
 (2s-ERG                    1p.e                    beat-1p.PT-PRF-1p.PT-e-SUB                    be-PT-d)  
 'You had beaten us.'

648. anc-a                    k<sup>h</sup> /k<sup>h</sup> s                    ker-dit-a-cu-k                    tu-a-ci  
 (2*d*-*ERG*                    3*s*/3*ns*                    beat-*PRF-PT-d*                    3-*SUB*                    be-*PT-d*)  
 'You had beaten her/them.'

## H. Second Person Plural Subject

In intransitive verb agreement of the second person plural (2p) subject, the suffixes '-dit-a-ni-k tu-a-ni' indicate past perfect tense as in the example (649). In Kulung, transitive verb agreement of the second person plural subject varies according to the selection of the object or patient as in the examples (650) - (653). The following table shows the transitive verb agreement paradigms for past perfect tense of the second person plural subject and the possible objects in the Kulung language.

subject	object	suffixes	Indicate
2p	1s	'-o-dit-o-ni-k tu-a-ni'	past perfect tense
	1 <i>d.e</i>	'-dit-a-ci-ka-k tu-a-ni'	
	1 <i>p.e</i>	'-i-dit-i-ka-k tu-a-ni'	
	3	'-dit-a-num-k tu-a-ni'	

Table 50: Affixes of the second person plural exclusive subject and objects in past perfect tense

649. anni                    k<sup>h</sup>unto                    ims-dit-a-ni-k                    man-tu-a-ni  
 (2*p*                    so much                    sleep-*PRF-PT-2p-SUB*                    NEG-*PT-be-PT-2p*)  
 'You had not slept so much.'

650. ann-a                    ko                    ker-o-dit-o-ni-k / ker-o-t-o-ni-k                    man-tu-a-ni  
 (2*p-ERG*                    1*s*                    beat-1*s.PT-PRF-1s.PT-2p-SUB*                    NEG-*PT-be-PT-2p*)  
 'You had not beaten me.'

651. ann-a                    kaska                    ker-dit-a-ci-ka-k                    tu-a-ni-?o  
 (2*p-ERG*                    1*d.e*                    beat-*PRF-PT-d-e-SUB*                    be-*PT-2p-Q*)  
 'Had you beaten us?'

652. ann-a                    keika                    ker-i-dit-i-ka-k                    tu-a-ni  
 (2*p-ERG*                    1*p.e*                    beat-1*p.PT-PRF-1p.PT-e-SUB*                    be-*PT-2p*)  
 'You had beaten us.'

653. ann-a            k<sup>h</sup> /k<sup>h</sup> s            ker-dit-a-num-k            tu-a-ni  
 (2p-ERG            3s/3ns            beat-PRF-PT-2p    3-SUB            be-PT-2p)  
 'You had beaten her/them.'

### I. Third Person Subjects

In intransitive verb agreement of the third person singular (3s) and non-singular (3ns) subjects, the suffixes '-dit-a-k tu-a' indicate past perfect tense as in the example (654). In Kulung, transitive verb agreement of the third person subjects varies according to the selection of the object or patient as in the examples (655) - (664). The following table shows the transitive verb agreement paradigms for past perfect tense of the third person subjects and the possible objects in the Kulung language.

subject	object	suffixes	indicates
3	1s	'-o-dit-o-k tu-a'	past perfect tense
	1d.i	'-dit-a-ci-k tu-a'	
	1d.e	'-dit-a-ci-ka-k tu-a'	
	1p.i	'-i-dit-i-k tu-a'	
	1p.e	'-i-dit-i-ka'	
	2s	'-dit-a-k tu-a'	
	2d	'-dit-a-ci-k tu-a'	
	2p	'-dit-a-ni-k tu-a'	
	3ns	'-dit-ci-k tu-a'	
3s	3s	'-dit-u-k tu-a'	

Table 51: Affixes of the third person agents and patients in past perfect tense

654. k<sup>h</sup> /k<sup>h</sup> s            ims-dit-a-k            tu-a  
 (3s/3ns            sleep-PRF-PT-SUB    be-PT)  
 'He/they had slept.'

655. k<sup>h</sup> s-a            ko    ker-o-dit-o-k /ker-o-t-o-k            man-tu-a  
 (3s-ERG            1s    beat-1s.PT-PRF-1s.PT-SUB            NEG.PT-be-PT)  
 'She had not beaten me.'

656. k<sup>h</sup> c-a            kas    ker-dit-a-ci-k            tu-a  
 (3ns-ERG            1d.i    beat-PRF-PT-d-SUB    be-PT)  
 'They had beaten us.'

657. k<sup>h</sup> c-a            kaska            ker-dit-a-ci-ka-k            tu-a-ʔo  
           (3ns-ERG        1d.e            beat-PRF-PT-d-e-SUB        be-PT-Q)  
           'Had they beaten us?'
658. k<sup>h</sup> s-a            kei            ker-i-dit-i-k /ker-i-t-i-k            tu-a  
           (3s-ERG        1p.i            beat-1p.PT-PRF-1p.PT-SUB        be-PT)  
           'He had beaten us.'
659. k<sup>h</sup> s-a            keika            ker-i-dit-i-ka-k / ker-i-t-i-ka-k            tu-a  
           (3s-ERG        1p.e            beat-1p.PT-PRF-1p.PT-e-SUB        be-PT)  
           'She had beaten us.'
660. k<sup>h</sup> c-a            an            uroi            ker-dit-a-k            tu-a  
           (3ns-ERG        2s            Q            beat-PRF-PT-SUB        be-PT)  
           'Why had they beaten you?'
661. k<sup>h</sup> s-a            anci            ker-dit-a-ci-k            tu-a  
           (3s-ERG        2d            beat-PRF-PT-d-SUB            be-PT)  
           'He had not beaten you.'
662. k<sup>h</sup> c-a            anni            ker-dit-a-ni-k            tu-a-yo  
           (3ns-ERG        2p            beat-PRF-PT-2p-SUB            be-PT-Q)  
           'Had they beaten you?'
663. k<sup>h</sup> c-a            k<sup>h</sup> /k<sup>h</sup> s            ker-dit-ci-k            tu-a  
           (3ns-ERG        3s/3ns            beat-PRF-3ns-SUB        be-PT)  
           'They had beaten her/them.'
664. k<sup>h</sup> s-a            k<sup>h</sup>            ker-dit-u-k            tu-a  
           (3s-ERG        3s            beat-PRF-1s    3.PT-SUB        be-PT)  
           'She had beaten her.'

### III. Future Perfect Tense

The future perfect is generally used to express an action that will be completed prior to or by some specified future time. The future perfect verb conjugation varies in relation with the occurrence of the subject and objects in the Kulung sentences.

## A. First Person Singular Subject

In intransitive verb agreement of the first person singular (1s) subject, the suffixes '-o-dit-o:-k c<sup>h</sup>u-o:' indicate future perfect tense as in the example (665). In Kulung, transitive verb agreement of the first person singular subject varies according to the occurrence of the object or patient as in the examples (666) - (670). The following table shows the transitive verb agreement paradigms for future perfect tense of the first person singular subject and the possible objects in the Kulung language.

subject	object	suffixes	indicate
1s	2s	'-n-di-yan-k c <sup>h</sup> u-o:'	future perfect tense
	2d	'-n-di-yan-ci-k c <sup>h</sup> u-o:'	
	2p	'-n-di-yan-ni-k c <sup>h</sup> u-o:'	
	3s	'-u-dit-o:-k c <sup>h</sup> u-o:'	
	3ns	'-u-dit-o:-ci-k c <sup>h</sup> u-o:'	

Table 52: Affixes of the first person singular subject and objects in future perfect tense

665. ko      ims-o-dit-o:-k / ims-o-t-o:-k      c<sup>h</sup>u-o:  
 (1s      sleep-1s.PT-PRF-1s.NPT-SUB      be-1s.NPT)  
 'I shall have slept.'
666. ko -a      an      ker-n-di-yan-k      c<sup>h</sup>u-o:-no  
 (1s-ERG      2s      beat-2s.PT-PRF-1s      2.NPT-SUB      be-1s.NPT-NEG.NPT)  
 'I shan't have beaten you.'
667. ko -a      anci      ker-n-di-yan-ci-k      c<sup>h</sup>u-o:  
 (1s-ERG      2d      beat-2s.PT-PRF-1s      2.NPT-d-SUB      be-1s.NPT)  
 'I will have beaten you.'
668. ko -a      anni      ker-n-di-yan-ni-k      c<sup>h</sup>u-o:  
 (1s-ERG      2p      beat-2s.PT-PRF-1s      2.NPT-2p-SUB      be-1s.NPT)  
 'I shall have beaten you.'
669. ko -a      k<sup>h</sup>      ker-u-dit-o:-k      c<sup>h</sup>u-o:-yo  
 (1s-ERG      3s      beat-1s      3.PT-PRF-1s.NPT-SUB      be-1s.NPT-Q)  
 'Shall I have beaten her?'



670. ko -a            k<sup>h</sup> s            ker-u-dit-o:-ci-k /ker-u-t-o:-ci-k  
 (1s-ERG    3ns            beat-1s    3.PT-PRF-1s.NPT-3ns-SUB  
 c<sup>h</sup>u-o:-no  
 be-1s.NPT-NEG.NPT)  
 'I won't have beaten them.'

## B. First Person Dual Inclusive Subject

In intransitive verb agreement of the first person dual inclusive (1d.i) subject, the suffixes '-dit-ci-k c<sup>h</sup>u-ci' indicate future perfect tense as in the example (671). In transitive verb agreement of the first person dual inclusive subject and the third person objects, the suffixes '-dit-cu-k c<sup>h</sup>u-ci' indicate future perfect tense as in the examples (672) - (673) respectively.

671. kas            ims-dit-ci-k            c<sup>h</sup>u-ci-no  
 (1d.i    sleep-PRF-d-SUB    be-d-NEG.NPT)  
 'We won't have slept.'

672. kac-a            k<sup>h</sup>            ker-dit-cu-k            c<sup>h</sup>u-ci  
 (1d.i-ERG    3s            beat-PRF-d    3-SUB            be-d)  
 'We shall have beaten her.'

673. kac-a            k<sup>h</sup> s    uroi    ker-dit-cu-k            c<sup>h</sup>u-ci  
 (1d.i-ERG    3ns    Q    beat-PRF-d    3-SUB            be-d)  
 'Why shall we have beaten them?'

## C. First Person Dual Exclusive Subject

In intransitive verb agreement of the first person dual exclusive (1d.e) subject, the suffixes '-dit-ci-ka-k c<sup>h</sup>u-ci-ka' indicate future perfect tense as in the example (674). In Kulung, transitive verb agreement of the first person dual exclusive subject varies according to the selection of the object or patient as in the examples (675) - (678). The table (53) shows the transitive verb agreement paradigms for future perfect tense of the first person dual exclusive subject and the possible objects in the Kulung language.

subject	object	suffixes	indicate
1d.e	2s	'-dit-k c <sup>h</sup> u-ci-ka'	future perfect tense
	2d	'-dit-ci-k c <sup>h</sup> u-ci-ka'	
	2p	'-dit-ni-k c <sup>h</sup> u-ci-ka'	
	3	'-dit-cu-ka-k c <sup>h</sup> u-ci-ka'	

Table 53: Affixes of the first person dual exclusive subject and objects in future perfect tense

674. kaska            u-pi:            ims-dit-ci-ka-k            c<sup>h</sup>u-ci-ka  
*(1d.e            Q-LOC            sleep-PRF-d-e-SUB            be-d-e)*  
 'Where shall we have slept?'
675. kaska            an            ker-dit-k            c<sup>h</sup>u-ci-ka  
*(1d.e            2s            beat-PRF-SUB            be-d-e)*  
 'We will have beaten you.'
676. kaska            anci            ker-dit-ci-k            c<sup>h</sup>u-ci-ka-no  
*(1d.e            2d            beat-PRF-d-SUB            be-d-e-NEG.NPT)*  
 'We shan't have beaten you.'
677. kaska            anni            ker-dit-ni-k            c<sup>h</sup>u-ci-ka  
*(1d.e            2p            beat-PRF-2p-SUB            be -d-e)*  
 'We will have beaten you.'
678. kaska            k<sup>h</sup> /k<sup>h</sup> s            ker-dit-cu-ka-k            c<sup>h</sup>u-ci-ka  
*(1d.e            3s/3ns            beat-PRF-d 3-e-SUB            be-d-e)*  
 'We shall have beaten her/them.'

#### D. First Person Plural Inclusive Subject

In intransitive verb agreement of the first person plural inclusive (1p.i) subject, the suffixes '-i-dit-ya-k c<sup>h</sup>u-ya' indicate future perfect tense as in the example (679). In transitive verb agreement of the first person plural inclusive subject and the third person singular and non-singular objects, the suffixes '-um-dit-am-k c<sup>h</sup>u-ya' indicate future perfect tense as in the examples (680) - (681).

679. kei            ims-i-dit-ya-k            c<sup>h</sup>u-ya-yo  
*(1p.i            sleep-1p.PT-PRF-1p.NPT-SUB            be-1p.NPT-Q)*  
 'Shall we have slept?'

680. kei-a            k<sup>h</sup>    ker-um-dit-am-k / ker-um-t-am-k            c<sup>h</sup>u-ya  
 (1p.i-ERG 3s    beat-1p 3.PT-PRF-1p 3.NPT-SUB    be-1p.NPT)  
 'We shall have beaten him.'

681. kai-a            k<sup>h</sup> s    uroi    ker-um-dit-am-k / ker-um-t-am-k  
 (1p.i-ERG 3ns    Q    beat-1p 3.PT-PRF-1p 3.NPT-SUB  
 c<sup>h</sup>u-ya  
 be-1p.NPT)  
 'Why shall we have beaten them?'

### E. First Person Plural Exclusive Subject

In intransitive verb agreement of the first person plural exclusive (1p.e) subject, the suffixes '-i-dit-ya-ka-k c<sup>h</sup>u-ya-ka' indicate future perfect as in the example (682). In Kulung, transitive verb agreement of the first person plural exclusive subject varies according to the selection of the object or patient as in the examples (683) - (686). The table (54) shows the transitive verb agreement paradigms for future perfect tense of the first person plural exclusive subject and the possible objects in the Kulung language.

subject	object	suffixes	indicate
1p.e	2s	'-dit-k c <sup>h</sup> u-ya-ka'	future perfect tense
	2d	'-dit-ci-k c <sup>h</sup> u-ya-ka'	
	2p	'-dit-ni-k chu-ya-ka'	
	3	'-um-dit-am-ka-k c <sup>h</sup> u-ya-ka'	

Table 54: Affixes of the first person plural exclusive subject and objects in future perfect tense

682. keika    u-pi:    ims-i-dit-ya-ka-k            c<sup>h</sup>u-ya-ka  
 (1p.e    Q-LOC    sleep-1p.PT-PRF-1p.NPT-e-SUB    be-1p.NPT-e)  
 'Where shall we have slept?'

683. keika            an            ker-dit-k            c<sup>h</sup>u-ya-ka  
 (1p.e            2s            beat-PRF-SUB    be-1p.NPT-e)  
 'We shall have beaten you.'

684. keika    anci    ker-dit-ci-k            c<sup>h</sup>u-ya-ka-no  
 (1p.e    2d    beat-PRF-d-SUB    be-1p.NPT-e-NEG.NPT)  
 'We shan't have beaten you.'
685. keika    anni    ker-dit-ni-k            c<sup>h</sup>u-ya-ka  
 (1p.e    2p    beat-PRF-2p-SUB    be-1p.NPT-e)  
 'We will have beaten you.'
686. keika    k<sup>h</sup> / k<sup>h</sup> s    ker-um-dit-am-ka-k /ker-um-t-am-k  
 (1p.e    3s/3ns    beat-1p    3.PT-PRF-1p    3.NPT-e-SUB  
 c<sup>h</sup>u-ya-ka  
 be-1p.NPT-e)  
 'We shall have beaten her/them.'

### G. Second Person Singular Subject

In intransitive verb agreement of the second person singular (2s) subject, the suffixes '-dit-a-k tu-a' indicate future perfect as in the example (638). For the transitive verb agreement, the affixes of the table (55) show the transitive verb agreement paradigms for future perfect tense of the second person singular subject and the possible objects in the Kulung language.

subject	object	suffixes	indicate
2s	1s	'-o-dit-o:-k c <sup>h</sup> u-e'	future perfect tense
	1d.e	'-dit-ci-ka-k c <sup>h</sup> u-e'	
	1p.e	'-i-dit-ya-ka-k c <sup>h</sup> u-e'	
	3s	'-dit-k c <sup>h</sup> u-e'	
	3ns	'-dit-ci-k c <sup>h</sup> u-e'	

Table 55: Affixes of the second person singular subject and objects in future perfect tense

687. an                    dumo                    ims-dit-k                    c<sup>h</sup>u-e  
 (2s                    more                    sleep-PRF-SUB                    be-n1s)  
 'You will have slept more.'
688. an-a            ko            ker-o-dit-o:-k /ker-o-t-o:-k            c<sup>h</sup>u-Ø-no  
 (2s-ERG    1s            beat-1s.PT-PRF-1s.NPT-SUB    be-n1s-NEG.NPT)  
 'You won't have beaten me.'

689. an-a            kaska            ker-dit-ci-ka-k            c<sup>h</sup>u-e-?o  
       (2s-ERG        1d.e            beat-PRF-d-e-SUB        be-n1s-Q)  
       'Will you have beaten us?'
690. an-a            keika            ker-i-dit-ya-ka-k            c<sup>h</sup>u-e  
       (2s-ERG        1p.e            beat-1p.PT-PRF-1p.NPT-e-SUB    be-n1s)  
       (You will have beaten us.)
691. an-a            k<sup>h</sup>            ker-dit-k            c<sup>h</sup>u-e  
       (2s-ERG        3s            beat-PRF-SUB        be-n1s)  
       'You will have beaten her.'
692. an-a            k<sup>h</sup> s            ker-dit-ci-k            c<sup>h</sup>u-e  
       (2s-ERG        3ns            beat-PRF-3ns-SUB    be-n1s)  
       'You will have beaten them.'

### G. Second Person Dual Subject

In intransitive verb agreement of the second person dual (2d) subject, the suffixes '-dit-ci-k c<sup>h</sup>u-ci' indicate future perfect tense as in the example (693). For the transitive verb agreement, the affixes of the following table show the transitive verb agreement paradigms for future perfect tense of the second person dual subject and the possible objects in the Kulung language.

subject	object	suffixes	indicate
2d	1s	'-o-dit-o:-ci-k c <sup>h</sup> u-ci'	future perfect tense
	1d.e	'-dit-ci-ka-k c <sup>h</sup> u-ci'	
	1p.e	'-i-dit-ya-ka-k c <sup>h</sup> u-ci'	
	3	'-dit-cu-k c <sup>h</sup> u-ci'	

Table 56: Affixes of the second person dual subject and objects in future perfect tense

693. anci        ims-dit-ci-k            c<sup>h</sup>u-ci  
       (2d        sleep-PRF-d-SUB    be -d)  
       'You will have slept.'
694. anc-a        ko        ker-o-dit-o:-ci-k /ker-o-t-o:-ci-k        c<sup>h</sup>u-ci-no  
       (2d-ERG    1s        beat-1s.PT-PRF-1s.NPT-d-SUB    be-d-NEG.NPT)  
       'You won't have beaten me.'

695. anc-a            kaska            ker-dit-ci-ka-k            c<sup>h</sup>u-ci-?o  
           (2*d*-ERG        1*d.e*            beat-PRF-*d-e*-SUB        be-*d-Q*)  
           'Will you have beaten us?'
696. anc-a            keika            ker-i-dit-ya-ka-k            c<sup>h</sup>u-ci  
           (2*s*-ERG        1*p.e*            beat-1*p*.PT-PRF-1*p*.NPT-*e*-SUB    be-*d*)  
           'You will have beaten us.'
697. anc-a            k<sup>h</sup> /k<sup>h</sup> s        ker-dit-cu-k            c<sup>h</sup>u-ci  
           (2*d*-ERG        3*s/3ns*        beat-PRF-*d*    3-SUB        be-*d*)  
           'You will have beaten her/them.'

## H. Second Person Plural Subject

In intransitive verb agreement of the second person plural (2p) subject, the suffixes '-dit-ni-k c<sup>h</sup>u-ni' indicate future perfect tense as in the example (698). In Kulung, transitive verb agreement of the second person plural subject varies according to the selection of the object or patient as in the examples (699) - (702). The following table shows the transitive verb agreement paradigms for future perfect tense of the second person plural subject and the possible objects in the Kulung language.

subject	object	suffixes	indicate
2p	1s	'-o-dit-o:-ni-k c <sup>h</sup> u-ni'	future perfect tense
	1 <i>d.e</i>	'-dit-ci-ka-k c <sup>h</sup> u-ni'	
	1 <i>p.e</i>	'-i-dit-ya-ka-k c <sup>h</sup> u-ni'	
	3	'-dit-num-k c <sup>h</sup> u-ni'	

Table 57: Affixes of the second person plural subject and objects in future perfect tense

698. anni            k<sup>h</sup>unto            ims-dit-ni-k            c<sup>h</sup>u-ni-no  
           (2*p*            *so much*        sleep-PRF-2*p*-SUB        be-2*p*-NEG.NPT)  
           'You won't have slept so much.'
699. ann-a        ko        ker-o-dit-o:-ni-k /ker-o-t-o:-ni-k        c<sup>h</sup>u-ni-no  
           (2*p*-ERG    1*s*        beat-1*s*.PT-PRF-1*s*.NPT-2*p*-SUB    be-2*p*-NEG.NPT)  
           'You won't have beaten me.'

700. ann-a            kaska            ker-dit-ci-ka-k            c<sup>h</sup>u-ni-?o  
           (2p-ERG        1d.e            beat-PRF-d-e-SUB        be-2p-Q)  
           'Will you have beaten us?'
701. ann-a            keika            ker-i-dit-ya-ka-k            c<sup>h</sup>u-ni  
           (2p-ERG        1p.e            beat-1p.PT-PRF-1p.NPT-e-SUB    be-2p)  
           'You will have beaten us.'
702. ann-a            k<sup>h</sup> /k<sup>h</sup> s        ker-dit-num-k            c<sup>h</sup>u-ni  
           (2p-ERG        3s/3ns        beat-PRF-2p 3-SUB        be-2p)  
           'You will have beaten her/them.'

### I. Third Person Subjects

In intransitive verb agreement of the third subjects, the suffixes '-dit-k c<sup>h</sup>u-e' indicate future perfect tense as in (703). For the transitive verb agreement, the affixes of the table (58) indicate future perfect tense of the third person subjects and the possible objects in the Kulung language.

subject	object	suffixes	indicate
3	1s	'-o-dit-o: -k c <sup>h</sup> u-e'	future perfect tense
	1d.i	'-dit-ci-k c <sup>h</sup> u-e'	
	1d.e	'-dit-ci-ka-k c <sup>h</sup> u-e'	
	1p.i	'-i-dit-ya-k c <sup>h</sup> u-e'	
	1p.e	'-i-dit-ya-ka-k c <sup>h</sup> u-e'	
	2s	'-dit-k c <sup>h</sup> u-e'	
	2d	'-dit-ci-k c <sup>h</sup> u-e'	
	2p	'-dit-ni-k c <sup>h</sup> u-e'	
3ns	'-dit-ci-k c <sup>h</sup> u-e'		
3s	3s	'-dit-k c <sup>h</sup> u-e'	

Table 58: Affixes of the third person subjects and objects in future perfect tense

703. k<sup>h</sup> /k<sup>h</sup> s            ims-dit-k            c<sup>h</sup>u-e  
           (3s/3ns            sleep-PRF-SUB        be-n1s)  
           'He/They will have slept.'
704. k<sup>h</sup> s-a        ko        ker-o-dit-o:-k /ker-o-t-o:-k        c<sup>h</sup>u-Ø-no  
           (3s-ERG    1s        beat-1s.PT-PRF-1s.NPT-SUB        be-n1s-NEG.NPT)  
           'She won't have beaten me.'





### 3.1.2.4. Perfect Continuous Aspects

The perfect and continuous or progressive aspects can be used together. They, too, intersect with three times, forming the present, past, and future perfect continuous tenses. Reflecting the meaning of both aspects, these tenses express ongoing action to some point in time. They occur particularly with activity verbs and they are often in sentences that include time expressions of duration (Cowan, 2009, p. 371-732). The Kulung subject-verb agreement system in term of the perfect continuous or progressive aspect is stated below.

#### I. Present Perfect Continuous Tense

The present perfect continuous or progressive tense expresses past activity that extends to the present and they are often in sentences that include time expressions of duration. In the verb agreement of the present perfect continuous tense, the perfect continuous suffix '-to' is added in the stem of the Kulung verbs and immediately after the main verb the non-preterite form of the verb 'tuma' is added as in the examples (714) - (720). The prefix 'man-' and the suffix '-mo' is added before and after the stem of the verbs respectively in the negative expressions in the Kulung present perfect continuous tense as in the examples (721) - (723).

714. ko        nis lei-pi-ka        t<sup>h</sup> m-to        tu-o:  
(*1s        two day-LOC-ABL        doing ritual rite-PRF.CNT        be-1s.NPT*)  
'I have been doing ritual right for two days.'

715. kac-a        suk la:-pi-ka        k<sup>h</sup>im        m -to        tu-ci  
(*1d.i-ERG        three month-LOC-ABL        house        make-PRF.CNT        be-d*)  
'We have been making a house for three months.'

716. espa-yi-ka        kaska        je:u        p<sup>h</sup>uit-to        tu-ci-ka  
(*yesterday-LOC-ABL        1d.e        barley        sow-PRF.CNT        be-d-e*)  
'We have been sowing barley since yesterday.'



verbs respectively in the Kulung past perfect continuous tense as in the examples (731) - (733).

724. ko        nis lei-pi-ka            t<sup>h</sup> m-to                            tu-o  
 (*1s        two day-LOC-ABL    doing ritual rite-PRF.CNT    be-1s.PT*)  
 'I had been doing ritual right for two days.'
725. kac-a        suk la:-pi-ka                    k<sup>h</sup>im    m -to                            tu-a-ci  
 (*1d.i-ERG    three month-LOC-ABL    house    make-PRF.CNT    be-PT-d*)  
 'We had been making a house for three months.'
726. kec<sup>h</sup>e-ka                    kaska    je:u    p<sup>h</sup>uit-to                            tu-a-ci-ka  
 (*many years ago-ABL    1d.e        barley    sow-PRF.CNT    be-PT-d-e*)  
 'We had been sowing barley many years ago.'
727. kei-a        k<sup>h</sup>            uroi    k<sup>h</sup>ur-to                            tu-i  
 (*1p.i-ERG    3s            Q            carry-PRF.CNT    be-1p.PT*)  
 'Why had we been carrying her?'
728. anc-a        ko    dei    si                    k<sup>h</sup>ur-to                            tu-a-ci  
 (*2d-ERG    1s        Q            firewood    bring-PRF.CNT    be-PT-d*)  
 'How much firewood you had been bringing for me?'
729. k<sup>h</sup> s-a        keika    umi    lamcam    k<sup>h</sup>ur-to                            tu-a  
 (*3s-ERG        1p.e        Q            ration    bring-PRF.CNT    be-PT*)  
 'What ration had she been bringing to us?'
730. k<sup>h</sup> c-a    am                    lukspa                            b -to                            tu-a  
 (*3ns        2s.POS            nettle curtain            knit-PRF.CNT            be-PT*)  
 'They had been knitting your nettle curtain.'
731. ko -a        an                    ma -ker-mo                            tu-o  
 (*1s-ERG        2s                    NEG.PT-beat-PRF.CNT    be-1s.PT*)  
 'I had not been beating you.'
732. an-a        n p            mintum    man-c<sup>h</sup>am-mo                            tu-a  
 (*2s-ERG        good            poem            NEG.PT- write-PRF.CNT    be-PT*)  
 'You had been writing a good poem.'

733. ann-a kaska computer ma -i:-mo tu-a-ni  
 2p-ERG 1d.e computer NEG.PT-instruct-PRF.CNT be-PT-2p)  
 'You had not been instructing us the computer.'

### III. Future Perfect Continuous Tense

The future perfect continuous or progressive tense expresses an action that will continue into the future up to a specific time. In the verb agreement of the future perfect continuous tense, the perfect continuous suffix '-to' is added in the stem of the Kulung verbs and the non-preterite form of the verb 'c<sup>h</sup>u:ma' is added at the end of the sentence as in the examples (734) - (740). For the negative expressions the prefix 'man-' and the suffix '-mo' is added before and after the stem of the verbs respectively in the Kulung future perfect continuous tense as in the examples (731) - (733).

734. ko nis lei-pi-ka t<sup>h</sup> m-to c<sup>h</sup>u-o:  
 (1s two day-LOC-ABL doing ritual rite-PRF.CNT be-1s.NPT)  
 'I shall have been doing ritual right for two days.'

735. kac-a suk la:-pi-ka k<sup>h</sup>im m -to c<sup>h</sup>u-ci  
 (1d.i-ERG three month-LOC-ABL house make-PRF.CNT be-d)  
 'We shall have been making a house for three months.'

736. doska kaska je:u p<sup>h</sup>uit-to c<sup>h</sup>u-ci-ka  
 (later 1d.e barley sow-PRF.CNT be-d-e)  
 'We shall have been sowing barley later.'

737. kei-a k<sup>h</sup> uroi k<sup>h</sup>ur-to c<sup>h</sup>u-ya  
 (1p.i-ERG 3s Q carry-PRF.CNT be-1p.NPT)  
 'Why shall we have been carrying her?'

738. anc-a ko dei si k<sup>h</sup>ur-to c<sup>h</sup>u-ci  
 (2d-ERG 1s Q firewood bring-PRF.CNT be-d)  
 'How much firewood you will have been bringing for me?'

739. k<sup>h</sup> s-a keika umi lamcam k<sup>h</sup>ur-to c<sup>h</sup>u-e  
 (3s-ERG 1p.e Q ration bring-PRF.CNT be-n1s)  
 'What ration will she have been bringing us?'

740. k<sup>h</sup> c-a      am      lukspa      b -to      c<sup>h</sup>u-e  
 (3ns      2s.POS      nettle curtain      knit-PRF.CNT      be-nIs)  
 'They will have been knitting your nettle curtain.'
741. ko -a      an      ma -ker-mo      c<sup>h</sup>u-o:  
 (1s-ERG      2s      NEG.PT-beat-PRF.CNT      be-1s.NPT)  
 'I won't have been beating you.'
742. an-a      n p      mintum      man-c<sup>h</sup>am-mo      c<sup>h</sup>u-e  
 (2s-ERG      good      poem      NEG.PT-write-PRF.CNT      be-nIs)  
 'You won't have been writing a good poem.'
743. ann-a      kaska      computer      ma -i:-mo      c<sup>h</sup>u-ni  
 (2p-ERG      1d.e      computer      NEG.PT-instruct-PRF.CNT      be-2p)  
 'You won't have been instructing computer to us.'

### 3.1.3. Kulung Subject-Verb Agreement in Term of Gender

The classification of nouns and pronouns according to the forms taken by adjectives, modifiers, and other grammatical items is known as gender. The third person singular pronoun 'k<sup>h</sup> ', in Kulung signifies both masculine and feminine. The verbal conjugation does not vary with the influence of the gender difference in the Kulung language. The feminine nouns: *nana* and *ama* and the masculine nouns: *bubu*, *apa* as well as the third person singular pronoun 'k<sup>h</sup> ' agree with the same verbal affixations in the Kulung language. For example, the above masculine and feminine nouns and pronoun take the suffixes '-e' and '- ' in an intransitive and transitive non-preterite verb conjugations respectively, as in ghe examples (744) - (751).

744. bubu      dibuwa-pi      k<sup>h</sup>at-e  
 (elder brother      hunting-LOC      go-nIs.P)  
 'Elder brother goes for hunting.'
745. nana      duwa-      bulslat-e  
 (elder sister      more-EMP      run-nIs.P)  
 'Elder sister can run more.'

746. sita-a            uroi        dumo nus        je:u        hek-  
 (*Sita-ERG Q more soon barley harvest-3 3.NPT*)  
 'Why does Sita harvest barley sooner?'
747. ram-a            uk k            sic<sup>h</sup>o            det-  
 (*Ram-ERG Q tree chop down-3 3.NPT*)  
 'Which tree does Ram chop down?'
748. k<sup>h</sup> s-a            k<sup>h</sup>ud            n tt- -no  
 (*3s-ERG honey like-3 3.NPT-NEG.NPT*)  
 'She doesn't like honey.'
749. k<sup>h</sup> s-a            c<sup>h</sup>ou            k ll-  
 (*3s-ERG bird follow-3 3.NPT*)  
 'He hunts the bird.'
750. ?o            ma-a            jagulo            mai-  
 (*1s.POS mother-ERG cook do-3 3.NPT*)  
 'My mother cooks food.'
751. ?o            pa-a            sep            b i-  
 (*1s.POS father-ERG basket make-3 3.NPT*)  
 'My father makes basket.'

### 3.2. Subject-Verb Agreement System in English

English language is the reference language for this study. The following major subject-verb agreement rules in English have been taken from Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman (1999, p. 57-77) and Thomson and Martinet (1979).

- a. In English, third person singular subject usually takes singular verb, and other takes plural verb.

752. *My brother lives* in Khandbari, but my sisters live in Kathmandu.

753. *It rains* today.

754. *They play* football.

- b. Some subjects can be tricky. Firstly, indefinite pronouns like '*everybody*' and '*everything*' have a plural meaning, but take singular verbs.

755. *Everybody is* in hospital... *nobody is* safe.

756. *Someone loves her.*

c. A unit noun takes a singular verb.

757. *10 miles is* a long distance.

758. *5 Kilograms of potatoes costs* about Rs. 100.

d. If an adjective is made *a subject*, it takes a plural verb.

759. *The young are* brave.

e. What's more, some common and proper nouns ending in '-s' including '-ics' nouns and certain diseases like *news, mathematics, physics, diabetes and rabies*, are always conceived of as a single entity and take a singular verb inflection.

760. *Today's news is* that rabies is on the increase.

761. *Physics is* a difficult subject.

f. Titles of books, plays, operas, films, and such works even when plural in form-take the singular verb inflection because they are perceived as a single entity.

762. *Great Expectations was* written by Dickens.

g. Nouns occurring in sets of two take the singular when the noun '*pair*' is present but take the plural when '*pair*' is absent-regardless of whether one pair or more is being referred to.

763. *A pair of trousers is* on the sofa.

764. *This pair of shoes is* expensive.

765. *Todd's trousers are* on the sofa.

766. *These shoes are* expensive.

h. But, words like *people, children, data and media* need a plural verb even though they don't end in '-s'.

767. *The media have* collected more data.

i. Now a collective noun like *family, team, government and group* can be singular or plural, since we can view it as a single group, or as a collection of individuals. We can say:

768. *The team has* worked well this year. Or *The team have* promised to work harder this year.

769. *A group of tourists were* bitten by a stray dog. (Each tourist was bitten individually. The dog didn't bite them all together in one big bite!)

j. Arithmetical operation takes a singular verb.

770. *Five plus three is* eight.

k. '*None of +*' plural noun takes either a singular or a plural verb.

771. *None of the students has/have* passed the test.

l. A verb clause agrees a singular verb.

772. *Towin the match needs* long practice.

m. When two nouns joined with '*and*' work as a subject takes a plural verb.

773. *Manoj and Ravi are* friends.

n. '*Many +* singular noun' takes a singular verb.

774. *Many man learns* English.

775. *Many dog doesn't* bite.

o. '*A number of*' normally takes a plural verb but '*the number of*' takes a singular verb.

776. *A number of students were* absent in the class.

777. *The number of students was* absent in the class.

However, Raid (1991, cited in Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman, 1999, p. 61) gave opposite opinion in the use of '*a number of*' and '*the number of*'.

p. Fractions and percentages take *a singular verb* inflection when modifying a non-count noun and the plural verb inflection when they modify a plural noun; either the singular or the plural verb inflection may be used when they modify a collective noun, depending on the speaker's meaning.

778. *Half of the milk has* been sold.(*non-count*)

779. *Twenty percent of the milk has* been sold.(*non-count*)

780. *Two thirds of the students are* satisfied with the class.(*plural*)

781. *Eighty percent of the students are* satisfied with the class.(*plural*)

782. *One tenth of Kulung lives/leave* in Kathmandu. (*collective*)

783. *Ten percent of Kulung lives/lives* in Kathmandu.(*collective*)

q. Quantifiers take a plural verb when they modify a plural noun and a singular when they modify a mass noun.



784. *Some of the girls are* dancing.
785. *All of the water is* polluted.
- r. Collective noun may be either singular or plural form of a verb depending on the meaning.
786. *Our team has* won the game. (The team as a whole)
787. *Our team have* won the game. (The individual team members)
- s. '*Neither/Either/Each of + plural*' takes a singular verb.
788. *Each of the boys is* honest.
- t. The proximity rule is applied for the correlatives '*either...or*', '*neither...nor*'.
789. *Either Ram or Ram's friends are* coming.
- u. '*one of + plural*' noun takes a singular verb.
790. *One of the teachers is* awarded.
- v. '*A/The majority + of + plural*' noun generally takes a plural verb.
791. *The majority of Kulung live* in Solukhumbu district.
- w. Exception, when two subjects together represent a single idea they take singular verb.
792. *Slow and steady wins* the race.
793. *The headmaster and accountant has* just gone out.
- x. Nouns that are preceded by a quantifier (some, any, all, most) can be singular or plural. This depends on whether the noun is countable or uncountable.
794. *Some of the policies were* rejected whilst others were approved. (policies is a countable noun)
795. *Some of the research was* conducted at the University of Melbourne. (research is an uncountable noun)
- y. '*There is*' and '*there are*' agree with the noun that follows.
796. *There is* flexibility in this kind of management structure.
797. *There are* many advantages to this kind of management structure.
- z. A phrase beginning with a gerund (-ing form of the verb) or an infinitive is singular.
798. *Being an auditor is* a difficult but challenging job.

### 3.3. Contrastive Features of Kulung and English Subject-Verb Agreement Systems

Kulung is a Tibeto-Burman language whereas English is an Indo-Aryan language, so that there are more differences than the similarities in their subject-verb agreement systems. The systematic analysis of the contrastive features of Kulung and English subject-verb agreement systems is stated below.

#### I. Contrastive Features in Person and Number Systems

Language	English		Kulung				
Number	<i>s</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>d</i>		<i>p</i>	
Person				<i>i</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>e</i>
<i>first</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>we</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>kas</i>	<i>kaska</i>	<i>kei</i>	<i>keika</i>
<i>second</i>	<i>you</i>		<i>an</i>	<i>anci</i>		<i>anni</i>	
<i>third</i>	<i>he, she, it</i>	<i>they</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup></i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup> s</i>		<i>(ns)</i>	

Table 59: Kulung and English personal pronouns

There are ten personal pronouns in Kulung, whereas only seven in English. The English third person inanimate pronoun 'it' is not perceived as a personal pronoun in Kulung however it has its equivalent form ' *k* '. The Kulung third person singular '*k<sup>h</sup>*' represents both masculine and feminine whereas English has both particular pronouns 'he' and 'she' - masculine and feminine respectively. In Kulung, there are three number systems: singular (*s*), dual (*d*) and plural (*p*) and first person dual and plural pronouns have inclusive (*i*) and exclusive (*e*) features, whereas English lacks dual number and exclusive feature. Generally, in English, the suffix '-s' or '-es' indicates plural number, but in Kulung, the suffix '-ci' indicates non-singular (dual and plural) and '-ni' indicates second person plural numbers.

## II. Contrastive Features in Sentence Pattern

The sentence pattern refers to the systematic arrangement or order of the words in an expression.

### a. Affirmative statement pattern

The statement pattern of Kulung is - 'subject + object + verb' (sov), whereas it is - 'subject + verb + object' (svo) in English. This shows that the verbal conjugation is constrained by both subject and object in Kulung. For example -

799. ko -a	li oksi	choi-o:
(1s-ERG	banana	eat-1s.NPT)
s	o	v
'I	eat	banana'
s	v	o
800. k <sup>h</sup> s-a	an	n t-e
(3s-ERG	2s	like-n1s)
s	o	v
'She	likes	you'
s	v	o
801. ko -a	anci	ker-yan-ci
(1s-ERG	2d	beat-1s 2.NPT-d)
s	o	v
'I	beat	you.'
s	v	o

b. Negative sentence pattern

In Kulung, negation patterns in *non-preterite* tense and *preterite tense* vary. The morphemes '-no' and 'man-' indicate negative statements in non-preterite and preterite tenses respectively in the Kulung language. The non-preterite negative morpheme is a suffix, which follow the stem of a verb: [verb + -no] and the preterite morpheme is the only one prefix in Kulung, which precedes the stem of a verb: [man + verb]. According to Tolsma (2006, pp. 64-65) the preterite morpheme 'man-' has the following allomorphic distribution:

/man-/ [man-] /d, t, t<sup>h</sup>, c, c<sup>h</sup>, j, n, l, r, s/

/man-/ [mam-] /b, p, p<sup>h</sup>, m/

/man-/ [ma -] /g, k, k<sup>h</sup>, , h, w, (?)v(:)/

On the other hand, in English negative marker 'not' indicates negative statement in both non-preterite and preterite tenses. It always comes after the auxiliary verb: [aux + not]; if the auxiliary verb is absent, the form of 'do' verb takes the place of auxiliary verb in English. Other negative markers 'no', 'none', 'nothing', 'nobody', 'no where', 'seldom', and 'hardly', etc. also indicate negative statement in English, but they do not need to be preceded by an auxiliary verb.

802. ?o                      c<sup>h</sup>ara-a                      t<sup>h</sup>u -Ø-no  
       (*1s.POS*                      *goat-ERG*                      *prick-1s-NEG.NPT*)  
       'My goat does not prick you.'

803. an-a                      n p                      mintum                      man-c<sup>h</sup>app-u  
       (*1s-ERG*                      *good*                      *poem*                      *NEG.PT-write-1s 3.PT*)  
       'You did not write a beautiful poem.'

c. Question pattern

There is no subject verb inversion in the Kulung question, whereas it is obligatory in English.

804. ann-a                      ui                      lam-cai-num  
       (*2p-ERG*                      *Q*                      *search-CNT-2p 3.PT*)  
       'What are you searching?'

805. uroi                    k<sup>h</sup>                    t<sup>h</sup> r-e  
       (Q                    3s                    snore-1s.P)

'Why does he snore?'

806. anci                    ban-a-ci-?o  
       (2d                    come-PT-d-Q)

'Did you come?'

### III. Contrastive Features in the Verbal Conjugations

The verbal conjugations in Kulung and English contrast in many ways; such are presented below:

- a. In English non-preterite tense, verbs can be used without inflection, but in Kulung, verbal inflection is obligatory. For example, the Kulung intransitive verb 'c<sup>h</sup>u:ma' - 'to cough' can be inflected according to the presence of the agents and patients. For example, the first person singular (1s), the first person plural inclusive (1p.i) and the second person dual (2d) subjects agree with the suffixes '-o:', '-ya' and 'ci' respectively. But the English verb 'to cough' cannot be inflected when the subject is either first person singular or plural or second person.

807. ko                    c<sup>h</sup>uks-o:-no  
       (1s                    cough-1s.NPT-NEG.NPT)

'I do not cough.'

808. kei                    cu -a                    c<sup>h</sup>uks-ya  
       (1p.i                    cold-INS                    cough-1p.NPT)

'We cough because of cold.'

809. anci                    c<sup>h</sup>uks-ci  
       (2d                    cough-d)

'You cough.'

- b. In non-preterite tense, Kulung verbs are inflected differently in relation with the agents and patients. It means all personal pronouns agree with the different verbal affixation in the Kulung language. Whereas English non-

preterite verbs can only be inflected with the suffixes '-s' or '-es', such as in the examples (332) - (370).

- c. In the Kulung verbs, there are exclusive and dual markers: '-ka', '-ci' and '-ni' respectively; but there is not found such features in English, as in the examples (810) - (811).

810. kaska                    a-pi                    k<sup>h</sup>at-ci-ka  
       (*1d.e*                    *fish-LOC*                *go-d-e*)  
       'We go for fishing.'

811. ann-a                    ro:                    len-o:-ni  
       (*2p-ERG*                *fool*                    *throw down-1s.NPT-2p*)  
       'You will make me fool.'

#### IV. Contrastive Features in Tense and Aspect

The contrastive features in Kulung and English tense and aspect are stated below:

- a. It is interesting that simple present and simple future tenses are indicated by the same verbal inflections exclusively in the Kulung language; whereas they are indicated by different verbal inflections in English. Especially, simple future tense includes the modal verbs: *shall* or *will* and an *infinitive* form of a verb; but simple present tense excludes the modal verb: *shall* or *will* and adds infinitive or inflected verb with '-s' or '-es'.

812. k<sup>h</sup> s-a                    lou                    wat-  
       (*3s-ERG*                    *necklace*                *wear-3 3.NPT*)  
       'She wears lou (necklace).'

813. ?o                    bo -ca                    dedam                    m i- -ci  
       (*1s.POS*                    *uncle-ns*                *dedam*                    *recite-3 3.NPT-3ns*)  
       'My uncles will recite dedam (ritual rite).'

814. kei-a                    computer                    k<sup>h</sup>et-am  
       (*1p.i-ERG*                *computer*                *buy-1p 3.NPT*)  
       'We shall buy a computer.'

815. kei-a            lu            dup-am  
       (1p.i-ERG     stone       hit-1p 3.NPT)  
       'We hit stone.'

b. In the continuous/progressive tense, Kulung continuous suffixes: '-coi-', '-cai-' and '-c i-' are used in present and future continuous tenses and '-co-', '-ca-' and '-c -' are used to signify past continuous tense. And in the Kulung future continuous tense the form of auxiliary verb 'c<sup>h</sup>u:ma' - 'to be' is added. But in English, present participle morpheme '-i ' is added in the stem of a verb to signify continuous aspect. In present and past continuous tenses, the present and past form of auxiliary verb 'be' is added before the main verb: [is/am/are/was/were + -i ]. But the pattern of future continuous tense is - modal auxiliary, 'be' and a present participle verb:[shall/will + be + -i ].

816. ko            buls-o-coi-o:  
       (1s            run-1s.PT-CNT-1s.NPT)  
       'I am running.'

817. anci        buls-cai-ci-k        c<sup>h</sup>u-ci  
       (2d            run-CNT-d-SUB     be-d)  
       'You will be running.'

818. kei        buls-i-ca-i  
       (1p.i        run-1p.PT-CNT-1p.PT)  
       'We were running.'

c. In Kulung, perfect aspect is formed with the perfective suffixes '-din-' and '-dit-' or '-t'; but in English, perfect aspect is formed with 'have' and past participle [have + -id].

819. k<sup>h</sup> c-a            si            rup-dit-ci-k            tu-a  
       (3ns            wood        chop-PRF-3ns-SUB     be-PT)  
       'They had chopped the wood.'

820. ko -a            anni        ker-n-din-ni  
       (1s-ERG        2p        beat-2s.PT-PRF-2p)  
       'I have beaten you.'

821. kei-a yi: jo -um-dit-am-k c<sup>h</sup>u-ya  
 (1p.i-ERG field plough-1p 3.PT-PRF-1p 3.NPT-SUB be-1p.NPT)  
 'We shall have ploughed the field.'

- d. It is interesting that the Kulung language has different continuous and perfect continuous suffixes: '-coi-', '-cai-', '-c i-', '-co-', '-ca-', and '-c -' are the continuous suffixes and '-to ' and '-mo ' are the affirmative and negative perfect continuous suffixes respectively. But in English, perfect continuous tense is formed with 'have', 'been' and present participle:

[have + been + -i ].

822. ann-a sic<sup>h</sup>o det-to tu-a-ni  
 (3ns tree chop-PRF.CNT be-PT-2p)  
 'You had been chopping the tree.'

823. nec<sup>h</sup>o-a anni ja: k<sup>h</sup>ur-to tu-e  
 (younger-ERG 2p rice bring-PRF.CNT be-nls)  
 'Younger brother/sister has been bringing you rice.'

824. kei-a yi: jo-to c<sup>h</sup>u-ya  
 (1p.i-ERG field plough-PRF.CNT be-1p.NPT)  
 'We shall have been ploughing the field.'

## V. Contrastive Features in Gender

Generally, Kulung and English do not have particular verbal affixations to differentiate in terms of the gender. Indeed, the Kulung third person singular pronoun 'k<sup>h</sup> ' indicates both masculine and feminine; but English has different masculine and feminine pronouns: 'he' and 'she' respectively. However, they agree with the same verbal affixations.



## CHAPTER FOUR

### FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND PEDAGOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

In this chapter, the findings of the study had been summarised systematically on the basis of the analysis and interpretation of the subject-verb agreement systems in Kulung and English. Mainly, Kulung subject-verb agreement system, similarities and differences in the subject-verb agreement systems of Kulung and English had been presented below. Recommendations and pedagogical implications for the Kulung language teaching (KLT) and learning (KLL) had also been suggested in this chapter.

#### 4.1. Findings of the Study

The following enlisted findings are based on the analysis and interpretation of the subject-verb agreement system of Kulung in terms of: person and number, tense and aspect, and gender as well as English subject-verb agreement systems.

##### 4.1.1. Kulung Subject-Verb Agreement System

- ) There are ten personal pronouns in the Kulung language: *ko*, *kas*, *kaska*, *kei*, *keika*, *an*, *anci*, *anni*, *k<sup>h</sup>* and *k<sup>h</sup> s*. They agree with particular verbal affixations.
- ) Kulung has three number systems viz. singular, dual and plural. They agree with the verbs.
- ) The first person dual and plural personal pronouns have *inclusive* and *exclusive* pronouns viz. *kas* and *kei* (inclusive), and *kaska* and *keika* (exclusive). The exclusive pronouns apply the exclusive marker ‘-ka’ in the Kulung verbal conjugation.
- ) The explicit non-singular suffix <-ci ~ -c ~ -s> expresses the non-singularity of both animate and inanimate objects.

- ) The ergative case (*ERG*) marks the agent of a transitive verb. The ergative case is marked by the suffix <-?a>, but personal pronouns and interrogative pronouns take the allomorph <-a>.
- ) In Kulung, the majority of affixes are *portmanteau* morphemes, i.e. one morpheme conveys two or more semantic features e.g. '-o:' indicates a first singular and non-preterite tense.
- ) A Kulung finite verb consists of a verb stem to which up to three affixes can be added.
- ) The affixes may indicate tense, person, number and negation and even distinguishes between inclusive vs. Exclusive features.
- ) The Kulung verbs agree with tense and aspect i.e. in every tense and aspect agree with the particular verbal affixations.
- ) In Kulung, transitive verb agrees according to the occurrence of the agents and patients.
- ) In Kulung, masculine and feminine agents agree with the same verb affixation.
- ) The Kulung verbal affixes which play vital role in the Kulung subject-verb agreement system are:
  1. The preterite negative prefix <man- ~ mam- ~ ma -> (NEG.PT) indicates negation in preterite tense in all persons.
  2. The non-preterite negative morpheme <-no> (NEG.NPT) indicates negation in the non-preterite tense.
  3. The tense marker <-a> (PT) occurs in the preterite tense. The preterite tense marker <-a> is not found in verb forms in which preterite tense is already indicated by a portmanteau morpheme, e.g. the first plural preterite suffix <-i> (1p.PT).
  4. The first singular non-preterite agent morpheme <-o:> (1s.NPT) indicates a first singular agent in the non-preterite tense.
  5. The first singular preterite agent morpheme <-o> (1s.PT) indicates a first singular agent in the preterite tense.

6. The first singular negative preterite morpheme <- a> (1s.NEG.PT) occurs in negative preterite forms with a first singular agent.
7. The first plural non-preterite morpheme <-ya> (1p.NPT) indicates a first plural person in the non-preterite tense.
8. The first plural preterite morpheme <-i~ -yi> (1p.PT) indicates a first plural in the preterite tense. This suffix has an allomorph <-yi> after stems ending in a vowel or nasal.
9. The morpheme <-am> (1p 3.NPT) indicates a transitive relationship between a first person plural agent and a third person patient in the non-preterite tense.
10. The morpheme <-um> (1p 3.PT) indicates a transitive relationship between a first person plural agent and a third person patient in the preterite tense.
11. The second singular preterite morpheme <-na ~ -nna ~ -n> (2s.PT) indicates the involvement of a second person singular in the preterite tense. The suffix has an allomorph <-nna> after stems ending in a vowel and an allomorph <-n> when followed by the dual suffix <-ci> or by the question particle <-yo>.
12. The morpheme <-yan> (1s 2.NPT) indicates the transitive relationship between a first singular agent and a second person patient in the non-preterite tense.
13. The 1s 3.PT morpheme <-u> (1s 3.PT) indicates the transitive relationship of a third person patient with a first singular agent in the preterite tense.
14. The morpheme <- > (3.P.NPT) indicates a third person patient with a non-first person agent in the non-preterite tense.
15. The third person patient preterite morpheme <-u> (3.P.PT) indicates a third person patient in the preterite tense.
16. The non-first person singular morpheme <-e> (n1s) indicates a non-first person singularity. It is an epenthetic suffix that is elided in most

verb forms, e.g. before the non-preterite negative suffix <-no>, the conditional suffix <-do> and the reported speech suffix <-t<sup>h</sup>e>.

17. The d 3 morpheme <-cu> (d 3) indicates the transitive relationship of a dual agent and a third person patient.
18. The second person plural agent morpheme <-num> (2p 3) indicates the transitive relationship of a second plural agent and a third person patient.
19. The dual morpheme <-ci> (d) indicates dual agent number. This suffix has an allomorph <-s>.
20. The second person plural morpheme <-ni> (2p) indicates a second person plural agent.
21. The exclusive morpheme <-ka> (e) indicates exclusive agent except in 1 2 forms.
22. The continuous morpheme <-coi-> (CNT) indicates the continuous action with a first singular agent in non-preterite tense.
23. The continuous morpheme <-co-> (CNT) indicates the continuous action with a first singular agent in preterite tense.
24. The continuous morpheme <-cai-> (CNT) indicates the continuous action with non-first person singular agent in non-preterite tense.
25. The continuous morpheme <-ca-> (CNT) indicates the continuous action with non-first person singular agent in preterite tense.
26. The continuous morpheme <-c i-> (CNT) (2s.3 3.NPT) indicates continuous action when patient is the third person singular or non-singular and a second singular and third person agents in non-preterite tense.
27. The continuous morpheme <-c -> (CNT) (2s.3 3.PT) indicates continuous action when patient is the third person singular or non-singular and a second singular and third person agents in preterite tense.
28. The perfective morpheme <-dit-~, -t-> (PRF) indicates the completed action.

29. The perfective morpheme <-din-> (PRF) indicates the completed action when patient is a second person and agent is first person singular.

30. The perfect continuous morpheme <-to > (PRF.CNT) indicates the ongoing action to some point in time.

#### **4.1.2. Similarities in Kulung and English Subject-Verb Agreement**

- ) In both languages, the personal pronouns are classified into three categories viz. first, second and third.
- ) In both languages, person and number agree with the particular verbal affixations.
- ) In the sentences of both languages, the grammatical functions: *subject*, *verb* and *object* play important role in sentence construction.
- ) The number systems in both languages agree with the particular verbal affixations.
- ) In both languages, subject precedes verb and object in affirmative sentences.
- ) In both languages, interrogative and negative statements can be created.
- ) In both languages, affixes may indicate tense, person and number.
- ) In both languages, tense and aspect agree with the particular verbal affixations.
- ) In both languages, simple, continuous, perfect and perfect continuous aspects are available.
- ) Both the Kulung and English verbs agree with tense and aspect i.e. changes in tense causes change in verb affixes.
- ) Verbal affixations do not vary in term of gender. The same morphemes are used for masculine and feminine in both languages.

### 4.1.3. Differences in Kulung and English Subject-Verb Agreement

- J Kulung sentence pattern is 's + o + v', whereas English is 's + v + o'.
- J In Kulung, there are three number systems viz. singular (s), dual (d) and plural (p) and first person dual and plural pronouns have inclusive (i) and exclusive (e) features, whereas English lacks dual number and exclusive feature.
- J First and second person personal pronouns agree with the same verbal inflections in English whereas they require separate verbal inflections in Kulung.
- J Both singular and plural objects in English do not cause variation in verbal inflections but in Kulung, variation in verbal inflection is prevalent according to the selection of the objects.
- J There are ten personal pronouns in Kulung, whereas only seven in English.
- J English third person inanimate pronoun 'it' is not perceived as a personal pronoun in Kulung however it has its equivalent form ' k '.
- J Kulung third person singular 'k<sup>h</sup> ' represents both masculine and feminine whereas English has both separate pronouns 'he' and 'she' - masculine and feminine respectively.
- J In Kulung, the morphemes '-no' indicates non-preterite negative statement and 'man-' indicates preterite negative statement; whereas in English, negative marker 'not' indicates negative statement in both non-preterite and preterite tenses. It always comes after the auxiliary verb: [aux + not]; if the auxiliary verb is absent, the form of 'do' verb takes the place of auxiliary verb.
- J There is no subject verb inversion in the Kulung questions, whereas it is obligatory in English.
- J In English non-preterite tense, verbs can be used without inflection, but in Kulung, verbal inflection is obligatory.

- J It is interesting that simple present and simple future tenses are indicated by the same verbal inflections exclusively in the Kulung language; whereas English has different verbal conjugations for simple present and simple future tenses.
- J Kulung has different continuous and perfect continuous suffixes viz. '-coi-', '-cai-', '-c i-', '-co-', '-ca-', and '-c -' indicate the continuous aspect and the suffix '-to ' indicates the perfect continuous aspect. But in English, the suffix '-i ' is used in both continuous and perfect continuous aspects.

#### **4.2. Recommendations and Pedagogical Implications**

On the basis of the findings of the study, the following recommendations had been suggested for the pedagogical implications in the Kulung language teaching and learning (KLT & KLL).

- J Kulung sentence pattern is – '*subject + object + verb*' (s + o + v). This pattern may cause the Kulung learners feel difficulty in learning the '*subject + verb + object*' (s + v + o) pattern of English. So, a language teacher should draw a comparison figure of Kulung and English sentence patterns and make the learners clear about it.
- J The affixes in Kulung may indicate tense, person, number and negation. So, a teacher should make the learners aware of the functions of these affixes.
- J The majority of affixes of Kulung are portmanteau morphemes, i.e. one morpheme conveys two or more semantic features. So, a teacher should collect them and show the learners clearly.
- J Separate pronouns are used for masculine and feminine in English, whereas the same pronoun is used for both masculine and feminine in Kulung. So, a language teacher should pay attention on this factor.
- J Kulung is a pronominalised language. Pronominalisation is reflected in the verb paradigms whereas the English language lacks this property. So, the learners should be made aware of this.

- J The Kulung verbs remain identical to agree with all the third person subjects in all the aspects of all tenses. But, the English verbs are differently inflected to agree with the third person singular and plural subjects in the present tense. So, a language teacher should focus on this form of verb agreement while teaching.
- J Kulung possesses three numbers viz. *singular*, *dual* and *plural* whereas English has only two numbers viz. *singular* and *plural*. In this case, a teacher should be aware of this while teaching.
- J Inclusive and exclusive meanings of first person dual and plural personal pronouns are unique features in the Kulung language. English lacks this feature. Hence, the learners should be informed about it.
- J The form of auxiliary verb in Kulung: '*tuma*' (to be) indicates present and past state of existence, and '*c<sup>h</sup>uma*' (to be) indicates future state of existence. Similarly, in English, the form of auxiliary 'be' indicates present and past state of existence and combination of the modal '*shall/will*' and '*be*' indicate future state of existence. So, the students can take benefit by employing the concept one language to another.
- J The Kulung objects agree with verbs but English objects do not. So, the learners may encounter difficulty. Therefore, language teacher should make the learners aware about it.
- J The progressive and perfect progressive aspect of Kulung and English are different. Hence, the language teachers should make appropriate treatment on this area.
- J Since the subject verb-agreement systems of Kulung and English are different, the curriculum and syllabus designers and course book writers should pay good attention about it.



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## APPENDIX A

### Kulung Sound Systems

#### Kulung Monophthongs

	Front Unrounded	Central Unrounded	Back Rounded
High	i, i:		u, u:
Mid	e, e:	, :	o, o:
Low		a, a:	

#### Kulung Diphthongs

Front Unrounded	Central Unrounded	Back Rounded
		ui
ei	i ai	oi
iu eu		ou
	au	

#### Kulung Consonant Sounds

·	<i>p</i>	<i>p<sup>h</sup></i>	<i>b</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>w</i>
	<i>t</i>	<i>t<sup>h</sup></i>	<i>d</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>r, l</i>
<i>s</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>c<sup>c</sup></i>	<i>j</i>		<i>y</i>
	<i>k</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup></i>	<i>g</i>		
		?			
					<i>h</i>

## APPENDIX B

### Kulung Personal Pronouns

1s	ko
1d.i	kas
1d.e	kaska
1p.i	kei
1p.e	keika
2s	an
2d	anci
2p	anni
3s	k <sup>h</sup>
3ns	k <sup>h</sup> s

## Appendix C

### List of Respondents

S.N.	Name	Address	Gender
1	Arjun Kumar Morokhu	Bung 2, Solukhumbu	Male
2	Bindra Kumar Kulung	Tamku 8, Sankhuwasava	Male
3	Chandra Lal Kulung	Tamku 9, Samkkhuwasava	Male
4	Chandrika Barsi	Tamku 7, Sankhuwasava	Female
5	Dirgha Kumar Kulung	Tamku 7, Sankhuwasava	Male
6	Harka Kulung	Solukhumbu	Male
7	Indira Kulung	Chheskam 1, Solukhumbu	Female
8	Januka Tomochha	Chheskam 9, Solukhumbu	Female
9	Kapil Mantherbu	Bung 2, Solukhumbu	Male
10	Pabitra Kulung	Makalu 8, Sankhuwasava	Male
11	Pabitra Kulung (Sampang)	Malpani 5, Bhojpur	Female
12	Pradeep Kulung	Makalu 8, Sankhuwasava	Male
13	Tara Kumar Kulung	Tamku 8, Sankhuwasava	Male
14	Tirtha Kulung	Tamku 7, Sankhuwasava	Male
15	Yowa Raj Kulung	Bala 9, Sankhuwasava	Male

## APPENDIX D

### Sino-Tibetan Languages Spoken in Nepal

