# CHAPTER ONE
# INTRODUCTION

Chhatthar area is a part of *Limbuwan* 'the land of the Limbus' and is located between the east of the Arun River, west of the Nuwakhola in the Terhathum district, north of the Koshi River and south of the Sangkhuwasabha district. It comprises ten villages of the Dhankuta district and nine villages of the Terhathum district. The people of Limbu origin in this area are named Chhatthare Limbu and the language spoken as a mother tongue by them is also called 'Chhatthare Limbu'.(See chapter 2).

So far Limbu is said to have four dialects- Panthare, Phedappe, Taplejungge and Chhatthare. However, Chhatthare Limbu is very different from other dialects of Limbu. (See chapter 2)

1. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM. Chhatthare Limbu is classified as a dialect by Wiedert and Subba (1985), Driem (1987) and Kainla (2059 B.S.) and as a separate language by Hansson (1991), Bradley (1997) and Ebert (2003). Chhatthare speakers also feel that it is different from other dialects. As no work has been done on Chhatthare Limbu, it has many problems which can be listed in the following way:

a. What is the status of Chhatthare Limbu?
b. Why is it called Chhatthare Limbu? Where is it spoken ? What is the size of population of its speakers?
c. What is its phonological system?
d. How do morphophonological changes occur in the language?
e. How do verbs inflect in the language?
f. How are morphemes identified in the language?
g. How are non-finite verbs marked ? How do verbal complexes function in the language?
h. How are nouns formed?
i. How are pronouns formed?
j. How are adjectives formed?
k. How are adverbs formed?
l. What are the patterns of basic sentences? How are clauses combined?

2. OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY. The general objective of the study is to prepare a descriptive grammar of Chhathare Limbu. More specifically, it aims:

a. to determine the status of Chhatthare whether it is a dialect or a language,
b. to introduce the language in terms of its nomenclature, area and population,
c. to present its phonological system,
d. to present its morphonological changes,
e. to analyze verbal inflections,
f. to identify morphemes in finite verb forms,
g. to analyze non-finite verb forms and verbal complexes,
h. to analyze the morphology of noun,
i. analyze the morphology of pronoun,
j. to analyze the morphology of adjective,
k to analyze the morphology of adverb and
l. to present basic sentence patterns and clause combining methods.

3. JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY. No substantial work has been done on the Chhatthare Limbu so far. Therefore, this work will be the first comprehensive description in the language. It may benefit the speech community in a number of ways. First, it would help document a hitherto undescribed language and preserve it before it has been lost. Secondly, it would help design teaching materials for mother tongue education. Finally, its finding would be used in the fields of language typology and theoretical linguistics.

4. LIMITATION OF THE STUDY. This study is merely a sketch grammar of Chhatthare Limbu. It only presents phonology, morphophonology, morphology and syntax. It leaves semantics and discourse analysis for future inquiry. Chhatthare Limbu has dialectal variations but this work deals with only the dialect spoken in Banchare of the Tangkhuwa village development committee.

5. LITERATURE REVIEW. Chhatthare Limbu is used only in the Chhatthar area among the local people on informal occasions. Until now, it has not drawn the interest of linguists and literature people. On formal occasions like wedding ceremony, religious rituals and cultural programmes etc., Panthare dialect is used. So, written literature in Chhatthare is not available. In this study, the literatures of other varieties of Limbu are reviewed as they are related to it.

King Sirijangga, the grandson of the most powerful Limbu King, is regarded as the prime originator of the Kiranti script, which is named after his name as *Srijangga script*. As he was the most powerful Kiranti king during the ninth century B.C., he united many independent Kiranti states and made a huge nation. He had strong desire to educate his countrymen and made hard endeavor for its realization.[1] Sirijangga script contained 20 phonemes, which still exist in the language community. Later, many more phonemes were added.

After the death of Sirijangga, no activity to spread education was carried out until the emergence of a Limbu scholar of Yangrak province, who called himself Sirijangga Deongsi 'incarnation of Sirijangga' in about 1740. He visited all the Limbu communities in and across the country disseminating the Sirijangga script. During his time, Lapche Bhote and Limbu were united in Sikkim and they believed that they belonged to the same dynasty. When they were learning Tibetan script as common script, he dissuaded the Limbus from learning it and taught them the Sirijangga script to spread its influence. The Lamas could not tolerate it and they arrested him, bound him to the tree-trunk and shot him to death with a poisonous arrow. Then, they put him into the leather bag and threw him into the flowing water of the Rangit river.

[1] Chemjong (2018 BS) notes that Sirijanga made ardent and continuous devotions to the Goddess Saraswati in order to invent Kiranti script with a view to teaching his people how to read and write. After his many days' rigorous worship, Goddess Saraswati, who is called *Ningwaphumang* in the native language, was pleased and she granted audience to him. Then, she took him to the bottom of the mountain, Kumbhakarna, which is called *Phaktaklungma* in the native par lance. After the midnight, a sound like that of strong wind was heard and a huge door suddenly banged open revealing inscriptions on the wall in the bright light. The goddess took him in and showed him the inscription. Then another door opened revealing another inscription. Thus, she showed him five or six inscriptions taking him in one after another room. She gave him the last inscription and taught him how to read and write the script. Due to her benediction, he learned them quickly and copied them on a slate. Then she escorted him up to the vicinity of his palace and disappeared. Sirijangga disseminated the script all over the country and lit the lamp of education. The prime object of his education was cultivation of disciplinary trait among the people, without which, in his opinion, no work carried out would be successful.

In fact, the execution of Sirijangga Dewangsi by Lamas is instrumental in the formation of *'Yakthunghang Chumlung'* in 1925 in Kalempong. Very soon its branches were opened in Burma, India and Nepal. The present *Yakthung Chumlung* is in a way its developed form which has been contributing to the development of Limbu language, culture and literature. After his death, no activity was done at home for the promotion and development of Limbu language and literature for a long time.

Some foreigners seem to have shown interest in it during that period. Kirkpatrick (1811:250-52) lists altogether 63 Limbu words, which contain numerals up to ten and a single numeral 'twenty'. Almost all words are nouns.

Campbell (1840) records the Kiranti script consisting of nineteen consonants and vowels. This script is considered to be the oldest Kiranti script available so far. It also represents script documented by Hodgson. Campbell (1855) also lists 326 Limbu words with their Nepali meanings in the Roman script. Though there are some shortcomings like inappropriate translation, incorrect representation of Limbu phonemes etc., the contribution he has made to the building of Limbu lexicography is commendable.

Hodgson's manuscript (1864) is the collection of old documents written in the Limbu script. Among the documents, there is a manuscript *Mundhum* which is believed to have been written by Sirijangga Thebe, the incarnation of the first Sirijangga, the king. Hodgson has collected 713 words in the manuscript.

Senior (1908) lists 3200 words of English and their Limbu equivalents in the Roman script. In addition to lexical entries, he also lists some useful English sentences with their meanings in Limbu in the Roman script. He gives two forms for each verb; verbal noun form <–ma> as in *yep-ma* 'to stand' *cep-ma* 'to cut' and *sep-ma* 'to kill' and imperative form <–e> as in *yebe*, *cepte* and *sere*.

Konow (1909:283-304) presents a short grammar of Limbu with the list of 241 Limbu words in a traditional model. The transcription of words is defective and it hardly resembles the actual forms. He groups together the Tibeto-Burman languages under the name "Himalayan". He also accepts the term 'pronominalization' used by Hodgson thinking that verbal suffixes in the agreement systems were derived from pronominals, among others, those from the reconstructable PTB first and second singular person pronouns: *ŋa* and *na* (*ng*). He suggests the Munda substratum on the development of pronominalization, together with other features, peculiar to Himalayan languages.

Kandangwa (2010 B.S) lists 200-300 words in his dictionary. Henderson (1957) presents the eight features of pronominalization set by Hodgson, shows reasonably close parallels for six and proves that Chin is a pronominalized language. He rejects the idea of Hodgson and says ' In this event linguists may be obliged to conclude that, contrary to what has often been supposed, pronominalization is after all a genuine Tibeto-Burman trait.'

Sprigg (1959) shows the importance of prosodic analysis to analyze the phonetic diversity from one context to another in Limbu. This is the first meticulous attempt at classifying the Limbu verbs on the basis of morphological properties (Wiedert and Subba 1985:12).

Chemjong (2018 B.S.) lists 5500 words with their meanings in Nepali and English. He gives the grammatical classes of words within the brackets. The proverbs and the hymns are not translated into the English language. Similarly, His grammar (Chemnjong:1970) is a traditional grammar divided into three parts. Shafer (1966) made the comparative study of all Tibeto-Burman languages. He was the initiator of the typological study of different languages. His contribution to typological study of

Tibeto-Burman languages after the establishment of Linguistic survey of India acquainted students of these languages with their common features.

Benedict (1972) studied comparative phonological features of the Tibeto-Burman languages and made a phonological reconstruction of Proto-Tibeto-Burman. Shafer and Benedict excluded the Tai languages from TB family on the basis of syntactic structure in spite of its geographical closeness. Similarly, they excluded Chinese from it because of its SVO syntactic structure. Limbu belongs to the Tibeto-Burman family of languages for its syntactic, pronominalization and many other features. .

Bauman (1975) collected enough data to make genetic, geographical and typological comparisons, and settled the controversy on the side of the nativeness. He presented substantial argument for its PT provenance on the basis of an extensive examination of pronominalized TB languages known at the time. He rejected the influence of both the Munda and Indo-Aryan substratum and postulated a hypothesis that 'pronominal categories and morphology are traceable to very early stages of the family approximating if not identical to the stages of PTB.' He claimed that as 'a significant membership of the [TB] family does exhibit such [pronominal agreement] patterns, the phenomenon is almost reconstructable to Proto-Tibeto-Burman.' His finding that complex morphological structures in the verbs of Tibeto-Burman family of languages are native to or inherent feature of the family proves true to Limbu also.

Weidert (1984) deals with internal reconstruction of Limbu verb class morphology with systematic grouping of Limbu verb stems, verb paradigm sample list for verb classes, internal reconstruction of verb classes and reconstructed proto-Limbu verb morphology in the first part and reconstructability aspects of Limbu verb class suffixes in the second part.

Weidert and Subba *(*1985*)* write a grammar of Limbu in Panthare dialect which is divided in to four parts. The first part comprises phonology, morphology and syntax, the second part comprises nominal paradigms and verbal paradigms, the third part comprises concise Limbu-English Dictionry and the fourth part comprises English-Limbu word-list.

Michaelovsky (1985) discovers proto-Tibeto-Burman dental suffixes <-*t*> and <-*s*> in Limbu verb roots. He collected materials from the village of Libang in the Mewa Khola valley and in the village of Tembe in the neighbouring Maiwa Khola valley and compiled a dictionary (Mikailovsky:2002) following the rules of modern linguistics. This dictionary covers the colloquial, spoken language and has two aspects. First, it provides data on the peculiarities of the Maiwa-Mewa dialect of Limbu. Second, it illustrates a relatively strong or restrictive approach to Limbu phonology, which seeks to define precisely the contexts in which various traits such as voicing, gemination, vowel length, and glottalization need to be taken into account.

Tumbahang (1986) describes the noun phrases in the Chhatthare Limbu on the basis of the field work and native speaker's intuition. This is the first work ever done on Chhatthare Limbu. This thesis has three main chapters: noun phrase structure, heads of the noun phrase, and modifiers in Chhatthare Limbu.

Driem (1987) presents phonology, morphology and syntax of Phedappe Limbu with its division into three main parts: introduction, text and appendices. He (Driem: 1990) explores the flexional morphology of Proto-Kiranti on the basis of a morphemic analysis of verbal affixes of five Kiranti languages such as Limbu, Dumi, Hayu, Kulung and Thulung. He contends that the order of affixes in Kiranti verbs is not random but reflects an earlier element order in Proto-Kiranti. Therefore, the concept of affixal slot, the functional position of a morpheme in an affixal string of an

inflected verb forms, will play a central role in the synchronic analysis of Kiranti verb forms as well as in the subsequent diachronic comparison of these forms. The historical element order reflected in modern day forms may be the order of adverbial clitic pronouns in Proto-Kiranti or the order of flectional morphemes in the Kiranti Proto-language. Pre-Kiranti agglutinating stage later gave rise to intricate flectional character of Proto-Kiranti verbal morphology. Such an agglutinating stage may have evolved from a situation in which pronominal clitics preceded and followed the verb in a fixed order.

Driem (1992) encompasses Kiranti and Newar under Mahakiranti group of the Tibeto-Burman subgroup on the assumption that Newar shares two specific morphological traits with the Kiranti languages. They are: the conjugation of the Dolakha Newar verbs reflects the Tibeto-Burman proto-morpheme <-u> as a suffix and this suffix indexes third person patient involvement. However, he (Driem1992) drops his Mahakiranti hypothesis because his study of Black Mountains, Gongduk and Lhokpu in Bhutan revealed the fact that the two specific morphological traits shared between Newar and Kiranti are not unique to them. They are, rather, the older traits of the proto-Tibeto-Burman verbal agreement system.

Driem (1993) investigates the conjugations of Tibeto-Burman languages beyond the Kiranti and assesses the historical status of conjugations observed in Kiranti languages in the broader Tibeto-Burman context. He analyzes morphemically and compares the conjugation of the Xifan languages such as rGya-ron, Tangut, Rawang, Nusu, Trung, Quiang and Primi and the conjugation of Jinghpaw, Nocte, Lakher and Kham with the reconstructed Proto-Kiranti verbal agreement system. He assumes that the order of the affixal string of inflected Tibeto-Burman verb forms reflects an ancient element order in the Proto-language and proposes a model of Proto-Tibeto-Burman verbal agreement system on the basis of systematic comparison of the agreement morphemes and their relative positions in the verb and establishes a framework, different from Bauman's for the further study of the evolution of conjugational process in Tibeto-Burman.

Driem (1999) reconsiders the morphological analysis of the simplex of the Phedappe dialect of the Limbu which he did in 1987. He reconfirms 11 prononminal categories, viz. first, second and third person, singular, dual and plural and inclusive versus exclusive distinction in the first person dual and plural. The transitive verb shows agreement with agent and patient and its paradigm shows 44 different forms. The intransitive and reflexive verb agrees with the subject and their paradigms exhibit 11 different forms. Moreover, he proposes new analysis by introducing new slots and abolishing the old slots of his 1987 grammar. He also makes certain morpheme labels more precise, discusses a problem of negation and reassesses zero morphemes. The new analysis posits a first person slot (pf1), a second person slot (pf2) and a third person slot (pf3) replacing older slots (pf1) and (pf2) of his 1987 grammar. He posits the negative morpheme in (pf4) slot and adopts the concept of a single 'discontinuous morpheme', a single negative simulfix with one to three affixal manifestations, <me- n- n> in the new analysis of this article. However, he retains the labels (NEG1), (NEG2) and (NEG3) to indicate the elements of Limbu negative simulfix. He refines the model of the Limbu conjugational morphology by reducing the number of suffixes and the number of suffixal slots and by increasing the number of prefixal slots. He also eliminates a zero morpheme and makes the distributions of zero morphs to reflect satisfactorily the psychological reality of Limbu conjugational morphology. Although this article deals with the morphology of verbs in the Phedappe dialect of Limbu, it helps quite a lot in carrying out research works in other dialects of Limbu. Of course,

Chhatthare Limbu differs from the Phedappe dialect. However, it has more or less same process of the verb conjugations. Therefore, this article is very important for the study of the verb morphology of the Chhathare dialect.

DeLancey (1989) presents the outline of a preliminary reconstruction scheme for the agreement morphology of the Proto-Tibeto-Burman (PTB) verb. He points out the provenence of the widespread suffixal agreement paradigm and that of a less widely attested set of prefixes. The suffixal paradigm has been recognized by some Tibeto-Burmanists as being reconstructible for PTB. The prefixes have, on the other hand, been viewed of as of secondary origin. In this paper he proves that the prefixes are also of PTB provenance and they are probably older than the suffixes. Thus, he refutes the argument for verb agreement as a secondary development in PTB. He assumes that the agreement pattern was of a split-ergative type.

LaPolla (1992a) argues against the reconstruction of verb agreement system for Proto-Tibeto-Burman initiated by Bauman and DeLancey and against the claim of DeLancey that a system of verb agreement must be attributed to Proto-Tibeto-Burman. He suggests a classification of TB with six major (middle-level) sub-groups as against ten and insists that three out of six do not show agreement system. He further suggests the possibilities of language contact, shared innovation within a sub-group or a combination of the two among pronominalized languages, as the languages are located in a geographically contiguous area of large-scale language contact, multi-lingualism, and mutual influence and the possibility of independent innovation of agreement systems in some sub-groups or some languages in TB with their eventual spread in the area, against Bauman's denial of the possibility of independent innovation. He contends that agreement system shared by most of the TB languages is a relatively recent grammaticalization of discourse prominence.

LaPolla (1992b) rejects the idea of Bauman that there is a PTB *k*a ergative form. He surveyed the data on morphological forms and typological patterns collected from different languages for nominal ergative or agentive case marking in an attempt to determine if it is possible to reconstruct ergative case marker to Proto-Tibeto-Burman. From this study, it was found that the forms used for agentive marking in the different languages within the Tibeto-Burman languages vary greatly. Forms for some lower level languages can be reconstructed but they can not be reconstructable to the higher level grouping such as Bodic, Baric, Rung, Lolo-Burmese, or even Kuki-Naga. So, he concludes that it is not possible to reconstruct any agentive form to the Proto-Tibeto-Burman level.

Hasta Lal Limbu (2049 B.S.) records only eight vowels including two diphthongs and 35 consonant sounds. He presents numerals up to one hundred. He makes word entry in Devanagari script with their meanings in Limbu in the Devanagari script and then in English in the Roman script. The order of the entry follows the order of the Nepali vowels and consonants. A retired inspector of Singapore police with no formal education, Limbu deserves appreciation for his contribution to the preservation and promotion of Limbu language. Sambanphe (1992) lists 544 Limbu words in his dictionary and Yonghang (2052 B.S.) makes the entry of 7432 words in Sirijangga script with their pronunciation and meanings in Nepali. Lexical entries are made according to parts of speech. Kainla (2050a and 2050b) makes the entry of 713 words and 1272 words in his dictionaries respectively.

Angdembe (1994) raises the problems of the preterit and perfect in Limbu. Ebert (1994) makes comparative study of five Kiranti languages. Though she relies on Van Driem (1987) for her study, she has no cent percent agreement with him. She also has her strong reservations on certain points. For example, she does not agree with him on

his describing <-a-ŋ> the two separate morphemes past and first person singular morphemes as a portmanteau morpheme <-aŋ> first person, singular past. She is very much right in her observation. Similarly, she is not convinced that the nominalizer suffix <-pa> should be an imperfective suffix. By and large, this book provides the reader with a clear vision to study a new dialect of the Kiranti languages.

Nishi (1995) makes a brief survey of the century-long controversy in the provenance of pronominalization or verb agreement in Tibeto-Burman and some related phenomena and says that the distribution of the features to support TB origin hypothesis is not wide enough to corroborate its reconstruction as PTB feature. The occurrence of prononminalization in a few languages of a sub-group doesn't prevent us from considering it as a language or dialect specific development. Therefore, the reconstruction of the Proto-language of each lower level sub-group is desirable for the reconstruction of PTB morphology. He appreciates Driem and his colleagues for their endeavor in reconstruction of Proto-Kiranti group of languages.

Begendra Subba (2055 B.S.) shows, in Limbu language, agreements between subject and verb according to number, person, gender, tense, case, inclusivity, exclusivity and pronominalization. The indexes include conjugations of intransitive verb forms and their corresponding negative forms, the conjugation of objectless transitive verb forms and their corresponding negative forms, conjugation of transitive verb with complex pronominalization forms and conjugations of imperative forms, optative forms and probability forms.

Webster (1999) appreciates the significant progress the Limbu community has made in the language development through the production of dictionaries and writer's guides, and through elaboration of the language for use in radio and other media. Similarly, he reckons that the community has progressed language promotion activities on different fronts by starting numerous Limbu –medium schools in different village areas, preparing instructional books to teach Limbu to both school children and adults, starting a Limbu news program on Radio Nepal, and publishing numerous books, journals and newspapers in Limbu.

Pokharel (1999a) introduces Limbu as an agglutinative, suffix prominent, complex pronominalized language with distinct active and middle contrast unlike Nepali language, which has active passive contrast. He states that in Limbu all intransitive verbs are middle and most of the transitive verbs are active. <-a> is a third person singular intransitive suffix and <-u> is a third person singular transitive suffix. The first one is identified as middle and the second one as active. Limbu has a reflexive morpheme <-siŋ> which sometimes coincides with the reciprocal meaning. It has deliberate reading and exhibits intransitive behavior. It has a cognate relation with the Chinese root *shin* which means 'heart' or 'soul' and the same meaning may have been grammaticalized as a reflexive morpheme in Limbu. Pokharel (2005) shows how the possessive structures are constructed by by prefixing and suffixing to the nouns and even by the affixation to the extended pharases in Chhatthare Limbu.

Khawang (2000) asserts that Chhathare Limbu is a separate dialect of Limbu. He rejects the idea that Chhathare Limbu is unintelligible to the speakers of other dialects of Limbu and strongly defends that Chhatthare dialect shares many of the lexical items, verb roots, morphemes and syntactic arrangement with other dialects of Limbu.

Idingo (2001) analyzes Limbu oral literature or texts from text-linguistics standpoint in terms of referential system within pragmatic framework and describes how oral tradition of Limbu literature has been textualized. He also describes the specific features of Limbu pragmatics, firstly as a language characterized with

pronominalization, secondly as a context-oriented language and thirdly as a language with specific politeness principle.

Kainla (2059 B.S.) lists forty thousand words in total with twelve thousand headwords and other derivatives. The entries of headwords follow the alphabetical order of the Sirijangga script and are written in the *Devanagari* script. Their pronunciations are transcribed in International Phonetic Alphabet. Their word-classes and meanings are given in Nepali. Then again their word-classes and their meanings are given in English. This dictionary is, claimed to be an improved and revised form of the Iman Sing Chemjong's *Limbu-English-Dictionary (2018B.S).* It points out the reasons why Srijangga script, Devanagari script and International Phonetic Alphabet have to be used in the dictionary and presents the historical development of consonant and vowel phonemes/graphemes.

Watters (2003:371-416) compares the verbal paradigms of various Tibeto-Burman languages focusing on person and number agreement affixes. He contends that person and agreement patterns are old, that some form of agreement was present in the PTB verb and those modern languages which still show agreement patterns do so out of conservatism. Basically, all the pronominalizing languages have common features and that the variability exhibited by some researchers is attributable to secondary developments. He makes macro comparisons across all the Kiranti languages, and extends the comparison to languages outside the immediate geographical and genetic confines of East Himalayish and West Himalayish. He discovers the secondary developments and sets the principles of grammaticalization that account for the considerable range of variability found in the modern languages. He considers Limbu prefix <–*ke*> unique to the Kiranti languages because it occurs in 2→1, 2→3 and 3→2 configurations.

Givon (2003) ended century old dispute about the origin of the pronominal affixes by arguing that independent pronouns are first affixed to the verbs and grammaticalized as person marking affixes. They function as agreement markers in the morpho-syntax. So pronominalization is the earlier stage of verb agreement markers in any language. Thus, he contributed in establishing the pronominalization or agreement marking as the inherent feature of the Tibeto-Burman languages to which Limbu belongs.

In fact, the above contributions of the writers are not directly related to the Chhatthare Limbu. No work has been done on Chhatthare Limbu except by Tumbahang (1985), Pokharel and Khawahang (2000). However, those works give insights into analyzing and describing the Chhathare Limbu.

**6.** HYPOTHESIS. Chhatthare Limbu is very different from other Limbu dialects.

**7**. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY. First of all, I visited Chhatthar area to make socio-linguistic study. I collected folktales and stories popular there, which I have placed in the appendix section. The interaction with people in Chhatthar area made me aware of dialectical variations within Chhatthare Limbu. Since my mother tongue is Chhatthare Limbu, I made myself the major informant. When I found difficulty in making exact meaning of a certain word, there I contacted with other Chhatthare speakers from Banchare. They helped me in extracting the conjugation patterns of finite verbs and periphrastic tense aspect forms. In course of my research I found that Chhatthare is very different from other dialects of Limbu. So, I collected the data of verb paradigms and Swadesh's one hundred word list from Panthare, Taplejungnge and Phedappe dialects. In order to test these data, a workshop seminar on

'Comparative Study of word and Verb Paradigms of Limbu Dialects' was conducted and talk programmes were also arranged to discuss and disseminate the findings .

In this study phonemes have been determined and morphophonological changes have been analyzed according to the theories applied by Pike (1947) and Burquest and Payne (1993). I adopted the theories and methodologies of Nida (946), Katamba (1993) and Whaley (1997) and followed the practice of Wiedert and Subba (1985) and Driem 1(987) in morphemic analysis. I followed Driem (1987) and Ebert (1994 and 1996) in syntactic analysis. I also consulted Wiedert and Subba (1985) and Mikhailovsky (2002) when I needed them. I made Swadesh's hundred word list and verb paradigms as research tools to test how far Chhatthare is different from other dialects on the basis of comparative method. I followed the style sheet format of the linguistic journal *Lanuage* in my entire write up.

## 8. OUTLINE OF THE STUDY

The outline of the study is as follows:

a. Introduction
b. Sociolinguistic Study of Chhatthare Limbu
c. Phonology
d. Morphophonology
e. Morphology of nouns
f. Morphology of pronouns
g. Morphology of adjectives
h. Morphology of adverbs
i. Verbal inflections
j. Identification of morphemes
k. Tense, aspect and mood
l. Nonfiinite verbs and Verbal complex
m. Sentence
n. Conclusion

References
Appendices

# CHAPTER 2
# SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY OF THE CHHATTHARE LANGUAGE

**1.** INTRODUCTION. This chapter introduces Limbu people, their habitat, language and dialects in general and Chhatthare Limbu's habitat, distribution of population, their language, bilingualism and language loyalty in particular and show how Chhatthare Limbu differs from other Limbu dialects.

**2.** LIMBU PEOPLE IN GENERAL. Mongoloid people of Kiranti origin characterised by flat nose, oblique eyes, wiry body and medium height with unique culture, language and script living in *Limbuwan* 'the land of the Limbus' are called *Limbu*. There is a controversy about the origin of the term *Limbu*. Chemjong (2031: 4) says that *Limbu* is derived from the combination of *li* 'bow' and *a-bu* 'he shoots' and *ban* 'country' Thus, *Limbu* means 'the country won by bow and arrow'. Mabuhang (2006:1) says that Mujikna Khewana conceived a baby after her contact with air and gave birth to Susuwalilim Yakthunghang. Lilim was modified as *Limbu* when Prithivi Narayan Shah gave *Lal Mohar*[2] to the Limbus in 1832 B.S.

The term *Limbu* is not found in *Mundhum*[3] nor is it available in any literature before the royal decree promulgated by King Prithivi Narayan Shah, which uses the term *Limbu* in addressing the Limbus. After it, outsiders use this term for the Limbus. Campbell (1840:31) says that the term *Limbu* is a Gorkha corruption of the autonym *Ekthoomba*. Vansittart (1906: 100) quotes Sarat Chundra Das as saying,

> 'The country between the Arun and Tambar is called 'Limbuana' by the Nepali natives, and the aboriginal people, who have resided there from time immemorial, are designated by the name of Limbu, though they call themselves by the name of Yakthumba.'

It suggests that Limbu is not a native term but an exonym used to designate them. Driem (1987:xix) says that the term *Limbu* is a Nepali ethnonym and therefore, the Limbu homeland in eastern Nepal is known in Nepali as *Limbuwan*. The Rais living in the east of the Arun river were called *Limbu* by Gorkha rulers after the annexation of their land *Pallo Kirant* or 'far Kirant'. From a linguistic point of view, it sounds like a native word because in Limbu there are lots of words which contain such phoneme sequences as *limba* 'sweet', *limde* 'it tasted sweet' , *libu* 'he curled it', *labu* 'he burnt it' etc. Moreover, it does not sound a Nepali word as it does not mean anything in it. Despite such evidences, contemporary Limbus still believe that it is an exonym used by outsiders for them.

The Limbus call themselves as *Yakthung* to refer to both male and female. They call *Yakthungba* to refer to the male and *Yakthungma* to the female. When it is used as an attribute to non-human nouns, *Yakthungba* is generally used. Thus, words such as *Yakthungba pangbhe* 'Limbu village', *Yakthungba pan* 'Limbu language' etc exist in the language. The term *Yakthung* has been in use in *Mundhum* from time immemorial. Prithivi Narayan Shah addressed the Limbus as *Yakthung Hang* when conferring commission on them. Campbell (1840:495) says that Limbus call themselves as *Ekthoomba*, Das (1896:31) uses the term *Yakthumba* for Limbus, Chemjong (2003:54) calls Limbus as *Yakthumba*, Driem (1987:xx) uses the term *Yakthungba* for

[2] Conferment of power sealed with the red seal upon the Limbus to rule certain area.
[3] A holy Kiranti scripture based on oral tradition

Limbus. The *Kirant Yakthung Chumlung*, the ethnic organization of the Limbus also uses the term *Yakthung* to refer to the Limbus.

The above facts show that two words- *Yakthungba* and *Yakthumba*- are used for the Limbus in the mother tongue. However, *Yakthumba* has been worn out in the contemporary use and *Yakthungba* has become an established word now.

There is, still, conflicting opinion about the etymology of the term *Yakthumba* and *Yakthungba*. Das (1896:31) claims that the autonym *Yakthumba* means 'yakherd'. By this interpretation *Yakthumba* means 'people who herd yak'. This interpretation does not sound reasonable because the Limbus living in the hills do not tame yaks as a profession. Only in English, *Yak* means 'animal' but in Limbu it means 'hill'. *Thumba* sounds perfectly like a Limbu word in its phonological form. The attempt to extract English meaning from a Limbu word simply because it has accidentally happened to sound like English word 'yak' which refers to a kind of animal available in the hillside and make a forceful interpretation of *Yakthumba* as 'yakherd' sounds implausible. Moreover, *Yakthumba* itself is not a correct autonym. According to Chemjong (2003:54), *Yakthungba* is derived from *Yakkhathumba*, which is the combination of *Yakkha* and *thumba*. *Yakkha* is the name of an ethnic community belonging to the Kiranti group and *thumba* means 'one who is brave'. Thus, the one who is braver than Yakkha is called *Yakkhathumba*, which became *Yakthungba* with the passage of time. Chemjong argues that in the war the Limbus showed greater valour than the Yakkhas and thus they were called braver than the Yakkhas- *Yakkhathumba*. This etymological interpretation is very far from the truth because we have reference of Yakthung Hang in *Mundhum* for the Limbus many centuries earlier than the war mentioned by Chemjong. Moreover, *Yakkhathumba* in itself doesn't carry the meaning 'braver than'. In Panthare dialect, it is said as *Yakkha nule KEdhumba*. The deletion of comparitive marker *nule* and the personal prefix <*ke*-> and forceful formation of *Yakkhathumba* to extract the desired meaning is very difficult to accept. Vansittart (1906:108) says that the Limbus are the descendants of the ten chiefs who made *Y□k* 'fort' in each district and ruled over 'the land of Limbus'. If *Yakthungba* is from the word *Y□ktumba*, the eldest of the fort, it implies that only the descendants of the eldest of the fort are *Yakthungbas* or *Limbus*. It is also not clear whether the eldest one is among the people of one fort or of ten forts and whether the descendants of other members of the fort or other people of the ten forts are *Yakthungbas* or not. In addition, *Y□k* and *Yak* are phonemically contrastive. The first one means 'fort' and the second one means 'hill'. Similarly, *tumba* and *thungba* are also contrastive for the first one means 'eldest' whereas the second one means 'he drinks'. Driem (1987:x) says that the first component *yak* of the word *Yakthungba* is derived from the first part *Yak* of the word *Yakkha*, Kiranti people living on the north of the Kiranti land and the second component *thungba* is derived for the word *thung* by adding a suffix <-ba>. The word *thung* is prefixed by <ke-> and suffixed by <-ba> and made adjective *kedhungba* which is wrongly said to mean 'brave or bold'. Thus, this interpretation means that the Limbus belong to the *Yak* group and are characterized by the quality of boldness and courage. Driem's linguistic interpretation of the term *Yakthungba* is not convincing as *kedhungba* means 'drinker' and only *kedhumba* means 'bold' or 'brave' and *Yakthumba* for the autonym is not attested. Tanka Subba, (1999:32) supports Das by saying that a section of the Limbus belonging to the *Lhasa gotra* have legends about their migration from the north, which is a high altitude, a yak-populated area. These people might have tamed yak though they are now middle hill dwellers where yak is not available. However, he gives different opinion about its etymology. According to him, *Yakthungba* is most likely a combination of three Limbu syllables- *yak*, *thum*

and *ba/pa* which mean 'hill', 'place/district' and 'inhabitant' respectively. These syllables together may be translated as 'hill men'. Subba's interpretation is also not convincing from the linguistic point of view as *Yakthungba* has three syllables *yak-*, *thung- and –ba.* The middle syllable is *thung-* not *thum*. In Limbu, as mentioned earlier, *thum* and *thung* are semantically different. The first word means 'he is brave' whereas the second one means 'he drinks'. Subba substitutes *thum* for *thung* and gives it the Nepali meaning 'area' or 'district' as if it were a Nepali word. The Limbus call themselves as *Yakthungba* and not *Yakthumba* in their native language and their language *Yakthung pan* or *Yakthungba Pan*. From Campbell, Das, Driem and Subba, it is apparently clear that *Yakthungba* is a native name for Limbu though it might be interpreted differently. The fact that they call themselves as *Yakthung* in their mother tongue and their organization as *Yakthung Chumlung* reveals the fact that only *Yakthung* is the native name. Though there is no unanimity among the scholars about the etymology of *Yakthungba*, all of them agree that it is an autonym for the word Limbu.

As stated earlier, the Limbus considers the term *limbu* as an alien word, particularly a Nepali one. But in Nepali it does not mean anything. *Nepali-Brihat Sabdakosh* shows that it means a racial group. So far, no convincing etymological interpretation has been made for this word nor is the word for *Yakthungba.* Experience has taught us that a tribal or ethnic name is not in all cases followed by etymological semantics. Therefore, only this much can be said that the Limbus are called *Limbu* in general but within the community they call themselves *Yakthungba* or *Yakthungma*. They are indigenous people of Kiranti race living in Eastern Nepal from time immemorial.

MacDonell et al (1920:Vl. 1:157-158) say that the Kirantas were located in Eastern Nepal in Vedic time. Similarly, the reference of Kiranta race is there in the *Atharbaveda* vol.11, book X, Hymn 1V, verse 14 (Griffith 1968:16).The verse describes a young maid of Kiranta race performing her task of digging on the hill ridge. The verse runs:

> The young maid of Kira#t race, a little damsel, digs
> the drug,
> Digs it with shovels wrought of gold on the high
> ridges of the hills

Chatterji (1951:26) writes that in *Yajurveda*, *Kiranti* or *Kirant* is used to refer to an alpine cave dwelling people of the Mangoloid race living in the northeast. Other references to Kirants in *Mahabharata*, *Ramayana*, *Visnu Purana* and *Kiratarjuniya* portray the Kirants as fierce, warlike and handsome savage hunters living in densely forested eastern Himalaya. Their golden complexions gave them appearance very different from the Indo-Aryan inhabitants of the Gangetic plain. Chatterji (1951: 37-38) suggests that the term *Kirant* is a common term for all the Mongoloid people living along the northeastern fringe of the subcontinent. These things prove that the Kirants are the ancient settlers of the land. The reference of Kirant is available in Mahabharata. According to Dange (1969:59):

> the Kira)ts, the Sabaras and the Nisa#das thus form a sort of a group whom the Aryans, probably overran and subjugated, the distinct reason being that there were non-Aryan tribes not having the way of sacrifice etc as the Aryans had. To this group later added the Mlecchas and the Yavanas, the symbolic success being always suggested by their being eaten by Garuda.

Thus, the references of Kiranta in *Yajurveda*, *Atharvaveda*, *Mahabharata*, *Visnupruna* portay them as a race distinct from the Aryan race living in hills, forests and caves by hunting. Apte (1963:149-50) defines *Kiranta* as 'a mountaineer'. Lal (1980:382) points out the reference of Kiranta in Mahabharat in a sense of ' a tribe of forest-dwellers and hunters'. Monnier (1899:283) defines Kira#ta as ' a degraded mountain tribe (inhabiting woods and mountains and living by hunting, having become Sudras by their neglect of all prescribed religious rites; also regarded as Mlecchas,)'. MacDonell (1965:68), defines Kiranta as 'of a barborous mountain tribe of hunters'.

That the Limbus' original habitat is a hill can be justified linguistically. They have different words to mean 'to come from above, below and across' such as *uNma*, *kEpma*, *phEmma* respectively whereas in Nepali a single word *aunu* 'to come' is enough for all these differences. The reason could be that the Nepali speakers particularly the Bahuns and Chhetris are originally from the plains, they do not perceive the locational differences as the hill people do. Similarly, we can say that these people's occupation in the beginning was hunting linguistically and culturally. Limbu has different words for cutting meat into different ways. For example, *sa cEpma* means 'to cut meat with a dagger lifting it up', *sa kH□kma* means to cut meat into pieces with a dagger lifting it up', *sa hEkma* means to cut meat with sword or dagger or any cutting instrument by catching the piece of meat on both ends. These concepts are expressed in Nepali only by ' *masu katnu*. Similarly, the Limbus sacrifice animals to gods and goddesses to propitiate them. They make mud- idols of god and goddess together with weapons such as arch and bow. Now, the Limbus of Satyahangma sect do not sacrifice any animal in their religious rituals following the Josmanipath but it is a recent practice under the influence of the Hindu religion and culture. The construction of arch and arrow in the holy place of god and goddess is reminiscent of their original culture.

Vansittart (1906:99) says:

> By right the term Kiranti' should apply to the Khambus (Rais) only. The Yakka claim to be a separate nation and so do the Yakthumbas (Limbus). But as Khambus, Yakkas, and Yakthumbas can and have intermarried for many generations, the three nations, although at one time quite separate, have for all practical purposes, been fused into one and the same nationality, hence we find their manners, customs, religious ceremonies, and appearances almost the same. To the Khambus, Yakkas, and Yakthumbas, therefore, might for all practical purposes be applied the term Kirantis.'

Vansittart considers only the Rais as Kiranti in contrast to the concept of entire Mongoloid race under the Kiranti umbrella. Chemjong (2003:3) includes Khambos (Rais), Mangols and Chinese under the Kiranti group on the basis of *Mundhum*. Northey and Morris (1928:215) divide Khambu and Yakkha into separate tribes and classify Kirant into Limbu, Khambu and Yakkha tribes. McDougal (1979:1) identifies Khambu and Yakkha as Rai and says that Rais and Limbus are descended from the ancient Kiranti, and even today, they refer to themselves, or are referred by others, as *Kiranti*.The commission sealed with the read seal conferred upon influential Limbus in 1831 B. S. also recognise Limbu as *Kiranti*.

Kandangwa (1990) says that 'Raya' was a title conferred by the rulers upon the Kiranti leaders and this title 'Raya' later became 'Rai'. Kirants of Nepal were called 'Rais' during the rule of Sen Kings of Makawanpur and the Rais living in the east of

Arun river were called *Limbus* by Gorkha rulers after the annexation of *Pallo Kirant* 'far Kirant'.

Limbus were called *Rai* before Prithivi Narayan Shah conferred commissions upon Sri Jang Raya and others in 1831 B.S Yogi Narahari Nath (2022 B.S. 185-86) says that Indu Raj Rajeshwari addressed her administrator as *Chemjeng Raya* . Present Chemjong Limbus are his progenies. Moreover, the fact that only during the period of Sen and Shah regimes, the title *Rai* was used but before their reign, it did not exist prove that *Rai* is a title conferred upon the Kirantis by Sen and Shah rulers.

Now, the Limbus are also called *Subba* but it is a title rather than a tribe's name. Vansittart (1906:100) says that the Gurkha king in order to conciliate his vanquished enemies, Khambus and Limbus conferred upon the most influential men amongst Khambus the title of *Rai* and Limbus the title of *Subah* with commissions sealed with the red seal conferring upon them power to rule certain districts but now most Limbus call themselves *Subbahs* and Khambus and Yakkhas call themselves *Rais*. In fact, he is right in his statement.

Similarly, McDougal (1979:8) says that Limbus were stronger than the Rais in their opposition to the attack of Prithvi Narayan Shah. So, he was more conciliatory in negotiating with the former than while he negotiated with the latter. The Limbus were allowed to exercise their rights in their ancestral lands and amidst them some influential persons of the community were conferred the title *Subba* with royal commissions to govern respective areas. Now, Kipat system is over and the power of the hereditary Subba is non-existent. However, the use of *Subba* as a tribe name instead of *Limbu* or *Yakthungba* is growing as it is used by all types of Limbus indiscriminately, who, if the system had survived would not have been qualified for it. In the beginning, it was a term to please the Limbus but now it has become a common practice. All the same, all Limbus are aware of the fact that *Subba* is a title, not a tribe name.

Vansittart (1906:104) quotes Sarat Chandra Dass as saying that the Tibetans and Bhotiyas of Nepal and Sikkim call the Limbus by the name of *Tsong* probably due to their emigration to Limbuwan from Tsang in Tibet. However, the practice of calling Limbus by this name is not there in Nepal. It is only in Sikkim and Darjeeling that they are called so (Subba (1999:32).

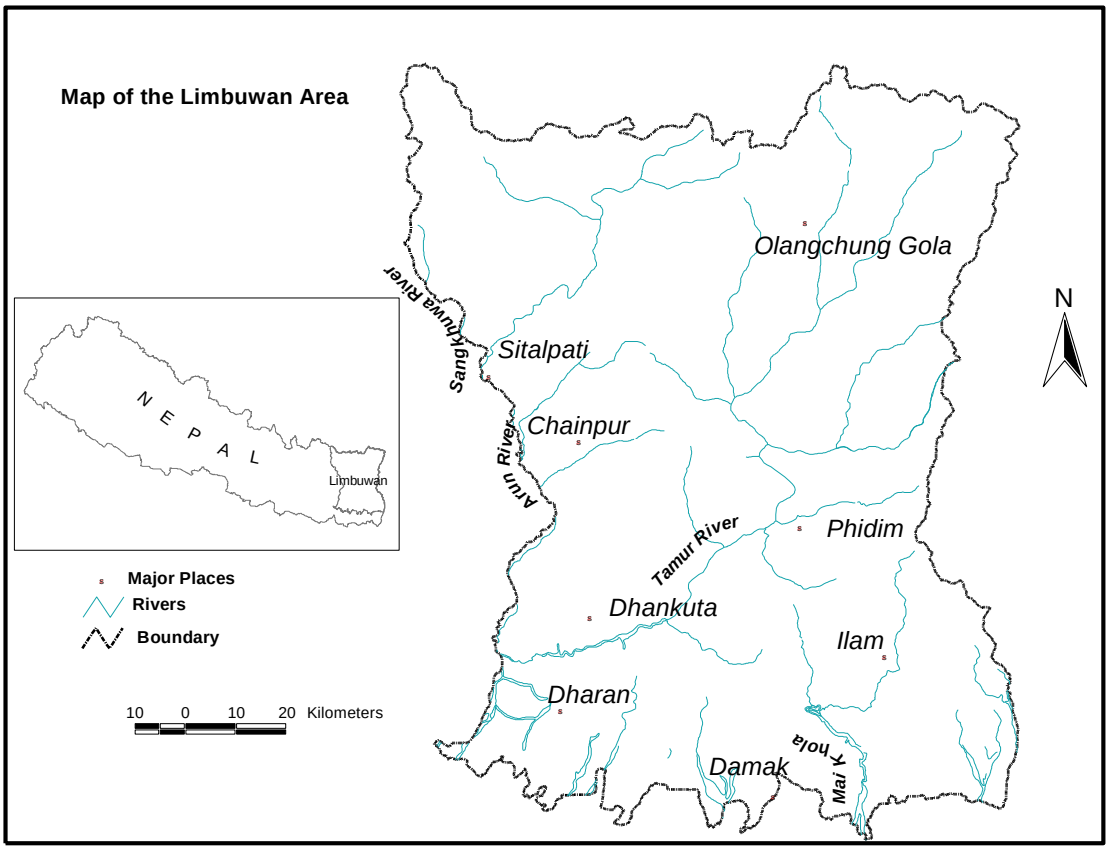
In the beginning, the Limbus were known only as *Kiranti* and they dwelt on the hills, forests and caves by hunting. Later, they became agriculturalist and grew millet, rice, corn and vegetables. They were known as *Rais* during the period of Sen Kings and after the annexation of their land to Gurkha, they were called *Limbu*. *Subba* is a title conferred by Prithivi Narayan Shah only upon the most influential among the Limbus but now, there is a growing tendency among the youths in Nepal to write either *Subba* as their ethnic name or their clan name. They are called *Limbu* by outsiders but *Yakthung* by themselves. They are the indigenous people of Kiranti origin living in the eastern hills of Nepal with their distinct language, culture and religion from time immemorial.

**3.** LIMBU AREA. The area where the Limbus inhabit are traditionally known as *Limbuwan* 'land of the Limbus' which is also called *Pallo Kirant* 'far Kirant'. It is one of the three Kirant lands. Konow (1903:316) calls *Wollo Kirant* 'hither Kirant' which includes the hills between the Sunkoshi and the Likhu, *Majh Kirant* 'Middle Kirant' which extends the area from the Likhu river to the Arun river and *Pallo Kirant* 'far Kirant' which spreads from the Arun to the Mechi and Singilela ridges. Vansittart (1906:6) says that the district lying on the right bank of the Arun on the west and

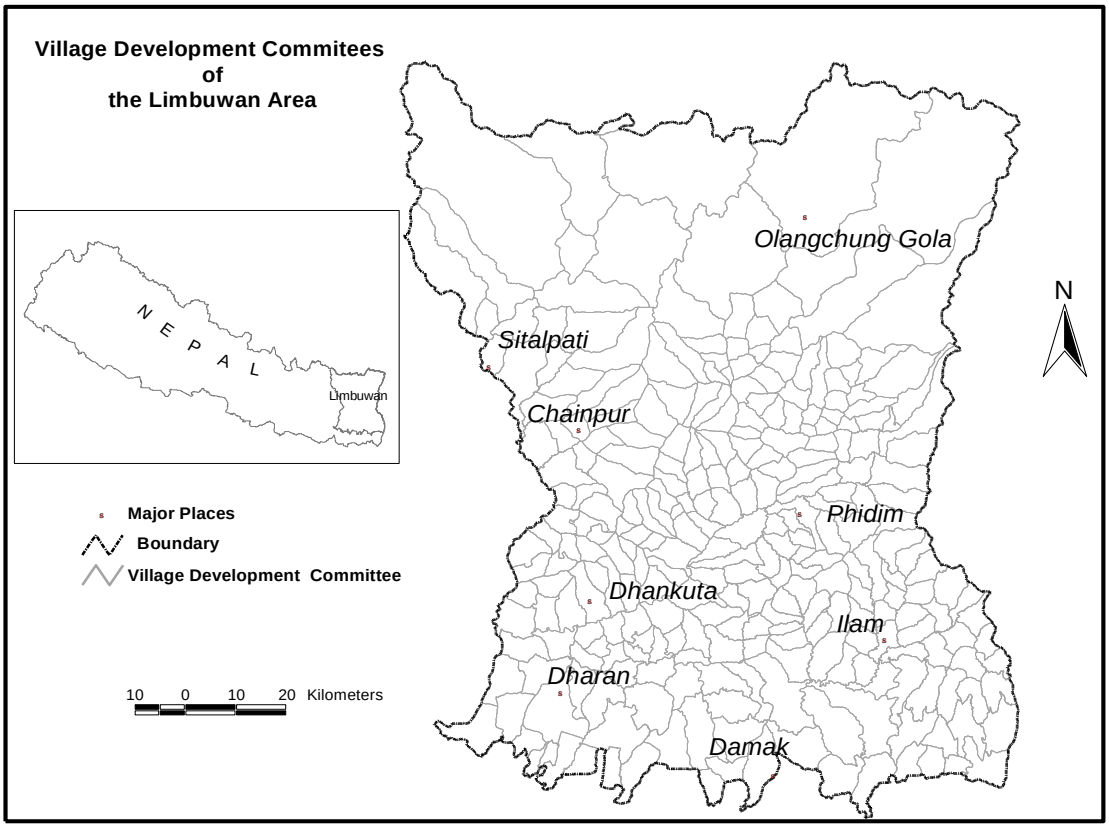
extending between it and the Dudh Koshi is the country of the Kirantis (Rais) and the district lying on the left or eastern bank of the Arun and extending from it to Sikkim is Limbuana, or the country of the Limbus. He divides Limbu country into ten original homes such as Panchthar, Chethar, Athrai, Yangrok or Yangrup, Chaubisia, Mewakhola, Charkhola, Miawakhola, Phedap and Tamarkhola. These places were ruled over by ten Limbu chieftains and consequently, the Limbu area is collectively called ten lands of the Limbus. Chemjong (2003:47) says that before the arrival of the Limbus in Kirant area, it was ruled by eight kings. The ten leaders of Limbu drove them out in the battle and divided it into ten districts which included Tambar district, Mewa and Maiwa district, Athrai district, Yangawarok district, Panchthar district, Phedap district, Charkhola district, Chaubis district, Terhathum district and Chhatthar district. The two writers' division of ten Limbu lands is more or less the same. The only difference is that Vansittart doesn't include Terhathum but separates Mewakhola and Maiakhola whereas Chemjong unites Mewa and Maiwa into one area and separates Phedap and Terhathum. These areas are under the present Koshi and Mechi zones.

According to Kainla ( 2059 B.S.:9), the hill area between the Arun in Nepal and Tista in India is the habitat of the Limbus. It includes the hill area of Koshi and Mechi zones of Nepal which spreads from Arun river in the west to the Mechi river in the east and across the border to the hilly region of Darjeeling and Sikkim of India. They have, at different times, migrated from their original abodes to different places. Now, they are available in a considerable number in the Terai areas of Sunsari, Morang and Jhapa districts of eastern Nepal as well as in Kathmandu, Lalitpur and Bhaktapur districts of mid-Nepal. They have made up a good number of population in Dubars, Assam, Meghalaya, Nagaland and Manipur of India. Their population is remarkable in Myanmar and Bhutan. In Nepal alone, their population totals 3,33,633 (Nepal population report 2060 B.S.).

Exact location of Limbuwan in terms of geographical area is difficult to draw. I have studied the map drawn by Hari Man Tumbahangphe as recorded by Mabuhang (2006) and modified its area a bit. Mabuhang seems to have accepted the present Mahendra Highway as the southern boarder of the *Limbuwan*. I included the nearest plains spread from the Siwaliks and developed the map of the *Limbuwan* almost following Mabuhang in considering the Mahendra Higway as the southern border. By doing so, the picture gets zigzag as some village development committees spread southward across the highway and some remain above the highway. This map includes the area north of the Sangkhuwa river in Limbuwan and excludes the present two village development committees, Bala and Sisuwa from it. Thus, the *Limbuwan* area spreads between 26.58 and 27.96 north latitude and 87.04 and 88.20 east longitude and runs in 13137.8 square kilometers. It has altogether 277 village development committees. First map draws the map of Limbuwan area with major places with rivers and boundary and the second one draws it with the location of village development committees.


Map of the Limbuwan Area
N E P A L
Limbuwan
Major Places
Rivers
Boundary
10 0 10 20 Kilometers
Olangchung Gola
Sitalpati
Chainpur
Phidim
Dhankuta
Ilam
Dharan
Damak
Sangkhuwa River
Arun River
Tamur River
Mai Khola
N

MAP 1.


Village Development Commitees
of
the Limbuwan Area
N E P A L
Limbuwan
Major Places
Boundary
Village Development Committee
10 0 10 20 Kilometers
Olangchung Gola
Sitalpati
Chainpur
Phidim
Dhankuta
Ilam
Dharan
Damak
N

MAP 2.

**4.** LIMBU LANGUAGE . Limbu language is called *Yakthung pan* or *Yakthungba pan* in the mother-tongue and *Limbu bhasa* in the Nepali language. In Nepal five families of languages- Indo-European, Tibeto-Burman, Austro-Asiatic, Dravidian and Kusunda are spoken. Among them, Limbu belongs to Kiranti subgroup of Bodic group of Tibeto-Burman sub-family of Sino-Tibetan family of languages. It can be presented in a tree diagram following Shafer (1966) in the following way:

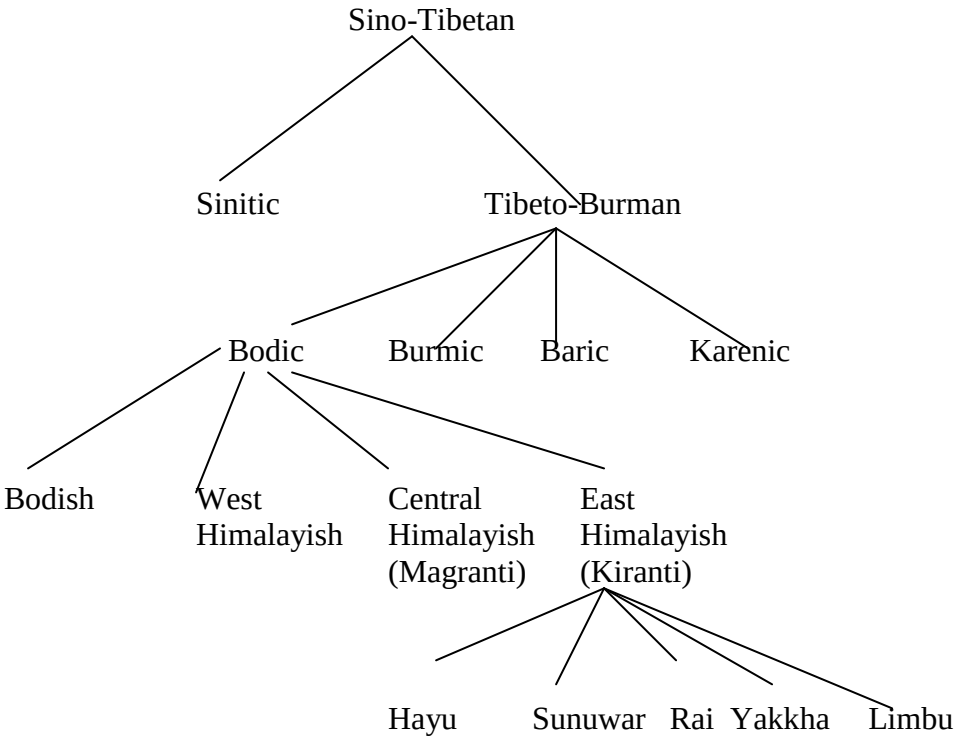



FIGURE1. Family tree of Limbu

**5.** DIALECTS. Traditionally, Limbu was divided into different varieties: Panchthare, Phedappe, Chaubise, Charkhole, Tamarkhole, Mewakhole, Yangrokke and Chhatthare. This division was based on geographical considerations. Wiedert and Subba (1985:7) have, for the first time, divided it into four major dialects on the basis of linguistic analysis. The dialects are Panchthare Limbu (comprising Yangrokke Limbu), Phedappe Limbu, Taplejungnge and Mewakhole Limbu and Chhathare Limbu

Driem (1987: XXLL) also accepts this division of Limbu language into four dialects. However, he calls the third dialect just 'Taplejungnge' or 'Tamarkhole' and not 'Taplejung and Mewakhola Limbu' as referred to by Wiedert and Subba (1985). Kainla (2059 B.S.:10) also divides Limbu into four major dialects on the basis of its varieties spoken in Nepal. They are Panchthare, Chhatthare, Phedappe and Tamarkhole. Webster (2001) divides it into five different varieties. They are Panthare, Phedappe, Taplejungge, Chhatthare and Chaubise.

**5.1.** PANTHARE DIALECT. Panthare dialect is the main dialectal variant of Limbu and has been recognized as the standard dialect of the Limbu language. It is spoken in Yangrok of the Taplejung district, Chaubis area of the Dhankuta district and across Ilam and Panchthar districts of eastern Nepal and in the settlements of India, Bhutan and Myanmar. It is used in reading, writing, teaching and communicating purposes. As Chaubise is very close to Panchthare, it is treated under the Panchthare dialect in the present study.

**5.2.** PHEDAPPE DIALECT. It is another dialectal division of Limbu spoken mainly in the Terhathum district. Its speaking area is confined to the Tamarkhola in the east and Nuwakhola in the west. This dialect has the largest number of speakers of all the dialects given the numbers of population in one area.

**5.3.** TAMARKHOLE OR TAPLEJUNGNGE DIALECT. It is the dialect of Limbu spoken by a considerable number of people in the vicinity of the Tamarkhola and in the valley beside Mewakhola, the branch river of the Tamarkhola situated in the present Taplejung district.

**5.4.** CHHATTHARE VARIANT: Chhatthare Limbu is different from other dialects of Limbu. It is spoken in the Chhatthar area.

**6.** TYPOLOGY. Morphologically, languages are divided into different types. According to Croft (1990:39), Friedrich von Schlegel made the first morphological typological classification of languages into two types: affixal and inflectional. His brother August added a third type: language with no structure. Wilhelm von Humbolt added a fourth type: incorporating. Sapir (1921:136) divides three language types in terms of the number of morphemes: analytic, synthetic and polysynthetic and into four types in terms of the degree of alterations of morphemes: isolating (no affixation), agglutinative (simple affixation), fusional (considerable morphophonemic alternation) and symbolic (suppletive) types Comrie (1981) classifies languages into isolating, agglutinative and polysynthetic or incorporating types. Katamba (1993:561) divides them into analytic (isolating), agglutinative, inflecting and infixing types. Whaley (1997:128-129) classifies languages according to the parameters of the index of synthesis and index of fusion. On the basis of their classifications, we can reclassify the languages into isolating or analytic, infixing, polysynthetic or incorporating, fusional and agglutinative types.

**6.1.** ISOLATING OR ANALYTIC. Bernard Comrie (1981:43) presents Vietnamese language, Katamba (1993:57) the Chinese and Whaley (1997:129) Madraine Chinese as examples of isolating or analytic types. These languages exhibit one to one correspondence between morphemes and words.
In Chhatthare Limbu, we find such isolating or analytic character in a subset of the data.

(1) a. hEnja calik hap
child very weeps
'Child weeps much.'

b. ba paN y□mba cuk
this house big be
'This house is big.'

c. kHune sapla nit
he book reads
'He reads a book.'

In 1a-c, each morpheme occurs as a word in isolation. Therefore, this language is morphologically isolating or analytic in type.

In Chhatthare Limbu, we don't find such monomorphemic words. Though words occur in a bare form in a sentence, they still carry a grammatical meaning and hence it is supposed to be zero marked for case roles.

(2) a t□k tHokuN
I rice cook-3O-1sA
I cooked rice.

In this sentence, though <a> is unmarked for its case role but still it carries case role of agentivity. Similarly, <t□k> is unmarked for its object role but still it conveys meaning. Limbu does not use separate word for these case roles. Moreover, in the word *tHokuN*, there are three morphemes which are segmentable as <*tHok-u-N*>. <*tHok*> is a verb stem, <-u> is a morpheme which has several functions or meanings: third person, singular number and object. We can not segment this morpheme and say that this part of the morpheme indicates person, this number and this object. The morpheme as a whole indicates these three different meanings and it is the character of an inflectional language. Therefore, Chhatthare Limbu does not fall in the category of isolating language.

**6.2.** SYNTHETIC, POLYSYNTHETIC OR INCORPORATING. Sapir (1921:136) designates the language synthetic which has a small number of morphemes per word and typologises those languages as polysynthetic which have multiple roots per word. Comrie (1981:45) distinguishes between polysynthetic and incorporating languages. According to him, incorporation refers to the possibility of taking a number of lexical morphemes and combining them together into a single word whereas polysynthetic languages includes the languages which have one lexical morpheme with other affixes in a single word. What Sapir calls synthetic and polysynthetic, he calls them polysynthetic and incorporating respectively. Katamba (1993:56) calls them inflecting or synthetic and incorporating or polysynthetic. Whaley (1997:131) also calls them synthetic and polysynthetic.

Limbu has morphological features of both synthetic and polysynthetic types in the Whaley's sense or polysynthetic and incorporating in Comrie's sense. For example,

(3) a. h□ps-u-si
disturb-3O-nsO
'He disturbs them.'
b. cepp-u-si
beat-3O-nsO
' He kills them.'
c. sap-u-si
write-3O-nsO
'He writes them.'

In the examples above there are lexical morphemes like <h□ps>, <cEp> and <sap> which contain other grammatical morphemes like third person object morpheme <-u> and non-singular object morphemes <-si>. Though there are no overt subjects in the words, their implied presence is there. Thus, a single word carries the meaning of a whole sentence. This is the example of polysynthetic according to Comrie and of synthetic according to Whaley.

Chhatthare Limbu also contains words, which have two or more lexical morphemes plus other grammatical morphemes. For example,

(4) a. ku-sira-dHaN-a
his-happiness-come up-PT
'He became happy.'

b. ka-niN-ler-a
your-aversion-turn
'You felt aversion.'

c. a-sik-leks-a
my-conscience-turn up-PT
'I felt disgusted'

In the examples 4a-c, the nouns <sira>, <niN> and <sik> are incorporated with the verbs <thaN>, <ler> and <leks> respectively and transmit a meaning in combination. Hence, we find the combination of two lexical items plus several affixes in a single word. It shows that Chhatthare Limbu is an incorporating language in Comrie's sense and polysynthetic in Whaley's sense.

**6.3.** AGGLUTINATIVE LANGUAGES. Comrie (1981:44), Katamba (1993:57) and Whaley (1997:133) define those languages as agglutinative languages in which there is one-to-one correspondence between morphemes and meanings (or functions) in a word and the morphemes therein are easily segmentable.
Chhathare Limbu shares such characteristics of agglutinative languages in the nominal morphology. For example,

(5) a. a-napmi
my-man
'My man'.

b. a-napmi-g$^{h}$a
my-man-p
'My men'

c. a-napmi-g$^{h}$a-Naŋ
my-man-p-POSS
'My men's'

The example 5a-d makes it clear that in this language there is one to one correspondence between morphemes and meanings (or functions) . The morphemes in the word are easily segmentable. In 5a-c, <a> is segmented as 'first person possessive morpheme', <napmi> as a 'free' or 'lexical morpheme' meaning 'man' and <gHa or /kha/> is glossed as 'plural morpheme'. Similarly, in 5c <-NaN> is a 'third person possessive morpheme'. The boundary between morphemes and meanings in the word is clear cut. Similarly, verb morphology shows easily segmentable morphemes. They have clear cut boundary as to where one morpheme ends and another morpheme begins.

(6) a. ka-nat-u
2-chase-3O
'You chased him.'

b. ka-nat-cH-u
2- chase-dA-3O
'You chased him.'

c. ka-nat-chi

2- chase-dO
'He chases you.'

In 6a, <*ka*> is a prefix that indexes second person, <nat> is a verb root and <*u*> is a suffix that indexes third person. On the basis of this example, Chhatthare Limbu is an agglutinative type of language. Pokharel (1999a) classifies it as an agglutinative type of language.

**6.4.** FUSIONAL LANGUAGES. Sapir (1921:136), Comrie (1981:44), Katamba (1993:58) and Whaley (1997:134) define those languages as fusional languages in which the morphemes in a word are not segmentable because the boundary between morphemes in the word is not sharp like agglutinative languages. There is no one-to-one correspondence between morphemes and their corresponding meanings. Rather the morphemes are blended or fused together. Consequently, one morpheme carries multiple meanings. We find such characters in the Chhatthare Limbu.

(7) a. ka-p□ks-u
2- hold-3O
You hold it.

b. cEpp-u-ŋ
cut-3O-1sA
'I cut him.'

c. mu-ser-u
3pA -kill-3O
They kill her.

In the examples above the morpheme <-u> comprises three grammatical categories: third person, singular number and object. The morph <-N> constitutes three morphemes- first person, singular number and agentivity. Likewise, the morpheme <mu-> forms three morphemes- third person, plural number and agentivity. These morphemes can not be segmented off according to their grammatical categories. They form portmanteau morphemes in which a signal morpheme indexes different meanings. On the basis of these examples, we can say that Chhatthare language is a fusional language.

The above examples show that Chhatthare Limbu shares characteristics of isolating or analytic and synthetic (polysynthetic) or incorporating and agglutinative and fusional language types. It can not be assigned to a specific morphological type. In fact, Sapir (1921:123) says the same thing. According to him,

> In any case it is very difficult to assign all known languages to one or other of these groups, the more so as they are mutually exclusive. A language may be agglutinative and inflective, or inflective and polysynthetic or even polysynthetic and and isolating …

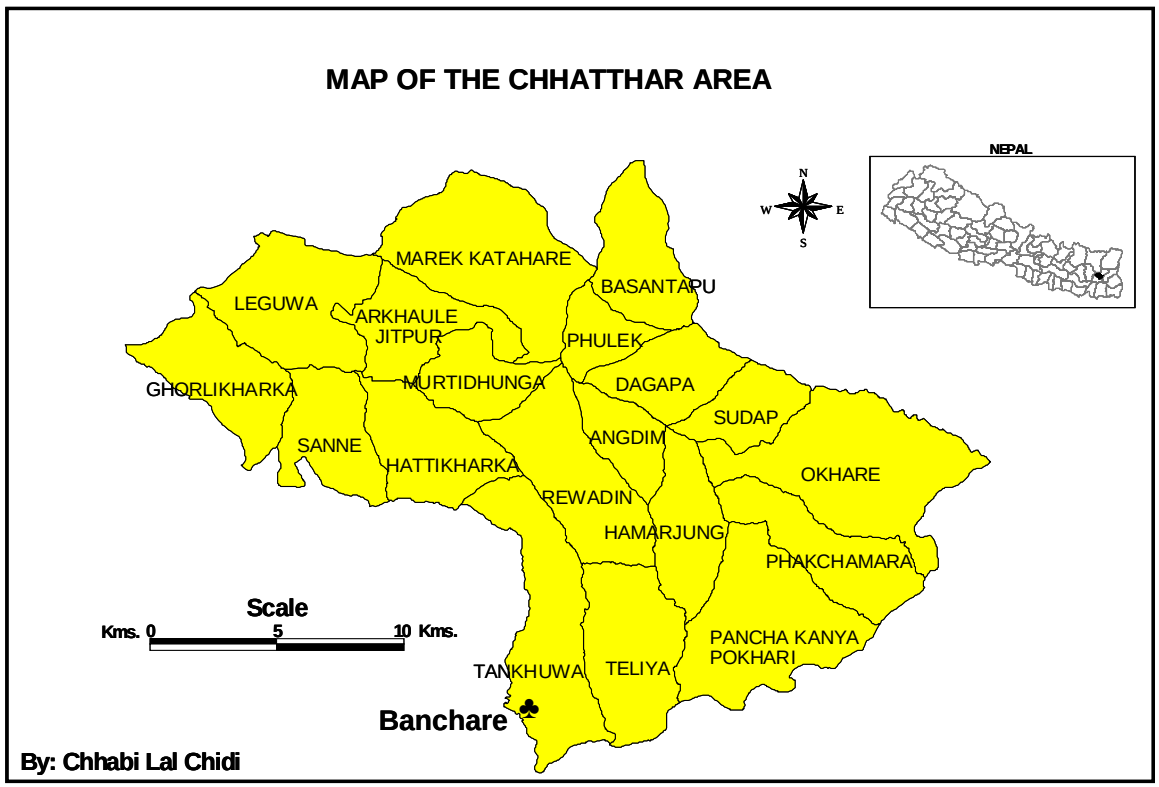
Katamba (1993:60) says,

> It is important to realize that probably no language has an unalloyed analytic, agglutinating, inflecting or incorporating morphological system. All that the classification attempts to do is reflect the dominant tendencies found in a particular language.

Whaley (1997:133-134) says that no language is perfectly isolating and perfectly synthetic. Similarly, no language is completely agglutinative and completely fusional.

On the basis of the index of synthesis (Whaley:1997:128), it falls among the synthetic group of languages and on the basis of index of fusion (Whaley:1997:134), it falls among the fusional group of languages with single lexical item plus other affixes or more than one lexical items and multiple affixes.

**7.** AREA OF CHHATHAR. Chhatthar area spreads from the Arun river in the west to the Nuwa Khola in the east, where it borders Phedap. On the south, it borders Panchthar and Chaubish at the Tamar River. The northern boundary extends from the Tamar river along the Tangkhuwa river, which is the border of the Chhatthar area on the southwest. The river flows from the hill ridge of Sindhuwa, from where its area widens and again extends westward along the ridges. Thus, it includes Marekkatahare, Leguwa, Arkhaule Jitpur, Ghorlikharka, Sanne, Hattikharka, Murtidhungnga, Tangkhuwa, Teliya and Parewadin VDCs in the Dhankuta district and Panchakanya Pokhari, Phakchamara, Hamarjung, Okhre, Sudap, Angdim, Dangappa, Phulek and Basantapur in the Terhathum district. The following map makes it clear:




MAP 3.

**8.** ABOUT THE NAME CHHATTHAR. Regarding the denomination of 'Chhatthar', there are conflicting opinions. Kamal Tigela (personal communication) says that 'Chhatthar' is the corrupted form of <*th□Nth□□ru*> which means 'the war stopped' in the native parlance. According to him, Chhatthar was one of the 17 areas (*satra thum* in Nepali) before its annexation to the Gorkha kingdom. Gorkha king

Prithivi Narayan Shah made several attempts to annex it into the Gorkha Kingdom but brave warriors like Kangsore frustrated his attempt by strong retaliation. The Limbus of other areas called it *<th□N th□ru>* . Later, it turned into 'Chhatthar'. He also notes that Chhatthar is said to have been named after six influential kings Sumeruhang, Chachalachaidohang, Hamrakehang, Haberuhang, Khadihang and Haberuhang but he also opines that it has not been proved so far.

I do not see any linguistic reason behind this denomination as there is no phonological relation between Chhatthar and *<th□N th□ru>*.Bharat Subba (personal communication) says that Chhatthar means 'six clans' and is named after six clans of Khewa, a group of Limbu-Tumba, Maden, Mangyak, Tigela, Anglabang and Changbang. The Khewas are densely populated in Hattikharka, Murtidhunga, Sudap and Okhre. Once, the Khewa kings ruled over this area and after its annexation to Gurkha kingdom, through treaty Sunu Rai was authorized to rule over it with a royal seal and he was provided with swords, flag and drum set as symbols of authority (*nagara nisan* in Nepali). The gazatte and the symbols of authority are still there with the descendants of the Khewa. Moreover, they still say that their original homeland is Taklung, a place situated in Sudap Village Development Committee of Terhathum district.

However, Limbus belonging to the Khajum group do not agree to it. Mr. Jhaptaman Limbu, chairman of the Chhathare society and a member of Khajum group of Limbu told me in personal communication that Chhatthar is named after the six clans of Limbu and these clans are the clans of Khajum such as Parghari, Lekwa, Kurumbhang, Changbang, Imsang and Wayang. However, it is hard to believe this proposition as Lekwa is an adopted brother of Parghari and the original homeland of Parghari, Lekwa, Kurumbhang and Changbang is Yo Muik Chamkhasing (Panchakanya Pokhari), a village in the Chhatthar area. The original homeland of the Wayangs, on the other hand, is Sokrakpa, a village situated in the Chaubise area. No member of this community lives in the Chhatthar area now. Similarly, the homeland of Imsang is Angdang Yak situated in Ilam which is the homeland of the Lepchas. The Imsangs are said to have been originally the Lepchas converted into Limbu later. On these grounds, it can be said that 'Chhatthar' is not named after the six clans of Khajum because they are not the original inhabitants of this area.

Chhatthar is a Nepali word which means 'six clans'. In the area where the Chhatthare Limbu lived, six clans of the Khewa Limbus were dominant. Therefore, the place might have been named *Chhatthar*.

**9.** CHHATTHARE LIMBU. The Limbus living in the Chhatthar area are called *Chhatthare Limbu*.

**9.1**.POPULATION. The Limbus are populated in ten VDCs in Dhankuta district and in nine VDCs in the Terhathum district. In Leguwa, Arkhaule Jitpur, Ghorlikharka and Sanne VDCs of the Dhankuta district, Limbu population is very low. Similar is the case of Limbu population in Phulek VDC of the Terhathum district. According to CBSC (2002), the distribution of Chhatthare Limbu population is as follows:

| DISTRICT | VDC_NAME | Population of Limbu |
|---|---|---|
| Dhankuta | Marek Katahare | 220 |
| Dhankuta | Leguwa | 18 |
| Dhankuta | Arkhaule Jitpur | 92 |
| Dhankuta | Ghorlikharka | 45 |
| Dhankuta | Sanne | 23 |
| Dhankuta | Hattikharka | 1636 |
| Dhankuta | Murtidhungnga | 509 |
| Dhankuta | Tangkhuwa | 1748 |
| Dhankuta | Teliya | 1004 |
| Dhankuta | Parewadin | 2175 |
| Terhathum | Hamarjung | 1594 |
| Terhathum | Panchakanya Pokhari | 1134 |
| Terhathum | Phakchamara | 1575 |
| Terhathum | Okhre | 1144 |
| Terhatum | Sudap | 1648 |
| Terhathum | Angdim | 391 |
| Terhathum | Dangapa | 1749 |
| Terhathum | Phulek | 16 |
| Terhathum | Basantapur | 1061 |
| Total | | 17782 |

TABLE 1. Population of Chhatthare Limbu

**9.2.** MAJOR CLANS. The major clans of Chhatthare Limbus are Khewa, Khajum, Sangwa, Khadi, Haberuhang, Tilling, Kebuk, Mabuhang and Tumbahang. Their distribution is as follows:

**9.2.1.** KHEWA. The Khewa consists of six sub-clans. They are Tigela, Mangyak, Maden, Changbang, Anglabang and Tumba. They are available in the following villages of the Chhatthar area:

**9.2.1.1.** TIGELA.The Tigelas are densely populated in Hattikhark which lies in the west of the Chhatthar area.

**9.2.1.2.** MANGYAK. Mangyaks, another sub-clan of Khewa reside in a sizeable number in lower part of Hattikharka village development committee.

**9.2.1.3.** MADEN. Maden, one of the sub-clans of Khewa, dwell in Murtidhungga.

**9.2.1.4.** CHANGBANG. Changbang, another sub-clan of Khewa live in Teliya constituting a sizeable number of populations.

**9.2.1.5.** TUMBA. Tumbas, another sub-clan of Khewa, inhabit the Okhre village development committee with a remarkably large number of population.

**9.2.1.6.** ANGLABANG. Anglabang, a sub-clan of Khewa, live in Okhre village development committee which lies in the easternmost region of the Chhatthar area.

**9.2.2.** KHAJUM. Khajum includes Parghari, Lekwa, Imsang, Changbang, Kurumbhang and Wa?yang. They inhabit the following villages:

**9.2.2.1**. PARGHARI. The Parghari are populous in the central part of the Tangkhuwa village committee covering 4,5,6 and 7 number-wards.

**9.2.2.2.** CHANGBANG. Changbangs, a sub-clan of Khajum live in Teliya.

**9.2.2.3**. KURUMBHANG. Kurumbhangs, another sub-clan of Khajum dwell in Pancha Kanya Pokhari village .

**9.2.2.4.** LEKWA. Lekwas are the dwellers of Phakchamar and Pokhari.

**9.2.2.5.** IMSANG. They live in Panchakany Pokhari and Phakchamara VDCs.

**9.2.2.6**. WA?YANG. The Wa?angs are not the inhabitants of Chhatthar area. They inhabit the Basantatar VDC.

**9.2.3.** SANGWA. Sangwa has two clans- Tum Sangwa (elder Sangwa) and Pak Sangwa (younger Sangwa). Their homeland is Sukrabare ( *Changsing* in native parlance) in the Terhathum district. The hearsay is that the Sangwa were originally from Sisneri, a village of the Bhojpur district and they are called Sangwa because they came to the Chhatthar area crossing the Arun river riding on a buffalo, which is called *sangwet* in Limbu. Now, they are populous in Hamurjang and Angdim villages in the Chhatthar area of the Terhathum district.

**9.2.4.** KHADI. The Khadis have a few population residing in a village of Tangkhuwa village development committee. They are in minority with only two households comprising less than twenty members. Their original abode is Tingnambung of the Tanghuwa VDC. In the past, they were numerous and they are said to have enjoyed high status such as the justice who could pass judgment on cases and their verdict was binding upon the people.

**9.2.5.** HABERUHANG. Haberuhang includes Thaklen, Angla and Tumbangbhe but the major member is Angla and the other two Thaklen and Tumbangbhe are the adopted brothers of Angla. These Anglas were originally Phokkim, who are now considered as Athpare Rai and are living scattered over different wards of the Dhankuta municipality. They perform the ritual of *Mangsewa*, a ritual performed to pay homage to dead ancestors quite alien to the typical Limbu whereas their adopted brothers do not perform it. They live in the Teliya VDC whereas the other two live in the Parewadin VDC.

**9.2.6**. TILLING. Tilling comprises Tilling Changbang and Maden Changbang. They reside in Dangapa village of the Chhatthar area of the Terhathum district. Their homeland is Piple, a village of the Chhatthar area.

**9.2.7**. KEBUK. The Kebuks reside in Singdhapa, a village of Terhathum.

**9.2.8**. MABUHANG.Mangbu (now known as Mabuhang) are populous in Musangkhel village.

**9.2.9.** TUMBAHANG. The Tumbahangs, known as Tunghang, reside in Banchare, lower part of the Tangkhuwa village development Committee. The Hamraks living in Dhankuta municipality known as Athpare Rai and Khangwahang living in Lasune village of the Terhathum district are said to be brothers.

**10.** CHHATTHARE LIMBU LANGUAGE. The language spoken by the Limbus of the Chhatthar area is called *Chhatthare pan* or *Chhatthare Yakthungba pan* 'Chhatthare Limbu language' in the mother tongue. Though differences exist among the speakers of the Chhatthare Limbu from one clan to another, the range of intelligibility among them is very close. In Nepal four major variants of Limbu - Tamarkhole, Panthare, Phedappe and Chhatthare -are spoken in their respective areas. Among them, Chhatthare Limbu is very different from the other three variants in that it is unintelligible to those speakers who are not related to it by marriage, social contact or cultural touch. Similarly, the other non-Chhatthare variants are also unintelligible to those children who have been brought up purely in the Chhatthare Limbu socio-linguistic milieus. Minor differences in lexical and grammatical forms exist even within the non-Chhatthare variants but they are not as wide as those which exist between Chhatthare and non-Chhatthare variants. Likewise, the differences among the Chhatthare variants are also minor ones. The non-Chhatthare variants spoken in Nepal are close to those variants spoken in West Bengal, Sikkim, Assam and Meghalaya of Indian states and in Myanmar and Bhutan among the third countries and they are mutually intelligible to their speakers. The standard Limbu dialect of Nepal which is very similar to Panthare dialect is intelligible to them. So, in Nepal there is nothing wrong in calling Tamarkhole, Phedappe and Panthare as the dialects of Limbu but it creates a problem in calling Chhatthare as a dialect of Limbu from the viewpoint of acquiring primary education in the mother tongue. The difference between Chhatthare and non-Chhathare Limbu is ignored because their speakers can make matrimonial alliance and share the same culture, custom, religion, literature and script and in addition, recognize each other as *Yakthungba* and their language as *Yakthungba pan*. Chhatthare adults can understand the non-Chhatthare variants because they are used as a lingua franca for communication between Chhatthare and non-Chhatthare Limbus. Besides, on the occasions of religious rituals, cultural programs, marriage ceremony and death rituals, non-Chhatthare Limbu is used. Therefore, this intelligibility can not be called 'inherent intelligibility' but a 'learned one' developed out of social and cultural contacts. Chhatthare people feel that their language variant is different from other variants but do not want to speak this truth because they are emotionally and culturally one with other Limbus and, therefore, do not want to weaken the unity among the Limbus by raising the language difference issue. Speakers of other Limbu dialects, on the other hand, have not realized the need to see the difference as they have not ever felt the need to speak Chhatthare Limbu. If the speakers of the Chhatthare language are happy with the status of their language as 'dialect', the speakers of other Limbu dialects will hardly feel the need of classifying it as a different language.

After the establishment of East India Company, British government raised Gurkha regiments and recruited Limbu youths in army. The British diplomat like B. H. Hodgeson and army official like Major Senior took notes of Limbu words from them and listed in their books. Major Senior even compiled a dictionary of Limbu. Konow wrote a grammar of Limbu on the basis of the parable of Limbu and other materials obtained from Major Senior who had collected data from Limbus belonging to

different clans or places and assigned the status of dialect either according to the clan name or area name and then classified Limbu into Phedopia dialect, Fagu Rai dialect and Tamarkhola dialect ( see Grierson 1909:297-304) without any linguistic analysis. In fact, the dialects of Limbu were designated on geographical basis such as Mewakhole, Maiyakhole, Tamarkhole, Yangrokke, Phedappe, Panthare, Chaubise and Chhatthare.

The first linguistic survey was carried out in the three zones -Mechi, Koshi and Sagarmatha of eastern Nepal between the years 1981-1984 by the Linguistic Survey of Nepal funded by the German Research Council with the support of CNAS, Tribhuvan University under the directorship of Werner Winter. A. Wiedert was the field supervisor and Bikram Subba was his assistant. Though they might have visited Chhatthar area during the survey, they did not pay attention to the distinctive features of the Chhatthare Limbu. Without the study of field work report, they wrote *Concise Limbu Grammar and Dictionary* based on Panthare dialect and got it published in 1985. However, this is the first work which classified Limbu into four dialects - Mewakhola and Taplejung dialect, Panthare dialect, Phedappe dialect and Chhatthare dialect on the basis of modern linguistic theories.

The classification of Chhatthare as a dialect of Limbu seems to be predominantly based on socio-linguistic consideration rather than on pure linguistic criteria. Driem (1987:xxii-xxiii also classifies it as a dialect of Limbu following Wiedert and Subba (1985:6) without field work verification.

Hansson (1991:110) classifies it as a separate language on the basis of the field work carried out by the Linguistic Survey of Nepal. Then, other linguists such as Bradley (1997) and Ebert (2003) support it. Webster (2001) classifies it as a dialect of Limbu on the basis of mutual intelligibility. Kainla (2003:11) follows Wiedert and Subba, Driem and Webster in his classification of Chhatthare as a dialect of Limbu and again Gordon (2005:474) follows them classifying Chhatthare as a dialect of Limbu. The interesting thing about those who assign Chhatthare the status of dialect of Limbu is that they simply assign the status but they do not include any Chhatthare word as a dialectal variant in their dictionaries.

As a native speaker of Chhathare Limbu, I feel that it is very different from other dialects such as Phedappe, Panthare and Taplejungge and that Hansson is right in his classification of Chhatthare as a separate language on the basis of linguistic consideration. However, Chhatthare people are so strongly tied to this community culturally and emotionally that they do not want to call it a separate language because they fear that it might disrupt their unity, which they can not even imagine. The fact that Chhatthare is very different from Phedappe is accepted by Driem (1987:xxii). He says,'Limbu of Chhatthare speakers is virtually wholly unintelligible to Phedappe speakers of the village Tamphula…' Similarly, Kainla (2059 B.S.:11) says that Chhatthare is quite distinct from other dialects. In spite of such realization, they still classify it as a dialect because the Chhatthare Limbus call their language as Limbu language and they do not want to go against their spirit.

Webster (2001) says that he recorded 3 minute story in Chhatthare Limbu, played it to the Chhatthare speakers for home test. After the test, he played it to other non-Chhatthare speakers. When he asked them questions related to the text, he found almost all answers correct. Then, he classified it as dialect. In the report, he writes, 'Though with clear Chhatthare distinctiveness in its grammar and lexicon, this text was well understood in the Panthare test site. It does not seem warranted to classify Chhatthare, then, as a separate speech variety from Limbu.' However, in the same report, he has not missed to report that ' For those who have mentioned Chhatthare,

14/17 said they did not understand it or understood little of it. This is very confusing. As a matter of fact, intelligibility as a criterion for the classification of dialect leads to an unexpected result in the classification of Limbu dialects. The Chhatthare and non-Chhatthare Limbu speakers can make relation by marriage. In a single family, mother-in-law might be Tamarkhole Limbu speaker, her eldest daughter-in-law might be Phedappe speaker, her elder daughter-in-law might be a Chhatthare speaker and the rest of the family members might be Panthare speakers. In such a family, due to social contact, non-Chhatthare Limbu speakers might understand Chhatthare Limbu.

Chhatthare Limbu and Athpare Rai are two different languages in the vicinity. However, the speakers of each language can understand the language of other speakers. If three minute story recorded in one language were played to the speakers of other language and if they were asked questions related to the text, they would answer 100% correct. Can Webster call them the dialects of the same language on the basis of intelligibility? Of course, not. The intelligibility here is because of socio-linguistic milieu as is the case in Chhatthare and non-Chhatthare mixed family. So, his informants' backgrounds need cross-checking and his reports re-analyzing.

**11.** A WORKSHOP SEMINAR ON COMPARATIVE STUDY OF LIMBU DIALECTS. I have not conducted socio-linguistic survey like Webster. But as a native speaker of the Chhatthare Limbu and as my mother is the speaker of Chaubishe Limbu which is very similar to Panthare dialect, I am more or less aware of the difference between the Chhatthare Limbu and other Limbu dialects. In order to find out whether or not Chhatthare is different from other variants, a three-day workshop seminar on 'Comparative study of words and verb paradigms of Limbu dialects' was conducted in Dharan. It was participated by speakers from Chhatthare, Phedappe, Panthare and Taplejungnge variants.The workshop seminar which was supervised by Madhav P. Pokhrel, focussed on how Chhatthare Limbu is different from other Limbu dialects in terms of phonemes, words and verb paradigms.

**11.1.** COMPARATIVE PHONOLOGY

**11.1.1.** CONSONANT PHONEMES. Based on the workshop seminar, Phonemes of all variants of Limbu can be classified into stop, fricative, affricate, nasal, liquid, trill and semi-vowel on the basis of manner of articulation and into labial, dental, alveolar, palatal, velar and glottal phonemes on the basis of place of articulation. Aspiration is a contrastive feature in all of them.

| | labial | dental | alveolar | palatal | velar | glottal |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Stop | p b<br>pH | t<br>tH | | | k g<br>kH | ? |
| Fricative | | | s | | | h |
| Affricate | | | c<br>cH | | | |
| Nasal | m | n | | | ŋ | |
| Liquid | | | r | l | | |
| Trill | | | | | | |
| Semi-vowel | w | | | y | | |

TABLE 2. Consonant phonemes of Chhatthare Limbu

Phedappe Limbu has 18 consonant phonemes an it does not have the phonemes /g/ and /cH/ that the Chhatthare have. Panthare and Taplejungnge have only 17 consonants. They do not have the consonants /b/, /g/ and /cH/ which exixt in the Chhatthare Limbu.

**11.1.2.** VOWEL PHONEMES Chhatthare Limbu has 7 vowels. They are divided into close, half-close, half open and open vowels. The front vowels are unrounded and the back vowels are rounded. They have no vowel length contrast.

Close i u

Half-close e o

Half-open E □

Open a

TABLE 3. Vowel phonemes of Chhatthare Limbu

In other dialects, all vowels except /e/ and /o/ have length contrast. So, there are twelve vowels in Panthare and Taplejungnge Limbu. Phedappe Limbu has one more vowel /↔/ in addition to them.

**11.2.** COMPARISON OF WORDS Chhatthare Limbu differs from other dialects in demonstrative pronouns. It also differs from other dialects in many of the words provided in one- hundred word list of Swadish. Demonstrative pronouns included in Swedish list will be excluded as they are compared separately in table 3.

| No. | Demonstratives | Chhatthare | Panthare | Phedappe | Taplejungnge |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | this | kumba | k□n | k□ŋ | en |
| 2. | these (two) | kumbaghachi | k□nhasi | k□ŋha? | en-ha |
| 3. | these (many) | kumbagha | k□nha | k□nha? | en-ha |
| 4. | that | hamba | hen | khen | |
| 5. | those (two) | hambaghachi | henhasi | khenha | |
| 6. | those (many) | hambagha | henha | khenha | |

TABLE 4. Demonstrative pronouns of Limbu variants

| No. | Words | Chhathare | Panthare | Phedappe | Taplejungnge |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | I | a | aŋga | aŋga | aŋga |
| 2. | who | sa | ha? | en | hat |
| 3. | what | hE | the | hen | the |
| 4. | not | Ekhan | men | men | men |
| 5. | all | kErEk | kak | kerek | kerek |
| 6. | man | napmi | yapmi/m□na | m□na | yapmi |
| 7. | hair | thaik | thegek | thegek | thegek |
| 8 | head | thaik | thegek | thegek | thegek |
| 9 | nose | nabo | nebo? | nebo | nebo |
| 10. | tongue | lEkpha | lesot | lesot | lesot |
| 11 | foot | laŋ | laŋbho | laŋbho | laŋbho |
| 12. | neck | p□kla | niŋma | niŋma | niŋma |
| 13. | drink | thuŋ-u? | thuŋ-e? | thuŋ-e? | thuŋ-e? |
| 14 | eat | c□? | ce? | ce? | ce? |
| 15 | bite | har-u? | ha?r-e? | ha?r-e? | ha?r-e |
| 16. | see | mEtt-u? | omett-e? | Amett-e | omett-e |
| 17 | hear | khEps-u? | kheps-e? | kheps-e? | kheps-e? |
| 18 | know | lEh-u? | less-e? | less-e? | less-e? |
| 19. | sleep | ips-a? | ips-e? | ips-e? | ips-e? |
| 20 | die | siy-a? | se? | se? | se? |
| 21 | kill | sEr-u? | ser-e? | ser-e? | ser-e? |
| 22 | swim | wajakk-a? | wa-jakt-e? | wa-jakt-e? | wa-jakt-e? |
| 23. | fly | pey-a? | per-e? | per-e? | per-e? |
| 24 | walk | laŋghEg-a? | laŋgheg-e? | laŋgheg-e? | laŋgheg-e? |
| 25 | come | phEr-a? | pher-e? | pher-e? | pher-e? |
| 26 | lie | nEh-a | ness-e? | ness-e? | ness-e? |
| 27 | sit | yuŋ-a? | yuŋ-e? | yuŋ-e? | yuŋ-e? |
| 28 | stand | Eb-a? | yeb-e? | yeb-e? | yeb-e? |
| 29. | give | piy-u? | pir-e? | pir-e? | pir-e? |
| 30. | say | pat-u? | pat-e? | pat-e? | pat-e? |
| 31 | star | khEsemikpa | khese? | khese? | khesek |
| 32 | rain | wahit | wahit | w□hit | □hit |
| 33. | burn | thind-u? | thind-e? | thind-e? | thind-e? |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 34. | green | kubhiŋla | s□rekkyappa | s□rekkyappa | sArekkyappa |
| 35 | night | yunchik | sendik | sendik | sendik |
| 36. | cold | kajiba | kesemba | kesemba | kesemba |
| 37 | full | ku-dim | ku-lem | ku-lem | ku-lem |
| 38 | hot | kagoba | kegoba | kegoba | kegoba |
| 39. | dry | kahEba | keheba | keheba | keheba |

TABLE 5. Limbu variants of Swedish words

**11.3.** COMPARISON OF VERB PARADIGMS. Chhatthare Limbu has a word *l□mma* for 'to beat' whereas other three dialects have a word <*hipma*> for it. The following tables show the comparative verb paradigms of Limbu variants for ‘to beat’ in past and non past forms.

| N. | Person | Chhathare | Panthare | Phedappe | Taplejungge |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | 1s-2s | l□m-na | hip-nE? | hip-nE | hip-nE |
| 2. | 1s-2d | l□m-na-cHi-ŋ | hip-nE-chi-ŋ? | hip-nE-chi-ŋ | hip-nE-si-ŋ |
| 3. | 1s-2p | l□m-na-ni-ŋ | hip-ni-ŋ | hip-ni-ŋ | hip-ni-ŋ |
| 4. | 1nse-2 | l□m-nE-cHi-ŋa | hip-ne-tchi-gya | hip-ne-chi-gE | hip-ne-si-gE |
| 5. | 1s-3s | l□ps-u-ŋ | hipt-u-ŋ? | hipt-u-ŋ | hipt-u-ŋ |
| 6. | 1s-3ns | l□ps-u-ŋ-si-ŋ | hipt-u-ŋ-si-ŋ? | hipt-u-ŋ-si-ŋ | hipt-u-ŋ-si-ŋ |
| 7. | 1di-3s | a-l□m-ch-u | a-hip-s-u? | a-hip-s-u | a-hip-s-u |
| 8. | 1di-3ns | a-l□m-ch-u-si | a-hip-s-u-si? | a-hip-s-u-si | a-hip-s-u-si |
| 9. | 1de-3s | l□m-ch-u-ŋ-a | hipsugya? | hip-s-u-gE | hip-s-u-gE |
| 10. | 1de-3ns | l□m-ch-u-si-ŋ-a | hip-s-u-si-gya | hip-s-u-si-gE | hip-s-u-si-gE |
| 11. | 1pi-3s | a-l□ps-u-m | a-hipt-u-m? | a-hipt-u-m | a-hipt-u-m |
| 12 | 1pi-3ns | a-l□ps-u-m-si-m | a-hipt-u-m-si-m? | a-hipt-u-m-si-m | a-hipt-u-m-si-m |
| 13 | 1pe-3s | l□ps-u-m-ma | hipt-u-m-ba? | hipt-u-m-be | hipt-u-m-be |
| 14 | 1pe-3ns | l□ms-u-m-si-m-ma | hipt-u-m-si-m-ba? | hipt-u-m-si-m-be | hipt-u-m-si-m-be |
| 15 | 2s-1s | ka-l□m-ma | kE-hip-a? | kE-hip-?E | kE-hip-ma |
| 16. | 2-1 | ka-l□m | yapmi kE-hip | a-gE-hip | a-gE-hip |
| 17 | 2s-3s | ka-l□ps-u | kE-hipt-u? | kE-hipt-u | kE-hipt-u |
| 18 | 2s-3ns | ka-l□ps-u-si | kE-hipt-u-si? | kE-hipt-u-si | kE-hipt-u-si |
| 19 | 2d-3s | ka-l□m-cH-u | kE-hip-s-u? | kE-hip-s-u | kE-hip-s-u |
| 20 | 2d-3ns | ka-l□m-cH-u-si | kE-hip-s-u-si? | kE-hip-s-u-si | kE-hip-s-u-si |
| 21 | 2p-3s | ka-l□ps-u-m | kE-hipt-u-m? | kE-hipt-u-m | kE-hipt-u-m |
| 22 | 2p-3ns | ka-l□ps-u-m-si-m | kE-hipt-u-m-si-m? | kE-hipt-u-m-si-m | kE-hipt-u-m-si-m |
| 23 | 3s-1s | a-l□m-ma | hip-a? | hip-?E | hip-ma |
| 24 | 3s-1di | a-l□m-cHi | a-hip-si? | a-hip-si | a-hip-si |
| 25 | 3s-1de | a-l□m-cHi-ŋ-a | yapmi hip? | hip-si-gE | hip-si-gE |
| 26 | 3S-1pi | a-l□ps-i/a-l□m | a-hip? | a-hip | a-hip |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 27 | 3s-1pe | a-l□ps-i-ŋ-a | yapmi hip? | hipti-gE | hipt-i-gE |
| 28 | 3ns-1s | a-n-l□m-ma | yapmi hip-si? | mE-hu-?E | mE-hip-ma |
| 29 | 3ns-1di | a-n-l□m-cHi | a-m-hip-si? | a-m-hip-si | a-m-hips-i |
| 30 | 3ns-1de | a-n-l□m-cHi-ŋ-a | yapmi hip? | me-hip-si-gE | me-hip-si-gE |
| 31 | 3ns-1pi | a-n-l□ps-i | a-m-hip? | a-m-hip | a-m-hip |
| 32 | 3ns-1pe | a-n-l□ps-i-ŋ-a | yapmi hip? | mE-hipt-i-gE | mE-hipt-i- |
| 33 | 3s-2s | ka-l□m | kE-hip? | kE-hip | kE-hip |
| 34 | 3s-2d | ka-l□m-cHi | kE-hip-si | kE-hip-si | kE-hip-si |
| 35 | 3s-2p | ka-l□ps-i | kE-hipp-i | kE-hipt-i | kE-hipt-i |
| 36 | 3ns-2s | ka-n-l□m | kE-m-hip? | kE-m-hip | kE-m-hip |
| 37 | 3ns-2d | ka-n-l□m-cHi | kE-m-hip-si? | kE-m-hip-si | kE-m-hip-si |
| 38 | 3ns-2p | ka-n-l□ps-i | kE-m-hipp-i | kE-m-hipt-i | kE-m-hipt-i |
| 39 | 3s-3s | l□ps-u | hipt-u? | hipt-u | hipt-u |
| 40 | 3s-3ns | l□ps-u-si | hipt-u-si? | hipt-u-si | hipt-u-si |
| 41 | 3d-3s | l□m-cH-u | hip-s-u? | hip-s-u | hips-u |
| 42 | 3d-3ns | l□m-cH-u-si | hip-s-u-si? | hip-s-u-si | hips-u-si |
| 43 | 3p-3s | mu-l□ps-u | me-hipt-u | me-hipt-u | me-hipt-u |
| 44 | 3p-3ns | mu-l□ps-u-si | me-hipt-u-si | me-hipt-u-si | me-hipt-u-si |

TABLE 6. Comparative verb paradigms of Limbu variants for ‘to beat’ in non-past form

| N. | Person | Chhathare | Panthare | Phedappe | Taplejungge |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | 1s-2s | l□m-na | hip-nE | hip-nE | hip-nE |
| 2. | 1s-2d | l□m-na-cHi-ŋ | hip-nE-chi-ŋ | hip-nE-chi-ŋ | hip-nE-si-ŋ |
| 3. | 1s-2p | l□m-na-ni-ŋ | hip-ni-ŋ | hip-ni-ŋ | hip-ni-ŋ |
| 4. | 1nse-2 | l□m-ne-cHi-ŋa | hip-ne-tchi-gya | hip-ne-chi-gE | hip-ne-si-gE |
| 5. | 1s-3s | l□ps-u-ŋ | hipt-u-ŋ | hipt-u-ŋ | hipt-u-ŋ |
| 6. | 1s-3ns | l□ps-u-ŋ-si-ŋ | hipt-u-ŋ-si-ŋ | hipt-u-ŋ-si-ŋ | hipt-u-ŋ-si-ŋ |
| 7. | 1di-3s | a-l□m-cH-u | a-hip-s-u | a-hip-s-u | a-hip-s-u |
| 8. | 1di-3ns | a-l□ps-a-cH-u-si | a-hipt-e-cch-u-si? | a-hipt-e-tch-u-si | a-hipt-e-s-u-si |
| 9. | 1de-3s | l□ps-a-cH-u-ŋ-a | hipt-e-cchugya? | hipt-e-tch-u-gE | hipt-e-s-u-gE |
| 10. | 1de-3ns | l□ps-a-cH-u-si-ŋ-a | hipt-e-cch-u-si-gya | hip-s-u-si-gE | hip-s-u-si-gE |
| 11. | 1pi-3s | a-l□ps-u-m | a-hipt-u-m | a-hipt-u-m | a-hipt-u-m |
| 12 | 1pi-3ns | a-l□ps-u-m-si-m | a-hipt-u-m-si-m | a-hipt-u-m-si-m | a-hipt-u-m-si-m |
| 13 | 1pe-3s | l□ps-u-m-ma | hipt-u-m-ba | hipt-u-m-be | hipt-u-m-be |
| 14 | 1pe-3ns | l□ps-u-m-si-m-ma | hipt-u-m-si-m-ba | hipt-u-m-si-m-be | hipt-u-m-si-m-be |
| 15 | 2s-1s | ka-l□ps-a-ŋ | kE-hipt-a-ŋ | kE-hipt-a-ŋ | kE-hipt-a-ŋ |
| 16. | 2-1 | ka-l□ps-a-ŋ | yapmi kE-hipt-a | a-gE-hipt-E | a-gE-hipt-E |
| 17 | 2s-3s | ka-l□ps-u | kE-hipt-u | kE-hipt-u | kE-hipt-u |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 18 | 2s-3ns | ka-l□ps-u-si | kE-hipt-u-si | kE-hipt-u-si | kE-hipt-u-si |
| 19 | 2d-3s | ka-l□ps-a-ch-u | kE-hipt-e-cchu- u | kE-hipt-e-tch-u | kE-hipt-e-s-u |
| 20 | 2d-3ns | ka-l□ps-a-ch-u-si | kE-hipt-e-cch-u-si | kE-hipt-e-tch-u-si | kE-hipt-e-ch-u-si |
| 21 | 2p-3s | ka-l□ps-u-m | kE-hipt-u-m | kE-hipt-u-m | kE-hipt-u-m |
| 22 | 2p-3ns | ka-l□ps-u-m-si-m | kE-hipt-u-m-si-m | kE-hipt-u-m-si-m | kE-hipt-u-m-si-m |
| 23 | 3s-1s | a-l□ps-a-ŋ | hipt-a-ŋ | hipt-a-ŋ | hipt-a-ŋ |
| 24 | 3s-1di | a-l□ps-a-cHi | a-hipt-e-cchi | a-hipt-e-tchi | a-hipt-e-si |
| 25 | 3s-1de | a-l□ps-a-cHi-ŋ-a | yapmi hipt-a | hipt-e-tchi-gE | hipt-e-si-gE |
| 26 | 3S-1pi | a-l□ps-i/a-l□ps-a | a-hipt-a | a-hipt-E | a-hipt-E |
| 27 | 3s-1pe | a-l□ps-i-ŋ-a | yapmi hipt-a | hipti-gE | hipt-i-gE |
| 28 | 3ns-1s | a-n-l□ps-a-ŋ | yapmi hipt-a | mE-hipt-a-ŋ | mE-hipt-a-ŋ |
| 29 | 3ns-1di | a-n-l□ps-a-cHi | a-m-hipt-e-cchi | a-m-hipt-e-tchi | a-m-hipt-e-si |
| 30 | 3ns-1de | a-n-l□ps-a-cHi-ŋ-a | yapmi hipt-a | me-hipt-e-tchi-gE | me-hipt-e-si-gE |
| 31 | 3ns-1pi | a-n-l□ps-i | a-m-hipt-a | a-m-hipt-E | a-m-hipt-E |
| 32 | 3ns-1pe | a-n-l□ps-i-ŋ-a | yapmi hipt-a | mE-hipt-i-gE | mE-hipt-i-gE |
| 33 | 3s-2s | ka-l□ps-a | kE-hipt-a | kE-hipt-E | kE-hipt-E |
| 34 | 3s-2d | ka-l□ps-a-cHi | kE-hipt-cchi | kE-hipt-e-tchi | kE-hipt-e-si |
| 35 | 3s-2p | ka-l□ps-i | kE-hipp-i | kE-hipt-i | kE-hipt-i |
| 36 | 3ns-2s | ka-n-l□ps-a | kE-m-hipp-a | kE-m-hipt-i | kE-m-hipt-i |
| 37 | 3ns-2d | ka-n-l□ps-a-cHi | kE-m-hipt-e-cchi | kE-m-hipt-e-tcHi | kE- m-hipt-e-si |
| 38 | 3ns-2p | ka-n-l□ps-i | kE-m-hipp-i | kE-m-hipt-i | kE-m-hipt-i |
| 39 | 3s-3s | l□ps-u | hipt-u | hipt-u | hipt-u |
| 40 | 3s-3ns | l□ps-u-si | hipt-u-si | hipt-u-si | hipt-u-si |
| 41 | 3d-3s | l□ps-a-cH-u | hipt-e-cch-u | hipt-e-tch-u | hipt-e-s-u |
| 42 | 3d-3ns | l□ps-a-cH-u-si | hipt-e-cch-u-si? | hipt-e-tch-u-si | hipt-e-s-u-si |
| 43 | 3p-3s | mu-l□ps-u | me-hipt-u | me-hipt-u | me-hipt-u |
| 44 | 3p-3ns | mu-l□ps-u-si | me-hipt-u-si | me-hipt-u-si | me-hipt-u-si |

TABLE 7. . Comparative verb paradigms of Limbu variants for ‘to beat’ in past form

| N. | Person | Chhathare | Panthare | Phedappe | Taplejungge |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | 1s-2s | ma-l□m-na-n | me-hip-nE-n | me-hip-nE-n | me-hip-nE-n |
| 2. | 1s-2d | ma-l□m-na-cHi-ŋ-nEn | me-hip-nE-chi-ŋ-ŋin | me-hip-nE-chi-ŋ-nen | me-hip-nE-si-ŋ-nen |
| 3. | 1s-2p | ma-l□m-na-ni-ŋ-nEn | me-hip-ni-ŋ-ŋin | me-hip-ni-ŋ-nen | me-hip-ni-ŋ-nen |
| 4. | 1nse-2 | ma-l□m-ne-cHi-ŋa-n | me-hip-ne-tchi-gya-in | me-hip-ne-chi-gE-n | me-hip-ne-si-gE-n |
| 5. | 1s-3s | ma-l□m-m-a-n | me-hip-ma-n | me-hip-?E-n | me-hip-ma-n |
| 6. | 1s-3ns | ma-l□m-ma-n-chin | me-hip-ma-n-chin | me-hipt-u-ŋ-si-ŋ-nen | me-hipt-u-ŋ-si-ŋ-nen |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 7. | 1di-3s | a-n-l□m-cH-u-n | a-n-hip-s-u-n | a-n-hip-s-u-n | a-n-hip-s-u-n |
| 8. | 1di-3ns | a-n-l□m-cH-u-si-n | a-n-hip-s-u-si-n | a-n-hip-s-u-si-n | a-n-hip-s-u-si-n |
| 9. | 1de-3s | ma-l□m-cH-u-ŋ-a-n | me-hipsugya-in? | me-hip-s-u-gE-n | me-hip-s-u-gE-n |
| 10. | 1de-3ns | ma-l□m-cH-u-si-ŋ-a-n | me-hip-s-u-si-gya-in | me-hip-s-u-si-gE-n | me-hip-s-u-si-gE-n |
| 11. | 1pi-3s | a-n-l□ps-u-m-nEn | a-n-hipt-u-m-min? | a-n-hipt-u-m-nen | a-n-hipt-u-m-nen |
| 12 | 1pi-3ns | a-n-l□ps-u-m-si-m-nen | a-n-hipt-u-m-si-m-min? | a-n-hipt-u-m-si-m-nen | a-n-hipt-u-m-si-m-nen |
| 13 | 1pe-3s | ma-l□ps-u-m-ma-n | me-hipt-u-m-ba-in? | me-hipt-u-m-be-n | me-hipt-u-m-be-n |
| 14 | 1pe-3ns | ma-l□ps-u-m-si-m-ma-n | me-hipt-u-m-si-m-ba-in? | me-hipt-u-m-si-m-be-n | me-hipt-u-m-si-m-be-n |
| 15 | 2s-1s | ka-n-l□m-ma-n | kE-n-hip-a-in? | kE-n-hip-?E-n | kE-n-hip-ma-n |
| 16. | 2-1 | ka-n-l□m-ma-n | yapmi kE-n-hip-pin | a-gE-n-hip-nen | a-gE-n-hip-nen |
| 17 | 2s-3s | ka-n-l□ps-u-n | kE-n-hipt-u-n? | kE-n-hipt-u-n | kE-n-hipt-u-n |
| 18 | 2s-3ns | ka-n-l□ps-u-si-n | kE-n-hipt-u-si-n? | kE-n-hipt-u-si-n | kE-n-hipt-u-si-n |
| 19 | 2d-3s | ka-n-l□m-cH-u-n | kE-n-hip-s-u-n? | kE-n-hip-s-u-n | kE-n-hip-s-u-n |
| 20 | 2d-3ns | ka-n-l□m-cH-u-si-n | kE-n-hip-s-u-si-n? | kE-n-hip-s-u-si-n | kE-n-hip-s-u-si-n |
| 21 | 2p-3s | ka-n-l□ps-u-m-nEn | kE-n-hipt-u-m-min? | kE-n-hipt-u-m-nen | kE-hipt-u-m-nen |
| 22 | 2p-3ns | ka-n-l□ps-u-m-si-m-nEn | kE-n-hipt-u-m-si-m-min? | kE-n-hipt-u-m-si-m-nen | kE-n-hipt-u-m-si-m-nen |
| 23 | 3s-1s | a-n-l□m-ma-n | me-hip-a-n? | me-hip-?E-n | me-hip-ma-n |
| 24 | 3s-1di | a-n-l□m-cHi-n | a-n-hip-si-n? | a-n-hip-si-n | a-n-hip-si-n |
| 25 | 3s-1de | a-n-l□m-cHi-ŋ-a-n | yapmi me-hip-pin | me-hip-si-gE-n | me-hip-si-gE-n |
| 26 | 3S-1pi | a-n-n-l□ps-i-n/a-n-l□m-nEn | a-m-men-hip-pin | a-m-men-hip-nen | a-m-men-hip-nen |
| 27 | 3s-1pe | a-n-n-l□ps-i-ŋ-a-n | yapmi me-hip-pin | me-hipti-gE-n | me-hipt-i-gE-n |
| 28 | 3ns-1s | a-n-n-l□m-ma-n | yapmi me-hip-si-n? | mE-n-hip-?E-n | mE-n-hip-ma-n |
| 29 | 3ns-1di | a-n-n-l□m-cHi-n | a-m-men-hip-si-n? | a-m-men-hip-si-n | a-m-men-hips-i-n |
| 30 | 3ns-1de | a-n-n-l□m-cHi-ŋ-a-n | yapmi me-hip-pin? | me-n-hip-si-gE-n | me-n-hip-si-gE-n |
| 31 | 3ns-1pi | a-n-n-l□ps-i-n | a-m-men-hip-pin? | a-m-men-hip-nen | a-m-men-hip-nen |
| 32 | 3ns-1pe | a-n-n-l□ps-i-ŋ-a-n | yapmi men-hip-pin? | mE-n-hipt-i-gE-n | mE-n-hipt-i-gE-n |
| 33 | 3s-2s | ka-n-l□m-nEn | kE-n-hip-pin? | kE-n-hip-nen | kE-n-hip-nen |
| 34 | 3s-2d | ka-n-l□m-cHi-n | kE-n-hip-si-n | kE-n-hip-si-n | kE-n-hip-si-n |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 35 | 3s-2p | ka-n-l□ps-i-n | kE-n-hipp-i-n | kE-n-hipt-i-n | kE-n-hipt-i-n |
| 36 | 3ns-2s | ka-n-n-l□m-nEn | kE-m-men-hip-pin | kE-m-men-hip-nen | kE-m-men-hip-nen |
| 37 | 3ns-2d | ka-n-n-l□m-cHi-n | kE-m-men-hip-si-n? | kE-m-men-hip-si-n | kE-m-men-hip-si-n |
| 38 | 3ns-2p | ka-n-n-l□ps-i-n | kE-m-men-hipp-i-n | kE-m-men-hipt-i-n | kE-m-men-hipt-i-n |
| 39 | 3s-3s | ma-l□ps-u-n | me-hipt-u-n? | me-hipt-u-n | me-hipt-u-n |
| 40 | 3s-3ns | ma-l□ps-u-si-n | me-hipt-u-si-n? | me-hipt-u-si-n | me-hipt-u-si-n |
| 41 | 3d-3s | ma-l□m-cH-u-n | me-hip-s-u-n? | me-hip-s-u-n | me-hips-u-n |
| 42 | 3d-3ns | ma-l□m-cH-u-si-n | me-hip-s-u-si-n? | me-hip-s-u-si-n | me-hips-u-si-n |
| 43 | 3p-3s | man-l□ps-u-n | me-n-hipt-u-n | me-n-hipt-u-n | me-n-hipt-u-n |
| 44 | 3p-3ns | man-l□ps-u- si-n | me-n-hipt-u-si-n | me-n-hipt-u-si-n | me-n-hipt-u-si-n |

TABLE 8. Comparative negative verb paradigms of Limbu variants for ‘to not beat’ in non-past form

**11. 4**. FINDINGS. The comparative study of phonemes, words and verb paradigms show differences and similarities among Limbu variants.

**11.4.1.** DIFFERENCES. The above points prove that Chhatthare Limbu differs from other Limbu variants in the following points:

a. Chhatthare Limbu has voiced bilabial and velar stops /b/ and /g/, voiceless alveolar affricates /c/ and /cH/ and alveolar liquid /l/ and palatal trill /r/ that show phonemic contrasts whereas they are absent in Panthare Limbu (Wiedert and Subba:1985) and Taplejungnge Limbu (Mikhailovsky:2003). Phedappe (Driem:1987) has voiced, bilabial stop /b/ but it does not have voiced, velar stop /g/ , voiceless, alveolar affricate /cH/ and palatal trill /r/. Although /b/ occurs in Panthare or Taplejungnge dialect as a distinct phoneme in a situation like [ba] ‘so’ or ‘for nothing’ as against [pa] ‘father’, they dismiss the difference viewing that the contrast is not between major word classes for the first word being an adverb and the second a noun.

b. All three dialects treat /cH/ as the allophone [cH] of the voiceless, alveolar, fricative /s/ and /r/ as the allophone [r] of the phoneme /l/.

c. Chhatthare Limbu has no vowel length contrast whereas the other dialects have.

d. Chhatthare Limbu has entirely different set of demonstrative pronouns.

e. Out of 44 forms of a verb for ‘to beat’ in the non-past form, Chhatthare Limbu differs from other dialects in 37 forms and in the past form it differs in 36 forms. In negative past form it differs from other dialects in 42 forms.

f. The second person object suffix is <-na> in 1→2 configuration in Chhatthare whereas in other dialects it is <-ne>. The Chhatthare form <-na> matches with the Proto Tibeto-Burman. The second person agent, subject and object prefix in 3→2 configuration is <ka-> in Chhathare Limbu whereas it is <ke-> in other dialects.

The third person plural agent morpheme is <-mu> in 3→3 configurations in Chhatthare Limbu whereas it is <me-> in other dialects.

g. Negative prefix is <me-~men> in other dialects but in Chhatthare it is <ma-~man>.

h. The first person exclusive marker is <-ge> or <gya-> in other dialects but it is <-Na>
in Chhatthare Limbu.

i. In 3s→1s configuration in Chhatthare Limbu, the first person singular object is double marked in both past and non-past forms as well as both affirmative and negative forms where as in other dialects, the object is not double marked.

j. In 3s→1de and 3s-1pe configurations, the object is double marked in the Chhatthare
Limbu unlike in other dialects

k. Chhatthare differs from other dialects in its forms of person, number and case markers.

Now, I am in an embarrassing situation. As a student of linguistics, these points persuade me to call Chhatthare Limbu as a different language, not a dialect of Limbu. However, the spirit of Limbu in me prevents me from calling it a different language for fear that it might break the unity of the Limbus and the member of the Limbu community might 'curse me for this unpardonable sin'. Therefore, I try to find out the common features of all Limbu variants which are shared by the Chhatthare Limbu.

**11.4.2.** SIMILARITIES. On the basis of above paradigms, we can trace out the following common features of Limbu:

a. All Limbu dialects have a three number system-singular, dual and plural which are indicated by the suffixes affixed to verbs.
b. All Limbu dialects have third person non-singular object number marked on the verb.
c. The first person nonsingular has exclusive and inclusive systems marked by the suffixes that indicate presence or absence of the listener.
d. In all Limbu dialects, in 2→1, 2→3 and 1→3 configurations, both agent and the patient are marked on the verb form.
e. Third person singular subject or agent is unmarked.
f. Second person is unchanged in all types of configurations such as 3→2, 2→3 and 2→1 except in 1→2 configuration in which a portmanteau is used for both agent and patient. <-na> is used in Chhatthare and <-ne> is used in other dialects.
g. <-a> is a past morpheme in all dialects.
h. A discontinuous negative morpheme is used in all dialects.

Chhatthare Limbu shares all the above morphosyntactic features. These grammatical features are shared by other Rai-Kiranti languages as well. After collecting the common features of Limbu, I search for reliable base to classify it as a dialect.

**11.4.3.** ANALYSIS. To ascertain whether Chhathare is a dialect or a separate language it is necessary to know how these two are defined and differentiated in other languages. Let's study the following definitions:

a. David Crystal (2003) defines dialect as ‘regionally or socially distinct variety of language’ and it is ‘identified by a particular set of words and grammatical structures. Any language with a reasonably large number of speakers will develop dialects if there are geographical barriers separating groups of people from each other, or if there are divisions of social class.’ If we follow this definition of ‘dialect’, then we reach the conclusion that Chhatthare is a dialect because it is spoken in a certain region called ‘Chhatthar’ separated by geographical barriers like Nuwakhola on the east from where the Phedappe dialect diverges and by the Tamarkhola river on the south from where Panthare dialect starts and by the Arun river on the west from where Rai languages spread. Limbu language as mentioned in the preceding paragraph is spoken in a large area by a great number of population and it has, subsequently, developed dialects like Phedappe, Panthare, Taplejungnge and Chhathare.

b. There is no really good way to distinguish between a ‘language’ and a ‘dialect’ because they are not objective scientific terms. By ‘language’ we mean generally accepted ‘standard’ or radio-talk languages of a country, while by 'dialects' we mean homely versions of it that vary from region to region and may not be pronounced the way the so-called ‘language’ is. If we accept this definition, again we are bound to classify it as a dialect as it is only a local version of Chhatthar. Radio Nepal doesn’t air programmes in this variety of Limbu because it has no recognition as accepted ‘standard’.

c. According to David Crystal (2003), if variations in pronunciation and lexical items are ‘mutually intelligible’, they are, generally, considered ‘dialects’ but if they are ‘mutually unintelligible’ to the native speakers, they are different ‘languages’ from a linguistic perspective. It further states that in practice, this criterion, however, is non-functional because Swedes, Norwegians and Danes are ‘mutually intelligible’ but they are referred to as different ‘languages’ because of different culture and nationality. Conversely, Mandarine, Cantonese, Hakka etc. are ‘mutually unintelligible’ but they are referred to as different ‘dialects’ of the Chinese ‘language’. It means that ‘dialects’ are socially determined. If the speakers of the ‘ mutually unintelligible variants’ are tied emotionally or culturally to each other, they can say that their linguistic variants are ‘dialects’ of the same ‘language’ but if they are emotionally unattached and culturally different, they can refer even ‘mutually intelligible’ variants as different ‘languages’. Chhatthare Limbus are emotionally and culturally so tied to other Limbus that they don’t want to designate the chatthare variant as a separate ‘language’.

d Max Weinreich is often quoted as saying “ A language is a dialect with an army and a navy’. It means that politics often decides what dialect will be a ‘language’. Powerful or historically significant groups have a ‘language’ whereas smaller or weaker ones have ‘dialects’. This expression is also contextual in determining the status of Chhatthare variant as a ‘dialect’ since it is weaker than other dialects in terms of the number of speakers and of the magnitude of the area. Moreover, government has set the ‘standard dialect of Limbu’ based on Panthare dialect and airs programs through radio in it. Apart from the use as a lingua franca among the Limbus, religious rituals are also performed in Panthare dialect It naturally follows that all variants including Chhathare are separate ‘dialects’ of Limbu.

**11.4.4.** CONCLUSION. In spite of such strong arguments in favour of a dialect, the fact is that Chhatthare is very different from other dialects of Limbu or let's say from

'the standard dialect of Limbu'. These days, it is believed that children can learn better in their mother tongue than in Nepali because non-Nepli mother tongue speakers can not understand it. The research carried out by Webster (2001:67) reports that only educated people in the community are proficient in Nepali. Though uneducated people can speak Nepali to meet routine needs, they would have great difficulty understanding or discussing complicated concepts such as religion, politics, emotional and technical issues in Nepali. In addition, their Nepali level is not enough for understanding necessary information about health, nutrition, etc and gaining employment. Maureen (2005:118) reports that almost children and elderly people of Bayung community ca not speak Nepali well. It is estimated that a Bayung child needs at least 1-4 years' time to acquire enough Nepali to understand the speech of Nepali speaking teacher. These children need primary education in their mother tongue to acquire functional literacy and math skills after which they are able to gain competence and confidence to tackle other challenges of learning in Nepali. Otherwise, only highly genius, persevering and resourceful child can complete the primary education in Nepali medium and proceed to acquire higher education. Almost all the children can not complete the primary education because of the language problem. This case is applicable even to the Limbu children. They need primary education in their mother tongue. As Chhatthare Limbu is very different from other dialects, its speakers need primary education in their mother tongue. If it is classified as a dialect of Limbu, then, primary education is not delivered in this medium as the present syllabi show. It is delivered only in the standard dialect. To the Chhatthare Children, there is no difference from the viewpoint of difficulty in receiving education in Nepali and the standard Limbu dialect. In such a situation Varenkamp (1996:102) suggests that primary education should be delivered in the mother tongue dialect if it is very different from the language. It dispels the suspicion that primary education is delivered only in one dialect of a language.

Similarly David Watters (personal communication) has suggested a solution to the problem of classification. According to him, Chhatthare and non-Chhatthare Limbu are different languages but they are descended from the same root, the proto-Limbu. This Proto-Limbu first diversified into Chhatthare and non-Chhatthare groups. The non-Chhatthare group slowly diversified into Phedappe, Panthare and Tamarkhole dialects. The chronological relation between Chhatthare and non-Chhatthare dialects is distant whereas the relation among the other dialects of the non-Chhatthare is close. Therefore, Chhatthare is hardly intelligible to the speakers of other dialects. Chhatthare Limbu is thus a dialect of Proto-Limbu. Pokhrel (2005) rightly says that whether Chhatthare Limbu is a dialect or a language, its nearest genetic affiliation is with the Limbu.

**11.5.** GENETIC AFFILIATION OF CHHATTHARE LIMBU. Grierson (1903) first made the classification of languages spoken in China and India by Mangoloid people. He divided Indo-Chinese into Chinese-Tai and Tibeto-Burman groups. Then, he divided Tibeto-Burman family into Tibetan, Himalayan, North Assam, Bodo, Naga, Kachin and Kuki-Chin. Although he does not use the term 'Kiranti', he includes Dhimal, Thami, Limbu, Yakkha, Khambu, Bahing, Rai, Vayu, and other Nepal dialects such as Chepang, Kusunda, Bhramu and Thaksya within pronominalized eastern sub-group of Himalayan languages. On the basis of the presence or absence of pronominal affixes on the verbs or verb agreement, he divides the Himalayan language into pronominalized and non-pronominalized languages. He divides the pronominalized languages also into east Himalyan and west Himalayan on

the basis of area and places Limbu in the pronominalized eastern sub-group of Himalayan language group. In his classification, I have divided Limbu into Chhatthare and non-Chhatthare Limbu and included Phedappe, Panthare and Taplejungge diaects under non-Chhatthare node.

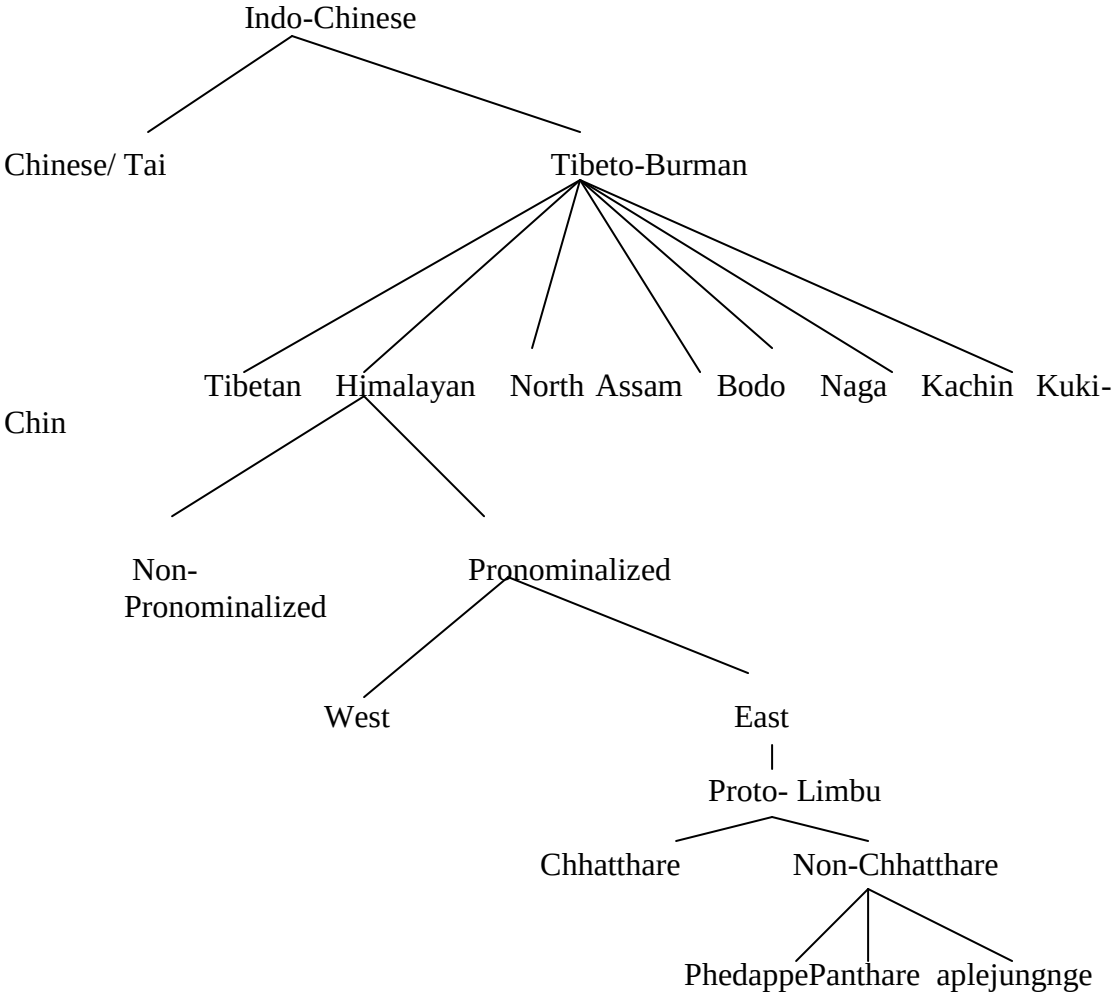



FIGURE 2. Family tree of Chhatthare Limbu following Grierson

The division of language family into pronominalized and non-pronominalized languages is not convincing because languages spoken beyond the Himalayan range also exhibit features of pronominalization. Moreover, under the East Himalayish group are included Thami, Dhimal, Bhramu and Thaksya which show different characters from the proto-Kiranti. Assigning them to the east Himalayish family presents confusing picture of classification of languages into different family groups.

Shafer (1966-73) named languages spoken in China and Tibet as Sino-Tibetan and classified it into Sinitic, Bodic, Burmic, Baric and Karenic divisions. He further made the division into Section, branch and unit. Under Sinitic, he classified Chinese and Daic and under Tibeto-Burman, he included Bodic, Baric, Burmic and Karenic. He divided Bodic division into Bodish section, West Himalayish section, West Central Himalayish section and East Himalayish section. East Himalayish section is divided into Western and Eastern branches and Limbu is placed along with Khambu and

Bantawa units. I have added to his classifying by further dividing Limbu into Chhatthare and non-Chhatthare groups as presented in Tree diagramme 2.

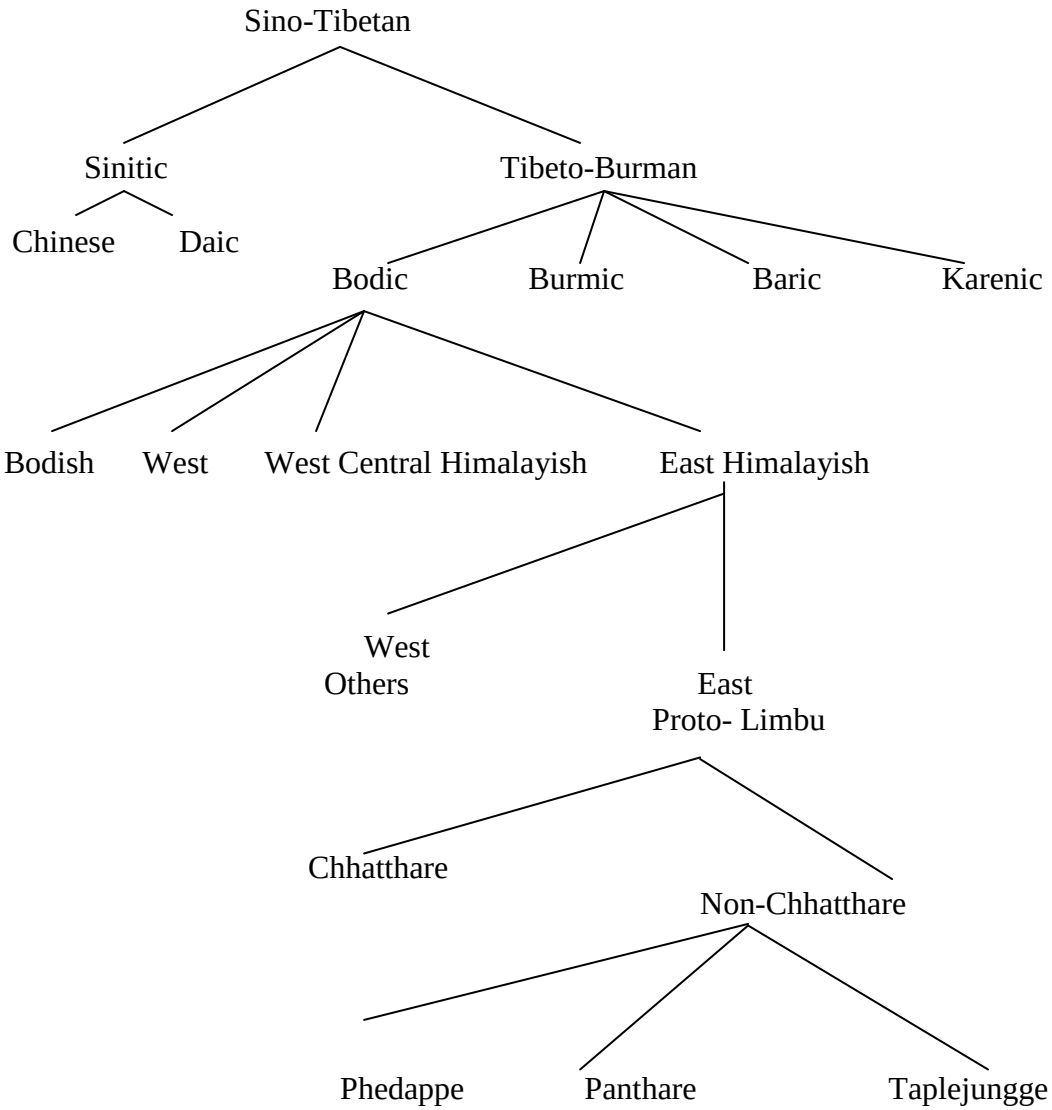



FIGURE 3. Family tree of Chhatthare Limbu following Shafer 1966.

Grierson's and Shafer's classification seem similar in the case of Limbu language because both of them place it under the East Himalayish group. However, Shafer (1966-73:) uses Rai under Western branch and Kiranti under eastern branch of East Himalayish Sectionas as the names of different languages. The use of 'Rai' and 'Kiranti' to denote different languages confuses the modern readers because they take 'Kiranti' as a broader umbrella term for 'Rai', which includes several clans and languages under its cover.

Benedict (1972) also divides Sino-Tibetan into Tibeto-Karen and Sinitic groups. Then, he divideds Tibeto-Karen into Proto-Karen and Tibeto-Burman sub-groups. Tibeto-Burman family is classified into Tibetan Kanauri, Bahing-Vayu, Abor-Miri-Dafla, Kachin, Burmese-Lolo, Kuki-Chin and Limbu is placed under the Bahing group. Bahing includes all Kiranti languages of Hodgson (1857-8). I have further developed the classification by classifying Limbu into Chhatthare and non-Chhatthare Limbu and listing Taplejungnge, Panthare and Phedappe under the latter group as shown in tree diagramme 3. IN Benedict's classification, Chhathare is added in the following sub-group.

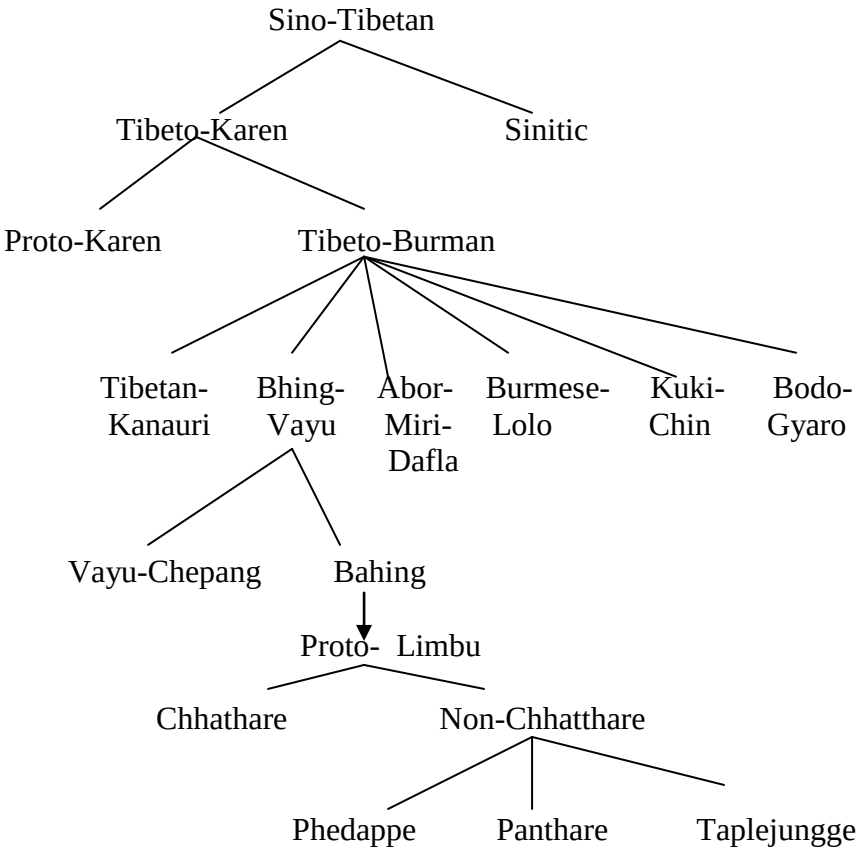



FIGURE 4. Family tree of Chhatthare Limbu following Benedict 1972

Egerod (1974), like Benedict, calls Tibetic to the language group which is called 'Bodic' by Shafer and Bradley. Then he divides Tibetic into Bodish-Himalayish and Kirantish. Kirantish is classified into Western Kirantish and Eastern Kirantish. He lists Limbu under the Easter Kiranti group. I have developed further his classification by dividing Limbu into Chhatthare and non-Chhatthare Limbu groups as shown in tree diagramme 4.

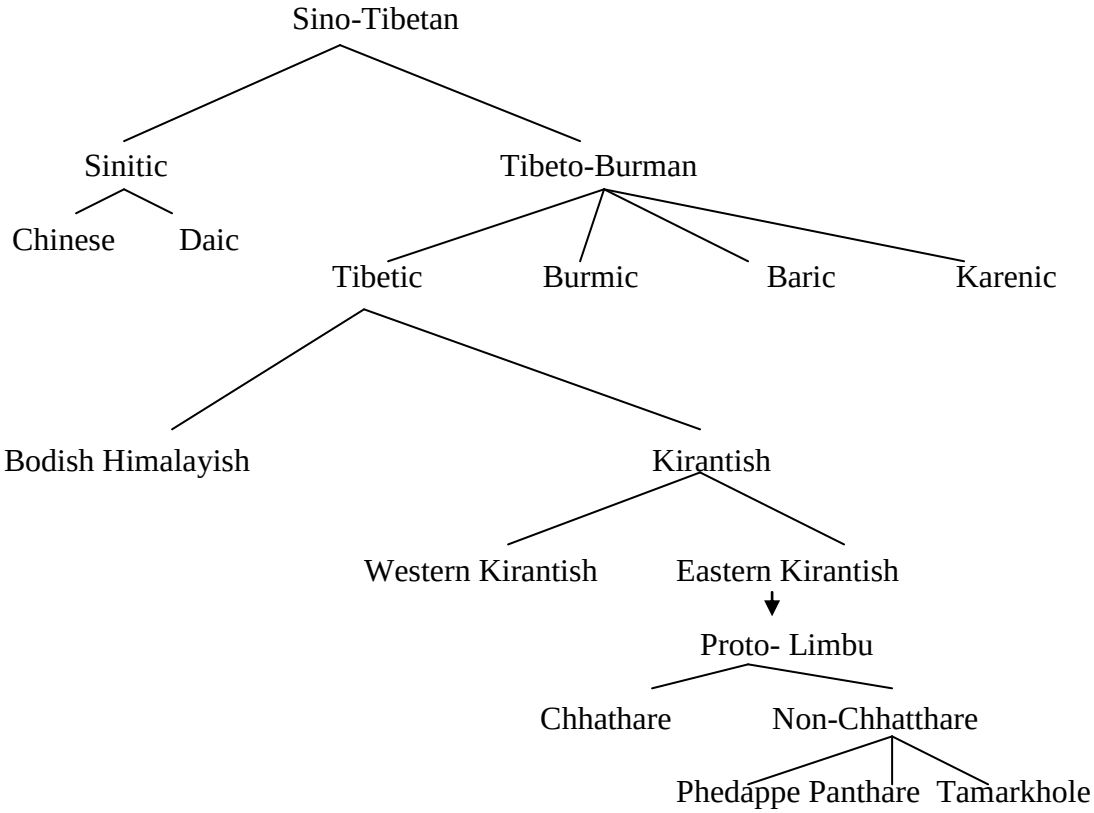



FIGURE 5. Family tree of Chhatthare Limbu following Egerod 1974

Wiedert and Subba (1985:1) are right in their statement that Bahing-Vayu is a misnomer for Kiranti because Bahing is the name of a sub-group of Rai people and also the name of their language spoken within the western extension of the Kiranti languages. Further more, Vayu or Hayu has not yet established its position within the Kiranti languages. The use of the term ‘Rai’ as the name of a separate language (Benedict 1972:5) under Bahing-Vayu nucleus confuses a modern reader, who is set to perceive it as a cover term for the ethnic groups settling intermediate between Limbu and Sunuwar.

Hansson (1991:110) makes classification of Kiranti languages in the following way:

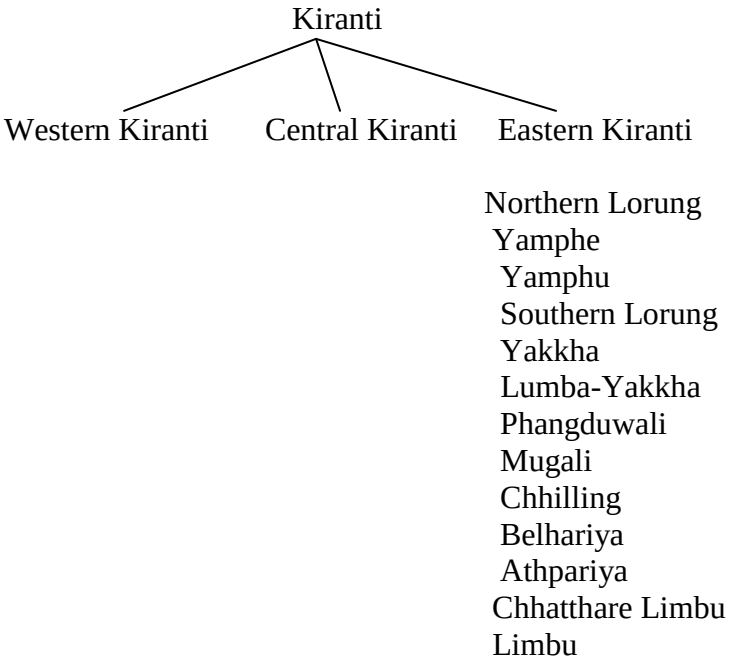



FIGURE 6. Family tree of Chhatthare Limbu according to Hansson 1991

Hanson is the first linguist to give the status of language to Chhathare Limbu.

Matisoff (1991:470) classifies Sino-Tibetan into Sinitic and Tibeto-Burman groups. Then, he divides Sinitic into Chinese, Tai-Kadai and Hmong-Mien (Miao-Yao). On the other hand, he divides Tibeto-Burman into Kamarupan, Karenic, Himalayish, Baic, Qiangic, Kachinic and Lolo-Burmese. Limbu is placed among the Kiranti languages under the Himalayish group of the Tibeto-Burman sub-family of Sino-Tibetan family. I have developed his classification by dividing Kiranti into Limbu and non-Limbus and Limbus into Chhatthare and non-Chhatthare Limbu as shown in tree diagramme.

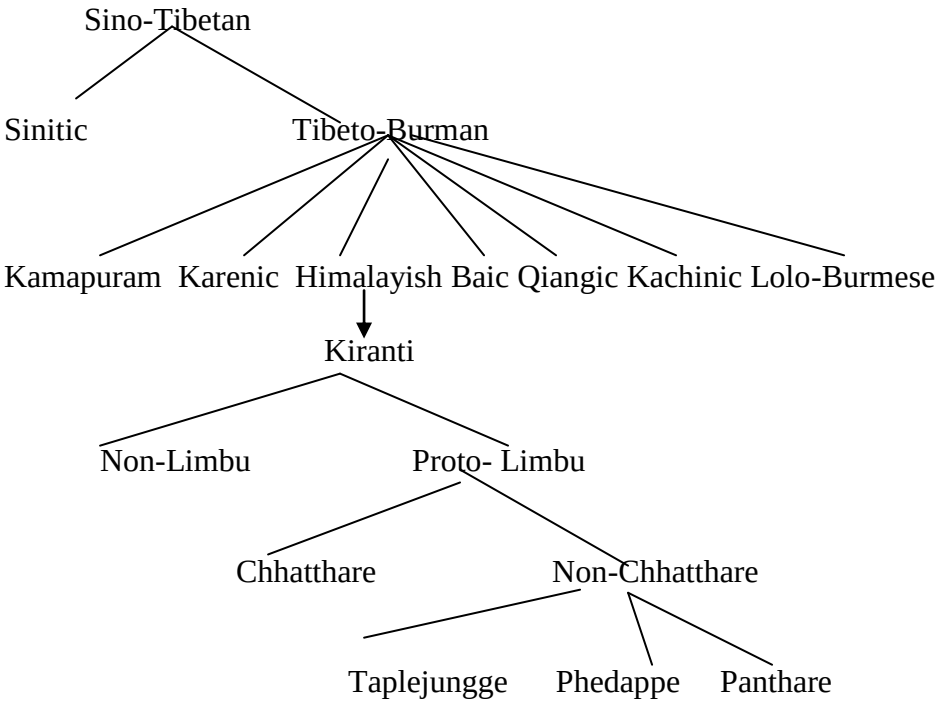



FIGURE 7. Family tree of Chhatthare Limbu following Matisoff 1991

Bradley (1997) also follows the classification of Shafer in the major classification.

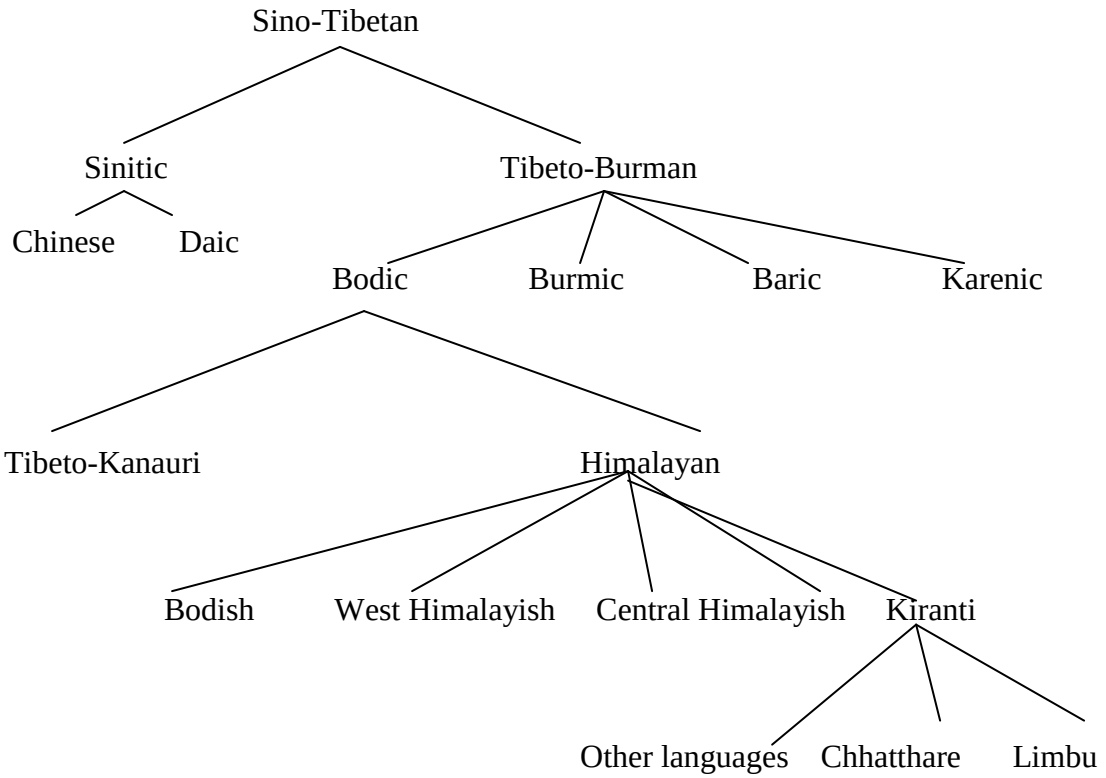



FIGURE 8. Family tree of Chhatthare Limbu following Bradley

He divides Kiranti family of languages into thirty-five languages. In Bradley's classification, Chhathre is placed as a separate language under the Kiranti group of languages. In Grierson's or Konow's classification, Chhatthare is not mentioned. Only Limbu is mentioned as a language group under the eastern sub-group of the Himalayish languages.

Ebert (2003) lists only 32 languages under the Kiranti family of languages. She places Chhathare as a separate language in this classification. They can be shown in the following way:

Mount Everest
Khaling Chukwa Mewahang Yamphu
Kulung Saam Lohorung
Sunuwar Thulung Nacchering
Hayu Bahing Dumi Koi Sangpang Yakkha
Lumba
Umbule Tilung Dungmali Mugali Limbu
Phangduwali
Chamling Bantawa
Jerung Chhathare Limbu
Puma Belhare
Athpare
Chhintang Chhulung

FIGURE 9. Family Affiliation of Chhatthare Limbu according to Ebert 2003

LaPPolla (2003) divides Sino-Tibetan into Chinese and Tibeto-Burman. Under Tibeto-Burman, he includes Bodic, Qiangic, Rung, Karenic, Kuki-Chin, Tani and Bodo-Konyak-Jingphaw and Lolo-Burmese. He describes Limbu as a Kiranti sub-group of Rung group of languages. According to him, Limbu belongs to Kiranti sub-group of the Rung group of Tibeto-Burman sub-family of Sino-Tibetan family of languages. I have extended his classification further by dividing Kiranti into Limbu and non-Limbus and Limbus into Chhatthare and non-Chhatthare Limbu as shown in diagramme.

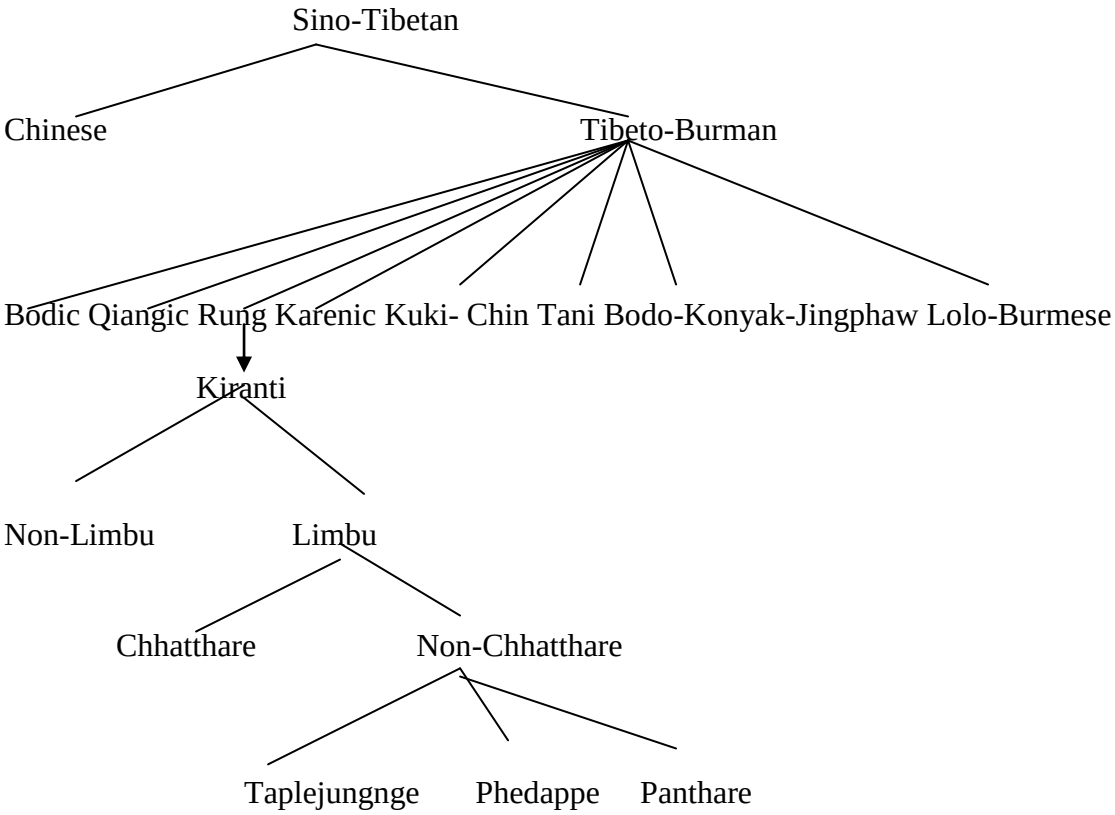



FIGURE 10. Family tree of Chhatthare Limbu following LaPPola 2003

Thurgood (2003:1) says that Sino-Tibetan language was spoken by the people living in Yellow river valley in the central plains of northern China. Later, this language split into Sinitic and Tibeto-Burman. Sinitic includes many Chinese dialects whereas Tibeto-Burman includes Lolo-Burmese, Bodic, Kuki-Chin-Naga, Rung, Karenic branches, other small sub-groups and unsubgrouped languages. Limbu falls under Kiranti sub-branch of the Rung Branch of Tibeto-Burman sub-family of the Sino-Tibetan family.I have extended his classification further by dividing Kiranti into Limbu and non-Limbu groups and further dividing Limbu into Chhatthare and non-Chhatthare Limbu groups as shown in diagramme.

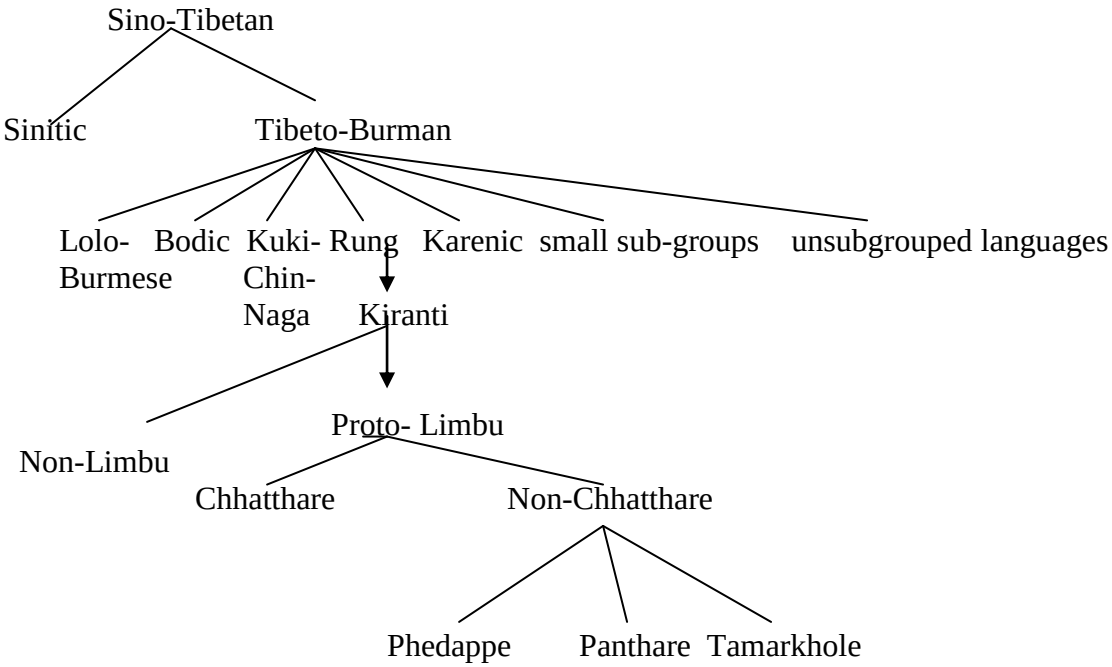



FIGURE 11. Family tree of Chhatthare Limbu following Thurgood 2003

Rung branch, on the other hand, includes rGyarlung sub-group, Dulong and related languages, Kiranti, West Himalayan group, Kinauri, Almora, Kham-magar and Chepang and Qiangic languages.Limbu is placed under the Kiranti languages.

Gordon (2005) also calls Himalayish to the language group which are called 'Tibetic' by Benedict and Egerod and 'Bodic' by Shafer and Bradley. He divides it into Tibeto-Kanuari and Mahakiranti. He further divides it into Kham-Magar-Chepang-Sunwari and Kiranti groups. Limbu falls under the Kiranti sub-group of Mahakiranti group of languages. Chhathare in turn is located under the Limbu family of languages. However, as it is different from other dialects, I have classified Limbu into Chhatthare and non-Chhatthare groups as presented in the figure.

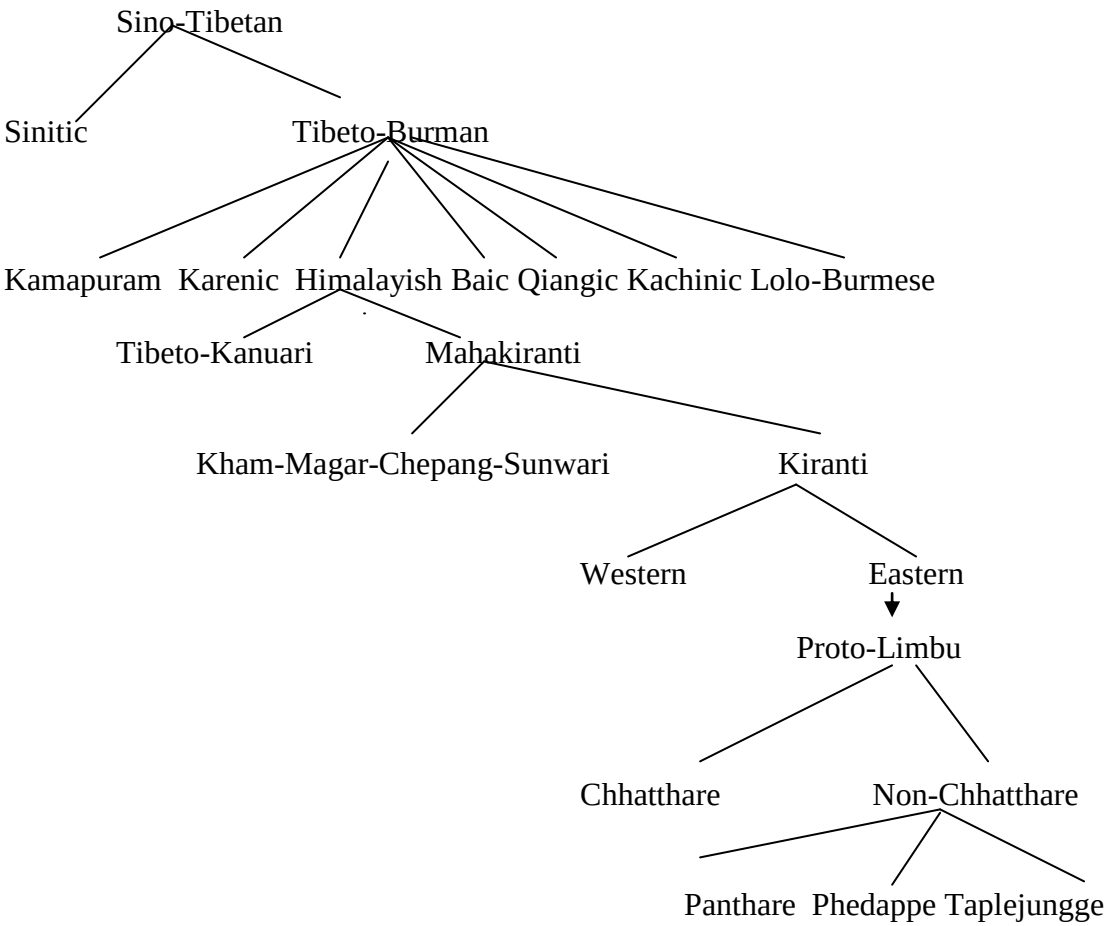



FIGURE 12. Family tree of Chhatthare Limbu following Gordon. 2005

Watters (personal communication) calls Grime's division of Kham-Magar-Chepang-Sunwari as Central Himalayish (Magaranti) and Kiranti as East Himalayish (Kiranti). According to him, I have drawn the family tree of Chhatthare as follows:

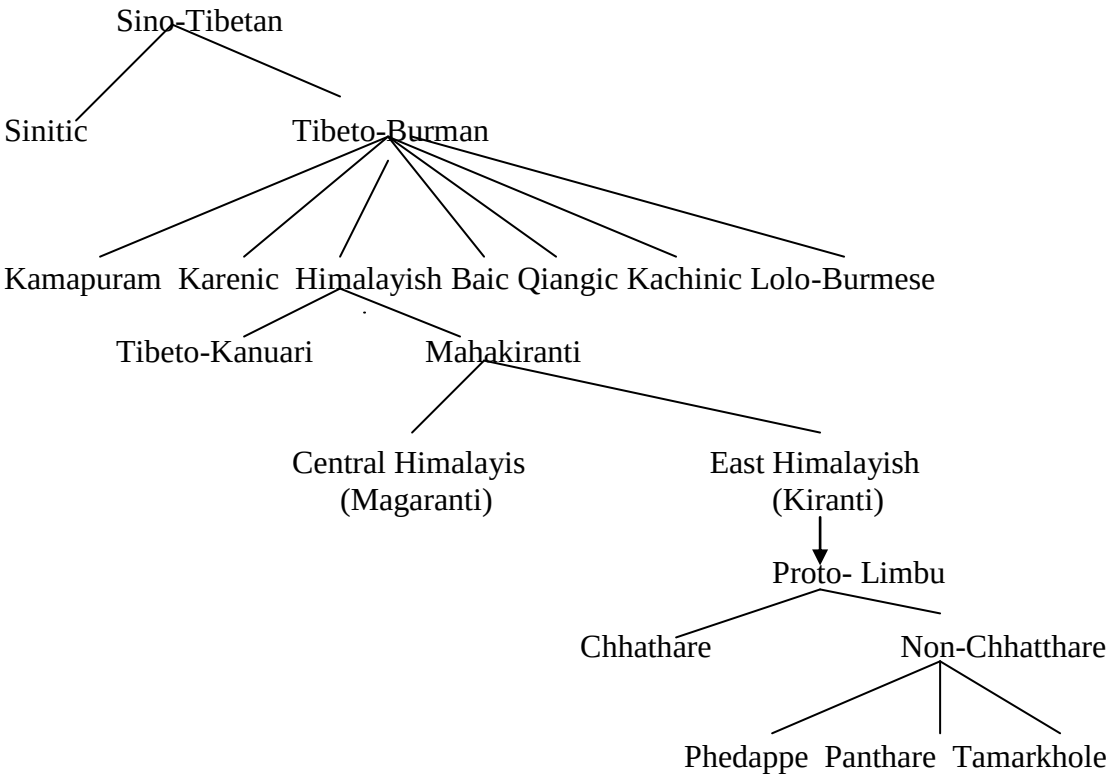



Figure 13. Family tree of Chhatthare Limbu following Watters.

The three day workshop seminar gave me the impression that it is really a distinct variant. Limbu, as a member of the Proto-Kiranti, shares its feature on the one hand, but it assumes unique features as a distinct language. In the remote past, Limbu diverged from the Proto-Kiranti group and established itself as a distinct language with unique character. This Proto-Limbu first diversified into Chhathare and the other group. The other group slowly diversified into Phedappe, Panthare and Tamarkhole dialects. The chronological relation between Chhatthare and other non-Chhathre dialects is distant whereas that among non-Chhatthare dialects is close. Therefore, Chhatthare is hardly intelligible to the speakers of non-Chhatthare dialects.

**12.** BILINGUALISM IN NEPALI. Before the annexation of Limbuwan 'the land of the Limbus' to the Gurkha Kingdom by Prithivi Narayan Shah, it was independent and unique with its indigenous language and culture ruled by the Limbu Chieftains according to the tradition contained in the *Mundhum*, an oral tradition handed down from generation to generation by words of mouth. As it was inhabited by scanty population of other linguistic communities, the Limbus did not require being bilingual and hence they were monolingual. Other linguistic communities needed to be bilingual in Limbu in order to adjust with the ruling communities and fulfill routine needs. After the annexation, the Limbus fell to the gradual subjugation of the Gorkha kings and subsequently to their language and culture. During the reign of king Rana Bahadur Shah, a royal order was issued forbidding the use of Limbu language in any official letter to be addressed to the king. The area of its use further shrank when Chandra Shumser Rana declared that any document recorded in Limbu would have no authentic recognition. It meant that in daily affairs, if money was lent by a creditor to a debtor preparing a document in Limbu, the complaint resulting from the failure of paying the amount wouldn't be heard in any court. It necessitated the use of Nepali language even in daily dealings. The use of Nepali as an official language, a medium of pedagogy and information, as a pre-requisite for gaining government services and other work opportunities from the Rana regime to the present day has provided congenial environment for the development of Nepali language. Moreover, the establishment of schools in almost every village and the delivery of education in Nepali medium has extended the access of Nepali to the grass root level of ethnic communities.

Nowadays, the general assumption is that every Limbu can understand it and speak it. The research carried out by Webster (2001) reports that the assumption that every Limbu knows Nepali is a myth. Only educated people in the community are proficient in Nepali and uneducated people though can speak Nepali to meet routine needs, they can not discuss complicated concepts such as religion, politics, and emotional issues in Nepali nor is their Nepali level enough for understanding necessary information about health, nutrition, etc and gaining employment. Lee (2005:118) reports that most of the children and elderly people of Bayung community can not speak Nepali well. It is estimated that a Bayung child needs at least 1-4 years' time to acquire enough Nepali to understand the speech of Nepli speaking teacher. These children need primary education in their mother tongue to acquire functional literacy and math skills after which they are able to gain competence and confidence to tackle other challenges of learning in Nepali. Otherwise, only highly genius, persevering and resourceful child alone can complete the primary education in Nepali medium and proceed to acquire higher education. Almost all children can not complete the primary education because of the language problem. This case is applicable even to the Limbu children. They need primary education in their mother

tongue. As Chhatthare is entirely different from other dialects, its speakers need primary education in their mother tongue.

**13.** LANGUAGE USE AND ATTITUDE. Limbu is used as a dominant language in the villages of hilly regions of Limbu abode. They use it at their homes, in the field, in the leisure time while playing or talking with friends and in the religious rituals and cultural programmes. Its use is relatively more in illiterate families than in the literate ones. Illiterate people are from poor family background and have to work for others to earn wages for their livelihood. They engage their children as cowboys when they are able to walk and don't send them to schools. These children are hardly familiar with Nepali language due to the lack of interaction with Nepali speaking people.

The literate people who are comparatively well off are shifting to Nepali language because of its necessity in gaining job opportunities and its growing importance in every sector. They expose their children to Nepali environment at their home speaking to them only in Nepali. So, there is a growing trend among the Limbus, particularly among young people toward more use of Nepali. All the same, those who use Nepali at their home and have no ability to speak their language also talk about the promotion and development of Limbu language. It indicates that the overall people's attitude towards the use of Limbu language is strong and positive. Webster (2001:67) says,

> All indications are that Limbu will remain in use as a mother tongue for foreseeable future. In fact, some of the trend toward more use of Nepali may slow down, stop , or even reverse, given the strongly favourable attitude toward the use of Limbu and the efforts being made to promote its development.

However, while conducting his socio-linguistic survey of Limbu, Webster seems to be quite pre-occupied with the notion that Panthare is a popular and superior dialect and it should be made the common language of all Limbus while compiling dictionaries, writing text-books, running mother tongue education in this dialect alone. It is evident from his contradictory statement that Chhatthare is very different from other dialects of Limbu but he does not think it necessary to run mother tongue education in Chhatthare Limbu to facilitate the Chhatthare mother tongue children to acquire basic literacy and math skills nor does he see any need to compile dictionary, develop literature and preserve and promote Chhatthare dialect and benefit the world with its unique features. If his suggestions are implemented, then this language will some day die and it will die just because of the educational policy of the government. Moreover, even in the case of dialect, too, running mother tongue education in one dialect does not mean depriving other dialect speakers of the facility to learn in their mother dialect. Varankamp (1996:102) says, 'There is nothing wrong with developing and promoting more than one dialect.'

**14.** LANGUAGE VITALITY.Limbus have deep love for their language and wish that it may flourish and develop into a medium of easy expression for the rich Limbu literature contained in *Mundhum*, oral tradition handed down by a word of mouth from one generation to another. Young generations switch over to Nepali for work opportunity and prestige they enjoy for being proficient in Nepali. Webster (2001:66) says

> that the knowledge of many Limbu words is being lost, may be upto 10% of the basic lexicon by the younger generation, is not a sign of imminent language death

but a practical result of living in more ethnically mixed communities and using Nepali more commonly in more domains.

The awakening caused by the multi-party democracy after 1990 among the Limbus has inspired them to learn their language. No member of the Limbu community thinks that Limbu language may ever cease to exist but strongly believe that it will ever exit as a rich language adequate for literacy development.

**15.** SUMMARY. The Limbus consider *Limbu* as an endonym and *Yakthungba* as an ethnonym. However, plausible semantic interpretations of the terms are not available. Similarly, the term *Chhatthar* is a Nepali one which means 'six clans' but who these six clans were is not yet clear. Both Khewa and Khajum have six clans and they each claim that since their clans have resided this area, it is called Chhatthar 'the area of six clans'. The Limbus living in the Chhatthar area are called *Chhatthare Limbu* or *Chhatthare Yakthungba* and their language is called *Chhatthare Yakthungba Pan* or *Chhatthare Pan* in the mother tongue and simply as *Chhatthare Limbu* in non-native language. It is different from other dialects of Limbu. Until now, it is classified as a dialect of Limbu only on the ground of socio-linguistic consideration or because the Limbus in general recognize it as a dialect of Limbu and The Chhatthare Limbus also take it that way. On the bais of pure linguistic analysis, it is a separate language because it differs from other Limbu dialects in phonology, morphology and lexical words. But like the classification of Hanson (1991), Bradley (1997), Ebert (2003), it has not directly descended from the Kiranti family. From the Kiranti family, it descended as Proto-Limbu and from the Proto-Limbu, it separated into the Chhatthare Limbu and non-Chhatthare Limbu. So, Chhatthare Limbu is a dialect of Proto-Limbu. As it is linguistically a different from the non-Chhatthare Limbu dialects, Chhatthare children should be delivered primary education in this language. The use of Nepali as an official language, a medium of pedagogy and information, as a pre-requisite for gaining government services and other work opportunities have complelled the Limbus to be bilingual. A few of them have switched their language code over to Nepali. However, every Limbu wishes that this language would flourish and propsper and they have been contributing for its development. The awareness of people for the promotion and development of their mother tongue indicates the bright future of Limbu language in general. On the basis of the index of synthesis Limbu falls among the synthetic group of languages and on the basis of index of fusion, it falls among the fusional group of languages with single lexical item plus other affixes or more than one lexical item and multiple affixes.

CHAPTER 3
PHONOLOGY

**1.** INTRODUCTION**.** This chapter deals with the phonological analysis of the Chhatthare Limbu according to the analytical procedures of phonology applied by Pike (1947) and Burquest and Payne (1993). In addition, it presents syllable structure, hiatus and dipthongization.

**2.** CONSONANTS. Chhatthare Limbu phonology has the sounds as recorded in the table 9.

Place of Articulation ↓

| Manner of Articulation | labial | dental | alveolar | palatal | velar | glottal |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Stop | p b<br>pH bH | t d<br>tH dH | | | k g<br>kH gH | ʔ |
| Affricate | | | c j<br>cH jH | | | |
| Fricative | | | s | | | h |
| Nasal | m | n | | | ŋ | |
| Liquid | | | l | | | |
| Trill | | | | r | | |
| Retroflex | | | | □ \|<br>□H \|H | | |
| Glide | w | | | y | | |

Table 9 PHONETIC INVENTORY OF CONSONANTS

In the language in question, phonetically distinct sound which can be assigned phonemic status without minimal pair contrast is non-existent. Each sound is related with another one either by the place of articulation or by the manner of articulation. Therefore, a minimal pair of phonetically similar sounds must be constituted for contrast. Therefore, there is no possibility to select non-suspicious segments.

**3.** MINIMAL PAIR CONTRASTS OF CONSONANTS. Minimal pairs formed on the basis of aspiration, voicing, place of articulation, and manner of articulation exhibit semantic contrast. They are presented below for the identification of phonemes.

**3.1.** UNASPIRATED VERSUS ASPIRATED. As in other dialects of Limbu, in Chhatthare Limbu phonology, too, phonetic feature such as aspiration plays a functional role and is, therefore, semantically significant.The voiceless affricate and voiceless stops demonstrate such kind of tendency. Their voiced counterparts are, however, not contrastive in terms of aspiration.

Unaspirated, voiceless, bilabial stop constrasts with aspirated, voiceless, bilabial stop.

(1)

a. [pEn] 'slips off' [pHEn] 'comes'

b. [pi:t∞u:] ‘he sucks it.' [pHi:t∞u: ] 'he holds it tight.'

c. [pa:tu:] 'he said it.' [pHa:tu:] 'he filled it.'

Unaspirated, voiceless, dental, stop contrasts with aspirated, voiceless, dental stop.

(2)

a. [tak] 'friend' [tHak] 'loom'

b. [t□ksu:] ‘he settled it.' [tH□ksu:] 'He made it fight.'

c. [tin] 'it burns.' tHin] 'It lays eggs'

Unaspirated, voiceless, velar, stop contrasts with aspirated, voiceless, velar, stop.

(3)

a. [ko:ma:] 'to attend' [kHo:ma:] 'to find'

b. [kEpma:] 'to come up' [kHEpma:] 'to yoke'

c. [kupma:] 'to warm with embrace' [kHupma:] 'to steal'

Unaspirated, voiceless, alveolar, affricate contrasts with aspirated, voiceless, velar, affricate.

(4)

a. [ci:ma:] 'to be cold' [cHi:ma:] 'to meet'

b. [cupma:] 'to be finished' [cHupma:] 'to finish'

c. [ca:] 'paddy' [cHa:] 'child'

**3. 2.** VOICELESS VERSUS VOICED. Bilabial, voiced stop [b] shows contrast with its voiceless counterpart /p/ in an identical environment only in a limited number. Driem (1987:11) establishes /b/ as a phoneme on the basis of one minimal pair *lap* ‘wing’ and *lab* ‘moon’ in Phedappe dialect of Limbu. In Panthare dialect also minimal pairs like *pa* ‘father’ and *ba* occurs but Wiedert and Subba (1985) don’t recognize /p/ and /b/ as separate phonemes. However, in the dictionary they make separate entries of [b] and [p]. The minimal pairs of the /p/ and /b/ in Chhatthare Limbu are as follows:

(5)

a. [ pa:] 'father' [ba:] 'this'

b. [po:] 'it increases' [bo:] 'here'

c. [puN] ‘yes’ [buN] ‘tree’

Voiceless velar stop contrasts with its voiced counterpart only in an intervocalic position.

(6)

a. [he:ku:]'he started' [he:gu:] 'he cut it'

b. [□:ku:]'he called him' [□:gu:] 'he dug it'

c. [la:ku:]'he tread on it' [la:gu:] 'he licked it'

**3.3.** PLACE OF ARTICULATION. Phones, in the language, exhibit contrast in term of place of articulation. Bilabial nasal contrasts with dental nasal.

(7)

a [miŋ] 'name' [niŋ] 'thatch'

b. [mandu:] 'he finished it.' [nandu:] 'he dirtied it.'

c. [m□:yu:] 'he was drunk.' [n□:yu:] 'he fried it.'

Bilabial nasal consonant contrasts with velar nasal consonant.

(8)

a. [sim] ‘sari' [siN] ‘firewood’

b. [lam] ‘path’ [laN] ‘leg’

c. [nam] 'sun' [naŋ] 'he gets mad.'

Dental nasal consonant contrast with velar nasal consonant.

(9)

a. [yan] ‘weed.' [yaŋ] ‘money.'

b. [pan] 'speech' [ paŋ] 'house'

c. [tin] 'it burns' [tiŋ] 'thorn'

Bilabial semi-vowel contrasts with palatal semi-vowel.

(10)

a. [wEpma:] 'to spill' [yEpma:] 'to stand'

b. [wapma:] 'to put on' [yapma:] 'to whine'

c. [wa:ma:] 'to be somewhere' [ya:ma:] 'female priest'

Alveolar fricative contrasts with glottal fricative.

(11)

a. [si:] ‘louse' [hi:] ‘excreta’

b. [sa:] 'meat' [ha:] ‘tooth’

c. [sEmma:] 'to pluck out' [hEmma:] 'to estimate'

Bilabial stop contrasts with glottal stop.

(12)

a. [hEp] ‘he embraces’ [hE?] ‘it breaks’

b. [lEp] ‘he throws’ [lE?] ‘he frees’

c. [hap] ‘he weeps’ [ha?] ‘he bites’

Dental stop contrasts with glottal stop.

(13)

**a.** [lat] ‘he enters’ [la?] ‘he buys’

b. [lEt] ‘ time over’ [lE?] ‘he sets free’

c. [hat] ‘he distributes’ [ha?] ‘he bites’

Velar stop contrasts with glottal stop.

(14)

a. [hEk] ‘he cuts’ [hE?] ‘it breaks’

b. [lEk] ‘he changes’ [lE?] ‘he sets free’

c. [lak] ‘it boils’ [la?] ‘he buys’

**3.4.** MANNER OF ARTICULATION. In the language, /b/ and /m/ and /g/ and /N/ are different only by one feature. The first sounds in the pair are oral whereas the last ones are nasal. When the speaker suffers from cold, he is likely to pronounce the nasal stops /m/ and /N/ like the oral stops /b/ and /g/ due to the blocking of the nasal passage for the air-stream. These two sounds are, however, distinct.

Bilabial stop contrasts with bilabial nasal.

(15)

a. [bo:] 'here' [mo:] 'down there'

b. [ba:]'this' [ma:] 'it loses'

d. [bi:] 'is it?' [mi:] 'fire'

Velar stop contrasts with velar nasal.

(16)

a. [ha:gu:]' he husked it' [ha:ŋu:] 'he cut it down'

b. [su:gu:] 'he awaited to attack' [su:ŋu:] 'he wrapped it'

**c.** [y□:gu:] ‘he searches it’ [y□:Nu:] ‘he takes it off’

Alveolar africate contrasts with alveolar fricative.In other dialects of Limbu [cH] is treated as an allophone of the phoneme /s/. However, in the language in question, these two are separate phonemes.

(17)

a. [cHi:ma:] 'to meet' [si:ma:] 'to die'

b. [cHomma:] 'to fell' [somma:] 'to husk'

c. [cHa:] 'child' [sa:] 'meat'

Palatal trill /r/ contrasts with palatal lateral /l/ in an identical environment in the initial position only in a limited pair of utterances.

(18)

a. [r□k] 'only' [l□k] 'share'

b. [ri:] affirmative particle [li:] 'bow'

c. [makra:] ‘a kind of tree’ [makla:] *khoya* in Nepali
*bharla in Nepali*

**4.** DISTRIBUTION OF CONSONAT PHONEMES. The phonemes of Limbu occur in the initial, medial and final positions. In the following section, each phoneme is distributed.

**4.1.** DISTRIBUTION OF **/p/.** /p/ is an unaspirated, voiceless, bilabial stop.It occurs in the initial, medial and final positions.

(19)

| | Initial position | Medial position | Final position |
|---|---|---|---|
| a. | [pi?] ' cow' | [sa:pu:] 'he wrote it.' | [sap] 'he writes.' |
| b. | [pat] 'he speaks' | [si:pu: ] 'he distilled it.' | [sip] 'he distills.' |
| c. | [pe:] 'It flies' | [ha:pu:] 'he weeps for him.' | [hap 'he weeps.' |
| d. | [paN] ‘house’ | [ku:baN] ‘his house’ | [ku:lap] ‘its wing’ |
| e. | [pima] ‘to give’ | [ka:bi:yu: ‘you gave him’ | [ka:nup] ‘you will drawn’ |
| f. | [paNbHe:] ‘village’ | [tHaNbEn] ‘young man’ | [kanlEp] ‘they will throw at you’ |
| g. | [p□Nma] ‘to lift something’ | [mamb□ksun] ‘they didn’t lift it’ | |

In the medial position, the phoneme /p/ has two variants, [p] and [b]. It has the variant [p] in the medial position if the word is formed of a suffix. It has, however, a variant [b] if it is preceded by a vocalic or nasal prefix as in *ka-bat-u* ‘you said it’ or a nasal prefix as in *ka-m-biy-u-n* ‘you didn’t give him’ or after a nasal consonant as in *thaɴben*. In the final position, it occurs with a simultaneous glottal stop. Thus, /p/ has three allophonic variations: [p], [b] and [p?].

**4.2.** DISTRIBUTION OF /b/**.** /b/ is an unaspirated, voiced, bilabial stop. It occurs in all positions.

(20)

| | Initial position | Medial position | Final position |
|---|---|---|---|
| a. | [ ba:] 'this' | [tHu:bu:] 'he pierced it' | [tHup] 'he pierces' |
| b. | [bo:] 'here' | [la:bu:]'he burned it' | [ lap] 'he burns' |
| c. | [bi:] 'is it?' | [tHa:bu:]'he served out it' | [tHap] 'he serves out' |

The phoneme /b/ has two allophones: [b] and [p]. [b] never occurs in the word-final position.

**4.3.** DISTRIBUTION OF /pH/. /pH/ is an aspirated, voiceless, bilabial stop. It occurs in the initial and medial positions. It can't occur in the final position.

(21)

| | Initial position | | Medial position | Final position |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. | [pHendi:] | 'ax' | [ku:bHendi:] | 'his axe' |
| b. | [pHondak] | 'cradle' | [cambHEn] | 'beaten rice' |
| c. | [pH□:si:] | 'pot' | [tambHuŋ] | 'forest' |
| d. | [pHon] | 'he hangs' | [kambHondun] | 'you don't hang it' |

It has two allophones: [pH] and [bH]. [pH] is realized in the initial position and [bH] after the prefix ending in a vowel or a nasal consonant (Also see---).

**4.4.** DISTRIBUTION OF /t/. /t/ is an unaspirated, voiceless, dental stop. It occurs in the initial, medial and final positions.

(22)

| Initial position | | Medial position | | Final position | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. [tak] | 'friend' | [kand□ksun] 'you didn't settle it' | | [kEt] | 'he brings up' |
| b.[toŋ] | 'arrow' | [mEndak] | 'goat' | [phEt?] | 'he brings from across' |
| c. [tiŋ] | 'thorn' | [ka:det] | 'cloth' | [hut?] | 'he rubs it' |
| d. [tok] | 'it sells' | [pi:tu:] | 'he sucks' | [pit?] | 'he sucks' |

Apparently, /t/ has three variants: [t] in the initial,[t] and [d] in the medial and [t?] in the final position. With the first and the last contexts there is no problem as the first one always occurs in the word-initial position and the last one always occurs in the word- final position. In the intervocalic position of a verbal suffixal string, it stands unchaged. It needs historical interpretation.

**4.5.** DISTRIBUTION OF /$t^h$/. /tH/ is, an aspirated, voiceless dental stop. It occurs in initial and medial positions. It doesn't occur in the syllable final position.

(23)

| Initial position | | Medial position | Final position |
|---|---|---|---|
| a. [tHak] | 'loom' | [ku:dHak] | 'his loom' |
| b. [tHi:] | 'local bear' | [ca:dHi:] | 'food grain' |
| c. [tHe:] | 'bamboo thread' | [mu:dHo:] | 'moustache' |
| | | [mandHu:Nun] 'they do not drink it' | |

/tH/ has two phonetic variants: [tH] in the initial position and [dH] in the medial position after a prefix ending in vowel or a nasal consonant.

**4.6.** DISTRIBUTION OF /k/. /k/ is an unaspirated, voiceless, velar stop.It occurs in the initial, medial and final positions.

(24)

| Initial position | | Medial position | | Final position | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. | [kakwa:] 'crow' | [na:ku:] | 'he begged it' | [pHak] | 'pig' |
| b. | [ke:ba: ] 'lion' | [a:ge:ba:] | 'my lion' | [ka:huk] | 'your hand' |
| c. | [k□:da:ba:] snake' | [kaNg□:nEn] 'you don't fall' | | [k□k] | 'load' |

/k/ has three allophonic variants: [k] in the initial position, [g] in the medial position after a personal prefix or a nasal prefix and [k?] in the final position. [k] in

the medial position before the vocalic suffix remains voiceless even in intervocalic position in a suffixal string.

**4.7.** DISTRIBUTION OF /g/. /g/ is a voiced, velar stop. It occurs in the medial and final positions.

(25)

| Initial position | Medial position | | Final position | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | [ha:gu:] | 'he husked it' | [hak | 'he husks' |
| | [la:gu:] | 'he licks it' | [lak] | 'he licks' |
| | [hE:gu:] | 'he cuts' | [hEk] | 'he cuts' |
| | [maNgE:na:] | ‘goddess’ | [y□k] | ‘original place’ |
| | [tHa:gekpa:] | ‘head’ | [tH□k] | ‘body’ |

/g/ has two allophones: [g] in the medial position before a vocalic suffix as in *hagu,* intervocalically and after a nasal consonant in polysyllabic words and [k] in the final position.

**4.8.** DISTRIBUTION OF /$k^h$/**.** /kH/ is an aspirated, voiceless, velar stop. It occurs in the initial and medial positions.

(26)

| Initial position | Medial position | Final position |
|---|---|---|
| a. [kHam] 'soil' | [ku:gHam] 'his land' | |
| b. [kHo:rEt] 'plate' | [ka:gHo:rEt] 'your plate' | |
| c. [kHe:suN] 'yeast' | [ka:gHo:wu:] ‘you find it’ | |
| d. [kHappu:] ‘ash’ | [maNgHo:] | |
| e. [kHombrEk] ‘peach’ | [ maNgHuksun] ‘they didn’t use something over head’ | |

/kH/ has two phonetic variants: [kH] occurs in the word-initial position and [gH] occurs in the medial position after the personal prefix, negative prefix or a nasal consonant. It does not occur in the final position.

**4.9.** DISTRIBUTION OF /?/. /?/ is a glottal stop. It occurs in the medial and final positions.

(27)

| Initial position | Medial position | Final positon |
|---|---|---|
| a | **[**sa? wama] 'femine' | [pi?] 'cow' |
| b. | [kEtna:] ‘I come up' | [kE?] 'he comes up' |
| c. | [kE:ra:] ‘he came up’ | |
| c. | [hEpma:] 'to break' | [hE?] 'he breaks' |
| d. | [nipma:] ‘to count’ | [ni?] ‘he counts’ |

/?/ has four allophonic variants: [?] in the final position, [t] before the dental nasal /n/, [r] before the past suffix <-a> and [p] before the bilabial nasal [m]. In the middle position before the bilabial continuant /w/as in 29.b, it is alternatively used with the voiceless velar stop /k/. So, *sa?wama* can be alternatively pronounced as *sakwama*.

**4.10.** DISTRIBUTION OF **/c/.** /c/ is an unaspirated voiceless, alveolar affricate.

It occurs in the initial and medial positions.

(28)

| | Initial position | Medial position | Final position |
|---|---|---|---|
| a. | [ca:] 'paddy' | [a:ja:] | 'my paddy' |
| b. | [cit] 'he is greedy' | [kanjitnEn] | 'you are not greedy' |
| c. | [cuk] 'he does.' | [ka:juk] | 'you do.' |
| d. | [cEp] 'bamboo-basket' | [la:jE:] | 'land' |
| e. | [cEttHE:] 'dish' | [mu:jokluN] | Sagarmatha |
| f. | [cEmbE:] 'soyabin' | [hEnja:] | 'child' |

/c/ has two phonetic variants: [c] and [j]. The first one occurs in the initial position and the second one in the medial position after the personal prefix, negative prefix and a nasal consonant. It also occurs intervocalically in a word. It can not occur in the final position.

**4.11.** DISTRIBUTION OF /cH/. /cH/ is an aspirated, voiceless, alveolar affricate.It occurs only in the initial and medial positions.

(29)

| | Initial position | Medial position | Final position |
|---|---|---|---|
| a. | [cHu:ma:] 'to touch' | [kacHuba] | 'one who touches' |
| b. | [cHi:ma:] | 'to meet' | [ka:cHi:ru:] 'you |
| c. | [cHe:ma:] | 'to urinate' | [ka:cHe:wu:] 'you urinated it.' |
| d. | [cHa:] 'child' | [kanjHa:] | 'your sibling' |
| | | [kunjHa:] | 'his sibling' |
| | | [anjHa:] | 'my sibling' |
| e. | [cHu:ma:]'to touch' | [kancHu:nEn] | 'he doesn't touch you' |

/cH/ has two phonetic variants: [cH] and [jH]. However, [jH] occurs only after the augmented nasal consonant of a prefixal kinship term. Elsewhere [cH] occurs consistently.

**4.12.** DISTRIBUTION OF /s/. /s/ is a voiceless, alveolar fricative. It occurs in the initial and middle positions.

(30)

| | Initial position | Medial position | Final position |
|---|---|---|---|
| a. | [sEpmaŋ] 'dream' | [a:sEpmaŋ] | 'my dream' |
| b. | [sipma:] 'to distill' | [ka:si:pu:] | 'you distilled.' |
| c. | [so:gHa:] 'ghost' | [ku:so:gHa:] | 'his spirit' |

/s/ has no phonetic variant and is realized as [s] in its occurrences in initial and medial positions.

**4. 13.** DISTRIBUTION OF /h/. /h/ is a voiceless, glottal fricative.It occurs only in the initial and medial positions.

(31)

| | Initial position | Medial position | Final position |
|---|---|---|---|
| a. | [haŋ] 'king' | [ka:haŋ] | 'your king' |
| b. | [ho:rik] 'skin' | [ka:horik] | 'your skin' |
| c. | [hapma:] 'to weep' | [ka:hap] | 'you weep' |

/h/ has no phonetic variant and is realized as [h] in its occurrences in initial and medial positions.

**4.14.** DISTRIBUTION OF /m/. /m/ is a bilabial nasal consonant. It occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

(32)

| | Initial position | | Medial position | | Final position | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. | [maŋ] | 'goddess' | [pHEmba:] | ‘blacksmith' | [lam] | 'path' |
| b. | [mEndak] | 'goat' | [lumba:] | ' plate' | [sam] | 'sense' |
| c. | [makkHo:] | 'garlik' | [sumba:] | ‘trouser' | [yum] | ‘salt.' |

/m/ has no phonetic variant and is realized as [m] in its occurrences in all positions.

**4.15.** DISTRIBUTION OF /n/. /n/ is a dental nasal consonant. It occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

(33)

| | Initial position | | Medial position | | Final position | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. | [nEnnE:] | 'elder sister' | [kHE:nE:] | 'you' | [□n] | 'horse' |
| b. | [nEnd□re] | 'sister-in law' | [a:ni:] | 'we' | [wa:dHin] | ' hen-egg' |
| c. | [nunjHa:] | 'sibling' | [pHa:n□k] | ' bamboo-suit' | [pH□n] | ‘hail' |
| d. | [nam] | ‘sun’ | [ pHE:ra:] | ‘he came’ | [pHEn] | ‘underwear’ |
| e. | [niN] | ‘thatch’ | [t□:ru:] | ‘ he ate’ | [t□n] | ‘he eats’ |
| f. | [nakpa:] | ‘brother’s son’ | [kH□mma:] | ‘he stirs’ | [kH□n] | ‘he stirs’ |

/n/ has a variant [r] which occurs only in *pHera* and *t□ru* as listed 35d-e. It has also a variant [m] before the suffix that begins with a bilabial nasal consonant. These variants are not allophonic variants because they are contrastive in other environments.

**4.16.** DISTRIBUTION OF /ŋ/. /ŋ/ is a velar nasal pronounced in the same manner as other nasal sounds are pronounced.It occurs only in medial and final positions.

(34)

| Initial position | | Medial position | | Final position | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. | | [lu:ŋa:] | 'brother' | [luŋ] | 'stone' |
| b. | | [s□:ŋa:] | 'brother' | [tiŋ] | 'thorn' |
| c. | | [hu:ŋu:] | ‘he paid it' | [siŋ ] | 'wood' |

/N/ has no any phonetic variant and is realized as [N] in medial and final positions. In Panthare ( Wiedert and Subba 1985, Kainla (2003), Phedappe ( Driem 1987) and Taplejungnge (Mikhailovsky 2003) dialects, it occurs even in the initial position such as in Na ‘fish’, which is called *na* in Chhatthare Limbu.

**4.17.** DISTRIBUTION OF /l/. /l/ is a lateral consonant. It occurs in the initial and medial positions.

(35)

| Initial position | | Medial position | | Final position | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. | [lam] | 'path' | [ku:lam] | ‘his path' | |
| b. | [laŋ] | 'leg' | [pHaklaŋ] | 'pig- leg' | |
| c. | [luŋ] | 'stone' | [ha?luN] | ‘fireplace’ | |
| d. | [l□mbHe?] | ‘bamboo carpet’ | [ca:lakma:] | ‘Limbu folk dance’ | |

e. [lamdHet] ‘door’ [wa:l□kma:] ‘to wait’

/l/ is realized as [l] in all of its occurrences. In native words, it doesn’t occur in the syllable final or word final position. It, however, occurs in Nepali loan words with syllable- final [l] such as *sural* ‘trouser’, *tHal* ‘dish’ etc.

**4.18.** DISTRIBUTION OF **/r/.** /r/ is a trill. It occurs in initial and medial positions.

(36)

| Initial position | | Medial position | | Final position |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. /r□k/ | 'only' | [a:r□k] | 'only me' | |
| b /ri:/ | assertive particle | [pHa:ru:] | 'he helps him.' | |
| c /ro:/ | assertive particle | [ha:ru:] | 'he bit him.' | |

/r/ occurs rarely in the initial position and doesn’t occur syllable finally or word-finally in the native tongue and is pronounced as [r] in all occurrences. But when it occurs in its assertive particle *ro* after the consonant, it may change to [l] as an idiolectical variant as in *tegaNlo* ‘ I went’, which is, normally, pronounced as *tegaNro*. In Nepali loan words, /r/ occurs in the final position such as in *kHir* ‘pudding’, *pir* ‘worry’, *tir* ‘arrow’ etc. Similarly, it occurs word-initially in numerous loan words such as in *rumal* ‘handkerchief’ *r□ksi* ‘local wine’, *r□N* ‘colour’ etc.

**4.19.** DISTRIBUTION OF /w/. /w/ is a semi-vowel. It occurs in the initial and medial positions.

(37)

| Initial position | | medial position | | Final position |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. [wa:] | 'hen' | [kakwa:] | ‘crow’ | |
| b. [wan] | 'it shakes' | [sakwa:ma:] | ‘starvation’ | |
| c. [wet] | 'it spills' | [ saNwe?] | ‘buffalo’ | |
| d. [wayaN] | ‘a Limbu clan’ | [ hukwa:] | ‘gift of food’ | |

/wa/ has no phonetic variation. It is pronounced as [w] in its all occurrences. It does not occur in the final position.

**4.20.** DISTRIBUTION OF /y/**.** /y/ is a palatal glide. It occurs in the initial and medial positions.

(38)

| Initial position | | Medial position | | Final position |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. [yan] | 'weed' | [po:ya:] | 'it increased' | |
| b. [yaŋ] | 'money' | [ka:yaŋ] | 'your money' | |
| c. [y□k] | 'origin' | [ka:y□k] | 'your origin' | |
| d. [yum] | ‘salt’ | [mu:y□n] | ‘they are big’ | |

/y/ doesn’t occur in the final position and is pronounced as [y] in all occurrences.

**5.** COMPLEMENTARY DISTRIBUTIONS OR ALLOPHONES. The suspicious pairs listed above have also such pairs which contain non- contrastive sounds. Their distribution exhibit that they are phonetically similar and mutually exclusive or they are complementary to each other. They are allophones. The pairs are as follows:

(39)

a. [pH] ~ [bH]

b. [tH] ~ [dH]

c. [kH] ~ [gH]

d. [p] ~ [b]

e. [t ] ~ [d]

f. [k] ~ [g]

g. [c] ~ [j]

/pH/, /tH/ and /kH/ change to their voiced counterparts when they occur in intervocalic position after personal prefix or a nasal consonant or a nasal prefix

(40)

a. [pHa:k] ‘pig' [ka: bHak] 'your pig’

b. [pHaksu:] 'he untied it' [kambHaksun] ‘you do not untie it’

c. [tHi:] ‘local beer' [ka:dHi:] ‘your local beer’

d [tHoksu:] 'he ploughed it' [kan:dHoksun] ‘you did not plough it'

e. [kH□NbE:] ‘boat' [ka:gH□NbE:] 'your boat’

f. [kHEpsu:] 'he heard it' [kaNgHEpsun] ‘you did not hear it’

Similarly, /p/, /t/ /k/ and /c/ change to their voiced counterparts when they occur in intervocalic position after personal prefix or a nasal consonant or a nasal prefix.

(41)

a. [paN] house' [ka: baN] 'your house'

b [paksu:] 'he sent him' [kambaksun] ‘you did not send him/her.’

c. [toN] ‘arrow' [kadoN] ‘your arrow’

d. [ta:ru:] 'he brought it' [kanda:run] ‘you did not bring it'

e. [kaN] 'he searched for it' [ka:gaN] 'your spade’

f. [k□ttu:] 'he had it' [ka:N g□ttun] ‘you do not have it’

g. [ca:] ‘paddy’ [ka: ja:] ‘your paddy’

h. [cEppu:] ‘he cut it’ [ka:jEppu:] ‘you cut it’

**6.** CONSONANT PHONEMES. On the basis of the above analysis, Chhatthare Limbu contains consonant phonemes as listed in table (10).

| Manner of Articulation | labial | dental | alveolar | palatal | velar | glottal |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Stop | p b<br>pH | t<br>tH | | | k g<br>kH | ? |
| Affricate | | | c<br>cH | | | |
| Fricative | | | s | | | h |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nasal | m | n | | | ŋ | |
| Liquid | | | l | | | |
| Trill | | | | r | | |
| Glide | w | | | y | | |

TABLE 10. PHONEMIC INVENTORY OF CONSONANTS

Positions along the horizontal parameter are points of articulation from front to back in the mouth and positions along the vertical parameter are manner of articulation. From top to bottom, the consonants go from those with the greatest degree of closure to those with the least degree of closure.

**7.** ORTHOGRAPHIC REPRESENTATION OF CONSONANTS.Phonemic representation is abstract and rule-bound. It requires its speakers to remember allophonic rules every time he pronounces a word. Therefore, for the sake of relieving him of the problem to memorize the rule, its orthography should follow the phonetic transcription. However, for the sake of economy and acquiring the knowledge of its abstract form, phonemic transcription is very helpful. Therefore, in the present study, both phonetic and phonemic transcriptions have been opted.

| Manner of Articulation | labial | dental | alveolar | palatal | velar | glottal |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Stop | p b<br>pH bH | t d<br>tH dH | | | k g<br>kH gH | ? |
| Affricate | | | c j<br>cH jH | | | |
| Fricative | | | s | | | h |
| Nasal | m | n | | | ŋ | |
| Liquid | | | l | | | |
| Trill | | | | r | | |
| Retroflex | | | | □ \|<br>□H \| H | | |
| Glide | w | | | y | | |

TABLE 11. ORTHOGRAPHIC REPRESENTATION OF CONSONANTS

As [bH],[dH],[gH], [b], [d] and [g] as shown in 42 and 43 are allophones of /pH/ , /tH/, /kH/, /p/, /t/ and /k/ they are, as a rule, to be represented by their phonemes. However, since Chhatthare Limbu phonology is a complicated one, their phonemic as well as phonetic representation should be made as in 44. In phonemic transcription, vowel length is not shown as it is not contrastive in the language. In addition, in phonetic transcription too, it is advisable not to use vowel length once it has been established that it is not phonemic because the vowel allophones are not complicated ones like consonant allophones.

(42)

| Word | | Phonetic | Phonemic | Glossing |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. /pHak/ | ‘pig' | [ka: bHak] | /kapHak/ | 'your pig’ |

b. /pHaksu/ 'he untied it' [kambHaksun] /kanpHaksun/‘you do not untie it’

c. /tHi/ ‘local beer' [ka:dHi:] /katHi/ ‘your local beer’

d /tHoksu/ 'he ploughed it' [kandHoksun] /kantHoksun/ ‘you did not plough it'

e. /kH□NbE/ ‘boat' [ka: gH□NbE:] /kakH□NbE/ 'your boat’

f. kHEps-u 'he heard it' [kaNgHEpsun] /kankHEpsun/ ‘you did not hear it’

g. /paN/ house' [ka:baN] /kapaN/ 'your house'

h /paksu/ 'he sent him' [kambaksun] /kanpaksun/ ‘you did not send him/her.’

i. /toN/ ‘arrow' [ka: doN] /katoN/ ‘your arrow’

j. /taru/ 'he brought it' [kanda:run] /kantarun/ ‘you did not bring it'

k. /kaN/ 'he searched for it' [ka:gaN] /kakaN/ 'your spade’

l. /k□ttu/ 'he had it' [kaNg□ttun] /kank□ttun/ ‘you do not have it’

g. /ca/ ‘paddy’ [ka:ja:] /kaca/ ‘your paddy’

h. /cEppu/ ‘he cut it’ [ka-jEpp-u] /kacEppu/ ‘you cut it’

**8.** CONSTRAINTS OF CONSONANTS. The Chhatthare Limbu phonological system does not allow all consonants to occur in all positions. They have positional constraints as enumerated below.

a. The aspirated plosives /$k^h$/, /pH/ and /$t^h$/ can not occur in the final position.
b. Glides such as /w/ and /y/ can not occur in the final position.
c. Fricatives like /s/ and /h/ can't occur in the final position.
d. Affricates can't occur in the final position.
5. velar nasal /ŋ/ can't occur in the word initial position.
6. Liquid consonants like /r/ and /l/ can't occur in the final position in a native dialect.

**9.** VOWELS. Chhathare Limbu consists of the following vowels:

| | Front Unround | Centre | Back Round |
|---|---|---|---|
| Close | i i: | | u: u |
| Half close | e e: | | o: o |
| Half open | ɛ ɛ: | | □: □ |
| Open | | a a: | |

TABLE 12. PHONETIC INVENTORY OF VOWELS

**10.** MINIMAL PAIR CONTRAST OF VOWEL. Vowels contrast with each other in the initial, medial and final positions. The examples in 43 show contrast in the initial position.

(43)
a. [ikma:] 'to twist'
b. [ekma: ] 'to be broken'
c. [Ekma:] 'to winnow'
d. [akma:] 'to be uprooted'
e. [□kma:] ' to be detached' 'to cry loudly'
f. [okma:] 'to scratch'
g. [ukma:] 'to bring'

The examples in 44 show contrast in the middle position

(44)

a. [si:ma: ] 'to die'

b. [se:ma:] 'to urinate'

c. [sE:ma:] 'to scatter'

d. [sa:ma:] 'to make available'

e. [s□:ma:] 'to mix and mould'

f. [so:ma:] 'to itch'

g. [su:ma:] 'to touch'

The examples in 45 show contrast in the final position.

(45)

a. [si: ] 'he dies'

b. [ se:] 'he urinates'

c. [sE:] 'he scatters'

d. [sa:] 'to drops somebody'

e. [s□:] 'he kneads'

f. [so:] 'it itches'

g. [su:] 'he is lazy'

Similarly, vowels contrast with each other on the basis of tongue height- close, half close, half open and open.

Unrounded close vowel contrasts with unrounded, half close vowel.

(46)

a. [ip] ‘he makes sleep’[ep] ‘he treads’

b. [it] ‘he remembers’ [et] ‘he laughs’

c. [ik] 'he twists' [ek] ‘backbone'

Rounded close vowel contrasts with rounded, half close vowel.

(47)

a. [ut] ‘he calls’ [ot] ‘ it shines’

b. [uk] 'he brings down' [ok] 'he scratches'

c. [sum] 'he collects' [som] ‘he touches’

Rounded, half close vowel contrast with rounded, half open vowel.

(48)

a. [kot] ‘he searches’ [k□t] ‘he has it’

b. [ok] 'he scratches' [□k] ‘he cries’

c. [con] ''it falls’ [c□n] ‘he pushes’

Unrounded, half close vowel contrasts with unrounded, half open vowel.

(49)

a. [pHen] ‘loincloth’ [pHEn] 'he comes ‘

b. [tHek] 'he blocks' [tHEk] 'he inserts something by force’

c. [pHet] 'he farts at' [pHEt] 'he brings from across'

Unrounded, front half open vowel contrasts with unrounded, front open vowel.

(50)

a [Ep] 'he airs’ [ap] 'he shoots'

b. [lEm] ‘it is slippery’ [lam] ‘way’

c. [lEN] ‘he slips' [laN] ‘leg’

Rounded, back, half open, vowel contrasts with unrounded, centre, open vowel.

(51)

a. [t□k] ‘rice’ [tak] ‘friend’

b. [l□m] ‘he beats’ [lam] ‘way’

c. [y□n] ‘it is big’ [yan] ‘weed'

Vowels contrast with each other on the basis of tongue position and lip position. Unrounded, front, close vowel contrasts with rounded, back, close vowel.

(52)

a. [lip] ‘it is heavy’ [lup] ‘he buries’

b. [pit] ‘he sucks' [put] ‘it boils’

c. [ik] 'he twists' [uk] 'he brings down'

Unrounded, front, half close vowel contrasts with rounded, back, half-close vowel.

(53)

a. [et] ‘he embraces’ [ot] ‘it shines’

b. [se] ‘he urinates [so] ‘it itches’

e. [ken] 'he is tall' [kon] 'he searches'

Unrounded, front, half open vowel contrasts with rounded, back, half-open vowel.

(54)

a. [Et] 'he locks.' [□t] 'he occupies.'

b. [Ek] ‘it breaks' [□k] 'it wears out’

c. [pHEn] 'he comes.' [pH□n] ‘snow-flake'

**11.** DISTRIBUTION OF VOWEL PHONEMES. The long vowels occur in CV, VCV and CVCV structure. They, however, don't contrast with their corresponding short vowels as they occur in mutually exclusive environments.

**11.1.** DISTRIBUTION OF /i/ **.** /i/ occurs in the initial, medial and final positions.

(55)

| Initial position | Medial position | Final position |
|---|---|---|
| a. [im] ‘he sleeps’ | [tim] 'It is filled.' | [te:gi:] 'Let's go |
| b.[ikma:] ‘to twist.' | [tHim] 'he fills' | [yu:ŋi:] 'let's sit.' |
| c.[ipma:] ‘to think.' | [sim] 'sari' | [i:hi:] 'let's move around.' |

/i/ has two allophonic variants –[i] and [i:]. The short vowel occurs in the closed syllable whereas the long vowel occurs in the open syllable.

**11.2.** DISTRIBUTION OF **/e/.** /e/ occurs in the initial, medial and final positions.

(56)

| Initial position | Medial position | Final position |
|---|---|---|
| a. [epma:] 'to tread' | se:gu: 'he chose it' | [te:] 'He goes.' |
| b.[e:tu:] 'he laughed at him.' | [ne:tu:] 'he pressed it.' | [ke:] 'drum' |
| c. [ek] 'backbone' | [se:tu:] 'he urinated it.' | [se:] 'he scatters' |

/e/ has short and long variants. Short [e] occurs in a close syllable whereas long [e:] occurs in an open syllable.

**11.3.** DISTRIBUTION OF **/Ɛ/.** /E/ occurs in the initial, medial and final positions.

(57)

| Initial position | Medial position | Final position |
|---|---|---|
| a. [Ettu:] 'he locked it' | [sEttu:] 'he piled it up' | [sE:] 'he scatters' |
| b. [Ep] 'he stands' | [hE:gu:] 'he cut it' | [phE:] 'he flies' |
| c. [Ek] 'he winnows' | [E:gu:] 'it pained it' | [nE:] 'he lies' |

[E] and [E:] are allophonic variants. Short vowel occurs in the closed syllable whereas long vowel occurs in the open syllable.

**11.4.** DISTRIBUTION OF /a/ **.** /a/ occurs in the initial, medial and final positions.

(58)

| Initial position | Medial position | Final position |
|---|---|---|
| a [ap] 'he shoots' | [happu:] 'it was entangled.' | [ te:ga:] 'he went.' |
| b. [a:jam] 'we eat.' | [ha:pu:] 'he wept for him.' | [ha:ba:] 'he wept.' |
| d. [a:serum] 'we killed him.' | [kHappu:] 'he roofed it.' | [la:ha:] 'he entered' |

/a/ has two phonetic variants: [a] and [a:]

[a] occurs in a close syllable and [a:] occurs in an open syllable.

**11.5.** DISTRIBUTION OF **/□/.** /□/ occurs in the initial, medial and final positions.

(59)

| Initial position | Medial position | Final position |
|---|---|---|
| a. [□k] 'he digs' | [t□k] 'rice' | [c□:] 'he ate'. |
| b [□t] 'he occupies' | [s□:ru:] 'he kneaded it' | [k□:] 'he falls down' |

c.[□ksu:] 'he detached it.' [s□ksu:] 'he sold it' [s□:] 'he kneads'

It has [□] and [□:] variants. [□] occurs in a close syllable whereas [□:] ocurs in an open syllable.

**11.6.** DISTRIBUTION OF /o/

/o/ occurs in the initial, medial and final positions.

(60)

| Initial position | Medial position | Final position |
|---|---|---|
| a.[ot] 'it shines ' | [ko:tu:] 'he searched for it' | [ko:] 'it is hot.' |
| b. [opma:] 'to shine' | [kopma:] 'to search' | [to:] ' up' |
| c. [ok] 'he scratches' | [so:ku:] 'he pointed it' | [so:] 'it itches.' |

[o] and [o:] are phonetic variants.[o] occurs in a close syllable. [o:] occurs in an open syllable.

**11.7.** DISTRIBUTION OF /u/

/u/ occurs in the initial, medial and final positions.

(61)

| Initial position | Medial position | Final position |
|---|---|---|
| a. [ukma:] 'to bring.' | [pu:tu:] 'it was boiled.' | [pu:] 'bird' |
| b. [ukku:] 'he brought it' | [tHubu:] he stabbed it' | [cHu:] 'he touches' |
| c. [upma:] 'to call' | [cu:gu:] 'he did it' | [su:] 'he is lazy.' |

[u] and [u:] are phonetic variants.[u] occurs in a close syllable. [u:] occurs in an open syllable.

**12.** PHONEMIC INVENTORY OF VOWELS. Vowels can be classified according to the position of the tongue and the shape of the lips. The highest position of the tongue has two axes: the horizontal axis and vertical axis. The horizontal axis has three points: front, centre and back and the vertical axis has four points: close, half close, half open and open. These two axes give us two variables of classifications of vowels: tongue height and tongue position. The rounding of lips is the third variable for the classification of vowels. On the basis of the above study, the vowel phonemes of Chhathare Limbu can be schematized in the following way:

| Front | Centre | Back |
|---|---|---|
| Unround | Unround | Round |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Close | i | u |
| Half-close | e | o |
| Half-open | E | □ |
| Open | a | |

TABLE 13 PHONEMIC INVETORY OF VOWELS

**13.** PHONEMIC REPRESENTATION OF VOWELS. Chhatthare Limbu does not show vowel length contrast. Vowel length occurs only if syllable final position is empty. It has no complication like the consonants. Therefore, its orthography system does not require to introduce vowel length.

**13.1.** PHONEMIC REPRESENTATION OF /i/. [i] and [i:] are the allophones of the phoneme /i/ **.** They should be represented by the phoneme in the following way.

(62)

| Initial position | Medial position | Final position |
|---|---|---|
| a. /im/ 'he sleeps' | /tim/ 'It is filled.' | /tegi/'Let's go |
| b./ikma/ 'he twisted it.' | /tHim/ 'he fills' | /yuŋi/'let's sit.' |
| c./ipma/ 'I move around.' | /sim/ 'sari' | [i:hi:] 'let's move around.' |

**13.2.** PHONEMIC REPRESENTATION OF **/e/.** [e] and [e:] are the allophones of the phoneme /e/ **.** They should be represented by the phoneme in the following way:

(63)

| Initial position | Medial position | Final position |
|---|---|---|
| a. /epma/ 'to tread' | /segu/ he chose it' | /te/ 'He goes.' |
| b./e:tu/ 'he laughed at him.' | /netu/ 'he pressed it.' | /ke/'drum' |
| c. /ek/ 'backbone' | /se:tu:/ 'he urinated it.' | /se/ 'he scatters' |

/e/ has short and long variants. Short [e] occurs in a close syllable whereas long [e:] occurs in an open syllable.

**13.3.** PHONEMIC REPRESENTATION OF /E/. [E] and [E:] are the allophones of the phoneme /E/ **.** They should be represented by the phoneme in the following way.

(64)

| Initial position | Medial position | Final position |
|---|---|---|
| a. /Ettu/ 'he locked it' | /sEttu/ 'he piled it up' | /sE/ 'he scatters' |
| b. /Ep/ 'he stands' | /hEgu/ 'he cut it' | /phE/ he flies' |

c. /Ek/ 'he winnows' /Egu/ 'it pained it' /nE/ 'he lies'

**13.4.** PHONEMIC REPRESENTATION OF **/a/.** [a and [a:] are the allophones of the phoneme /a/ **.** They should be represented by the phoneme in the following way.

(65)

| Initial position | Medial position | Final position |
|---|---|---|
| a /ap/ 'he shoots' | /happu/ 'it was entangled.' | /tega/ 'he went.' |
| b. /ajam/ 'we eat.' | /ha:pu/ 'he wept for him.' | /haba/ 'he wept.' |
| c. /asErum/ 'we killed him.' | /kHappu/ 'he roofed it.' | /laha/ 'he entered' |

**13.5.** PHONEMIC REPRESENTATION OF /□/. [□] and [□:] are the allophones of the phoneme /□/**.** They should be represented by the phoneme in the following way.

(66)

| Initial position | Medial position | Final position |
|---|---|---|
| a. /□k/ 'he digs' | /t□k/ 'rice' | /c□/ 'he ate'. |
| b /□t/ 'he occupies' | /s□ru/ 'he kneaded it' | /k□/ 'he falls down' |
| c./□ksu/he detached it.' | /s□ksu/ 'he sold it' | /s□/ 'he kneads' |

**13.6.** PHONEMIC REPRESENTATION OF **/o/.** [o and [o:] are the allophones of the phoneme /o/ **.** They should be represented by the phoneme in the following way.

(67)

| Initial position | Medial position | Final position |
|---|---|---|
| a. /ot/ 'it shines ' | /kotu/ 'he searched for it' | /ko/ 'it is hot.' |
| b. /opma/ 'to shine' | /[kopma/'to search' | /to/ ' up' |
| c. /ok/ 'he scratches' | /soku/ 'he pointed it' | /so/ 'it itches.' |

**13.7.** PHONEMIC REPRESENTATION OF **/u/.** [u] and u:] are the allophones of the phoneme /u/ **.** They should be represented by the phoneme in the following way.

(68)

| Initial position | Medial position | Final position |
|---|---|---|
| a. /ukma/ 'to bring.' | /putu/ 'it was boiled.' | /pu/'bird' |
| b. /ukku/ 'he brought it' | /tHubu/ he stabbed it' | /cHu/'he touches' |
| c. /upma/ 'to call' | /cu:gu/ 'he did it' | /su/ 'he is lazy.' |

[u] and [u:] are phonetic variants.[u] occurs in a close syllable. [u:] occurs in an open syllable.

**14.** SYLLABLE**.** In Chhatthare Limbu, a syllable may contain only a vowel, consonant and vowel and consonant, vowel and consonant sequences. The canonical shape of the syllable is as follows:

(69)

| Onset | Rhyme | Coda | |
|---|---|---|---|
| C | V | C | |
| | i | | 'he visits.' |
| s | i | | 'he dies.' |
| s | e | n | 'he departs.' |

There are two types of syllables in chhathare limbu. They are close syllable and open syllable.

**14.1.** OPEN SYLLABLE**.** All vowels can occur in the final position of an open syllable.

(70)

| Onset | Rhyme | |
|---|---|---|
| C | V | |
| s | i | 'he dies' |
| s | e | 'he urinates.' |
| s | E | 'he scatters' |
| s | □ | 'he kneads.' |
| s | o | 'it iches' |
| s | u | 'he is lazy.' |

Similarly, except the voiced velar stop /g/, all consonant phonemes can occur in the onset position of the open syllable.

(71)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| p | a | 'father' |
| $p^h$ | a | 'he helps' |
| b | a | 'this' |
| t | a | 'he comes' |
| $t^h$ | a | 'he descends' |
| k | e | 'drum' |
| $k^h$ | e | 'yam' |
| ? | I | 'he wanders' |
| s | a | 'meat' |
| h | a | 'tooth' |
| c | a | 'paddy' |
| $c^h$ | a | 'child' |
| m | a | 'mother' |
| n | a | 'fish' |
| N | a | 'agentive case marker' |
| l | e | 'penis' |
| r | o | 'assertive particle' |
| w | a | 'hen' |
| y | a | 'it tickles' |

**14.2. CLOSE SYLLABLE.** All voiceless, unaspirated stops, glottal stop and nasal consonants can occur in the syllable final position.

(72)

| Onset | Rhyme | Coda | |
|---|---|---|---|
| s | i | p | 'he distills.' |
| p | i | t | 'he sucks.' |
| s | e | k | 'he chooses.' |
| p | i | ? | 'cow' |
| s | i | m | 'sari' |
| t | i | n | 'it burns.' |
| t | i | ŋ | 'thorn' |

Except voiced bilabial stop /b/ and voiced velar stop /g/ and velar nasal /N/ all the consonant phonemes occur in the syllable initial position of close syllable.

(73)

| Onset | Rhyme | Coda | |
|---|---|---|---|
| p | a | t | 'he speaks.' |
| $p^h$ | a | t | 'he fills.' |
| t | □ | k | 'rice' |
| $t^h$ | a | ŋ | 'cow-shed' |
| k | a | ŋ | ‘spade’ |
| $k^h$ | o | m | 'he picks up.' |
| s | I | m | ‘sari’ |
| c | I | t | ‘he is greedy’ |
| $c^h$ | o | n | ‘he fells’ |
| m | a | ŋ | 'goddess' |
| n | i | ŋ | 'thatch' |
| h | i | ŋ | 'he lives.' |
| l | a | ŋ | 'leg' |
| r | □ | k | 'only' |
| w | e | t | 'it spills.' |
| y | o | k | 'mark' |
| ? | I | N | ‘he buys’ |

However, the velar nasal /ŋ/ occurs in word internal syllable initial position in words such as /$t^h$uŋŋa/, 'I drink', /huŋŋa/ 'I pay' etc..

**15.** SYLLABLE SEQUENCES. In Chhatthare Limbu consonant sequences occur in the onset position and inter syllabic position. They are called initial sequences and inter-syllabic sequences.

**15.1.** INITIAL SEQUENCES.Initial sequence occurs in the syllable- onset before the nucleus or vowel. Only /w/ and /y/ occurs as a second consonant of the initial sequence.

(74)

| Onset | Rhyme | Coda | |
|---|---|---|---|
| CC | V | C | |
| cw | a | t | 'water' |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| sw | a | t | 'keep quite' |
| py | a | ŋ | 'give me.' |
| hy | a | ŋ | 'why?' |

**15.2.** INTER-SYLLABIC SEQUENCES. Inter-syllabic sequences are the consonant sequences that occur between the coda and the syllable-onset positions. These sequences are formed by the combination of either distinct or identical phonemes. The first type of consonant combination is called sequence and that of the second type is called geminate. They show inter-syllabic relationship of a word.

The sequence contains the combination of
two consonants as presented in 78.

(75)

| Syllable | | Examples | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|
| Coda | Onset | | |
| P | $p^h$ | nEpp$^h$u | ‘two people’ |
| p | s | tEpsu | 'he caught.' |
| [4]p | m | pipma | 'to suck' |
| p | n | pipna | ‘we sucked.' |
| [5]p | l | sapla | ' paper' |
| t | cH | piccHu | 'they (dl) suck.' |
| t | n | pitna | ‘I will suck.' |
| [6]t | l | tHEtla | ‘on account’ |
| k | p | ka-bakpa | 'younger one' |
| k | ph | lEkpHa | 'tongue' |
| k | t | miktok | ‘memento’ |
| k | $k^h$ | pikk$^h$a | ‘cows’ |
| k | s | paksu | 'he sent.' |
| k | c | sakca | ‘pulse’ |
| k | m | pakma | 'to unearth' |
| k | n | pokna | ' we got up.' |
| k | ŋ | lEkŋa | 'I change.' |
| k | l | ku makla | ‘black’ |
| k | r | c□kr□kma | ‘glottis’ |
| [7]k | w | sakwama | ‘starvation’ |
| m | b | ambE | ‘mango' |
| m | bH | lombHet | 'bamboo mat' |

[4] In fact, the root –final of these verbs are not /p/. It is /t/ realized as [p] due to its assimilation to the place of articulation of the following labial nasal /m/ .

[5] <-lo> is a progressive suffix whereas –la is a part of the noun sapla.

[6] Glottal stop simultaneously occurs with the voiceless, alveolar stop in the medial and final position. When it occurs before the lateral phoneme, glottal stop might replace it in the speech of some native speakers as an ideolectical variant. As a result, we may have the glottal stop and lateral sequence such as the?la, kuhe?la, i?la, pa?lo, ta?lo, pha?lo and ha?lo.

[7] /k/ occurs simultaneously with the glottal stop /?/ in the medial and final position. But when it occurs before the labial continuant /w/, it might be replaced by the glottal stop /?/ as an idiolectal variant.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| m | d | kHEmdu | ‘it suited him.' |
| m | n | pimna | 'we give him.' |
| m | l | samloma | ‘to sing’ |
| m | y | myaba | ‘vulture’ |
| n | d | panda | 'he jumped' |
| n | dH | andHa | 'they leave for us' |
| n | j | anja | ‘they eat us' |
| n | cH | mEncHa | 'grand child' |
| [8]n | jH | anjHa | 'my younger sibling' |
| n | l | panloma | ’to scold' |
| ŋ | b | t□NbE | ‘year’ |
| ŋ | g | maŋgEna | ‘head’ |
| ŋ | gHa | maŋgHa | 'far away' |
| ŋ | d | tH□ŋdu | 'it got swollen.' |
| ŋ | m | piŋma | 'to come out' |
| ŋ | n | iŋna | 'we bouht.' |
| ŋ | l | paŋli | 'son’s wife' |
| N | w | saNwe? | ‘buffalo’ |
| s | w | swa? | ‘be quiet’ |
| c | c | pH□cca | ‘marriage by bride’s own will’ |
| c | cH | iccHaba | ‘son-in-law’s or daughter-in-law’s father or son’s or daughter’s father-in law’ |
| c | w | cwa? | ‘water’ |

There are exceptionally sequences of three phonemes such as –mbr- as given in 76.

(76)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| a. | hambrikwa | ‘sweat’ |
| b. | kH□mbrek | ‘peach’ |
| c. | tumbrik | ‘flea’ |

Limbu syllables have following sequential constraints:

(77)

1. –pt-, -pk-, -tp-, -sp-, -hp-, -lp-, -lt-, -lk-, -lm-, -ln-, -lŋ-, -nm-, -nk-, -mk-, , -sk-, -sp-, -st-, -tm-, -tŋ-,-sl-.

**16.** GEMINATES. The combinations of identical phonemes called geminates occur in the phonology to show inter-syllabic relationship.

(78)

Syllable Syllable

| Coda | onset | Examples | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|
| p | p | tEppu | 'he covered it.' |
| t | t | puttu | 'he squeezed it.' |
| k | k | pHikka | 'he screamed.' |
| s | s | hEssaN | ‘nothing’ |
| m | m | pimma | 'to jump' |

[8] Between personal possessive prefix and kinship word the alveolar nasal /n/ is epenthesized and after it the voiced alveolar affricate [jh] occurs. Apart from this environment, nowhere does this sound occur in the dialect.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| n | n | pinna | 'I jump.' |
| ŋ | ŋ | puŋŋa | 'I will become.' |
| l | l | allo | ‘now’ |

In Chhathare Limbu only the unaspirated voiceless stops, nasals, fricative and lateral are geminated.

**17.** SYLLABLE PATTERNS. The language in question has from one syllable to five syllable patterns. A five syllable word may consist of fifteen phoneme sequences.

**17.1.** MONO- SYLLABIC.A single vowel, sequences of consonant and vowel, consonant, vowel and consonant and consonant, consonant and vowel form a mono-syllabic pattern. Here C stands for consonant and V for vowel.

(79)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a. | V | /i/ | ‘he wanders’ |
| b. | CV | /mi/ | ‘fire’ |
| c. | CVC | /pan/ | ‘speech’ |
| d. | CCVC | /cwat/ | ‘water’ |

**17.2**. DI-SYLLABIC. The sequence of CVCV, CVCCV,CVCVC and CVCCVC constitutes di-syllabic pattern. Thus, disyllabic pattern contains sequences of four, five and six phonemes.

(80)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a. | CVCV | /nEhu/ | ‘he laid it’ |
| b. | CVCCV | /p$^{h}$aksu/ | ‘he untied it’ |
| c. | CVCVC | /casuN/ | ‘gift’ |
| d. | CVCCVC | /haksuN/ | ‘I waited for him.’ |

**17.3.** THREE-SYLLABIC PATTERN. Three-syllabic pattern includes CVCVCV, CVCCVCV, CVCVCCVC and CVCCVCCVC pattern.

(81)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a. | CVCVCV | /n□yusi/ | ‘he fried them’ |
| b. | CVCVCCVC | [haruNsiN] | ‘I bit them’ |
| c. | CVCCVCV | [tEpsusi] | ‘he caught them’ |
| d. | CVCCVCCV | [l□mb$^{h}$Ekkha] | ‘bamboo carpet’ |
| e. | CVCCVCCVC | [tEpsuNsiN] | ‘I caught them’ |

**17.4.**FOUR-SYLLABIC PATTERN. Four –syllble word may contain CVCVCVCV, CVCVCCVCV, CVCVCCVCCVC, CVCVCVCCVC, CVCCVCVCCVC and CVCCVCCVCCVC sequences. It contains from twelve phonemes.

(82)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a. | CVCVCVCV | [kahErusi] | ‘you broke them’ |
| b. | CVCVCCVCV | [kajandusi] | ‘you beat them’ |

c CVCVCCVCCVC [majandunsin] ‘he didn’t beat them’
d. CVCVCVCCVC [mahuruncʰin] ‘he doesn’t teach them’
e. CVCCVCVCCVC [kanhuruncʰin]‘you didn’t teach them’
f. CVCCVCCVCCVC [kandEpsunsin] ‘you didn’t catch them’

**17.5.** FIVE SYLLABIC PATTERN. Five syllable word is formed of CVCVCVCCVCCVC, CVCVCCVCCVCCVC and CVCCVCCVCCVCCVC sequences. The sequence contains from thirteen to fifteen phonemes.

(83)

a. CVCVCVCCVCCVC [mahurumsimnEn] ‘let’s not teach them’
b. CVCVCCVCCVCCVC [mal□psumsimman] ‘we don’t beat them’
c.CVCCVCCVCCVCCVC [kanl□psumsimnEn] ‘you didn’t beat them’

**18.** HIATUS. Hiatus in the form of a glottal stop occurs intervocalically in a word and prevents dipthongisation as shown in 84.

(84)

a. [ka?i] ‘relation’
b. [kHe?ya] ‘frying pan’
c. [ka?Ek] 'he cheats you'
d. [mu?aN] 'they root out'
e. [a?□k] 'he scolds us'
f. [ka?ok] 'he scratches you'
g. [ka?uN] 'he pulls you'

**19.** DIPHTHONG. Diphthong occurs with the affixed interrogative particle <i> where hiatus doesn't occur.

(85)

a. [kadEi] 'do you go?'
b. [kadai] 'do you come?'
c. [kaj□i] 'do you eat?'
d. [kajugui] 'do you do it?
e. [ahai:] 'does it bite?'

Diphthong occurs with vocative suffix <-e> or <-o> where hiatus doesn't occur.

(86)

a. appao ‘o my father!’
b. ammao ‘o my mother!’
c. annae ‘o my sister!’
d. sebae ‘o friend!’

**20.** LOAN WORDS. Chhatthare Limbu has borrowed many words from the Nepali language.

(87)

a. koru ‘ox’

b. pari ‘land’

c. kagri ‘waterpot’

d. kot$^{h}$a ‘room’

e. d$^{h}$eki ‘husking mill’

f ko□ ‘coat’

g. □ika *tika* in Nepali

h. □$^{h}$Eka ‘milk keeping pot’

i. |a| u ‘ladle’

j. tHala ‘dish’ from Nepali *thal*

Only illiterate, old people are mono-lingual in Chhatthare Limbu community. They give the Nepali loan words native treatment. [goru] is, for example, a Nepali word for ‘ox’ but they give it native phonological treatment and pronounce it as [koru]. Similarly, they pronounce as [pari] for [bari], [kagri] for [gagri], [kot$^{h}$a] for [ko□$^{h}$a], [t$^{h}$eki] for [|$^{h}$eki]. The bilingual Limbu speakers however pronounce them as they are pronounced in Nepali. Therefore, the retroflex series /□, □H, |, |$^{h}$/ are used as phonemes in the orthography.

**21.** SUMMARY. In Chhatthare Limbu, there are twenty consonant phonemes such as /p/,/pH/, /b/, /t/, /tH/, /k/, /kH/, /g/, /?/, /s/, /h/, /c/, /cH/, /m/, /n/, /N/, /l/, /r/, /w/ and /y/. [p] and [k] are the allophones of the phonemes /b/ and /g/ but conversely [b] and [g] are also the allophones of the phonemes /p/ and /k/. When they occur in the medial position intervocalically or after the nasal consonant in a lexical noun, their status as a phoneme or an allophone is neutralized. Altogether there are nine allophones such as [p], [b], [d], [k], [g], [bH], [dH] [gH] and [j]. Voiced stops, strident, liquid and semi-vowels have syllable final constraints. Glottal stop and voiced, velar stop can not occur in the syllable onset position. There are seven vowels such as /i/, /u/, /e/, /o/, E/, /□/ and /a/ in the language with no vowel length contrast. The syllable has basically CVC pattern and it extends from one syllable to five syllables with multiple patterns. Unaspirated voiceless stops, nasals, fricative and lateral have geminate forms and other consonant sequences have as many as 44 varieties. The consonant sequence has the combination of two consonants except –mbr-sequence. Hiatus is used to prevent dipthongisation. The dipthongs appear only when the interrogative suffix <-i> is added to the stem ending in vowel. The Nepali loan words contain retroflex phones such as /□/,/□H/, /|/, and /|H/ which are to be used in orthography.

## CHAPTER 4
## MORPHOPHONOLOGY

**1.** INTRODUCTION**.** Morphophonological changes occur in a language due to two phonological processes: processes conditioned by syllable structure and surrounding segments. This chapter attempts to explore how syllable structure and surrounding segments condition morphophonological changes in the language.

**2.** PROCESSES CONDITIONED BY SYLLABLE STRUCTURE. In Chhatthare Limbu, the syllable structure permits V, VC, CV, CVC. Some phonemes are not permitted in certain positions in the syllables. Likewise, some sound sequences are restricted to certain positions of the syllables and certain sound sequences are not permitted in the language. The syllable structure controls them by deletion and epenthesis.

**2.1.** DELETION. The syllable final verb stem consonants /w/, /r/, /y/ and /h/ are deleted before a consonant. It can be shown by the following rule:

(1)

{ w, r, y, h}→Ø/ / $]

The syllable final verb stem consonant /w/ is augmented before a vocalic suffix as in 2a, 2c and 2e but deleted before a consonantal suffix as in 2b, 2d and 2f.

(2) a. ha**w**-u
divide-3O
'He divided it.'

b. ha-ma
divide-INF
'To divided'

c tHa**w**-u
drop-3O
'He dropped it.'

d. tHa-ma
drop-INF
'To drop'

e kHo**w**-u
find-3O
'He found it.'

f kHo-ma
find-INF
'To find'

The syllable final verb stem consonant /r/ is augmented before a vocalic suffix as in 3a, 3c and 3e but deleted before a consonantal suffix as in 3b, 3d and 3f.

(3) a. ha**r**-u
bite-3O
'He beat it.'

b. ha-ma
bite-INF
'To bite'

c. na**r**-u
leave-3O
'He left it over.'

d. na-ma
leave-INF

'To leave over'

e. pHa**r**-u
help-3O
'He helped him.'

f. pHa-ma
help-INF
'To help'

The syllable final verb stem continuant /y/ is augmented before a vocalic suffix as in 4a, 4c and 4e but deleted before a consonantal suffix as in 4b, 4d and 4f.

(4) a. pE**y**-a
fly-PT
'It flew.'

b. pE-ma
fly-INF
'To fly'

c. so**y**-a
itch-PT
'It itched.'

d. so-ma
itch-INF
'To itch'

e. po**y**-a
increase-PT
It increased.'

f. po-ma
increase
'To increase'

The syllable final verb stem glottal fricative /h/ is augmented before a vocalic suffix as in 5a, 5c and 5e but deleted before a consonantal suffix as in 5b, 5d and 5f.

(5) a. nE**h**-u
keep-3O
He keeps it.'

b. nE-ma
keep-INF
'To keep'

c. lE**h**-u
know-3O
'He knows it.'

d. lE-ma
know-INF
'To know'

e. pE**h**-u
vomit-3O
'He vomited it.'

f. pE-ma
vomit-INF
'To vomit'

Verb stems have post-syllabic consonants in the language. They are augmented before a vocalic suffix but deleted before a consonantal suffix as consonant cluster is

not licensed in the syllable final position in the language. So, the last consonant in the cluster is deleted. The post-syllabic consonants such as /p/, /t/, /k/ and /s/ are deleted before the consonantal suffix.

The post-syllabic bilabial stop /p/ in the verb stem is augmented before a vocalic suffix as in 6a, 6c and 6e but deleted before a consonantal suffix as in 6b, 6d and 6f.

(6) a. cEp**p**-u
cut-3O
'He cut it.'

b. cep-ma
cut-INF
'To cut'

c. lEp**p**-u
throw-3O
'He threw it.'

d. lEp-ma
throw-INF
'To throw'

e. kHEp**p**-u
yoke-3O
'He yoked it.'

f. kHEp-ma
yoke-INF
'To yoke'

The post-syllabic dental stop /t/ or /d/ in the verb stem is augmented before a vocalic suffix as in 7a, 7c and 7e but deleted before a consonantal suffix as in 7b, 7d and 7f.

(7) a. kHam**d**-u
chew -3O
He chewed it.'

b. kHam-ma
chew-INF
'To chew'

c. kHEm**d**-u
suit -3O
'It suited him.'

d. kHEm-ma
suit-INF
'To suit'

e. s□ŋ**d**-u
cook-3O
'He cooked it ready for eating.'

f. s□ŋ-ma
cook-INF
'To cook ready for eating'

The post-syllabic voiceless velar consonant /k/ in the verb stem is augmented before a vocalic suffix as in 8a, 8c and 8e but deleted before a consonantal suffix as in 8b, 8d and 8f.

(8) a. lEk**k**-u
change-3O

'He changed it.'

b. lEk-ma
change-INF
'To change'

c. hEk**k**-u
catch-3O
'It caught him.'

d. hEk-ma
catch-INF
'To catch it'

e. tHEk**k**-u
push-3O
'He pushed it down.'

f. tHEk-ma
push-INF
'To push it down'

The post-syllabic voiceless, alveolar fricative /s/ in the verb stem is augmented before a vocalic suffix as in 9a, 9c and 9e but deleted before a consonantal suffix as in 9b, 9d and 9f.

(9) a. □k**s**-a
disjoin-PT
'It disjoined.'

b. □k-ma
disjoin-INF
'To disjoin'

c. ak**s**-a
uproot-PT
'It was uprooted.'

d. ak-ma
uproot-INF
'To uproot'

e. tHup**s**-u
to slide-3O
'He made it slid.'

f. tHup-ma
slide-INF
'To slide'

When demonstrative adjectives and Locative suffix occur together, final vowel of the demonstrative is deleted.

(10) a. ba-o
this-LOC
'in this'

b. b**o**

‘here’

c. kumba-o

this-LOC

‘in this’

d. kumb**o**

‘here’

e. hamba-o

that –LOC

‘in that’

f.. hamb**o**

‘there’

The final vowel /a/ in demonstrative adjectives in 10a, 10c, and 10e is deleted and the locative suffix <-o> is directly added to them as in 10b, 10d and 10f. Similarly, the vowel /a/ in the final position of first person exclusive suffix <-ma ~na -Na> as in 11a, 11c and 11e is deleted when it occurs before the sequential suffix <-aN> as shown in 11b, 11d and 11f.

(11) a tEps-u-m-ma-aN wa

hold-3O-pA-1e-SEQ be

‘We have held him/her/it.’

b. tEps-u-m-ma- N wa

hold-3O-pA-1e-SEQ be

‘We have held him/her.’

c. ka-jan-na-aN ka-lok

2-beat-1e-SEQ 2-run

‘You beat me and run,’

d. ka-jan-na-N ka-lok

2-beat-1e-SEQ 2-run

‘You beat me and run,’

e. tEk-Na -aN tum-u-N

go-1e-SEQ meet-3O-1e

‘I will go and meet him/her.’

f. tEk-Na - N tum-u-N

go-1e-SEQ meet-3O-1e

‘I will go and meet him/her.’

If a verb stem has a sequence of a voiceless velar stop /k/ and dental fricative /s/, or bilabial stop /p/ and alveolar fricative /s/, they both appear before a vocalic suffix

as in 12a and 12c but when they appear before a consonantal suffix, the post-syllabic consonant is deleted to respect syllable structure and the syllable final /k/ changes to /N/ as shown in 12b and the syllable final /p/ changes to /m / as in 12d.

(12) a. pHa**ks**-u
untie-3O
'He untied it.'

b. pHa**ŋ**-ma
untie-INF
'To untie'

c. a**ps**-u
winnow-3O
'He winnowed it.'

d. a**m**-ma
winnow-INF
'To winnow'

In third person non-singular agent and speech act participant object configurations in negative verb paradigm, the third person non-singular agent and negative prefix occur in contiguous situation as in 13a, 13c and 13e. At that time, the negative marker is deleted as in 13b, 13d and 13f as the syllable structure does not permit germination in the syllable final position.

(13) a. a-m-m-baks-a-N-nEn
1-3nsA-NEG-send-PT-NEG
'They did not send me.'

b. a-**m**-baks-a-N-nEn
1-3nsA/NEG-send-PT-NEG
'They did not send me.'

c. ka-n-n-dEps-a-n
2-3nsA-NEG-catch-PT-NEG
'They did not catch you.'

d. ka-**n**-dEps-a-n
2-3nsA/NEG-catch-PT-NEG
'They did not catch you.'

e. ka-N-N-got-nEn
2-3nsA-NEG-search-NEG
'They do not search you.'

f. ka-**N**-got-nEn
2-3nsA/NEG-search-NEG
'They do not search you.'

**2.2.** EPENTHESIS. In the first person singular agent and second person plural object configuration, there is an insertion of /n/ to avoid hiatus between the object marker <-na> and number marker <-i> as shown in 14.a-c.

(14) a. cHu-na-**n**i-ŋ
touch-1→2-pO-1e
'I beat you.'

b. set-na-**n**i-ŋ
kill-1→2-pO-1e
'I kill you.'

c. tem-na-**n**i-ŋ
catch-1→2-pO-1e
'I catch you.'

The dental nasal consonant /n/ is inserted between an imperative suffix <-a> and the third person object suffix <-u> as shown in 15.a-c.

(15) a. hat-a-**n**u-m-si-m
distribute-IMP-3O-pA-nsO-pA
'Distribute among them.'

b. nat-a-**n**u-m
chase-IMP-3O-pA
' You, chase them.'

c. kHEks-a-**n**u-m
bind-PT-3O-pA
'You, bind him.'

The velar nasal consonant /N/ is inserted between the first person suffix <-N> and the sequential suffix <-aN> as shown in 16a-c.

(16) a. nih-u-N-**N**aN wa
see-3O-1e-SEQ be
'I have seen it.'

b. hEr-u-N-**N**aN wa
break-3O-1e-SEQ be
'I have broken it'

c. sub-u-N-**N**aN wa
close-3O-1e-SEQ be
'I have closed it.'

Homorganic nasals are inserted between the syllable final consonant and the interrogative suffix <-i>. The nasal consonants assume their phonetic shapes according to the phonological environments as shown in 17.a-f.

(17) a. ba sim-**m**i
this saree-Q
'Is this a saree?'

b. kHEnE ka-hap-**m**i ?
you 2-weep-Q
'Do you weep?'

c. kHunE pin-**n**i
he jump-Q
'Does he jump?'

d. kHEnE batto ka-get-**n**i
you up here 2-come up-Q

‘Do you come up here?’

e. ba ka-baN-**N**i ?
this 2sPOSS-house-Q
‘Is this your house?’

f. ba Ek-**N**i
this break-Q
‘Does this break?’

In 17a-b the bilabial nasal /m/ is inserted due to the influence of the preceding bilabial nasal consonant and bilabial stop consonant. In 17c-d, the dental nasal /n/ is inserted due to the influence of the preceding dental nasal consonant and dental stop consonant. Similarly, in 17e-f, the velar nasal /N/ is inserted due to the influence of the preceding velar nasal consonant and velar stop consonant.

Homorganic nasal consonants are inserted between the syllable final consonant and the locative suffix <-o>. The nasal consonants assume their phonetic shapes according to the phonological environments as shown in 18.a-f.

(18) a. nam-**m**o
sun –LOC
‘in the sun’

b. hap-**m**o
nest-LOC
‘in the nest’

c. □n-**n**o
horse-LOC
‘on the horse’

d. cwat-**n**o
water-LOC
‘in water’

e. paN-**N**o
house-LOC
‘in the house’

f. huk-**N**o
hand-LOC
‘in a hand’

In 18 a-b bilabial nasal consonant /m/ is inserted before the locative suffix <-o> due to the influence of the preceding bilabial nasal consonant and bilabial stop consonant. In 18.c-d dental nasal consonant is inserted due to the influence of the preceding dental nasal and dental stop consonants. In 18e-f, the velar nasal is inserted due to the influence of preceding velar nasal and velar stop consonants.

Homorganic nasal consonants are inserted between the syllable final consonant and the vocative suffix <-E>. The nasal consonants assume their phonetic shapes according to the phonological environments as shown in 19a-c.

(19) a. nam-**m**E
sun-VOC
‘oh! Sun’

b. pit-**n**E
cow-VOC
‘oh! Cow’

c. maN-**N**E
goddess-VOC
'oh! Goddess'

In 19a bilabial nasal consonant /m/ is inserted before the vocative suffix <-E> due to the influence of the preceding labial nasal consonant. In 19b dental nasal consonant is inserted due to the influence of the preceding dental stop. In 19c, the velar nasal is inserted due to the influence of preceding velar nasal consonant.

Homorganic nasal consonants are inserted between the syllable final consonant and the absolutive suffix <-iN>. The nasal consonants assume their phonetic shapes according to the phonological environments as shown in 20.a-f.

(20) a. lam-**m**iN
path-ABS
'the path'

b. ku-lap-**m**iN
3sPOSS-wiN-ABS
'its wing'

c. ku-bHEn-**n**iN
3sPOSS-underwear-ABS
'his/her underwear'

d. ka-met-**n**iN
2sPOSS-wife-ABS
'your wife'

e. ka-laN-**N**iN
2sPOSS-leg-ABS
'your leg'

f. a-huk-**N**iN
1sPOSS-hand-ABS
'my hand'

In 20a-b bilabial nasal consonant /m/ is inserted before the absolutive suffix <-iN> due to the influence of the preceding bilabial nasal consonant /m/ and bilabial stop consonant /p/. In 20c-d dental nasal consonant is inserted due to the influence of the preceding dental nasal consonant /n/ and dental stop consonant /t/. In 20.e-f, the velar nasal is inserted due to the influence of preceding velar nasal consonant /N/ and velar stop consonant /k/.

Gemination occurs between the kinship term and the prefix as shown in 21a-e.

(21) a. ku**n**-ni
3sPOSS-aunt
'his/her aunt'

b. ku**m**-ma
3sPOSS- mother
'his/her mother'

c. ku**p**-pa
3sPOSS-father
'his/her father'

d. ku**t**-tuba
3sPOSS-grandfather
'his/her grandfather'

e. ku**k**-ku
3sPOSS-maternal uncle
'his maternal uncle'

Unaspirated consonant is geminated before the kinship terms.

(22) a. ku**c**-cHa
3sPOSS- child
'his/her child'

b. a**p**-pHaN
1sPOSS- uncle
'my uncle'

c. a**t**-tHE
1sPOSS-grand mother
'my grandmother'

In 22a, the unaspirated alveolar affricate /c/ is inserted due to its assimilation to the following aspirated alveolar affricate consonant /cH/ for place of articulation.
In 22b, the bilabial stop /p/ is inserted due to its assimilation to the following aspirated bilabial stop /pH/ for place of articulation. In 22c, the dental stop /t/ is inserted due to its assimilation to the following aspirated dental stop /t/ or /tH/ for place of articulation.

Homorganic stops are inserted between demonstrative adjectives and locational adverbs.

(23) a. ba**p**mo 'down here'
b. ba**t**to 'up here'

/p/ is inserted between the demonstrative adjective *ba* 'this' and locational adverb *mo* 'down below' as in 23a when they are compounded and /t/ is inserted between the demonstrative adjective *ba* and locational adverb *to* as in 23b when they are compounded.

/?/ is inserted between the demonstrative adjective *ba* and locational adverb *yo* as in 24 when they are compounded.

(24) ba?yo 'this side'

**3.** PROCESS CONDITIONED BY SURROUNDING SEGMENTS. This section deals with the phonological process conditioned by surrounding segments.

**3.1.** ASSIMILATION. If a verb stem has a voiceless, dental stop /t/ in a syllable final position, it stays unchanged before the vocalic suffix /-u/ as in 30a, 30c and 30e but it undergoes homorganic assimilation before a consonantal suffix as in 30b, 30d and 30f and is realized as /p/.

(25) a. set-u
urinated-3O
'He urinated it.'

b. se**p**-ma
urinate-INF
'To urinate it.'

c. pHet-u
fart-3O

'He farted him.'

d pHe**p**-ma
fart-INF
'To fart at something or somebody'

e. ket-u
insert-3O
'He inserted it.'

f. ke**p**-ma
insert-INF
'He inserted it.'

The syllable final consonant /t/ of a verb stem undergoes affrication if it is followed by a voiceless, aspirated alveolar affricate /cH/. However, in a slow speech it remains unchanged before /cH/.

(26) a. kEt
brings
'He brings.'

b. kE**c**-cH-u
bring- dA-3O
'They bring him.'

c. mEt
looks
'He looks.'

d mE**c**-cH-u
leave-dS-3O
'They look at him.'

e. Et
locks
'He locks'

f. E**c**-cH-u
lock-dA-3O
'They lock it.'

This situation can be exhibited in the following way:

(27)

| | |
|---|---|
| 1.Underlying representation | Et-cH-u |
| 2. Lexical representation | Et-cH-u |
| 3. Assimilation | c |
| 4. Phonetic representation | Ec-cH-u |

It can be shown by the following rule:

(28)

t > c/ - cH

Nasal consonants undergo either regressive or progressive assimilation. The first person exclusive subject marker <-ŋ> undergoes progressive assimilation retaining or changing its phonetic shape according to the consonant just preceding it.

(29) a. y□N-**Na**

shiver-1e
‘I shiver.’

b. lok-**ŋa**
run-1e
'I run.'

c. phEn-**na**
come-1e
'I come.'

d. et-**na**
laugh-1e
‘I laugh.’

e. im-**ma**
sleep-1e
'I sleep'

f. hap-**ma**
weep-1e
'I weep.'

In 29a-b the nasal /ŋ/ retains its phonetic shape because it is preceded by the velar consonants /N/ and /k/ which influence the following consonant to assimilate for place of articulation. In 29c-d, the velar nasal consonant /ŋ/ changes to dental, nasal consonant /n/ because it is influenced by the preceding dental, nasal consonant /n/ and dental stop consonant /t/ and in 29e, the nasal /ŋ/ changes to labial nasal /m/ under the influence of the preceding bilabial nasal /m/. Similarly, in 29f it changes to bilabial nasal /m/ under the phonetic motivation of the preceding labial stop consonant /p/. The process of the phonological change of *et-na* is shown for example in the following way:

(30)

1. Underlying representation /et/ /ŋa/
2. Lexical representation /et-ŋa/
3. Assimilation n
4. Phonetic representation [et-na]

This situation can be presented by the following rule:

(31)
/ŋ/ > [ŋ] / velar -
[n] / dental -
[m]/labial -

The negative prefix <n-> undergoes regressive assimilation with phonological changes according to the phonetic environment of its immediately following consonant of the verb stem when it occurs between personal prefixes and a verb stem.

(32) a. ma-**m**-mEtt-u-n
3pA-NEG-look at-3O-NEG
'They did not look at it.'
b. ma-**m**-bat-u-n
3pS-NEG-tell-3O-NEG
'They don't tell it.'
c. ka-**n**-nuh-u-n
2-NEG-cure-3O-NEG
'You do not cure him/her.'
d. ka-**n**-de-nEn
2- NEG-go-NEG
'you don't go.'
e. a-**ŋ**-got-u-m-nEn
1i-NEG-search-3O-pA-NEG
'We don't search it.'

In 32a-b, the negative prefix <n-> changes to a labial nasal /m/ due to the influence of the following labial nasal consonant /m/ and bilabial stop /b/. It stays unchanged in 32c-d because of its assimilation to the following dental nasal /n/ and dental stop /t/ for place of articulation. In 32e, it changes to /ŋ/ under the phonetic environment of the following velar stop [g].

Syllable final nasal /n/ changes to lateral in a fast speech if it is followed by lateral consonant /l/.

(33) a. ma-**l**-lok-nEn
3pS-NEG-run-NEG
'They do not run.'
b. ka-**l**-lEh-u-n
2pS-NEG-know-3O-NEG
'You do not know it.'
c. a-**l**-lEh-u-m-nEn
1-NEG-know-3O-pA-NEG
'We do not know it.'

The phonological process of the morphophonological changes of the negative verb *ma-m-bat-u-n* is presented in 34 for example.

(34)
1. Underlying representation ma-n-pat-u-n
2. Assimilation m
3. Lexical representation /ma-m-pat-u-n/
4. voicing b
5. Phonetic representation [ma-m-bat-u-n]

This situation can be indicated by the following rule:

(35)

/n/ >[n] / - dental
[m]/ - labial
[ŋ] / - velar

Similarly, the negative suffix <-nEn> retains only <-n> as a negative suffix when it occurs after the vowel.

(36) a. ka-n-naps-u-**n**
2-NEG-smell-3O-NEG
'You don't smell it.'

b. ka-m-bat-u-**n**
2-NEG-say-3O-NEG
'You don't say it.'

c. a-m-bac-cH-u-**n**
1-NEG-say-dS-3O-NEG
'We don't say it.'

It can be represented by the following rule:

(37)

<-nEn> > <-n>/ V-

The negative prefix <n-~m-~N-> are derived from the negative prefix <man-> which occurs only in first person singular subject or agent and first person plural exclusive subject or agent past verb forms. In first person singular subject or agent in non-past and third person singular or dual subject or agent in non-past or past form of the verbs, the negative prefix is <ma->. These three types of negative prefixes < man->, <ma-> and <n-~ m-~ N-> are morphologically determined. (See..)

The third person plural subject or agent prefix is <mu-> which is evident from the following examples:

(38) a. **mu**-sEr-u
3pA-kill-3O
'They kill him.'

b. **mu**-deps-u
3pA-catch-3O
'They catch him.'

c. **mu**-iŋ-u
3pA-buy-3O
'They buy it.'

When <mu-> occurs with the negative prefix <n-~m-~N->, the high, round , back vowel /u/ changes to low, unrounded back vowel /a/ and the negative prefix is realized as <ma->.

(39) a. **ma**-m-bHEtt-u-n
3pS-NEG-bring-3O-NEG
'They did not bring it.'

b. **ma**-n-nok-u-n
3pS-NEG-return-3O-NEG
'They did not return it.'

c. **ma**-N-goh-u-n
3pA-NEG-attend-3O-NEG

‘They did not attend it.’

This situation can be explained by the following rule:

(40)

<mu-> > <ma-> /{-<m~n~N}

The phonetic form of third person plural prefix is morphologically determined. However, the prefix <mu-> loses its vowel when it occurs after the first person and second person object morphemes, < a-> and <ka-> respectively and retains only <m>. The morpheme <m> also undergoes place assimilation homorganic to the following stop.

(41) a. a-**m**-baks-a-ŋ
1-3nsA-send-PT-1sO
'They sent me.'

b. ka-**m**-baks-a
2-3nsA-send-PT
'Thy sent you.'

c. a-**n**-sat-na
1-3nsA-tease-1sO
'They tease me.'

d. ka-**n**-sat
2-3nsA-tease
'They tease you.'

e. a-**ŋ**-gHEŋ-ŋa
1-3nsA-bind-1sO
'They bind me.'

f. ka-**ŋ**-gHEŋ
2-3nsA-bind
'They bind you.'

This situation can be presented by the following rule:

(42)

<mu-> > <m-~n-~N >/{ <ka- }-
{ <a->}-

A flap /r/ is not permitted in the syllable final position in the language. So, its underlying form is represented either by a glottal stop /?/ or by a dental nasal /n/ in the syllable final position. Its underlying form /r/ is manifested when it is followed by a vocalic suffix <-u> or <-a>.

(35) a. sE?
kill-3sS
'He kills.'

b. sEr-u
kill-3O
'He kills it.'

c. lE?
leave-3sS
'He leaves.'

d. lEr-u
leaves-3O
‘He leaves it.'

e hE?
break-3sS

'He breaks'

f. hEr-u
break-3O
'He breaks it.'

g. phEn
come-3sS/NPT
'He comes.'

h. phEr-a
come-PT
'He came.'

The transition of /r/ to /?/ or /n/ can be explained according to a morphological rule. In the language, a liquid cannot occur in the coda position. If any sound ever occurs, it is devoiced. In 35a, 35c and 35e, the phoneme /r/ as a voiced sound is not permitted in the coda position. So, it is devoiced and occurs as /?/. This situation can be shown in the following way:

(36)

1. Underlying representation /sEr/
2. Lexical representation /sEr/
3. Devoicing /?/
4. Phonetic representation [sE?]

In 35g, /r/ occurs as /n/. This situation can be explained by the following rule:

(37)

/r/ >/?/ or /n/ /- #

It indicates that the flap /r/ changes to /?/ or /n/ in a syllable final position.

**3.2.** DISTANT ASSIMILATION. The negative prefix <-n> assimilates to the final consonant of the verb stem for the place of articulation.

(38) a. ka-**n**-ut-u-n
2-NEG-call-3O-NEG
'You do not call him.'

b. ka-**m**-ep-u-n
2-NEG-tread-3O-NEG
'You do not tread him.'

c. ka-**N**-og-u-n
2-NEG-scratch-3O-NEG
'You do not scratch it.'

In 38a the negative marker is <n-> because the following consonant in coda position is /t/, which is a dental stop. The dental nasal <n-> assimilates to it for the place of articulation. Similarly, in 38b and 38c the negative marker is <-m> and <-N> respectively because they are followed by bilabial stop [p] and velar stop [g] in contagious positions. Distant assimilation occurs only in fast speech.

**3.3. I**NTERVOCALIC VOICING. Voiceless stops /p/, /pH/, /t/, /tH/, /k/ and /kH/ and voiceless alveolar affricate /c/ are realized as voiced allophones between the vowels of the prefix and the verb root.

(39) a. ka+pat > ka**b**at 'You speak.'

b. ka +pHat > ka**bH**at 'You fill.'

c. ka + te > ka**d**e 'You go'

d. mu +tHok > mu**dH**ok 'They cook.'

e. mu + kot > mu**go**t 'They search.'

f. mu + kHE > mu**gH**E 'They quarrel.'

g. ma + cEppun > ma**j**Eppun 'He didn't cut.'

This situation can be accounted for by the following rules:

(40)

Voiceless obstruents > Voiced/ V+-+V

The voiceless obstruents become voiced between prefix vowel and stem vowel. The phonological process of [ kabat] is given below for example.

(41)

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Underlying representation | /kapat/ |
| 2. Lexical representation | /kapat/ |
| 3. Voicing | [ b] |
| 4. Phonetic representation | [kabat] |

**3.4.** VOICING ASSIMILATION. The morphemes beginning with voiceless stops are realized as voiced allophones after the nasal consonants. The voiceless dental stops change to their voiced counterparts being assimilated to the voicing of adjacent nasal consonants /m/, /n/ and /ŋ/.

(42) a. kHamt + u > kHam**d**u 'He chewed it.'

b. lEnt +u > lEn**d**u ' He tore it.'

c. s□ŋt +u > s□ŋ**d**u 'He made it ripe.'

d. paN+ kHa> paN**gH**a ‘houses’

e. kaN+ kotun > kaN**g**otun ‘You do not search it’

f. kam+ patun> kam**b**atun ‘You did not say it.’

This situation can be shown by the following rule:

(43)

-V > +V/-nasal

It implies that the voiceless stops changes to their corresponding voiced stops if they are preceded by nasal consonants.

**3.5.** LABIALIZATION. A consonant becomes labialized in the anticipation of a round vowel such as /u/ or /o/.

(44)

a. kut +u > $k^{w}ut^{w}u$ 'He made him carry.'

b. ko +t > $k^{w}ot$ 'He searches.'

It is shown by the following rule:

(45)

C- labialized/ - RV

It formulates that a consonant is labialized if it precedes a round vowel.

**4.** SUMMARY. In Limbu morphophonological changes are conditioned by syllable structure and surrounding segments. Limbu has syllable structure patterns which are maintained through phonological processes such as deletion and epenthesis. These phonological processes condition morphophonological changes in the language. Similarly, morphophonological changes are effected by various processes of assimilation such as progressive assimilation, regressive assimilation, distant assimilation, intervocalic voicing assimilation, voicing assimilation and labialization.

CHAPTER 5
NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

**1**. INTRODUCTION. Nouns in Limbu can inflect for number, person, case and gender. In rare cases they also inflect for diminutive forms and human classifiers. Compound nouns are formed by the combination of more than one noun. This chapter is devoted to the morphological analysis of nouns.

**5.2.** GENDER. A few kinship nouns inflect for masculine and feminine gender. They are marked by <–pa > or <- ba> for male and <–ma> for female.

(1)

| | Masculine | Feminine |
|---|---|---|
| a. | nak**pa** | nak**ma** |
| | nephew-MASC | nephew-FEM |
| | 'nephew (brother's son)' | 'niece ( brother's daughter)' |
| b. | mEnc$^{h}$a-**ba** | mEnc$^{h}$a-**ma** |
| | grandchild-MASC | grand-child –FEM |
| | 'grandson' | 'grand-daughter' |
| c. | lamsa-**ba** | lamsa-**ma** |
| | nephew-MASC | nephew-FEM |
| | 'nephew ( sister's son)' | 'niece (sister's daughter)' |

Kinship nouns are followed by modifiers. They show agreement with adjectives in noun phrases.

(2)

a. nak-**pa** cuk-**pa**
nephew-MASC small-MASC
'younger nephew'

b. nak-**ma** cuk-**ma**
nephew-FEM small-FEM
'younger niece'

c. mEncHa-**ba** tumbHo-**ba**
grand-child-MASC the eldest MASC
'the eldest grandson'

d. mEncHa-**ma** cH□rum-**ma**
grand-child-FEM elder-FEM
'elder grand-daughter'

e. lamsa-**ba** pHo?wa-**ba**
nephew-MASC youngest-MASC
'youngest nephew'

f. lamsa-**ma** pHo?wa**ma**
nephew-FEM youngest
'youngest niece.'

Gender inflections are limited to a very few kinship terms and are not productive. There are many kinship words, which don't inflect for gender. They are as follows:

(3)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| a. | p$^{h}$ubu | nEndre |
| | 'elder brother' | 'sister-in-law (elder brother's wife)' |
| b. | p$^{h}$app$^{h}$aŋ | c$^{h}$icc$^{h}$imma |
| | 'uncle' | 'aunt' |

c. kukku ‘ninni’
‘maternal uncle’ aunt (maternal uncle's wife)

A handful of common nouns inflect for gender.

(4)

| | Masculine | Feminine |
|---|---|---|
| a. | t□rE-**ba** | t□rE-**ma** |
| | guest -MASC | guest –FEM |
| | ‘a male guest’ | ‘ a female guest’ |
| b. | ya-**ba** | ya-**ma** |
| | priest-MASC | priest-FEM |
| | ‘Limbu priest (male)’ | ‘Limbu priest (female)’ |

These nouns show agreement with adjectives.

(5)

a. cuk-**pa** t□rE-**ba**
small-MASC guest-MASC
‘a small male guest’

b. cuk-**ma** t□rE-**ma**
small-FEM f guest-FEM
‘a small female guest’

c. kem-**ba** ya-**ba**
tall-MASC priest-MASC
‘a tall Limbu priest’

d. kem-**ma** ya-**ma**
tall-FEM priest-FEM
‘a tall Limbu priestess’

Nouns referring to the ethnic identity of a person inflect for gender.

(6)

| | Masculine | Feminine |
|---|---|---|
| a. | yakthuŋ-**ba** | yakthuŋ-**ma** |
| | limbu-MASC | limbu-FEM |
| | ‘Limbu (male)’ | ‘Limbu (female)’ |
| b. | pani-**ba** | pani-**ma** |
| | chhetri/bahun-MASC | chhetri/bahun-FEM |
| | ‘Chhetri-Brahmans (male)’ | ‘Chhetri-Brahmans(female)’ |
| . | siŋsE-**ba** | siŋsE-**ma** |
| | rai-MASC | rai-FEM |
| | ‘Rai (male)’ | ‘Rai (female)’ |

These nouns show agreement with adjectives.

(7)

a. kag□p**pa** yaktHuN-**ba**
rich-MASC Limbu-MASC
‘a rich male Limbu’

b. yaNgasa**ma** yaktHuN**ma**
poor female Limbu
‘a poor female Limbu’

c. tondon**ba** p□ni**ba**
straight Brahman
‘ a straight male Brhman’

d. tondom**ma** p□ni**ma**
straight female Brahman
'a straight female Brahman'

e. nu**ba** siNsE**ba**
handsome male Rai
'a handsome male Rai'

f. nu**ma** siNsE**ma**
beautiful female Rai
'a beautiful female Rai'

The suffix <-pa> and <-ma> are derived from relational nouns *pa* 'father' and *ma* 'mother' which do not occur independently. They occur only with possessive prefixes such as *pappa* 'our father' *appa* 'my father', *kappa* 'your father', *kuppa* 'his father', *mamma* 'our mother', *amma* 'my mother' *kamma* 'your mother' and *kumma* 'his mother'. /p/ changes to [b] when it occurs intervocalically. As a result, the suffix <-pa> becomes <-ba>. See ..

There are some words which indicate sex. They are as follows:

(8)

| | |
|---|---|
| a. yEmbicc$^{h}$a | mEnc$^{h}$uma |
| male | female |
| b. thaŋbEn | mEnc$^{h}$e |
| a young man | a young woman |
| c. yEmba | me? |
| husband | wife |

These pairs of words indicating sex-distinctions are different lexical items. As they are not morphologically related, they are not grammatical features of gender.

**3.** NUMERALS AND CLASSIFIER. Chhatthare Limbu has numerals up to one hundred but in normal speech people use numerals only up to *sumsi* 'three'. The numerals are as follows:

(9)

| | |
|---|---|
| l□t$^{h}$ik | one |
| nEcc$^{h}$i | two |
| sumsi | three |
| lisi | four |
| nasi | five |
| tuksi | six |
| nusi | seven |
| yEtc$^{h}$i | eight |
| phaŋsi | nine |
| thiboŋ | ten |
| t$^{h}$itt$^{h}$ik | eleven |
| t$^{h}$iknet | twelve |
| t$^{h}$iksum | thirteen |
| t$^{h}$ikli | fourteen |
| t$^{h}$ikna | fifteen |
| t$^{h}$iktuk | sixteen |
| t$^{h}$iknu | seventeen |

| | |
|---|---|
| t$^{h}$ikyEt | eighteen |
| t$^{h}$ikp$^{h}$aŋ | nineteen |
| niboŋ | twenty |
| nEtthik | twenty-one |
| nEtnet | twenty-two |
| nEtsum | twenty three |
| sumboŋ | thirty |
| sumdhik | thirty-one |
| sumnEt | thirty-two |
| ligip | forty |
| lit$^{h}$ik | forty-one |
| li-nEt | forty-two |
| nakip | fifty |
| nat$^{h}$ik | fifty-one |
| nanEt | fifty-two |
| t$^{h}$ukkip | sixty |
| t$^{h}$ukthik | sixty-one |
| t$^{h}$uknEt | sixty-two |
| nukip | seventy |
| nut$^{h}$ik | seventy-one |
| nunEt | seventy-two |
| yEkip | eighty |
| yEt$^{h}$ik | eighty-one |
| yEnEt | eighty-two |
| p$^{h}$aŋgip | ninety |
| p$^{h}$aŋnEt | ninety-two |
| kipt$^{h}$ik | hundred |

The numeral *l□thik* 'one' seems to be a synthetic form of *l□k* 'only' and *t$^{h}$ik* 'one'. *l□k* is a postpositive adverb, and *t$^{h}$ik* is both a pre-positive quantifier and postpositive adverb.

As a pre-positive quantifier, it means 'one' and as a postpositive adverb it means ‘a’ or 'a certain'.

(10)

a. t$^{h}$ik sapla phEtt-u
one book bring-3O
' Bring one book'

b. sapla d$^{h}$ik phEtt-u
book a certain bring-3O
' Bring a certain book'

*tHik* 'one' as a modifier as in 10a is not common. In 10a *t$^{h}$ik* 'one' refers to only one object whereas *tHik* 'a certain' in 10b may refer to one or more than one referents. It is exhibited by the following verb.

(11)

a. sapla-d$^{h}$ik mu-dar-u
book- a 3pA-bring-3O
'They brought a book.'

b. sapla-d$^{h}$ik mu-dar-u-si
book- a certain 3pA-bring-3O-pO
'They brought certain books.'

*l□k* or *r□k* occurs as postpositive adverb and *l□thik* is used as a modifier in counting for 'one' as shown in 9a-b.

(12)

a. hambo hEnja-si r□k mu-wa
there child-pl only 3plA-benonPRET
'There are children only.'

b. a paN l□k iN-u-N
I house only buy-3O-1sA
'I bought a house only.'

c. l□thik pu nih-u-ŋ
one bird see-3O-1sA
'I saw a bird.'

/l/ occurs after the consonant and /r/ occurs after the vowel. Hence, postpositional adverb is *r□k* in 12a but *l□k* in 12b.

The numeral *nEcc$^{h}$i* 'two' contains the suffix <-cHi> and the other numerals from *sumsi* 'three' to *phaŋsi* 'nine' contain a suffix <-s*i*>. They are non-singular markers.The suffix <si> sometimes marks non-singularity in nouns and verbs which may be the grammatical extension of this suffix. The number morpheme compounding forms indicate the numerals from *t$^{h}$iboŋ* 'ten' to *kipt$^{h}$ik* 'hundred. The decimal morpheme <-*boŋ*> is used as a suffix in the numerals *tHiboŋ* 'ten', *niboŋ* 'twenty' and *sumboŋ* 'thirty', and the suffix < -*kip*> is used in the numerals *likip* 'forty', *nakip* 'fifty'.*t$^{h}$ukkip* 'sixty',*nukip* 'seventy', *yetkip* 'eighty' and *p$^{h}$aŋkip* 'ninety'. Interestingly, *kip* is used as a root in the numeral *kipt$^{h}$ik* 'hundred'. *t$^{h}$i* occurs for *t$^{h}$ik* 'one' in the numeral *t$^{h}$iboŋ* 'ten', *ni* for *net* 'two' in the numeral *niboŋ* 'twenty' and *yE* for *yEt* 'eight' in the numeral *yEboŋ* 'eighty'. The numerals are used as pre-modifiers as well as nominals. When they function as nominals, they inflect for case.

In counting human and non-human entities, the cardinal numbers *l□t$^{h}$ik* 'one', *nEcc$^{h}$i* 'two' and *sumsi* 'three' are used. But *tHippa, nEppHu* and *sumbHu* are preferred to *l□ttHik, nEtcHi* and *sumsi* when counting the human beings. *l□ttHik, nEtcHI* and *sumsi* function as numerals whereas <-pa> and <–pHu> function as classifiers.

(13)

a. NUM
l□tt$^{h}$ik one
nEcc$^{h}$i two
sumsi three

b. CLSF
-pa t$^{h}$ippa human
-p$^{h}$u nEpp$^{h}$u human

<tHip-> in 13b is derived from the second syllable of the numeral *l□ttHik*. When *tHik* is added to <–pa>, the syllable final velar stop /k/ assimilates to the following bilabial stop /p/ for place of articulation. Consequently, it is pronounced as *tHippa* contrary to the expected form *tHikpa*. Moreover, the element *–pa* formally resembles a nominalizer suffix <-pa> but it is the case of homophony only. It is merely a classifier suffix used for singular human being without any indication of gender. Similarly, *nEppHu* is the combination of the elements- *nEt* from the numeral *nEtcHi* 'two' and the non-singular classifier <-pHu>. In combination, the syllable final dental stop /t/ changes to /p/ due to its assimilation to the following bilabial stop for place of consonant. As a result, the expected form **nEtpHu* is realized as *nEppHu* 'two

people'. *tHippa* 'one person', *nEppHu* 'two persons' and *sumbHu* 'three persons' can be used as pre-modifiers as well as nominals. When they function as nominals, they inflect for case.

When the numeral 'one ' is used in a determiner sense, as in 'a man' or 'a certain man' the cardinal form *l□tt$^{h}$ik* is used.

(14)

a. l□tt$^{h}$ik pu
'a bird'

b. l□tt$^{h}$ik napmi
'a man'

c. nEccHI ambE
two mango
'two mangoes'

**4.** NUMBER. Number is a three-way distinction in Chhatthar Limbu- singular, dual and plural-all marked by nominal suffixes. The primary distinction is between singular and plural and the dual is a special case of non-singular which can be seen in the following:

(15)

| | singular | plural | dual |
|---|---|---|---|
| a. | pu | pu-g$^{h}$a | pu-g$^{h}$a-c$^{h}$i |
| | bird | birds (many) | bird-two |
| | "a bird" | "Many birds" | 'Two birds' |
| b. | napmi | napmi-g$^{h}$a | napmi-g$^{h}$a-c$^{h}$i |
| | man | men (many) | man-two |
| | "A man" | "Many men" | 'Two men' |
| c. | wa | wa-g$^{h}$a | wa-g$^{h}$a-c$^{h}$i |
| | chicken(one) | chickens (many) | chickens-two |
| | "A chicken" | 'Many chickens" | 'Two chickens' |

This accords with universal markedness expectations: singular<plural<dual (see for example, Croft 1990:66).

The example in 15a-c show that singularity is unmarked, plurality is marked by <-g$^{h}$a> and duality is marked by <-gHac$^{h}$i>. The process of formation is first from singular to plural and from plural to dual. The derivational history of such words clearly shows that singular noun first changes to plural noun and only then it can change to dual noun. These data clearly show that the dual number was developed in Kiranti later. The basic morphs and labels of numbers are discussed in the following paragraphs.

**4.1**.Singular

basic morph: <O>
label : s

Singularity of noun is unmarked. It is indicated by the <-O> morph in the paradigm.

(16)

a. hEnja-O haba
child-s wept
'A child wept.'

b. mEndak-O lokka

goat-s ran
'A goat ran.'

c. hambo luN-O nE
there stone- s lay
'There is a stone.'

In 16a-c the nouns such as *hEnja, mEndak* and *luN* are singular and their corresponding verbs agree with the singularity of their numbers.

**4.2.** Plural

basic morph <kHa-~ -g$^{h}$a>
label p

Plural is marked by the suffix < gHa-> in intervocalic position or after the nasal consonant but it is marked by <-kHa> after the voiceless consonants. See…

(17)

a. hEnja-g$^{h}$a mu-haba
child-p they-wept
'Children wept.'

b. mEndak-k$^{h}$a mu-lokka
goat-p they- ran
'Goats ran.'

c. hambo luN-g$^{h}$a mu-nEha
there stone-p they-lay
'There were stones.'

**4.3.** Dual

basic morph <kHacHi~ gHacHi>
label d

Chhatthare Limbu expresses dual meaning by suffixing dual marker <-gHac$^{h}$i> to the noun in intervocalic position or after a nasal consonant but it is marked by <-kHacHi> when it occurs after the voiceless consonant.

(18)

a. hEnja-g$^{h}$ac$^{h}$i haba-c$^{h}$i
child-d wept-d
'Two children wept.'

b. mEndak-k$^{h}$acHi lokka-c$^{h}$i
goat-d ran-d
'Two goats ran.'

c. hambo luN-g$^{h}$ac$^{h}$i nEha-c$^{h}$i
there stone-d lay-d
'There were two stones.'

The suffix <-si> imparts non-singular meaning when it functions as a number marker of an identity operator. It becomes clear from the following conversation between A and B.

(19)

A: kuNg$^{h}$a sa-si r□
These (plural) who-p PART
'Who are these (plural)?'

B. appHaN-si
My uncle-p

‘They (plural) are my uncles.’

(20)

A: hambagHacHi cai) sasi r□
They (dual) PART who-d PART
‘Then, who are those (dual)?

B: anni-si
my aunt-d
‘They (dual) are my aunts.’

In 19, *sa* takes the suffix <-si> as a plural marker which is evidenced by its reference to the plural demonstrative *kuNgHa* and the relational noun *appHaN* also takes it as a plural marker because it is uttered in response to the plural marking identity question. In 20, <-si> indexes dual number of the interrogative pronoun *sa* which is clear from its reference to the dual demonstrative pronoun hambagHaccHi. Similarly, <-si> shows dual number of relational noun *anni*. These examples show that when <-si> occurs without any number reference, it indexes non-singular meaning.

When nouns are preceded by numeral modifiers, they are not marked for number.

(21)

a. nEccHI pi?
‘two cows’

b. sumsi pHak
‘three pigs’

**5.** DIMINUTIVE. Chhathare Limbu employs operators in nouns to indicate the small size, but the operation is not regular, productive derivational. It uses the diminutive suffix <-lEccHa > and <-cyak> as in the following examples:

(22)

a. pu-lEccHa
bird-DM
'A small bird'

b. pHak-lEccHa
pig-DM
'A small pig'

c. wa-jyak
hen-DM
'A chicken'

**6.** COMPOUNDING. One of the common processes in word formation is compounding through juxtaposition of nouns by deleting inflectional endings.

(23)

a. pHak-sa
pig-meat
‘pork'

b. pit?-nu
cow-milk
' cow's milk'

c. wa-dHin
hen-egg

'A hen's egg'

In 23a-c pairs of nouns such as *phak* and *sa*, *pit?* and *nu* and *wa* and *tHin* are juxtaposed because they have, now, achieved compound status. The genitive marker <-ŋaŋ> and possessive marker <-ku> separate the juxtaposed nouns. The following examples illustrate it.

(24)

a. pHak-ŋaŋ ku-sa
pig-GEN- 3sPOSS-meat
'Pork'

b. pit-naŋ ku-nu
cow-GEN 3sPOSS-milk
'Cow's milk'

c. wa-ŋaŋ ku-dHin
hen-GEN 3s POSS-egg
'Hen's egg'

The third person singular possessive prefix <ku-> is derived from the third person singular pronoun *kHunE* 'he/she'.

Similarly, compounding is made by the juxtaposition of nouns by deleting the coordinator particle *nuN* 'and'.

(25)

a. t□ksumbak
'meal'

b. pHununcHa
'brothers'

c pama
'parents'

The coordinator particle *nuN* separates the juxtaposed nouns.

(26)

a. t□k nuN sumbak

cooked rice and curry soup

b. pHu nuN nuncHa
'elder brother and younger brother'

c pa nuN ma
'father and mother'

**7.** PRONOMINALIZATION IN NOUNS. Personal pronouns are prefixed to the nominal roots and possessive noun phrases are formed.

(27)

a. ku-miN
3sPOSS-name
'his name'

b. ka-mik
2sPOSS-eye
'your eye'

c. a-huk
1sPOSS-hand
'my hand'

In addition, pronouns are affixed to the nouns and verbless sentences are formed.

(28)

a. napmi-O
   man
   'She/he is a man.'
b. napmi-si
   man-ns
   'They are people'
c. napmi-na
   man-2O
   'You are a man'
d. napmi-na-cHiN
   man-2O-dO
   'You are men'
e. napmi-na-niN
   man-2O-pO
   'you are people'
f. napmi-Na
   man-1e
   'I am a man.'
g. napmi-si-Na
   man-ns-1e
   'We are people'

Third person is unmarked in a singular form but its non-singularity is marked by the suffix <-si>. In the second person duality is marked by the suffix <-cHiN> and plurality is marked by the suffix <-niN>. First person inclusive should be preceded by independent inclusive pronouns and form phrases like *ancHi napmisi* 'we (dual) are people' and *ani napmisi* 'we (plural) are people'

The noun *napmi* can also be used as a first person exclusive pronominal object suffix in imperative sentences in which the agent is plural.

(29)

a. kHEni sapla napmi-py-a
   your book 1O-give-IMP
   'Give me your book.'
b. napmi-tEps-a
   1O-hold-IMP
   'Hold me.'

**8.** DERIVATIVE ADJECTIVES AS NOUNS. The derivative adjectives also function as nouns and they take all the case endings, number and person markers.

(30)

a. ka-gHup-pa -gHa-Na yaN mu-gHutt-u
   one who steals -ERG money 3pA-steal-3O
   ' Thieves stole money.'
b. kanakpa-gHa mu-i-ro mu-wa
   one who begs-p-ABS 3pS-wander-Prg 3pS-be
   'Beggars are wandering.'
c. kadukpa-iN hab-a
   one who is ill -ABS weep-PT

'The sick man wept.'

*kagHuppa, kanakpa* and *kadukpa* in 30 are derived from the verbs, *kHut* 'he steals', *nak* 'he begs' and *tuk* 'he is sick'. They are adjectives used as nouns. See….

**9.** CASE. Nouns mark cases in the language.

**9.1**.ABSOLUTIVE

basic morph: <-O>
label ABS

The absolutive case has a zero-marking. Transitive object, intransitive and reflexive subjects take absolutive case.

(31)

a. kEba-ŋa napmi-O sEr-u
tiger-ERG man-ABS kill-3O
"A tiger killed a man."

b. □ppu-ŋa koco-O □g-u
snake-ERG dog-ABS stiŋ-3O
"A snake stung a dog."

c. kap-pa-ŋa wa-O cEpp-u
your father –ERG chicken-ABS cut –3O
"Your father cut a hen."

In sentences given above in 31a-c, *se-ru, □g-u* and *cepp-u* are all transitive verbs and *napmi, koco* and *wa* are nominal objects which are unmarked. These unmarked objects are in absolutive case and can occur in the subject position without any change.

(32)

a. napmi-O laŋg$^{h}$Ek
man-ABS walks
"A man walks."

b. hEnja-O hab-a
the child-ABS weep-PT
"A child wept."

c. pi?-O calaps-a
cow-ABS graze- PT
"A cow grazed."

The sentences in 32a- c contain *laŋghEk, hab-a* and *calaps-a* which are intransitive verbs and *napmi, hEnja* and *pi* are their subjects. They are unmarked.

The subject of reflexive verb is absolutively case-marked.

(33)

a. kHunE-O nEn-c$^{h}$in
he lie-Rfl
'He lay himself.'

b. p□numa-O tet wat-c$^{h}$in
pauma cloth put on-Rfl
'Panuma put on cloth herself.'

However, the object of the transitive verb and the subject of the intransitive verb are marked by <-iŋ> when they have definite referents.

(34)

a. napmi-iŋ laŋg$^{h}$Ek
man-DEF walks
"The man walks."

b. hEnja-iŋ hab-a
child-DEF weep-PT
" The child wept."

c. pi?-niŋ calaps-a
cow-DEF graze- PT
"The cow grazed."

The sentences in 32a-c contain the unmarked *napmi, hEnja and pi?* as subjects to the transitive verbs *laŋg$^{h}$Ek haba* and *calaps-a* respectively. They are indefinite subjects but the sentences in 34a-c have definite subjects marked by the suffix <-iŋ>. Similarly, the objects of the transitive verbs are unmarked when indefinite and marked when definite.

(35)

a. kEba-ŋa napmi sEr-u
tiger-ERG man kill-3O
" A tiger killed a man."

b. kap-pa-ŋa siŋ cEpp-u
your father-ERG tree cut-3O
"Your father cut a tree."

c. pit-na hEnja thoks-u
cow-ERG child horn-3O
" Cow horned a child."

d. kEba-ŋa napmi-iŋ sEr-u
tiger-ERG man-DEF kill-3O
" Tiger killed the man."

e. kap-pa-ŋa siŋ-iŋ cEpp-u
your father-ERG tree-DEF cut-3O
"Your father cut the tree.

f. pit-na hEnja-iŋ thoks-u
cow-ERG child-DEF horn-3O
" Cow horned the child."

In 35a-c, *napmi, siŋ* and *hEnja* are unmarked objects to the verbs *seru, cEppu* and *thoks-u* respectively and they are indefinite. However, in 35d-f, they are definite objects marked by the suffix <-iŋ>.The absolutive definite marker never occurs on personal pronouns, including third persons.

(36)

a. kHunE a a-l□ps-a-ŋ
he me 1-beat-PT-1sO
'He beat me.'

b. a khEnE l□m-na
I you beat-1→2
'I beat you.'

c. lahaŋ-ŋa k$^{h}$unE l□ps-u
lahaŋ-ERG him beat-3O
'Lahang beat him.'

In the sentences 36a-c the object pronouns *a* 'me', *kHEnE* 'you' and *kHunE* 'him' or 'her' can't take a definite absolutive marker. However, on demonstrative pronouns it can occur to signal definite or identifiable referents.

(37)

a. a hamba-iŋ l□ps-u-ŋ
I that-DEF beat-3O-1eA
'I beat that one.'

b. kHunE kumba-iŋ tEps-u
he this one-DEF catch-3O
'He caught this one.'

*hamba* 'that one' in 37a and *kumba* 'this one' in 37b are demonstrative pronouns and they take definite absolutive marker <-iŋ>. The definite marker suffix <-iŋ> undergoes some morphophonological changes. After the bilabial consonants /p/ and /m/, the case ending is realized as <-miŋ> as in *ba cep-miŋ cuk-pa cuk* " This basket is small" and *ba lam-miN ken* 'This way is long.'. After the dental consonants /t/ and /n/ it is realized as <-niŋ> as in *ba sawet-niŋ y□m-ba cuk* "This buffalo is big",and *ani dEn-niN nuba cuk* 'Our place is good'. After the velar consonants /k/ and /N/ it is realized as <-ŋiŋ> as in *pHak-ŋiŋ pHEra* 'The pig came' and *ku-daN-NiN ken* 'Its horn is long'. These variations are only in deference to homorganic assimilation of the stem-final consonant with the definite marker on the basis of the place of articulation in the fast speech made without any pause to the syllable break. The normal speech with a natural syllable break contains the clear definite marker *<–iŋ* >as in *ba cep-iŋ cuk-pa cuk* 'This basket is small' After the vowels basic form of the ending doesn't change, eg *wa-iŋ phera* 'The chiken came,' *my□ŋba-iŋ pind-a* "The cat jumped", *koco-iŋ yat-a* "The dog whined" etc.

### **5.9.2 E**RGATIVE

Basic morph: <-Na ~-na ~ma>
Label ERG

The suffix <-Na~na-~ma> marks an ergative case which refers to the agent of a transitive verb.

(38)

a. maN-**Na** kHunE nih-u
goddess-ERG him/her see-3O
'Goddess saw him/her.'

b. mEndak-**ŋa** ca c□
goat-ERG paddy eat
" A goat ate paddy."

c. yan-**na** kHam tEpp-u
weed-ERG soil cover-3O
'Weed covered the soil.'

d. pit-**na** ca c□
cow-ERG paddy eat
"A cow ate paddy."

e. nam-**ma** a a-or-a-N
sun-ERG me1-scorch-PT-1e
'The sun scorched me.'

f. ku-lap-**ma** kHEnE ka-h□ps-a
3sPOSS-wing-ERG you 2-disturb-PT

‘Its wing disturbed you.’

In 38a-b, the agents are marked by the suffix <-Na> because it is preceded by velar consonants, in 38c-d, they are marked by the suffix <–na> because it is preceded by dental consonants and in 38e-f, they are marked by <–ma> because it is preceded by bilabial consonants.

The ergative suffix is also divided into definite and indefinite. The indefinite ergative is unmarked in 38a-c but the definite ergative is marked by <-*i*> in 39.

(39)

a. koco-ŋa-i napmi har-u
dog- ERG-DEF man bite-3O
‘ The dog bit the man.’

b. kap-pa-ŋa-i ba napmi l□ps-u
your father-ERG-DEF this man beat-3O
‘Your father beat this man.’

c. ku-p$^{h}$aŋ-ŋa-i ba laje seg-u
his uncle –ERG –DEF this land choose-3O
‘His uncle chose this land.’

d. koco-i-ŋa napmi har-u
dog-DEF ERG man bite-3O
‘The dog bit the man.’

e. kap-pa-i-ŋa ba laje seg-u
your father –DEF ERG this land choose-3O
‘Your father chose this land.’

f. kup-p$^{h}$aŋŋ-i-ŋa ba napmi l□ps-u
his uncle-DEF ERG this man beat-3O
‘His uncle bit this man.’

In 39a-c, the ergative suffix <-ŋa> is followed by the definite suffix <-i> and in 39d-e, it is preceded by the definite marker<-i>. The ergative marker never occurs on personal pronouns.

(40)

(a) a kHunE p$^{h}$ar-u-ŋ
I him/her help-3O-1eA
'I help him/her.'

(b). k$^{h}$EnE a ka-b$^{h}$ar-a-ŋ
you me 2-help-PT-1eO
'You helped me.'

(c). kHunE khEnE ka-b$^{h}$ar-a
he you 2-help-PT
'He helped you.'

In 40a-c the agent pronouns *a* 'I', *kHhEnE* 'you' and *k$^{h}$unE* 'he' do not take the ergative case marker. However, it occurs on demonstratives and other third person referents.

(41)

(a) hamba-ŋa a-nih-a-ŋ
that-ERG 1O-see-PT-1eO
'That one saw me.'

(b) kumba-ŋa ka-nih-a
this-ERG 2-see-PT
'This one saw you.'

c to-ba-ŋa k$^{h}$unE nih-u
up-NML-ERG him see-3O
'The one up saw him.'
d. mo-ba-ŋa pu sEr-u
down-NML-ERG bird kill-3O
' The one below killed a bird.'

The distal demonstrative *hamba* in 41a proximate demonstrative *kumba* in 41b and third person referents *toba-ŋa* and *moba-ŋa* in 41c-d inflect for ergative case marking.

**9.3.** INSTRUMENTAL

basic morph: <-Na >
label INST

The instrumental case marks an instrument distinct from the expressed or unexpressed ergative agent of the sentence.

(42)

a. k$^{h}$unE yaŋ-ŋa ambE iŋ-u
he money-INST mango buy-3O
'He bought a mango with money.'
b. a k$^{h}$Eb□k-ŋa lamdHet h□nd-u-ŋ
I key-INST door open-3O-1eA
'I opened the door with a key.'
c. kHEnE p$^{h}$Eja-ŋa ka-jEpp-u
you dagger-INST 2 –cut-3O
'You cut with a dagger.'

In the sentences given in 42a-c instruments *yaŋ, kHEb□k* and *pHEja* are marked by <–*ŋa*>. Though the instrument marker is identical to the ergative marker in form, the two are quite distinct in function. The instrumental marks the reason for an action or a condition in a sentence as in 43a.c.

(43)

a. cuŋwama-ŋa siy-a-ŋ
cold- INST die-PT-1e
'I suffered because of cold.'
b. sakwama-ŋa napmi mu-siy-a
Famine –INST man 3pS-die- PT
'People died because of famine.'
c mikyuma-ŋa a yamb□k cok-ma man-c$^{h}$uk-pan
sleeplessness-INST I work do-INF NEG-can-1sA/ PT/NEG
'I could not work because of sleeplessness.'

Like ergative suffix, instrumental suffix <Na-> also changes to <-na> if preceded by a dental consonant and to <-ma> if preceded by bilabial consonants.

.**9.4.** GENITIVE

basic morph: <-NaN>
label GEN

The genitive case expresses possessive relationship by means of inflections. Limbu genitive case is marked by the suffix <-ŋaŋ> if the possessor is a noun.

(44)

a. napmi-NaN

man-GEN
'a man's'

b. pit-naN
cow-GEN
'a cow's'

c. lam-maN
path-GEN
'a path's'

The genitive suffix <-Na> changes to <-na> when it is preceded by dental stop and to <-maN> when it is preceded by bilabial consonant.The genitive case is marked by <-N> if it is a pronoun.

(45)

| Person | Number | Genitive | Glossing |
|---|---|---|---|
| First person | singular | aŋ | 'mine' |
| | dual (Incl) | anc$^{h}$iŋ | 'ours' |
| | dual (Excl) | anc$^{h}$iŋaŋ | 'ours' |
| | plural (Incl) | aniŋ | 'ours' |
| | plural (Excl) | aniŋaŋ | 'ours' |
| Second person | singular | k$^{h}$EnEŋ | 'yours' |
| | dual | k$^{h}$Enc$^{h}$iŋ | 'yours' |
| | plural | k$^{h}$Eniŋ | 'yours' |
| Third person | singular | k$^{h}$unEŋ | 'his/hers' |
| | dual | k$^{h}$unc$^{h}$iŋ | 'theirs' |
| | plural | k$^{h}$unchiŋ | 'theirs' |

Possessive case is indexed by the pronominal prefixes.

(46)

| | | Possessive | Glossing |
|---|---|---|---|
| First person | singular | a- | 'my' |
| | dual (Incl) | anc$^{h}$i- | 'our' |
| | dual (Excl) | anc$^{h}$iŋa- | 'our' |
| | plural (Incl) | ani- | 'our' |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | plural (Excl) | aniŋa- | ‘our’ |
| Second person | singular | ka- | ‘your’ |
| | dual | $k^hEnc^hi$- | ‘your’ |
| | plural | $k^hEni$ | ‘your’ |
| Third person | singular | ku- | ‘his/her’ |
| | dual | khunchi- | ‘their’ |
| | plural | $k^hunc^hi$- | ‘their’ |

Genitive case and possessive case are to be studied together as they simultaneously index the meaning of possession or ownership. A possessor noun is marked for a genitive case by a suffix <-NaN> and the possessed noun is marked by its corresponding possessive prefix.

(47)

a. a-ppa-ŋaŋ ku-baŋ
1sPOSS-father-GEN 3sPOSS-house
‘My father's house’

b. napmi-ŋaŋ ku-sapla
man-GEN 3sPOSS-book
‘Man's book’

c. pu-ŋaŋ ku-hap
bird-GEN 3sPOSS-nest
‘Bird's nest’

The phrases in 47a-c contain noun phrase like *ap-pa* or simply nouns such as *napmi* and *pu*. They are marked by genitive suffix <-ŋaŋ> which, in turn is followed by the third person singular possessive prefix <ku-> in the singular. However, in the case of the dual and plural nouns the third person singular possessive prefix <ku-> takes corresponding non-singular possessive forms such as < $k^h$uncHi- >.

(48)

a. pu-$g^hac^h$i-ŋaŋ $k^hunc^h$i-hap
bird-d -GEN-their-nest
‘Birds' nest.’

b. pu-$g^h$a-ŋaŋ $k^hunc^h$i-hap
bird-pl -GEN their-nest
‘Birds' nest’

In the phrases in 44a, the dual number marker <-$g^h$acHi> agrees with the third person dual possessive prefix <kHunc$^h$i-> and in 44b the plural number marker <-$g^h$a> also takes the third person dual possessive prefix <kHunc$^h$i->. <kHunc$^h$i> is, in fact, a third person non-singular possessive prefix which marks both dual and plural possessives. The genitive and possessive case markers can be observed even in pronoun phrases.

(49)

a. aŋ a-baŋ
mine my-house
'My house'
b. anc$^{h}$iŋ anc$^{h}$i-paŋ
ours our-house
'Our house'
c. anc$^{h}$iŋaŋ anc$^{h}$iŋa-paŋ
ours our-house
'Our house'
d . aniŋ ani-paŋ
ours our-house
'Our house'
e. aniŋaŋ aniŋa-paŋ
ours our-house
'Our house'
f. k$^{h}$EnEŋ ka-baŋ
yours your-house
'Your house'
g. k$^{h}$Enc$^{h}$iŋ k$^{h}$Enc$^{h}$i-paŋ
yours your-house
'Your house'
h. k$^{h}$Eniŋ k$^{h}$Eni-paŋ
yours your-house
'Your house'
i k$^{h}$unEŋ ku-baŋ
his/hers his/her-house
'His/her house'
j. k$^{h}$unc$^{h}$iŋ k$^{h}$unc$^{h}$i-paŋ
theirs their-house
'Their house'

The phrases 49a-j show that the distinct possessive markers are only second person singular possessive marker <ka-> and third person singular possessive marker <ku->.The possessive markers of other personal pronouns are merely reduplication of the nominative case form. Now, the genitive markers are gradually collapsing to nominative case form.

(50)
a. a-baŋ
I-house
'My house'
b. ancHi-paŋ
we-house
'Our house'
c. ancHiŋa-paŋ
we-house
'Our house'
d. ani-paŋ
we -house
'Our house'
e. aniŋa-paŋ
we-house

'Our house'

f. ka-baŋ
your-house
'Your house'

g. $k^{h}Enc^{h}i$-paŋ
you -house
'Your house'

h. $k^{h}Eni$-paŋ
you-house
'Your house'

i. ku-baŋ
his house
'His house'

j. $k^{h}unc^{h}i$-paŋ
they house
'Their house'

k. $k^{h}unc^{h}i$-paŋ
they-house
'Their house'

The phenomenon of genitive case's collapse into a nominative case can be observed in nouns also. The phrases in 51 contain a genitive marker.

(51)

a. lahaN-NaN ku-baN
lahang-GEN his-house
'Lahang's hous'

b. napmi-NaN ku-bi?
man-GEN his-cow
'A man's cow'

c. pit-naN ku-daN
cow-GEN its-horn
'A cow's horn'

The noun phrases in 51 are continuously losing genitive marker and assuming nominative case as exemplified in 52.

(52)

a. lahaN ku-baN
lahang his-house
'Lahang's hous'

b. napmi ku-bi?
man his-cow
'A man's cow'

c. pit- ku-daN
cow- its-horn
'A cow's horn'

But when the possessive pronoun is used in the objective case as in English pronoun 'mine', genitive is clearly marked.

(53)

a. ba paŋ-Niŋ aŋ
this house-ABS mine
'This house is mine.'

b. hamba sapla-O kHEnEŋ
that book-ABS yours
'That book is yours.
c. to-hamba pi?-O $k^h$unEŋ
up-that cow-ABS his/her
'That cow up there is his/hers.'

The dual and plural inclusive and exclusive first person pronouns and dual and plural forms of second and third person pronouns also exhibit the genitive case marker like the pronouns shown in 53a-c.

**9. 5.** VOCATIVE

basic morph: <-E❿ -o>
label:VOC

Vocative is a case form taken by a noun when it is used in the form of address. This case is marked by <-o> or <-E> as in a-ppa-o or a-ppa-E but they are not interchangeable in all contexts.

(54)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| a. | a-mma-E | a-mma-o |
| | my-mother-VOC | my-mother-VOC |
| | 'O my mother' | 'O my mother' |
| b. | at-tuba-E | a-ttuba-o |
| | my-grandfather-VOC | my-grandfather-VOC |
| | 'O my grandfather' | 'O my grandfather' |
| c. | sEba-E | sEba-o |
| | friend-VOC | friend-VOC |
| | 'O friend ' | 'O friend' |
| d | napmi-E | # napmi-o |
| | man-VOC | |
| | 'O man' | |
| e. | pu-e | #pu-o |
| | bird-VOC | |
| | 'O bird ' | |

The examples cited in 50a- c show that /-o/ can substitute /-e/ only in the context of low open back vowel /*a*/ immediately preceding it but when close, unrounded, front vowel /i/ or close, rounded, back vowel /u/ precedes the vocative case ending, /-o/ can't substitute it.

**9.6.** LOCATIVE

basic morph: <-o>
label LOC

The suffix <-o> marks locative case by means of which the noun expresses the idea of location and destination. The semantics of the verb determines whether the locative is to be interpreted as 'in', 'on', 'to', 'at', etc.

(55)

a. sa a-ha-o $k^h$ipp-u
meat my-tooth-LOC stick-3O
'The meet is stuck to my tooth.'
b. t□re-ba yukna-o yuŋ
guest-male bed-LOC sit

'The guest sits on the bed.'

c. k$^{h}$unE kuk-ku-si-o teg-a
he his-maternal uncles-LOC go-PT
'He went to his maternal uncles' house.'

d. k$^{h}$EnE kap-pa-o ka-de-i
you your-father-LOC 2S-go-Q
'Do you go to your father's house?'

The locative suffix <-*o*> in 55a-b indicates location whereas the locative suffix in 55c-d indicates direction. It undergoes morphophonological changes with the insertion of homo-organic consonant after the nominal stem preceding it. As a result, after the bilabial consonants /p/ and /m/, it becomes <-mo> as in *ku-hap-mo* 'in its nest' and *lam-mo* 'on the way', after the dental consonants /t/ and /n/, it becomes <-no> as in *ku-sot-no* 'in its fat' and *ku-b$^{h}$En-no* 'in his loin' and after the velar consonants /k/ and /N/, it becomes <No> as in *a-d$^{h}$□k-No* 'on my body' and *a-d$^{h}$aN-No* 'in my shade'. (See..)

**9. 7.** COMITATIVE

basic morph: <-nuN>
label COM

The comitative meaning is expressed by the suffix <-nuŋ > which means 'with', 'along with' or 'accompanied by'.

(56)

a. k$^{h}$unE ap-pa-nuŋ te
he my-father-COM go
'He goes with my father.'

b. a a-dak-nuŋ im-ma
I my-friend-COM sleep-1e
'I sleep with my friend.'

c. ac-c$^{h}$a ku-dak-nuŋ paŋwa
my-son his-friend-COM play
'My child plays with his friend.'

The marker <-nuŋ> in 56a-c is the comitative case marker because it carries the meaning 'accompanied by' in 56a and "with" in 56b-c. The comitative marker <-nuŋ> 'with' has its negative counterpart <-ma?E> 'without' which is used in the negative associative sense.

(57)

a. k$^{h}$unE tak-ma?E te
he friend-without go
'He goes without a friend.'

b. a tet-ma?E pak$^{h}$a ma-l□n-na-n
I cloth-without outside NEG-come out-1eS-NEG
'I won't come out without cloth.'

The suffix <-ma?E> in 57a-b marks deprivation- deprivation of friend and of cloth.

**9.8.** MEDITATIVE

basic morph: <-lam> or <-nuN>
label MED

The mediative meaning is expressed by the suffixes <–lam> and <-nuN> in the sense of abstract medium or simple medium.

(58)

a. p□niba pan-lam
nepali lanuage-MED
'Through the Nepali language'

b. yakthuŋba pan-lam
limbu language-MED
'Through the Limbu language'

c. p□niba pan-nuŋ
nepali laŋuage-MED
'Through the Nepali language'

d. yakthuŋba pan-nuŋ
limbu laŋuage-MED
' Through the Limbu language'

The phrases in 58a-b contain a case marker <- lam > and those in 58c-d contain a case marker <-nuŋ >. They express abstract media. They can be used in the sense of a simple medium. *lam* also means 'road' or 'path' and is undoubtedly the source for this case marker. <-nuŋ> and <-lam> are interchangeable in these contexts.

(59)

a. $k^h$□ŋbE-lam
boat-MED
'Through the boat'

b. paŋ$b^h$E-lam
village-MED
'Through the village'

c. kh□ŋbe-nuŋ
boat-MED
'Through the boat'

d. paŋ$b^h$E-nuŋ
village-MED
'Through the village'

The examples in 55a-d indicate the use of <-lam >and <-nuŋ> as expressions of simple media.

**9.9.** ABLATIVE

basic morph: <-lam> or <-nuN>
label ABL

Ablative case is marked by <-nuŋ> and <-lam>. They indicate source and path.

(60)

a. kathmandu-lam
kathmandu-ABL
"From Kathmandu"

b. pyaŋsi-lam
paddy-field-ABL
'From the paddy-field'

c. kathmandu-nuŋ
kathmandu-ABL
'From Kathmandu'

d. pyaŋsi-nuŋ

paddy-field-ABL
'From the paddy-field'

The ablative case markers <-lam > and <-nuŋ > in 60a-d indicate the original space.

The ablative can occur alone as in 60a-d or in combination with the locative <-o> as in 61a-c.

(61)

a. $k^{h}$unE paŋb$^{h}$E-o- lam/nuŋ tah-a
he village-LOC-MED come-PT
' He came from the village.'

b. a sya paŋ-o-lam/nuŋ tar-u-ŋ
I rice house-LOC-ABL briŋ-3O-1sA
' I brought rice from the house.'

c. lahaŋ-ŋa siŋ tambHuŋ-o-lam/nuŋ tar-u
lahang-ERG firewood forest-LOC-ABL bring-3O
'Lahang brought firewood from the forest.'

The sentences 61a-c contain the case marker <-o-lam/nuŋ> which is the combination of the locative case marker <-*o*> and ablative case marker <-lam/nuŋ>.

**9.10.** ALLATIVE

basic morph: <-d$^{h}$arik>
label ALLT

The suffix <-dHarik> 'as far as' marks the allative case. It may occur alone or in combination with the locative suffix <-o>. Therefore, it can be either <-dHarik> or <-o-dHarik>.

(62)

a. a paŋb$^{h}$E-d$^{h}$arik tek-ŋ-a
I village-ALLT go-1e-NPT
'I will go as far as the village.'

b. $k^{h}$unE a a-baŋ-dHarik a-sadH-a-ŋ
he me my-house-ALLT 1-accompany-PT-1eO
'He accompanied me as far as my house.'

c. kHunE pyaŋsi-o-dHarik teg-a
he paddy-field-LOC-ALLT go-PT
'He went as far as the field.'

d. $k^{h}$unE a-baŋ-o-dHarik pHEr-a
he my-house-LOC-ALLT come-PT
'He came as far as my house.'

The nouns in 62a-b contain a single allative marker <-dHarik >and those in 60c-d contain locative and lative markers <-o-dHarik > in a combined form.

**9. 11.** DIRECTIVE

basic morph: <-naN>
label DIR

Direction is marked by the suffixes <-naŋ > and <-lEkHaŋ>.They are interchangeable in all contexts as indicated in 59a-c.

(63)

a. $k^{h}$unE paŋ-naŋ/lEk$^{h}$aŋ teg-a
he house-DIR go-PT

'He went towards house.'

b. kHEnE mo-naN ka-lokk-a
you down-DIR 2-run-PT
'You ran donwards.'

c. a pyaNsi-naŋ/lEkhaŋ tek-ŋ-a
I paddy-field-DIR go-1eS-NPT
'I will go to paddy-field.'

**9.12.** COMPARATIVE

basic morph: <-aN> or <-nuNNE>
Label COMPR

The comparative degree is indicated by a suffix <-*aŋ*> affixed to the nominal head to be compared.

(64)

a. $k^h$unE-aŋ kemba $k^h$EnE ka-juk
he- COMPR tall you you-be
' You are taller than him.' (literally, more than him, I'm tall.')

b. $k^h$EnE-aŋ nuba a cuk-ŋa
you-COMPR handsome I be-1sS
'I am more handsome than you.'(literally, more than you, I'm handsome.')

c. a-aŋ tumba $k^h$unE cuk
I-COMPR old he be
'He is older than me' (literally, 'more than me, he is tall.')

In the sentences 64a-c, the suffix <-*aŋ*> affixed to the pronominal heads is a comparative suffix. Comparative meaning is also expressed by the combination of comitative suffix <-nuN> and time adverbial suffix <-E)>. When they occur together, the velar nasal is inserted between them and the resulting suffix is realized as <nuNNE)>

(65)

a. kHEnE-nuŋNE) a ken-na
you - COMP I be tall-1e
'I 'm taller than you.'

b. kHunE-nuŋNE) kHEnE ka-y□n
he/she -COMP you 2- be big
'You are bigger than him/her.'

c. a- nuŋNE) kHunE cuk
I -COMP he/she be small
'He is smaller than me.'

In the synchronic use of the Chhathare Limbu comparative is expressed by the use of Nepali *bhanda* 'than'.

(66)

a. a bH□nda kHunE y□n
I than he big
'He is bigger than me.'

b. kHunE bh□nda kHEnE ka-un
he than you 2S-short
'You are shorter than him.'

c. haŋgHa bH□nda a cuk-ŋa
those than I small-1sS

'I'm smaller than them.'

The case forms of a noun, *napmi* 'man' in table (1) presents the summary of the case forms of the Chhatthare Limbu.

| | Case | siŋular | dual | plural |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Ergative | napmi-ŋa | napmi-g$^{h}$ac$^{h}$i-ŋa | napmi-g$^{h}$a-ŋa |
| 2 | Absolutive | napmi | napmi-g$^{h}$ac$^{h}$i | napmi-g$^{h}$a |
| 3 | Instrumental | napmi-ŋa | napmi-g$^{h}$ac$^{h}$i-ŋa | napmi-g$^{h}$a-ŋa |
| 4 | Genitive | napmi-ŋaŋ | napmi-g$^{h}$ac$^{h}$i-ŋa-ŋ | napmi-g$^{h}$a-ŋa-ŋ |
| 5 | Comitative | napmi-nuŋ | napmi-g$^{h}$achi- nuŋ | napmi-g$^{h}$a- /nuŋ |
| 6 | Locative | napmi-o | napmi-g$^{h}$a-c$^{h}$i-o | napmi-g$^{h}$a-o |
| 7 | Vocative | napmi-e | napmi-g$^{h}$ac$^{h}$i-e | napmi- g$^{h}$a-e |
| 8 | Mediative | napmi-lam | napmi-g$^{h}$a-c$^{h}$i-lam | napmi-g$^{h}$a-lam |
| 9 | Ablative | napmi-o-lam/nuŋ | napmi-g$^{h}$a-c$^{h}$i-o-lam/nuŋ | napmi-g$^{h}$a-o-lam/nuŋ |
| 10 | Directive | napmi-naŋ/lEkk$^{h}$aŋ | napmi-g$^{h}$ac$^{h}$i-naŋ/lEkkhaŋ | napmi-g$^{h}$a-naŋ/lEkk$^{h}$aŋ |
| 11 | Allative | napmi-o-d$^{h}$arik | napmi-g$^{h}$a-c$^{h}$i-o-d$^{h}$arik | napmi-g$^{h}$a-o-dharik |
| 12 | Comparative | napmi-aŋ napmi-nuNNE) napmi-bH□nda | napmig$^{h}$a-cHi-aŋ napmigHacHi-nuNNE) napmigHacHi-bH□nda | napmi-g$^{h}$a-aŋ napmigHa-nuNNE napmigHa-bH□nda |

TABLE. 14. Case markers

All the nominals decline in the way the noun *napmi* 'man' declines.

**10**. SUMMARY. Nouns inflect for number and case. Singularity is unmarked, duality is marked by <kHacHi-~gHacHi> and plurality is marked by <-gHa>. The process of number marking is from singular to plural and from plural to dual. The derivational history of number shows that dual number in the language is a later developed phenomenon. Non-singularity of identity marking noun is marked by <-si>. When nouns are preceded by numerals, their number is unmarked. Twelve kinds of cases are marked on nouns. Masculine gender is marked by <-pa~ba> and feminine gender is marked by <-ma> but they are not productive and occur only in a few kinship nouns and ethnic names. Similarly, diminutive form is also marked by the suffixes <-lEccHa> and <-cyak> but they are limited to *pHaklEccHa*, *pulEccHa* and *wajyak* only. However, they show that at one time in the history, the language had diminutive suffixes. Nouns are formed through compounding by juxtaposing two nouns side by side. Derivative adjectives also function as nouns inflecting for number and case. It has human classifier suffixes < -pa> and <-pHu>. The first one is used for a single person and the second one is used for more than one person following the first syllable of the numerals. Though numerals are there up to one hundred in written form, in actual speech people use only up to three. Pronominal affixes are added to the nouns and form either possessive noun phrases or verb-less sentences.

# CHAPTER 6
# MORPHOLOGY OF PRONOUNS

**1.** INTRODUCTION. Pronouns differ from nouns as they do not take ergative case marker. There are mainly three kinds of pronouns in the language. They are personal pronouns, interrogative pronouns and demonstrative pronouns. In this chapter, morphological structure of each type of pronoun is analyzed.

**2.** PERSONAL PRONOUNS. The personal pronouns differentiate three persons-first person, second person and third person. First person pronoun and second person pronoun distinguish three numbers-singular, dual and plural but the third person pronoun distinguishes only singular and nonsingular number. First person distinguishes inclusive and exclusive speech act participant in dual and plural forms.

(1)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a. | a | I | 1s |
| b. | anc$^{h}$i | we | 1di |
| c. | anc$^{h}$iŋa | we | 1de |
| d. | ani | we | 1pi |
| e. | aniŋa | we | 1pe |
| f. | k$^{h}$EnE | you | 2s |
| g. | k$^{h}$Enc$^{h}$i | you | 2d |
| h. | k$^{h}$Eni | you | 2p |
| i. | k$^{h}$unE | he | 3s |
| j. | k$^{h}$unc$^{h}$i | they | 3ns |

The morphemic analysis of the first person pronoun is as follows:

(2)

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. | a (n) | | | |
| | I | | | |
| b. | a | n | $c^hi$ | |
| | 1 | | d | |
| c. | a | n | i | |
| | I | | p | |
| d. | a | n | cHi | ŋa |
| | I | | d | e |
| e. | a | n | i | ŋa |
| | I | | p | e |

The morphemic analysis in 2 shows that the fist person singular pronoun is *an* in its underlying form. It appears as *a* in a word final position but as *an* within a word. The dual marker suffix is <-$c^h$i> and plural marker suffix is <-i>. The exclusive marker suffix is <-ŋa> and it appears in the final position. Its inclusive counterpart is unmarked. When first person inclusive and exclusive dual and plural pronominal words are formed, /n/ appears within them.

When dual marking suffix <-$c^h$i> is added to the second person singular pronoun *khEnE* the vowel /E/ is deleted and the second person dual pronoun *khEnc$^h$i* is formed. In the third person the dual marker <-$c^h$i> marks both dual and plural. Therefore, it is termed as nonsingular marker here. When the non-singular marker is added to the third person singular pronoun *k$^h$une,* the vowel /E/ is deleted and the nonsingular pronoun *k$^h$unc$^h$i* is constituted. In fact, the morpheme <-$c^h$i> is a dual marker but its marking is extended to plural level also.

Demonstratives are synchronously used as personal pronouns. The demonstrative pronouns *hamba* 'that' and *kumba* 'this', have been now an integral part of the pronominal system. However, they are actually demonstratives. *hamba* 'that' is a singular demonstrative, *hambag$^h$acHi* is its synthetic dual and *hambag$^h$a* its synthetic plural. The demonstrative *kumba* 'this' and its synthetic dual *kumbag$^h$ac$^h$i* and plural *kumbagHa* are likewise used as third person pronouns. Basically, they constitute a more marked member of the proximal/distal distinction in the demonstrative. In fact, demonstrative pronouns behave differently than the personal pronouns in the following respects:

(i). Personal pronouns don't take absolutive and ergative case markers and occur unchanged as subject, agent or object in a syntagm whereas the demonstratives take both absolutive and ergative case markers.

(3)

a. khunE et
he laughs
'He laughs.'

b. kHunE napmi-iŋ ser-u
he man -ABS kill-3O
'He killed a man.'

c. lahaŋ-ŋa k$^h$unE ser-u
Lahang-ERG him kill-3O
'Lahang killed him.'

d. k$^h$EnE ka-et

you 2-laugh
'You laugh.'

e. $k^hEnE$ napmi-iŋ ka-sEr-u
you man-ABS 2-kill-3O
'You killed a man.'

f. lahaŋ-ŋa $k^hEnE$ ka-sEr-a
Lahang-ERG you 2-kill-PT
'Lahang killed you.'

g. a et-na
I laugh-1sS
'I laugh.'

h. a napmi-iŋ ser-u-ŋ
I man-ABS kill-3O-1sA
'I killed a man.'

i. lahaŋ-ŋa a a-ser-a-ŋ
Lahang-ERG me 1-kill-PT-1eO
'Lahang killed me.'

j. kumba-iŋ et
this-ABS laugh
'He laughes.'

k. kumba-ŋa napmi-iŋ sEr-u
this-ERG man-ABS kill-3O
'He killed a man.'

l. lahaŋ-ŋa kumba-iŋ ser-u
Lahang-ERG this-ABS kill-3O
'Lahang killed him.'

m. hamba-iŋ et
that-ABS laugh
'He laughes.'

n. hamba-ŋa napmi-iŋ ser-u
he-ERG man-ABS kill-3O
'He killed him.'

o. lahaŋ-ŋa hamba-iŋ ser-u
lahang-ERG that-ABS kill-3O
'Lahang killed him.'

(ii) Personal pronouns can occur as possessive prefixes but demonstrative pronouns can't. They have possessive prefixes in <ku->, 'his', <ka-> 'your' and <a-> 'my' but demonstrative pronouns can take possessive prefixes in third person possessive pronouns.

(iii) Singular demonstrative can be used adnominally as in *ba napmi* 'this man', *hamba napm*i 'that man' whereas personal pronouns can't be used adnominally.

In spite of such differences, they have the following similarities:

(i). The independently used demonstratives behave like personal pronouns and occur more frequently than *kHunE* 'he' and $k^hunc^hi$ 'they'.

(ii). They have a separate independent genitive form such as *hambaŋ* 'his' (that one's) or *kumbaŋ* 'his' (this one's) like the genitive of personal pronouns such as $k^hunEŋ$ 'his', $k^hEnEŋ$ 'yours' and aŋ 'mine'.

(iii). Singular demonstrative replaces *kHunE* 'he' in referring to non-human referent.

These points indicate that demonstratives and personal pronouns have some common features despite their distinct features in some respects. So, Driem (1987:25)

suspects that the demonstratives in Phedappe Limbu have come to be used as third person pronouns only in recent times. This suspicion has strong ground and this case applies to the demonstratives of Chhatthare Limbu, too. Therefore, in the present study, demonstrative pronouns will be dealt as demonstrative pronouns separate from the personal pronouns. The personal pronouns synchronically used in the language are presented in the paradigm in the following way:

| Person | Singular | Dual | | Plural | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Inclusive | Exclusive | Inclusive | Exclusive |
| First | a | anc$^{h}$i | anc$^{h}$iNa | ani | aniNa-o |
| Second kHEni | kHEnE | kHEncHi | | | |
| Third | k$^{h}$unE | k$^{h}$unc$^{h}$i | | k$^{h}$unc$^{h}$i | |

TABLE. 15. Personal pronouns

**2.1. C**ASE SYSTEM IN PRONOUNS. The case system in pronoun is the same as in nouns. However, there are less numbers of cases in it but the case markers for each pronoun are the same. The occasional variation in the case form of the pronouns is due to historical and/or morphological factors. The following are representative cases of pronouns in the three persons.

| Case | Singular | Dual | | Plural | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Inclusive | Exclusive | Inclusive | Exclusive |
| Locative case | a-o | anc$^{h}$i-o | anc$^{h}$iNa-o | ani-o | aniNa-o |
| Commitative case | a-nuN | anc$^{h}$i-nuN | anc$^{h}$iNa-nuN | ani-nuN | aniNa-nuN |
| Mediative case | a-lam | anc$^{h}$i- lam | anc$^{h}$iNa-/lam | ani- lam | ani-lam |
| Ablative case | a- lam | anc$^{h}$i-lam | anc$^{h}$iNa-lam | ani-lam | aniNa-lam |
| Elative case | a-o-nuN/lam | anc$^{h}$i-o-nuN/lam | anc$^{h}$iNa-o-nuN/lam | ani-o-nuN/lam | aniNa-o-nuN/lam |
| Allatative | a-o-d$^{h}$arik | anc$^{h}$i-o-d$^{h}$arik | anc$^{h}$i-o-d$^{h}$arik | ani-o-d$^{h}$arik | aniNa-o-d$^{h}$arik |
| Comparative | a-aN | anc$^{h}$i-aN | anc$^{h}$iNa-aN | ani-aN | aniNa-aN |

TABLE 16. Case markers of first person pronouns

| N. | Case | Singular | Dual | Plural |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Locative | kHEnE-o | kHEn-cHi-o | kHEni-o |
| 2. | Commitative | kHEnE-nuŋ | kHEn-cHi-nuŋ | kHEni-nuŋ |
| 3. | Mediative | kHEnE- lam | kHEncHi-lam | kHEni- lam |
| 4. | Ablative | kHEnE- lam | kHEn-cHi- lam | kHEni-lam |
| 5. | Elative | kHEnE-o-nuŋ/lam | kHEn-cHi-o-nuŋ/lam | kHE-ni-o-nuŋ/lam |
| 6. | Allative | kHEnE-dHarik | kHEn-cHi-dHarik | kHE-ni-dHarik |
| 7. | Comparative | kHE-nE-aŋ | kHEn-cHi-aN | kHE-ni-aŋ |
| | | | | |

Table 17 Case markers of second person pronouns

| N. | Case | Singular | Dual | Plural |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Locative | kHunE-o | kHun-cHi-o | kHuncHi-o |
| 2. | Commitative | kHunE-nuŋ | kHun-cHi-nuŋ | kHuncHi-nuŋ |
| 3. | Mediative | kHunE- lam | kHuncHi-lam | kHuncHi- lam |
| 4. | Ablative | kHunE- lam | kHun-cHi- lam | kHuncHi-lam |
| 5. | Elative | kHunE-o-nuŋ/lam | kHun-cHi-o-nuŋ/lam | kHu-ncHi-o-nuŋ/lam |
| 6. | Allative | kHunE-dHarik | kHun-cHi-dHarik | kHu-ncHi-dHarik |
| 7. | Comparative | kHu-nE-aŋ | kHun-cHi-aN | kHu-ncHi-aŋ |

Table 18 Case markers of third person pronouns

**2.2** POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS. The singular personal pronouns *a* 'I', *k$^{h}$EnE* 'you' and *k$^{h}$unE*'he'or 'she' have possessive prefixes in *a-*, *ka-* and *ku-* .

(4)

a. a-dak
my-friend
'My friend'

b. ka-b$^{h}$u
your-elder brother
'Your elder brother'

c. ku-□n
his-horse
'His horse'

The dual and plural pronouns *an-c$^{h}$i*, 'we (you+I)' , *an-c$^{h}$i-ŋa* 'we ( he or she+I)', *a-ni* 'we (you all+ I) and *a-ni-ŋa* 'we (they+I)' and *k$^{h}$un-c$^{h}$i* 'they (two)' or 'they (many)' are prefixed integrally to the nouns they modify.

(5)

a. k$^{h}$un-c$^{h}$i-paŋ
their-house
'Their house'

b. anc$^{h}$i-paŋ

our-house
'Our house'

c. anc$^{h}$iŋa- paŋ
our-house
'Our house'

d. ani-paŋ
our-house
'Our house'

e. aniŋa paŋ
our-house
'Our house'

Nouns in the genitive are generally followed by a noun with the third person possessive prefix <ku-> or non-singular *k$^{h}$unc$^{h}$i-*.

(6)

a. napmi-ŋaŋ ku-baŋ
man-GEN-3sPOSS-house
'A man's house'

b. napmi-g$^{h}$a-c$^{h}$i-ŋaŋ k$^{h}$unc$^{h}$i-paŋ
man-pl-d-GEN- 3nsPOSS- house
'Men's house'

c. napmi-g$^{h}$a-ŋaŋ k$^{h}$unc$^{h}$i-paŋ
man-p-GEN their house
'Men's house'

These personal possessive prefixes, however, are bound morphemes and as such can not occur independently. There are independent personal possessive pronouns but they can occur only in the object form like the English possessive objective pronouns, 'mine', 'yours' etc.

(7)

a. ba paŋ-ŋiŋ k$^{h}$unEŋ
this house-ABS his/hers
'This house is hers.'

b. ba paŋ-iŋ k$^{h}$unc$^{h}$iŋ
this house-ABS they two's (theirs)
'This house is theirs.'

c. ba paŋ-Niŋ k$^{h}$EnEŋ
this house-ABS yours
'This house is yours.'

d. ba paŋ-ŋiŋ k$^{h}$Enc$^{h}$iŋ
this house-ABS you two's (yours)
'This house is yours.'

e. ba paŋ-ŋiŋ k$^{h}$Eniŋ
this house-ABS you many's
'This house is yours.'

f. ba paŋ-Niŋ aŋ
this house-ABS mine
'This house is mine.'

g. ba paŋ-ŋiŋ anc$^{h}$iŋ
this house-ABS ours
'This house is ours.'

h. ba paŋ-ŋiŋ anc$^{h}$i-ŋaŋ

this house-ABS we two's (ours)
'This house is ours.'

i. ba paŋ-ŋiŋ aniŋ
this house-ABS ours
'This house is ours.'

j. ba paŋ-ŋiŋ ani-ŋaŋ
this house-ABS we many's (ours)
'This house is ours.'

Occasionally, singular possessive prefix is prefixed to the kinship nouns after the first person dual and plural genitive forms.

(8)

a. anc$^{h}$iŋa ap-pa
our my-father
'Our father'

b. anc$^{h}$iŋa am-ma
our my-mother
'Our mother'

c. aniŋa ap-pa
our 1POSS-father
'Our father'

d. aniŋa am-ma
our my-mother
'Our mother'

However, such prefixation of first person singular possessive pronoun for its dual and plural exclusive counterparts is limited to kinship terms. It can't occur with other non-kinship terms.

(9)

a. aniŋa a-paŋ
our my-house
#'Our house'

b. anc$^{h}$iŋa a-baŋ
our my-house
* 'Our house' (The asterisked sentences are unacceptable in Limbu.)

There are some kinship terms which are duplicated and the duplicated form is used as the first person dual and plural inclusive prefix after the prothetic consonant.

(10)

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. | ku | 'uncle' | kukku | 'our uncle' |
| b. | nE | 'elder sister' | nEnnE | 'our sister' |
| c. | c$^{h}$im | 'uncle's wife' | c$^{h}$icc$^{h}$im | 'our aunt' |
| d. | p$^{h}$aŋ | 'uncle' | p$^{h}$app$^{h}$aŋ | 'our uncle' |
| e. | ni | 'father's sister' | ninni | 'our aunt' |

The duplicated morpheme <ku-> and third person singular possessive prefix <ku-> are homophonous and ambiguity arises in an utterance like *kukku* which can mean either 'our uncle' or 'his uncle'. Only the context can disambiguate the semantic ambiguity.

In fact, third person singular possessive prefix <ku-> is ambiguous because it is not specifically co-referential with the nominal in the same sentence.

(11)

a. lahaŋ ku-baŋ-o wa
Lahang 3sPOSS-house-LOC be
'Lahang is in his/her house.'
b. p□numa-ŋa ku-sapla p□ks-u
panuma-ERG 3sPOSS-book hold-3O
'Panuma held her/his book.'

The first sentence means either Lahang is in his house or somebody else's house because the prefix <ku-> 'his' is not specifically co-referential with Lahang in the sentence. Moreover, <ku-> does not make any sex distinction. Similarly, the second sentence means either Panuma held 'her book' or 'some other's book' because <ku-> does not co-refer Panuma. This semantic ambiguity is disambiguated only by the context.

Some compound nouns take possessive prefixes on both parts when they are attached to them.

(12)

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. | tɛpp$^{h}$uŋ | 'clothes' | ku-det ku-b$^{h}$uŋ | 'his clothes' |
| b. | takluŋ | 'friends' | a-dak a-luŋ | 'my friends' |
| c. | cat$^{h}$i | 'food stuff | ka-ja ka-d$^{h}$i | 'your foodstuff' |
| d. | yaŋsa | 'wealth' | ku-yaŋ ku-sa | 'his wealth' |

Some kinship terms have prothetic consonants which occur before them after the singular possessive prefixes such as <ku->, <ka-> and <a->.

(13)

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. | c$^{h}$a | 'child' | a-cc$^{h}$a | 'my child (son or daughter).' |
| b. | c$^{h}$a | 'child' | a-nj$^{h}$a | 'my younger sibling' |
| c. | ma | 'mother' | ka-mma | 'your mother' |
| d. | pa | 'father' | ka-ppa | 'your father' |
| e. | the | 'grand mother' | ka-tt$^{h}$E | 'your grand mother' |
| f. | ku | 'uncle' | ku-kku | 'his uncle' |
| g. | nE | 'elder sister' | ku-nnE | 'his sister' |

The prothetic nasal /n/ changes the meaning *c$^{h}$a* 'child' to 'sibling' as in *anj$^{h}$a* 'my younger sibling'. Its meaning stays 'child' when it has prothetic affricate /c/ as in *acc$^{h}$a* 'my child'.

**3.** DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS. There are two types of demonstrative pronouns: proximate *ba* 'this' and remote *hamba* 'that'. The proximate and remote distinction is based on spatial and psychological distance of the referent of the pronoun from the speaker, not from the hearer. For example, if the referent is close to the speaker, it is referred to with the proximate form even if it is far away from the hearer. If two referents are at equal distance from the speaker, and one of the two is relatively further from the hearer, the speaker will refer to one with the proximate form and the other with the remote form. If the referents are closer to the hearer than to the speaker, the speaker will use the remote forms of the pronouns. A remote referent in time or space can be referred to with a proximate form of a pronoun if it is psychologically close to the speaker. Now, the demonstratives in the remote form are used as third person pronouns. However, they are different from the personal pronouns because they can take ergative or absolutive suffixes, can be, in the singular form, used adnominally as opposed to the personal pronouns and can not occur as

possessive prefixes like personal pronouns. The demonstrative pronouns inflect for case in the following way:

**3.1.** PROXIMATE DEMONSTRATIVE. *ba* 'this' or *kumba* 'this' is a proximate demonstrative pronoun. It inflects for different cases.

| N. | Case | Singular | Plural | Dual |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Absolutive | ba | ba-g$^{h}$a | ba-g$^{h}$a-c$^{h}$i |
| 2. | Ergative | ba-ŋa | ba-gha-ŋa | ba-g$^{h}$a-c$^{h}$i-ŋa |
| 3. | Locative | ba-o | ba-g$^{h}$a-o | ba-g$^{h}$a-c$^{h}$i-o |
| 4. | Commitative | ba-nuŋ | ba-g$^{h}$a-nuŋ | ba-g$^{h}$a-c$^{h}$i-nuŋ |
| 5. | Mediative | ba-lam | ba-g$^{h}$a-lam | ba-g$^{h}$a-c$^{h}$i-lam |
| 6. | Ablative | ba-lam | bagHa-lam | ba-g$^{h}$a-cHi-lam |
| 7. | Allative | ba-dHarik | ba-g$^{h}$a-d$^{h}$arik | ba-g$^{h}$a-c$^{h}$i-d$^{h}$arik |
| 8. | Comparative | ba-aN | ba-g$^{h}$a-aN | ba-g$^{h}$a-c$^{h}$i-aN |

TABLE 19 Case markers of proximate demonstrative pronouns

**3.2.** REMOTE DEMONSTRATIVE. *hamba* 'that' is a remote or distal demonstrative pronoun. It inflects for different cases.

| N. | Case | Singular | Plural | Dual |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Absolutive | hamba | hamba-g$^{h}$a | hamba-g$^{h}$a-c$^{h}$i |
| 2. | Ergative | hamba-ŋa | hamba-gHa-ŋa | hamba-g$^{h}$a-c$^{h}$i-ŋa |
| 3. | Locative | hamba-o | hamba-g$^{h}$a-o | hamba-g$^{h}$a-c$^{h}$i-o |
| 4. | Commitative | hamba-nuŋ | hamba-g$^{h}$a-nuŋ | hamba-g$^{h}$a-c$^{h}$i-nuŋ |
| 5. | Mediative | hamba-lam | hamba-g$^{h}$a-lam | hamba-g$^{h}$a-c$^{h}$i-lam |
| 6. | Ablative | hamba-lam | hambagHa-lam | hamba-g$^{h}$a-cHi-lam |
| 7. | Allative | hamba-dHarik | hamba-g$^{h}$a-d$^{h}$arik | hamba-g$^{h}$a-c$^{h}$i-d$^{h}$arik |

TABLE 20. Case markers of remote demonstrative pronouns

**4.** INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS. There are two types of interrogative pronouns- human and general.

**4.1.** INTERROGATIVE HUMAN PRONOUN. *sa* 'who' is an interrogative pronoun that can be used only for human beings. Unlike personal pronouns, it can inflect for all cases like all other nominals in the following way.

| N. | Case | Singular | Plural | Dual |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Absolutive | sa | sa-g$^{h}$a | sa-g$^{h}$ac$^{h}$i |
| 2. | Ergative | sa-ŋa | sa-gHa-ŋa | sa-g$^{h}$a-c$^{h}$i-ŋa |
| 3. | Locative | sa-o | sa-g$^{h}$a-o | sa-g$^{h}$ac$^{h}$i-o |
| 4. | Commitative | sa-nuŋ | sa-g$^{h}$a-nuŋ | sa-g$^{h}$a-c$^{h}$i-nuŋ |
| 5. | Mediative | sa-lam | sa-g$^{h}$a-lam | sa-g$^{h}$ac$^{h}$i-lam |
| 6. | Ablative | sa-lam | sa-gHa-lam | sa-g$^{h}$acHi-lam |
| 7. | Allative | sa-dHarik | sa-g$^{h}$a-d$^{h}$arik | sa-g$^{h}$ac$^{h}$i-d$^{h}$arik |
| 8. | Comparative | sa-aN | sa-g$^{h}$a-aN | sa-g$^{h}$ac$^{h}$i-aN |

TABLE 21. Case markers of interrogative human pronouns

**4.2** INTERROGATIVE GENERAL PRONOUNS. Iinterrogative non-human pronouns refer to non-human referents like animals, birds, etc and other inanimate things. They are *he* 'what'and *whiŋ*' which' which decline like any other nominals in the following way:

| N. | Case | Singular | Plural | Dual |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Absolutive | hwiN | hwiN-g$^{h}$a | hwiN-g$^{h}$ac$^{h}$i |
| 2. | Ergative | hwiN-ŋa | hwiN-gHa-ŋa | hwiN-g$^{h}$ac$^{h}$i-ŋa |
| 3. | Locative | hwiN-No | hwiN-g$^{h}$a-o | hwiN-g$^{h}$ac$^{h}$i-o |
| 4. | Commitative | hwiN-nuŋ | hwiN-g$^{h}$a-nuŋ | hwiN-g$^{h}$ac$^{h}$i-nuŋ |
| 5. | Mediative | hwiN-lam | hwiN-g$^{h}$a-lam | hwiN-g$^{h}$ac$^{h}$i-lam |
| 6. | Ablative | hwiN-lam | hwiN-gHa-lam | hwiN-g$^{h}$acHi-lam |
| 7. | Allative | hwiN-dHarik | hwiN-g$^{h}$a-d$^{h}$arik | hwiN-g$^{h}$ac$^{h}$i-d$^{h}$arik |
| 8. | Comparative | hwiN-NaN | hwiN-g$^{h}$a-aN | hwiN-g$^{h}$a-c$^{h}$i-aN |

TABLE 22. Case markers of interrogative general pronoun hwiN ‘which’

| N. | Case | Singular | Plural | Dual |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | Absolutive | hE | hE-g$^{h}$a | hE-g$^{h}$a-c$^{h}$i |
| 2. | Ergative | hE-ŋa | hE-gHa-ŋa | hE-g$^{h}$ac$^{h}$i-ŋa |
| 3. | Locative | hE-o | hE-g$^{h}$a-o | hE-g$^{h}$a-c$^{h}$i-o |
| 4. | Commitative | hE-nuŋ | hE-g$^{h}$a-nuŋ | hE-g$^{h}$ac$^{h}$i-nuŋ |
| 5. | Mediative | hE-lam | hE-g$^{h}$a-lam | hE-g$^{h}$ac$^{h}$i-lam |
| 6. | Ablative | hE-lam | hE-gHa-lam | hE-g$^{h}$a-cHi-lam |
| 7. | Allative | hE-dHarik | hE-g$^{h}$a-d$^{h}$arik | hE-g$^{h}$ac$^{h}$i-d$^{h}$arik |
| 8. | Comparative | hE-aN | hE-g$^{h}$a-aN | hE-g$^{h}$a-c$^{h}$i-aN |

TABLE 23 Case markers of interrogative general pronoun hE ‘what’

*tHippa* ‘one person’, *nEpphu* ‘two persons’ and *sumbHhu* ‘three persons’ are also used as pronouns.

(14)

a. nEp-pHu pHEracHi
two- CL- come-PT-dS
‘Two people came.’

b. sumbHu tEg-a-cHi
three-CL go-PT-dS

‘Three people went.’

The noun *napmi* can also be used as a first person exclusive pronominal object suffix in imperative sentences in which the agent must be in plural form.

(15)

a. kHEni sapla a napmi-py-a
your book me 1O-give-PT
‘Give me your book.’

b. a. kHEni sapla a napmi-py-a
your book me 1O-give-PT
‘Give us your book.’

The noun napmi can also be used as a pronoun for marking indefinite third person human in imperative sentence.

(16)

a. ba sukwa napmi ma-by-u-n
this bag- man NEG-give-3O-NEG
‘Do not give this bag to others’

b. ba sukwa napmi ma-by-u-n-si-n
this bag- man NEG-give-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG
‘Do not give these bags to others’

**5**. SUMMARY. There are three kinds of pronouns in the language. They are personal pronouns, interrogative pronouns and demonstrative pronouns. Personal pronouns are divided into three categories- first person, second person and third person. First and second person have singular, dual and plural form whereas third person pronoun have only singular and non-singular forms. Singularity is unmarked. In the first person non-singular pronouns, exclusivity is marked. Thus, there are eleven categories of person pronouns. Interrogative and demonstrative pronouns have only three categories. They are singular, dual and plural. Singularity is unmarked in them. They inflect for absolutive, ergative, ablative, mediative, locative,comitative, allative and comparative . Personal pronouns do not mark ergativity whereas interrogative and demonstrative mark it.

# CHAPTER 7
# MORPHOLOGY OF ADJECTIVES

**1.** INTRODUCTION. There are a limited number of words which may be called adjectives in the language. They are *y□rik* 'many' *culik* ' a few' *myak* ' a little'etc. They can be used before a noun as in *y□rik napmi* 'many people', *culik mEndak* ' a few goats' *miyak cwat* 'a little water'. They, however, can modify the adjectives as in y□*rik cukpa* 'very small', *culik kEmba* ' a bit long' and *culik umba* ' a bit short'. Thus, they are quantifiers, too. Numerals such as *l□ttHik* 'one', *nEccHi* 'two', *sumsi* 'three'etc, are adjectives which occur before nouns and form noun phrases like *l□ttHik mEndak* 'one goat', *nEccHi siNbuN* 'two trees' and *sumsi ambE* 'three mangoes'. Morphology of these numerals has been discussed in nominal morphology (see Chap 5). All other adjectives are derived ones. This chapter is devoted to the morphemic analysis of adjectives.

**2.** DERIVATION OF ADJECTIVES. Adjectives are derived from verbs, bound adjectives, adverbs and nouns through affixation processes.

**2.1.** FROM VERBS. Adjectives are derived from the verbs by adding the suffix <-pa~-ba> or <-ma> to the verb stem.

(1)

a. un + ba = umba
   be short +NML/MASC= short (male)
b. un+ma = umma
   be short + NML/FEM = short (female)
c. ken+ba = kemba
   be tall + NML/FEM = tall (male)
d. ken + ma = kemma
   be tall + NML/FEM = tall ( female)

In 1a-b and 1c-d, the verbs *un* and *ken* change to adjectives when the suffixes <-pa> and <-ma> are added to them. Other adjectives such as *y□mba* or *y□mma* 'big' *cukpa* or *cukma* are also derived from this process. The suffix <-pa> is a portmanteau morpheme which indexes adjective class of a word and masculine gender. In fact <pa> basically denotes non-feminine and its use in adjectives or relative clauses is just its extension. It takes on voicing character when it is preceded by nasal consonant or when it occurs intervocalically. Similarly, the dental nasal in the coda position assimilates to the following consonant for place of articulation and changes to corresponding bilabial nasal /m/. The suffix <-ma> marks both adjective class and feminine gender.

These adjectives are used both adnominally as in 2a-c and predicatively as in 2d-e in sentences.

(2)

a. umba napmi pHEn-lo wa
   short man come-Prg be
   'A short man is coming'
b. umba cHikki hambo nEn
   short rope there be
   'A short rope is there.'
c. kEmma mEncHuma bo hop
   long-FEM woman here be not
   'A tall woman is not here.'
d. hamba cHikki umba cuk

that rope short be
'That rope is short.'

e. kHunE ku-mE? cukma cuk
he 3sPOSS-wife small-FEM be
'His wife is small.'

Adjectives are derived from verbs by suffixing <-na> and <-ba> to the stem.

(3)

a. cEp-na-ba
chop-PP-NML
'one that has been chopped'

b. sap-na-ba
write-PP-NML
'one that has been written'

c. haN-na-ba
send-PP-NML
'one that has been sent'

<-na> in 3a-c resembles in phonetic shape <-na> which indexes second person object in 1s→2s configuration. The verb is in active conjugation in this type of configuration The first person agent subject is formally absent. <-na> in these examples present first person, plural, exclusive, past, middle and subject meaning. It is derived from the full form of first person, plural, exclusive, past , active verb.

(4)

a. cEpp-u-m-ma
chop-3O-pA-1e
'we chopped him'

b. sap-u-m-ma
write-3O-pA-1e
'we wrote it'

c. haN-u-m-ma
send-3O-pA-1e
'we sent it'

When these verbs are transformed to middle voice the object markers are dropped. Consequently, we have forms like *cEpp-m-ma*, *sap-m-ma* and *haN-m-ma*. Since Limbu phonology does not permit consonant cluster in the coda and even in the onset position excepting /y/ and /w/, they are pronounced as *cEpma*, *sapma* and *haNma*. But as the suffix <–ma> indicates infinitive meaning and the verbs carry the meanings 'to chop', 'to write' and 'to send' which are entirely different from the intended meaning, the language has to look to other distinct forms. Moreover, it has to carry past meaning also. Therefore, the object marker <-u> is deleted for middle conjugation, the plural agent suffix <-m> and past suffix <-a> are coalesced to first person exclusive subject marker. As a result, first person, plural, exclusive, middle, past meanings are conveyed by the morpheme <-na>.Later, middle voice was extended to passive voice semantically. In *cEpp-u-m-ma* also there is no overt past marker because past marker <-a> and third person object marker <-u> can not occur together. However, the ambiguity of <-na> is disambiguated when they occur at the sentence level. For example, *a kHEnE cEp-na-ba* means 'I have chopped you' whereas *a cEpnaba sing maiNNan* 'I do not buy the chopped firewood'.

Adjectives formed by suffixation of <-na> and <-pa> or <-ma> are adonominally used as in 5a-b and predicatively used as in 5c-d.

(5)

a. s□N-na-ba tHi ka-g□tt-u-i?
sell-PP-NML local beer 2- have got-3O-Q
'Do you have beer to be sold?'

b. haN-na-ba yaN kuN-lo puN
send-PP-NML money reach-Prg must
'The money which is to be sent must reach.'

c. hamba tHi s□N-na-ba
that beer sell-PP-NML
'That beer is to be sold.'

d. ba yaN haN-na-ba
this money send-PP-NML
'This money is to be sent.'

Adjectives derive from verbs through affixation of discontinuous morphemes <ka--pa>.

(6)

a. ka-lok-pa
AP-run-AP
'one who runs'

b. ka-gHup-pa
AP-steal-AP
'one who steals'

c. ka-nak-pa
AP-beg-AP
'one who begs'

The prefix <ka-> and the suffix <–pa> or <–ma> simultaneously derive adjective from a verb. They surround the verb stem. In that sense it is a circumfix. On the other hand, these two affixes occur in discontinuous chain. So, it can be called a discontinuous morpheme.

The prefix <ka-> is originally a second person marker and <ka-… -pa/ma> still means 'something you did' or 'somebody you deal with' in fully inflected transitive verb.

(7)

a. ka-sap-u-ba
2-write-3O-Adjv/M
'one which you wrote'

b. ka-ut-u-ma
2- call-3O-Adjv/F
'the female whom you called'

c. ka-bat-u-ba
2-tell-3O-Adjv/M
'something you told'

If object marker <-u> is dropped from the above verb forms, they become identical with intransitive verbs. However, if past marker suffix <-a> is added to the stem, the prefix <ka-> indicates second person subject or object meaning.

(8)

a. ka-sap-a-ba
2-write-PT-NML
‘that you wrote’
b. ka-ut- a-ba
2- call-PT-NML
‘that you called’
c. ka-bat-a-ba
2-tell-PT-NML
‘you spoke’

In the above words, the prefix <ka-> indicates second person subject meaning. Let’s see the following forms:

(9)

a. ka-sap-a-ba
2-write-PT-NML
‘that he wrote you’
b. ka-ut- a-ba
2- call-PT-NML
‘that he called you’
c. ka-bat-a-ba
2-tell-PT-Adjv
‘that he talked about you’

In these words <ka-> indicates second person object meaning. Despite the difference in case role, it indicates the same person second person. But when the discontinuous morpheme <ka-… -pa> occurs with a bare root, the identity of the prefix <ka-> is blurred and it becomes difficult to say whether it is a second person prefix or just an nominalizer prefix.

(10)

a. ka-sap-pa
2-write-NML
‘that you write ‘
b. ka-up- pa
2- call-NML
‘that you call’
c. ka-bap- pa
2-tell-NML
‘that you spoke’

This example shows that <ka-> is a second person prefix. But the above words can also mean the following:

(11)

a. ka-sap-pa
AP-write-AP
‘one who writes’
b. ka-up- pa
AP-call-AP
‘one who calls’
c. ka-bap- pa
AP-tell-Adjv
‘one who tells’

The prefix <ka-> in the above example does not indicate second person. It indicates only ‘doer’. The gender of the doer is indicated by the suffix <-pa> or <-ma> which is

used as a nominalizer. If the prefix <ka-> carries the meaning of second person, this indication is not necessary and the suffix <-pa> is used only as an nominalizer suffix. Moreover, the nominalizer suffix <-pa> or <-ma> can also be dropped and still independent word can be made. But where the prefix <ka-> has lost its lexical meaning and developed grammatical meaning 'nominalizer', it can not be separated from the suffix <-pa> or <-ma>. They should occur simultaneously surrounding the verb stem. These adjectives are adnominally used as in 12a-b and predicatively used as 12c.

(12)

a. sapla ka-sap-pa napmi hambo wa
book AP-write-AP man there be
'One who writes a book is there.'

b. ka-up-pa napmi allo teg-a
I AP-call-AP man just now go-PT
'The man who called me has just gone.'

c. hamba napmi ka-bap-pa cuk
that man AP- talk-AP be
'He is talkative.'

Adjective are derived from the fully inflected verb by suffixation of <-pa>.

The suffix <–pa> or <–ma> is added to the fully inflected verb form to yield adjective.

(13)

a. nih-u-ba
see-3O-NML
'one whom he saw'

b. ka-nih-u-ba
2-see-3O-NML
'one whom you saw'

c. nih-u-N-ba
see-3O-1e-NML
'one whom I saw'

Innumerable adjectives such as *sappuba*, *tumuNba*, *pHEtuNba* etc. are formed by this rule.

These adjectives are adnominally used as in 14a-b and predicatively used as in 14c-d.

(14)

a. a nih-u-N-ba pu pey-a deg-a
I see-3O-NML bird fly-PT go-PT
'The bird which I had seen flew away.'

b. kHunE sap-u-ba sapla a ma-nit-na-n
he write-3O-NML book I NEG-read-1e-NEG
'I do not read the book which he has written.'

c. ba napmi-miN a nih-u-N-ba
this man-ABS I see-3O-NML
'This is the man I saw.'

d. hamba sapla kHunE sap-u-ba
that book he write-3O-NML
'That book is written by him.'

**2.2. F**ROM BOUND ADJECTIVES. Colour words are derived from bound adjectives through affixation process. The prefix <ku-> and suffix < -la or –ra> occurs simultaneously in a discontinuous chain and surrounds the root.

(15)

| | adjective | prefix | adjective | suffix | adjective |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. | mak | ku - | mak | -la | ku-mak-la |
| | black | | | | ‘black’ |
| b. | hEt | ku - | hEt- | la | ku-hEt-la |
| | red | one who/which | -steals | | ‘red’ |
| c. | pH□ | ku - | bH□ | - ra | ku-bH□-ra |
| | white | white | | | ‘white’ |
| d. | hik | ku - | hik | -la | ku-hik-la |
| | ‘yellow’ | | | | ‘Yellow’ |
| e. | pHiN | ku - | bHiN | - la | ku-bHiN-la |
| | blue | blue | | | ‘blue’ |

The prefix <ku> is derived from the third person pronoun *kHunE* ‘he’ or ‘she’. It indexes third person possessive meaning. *mak* is an adjective which only co-occurs with *loma* ‘to appear’. *la* is the past form of *loma*. Thus, the colour words are reinterpreted as follows:

(16)

| | adjective | prefix | adjective | suffix | adjective |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. | mak | ku - | mak | -la | ku-mak-la |
| | black | 3 | black | looked | ‘black’ |
| b. | hEt | ku- | hEt- | la | ku-hEt-la |
| | red | 3 | red | looked | ‘red’ |
| c. | pH□ | ku- | bH□ | - ra | ku-bH□-ra |
| | white | 3 | white | looked | ‘white’ |
| d. | hik | ku - | hik | -la | ku-hik-la |
| | ‘yellow’ | 3 | yellow | looked | ‘Yellow’ |
| e. | pHiN | ku - | bHiN | - la | ku-bHiN-la |
| | blue | 3 | blue | looked | ‘blue’ |

However, in synchronic interpretation, the prefix <ku-> and suffix <-la> have lost their original meaning and they together form colour adjectives.

The colour morpheme such as *mak* occurs with the verb *loma* ‘to appear’ and forms composite verb *makloma* ‘to look black’. In such a verb the second or last verbal part receives, in its adjective formation, the discontinuous morpheme sequence< ka- … -ba>, <ka-…-ma>.

(17)

| | Verb composite | Adjective |
|---|---|---|
| a. | makloma | makkaloba, makkaloma |
| | ‘to look black’ | ‘black’ |
| b. | he?loma | hE?kaloba, hE?kaloma |
| | ‘to look red’ | ‘red’ |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| c. | pH□-loma | pH□kaloba, pH□kaloma |
| | ‘to look white’ | ‘white’ |
| d. | pHiNloma | pHiNkaloba, pHiNkaloma |
| | ‘to look blue’ | ‘blue’ |
| e. | hikloma | hikkaloba, hikkaloma |
| | ‘to look yellow’ | ‘yellow’ |

*makkaloba* can be reinterpreted in the following way:
(18)

a. mak-ka-lo-ba
black-2-look-NML
‘that you look black’
b. he?ka-lo-ba
red-2-look-NML
‘that you look red’
c. pH□-ka-lo-ba
white-2-look-NML
‘that you look white’
d. pHiN-ka-lo-ba
‘blue-2-look-NML
‘you look blue+Adjv’
e. hik-ka-lo-ba
yellow-2-look-NML
‘that you look yellow’

If the nominalizer suffix is dropped, independent word is still formed and in this form the prefix <ka-> clearly marks second person. When the prefix clearly indexes second person meaning, its nominalizer suffix <-pa> is used for both masculine and feminine gender. But when <ka-> loses its original meaning and functions as a nominalizer suffix, its subsequent suffix distinguishes gender which should be either <-pa> or <-ma.>. In synchronic use, words like *kumakla*, *kuhetla* etc are taken as single lexical adjectives to mean ‘black’ ‘red’ etc. These colour adjectives are adnominally used as in 19a-b and predicatively used as in 19c-d.
(19)

a. kumakla pi? calam-lo wa
black cow graze-Prg be
‘A black cow is grazing.’
b. kHunE kuhEtla sim war-u
she red sari wear-3O
‘She wears a red saree.’
c. hamba pi? kumakla cuk
that cow black be
‘That cow is black.’
d. ba sim kuhEtla cuk
this sari red be
this sari is red.’

The adjectives in 19 can be alternatively used as in 20.
(20)

a. makkaloba pi? calam-lo wa

black cow graze-Prg be
'A black cow is grazing.'

b. kHunE hE?kaloba sim war-u
she red sari wear-3O
'She wears a red saree.'

c. hamba pi? mak lo
that cow black be
'That cow is black.'

d. ba sim hEt lo
this sari red be
this sari is red.'

Some bound adjective morphemes such as *susu* 'airy', *yaNyaN* 'light', *tamdam* 'wide', *siNsiN* 'sincere' *t□kt□k* 'straight' and *cH□mcH□m* become free morphemes by the addition of the suffix <ba-> to the stem. For example, *susu-ba* 'airy', *yaNyaN-ba* 'light', *tamdam-ba* 'wide', *siNsiN-ba* 'sincere' *t□kt□kpa* 'straight', *cH□mcH□mba* 'pointed'. These adjectives are adnominally used as in 21a-b and predicatively used as in 21c-d.

(21)

a. a susuba ko□Ha ko?l-u-N-lo wa-Na
I airy room search-3O-1e-Prg be-1e
'I am searching for an airy room.'

b. a siNsiNba napmi bo ma-ni-Na-n
I sincere man here NEG-see-1e-NEG
'I do not see a sincere man here.'

c. ba ko□Ha susuba cuk
this room airy be
'This room is airy.'

d. kHunE siNsiNba cuk
he sincere be
'He is sincere.'

These bound adjective morphemes occur together with the verb *loma* and form a composite verbal expression. They derive free adjective morphemes by prefixing <ka-> and suffixing <ba-> to the last part of the verb. For example *susu-ka-lo-ba, siNsiNkaloba, yaNyaNkaloba, tamdam kaloba* etc,. These adjectives occur adonminally as in 22a-b and predicatively as in 22c-d.

(22)

a. a susukaloba ko□Ha ko?l-u-N-lo wa-Na
I airy room search-3O-1e-Prg be-1e
'I am searching for an airy room.'

b. a siNsiNkaloba napmi bo ma-ni-Na-n
I sincere man here NEG-see-1e-NEG
'I do not see a sincere man here.'

c. ba ko□Ha susu lo
this room airy be
'This room is airy.'

d. kHunE siNsiN lo
he sincere be
'He is sincere.'

**2.3.** FROM ADVERB ROOTS. Some adjectives *toba* 'somebody up there', *moba* 'somebody down there' and *yoba* somebody over there can be formed by the addition of the suffix <-pa or -ba or -ma> to the adverb root.
The derivation process of *toba* is as follows:
(23)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a. | Root | to | 'up there' |
| b. | Suffixation | *topa | |
| c. | Voicing | toba | 'somebody up there' |

The derivation process of *moba* is as follows:
(24)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a. | Root | mo | 'down there' |
| b. | Suffixation | *mopa | |
| c. | Voicing | moba | 'somebody down there' |

The derivation process of *yoba* is as follows:
(25)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a. | Root | yo | 'over there' |
| b. | Suffixation | *yopa | |
| c. | Voicing | yoba | 'somebody down over there' |

/p/ becomes /b/ when it occurs intervocalically. Therefore, in the examples above, the suffix <-ba> is used. In addition, gender is distinguished only in the case of human being. <-ma> is used as a feminine marker but <-ba> as a non-feminine marker.
These adjectives are adnominally used as in 26a-b and predicatively as in 26c-d.
(26)

a. toba pHEja ukk-u?
something up there dagger bring-3O-IMP
'Bring the dagger up there.'

b. moba sakpHa taN-u?
something down there bamboo cut down-3O-IMP
'Cut down the bamboo down there.'

c. yoba napmi ut-u?
somebody over there man call-3O-IMP
'Call the man over there.'

d. ba pHEja toba
this dagger something up there
'This dagger is from up there.

e. ba sakpHa moba
this bamboo something down there
'This bamboo is from down there.'

f. hamba napmi yoba
that man somebody over there
'This man is from over there.'

Adjectives such as *tona* ‘something up there’, *mona* ‘something down there’ and *yona* ‘something over there’ are derived from adverbs by adding the suffix<- na> to stem. The derivation process of *tona* is as follows:

(27)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a. | Root | to | ‘up there’ |
| b. | Suffixation | tona | ‘something up there ’ |

The derivation process of *mona* is as follows:

(28)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a. | Root | mo | ‘down there’ |
| b. | Suffixation | mona | ‘something down there ’ |

The derivation process of yona is as follows:

(29)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a. | Root | yo | ‘over there’ |
| b. | Suffixation | yona | ‘something over there ’ |

However, these adjectives do not appear adnominally with nouns indicating living beings. Hence, phrases like *tona napmi* for ‘the man up there , *mona pi?* ‘the cow down there’ etc are not attested in the language. They occur adnominally with inanimate nouns as in 30a-c.

(30)

a. tona paN y□mba cuk
something up there house big be
‘The house up there is big.’

b. mona paNbHE cukpa cuk
something down there village small be
‘The village down there is small.’

c. a yona pyaNsi s□ks-u-N
I something over there paddy-field sell-3O-1e
‘I will sell the paddy-field over there.’

Adjectives such as *toiN* ‘something or somebody up there’, *moiN* ‘something or somebody down there’ and *yoiN* ‘something or somebody over there’ are derived from adverbs by the addition of suffix <-iN>.The derivation process of *toiN* is as follows:

(31)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a. | Root | to | ‘up there’ |
| b. | Suffixation | toiN | ‘something or somebody up there ’ |

The derivation process of moiN is as follows:

(32)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a. | Root | mo | ‘up there’ |
| b. | Suffixation | moiN | ‘something or somebody down |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | there ’ |

The derivation process of yoiN is as follows:

(33)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a. | Root | yo | ‘up there’ |
| b. | Suffixation | yoiN | ‘something or somebody over there |

These adjectives are only adnominally used as in 34a-c.

(34)

a. toiN paN y□mba cuk
something up there house big be
‘The house up there is big.’

b. moiN paNbHE cukpa cuk
something down there village small be
‘The village down there is small.’

c. a yoiN pyaNsi s□ks-u-N
I something over there paddy-field sell-3O-1e
‘I will sell the paddy-field over there.’

Adjectives such as *tonaNba* ‘somebody who is on the upward side’, *monaNba* ‘somebody who is on the downward side’ and *yonaNba* ‘somebody who is on the other side’ are derived from adverbs by adding directional suffixes such as <-naN> or <-lEkkHaN> and the nominalizing suffix <–pa> or <–ba>.

The derivation process of *tonaNba* is as follows:

(35)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a. | Root | to | ‘up there’ |
| b. | Suffixation | tonaN | ‘upward’ |
| c. | Suffixation | tonaNba | ‘somebody who is upward’ |

The derivation process of *monanNba* is as follows:

(33)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a. | Root | mo | ‘down there’ |
| b. | Suffixation | monaN | ‘downward’ |
| c. | Suffixation | monaNba | ‘somebody who is on the downward side’ |

The derivation process of yonaNba is as follows:

(34)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a. | Root | yo | ‘over there’ |
| b. | Suffixation | yonaN | ‘towards over there’ |
| c. | Suffixation | yonaNba | ‘somebody who is towards over there’ |

These adjectives are adnominally used as in 35a-c and predicatively as in 35d-e.

(35)

a. tonaNba siNbuN y□mba cuk
something on the upward side tree big be

'The tree on the upward side is big'

b. a monaNba lajE iN-u-N
I something on the downward side land buy-3O-1e
'I will purchase the land downward.'

c. yonaNba paN ci cuk
something on the other side house a bit small
'The house on the other side is a bit small.'

d. ba siNbuN tonaNba
this tree on the upward side
'This tree lies on the upward side.'

e. ba lajE monaNba
this land something on the downward side
'This land lies on the downward side.'

Adjectives such as *todokpa* 'somebody who is a bit up', *momokpa* 'somebody who is a bit down' and *yoyokpa* 'somebody who is a bit away' are derived from adverbs by reduplication of the adverb, additions of the velar stop to the new syllable and the suffix <-pa> or <–ma>. The derivation process of *todokpa* is as follows:

(36)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a. | Root | to | 'up there' |
| b. | Reduplication | *toto | |
| c. | Suffixation | *totok | |
| d. | Voicing | todok | 'a bit up' |
| e. | Suffixation | todokpa | 'somebody who is a bit up there' |

The derivation process of *momokpa* 'somebody who is a bit down' is as follows:

(37)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a. | Root | mo | 'up there' |
| b. | Reduplication | momo | 'down below' |
| c. | Suffixation | momok | 'a bit down ' |
| d. | Suffixation | momokpa | 'somebody who is a bit down' |

The derivation process of *yoyokpa* 'somebody who is a bit away' is as follows:

(38)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a. | Root | yo | 'over there' |
| b. | Reduplication | yoyo | 'far away' |
| c. | Suffixation | yoyok | 'a bit away on the other side' |
| d. | Suffixation | yoyokpa | 'something or somebody a bit far away' |

These adjectives are adnominally used as in 39a-c and predicatively used as in 39d-e.

(39)

a. kHunE todokpa sukwa ukk-u
he something lying a bit up bag bring-3O

‘He brought the bag lying a bit up.’

b. kHEnE momokpa ambEka- gHob-u
you something lying a bit downward mango pick up-3O
‘You picked up a mango lying a bit on downward side.’

c. yoyokpa napmi-Na a-n-ni-nEn
somebody a bit far away man-ERG 1-NEG-see-NEG
‘The man who is a bit away on the other side does not see us.’

d. ba napmi a-bH□nda todokpa
this man 1-COMP a bit up
‘This man is a bit upper than me.’

e. ba napmi momokpa
this man somebody a bit below
‘This man is of a bit low level.’

f. kHunE yoyokpa
he somebody a bit far away (in relation)
‘He is of a bit distant relation.’

**2.4.** FROM NOUN ROOTS. Adjectives are derived from nouns by suffixing locative case marker <-o> and the suffix <–pa> or <–ma>.

(40)

a. paNbHE-wo-ba
village-LOC-NML
‘ One which/who is in the village

b. kHam-mo-ba
earth-LOC-NML
‘One which/who is on the land’

c. tH□k-No-ba
body-LOC-NML
‘One which is on the body’

These adjectives are adnominally used as in 41a-c and predicatively used as in 41d-f.

(41)

a. paNbHE-wo-ba hEnjagHa tondomba mu-boN
village-LOC-NML children straight 3pS-be
‘The children of a village are honest.’

b. hamba-Na kHam-mo-ba yaN kHob-u
that-ERG earth-LOC-NML money pick up-3O
‘That man picked up the money on the earth.’

c. tH□k-No-ba yaN sa saN mam-bi-ma-n-si-n
bodo-LOC-NML money who else NEG-give-INF-NEG-3nsO-NEG
‘Money which is on a person should not be given to anybody else.

d. ba hEnja paNbHE-wo-ba
this child village-LOC-NML
‘This child is from a village.’

e. ba luN kHam-mo-ba
this stone earth-LOC-NML
‘This stone is from the earth.’

**3.** CASE. When adjectives are used as the noun phrase heads, they take all the case and number affixes that nouns take.

| | case | siŋular | dual | plural |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Ergative | ka-gHup-pa-ŋa | Ka-gHup-pa-ghachi-ŋa | Ka-gHup-pa-gha-ŋa |
| 2 | Absolutive | Ka-gHup-pa-iŋ | Ka-gHup-pa-ghachi-iŋ | Ka-gHup-pa-gha-iŋ |
| 3 | Instrumental | ka-gHup-pa-ŋa | ka-gHup-pa-ghachi-ŋa | ka-gHup-pa-gHa-ŋa |
| 4 | Genitive | ka-gHup-pa-ŋaŋ | ka-gHup-pa-gHacHi-ŋaŋ | ka-gHup-pa-gha-ŋaŋ |
| 5 | Comitative | ka-gHup-pa-lam/nuŋ | ka-gHup-pa-ghachi-o | ka-gHup-pa-gHa-o |
| 6 | Locative | ka-gHup-pa-o | ka-gHup-pa-gha-chi-o | ka-gHup-pa-gha-o |
| 7 | Vocative | ka-gHup-pa-e | ka-gHup-pa-gHacHi-e | ka-gHup-pa-gHa-e |
| 8 | Mediative | ka-gHup-pa-lam | ka-gHup-pa-gHa-cHi-lam | ka-gHup-pa-lam |
| 9 | Elative | ka-gHup-pa-o-lam/nuŋ | ka-gHup-pa-gha-chi-o-lam/nuŋ | ka-gHup-pa-gHa-o-lam/nuŋ |
| 10 | Intrative | ka-gHup-pa-lum-o | ka-gHup-pa-gHa-cHi-lum-o | ka-gHup-pa-gHa-lum-o |
| 11 | Allative | ka-gHup-pa-o-dHarik | ka-gHup-pa-gHa-cHi-o-dHarik | ka-gHup-pa-gHa-o-dHarik |
| 12 | Comparative | ka-gHup-pa-aŋ ka-gHup-pa-nuŋNE | ka-gHup-pa-gha-cHi-aŋ ka-gHup-pa-gHacHi-nuŋNE | ka-gHup-pa-gHa-aŋ ka-gHup-pa-gHa-nuŋŋE |

TABLE 24 Case markers of a derivative adjective kagHuppa ‘one who steals’

**4.** SUMMARY. There are very few lexical adjectives in Chhatthare Limbu. They are numerals and quantifiers or intensifiers. All the other adjectives are derived from verbs, bound adjectives, nouns and adverbs by the help of suffixes such as <-ba~ -pa> or <-ma>, <ku- -la>, <ka- -pa>, <ma- -na>. These adjectives can function both as an adjective and as a noun. When it functions as a noun, it takes all the case markers and number markers that a noun takes. Therefore, except when it is to be specified as an adjective, the suffixes <-ba~ pa> and <-ma> are glossed as ‘nominalizer’.

# CHAPTER 8
# MORPHOLOGY OF ADVERBS

**1**. INTRODUCTION. Morphologically, there are two types of adverbs in the language. They are lexical adverbs and derivative adverbs. However, lexical adverbs are very few in the language. Most of the adverbs are derived from adjectives, adverbs and nouns. This chapter deals with the morphology of adverbs.

**2.** KINDS OF ADVERBS. There are two kinds of adverbs. They are lexical adverbs and derivative adverbs. They are discussed under the following subheadings.

**2.1.** LEXICAL ADVERBS. Lexical adverbs are classified into temporal, locational, manner, truth value and posture adverbs

**2.1.1.** TEMPORAL ADVERBS. Temporal adverbs indicate year, day, part of the day, time duration within a day, time duration and temporal question.
Adverbs indicating year are as follows:

(1)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| a. | tH□mlinda | 'two years before the last' |
| b. | cHumlinda | 'one year before the last' |
| c. | mi?Linda | 'last year' |
| d. | ailamba | 'this year' |
| e. | a?nEmaN | 'next year' |
| f. | accHimmaN | 'a year after the next' |
| g. | akkHEmmaN | 'two years after the next' |

The examples in 1a-g shows that <–linda> is a common element to indicate the previous years and <-maN> is the common element to indicate the following years. In the centre *ailamba* 'this year' is a separate morpheme.

A few adverbs indicating day are as follows:

(2)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| a. | kHEmmEnda | 'two days before yesterday' |
| b. | cHiyEnda | 'the day before yesterday' |
| c. | acHEnda | 'yesterday' |
| d. | anda | 'today' |
| e. | tEnda | 'tomorrow' |
| f. | accHindaN | 'the day after tomorrow' |
| g. | akkHEndaN | 'two days after tomorrow' |

Among the above adverbs the element <–nda> is common suffix to mark time. From the adverb *kHEmmEnda* 'two days before yesterday' to *tEnda* 'tomorrow', <-nda> is used in the final position. But in *acHindaN* 'the day after tomorrow' and *akHEndaN* 'two days after tomorrow' <-nda> is followed by <-N>. It is hard to say why it is added here because if it is added to mark the days after "today", it should have also marked *tEnda*. In fact, these temporal adverbs indicating days have been lexicalized and any attempt to seek meaning in their parts is in vain. However, it can at least be said that temporal adverbs indicating days contain <–nda> element either in ultimate or in penultimate position.

There are only three adverbs which indicate the part of the day. They are

(3)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| a. | bpihahandik | 'morning' |

b. lEndik ‘afternoon’
c. sEndik ‘night’.

*bihandik* shows the early part of the day, *lEndik* shows middle part of the day and *sEndik* shows the last part of the day. The adverb *bihandik* is made of three syllables. The first two syllables *bihan* is a Nepali loan word which is *bihan* ‘morning’ in Nepali. The element –dik is added to them and temporal adverbs *bihandik*, *lEndik* and *sEndik* are formed. The first parts of the two adverbs, *lEn* and *sEn* do not index any meaning in relation to time in synchronic use though they make a sense in other semantic domain such as *lEn* ‘he tears out something such as a small branch of a tree or a flower’ and *sEn* ‘he departs from somebody’. *yuncHik* is also used for ‘night’. It challenges the assumption that all adverbs indicating part of the day have the element *–dik* on their end as *-cHik* occurs in the same environment preceded by the dental nasal /n/. In fact, these words have been lexicalized now and extracting individual meaning of separate syllables is not possible.

There are some time adverbs which indicate time and control the tense of a verb in sentences. They are as follows:

(4)
a. attE ‘sometimes before’
b. all□ ‘now’
c. allo ‘at this moment’
d. cH□ppaN ‘a little later’
e. andok ‘later’
f. acHEn ‘earlier or in the past’

Among the six adverbs in 4a-f five of them contain /a/ in the beginning and only one adverb *cH□ppaN* ‘ a little later’ begins with /cH/. It is derived from *cH□ppa* ‘for sometimes’ by adding the suffix <-aN>. The final /a / of *cH□ppa* deletes and the suffix <-aN> is added. These adverbs show time within a day. cH□ppaN is a derivative temporal adverb.

There are two temporal adverbs indicating duration of time in the language. They are:

(5)
a. cH□ppa ‘for sometimes’
b. idik ‘for a long time’

*cH□ppa* ‘for sometimes’ *idik* ‘ for a long time’ are also temporal adverbs used in sentences like *kHunE cH□ppa yuNa* ‘he sat for sometimes’ and *kHunE idik yuNa* ‘he sat for a long time.’ However, they are not bound by the time-limitation of ‘today’. For example, *cH□ppa* and *idik* can be used in sentences as in *kHunE accHEnda lEndik cH□ppa ipsa* ‘ he slept for sometimes during the midday yesterday’ and *kHunE acHEnda idik ipsa* ‘he slept for a long time yesterday.’

Limbu has a temporal lexical question adverb like *adHabi* ‘when’ which is used in a sentence as in 6.

(6) kHEnE adHabi ka-dah-a?
You when 2-arrive-PT-Q
‘When did you arrive?’

**2.1.2.** LOCATIONAL ADVERBS. Three locational adverbs are used in the language. They are:

(7)

a. to ‘up there’
b. mo ‘down there’
c. yo ‘over there

*to* indicates higher location and *mo* refers to lower location than the speaker’s locational situation. *yo*, on the other hand, refers to the same level location .

**2.1.3.** MANNER ADVERBS. Manner adverbs are formed by syllable. They are as follows:

(8)

a. yaNyaN ‘light’
b. pamban ‘thin’
c. y□ky□k ‘slow’
d. t□kt□k ‘straight’
e. pekpek to lay down something carelessly’

When these words are used in a sentence, they answer how the action in question has been performed.

(9)

a. kHunE ba k□k yaNyaN p□ks-u
he this load lightly carry-3O
‘He carried this load lightly.’
b. kHunE ambE pamban tHikk-u
he mango thinly peel-3O
‘He peeled a mango thinly.’
c. a y□ky□k pok-Na
1 slowly get-1sS
‘ 1 get up slowly.’
d. kHEnE yakyak ka-dEg-a
you cautiously 2-go-PT
‘You went cautiously.’
e. kHunE t□kla t□kt□k yEps-u
he pillar there make stand-3O
‘He planted a pillar straight up.’
f. a sukwa pEkpEk nEh-u-N
I bag carelessly keep-3O-1sA
‘I laid down a beg carelessly.’

The adverb *yaNyaN* ‘lightly’ in 9a answers the question ‘how did he carry this load?’, the adverb *pamban* in 9b answers the question ‘how did he peel a mango?’ and the adverb in 9c *y□ky□k* answers the question ‘how do I get up?’. Similarly, the adverbs in 9d-f answer the question ‘how?’.

**2.1.4.** POSTURE ADVERBS. There are some adverbs which describe the position of the agent while performing action or the position of object resulting from the performance of the action. They are:

(10)

a. lElaN ‘lying with face upward’

b. EklaN ‘backward movement’ or ‘opposite’
c. cENya ‘lying with face downward’

In sentences they answer the question how some act has been or is performed.

(11)
a. kHunE lElaN nEh-a
he lying with face upward lie-PT
‘He lay down with the face upward..’
b. kHEnE EklaN laN-ka-gHEg-a
you opposite walk- 2-walk-PT
‘You walked the opposite way.’
( with the face eastward and movement westward)
c. hamba hEnja cENNya r□k im
that child lying with the face down ward only sleep
‘That child sleeps with the face downward.’

The adverb *lElaN* ‘lying position with the face downward’ in 11a answers how he lay. The adverb *EklaN* ‘opposite’ in 11b answers the question how he walked and the adverb *cENNya* ‘lying with the face down’ in 11c answer the question how the child sleeps.

The element <-laN> is common between *EklaN* and *lElaN*. As an independent word, it gives the meaning ‘leg’ but this meaning does not match here. For example, *ek* ‘backbone’ and *laN* ‘leg’ together does not mean anything. Similarly, *le* means ‘penis’ as an independent word. It does not mean anything if *le* and *laN* are combined and given separate meanings. Therefore, *EklaN* and *lElaN* are lexical adverbs. Given the distribution of phonemes in the coda position, it can be assumed that *lElaN* might be at one time in the past *lEklaN* and from *lEklaN* it became *lE?laN* and now it is realized as *lElaN*.

**2.1.5.** TRUTH VALUE ADVERBS. Lexical adverbs to express truth value such as ‘really’ or ‘for nothing’ are also used in the language. They are:

(12)
a. kuccaik ‘really’
b. h□nE ‘for nothing’

They also answer the questions how as in 13a-b.

(13)
a. kHunE kuccaik pat-u
he really say-3O
‘He said it really.’
b. kHEnE h□nE ka-bat-u
he false 2-say-3O
‘You said it falsely.’

**2.2.** DERIVED ADVERBS

**2.2.1**. DERIVATION OF ADVERBS THROUGH AFFIXATION. Frequency adverbs are formed by suffixation of <lEn> to the numeral root.

(14)
a. tHi?lEn ‘once’
b. nilEn ‘twice’
c. sumlEn ‘thrice’

<-lEn> is common in these three adverbs. They indicate frequency. tHi? is derived from the numeral l□ttHik ‘one’. The /k/ in the coda position of l□ttHik is replaced by the glottal stop /?/ in *tHi?lEn*. *ni* in *nilEn* is derived from the numeral *nEccHI* ‘two’ with the raising of tongue height and *sum* in *sumlEn* is derived from the numeral *sumsi* ‘three’.

Directional adverbs are formed by addition of the suffix <-aN> to the root.

(15)

a. cupsaN ‘on the right’
b. pHEncHaN ‘on the left’
c. t□gaN ‘in the front’
d. EgaN ‘at the back’

The element <-aN> is common among these adverbs given in the table.
It means ‘towards’ and the suffix <-naN> also means ‘towards’. Both suffixes index directional meaning. A strong hypothesis can be made that the suffix <-aN> has been derived from the suffix <-naN>. It is realized as <-aN> due to the deletion of the initial consonant /n/. This hypothesis can be justified by the morphological evidences that *ek-naN* ‘towards backbone’ becomes *EgaN* ‘towards back’ with the lowering of the front vowel and intervocalic voicing of the voiceless velar stop /k/ and *tH□knaN* ‘towards body’ becomes *t□gaN* ‘in the front’ with the deletion of the initial aspiration and intervocalic voicing of voiceless velar stop /k/. *ek* and *tH□k* can occur independently but *cups* and *pHEncH* can not. When they occur with the direction marker <-naN>, the nasal consonant is deleted . Consequently, *cupsaN* and *pHEncHaN* are realized.

Adverbs denoting the direction of location are formed by adverbs *to* ‘up there’, *mo* ‘down there’ and *yo* ‘over there’ by suffixing <-*naN*> or *lEkkHaN*. These suffixes are interchangeable.

(16)

| | oot | Suffix | Adverb | Glossing |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | o | -naN/lEkkHEaN | tonaN tolEkkHaN | ‘towards up there’ |
| | o | -naN/lEkkHaN | monaN molEkkHaN | ‘towards down there’ |
| | o | -naN/lEkkHaN | yonaN yolEkkHaN | ‘towards over there.’ |

Locational adverbs such as *bo* ‘here’ *kumbo* ‘here only’ and *hambo* ‘there’ are derived from the demonstrative adjective *ba* ‘this’, *kumba* ‘this only’ and *hamba* ‘that’. The derivation process of the locational adverb *bo* is as follows:
(17)

| . | Root | ba | ‘this’ |
|---|---|---|---|
| . | Vowel deletion | *b | |
| . | Suffixation | bo | ‘here’ |

The derivation process of *kumbo* is as follows:
(18)

| . | Root | ba | ‘this’ |
|---|---|---|---|
| . | Prefixation | kumba | ‘this only’ |
| . | Final vowel deletion | *kumb | |
| . | Suffixation | kumbo | ‘here only’ |

The derivation process of *hambo* is as follows:
(19)

| . | Root | ba | ‘this’ |
|---|---|---|---|
| . | Prefixation | hamba | ‘that ’ |
| . | Final vowel deletion | *hamb | |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| . | Coda insertion | ham bo | ‘there’ |

Locational adverb such as *ho* ‘where’ is derived from adjective *hE* ‘what’ by adding locative suffix <-o> and is realized *ho* due to final vowel deletion. This process can be shown in the following way:

(20)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| . | Root | hE | ‘what’ |
| . | Deletion | *h | |
| . | Suffixation | ho | ‘where’ |

There are adverbs netaN ‘near’ and maNgHa ‘far’ in the language. They show distance of the location. *netaN* is derived from the verb *net* ‘it is near’ by addition of the suffix <-aN> to it. This suffix is the suffix <-aN> used to index perfect aspect as in *cug-u-aN wa* ‘he has done it’ and sequence of action as in *l□psu-aN sEru* ‘he beat it and killed it’. *maNgHa* ‘far’ is derived from the verb *maN* ‘it is far’ by adding the suffix <-gHa> to it.. This suffix is formally identical to plural nominal suffix <-gHa> but semantically it is different. The suffix <-gHa > here changes the class of word from verb to adverb: i,e, from the verb *maN* to the adverb *maN-gHa* but it does not show plurality. These adverbs answer the questions ‘how far?’ in the sentences in 22a-c.

(22)

a. kHunE ku-baN netaN wa
his/her 3sPOSS-house near be
‘His/her house is near.’

b. kHEnE ka-baNbHE maNghHa wa
your 2sPOSS-village far be
‘Your village is far.’

Reason adverb such as *hyaN* ‘why’ is derived from the adjective *hE* ‘what’ with the addition of the suffix <-aN>. The process is as follows:

(23)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a. | Root | hE | ‘what?’ |
| b. | Suffixation | *hEaN | |
| c. | Gliding | *hEyaN | |
| d. | Deletion | hyaN | ‘why?’ |

Manner adverbs are derived from demonstrative adjectives *ba* ‘this’ *kumba* ‘this only’ and *hamba* ‘that’ by suffixing <-kHE>. Derivation process of *bakk**HE*** is as follows**:**

(24)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a. | Root | ba | ‘this’ |
| b. | Suffixation | *bakHE | |
| c. | Coda insertion | bakkHE | ‘in this way’ |

Derivation process of *kumbakkHE* is follows:

(25)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a. | Root | ba | ‘this’ |
| b. | Prefixation | kumba | |
| c. | Suffixation | *kumbakHE | |
| d. | Coda insertion | kumbakkHE | ‘in this way’ |

Derivation process of hambakkHE is as follows:

(26)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a. | Root | ba | ‘that’ |
| b. | Prefixation | hamba | |
| c. | Suffixation | *hambakHE | |
| d. | Coda insertion | hambakkHE | ‘in that way’ |

Manner adverb such *hikkHE* ‘how’ is derived from the adjective *hE* ‘what’ and addition of the suffix <-kHE> with raising of the first vowel and the onset germination. This process can be shown in the following way:

(27)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a. | Root | hE | ‘what?’ |
| b. | Sufixation | *hEkHE | |
| c. | Gemination | *hEkkHE | |
| d. | Vowel raising | hikkHE | ‘how?’ |

Manner Adverbs like *bakkHEaN, kumbakkHEaN* and *hambakkHEaN* are derived from the demonstrative adjectives *ba*, *kumba* and *hamba* by suffixation of <- kHE> and <-aN>.

Derivation process of *bakkHyaN* is as follows**:**

(28)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a. | Root | ba | ‘this’ |
| b. | Suffixation | *bakHE | |
| c. | Coda insertion | bakkHE | |
| d. | Suffixation | *bakkHEaN | |
| e. | Gliding | bakkHyaN | ‘in this way’ |

Derivation process of *kumbakkHyaN* is as follows:

(29)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a. | Root | ba | ‘this’ |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| b. | Prefixation | kumba | |
| c. | Suffixation | *kumbakHE | |
| d. | Coda insertion | kumbakkHE | |
| e. | Suffixation | *kumbakkHEaN | |
| f. | Gliding | kumbakkHyaN | ‘in this way’ |

Derivation process of *hambakkHyaN* is as follows:

(30)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a. | Root | ba | ‘this’ |
| b. | Prefixation | hamba | ‘that’ |
| c. | Suffixation | *hambakHE | |
| d. | Coda insertion | hambakkHE | |
| e. | Suffixation | *hambakkHEaN | |
| f. | Gliding | hambakkHyaN | ‘in this way’ |

Manner adverbs derived from interrogative pronoun by suffixing <-kHE> and <-aN> is as follows:

(31)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a. | Root | hE | ‘what?’ |
| b. | Sufixation | *hEkHE | |
| c. | Coda insertion | *hEkkHE | |
| d. | Vowel raising | hikkHE | ‘how?’ |
| e. | Suffixation | *hikkHEaN | |
| f. | Gliding | hikkHyaN | ‘how?’ |

**2.2.2.** DERIVATION OF ADVERBS BY COMPOUNDING. There are derived adverbs such as *batto* ‘up here’, *bapmo* ‘down here’, *ba?yo* ‘over here’, *kumbatto* ‘up here’, *kumbapmo* ‘down here’ *kumba?yo* ‘over here’, *hambatto* ‘up there’, *hambapmo* ‘down there’ and *hamba?yo* ‘over there’ in the language. The derivation process of each of the compound adverb is given in the following examples.

The derivation process of *batto* is as follows**:**

(32)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| . | Root | ba | ‘this’ |
| **.** | Compounding | *ba-to | |
| . | Onset gemination | batto | ‘here’ |

The derivation process of *bapmo* is as follows:

(33)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| . | Root | ba | ‘this’ |
| **.** | Compounding | *ba-mo | |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| . | Coda Insertion | bopmo | ‘down here’ |

The derivation of *ba?yo* is as follows**:**
(34)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| . | Root | ba | ‘this’ |
| . | Compounding | *ba-yo | |
| . | Coda Insertion | ba?yo | ‘over here’ |

The derivation process of *kumbatto* is as follows**:**
(35)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| . | Root | ba | ‘this’ |
| . | Prefixation | kumba | ‘that only’ |
| . | Suffixation | *kumba-to | |
| . | Onset gemination | kumbatto | ‘ up here ‘ |

The derivation process of *kumbapmo* is as follows:
(36)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| . | Root | ba | ‘this’ |
| . | Prefixation | kumba | ‘that only’ |
| . | Suffixation | *kumba-mo | |
| . | Coda Insertion | kumbapmo | ‘down here |

The derivation process of *kumba?yo* is as follows:
(37)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| . | Root | ba | ‘this’ |
| . | Prefixation | kumba | ‘this only’ |
| . | Suffixation | *kumba-yo | |
| . | Coda Insertion | kumba?yo | ‘over here’ |

The derivation process of *hambatto* is as follows:

(38)

| . | Root | ba | ‘this’ |
|---|---|---|---|
| . | Prefixation | hamba | ‘that only’ |
| . | Suffixation | *hamba-to | |
| . | Gemination | hambatto | ‘up there’ |

The derivation process of *hambapmo* is as follows:

(39)

| . | Root | ba | ‘this’ |
|---|---|---|---|
| . | Prefixation | hamba | ‘that only’ |
| . | Suffixation | *hamba-mo | |
| . | Coda Insertion | hambapmo | ‘down there’ |

The derivation process of *hamba?yo* is as follows:

(40)

| . | Root | ba | ‘this’ |
|---|---|---|---|
| . | Prefixation | hamba | ‘that only’ |
| . | Suffixation | *hamba-yo | |
| . | Coda Insertion | hamba?yo | ‘over there’ |

Adverbs such as *b□ktH□mba* ‘like this’, *kumb□ktH□mba* ‘like this’ and *hamb□ktH□mba* ‘like that’ are formed by compounding two adjectives and deleting the first syllable of the second adjective of the compound. The derivation process of each adverb is presented in the following tables.

The derivation process of *b□ktH□mba* is as follows:

(41)

| a. | Root | ba | ‘this’ |
|---|---|---|---|
| b. | Compounding | *bahiktH□mba | |
| c. | Deletion | *baktH□mba | |
| d. | Vowel harmony | b□ktH□mba | ‘such as this’ |
| a. | Root | ba | ‘this’ |
| b. | Compounding | *bahiktH□mba | |
| c. | Deletion | *baktH□mba | |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| d. | Vowel harmony | b□ktH□mba | 'such as this' |

The derivation process of *kumb□ktH□mba* is as follows:

(42)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a. | Root | ba | 'this' |
| b. | Prefixation | kumba | |
| c. | Compounding | kumbahiktH□mba | |
| d. | Deletion | *kumbaktH□mba | |
| e. | Vowel harmony | kumb□ktH□mba | 'such as this' |

The derivation process of *hamb□ktH□mba* is as follows:

(43)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a. | Root | ba | 'this' |
| b. | Prefixation | hamba | |
| c. | Compounding | hambahiktH□mba | |
| d. | Deletion | *hambaktH□mba | |
| e. | Vowel harmony | hamb□ktH□mba | 'such as this' |

**2.2.3.** DERIVATION OF ADVERBS BY COMPOUNDING AND SUFFIXATION

Two directional adverbs *yo-dHambi* 'across the river' and *ba?yo-dHami* 'this side of the river' are formed by the adverbs *yo* 'across' and *ba?yo* 'this side' by adding the suffix< *-tHambi*>. These adverbs are derived ones. The derivation processes of *ba?yo-dHambi* are as follows:

(44)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| . | Root | ba | 'this' |
| . | Compounding | *bayo | |
| . | Insertion of glottal stop | ba?yo | 'this side' |
| . | Suffixation | *ba?yo-tHhambi | |
| . | Assimilation (voicing) | ba?yodHambi | 'this side of the river' |

*ba?yodHambi* is derived from the proximate demonstrative *ba* with the combination of same level locational adverb *yo* 'over there' with the insertion of glottal stop in between and addition of the suffix <-tHambi> yielding <-dHambi> due to its intervocalic occurrence. This adverb is only used only in the sense of 'this side of the river'. These two adverbs reminds us of the location divided by the river into two

parts and the people living in one part calls the location of another part as *yodHambi* and his or her own part as *ba?yodHambi*.

**2.2.4.** DERIVATION OF ADVERBS BY COMPOUNDING AND REDUPLICATION. Proximate adverbs such as battodo ‘up here’, bapmomo ‘down here’, ba?yoyo ‘over here’, kumbattodo ‘up here’, kumbapmomo ‘down here’ kumba?yoyo ‘over here’ and distal adverbs such as hambattodo ‘up there’, hambapmomo ‘down there’, hamba?yoyo ‘over there’ are formed by combining adjectives with high level, low level and same level adverbs along with their duplicated forms.The derivation process of each adverb is given in the following examples.

The derivation process of *battodo* is as follows:
(45)

| . | Root | ba | ‘this’ |
|---|---|---|---|
| . | Compounding | *bato | |
| . | Gemination | batto | ‘up here’ |
| . | Reduplication | *battoto | |
| . | Assimilation | battodo | ‘up here’ |

The derivation process of *bapmomo* is as follows:
(46)

| . | Root | ba | ‘this’ |
|---|---|---|---|
| . | Compounding | *bamo | |
| . | Coda Insertion | bapmo | ‘up here’ |
| . | Reduplication | bapmomo | ‘down here’ |

The derivation process of *ba?yo* is as follows:
(47)

| . | Root | ba | ‘this’ |
|---|---|---|---|
| . | Compounding | *bayo | |
| . | Coda Insertion | ba?yo | ‘up here’ |
| . | Reduplication | ba?yoyo | ‘over here’ |

The derivation process of *kumbatto* is as follows:

(48)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| . | Root | ba | ‘this’ |
| . | Prefixation | kumba | ‘this only’ |
| . | Compounding | *kumbato | |
| . | Onset gemination | kumbatto | ‘up here’ |
| . | Reduplication | *kumbatoto | |
| . | Assimilation | kumbatodo | ‘up here’ |

The derivation of *kumbpmo* is as follows:

(49)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| . | Root | ba | ‘this’ |
| . | Prefixation | kumba | ‘this only’ |
| . | Compounding | *kumbamo | |
| . | Coda Insertion | kumbapmo | ‘down here’ |
| . | Reduplication | kumbapmomo | ‘down here’ |

The derivation of *kumba?yo* is as follows:

(50)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| . | Root | ba | ‘this’ |
| . | Prefixation | kumba | ‘this only’ |
| . | Compounding | *kumbayo | |
| . | Coda insertion | kumba?yo | ‘over here’ |
| . | Reduplication | Kumba?yoyo | ‘over here’ |

The derivation of *hambattodo* is as follows:

(51)

| . | Root | ba | ‘this’ |
|---|---|---|---|
| . | Prefixation | hamba | ‘that’ |
| . | Compounding | *hamb ato | |
| . | Coda Insertion | hamba tto | ‘up there’ |
| . | Reduplication | *hamb atoto | ‘down here’ |
| . | Assimilation | hamba todo | ‘up there’ |

The derivation of *hambapmomo* is as follows:

(52)

| . | Root | ba | ‘this’ |
|---|---|---|---|
| . | Prefixation | hamba | ‘that’ |
| . | Compounding | *hamb amo | |
| . | Coda Insertion | hamba pmo | ‘down there’ |
| . | Reduplication | hamba pmomo | ‘down there’ |

The derivation of hamba?yoyo is as follows:

(53)

| . | Root | ba | ‘this’ |
|---|---|---|---|
| . | Prefixation | hamba | ‘that’ |
| . | Compounding | *hamba yo | |
| . | Coda insertion | hamba? yoyo | ‘over there’ |
| . | Reduplication | hamba? yoyo | ‘over there’ |

**2.2.5.** DERIVATION OF ADVERBS BY COMPOUNDING, REDUPLICATION AND SUFFIXATION. Proximate adverbs such as *battodok* ‘up here’, *bapmomok* ‘down here’, *ba?yoyok* ‘over here’, *kumbattodok* ‘up here’, *kumbapmomok* ‘down

here' *kumbaʔyoyok* 'over here' and distal adverbs such as *hambattodok* 'up there', *hambapmomok* 'down there', *hambaʔyoyok* 'over there' are formed by combining adjectives with high level, low level and same level adverbs along with their duplicated forms and by suffixing <-k> to them. The derivation process of each adverb is given in the following examples. The derivation process of *battodo* is as follows:

(54)

| . | Root | ba | 'this' |
|---|---|---|---|
| . | Compounding | *bato | |
| . | Gemination | batto | 'up here' |
| . | Reduplication | *battoto | |
| . | Assimilation | battodo | 'up here' |
| . | Suffixation | battodok | 'a little bit up here' |

The derivation process of *bapmomok* is as follows:

(55)

| . | Root | ba | 'this' |
|---|---|---|---|
| . | Compounding | *bamo | |
| . | Insertion | bapmo | 'up here' |
| . | Reduplication | bapmomo | 'down here' |
| . | Suffixation | bapmomok | 'a bit down here' |

The derivation process of *ba?yoyok* is as follows:
(56)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| . | Root | ba | ‘this’ |
| . | Compounding | *bayo | |
| . | Insertion | ba?yo | ‘up here’ |
| . | Reduplication | ba?yoyo | ‘over here’ |
| . | Suffixation | ba?yoyok | ‘ a bit over here’ |

The derivation process of *kumbatodok* is as follows:
(57)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| . | Root | ba | ‘this’ |
| . | Prefixation | kumba | ‘this only’ |
| . | Compounding | *kumbato | |
| . | Onset gemination | kumbatto | ‘up here’ |
| . | Reduplication | *kumbatoto | |
| . | Assimilation | kumbatodo | ‘up here’ |
| . | Suffixation | kumbatodok | ‘a bit up here’ |

The derivation process of *kumbamomok* is as follows:
(58)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| . | Root | ba | ‘this’ |
| . | Prefixation | kumba | ‘this only’ |
| . | Compounding | *kumbamo | |
| . | Insertion | kumbapmo | ‘down here’ |
| . | Reduplication | kumbapmomo | ‘down here’ |
| . | Suffixation | kumbapmomok | ‘a bit down here’ |

The derivation process of *kumb?yoyok* is as follows:
(59)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| . | Root | ba | ‘this’ |
| . | Prefixation | kumba | ‘this only’ |
| . | Compounding | *kumba yo | |
| . | Insertion | kumba? yo | ‘over here’ |
| . | Reduplication | Kumba ?yoyo | ‘over here’ |
| . | Suffixation | kumba? yoyok | ‘a bit over here’ |

The derivation process of *hambatodok* is as follows:

(60)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| . | Root | ba | ‘this’ |
| . | Prefixation | hamba | ‘that’ |
| . | Compounding | *hamba to | |
| . | Insertion | hambatto | ‘up there’ |
| . | Reduplication | *hamba toto | ‘down here’ |
| . | Assimilation | hambat odo | ‘up there’ |
| . | Suffixation | hambat odok | ‘a bit up there’ |

The derivation process of *hambapmomok* is as follows:

(61)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| . | Root | ba | ‘this’ |
| . | Prefixation | hamba | ‘that’ |
| . | Compounding | *hamba mo | |
| . | Insertion | hambap mo | ‘down there’ |
| . | Reduplication | hambap momo | ‘down there’ |
| . | Suffixation | hambap momok | ‘ a bit down there’ |

The derivation process of *hamba?yoyok* is as follows:
(62)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| . | Root | ba | ‘this’ |
| . | Prefixation | hamba | ‘that’ |
| . | Compounding | *hamba yo | |
| . | Insertion | hamba? yoyo | ‘over there’ |
| . | Reduplication | hamba? yoyo | ‘over there’ |
| . | Suffixation | hamba? yoyok | ‘a bit over there’ |

**2.2.6.** DERIVATION OF ADVERBS BY REDUPLICATION. Adverbs are derived from adverbs by reduplication. Quantifier adverbs such as *ciji* ‘a little’ and *myakmyak* ‘a little’ are formed by reduplication.

Derivation process of *ciji* is as follows:
(63)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a. | Root | ci | ‘a little’ |
| b. | Reduplication | *cici | |
| c. | Assimilation | ciji | ‘ a little’ |

Derivation process of *myakmyak* is as follows:
(64)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a. | Root | myak | ‘a little’ |
| b. | Reduplication | myakmyak | ‘a little’ |

Locational adverbs such as *todo* ‘high up’, *momo* ‘down below’ and *yoyo* ‘over there’ are formed by reduplication. The derivation process of *todo* is as follows:
(65)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| . | Root | to | ‘up there’ |
| . | Reduplication | *toto | |
| . | Assimilation | todo | ‘high up there’ |

The derivation process of *momo* is as follows:

(66)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| . | Root | mo | ‘down there’ |
| . | Reduplication | momo | ‘ down below’ |

The derivation process of *yoyo* is follows:

(67)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| . | Root | yo | ‘over there’ |
| . | Reduplication | yoyo | ‘ far across’ |

**2.2.7.** DERIVATION OF ADVERBS BY REDUPLICATION AND SUFFIXATION. Diminutive spatial adverbs such as *todok* ‘a bit up’, *momok* ‘a bit down; and *yoyok* ‘a bit across’ are formed by reduplicating the adverb and adding the velar stop to the new syllable.

Derivative process of *todok* is as follows:

(68)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a. | Root | to | ‘up there’ |
| b. | Reduplication | *toto | |
| c. | Assimilation | todo | ‘high up’ |
| d. | Suffixation | todok | ‘a bit up’ |

Derivative process of *momok* is as follows:

(69)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a. | Root | mo | ‘down there’ |
| b. | Reduplication | momo | ‘down below’ |
| c. | Suffixation | momok | ‘a bit down’ |

Derivative process of *yoyok* is as follows:

(70)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a. | Root | yo | ‘over there’ |
| b. | Reduplication | yoyo | ‘far across’ |
| c. | Suffixation | yoyok | ‘a bit across’ |

Manner adverbs such as *yuNyuNcHE* ‘by sitting’, *epepcHE* ‘by standing’ and *nEnnEncHE* ‘by sleeping’ are formed by reduplication and suffixation of <-cHE>.The derivative process of of *yuNyuNcHE* is as follows:

(71)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a. | Root | yuN | ‘he sits’ |
| b. | Reduplication | *yuNyuN | |
| c. | Suffixation | yuNyuNcHE | ‘by sitting’ |

Derivative process of *epepcHE* is as follows:

(72)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a. | Root | ep | ‘he stands’ |
| b. | Reduplication | *epep | |
| c. | Suffixation | epepcHE | ‘by standing’ |

Derivative process of *nEnnEncHE* is as follows:

(73)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a. | Root | nEn | ‘he lies’ |
| b. | Reduplication | *nEnnEn | |
| c. | Suffixation | nEnnEncHE | ‘by standing’ |

**2.2.8.** DERIVATION OF ADVERBS BY REDUPLICATION AND PREFIXATION. Adverbs are derived from the verbs by reduplication and prefixation process. These prefixes are <p□->, <ci->, <si->. The prefix <p□-> attaches to the reduplicated form of the verb root and intensifies the quality of taste. The prefixed reduplication forms adverb but it can not occur independently. Only in its occurrence with the root verb, it can function as an adverb. For example, *lim* is a verb root and it indexes the meaning ‘it tastes sweet’. In order to increase the intensity of its sweetness, it is reduplicated and prefixed with <p□->. Consequently, verb phrase like *p□lim lim* ‘it tastes very sweet’ is formed. The reduplicated part *lim* in *p□lim lim* loses its original meaning and takes on the meaning ‘very’ only. But as is said earlier, this *p□lim* can not be used with other verbs to mean ‘very’. The derivation process of *p□lim lim* ‘it tastes very sweet’ is as follows:

(74)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a. | Root | lim | ‘it tastes sweet’ |
| b. | Reduplication | *lim lim | |
| c. | Prefixation | p□lim lim | ‘it tastes very sweet’ |

Following this derivation process**,** verb phrases such as *p□gHik kHik* ‘it tastes very bitter’, *p□su?su?* ‘it tastes very sour’, *p□haN haN* ‘it tastes very hot’, *p□lak lak* ‘it tastes very salty’ etc, are formed.

<p□-> is prefixed to the reduplicated form of the verb root to describe the quality of objects. For example, *p□jak cak* ‘it is very hard’, *p□ji ji* ‘it is very cold’, *p□go go* ‘it is very hot’, *p□lEm lEm* ‘it is very slippery’. The derivation process of *p□jak cak* as an example is given below.

(75)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a. | Root | cak | ‘it is very hard’ |
| b. | Reduplication | *cak cak | |
| c. | Prefixation | *p□cak cak | |
| d. | Assimilation | p□jak cak | ‘it is very hard’ |

<p□-> is prefixed to the reduplicated form of the verb root to describe the quality of a person. For example, *p□jit cit* ‘he is vey greedy’, *p□nu nu* ‘he is very generous’. The derivation process of *p□jit* cit is given below as an example:

(76)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a. | Root | cit | ‘he is very greedy’ |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| b. | Reduplication | *cit cit | |
| c. | Prefixation | *p□cit cit | |
| d. | Assimilation | p□jit cit | ‘he is very greedy’ |

The prefix <ci-> forms expressive adverbs together with the reduplication of a verb. They indicate the manner in which the action has taken place. For example, *cihap happu* ‘it got entangled comfortably’, *cigak kakku* ‘he jumped over it without touching the object’ and *cil□k l□kku* ‘he pierced it once lightly’. The derivation process of *cihap happu* is given as an example:

(77)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a. | Root | hap | ‘it gets entangled’ |
| b. | Reduplication | *hap hap | |
| c. | Prefixation | cihap hap | ‘it gets entangled |
| d. | Suffixation | cihap happu | ‘it gets/got entangled comfortably.’ |

The prefix <si-> forms adverb with the reduplication of verb to mean ‘completely’ or ‘entirely’. For example, *sidak taku* ‘he received it completely’, *sid□k t□kku* ‘he supported it fully’, *sidok toka* ‘it sold completely’. In some contexts it also means ‘quikly’ as in *sinap nappu* ‘he snatched it quickly’. The derivation process of *sidak taku* is given below as an example.

(78)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a. | Root | tak | ‘he recieves’ |
| b. | Reduplication | *tak tak | |
| c. | Prefixation | *sitak tak | |
| d. | Assimilation | sidak tak | ‘it gets/got entangled comfortably.’ |
| e. | Suffixation | sidak taku | ‘he received it completely.’ |

**2.2.9.** DERIVATION OF ADVERBS BY REDUPLICATION OF THE PREFIXED ROOT. The root of the prefixed verb is reduplicated to form temporal adverbs such as *ka-si si* ‘until you die’, *a-hiN hiN* ‘until I live’, *ku-im im* ‘until he sleeps’. The derivation process of *kuhiN hiN* is given below for an example.

(79)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a. | Root | hiN | ‘he lives’ |
| b. | Prefixation | *kuhiN | |
| c. | Reduplication | ku-hiN hiN | ‘until he lives’ |

However, the adverbs formed by reduplication of prefixed transitive verb indexes the meaning of ‘whatever’. *ka-jukcuk* and *kabap pap* index the meaning‘whatever you like’ as in *ka-juk cuk cug-u* ‘Do whatever you like’ and *kabap pap patu* ‘say whatever you like.’ The derivation process of *kajuk cuk* is given for an example:

(80)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a. | Root | cuk | ‘he does’ |
| b. | Reduplication | *cuk cuk | |
| c. | Triplication | *cuk cuk cuk | |
| d. | Prefixation | *kucukcuk cuk | ‘whatever he likes to do’ |
| e. | Assimilation | kujukcuk cuk | ‘he does whatever he likes’ |

Such adverbs are controlled by the verb root and occur only with the verbs from the root of which they have been reduplicated.

**3**. SUMMARY. Adverbs are divided into lexical adverbs and derivative adverbs. Only a few lexical adverbs exist in the language. Even in the lexical adverbs we find common elements which make us guess that they were once suffixes. In day-indicating adverbs we find common element *–nda* , in part of the day- indicating adverbs we find the common element *–dik* and in moment of time-indicating adverbs we find a common element *a-*. But we can not trace out their meaning now as they have been fully lexicalized. The lexical verbs include temporal adverbs, locational adverbs, manner adverbs, posture adverbs and truth value adverbs. Adverbs are derived through suffixation, reduplication and compounding processes.

CHAPTER 9
VERB INFLECTIONS

**1.** INTRODUCTION. Limbu verbs are mainly divided into finite and non-finite verbs on the basis of morphology. Finite verbs consist of verb stems and agreement markers for person, number, case, tense, reflexivity, exclusivity and negation. Non-finite verbs, on the other hand, do not consist of these agreement markers except the non-singular suffix after the infinitive suffix <-ma> as in *temasi* 'to take them'. These verbs will be dealt with in the next chapter. This chapter is devoted to the morphology of finite verbs. It deals with stem alternations before vocalic and consonantal suffixes, stem classes, conjugation classes and voice.

**2**. VERB STEMS. Most of the verb stems alternate between vocalic and consonantal suffixes. A few of them remain invariable throughout the paradigm.

| | **Stem 1** Ante-vocalic stem | | **Stem2** Ante-consonantal stem | **Stem 1** Ante-vocalic stem | **Gloss** | **Stem2** Ante-consonantal stem | **Gloss** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | -pp- | ~ | -p | cEpp-u | 'he cut him.' | cEp-ma | 'to cut' |
| 2. | -tt- | ~ | -t | $p^{h}$Ett- u | 'he brought it' | $p^{h}$Ep-ma | 'to bring' |
| 3. | -kk- | ~ | -k | lEkk-u | 'he changed it' | lEk-ma | 'to change' |
| 4. | -ps- | ~ | -m | tEps-u | 'he caught him' | tEm-ma | 'to catch' |
| 5. | -ks- | ~ | -ŋ | lEks-u | 'he turned it' | lEŋ-ma | 'to turn' |
| 6. | -md- | ~ | -m | $k^{h}$amd-u | 'he chewed it' | kham-ma | 'to chew' |
| 7. | -nd- | ~ | - n | $k^{h}$and-u | 'he bruised it' | $k^{h}$amma | 'to bruise ' |
| 8. | -ŋd- | ~ | -ŋ | s□ŋd-u | 'he cooked it' | s□ŋ-ma | 'to cook’ |
| 9. | -h- | ~ | -Ø | nuh-u | 'he cured him' | nu-ma | 'to cure' |
| 10. | -w- | ~ | -Ø | haw-u | 'he divided it' | ha-ma | 'to divide' |
| 11. | -y- | ~ | -Ø | siy-a | 'he died' | si-ma | 'to die' |
| 12. | -b- | ~ | -p | sub-u | 'he closed it' | sup-ma | 'to close' |
| 13. | -t - | | -p | ket-u | 'he inserted it' | kep-ma | 'to insert' |
| 14. | -g- | ~ | -k | hEg-u | 'he cut it' | hEk-ma | 'to cut' |
| 15. | -cch- | ~ | -n | niŋwa mucchu | 'he forgot it' | niŋwa mumma | 'to forget' |
| 16. | -r - | ~ | -? | lEr-u | 'he released it' | lEp-ma | 'to release' |
| 17. | -p | | -p | sap-u | ‘he wrote it’ | sap-ma | ‘to write |
| 18. | -k | | -k | lek-u | ‘he poured on it’ | lek-ma | 'to pour' |
| 19. | –m | | -m | tum-u | ‘he met him’ | tum-ma | 'to meet' |
| 20. | -ŋ | | -ŋ | haŋ-u | ‘he sent it’ | haŋ-ma | 'to send' |

TABLE 25. Stem-final alternations

**3.** STEM CLASSES. Table 25 shows two types of stems. They are divided into variable and invariable stem classes.

**3.1.** VARIABLE STEM CLASS. Verb stem variation is one of the common characters of Kiranti languages. Bantawa (Rai:1985), Panthare Limbu (Wiedert and Subba 1985:23-28), Phedappe Limbu (Driem 1987:71-72), Athpare (Ebert 1997:20-22), Chamling (Ebert 1994:19), Yamphu (Rutger 1998:103-105), Taplejungnge

Limbu (Mikhailovsky 2003:xii-ix) show stem variations between vocalic and consonantal suffixes. Chhatthare Limbu also exhibits this feature of stem variation which is caused by deletion and assimilation.

**3.1.1.** DELETION**.** Post-syllabic consonant and some syllable final consonants are deleted before a consonantal suffix.

Post-syllabic consonants of the verb stems are augmented before a vocalic suffix but they are deleted before a consonantal suffix and cause stem variation. More than one consonant can not occur in the syllable final position in the language. Therefore, when the post-syllabic verb stem occurs as an independent word (a bare stem) or before a consonantal suffix, the post-syllabic consonant is deleted.

| | **Stem 1** Ante-vocalic stem | **Stem2** Ante-vocalic stem | **Stem 1** Ante-vocalic stem | **Gloss** | **Stem2** Ante-consonantal stem | **Gloss** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | -pp- ~ | -p | cEpp-u | 'he cut him.' | cEp-ma | 'to cut' |
| 2. | -tt- ~ | -t | p$^{h}$Ett- u | 'he brought it' | p$^{h}$Ep-ma | 'to bring' |
| 3. | -kk- ~ | -k | lEkk-u | 'he changed it' | lEk-ma | 'to change' |
| 4. | -md- ~ | -m | k$^{h}$amd-u | 'he chewed it' | kham-ma | 'to chew' |
| 5. | -nd- ~ | - n | k$^{h}$and-u | 'he bruised it' | k$^{h}$amma | 'to bruise ' |
| 6. | -ŋd- ~ | -ŋ | s□ŋd-u | 'he cooked it' | s□ŋ-ma | 'to cook’ |
| 7. | -ps- ~ | -m | tEps-u | 'he caught him' | tEm-ma | 'to catch' |
| 8. | -ks- ~ | -ŋ | lEks-u | 'he turned it' | lEŋ-ma | 'to turn' |
| 9. | -ccH- ~ | -m | niNwa muccH-u | ‘he forgot’ | niNwa mum-ma | ‘to forget’ |

TABLE 26. Deletion of the post-syllabic consonants

(Also see Chap 4)

Syllable final consonants such as /w/,/r/ /y/ and /h/ are augmented before the vocalic suffix but deleted before the consonantal suffix.

| Stem 1 Ante-vocalic stem | Stem2 Ante-vocalic stem | Stem 1 Ante-vocalic stem | Gloss | Stem2 Ante-consonantal stem | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. -r- ~ | Ø | har-u | 'he bit it' | ha-ma | 'to bite' |
| 2. -y- ~ | - Ø | siy-a | 'he died' | si-ma | 'to die' |
| 3. -h- ~ | - Ø | nih-u | 'he saw it' | ni-ma | 'to see' |
| 4. -w- ~ | -Ø | haw-u | 'he distributed it' | ha-ma | 'to distribute |

TABLE 27. Deletion of stem final consonants
(Also see Chap 4)

**3.1.2.** ASSIMILATION. Voiceless stop consonants /p/ and /k/ change to their voiced allophonic counterparts before a vocalic suffix but they stay voiceless before a consonantal suffix.

| Stem 1 Ante-vocalic stem | Stem 2 Ante-conso-nantal stem | Stem 1 Ante-vocalic stem | Gloss | Stem2 Ante-conso-nantal stem | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. -b- ~ | -p | sub-u | 'he closed it' | sup-ma | 'to close' |
| 2. -g- ~ | -k | hEg-u | 'he cut it' | hEk-ma | 'to cut' |
| 3. -r- ~ | t (?) | lEr-u | 'he released it ' | lEp-ma | 'to release' |

TABLE 28. Voicing assimilation of stem final consonants
(Also see Chap 4)

Voiceless stop consonant /t/ which appears before a vocalic suffix <-u> changes to the bilabial stop /p/ before the consonantal suffix <-ma> due to its assimilation to the following consonant for place of articulation. Likewise, the glottal fricative /h/ which appears before a vocalic suffix <-u> changes to voiceless bilabial stop /p/ before the consonantal suffix <-ma>. Here /h/ assimilates to the following consonant for both place and manner of articulation and is realized as /p/.

| **Stem 1** Ante-vocalic stem | **Stem 2** Ante-conso-nantal stem | **Stem 1** Ante-vocalic stem | **Gloss** | **Stem2** Ante-conso-nantal stem | **Gloss** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. -t- ~ | -p | pit-u | 'he sucked it' | pip-ma | 'to suck' |
| 2. -h- ~ | -t | lah-a | 'he entered' | lap-ma | 'to enter' |

TABLE 29. Stem final alternation due to its assimilation for place and manner of articulation
(Also see Chapter 4)

**3.2.** INVARIABLE STEM Verb-stems ending in /p/, /k/, /m/ and /ŋ/ remain unchanged before vocalic and consonantal suffixes throughout the paradigm. They are as follows:

| Stem 1 Ante-vocalic stem | Stem 2 Ante-conso-nantal stem | Stem 1 Ante-vocalic stem | Gloss | Stem2 Ante-conso-nantal stem | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. -p | -p | sap-u | ‘he wrote it’ | sap-ma | ‘to write |
| 2. -k | -k | lek-u | ‘he poured on it’ | lek-ma | 'to pour' |
| 3. –m | -m | tum-u | ‘he met him’ | tum-ma | 'to meet' |
| 4. -ŋ | -ŋ | haŋ-u | ‘he sent it’ | haŋ-ma | 'to send' |

TABLE 30. Invariable verb stems

(Also see Chap 4)

**4.** KINDS OF VERBS. On the basis of presence or absence of the object morpheme verbs can be divided into intransitive, reflexive and transitive verbs. Each kind of verbs follows the same type of conjugation patterns and forms a conjugation class. According to Watters (2006: Verb Stem Alternations in Kiranti Lanuages), 'Any verb, together with other verbs that are governed by the same paradigmatic settings are said to form a 'conjugation class.'

**4.1.** INTRANSITIVE VERB Intransitive verb has no overt third person singular subject marker. It has only subject markers in first person and second person forms.

(1) a. lok 'he runs'
b. kalok 'you run'
c. lokNa 'I run'

The examples in 1a-c show that third person singular is unmarked, second person singular is marked by the prefix <ka-> and first person singular subject is marked by the suffix <-Na>.

The intransitive verb needs only one noun or nominal to complete its meaning at a sentence level as evidenced by examples in 2a-c.

(2) a. kHunE lok 'he runs.'
b. kHEnE kalok 'you run'
c. lokNa 'I run'

Intransitive verb stems are mono-syllabic and poly-syllabic. There is a small difference in conjugation patterns between monosyllabic and polysyllabic stems.

**4.1.1.** CONJUGATION OF MONO-SYLLABIC INTRANSITIVE VERB. The intransitive verbs which consist of only one syllabic stems are called mono-syllabic intransitive verbs.

(3) a. pok 'he gets up'
b. $p^h$En 'he comes'
c. lok 'he runs'

The intransitive verb forms exhibit six different categories- person, number, case, tense, exclusivity, and negation. The third person singular subject is an unmarked argument. In the third person dual subject the person marker is unmarked but the number marker is marked. The dual subject is marked by <-cHi>. The third person, plural, subject is <mu->, a portmanteau morpheme which can not be analyzed. The first person singular subject is encoded by the morpheme <-ŋ-~-ŋa ma na>, a suffix attached to the stem. The first person non-singular inclusive subject is marked by <a->. The corresponding exclusivity is marked by the suffix <-ŋa>. The second person is marked by <ka->. Its singularity of subject is unmarked. It is prefixed to the verb whereas its number markers are suffixed. The past is marked by the morpheme <-a> and the non-past is unmarked. The past morpheme <-a> is deleted when it occurs before the plural subject suffix <-i> and semantic difference between the past and non-past is neutralized. The negative is marked by a discontinuous morpheme <ma (n)- -nEn (-n)>. The first part of the morpheme <ma-> or <man-> appears as a prefix and the second part of the morpheme <-nEn ~ -n> as a suffix on the last of the affixal string. The first morpheme will be <man-> if it occurs with the second negative

morpheme <-ban> which in combination encodes first person singular subject in the past form or first person plural exclusive subject in the past form. In fact, the discontinuous negative morpheme <man- -ban> is an irregular form. When the first part of the negative prefix <ma-> occurs before the stem and after the second and first person non-singular inclusive marking prefixes, it is realized as <n->. The first person inclusive non-singular subject <a->, second person subject <ka->, third person plural subject <mu-> and the first part of the negative morpheme <man- ma-> occur as prefixes but the rest of the markers appear as suffixes. The conjugation of an intransitive verb in affirmative and negative n both past and non-past forms is given in table 31 as an example.

---

| | NPT | PT |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | 3s | |
| | lok | lokk-a |
| | runs | run-PT |
| | 'He runs.' | 'He ran.' |
| NEG | ma-lok-nEn | ma-lokk-a-n |
| | NEG-run-NEG | NEG-run-PT-NEG |
| | 'He does not run.' | 'He did not run.' |
| 2. | 3d | |
| | lok- $c^h$i | lokk-a-$c^h$i |
| | 3-run- dS | run-PT-dS |
| | 'They run.' | 'They ran.' |
| NEG | ma-lok-$c^h$i-n | ma-lokk-a-$c^h$i-n |
| | NEG-run-dS-NEG | NEG-run-PT-dS-NEG |
| | 'They do not run.' | 'They did not run.' |
| 3. | 3p | |
| | mu-lok | mu-lokk-a |
| | 3pS-run | 3pS-run-PT |
| | 'They run.' | 'They ran.' |
| NEG | ma-n-lok-nEn | ma-n-lokk-a-n |
| | 3pS- NEG-run-NEG | 3pS-NEG-go-PT-NEG |
| | 'They do not run.' | 'They did not run.' |
| 4. | 2s | |
| | ka-lok | ka-lokk-a |
| | 2-run | 2-run-PT |
| | 'You run.' | 'You ran.' |
| NEG. | ka-n-lok-nEn | ka-n-lokk-a- n |
| | 2-NEG-run-NEG | 2-NEG-run-PT-NEG |
| | 'You do not run.' | 'You did not run.' |
| 5. | 2d | |
| | ka-lok- $c^h$i | ka-lokk-a-$c^h$i |
| | 2-run-dS | 2-run-PT-dS |
| | 'You run.' | 'You ran.' |
| NEG | ka-n-lok-$c^h$i-n | ka-n-lokk-a-$c^h$i-n |
| | 2-NEG-run-dS-NEG | 2-NEG-run-PT-dS-NEG |
| | 'You do not run.' | 'You did not run.' |
| 6. | 2p | |
| | ka-lokk-i | ka-lokk-i |
| | 2-run-pS | 2-run-pS |
| | 'You run.' | 'You ran.' |
| NEG. | ka-n-lokk-i-n | ka-n-lokk-i-n |
| | 2-NEG-run-pS-NEG | 2-NEG-run-pS-NEG |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | 'You do not run.' | 'You did not run.' |
| 7. 1s | | |
| | lok-ŋa | lokk-a-ŋ |
| | go-1e | go-PT-1e |
| | 'I run.' | 'I ran.' |
| NEG | ma-lok- ŋa-n | man-lok-pan |
| | NEG-run-1e-NEG | NEG-run-1eS/NPT/NEG |
| | 'I do not run.' | 'I did not run.' |
| 8. 1d | | |
| | a-lok-c$^{h}$i | a-lokk-a-c$^{h}$i |
| | 1i-run-NPT-dS | 1i -run-PT-dS |
| | 'We run.' | 'We ran.' |
| NEG | a-n-lok-c$^{h}$i-n | a-n-lokk-a-c$^{h}$i-n |
| | 1i-NEG-run-dS-NEG | 1i-NEG-run-PT-dS-NEG |
| | 'We do not run.' | 'We did not run.' |
| 9. 1de | | |
| | lok-c$^{h}$i-ŋa | lokk-a-c$^{h}$i-ŋa |
| | run-NPT-dS-1e | 1-run-PT-dS-1e |
| | 'We run.' | 'We ran.' |
| NEG. | ma-lok-c$^{h}$i-ŋa-n | ma-lokk-a-c$^{h}$i-ŋa-n |
| | NEG-run-dS-1e-NEG | NEG-run-PT-dS-1e-NEG |
| | 'We do not run.' | 'We did not run.' |
| 10. 1pi | | |
| | a-lokk- i | a-lokk-i |
| | 1i -run-pS | 1i-run- pS |
| | ‘We run.' | ‘We ran.' |
| | | |
| or | a-lok | a-lokk-a |
| | 1i-run | Ii -run-PT |
| | 'We run.' | 'We ran.' |
| NEG. | a-n-lok-nEn | a-n-lokk-a-n |
| | 1i -NEG-go-NEG | 1i-NEG-go-PT-NEG |
| | 'We do not go.' | 'We did not go.' |
| 11. 1pe | | |
| | lokk-i- ŋa | lokk-i-Na |
| | run- pS-1e | run-pS-1e |
| | 'We ran.' | We ran.' |
| NEG | ma-lokk-i-ŋa-n | ma-lokk-O-i-Na-n |
| | NEG-run- pS-1e-NEG | NEG-run-PT-pS-1e-NEG |
| | 'We do not run.' | 'We did not run.' |
| | | or |
| | | lok-kna |
| | | run-1peS/PT |
| | | ‘We run.’ |
| | | NEG |
| | | man-lok-pan |
| | | NEG-run-1peS/PT/NEG |
| | | ‘I did not run.’ |

TABLE 31. Conjugation of intransitive verb

**4.1.2.** CONJUGATION OF POLY-SYLLABIC INTRANSITIVE VERB. Intransitive verbs which are constituted by more than one syllabic stems are poly-syllabic intransitive verbs.

(4) a. samlo 'he sings'
b. calak 'he dances'
c. wajak 'he swims'

Like mono-syllabic intransitive verbs, poly-syllabic intransitive verbs also inflect for person, number, case, exclusivity, tense and negation with the affixes attached to the last syllable of the verb stem. The last syllable part is equivalent to the intransitive verb stem in conjugation pattern because it alone undergoes conjugation processes. In fact, Limbu verb stems are basically mono-syllabic. The poly-syllabic stems in synchronic use are historically the combination of a noun and verb. Now, these compound stems have lost their individual meaning and they have been semantically lexicalized. However, they are, morphologically, not still lexicalized. Therefore, in such compound stems, only the verb stem, i.e., the last part is affixed.

The poly-syllabic stem *samlo* in 12a consists of two stems- *sam* and *lo*. *sam* means 'inner life' and *lo* means's/he says'. These two together make a sense 's/he tells inner things'. Thus, *samloma* means 'to tell the inner thing of life'. Now, *samloma* has been lexicalized and used to mean 'to sing'.

Similarly, the verb stem *calak* in 12b is the combination of *ca* 'paddy' and *lak* 'he tramples'. Thus, *calakma* means 'to trample paddy.' In the beginning *calakma* carried this meaning. The Limbus were agriculturists by profession. They used to plant paddy in the field. When it was rife, they would harvest it and collect the paddy straw in piles on the wide floor. Then, group of people holding hands would make a circle and trample the paddy straw with their feet to separate the paddy from its straw. They would sing songs as they did their work to overcome their weariness. Gradually, *calakma* lost its original practice. It began to be practiced by men and women specially the youths who could make matrimonial alliance as a dance accompanied by a song. It diverted from its original goal 'to trample the paddy straw for the separation of paddy' to dancing for developing love affairs. Now, the dancers do not trample the paddy as they dance in a home-yard or market place on certain occasions such as wedding ceremony, death anniversary, market day and fair or on casual meetings without any occasion at places where there is no paddy. They nevertheless say that they are making a paddy dance. Moreover, *lakma* means 'to trample' but it has lost its original meaning and taken on the meaning 'to dance' when it occurs with *ca* 'paddy'. Similarly, *ca* 'paddy' has lost its functional significance. Now, *calakma* means only 'to dance', a dance participated by males and females (particularly by young boys and girls who can marry each other) in a circle or in a straight line with love songs. Similarly, the stem *wajak* in 12c is the combination of a noun *wa* and the verb *cak* 's/he swims'. *wa* must have been derived from *cwa?* which means 'water'. Thus, *wajakma* means 'to swim in water'. Now, it is only used to mean 'to swim'.

The paradigm of the intransitive verb *calak-ma* 'to dance' is presented in table 33 as an an example of the poly-syllabic intransitive verb conjugation.

---

| **NPT** | **PT** |
|---|---|
| 1. 3s | |
| ca-lak | ca-lakk-a |
| paddy-tread | paddy-tread-PT |
| 'He dances.' | 'He danced.' |
| NEG | |
| ca-ma-lak-nEn | ca-ma-lakk-a-n |

| | |
|---|---|
| paddy-NEG-tread-NEG | paddy-NEG-tread-PT-NEG |
| ‘He does not dance.’ | ‘He did not dance.’ |
| 2. 3d | |
| ca-lak-c$^{h}$i | ca-lakk-a-c$^{h}$i |
| paddy-tread-dS | paddy-tread-PT-dS |
| ‘They dance.’ | ‘They danced.’ |
| NEG | |
| ca-ma-lak-c$^{h}$i-n | ca-ma-lakk-a-c$^{h}$i-n |
| paddy-tread-dS | paddy-NEG-tread-PT-dS-NEG |
| ‘They do not dance.’ | ‘They did not dance.’ |
| 3. 3p | |
| ca-mu-lak | ca-mu-lakk-a |
| paddy-3pS-tread | paddy-3pS-tread-PT |
| ‘They dance.’ | ‘They danced.’ |
| NEG | |
| ca-ma-n-lak-nen | ca-ma-n-lakk-a-n |
| paddy-3pS-NEG-tread-NEG | paddy-3pS-NEG-tread-PT-NEG |
| ‘They do not dance.’ | ‘They did not dance.’ |
| | |
| 4. 2s | |
| ca-ka-lak | ca-ka-lakk-a- |
| paddy-2-tread | paddy-2-tread-PT |
| ‘You dance.’ | ‘You danced.’ |
| NEG | |
| ca-ka-n-lak-nEn | ca-ka-n-lakk-a-n |
| paddy-2-NEG-tread-NEG | paddy-2-NEG-tread-PT-NEG |
| ‘You do not dance.’ | ‘You did not dance.’ |
| | |
| 5. 2d | |
| ca-ka-lak-c$^{h}$i | ca-ka-lakk-a-c$^{h}$i |
| paddy-2-tread-dS | paddy-2-tread-PT-dS |
| ‘You dance.’ | ‘You danced.’ |
| NEG | |
| ca-ka-n-lak-c$^{h}$i-n | ca-ka-n-lakk-a-c$^{h}$i-n |
| paddy-2-NEG-tread-dS-NEG | paddy-2-NEG-tread-PT-dS-NEG |
| ‘You do not dance.’ | ‘You did not dance.’ |
| | |
| 6. 2p | |
| ca-ka-lakk-i | ca-ka-lakk- i |
| paddy-2-tread-pS | paddy-2-tread- dS |
| ‘You dance.’ | ‘You danced.’ |
| NEG | |
| ca-ka-n-lakk-i-n | ca-ka-n-lakk- i-n |
| paddy-2-NEG-tread-pS-NEG | paddy-2-NEG-tread-dS-NEG |
| ‘You do not dance.’ | ‘You did not dance.’ |
| 7. 1s | |
| ca-lak-Na | ca-lakk-a-N |
| paddy-tread-1e | paddy-tread-PT-1e |
| ‘I dance.’ | ‘I danced.’ |
| NEG | |
| ca-ma-lak-Na-n | ca-man-lak-pan |
| paddy-NEG-tread-1e-NEG | paddy-NEG-tread-1eS/PT/NEG |
| ‘I do not dance.’ | ‘I did not dance.’ |
| 8. 1d | |

| | |
|---|---|
| ca-a-lak-c$^{h}$i | ca-a-lakk-a-c$^{h}$i |
| paddy-1i-tread-dS | paddy-1i-tread-PT-dS |
| ‘We dance.’ | ‘We danced.’ |
| NEG | |
| ca-a-n-lak-c$^{h}$i-n | ca-a-n-lakk-a-c$^{h}$i-n |
| paddy-1i-NEG-tread-dS-NEG | paddy-1i-NEG-tread-PT-dS-NEG |
| ‘We do not dance.’ | ‘We did not dance.’ |
| 9. 1de | |
| ca-lak-c$^{h}$i-Na | ca-lakk-a-c$^{h}$i-Na |
| paddy-tread-dS-1e | paddy-tread-PT-dS-1e |
| ‘We dance.’ | ‘We danced.’ |
| NEG | |
| ca-ma-lak-c$^{h}$i-Na-n | ca-ma-lak-c$^{h}$i-Na-n |
| paddy-NEG-tread-1e-NEG | paddy-NEG-tread-dS-1e-NEG |
| ‘We do not dance.’ | ‘We did not dance.’ |
| 10. 1pi | |
| ca-a-lakk-i | ca-a-lakk-i |
| paddy-1i-tread-pS | paddy-1i-tread-pS |
| ‘We dance.’ | ‘We danced.’ |
| NEG | |
| ca-a-n-lakk-i-n | ca-a-n-lakk-i-n |
| paddy-1i-NEG-tread-pS-NEG | paddy-1i-NEG-tread-pS-NEG |
| ‘We do not dance.’ | ‘We did not dance.’ |
| Or | |
| ca-a-lak | ca-a-lakk-a |
| paddy-1i-tread | paddy-1i-tread-PT |
| ‘We dance.’ | ‘We danced.’ |
| NEG | |
| ca-a-n-lak-nEn | ca-a-n-lakk-a-n |
| paddy-1i-NEG-tread-NEG | paddy-1i-NEG-tread-PT-NEG |
| ‘We do not dance.’ | ‘We did not dance.’ |
| 11. 1pe | |
| ca-lakk-i-Na | ca-lakk- i-Na |
| paddy-tread-pS-1e | paddy-tread- pS-1e |
| ‘We dance.’ | ‘We danced.’ |
| NEG | |
| ca-ma-lakk-i-Na-n | ca-ma-lakk-i-Na-n |
| paddy-NEG-tread-pS-1e-NEG | paddy-NEG-tread-pS-1e-NEG |
| ‘We do not dance.’ | ‘We did not dance.’ |
| | Or |
| | calak-na |
| | paddytread-1peS/PT |
| | ‘We danced.’ |
| | NEG |
| | ca-man-lak-pan |
| | paddy-NEG-tread-1peS/PT/NEG |
| | ‘We did not dance.’ |

TABLE 32. Conjugation of poly-syllabic intransitive verb

**4.1.3.** SCHEMATIC FORM OF INTRANSITIVE VERB. All the intransitive verbs in the language follow the same conjugation pattern. In a polysyllabic intransitive verb, the affixes are added to the last syllable of the stem as only this syllable is morphologically treated as an intransitive verb stem. So, conjugations of

both mono-syllabic and polysyllabic intransitive verbs can be represented by a single schematic form. The schematic form for the intransitive conjugation is given below.

| | NPT | PT | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | 3s | R | R-a |
| | NEG | ma-R-nEn | ma-R-a-n |
| 2. | 3d | R-cHi | R-a-cHi |
| | NEG | ma-R-cHi-n | ma-R-a-cHi-n |
| 3. | 3p | mu-R | mu-R-a |
| | NEG | ma-n-R-nEn | ma-n-R-a-n |
| 4. | 2s | ka-R | ka-R-a |
| | NEG | ka-n-R-nEn | ka-n-R-a-n |
| 5. | 2d | ka-R-cHi | ka-R-a-cHi |
| | NEG | ka-n-R-cHin | ka-n-R-a-cHi-n |
| 6. | 2p | ka-R-i | ka-R-i |
| | NEG | ka-n-R-i-n | ka-n-R-i-n |
| 7. | 1s | R-ŋa | R-a-ŋ |
| | NEG | ma-R-ŋa-n | ma-n-R-ban |
| 8. | 1d | a-R-cHi | a-R-a-cHi |
| | NEG | a-n-R-cHi-n | a-n-R-acHi-n |
| 9. | 1de | R-cHi-ŋa | R-a-cHi-ŋa |
| | NEG | ma-R-cHi-ŋ-a-n | ma-R-a-cHi-ŋa-n |
| 11. | 1pi | a-R-i | a-R-a |
| | NEG | a-n-R-i-n | a-n-R-a-n |
| (1pe | | R-i-ŋa | R-i-ŋa or R-mna |
| | NEG | ma-R-i-ŋa-n | ma-R-i-ŋa-n or man-R-ban) |

TABLE 33. Schematic form

**4.2.** REFLEXIVE VERB Reflexive verb stem requires one agreement marker in second and first person verb forms as shown in 13d and 13e respectively but it doesn't require any overt marker on the verb form for the third person singular and dual as shown in 13a and 13b. Third person plural is marked by a portmanteaue <mu-> as given in 13c. Formally, it is identical to intransitive verb and is formed by suffixing <–c$^{h}$in> and <-nE> to the verb stem.

(5) a. uN-cHin
pull-REFL
'he pulled himself (he crawls).

b. uN-nE-cHi
pull-Rec-dS
'They pull each other.'

c. mu-uN-cHin
3pS-pull-Rec
'They pull themelves (they crawl).'

d. ka-uN-cHin
2-pull-REFL
'You pull yourself.'

e. uN-cHin-na
pull-REFL-1sS

‘I pull myself (I crawl).’

**4.2.1.C**ONJUGATION OF MONOSYLLABIC REFLEXIVE VERB. Monosyllabic reflexive verbs are formed by adding the suffix <-cHin> or <-nE> to the end of a monosyllabic stem. Though they conjugate intransitively, they encode transitive meaning.

(6) a. pHon-cHin
hang-REFL
‘He hangs himself’

b. hu-cHin
‘teach-REFL
‘he taught himself (he learned)’

c. wac-cHin
dress-REFL
‘He dresses himself.’

Reflexive verb does not distinguish between past and non-past forms. It is marked by the reflexive suffix <–c$^{h}$in> but in dual forms it has allomorph <-nE> which indicates reciprocity. 3p, 2p, 1pi and 1pe verb stems can take <-nE>. However, it indexes the involvement of two actants or parties in action. As a result, there is no difference between 2d and 2p, 1di and 2pi and 1de and 1pe in conjugation patterns. In 3d and 3p, there is only a difference in person marking. The conjugation of monosyllabic reflexive verb is given below.

.

---

| | NPT | PT |
|---|---|---|
| 1. 3s- | | |
| | l□m-c$^{h}$in | l□m-c$^{h}$in |
| | beat-REFL | 3sA-beat-REFL |
| | 'He beats himself.' | 'He beat himself.' |
| NEG. | | |
| | ma-l□m-c$^{h}$in-nEn | ma-l□m-c$^{h}$in-nEn |
| | NEG-beat-REFL- NEG | NEG-beat-REFL-NEG |
| | 'He does not beat himself.' | 'He did not beat himself.' |
| 2.3d | | |
| | l□m-nE-c$^{h}$i | l□m-nE- c$^{h}$i |
| | beat-RECIP-dS | beat-RECIP-dS |
| | 'They beat each other.' | 'They beat each other.' |
| NEG | | |
| | ma-l□m-nE- c$^{h}$i-n | ma-l□m-nE-c$^{h}$i-n |
| | NEG-beat-RECIP- dS-NEG | NEG-beat-RECIP-dS-NEG |
| | 'They do not beat each other.' | 'They did not beat each other.' |
| 3. 3p | | |
| | mu-l□m- c$^{h}$in | mu-l□m -c$^{h}$in |
| | 3pS-beat- REFL | 3pS-beat-REFL |
| | 'They beat themselves.' | 'They beat themselves.' |
| NEG | | |
| | ma-n-l□m-c$^{h}$in- nEn | ma-n-l□m- c$^{h}$in- nEn |
| | 3pS-NEG-beat-REFL-NEG | 3pS-NEG-beat-REFL-NEG |
| | They do not beat themselves.' | 'They did not beat themselves.' |
| Or | | |
| | mu-l□m-nE- c$^{h}$i | mu-l□m-nE-Ø-c$^{h}$i |

3pS-beat-RECIP-pS 3pS-beat-RECIP-PT-pS
'They beat each other.' 'They beat each other.'
NEG
ma-n-l□m-nE-c$^{h}$i-n ma-n-l□m-nE-c$^{h}$i-n
3pS-NEG-beat-RECIP- pS-NEG 3pS-NEG-beat-RECIP-pS-NEG
They do not beat each other.' 'They did not beat each other.'
4. 2s
ka-l□m-c$^{h}$in ka-l□m-c$^{h}$in
2-beat-REFL 2-beat-REFL
'You beat yourself.' 'You beat yourself.'
NEG
ka-n-l□m-c$^{h}$in-nEn ka-n-l□m-c$^{h}$in- nEn
2-NEG-beat-REFL- NEG 2-NEG-beat-REFL-NEG
'You do not beat yourself. 'You do not beat yourself.
5. 2d-
ka- l□m-nE-c$^{h}$i ka- l□m-nE-c$^{h}$i
2-beat-RECIP-NPT-dS 2-beat-RECIP-dS
'You beat each other.' 'You beat each other.'
NEG
ka-n-l□m-nE-c$^{h}$i-n ka-n-l□m-nE-c$^{h}$i-n
2-NEG-beat-RECIP-dS-NEG 2-NEG-beat-RECIP-dS-NEG
'You do not beat each other.' 'You do not beat each other.'
6.2p.
ka- l□m-nE-c$^{h}$i ka- l□m-nE-c$^{h}$i
2-beat-RECIP-NPT-dS 2-beat-RECIP-dS
'You beat each other.' 'You beat each other.'
NEG
ka-n-l□m-nE-c$^{h}$i-n ka-n-l□m-nE-c$^{h}$i-n
2-NEG-beat-RECIP-dS-NEG 2-NEG-beat-RECIP-dS-NEG
'You do not beat each other.' 'You do not beat each other.'
7. 2p
ka- l□m-nE-c$^{h}$i ka- l□m-nE-c$^{h}$i
2-beat-RECIP-pS 2-beat-RECIP-pS
'You beat each other.' 'You beat each other.'
NEG
ka-n-l□m-nE-c$^{h}$i-n ka-n-l□m-nE-c$^{h}$i-n
2-NEG-beat-RECIP-pS-NEG 2-NEG-beat-RECIP-pS-NEG
'You do not beat each other.' 'You do not beat each other.'
8. 1s
l□m-c$^{h}$in-na l□m-c$^{h}$in-na
beat- REFL -1e beat- REFL -1e
'I beat myself.' 'I beat myself.'
NEG
ma-l□m-c$^{h}$in-na-n ma-l□m-c$^{h}$im-ban
NEG-beat-REFL-1sA-NEG NEG-beat-REFL- 1sA/PT/NEG
'I do not beat myself.' 'I did not beat myself.'
9. 1di
a-l□m-nE-c$^{h}$i a-l□m-nE-c$^{h}$i
1i-beat-RECIP- nsS 1i-beat-RECIP- nsS
'We beat each other.' 'We beat each other.'
NEG.
a-n-l□m-nE-c$^{h}$i- n a-n-l□m-nE- c$^{h}$i-n
1-NEG-beat-RECIP- nsS-NEG 1-NEG-beat-RECIP- nsS-NEG
'We do not beat each other.' 'We do not beat each other.'

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 10. 1de | | |
| | l□m-nE-c$^{h}$i-ŋa | l□m-nE-c$^{h}$i-ŋa |
| | beat-RECIP--nsS-1e | beat-RECIP-nsS-1e |
| | 'We beat each other.' | 'We beat each other.' |
| NEG | | |
| | ma-l□m-nE-c$^{h}$i-ŋa-n | ma-l□m-nE-c$^{h}$i-ŋa-n |
| NEG-beat-RECIP-dS-1e-NEG | | NEG-beat-RECIP-dS-e-NEG |
| | 'We do not beat each other.' | 'We did not beat each other.' |
| 11. 1pi | | |
| | a-l□m-c$^{h}$in | a-l□m-c$^{h}$in |
| | 1-beat-REFL- | 1-beat-REFL |
| | 'We beat ourselves.' | 'We beat ourselves.' |
| NEG | | |
| | a-n-l□m-c$^{h}$in-nEn | a-n-l□m-c$^{h}$in-nEn |
| 1-NEG-beat-REFL-NEG | | 1-NEG-beat-REFL-NEG |
| | 'We do not beat ourselves.' | 'We did not beat ourselves.' |
| Or | | |
| | a-l□m-nE-c$^{h}$i | a-l□m-nE-c$^{h}$i |
| | 1i-beat-RECIP- nsS | 1i-beat-RECIP- nsS |
| | 'We beat each other.' | 'We beat each other.' |
| NEG. | | |
| | a-n-l□m-nE-c$^{h}$i- n | a-n-l□m-nE- c$^{h}$i-n |
| 1-NEG-beat-RECIP- nsS-NEG | | 1-NEG-beat-RECIP- nsS-NEG |
| | 'We do not beat each other.' | 'We do not beat each other.' |

TABLE 34. Conjugation of monosyllabic reflexive verb

**4.2.2. C**ONJUGATION OF POLYSYLLABIC REFLEXIVE VERB Polysyllabic reflexive verbs are formed by adding the suffix <-cHin> or <-nE> to the end of polysyllabic verb stem. They are

(7) a. igHENcHin ‘he binds himself’
b. omEtcHin ‘he looks at himself’
c. walumcHin ‘he washes himself’

The conjugation patterns of the mono-syllabic and polysyllabic reflexive verbs are the same. In fact, reflexive verbs are derived from transitive stems by adding the suffix <-cHin> or <-nE> to their end. In polysyllabic transitive stem, the affixes are added to the last syllable.

| NPT | PT |
|---|---|
| 1. 3s- | |
| i-ghEN-cHin | i-ghEN-cHin |
| bind-REFL | bind-REFL |
| ‘He binds himself.’ | ‘He bound himself.’ |
| NEG | |
| i-ma-g$^{h}$EN-cHin-nEn | i-ma-g$^{h}$EN-cHin-nEn |
| bind-NEG-bind-REFL-NEG | bind-NEG-bind-REFL-NEG |
| ‘He doesn’t bind himself.’ | ‘He did not bind himself.’ |
| 2. 3d | |
| i-ghEN-nE-c$^{h}$i | i-ghEN-nE-c$^{h}$i |
| bind-RECIP-dS | bind-RECIP-dS |

‘They bind each other.’
NEG
i-ma-g$^{h}$EN-nE-c$^{h}$i-n
around-NEG-bind-RECIP-dA-3O-NEG
‘They do not bind him.’
3. 3p
i-mu-ghEN-cHin
bind-3pS-bind-REFL
‘They bind themselves.’
NEG
i-maN-g$^{h}$EN-cHin-nEn
around-NEG-bind-REFL-NEG
‘They do not bind themselves.’
4. 2s
i-ka-ghEN-cHin
bind-2-bind-REFL
‘You bind yourself.’
NEG
i-ka-N-g$^{h}$EN-cHin-nEn
bind-2-NEG-bind-REFL-NEG
‘You do not bind yourself.’
5. 2d
i-ka-ghEN-nE-c$^{h}$i
bind-2-bind-RECIP-dS
‘You bind each other.’
NEG
i-ka-N-g$^{h}$EN-nE-c$^{h}$i-n
around-2-NEG-bind-RECIP-3O-NEG
‘You do not bind each other.’
6. 2p-
i-ka-ghEN-nE-c$^{h}$i
bind-2-bind-RECIP-pS
‘You bind each other.’
NEG
i-ka-N-g$^{h}$EN-nE-c$^{h}$i-n
around-2-NEG-bind-RECIP-pS-3O-NEG
‘You do not bind each other.’
7. 1s
i-ghEN-cHin-na
bind-REFL-1e
‘I bind myself.’
NEG
i-ma-g$^{h}$EN-cHin-na-n
bind-NEG-bind-1eS-NEG
‘I do not bind myself .’
8. 1d
i-a-ghEN-nE-c$^{h}$i
bind-1i-bind-RECIP-dS
‘We bind each other.’
NEG
i-a-N-g$^{h}$EN-nE-c$^{h}$i-n
bind-1i-NEG-bind-RECIP-dS-NEG
‘We do not bind each other.’
9. 1de-

‘They bound each other.’

i-ma-g$^{h}$EN-nE-c$^{h}$i-n
bind-NEG-bind-RECIP-dS-NEG
‘They did not bind him.’

i-mu-ghEN-cHin
bind-3pA-bind-REFL
‘They bound themselves.’

i-maN-g$^{h}$EN-cHin-nEn
bind-NEG-bind-REFL-NEG
‘They did not bind themselves.’

i-ka-ghEN-cHin
bind-2-bind-REFL
‘You bound yourself.’

i-ka-N-g$^{h}$EN-cHin-nEn
bind-2-NEG-bind-REFL-NEG
‘You did not bind yourself.’

i-ka-ghEN-nE-cHi
bind-2-bind-RECIP-dS
‘You bound each other.’

i-ka-N-g$^{h}$EN-nE-c$^{h}$i-n
bind-2-NEG-bind-RECIP-dS-NEG
‘You did not bind each other.’

i-ka-ghEN-nE-cHi
bind-2-bind-RECIP-pS
‘You bound each other.’

i-ka-N-g$^{h}$EN-nE-c$^{h}$i-n
bind-2-NEG-bind-RECIP-pS-NEG
‘You did not bind each other.’

i-ghEN-cHin-na
bind-REFL-1e
‘I bound myself.’

i-maN-g$^{h}$EN-cHim-ban
bind-NEG-bind-REFL-1eS/PT/NEG
‘I did not bind myself.’

i-a-ghEN-nE-c$^{h}$i
bind-Ii-bind-RECIP-dS
‘We bound each other.’

i-a-N-g$^{h}$EN-nE-c$^{h}$i-n
bind-1i-NEG-bind-RECIP-dS-NEG
‘We did not bind each other.’

| | |
|---|---|
| i-ghEN-nE-c$^{h}$i-Na | i-ghEN-nE-c$^{h}$i-Na |
| bind-RECIP-dS-1e | around-bind-PT-RECCIP-dS-3O-1e |
| ‘We bind each other.’ | ‘We bound each other.’ |
| NEG | |
| i-ma-g$^{h}$EN-nE-c$^{h}$i-Na-n | i-ma-g$^{h}$EN-nE-c$^{h}$i-Na-n |
| bind-NEG-bind-RECIP-dS-1e-NEG | bind-NEG-bind-RECIP-dS-1e-NEG |
| ‘We do not bind each other.’ | ‘We did not bind each other.’ |
| 10. 1pi-3s | |
| i-a-ghEN-cHin | i-a-ghEN-cHin |
| bind-1i-bind-REFL | bind-1i-bind-REFL |
| ‘We bind ourselves.’ | ‘We bound ourselves.’ |
| NEG | |
| i-a-N-g$^{h}$EN-cHin-nEn | i-a-N-g$^{h}$EN-cHin-nEn |
| bind-1i-NEG-bind-REFL-NEG | bind-1i-NEG-bind-REFL- NEG |
| ‘We do not bind ourselves.’ | ‘You did not bind ourselves.’ |

TABLE 35. Conjugation of polysyllabic reflexive verb

**4.2.3.** SCHEMATIC FORM OF REFLEXIVE VERB. The conjugation patterns of the mono-syllabic and polysyllabic reflexive verbs are the same. So, the single schematic form in table 36 can represent the conjugation pattern of both mono-syllabic and polysyllabic reflexive verbs.

| | **NPT** | **PT** |
|---|---|---|
| 1.3s | R-cHin | R-cHin |
| NEG. | | |
| | ma-R-cHin-nEn | ma-R-cHin-nEn |
| 2.3d | R-nE-cHi | R-nE-cHi |
| NEG. | | |
| | ma-R-nE-cHi-n | ma-R-nE-cHi-n |
| 3.3p | mu-R-cHin | mu-R-cHin |
| NEG. | | |
| | man-R-cHin-nEn | man-R-cHin-nEn |
| Or | | |
| 3p | R-nE-cHi | R-nE-cHi |
| NEG. | | |
| | man-R-nE-cHi-n | man-R-nE-cHi-n |
| 4. 2s | ka-R-cHin | ka-R-cHin |
| NEG | ka-n-R-cHin-nEn | ka-n-R-cHin-nEn |
| 5. 2d | ka-R-nE-cHi | ka-R-nE-cHi |
| NEG. | | |
| | ka-n-R-nE-cHi-n | ka-n-R-nE-cHi-n |
| 6. 2p | ka-R-nE-cHi | ka-R-nE-cHi |
| NEG. | | |
| | ka-n-R-nE-cHi-n | ka-n-R-nE-cHi-n |
| **7.** 1s | R-chin-na | R-chin-na |
| NEG. | | |
| | ma-R-cHin-na-n | man-R-cHim-ban |
| 8. 1di | a-R-nE-chi | a-R-nE-chi |
| NEG. | | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | a-n-R-nE-cHi-n | a-n-R-nE-cHi-n |
| 9. 1de | R-nE-cHi-ŋa | R-nE-cHi-ŋa |
| NEG. | | |
| | ma-R-nE-cHi-ŋa-n | ma-R-nE-cHi-ŋa-n |
| 10. 1pi | a-R- cHin | a-R-cHin |
| NEG- | | |
| | a-n-R-cHin-nEn | a-n-R-cHin-nEn |
| Or | | |
| 1di | a-R-nE-cHi | a-R-nE-cHi |
| NEG. | | |
| | a-n-R-nE-cHi-n | a-n-R-nE-cHi-n |
| 11. 1pe | R- nE-cHi-ŋa | R-cHim-mna |
| NEG. | | |
| | ma-R-nE-cHi-ŋa-n | man-R-cHim-ban |

TABLE 36. Schematic form of reflexive verbs

**4.3. T**RANSITIVE VERBS. Transitive verb requires at least two arguments in a sentence- subject argument and object argument. Third person subject argument is unmarked in the verb form and the first person singular subject is also unmarked in the verb form if its object is the second person singular. In other cases both subject and object are marked by affixes in the verb form. Some linguists believe that transitive stems in Limbu can be derived from intransitive stems by adding Proto-Tibeto-Burman dental suffixes <–s> and <–t>. Others believe that they can be derived from the intransitive stems by adding aspiration to the initial voiceless plosive sounds of the verb stem. However, the common thinking is that transitive verbs are formed by inherent transitive stems that can take the object suffix.

Mikhailovsky (1985) says that a few Limbu verbs of Mewakhola dialect retain Proto-Tibeto-Burman dental suffixes <-s> and <-t> and the aspirate alteration of the initial voiceless stop and affricate as the transitivizing suffixes. He presents 30 pairs of verbs showing initial alternations to prove that an intransitive verb with an unaspirated stop initial has a transitive allofam with an aspirated stop initial. Wiedert (1985:56) lists 4 pairs of verbs with initial alternations to show the function of aspiration as a causativizer or transitivizing morpheme. Van Driem (1987:246-248) notes 23 pairs of verbs indicating aspiration alternations in /c, p, t, k/. In Chhatthare Limbu, too, such phenomena can be observed in pairs of verbs listed in 16.

(8)

| **Intransitive** | | **Transitive** | |
|---|---|---|---|
| pe-ma | 'to fly oneself' | $p^{h}$e-ma | 'to fly something' |
| teŋ-ma | 'to tear out itself' | $t^{h}$eŋ-ma | 'to tear out something' |
| cup-ma | 'to be finished' | $c^{h}$up-ma | 'to finish something' |

The conjugation patterns of a pair of intransitive and transitive verbs *poma* 'to be increased' and *pHoma* 'to increase something' are presented for example in table 38.

| | Intransitive | Intransitive | Transitive | Transitive |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | NPT | PT | NPT | PT |
| 3s | po | poy-a | pHow-u | pHow-u |
| | 'he grows' | 'he grew.' | 'he increases it.' | 'he increased it.' |
| 3d | po-cHi | poy-a-cHi | pHo-cH-u | pHow-a-cH-u |
| | 'they grow' | 'they grew.' | 'they increased it.' | 'They increased it.' |
| 3p | mu-bo | mu-boy-a | mu-bHow-u | mu-bHow-u |
| | 'they grow.' | 'they grew.' | they increse it.' | 'they increased it.' |
| 2s | ka-bo | ka-boy-a | ka-bHow-u | ka-bHow-u |
| | 'you grow.' | 'you grew.' | 'you increase it.' | 'you incresead it.' |
| 2d | ka-bo-cHi | ka-boy-a-cHi | ka-bHo-cH-u | ka-bHow-a-ch-u |
| | 'you grow.' | 'you grew.' | 'you increase it.' | 'you increased it.' |
| 2p | ka-boh-i | ka-boh-i | ka-bHow-u-m | ka-bHow-u-m |
| | 'you grow.' | 'you grew.' | 'you increase it.' | 'you increased it.' |
| 1s | po-ŋa | poy-a-ŋ | pHow-u ŋ | pHow-u-ŋ |
| | 'I grow.' | 'I grew.' | 'I increase it.' | 'I increased it.' |
| 1di | a-bo-cHi | a-poy-a-cHi | a-pHo-cH-u | a-bHoh-a-cH-u |
| | 'we grow.' | 'we grew.' | 'we increase it.' | 'we increased it.' |
| 1de | po-cHi- ŋa | poy-a-cHi- ŋa | pHo-cH-u- ŋa | pHow-a-cH-u- ŋa |
| | 'we grow.' | 'we grew.' | 'we increase it.' | 'we increased it.' |
| 1pi | a-poh-i | a-boh-i | a-pHow-u-m | a-bHow-u-m |
| | 'we grow.' | 'we grew.' | 'we increase it.' | 'we increased it.' |
| 1pe | poy-i- ŋa | poy-i- ŋa | pHow-u-m-ma | pHow-u-m-ma |
| | 'we grow.' | 'we grew.' | 'we increase it.' | 'we increased it.' |

TABLE 37. Conjugation of aspirated and unaspirated stop initial verbs in past and non-past forms

However, the number of initial consonant alternating verbs is very limited and the rule for transitivizing the unaspirated plosive initial verbs with their aspirated counterparts is not productive. Let us consider the following data:

(9) a $p^h$ik-ma 'to cry sharply'
b. $k^h$a-ma 'to be satisfied with food.'
c. $t^h$a-ma 'to come down'

The initial consonants of the verbs in 17 are aspirated but they do not signal transitive meaning as the conclusion is drawn from the data in table 37. Similarly, the unaspirated, plosive initial verbs in 18 do not carry intransitive meaning.

(18) a. p□ ŋ-ma 'to hold something'
b. pak-ma 'to dig out something'
c. pep-ma 'to dig something on the surface'

These data justify that aspiration is not a common feature of transitive verbs. Widert and Subba (1985:56) are right in their statement that the changes in syllable-initial stop consonants reflect transitivity contrast but it is fossilized in the synchronically observable morphological state of Limbu. Similarly, Van Driem (1987:245) considers it as an improductive type of causative formation, which is now defunct.

Mikhailovsky (1985) presents the list of 21 triplets of verb roots, which consist of <-*s*> and <-*t*> elements and those, which do not consist of them. In 20 of the triplets, the roots without these elements are intransitive and all of the roots with them are transitive. Then he makes a proposition that Limbu verbs still retain Proto-Tibeto-

Burman dental suffixes <-*s*> and <-*t*> as causative or transitive suffixes in a limited number of verb forms. In Chhatthare Limbu the dental /t/ doesn't occur in sequence with other consonants like /p/ and /k/ and form sequence like */-pt/* and */-kt/* as observed in other dialects. The stop consonants occur in geminate forms such as */-pp/*, */-kk/* and */-tt/*. The dental fricative */s/*, however, occurs in sequence with the stop consonants /p/ and /k/. In Chhatthare Limbu, the dental fricative /s/ forms a causative stem in a limited set of verbs. The pairs of the verbs with <-s> element and without it presented in 10 and 11 make it clear:

| (10) | Intransitive | | Transitive | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. | lok | 'he runs' | loks-u | 'he made him run' |
| b. | $t^h$□k | 'he fights' | th□ks-u | 'he made him fight' |
| c. | Ek | 'it breaks' | Eks-u | 'he breaks it.' |

The intransitives which end in nasal consonants are made causative by turning the nasal consonant into voiceless, velar stop consonant /k/ and adding the element –s to the root.

| (11) | Intransitive | | Transitive | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. | yuŋ | 'he sits' | yuks-u | 'he made him sit' |
| b | y□ŋ | 'he shivers' | y□ks-u | 'something made him shiver' |
| c. | huŋ | 'be spilled' | huks-u | 'he spilled it. |

The data exhibit that verb roots with the -s element are transitive verbs and those without -s element are intransitive ones. Thus, <-s> serves as a transitivizing or causative suffix as indicated by Mikhailovsky.

Similarly, the proto-Tibeto-Burman transitivizing suffix <-t> occurs in a limited set of Chhtthare Limbu verbs, which can be tested by putting a pair of verbs with the suffix <-t> and without it.

| (12) | Intransitive | | Transitive | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. | ta | 'he comes' | tat | 'he brings' |
| b. | kHe | 'he quarrels | kHet | 'he quarrels over something' |
| c. | pHe | 'he farts' | pHet | 'he farts at somebody' |

Similarly, a limited set of intransitive verbs ending in the voiceless, dental stop /t/ takes the Proto-Tibeto Burman transitivizing suffix <-t> for transitivity.

| (13) | Intransitive | | Transitive | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. | kEt | 'he comes' | kEttu | 'he brings' |
| b. | Et | 'it is locked' | Ettu | 'he locked it' |

Intransitive non-causatives are made causatives by adding /t/ to the stem but it is realized as /d/ after the nasal consonant.

| (14) | Non-causatives | | Causatives | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. | man | 'be finished' | mand-u | 'he finished it'. |
| b. | han | ‘be ighted' | hand-u | 'he lighted it' |
| c. | h□n | 'be opened' | h□nd-u | 'he opened it' |

Some verb roots ending in the voiceless dental stop /t/ index beneficiary role.

(15) a wat-u-N
put on-3O-1sA

'I put something on him.'

b. cat-u-N
feed-3O-1sA
'I feed him.'

c. kat-u-ŋ
take to -3O-1Ss
I take something to him.'

Driem (1987:249-267) also lists pairs or trios of verbs consisting of <-t> and <-s> elements as directive and causative suffixes. They both indicate transitivity. Therefore, Mikhailovsky (1985) deserves appreciation for his finding that transitivizing dental suffixes <-s> and <-t> occur in Limbu in a limited set of verbs and they are enough evidence to justify the proposition that the dental suffixes <-t > and <-s> are Proto-Tibeto-Burman transitivizing suffixes.

All the above data notwithstanding, the occurrence of -t and -s in the verb stem do not always form transitivity. There are a good number of evidences to prove it. The following examples of the pair of past and non-past intransitive verbs prove that -s is not a productive transitivising element.

(16)

| | NPT | | PT | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. | im | 'he sleeps.' | ips-a | 'he slept.' |
| b. | tim | 'it is filled' | tips-a | 'it was filled.' |
| c. | noŋ | 'he returns' | noks-a | 'he returned.' |

Similarly, the -t final verbs do not indicate transitivity.

(17)

a. et 'he laughs.'
b. pot 'he is confused.'
c. sot 'he makes fun.'

The data in 25 show that a limited number of verbs have <-s> as a transitivizing suffix though there are also a good number of verb stems with -s element, which show intransitivity. Similarly, there are many intransitive verb stems ending in the consonant /t/. Driem (1987:245) also considers <-t> and <-s> as improductive directive and causative suffixes respectively.

Transitive stems are those stems which require two agreement markers in overt or covert forms to complete the sense of the verb. In 3→-3, 3→2 and 3→1 forms, the third person marker is not overt whereas 2→3, 2→1 and 1→3 configurations, agents and objects are marked on the verbs. Morphologically, there is no difference between causative and transitive verbs. Similarly, there is no difference between transitive and ditransitive verbs because their conjugation patterns are the same. However, at the syntax level, there is a difference as di-transitive verbs like *pima* 'to give' requires three arguments- agent, direct object and indirect object but the verb morphology marks only the agent and indirect object. Here, the verbs which can take object marking suffixes are termed as transitive verbs and the third person object suffix <–u> is chosen as a representative suffix. Transitive stems are monosyllabic and poly-syllabic.

**4.3.1**.CONJUGATION OF MONOSYLLABIC TRANSITIVE VERBS.

Transitive verbs which consist of only one syllabic root are called mono-syllabic transitive verbs. They are as follows:

(18) a. l□ps-u

beat-3O
'He beats him'

b. ka-haps-u
2-make weep-3O
' You made him weep'

c. sEr-u-N
kill-3O-1sA
'I killed him.'

Most of the verb stems in the language are mono-syllabic. The verb stems inflect for person, number, case, tense, exclusivity and negation like intransitive verbs.

Transitive verb forms mark both agent and object in the affixal string. They are termed as 'cross-referenced'. The conjugation of transitive verbs theoretically distinguishes 75 forms. However, Chhatthare Limbu distinguishes only 44 forms. It can't distinguish between dual and plural forms of the third person object. In both cases the suffix <-si> is used. Similarly, it doesn't distinguish between dual and plural forms of third person agent. It uses <-m> in both cases as in 3d/p→1 and 3d/p→2 configurations. In 2→1 and 1→2 configurations, number is indistinguishable. It uses the same form *ka-l□m* for 2d→1s, 2d→1d, 2d→1p, 2p→1s, 2p→1d and 2p→1p. Likewise, it uses the same form *l□m-ne-cʜi-ŋa* in 1d→2s, 1d→2d, 1d→2p, 1p→2s, 1p→2d and 1p→2p configurations. The paradigm of monosyllabic transitive verb *l□mma* 'to beat' is given in

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| | NPT | PT |
|---|---|---|
| 1. 3s-3s | l□ps- u | l□ps- u |
| | 3sA-beat-NPT-3O-sO | 3sA-beat-PT-3O-sO |
| | 'He beats him.' | 'He beat you.' |
| NEG. | ma-l□ps- u- n | ma-l□ps- u-n |
| | 3sA-NEG-beat-NPT-3O- NEG | 3sA-NEG-beat-PT-3O- NEG |
| | 'He does not beat him.' | 'He did not beat him.' |
| 2. 3s-3ns | l□ps- u-si | l□ps- u-si |
| | 3sA-beat-NPT-3O-nsO | 3sA-beat-PT-3O-nsO |
| | 'He beats them.' | He beat them.' |
| NEG | ma-l□ps- u-n-si-n | ma-l□ps-u-n-si-n |
| | 3sA-NEG-beat-NPT-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG | 3sA-NEG-beat-PT-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG |
| | 'He does not beat them.' | 'He did not beat them.' |
| 3. 3s-2s | ka- l□m | ka- l□ps-a |
| | 2- beat | 2-beat-PT |
| | 'He beats you.' | 'He beat you.' |
| Neg. | ka- n-l□m- nEn | ka- n-l□ps-a- n |
| | 2-NEG-beat- NEG | 2- NEG-beat-PT- NEG |
| | 'He does not beat you.' | He did not beat you.' |
| 4. 3s-2d | ka- l□m- $c^{h}$i | ka- l□ps-a-$c^{h}$i |
| | 2-beat-NPT-dO | 2-beat-PT-dO |
| | 'He beats you.' | 'He beat you.' |
| NEG | ka- n-l□m- $c^{h}$i-n | ka- n-l□ps-a-$c^{h}$i-n |
| | 2-NEG-beat-NPT-dO-NEG | 2-NEG-beat-PT-dO-NEG |
| | 'He does not beat you.' | 'He did not beat you.' |
| 5. 3s-2p | ka- l□ps- i | ka- l□ps- i |
| | 2-beat- pO | 2-beat- pO |
| | 'He beats you.' | 'He beat you.' |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| NEG. | ka- n-l□ps- i-n | ka- n-l□ps- i-n |
| | 2-NEG-beat- pO-NEG | 2-NEG-beat- pO-NEG |
| | ‘He does not beat you.’ | 'He did not beat you.’ |
| 6. 3s-1s | a- l□m- ma | a- l□ps-a-ŋ |
| | 1i-beat-1e | 1i-beat-PT-1e |
| | ‘He beats me.’ | 'He beat me.’ |
| NEG | a- n-l□m- ma-n | a- n-l□ps-a-ŋ-nEn |
| | 1i-NEG-beat- 1e-NEG | 1i- NEG-beat-PT-1e-NEG |
| | ‘He does not beat me.’ | ‘He did not beat me.’ |
| 7. 3s-1d | a- l□m- $c^h$i | a- l□ps-a-$c^h$i |
| | 1i-beat-NPT-dO | 1i-beat-PT-dO |
| | ‘He beats us.’ | ‘He beat us.’ |
| NEG | a- n-l□m- $c^h$i- n | a- n-l□ps-a-$c^h$i- n |
| | 1i-NEG-beat-NPT-dO- NEG | 1i- NEG-beat-PT-dO- NEG |
| | ‘He does not beat us.’ | ‘He did not beat us.’ |
| 8. 3s-1de | a- l□m- $c^h$i-ŋa | a- l□ps-a-$c^h$i-ŋa |
| | 1-beat-NPT-dO-1e | 1-beat-PT-dO-1e |
| | ‘He beats us.’ | ‘He beat us.’ |
| NEG | a- n-l□m- $c^h$i-ŋa-n | a- n-l□ps-a-$c^h$i-ŋa-n |
| | 1-NEG-beat- dO-1e-NEG | 1-NEG-beat-PT-dO-1e-NEG |
| | ‘He does not beat us.’ | ‘He did not beat us.’ |
| 9. 3s-1pi | a- l□ps- i | a- l□ps-i |
| | 1i-beat-NPT-pO-i | 1i-beat- pO |
| | ‘He beats us.’ | ‘He beat us.’ |
| NEG | a- n-l□ps- i- n | a- n-l□ps-a- n |
| | 1i-NEG-beat-NPT-pO- NEG | 1i-NEG-beat-PT- NEG |
| | ‘He does not beat us.’ | ‘He did not beat us. |
| or | | |
| | a- l□m- | a- l□ps- i |
| | 1i-beat-NPT-pO | 1i-beat- pO |
| | ‘He beats us.’ | ‘He beat us.’ |
| NEG | | |
| | a- n-l□m -nEn | a- n-l□ps- i- n |
| | 1i-NEG-beat-NPT-pO-NEG | 1i-NEG-beat-PT-pO-NEG |
| | ‘He does not beat us.’ | ‘He did not beat us.’ |
| 10. 3s-1pe | a-l□ps-i-ŋa | a- l□ps-i-ŋa |
| | 1-beat-NPT-pO-1e | 1-beat- pO-1e |
| | ‘He beats us .’ | ‘He beat us.’ |
| NEG. | a- n-l□ps- i-ŋa-n | a- n-l□ps- i-ŋa-n |
| | 1-NEG-beat- pO-1e-NEG | 1-NEG-beat- pO-1e-NEG |
| | ‘He does not beat us.’ | ‘He did not beat us.’ |
| 11. 3d-3s | l□m-cH-u | l□ps-a-cH-u |
| | beat-dA-3O | beat-PT-dA-3O |
| | ‘They beat him.’ | ‘They beat him.’ |
| NEG. | ma-l□m- $c^h$-u- n | ma-l□ps-a-$c^h$-u-n |
| | NEG-beat-dA-3O-NEG | NEG-beat-PT-dA-3O- NEG |
| | ‘They do not beat him.’ | ‘They did not beat him.’ |
| 12. 3d-3ns | l□m- $c^h$-u-si | Ø-l□ps-a-$c^h$-u-si |
| | 3-beat-NPT-dA-3O-nsO | 3-beat-PT-dA-3O-nsO |
| | ‘They beat them.’ | ‘They beat them.’ |
| NEG | ma-l□m-$c^h$-u-n-si-n | Ø-ma-l□ps-a-$c^h$-u-n-si-n |
| | NEG-beat-dA-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG | NEG-beat-PT-dA-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG |
| | ‘They do not beat them.’ | They did not beat them.’ |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 13.. 3ns -2s | ka- n-l□m | ka- n-l□ps-a |
| | 2-3nsA-beat | 2-3nsA-beat-PT |
| | ‘They beat you.’ | ‘They beat you.’ |
| NEG | ka- n-l□m-nEn | ka- n-l□ps-a- n |
| | 2-NEG-beat- NEG | 2-NEG-beat-PT- NEG |
| | ‘They do not beat you.’ | ‘They did not beat you.’ |
| 14. 3ns-2d | ka- n-l□m- $c^h$i | ka- n-l□ps-a-$c^h$i |
| | 2-3nsA-beat-NPT-dO | 2- 3 nsA-beat-PT-dO |
| | ‘They beat you.’ | ‘They beat you.’ |
| NEG. | ka- n-l□m- $c^h$i-n | ka- n-l□ps-a-$c^h$i-n |
| | 2-NEG-beat-dO-NEG | 2-NEG-beat-PT-dO-NEG |
| | ‘They do not beat you.’ | ‘They did not beat you.’ |
| 15. 3ns-2p | ka- n-l□ps- i | ka- n-l□ps- i |
| | 2-3nsA-beat- pO | 2-3 nsA-beat- pO |
| | ‘They beat you.’ | ‘They beat you.’ |
| NEG. | ka-n-l□ps-i-n | ka- n-l□ps- i-n |
| | 2-NEG-beat-pO-NEG | 2-NEG-beat- pO-NEG |
| | ‘They do not beat you.’ | ‘They did not beat you.’ |
| 16. 3ns-1s | a- n-l□m-ma | a- n-l□ps-a-ŋ |
| | 1-3nsA-beat-NPT-1e | 1-3nsA-beat-PT-1e |
| | ‘They beat me.’ | ‘They beat me.’ |
| NEG | a- n-l□m- ma-n | a- n-l□ps-a-ŋ-nEn |
| | 1-NEG-beat-1e-NEG | 1-NEG-beat-PT-1e-NEG |
| | ‘They do not beat me.’ | ‘They did not beat me.’ |
| 17. 3ns-1d | a- n-l□m- $c^h$i | a- n-l□ps-a-$c^h$i |
| | 1i-3nsA -beat-NPT-dO | 1i-3nsA-beat-PT-dO |
| | ‘They beat us.’ | ‘They beat us.’ |
| NEG. | a- n-l□m- $c^h$i- n | a- n-l□ps-a-$c^h$i- n |
| | 1i-NEG-beat-NPT-dO- NEG | 1i-NEG-beat-PT-dO- NEG |
| | ‘They do not beat us.’ | ‘They did not beat us.’ |
| 18. 3ns-1de | a- n-l□m- $c^h$i-ŋa | a- n-l□ps-a-$c^h$i-ŋa |
| | 1-3nsA-beat- dO-1e | 1-3nsA-beat-PT-dO-1e |
| | ‘They beat us.’ | ‘They beat us.’ |
| NEG | a- n-l□m-$c^h$i-ŋa-n | a- n-l□ps-a-$c^h$i-ŋa-n |
| | 1-NEG-beat-dO-1e-NEG | 1-3 nsA-NEG-beat-PT-dO-1e-NEG |
| | ‘They do not beat us.’ | ‘They did not beat us.’ |
| 19. 3ns-1p | a- n-l□ps-i | a- n-l□ps-a |
| | 1i-3nsA-beat- pO | 1i-3nsA-beat- PT |
| | ‘They beat us.’ | ‘They beat us.’ |
| NEG | a-n-l□ps- i- n | a-n-l□ps-a- n |
| | 1i-NEG-beat- pO-NEG | 1i-NEG-beat-PT-NEG |
| | ‘They do not beat us.’ | ‘They did not beat us.’ |
| 20. 3ns-pe | a- n-l□ps- i-ŋa | a- n-l□ps- i-ŋa |
| | 1-3nsA-beat-pO-1e | 1-3nsA-beat- pO-e |
| | ‘They beat us.’ | ‘They beat us.’ |
| NEG | a- n-l□ps- i-ŋa-n | a- n-l□ps- i-ŋa-n |
| | 1-NEG-beat-pO-1e-NEG | 1-NEG-beat- pO-1e-NEG |
| | ‘They do not beat us.’ | ‘They did not beat us.’ |
| 21. 3p-3s | mu-l□ps- u | mu-l□ps- u |
| | 3pA-beat-NPT-3O | 3pA-beat-PT-3O |
| | ‘They beat him.’ | ‘They beat him.’ |
| NEG. | man-l□ps-u-Ø-n | ma-n-l□ps-u- n |
| | 3pA/NEG-beat-NPT-3O-sO-NEG | 3pA-NEG-beat-PT-3O-NEG |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | ‘They do not beat him.’ | ‘They did not beat him.’ |
| 22. 3p-3ns | mu-l□ps- u-si | mu-l□ps-u-si |
| | 3pA-beat-3-nsO | 3pA-beat-3O-nsO |
| | ‘They beat them.’ | ‘They beat them.’ |
| NEG | ma-n-l□ps- u-n-si-n | ma-n-l□ps- u-n-si-n |
| | 3pA-NEG-beat- 3O-NEG-nsO-NEG | 3pA-NEG-beat-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG |
| | ‘They do not beat them.’ | ‘They did not beat them.’ |
| 23. 2s-3s | ka-l□ps- u | ka-l□ps- u |
| | 2-beat- 3O | 2-beat- 3O |
| | ‘You beat him.’ | ‘You beat him.’ |
| NEG | ka-n-l□ps- u- n | ka-n-l□ps-u- n |
| | 2-NEG-beat-3O- NEG | 2-NEG-beat-3O- NEG |
| | ‘You do not beat him.’ | ‘You do not beat him.’ |
| 24. 2s-3ns | ka-l□ps-u- si | ka-l□ps-u-si |
| | 2-beat-3O-nsO | 2-beat-3O-nsO |
| | ‘You beat them.’ | ‘You beat them.' |
| NEG. | ka-n-l□ps- u-si-n | ka-n-l□ps-u- si-n |
| | 2-NEG-beat-NPT-3O-NEG | 2-NEG-beat-3O- nsO-NEG |
| | ‘You do not beat them.’ | ‘You did not beat them.’ |
| 25. 2s-1s | ka-l□m-ma | ka-l□ps-a-ŋ |
| | 2-beat-1e | 2-beat-PT-1e |
| | 'You beat me.' | 'You beat me.' |
| NEG. | ka-n-l□m-ma-n | ka-n-l□ps-a-ŋ- nEn |
| | 2-NEG-beat-1e-NEG | 2-NEG-beat-PT-1e-NEG |
| | 'You do not beat me.' | 'You did not beat me.' |
| 26. 2-1 | ka-l□m | ka-l□ps-a |
| | 2-beat | 2-beat-PT |
| | ‘You beat me/us.’ | ‘You beat me/us.’ |
| NEG | ka-n-l□m-nEn | ka-n-l□ps-a - n |
| | 2-NEG-beat-NPT-NEG | 2-NEG-beat-PT- NEG |
| | ‘You do not beat me/us ‘ | ‘You did not beat me/us.’ |
| 27. 2d-3s | ka-l□m-c$^{h}$-u | ka-l□ps-a-c$^{h}$-u |
| | 2-beat- dA-3O | 2-beat-PT-dA-3O |
| | 'You beat him.’ | ‘You beat him.’ |
| NEG. | ka-n-l□m-c$^{h}$-u-n | ka-n-l□ps-a-c$^{h}$-u- n |
| | 2-NEG-beat-dA-3O-NEG | 2-NEG-beat-PT-dA-3O-NEG |
| | ‘You do not beat him.’ | ‘You did not beat him.’ |
| 28. 2d-3ns | ka-l□m-c$^{h}$-u-si | ka-l□ps-a-c$^{h}$-u-si |
| | 2-beat-dA-3O-nsO | 2-beat-PT-dA-3O-nsO |
| | ‘You beat them.’ | ‘You did not beat them.’ |
| NEG. | ka-n-l□m-c$^{h}$-u-n-si-n | ka-n-l□ps-a-c$^{h}$-u-n-si-n |
| | 2-NEG-beat- dA-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG | 2-NEG-beat-PT-dA-3O-NEG-nsO- |
| NEG | | |
| | ‘You do not beat them.’ | ‘You did not beat them.’ |
| 29. 2p-3s | ka-l□ps- u-m | ka-l□ps-u-m |
| | 2-beat-NPT-3O-pA | 2-beat-PT-3O-pA |
| | ‘You beat him.’ | ‘You beat him.’ |
| NEG. | ka-n-l□ps-u-m-nEn | ka-n-l□ps-u-m-nEn |
| | 2-NEG-beat-3O-pA-NEG | 2-NEG-beat-3O-pA-NEG |
| | ‘You do not beat him.’ | ‘You did not beat him.’ |
| 30. 2p-3ns | ka-l□ps- u-m-si-m | ka-l□ps-u-m-si-m |
| | 2-beat-3O-pA-nsO-pA | 2-beat-3O-pA-nsO-pA |
| | ‘You beat them.’ | ‘You beat them.’ |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| NEG | ka-n-l□ps- u-m-si-m-nEn | ka-n-l□ps- u-m-si-m-nEn |
| | 2-NEG-beat-3O-pA-nsO-pA-NEG | 2-NEG-beat-3O-pA-nsO-pA-NEG |
| | ‘You do not beat them.’ | ‘You did not beat them.’ |
| 31. 1s-3s | l□ps-u-ŋ | l□ps- u-ŋ |
| | beat-3O-1e | beat- 3O-1e |
| | 'I beat him.' | 'I beat him.' |
| NEG. | ma-l□m-ma-n | man-l□m-ban |
| | NEG-beat-1eS-NEG | NEG-beat-1eS/PT/NEG |
| | 'I do not beat.' | 'I did not beat.' |
| 32. 1s-3ns | l□ps-u-ŋ-si-ŋ | l□ps-u-ŋ-si-ŋ |
| | beat-3O-1e-nsO-1e | beat-3O-1e-nsO-1e |
| | 'I beat them.' | 'I beat them.' |
| NEG. | ma-l□m-ma-n-si-n | man-l□m-ban-si-n |
| | NEG- beat-1e-NEG-nsO-NEG | NEG-beat-1e/PT/NEG-nsO-NEG |
| | 'I do not beat them.' | 'I did not beat them.' |
| 33. 1s-2s | l□m-na | l□m-na |
| | beat-1→2 | beat-1→2 |
| | 'I beat you.' | 'I beat you.' |
| NEG. | ma-l□m-na-n | ma- l□m-na-n |
| | NEG-beat-1→2- NEG | NEG-beat-1→2-NEG |
| | 'I do not beat you.' | 'I did not beat you.' |
| 34. 1s-2d | l□m-na-c$^{h}$i-ŋ | l□m-na-c$^{h}$i-ŋ |
| | beat-1→2-dO-1sA | beat-1→2-dO-1sA |
| | 'I beat you.' | 'I beat you.' |
| NEG. | ma-l□m-na-c$^{h}$i-ŋ-nEn | ma-l□m-na-c$^{h}$i-ŋ-nEn |
| | NEG-beat-1→2- dO-1sA-NEG | NEG-beat-1→2-dO-1sA-NEG |
| | 'I do not beat you.' | 'I did not beat you.' |
| 35. 1s-2p | l□m-na-ni-ŋ | l□m-na-ni-ŋ |
| | beat-1→2-pO-1sA | beat-1→2-pO-1sA |
| | 'I beat you.’ | 'I beat you. ' |
| NEG | ma-l□m-na-ni-ŋ-nEn | ma-l□m-na- ni-ŋ-nEn |
| | NEG-beat-1→2- pO-1sA-NEG | NEG-beat-1→2-pO-1sA-NEG |
| | 'I do not beat you.' | 'I did not beat you.' |
| 36. 1d-3s | a-l□m-c$^{h}$-u | a-l□ps-a-c$^{h}$-u |
| | 1i-beat-dA-3O | 1i-beat-PT-dA-3O |
| | 'We beat him.' | 'We beat him.' |
| NEG. | a-n-l□m-c$^{h}$-u-n | a-n-l□ps-a-c$^{h}$-u-n |
| | 1i-NEG-beat-dA-3O-NEG | 1i-NEG-beat-PT-dA-3O-NEG |
| | 'We do not beat him.' | 'We did not beat him.' |
| 37. 1d-3ns | a-l□m-c$^{h}$-u- si | a-l□ps-a-c$^{h}$-u-si- Ø |
| | 1i-beat-NPT-dA-3O-nsO | 1i-beat-PT-dA-3O-nsO |
| | 'We beat them.' | 'We beat them.' |
| NEG | a-n-l□m-c$^{h}$-u-n-si-n | a-n-l□ps-a-c$^{h}$-u-n-si-n |
| | 1i-NEG-beat- dA-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG | 1i-NEG-beat-PT-dA-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG |
| | 'We do not beat them.' | 'We did not beat them.' |
| 38. 1de-3s | l□m- ch-u-ŋa | l□ps-a-c$^{h}$-u-ŋa |
| | 1-beat-NPT-dA-3O-1e | 1-beat-PT-dA-3O-1e |
| | 'We beat him.' | 'We beat him.' |
| NEG. | ma-l□m-c$^{h}$-u-ŋa-n | ma-l□ps-a-c$^{h}$-u-ŋa-n |
| | 1-NEG-beat-dA-3O-1e-NEG | 1-NEG-beat-PT-dA-3O-1e-NEG |
| | 'We do not beat him.' | 'We did not beat him.' |
| 39. 1de-3ns | l□m-c$^{h}$-u-si-ŋa | l□ps-a-c$^{h}$ -u-si-ŋa |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | 1-beat-dA-3O-nsO-1e | 1-beat-PT-dA-3O-nsO-1e |
| | 'We do not beat them.' | 'We did not beat them.' |
| NEG. | ma-l□m-c$^{h}$-u-si-ŋa-n | ma-l□ps-a-c$^{h}$-u-si-ŋa-n |
| | NEG-beat- dA-3O-nsO-1e-NEG | NEG-beat-PT-dA-3O-nsO-1e-NEG |
| | 'We do not beat them.' | 'We did not beat them.' |
| 40. 1-2 | l□m-nE- c$^{h}$i-ŋa | l□m-nE-c$^{h}$i-ŋa |
| | beat-1→2- nsA-1e | beat-1→2- nsA-1e |
| | 'We beat you.' | 'We beat you.' |
| NEG. | ma-l□m-nE-c$^{h}$i-ŋa-n | ma-l□m-nE-c$^{h}$i-ŋa-n |
| | NEG-beat-1→2- nsA-1e-NEG | NEG-beat-1→2-nsA-1e-NEG |
| | 'We do not beat you (s).' | 'We did not beat you.' |
| 41. 1p 3s | a-l□ps-u- m | a-l□ps-u- m |
| | 1i-beat-3O-pA | 1i-beat-3O -pA |
| | 'We beat him.' | 'We beat him.' |
| NEG | a-n-l□ps-u-m-nEn | a-n-l□ps- u-m- nEn |
| | 1i-NEG- beat- 3O-pA-NEG | 1i-NEG-beat-PT-3O-pA-NEG |
| | 'We do not beat him.' | 'We did not beat him.' |
| 42. 1pi-3ns | a-l□ps-u-m-si-m | a-l□ps-u -m-si-m |
| | 1i-beat-3O-pA-nsO-pA | 1i-beat-PT-3O-pA-nsO-pA |
| | 'We beat them .' | 'We beat them .' |
| NEG | a-n-l□ps- u-m-si-m-nEn | a-n-l□ps-u-m-si-m-nEn |
| | 1i-NEG-beat- 3O-pA-nsO-pA- NEG | 1i-NEG-beat-PT-3O-pA-nsO-pA-i- |
| NEG | | |
| | 'We do not beat them.' | 'We did not beat them.' |
| 43. 1pe 3s | l□ps- u-m-ma | l□ps-u-m-ma |
| | beat-NPT-3O-pA-1e | beat-3O-pA-1e |
| | 'We beat him.' | 'We beat him.' |
| NEG. | ma-l□ps-u-m-ma-n | ma-l□ps-u-m-ma-n |
| | NEG- beat-NPT-3O-pA-sO- e-NEG | NEG-beat-3O-pA-1e-NEG |
| | 'We do not beat him .' | 'We did not beat him.' |
| 44. 1pe 3ns | l□ps-u-m-si-m-ma | l□ps-u-m-si-m-ma |
| | beat-3O-pA-nsO-pA-1e | 1-beat-3O-pA-nsO-pA-1e |
| | 'We beat them. ' | 'We beat them.' |
| NEG. | ma-l□ps-u-m-si-m-ma-n | ma-l□ps-u-m-si-m-ma-n |
| | NEG-beat-3O-pA-nsO-pA-1e | NEG-beat-3O-pA-nsO-pA-1e-NEG |
| | ‘We do not beat them.’ | ‘We did not beat them.’ |

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TABLE 38. Conjugation of monosyllabic transitive verb l□mma ‘to beat’

In a causative verb the agent does not perform the action himself but makes someone to perform it. Morphologically, there is no difference between causative verbs and simple transitive verbs in Chhathare Limu. They have the same conjugational pattern. The causativity is only in semantics. *haps-u* 'he makes him weep' is a causative verb whereas *l□ps-u* ‘he beat him’ is simple transitive verb. They have same stem final consonant sequences and their conjugation pattern is also the same. Similarly, the ditransitive verbs which take three arguments at the sentence level have the same conjugation patterns like transitive verbs which take two arguments in sentences. They mark for agent and indirect object.

**4.3.2.** CONJUGATION OF POLY-SYLLABIC TRANSITIVE VERB. The verb roots which have two syllables are called poly-syllabic transitive verbs. They are as follows:

(19) a. silapp-u ‘he asked him’
b. ig$^{h}$Eks-u ‘he bounded him’
c. □mEtt-u ‘he looked at him’

The verbs *silap-ma* 'to ask', *igHeŋ-ma* 'to bind', *□mep-ma* 'to look' in the language have two syllables in the root. Originally, they must have been noun and verb and adverb and verb compounds because they still show two different morphological behaviours. The first syllable element *si-* behaves like a noun and the second syllable element *lap-* as a verb in 28a. *si* may have meant 'question' and *lap-ma* 'to ask'. Thus, *silap-ma* may have meant 'to ask a question'. Similarly, the first syllable elements *i-* and *□-* in 28b and 28c must have been adverbs and the second syllable elements *kHEŋ* and *mEp* are still verbs. *i-ma* means 'to move around' and *kHeŋ-ma* means 'to bind' in synchronic use, too. Hence, *i-gHEŋ-ma* meant 'to bind around'. Similarly, *□* may have meant 'well' and *mEp-ma* 'to look‘. Thus, *□mEp-ma* meant ‘to look minutely’. Now, *□* has lost its original meaning and *□mEpma* simply means ‘to look’. In synchronic use *□* is optionally deleted and only *mEp-ma* is used for ‘to look’. These polysyllabic verbs do not signal morphological meanings; the combined elements do not index separate meanings. They have been lexicalized and exhibit a single meaning as done by the monosyllabic verbs.

The conjugation of *silapma* ‘to ask’ is given below as an example of the conjugations of polysyllabic transitive verbs.

---

| NPT | PT |
|---|---|
| 1. 3s→ 3s | |
| silapp-u | silapp-u |
| ask-3O | ask-3O |
| 'He asks him.' | 'He asked him.' |
| NEG | |
| si-ma-lapp-u-n | si-ma-lapp-u-n |
| ask-NEG-ask-3O-NEG | ask-NEG-ask-3O-NEG |
| 'He does not ask him.' | 'He did not ask him.' |
| 2. 3s→3ns | |
| silapp-u-si | silapp-u-si |
| ask-3O-nsO | ask-3O-nsO |
| 'He asks them.' | 'He asked them.' |
| NEG | |
| si-ma-lap-u- n-si-n | si-ma-lapp-u- n-si-n |
| ask-NEG-ask- 3O-NEG-nsO-NEG | ask-NEG-ask-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG |
| 'He does not ask them.' | 'He did not ask them.' |
| 3. 3s→ 2s | |
| si-ka-lap | si-ka- lapp-a |
| ask-2-ask | ask-2-ask-PT |
| 'He asks you.' | 'He asked you.' |
| NEG | |
| si-ka-n-lap-nEn | si-ka-n-lapp-a- n |
| ask-2-NEG-ask-NEG | ask-2-NEG-ask-PT-NEG |
| 'He does not ask you.' | 'He did not ask you.' |
| 4. 3s→ 2d | |
| si-ka- lap-cHi | si-ka-lapp-a- cHi |

| | |
|---|---|
| ask-2-ask-dO | ask-2-ask-PT-dO |
| 'He asks you.' | 'He asked you.' |
| NEG | |
| si-ka- n-lap-cHi-n | si-ka-n-lapp-a- cHi-n |
| ask-2-NEG-ask-dO-NEG | ask-2-NEG-ask-PT-dO-NEG |
| 'He does not ask you.' | 'He did not ask you.' |
| 5. 3s→ 2p | |
| si-ka-lapp-i | si-ka-lapp-i |
| ask-2-ask- pO | ask-2-ask-pO |
| 'He asks you.' | 'He asked you.' |
| NEG | |
| si-ka-n-lap-i-n | si-ka-n-lapp-i- n |
| ask-2-NEG-ask-pO-NEG | ask-2-NEG-ask-pO-NEG |
| 'He does not ask you.' | 'He did not ask you.' |
| 6. 3s→ 1s | |
| si-a- lap-ma | si-a-lapp-a-ŋ |
| ask-1-ask-1e | ask-I-ask-PT-1e |
| 'He asks me.' | 'He asked me.' |
| NEG | |
| si-a-n-lap-ma-n | si-a-n-lapp-a-ŋ-nen |
| ask-1-NEG-ask-1e-NEG | ask-I-NEG-ask-PT-1e-NEG |
| 'He  does not ask me.' | 'He did not ask me.' |
| 7. 3s→ 1di | |
| si-a-lap-cHi | si-a-lapp-a-cHi |
| ask-1i-ask-dO | ask-Ii-ask-PT-dO |
| 'He asks us.' | 'He asked us.' |
| NEG | |
| si-a- n-lap-cHi-n | si-a-n-lapp-a-cHi-n |
| ask-1i-NEG-ask-dO-NEG | ask-Ii-NEG-ask-PT-dO-n |
| 'He does not ask us.' | 'He did not ask us.' |
| 8. 3s→ 1de | |
| si-a-lap-cHi-ŋa | si-a-lapp-a-cHi-ŋa |
| ask-1-ask-dO-1e | ask-I-ask-PT-dO-1e |
| 'He asks us.' | 'He asked us.' |
| NEG | |
| si-a-n-lap-cHi-ŋa-n | si-a-n-lapp-a-cHi-ŋa-n |
| ask-1-NEG-ask-dO-1e-NEG | ask-I-NEG-ask-PT-dO-1e-NEG |
| 'He does not ask us.' | 'He did not ask us.' |
| 9. 3s→ 1pi | |
| si-a-lapp-i | si-a-lapp-a |
| ask-1i-ask-pO | ask-Ii-ask-PT |
| 'He asks us.' | 'He asked us.' |
| NEG | |
| si-a-n-lapp-i-n | si-a-n-lapp-a-n |
| ask-1i-NEG-ask- pO-NEG | ask-Ii-NEG- ask- PT-NEG |
| 'He does not ask us .' | 'He did not ask us.' |
| 10. 3s→1pe | |
| si-a-lapp-i-ŋa | si-a-lapp-i-ŋa |
| ask-1-ask-pO-1e | ask-I-ask-pO-1e |
| 'He asks us.' | 'He asked us .' |
| NEG | |
| si-a-n-lap-i-ŋa-n | si-a-n-lapp-i-ŋa-n |
| ask-1-NEG-ask-pO-1e-NEG | ask-I-NEG-ask-pO-1e-NEG |
| 'He  does not ask us .' | 'He did not ask us.' |

11. 3d- 3s

| | |
|---|---|
| si-lap-cH-u | si-lapp-a-cH-u |
| ask-dA-3O | ask-PT-dA-3O |
| 'They ask him.' | 'They asked him.' |
| NEG | |
| si- ma-lap-cH-u-n | si-ma-lapp-a-cH-u-n |
| ask-NEG-ask-dA-3O-NEG | ask-NEG-ask-PT-dA-3O-NEG |
| 'They do not ask him.' | 'They did not ask him.' |

12. 3d→3ns

| | |
|---|---|
| si-lap-Ø-cH-u-si | si-lapp-a-cH-u-si |
| ask-dA-3O-nsO | ask-3-ask-PT-dA-3O-nsO |
| 'They ask them.' | 'They asked them.' |
| NEG | |
| si-ma-lap-cH-u-n-si-n | si-ma-lapp-a-cH-u-n-si-n |
| ask-NEG-ask-dA-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG | ask-NEG-ask-PT-dA-3O-NEG-nsO- |
| NEG | |
| 'They do not ask them.' | 'They did not ask them.' |

13 3ns→ 2s

| | |
|---|---|
| si-ka-n-lap | si-ka-n-lapp-a |
| ask-2-3nsA-ask | ask-2-3nsA-ask-PT |
| 'They ask you.' | 'They asked you.' |
| NEG | |
| si-ka- n-lap-nEn | si-ka- n-lapp-a- n |
| ask-2-NEG-ask- NEG | ask-2-NEG-ask-PT-NEG |
| 'They do not ask you.' | 'They did not ask you.' |

14 3ns→2d

| | |
|---|---|
| si-ka- n-lap-cHi | si-ka- n-lapp-a-cHi |
| ask-2-3nsA- ask-dO | ask-2-3 nsA-ask-PT-dO |
| 'They ask you.' | 'They asked you.' |
| NEG | |
| si-ka- n-lap-cHi-n | si-ka- n-lapp-a-cHi-n |
| ask-2-NEG-ask-dO-NEG | ask-2-3sA-NEG-ask-PT-dO-NEG |
| 'They do not ask you.' | 'They did not ask you.' |

15 3ns→ 2p

| | |
|---|---|
| si-ka-n-lapp-i | si-ka-n-lapp-i |
| ask-2-3nsA-ask-pO | ask-2-3 nsA-ask-pO |
| 'They ask you.' | 'They asked you.' |
| NEG | |
| si-ka- n-lapp-i-n | si-ka- n-lap-i-n |
| ask-2-NEG-ask-pO-NEG | ask-2-NEG-ask-pO-NEG |
| 'They do not ask you.' | 'They did not ask you.' |

16 3ns→1s

| | |
|---|---|
| si-a-n-lap-ma | si-a-n-lapp-a-ŋ |
| ask-1-3nsA-ask-1e | ask-1-3nsA-ask-PT-1e |
| 'They ask me.' | 'They asked me.' |
| NEG | |
| si-a- n-lap-ma-n | si-a- n-lapp-a-ŋ-nEn |
| ask-1-NEG-ask-1e-NEG | ask-1-NEG-ask-PT-1e-NEG |
| 'They do not ask me.' | 'They did not ask me.' |

17 3ns→1di

| | |
|---|---|
| si-a-n-lap-cHi | si-a-n-lapp-a-cHi |
| ask-1i-3nsA-ask-NPT-dO | ask-1i-3nsA-ask-PT-dO |
| 'They ask us.' | 'They asked us.' |

NEG

| | |
|---|---|
| si-a- n-lap-cHi-n | si-a-n-lapp-a-n-cHi-n |
| ask-1i-NEG-ask-NPT-dO-NEG | ask-1i-NEG-ask-PT-NEG-dO-NEG |
| 'They do not ask us.' | 'They  did not ask us.' |

18 3ns→1de

| | |
|---|---|
| si-a-n-lap-cHi- ŋa | si-a-n-lapp-a-cHi- ŋa |
| ask-1-3nsA-ask-dO-1e | ask-1-3nsA-ask-PT-dO-1e |
| 'They ask us.' | 'They asked us.' |

NEG

| | |
|---|---|
| si-a- n-lap-cHi-ŋa-n | si-a- n-lapp-a-cHi-ŋa-n |
| ask-1-NEG-ask-dO-1e-NEG | ask-1-NEG-ask-PT-dO-1e-NEG |
| 'They do not ask us.' | 'They did not ask us.' |

19 3ns→1pi

| | |
|---|---|
| si-a-n-lapp-i | si-a-n-lapp-a |
| ask-1i-3nsA-ask-pO | ask-1i-3nsA-ask-PT |
| 'They ask us.' | 'They asked us.' |

NEG

| | |
|---|---|
| si-a- n-lapp-i-n | si-a- n-lapp-a-n |
| ask-1i-NEG-ask-pO-NEG | ask-1i-NEG-ask-PT-NEG |
| 'They do not ask us.' | 'They did not ask us.' |

20 3ns→1pe

| | |
|---|---|
| si-a-n-lapp-i-ŋa | si-a-n-lapp-i-ŋa |
| ask-1-3nsA-ask-NPT-pO-1e | ask-1-3nsA-ask-PT-pO-1e |
| 'They ask us.' | 'They asked us.' |

NEG

| | |
|---|---|
| si-a- n-lapp-i-ŋa-n | si-a- n-lapp-i-ŋa-n |
| ask-1-NEG-ask- pO-1e-NEG | ask-1-NEG-ask-PT-pO-1e-NEG |
| 'They do not ask us.' | 'They did not ask us.' |

21. 3p→3s

| | |
|---|---|
| si-mu-lapp-u | si-mu-lapp-u |
| ask-3pA-ask-3O | ask-3pA-ask-3O |
| 'They ask him.' | 'They asked him.' |

NEG

| | |
|---|---|
| si-ma-n-lapp-u-n | si-ma-n-lapp-u-n |
| ask-3pA-NEG-ask-3O-NEG | ask-3pA-NEG-ask-3O-NEG |
| 'They do not ask him.' | 'They did not ask him.' |

22. 3p→3ns

| | |
|---|---|
| si-mu-lapp-u-si | si-mu-lapp-u-si |
| ask-3pA-ask-3O-nsO | ask-3pA-ask-3O-nsO |
| 'They ask them. ' | 'They asked them.' |

NEG

| | |
|---|---|
| si-ma-n-lapp-u-n-si-n | si-ma-n-lapp-u-n-si-n |
| ask-3pA-NEG-ask-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG | ask-3pA-NEG-ask-3O-NEG-nsO- |
| NEG | |
| 'They do not ask them.' | 'They did not ask them.' |

23. 2s→3s

| | |
|---|---|
| si-ka-lapp- u | si-ka-lapp-u- |
| ask-2-ask-3O | ask-2-ask-3O |
| 'You ask him .' | 'You asked him.' |

NEG

| | |
|---|---|
| si-ka-n-lapp- u- n | si-ka-n-lapp-u-n |
| ask-2-NEG-ask-3O-NEG | ask-2-NEG-ask-3O-NEG |
| 'You do not ask him.' | 'You did not ask him.' |

24. 2s→3ns

| | |
|---|---|
| si-ka-lapp-u-si | si-ka-lapp-u-si |
| ask-2-ask-3O-nsO | ask-2-ask-3O- nsO |
| 'You ask them.' | 'You asked them.' |
| NEG | |
| si-ka-n-lapp-u-n-si-n | si-ka-n-lapp-u-n-si-n |
| ask-2-NEG-ask- 3O-NEG-nsO-NEG | ask-2-NEG-ask-3O- NEG-nsO-NEG |
| 'You do not ask them.' | 'You did not ask them.' |

25. 2s→1s

| | |
|---|---|
| si-ka- lap-ma | si-ka-lapp-a-ŋ |
| ask-2-ask-sO | ask-2-ask-PT-1sO |
| 'You ask me.' | 'You asked me.' |
| NEG | |
| si-ka-n-lap-ma-n | si-ka-n-lapp-a-ŋ-nEn |
| ask-2-NEG-ask-1sO-NEG | ask-2-NEG-ask-PT-1sO-NEG |
| 'You do not ask me.' | 'You did not ask me.' |

26. 2→1

| | |
|---|---|
| si-ka- lap | si-ka- lapp-a |
| ask-2- ask | ask-2-1-ask-PT |
| 'You ask me/us.' | 'You asked me/us.' |
| NEG | |
| si-ka-n-lap-nEn | si-ka-n-lapp-a- n |
| ask-2-NEG-ask-NEG | ask-2-NEG-ask-PT- NEG |
| 'You do not ask me/ us.' | 'You did not ask me/us.' |

27. 2d→3s

| | |
|---|---|
| si-ka-lap-cH-u | si-ka-lapp-a-cH-u |
| ask-2-ask-dA-3O | ask-2-ask-PT-dA-3O |
| 'You ask him.' | 'You asked him.' |
| NEG | |
| si-ka-n-lap-cH-u-n | si-ka-n-lapp-a-cH-u-n |
| ask-2-NEG-ask-dA-3O-NEG | ask-2-NEG-ask-PT-dA-3O-NEG |
| 'You do not ask him.' | 'You did not ask him.' |

28. 2d→3ns

| | |
|---|---|
| si-ka-lap-cH-u-si | si-ka-lapp-a-cH-u-si |
| ask-2-ask-dA-3O-nsO | ask-2-ask-PT-dA-3O-nsO |
| 'You ask them.' | 'You asked them. ' |
| NEG | |
| si-ka-n-lap-cH-u- n-si-n | si-ka-n-lapp-a-cH-u- n-si-n |
| ask-2-NEG-ask- dA-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG- | ask-2-NEG-ask-PT-dA-3O-NEG- |
| nsO-NEG | |
| 'You do not ask them. ' | 'You did not ask them. ' |

29. 2p→3s

| | |
|---|---|
| si-ka-lapp-u-m | si-ka-lapp-u-m |
| ask-2-ask-3O -pA | ask-2-ask-3O -pA |
| 'You ask him.' | 'You asked him.' |
| NEG | |
| si-ka-n-lapp-u-m-nEn | si-ka-n-lapp-u-m-nEn |
| ask-2-NEG-ask-3O-pA-NEG | ask-2-NEG-ask-3O -pA- NEG |
| 'You do not ask him.' | 'You did not ask him.' |

30. 2p→3ns

| | |
|---|---|
| si-ka-lapp-u-m-si-m | si-ka-lapp-u-m-si-m |
| ask-2-ask-3O -pA-nsO-pA | ask-2-ask-3O -pA-nsO-pA |
| 'You ask them. ' | 'You asked them. ' |

NEG

| | |
|---|---|
| si-ka-n-lapp-u-m-si-m-nEn | si-ka-n-lapp-u-m-si-m-nEn |
| ask-2-NEG-ask-3O-pA-nsO-pA-NEG | ask-2-NEG-ask- 3O -pA--nsO-pA- |

NEG

| | |
|---|---|
| 'You do not ask them. ' | 'You did not ask them. ' |
| 31. 1s→3s | |
| si-lapp-u-ŋ | si-lapp-u-ŋ |
| ask -3O-1e | ask-3O -1e |
| 'I ask him.' | 'I asked him.' |

NEG

| | |
|---|---|
| si-ma-lap-ma-n | si-man-lap-pan |
| ask-NEG-ask-1e-NEG | ask-NEG-ask-1eA/NEG/PT |
| 'I do not ask.' | 'I did not ask.' |
| 32 1s→3ns | |
| si-lapp-u-ŋ-si-ŋ | si-lapp-u-ŋ-si-ŋ |
| ask -3O -1e-nsO-1e | ask-3O -1e-nsO-1e |
| 'I ask them.' | 'I asked them.' |

NEG

| | |
|---|---|
| si-ma-lap-ma-n-si-n | si-man-lap-pan-si-n |
| ask-NEG-ask-1e-NEG-nsO-NEG | ask-NEG-ask-1e/NEG/PT-nsO-NEG |
| 'I do not ask them.' | 'I did not ask them .' |
| 33. 1s→2s | |
| silap-na | silap-na |
| ask-1→2 | ask-1→2 |
| 'I ask you.' | 'I asked you.' |

NEG

| | |
|---|---|
| si-ma-lap-na-n | si-ma-lap-na-n |
| ask-NEG-ask-1→2-NEG | ask-NEG-ask-1→2-NEG |
| 'I do not ask you.' | 'I did not ask you.' |
| 34. 1s→2d | |
| silap-na-cHi-ŋ | silap-na-cHi-ŋ |
| ask-1→2-dO-1e | ask-1→2-dO-1e |
| 'I ask you.' | 'I asked you.' |

NEG

| | |
|---|---|
| si-ma-lap-na-cHi-ŋ-nEn | si-ma-lap-na- cHi-ŋ-nEn |
| ask-NEG-ask-1→2-dO-1e-NEG | ask-NEG-ask-1→2-dO-1e-NEG |
| 'I do not ask you.' | 'I did not ask you.' |
| 35. 1s→2p | |
| silap-na-ni-ŋ | silap-na-ni-ŋ |
| ask-1→2-pO-sA | ask-1→2-pO-sA |
| 'I ask you.' | 'I asked you.' |

NEG

| | |
|---|---|
| si-ma-lap-na-ni-ŋ-nEn | si-man-lap- na-ni-ŋ-nEn |
| ask-NEG-ask-1→2-pO-1e-NEG | ask-NEG-ask-1→2-pO-1e-NEG |
| 'I do not ask you.' | 'I did not ask you.' |
| 36. 1di→3s | |
| si-a-lap-cH-u | si-a-lapp-a-cH-u |
| ask-1i-ask-dA-3O | ask-1i-ask-PT-dA-3O |
| 'We ask him.' | 'We asked him.' |

NEG

| | |
|---|---|
| si-a-n-lap- cH-u-n | si-a-n-lapp-a-cH-u-n |
| ask-1i-NEG-ask-dA-3O-NEG | ask-1i-NEG-ask-PT-dA-3O-NEG |

'We do not ask him.' 'We did not ask him.'

37. 1di→3ns

si-a-lap-cH-u-si si-a-lapp-a-cH-u-si

ask-1i-ask-dA-3O-nsO ask-1i-ask-PT-dA-3O-nsO

'We ask them.' 'We asked them. '

NEG

si-a-n-lap-cH-u-n-si-n si-a-n-lapp-a-cH-u-n-si-n

ask-1i-NEG-ask- dA-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG ask-1i-NEG-ask-PT-dA-3O-NEG-nsO- NEG

'We do not ask them.' 'We did not ask them.'

38.1de→3s

si-lap- cH-u- ŋa si-lapp-a-cH-u-ŋa

ask-1-ask-dA-3O- 1e ask-1-ask-PT-dA-3O-1e

'We ask him.' 'We asked him.'

NEG

si-ma-lap-cH-u-ŋa-n si-ma-lapp-a-cH-u-ŋa-n

ask-1-NEG-ask-NPT-dA-3O-sO-1e-NEG ask-NEG-ask-PT-dA-3O-sO-1e-

NEG

'We do not ask him.' 'We did not ask him.'

39. 1de→3ns

silap-cH-u-si-ŋa silapp-a-cH-u-si-ŋa

ask-dA-3O-nsO-1e ask-PT-dA-3O-nsO-1e

'We ask them.' 'We asked them.'

NEG

si-ma-lap-cH-u-si-ŋa-n si-ma-lapp-a-cH-u-si-ŋa-n

ask-NEG-ask-dA-3O-nsO-1e-NEG ask-NEG-ask-PT-dA-3O-nsO-1e-

NEG

'We do not ask them. ' 'We did not ask them.'

40 1de→2s

silap-nE-cHi-ŋa silap-nE-cHi-ŋa

ask-1→2-dA-e ask-1→2-PT-sO-dA-e

'We ask you.' 'We asked you.'

NEG

si-ma-lap-nE-cHi-ŋa-n si-ma-lap-nE-cHi-ŋa-n

ask-NEG-ask-1→2-dA-e-n ask-NEG-ask-1→2-dA-e-n

'We do not ask you.' 'We did not ask you.'

41. 1pi→3s

si-a-lapp-u-m si-a-lapp-u-m

ask-1i-ask-NPT-3O-pA-sO-i ask-1i-ask-3O-pA

'We ask him.' 'We asked him.'

NEG

si-a-n-lapp-u-m-nEn si-a-n-lapp-u-m-nEn

ask-1i-NEG-ask-3O-pA-NEG ask-1i-NEG-ask- 3O-pA-NEG

'We do not ask him.' 'We did not ask him.'

42. 1pi→3ns

si-a-lapp-u-m-si-m si-a-lapp-u-m-si-m

ask-1i-ask-3O-pA-nsO-pA ask-1i-ask-3O-pA-nsO-pA

'We ask them.' 'We asked them.'

NEG

si-a-n-lapp-u-m-si-m-nEn si-a-n-lapp-u-m-si-m-nEn

ask-1i-NEG-ask-3O-pA-nsO-pA-NEG ask-1i-NEG-ask-3O-pA-nsO-pA-

NEG

'We do not ask them.' 'We did not ask them.'

43. 1pe→3s

silapp-u-m-ma silap-mna

| | |
|---|---|
| ask-ask-3O-pA-1e | ask-1peA/PT |
| 'We ask him.' | 'We asked him.' |
| NEG | |
| si-ma-lapp-u-m- ma-n | si-man-lap-pan |
| ask-NEG-ask- 3O-pA-sO-1e-NEG | ask-NEG-ask-1pe/PT/NEG |
| 'We do not ask him.' | 'We did not ask him.' |
| 44. 1pe→3ns | |
| siapp-u-m-si-m-ma | si- lap-mna-si |
| ask-3O-pA-nsO-pA-1e | ask-1peA/PT/-3nsO |
| 'We ask them.' | 'We asked them.' |
| NEG | |
| si-ma-lapp-u-m-si-m-ma-n | si- man-lap-pan-si-n |
| ask-NEG-ask- 3O-pA-nsO-pA-1e-NEG | ask-NEG-ask-1peA/PT/NEG-nsO-NEG |
| 'We do not ask them.' | 'We did not ask them.' |

TABLE 39. Conjugation of polysyllabic transitive verb *silapma* ‘to ask’

**4.3.3**. **S**CHEMATIC FORMS OF TRANSITIVE PARADIGMS.The affixes are added to the last syllable of the polysyllabic stem. They are same as the monosyllabic stems. Therefore, a single schematic form can accommodate conjugation patterns of both mono-syllabic and poly-syllabic transitive verbs. The forms in table 41-44 include the conjugation patterns of a transitive verb in affirmative and negative past and non-past.

| | 3s | 3d | 3p | 2s | 2d | 2p | 1s | 1di | 1de | 1pi | pe |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3s | R-u | R-u-si | R-u-si | ka-R- | ka-R-cHi | ka-R-si | a-R-ma | a-R-cHi | a-R-chi-ŋa | a-R-si | a-R-si-ŋa |
| 3d | R-cH-u | R-cH-u-si | R-cH-u-si | ka-n-R | ka-nR-cHi | ka-n-R-si | a-nR-ma | a-n-R-cHi | a-n-R-cHi-ŋa | a-n-R-i | a-n-R-i-ŋa |
| 3p | mu-R-u | mu-R-u-si | mu-R-u-si | ka-n-R- | ka-n-R-cHi | ka-n-R-i | a-n-R-ma | a-nR-cHi | a-n-R-cHi-ŋa | a-n-R-i- | a-n-R-i-ŋa |

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2s | ka-R-u | ka-R-u-si | ka-R-u-si | | | | ka-R-ma | | ka-R | | ka-R |
| 2d | ka-R-cH-u | ka-R-cH-u-si | ka-R-cH-u-si | | | | ka-R | | ka-R- | | ka-R- |
| 2p | ka-R-u-m | ka-R-u-m-si-m | ka-R-u-m-si-m | | | | ka-R | | ka-R- | | ka-R- |
| 1s | R-u-ŋ | R-u-ŋ-si-ŋ | R-u-ŋ-si-ŋ | R-na | R-cHi-ŋ | R-na-ni-ŋ | | | | | |
| 1di | a-R-cH-u | a-R-cH-u-si | a-R-cH-u-si | | | | | | | | |
| 1de | R-cH-u-ŋa | R-cHu-si-ŋa | R-cH-u-si-ŋa | R-nE-cHi-ŋa | R-nE-cHi-ŋa | R-nE-cHi-ŋa | | | | | |
| 1pi | aR-m | aR-u-msi-m | aR-u-m-si-m | | | | | | | | |
| 1pe | R-u-m-ma | R-u-si-m-ma | R-u-m-si-m-ma | R-nE-cHi-ŋa | R-ne-chi-ŋa | R-nE-cHi-ŋa | | | | | |

TABLE 40. The schematic form of the transitive verb in non-past

| | 3s | 3d | 3p | 2s | 2d | 2p | 1s | 1di | 1de | 1pi | 1pe |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3s | R-u | R-u-si | R-u-si | ka-R-a | ka-R-a-cHi | ka-R-si | a-R-a-ŋ | a-R-a-chi | a-R-a-chi-ŋa | a-R-si | a-R-si-ŋa |
| 3d | R-a-cH-u | R-a-cH-u-si | R-a-cH-u-si | ka-n-R-a | ka-n-R-a-cHi | ka-n-R-si | a-n-R-a-ŋ | a-n-R-a-cHi | a-n-R-a-cHi-ŋa | a-n-R-i | a-n-R-i-ŋa |
| 3p | muR-u | mu-R-u-si | mu-R-u-si | ka-n-R-a | kan-R-a-cHi | ka-n-R-i | a-nR-a-ŋ | a-n-R-a-cHi | an-R-a-cHi-ŋa | a-nR-i- | an-R-i-ŋa |
| 2s | kaR-u | ka-R-u-si | ka-R-u-si | | | | ka-R-a-ŋ | | ka-R-a- | | ka-R-a |
| 2d | kaR-cH | kaR-cH-u-si | kaR-cH-u-si | | | | ka-R-a | | ka-R-a | | ka-R-a |

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | -u | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2p | ka-R-u-m | ka-R-u-m-si-m | ka-R-u-m-si-m | | | | ka-R-a | | ka-R-a | | ka-R-a |
| 1s | R-u-ŋ | R-u-ŋ-si-ŋ | R-u-ŋ-si-ŋ | R-na | R-na-cHi-ŋ | R-na-ni-ŋ | | | | | |
| 1di | a-R-cH-u | a-R-cH-u-si | a-R-cH-u-si | | | | | | | | |
| 1de | R-a-cH-u-nga | R-a-cHu-si-ŋa | R-a-cH-u-si-ŋa | R-nE-cHi-ŋa | R-nE-cHi-ŋa | R-nE-cHi-ŋa | | | | | |
| 1pi | a-R-m | a-R-u-msi-m | a-R-u-m-si-m | | | | | | | | |
| 1pe | R-u-m-ma | R-u-si-m-ma | R-u-m-si-m-ma | R-nE-cHi-ŋa | R-nE-cHi-ŋa | R-nE-cHi-ŋa | | | | | |

TABLE 41. The schematic form of the transitive verb in past

| | 3s | 3d | 3p | 2s | 2d | 2p | 1s | 1di | 1de | 1pi | 1pe |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3s | maR-u-n | ma-R-u-n-si-n | ma-R-u-n-si-n | ka-n-R-nen | ka-nR-chi-n | ka-n-R-i-n | a-n-R-ma-n | a-n-R-chi-n | a-n-R-cHi-ŋa-n | a-n-R-i-n | a-n-R-i-ŋa-n |
| 3d | maR-ch-u-n | ma-R-cH-u-n-si-n | ma-R-cH-u-n-si-n | ka-n-n-R-nen | ka-n-n-R-chi-n | ka-n-n-R-i-n | a-n-n-R-ma-n | a-n-n-R-chi-n | a-n-n-R-cHi-n-ŋa-n | a-n-n-R-i-n | a-n-n-R-i-ŋa-n |
| 3p | ma-n-R-u-n | ma-n-R-u-n-si-n | ma-n-R-u-n-si-n | ka--n-n-R-nen | ka-n-n-R-cHi-n | ka-n-n-R-i-n | a-n-n-R-ma-n | a-n-n-R-cHi-n | a-n-n-R-cHi-ŋa-n | a-n-n-R-i-n | a-n-n-R-i-ŋa-n |
| 2s | ka-n-R-u-n | ka-n-R-u-n-si-n | ka-n-R-u-n-si-n | | | | ka-n-R-ma-n | | ka-n-R-nEn | | ka-n-R-nEn |
| 2d | ka-n-R-ch-u-n | ka-n-R-ch-n-u-n-si-n | ka-n-R-ch-u-n-si-n | | | | ka-n-R-nEn | | ka-n-R-nEn | | ka-n-R-nEn |

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2p | ka-n-R-u-m-nEn | ka-n-R-u-m-si-m-nEn | ka-n-R-u-m-si-m-nEn | | | | ka-n-R-nEn | | ka-n-R-nEn | | ka-n-R-nEn |
| 1s | maR-ma-n | ma-R-ma-n-si-n | ma-R-ma-n-si-n | ma-R-na-n | ma-R-na-chi-ŋ-nEn | ma-R-na-ni-ŋ-nEn | | | | | |
| 1di | a-n-R-cH-u-n | a-n-R-cH-u-n-si-n | a-n-R-cH-u-n-si-n | | | | | | | | |
| 1de | a-n-R-cH-u-n | a-n-R-cH-u-n-si-n | a-n-R-cH-u-n-si-n | ma-R-nE-cHi-ŋa-n | ma-R-nE-cHi-ŋa-n | ma-R-nE-cHi-ŋa-n | | | | | |
| 1pi | a-n-R-u-m-nen | a-n-R-u-m-si-m-nEn | a-n-R-u-m-si-m-nEn | | | | | | | | |
| 1pe | ma-R-u-m-ma-n | ma-R-u- m-si-m-ma-n | ma-R-u-m-si-m-ma-n | ma-R-nE-cHi-ŋa-n | ma-R-nE-cHi-ŋa-n | ma-R-nE-cHi-ŋa-n | | | | | |

TABLE 42. The shematic form of the transitive verb in negative non-past

| | 3s | 3d | 3p | 2s | 2d | 2p | 1s | 1di | 1de | 1pi | 1pe |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3s | ma-R-u-n | ma-R-u-n-si-n | ma-R-u-n-si-n | ka-n-R-a-n | ka-n-R-a-cHi-n | ka-n-R-si-n | a-n-R-a-ŋ-nEn | a-n-R-a-cHi-n | a-nR-a-chi-ŋa-n | a-n-R-si-n | an-R-si-ŋa-n |
| 3d | ma-R-a-cH-u-n | ma-R-a-cH-u-n-si-n | ma-R-a-cH-u-n-si-n | ka-n-R-a-n | ka- n-R-a-cHi-n | ka-n-R-si-n | a-n-R-a-ŋ-nEn | a-n-R-a-cHi-n | a-n-R-a-cHi-ŋa-n | a-n-nR-i-n | a-n- R-i-ŋa-n |
| 3p | ma-nR-u-n | ma-n-R-u-n-si-n | ma-n-R-u-n-si-n | ka-n- R-a-n | ka-n-R-cHi-n | ka-n-R-i-n | a-n-R-a-ŋ-nEn | a-n-R-a-cHi- n | a-n-R-a-cHi-ŋa-n | a-n-R-i-n | a-n- R-i-ŋa-n |
| 2s | ka-n-R-u-n | ka-n-R-u-n-si-n | ka-n-R-u-n-si-n | | | | ka-n-R-a-ŋ-nen | | ka-n-R-a-chi-ŋa-n | | ka-n-R-i-ŋa-n |
| 2d | ka-n-R-a-cH-u-n | ka-n-R-a-cH- u-n-si-n | ka-n-R-a-cH-u-n-si-n | | | | ka-n-R- a-n | | ka-n-R-a- n | | ka-n-R- a-n |

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2p | ka-n-R-u-m-nen | ka-n-R-u-m-si-m-nen | ka-n-R-u-m-si-m-nEn | | | | ka-n-R-nEn | | ka-n-R-nEn | | ka-n-R-nEn |
| 1s | man-R-ban | man-R-ban-si-n | ma-R-ban-si-n | ma-R-na-n | ma-R-na-cHi-ŋ-nEn | ma-R-na-ni-ŋ-nEn | | | | | |
| 1di | a-n-R-a-ch-u-n | a-n-R-a-ch-u-n-si-n | a-n-R-a-ch-u-n-si-n | | | | | | | | |
| 1de | ma-R-a-ch-u-ŋa-n | ma-R-a-ch-u-si-ŋa-n | ma-R-a-cH-u-si-ŋa-n | ma-R-nE-cHi-ŋa-n | ma-R-nE-cHi-ŋa-n | ma-R-nE-cHi-ŋa-n | | | | | |
| 1pi | a-nR-m-nen | a-nR-u-m-si-m-nEn | a-n-R-u-m-si-m-nEn | | | | | | | | |
| 1pe | ma-R-u-m-ma-n | ma-R-u- m-si-m-ma-n | ma-R-u-m-si-m-ma-n | ma-R-nE-cHi-ŋa-n | ma-R-nE-cHi-ŋa-n | ma-R-nE-cHi-ŋa-n | | | | | |

TABLE 43. The schematic form of the transitive verb in negative past

**5.** VOICE. In Limbu voice is distinguished as active and middle on the basis of presence or absence of object in the verb form. The verb in active voice agrees with both agent and object in its conjugation whereas the verb in the middle voice agrees only with the subject. Therefore, the verbs in active conjugation are marked by the object suffixes but the verbs in the middle conjugation are unmarked for objects. The following pairs of verb paradigms in active and middle conjugation in past and non-past exhibit these features:

---

| | Active NPT | Active PT | Middle NPT | Middle PT |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3s | l□ps-u<br>l□ps-a | l□ps-u | l□m | |
| | 'he beats him.' | 'he beat him.' | 'he beats.' | ‘he beat’ |
| 3d | l□m-cH-u | l□ps-a-ch-u | l□m-chi | l□ps-a-chi |
| | 'they beat him.' | 'they beat him.' | 'they beat.' | ‘they beat’ |
| 3p | mu-l□ps-u | mu-l□ps-u | mu-l□m | mu-l□ps-a |
| | 'they beat him.' | 'they beat him.' | 'they beat.' | 'they beat’ |
| 2s | ka-l□ps-u | ka-l□ps-u | ka-l□m | ka-l□ps-a |
| | 'you beat him.' | 'you beat him.' | 'you beat' | 'you beat’ |
| 2dchi | ka-l□m-cH-u | ka-l□ps-a-ch-u | ka-l□m-chi | ka-l□ps-a- |
| | 'you beat him.' | 'you beat him.' | 'you beat.' | 'you beat’ |
| 2p | ka-l□ps-u-m | ka-l□ps-u-m | ka-l□ps-i | ka-l□ps-i |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 'you beat him.' | 'you beat him.' | 'you beat.' | 'you beat’ |
| 1s | l□ps-u- ŋ | l□ps-u- ŋ | l□m-ma | l□ps-a- ŋ |
| | 'I beat him.' | 'I beat him.' | ‘I beat.' | 'I beat’ |
| 1di | a-l□m-cH-u | a-l□ps-a-cH-u | a- l□m-chi- | a-l□ps-a-cHi |
| | ‘we beat him’ | ‘we beat him’ | ‘we beat’ | ‘we beat’ |
| 1de | l□m-ch-u- ŋ-a ŋ-a | l□ps-a-ch-u- ŋ-a | l□m-chi- ŋ-a | l□ps-a-cHi- |
| | ‘we beat him’ | ‘we beat him’ | ‘we beat’ | ‘we beat .’ |
| 1pi | a-l□ps-u-m | a-l□ps-u-m | a-l□ps-i | a-l□ps-i |
| | ‘we beat him’ | ‘we beat him’ | ‘we beat ‘ | ‘we beat’ |
| 1pe | l□ps-u-m-m-a | l□ps-u-m-m-a | l□ps-i- ŋ-a | l□ps-i- ŋ-a |
| | ‘we beat him’ | ‘we beat him’ | ‘we beat’ | ‘we beat’ |

TABLE 44. Comparative paradigms of active and middle verbs

However, middle verb in table 44 has implied third person singular object. So, it is logically transitive though morphologically it is middle. In fact, all the transitive verbs are active verbs and they can be made middle by dropping the object suffix. The conjugation patterns of the active and middle verbs in past and non-past are schematized in the following way:

| | Active | Active | Middle | Middle |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | NPT | PT | NPT | PT |
| 3s | R-u | R-u | R | R-a |
| 3d | R-cH-u | R-a-cH-u | R-cHi | R-a-cHi |
| 3p | mu- R -u | mu R-u | mu-R | mu-R-a |
| 2s | ka-R-u | ka-R-u | ka-R | ka-R-a |
| 2d | ka-R-cH-u | ka-R-a-cH-u | ka-R-cHi | ka-R-a-cHi |
| 2p | ka-R-u-m | ka-R-u-m | ka-R-i | ka-R-i |
| 1s | R-u- ŋ | R-u- ŋ | R-ma | R-a- ŋ |
| 1di | a-R-cH-u | aR-a-cH-u | a-R-cHi- | a-R-a-cHi |
| 1de | R-cH-u- ŋ-a ŋ-a | R-a-cH-u- ŋ-a | R-cHi- ŋ-a | R-a-cHi- |
| 1pi | a-R-u-m | a-R-u-m | aR-i- ŋ-a | a-R-i- ŋ-a |
| 1pe | R-u-m-m-a | R-u-m-m-a | R-i- ŋ-a | R-i- ŋ-a |

TABLE 45. Comparative schematic forms of active and middle verbs

The transitive verbs in middle conjugation and intransitive verbs have the same conjugation paradigm as both of them discard object affixes. The following pairs of transitive verbs in middle conjugation and intransitive verb conjugation prove it:

| Transitive verb in middle conjugation | | Intransitive verb | |
|---|---|---|---|
| NPT | PT | NPT | PT |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3s | l□m | l□ps-a | im | ips-a |
| | 'he beats.' | 'he beat.' | 'he sleeps.' | 'he slept.' |
| 3d | l□m-cHi | l□ps-a-cHi | 'im-chi | 'ips-a-chi |
| | 'they beat.' | 'they beat.' | 'they sleep.' | 'they slept.' |
| 3p | mu-l□m | mu-l□ps-a | mu-im | mu-ips-a |
| | 'they beat' | 'they beat .' | 'they sleep.' | 'they slept.' |
| 2s | ka-l□m | ka-l□ps-a | ka-im | ka-ips-a |
| | 'you beat' | 'you beat.' | 'you sleep.' | 'you slept.' |
| 2d. | ka-l□m-cHi | ka-l□ps-a-cHi | ka-im-chi | ka-ips-a-chi |
| | 'you beat.' | 'you beat.' | 'you sleep.' | 'you slept.' |
| 2p | ka-l□ps-i | ka-l□ps-i | ka-ips-i | ka-ips-i |
| | 'you beat .' | 'you beat.' | 'you sleep.' | 'you slept.' |
| 1s | l□m-ma | l□ps-a-ŋ | im-ma | ips-a- ŋ |
| | I beat' | 'I beat.' | 'I sleep.' | 'I slept.' |
| 1di | a-l□m-cHi | a-l□ps-a-chi | a-im-chi | a-ips-a-chi |
| | 'we beat.' | 'we make weep.' | 'we sleep.' | 'we slept.' |
| 1de | l□m-cHi- ŋa | l□ps-a-chi- ŋa | i-m-chi- ŋa | ips-a-chi- ŋa |
| | 'we beat.' | 'we beat.' | 'we sleep.' | 'we sleep.' |
| 1pi | a-l□ps-i | a-l□ps-i | a-ips-i | a-ips-i |
| | 'we beat.' | 'we beat.' | 'we sleep.' | 'we slept.' |
| 1pe | l□ps-i- ŋa | l□ps-i- ŋa | ips-i- ŋa | ips-i- ŋa |
| | 'we beat.' | 'we beat.' | 'we sleep.' | 'we slept.' |

---

TABLE 46. Comparative paradigms of transitive verbs in middle voice and intransitive verb.

These two types of verb conjugate in the same pattern and, therefore, a single schematic paradigm for their conjugation pattern can be drawn.

---

| | NPT | | PT |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | 3s | R | R-a |
| | | ma-R-nEn | ma-R-a-n |
| 2. | 3d | R-chi | R-a-cHi |
| | ma-R-cHi-n | | ma-R-a-cHi-n |
| 3. | 3p | mu-R | mu-R-a |
| | | man-R-nEn | man-R-a-n |
| 4. | 2s | ka-R | ka-R-a |
| | | kan-R-nEn | kan-R-a-n |
| 5. | 2d | ka-R-cHi | ka-R-a-cHi |
| | | kan-R-cHin | kan-R-a-cHi-n |
| 6. | 2p | ka-R-i | ka-R-i |
| | | kan-R-i-n | kan-R-i-n |
| 7. | 1s | R-ŋa | R-a-ŋ |
| | | ma-R-ŋa-n | ma-n-R-ban |
| 8. | 1d | a-R-cHi | a-R-a-cHi |
| | | a-n-R-cHi-n | a-n-R-a-cHi-n |
| 9. | 1de | R-cHi-ŋa | R-a-cHi-ŋa |
| | | ma-R-cHi-ŋa-n | ma-R-cHi-ŋa-n |
| 10. | 1pi | a-R-i | a-R-a |
| | | a-n-R-i-n | a-n-R-a-n |
| 11. | 1pe | R-i-ŋa | R-i-ŋa or R-mna |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | ma-R-i-ŋan | ma-R-i-ŋa-n or man-R-ban |

TABLE 47. Schematic forms of transitive verbs in middle voice and intransitive verbs.

In conjugation pattern, intransitive and middle verbs look identical. However, there is a difference between the two in that intransitive verbs can not undergo active conjugation but middle verbs can. Middle verbs are logically transitive verbs because they have implied objects though they do not contain the overt object affix. On the basis of voice, verbs are divided into active and middle. Active verb contains transitive verbs and middle verb contains intransitive and reflexive verbs. They are presented in figure 14.

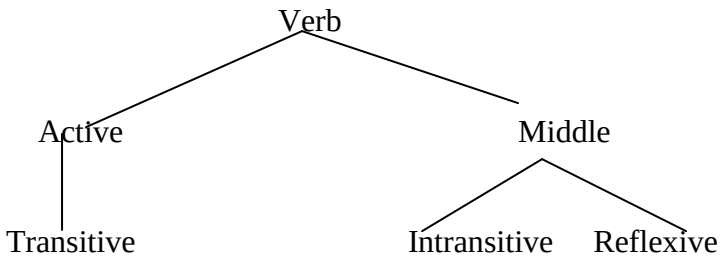


Figure 14. Classification of verbs

**6.** SUMMARY. Chhatthare Limbu does not fit into any morphological typology. Its verb has twenty types of verb stems and they can be classified into two stem classes. Fifteen types of verb stems alternate between vocalic and consonantal suffixes. The alternation is caused by stem final deletion and assimilation. Five types of verb stems remain stable throughout the paradigm. On the basis of conjugation patterns there are three types of verbs –intransitive, reflexive and transitive – in the language. They have mono-syllabic and poly-syllabic roots. Limbu verb roots are basically mono-syllabic and the polysyllabic roots are merely grammaticalizations of multiple-root stems. Mono-syllabic and polysyllabic verbs have the same conjugation pattern in that the last syllable of the polysyllabic verb identifies the monosyllabic verb as all the affixes are added to it. Intransitive and reflexive verbs exhibit eleven different forms and transitive verb marks 44 different forms out of 75 theoretically possible forms. Simple transitive, ditransitive and causative verbs have the same conjugation patterns. Voice is differentiated as active and middle on the basis of the presence or absence of object morpheme in the verb form. All transitive verbs are in active voice and they are shifted to middle voice by dropping the object morphemes. So, the transitive verbs in middle conjugation are morphologically intransitive verbs though semantically they are still transitive. Similarly, reflexive verbs exhibit middle voice and intransitive conjugation pattern morphologically but they index active voice and transitive verb meaning semantically.

CHAPTER 10
IDENTIFICATION OF MORPHEMES

**1.** INTRODUCTION. In a verb form all the grammatical categories are not overtly marked. Some of them exist in covert forms. These affixes have certain places in a word where they occur. They can occur before the root or after the root. They may occur in a certain position in the prefixal string or suffixal string. Animacy hierarchy also plays a significant role in the occupation of a certain slot by a person marking affix. In this chapter, occurrences of different affixes in slots are shown in the verb form. The slots for covert affixes are exhibited in their respective orders. The role of animacy hierarchy is also shown. Finally, all the affixes are identified and they are explained in the chapter.

**2.** MARKING OF COVERT AFFIXES IN INTRANSITIVE CONJUGATION. Intransitive verbs conjugate for 11 categories of person- first person, second person and third person, their singular, dual and plural forms and exclusive and inclusive forms of first person non-singular verbs. 11 forms for past and 11 forms for non-past of the finite verb forms and their corresponding negative forms numbering 22 forms constitute the total of 44 theoretically possible verb forms. However, in practice, all the affixes are not overtly marked.

The third person singular subject is unmarked in the verb form and it is represented in the verb paradigm by a zero morpheme <-Ø> in its supposed place of occurrence. The subject singularity of second person is unmarked. It is shown in the paradigm by a zero morpheme <O>. Unmarked singularity of the first person subject is indexed by a zero morpheme in its slot. The non-past is formally unmarked but the past is marked by the suffix <-a>. The unmarked non-past is exhibited in its slot by a zero morpheme in the paradigm. The past morpheme <-a> is deleted when it occurs before the plural suffix <-i> and morphemic difference between the past and non-past is neutralized at the surface level. However, the unmarked form of the past is semantically very significant and therefore is marked by a zero morpheme <O> in the paradigm. The plural suffix <-i> can be unmarked if it is preceded by the past suffix <-a>.

The paradigm in table 48 shows the occurrence of morphemes, marked and unmarked, in regular order form in the paradigm.

---

| | NPT | PT |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | 3s | |
| | **Ø**- lok-Ø | Ø-lokk-a |
| | 3sS-runs-NPT | 3sS-run-PT |
| | 'He runs.' | 'He ran.' |
| NEG | Ø- ma-lok-Ø-nEn | Ø- ma-lokk-a-n |
| | 3sS-NEG-run-NPT-NEG | 3sS-NEG-run-PT-NEG |
| | 'He doesn't run.' | 'He didn't run.' |
| 2. | 3d | |
| | Ø-lok-Ø-c$^{h}$i | Ø-lokk-a-c$^{h}$i |
| | 3-run-NPT-dS | 3-run-PT-dS |
| | 'They run.' | 'They ran.' |
| NEG. | Ø-ma-lok-Ø-c$^{h}$i-n | Ø-ma-lokk-a-c$^{h}$i-n |
| | 3-NEG-run-NPT-dS-NEG | 3-NEG-run-PT-dS-NEG |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | 'They don't run.' | 'They didn't run.' |
| 3. | 3p | |
| | mu-lok-Ø | mu-lokk-a |
| | 3pS-run-NPT | 3pS-run-PT |
| | 'They run.' | 'They ran.' |
| NEG | ma-n-lok-Ø-nEn | ma-n-lokk-a-n |
| | 3pS- NEG-run-NPT-NEG | 3pS-NEG-go-PT-NEG |
| | 'They don't run.' | 'They didn't run.' |
| 4. | 2s. | |
| | ka-lok-Ø-Ø | ka-lokk-a-Ø |
| | 2-run-NPT-sS | 2-run-PT-sS |
| | 'You run.' | 'You ran.' |
| NEG | ka-n-lok-Ø-Ø-nEn | ka-n-lokk-a-Ø-n |
| | 2-NEG-run-NPT-sS-NEG | 2-NEG-run-PT-sS-NEG |
| | 'You don't run.' | 'You didn't run.' |
| 5. | 2d | |
| | ka-lok-Ø-c$^{h}$i | ka-lokk-a-c$^{h}$i |
| | 2-run-NPT-dS | 2-run-PT-dS |
| | 'You run.' | 'You ran.' |
| NEG. | ka-n-lok-Ø-c$^{h}$i-n | ka-n-lokk-a-c$^{h}$i-n |
| | 2-NEG-run-NPT-dS-NEG | 2-NEG-run-PT-dS-NEG |
| | 'You don't run.' | 'You didn't run.' |
| 6. | 2p | |
| | ka-lokk-Ø-i | ka-lokk-Ø-i |
| | 2-run-NPT-pS | 2-run-PT-pS |
| | 'You run.' | 'You ran.' |
| NEG. | ka-n-lokk-Ø-i-n | ka-n-lokk-Ø-i-n |
| | 2-NEG-run-NPT-pS-NEG | 2-NEG-run-PT-pS-NEG |
| | 'You don't run.' | 'You didn't run.' |
| 7. | 1s | |
| | lok-Ø- Ø- ŋa | lokk-a- Ø- ŋ |
| | go-NPT-sS-1e | go-PT-sS-1e |
| | 'I run.' | 'I ran.' |
| NEG | ma-lokk-Ø- Ø -ŋa-n | man-lok-pan |
| | NEG-run-NPT-sS-1e-NEG | NEG-run-1sS/NPT/NEG |
| | 'I don't run.' | 'I didn't run.' |
| 8. | 1d | |
| | a-lok-Ø-c$^{h}$i | a-lokk-a-c$^{h}$i |
| | 1i-run-NPT-dS | 1i -run-PT-dS |
| | 'We run.' | 'We ran.' |
| NEG | a-n-lok-Ø-c$^{h}$i-n | a-n-lokk-a-c$^{h}$i-n |
| | 1i-NEG-run-NPT-dS-NEG | 1i-NEG-run-PT-dS-NEG |
| | 'We don't run.' | 'We didn't run.' |
| 9. | 1de | |
| | lok-Ø- c$^{h}$i-ŋa | lokk-a-c$^{h}$i-ŋa |
| | 1i-run-NPT-dS-1e | 1i-run-PT-dS-1e |
| | 'We run.' | 'We ran.' |
| NEG. | ma-lok-Ø-c$^{h}$i-ŋa-n | ma-lokk-a-c$^{h}$i-ŋa-n |
| | NEG-run-NPT-dS-1e-NEG | NEG-run-PT-dS-1e-NEG |
| | 'We don't run.' | 'We didn't run.' |
| 10. | 1pi | |
| | a-lokk-Ø-i | a-lokk-Ø- i |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | 1i -run-NPT-pS | 1i-run-PT-pS |
| | 'We run.' | 'We ran.' |
| or | a-lok-Ø-Ø | a-lokk-a-Ø |
| | 1i-run-NPT-pS | Ii -run-PT-pS |
| | 'We run.' | 'We ran.' |
| NEG. | a-n-lokk-Ø-i- n | a-n-lokk-a-Ø-n |
| | 1i -NEG-go-NPT-pS-NEG | 1i-NEG-go-PT-pS-NEG |
| | 'We don't go.' | 'We didn't go.' |
| 11. 1pe | | |
| | lokk- Ø- i- -ŋa | lokk-O-i-Na |
| | run-NPT-pS-1e | run-PT-pS-1e |
| | 'We ran.' | We ran.' |
| NEG | | |
| | ma-lokk-Ø-i-ŋa-n | ma-lokk-O-i-Na-n |
| | NEG-run-NPT-pS-1e-NEG | NEG-run-PT-pS-1e-NEG |
| | 'We don't run.' | 'We didn't run.' |
| | | or |
| | | lok-kna |
| | | run-1peS/PT |
| | | 'We run.' |
| | | NEG |
| | | man-lok-pan |
| | | NEG-run-1peS/PT/NEG |
| | | 'We did not run.' |

TABLE 48. Marking of covert affixes in the conjugation of intransitive verb lok-ma 'to run'

**3.** MARKING OF COVERT AFFIXES IN REFLEXIVE VERB CONJUGATION

The reflexive verb theoretically conjugates for past, non-past, affirmative and negative forms in eleven categories of person. It doesn't distinguish between past and non-past forms in overt form. However, they are indicated in their place of occurrence by a zero morpheme <-O> in the paradigm. Singularity of the third person subject is formally unmarked but it is indicated in its place of occurrence in the paradigm by a zero morpheme <-O>. Formally, unmarked subject singularity of the second person and the first person is also marked in its place of occurrence by a zero morpheme <-O> in the paradigm.

| | NPT | PT |
|---|---|---|
| 1. 3s | | |
| | Ø-l□m-c$^{h}$in-Ø | Ø-l□m-c$^{h}$in-Ø |
| | 3sS-beat-REFL-NPT | 3sS-beat-REFL-PT |
| | 'He beats himself.' | 'He beat himself.' |
| NEG. | | |
| | Ø -ma-l□m-c$^{h}$in-Ø-nEn | Ø -ma-l□m-c$^{h}$in-Ø-nEn |
| | 3sS-NEG-beat-REFL-NPT-NEG | 3sS-NEG-beat-REFL-PT-NEG |
| | 'He doesn't beat himself.' | 'He didn't beat himself.' |
| 2.3d | | |
| | Ø-l□m-nE-Ø-c$^{h}$i | Ø-l□m-nE-Ø-c$^{h}$i |
| | 3-beat-RECIP-NPT-dS | 3-beat-RECIP-PT-dS |
| | 'They beat each other.' | 'They beat each other.' |
| NEG | | |
| | Ø-ma-l□m-nE-Ø-c$^{h}$i-n | Ø-ma-l□m-nE-Ø-c$^{h}$i-n |

3-NEG-beat-RECIP-NPT-dS-NEG 3-NEG-beat-RECIP-PT-dS-NEG
'They don't beat each other.' 'They didn't beat each other.'

3. 3p

mu-l□m- Ø-c$^{h}$in mu-l□m -Ø-c$^{h}$in
3pS-beat-NPT-REFL 3pS-beat-PT-REFL
'They beat themselves.' 'They beat themselves.'

NEG

ma-n-l□m- c$^{h}$in-Ø-nEn ma-n-l□m- c$^{h}$in-Ø-nEn
3pS-NEG-beat-REFL- NPT-NEG 3pS- NEG-beat-REFL-PT-NEG
They don't beat themselves.' 'They didn't beat themselves.'

Or

mu-l□m-nE-Ø-c$^{h}$i mu-l□m-nE-Ø-c$^{h}$i
3pS-beat-RECIP-NPT-pS 3pS-beat-RECIP-PT-pS
'They beat each other.' 'They beat each other.'

NEG

ma-n-l□m-nE-Ø-c$^{h}$i-n ma-n-l□m-nE-Ø-c$^{h}$i-n
3pS-NEG-beat-RECIP-NPT-pS-NEG 3pS- NEG-beat-RECIP-PT-pS-NEG
They don't beat each other.' 'They didn't beat each other.'

4. 2s

ka-l□m-c$^{h}$in-Ø-Ø ka-l□m-c$^{h}$in-Ø-Ø
2-beat-REFL-NPT-sS 2-beat-REFL-PT-sS
'You beat yourself.' 'You beat yourself.'

NEG

ka-n-l□m-c$^{h}$in-Ø-Ø-nEn ka-n-l□m-c$^{h}$in-Ø-Ø-nEn
2-NEG-beat-REFL-NPT-sS-NEG 2-NEG-beat-REFL-PT-sS-NEG
'You don't beat yourself. 'You don't beat yourself.

5. 2ns-

ka- l□m-nE-Ø-c$^{h}$i ka- l□m-nE-Ø-c$^{h}$i
2-beat-RECIP-NPT-nsS 2-beat-RECIP-PT-nsS
'You beat each other.' 'You beat each other.'

NEG

ka-n-l□m-nE-Ø-c$^{h}$i-n ka-n-l□m-nE-Ø-c$^{h}$i-n
2-NEG-beat-RECIP-NPT-nsS-NEG 2-NEG-beat-RECIP-PT-nsS-NEG
'You don't beat each other.' 'You don't beat each other.'

6. 1s

l□m-c$^{h}$in-Ø- Ø na l□m-c$^{h}$in-Ø- Ø na
beat- REFL -NPT-sS-1e beat- REFL -PT-sS-1e
'I beat myself.' 'I beat myself.'

NEG

ma-l□m-c$^{h}$in-Ø- Ø-na-n man-l□m-c$^{h}$im-ban
NEG-beat-REFL-NPT-sS-1e-NEG NEG-beat-REFL- 1sS/PT/NEG
'I don't beat myself.' 'I didn't beat myself.'

7. 1i

a-l□m-nE-Ø-c$^{h}$i a-l□m-nE-Ø-c$^{h}$i
1i-beat-RECIP-NPT-nsS 1i-beat-RECIP-PT-nsS
'We beat each other.' 'We beat each other.'

NEG.

a-n-l□m-nE-Ø-c$^{h}$i- n a-n-l□m-nE-Ø-c$^{h}$i-n
1i-NEG-beat-RECIP-NPT-nsS-NEG 1i-NEG-beat-RECIP-PT-nsS-NEG
'We don't beat each other.' 'We don't beat each other.'

8. 1nse

l□m-nE-Ø-c$^{h}$i-ŋa l□m-nE-Ø-c$^{h}$i-ŋa

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | beat-RECIP-NPT-nsS-1e | beat-RECIP-PT-nsS-1e |
| | 'We beat each other.' | 'We beat each other.' |
| NEG | | |
| | ma-l□m-nE-Ø-c$^{h}$i-ŋa-n | ma-l□m-nE-Ø-c$^{h}$i-ŋa-n |
| NEG-beat-RECIP-NPT-dS-1e-NEG | | NEG-beat-RECIP-PT-dS-1e-NEG |
| | 'We don't beat each other.' | 'We didn't beat each other.' |
| 9. 1pi | | |
| | a-l□m-c$^{h}$in-Ø Ø | a-l□m-c$^{h}$in-Ø-Ø |
| | 1i-beat-REFL-NPT-pS | 1i-beat-REFL-PT-pS |
| | 'We beat ourselves.' | 'We beat ourselves.' |
| NEG | | |
| | a-n-l□m-c$^{h}$in-Ø-Ø- nEn | a-n-l□m-c$^{h}$in-Ø-Ø- nEn |
| 1i-NEG-beat-Refl-NPT-pS-NEG | | 1i-NEG-beat-Ref-PT-pS-NEG |
| | 'We don't beat ourselves.' | 'We didn't beat ourselves.' |

TABLE 49. Marking of covert affixes in the conjugation of reflexive verb *l□mcHimma* 'to beat oneself'

**4**. MARKING OF COVERT AFFIXES IN TRANSITIVE VERB FORMS

The transitive conjugation of verbs theoretically have 75 forms. However, Chhatthare Limbu distinguishes only 44 forms. It can't distinguish between dual and plural forms of the third person object. In both cases the suffix <-si> is used. Similarly, it doesn't distinguish between dual and plural forms of third person agent. It uses <-m -n -N> in both cases and is labeled as third person non-singular agent 3nsA . In 2→1 paradigms, only 2s→1s is distinguishable as *ka-l□m-ma* but the rest of the forms are all identical. It uses the same form *ka-l□m* for 2d→1s, 2d→1d, 2d→1p, 2p→1s, 2p→1d and 2p→1p. Likewise, it uses the same form *l□m-nE-c$^{h}$i-ŋa* in 1d→2s, 1d→2d, 1d→2p, 1p→2s, 1p→2d and 1p→2p configurations. A good number of affixes are unmarked in verb forms. Third person singular agent, singularities of third person, second person and first person objects, agent and subject singularities of second person and first person, third person nonsingular agent before the negative marker and singularity of second person object in 1-2 configuration are formally unmarked in the verb forms but they are marked in the paradigm by zero marking <O>. The 44 conjugation forms are given below:

| | NPT | PT |
|---|---|---|
| 1. 3s-3s | **Ø**-l□ps-Ø-u-Ø | Ø-l□ps-Ø-u-Ø |
| | 3sA-beat-NPT-3O-sO | 3sA-beat-PT-3O-sO |
| | 'He beats him.' | 'He beat him.' |
| NEG. | Ø-ma-l□ps-Ø-u- n-Ø | Ø-ma-l□ps-Ø-u-n- Ø |
| | 3sA-NEG-beat-NPT-3O-NEG-sO | 3sA-NEG-beat-PT-3O-NEG-sO |
| | 'He doesn't beat him.' | 'He didn't beat him.' |
| 2. 3s-3ns | Ø-l□ps-Ø-u-si | Ø-l□ps-Ø-u-si |
| | 3sA-beat-NPT-3O-nsO | 3sA-beat-PT-3O-nsO |
| | 'He beats them.' | He beat them.' |
| NEG | Ø-ma-l□ps-Ø-u-n-si-n | Ø-ma-l□ps-Ø-u-n-si-n |
| | 3sA-NEG-beat-NPT-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG | 3sA-NEG-beat-PT-3O-NEG-nsO- |
| NEG | | |
| | 'He doesn't beat them.' | 'He didn't beat them.' |
| 3. 3s-2s | ka- Ø- l□m Ø Ø | ka- Ø- l□ps-a-Ø |
| | 2-3sA- beat-NPT-sO | 2-3sA-beat-PT-sO |
| | 'He beats you.' | 'He beat you.' |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| NEG. | ka-Ø-n-l□m-Ø-Ø-nEn | ka- Ø- n-l□ps-a-Ø-n |
| | 2-3sA-NEG-beat-NPT-sO-NEG | 2- 3sA-NEG-beat-PT-sO-NEG |
| | ‘He doesn’t beat you.’ | He didn’t beat you.’ |
| 4. 3s-2d | ka- Ø- l□m-Ø-c$^{h}$i | ka-Ø-l□ps-a-c$^{h}$i |
| | 2-3sA-beat-NPT-dO | 2-3sA-beat-PT-dO |
| | ‘He beats you.’ | ‘He beat you.’ |
| NEG | ka-Ø-n-l□m-Ø-c$^{h}$i-n | ka- Ø- n-l□ps-a-c$^{h}$i-n |
| | 2-3sA-NEG-beat-NPT-dO-NEG | 2-3sA-NEG-beat-PT-dO-NEG |
| | 'He doesn’t beat you.’ | ‘He didn't beat you.’ |
| 5. 3s-2p | ka-Ø-l□ps-Ø-i | ka-Ø-l□ps-Ø-i |
| | 2-3sA-beat-NPT-pO | 2-3sA-beat-PT-pO |
| | ‘He beats you.’ | ‘He beat you.’ |
| NEG. | ka-Ø-n-l□ps-Ø-i-n | ka-Ø-n-l□ps-Ø-i-n |
| | 2-3sA-NEG-beat-NPT-pO-NEG | 2-3sA-NEG-beat-PT-pO-NEG |
| | ‘He doesn’t beat you.’ | 'He didn’t beat you.’ |
| 6. 3s-1s | a-Ø-l□m-Ø-Ø-ma | a-Ø-l□ps-a-Ø- Ø- ŋ |
| | 1-3sA-beat-NPT-sO-1e | 1-3sA-beat-PT-sO-1e |
| | ‘He beats me.’ | 'He beat me.’ |
| NEG | a-Ø-n-l□m-Ø- Ø-ma-n | a-Ø-n-l□ps-a-Ø- ŋ-nEn |
| | 1-3sA-NEG-beat-NPT-sO-1e-NEG | 1-3sA-NEG-beat-PT-sO-1e-NEG |
| | ‘He doesn’t beat me.’ | ‘He didn’t beat me.’ |
| 7. 3s-1d | a-Ø-l□m-Ø-c$^{h}$i | a-Ø -l□ps-a-c$^{h}$i |
| | 1i-3sA-beat-NPT-dO | 1i-3sA-beat-PT-dO |
| | ‘He beats us.’ | ‘He beat us.’ |
| NEG | a-Ø -n-l□m-Ø-c$^{h}$i-Ø-n | a-Ø-n-l□ps-a-c$^{h}$i-n |
| | 1i-3sA-NEG-beat-NPT-dO-NEG | 1i-3sA-NEG-beat-PT-dO-NEG |
| | ‘He doesn’t beat us.’ | ‘He didn’t beat us.’ |
| 8. 3s-1de | a-Ø -l□m-Ø-c$^{h}$i-ŋa | a-Ø-l□ps-a-c$^{h}$i-ŋa |
| | 1-3sA-beat-NPT-dO-1e | 1-3sA-beat-PT-dO-1e |
| | ‘He beats us.’ | ‘He beat us.’ |
| NEG | a-Ø-n-l□m-Ø-c$^{h}$i-ŋa-n | a-Ø-n-l□ps-a-c$^{h}$i-ŋa-n |
| | 1-3sA-NEG-beat-NPT-dO-1e-NEG | 1-3sA-NEG-beat-PT-dO-1e-NEG |
| | ‘He doesn’t beat us.’ | ‘He didn’t beat us.’ |
| 9. 3s-1pi | a-Ø-l□ps- Ø- i | a-Ø-l□ps-Ø-i |
| | 1i-3sA-beat-NPT-pO | 1i-3sA-beat-PT-pO |
| | ‘He beats us.’ | ‘He beat us.’ |
| NEG | a-Ø-n-l□ps-Ø-i-n | a-Ø-n-l□ps-Ø-i-n |
| | 1i-3sA-NEG-beat-NPT-pO-NEG | 1i-3sA-NEG-beat-PT-pO-NEG |
| | ‘He doesn’t beat us.’ | ‘He didn’t beat us. |
| or | | |
| | a-Ø-l□m-Ø-Ø | a-Ø-l□ps-a-Ø |
| | 1i-3sA-beat-NPT-pO | 1-3sA-beat-PT-pO |
| | ‘He beats us.’ | ‘He beat us.’ |
| NEG | | |
| | a-Ø-n-l□m Ø- Ø- nEn | a-Ø-n-l□ps-a- Ø-n |
| | 1i-3sA-NEG-beat-NPT-pO-NEG | 1i-3sA- NEG-beat-PT-pO-NEG |
| | ‘He doesn't beat us.’ | ‘He didn't beat us.’ |
| 10. 3s-1pe | a-Ø-l□ps-Ø-i-ŋa | a-Ø-l□ps-Ø-i-ŋa |
| | 1-3sA-beat-NPT-pO-1e | 1-3sA-beat-PT-pO-1e |
| | ‘He beats us.’ | ‘He beat us.’ |
| NEG. | a-Ø-n-l□ps-Ø-i-ŋa-n | a-Ø-n-l□ps-Ø-i-ŋa-n |
| | 1-3sA-NEG-beat-NPT-pO-1e-NEG | 1-3sA-NEG-beat-PT-pO-1e-NEG |
| | ‘He doesn't beat us.’ | ‘He didn’t beat us.’ |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 11. 3d-3s | Ø-l□m-c$^{h}$-u -Ø | Ø-l□ps-a-c$^{h}$-u-Ø |
| | 3- beat-dA-3O-sO | 3-beat-PT-dA-3O-sO |
| | ‘They beat him.’ | ‘They beat him.’ |
| NEG. | Ø-ma-l□m-Ø-c$^{h}$-u-n-Ø | Ø-ma-l□ps-a-c$^{h}$-u-n-Ø |
| | 3-NEG-beat-NPT-dA-3O-NEG-sO | 3-NEG-beat-PT-dA-3O-NEG-sO |
| | ‘They don’t beat him.’ | ‘They didn’t beat him.’ |
| 12. 3d-3ns | Ø-l□m-Ø-c$^{h}$-u-si | Ø-l□ps-a-c$^{h}$-u-si |
| | 3-beat-NPT-dA-3O-nsO | 3-beat-PT-dA-3O-nsO |
| | ‘They beat them.’ | ‘They beat them.’ |
| NEG | Ø-ma-l□m-Ø-c$^{h}$-u-n-si-n | Ø-ma-l□ps-a-c$^{h}$-u-n-si-n |
| | 3-NEG-beat-NPT-dA-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG | 3- NEG-beat-PT-dA-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG |
| | ‘They don’t beat them.’ | They didn’t beat them.’ |
| 13.. 3ns -2s | ka-n-l□m-Ø-Ø | ka-n-l□ps-a-Ø |
| | 2-3nsA-beat NPT-sO | 2-3nsA-beat-PT-sO |
| | ‘They beat you.’ | ‘They beat you.’ |
| NEG | ka-Ø- n-l□m-Ø-Ø-nEn | ka-Ø-n-l□ps-a- Ø- n |
| | 2-3nsA-NEG-beat-NPT-sO- NEG | 2-3nsA-NEG-beat-PT-sO- NEG |
| | ‘They don’t beat you.’ | ‘They didn’t beat you.’ |
| 14. 3ns-2d | ka- n-l□m-Ø-c$^{h}$i | ka- n-l□ps-a-c$^{h}$i |
| | 2-3nsA-beat-NPT-dO | 2-3nsA-beat-PT-dO |
| | ‘They beat you.’ | ‘They beat you.’ |
| NEG. | ka-Ø-n-l□m-Ø-c$^{h}$i-n | ka-Ø-n-l□ps-a-c$^{h}$i-n |
| | 2-3nsA-NEG-beat-NPT-dO-NEG | 2-3nsA-NEG-beat-PT-dO-NEG |
| | ‘They don’t beat you.’ | ‘They didn’t beat you.’ |
| 15. 3ns-2p | ka-n-l□ps-Ø-i | ka-n-l□ps-Ø-i |
| | 2-3nsA-beat-NPT-pO | 2-3nsA-beat-PT-pO |
| | ‘They beat you.’ | ‘They beat you.’ |
| NEG. | ka-Ø-n-l□ps-Ø-i-n | ka-Ø-n-l□ps-Ø-i-n |
| | 2-3nsA-NEG-beat-NPT-pO-NEG | 2-3nsA-NEG-beat-PT-pO-NEG |
| | ‘They don’t beat you.’ | ‘They didn’t beat you.’ |
| 16. 3ns-1s | a-n-l□m-Ø- Ø-ma | a- n-l□ps-a- Ø-ŋ |
| | 1-3nsA-beat-NPT-sO-1e | 1-3nsA-beat-PT-sO-1e |
| | ‘They beat me.’ | ‘They beat me.’ |
| NEG | a-Ø-n-l□m-Ø- Ø-ma-n | a-Ø-n-l□ps-a-Ø-ŋ-nEn |
| | 1-3nsA-NEG-beat-NPT-sO-1e-NEG | 1-3nsA-NEG-beat-PT-sO-1e-NEG |
| | ‘They don’t beat me.’ | ‘They didn’t beat me.’ |
| 17. 3ns-1d | a- n-l□m-Ø-c$^{h}$i | a- n-l□ps-a-c$^{h}$i |
| | 1i-3nsA -beat-NPT-dO | 1i-3nsA-beat-PT-dO |
| | ‘They beat us.’ | ‘They beat us.’ |
| NEG. | a-Ø-n-l□m-Ø-c$^{h}$i-n | a-Ø-n-l□ps-a-c$^{h}$i-n |
| | 1i-3nsA-NEG-beat-NPT-dO-NEG | 1-3nsA-NEG-beat-PT-dO-NEG |
| | ‘They don’t beat us.’ | ‘They didn’t beat us.’ |
| 18. 3ns-1de | a- n-l□m-Ø-c$^{h}$i-ŋa | a- n-l□ps-a-c$^{h}$i-ŋa |
| | 1-3nsA-beat-NPT-dO-1e | 1-3nsA-beat-PT-dO-1e |
| | ‘They beat us.’ | ‘They beat us.’ |
| NEG | a-Ø-n-l□m-Ø-c$^{h}$i-ŋa-n | a-Ø -n-l□ps-a-c$^{h}$i-ŋa-n |
| | 1-3nsA-NEG-beat-NPT-dO-1e-NEG | 1-3 nsA-NEG-beat-PT-dO-1e-NEG |
| | ‘They don’t beat us.’ | ‘They didn’t beat us.’ |
| 19. 3ns-1pi | a- n-l□ps-Ø-i | a- n-l□ps-a-Ø |
| | 1i-3nsA-beat-NPT-pO | 1i-3nsA-beat-PT-pO |
| | ‘They beat us.’ | ‘They beat us.’ |
| | | Or |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | | a-n-l□ps-Ø-i<br>1i-3nsA-beat-PT-pO<br>‘They beat us.’ |
| NEG | a-Ø -n-l□ps-Ø-i-n<br>1i-3nsA-NEG-beat-NPT-pO-NEG<br>‘They don’t beat us.’ | a-Ø-n-l□ps-a-Ø- n<br>1i-3nsA-NEG-beat-PT-pO-NEG<br>‘They didn’t beat us.’<br>Or<br>a- Ø-n-l□ps-Ø-i-n<br>1i-3nsA-NEG-beat-PT-pO-NEG<br>‘They don’t beat us.’ |
| 20. 3ns-pe | a- n-l□ps-Ø-i-ŋa<br>1-3nsA-beat-NPT-pO1e<br>‘They beat us.’ | a- n-l□ps-Ø-i-ŋa<br>1-3nsA-beat-PT-pO-1e<br>‘They beat us.’ |
| NEG | a-Ø-n-l□ps-Ø-i-ŋa-n<br>1-3nsA-NEG-beat-NPT-pO-1e-NEG<br>‘They don’t beat us.’ | a-Ø-n-l□ps-Ø-i-ŋa-n<br>1-3nsA-NEG-beat-PT-pO-1e-NEG<br>‘They didn’t beat us.’ |
| 21. 3p-3s | mu-l□ps-Ø-u- Ø<br>3pA-beat-NPT-3O-sO<br>‘They beat him.’ | mu-l□ps-Ø-u-Ø<br>3pA-beat-PT-3O-sO<br>‘They beat him.’ |
| NEG. | ma-n-l□ps-Ø-u-n-Ø<br>3pA-NEG-beat-NPT-3O-NEG-sO<br>‘They don’t beat him.’ | ma-n-l□ps-Ø-u-n-Ø<br>3pA-NEG-beat-PT-3O-NEG-sO<br>‘They didn’t beat him.’ |
| 22. 3p-3ns | mu-l□ps- Ø-u-si<br>3pA-beat-NPT-3O-nsO<br>‘They beat them.’ | mu-l□ps-Ø-u-si<br>3pA-beat-NPT-3O-nsO<br>‘They beat them.’ |
| NEG | ma-n-l□ps-Ø-u-n-si-n<br>3pA-NEG-beat-NPT-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG<br>‘They don’t beat them.’ | ma-n-l□ps-Ø-u-n-si-n<br>3pA-NEG-beat-PT-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG<br>‘They didn’t beat them.’ |
| 23. 2s-3s | ka-l□ps-Ø-Ø-u-Ø<br>2-beat-NPT-sA-3O-sO<br>‘You beat him.’ | ka-l□ps-Ø-Ø- u-Ø<br>2-beat-PT-sA-3O-sO<br>‘You beat him.’ |
| NEG | ka-n-l□ps-Ø-Ø-u-n-Ø<br>2-NEG-beat-NPT-sA-3O-NEG-sO<br>‘You don’t beat him.’ | ka-n-l□ps-Ø-Ø-u-n-Ø<br>2-NEG-beat-PT-sA-3O-NEG-sO<br>‘You didn’t beat him.’ |
| 24. 2s-3ns | ka-l□ps-Ø- Ø -u-si<br>2-beat-NPT-sA-3O-nsO<br>‘You beat them.’ | ka-l□ps-Ø- Ø- u-si<br>2-beat-PT-sA-3O-nsO<br>‘You beat them.' |
| NEG. | ka-n-l□ps-Ø- Ø- u-Ø-n-si-n<br>2-NEG-beat-NPT-sA-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG<br>‘You don’t beat them.’ | ka-n-l□ps-Ø- Ø- u-n-si-n<br>2-NEG-beat-PT-sA-3O-NEG-nsO-<br>NEG<br>‘You didn’t beat them.’ |
| 25. 2s-1s | ka-l□m-Ø- Ø- Ø- ma<br>2-beat-NPT-sA-sO-1e<br>'You beat me.' | ka-l□ps-a- Ø- Ø- ŋ<br>2-beat-PT-sA-sO-1e<br>'You beat me.' |
| NEG | ka-n-l□m-Ø-Ø- Ø- ma-n<br>2-NEG-beat-NPT-sA-sO-1e-NEG<br>'You don't beat me.' | ka-n-l□ps-a-Ø- Ø-ŋ-Ø-nEn<br>2-NEG-beat-PT-sA-sO-1e-NEG<br>'You didn't beat me.' |
| 26. 2-1 | ka-l□m Ø<br>2-beat-NPT<br>‘You beat me/us.’ | ka-l□ps-a<br>2-beat-PT<br>‘You beat me/us.’ |
| NEG | ka-n-l□m-Ø-nEn<br>2-NEG-beat-NPT-NEG<br>‘You don’t beat me/us ‘ | ka-n-l□ps-a- n<br>2-NEG-beat-PT-NEG<br>‘You didn’t beat me/us.’ |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 27. 2d-3s | ka-l□m-Ø-c$^{h}$-u- Ø | ka-l□ps-a-c$^{h}$-u-Ø |
| | 2-beat-NPT-dA-3O-sO | 2-beat-PT-dA-3O- sO |
| | 'You beat him.' | 'You beat him.' |
| NEG. | ka-n-l□m-Ø-c$^{h}$-u-n-Ø | ka-n-l□ps-a-c$^{h}$-u-n-Ø |
| | 2-NEG-beat-NPT-dA-3O-NEG-sO | 2-NEG-beat-PT-dA-3O-NEG-sO |
| | 'You don't beat him.' | 'You didn't beat him.' |
| 28. 2d-3ns | ka-l□m-Ø-c$^{h}$-u-si | ka-l□ps-a-c$^{h}$-u-si |
| | 2-beat-NPT-dA-3O-nsO | 2-beat-PT-dA-3O-nsO |
| | 'You beat them.' | 'You didn't beat them.' |
| NEG. | ka-n-l□m-Ø-c$^{h}$-u-n-si-n | ka-n-l□ps-a-c$^{h}$-u-n-si-n |
| | 2-NEG-beat-NPT-dA-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG | 2-NEG-beat-PT-dA-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG |
| | 'You don't beat them.' | 'You didn't beat them.' |
| 29. 2p-3s | ka-l□ps-Ø-u-m-Ø | ka-l□ps-Ø-u-m-Ø |
| | 2-beat-NPT-3O-pA -sO | 2-beat-PT-3O-pA-sO |
| | 'You beat him.' | 'You beat him.' |
| NEG. | ka-n-l□ps-Ø-u-m-Ø-nEn | ka-n-l□ps-Ø-u-m-Ø-nEn |
| | 2-NEG-beat-NPT-3O-pA-sO-NEG | 2-NEG-beat-PT-3O-pA-sO-NEG |
| | 'You don't beat him.' | 'You didn't beat him.' |
| 30. 2p-3ns | ka-l□ps-Ø-u-m-si-m | ka-l□ps-Ø-u-m-si-m |
| | 2-beat-NPT-3O-pA-nsO-pA | 2-beat-PT-3O-pA-nsO-pA |
| | 'You beat them.' | 'You beat them.' |
| NEG | ka-n-l□ps-Ø-u-m-si-m-nEn | ka-n-l□ps-Ø-u-m-si-m-nEn |
| | 2-NEG-beat-NPT-3O-pA-nsO-pA-NEG | 2-NEG-beat-PT-3O-pA-nsO-pA-NEG |
| | 'You don't beat them.' | 'You didn't beat them.' |
| 31. 1s-3s | l□ps-Ø- Ø u-ŋ-Ø | l□ps-Ø- Ø -u-ŋ-Ø |
| | beat-NPT-sA-3O-1e-sO | beat-PT-sA-3O-1e-sO |
| | 'I beat him.' | 'I beat him.' |
| NEG. | ma-l□m-Ø-Ø- ma-n | man-l□m-ban |
| | NEG-beat-NPT-sS-1e-NEG | NEG-beat-1sS/PT/NEG |
| | 'I don't beat.' | 'I didn't beat.' |
| 32. 1s-3ns | l□ps-Ø- Ø- u-ŋ-si-ŋ | l□ps-Ø- Ø-u-ŋ-si-ŋ |
| | beat-NPT-sA-3O-1e-nsO-1e | beat-PT-sA-3O-1e-nsO-1e |
| | 'I beat them.' | 'I beat them.' |
| NEG. | ma-l□m-Ø-Ø-ma-n-si-n | man-l□m-ban-si-n |
| | NEG- beat-NPT-sA-1e-NEG-nsO-NEG | NEG-beat-1sA/PT/NEG-nsO-NEG |
| | 'I don't beat them.' | 'I didn't beat them.' |
| 33. 1s-2s | l□m-na- Ø-Ø-Ø | l□m-na-Ø-Ø-Ø |
| | beat-1→2O-NPT-sO-sA | beat-1→2O-PT-sO-sA |
| | 'I beat you.' | 'I beat you.' |
| NEG. | ma-l□m-na-Ø-Ø-Ø-n | ma- l□m-na-Ø-Ø-Ø-n |
| | NEG-beat-1→2O-NPT-sO-sA-NEG | NEG-beat-1→2O-PT-sO-sA-NEG |
| | 'I don't beat you.' | 'I didn't beat you.' |
| 34. 1s-2d | l□m-na-Ø-c$^{h}$i- Ø- ŋ | l□m-na-Ø-c$^{h}$i-Ø-ŋ |
| | beat-1→2O-NPT-dO-sA-1e | beat-1→2O-PT-dO-sA-1e |
| | 'I beat you.' | 'I beat you.' |
| NEG. | ma-l□m-na-Ø-c$^{h}$i- Ø- ŋ | ma-l□m-na-Ø-c$^{h}$i-Ø-ŋ |
| | NEG-beat-1→2O-NPT-dO-sA-1e | NEG-beat-1→2O-PT-dO-sA-1e |
| | 'I don't beat you.' | 'I didn't beat you.' |
| 35. 1s-2p | l□m-na-Ø-ni-Ø-ŋ | l□m-na-Ø-ni-Ø-ŋ |
| | beat-1→2O-NPT-pO-1e | beat-1→2O-PT-pO-sA-1e |
| | 'I beat you.' | 'I beat you.' |
| NEG | ma-l□m-na-Ø-ni-Ø-ŋ-nEn | ma-l□m-na-Ø-ni-Ø-ŋ-nEn |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | NEG-beat-1→2O-NPT-pO-sA-1e-NEG | NEG-beat-1→2O-PT-pO-sA-1e-NEG |
| | 'I don't beat you.' | 'I didn't beat you.' |
| 36. 1d-3s | a-l□m -Ø-c$^{h}$-u-Ø | a-l□ps-a-c$^{h}$-u-Ø |
| | 1i-beat-NPT-dA-3O-sO | 1i-beat-PT-dA-3O-sO |
| | 'We beat him.' | 'We beat him.' |
| NEG. | a-n-l□m-Ø-c$^{h}$-u-n-Ø | a-n-l□ps-a-c$^{h}$-u-n-Ø |
| | 1i-NEG-beat-NPT-dA-3O-NEG -sO | 1i-NEG-beat-PT-dA-3O-NEG-sO |
| | 'We don't beat him.' | 'We didn't beat him.' |
| 37. 1di-3ns | a-l□m-Ø-c$^{h}$-u- si | a-l□ps-a-c$^{h}$-u-si |
| | 1i-beat-NPT-dA-3O-nsO | 1i-beat-PT-dA-3O-nsO |
| | ‘We beat them.' | 'We beat them.' |
| NEG | a-n-l□m-Ø-c$^{h}$-u-n-si-n | a-n-l□ps-a-c$^{h}$-u-n-si-n |
| | 1i-NEG-beat-NPT-dA-3O-NEG-nsO- NEG | 1i-NEG-beat-PT-dA-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG |
| | 'We don't beat them.' | 'We didn't beat them.' |
| 38. 1de-3s | l□m-Ø-c$^{h}$-u-Ø-ŋa | l□ps-a-c$^{h}$-u-Ø-ŋa |
| | beat-NPT-dA-3O-sO-1e | beat-PT-dA-3O-sO-1e |
| | ‘We beat him.' | 'We beat him.' |
| NEG. | ma-l□m-c$^{h}$-u-Ø-ŋa-n | ma-l□ps-a-c$^{h}$-u-Ø-ŋa-n |
| | NEG-beat-dA-3O-sO-1e-NEG | NEG-beat-PT-dA-3O-sO-1e-NEG |
| | 'We don't beat him.' | 'We didn't beat him.' |
| 39. 1de-3nsl | □m-Ø-c$^{h}$-u-si-ŋa | l□ps-a-c$^{h}$ -u-si-ŋa |
| | beat-NPT-dA-3O-nsO-1e | beat-PT-dA-3O-nsO-1e |
| | 'We don't beat them.' | ‘We didn’t beat them.' |
| NEG. | ma-l□m-Ø-c$^{h}$-u-si-ŋa-n | ma-l□ps-a-c$^{h}$-u-si-ŋa-n |
| | NEG-beat-NPT-dA-3O-nsO-1e-NEG | NEG-beat-PT-dA-3O-nsO-1e-NEG |
| | 'We don't beat them.' | 'We didn't beat them.' |
| 40. 1nse-2 | l□m-nE-Ø-Ø-c$^{h}$i-ŋa | l□m-nE-Ø-Ø-c$^{h}$i-ŋa |
| | beat-1→2O-NPT-sO/nsO- nsA-1e | beat-1→2-PT-sO/nsO-nsA-1e |
| | 'We beat you.' | 'We beat you.' |
| NEG. | ma-l□m-nE-Ø- Ø-c$^{h}$i-ŋa-n | ma-l□m-nE-Ø-Ø-c$^{h}$i-ŋa-n |
| | NEG-beat-1→2O-NPT-sO/nsO-nsA-1e-NEG | NEG-beat-1→2O-PT-sO/nsO-nsA-1e-NEG |
| | 'We don't beat you.' | 'We didn't beat you.' |
| 41. 1pi 3s | a-l□ps-Ø-u- m -Ø | a-l□ps-Ø-u- m-Ø |
| | 1i-beat-NPT-3O -pA-sO | 1i-beat-PT-3O-pA-sO |
| | 'We beat him.' | 'We beat him.' |
| NEG | a-n-l□ps-Ø-u-m-Ø-nEn | a-n-l□ps-Ø-u-m-Ø- nEn |
| | 1i-NEG-beat-NPT-3O-pA-sO-NEG | 1i-NEG-beat-PT-3O-pA-sO- NEG |
| | 'We don't beat him.' | 'We didn't beat him.' |
| 42. 1pi-3ns | a-l□ps-Ø u-m-si-m | a-l□ps-Ø-u -m-si-m |
| | 1i-beat-NPT-3O-pA-nsO-pA | 1i-beat-PT-3O-pA-nsO-pA |
| | 'We beat them.' | 'We beat them.’ |
| NEG | a-n-l□ps-Ø-u-m-si-m-nEn | a-n-l□ps-Ø-u-m-si-m-nEn |
| | 1i-NEG-beat-NPT-3O-pA-nsO-pA-NEG | 1i-NEG-beat-PT-3O-pA-nsO-pA-NEG |
| | 'We don't beat them.' | 'We didn't beat them.' |
| 43. 1pe 3s | l□ps-Ø-u-m-Ø ma | l□ps-Ø- u-m- Ø-ma |
| | beat-NPT-3O-pA-sO-1e | beat-PT-3O-pA-sO-1e |
| | 'We beat him.' | 'We beat him.' |
| NEG. | ma-l□ps-Ø-u-m-Ø ma-n | ma-l□ps- Ø-u-m- Ø -ma-n |
| | NEG- beat-NPT-3O-pA-sO-1e-NEG | NEG-beat-PT-3O-pA-sO-1e-NEG |
| | 'We don't beat him .' | 'We didn't beat him.' |
| Or | | |
| | | man-l□m-ban |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | | NEG-beat-1peS/PT/NEG<br>'We didn't beat.' |
| 1pe 3s | l□ps-Ø-u-m-Ø ma<br>beat-NPT-3O-pA-sO-1e<br>'We beat him.' | Ø-l□m-mna<br>1-beat-1peS/PT<br>'We beat.' |
| NEG. | ma-l□ps-Ø-u-m-Ø ma-n<br>NEG-beat-NPT-3O-pA-sO-1e-NEG<br>'We don't beat.' | man-l□m-ban<br>NEG-beat-1peS/PT/NEG<br>'We didn't beat.' |
| 44. 1pe 3ns | l□ps-Ø-u-m-si-m-ma<br>beat-NPT-3O-pA-nsO-pA-1e<br>'We beat them. ' | l□ps- Ø -u-m-si-m-ma<br>beat-PT-3O-pA-nsO-pA-1e<br>'We beat them.' |
| NEG. | ma-l□ps-Ø-u-m-si-m-ma-n<br>NEG- beat-NPT-3O-pA-nsO-pA-1e-NEG<br>'We don't beat them.' | ma-l□ps- Ø -u-m-si-m-ma-n<br>NEG-beat-PT-3O-pA-nsO-pA-1e-NEG<br>'We didn't beat them.' |
| Or | | |
| | l□ps-Ø-u-m-si-m-ma<br>beat-NPT-3O-pA-nsO-pA-1e<br>'We beat them. ' | l□m-mna-si<br>beat-1peA/PT-nsO<br>'We beat them.' |
| NEG. | ma-l□ps-Ø-u-m-si-m-ma-n<br>NEG- beat-NPT-3O-pA-nsO-pA-1e-NEG<br>'We don't beat them.' | man-l□m-ban-si-n<br>NEG-beat-1peA/PT/NEG-nsO-NEG<br>'We didn't beat them.' |

TABLE 50. Marking of covert affixes in transitive verb l□mma 'to beat'

**5. A**NIMACY HIERARCHY. Agreement patterns in Limbu pose a complex problem in exploring verb agreement. Grammatical or semantic roles of actants alone are not enough to detect it. Animacy hierarchy plays a significant role in the agreement pattern. Whaley (1997: 173) presents universal animacy hierarchy as 1&2 person> 3 person pronoun> proper name/ kinship terms> human NP> animate NP> inanimate NP. According to this hierarchy, the more animate nominal is placed before the less animate nominal and the verb agrees with the nominal of the higher animacy.

Watters (2003:372) says that agreement patterns in all the Kiranti languages are based on the person of participants rather than on their semantic or grammatical roles. In Chhatthare Limbu the finding of Watters works to a great extent. According to the theory of animacy hierarchy, the first person and the second person have the highest rank of animacy hierarchy and they precede the third person in an affixal string. In the language in 3s→2, 3s→1di and 3s→1pi configurations, third person agent is unmarked. In animacy hierarchy the third person is lower than first person and second person. Therefore, as an agent, the lower pronominal affix can't occupy the prefixal position and leaves it empty. This empty prefixal position is, then, occupied by the higher pronominal object suffixes as evidenced by the examples 1a-e.

(1) a. ka- Ø- l□m-Ø- Ø
2-3sA- beat-NPT-sO
'He beats you.'

b. ka- Ø- l□m-Ø-c$^{h}$i
2-3sA-beat-NPT-dO
'He beats you.'

c. ka-Ø-l□ps-Ø-i
2-3sA-beat-NPT-pO

‘He beats you.’

d. a-Ø-l□m-Ø-c$^{h}$i
1i-3sA-beat-NPT-dO
‘He beats us.’

e. a-Ø-l□ps Ø- i
1i-3sA-beat-NPT-pO
‘He beats us.’

Due to lower animacy hierarchy, the third person singular agent can not occur in the prefixal position in 3s→1s, 3s→1de and 3s→3pe configurations and first person objects occupy its position. Then objects are double marked as can be seen in 2a-c.

(2) a. a-Ø-l□m-Ø- Ø- ma
1-3sA-beat-NPT-sO-1e
‘He beats me.’

b. a-Ø -l□m-Ø-c$^{h}$i-ŋa
1-3sA-beat-NPT-dO-1e
‘He beats us.’

c. a-Ø-l□ps-Ø-i-ŋa
1-3sA-beat-NPT-pO-1e
‘He beats us.’

Similarly, when the third person non-singular agent occurs in 3ns→2 or 3ns→1 situations, it follows the higher pronominal object prefixes <a-> and <ka-> as shown in 3a-c.

(3) a. ka- n-l□m-Ø-Ø
2- 3nsA-beat NPT-sO
‘They beat you.’

b. a- n-l□m-Ø- Ø- ma
1-3 nsA-beat-NPT-sO-1e
‘They beat me.’

c. a- n-l□m-Ø-c$^{h}$i
1i-3nsA -beat-NPT-dO
‘They beat us.’

Ditransitive verbs exhibit animate object agreement. They show agreement with the recipient or beneficiary.

(4) a. piy-Ø- Ø- u-ŋ- Ø
give-NPT-sA-3O-1e-sO
'I give him a book.'

b. wat-Ø- Ø -u-ŋ- Ø
give-NPT-sA-3O-1e-sO
'I wear him (something).'

c. hakk-Ø- Ø -u-ŋ- Ø
send-NPT-sA-3O-1sA-sO
'I send him (something).'

The verbs in 4a-c require three arguments- the agent, theme and the beneficiary or subject, direct object and indirect object in a sentence but they mark only the subject and the indirect object. These examples prove that in animacy hierarchy third person animate object is higher than the inanimate object. Therefore, when two objects, animate and inanimate objects come together with the agent, the agent agrees with the indirect object, which is animate.

Animacy hierarchy has a significant role in the formation of number affixes in the language. The speech act participants form one kind of number affixes for dual and

plural agents and objects whereas the non-speech act participant forms another kind of number affixes. The following situations clearly exhibit it.

(i). The speech act participants have the suffixes <-c$^{h}$i> in 5a and 5b and <-i> in 5c and 5d as dual and plural object markers respectively whereas the non-speech act participant has the suffix <-si> as a non-singular object marker in 5e.

(5) a. ka- Ø- l□m-Ø-c$^{h}$i
2-3sA-beat-NPT-dO
'He beats you.'

b. a-Ø-l□m-Ø-c$^{h}$i
1i-3sA-beat-NPT-dO
'He beats us.'

c. ka-Ø-l□ps-Ø-i
2-3sA-beat-NPT-pO
'He beats you.'

d. a-Ø-l□ps Ø- i- Ø
1i-3sA-beat-NPT-pO
'He beats us.'

e. ka-l□m-Ø-c$^{h}$-u-si
2-beat-NPT-dA-3O-nsO
'You beat them.'

(ii).When the speech act participant is the agent and non-speech act participant is the object, the dual agent marker is <-c$^{h}$> as in 6a and 6b. If the agent is the first person and object is the second person, the non-singular agent will be marked as <-c$^{h}$i> as in 6c but number for both agent and object will be unmarked if the agent is the second person as in 6d.

(6) a. ka-l□m –Ø-c$^{h}$-u- Ø-Ø
2-beat-NPT-dA-3O-sA-sO
'You beat him.'

b. a-l□m -Ø-c$^{h}$-u-Ø
1-beat-NPT-dA-3O-sO
'We beat him.'

c. l□m-nE-Ø-Ø-c$^{h}$i-ŋa
beat-1→2-NPT-sO- nsA-1e
'We beat you.'

d. ka-l□m
2-beat
'You beat me/us.'

iii. In 3→3 configuration the plural agent morpheme is <mu-> as in 7a and dual agent morpheme is <-c$^{h}$> as in 7b whereas in 3→2 and 3→1 configurations, both dual and plural agents are marked by <n-> as in 7c-h.

(7) a. mu-l□ps-Ø-u- Ø
3pA-beat-NPT-3O-sO
'They beat him.'

b. Ø-l□m-c$^{h}$-u -Ø
3- beat-dA-3O-sO
'They beat him.'

c- ka-Ø n-l□m-Ø-c$^{h}$i
2-3nsA-beat-NPT-dO
'They beat you.'

d. a- n-l□m-Ø-c$^{h}$i
1i-3nsA -beat-NPT-dO
'They beat us.'

e. a- n-l□m-Ø-c$^{h}$i-Na
1i-3nsA -beat-NPT-dO-1e
'They beat us.'

f. ka-Ø- n-l□ps-Ø-i
2-3nsA-beat-NPT-pO
'They beat you.'

g. a-Ø- n-l□ps-Ø-i
1i-3nsA-beat-NPT-pO
'They beat us.'

h. a-Ø- n-l□ps-Ø-i-Na
1i-3nsA-beat-NPT-pO-1e
'They beat us.'

**6.** THE ORDER OF AFFIXES**.** The affixes occupy different slots in a conjugated verb according to their functions. More than one affix can also share the same slot. In Chhatthare Limbu, the speech act participants have the same status and have the highest animacy hierarchy. The third person has lower animacy hierarchy than them and occurs after them. Therefore, the first prefixal slot is occupied by the first and second person, and the second prefixal slot by the third person. In other dialects such as Panthare (Wiedert and Subba:1985), Phedappe (Driem 1987) and Mewakhole (Mikhailovsky: 2003) in 2→1 configurations, the first person prefix <a-> precedes the second person prefix <ka-> and yields a verb like *a-gehip* 'you (many) beat me'. Therefore, Driem (1999: 214) posits a first prefixal slot to the first person morpheme <a-> and a second prefixal slot to the second person morpheme <ka->. But in the Chhatthare Limbu in its corresponding form *a* occurs as an independent first person singular pronoun in a sentence like *kheni a ka-l□m* 'You beat me' but as a first person marking prefix, it can not't occur in an overt form in a word e.g. *ka-l□m* 'You beat me/us'. The first person and second person are speech act participants which have equal animacy hierarchy. Therefore, they share the same first prefixal slot.

In 3→1 and 3→2 forms, the third person non-singular agent allomorph <m-n-N> occurs between the personal prefix and the root of the verb. Its full form <mu-> occurs as a plural subject or agent in 3→3 forms such as *mu-b$^{h}$En* 'They come' or *mu-ser-u* 'They kill'. The third person singular subject or agent is unmarked whereas dual subject or agent is marked by the suffix <-c$^{h}$i> and <-c$^{h}$>. The third person singular subject or agent morpheme is marked by Ø and labeled as 1sS/A and third person non-singular agent morpheme is marked by < m-~n-~ N-> and is labeled as 3nsA. Third person morpheme occurs in the second prefixal slot. In 3→1and 3→2 negative forms, the first and second persons are followed by third person morpheme and it, in turn , is followed by a negative morpheme <m-> as in *ka-n-n-l□ps-a-n* 'he didn't beat you' or *a-n-n-l□ps-a-ŋ-nEn* 'he didn't beat me'. The third person non-singular agent allomorph <m-~ n-~ N-> is homophonous with the negative prefix <m-~n- ~ N> and when the two occur together, the second one is elided and only the third person non-singular agent morpheme is realized. So, the negative prefix is posited the third slot. On the basis of this analysis, the prefixal slots are posited in the following way:

Pf1 Pf2 Pf3

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| <a-> | <mu-~n-~N> | <man-~ma-~n-~N > |
| 1 | 3nsA/S | NEG |
| <ka-> | Ø | |
| 2 | 3sA/S | |

TABLE 51. Slots of prefixes

The negative paradigms of the verb exhibit that the negative prefix <man-> occurs in negative past forms with a first person singular or first person plural exclusive agent or subject with one fused negative suffix as in a portmanteau morph <-pan> which encodes first person, singular or first person plural exclusive agent or subject in a past form. In other conjugation forms the prefix <ma-> occurs with at least one negative suffix or no more than two negative suffixes. The negative prefix < ma-> occurs in the third prefixal slot and second negative suffix in the sixth and the third one occurs in the last slot.

Reflexive or reciprocal suffix <-c$^{h}$in-~ nE > occupies the first suffixal slot. It directly attaches to the verb root. The past suffix <-a> and non-past suffix <-O> occupy the second suffixal slot as it occurs after the reflexive morpheme as in *Ep-c$^{h}$in* 'he stands himself' and third suffixal slot is occupied by dual suffix <-c$^{h}$i-~-c$^{h}$>. The dual suffix is <-c$^{h}$i> when it functions as dual subject or object of the first or second person as in *a-ni-c$^{h}$i* 'he sees us' or *ka-ni-cHi* 'he sees you'. It is <-c$^{h}$> when it occurs before a third person object suffix <-u> as in *a-ni-c$^{h}$-u* 'we see it' or *ka-ni-c$^{h}$-u* 'you see it'. The fourth slot is occupied by the third object <-u> which occurs either after dual agent <-c$^{h}$> or after post- syllabic augment as in *ka-haks-u* 'you waited for him'. The fifth slot is occupied by the first person exclusive subject, object or agent allomorph <-ŋ> after the past morpheme <-a> or third person object morpheme <-u>, the speech act participant plural agent morpheme <-m> and the first person plural exclusive agent or subject morpheme <-mna> in past form. The first person plural exclusive agent or subject morpheme in a past form <-mna>is posited in this slot because this portmanteau morph contains plural agent morpheme <-m>. The negative suffix <-n> occurs in the sixth slot and the first person exclusive or first person plural exclusive subject or agent in the past form <-pan> also occurs here as this portmanteau contains the negative suffix <-n>. These morphemes occur just before the nonsingular object suffix <-si> which occurs in the seventh slot and the copy morphemes of the first person exclusive actant <-ŋ>and speech act participant plural agent morpheme <-m> occur in the eighth slot. The ninth slot is occupied by the exclusive suffix <-Na> and tenth is occupied by the negative suffix <-nEn ~ -n>.Agent, subject or object singularity of speech act participants occupy the third slot and object singularity of the third person occurs in the seventh slot where its non-singular form occurs. The order of suffixes is shown in table 5.

| Sf1 | Sf 2 | Sf3 | Sf4 | Sf5 | Sf6 | Sf7 | Sf 8 | Sf 9 | Sf 10 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| <-cʰin~nE><-na> | <-a –Ø><-Ø> | <- Ø><cʰi-~cʰ><-i> | <-u> | <-N><-m><-mna> | <-n><-pan> | <-si><-O> | <-N><-m> | <-Na> | <-nEn- -n> |

TABLE 52. Slots of suffixes

**7.** THE PERSON MARKERS. The conjugation of a verb for a single tense indicates 11 categories of person. The broad division of person is made into first, second and third and the number into singular, dual and plural number. Inclusive versus exclusive distinction is there in the first person duel and plural. There are some problems to separate person markers from number and case markers. For example, the third person plural <mu-> refers both to person and number and its agentivity or subjectivity is determined by the type of the verb it occurs with. It functions as a subject if it occurs with an intransitive verb and as an agent if it occurs with a transitive verb.

**7.1.** THE FIRST PERSON MORPHEME

basic morph :<a->
label : i

The prefix <a-> occurs in the first prefixal slot. It marks the first person inclusive but it does not denote whether it is a subject, agent or object. The suffixes, which follow it in the affixal string, determine its agency, subjecthood or objecthood. When <a-> co-occurs with the dual marker suffix <-cʰi> and plural marker suffix <-i > it serves as an intransitive subject as in 8a-b or transitive object as in 8-c-f.

(8) a. a-lok-Ø-cʰi
1i-run-NPT-dS
'We run.'

b. a-lokk-Ø-i
1 -run-NPT-pS
‘We run.'

c a-Ø-l□m-Ø-cʰi
1i-3sA-beat-NPT-dO
‘He beats us.’

d. a-Ø -l□m-Ø-cʰi-ŋa
1-3sA-beat-NPT-dO-1e
‘He beats us.’

e. a-Ø-l□ps Ø-i
1i-3sA-beat-NPT-pO
‘He beats us.’

f. a-Ø -l□ps-Ø-i-ŋa
1-3sA-beat-NPT-pO-1e
'He beats us.’

In 8a, the prefix <a-> is the first person inclusive marker and the suffix <-cʰi> is a dual number marker. These two affixes together constitute a first person dual inclusive subject of an intransitive verb *lok* 'he runs' where as in 8c-d they mark first

person dual inclusive object. Similarly, the prefix <a-> in combination with the plural number suffix <-i> forms the first person plural inclusive subject in 8b whereas it functions as the first person plural inclusive object in 8d-e' respectively. In 8f, it, in combination with plural and exclusive markers, forms first person plural exclusive object.

When <a-> co-occurs with the third person object <-u>, it functions as an agent.

(9) a. a-l□m -Ø-c$^{h}$-u-Ø-Ø
1i-beat-NPT-dA-3O-sO
'We beat him.'

b a-l□m-Ø-c$^{h}$-u- si
1i-beat-NPT-dA-3O-nsO
'We beat them.'

c. a-l□ps-Ø-u- m-Ø
1i-beat-NPT-3O-pA-sO
'We beat him.'

d. a-l□ps-Ø u-m-si-m
1i-beat-NPT-3O-pA-nsO-pA
'We beat them.'

In 9a-b, the first person prefix <a-> in combination with the dual number suffix <-c$^{h}$ > and in 9c-d, the first person prefix <a-> together with plural number suffix <-m> constitute first person dual and plural inclusive agents respectively.

In 3→1 configuration <a-> occurs as a prefix because the third person is lower than the first person in animacy hierarchy and it can't fill the prefixal slot. When it occurs as a subject with a higher pronominal object, the vacant prefixal slot is filled by the higher object prefix <a->. As a result, the first person is double marked as in 10a-c.

(10) a. a-Ø-l□m-Ø- Ø-ma
1-3sA-beat-NPT-sO-1e
'He beats me.'

c. a-Ø -l□m-Ø-c$^{h}$i-ŋa
1-3sA-beat-NPT-dO-1e
'He beats us.'

e. a-Ø-l□ps-Ø-i-ŋa
1-3sA-beat-NPT-pO-1e
'He beats us.'

The first person prefix <a-> doesn't occur with first person exclusive subject or agent as in 11.

(11) a. lok-Ø- Ø- ŋa
run-NPT-sS-1e
'I run.'

b. l□ps-Ø- Ø- u-ŋ-Ø
beat-NPT-sA-3O-1e-sO
'I beat him.'

In the above examples, <-a> occurs in partially similar forms and it signals corresponding semantic likeness. It has identical phonemic form in all its occurrences and it has a common semantic distinctiveness. It meets the requirement of the first principle employed by Nida (1970: 7) in the identification of morphemes. Thus, we assign it the status of the first person inclusive morpheme. It contrasts with other forms in identical environments as exhibited in 12.

(12) a. a-noN-Ø-c$^{h}$i
1i-return-NPT-dS
'We return.'
b. ka-noN-Ø-c$^{h}$i
2-return-NPT-dS
'We return.'
c. **O**-noN-Ø-c$^{h}$i
3-return-NPT-dS
'They return.'

The first person prefix <a-> is derived from the independent first person singular pronoun a which has been derived from the first person singular pronoun *aNga* which is still used as a first person singular independent pronoun in Panchthare and Phedappe dialects. In fact, <a-> as a first person prefix is reflected in Dumi and Khaling in addition to Limbu and in Rawang and Lakhar beyond Kiranti (Driem 1993:329). Driem (1987:78), cites the example of the occurrence of the morpheme <a-> before the second person prefix <ke-> as in the word *agedabai* 'are you insulting me?' and proves that if two person markers co-occur in the same verbal string, first person marker precedes the second person marker and the second person marker in turn precedes the third person marker and traces the role of animacy hierarchy in the determination of the prefixal slots. However, in Chhatthare Limbu, first person is never followed by the second person in a verbal string. They share the same prefixal slot as speech act participants.

**7.2.** THE SECOND PERSON MORPHEME

basic morph : <ka->
label : 2

The prefix <ka-> occurs in the first prefixal slot. It marks the second person but it does not denote whether it is a subject, agent or object. The suffixes, which follow it in the affixal string, determine its agency, subjecthood or objecthood. When <ka-> co-occurs with the first person singular object morpheme <-ŋa> or the third person object suffix <-u>, it functions as an agent. Its singularity is unmarked.

(13) a. ka-l□ps-Ø-u -Ø-Ø
2-beat-NPT-3-sA-sO
'You beat him.'
b. ka-l□m- Ø – Ø- Ø -ma
2-beat-NPT-sA-sO-1e
'You beat me.'

In intransitive verb conjugation the prefix <ka-> indexes second person subject in the affixal string. Its singularity is unmarked but duality and plurality are marked by <-c$^{h}$i> and <-i.> respectively.

(14) a. ka-lok-Ø-Ø
2-run-NPT-sS
'You run.'
b. ka-lok-Ø-c$^{h}$i
2-go-NPT-dS
'You go.'
c. ka-lokk-Ø-i
2-run-NPT-pS
'You run.'

In 3→2 configurations second person maker <ka-> appears as in 15. Its object role is determined by the following number affixes. Its singularity is unmarked as in 15a but duality and plurality are marked by <-c$^{h}$i> and <-i.> respectively as in 15 b-c.

(15) a. ka- Ø- l□m Ø- Ø
2-3sA- beat-NPT-sO
'He beats you.'

b. ka-Ø- l□m-Ø-c$^{h}$i
2-3sA-beat-NPT-dO
'He beats you.'

c. ka-Ø-l□ps-Ø-i
2-3sA-beat-NPT-pO
'He beats you.'

The morpheme <ka-> occurs in reflexive or reciprocal conjugations.

(16) a. ka-l□m-c$^{h}$in-Ø-Ø
2-beat-REFL-NPT-sS
'You beat yourself.'

b. ka-l□m-nE-Ø-c$^{h}$i
2-beat-RECIP-NPT-nsS
'You beat each other.'

In 16a-b, <ka-> occurs in partially similar forms and it signals corresponding semantic likeness. It has identical phonemic form in all its occurrences and it has a common semantic distinctiveness. It meets the requirement of the first principle employed by Nida (1970: 7) in the identification of morphemes. Thus, we assign it the status of the second person morpheme. There is one-to-one correspondence between morph and morpheme. It has no allomorph. It contrasts with other forms in identical environment as in 17a-b.

(17) a. ka-laN-Ø-c$^{h}$i
2-dance-NPT-dS
'We dance.'

b. **O**-laN-Ø-c$^{h}$i
3-dance-NPT-dS
'They dance.'

c. a-laN-Ø-c$^{h}$i
1i-dance-NPT-dS
'We dance.'

The independent pronoun for second person singular pronoun is *kHEnE* or *kHanE*. The second person prefix <ka-> has been derived from *kHanE*.
The data above exhibit that second person prefix <ka-> occurs in intransitive conjugation and the 2→1, 2→3, and 3→2 configurations. Watters (2003:384) considers it as a new feature not seen in any of the Kiranti languages so far.

### **7.3.** THIRD PERSON MORPHEME

basic morph: Ø
label: 3sS/A

The third person singular subject or agent is unmarked. It is shown in the paradigm by a <Ø> prefix. It fills the second prefixal slot of a verb form. Its case role is determined by the following suffixes with which it occurs in the affixal string. In a third person, singular intransitive verb form, there is no overt person marker. The

absence of an overt person marker in such a verb form as in 18a indicates third person singular subject and the occurrence of the dual marker <-c$^{h}$i> as in 18b in the intransitive verb forms determines its subject role.

(18) a. **Ø**--lok-Ø
3sS-run-NPT
'He runs.'

b. Ø-lok-Ø-c$^{h}$i
3-go-NPT-dS
'They run.'

The agent role of the third person singular is implied by the presence of only one overt person affix in the transitive conjugation as in 19a-c but the agent role of the third person dual is indicated by the dual agent morpheme <-cH> in the transitive verb form as in 19 d.

(19) a. Ø-l□ps-Ø-u-Ø
3sA-beat-NPT-3O-sO
'He beats him.'

b. ka- Ø- l□m-Ø-Ø
2-3sA-beat-NPT-sO
'He beats you.'

c a-Ø-l□m-Ø- Ø-ma
1-3sA-beat-NPT-sO-1e
'He beats me.'

In structural series of third person intransitive verb forms there is a significant absence of third person singular subject in the initial position of the structure as in 18a. In third person singular agent and first person or second person object structural series, the agent is significantly absent in the second prefixal slot right after the object prefixes as in 19b-c. We can describe such significant absence as 'zero' according to the third principle of Nida (1970:46) in the identification of morphemes. Hence, it is treated as a third person singular subject or agent morpheme. Its absence is readily contrasted with other forms occurring in identical forms as in 20bc.

(20) a. **O**-uN-Ø-c$^{h}$i
3-come-NPT-dS
'They come down.'

b. ka-uN-Ø-c$^{h}$i
2-come-NPT-dS
'We come down.'

c. a-uN-Ø-c$^{h}$i
1i-come-NPT-dS
'We come down.'

The zero marking for third person singular subject or agent is a widespread phenomenon in the Tibeto-Burman languages. It is there in Thulung, Hayu, Bahing, Bantawa, Athpariya, Chamling, and Dumi of Kiranti languages and beyond Kiranti in other languages of Tibeto-Burman languages (Watters 2003: 376-396).

**7. 4.** THE THIRD PERSON PLURAL MORPHEME

basic morph : <mu->
label : 3pS/A

<mu-> is a prefix which denotes third person, plural subject or plural agent. It occurs in the second prefixal slot.

(21) a. mu-lok-Ø
3pS-go-NPT
'They run.'

b. 3p-3s
mu-l□ps-Ø-u- Ø
3pA-beat-NPT-3O-sO
'They beat him.'

In 21a <mu-> occurs as a subject and in 21b it occurs as an agent. In these occurrences, it has an identical phonemic shape and triggers the same meaning i.e., third person plural. Its case role as subject or agent is determined by the type of verb it occurs with. If it is prefixed to the intransitive verb stem, it will index third person, plural subject which is labeled as 3pS and if it is prefixed to the transitive verb stem, it will index third person, plural agent meaning which is labeled as 3pA. However, as an agent it occurs only in 3→3 configurations. When the negative prefix <-n> is added to the third person plural <mu->, its vowel /u/ changes to /a/. As a result, <mu-> changes to <ma->. It is exemplified in 22a-c.

(22) a. ma-n-lok-Ø-nEn
3pS- NEG-run-NPT-NEG
'They don't run.'

b. ma-m-bin-O-nEn
3pS-NEG-jump-NPT-NEG
'They don't jump.'

c ma-n-l□ps-Ø-u- n- Ø
3pA-NEG-beat-NPT-3O-NEG-sO
'They don't beat him.'

In 3→2 and 3→1 configurations, the third person agent morpheme <mu-> has allomorphs in <m-~n-~N> between the preceding personal prefix and the verb root. In 23a-b the allomorph <n> occurs between them. But this allomorph signals both dual and plural meanings. Therefore, it is glossed as non-singular agent morpheme in the morphemic analysis.

(23) a. ka- n-l□m-Ø-Ø
2-3nsA-beat NPT-sO
'They beat you.'

b. a- n-l□m-Ø- Ø-ma
1-3nsA-beat-NPT-sO-1e
'They beat me.'

When third person nonsingular agent morpheme occurs before the negative prefix, it is deleted. Its covert form is marked by a zero morpheme < Ø> as shown in 24a-b.

(24) a. ka-Ø-n-l□m-Ø-nEn
2-3nsA-NEG-beat-NPT- NEG
'They don't beat you.'

b. a-Ø -n-l□m-Ø- Ø-ma-n
1-3nsA-NEG-beat-NPT-sO-1e-NEG
'They don't beat me.'

The third person non-singular allomorph undergoes changes according to the phonological environments. The phonological conditions in which the nasal undergoes phonemic changes can be enumerated in the following way:

a. The third person non-singular agent prefix is <–m> if it is followed by the bilabial consonant as in 25a.

b. The third person non-singular agent prefix is <-N> if it is followed by velar consonants as in 25b.

c. The third person non-singular agent prefix is <–n> if it is followed by dental consonant as in 25c.

(25) a. ka- m-bi-Ø- Ø
2-3nsA-give-NPT-sO
'They give you.'

b. a-ŋ-gut-a- Ø -ŋ
1-3nsA- make carry -PT- sO-1e
'They made me carry something.'

c . a-n-dEps-i- Ø
1i-3nsA-catch-pO-NPT
‘They catch us.’

The non-singular variant <m-> of the third person plural morpheme <mu-> is deleted before the following negative morpheme in 3ns→2 and 3ns→1 forms because the syllable final can not accommodate two phonemes. As a result, the difference between 3ns→2 and 3s→2- and 3ns→1 and 3s→1 in negative forms is neutralized. It justifies that the third person non-singular allomorph has another allomorph in its negative forms. It is marked by the allomorph <Ø->.

The third person plural morpheme <mu-> functions both as a subject and agent against its object morpheme <-u> and non-singular marker <-si>. This is the common feature of nominative-accusative pattern as against the ergative-absolutive pattern which is shown by the first and second person agreement markers. It also shows the role of person hierarchy in its word formation process. It can occur only in 3→3 configuration in a transitive form but in 3→2 and 3→1 configuration only <m-~n~N> occurs as a third person non-singular agent morpheme. Moreover, in 3→3 configuration, it marks only plurality but in 3→2 and 3→1 configurations, it marks both duality and plurality. The occurrence of the plural agent morpheme <mu-~ma> in 3→3 configurations and its non-singular allomorph <m~n~N> in 3→2 and 3→1 forms can be attributed to the role of animacy hierarchy.

### **7.5.** THE SECOND PERSON MORPHEME

basic morph :<-na>
label : 1→2

The morpheme <-na> is sf1 filler. It indicates second person object in a 1→2 transitive configuration. In 1s→2s form, the agent and its number are unmarked. Similarly, the object number is also unmarked. They are indicated by <-Ø> morpheme. However, in 1s→2d and 1s→2p forms, the person of agent is marked but its singularity of agency is unmarked. On the other hand, the object and its number are marked.

. (26) a. l□m-na- Ø-Ø
beat-1→2O- sO-sA
'I beat you.'

b. l□m-na- $c^h$i- Ø- ŋ
beat-1→2O- dO-sA-1e
'I beat you.'

c. l□m-na-ni-Ø-ŋ
beat-1→2O-pO-sA-1e
'I beat you.'

In 1→2 sequences as in 26a the singularity of the first person agent and second person object are unmarked. In the 1s→2d configuration as in 26b <-$c^h$i> makes reference to the dual number of the object participant, whereas <-O> makes reference to the singularity of the first person agent participant. <–ni> in 26c , on the other hand, marks plurality of object.

In 1nse-2 configurations, <-na> changes to <-nE> as shown in 27.

(27) a. l□m-nE-Ø-Ø-$c^h$i-ŋa
beat-1→2O-NPT-sO- nsA-1e
'We beat you.'

b. tumnE-nE-Ø-Ø-$c^h$i-ŋa
meet-1→2O-NPT-dO- nsA-1e
'We meet you.'

c. pHanE-nE-Ø-Ø-$c^h$i-ŋa
help-1→2O-NPT-pO- nsA-1e
'We help you.'

The allomorph <-nE> is unmarked for number. The suffix <-$c^h$i> marks agent non-singularity. The second person dual object <-$c^h$i> and the first person non-singular agent marker <–$c^h$i> are homophonous morphemes occurring in different suffixal slots. They are, however, indicated in the paradigm by the suffix <-O> in 27.

Bauman (1975) reconstructed <-na> as the second person morpheme of Tibeto-Burman languages. Tangut, Thulung, Bahing, Sunuwar etc. also have <-ŋa> for second person suffix (Watters 2003:374-78). Athpare, chamling and Bantawa consider <-na> as 1→2 morpheme (Ebert 1994: 22).Van Driem (1987:88) treats <-ne> as a 1→2 portmanteau because this morpheme occurs only in 1→2 configuration.

**7.6.** THE THIRD PERSON OBJECT MORPHEME

basic morph :<-u>
label :3O

A third person object is marked by <-u>. It occurs in 3→3, 2→3 and 1→3 forms as indicated in 28 and fills the fourth suffixal slot. Its singularity is unmarked but its covert presence is marked in the paradigm by a zero morph <-O> in 28.

(28) a. **Ø**-l□ps-u-Ø
3sA-beat-3O-sO
'He beats him.'

b. ka-l□ps-Ø-u - Ø
2-beat-sA-3O-sO
'You beat him.'

c. l□ps-Ø- Ø-u-ŋ-Ø
beat-NPT-sA-3O-1e-sO
'I beat him.'

It is unmarked in negated 1s→3 forms as in 29a-c and 1pe→3 forms in the past as exhibited in 29d.

(29) a. ma-l□m-Ø-ma-n
NEG-beat-NPT-1sS-NEG
'I don't beat.'
b. man-l□m-ban
NEG-beat-1sS /PT/NEG
'I didn't beat.'
c. man-l□m-ban
NEG-beat-1Ss/peS/PT/NEG
'We didn't beat.'
d. l□m- mna
beat-1peS/PT
'We beat.'

In the ditransitive verb forms, the third person object <-u> marks only the indirect object as shown in 30.

(30) a. Ø -piy-Ø-u-Ø
3sA-give-NPT-3O-sO
'He gives him (something).'
b. Ø -hakk-Ø-u-Ø
3sA-send-NPT-3O-sO
'He sends him (something).'
c. Ø -cat-Ø-u-Ø
3sA-feed-NPT-3O-sO
'He feeds him something.'

The verbs in 30 are ditransitive verbs because they take three arguments in the sentence level.In 3→3, 2→3 and 1→3 structural series <–u> occurs in the fourth suffixal slot with an identical phonemic form and a common semantic distinctiveness. Therefore, it is a third person object morpheme. It is used as a third person object morpheme in Kiranti languages like Athpare, Bantawa, Chamling (Ebert 1994: 22). The fact that it can be observed in Rawang and Jingpaw reveals its Tibeto-Burman provenance. The third person object suffix <-u> is the reflex of the third person singular pronoun *khune* 'he'.

### **7.7.** THE FIRST PERSON EXCLUSIVE PORTMANTEAUX

basic morph :<-ŋa >
label :1e

<-ŋa> is a suffix, which signals first person, exclusive meaning. Its singularity of subjectivity and agentivity is formally unmarked but as its absence is significant, it is marked by <-Ø> in 31. It has allomorphs in <-N>, <-ma> and <-na>. It occurs as subject and object in verb forms.

(31) a. lok-Ø- Ø- ŋa
run-NPT-sS-1e
'I run.'
b. a-ni- Ø-Ø -Na
1-see-NPT-sO-1e
‘He sees me.’
c. a-n-ni-Ø-Ø-Na
1-3nsA-see-NPT-sO-1e

'They see me.'

In 31a <-Na> occurs as a subject and in 31b-c it occurs as an object. Its singularity of subject or object is unmarked. In the paradigm it is shown by < Ø> morpheme. In all these occurrences it has the identical phonological form and a common semantic distinctiveness and is, therefore, a first person, exclusive morpheme. It is readily identifiable if it occurs with other morphemes in an identical form as given in 32.

(32) a. uN-Ø- Ø -Na
come-NPT-sS-1e
'I come down.'

b. ka-uN-Ø
2-come-NPT
'We come down.'

c. Ø-uN-Ø
3-come-NPT
'They come down.'

When <-Na> occurs in the syllable final position after the past tense morpheme <-a> as in 33a-b or after the third person object suffix <-u> as in 33c, it loses its final vowel and retains only the nasal consonant as an allomorph <-N>. It occurs in the fifth suffixal slot.

(33) a. lokk-a-Ø- ŋ
go-PT-sS-1e
'I run.'

b a- Ø- l□ps-a-Ø-ŋ
1-3sA-beat-PT-sO-1e
'They beat me.'

c. l□ps-Ø-u- Ø-ŋ-Ø
beat-NPT-3O-sA-1e-sO
'I beat him.'

In fact, in <-Na> /N/ occurs in the onset position of an affixal string followed by a vowel which fills the nucleus position. When it has to occur in the syllable final position preceded by either past morpheme <-a> or third person object morpheme <-u>, it loses its final vowel and only <-N> remains as a first person singular subject, agent or object allomorph.

This morpheme <-ŋa> changes to <-ma> or <-Na> according to the preceding phonological environment as shown in 33.

(34). a. a- Ø- l□m-Ø-Ø-ma
1-3sA-beat-NPT-sO-1e
'They beat me.'

b. $p^{h}$En- Ø- Ø -na
come-NPT-sS-1e
'I come.'

<-Na> has different phonemic forms such as <–ma>, <-na> and <-N > but they have a common semantic distinctiveness and the distribution of the formal differences is phonologically definable in the following way:

a. The phonemic shape of the morpheme is <-Na> if it is preceded by a velar
consonant as in 31a and 32a.
b. It is <-ma>if it is preceded by bilabial consonant as in 34a.
c. It is <-na> if it is preceded by dental consonant as in 34.

d. It is <-N> if it is preceded by vocalic suffix <-u> as in 33c or by <-a> as in 33a-b.

They constitute a single morpheme according to the second principle employed in the identification of morphemes by Nida (1970:14). <-Na> is, according to this principle, a first person, exclusive morpheme and <-ma>, <-na> and <-N> are its allomorphs. Katamba (1993:33) views that the nasal assimilates to the place of articulation of the consonant that follows it. From a phonetic point of view, vowels don't have definite place of articulation, only consonants do. So a consonant cannot assimilate to the place of articulation of a vowel. Therefore, the underlying form is revealed when the nasal is put before the vowel. In Chhatthare Limbu, the nasal assimilates to the place of articulation of the consonant that precedes it. If we place the nasal after the vowel, we will find the revelation of the underlying form <-Na>.

(35) a. nE- Ø-Ø-Na
lie-NPT-sS-1e
'I lie.'

b. pe- Ø-Ø-Na
fly-NPT-sS-1e
'I fly.'

c. si- Ø Ø -Na
die-NPT-sS-1e
'I die.'

The noun *napm*i 'man' is also used as a first person exclusive prefix in imperative form of verb in 2p→1s configuration as in *napmi-tEpsa* 'hold me' (see page:).The first person morpheme <-ŋa > is derived from the old first person pronoun *aŋga*. Driem (1987:99) treats <-aŋ> as a portmanteau, which means first person, singular number, past tense. In fact, he does so to treat it like the portmanteaux <-? e>, which signals first person, singular number and non-past tense in the Phedappe dialect. Ebert (1994:29-30) is of the opinion to treat <-a> as a past morpheme. In Chhatthare Limbu, <-a> is a past marker and <-N> is the allomorph of the first person, exclusive morpheme.

The morpheme <-ŋa> for a first person singular suffix is widespread in many Kiratnti languages such as Bantawa <-ŋ >, Sunuwar <-ŋa>, Bahing <-ŋa >, Thuluŋ <-ŋu>, Athpare <-ŋ > and also in languages outside Kiranti languages such as Tangut <-Na>. Bauman (1975) reconstructs <-ŋa> to the Proto-Tibeto-Burman first person morpheme.

The first person morpheme <-Na> takes dual and plural suffixes to impart number and case roles. It takes dual marker <–$c^h$i> to index duality of subject as in 36a and duality of object as in 36c but it takes the dual marker <–$c^h$ > to show duality of agent as in 36e. Likewise, it takes a plural suffix <–i> for the plurality of subject as in 36b and plurality of object as in 36d. It takes a plural marker <–m> for plurality of agent as in 36f.

(36) a. lok-Ø- $c^h$i-ŋa
run-NPT-dS-1e
We run.'

b. lokk-Ø-i-ŋa
run-NPT-pS-1e
'We run.'

c. a- Ø -l□m-Ø-$c^h$i-ŋa
1-3sA-beat-NPT-dO-1e

‘They beat us.’

d. a- Ø -l□ps-Ø-i-ŋa
1-3sA-beat-NPT-pO-1e
‘He beats us.’

e. l□m-Ø-$c^h$-u-ŋa
beat-NPT-dA-3O-1e
'We beat them.'

f. l□ps-Ø-u-m-m-ma
beat-PT-3O-pA- 1e
'We beat them. '

The suffix <-Na> is a first person singular subject or object or agent. First person dual exclusive includes two people and excludes the listener or the listener and his group whereas first person plural exclusive includes three or more than three people but excludes the listener or listener and his group. In fact, first person singular is first person exclusive because first person singular always excludes himself or herself from the second person or the listener and his or her group. If the number of excluded is one, it is first person singular, if two, it is first person dual exclusive if three or more than three, it is first person plural exclusive. <-Na> in this analysis is taken as a first person exclusive suffix . It is first person singular. Dual and plural exclusives are its dual and plural forms. First person pronouns are divided into exclusive and inclusive categories. They are discussed in …

**7.8.** THE FIRST PERSON PLURAL EXCLUSIVE SUBJECT OR AGENT MORPHEME IN PAST

basic morph : <-mna >
label :1pe/S/PT

<-mna> is a portmanteaux which indexes a first person plural exclusive subject in the past in intransitive form as in 37a-c while in transitive forms, it denotes a 1pe-→ relations as indicated in 37d-f

(37) a. tam-na
arrive-1peS/PT
‘We arrived.’

b. sim-na
die-1peS/PT
‘We died.’

c. i-mna
move round-1peS/PT
‘We move round.’

d. nim-na
cover-1peA/PT
‘We covered them.’

e. kum-na
carry-1peA/PT
‘We carried (something or somebody)’

f. ham-na
bite-1peA/PT
‘We beat (something)’

In 37, phonologically the phoneme /m/ of the morpheme <-mna> occurs in the coda position and keeps itself away from its morphemic group. As a result, -na stands isolated phonologically but morphologically they form a single morpheme <-mna>.

The reason for /m/ occurring in coda position is that consonant sequence or geminates can not occur in the syllable onset position.

In all occurrences the suffix <–mna> shows an identical phonemic shape and has a common semantic distinctiveness and it constitutes a first person plural exclusive subject or agent in the past form. It occurs in the fifth suffixal slot. It has allomorph in <-na>. When it occurs after the syllable final consonant, its initial consonant /m/ is deleted and only <-na> remains as an allomorph because consonant sequence can not occur in the onset position. The examples in 38 make it clear.

(38) **a.** lok-na
run-1pe/PT
We ran.'

b. l□m-na
beat-1peS/PT
'We beat.'

c. tEp-na
cover-1peS/PT
'We caught.'

In fact, the full conjugated forms of the verbs in 38 are as presented in 39.

(39) a. lokk-Ø- i-ŋa
run-PT-pS-1e
'We run.'

b. l□ps-Ø-u-m-Ø ma
beat-PT-3O-pA-sO-1e
'We beat him.'

c. tEps-Ø-u-m-Ø ma
catch-PT-3O-pA-sO-1e
'We beat him.'

While *lokkiŋa* and *l□psumma* can be both past and non-past, *lok-na* and *l□m-na* can be only past. In the first word, the plural subject suffix <-i> is replaced by plural agent morpheme <-m> and the following first person suffix <-ŋ> changes to <-n>. Thus, the word form is *lok-Nna*. But as the consonant sequence can not occur in the onset position *lok-Nna* is realized as *lok-na*. Similarly, in the second word the third person singular object suffix <-u> is deleted. Then, the plural agent morpheme <-m> is retained and first person marker <-Na> changes to <-na> producing a word form *l□m-mna*. Again due to syllable onset constraint, the phoneme /m/ is deleted and it is realized as *l□m-na*. The invariable form of the morpheme <-na> yields past meaning. The verb form *tEp-na* which is pronounced as *tEpsumma* in the full form also shares the features of *l□mna*. In the speech community, these both forms are optionally used.

**7. 9.** THE FIRST PERSON NON-DUAL NEGATIVE MORPHEME

basic morph <-ban ~-pan >

label: IsS/A/ PT/NEG

The suffix <-ban> occurs in the negated past of intransitive and transitive forms with the first person exclusive or first person plural exclusive subject or agent. It occurs in the sixth suffixal slot.

(40) a. man-laN-ban
NEG-dance-1eS/PT/NEG
'I didn't dance.'

Or

man-laN-ban
NEG-dance-1peS/PT/NEG
'We didn't dance.'

b. man-yuN-ban
NEG-sit-1eS/NPT/NEG
'I didn't sit.'

Or

man-yuN-ban
NEG-sit-1peS/NPT/NEG
'We didn't sit.'

c. man-l□m-ban
NEG-go-1eS/PT/NEG
'I didn't beat.'

Or

man-l□m-ban
NEG-go-1peS/PT/NEG
'We didn't beat .'

d. man-l□m-ban-si-n
NEG-beat -1eA/PT/NEG-nsO-NEG
'I didn't beat them.'

Or

f. man-l□m-ban-si-n
NEG-beat -1peA/PT/NEG-nsO-NEG
'We didn't beat them.'

In all these occurrences the suffix <–ban> assumes the same phonemic shape and indexes similar meanings. Therefore, it is assigned the status of a portmanteaux morpheme. It has an allomorph in <-pan> as indicated in 41.

(41) a. man-lok-pan
NEG-run-1sS/PT/NEG
'I didn't run.'

b. man-lok-pan
NEG-run-1peS/PT/NEG
'We didn't run.'

c. man-sip-pan
NEG-milk-1sS/PT/NEG
‘I didn’t milk.’

d. maN-gip-pan-si-n
NEG-fear-1sA/PT/NEG
‘I didn’t fear them.’

The phonemic shapes of the morpheme <–ban~–pan> are conditioned by the phonological environments which can be stated in the following way:

a. The morph is < –ban> if it is preceded by nasal consonants /m/ and /N/ as in 40.
b. The morph is <–pan> if it is preceded by voiceless stop consonants /p/ and /k/as in 41.

After the vowel, the morpheme is <–ban> and it is, therefore, assumed as the underlying form according to the theory of Katamba and assigned status of morpheme.

Originally, <-ban> is derived from the morphemes <-a-ŋ> in an affixal string. <-a> stands for past tense and <-ŋ> for first person, exclusive. When they occur in a syllable, they require a consonant in the initial position. They choose [p] after a voiceless consonant but [b] after a vowel or a nasal consonant. The first person exclusive morpheme and the negative suffix <-n> coalesced into a single segment /n/. As a result, it becomes a portmanteaux morpheme <-ban~ -pan>, which signals a first person, exclusive or first person plural exclusive number, past tense and negative meaning in the intransitive context and adds third person object in the transitive context.

In the 1sA→3s or 1pe→3s structures, the verb is intransitively conjugated in the negative form constituted by the negative morph <man- -ban>. It doesn't mark the object but its non-singularity is marked by third person nons-ingular object <–si.>

**8.** NUMBER MARKERS. Chhatthare Limbu has number markers such as dual, non-singular and plural markers. The singularity is formally unmarked on the verb form. However, these number markers carry case meaning such as subject, object and agent along with them and they can't be separated. Therefore, here, they are dealt with in the same sub-headings.

**8. 1.** SINGULARITY OF SUBJECT OR OBJECT. Singularity of first person and second person subject and objects are not formally marked on the verb form. Both person and singularity of the third person are formally unmarked. They are, therefore, marked by the morph <Ø>. They are discussed below.

**8.1.1.** SINGULARITY OF FIRST PERSON, SUBJECT OR OBJECT

basic morph <-Ø>
label sS/O

The morpheme <-ŋa~-ŋ ~-ma~-na> signals first person exclusive. Its singularity of subject or object is formally unmarked. It is indicated a by zero morph <- Ø> in 42.

(42) a. lok-Ø- Ø- ŋa
run-NPT-sS-1e
'I run.'

b. a-ni- Ø-Ø -Na
1-see-NPT-sO-1e
'He sees me.'

c. ka-ni-Ø-Ø-Na
2-see-NPT-sO-1e
'You see me.'

**8.1.2.** SINGULARITY OF SECOND PERSON SUBJECT OR OBJECT

basic morph: <Ø>
label: sS/O

Singularity of second person subject or object is not overtly marked in the verb form. It is indicated by a <Ø> morph in 43. The singularity of the second person subject is indicated by a zero morph <Ø> in 45a and singularity of object in 45b.

(43). a. ka-lok-Ø-Ø
2-run-NPT-sS
'You run.'
b. ka- Ø- l□m Ø- Ø
2-3sA- beat-NPT-sO
'He beats you.'
c. ka- n- l□m Ø- Ø
2-3sA- beat-NPT-sO
'He beats you.'

**8.1.3.** SINGULARITY OF THIRD PERSON SUBJECT OR OBJECT
basic morph: <Ø>
label: 3sS

Marker for the singularity of the third person subject doesn't appear on the verb form. However, it is marked by the morph, <Ø> which signals both third person singular subject as in 44a in the morphemic analysis. When it is followed by the dual marker, it indexes duality of subject as in 44b. It occurs in the third prefixal slot.

(44) a. **Ø**--suN-Ø
3sS-cough-NPT
'He coughs.'
b**.** **Ø**--suN-Ø- cHi
3sS-cough-NPT -dS
'They cough.'

The third person object <-u> occurs in the fourth suffixal slot and its singularity is formally unmarked. It is indexed by zero morph < Ø> as in 45 in the morphemic analysis.

(45) a. **Ø**-l□ps-Ø-u-Ø
3sA-beat-NPT-3O-sO
'He beats him.'
b. **Ø**-k$^{h}$Eks-Ø-u-Ø
3sA-bind-NPT-3O-sO
'He binds it.'
c. **Ø**-Eks-Ø-u-Ø
3sA-break-NPT-3O-sO
'He breaks it.'

**8.2.** DUALITY OF SUBJECT OR OBJECT OR AGENT
basic morph :<-c$^{h}$i>
label :dS/O/A

The suffix <-c$^{h}$i> indicates duality of subject in all three persons and of objects in the first and second person verb forms in an identical phonemic shape. It constitutes a dual morpheme on the basis of a common semantic distinctiveness and an identical phonemic shape principle. It is a sf3 filler.

**8. 2.1.** DUALITY OF THE FIRST PERSON SUBJECT OR OBJECT Duality of the first person subject is marked by <-c$^{h}$i> as in table 46 a-b and duality of its object is marked by the same suffix as in 46 c-d.

(46) a. a-lok-Ø-c$^{h}$i
1i-run-NPT-dS
'We run.'

b. lok-Ø- c$^{h}$i-ŋa
run-NPT-dS-1e
'We run.'

c. a-Ø-l□m-Ø-c$^{h}$i
1i-3sA-beat-NPT-dO
'He beats us.'

d. a-Ø -l□m-Ø-c$^{h}$i-ŋa
1-3sA-beat-NPT-dO-1e
'He beats us.'

When it occurs after the second person object morpheme <-nE> in 1-2 configurations, it functions as the first person nonsingular agent suffix as in 47.

(47) a. l□m-nE-Ø-Ø-c$^{h}$i-ŋa
beat-1→2-NPT-sO- nsA-1e
'We beat you.'

**8.2.2.** DUALITY OF SECOND PERSON SUBJECT OR OBJECT. The morpheme <-c$^{h}$i> marks duality of second person subject as in 48a and duality of object as in 48b.

(48) a. ka-lok-Ø-c$^{h}$i
2-run-NPT-dS
'You run.'

b ka- Ø- l□m-Ø-c$^{h}$i
2-3sA-beat-NPT-dO
'He beats you.'

**8.2.3.** DUALITY OF THIRD PERSON SUBJECT. Duality of the third person subject is marked by the suffix <-c$^{h}$i> as in 49 but it doesn't mark its third person dual object. In third person, subject and agent show one type of behaviour and object shows another type of behaviour as opposed to the case in the first and second person where we see subject and object occurring as one group and agent as another group. To be precise, the verb form in the third person shows nominative-accusative pattern whereas the verb forms in the first and second person show ergative-absolutive pattern.

(49) a. Ø-lok-Ø-c$^{h}$i
3-run-NPT-dS
'They run.'

b. Ø-pok-Ø-c$^{h}$i
3-get up-NPT-dS
'They get up'

c. Ø-yuN-Ø-c$^{h}$i
3-run-NPT-dS
'They sit.'

**8. 3.** THE MORPHEME OF THIRD PERSON OBJECT NON-SINGULARITY

basic morph : <-si>
label : nsO

The non-singularity of third person object is marked by the suffix <-si> which occurs either after the third person object morpheme <-u> as in 50a or after nasals /m/ /n/ and /ŋ/ as in 50b-d.

(50) a. Ø-l□ps-Ø-u-si
3sA-beat-NPT-3O-nsO
'He beats them.'

b. a-l□ps-Ø u-m-si-m
1i-beat-NPT-3O-pA-nsO-pA
'We beat them.'

c. a-n-l□m-Ø-$c^h$-u-n-si-n
1i-NEG-beat-NPT-dA-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG
'We don't beat them.'

d. l□ps-Ø- Ø-u- ŋ-si-ŋ
beat-NPT-sA-3O-1e-nsO-1e
'I beat them.'

**8. 4.** PLURALITY OF SUBJECT AND OBJECT

basic morph : <-i>
label :pS/O

The suffixx <-i> indicates plurality of subject and object in the first and second person verb forms without any change in its phonemic shape.

**8.4.1.** PLURALITY OF THE FIRST PERSON SUBJECT OR OBJECT. The morpheme <-i> marks the plurality of the first person subject as 51 a-b and plurality of object as in 51c-e.

(51) a. a-lokk-Ø-i
1 -run-NPT-pS
'We run.'

b. lokk- Ø- i- -ŋa
run-NPT-pS-1e
'We run.'

c. a-Ø-l□ps-Ø-i
1-3 sA-beat-NPT-pO
'He beats us.'

d. a-Ø-l□ps-Ø-i-ŋa
1-3sA-beat-NPT-pO-1e
'He beats us .'

e. a-n-l□ps-Ø-i
1-3sA-beat-NPT-pO
'They beats us .'

**8. 4.2.** PLURALITY OF THE SECOND PERSON SUBJECT OR OBJECT.

The morpheme <-i> marks the plurality of the second person subject as in 52a and plurality of the object as in 52b-c.

(52) a. ka-lokk-Ø-i
2-run-NPT-pS
'You run.'

b. ka-Ø-l□ps-Ø-i
2-3sA-beat-NPT-pO
‘He beats you.’

c. ka- n-l□ps-Ø-i
2-3nsA-beat-NPT-pO
‘They beat you.’

It has a regular allomorph <-ni> in the second person plural object in 1→2 forms as presented in 53.

(53) a. l□m-na-Ø- ni- Ø-ŋ
beat-1→2-NPT-pO-sA-1e
'I beat you.'

b. cEp-na-Ø- ni- Ø-ŋ
chop-1→2-NPT-pO-sA-1e
'I chop you.'

c. u?-na-Ø- ni- Ø-ŋ
call-1→2-NPT-pO-sA-1e
'I call you.'

The plural morpheme <-i> is derived from the numeral word *sumsi* 'three'.

**8.4.3.** PLURALITY OF THE THIRD PERSON SUBJECT

basic morph: <mu->
label: 3pS

Plurality of the third person subject is marked by the third person portmanteau <mu-> as mentioned in table 54.

(54) a. mu-lok-<Ø>
3pS-run-NPT
‘They run.’

b. mu-da-<Ø>
3pS-come-NPT
‘They come.’

c. mu-im-<Ø>
3pS-sleep-NPT
‘They sleep.’

**8.5.** SINGULARITY OF AGENT **.** Singularity of the first person, second person agent and third person agents is marked by the morph <Ø>.

**8.5.1.** SINGULARITY OF THE FIRST PERSON AGENT

basic morph: <- Ø >
label: 1e

Singularity of the first person agent is formally unmarked. It is indicated by the morph < Ø > in the paradigm.

(55) a. l□ps-Ø- Ø- u-ŋ-Ø
beat-NPT-sA-3O-1e-sO

'I beat him.'

b. l□m-na-Ø-Ø-Ø
beat-1→2O-NPT-sO-sA
'I beat you.'

c. l□m-na-Ø-c$^{h}$i- Ø- ŋ
beat-1→2O-NPT-dO-sA-1e
'I beat you.'

d. l□m-na-Ø-ni-Ø-ŋ
beat-1→2O-NPT-pO-sA-1e
'I beat you.'

**8. 5.2.** SINGULARITY OF SECOND PERSON AGENT

basic morph: <Ø>
label: sA

Singularity of second person agent is marked by the morpheme <Ø> as in 56.

(56) a. ka-l□ps-Ø-u -Ø-Ø
2-beat-NPT-3O-sA-sO
'You beat him.'

b. ka-l□m-Ø-Ø-Ø-ma
2-beat-NPT-sA-sO-1e
'You beat me.'

c. ka-l□m-Ø- Ø c$^{h}$i-Na
2-beat-NPT-sA-dO-1e
'You beat us.'

**8. 5.3.** SINGULARITY OF THE THIRD PERSON AGENT

basic morph: <Ø>
label: 3sA

Singularity of the third person agent is marked by the morpheme <Ø> as given in 57.

(57) a. Ø-l□ps-Ø-u -Ø
3sA-beat-NPT-3O-sO
'He beats him.'

b. ka- Ø -l□m-Ø- Ø
2-3sA-beat-NPT-sO
'He beats you.'

c. a- Ø -l□m-Ø- Ø-ma
1-3sA-beat-NPT-sO-1e
'He beats me.'

**8. 6.** DUALITY OF THE AGENT

basic morph: <-c$^{h}$>
label: dA

The suffix <-c$^{h}$ > marks agent duality of first person, second person and third person. It occurs before the third person morpheme <-u> in a verb form. It fills the third suffixal slot.

**8.6.1.** DUALITY OF THE FIRST PERSON AGENT. Duality of the first person agent in 1→3 configuration is marked by <-c$^{h}$> as in 58a-d but duality of agent in 1→2 configuration is marked by <-c$^{h}$i> as in 27a-c.

(58) a. a-l□m -Ø-c$^{h}$-u-Ø
1i-beat-NPT-dA-3O-sO
'We beat him.'

b. a-l□m-Ø-c$^{h}$-u- si
1i-beat-NPT-dA-3O-nsO
'We beat them (d).'

c. l□m-Ø-c$^{h}$-u-Ø-ŋa
beat-dA-3O-sO-1e
'We beat him.'

d l□m-Ø-c$^{h}$-u-si-ŋa
beat-NPT-dA-3O-nsO-1e
'We don't beat them.'

**8.6.2.** DUALITY OF THE SECOND PERSON AGENT. The morpheme <-c$^{h}$> marks duality of second person agent as in 59.

(59) a. ka-l□m –Ø-c$^{h}$-u-Ø
2-beat-NPT-dA-3O-sO
'You beat him.'

b. ka-l□m-Ø-c$^{h}$-u-si
2-beat-NPT-dA-3O-nsO
'You beat them.'

**8.6.3.** DUALITY OF THE THIRD PERSON AGENT Duality of the third person agent is marked by the suffix <-c$^{h}$ > as in 60.

(60) a. Ø-l□m-c$^{h}$-u -Ø
3- beat-dA-3O-sO
'They beat him.'

b. Ø-l□m-Ø-c$^{h}$-u-si
3-beat-NPT-dA-3O-nsO
'They beat them.'

In fact, the dual number morpheme <-c$^{h}$i> is derived from the numeral lexical item *netchi* 'two'. In intransitive verb form, it is overt but in the transitive verb form the vowel /i/ is deleted when it occurs before the third person object morpheme <-u> because the sequence of /i/ and /u/ is not permitted in the language. Van Driem (1987: 31) also says the same thing about the dual number morpheme in Phedappe Limbu.

**8.7.** THIRD PERSON, NON-SINGULAR AGENT

morphs: < -m~ -n~ -N- Ø >
label: 3nsA

Third person, plural morpheme <mu-> has allomorphs in <-m~ -n ~ -N> which occur in 3→2 configuration as in 61a and 3→1 configuration as in 61b and 61c configurations. These allomorphs are phonologically conditioned and they index only third person, non-singular, agent meaning as given in 61.

(61) a. ka- m-bi-Ø- Ø
2-3nsA-give-NPT-sO
'They give you.'

b. a-n-dEps-i- Ø
1-3nsA-catch-pO-NPT
‘They catch us.’

c. a-ŋ-gut-a-ŋ
1-3nsA- make carry -PT-1sO
'They made me carry something.'

From the examples in 61, the phonological conditions in which the third person non-singular agent allomorph undergoes phonemic changes can be enumerated in the following way:

a. The third person non-singular agent prefix is <–m> if it is followed by a bilabial consonant like /p/.

b. The third person non-singular agent prefix is <-N> if it is followed by a velar consonants like /k.

c. The third person non-singular agent prefix is <–n> if it is followed by a dental consonants like /n/.

(See …)

In negative forms, third person non-singular agent is formally unmarked. In the paradigm it is marked by the allomorph <–Ø> as in 62.

(62) a. ka-Ø-n-l□m-Ø-nEn
2-3nsA-NEG-beat-NPT- NEG
‘They don’t beat you.’

b. a-Ø -n-l□m-Ø- Ø-ma-n
1-3nsA-NEG-beat-NPT-sO-1e-NEG
‘They don’t beat me.’

c. a-Ø -n-l□m-Ø-$c^h$i- n
1i-3nsA-NEG-beat-NPT-dO- NEG
‘They don’t beat us.’

**8.8.** PLURALITY OF SPEECH ACT PARTICIPANT AGENT

basic morph :<-m>
label :pA

The suffix <-m> indexes the plurality of the second person agent as in 63a and of first person agent as in 63b-c. It occurs in the fifth suffixal slot.

(63) a. ka-l□ps-Ø-u-m- Ø
2-beat-NPT-3O-pA -sO
‘You beat him.’

b. a-l□ps-Ø-u- m -Ø
1i-beat-NPT-3O -pA-sO
'We beat him.'

c. l□ps-Ø-u-m-Ø ma
beat-NPT-3O-pA-sO-1e
'We beat him.'

The first person plural agent morpheme doesn't occur where the portmanteau morphemes <-mna> and <-pan> occur because they themselves encode plural agentive meaning though formally they don’t take object. The examples in 64a and 64b illustrate it.

(64) a. l□m-mna
beat-1peS/PT

'We beat him.'

b. man-l□m-ban
NEG-beat-1peS/PT/NEG
'We didn't beat him.'

The morpheme <-m> as a 1/2 plural agent suffix is ubiquitous in Athpare, Bantawa and Chamling (Ebert 1994: 22).

**8.9.** PLURALITY OF THIRD PERSON AGENT

basic morph: <mu->
label: 3pA

Plurality of the third person agent is marked by the portmanteau morph <mu-> as discussed in 65. It can occur only in 3→3 configuration.

(65) a. mu-l□ps- Ø-u -Ø
3pA- beat-NPT-3O-sO
'They beat him.'

b. mu-uks-Ø-u
3pA-pull-NPT-3O
'They pull it.'

c. mu-bat-Ø-u
3pA-say-NPT-3O
'They say it.'

In negative form, its syllable final vowel /u/ changes to /a/ and is realized as <ma-> as indicated in 66.

(66) a. ma-n-l□ps-Ø-u-n
3pA-NEG-beat-NPT-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG
'They do not beat them.'

b. ma-N-uks-Ø-u-n
3pA-NEG-pull-NPT-3O-NEG
'They do not pull it.'

c. ma-m-bat-Ø-u-n
3pA-NEG-say-NPT-3O-NEG
'They do not say it.'

**9.** COPIED MORPHEMES.When the first person exclusive morpheme <-ŋ> occurs with the third person non-singular morpheme <-si>, it occurs again as its own copy as in 67a. The second person and first person plural agent morpheme <-m> occur as their own copy after the third person non-singular object suffix <-si> as in67b and 67c respectively.

(67) a. l□ps-Ø- Ø- u-ŋ-si-ŋ
beat-NPT-sA-3O-1e-nsO-1e
'I beat them.'

b. ka-l□ps-Ø-u-m-si-m
2-beat-NPT-3O-pA-nsO-pA
'You beat them.'

c. a-l□ps-Ø u-m-si-m
1i-beat-NPT-3O-pA-nsO-pA-i
'We beat them.'

The plural suffix <-m> of first person exclusive agent can be optionally unmarked in the past form. Its meaning is expressed by the portmanteau suffix <-ban> as indicated in 68.

(68) a. man-l□m-ban
NEG-beat-1peA/PT/NEG
'We don't beat them.'
b man-ni-ban
NEG-see-1peA/PT/NEG
'We don't see them.'
c. man-s□N-ban
NEG-sell-1peA/PT/NEG
'We don't beat them.'

The negative suffix <-n> also occurs again as a copy of its own after the third person non-singular object suffix <-si> as shown in 69.

(69) a. Ø-ma-l□ps-Ø-u-n-si-n
3sA-NEG-beat-NPT-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG
'He doesn't beat them.'
b. Ø-ma-nih-Ø-u-n-si-n
3sA-NEG-see-NPT-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG
'He doesn't beat them.'
c. Ø-ma-s□ks-Ø-u-n-si-n
3sA-NEG-sell-NPT-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG
'He doesn't sell them.'

**10.** THE MORPHEME OF REFLEXIVITY/RECIPROCITY

basic morph : <- $c^h$in -nE>
label : REFL

The suffix <-$c^h$in> is a sf1 filler and it encodes reflexivity or reciprocity. It occurs in singular forms in all persons as in 70a-c but it also occurs in third person and first person plural forms as in 70d and 70e respectively..

(70) a. Ø-l□m-$c^h$in-Ø
3sS-beat-REFL-NPT
'He beats himself.'
b. ka-l□m-$c^h$in-Ø-Ø
2-beat-REFL-NPT-sS
'You beat yourself.'
c. l□m-$c^h$in-Ø-na
beat- REFL -NPT-1eS
'I beat myself.'
d. mu-l□m- $c^h$in- Ø
3pS-beat- Refl -NPT
'They beat themselves.'
e. a-l□m-$c^h$in-Ø Ø
1i-beat-REFL-NPT-pS
'We beat ourselves.'

While <–$c^h$in> encodes reflexive sense in third person plural and first person plural inclusive, each of the participants acts upon himself or on herself but when it encodes reciprocal sense, participants within the group mutually perform act upon each other, one performs the act and the other reciprocates it. Throughout these occurrences, <-$c^h$in> maintains its identical phonemic shape and common semantic distinctiveness. Therefore, it assumes the status of morpheme.

In dual forms it has allomorph in <-nE>.It encodes reciprocal meanings as in 71.

(71). a. Ø-l□m-nE-Ø-c$^{h}$i
3-beat-RECIP-NPT-nsS
'They beat each other.'

b. ka- l□m-nE-Ø-c$^{h}$i
2-beat-RECIP-NPT-nsS
'You beat each other.'

c. a-l□m-nE-Ø-c$^{h}$i-Ø
1i-beat-RECIP-NPT-nsS
'We beat each other.'

d. l□m-nE-Ø-c$^{h}$i-ŋa
beat-RECIP-NPT-nsS-1e
'We beat each other.'

Reflexive verb is basically derived from a transitive verb as demonstrated by the examples in table 53.

| | Transitive | | Reflexive | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3s-3s | l□s-u | 'he beat him.' | l□m-c$^{h}$in ' | 'he beat himself.' |
| 3d-3s | l□m-cH-u | 'They beat him.' | l□m-nE-c$^{h}$i | 'they beat each other.' |
| 3p-3s | mu- l□ps-u | 'they put it.' | mu-l□m-c$^{h}$in | 'they beat themselves.' |
| 2s-3s | ka-l□p-u | 'you put it.' | ka-l□m-c$^{h}$in | 'you beat yourself.' |
| 2d-3s | ka-l□m-cH-u | 'you put it.' | ka-l□m-nE-c$^{h}$i | 'you beat each other.' |
| 2p-3s | ka-l□ps-u-m | 'you put it.' | ka-l□m-nE-chi | 'you put yourselves.' |
| 1s-3s | l□ps-u-ŋ | 'I put it.' | l□m-c$^{h}$in-na | 'I beat myself.' |
| 1d-3s | a-l□m-cH-u | 'we put it.' | a-l□m-nE-c$^{h}$i | 'we beat each other.' |
| 1de-3s | l□m-cH-u-ŋa | 'we put it.' | l□m-nE-c$^{hi}$-ŋa | 'we beat each other.' |
| 1pi-3s | a-l□ps-u-m | 'we put it.' | a- l□m-c$^{h}$in | 'we beat ourselves.' |
| 1pe-3s | l□ps-u-m-ma | 'we put it.' | l□m-c$^{h}$im-mna | 'we beat ourselves.' |

TABLE 53. Comparative paradigms of transitive and reflexive verbs l□mma ‘to beat’ and l□m-cHim-ma ‘to beat oneself’

In the plural forms of the first and third person subjects, the reflexive form <-nE> occurs optionally but the second person plural subject takes it obligatorily and its verb form is identical with that of second person dual subject. The reason for this to happen is that <ka-> indicates second person singular subject or object. The dropping of <-c$^{h}$in> yields *ka-l□m-c$^{h}$in* 'you beat yourself' which signals purely a singular subject meaning. Thus, the second person plural reflexive subject chooses the dual reflexive suffix.

Reflexive verbs can't be derived from the intransitive verbs without transitive potentiality. Therefore, reflexive verbs can't be derived from intransitive verbs like *te-ma* 'to go', *laŋ-ma* 'to dance', *pHem-ma* 'to come' because such derivations as *te-cHin*, *laŋ-cHin* and *pHen-cHin* are not attested in the language.

Most of the reflexive verbs are now felt to be transparent in spite of their reflexive derivatives. A number of reflexive or reciprocal forms are lexicalized and their meaning can't be readily adduced in terms of merely a reflexive or reciprocal sense. The reflexive verb *yuŋ-cHiŋ* 'he sits ' is reflexive derivative of the transitive verb root <*yuks*> as mentioned in the table 54. It is, however, not felt to be transparent. It is now lexicalized and yields intransitive meaning ‘to sit’ only.

| | Transitive | | Reflexive | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3s-3s | yuks-u | 'he put it.' | yuŋ-c$^{h}$in ' | ‘he sits.' |
| 3d-3s | yuŋ-cH-u | 'They put it.' | yuŋ-nE-c$^{h}$i | 'they sit.' |
| 3p-3s | mu- yuks-u | 'they put it.' | mu-yuŋ-c$^{h}$in | 'they sit.' |
| 2s-3s | ka-yuks-u | 'you put it.' | ka-yuŋ-c$^{h}$in | 'you sit.' |
| 2d-3s | ka-yuŋ-ch-u | 'you put it.' | ka-yuŋ-nE-c$^{h}$i | 'you sit.' |
| 2p-3s | ka-yuks-u-m | 'you put it.' | ka-yuŋ-nE-chi | 'you sit.' |
| 1s-3s | yuks-u-ŋ | 'I put it.' | yuŋ-c$^{h}$in-na | 'I sit.' |
| 1d-3s | a-yuŋ-cH-u | 'we put it.' | a-yuŋ-ne-c$^{h}$i | 'we sit.' |
| 1de-3s | yuŋ-cH-u-ŋa | 'we put it.' | yuŋ-nE-c$^{h}$-ŋa | 'we sit.' |
| 1pi-3s | a-yuks-u-m | 'we put it.' | a- yuŋ-c$^{h}$in | 'we sit.' |
| 1pe-3s | yuks-u-m-ma | 'we put it.' | yuŋ-c$^{h}$im-mna | 'we sit.' |

TABLE 54. Conjugation of transitive and reflexive verbs

Morphologically, reflexive verbs follow the conjugation pattern of middle or intransitive verbs. If the reflexive suffix <-c$^{h}$in> is dropped, the verb form becomes like the form of intransitive verb as shown in table 55.

| | Intransitive | |
|---|---|---|
| 3s | yuŋ | 'he sits.' |
| 3d | yuŋ-cHi | 'they sit' |
| 3p | mu-yuŋ | 'they sit.' |
| 2s | ka-yuŋ | 'you sit.' |
| 2d. | ka-yuŋ-cHi | 'you sit.' |
| 2p | ka-yuŋ-i | 'yu sit.' |
| 1s | yuŋ-ŋa | 'I sit.' |
| 1d | a-yuŋ-cHi | 'we sit.' |
| 1de | yuŋ-cHi-ŋa | 'we sit.' |
| 1pi | a-yuŋ-i | 'we sit.' |
| 1pe | yuŋ-i-ŋa | 'we sit.' |

TABLE 55. Conjugation of intransitive verb yuNma ‘to sit’

The suffix < -nE> can signal either reciprocal meaning or reflexive meaning. The choice of reciprocity or reflexivity is entirely semantic. If the doer of the actor acts upon himself, it is reflexive and if the actor acts upon other in return to his action that is reciprocal. If we judge it from this stance, the following verbs can be categorized both as reflexive and reciprocal.

(72)

| | Reflexive | | Reciprocal | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| a. | hu-nE-c$^{h}$i | 'they teach themselves.' | hu-nE-c$^{h}$i | 'they teach each other.' |
| b. | l□m-nE-c$^{h}$i | 'they beat themselves.' | l□m-nE-c$^{h}$i | 'they beat each other.' |
| c. | uŋ-nE-c$^{h}$i | 'they drag themselves' | uŋ-nE-c$^{h}$i | 'they drag each other.' |

In fact, the reflexive meaning has a deliberative reading as long as the reflexive verb is felt to be transparent but when it is lexicalized, it loses deliberative reading and shades only intransitive meaning. However, cases of lexicalization are very

limited and they can't challenge the productivity of reflexive or reciprocal verbs. So, now, we can say that the suffix <-c$^{h}$iŋ> indicates reflexivity or reciprocity. It has a regular allomorph in <-nE> in non-singular forms.

**11.** THE INCLUSIVE MORPHEME
basic morph a
label : 1i
THE EXCLUSIVE MORPHEME
basic morph <- ŋa >
label 1e

In Chhatthare, there are mainly two kinds of first person pronouns. They are inclusive and exclusive. Fist person singular is exclusive as a speech act participant and is marked as first person exclusive <-Na> without any overt number marker. The addition of dual and plural suffixes to it indexes first person dual and plural exclusives. The first person inclusive is on the other hand marked by <a->.

Originally, the independent first person pronoun was *aŋga.* In the verb form, it was divided into two affixes <-a> and <-Na>. Its first part <a-> indexes first person inclusive meaning and its second part <-Nga> (later changed into <-Na>) indexes first person exclusive meaning. It can be shown in the tree diagram.

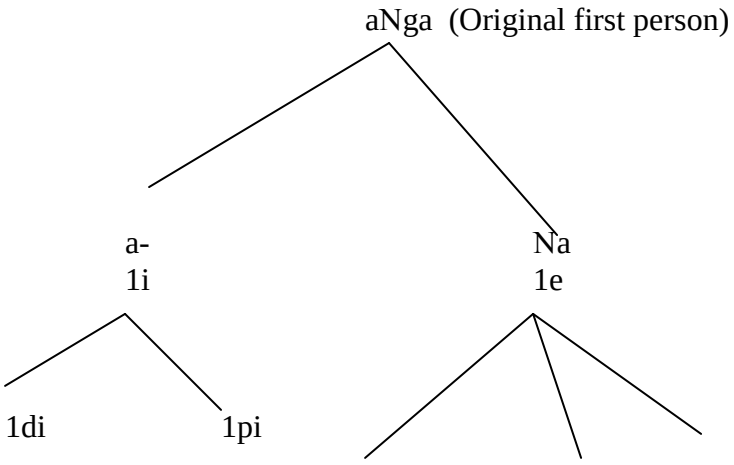

FIGURE 14. The division of aNga into inclusive and exclusive pronouns

Later, the inclusive <a-> began to be used as an independent morpheme in Chhatthare Limbu. The inclusivity of the first person subject, object or agent is marked by the morpheme < - a > whereas their exclusivity is marked by the morpheme <-ŋa>. On the left columns of the tables inclusive forms and on the right exclusive ones in non past affirmative and negative forms are given .

---

| Inclusive | Exclusive |
|---|---|
| a. | lok-Ø- Ø- Na |
| | Run-NPT-sS-1e |
| | 'I run.' |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| b. | a-lok- Ø-c$^{h}$i | lok- Ø-c$^{h}$i-Na |
| | 1i-run-NPT-dS | run-NPT-dS-1e |
| | ‘We run.’ | ‘We run.’ |
| c. | a-lokk- Ø-i | lokk- Ø-i-Na |
| | 1i-run-NPT-pS | run-NPT-pS-1e |
| | ‘We run.’ | ‘We run.’ |

TABLE 56. Inclusive and exclusive paradigms of intransitive verb *lokma* ‘to run’

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| a. | | a- Ø- l□m- Ø- Ø-ma |
| | | 1-3sA-beat-NPT-sO-1e |
| | | ‘He beats me.’ |
| b. | a- Ø- l□m- Ø-c$^{h}$i | a- Ø- l□m- Ø-c$^{h}$i-Na |
| | 1i-3sA-beat-NPT-dS | 1-3sA-beat-NPT-dS-1e |
| | ‘He beats us.’ | ‘He beats us.’ |
| c. | a- Ø -l□ps- Ø-i | a- Ø -l□ps- Ø-i-Na |
| | 1i-3sA-beat-NPT-pS | 1-3sA-beat-NPT-pS-1e |
| | ‘He beats us.’ | ‘He beats us.’ |

TABLE 57. Inclusive and exclusive paradigm of the transitive verb *l□mma* ‘to beat’ in 3s→1 forms.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| a. | | l□ps- Ø- Ø -u-N- Ø |
| | | Beat-NPT-sA-3O-1e-sO |
| | | ‘I beat him.’ |
| b. | a-l□m- Ø-c$^{h}$-u- Ø | l□m- Ø-c$^{h}$-u-Ø-Na |
| | 1i-beat-NPT-dA-3O-sO | beat-NPT-dA-3O-sO-1e |
| | ‘We beat him.’ | ‘We beat him.’ |
| c. | a-l□ps- Ø-u-m -Ø | l□ps- Ø-u-m-Ø-ma |
| | 1i-beat-NPT-3O-pA-sO | beat-NPT-3O-pA-sO-1e |
| | ‘We beat him.’ | ‘We beat him.’ |

TABLE 58. Inclusive and exclusive paradigm of the transitive verb *l□mma* ‘to beat’ in 1→1 forms.

The first person exclusive morpheme <-ŋa> has a regular allomorph in <-ma~ ~ -N> as revealed in tables 57, 58 and 59. It has also allomorph <-na> as in 34b.

In both transitive and intransitive verb forms the morpheme <-ŋa> occurs. It signals exclusion of the second person in the involvement of activity. The first person inclusive indexes the first person involvement in the action with the second person. The first person singular form indexes exclusion of the first person actant from the second person in carrying out joint action. It means the first person performs action alone without involving the second person. The first person dual and plural exclusives, on the other hand, indicate the exclusion of two and more than two people from the second person in the performance of act. For these reasons, first person exclusive includes first person, singular, dual and plural but inclusive includes only non-singular because inclusion is not possible in a singular situation.

**12.** NEGATIVE MARKER

basic morph <ma (n) - -nEn (n)>
label: NEG

Negation is marked by a negative morpheme in Chhatthare Limbu. The morpheme contains mainly two parts to indicate negation. The second part may contain another part as its copy. The first part and the second part surround the verb stem and express negation only in combination. They can not give negative meaning in isolation. The first part may occur as <man-~ma-~ m-~n-~N-> and the second part may take phonemic shapes such as <-nEn~-n>. As the morpheme has mainly two and occasionally three parts, there is a break between each part in their occurrence. The intransitive paradigm in table 48 shows an intransitive verb stem with <–n> as a discontinuous suffix in 17 forms out of 22 forms. It has discontinuous negative suffix <-nEn> in three forms and in two forms, the portmanteau show negation. On the other hand, <n-> as a discontinuous prefix occurs in 12 forms, <ma-> in eight forms and <man-> occurs in two forms with the portmanteau syffux < –ban>. These two affixes occurring at the beginning and at the end of the stem together form a negative morpheme which is called circumfix by Whaley (1997) and discontinuous morpheme by Driem (1987).

In transitive verb stem in table 50 , the negative suffix <–n> occurs in 66 forms in altogether 88 forms of past and non-past. The negative suffix <-nEn> occurs in 18 forms and the portmanteau suffix <–ban> indexes negative meaning in 4 forms. The negative prefix < man-> occurs in four forms-first person, singular agent and third person singular object in past form. In this configuration, the negative form does not mark object. The negative prefix <man-> and the portmanteau suffix <–pan~-ban> indexes first person, singular, subject, past and negative meaning. This portmanteau suffix also indexes first person, plural, subject, exclusive, past and negative meaning. In 1eA→3ns and 1peA→3ns configuration, the third person object number is marked but third person object isn't marked. The negative prefix <ma-> occurs in 24 forms and the negative prefix <n-> occurs in 60 forms. The prefix <n-> assimilates to the following consonant for place of articulation and is realized as <n-~m-~N->.

The two parts of a negative morph can take on different phonological shapes which are morpho-phonemically represented as <man- -ban>,<ma- -nEn>, <ma- -n>, <n- -nEn>, <n- -n>, <m- -nEn>, <m- -n>, <N- -nEn>, <N- -n>. The negative morph <man- –ban> occurs in four forms out of 88 forms. Out of four occurrences, too, the first person plural exclusive negative past in third person singular and non-singular configurations can also be conjugated as *ma-l□ps-u-m-ma-n* and *ma-l□ps-u-m-si-m-*

*ma-n*. Thus, it can occur, obligatorily, only in two forms. It raises the number of the occurrences of the negative morpheme <ma- -n> from 23 to 25 forms. The negative morpheme <ma- -nEn> occurs in four forms, <n- -nEn> in 12 and <n- -n> in 49 forms. In intransitive form the negative morpheme <man- ban> occurs in 2 forms. In that too, the first person plural exclusive past negative form is optional. It can be either conjugated as *ma-lokki-Na-n* or *man-lok-pan*. It shows that <man- -ban> occurs only in one form obligatorily. <ma- -nEn> occurs in 1 form, <ma- -n> in 7 forms, <n- - n> in ten forms and <n- -nEn> occurs in 2 forms. The negative morphemes are discussed below:

**12.1**. NEGATIVE MORPHEME <man- -ban>.The first part <man-> forms a discontinuous morpheme with the portmanteau suffix <-ban> which occurs after the verb root signaling first person, exclusive or first person plural exclusive agent or subject in negated past.

(73) a. man-lok-pan
NEG-run-1eS/NPT-NEG
'I did not run.'

b. man-lok-pan
NEG-run-1peS/PT/NEG
We did not go.'

c. man-l□m-ban
NEG-beat -1peS/PT/NEG
'I did not beat him.'

d. man-l□m-ban
NEG-beat-1peS/PT/NEG
'We did not beat him.'

**12.2.** NEGATIVE MORPHEME <ma-~-nEn~n>.The first part of the negative morpheme <ma-> occurs with either the second part <-nEn> or <-n> to a form discontinuous negative morpheme.

**12.2.1.** NEGATIVE MORPHEME <ma- -nEn>. The first part of the negative morpheme <ma-> co-occurs with the second part <-nEn> and constitutes a discontinuous negative morpheme <ma- -nEn> if the second part occurs right after the verb root as in 74a-b or after the coda consonant as in 74c.

(74) a. Ø-ma-dE-Ø-nEn
3sS-NEG-go-NPT-NEG
'He does not go.'

b. Ø-ma-lok-Ø-nEn
3sS-NEG-run-NPT-NEG
'He does not run.'

b. ma-l□m-na-Ø-chi-ŋ-nEn
NEG-beat-1→2-NPT-dO-1sA-NEG
'I did not beat you (dO).'

c. ma-l□m-na-Ø-ni-ŋ-nEn
NEG-beat-1→2-NPT-pO-1sA-NEG
'I do not beat you (p).'

**12.2.2.** NEGATIVE MORPHEME <ma- -n>. The second part <–n>occurs with the first part <ma-> to form a negative morpheme <ma- -n> after the vowel in the affixal string as in 75.

(75) a. ma-si-Ø- Ø- ŋa-n
NEG-die-NPT-sS-1e-NEG
'I do not die.'

b. Ø-ma-l□m-Ø-$c^h$-u-Ø-n
3-NEG-beat-NPT-dA-3O-sO-NEG
'They do not beat him.'

c. ma-l□m-Ø- Ø- ma-n
NEG-beat-NPT-sS-1-NEG
'I do not beat him.'

d. ma-l□m-$c^h$-u-Ø-ŋa-n
NEG-beat-dA-3O-sO-1e-NEG
'We do not beat him.'

e. ma-l□ps-Ø-u-m-Ø ma-n
NEG- beat-NPT-3O-pA-sO- 1e-NEG
'We do not beat him .'

f. ma-l□ps-Ø-u-m-si-m-ma-n
1-NEG- beat-NPT-3O-pA-nsO-pA-1e-NEG
'We do not beat them.'

**12.2.3**. NEGATIVE MORPHEME <ma- -n –n >.The second part <-n> occurs with the first part <ma-> after the third person object <-u> and reappears in the affixal string after the third person nonsingular morph <–si> as in 76.

(76) a. ma-l□m-Ø- Ø- ma-n-si-n
NEG- beat-NPT-sA-1-NEG-nsO-NEG
'I do not beat them.'

b. Ø-ma-l□ps-Ø-u-n-si-n
3sA-NEG-beat-NPT-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG
'He does not beat them.'

c. Ø-ma-l□m-Ø-$c^h$-u-n-si-n
3-NEG-beat-NPT-dA-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG
'They do not beat them.'

d. ma-l□m-Ø-ma-n-si-n
NEG- beat-NPT-1sA-NEG-nsO-NEG
'I do not beat them.'

**12.3**. NEGATIVE MORPHEME <m-~n-~N- -nEn~ -n>.The initial consonant /m/ of the negative prefix <ma-> is affixed to the end of third person plural morpheme <-mu>, second person morpheme <ka-> and first person morpheme <a->. The negative prefix is phonologically conditioned and it changes its phonological shape to /m/, /n/ and /N/ according to the place of articulation of the following consonant. As they occur in a single syllable with the personal prefixes, they appear like single portmanteau morphemes but they are morphologically separate. They form discontinuous negative morphemes together with the negative suffixes <-nEn> and <-n>. When the negative prefix occurs after the third person plural morpheme <mu->, the vowel changes from /u/ to /a/. Consequently, it is realized as <ma>. When it is followed by the negative prefix, it forms a single phonological unit with the negative

prefix and sounds homophonous with the negative prefix <man-> which occurs with the portmanteau morph <-pan~-ban>.

**12.3.1.** NEGATIVE MORPHEME <m- -nEn>, <n- nEn> <N- -nEn>. The negative prefix <m->, <-n> and <-N> appear after the third person plural morpheme <mu->, second person morpheme <ka-> and first person morpheme <a-> and take the second part <-nEn> to constitute discontinuous negative morphs < m- -nEn>, < n- -nEn> and < N-nEn>.

(77) a. ma-m-bok-Ø-nEn
3pS- NEG-rise-NPT-NEG
'They do not rise.'

b. ka-m-bo-Ø-Ø-nEn
2-NEG-grow-NPT-sS-NEG
'You do not grow.'

c. a-m-bo-Ø-Ø-nEn
1i-NEG-grow-NPT-sS-NEG
'We do not grow.'

The negative prefix assumes phonological shapes according to the consonant which follows it.

(78) a. ma-m-bo-Ø-nEn
3pS- NEG-grow-NPT-NEG
'They do not grow.'

b. ma-n-ni- Ø-nEn
3pS-NEG-NPT-weep-NEG
'They do not see.'

c. ma-N-guN- Ø-nEn
3pS- NEG-reach-NEG
'They do not reach.'

**12.3.2.** NEGATIVE MORPHEME < m- -n> or < n –n> or <N- -n>. After the third person plural morph <ma- >, second person morpheme <ka> and first person nonsingular morpheme <a> the prefix <m-~n-~N-> co-occurs with the suffix <-n> to form discontinuous negative morphs <m- -n>, <n- –n>>, and <N- -n>.

(79) a. ma-m-baks-Ø-u-n-Ø
3pA-NEG-send-NPT-3O-NEG-sO
‘They do not send him.’

b. ka-m-baks-Ø-u-Ø-Ø-n
2-NEG-send-NPT-3O-sA-sO-NEG
‘You do not send him.’

c. a- Ø- m-baN-Ø- Ø -Ø- Na-n
1-3sA-NEG-send-NPT-sA-sO-1e-NEG
‘He does not send me.'

The negative prefix assumes phonological shapes according to the consonant which follows it.

(80) a. ma-m-bat-Ø-u-n-Ø
3pA-NEG-say-NPT-3O-NEG-sO
‘They do not say it.’

b. ma-n-dEps-Ø-u- n-Ø
3pA-NEG-catch-NPT-3O-NEG -sO

‘They do not catch him.’

c. ma-N-gEtt-Ø-u- n Ø
3pA-NEG-bring-NPT-3O-NEG-sO
‘They don’t bring it.’

In 80a the negative prefix is realized as <m-> because it assimilates to the following bilabial stop /b/ for place of articulation. In 80b it is realized as <n-> due to its assimilation to the following dental stop /d/ and in 80c it is realized as <N-> due to its assimilation to the following velar stop /g/ for place of articulation.

**12.3.3**. NEGATIVE MORPHEME <m-~n-~N- -n -n>. After the third person plural morph <ma->, second person morpheme <ka-> and first person non-singular morpheme <a->, the negative prefix <m-~ n-~ N> co-occurs with the suffix <-n> after the third person object morpheme <-u> and it re-appears after the third person nonsingular object morpheme <–si> to constitute negative morphs <m- -n –n>, <n- -n –n> and <N- -n –n>.

(81) a. ma-m-baks-Ø-u-n-si-n
3pA-NEG-send-NPT-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG
‘They do not send them.’

b. ka-m-baN-Ø-cH-u-n-si-n
2-NEG-send-NPT-3O-dA-NEG-nsO-NEG
‘They do not send them.’

c. a-m-baN-Ø-cH-u-n-si-n
1i-NEG-send-NPT-3O-dA-NEG-nsO-NEG
‘We do not send them.’

The negative prefix assumes phonological shapes according to the consonant which follows it as in (82).

(82) a. ma-m-b□ks-Ø-u-n-si-n
3pA-NEG-lift-NPT-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG
‘They do not lift them.’

b. ma-n-l□ps-Ø-u- n-si-n
3pA-NEG-beat-NPT-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG
‘They do not beat them.’

c. ma-N-gEtt-Ø-u- n si-n
3pA-NEG-beat-PT-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG
‘They do not bring them.’

In transitive verb paradigm, negativization passes through the process as listed in (83)

a. Underlying representation: ka-l□ps-u
2-beat-3O
'You beat him.'

b. Pluralization: ka-l□ps-u-si
2- beat-3O-nsO
'You beat -them.'

c. Negativization: ka-n-l□ps-u-n-si-n
2-NEG-beat-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG
'You don't beat them.'

d. Spreading: The spreading of <-n> is observed after the third person, non-singular object.

On the basis of the number of occurrence, the negative morph < n- -n> is abundant as it occurs in ten forms in intransitive stems and 49 forms in transitive stems as opposed to the negative morph <ma- –nEn> that obligatory occurs in four forms only out of 88 forms. <-nEn> is a full form of the negative suffix and <ma-> is the proto-negative prefix of TB languages. Therefore, <ma- -nEn> is chosen here as the basic negative morph from which other morphs are derived.

The negative morph <ma- -nEn> has two parts. The first part has various phonological shapes such as <man->, <ma->, <m->, <n-> and <N-> and the second part has two shapes <-nEn> and <–n>. The first part <man-> occurs only with the portmanteau morph < –ban> in first person exclusive subject of past verb form and first person plural exclusive agent in third person object configuration. The phonological shapes of the first part of the negative morphs <m->, <n-> and <N-> occur after the personal prefixes <mu->, <ka-> and <a-> in the coda position. Therefore, morphologically, they are separate though phonologically they are a one syllable unit. The second part is <-nEn> if it occurs after the verb root or after the coda consonant whereas it is <–n> after the third person object morpheme <–u> or past morpheme <-a>. The second part <–n> reoccurs after the third person non-singular object morpheme <-si>.

## **13.** TENSE MORPHEMES

THE NON-PAST MORPHEME
basic morph: Ø
label :NPT

THE PAST MORPHEME
basic morph: <-a>
label : PT

Chhatthare Limbu distinguishes tense as non-past and past. Non-past is formally unmarked and is represented by a <–Ø> morph in the paradigm. Past is usually marked by a morph<–a>. The tense morpheme occurs in the second suffixal slot.

The intransitive paradigm in table 48 shows that out of 11 affirmative intransitive verb forms, past is marked by <-a> in eight verb forms. They are: 3s,3d, 3p, 2s, 2d,1s,1di and 1de. In first person plural inclusive and exclusive, the past marking is optional. The past marker <–a> and plural subject morpheme <–i> don't occur in succession and are, therefore, mutually exclusive. If one is chosen, the other one is to be formally abandoned. In second person plural form, the past is formally unmarked and it is marked by zero morph <–Ø>. In negative, it is marked by the morph <–a> in seven forms- 3s, 3d, 3p, 2s, 2d, 1di, and 1de. The second person negative verb form doesn't overtly mark the past, which, however, is indicated by a zero morph <– Ø>. In the first person, singular negative verb form, the past is marked by the portmanteau morph <–pan>. The first person plural inclusive marks the past either by a zero morph<- Ø> or by the past marker <-a>, which are, as stated earlier, mutually exclusive. Similarly, the first person plural exclusive is marked either by a zero morph, <–Ø> or by a potmanteau morph <–mna>. In majority of the verb forms, the past is marked by the morpheme <-a> and the non-past is unmarked in all forms.

The transitive conjugations in table 50 shows that out of 44 verb forms, 23verb forms with their negative counterparts distinguish past tense. The negative counterpart of the first person, singular agent verb form distinguishes the past form. Twenty verb

forms including the negative forms do not make tense distinction. Both past and non-past have the same form. The verb forms with the first person, singular agent affix do not mark the past though its negative counterpart does it.
The above phenomena can be summarized in a tree diagramme.

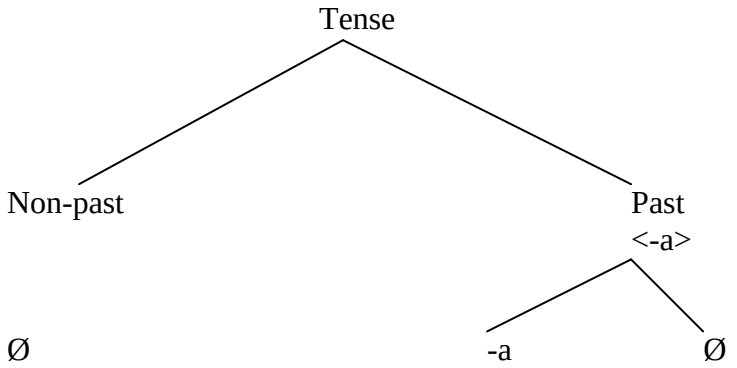


FIGURE 15. Tense morphemes

The morpheme <–a> occurs in almost all of the verb forms in the same phonetic shape with the same meaning 'past'and it constrasts with non-past forms in meaning. Therefore, it is a morpheme. The past meaning is conveyed by the two portmanteau morphemes <–ban> and <–mna>. The element /a/ occurring there can be assumed to impart past meaning but it can't be stated with certainty. Moreover, as a past morpheme, it ca not be isolated. The morpheme <-a> has an allomorph [-Ø] when it occurs before the vocalic suffixes <-i > or <-u> or after the vowel as in *l□mna* 'I beat you' in 1→2 configuration. Consequently, there is no formal distinction between past and non-past verbs. Rai (1985:98) shows such phenomenon in Bantawa Rai.

Wiedert and Subba (1985:31) distinguish non-past from the past by the glottal stop in the final position. Such case may occur when the speaker stresses on the thing said. The glottal stop as a morpheme for past does not occur at least in Chhatthare Limbu. Driem (1987), too, does not assign morphemic status to the glottal stop occurring sometimes in the final position.

**14.** SUMMARY. Chhatthare Limbu finite verbs mark person, number, case, reflexivity, tense, inclusivity and exclusivity by affixes. Some affixes are, however, unmarked. Third person singular subject and agent are unmarked. Third person object is marked by <-u> but its singularity is unmarked. The singularities of second person and first person are unmarked. Likewise, their subject, agent and object singularities are also unmarked. First person exclusive agent is unmarked in 1→2 configuration.Past is unmarked before the vocalic suffix <-u> or after the vowel. These unmarked affixes are exhibited in the paradigms by a zero morph <Ø>. Each of these affixes occupies a certain slot. Sometimes, more than one affix can also occur in the same slot. Animacy hierarchy plays significant role in setting the order of affixes. There are altogether three slots for prefixes and ten for suffixes. The affixes mark person, number, case, reflexivity, tense, inclusivity and exclusivity. The negative morpheme is a discontinuous morpheme, part of which occurs before the stem and part of which occurs after it. The suffix part reappears as a copy of its own after the third person non-singular object <-si> like the speech act participant plural agent

morpheme <-m> and first person exclusive suffix <-N>. Majority of affixes are portmanteau morphemes that indicate more than one meaning.

CHAPTER 11
TENSE, ASPECT AND MOOD

**1.** INTRODUCTION. In Chhatthare Limbu tense is marked in the verb form itself but aspect is not marked there. For aspect, main verb should be combined with auxiliary verb by the help of a suffix. Similarly, mood is marked by different particles and suffixes to give different shades of meanings. In this chapter tense, aspect and mood are discussed.

**2.** TENSE. There are two kinds of tense- past and non-past in Limbu. They are morphologically marked in a finite verb. The past is marked by the suffix <-a> and non-past is unmarked. When the past tense morpheme occurs before the vocalic suffix such as third person object <-u> or plural non-third person object morpheme or plural subject morpheme <-i>, it is neutralized and past and non-past of the verb forms become identical in their phonetic shape. See table 48, 49 and 50 for detail.

**3.** ASPECT. Limbu expresses progressive and perfect aspects.

**3.1.** PROGRESSIVE. Progressive aspect in Limbu is expressed by the affixation of the suffix <*-ro ~ -lo*> to the stem and its simultaneous occurrence with the auxiliary which denotes simultaneity with the point of orientation in a given time. Progressive is also divided into past progressive and present progressive. The present progressive denotes continuous activity in the present time whereas the past progressive denotes continuous activity in a given time.

The paradigms of progressive aspect of the intransitive verb *tema* 'to go'' and transitive verb *l□mma* ' to beat' in both non-past and past forms are presented in the table 59 and 60.

---

| | NPT | PT |
|---|---|---|
| 3s | | |
| 1. | te-ro-wa<br>go-Prg-be<br>'He is going.' | teg-a-ro-wah-a<br>go- PT-Prg-be-PT<br>'He was going.' |
| 3d | | |
| 2. | te-c$^{h}$i-ro-wa-c$^{h}$i<br>go-dS-Prg-be-dS<br>'They are going.' | teg-a-c$^{h}$i-ro-wah-a-c$^{h}$i<br>go-PT-dS-Prg-be-PT-dS<br>'They were going.' |
| 3p | | |
| 3. | mu-de-ro-mu-wa<br>3pS-go-Prg-3pS-be<br>'They are going.' | mu-deg-a-ro-mu-wah-a<br>3pS-go-PT-Prg-3pS-be-PT<br>'They were going.' |
| 2s | | |
| 4. | ka-de -ro-ka-wa<br>2-go-Prg-2S-be<br>'You are going.' | ka-deg-a-ro-ka-wah-a<br>2-go-PT-Prg-2-be-PT<br>'You were going.' |
| 2d | | |
| 5. | ka-de-c$^{h}$i-ro-ka-wa-c$^{h}$i<br>2-go-dS-Prg-2-be-dS<br>'You are going.' | ka-deg-a-c$^{h}$i-ro-ka-wah-a-c$^{h}$i<br>2-go-PT-dS-Prg-2-be-PT-dS<br>'You were going.' |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 2p | | |
| 6. | ka-deg-i-ro-ka-wah-i | ka-deg-i-ro-ka-wah-i |
| | 2-go-pS-Prg-2-be-pS | 2-go -pS-Prg-2-be-pS |
| | 'You are going.' | 'You were going.' |
| 1s | | |
| 7. | tek-ŋa-ro- wa-ŋa | teg-a-ŋ-ro-wa-ha-ŋ |
| | go-1sS-Prg-be-1sS | go-PT-1sS-Prg-be-PT-1sS |
| | 'I am going.' | 'I was going.' |
| 1d | | |
| 8. | a-de-c$^{h}$i-ro- a-wa-c$^{h}$i | a-deg-a-c$^{h}$i-ro-a-wah-a-c$^{h}$i |
| | 1-go-dS-Prg-1S-be-dS | 1-go-PT-dS-Prg-1-be-PT-PT-dS |
| | 'We are going.' | 'We were going.' |
| 1de | | |
| 9. | te-c$^{h}$i-ŋa-ro-wa-c$^{h}$i-ŋa | teg-a-c$^{h}$i-ŋa-ro- wa-ha-c$^{h}$i-ŋa |
| | go-dS-e-Prg-be-dS-e | go-PT-dS-e-Prg-be-PT-dS-e |
| | 'We are going.' | 'We were going.' |
| 1p | | |
| 10. | a-deg-i-ro-a-wah-i | a-deg-i-ro-a-wa-ha |
| | 1-go-pS-Prg-I-be-PT-pS | go-pS-Prg-1-be-PT |
| | 'We are going.' | 'We were going.' |
| 1ple | | |
| 11. | teg-i-ŋa-ro-wah-i-ŋa | te-m-na-ro-wa-mna |
| | go-pS-1S-Prg-be-pS-e | go-pS-1S-Prg-be-1pe/PT |
| | 'We are going.' | 'We were going.' |

TABLE 59.Paradigm of intransitive verb *te* in progressive aspect

| NPT | PT |
|---|---|
| 1.3s→3s | |
| l□ps-u-ro-wa | l□ps-u-ro -wah-a |
| beat-3O-Prg-be | beat-3O-Prg-be-PT |
| 'He is beating him.' | 'He was beating him.' |
| 2. 3s→3ns | |
| l□ps-u-si-ro wa | l□ps-u-si-ro wah-a |
| beat-3O-3ns-Prg be | beat-3O-nsO-Prg be-PT |
| 'He is beating them.' | 'He was beating them.' |
| 3. 3s→2s | |
| ka-l□m-ro-ka-wa | ka-l□ps-a-ro-ka-wah-a |
| 2-beat-Prg-2- be | 2-beat-PT-Prg-2-be-PT |
| 'He is beating you.' | 'He was beating you.' |
| | |
| 4. 3s→2d | |
| ka-l□m-cHi-ro-ka-wa-cHi | ka-l□ps-a-cHi-ro-ka-wah-a-cHi |
| 2-beat-dO-Prg- 2-be -dO | 2-beat-PT-dO-Prg-2-be-PT-dO |
| 'He is beating you.' | 'He was beating you.' |
| 5. 3s→2p | |
| ka-l□ps-i-ro-ka-wah-i | ka-l□ps-i-ro-ka-wah-i |
| 2-beat-pO-Prg-2-be-pO | 2-beat-pO-Prg-2-be-pO |
| 'He is beating you.' | 'He was beating you.' |

6. 3s→1s

| | |
|---|---|
| a-l□m-ma-ro-a-wa-ŋa | a-l□ps-a-ŋ-ro-a-wah-a-ŋ |
| 1-beat-1sO-Prg-1-be-1sO | 1-beat-PT-1sO-Prg-1-be-PT-1sO |
| 'He is beating me.' | 'He was beating me.' |

7. 3s→1d

| | |
|---|---|
| a-l□m-chi-ro-a-wa-cHi | a-l□ps-a-chi-ro- a-wah-a-cHi |
| 1-beat-dO-Prg-1-be-dO | 1-beat-PT-dO-Prg-1-be-PT-dO |
| 'He is beating us.' | 'He was beating us.' |

8. 3s→1de

| | |
|---|---|
| a-l□m-chi-ŋa-ro-a-wa-chi-ŋa | a-l□ps-a-chi-ŋa-ro-a-wah-a-chi-ŋa |
| 1-beat-dO-e-Prg-1-be-dO-1e | 1-beat-PT-dO-e-Prg-1-be-PT-dO-1e |
| 'He is beating us.' | 'He was beating us.' |

9. 3s→1pi

| | |
|---|---|
| a-l□ps-i-ro-a-wah-i | a-l□ps-a-ro-a-wah-a |
| 1-beat-pO-Prg-1-be-pO | 1-beat-PT-Prg-1-be-PT |
| 'He is beating us.' | 'He was beating us.' |

10. 3s→1pe

| | |
|---|---|
| a-l□ps-i-ŋa –ro-a-wah-i-ŋa | a-l□ps-i-ŋa-ro-a-wah-i-ŋa |
| 1-beat-pO-e-Prg-1-be-pO-e | 1-beat-pO-e-Prg-1-be-pO-e |
| 'He is beating us.' | 'He was beating us.' |

11. 3d→3s

| | |
|---|---|
| l□m-ch-u-ro wa-cHi | l□ps-a-ch-u-ro wah-a-cHi |
| beat-dA-3O-Prg-be-dS | beat-PT-dA-3O-Prg-be-PT-dS |
| 'They were beating him.' | 'They were beating him.' |

12. 3d→3ns

| | |
|---|---|
| l□m-cH-u-si-ro wa-cHi | l□ps-a-ch-u-si-ro wah-a-cHi |
| beat-dA-3O-nsO-Prg-be-dS | beat-PT-dA-3O-nsO-Prg-be-PT-dS |
| 'They are beating them. | 'They were beating them.' |

13. 3ns→2s

| | |
|---|---|
| ka-n-l□m- ro-ka- wa | ka-n-l□ps-a- ro-ka-wah-a |
| 2-3nsA-beat-Prg-2-be | 2-3nsA-beat-PT-Prg-2-be-PT |
| 'They are beating you.' | 'They were beating you.' |

14. 3ns→2d

| | |
|---|---|
| ka-n-l□m-chi-ro-ka-wa-cHi | ka-n-l□ps-a-chi-ro-ka-wah-a-cHi |
| 2-3nsA-beat-dO-Prg-2-be-dO | 2-3nsA-beat-PT-dO-Prg-2-be-PT-dO |
| 'They are beating you.' | 'They were beating you.' |

15.3ns→2p

| | |
|---|---|
| ka-n-l□ps-i-ro-ka-wah-i | ka-n-l□ps-i -ro-ka-wah-i |
| 2-3nsA-beat-pO-Prg-2-be-PO | 2-3nsA-beat-pO-Prg-2-be-pO |
| 'They are beating you.' | 'They were beating you.' |

16. 3ns→1s

| | |
|---|---|
| a-n-l□m-ma-ro-wa-ŋa | a-n-l□ps-a-ŋ-ro-wah-a-ŋ |
| 1-3nsA-beat-1sO-Prg-be-1sO | 1-3nsA-beat-PT-1sO-Prg-be-PT-1sO |
| 'They are beating me.' | 'They were beating me.' |

17. 3ns→1d

| | |
|---|---|
| a-n-l□m-chi-ro-a-wa-cHi | a-n-l□ps-a-chi-ro-a- wah-a-cHi |
| 1-3nsA-beat-dO-Prg-1-be-dO | 1-3nsA-beat-PT-dO-Prg-be-PT-dO |
| 'They are beating us.' | 'They were beating us.' |

18. 3ns→1de

a-n-l□m-cHi-ŋa-ro-wa-cHi-ŋa
1-3nsA-beat-dO-e-Prg-1-3nsA-be-dO-e
'They are beating us.'

a-n-l□ps-a-cHi-ŋa-ro-wah-a-cHi-ŋa
1-3nsA-beat-PT-dO-e-Prg-1-3nsA-be-PT-dO-e
'They were beating us.'

19. 3ns→1pi

a-n-l□ps-i-ro-a-wah-i
1-3nsA-beat-pO-Prg-1-3nsA-be-pO
'They are beating us.'

a-n-l□ps-a-ro-a -wah-a
1-3pA-beat-PT-Prg-1-be-PT
'They were beating us.'

20. 3ns→1pe

a-n-l□ps-i-ŋa-ro-wah-i-ŋa
1-3nsA-beat-pO-e-Prg-1-3nsA-be-pO-e
'They are beating us.'

a-n-l□ps-i-ŋa-ro-wah-i-ŋa
1-3nsA-beat-pO-e-Prg-be-pO-e
'They were beating us.'

21. 3p→3s

mu-l□ps-u-ro mu-wa
3pA-beat-3O-Prg 3pA-be
'They are beating him.'

mu-l□ps-u-ro-mu-wah-a
3pA-beat-3O-Prg-3pA-be-PT
'They were beating him.'

22. 3p→3ns

mu-l□ps-u-si-ro mu-wa
3pA-beat-3O-nsO-Prg- 3pS-be
'They are beating them.'

mu-l□ps-u-si-ro-mu-wah-a
3pA-beat-3O-nsO-Prg-3pS-be-PT
'They were beating them.'

23. 2s→3s

ka-l□ps-u-ro-ka-wa
2-beat-3O-Prg-2-be
'You are beating him.'

ka-l□ps-u-ro-ka-wa-ha
2-beat-3O-Prg-2-be-PT
'You were beating him.'

24. 2s→3ns

ka-l□ps-u-si ro-ka-wa
2-beat-3O-nsO-Prg-2-be
'You are beating them.'

ka-l□ps-u-si-ro-ka-wah-a
2-beat-3O-nsO-Prg-2-be-PT
'You were beating them.'

25. 2s→1s

ka-l□m-ma –ro-ka- wa-ŋa
2-beat-1sO-Prg-2-be-1sO
'You are beating me.'

ka-l□ps-a-ŋ-ro- ka-wah-a-ŋ
2-beat-PT-1sO-Prg-2-be-PT-1sO
'You were beating me.'

26.2s→1

ka-l□m- -ro-ka-wa
2-beat- Prg-1-be
'You are beating me/ us.'

ka-l□ps-a- ro-ka- wah-a
2-beat-PT- Prg-1-be-PT
'You were beating me/ us.'

27. 2d→3s

ka-l□m-cH-u-ro-ka-wa-cHi
2-beat-dA-3O-Prg-2-be-dS
'You are beating him.'

ka-l□ps-a-cH-u-ro-ka-wah-a-cHi
2-beat-PT-dA-3O-Prg-2-be-PT-dS
'You were beating him.'

28. 2d→3ns

ka-l□m-cH-u-si-ro-ka-wa-cHi
2-beat-dA-3O-nsO-Prg-2-be-dS
'You are beating them.'

ka-l□ps-a-cH-u-si-ro-ka-wah-a-cHi
2-beat-PT-dA-3O-nsO-Prg-2-be-PT-dS
'You are beating them.'

29. 2p→3s

ka-l□ps-u-m-ro-ka-wah-i
2-beat-3O-pA-Prg-2-be-pS
'You are beating him.'

ka-l□ps-u-m-ro-ka-wah-i
2-beat-3O-pA-Prg-2-be-pS
'You were beating him.'

30.2p→3ns

ka-l□ps-u-m-si-m-ro-ka-wah-i

ka-l□ps-u-m-si-m-ro-ka-wah-i

| | |
|---|---|
| 2-beat-3O-pA-nsO-pA-Prg-2-be-pS | 2-beat-3O-pA-nsO-pA-Prg-2-be-pS |
| 'You are beating them.' | 'You were beating them.' |
| 31. 1s→3s | |
| l□ps-u-ŋ-ro-wa-ŋa | l□ps-u-ŋ-ro-wah-a-ŋ |
| beat-3O-1sA-Prg-be-1sS | beat-3O-1sA-Prg-be-PT-1sS |
| 'I'm beating him.' | 'I was beating him.' |
| 32. 1s→3ns | |
| l□ps-u-ŋ-si-ŋ-ro-wa-ŋa | l□ps-u-ŋ-si-ŋ-ro-wah-a-ŋ |
| beat-3O-1sA-nsO-1sA-Prg-be-1sS | beat-3O-1sA-nsO-1sA-Prg-be-PT-1sS |
| 'I am beating them.' | 'I was beating them.' |
| 33. 1s→2s | |
| l□m-na-ro-wa-ŋa | l□m-na-ro-wah-a-ŋ |
| beat-1→2-Prg-be-1sS | beat-1→2-Prg-be-PT-1sS |
| 'I am beating you.' | 'I was beating you.' |
| 34. 1s→2d | |
| l□m-na-cHi-ŋ-ro-wa-ŋa | l□m-na-cHi-ŋ-ro-wah-a-ŋ |
| beat-1→2-dO-1sA-Prg-be-1sS | beat-1→2-dO-1sA-Prg-be-PT-1sS |
| 'I am beating you.' | 'I was beating you.' |
| 35. 1s→2p | |
| l□m-na-ni-ŋ-ro-wa-ŋa | l□m-na-ni-ŋ-ro-wah-a-ŋ |
| beat-1→2-pO-1sA-Prg-be-1sS | beat-1→2-pO-1sA-Prg-be-PT-1sS |
| 'I am beating you.' | 'I was beating you.' |
| 36. 1d→3s | |
| a-l□m-cH-u-ro-a-wa-cHi | a-l□ps-a-cH-u-ro-a-wah-a-cHi |
| 1-beat-dA-3O-Prg-1-be-dS | 1-beat-PT-dA-3O-Prg-1-be-PT-dS |
| 'We are beating him.' | 'We were beating him.' |
| 37. 1d→3ns | |
| a-l□m -cH-u-si-ro-a-wa-cHi | a-l□ps-a-cH-u-si-ro-a-wah-a-cHi |
| 1-beat-dA-3O-nsO-Prg-1-be-dS | 1-beat-PT-dA-3O-nsO-Prg-1-be-PT-dS |
| 'We are beating them.' | 'We were beating them.' |
| 38. 1de→3s | |
| l□m-cH-u-ŋa-ro-wa-cHi-ŋa | l□ps-a-cH-u-ŋa-ro-wah-a-cHi-ŋa |
| beat-dA-3O-e-Prg-be-dS-e | beat-PT-dA-3O-e-Prg-be-PT-dS-e |
| 'We are beating him.' | 'We were beating him.' |
| 39. 1de→3ns | |
| l□m-cH-u-si-ŋa-ro-wa-cHi-ŋa | l□ps-a-cH-u-si-ŋa –ro –wah-a-cHi-ŋa |
| beat-dA-3O-nsO-e-Prg-be-dS-e | beat-PT-dA-3O-nsO-e-Prg-be-PT-dS-e |
| 'We are beating them.' | 'We were beating them.' |
| 40. 1 →2 | |
| l□m→ne-cHi-ŋa-ro-wa-ne-cHi-ŋa | l□m→ne-cHi-ŋa-ro-wa-ne-cHi-ŋa |
| beat-1→2-dA-e-Prg-be-1→2-dA-e | beat-2-dA-e-Prg-be-1→2-dA-e |
| 'We are beating you.' | 'We were beating you.' |
| 41. 1pi→3s | |
| a-l□ps-u-m- ro-a-wah-i | a- l□ps-u-m-ro-a-wah-a |
| 1-beat-3O-pA-Prg-1-be-pS | 1-beat-3O-pA-Prg-1-be-PT |
| 'We are beating him.' | 'We were beating him.' |
| 42. 1pi→3ns | |
| a-l□ps-u-m-si-m-ro-a-wah-i | a-l□ps-u-m-si-m- ro-a-wah-a |
| 1-beat-3O-pA-nsO-pA-Prg-1-be-pS | 1-beat-3O-pA-nsO-pA-Prg-1-be-PT |

| | |
|---|---|
| 'We are beating them.' | 'We were beating them.' |
| 43. 1pe-3s | |
| l□ps-u-m-ma-ro-wah-i-ŋa | l□m-mna-ro-wa-mna |
| beat-3O-pA-e-Prg-be-pS-e | beat-1peA/PT-Prg-be-1peS/PT |
| 'We are beating him.' | 'We were beating him.' |
| 44. 1pe-3ns | |
| l□ps-u-m-si-m-ma-ro-wah-i-ŋa | l□m-mna-si-ro-wa-mna-si |
| beat-3O-pA-nsO-pA-e-Prg-be-pS-e | beat-1peA/PT-nsO-Prg-be-1peS-nsO |
| 'We are beating them.' | 'We were beating them.' |

TABLE 60. Paradigm of the transitive verb l□m in progressive aspect

The auxiliary verb *wa-ma* 'to be' occurs cuncurrently with the main verb in the co-ordination of the progressive suffix <-ro> both in transitive and intransitive verbs. It inflects intransitively or transitively in accordance with the nature of the verb with which it occurs. Though it is semantically intransitive, it functions as a transitive verb because it agrees with both agent and object. In progressive form, negative is not permitted. Therefore, it uses negative forms in perfective aspect.

**3.2**. PERFECT. Perfect refers to the past situation where the event is seen as having some present relevance. it is combined with past and non-past tense forms.. the limbu perfect is formed with the sequential subordinator <-aŋ> followed by the auxiliary *wa* 'be'. the main verb stem is followed by past tense marker <-a>. the tense of the auxiliary verb *wa* indicates the tense of the periphrastic verb phrase. the nonpast *wama* yields perfect aspect in non-past tense and indicates the present relevance of the past action whereas the past *wama* yields perfect aspect in past tense form and indicates the relevance at some point of reference of the past action. the paradigms of perfect aspect of the intransitive verb *tema* 'to go'' and transitive verb *l□mma* ' to beat' in both non-past and past forms are presented in the table 67 and 68.

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. 3s | |
| teg-a-aŋ wa | teg-a-aŋ wah-a |
| go-PT-SEQ be | go-PT-SEQ- be-PT |
| 'He has gone.' | 'He had gone.' |
| NEG | |
| man-de-?e-wa | man-de-?e-wah-a |
| NEG-go-SEQ- be | NEG-go-SEQ- be-PT |
| 'He has not gone.' | 'He had not gone.' |
| 2. 3d | |
| teg-a-cHi-aŋ-wa | teg-a-cHi-aŋ-wah-a |
| go-PT-dS-SEQ-be | go-PT-dS-SEQ-be-PT |
| 'They have gone.' | 'They had gone.' |
| NEG | |
| man-de-?e-wa-cHi | man-de-?e-wah-a-cHi |
| NEG-go-SEQ-be-dS | NEG-go-SEQ-be-PT-dS |
| 'They have not gone.' | 'They had not gone.' |

3. 3p

| | |
|---|---|
| mu-deg-a-aŋ wa | mu-deg-a-aŋ- wah-a |
| 3pS-go-PT-SEQ be | 3pS-go-PT-SEQ-be-PT |
| 'They have gone.' | 'They had gone.' |

NEG

| | |
|---|---|
| man-de?e-mu-wa | man-de?e-mu-wah-a |
| NEG-go-SEQ-3pS-be | NEG-go-SEQ-3pS-be-PT |
| 'They have not gone.' | 'They had not gone.' |

4. 2s

| | |
|---|---|
| ka-deg-a-aŋ- wa | ka-deg-a-aŋ- wah-a |
| 2-go-PT-SEQ-be | 2-go-PT-SEQ-2- PT |
| 'You have gone.' | 'You had gone.' |

NEG

| | |
|---|---|
| man-de?e-ka-wa | man-de?e-ka-wah-a |
| NEG-go-SEQ-2-be | NEG-go-SEQ-2-be-PT |
| 'You have not gone.' | 'You had not gone.' |

5. 2d

| | |
|---|---|
| ka-deg-a-cHi-aŋ wa | ka-deg-a-cHi-aŋ- wah-a |
| 2- go-PT-dS-SEQ 2-be-dS | 2-go-PT-dO-SEQ- be-PT |
| 'You have gone.' | 'You had gone.' |

NEG

| | |
|---|---|
| man-de-?e ka-wa-cHi | man-de-?e ka-wah-a-cHi |
| NEG-go-SEQ-2-be-dS | NEG-go-SEQ-2-be-PT-dS |
| 'You have not gone.' | 'You had not gone.' |

6. 2p

| | |
|---|---|
| ka-deg-i-aŋ- wa | ka-deg-i-aŋ -ka-wah-i |
| 2-go-pS-SEQ-2-be-pS | 2-go-pS-SEQ-2-be-pS |
| 'You have gone.' | 'You had gone.' |

NEG

| | |
|---|---|
| man-de-?e-ka-wah-i | man-de-?e-ka-wah-i |
| NEG-go-SEQ-2-be-pS | NEG-go-SEQ-2-be-pS |
| 'You have not gone.' | 'You had not gone.' |

7. 1s

| | |
|---|---|
| teg-a-ŋ-aŋ wa | teg-a-ŋ-aŋ wah-a |
| go-PT-1sS-SEQ-be | go-PT-1sS-SEQ -be-PT |
| 'I've gone there.' | 'I'd gone there.' |

NEG

| | |
|---|---|
| man-de-?e –wa-ŋa | man-de-?e-wa-ha-ŋ |
| NEG-go-SEQ-be-1sS | NEG-go-SEQ-be-PT-1sS |
| 'I have not gone.' | 'I had not gone.' |

8. 1d

| | |
|---|---|
| a-deg-a-cHi-aŋ wa | a-deg-a-chi-aŋ wah-a |
| 1-go-PT-dS-SEQ be | 1-go-PT-dS-SEQ-be-PT |
| 'We have gone.' | 'We had gone.' |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| NEG | | |
| | man-de-?e-a-wa-cHi | an-de-?e-a-wah-a-cHi |
| | NEG-go-SEQ-1-be-dS | NEG-go-SEQ-1-be-PT-dS |
| | 'We have not gone.' | 'We had not gone.' |
| 9. 1de | | |
| | teg-a-cHi-ŋa-aŋ wa | teg-a-cHi-ŋa-aŋ wah-a |
| | go-PT-dS-e-SEQ-be-dS-e | go-PT-dS-e-SEQ-be-PT-dS |
| | 'We have gone.' | 'We had gone.' |
| NEG | | |
| | man-de-?e-wa-cHi-ŋa | man-de-?e-wah-a-cHi-ŋa |
| | NEG-go-SEQ-be-dS-e | NEG-go-SEQ-be-PT-dS-e |
| | 'We have not gone.' | 'We had not gone.' |
| 10. 1p | | |
| | a-deg-a-aŋ- wa | a-deg-a-aŋ- wah-a |
| | 1-go-PT-SEQ-1-be | 1-go-PT-SEQ-be-PT |
| | 'We have gone.' | 'We had gone.' |
| NEG | | |
| | man-de-?e-a-wah-i | man-de?e-a-wah-a |
| | NEG-go-SEQ- 1-be-pS | NEG-go-SEQ- 1-be-PT |
| | 'We have not gone.' | 'We had not gone.' |
| 11. 1pe | | |
| | teg-i-ŋa-aŋ-wa | te-mna-aŋ-wa |
| | go-pS-e-SEQ-be | go-1peS/PT-SEQ-be-1peS/PT |
| | 'We have gone.' | 'We had gone.' |
| NEG. | | |
| | man-de-?e-wah-i-ŋa | man-de-?e-wa-mna |
| | NEG- go-SEQ-be-pS-e | NEG-go-SEQ-be-1peS/PT |
| | 'We have not gone.' | 'We) had not gone.' |

TABLE 61. Paradigm of the intransitive verb *te* in perfect aspect

| NPT | PT |
|---|---|
| 1. 3s-3s | |
| l□ps-u-aŋ-wa | l□ps-u-aŋ-wah-a |
| beat-3O-SEQ-be | beat-3O-SEQ-be-PT |
| 'He has beaten him.' | 'He had beaten him.' |
| NEG | |
| man-l□m-me-wa | man-l□m-me-wah-a |
| NEG-beat-Conv-be | NEG-beat-Conv-be-PT |
| 'He has not beaten.' | 'He had not beaten.' |
| 2. 3s-3ns | |
| l□ps-u-si-aŋ-wa | l□ps-u-si-aŋ-wah-a |

| | |
|---|---|
| beat-3O-nsO-Conv-be | beat-3O-nsO-Conv-be-PT |
| 'He has beaten them.' | 'He had beaten them.' |
| NEG | |
| man-l□m-si-n-ne-wa | man-l□m-si-n-ne-wah-a |
| NEG-beat-nsO-NEG-Conv-be | NEG-beat-nsO-NEG-Conv-be-PT |
| 'He has not beaten them.' | 'He had not beaten them.' |
| 3. 3s-2s | |
| ka-l□ps-a-aŋ wa | ka-l□ps-a-aŋ- wah-a |
| 2-beat-PT-Conv-be | 2-beat-PT-Conv-be-PT |
| 'He has beaten you.' | 'He had not beaten you.' |
| NEG | |
| man-l□m-me ka-wa | man-l□m-me-ka-wah-a |
| NEG-beat-Conv-2-be | NEG-beat-Conv-2-be-PT |
| 'He has not beaten you. | 'He had not beaten you.' |
| 4. 3s-2d | |
| ka-l□ps-a-cHi-aŋ- wa | ka-l□ps-a-cHi-aŋ- wah-a |
| 2-beat-PT-dO-Conv-be | 2-beat-PT-dO-Conv-be-PT |
| 'He has beaten you.' | 'He had beaten you.' |
| | |
| NEG | |
| man-l□m- me- ka-wa- cHi | man-l□m-me- ka-wah-a-cHi |
| NEG-beat- Conv-2-be-dO | NEG-beat- Conv-2-be-PT-dO |
| 'He has not beaten you.' | 'He had not beaten you.' |
| 5. 3s-2p | |
| ka-l□ps-i-aŋ- wa | ka-l□ps-i-aŋ- wah-a |
| 2-beat-pO-Conv-be | 2-beat-pO-Conv-be-PT |
| 'He has beaten you.' | 'He had beaten you.' |
| NEG | |
| man-l□m-me-ka-wah-i | man-l□m-me-ka-wah-i |
| NEG-beat-Conv-2-be-pO | NEG-beat-Conv-2-be-pO |
| 'He has not beaten you.' | 'He had not beaten you.' |
| 6. 3s-1s | |
| a-l□ps-a-ŋ-ŋaŋ wa | a-l□ps-a-ŋ-ŋaŋ wah-a |
| 1-beat-PT-1sO-Conv-be | 1-beat-PT-1sO-Conv-be-PT |
| 'He has beaten me.' | 'He had beaten me.' |
| NEG | |
| man-l□m-me a-wa-ŋa | man-l□m-me-a-wah-a-ŋ |
| NEG-beat-Conv- 1-be-1sO | NEG-beat-Conv-1-be-PT-1sO |
| 'He has not beaten me.' | 'He had not beaten me.' |
| 7. 3s-1di | |
| a-l□ps-a-cHi-aŋ- wa | a-l□ps-a-cHi-aŋ- wah-a |
| 1-beat-PT-dO-Conv- be | 1-beat-PT-dO-Conv-be-PT |
| 'He has beaten us.' | 'He had beaten us.' |

NEG

| | |
|---|---|
| man-l□m- me-a-wa-cHi | man-l□m-me-a-wah-a-cHi |
| NEG-beat- Conv-1-be-dO | NEG-beat- Conv-1-be-PT-dO |
| 'He has not beaten us.' | 'He had not beaten us.' |

8. 3s-1de

| | |
|---|---|
| a-l□ps-a-cHi-ŋa-aŋ- wa | a-l□ps-a-cHi-ŋa-aŋ- wah-a |
| 1-beat-PT-dO-e-Conv-be | 1-beat-PT-dO-e-Conv-be-PT-dO |
| 'He has beaten us.' | 'He had beaten us.' |

NEG

| | |
|---|---|
| man-l□m- me-a-wa-cHi-ŋa | man-l□m-me-a-wah-a-cHi-ŋa |
| NEG-beat-Conv-1-be-dO-e | NEG-beat-Conv-1-be-PT-dO-e |
| 'He has not beaten us.' | 'He had not beaten us.' |

9. 3s-1p

| | |
|---|---|
| a-l□ps-a –aŋ- wa | a-l□ps-a-aŋ- wah-a |
| 1-beat-PT-Conv-be | 1-beat-PT-Conv-be-PT |
| 'He has beaten us.' | 'He had beaten us.' |

NEG

| | |
|---|---|
| man-l□m-me-a-wah-i | man-l□m-me-a-wah-a |
| NEG-beat-Conv-1-be-pO | NEG-beat-Conv-1-be-PT |
| 'He has not beaten us.' | 'He had not beaten us.' |

10. 3s-1pe

| | |
|---|---|
| a-l□ps-i-ŋa-aŋ- wa | a-l□ps-i-ŋa-aŋ- wah-a |
| 1-beat-pO-e-SEQ-be | 1-beat-pO-e-Conv-be-PT |
| 'He has beaten us.' | 'He had beaten us.' |

NEG

| | |
|---|---|
| man-l□m-me a-wah-i-ŋa | man-l□m-me-a-wah-i-ŋa |
| NEG-beat-Conv-1-be-pO-e | NEG-beat-Conv-1-be-pO-e |
| 'He has not beaten us.' | 'He had not beaten us.' |

11. 3d-3s

| | |
|---|---|
| l□ps-a-cH-u-aŋ-wa | l□ps-a-ch-u-aŋ-wah-a |
| beat-PT-dA-3O-SEQ-be | beat-PT-dA-3O-SEQ-be-PT |
| 'They have beaten him.' | 'They had not beaten him.' |

NEG

| | |
|---|---|
| man-l□m-me-wa-cHi | man-l□m-me-wah-a-cHi |
| NEG-beat-Conv-be-dS | NEG-beat-Conv-be-PT-dS |
| 'They have not beaten him.' | 'They had not beaten him.' |

12. 3d-3ns

| | |
|---|---|
| l□ps-a-cH-u-si-aŋ-wa | l□ps-a-cH-u-si-aŋ-wah-a |
| beat-PT-dA-3O-nsO-SEQ-be-dS | beat-PT-dA-3O-nsO-SEQ-be-PT |
| 'They have beaten them.' | 'They had beaten them.' |

NEG

| | |
|---|---|
| man-l□m-si-n-ne-wa-cHi | man-l□m-si-n-ne-wah-a-cHi |
| NEG-beat-nsO-NEG-Conv-be-dS | NEG-beat-nsO-NEG-Conv-be-PT-dS |
| 'They have not beaten them.' | 'They had not beaten them.' |

13. 3ns-2s

| | |
|---|---|
| ka-n-l□ps-a- aŋ wa | ka-n-l□ps-a-aŋ wah-a |
| 2-3nsA-beat-PT-SEQ-be | 2-3nsA-beat-PT-SEQ-be-PT |
| 'They have beaten you.' | 'They had beaten you.' |

NEG

man-l□m-me ka-ŋ-wa
NEG-beat-Conv-2-3nsA-be
'They are beating you.'

man-l□m-me-ka-ŋ-wah-a
NEG-beat-Conv-2-3nsA-be-PT
'They were beating you.'

14. 3ns-2d

ka-n-l□ps-a-cHi-aŋ- wa
2-3nsA-beat-PT-dO-SEQ-be
'They have beaten you.'

ka-n-l□ps-a-cHi-aŋ- wah-a
2-3nsA-beat-PT-dO-SEQ-be-PT
'They had beaten you.'

NEG

man-l□m-me-ka-ŋ-wa-chi
NEG-beat-Conv-2-3nsA-be-dO
'They are beating you.'

man-l□m-me-ka-ŋ-wah-a-chi
NEG-beat-Conv-2-3nsA-be-PT-dO
'They were beating you.'

15. 3ns-2p

ka-n-l□ps-i-aŋ- wa
2-3nsA-beat-pO-SEQ-be
'They have beaten you.'

ka-n-l□ps-i-aŋ- wah-a
2-3nsA-beat-pO-SEQ-be-PT
'They had beaten you.'

NEG

man-l□m- me-ka-ŋ-wah-i
NEG-beat-SEQ-2-3nsA-be-pO
'They have not beaten you.'

man-l□m-me-ka-ŋ-wah-i
NEG-beat- SEQ-2-3nsA--be-pO
'They had not beaten you.'

16. 3ns-1s

a-n-l□ps-a-ŋ-ŋaŋ- wa
1-3nsA-beat-PT-1e- SEQ-be
'They have beaten me.'

a-n-l□ps-a-ŋ-ŋaŋ wah-a
1-3nsA-beat-PT-1e- SEQ-be-PT
'They had beaten me.'

NEG

man-l□m-me a-ŋ-wa- ŋa
NEG-beat-Conv-1-3nsA-be-1sO
'They have not beaten.'

man-l□m-me-a-ŋ-wah-a-ŋ
NEG-beat-Conv-1-3nsA-be-PT-1sO
'They had not beaten.'

17. 3ns-1d

a-n-l□ps-a-cHi-aŋ wa
1-3nsA-beat-PT-dO-SEQ-1-3nsA-be-dO
'They have beaten us.'

a-n-l□ps-a-cHi-aŋ wah-a
1-3nsA-beat-PT-dO-SEQ-be-PT
'They had beaten us.'

NEG

man-l□m-me-a-ŋ- wa-chi
NEG- beat-Conv-1-3nsA-be-dO
'They have not beaten.'

man-l□m- me-a-ŋ-wah-a-chi
NEG-beat-Conv-1-3nsA-be-PT-dO
'They had not beaten.'

18. 3ns-1de

a-n-l□ps-a-cHi-Na-aŋ wa
1-3nsA-beat-PT-dO-1e-SEQ-be
'They have beaten us.'

a-n-l□ps-a-cHi-Na -aN -wah-a
1-3nsA-beat-PT-dO-1e-SEQ-be-PT
'They had beaten us'.

NEG

man-l□m-me-a-ŋ-wa-chi-ŋa
NEG-beat-Conv-1-3nsA-be-dO-e
'They have not beaten.'

man-l□m-me-a-ŋ-wah-a-chi-ŋa
NEG-beat-Conv-1-3nsA-be-PT-dO-e
'They had not beaten.'

19. 3ns-1p

a-n-l□ps-a-aŋ wa
1-3nsA-beat-PT-SEQ-be
'They have beaten us.'

a-n-l□ps-a-aŋ- wah-a
1-3nsA-beat-PT-SEQ-be-PT
'They had beaten us.'

NEG

| | |
|---|---|
| man-l□m-me- a-ŋ-wah-i | man-l□m-me- a-ŋ wah-a |
| NEG-beat-Conv-1-3nsA-be-pO | NEG-beat-Conv-1-3nsA-be-PT- |
| 'They have not beaten.' | 'They had not beaten.' |

20. 3ns-1pe

| | |
|---|---|
| a-n-l□ps-i-ŋa-aŋ- wa | a-n-l□ps-i-ŋa-aŋ wah-a |
| 1-3nsA-beat-pO-e-SEQ-be- | 1-3nsA-beat-pO-1e-SEQ- be-PT |
| 'They have beaten us.' | 'They had beaten us.' |

21. 3p-3s

| | |
|---|---|
| mu-l□ps-u-aŋ- wa | mu-l□ps-u-aŋ- wah-a |
| 3pA-beat-3O-SEQ-be | 3pA-beat-3O-SEQ-be-PT |
| 'They have beaten him.' | 'They had beaten him.' |

NEG

| | |
|---|---|
| man-l□m-me-mu-wa | man-l□m-me-mu-wah-a |
| NEG-beat-Conv-3pS-be | NEG-beat-Conv-3pS-be-PT |
| 'They have not beaten.' | 'They had not beaten.' |

22. 3p-3ns

| | |
|---|---|
| mu-l□ps-u-si-aŋ- wa | mu-l□ps-u-si-aŋ- wah-a |
| 3pA-beat-3O-nsO-SEQ-be | 3pA-beat-3O-nsO-SEQ-be-PT |
| 'They have beaten them.' | 'They have beaten them.' |

NEG

| | |
|---|---|
| man-l□m-si-n-ne-mu-wa | man-l□m-si-n-ne-mu-wah-a |
| NEG-beat-nsO-NEG-Conv-3pS-be | NEG-beat-nsO-NEG-Conv-3pS-be-PT |
| 'They have not beaten.' | 'They had not beaten.' |

23. 2s-3s

| | |
|---|---|
| ka-l□ps-u-aŋ- wa | ka-l□ps-u-aŋ- wah-a |
| 2-beat-3O-SEQ-be | 2-beat-3O-SEQ-be-PT |
| 'You have beaten him.' | 'You had beaten him.' |

NEG

| | |
|---|---|
| man-l□m-me-ka-wa | man-l□m-me-ka-wah-a |
| NEG-beat-Conv-2-be | NEG-beat-Conv-2-be-PT |
| 'You have not beaten.' | 'You had not beaten.' |

24. 2s-3ns

| | |
|---|---|
| ka-l□ps-u-si-aŋ- wa | ka-l□ps-u-si-aŋ- wa-ha |
| 2-beat-3O-nsO-SEQ-be | 2-beat-3O-nsO-SEQ-be-PT |
| 'You have beaten them.' | 'You had beaten them.' |

NEG

| | |
|---|---|
| man-l□m-si-n-ne-ka-wa | man-l□m-si-n-ne-ka-wah-a |
| NEG-beat-nsO-NEG-Conv-2-be | NEG-beat-nsO-NEG-Conv-2-be-PT |
| 'You have not beaten them.' | 'You have not beaten them.' |

25. 2s-1s

| | |
|---|---|
| ka-l□ps-a-ŋ-aŋ- wa | ka-l□ps-a-ŋ-aŋ- wah-a |
| 2-beat-PT-1sO-SEQ-be | 2-beat-PT-1sO-SEQ-be-PT |
| 'You have beaten me.' | 'You had beaten me.' |

NEG

| | |
|---|---|
| man-l□m-me ka-wa-ŋa | man-l□m-me-ka-wah-a-ŋ |
| NEG-beat-Conv-2-be-1sO | NEG-beat-Conv-2-be-PT-1sO |

'You have not beaten me.' 'You had not beaten me.'

26. 2- 1

ka-l□ps-a- aŋ- wa ka-l□ps-a- aŋ- wah-a

2-beat-PT-SEQ--2-be 2-beat-PT- SEQ-be-PT

'You have beaten me/us.' 'You had beaten me/us.'

NEG

man-l□m-me ka-wa man-l□m-me-ka-wah-a

NEG-beat-Conv-2-be NEG-beat-Conv-2-beat-PT

'You have not beaten us.' 'You had not beaten us.'

27. 2d-3s

ka-l□ps-a-cH-u-aŋ- wa ka-l□ps-a-cH-u-aŋ- wah-a

2-beat-PT-dA-3O-SEQ-2-be-dS 2-beat-PT-dA-3O-SEQ-be-PT

'You have beaten him.' 'You had beaten him.'

NEG

man-l□m-me-ka-wa-chi man-l□m-me-ka-wah-a-chi

NEG-beat-Conv-2-be-dS NEG-beat-Conv-2-be-PT-dS

'You have beaten him.' 'You had beaten him.'

28. 2d-3ns

ka-l□ps-a-cH-u-si-aŋ-wa ka-l□ps-a-cH-u-si-aŋ- wah-a

2-beat-PT-dA-3O-nsO-SEQ-be 2-beat-PT-dA-3O-nsO- SEQ-be-PT

'You have beaten them.' 'You had beaten them.'

NEG

man-l□m-si-n-ne-ka-wa-chi man-l□m-si-n-ne-ka-wah-a-chi

NEG-beat-nsO-NEG-Conv-2-be-dS NEG-beat-nsO-NEG-Conv-2-be-PT-dS

'You have not beaten them.' 'You had not beaten them.'

29. 2p-3s

ka-l□ps-u-m-aŋ -wa ka-l□ps-u-m-aŋ- wah

2-beat-3O-pA-SEQ-be 2-beat-3O-pA-SEQ-be

'You have beaten him.' 'You had beaten him.'

NEG

man-l□m-me-ka-wah-i man-l□m-me-ka-wah-i

NEG-beat-Conv-2-be-pS NEG-beat-Conv-2-be-pS

'You have not beaten. 'You had not beaten.'

30. 2p-3ns

ka-l□ps-u-m-si-m-aŋ- wa ka-l□ps-u-m-si-m-aŋ- wah-a

2-beat-3O-pA-nsO-pA-SEQ-2-be-pS 2-beat-3O-pA-nsO-pA-SEQ-be-PT

'You have beaten them.' 'You had beaten them.'

NEG

man-l□m-si-n-ne-ka-wah-i man-l□m-si-n-ne-ka-wah-i

NEG-beat-nsO-NEG-Conv-2-be-pS NEG-beat-nsO-NEG-Conv-2-be-pS

'You have not beaten them.' 'You had not beaten them.'

31. 1s-3s

l□ps-u-ŋ -aŋ-wa l□ps-u-ŋ-aŋ-wah-a

beat-3O-1e-SEQ-be beat-3O-1sA-SEQ-be-PT

'I've beaten him.' 'I'd beaten him.'

NEG

man-l□m-me-wa-ŋa man-l□m-me-wah-a-ŋ

NEG-beat-Conv-be-1sS NEG-beat-Conv-beat-PT-1sS

'I have not beaten.' 'I had not beaten.'

32. 1s-3ns

| | |
|---|---|
| l□ps-u-ŋ-si-ŋ –aŋ-wa | l□ps-u-ŋ-si-ŋ-aŋ-wah-a |
| beat-3O-1e-nsO-1e-SEQ-be | beat-3O-1e-nsO-1e-SEQ-be-PT |
| 'I have beaten them.' | 'I had beaten them.' |

NEG

| | |
|---|---|
| man-l□m- si-n-ne wa-ŋa | man-l□m- si-n-ne-wah-a-ŋ |
| NEG-beat-nsO-NEG-Conv-be-1sS | NEG-beat-nsO-NEG-Conv-be-PT-1sS |
| 'I have not beaten them.' | 'I had not beaten them.' |

33. 1s→2s

| | |
|---|---|
| l□m-na-aŋ-wa | l□m-na-aŋ-wa |
| beat-1-→2-SEQ-be- | beat-1→2-SEQ-be |
| 'I have beaten you.' | 'I had beaten you.' |

NEG

| | |
|---|---|
| man-l□m-me-wa-na | man-l□m-me-wa-na |
| NEG-beat-Conv- 1→2 | NEG- beat-Conv-be- 1→2 |
| 'I have not beaten you.' | 'I had not beaten you.' |

34. 1s→2d

| | |
|---|---|
| l□m-na-cHi-ŋ-aŋ-wa | l□m-na-cHi-ŋ-aŋ-wa |
| beat-1→2-dO-1e-Conv-be | beat-1→2-dO-1e-Conv-be |
| 'I have beaten you.' | 'I had not beaten you.' |

NEG

| | |
|---|---|
| man-l□m-me- wa-na-cHi-ŋ | man-l□m-me- wa-na-cHi-ŋ |
| NEG-beat- Conv-be-1→2-dO-1sA | NEG-beat- Conv-be-1→2-dO-1sA |
| 'I have not beaten you.' | 'I had not beaten you.' |

35. 1s-2p

| | |
|---|---|
| l□m-na-ni-ŋ-aŋ wa | l□m-na-ni-ŋ-aŋ wa |
| beat-1→2-pO-1sA-SEQ-be-1→2-pO-1sA | beat-1→2-pO-1sA-SEQ-be- |
| 'I have beaten you.' | 'I had beaten you.' |

NEG

| | |
|---|---|
| man-l□m-me –wa-na-ni-ŋ | man-l□m-me- wa-na-ni-ŋ |
| NEG-beat-Conv-be-1→2-pO-1sA | NEG-beat-Conv-be-1→2-pO-1sA |
| 'I have not beaten you.' | 'I had not beaten you.' |

36.1d-3s

| | |
|---|---|
| a-l□ps-a-cH-u-aŋ wa | a-l□ps-a-cH-u-aŋ- wah-a |
| 1-beat-PT-dA-3O-SEQ-1-be-dS | 1-beat-PT-dA-3O-SEQ-be-PT |
| 'We have beaten him.' | 'We had beaten him.' |

NEG

| | |
|---|---|
| man-l□m-me-a-wa-cHi | man-l□m-me-a-wah-a-cHi |
| NEG-beat-Conv-1-be-dS | NEG-beat-Conv-1-be-PT-dS |
| 'We have not beaten.' | 'We had not beaten.' |

37.1d-3ns

| | |
|---|---|
| a-l□ps-a-cH-u-si-aŋ wa | a-l□ps-a-cH-u-si-aŋ- wah-a |
| 1-beat-PT-dA-3O-nsO-SEQ-1-be-dS | 1-beat-PT-dA-3O-nsO-SEQ-1-be-PT |
| 'We have beaten them.' | 'We had beaten them.' |

NEG

| | |
|---|---|
| man-l□m-si-n-ne-a-wa-cHi | man-l□m-si-n-ne-a-wah-a-cHi |
| NEG-beat-nsO-NEG-Conv-1-be-dS | NEG-beat-nsO-NEG-Conv-1-be-PT-dS |
| 'We have not beaten them.' | 'We had not beaten them.' |

38. 1de-3s

| | |
|---|---|
| l□ps-a-cH-u-Na- aŋ wa | l□ps-a-cH-u-Na- aŋ wah-a |

beat-PT-dA-3O-1e- SEQ-be beat-PT-dA-3O- 1e-SEQ-be-PT
'We have beaten them.' 'We had beaten them.'

NEG

man-l□m- me- wa-cHi- ŋa man-l□m-me- wah-a-cHi- ŋa
NEG-beat-Conv-be-dS-e NEG-beat- Conv-be-PT-dS-e
'We have not beaten them.' 'We had not beaten them.'

39. 1de-3ns

l□ps-a-cH-u-si-Na-aŋ wa l□ps-a-cH-u-si-Na-aŋ wah-a
beat-PT-dA-3O-nsO-1e-SEQ-be beat-PT-dA-3O-nsO-SEQ-be-PT
'We have beaten them.' 'We had beaten them.'

NEG

man-l□m-si-n-ne- wa-chi- ŋa man-l□m-si-n-ne- wah-a-cHi- ŋa
NEG-beat-nsO-NEG-Conv-be-dS-e NEG-beat-nsO-NEG-Conv-be-PT-dS-e
'We have not beaten them.' 'We had not beaten them.'

40. 1ns-2s

l□m-ne-cHi-ŋa-aŋ-wa l□m-ne-cHi-ŋa-aŋ-wa
beat-1→2-nsA-e-SEQ-be beat-1→2-nsA-e-SEQ-be
'We have beaten you.' 'We had beaten you.'

NEG

man-l□m-me- wa man-l□m-me- wa
NEG-beat-Conv-be NEG-beat-Conv-be
'We have not beaten you.' 'We had not beaten you.'

41. 1pi-3s

a-l□ps-u-m- aŋ- wa a-l□ps-u-m- aŋ- wah-a
1-beat-3O-pA-SEQ-1-be-pS 1-beat-3O-pA-SEQ-be-PT
'We have beaten him.' 'We had beaten him.'

NEG

man-l□m- me-a-wah-i man-l□m- me-a-wah-a
NEG-beat-Conv-1-be-pS NEG-beat-Conv-1-be-PT
'We have not beaten.' 'We had not beaten.'

42. 1pi-3ns

a-l□ps-u-m-si-m-aŋ- wa a-l□ps-u-m-si-m-maŋ- wah-a
1-beat-3O-pA-nsO-pA-SEQ-be 1-beat-3O-pA-nsO-pA-SEQ-be-PT
'We have beaten them.' 'We had beaten them.'

NEG

man-l□m-si-m-me a-wah-i man-l□m-si-m-me-a-wah-a
NEG-beat-nsO-pA-Conv-1-be-pS NEG-beat-nsO-pA-Conv-1-be-PT
'We have not beaten them.' 'We had not beaten them.'

43. 1pe-3s

l□ps-u-m- ma-aŋ- wa l□m-mna-aŋ-wa
beat-3O-pA-e-SEQ-be beat-1peA/PT-SEQ-be
'We have beaten them.' 'We had beaten them.'

NEG

man-l□m- me- wah-i -ŋa man-l□m- me- wa-mna
NEG-beat- Conv-be-pS-e NEG-beat- Conv-be-1peS/PT
'We have not beaten them.' 'We had not beaten them.'

44. 1pe-3ns

l□ps-u-m-si-m-ma-aŋ- wa l□m-mna-si-aŋ-wa
beat-3O-pA-nsO-pA-e-SEQ-be beat-1peA/PT-SEQ-be

| | |
|---|---|
| 'We have beaten them.' | 'We had beaten them.' |
| NEG | |
| man-l□m-si-m-me- wah-i -ŋa | man-l□m-si-m-me- wa-mna |
| NEG-beat-nsO-pA-Conv-1-be-pS-e | NEG-beat-nsO-pA-Conv-be-1peS/PT |
| 'We have not beaten them.' | 'We had not beaten them.' |

TABLE 62.Paradigm of transitive verb l□m in perfect aspect

The auxiliary verb inflects for past tense but it does not inflect for person, number and case in the affirmative form. They are marked by its main verb. In the negative form, the main verb does not mark person, number, case and tense. They are marked by the auxiliary verb. The discontinous negative morpheme loses its suffix <-nEn~ -n> and only the negative prefix <man-> occurs with the converb suffix <-e>. In negative form both progressive and perfect aspects have the same form.

**4.** MOOD. Limbu has indicative, imperative, hortatative, optative, irrealis and interrogative mood. they are discussed in the following subheadings.

**4. 1.** DECLARATIVE MOOD.The sentences in indicative mood directly assert the truth of some propositions. These sentences are of two kinds: affirmative or negative.

(1) a. kHunE paŋ-o teg-a
he house-LOC go-PT
'He went to house.'

b. kHunE paŋ-No ma-deg-a-n
he house-LOC NEG-go-PT-NEG
'He did not go to house.'

The sentence in 1a asserts the truth positively whereas the sentence in 1b does it negatively. However, they are both assertions about the truth-value of the proposition they describe.

**4.2.** IMPERATIVE. Imperative is a form of verb addressed to the second person. It has intransitive, reflexive and transitive forms. Imperatives are negated by the prefix <ma-> with simultaneous affixation of the suffix< -n~-nEn> to the verb stem They are discussed in the following subheadings.

**4.2.1.** INTRANSITIVE IMPERATIVE. Intransitive imperative is marked by the suffix <-a?>, which is added to the verb stem. It has also corresponding negative forms.

(2) a. teg-a?
go-IMP
'Go!'

b. ma-deg-a?-n
NEG-go-IMP-NEG
'Don't go!'

c. teg-a?-cHi
go-IMP-d
'Go! (dual).'

d. ma-deg-a?-cHi-n

NEG-go-IMP-dS-NEG
'Don't go!'

e. teg-a-niŋ
go-IMP-p
'Go!.'

f. ma-deg-a-niŋ-nEn
NEG-go-IMP-pS-NEG
'Don't go!'

**4.2.2.** REFLEXIVE IMPERATIVE.Reflexive imperative is marked by a glottal stop <-?> in the final position.

(3) a. walum-cHin ?
bath-Ref- IMP
'Bathe yourself!'

b. wa-ma-lum- cHin-nEn ?
bathe-NEG-bathe-Refl-NEG-IMP
'Don't bathe yourself!'

c. walum-nEc-cHI ?
bathe-Rec-dS-IMP
'Bathe each other!'

d. wa-ma-lum-nE-cHi-n ?
bathe-NEG-bathe-Rec-dS-NEG-IMP
'Don't bathe each other!'

**4.2.3.** TRANSITIVE IMPERATIVE.Transitive imperative is marked in the final position by the suffix <- ?> in the singular form. In the dual and plural forms in affirmative and in their corresponding negative forms, it is marked by <-a> after the stem and <-?> in the final position.

(4) a. l□ps-u-?
beat-3O-IMP
'Beat him!'

b. ma-l□ps-u-?-n
NEG-beat-3O-IMP-NEG
'Don't beat!'

c. l□ps-a-cH-u-?
beat-IMP-dA-3O-IMP
'Beat him!'

d. ma-l□ps-a-cH-u-?-n
NEG-beat-IMP-dA-3O-IMP-NEG
'Don't beat them!'

e. l□ps-a-nu-m
beat-IMP-3O-pA
'Beat him!.'

f. ma-l□ps-a-nu-m-nEn
NEG-beat-IMP-pO-pA-NEG
'Don't beat him!'

**4. 3.** HORTATIVE. The hortative is formed by dropping the first person prefix <a-> from the finite verb form. The following paradigm shows it.

(5)

| | First person | Hortative |
|---|---|---|
| a. | a-de-cHi | te-cHi |
| | 1-go-dS | go-d/ADH |
| | 'We go.' | 'Let's go.' |
| b. | a-deg-i | teg-i |
| | 1-go-pS | go-p/ADH |
| | 'We go.' | 'Let's go.' |
| c. | a-l□m-cH-u | l□m-cH-u |
| | 1-beat-dA-3O | beat-dA-3O/ADH |
| | 'We beat him.' | 'Let's beat him.' |
| d. | a-l□m-cH-u-si | l□m-cH-u-si |
| | 1-beat-dA-3O-nsO | beat-dA-3O-nsO/ADH |
| | 'We beat them.' | 'Let's beat them.' |
| e. | a-l□ps-u-m | l□ps-u-m |
| | 1-beat-3O-pA | beat-3O-pS/ADH |
| | 'We beat him.' | 'Let's beat him.' |
| f, | a-l□ps-u-m-si-m | l□ps-u-m-si-m |
| | 1-beat-3O-nsO-pA | beat-3O-pA-nsO-pA/ADH |
| | 'We beat them.' | 'Let's beat them.' |

/t/ in te changes to [d] in intervocalic position.

Hortatives are negated by the prefix <ma-> with simultaneous affixation of the suffix <-n ~ -nEn>.

(6) a. ma-de-cHi-n
NEG-go-dS-NEG-ADH
'Let's not go.'

b. ma-deg-i-n
NEG-go-pS- NEG -ADH
'Let's not go.'

c. ma-l□m-cH-u-n
NEG-beat-dA-3O-NEG-ADH
'Let's not beat him.'

d. ma-l□m-cH-u-n-si-n
NEG-beat-dA-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG-ADH
'Let's not beat it.'

e. ma-l□ps-u-m-nEn
NEG-beat-3O-pA-NEG-ADH
'Let's not beat him.'

f, ma-l□ps-u-m-si-m-nEn
beat-3O-pA-nsO-pA-NEG-ADH
'Let's not beat them.'

The examples in 6 indicate that the number markers of the intransitive subjects and the dual markers of the transitive agents in hortative form are affixed to the verb roots and the first person marker is covert and only the number markers for the person are overt. The dual and plural marker of intransitive subjects <-cHi> and <-i> respectively and dual marker of the transitive subject <-*cH*> are affixed to the verb roots as indicated in 6a-c whereas the transitive plural agent marker <-m> is affixed to the verb stem as indicated in 6d. Moreover, the intransitive dual subject marker <-cHi>, the corresponding transitive dual agent marker <-*cH*>, the intransitive plural

subject marker <-*i*> and the corresponding transitive plural agent marker <-*m*> prove that the number markers for persons are overt.

The first person dual adhortative is homophonous to the third person subject and third person agent simplex form. Let's see the following comparison:

(7)

| | Third person simplex | Adhortative |
|---|---|---|
| a. | te-cHi | te-cHi |
| | go-dS | go-dADH |
| | 'They go.' | 'Let's go.' |
| b. | lok-cHi | lok-cHi |
| | run-dlS | run-dADH |
| | 'They run.' | 'Let's run.' |
| c. | □k-cHi | □k-cHi |
| | cry-dS | cry-dADH |
| | 'They cry.' | 'Let's cry.' |
| d. | nit-cH-u | nit-cH-u |
| | read-dA-3O | read-dA-3O:ADH |
| | 'They read it.' | 'Let's read it.' |
| e. | sap-cH-u | sap-cH-u |
| | write-dA-3O | write-dA-3O:ADH |
| | 'They write.' | 'Let's write it.' |
| f. | te-cH-u | te-cH-u |
| | take-dA-3O | take-dA-3O:ADH |
| | 'They take it.' | 'Let's take it.' |

The clauses in 7a-c are intransitive forms whereas those in 7d-f are transitive ones. Though the third person dual subject and agent forms are homophonous to the adhortative form, their semantic difference is distinguished and determined by the context in which they occur.

**4 4.** IRREALIS. Irrealis mood is marked by a particle *mEn* after the verb stem to express hypothetical situation.

(8) a. tum-u-mEn
meet-3O-IRR
'He would have met him.'

b. ka-nak-a-ŋ-mEn
2-beg-PT-1sO-IRR
'You would have begged me.'

c. ser-u-ŋ-mEn
kill-3O-1sA-IRR
'I would have killed him.'

It is also marked by a particle g□ri.

(9) a. ka-yuks-u g□ri
2-keep-3O-IRR
'If only you had kept it!'

b. a-ut-a-ŋ- g□ri
1-invite-PT-1e IRR
'Only if he had invited me!'

c. nak-u-ŋ g□ri

beg-3O-1e-IRR
'Only if I had begged him!'

Irrealis mood co-occurs with a conditional clause marked by a conjunction suffix <-*e*> equivalent to an English if- clause.

(10)

a. teg-a-ŋ - E g□ tum-Ø-u-ŋ- mEn
go-PT-1S CON PART meet-PT-3O-1sA- IRR
'If I had gone , I would have met him.'

b. k□tt-Ø-u-ŋ - E g□ piy-Ø-u-ŋ mEn
possess-PT-3O-1A -CON PART- give-PT-3O-1sA- IRR
'If I had got it, I would have given him.'

c. ka-ut-Ø-u-e g□ tah-a mEn
2-invite-PT-3O-CON-PART- come-PT IRR
'If you had invited him, he would have come.'

The sentences in 10a-fshow that the hypothetical possibility expressing sentences are marked by pat tense marker <–a> or <-Ø>. The conditional clause in 10a is marked by the past tense marker <–a> whereas its corresponding main clause is marked by zero past tense morpheme <-Ø>. In 10b both dependent conditional clause and its corresponding independent clause are marked by zero past tense suffix. In 10c- the dependent clause is zero marked for past tense but their independent counterpart is marked for past tense. Hypothetical possibility is expressed by the affixation of the nominalizer suffix <-ba> to the past simplex.

(11)

a. ka-nih-a-E g□ ka-ser-a-ba
2-see-PT-CON PART 2-kill-PT-NML
'If he had seen you, he would have killed you.'

b. ka-nih-Ø-u-E g□ ka-ser-Ø-u-ba
2- see-PT-3O-CON PART 2-kill-PT-3O-NML
'If you had seen him, you would have killed him.'

c. nih-Ø-u-ŋ-E gA ser-Ø-u-ŋ-ba
see-PT-3O-1e-CON-PART kill-PT-3O-1sA-NML
'If I had seen him, I would have killed him.'

The conditional sentence expresses certainty by dropping the irrealis suffix <-nEn> from the simplex and marking it by the non-past suffix.

(12)

a. kHunE a-paŋ-ŋo ta-E a-tum-ma
he my-house-LOC-CONJ 1- meet-1sO
'If he comes to my house, he will meet me.'

b. kHEnE kHunE yaŋ ka-nak-u-E ka-bi
you him money 2-beg-3O-CONJ 2-give
'If you ask him money, he will give you.'

c. pancHat-u-ŋ-E pat
speak -3O-1e-CONJ speak
'If I speak to him, he will speak.'

The hypothetical possibility is negated by the negative <ma(n) >.

(13)

a. man-de-ban-E a-ser-a-ŋ-mEn
NEG-go-1sS/PT/NEG-CONJ 1-kill-PT-1e-IRR

'If I had not gone, he would have killed (scolded) me.'

b. yambok man-jug-u-n-E yaŋ man-th□g-u-n mEn
work NEG-do-3O-NEG-CONJ money NEG-earn-3O-NEG-IRR
'If they had not done work, they would not have earned money.'

c. ma-nak-u- n-si-n-E mam-miy-u-m-mEn
NEG-beg-3O-NEG-nsO-NEG-CONJ- NEG-give-3O-NEG-IRR
'If he had not begged them, they wouldn't have given him.'

The conditional certainty is also negated by the negative discontinuous morpheme <ma- -n (nEn)>, <man- -n (nEn)>, <kan- -n (nEn)> and <an- n(nEn)>.

(14)

a. yamb□k ma-juk-nEn-E yaŋ ma-gHow-u-n
work NEG-do-NEG-CONJ money NEG-get-3O-NEG
'If he doesn't do work, he will not get money.'

b. sapla man-nir-u-n-E y□mba napmi mam-buŋ-nEn
book NEG-read-3O-NEG-CONJ great man NEG-become-NEG
'If they don't read a book, they will not be a great man.'

c. yaŋ ka-n-dH□g-u-n-E tEndi tukHE ka-ja
money 2-NEG- earn-3O-NEG-CONJ later trouble 2-eat
'If you don't earn money, you will face trouble later.'

**4.5.** OPTATIVE MOOD. The optative indicates a wish or a desired situation. It exists in all persons and numbers. It is formed by adding the suffix *r□* or the suffix *ni* to the stem of the verb.

(15)

a. kHunE y□mba kemba puŋ ni
he big tall become OPT
'May he become a great man!'

b. kHuncHi y□mba kemba puŋ-cHI ni
they big tall become-dS-OPT
'May they become a great men!'

.c. kHuncHi y□mba kemba mu- buŋ ni
they big tall 3plS-become OPT
'May they become great men!'

d. kHEnE yarik ka-hiŋ ni
you many 2-live-OPT
'May you live long!'

e. kHEncHi yarik ka-hiŋ-cHI ni
you many 2-live-dS- OPT
'May you live long!'

.f. kHEni yarik ka-hiŋ-I ni
you many 2-live-pS-OPT
'May you live long!'

g. a ka-g□p-pa ka-jaba puŋ-ŋa ni
I Rel-possess-NOM Rel-eat-NOM become-1S OPT
'May I be prosperous!'

h. ancHi ka-gap-pa ka-jaba a- buŋ-cHi ni
I AP-possess-NOM AP-eat-NOM 1-become-dS- OPT
'May we be prosperous!'

i. ancHi-ŋa ka-gap-pa ka-jaba puŋ-cHi-ŋa- ni
I AP-possess-NOM AP-eat-NOM become-dS-e- OPT
'May we be prosperous!'

j. ani ka-g□p-pa ka-jaba a- buk-si- ni
I Rel-possess-NOM Rel-eat-NOM 1-become-pS- OPT
'May we be prosperous!'

Optative sentences also expresses curse on somebody, something etc.

(16)

a. kHEnE ka-si ni
you 2-die OPT
'May you die!'

b. ba wa-iŋ tumbe-ŋa c□ ni
this hen-ABS wild cat-ERG eat OPT
'May the wild cat eat this hen !'

c. khene ka-nak-pa- ka-ca-ba ka-puŋ ni
you AP-beg-AP AP-eat-AP 2-becomeOPT
'May you be a beggar!'

Wish can also be expressed negatively by using negative discontinuous morpheme <n- -nEn~n>.

(17)

a. ka-n-si-nEn ni/l□
2-NEG-die-NEG OPT
'May you not die!'

b. ka-n-tuk-nEn ka-n-sak-nEn ni/l□
2-NEG-sick-NEG 2-NEG- hunger-NEG OPT
'May you not be sick!'

c. ma-ma-nEn ma-si-nEn ni/l□
NEG-lose-NEG NEG-die-NEG OPT
'May he not get lost!'

**4.6.** INTERROGATIVE MOOD. In Limbu language the mood of questions is indicated by the use of interrogative suffix <-i> .

(18)

a. kHunE paŋ-ŋo wa- i
he house-LOC be- -Q
'Is he at home?'

b. kHunE paŋ-ŋo wah-a- i
he house-LOC be-PT-Q
'Was he at home?'

c. kHEnE sa ka-j□-i
you meat 2-eat-Q
'Do you eat meat?'

The sentences in 22 show that interrogative mood can be expressed in both past and non-past tense forms. The sentences in 22a and 22c are in non-past tense whereas the sentence in 22b is in past tense.

Likewise, interrogative mood can be expressed negatively.

(19)

a. kHEnE cumluŋ-ŋo ka-n-yuŋ-a-n-ni
you meeting-LOC 2-NEG-sit-PT-NEG-Q

'Didn't you attend the meeting?'

b. kHunE tHi ma-dHuŋ-nEn-ni
he beer NEG-drink-NEG-Q
'Doesn't he drink beer?'

c. kHun-cHi sam-ma-n-lo-nEn-ni
3-d song-NEG-sing-NEG-Q
'Do they not sing?'

**5.** SUMMARY.Tense is marked by the suffix <-a> or <-O> after the main verb stem and after the auxiliary. Chhatthare Limbu marks progressive aspect by the suffix <-ro~ -lo> and perfect aspects by the suffix <-aN>. The present perfect is expresessed by main verb in the past and auxiliary verb in the present whereas past perfect is expressed by the main verb in the past and corresponding auxiliary verb in the past. Declarative mood is the finite verb form. Imperative mood is marked by the suffix <-?> if the addressee is singular but it is marked by the suffix <-a> after the verb stem and by the suffix <-?> in the final position if the number of addressee is dual or plural. Adhortive mood is expressed by dropping the first person suffix <-a> from the finite verb form. Irrealis mood is marked by the particle *mEn*. Optative mood is marked by the particle *ni* or *r□* and interrogative mood is marked by the suffix <-i>.

# CHAPTER 12
# NON-FINITE VERBS AND VERBAL COMPLEX

**1.** INTRODUCTION. This chapter deals with non-finite verbs and verbal complex in the language. Non-finite verbs occur in dependent clauses and do not show person, number, case, exclusivity, reciprocity and tense markers. Only the infinitive form exhibits person, number and case in third person. The verbal complex consists of all kinds of main verb sequences in the language.

**2.** NON-FINITE VERBS. The non-finite verbs include infinitives, purposives, converbs and participles. They are discussed in the following paragraphs.

**2.1.** INFINITIVE. The infinitive is characterized by the suffix <–ma >. It is used to express 'shall' in questions.

(1) a. lok-**ma**-i ?
run-INF-Q
'Shall we run?'

b. sap-**ma**- i?
write-INF-Q
'Shall we write?'

c. pi-**ma**-i?
give-INF-Q
'Shall we give him?'

It is also used in Wh questions.

(2) a. hE cuk-**ma** ?
what do-INF
'What to do?'

b. ho te-**ma** ?
where go-INF
'Where to go?'

c. hyaN pHEm-**ma** ?
why come-INF
'Why to come?'

d. hikkHE pap-**ma** ?
how speak-INF
'How to speak ?'

It is used as a complement of a modal verb.

(3) a. cuk-**ma** puŋ
make-INF- must
'It must be made.'

b. p□N-**ma** sukk-u
lift-INF can-3O
'He can carry it.'

c. pim-**ma** hE
jump-INF can
'He can jump.'

It is also used as the complement of an attitudinal verb *nu* 'it is okay'

(4) a. ca-**ma** nu

kill-INF okay
'It is okay to eat.'

b. im-**ma** nu
sleep-INF okay
'It is okay to sleep.'

c. paNwa-**ma** nu
play-INF okay
'It is okay to play.'

The infinitive form takes non-singular object marker <–si>.

(5) a. tum-**ma-si** puN
p meet-INF-nsO must
'We must meet friends.'

b. sak-**ma-si** puN
arrest-INF-nsO must
'They must be imprisoned.'

c. cEp-**ma-si** puN
chop-INF-nsO must
'They must be chopped.'

**2.2** PURPOSIVE. The purposive is marked by <-na –~ma-~ŋa> according to the type of the consonants it follows. It occurs as a complement of motion verbs.

(6) a. set-**na** te.
kill-PURP go
'He goes to kill something.'

b. ap-**ma** ka-bHEr-a
shoot-PURP 2-come-PT
'You came to fire.'

c. tHuŋ-**ŋa** tah-a-N
drink-PURP come-PT-1e
'I came to drink .'

In 6a, the participle is <–na> because it occurs after the dental consonant /t/. In 6b, it becomes <–ma> because it is preceded by bilabial consonant. In 6c, it becomes <–ŋa> because it follows the velar consonant. Infinitive marking suffix <–ma> is invariable and the purposive marking suffix becomes homophonous when it occurs after the bilabial consonant.

**2.3.** CONVERBS. Converbs are used only in negative expressions in Chhatthare Limbu.

(7) a. man-cHi-E
NEG-die-CONV
'Without dying'

b. mam-bat-nE
NEG-speak-CONV
'without speaking'

c. man-dum-mE
NEG-meet-CONV
' without meeting.'

d. maŋ-haŋ-ŋE
NEG-send-CONV

‘without sending.’

The converb suffix <–E> changes its form according to the consonant it follows. After the vowel, it is <–E> as exemplified in 7a. After the dental consonant, it becomes <–nE> as shown in 6b and after bilabial consonant it becomes <–mE> as shown in 7c and after the velar consonant, it becomes <–ŋE> as shown in 7d.

**2.4.** PARTICIPLE. Participle is of two kinds: active participle and passive participle.

**2.4.1.** ACTIVE PARTICIPLE. Active participle is formed by two active participle formatives <ka-> and <–pa>. The active participle is also divided into active participle of transitive verb and active participle of intransitive verb. Active participle of transitive verb codes the agent of a transitive verb.

(8) a. **ka**-hu-**ba**
AP-teach-AP
‘One who teaches’

b. **ka**-sep-**pa**
AP-kill-AP
‘One who kills’

c. **ka**-iŋ-**ba**
AP- buy-AP
‘One who buys’

The active participle suffix <-pa> becomes <-ba> after a vowel or a nasal consonant.

Active participle of intransitive verb codes the subject of an intransitive verb.

(9) a. **ka**-bim-**ba**
AP-jump-AP
‘One who jumps’

b. **ka**-hap-**pa**
AP-weep-AP
‘One who weeps’

c. **ka**-ep-**pa**
AP-laugh-AP
‘One who laughs’

The active participles of the transitive verbs and intransitive verbs listed in 8 and 9 can be used both as a noun and as an attribute.

**2.4.2.** PASSIVE PARTICIPLE. The passive participle refers to the object of a transitive verb.

(10) a. tap-**na**-**ba**
bring-PP-NML
‘One that has been brought ‘

b. kom-**na**-**ba**
search-PP-NML
‘One that has been searched’

c. s□ŋ-**na**-**ba**
sell-PP- NML
‘One which has been sold.’

The participle <–pa> is also used as a general nominalizer to refer to the male attribute and the participle <–ma> is used to attribute female quality.

(11) a. nu-**ba** napmi
good-M/ NML man
'A good man'
b. nu-**ma** menchu-ma
good-M/ NML woman-F/ NML
'A good woman'

**3.** VERBAL COMPLEX. Combination of verbs in a phrase is the normal character of the Kiranti languages such as Limbu, Athpare, Bantawa, Thulung, Ombule etc. Chhatthare Limbu combines verbs in a phrase in order to indicate different shades of meanings. This phenomenon can be observed particularly in serial, compound, periphrastic, sequential, infinitive, purposive and possessive verb forms. These verbs are given an umbrella term 'verbal complex' in this grammar.

**3.1.** SERIAL VERBS. Combination of verbs in a phrase is one of the significant features of south Asian languages. In Nepali, non-finite verbs or converbs and finite verbs are combined. Pokhrel (1999) shows the sequences of as many as ten main verbs in a phrase in which the first nine verbs are converbs, and only the last verb, vector, inflects for person, number and tense and calls such verbs 'compound verbs'. Limbu language is a bit different from Nepali in the combination of verbs. In Limbu, when two main verbs occur in a phrase, they both mark person, number and tense. However, like Nepali, its first verb functions as a main verb, and second verb as an auxiliary. When the second verb occurs independently, it carries its own lexical meaning but when it occurs with a main verb, it loses its lexical meaning through semantic bleaching and amalgamates a new grammatical meaning as is the case in Nepali.

Ebert (1994:60) calls such combination of verbs as 'compound verbs' and says that Limbu is unique to other Kiranti languages in that it marks both verbs in the combination

for person, number and tense whereas other Kiranti languages contract longer verb forms taking prefixes and outer suffixes only once. Such verbs are very limited in Limbu. I have called them 'serial verbs' and included two types of verb combination in them. The first type of verbs includes main verbs which are combined in a verbal complex and show independent inflectional patterns. In the combination, the second verb loses its lexical meaning and functions only as an auxiliary to the main verb. They together index a single semantic content in a combined form. The second type of verbs includes the combination of an independent lexical verb and a bound lexical verb. They inflect independently in the verbal complex and exhibit a single semantic content. They are discussed in the following paragraphs.

**3.1.1**. *tema* 'to go' or 'to take'. *tema* is intransitively conjugated as in 12a-b and transitively conjugated as in 12c-d.

(12)

a. $k^h$unE paŋ-No te?
he home-LOC go
'He goes home.'

b. $k^h$EnE kat$^h$mandu ka-deg-a
You kathmandu 2- go-PT
'You go to Kathmandu.'

c. a sapla tew-u-N

I paper take-3O-1eA
'I took away a paper.'

d. hEnja-Na khorE? tew-u
child-ERG plate take-3O
'The child took away a plate.'

However, when *tema* is used as an auxiliary whether in intransitive or transitive form, it loses its lexical meaning and only adds the meaning of 'instantly' to the main verb. The sentences in 13a-b show its intransitive form and 13c-d show its transitive form.

(13)

a. ba pan $d^{h}$ik lo-u-ŋ-ba $k^{h}$unE pind-a deg-a
this matter only tell-3O-1sA-NML he jump-PT go-PT
'When I told him only this thing, he jumped instantly (he immediately reacted).'

b. $k^{h}$unE a a-nih-a-ŋ nuŋ manuŋ $p^{h}$Er-a deg-a
he me 1-see-PT-IsO as soon as come-PT go-PT
'As soon as he saw me, he came over.'

c. a $k^{h}$unE a-sapla piy-u-ŋ dey-u-ŋ
I him my-book give-3O-1sA take-3O-1sA
'I gave him a book immediately.'

d. $k^{h}$unE a a-nih-a-ŋ nuŋ manuŋ a- □k-a-ŋ a-dey-a-ŋ
he I 3-1- see-PT-1O as soon as I-scold-PT-1sO 3-1-take-PT-1sO
'As soon as he saw me, he scolded me.'

c. hEnja-iŋ paŋ-ŋo paks-u-dey-u
child-ABS house-LOC send-3O-take-3O
'Send the child home immediately.'

**3.1.2.** *cama* 'to eat'. As a main verb *cama* means 'to eat' as in 14 a-b but when it comes together with the auxiliary *wama* 'to be' it indicates sustained or prolonged immobility as in 14c-d.

(14)

a. kHunE t□k c□
he rice eats
'he eats rice.'

b. kHEnE sa ka-j□
you meat 2-eat
'You eat meat.'

c. a bo akkHE wa-ŋa ja-ŋa-ba
I here for nothing be-1e eat-1e-NML
'I am here for nothing.'

d. $k^{h}$unE paŋ-ŋo-i yuŋ ja
he house-LOC-DEF sit- eat
'He stays just at home.'

**3.1.3.** *pima* 'to give'. *pima* as a main verb means 'to give' as in 15a-b but when it occurs with other main verbs, it functions as an auxiliary as in 15c-d.

(15)

a. a kHunE sapla piy-u-N
1 him book give-3O-1e
'I gave him a book.'

b. kHEnE a lajE ka-biy-a-N
you me land 2-give-PT-1e
'You gave me land.'

c. a k$^{h}$unc$^{h}$i lajE haw-u-ŋ biy-u-ŋ-si-ŋ
1 their land divide-3O-1e- give-3O-1e-3nsO-1e
'I divided their land among them.'

d. a ku-yamb□k cug-u-ŋ biy-u-ŋ
I his-work do-3O-1sA give-3O-1sA
'I did his work for him.'

**3.1.4**. *yuŋma* 'to place' or 'to put down'. As a main verb *yuŋma* means 'to place' or 'to put down' as shown in 16a-b but as an auxiliary, it means retaining the position of action as in 16c-d.

(16)

a. kHunE ku-g□k hambo yuks-u
he 3POSS-load ther put-3O
'he put his loaded bag there.'

b. kHEnE kunda kumbo ka-yuks-u
you pot here 2-put-3O

c. a sapla-o a-miŋ-ŋiŋ sap-u-ŋ yuks-u-ŋ
I copy-LOC my-name-ABS write-3O-1e put-3O-1e
'I wrote my name in the copy and kept it.'

d. cwat-niŋ kunda-o pHat-u yuks-u
water-ABS jar-LOC fill-3O put-3O
'Fill the jar with water and keep it'.

**3.1.5.** *sima* 'to die' or *sepma* 'to kill'. *sima* as a main verb occurs intransitively signaling the meaning 'to die'.

(17)

a. k$^{h}$unE siy-a
he die-PT
'He died.'

b. a si-ŋa nEt-na
I die-1e about-1e
'I'm about to die.'

c. k$^{h}$EnE ka-si
you 2- die
'You will die.'

It occurs with other main verbs with a meaning 'very much'.

(18)

a. k$^{h}$unE calik kiy-a siy-a
he very fear-PT die-PT
'He was afraid very much.'

b. a nah-a-ŋ siy-a-ŋ
I tire-PT-1sS die-PT-1sS
'I was tired very much.'

c. thEgu-nuŋ mo ka-mEtt-u-e) ka-ya ka-si
hill-ABL down below 2-look-3O-CONJ 2-be tickled 2- die

'If you look down below from the hill, you will feel tickled.'

*sEpma* is also used transitively as a main verb .

(19)

a. a k$^{h}$unE sEr-u-ŋ
I him kill-3O-1sA
'I killed him.'

b. k$^{h}$unE p$^{h}$ak sEr-u
he pig kill-3O
'He killed a pig.'

c. k$^{h}$EnE wa ka-sEr-u
you hen 2- kill-3O
'You killed him.'

As an auxiliary, sepma means ‘very much’. When it occurs as an auxiliary with other main verbs like *kip-ma* 'to fear', the subject is patient and the object is somebody or something to be afraid of or feared with.

(20)

a. a k$^{h}$unE kir-u-ŋ sEr-u-ŋ
I him afraid of-3O-1e kill-3O-1e
'I'm afraid of him very much.'

b. kHunE a a-gir-a-N a-sEr-a-N
he me 1-fear-PT-1e 1-kill-PT-1e
‘He is afraid of me very much.’

c. kHEnE a ka-git-na ka-sEt-na
you me 2-fear-2O 2-kill-1e
‘You are afraid of me very much.’

When it occurs with main verbs like *nopma* ‘to love’ and *cipma* ‘to hate’, they function their own grammatical roles.

(21)

a. a k$^{h}$unE not-u-ŋ sEr-u-ŋ
I him love-3O-1e kill-3O-1e
'I love him very much.'

b. a k$^{h}$unE cit-u-ŋ sEr-u-ŋ
I him hate-3O-1e kill-3O-1e
'I hate him very much.'

*sEpma* occurs with other main verbs as an auxiliary of a clause subordinated to negative independent clause.

(22)

a. a k$^{h}$unE mEtt-u-ŋ sEr-u-ŋ saN man-ni-ban
I him look-3O-1e kill-3O-1e though NEG-see-1eS/PT/NEG
‘Though I watched him very much, I did not see him.’

b. a k$^{h}$unE □k-u-ŋ sEr-u-ŋ saN ma-gHEps-u-n
I him cry-3O-1e kill-3O-1e though NEG-hear-3O-NEG
‘Though I cried at him very much, he did not hear.’

c. a k$^{h}$unE ut-u-ŋ sEr-u-ŋ saN ma-bHEr-a-n
I him invite-3O-1e kill-3O-1e though NEG-come-PT-NEG
‘Though I invited him very much, he did not come.’

**3.1.6.** *nema* means 'to lie'. It occurs on its own in clauses.

(23)

a. $k^hunE$ yukna-o nEh-a
he bed-LOC lie-PT
'He lay on the bed.'

b a $k^h$am-mo nEh-a-ŋ
I floor-LOC lie-PT-1S
'I lay on the floor.'

c. $k^h$EnE atte $yunc^h$ik a-baŋ-ŋo ka-nEh-a
you last night my-house-LOC 2-lie-PT
'Last night you stayed at my house.'

When it occurs with other verbs as an auxiliary, it carries the meaning 'to persist' or 'to keep on doing something'.

(24)

a. $k^hunE$ $yunc^h$ik pyahandik □k nEn
he night morning cry persist-3S
'He keeps on crying in the morning and evening.'

b. $k^hunE$ $ak^hE$ pin nEn
he for nothing jump persist
'He keeps on jumping for nothing or he keeps on getting angry for nothing.'

c. hamba koco $namd^had^ha$ yat-a nEh-a
that dog all day long whine-PT persist-PT
'That dog kept on whining all day long.'

There is another type of verb combination which contains one independent lexical verb and one bound lexical verb. Such verbs are *nEp-ma* 'to be about to', *sama* 'to try', *tHama* 'to leave behind. They show same morphological behaviour as other serial verbs and reflect the single semantic content. Therefore, I have enlisted them in this group.

**3.1.7.** *nEpma*. *nEpma* means 'be about to' or 'on the verge of doing something'. *netma* can occur intransitively as in 25a-b and transitively as in 25c-d . It, however, can not occur as a main verb independently.

(25)

a. hamba wa si nEt
that hen die-about
'That man is about to die.'

b. $k^h$EnE ka-de ka-nEt
you 2-go 2-be about
'You are about to go.'

c. hamba-Na wa sEr-u nEtt-u
that hen kill-3O die-about
'He is about to kill a hen.'

c. a koco $p^h$Ett-u-N nEtt-u-N
I dog bring-3O-1e be about-3O-1e
'I am about to bring a dog.'

**3.1.8**. *sama* . *sama* is used as an auxiliary verb to mean ' to try'. It can not occur alone independently on its own. It usually occurs with main verbs.

(26)

a. tEps-u saw-u t□
catch-3O try-3O PART

'Try to catch it.'

b. tEps-u-ŋ saw-u-ŋ
catch-3O-1S-try-3O-1eA
'Let me catch it.'

c. ka-mEtt-u ka-saw-u i
2S- see-3O 2S-try-3O Q
'Will you try to see it?'

**3.1.9.** *tHama* . *tHama* means 'to leave'. This verb has irregular conjugation form as *tH□* in the third person singular form. It can not occur as a main verb independently in a sentence. It occurs only as an auxiliary of a transitive verb.

(27)

a. $k^h$unE sapla wet-u dH□
he book leave-3O leave-3:S
'He left the book behind.'

b. a $d^h$ankuta-o l□$t^h$ik paŋ cug-u-ŋ $d^h$a-ŋ
I Dhankuta-LOC one house make-3O-1sA leave-1sA
'I made a house in Dhankuta and left it behind.'

c. $k^h$EnE lat$^h$ik paŋ bo iŋ-u $d^h$□-?
You one house here buy-3O leave-IMP
'Buy one house here and leave it behind!'

**3.2.** COMPOUND VERBS. Causative verbs are formed by the combination of the verb *paNma* 'to send' with other main verbs.' In this combination, it loses its lexical meaning through semantic bleaching, amalgamates a new grammatical meaning and functions only as an auxiliary to the first verb. These two verbs share common affixes and are called compound verbs. They differ from the serial verbs in sharing common affixes in the combination. The examples in 28 show the lexical meaning of *paNma* .

(28)

a. a kHunE paN-No paks-u-N
I him home-LOC send-3O-1e
'I send him home.'

b. kHunE kHEnE yamb□k-No ka-baks-a
he you work-LOC 2-sed-PT
'He sent you to work.'

c. a kHEnE hambo paN-na
I you there send-2O
'I sent you there.'

However, in the examples 29, they exhibit grammatical meanings.

(29)

a. a $k^h$unE ba sapla sap- paks-u-ŋ
I him this letter write send-3O-1e
'I made him write this letter.'

b. $k^h$EnE $k^h$unE ba k□k ku- ka-baks-u
you him this load carry 2-send-3O
'You made him carry this load.'

c. $k^h$unE $k^h$EnE ku-g□k ku- ka-baks-a
he you his-load carry- 2-send-PT
'He made you carry his load.'

Compound verbs show the morphological behaviour of the polysyllabic verb in that the affixes are added to the last syllable in both types of verbs. The examples 29 b-c show this feature.

**3.3.** ANALYTIC VERBS. There are expressions in the language which are made periphrastically by the combination of multiple words with the co-ordination of suffixes. I have called such verbs as analytic verbs and they include analytic causative and analytic desirative.

**3.3.1.** ANALYTIC CAUSATIVES. Analytic causatives are periphrastic causatives formed by the combination of the verbs like *yam-ma* as in 30 a-cand *cu-kma* as in 30d-f with other main verbs. In this combination, both verbs are fully conjugated and they are coordinated by <-ro> to yield causative meaning.

(30)

a. a kʰunE yaŋ tar-u-ro yand-u-ŋ
I him money bring-3O-Prg can-3O-1e
'I made him bring money.'

b. kʰEnE kʰunE tʰi tʰuŋ-u-ro ka-yand-u
you him beer drink-3O-Prg 2-can-3O
'You made him drink beer.'

c. a kʰunE ku-yamb□k-ŋo teg-a-ro yand-u-ŋ
I him his-work -LOC go-PT-Prog can-3O-1e
'I made him go to do his work.'

d. a kʰunE tay-a-ro cug-u-ŋ
I him come-PT-Prog do-3O-1eA
'I made him come.'

e. kʰEnE a noks-a-ŋ-ro ka-cug-a-ŋ
you me return-PT-1sS-PT-Prog2S-make-PT-1sO
'You made me return.'

f. kʰunE kʰEnE ka-pok-ro ka-cuk
he you 2-rise-Prg 2-make
'He made you rise.'

**3.3.2.** ANALYTIC DESIRATIVE. Analytic desiratives are formed by the combination of the verb *loma* 'to say' with other main verbs. In this combination, both verbs are fully conjugated and they are co-coordinated by <-go> to yield desirative meaning.

(31)

a. a tHi tHuN-u-N-go lo-Na
I local beer drink-3O-1e-DSR say-1e
'I feel like drinking local beer.'

b. hamba napmi ku-baN-No tek-Na-go lo b□
that man 3sPOSS-house-LOC go-1e-DSR say PART
' That man says that he feels like going home.'

c. kHEnE kac-cHa nih-u-N-go ka-lo-i
you 2sPOSS-child see-3O-1e-DSR 2-say-Q
'Do you feel like seeing your child?'

**3.4.** SEQUENTIAL VERBS. In Limbu sequential construction is formed by the suffix <-aŋ>. In fact, the suffix <-aŋ> gives the meaning 'and'. It coordinates two verbs occurring one after another to express sequential meaning.

(32)

a. tEps-u-aŋ $t^h$aps-u
catch-3O-SEQ-drop-3O
'He caught him and knocked him down.'

b. yuŋ-a-aŋ-nir-u
sit-PT-SEQ-read-3O
'He sat and read it.'

c. ka-sEb-u-aŋ-ka-j□
2-pluck-3O-SEQ-2-eat
'You plucked it and ate it.'

The sentences in 32 express sequential events, which occur one after another. In 32a the agent first caught the object and then knocked him down. In 32b the agent first sat down and then performed the function 'reading'. In 32c, the agent first plucked something like mango, orange, guava etc. from the tree branch and then he ate it. The sequential suffix <-aŋ>, when followed by auxiliary *wa* 'be', shows perfect aspect with the meaning that an action has taken place sometimes in the past but its effect is still there.

**3.5.** INFINITIVAL CONSTRUCTION. Verbs such as *puɴma, hekma, sukma, hema, yamma, komma* occur with infinitival verbs to express obligation, ability, desire, permission, prohibition and inception of event.

**3.5.1.** OBLIGATION. Obligation is expressed in Limbu by the invariable impersonal form of the verb *puN* 'must'. It can be preceded by infinitive verb as in 33a-b or by fully inflected verb followed by the suffix <-ro> as in 33c-d.

(33)

a. sa cEp-ma puŋ
meat chop-INF must
'He/you/I must chop meat.'

b. yaN huŋ-ma puŋ
money pay-INF must
'One/he/you/I must pay.'

c. kHunE sa cEpp-u-ro puŋ
he meat chop-Conj- must
'He must chop meat.'

b. kHEnE yaN ka-huŋ-u-ro puŋ
you money pay-Conj must
'You must pay money.'

The obligation verb *puN* does not inflect for negation. However, negative obligation is expressed with the negation of *nu* 'It will be good'. The sentences in 33 can be negated in the following way:

(34)

a. sa cEp-ma ma-nu-nEn
meat chop-INF-NEG-be good-NEG
'It is not good to chop meat.'

b. yaN huŋ-ma ma-nu-nEn
money pay-INF-NEG-be good-NEG
'It is not good to pay money.'
c. yuŋ-ma ma-nu-nEn
sit-INF-NEG-be good-NEG
'It is not good to sit.'

However, the negative sentences in 34 have been derived from the sentences in 35.

(35)

a. sa cEp-ma nu
meat chop-INF be good-NEG
'It is good to chop meat.'
b. yaN huŋ-ma nu
money pay-INF be good
'It good to pay money.'
c. yuŋ-ma nu
sit-INF be good
'It good to sit.'

In negative, there is no difference between declarative and obligatory forms as exemplified by sentences in 34.The obligatory verb *puN* inflect for past tense with the suffix <-a>.

(36)

a. kHunE sa cEpp-u-ro puks-a
he meat chop-Conj- must-PT
'He had to chop meat.'
b. kHEnE yaN ka-huŋ-u-ro puks-a
you money pay-Conj must-PT
'You had to pay money.'
c. a yuŋ-Na ro puks-a
I sit-Conj must-PT
'I had to sit.'

The past form of the obligatory verb *puksa* preceded by infinitival verb expresses want of the first person exclusive subject.

(37)

a. sa cEp-ma puks-a
meat chop-INF must-PT
'I want to chop meat.'
b. yaN huŋ-ma puks-a
money pay-INF must-PT
'I want to pay.'
c. yuŋ-ma puks-a
sit-INF must-PT
'I want to sit.'

**3.5.2**. ABILITY. Ability is expressed in Limbu by the verb *sukma* 'to be able to' or 'can', *hema* and *yamma* in combination with the infinitival verb. These verbs conjugate both intransitively and transitively. The examples in 38 exhibit intransitive conjugations.

(38)

a. kHunE lok-ma suk
he run-INF can
'He can run.'

b. kHEnE wajakma ka-suk
you swim-INF 2-can
'You can swim.'

c. a pim-ma suk-Na
I jump-INF can-1e
'I can jump.'

d. kHunE lok-ma he
he run-INF can
'He can run.'

e. kHEnE wajakma ka-he
you swim-INF 2-can
'You can swim.'

f. a pim-ma he-Na
I jump-INF can-1e
'I can jump.'

g. kHunE lok-ma yan
he run-INF can
'He can run.'

h. kHEnE wajakma ka-yan
you swim-INF 2-can
'You can swim.'

i. a pim-ma yan-na
I jump-INF can-1e
'I can jump.'

The expressions in 38 can be negatively expressed.

(39)

a. kHunE lok-ma ma-suk-nEn
he run-INF NEG-can-NEG
'He can not run.'

b. kHEnE wajakma ka-n-suk-nEn
you swim-INF 2-NEG-can-NEG
'You can not swim.'

c. a pim-ma ma-suk-Na-n
I jump-INF NEG-can-1e-NEG
'I can not jump.'

d. kHunE lok-ma ma-he-nEn
he run-INF NEG-can-NEG
'He can not run.'

e. kHEnE wajakma ka-n-he-nEn
you swim-INF 2-NEG-can-NEG
'You can not swim.'

f. a pim-ma ma-he-Na-n
I jump-INF NEG-can-1e-NEG
'I can not jump.'

g. kHunE lok-ma ma-yan-nEn
he run-INF NEG-can-NEG

'He can not run.'

h. kHEnE wajakma ka-n-yan-nEn
you swim-INF 2-NEG-can-NEG
'You can not swim.'

i. a pim-ma ma-yan-na-n
I jump-INF NEG-can-1e-NEG
'I can not jump.'

The ability verbs in 38 show transitive conjugations.

(40)

a. kHunE yamb□k cuk-ma sukk-u
he work do-INF can-3O
'He can do work.'

b. kHEnE na tem-ma ka-sukk-u
you fish catch-INF 2-can-3O
'You can catch fish.'

c. a ba sapla p□ŋma sukk-u-ŋ
I this book hold can-3O-1e
'I can hold this book.'

d. kHunE yamb□k cuk-ma hew-u
he work do-INF can-3O
'He can do work.'

e. kHEnE na tem-ma ka-hew-u
you fish catch-INF 2-can-3O
'You can catch fish.'

f. a ba sapla p□ŋma hew-u-ŋ
I this book hold can-3O-1e
'I can hold this book.'

g. kHunE yamb□k cuk-ma yand-u
he work do-INF can-3O
'He can do work.'

h. kHEnE na tem-ma ka-yand-u
you fish catch-INF 2-can-3O
'You can catch fish.'

i. a ba sapla p□ŋma yand-u-ŋ
I this book hold can-3O-1e
'I can hold this book.'

The above modes can be expressed negatively in the following way:

(41)

a. kHunE yamb□k cuk-ma ma-sukk-u-n
he work do-INF NEG-can-3O-NEG
'He can not do work.'

b. kHEnE na tem-ma ka-n-sukk-u-n
you fish catch-INF 2-NEG-can-3O-NEG
'You can not catch fish.'

c. a ba sapla p□ŋma ma-suk- ŋa-n
I this book hold NEG-can-1e-NEG
'I can not hold this book.'

d. kHunE yamb□k cuk-ma ma-hew-u-n
he work do-INF NEG-can-3O-NEG

'He can not do work.'

e. kHEnE na tem-ma ka-n-hew-u-n
you fish catch-INF 2-NEG-can-3O-NEG
'You can not catch fish.'

f. a ba sapla p□ŋma ma-he- ŋa-n
I this book hold NEG-can-1e-NEG
'I can not hold this book.'

g. kHunE yamb□k cuk-ma ma-yand-u-n
he work do-INF NEG-can-3O-NEG
'He can not do work.'

h. kHEnE na tem-ma ka-n-yand-u-n
you fish catch-INF 2-NEG-can-3O-NEG
'You can not catch fish.'

i. a ba sapla p□ŋma ma-yan- na-n
I this book hold NEG-can-1e-NEG
'I can not hold this book.'

**3.5.3.** DESIRE. Desire is expressed in Limbu by the verb *komma* 'to search' in combination with the infinitival verb.

(42)

a. kHunE yamb□k cukma kon
he work do-INF wants
'He wants to do work.'

b. kHEnE wajkma ka-gon
you swim-INF 2-want
'You want to swim.'

c. a ba sapla p□ŋma kon-na
I this book hold want-1S
'I want to hold this book.'

**3.5.4.** PERMISSION AND PROHIBITION. Permissions are expressed by combining the verb *kHoma* 'to find' in combination with the passive suffix <–tet> preceded by the infinitival verb. Its negative transformation expresses prohibition to do certain works.

(43)

a. bo yuN-ma kHodet- ni, an-na-e
here sit-INF find-PASS-Q 1sPOSS-elder sister-VOC
' Oh sister! Can I /we sit here?.'

b. bakHya) paniba paN-No saN lap-ma kHodet
these days Brahman home-LOC also enter-INF find-PASS
'These days we can enter even Brahmin's house.'

c. hambo cwat pHap-ma kHo-det
there water fill-INF find-PASS
'One/ we can fill water there.'

These permissions are negatively expressed in the following way:

(44)

a. bo yuN-ma kHo ma-det- nEn-ni, an-na-e
here sit-INF find-NEG-PASS-NEG-Q 1sPOSS-elder sister-VOC
' Oh sister! Can't I /we sit here?.'

b. bakHya) paniba paN-No lap-ma kHo-ma-det-nEn
these days Brahman home-LOC enter-INF find-NEG-PASS-NEG
'These days we can not enter Brahmin's house.'

c. hambo cwat pHap-ma kHo-ma-det-nEn
there water fill-INF find-NEG-PASS-NEG
'One/ we can not fill water there.'

In a straight form, the verb *kHoma* also expresses permission.

(45)

a. a bo yuN-ma kHo-Na-i, an-na-E
here sit-INF find-1e-Q 1sPOSS-elder sister-VOC
' Oh sister! Can I sit here?. Or am I permitted to sit here?'

b. bakHya) paniba paN-No saN lap-ma a-gHow-i
these days Brahman home-LOC also enter-INF 1-find-pS
'These days we can enter even Brahmin's house or these days we are permitted to enter even Brahmins house.'

c. hambo cwat pHap-ma kHow-i-Na
there water fill-INF find-pS-1e
'we can fill water there or we are permitted to fill the water there.'

Prohibition is negatively expressed as in the following way:

(46)

a. a bo yuN-ma ma-gHo-Na-n-ni, an-na-e
I here sit-INF NEG- find-1e-NEG -Q 1sPOSS-elder sister-VOC
' Oh sister! Can I sit here?. Or am I permitted to sit here?'

b. bakHya) paniba paN-No lap-ma a-N-gHow-i-n
these days Brahman home-LOC enter-INF 1i-NEG-find-pS- NEG
'These days we can not enter even Brahmin's house or these days we are not permitted to enter even Brahmins house.'

c. hambo cwat pHap-ma ma-gHow-i-Na-n
there water fill-INF NEG-find-pS-1e-NEG
'we can not fill water there or we are not permitted to fill the water there.'

d. paniba kHuncHI ha?luN-No te-ma kHomadet-nEn
brahmis 3nsPOSS fireplace-LOC go-INF find-NEG-PASS-NEG
'We can not go to the fire-place of the Brahmins. We are not permitted to go to
the fireplace of Brahmins.'

e. yamb□k-lam kHEccHim-ma ka-n-gHo-nEn
work- run away-INF 2-NEG-find-NEG
'You can not run away from work.'

**3.5.5.** INCEPTION OF EVENT. Inception of event and near inception of event are expressed by the verbs *hek-ma* 'to begin' and *ipma* 'about to do' in combination with infinitival verbs.

A verb *hEk-ma* is combined with the verb in infinitive form and indicates the beginning of the action denoted by the main verb. It conjugates intransitively as in 47a and transitively as in 47b-c.

(47)

a. kHunE pap-ma hEk-a
he speak-INF begin-PT

‘he began to speak’

b. kHEnE yaN tH□k-ma ka-hEk-u
you money earn-INF 2-begin-3O
‘You began to earn money’

c. a yamb□k hek-u-N
I work begin-3O-1e
‘I began my work.’

In the same way the verb *ipma* ‘about to ‘ is combined with infinitival verbs and express the meaning of near inception of event. It conjugates intransitively as in 48a-b and transitively as in 48c.

(48)

a. kHunE pok-ma itt-a
he rise-INF about- PT
‘He is about to rise.’

b. kHEnE lok-ma ka-itt-a
you run-INF 2-about-PT
‘You are about to run.’

c. a yamb□k sup-ma it-u-N
I work finish-INF about-3O-1e
‘I am about to finish the work.’

**3.6.** PURPOSIVE VERBS. Purposive verbs occur with other motion verbs in a sentence. It is marked by the suffix <–na> which undergoes changes as <-ma> and <-Na>.The purposive verb indicates the purpose and the second verb indicates action.

(49)

a. p□numa cwat pHat-na te
panuma water fill-PURP go
‘Panuma goes to fill water.’

b. kappa ca sak-Na uks-a
2sPOSS-father paddy weed-PURP come down-PT
‘Your father came down to weed paddy plant.’

c. a ka-dum-ma kEt-na
I 2-meet-PURP comeup-1e
‘I will come up to meet you.’

*tema* ‘to go’, *phEmma* ‘to come from the surface level’ , *tama* ‘to come from anywhere’, *uNma* ‘to come down from superior location’ and *kEpma* ‘to come up from below’ are direction verbs. Only with these verbs, purposive verbs can combine.

3.7. EXPERIENCER POSSESSIVE VERBS. Emotive feeling such as happiness, love, fear, anger, or hatred is expressed by the verbs in combination with possessive nouns. These nouns take special verbs for the expression of emotion.

(50)

a. yak-lE-ma ‘to be angry
b. niN-lE-ma ‘to be fed up’
c. niwa-da-ma ‘to be satisfied’
d. yam-da-ma ‘to be comfortable’
e. niNwa-ma-ma ‘to feel frustrated’
f. sam-ma-ma ‘to lose conscousness’
g. sira-dhaN-ma ‘to be happy’

h. si-ghEN-ma ‘to feel irritated’
i. sik-cHim-ma ‘to feel content’
j. na-hEm-ma ‘to feel jealous’
k. sik-leN-ma ‘to feel hatred’
l. sikcige-lo-ma ‘to feel irritated’
j. niNwa-p□N-ma ‘to feel sad’
k. luNma-him-ma ‘to feel nostalgic’
l. lEmma-yu-ma ‘to feel lazy’
m. na-d$^{h}$ama ‘to feel ashamed of’
n. p$^{h}$ok-luma ‘to feel hungry’
o. wa-mi-ma ‘to feel thirsty’
p. mik-yu-ma ‘to feel sleepy’
q. sapok-tuk-ma ‘to feel pain in stomach’
r. sik-pok-ma ‘to feel irritated’

The full paradigm of emotive predicate *yaklema* ‘to become angry’ in non-past and past is presented below as an example because all the emotive predicates conjugates in the same pattern:

---

1.3s.

| | |
|---|---|
| ku-yak-lE | ku-yak lEr-a |
| his-anger release | his-anger release-PT |
| 'He becomes angry.' | 'He became angry.' |

2.3ns.

| | |
|---|---|
| k$^{h}$unc$^{h}$i yak lE | k$^{h}$unc$^{h}$i yak lEr-a |
| their-anger release | their-anger release-PT |
| 'They become angry.' | 'They became angry.' |

3.2s

| | |
|---|---|
| ka-yak lE | ka-yak lEr-a |
| your-anger release | your-anger release-PT |
| 'You become angry.' | 'You became angry.' |

4.2d.

| | |
|---|---|
| k$^{h}$Enc$^{h}$i-yak lE | k$^{h}$Enc$^{h}$i-yak lEr-a |
| your-anger release | your-anger release-PT |
| 'You become angry.' | 'You became angry.' |

5. 2p

| | |
|---|---|
| k$^{h}$Eni-yak lE | k$^{h}$Eni-yak lEr-a |
| your-anger release | your-anger release-PT |
| 'You become angry.' | 'You became angry.' |

6. 1s

| | |
|---|---|
| a-yak lE | a-yak lEr-a |
| my-anger release | my-anger release-PT |
| 'I become angry.' | 'I became angry.' |

7.1di

| | |
|---|---|
| anc$^{h}$i-yak lE | anc$^{h}$i-yak lEr-a |
| our-anger release | our-anger release-PT |
| 'We become angry.' | 'We became angry.' |

8.1de.

| | |
|---|---|
| anc$^{h}$iŋa- yak lE | anc$^{h}$iŋa- yak lEr-a |

| | |
|---|---|
| our-anger release | our-anger release-PT |
| 'We become angry.' | 'We became angry.' |
| 9.1pi. | |
| ani-yak lE | ani-yak lEr-a |
| our-anger release | our-anger release-PT |
| 'We become angry.' | 'We became angry.' |
| 10. 1pe. | |
| aniŋa- yak lE | aniŋa- yak lEr-a |
| our-anger release | our-anger release-PT |
| 'We become angry.' | 'We became angry.' |

TABLE 63. Paradigm of experiencer possessive verb ya?lEma ‘to be angry’

**4**. SUMMARY. Infinitive, purposive, converbs and participles are non-finite verbs. The first three non-finite verbs are marked by <–ma~ -na~ -Na>, <-na~ -ma~ -Na> and <-E> respectively. Converb is marked only negation.The active participle is marked by < ka- -pa> and passive participle is marked by <-na-ba>. Verbal complex includes serial verbs, compound verbs, analytic verbs, sequential verbs, infinitival verbs, purposive verbs and experiencer possessive verbs. They show different shades of meaning in the language.

## CHAPTER 13
## SENTENCE PATTERNS

**1.** INTRODUCTION. Limbu is a verb final language. It follows certain order in a phrase or a sentence. On the basis of patterns, Limbu sentences are divided into simple, compound and complex sentences but as compound sentence occurs only in sequential construction, both simple and compound sentences are subsumed under ‘basic sentence patterns’ and complex sentence will be subsumed under ‘clause combining’. On the basis of finite and non-finite verb forms, clauses are divided into finite clause and non-finite clause. Finite clause is an independent clause and hence it is used as a simple sentence in isolation and non-finite clause is a dependent or subordinate clause and it can not function without independent clause. Dependent clause is formed by non-finite verb forms or by addition of subordinator marker to a finite verb form. Limbu forms complex sentences by the combination of non-finite and finite clauses. This chapter deals with constituent order, basic sentence patterns and clause combining of Chhatthare Limbu.

**2.** CONSTITUENT ORDER. Pokharel (1989) makes a the analysis of constituent order of the Nepali clauses using the X-Bar theory . The constituent orders of Chhatthare Limbu clauses are analyzed in this subchapter following him.

**2.1.** COMPLEMENT – HEAD. Complement always precedes the head in Chhatthare Limbu.

**2.1.1.** SUBORDINATE CLAUSE-MAIN CLAUSE. In a complex sentence, main clause is the Head and subordinate clause is complement. The main clause occurs in the right position and the complement occurs in the left position.

(1)

a. kHEnE ka-da g□r□ ka-dum-ma
you 2-come if 2-meet-1sO
'If you come, you will meet me.'

b. t□k s□ŋ-a mahaŋ kHunE a-loh-i-ŋa
rice cook-PT saying he 1-tell-pO-e
'He told us that rice was cooked.'

c. hyaŋ ma-day-a-n ni, a ma-ni-ŋa-n
why NEG-come-PT-NEG PART, I NEG-see-1sS-NEG
'I do not know why he did not come.'

d. kHEnE ka-da-E) a a-sira-dHaŋ
you 2-come-SUB I 1sPOSS-happiness-comes up
'I will be happy if you come.'

e. ho ka-de-i teg-a
where 2-go-PART go-IMP
'Go wherever you like.'

**2.1. 2.** NP-VP.In a sentence NP is the complement and VP is the Head. The NP comes before the VP.

(2)

a. kHunE t□k c□
he rice ate
'He ate rice .'

b. ku-bHu-ŋa ku-njHa-iŋ kuy-u
3sPOSS-brother-ERG POSS- younger brother-DEF-carry-3O
'The elder brother carried the younger brother.'

Under this generalization, VP is the head and subject NP is the Complement of VP. The subject precedes the Predicate Phrase and object precedes the verb.

**2.1.3.** NOUN-POSTPOSITION. In a combination of noun and postposition, postposition is the Head and noun is the complement. The Head occurs on the right and noun on the left.

(3)

a. paŋ-No
house-in
'in the house'

b. tambHuŋ-lEkkHaŋ
forest-toward
'toward the forest'

c. a-bEso
my-near
'near me'

d. paŋ-dHarik

house-upto
'up to the house'

e. pHEja-ŋa
dagger-with
'with a dagger'

**2.1.4.** MAIN VERB-VECTOR. In serial verbs, the vector is the Head and main verb is the complement. The Head occurs on the right and the complement occurs on the left.

(4)

a. pat-u biy-u
speak-3O give-3O
'He spoke for him.'

b. pat-u de-u
speak-3O take-3O
'He spoke it without thinking.'

c. nat-u de-u
chase-3O take-3O
'He chased it away.'

**2.1.5.** MAIN VERB-AUXILIARY. In a main verb and auxiliary combination auxiliary is the Head and main verb is the complement. The Head occurs after the main verb.

(5)

a. a kHEnE pat-u-ŋ pi-na-aŋ wa
I you speak-3O-1sA give-1→2-PERF be
'I have spoken for you.'

b. kHunEpHEn-ro wa
he come-Prog be
'He is coming.'

c. kHEnE yaŋ ka-dH□k-lo ka-wa
you money 2-earn-Prog 2-be
'You are earning money.'

**2.1.6.** ROOT/STEM-SUFFIX. In root or stem suffix combination, suffix is the head and root is the complement. The root precedes the suffix.

(6)

a. um-ba
short-NML
'short'

b. kem-ba
long-NML
'long'

c. y□m-ba
big-NML
'big'

**2.1.7.** INDIRECT OBJECT-DIRECT OBJECT. In a sentence which has both indirect and direct objects, direct object is the Head and indirect object is the complement. Indirect object occurs before the direct object.

(7)

a. lahaŋ-ŋa p□numa-iŋ yaŋ piy-u
lahaŋ-ERG-panuma-DEF money give-3O
'Lahang gave Panuma money.'

b. kHunE a te? a-gHur-a-ŋ
he I cloth 1O-bring-PT-1sO
'He brought cloth for me.'

c. a kHunE casak kat-u-ŋ
I he food item carry-3O-1sA
'I carried him food items.'

**2.2.** MODIFIER-HEAD. Modifiers normally precede the Head in Limbu.

**2.2.1.** ADJECTIVE- NOUN. In a noun phrase adjective precedes the noun.

(8)

a. ba paŋ
this house
'this house'

b. kemba napmi
tall man
'a tall man'

c. cukpa hEnja
small child
a small child'

d. umba cHikki
short rope
'a short rope'

**2.2.2.** ADVERB- ADJECTIVE. In an adjectival phrase, adverb precedes adjective.

(9)

**a.** calik nuba
very good
'very good'

b. ci cukpa
little small
'a little small'

c. myak y□mba
little big
'a little big'

d. y□rik kemba
very long
'very long'

**2.2.3.** NUMBER-NOUN. In a noun phrase of numeral and head, the numeral precedes the head.

(10)

a. nEccHi yaŋ
two rupee

'two rupees'

b. sumsi mendak
three goat
'three goats'

c. lattHik pan
one thing
'one thing'

**2.2.4.** GENITIVE-NOUN. If a noun phrase is made of genitive plus noun, the genitive precedes the Head. The genitive in such a case occurs with a noun marked with a possessive prefix.

(11)

a. kHunE-ŋ ku-baŋ
he-GEN 3POSS-house
'his house'

b. a-ŋ a-bi?
1s-GEN 1sPOSS- cow
'my cow'

c. kHEnE-ŋ ka-me?
2-GEN 2sPOSS-wife
'your wife'

**2.2.5.** ADVERB-VERB. If adverb and verb occur together in a phrase, the adverb precedes the verb.

(12)

a. y□ky□k pap-ma
slowly speak-INF
'to speak slowly'

b. nurik sap-ma
well write-INF
'to write well'

c. y□k y□k laŋgHek-ma
slowly walk-INF
'to walk slowly'
Some anomalous evidence

**2.2.6.** KINSHIP NOUNS- PROPER NOUNS. When kinship nouns and proper nouns come together, the kinship nouns precede the proper nouns.

(13)

annE parbati
my sister parbati
‘my elder sister Parbati'

**2.3.** HEAD – MODIFIER. Unlike Nepali modifiers as listed by Pokhrel (1989), some modifiers follow the Head. If kinship nouns and adjectives occur together, adjectives follow the head.

(14)

a. abHu cukpa
my elder brother the youngest

'my youngest brother'

b. an-jHa pHo?waba
my-younger sibling the youngest
'The youngest younger sibling'

c. pHap-pHaN cH□rumba
our-uncle second eldest
'Our second eldest uncle'

If the head is a pronoun, it is followed by a modifier.

(15)

a. a yaŋgasaba-ŋa y□rik yaŋ huŋ-ma ma-suk-ŋa-n
I poor-ERG much money pay-INF NEG-can-1sS-NEG
'I, the poor, can't pay much money.'

b. kHEnE kapoba-ŋa he cuk-ma ka-sukk-u?
you old-ERG what do-INF 2-can-3O
'What can you old do?'

c. kHEnE kagHuppa-iŋ sa-ŋa sa ku-baŋ-o ka-n-de-nEn
you thief -DEF who-ERG also his-home-LOC 2-NEG-take-NEG
'Nobody takes you, thief, to his home.'

**2.4.** CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER. If more than one event happens in a sentence the earlier event precedes the later event.

(16)

a. kHunE t□k ca-aŋ pHEn
he rice eats-and comes
'He eats rice and comes.'

b. a yamb□k cHur-u-ŋ-aŋ r□k paŋ-o tek-ŋa
I work finish-3O-1sA-and only home-LOC go-1sS
'I go home after finishing the work'

**2. 5.** ALPHA-MOVEMENT AND CONSTITUENT ORDER IN LIMBU. In Limbu due to case marking, constituent order is relatively free. However, intrusion or insertion within a particular phrase or construction is almost impossible. Only the intra categorical movement is possible.

(17)

anda a paŋ-No ma-daŋa-n mahaŋ appa-ŋa pat-u
today I home-LOC NEG-come-NEG saying my-father-ERG say-3O
'My father said, 'I will not come home today.'

We can move *appa-ŋa* to the initial position and construct the above sentence in the following way:

(18)

appa-ŋa anda a paŋ-No ma-daŋa-n mahaŋ pat-u
my-father-ERG today I home-LOC NEG-come-NEG saying say-3O
'My father said, 'I will not come home today.'

We can move the clause *appa-ŋa pat-u* to the initial position and form a sentence like as follows:

(19)

appa-ŋa pat-u anda a paŋ-No ma-daŋa-n
my-father-ERG say-3O today I home-LOC NEG-come-NEG
'My father said, 'I will not come home today.'

If the main clause is moved to the initial position the complementizer *mahaŋ* is dropped.

The movement of the above elements are only intra-categorical. The extra-categorical movement, however, is not possible. For example, in the above sentence, *anda a paŋ-No ma-daŋa-n mahaŋ appa-ŋa pat-u* there are two clauses. They are:

(20)

a. anda a paŋ-No ma-daŋa-n
b. appa-ŋa pat-u

These two sentences are joined by the complementizer *mahaŋ*. The first clause is dependent clause and the second clause is the principal clause or main clause. We can change the word order within the clause.

(21)

a. a anda paŋ-No ma-daŋa-n mahaŋ appa-ŋa pat-u
I today home-LOC NEG-come-NEG saying my-father-ERG say-3O
'My father said, 'I will not come home today.'
b. paŋ-No anda a ma-daŋa-n mahaŋ appa-ŋa pat-u
home-LOC today I NEG-come-NEG saying my-father-ERG say-3O
'My father said, 'I will not come home today.'
c. a paŋ-No anda ma-daŋa-n mahaŋ appa-ŋa pat-u
I home-LOC today NEG-come-NEG saying my-father-ERG say-3O
'My father said, 'I will not come home today.'

However, the movement of the item of one clause to another clause is not permitted. If the item is moved, meaning changes.

(22)

a. anda a ma-daŋa-n mahaŋ appa-ŋa paŋ-No pat-u
today I -come-NEG saying my-father-ERG home-LOC NEG say-3O
'My father said in a house, 'I will not come today.'
b. a paŋ-No ma-daŋa-n mahaŋ appa-ŋa anda pat-u
I - home-LOC NEG come- NEG saying my-father-ERG today say-3O
'My father said today, 'I will not come home.'

**2.6**. MARKER RIGHT LANGUAGE. Limbu is a marker-right language.

**2.6.1**. SENTENCE- MARKERS. The markers of sentences occur on the right.

(23)

a. kHunE pHEn
he comes
'He comes.'
b. kHunE pHEn laye
he comes perhaps
'Perhaps, he comes.'
c. kHunE pHEm-bi?
he comes-doubtful question
'Does he come?'

In the sentences above the elements *phen, laye* and *bi*, are markers of the sentences and they occur in the final position.

**2.6.2**.. XP-MARKER. The marker comes after any phrase in Limbu.

(24)

a. pHubHu r□k
elder brother only
'elder brother only'

b. pHubHu saŋ
elder brother also
'elder brother also'

c. pHubHu-nuŋ
elder brother -with
'With the elder brother'

**2.6.3**. FOCUS MARKING PARTICLES. Focus marking particles always follow the Head in sentences.

(25)

a. a paŋ-o tek-ŋa
I home-LOC go-1sS
'I go home.'

b. a g□ paŋ-o tek-ŋa
I PART home-LOC go-1sS
'I go home.'

c. a paŋ-o g□ tek-ŋa
I home-LOC PART go-1sS
'I go home.'

d. a paŋ-o tek-ŋa g□
I home-LOC go-1sS PART
'I go home.'

e. ram-ŋa ku-njha ut-u
ram-ERG his-younger brother call-3O
'Ram called his younger brother.'

**3.** BASIC SENTENCE PATTERNS. Baisc sentence patterns deal with the sentences formed without verbal or adverbal conjunction. They include simple and compound sentences.

**3.1.** COPULAR SENTENCES.Copular sentences consist of the following verbs which cover various senses of English 'to be':

(26)

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| a. | the identity operator | suffixal | 'to be' |
| b. | wa-ma | existential | 'to be' |
| c. | hop-ma | negative existential | 'to be' |
| d. | yuŋ-ma | locational | 'to be' |
| e. | keŋ-ma | adhesive | 'to be' |
| f. | cuk-ma | attributive | 'to be' |
| g. | puŋ-ma | inchoative | 'to be' |
| h. | Ep-ma | locational | 'to be' |
| i. | | non-locational | 'to be' |

**3.1.1.**THE IDENTITY OPERATOR. The identity operator occurs in a two-nominal argument syntagm and indicates the second argument as identical to the first. For example, in the sentence, *a yakthuŋba-ŋa* 'I am a Limbu' the second nominal *yakthuŋba* is identical to the first nominal ***a***. The suffix <-ŋa> operates the identity of the speaker. It constitutes a unique conjugation consisting of a set of adnominal suffixes. Its full conjugation is presented in table 64.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | kHunE yaktHuŋba | He is a Limbu |
| 2. | kHuncHi yaktHuŋba-si | They are Limbus. |
| 3. | kHuncHi yaktHuŋba-si | They are Limbus. |
| 4. | kHEnE yaktHuŋba-na | You are a Limbu. |
| 5 | kHEncHi yaktHuŋba-na-cHiŋ | You are Limbus. |
| 6. | kHEni yaktHuŋba-na-niŋ | You are Limbus. |
| 7. | a yaktHuŋba-ŋa | I am a Limbu. |
| 8. | ancHi yaktHuŋba-si | We are Limbus. |
| 9. | ancHi-ŋa yaktHuŋba-si-ŋa | We are Limbus. |
| 10. | ani yaktHuŋba-si | We are Limbus. |
| 11. | aniŋa yaktHuŋba-si-ŋa | We are Limbus. |

TABLE 64 Conjugation of identity operators.

The third person singular form of the identity operator is zero. However, its dual and plural forms are marked by <-si>. The second person singular form of the identity operator is <-na> , its dual marker is <- cHiŋ> and plural marker is <-niŋ>. The first person exclusive form of the identity operator is <-ŋa> and its dual and plural numbers are marked by <-si>. The first person inclusive is unmarked but its dual and plural numbers are marked by <-si>. In fact, identity operating sentence is a verbless one.

**3.1.2.** NEGATIVE SUFFIXAL **'to be'.**The suffixal 'to be' is negated by *ekhan* which conjugates as an identity operator as in 69.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | kHunE yaktHuŋba ekHan | ‘He is not a Limbu.’ |
| 2. | kHuncHi yaktHuŋba-si ekHan-cHin | ‘They are not Limbus’ |
| 3. | kHuncHi yaktHuŋba-si ekHan-cHin | ‘They are not Limbus.’ |
| 4. | kHEnE yaktHuŋba ekHan-na | ‘You are not a Limbu.’ |
| 5. | kHEncHi yaktHuŋba-si ekHan-na-cHiŋ | ‘You are not Limbus.’ |
| 6. | kHEni yaktHuŋba-si ekHan-na-niŋ | ‘You are not Limbus’ |
| 7. | a yaktHuŋba-Na ekHan | ‘I am not a Limbu.’ |
| 8. | ancHi yaktHuŋbasi ekHan | ‘We are not Limbus.’ |
| 9. | ancHi-ŋa yaktHuŋba-si -Na ekHan | ‘We are not Limbus.’ |
| 10. | ani yaktHuŋbasi ekHan | ‘We are not Limbus.’ |
| 11. | aniŋa yaktHuŋbasiNa ekHan | ‘We are not Limbus.’ |

TABLE 65 Negative conjugation of identity operators

The singular form of the third person negative identity operator is unmarked but its dual and plural forms are marked by <-cHin> respectively. The singular form of the second person negative identity operator is ekHan-na its dual and plural forms are ekHan -na-cHiN and ekHan -na-niŋ> respectively. The identity operator *ekHan* functions only as negative particle in first person identity operation

**3.1.3.** EXISTENTIAL **'to be' and 'not to be'.** The verb *wa-ma* 'to be' indicates the availability or existence of a thing.

(27)

a. hamba paŋbHE-o a-dak wa
that village-LOC my-friend be
'My friend is there in that village.'

b. kuwa-o cwat wa
well –LOC water be
'There is water in the well.'

c. pyaNsi-NaN ku-beso-o tHaN wa
paddyfield-GEN 3sPOSS-near-LOC cowshed be
'There is a cow-shed beside the paddy-field.'

It uses a negative counterpart *hopma* to index negative meaning.

(28)

a. hamba paŋbHE-o a-dak hop
that village-LOC my-friend be not
'My friend is not there in that village.

b. kuwa-o cwat hop
well –LOC water not be
'There is no water in the well.'

c. pyaNsi ku-beso-o tHaN hop
paddyfield 3sPOSS-near-LOC cowshed not be
'There is no cow-shed beside the paddy-field.'

Negative affixes for negation are used if it functions as a main verb.

(29)

a. hamba paŋbHE-o a-dak ma-wa-nEn
that village-LOC my-friend NEG-stay-NEG
'My friend does not stay in that village.

b. hamba paŋbHE-o adak-kHacHi ma-wa-cHin
that village-LOC my-friend-d NEG-be-NEG
'My friends do not stay in that village.'

c. hamba paŋbHE-o adak-kHa ma-N-wa-nEn
that village-LOC my-friend-p 3pS- NEG-be-NEG
'My friends do not stay in that village.'

**3.1.4.** LOCATIONAL **'to be'.** Locational 'to be' *yuŋ-ma* situates the subject in a place.

(30)

a. kunda-o cwa? yuŋ
jar-LOC water be
'There is water in the jar.'

b. harpE-o kHyu yuŋ
bottle-LOC ghee-be
'There is ghee inside the bottle.'

c. luŋghuri-o na yuŋ
stone-hole-LOC fish be
'The fish is inside the stone-hole.'

d. sumbak-ŋo yum yuŋ

dal-LOC salt be
'There is salt in dal.'

*wama* can also replace *yuNma*.

(31)

a. kunda-o cwa? wa
jar-LOC water be
'There is water in the jar.'

b. harpE-o kHyu wa
bottle-LOC ghee-be
'There is ghee inside the bottle.'

c. luŋgHuri-o na wa
stone-hole-LOC fish be
'The fish is inside the stone-hole.'

d. sumbak-ŋo yum wa
dal-LOC salt be
'There is salt in dal.'

**3.1.5.** ADHESIVE **'to be'.** The verb *keŋ-ma* 'to be' indicates the object in the hanging position in the superior location such as fruits in a tree or cloud, stars, moon and the sun in the sky.

(32)

a. siŋbuŋ-No ambE keŋ
tree-LOC mango be
'A mango is there on the tree.'

b. taŋsappa-o kHapmippa keŋ
sky-LOC cloud be
'There is cloud in the sky.'

c. taŋsappa-o laba keŋ
sky-LOC moon be
'There is the moon in the sky.'

d. taŋsappa-o nam keŋ
sky-LOC sun be
'There is the sun in the sky.'

It conveys both locational and existential sense when referring to body parts.

(33)

a. □n-naŋ ku-milak keŋ
horse-GEN 3s POSS-tail be
'The horse has a tail.'

b. kHunE-ŋ ku-mik keŋ
he-GEN 3sPOSS-eye be
'He has an eye.'

c. pi?-naŋ ku-milak keŋ
cow-GEN 3sPOSS -tail be
'A cow has a tail.'

*keN* can be replaced by *wa*.

(34)

a. □n-naŋ ku-milak wa
horse-POSS POSS-tail be
'The horse has a tail.'

b. khune-ŋ ku-mik wa
his POSS-eye be
'He has an eye.'
c. pi?-naŋ ku-milak wa
cow's POSS -tail be
'A cow has a tail.'

However, the locational ‘to be’ *yuN* can not replace *keN*.

**3.1.6.**ATTRIBUTIVE **'to be'**.The verb *cuk-ma* 'to be' is used in the intransitive form to describe an attribute or trait to a subject. The predicate may contain an adjective with a descriptive meaning.

(35)

a. kHunE kemba cuk
he tall be
'He is tall.'
b. kHEnE nuba ka-juk
you good 2-be
'You are good.'
c. a siŋsiŋba cuk-ŋa
I serious be-1e
'I am serious.'

**3.1.7.**.INCHOATIVE **'to be'**.The verb *puŋ-ma* 'to be' describes the transition from one state to another in the past or non-past.

(36)

a. hamba hEnja kumakla puks-a
that child black become-PT
'That child became black.'
b. ba l□ghe? taphEmba puks-a
this cloth bad be
‘This cloth became bad.'
c kHunE kapoba puks-a
he old become-PT
'He became old.'

It also indicates an inherent quality.

(37)

a. napmi-ŋaŋ nEccHi ku-huk puŋ
man-POSS two his-hand be
'Man has two hands.'
b. samyaŋ kuhikla puŋ
gold yellow be
'Gold is yellow.'
c. □n-naŋ ku-daŋ ma-buŋ-nEn
horse-POSS its-horn NEG-be-NEG
'A horse has no horn.'

**3.1.8**. DESCRIPTIVE **'to be'**. The verb *loma* 'to be' describes the manifestation of an attribute.

(38)

a. kHunE ku-na mak lo
his his-face black be
'His face is black.'
b. ba sukwa he? lo
this bag red be
'This bag is red.'
c. pitnu ph□ lo
milk white be
'Milk is white.'

**3.1.9.** THE VERB **'to be'** to describe vertical position.The verb *yep-ma* 'to be' indicates person or object in vertical position.
(39)
a. hamba paŋbHe-o l□thik numa mEncHE yEp
that village-LOC one beautiful young lady be
'There is a beautiful young lady in that village.'
b. lam-beso pi? yEp
road-side cow be
'There is a cow beside the road.'
c. tambhuŋ-o siŋbuŋ-gHa mu-yEp
forest-LOC tree-p 3S-be
'There are trees in the forest.'

**3.1.10.** THE VERB **'to be'** to describe horizontal position.The verb *nEn* 'to be' indicates the object in horizontal position.
(40)
a. sapla kHam-mo nEn
paper floor-LOC be
'Paper is on the floor.'
b. a-byaNsi paŋbHE-o nEn
my-house village-LOC be
'My paddy field is in the village.'
c. yodHambi nuba lajE nEn
across the river good paddy-field be
'There is a good paddy-field across the river.'

**3.2.** INTERROGATIVE SENTENCE. Yes/no questions are marked by the interrogative suffix <-i > without any change in the word order of the sentence. It has the following allomorphs:

<-i> -> <-mi> after bilabial
<-ni> after dental
<-Ni> after velar
<-i> elsewhere

The interrogative suffix <-i> takes bilabial, dental or velar nasal consonant before it following labial, dental or velar stops or nasal consonants.
(41)
a. kHEnE t□k ka-j□**-i**

you rice 2-eat-Q
'Do you eat rice?'

b. kumba hEnja hap-**mi**
this child weep-Q
'Does this child weep?'

d. kHEnE henja ka-ham-**mi**
you child 2-weep-Q
'Do you make a child weep?'

b. kHunE batto ket-**ni**
he up here come-Q
'Does he come up here?'

e. hambo mi tin-**ni**
there fire burn-Q
'Does the fire burn there?'

c. hamba sawet lok-**ŋi**
that buffalo run-Q
'Does that buffalo run?'

f. kHunE bap-mo uŋ-**ŋi**
he down here come-Q
'Does he come down here?'

The examples above prove that the nasal consonant is augmented before the interrogative suffix <-i> following the place of articulation of the preceding consonant.

Yes/no questions are marked by the interrogative particle *bi* which occur in the final position of the suffixal string of the verb. This type of question expresses doubt regarding the performance of the act by the actor as indicated by the verb.

(42)

a. kHEnE sapla ka-nir-u **bi**
you book 2-read-3O-Q
'I doubt if you read a book?'

b. kHunE paŋ-o teg-a **bi**
he house-LOC go-PT-Q
'Do you think that he went to house?'

c. kHEnE tambHuŋ-o ka-de **bi**
you forest-LOC 2-go-Q
'I doubt if you go to forest.'

The distinction marked by the interrogative suffix <-i> and particle *bi* is that the first one forms the straightforward question whereas the second one forms a question with the intention tilted to negativity. In the first type of question the questioner doesn't have any idea about the thing he is asking. He asks the question simply to know the fact. But in the second type of question, he has and he thinks that the actor is reluctant to perform the act indicated by the verb. (See…) The interrogative suffix <-i> occurs only in the final position. It is not the conflation of the nominalizer suffix <-pa> and the interrogative suffix <-i> as Driem (1987:142) suggests for Phedappe Limbu.

### **3.3.** PARTICIPANT CODING

**3.3.1.** PRONONMINAL VERB AFFIXES. Pronominal affixes mark participants on the verb. Pronouns are optional and used only if the speaker wants to specify the reference. The following verbs are full sentences.

(43)

a. ka-gHEps-u-i?
2-hear-3O-Q
'Did you hear it?'

b. sap-u-N
write-3O-1e
'I wrote it.'

c. mu-iy-a
3pS-travel-PT
'They traveled.'

The difference between dual and plural is marked on first and second person pronouns, nouns and verbs.

(44)

a. an**cHi** hambo a-guN-**cHi**
we (d) there 1-reach-d
'We will reach there.'

b. an**i** hambo a-guks-**i**
we there 1-reach-p
'We will reach there.'

c. kHEn**cHi** paN-No ka-noN-**cHi**
you (d) house-LOC 2-return-d
'You will return home.'

d. kHE**ni** paN-No ka-noks-**i**
you (p) house-LOC 2-return-p
'You will return home.'

e. koco-**gHacHi** hukk-a-**cHi**
dog-d bark-PT-d
'Dogs (d) barked.'

f. koco-**gHa** **mu**-hukk-a
dog-p 3pS- bark-PT
'Dogs (p) barked.'

However, the difference between dual and plural is not marked on the third person pronoun. In it is only understood from the verb whether the actor is plural or dual.

(45)

a. kHun-cHi pok-**cHi**
they (ns) rise-d
'They rise.'

b. kHuncHi **mu**-bok
they (ns) 3pS-rise
'They rise.'

**3.3.2.** CASE MARKERS. Case markers give some indications as to the role of participants in the event if they are designated by a noun phrase. Nouns referring to the core participants are either unmarked or have the multifunctional suffix. The following postpositions serve as case markers:

<-Na> oblique: ergative, instrumental, causative
<-NaN> genitive
<-o> locative
<-naN> directive
<-nuN> comitative
<-ma?e> deprivative (‘without’)
<-lam> oblique: ablative, meditative
<-dHarik> allatative
<-aN> <-nuN-E)> comparative
<-o> vocative
(See: Chapter 5)

**3.3.2.1.** OBLIQUE MARKER <-Na>. The suffix <-Na> serves as an ergative, instrumental and causative marker. It has the following allomorphs:

<-Na> -> <-ma > after bilabial
<-na> after dental
<-Na> else where

(46)

a. hEnja-**Na** ku-huk-**Na** t□k c□
child- OBL(ERG) 3sPOSS- hand-(OBL)INST rice ate
‘A child ate rice with his/her hand.’

b. ram-**ma** pHEja-**Na** sa cEpp-u
ram-OBL(ERG) dagger-OBL (INST) meat- cut-3O
‘Ram cut meat with a dagger.’

c. □n-**na** napmi ep-u
horse-OBL (ERG) man tread-3O
‘A horse trod on a man.’

d. pi? cuNwapma-**Na** siy-a
cow cold-OBL (CAUS) die-PT
‘ A cow died of cold.’

**3.3.2.2.** GENITIVE MARKER <-NaN>.The genitive marker <-NaN> has following allomorphs:

<-NaN> -> <-N> with pronouns
-> <-maN> after bilabial
-> <-naN> after dental
-> <-NaN> elsewhere

The genitive in the noun phrase occurs with prefixed noun. The genitive case marks the possessor and the possessive prefix marks the possessed noun.

(47)

a. pHak-**NaN** kumik cuk
pig-GEN 3sPOSS-ey be small
‘ A pig’s eye is small.’

b. ram-**maN** ku-baN hop
ram-GEN 3sPOSS-house no
‘Ram has no house.’

c. **it-naN** ku-huk und-a
statue-GEN 3sPOSS-hand be short-PT

‘The statue’s hand is short.’

d. kHunE-**N** ku-mE? hop
he-GEN 3sPOSS-wife no
‘He has no wife.’

In synchronic use, genitive case marker is optionally deleted and the noun or pronoun directly precedes the nominal head. Consequently, the sentences in 47 may be constructed as in 48.

(48)

a. pHak kumik cuk
pig 3sPOSS-ey be small
‘ A pig’s eye is small.’

b. ram ku-baN hop
ram 3sPOSS-house no
‘Ram has no house.’

c. **it** ku-huk und-a
statue 3sPOSS-hand be short-PT
‘The statue’s hand is short.’

d. kHunE ku-mE? hop
he- 3sPOSS-wife no
‘He has no wife.’

**3.3.2.3.** OBLIQUE MARKER <-o>. The suffix <-o> serves as a location and direction marker. It has the following allomorphs:

<-o> -> <-mo> after bilabial
<-no> after dental
<-No> after nasal
<-o> elsewhere

(49)

a. a kHunE lam-**mo** tum-u-N
I him way-LOC meet-3O-1e
‘I met him on the way.’

b. ped□kna cwat-**no** yuN
frog water-LOC live
‘A frog lives in water.’

c. kHunE paN-**No** teg-a
he house-DIR go-PT
‘He went home.’

d. hamba-Na sapla mi-**o** ket-u
that-ERG paper fire-LOC put-3O
‘He put a paper in the fire.’

Different locations are expressed by adding locational suffix <-o> to possessive construction.

(50)

a. paŋ ku-beso-o siŋbuŋ yep
house 3sPOSS-in front-LOC tree stand-3sAnonPRET
'A tree stands in front of a house.'

b. pyaNsi ku-cHuk-No kHola nEn
paddy field 3sPOSS-corner-LOC stream be

'There is a stream in the corner of a stream.'

c. pyaNsi ku-lum-mo siNbuN yEp
paddy field 3sPOSS-middle-LOC tree be
'There is a tree in the middle of the paddy field.'

d. paŋ ku-j□ŋ-No pu yuŋ-a
house 3sPOSS -on-LOC bird sit-PRET
'A bird sat on a house.'

e. paŋ ku-dek-No tHaŋ nEn
house 3sPOSS- below-LO shade be
'A shade is there below a house.'

f. siŋ ku-buŋ-No napmi wa
tree 3sPOSS-bottom-LOC man be
'A man is there at the bottom of a tree.'

g. pH□ktakluŋma ku-cH□m-mo kuks-a-ŋ
kumbhakarna mountain 3sPOSS- top reach-PRET-1sA
'I reached the top of Kumbhakarna mountain.'.

h. kHunE a-ek-ŋo yuŋ
he my-back-LOC sit
'He sits behind me.'

**3.3.2.4.** DIRECTION MARKER <-naN> or <lEkkHaN>. The suffix <-naN> marks direction.

(51)

a. tumbE mo-**naN/lEkkHaN** lokk-a
wild cat down-DIR run-PT
'A wild cat ran downwards.'

b. kHunE tambHuN-**naN/lEkkHaN** teg-a
he forest-DIR go-PT
'He went to forest.'

c. a pyaNsi-**naN/lEkkHaN** tek-Na
I paddyfield-DIR go-1e
'I will go to paddy-field.'

**13.3.3.2.5.** COMITATIVE MARKER <-nuN>. The comitative marker <-nuN> marks a person accompanying the actor, or an object that is associated with the action.

(52)

a. a ap-pa-**nuN** pHEn-na
I 1sPOSS-father-COM come-1e
'I will come with my father.'

b. kHunE hari-**nuN** yuN
he hari-COM stays
'He stays with Hari.'

c. kHEnE ka-dak-**nuN** ka-wa
you 2sPOSS-friend-COM 2-be
'You are with your friend.'

The deprivative marker <-ma?e> 'without' is used only in the negative associative sense.

(53)

a. a ap-pa-**ma?e** pHEn-na

I 1sPOSS-father-without come-1e
'I will come without my father.'

b. kHunE hari-**ma?E** yuN
he hari-without stays
'He stays without Hari.'

c. kHEnE ka-dak-**ma?E** ka-wa
you 2sPOSS-friend-without 2-be
'You are without your friend.'

**3.3.2.6.** OBLIQUE marker <-lam>. The oblique marker <-lam> serves as an ablative or meditative marker.

(54)

a. a paN-**lam** pHEr-a-N
I home-ABL come-PT-1e
'I came from home.'

b. kHunE paniba pan-**lam** pat-a
he nepali language-MED speak-PT
'He spoke in a Nepali language.'

**3.3.2.7**. ALLATIVE marker < -dHarik>. The suffix <-dHarik> 'as far as' marks the allative case. It may occur alone or in combination with the locative suffix <-o>. Therefore, it can be either <-dHarik> or <-o-dHarik>.

(55)

a. kHunE bo-dHarik tay-a
he here-ALL come-PT
'He came as far as here.'

b. a ku-baN-No-dHarik teg-a-N
I 3sPOSS-house-ALL go-PT-1e
'I went as far as his house.'

**3.3.2.8.** COMPARATIVE AND SUPERLATIVE .The comparative degree is indicated by a suffix <-aŋ> affixed to the nominal head to be compared as in 56a. It is also expressed periphrastically by comitative plus time adverbial , nuŋ+E) as in 56b. In the synchronic use, it is expressed by the use of Nepali *bhanda* 'than' as in 56c. Superlative is expressed by placing *kErEk* before the comparative marker *bH□nda* as in 56d or nuN-E) as in 56e.

(56)

a. k$^{h}$unE-aŋ kemba k$^{h}$EnE ka-juk
he- COMPR tall you you-be
' You are taller than him.' (literally, more than him, I'm tall.')

b. kHEnE- nuŋ -E) a ken-na
you COM I be tall-1e
'I am taller than you.'

c. a bH□nda kHunE y□n
I than he big
'He is bigger than me.'

d. kHunE kErEk bH□nda ken
he all than tall

'He is the tallest of all.'

e. kErEk- nuŋ -E) a ken-na
all COM I be tall-1e
'I am the tallest of all.'

**3.3.2.9.** VOCATIVE CASE. Vocative case is marked by <-e> or <-o> alternatively and is used in the form of an address. It can occur in the sentence initial or final position.

(57)

a. attumbay-E, ho ka-de-ba r□?
uncle-VOC, where 2-go-NML PART
'Oh uncle! Where are you going?'

b. ho ka-de-ba r□ attumbay-E?
Where 2-go-NML PART uncle-VOC
'Where are you going, uncle?'

Vocative cases are used only with kinship nouns.

**3.3.3.** SPLIT ERGATIVITY. If a noun occurs as the subject of a transitive verb, it is marked by ergative marker <-Na> but if a pronoun occurs as the subject of an intransitive verb, it is not marked.

(58)

a. lahaN-ŋa napmi sEr-u
lahang-ERG man kill-3O
'Lahang killed a man.'

b. koco-ŋa hEnja har-u
dog-ERG child bite-3O
'A dog bit a child.'

c. mendak-ŋa cwat thuN-u
goat-ERG water drink-3O
'A goat drank water.'

In 58 the transitive subjects are marked by ergative suffix <-ŋa>. In 59, however, the ergative suffix does not mark the transitive subjects.

(59)

a. kHunE napmi sEr-u
he man kill-3O
'He kills a man.'

b. kHEnE napmi ka-sEr-u
you man 2-kill-3O
'You kill a man.'

c. a napmi sEr-u-ŋ
I man kill-3O-1eA
'I kill a man.'

However, demonstrative pronouns *kumba* 'this' and *hamba* 'that' and their dual and plural forms take the ergative markers in the transitive subject form.

(60)

a. hamba-ŋa a-baŋ iŋ-u
that-ERG my-house purchase-3O
'He purchased my house.'

b. kumba-ŋa napmi ser-u

this-ERG man kill-3O
'This killed a man.'

c. hamba-gHa-ŋa paŋ mu-jug-u
that-ERG house 3pA-make-3O
'Those made a house.'

d. kumba-gHa-ŋa lajE mu-s□ks-u
this-p-ERG land 3pA-sell-3O
'These sold land.'

The transitive object in 59 can occur as intransitive subjects.

(61)

a. napmi pHEn
man comes
'A man comes.'

b. napmi siy-a
man die-PT
'A man died.'

c. napmi lokk-a
man run-PT
'A man ran.'

The data in 61 show that the transitive objects in 59 and the intransitive subjects in 61 have the same form. It is the characteristic of an ergative-absolutive system. But it is not maintained all through the language. As shown above ergativity marks the transitive subject in 58 and 60 but it does not mark in 59. Similarly, first and second person intransitive subjects and transitive objects are marked on the verbs alike as shown by 62and 63 but third person intransitive subject and transitive object are not marked alike on the verb as exhibited by 64 and 65. They are marked differently.

(62)

a. kHEnE ka-yuN
you 2-sit
'You sit.'

b. a yuN-Na
I sit-1e
'I sit.'

(63)

a. napmi-Na kHEnE ka-dum
man-ERG you 2-meet
'A man meets you.'

d. napmi-Na a a-dum-ma
man-ERG me 1-meet-1e
'A man meets me.'

(64)

a. kHunE yuN
he sits
'He sits.'

(65)

a. napmi-Na kHunE tum-u
man-ERG him meet-3O
'A man meets him.'

Ergative marker doesn't occur in pronominal subjects except in demonstrative pronouns.

**3.4.** NOMINALIZED SENTENCES. Constituent questions, polar questions and statements are formed by nominalizer suffix <-pa>. It has following allomorphs:
<-pa> -> <-ba> after vowel or nasal consonant
<-pa> after stop consonants

The constituent questions are formed by the nominalizer suffix.

(66)
a. kHEnE ho ka-dE-**ba**?
you where 2-go-NML
'Where are you going?' ('where will you go?")
b. kHunE hE cuk-**pa**?
he what do-NML
'What is he doing? ('what will he do?')
c. a ka-baŋ-No hyaŋ pHEn-na-**ba** r□?
I your-house-LOC why come-1sS-NML Q
'Why should I come to your house?'

Similarly, polar questions are also formed by the nominalizer suffix <-ba>.

(67)
a. kHEnE paN-No ka-dE-**ba**-i?
you where 2-go-NML
'Are are you going home?' ('Will you go home?')
b. kHunE yamb□k cuk-**pa**-i?
he what do-NML
'Is he doing work?' (Will he do work?')
c. a ka-baŋ-o pHEn-na-**ba**-i
I 2sPOSS-house-LOC come-1e-NML Q
'Shall I come to your house?'

Statements are formed by nominalizer suffix.

(68)
a. a iNgH□N tEnda haN-u-N-**ba**
I message tomorrow send-3O-1e-NML
'I will send message tomorrow.'
b. kHunE sapla nip-**pa**
he book read-NML
'He is reading a book.' ('He will read a book").
c. hamba napmi yapm□-**ba**
that man dig-NML
'That man is digging' (That man will dig land.')

**3.5.**COORDINATION OF CONSTITUENTS. The particle *nuN* 'and' occurs between two nominals and coordinates them. It is identical with comitative suffix <-nuN> in phonemic shape but it differs in meaning. The dual marker of the verb in 68a shows that the two participants *appa* and *amma* are coordinated by the particle *nuN*

and they together form plural subject whereas in 68b <-nuN> functions as a comitative suffix and the mother is an associated participant. So, the noun *appa* functions only as a singular subject.

(69)

a. ap-pa **nuN** am-ma teg-a-cHi
1sPOSS-father and 1sPOSS-mother go-PT-dS
'My father and mother went (together).

b. appa amma-nuN teg-a
1sPOSS-father 1sPOSS-mother-COM go-PT
'My father went with my mother.'

The pair *appa nuN amma* are coordinated by simple juxtaposition, e.g. *appa amma*. The particle *nuN* coordinates two nominals which are also coordinated by juxtaposition.

(70)

| | Coordination | Juxtaposition | Meaning |
|---|---|---|---|
| a. | sa nuN t□k | sad□k | 'meat and rice' |
| b. | pit nuN mEndak | pi?mEndak | 'cow and goat' |
| c. | tHala nuN kHorE? | tHalakHorE? | 'dish and plate' |

Sequential suffix <-aN> co-ordinates two independent clauses and forms a compound sentence.

(71)

a. kHunE bo tah-a- **aN** teg-a
he here came-PT – SEQ go-PT
'He came here and went.'

b. kHEnE t□k ka-dHok-u-aN ka-ips-a
you rice 2-cook-3O-SEQ 2-sleep-PT
'You cooked rice and slept.'

c. a kHunE tEps-u-N-aN pHEtt-u-N
I him catch-3O-1e- SEQ bring-3O-1e
'I caught him and brought him.'

The same sequential suffix is used as perfect aspect marker in the language.

(72)

a. kHunE tah-a- aN wa
he came-PT – SEQ be
'He has come.'

b. kHEnE t□k ka-dHok-u-aN ka-wa
you rice 2-cook-3O-SEQ2- be
'You have cooked rice.'

c. a kHunE tEps-u-N-aN wah-a-N
I him catch-3O-1e- SEQ be-PT-1e
'I had caught him.'

Compound sentence and simple sentence in perfect aspect follow the same negativization process. Only the first verb is negated. The negations of compound sentences are given below:

(73)

a. kHunE bo man-da-E teg-a
he NEG-came-CONJ go-PT
'He went without coming.'

b. kHEnE t□k man-dHok-NE ka-ips-a
you rice NEG-cook-CONJ- 2-sleep-PT
'You slep without cooking rice.'

c. a kHunE man-dEm-mE pHEtt-u-N
I him NEG-catch-CONJ bring-3O-1e
'I brought him without catching.'

The negations of simple sentences are given below:

(74)

a. kHunE man-da-E wa
he NEG-came-CONJ be
'He has not come.'

b. kHEnE t□k man-dHok-NE ka-wa
you rice NEG-cook-CONJ- 2-be
'You have not cooked rice.'

c. a kHunE man-dEm-mE wa-Na
I him NEG-catch-CONJ bring-3O-1e
'I have not caught him.'

Coordinators such as 'but' and 'or' do not exist in the language.

**3.6.** TRANSITIVITY AND DEMOTION. If an object does not denote a specific entity, it is demoted. The verb then is detransitivized and the noun is quasi-incorporated. In 75a the mango is understood to be the object of selling, whereas in 75b the only participant is described as a mango-seller.

(75)

a. hambagHa-Na ambE mu-s□ks-u
they-ERG mango 3pA-sell-3O
'They sell mangoes.'

b. hambagHa ambE mu-s□N
they mango 3p-sell
'They sell mangoes.'

**3.3.7.** PARTICLE SENTENCE. The speaker can express different shades of meaning by the use of particles. There are only a limited number of particles in the language**.** They are as follows:

**3.7.1**. *mEn*. *men* is a particle used to express hypothetical possibility or irrealis mood in a sentence.

(76)

a. kHunE sap-u mEn
he write-3O IRR
'He would have written it.'

b. kHEnE ka-iN-u mEn
you- 2-buy-3O IRR
'You would have bought it.'

c. a cug-u-N mEn
I do-3O-1e IRR
'I would have done it.'

**3.7.2**. *laye*. *laye* expresses the possibility in combination with a verb stem. It can be used in both past and non-past tenses.

(77)

a. kHunE acHEnda kuc-cHa paks-u laye
he yesterday his-son send-3O perhaps
'He might have sent his son yesterday.'

b. kHEnE hambo ka-deg-a laye
you there 2-go-PT perhaps
'You might have gone there.'

c. a tEnda katHmandu tek-ŋa laye
I tomorrow Kathmandu go-1sS perhaps
'I may go to Kathmandu, tomorrow.'

d. kHEnE tEnda paŋ-ŋo ka-noŋ laye
you tomorrow house-LOC 2-return perhaps
'You may return home tomorrow.'

The sentences 76a expresses the speaker's supposition about the possibility of the person's sending his son and 76b about the person's going there in the past tense form. The sentences in76c-d, on the other hand, express the possibility of the action in the non-past tense form.

**3.7.3**. g□**.** g□ is a topic marker particle corresponding to Nepali *cahi*. It focuses subject noun, object noun, verb and adverb occurring just after them. When it focuses the subject noun it occurs just after it.

(78)

a. kHunE g□ teg-a
he PART go-PT
'He went.'

b. hEnja g□ ips-a
child PART sleep-PT
'The child slept.'

c. kHEnE g□ ka-yambak ka-jug-u
you PART your-work 2-work-3O
'You did your work.'

When it has to focus the object noun, it occurs after it.

(79)

a. a kHEnE g□ lona
a you PART tell-2O
'I told you.'

b. a kHunE g□ tum-u-N
a you PART meet-3O-1e
'I met him.'

c. kHunE a g□ a-dum-a-N
he me PART meet-3O-1e
'He met me.'

When it has to focus the verb, it occurs after it.

(80)

a. kHunE lokk-a g□
he run go-PT PART
'He ran.'

b. hEnja hab-a g□
child weep-PT PART
'The child wept.'
c. kHEnE ka-bHEr-a g□
you 2-come-PT PART
'You came .'

When it has to focus the adverb, it appears after it.

(81)
a. a tEnda g□ ba yamb□k cug-u-ŋ
I tomorrow PART this work do-3O-1e
'I will do this work tomorrow.'
b. kHunE tEnda g□ pHEn
he tomorrow PART come
'He will come tomorrow.'
c. kHEnE andok g□ ka-nir-u laye
you later PART 2-read-3O perhaps
' Perhaps, you read it only later.'

The particle *g□* can be used in negative sentences as well.

(82)
a. kHunE g□ ma-deg-a-n
he PART NEG- go-PT-NEG
'He didn't go.'
b. hEnja g□ ma-ips-a-n
child PART NEG- sleep-PT-NEG
'The child didn't sleep.'
c. kHEnE g□ ka-yamb□k ka-n-cug-u-n
you PART your-work 2-NEG-work-3O-NEG
'You didn't do your work.'

**3.7.4**. ri. The particle *ri* used to express the event which happens contrary to the speaker's assumption.

(83)
a. ka-duk-pa-ŋa g□ t□k caŋ ri pat-u
AP-sick-AP-ERG PART rice eat-1sA PART say-3O
'The sick man said that he would eat rice.'
b. kHunE g□ yaŋ ri nak-a
he PART money PART beg-PT
'He begged money.'
c. a g□ ku-paŋ-o ri kuks-a-ŋ
I PART his-house-LOC PART reach-PT-1sS
'I reached his house.'

The speaker in 83a did not think earlier that the speaker would eat rice. So, the sick man's willingness to eat rice comes to him as a surprise because it is contrary to his assumption. Similarly, the speaker in 83b did not think that the person in question would beg money and the speaker in 83c did not think that he would ever reach his home but reached by mistake of choosing the way. The particle *ri* is used in negative form.

(84)
a. ka-duk-pa-ŋa g□ t□k ma-ja-Na-n ri pat-u

AP-sick-AP-ERG PART rice NEG-eat:1e-NEG PART say-3O
'The sick man said that he would not eat rice.'

b. kHunE g□ yaŋ ma-nak-a-n ri
he PART money NEG-beg-PT –NEG PART
'He didn't beg money.'

c. a g□ ku-baŋ-ŋo maŋ-kuŋ-ban ri
I PART his-house-LOC PART NEG- reach-IsS/PT/NEG
'I didn't reach his house.'

In 84a the sick man is expected to eat rice but contrary to the expectation, he said that he would not. In 84b the person in question was expected to ask for money but contrary to expectation, he did not. Similarly, in 84c the person in question was expected to reach somebody's house but he did not reach there contrary to it.

The particle *ri* in combination with an interrogative suffix <-i> marks the colour of emphasis upon the speaker's statement.

(85)

a. a-nuN yaN wa-i ri
I-with money be-PART
' Yes, I have money.'

b. kHunE yamb□k cuk-Ni ri
he work do-Q PART
'Yes, he does work.'

c. hamba napmi-Na yaN huN-u-i ri
that man-ERG money pay-3O-Q PART
'Yes, that man pays money.'

**3.7.5** b□. The speaker uses the particle *b□* to report the message which he has received from second hand source.

(86)

a. kHunE maŋhimm-o te b□
he temple-LOC go PART
'People say that he will go to temple.'

b. kHEnE paŋŋ-o ka-de b□
you house-LOC 2-go PART
' They say that you go home.'

c. kHunE a cumluŋ-ŋo a-ut-na b□
he I meeting-LOC 1-invite-1sO PART
'It is said that he will invite me to the meeting.'

The particle used in non-past tense in 86 can be used in past tense.

(87)

a. kHunE maŋhimm-o teg-a b□
he temple-LOC go-PT PART
'People say that he went to temple.'

b. kHEnE paŋN-o ka-deg-a b□
you house-LOC 2-go-PT- PART
' They say that you went home.'

c. a cumluŋ-o a-ŋ-ut-a-ŋ b□
I meeting-LOC 1-3nsA-invite-PT-1sO PART
'It is said that they invited me to the meeting.'

This particle can be used in negative in the following way:

(88)

a. kHunE maŋhimm-o ma-de-nEn b□
he temple-LOC NEG-go-NEG PART
'He says that he will not go to temple.'

b. kHEnE paŋ-No kan-de-nEn b□
you house-LOC 2S:NEG-go-NEG PART
' They say that you are not asked to go home.'

c. a cumluŋN-o a-n-ut-na-n b□
I meeting-LOC 1-NEG-invite-1So-NEG PART
'They say that they will not invite me to the meeting.'

d. kHunE maŋhimm-o ma-deg-a-n b□
he temple-LOC NEG- go-PT-NEG PART
'People say that he didn't go to temple.'

e. kHEnE paŋN-o ka-n-de-nEn b□
you house-LOC 2-NEG-go-NEG PART
' They say that you don't go home.'

f. a cumluŋŋ-o a-n-ut-a-ŋ-nEn b□
I meeting-LOC 1-NEG-invite-PT-1sO-NEG PART
'They say that they didn't invite me to the meeting.'

**3.7.6**. *bi*.The particle *bi* expresses doubt or question of the speaker about the activity raised by the verb.

(89)

a. kHunE ba yamb□k cuk-ma sukk-u bi
he this work do-INF can-3O PART
'Can he do this work?'

b. ba napmi-ŋa yaŋ huŋ-u bi
this man-ERG money pay-3O PART
'Does this man pay money?'

c. kHunE paŋbHe-o noŋ da bi
you village-LOC return come PART
'Does he return to this village?'

The particles used in the non-past tense in 88 can be used in past tense.

(90)

a. kHunE mi?linda ba yamb□k cuk-ma sukk-u bi
he last year this work do-INF can-3O PART
'Could he do this work last year?'

b. acHEnda ba napmi-ŋa yaŋ hung-u bi
yesterday this man-ERG money pay-3O PART
'Did this man pay money yesterday?'

c. kHunEpaŋbHE-o noks-a tah-a bi
he village-LOC -return-PT come-PT PART
'Did he return to this village ?'

The particle *bi* used in 88 and 89 cannot be used in negative form. Due to its occurrence before the nasal consonant /n/ of the negative suffix <-nEn>, the labial voiced consonant /b/ is progressively assimilated to the nasal consonant /n/ for manner of articulation and it yields the particle *bi* to *n*i.

(91)

a. kHunE ba yamb□k cuk-ma ma-sukk-u-n- ni
he this work do-INF NEG-can-3O-NEG- PART
'Can't he do this work?'

b. ba napmi-ŋa yaŋ ma-huŋ-u-n ni
this man-ERG money NEG-pay-3O-NEG-PART
'Doesn't this man pay money?'

c. kHunE paŋbhe-o-ma-noŋ-nen ma- ta-nEn-ni
you village-LOC-NEG- return-NEG-NEG- come-NEG- PART
'Doesn't he return to this village ?'

d. kHunE mi?linda ba yamb□k cuk-ma ma-sukk-u-n ni
he last year this work do-INF NEG-can-3O-NEG PART
'Couldn't he do this work last year?'

e. acHEnda ba napmi-ŋa yaŋ ma- huŋ-u-n ni
yesterday this man-ERG money NEG- pay-3O-NEG PART
'Didn't this man pay money yesterday?'

f . kHunE paŋbHE-o ma-noks-a-n ma-dah-a-n ni
he village-LOC NEG-return-PT-NEG NEG-come-PT-NEG PART
'Didn't he return to this village ?'

**3.7.7**. *ro*. The particle *ro* makes announcement of some events indicated by the verb. It occurs in the sentence final position.

(92)

a. lahaŋ tah-a ro
lahaŋ-come-PT-PART
'Lahang arrived.'

b. pit-na maki c□ ro
cow-ERG maize-plant eat PART
'Cow ate maize plant.'

c. ap-pHaŋ ma-cHin ro
my-uncle loose-REFL- PART
'My uncle died.'

In 92a the speaker announces the arrival of Lahang in order to inform people. In 92b the speaker warns people that the cow is eating maize plant. Though formally, the sentence is in past form, it communicates non-past progressive meaning. Similarly, in 92c the speaker makes announcement of the death of his uncle with a view to informing them of death and asking them to attend the funeral ceremony.

The particle *ro* is also used to pass second hand information.

(93)

a. kHunE maŋhim-mo te b□ ro
he temple-LOC go- PART PART
'He said that he would go to temple.'

b. kHunE ba sapla nir-u b□ ro
he this book read-3O PART
'He said that he would read this book.'

c. pHEdaŋma-Na kadukpa nuh-u b□ ro
priest-ERG sick cure-3O PART PART
'It is said that the priest would cure the sick man.'

The particle *ro* can be used in negative form.

(94)

a. lahaŋ ma-dah-a-n ro
lahang NEG-come-PT-NEG PART
'Lahang didn't arrive.'
b. pit-na maki ma-dz□-n ro
cow-ERG maize-plant NEG-eat-NEG PART
'Cow didn't eat maze- plant.'
c. ap-pHaŋ ma-ma-cHin-nEn ro
my-uncle loose-REFL PART
'My uncle didn't die'

d. kHunE maŋhim-o ma-de-nEn b□ ro
he temple-LOCNEG- go-NEG PART PART
'He said that he wouldn't go to temple.'
e. kHunE ba sapla ma-nir-u-n b□ ro
he this book NEG-read-3O-NEG PART PART
'He said that he wouldn't read this book.'
f. pHEdaŋma-ŋa kadukpa ma-nuh-u-n b□ ro
priest-ERG sick NEG-cure-3O-NEG PART PART
'It is said that the priest didn't cure the sick man.'

*ro* corresponds to Nepali particle *hai*. It seeks listener's agreement or approval usually with rising intonation.

(95)
a. yamb□k-No teg-i-ro
work-LOC go-pS-PART
'Let us go to work, O.K.?'
b. appa-o ! a tEnda yamb□k-No ma-de-Na-n-ro
Dad-VOC I tomorrow work-LOC NEG-go-1e-NEG-PART
'Dad! I will not go to work tommory. O.K?'

**3.7.8.** *ni*. The particle *ni* is used to express the speaker's wish or desire. It occurs in the sentence final position.

(96)
a. kHEnE y□mba kemba ka-buŋ ni
you big tall 2-become- OPT
'May you be great!'
b. kHunE nuba taba puŋ ni
he good become OPT
'May he be good !'
c. kHuncHi mu-g□t mu-ca ni
They p 3pS-possess 3pS-eat OPT
'May they be rich and prosperous!'

The optative sentence can have all persons and all numbers as its subject. The speaker can also express his displeasure in the form of curse by using the particle *ni*.

(97)
a. tHukwaŋa tey-u-si ni
landslide take-3O-nsO OPT
'May landslide hit them!'
b. sisam-ŋa ka-de ni
devil-ERG 2-take OPT

‘May the devil take you!’

c. ka-si ka-de ni
2-die 2-go OPT
‘May you die instantly?’

**3.7.9.** *r□*. The particle r□ is alternatively used with the particle *ni* in the sentence final position.

(98)

a. kHunE-i pat-u r□
he-EMP speak-3O PART
‘Let him speak it himself.’

b. hamba napmi si r□
that man die PART
‘May that man die!’

This particle occurs in Wh questions.

(99)

a. kHEnE sa-na r□
you who-2O PART
‘Who are you?’

b. ka-baN ho r□
2sPOSS-house where PART
‘Where is your house?’

c. ka-miN hE r□
2sPOSS-name what PART
‘What is your name?”

d. ku-baN hwiN l□
3sPOSS-house which PART
‘Which is his house?’

e. kHEnE a hyaN l□ ka-ut-a-N
you me why PART 2-call-PT-1e
‘Why did you call me?’

r□ and l□ are used alternatively. Before the vowel, r□ occurs but before the consonant l□ occurs.

**3.7.10**. *ricH□*. This particle is derived from Nepali *rahecha*. Like Nepali, it also means that the speaker has just discovered or just come to know the thing which he is reporting.

(100)

kHunE kathmandu tEg-a-ricH□
he kathmandu go-PT-
‘It seems that he went to Kathmandu.’

Here, the speaker in the beginning did not know that the person in question went to Kathmandu but he knew it only after someone reported to him or he discovered some evidence for his departure. Driem (1987:241) calls it ‘deprehensative particle’. It also indicates the speaker’s strong conviction in the truth of the statement on the basis of evidence.

(101)

a. napmi siya ricH□
man die-PT PART
‘Certainly! The man is dead.’

b. bo cwa? yuN rich□

here water be PART
'Here exists water.'

c. siNbuN-No ambE tHok-a ricH□
tree-LOC mango yield-PT PART
'Certainly, the tree yielded a mango.'

In 101 the speaker knows that the person in question is dead or there is water or the tree yielded a mango only when he sees them or he receives reliable information about them. The sentence in 100 can also mean 'it is now known to me that he has gone to Kathmandu.'

**3.7.11.** *saN. saN* is a sentence particle which means 'also', 'even', 'too'

(102)

a. lahaN saN k□y-a
lahaN also fall –PT
'Lahang also fell down.'

b. kHunE lajE saN iN-u
he land also buy-3O
'He bought land also.'

c. a saN paN cug-u-N
I also house build-3O-1e
'I also build a house.'

**3.7.12.** o. This particle is used in imperative sentences. It seeks listener's approval corresponding to Nepali *hai*.

(103)

a. pHEr-a-o
come-IMP-PART
' Come, O.K.?'

b. yuN-a-o
sit-IMP-PART
'Sit down! O.K.?'

c. tar-u-o
bring-3O-PART
'Bring it! O.K.?'

**3.7.13**. *be*. This particle gives a little emphasis to already existing truth.

(104)

a. kHunE ba yamb□k cug-u bE
he this work do-3O PART
'He will do this work, I believe.'

b. kHEnE paNbHE-o ka-guN be
you village-LOC 2-reach PART
'You will reach the village, I believe.'

c. kHunE accHEnda bo tah-a be
he yesterday here arrive-PT PART
'He arrived here yesterday, it is sure.'

**3.7.14**. na. The particle *na* is used to insist on the listener for the performance of work assigned to him.

(105)

a. cug-u na
do-3O PART
'Do it! O. K.?'

b. pHar-u na
help-3O PART
'Help him! O.K.?'

**4.** CLAUSE COMBINING**.** Chhatthare Limbu clauses are divided into finite and non-finite clauses in terms of the deletion or retention of person, number, case and tense markers on the verb.

**4.1**. NON-FINITE CLAUSES. Non-finite clauses are defined in terms of deletion of person, number, tense, case markers on the verb. They are as follows:

**4.1.1.** INFINITIVE CLAUSES. Infinitive clauses form complements to a verb.

(106)

a. a ba **p□ŋ-ma** sukk-u-ŋ
I it hold-INF can-3O-1e
'I can hold it.'

b. yamb□k **cuk-ma** puŋ
work do-INF must
'Work must be done.'

c. kHunE sapla **nip-ma** wEt-u
he book read-INF leave-3O
'He stopped reading a book.'

d. kHEnE sapla **nip-ma** ka-hEk-u
you book read-INF 2-start-3O
'You started reading a book.'

Infinitive clauses form complements to light verbs or emotative predicates.

(107)

a. samlo-**ma** a-sira dHaN
sing-INF 1sPOSS-like come up
'I like to sing.'

b. calak-**ma** ku-sira dHaN
dance-INF 3sPOSS-like come up
'He likes to dance.'

c. im-**ma** ka-sira dHaN
travel about-INF 2sPOSS- like come up
'You like to travel.'

The infinitive verb, however, marks non-singular object.

(108)

a. mEndak-kHa calam-ma-**si** puŋ
goat-p graze-INF-3nsO must
'Goats must be grazed.'

b. hEnja-gHa hu-ma-**si** puks-a
child-p teach-INF-3nsO must-PT
'The child had to be taught.'

c. kagHuppa-gha sakma-**si** puN
thief-p imprision-3nsO must

‘Thieves must be imprisoned.’

**4.1.2.** PURPOSIVE CLAUSES. Purposive verbs constitute complements to verbs of motion and are marked by the purposive suffix <-ŋa>. It has following allomorphs:

<-Na> -> <-ma> after bilabial
<-na> after dental
<-Na> elsewhere

(109)

a kHEnE sapla sap-**ma** ka-de
you paper write-PURP 2-go
'You go to write a paper.'

b. a cwat pHEt-**na** tek-ŋa
I water bring-PURP go-1sS
'I go to fetch water.'

c. kHunE ambe s□ŋ-**ŋa** teg-a
he mango sell-PURP go-PT
'He went to sell a mango.'

d. kHEnE i-**Na** ka-de
you travel-PURP 2-go
‘You go to travel.’

Purposive clauses can have a possessive prefix to indicate the object.

(110)

a. **ka**-dem-ma napmi tah-a
2sPOSS-catch-PURP man come-PT
'A man came to catch you.'

b. aniŋa **ku**-mEt-na pHEr-i-ŋa
we 3sPOSS-see-PURP come-pS-1-e
'We came to see him.'

c. hambagHa **a**-sak-ŋa mu-dah-a
They 1sPOSS-imprison-PURP 3pS-come-PT
'They came to imprison me.'

**4.1.3.** CONVERB. Chhathare Limbu has no simultaneous converb expressing an accompanying action of the same subject. Only negative converbs marked by the <-E> abound in the language. It has the following allomorphs:

<-E> -> < -ma> after bilabial
<-na> after dental
<-Na> after velar
<-E> elsewhere

(111)

a. kHunE sa ma-gHam-**mE** c□
he meat NEG-chew-CONV ate
‘He ate meat without chewing.’

b. kHEnE he-saŋ mam-bat-**nE** ka-deg-a
you what-also NEG-do-NEG CONV 2-go-PT
'You went without saying anything.'

c. hambagHa t□k man-dHok-**NE** mu-deg-a
they rice NEG-cook-NEG CONV 3pS-go-PT
'They went without cooking rice.'

d. a amerika man-ni-**E** si-ŋa laye
I America NEG-see-NEG CONV die-1e PART
'I will, probably, die without seeing America.'

**4.1.4.** PARTICIPIAL CLAUSES. Participial clauses are adnominal clauses or relative clauses. They are of two kinds. They are active participle and passive participle.

**4.1.4.1.** ACTIVE PARTICIPLE. The active participle of the transitive verb refers to its agent and requires the object before it as in 111a-c whereas object is not required for the active participle of the intransitive verb as in 111d.
(112)
a. pu ka-sEp-pa napmi pHEr-a
bird AP-kill-AP man come-PT
'The man who kills a man came.'
b. a paŋ ka-iŋ-ba napmi ko?l-u-ŋ-ro wa-ŋa
I house AP-buy-AP man search-3O-1sA-Prog -be-1sS
'I'm searching for the man who buys a house.'
c. mundHum ka-sap-pa napmi bo kHo-ma-det-nEn
story AP-write-AP man here find-NEG-PASS-NEG
'The man who writes a story can't be found here.'
d. a ka-lok-pa □n ko? l-u N-lo wa-Na
I AP-run-AP horse search-1e-Prog be-1e
'I am searching for a horse which runs.'

**4.1.4.2.** PASSIVE PARTICIPLE. Passive participle is formed by the suffixation of <-na> to the verb stem. It is nominalized by adding the suffix <-pa> or <-ma> depending upon the gender. It occurs adnominally.
(113)
a. kHunE om-na-ba sa c□
he roast-PP-NML meat ate
'He ate roasted meat.'
b. a m□k-na-ba cwat r□k tHuŋ-u-ŋ
I boil-PP-NML water only drink-3O-1sA
'I drink only boiled water.'
c. kHEnE tHEm-na-ba sa ka-n-j□-nEn
you boil-PP-NML meat 2-NEG-eat-NEG
'You don't eat boiled meat.'

**4.2.** FINITE CLAUSES. Under finite clauses, verbs carrying person, number, case, tense and aspect markers are subsumed.

**4.2.1.** NOMINALIZED CLAUSES. Nominalized clauses contain adnominal or relative clauses and compliment clauses. The adnominal clauses can be reduced to participle clauses or fully marked verb forms with the nominalizer <-pa> or <-ma>.

**4.2.1.1.** ADNOMINAL CLAUSES (RELATIVE CLAUSES). Adnominal clauses with fully marked verb forms followed by the nominalizer suffix <-pa> or <-ma> are as follows.
(114)

a. nak-u-ŋ-**ba** sapla a-m-biy-a-ŋ-nEn
beg-3O-1e-NML book 1O-NEG-PT-1e-NEG
'He didn't give me the book which I begged.'
b. ka-sok-u-**ba** yamb□k cuk-ma ka-n-sukk-u-n
2-point-3O-NML work do-INF 2-NEG-can-3O-NEG
'You couldn't do the work which you wanted to do.'
c. kHunE iŋ-u-**ba** paŋ s□ks-u de-u
he buy-3O-NML house sell-3O-take-3O
'He sold the house which he had purchased.'

**4.2.1.2.** COMPLEMENT CLAUSES. Nominalized clauses constitute complement to the verb of cognition or sensation.
(115)
a. kHunE a sap-u-ŋ-**ba** nih-u
he I write-3O-1e-NML see-3O
'He saw me write it.'
b. kHunE a sap-u-ŋ-**ba** mEtt-u
he me write-3O-1e-NML watch-PT
'He watched me write it.'
c. a kHEnE ka-si-ya-**ba** makk-u-ŋ
I you 2-die-PT-NML dream-3O-1sA
'I dreamed that you have died.'

**4.2.2.** TEMPORAL CLAUSES. Temporal clause is marked by the subordinator <-E)>, which is suffixed to the fully marked verb forms.
(116)
a. a yamb□k cug-u-ŋ-ro wah-a-ŋ-E) kHunE tay-a
I work do-3O-1sA-Prog be-PT-1sA-SUB he come-PT
'When I was doing a work, he came.'
b. kHunE tah-a-E) kHEnE paŋ-No ka-hopt-a
he come-PT-SUB you house-LOC 2-be not-PT
'When he came, you were not at home.'
c. kHEnE ka-ips-a-E) ka-gHup-pa mu-day-a
you 2-sleep-PT-SUB AP-thief-AP 3pS-come-PT
'When you slept, the thieves came.'

**4.2.3.** SEQUENTIAL CLAUSES. Sequential clauses are formed by the suffixation of <-aŋ> to the fully marked verb forms. In that case <-aŋ> encodes the meaning 'and' or 'then'.
(117)
a. kHunE hamba napmi-iŋ tEps-u-aŋ uks-u
he that man-DEF hold-3O-SEQ drag-3O
'He held that man and dragged him.'
b. kHunE kumba sukwa-iŋ p□ks-u-aŋ tew-u
he this bag-DEF hold-3O-SEQ take-3O
'He holds this bag and takes it.'
c. kHEnE t□k ka-ja-aŋ ka-im
you rice 2-eat-SEQ 2-sleep
'You eat rice and sleep.'

Lengthy chains with more than two clauses are not normally attested in the language.

**4.2.4.** MANNER CLAUSES. Adverbial manner clause specifies the manner in which the action denoted by the verb is carried out. In Chhatthare Limbu manner clauses are full sentences subordinated to and inserted before the verb. The manner clause is marked by the addition of the progressive aspect suffix <-ro> to the fully inflected verb form.

(118)

a. a kHunE ku-b□kla eg-a-ro tHaps-u-ŋ
I him 3POSS-neck break-PT-MANN knock-3O-1sA
I knocked him down in such way that his neck broke.'

b. kHunE t□k ku-ja-nu-ro c□
he rice 3POSS-eat-good-MANN eat-PT
'He ate rice greedily.'

c. kHEnE a hab-a-ŋ-lo ka-sek-a-ŋ
you I weep-PT-1eS-MANNER 2-pinch-PT-1sA
'You pinched me in the way I wept.'

**4.2.5.** CONDITIONAL CLAUSES. **C**onditional clauses are formed by the addition of the topic marker particle g□r□ and the subordinator <-E)> to the finite verb form.

(119)

a. kHEnE kumba paŋ ka-iŋ-u-ba **g□r□** culik yaŋ kudaŋba piy-u yuks-u
you this house 2-buy-3O-NML CON little money owner give-3O keep-3O
'If you are going to buy this house, give a little money to its owner.'

b. kHEnE nak-u-ba yaŋ kHunE ka-biy-u-**E**) ku-baŋ ka-bi
you beg-3O-NML money he 2-give-3O-CON 3POSS-house 2-give
'If you give him the money he has demanded, he will give you his house.'

c. kHEnE kumba k□k ka-guy-u **g□r□** r□k yaŋ pi-na
you this load 2-carry-3O CON only money give-2O
'I will give you money only if you carry this load.'

The conditional particle ***mEn*** appended generally to the finite verb in the past form indicates hypothetical possibility. It optionally takes the topic marker *g□*.

(120)

a. nih-u-ŋ-E) g□ pancHat-u-ŋ-mEn
see-3O-1e-COND TOP call-3O-1sA-HP
If I saw him, I would call him.'

b. k□t-u-ŋ-E) g□ piy-u-ŋ-mEn
have-3O-1sA-CON TOPgive-3O-1e-HP
'If I had, I would give him.'

c. ka-nak-u-E g□ ka-biy-a-mEn
2-ask-3O-CON TOP 2-give-PT-HP
'If you asked him, he would give you.'

The verb affixes in the past in combination with the nominalizer suffix <-ba> expresses hypothetical possibility.

(121)

a. hambo-lam ka-g□y-a-E) g□ ka-siy-a-ba
there-LOC 2S-fall-PT-SUB TOP 2S-die-PT-NML
'If you fell from there, you would die.'
b. ko?l-u-E) kho-u-ba
search-3O-SUB find-3O-NML
'If he searched for it, he would find it.'
c. nir-u-ŋ-E) g□ lEh-u-ŋ-ba
read-3O-SUB TOP know-3O-1sA-NML
'If I read it, I would know it.'

Hypothetical possibility is also expressed by replacing topic marker *g□* of the conditional clause with *mEn*.

(122)
a. hambo-lam ka-g□y-a-E) mEn ka-siy-a-ba
there-LOC 2S-fall-PT-CON TOP 2S-die-PT-NML
'If you fell from there, you would die.'
b. ko?l-u-E) mEn kHo-u-ba
search-3O-SUB find-3O-NML
'If he searched for it, he would find it.'
c. nir-u-ŋ-E) mEn lEh-u-ŋ-ba
read-3O-SUB TOP know-3O-1sA-NML
'If I read it, I would know it.'

**4.2.6.** CONCESSIVE CLAUSES. Concessive clauses are formed with help of the suffix <-***saŋ***>.
(123)
a. kHEnEa yaŋ ka-bi-ŋa-saŋ ma-bHa-na-n
you I money 2-give-1e-CONC NEG-help-1→2-NEG
'I will not help you though you give me money.'
b. a kHunE ut-u-ŋ-saŋ a-baŋ-o ma-dah-a-n
I him invite-3O-1e-CONC 1sPOSS-house-LOC NEG-come-PT-NEG
'He didn't come to my house though I invited him.'
c. a lokk-a-ŋ-saŋ kHunE man-cHi-ban
I run-PT-1sS-CONC him NEG-catch up to-1sS/PT/NEG
'I couldn't catch up to him though I ran.'

**4.2.7.** QUOTE CLAUSES. Direct quotes are generally made without the aid of any subordinator. They are presented as direct speech without shifting pronouns and deictic elements.
(124)
a. kHunE 'a-saŋ tek-ŋa' a-laŋ
he I -also go-1sS 1O-tell-PT-1sO
'He said to me, 'I also go.'
b. kHEnE 'a yamb□k ma-juk-ŋa-n' ka-bat-u
you I work NEG-do-1sA-NEG 2-say-3O
'You said it , 'I don't do work.'
c. 'a yaŋ ma-bi-na-n' ka-low-u
I money NEG-give-NEG 2-tell-3O
You said to him, 'I don't give you money.'

The subordinator *mahaN* marks a direct quote.

(125)

a. kHunE a yaN ma- g□t-na-n mahaN pat-u
he money NEG-have-1e-NEG QUOTE say-3O
'He said, 'I have no money.'

b. yaN am-biyaN-nEn mahaN ka-□k-pa-i
money NEG-give-NEG QUOTE 2-cry- NML-Q
'Are you crying because they did not give you money?'
Or are you crying saying, 'they did not give me money.'

The verb *loma* 'to say' and *papma* 'to say' in progressive aspect also mark the quote.

(126)

a. a kHEnE man-cHEt-nE ma-lEt- na-n la-ro pind-a
I you NEG-kill-CONF NEG-leave-1e-NEG say/PT jump-PT
'He burst out saying, ' I do not let you without killing.'

b. a ma-bHEn-na-n la-ro teg-a
I NEG-come-1e-NEG -say/PT Prg go-PT
'He went saying, 'I do not come.'

c. a khEnE kucH□Na tet kHu-na pat-u-r□ pHEr-a
I you new cloth bring-2O say-3O-Prg
'He came saying, 'I will bring you a new cloth.'

**5.** SUMMARY. Sentences follow certain constituent order and are divided into simple, compound and complex sentences. As compound sentences are formed only by sequential suffix, they are included with simple sentences into basic sentence patterns which are formed without any verbal or adverbial conjunctions. Complex sentences, on the other hand, consist of finite clauses and non-finite clauses in addition to independent clauses. Non-finite clauses comprise verbs which are unmarked for person, number and tense whereas finite clauses comprise finite verbs with fully conjugated forms. In infinitival non-finite verb form the third person non-singularity is marked by <-si>.

# CHAPTER 14
# CONCLUSION

The Limbus living in the Chhatthar area are called *Chhatthare Limbu* or *Chhatthare Yakthungba* and their language is called *Chhatthare Yakthungba Pan* or *Chhatthare Pan* in the mother tongue and simply as *Chhatthare Limbu* in non-native language. It is different from other dialects of Limbu. On the bais of pure linguistic analysis, it is a separate language because it differs from other Limbu dialects in phonology, morphology and lexical words. But like the classification of Hansson (1991), Bradley (1997) and Ebert (2003), it has not directly descended from the Kiranti family. From the Kiranti family, it descended as Limbu or proto-Limbu and from the proto-Limbu, it separated into Chhatthare Limbu and non-Chhatthare Limbu. Genetically, Chhatthare Limbu belongs to Proto-Limbu, Kiranti, Mahakiranti, Himalayan, Tibeto-Burman and Sino-Tibetan group of language. It can not be classified into a fixed typology as it has mixed characteristics of all types of languages. On the basis of the index of synthesis, Limbu falls among the synthetic group of languages and on the basis of index of fusion, it falls among the fusional group of languages with single lexical item plus other affixes or more than one lexical item and multiple affixes.

The Chhatthare Limbus have common culture, religion, and traditions with other Limbus, they think one with other Limbus. They use Panthare dialect as 'a medium language' of conversation, information and education. It has adverse effect on the development of Chhatthare Limbu. On the other hand, the use of Nepali as an official language, a medium of pedagogy and information, as a pre-requisite for gaining government services and other work opportunities have compelled the entire Limbus to be bilingual. A few of them have switched their language code over to Nepali. However, every Limbu wishes that their language would flourish and prosper and they have been contributing for its development. The awareness of people for the promotion and development of their mother tongue indicates the bright future of Limbu language in general. It has awakened Chhatthare people into doing work on their language variety.

In Chhatthare Limbu, there are twenty consonant phonemes such as /p/,/pH/, /b/, /t/, /tH/, /k/, /kH/, /g/, /?/, /s/, /h/, /c/, /cH/, /m/, /n/, /N/, /l/, /r/, /w/ and /y/. [p] and [k] are the allophones of the phonemes /b/ and /g/ but conversely [b] and [g] are also the allophones of the phonemes /p/ and /k/. Altogether there are nine allophones such as [p], [b], [d], [k], [g], [bH], [dH] [gH] and [j]. Voiced stops, strident, liquid consonants and semi-vowels have syllable final constraints. Glottal stop and voiced, velar stop can not occur in the syllable onset position. There are seven vowels such as /i/, /u/, /e/, /o/, E/, /□/ and /a/ in the language with no vowel length contrast. The syllable has basically CVC pattern and it extends from one syllable to five syllables with multiple patterns. Unaspirated,Voiceless stop consonants, alveolar fricative, lateral and nasal consonants have geminate forms and other consonant sequences have as many as 44 varieties. The consonant sequence has the combination of two consonants except –mbr-sequence. Hiatus is used to prevent dipthongisation. The dipthongs appear only when the interrogative suffix <-i> is added to the stem ending in vowel. The Nepali loan words contain retroflex phones such as /□/,/□H/, /ɭ/, and /ɭH/ which are to be used in orthography.

In Chhatthare Limbu, morphophonological changes are conditioned by syllable structure and surrounding segments. Limbu has syllable structure patterns which are

maintained through phonological processes such as deletion and epenthesis. These phonological processes condition morphophonological changes in the language. Similarly, morphophonological changes are effected by various processes of assimilation such as progressive assimilation, regressive assimilation, distant assimilation, intervocalic voicing assimilation, voicing assimilation and labialization.

Nouns inflect for number and case. Singularity is unmarked, duality is marked by <kHacHi-~gHacHi> and plurality is marked by <-gHa>. Non-singularity for identity operator noun is marked by <-si>. The process of number marking is from singular to plural and from plural to dual. This derivational history shows that dual marker is a later development. When nouns are preceded by numerals, their number is unmarked. Twelve kinds of cases are marked on nouns. Masculine gender is marked by <-pa~ba> and feminine gender is marked by <-ma> but they are not productive and occur only in a few kinship nouns and ethnic names. Similarly, diminutive form is also marked by the suffixes <-lEccHa> and <-cyak> but they are limited to *pHaklEccHa*, *pulEccHa* and *wajyak* only. However, they show that at one time in the history, the language had diminutive suffixes. Nouns are formed through compounding by juxtaposing two nouns side by side. Dervative adjectives also function as nouns inflecting for number and case. It has human classifier suffixes < -pa> and <-pHu>. The first one is used for a single person and the second one is used for more than one person following the first syllable of the numerals. Though numerals are there up to one hundred in written form, in actual speech people use only up to three. Pronominal affixes are added to the nouns and form either possessive noun phrases or verbless sentences.

Pronouns are divided into personal pronouns, interrogative pronouns and demonstrative pronouns. Personal pronouns have eleven categories. Interrogative and demonstrative pronouns have only three categories. Personal pronouns do not mark ergativity whereas interrogative and demonstrative mark it.

All the adjectives are derived from verbs, bound adjectives, nouns and adverbs by affixation. These adjectives can function both as an adjective and as a noun. Adverbs are divided into lexical adverbs and derivative adverbs. Only a few lexical adverbs exist in the language. They include temporal adverbs, locational adverbs, manner adverbs, posture adverbs and truth value adverbs. Derivative adverbs are formed by affixation, reduplication and compounding.

The verb has twenty types of verb stems and they can be classified into two stem classes. Fifteen types of verb stems alternate between vocalic and consonantal suffixes. The alternation is caused by stem final deletion and assimilation. Five types of verb stems remain stable throughout the paradigm. On the basis of conjugation patterns, there are three types of verbs –intransitive, reflexive and transitive – in the language. They have mono-syllabic and poly-syllabic roots. Limbu verb roots are basically mono-syllabic and the polysyllabic roots are merely grammaticalizations of multiple-root stems. They have the same conjugation pattern Intransitive and reflexive verbs exhibit eleven different forms and transitive verb marks 44 different forms out of 75 theoretically possible forms. Voice is differentiated as active and middle on the basis of the presence or absence of object morpheme in the verb form. All transitive verbs are in active voice and they are shifted to middle voice by dropping the object morphemes. So, the transitive verbs in middle conjugation are morphologically intransitive verbs though semantically they are still transitive. Similarly, reflexive verbs exhibit middle voice and intransitive conjugation pattern morphologically but they index active voice and transitive meaning semantically.

Chhatthare Limbu finite verbs mark person, number, case, reflexivity, tense, inclusivity and exclusivity by affixes. Some affixes are, however, unmarked. Each of these affixes occupies a certain slot. Sometimes, more than one affix can also occur in the same slot. Animacy hierarchy plays significant role in setting the order of affixes. There are altogether three slots for prefixes and ten for suffixes. The negative morpheme is a discontinuous morpheme, part of which occurs before the stem and part of which occurs after it. The suffix part reappears as a copy of its own after the third person non-singular object <-si> like the speech act participant plural agent morpheme <-m> and first person exclusive suffix <-N>. Majority of affixes are portmanteau morphemes that indicate more than one meaning.

Tense is marked by the suffix <-a> or <-O> after the main verb stem and after the auxiliary. Chhatthare Limbu marks progressive aspect by the suffix <-ro~ -lo> and perfect aspects by the suffix <-aN>. The present perfect is expressed by main verb in the past and auxiliary verb in the present whereas past perfect is expressed by the main verb in the past and corresponding verb in the past. Indicative mood is the finite verb form. Imperative mood is marked by the suffix <-?> if the addressee is singular but it is marked by the suffix <-a> after the verb stem and by the suffix <-?> in the final position if the number of addressee is dual or plural. Adhortive mood is expressed by dropping the first person suffix <-a> from the finite verb form. Irrealis mood is marked by the particle *mEn*. Optative mood is marked by the particle *ni* or *r*□ and interrogative mood is marked by the suffix <-i>.

Infinitives, purposives, converbs and participles are non-finite verbs. The first three non-finite verbs are marked by <–ma~ -na~ -Na>, <-na~ -ma~ -Na> and <-E> respectively. Converb is marked only in negation. The active participle is marked by < ka- -pa> and passive participle is marked by <-na-ba>. Verbal complex includes serial verbs, compound verbs, analytic verbs, sequential verbs, infinitival verbs, purposive verbs and experiencer possessive verbs. They show different shades of meaning in the language.

Sentences follow certain constituent order and have simple, compound and complex forms. However, compound sentences are almost non-existent as they are formed only by sequential suffix. They can be included with simple sentences into basic sentence patterns which are formed without any verbal or adverbial conjunctions. Complex sentences, on the other hand, consist of finite clauses and non-finite clauses in addition to independent clauses. Non-finite clauses comprise verbs which are unmarked for person, number and tense whereas finite clauses comprise finite verbs with fully conjugated forms.

Morphologically, Chhatthare Limbu is a complex pronominalized, ergative language and syntactically, it is almost a head right language because except a few cases, all the modifiers precede the head.

APPENDICES

**1**. CREATION AND THE ORIGIN OF MAN

accHEn accHEn hEssaŋ hEssaŋ hop-ta hakkHya-E) sammet l□k p□
before before nothing nothing not be-PT that- time-SUB air only REP
wah-a cwat l□k p□ neh-a hambaŋ tageraniŋwabHu-maŋ-iN
be-PT water only REP be-PT then omniscient goddess-DEF
ic-cHiŋ hakkHyaŋ laba-berik ku-be phEnchaŋ-naŋ nam-bErik ku-be cupsaŋ-
think-REF then moon-churn its-hold left-DIR sun-churn its –hold right-
naŋ cug-u-si-aŋ cwat-no uks-u-si phEnchaŋ-ba cwat-lam laba-
dHEt
towards do-3O-nsO-SEQ water-LOC pull-3O-nsO left-NML water-LOC moon-foam
cupsaŋ-ba cwat-lam nam-dHEt l□nd-a y□rik thEt l□nda- E) g□
right-NML water-LOC sun-foam emerge-PT much foam emerge-PT- SUB- PART
tHEt-niŋ kHam puks-a ku-bE uks-u-E) ka-bin-ba thEt-niŋ
foam-ABS land become-3sA its-hold pull-3O-SUB AP-jump-AP foam-DEF
tHEgo puks-a tHEgo-saŋ puks-a kHambEk saŋ puks-a
mountain become-PT mountain-also become-PT land also become-PT
hambo ka-yuŋ-ba napmi ma-?E kHambE saŋ ma-gHemd-u-n tHEgo
there AP-sit-AP man without land also NEG-suit-3O-NEG mountain-
saŋ ma-gHEmd-u-n hambakkHya-E) p□r□kmi-yambHami maŋ-
also NEG-suit-3O-NEG then-SUB goddess
N iŋ tageraniŋwa bHu-maŋ-o teg-a-aŋ silapp-u tageraniŋwabHu
DEF omniscient goddess-LOC go-PT-SEQ ask-3O- omniscient
maŋ-ŋa niŋwaic-cHin ic-cHin-naŋ p□r□kmiyambHa-mi-iŋ samyaŋ
goddess-ERG think-REFL REFL-SEQ goddess –DEF gold
nuŋ yuppa pHot-paks-u-aŋ napmi cukpaks-u p□r□kmi-
and silver make mix -3O-SEQ man make do-3O-
yambHami-ŋa yuppa nuŋ samyan-iŋ phot-u-si-aŋ napmi cug-u
goddess-ERG silver and gold-DEF mix-3O-nsO- SEQ man make-3O
hambo s□kma saŋ ket-u hambaŋ pan-cHat-u- E) g□ ma-bat-a-n
there breath also install-3O then address-3O-SUB PART NEG-speak-PT-NEG
hakkHyaŋ kHunE tageraniŋwabHu maŋ-ŋiŋ silap-ma teg-a ta-ger-a
then he omniscient goddess-DEF ask-INF go-PT
niŋwabHu maŋ-ŋa lo-u to g□r□ to lasa-lEkhaŋ teg-a –
omniscient goddess-ERG tell-3O way up if up lasa - DIR go-IMP
aŋ sEmikla kHappu ukk-u mo g□r□ mo talgEnnamge piba teg-a-aŋ
SEQ reed –ash bring-IMP way down if down to the north east go-IMP-SEQ
wa-hi- kEtt-u kHappu nuŋ wa-hi-iŋ phot-u-aŋ
chicken shit bring up-IMP ash and chicken-shit-DEF mix- 3O-SEQ

s□r-u-si hambaŋ napmi cug-u-aŋ s□kma ket-
mould-3O-nsO then man make-3O-SEQ breath instill-
u sam ket-u hambaŋ pan- ka-sat-u- -E) pat
3O sense instill-3O then speech-you-ask-3O-SUB speak-

p□r□kmiyambHami-ŋa wa-hi nuŋ kHappu s□r-u-si-aŋ napmi
long-tailed, big-tailed god-ERG chicken-shit and ash mould-3O-nsO-SEQ man
cug-u hakkhyaŋ s□kma ket-u-aŋ pan-chat-u- -E) pat-a hamba nih-u-aŋ p□r□kmi-yambHami-iŋ ku-yak-ler-a –ro
make-3O then breath instill-3O-SEQ address-3O-SUB speak-PT that see-3O-SEQ long-tailed, big-tailed god-DEF his-anger-raise-PT Prg
pat-u a hambaktH□mba nuba samyaŋ-nuŋ yuppa-aŋ cuk-na-E) ka-m-bat-a-n wa-hi nuŋ kHappu-ŋaŋ
say-3O I that like good gold and silver-GEN make-1→2- SUB 2-NEG-speak-PT-NEG chicken-shit and ash-GEN
cuk-na-E) ka-bat-a hakHE pat-u-sur-u-aŋ tHait-tHukk-u
make-1→2-SUB 2 speak-PT that way speak-3O-finish-3O-SEQ spite-3O
napmi g□ puks-a t□r□ mEncHuma ma?E hEnja ma-m-buŋ-na
man PART become-PT but woman without baby 3pS-NEG-become-NML
mu-buks-a hakkHE puks-a-E) p□r□kmiyambami-ŋa
3ps-become-PT that way become-PT-SUB hanging tailed, large-tailed god-ERG
kHappu nuŋ wa-hi s□r-u-si-aŋ mEnchuma cug-u hambaŋ
ash and chicken-shit mould-3O-3nsO- SEQ woman make-3O then
s□kma-nuŋ sam ket-u. hambaŋ kHunE ka-hiŋ-ma
breath-and life force instill-3O then she AP-live-AP
mEnchuma puks-a p□r□kmiyambami-ŋa ku-buŋ-ba napmi-iŋ
woman become-PT hanging-tailed, large-tailed god AP-root-AP man-DEF
mEncHamgEn miŋ watt-u ku-buŋ-ma mEncHuma-iŋ maliŋnEn
mEncHamgEn name name-3O AP-root-APsf woman-DEF maliŋnEn
ku-mEt miŋ wat-u ku-buŋ-ba yEmbiccha cuk-na-ba laje-iŋ
his-wife name name-3O AP-root-AP man make-PASS-NML land-DEF
munatEmbE mu-bat-u
munatEmbE 3pA-speak-3O

**Translation**

Long, long ago, there was nothing, nothing at all. There was only air, only water. Omniscient god, Tageraningwabhumang pondered long. Then, he made a churn with the string of the moon on the left and the string of the sun on the right. As he began to churn the water pulling the strings right and left alternately, lunar foam originated from the left and solar foam from the right. The large amount of foam-origination formed land and the foam splashed during the churning became the mountains. Thus, land and mountains came into existence. However, without the inhabitants, they looked unseemly. Then, a hanging tailed, large tailed god, Parakmiyambami approached the omniscient goddess, Tageraniŋwaphu and inquired. The omniscient goddess told him, 'Mix gold and silver and make the image of man'. Parakmiyambami did so and installed life force and breath into it. When he called to it , it didn't speak. So, he went to the omniscient god and told everything. The god told him,' Go way up high towards Lhasa and bring down reeds of ash and go way down below eastward and fetch the chicken-shit. Mix it with the ash and mould it in to the image of a sentient man. Then call to him.' Parakmiyambami made the image of the sentient man

in the way he had been directed and called the man. The man incarnate responded well. Then, Parakmiyambami said to him, 'When I made you man out of gold and silver and called, you didn't speak but when I mixed ash and chicken-shit, moulded it and made you man, you spoke.' Then he spit at him.
When a man was created, he needed a woman for creation. Then Parakmiyambami again made the image of woman and instilled life force and breath into it. Then she became a living woman. Parakmi named the first man *mEcchamgEn nam yapmi* 'husband' and the first woman *meliŋgEn ku-met* 'wife'. The land where the first man was created is called *muna tEmbE.*

**2.** WHY DOES ULNANEPLENSIS GROW ONLY IN LANDSLIDE**?**

waso-iŋ hyaŋ thukwa-o r□k liŋ
ulnaneplensis-ABS why slide-LOC only grows

achEn achEn –ba pan ba l□thik taŋbhuŋ-o waso-iŋ liŋ-a
before before-NML matter this one forest-LOC ulnaneplensis-DEF grow-PT
tEndi kHunE tH□k-liŋgEn ka-d□ŋ-ma numa mEnchE puks-a ba
later she body-height AP-ballance-AP beautiful young girl become-PT this
pan-niŋ kErEk-naŋ iŋ-a tHokpHElla-ŋa saŋ ba pan-niŋ
matter-DEF all-DIR spread-PT rhododrendon-ERG-also this matter-DEF
kHEps-u hambakkHya-E) kHunE saŋ thaŋbEn kEr-a-aŋ
wah-a
hear-PT then he also young boy grow up-PT- SEQ be -PT
all□ g□ mEt tap-ma puks-a mahaŋ ku-niŋwa-o it-u
now PAR wife bring-INF become-PT QUOTE his-mind-LOC think-3O
wasik-Niŋ dHik tHiklEn mEp-ma puks-a ka-lo-ba pan
ulnaneplensis-DEF only once see-INF become-PT AP-tell-AP matter
ku-niŋwa-o tah-a hambaŋ kHunE wasok-Niŋ mEt-na
tambhuŋ-
his-mind-LOC come-PT then he ulnaneplensis-DEF see-PURP forest
naŋ tHacHin cuŋwapma t□N-Na
LOC go winter season-TEMP
wasok-Niŋ numa nih-u-aŋ kHunE calik ku-sira dHaks-u met
ulnaneplensis-DEF beautiful see-3O-SEQ he very he liked her wife
cuk-ma puks-a wasok-Niŋ mahaŋ ku-ppa ku-mma-si nak-u-
make-INF become-PT ulnaneplensis-DEFQUOTE her-father her-mother-nsObeg- 3O

si hakkHya-E) ku-ppa ku-mma-ŋa kHEnE hiktH□mba tEsEkpa
nsO then-SUB her-father her-mother-ERG you like dwarf
tapHEmba napmi-iŋ aniŋa-cHa ma-bi-na-cHi-ŋa-n
ugly an-DEF our-child NEG give-2O-dA-1e- NEG
mu-lo-u ba kHEps-u-aŋ thokpHella-iŋ calik-ŋi ku-niwa
3pA-tell-3O this hear-3O-SEQ rhododrendon-DEF very-EMP his-mind
tug-a hambaŋ kHunE lo-u-si tEndi cErEm nam-ŋa a phEk-
ache-PT then he tell-3O-nsO later chait month-TEMP I flower-

ŋa hambakkHya-E) a- met-na tah-a-niŋ bakkHE hakkHE
1e then me- see-PURP come-IMP-2p like this like that
puks-a-ro cErEmnaŋ saŋ tah-a wasok-ŋa ku-niŋwa-o
become-PT-Prog cait month also come-PT ulnaneplensis-ERG her-mind-LOC
thokphElla-ŋa pat-u-ba pan-iŋ tah-a ba mEp-ma-ri puks-a
rhedodrendon-ERG say-3O-NML matter-DEF come-PT this see-INF-PART-become-PT
hiktH□mba puks-a-i mahaŋ t□ks□ŋ-naŋ teg-a
of what kind become-PT-Q QOTE high altitude land-DIR go-PT
t□ks□ŋ-No kuks-a-E) g□ thEgo kErEk kHEmd-u-ro m□rak-yarik
high altitude land reach-PT-SUB PART mountain all suit-3O- Adv red-EMP
thokpHElla-iŋ pHEkk-a-ba nih-u ku-ghEmsiŋ ka-wa-ba nuba-sukpa
rhododrendon-DEF flower-PT-NML see-3O his-suiting AP-be-AP handsome
tHaŋbEn-niŋ nih-u-aŋ ku-niŋwa p□ŋ-cHin a-ppa
youŋ boy-DEF see-3O- SEQ his-mind wander-Refl my-father
a-mma-ŋa bakth□mba nuba tHaŋbEn nak-ŋa tah-a- E)
my-mother-ERG of this kind handsome youŋ boy beg-PURP come-PT-SUB
am-biy-a-ŋ-nEn all□ g□ hiŋ-ma-nu-E) si-ma-i
NEG-give-PT-1e-NEG now PART live-INF-COMP die-INF-EMP
nu mahaŋ kemba tHEgo- lam tHukwa-o h□cuml□kk-u-aŋ
be good Quote long mountain-ABL slide-LOC jump- 3O-SEQ
siy-a
die-PT

**Translation**

Why does Unaneplensis grow only in landslide?

This is a matter of long, long ago. Ulnaneplensis grew up in a certain forest. Later, she became a beautiful girl with balanced body and height. This news spread everywhere. A rhododendron also heard about it. At that time, he had also grown young. He thought to himself, 'Now, I have to bring wife.' The thought of watching ulnaneplensis once occurred to his mind. Then, he went to see her in the month of winter.

The rhododendron found ulnaneplensis beautiful and liked her very much. He approached her parents with a marriage proposal. But her parents reacted, ' We do not wed our daughter with an ugly dwarf like you.' Having heard it, he said to them, 'I will flower later in the month of April. Come to see me, then.' The time passed slowly and April also came. Then she remembered the thing that had been told by the rhododendron. She thought to herself, 'Let me see what he has he become like' and went towards the high altitude land. When she reached there, she saw the rhododendron flowered all over the mountains with red color. Having seen the attractive, handsome youth, her mind wandered. She thought, 'My parents rejected the marriage proposal by such a handsome youth. Now, it is better for me to die than live on.' Then, she jumped from the high mountain down to the landslide and she died.

**3.** TWO SISTERS

nEppHu kun-nE nuŋ ku-njHa

Two elder and younger sisters

l□ttHik paŋbHE- o kun-nE nuŋ kun-jHa dHik
one village-LOC 3sPOSS-elder sister and 3sPOSS-younger sister only
wah-a-cHi
be-PT-d
kun-nE g□r□ ka-g□p-ma ka-ja-ma cug-a
3sPOSS-elder sister PART AP-possess-AP AP-eat-AP be-PT
ku-njha g□r□ yaŋ- ka sama kasima cug-a
3sPOSS- younger sister PART poor be-PT
ku-baŋ-o cadHi hE-saŋ hEsaŋ hopt-a
3sPOSS-house-LOC food-drink nothing nothing NEG-be-PT
hakkHE-E) ku-hEnja-biccHa sa?wama-ŋa t□r-u-si
Then, 3sPOSS-children femine-ERG hit-3O-nsO
cakkHE tHok-ma-aŋ capma-si puks-a mahaŋ tHik yEn c□kkHE
nettle cook-INF-SEQ feed-INF-3nsO have to-PT Quote one day nettle
kon-na ku-baŋ-lam l□nd-a hambaŋ kun-nE-ŋaŋ
search-PURP 3sPOSS-house-ABL come out-PT then 3sPOSS-elder sister-DIR
ku-baŋ –lEkkhaŋ-lam teg- a -ro-wah-a-E) kun-nE-ŋa
3sPOSS-house –towards-through go-PT-Prg-be-PT- SUB 3sPOSS-elder sister-ERG
nih-u-aŋ ho ka-de-ba r□ mahaŋ silapp-u kun-jHa-ŋa
see-3O-SEQ where 2-go-NML PART QUOTE ask-3O 3sPOSS- younger sister-ERG
c□kkHE kon-na tek-ŋa-ba mahaŋ lo-u ba kHEps-u-aŋ
nettle search-INF go-1e-NML QUOTE tell-3O this hear-3O-SEQ
kun-nE-ŋa nam dHa- dHa a-si
3sPOSS-elder sister-ERG sunset-untill 1sPOSS-louse
mEtt-u biy-a-ŋ a ka-jEn pi-na mahaŋ lo-u
look-3O give-IMP-1e I 2sPOSS-wage give-2O QUOTE tell-3O
kun-jHa saŋ tEnd-a hakkHyaŋ namdHa dHa si
3sPOSS-younger sister also agree-PT then sunset until louse
mEtt-u piy-u hakkHE saŋ kun nE-ŋa namdHatEsaŋ
look-3O give-3O even then 3sPOSS-elder sister-ERG tiffin also
mam-bi-E ku-jEn saŋ mam-bi-E paks-u-de-u
NEG-give-CONV 3sPOSS-wage also NEG-give-CONV send-3O take-3O
hambaŋ kun-jHa-iŋ calik ku-niŋwa tug-a-
then, 3sPOSS-younger sister-DEF very 3sPOSS-heart ache-PT-SEQ
haba-ro c□kkHE kon-na kHola-naŋ teg-a c□kkHE seb- u-
weep-Prg nettle search-PURP stream-DIR go-PT nettle collect-3O
ro wah-a-E) l□ttHik my□Nba tum-u my□Nba-iŋ
Prog be-PT-SUB one cat encounter-3O cat-DEF
tumu -E) kHalloba ku-sam may-a my□Nba-ŋa
encounter-SUB nearly 3sO-consciousness lose-PT cat-ERG
ma-gIy-a-n ma-siy-a-n lo-u-aŋ r□k ku-sakma tay-a
NEG-fear-IMP-NEG NEG-die-IMP-NEG tell-3O-SEQ only 3sPOSS-breath come-PT
hambaŋ my□Nba-ŋa mEncHuma cHa-E hyaŋ ka-happ-a r□ mahaŋ silapp-u
then cat ERG woman child-VOC why 2-weep-PT PART Quote ask-3O
hambaŋ hamba mEncHuma cHa-ŋa attE-ba kEreE pan lo- u
then that woman child-ERG prevous-NML all matter relate-3O

pan-gHa kHEps-u-si-aŋ my□Nba-ŋa hamba mEncHuma cHa- iŋ
matter-p hear-3O-nsO-SEQ wild cat-ERG that woman child-DEF
siŋ-ŋaŋ ku-horikpa-iŋ □ks-u-aŋ kHEtnam cug-u hambaN a
tree-GEN 3sPOSS-skin-DEF - pull out-IMP-SEQ strap make-IMP then I
kuy-a-ŋ-aŋ ka-baŋ-o tey-a-ŋ hakkHyaŋ
carry-IMP-1e-SEQ 2sPOSS-house-LOC take-IMP-1e then
lambHEt- o kitt-a-ŋ-aŋ talaŋdo yuks-a-ŋ
bamboo carpet-LOC wrap-IMP-1e-SEQ upstairs keep-IMP-1e
mahaŋ lo-u hamba mEncHuma cHa-ŋa ku-gima-ŋa
Quote relate-3O that woman child-ERG 3sPOSS-fear-ERG
yaks-u-ro siŋ-ŋaŋ ku-horik-pa □ks-u –aŋ kHEtnam cug- u
tremble-3O-Prg tree-GEN 3sPOSS-bark –NML flay-3O-SEQ head strap make-3O
hambaŋ my□Nba-iŋ kuy-u-aŋ paŋ-No tey-u khune pat-u-ba
then cat-ABS carry-3O-SEQ house-LOC take-3O she tell-3O-NML
hikkHE-i l□mbHEt-na kitt-u-aŋ talaŋdo nEh-u
like-EMP bamboo carpet-ERG wrap-3O-SEQ upstairs lay-3O
ca saŋ man-ja-E my□Nba-iŋ kuy-ma puks-a-E)
foodalso NEG-eat-CONF wild cat-EMP carry-INF have to-PT-SUB
kHunE calik nah-a siy-a hamba yuncHik sakmEnja ips-a tEnda
she very tire-PTdie-PT that night without food sleep-PT toorrow
kHaotta-E) pog-a-aŋ talaŋdo teg-a-aŋ mEtt-u-E) g□
dawn-SUB rise-PT-SEQ upstairs go-PT-SEQ look-3sApst-SUB PART
my□Nba-iŋ hopt-a tala ku-dHim yaŋsa-i yaŋ-sa ca-dHi-i ca-dHi r□k
cat-DEF be not-PT upstair its full money and wealth food and drink only
nih-u-si hakkHyaŋ kHunE ba g□ my□Nba EkHan
see-3O-3nsO then she this PART cat not
tageraniŋwaphu maŋ ricH□ mahaŋ nih-u-aŋ sewamEtt-u
hambaaŋ-do omniscient god PART QUOTE see-3O-SEQ pay obescience -
3O then onward
kHunE tagEraniŋwa pHu maŋ-Niŋ yuncHik pihandik sewacuk-ma hek- u
she omniscient god-DEF evening morning pay obsience -INF begin-3O
hambakHyaŋ kHunE ka-g□pp-a ka-ja-ba puks-a-ro teg-a-ba
then she AP-possess-AP AP-eat-AP become-PT-Prg go-PT-NML

kErEk pan-gHa kun-nE-ŋa nih-u-si-ro kHEps-u-
all matter-p 3sPOSS-elder sister-ERG see-3O-nsO-SEQ hear-3O-
si-ro wah-a tHik yEn kHunE kun-jha-ŋaŋ ku-baŋ-No
nsO-Prg be-PT one day she 3sPOSS-youŋer sister-GEN 3sPOSS -house-LOC
teg-a-aŋ kHEnE hikHE r□ baktHamba ka-gap-ma ka-buks-a mahaŋ
go-PT-SEQ you how PART of this kind AP-possess-AP 2-become-PT Quote
silap- u kudondomma ku-njha-ŋa ku-niŋwa-o hesaŋ
ask-3O straight 3sPOSS-youŋer sister-ERG 3sPOSS-mind-LOC anythiŋ
man-yuŋ- E) kErEk pan lo-u kun-nE-iŋ calik
NEG-keep-CONV all thing tell-3O 3sPOSS-elder sister-DEF very
ku-nakahEmma kujatHi-kajip-ma cug-a kHunE saŋ kun-jHa- ŋa
jealous greedy be-1PT she also 3sPOSS-youŋer sister-ERG
cug-u-ba hikkHE-I cuk-ma it-u my□Nba-iŋ iŋlEk lo-ma niŋwa cug-u
do-3O-NML like-EMP do-INF think-3O cat-DEF lie tell-INF mind make-3O
tHik yEn ka-hap-pa lEnchiŋ ro c□kkHE kon-na kHola-naŋ teg-a

one day AP-weep-AP pretend-Prg nettle search-PURP stream-DIR go-PT
hakkHE-E) hamba my□Nba-iŋ hambo-i yuŋ-a-aŋ wah-a my□Nba-ŋa
that time that cat-DEF there-EMP sit-PT-SEQ be-PT cat-ERG
hamba mEncHuma-iŋ pan saŋ ma-sat-u-n mEncHuma-ŋa
that woman-ERG talk also NEG-hold-3O-NEG woman-ERG
my□Nba-iŋ siŋ-ŋaŋ ku-horik □ks-u-ŋ-Ni mahaŋ silapp-u-E
cat-DEF tree-GEN 3sPOSS-bark flay-3O-1e -Q Quote ask-3O-SUB
ka-□ks-u-i ka-n-□ks-u-n-ni a ma-ni-ŋa-n mahaŋ
2-flay-3O-Q 2-NEG-flay-3O-NEG-Q I NEG-see-1e-NEG Quote
lo-u hamba mEncHuma-ŋa yaŋNo my□Nba-iŋ kHEnE paŋ-No
tell-3O that woman-ERG later-time cat-DEF you house-LOC
te-na-aŋ lambhet-no kit-na-aŋ nEn-na- i
take-1→2-SEQ bamboo carpet-LOC wrap-1→2-SEQ lay-1→2- Q
mahaŋ silapp-u-E) ka-de-ŋa-ni ka-n-deg-ŋa-n-ni a hessaŋ
Quote ask-3O-SUB 2-take-1e-Q 2-NEG take-1e-NEG-Q I anythiŋ
ma-ni-ŋa-n low-u hambaŋ hamba mEncHuma-ŋa
NEG-see-1e-NEG tell-3O then that woman-ERG
siŋ-ŋaŋ ku-horik-pa-ŋaŋ kHEtnam cug-u-aŋ my□Nba-iŋ
tree-GEN 3sPOSS-bark-NML- GEN head strap make-3O-SEQ cat-DEF
kuy- u-ro ku-baŋ-o tey-u hambaŋ
carry –carry-3O-Prg 3sPOSS-house-LOC take-3O then
lambhet-na kitt-u- aŋ talaŋdo nEh-u hamba yuncHik
bamboo carpet-ERG wrap-3O-SEQ upstairs lay-3O that night
kHunE calik nurik kumikyuya ca-dHi yaŋsa EkkHEn
she very well she felt sleepy food-drink money-wealth how much
mu-lum-cHin-ni mahaŋ kha-ma-ot-ne talaŋ-do teg-a-aŋ
3pS-pile-REFL-Q Quote light-NEG-shine-SUB upstairs go-3sApst-and
mett-u-E) g□ my□Nba-ŋaŋ nam kasuba ku-hi-i

look-3O-SUB PART cat-GEN bad smelliŋ 3sPOSS-shit-EMP
ku-hi r□k nEh-a
3sPOSS-shit only lie-PT

**Translation**

**Two sisters**

In a certain village there were two sisters. The elder sister was rich and prosperous but the youŋer one was poor. She had no grain and granaries, nothing, nothing at all in her house. So her children suffered from hunger. One day, she came out of the house thinking of collecting nettle, cooking it and feeding her children and herself and passed through her elder sister's house. Then, her elder sister saw her and asked, 'Where are you going?' She said,' I'm going in search of nettle.' Having heard it, the elder sister said, 'Search my hair for lice all day. I'll give your wage.' Her younger sister also agreed to it and perforemed the task all day long. However, she sent her without wage and tiffin. The younger sister, then, felt deeply hurt and weeping with tears dropping down she went to the river in search of nettle. While collecting nettle,

she encountered a cat. She nearly lost her sense to see him. She breathed a long breath only when the cat said to her, 'Don't fear.' Then, he asked her, 'Why are you weeping, you woman?' She told everything that had happened in the past. The cat heard everything and told her, 'Flay the bark of a tree, make a head strap out of it, then carry me to your house, then wrap me with a bamboo carpet and lie me down on the upstairs.' The woman, trembling with fear, flayed the bark of a tree, made its head-strap and carried the cat to her house. She wrapped him, as she was told, with a bamboo carpet and laid down on the floor upstairs. Since she had to carry without food the heavy wild cat, she was much exhausted and slept with empty stomach that night. At dawn next day, when she went upstairs and looked around, she saw all wealth, property and granaries all over the floor. Then, she realized that it was not a cat but an omniscient goddess. She greeted the goddess folding her hands. From that day on, she worshipped her every morning and evening. The she grew richer and richer each day. Her elder sister saw it and heard everything about her. One day, she went to her younger sister's house and asked her, 'How did you become such a rich person?' Her younger sister was simple and straight and told her everything without reservation. The elder sister was selfish and jealous. She thought of doing like her sister. She made her mind to tell a lie to the cat. One day, she pretended weeping and went to the river in search of nettle. At that time, the cat was sitting there. The cat didn't care her even a whit. She asked him,' Shall I flay tree-bark?' He replied, 'I don't care whether you flay or not.' Then, she asked her, 'Shall I wrap you with the bamboo-carpet and lay you on the floor upstairs?' He replied, 'I don't know whether you wrap me or not.' Then the woman flayed the bark of a tree, made its head-strap, carried him home, wrapped him with a bamboo-carpet and laid him on the floor upstairs. That night, she had a sound sleep .Before down, he went upstairs to see how much wealth and granaries have been piled up there. He saw only the bad-smelling shit of the cat left there.

## 4. AKWAMA DEITY

### Akwama sammang

acHEn acHEn nEppHu EccHa-ba yaŋkasaba kasiba ku-bHu nuŋ
before before two orphan poor his-elder brother and
ku-njHa wah-a-cHi ku-bHu-ŋaŋ ku-miŋ pHuŋdEŋhaŋ wah-a
his-youŋer brother be-PT-dS his-elder brother's his name huŋdeŋhaŋ be-PT
ku-njha-ŋaŋ ku-miŋ lodenhaŋ wah-a kHu-ncHi nuŋ l□ttHik maŋgEna
his-youŋer brother's his- name lodenhaŋ be-PT they-d have one sister
wah-a kHunEŋ ku-miŋ lupliso wadaŋma wah-a kHunch-iŋ kHuncHi-
be PT her her-name lupliso wadaŋma be-PT their their
paŋ hopt-a hakkhya-E) kHu-ncHi ho ho mu-i-ya- mu-wah-a
house be not-PT then-SUB they-ns where where 3pS-roam-PT 3pS-be-PT

sendik luŋ-gHuri-o siŋ-buŋ-ku-dEk-No mu-dHok-a wahi?ma-o hambo-
night stone-hole-LOC tree-trunk-its under-LOC 3pS-halt-PT rain-LOC there-
gHa-i mu-yuŋ-a –aŋ wahitma-lam mu-dHekcHin tHik yEn
p – EMP 3pS-stay-PT- SEQ rai-from 3pS-protect-REFL one day
kHu-ncHi tambHuŋ-No mu –iy-a- ro mu-wah-a-E) □ttHik pu-ŋa siŋ-
they-ns forest-LOC 3pS-wander-PT-Prg 3pS-be-PT-SUB one bird-ERG tree-
pHipma-o ku-hap cug-u-aŋ yuŋ- a- ba mu -nih-u kHuncHi –
hole-LOC its-nest make-3O-SEQ stay-PT-NML PF 3pS-see-3O their-
maŋEna-ŋa hamba □siŋdakk-u-si- aŋ lo- u- si
sister-ERG that show- 3O-nsO-SEQ tell-3O-nsO
mEtt-a-cH-u pu-ŋaŋ-saŋ ku-baŋ wa –E) aniŋ hop-ma g□
look-IMP-dA-3O bird's also its- house be-SUB our not be-INF PART
calik cit l□tthik cukpa paŋ cug-u-m-maŋ yuŋ-i ba
very be –bad one small house make-3O-pA-SEQ stay-pS this
pan-niŋ kHu-ncHi- nigwa- lam-o teg-a all□ kHu-ncHi paŋ ka-juk-pa
matter-DEF their-mind-way-LOC go-PT now they-d home AP-make-AP
puks-a-cHi ku-buŋ- o paŋ cuk-ma ka-nu-ba ka-daŋ-ba lajE
become-PT-dS its-bottom-LOC house make-INF AP-suit-AP AP-plain-AP land
seg-a-cH-u hambaŋ paŋ cuk-ma siŋ luŋ kErEk kar-a-cH-u
choose-PT-dA-3O then house make-INF wood stone all take-PT-3dA-3O
paŋ –yok t□y-a-cH-u ku-lumm-o-ba t□kla lepma dEn t□y-a-
house-foundation dig-PT-dA-3O its-middle-LOC-NML pillar plant-INF place dig-PT-
cH-u-E kHuncHi-maŋgEna-ŋa t□-mna-ba kHam-miŋ l□t-u ku-lum
3dA-3O-SUB their sister-ERG dig-PASS-NML soil-EMP take out-3O its-middle
t□kla lep-ma nEtt -a-cH-u-E) kHuncHi-maŋgEna-ŋaN tHakumme-iŋ
pillar plant-INF about to-PT-dA-3O-SUB their-sister's shawl-DEF
t□kla lep-ma den-no m□ktHaw-u tHakummE kHom-ma ku-dHaikpa monaŋ
pillar plant-INF place-LOC drop-3O shawl pick-INF her-head downward
hiy-u-E) haŋgHacHi-ŋa t□kla tH□m-ma ma-sukk-a-cH-u-n- t□kla
tilt-3O-SUB they -ERG pillar hold-INF NEG-can-PT-dA-3O-NEG pillar
ler-a-cH-u-E) hamba-ŋa nEtt-u –aŋ kHuncHi maŋgEna-iŋ
drop-PT-dA-3O-SUB that –ERG press-3O-SEQ their sister –DEF
siy-a ku-s□ŋaba-gHacHi calik kHuncHi niŋwa may-a kHuncHi
die-PT her-brother-d very their mind lose-PT their
maŋgEna-iŋ bakkHEyaŋ siy-a-ba-o hambaŋ paŋbHEsaba-gHa-
sister-DEF thus die-PT-NML-LOC then villager-p
ŋa ba mu-gHEps-u-aŋ a-n-chet mahaŋ kiy-a- siy-
ERG this 3pA- hear-3O-SEQ 1piO-3nsA–kill QUOTE fear-PT- die-
a-cHi hakkHyaŋ hamba-i kHuncHi maŋgEna-ŋaŋ ka-si-ba ku-dH□k-
PT-dS then that-EMP their -sister's NML-die-NML her-body-
c□ŋ-No kulum t□lkla-iŋ let-a-cH-u- aŋ paŋ cug-a cH-u tHik yEn ni yEn
on-LOC middle pillar-DEF plant-PT-dA-3O-SEQ house make-PT-dA-3O one day two day
ŋa-i paŋ-ŋaŋ t□klagHa kumma-ŋa c□-si- aŋ mu-y□b-a
time-EMP house's pillars moth-ERG eat-nsO-SEQ 3pS-collapse-PT
hambaŋ paŋ tHub-a-teg-a pHeri saŋ paŋ cug-a-cH-u

then house collapse-PT-go-PT again also house make- PT-dA-3O
t□r□ pHeri saŋ y□y-a tey-a hambaŋ kHuncHi ba hE puks-a-
but again also collapse-PT go-PT then they dl this happen-PT
aŋ bakHE puks-a-ba mahaŋ mEppaŋ-ŋa kaiŋba
SEQ this way happen-PT-NML QUOTE forcast-PURP famous
yaba-o teg-a-cHi yaba-ŋa idik jokHana mEtt-u-
limbu priest-LOC go-PT-3dS limbu priest-ERG loŋ time contemplation look-3O
aŋ pat-u kHEncHi maŋgEna-iŋ t□kla-ŋa ka-gEpp-a-cH-u-aŋ
SEQ say-3O your sister-DEF pillar-ERG you-press down-PT-3O- SEQ
ka-sEr-a-cH-u hambaŋ hambo-i paŋ ka-jug-a-cH-u –ba ricH□ allo
2-kill-PT-dA-3O then there-EMP house 2-make-PT-dA-3O-NML PART now
g□ kHunE simebHumE □kjiri □kwama maŋ puks-a-aŋ wa. t□kla-
PART she simebHumE □kjiri □kwama goddess become-PT-SEQ be pillar-
ŋa ka-gEpp-a-cH-u-aŋ siy-a-ba-ŋa cug-u-E) ku-sira
ERG 2-press down-PT-dA-3O-SEQ die-3PT-NML-ERG do-3O-SUB her-mind
man-dHaŋ-E wa ku-niŋwa tuk-ma-ŋa cug-u-E) kHunE-i
NEG –come up-CONV be her-mind ache-INF-ERG do-3O-SUB she-EMP
paŋ y□h-u ka-biy-a-cHi-ba all□ paŋ ka-juk-cH-u-E)
house demolish-3O 2-give-PT-dO-NML now house 2-make-dA-3O-SUB
paŋ cutnuŋmanuŋ yaba tar-a-cH-u-aŋ akwama-ŋaŋ sammaŋ
house as soon as if completes yaba bring-IMP-dA-3O–SEQ awkwama's worship
cukpaks-a-cH-u ku-lum t□kla-o pHak-iŋ cep-ma puŋ ku-ma?i t□kla-o
make do-IMP-dA-3O its middle pillar-LOC pig-DEF cut-INF must its blood pillar-LOC
se-ma puŋ hambaŋ kHaot-ot ke-laŋ-ma puŋ bakE-ro
sprinkle-INF must then dawn-until drum-dance-INF must this way-MAN
akwama-ŋaN ku-sammaŋ cuk-ma-E) kHunEŋ ku-niwa ta
akwama's its-worsip do-INF-SUB her her-mind comes
hambaŋ cuk-na-ba paŋ-iŋ ma-y□-nEn idik-
then make-PASS-NML house-DEF NEG-collapse-NEG loŋ-
dHarik ka-dak-pa puŋ yaba-ŋaŋ ku-ban-niŋ kHuncHi-niŋwa lam-mo
until AP-last-AP become priest 's his-advice-DEF their-mind way-LOC
teg-a tHik yEn kHuncHi paŋ cug-a-cH-u-sur-a-cH-u-aŋ yaba tar-a-
go-PT one day their house make-PT-dA-3O finish-PT-dA-3O-SEQ priest bring-PT-
cH-u yaba-ŋa mundHum tey-u-ro □kwama sammaŋ cug-u
dA-3O priest-ERG scripture recite-3O-Prg akwama-worship do-3O-
ku-lum takla-o pHak mu-jEpp-u ku-ma?i t□kla-o mu-seh-
its-middle pillar-LOC pig 3pA-cut-3O its-blood pillar-LOC 3pA- sprinkle-
u kha-ot-ot t□kla kHiri ke-mu-laks-a hakHyaN akwama
3O light-shine-shine pillar around drum-3pS-dance-PT then akwama

maŋ-iŋ calik ku-sira dHaŋ-a hambaŋdHo paŋ y□ma
goddess-DEF very her-mind come up-PT then onward house destroy-INF
nar-a
stop-PT

**Translation**

**Akwama**

Long, long ago, there were two poor, orphan brothers. The elder brother's name was Phungdanghang and the youŋer brother's name was Ludenhang. They had one sister. Her name was Lupliso Wadangma. They had no house. Therefore, they wandered here and there. At night, they halted in a cave or under a tree. During the rain, they stayed there and protected themselves from it. One day, as they were walking through the forest, they saw a bird sitting in its nest having made it in the hole of a tree. Their sister showed it to them and said, 'Look, the bird has a house. It is very bad for us not to have a house. Let's make a small house and live there.'

They were convinced by this proposition. Then, they became ready to build a house. At first, they chose a proportionately appropriate house and good land to build a house. Then, they collected wood and stone essential for its construction. They dug its foundation. When they were digging the hole to plant the central pillar of the house, their sister was taking the soil out of the hole. When they were about to plant the central pillar, she dropped her shawl dawn in to the hole. When she bent down to retrieve it, they could not hold the pillar, and when they dropped it, it pressed her hard and she died. Her brothers were worried much to see the death of their sister. They were also afraid by the thought that villagers might notice it and take action against them. Then, they planted the central pillar on her dead body and built a house. But one or two days later, mites damaged the pillars and the house gave way. Again, they built a house but again, it gave way. Then, they went to see a famous priest who could reveal why such things happened. The priest contemplated long and said, 'It seems, you killed your sister by dropping the central pillar of your house down against her and you made a house there. Now, the dead has become a goddess called Simebhume Akjiri Akwama . She is not happy because she died by your dropping of the central pillar down against her. Due to her dissatisfaction, she has demoloshed your house. As soon as you finish the house, bring a priest and engage him to worship goddess Akwama. Pig must be killed at the bottom of the central pillar and its blood must be sprinkled all over it. Then, drum-dance must be performed around the pillar until dawn. If goddess Akwama is worshipped this way, she will be pleased and then, the house built will not fall down. It will last long.' They were convinced by the advice of the priest. One day, after finishing the house, they brought a priest. He recited the scripture and worshipped goddess Akwama. They killed a pig at the bottom of the central pillar of the house, sprinkled its blood over it and performed drum-dance around it until dawn. Then goddess Akwama became very happy. From then on, their house stopped giving way.

**5.** SISTER'S WORSHIP

**maŋena-cokma**
**Doing sister's worship**

kubuŋo napmi sawet pi? mEndak pu sikcokpa siŋbuŋ sori mu-yuŋ-a
in the begining man buffalo cow goat bird ant tree together 3pS-live-PT
mu-bat-a u-et-a kHuncHi tukHE-ba pan-gHa mu-jEk-cHi n
3pS –speak-PT 3pS-laugh-PT their difficulty-NML matter-p 3pS-tell-REFL
tHik yEn cwat-dHara-o mEncHuma -gHa mu-jups-a-aŋ ta-mu-jEks-a-
one day water-tap –LOC woman –p 3pS-gather-PT-SEQ converse-3pS-converse-PT
ro- mu-wah-a kHuncHi tajeŋ-Niŋ l□ttHik pu-ŋa kHEps-u kHuncHi-

Prg-3pS-be-PT their conversation-DEF one bird-ERG hear-3O their
tH□k wEllEk yaŋgHek-Ni yaŋgHek r□k wah-a kHuncHi paŋ-No-ba kErEk
body all over infection-EMP infection only be-PT their house-LOC-NML all
hEnjabiccHa kapoba kapmoma tHaŋbEn mEncHE kErEk yaŋgHek-ŋa
children old man old woman youŋ man youŋ woman all infection-ERG
tukkHE cat-u-si-ba r□k mu-wah-a haŋgHa-ŋa tambHuŋ-lamba siŋ –
trouble feed-3O-3nS-NML only 3S-be-PT they-ERG forest-ABL tree
sap mu-dar-u-aŋ mu-j□ yaba samba maŋba kErEk mu-yuks-
root 3pA-briŋ-3O-SEQ 3pA-ate priest priest priest all 3pA-engage
u-si hakkHE saŋ man-nuy-a-n yaŋgHek-ŋa tukHe cat-u
3O-nsO even then NEG-recover-PT-NEG infection-ERG trouble feed-3O-
si-aŋ mu-□k-a mu-bind-a- ro mu-wah-a cwat-no ka-da-
3nsO-SEQ 3pS-cry-PT 3pS-jump-PT- Prg 3pS-be-PT water-LOC AP-come-
ma hamba mEncHuma-gHa saŋ yaŋgHek-N i yaŋghek r□k mu-g□tt-a
AP that woman-p also infection-EMP infection only 3pS-possess-PT
haŋgHa-ŋa kHuncHi yaŋgHek mu-sob-u- ro mu-bHind-u-ro mu-
they-ERG their abscess 3pA-touch-3O-Prg 3pA pinch-3O-Prg 3pS-
hab-a-ro mu-wah-a
weep-PT-Prg 3pS-be-PT
kHuncHi- pan kHEps-u-aŋ hamba pu-iŋ calik ku-luŋma syak
their- conversation hear-3O-SEQ that bird-DEF very its-heart ache
la ba napmi-gHa tukma-lam l□p-ma-si puks-a mahaŋ tagera
PT this man-p sickness-ABL takeout-INF-nsO have to-PT QUOTE tagera
niŋwabHu maŋ-No teg-a-aŋ kErEk pan-gHa tajekk- u
omniscient goddess-LOC go-PT-SEQ all information-p communicate-3O-
tagerabhuniNwabHu maŋ-ŋa ba kErEk pan-gHa kHEps-u-si-aŋ
omniscient goddess –ERG this all matter-p hear-3O-nsO-SEQ
pat-u ba napmi-gHa-ŋa s□ŋa maŋgEna iŋwa mu-bHek-chin
say-3O this man-pl –ERG brother sister vulgar 3pS-tell-REFL
pHe? mu-lan-cHin hamba-ŋa cug-u-E) yaŋgHek-ŋa tar- u
seduce 3pS-do-REFL that-ERG do-3O-3sPpst-SUB blister-ERG affect-3O-
si-ba allaŋdo maŋgEna s□ŋa iŋwa pHek-ma mu-lEc-cHin
nsO-NML now onwards sister brother vulgar tell-INF 3plA-leave-REFL
pHE?-lama mu-lEt-cHin-naŋ maŋgEna sammaŋ mu-jug-u-
seduce-INF 3pS-leave-RFFL-SEQ sister worship 3pS-do-3O-
E) mu-nu ba pan-niŋ kHEps-u-aŋ pu-iŋ napmi-lum-o
SUB 3pS-be well this matter-DEF hear-3O-SEQ bird-DEF man-middl-LOC
teg-a-aŋ lo-u-si napmi-gHa-ŋa maŋgEna-nuŋ iŋwa pHEkma
go-PT-SEQ tell-3O-nsO man-p-ERG sister-with vulgar thing tell-INF
pHE?lan –cHim-ma mu-wEt-u –aŋ maŋgEna sammaŋ cuk-ma mu-
seduce-3plA-RFL-INF 3pA-stop-3O-SEQ sister worship do-INF 3pA-
hek-u hambaŋ kHuncHi yaŋgHek saŋ nuy-a kErEk nuba
begin-3O then their blister also become well-PT all hale and
daŋba mu-buks-a
hearty 3pS-become-PT

**Translation**

maNgEna sammaN
sister's worship

In the beginning, man, buffalo, cow, goat, bird, tree etc. lived together, talked to each other and laughed with each other. They shared their sufferiŋs among themselves. One day, village women gathered around a water-tap and were talking. A bird heard their talks. All their bodies were covered by blisters. All children, old and young people suffered from this disease. They brought herbal medicine from the forest and had it, engaged shamans but they didn't get well. They were crying and jumping with pain. These women around the water-tap had also blisters all over their body. They were touching the blisters, pinching them and were weeping. The bird heard their words and his heart ached. With a view to rescuing them from the present suffering, he approached omniscient goddess and told her everything. The omniscient goddess heard everything and said, 'These people shared vulgar talks with their sisters and performed sexual acts. Therefore, they are sufferiŋ from such disease. Now onwards, if they stop sharing vulgar talks and performing sexual act with them, they will get well. Having heard these all things, the bird went down among the people and told them all the things. Then, they stopped vulgar talks and sexual performance with their sisters. They began to worship their sister as goddess. This worship is called *maŋgEna sammaŋ* 'worship of sister'. Then, all of them got well and grew hale and hearty.

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