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A GRAMMAR OF DHIMAL

BY

JOHN T. KING

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ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ABS	absolute negative
ADH	adhortative
adv	adverb
ADR	affinal kin addressee
adj	adjective
AGR	adhortative tag
ALL	allative
APR	apparentive
ASS	assertive
AUX	auxiliary
CIRC	circumlocative
CL	generic classifier
col	collective
COL	collective
COM	comitative
COM1	sequential comitative
COND	conditional
conj	conjunction
CONR	contrastive
COP	copula
d	dual
DAT	dative
DED	deductive
dem	demonstrative
dim	diminutive
DIR	directive
DIST	distal
DL	dual
DUB	dubitative

EL	elative
EMP	emphatic
EXCL	exclamative
EXT	existential
f	feminine
FOC	assertive focus
FOC1	argument/sentence focus
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
H	affininal kin
HCL	human classifier
HYP	hypothetical
HON	honorific
IM	indeterminate motion
IMPL	implicational
IMP	imperative
IMPF	imperfective
INC	inceptive
IND	individuating
INF	infinitive
IRR	irrealis
INST	instrumental
inter	interjection
INTENT	intensive
LOC	locative
m	masculine
MID	middle
MIR	mirative
n	noun
NEG	negative
NOM	nominaliser
num	numeral
OBL	oblique
p	plural
P	past
part	particle
PASS	passive
pej	pejorative
PERF	perfective
PIMPF	past imperfective
PL	plural
POL	polite

postp	postposition
PROG	progressive
pron	pronoun
PURP	purposive
OPT	optative
QUEST	question
REDUP	reduplicated morpheme
REF	reflexive
REFR	referential
REL	relinquitive/relative
s	singular
SEQ	sequential
TAG	tag
TEM	co-temporal
TOP	topic
V	vowel
V	verb
VEN	venitive
vi	intransitive verb
vm	middle verb
voc	vocative
vp	passive verb
vr	reciprocal verb
vt	transitive verb
*	reconstructed form/unattested form
[]	transcription/etymological note
<	derives from
>	becomes
< >	morpheme/allomorph
→	direction of a transitive relationship

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 *Goals*

The aim of this grammar is to provide a linguistic description of the western dialect of Dhimal as spoken in and around Āṭhiyābārī¹ village, Rājghāt, Morañ district. It consists of the grammar itself with sections on phonology, nominal and verbal morphology, and sentence and information structure. In the appendix appear texts from a variety of genres, riddles, songs, kinship terms, verb paradigms, a Dhimal-English glossary and bibliography. With this grammar, it is hoped that Dhimal will yield clues necessary to sort out the historical spread of Tibeto-Burman languages in this region. The complex Dhimal pronominal agreement system will also contribute to a better understanding of the development of pronominalisation in the family. Finally, this grammar will aid in determining the genetic relation of Dhimal to other languages in its family and reveal paths of interaction and influence among the lowland peoples of Nepal and the adjoining areas of India.

1.2 *Dhimal*

Dhimal² is a Tibeto-Burman language spoken by about 20,000 people of the same name in the lowland districts of Jhāpā and Morañ in

¹ The name Āṭhiyābārī derives from the terms āṭhiyā ‘a type of banana’ and bārī ‘garden, plantation’. The latter term is fairly common in place names throughout the area.

² The etymology of the ethnonym Dhimal is not clear. The first half may, however, be related to the verb *dhe:li* meaning ‘to split, separate’. The second half of the term stems from the morpheme *bal* meaning ‘man’ or ‘person’, which is found in many words such as *jambāl* ~ *jamal* ‘child’ and *wabal* ‘man’.

southeastern Nepal at about 26° latitude and 87°-88° longitude east. In the areas in which the Dhimal are concentrated, they constitute a minority and make up less than 10% of the local population. Dhimal can be divided into two mutually intelligible dialects separated geographically by the Kankāī or Kankāī Māī river. The western dialect is primarily spoken in about 40 villages in Morāñ and western Jhāpā districts, while the eastern dialect is only spoken in about ten villages in eastern Jhāpā and in a few communities in the adjoining areas of the Indian state of West Bengal. The speakers of the eastern dialect often refer to themselves hypocoristically as *Malik* (cf. Nepali *mālik* ‘master, owner’). The western Dhimal speakers call themselves *Dhimal* or, in the plural, *Dhemalai*, and their language *dhemalai katha*. In Nepali both they and their language are known as *Dhimālī*. Dhimal also has the distinction of being one of the few extant Tibeto-Burman speech communities indigenous to the lowlands of Nepal. The main population centres for the speakers of the western dialect lie between the towns of Belbārī and Damak on either side of the Rāj Mārg or East-West Highway and include the villages of Lālbhitti, Tārābārī, Mainabārī, Māṭṭī Gāū, Jyādā, Kārīkośī, Vayarvan, Bokre Śaniścāre, Riṅguvā, Patharī, Bākhrākholā, Āmbārī, Āṭhiyābārī, Bhusī, Sālbārī, Sunjhorā, Tinghare, Lakṣmījhar, Dhukurpānī, Kharkhare, Ḍākinī, Adiyāmahal, Bārthaghare, Jhārikhā, Rañpur, Lālḍuṅgā, Lakhanpur, Sonāpur and Jogicaman. The eastern dialect speakers are to be found primarily in Cārālī, Dhulābārī, Nakalbandā, Ḍāṇḍā Gāū, Āyābārī, Ṭoklā and Bāhunḍāngī.

Linguistically, Dhimal is related, though mutually unintelligible, to the Rai, Limbu, Newar and other Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in the hills of Nepal. Dhimals recognise these ethnolinguistic ties and consider themselves ‘younger brothers’ of their northern neighbours the Rai and Limbu, though this is more likely a result of their weak sociopolitical standing in comparison to the Kiranti-speaking hill groups than from any direct shared descent. Culturally and linguistically, Dhimals have been more heavily influenced by and feel more akin to neighbouring lowland indigenous groups such as the Northern Bengali-speaking Rajbangsi to the east and the Dehati Maithili-speaking Tharu to the west. Close economic and social ties,

along with a shared distrust of the hill people, have ensured that these bonds continue.

The socio-economic interaction between the Dhimal on the one hand and the Tharu and Rajbangsi on the other has resulted in the borrowing of a great many words from Indo-Aryan languages, including an older stratum of Maithili (Tharu) and Bengali (Rajbangsi) loans, and more recently a stratum of Nepali, replete with Sanskrit, Perso-Arabic and English loan words. While these loans provide valuable insights into paths of cultural influence, at the same time they displace native Tibeto-Burman morphemes and reduce the available material upon which genetic relationships might be extrapolated. Perhaps not surprisingly, Dhimal has not borrowed from the Kiranti languages spoken just to the north in the Himalayan foothills. The Nepali lowlands were an epidemiological nightmare for the people based in the hills. Malaria and other deadly ailments were rife in the areas the Dhimal have called home for millennia. Consequently, contacts between the two groups were limited and only since the 1950s with massive immigration from the hills to the lowlands has there been intimate contact between the two groups.³ The Nepali loans probably date only to this period when large numbers of hill dwellers migrated to the sparsely populated lowlands. Aside from loans from Indo-Aryan languages, Dhimal does not appear to have borrowed much from Austroasiatic. It is unlikely that the Austroasiatic-speaking Santal have had much effect on Dhimal since they have only lived in southeastern Nepal since the early part of the 20th century. Lastly, the question of possible influence by the Kichak, the Gangai, or other groups that once inhabited the area but have now all but disappeared remains.

There are two things linguists are in agreement about regarding Dhimal: the first is that Dhimal is a Tibeto-Burman language and the second is that the only widely accepted grouping within Tibeto-Burman is with the poorly documented Ṭoṭo spoken in northern West Bengal—less than 100 kilometres from speakers of the

³ One important interaction between the Dhimal and the Kiranti-speaking groups to the north involves the exchange of goods. Dhimal women purchase the bamboo reeds for their looms from these groups. How long this economic exchange has been going on is not known.

eastern dialect of Dhimial. While Dhimial and Ṭoṭo are closely related, they remain distinct languages. This subgroup, Dhimial-Ṭoṭo or Dhimialish, shows apparent similarities to both the Bodic group and to groups spoken in northeastern India. This has confounded attempts at placement within a wider grouping. With little evidence to go on, scholars have proposed a variety of ultimately unsatisfying genetic classifications.

Brian Hodgson, a prolific scholar and civil servant of the British Empire in Kathmandu and Darjeeling during the 19th century, was the first to investigate and publish an account of Dhimial (1859/1880). He noted lexical similarities between Dhimial and Tibetan (p. 82) and grouped Dhimial in with his pronominalised languages (p. 105), on the mistaken belief that agreement morphology constituted an important criterion for genetic classification. Grierson and Konow (1903-28), whose data for Dhimial come directly from Hodgson's sketch, note that Dhimial was formerly considered to belong to the Bodo-Koch group, though 'its vocabulary, and much more especially the forms of the numerals and pronouns, however, show a much closer affinity to the Himalayan dialects.' Based on the agreement morphology, they state vehemently that Dhimial should be 'dealt with in connection with the pronominalised dialects of Nepal', i.e. Kiranti. These authors also compare Dhimial with Thami as being 'a dialect of the same description', though on what basis is unclear. Robert Shafer (1966) groups Dhimial tentatively with the unclassified Bodic languages, stating that it may be 'of Burmic [origin], certainly not of Baric' (p. 3). In Shafer's brief consideration of Dhimial, he notes only that Dhimialish vowels correspond more to Classical Tibetan than to written Burmese, but that it also has strong lexical ties to Kuki-Chin. Seemingly in despair, he states that 'Dhimialish has ties in so many directions that, although it is vocally similar to Old Bodish, it does not show a clear relationship with any larger group' and concludes that 'it seems premature to attempt to assign Dhimialish to a division of the Sino-Tibetan family' (p. 168). Paul Benedict (1972) places it without justification in Abor-Miri-Dafla (Tani), though 'further from the nucleus'. Jackson T. Sun (1993), on the other hand, compared his reconstructed Proto-Tani forms with Dhimial-Ṭoṭo and determined

that the two groups are not closely related. Ruhlen (1987) classifies Dhimal (along with Ṭoṭo) as a subgroup under Bodic, or as he terms it, Tibetic. And most recently, George van Driem (2001) has presented evidence for a wider grouping with the Bodo-Koch, Konyak-Nocte and Jinghpaw-Sak languages, which he calls Brahmaputran.

1.3 *The Dhimal environment*

The Dhimal inhabit the rich alluvial lowlands known as the Tarai or Terai (Nep. *Tarāī*), between the Kośī and Tista rivers, adjacent to the Siwalik (Nep. *Śivālik*) foothills of the Himalayas, the start of which form the northern border of Dhimal settlements. This area is classified as tropical and averages about 150 metres above sea level. The area receives an average yearly rainfall of 250 centimeters, the bulk of which falls during the monsoon months of June, July and August. Until recently, the dominant ecosystems of the area were the riverine grasslands and Sal forests in the low-lying areas along the numerous rivers that flow down from the Siwaliks.

The Tarai has three distinct seasons: winter, pre-monsoon and monsoon. Winter begins in mid-October and lasts until mid-February, when temperatures range from lows of 5° C at night to highs of 25° C in the day. Rainfall is scarce at this time. In the pre-monsoon, which begins in late February and lasts until mid-June, daytime highs reach 36° C with nighttime temperatures rarely dropping below 20° C. Strong winds from the southwest kick up dust and dirt, bringing violent thunderstorms that become more frequent as the monsoon approaches. These storms are sometimes accompanied by hail, causing crop and house damage. With the onset of the monsoon in June, the temperature becomes more bearable, though the humidity brought on by almost daily rains creates a sultry atmosphere. Rivers and streams swell incredibly during this time.

The forests and grasslands of the upper reaches of the Gangetic plain were home until recently to a rich diversity of plant and animal life. Many of the creatures were hunted by the Dhimal, who employed a medium-sized breed of dog to track and corner game. Traps, nets

and slingshots were also used to catch birds, fish and other small animals. Natural areas around villages provided building materials, edible fruits and plants, and traditional medicinal herbs. Due to the felling of the forests and their subsequent conversion to farmland, most of the larger creatures have disappeared. The remaining fragments of forest are heavily exploited by surrounding villagers, resulting in both the loss of habitat and the reduction of wild populations. Along with the loss of wilderness goes a wealth of traditional knowledge that the Dhimal have accumulated throughout the millennia about the area and its resources.

The larger mammals once inhabiting this region were the Asian Elephant (*Elephas maximus*), the greater one-horned rhinoceros (*Rhinoceros unicornis*), wild boar (*Sus scrofa*) and the sloth bear (*Melursus ursinus*). The primary predators were the Royal Bengal tiger (*Panthera tigris tigris*) and the common leopard (*Panthera pardus*), though several other small felines and canines occurred. In the rich grasslands and forests, many type of deer abounded such as the sambar (*Cervus unicolor*), the chital (*Axis axis*), the hog deer (*Axis porcinus*) and the barking deer (*Muntiacus muntjak*). The common langur (*Presbytis entellus*) and the rhesus monkey (*Macaca mulatta*) are the only common primates native to the area. Important reptiles included the marsh mugger (*Crocodylus palustris*), the Indian monitor (*Varanus bengalensis*), the Indian python (*Python mourus*) and the common cobra (*Naja naja*), along with numerous types of soft and hard-shelled turtles. Other important fauna are the large fruit bat (*Pteropus giganteus*), the giant hornbill (*Buceros bicornis*), the red jungle fowl (*Gallus gallus*), the common peafowl (*Pavo cristatus*), not to mention vultures, kites, storks, parakeets, doves and many other kinds of birds.

1.4 Material culture

The Dhimal traditionally constructed pile dwellings of rough timber with mud-covered wattle walls and thatched rooves. These were primarily one room structures with a sleeping area and a cooking area raised above the ground three to five feet. The buildings had no

windows, but were decorated with stylised and natural representations of flowers, birds and animals. Naturally occurring soil types of different colours were used to highlight these decorations. The walls were made up of saccarum grass between a frame, or more recently woven bamboo, covered in a plaster. The houses open on the east to a covered porch, where most socialising and many household activities take place. This area may take up more than a third of the floor space beneath the roof. The porch is reached by an overturned mortar, an upturned post set into the ground, or if higher up, by steps hewn roughly into a log. The shallow-pitched roof is thatched with saccarum grass gathered from river banks. Rafters act as a repository to store combs, razor blades, pencils, jute and other small and narrow objects. Houses are generally built in clusters of related families to form villages of anywhere from five to fifty homes. Nowadays, house builders are more likely to follow the local Nepali style or current South Asian fashion.

Most traditional artefacts were made from wood, grasses, dried gourds, jute, cane and bamboo. Surprisingly, bamboo does not appear to figure importantly in the manufacture of household goods. The few bamboo items, such as the frames for fishing nets, basket containers and shoulder poles appear to be borrowed technology. In spite of the availability of cheap mass-produced goods, many traditional items continue to be produced, due in part to poor financial conditions.

Weaving is an important activity engaged in by women during the winter months. Cloth is woven in archaic pit looms that are still used in parts of Assam and Bengal. Young women weave cloth for themselves, their families, for use as wedding gifts and to earn money by selling to Tharu women. Pit looms are traditionally constructed under the house where the weaver is protected from the elements. During the dry winter season, the rhythmic *clank clank* of multiple heddles smacking into cloth and the clatter of the wooden *nambiri* pervade the village. The cloth is woven into strips approximately 2½ feet wide by fifteen feet long, one edge of which is then sewn together and cut in half to produce a wrap that is seven to eight feet long by five feet wide. Historically, the Dhimal may have employed fibre from the silk cotton tree or grown cotton to spin thread, which

was then dyed with locally available plant and mineral dyes. Nowadays, all thread is bought pre-dyed in the market. Many women still soak the black thread in an indigo bath in an iron container to generate a rich lustrous blue-black colour. In 1989, women were still travelling to Haraicha to purchase thread. This town, which is one of the oldest market towns in the eastern Tarai, is also where they sell their cloth to Tharu women, who fashion this plaid material into calf-length or ankle-length skirts worn under the *acara* or Morangiya Tharu-style sari (blues are more popular with the older Tharu women and reds are more favoured by younger women).

The *boṇa* or female garment is an important piece of social identity in Dhimal society. Although some younger women now eschew it in favour of the modern South Asian panjabi or sari, many women and young girls continue to wear this traditional garment. This wrap covers a woman from her breasts to below her knees and is also traditionally worn by Rajbangsi and Bodo women. The *boṇa* comes in five distinct styles: *itaṅgi*, *samuthi*, *pataloi*, *kucini* and the most popular, *da:boṇa* or 'black *boṇa*'. Most styles employ a black background with red, orange or purple stripes as accent. Among older women and eastern Dhimals, the *kucini boṇa*, which is produced by Hindu or Muslim weavers, is favoured. The term *kucini* derives from *koce* 'Rajbangsi', and indeed, this style is commonly worn by Rajbangsi women. I have seen one Dhimal piece that had been handed down to an old woman by her mother, which was unlike any I have seen and consisted of a distinct pattern of hand-dyed and spun thread. The handwoven *dhabaṇ* cloth are invariably plaid and typically consist of two to three colours, though a weaver using up extra spools of thread may create a piece with every colour of the rainbow.

All precious jewellery worn by Dhimal women is produced by artisanal-caste Hindus, the *Viśvakarmā* or *Sunār*, who also inhabit their villages and often speak Dhimal. Consequently, many of the styles may be found in neighbouring groups, such as nose pins (*nakamundi*), ear tops (*nadoi*), earrings (*kundol*), neck torques (*hāsuli*), armlets (*thoka*), and ankle torques (*koli*) and chains (*poiri*). Ornaments worn above the neck were typically made of gold and

those below were of silver. Jewellery fashions have changed recently in regard to popular styles and, as is the case with clothing and hair styles, have undoubtedly done so for some time. Consequently, certain styles are more in vogue than others at any given time and location. For example, I have noticed young Dhimal women living near Tharu villages sporting the currently fashionable Tharu earring style.

Tattooing or *co:ka* was widespread among the older generation of women who often have tattoos extending from the knuckles to the shoulder. Compared to neighbouring groups such as the Tharu, however, who often sport tattoos on their shoulders, chest, back and ankles, this art was less well developed among the Dhimal. The tattoo artists were caste Hindu or Muslim women who wandered from village to village offering their services. Designs represented stylised images of plants and animals, though geometric designs also figured prominently. The tradition of body decoration has recently become moribund, with the last generation of young women to undergo this painful ordeal in the early 1980s. This tradition has died out due to changing fashions, which now view tattoos as uncouth 'savage' traditions, though the pain involved in the process may have been an important contributor.

Hair styles or *khopa* worn by Dhimal women include the *lor khopa*, *lotoŋ khopa*, *saitar khopa*, *binda khopa* and *jali khopa*. Traditionally, women do not wear their hair down loosely or in pigtail fashion as do the hill people, nor do they part their hair as do the plains dwellers. Instead, the hair is combed back and fashioned into a knot. In contrast to most Nepalis, they also dress their hair and skin with coconut oil rather than with mustard oil. In common with other groups in the area, they also wear flowers and scented leaves in their hair. The *lotoŋ khopa*, which is the most festive and elegant coif, represents a style popular among the Tharu, the Rajbangsi, and all the way to eastern Assam among the Nocte. This indicates that fashions popular in the Brahmaputran valley spread as far west as southeastern Nepal and is one factor among many suggesting a widespread subregional Tibeto-Burman culture.

1.5 Cosmology

The supernatural world of the Dhimal abounds with deities or *dir*, including a household deity or *sali beraṇ* and various clan and village deities. The deities worshipped by the *later* clan during the harvest celebration for example, include *lāsami beraṇ*, *tisti mai*, *cāudhari maharaj*, *buḍha ṭhakur*, *mi-besa*, *parbati* and the hunting deities or *jauharahagelai*. These deities typify the nature of the Dhimal pantheon, which is a mix of traditional deities (river, hunting and elemental) and borrowed Hindu ones in varying states of Dhimal dress (for example, the Hindu goddess Lakṣmī appears as an old woman).

Aside from the household goddess, the deities are worshipped only during ceremonies or illness, though Dhimal women are not permitted to cross the Kānkāī river without performing a sacrifice. Worship takes the form of offerings of animal sacrifice, liquor, tobacco, rice and incense. All deities favour specific animals for sacrifice, such as a red hen for *buḍha ṭhakur*. In addition, all sacrificial animals must willingly submit by shaking the head in acknowledgement. Should the animal prove uncooperative, consent is coaxed from it by pouring water onto its head or into the ear, which elicits the required response. Decapitation is the only acceptable method to dispatch the offering.

Construction of altars is fairly simple. The altar of the house goddess *sali beraṇ* consists of three small mounds of clay in the corner of the house. Clan deities are worshipped at small makeshift altars constructed from a small lump of clay, an oil lamp resting on a banana leaf, some rice, red powder and incense. The village of Āṭhiyābārī has a small *than* or temple beside a pipal and a silk cotton tree. While most worship occurs within the village, some Dhimal travel to Dharān to worship at the hilltop temple of Buḍhā Ṭhakur, which is an inter-communal temple frequented by lowlander and highlander alike. And nowadays, they also visit both Buddhist and Hindu temples in Kathmandu.

More pervasive in every day life are the feared female evil spirits or *mhaigelai*. These nocturnal ghouls attack men, causing them to

become ill and die. Many people fear to travel alone after dusk due to the predatory nature of these malevolent spirits.

Intermediaries between the natural and supernatural worlds in Dhimal society are the *ojha* and the *dhami*. They read and interpret signs, determine the afflicting deities or spirits, and then recommend a suitable remedy, usually a sacrifice to which he is then entitled. The type of sacrifice corresponds to the severity of the problem and the socio-economic status of the family.

The two principle holiday celebrations are *sirijat* or *asare puja*, which takes place at the onset of the monsoon and *parba*, a harvest celebration that coincides with the Hindu holiday *tihar*. During the summer monsoon months, important fairs such as the *bengana bazar* and *danḍaṅge bazar* take place, providing a venue for young men and women to meet and court. Other holidays include the more recently adopted *phaguwa* or *holi*, a Hindu celebration loved by the young and mischievous, involving the throwing of coloured powder and water.

1.6 Socioculture

Anthropologist Rishikeshab (Rṣikeśav Rāj Regmī) is the only investigator to look at Dhimal culture (1985, 1991). Broadly speaking, the Dhimal are traditionally organised around thirteen or so patrilineal exogamous clans. Each of these clans has distinct origin stories and figures, and deities and rituals. The clan system appears to have been somewhat flexible, so that for instance, it permitted the incorporation of new clans and sub-clans to allow the offspring from unsanctioned couplings a way into the system. Regmi identified thirteen clans and eleven subclans in the Damak area: *leṅwan* or *lemban*, *tharu*, *talipa* (with three subclans: *talipa*, *baṅmali* and *colmali*), *later*, *kaser* or *kasar*, *diṅ* (with two subclans: *diṅ* and *raḍ diṅ*), *tegre*, *rathum*, *nuniya*, *hardiya*, *doṅge* (with six subclans: *raḍ doṅge*, *diṅ doṅge*, *simal doṅge*, *lasami doṅge*, *nuniya doṅge* and *hardiya doṅge*), *baṅgalaiti*, *jogi* and *motari*.

As is apparent from the large number of subclans, the *doṅge* clan is the largest. The names of several clans show important influences on the Dhimal system. Many clan and subclan names are of

Indo-Aryan origin, while one is the name of a neighbouring ethnic group. Also, the use of the subclan qualifier *raj*, from the Indo-Aryan word meaning ‘king’, suggests some latent social stratification among the clans. Recently, some young Dhimals have begun adopting their clan name in place of the more common ethnonymic last name.

Subordinate to, yet at the same time parallel with the clan system, is the sanguineal and consanguineal kinship systems. Families are typically made up of a man, a woman and their children, but may also contain an elderly parent, married children and grandchildren, or two wives. Most of the terms for father’s and mother’s younger siblings are Indo-Aryan loans, as is the case with the term for elder brother. For younger siblings, the Dhimal term *one* makes no sex distinction, while the term for mother’s and father’s elder siblings *boi* also makes no sex distinction. A list of the kinship terms is provided at the end of this grammar.

Descent is traced through the male line, and since exogamy is the rule, women are exchanged between clans. For the privilege of marrying a woman, a man and his family must pay a bride price and make certain ritual exchanges. These exchanges and the concomittant ties that they engender strengthen the community bond by fostering ties outside one’s group, and often outside one’s village. Marriages are looked upon as one of the most important ways to uphold or, better yet, to improve the family’s socio-economic standing. This is done through social or material resources afforded by the affinal relations. The relationship between in-laws is important enough to receive linguistic coding in the form of distinct agreement markers in the affinal kin register.

The broader multi-ethnic society in southeastern Nepal is divided on the one side between caste Hindus such as the Newar and the Brahmin (Bāhun) and Kṣatriya (Chetrī) who control most of the wealth and power in Nepal and the indigenous groups such as the Tharu, Magar and Limbu, to which side the Dhimal fall. On the other hand, there is a dichotomy between the hill dwellers and the lowlanders. In this cleavage, the Dhimal do not fall into the same category as the Magar and Limbu, who now are classified with the caste Hindus. This dichotomy between the self-identified simple,

honest *ādivāsi* or ‘indigenous inhabitant’ and the unscrupulous caste Hindu on the one hand, and the simple, honest lowlander and the unscrupulous hill dweller on the other is important for understanding the ways Dhimals view themselves in the broader society. Many Dhimals feel themselves to be on the losing side of history as both an indigenous group and as lowlanders. Paradoxically, many Dhimals have internalised the dominant Hindu orthodoxy regarding caste position and pollution which they abhor when it is applied to themselves. While they reject a system in which they are fated to play an inferior role to other groups, many Dhimals at the same time refuse food cooked by someone from the goldsmith caste, whom they believe to be polluting.

A special mention must be made of the role that alcohol plays in Dhimal society, where it is present at all important functions, including weddings, funerals, holidays and indeed virtually any type of social activity for men. Alcohol comes in the form of *bhātiya* ‘rice beer’ or its sweet and fruity by-product *nigar*, *ghyansiṅ* ‘a type of strong alcohol’ and *gora* ‘distilled alcohol’. Some form of alcohol is virtually mandatory for the arrival of guests, along with other stimulants such as tobacco, cigarettes and areca nut. Rice beer mash may even be given to small children and babies in small amounts. Not only does alcohol lube the wheels of society, but it also plays an important role in income generation for women.

Traditionally, during the winter months in the chill evenings, men would sit around a fire and tell tales. Some were remembered escapades or folk tales that were handed down through the generations, while others such as episodes from the Hindu epic the *Rāmāyāṇa* were learnt from their neighbours. Several of these tales are included as texts at the end of this grammar.

Little is known about the musical instruments once used by the Dhimals. Some of the instruments include the mouth harp or *gumana*, large drum or *dhol*, the *saraṅgi*, a fiddle or *urni*, a type of drum known as *tertere*, *sanaī*, and an instrument called a *tunjai*, which is apparently similar in appearance to a cane washboard. Except for the *dhol*, musical instruments and musicians to play them are rare.

1.7 Political history

For the greater part of their history, the Dhimal appear to have lived in small autonomous village communities that moved about as the land became exhausted. As communities grew they subdivided, either due to fractious divisions that may arise between groups or simply due to opportunities that were perceived by one group in another area. These communities were governed by a village headman and a council of senior men. While there is no strong evidence for any larger political groupings among the Dhimal, recent changes in Nepali society have occasioned a search for a 'glorious past'. Within the past couple of years, Dhimals have begun championing the notion of an ancient capital in the town of Leṭāñ, which lies at the base of the Siwalik hills in Morañ. Just outside of this small town, a pair of purported ancient water tanks have been found, which are now called *rājā-rāñī pokharī* 'the king and queen ponds' in the belief that they symbolise the royal water tanks of a local polity. As evidence to support the claim of a Dhimal origin, Dhimals cite the term *letañ*, which in Dhimal means 'below, at the base'. When I last visited this town in the early 1990s, however, it consisted largely of people of hill origin, presumably Rai and Limbu. To my knowledge, no archaeological investigation has been conducted at this site, though I have not been there since these claims have been raised.

Dhimal territory has been fought over and switched hands for centuries, although for the greater part of their history they have remained outside of, or at least peripheral to the great empires of the plains. Indian chronicles mention the lands west of the Tista river (Dhimal territory) as forming the western border of the Kāmarūpa kingdom in Assam from the 1st century AD to the 12th. From the 15th to the 17th century, the Koch empire, with its capital at Cooch Behar in modern northern West Bengal, included southeastern Nepal in its borders, along with a good portion of Assam and Bangladesh (Hodgson 1880, 107). In 1661, the Koch kingdom was crushed by the Mughals and forced to become a tributary state (Schwartzberg 1978, 46). With the weakening of the Koch, the regional hill powers began jockeying for control of the valuable lowlands. Both the Sikkimese

and the Sen kings, with their capital at Vijaypur or ‘Bijapoor’ in the lower hills of eastern Nepal, appear to have taken control of these lowland plains. Their reign was short lived, however. Setting their sights on the rich soils and dense hardwood forests of Morañ, the Gorkhas advanced on the Sen kings and conquered Vijaypur in 1774 (Stiller 1973: 122-23, 137), annexing its territories to the newly unified Kingdom of Nepal. Dhimal settlements at that time may have extended up to the Kośī river, but the inhabitants of these villages fled eastward as a result of the Gorkha onslaught.

Although the Dhimal inhabited areas that were marginal to the great power centres of the subcontinent, they were far from isolated. The two groups that the Dhimal have been most in contact with historically have been the Tharu (Thāru) and the Rajbangsi (Rājvaṁśī ‘of royal descent’), through whom various Indo-Aryan loans and Hindu culturo-religious memes have come. While the Rajbangsi are widely believed to have spoken a Tibeto-Burman language, viz. Koch, the original language of the Tharu is unknown. It may have been Tibeto-Burman (possibly Western Tibeto-Burman) or it may have represented another outpost of the far-flung Austroasiatic languages, either Munda or Mon-Khmer. Unfortunately, little to no work has been done on the Tharu languages. However, judging by the lack of a clear pattern of borrowing from Bodo-Koch, the ancestors of the Dhimal and Rajbangsi were not in as intimate contact as has been the case in the historical period. Intimate contact may only date back to the rise of the Koch during the 16th century when the shift to Bengali was well underway. The Dhimal term for the Rajbangsi is *kamalai*, which may reflect the name of their old capitol Kāmatā. Contacts with the Tharu, at least for speakers of the western dialect, on the other hand, involve religious and other socio-economic ties, and likely goes farther back.

Until the middle of the 20th century, the Tarai was considered a frontier region — unhealthy, dangerous and inhabitable only by indigenous groups. It was integrated into the Nepali state neither economically nor socially (Gage 1975). The only markets in the area were the Koch bazaars in Bhadrapur, Jhāpā and Raṅgeli, Morañ. Hodgson reports that at that time, Dhimals produced most of what

they needed and traded or bartered for items which they could not produce, such as metal pots and pans, iron agricultural implements and jewellery. Only with the eradication of malaria in the early 1950s did they lose their largely autonomous existence. Since then, massive immigration of people from the hills and felling of the vast Sal forests have turned the Dhimal into a 'backward' minority group. In the process, they have lost much of their original land and are nowadays forced to seek work in Kathmandu, India or even the Gulf States. These socio-economic stresses have put great pressure on Dhimal cultural traditions.

1.8 Linguistic and cultural preservation

Dhimal is an endangered language with the eastern dialect facing the greatest pressures. Much of the preceding sections details a traditional existence for the Dhimal that probably continued for scores of generations. That world, however, is becoming an increasingly distant memory as Dhimals find themselves players in a new rough and tumble socio-economic environment. The traditional culture, to which the language is closely tied, is being torn apart at a rapid pace as Dhimals find themselves thrust into a cash economy without skills or a land base. Dhimals are marrying non-Dhimals, while others are only teaching their children to speak Nepali. Some individuals and families are adopting the dominant hill culture to the point of complete linguistic assimilation. Things are changing at such a pace that it is difficult to imagine this language being spoken after more than a generation or two, unless a concerted effort is made in that direction. While the prospects for long-term survival of the language look bleak, there is reason for hope.

Since the advent of democracy in 1990, Dhimals have joined the struggle for linguistic and cultural equality along with other indigenous groups of Nepal. Leaders in the Dhimal community have become concerned about maintaining a distinct identity which is daily being eroded by poverty and the homogenising forces of the national culture. In 1993 the Dhimal People's Development Centre in Damak, Jhāpā was formed to champion the socio-economic betterment of

Dhimals. In 2001, a parcel of government land near the town of Mañlabāri was awarded to this organisation to build a centre. This organisation, which lays claim to represent the concerns of Dhimals as an ethnolinguistic group within the Nepali state, has made efforts to promote Dhimāl culture and language. For instance, this group has championed the use of the ‘traditional’ Dhimāl greeting *seu paka* over the Indic *namaste*.⁴

Recently, works have been appearing in the Dhimāl language. The Dhimāl Literature Service Publishing, based in Ḍuhubī, Sunsarī district, has published several short stories dealing with the socio-economic problems facing Dhimāl society and also works of poetry using the Devanāgarī script. Still, not all of these publications have been whole-heartedly accepted by the Dhimāl community due to the authors’ often heavy-handed use of Sanskrit-based loanwords, which even an uneducated native Nepali speaker would have difficulty understanding. In 2000, a group of Dhimals were in the process of compiling a Dhimāl-Nepali-English dictionary encompassing both the eastern and western dialect. While a standardised orthography has yet to be decided upon, many writers adhere to certain conventions regarding phonological distinctions not made by Devanāgarī.

In the field of entertainment, Dhimals are also recording traditional songs, which I have heard played at weddings, though generally music from the latest Hindi blockbuster is more often to be heard. New songs in the Dhimāl language are also being written, albeit in an Indian or Nepali style. The old dances, which most people do not know, are also being revived and performed on special occasions.

⁴ Note that the Dhimāl term *seu* itself derives from the Indo-Aryan word *sevā* ‘service’. Compare also Dhimāl *pareu* ‘pigeon’ from the Indo-Aryan *parevā*.

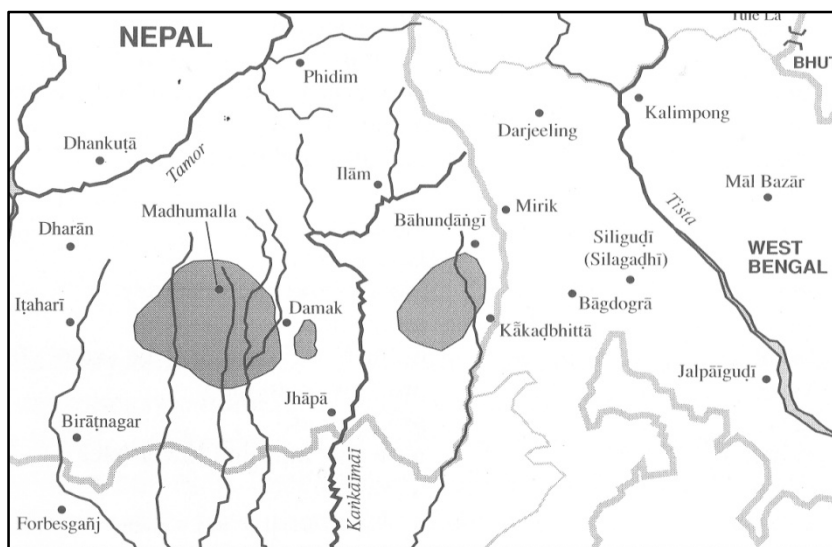


Plate 1 Dhimial homeland
 (reproduced from: G.L. van Driem, 2001, *Languages of the Himalayas*,
 Leiden: Brill, p. 563)



Plate 2 Young girl with sieve



Plate 3 Āṭhiyābārī quartet in mustard field

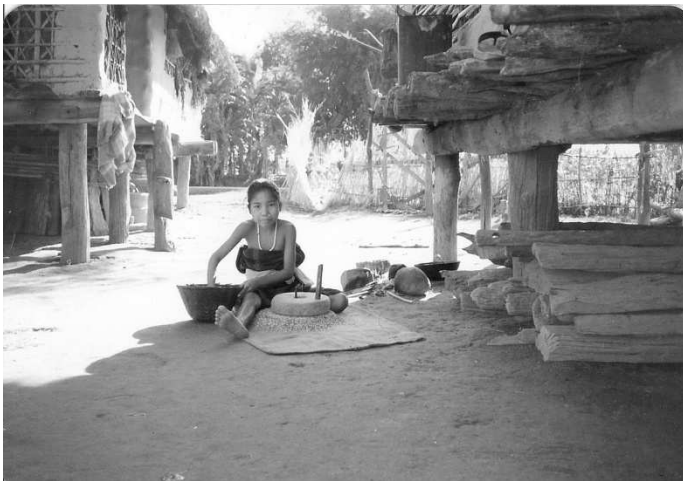


Plate 4 Young girl grinding lentils



Plate 5 Woman smoking a cigarette

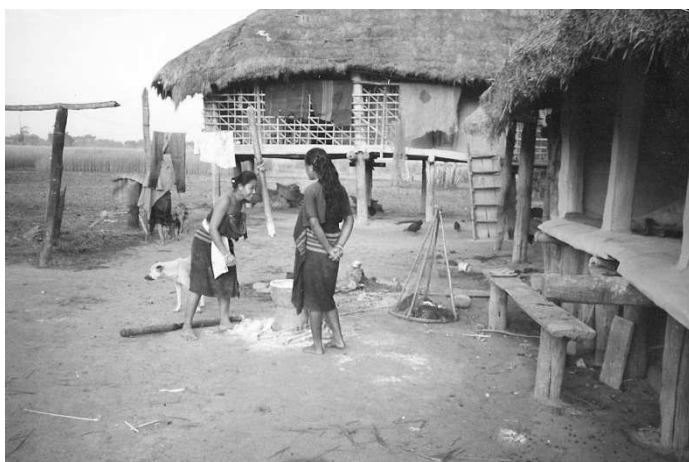


Plate 6 Young women grinding rice at dawn



Plate 7 Creating the warp

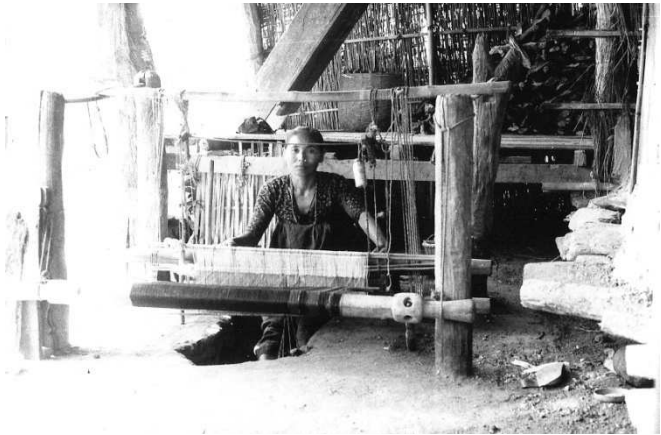


Plate 8 Woman weaving on a pit loom



Plate 9 Man preparing for sacrifices during parba celebration



Plate 10 Young men celebrating during phaguwa



Plate 11 Groom's party setting out for the bride's village



Plate 12 Taking a break from food preparation at a wedding



Plate 13 Ritual exchange outside the bride's village



Plate 14 Bride with helper circumambulating the groom

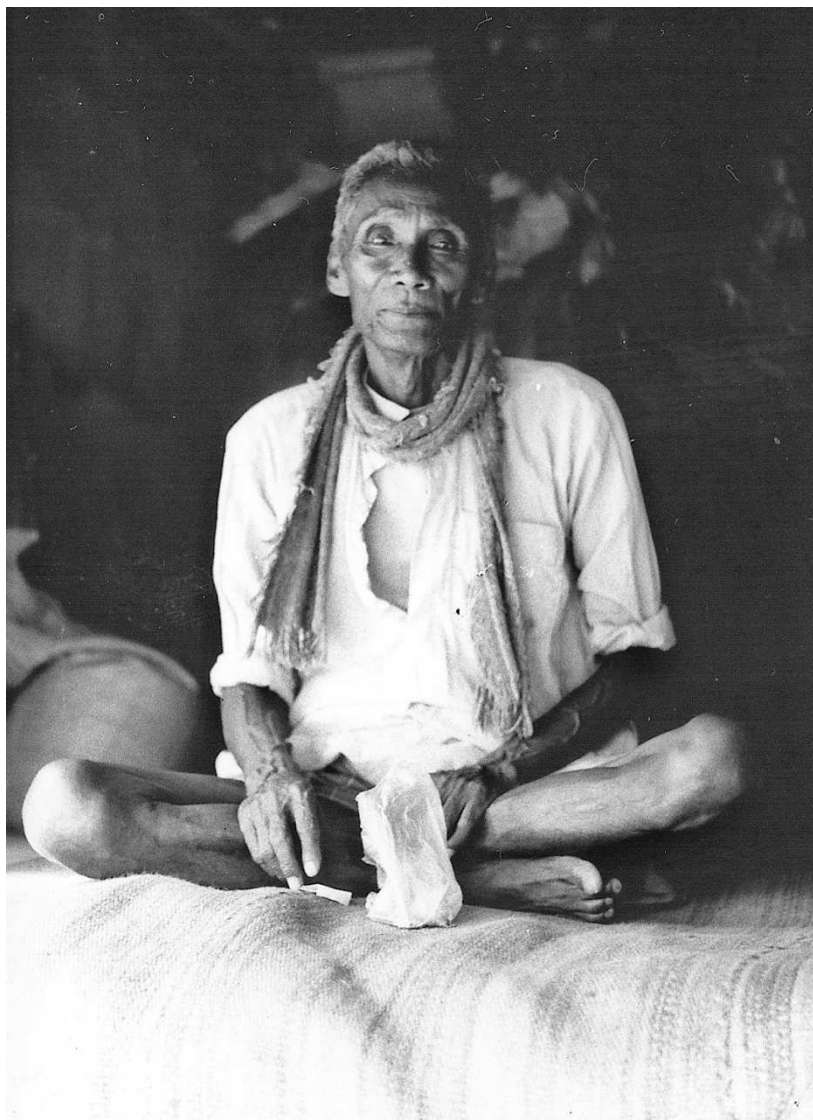


Plate 15 Elderly man rolling a cigarette

CHAPTER TWO

PHONOLOGY

2.1 Consonants

Dhimal has a rich array of consonant phonemes (31) with five places of articulation being distinguished: bilabial, alveolar, palatal, velar and glottal. In phonation, two sets of distinctions are made: voiced and breathy, and voiceless and aspirated voiceless. Diagram 1 lists the inventory of phonemic oppositions in consonants.

<i>b</i>	<i>bh</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>ph</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>mh</i>		<i>w</i>	<i>wh</i>				
<i>d</i>	<i>dh</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>th</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>nh</i>					<i>r</i>	<i>rh</i>	<i>l</i> <i>lh</i>
<i>j</i>	<i>jh</i>	<i>c</i>					<i>s</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>yh</i>			
<i>g</i>	<i>gh</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>kh</i>	<i>ŋ</i>								
		ʔ					<i>h</i>					

Diagram 1 Consonant phonemes

2.1.1 Phonetic description of Dhimal phonemes and allophones

The following table provides a phonetic description of the Dhimal phonemes and prominent allophones.

Native consonant phonemes

/b/	voiced bilabial plosive	[b]
	intervocalically: voiced bilabial fricative	[β]
	e.g. <i>bebal</i> [bebal ~ beβal], <i>wabal</i> [wabal ~ waβal]	

/bh/	breathy bilabial plosive intervocally: breathy bilabial fricative e.g. <i>lekharabhari</i> [lexaraʙari]	[b ^h] [β]
/p/	unaspirated voiceless bilabial plosive	[p]
/ph/	aspirated voiceless bilabial plosive intervocally: voiceless labial fricative or voiced glottal fricative e.g. <i>dopha</i> [doΦa] ~ [dofa]	[p ^h] [Φ] [ɦ]
/d/	voiced apico-alveolar plosive	[d]
/dh/	breathy apico-alveolar plosive	[d ^h]
/t/	unaspirated voiceless apico-alveolar plosive	[t]
/th/	aspirated voiceless apico-alveolar plosive	[t ^h]
/g/	voiced dorso-velar plosive	[g]
/gh/	breathy dorso-velar plosive	[g ^h]
/k/	unaspirated voiceless dorso-velar plosive	[k]
/kh/	aspirated voiceless dorso-velar plosive intervocally and prevocally before front vowel: aspirated voiceless dorso-velar fricative e.g. <i>cakhe</i> [caxe]; <i>lekhara</i> [lexara]	[k ^h] [x]
/ʔ /	unreleased glottal stop	[ʔ]
/j/	unaspirated voiced lamino-alveolar affricate	[dz]
/jh/	breathy lamino-alveolar affricate	[dz ^h]

/c/	unaspirated voiceless lamino-alveolar affricate	[tɕ]
/s/	voiceless lamino-alveolar fricative	[s]
	before a fronted vowel: voiceless	
	lamino-postalveolar fricative	[ɕ]
	may alternate with voiced glottal fricative	[ɦ]
	e.g. <i>asa</i> [asa ~ aɦa]; <i>baʔsar</i> [baʔsar ~ baʔɦar]	
/h/	voiced glottal fricative	[ɦ]
	may be realised as breathy voice	
	on a following vowel	
/m/	voiced bilabial nasal	[m]
/mh/	breathy bilabial nasal	[m̥]
/n/	voiced apico-alveolar nasal	[n]
/nh/	breathy apico-alveolar nasal	[n̥]
/ŋ/	voiced velar nasal	[ŋ]
	intervocally: voiced apico-alveolar nasal	[n]
/l/	voiced apico-alveolar lateral approximant	[l]
/lh/	breathy apico-alveolar lateral approximant	[l̥]
/r/	voiced apico-alveolar flap	[ɾ]
/rh/	breathy apico-alveolar flap	[ɾ̥]
/w/	voiced median bilabial-velar approximant	[w]
/wh/	breathy median bilabial-velar approximant	[w̥]

/y/	voiced median palatal approximant	[j]
/yh/	breathy median palatal approximant	[j ^h]

Loan consonant phonemes

The following phonemes occur only in words borrowed from Indo-Aryan languages such as Maithili, Bengali or Nepali. Depending on an individual's age, educational level and familiarity with these languages, these phonemes may be realised as either their Indo-Aryan counterparts or as the nearest Dhimal equivalent, viz. alveolar placement rather than retroflex.

/ɖ/	voiced retroflex	[ɖ]
	voiced apico-alveolar plosive	[d]
/ɖh/	breathy retroflex	[ɖ ^h]
	breathy apico-alveolar plosive	[d ^h]
/ɽ/	unaspirated voiceless retroflex	[ɽ]
	unaspirated voiceless apico-alveolar plosive	[t]
/ɽh/	aspirated voiceless retroflex	[ɽ ^h]
	aspirated voiceless apico-alveolar plosive	[t ^h]
/tʃ/	aspirated voiceless lamino-alveolar affricate	[tʃ ^h]
	voiceless lamino-alveolar fricative	[ʃ]
/ɳ/	voiced retroflex nasal	[ɳ]
	voiced apico-alveolar nasal	[n]
/ɾ/	retroflex flap	[ɾ]
	voiced apico-alveolar flap	[r]
/ʂ/	voiceless lamino-postalveolar fricative	[ʂ]
	voiceless lamino-alveolar fricative	[s]

2.1.2 *Distinctiveness of consonant phonemes*

One of the more striking features of the Dhimial phonemic system is the number of breathy phonemes, which include not only stops, but also nasals, laterals, flaps and glides.¹ Systemically, breathy voice may be considered the voiced oppositional equivalent of aspiration for voiceless phonemes. The fact that breathy voice is so well represented is due in large part to conditioning factors caused by former initials or prefixes, which also accounts for its restriction to syllable-initial position. Breathiness is characterised by loose vocal chords, which results in random energy scattered throughout the upper formants. While breathy voice is associated with delayed release of the onset, this phonation type also greatly influences the timing and articulation of the following vowel.

The absence of an aspirated voiceless affricate /tʃ/, palatal voiced and breathy nasals /ɲ/ and /ɲh/, and a breathy velar nasal /ŋh/ mars what would be a neat paradigm of unaspirated/aspirated and voiced/breathy oppositions in consonants. Retroflex consonants are a recent accretion to the system and exist only in Indo-Aryan loans. Older loans were either adapted to the Dhimial phonemic system or perhaps lacked retroflex articulation in the donor language. Thus, the retroflex consonants in loans from Indic languages may be expressed with either retroflex or alveolar articulation depending to some extent on the educational background of the individual speaker.

The plosives include /b, bh, p, ph, d, dh, t, th, g, gh, k, kh/. The following minimal and near-minimal pairs establish the phonetic status of the voiced, breathy, voiceless and aspirated voiceless plosives.

/b/ - /bh/

baʔli to carry

beʔli to beat (a drum)

bhaʔli to attack

bheʔli to throw at

¹ Both aspirated and breathy consonants will be represented here orthographically by the letter *h* following long-standing transliteration practice in South Asia.

/p/ - /ph/

pa:li to set fruit
poʔli to pile

pha:li to shoulder
phoʔli to blow

/p/ - /b/

po:li to snip

bo:li to grind

/ph/ - /bh/

phirli to shiver
phoʔli to blow

bhirli to bite off
bhoʔli to bark

/d/ - /dh/

daʔ shade
dir deity

dhaʔ run!
dhir learn!

/t/ - /th/

toŋli to jump
tirli to be cool

thoŋli to lead
thirli to weave

/t/ - /d/

ta:ka tasty
toŋli to jump

da:ka black
doŋli to weigh

/th/ - /dh/

thirli to weave
thanŋli be hard

dhirli to learn
dhanŋli to be hot

/g/ - /gh/

ga:li to cook (rice)
giŋli to bury

ghali to play
ghinŋli to snatch

/k/ - /kh/

kiya chicken
keŋli to attack

khiya dog
kheŋli to share

/k/ - /g/

ko take it!*ka* I*go* brother-in-law*ga:* cook (rice)!

/kh/ - /gh/

khinli to cook (a side dish)*pakha* I make*ghinli* to snatch*pagha* I made

There are five fricatives: /j, jh, c, s, h/. The phoneme /h/ may vary from a strongly voiced consonant with breathy articulation to a weak articulation realised in large part as breathiness of the following vowel, especially in words such as *hasu* ‘who’, *hamu* ‘stomach’, *juhã* ‘rat’, the perfective suffix <-hoi> and *hiso* ‘whither’. Thus, breathiness of vowels may be distinctive in some pairs: *hiso* [hiso ~ ʃiso] ‘whither’ and *iso* [iso] ‘this direction’; *hesa* [hesa ~ ʃesa] ‘how’ and *esa* [esa] ‘like this’. This suggests that the phoneme /h/ may be in the process of losing its distinctive status, resulting in an incipient breathy opposition in vowels. The distinctiveness of the fricatives are shown in the following minimal pairs.

/c/ - /j/

ce:li to cut*ciʔli* to be stingy*je:li* to be white*jiʔli* to be damp

/j/ - /jh/

jeŋli to become*jo:li* to stir*jheŋli* to become light*jho:li* to polish

/c/ - /s/

ceʔli to clasp*coʔli* to brand*seʔli* to kill*soʔli* to piss

/s/ - /h/

sai cow hump*siŋ* tree*hai* what*hiŋ* listen!

/Ø/ - /h/

<i>esa</i>	like this	<i>hesa</i>	how
<i>oʔli</i>	to burn	<i>hoʔli</i>	to remove

There are five nasal phonemes /m, mh, n, nh, ŋ/, with a voiced and a breathy distinction in the bilabial and alveolar nasals. The velar nasal /ŋ/ lacks a breathy opposition and is not permitted in syllable-initial position. Distinctiveness of the nasals is illustrated in the following pairs.

/m/ - /mh/

<i>moʔli</i>	to mix	<i>mhoʔli</i>	‘to blow
<i>meʔli</i>	to twist	<i>mheʔli</i>	‘to whip

/n/ - /nh/

<i>na</i>	you ^s	<i>nha</i>	dance!
<i>nui</i>	mouth	<i>nhui</i>	swim!

/m/ - /n/

<i>miŋka</i>	ripe, cooked	<i>niŋka</i>	tale
<i>cam</i>	gather (firewood)!	<i>can</i>	son

/mh/ - /nh/

<i>mhali</i>	to be drunk	<i>nhali</i>	to dance

/n/ - /ŋ/

<i>can</i>	son	<i>caaŋ</i>	will eat
<i>lokhon</i>	clothes	<i>lo khaŋ</i>	come look!

/m/ - /ŋ/

<i>cumli</i>	to hold	<i>cunŋli</i>	to be cold
<i>sim</i>	mortar	<i>siŋ</i>	tree

The approximants include flaps, laterals and glides, with each type exhibiting a voiced vs. breathy opposition: /r, rh, l, lh, w, wh, y, yh/.

The distinctiveness of the voiced and breathy flaps and laterals is illustrated in the following pairs.

/l/ - /lh/

liʔli to bury

lo:li to be loose

lhiʔli to ret

lho:li to get up

/r/ - /rh/

raili to scatter

rimaŋ will capture

rhaili to claw

rhimaŋ early morning

/r/ - /l/

raŋli to be stiff

merli to glare at

laŋli to go ahead

melli to be silent

While the status of the glides in Dhimal is clear, their existence post-consonantly is open to question. In non-initial position, these phonemes occur primarily in loans and only a handful of native words. Consequently, these could be interpreted as a sequence of two syllables with the second taking lexical stress and the vowel of the first syllable eliding, e.g. *dyaŋ* [di'yaŋ] 'person' and *nya* [ni'ya] 'you'. While such an interpretation would simplify the overall system, it is not based on acoustic observation and will be rejected as overly formal. The distinctiveness of the glides in initial and medial position is shown below.

/w/ - /wh/

wa he, she, it

whaʔ put it in!

/y/ - /yh/

yuʔli to be worn down

ya he, she, it (proximal)

yhuʔli to strip

yhali to remain

/w/ - /y/

wa 3s (dist.)

ya 3s (prox.)

/CØ/ - /Cw/

gai cow
ca eat!

gwai areca nut
cwa well (n.)

/CØ/ - /Cy/

ka I
na you
daŋ claw

kya I (affinal)
nya you (affinal)
dyaŋ person

The following minimal pairs illustrate the distinctiveness of open syllables and those with a final glottal stop /-ʔ/.

/Ø/ - /-ʔ/

culi to sting
seli to bear fruit

cuʔli to whither
seʔli to kill

2.2 Vowels

Dhimal distinguishes five primary vowel qualities. The phonological properties of the vowel may be said to consist of a phonemic bundle of features, the two primary parameters of which are length and nasality, resulting in a three-way opposition. The Dhimal vowel phonemes are listed below in Diagram 2.

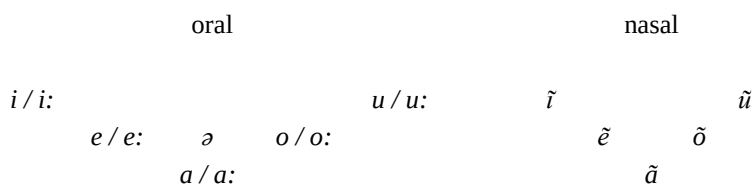


Diagram 2 Vowel phonemes

There are six diphthongs, all of which end in either a high front vowel /i/ or a high back vowel /u/. While certain diphthongs are more frequent than others (/iu/ occurs in only a few words), all are restricted to open syllables. Nasalised diphthongs are rare, occurring

iu eu oi ui au ai

2.2.1 Phonetic description of Dhimal vowel phonemes

/ɪ/	short unrounded front high vowel in a closed syllable: unrounded front mid-high vowel	[ɪ]
/ĩ/	short unrounded front high nasal vowel	[ĩ]
/i:/	tense long unrounded front high vowel	[i:]
/e/	unrounded half-long mid-high front vowel in a closed syllable: unrounded short mid-low front vowel	[e] [ɛ]
/ẽ/	unrounded half-long mid-high front nasal vowel	[ẽ]
/e:/	tense long unrounded mid-high front vowel	[e:]
/a/	rounded half-long low back vowel	[a]
/ã/	rounded half-long low back nasal vowel	[ã]
/a:/	tense rounded long low back vowel	[a:]

/o/	rounded half-long mid-high back vowel	[o]
	in a closed syllable: rounded short mid-high back vowel	[ɔ]
/õ/	rounded half-long mid-high back nasal vowel	[õ]
/o:/	tense rounded long mid-high back vowel	[o:]
/u/	rounded short back high vowel	[u]
	in a syllable closed by a nasal: rounded short mid-high back vowel	[ʊ]
/ũ/	rounded short back high nasal vowel	[ũ]
/u:/	tense rounded long back high vowel	[u:]
/ə/	short unrounded mid vowel	[ə]
/iu/	diphthong	[iu]
/eu/	diphthong	[eu]
/ai/	diphthong	[ai]
/au/	diphthong	[au]
/oi/	diphthong	[oi]
/ui/	diphthong	[ui]

2.2.2 *Distinctiveness of vowel phonemes*

Vowel length is largely distinctive only in open stem verbs and derived nominals. Hence, this opposition, which could also be cast as an opposition between lax and tense or clear and laryngealised

vowels, is highly constrained. The following minimal pairs establish the phonetic status of the short and long vowels:

/a/ - /a:/

cali to eat

ca:li to take

/e/ - /e:/

seli to bear fruit

se:li to be rough

/i/ - /i:/

Thili to fear

thi:li to brush off

/o/ - /o:/

oli to steam

o:li to peel

/u/ - /u:/

culi to sting

cu:li to suck

Nasalised vowels occur primarily with open syllables of polysyllabic nominals. These nominals are mostly made up of animal names: *cēja* ‘woodpecker’, *sěsu* ‘insect sp.’, *pāya* ‘tick’, *pūya* ‘snake’, *nhōyha* ‘monkey’, *ōya* ‘horse’, *bāya* ‘bee’, *khuwāhā* ‘tiger’, *jahā* ‘mosquito’, *juhā* ‘rat’, *jihā* ‘bird’ and *sihā* ‘seed’. The few exceptions include the directionals like *dihē* ‘west’, a few intransitive verbs such as *jihika* ‘aligned’ and *jahāka* ‘snowy white’, onomatopoeia *dēdu?* ‘sound of a frog’ and *kū?kū?* ‘sound of a rat’, and the first person future, which is marked by nasalisation of the future morpheme.

Nasalised vowels in virtually all cases take lexical stress, but note *kinīkinīpa* [‘kɪnīˈkɪnīpa] ‘dizzy’ and *dihē* [‘dɪhē] ‘west’. Acoustically, nasal vowels are characterised by less energy in F₀ and often increased duration. Syllables ending in a nasal consonant may result in nasalisation of the preceding vowel, while nasals in unstressed syllables may be realised solely as nasalisation in rapid speech: *buŋ* [bʊŋ ~ bũ] ‘also’ and <-teŋ> [tɛŋ ~ tẽ] ‘SEQ’. So, while nasalised vowels derive historically from the loss of final nasals and synchronically some nasal finals may alternate with nasalised vowels,

the latter are clearly distinct and should not be analysed as allophones of the former. The following minimal pairs illustrate the contrast between nasal vowels and clear vowels followed by a nasal consonant.

/ã/ - /aŋ/			
<i>cã</i>	I'll eat	<i>caŋ</i>	he will eat
/ẽ/ - /eŋ/			
<i>dihẽ</i>	west	<i>waheŋ</i>	3s + DAT
/ĩ/ - /iŋ/			
<i>kinĩkinĩpa</i>	dizzily	<i>khiniŋ</i>	only
/õ/ - /oŋ/			
<i>õya</i>	horse	<i>oŋgalaiti</i>	firefly
/ũ/ - /uŋ/			
<i>pũya</i>	snake	<i>phuŋga</i>	hole

Many diphthongs clearly derive from the loss of syllable-final consonants, based on pronunciations of the derived forms of certain root morphemes and the cognate forms of the same root etyma in other Tibeto-Burman languages, specifically those closed by laterals or velar nasals. Compare the following alternations between closed syllables and diphthongs: *hulme* 'wife's younger sister' and *huluŋga* 'wife's elder brother' vs. *huigo* 'wife's younger brother', and *thalpuli* 'throw away' vs. *thaigilli* 'throw around': *atuŋka* ~ *atuika* 'small' and *mhangelai* ~ *mhaigelai* 'evil spirit'. While most cases involve the complete loss of the original nasality, sometimes it is maintained as in *aŋ* ~ *aũ* 'okay?'.² The following pairs establish the distinctiveness of the diphthongs.

² Only in the case of the diphthong /au/ does there appear to be descent from the putatively reconstructed proto-language: *sau* 'fat' PTB *sau and *anau* 'younger sibling' PTB *nau.

/oi/ - /ui/			
<i>toi</i>	piece, bit	<i>tui</i>	egg
/oi/ - /ai/			
<i>boi</i>	aunt, uncle	<i>bai</i>	elder sister
/oi/ - /eu/			
<i>doipa</i>	hanging	<i>deupa</i>	drooping
/ai/ - /au/			
<i>sai</i>	cow hump	<i>sau</i>	fat
/iu/ - /eu/			
<i>ciuli</i>	to bathe	<i>ceuli</i>	to tingle

2.3 Segmental phonology

The syllable is an important constituent of Dhimial phonology. A syllable typically consists of a vowel, with or without length and nasality, and may contain an initial consonant, a glide and a final consonant. A common and important exception to this generality is the syllabic bilabial nasal morpheme *m* ‘cooked rice, meal’. All consonants are attested syllable-initially except /ŋ/ and /ʔ/, neither of which is permitted intervocalically. Geminate consonants occur only in loans. Consonant clusters, although not common, do occur due to compounding, elision and word borrowing. Except for the aforementioned cases, the only permitted medials are /y/ and /w/.

The following syllable-final consonants are permitted: /m, n, ŋ, r, l, ʔ/ and to a much lesser extent /k/ and /t/. Although the three nasal finals are distinctive, the final nasal of some morphemes alternates between /m/ or /ŋ/: *tairham* ~ *tairhaŋ* ‘shrimp’; *yumli* ~ *yunli* ‘to sit’. The alveolar nasal /n/ is uncommon in word-final position, only occurring in a few words: *can* ‘son’, *lokhon* ‘clothes’, *sigun* ‘vulture’, *mun* ‘beaten rice’ and *wajan/bejan* ‘boy/girl’. The last two examples drop the final /n/, possibly an old collective marker, in the plural:

bejan ‘girl’ > *bejalai* ‘girls’; *wajan* ‘boy’ > *wajalai* ‘boys’. This phoneme does, however, occur regularly in syllable final position in compounds.

2.3.1 Assimilation and dissimilation

Velar nasals assimilate regressively to place of articulation of the following consonant: *jheŋli* ‘become bright’ > *jheŋka* ‘brightness’, *jhenteŋ* ‘having become light’, *jhempa* ‘until dawn’. Labial nasals are not affected by this rule: *amli* ‘to drink’ > *amka* ‘drink’; *jimli* ‘to sleep’ > *jimteŋ* ‘having slept’. Lexically, syllable-final velar nasals may only be followed by a stop, generally homorganic: *oŋgalaiti* ‘firefly’, *dheŋgara* ‘log’, *dadalaŋga* ‘beam’. In the verbal morphology, velar nasals dissimilate to a dental nasal /n/, when followed by a vowel as velar nasals are not permitted prevocally: *khaŋli* ‘to look’ > *khanəŋ* ‘we^p will look’, *niŋli* ‘to get’ > *ninaŋ* ‘we^p will get’.

For some speakers, verb roots ending in /ŋ/ dissimilate to /ni/ when followed by the infinitival suffix <-li>: *khaŋli* [khani], *naŋli* [nani], and to /na/ when followed by the intensitive motion affix <-lha>: *khaŋlhali* [khanali].

The closed vowels /i/ and /u/ when unstressed may become voiceless when preceded by /s/: *sukulu* [ˈsukulu ~ sʉˈkulu] ‘lung’; *pasukhena* [ˈpasʉxena] ‘you^p make’; *suta* [sʉˈta] ‘at home’, *sipaʔpa* [ɕiˈpaʔpa] ‘quietly’, *insika* [ˈmɛiˌka] ‘such as that’, and *sikaʔli* [ɕiˈkaʔli] ‘to be disgusted’. In these cases the underlying whispered vowel is hardly audible. However, the palatalisation of the phoneme /s/ (or lack thereof) provides an additional acoustic clue as to the phonological identity of the whispered vowel, thereby permitting a determination of whether the vowel is /i/ or /u/.

Open verb stems which lack a coda may exhibit elision or epenthetic glides when followed by a stressed grammatical morpheme lacking an onset. Stems with a high back vowel may exhibit an epenthetic glide of w, while those ending in a high front vowel may

³ A similar process occurs in Garo and Limbu. cf. Burling 1992 and van Driem 1987.

exhibit an epenthetic glide of *y*: *coli* ‘to sting’ and *coaŋ* [co^waŋ] ‘it will sting’, *seli* ‘to fruit’ and *seəŋ* [se^vaŋ] ‘it will set fruit’. Open stems with /a/ are typically elided in this environment: *pali* ‘to do’ > *paəŋ* [paŋ] ‘we^p will do (it)’ and *cali* ‘to eat’ > *caaine* [caine] ‘let’s^p eat’. Note also the elision of unstressed phonemes in the following common verbs: *haneli* ‘to go’ > *hanaŋ* ‘will go’, *loli* ‘to come’ > *loəŋ* [loəŋ ~ lwaŋ ~ laŋ] ‘we^p will come’, and *doli* ‘to be able’ > *doã* [doã ~ dwã ~ dã] ‘I will be able’.

2.4 Prosody

Stress, or accentuation, will be understood here as a complex phenomenon that is characterised by the prosodic parameters of pitch, loudness and length. Word stress in Dhimal is weak and not distinctive. Never the less, there are typical prosodic patterns in Dhimal words that can be described in terms of frequently observed variations in these three parameters. Word stress is characterised by falling pitch and may occur on any syllable, though there is a tendency for words to be stressed on the initial syllable. Common exceptions to initial stress include *dhimal* [dhi'mal], *kamal* [ka'mal] ‘Rajbangsi’, *jamal* [ja'mal] ‘child’, *kiham* [ki'ham] ‘crab’, and *diham* [di'ham] ‘rope’, *bhono* [bho'noi] ‘earth, soil’ and *khokoi* [kho'koi] ‘leg, foot’, all of which are stressed on the second or final syllable.

Word stress is often sensitive to the phonological or morphological structure of the word, or to the informational structure of the phrase or utterance. On the phonemic level, heavy syllables regularly receive stress: *po:khe* ['po:khe] ‘she cuts’, *ra:hi* ['ra:hi] ‘he bound’, *tera?* [te'ra?] ‘tool for making rope’ and *sati?* [sa'ti?] ‘umbrella’. In penultimate position, the diphthong /ai/ frequently takes primary stress: *kekalaiti* [kɛka'laiti] ‘egg yolk’, *oŋgalaiti* [oŋga'laiti] ‘firefly’, *mekhonaiti* [mekho'naiti] ‘ember’ and *ghuraili* [ghu'raili] ‘to stroll’.

Affixal material may cause a shift in stress, particularly with open stem verbs: *cakhe* ['caxe ~ ca'xe] ‘he’s eating’ vs. *macakhe* ['macaxe] ‘he’s not eating’ and *cahi* ['cahi ~ ca'fi] ‘he ate’; *jamal* [ja'mal] ‘child’ vs. *jamalai* ['jamalai] ‘children’. A shift in stress may

also result in a change to the acoustic quality of high front and back vowel phonemes. Presumably, the underlying vowels here are /e/ and /o/ which become raised to /i/ and /u/ when unstressed: *dhimal* [dhi'mal] vs. *dhemalai* ['dʰɛmalai ~ 'dʰɛmlai] and *hindhili* ['hɪndhili] 'to stay behind' vs. *hindhe* [hɪn'dhe] 'stay behind!'.¹

Moreover, the regular or unmarked pattern of lexical stress may be overridden for contrastive or emphatic purposes. A pragmatically-stressed syllable is characterised by high level pitch and increased duration. For example, a word which regularly has syllable-initial stress with falling pitch may receive syllable-final stress with high level pitch in the emphatic form: *barka* ['barka] 'big' vs. [bar'ka] 'real big' and *oso* ['oso] 'over there' vs. [o'so] 'way over there'. An important locus for this type of emphatic stress occurs in interjections and utterance-final particles.

In unstressed syllables, vowels may undergo reduction, contrast neutralisation, elision and vowel harmony: *bejalai* ['bejalai ~ 'bejlai] 'girls', *naibiri* ['naibiri ~ 'naibri] 'bear', *khisa?* [kh'sa?] 'mud'. Compare also *piyako lisi* (< *piya* 'cow' + *-ko* 'GEN' + *lisi* 'shit') vs. *pilsī* [pilsī] 'cow manure', where the lateral onset of *lisi* becomes the final of the root 'cow' and the unaccented front vowel is lost.

Intonation patterns in Dhimal may be used to encode speaker attitudes or to distinguish syntactic and modal categories such as phrasal or rhythmic groups, questions and directives. In Dhimal, four functional intonation contours are identified: communicative, focusing, delimiting and attitudinal. The four types of intonation contours are based on two pitch levels (high and low) and four contours (falling, rising, rising-falling and level). An unmarked statement typically has a slow downward drift in pitch, otherwise known as declination. Pitch may also be employed for discourse purposes of emphasis. High level pitch is a characteristic of discourse prominence. Enumeration or listing of items, whether lexical or phrasal, typically involves rising intonation.

Focalisation and emphasis may involve level (high or low), high falling or rising-falling intonation. Pitch prominence may reside within the stressed syllable or extend over the phonetic word. With the rise-fall intonation, the locus may be the stressed syllable or the

rise may be aligned with the stressed syllable with the fall taking place on the post-nuclear syllable, e.g. on a functional affix.

Attitudinal intonation has to do with subjective or speaker-oriented attitudes and emotions. The class of utterance final particles represented by *be*, *ru*, *ko* and *u* frequently take a stylised intonational contour involving a high level pitch and increased duration.

Imperatives may be divided into strong, such as commands, and weak, such as requests and invitations. The shape of a strong imperative intonation contour is a rapid fall ending with a falling tone. An invitation or weak imperative has a gradual fall with the final syllable ending on an overall high level tone. Compare the following two contrastive examples. In example (1), which is friendly or invitational, the intonational pattern is falling with the final word pronounced on a high level tone. In example (2), which is a command, the overall intonation of the sentence is falling.

1 *m* *ca-li* *lo*.
 rice eat-INF come
 Come and eat.

2 *iso* *lo!*
 hither come
 Come here!

Questions may be divided into those employing local intonation such as question words and utterance-final interrogative particles, and global intonation with yes-no questions and echo questions, which employ rising intonation. Tag questions occur in the form of a statement or declarative with the final particle pronounced with rising intonation, i.e. as a separate intonation unit.

2.5 *Vowel harmony*

Vowel harmony, whereby a syllable copies the vowel of another syllable in its immediate vicinity, occurs marginally in Dhimal. If the

matrix vowel is a diphthong, then only the initial vowel is copied. The harmonic assimilation typically moves forward to affect a preceding syllable. Vowel harmony occurs most commonly with the negative prefix <ma->, though compare the pronunciations of *eʔ-ghuri* ~ *iʔ-ghiriŋ* ‘one moment’; and *mako* [ma'ko] ‘it is not so’ vs. *makunu* [ˈmakunu] ‘isn’t that so?’. This phenomenon does not appear to be widespread and may simply be an affectation of young girls, as all the examples presented here were spoken by two sisters aged 8 and 12. Never the less, this phenomenon may have important diachronic implications.

- 3 *me-leder.*
NEG-be.shy
Don’t be shy.
- 4 *mu-gupugupu-khe.*
NEG-be.sweltering-IMPF
It’s not sweltering out.
- 5 *mi-tiŋ-nha-kha.*
NEG-see-MID-IMPF.1s
I don’t see it.
- 6 *doʔ-li mi-gi-khe-na!*
say-INF NEG-know.how-IMPF-2
You^s don’t know how to say it!
- 7 *mo-goi-aŋ.*
NEG-must-FUT
It won’t be necessary.

There are two examples in my data where a morpheme other than the negative prefix undergoes vowel assimilation. In example (8) with the verb *mhituli* ‘to be hungry’, the harmonic assimilation to high back vowel moves forward to affect the high front vowel of the initial syllable. In example (9), on the other hand, the vowel harmonic

assimilation moves out in both directions from the root of the verb *khiŋli* ‘to cook’, affecting both the negative prefix <ma-> and the future suffix <-aŋ>.

- 8 *mhutu-hoi-na?*
be.hungry-PERF-2
Are you^s hungry yet?
- 9 *mi-khin-iŋ.*
NEG-cook-FUT
She won’t cook [them].

2.6 Variation

Phonemic and lexical variation occur between dialect areas, villages, families, generations and continues down to the individual level. Dialect differences will not be discussed here, though some of the variation within a village may be accounted for in part by dialect mixture, e.g. *lekbara* vs. *lesara* ‘behind’ and *dopha* vs. *dosa* ‘with’. Distinct pronunciations may involve a shift in stress, phonemic assimilation and morphemic allophony: *camindi* [‘camindi ~ ca’mindi ~ ‘camdi] ‘daughter’; *eʔloŋ* [eʔloŋ ~ eʔnoŋ ~ enoŋ] ‘one’ and *nheʔloŋ* [nheʔloŋ ~ nheʔnoŋ ~ nhenon] ‘two’; *jamal* [ja’mal ~ jam’bal] ‘child’. Other variations involve not only a change in quality, but also a reordering of the segments: *mursini* [‘mursini] vs. *munsuri* [mun’suri] ‘raptor sp.’ and *khinjara* [‘khinjara] vs. *khirinja* [khi’rinja] ‘retted jute stalk’.

Distinct layers of loans attest to the influence of two different Indo-Aryan sub-branches. The older generation and the less educated tend to employ the Maithili or Bengali pronunciations, both of which belong to the Magadhan group. More common among the younger generation and those more educated is the Nepali pronunciation, which belongs to the Western Indic group. Compare the older Magadhan loans with the more recent Nepali variants: *mon* vs. *mən* ‘heart, feelings’, *baʔsar* vs. *bərsa* ‘year’, and *jobapha* vs. *jəwaph* ‘answer’. Nepali loans are also replacing previous Magadhan loans

among younger speakers: *bis* vs. *kuri* ‘twenty, score’ and *dhat* vs. *andhasata* ‘lie’.

2.7 Writing system

Dhimals do not have a unique orthography and instead use the Devanāgarī script. Adapted by Dhimals for writing their language, Devanāgarī is able to accomodate most all of the phonemes of this Tibeto-Burman sound system. The only phoneme not covered by this script is the glottal stop /ʔ/. Devanāgarī, however, does have a separate set of letters for word initial vowels and it is these letters that some authors conscript to serve duty as markers for this phoneme. Others have proposed using a colon for long vowels and a dash [-] to indicate the glottal stop. Unfortunately, these conventions are also sometimes used to indicate vowel length. And while Devanāgarī provides for a distinction between long and short vowels, Dhimal writers do not consistently mark this feature.

CHAPTER THREE

NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

Morphology of the Dhimial noun phrase will be treated in this section, beginning with the major derivational processes, nominalisation, adjectives and gender. This will be followed by the category of number, including numerals, classifiers and measure words. The section will conclude with an examination of pronominals, reflexives, postpositions and comparatives.

3.1 *Nouns*

Dhimial nouns may be monomorphemic or polymorphemic. Many polymorphemic nouns are made up of recognisable compounds containing either another lexical noun or an affix. Compounding may be coordinate or attributive. Coordinate nouns incorporate contrasting or coordinate pairs of a cognitive domain. For example, human relationships may be viewed as those standing in either the relation *a* or the relation *b*, together forming one of the axes of the relationship. Others are complementary pairs of states or activities, that is, ones that have a relationship to each other such as frequent co-occurrence.

<i>aba-amai</i>	parents	(<i>aba</i> ‘father’ + <i>amai</i> ‘mother’)
<i>bai-one</i>	sisters	(<i>bai</i> ‘elder sister’ + <i>one</i> ‘y. sibling’)
<i>me-one</i>	brothers	(<i>me</i> ‘elder brother’ + <i>one</i> ‘y. sibling’)
<i>kha:ka-di:ka</i>	flavours	(<i>kha:ka</i> ‘bitter’ + <i>di:ka</i> ‘sweet’)
<i>le:ka-beʔka</i>	music	(<i>le:ka</i> ‘song’ + <i>beʔka</i> ‘drumming’)

The term ‘attributive compound’ here refers to compound formations in which the first element, whether a nominal or verbal root, semantically modifies the second element, invariably a nominal, to produce a unique meaning. The modifier generally precedes the modified.

<i>bhemti</i>	sweat	(<i>bhem</i> ‘heat’ + <i>ti</i> ‘liquid’)
<i>bejan</i>	girl	(<i>be</i> ‘female’ + <i>jan</i> ‘youth’)
<i>misihã</i>	eyeball	(<i>mi</i> ‘eye’ + <i>sihã</i> ‘seed’)
<i>mimui</i>	eyelash	(<i>mi</i> ‘eye’ + <i>mui</i> ‘body hair’)

Many common nouns, especially those for animals, appear to have a suffix <-a> ~ <-ya>: *kiya* ‘chicken’, *laya* ‘rhinoceros’, *paya* ‘pig’, *dama* ‘path’. This morpheme is often deleted when the root takes an affix, such as *can* ‘son, offspring’: *kiya* > *kican* ‘chick’ and *paya* > *pacan* ‘piglet’. A similar suffix is seen in place names and pet names for people: *tin ghar* (three house) > *tinghəriya* (village name), *asi lal* > *asiya*, *khusi lal* > *khusiya*. While homophonous, it is possible that we are dealing with two different etyma: the first of Tibeto-Burman provenance and the second a morphemic borrowing from Maithili, which has a non-honorific suffix <-ya> (cf. Bickel *et al* 1999).

3.1.1 Nominalisation

Basic morph:	<-ka>
Label:	NOM

The most common method of creating a nominal is through the nominalising suffix <-ka>, which is affixed to a verb stem to derive gerundives, doer and abstract nouns, and adjectives. This productive affix is also widely used to derive nominals with the meaning ‘one who V/thing that V’. Verbs negated by the prefix <ma-> are also free to undergo nominalisation.

<i>el-li</i>	to be good, pretty
<i>el-ka</i>	attractive, goodness

<i>si-li do-li</i>	to be able to die
<i>si-li ma-do-ka</i>	someone unable to die, an evil person

Nominalised verbs have virtually all the same properties as non-derived nominals. They may take the plural suffix and be marked for case.

<i>khar-li</i>	to cry
<i>khar-ka-lai</i>	the crying ones
<i>bujhe-li</i>	to understand
<i>bujhe-ka-lai-heŋ</i>	to those who understand

When the nominalised verb acts as an adjective, it generally precedes the noun it modifies. When the nominalised verb follows the nominal, it represents a relative phrase. Nominalised verbs created with this suffix form the basis of relative clauses.

<i>poto-ka nhatoŋ</i>	small ears
<i>nhatoŋ poto-ka</i>	small-eared one
<i>rhin-ka pusin</i>	long hair
<i>pusin rhin-ka</i>	long-haired one
<i>rhin-ka nhapu</i>	a long nose
<i>nhapu rhin-ka</i>	long-nosed one, a pompous person

Thus, the order determines whether the nominalised verb is acting as an adjective or as a relativised clause.

- 10 *tole* *bo:-ka* *khaŋ-khe*.
 flour grind-NOM watch-IMPF
 She is watching the flour grinding.

- 11 *kican bar-ka cum-pu-hi!*
 chick big-NOM take-DIST-P
 It carried away a chick – a great big one!

Other nominalising suffixes are attested such as the morphemes <-sa>, <-siŋ>, <-na> and <-ma>, but their use is much more limited and they do not appear to be productive: *phe:li* ‘to sweep’ > *phesa* ‘broom, *atuili* ‘to be small’ > *atuisa* ‘a little bit’; *bhaʔli* ‘to attack’ > *bhaʔsiŋ* ‘reason’; *boʔli* ‘to wear’ > *boʔna* ‘female garment’, *teʔpali* ‘to cause to adhere’ > *teʔpana* ‘male garment’, *oili* ‘to wind’ > *oina* ‘skein winder’; *bherma* ‘wind’ (from archaic *bherli* ‘to fly’).

3.1.2 Adjectives

Adjectives in Dhimal are created for the most part by affixing the nominalising suffix <-ka> to a verb stem. Attributive adjectives generally precede the head nouns which they modify and are formally identical to relative clauses followed by a head noun. Adjectives not ending with the nominalising suffix <-ka> appear largely to be borrowings.¹ Attributive adjectives do not inflect for case or number.

- 12 *rem-ka wajan*
 good-NOM boy
 good boy
- 13 *ma-ta:-ka biha*
 NEG-be.tasty-NOM meat
 tasteless meat
- 14 *da:-ka mundha*
 black-NOM stump
 blackened stump

¹ *Nono* ‘unfermented’ is the only one not borrowed that I know of.

To use an adjective predicatively, <-ka> is suffixed to the verb stem which is followed by the auxiliary verb *hili*. This construction is structurally equivalent to the periphrastic resultative, with the nominalised verb acting as a headless noun phrase. The underlying structure in this type of construction is actually one of relativisation. Hence, *remka wajan* literally means ‘the boy who is good’ (the good one, the boy).

- 15 *bhətiya ta:-ka hi-hi.*
 rice.beer tasty-NOM be-P
 The rice beer is tasty.

- 16 *obalai poto-ka hi-hi*
 they^P be.short-NOM be-P
 They^P are short.

Adjectives may be intensified either by means of a lexical intensifier: *menaŋ akheʔka* ‘really dirty’; with a shift in stress, pitch and duration: *barKA* ‘really big’, *oso* ‘way over there’; through reduplication: *atuika* ‘small’ > *atutuika* ‘very small’, *remka* ‘good’ > *reremka* ‘very good’; or with the emphatic clitic <-ŋ>: *remkaŋ* ‘very good’.

The emphatic clitic <-ŋ> occurs primarily with adjectives, adverbs and possessive pronouns. This clitic intensifies the meaning of the word.

- 17 *naŋ-ko-ŋ!*
 you^S.OBL-GEN-EMP
 It’s your^S very own!

- 18 *tai-ko-ŋ saʔ manthu.*
 REF-GEN-EMP house NEG.EXT
 [I] don’t have [my] own house.

- 19 *edoi kəmpəni rem-ka-ŋ manthu.*
 this company good-NOM-EMP NEG.EXT
 This company is not very good.

- 20 *insa-ŋ pa-li ma-el.*
 like.that-EMP do-INF NEG-be.proper
 One shouldn't do it just like that.
- 21 *kaŋ-ko bhai-pa-ŋ dhir-pa-khe.*
 I.OBL-GEN be.like-do-EMP learn-do-IMPF
 [She] teaches just like me.

Some adjectives exist only in reduplicated form and may represent calques or borrowings from Indo-Aryan languages. Here the initial consonant of the reduplicated form is changed to /m/ or if the word begins in a vowel /m/ is added: *khijirimijirika* 'rough'; *tetemeteka* 'tight'; *kirimirika* 'unruly, messy'; *sikeumikeupa* 'crawling with, lousy with'; *adirmadirka* 'any old kind'. Another type occurs only in a reduplicated or ablauting reduplicated form: *malamalaka* 'fragrant'; *kabarkuburka* 'colourful'.

The diminutive morpheme <-co:>² may be affixed to adjectives or adverbs describing taste and colour to encode a decreased intensity. In my corpus, <-co:> is always reduplicated: *kha:pa* 'bitterly' > *kha:co:co:pa* 'bitterishly'; *i:ka* 'red' > *i:co:co:ka* 'reddish'; *di:co:co:hi* 'It was sort of sweet.'. Note also *kha:di:di:ka* 'bittersweet'.

Dhimal has four native lexemes for colour terms: *da:ka* 'black', *yauka* 'yellow', *i:ka* 'red' and *je:ka* 'white'. Colours that fall between these are derived from the four basic colours. *da:ka* 'black' covers the range from black and dark brown, to dark purple and blue. The term *i:ka* 'red' ranges from red to reddish brown. The term for orange is derived from red: *i:tatarpa*, while pink is *i:lalhaipa*. These last two terms commonly occur with the suffix <-pa>, which is used to generate adverbials, rather than the nominalising suffix <-ka>.

² This morpheme appears to be cognate to the Limbu *cuk-ma?* 'be small'.

3.1.3 Gender

Gender is only marked on animate nouns or body parts of animate beings, and even then generally only with humans. The most common Dhimial morphemes that indicate gender are the masculine <wa> and feminine <be>. These morphemes occur both as prefixes and as suffixes: *wabal* ‘man’, *wajan* ‘boy’, but *juwa* ‘father-in-law’, *mhawa* ‘son-in-law’, *nuwa* ‘older sister’s husband’; and *bebal* ‘woman’ *bejan* ‘girl’, *besa* ‘wife’s younger sister’s husband’, but *jube* ‘mother-in-law’. An older full form <beʔ> of the female morpheme <be> is still found in Dhimial as an independent lexeme in the term *beʔ* ‘wife’.

Even though the process of marking gender on humans is widespread, two common kinship terms are not marked for gender: *one* ‘younger sibling’ (vocative *anau*) and *boi* ‘parent’s older sibling’. Note also the marking of gender for physical characteristics: *limui* ‘female pubic hair’ and *tamui* ‘male pubic hair’. Some of the nouns that are marked for gender are Indo-Aryan loanwords, with masculine endings in /a/ and feminine endings in /i/, e.g. *nokula* and *nokuli* ‘phoney person’ or ‘brat’. Many of the Dhimial kinship terms fall into this category.

<i>mamai-mami</i>	mother’s younger brother and his wife
<i>mausi-mausa</i>	mother’s younger sister and her husband
<i>peusai-peusa</i>	father’s younger sister and her husband
<i>kaka-kaki</i>	father’s younger brother and his wife

Animals may be marked for gender with distinct lexical items: *dhangai* ‘rooster’, *bhundi* ‘hen’, *telhi* ‘poulet’, and *pantha* ‘boar/buck’ and *panthi* ‘sow/doe’, which occur as nouns and as adjectives – *pantha meʔsa* ‘billy goat’, *bhundi kiya* ‘hen’.³ If a specific lexical term is lacking, the gender may be specified with the generic animal gender terms *daŋkha* ‘male’ and *maini* ‘female’, e.g. *daŋkha juhã* ‘male rat’, *maini juhã* ‘female rat’.

³ Some of these gender-specified animal terms may be borrowings from Indo-Aryan languages.

3.2 Number

Nouns in Dhimal are unmarked for the category of number. The exception to this rule is personal pronouns which are obligatorily marked for number. Also, it is only in personal pronouns that dual number is distinguished. For the remainder, however, an unmarked noun may have a singular or plural referent. As the following examples show, unmarked nominals may indeed be notionally plural.

- 22 *misteri nheʔ-mi khunti jaʔ-pa-teŋ ara ce: -khe.*
 craftsman two-HCLsawhorse stand-do-SEQ saw cut-IMPF
 Two craftsmen set up a sawhorse and are sawing.

- 23 *ede cudur nham-li thale-hi.*
 this snail smell-INF begin-P
 These snails are starting to smell.

- 24 *gai gho:-ka-ta-ŋ gho:-ka-ta-ŋ belhaʔ-hi la.*
 cow tend-NOM-LOC-EMP tend-NOM-LOC-EMP be.dusk-P MIR
 While tending the cows, evening set in.

- 25 *rai-gelai atui-ka saʔ bənai-khe u.*
 Rai-PL be.small-NOM house build-IMPF REFR
 The Rai people build small houses, you know.

3.2.1 Plural

basic morph: <-lai> ~ <-gelai>
 label: PL

A speaker may choose to encode the notion of manifoldness, an inherently indefinite number encompassing the notions of plurality and indefiniteness, through suffixation and reduplication. Hence, morphological structures used to encode plurality or manifoldness function broadly to include semantics of indefiniteness,

approximateness and groupability. In some nominals the plural form has become lexicalised.

When a speaker chooses to encode the notion of plurality, then the suffix <-gelai>, sometimes pronounced <-galai>, or its allomorph <-lai> is employed. The allomorph <-lai> is non-productive and occurs only with a closed set: nominalised verbs and human referents, especially personal pronouns. The terms for several ethnic groups fall into this category: *dhimal* > *dhemalai* ‘Dhimals’, *kamal* > *kamalai* ‘the Rajbangsi’; but compare the non-native term *tharu* > *tharugelai* ‘the Tharu’. Note also *bejan* ‘girl’ > *bejalai* ‘girls’, *wajan* ‘boy’ > *wajalai* ‘boys’, *bebal* ‘woman’ > *bebalai* ‘women’, *wabal* ‘man’ > *wabalai* ‘men’; but *waray* ‘old man’ > *warangelai* ‘old men’.

In the following examples, all of the nominals marked with the plural suffix are notionally singular. The first indicates an indefinite girl, perhaps because she is unknown or her identity is unimportant. The other two examples with singular referents but plural marking indicate groupability or membership in a group.

- 26 *wa beja-lai khaʔ-pa-teŋ cum-pu-hi.*
 3s girl-PL flee-do-SEQ take-DIST-P
 He eloped with a girl and took her away.

- 27 *dhemal-lai doŋ!*
 Dhimal-PL FOC
 It was a Dhimal!

- 28 *bhut-gelai ya!*
 ghost-PL 3s
 This one is some kind of a ghost!

Time adverbials may also be marked with the plural suffix to indicate approximate time.

- 29 *tin baje-gelai lo-ã.*
 three o'clock-PL come-FUT.1s
 I'll come around 3 o'clock.

- 30 *aitabar-gelai do:-pa-aŋ.*
 Sunday-PL be.finished-do-FUT
 We'll finish around Sunday.

Some nouns may take double marking in the plural, e.g. *bejalaigelai* 'the girls' or 'all the girls'. Although the semantics involved are not entirely clear, this double plural marking seems to indicate the totality of a set and is apparently limited to human referents which may take the plural morpheme <-lai>. When double plural marking does occur, the sequence of the morphemes is always <-lai> and then <-gelai>.

- 31 *jamal-lai-gelai jim-hi.*
 child-PL-PL sleep-P
 The children all went to sleep.

Dhimal also employs the plural suffix to encode semantics of a group of related objects, i.e. 'and such'. These nominals are inherently manifold and the plural is not normally used here.

- 32 *m-gelai buŋ so:-ka hi-khe.*
 rice-PL also switch-NOM AUX-IMPF
 There is also rice and such stored.

- 33 *eʔ-gilas-pa mun-gelai*
 one-glass-do beaten.rice-PL
 One glass each beaten rice and such.

- 34 *bhono-i-gelai hul-khe doʔ-khe.*
 earth-PL fall-IMPF say-IMPF
 Earth and things fall, they say.

The notion of a set of related objects may be encoded with an echo formation. This type of construction is a transparent calque from the Indo-Aryan languages.

<i>jamalai-samalai</i>	children and such
<i>jhola-sola</i>	bags and things

Plurality may also be indicated through reduplication, most commonly with interrogative pronouns, and as example (37) illustrates, both reduplication and suffixation may co-occur to indicate the entire set.

- 35 *jhora?-ko ali ali care-gil-gha-khe.*
 river-GEN side side graze-IM-PIMPF-IMPF
 They went around grazing on the river banks.

- 36 *hiso hiso hi-gil-ka hi-nha?*
 whither whither be-IM-NOM AUX-P.2
 Where all have you travelled?

- 37 *warəŋ-warəŋ-gelai jom-teŋ bisar pa-li goi-khe.*
 oldman-oldman-PL collect-SEQ thought do-INF must-IMPF
 All the old men must gather and decide.

There is a small group of lexicalised plurals that may be used with singular referents. For example, the nominal *mhaigelai* ‘female evil spirit’ only occurs with plural marking, as does *makhalai* ‘mussel’, *bansalai* ‘guest’, *khamalai* ‘relative’ and *milai* ‘couple, pair’. Here again, the plural suffix encodes manifoldness or groupability.⁴

- 38 *bansalai lo-hi.*
 guest come-P
 Guest(s) arrived.

- 39 *wa kaŋ-ko khamalai.*
 3s I.OBL-GEN clan.relative
 He is my relative.

⁴ Note also *kekalaiti* ‘egg yolk’ from archaic *keka* ‘chicken’, *oŋgalaiti* ‘firefly’ and *domalai* ‘in the future’.

There appears to be another affix that indicates a group of people associated with the person to whom it is suffixed. The suffix <-soʔkho> occurs only with person names, e.g. *kumar-soʔkho* ‘Kumar and his associates or family’. No further information on this morpheme is available at present.

3.2.2 Numerals

Three different counting systems are used in Dhimal. Choice of system is dependent in part on the speaker’s age and the sociolinguistic context. The oldest system employs an archaic vigesimal system, and is still in use by the older generation, especially women. The native lexicon for numerals is limited to the numbers one through ten. Ordinal numbers are not attested. The cardinal numbers are given below in citation form. The morpheme <-loŋ> is a generic classifier.

<i>eʔ-loŋ</i>	one
<i>nheʔ-loŋ</i>	two
<i>sum-loŋ</i>	three
<i>dya-loŋ</i>	four
<i>na-loŋ</i>	five
<i>tu-loŋ</i>	six
<i>nhiʔ-loŋ</i>	seven
<i>yeʔ-loŋ</i>	eight
<i>koha-loŋ</i>	nine
<i>te-loŋ</i>	ten

Numbers above ten in this system, generally small roundish objects, may be counted in groups of four using the classifier <-ganda> or <-gandi>, an Indo-Aryan loan.⁵ This system should be considered archaic as it is only used by the older generation.

<i>eʔ-ganda tui</i>	four eggs

⁵ A vigesimal counting system was apparently in use throughout the Brahmaputra river basin.

<i>nheʔ-ganda kican</i>	eight chicks
<i>nheʔ-ganda sum-loŋ</i>	eleven
<i>sum-ganda</i>	twelve (round objects)
<i>sum-ganda eʔ-loŋ</i>	thirteen
<i>sum-ganda nheʔ-loŋ</i>	fourteen
<i>sum-ganda sum-loŋ</i>	fifteen
<i>dya-ganda</i>	sixteen
<i>dya-ganda eʔ-loŋ</i>	seventeen
<i>dya-ganda nheʔ-loŋ</i>	eighteen
<i>dya-ganda sum-loŋ</i>	nineteen
<i>na-ganda</i>	twenty

More commonly, however, the numbers employed for eleven through nineteen are direct Indo-Aryan loans. Note that these loan numerals lack a classifier in citation form.

<i>egharə</i>	eleven
<i>barə</i>	twelve
<i>terə</i>	thirteen
<i>cəudhə</i>	fourteen
<i>pəndhrə</i>	fifteen
<i>sorə</i>	sixteen
<i>sətrə</i>	seventeen
<i>əʃharə</i>	eighteen
<i>unais</i>	nineteen

For the numbers twenty and beyond, Dhimals traditionally count in scores, though there is increasing pressure from the Nepali numerals. The number for twenty may be inherited from the proposed proto-Tibeto-Burman *kul, but is more likely borrowed from Indo-Aryan.⁶ The numbers for one hundred and above are all Indo-Aryan loans.

<i>eʔ-kuri</i>	twenty

⁶ Bengali has *kuri* for twenty, though does not count in scores.

<i>eʔ-kuri eʔ-loŋ</i>	twenty-one
<i>eʔ-kuri nheʔ-loŋ</i>	twenty-two
<i>eʔ-kuri na-loŋ</i>	twenty-five
<i>eʔ-kuri te-loŋ</i>	thirty
<i>eʔ-kuri egharə</i>	thirty-one
<i>eʔ-kuri barə</i>	thirty-two
<i>eʔ-kuri terə</i>	thirty-three
<i>nheʔ-kuri</i>	forty
<i>nheʔ-kuri eʔ-loŋ</i>	forty-one
<i>sum-kuri</i>	sixty
<i>eʔ-sai</i>	one hundred
<i>nheʔ-sai</i>	two hundred
<i>sum-hajar</i>	three thousand
<i>dya-lakh</i>	four hundred thousand

When time is being counted, Nepali numerals are generally used.

<i>ek baje</i>	at one o'clock
<i>dui baje</i>	at two o'clock
<i>tin baje</i>	at three o'clock
<i>car baje</i>	at four o'clock
<i>pāc baje</i>	at five o'clock
<i>chə baje</i>	at six o'clock
<i>sat baje</i>	at seven o'clock
<i>aṭh baje</i>	at eight o'clock
<i>nəu bajihi.</i>	It is nine o'clock.
<i>dəs bajihi.</i>	It is ten o'clock.
<i>egharə bajihi.</i>	It is eleven o'clock.
<i>barə bajihi.</i>	It is twelve o'clock.

3.2.3 Classifiers and measure words

basic morph:	<-mi>
label:	HCL
basic morph:	<-loŋ> ~ <-noŋ>
label:	CL

Dhimal groups counted objects into two primary categories: human and non-human, although as will be noted, the split is not always so neat. The classifiers used to indicate these categories are the human classifier <-mi> and the generic classifier <-loŋ>.⁷

The human classifier <-mi> is only used with counted humans or characters in tales that have human characteristics, such as the power of speech. This classifier may also stand without a head noun.

- 40 *ede nheʔ-mi ropa thiŋ-khe.*
 this two-HCL transplanting transplant-IMPF
 These two people are transplanting rice.

- 41 *uŋko miliŋ eʔ-mi piʔ-teŋ ca-li ma-nin-aŋ.*
 that land one-HCL sell-SEQ eat-INF NEG-get-FUT
 One person may not profit from the sale of that land.

- 42 *eʔ-mi-heŋ laʔ-pi-ka hi-ka-ta bheneŋ wajan*
 one-HCL-DAT quit-DAT-NOM be-NOM-LOC other boy

dopha hane-nu...

COM go-COND

If someone leaves someone and runs off with another boy...

The generic classifier <-loŋ> is used with counted animals and things from one to ten, except when the counted object is a time or quantity measurement: *eʔ-loŋ paya* ‘one pig’ vs. *eʔ-ni* ‘one day’ and *eʔ-toi* ‘one piece’. When the generic classifier occurs with the numbers ‘one’ and ‘two’, it may occur as its allomorph <-noŋ> for some speakers.

- 43 *pəndhrə sai gai bəstu-ko bhar*
 fifteen hundred cow animal-GEN load

⁷ The morpheme <-mi> is cognate to the word *mi* meaning ‘man’ or ‘person’ in many Tibeto-Burman languages, while the classifier <-loŋ> appears to derive from the proposed proto-Tibeto-Burman *r-loŋ ‘stone’.

urai-pa-pu-hi eʔ-loŋ jihã.
 fly-do-DIST-P one-CL bird
 A bird carried off a load of fifteen hundred cows.

- 44 *inta nheʔ-loŋ dama tiŋ-na bhai-so te...*
 there two-CL road see-NOM seem-EL TOP
 Upon seeing two roads there...

Some human nouns are also marked with the generic classifier <-loŋ> rather than with the human classifier <-mi>. The use of the generic classifier with human referents appears to be most frequent with the introduction of brand new referents in discourse. In example (45), both the generic and human classifiers <-loŋ> and <-mi> occur in the same sentence with human referents.

- 45 *eʔ-loŋ waraŋ-ko na-mi camindi hi-gha-khe.*
 one-CL old.man-GEN five-HCL daughter be-PIMPF-IMPF
 There once was an old man who had five daughters.

- 46 *eʔ-loŋ can nheʔ-loŋ camindi jeŋ-hi.*
 one-CL son two-CL daughter be.born-P
 One son and two daughters were born.

- 47 *eʔ-loŋ waraŋ-beraŋ hi-gha-khe.*
 one-CL old.man-old.woman be-PIMPF-IMPF
 There once was an old couple.

- 48 *kalau eʔ-loŋ bebal esa saleŋ phe:-gha-hi doʔ-khe.*
 so one-CL woman thus ground sweep-PIMPF-P say-IMPF
 And so an old woman was sweeping the ground, they say.

For numerals eleven through nineteen, the Indo-Aryan classifier <-wada> occurs as the non-human classifier, though the modern spoken transphonologised Nepali loan suffix <-ota> is typically used by younger speakers.

- 49 *dəs barə-ota tui-khe.*
 ten eleven-CL lay.egg-IMPF
 It lays ten or eleven eggs.

Other common measure words are the Indo-Aran loans for quantitative measures for foodstuffs (*mana*, *pela*, *ser*), time (*baje*, *həpta*, *mahina* and *baʔsar*) and money (*taka*). These do not occur with a classifier.

- 50 *kelai-ko camindi-hej te-baʔsar rhum-li do-a-na?*
 we^P-GEN daughter-DAT ten-year wait can-FUT-2
 Can you^s wait ten years for our^P daughter?

Other referents occasionally occur without a classifier as in the following examples.

- 51 *gota-ŋ sum dhir-khe.*
 each-EMP three learn-IMPF
 He's learning all three.

- 52 *nhe? khur-so.*
 two hand-EL
 With [my] two hands.

3.3 Pronominals

3.3.1 Personal pronouns

The Dhimial pronominal system distinguishes person, number, kinship and spatial location (in 3rd person). Pronominals make no sex distinctions. Use of personal pronouns tends to occur only when emphatic or contrastive. The personal pronominal paradigm is listed below in Diagram 4.

	singular	dual	plural	affinal
1	<i>ka</i>	<i>kidhimi</i>	<i>kelai</i>	<i>kya</i>
2	<i>na</i>	<i>nidhimi</i>	<i>nelai</i>	<i>nya</i>
3	<i>wa</i>	<i>udhimi</i>	<i>obalai</i>	
3 proximal	<i>ya</i>	<i>idhimi</i>	<i>ebalai</i>	
3 distal			<i>imbalai</i>	

Diagram 4 Personal pronouns

The dual personal pronouns are morphologically the most complex and variable in form. First and second dual consist of the non-singular morphemes <ke-> and <ne->, which undergo vowel harmony when they concatenate with the dual marker <-dhi> and the human marker <-mi>. Third person dual consists of a directional marker along with the dual and human markers. All three persons have less common dual variants that occur with the morpheme <-ni>: *kidhinimi*, *nidhinimi*, *udhinimi* and *idhinimi*. The dual pronouns also occur in the following oblique forms: *kidhiŋ*, *nidhiŋ* and *odhiŋ*.

The first and second person plural pronouns are made up of the non-singular morphemes <ke-> and <ne-> and the plural morpheme <-lai>. The third person plural forms are made up of a directional marker, the morpheme <-bal>, indicating a human referent, and the plural marker <-lai>.

Third person has distal and proximal forms in the singular, dual and plural, while plural also makes a distal distinction. The *wa* forms are unmarked. The *ya* forms tend to occur with non-human referents or somewhat pejoratively with humans. Third person referents may also be indicated by the distal and remote demonstrative pronouns *iŋko* and *uŋko*.

First and second person singular have marked affinal forms *kya* and *nya* respectively. These pronouns are only used between affinal kin groups. *Kya* and *nya* represent archaic first person and second person plural pronouns and reflexes of these morphemes are visible in the dual and plural pronouns.

3.3.2 Possessive pronouns

The possessive pronouns in Dhimial are listed below in Diagram 5.

	singular	dual	plural	affinal
1	<i>kaŋ(ko)</i>	<i>kidhiŋ(ko)</i>	<i>kelaiko</i>	<i>kiŋ(ko)</i>
2	<i>naŋ(ko)</i>	<i>nidhiŋ(ko)</i>	<i>nelaiko</i>	<i>niŋ(ko)</i>
3	<i>wako</i>	<i>odhiŋ(ko)</i>	<i>obalaiko</i>	
3 proximal	<i>yako</i>	<i>idhiŋ(ko)</i>	<i>ebalaiko</i>	
3 distal			<i>imbalaiko</i>	

Diagram 5 Possessive pronouns

The first and second person singular and the dual possessive pronouns have distinct oblique forms. In addition to the genitive suffix <-ko>, these forms contain a nasal suffix. Third person singular possessive is often pronounced *oko* (rarely as *waŋko*), while dual possessive pronouns also occur as *kidhimiko*, *nidhimiko*, *odhimiko* and *idhimiko*. The marking of possession with a personal pronoun may be unrealised, occur with an unmarked pronoun, with the oblique form or with the full form.

3.3.3 Demonstrative, interrogative and indefinite pronouns

3.3.3.1 Demonstrative pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns mark a three-way distinction in the perceptual distance of referents: proximal, distal and remote. The paradigm, however, is asymmetrical in that not all possible forms are attested. In many cases only a two-way distinction is made. The primary demonstrative pronouns in Dhimial are listed below in Diagram 6.

proximal		distal		remote	
<i>ita</i>	here	<i>inta</i>	there	<i>ota</i>	yonder
<i>esa</i>	like this	<i>insa</i>	like that	<i>osa</i>	like that
<i>esalau</i>	at this time	<i>insalau</i>	at that time		

<i>iso</i>	this way	<i>inso</i>	that way	<i>oso</i>	that way
<i>ede</i>	this			<i>ode</i>	that
<i>edoi</i>	this very ⁸			<i>odoi</i> ¹⁵	that very
<i>isika</i>	this kind	<i>insika</i>	that kind	<i>usika</i>	that kind
		<i>iŋko</i>	that	<i>uŋko</i>	that
<i>ethe</i>	this much			<i>othe</i>	that much

Diagram 6 Demonstrative pronouns

The salient morphemes for constructing the proximal, distal and remote forms are front vowel, front vowel with nasal and back vowel respectively. Where only a two-way distinction exists, the contrast is between front and back vowels. In some morphemes the vowel may vary between high and mid: *ede* ~ *idi*, *insa* ~ *ensa*, *ota* ~ *uta*. All of these forms also have corresponding interrogative pronouns, with the exception of *iŋko* and *uŋko*.

- 53 *ede jhoko m piʔ-nha-khe.*
 this amount rice sell-1p-IMPF
 We sell this much rice.

- 54 *uŋko kam pa-li goi-a-na.*
 that work do-INF must-FUT-2
 You^s will have to take care of that business.

- 55 *iŋko nheʔ-mi-ko isika desisan jeŋ-hi.*
 that two-HCL-GEN like.this decision occur-P
 Those two came to this kind of decision.

- 56 *odon bhaʔsiŋ ka ma-doʔt-ã.*
 that reason I NEG-say-FUT.1s
 For that reason, I won't say.

⁸ These forms have the following respective variants: *edon* and *odon*.

3.3.3.2 Interrogative and indefinite pronouns

The interrogative pronouns are given below.

<i>hai</i>	what
<i>haipali</i> ⁹ ~ <i>haibili</i>	why
<i>hasu</i>	who
<i>hasuko</i> ¹⁰	whose
<i>heta</i>	where
<i>hesa</i> ~ <i>hesapa</i>	how
<i>hede</i>	which
<i>hedoi</i>	which very
<i>hethe</i>	how much
<i>heʔmi</i>	how many (people)
<i>heʔloŋ</i>	how many (things)
<i>heʔlau</i>	when
<i>hiso</i>	where to
<i>hisika</i>	what kind

All the question words in Dhimal have the interrogative morphemes <ha-> or <heʔ->. The quantitative interrogative morpheme <heʔ-> is productive and freely concatenates with borrowed quantitative measures.

<i>heʔ-baje</i>	at what time
<i>heʔ-mahina</i>	how many months
<i>heʔ-taka</i>	how many rupees
<i>heʔ-kosa</i>	how many pods (of bananas)
<i>heʔ-kilo</i>	how many kilos

Interrogative pronouns may be used as indefinite pronouns either alone or with the morpheme *buŋ* meaning ‘also, even’ or the focus particle *doŋ*.

⁹ *haipali* is transparently made up of the interrogative pronoun *hai* and the infinitival verb *pali* ‘to do’.

¹⁰ The unstressed high back vowel /u/ in *hasuko* is typically whispered [*hasyko*].

- 57 *hai doʔ-khe last.*
 what say-IMPF last
 Whatever [they] say is final.
- 58 *hasu-heŋ ma-pi aŋ?*
 who-DAT NEG-give TAG?
 Don't give it to anyone, okay?
- 59 *hasu buŋ manthu.*
 who also NEG.EXT
 There isn't anyone [here].
- 60 *hiso buŋ ma-han-ã.*
 whither also NEG-go-FUT.1s
 I won't go anywhere.
- 61 *hai doŋ ma-cã.*
 what FOC NEG-eat.FUT.1s
 I don't want anything to eat.
- 62 *hai doŋ ma-ko.*
 what FOC NEG-COP
 It's nothing.

Another set of indefinite pronouns exists, which consists of the Dhimial interrogative pronoun with an initial Indic relative pronominal loan morpheme /j-/. This Indo-Aryan-influenced process for creating indefinite forms, however, does not appear to have been carried through fully and some interrogative pronouns do not have a corresponding Indo-Aryan-style indefinite counterpart. These indefinite pronouns are primarily employed as relative pronouns in relative clauses.

interrogative	indefinite
<i>hai</i>	<i>jai</i>
<i>heta</i>	<i>jeta</i>

<i>hesa</i>	<i>jesa</i>
<i>hede</i>	<i>jede</i>
<i>hethe</i>	<i>jethe</i>
<i>hisika</i>	<i>jisika</i>
<i>hasu</i>	<i>*jasu</i>
<i>heʔlau</i>	<i>*jeʔlau¹¹</i>
<i>hiso</i>	<i>*jiso</i>

3.3.3.3 ‘All’ and ‘other’

The word *jharan* indicates the totality of a set of referents, generally human ones, and may be used substantively or attributively as in the following examples.

- 63 *jharan taṅ-hi doʔ-khe.*
 all climb-P say-IMPF
 They all climbed up they say.

- 64 *majhi-ko camindi jharan waran-gelai-heṅ seu pa-khe.*
 chief-GEN daughter all old.man-PL-DAT greet do-IMPF
 The headman’s daughter greets all the old men.

- 65 *uṅko miliṅ jharan-ko ailani miliṅ.*
 that land all-GEN ailani land
 That land is everyone’s *ailāni* land.

When the set of referents is inanimate or non-human, then the Indo-Aryan loan¹² *gota* ‘each’ is employed with the emphatic clitic <-ṅ>.

- 66 *gota-ṅ arna diya lo-hi garanṅgurun-pa.*
 each-EMP arna water.buffalo come-P thunderous-do
 All the wild water buffalo came with a thundering roar.

¹¹ But note *jelau-selau* ‘sometimes, occasionally’.

¹² Bengali has *goṭa* and Maithili has *gota*, both with the meaning ‘each’ or ‘every’. Nepali uses a different morpheme.

- 67 *wa tereŋ-bhuti cum-pu-teŋ wa gota-ŋ cum-pu-hi.*
 3s intestines take-DIST-SEQ 3s each-EMP take-DIST-P
 Having brought the large and small intestines, [she] brought it all.

- 68 *gota-ŋ muisa hu:-hi gota-ŋ.*
 each-EMP body.hair fall.out-P each-EMP
 All [his] body hair fell out, all of it.

The following forms have been identified using the the native root <bo-> to indicate the meaning of ‘other’: *bomi* ‘another person, a different person’, *bosa* ‘other way’, *boso* ‘other direction’, *bothame* ‘other place’. The last form contains the Indo-Aryan loan *thame* ‘place’.

- 69 *ba bo-mi-ko ulka-so lo-nha be?*
 or other-HCL-GEN behest-EL come-P.2 DUB
 Or whether you^s come at another’s behest?
- 70 *bheney thame boso kana bənai-teŋ buŋ dhaʔ-li do-khe.*
 other place other.way hole build-SEQ also run-INF can-IMP
 They can get away through holes built to other places.
- 71 *bo-thame hane-siŋ.*
 other-place go-ADH.DL
 Let’s^d go somewhere else.

3.4 Reflexive

basic morph: *tai*
 label: REF

The use of the reflexive morpheme *tai* is not required and in most instances the affected body part is simply stated. And like English, most verbs which take reflexive or middle marking in other languages are already encoded with reflexive semantics in Dhimal.

- 72 *ciu-hoi-na?*
bathe-PERF-2
Have you^s bathed already?
- 73 *darhi siʔ-gha.*
beard shave-P.1s
I shaved.
- 74 *khur jha:-hi.*
hand wash-P.
He washed his hands.
- 75 *aina-ta rhai khay-hi.*
mirror-LOC face look.at-P
He looked at himself in the mirror.

When a speaker wishes to emphasise reflexive semantics, an analytic construction with the morpheme *tai* is employed.¹³ The morpheme *tai* is used contrastively or emphatically, indicating that reference is to a particular participant as opposed to some other one. The reflexive also has a reduplicated form *tatai* with intensive meaning.

- 76 *tatai-mi-ŋ mili-pa-nha-khe.*
REF-HCL-EMP be.arranged-do-1p-IMPF
We^p arrange it all by ourselves.
- 77 *wa-ko sanaiti-gelai tai-ko dera-ta hane-hi.*
3s-GEN friend-PL REF-GEN village-LOC go-IMPF
His friends went to their own villages.
- 78 *bhəgwan pukar-teŋ udhinimi tatai-tatai suta dama laʔ-hi.*
Lord exclaim-SEQ they^d REF-REF home road quit-P
Exclaiming ‘Lord’, they^d each set out for their^d own homes.

¹³ This morpheme is very similar to the Newar reflexive *thau*, to which it may also be cognate.

- 79 *tai-ko saʔ lan-teŋ bides hane-li goi-khe.*
 REF-GEN house leave-SEQ abroad go-INF must-IMPF
 One must leave one's own home and go abroad.

3.5 *Postpositions and case marking*

Syntactically, most of the case markers in Dhimal function as affixes, though two function on a phrasal rather than a lexical level, indicating their morphological status as clitics. Two case markers function as independent words and appear to be of a relatively recent origin as evidenced by their phonological bulk and morphosyntactic behaviour.

3.5.1 *Genitive*

basic morph: <-ko>
 label: GEN

The genitive marks a possessive relation between nominals and is realised as the suffix <-ko>. The genitive construction generally follows a dependent-head ordering pattern, though they may also come at the end of an utterance for pragmatic reasons. Just as in French, possessive pronouns are often omitted with body parts except when emphatic or contrastive. In these cases, exactly whose body part is affected must be derived from context.

- 80 *nui thum-ka hi-hi.*
 mouth close-NOM be-P
 [Her] mouth is closed.
- 81 *khokoi-ta ci:-pi-teŋ hi-hi.*
 leg-LOC bite-DIR-SEQ AUX-P
 It is biting [him] on the leg.
- 82 *gandi moʔ-pi.*
 back rub-DIR
 Rub [my] back.

In the following example, the owner of the body part is indicated because its referent is important to the story. Whereas in subsequent references, the possessor of the body part is left unmarked.

- 83 *ede kaŋ-ko gandi-ta gha-se doʔ-hi doʔ-khe.*
 this I.OBL-GEN back-LOC play-IMP.DL say-P say-IMPF
 ‘Play on this back of mine,’ she said.

The genitive suffix may be omitted when the relation is clear or rather, when there is a strong degree of conceptual dependence between the dependent and the head: *nelai dera* ‘your^p village’, *naŋ bai* ‘your^s elder sister’, *kaŋ one* ‘my younger sibling’. This usage is most often found with first and second person pronouns.

- 84 *na kaŋ-ko ciŋŋhi pi-pu-li do-a-na*
 you^s I.OBL-GEN letter give-DIST-INF be.able-FUT-2

kaŋ suta?
 I.OBL home
 Can you^s take my letter to my home?

- 85 *e manise o na kidhiŋ-ko pheʔ-su-ka*
 oh person o you^s we^d.OBL-GEN beat-COL-NOM

tiŋ-nha wa la.
 see-P.2 DED MIR
 Oh mister, perhaps you^s saw our^d fight.

- 86 *hasu-ko hi-hi la iŋko pusij la?*
 who-GEN be-P MIR that hair MIR
 Whose hair is that then?

The genitive suffix may co-occur with other case markers in headless noun phrases.

- 87 *wa-ko-ta khudra-paisa manthu.*
 3s-GEN-LOC change-money NEG.EXT
 He doesn't have any change.

- 88 *indira didi-ko-ta phon pa-teṅ khaṅ-lau*
 Indira older.sister-GEN-LOC phone do-SEQ try-TEM

'yo hoina' doʔ-hi.

yo hoina say-P

When I tried to phone Indira *didi* at her place, I got the wrong number.

- 89 *betai-ko-hoi bənai-khe.*
 rattan-GEN-INST make-IMPF
 They make it out of rattan.

The genitive is also used in relative clauses to mark the agent or possessor of the action.

- 90 *kaṅ-ko doʔ-li goi-ka katha...*
 I.OBL-GEN say-INF must-NOM word
 What I have to say is...

- 91 *naṅ-ko paya pose-ka piʔ-hoi la məʔ*
 you^s.OBL-GEN pig raise-NOM sell-PERF MIRTAG
 They sold the pig that you^s raised, right?

- 92 *e insa naṅ-ko buṅ beʔ bho:-ka*
 oh thus you^s.OBL-GEN also wife search-NOM

bela jeṅ-hoi?!

time become-PERF

Oh, so it's time for you^s to look for a wife too then?!

Dhimal also uses the genitive in a calque of the Nepali postpositional phrase *-ko bāre-mā*, meaning 'about, regarding'.

- 93 *na hai-ko bare-ta katha pa-khe-na?*
 you^s what-GEN bare-LOC talk do-IMPF-2
 What are you^s talking about?

- 94 *na hai doʔ-khe-na ku-nu ede-ko bare-ta*
 you^s what say-IMPF-2 COP-COND this-GEN bare-LOC
 What do you^s say about this then?

3.5.2 Locative

basic morph: <-ta>
 label: LOC

The locative marker <-ta> is predominately suffixed to inanimate nominals to mark spatial or temporal location with the meaning ‘on’, ‘in’ or ‘at’. In the following examples, the locative marks spatial location.

- 95 *idi bejan sim-ta tole bo:-khe.*
 this girl mortar-LOC flour grind-IMPF
 This girl is grinding flour in the mortar.

- 96 *istu ci-ta thi-kha.*
 much water-LOC be.afraid-IMPF.1s
 I get afraid in a lot of water.

- 97 *urai-teŋ siŋ-ta nhoʔ-khe.*
 fly-SEQ tree-LOC alight-IMPF
 It flew up and is landing in a tree.

- 98 *dama-ko dihẽ-ta apis hi-gha-khe.*
 road-GEN east-LOC office be-PIMPF-IMPF
 The office was on the east side of the road.

The locative marker <-ta> may also be used to encode temporal location.

- 99 *heʔ-ni-ta* *thikaʔ-khe-na* *sutaʔ*
 how.many-day-LOC arrive-IMPF-2 home
 How many days does it take to get to your^s home?

- 100 *kalau* *nhisiŋ-ta* *wa* *iŋko* *jim-li* *te*
 so night-LOC 3s that sleep-INF TOP

do-ka *manthu* *la*.
 can-NOM NEG.EXT MIR
 In the night then, he was unable to sleep.

- 101 *sita* *ci* *naŋ-li* *hane-ka* *bela-ta...*
 Sītā water fetch-INF go-NOM time-LOC
 When Sītā went to fetch water...

The locative marker is also used with nominalised verbs to mark temporal location that extends over a period of time. Here, the nominalised verb may be repeated numerous times.

- 102 *hai* *pa-hi* *doʔ-ka-ta-ŋ* *hi-nha-khe*.
 what do-P say-NOM-LOC-EMP be-1p-IMPF
 We keep saying, ‘what did he do?’

- 103 *idoi doʔ-ka* *cij-gelai* *gota-ŋ* *laŋi* *jhoraʔ-ta*
 this say-NOM thing-PL each-EMP Lāŋi river-LOC

haya *maŋ-ka-ta* *kiham* *yu-ka-ta* *niŋ-khe*.
 fish catch-NOM-LOC crab pull.out-NOM-LOC get-IMPF
 These things that [I] said are all available while fishing and
 crabbing in the Laŋi river.

- 104 *mhoʔ-ka-ta-ŋ* *mhoʔ-ka-ta-ŋ*
 blow-NOM-LOC-EMP blow-NOM-LOC-EMP

mhoʔ-ka-ta-ŋ *duhã* *ole-khe*.
 blow-NOM-LOC-EMP smoke emerge-IMPF
 Blowing, and blowing, and blowing, and blowing, smoke
 emerges.

The locative also co-occurs with many lexical locatives of the English type ‘on top of’ and ‘on the bottom of’. The last two locatives in the list below are concatenations of Indo-Aryan postpositions and the Dhimial locative.

<i>rhuta</i>	above
<i>leta</i>	below
<i>liʔta</i>	inside
<i>cemtaŋ</i>	near
<i>majhaʔta</i>	between
<i>agaʔta ~ agari</i>	in front

These locatives may indicate stative location or movement to a location.

105 *liʔta* *hai* *doŋ* *manthu*.
 inside what FOC NEG:EXT
 There is nothing inside.

106 *wa* *jhar* *liʔta* *dul-hi*.
 3s forest inside enter-P
 He went into the forest.

107 *wa* *siŋ* *rhuta* *taŋ-hi*.
 3s tree above climb-P
 He climbed up the tree.

Lexical locatives may occur without a nominal or with other case markers.

- 108 *khuʔ leta!*
 descend below
 Come down here!

- 109 *iŋko berəŋ leta gha-li ma-pi-teŋ*
 that old.woman below play-INF NEG-give-SEQ

kusti gandi-ta gha-pa-hi doʔ-khe la.
 wrestle back-LOC play-do-P say-IMPf MIR
 Not letting them do it below, that old woman made them
 wrestle on her back they say.

- 110 *rhuta-so te bukbak-bukbak-pa hul-khe aŋ.*
 above-EL TOP plop-plop-do fall-IMPf FOC1
 From above, things are falling kerplop kerplop, they say.

3.5.3 Instrumental

basic morph: <-hoi>
 label: INST

The morpheme <-hoi>, apparently derived from the verb *hoili* ‘to finish’, is affixed to nominals to indicate the instrument with which an action is carried out. Hence, the instrumental is only used with non-stative verbs.

- 111 *amrika-ta khur-hoi m ca-kheʔ*
 America-LOC hand-INST rice eat-IMPf
 Do they eat with their hands in America?

- 112 *sabun-hoi lokhon pheʔt-aŋ-ka.*
 soap-INST clothes beat-FUT-1s
 I’ll wash the clothes with soap.

- In a few instances, the instrument is not case-marked as such.

- Dhimal has another instrumental marker <-au>, which is used by some speakers. This morpheme is not as common as the <-hoi> suffix and has been noted by Hodgson (1880) as the instrumental for the eastern dialect. The morpheme <-au> may well be the older form of the two due to its lack of similarity to any verb and its low frequency of occurrence. Incidentally, it is formally similar to the Bodo locative <-au>.

- 118 *eʔ-loŋ rumal-au satta thai-pi-gil-hi*
 one-CL hanky-INST sudden throw-DIR-IM-P

doʔ-khe ode bhar.

say-IMPF that load

They say suddenly he went and threw away that load for him with a handkerchief.

- 119 *ode bebal te odoŋ nariya-heŋ phesar-au*
 that woman TOP that elephant-DAT broom-INST

phutphat-pa phe:-pi-gil-hi doʔ-khe.

one.by.one-do sweep-DIR-IM-P say-IMPF

They say that woman swept those elephants away with a broom [for him].

- 120 *khokoi-au m leŋ-khe.*
 foot-INST paddy spread-IMPF

She is spreading the paddy with her foot [to dry].

3.5.4 Elative

basic morph: <-so>

label: EL

The elative suffix <-so> is primarily used to indicate the source of an event. This source may be spatial, temporal, figurative or logical.

- 121 *anji peʔsa tui-so ole-hi.*
 yesterday caterpillar egg-EL emerge-P
 Yesterday the silkworms hatched.

- 122 *na hiso-so lo-khe-na a dada?*
 you^s whither-EL come-IMPF-2 VOC older brother
 Where are you^s coming from older brother?

- 123 *bhonoī liʔta-so tir-ka tir-ka ci mur-khe.*
 ground inside-EL cool-NOM cool-NOM water ooze-IMPF
 Cool, cool water oozes up from out of the ground.

When used in a temporal sense, the elative indicates that an event has its source or beginning at a certain point in time. In example (124), the distal demonstrative *inta* ‘there’ marks location in time.

- 124 *inta-so bimari jeŋ-hi.*
 there-EL sick become-P
 After that he became sick.
- 125 *ka ita hapta din agari-so-ŋ naŋ-ko*
 I here week day before-EL-EMP you^s.OBL-GEN
- dama khaŋ-gha.*
 road look-P.1s
 I’ve been watching for your^s arrival here for a week.
- 126 *wa nenabare-so boḍiŋ-ta pərhe-khe.*
 3s this.year-EL boarding.school-LOC study-IMPF
 He has been studying in a boarding school since this year.

In the following examples, the elative marker indicates a figurative source.

- 127 *na hethe-so cuma-nha?*
 you^s how.much-EL take-P.2
 How much did you^s get it for?
- 128 *sukh basuli mhoʔ-nha pa-nu*
 joy flute blow-P.2 do-COND

kelai mājja-so care-teṇ hi-aṇ.
 we^P enjoyment-EL graze-SEQ AUX-FUT
 If you^S blow the flute of joy, we will contentedly remain
 grazing.

The elative marker is also used with non-finite verbs to indicate the logical source of an event. Here, the meaning is ‘due to’ or ‘since’.

129 *kalau belha?-na bhai-so kalau*
 so be.evening-IMPL be.like-EL so

wa siṇ rhuta taṇ-hi.
 3s tree above climb-P

And so, since it had become evening, he climbed up a tree.

130 *kalau waraṇ-gelai iṇko do?-na bhai-so te...*
 so old.man-PL that say-IMPL be.like-EL TOP
 So, since that is what the old men say...

3.5.5 Circumlocative

basic morph: <-bhari>
 label: CIRC

The Indo-Aryan loan suffix <-bhari>¹⁴ indicates motion towards an amorphous goal with motion verbs, indefinite motion within a location with the indeterminate morpheme and static location with a non-motion verb. The circumlocative contrasts with the allative in that it refers to an amorphous goal such as a forest or abroad, while the allative is used with more discrete goals. In addition, while the allative refers to action up to a goal, the circumlocative morpheme <-bhari> refers to the general vicinity of the nominal to which it is affixed and may be translated as ‘over by, around, towards’. The following examples illustrate the use of <-bhari> in contexts referring to a stative event within a location or motion within a location.

¹⁴ Maithili has a postposition *bhare* ‘on’ or ‘in the direction of’.

- 131 *kelai bhogar-bhari hi-nha-khe.*
 we^p stream-CIRC live-1p-IMPF
 We^p live over by the stream.
- 132 *cudur-ko tupa-bhari ciriciri-khe.*
 snail-GEN tip-CIRC be.crunchy-IMPF
 It's crunchy toward the tip of the snail.
- 133 *kalau dera-bhari waraη-gelai hi-gil-khe*
 then village-CIRC old.man-PL be-IM-IMPF
- gora am-gil-khe.*
 alcohol drink-IM-IMPF
 Then the old men go around the village and drink alcohol.
- 134 *boi-bhari ghurghurai-su-khe-na?!*
 uncle-CIRC run.around-COL-IMPF-2
 Are you^p running around near uncle?!
- 135 *hasu-heη ma-tiη-khe dama-bhari.*
 who-DAT NEG-see-IMPF road-CIRC
 [They] don't see anyone by the road.

In examples (136-38), the circumlocative morpheme is used with motion towards an amorphous goal. The goal in example (138) is not a physical location, but an abstract concept, and the motion is figurative.

- 136 *bides-bhari hane-li khaη-lau buη henja*
 abroad-CIRC go-INF look-TEM also much
- kharca jeη-hoi.*
 expense become-PERF
 Just trying to go abroad, many expenses already occurred.

- 137 *a dada iso lo saneʔ-bhare.*
 VOC older.brother over.here come sunlight-CIRC
 Older brother, come over here by the sunlight.
- 138 *bikas-bhari hane-ka dama bho:k-aine.*
 development-CIRC go-NOM road look.for-ADH.PL
 Let's^p look for the road leading towards development.

The morpheme <-bhari> is commonly found affixed to the word *lekhara* 'backside' to create the complex postpositional *lekhara-bhari* 'behind' or 'in back'.

- 139 *khur lekhara-bhari taʔ-teŋ hi-hi.*
 hand behind-CIRC put-SEQ be-P
 [Her] hands are behind her.

3.5.6 Dative

basic morph: <-heŋ> ~ <-seŋ>
 label: DAT

Nominal object marking in Dhimal is effected by the morpheme <-heŋ>¹⁵. The allomorph <-seŋ> has a very restricted distribution, only occurring with singular pronominals, while <-heŋ> may be employed with any nominal. The dative marker is predominantly suffixed to animate nominals to mark the recipient of a bitransitive verb and some patients of a monotransitive verb. The recipient may be the goal, beneficiary or maleficiary. Examples of <-heŋ> being used to mark animate recipients follow. Note that the inanimate objects are unmarked.

¹⁵ That <-heŋ> may originally have been a directional marker can be seen in the words for the cardinal directions: *dahē* 'north', *mahē* 'south', *dihē* 'west' and *nuhē* 'east'.

- 140 *wa-seŋ eʔ-kuri taka pi-gha.*
 3s-DAT one-twenty *taka* give-P.1s
 I gave him twenty *taka*.
- 141 *paya-heŋ hai hai ca-pa-su-khe-na?*
 pig-DAT what what eat-do-COL-IMPF-2
 What all do you^p feed pigs?
- 142 *kelai-heŋ nheʔ-loŋ lumphi pi.*
 we^p-DAT two-CL banana give
 Give us^p two bananas.
- 143 *kuʔi-teŋ kaʔi-teŋ jharaŋ-heŋ bakhrai-hi.*
 cut-SEQ REDUP everyone-DAT portion.out-P
 After they finished cutting it up, they gave a portion to
 everyone.

Dative marking in bitransitive constructions appears to be reserved for the recipient, even when not overt.

- 144 *sona camindi doŋ pi-hoi-ga.*
 gold daughter FOC give-PERF-P.1s
 I already gave away my golden daughter.

Most human patients of monotransitive verbs are also case-marked with the dative. Non-human animate and inanimate patients in folktales that have human characteristics, such as speech, may also be case-marked with the dative as in example (145).

- 145 *kalau ode siŋ-heŋ hiʔ-hi doʔ-khe.*
 so that tree-DAT ask-P say-IMPF
 And so they asked that tree, they say.
- 146 *sarihi-pa yum-teŋ dəkʔər-heŋ rhum-khe.*
 order-do sit-SEQ doctor-DAT wait-IMPF
 Having sat in a line, they wait for the doctor.

- 147 *udini iskul-ko jamal-lai-heŋ gaði dheʔ-pa-hi.*
 other.day school-GEN child-PL-DAT bus be.struck-do-P
 The other day a bus struck some school children.
- 148 *udini hasu-heŋ kai-nhaʔ*
 other.day who-DAT call-P.2
 Who did you^s call the other day?
- 149 *nelai ka-seŋ ma-khujalai-su!*
 you^p I-DAT NEG-pester-COL
 Don't pester me!

Although all recipients and most human patients are marked with the dative marker, unmarked human patients may also be found. The following examples illustrate this usage. The human patients in these utterances are unmarked either because the individual's identity is unimportant or indefinite. The plural marking for a semantically singular referent as in example (150) also reinforces the notion of indefiniteness.

- 150 *ela khusi lal beja-lai cum-pu-hoi.*
 now Khuṣī Lāl girl-PL take-DIST-PERF
 Khuṣī Lāl has now taken away a girl. (he is married)
- 151 *beja-lai khaŋ-li hane-teŋ lo-nhiŋ.*
 girl-PL look.at-INF go-SEQ come- P.1d
 We^d went to look at girls and returned.
- 152 *dyaŋ te ma-tiŋ-hi la.*
 person TOP NEG-see-P MIR
 [They] didn't see anyone then.
- 153 *idi bejan jamal baʔ-teŋ hasu dopha*
 this girl baby carry-SEQ who COM

nui dhui-khe be.

mouth speak-IMPF DUB

I wonder who this girl carrying a baby is talking to.

Non-human animate patients may or may not take dative case marking. Two observations may be noted here. First, when both the subject and object are non-human, the dative marker may be employed to disambiguate the role of the actors as in example (154) below. In other cases, dative marking may be related to the notion of indefiniteness.

154 *khiya kiya-heŋ gil-khe.*

dog chicken-DAT chase-IMPF

The dog is chasing the chicken.

155 *miŋkau-heŋ thi-khe-na?*

cat-DAT fear-IMPF-2

Are you^s afraid of cats?

156 *kiya lui-khe.*

chicken pluck-IMPF

They are plucking chickens.

157 *kabara seʔ-li hane-ka jeŋ-hi.*

chital kill-INF go-NOM happen-P

It happened that he went to kill the chital.

In Dhimal, the inanimate object of a transitive verb is generally not marked, as in examples (158) and (159).

158 *paya mansar du:-hoi.*

pig garlic root-PERF

A pig has started uprooting [your] garlic.

- 159 *iŋko paɪsa wa mhoʔ-khe.*
 that money 3s hide-IMPF
 She's hiding that money.

But in the following examples, the inanimate object is case-marked with the dative. Why this is so remains unclear.

- 160 *eʔ-loŋ bar-ka mundha-heŋ kaĩci-hoi*
 one-CL big-NOM stump-DAT scissors-INST

cikiʔ-pa po:-khe.

snip-do sever-IMPF

With a pair of scissors it cuts a big stump with a snipping sound. (riddle)

- 161 *kalau iŋko bhətiya-heŋ tir-pa-li goi-khe.*
 then that rice.beer-DAT be.cool-do-INF must-IMPF
 Then you have to cool the rice beer mash.

- 162 *kelai jharəŋ eʔ-thame hi-teŋ wai-heŋ khaʔ-pa-aine.*
 we^p all one-place be-SEQ rain-DAT flee-do-ADH.PL
 Let's^p all wait out the rain in one place.

- 163 *iŋko-heŋ pui-li goi-khe.*
 that-DAT weave-INF must-IMPF
 One must weave that (the cane).

The dative marker <-heŋ> is also found in other environments, aside from nominal object marking. In example (164), <-heŋ> is used to encode a temporal goal. This usage appears to be marginal.

- 164 *te nani-heŋ ethe.*
 okay today-DAT this.much
 Okay, that's all for today.

When there is more than one patient or recipient, only the last need be marked. Example (165) illustrates the clitic nature of the morpheme <-heŋ>. Note that only the last of the deities in the list is dative-marked.

- 165 *lāsəmi berəŋ tisti mai cəudhari maharaj*
 Lakṣmī o.woman Tisti Mai Chaudharī Mahārāj
- buḍha ṭhakur mi-besa parbati*
 Buḍha Ṭhakur brothers-in-law Pārvatī
- kalau jauhara-gelai-heŋ puja pa-khe.*
 and Jauhara-PL-DAT worship do-IMPF
 They worship Old woman Lakṣmī, Tisti Mai, Chaudharī
 Mahārāj, Buḍha Ṭhakur, the brothers-in-law, Pārvatī and the
 Jauharas.

Although the parameters of humanness, animacy and definiteness are strong indicators of whether the dative marker is used, they are insufficient as predictors. The morphosyntactic behaviour of the dative marker is controlled to some extent by semantic and pragmatic factors. Objects in Dhimal are more likely to take dative case marking if higher up on the following clines:

human > animate > inanimate
 definite > indefinite
 recipient > patient

Dhimal also employs a dative subject or rather experiencer subject construction using <-heŋ>. This is undoubtedly due to the influence of the neighbouring Indo-Aryan languages, as most instances use verbs or structures borrowed from this group. Examples (166) and (167) are both calques of Indo-Aryan patterns. The first employs a loan verb, while the second uses a Dhimal verb.

- 166 *insika dyaŋ ka-seŋ mon ma-pore-khe.*
 that.kind person I-DAT heart NEG-fall-IMPF
 I don't like that kind of person.

- 167 *ka-seŋ mesa lo-khe.*
 I-DAT fever come-IMPF
 I'm coming down with a fever.

In many cases, however, the Indic structure is modified so that the experiencer subject becomes simply the subject with no case marking employed.

- 168 *na caɦĩ mon pore-khe-na ma-pore-khe-na.*
 you^s IND heart fall-IMPF-2 NEG-fall-IMPF-2
 Do you^s like it or not?

Most verbs of emotion or sensation such as fear, hunger and thirst which use an experiencer subject in Indo-Aryan and many neighbouring Tibeto-Burman languages, take simple subject agreement in Dhimal.

- 169 *istu ci-ta thi-kha.*
 much water-LOC be.afraid-IMPF.1s
 I'm afraid of deep water.

- 170 *ka mai-ka manthu-ga.*
 I be.tired-NOM NEG.EXT-P.1s
 I'm not tired.

- 171 *ci am-li kiʔ-hoi-na?*
 water drink-INF want-PERF-2
 Are you^s thirsty?

3.5.7 *Comitative*

basic morph: *dopha* ~ *dosa*

label: COM

The comitative marker *dopha* indicates joint activity, being with or doing something with another person or object. There is another variant of the comitative, *dosa*, which Hodgson lists for the eastern dialect. Evidence of its unique status among Dhimal case markers is the fact that *dopha* may occur without a nominal host as shown in example (172). In its reduplicated or emphatic form it is an adverbial meaning ‘together’.

- 172 *dopha-ŋ* *hi-ka* *sanaiti hiso* *hiso*
 COM-EMP be-NOM friend whither whither

han-a *wa* *bhai-hi*.

go-FUT DED seem-P

Where would the friend who had stayed with [us] go?

- 173 *kelai dopha-ŋ dopha hane-nha-khe*.
 we^p COM-EMP COM go-1p-IMPF
 We^p are going all together.

When the comitative marker follows a pronoun, it may co-occur with, but does not require the genitive suffix. Although *dopha* is an independent word, the comitative appears to be becoming a bound morpheme as indicated by the optionality of the genitive suffix and the fact that when the comitative occurs with a monomorphemic pronoun, it is often unstressed.

- 174 *kaŋ-ko dopha niu bho:-hi*.
 I.OBL-GEN COM pretext seek-P
 [He] only sought a pretext with me.

- 175 *wa kelai-ko dopha lo-hi.*
 3s we^P-GEN COM come-P
 He came with us^P.
- 176 *dir-gelai dopha bat mare-li thale-hi.*
 deity-PL COM chat kill-INF begin-P
 [He] began conversing with the gods.
- 177 *na dopha bihu pa-dhã.*
 you^S COM wedding do-IRR.1s
 I would marry you^S.
- 178 *tamaŋ dosa hane-hi.*
 Tamang COM go-P
 [She] ran off with a Tamang.

Finally, while in most instances the comitative is employed with human nominals, it is not restricted to such.

- 179 *gora dopha cokha bənai-teŋ....*
 rice.alcohol COM snack make-SEQ
 Having made a snack [to eat] with rice alcohol...

3.5.8 Allative

basic morph: *thekapa*
 label: ALL

The allative marks inanimate goals and is used to indicate a situation or action occurring up to a certain location. It is apparently cognate to the verb *thikaʔli* ‘to reach’. Like the comitative, the allative has the formal trappings of an adverb. However, its morphosyntactic behaviour is rather unlike an adverb. The goal may be spatial as in examples (180) and (181), temporal as in (182) and (183), or figurative as in examples (184) and (185).

- 180 *wa-heŋ heta thekapa sir-pu-nha?*
 3s-DAT where ALL accompany-P.2
 Where did you^s accompany him to?
- 181 *na-heŋ buruŋ saʔ thekapa-ŋ taʔ-pa-aŋ-ka*
 you^s-DAT forthwith house ALL-EMP put-do-FUT-1s
 I'll see that you make it home right away.
- 182 *nelai suta lo-ka bansa-lai heʔlau thekapa hi-khe?*
 you^p home come-NOM guest-PL when ALL be-IMPF
 How long will the guests that came to your house stay?
- 183 *nani thekapa ciṭṭhi mha-ma-lo-khe.*
 today ALL letter ABS-NEG-come-IMPF
 Up to today no letters come at all.
- 184 *kalau ode bela thekapa wajan paha-ko*
 so that time ALL boy side-GEN
- dyaŋ-gelai gora ga:k-a wa.*
 person-PL alcohol cook-FUT DED
 So until that time, the members of the boy's party may
 prepare alcohol.
- 185 *wa-ko do-ka thekapa mamar-pa dhaʔ-teŋ lo-hi.*
 3s-GEN can-NOM ALL fast-do run-SEQ come-P
 He came running as fast as he could.

3.5.9 Individuating postposition

Basic morph: *cahĩ*

Label: IND

The Nepali loan *cahĩ* is used to individuate a referent and may occur with subjects, objects, locatives or adjectives. When it occurs with

nominal referents it is employed to differentiate or distinguish between competing referents.

- 186 *kalau wa-ko nokor cahĩ khali gai gho:-li.*
 so 3s-GEN job IND only cow tend-INF
 And so his job, it was only to tend cows.
- 187 *jhar-bhari hul-hi wa cahĩ.*
 forest-CIRC fall-P 3s IND
 He fell out by the forest.
- 188 *aro-ŋ jogi-heŋ cahĩ wase pore-hi la.*
 more-EMP yogi-DAT IND let.down feel-P MIR
 Again the yogi was disappointed.
- 189 *leta cahĩ hai pa-hi doʔ-khe pa-nu*
 below IND what do-P say-IMPF do-COND
 Below, what happened was...
- 190 *inta bajar-ta cahĩ beja-lai hi-hi wa la.*
 there fair-LOC IND girl-PL be-P DED MIR
 At the fair there, there may be girls.
- 191 *kalau iŋko-so cah na ka-heŋ ca ku-nu.*
 so that-EL IND you^s I-DAT eat COP-COND
 And then after that one, eat me.

With adjectives and nominalised verbs the individuating postposition indicates ‘the X one’.

- 192 *dheu-li ma-do-ka cahĩ arna diya jeŋ-hi.*
 tie-INF NEG-can-NOM IND arna w.buffalo become-P
 The ones that they couldn’t tether, they became wild water buffalo.

- 193 *e bir cahĩ hede ku-nu?*
 oh strong IND which COP-COND
 Oh, the strongest one then was which?

Occasionally, the individuating postposition may be found with verb phrases. The two examples below are the only ones in my corpus. Note in example (194) that the negative prefix <ma-> assimilates harmonically to the high front vowel of the verb *gili* ‘to know how, understand’.

- 194 *kam pa-li cahĩ mi-gi-khe.*
 work do-INF IND NEG-know.how-IMPF
 She doesn’t know how to work.

- 195 *ma-doʔ-ka khalko hi-nu cahĩ donabare athawa*
 NEG-say-NOM such be-COND IND next.year or

 koinabare doʔ-ka khalko katha doʔ-khe.
 in.two.years say-NOM such talk say-IMPF
 If there is something that [they] can’t say, it’s ‘next year’ or
 ‘in two years’.

3.6 Comparative

Comparatives and superlatives are constructed in a similar manner using the verb *khanli* ‘to look’ and the sequential morpheme <-teŋ>. In a comparative, the structure may be illustrated as ‘compared to Z, Y is X-er’. The object being compared does not take the dative marker.

- 196 *kalau khuwāhã doʔ-khe na khan-teŋ ka bar-ka.*
 so tiger say-IMPF you^s look-SEQ I big-NOM
 So the tiger says, ‘I am bigger than you^s.’

- 197 *iso* *khan-teŋ* *oso* *cuy-khe* *məʔ*
 over.here look-SEQ over.there cold-IMPF TAG
 It's colder over there than it is here, isn't it?

Word order of the constituents is free as shown in examples (198) and (199), though example (198) employs the unmarked structure.

- 198 *bhente* *khan-teŋ* *umpai* *poto-ka* *hi-hi*.
 Bhente look-SEQ Umpai short-NOM AUX-P
 Umpai is shorter than Bhente.
- 199 *umpai* *bhente* *khan-teŋ* *poto-ka* *hi-hi*.
 Umpai Bhente look-SEQ short-NOM AUX-P
 Compared to Bhente Umpai is shorter.

The comparative is also used in another type of construction. Here the semantics are similar to English 'rather than' or 'instead of'.

- 200 *wa-heŋ* *seʔ-ka* *khan-teŋ* *ka-heŋ* *seʔ!*
 3s-DAT kill-NOM look-SEQ I-DAT kill
 Instead of killing him, kill me!

The construction of the superlative differs only in the use of *jharan* 'all'.

- 201 *jharan* *khan-teŋ* *ka* *atuisa* *m* *ca-kha*.
 all look-SEQ I a.bit rice eat-IMPF.1s
 I eat the least rice of everyone.
- 202 *jharan* *khan-teŋ* *lam-pha...*
 all look-SEQ go.ahead-do
 First of all...
- 203 *ode* *jharan* *khan-teŋ* *ama* *cahĩ* *the-ka*
 that all look-SEQ mother IND big-NOM

hi-gha-khe inta.

be-PIMPF-IMPF there

The mother was the biggest of all of them there.

A related construction employing the nominal *jhokoka*, from a verb meaning ‘to equal, be the size of’, is used to create comparatives which are equivalent in size or amount. This construction is similar to the English ‘as...as’ construction. The word order of constituents is not free.

- 204 *iŋko nariya moʔor jhoko-ka hi-gha-hi.*
 that elephant car equal-NOM AUX-PIMPF-P
 That elephant was the size of a car.

- 205 *wa-ko bai idi jhoko-ka hi-hi.*
 3s-GEN e.sister this equal-NOM AUX-P
 His elder sister is this big.

- 206 *ela pahar-ko tukara bhari jhoko-ka*
 now hill-GEN piece load equal-NOM

ghase-ko bhojha cum-teŋ ...

grass-GEN burden take-SEQ

Carrying a burden of grass the size of a piece of the hill...

In example (207), one of the comparatives is omitted.

- 207 *iŋko bar-ka saʔ jhoko-ka bənai-li kiʔ-kha.*
 that big-NOM house equal-NOM build-INF want-IMPF.1s
 I want to build one as big as that house.

Lastly, when a predicate adjective construction is used comparatively, a synthetic construction with the word *asa* ‘more’ is used.

- 208 *aro-ŋ* *asa* *pi.*
 more-EMP more give
 Give [me] some more.
- 209 *bho-pi-ã* *asa* *bar-ka?*
 seek-DIR-FUT.1s more be.big-NOM
 Shall I look for a bigger one for [you]?
- 210 *kalau* *syaille-heŋ* *kai-hi* *asa* *bherpa-ŋ.*
 So jackal-DAT call-P more near-EMP
 And so he called the jackal (to come) closer.

CHAPTER FOUR

VERBAL MORPHOLOGY

This chapter addresses the morphological categories of the Dhimāl verb. The section begins with an examination of morphological processes of the verb, followed by copulas and manner adverbs. Subsequently, the inflection of the finite verb, tense and aspect categories, including the periphrastic tenses, and the deictic motion morphemes will be treated. Also discussed in this chapter are valence changing operations, such as the middle, passive, causatives and the directive. The remaining sections will describe the mood categories, including optatives, adhortatives and imperatives.

4.1 *Morphosyntactic processes*

While many verbs are of ancient origin, Dhimāl creates verbs from a variety of grammatical sources, both native and foreign. This is apparent from some recent coinings with transparent etymology. These sources include nouns, adjectives and interjections. Compare the following examples. The first two are native roots, while the others are Indo-Aryan loans.

<i>sau</i>	fat (n.)	<i>saukhe.</i>	It's fatty.
<i>abe</i>	umh... (inter.)	<i>abedhã...</i>	I'd, uh...
<i>suru</i>	start (n.)	<i>surugha.</i>	I started.
<i>alsi</i>	lazy (adj.)	<i>alsigha.</i>	I felt lazy.

Once constituted, the Dhimial verb may undergo a number of general morphosyntactic processes, including affixation, reduplication, compounding and subordination.

4.1.1 Affixation

Affixation is the most common and elaborated of the processes, with the verb taking up to two prefixes and as many as six or more suffixes encoding valence, person, number, tense and aspect. Each of these affixes occurs in grammatically determined positions.

4.1.2 Reduplication

There are two types of reduplication in the Dhimial verb: lexical and morphological. Lexical reduplication may occur with the entire verb, person and number affixes, and tense or aspect morphology. The reduplicated form generally occurs with ablauting reduplication and will be discussed below in Section 4.7.2.6 on completive aspect.

- 211 *gilas-gelai jha:-khe jhu:-khe.*
 glass-PL wash-IMPF REDUP
 They wash up the glasses.

- 212 *ela suta hane-li goi-aŋ phuŋ-li phaŋ-li.*
 now home go-INF must-FUT roast-INF REDUP
 Now one must go home to roast them up.

Morphological reduplication of the verb results in intensification of the meaning and seems to be confined to intransitive verbs involving the senses. Two types of morphological reduplication occur. The first involves reduplication of the first syllable only (213) - (214), typically employed when affixal material is present. The second involves reduplication of the entire stem (215) - (219).

- 213 *golgolai-gha-khe.*
be.muffled-PIMPF-IMPF
It sounded all muffled.
- 214 *phirphirai-gha-khe* *ekdām!*
shiver.all.over-PIMPF-IMPF very
He was shivering all over – a lot!
- 215 *jethe* *ca-lau* *buŋ* *meumeu-khe.*
REL.how.much eat-TEM also be.all.grumbling-IMPF
However much he eats, [his stomach] still grumbles.
- 216 *leta* *yum-nu* *jiʔjiʔ-khe.*
below sit-COND be.very.damp-IMPF
If one sits down, one gets all damp.

Some verbs only occur in the reduplicated form and appear to be lexicalised intensives.

- 217 *malamala-khe.*
be.fragrant-IMPF
It is fragrant.
- 218 *kam* *pa-nu* *khokoi* *jhamajhama-khe.*
work do-COND leg tingle-IMPF
If he works, his leg tingles.
- 219 *dokara* *daʔ-li* *goi-aŋ* *kalau* *lekhara* *boʔboʔ-khe.*
mat lay-INF must-FUT so behind be.warm-IMPF
One must lay down a mat and then one's behind stays warm.

4.2 *Verb stems and the infinitive*

4.2.1 *Verb stems*

There are two kinds of verb stem that are affected by a regular morphophonological process of final consonant deletion. The first type of verb stem involves those closed with a final glottal /ʔ/, while the second type involves those verbs ending with a long vowel. In the case of the first type of verb, an underlying form ending in /ʔt/ is posited, e.g. *doʔli* ‘to say’ from the underlying form <doʔt>. When the bare stem of this type of verb is used, such as in the imperative, or the stem is followed by an affix with a consonantal onset, the second final of the stem <doʔt> is deleted, e.g. *doʔ-li* ‘to say’, *doʔ-khe* ‘he says’ and *doʔ* ‘say!’. The underlying morphological identity of such verb stems, however, is revealed when they are followed by an affix lacking a consonantal onset.¹ There are only two verbal morphemes that do not trigger this allomorphic rule of consonant deletion: the future tense suffix <-aŋ> ~ <-a> and the plural adhortative <-aine>, both of which lack consonantal onsets, e.g. *doʔt-aŋ* ‘will say’ and *doʔt-aine* ‘let’s^p say’. This allomorphic rule affects any verb stem ending in a glottal stop, e.g. from an underlying form <khuʔt> ‘descend’, Dhimal has *khuʔ-li* ‘to descend’ and *khuʔ* ‘come down!’, but *khuʔt-a wa* ‘he may come down’ and *khuʔt-aine* ‘let’s^p descend’.

Verb stems ending in a long vowel also undergo a similar morphophonological process of consonant deletion. In this case, the deleted consonant is final /k/. When a verb stem with a long vowel occurs in the root form or is followed by a suffix with a consonantal onset, then the final /k/ is deleted, e.g. from an underlying morphological form <ga:k> ‘cook (rice)’, Dhimal has *ga:-li* ‘to cook (rice)’ and *ga:* ‘cook (rice)!’, but in the future and the plural adhortative the allomorphic forms *ga:k-a wa* ‘they may cook (rice)’ and *ga:k-aine* ‘let’s^p cook (rice)’. As with verbs ending in /ʔ/, this rule extends to any verb with a long vowel, e.g. *phe:-li* ‘to sweep’ and

¹ Two derived nominals from verbs with long vowels should also be noted: *sa:li* ‘to sieve’ > *sakha* ‘sieve’ and *co:li* ‘to share, divide’ > *cokha* ‘share of game’. Here, the elided final /k/ appears to have influenced the character of the nominalising morpheme <-ka>.

phe: ‘sweep!’, but *phe:k-ã* ‘I’ll sweep’; *ci:-li* ‘to bite’ and *ci*: ‘bite!’, but *ci:k-aŋ* ‘it will bite’ and *ci:k-aine* ‘let’s^p bite’.

4.2.2 *The infinitive*

basic morph: <-li>

label: INF

In the infinitive, Dhimial verbs take the suffix <-li>, which when it co-occurs with a finite verb, marks the verb as a complement. Throughout this grammar the infinitive is employed as the citation form. The infinitival form may be used to encode a generic or impersonal event.

- 220 *odon* *daleŋ-ko* *misin* *juʔ-li*.
 that branch-GEN firewood stoke-INF
 Those branches to stoke firewood.

- 221 *hai* *pa-li* *koʔ*
 What do-INF COP
 What is to be done?

- 222 *haipali* *leder-liʔ*
 why be.embarrassed-INF
 Why be embarrassed?

The infinitival form is also used as the complement of a finite verb.

- 223 *wai* *lo-li* *tom-hi*.
 rain come-INF be.about.to-P
 It’s about to rain.
- 224 *cudur* *khiŋ-li* *gi-khe-naʔ*
 snail cook-INF know.how-IMPF-2
 Do you^s know how to cook snails?

Compounding of infinitives may occur through verbal strings.

- 225 *ca-li pa-li te ma-them-khe.*
 eat-INF do-INF TOP NEG-be.enough-IMPF
 It's not even enough to survive on.
- 226 *nil-li nil-li tom-gha-kha.*
 forget-INF forget-INF be.about.to-PIMPF-IMPF.1s
 I almost completely forgot.

4.3 Copulas and existentials

4.3.1 Existential

Dhimal employs the verb *hili* 'be, stay, live' to mark the existence or location of a referent. In the negative, there is a suppletive form *manthu*, which is fully conjugable. The verb *hili* may also be used in possessive ownership constructions. The range of contexts in which the existential occurs appears to be increasing.

- 227 *hi-hi.*
 be-P
 There is [some].
- 228 *uŋko raja-ko eʔ-mi khiniŋ camindi hi-gha-khe.*
 that king-GEN one-HCL only daughter be-PIMPF-IMPF
 That king had only one daughter.
- 229 *naŋ-ko saʔ heta hi-hi.*
 you^s.OBL-GEN house where be-P
 Where do you live?
- 230 *ode khotar-ta hi-gha-khe.*
 that cage-LOC be-PIMPF-IMPF
 He was in that cage.

- 231 *ma-ko ka iso hi-gha-kha.*
 NEG-COP I hither be-PIMPF-IMPF.1s
 No, I was around here.
- 232 *ede dhangar-ka pusij hasu-ko hi-hi ku-nu?*
 this be.long-NOM hair who-GEN be-P COP-COND
 Whose long hair is this then?
- 233 *naŋ-ko bakhara naŋ hi-hi.*
 you^s.OBL-GEN portion you^s.OBL be-P
 Your^s portion is yours^s.

The verb *hili* also appears with attributive rather than existential or locational meaning. Here presumably the structure has been interpreted as that of a predicate adjective, which in Dhimal takes the auxiliary verb *hili*. Compare example (234) with the nominalised verb *remli* functioning as a predicate adjective with examples (235) and (236).

- 234 *wa rem-ka hi-hi.*
 3s good-NOM be-P
 He is good.
- 235 *gota-ŋ sarsuphai hi-hi.*
 each-EMP clean be-P
 Everything is clean.
- 236 *te ʈhik hi-hi.*
 okay fine be-P
 Okay, that's fine.

Existential meaning is sometimes also encoded with a zero allomorph.

- 237 *naŋ-ko* *heʔloŋ* *can-camindi?*
 you^S.OBL-GEN how.many son-daughter
 How many children do you^S have?
- 238 *camindi* *te* *kaŋ-ko* *eʔ-loŋ khiniŋ.*
 daughter TOP I.OBL-GEN one-CL only
 As for daughters, I have but one.

4.3.2 Negative Existential

basic morph: *manthu*
 label: NEG.EXT

Use of the existential verb *hili* in the negative is restricted to interrogatives (239). Otherwise, the negative existential takes the suppletive form *manthu*, which denotes the non-existence or lack of something. The negative existential may take tense and aspect markers, though for non-habitual present tense meaning, no suffixes are employed. This copula also acts as an auxiliary and is used in negative resultative and past resultative constructions.

- 239 *bhətiya* *hi-hi* *ma-hi-hi?*
 rice.beer be-P NEG-be-P
 Is there any rice beer or not?
- 240 *bhətiya* *manthu* *la.*
 rice.beer NEG.EXT MIR
 There isn't any more rice beer.
- 241 *manthu* *eʔ-loŋ buŋ.*
 NEG.EXT one-CL also
 There isn't even one.

- 242 *səŋkər bhəgwan-ko muisa eʔ-loŋ manthu-hi.*
 Saṅkar lord-GEN body.hair one-CL NEG.EXT-P
 Lord Saṅkar didn't have one hair left.
- 243 *dyaŋ manthu-gha-hi.*
 person NEG.EXT-PIMPF-P
 There was no one.
- 244 *manthu-khe.*
 NEG.EXT-IMPF
 There isn't any (generally).
- 245 *m ca-li manthu-teŋ seŋ-hi.*
 rice eat-INF NEG.EXT-SEQ be.dried-P
 Not having had anything to eat, he grew thin.

4.3.3 *Equationals*

basic morph: *ko*
 label: COP

Tense, animacy and negation play an important role in the occurrence or non-occurrence of copulas. In affirmative statements equationals may be signaled either by a zero copula or the equational copula *ko*. Typically, a zero copula is used to mark predicate nominal constructions with non-human referents. In clauses with two nominal arguments, the zero copula indicates that the two arguments are equal.

- 246 *naŋ-ko miŋ hai?*
 you^s.OBL-GEN name what
 What is your^s name?
- 247 *ede torse.*
 this mango
 This is a mango.

- 248 *gota-ŋ eʔ-loŋ doŋ.*
 each-EMP one-CL FOC
 They're all the same.
- 249 *rajghaʔ hane-ka dama idoi.*
 Rājghāʔ go-NOM road this
 This is the road that goes to Rājghāʔ.
- 250 *lumphi heʔ-taka gotaʔ*
 banana how.many-taka each
 How much are the bananas a piece?

When the referents are human or emphatic, however, the copula *ko* may be employed. When used emphatically, *ko* may be pronounced with high level pitch and increased duration, as in examples (251) and (252). This copula does not take agreement or tense markers.

- 251 *hai ko?!
 what COP
 What is it?!*
- 252 *hisika waraŋ ko?!
 what.kind old.man COP
 What kind of an old man is he?!*
- 253 *bheney dyaŋ ko re!
 different person COP ASS
 It's a different person, I tell you!*

The copula *ko* is also employed when a physical object is presented to someone (254) and occurs in the adverbials *kunu* 'so, then' and *makunu* 'isn't it so?'.

- 254 *ko dada mun re.
 COP elder.brother beaten.rice ASS
 Here, elder brother, have some beaten rice, I say.*

- 255 *te* *ku-nu*.
 okay COP-COND
 Okay then.
- 256 *hul-hi* *ma-ku-nu?*
 fall-P NEG-COP-COND
 He fell out, didn't he?

To encode a negative equational, the negative copula *mako* is used with both human and non-human referents. It is also used to make a negative claim about the truth value of a proposition.

- 257 *na* *jəti-ka* *dharma hasu* *ma-ko*.
 you^s however.much-NOM virtue who NEG-COP
 No one is as virtuous as you^s.
- 258 *wa insika* *dyaŋ* *ma-ko*.
 3s such person NEG-COP
 He's not that kind of person.
- 259 *hai* *doŋ* *ma-ko*.
 what FOC NEG-COP
 It's nothing at all.
- 260 *ma-ko* *ka iso* *hi-gha-kha*.
 NEG-COP I hither be-PIMPF-IMPF.1s
 No, I was around here.

4.4 Negation

4.4.1 Prefixal negation

basic morph: <ma->
 label: NEG

All simplex verbs are negated by using the negative prefixal morpheme <ma->. Only the resultative and the past resultative take the suppletive negative auxiliary *manthu*. The negative prefix is also used to form negative adjectives and adverbs: *cuʔka* ‘sharp’ > *macuʔka* ‘dull’; *elka* ‘attractive’ > *ma-elka* ‘unattractive’.

- 261 *cudur ca-li ma-sikaʔ-khe-na?*
 snail eat-INF NEG-feel.queasy-IMPF-2
 Doesn’t eating snails make you^s feel queasy?

- 262 *leder-li ma-el.*
 be.shy-INF NEG-be.proper
 One shouldn’t be shy.

- 263 *ka te ma-han-aŋ-ka.*
 I TOP NEG-go-FUT-1s
 As for me, I won’t go.

4.4.2 Absolute negative

basic morph: <mha->
 label: ABS

The only attested instance of a preclitic aside from the negative prefix <ma-> is the morpheme <mha-> which has an absolutive sense. An absolute negative categorically denies that an event takes place.

- 264 *dada-heŋ umpai mha-ma-dusu-hi doʔ-khe.*
 e.brother-DAT Umpai ABS-NEG-meet-P say-IMPF
 Umpai didn’t run into older brother at all, he says.
- 265 *mha-ma-hiŋ-khe.*
 ABS-NEG-listen-IMPF
 [He] is not listening at all.

- 266 *paya ahar mha-ma-ca-khe.*
 pig food ABS-NEG-eat-IMPF
 The pig isn't eating the slop at all.
- 267 *na mha-ma-lo-khe-na kelai suta.*
 you^s ABS-NEG-come-IMPF-2 we^p home
 You^s don't come at all to our^p house.
- 268 *mha-manthu la.*
 ABS-NEG.EXT MIR
 There isn't any at all.
- 269 *mha-ma-kiʔ-khe u.*
 ABS-NEG-want-IMPF REFR
 [He] doesn't want to at all, you know.

4.5 *Manner adverbs*

The suffix <-pa>, deriving from the lexical verb *pali* 'to do, make', functions both to indicate the manner in which an event occurs and to indicate a causative event, depending on the syntactic environment in which it occurs. When <-pa> is affixed to a verbal or nominal root preceding the main verb, a manner adverbial results. When this suffix occurs on the main verb, <-pa> yields a causative. Both of these functions share the invariant meaning of causation, the bringing about or causing of an event. In the case of the adverbial use, this suffix indicates the 'doing' in such a manner as to cause the event encoded by the root to come about. The semantic connection between these two functions becomes a little clearer with a slightly different, albeit awkward, glossing. Thus, examples (272) and (274) could be paraphrased respectively as 'she teaches doing just like me' and 'we don't beat like that making it die'. These paraphrases do no harm to the essential meaning of the sentences and illustrate how such a development from a verb meaning 'do, make' to a marker of manner might arise. As for the use of <-pa> in causative constructions, the development of verbs meaning 'do, make' into causative markers is

well documented cross-linguistically. For example, both the English verb ‘make’ and the Dutch verb *doen* ‘do, make’ are used in causative constructions. Causatives formed with the <-pa> suffix are examined in Section 4.9.3.

Manner adverbs mark the way in which an event occurs and are constructed simply by suffixing the morpheme <-pa> to a verbal or nominal stem, e.g. *da:ka* ‘black’ > *da:pa* ‘darkly’, *maki?li* ‘to not want’ > *maki?pa* ‘unwillingly’. Adverbs are generally the first constituent before the verb phrase. Semantically, manner adverbs encode manner, medium or measure. In a small number of common adverbs, this suffix is realised as <-pha>, e.g. *rempha* ‘well’ and *lampha* ‘before’. The comitative postposition *dopha* also takes the aspirated suffix.

The manner in which an event occurs is often encoded through adverbial phrases. The modifying word may be verbal, in which case the verb is always intransitive. The restriction of adverbial <-pa> to intransitive verbs supports a verbal origin for this morpheme.

- 270 *thi-teŋ* *rhai* *da:-pa* *teŋ-hi*.
 be.afraid-SEQ face be.black-do begin.to-P
 [Her] face turned black with fear.

- 271 *bo?bo?-pa* *jim* *la*.
 be.warm-do sleep MIR
 Sleep well.

- 272 *kaŋ-ko* *bhai-pa-ŋ* *dhir-pa-khe*.
 I.OBL-GEN be.like-do-EMP learn-do-IMPF
 [She] teaches just like me.

In some cases when the adverbial derives from a verbal root, the semantics involved seem to approximate the English temporals ‘until’ or ‘while’.

- 273 *ota hane-pa hane-pa belhaʔt-a wa.*
 there go-do go-do be.dusk-FUT DED
 While going there, dusk may fall.
- 274 *insa si-pa ma-dənai-nha-khe.*
 like.that die-do NEG-beat-1p-IMPF
 We^p don't beat it like that until it dies.
- 275 *kalau jhem-pa-η rhum-khe.*
 then be.dawn-do-EMP wait-IMPF
 Then [they] wait until dawn.
- 276 *esa bakharai-pa bukharai-pa belhaʔt-a wa.*
 thus share-do share-do be.dusk-FUT DED
 Thus, while apportioning it out, dusk may fall.
- 277 *gora mha-pa am-hi.*
 alcohol be.drunk-do drink-P
 [He] drank until he was drunk.
- 278 *baraʔ-pa-η doʔ-teη cum-pu-hi.*
 be.big-do-EMP say-SEQ take-DIST-P
 [He] took him away until he was grown.

Less commonly, the adverbial <pa> may be affixed to nominal roots. Examples (279) and (280) illustrate nominal roots with <pa> indicating the manner in which the action of the verb is accomplished.

- 279 *dhemal-lai-pa doʔ.*
 Dhimal-PL-do say
 Say it in Dhimal.
- 280 *lipai-pa nui-pa.*
 fart-do make.sound-do
 Make that farting sound.

Onomatopoeia may take the adverbial suffix.

- 281 *rhuta-so te bukbak-bukbak-pa hul-khe aŋ.*
 above-EL TOP plop-plop-do fall-IMPF FOC1
 From above, [things] comes falling down ‘plop plop’.
- 282 *pok-pa dənai-nha-khe.*
 pop-do hit-1p-IMPF
 We^p smack it.
- 283 *gota-ŋ arna diya lo-hi garaŋguruŋ-pa.*
 each-EMP arna water.buffalo come-P thunderous-do
 All the wild water buffalo came with a thundering roar.’

The spatial medium by which an event occurs may be marked with the morpheme <-pa>. Example (284) illustrates three different functions of this morpheme. The first is as an adverb indicating medium, in this case the choice of route. The second appearance of <-pa> functions as a causative marker, while the third functions as the lexical verb ‘do’ acting as a topic introducing conditional.

- 284 *bhenan dama-pa hane-pa-he pa-nu jen-dhaŋ.*
 other path-do go-do-HYP do-COND become-IRR
 If one had [him] go by another route, it would be alright.
- 285 *saŋkoi-pa lo-khe.*
 bridge-do come-IMPF
 [He] is coming across the bridge.
- 286 *ka ede dama te-li pi-ka-ta-ŋ*
 I this road walk-INF give-NOM-LOC-EMP
- pi-ka-ta-ŋ aro-ŋ ede-pa buŋ te-pi-khe.*
 give-NOM-LOC-EMP more-EMP this-do also walk-DIR-IMPF
 I continually let them walk this road, and yet they still walk this [other] way.

Dhimal also employs the <-pa> suffix in an ablative manner to indicate the spatial location or direction through which, by which or from which an event occurs.

- 287 *lekharā-pa* *khici-hi*.
 backside-do take.photo-P
 He took a photo from behind.

- 288 *wa te* *iŋko* *rhuta-pa* *te* *phar-hi*.
 3s TOP that above-do TOP carry.in.mouth-P
 It carried that from above in its mouth.

- 289 *iŋko* *liʔta-pa* *hul-hi*.
 that inside-do fall-P
 He fell from the inside.

- 290 *mahē-pa*
 south-do
 From the south (by way of the south).

The adverbial <-pa> also occurs with nominals in a measurative or distributive sense. Sometimes reduplication is employed to reinforce the distributive sense, as in examples (293) and (294).

- 291 *iŋko* *jhoko-pa* *jeŋ-hi*.
 that amount-do become-P
 There was that much [for each].

- 292 *jharay saʔ-ta* *taka nheʔ-taka-pa* *eʔ-mana-pa*
 all house-LOC rupee two-rupee-do one-mana-do

uŋkhu gora *eʔ-gilas-pa* *mun-gelai*.
 rice alcohol one-glass-do beaten.rice-P

At each of all the homes — two rupees, one *mana* uncooked rice, alcohol, and one glass beaten rice and such.

- 293 *eʔ-ser eʔ-ser-pa sum-mi-heŋ la buŋ puge-a wa*
 one-ser one-ser-do three-HCL-DAT MIRalso arrive-FUT DED
 One share each for three people may also be enough then.
- 294 *nheʔ-loŋ baha-ta eʔ-lolom-pa*
 two-CL arm-LOC one-CL-do
- nariya gha-pu-hi la doʔ-khe.*
 elephant play-DIST-P MIR say-IMPF
 He went along playing with an elephant under each arm, they say.

In addition to the comitative *dopha* and allative *thekapa*, this morpheme also occurs with the relator word *bherpa* ‘near’.

- 295 *kalau esa bherpa bhiri-pu-hi doʔ-khe bas.*
 so like.this near approach-DIST-P say-IMPF stop
 So he went along like this approaching nearer.
- 296 *kalau syaile-heŋ kai-hi asa bherpa-ŋ.*
 so jackal-DAT call-P more near-EMP
 And so he called the jackal nearer.
- 297 *ka ka ka ka pa-teŋ iŋko wajan-heŋ bherpa.*
 caw caw caw caw do-SEQ that boy-DAT near
 Near that boy, it went ‘caw caw caw caw’.

The suffix <-sa> is also attested as marking manner in a handful of words, e.g. *bolsa* ‘by force’, *hesa* ‘how’ and note also the comitative morpheme *dosa* ~ *dopha*. The restricted distribution and unproductivity of <-sa> suggest that it may be the older of the two suffixes. This is supported by the interrogative pronoun *hesa* ‘how’, which also occurs as *hesapa*. The suffix <-pa> has presumably marginalised <-sa> to all but a few words, and it appears that the remaining holdouts are under pressure to regularise.

4.6 Participant reference marking

The Dhimial finite verb shows grammatical agreement with distinct morphological forms in the simple agreement, transitive scenario and affinal kin register systems. In the simple agreement system, which is the most common and hence unmarked, the verb indexes the single core argument of an intransitive clause and the agent of a transitive clause. Diagram 7 shows the agreement morphemes.

	perfective	past	imperfective	future	inceptive
1s	- <i>hoi-ga</i>	- <i>gha</i>	- <i>kha</i>	- <i>ã/aŋ-ka</i>	- <i>khoi-ka</i>
1d	- <i>hoi-niŋ</i>	- <i>nhiŋ</i>	- <i>khe-niŋ</i>	- <i>a-niŋ</i>	- <i>khoi-niŋ</i>
1p	- <i>nha-hoi</i>	- <i>nha-hi</i>	- <i>nha-khe</i>	- <i>aŋ</i>	- <i>nha-khoi</i>
2s	- <i>hoi-na</i>	- <i>nha</i>	- <i>khe-na</i>	- <i>a-na</i>	- <i>khoi-na</i>
2d	- <i>hoi-niŋ</i>	- <i>nhiŋ</i>	- <i>khe-niŋ</i>	- <i>a-niŋ</i>	- <i>khoi-niŋ</i>
2p	- <i>su-hoi-na</i>	- <i>su-nha</i>	- <i>su-khe-na</i>	- <i>su-a-na</i>	- <i>su-khoi-na</i>
3	- <i>hoi</i>	- <i>hi</i>	- <i>khe</i>	- <i>aŋ</i>	- <i>khoi</i>
3c	- <i>su-hoi</i>	- <i>su-hi</i>	- <i>su-khe</i>	- <i>su-aŋ</i>	- <i>su-khoi</i>

Diagram 7 Simple agreement paradigm

The five tenses or aspects listed here capture the range of distinct morphemes found in the Dhimial agreement paradigm. Note that non-plural person and number indices follow the tense or aspect suffix, while plural indices precede the suffix. Person and number markers vary with the tense or aspect, and are in many cases *portemanteau* suffixes indicating person, number, and tense or aspect.

4.6.1 First person singular

basic morph:	<-ka>	basic morph:	<-ga>
label:	1s	label:	P.1s
basic morph	<-~>		
label:	FUT.1s		

First person singular exhibits the greatest number of distinct morphemes. In the non-past (i.e. imperfective, inceptive and future) first person singular is marked by <-ka>, which fuses with the imperfective marker <-khe> to become <-kha>. There is a first singular *portemanteau* morpheme, which is represented by nasalisation of the future and irrealis morphemes, <-ã> and <-dhã> respectively, in addition to the first singular non-past morpheme <-ka>. The nasalised *portemanteau* morpheme is the unmarked of the pair, while <-ka> marks a first singular emphatic in the future and irrealis. In the past tense forms (i.e. perfective and past), the first singular morpheme is <-ga>, which has a breathy *portemanteau* morpheme <-gha> in the past.

- 298 *hane-khoi-ka.*
 go-INC-1s
 I'm leaving.
- 299 *aro-ŋ doʔt-aŋ-ka.*
 again-EMP say-FUT-1s
 I'll say it again.
- 300 *na dopha bihu pa-dhã.*
 you^s COM wedding do-IRR.1s
 I'd marry you^s.
- 301 *han-ã.*
 go-FUT.1s
 I'll go.
- 302 *haya maŋ-li hane-kha.*
 fish catch-INF go-IMPF.1s
 I'm going fishing.
- 303 *mhitu-hoi-ga.*
 be.hungry-PERF-P.1s
 I'm hungry.

- 304 *ahã?* *ca-ka* *manthu-ga*
 no eat-NOM NEG.AUX-P.1s
 No, I haven't eaten.

- 305 *kyamera* *cuma-gha.*
 camera bring-P.1s
 I brought the camera.

The morphological variation in the first singular agreement markers suggests that they may be quite old. The number of distinct morphemes used can partially be explained historically. In Dhimal, the first singular markers have fused with the tense and aspect morphemes in both the past and the imperfective. From evidence in the eastern dialect and in the marking in other persons, the many instances of *portemanteau* morphemes are attributable to the fusing of tense and aspect markers with agreement suffixes.

4.6.2 Second person singular

basic morph: <-na>
 label: 2

The second person singular is marked by the suffix <-na> in all tenses and aspects except the past, which is marked by the breathy *portemanteau* morpheme <-nha>. The label is unmarked for number, as this morpheme is also employed in the second person plural. If there is no plural marking then the default value is singular.

- 306 *hiso* *hane-khe-na* *anau?*
 whither go-IMPF-2 VOC.younger sibling
 Where are you^s going, little brother?

- 307 *inta* *thuka?-tej* *na* *hai* *pa-a-na?*
 there arrive-SEQ you^s what do-FUT-2
 What will you^s do when you^s get there?

- 308 *na hai pa-nha la?*
 you^s what do-P.2 MIR
 What did you^s do?
- 309 *bihu pa-hoi-na manthu-na?*
 wedding do-PERF-2 NEG:EXT-2
 Are you^s married or not?

4.6.3 *Third person*

The third person is generally unmarked for singular, dual and plural in all tenses. The only exception to this generalisation is third person collective, which will be discussed below.

- 310 *hane-khe.*
 go-IMPF
 [They] are going.
- 311 *lo-hi.*
 come-P
 [She] came.
- 312 *udhimi beja-lai khan-ten lo-hi.*
 they^d girl-PL look.at-SEQ come-P.
 The two of them, having looked at girls, came back.'
- 313 *hai insa pa-khe be?!*
 what thus do-IMPF DUB
 What in the world is [she] doing like that?!

4.6.4 *First person dual*

basic morph: <-niŋ>
 label: 1d

First person dual is indexed by the morpheme <-niŋ> or in the past by the breathy *portemanteau* morpheme <-nhiŋ>.

- 314 *insa-lau te kidhiŋ dada-one hi-gil-nhiŋ.*
 thus-TEM TOP we^d o.brother-y.sibling be-IM-P.1d
 At that time we two brothers travelled around.

- 315 *udini kidhimi salbari hane-teŋ lo-nhiŋ.*
 two.days.ago we^d Sālbāri go-SEQ come-P.1d
 The other day we^d went to Sālbāri and returned.

- 316 *hasu hasu-heŋ dusu-khe-niŋ*
 who who-DAT meet-IMPF-1d

wa-seŋ hiʔ-li goi-aŋ dama-ta.
 3s-DAT ask-INF must-FUT road-LOC
 Whoever we^d see on the road, that's who we must ask.

- 317 *aitabar kidhimi ma-yha-a-niŋ.*
 Sunday we^d NEG-remain-FUT-1d
 On Sunday we^d won't be here.

- 318 *kidhimi paisa mili-pa-teŋ pi-a-niŋ.*
 we^d money be.arranged-do-SEQ give-FUT-1d
 We^d will raise the money and give it.

It should be noted, however, that there is evidence indicating that for some speakers (younger males especially) dual number may be collapsing or at least mixing with the plural. Consequently, dual number in pronouns and in verbal morphology is not consistently distinguished, undoubtedly due to bilingualism in Nepali, which does not mark dual number.

4.6.5 *Second person dual*

basic morph: <-niŋ>
 label: 2d

The second person dual is marked by the morpheme <-niŋ> or, in the case of the past, by the breathy *portemanteau* morpheme <-nhiŋ>. The second person dual is homophonous with the first person dual.

- 319 *nidhimi* *hiso* *hane-khe-niŋ?*
 you^d whither go-IMPF-2d
 Where are you^d going?
- 320 *jumni* *hiso* *han-a-niŋ?*
 tomorrow whither go-FUT-2d
 Where are you^d going tomorrow?
- 321 *nariya-ko* *puja* *pa-khe-niŋ?*
 elephant-GEN worship do-IMPF-2d
 Are you two performing elephant worship?
- 322 *khali* *pheʔ-su-nhiŋ!*
 only beat-COL-P.2d
 All you two did was fight!
- 323 *do:-nhiŋ* *ma-do:-nhiŋ* *ko?*
 be.finished-P.2d NEG-be.finished-P.2d COP
 Did you^d finish or not?
- 324 *ela* *nidhiŋ* *hai* *doʔt-a-niŋ* *re?*
 now you^d. OBL what say-FUT-2d ASS
 What are you^d going to say now, I say?

4.6.6 *First person plural*

basic morph: <-nha>

label: 1p

The first person plural is indexed by the suffix <-nha>, which precedes the tense or final aspect marker. In the future tense and irrealis aspect, however, first person plural is unmarked, and hence is homophonous with third person.

- 325 *kelai haya maŋ-li hane-nha-khe.*
 we^p fish catch-INF go-1p-IMPF
 We^p are going fishing.

- 326 *cuŋ-nha-hoi.*
 be.cold-1p-PERF
 We^p are cold.

- 327 *hane-nha-khoi.*
 go-1p-INC
 We^p are leaving.

- 328 *jumni kelai wa dopha ma-han-aŋ.*
 tomorrow we^p 3s COM NEG-go-FUT
 Tomorrow we^p will not go with him.

4.6.7 *Second person plural*

basic morph: <-su--na>

label: COL--2

The second person plural is unique among the person markers in employing two distinct morphemes, i.e. the collective marker <-su> and the second person marker <-na>. The collective marker occupies the slot before the tense marker, with the second person morpheme

<-na> following the tense or aspect marker. In rapid speech, the high back vowel in the morpheme <-su> is often whispered.

- 329 *boʔna thir-ka paisa hai pa-su-khe-na?*
 boʔna weave-NOM money what do-COL-IMPF-2
 What do you^p do with the money you earn weaving *bonha*?
- 330 *a bai-gelai ghərilu thir-li do-su-a-na?*
 VOC o.sister-PL crafts weave-INF can-COL-FUT-2
 Hey older sisters, do you^p know how to weave?
- 331 *e dama-bhari gha-su-khe-na? saikal dheʔ-nu?*
 eh road-CIRC play-COL-IMPF-2 bicycle collide-COND
 Eh, you^p are playing by the road? – and if [you] get hit by a
 bicycle?
- 332 *mathaʔ insa pa-su-khe-na?!?*
 mother.fucker thus do-COL-IMPF-2
 Mother fucker, you^p are doing it like that?!
- 333 *heʔ-ni hi-su-nha oso?*
 how.many-day be-COL-P.2 there
 How many days did you^p stay over there?

The morpheme <-su> is employed not only to index a second person plural, but also to indicate a third person collective, a reciprocal event and a plural imperative. What these different functions of the collective morpheme <-su> have in common are the semantic notions of manifoldness and groupability. In the case of the collective and reciprocal, two or more participants each play two roles and carry out the same type of action, in the first case as initiator and co-actor, and in the second case as both initiator and receiver or endpoint of the action. The second person plural and the plural imperative index three or more participants, each of whom typically plays only one role, but who may be thought of as acting in a group or collective manner. So, from a marker of manifoldness and groupability, the different

functions that the collective morpheme now fulfils represent the versatility of its meaning.

4.6.8 *Collective*

basic morph: <-su>

label: COL

Although third person dual and plural subjects are generally unmarked, when a speaker wishes to emphasise the group or collective action of a third person non-singular subject, then the collective morpheme <-su> is used. The third person collective marker precedes the tense or aspect marker and follows the valence markers.

334 *dama po:-pi-su-khe.*
 path sever-DIR-COL-IMPF
 [They] are blocking [her] progress.

335 *doʔ-ka ma-saʔ-su-khe!*
 say-NOM NEG-obey-COL-IMPF
 [They] don't listen to what's said! (referring to two children)

336 *khar-su-khe.*
 cry-COL-IMPF
 [They] are crying.

337 *doʔ-pi-su-khe.*
 say-DIR-COL-IMPF
 [They] are telling it.

338 *dudu ca:-su-khe.*
 breast grab-COL-IMPF
 [They] touch her breast.

- 339 *obalai ma-pi-su-khe ka-seŋ.*
 they^p NEG-give-COL-IMPF I-DAT
 They^p don't give me any.

- 340 *bajar-ta paya seʔ-su-khe.*
 market-LOC pig kill-COL-IMPF
 [They] are killing pigs in the market.

4.6.9 Reciprocal

basic morph: <-su>
 label: COL

The collective morpheme <-su> is employed to index reciprocal events and in this function precedes any valence markers. A reciprocal event involves two or more participants who act as both subject and object of the main verb.

- 341 *te idhinimi param taʔ-su-pa-li goi-aŋ.*
 okay they^d bond.friend put-COL-VEN-INF must-FUT
 Okay, they^d must come together and become bond friends.

- 342 *udhinimi doŋ baʔ-su-hi.*
 they^d FOC hold.in.arms-COL-P
 They^d embraced.

- 343 *mar-pa ci:-su-khe.*
 fast-do bite-COL-IMPF
 [They] are quick to bite each other.

- 344 *nal-su-nhiŋ?*
 know-COL-P.2d
 Do you two know each other?

- 345 *iŋko nheʔ-mi doŋ ci:-su-hi.*
 fast-do two-HCL FOC bite-COL-P
 Those two bit each other.
- 346 *udhinimi laʔ-su-hi pheʔ-su-li.*
 they^d quit-COL-P beat-COL-INF
 They^d quit fighting with each other.
- 347 *mon ma-pore-su-hi la.*
 heart NEG-befall-COL-P MIR
 [They] took a dislike to each other.
- 348 *hai bireŋ katha doʔ-su-khe?*
 what ever word say-COL-IMP
 What ever are [they] saying to each other?

Some verbs which encode naturally reciprocal events such as *dusuli* ‘to meet’ and *cersuli* ‘to quarrel with’ may occur without a plural subject.

- 349 *eʔ-loŋ didi-heŋ dusu-gha.*
 one-CL elder.sister-DAT meet-P.1S
 I met an older woman.

4.6.10 Imperious 1s→2

basic morph: <-niŋ>
 label: 1s→2

The 1s→2 *portemanteau* suffix <-niŋ> indicates the transitive relation between a first person singular subject and a second person patient. The number of the patient is not encoded and may index singular, dual or plural number. In conjunction with the future tense or irrealis morphemes, it encodes the imperious mood (cf. King 2001).

- 350 *seʔt-a-niŋ* *buruŋ!*
 kill-FUT-1s→2 forthwith
 I will kill you straight away!
- 351 *eʔ-caure* *pi-a-niŋ!*
 one-slap give-FUT-1s→2
 I will give you a slap!
- 352 *lathe-hoi* *pi-a-niŋ!*
 cane-INST give-FUT-1s→2
 I will give you what for with a cane!
- 353 *purinŋ* *dhe:-pi-a-niŋ?!!*
 head split-DIR-FUT-1s→2
 Shall I split your head open?!

4.6.11 Imperious 3s→2

basic morph: <-nau>
 label: 3s→2

The 3s→2 *portemanteau* suffix <-nau> encodes the transitive relation between a third person singular subject and a second person patient. As with the 1s→2 suffix, the number of the patient is not encoded. In conjunction with the future tense or irrealis morphemes, it encodes the imperious mood.

- 354 *rhai-a-nau!*
 claw-FUT-3s→2
 It will claw you!
- 355 *koʔ-ca-a-nau!*
 pull.close-PASS-FUT-3s→2
 It will pull you close!

4.6.12 Affinal kin register

The affinal kin register in Dhimial involves distinct conjugational affixes to index the social relation between kin groups (cf. King 1998). Aside from linguistic coding, this relationship may also be marked by prescribed behaviours, such as avoidance and distinct greetings upon meeting. Diagram 8 contains the conjugational paradigm for the affinal register.

	perfective	past	imperf.	future	inceptive
1s	- <i>hoi-gya</i>	- <i>ghya</i>	- <i>khya</i>	- <i>aŋ-kya</i>	- <i>khoi-kya</i>
2s	- <i>hoi-nya</i>	- <i>nhya</i>	- <i>khe-nya</i>	- <i>a-nya</i>	- <i>khoi-nya</i>
1s	- <i>hoi-ga-nyo</i>	- <i>gha-nyo</i>	- <i>kha-nyo</i>	- <i>ã-nyo</i>	- <i>khoi-ka-nyo</i>
1d	- <i>hoi-niŋ-nyo</i>	- <i>nhiiŋ-nyo</i> ²	- <i>khe-niŋ-nyo</i>	- <i>a-niŋ-nyo</i>	- <i>khoi-niŋ-nyo</i>
1p	- <i>nha-hoi-nyo</i>	- <i>nha-hi-nyo</i>	- <i>nha-khe-nyo</i>	- <i>aŋ-nyo</i>	- <i>nha-khoi-nyo</i>
2d	- <i>hoi-niŋ-nyo</i>	- <i>nhiiŋ-nyo</i>	- <i>khe-niŋ-nyo</i>	- <i>a-niŋ-nyo</i>	- <i>khoi-niŋ-nyo</i>
2p	- <i>su-hoi-na-nyo</i>	- <i>su-nha-nyo</i>	- <i>su-khe-na-nyo</i>	- <i>su-a-na-nyo</i>	- <i>su-khoi-na-nyo</i>
3	- <i>hoi-nyo</i>	- <i>hi-nyo</i>	- <i>khe-nyo</i>	- <i>aŋ-nyo</i>	- <i>khoi-nyo</i>

Diagram 8 Affinal kin register agreement paradigm

In contrast to many politeness systems, the Dhimial affinal register does not distinguish a social hierarchy, but rather encodes the reciprocal relationship between in-laws. It is used between a) a man and his wife's senior relatives, and b) between the parents of a husband and wife. In this social domain, all utterances contain affinal marking, and it is considered disrespectful to use forms from the unmarked paradigm.

Relations between a man and his senior in-laws are characterised by respect, distance and the maintenance of social harmony. In contrast to those in-laws who are senior to him in age, a man has a joking relationship with his wife's younger siblings, his *huigo* (wife's younger brother) and *hulme* (wife's younger sister), and affinal forms

² The past tense second person singular, and first and second person dual have alternate unfused forms that are more formal: *-hi-nya* and *-hi-niŋ-nyo* respectively.

are not used between them. Although a man must employ this register with his senior in-laws, and vice-versa, a woman calls her mother and father-in-law *amai* and *aba* (mother and father) rather than *jube* and *juwa* (mother and father-in-law). Neither does she use the affinal register with her in-laws, nor they with her.

In the standard paradigm, the Dhimel verb inflects for person and number of the subject. In the affinal register, however, every form encodes the marked relationship between speaker and addressee. Only the first person singular informal and second person singular employ distinct subject agreement morphemes. All others are indexed for this relationship by the addressee suffix <-nyo>.

4.6.12.1 First person singular affinal

basic morph:	<-kya>
label:	1sH
basic morph:	<-gya>
label:	P.1sH

In the affinal register, first and second person singular are indexed by *portemanteau* morphemes indicating person, number, tense or aspect, and the affinal register. For participants in this register, the suffix <-kya> encodes an informal first person singular in the future, irrealis and inceptive, with a *portemanteau* morpheme <-khya> in the imperfective. In the perfective and past, an informal first person singular has a voiced morpheme <-gya>, which occurs as <-ghya> in the past.

356 *kya* *jumni* *lo-aŋ-kya*.
 I.H tomorrow come-FUT-1sH
 I'll come tomorrow.

357 *kya* *hate* *hane-khya*.
 I.H bazaar go-IMPf.1sH
 I'm going to the bazaar.

First person also makes an informal vs. formal register distinction. The difference between the two is the degree of familiarity between the participants. If persons requiring the affinal register are seen on a regular, perhaps daily basis, then the informal form will tend to be used. When the relation is only seen on occasion, because he or she lives in a distant village for example, then the more formal and polite form with the addressee suffix tends to be used.

4.6.12.2 *Second person singular affinal*

basic morph: <-nya>

label: 2SH

A second person singular in the affinal register is indexed by the morpheme <-nya>. In the past tense, a breathy morpheme <-nhya> occurs.

- 358 *nya* *hiso* *hane-khe-nya?*
 you^s.H whither go-IMPF-2SH
 Where are you^s going?

- 359 *ma-am-lau* *buɲ* *rhu:-li* *goi-a-nya.*
 NEG-drink-TEM also take-INF must-FUT-2SH
 Even though you^s don't drink, you^s will have to accept it.

4.6.12.3 *Affinal addressee*

basic morph: <-nyo>

label: ADR

When the subject is not an informal first person singular or a second person singular, this relationship is marked on the verb with the addressee suffix <-nyo>. In the Dhimial affinal system, the verb indexes deference to the addressee, in addition to any subject markers. The informal first person singular is not marked with the addressee suffix in spite of the fact that it falls into the addressee

category since the relationship is already indexed by <-kya> and the other first person singular morphemes. The following examples illustrate the use of the addressee suffix.

- 360 *gora am-li kera ca:-gha-nyo.*
 alcohol drink-INF oath take-P.1s-ADR
 I swore off drinking alcohol.
- 361 *kya ma-am-kha-nyo.*
 I.H NEG-drink-IMPF.1s-ADR
 I don't drink.
- 362 *kya dāmək han-ā-nyo.*
 I.H Damak go-FUT.1s-ADR
 I will go to Damak.
- 363 *kiŋ-ko pəriwar bigir-hi-nyo.*
 I.H.OBL-GEN family be.broken-P-ADR
 My family is broken down.

The addressee suffix exhibits distributional properties that distinguish it from the simple agreement forms. The morpheme <-nyo> behaves more like a clitic, in that it can adhere to non-finite and non-verbal elements. In the following examples, the affinal addressee suffix adheres to an adverbial, a nominalised verb and a vocative.

- 364 *mane insa-ŋ-nyo.*
 meaning thus-EMP-ADR
 The meaning is like this.
- 365 *ku-nu haipali kera ca:-ka-nyo?*
 COP-COND why oath take-NOM-ADR
 But why take an oath?

- 366 *aba-nyo!*
 father-ADR
 Oh father!

4.7 *Tense and aspect*

To encode temporal and aspectual meaning, Dhimial has a variety of morphosyntactic tools under its belt: morphological, periphrastic and reduplicative. In its finite verb morphology, Dhimial distinguishes two grammatical tenses: past and future. Due to their connections with the future and because they take agreement morphemes, the irrealis and imperious mood will be treated here with the tenses and aspects. Aspects that will be discussed are the imperfective, past imperfective, progressive, perfective, inceptive and completive. Finally, periphrastic constructions that encode aspect and tense-like meaning, i.e. the stative resultative and the dynamic resultative, will close the section.

4.7.1 *Tense*

4.7.1.1 *Past tense*

basic morph: <-hi>
 label: P

The past tense is indicated by the suffix <-hi>, apparently deriving from the verb *hili* ‘be, stay’. With first singular and dual, and second person, the past tense marker has fused with the agreement suffix, resulting in breathy *portemanteau* morphemes that encode person, number and tense. Where it has not fused with the agreement marker, the past tense marker follows the verb stem with third person and after the agreement morpheme with first person plural. The past tense marker may co-occur with the past imperfective morpheme <-gha> and the progressive morpheme <-doŋ>.

The past tense in Dhimial is a simple past, denoting only the notion that an event took place. It indicates that an action occurred or

a state changed at some point in the past and makes no reference to the completeness of the event. In example (367) the speaker states only that a third person subject went to cut grass. By using the past, the speaker says nothing about whether the third person has returned or is still gone, only that he did go.

- 367 *ghase ce:-li hane-hi.*
 grass cut-INF go-P
 He went to cut grass.
- 368 *na eʔ-toi khiniŋ cum-teŋ lo-nha?!*
 you^s one-piece only take-SEQ come-P.2
 You^s only brought one piece?!
- 369 *eʔ-ghuri-ŋ awai-gha.*
 one-moment-EMP hesitate-P.1s
 I hesitated for a moment.
- 370 *kalau iŋko to-teŋ ta-teŋ ole-pa-nha-hi.*
 so that dig-SEQREDUP emerge-do-1p-P
 And so, having dug them up, we took them out.
- 371 *me seʔ-nhiŋ?*
 fire kill-P.2d
 Did you^d put out the fire?

In narrative, the past is often used to indicate the temporal sequence of a series of discrete past events. The event of the preceding verb is assumed to be located temporally prior to the following ones.

- 372 *bəs dhol-gha. suta thukaʔ-gha.*
 bus board-P.1s home arrive-P.1s
 I boarded the bus and arrived home.
- 73 *topala-bhanji saje-hi. jhola-sola*
 bundle-things prepare-P bag-things

e:-hi bəs. thakthuk-hi.

shoulder-P stop be.ready-P

He prepared a bundle, shouldered the bag of things, and was all ready.

With stative verbs the past is used to indicate ingressive meaning. When employed with a change-of-state verb, the state may or may not obtain in the present. However, to use a change-of-state verb with present non-imperfective meaning, the past (or perfective) is used. So although these verbs may be formally marked for past tense, they may have present relevance, depending on whether the deictic point of reference is the present or the past. Compare the following pair of examples, one coded with the imperfective and the other with the past tense. Example (374) encodes a habitual state, while example (375) encodes the onset of that state.

374 *lisi nham-khe.*

shit smell-IMPF

Shit smells. or It generally smells like shit.

375 *lisi nham-hi.*

shit smell-P

It smells like shit (right now). or It smelled like shit.

376 *purin tu:-hi.*

head hurt-P

[My] head hurts. or [My] head hurt.

377 *mhitu-nha?*

be.hungry-P.2

Are you^s hungry?

378 *dese ma-ta:-hi.*

salt NEG-be.tasty-P

It's not salty enough. or It wasn't salty enough.

The past is also used to indicate a stative non-habitual present with the existential copula *hili*.

- 379 *hi-hi*.
 be-P
 There is [some].

4.7.1.2 Future

basic morph: <-aŋ> ~ <-a>
 label: FUT

The future tense is marked by the morpheme <-aŋ> or its allomorph <-a>. When followed by a morpheme with a consonantal onset the future marker is generally realised as <-a>. The future does not co-occur with any other tense or aspect markers.

The future locates an event subsequent to the present moment. In addition to simple future time reference, the future morpheme may indicate possibility, desire, intention or weak obligation. Hence the future has modal uses and may encode deontic or epistemic modality. Keeping in mind that the notion of futurity is bound up with various precepts such as intention and prediction, the examples below illustrate simple future reference.

- 380 *ahãʔ* *ka* *ma-doʔt-ã*.
 no I NEG-say-FUT.1s
 No, I won't say.
- 381 *ka* *doʔ-nu* *ka* *si-aŋ-ka!*
 I say-COND I die-FUT-1s
 If I tell [you], I will die!
- 382 *aitabar* *kidhimi* *ma-yha-a-niŋ*.
 Sunday we^d NEG-remain-FUT-1d
 Sunday we won't be here.

- 383 *khan-ay* *ku-nu*
 look-FUT COP-COND
 We will see.
- 384 *te* *ku-nu* *hasu-hej* *hiʔt-a-na?*
 okay COP-COND who-DAT ask-FUT-2
 Okay then, who will you^s ask?
- 385 *ka-sej* *ciṭṭhi* *pi-gil-su-a-na?*
 I-DAT letter give-IM-COL-FUT-2
 Will you^p send me a letter?

The future tense may be used to indicate desire, intention or inclination. Here the semantics are similar to English ‘want’. While there are lexical verbs expressing desire such as *kiʔli* ‘to want’, the use of the future is often more appropriate to express what one feels like doing rather than the physical, mental or emotional compulsion associated with *kiʔli*.

- 386 *na* *terej* *cum-a-na* *na biha* *cum-a-na?*
 you^s intestines take-FUT-2 or meat take-FUT-2
 Do you^s want to take intestines or meat?
- 387 *gora* *ma-am-a-na?*
 what NEG-drink-FUT-2
 Won’t you^s drink any alcohol?
- 388 *hai* *pa-a-na* *ku-nu?*
 what do-FUT-2 COP-COND
 What can you^s do then?
- 389 *mar-pa* *jha:-pu* — *ca-ã* *la.*
 quick-do wash-DIST eat-FUT.1s MIR
 Go wash it quickly — I want to eat now.

- 390 *tir-ka* *ciya* *ma-am-ã*
 be.cold-NOM tea NEG-drink-FUT.1s
 I don't want to drink cold tea.

Weak obligation may be encoded with first and second person forms. The semantics of the following examples are close to those of the English modal 'shall'. By using the future here, the speaker solicits permission, assent or instruction to perform an action. The following first person examples illustrate the modal use of the future morpheme.

- 391 *phinu* *giʔ-pi-ã?*
 door close-DIR-FUT.1s
 Shall I close the door for [you]?
- 392 *heʔ-baje* *lo-ã?*
 what-time come-FUT.1s
 What time shall I come?
- 393 *saikal* *bho:-pi-ã?*
 bicycle look.for-DIR-FUT.1s
 Shall I look for a bicycle for [you]?

With second person singular marking, the future may be used with weak obligation to indicate a generic instruction. It differs from the imperative in that it is not a command, but rather a statement of how things are done. And whereas the imperative often refers to a one time event, the future encodes an event to be carried out habitually or generically. It is not clear whether number distinctions other than singular may be indexed. Example (394), from a text on hunting rats, employs second person future to encode a generic instruction.

- 394 *inta* *taʔ-teŋ* *tuʔ-teŋ* *kalau*
 there put-SEQ REDUP so

mhoʔt-a-na mhoʔt-a-na mhoʔt-a-na.
 blow-FUT-2 blow-FUT-2 blow-FUT-2
 So, after placing it, then you^s blow and blow and blow.

395 *esa-pa doʔt-a-na.*
 thus-do say-FUT-2
 You^s should say it like this.

396 *na esa pa-li goi-a-na.*
 you thus do-INF must-FUT-2
 You^s should do it like this.

397 *inta me jolai-teŋ uŋko kana-ta pi-a-na.*
 there fire ignite-SEQ that hole-LOC give-FUT-2
 Then after starting a fire, you^s put that on the hole.

The future tense may be used with third person stative verbs to indicate future possibility or potentiality. It makes a prediction or inference about a future state of affairs. Here, it expresses a lower degree of certainty regarding a state than an imperfectively marked verb would. The future hedges the truth value of the speaker's statement, which is delimited in a way that the imperfective is not. The predictive nature of this future state or event may be strengthened with the addition of the deductive morpheme *wa*.

398 *iso ma-hane — yhalaʔt-aŋ.*
 hither NEG-go be.slippery-FUT
 Don't go this way — it'll be slippery.

399 *iŋko miliŋ eʔ-mi piʔ-teŋ ca-li ma-nin-aŋ.*
 that field one-HCL sell-SEQ eat-INF NEG-get-FUT
 One person can't profit from selling that land.

400 *ota hane-pa hane-pa belhaʔt-a wa.*
 there go-do go-do be.dusk-FUT DED
 On the way there, it may become dark.

4.7.1.3 Imperious future

basic morph:	<-a-niŋ>
label:	FUT-1s→2
basic morph:	<-a-nau>
label:	FUT-3s→2

The imperious occurs in two constructions involving a singular subject and a second person object and indexes the transitive relation between these participants in addition to the imperious mood. Only scenarios with a second person patient are eligible and no utterances encoding a first or third person patient have been recorded, i.e. 2→1 or 1→3. The imperious is restricted to future tense or irrealis aspect, with *portemanteau* agreement indices on the verb encoding both the subject and object, and the imperious mood. This type of marking appears most frequently in emotionally-charged discourse, i.e. threats, warnings, vows and flattery (cf. King 2001).

The imperious future indicates the speaker's subjective attitude towards a proposition and its impact on the addressee. This future event is one which the speaker feels has a strong likelihood of occurrence and which usually has a strong detrimental or beneficial impact on the patient.

- 401 *seʔt-a-niŋ* *buruŋ!*
 kill-FUT-1s→2 forthwith
 I will kill you right away!
- 402 *purin* *dhe:-pi-a-niŋ?!*
 head split-DIR-FUT-1s→2
 Shall I split your head open?!
- 403 *pi-a-niŋ* *khuntila* *nadoi!*
 give-FUT-1s→2 *khuntila* *nadoi*
 I will give you *khuntila* and *nadoi* earrings!

- 404 *lathi-hoi pi-a-niŋ!*
 cane-INST give-FUT-1s→2
 I will give you what for with a cane!
- 405 *laʔthe-a-nau!*
 kick-FUT-3s→2
 It will kick you!
- 406 *cum-pu-a-nau!*
 take-DIST-FUT-3s→2
 He will take you away (to America)!
- 407 *naŋ-ko miŋ yha-a-nau!*
 you^s.OBL-GEN name remain-FUT-3s→2
 Your^s name will go down in history!

4.7.1.4 Irrealis

basic morph: <-dhaŋ> ~ <-dha>

label: IRR

The irrealis marker <-dhaŋ> and its allomorph <-dha> encode an irrealis event. When followed by a morpheme with a consonantal onset the irrealis marker is generally realised as <-dha>. The irrealis refers to a hypothetical or counterfactual proposition that may be in the future or past. Although irrealis is neither a tense nor an aspect in the strict sense, it is covered here because like the tenses and aspects, the irrealis takes inflection. An irrealis clause, which may be preceded by a subordinate clause expressing contingency, is essentially conditional in that it indicates what would or could take place if certain conditions are or had been met.

In the following examples, the irrealis encodes a hypothetical future event that would occur under certain conditions. Note that with first person there is a component of intention encoded with the irrealis, while third person subjects encode possibility.

- 408 *na dopha bihu pa-dhã.*
 you^s COM wedding do-IRR.1s
 I would marry you^s.

- 409 *ka-seŋ cum-pu-nu te m ga:-pi-dhã.*
 I-DAT take-DIST-COND TOP rice cook-DIR-IRR.1s
 If [you] took me there, I would cook for [you].

- 410 *wa-ko hai doŋ upai-sa seʔ-nu*
 3s-GEN what FOC method-COM1 kill-COND

kelai-ko hamu-ŋ bhare-dhaŋ.
 we^p-GEN belly-EMP fill-IRR
 If we killed him somehow, we^p would fill our^p bellies.

The irrealis may refer to a past counterfactual event. Here it encodes a hypothetical past event that would have or could have happened.

- 411 *na kaŋ-ko katha hiŋ-nha pa-nu*
 you^s I.OBL-GEN words hear-P.2 do-COND

birami ma-jen-dha-na.
 sick NEG-become-IRR-2
 If you^s had listened to me, you^s wouldn't have got sick.

- 412 *dyaŋ hi-nu te wa dyaŋ dopha*
 person be-COND TOP 3s person COM

rhe:ti cuma-dhaŋ wa la.
 permission take-IRR DED MIR
 If someone had been there, he would have asked permission from the person.

- 413 *tiŋ-nu te rhe:ti cuma-dhaŋ-ka.*
 see-COND TOP permission take-IRR-1s.
 If I had seen anyone, I would have asked permission.

- 414 *wa-ko ma-ku-nu te wa-heṇ seʔ-dhaṇ ru*
 3s-GEN NEG-COP-COND TOP 3s-DAT kill-IRR EXCL

camindi ma-pi-nu te!
 daughter NEG-give-COND TOP

Otherwise, he would have killed him, had he not given his daughter!

In the following examples with the Nepali loan *jhāṇḍai* ~ *jhāṇḍa* ‘almost’, the morpheme <-dhaṇ> indicates an irrealis event in the past that came near to fruition.

- 415 *jhāṇḍa la lin-dhaṇ!*
 almost MIR stain-IRR
 It almost stained!

- 416 *jhāṇḍai lon-dhaṇ-ka.*
 almost fall-IRR-1s
 I almost fell down.

- 417 *jhāṇḍai gaḍi dheʔ-pa-dhaṇ diya-heṇ.*
 almost bus be.struck-do-IRR water.buffalo-DAT
 The bus almost struck the water buffalo.

- 418 *siṇ taṇ-labelau jhāṇḍai hul-dhaṇ-ka.*
 tree climb-TEM almost fall-IRR-1s
 While climbing a tree I almost fell.

4.7.1.5 Imperious irrealis

basic morph: <-dha-niṇ>
 label: IRR-1s→2
 basic morph: <-dha-nau>
 label: IRR-3s→2

The imperious irrealis employs the same agreement morphemes as the imperious future. Likewise, the imperious irrealis is restricted to clauses with singular subjects and second person patients. It encodes weak obligation, where the speaker implies that the event will probably not come about, but should and would under other circumstances.

419 *naŋ-ko* *puriŋ* *jam-pi-dha-niŋ!*
 you^s.OBL-GEN head smash-DIR-IRR-1s→2
 I ought to smash your^s head!

420 *seʔguli* *jam-pi-dha-nau!*
 testicle smite-DIR-IRR-3s→2
 He ought to smash your testicles!

4.7.2 Aspect

Dhimal distinguishes six aspects: imperfective, past imperfective, progressive, perfective, inceptive and completive. These aspects encode whether a proposition is viewed as bounded or unbounded. The morphemes encoding imperfectivity may co-occur with either <-khe> or <-hi>, while the perfective and inceptive morphemes do not co-occur with any other tense or aspect markers.

4.7.2.1 Imperfective

basic morph: <-khe>
 label: IMPF

The suffix <-khe>³ indexes an imperfective event in all persons except first singular, where it has fused with the agreement morpheme. In the affixal string, the imperfective occurs before the singular and dual person agreement markers, but after the plural markers. The imperfective indicates an unbounded event and may

³ This suffix may be pronounced by some speakers as <-khi>, especially in rapid speech.

encode habitual, stative, generic, progressive or historical present meaning. This morpheme may be used in both present and past tense constructions. From this it is apparent that <-khe> encodes aspect and is not a tense marker. However, in the absence of the past imperfective morpheme, the default time reference is the present.

The imperfective can signify a habitual event when used with a non-stative verb. This event is one that occurs on a regular or frequent basis.

- 421 *sihaire* *pi-kha*.
 shade give-IMPF.1s
 I provide shade.
- 422 *insa* *si-pa* *ma-dənai-nha-khe*.
 thus die-do NEG-beat-1p-IMPF
 We^p don't beat [them] to death like that.
- 423 *rhima* *haya* *maŋ-li* *hane-khe*.
 morning fish catch-INF go-IMPF
 He goes fishing in the morning.

With stative verbs, the imperfective denotes an inherent quality or a situation which generally holds true.

- 424 *marci* *ther-khe*.
 chilli be.piquant-IMPF
 Chilli peppers are spicy.
- 425 *iso* *cuŋ-khe* *na oso* *cuŋ-khe?*
 over.here be.cold-IMPF or over.there be.cold-IMPF
 Is it colder over here or over there?
- 426 *lumphi* *di:-khe*.
 banana be.sweet-IMPF
 Bananas are sweet.

- 427 *bajar-ta* *alu* *niŋ-khe*
 market-LOC potato get-IMPF
 Potatoes are available in the market.

The imperfective may indicate an unmarked present progressive. This present progressive meaning only occurs with non-stative verbs. The subject need not, however, be actively engaged in the predication of the verb. In example (428), the person calling need only be actively ‘inviting’ and need not be engaged in the muscular process of vibrating vocal chords.

- 428 *wa* *kai-khe*.
 3s call-IMPF
 She’s inviting [you].

- 429 *ku-nu* *col-pi-su-khe-na* *ku-nu?*
 COP-COND buy-DIR-COL-IMPF-2 COP-COND
 Well, are you^p buying [me] any then?

- 430 *ela* *lo-khe*.
 now come-IMPF
 [He] is coming now.

- 431 *beraŋ* *ghaila-ko* *ci* *hu:-khe*.
 old.woman jug-GEN water pour.out-IMPF
 The old woman is pouring out the water from the jug.

- 432 *tui* *bho:-khe*.
 egg seek-IMPF
 It’s looking for its egg.

The imperfective is also used in narrative to encode a historical present. This use formally locates the event in the narrative present, though semantically encoding a past event. The following examples taken from narrative data encode a past tense event, but make it more vivid and real by bringing it into the present with the imperfective.

- 433 *kalau esa khaŋ-khe doʔ-khe.*
 so thus look-IMPF say-IMPF
 And so [he] looks, [they] say.

- 434 *nheʔ-noŋ khokoi ekdām kose-teŋ*
 two-CL leg very tighten-SEQ

kose-teŋ jhiŋ-khe aŋ.
 tighten-SEQ bind-IMPF FOC1
 [He] binds both of its legs very tightly.

- 435 *inta kelai jolpaŋ ca-nha-khe la.*
 there we^P snack eat-1p-IMPF MIR
 Then we^P eat a snack.

4.7.2.2 Past imperfective

basic morph: <-gha>

label: PIMPF

The past imperfective is formed with the morpheme <-gha> and indicates an unbounded event occurring in the past. The past imperfective morpheme never occurs alone, but requires either the imperfective marker <-khe> or past tense marker <-hi>, together which may encode a stative, habitual or progressive event occurring in the past. The morpheme <-gha> occurs before the plural agreement indices, but after the progressive morpheme <-doŋ>. Change of state verbs do not typically occur in this aspect.

A past imperfective stative indicates that a situation held in the past without regard to its completion. The state may or may not hold in the present. Past imperfective stative constructions have only been attested with the locational or existential copula.

- 436 *odoi kam pa-lau kaṭhmanḍu hi-gha-kha.*
 that work do-TEM Kaṭhmanḍu be-PIMPF-IMPF.1s
 While doing that work, I lived in Kathmandu.

- 437 *eʔ-loŋ waraŋ-beraŋ-ko na-mi camindi hi-gha-khe.*
 one-CL old.couple-GEN five-HCL daughter be-PIMPF-IMPF
 An old man and an old woman had five daughters.

- 438 *manthu-gha-khe.*
 NEG.EXT-PIMPF-IMPF
 There wasn't any.

The past imperfective may also be used to index past habitual events. These events are viewed as having occurred on multiple occasions over a period of time in the past.

- 439 *kalau dilima lo-gha-khe.*
 then evening come-PIMPF-IMPF
 And so [they] would come in the evening.

- 440 *khuʔ-teŋ khaʔ-teŋ dudu am-pa-gha-khe.*
 descend-SEQ REDUP breast drink-do-PIMPF-IMPF
 Having come down, [she] used to breast feed them.

- 441 *kori can-heŋ khani oʔ-ka sar*
 step son-DAT only burn-NOM vegetables

 oʔ-ka m pi-gha-khe.
 burn-NOM rice give-PIMPF-IMPF
 [She] only gave burnt vegetables and burnt rice to her
 step-son.

The past imperfective may also indicate past progressive meaning. Here, the morpheme <-gha> encodes an unbounded event that was ongoing in the past.

- 442 *parʔi ca-gha-su-khe-na?*
 party eat-PIMPF-COL-IMPF-2
 Were you^p having a party?
- 443 *jamal-lai dhaʔ-ta gha-gha-khe.*
 child-PL porch-LOC play-PIMPF-IMPF
 The children were playing on the porch.
- 444 *lokhor-lokhor-pa syaile dhaʔ-gil-gha-khe.*
 ONOM-ONOM-do jackal run-IM-PIMPF-IMPF
 The jackal was running around lackadaisically.

The past imperfective morpheme <-gha> also co-occurs with the past tense morpheme <-hi>. With the past tense marker, the past imperfective indicates that an event held over a period of time in the past, a discrete event that has internal complexity, yet is circumscribed. The past imperfective may indicate a past stative, habitual or progressive event.

- 445 *wa-seŋ bheʔe-li bar-ka bicar hi-gha-hi*
 3s-DAT meet-INF big-NOM idea be-PIMPF-P
- təɾəwa dopha bheʔ jeŋ-li ma-do-hi.*
 but 3s COM meet become NEG-be.able-P
 I really wanted to meet him, but it wasn't possible.
- 446 *nani hai doŋ manthu-gha-hi*
 today what FOC NEG.EXT-PIMPF-P
- kalau boʔna pi-gil-gha.*
 then boʔna give-IM-P.1s
 Today I didn't have anything, so I sent a *boʔna*.
- 447 *dukhə sukhə doŋ-ka hethe*
 pain joy weigh-NOM how.much

hethe bat cittã jeṇ-gha-hi.
 how.much talk feelings become-PIMPF-P
 Weighing the sorrow and the joy, look how much we shared.

- 448 *thailenḍ-ko aḍres tha manthu-gha-hi.*
 Thailand-GEN address knowledge NEG.EXT-PIMPF-P
 I didn't know the address in Thailand (but now I do).

A past habitual encodes a bounded event that obtained over a period of time. In example (449), the past imperfective marker <-gha> co-occurs alternately with the past tense marker <-hi> and the imperfective marker <-khe>. The main verb of the first sentence indicates a bounded situation in the past that extended over a period of time, while the second sentence is not bounded in this way.

- 449 *ka inta thukaʔ-la buṇ kancha inta hi-gha-hi.*
 I there reach-TEM also Kancha there be-PIMPF-P

kalau oso ghure-lau-buṇ inta-ṇ hi-gha-khe.
 so there return-TEM-also there-EMP be-PIMPF-IMPF
 When I arrived there, Kancha was there, and when I returned was (still) there.

- 450 *obalai sanaiti-gelai mili-gha-hi.*
 they^p friend-PL arrange-PIMPF-P
 They, the friends, would get together.

- 451 *wa dera-bhari rhe:-gil-gha-hi doʔ-khe.*
 3s village-CIRC beg-IM-PIMPF-P say-IMPF
 He would go around village to village begging, [they] say.

- 452 *kalau obalai hane-gha-hi care-li.*
 so they^p go-PIMPF-P graze-INF
 And so they^p would go to graze.

- 453 *ka inta hi-gha-gha.*
 I there be-PIMPF-P.1s
 I used to live there.

In narrative, the past imperfective <-gha> together with the past tense morpheme <-hi> may yield past progressive meaning. Here, this combination encodes a past progressive event that is bounded, yet has internal complexity.

- 454 *iskul hane-labelau kitab kham-pu-gha-hi.*
 school go-TEM book look.at-DIST-PIMPF-P
 While going to school, they walked along reading a book.

- 455 *kalau esa saleŋ phe:-gha-hi doʔ-khe.*
 then thus ground sweep-PIMPF-P say-IMPF
 And so she was sweeping the ground, [they] say.

- 456 *jhoraʔ ali ali syaile dhaʔ-gil-gha-hi.*
 river side side jackal run-IM-PIMPF-P
 A jackal was running around on the banks of a river.

4.7.2.3 *Progressive*

basic morph: <-doŋ>
 label: PROG

The morpheme <-doŋ> encodes a continuous or progressive event that is ongoing within a certain time frame. The progressive explicitly encodes what may be implicit with the imperfective and generally occurs only with dynamic verbs which typically require volitional active subjects. The progressive morpheme occurs closer to the verb stem than any other tense or aspect marker, following the deictic motion morphemes and before the past imperfective marker <-gha>. The progressive morpheme <-doŋ> obligatorily co-occurs with either the imperfective morpheme <-khe> or the past tense morpheme <-hi>.

- 457 *wa am-don-khe.*
 3s drink-PROG-IMPF
 He is (still) drinking.
- 458 *dhoko phu:-don-khe.*
 basket carry.on.back-PROG-IMPF
 [She] is carrying a basket on her back.
- 459 *ita bho:-pi-don-kha!*
 here seek-DIR-PROG-IMPF.1s
 I'm looking for it [for you] here!
- 460 *oso parhe-pa-lha-don-khe.*
 over.there study-do-INTEN-PROG-IMPF
 [He] is going over there in order to teach.
- 461 *beran li?pa-ŋ dama te-teŋ hane-don-gha-khe.*
 old.lady all.day-EMP road walk-SEQ go-PROG-PIMPF-IMPF
 The old woman walked along the road all day long.

The only stative verb with which the progressive appears to concatenate is again the existential verb *hili*. Here, the use of the progressive morpheme emphasises that the locative state is ongoing.

- 462 *ya te dyan te hi-don-hi ru!*
 3s TOP person TOP be-PROG-P EXCL
 The person, he was still there!
- 463 *nare dai hi-don-hi na hane-hoi?*
 Nare Dai be-PROG-P or go-PERF
 Is Nare Dai still here or has he gone?

4.7.2.4 *Perfective*

basic morph: <-hoi>

label: PERF

The morpheme <-hoi>, deriving apparently from the verb *hoili* ‘to finish’, encodes perfective aspect and co-occurs with no other tense or aspect markers. In addition, use of the perfective is restricted to affirmative constructions. The perfective indicates a bounded event that is complete, one that has undergone a well-defined transition or change. Though this event is necessarily viewed as having occurred in the past, the importance placed on current relevance results in the perfective often having present time reference.

The perfective in Dhimal is slightly unusual in that many of the functions it fulfils are typically associated with stative resultatives or perfects. Many of the functions subsumed under a typical perfective are encoded in Dhimal by the past tense marker. In common with stative resultatives, the perfective has strong restrictions regarding co-occurrence with manner or time adverbials. In contrast to stative resultatives, the perfective places emphasis on the event itself rather than on the resulting state. And like stative resultatives, the perfective presents a currently relevant situation. The thematic emphasis placed on the event of a perfective appears to be incompatible with information on how the event occurred.

Aside from encoding a complete event, one of the primary functions of the Dhimal perfective is to mark the status of the verb as changed, and hence, potentially currently relevant. Use of the perfective stresses the change in the situation and that this information may be new to the speaker, the hearer or to the discourse situation.

- 464 *tintili* *siŋ* *bhar-hoi*.
 tamarind tree set.fruit-PERF
 The tamarind tree has set fruit.

- 465 *darhi bhasaʔ-li do:-hoi. beʔ ma-bho:-khe-na?*
 beard grow-INF be.done-PERF wife NEG-search-IMPF-2
 [Your] beard has already grown. Aren't you^s looking for a
 wife?
- 466 *nhati ole-hoi. nhapu ma-heʔt-a-na?*
 snout emerge-PERF nose NEG-blow-FUT-2
 Snout has come out. Will you^s not blow [your^s] nose?
- 467 *gai-ko dudhe eʔ-hoi?*
 cow-GEN milk empty-PERF
 Have [they] milked the cow?
- 468 *lheʔ cuʔ-hoi.*
 flower wither-PERF
 The flower has withered.
- 469 *babar-hoi la.*
 be.very.big-PERF MIR
 [He] has become really big.
- 470 *ca-ka-ta-ŋ do:-hoi.*
 eat-NOM-LOC-EMP be.finished-PERF
 From eating [and such daily expenses], [the money] was used
 up.

The perfective may serve to delimit the object. Compare the following examples marked for past tense, perfective aspect and stative resultative respectively. In example (471) with the past tense marker <-hi>, the object is not delimited in any way, though such an interpretation is certainly possible. In example (472) with the perfective marker <-hoi>, the object is delimited and the event is viewed as complete. In example (473) employing the stative resultative, experiential or resultative meaning is encoded, but again the object is not delimited.

- 471 *m* *jhi-nha-hi*.
 rice thresh-1p-P
 We^p threshed (the) rice.
- 472 *m* *jhi-nha-hoi*.
 rice thresh-1p-PERF
 We^p [already] threshed the rice.
- 473 *m* *jhi-ka* *hi-nha-hi*.
 rice thresh-NOM AUX-1p-P
 We^p have threshed (the) rice.

In example (474), perfective marking would be appropriate for someone who has turned dark since the last time the speaker saw him. The use of the perfective here places emphasis on the newness of the realisation of a bounded event. The stative resultative would be more likely used to denote a state that is normal or unsurprising, but not new.

- 474 *da:-hoi-na*.
 be.black-PERF-2
 You^s have become dark.
- 475 *da:-ka* *hi-hi*.
 be.black-NOM AUX-P
 [He] is dark. or [He] is a dark one.

The perfective is not limited to punctual events. In example (476), the event is clearly made up of four discrete parts. Four times the shutter was opened and a picture was taken. But the speaker views them as making up a group of four snapshots, which are no longer available for shooting. Example (477) occurs over an extended period of time which could in no way be construed as a punctual event. In both cases, the perfective treats the event as a whole, with the information about the result or accomplishment figuring prominently.

- 476 *dya-poj hane-hoi.*
 four-pose go-PERF
 Four snapshots have been used up.
- 477 *hane-ka-ta-ŋ carcauraj ghurai-hoi.*
 go-NOM-LOC-EMP whole.kingdom stroll-PERF
 After much walking, they travelled the entire kingdom.

The perfective marker <-hoi> does not occur in negative clauses, but rather the periphrastic stative resultative is substituted. This indicates the close semantic relationship and strong overlap between the perfective and the stative resultative. On the other hand, the stative resultative is often replaced in the interrogative by the perfective. In example (478) the perfective is used to encode an interrogative, while the stative resultative construction (479) is used to formulate a negative response, though etiquette requires an affirmative statement even if the opposite is true.

- 478 *m ca-su-hoi-na?*
 rice eat-COL-PERF-2
 Have you^p eaten?
- 479 *ahã? ca-na manthu-ga.*
 rice eat-IMPL NEG.EXT-P.1s
 No, I haven't eaten.
- 480 *ca-hoi-ga.*
 eat-PERF-P.1s
 I already ate.

The semantics of perfective aspect are intertwined with discourse. Since the perfective is often used to encode changed or newly realised information, and since this new information may be garnered from a more recent event, the result or end state may still be in effect. Hence, the perfective may denote a recent or sudden change in a state of affairs.

- 481 *gi-hoi-ga.*
 know-PERF-P.1s
 (Now) I understand.
- 482 *gita soʔ-hoi.*
 Gita piss-PERF
 Gita (just) pissed.
- 483 *lo-hoi.*
 come-PERF
 [She] (just) arrived. or [She] has arrived.
- 484 *sat baje-hoi.*
 seven o'clock-PERF
 It's seven o'clock already.

In the following exchanges employing perfective aspect, the focus is on whether a certain event has been completed or a state attained. The semantics here are close to that of an experiential, something more often associated with resultatives. Use of the past tense, on the other hand, might be more appropriate if the speaker knew the subject was supposed to see the film or get married (489).

- 485 *tilhari khaŋ-hoi-na?*
 Tilhari watch-PERF-2
 Have you^s seen 'Tilhari'?
- 486 *e khaŋ-hoi-ga.*
 yes watch-PERF-1s
 Yes, I've seen it.
- 487 *bihu pa-hoi-na?*
 wedding do-PERF-2
 Have you^s married?

488 *e* *pa-hoi-ga*.
 yes do-PERF-1s
 Yes, I have married.

489 *bihu* *pa-nha?*
 wedding do-P.2
 Did you^s get married?

Related to the previous usage, the perfective marker <-hoi> may be used in an inceptive way with many verbs, ones that are naturally more durative in their semantics or that have a well-defined end result. The perfective encodes the transition from one state to another. The use of the perfective here differs from that of the inceptive aspect in that the latter refers to the onset of the event only, while the perfective denotes the attainment of that state.

490 *ci* *bukbak-bukbak-pa* *umel-hoi*.
 water plop-plop-do boil-PERF
 The water has begun to boil ‘plop-plop’.

491 *paya* *mansar* *du:-hoi*.
 pig garlic root-PERF
 A pig has started uprooting [your] garlic.

492 *lhe?* *bhar-li* *tom-hoi*.
 flower blossom-INF be.about.to-PERF
 The flower is about to blossom.

493 *dhe?-li* *tom-hoi*.
 be.knocked.down-INF be.about.to-PERF
 [He] is about to be knocked down.

With change-of-state verbs, the perfective has present time reference. In verbs involving the senses or emotions such as hunger, thirst, warmth, desire and anger, the perfective signals ingressive meaning. In discourse, the perfective contrasts with the past tense, which may

refer to either a past or present state, while the perfective has present time reference only.

- 494 *mhitu-hoi-ga.*
 be.hungry-PERF-P.1s
 I'm hungry.
- 495 *bhem-hoi-na?*
 be.hot-PERF-2
 Are you^s hot?
- 496 *ci am-li kiʔ-hoi-ga.*
 water drink-INF want-PERF-P.1s
 I'm thirsty.
- 497 *si-hoi-ga.*
 die-PERF-P.1s
 I'm dead tired.
- 498 *gora mha-hoi.*
 Alcohol be.intoxicated-PERF
 [They] are drunk.
- 499 *gota-ŋ khur khokoi tu:-sa-hoi.*
 whole-EMP arm leg hurt-APR-PERF
 [My] entire body seems to ache.

In narrative, the perfective plays a discursive role. While found but infrequently in this genre, the perfective is often used to stress the completion of an event in a story. The perfective here emphasises the change and hence, is in a sense marking new information.

- 500 *ya juhã si-hoi doʔ-ka bujhe-khe kalau.*
 this rat die-PERF say-NOM grasp-IMP so
 And so, one understands that the rats are now dead.

- 501 *kalau inta uŋko gota-ŋ ole-pa-teŋ*
 so there that each-EMP emerge-do-SEQ

ale-pa-teŋ kalau belhaʔ-hoi.
 REDUP so be.evening-PERF
 So then, after taking all of them out, it is evening already.

In narrative one comes across instances of an event repeated twice, the first with the past tense marker and the second with the perfective. The first usage with the past introduces the event as having occurred, while the second with the perfective focuses on the completion of that event and its current relevance in the narrative.

- 502 *kalau ace esa rhima lho:-teŋ khaŋ-ka te*
 so oh thus morning rise-SEQ look-NOM TOP

si-hi wa-ko camindi la. si-hoi la.
 die-P 3s-GEN daughter MIR die-PERF MIR
 So, ‘oh my’, getting up in the morning and looking, his daughter died. She had died then.

- 503 *belhaʔ-hi. kalau hiso hi-hi la.*
 be.evening-P so whither be-P MIR

thame manthu. belhaʔ-hoi.
 place NEG.EXT be.evening-PERF
 It became evening. And so where was he then? There was no place. It had become evening.

- 504 *dheu-ka jəti saʔ-ko diya jeŋ-hi.*
 tether-NOM REL house-GEN water.buffalo become-P

kalau ode bhaʔsiŋ iŋko gota-ŋ naŋ-ko
 so that reason that each-EMP you^s.OBL-GEN

dheu-li do-ka cahĩ diya jeŋ-hoi.
 tie-INF be.able-NOM IND w.buffalo become-PERF
 All the ones that they tethered became the domestic water
 buffalo. And so for that reason, all those that they were able
 to tether became your^s water buffalo.

Finally, although the perfective is rarely used to mark a sequence of events — more typically performed by the past tense — at the end of a narrative, the final clauses may employ the perfective to mark the final actions that close the narrative.

505 *kalau belhaʔ-hoi. jim-hoi. kalau do:-hoi.*
 so be.dusk-PERF sleep-PERF so be.done-PERF
 And so dusk set in. [They] fell asleep. The end.

4.7.2.5 Inceptive

basic morph: <-khai>
 label: INC

The morpheme <-khai> encodes inchoative or ingressive meaning, indicating that an event has begun or with change-of-state verbs, the near attainment of the state. The inceptive, like the perfective, takes no other tense or aspect markers. The inceptive morpheme is suffixed to the verb stem and comes before the singular and dual agreement marker and after the plural markers.

506 *ka suta hane-khai-ka.*
 I home go-INC-1s
 I am going home. (said when taking leave)

507 *kopi miŋ-khai la.*
 cauliflower be.ripe-INC MIR
 The cauliflower is almost cooked.

- 508 *lom-pa-khoi! lom-pa-khoi!*
 fall-do-INC fall-do-INC
 He's starting to make her fall! He's starting to make her fall!
- 509 *e m ca-khoi-na.*
 oh, rice eat-INC-2
 Oh, you^s have started eating.
- 510 *lo-khoi-ka re!*
 come-INC-1s ASS
 I'm coming already!
- 511 *gora laʔ-pi-ka hi-gha-khe — aro-ŋ am-khoi.*
 wine quit-DIR-NOM AUX-PIMPF-IMPF more-EMP drink-INC
 He had quit drinking alcohol, but he's starting up again.

The following inquiry is appropriately made as the person has already made indications, generally getting up or making movement towards an exit, that she is leaving.

- 512 *hane-khoi-na laʔ*
 go-INC-2 MIR
 Are you^s leaving now already?
- 513 *aro-ŋ iskul hane-li ma-kiʔ-khoi la.*
 more-EMP school go-INF NEG-want-INC MIR
 Again he's starting to not want to go to school.

When used with change-of-state verbs, the inceptive marker <-khoi> encodes the near attainment of that state. In this environment the inceptive is similar to the English 'almost'.

- 514 *belhaʔ-khoi.*
 be.evening-INC
 It's almost evening.

- 515 *eghara* *baje-khoi*.
 eleven strike-INC
 It's almost eleven o'clock. (10:50)
- 516 *naŋ-ko* *nepal* *hi-ka* *do:-khoi*.
 you^s.OBL-GEN Nepal stay-NOM be.finished-INC
 Your^s stay in Nepal is almost over.

4.7.2.6 Completive

Completive aspect is marked by ablauting reduplication of the verb and signifies that an event is performed thoroughly or to completion. This aspect may occur with different tenses and aspects, though the completive is most frequently found in non-finite constructions with the sequential morpheme <-teŋ>. In a completive construction, the verb and any affixal material are repeated with a different vowel. While variations do occur, the most common ablauting pattern is /a/ to /u/ and all other vowels to /a/.

- 517 *gilas-gelai* *jha:-khe* *jhu:-khe*.
 glass-PL wash-IMP REDUP
 They wash up the glasses and such.
- 518 *ela* *suta* *hane-li* *goi-aŋ* *phuŋ-li* *phaŋ-li*.
 now home go-INF must-FUT roast-INF REDUP
 Now one must go home to roast them up.
- 519 *inta-so* *wa buŋ* *jhola* *taʔ-hi* *tuʔ-hi* *doʔ-khe*.
 there-EL 3s also bag put-P REDUP say-IMP
 Then he too put down his bag, they say.
- 520 *kalau* *jhiŋ-hi* *jhaŋ-hi* *doʔ-khe*.
 so bind-P REDUP say-IMP
 So they tied [him] up, they say.

In noun-verb compounds, it may be the nominal which undergoes the ablauting reduplication. Other variations are also attested, such as ablauting the sequential morpheme, though these are much less common.

- 521 *kalau* *esa* *kam* *pa-khe*
 so thus work do-IMPF

kum *pa-khe* *udhinimi* *mi-one*.
 REDUP do-IMPF they^d e.brother-y.sibling
 And so the two brothers do all the work.

- 522 *mi dhu-teŋ* *ma* *dhu-teŋ* *lokhon lagai-aŋ-ka*.
 eye wash-SEQ REDUP wash-SEQ clothes don-FUT-1s
 Having washed my face, I'll get dressed.

4.7.3 Periphrastic resultatives

The use of non-finite verbs with an auxiliary in tense and aspect constructions is widespread in Tibeto-Burman. Dhimal employs several periphrastic constructions to encode tense-like or aspect-like meaning. The following sections look at the stative resultative and the dynamic resultative.

4.7.3.1 Stative resultative

To encode a stative resultative, Dhimal employs a periphrastic construction with the nominaliser <-ka> and the post-verbal auxiliary *hili* to indicate actions or states that occurred prior to a reference point, but have a well-defined end state that has relevance to a time point indicated by the auxiliary. The auxiliary is inflected for person and tense or aspect. This construction encodes not only resultative aspect, but is used to create predicate adjectives and on occasion crosses the line into present tense.

The habitual stative resultative is built up from the nominalised main verb and auxiliary, which is marked for imperfective aspect, and

encodes an event that occurs habitually prior to a generic temporal reference point.

- 523 *hane-teŋ* *hune-teŋ* *kalau* *ota* *m-sar*
 go-SEQ REDUP so there rice-veg.

miŋ-ka *hi-khe.*

be.ripe-NOM AUX-IMPF

Having gone home, then a cooked rice and curry meal is there.

- 524 *odo* *inta* *ole-pa-li* *kalau*
 that there emerge-do-INF so

m-gelai *buŋ* *so:-ka* *hi-khe.*

rice-PL also transfer-NOM AUX-IMPF

Then, there is also rice that has been stored away to get out.

To encode a present stative resultative, the auxiliary is marked with the past tense morpheme. The present stative resultative encodes an event that occurred in the past, but has present relevance.

- 525 *ita* *bhenen* *miliŋ* *pa-ka* *hi-gha.*
 here different land do-NOM AUX-P.1s
 I have switched to a different plot of land here.

- 526 *jolpaŋ* *cuma-ka* *hi-nha-hi.*
 snack bring-NOM AUX-1p-P
 We^p have brought a snack.

- 527 *biŋu* *pa-ka* *hi-nha* *manthu-na?*
 that do-NOM AUX-P.2 NEG.EXT-2
 Have you^s married or not?

- 528 *marci sem-pa-teŋ taʔ-ka hi-hi.*
 where be.dry-do-SEQ put-NOM AUX-P
 The chillies have been put out to dry.

The stative resultative may also be used in an experiential sense.

- 529 *hiso hiso hi-gil-ka hi-nha?*
 where where be-IM-NOM be-P.2
 Where all have you^s travelled?

The following examples employing the same form are ambiguous between a resultative and a more dynamic reading.

- 530 *wa cesma tuʔ-ka hi-hi.*
 3s glasses put.on-NOM AUX-P
 [He] is wearing glasses. or [He] has put on glasses.
- 531 *jaʔ-ka hi-hi.*
 stand-NOM AUX-P
 [He] is standing. or [He] has stood up.
- 532 *nui thum-ka hi-hi.*
 mouth cover-NOM AUX-P
 [Her] mouth is closed. or [She] has closed her mouth.
- 533 *tole lum-ka hi-hi.*
 flour form-NOM AUX-P
 [They] are forming the flour. or Flour has been formed.

Related to the previous examples, the stative resultative is also used to create predicate adjectives from change-of-state verbs, which are fundamentally resultative-statives.

- 534 *pusiŋ miŋ-ka hi-hi.*
 hair be.ripe-NOM AUX-P
 [His] hair is white. or [His] hair has turned white.

- 535 *da:-ka* *mundha* *bhai-ka* *hi-hi*.
 black-NOM stump be.like-NOM AUX-P
 [She] looks like a blackened stump.
- 536 *ta:-ka* *hi-hi*.
 be.tasty-NOM AUX-P
 It's tasty.
- 537 *je:-ka* *hi-hi*.
 be.white-NOM AUX-P
 [He] is white (Caucasian).
- 538 *ede* *kabara* *rem-ka* *hi-hi*.
 this spotted.deer be.good-NOM AUX-P
 This spotted deer is beautiful.

In negative resultative constructions, the auxiliary verb *hili* is replaced by the negative existential *manthu*. In the negative, the nominalised verb may take a distinct suffix <-na>. This suffix also occurs with the sensory verbs *gili* 'to understand' and *bhaili* 'to seem'. The morpheme <-na> seems to be used more consistently and regularly by older speakers, suggesting that <-ka> may be taking over the function of <-na> in negative constructions.⁴

- 539 *pa-na* *manthu-ga*.
 do-IMPL NEG.EXT-P.1s
 I haven't done it.
- 540 *mai-ka* *hi-nha* *manthu-na?*
 be.tired-NOM AUX-P.2 NEG.EXT-2
 Are you^s tired yet or not?

⁴ The suffix <-na> appears to be related to the Dumi negative suffix <-na>.

- 541 *ca-na manthu-ga.*
eat-IMPL NEG.EXT-1s
I haven't eaten.
- 542 *hasu buŋ si-na manthu.*
who also die-IMPL NEG.EXT
No one has died.

When this construction employs the past imperfective of the auxiliary, the situation or event referred to is temporally located prior to a past reference point. The past stative resultative expresses a relation between a past state and a situation prior to it. Past stative resultatives primarily occur in narrative to situate events prior to that of the main story line, presenting the information as background.

- 543 *anca-ŋ inta hane-ka manthu-gha-kha.*
before-EMP there go-NOM NEG.EXT-PIMPF-IMPF.1s
I hadn't gone there before.
- 544 *ka te torse pe:-li diŋ-gil-ka hi-gha-kha.*
I TOP mango pick-INF send-IM-NOM AUX-PIMPF-IMPF.1s
I had sent him to pick mangoes.
- 545 *səŋkər-ji-heŋ parbati m*
Śaṅkar-HON-DAT Pārvatī rice

yo:-pi-ka hi-gha-khe.
set-DIR-NOM AUX-PIMPF-IMPF
Pārvatī had set out rice for lord Śaṅkar.

4.7.3.2 Dynamic resultative

The dynamic resultative is formed periphrastically with the main verb marked by the sequential particle <-teŋ> and an inflected form of the auxiliary verb *hili*. It indicates that the state resulting from the attainment or transition of a past event continues. The state persists at

reference time, thereby differing from the stative resultative. The reference point may be habitual or generic, present or past tense, depending on the coding of the auxiliary. In some instances, the dynamic resultative borders on progressive aspect. In the following example, the auxiliary is marked with the infinitive.

- 546 *eʔ-ghuri-ŋ siŋ-ta bejhem-teŋ hi-li goi-hi.*
 one-moment tree-LOC lean-SEQ be-INF must-P
 For a moment, it was necessary to remain leaning against a tree.

When the auxiliary is marked with the imperfective the resulting state obtains habitually or generically.

- 547 *gunan-teŋ hi-khe be?*
 worry-SEQ AUX-IMPF DUB
 I wonder if he continues to worry?
- 548 *haya ma-tiŋ-khe — leta bhom-teŋ hi-khe.*
 fish NEG-see-IMPF below lie.on.belly-SEQ AUX-IMPF
 The fish aren't visible — they stay floating down below.
- 549 *liʔta gumsai-teŋ ai-teŋ hi-khe.*
 inside putrify-SEQ rot-SEQ AUX-IMPF
 Inside it remains rotten and putrified.
- 550 *ku-nu na ita hai pa-teŋ hi-khe-na?*
 COP-COND you^s here what do-SEQ AUX-IMPF-2
 So, what are you^s doing here?

A past tense auxiliary encodes a present dynamic resultative. The resulting state of a past event continues into the present. Hence, these constructions may have not only present relevance, but may border on progressive aspect.

- 551 *khur lekharā-bhārī taʔ-teŋ hi-hi.*
 hand behind-CIRC put-SEQ AUX-P
 [Her] hands are behind her.
- 552 *ka ita berojgārī jen-teŋ hi-gha.*
 I here unemployed become-SEQ AUX-P.1s
 I continue to be unemployed here.
- 553 *nara-ta jim-teŋ hi-hi.*
 straw-LOC sleep-SEQ AUX-P
 [He] is asleep in the straw.
- 554 *esa hai pa-teŋ hi-nha?*
 like.this what do-SEQ AUX-P.2
 What are you^s doing like this?
- 555 *riksa-ta dhol-teŋ hi-hi.*
 riksha-LOC climb.on-SEQ AUX-P
 [He] is boarding a riksha.

The past imperfective form of the auxiliary encodes a past dynamic resultative, with the resulting state of the main verb obtaining through a past time reference point.

- 556 *ede khuwāhā pinjuri-ta dul-teŋ hi-gha-hi.*
 this tiger cage-LOC enter-SEQ AUX-PIMPF-P
 This tiger was in a cage.
- 557 *eʔ-loŋ jhōraʔ-ta hane-teŋ sipaʔ-pa*
 one-CL river-LOC go-SEQ quiet-do
khan-teŋ hi-gha-khe.
 look-SEQ AUX-PIMPF-IMPF
 [He] went to the river and remained watching quietly.

- 558 *ka siŋ-ta tan-teŋ hi-gha-kha.*
 I tree-LOC climb-SEQ AUX-PIMPF-IMPF.1s
 I remained up in the tree that I had climbed.
- 559 *khaŋ-lha-labelau te ləksmən lon-teŋ hi-gha-hi.*
 look-PURP-TEM TOP Lakṣmaṇ fall-SEQ AUX-PIMPF-P
 When he went to look, there was Lakṣmaṇ fallen on the
 ground.
- 560 *kalau kapi-gelai pelsiŋ-gelai saje-teŋ*
 so notebook-PL pencil-PL prepare-SEQ
- suje-teŋ manthu-khe.*
 REDUP NEG.EXT-IMPF
 [Your] notebooks and pencils are never all prepared.

4.8 Deictic motion

Dhimal has a set of five bound suffixes that impart a sense of motion to the verb and ground the situation in space in relation to a deictic referent. Aside from marking physical movement in space, two of these morphemes encode aspect or serve as a detransitive with change-of-state verbs. The deictic referent encoded may be the speaker, the addressee or a third person. The motion may be away from a referent, away from a referent with a goal, motion in an indeterminate direction, relinquitive motion or motion towards a referent. Deictic motion morphemes follow the valence changing morphemes and precede any tense or aspect markers.

The semantics of these morphemes vary along five parameters, viz. the basic function of motion (spatial or non-spatial), the orientation of the event (whether it is directed away from or toward a referent), the relative temporal sequence (motion before, during or after the event encoded by the main verb), the location of the event (near or away from the referent) and the manner (cover for the remaining semantic content). The determinants of these parameters are the categories of the main verb, i.e. transitivity, dynamicity,

telicity and, to a lesser extent, person. Consequently, the meanings encoded in the deictic motion are built up from those inherent in the suffixes and the category of the verb.

4.8.1 *Distal*

basic morph: <-pu>
label: DIST

The distal morpheme <-pu> signifies motion away from a deictic referent. Derived from the verb *puli* meaning ‘to go, set out’, the distal indicates that the action encoded by the main verb is performed away from the referent. The action may occur after or during the actual movement based on the nature of the verb. The motion has a spatial goal with telic events and is goal-less with atelic verbs. When co-occurring with change-of-state verbs, the distal morpheme marks a gradual progression toward that state.

When the distal marker is employed with telic events, that is events with a natural end point, the action of the main verb takes place away from the referent and after the motion away has occurred. The tense, aspect or mood of telic situations is viewed as the same for both the motion and the action. Hence, past tense marking would indicate that the motion and the action occurred.

561 *suta* *taʔ-pu*.
 home put-DIST
 Go and put it in the house.

562 *jha:-pu*.
 wash-DIST
 Go and wash it.

563 *thal-pu-li* *goi-khe* *ma-goi-khe?*
 throw-DIST-INF must-IMPF NEG-must-IMPF
 Is it necessary to throw it away or not?

- 564 *e ya te doʔ-pu-aŋ.*
 eh 3s TOP say-DIST-FUT
 Eh, this one, he'll go and tell.
- 565 *jumni col-pi-pu-ã aũ?*
 tomorrow buy-DIR-DIST-FUT.1s okay
 Tomorrow I'll go buy [you one], okay?
- 566 *si-ka-lai-heŋ məncauli-ta soi-teŋ liʔ-pu-khe.*
 die-NOM-PL-DAT stretcher-LOC carry-SEQ bury-DIST-IMPF
 [They] go bury dead people carrying them on stretchers.
- When the distal is used with atelic events, including verbs of motion or naturally durative events, the distal suffix <-pu> denotes action that is performed concurrently with the motion away from the deictic referent. That is, the action is performed while the subject is moving along.
- 567 *heʔ-kilo cum-pu-a-na?*
 how.many-kilo hold-DIST-FUT-2
 How many kilos do you^s want to take?
- 568 *wa iŋko cətalai phar-pu-hi.*
 3s that mat carry.in.mouth-DIST-P
 It carried that mat off in its mouth.
- 569 *oso dhaʔ-pu-hi.*
 there run-DIST-P
 [He] ran off in that direction.
- 570 *wa-ko bhar te eʔ-loŋ jihã urai-pa-pu-hi la.*
 3s-GEN load TOP one-CL bird fly-do-DIST-P MIR
 As for his load, a bird flew off with it.

- 571 *am-pu* *doʔ-kha*.
 smoke-DIST say-IMPF.1s
 Have a smoke for the road, I say. (lit. go along smoking)

When the distal morpheme <-pu> is used with change-of-state and some intransitive verbs, however, there is no physical motion encoded. Here the attainment of the state is one which proceeds gradually. From progression toward a spatial goal, the distal morpheme has extended its domain to cognitive perception of progression toward a state. The distal draws out the transition process for states, which may take anywhere from less than a second (blushing) to years (maturity) to attain, but which is still seen as representing a discernible process. Hence, the distal morpheme may lend durative aspectual meaning. Note the cofraternity between the distal marker <-pu> and the inceptive marker <-khoy> here. The inceptive places the process at the beginning phase.

- 572 *kelai* *dhemal-lai* *sukhumbasi* *jem-pu-khoy* *la*.
 we^p Dhimal-PL landless become-DIST-INC MIR
 We^p Dhimal are starting to become landless.
- 573 *umer* *jem-pu-khoy*.
 age become-DIST-INC
 [She] is starting to come of age.
- 574 *bhar* *lhi:-pu-hi*.
 fruit be.heavy-DIST-P
 The fruit began growing heavy.
- 575 *rhay* *papa-pu-khoy*.
 face be.red-DIST-INC
 [Your] face is starting to turn red.
- 576 *belhaʔ-pu-khoy* *la*.
 be.evening-DIST-INC MIR
 Evening is starting to set in now.

577 *mesa kom-pu-hi.*
 fever be.less-DIST-P
 [His] fever began subsiding.

578 *jatri bajar lo-pu-khe.*
 Jātrī festival come-DIST-IMPF
 Jātrī festival is approaching.

4.8.2 Intentive

basic morph: <-lha>
 label: INTEN

The intentive morpheme <-lha> denotes movement away from a deictic referent in order to perform an event encoded by the main verb. The intentive may also be used to indicate a transitional process in some verbs with an experiencer subject. When used with a dynamic verb, the intentive indicates that the subject moves away from a referent with the intent to perform an activity, that is, with a goal in mind. Hence, the intentive generally requires a volitional subject. While the motion encoded by <-lha> is viewed as preceding the action of the main verb, the completeness of the movement does not necessarily entail completeness of the action, as is the case with the distal, only that the subject went with the intention.

579 *wa-seŋ puja-ta dhir-pa-teŋ dhabaʔ guʔ-lha-hi.*
 3s-DAT worship-LOC learn-do-SEQ shawl don-INTEN-P
 Having taught him at the ceremony, [he] went to put on a shawl.

580 *obalai eʔ-ni dəmæk ghurai-lha-ka hi-gha-khe.*
 they^p one-day Damak stroll-INTEN-NOM be-PIMPF-IMPF
 One day they^p had gone to Damak to stroll.

- 581 *nelai dera gora ole-pa-khe*
 you^p village alcohol emerge-INTEN-IMPF

ma-ole-pa-khe rhe:-lha-ka-ta?
 NEG-emerge-do-IMPF ask for-INTEN-NOM-LOC
 Is alcohol served in your^p village when courting?

- 582 *rhe:-lha!*
 request-INTEN
 Go ask [her] for it!

- 583 *pikiŋ ma-ca-lha-a-na?*
 picnic NEG-eat-INTEN-FUT-2
 Aren't you^s going to attend the picnic?

- 584 *kai-lha-hoi doʔ-pi.*
 call-INTEN-PERF say-DIR
 Tell [him] [they] already went to call [her].

- 585 *hale cum-teŋ cam-teŋ hale coi-lha-gha.*
 plough grab-SEQ REDUP plough plough-INTEN-P.1s
 Having grabbed the plough, I went to plough.

- 586 *na hai bireŋ awai-tuʔ-khe-na ko?!*
 you^s what ever hesitate-put.on-IMPF-2 COP
- kaṭhmanḍu-bhari kam bho:-lha.*
 Kaṭhmanḍu-CIRC work seek-INTEN
 Why ever are you^s despairing?! Go look for work in
 Kathmandu.

- 587 *soʔ-lha-gha.*
 piss-INTEN-P.1s
 I went to piss.

- 588 *ka nani ciu-lha-aŋ-ka ita jhoraʔ-ta.*
 I today bathe-INTEN-FUT-1s here river-LOC
 Today I am going to go bathe here in the river.

A clause marked with the intensive morpheme is similar to, yet distinct from, the distal. The intensive denotes a telic event, even when the verb is not inherently telic as in the following example with the verb *sikar għali* ‘to hunt’. In example (589), the event is viewed as telic, with the subject moving from one location to another in order to hunt. While in example (590), the event is construed as atelic, with the subject moving along playing.

- 589 *sikar għa-lha-hi doʔ-hi.*
 hunt play-INTEN-P say-P
 ‘[She] went to hunt,’ [they] said.

- 590 *khur-ta rə nariya esa għa-pu-hi.*
 hand-LOC and elephant like.this play-DIST-P
 With the elephants under his arms, he went along playing like this.

An intensive-marked verb may also differ from one marked with the distal in regards to whom the action is performed for. In example (591), the intensive indicates that the action is performed for someone else, while in example (592) with the distal morpheme, the action is performed for oneself.

- 591 *eʔ-bəti curoʔ col-lha.*
 one-packet cigarette buy-INTEN
 Go buy [me] a packet of cigarettes.

- 592 *biskuʔ col-pu.*
 cookie buy-DIST
 Go buy [yourself] some cookies.

With verbs that encode an experiencer subject, the morpheme <-lha> may indicate motion and intention, as in example (593), or a transitional process, as in examples (594) and (595).

- 593 *wa-ko dophā whan-ca-lha!*
 3s-GEN COM enter-PASS-INTEN
 Go be taken in by him!
- 594 *maricmunī kabara-ko rup jeŋ-lha-hi.*
 Maricamanī chital-GEN form become-INTEN-P
 Maricamanī took the form of a spotted deer.
- 595 *tasi yo:-lha-khe.*
 tooth set.down-INTEN-IMPF
 The tooth is coming out.

4.8.3 Indeterminate motion

basic morph: <-gil>
 label: IM

The indeterminate motion marker <-gil>, derived from the verb *gilli* ‘to chase’, denotes motion occurring away from a deictic referent. When this morpheme occurs with telic verbs, the action is performed on an object causing it to move in a direction away from the referent. With atelic events, the morpheme <-gil> encodes an iterative event with the subject moving in an indeterminate direction away from the referent. This morpheme gets its meaning from that inherent in the notion ‘chase’, which typically involves back and forth motion.

The morpheme <-gil> only occurs with a handful of verbs that encode telic events. Here, the subject causes the object to move in a trajectory away from the referent. The subject, on the other hand, does not engage in any movement. The activity encoded in the main verb occurs near the referent and prior to that of the physical motion away. In the following examples, the subject relinquishes control of an object which travels in an unspecified direction away from the

referent. In example (596), the verb encodes an imperative scenario in which the addressee is requested to chase objects (noisy children) who then will presumably depart the scene to locations unknown.

- 596 *ajai-ko* *puriŋ* *tu:-hi* — *gil-gil-pi* *aŋ?*
 grandma-GEN head ache-P chase-IM-DIR TAG
 Grandma's head aches. Chase [them] off for [her], okay?

- 597 *hisab* *pa-teŋ* *paisa* *pi-gil-khe*.
 math do-SEQ money give-IM-IMPF
 After doing the math, she sends the money.

- 598 *ciŋŋhi* *hethe* *lekhe-gil-gha*.
 letter how.many write-IM-P.1s
 I wrote and sent so many letters.

- 599 *kalau* *kodala-hoi* *thai-gil* *aŋ?*
 then hoe-INST toss-IM okay?
 Then throw it away with a hoe, okay?

- 600 *yoʔ-teŋ* *thai-gil-hi*.
 wipe-SEQ throw-IM-P
 Having wiped it up [she] threw it out.

The indeterminate motion marker, however, is most commonly used with atelic events. This event is not bounded in space nor is there a distinct trajectory to the motion. Instead, the indeterminate motion marker <-gil> indicates that the event predicated by the main verb occurs in multiple locations and at multiple times in a haphazard, back and forth manner. Hence, this morpheme lends iterative aspectual meaning to the verb. A deictic referent may or may not be indexed. When the referent is indexed, the notion is that the referent is at the center.

- 601 *ka-seŋ ma-tiŋ-ka thame-gelai tim-pa-gil-nha.*
 I-DAT NEG-see-NOM place-PL see-do-IM-P.2
 You showed me around to places that I hadn't seen.
- 602 *beja-lai buŋ ahar thum-teŋ hi-gil-khe.*
 girl-PL also face cover-SEQ be-IM-IMPF
 The girls also go around with their faces covered.
- 603 *iŋko beja-lai hai hai rhe:-gil-khe?*
 that girl-PL what what request-IM-IMPF
 What are those girls coming around asking for?
- 604 *kaṭhmanḍu hi-gil-lau ca-gil-lau-ko phom lo-khe.*
 Kaṭhmanḍu be-IM-TEM eat-IM-TEM-GEN memory come-IMPF
 Memories of travelling around and eating in Kathmandu
 come [to me].
- 605 *wa-ko dopha khiniŋ teʔ-gil-khe.*
 3s-GEN COM only be.stuck-IM-IMPF
 [He] only hangs around with him.
- 606 *kalau tui-li bho:-gil-khe.*
 so lay.egg seek-IM-IMPF
 Then it goes around trying to lay eggs.

4.8.4 Relinquitive

Basic morph: <-dhi> ~ <-dhe>

Label: REL

The relinquitive morpheme <-dhi>, possibly derived from the verb *dhe:-li* 'to split', encodes the notion of physical separation of two entities. This separation involves the subject relinquishing or leaving something behind with transitive verbs and the subject being left behind with intransitive verbs. There is also a phonologically conditioned allomorph <-dhe>, which occurs in imperatives.

When the relinquitive suffix occurs with a transitive verb, the subject relinquishes or leaves behind an object. This object may be physical (a flute or person), notional (responsibility) or spatial (a location). The event predicated by the verb precedes the motion away from the location of the event and per force occurs near the actants.

- 607 *nheʔ-loŋ basuli pi-dhi-hi.*
 two-CL flute give-REL-P
 [They] left behind two flutes [for him].

- 608 *ka-heŋ na-heŋ pa-li goi-ka gota-ŋ*
 I-DAT you^s-DAT do-INF must-NOM whole-EMP

abiwara-so-ŋ pi-dhi-hi.
 duty-EL-EMP give-REL-P
 [He] passed down to me all the responsibility to do the
 necessary things for you^s.

- 609 *dabiya-hoi thai-dhi-hi.*
 khukuri-INST cut-REL-P
 He sliced him with a *khukuri* and left (him there).

In constructions where the stress falls on the relinquitive morpheme, such as in the imperative, the relinquitive is realised as <-dhe>.

- 610 *phinu giʔ-dhe.*
 door close-REL
 Close the door when you leave.

- 611 *eʔ-juri kaura siŋ-ta taʔ-pi-dhe.*
 one-pair cowrie tree-LOC put-DIR-REL
 Leave behind a pair of cowries on a tree [for the owner].

- 612 *ka-heŋ atuisa pi-dhe.*
 I-DAT a.bit give-REL
 Leave a little behind for me.

- 613 *hane-khoi-ka doʔ-pi-dhe.*
 go-INC-1s say-DIR-REL
 Say ‘goodbye’ when you leave.
- 614 *hane-labelau ka-heŋ pi-dhe aũ?*
 go-TEM I-DAT give-REL TAG
 When you^s go, leave it for me, okay?

When the verb is intransitive, the relinquitive morpheme denotes movement that leaves the subject behind. Even with intransitive verbs, however, there is an unspecified actant. This unnamed participant moves away from the subject after the occurrence of the event predicated by the main verb.

- 615 *oso hul-dhi-khe.*
 over.there fall-REL-IMPF
 They fall out over there and are left behind.
- 616 *oso kheʔ-dhi-khe ru!*
 over.there stick-REL-IMPF EXCL
 They stick and remain back there!
- 617 *pheʔ-nha-dhi-hi.*
 beat-MID-REL-P
 He was struck and left behind.

The relinquitive morpheme may transitive an intransitive verb. In example (618), the object which has been relinquished is overt.

- 618 *iŋko obalai-ko siʔ-dhi-ka photo-gelai*
 that they^P-GEN go-REL-NOM photo-PL
- pi-gil-ka hi-gha.*
 give-IM-NOM AUX-P.1s
 I’ve sent those photos that they^P left behind.

- 619 *hiso* *siʔ-dhi-hi*.
 whither go-REL-P
 Where did she go and leave it?

4.8.5 Venitive

Basic morph: <-pa>
 Label: VEN

The venitive morpheme <-pa> indexes movement toward a deictic referent and shows the most idiosyncratic behaviour of all the deictic motion affixes. With transitive verbs, the event predicated by the main verb may occur either before or after the motion, and either near or away from the referent. When the venitive occurs with verbs of motion, the event may occur during the motion toward the deictic referent. Second and third person subjects have the speaker as the deictic referent, and first person may have the addressee or a third person as the deictic referent.

The venitive typically encodes an event that is performed after the motion toward the referent with telic verbs.

- 620 *purij* *pem-pa-aŋ-kaʔ*
 head break-VEN-FUT-1s
 Shall I come and bust [your] head?
- 621 *inta-ŋ* *dheu-pa*.
 there-EMP tether-VEN
 Come and tether it right there.
- 622 *purij* *dhe:-pa-ni*.
 head split-VEN-IMP.POL
 Please come split [his] head open.
- 623 *ka* *odoŋ* *nasij* *naŋ-ko* *hanuman-heŋ*
 I that reason you^s.OBL-GEN Hanumān-DAT

ka seʔ-pa-pi-gha.

I kill-VEN-DIR-P.1s

I came and killed your^s Hanumān for that reason.

- 624 *wa-heṇ khuwāhā isika wa-heṇ taʔ-pa-ka hi-hi.*
 3s-DAT tiger thus 3s-DAT put-VEN-NOM AUX-P
 The tiger has come and done such a thing to him.

When it is used with verbs of motion, the venitive encodes an event that is performed while coming toward a deictic referent.

- 625 *garaṅguruṇ-pa dhaʔ-pa-khe.*
 rumble-do run-VEN-IMPf
 [They] come running with a thunderous roar.

- 626 *tauli to:-pa-nha?*
 towel move-VEN-P.2
 Did you^s bring the towel in?

- 627 *sir-pa.*
 accompany-VEN
 Accompany [him] over here.

While motion was certainly involved prior to the event predicated by the main verb, example (628), which was uttered while both participants were seated by the fire, appears to encode an event that occurs near the speaker.

- 628 *me em-pa-khe.*
 fire press-VEN-IMPf
 He's over here warming himself by the fire.

In examples (629) and (630), employing a motion verb and a telic verb, the deictic referent refers not to a specific location where any of

the participants are at that moment, but rather to a future location where they will come together.

- 629 *kelai jharan eʔ-thane hi-teŋ wai-heŋ khaʔ-pa-aine.*
 we^p all one-place be-SEQ rain-DAT flee-VEN-ADH.PL
 Let us^p all come together and escape the rain in one place.

- 630 *te idhinimi param taʔ-su-pa-li goi-aŋ.*
 okay they^d bond.friend put-COL-VEN-INF ust-FUT
 Okay, they^d need to come together and become bond friends.

The events encoded by examples (631) and (632) occur before the motion toward the referent. These events involve performing an action and then returning.

- 631 *boi col-pa-hi.*
 uncle buy-VEN-P
 Uncle bought it and brought it back.

- 632 *gesa seʔ-pa.*
 candle kill-VEN
 Kill the light and come back.

- 633 *ka ede torse pe:-pa-kha.*
 I this mango pick-VEN-IMPF.1s
 I'm picking these mangoes to bring back.

In examples (634) and (635), there is a distinct venitive motional component encoded by <-pa>, in which the hearer is instructed to come towards the referent and 'give'. In example (636) with the identical verb, however, the motion towards a referent does not involve any of the speech act participants, but rather a third person.

- 634 *ajai-heŋ pi-pa!*
 grandma-DAT give-VEN
 Come give [this] to grandma!

- 635 *pi-pa!*
 give-VEN
 Give it back [to him]!
- 636 *nheʔ-kilo pi-pa-gha.*
 two-kilo give-VEN-P.1s
 I presented two kilos.

4.9 Valency

The Dhimial verb has a number of morphological and periphrastic operations that increase or decrease the number of participants of the verb. The valence decreasing operations include middle marking with the morpheme <-nha> and a passive with the morpheme <-ca>. Valence increasing operations include the <-pa> causative, the indirect causative with <-nha-pa> and the periphrastic causative with the loan verb *lagaili*. In addition, the directive morpheme <-pi>, which encodes an affected actant, will also be examined.

4.9.1 Middle

basic morph: <-nha>
 label: MID

The middle voice is encoded by the suffix <-nha>, which immediately follows the verb stem. The middle morpheme may occur with either transitive or intransitive verb stems. The Dhimial middle serves a variety of functions including as a detransitive, facilitative, malefactive reflexive, passive and defocuser. All these functions share features that Hopper and Thompson (1987) identify as being characteristic of low transitivity. A middle event is less individuated and has low granularity. The verb agrees with the semantic patient.

One of the more common functions of the middle voice is as a detransitive. Where only a lexical causative exists, the middle morpheme <-nha> may be used to create an intransitive verb from a

transitive. This grouping includes verbs where the action is viewed as a spontaneous internal process, one without a semantic agent. The process encoded by the middle is one that the subject undergoes. In all these examples, the unmarked verb requires a volitional agent.

- 637 *pusiŋ lum-nha-teŋ hi-hi la khokoi-ta.*
 hair wrap-MID-SEQ AUX-P MIR leg-LOC
 The hair remains wrapped around [his] leg.

- 638 *siŋ-ta lara meʔ-nha-teŋ hi-hi.*
 tree-LOC vine twist-MID-SEQ AUX-P
 The vine is winding around the tree.

- 639 *lokxon khoi-nha-teŋ theʔ-hi.*
 clothing hang-MID-SEQ rip-P
 The clothing got caught and ripped.

- 640 *tui rem-pha oŋ-nha-hi.*
 egg be.good-do burn-MID-P
 The egg cooked well.

- 641 *diya-ko diham hesa-pa khai-nha-hi?*
 water.buffalo-GEN rope how-do get.loose-MID-P
 How did the water buffalo's rope become loose?

A facilitative middle regards the inherent potential of an action or process to occur. Again here, the middle morpheme is suffixed to a transitive verb. Most of the data indicate a preference for third person and imperfective aspect to encode facilitative semantics, though as the next two examples show, this is not a requirement. Example (642), with inceptive aspect, was uttered when straw added to a fire caused it to flare up, much to the speaker's chagrin.

- 642 *seʔ-nha-khoi.*
 kill-MID-INC
 One can be killed already.

- 643 *siso-bhari ma-hane. ba:-nha-khe-na.*
 jute-CIRC NEG-go. IMP pierce-MID-IMPF-2
 Don't go over by the jute. You^s can be gored.
- 644 *mho?-nu ma-lhe:-nha-khe.*
 blow-COND NEG-peel-MID-IMPF
 If [you] blow [on it], it (the pencil sharpener) doesn't work.
- 645 *ma-mete-nha-khe.*
 NEG-erase-MID-IMPF
 It (the eraser) doesn't erase.
- 646 *ci dham-pa-ka bherpa ma-lo. bu:-nha-khe.*
 water be.hot-do-NOM near NEG-come scald-MID-IMPF
 Don't come near water being heated. One can be scalded.
- 647 *naη-ko phinu gi?-nha-khe?*
 you^s.OBL-GEN door lock-MID-IMPF
 Does your^s door lock?

The middle morpheme <-nha> may be used to mark a passive event. In the middle passive, the semantic patient is syntactically promoted to grammatical subject, with corresponding agreement on the verb. The semantic agent is suppressed and never appears overtly in passive middle clauses. It is always unspecified, either because it is non-referring, unknown or unimportant. The causer is, if not semantically, then grammatically non-existent. The syntactic demotion of the agent is a corollary of its semantic demotion. The following two examples are from a story about a yogi and a tiger. The tiger was found locked up in a cage and the hunters who locked it up are unimportant and only mentioned once in the beginning of the narrative.

- 648 *ka pinjuri-ta thune-nha-ka hi-gha-kha.*
 I cage-LOC lock.up-MID-NOM AUX-PIMPF-IMPF.1s
 I had been locked up in a cage.
- 649 *hesa dheu-nha-ka hi-gha-hi ede khuwãhã?*
 how tether-MID-NOM AUX-PIMPF-P this tiger
 How had this tiger been tethered?
- 650 *bajar-ta paya seʔ-nha-khe.*
 market-LOC pig kill-MID-IMPF
 Pigs are slaughtered in the market.'
- 651 *hiso cuma-nha-hi ede jamal?*
 whither take-MID-P this child
 Where was this child taken?

Another frequent usage attested for the middle voice is in reflexive-like situations. The middle reflexive is employed to index non-volitional malefactive reflexive actions. The key difference lies in the notion of control. In the following examples, the unmarked verb may be used with reflexive meaning, but only when the agent volitionally acts upon himself. My informant only accepted the unmarked verbs with the addition of a mentally unstable subject. In the middle-marked scenario, the subject accidentally split his foot open, while in the unmarked scenario he acted intentionally.

- 652 *mi-siŋ sel-labelau khokoi dhe:-nha-hi.*
 fire-wood chop-TEM leg split-MID-P
 While chopping firewood he split his foot open.
- 653 *bəula dyaŋ tai-ko-ŋ khokoi dhe:-hi.*
 crazy person REF-GEN-EMP foot split-P
 The crazy person split his own foot open (on purpose).

- 654 *gora am-teŋ cur am-labelau khur-ta coʔ-nha-hi.*
 alcohol drink-SEQ cig smoke-TEM arm-LOC burn-MID-P
 After drinking alcohol, while smoking he burned himself on
 the arm.
- 655 *bəula dyaŋ wa-ko cur khur-ta coʔ-hi.*
 crazy person 3s-GEN cigarette arm-LOC burn-P
 The crazy person (intentionally) burned his arm with a
 cigarette.

These examples illustrate that the primary semantics being encoded in the middle-marked examples is not reflexiveness, but rather non-volitionality. They also show that subject affectedness, while certainly one of the characteristics of the Dhimial middle, is not the primary one. After all, the mentally unstable individual was undoubtedly just as affected as the subjects of the middle-marked scenarios. The distinction is that the subject acts volitionally in the unmarked example, but the middle event happens by itself, that is without intention or volition.

Another distinctive feature of a middle-reflexive event in Dhimial is the number of participants of the verb. As the previous sections illustrate, a middle-marked clause typically has only one non-volitional participant. Many of the middle-reflexive examples, however, have the affected body part overtly marked and one case has an overt instrument (656). In the cases of third person subjects, one is tempted to read this as a simple passive, i.e. ‘his finger was slightly cut by the knife’. With a first or second person subject this interpretation is not possible.

- 656 *aŋguli dabiya-hoi atuisa thai-nha-hi.*
 finger khukuri-INST a.bit slice-MID-P
 He cut his finger a little with the khukuri.
- 657 *dirbe ci:-nha-gha.*
 tongue bite-MID-P.1s
 I bit my tongue.

- 658 *phinu-ta khur ceʔ-nha-hi.*
 door-LOC hand clasp-MID-P
 [He] caught his hand in the door.
- 659 *ce:-nha-nha?*
 cut-MID-P.2
 Did you^s cut yourself?
- 660 *kapal-ta-ŋ dha:-pa dhi:-nha-sa-hi.*
 forehead-LOC-EMP smack-do strike-MID-APR-P
 It seems he bumped his forehead with a smack.
- 661 *khur mekhonaiti-ta oŋ-nha-hi.*
 hand ember-LOC burn-MID-P
 He burnt his hand on an ember.

Certain intransitive verbs may take middle marking to indicate the low elaboration of an event. The event is defocussed and the subject is pragmatically demoted. That is, middle marking on intransitive verbs may be used to encode indefiniteness, low specificity and non-causality. In these constructions, the subject is less individuated, i.e. the subject may be non-referential or generic. The low degree of elaboration extends to the aspectual semantics with the event being more imperfective, atelic, non-individuated and non-punctual. Although the semantics are difficult to capture, they involve a certain non-causality, a spontaneous event that just happens. Compare example (662) below, which employs an unmarked verb, and example (663), which has middle marking. My informant explained that the event with a middle-marked verb was more appropriate for a remote event, one in which the cause for its sticking was unknown, or when the scythe was still up in the tree.

- 662 *torse loʔ-labelau kaciya kheʔ-hi.*
 mango dislodge-TEM scythe stick-P
 While dislodging mangoes, the scythe stuck.

- 663 *torse loʔ-labelau kaciya kheʔ-nha-hi.*
 mango dislodge-TEM scythe stick-MID-P
 While dislodging mangoes, the scythe got stuck.

The examples (664) and (665) represent minimal pairs, with the unmarked example being more definite. As my informant explained, in (664), the speaker perhaps knows how many eggs broke. While in (665), he may not know. This relates to the granularity of the event. In example (664), the event is crisp and clear. While example (665) is vague and fuzzy. Example (666), although more definite numerically, is indefinite in regard to causality with the Nepali loan *anjān* ‘unwittingly, inadvertantly’ reinforcing the low elaboration.

- 664 *tui bhoi-hi.*
 egg break-P
 An egg broke.

- 665 *tui bhoi-nha-hi.*
 egg break-MID-P
 There was egg breakage.

- 666 *eʔ-loŋ tui ənjan-ta bhoi-nha-hi.*
 one-CL egg ignorance-LOC break-MID-P
 An egg was broken somehow.

In the following minimal pair, the verb may occur either with middle marking or without, depending on the degree of granularity desired by the speaker. In the second pair, however, middle marking is not possible, due to the higher degree of elaboration inherent in the event, i.e. there is a direct cause for a specific tree falling.

- 667 *siŋ bherma-ta undhi-hi.*
 tree wind-LOC fall.over-P
 A tree fell in the wind.

- 668 *siŋ* *bherma-ta* *undhi-nha-hi*.
 tree wind-LOC fall.over-MID-P
 There was a tree falling in the wind.
- 669 *siŋ* *pal-labelau* *undhi-hi*.
 tree fell-TEM fall-P
 While chopping down the tree, it fell.
- 670 **siŋ* *pal-labelau* *undhi-nha-hi*.
 tree fell-TEM fall-P
 While chopping down the tree, it fell.

4.9.2 *Passive*

basic morph: <-ca>
 label: PASS

The morpheme <-ca> indicates a passive construction whereby the subject of the clause becomes the semantic patient or undergoer. That is, the experiencer subject is a non-volitional recipient of the action of the verb. The passive construction shares much of the semantic domain and indeed many characteristics of the middle voice. While not common <-ca> does occur fairly regularly with a small number of common verbs, both transitive and intransitive. For many verbs, minimal pairs exist, though several informants were unsure what the difference between them was. One informant felt that the verbs with this morpheme were more polite, perhaps in the sense of recognising the subject as an affected undergoer. One person also stated that it was *buḍa-buḍi-ko katha* ‘old people’s talk’. The examples below employ transitive verbs.

- 671 *thokar* *nin-ca-hi*.
 bump get-PASS-P
 He took a bump.

- 672 *dənai* *nin-ca-gha*.
 beating get-PASS-P.1s
 I took a beating.
- 673 *saʔ* *liʔta* *hara* *com-ca-khe*.
 house inside bones crush-PASS-IMPF
 Bones are being chopped inside the house.
- 674 *nariya-ko* *can* *ma-gha* *koʔ-ca-a-nau*.
 elephant-GEN son NEG-play draw.in-PASS-FUT-3s→2
 Don't play with a baby elephant, you will be grabbed.

Below are examples with the passive being employed with intransitive verbs. More data are necessary to determine the distinction between an unmarked intransitive verb and one with the passive morpheme.

- 675 *buraʔ-pa-ŋ* *sin-ca-aŋ* *be*.
 old-do-EMP live-PASS-FUT DUB
 I wonder whether he'll survive to an old age.
- 676 *khusi* *jen-teŋ* *len-ca-sa-hi*.
 happy become-SEQ smile-PASS-APR-P
 Having become happy, they enjoyed themselves.
- 677 *wa-ko* *dopha* *whan-ca-lha!*
 3s-GEN COM enter-PASS-PURP
 Go be taken in by him!

Strangely, some verbs with the passive morpheme appear to be semantically transitive.

- 678 *ka-heŋ* *sali* *beraŋ* *ko:-ca-hi*.
 I-DAT *sali* old.lady afflict-PASS-P
 The house goddess afflicted me.

A small set of verbs only occurs with the passive morpheme <-ca> along with the morpheme <-laʔ>. All refer to events that one undergoes, e.g. getting wrinkles, vomiting, feeling desolate.

- 679 *iŋko beraŋ-ko istu rhai cuncalaʔ-hi.*
 that old.woman-GEN much face be.wrinkled-P
 That old woman's face sure is wrinkled.

- 680 *nicalaʔt-a wa.*
 be.dreary-FUT DED
 It will probably become dull around here (after you leave).

Use of the morpheme <-ca> to encode a passive event in my data is somewhat uncommon. Rather, most instances that might use a passive are instead encoded in the middle voice and one is left to conclude that this morpheme is nearing improductivity. The following passive forms derived from intransitive verbs, however, were found in online publications by the United Mission to Nepal: *mānta ta:cali* 'to like, love', *dilima pərhicali* 'to study during the evening', *liʔtasəŋ doʔcali* 'to say to oneself'. While these verb forms were not recorded in my data, they suggest that passive verbs may be more common in other dialects.

4.9.3 Causative

The morpheme <-pa>, derived from the verb *pali* 'to make, do', can be affixed to most any intransitive verb stem to create a causative. This suffix may be used to express a transitive notion where only a lexical intransitive verb exists.

- 681 *mistiri nheʔ-mi kunti jaʔ-pa-teŋ ara ce:-khe.*
 carpenter two-HCL s.horse stand-do-SEQ saw cut-IMPF
 Two carpenters have set up a saw horse and are sawing.

- 682 *insa hul-pa-ka-ta-ŋ hul-pa-ka-ta-ŋ*
 thus fall-do-NOM-LOC-EMP fall-do-NOM-LOC-EMP

atuisa cum-pu-hi aŋ.

a.bit hold-DIST-P FOC1

Thus, dropping (meat) all along the way, he brought a little bit.

683 *wa iŋko siŋ-ta basa hi-ka me lho:-pa-hi.*

3s that tree-LOC stay be-NOM fire rise-do-P

He built a fire in that tree where he was staying.

684 *marci sem-pa-teŋ taʔ-ka hi-hi.*

chili be.dry-do-SEQ put-NOM AUX-P

They have put the chili peppers out to dry.

685 *kui te syaile ghara ma-tuʔ-pa-he pa-nu...*

separate TOP jackal pit NEG-don-do-HYP do-COND

If one doesn't put an escape hole...

686 *kohi oso laʔ-pa-ka laʔ-pa-khe.*

some there quit-do-NOM quit-do-IMPF

Some are over there removing the innards.

When the object of the <-pa> causative is human, an important characteristic of the resultant expression is that it expresses a non-forceful act, one that is inductive rather than coercive. In this respect the causative shows some similarity to the English 'get' causative. Physical coercion or the threat thereof is not part of the semantic make-up of causatives in Dhimal. The causee, if overt, is case-marked in the dative.

687 *asa baraʔ-pa-su.*

more be.big-do-COL

Raise [him] until he's a little bigger.

- 688 *lem-pa-khe.*
 laugh-do-IMPF
 [He] makes [me] laugh.
- 689 *kaŋ-ko one-heŋ ka hiso khaʔ-pa-ã koʔ*
 I.OBL-GEN y.sibling-DAT I whither flee-do-FUT.1s COP
 Where is it that I will hide my little sister?
- 690 *iŋko dada-heŋ nha-pa-su-ni.*
 that e.brother-DAT dance-do-COL-POL
 Please get that older brother to dance.
- 691 *nani na ka-seŋ khotar-so laʔ-pa-pi!*
 today you^s I-DAT cage-EL quit-do-DIR
 Let me out of the cage today!
- 692 *ela jogi-heŋ lam-pa-hi.*
 now yogi-DAT go.ahead-do-P
 Now he had the yogi go ahead of him.
- 693 *ode thame-ta thukaʔ-pa-hi wa-heŋ.*
 that place-LOC arrive-do-P 3s-DAT
 He had him come to that place.

When the morpheme <-pa> is affixed to a reflexive verb, the result is a transitive event with the self-directed action of the reflexive being directed outward toward someone else.

- 694 *pusiŋ siʔ-pa-li goi-ã.*
 hair trim-do-INF need-FUT.1s
 I need to have my hair trimmed.
- 695 *lo. ciu-pa-ã.*
 come bathe-do-FUT.1s
 Come, I'll bathe [you].

If a caused event is transitive, then Dhimal more typically employs the periphrastic causative with *lagaili* discussed below.

4.9.4 Indirect causative

An indirect causative is constructed with the middle marker <-nha> and the morphological causative <-pa>. The primary semantic characteristic of this type of construction is of non-volitional causality. The indirect causative is non-purposive and unintentional. Verbs, not surprisingly, retain the middle semantics of low elaboration. The result is an indirect causative. The heavier morphological weight of the middle-marked causative corresponds iconically to the more indirect causality.

- 696 *auciri* *kiya* *eʔ-loŋ tui* *bhoi-nha-pa-hi*
 wayward chicken one-CL egg break-MID-do-P

dama ma-gi-ka.

way NEG-know-NOM

Not knowing the way, the wayward chicken caused an egg to break.

- 697 *ci* *am-li* *khaŋ-labelau gila* *undhi-nha-pa-gha.*
 water drink-INF look-TEM glass upend-MID-do-P.1s
 While trying to drink some water, I inadvertently knocked the glass over.

- 698 *wa* *rem-ka* *sute* *lhu:-nha-pa-hi.*
 3s good-NOM thread unravel-MID-do-P
 He caused the good thread to become unravelled.

- 699 *wa kaŋ-ko* *khur* *phinu-ta* *ceʔ-nha-pa-hi.*
 3s I.OBL-GEN hand door-LOC clasp-MID-do-P
 He accidentally caught my hand in the door.

- 700 *gilas-ko ci-heŋ tu:-nha-pa-nha!*
 glass-GEN water over.turn-MID-do-P.2
 You^s knocked the glass of water over!

4.9.5 Periphrastic causative

The periphrastic causative is constructed with the Indo-Aryan loan verb *lagaili* ‘to put on’ and is used with transitive base verbs when the causer induces the causee to perform an action. The periphrastic causative signals little physical involvement on the part of the causer and a degree of cooperation on the part of the causee. This causative corresponds roughly to the English causative with ‘have’. Consequently, the sense of cooperation limits this construction to human causees. Responsibility lies with the causee to see that the action is carried out. The causee, when overt, is case-marked in the dative.

- 701 *na ala-maha biha na-heŋ*
 you^s big-great meat you^s-DAT

cum-pu-li lagai-gha!
 take-DIST-INF put.on-P.1s
 You^s — I had you^s take all that meat!

- 702 *bol pa-li lagai to ku-nu.*
 strength do-INF put.on then COP-COND
 Well, have [him] put a little effort into it.

- 703 *inta-so dul-pa-li lagai-hi la wa-seŋ.*
 there-EL enter-do-INF put.on-P MIR 3s-DAT
 Then [he] had him go in [the cage].

- 704 *wa-seŋ jhiŋ-li lagai-hi la.*
 3s-DAT bind-INF put.on-P MIR
 [He] had [him] tie him up.

- 705 *kalau wa-heŋ sir-pu-li lagai-khe.*
 so 3s-DAT escort-DIST-INF put.on-IMPF
 So [he] has [him] accompany him [to his destination].

4.9.6 Directive

basic morph: <-pi>
 label: DIR

Directives are indexed by the morpheme <-pi>, derived from the verb *pili* ‘to give’. A directive indicates an affected actant of the action predicated by the main verb and increases the valency or number of participants of the verb. The directive morpheme <-pi> denotes that the event is performed for someone else’s benefit or to their detriment. When an intransitive verb is marked with <-pi>, the verb becomes transitive, with the intransitive event affecting another participant.

The affected actant, which may be a first, second or third person participant, is often not overt and must be derived from context. The connotation of the directive may be benefactive or malefactive, depending on the inherent semantics of event. In the following examples with an intransitive or reflexive verb root, the morpheme <-pi> effectively creates a transitive scenario, with the patient being the affected actant.

- 706 *thoʔ-pi-hi.*
 spit-DIR-P
 [She] spit on [me].
- 707 *lem-pi-khe.*
 laugh-DIR-IMPF
 [They] laugh at [me].
- 708 *nha-pi-ãʔ*
 dance-DIR-FUT.1s
 Shall I dance for [you]?

- 709 *puriŋ-ta ci hu:-pi-hi.*
 head-LOC water fall-DIR-P
 [They] poured water on [his] head (to sober him up).

With inherently reflexive verbs, the directive morpheme signals that the event is directed not at oneself, but rather at someone else.

- 710 *pusiŋ kai-pi-ã?*
 hair comb-DIR-FUT.1s
 Shall I comb [your] hair for [you]?
- 711 *kaŋ-ko gandi thal-hi. kha:-pi kha:-pi!*
 I.OBL-GEN back itch-P scratch-DIR scratch-DIR
 My back itches. Scratch it for [me]! Scratch it for [me]!
- 712 *lagai-pi.*
 put.on-DIR
 Put it on [her].

In the following examples containing transitive verbs, the directive morpheme adds an affected actant to the two pre-existing actants of subject and object. This affected actant may or may not be the semantic patient.

- 713 *diŋ-gil-pi-aŋ-ka*
 send.someone-IM-DIR-FUT-1s
 I'll send someone for [you] (so you don't have to send them).
- 714 *khur cum-pi-teŋ cam-pi-teŋ aŋguthi lagai-pi-khe.*
 hand take-DIR-SEQ REDUP ring don-DIR-IMPF
 After taking [her] hand, [he] puts the ring on [her].
- 715 *dheu-pi-nha?*
 tether-DIR-P.2
 Did you^s tether it for [me]?

- 716 *mhai-gelai* *liʔ-pi-nu* *dyaŋ* *seŋ-khe*.
 evil.spirit-PL bury-DIR-COND person be.dry-IMPF
 If the evil spirits bury it, the person grows thin.
- 717 *nhatoŋ* *meʔ-pi-ãʔ*
 ear twist-DIR-FUT.1s
 Shall I twist [your] ear for [you]?
- 718 *dyaŋ* *si-he* *pa-nu* *bhoj* *pa-pi-li* *goi-khe*.
 person die-HYP do-COND party do-DIR-INF must-IMPF
 If someone dies, one must arrange a feast for [others in the
 community].

4.10 Directives

The directives that will be discussed in this section include the optative, the dual, plural and affinal adhortatives, and the admonitive. In addition, the singular, dual, plural, affinal, polite, infinitival and other types of imperatives will be examined. The categories of person and number may be employed to index degrees of deference or politeness in directives.

4.10.1 Optative

Basic morph: <-ko>

Label: OPT

An optative is indexed by the morpheme <-ko> and expresses a speaker's subjective wish or desire about the occurrence of a third person future event. Consequently, the optative only occurs with the future tense. This morpheme, which appears to be related to the copula *ko*, immediately follows the future morpheme.

- 719 *lo-a-ko.*
 come-FUT-OPT
 May [he] come.
- 720 *si-a-ko.*
 die-FUT-OPT
 May [he] die.
- 721 *eʔ-loŋ tui taʔ-khe pecara khacuri ma-jen-a-ko*
 one-CL egg put-IMPF wound pox NEG-bear-FUT-OPT
- doʔ-teŋ kalau jhem-pa-ŋ rhum-khe.*
 say-SEQ then be.light-do-EMP wait-IMPF
 [They] place an egg, saying ‘may no wounds or smallpox
 happen’, and then wait until dawn.

Most examples in my corpus involving the optative are employed with third person singular referents, though utterances with dual or plural third person referents are also found. Example (722) was uttered about two young men going to India to seek work.

- 722 *rem-pha pa-a-ko.*
 be.good-do do-FUT-OPT
 May [they] do well.

The optative is also used to indicate an indirect directive. By expressing a preference that such and such third person event occur, the speaker may attempt to persuade the addressee to act in a certain way. The speaker defers to the addressee who is under no compulsion and is free to reject the speaker’s wish if he so chooses. This deference may be to an elder or even to a head-strong, spoilt child who must be coaxed as in example (723).

- 723 *boi ca-a-ko babu aũ?*
 uncle eat-FUT-OPT Junior TAG
 Let uncle eat it, Junior, okay?

- 724 *boi jim-a-ko.*
 uncle sleep-FUT-OPT
 Let uncle sleep.
- 725 *yha-a-ko la insa-ŋ.*
 remain-FUT-OPT MIR like.that-EMP
 Just let it remain like that.
- 726 *wa doʔt-a-ko.*
 3s say-FUT-OPT
 Let him say it.
- 727 *ca-a-ko.*
 eat-FUT-OPT
 Let [the chicken] eat [the piece of stolen meat].

4.10.2 *Adhortatives*

4.10.2.1 *Dual adhortative*

Basic morph: <-siŋ>
 Label: ADH.DL

The adhortative particle <-siŋ> is suffixed to the verb stem and indicates the speaker's subjective attitude towards a future event involving two participants, viz. the speaker and the addressee. This future event is one in which the speaker indicates his desire that it come about, or in the case of the negative, not come about.

- 728 *m ca-siŋ.*
 rice eat-ADH.DL
 Let's^d eat.

- 729 *kidhiŋ phaisala pa-siŋ.*
 we^d.OBL judgement do-ADH.DL
 Let's^d judge.
- 730 *ti hane-siŋ.*
 walk go-ADH.DL
 Come on, let's^d go.
- 731 *sikar gha-lha-siŋ la.*
 hunting play-INTEN-ADH.DL MIR
 Let's^d go hunting.
- 732 *gora am-dhi-siŋ.*
 alcohol drink-REL-ADH.DL
 Let's^d drink some alcohol and leave.

The dual adhortative <-siŋ> may also occur in the interrogative. Here, the speaker subordinates his own desires, and instead solicits the addressee's subjective attitude regarding a future event involving the speaker and addressee.

- 733 *pani am-siŋ?*
 betel.leaf drink-ADH.DL
 Shall we^d have some betel leaf?
- 734 *kaŋ-ko dopha ghaḍi sate-siŋ?*
 I.OBL-GEN COM watch exchange-ADH.DL
 Shall we^d exchange watches?

Additionally, the morpheme <-siŋ> may be employed in a directive fashion regardless of the number of referents. By employing the dual adhortative, the speaker insinuates herself in the predication of the verb. This usage indicates weak obligation, as though the speaker were attempting to sway the addressee rather than coerce him, and is therefore weaker in force than the more blunt negative imperative. The referent in example (735) below is singular, with the addressee

overtly indicated by the second person singular pronoun. In contrast to the examples shown above, the speaker here clearly is attempting to persuade the addressee to act in a certain way, one which does not involve the speaker, despite the formal marking on the verb. Example (736) was addressed to a solitary visitor who happened to also be the only one present to have alcohol before them.

735 *na* *ma-datai-siη*.
 you^s NEG-lie-ADH.DL
 Let's not lie.

736 *am-siη*.
 drink-ADH.DL
 Let's drink up.

Example (737), with overt second person dual marking in the form of the personal pronoun, is uttered by an old woman to two men who are wrestling. Clearly, she is not referring to herself, but rather to the wrestlers. The remaining examples were addressed to plural referents.

737 *nidhimi* *ede esa-pa* *ma-pa-siη*.
 you^d this like.this-do NEG-do-ADH.DL
 Let's not behave like this.

738 *bulbul ma-pa-siη!*
 dust NEG-do-ADH.DL
 Let's not kick up dust!

739 *ma-leder-siη*.
 NEG-be.shy-ADH.DL
 Let's not be shy.

740 *ma-sikaʔ-siη*.
 NEG-be.squeamish-ADH.DL
 Let's not be squeamish [about the food].

Employing forms such as the adhortative in a directive fashion is known in other languages as well. For example, English utterances such as ‘let’s eat all our vegetables’ or ‘let’s get ready for bed now’, though formally marked for two or more participants to include the speaker, may in fact not include the speaker at all in the event. In English, however, the use of an adhortative in a directive manner would be considered condescending and perhaps be more typically found employed with small children or the infirm.

4.10.2.2 *Plural adhortative*

Basic morph: <-aine>

Label: ADH.PL

A plural adhortative is marked by the morpheme <-aine>, which is suffixed to the verb stem. The plural adhortative indexes three or more participants and, like the dual, indicates the speaker’s subjective desire or wish regarding a future event involving the speaker, the addressee and at least one other actant.

741 *iŋko m ce:-li do:-pa-aine.*
 that paddy cut-INF be.finished-do-ADH.PL
 Let’s^p finish cutting that paddy.

742 *bheɬ jen-aine.*
 meeting happen-ADH.PL
 Let’s^p meet again.

743 *te gora ma-am-aine nani.*
 okay alcohol NEG-drink-ADH.PL today
 Okay, let’s^p not drink alcohol today.

744 *teje-heŋ rhum-aine.*
 Teje-DAT wait-ADH.PL
 Let’s^p wait for Teje.

- 745 *tereq-ko cokha ca-aine.*
 intestine-GEN snack eat-ADH.PL
 Let's^p eat some intestines as a snack.

4.10.2.3 *Affinal kin adhortatives*

In the affinal kin register, Dhimal has distinct dual and plural adhortative forms to indicate this marked relationship. The affinal forms are constructed simply by suffixing the affinal addressee morpheme <-nyo> to the dual and plural adhortative forms.

- 746 *pa-sij-nyo.*
 do-ADH.DL-ADR
 Let's^d do it.
- 747 *am-sij-nyo.*
 drink-ADH.DL-ADR
 Let's^d drink.

In the affinal plural adhortative, the plural adhortative morpheme is realised as <-ĩ>, presumably due to phonological erosion of the morpheme <-aine>.

- 748 *pa-ĩ-nyo.*
 do-ADH.PL-ADR
 Let's^p do it.
- 749 *am-ĩ-nyo.*
 drink-ADH.PL-ADR
 Let's^p drink.

4.10.3 *Imperatives*

The imperative is used with the second person. Dhimal has several different morphemes that are employed with commands to distinguish singular, dual and plural number, mark social relations, and different

degrees of force or politeness. Prohibitives are formed simply with the prefixal negative <ma-> and the imperative.

4.10.3.1 *Singular imperative*

A singular imperative is indicated by a bare verb stem.

750 *atuisa* *pi.*
 a.bit give
 Give [me] a little bit.

751 *dama* *laʔ-pi!*
 path quit-DIR
 Clear the way!

752 *m* *ca-li* *lo.*
 rice eat-INF come
 Come and eat.

753 *hane* *suta.*
 go home
 Go home.

A handful of verbs only occur in the imperative, such as example (754).

754 *ma-bhe!*
 NEG-mess.with
 Don't mess with it!

4.10.3.2 *Dual imperative*

Basic morph: <-se>
 Label: IMP.DL

A dual imperative suffix <-se> indexes a command involving two actants and follows the bare verb stem.

- 755 *ede* *kaŋ-ko* *gandi-ta* *gha-se*.
 this I.OBL-GEN back-LOC play-IMP.DL
 Play on this back of mine.
- 756 *nidhinimi* *mhaʔ-se*.
 you^d stop-IMP.DL
 You two stop!
- 757 *nidhimi* *buraʔ-pa* *sinca-se*.
 you^d old-do survive-IMP.DL
 You two live to be old. (blessing said to grandparents)
- 758 *dənai-se!*
 hit-IMP.DL
 Hit it!
- 759 *ma-leder-se*.
 NEG-be.shy-IMP.DL
 Don't be shy.
- 760 *ko-se* *pelsiŋ*.
 COP-IMP.DL pencil
 Here, take the pencils.

4.10.3.3 Plural imperative

Basic morph: <-su>
 Label: COL

A plural imperative, indexing a command involving three or more actants, affixes the collective morpheme <-su> to the bare verb stem. Note also that although the copula *ko* takes no agreement or tense

markers, it does take number markers in the imperative as noted in examples (760) and (762).

- 761 *bho:-su.*
 search-COL
 Look for it.
- 762 *ko-su paisa.*
 COP-COL money
 Here, take the money.
- 763 *kaŋ-ko diya-heŋ diham peʔ-su.*
 I.OBL-GEN water.buffalo-DAT rope spin-COL
 Spin some rope for my water buffaloes.
- 764 *ti-su. han-aine.*
 walk-COL go-ADH.PL
 Come on. Let's^p go.
- 765 *ma-hane-su.*
 NEG-go-COL
 Don't go.

4.10.3.4 Affinal kin imperative

Basic morph: <-du>
 Label: IMP.H

When using an imperative with someone who falls within a marked affinal relationship, the morpheme <-du> is suffixed to the stem. In contrast to the polite morpheme <-ni> discussed below, the affinal imperative morpheme precedes the number markers.

- 766 *lo-du m ca-li.*
 come-IMP.H rice eat-INF
 Please come and eat.

- 767 *juwa-ko* *tərpha-so* *atuisa* *gora* *cakhe-du*.
 father-in-law-GEN side-EL a.bit alcohol taste-IMP.H
 Please taste a little alcohol from your father-in-law.
- 768 *acar* *deʔ-du-su*.
 pickle lick-IMP.H-COL
 Please taste the pickle.
- 769 *ko-du* *mhawa*.
 COP-IMP.H son-in-law
 Here, please take it son-in-law.
- 770 *yum-du-se*.
 sit-IMP.H-IMP.DL
 Please sit down.

4.10.3.5 Polite imperative

Basic morph: <-ni>
 Label: POL

A polite imperative with the morpheme <-ni> softens a command and is used when the speaker lacks the authority or is unwilling to issue a direct command out of deference or politeness. The polite imperative may also be employed when pleading with an unwilling actor. The morpheme <-ni> follows the verb stem and any number markers.

- 771 *yum-ni*.
 sit-POL
 Please sit.
- 772 *am-ni* *atuisa*.
 drink-POL a.bit
 Please drink a little bit.

- 773 *amai* *m* *cuma-pi-ni*.
 mother rice take-DIR-POL
 Mother, please bring rice for [him].
- 774 *ma-ko-ni*. *lo-ni*. *lo*.
 NEG-COP-POL come-POL come
 Please, it's not like that. Please come. Come.
- 775 *cakhe-ni* *ku-nu*.
 taste-POL COP-COND
 Please have a taste.
- 776 *eʔ-ghuri* *mhaʔ-se-ni*.
 one-moment stop-IMP.DL-POL
 Please stop^d for one moment.

4.10.3.6 *The particle to*

The particle *to* meaning 'then, so' primarily occurs sentence-finally with imperatives where it softens a command and adds an urging tone. This particle may be used when the speaker encourages the addressee to act or when he has lost patience. This particle, which is sometimes pronounced as *tə*, is most likely an Indo-Aryan loan. The Nepali particle *ta* has much the same semantic properties when it occurs with imperatives and sentence-finally. In contrast to the Nepali morpheme, however, the Dhimial particle *to* does not occur adnominally as a topic marker.

- 777 *cuma* *to* *khan-a-ne*.
 bring then look-ADH.PL
 Bring it over here and let's^p have a look at it.
- 778 *hiʔ* *to*.
 ask then
 Ask then.

- 779 *oi* *lo* *to* *iso*.
 hey come then hither
 Hey, come on over here.
- 780 *dheu* *to* *ku-nu*.
 tether then COP-COND
 Well, go on and tether it.
- 781 *naŋ-ko* *sarir* *rem-pha* *khaŋ* *to*.
 you^S.OBL-GEN body be.good-do look.at then
 Just take a good look at yourself.

4.10.3.7 Infinitival imperative

A verbal infinitive alone, either in the affirmative or negative, promotes or negates an activity. An infinitival imperative is not directed at any specific individual, but is rather a general proclamation. It appears to be more common in proscribing an activity with the negative.

- 782 *te* *m* *bhar-li*.
 okay rice carry.on.shoulder-INF
 Okay, rice carrying.
- 783 *ma-khar-li*.
 NEG-cry-INF
 No crying.
- 784 *ma-am-li* *aŋ*.
 NEG-drink-INF FOC1
 Just don't drink.
- 785 *ci* *ma-dhum-li*.
 water NEG-pour-INF
 No adding water.

- 786 *kalau insa ma-dənai-li.*
 so like.that NEG-beat-INF
 So, no beating [them] like that.

4.10.3.8 Admonitive

An admonitive is created with the indeclinable verb *ma-el*, which derives from the intransitive verb *elli* ‘to be good, proper’. This verb is used in the negative to express what is considered to be inappropriate, based on cultural beliefs. Since this construction encodes a generic admonitive aimed at no one in particular, an admonitive takes no person markers. The force of an admonitive in Dhimal is not as strong as a prohibitive, but rather counsels against a certain action or behaviour.

- 787 *atui-ka jamal-lai-heŋ dənai-li ma-el.*
 be.small-NOM child-PL-DAT beat-INF NEG-be.good
 One shouldn’t beat small children.

- 788 *m ca-teŋ gora am-li ma-el.*
 rice eat-SEQ alcohol drink-INF NEG-be.good
 One shouldn’t drink liquor after eating

- 789 *insa pa-li ma-el.*
 thus do-INF NEG-be.good
 One shouldn’t do it like that.

- 790 *insika ca-li ma-el. lisi rai-pu-khe.*
 such eat-INF NEG-be.good shit scatter-DIST-IMPF
 One shouldn’t eat such things. One gets diarrhoea.

- 791 *dhangai-ko pheʔ-su-ka laʔ-pa-li ma-el.*
 rooster-GEN beat-COL-NOM quit-do-INF NEG-be.good

tumsin tu:-khe.

liver ache-IMPF

One shouldn't separate roosters that are fighting. One develops a liver ache.

While primarily employed in an impersonal sense to indicate normative behaviour, the admonitive may occur with an overt pronoun as in example (792).

792 *na doʔ-li ma-el.*

you^s say-INF NEG-be.good

For you^s to say it wouldn't be proper.

4.10.3.9 Other imperatives

Two other imperative constructions will be considered briefly here. They are the 'perfective' imperative with the perfective aspectiviser <-hoi> and the 'stative' imperative with the existential verb *hili*. Most of the examples employing the 'perfective' imperative were used when giving instructions on how to perform an activity. Only example (793) deviates from this pattern. An alternative derivation for this morpheme may be the verb *hoili* 'to finish'. No examples, however, occur with the dual or plural imperative markers, which one would expect if this were the case.

793 *jim-hoi.*

sleep-PERF

Go to sleep already.

794 *tir-pa-hoi tar-pa-hoi saqua moʔ-hoi.*

be.cool-do-PERF REDUP yeast mix-PERF

Let it cool down thoroughly and then mix in the yeast.

795 *kalau gota-ŋ okhai-hoi akhai-hoi to-li goi-khe.*

so whole-EMP dig-PERF REDUP dig-INF need-PERF

So then dig it all up, one has to dig.

Another construction used to indicate a command employs the verb *hili* ‘to be, stay’ often in conjunction with a non-finite verb marked with the sequential morpheme <-teŋ>. These forms are used when a command involves continuing an activity or state. Whether this construction may also occur with dual or plural imperative marking is not clear since all examples in my corpus appear to index singular person only.

- 796 *na* *ita-ŋ* *hi.*
 you^s here-EMP stay
 You^s stay right here.
- 797 *aro-ŋ* *eʔ-ghəŋta* *hi* *ru!*
 more-EMP one-hour stay EXCL
 Stay one more hour!
- 798 *ma-khar* *aũ.* *rem-pha-ŋ* *hi.*
 NEG-cry TAG be.good-do stay
 Don’t cry, okay? Be good.
- 799 *na* *biha* *ca-teŋ* *hi.*
 you^s meat eat-SEQ stay
 You^s keep eating meat.
- 800 *sipaʔ-pa* *jim-teŋ* *hi.*
 quiet-do sleep-SEQ stay
 Stay sleeping quietly.
- 801 *ita* *yum-teŋ* *hi.*
 here sit-SEQ stay
 Stay sitting here.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE SENTENCE

5.1 *Non-finite clauses*

Dhimal makes use of non-finite verb clauses to encode temporal, logical and manner relations between propositions. Non-finite clauses tend to precede the main clause and are unmarked for person, tense or aspect. While all of the morphemes discussed in this section are affixes, some are employed in periphrastic phrases. The subject of a non-finite clause is often co-referential to that of the main clause, but need not be. Subordinate clauses may also exhibit associated prosodic characteristics such as non-final intonation and a short pause.

The morphemes employed indicate temporal sequence or simultaneity, as well as concessive, conditional, purposive, implicational or manner relationships between two propositions. Many of the non-final verbal morphemes serve multiple functions, including the structuring of information in discourse and indicating agent-oriented modalities. Restrictions regarding occurrence in affirmative or negative clauses also exist.

5.1.1 *Sequential*

Basic morph: <-teŋ>

Label: SEQ

The morpheme <-teŋ> is employed to mark sequential clause chains, where it may be suffixed to one or more non-final verbs. The sequential morpheme also functions as a manner adverbial and in

conjunction with the auxiliary verb *hili* encodes the dynamic resultative aspect. In clause chains, the sequential morpheme indicates a temporal sequence. The time frame of the sequential clause is located before that of the main verb, which takes any person, tense or aspect affixes. Consequently, the sequential clause may have a past or future reading.

802 *makhalai duhubi-so col-teŋ cuma-nha-hi.*

mussels Ðuhubi-EL buy-SEQ take-1p-P

We^p bought mussels and brought them from Ðuhubi.

803 *kalau tatai-ko suta cum-pu-teŋ*

so REF-GEN home take-DIST-SEQ

khiŋ-li pi-pu-khe.

cook-INF give-DIST-IMPF

And so after bringing it home, [they] hand it over to be cooked.

804 *heʔlau ghure-teŋ lo-a-na?*

when turn.back-SEQ come-FUT-2

When will you^s return?

805 *nariya-heŋ tin-teŋ jhar-ko khiʔkir-gelai*

elephant-DAT see-SEQ forest-GEN fox-PL

gota-ŋ diʔ-hi.

each-EMP be.greedy-P

Seeing the elephant, the forest foxes all became greedy.

The sequential morpheme may also be found in negative propositions. However, this morpheme does not appear to be common, and the purposive marker <-siŋ> may also be found employed in similar contexts. An important distinction between the two is that <-teŋ> is employed to link a sequence of related events, while <-siŋ> encodes

an unrealised goal. The following examples illustrate <-teŋ> in a negative non-finite clause.

- 806 *kalau sita-ko bəcən kaŋe-li ma-do-teŋ*
 so Sītā-GEN promise cut-INF NEG-can-SEQ

ram cahĩ wa hai doʔ-khe?

Rāma IND 3s what say-IMPF

And so, not being able to break Sītā's promise, what does Rāma say?

- 807 *iŋko berəŋ leta gha-li ma-pi-teŋ*
 that old.woman below play-INF give-DIR-SEQ

kusti gandi-ta gha-pa-hi doʔ-khe la.

wrestle back-LOC play-do-P say-IMPF MIR

That old woman, not letting them wrestle below (on the ground), had them wrestle on her back.

- 808 *m ca-li manthu-teŋ seŋ-hi.*
 rice eat-INF NEG.EXT-SEQ be.thin-P
 Lacking food to eat, he grew thin.

Sequential clauses may occur in a form employing ablauting reduplication, which intensifies the aspect of completion or thoroughness. In instructions or narrative, the reduplicated form reiterates the previous event and acts to link all the steps involved into a coherent sequence.

- 809 *dhol sanai cum-pu-khe. cum-pu-teŋ*
 drum sanai hold-DIST-IMPF hold-DIST-SEQ

cam-pu-teŋ ota hane-khe.

REDUP there go-IMPF

hane-teŋ hune-teŋ tebul kursi taʔ-khe.
 go-SEQ REDUP table chair put-IMPF
 [They] take along a drum and a *sanai*. Having taken [them],
 [they] go there. Having gone there, [they] set up tables and
 chairs.

- 810 *ede ghaila on-teŋ an-teŋ bhətiya*
 this clay.jug char-SEQ REDUP rice.beer

whaʔ-li khaŋ-khe.
 put-INF look-IMPF
 After finishing charring this clay jug, [she] intends to put in
 rice beer.

- 811 *ebalai jharan lum-teŋ lam-teŋ parba*
 they^p all form-SEQ REDUP *parba*

manai-li khaŋ-khe.
 celebrate-INF look-IMPF
 When they all finish forming them (the rice cakes), they plan
 on celebrating *parba*.

- 812 *juhā kuʔi-teŋ kaʔi-teŋ jharan-heŋ bakharai-hi.*
 rat cut-SEQ REDUP everyone-DAT divide.up-P
 Having cut up the rats, [he] divided them up between
 everyone.

In the following examples, the sequential clause functions more as a manner adverbial. The time frame between the events in the two clauses is distinct from the above uses, along with a tighter semantic and syntactic integration between the two clauses. Although the state or action marked with <-teŋ> is initiated before that of the main verb, the two events overlap, due in part to stative or durative lexical properties of the verb. In example (813), the sequential clause could be analysed as two discrete actions, viz. flying up and coming, or as answering the question ‘how’ the subject came, viz. by flying.

Example (814) does not permit such an interpretation and only a manner reading is possible.

- 813 *nanci-heŋ insa urai-teŋ lo-gha-khe.*
 poor.thing-DAT like.that fly-SEQ come-PIMPF-IMPF
 [She] would come flying like that to the poor thing.

- 814 *te-teŋ hane-khe.*
 walk-SEQ go-IMPF
 [He] is going on foot.

- 815 *te ka nheʔ-ni ahal tem-teŋ yha-aŋ-ka.*
 okay I two-day wallow soak-SEQ remain-FUT-1s
 Okay, I'll stay soaking in a wallow for two days.

- 816 *tiro tho-teŋ dhaʔ-khe.*
 thigh pound-SEQ run-IMPF
 [He] is running full force.

The sequential morpheme <-teŋ> sometimes co-occurs with the morpheme <-sa>, which reinforces the time frame of the main verb as beginning directly upon the completion of the sequential clause. The fact that this morpheme is sometimes pronounced as <-sə> or <-sāt> in this construction suggests a probable Indo-Aryan influence from the Maithili comitative marker. This interpretation fits with the semantics of a comitative and consequently this morpheme will be labeled COM1. This construction is not common and only example (817) was heard spoken, while the other examples were taken from written correspondence.

- 817 *ode khuwāhā tin-teŋ-sa wa te*
 that tiger see-SEQ-COM1 3s TOP

 dhaʔ-li khaŋ-khoi aŋ.
 run-INF look-INC FOC1
 Upon seeing the tiger, he began to try to run.

- 818 *na amrika hane-teŋ-sa ka dili lo-gha.*
 you^s America go-SEQ-COM1 I Delhi come-P.1s
 When you^s went to America, I came to Delhi.

- 819 *wa-ko sanaiti-gelai dənai-hi ku-nu*
 3s-GEN friend-PL beat-P COP-COND

ma-niŋ-nha doʔ-teŋ-sa.

NEG-get-P.2 say-SEQ-COM1

His friends pummeled [him] then on account of being unsuccessful.

Finally, a sequential clause may also function in a concessive manner with the addition of the adverb *buŋ* ‘also’ as in examples (820) and (821). This type of marking is limited and may be an Indo-Aryan calque. Compare the Nepali concessive forms *bhā-e pani* ‘even if it occurs’ and *rākh-e pani* ‘even though [he] placed it’, which employ a conditional suffix <-e> along with the adverb *pani* ‘also’.

- 820 *pərhe-li iccha jen-teŋ buŋ ma-jen-khe.*
 study-INF desire become-SEQ also NEG-become-IMPF
 Even though [I] want to study, it isn’t possible.

- 821 *ku-nu hai taʔ-teŋ buŋ hai phaida la?*
 be.so-COND what put-SEQ also what benefit MIR
 So, even if [we] keep [her], what then is the benefit?

5.1.2 Co-temporal

Basic morph: <-lau> ~ <-la> ~ <-labelau> ~ <-laubela>

Label: TEM

The morpheme <-lau>¹ and its allomorphs signal a co-temporal clause. The situation referred to in the <-lau> clause is located temporally simultaneous to that of the main clause. The time frame of a co-temporal clause may be viewed from a broad or narrow perspective. That is, the event may be simultaneous in the strict sense or merely within the same subjective time frame as the main verb. The co-temporal verb is unmarked for aspect, and may take either a ‘when’ or ‘while’ interpretation depending on the semantics of the verb and the intentions of the speaker. In example (822), the speaker received the letter when she arrived in the village, not on her way there, though such an interpretation would certainly be possible.

- 822 *udini aṭhiyabari hane-lau khiniṇ niṇ-gha.*
 two.days.ago Āṭhīyābārī go-TEM only get-P.1s
 Only when I went to Āṭhīyābārī the other day did I get it.

- 823 *behai-beheni-ko gora am-lau te-loṇ*
 parents.in.law-GEN alcohol drink-TEM ten-CL

majhi jom-li goi-khe.

headman collect-INF must-IMPF

While drinking the parent-in-law’s liquor, ten village headman must assemble.

- 824 *na ita hi-la doṇ eʔ-mi nheʔ-mi-ko*
 you^s here be-TEM FOC one-HCL two-HCL-GEN

biḥu jeṇ-ka tiṇ-nha wa la.

wedding happen-NOM see-P.2 DED MIR

Perhaps you^s saw the wedding of one or two people take place while you were here.

¹ The morpheme <-lau> also occurs with a handful of common temporal adverbs: *heʔlau* ‘when’, *insalau* ‘at that time’, *kalau* ‘then’. The variability in the position of the morpheme <-u> indicates an enclitic, perhaps deriving from an old distal morpheme *u*.

Any discernible differences between the distinct allomorphs were too subtle to permit detection by this researcher. However, the bulkier form with the Indic loan *bela*² ‘time’ appears to be gaining ground at the expense of the simple suffix <-lau>.

- 825 *iskul hane-labelau kitab kham-pu-gha-hi.*
 school go-TEM book look-DIST-PIMPF-P
 While going to school, [they] went along reading at a book.
- 826 *kalau ma-niη-laubelau hai pa-hi ku-nu la?*
 so NEG-get-TEM what do-P COP-COND MIR
 And when they couldn’t find [her], what did [they] do?
- 827 *ma-hare-labelau hai jeη-hi ku-nu la?*
 NEG-lose-TEM what happen-P COP-COND MIR
 So what happened then, when neither lost?
- 828 *domalai lo-laubela wa thi:-ka yha-aη.*
 future come-TEM 3s be.small-NOM remain-FUT
 When [you] return in the future, she’ll [still] be small.
- 829 *kalau kabara se?-li hane-laubela kabara te tiη-hi.*
 so deer kill-INF go-TEM deer TOP see-P
 So when he went to kill the spotted deer, the deer saw [him].

5.1.3 Concessive

The morpheme <-lau> ~ <-la> in conjunction with the adverb *buy* ‘also’ indicates a concessive clause and is employed to encode both definite and indefinite concessives. The proposition of the definite concessive clause typically has negative implications for the proposition in the main clause. In spite of these implications, however, the assertion made by the speaker in the main clause holds. The semantics of this construction are similar to English ‘even though’ or ‘although’.

² Newar also appears to have borrowed this word for the same purpose.

- 830 *na-seŋ ma-tiŋ-lau buŋ saikal tiŋ-nu*
 you^s-DAT NEG-see-TEM also bike see-COND
na ita hi-ka bhai-ka jen-a wa.
 you^s here be-NOM be.like-NOM become-FUT DED
 Even though [we] don't see you^s, if [we] see the bike, it will
 be like you^s being here.

- 831 *na ciŋŋhi ma-lekhe-lau buŋ ka lekhe-ã.*
 you^s letter NEG-write-TEM also I write-FUT.1s
 Even if you^s don't write, I will.

- 832 *ela eklau bhaʔ-la buŋ khali bhonoi khiniŋ loʔ-khe.*
 now alone attack-TEM also only soil only knock-IMPF
 While [he] alone attacks now, he only dislodges dirt.

An indefinite concessive is made up of an interrogative pronoun and the concessive construction. The <-la> allomorph also appears to be more common in indefinite concessives. The focus particle *doŋ* may often be found following the indefinite pronoun.

- 833 *hesa doŋ pa-la buŋ jen-aŋ.*
 how FOC do-TEM also become-FUT
 No matter how one does it, it will be fine.
- 834 *hai doŋ lagai-la buŋ sabai-khe.*
 what FOC put.on-TEM also look.good-IMPF
 No matter what [she] puts on, it looks good.
- 835 *heta hane-la buŋ wa-seŋ tiŋ-kha.*
 where go-TEM also 3s-DAT see-IMPF.1s
 Wherever I go, I see her.
- 836 *hiso hane-lau buŋ tai-ko dyaŋ goi-khe*
 whither go-TEM also REF-GEN person need-IMPF

doʔka katha bujhe-gha.

say-NOM matter understand-P.1s

I understood that wherever one goes, one needs one's own people (to get ahead).

5.1.4 Conditional

Basic morph: <-nu>

Label: COND

The morpheme <-nu>³ encodes a conditional clause. No distinction is made between generic, hypothetical or counterfactual conditionals and the same morpheme may encode all three. The tense or aspect of the main verb alone determines these categories. Morphosyntactically, the conditional <-nu> occurs in two distinct environments: affixed to the verb stem or affixed to an auxiliary in a periphrastic verb phrase. The periphrastic phrase, which employs an auxiliary verb *pali* 'to do', displays a discourse function where it introduces a topic-comment structure. Conditional clauses occur more frequently in initial position, but may be found clause-internally or in final position.

A conditional clause may be used to indicate a cause and effect relation between propositions. The conditional clause marked by the morpheme <-nu> stipulates a condition, while the main clause states the outcome of this condition being met. This relationship may be viewed from the vantage point of logic (if x, then y) as in examples (837) and (838).

- 837 *ci henja jej-nu bandha bhapaʔt-aŋ.*
 water much become-COND dike collapse-FUT
 If there is a lot of water, the dike will collapse.

³ The Dhimal morpheme <-nu> is related to the Dulong topic marker and the Bodo infinitive/topic marker. Another common discourse use of this morpheme is in the grammaticalised tag forms *kunu* 'so' or 'if it is so' and *makunu* 'isn't that right?' or 'otherwise'.

838 *kha:-ka ca-nu ciruwa seʔ-khe.*
 bitter-NOM eat-COND intestinal.worm kill-IMPF
 If one eats bitter things, it kills intestinal worms.

839 *ma-saʔ-nu dukha nin-ca-a-na.*
 NEG-heed-COND trouble get-PASS-FUT-2
 If you^s don't heed, you^s will experience trouble.

840 *na camindi-heŋ pi-nu pi.*
 you^s daughder-DAT give-COND give
 Give [me] your^s daughter or else.

Speakers may use a clause marked with <-nu> to introduce a referent or topic into the discourse, which can then be commented on in subsequent propositions. The development of conditionals into topic markers is a recurrent process in many languages (Haiman 1978; Longacre & Thompson 1985). In example (841), the <-nu> clause introduces the topic of defaecation, followed by an imperative comment in the main clause. In example (842), the speaker employs a conditional to pose a possible future state of affairs to the suitor of his daughter. Here, the hypothetical world is presented as a topic upon which he expects a comment, one that will presumably allow him to gain insights into the suitor's character.

841 *lisi-li kiʔ-nu mə saleŋ-ta lisi.*
 shit-INF feel.like-COND TAG ground-LOC shit
 If you have to shit—right?—shit on the ground.

842 *ode bela kay-ko camindi mon ma-pore-nu?*
 that time I.OBL-GEN daughter heart NEG-strike-COND
 And if my daughter is not pleasing [to you] then?

843 *sim manthu-nu na hiso su-a-na wa la?*
 mortar NEG.EXT-COND you^s where husk-FUT-2 DED MIR
 If there is no mortar, where will you^s husk then?

Conditional clauses may be used evaluatively. The evaluative use is also a type of topic-comment construction with the conditional introducing the topic and the main clause stating the comment, which in this case is an evaluation.

- 844 *na-seŋ bheŋe-teŋ hane-li niŋ-nu rem-ka jen-dhaŋ.*
 you^s-DAT meet-SEQ go-INF get-COND good-NOM be-IRR
 If [I] get to meet up with you^s before going, it would be good.
- 845 *param taʔ-su-pa-he pa-nu ʃhik doŋ-hi.*
 bond.friend put-COL-VEN-HYP do-COND fine weigh-P
 It is fine if [they] come together to become bond friends.
- 846 *te ku-nu lo-nha pa-nu jhən ramro.*
 okay COP-COND come-P.2 do-COND more good
 Okay then, if [that's why] you^s came, all the better.

Examples (845-846) show the conditional morpheme <-nu> employed in a periphrastic construction⁴ to encode a non-asserted conditional. In this type of phrase, the main verb of the conditional clause is typically marked with the morpheme <-he>, which I will label a hypothetical marker, and followed by an auxiliary verb *pa-* with the conditional morpheme <-nu>. The hypothetical morpheme <-he> may be omitted in favour of an agreement affix such as examples (846) and (850), or the main verb of the conditional clause may be marked with another tense or aspect marker such as the future (854). Alternately, the main verb in a conditional clause may be coded with the past tense marker followed by two *pa-* auxiliaries, the first taking the hypothetical conditional marker <-he> and the second taking the conditional marker <-nu>. The morpheme <-he>, which appears to derive from the fusion of the past tense marker <-hi> with

⁴ This construction is superficially similar to some Indo-Aryan conditional clauses and may be a calque. However, the Indic model uses a quotative with the verb 'say', while the Dhimial construction commonly employs the verb 'do' (which is also used as a quotative). For example, Nepali places the main verb in the past tense and employs the verb *bhannu* 'to say' with the conditional morpheme <-e>: *mar-yo bhan-e* 'if one dies'.

another morpheme <-e>⁵, introduces a hypothetical past or future state of affairs in a conditional clause. The hypothetical or irrealis state of affairs introduced by such a clause becomes less real with the addition of each auxiliary: *milinu* ‘if it works out’, *milihe panu* ‘if it were to work out’ and *milihi pahe panu* ‘if, let’s say, it were to work out’. That is, the speaker further distances himself from the possible reality of such a state of affairs. The periphrastic conditional functions primarily in a topic-comment fashion, which may be employed to broach a hypothetical matter or to present a proposition as though it were something merely being pondered and, therefore, less real. English employs a verb of saying for the same purpose: ‘(If, let’s) say, you were to...’.

847 *mili-he pa-nu naŋ-ko dopha han-aŋ-ka.*
 work-HYP do-COND you^s.OBL-GEN COM go-FUT-1s
 If it were to work out, I’ll go with you^s.

848 *m to-li khaŋ-he pa-nu m-ko bakar hi-khe.*
 rice dig-INF look-HYP do-COND rice-GEN store be-IMPF
 If one were looking to dig up the rice, then there is rice stored there.

849 *dyaŋ si-he pa-nu bhoj pa-pi-li goi-khe?*
 person die-HYP do-COND feast do-DIR-INF must-IMPF
 If someone were to die, must they arrange a feast?

850 *bheney bho:-nha pa-nu ka-seŋ doʔ-pi-gil caḍai.*
 other look.for-P.2 do-COND I-DAT say-DIR-IM soon
 If you^s were looking for a different one, let me know soon.

The periphrastic conditional is also employed in complement clauses where it functions to introduce quoted dialogue. In the appended texts, this usage is the most frequent of all. As is apparent in examples (851) - (853), the quoted dialogue need not actually have been

⁵ Note the formally similar Nepali conditional morpheme <-e>.

spoken, but may in fact merely be the thoughts of an individual or hypothetical past/future speech.

851 *hai* *pa-hi* *pa-he* *pa-nu*
 what do-P do-HYP do-COND

e *nani* *phalna* *thame-ko* *bajar* *doʔ-khe*.
 hey today other place-GEN fair say-IMPF
 What [they] would say is, ‘Hey, [they] say today a fair is
 taking place in another town.’

852 *hai* *pa-gha-hi* *pa-he* *pa-nu*
 what do-PIMPF-P do-HYP do-COND

beja-lai *hiso* *hiso* *koʔ*
 girl-PL whither whither COP
 What [they] used to say was, ‘Where oh where is it that the
 girls are?’

853 *kalau* *ode* *bela hai* *doʔ-gha-hi* *pa-nu*
 so that time what say-PIMPF-P do-COND

ko *re* *anau*
 COP ASS younger.sibling
 And so at that time, what they would say is, ‘Here, take some
 little sister.’

Curiously, the conditional morpheme <-nu> also appears to cliticise to nominals in zero copula constructions. A possible way to explain this unusual behaviour, is to posit an underlying intransitive verb such as *yeʔlonʒli* ‘to equal eight’ or *bejanli* ‘to be a girl’. Such an explanation is supported by the ready convertability of proper nouns into intransitive or stative verbs, e.g. *sau* ‘fat’ > *sauli* ‘to be fatty’. In example (854), there are two distinct usages. In the first instance, the conditional morpheme <-nu> acts as a quotative to introduce reported speech. In the second instance, which is a possible counter example to

the explanation presented above, the conditional is affixed to the nominal head of a phrase — ‘heart’. Here, the conditional acts as delimiter of the possible worlds in which the following speech act would have occurred to one in which the father of the bride is favourably inclined to a proposed marriage.

- 854 *kalau bejan-ko aba hai doʔt-a wa*
 so girl-GEN father what say-FUTDED

pa-nu pi-li mon-nu...
 do-COND give-INF heart-COND

And what the girl’s father may say is, that is, if he is inclined to permit it...

- 855 *yeʔ-loŋ-nu them-aŋ doʔ-hi doʔ-nha-hi la.*
 eight-CL-COND enough-FUT say-P say-1p-P MIR
 ‘If there are eight, that will be enough,’ they said, er we^p said then.

- 856 *ka bejan-nu na dopha hane-dhã.*
 I girl-COND you^s COM go-IRR.1s
 If I were a girl, I would go with you^s.

- 857 *ede jhoko dhanggaʔ-ka pusiŋ bejan-nu dosti lagai-aŋ-ka.*
 this much be.long-NOM hair girl-COND friend don-FUT-1s
 If the person who has hair that is this long is a girl, I will become her friend.

5.1.5 Negative conditional

Basic morph: <-sa>

Label: NEG.COND

The morpheme <-sa>⁶ is employed in negative conditional clauses to indicate either a temporal (until) or logical goal (unless). Clauses with this morpheme are restricted to negative constructions in which both the negative conditional and the main clause occur with the negative prefix <ma->. This construction presents a condition, which, as long as it remains unrealised, wholly prevents a positive outcome of the verb in the main clause. A positive resolution of the negative conditional is viewed by the speaker as a desirable goal. Hence, an implicit directive may arise.

In example (858) from an exchange between a jackal and a tiger, the jackal cynically states his inability to provide any resolution to the matter unless and until he sees what happened. A very specific course of action is presented here as a logical solution to a successful outcome of this negative state of affairs. In presenting this negative conditional as an obstacle to the desires of the tiger, the jackal attempts to get it to return to the scene of the crime. It is this desire for the achievement of the main verb that compels carrying out the negative conditional.

858 *odoi-heŋ ma-tiŋ-sa nidhinimi-ko katha*
 that-DAT NEG-see-NEG.COND you^d-GEN matter

səphəl ka pa-li ma-do-aŋ-ka.
 judgement I make-INF NEG-be.able-FUT-1s
 Unless I see that (place), I won't be able to judge your^d
 matter.

859 *gora ma-dho-sa hi-li ma-do-ka.*
 alcohol NEG-pour-NEG.COND live-INF NEG-be.able-NOM
 Unless alcohol is served, living is impossible.

860 *insalau miliŋ-ko majha-ta dhemal-lai ela*
 thus land-GEN middle-LOC Dhimal-PL now

⁶ The morpheme <-sa> appears to be cognate to the Newar conditional morpheme <-sā>.

bo-mi-ko kam ma-pa-sa
 other-HCL-GEN work NEG-do-NEG.COND

ca-li am-li ma-them-khe.
 eat-INF drink-INF NEG-suffice-IMPF

Thus, regarding land, unless Dhimals do work for others,
 there isn't enough to survive on.

- 861 *ma-lho:-sa ma-jeŋ-ka upai manthu-gha-hi.*
 NEG-rise-NEG.COND NEG-be-NOM way NEG.EXT-PIMPF-P
 Unless [I] got up, there was no succeeding.

In one instance, the morpheme <-sa> encodes a goal that may be interpreted as temporal rather than logical. In example (862), the negative conditional occurs with a negative imperative. Here, the compelling condition is imposed by the speaker.

- 862 *m ma-ca-sa ma-hane.*
 rice NEG-eat-NEG.COND NEG-go
 Don't go without eating.

A slightly different picture of the negative conditional appears in the following examples. In example (863), which was elicited, <-sa> occurs with an affirmative verb in the main clause. The fact that it is the only example of its kind, along with its source, suggests a marginal construction at best. In example (864), which comes from a written text, the negative conditional <-sa> appears to function in a complementising manner with the perception verb *bhaili*. However, again due to the rarity of occurrence no further explication of these usages is possible at this time.

- 863 *ka ma-ghure-sa na ita-ŋ hi.*
 I NEG-return-NEG.COND you^s here-EMP be
 You^s stay here until I return.

ma-bujhe-sa *bhai-hi.*
NEG-understand-NEG.COND seem-P
Now, it seemed that my feelings too were hurt.

Basic morph: <-sin>
Label: PURP

A negative purposive is formed with the negative prefix <ma-> and the suffix <-sin>. A negative purposive encodes a proposition in which a volitional subject performs an action in order to achieve a specific desired outcome. The manner in which this activity is carried out ensures a positive result.

ule-pa-ten *ole-pa-ten* *in-ko-heŋ* *bun* *insa*
emerge-do-SEQ REDUP that-DAT also like.that

⁷ The Dhimial purposive <-sin> may be cognate to the Classical Newar non-final subordinator <-syaM>, which is used to mark manner adverbials, negative conditionals and quotative complements.

komarai-nha-khe insa-ŋ ma-seʔ-siŋ.

hog.tie-1p-IMPF like.that-EMP NEG-kill-PURP

After getting it out, we^p hog-tie that one too like that, like that
so that [we] don't kill it.

866 *rem-pha dheu ma-khai-nha-pa-siŋ.*

be.good-do tether NEG-get.loose-MID-do-PURP

Tether [him] well, so that [the rope] doesn't become loose.

In the following examples, the purposive is employed in a negative adverbial manner. There appears to be some overlap with the sequential affix <-teŋ>, which is found in similar affirmative contexts. A fundamental difference, however, is that a negated verb with <-siŋ> functions not only to indicate background information on the manner in which the main clause is realised, but at the same time presents the non-realisation of the <-siŋ> clause as undesirable.

867 *ma-ca-siŋ lo-hi?*

NEG-eat-PURP come-P

[He] came without eating?

868 *m ma-ca-siŋ han-a-na?*

rice NEG-eat-PURP go-FUT-2

Are you^s leaving without eating?

869 *bhar theŋ-labelau soʔ-li ma-bhyai-siŋ...*

load set-TEM piss-INF NEG-manage-PURP

While setting down the load, not being able to piss, ...

870 *ma-khan-siŋ hane-labelau kapal-ta*

NEG-look-PURP go-TEM forehead-LOC

dha:-pa dhi:-nha-sa-hi.

smack-do strike-MID-APR-P

Not looking where he was going, it seems [he] smacked his forehead.

To encode an affirmative purposive clause the morpheme <-siŋ> occurs with the implicational affix <-na> as the complex suffix <-nasin>. In examples (871) and (872), this concatenation occurs with a directive and encodes a desirable future state that is to be obtained upon compliance with the directive. The affirmative purposive is employed here to persuade the addressee of the necessity of complying with a directive that will directly benefit him. Example (873) illustrates a slightly different usage, but one that still encodes a future desired goal attributed to a third person. The ironic proposition of the main clause is presented as an alleged necessary prerequisite for the achievement of the proposition in the purposive clause.

- 871 *eʔ-ghənʔa-ta aro-ŋ osere am-li*
 one-hour-LOC more-EMP medicine drink-INF

goi-aŋ el-na-siŋ.

must-FUT recover-IMPL-PURP

In another hour you have to drink more medicine in order to get better.

- 872 *el-na-siŋ am.*
 recover-IMPL-PURP drink
 Drink so that you'll get better.

- 873 *wa ede dharma pa-na-siŋ*
 3s this virtue do-IMPL-PURP

wa-ko karma ca-li khaŋ-ka ka.

3s-GEN fate eat-INF look-NOM I

So that he [may] perform this virtuous act, I'm looking for him to accept his fate.

5.1.7 *Implicational*

Basic morph: <-na>

Label: IMPL

The morpheme <-na> occurs as the head of a non-finite clause bearing an implicational relation to the main clause. This morpheme is polysemous and is used to encode the complement of a perception verb, an affirmative purposive clause with the morpheme <-siŋ> and a negative resultative. A formally identical morpheme appears in some nominalisations.

In examples (874) to (876) elicited from one informant in Nepali, which has a causal construction <-ekole> ‘because of’, a clear causal meaning is associated with <-na>. In spite of this evidence for a strong causal function for this morpheme, actual spoken data suggest a disinclination to indicate a direct cause and effect relation for imperceptible processes without hedging the assertion with the sensory verb *bhaili* ‘to seem’.

- 874 *henja-ŋ mhitu-na-ŋ iŋko wajan ca-pi-hi.*
 very-EMP be.hungry-IMPL-EMP that boy eat-DIR-P
 Because he was very hungry, that boy ate it up.

- 875 *dhaŋ-ka hi-na-ŋ istu bhemti lo-khe.*
 be.hot-NOM be-IMPL-EMP much sweat come-IMPF
 Because it’s hot, one sweats a lot.

- 876 *ther-na-ŋ wa m ma-ca-hi.*
 be.spicey-IMPL-EMP 3s rice NEG-eat-P
 On account of it being piquant, he didn’t eat the food.

- 877 *soʔ-pi-na soʔ-pi-na mə*
 piss-DIR-IMPL piss-DIR-IMPL TAG

ka soʔ-pi-ã ku-nu.

I piss-DIR-FUT.1s COP-COND

On account of [him] repeatedly wetting [the bed], I'm gonna wet [the bed] then.

The morpheme <-na> is most often employed in periphrastic constructions with the verb *bhaili* 'to seem, be like' and the elative morpheme <-so>. This construction typically reiterates the action of a previous clause in narrative and has a causal or implicational function. The use of a verb of perception 'seem' suggests that only a weak causal or implicational relationship between the two clauses is asserted. It is possible that much of the load for any causal semantics is carried by the elative suffix <-so>, which emphasises that this relation arises from 'appearances' and hence may not be real or true. This type of implicational clause also plays an important role in discourse by tying together a series of events and implicating the proposition of the <-na> clause in a cause and effect relationship with a subsequent one.

878 *jiti-hi last-ta khuwãhã ã paya jiti-hi. paya*
win-P last-LOC tiger er pig win-P pig

jiti-na bhai-so khuwãhã hare-hi. khuwãhã
win-IMPL be.like-EL tiger lose-P tiger

hare-na bhai-so kalau wa-ko bejat jerj-hi.
lose-IMPL be.like-EL so 3s-GEN shame become-P
In the end, the tiger, er, the pig won. Since the pig won, the tiger lost. Since the tiger lost, he became ashamed.

879 *tə sita iŋko jhoko abhana taʔ-na*
then Sītā that amount vow put-IMPL

bhai-so te lo-hi la.
be.like-EL TOP come-P MIR

Then since Sītā made that vow, she returned.

880 *kalau belhaʔ-na bhai-so kalau*
 so be.evening-IMPL be.like-EL so

wa siŋ rhuta taŋ-hi.
 3s tree above climb-P

And since it had become evening, he climbed up a tree.

An implicational clause may be employed to indicate the results of a sensory impression, one's own or an other's. Here the <-na> clause appears to initiate, be responsible for or be implicated in the sensory effect described in the main clause. In each case, an emotional or physical sensation is linked to a subsequent event.

881 *akheʔ-ka anemane tiŋ-na jiu jhir-hi ru!*
 be.foul-NOM thing see-IMPL body shiver-P EXCL
 Having seen something foul, oh how his body shivered!

882 *tasi ci:-nha-na jiu jhir-khe.*
 tooth bite-MID-IMPL body shake-IMPF
 When one bites one's teeth, one's body shakes.

883 *ka buŋ suta ekalaŋ hi-li mon ma-jen-na-ŋ*
 I also home alone be-INF heart NEG-be-IMPL-EMP

kodala pha-teŋ dera-so bahar ole-gha.
 hoe shoulder-SEQ village-EL outside emerge-P.1s
 Not feeling like staying home alone, I shouldered the hoe and left the village.

The implicational morpheme <-na> also appears with other verbs of perception, often in conjunction with a nominalised or finite form of the verb *bhaili*. Speaker-oriented verbs relating to the senses or perception are especially likely to trigger an implicated clause. Two common verbs in this category include *bhaili* 'to seem' and *gili* 'to know, understand'. An implicational clause indicates that the speaker

is less confident in asserting the truth of a proposition encoded by the <-na> clause.

- 884 *esa mena sui ba:-na bhai-ka.*
 like.this very needle pierce-IMPL be.like-NOM
 Thus it seemed little more than a needle prick.
- 885 *wa ka-seŋ ghokrai-na-ŋ bhai-ka.*
 3s I-DAT choke-IMPL-EMP be.like-NOM
 It was like he choked me.
- 886 *nani-ko eʔ-rhima jhemphorophoro-ka*
 today-GEN one-morning be.dawn-NOM
- hi-na-ŋ bhai-ka gi-gha.*
 be-IMPL-EMP seem-NOM understand-P.1s
 It seemed to me as if it was first thing dawn this morning.
- 887 *atuisa dhila jeŋ-na bhai-ka gi-gha.*
 a.bit late be-IMPL be.like-NOM understand-P.1s
 It seemed to me that it was a little late.

Example (888) might be appropriate if the speaker wasn't in fact sure that anything had happened at all.

- 888 *hai jeŋ-na ko?!*
 what happen-IMPL COP
 What is it that happened?!

5.2 Epistemic, mirative and attitudinal morphemes

The morphemes discussed in this section consist of utterance-final particles along with one verbal affix. The semantic scope covered is the entire clause rather than a particular constituent therein. Two epistemic morphemes will be examined: the deductive particle *wa* and the dubitative particle *be*. Morphemes having to do with the

integration of information into a speaker's store of knowledge are the mirative *la* and the apparentive suffix <-sa>, which also contains an attitudinal component. Finally, the exclamative particle *ru*, which expresses speaker attitude, will also be discussed.

5.2.1 *Deductive*

Basic morph: *wa*
Label: DED

The epistemic particle *wa* signals a minimal degree of commitment to the truth of a proposition. The deductive indicates a proposition which the speaker believes to be possible based on inference, speculation or deduction. The proposition is presented as a possible one, the veracity of which the speaker stakes no claim. This proposition may be one that the speaker is unable to muster sufficient evidence in support of, or one which he deliberately distances himself from in terms of the truth value out of politeness, deference or uncertainty.

In the following examples, the speaker presents the propositions as possibly valid representations of the world. For instance, it is possible that someone may not understand or that someone may not know a person, but the opposite may also be true. The speaker simply does not know or does not want to commit to an outright declaration. This hesitancy to commit to the truth value is expressed by the deductive particle *wa*.

889 *ma-gi-khe* *wa*.
 NEG-understand-IMPF DED
 Maybe he doesn't understand.

890 *na* *ka-heŋ* *rem-pha* *ma-nal-khe-na* *wa* *la*.
 you^s I-DAT be good-do NEG-know-IMPF-2 DED MIR
 You^s may not know me well.

891 *e* *manise* *o na* *kidhiŋ-ko* *pheʔ-su-ka*
 oh person o you^s we^d.OBL-GEN beat-COL-NOM

tiŋ-nha wa la.

see-P.2 DED MIR

Hey person, perhaps you^s saw our^d fight.

The deductive often co-occurs with the future, since such events are always uncertain or unknowable to a degree. Likewise, it may be employed with non-witnessed or hypothetical events. In example (892), from narrative, the deductive particle marks the proposition as one that may have happened. In example (893), the speaker is talking about a generic entity, i.e. those in the know. Since she does not consider herself a member of that group, the speaker can not know what they are capable or incapable of. Hence, the deductive marks the proposition not as fact, but as supposition. Examples (894) and (895) encode possible future events which may or may not hold true.

- 892 *kalau insa obalai mon pərəpər jəŋ-sa-hi wa la.*
 so thus they^p heart each.other be-APR-P DED MIR
 And so then, it seems they^p fell in love with each other
 perhaps.

- 893 *gi-ka-lai do-khe wa*
 know-NOM-PL be.able-IMPF DED

ma-gi-ka-lai hai do-khe?
 NEG-know-NOM-PL what be.able-IMPF

Those who know how may be able to, but what can those
 who don't know do?

- 894 *ma-thi-a-na? thi-ã wa!*
 NEG-fear-FUT-2 fear-FUT.1s DED
 Won't you^s be scared? I may be scared!

- 895 *si-nu ma-do-a wa.*
 die-COND NEG-be.able-FUT DED
 When it comes time to die, she may not be able to. (because
 she is so evil)

In the following exchange, a woman comments on the sweet aroma of the rice beer, to which the addressee responds rather impudently by asking whether she would like to have some. The first woman, who has no intention of drinking, calls the bluff and then raises it by signalling the possibility of not just having some, but of drinking two portions! The use of the deductive particle *wa* allows the speaker to state her possible future actions, but at the same time leave open the possibility that this action may not take place.

896 — *e jãḍ malamala-hi.*
oh rice.beer be.fragrant-P

— *am-a-na?*
drink-FUT-2

— *am-ã wa — nheʔ-ser!*
drink-FUT.1s DED two-sher

— Oh, the rice beer smells fragrant.

— Will you^s drink some?

— I may drink some — two *sher*!

The deductive may also serve a rhetorical function. The intonation of the speaker can change the meaning of a deductive proposition to one of mocking condescension. In example (897), the speaker communicates the opposite of what is formally encoded. In contrast to the deductive marking, the speaker by her tone ridicules the notion that the third person actant may not understand, insinuating quite the opposite. In example (898), the implied answer to the rhetorical question is ‘nothing’.

897 *ma-bujhe-a wa!*
NEG-understand-FUT DED
Like he doesn’t understand!

- 898 *hai* *gi-a* *wa?!
 what know-FUT DED
 What would he know?!*

While the deductive primarily encodes what the speaker believes to be possible, with the future tense a deontic interpretation is also possible. In these instances, a future possible proposition is posited, which presupposes that there is a certain way that things ought to be. In example (899), the deductive indicates the speaker's preference for how something ought to be, but frames it merely as a possible future state. Here the deductive particle *wa* encodes light compulsion.

- 899 *yha-a* *wa.
 remain-FUT DED
 It may remain there. (leave it be)*

- 900 *hai* *pa-a* *wa?
 what do-FUT DED
 What might he do?*

- 901 *hesa* *doʔt-a* *wa?
 how say-FUT DED
 How might he say it?*

5.2.2 Dubitative

Basic morph: *be*
 Label: DUB

The epistemic particle *be* encodes speaker ignorance, doubt or uncertainty regarding the proposition. The lack of knowledge or uncertainty on the part of the speaker signalled by the dubitative makes it compatible with questions and ruminations. Consequently, this particle occurs primarily though not exclusively in interrogative constructions. The dubitative is often pronounced with a distinct high

level pitch and increased duration, an expressive function it shares with the particles *ko*, *u* and *ru*.

The use of the dubitative differs from that of an unmarked interrogative employing an indefinite pronoun or question intonation in that a dubitative focuses on speaker attitude. When using the dubitative, the speaker qualifies the utterance as one which he is wholly ignorant of, but also one which has perhaps aroused his curiosity or interest. The dubitative also marks the question as more rhetorical in nature, as if the speaker were just wondering what the outcome was or will be, and hence more of a rumination than a direct question. In the following three examples, the speaker wonders out loud about the identity of a referent or the outcome of a proposition.

- 902 *ede* *wajan* *heʔthe-so* *haya* *col-khe* *be*
 this boy how.much-EL fish buy-IMPF DUB

iŋko *bejan-ko?*

That girl-GEN

I wonder for how much this boy is buying that girl's fish?

- 903 *ed* *bejan* *jamal* *baʔ-teŋ* *hasu* *dopha*
 this girl child carry-SEQ who COM

nui *dhui-khe* *be?*

mouth talk-IMPF DUB

With whom could this young woman carrying the baby be speaking?

- 904 *ca-li* *nin-ã* *be* *doʔ-teŋ*
 eat-INF get-FUT.1s DUB say-SEQ

bo-mi-ko *ca-ka* *mer-hi.*

other-HCL-GEN eat-NOM stare-P

Wondering whether she would get to eat, she stared at the other person's food.

The dubitative may be found with conjoined alternative clause constructions, presenting two competing possible outcomes, neither of which is regarded as more certain by the speaker. In example (905), a woman, who is also the preparer of the food item being queried, emphasises both her interest in and ignorance of which possible state is true. In example (906), the speaker presents his question as an idle thought, something that he is wondering to himself, rather than as an outright query.

- 905 *ta:-hi ma-ta:-hi be?*
 be.tasty-P NEG-be.tasty-P DUB
 I wonder whether it's tasty or not.

- 906 *si-nha-khe be hi-nha-khe be?*
 die-1p-IMPFDUB be-1p-IMPF DUB
 I wonder whether we^p live or die.

- 907 *pe:-li pi-a-na be ma-pi-a-na be?*
 pluck-INF give-FUT-2 DUB NEG-give-FUT-2 DUB
 I wonder whether you^s will allow (us) to pick it or not?

- 908 *wai lo-ay be? hai pa-ay be?*
 rain come-FUT DUB what do-FUT DUB
 I wonder whether it will rain or what it will do?

The dubitative particle is also used rhetorically to express surprise or incredulity at an unexpected event. In example (909), the speaker has already tasted the rice and, in employing the dubitative, expresses his dismay or disbelief that such rice, undercooked or mushy perhaps, was prepared. By using the third person and the dubitative, he avoids a direct question and thereby a potential confrontation with the cook.

- 909 *nani te hai m ga:-hi be?!*
 today TOP what rice cook-P DUB
 What kind of rice did she cook today?!

910 *hai* *be* *iŋko* *kalau?!*
 what DUB that then
 What in the world is that?!

911 *hethe* *aŋ-hi* *be?!*
 how.much be.ignorant-P DUB
 How ignorant can he be?!

An interesting use of the dubitative particle is in sensitive contexts where the speaker is reluctant to divulge information or state his intentions directly. Hence, it may encode a weak or noncommittal proposition, as in the following excerpts from a hypothetical exchange at a potential in-law's home. Example (912), which comes in reply to an inquiry about the visitors' village of origin, could not be more general and evasive. In example (913), a speaker from the visiting group indirectly presents the reason for their visit, i.e. to check out the potential daughter-in-law. These utterances marked with the dubitative indicate not ignorance, but rather a certain evasiveness or hesitation.

912 *e* *iso-ŋ* *be.*
 oh hither-EMP DUB
 Oh, from around here.

913 *iŋko* *lheʔ-heŋ* *khaŋ-li* *lo-nha-hi* *be.*
 that flower-DAT look.at-INF come-1p-P DUB
 We^p came to look at that flower.

In addition to indicating speaker ignorance regarding a proposition, the morpheme *be* also occurs in the interjections *ace be!* 'oh my!' and *abe* 'umh', which functions as a place holder in pauses. In example (914), this morpheme is used to mark a pause, as a specific indefinite pronoun case-marked with the locative, and as a dubitative. This unique particle is also at the root of a verb used to express a proposition which the speaker is unsure about and cannot identify.

- ### 5.2.3 Mirative

The mirative particle *la* indicates that the information presented is new or unassimilated.⁸ Consequently, the mirative lends a sense of change or newness to a proposition. It occurs in both declarative and interrogative clauses, appearing frequently in narrative where it serves to mark new information in the unfolding of events. In the following two examples, the mirative is employed to indicate a recent realisation or new information. For example, a woman selling rice beer and snacks by the roadside might use the mirative particle *la* shortly after discovering that she no longer had any eggs, but might drop it in favour of the simple negative existential if someone inquired about eggs later on in the day. The mirative could also still be used later on if the speaker chose to emphasise the fact that there were eggs previously, but they have now run out.

⁸ The Dhimial morpheme has a counterpart in the Tsangla mirative (cf. Andvik 1993).

- 917 *manthu* *la*.
 NEG.EXT MIR
 There isn't any more.
- 918 *do:-hoi* *la*.
 be.finished-PERF MIR
 It's finished up now
- 919 *na* *hai* *pa-nha* *la?*
 you^s what do-P.2 MIR
 What did you^s do now?

The mirative lends a sense of change or newness to a proposition, as though it were either previously unknown or did not exist. In example (920), the particle *la* indicates that the speaker's understanding is new, perhaps the result of a sudden realisation. In example (921), the use of the mirative lends a sense of 'this time' or 'now' as opposed to 'the other times' the addressee cried. In example (922), the speaker offers up a new proposition to be considered — her own imminent death! In example (923), the speaker had repeatedly refused to talk, thus the mirative marks a change in this status.

- 920 *gi-gha* *la*.
 know-P.1s MIR
 Now I understand.
- 921 *haipali* *khar-khe-na* *la?*
 why cry-IMP.2 MIR
 Now what are you^s crying for?
- 922 *si-ã* *la?*
 die-FUT.1s MIR
 Shall I die now?

- 923 *te* *ku-nu* *ka doʔt-ã* *la*.
 okay COP-COND I say-FUT.1s MIR
 Okay then, I will speak now.

In narrative, the mirative is employed to mark a proposition as ‘what happened next’ or ‘at that/this time’ and also to highlight a proposition as new and therefore of potential importance to the story. Hence, this particle may indicate the temporal notions of order and sequence or alert the listener to the fact that the proposition is viewed as a break or change from the foregoing segments and somehow new and distinct. Indeed, in narrative this particle often marks a proposition when it is first introduced, but which is later dropped when repeating the proposition as in example (924).

- 924 *gai* *gho:-ka-ta-ŋ* *belhaʔ-hi* *la. belhaʔ-hi*.
 cow tend-NOM-LOC-EMP be.dusk-P MIR be.dusk-P
 Tending the cows, it then became evening. It became evening.

- 925 *kalau* *han-a* *wa* *la* *obalai* *bajar*.
 so go-FUT DED MIR they^p fair
 And so then they^p might go to the fair.

- 926 *kalau* *wa* *jeŋ-hi* *la*.
 so 3s become-P MIR
 And so then he was born.

Occasionally, the mirative may be instantiated multiple times. In examples (927) to (929), the mirative occurs once after the main verb and then again after postposed nominal constituents. Whether the semantics of such marking differ from the previous examples is unclear, and the double marking may simply be an artefact of the type of syntax employed.

927 *hasu-ko hi-hi la iŋko pusin la?*
 who-GEN be-P MIR that hair MIR
 Whose hair is that then?

928 *to-li goi-hi la iŋko-heŋ la buŋ.*
 dig-INF must-P MIR that-DAT MIR also
 Then it was necessary to dig for it there too.

929 *sikar gha-lha-sin la doʔ-hi*
 hunt play-INTEN-ADH.DL MIR say-P

syaile-heŋ la naibiri.

jackal-DAT MIR bear

‘Let us^d go hunting now’, said the bear to the jackal.

With commands, the mirative adds a beseeching tone to the imperative.

930 *ka-heŋ seʔ buruŋ la doʔ-hi.*
 I-DAT kill forthwith MIR say-P
 ‘Go right ahead and kill me then!’, she said.

931 *jim-su la.*
 sleep-COL MIR
 Go to sleep now.

932 *khuʔ la!*
 descend MIR
 Come down here now!

5.2.4 Apparentive

Basic morph: <-sa>

Label: APR

The apperitive morpheme <-sa> is employed when the speaker suddenly becomes aware of some proposition and is surprised or in disbelief. This morpheme softens or hedges a statement and may indicate a speaker's subjective attitude or emotional involvement in the proposition. Because all examples are singular and there are no complex verbs with which to assign an affixal slot, all that can be said at the moment is that the apperitive morpheme follows the middle marker and precedes the simple aspects. The apperitive differs from the mirative in two important respects. First, while the mirative presents a proposition simply as new or unassimilated, the apperitive hedges the statement as one which the speaker was unprepared for and hence perhaps a bit unsure of. Secondly, it encodes a speaker's subjective attitude regarding the proposition. One informant characterised this morpheme as *māyālu bhāṣā* or 'sweetheart talk'.

In example (933), the speaker expresses her utter surprise and delight upon hearing a foreigner speak her language. The morpheme <-sa> indicates not only that she is not quite believing her ears, but that she is somehow moved by this apparent realisation. In example (934), the apperitive encodes the speaker's pleasant surprise upon discovering the addressee keeping warm and enjoying himself by a fire, something he was not expecting to see.

- 933 *dhemal-lai katha phər̥ra mare-sa-khe ru!*
 Dhimal-PL language flowingly kill-APR-IMPF EXCL
 Why, it seems [he] speaks Dhimal fluently!

- 934 *me rem-pha-ŋ em-sa-nha.*
 fire be.good-do press-APR-P.2
 Why, it seems you^s warmed yourself nicely by the fire.

- 935 *ta:-pa le:-sa-hi.*
 be.sweet-do sing-APR-P
 Why, it seems that [they] sang sweetly.

The emotional connection between the speaker and the proposition in an apperative may also cover emotions such as concern or pity, such as when discovering someone in an unfortunate state or activity, e.g. eating in an improper location (936) or eating with great hunger (937).

- 936 *bhansa-ta* *ca-sa-hi?!
kitchen-LOC eat-APR-P
He ate in the kitchen (the poor thing)?!*

- 937 *rem-pha* *gwamgwam-pa* *ca-sa-hi.
be.good-do heartily-do eat-APR-P
It seems he really ate with gusto (the poor thing must have
been starved).*

- 938 *na* *kiya* *lui-sa-khe-na?!
you^s chicken pluck-APR-IMPF-2
You^s are plucking a chicken (I don't believe it – you poor
thing)?!*

- 939 *mha-ma-tiŋ-sa-gha.* *rem-pha* *bokhe-gha!
ABS-NEG-see-APR-P.1s be.good-do bump.into-P.1s
It seems I didn't see it at all. I bumped into it but good!*

- 940 *dirbe* *ci:-nha-sa-gha!
lip bite-MID-APR-P.1s
It seems I bit my lip!*

Example (941) was uttered with more than a bit of sarcasm.

- 941 *ma-ta:-khe* *doʔ-hi.* *ca-sa-hi.
NEG-be.tasty-IMPF say-P. eat-APR-P
[He] said it doesn't taste good, and yet it seems he ate it.*

The apperative may also be employed to soften a statement and is considered more polite than an unmarked verb. In example (942), the

use of an unmarked verb, e.g. *ca:hoi*, would be considered blunt and a bit impolite here.

- 942 *maŋku* *ma-dhui-pa* *re.* *nhatoŋ ca:-sa-hoi!*
 shuttlecock NEG-speak-do ASS ear take-APR-PERF
 Give the weaving a rest, I say. It seems [my] ears have had
 enough already!

5.2.5 Exclamative

Basic morph: *ru*
 Label: EXCL

The exclamative particle *ru* encodes the speaker's emotional state or attitude regarding a proposition. This morpheme indicates intense emotion on the part of the speaker varying from alarm and distress, to excitement. The particle *ru* is generally uttered with high level pitch and increased duration. Example (943) was uttered by an angry, screaming child who raises the alarm call for his mother to a fevered pitch. In example (944), the speaker exclaims excitedly that a person associated with supernatural powers walking on the street is looking at the uncle, possibly with malicious intent. In example (945), the speaker expresses her shock and discomfort at seeing a child attempting to hang from an unstable object.

- 943 *o* *amai* *ru!*
 oh mother EXCL
 Oh, mom!
- 944 *boi-heŋ* *khaŋ-khe* *ru!*
 uncle-DAT look.at-IMPF EXCL
 [She]'s looking at uncle!
- 945 *na* *doi-li* *do-khe-na* *ru?!?*
 you^s hang-INF be.able-IMPF-2 EXCL
 Can you^s hang (from that)?!

- 946 *lem-pi-aŋ. hai doʔ-ka-lai ru!*
 laugh-DIR-FUT what say-NOM-PL EXCL
 [She] will make [you] laugh. Oh, the things that [she] says!
- 947 *yum-ka te eʔ-loŋ khiniŋ jeŋ-hi ru!*
 sit-NOM TOP one-CL only become-P EXCL
 As for seating, there's only one place!
- 948 *nheʔ-mahina eʔ-ghuri-ŋ jeŋ-sa-hi ru!*
 two-month one-moment-EMP become-APR-P EXCL
 Why, it seems that two months have gone by in just a moment!

5.3 Information structure

Dhimal has a variety of morphemes which are used for the pragmatic functions of structuring information in discourse. These particles have to do with the mental representation of referents or propositions in the speaker's and the addressee's minds. The discourse particles that will be treated in this section are the topic marker *te*, the assertive focus marker *doŋ*, the argument or sentence focus marker *aŋ*, the presuppositional copula *ko*, the referential marker *u*, the assertive marker *re* and the contrastive marker *rə*.

5.3.1 *Topic*

Basic morph: *te*
 Label: TOP

The particle *te* is employed in two distinct but related morphosyntactic environments. The first occurs with nominal constituents where it codes an active or accessible referent as a marked topic expression. Secondly, this particle is used in non-finite adverbial clauses to highlight or foreground information. These types of clauses include conditional, implicational and temporal clauses.

Referents with the topic particle tend to occur as the first constituent in a clause. In narrative, the particle *te* may be used to indicate a topic shift or the new coding of a referent as the topic.

The topic particle *te* establishes a pragmatic relation between a referent and a proposition. The proposition then conveys information about this topic. While the topic marker appears to be used contrastively here, example (951) shows that contrastiveness is not a part of its make-up. In her response to a question, the speaker does not contrast herself with anyone. In fact, based on the preceding sentence, she is already an active topic.

- 949 *naŋ khokoirhiŋ-ka hi-hi. ka te poto-ka hi-gha.*
 you^s.OBL leg long-NOM be-P. I TOP short-NOM be-P.1s
 Your^s legs are long. As for me, I'm short.

- 950 *wa gotaŋ nepal-ko bare-ta gi-khe*
 3s all Nepal-GEN about-LOC know-IMPF

rə naŋ-ko bhasa buŋ gi-khe.
 and you^s.OBL-GEN language also know-IMPF

ka te lekhe-li rem-pha ma-gi-kha.
 I TOP write-INF good-do NEG-know-IMPF.1s
 He knows all about Nepal and knows your^s language as well.
 As for me, I don't know how to write well.

- 951 — *e na hai gi-a-na na*
 oh you^s what know-FUT-2 you^s

doʔ-khe aŋ səŋkər bhəgwan.
 say-IMPF FOC1 Śaṅkar god

— 'Oh, and what do you^s know?', said the god Śaṅkar.

— *ma-ko ka te hai doŋ ma-gi-kha.*
 NEG-COP I TOP what FOC NEG-know-IMPF.1s

— It's not like that. As for me, I don't know anything.

After looking at a variety of pictures in a magazine without comment, the speaker in example (952) singles out one photo. Because the photo is in the speech situation, it is available for topic coding. Here, the speaker does not contrast the person in this photo with any others, but merely raises it up as a topic.

- 952 *ya te menaŋ akheʔ-ka hi-hi.*
 3s TOP very be.dirty-NOM AUX-P
 As for this one, [she]’s very dirty.

In narrative where multiple actors exist, the topic marker *te* may be employed to reintroduce a referent who has been off-scene. In the following examples, the referents coded as topics had not been mentioned for several sentences during which other characters were discussed. The use of the topic particle here marks a shift in attention to one of a number of competing active referents.

- 953 *uŋko jamal te jaman jeŋ-hoi.*
 that child TOP youth become-PERF
 As for that child, he became a young man.

- 954 *kalau ode bebal te odoŋ nariya-heŋ*
 so that woman TOP that elephant-DAT

phe-sar-au phutphat-pa phe:-pi-gil-hi doʔ-khe.
 broom-INST one.by.one-do sweep-DIR-IM-P say-IMPF
 Then, that woman went around and swept up those elephants
 one by one with a broom.

Topic coding is not restricted to subjects, but extends to objects, indefinite pronouns, adjuncts and even multiple arguments of a proposition. In example (955) the object is coded as the topic. The dative marking indicates that constituents marked with *te* are not extra-clausal, i.e. cleft constructions. In these examples, the topical object occurs as the first constituent of the sentence.

- 955 *naŋ-ko bari-ko lheʔ-heŋ te khaŋ-nha-hoi.*
 you^s.OBL-GEN garden-GEN flower-DAT TOP look.at-1p-PERF
 As for your^s garden flower, we^p have seen it.
- 956 *wa-ko bhar te eʔ-loŋ jihā urai-pa-pu-hi la.*
 3s-GEN load TOP one-CL bird fly-do-DIST-P MIR
 As for his load, a bird then flew off with it.
- 957 *bihu te na tiŋ-ka hi-nha.*
 wedding TOP you^s see-NOM AUX-P.2 .
 As for weddings, you^s have seen them.

The topic marker may even be used with non-arguments such as locative or verb phrases. In example (958), the locative phrase ‘towards the forest’ is first introduced as a focus expression and then repeated with topic coding.

- 958 *kalau eʔ-ni jhar-bhari cum-pu-hi la.*
 so one-day woods-CIRC take-DIST-P MIR
- kalau jhar-bhari te cum-pu-hi.*
 so woods-CIRC TOP take-DIST-P
 So one day he took them away towards the woods. So to the woods he took them.
- 959 *phoren ghurai-li te katha manthu.*
 abroad stroll-INF TOP matter NEG.EXT
 As for going abroad, that is out of the question.

Interrogative pronouns may also be coded as topic expressions even though indefinite referents are explicitly rejected by many authors as eligible for topic-hood. A likely explanation is that in Dhimal, interrogative pronouns may function as indefinite and relative pronouns. Examples (960) and (961) are both rhetorical questions,

and, in example (960), the speaker is about to comment on the position that the addressee is now taking, which differs from before.

- 960 *ela na hai te doʔ-khe-na?!
 now you^s what TOP say-IMPF-2
 And now what do you^s say?!*

- 961 *ela khoji pa-li hiso te pa-li la?
 now search do-INF whither TOP do-INF MIR
 And now as for searching, where to begin then?*

More than one constituent in a clause may be coded as a topic expression. In example (962), both the subject pronoun *kelai* and the nominal object *gora* are coded as topics. Not only does the predicate convey information about these two topics, but they also enter into a topic relation with one other, i.e. the relation between us and alcohol is a drinking one. This relation, the drinking of alcohol between potential in-laws, refers to an important step in the courting process.

- 962 *kelai te gora te am-nha-khe.
 we^p TOP alcohol TOP drink-1p-IMPF
 We^p are drinking the alcohol.*

- 963 *inta-so bajar-ta te khan-teŋ te lo-hi.
 there-EL fair-LOC TOP look-SEQ TOP come-P
 And so then, having looked around at the fair, they returned.*

As part of its foregrounding function, the topic particle frequently occurs in non-finite adverbial clauses, where *te* establishes the temporal, spatial or logical framework within which the proposition in the main clause holds. Nearly half of all tokens for *te* were found employed in this morphosyntactic environment. The non-finite clause marked with the topic particle acts as a scene-setting topic, and the proposition expressed therein is pragmatically presupposed. In example (964) about a jackal and a bear, the proposition that the jackal did something is shared knowledge or pragmatically

presupposed. The assertion expressed in the main clause then establishes a relation to this presupposed proposition.

- 964 *eʔ-khe* *wa pa-na* *bhai-so* *te*
 one-time 3s do-IMPL seem-EL TOP

wa-ko beʔ jeŋ-hi la.
 3s-GEN wife become-P MIR
 Since he did this once, she became his wife.

- 965 *bagan thekaʔ-li hane-labelau te esa khaŋ-khe.*
 garden arrive-INF go-TEM TOP thus look-IMPF
 While going to the garden, he looks around like this.

- 966 *ahāʔ ka ma-doʔt-ã. ka doʔ-nu te ka si-aŋ-ka.*
 no I NEG-say-FUT.1s I say-COND TOP I die-FUT-1s
 No, I won't say. If I say, I will die.

Curiously, the topic particle also occurs with verb phrases containing finite morphology. Here the entire proposition is coded as a topic. As with the adverbial clauses above, the propositions encoded in these finite phrases are all in the presupposition as is clearly shown in example (967). This type of usage appears to be uncommon.

- 967 *sita haran pa-hi. kalau sita haran*
 Sītā disappear do-P so Sītā disappear

pa-hi te ʔhik.
 do-P TOP fine
 Sītā disappeared. And so, [the fact] that Sītā disappeared is fine.

- 968 *hin-dhi-hi te eklaŋ jhar-ta hasu laʔ*
 be-REL-P TOP alone forest-LOC who MIR
 Who then was left behind alone in the forest?

5.3.2 *Assertive focus*Basic morph: *doŋ*

Label: FOC

The particle *doŋ* is used in pragmatically structured assertions to establish a marked focus relation between a referent of a proposition and the proposition itself. While the discourse environments in which *doŋ* is employed vary from assertions to counter-presuppositions or exhaustive listings, they are all clearly related and may be subsumed under the term assertive focus. Noun phrases, adverbial or verbal phrases, and postpositional phrases may all be placed in focus, with the particle *doŋ* immediately following the focussed constituent.

The particle *doŋ* marks a constituent of a proposition as having assertive focus. In example (969), the proposition ‘*x* is the strongest’ is in the presupposition as indicated in the initial query. The assertion in the reply is the equational relation ‘*x* = *iŋko rumal*’, with the particle *doŋ* indicating that the noun phrase stands in a focal relation to the proposition. This example is taken from a story with several possible candidates for ‘strong man’ and cannot be said to be counter-presuppositional, though an exhaustive listing interpretation is possible. In example (970), the object *sukh basuli* might be interpreted as contrastive with another type of flute which plays a role in the story. As indicated in the gloss, an exhaustive listing type of focus is also a possible interpretation.

- 969 — *bir te la hasu la?*
 strong TOP MIR who MIR
- *iŋko rumal doŋ bir.*
 that handkerchief FOC strong
- So who then was the strongest?
- That HANDKERCHIEF was the strongest.

- 970 *kalau sukh basuli doŋ cum-na bhai-so te*
 so joy flute FOC take-IMPL be.like-EL TOP

upai doŋ manthu la.

way FOC NEG.EXT MIR

And so, since all he took was the flute of JOY, there wasn't any way out.

In some instances *doŋ* is used to code a referent whose role is contrary to expectation, as in the following examples. In response to a question concerning the ingredients in the home-made alcohol, the speaker in example (971) asserts that in contrast to the presupposition 'put in x', the misidentified referent is in fact *lumphi* 'banana', which is marked with the focus particle. Likewise, in example (972), which counters an assertion that the identity of the perpetrator of some misdeed was some other ethnic group, the speaker asserts that the referent in the presupposition 'x did it' was in fact a Dhimal. The focused constituents here, however, only happen to be contrastive to what the addressee initially presumed.

971 — *lumphi-ko dhale taʔ-khe-na?*
banana-GEN skin put-IMPF-2

— *lumphi doŋ.*

banana FOC

— Do you^s put in banana peel?

— BANANA itself.

972 *dhemal-lai doŋ!*

Dhimal-PL FOC

It was none other than a DHIMAL!

In example (973), the focused noun phrase *inʔko bebal* does contrast with other possible referents, but there is no indication that the speaker assumes that the addressee has any other referent in mind and is therefore not contrastive or counter-presuppositional. Rather the speaker merely asserts that the missing referent in the proposition 'x raised him' is in fact that woman.

- 973 *iŋko bebal doŋ pose-hi mə?*
 you^s woman FOC raise-P TAG
 That WOMAN raised [him], right?

In contrast to the previous examples which could be interpreted as being contrastive or counter-presuppositional, the following examples do not so easily permit such an interpretation. Here the speaker presumes that the addressee has no knowledge of these constituents and asserts their identity. Consequently, the label contrastive or counter-presuppositional for this particle must be rejected.

- 974 *dama khaŋ-ka-ta-ŋ khaŋ-ka-ta-ŋ kaŋ-ko*
 road look-NOM-LOC-EMP look-NOM-LOC-EMP I.OBL-GEN

mi doŋ tu:-hi.
 eye FOC hurt-P

Watching and watching for [your] arrival, my EYES hurt.

- 975 *ka ita rem-pha doŋ hi-gha.*
 I here good-do FOC be-P.1s
 I am FINE here.

- 976 *hai doŋ pa-li ma-do-hi iŋko si.ai.di doŋ.*
 what FOC do-INF NEG-can-P that spy FOC
 Even that SPY couldn't do anything.

In example (977), the focus domain covers the verb phrase *cali lagaili* 'to eat and dress'. The proposition 'enough to do x' is in the presupposition. The speaker's reply below asserts only 'not enough to do [even] y'.

- 977 *ca-li lagai-li doŋ ma-them-khe.*
 eat-INF dress-INF FOC NEG-be.enough-IMPF
 It isn't enough to even feed or clothe ourselves.

The particle *doŋ* also occurs in categorical propositions, primarily in the negative and with the interrogative or relative pronoun *hai*. The adverb *buŋ* ‘also’ is also found in this type of construction, though with less frequency than *doŋ*.

- 978 *hai doŋ ma-cã.*
 what FOC NEG-eat.FUT.1s
 I don’t want anything at all to eat.
- 979 *aṭhiyabari-ko halkhəbər hai doŋ tha ma-jeŋ-hi.*
 Āṭhiyābārī-GEN news what FOC knowing NEG-be-P
 [I] have no knowledge whatsoever of news from Āṭhiyābārī.
- 980 *haipali doŋ ma-do-gha.*
 why FOC NEG-be.able-P.1s
 I was unable for whatever reason.

Finally, the focus particle *doŋ* is used with numerals and the comitative marker *dopha* ~ *dosa* to indicate the totality of a set. With the addition of the focus particle *doŋ*, the numerals ‘one’ and ‘two’ become ‘the same’ and ‘both’ respectively, and the comitative becomes ‘all together’.

- 981 *ləksmən eʔ-loŋ doŋ lhaʔba-ta ca-li*
 Lakṣmaṇ one-CL FOC leaf-LOC eat-INF

 sikaʔ-khe la wa.
 be.disgusted-IMPF MIR3s
 Lakṣmaṇ is disgusted by eating from the same leaf.
- 982 *gota-ŋ eʔ-loŋ doŋ hi-hi.*
 each-EMP one-CL FOC be-P
 They are all the same.

- 983 *ka nheʔ-loŋ doŋ cum-ã.*
 I two-CL FOC take-FUT.1s
 I'll take both.

- 984 *kelai ita kaṭhmanḍu-ta kaŋ-ko one kanchi*
 we^p here Kaṭhmanḍu-LOC I.OBL-GEN y.sib Kānchī
- rə bās maya dosa-ŋ doŋ hi-nha-khe.*
 and Bas Māyā COM-EMP FOC stay-1p-IMPF
 We^p, my younger sibling Kānchī and Bas Māyā, live here all
 together in Kathmandu.

5.3.3 Argument and sentence focus

Basic morph: *aŋ*
 Label: FOC1

The morpheme *aŋ* acts as an identificational or argument focus marker and as a presentational or sentence-focus marker. This particle differs from the assertive focus particle *doŋ* both in its pragmatic structure and in its morphosyntactic distribution. Whereas *doŋ* is restricted to assertions, *aŋ* may be employed with questions and commands, and occurs both adnominally and in utterance-final position. What these two uses of *aŋ* have in common is the absence of a topic-comment structure.

When the focus particle *aŋ* occurs adnominally, it identifies the missing argument in a presupposed open proposition. In example (985), the subject *na* is placed in argument focus, while the object, i.e. the bicycle, is postposed. The presupposition here is the open proposition that someone purchased a bicycle. The focused subject pronoun identifies the missing argument.

- 985 *na aŋ col-nha saikəl?*
 you^s FOC1 buy-P.2 bicycle
 YOU^s bought a bicycle?

- 986 — *ede pahar-ko bir bəlwan-ko sa? hede?*
 this hill-GEN brave strong -GEN house which?
- *ya aŋ.*
 this FOC1
- Which house belongs to the strong man of this hill?
- THIS is it.
- 987 — *na pahar-ko bəlwan doʔ-ka na aŋ?*
 you^s hill-GEN strong.man say-NOM you^s FOC1
- *ka aŋ. haipali?*
 I FOC1 why
- Are YOU^s the one they call the strong man of the hill?
- I am. Why?
- 988 *cabeli aŋ!*
 Chabeli FOC1
 It was CHABELI!
- 989 *na aŋ doʔ ku-nu!*
 you^s FOC1 say COP-COND
 YOU^s say it then!
- 990 *na aŋ ole-pa!*
 you^s FOC1 come.out-do
 YOU^s take it out!

The morpheme *aŋ* is not restricted to marking arguments, but may also occur in utterance-final position where it functions as an event-reporting or presentational marker with the focus extending over the entire proposition. In propositions marked with *aŋ*, no pragmatic presupposition is evoked other than what may be situationally implied. In example (991), the addressee did not hear what the speaker had just said and she repeats herself, this time employing the morpheme *aŋ* at the end of the utterance to mark the

proposition as presentational. In example (992), the speaker did not hear what had just been said regarding how something was to be done and seeks clarification. In examples (993) and (994), the speaker repeats a question that has been posed by another individual, but not heard by the addressee.

- 991 *sikaʔt-a-na* *aŋ*.
 be.disgusted-FUT-2 FOC1
 (I said that) you^s will be disgusted by it.
- 992 *hesa* *aŋ?*
 how FOC1
 How (did you say to do it)?
- 993 *hisika* *hi-hi* *aŋ*.
 what.kind be-P FOC1
 (He wants to know) what kind it is.
- 994 *hasu-heŋ* *lai-pa-li* *goi-khe* *aŋ*.
 who-DAT be.reconciled-do-INF must-IMPF FOC1
 (He wants to know) who do you have to flatter?

Examples (995) and (996) were used to introduce characters at the beginning of a story, right where one would expect to find a presentational structure. In example (997), the sentence occurs without the morpheme *aŋ*, as do a majority of such presentational utterances in my corpus. Never the less, this sentence still contains formal presentational coding by the use of the generic classifier <-loŋ> and the lexical coding of the arguments.

- 995 *eʔ-loŋ* *syaille* *rə* *naibiri* *hi-gha-khe* *aŋ*.
 one-CL jackal and bear be-PIMPF-IMPF FOC1
 There once was a jackal and a bear.

- 996 *eʔ-loŋ laure hi-gha-khe aŋ.*
 one-CL soldier be-PIMPF-IMPF FOC1
 There once was a soldier.
- 997 *eʔ-loŋ waraŋ-ko na-mi camindi hi-gha-khe.*
 one-CL old.man-GEN five-HCL daughter be-PIMPF-IMPF
 There once was a man who had five daughters.

Propositions may be pragmatically viewed as presentational or eventive when they lack topic-comment structure. In the examples below with focus structure, the utterances may be said to answer the question ‘what happened next?’, and so are presentational in nature. Here, the focus extends over both the subject and the predicate. In example (998), the postposing of the subject *juhã* may be a correlate of its non-topical status.

- 998 *inta cahĩ thupro ole-hi aŋ juhã.*
 there IND a.lot emerge-P FOC1 rat
 There a lot of rats emerged.
- 999 *rhuta-so bukbak-bukbak-pa hul-khe aŋ.*
 above-EL plop-plop-do fall-IMPF FOC1
 From above things come crashing down.
- 1000 *nheʔ-loŋ khokoi ekdəm kose-teŋ*
 two-CL leg very tighten-SEQ

kose-teŋ jhiŋ-khe aŋ.
 REDUP bind-IMPF FOC1
 [He] binds both legs very tightly.
- 1001 *aba ka-heŋ buŋ insika keʔ bho:-pi*
 father I-DAT also that.kind husband seek-DIR

pūya keʔ doʔ-khe aŋ ekdəm.
 snake husband say-IMPF FOC1 very

‘Father, look for a husband like that for me, a snake husband,’ she keeps saying.

The genre or type of discourse appears to have a bearing on the use of this morpheme. In three texts totalling 45 minutes, not a single token of *aŋ* appears. One text however, a bawdy tale about a servant and a soldier’s wife, had eleven tokens in the two-minute tale. The frequent occurrence there is undoubtedly due to the nature of the propositions involved. Below are a few excerpts.

1002 *esa mena sui ba:-na bhai-khe aŋ.*
 like.this very needle pierce-IMPL be.like-IMPF FOC1
 Thus it seems scarcely more than a pin prick.

1003 *mena-ŋ dul-pa ma-dul-khe aŋ.*
 very-EMP enter-do NEG-enter-IMPF FOC1
 It hardly goes in at all.

1004 *ghiu lagai ghiu doʔ-khe aŋ.*
 ghee put.on ghee say-IMPF FOC1
 ‘Ghee, put on some ghee,’ [she] says.

5.3.4 Presuppositional

Basic morph: *ko*
 Label: COP

The copula *ko* may occur with a finite verb and signals that the proposition expressed in the clause is in the presupposition. The presuppositional copula occurs predominantly in interrogative constructions with semantics similar to that of WH-cleft constructions. This morpheme is typically uttered with pronounced high level pitch and increased duration. Most commonly, the presuppositional construction occurs with interrogative pronouns. In

example (1005), the speaker sees the addressee ahead carrying a shopping bag and presupposes therefore that something is indeed being brought – the question is what? In example (1006), the speaker has spotted a child up to something suspicious. She presumes that the child is up to no good and wants to know exactly what it is doing. The proposition ‘you are doing something’ is in the presupposition.

1005 *hai cuma-nha ko?*
 what bring-P.2 COP
 What is it that you^s brought?

1006 *hai pa-khe-na ko?*
 what do-IMPF-2 COP
 What is it that you^s are doing?

Example (1007) was uttered in the context of a neighbour’s child wailing and its mother angrily shouting the speaker’s son’s name. Hence, the speaker assumes that her son has committed some act, and consequently wonders to herself what the exact nature of the deed might be. In example (1008), the speaker seeks the reason for the scene of howling children before her. She already presupposes that the addressee is the causee, but wants to know why he is doing such a thing.

1007 *hai pa-hi ko?*
 what do-P COP
 What is it that he did?

1008 *haipali jamal-lai-heŋ khar-pa-khe-na ko?!*
 why children-PL-DAT cry-do-IMPF-2 COP
 Why is it that you^s are making the children cry?!

1009 *hai gi-ã ko?!*
 what know-FUT.1s COP
 What do I know?!

- 1010 *hai phisi?phisi?phisi? pa-khe ko do?-hi ci-ta.*
 what hissing do-IMPF COP say-P water-LOC
 ‘What is it that is making a hissing sound in the water?’
 [someone] said.
- 1011 *ace ate hai doʔt-ã ko?!*
 oh.my aunt what say-FUT.1s COP
 Oh dear, auntie, what is it that I should say?!

The remaining examples employing *ko* are slightly unusual in that they do not follow the pattern set out above, i.e. they do not contain an interrogative pronoun. In example (1012), which the speaker uttered after a repeated lengthy battle to get her son to go to school, the fact that the child cries over having to go to school is in the presupposition. What the speaker wants to know is whether this will be an every day occurrence.

- 1012 *dinaŋ iskul hane-li khar-a wa ko?!*
 daily school go-INF cry-FUT DED COP
 Is it going to be every day that he may cry over going to school?!

The copula *ko* may also occur in commands. In example (1013), the speaker issues an exasperated command, while in example (1014), a simple command is repeated four times, with the last marked with *ko*. It is not entirely clear what *ko* contributes here or how these utterances differ in meaning from an unmarked imperative.

- 1013 *tə hi? wa-seŋ ko!*
 then ask 3s-DAT COP
 Well, go on and ask him!
- 1014 *ma-taŋ. ma-taŋ. ma-taŋ. ma-taŋ ko.*
 NEG-climb NEG-climb NEG-climb NEG-climb COP
 Don’t climb. Don’t climb. Don’t climb. Don’t climb.

5.3.5 *Referential particle*

Basic morph: *u*
 Label: REFR

The particle *u* occurs in two distinct morphosyntactic environments. Clause-initially, this particle acts as a spatial adverb used to point to a distal location. Postnominally and in clause-final position, the particle *u* acts as a discourse pragmatic marker indicating a referent or proposition which is known to the addressee.⁹ This particle may also encode a referent or proposition as being under discussion. When serving a discourse function, this particle is often spoken with high level pitch and increased duration. In addition, one informant claimed that the use of this particle is more common in the speech of women, and casual observation supports this.

In utterance-initial position, this particle points or draws the addressee's attention to a location away from both speaker and addressee. Here the particle *u* may be glossed in English as 'look' or 'over there'. Note also the phonological similarity with the remote demonstratives, e.g. *ota* ~ *uta* 'there' and *oso* 'in that direction'. In example (1015), the speaker directs the addressee's attention to a distal location. In example (1016), the particle *u* is employed both in its gestural sense and postnominally as a discourse deictic marker.

1015 *u* *khaŋ* *paya-bhari!*
 there look pig-CIRC
 Look, there, over by the pigs!

1016 *u* *naibiri* *u* *siri-li* *khaŋ-hi* *la.*
 there bear REFR go.in-INF look-P MIR
 There, the bear, you know, she tried to go in.

Adnominally or in utterance-final position, the referential particle *u* acts as a discourse deictic marker that links a referent or proposition

⁹ See also the Lai Chin deictic postnominal particles *khaa* and *tsuu* (Barnes 1998), the Rabha suffix <-o> (Joseph 2007) and the Limbu particle *ʔa* (van Driem 1987, p243).

to something that has previously been mentioned in discourse or that is known, or should be known, to the addressee. From indicating distal referents in space, the use of the referential particle has been extended to pointing to nominal or propositional referents in discourse. In examples (1017) and (1018), the frame of reference for the utterances was a woman telling her young daughters that they would have fine jewellery. When the daughters queried her on who would provide this and what sort of jewellery it would be, the following replies ensued.

1017 *peusa* *u!*
 uncle REFR
 You know, your uncle!

1018 *yauyau-ka* *u!*
 deep.yellow-NOM REFR
 You know, the golden yellow kind!

In example (1019), a woman calls out to a child whom she has just admonished and who is back to his old tricks. Here the referential particle *u* reminds the child of what he knows to be proper behaviour. In example (1020), a child screaming at the top of his lungs employs this particle after repeated attempts at calling his mother have failed to elicit a response. By using the referential particle he attempts to get her to do what she knows she should be doing, i.e. come running. In English, a similar meaning may be encoded with intonation.

1019 *a* *u!* *a* *u!*
 VOC REFR VOC REFR
 There! There! (What did I just tell you?!)

1020 *ama* *u!*
 mother REFR
 Mom!!!

With interrogatives the referential particle may still be employed to indicate what the addressee is presumed to already know.

- 1021 *kalau wa te hai pa-pu-hi ode bela u?*
 so he TOP what do-DIST-P that time REFR
 So, what do you think he did going along there at that time?

- 1022 *na hiso dhaʔ-khe-na u?!*
 you^s whither run-IMPf-2 REFR
 Where do you think you^s are running off to?!

- 1023 *lokxon pheʔt-aŋ la u?! gabreka!*
 clothes wash-FUT MIR REFR whore
 Does she think she's going to wash clothes?! Whore!

In example (1024), a woman warns a child of the consequences of kicking a dog. The referential particle *u* here indicates that it is probably not the first time that the child has been warned and that he should know better. In example (1025), a woman contemptuously imitates what another has just said. The particle *u* refers back to the proposition which they all heard and which she herself repeats. In example (1026), the speaker refers back to what she said previously and was heard by the addressee, who is now arguing the same thing.

- 1024 *ci:k-a u.*
 bite-FUT REFR
 It'll bite, you know.

- 1025 *wa-seŋ hiʔ-li goi-ã doʔ-khe u!*
 3s-DAT ask-INF must-FUT.1s say-IMPf REFR
 'I'll have to ask him', he says!

- 1026 *doʔ-kha u.*
 say-IMPf.1s REFR
 That's what I'm saying.

- 1027 *oso* *jha:* *u!*
 in.that.direction wash REFR
 Wash it over there! (as you're supposed to)
- 1028 — *sar* *do:-khe* *wa* *la.*
 — vegetable be.finished-IMPF DED MIR
- *do:-khe* *u.*
 be.finished-IMPF REFR
 — The vegetables are getting used up now, I suppose.
 — They're getting used up, of course.

Finally, the referential particle may refer to 'the thing in question' or 'the thing we were discussing'. In example (1029), the particle *u* marks the referent *toʔsi* 'comb' as having some relevance due to its being or having been under discussion. Example (1030) is interesting in that it shows the permissibility and ordering of multiple particles. Here, the referential particle refers back to the proposition asserted by the speaker's daughter, i.e. she needs certain books.

- 1029 *ita* *hi-hi* *toʔsi* *u.*
 here be-P comb REFR
 Here it is, that comb (that we were looking for).
- 1030 *hede* *hede* *kitab* *hi-hi* *wa* *la* *be* *u?*
 which which book be-P DED MIR DUB REFR
 I wonder which books may be the ones (that she mentioned
 needing)?

5.3.6 Assertive

Basic morph: *re*
 Label: ASS

The particle *re* indicates an assertion by the speaker in contrast to the presupposition of its negative. The assertive is employed to counter

the hearer's belief that the proposition is false. This particle strongly asserts the truth of the proposition and is often used after repeated attempts at persuasion and the addressee's continued disbelief. In example (1031), the addressee was drunk and thinks that he may have said something unseemly. After repeated assertions by the addressee that he said something improper, the speaker employs the assertive particle in order to convince him that indeed nothing untoward was said. In example (1032), the speaker reassures her screaming child that she is on her way. The remaining examples were also uttered after repeated assertions were ignored by the addressees.

1031 *ma-doʔ-nha* *re!*
 NEG-say-P.2 ASS
 I tell you, you^s didn't say [anything bad]!

1032 *lo-khoi-ka* *re!*
 come-INC-1s ASS
 I tell you, I'm coming already!

1033 *ma-gi-a-na* *re!*
 NEG-know-FUT-2 ASS
 You^s won't know how, I tell you!

1034 *gilub* *oʔt-aŋ* *re!*
 light.bulb burn-FUT ASS
 The light bulb is going to burn out, I tell you! (so stop playing with it!)

The assertive particle may also occur in interrogatives and is fairly common with imperatives. Here the semantics have not only more of the quality of a pronouncement, but also a sense of earnestness. This sense is put to good use in traditional songs consisting of exchanges between young men and women where the sincerity of the utterance is emphasised.

- 1035 *ela nidhiṅ hai doʔt-a-niṅ re?*
 now you^d.OBL what say-FUT-2d ASS
 I say, what are you two going to say now?!

- 1036 *si-pa re! aro-ṅ atuisa hi-hi.*
 die-do ASS more-EMP a.bit be-P
 Finish it up, I say! There's still a little (left here).

- 1037 *cuma-su re dada-gelai jor doṅ hāsuli.*
 bring-COL ASS e.brother-PL pair FOC neck.torque
 I say, bring a pair of neck torques, elder brothers. (from
 Dhimal song)

5.3.7 Contrastive

Basic morph: *rə*
 Label: CONR

The particle *rə* may be used to indicate a speaker's attitude toward a proposition that is counter to expectation or belief. This particle may also be used to contrast or counter a presupposition held by the hearer. In example (1038), someone has just commented on a person's lack of body hair as a sign of immaturity. The speaker counters that in contrast to the addressee's statement regarding manhood, he himself does not even have facial hair! Example (1039) was uttered in protest against the insistence of an individual that they had met.

- 1038 *kaṅ-ko darhi bhasaʔ-hi.*
 I.OBL-GEN beard grow-P

naṅ-ko ma-bhasaʔ-hi rə!
 you^s.OBL-GEN NEG-grow-P CONR
 My beard has grown. Yours^s, however, hasn't grown!

- 1039 *ka phom te manthu-hi rə!*
 I memory TOP NEG.EXT-P CONR
 I have no recollection of it (in spite of what you remember)!
- 1040 *kəmti ma-tu:-khe rə!*
 less NEG-hurt-IMPF CONR
 It hurts more than a little!
- 1041 *jim-pa-pu-hi rə!*
 sleep-do-DIST-P CONR
 But, [she] went and put him to sleep (so I can't feed him)!

This particle may also be used to signal an event that is unexpected or counter to the expectations of the speaker. In example (1042), the subject is an infant who is completely incapable of achieving the task at hand. The speaker encodes her surprise at the audacity of the child with the contrastive particle. Likewise in the remaining examples, events or situations occur that are completely unexpected.

- 1042 *ita taŋ-li bho:-khe rə!*
 here climb-INF look.for-IMPF CONR
 Why, [he]'s looking to climb up here!
- 1043 *kaŋ-ko miŋ ki lo-hi rə!*
 I.OBL-GEN name ki come-P CONR
 Why, someone called out my name!
- 1044 *ede kaŋ-ko can rə ede!*
 this I.OBL-GEN son CONR this
 Why, this here is my son!
- 1045 *hai-ko jhəgəra jeŋ-sa-hi rə?!*
 what-GEN quarrel become-APR-P CONR
 What sort of quarrel seems to have occurred?!

5.4 Sentence structure

This section will examine relative clauses, reported speech and complementation, and will conclude with a look at various interrogative coding strategies including conjoined alternate clauses, the interrogative particle *na*, the tag question particle *mə* and the adhortative agreement marker *aũ*. In conclusion, the Indo-Aryan loan particle *ki* will be treated.

5.4.1 Relative clauses

There are essentially three types of relative clause constructions in Dhimal that distinguish non-specific and specific referents, i.e. an inherited construction with the nominalising morpheme <-ka>, an Indo-Aryan influenced construction employing an indefinite and a definite pronoun, and a construction with an interrogative and definite pronoun that may represent an intermediate stage between the previous two constructions. All three types are common.

The relative construction with <-ka> may occur prenominally or internally and indicates a specific referent. This construction encodes many different grammatical relations including subject, object, dative or oblique referent, though the relativised clause does not appear to permit pluralisation with the suffix <-lai> when followed by its nominal head. The occurrence of a possessive pronoun in the relative clause may indicate either a possessive or agentive relation to the nominalised verb, or merely as a rhetorical device as in example (1046).

- 1046 *kalau* *odon* *bhaʔsiŋ iŋko* *gota-ŋ* *naŋ-ko*
 so that reason that each-EMP you^s.OBL-GEN
- dheu-li* *do-ka* *cahĩ* *diya* *jeŋ-hoi*.
 tie-INF be.able-NOM IND water.buffalo be-PERF
 So for that reason, all those they could tether became
 domestic water buffalo.

- 1047 *naŋ-ko pheʔ-ka anemane manthu?*
 you^s.OBL-GEN beat-NOM thing NEG.EXT
 Don't you^s have anything to be washed?

- 1048 *kaŋ-ko doʔ-ka wa ma-saʔ-khe.*
 I.OBL-GEN say-NOM 3s NEG-believe-IMPF
 He doesn't believe what I say.

- 1049 *udini naŋ-ko ram-heŋ pi-gil-ka*
 other.day you^s.OBL-GEN Rāma-DAT give-IM-NOM

pətra ka buŋ khaŋ-gha.

letter I also look.at-P.1s

The other day I also looked at the letter that you^s sent to Rāma.

- 1050 *ram-ko dagai-ka ede lumphi lhaʔba.*
 Rāma-GEN splitting-NOM this banana leaf
 The thing that Rāma split was this banana leaf.

The relative clause constructions that may represent an intermediate stage between the <-ka> relative clauses and the Indo-Aryan-influenced forms consist of a subordinate clause headed by an interrogative pronoun, followed by the main clause headed by a definite pronoun. The interrogative pronoun here acts as relative pronoun, since it is referential. Semantically, this type of relative clause appears to be confined to specific indefinite referents. Syntactically, these constructions are identical to the following type, but appear to be less common and differ in the use of the interrogative rather than indefinite pronouns in the subordinate clause.

- 1051 *kalau inta-ko tai-ko nal-ka dyaŋ hasu*
 so there-GEN REF-GEN know-NOM man who

hi-hi ode dyaŋ-heŋ doʔt-a wa...
 be-P that man-DAT say-FUT DED

And so whoever they themselves know there, they may say to that person...

1052 *hasu hasu-heŋ dusu-khe-niŋ*
 who who-DAT meet-IMPF-2d

wa-seŋ hiʔ-li goi-aŋ dama-ta.
 3s-DAT ask-INF must-FUT road-LOC
 We^d must ask whomever we^d meet on the way.

1053 *hesa dheu-nha-ka hi-gha-hi iŋko bhai-pa dheu.*
 how tie-MID-NOM AUX-PIMPF-P that be.like-do tie
 Tether him just like he had been tethered.

1054 *hesa kose-ka hi-gha-hi insika khalko kose*
 how tighten-NOM AUX-PIMPF-P like.that such tighten
 Make it just as tight as it had been.

The Indo-Aryan-type relative clause constructions consist of a subordinate clause headed by an indefinite pronoun, followed by the main clause headed by a definite pronoun. The indefinite pronouns are hybrids derived from the Dhimal interrogative pronouns, bearing an initial palatal affricate <j>, a loan morpheme from Indo-Aryan. In contrast to the previous type, these constructions may be used with either a specific or indefinite referent.

1055 *ma-ko jai dharma pa-khe*
 NEG-COP REL.what virtue do-IMPF

wa-ko karma ca-li goi-khe.
 3s-GEN fate eat-INF must-IMPF

No, whatever virtue one performs, one must accept ones' fate.

- 1056 *dama-ta jede tiŋ-hi ode-heŋ hiʔ-hi.*
road-LOC REL.which see-P that-DAT ask-P
Whomever they saw on the road, that's who they asked.
- 1057 *jisika-ŋ rawaŋ nanabhati jasusi-gha-hi*
REL.what.kind-EMP Rāvaṇa hocus-pocus spy-PIMPF-P
- usika-ŋ maricmuni buŋ katha saʔ-li goi-hi.*
that.kind-EMP Maricamanī also word obey-INF must-P
Whatever kind of hocus-pocus Rāvaṇa concocted, that's what
Maricamanī had to obey.

5.4.2 Reported speech and complementation

A variety of non-finite or finite constructions with a verb of saying or doing is employed to encode reported speech. Reported speech generally occurs as a direct quote, employing either a form of the verb *doʔli* 'to say' or the verb *pali* 'to do', i.e. *doʔteŋ* 'having said' (analogous to Nepali *bhanera*), *doʔlau* 'while saying' (analogous to Nepali *bhandā*), *pahe panu* 'if one were to say' (analogous to Nepali *bhanyo bhane*). The sequential morpheme <-teŋ> is frequently used to mark direct quotes with the speech act being elaborated upon in the main clause, though it is not unique in performing this function.

- 1058 *uŋkhu miŋ-ka bela-ta lo-aŋ-ka doʔ-ka hi-nha*
paddy ripe-NOM time-LOC come-FUT-1s say-NOM AUX-P.2
You^s said, 'I will come when the paddy is ripening.'
- 1059 *na ka-heŋ iŋko kam pa-teŋ*
you^s I-DAT that work do-SEQ
- sona candi col-li do-khe-na doʔ-ka hi-nha.*
gold silver buy-INF be.able-IMPF-2 say-NOM AUX-P.2
You^s said to me, 'Doing that work you^s can buy gold and silver.'

- 1060 *na hasu pa-teŋ hiʔ!*
 you^s who do-SEQ ask
 Ask [him] who he is.
- 1061 *ku-nu hasu jiti-hi doʔ-pi-lau hai doʔt-a-naʔ*
 COP-COND who won-P say-DIR-TEM what say-FUT-2
 Well, when you tell who won, what will you^s say?
- 1062 *ka doʔ-pi-kha ela nheʔ-barsa-ta khiniŋ*
 I say-DIR-IMPf.1s now two-year-LOC only

lo-ã doʔ-khe doʔ-pi-kha.
 come-FUT.1s say-IMPf say-DIR-IMPf.1s
 I tell [them] he says 'I'll only come back in two years.'
- 1063 *te ku-nu pa-teŋ hane-hi doʔ-khe aro-ŋ dahě.*
 okay COP-COND do-SEQ go-P say-IMPf more-EMP north
 Saying 'okay then,' he continued on northwards, they say.

In example (1064), the deictics are switched indicating an indirect rather than a direct quote. Directing the addressee to pass along greetings, the speaker switches from the first person to third person, presumably speaking the quote as the addressee would utter it.

- 1064 *obalai-heŋ doʔ-pi ram phom pa-ka*
 they-DAT say-DIR Rāma memory do-NOM

hi-hi doʔ-pi aũ?
 be-P say-DIR okay
 Tell them that Rāma has thought about them, okay?

These verbs of 'saying' and 'doing' in the many forms illustrated above may be employed to create complement clauses. In example (1065), the verb *doʔli* is used three times, the first in a complementising function, secondly in its lexical sense and lastly in a reportative fashion. In example (1066), the non-finite verb *doʔteŋ*

‘having said’ presents the fact of the addressee’s coming as the complement of the following clause.

1065 *kalau kaṭhmanḍu lo-teṇ amerika han-ã*
 then Kaṭhmanḍu come-SEQ America go-FUT.1s

la doʔ-teṇ doʔ-hi doʔ-khe.

MIR say-SEQ say-P say-IMPF

They say that, having come to Kathmandu, he said ‘I’m going to America.’

1066 *na lo-a-na doʔ-teṇ ita gotaṇ kam*
 you^s come-FUT-2 say-SEQ here whole work

mili-pa-teṇ taʔ-gha.

arrange-do-SEQ put-P.1s

I have arranged everything here for your arrival.

5.4.3 Interrogatives

Interrogatives may be encoded with rising intonation, the use of question words, the interrogative particle or with conjoined alternate clauses. The following are examples of conjoined alternate clauses.

1067 *ta:-hi ma-ta:-hi?*
 be tasty-P NEG-be.tasty-P
 Does it taste good?

1068 *cur am-a-na ma-am-a-na?*
 cigarette drink-FUT-2 NEG-drink-FUT-2
 Do you^s want to smoke a cigarette?

1069 *biḥu pa-ka hi-nha manthu-na?*
 wedding do-NOM be-P.2 NEG.EXT-2
 Are you^s married?

The particle *na*, which often occurs clause-initially, may be used to indicate an interrogative. A clause marked by the interrogative particle may follow the typical intonational contour of an interrogative or may take declarative intonation, with the particle fitting into the overall contour. Clause-initial position may be due to Indo-Aryan influence.

- 1070 *hai col-aŋ be. na gora col-teŋ*
 what buy-FUT DUB QUEST alcohol buy-SEQ

am-aŋ be na haya col-teŋ ca-aŋ be.
 drink-FUT DUB QUEST fish buy-SEQ eat-FUT DUB
 I wonder what she'll buy. Maybe she'll buy alcohol and drink
 it, or maybe she will buy fish and eat them.

- 1071 *na bir na ka bir?*
 you^s strong QUEST I strong
 Are you^s stronger or am I stronger?

- 1072 *na te syaile-ko nui-ta hethe*
 QUEST TOP jackal-GEN mouth-LOC how.much

aŋi-hi wa la biha?
 fit-P DED MIR meat
 Now, how much meat do you suppose fit into the jackal's
 mouth then?

The interrogative particle is also employed to present propositions for acceptance into the discourse. The use of the interrogative particle overtly marks the proposition as open for questioning by the addressee.

- 1073 *eʔ-loŋ mades-ko bəlwan hi-gha-hi doʔ-khe na?*
 one-CL lowland-GEN strong be-PIMPF-P say-IMPF QUEST
 There once was a lowland strong man they say, mmh?

- 1074 *ka ita-ŋ yha-ã na?*
 I here-EMP stay-FUT QUEST
 I'll stay right here, mmh?
- 1075 *amai amai eʔ-loŋ syaile lo-khe na?*
 mother mother one-CL jackal come-IMPF QUEST
 Mother, mother, a jackal comes, mmh?
- 1076 *ate na?*
 father's.brother's.wife QUEST
 Auntie, is that you?'
- 1077 *ita-ko bhai-ka na?*
 here-GEN be.like-NOM QUEST
 Is it the same as the ones here?

5.4.4 Adhortative tag

Basic morph: *aŋ ~ aũ*

Label: TAG

An adhortative tag consists of an imperative followed by the morpheme *aŋ* or its common allomorph *aũ*. This particle is uttered with the rising tone of a question. The adhortative tag encourages compliance or solicits cooperation with what is stated in the imperative. This beseeching softens the imperative, making it more of a request.

- 1078 *mamar-pa ghurai aũ?*
 very.quick-do return TAG
 Come back very quickly, okay?
- 1079 *boʔna naŋ-ko beʔ-heŋ taʔpi aũ?*
 bonha you^s.OBL-GEN wife-DAT put-DIR TAG
 Keep the *boʔna* for your^s wife, okay?

- 1080 *cer ma-tam-pa aũ?*
 anger NEG-climb-do TAG
 Don't get mad, okay?
- 1081 *e ajai ela lo aŋ?*
 oh grandma now come TAG
 Oh grandma, come now, okay?
- 1082 *puriŋ tu:-ka osere amai-heŋ pi aŋ?*
 head hurt-NOM medicine mother-DAT give TAG
 Give mother some of that headache medicine, okay?

5.4.5 Tag questions

Basic morph: *mə*
 Label: AGR

A tag question consists of a declarative utterance followed by the particle *mə*. The tag particle is spoken with the intonation of a question, that is, with rising intonation. It signals that the speaker expects concurrence, confirmation or agreement from the addressee regarding the proposition. This morpheme presumably derives from the negative morpheme <ma->.

- 1083 *jaŋ-hi mə?*
 be.expensive-P AGR
 It's expensive, isn't it?
- 1084 *ka-seŋ pi-hoi-na mə?*
 I-DAT give-PERF-2 AGR
 You^s gave it to me, right?
- 1085 *obalai jharaŋ hai doŋ ma-gi-khe mə?*
 they all what FOC NEG-know-IMPF AGR
 None of them know a thing, do they?

- 1086 *ka-seŋ na dophā amrika cum-pu-a-na mə?*
 I-DAT you^s COM America take-DIST-FUT-2 AGR
 You^s are going to take me to America with you^s, right?

5.4.6 Particle *ki*

The Indo-Aryan loan particle *ki* occurs both clause-initially and clause-internally, and fulfils several different functions. Among languages possessing a similar morpheme, the Nepali particle *ki* may be found acting as the conjunction ‘or’, as an interrogative particle and as the relative pronoun ‘that’ in subordinate clauses. The Bengali sentential interrogative particle *ki*, on the other hand, may occur in any position other than initial, depending on the presuppositional structure of the sentence (Klaiman 1990). The Dhimal particle displays a similar breadth of function, suggesting that *ki* may have been borrowed at different times and perhaps even from different languages.

In example (1087), *ki* functions as a straightforward subordinating conjunction, similar to its Nepali counterpart. In examples (1088) and (1089), on the other hand, *ki* precedes the main clause as part of a complex phrase, in (1088) as part of an interrogative, while in (1089) as part of the causal phrase ‘as a result’.

- 1087 *ka-seŋ hisika mon jeŋ-hi ki kaŋ-ko*
 I-DAT what.kind heart be-P ki I.OBL-GEN

nepal-ta khiniŋ ma-ko bahira buŋ
 Nepal-LOC only NEG-COP outside also

tai-ko-ŋ dyaŋ hi-hi.
 REF-GEN-EMP person be-P

How my heart felt, [to know] that not only did I have my own person in Nepal, but outside as well.¹⁰

¹⁰ Having ‘one’s own person’ or ‘connections’, either a friend or relative who can be relied upon to provide material or other assistance, is considered very important in Nepali society (also known as ‘source force’).

- 1088 *na ku-nu ki saʔ rhaʔ-li goi-hi?*
 QUEST COP-COND *ki* house tear.down-INF must-P
 Or is it the case that [they] had to tear the house down?

- 1089 *ku-na-ŋ ki wa-ko bhenan tasiŋ keʔ-hi.*
 COP-IMPL-EMP *ki* 3s-GEN different tooth
 be.overlapping-P
 As a result, another tooth grew in overlapping.

The predominant morphosyntactic environment in which the particle *ki* is found in Dhimal, however, is directly following a nominal phrase and preceding the verb phrase. In this type of construction *ki*, which is typically pronounced with rising intonation, marks the identity of an argument as perhaps a bit surprising or uncertain. This sense of uncertainty along with the rising intonational contour suggest a link to the interrogative function of the particle *ki* in Bengali.

- 1090 *siŋ rhuta te hanuman ki hi-hi.*
 tree above TOP Hanumān *ki* be-P
 In the tree above, why, there was Hanumān.
- 1091 *e manise ki hi-hi doʔ-khe iŋko khuwāhā.*
 oh person *ki* be-P say-IMPF that tiger
 ‘Oh, why, there’s someone there’, says that tiger.
- 1092 *kaŋ-ko miŋ ki lo-hi rə.*
 I.OBL-GEN name *ki* come-P CONR
 Why, that was my name that was called out.
- 1093 *okho ya te kaŋ can ki rə doʔ-khe.*
 oh 3s TOP I.OBL son *ki* CONR say-IMPF
 ‘Oh, why, this is my son’, he says.

- 1094 *e kidhiṇ naramro kam ki pa-nhiṇ mə?*
 eh we^d.OBL bad deed ki do-P.2d AGR
 Eh, [I guess] we^d did a bad deed, didn't we^d.

- 1095 *kelai te naṇ-ko abhari ki hi-nha-hi.*
 we^p TOP you^s.OBL-GEN debt ki be-1p-P
 As for us^p, we^p are indebted to you^s.

In (1096), the particle *ki* serves to highlight the important purpose of the speakers' visit. Here, the social context suggests a stylised uncertainty which might be appropriate for the delicate negotiations with prospective in-laws.

- 1096 *naṇ-ko camindi-ko lagi te*
 you^s.OBL-GEN daughter-GEN for TOP

kelai esa-pa ki lo-nha-hi ko.
 we^p thus-do ki come-1p-P COP
 It is thus, for your^s daughter, that we^p came.

TEXT ONE

COURTING¹

lampha-ko waraṇ-gelai jon-sər beja-lai rhe:-li goi-labelau
before-GEN old.man-PL John-sir girl-PL ask.for-INF must-TEM
In the old days, John sir, when one had to ask for a girl (wife),

hai pa-gha-khe doʔ-he pa-nu
what do-PIMF-IMPF say-HYP do-COND
what they used to do,

beja-lai rhe:-li khan-teṇ lampha
girl-PL ask.for-INF look-SEQ before
before asking for a girl,

nani phalna thame-ko bajar
today other place-GEN fair

nani phalna thame-ko bajar doʔ-teṇ obalai hiṇ-gha-hi.
today other place-GEN fair say-SEQ they^p hear-PIMF-P
they^p would hear that today there's a fair in another place, today
there's a fair in another place.

kalau ode beja-lai rhe:-li khan-teṇ agari
so that girl-PL ask.for-INF look-SEQ before
So, before asking for that girl,

¹ This text about the process involved in getting a wife was told by Nar Bahādur Dhimāl, aged 39, in Āthiyābārī in January of 2001.

hai pa-hi pa-he pa-nu
 what do-P do-HYP do-COND
 what they did was,

e nani phalna thame-ko bajar doʔ-khe.
 hey today other place-GEN fair say-IMPF
 ‘Hey, they say today there’s a fair in another place.’

inta bajar-ta cahĩ beja-lai hi-hi wa la.
 there fair-LOC IND girl-PL be-P DED MIR
 ‘At the fair there, there may be girls.’

phalna thame-ko beja-lai lo-ay wa la.
 other place-GEN girl-PL come-FUT DED MIR
 Girls from other places may come.’

ti kharj-li doʔ-tej sanaiti-gelai mili-gha-hi doʔ-khe.
 come look-INF say-SEQ friend-PL gather-PIMPF-P say-IMPF
 Saying, ‘Come on, let’s have a look’, the friends would assemble,
 they say.

obalai sanaiti-gelai mili-gha-hi.
 they^p friend-PL arrange-PIMPF-P
 They^p, the friends, would get together.

sanaiti mili-labelau hai doʔ-he ku-nu
 friend arrange-TEM what say-HYP COP-COND
 When the friends assembled, what they would say is,

e hai iʃko thame-ta na-hej beja-lai
 oh what that place-LOC you^s-DAT girl-PL

kharj-li bisar hi-hi
 look.at-INF thought be-P
 ‘Oh what, are you thinking about going to that place to girl watch?’

pa-tej doʔ-hi ode wajan jamal-lai.
 do-SEQ say-P that boy child-PL
 That’s what those boys would say.

te ku-nu pa-teŋ doʔ-gha-hi obalai.
 okay COP-COND do-SEQ say-PIMPF-P they^p
 ‘Okay then’, they^p would say.

kalau han-a wa la obalai bajar.
 so go-FUT DED MIR they^p fair
 And so then they^p would go to the fair.

adhi-mi dhol cum-teŋ han-a wa.
 half-CL drum hold-SEQ go-FUT DED
 Half might go carrying a drum.

adhi-mi dhol-ko lekharā lekharā insa han-a wa.
 half-CL drum-GEN behind behind thus go-FUT DED
 Half might go like that behind the drums.

kalau inta-so han-a wa la.
 so there-EL go-FUT DED MIR
 So from there they may go.

kalau inta-so dhol tatai-ko lagi te lage-a wa?
 So there-EL drum REF-GEN for TOP fall-FUT DED
 So then, do you suppose the drums are for the boys themselves?

wajan jamal-lai hai pa-gha-hi pa-he pa-nu
 boy child-PL what do-PIMPF-P do-HYP do-COND
 What the boys would do was,

beja-lai hiso hiso ko?
 girl-PL whither whither COP
 ‘Where is it that the girls are?’

doʔ-teŋ obalai bisar pa-gil-gha-hi wajan jamal-lai cahĩ.
 say-SEQ they^p thought do-IM-PIMPF-P boy child-PL IND
 so saying, the boys would go around thinking.

kalau nabhəndai ode beja-lai cahĩ lo-gha-hi bajar-ta.
 so before.that that girl-PL IND come-PIMPF-P fair-LOC
 So before that, those girls would come to the fair.

kalau ode beja-lai cahĩ waja-lai tin-teŋ
 so that girl-PL IND boy-PL see-SEQ
 And when the boys saw the girls,

iŋko-ŋ te wa la ma-ku-nu?
 that-EMP TOP DED MIR NEG-COP-COND
 ‘That one there maybe’, isn’t it so?

kalau inta-so waja-lai-ko rə beja-lai-ko udesa
 so there-EL boy-PL-GEN and girl-PL-GEN plan

lampha hai hi-gha-hi jon sər
 before what be-PIMPF-P John Sir
 So then what the boys’ and girls’ method previously was, John sir,

beja-lai-heŋ pane sikret supađi soṛa
 girl-PL-DAT betel cigarette areca date

dhi?-pa-ka cəlan hi-gha-hi ode bela.
 reach-do-NOM habit be-PIMPF-P that time
 In those days, there was the custom to offer betel leaf, cigarettes,
 areca nut and dates to the girls.

kalau inta-so ode waja-lai cahĩ ekdəm kere
 so there-EL that boy-PL IND very PAUS

pane col-pi-a wa la.
 betel buy-DIR-FUT DED MIR
 So then, those boys, they may buy a lot of betel leaf for them.

əthəwa sikret col-pi-a wa.
 or cigarette buy-DIR-FUT DED
 Or they may buy cigarettes for them.

əthəwa naŋ-ko soṛa col-pi-a wa.
 or you^s.OBL-GEN date buy-DIR-FUT DED
 Or they may buy them what you call your dates.

əthəwa nəriyəl col-pi-a wa.
 or coconut buy-DIR-FUT DED
 Or they might buy them coconut.

kalau ode bejan jamalai-heŋ dhiʔ-pa-a wa la.
 so that girl children-DAT reach-do-FUT DED MIR
 And they may offer [these things] to those girls.

kalau ode bela hai doʔ-gha-hi pa-nu ko re anau
 so that time what say-PIMPFF-P do-COND here ASS y.sibling
 And so at that time, what they would say is, 'Here, take some little sister.'

doʔ-teŋ sikret supadi nəriyəl soʔa dhiʔ-pa-gha-hi.
 say-SEQ cigarette areca coconut date reach-do-PIMPFF-P
 So saying, they would offer cigarettes, areca nut, coconut or dates.

soʔa doʔ-ka naŋ-ko amerika-ta
 date say-NOM you^s.OBL-GEN America-LOC

thupro hi-hi jon sər iŋko.
 much be-P John sir that
 There are plenty of dates in America, John sir (so you know what they are).

kalau insa obalai mon pərəpər jeŋ-sa-hi wa la.
 so thus they^p heart each.other be-APR-P DED MIR
 And so, it happens that apparently they^p began to like each other.

kalau inta-so bajar-ta te khan-teŋ te lo-hi.
 so there-EL fair-LOC TOP look-SEQ TOP come-P
 So then, having seen [them] at the fair, [they] return.

han-a wa la are dera-bhari buŋ.
 go-FUT DED MIR again village-CIRC also
 [They] may also go towards the village again.

ti nani phalna dera beja-lai khaŋ-li pa-teŋ doʔt-a wa.
 go today other village girl-PL look-INF do-SEQ say-FUT DED
 'Come, let's go have a look at girls in another village,' [they] may

say.

kalau obalai beja-lai khaŋ-li doʔ-teŋ dama laʔt-a wa.
 so they^p girl-PL look-INF say-SEQ road quit-FUT DED
 So, after deciding to look at girls, they^p hit the road.

kalau inta-ko tai-ko nal-ka dyaŋ hasu hi-hi
 so there-GEN REF-GEN know-NOM man who be-P
 And there, whoever they know there,

ode dyaŋ-heŋ doʔt-a wa
 that man-DAT say-FUT DED
 they may say to that person,

nani ka ede kam-ta lo-ka hi-gha.
 today I this work-LOC come-NOM AUX-P.1s
 ‘I have come for this purpose today.’

are hai kam-ta lo-nha pa-teŋ doʔt-a wa.
 oh what work-LOC come-P.2 do-SEQ say-FUTDED
 ‘Oh, for what purpose did you^s come?’, he may say.

phalna-ko camindi phelni doʔ-ka bejan-heŋ kere
 other-GEN daughter other say-NOM girl-DAT PAUS

khaŋ-li lo-gha doʔt-a wa kalau ode wajan jamal-lai.
 look-INF come-P.1s say-FUT DED so that boy child-PL
 ‘I came to see another’s daughter,’ those boys may say.

e insa naŋ-ko buŋ beʔ bho:-ka bela jeŋ-hoi?!
 oh thus you^s.OBL-GEN also wife seek-NOM time occur-PERF
 Saying, ‘Oh, so it’s time for you^s to look for a wife too then?!’

pa-teŋ doʔt-a wa kalau ode saʔ-ko dyaŋ ma-ku-nu?
 do-SEQ say-FUT DED so that house-GEN man NEG-COP-COND
 the person from that house might say (something like that), isn’t it so?

kalau inta-so te ku-nu lo-nha pa-nu
 so there-EL okay COP-COND come-P.2 do-COND

jhən ramro!

more good

And so then, ‘Okay then, if you^s came then all the better!’

jiban-ta te sanaiti bənai-li goi-khe.

life-LOC TOP friend make-INF must-IMPF

Saying, ‘In life one must make a friend’,

doʔ-teŋ obalai dera-ko dyaŋ-gelai cum-teŋ han-a wa la.

say-SEQ they^p village-GEN man-PL take-SEQ go-FUT DED MIR

they^p may go, taking along the people of the village.

kalau iŋko saʔ-ta cum-pu-a wa la ma-ku-nu?

so that house-LOC take-DIST-FUT DED MIR NEG-COP-COND

And so they may take them to that house, isn’t that so?

kalau doʔt-a wa kalau iŋko saʔ-ko dyaŋ-gelai

so say-FUT DED so that house-GEN man-PL

And so the people of that house may say,

hiso-so lo-su-nha ko phalna pa-teŋ doʔt-a wa.

whither-EL come-COL-P.2 COP stranger do-SEQ say-FUT DED

‘Where is it that you^p came from strangers?’, they may say.

e iso-ŋ be.

oh hither-EMP DUB

‘Oh, from around here perhaps.’

naŋ-ko bari-ta lheʔ bar-ka hi-hi doʔ-khe.

you^s.OBL-GEN garden-LOC flower big-NOM be-P say-IMPF

‘They say there is a flower in your^s garden that has grown.’

iŋko lheʔ khaŋ-li lo-nha-hi be doʔt-a wa.

that flower look.at-INF come-1p-P DUB say-FUT DED

‘We^p came to see that flower perhaps’, they may say.

e ʔhik doŋ-hi. doʔt-a wa ode bela.

oh good weigh-P say-FUTDED that time

‘Oh, that’s fine’, they may say at that time.

kalau inta-so kalau jun sir-pu-ka dyaŋ
 so there-EL so REL escort-DIST-NOM person
 So then, the person who accompanied them there,

kalau ode doʔt-a wa kalau
 so that say-FUT DED so
 he may say,

te kelai phalna din lo-aŋ aũ?
 okay we^p other day come-FUT okay
 ‘Okay, we^p will come back another day, okay?’

naŋ-ko bari-ko lheʔ-heŋ te khaŋ-nha-hoi.
 you^s.OBL-GEN garden-GEN flower-DAT TOP look.at-1p-PERF
 ‘We^p have seen the flower of your^s garden.’

rəpəni pe:-li pi-a-na be ma-pi-a-na be?
 but pick-INF give-FUT-2 DUB NEG-give-FUT-2 DUB
 ‘However, will you^s allow [us] to pick it, I wonder, or won’t you^s?’

doʔ-ka khalko katha taʔ-teŋ ghure-a wa la obalai.
 say-NOM such word put-SEQ return-FUT DED MIR they^p
 Saying things like that, they^p may return.

kalau inta-so lo-hi la saʔ-ta.
 so there-EL come-P MIR house-LOC
 And so then they returned home.

kalau tai-ko saʔ lo-na bhai-so te
 so REF-GEN house come-IMPL seem-EL TOP

aba-heŋ buŋ doʔt-a wa
 father-DAT also say-FUTDED
 And upon returning home, he may say to his father,

iŋko phalna bejan-heŋ rhe:-lha-li goi-aŋ.
 that other girl-DAT ask.for-INTEN-INF must-FUT
 ‘We^p must go and ask for that other girl.’

amai-heŋ buŋ doʔt-a wa
 mother-DAT also say-FUTDED
 He may also say to his mother,

iŋko phelni bejan-heŋ rhe:-lha-li goi-aŋ
 that other girl-DAT ask.for-INTEN-INF must-FUT

pa-teŋ doʔt-a wa.
 do-SEQ say-FUT DED
 ‘We^p must go and ask for that other girl’, he may say.

kalau inta-so te ku-nu.
 so there-EL okay COP-COND
 And then, ‘okay then.’

gora-ci ga:-hoi la ma-ku-nu?
 alcohol-water cook-PERF MIR NEG-COP-COND
 They prepared drinks, isn’t that so?

sikret supaḍi nəriyəl soṛa-gelai cuma-a wa la.
 cigarette areca coconut date-PL bring-FUT DED MIR
 They may bring cigarettes, areca nut, coconut and dates.

inta-so gota-ŋ kura ʔhik-ʔhak pa-hoi la jon sər.
 there-EL each-EMP talk tip-top do-PERF MIR John sir
 Then they got everything ready, John sir.

kalau inta-so dera-ko sanaiti-bhaya-gelai-heŋ na-seŋ
 so there-EL village-GEN friend-pal-PL-DAT you^s-DAT

kai-a wa. wa-seŋ kai-a wa. wa-seŋ kai-a wa.
 call-FUT DED he-DAT call-FUT DED he-DAT call-FUT DED
 And so then he may invite his village friends and pals, he may invite
 you^s. He may invite him and he may invite him.

kalau obalai gora botal sikret supaḍi
 so they^p alcohol bottle cigs areca

nəriyəl cum-teŋ han-a wa la.
 coconut take-SEQ go-FUT DED MIR

And so, taking bottles of alcohol, cigarettes, areca nuts and coconut, they^p may set out.

kalau iŋko bela hai jeŋ-hi pa-nu
 so that time what happen-P do-COND
 So, at that time what happened was,

han-a wa la odoŋ dera.
 go-FUT DED MIR that village
 they may go to that village,

jede-ŋ dera-ta lampha beja-lai khaŋ-li
 REL-EMP village-LOC before girl-PL look-INF

hane-ka hi-gha-khe
 go-NOM AUX-PIMPF-IMPF
 the village where they had gone to see the girl previously,

odoŋ dera-ta han-a wa obalai.
 that village-LOC go-FUT DED they^p
 that village is where they^p may go.

haipali? beja-lai rhe:-li!
 why girl-PL ask.for-INF
 Why? To ask for a girl!

koko dina te insa jen-a wa la.
 same day TOP thus happen-FUT DED MIR
 And that's how it may happen then on that same day.

han-a wa hun-a wa yun-a wa
 go-FUT DED REDUP DED sit-FUT DED
 They may go and they may sit.

eʔ-loŋ nheʔ-loŋ bat pa-a wa. jeŋ-hoi la.
 one-CL two-CL talk do-FUT DED happen-PERF MIR
 They may talk about a thing or two. That's it.

kalau aro dəsro kkep-ta hane-labelau
 so again second time-LOC go-TEM

te ku-nu phalna
 okay COP-COND other

And so again while going a second time, 'Okay then stranger,

naŋ-ko camindi-ko lagi te
 you^s.OBL-GEN daugher-GEN for TOP

kelai esa-pa ki lo-nha-hi ko.
 we^p thus-do ki come-1p-P COP
 it is thus, for your^s daughter, that we^p came.'

na hai doʔ-khe-na pa-teŋ doʔt-a wa.
 you^s what say-IMPF-2 do-SEQ say-FUT DED
 'What do you^s say?', he may say.

kalau ode bela hai doʔ-khe
 so that time what say-IMPF

bejan-ko aba ʔhik doŋ-hi!
 girl-GEN father fine weigh-P

And so, what does the girl's father say at that time? 'That's fine!'

wa buŋ kalau hai doʔt-a wa?
 he also then what say-FUT DED
 What else may he say?

ka buŋ ode dera hane-teŋ eʔ-loŋ nheʔ-loŋ
 I also that village go-SEQ one-CL two-CL

katha bujhe-aŋ-ka.
 matter understand-FUT-1s

'I will go to that village and find out a thing or two.'

dera sanaiti-bhaya-gelai-heŋ bujhe-aŋ-ka.
 village friend-pal-PL-DAT understand-FUT-1s

'I will find out something about his village friends and pals.'

hiʔt-aŋ-ka dan-aŋ-ka. hisika hi-hi? hai hi-hi?
 ask-FUT-1s inquire-FUT-1s how be-P what be-P
 ‘I will ask and inquire. What sort [are they]? What’s there?’

doʔ-ka khalko katha-gelai obalai
 say-NOM such word-PL they^p

wa buŋ bujhe-li khaŋ-khe.
 he also understand-INF ook-IMPF
 Saying things like that, they, he also tries to find out.

kalau ode bela hai jeŋ-hi pa-nu
 so that time what happen-P do-COND
 And so what happens then,

te ku-nu wa buŋ bujhe-aŋ
 okay COP-COND he also understand-FUT

doʔ-khe ku-nu bejan-ko aba buŋ.
 say-IMPF COP-COND girl-GEN father also
 ‘Okay then, he too wants to find out’, the girl’s father too.

hisika hi-hi? hai hi-hi?
 how be-P what be-P
 ‘What sort [are they]? What’s there?’

rem-ka be ma-rem-ka be? ma-ku-nu doʔ-teŋ
 good-NOM DUB NEG-good-NOM DUB NEG-COP-COND say-SEQ
 ‘I wonder is it good or is it not good?’, isn’t that so?

wa buŋ bujhe-li mæuka nin-ã-ko doʔ-teŋ
 he also understand-INF opportunity get-FUT.1S-OPT say-SEQ
 He too thinks that he will get an opportunity to find out,

ode katha-heŋ insa-ŋ abe do:-pa-teŋ lo-khe.
 that matter-DAT thus-EMP PAUS be.done-do-SEQ come-IMPF
 finishing that matter like that he returns.

kalau inta-so eʔ-ni nheʔ-ni jen-a wa la.
 so there-EL one-day two-day happen-FUT DED MIR
 And so then one or two days may pass.

nheʔ-ni sum-ni jen-a wa la.
 two-day three-day happen-FUT DED MIR
 Two or three days may pass.

əthəwa ətharə pəndhrə din jen-a wa.
 or eighteen fifteen day happen-FUT DED
 Or eighteen or fifteen days may pass.

kalau inta-so hai jeŋ-hi ku-nu
 so there-EL what happen-P COP-COND
 And so what happens next then,

te phalna-heŋ hane to.
 okay other-DAT go then
 ‘Okay, go to the other.’

iŋko bejan-ko aba katha bujhe-hi ma-bujhe-hi?
 that girl-GEN father word understand-P NEG-understand-P
 ‘Was that girl’s father satisfied with the matter or wasn’t he?’

iso dera-bhari ghurai-hi ma-ghurai-hi?
 hither village-CIRC stroll-P NEG-stroll-P
 ‘Did he come and stroll around the village or didn’t he?’

iŋko katha bujhe-li hane to!
 that word understand go then
 ‘Go find those matters out.’

doʔ-ka khalko katha eʔ-mi-heŋ diŋ-gil-a wa la.
 say-NOM such word one-HCL-DAT send-IM-FUT DED MIR
 Saying things like this, they may then send a person.

kalau inta-so hai doʔt-a wa pa-nu
 so there-EL what say-FUT DED do-COND
 And then what he might say is,

te ka han-aŋ-ka ku-nu. hai doʔ-khe?
 okay I go-FUT-1s COP-COND what say-IMPF
 ‘Okay, I’ll go then. What does he say?’

bujhe-hi ma-bujhe-hi? ghurai-hi ma-ghurai-hi?
 understand-P NEG-understand-P stroll-P NEG-stroll-P
 ‘Was he satisfied or wasn’t he? Did he come around or didn’t he?’

doʔ-ka khalko katha-gelai wa bujhe-li han-a wa la.
 say-NOM such word-PL he understand-INF go-FUT DED MIR
 Saying such things, he may go to find out.

kalau inta-so wa hane-hoi la.
 so there-EL he go-PERF MIR
 So then he left.

kalau ode saʔ-ko katha-gelai ita cuma-a wa la.
 so that house-GEN word-PL here bring-FUT DED MIR
 And he may bring back word from that house.

e ʔhik-hi. bujhe-hoi doʔ-khe.
 oh be.fine-P understand-PERF say-IMPF
 ‘Oh, it’s fine. He says he is satisfied.’

te ku-nu han-aŋ kelai.
 okay COP-COND go-FUT we^p
 ‘Okay then, we^p will go.’

aro-ŋ katha taʔ-dha wa la ode bejan-heŋ rhe:-li
 more-EMP matter put-IRR DED MIR that girl-DAT ask.for-INF
 Again they might do other things to court that girl.

ma-ku-nu? kalau inta-so katha te odoŋ.
 NEG-COP-COND so there-EL matter TOP that
 Isn’t that so? So then, it’s the same story.

gora botal sikret supaḍi nariyaḷ cum-teŋ han-a wa la.
 alcohol bottle cigarette areca coconut take-SEQ go-FUT DED MIR
 Then they may go taking bottles of alcohol, areca nuts and coconut.

kalau hane-teŋ hune-teŋ are botəl gora yum-pa-a wa.
 so go-SEQ REDUP again bottle alcohol sit-do-FUT DED
 And so having gone there, again they may set down the bottles of alcohol.

hai jeŋ-hi ku-nu la?
 what happen-P COP-COND MIR
 So what happened then?

hesa pa-aŋ ku-nu la?
 how do-FUT COP-COND MIR
 ‘How shall we^p do it then?’

lokhuri kutumba – lampha-ko juntau rə juntaura
 skull clan.member before-GEN juntau and juntaura

beraŋ-k khopa cuʔ-ka cahĩ ma-khai-pi-li doʔ-khe
 o.woman-GEN coif tie-NOM IND NEG-untie-DIR-INF say-IMPF
 In olden days, Juntau and Juntaura say not to untie an old woman’s hair knot.

doʔ-ka khalko katha-gelai taʔ-dha wa la
 say-NOM such word-PL put-IRR DED

ode waraŋ-gelai.
 MIR that old.man-PL
 Those old men might say things like that.

kalau bejan-ko aba doʔt-a wa pa-nu pi-li mon-nu
 so girl-GEN father say-FUT DED do-COND give-INF heart-COND
 And what the girl’s father may say is, if he is inclined to permit it,

akhiri camindi baraʔ-hoi.
 finally daughter be.grown-PERF
 ‘In the end, my daughter is grown up.’

ku-nu hai taʔ-teŋ buŋ hai phaida la
 COP-COND what put-SEQ also what benefit MIR
 ‘So, what is the benefit of keeping her?’

doʔ-ka khalkokatha taʔ-dha wa la.
 say-NOM such word put-IRR DED MIR
 He might say things like that.

kalau inta-so aro aro sanaiti-gelai doʔt-a wa
 so there-EL again again friend-PL say-FUT DED
 And then, again, his friends may say,

e wajan-heŋ hiʔ-li goi-aŋ doʔt-a wa
 oh boy-DAT ask-INF must-FUT say-FUTDED
 ‘Eh, we^p will have to ask the boy,’ they may say

te hiʔ-su ku-nu pa-teŋ
 okay ask-COL COP-COND do-SEQ

doʔt-a wa aro-ŋ waraŋ-gelai.
 say-FUT DED again-EMP old.man-PL
 ‘Okay, ask then’, the old men may say.

kalau wajan hiʔt-a wa kalau.
 so boy ask-FUT DED so
 And so they may ask the boy.

e anau kelai-ko camindi-heŋ
 oh younger.sibling we^p-GEN daughter-DAT

te-baʔhar rhum-li do-a-na? doʔt-a wa.
 ten-year wait can-FUT-2 say-FUT DED
 They may say, ‘Oh, little brother, can you^s wait ten years for our^p daughter?’

kalau ode wajan hai doʔt-a wa pa-nu
 so that boy what say-FUT DED do-COND
 And what may that boy say?

do-aŋ-ka doʔt-a wa.
 can-FUT-1s say-FUT DED
 He may say, ‘I can.’

kalau are iŋko khiniŋ ma-ko te
 so again that only NEG-COND TOP
 And not only that,

na tai-ko-ŋ mon-so lo-nha be?
 you^s REF-GEN-EMP heart-EL come-P.2 DUB
 ‘I wonder whether you^s came of your own accord?’

ba bo-mi-ko ulka-so lo-nha be?
 or other-HCL-GEN behest-EL come-P.2 DUB
 ‘Or whether you^s come at another’s behest?’

ba mon pore-teŋ lo-nha be?
 or heart like-SEQ come-P.2 DUB
 ‘Or did you^s perhaps come having fallen in love?’

jumni-itini kelai-ko camindi-heŋ ke.abhəne
 tomorrow-day.after our^p-GEN daughter-DAT PAUS

sona tin-a-na.
 gold see-FUT-2
 ‘Tomorrow or the next, you^s will see our^p daughter as gold.’

domalai bura?-labelau ke.abhəne pitəl tin-a-na?
 future be.old-TEM PAUS brass see-FUT-2
 ‘In the future when [she] is old, will you^s see her as brass?’

iŋko te ma-jen-aŋ.
 that TOP NEG-happen-FUT
 ‘That will not do.’

ahā? iŋko te ma-jen-aŋ pa-teŋ doʔt-a wa kalau wajan.
 no that TOP NEG-occur-FUTdo-SEQ say-FUT DED so boy
 ‘No, that will not happen’, so the boy may say.

insika khalko səbda-gelai hi?-khe.
 like.that such word-PL ask-IMPF
 They ask those kinds of questions.

kalau jatibhariṇ ku-nu?
 so truly COP-COND
 And then, 'truly then?'

jatibhariṇ.
 truly
 'Truly.'

te ku-nu nani-so kelai-ko camindi
 okay COP-COND today-EL we^p-GEN daughter

naṇ-ko jeṇ-hi
 you^s.OBL-GEN become-P
 'Okay then, from today on our^p daughter is yours^s.'

doʔ-ka khalko sɔbda taʔ-dha wa la.
 say-NOM such word put-IRR DED MIR
 They might say such things.

kalau inta-so hai jeṇ-hi?
 so there-EL what happen-P
 And then what happened next?

koko dina buṇ insa jen-a wa la.
 same day also thus happen-FUT DED MIR
 On that same day then it may happen thus.

insa-ṇ jen-a wa.
 thus-EMP happen-FUT DED
 It may happen just like that.

lo-hoi la obalai.
 come-PERF MIR they^p
 They^p returned then.

kalau inta-so hai jeṇ-hi aro-ṇ?
 so there-EL what happen-P more-EMP
 And then what happens next?

te behai-beheni-ko katha pa-li goi-ay la.
 okay parents-in-law-GEN word do-INF must-FUT MIR
 Okay, the parents of the bride and groom must consult now.

behai-beheni gora am-li-ko lagi lampha
 parents.in.law alcohol drink-INF-GEN for before

hai pa-li goi-ay?
 what do-INF must-FUT
 In order for them to drink alcohol as parents-in-law, what must [they]
 do beforehand?’

sālha hane-li goi-ay.
 advice go-INF must-FUT
 [They] must go and consult.

han-a wa la aro-η eʔ-mi nheʔ-mi dyaη cum-teη.
 go-FUT DED MIR more-EMP one-HCL two-HCL person take-SEQ
 And they may go again, taking a couple people along.

han-a wa la. botāl gora yum-pa-a wa.
 go-FUT DED MIR bottle alcohol sit-do-FUT DED
 And [they] may go. [They] may set down a bottle of alcohol.

kalau doʔt-a wa te ku-nu baba-ṭhakur
 so say-FUT DED okay COP-COND bābā-ṭhakur

camindi te pi-nha.
 daughter TOP give-P.2
 And [they] may say, ‘okay then great father, you^s gave your
 daughter.’

hatebajar-ta dusu-labelau nui te
 market-LOC meet-TEM mouth TOP

dhui-li kor lage-khe.
 speak-INF effort befall-IMPF
 ‘When [we] meet in the market, speaking will require effort.’

nui dhui-labelau hai doʔ-teŋ
mouth speak-TEM what say-SEQ

nui dhui-ã ku-nu?
mouth speak-FUT.1s COP-COND
'When speaking, what shall I say then?'

pa-teŋ doʔt-a wa la.
do-SEQ say-FUT DED MIR
he may say.

ku-nu hai pa-aŋ ku-nu la
COP-COND what do-FUT COP-COND MIR

pa-teŋ wa buŋ hiʔt-a wa.
do-SEQ 3s also ask-FUT DED
Saying, 'Well, what shall we do then now?', he may also ask.

ma-jeŋ-ka kam jeŋ-li do:-hoi.
NEG-happen-NOM work happen-INF be.done-PERF
'The work that was undone has already happened.'

te ku-nu la kelai te hai pa-nu
okay COP-COND MIR we^p TOP what do-COND

behai-beheni jore-li goi-aŋ be
parents-in-law pair.up-INF must-FUT DUB

doʔ-ka khalko katha taʔ-li lo-nha-hi
say-NOM such talk put-INF come-1p-P
'Okay then, we^p came to bring up the matter of whether the parents of the bride and groom ought to come together',

wajan paŋi-ko dyaŋ-gelai doʔt-a wa la.
boy side-GEN person-PL say-FUTDED MIR
members of the boy's party may say then.

kalau wa buŋ doʔt-a wa te ʔhik-hi.
so he also say-FUTDED okay be.fine-P
And so he may say, 'okay, that's fine.'

nelai nui dhui-li ap̄thyaro doŋ
 you^p mouth speak-INF awkward FOC

lage-nu thik doŋ-hi.
 strike-COND fine weigh-P
 ‘If you^p find it awkward to speak, that’s fine.’

behai-beheni gora am-aïne.
 parents-in-law alcohol drink-ADH.PL
 ‘Let us^p drink alcohol as parents of the bride and groom.’

hede bela am-aŋ ku-nu?
 which time drink-FUT COP-COND
 ‘When shall we^p drink then?’

doʔ-teŋ wajan paha-ko dyaŋ-gelai doʔt-a wa la.
 say-SEQ boy side-GEN person-PL say-FUT DED MIR
 members from the boy’s party may say then.

kalau ode bela doʔt-a wa ku-nu
 so that time say-FUT DED COP-COND
 So then, [he] may say,

te ede mahina ede din ede jhoko gāte
 okay this month this day this amount date
 ‘Okay, this month, this day, this date’,

wa toke-pi-gil-a wa ma-ko ku-nu?
 he set-DIR-IM-FUT DED NEG-COP COP-COND
 he may go around setting the date then, isn’t that so?

kalau inta-so lo-a wa la are ode katha cum-teŋ.
 so there-EL come-FUT DED MIR again that talk hold-SEQ
 So then, [they] may return, bringing along that news.

kalau ode bela thekapa wajan paha-ko dyaŋ-gelai
 so that time ALL boy side-GEN person-PL

gora ga:k-a wa.
 alcohol cook-FUT DED

So until that time, the members of the boy's party may prepare alcohol.

jãḍ ga:k-a wa ma-ku-nu?
 rice.beer cook-FUT DED NEG-COP-COND
 they may prepare rice beer, isn't that so?

dera-ko sanaiti-bhaya-gelai-heṇ cum-teṇ han-a wa la.
 village-GEN friend-pal-PL-DAT take-SEQ go-FUT DED MIR
 Taking along his friends and pals from the village, he may go then.

dera-ko sanaiti-bhaya-gelai-heṇ cum-teṇ han-a wa.
 village-GEN friend-pal-PL-DAT take-SEQ go-FUT DED
 Taking along his friends and pals from the village, he may go.

kalau inta-so ota thuka?-teṇ
 so there-EL there reach-SEQ
 So then, having arrived there,

obalai buṇ dera-ko sanaiti-bhaya-gelai-heṇ kai-a wa.
 they^p also village-GEN friend-pal-PL-DAT call-FUT DED
 they^p may also call their friends and pals from the village.

kalau te nani phalna-ko camindi-ko behai-beheni
 so okay today other-GEN daughter-GEN parents-in-law

gora am-li do?-khe do?-teṇ
 alcohol drink-INF say-IMPF say-SEQ
 And so, saying 'okay, today they say there is drinking of the parents-in-law's alcohol of another's daughter',

obalai dera dera ghurai-gil-a wa.
 they^p village village stroll-IM-FUT DED
 they may stroll about the village.

kalau dera-ko sanaiti-bhaya-gelai buṇ
 so village-GEN friend-pal-PL also

jharan lo-pi-a wa.

all come-DIR-FUT DED

And so all his friends and pals from the village may come for him.

kalau inta-so behai-beheni gora am-li lo-ka
so there-EL parents-in-law alcohol drink-INF come-NOM

dyan-gelai bun hi?t-a wa kalau wajan-hej.

person-PL also ask-FUT DED so boy-DAT

So then, the people who come to drink the in-laws' alcohol may also ask the boy.

hai do?t-a wa pa-nu adhi-mi
what say-FUTDED do-COND half-HCL

gora am-ka dyan-gelai
alcohol drink-NOM person-PL

What they may say is, the half of them drinking alcohol,

kelai te gora te am-nha-khe.
we^p TOP alcohol TOP drink-1p-IMPF

'We^p are drinking the alcohol.'

ba jati?-ko mon-ta ta:-tej lo-hi be?
or true-GEN heart-LOC like-SEQ come-P DUB
'But, did he perhaps come liking [her] with a true heart?'

ba bambi?-ko lo-hi be?
or for.fun-GEN come-P DUB
'Or did he perhaps come for the heck of it?'

do?-ka khalko katha do?-ka khalko
say-NOM such talk say-NOM such

do?t-a wa inta jamal-lai.

say-FUT DED there child-PL

The children there may say things like that.

kalau te ku-nu nelai hiʔ-su ku-nu
 so okay COP-COND you^P ask-COL COP-COND
 So, saying, ‘okay then, you^P ask then’,

doʔ-teŋ waraŋ-gelai doʔt-a wa ode bela.
 say-SEQ old.man-PL say-FUT DED that time
 the old men may say at that time.

kalau waraŋ-gelai iŋko doʔ-na bhai-so te
 so old.man-PL that say-IMPL be.like-EL TOP
 And since the old men say that then,

kalau wajan-heŋ cahĩ bejan paŋi-ko
 so boy-DAT IND girl side-GEN

dyaŋ-gelai buŋ hiʔt-a wa kalau.
 person-PL also ask-FUT DED so
 so members of the girl’s party may ask the boy.

hai hiʔt-a wa ku-nu? e kelai-ko celi-beŋi-heŋ
 what ask-FUTDED COP-COND hey we^P-GEN girl-daughter-DAT

na jatibhariŋ-ko mon-ta ta:-teŋ lo-nha na?
 you^S true-GEN heart-LOC like-SEQ come-P.2 QUES
 What may they ask then? ‘Hey, did you^S come liking our^P daughter with a true heart?’

naŋ-ko mon-so lo-nha na?
 you^S.OBL-GEN heart-EL come-P.2 QUES
 ‘Did you^S come of your own accord?’

bo-mi-ko ulka-so lo-nha? pa-teŋ hiʔt-a wa aro-ŋ.
 other-HCL-GEN behest-EL come-P.2 do-SEQ ask-FUT DED more-EMP
 ‘Or did you^S come at another’s behest?’, so saying, they may ask again.

kalau wa cahĩ kaŋ-ko mon-so lo-gha
 so 3s IND I.OBL-GEN heart-EL come-P.1s

pa-teŋ doʔt-a wa wajan.
 do-SEQ say-FUT DED boy
 So then the boy may say, ‘I came of my own accord.’

kalau inta-so e ʔhik doŋ-hi.
 so there-EL oh fine weigh-P
 And then, ‘okay, that’s fine.’

kalau jumni-itini nani-ko din ke. əbhəne
 so tomorrow-in.two.days today-GEN day PAUS

na mon-ta ta:-teŋ lo-nha.
 you^s heart-LOC like-SEQ come-P
 ‘But tomorrow or the next — today, umh, you^s came, having fallen in love.’

jumni-itini hate-bajar hi-gil-labelau ke.re
 tomorrow-next.day market be-IM-TEM PAUS

rerem-ka beja-lai tin-a-na.
 be.very.good-NOM girl-PL see-FUT-2
 ‘Tomorrow or the next, while going around the market, umh, you^s will see some very beautiful girls.’

ode bela kaŋ-ko camindi mon ma-pore-nu?
 that.time I.OBL-GEN daughter heart NEG-fall.to-COND
 ‘And if my daughter is not pleasing then?’

doʔ-ka khalko katha taʔ-dha wa la kalau wa.
 say-NOM such talk put-IRR DED MIR so 3s
 He might bring up such matters then.

ma-ko insa ma-jen-aŋ doʔ-teŋ doʔt-a wa.
 NEG-COP thus NEG-happen-FUT say-SEQ say-FUTDED
 ‘No, that will not happen’, he may say,

kalau bejan bejan ke.re wajan-ko dyaŋ.
 so girl girl PAUS boy-GEN person
 the girl, the girl, umh, someone from the boy’s party.

kalau inta-so insa behai-beheni gora jej-hoi la.
 so there-EL thus parents.in.law alcohol occur-PERF MIR
 So then, the [drinking] of the alcohol of the parents of the bride and groom has happened.

kalau inta-so hai doʔ-khe aro-ŋ
 so there-GEN what say-IMPF more-EMP
 So then, what more do they say?

kaŋ-ko camindi-heŋ te-baʔsar rhum-li do-a-na?
 I.OBL-GEN daughter-DAT ten-year wait-INF can-FUT-2
 ‘Can you^s wait ten years for my daughter?’

ma-do-a-na ku-nu?
 NEG-can-FUT-2 COP-COND
 ‘Or can’t you^s then?’

insa buŋ hiʔt-a wa aro-ŋ.
 Thus also ask-FUT DED more-EMP
 He may also ask more like that.

do-aŋ-ka pa-teŋ doʔt-a wa kalau ode wajan.
 can-FUT-1s do-SEQ say-FUT DED so that boy
 ‘I can’, may say that boy.

insa khalko katha hiʔ-ka-ta-ŋ hiʔ-ka-ta-ŋ
 thus such word ask-NOM-LOC-EMP ask-NOM-LOC-EMP

kalau koko dina te insa jej-khe.
 so same day TOP thus happen-IMPF
 So, continually asking things like that, that’s what happens that same day.

kalau aro-ŋ ek-dui mahina-ko bat-ta.
 so more one-two month-GEN talk-LOC

are bihu toke-a wa la
 more wedding set-FUT DED MIR
 And then, they may set the wedding date for one or two months.

bihu te na tiŋ-ka hi-nha.
 wedding TOP you^s see-NOM AUX-P.2 .
 As for weddings, you^s have seen them.

te ku-nu ela ede jhoko din te jeŋ-hoi.
 okay y COP-COND now this amount day TOP occur-PERF
 ‘Okay then, now this many days have passed.

ba ede mahina pi-gil-aŋ be?
 or this month give-IM-FUT DUB
 ‘Will [they] send [her] this month?’

ba ode mahina pi-gil-aŋ be?
 or that month give-IM-FUT DUB
 ‘Or will [they] send [her] that month?’

eʔ-khe səlha hane-li goi-aŋ.
 one-time advice go-INF must-FUT
 ‘It will be necessary to go and consult once.’

doʔ-ka khalko katha are taʔ-dha wa la
 say-NOM such talk more put-IRR DED MIR

ode wajan paha-ko dyaŋ-gelai.
 that boy side-GEN person-PL
 And so the boy’s party might then mention again something to that effect.

kalau inta-so səlha han-a wa la aro-ŋ.
 so there-EL advice go-FUT DED MIR more-EMP
 And so they may go and consult once again.

eʔ-mi nheʔ-mi dyaŋ cum-teŋ səlha han-a wa la.
 one-HCL two-HCL person take-SEQ advice go-FUT DED MIR
 Taking one or two people, they may go and consult then.

te ku-nu səmdisab ela ma-pa-ka kam pa-nha-hoi.
 okay COP-COND sir now NEG-do-NOM work do-1p-PERF
 ‘Okay then sir, now we^p did the work that was undone.’

ma-jeŋ-ka katha jeŋ-hoi.
 NEG-happen-NOM matter happen-PERF
 ‘The matter that was unresolved has happened.

ku-nu hede kal ku-nu la kelai-ko
 COP-COND which time COP-COND MIR we^p-GEN

biŋu-bārtan-ko katha pa-teŋ hiʔt-a wa la.
 wedding-ceremony-GEN talk do-SEQ ask-FUT DED MIR
 So then they may ask something like, ‘when will our wedding ceremony [take place]?’

mon pore-nu wa-ko do-ka cemata hi-nu
 heart befall-COND 3s-GEN be.able-NOM ability be-COND
 If [he] is inclined, if he is able,

ede-ŋ baʔhar doʔ-khe beʔ edoŋ mahina doʔ-khe.
 this-EMP year say-IMPF or this.EMP month say-IMPF
 he says ‘this very year’ or he says ‘this very month’.

ma-doʔ-ka khalko hi-nu cahĩ
 NEG-say-NOM such be-COND IND

donabare əthəwa koinabare doʔ-ka khalko katha doʔ-khe.
 next.year or in.two.years say-NOM such talk say-IMPF
 If there is anything they can’t say, it’s ‘next year’ or ‘in two years’.

TEXT TWO

CATCHING RATS¹

pəhila pharuwa-hoi to-li goi-khe juhā ota.
first hoe-INST dig-INF must-IMPF rat there
First, one must dig with a hoe for the rats there.

juhā kalau abe hai doʔ-khe nara pi-teŋ pa-teŋ
rat so PAUS what say-IMPF straw give-SEQ give-SEQ

kalau pelsi pi-li goi-khe.
so manure give-INF must-IMPF
Rats, umh, after applying straw, one must apply manure.

pelsi pi-teŋ pa-teŋ kalau bhonoi wa-ko juhā-ko
manure give-SEQ REDUP so earth 3s-GEN rat-GEN

phor inta purai-li goi-khe.
burrow there fill-INF must-IMPF
After applying the cow manure, one must fill the rats' holes with earth there.

purai-teŋ parai-teŋ kana pa-li goi-khe.
fill-SEQ REDUP hole do-INF must-IMPF
After filling it, one must make a hole.

¹ This text about catching rats by Mine Rāj Thāru, aged 20, a resident of Sāno Bārghare, was recorded in December 1998 in the village of Aṭhiyābārī.

kana pa-teŋ pu-teŋ khinjara-ta
 hole make-SEQ REDUP jute.stalk-LOC

khinjara-ta me jolai-li goi-khe.
 jute.stalk-LOC fire light-INF must-IMPF

After making the hole, one must light some jute stalks on fire.

iŋko me inta me jolai-teŋ uŋko kana-ta pi-a-na.
 that fire there fire light-SEQ that hole-LOC give-FUT-2

After lighting the jute stalks, you^s apply it to the hole.

kalau uŋko pi-teŋ pa-teŋ me thoŋgai-li goi-khe inta.
 so that give-SEQ REDUP fire transfer-INF must-IMPF there
 Then after putting that there, one must transfer the fire there (to the straw).

kalau mhoʔ-li goi-khe.
 so blow-INF must-IMPF

And one must blow.

mhoʔ-ka-ta-ŋ mhoʔ-ka-ta-ŋ mhoʔ-ka-ta-ŋ
 blow-NOM-LOC-EMP blow-NOM-LOC-EMP blow-NOM-LOC-EMP

duhã ole-khe.
 smoke emerge-IMPF

Blowing, and blowing, and blowing, and blowing, smoke comes out.

kalau oso care-khe gota-ŋ-pa.
 so thither graze-IMPF each-EMP-do
 Then it goes wafting over there, all around.

duhã care-teŋ cure-teŋ eʔ-loŋ kana
 smoke graze-SEQ REDUP one-CL hole

taʔ-li goi-khe syaile-ghara.

put-INF must-IMPF jackal-pit

When the smoke has wafted around, one must keep one hole. An escape hole.

syaile-ghara taʔ-teŋ tuʔ-teŋ

jackal-pit put-SEQ put-SEQ

Having saved an escape hole,

na tə mhoʔt-a-na mhoʔt-a-na mhoʔt-a-na mhoʔt-a-na.

you^s then blow-FUT-2 blow-FUT-2 blow-FUT-2 blow-FUT-2

You^s blow and blow and blow and blow.

daŋkha maini hi-he pa-nu

male female be-HYP do-COND

If there are any males or females there

inta kũʔ kũʔ kũʔ dhui-khe.

there kũʔ kũʔ kũʔ speak-INF

they call out *kũt kũt kũt*.

kui te syaile-ghara ma-tuʔ-pa-he pa-nu te

separate TOP jackal-pit NEG-put-do-HYP do-COND TOP

If you don't leave separate escape holes,

bheney thame boso kana bənai-teŋ buŋ dhaʔ-li do-khe.

other place other.way hole build-SEQ also run-INF can-IMPF

they can get away through holes built in other places.

inta eʔ-loŋ syaile-ghara te mhoʔ-ka bherpa

there one-CL jackal-pit TOP blow-NOM near

taʔ-li goi-khe.

put-INF must-IMPF

One must place the escape hole near the blowing place.

inta taʔ-teŋ tuʔ-teŋ kalau mhoʔt-a-na
 there put-SEQ REDUP so blow-FUT-2

mhoʔt-a-na mhoʔt-a-na.
 blow-FUT-2 blow-FUT-2

So, after you place it, then you blow and blow and blow [on the fire].

oso juhã dhui-khe.
 thither rat speak-IMPF
 The rats call out over there.

kohi te dhu:-ta-ŋ mhoʔ-ka thame-ta-ŋ
 some TOP ambush.spot-LOC-EMP blow-LOC place-LOC

si-li lo-khe.
 die-INF come-IMPF

Some then come out to die right at the ambush spot.

kalau inta jəbə dhui-he pa-nu kalau si-hoi ya.
 so there jaba speak-HYP do so die-PERF 3s
 And then as soon as they stop making noise — then they are dead.

ya juhã si-hoi doʔ-ka bujhe-khe kalau.
 this rat die-PERF say-NOM understand-IMPF so
 And so, one understands that these rats have died.

kalau inta gota-ŋ okhai-hoi akhai-hoi to-li goi-khe.
 so there each-EMP dig-PERF REDUP dig-INF must-IMPF
 So then one must dig it all up.

nheʔ pharuwa sum pharuwa to-ka-ta-ŋ
 two hoe three hoe dig-NOM-LOC-EMP

kalau ole-khe inta.
 so emerge-IMPF there

With two hoes or three hoes digging, then they emerge there.

juhã ole-khe.
 rat emerge-IMPF
 The rats emerge.

inta ole-pa-li kalau m-gelai buŋ so:-ka hi-khe.
 there emerge-do-INF so rice-PL also transfer-NOM AUX-IMPF
 Then, there is also rice that has been stored away to get out.

m to-li khaŋ-he pa-nu m-ko bakar hi-khe.
 rice dig-INF look-HYP do-COND rice-GEN storage be-IMPF
 If one is looking to dig up the rice, then there is rice stored there.

hethe rem-pha!
 how.much be.good-do
 How great!

iŋko m to-li ma-khaŋ-he pa-nu
 that rice dig-INF NEG-look-HYP do-COND

inta laʔ-teŋ luʔ-teŋ
 there quit-SEQ quit-SEQ
 If one isn't looking to dig up the rice, then after quitting that place,

bheney thame hane-li. bheney thame hane-teŋ
 different place go-INF different place go-SEQ
 go to a different place. After going to a different place,

aro-ŋ doŋ cahĩ bar-ka jahan esa hi-hi aŋ.
 more-EMP FOC IND be.big-NOM family thus be-P FOC1
 once more then, there was a big family.

bar-ka jahan hi-hi.
 be.big-NOM family be-P
 It was a great big family.

nhe? *phor* *sum* *phor* *ekdam!*
 two burrow three burrow a.lot
 Two burrows, three burrows — a lot!

can-ko *ghara-gelai* *buŋ* *esa* *hi-hi* *inta.*
 son-GEN pit-PL also thus be-P there
 There are thus chambers of the young.

kalau *inta* *u* *inta* *sum* *dhu:*
 so there REFR there three ambush.spot

pi-nha-hi *kelai.*
 give-1p-P we^P
 So, there, you know, we^P put in place three ambush spots there.

sum *dhu:* *pi-teŋ* *pa-teŋ* *oso* *eʔ-mi* *oso* *eʔ-mi*
 three ambush give-SEQ REDUP thither one-HCL there one-HCL
 After placing three ambush spots, one person over there, one person over there,

mhoʔ-ka-ta-ŋ *mhoʔ-ka-ta-ŋ* *inta*
 blow-NOM-LOC-EMP blow-NOM-LOC-EMP there
 blowing and blowing there,

mhoʔ-ka-ta-ŋ *mhoʔ-ka-ta-ŋ* *mhoʔ-ka-ta-ŋ*
 blow-NOM-LOC-EMP blow-NOM-LOC-EMP blow-NOM-LOC-EMP
 and blowing and blowing and blowing,

inta *cahĩ* *tole-hi* *aŋ* *juhã.*
 there IND pick.up-P FOC1 rat
 That's where they caught them, the rats.

iŋko *thame-ta* *cahĩ* *kohi* *thithi-ka* *kohi* *thithi-ka*
 that place-LOC IND some be.tiny-NOM some be.tiny-NOM
 At that place, some were really small, some were really small.

kohi babur-ka khalko.
 some be.very.large-NOM such
 And some were great big ones.

khaŋ u! juhã hethesa jeŋ-hi!
 look DIST rat how.much become-P
 ‘Look, there!’ How many rats there were!

inta hane-teŋ hune-teŋ kelai hethesa kana taʔ-teŋ
 there go-SEQ REDUP we^P how.much hole put-SEQ
 after going there and putting in so many holes,

inta to-ka-ta-ŋ to-ka-ta-ŋ
 there dig-NOM-LOC-EMP dig-NOM-LOC-EMP

to-ka-ta-ŋ to-ka-ta-ŋ
 dig-NOM-LOC-EMP dig-NOM-LOC-EMP
 digging and digging and digging and digging there,

kohi thethe-ka ole-khe.
 some be.very.big-NOM emerge-IMPF
 some very big ones come out,

kohi thithi-ka ole-khe.
 some be.very.small-NOM emerge-IMPF
 some very small ones come out,

kohi babur-ka ole-khe.
 some be.very.large-NOM emerge-IMPF
 and some very large ones come out.

ode jharaŋ khaŋ-teŋ ama cahĩ
 that all look-SEQ mother IND

the-ka hi-gha-hi inta the-ka.
 be.big-NOM be-PIMPF-IMPF there be.big-NOM
 But the mother, she was the biggest of them all there — really big.

kalau inta uŋko gota-ŋ ole-pa-teŋ ale-pa-teŋ
 so there that each-EMP emerge-do-SEQ REDUP
 So then, after taking all of them out,

kalau belhaʔ-hoi.
 so become.evening-PERF
 it is evening already.

ela suta hane-li goi-aŋ phuŋ-li phaŋ-li.
 now home go-INF must-IMPF roast-INF REDUP
 Now, we^p have to go home and roast them up.

suta lo-teŋ la-teŋ me do:-nha-khe.
 home come-INF REDUP fire ignite-1p-IMPF
 After arriving home, we^p start a fire.

me do:-teŋ da:-teŋ inta inta puriŋ-gelai
 fire ignite-SEQ REDUP there there head-PL
 After starting a fire, then the heads,

puriŋ-gelai cahĩ cokha bənai-li gora dopha.
 head-PL IND snack make-INF alcohol COM
 the heads are to make a snack with alcohol.

gora dopha cokha bən kalau gora sum-mi dyaŋ
 alcohol COM snack make so alcohol three-CL person
 Having made the snack along with the alcohol, then alcohol for three people,

eʔ-ser eʔ-ser-pa sol-li la
 one-ser one-ser-do finish.up-DAT MIR
 one portion each for three people may be enough

la puge-a wa kelai-heŋ te nheʔ-noŋ.
 there arrive-FUT DED we^p-DAT TOP two-CL
 There, two may be enough for us.

kalau inta phuŋ-hoi phaŋ-hoi.
 so there roast-PERF REDUP
 So then [they] roasted them up.

kohi oso laʔ-pa-ka laʔ-pa-khe.
 some thither quit-do-NOM quit-do-IMP
 Over there, some are removing the innards.

oso juhã-gelai phuŋ-ka-ta-ŋ phuŋ-ka-ta-ŋ
 thither rat-PL roast-NOM-LOC-EMP roast-NOM-LOC-EMP
 Over there, roasting and roasting the rats,

kalau phuŋ-hoi phaŋ-hoi.
 so roast-PERF REDUP
 Then [they] roasted them up.

kalau inta oso cokha buŋ oso bheneŋ dyaŋ
 so there thither snack also thither different person.
 And so then, over there snacks, and over there a different person,

kalau ode juhã gota-ŋ laʔ-pa-teŋ luʔ-pa-teŋ
 so that rat each-EMP quit-do-SEQ REDUP

thyakai laʔ-pa cuma-khe.
 just.right quit-do bring-IMP
 having gutted and cleaned all those rats, brings [them over].

thyakai daʔ-teŋ duʔ-teŋ kalau bhak lagi-khe.
 just.right spread-SEQ REDUP so portion lay-IMP
 After spreading them out just right, they apportion it.

bhak lagai-khe kalau.
 portion lay-IMPF so
 Then they apportion it.

kalau buŋ ede jhoko ede jhoko jeŋ-hi wa la.
 so also this amount this amount become-P DED MIR
 And so this much, they each got this much then.

iŋko jhoko-pa jeŋ-hi.
 that amount-do become-P
 There was that much for each.

kalau tatai-ko saʔta cum-pu-teŋ khiŋ-li pi-pu-khe.
 so REF-GEN house-LOC take-DIST-SEQ cook-INF give-DIST-IMPF
 And so after bringing it to their own homes, they hand it over to be cooked.

tatai-ko saʔta khiŋ-li pi-pu-khe.
 REF-GEN house-LOC cook-INF give-DIST-IMPF
 They give it over to be cooked at their own homes.

kalau tatai-ko saʔ cum-pu-teŋ
 so REF-GEN house take-DIST-SEQ

inta cokha miŋ-hoi wa la
 there snack be.ripe-PERF DED MIR

doʔ-teŋ are lo-khe.
 say-SEQ more come-IMPF
 And so after bringing it to their own homes, then more come thinking
 that that snack has finished cooking.

gora bho:-khe. gilas-gelai jha:-khe jhu:-khe.
 alcohol seek-IMPF glass-PL wash-IMPF REDUP
 They seek alcohol. They wash up the glasses.

kalau inta jamal-lai samal-lai hi-he pa-nu
 so there child-PL REDUP be-HYP do-COND

atutui-pa bakharai-pi-hoi.
 be.tiny-do share-DIR-PERF

And if there are any children, you give a small portion to them.

pi-khe. kalau bakharai-pi-teŋ ca-khe.
 give-IMPF so share-DIR-SEQ eat-IMPF
 They give. And after apportioning it out, they eat.

ca-khe. ca-hoi. ca-hoi.
 eat-IMPF eat-PERF eat-PERF
 They eat. They finish eating.

jəbə uŋko gora cokha buŋ do:k-a wa
 when that alcohol snack also be.done-FUT DED

kalau tatai-ko suta hane-khe.
 so REF-GEN home go-IMPF
 When the alcohol and snack are gone, they go to their own homes.

hane-teŋ hune-teŋ kalau ota m-sar
 go-SEQ REDUP so there rice-curry

miŋ-ka hi-khe.
 be.cooked-NOM AUX-IMPF
 After going home, then the rice and curry meal is ready there.

iso ode cokha ca-ka-ta gora ma-ghai-he pa-nu
 there that snack eat-NOM-LOC alcohol NEG-be.sated-HYP do-COND
 Over here if there isn't enough alcohol while eating the snack,

suta col-pu-teŋ ota are
 home buy-DIST-SEQ there more

bhenəj thame cokha ca-khe.

different place snack eat-IMPF

they go to a house and buy some and there eat snacks in another place.

ca-teŋ cu-teŋ tatai-mi.

eat-SEQ REDUP REF-HCL

After eating, (return) to their own (homes).

kalau belha?-hoi. jim-hoi. kalau do:-hoi.

so be.evening-PERF sleep-PERF so be.finished-PERF

And so it became evening. They fell asleep. The end.

TEXT THREE

HUNTING MONITOR LIZARDS¹

pəhila kelai koʔsa bho:-li hane-labelau
first we^p monitor seek-INF go-TEM
First, when we^p go to hunt monitor lizards,

koʔsa bho:-li hane-lau
monitor seek-INF go-TEM
when we go to hunt for monitors,

wa-ko koʔsa-ko koʔsa-ko poisa khay-nha-khe.
3s-GEN monitor-GEN monitor-GEN track look-1p-IMPF
we^p look at the monitor lizard's tracks.

poisa wa-ko poisa niŋ-he pa-nu
track 3s-GEN track get-HYP do-COND

nāwa poisa niŋ-he pa-nu
new track get-HYP do-COND
If we find its tracks, if we find new tracks,

wa-ko-heŋ pite-ka-ta-ŋ pite-ka-ta-ŋ
3s-GEN-DAT follow-NOM-LOC-EMP follow-NOM-LOC-EMP
following and following it,

wa-ko lesara lesara bho:-pi-ka-ta-ŋ
3s-GEN behind behind seek-DIR-NOM-LOC-EMP

¹ This text by Mine Rāj Thāru, aged 20, a resident of Sāno Bāhraghare, was recorded in December 1998 in Aṭhiyābārī.

bho:-pi-ka-ta-ŋ hane-li goi-khe.
 seek-DIR-NOM-LOC-EMP go-INF must-IMPF
 one must go behind seeking and seeking [its tracks].

jəbə — jeta ghara-ta dul-ka hi-khe
 whenever wherever pit-LOC go.in-NOM AUX-IMPF
 Whenever — wherever they have gone in the burrow,

ota kelai to-teŋ ta-teŋ to-teŋ ta-teŋ la buŋ
 there we^p dig-SEQ dig-SEQ dig-SEQ dig-SEQ MIR also
 there, having thoroughly dug and dug and dug and dug,

pharuwa-hoi to-teŋ ta-teŋ la buŋ ole-pa-nha-khe.
 hoe-INST dig-SEQ REDUP MIR also emerge-do-1p-IMPF
 and having dug with the hoe too, we^p get them out.

ole-pa-nha-khe inta.
 emerge-do-1p-IMPF there
 We^p get them out there.

inta ole-pa-teŋ aro bheney thame
 there emerge-do-SEQ more different place

insa pa-teŋ kelai hane-nha-khe.
 thus do-SEQ we^p go-1p-IMPF
 Having gotten them out there, again we^p go to a different place and do likewise.

insa-ŋ aroŋ bheney thame esa
 thus-EMP again different place thus

bho:-gil-labelau kasarok pa-khe.
 seek-IM-TEM kasarok do-IMPF
 Thus, while searching at another location, it hisses.

esa khaŋ-khe koʔsa.

thus look monitor

Like this, a monitor lizard is looking.

wa-heŋ buŋ esa-ŋ jharəŋ dyaŋ jom-teŋ jom-teŋ

3s-DAT also thus-EMP all person gather-SEQ gather-SEQ

That one too, like this, everyone having joined up,

gherai-teŋ ghurai-teŋ esa pa-teŋ

surround-SEQ REDUP thus do-SEQ

having surrounded it like this,

kalau te sanaiti oso hane-khe doʔ-nha-khe kelai cahĩ.

so okay friend there go-IMPF say-1p-IMPF we^p IND

and then, 'okay friends, it's heading over there', we^p say.

te inso rem-pha gherai-su doʔ-nha-khe.

okay over.there be.good-do surround-COL say-1p-IMPF

'Okay, block it well over there', we^p say.

insa doʔ-nha-khe la esa

like.that say-1p-IMPFMIR like.this

gherai-ka-ta-ŋ gherai-ka-ta-ŋ

surround-NOM-LOC-EMP surround-NOM-LOC-EMP

Blocking it and blocking it, we say like this then.

eʔ-mi dyaŋ hane-nha-khe.

one-HCL person go-1p-IMPF

One of us^p goes.

pok-pa dənai-nha-khe. kalau insa ma-dənai-li.

pop-do hit-1p-IMPF so like.that NEG-beat-INF

We^p smack it. But no hitting like that.

bistar-pa — si-pa-ŋ te ma-ko.
 slow-do die-do-EMP TOP NEG-COP
 Softly, not to death.

insa si-pa ma-dənai-nha-khe.
 like.that die-do NEG-beat-1p-IMPF
 We^p don't beat it to death like that.

kalau iŋko komarai-teŋ kamarai-teŋ esa komarai-nha-khe.
 so that hog.tie-SEQ REDUP thus hog.tie-1p-IMPF
 So, having hog-tied that one, we^p hog-tie it like this.

komarai-teŋ kalau iŋko jhola-ta whaʔ-nha-khe bora-ta.
 hog.tie-SEQ so that bag-LOC put.in-1p-IMPF sack-LOC
 Having hog-tied it, then we stuff it in a bag, in a sack.

te inta buŋ insa jeŋ-hi la.
 okay there also like.that happen-P MIR
 Okay, that's how it happens then.

inta are bheney thane hane-nha-khe.
 there more different place go-1p-IMPF
 Then we^p go to another place.

are insa bho:-nha-khe.
 more thus seek-1p-IMPF
 And we^p search again like that.

bho:-ka-ta-ŋ bho:-ka-ta-ŋ
 seek-NOM-LOC-EMP seek-NOM-LOC-EMP

bho:-ka-ta-ŋ are insa-ŋ.
 seek-NOM-LOC-EMP more thus-EMP
 Searching and searching and searching again like that.

aro-ŋ phisi?phisi?phisi? pa-khe.
 more-EMP hissing do-IMPF
 Again, something is hissing.

hai phisi?phisi?phisi? pa-khe ko do?-hi ci-ta.
 What hissing do-IMPF COP say-P water-LOC
 ‘What is it that is hissing in the water?’, [someone] said.

esa khaŋ-khe ko?sa. tirbirai-pa dha?-khe.
 thus look.-IMPF monitor all.out-do run-IMPF
 It looks this way, a monitor lizard. And runs with all its might.

ode dyaŋ-heŋ tiŋ-hi.
 that person-DAT see-P
 It saw that person.

dha?-ka te gil-nha-khe kelai rem-pha-ŋ.
 run-NOM TOP chase-1p-IMPF we^p be.good-do-EMP
 We^p run chasing it like mad.

gil-ka-ta-ŋ gil-ka-ta-ŋ gil-ka-ta-ŋ
 chase-NOM-LOC-EMP chase-NOM-LOC-EMP chase-NOM-LOC-EMP
 Chasing and chasing and chasing it,

inta ghara-ta dul-hi la inta.
 there pit-LOC go.in-P MIR there
 it then went into a burrow there.

to-li goi-hi la iŋko-heŋ la buŋ. to-nha-khe.
 dig-INF must-P MIR that-DAT MIR also dig-1p-IMPF
 One must dig for it there also. We^p dig.

uŋko to-teŋ ta-teŋ saleŋ cen algaŋ
 that dig-SEQ dig-SEQ ground [?] uncovered

methoŋ inta ghara-ta insa liʔta dul-ka manthu.
 tail there pit-LOC like.that inside go.in-NOM NEG.EXT
 Having dug thoroughly for it, its tail sticks out, it hasn't gone inside
 the burrow.

algaŋ inta-ŋ methoŋ ca:-teŋ tane-nha-khe.
 separate there-EMP tail grab-SEQ pull-1p-IMPF
 Sticking out there, we^p grab the tail and pull.

rem-pha-ŋ tane-nha-khe.
 be.good-do-EMP pull-1p-IMPF
 We pull really hard.

ekdəm bol pa-khe uŋko koʔsa.
 very effort do-IMPF that monitor
 It puts up a good struggle, that monitor lizard.

rem-pha-ŋ tane-nha-khe.
 be.good-do-EMP pull-1p-IMPF
 We^p pull really hard.

nheʔ-mi ita-ŋ nheʔ ku-nu ole-khe.
 two-HCL here-EMP two COP-COND emerge-IMPF
 [With] two people here then, it emerges.

ole-pa-nha-hi la inta.
 emerge-do-1p-P MIR there
 We^p pull it out there.

ule-pa-teŋ ole-pa-teŋ iŋko-heŋ buŋ insa komarai-nha-khe
 emerge-do-SEQ REDUP that-DAT also thus hog.tie-1p-IMPF
 After getting it out, we^p hog-tie that one too like that,

insa-ŋ ma-seʔ-siŋ.
 like.that-EMP NEG-kill-ADH.DL
 like that without killing it.

jəbə kelai ode khur-hoi mili-li do-nu te
 whenever we^p that hand-INST arrange-INF be.able-COND TOP
 If we get it with [our] hand,

lathi-hoi ma-dənai-nha-khe.
 staff NEG-beat-1p-IMPF
 we don't beat it with a staff.

wa-ko nirgai-ta cum-teŋ cam-teŋ
 3s-GEN throat-LOC grab-SEQ REDUP

ode pharuwa-hoi esa ce:-nha-khe.
 that hoe-INST like.this cut-1p-IMPF
 After grabbing it by the neck, we cut it like this with that hoe.

wa-ko methoŋ wa-ko khur-siŋ-ta esa mal-teŋ
 3s-GEN tail 3s-GEN hand-nail-LOC thus skewer-SEQ

mul-teŋ komarai-nha-hi inta.
 skewer-SEQ hog.tie-1p-P there
 After skewering its tail to its feet like this, we hog-tie it there.

jəbə kelai niŋ-ka sum-loŋ jeŋ-hoi la
 whenever we^p get-NOM three-CL become-PERF MIR
 When the number that we^p have gotten has become three,

sum-loŋ jen-teŋ lan-teŋ aro-ŋ insa-ŋ bho:-nha-hi.
 three-CL be-SEQ lead-SEQ more-EMP thus-EMP seek-1p-P
 having got three and gone ahead, we^p seek again like that.

aro jhar-jhar-bhari esa pite-ka-ta-ŋ han-a...
 more forest-forest-CIRC thus follow-NOM-LOC-EMP go-FUT
 Again, following throughout the forest like this...

esa pite-ka-ta-ŋ han-a... pite-ka-ta-ŋ
 thus follow-NOM-LOC-EMP go-FUT follow-NOM-LOC-EMP
 following like this...go... following and following,

pite-ka-ta-ŋ kelai are inta wa-ko gandi-ko
 follow-NOM-LOC-EMP we^p more there 3s-GEN back-GEN

dam esa sorsolai-lau tiŋ-nha-hi la aro-ŋ.
 print thus crawl-TEM see-1p-P MIR more-EMP
 again there we^p saw more tracks of it crawling.

poisa insa-ŋ hi-hi. esa poisa tiŋ-nha-hi.
 track thus-EMP be-P like.that track see-1p-P
 There are tracks like that. Thus, we^p saw the tracks.

insa-ŋ poisa tin-teŋ pite-ka-ta-ŋ pite-ka-ta-ŋ
 thus-EMP track see-SEQ follow-NOM-LOC-EMP follow-NOM-LOC-EMP

pite-ka-ta-ŋ hane-nha-hi kelai pite-ka-ta-ŋ.
 follow-NOM-LOC-EMP go-1p-P we^p follow-NOM-LOC-EMP
 Thus, having seen tracks, following and following and following we^p
 went, following.

aro-ŋ eʔ-thane insika niŋ-nha-hi la.
 more-EMP one-place that.kind get-1p-P MIR
 Again in one place, we^p got one like that then.

bhərkhər ghara-ta dul-ka
 just.now pit-LOC go.in-NOM

ghara-ta dul-ka hi-gha-khe.
 pit-LOC go.in-NOM AUX-PIMPF-IMPF
 Just then, entering the burrow, it had just gone into the burrow.

kalau iŋko-heŋ to-teŋ ta-teŋ ole-pa-nha-hi.
 so that-DAT dig-SEQ REDUP emerge-do-1p-P
 And then digging and digging for it, we^p get it out.

iŋko-heŋ buŋ insa-ŋ tane-teŋ ole-pa-nha-hi.
 that-DAT also like.that-EMP pull-SEQ emerge-do-1p-P
 That one too, having pulled like that, we^p got it.

jamma dya-loŋ dya-loŋ jeŋ-hi ma-ku-nu?
 total four-CL four-CL become-P NEG-COP-COND
 In total, four, there are four, isn't that so?

dya-loŋ jen-teŋ jun-teŋ la are insa bhənai
 four-CL become-SEQ REDUP MIR more like.that saying

aro-ŋ oso belhaʔ-pu-khoi la.
 more-EMP over.there be.dusk-DIST-INC MIR
 Having gotten four then, again saying like that, dusk starts setting in over there.

dure-ko dama ma-ko ku-nu?
 far-GEN road NEG-COP COP-COND
 It is a long road, isn't that right?

aro-ŋ dya-loŋ jeŋ-hoi.
 more-EMP four-CL happen-PERF
 Another four already.

eʔ-loŋ sanaiti-gelai eʔ-loŋ bho:-li doʔ-la
 one-CL friend-PL one-CL seek-INF say-TEM
 Saying 'one, friends, search for one more,

yeʔ-loŋ-nu them-aŋ doʔ-hi doʔ-nha-hi la.
 eight-CL-COND enough-FUT say-P say-1p-P MIR
 if there are eight, that will be enough,' he said, we^p said then.

hane-nha-hi aro-ŋ. bho:-nha-khe.
 go-1p-P more-EMP seek-1p-IMPF
 We^p went again. We^p seek.

bho:-ka-ta-ŋ bho:-ka-ta-ŋ
 seek-NOM-LOC-EMP seek-NOM-LOC-EMP

sanaiti-gelai mhitu-sa-hoi.
 friend-PL be.hungry-APR-PERF
 Seeking and seeking, the friends it seems are hungry already.

jolpaŋ ca-li goi-aŋ. jolpaŋ cuma-ka hi-nha-hi dada.
 snack eat-INF must-FUT snack bring-NOM AUX-1p-P e.brother
 We^p will have to eat a snack. We^p had brought a snack, elder brother.

inta kelai jolpaŋ ca-nha-khe la.
 there we^p snack eat-1p-IMPF MIR
 We^p eat a snack there.

inta thyakai jharaŋ abe mun cum-pu-ka mun
 there just.right all umh beaten.rice bring-DIST-NOM beaten.rice

lumphi-gelai thyakai milera ca-nha-khe la.
 banana-PL just.right arranged eat-1p-IMPF MIR
 Then preparing everything just right, we^p eat beaten rice that we brought, the beaten rice, and bananas and such.

ca-teŋ cu-teŋ inta ci buŋ thyakai cum-nha-hi.
 eat-SEQ REDUP there water also just.right bring-1p-P
 Then having eaten, we also brought water just right.

ci-ko bhāḍa cum-teŋ cam-teŋ inta ca-nha-khe.
 water-GEN container grab-SEQ REDUP there eat-1p-IMPF
 Having brought the water container, we^p eat there.

ca-ka-ta ca-ka-ta ela ca-teŋ cu-teŋ ela yum-nha-hi.
 eat-NOM-LOC eat-NOM-LOC now eat-SEQ REDUP now sit-1p-P
 Eating and eating, now having eaten, we^p sat.

aro-ŋ bho:-li thale-nha-hi la.
 more-EMP seek-INF begin-1p-P MIR
 Then again we^p began to search.

bho:-ka-ta-ŋ bho:-ka-ta-ŋ bho:-ka-ta-ŋ
 seek-NOM-LOC-EMP seek-NOM-LOC-EMP seek-NOM-LOC-EMP
 Searching and searching and searching,

aro-ŋ bho:-ka-ta-ŋ aro-ŋ dya-loŋ
 more-EMP seek-NOM-LOC-EMP more-EMP four-CL

na-loŋ niŋ-nha-hi.
 five-CL get-1p-P
 and searching again, we^p got four or five more.

nin-teŋ nun-teŋ oso belhaʔ-li buŋ do:-khoi la.
 get-SEQ REDUP there be.dusk-INF also be.done-INC MIR
 Having got them, dusk is already starting to set in over there.

hane-li suta doʔ-nha-hi.
 go-INF home say-1p-P
 ‘Let’s go home’, we^p said.

suta han-aïne la sanaiti-gelai. kelai — belhaʔ-khoi.
 home go-ADH.PL MIR friend-PL we^p be.dusk-INC
 ‘Let us^p go home now friends. We — dusk is starting to fall.

dure-ko dama dure-ko dama kelai-heŋ.
 far-GEN road far-GEN road we^p-DAT
 We have a long road ahead of us^p.

ota hane-pa hane-pa belhaʔt-a wa.
 there go-do go-do be.dusk-FUT DED
 Dusk may fall while going there.

kalau ota phuŋ-pa phaŋ-pa
 so there roast-do REDUP

esa bakharai-pa bukhari-pa inta belhaʔt-a wa.
 thus share-do share-do there be.dusk-FUT DED
 So, roasting and roasting, and apportioning and apportioning, dusk may fall then.

inta kalau insa doʔ-nha-hi.
 there so like.that say-1p-P
 We^p said it like that then.

kelai hane suta lo-nha-hi la inta.
 we^p go home come-1p-P MIR there
 We^p go — we^p returned home then.

lo-ka-ta-ŋ lo-ka-ta-ŋ lo-ka-ta-ŋ
 come-NOM-LOC-EMP come-NOM-LOC-EMP come-NOM-LOC-EMP

suta buŋ puge-nha-hi.
 home also arrive-1p-P
 Coming and coming and coming, we^p arrived home.

puge-teŋ inta phuŋ-nha-hi phaŋ-nha-hi.
 arrive-SEQ there roast-1p-P REDUP
 Having arrived, we^p then roasted them up.

phun-teŋ phan-teŋ kalau thyakai inta bakharai-aine.
 roast-SEQ REDUP so just.right there share-ADH.PL
 Having roasted them up, right then [we say] ‘Let us ^p divide them up.’

bakharai-teŋ bukhari-teŋ tatai-ko bhak laʔ-teŋ luʔ-teŋ
 share-SEQ REDUP REF-GEN portion quit-SEQ REDUP
 Having divided it all up and having quit with our own portions,

kalau jharan suta kelai dya-mi dyan
 so all home we^P four-HCL person

cum-pu-nha-hi tatai-ko bhak.
 take-DIST-1p-P REF-GEN portion
 all four of us^P take our own portions home.

sanaite-gelai nani kelai gora
 friend-PL today we^P alcohol

ma-am-aïne doʔ-nha-hi.
 NEG-drink-ADH.PL say-1p-P
 ‘Friends, today let us^P not drink alcohol’, we^P said.

te gora ma-am-aïne nani.
 okay alcohol NEG-drink-ADH.PL today
 ‘Okay, let us^P not drink alcohol today.’

aro din-ta insa-ŋ bho:-labelau am-aïne
 more day-LOC thus-EMP seek-TEM drink-ADH.PL

bho:-labelau doʔ-nha-hi.
 seek-TEM say-1p-P
 ‘Let us^P drink on another day when we hunt, when we hunt,’ we^P said.

insa-ŋ doʔ-teŋ daʔ-teŋ insa-ŋ tatai-ko suta hane-nha-hi.
 thus-EMP say-SEQ REDUP thus REF-GEN home go-1p-P
 Saying things just like that, we^P went to our own homes.

tatai saʔ-ta hane-nha-hi.
 REF house-LOC go-1p-P
 We^P each went to our own houses.

kalau hane-tej hune-tej khiŋ-nha-hi. ca-nha-hi.
 so go-SEQ REDUP fry-1p-P eat-1p-P
 And after going, we^p fried them. We^p ate.

kalau jim-nha-hi.
 so lie.down-1p-P
 Then we^p laid down.

aram pa-nha-hi.
 rest do-1p-P
 We^p rested.

do:-hoi la.
 be.done-PERF MIR
 That's all.

TEXT FOUR

THE LOWLAND STRONG MAN¹

eʔ-loŋ mædes-ko bəlwan hi-gha-hi doʔ-khe na?
one-CL lowland-GEN strong.man be-PIMPF-P say-IMPF QUEST
There once was a lowland strong man, mmh?

ekdām bir phalman re.
very strong strong *re*²
He was very strong and brave.

bəlwan bəḍi-ka ekdām. ekdām bolyaʔ-ka.
strong.man big-NOM very very strong-NOM
He was really a big strong man. Very tough.

kalau eʔ-ni wa hai sose-hi doʔ-khe pa-nu
so one-day 3s what think-P say-IMPF do-COND
So, one day what he decided to do was,

are.ho ka ede mædes-ko hethe bəḍi-ka bir phalman.
oh.my I this lowland-GEN how.much big-NOM brave strong
'Oh my, in these lowlands I am the biggest, toughest strong man.'

rə pahar-ta buŋ inta doʔ-khe re
and hill-LOC also there say-IMPF HS

¹ This tale by Nar Bahādur Dhimāl, aged 37, was recorded in December 1998 in the village of Āthiyābārī.

² This particle appears to be a direct borrowing of the Nepali reported speech or hearsay particle *re*.

bir bəḍi-ka phalman.

brave big-NOM strong

‘But in the hills there is another who is really very strong, they say.’

han-ā to ka. iŋko dophā hisika hi-hi?

go-FUT.1s then I that COM what.kind be-P

‘I will go. How will it be with him?’

iŋko dophā kusti gha-li han-ā to ka buŋ.

that COM wrestle play-INF go-FUT.1s then I also

‘I too will go and wrestle with him.’

bicar pa-aŋ-ka doʔ-teŋ dama laʔ-hi la wa.

thought do-FUT-1s say-SEQ road quit-P MIR 3s

Saying ‘I will think (about this)’, he set out.

wa-ko pala hai pa-hi?

3s-GEN deed what do-P

So what did he do?

topala-bhanji saje-hi. jhola-sola e:-hi bəs.

bundle-things prepare-P bag-REDUP shoulder-P stop

He prepared a bundle of things. He shouldered his bag of things, that’s it.

ʃhakʃhuk-hi.

be.set-P

He was all set.

kalau hane-ka-ta-ŋ hane-ka-ta-ŋ hane-ka-ta-ŋ

so go-NOM-LOC-EMP go-NOM-LOC-EMP go-NOM-LOC-EMP

So, going and going and going and going

hane-ka-ta-ŋ hane-ka-ta-ŋ

go-NOM-LOC-EMP go-NOM-LOC-EMP

thekaʔ-hi doʔ-khe eʔ-loŋ saʔ-ta.
 arrive-P say-IMPF one-CL house-LOC
 and going and going, he arrived at a house.

kalau eʔ-loŋ bebal esa saleŋ phe:-gha-hi doʔ-khe.
 so one-CL woman thus ground sweep-PIMPF-P say-IMPF
 And a woman was sweeping the ground like this.

kalau wa te hai pa-pu-hi ode belau hane-labelau
 so 3s TOP what do-DIST-P that time go-TEM
 So, what he did going along at that time, while walking,

nheʔ-noŋ khur-ta e nəheʔ-noŋ baha-ta
 two-CL hand-LOC oh two-CL arm-LOC
 in both hands, er, under both arms,

eʔ-loloŋ-pa nariya eʔ-loŋ khur-ta esa
 one-CL-do elephant one-CL hand-LOC thus
 under each one an elephant, under one arm like this,

khur-ta nariya gha-pu-hi doʔ-khe.
 hand-LOC elephant play-DIST-P say-IMPF
 under [each] arm he went along playing with an elephant.

nariya esa gha-pu-hi doʔ-khe. ita eʔ-loŋ ceʔ-hi.
 elephant thus play-DIST-P say-IMPF here one-CL clasp-P
 He went along then playing with the elephants like this. One stuck
 here.

ita eʔ-loŋ ceʔ-hi. khur-ta rə nariya esa gha-pu-hi.
 here one-CL clasp-P hand-LOC and elephant thus play-DIST-P
 One stuck here. Under each arm he went along playing with an
 elephant like this.

hane-ka-ta-ŋ hane-ka-ta-ŋ hane-ka-ta-ŋ
 go-NOM-LOC-EMP go-NOM-LOC-EMP go-NOM-LOC-EMP
 Going and going and going and going,

hane-ka-ta-ŋ hane-ka-ta-ŋ
 go-NOM-LOC-EMP go-NOM-LOC-EMP
 going and going,

hane-ka-ta-ŋ hane-ka-ta-ŋ
 go-NOM-LOC-EMP go-NOM-LOC-EMP
 going and going,

wa-ko saʔ-ta thekaʔ-li hane-hi ma-ku-nuʔ
 3s-GEN house-LOC arrive-INF go-P NEG-COP-COND
 he went to get to his house, isn't that so?

kalau esa saleŋ phe:-gha-hi doʔ-khe.
 so thus ground sweep-PIMPF-P say-IMPF
 So, [she] was sweeping the ground like this.

ede pahar-ko bir bəlwan-ko saʔ hede
 this hill-GEN strong strong.man-GEN house which

pa-teŋ doʔ-hi doʔ-khe.
 do-SEQ say-P say-IMPF
 'Which house belongs to the strong man of the hills?', he said.

ya aŋ.
 3s FOC1
 'This is it.'

wa hiso hane-hi ku-nuʔ
 3s whither go-P COP-COND
 'Where did he go then?'

ghase ce:-li hane-hi.

grass cut-INF go-P

‘He went to cut grass.’

thukka doʔ-hi doʔ-khe.

damn say-P say-IMPF

‘Damn’, he said.

nariya phutphat-pathal-hi doʔ-khe inta məʔ

elephant one.by.one-do throw-P say-IMPF there AGR

He threw the elephants down one by one there, right?

kalau ode bebal te odoŋ nariya-heŋ phesar-au

so that woman TOP that elephant-DAT broom-INST

phutphat-pa phe:-pi-gil-hi doʔ-khe.

one.by.one-do sweep-DIR-IM-P say-IMPF

Then, that woman went around and swept up those elephants one by one with a broom.

iŋko jhoko bir abe bir iŋko phesa

that amount strong um strong that broom

phe:-ka bebal buŋ saleŋ phe:-ka bebal buŋ.

sweep-NOM woman also ground sweep-NOM woman also

She was that strong, that woman sweeping with a broom, the woman sweeping the ground.

kalau hiso hane-teŋ hi-hi ku-nuʔ

so wither go-SEQ AUX-P COP-COND

‘So, where is he off to then?’

oso dahẽ ghase ce:-li.

over.there north grass cut-INF

‘Over that way, towards the north to cut grass.’

te ku-nu pa-teŋ hane-hi doʔ-khe aro-ŋ dahẽ.
 okay COP-COND do-SEQ go-P say-IMPF more-EMP north
 Saying, ‘okay then’, he went northwards.

kalau insa buŋ hane-ka-ta-ŋ hane-ka-ta-ŋ
 so thus also go-NOM-LOC-EMP go-NOM-LOC-EMP
 go-NOM-LOC-EMP
 And so like that, going and going and going,

hane-ka-ta-ŋ hane-ka-ta-ŋ hane-ka-ta-ŋ
 go-NOM-LOC-EMP go-NOM-LOC-EMP go-NOM-LOC-EMP
 Going and going and going and going,

wa cahĩ ghase ce:-teŋ ca:-teŋ
 3s IND grass cut-SEQ REDUP
 he, having finished cutting grass,

ela pahar-ko tukara bhari jhoko-ka
 now hill-GEN piece load amount-NOM

ghase-ko bojha cum-teŋ
 grass-GEN burden take-SEQ
 carrying a burden of grass the size of a piece of the hill,

lo-gha-khe iŋko pahar-ko bir cahĩ.
 come-PIMPF-IMPF that hill-GEN strong IND
 that strong man of the hills was coming along.

kalau esa khaŋ-khe doʔ-khe.
 so thus look-IMPF say-IMPF
 And so, he looks like this.

are.ho ela pahar doŋ bhai-ka rə doʔ-khe aŋ.
 oh.my now hill FOC be.like-NOM CONR say-IMPF FOC1
 ‘Oh my, why it seems like a MOUNTAIN’, he says.

kalau esa bherpa bherpa bhiri-pu-hi doʔ-khe bəs.
 so this near near approach-DIST-P say-IMP stop
 So he went along approaching nearer.

kalau bherpa thukaʔ-labelau
 so near arrive-TEM
 And so as he was nearing,

na pahar-ko bəlwan doʔ-ka na aŋ?
 you^s hill-GEN strong.man say-NOM you^s FOC1
 ‘Are you^s the one they call the strong man of the hills?’

ka aŋ. haipali?
 I FOC1 why
 ‘I am. Why?’

naŋ dopha ka poricai pa-li lo-gha.
 you^s.OBL COM I acquaintance do-INF come-P.1s
 ‘I came to make your acquaintance.’

hisika khalko poricai? kusti-so poricai.
 what.kind such acquaintance wrestle-EL acquaintance
 What kind of acquaintance? Acquaintance through wrestling.’

jatibhariŋ ku-nu?
 truly COP-COND
 ‘Is that true?’

jatibhariŋ.
 truly
 ‘It is true.’

kalau ghase bojha esa theŋ-hi dininiya bhonoi.
 so grass load like.this set.down-P [?] soil
 And so he set down the load of grass like this, [?] the soil.

kalau inta-so wa buŋ jhola taʔ-hi tuʔ-hi doʔ-khe.
 so there-EL 3s also bag put-P REDUP say-IMPF
 And then he too put down his bag.

kusti tayar jeŋ-hi doʔ-khe məʔ
 wrestle ready become-P say-IMPF AGR
 They got ready to wrestle, right?

eʔ-loŋ berəŋ lo-teŋ la-teŋ
 one-CL old.woman come-SEQ REDUP

hai doʔ-hi pa-he pa-nu
 what say-P do-HYP do-COND
 An old woman came along and what she said was,

ahāʔ nidhinimi ede esa ma-pa-siŋ!
 no you^d this thus NEG-do-ADH.DL
 ‘No, I wish you two wouldn’t do this in this way.’

haipali?
 why
 ‘Why?’

nidhinimi ede dharti mata-ta kusti gha-nu
 you^d this earth mother-LOC wrestle play-COND
 ‘If you two wrestle on the mother earth,

leta-ko hi-ka jibit-gelai-heŋ pir pore-aŋ.
 below-GEN be-NOM creature-PL-DAT worry feel-FUT
 the creatures living below will become worried.’

ku-nu hiso gha-li ku-nu?
 COP-COND how play-INF COP-COND
 ‘So where then to wrestle?’

ede kaŋ-ko gandi-ta gha-se doʔ-hi doʔ-khe.
 this I.OBL-GEN back-LOC play-IMP.DL say-P say-IMPF
 ‘Wrestle on this back of mine,’ she said.

iŋko beray leta gha-li ma-pi-teŋ
 that old.woman below play-INF NEG-give-SEQ
 That old woman, not letting them wrestle below (on the ground),

kusti gandi-ta gha-pa-hi doʔ-khe la.
 wrestle back-LOC play-do-P say-IMPF MIR
 made them wrestle on her back then.

te ku-nu doʔ-teŋ gandi dho:-pi-hi doʔ-khe.
 okay COP-COND say-SEQ back bend-DIR-P say-IMPF
 Saying, ‘okay then’, she bent over for them.

wa phutphat-pa taŋ-hi.
 3s one.by.one-do climb-P
 They climbed up one by one.

kusti gha-li tayar pa-hi la.
 wrestle play-INF ready do-P MIR
 Then they got ready to wrestle.

kalau kusti gha-ka-ta-ŋ gha-ka-ta-ŋ
 so wrestle play-NOM-LOC-EMP play-NOM-LOC-EMP
 And so, wrestling and wrestling,

gha-ka-ta-ŋ gha-ka-ta-ŋ
 play-NOM-LOC-EMP play-NOM-LOC-EMP
 and wrestling and wrestling,

gha-ka-ta-ŋ gha-ka-ta-ŋ gha-ka-ta-ŋ
 play-NOM-LOC-EMP play-NOM-LOC-EMP play-NOM-LOC-EMP
 and wrestling and wrestling and wrestling,

beraŋ be hethe bolyaʔ-ka
 old.woman DUB how.much strong-NOM
 the old woman was so strong,

othema dharti dāgmāg dāgmāg jeŋ-hi doʔ-khe.
 that.much earth shake shake happen-P say-IMPF
 as much as the earth shook, they say,

beraŋ ma-dāgmāgai-khe.
 old.woman NEG-shake-IMPF
 the old woman doesn't shake.

kalau inta-so udhinimi gha-li laʔ-na manthu.
 so there-EL they^d play-INF quit-IMPL NEG.EXT
 And so then the two didn't quit wrestling.

beraŋ ma-dāgmāgai-khe.
 old.woman NEG-shake-IMPF
 The old woman doesn't shake (under the weight).

leta cahĩ hai pa-hi doʔ-khe pa-nu
 below IND what do-P say-IMPF do-COND
 What happened below is,

eʔ-loŋ gwal pāndhra sai abe diya gai
 one-CL cowherd fifteen hundred umh buffalo cow

pose-ka hi-gha-khe leta.
 raise-NOM AUX-PIMPF-IMPF below
 a cowherd had been raising fifteen hundred head of cattle and buffalo
 below.

kalau esa bicar pa-hi doʔ-khe
 so like.this thought do-P say-IMPF
 And so he thought.

leta-ko dyaŋ khaŋ-khe doʔ-khe.
 below-GEN person look-IMPF say-IMPF
 The person below looked up, they say.

rhuta-so te bukbak-bukbak-pa hul-khe aŋ.
 above-EL TOP plop-plop-do fall-IMPF FOC1
 From above things were falling pall-mall.

bhonoï-gelai hul-khe doʔ-khe.
 soil-PL fall-IMPF say-IMPF
 Earth and things were falling, they say.

bədi-bədi-ka ekdəm thame thame thame-ta.
 big-big-NOM very place place place-LOC
 Great big ones, all over the place.

kalau inta-so hai pa-hi pa-he pa-nu iŋko abe gwalʔ
 so there-EL what do-P do-HYP do-COND that umh cowherd
 And so then what did the cowherd do?

are.baphre ahāʔ ita hi-li ʔhik manthu la.
 oh.my no here be-INF fine NEG.EXT MIR
 ‘Oh my gosh, oh no, it’s not good to stay here now.’

are ku-nu hai pa-ā ku-nu la pa-teŋ
 oh COP-COND what do-FUT.1s COP-COND MIR do-SEQ
 Saying, ‘but what shall I do then?’,

doʔ-labelau pəndhrə sai gai diya-ko bhar
 say-TEM fifteen hundred cow buffalo-GEN load

saje-hi la ma-ku-nu?
 be.ready-P MIR NEG-COP-COND
 he readied a load of fifteen hundred cattle and buffalo, didn’t he?

pəndhrə sai gai piya gai diya-ko bhar saje-hi.
 fifteen hundred cow cow cow buffalo-GEN load ready-P
 He readied a load of fifteen hundred cattle and buffalo.

dama laʔ-hi la wa.
 road quit-P MIR 3s
 And then he set out.

dama laʔ-labelau hane-ka-ta-ŋ hane-ka-ta-ŋ
 road quit-TEM go-NOM-LOC-EMP go-NOM-LOC-EMP
 While setting out, going and going and going,

hane-ka-ta-ŋ hane-ka-ta-ŋ
 go-NOM-LOC-EMP go-NOM-LOC-EMP
 and going and going,

hane-ka-ta-ŋ hane-ka-ta-ŋ hane-ka-ta-ŋ
 go-NOM-LOC-EMP go-NOM-LOC-EMP go-NOM-LOC-EMP
 and going and going and going and going,

hane-ka-ta-ŋ soʔ-li kiʔ-hi doʔ-khe la dama-ta.
 go-NOM-LOC-EMP piss-INF want-P say-IMPf MIR road-LOC
 and going, they say he then had to piss on the way.

dama-ta soʔ-li kiʔ-hi doʔ-khe. ode bhar theŋ-hi.
 road-LOC piss-INF want-P say-IMPf that load set.down-P
 They say he had to piss on the way. He set down that load.

bhar theŋ-labelau te e soʔ-li ma-bhyai-siŋ
 load place-TEM TOP oh piss-INF NEG-manage-PURP
 While setting down the load — oh, not being able to piss,

wa-ko bhar te eʔ-loŋ jihā urai-pa-pu-hi la.
 3s-GEN load TOP one-CL bird fly-do-DIST-P MIR
 a bird then flew off with his load.

pəndhrə sai gai bəstu-ko bhar
 fifteen hundred cow livestock-GEN load

urai-pa-pu-hi eʔ-loŋ jihã.
 fly-do-DIST-P one-CL bird

It flew off with the load of fifteen hundred cattle and livestock, a bird.

kalau ode jihã phar-teŋ hane-lau
 so that bird carry.in.mouth-SEQ go-TEM

ekdəm ekohoro hane-hi la ma-ku-nu?
 very nonstop go-P MIR NEG-COP-COND

And so then that bird went along nonstop carrying it in its bill, didn't it?

kalau nheʔ-noŋ bidyarthi kitap kham-pu-gha-khe.
 so two-CL student book look-DIST-PIMPF-IMPF

Then, two students were going along looking at a book.

iskul hane-labelau kitap kham-pu-gha-hi.
 school go-TEM book look-DIST-PIMPF-P

While going to school they went along reading a book.

khaŋ-ka-ta-ŋ khaŋ-ka-ta-ŋ khaŋ-ka-ta-ŋ
 look-NOM-LOC-EMP look-NOM-LOC-EMP look-NOM-LOC-EMP
 Reading and reading and reading and reading,

khaŋ-ka-ta-ŋ hane-ka-ta-ŋ
 look-NOM-LOC-EMP go-NOM-LOC-EMP
 and reading and going along,

hane-ka-ta-ŋ khaŋ-ka-ta-ŋ pa-pu-gha-hi.
 go-NOM-LOC-EMP look-NOM-LOC-EMP do-DIST-PIMPF-P
 they went along walking and reading.

kalau hai nājər pore-hi wa la be?
 so what vision befall-P DED MIR DUB
 But what then should they espy?

esa are.ho bhaya u!
 like.this oh.my pal there
 [Saying] like this, ‘oh my, hey buddy, over there!’

abe iṅko jihā hai cuma-khe doʔ-labelau
 umh that bird what take-IMPF say-TEM
 Saying, umh, ‘what is that bird carrying?’

esa khiniṅ khay doʔ-khe bəs.
 like.this only look say-IMPF stop
 He only says ‘look!’, that’s it.

ode bhar swattai misihā-ta hul-hi la .
 that load suddenly eyeball-LOC fall-P MIR
 That load suddenly fell into his eye.

misihā-ta hul-hi doʔ-khe bəs.
 eyeball-LOC fall-P say-IMPF stop
 It fell right into his eye.

athe.ho bhaya the the the!
 oh.my pal oh oh oh
 ‘Oh my gosh, buddy, oh, oh, oh!’

ede kaṅ-ko misihā bal-hi te hai ko pa-teṅ doʔ-labelau
 this I.OBL-GEN eyeball enter-P TOP what COP do-SEQ say-TEM
 And as he is saying, ‘what is this that fell into my eye?!’,

eʔ-loŋ rumal-au swatta thai-pi-gil-hi doʔ-khe ode bhar.
 one-CL hanky-INST suddenly throw-DIR-IM-P say-IMPF that load
 all of a sudden, [he] removed it for him with a handkerchief, that
 load.

bhəne hede bir?
 saying which strong
 Meaning, which one is the strongest?

katha ede jhoko. e bir cahĩ hede ku-nu?
 story this amount oh strong IND which COP-COND
 The story is over. Oh, which one was the strongest?

— *bir te la hasu la? iŋko rumal doŋ*
bir.
 strong TOP MIR who MIR that hanky FOC
 strong

— Which one was the strongest then? That handkerchief was the
 strongest.

— *rumal bir. do:-hoi.*
 hanky strong be.done-PERF

— The handkerchief was the strongest. That's all.

TEXT FIVE

THE TIGER AND THE YOGI¹

eʔ-loŋ jogi hi-gha-khe doʔ-khe na?
one-CL yogi be-PIMPF-IMPF say-IMPF QUEST
There once was a yogi.

wa dera-bhari rhe:-gil-gha-hi doʔ-khe.
3s village-CIRC beg-IM-PIMPF-P say-IMPF
He would go around village to village begging.

kalau dera-bhari rhe:-gil-ka-ta-ŋ
so village-CIRC beg-IM-NOM-LOC-EMP
Going around village to village begging,

rhe:-gil-ka-ta-ŋ rhe:-gil-ka-ta-ŋ
beg-IM-NOM-LOC-EMP beg-IM-NOM-LOC-EMP
and begging and begging,

nani ede dera rhe:-gil-hi.
today this village beg-IM-P
One day went around begging to this village.

jumni ode dera rhe:-gil-hi.
tomorrow that village beg-IM-P
The next day he went around begging to that village.

¹ This tale by Nar Bahādur Dhīmāl, aged 37, was recorded in December 1998 in the village of Āṭhiyābārī.

are itini ode dera rhe:-gil-hi.
 more in.two.days that village beg-IM-P
 Again the day after he went around begging to that village.

insa-η rhe:-gil-ka-ta-η rhe:-gil-ka-ta-η
 like.that-EMP beg-IM-NOM-LOC-EMP beg-IM-NOM-LOC-EMP
 So going around like that begging and begging,

rhe:-gil-ka-ta-η rhe:-gil-ka-ta-η
 beg-IM-NOM-LOC-EMP beg-IM-NOM-LOC-EMP
 and begging and begging,

hai jej-hi pa-nu wa eʔ-ni
 what happen-P do-COND 3s one-day

wa jhar-ko dama pore-hi doʔ-khe.
 3s forest-GEN road befall-P say-IMPF
 what happened one day, he came upon a road leading through the forest.

wa-sej ode dera hane-li-ko lagi
 3s-DAT that village go-INF-GEN lagi \

jhar-ko dama pore-hi.
 forest-GEN road befall-P
 In order to get to that village he had to take a road through the forest.

kalau iŋko jhar-ko dama
 so that forest-GEN road
 And so going along that forest road,

hane-ka-ta-η hane-ka-ta-η hane-ka-ta-η
 go-NOM-LOC-EMP go-NOM-LOC-EMP go-NOM-LOC-EMP
 going and going and going,

hane-ka-ta-ŋ hane-ka-ta-ŋ hai jeŋ-hi pa-nu
 go-NOM-LOC-EMP go-NOM-LOC-EMP what happen do-COND
 and going and going, what happened was,

ede kal iŋko khuwāhā-heŋ bo-mi
 this time that tiger-DAT other-HCL

byadha-gelai iŋko khuwāhā-heŋ
 hunter-PL that tiger-DAT

khotar-ta jhin-teŋ taʔ-ka hi-gha-hi doʔ-khe thune-teŋ.
 cage-LOC bind-SEQ put-NOM AUX-PIMPF-Psay-IMPF lock.up-SEQ
 at this time some other hunters had tied up that tiger and put into it in
 a cage, locked it up.

ode khotar hi-gha-hi doʔ-khe.
 that cage be-PIMPF-P say- IMPF
 That cage was there, they say.

ode khotar-ta thune-teŋ taʔ-ka hi-gha-hi.
 that cage-LOC lock-SEQ put-NOM be-PIMPF-P
 [The tiger] had been locked up in that cage.

kalau ode khotar-heŋ khotar-ta thune-teŋ taʔ-labelau
 so that cage-DAT cage-LOC lock.up-SEQ put-TEM
 While sitting locked up in that cage,

iŋko khuwāhā doʔ-hi doʔ-khe.
 that tiger say-P say-IMPF
 that tiger spoke, they say.

jogi-heŋ tiŋ-hi doʔ-khe. are.ho paramatma
 yogi-DAT see-P say-IMPF oh.my holy.man
 He saw the yogi, they say. 'Oh my, holy man,

iso lo lo lo lo doʔ-hi doʔ-khe.
 hither come come come come say-P say-IMP
 ‘Come here, come, come, come’, he said.

hasu doʔ-hi ku-nu doʔ-labelau
 who say-P COP-COND say-TEM

khuwāhā doʔ-hi jogi-heŋ.
 tiger say-P yogi-DAT
 Who said that then? The tiger said it to the yogi.

kalau esa khaŋ-khe doʔ-khe.
 so like.this look-IMP say-IMP
 And so, he looks [over] like this.

are.ho othe bəḍi-ka jəŋgəl-ko raja
 oh.my that.much be.big-NOM jungle-GEN king
 ‘Oh my, a king of the jungle as big as that!’

wa khotar-ta hi-la dul-teŋ wa ka-seŋ kai-khe. haibili?
 3s cage-LOC be-TEM enter-SEQ 3s I-DAT call-IMP why
 ‘He is calling me from inside the cage. Why?’

jogi-heŋ buŋ əcəmma lage-hi ma-ko?
 yogi-DAT also surprise feel-P NEG-COP
 ‘The yogi was surprised, mmh?’

kalau inta-so həʔ ma-han-ā doʔ-hi
 so there-EL oh.no NEG-go-FUT.1s say-P

doʔ-khe eʔ-jhuk te jogi.
 say-IMP one-moment TOP yogi
 And so from there, ‘oh no, I won’t go’, said the yogi one moment.

ma-ko-ni lo-ni lo.
 NEG-COP-IMP.POL come-IMP.POL come
 ‘Please, it’s not like that. Please come. Come.’

na doʔ-kakura te dharamatma buŋ na aŋ.
 you^s say-NOM word TOP pious also you^s FOC1
 ‘As for the things that you^s say, you^s are pious.’

paramatma buŋ na aŋ.
 supreme.spirit also you^s FOC1
 ‘You^s are the supreme spirit.’

ke-ni na jəti-ka dharma hasu ma-ko.
 umh you^s however.much-NOM virtue who NEG-COP
 ‘No one is as virtuous as you^s.’

na ela jogi jen-teŋ na hi-gil-ka dyaŋ.
 you^s now yogi become-SEQ you^s be-IM-NOM person
 ‘Now that you^s have become a yogi, you^s are a travelled person.’

na bədi-ka dharma doʔ-teŋ wa-seŋ doʔ-hi la.
 you^s be.big-NOM virtue say-SEQ 3s-DAT say-P MIR
 ‘You^s have great virtue,’ he said to him.

kalau inta-so jogi hane-hi doʔ-khe la.
 so there-EL yogi go-P say-IMPF MIR
 And so then the yogi went [over].

e jəŋgəl-ko raja hai pa-li doʔ-hi doʔ-khe.
 oh jungle-GEN king what do-INF say-P say-IMPF
 ‘Oh King of the Jungle, what to do?’

khaŋ. na doʔ-ka kura ela dharma.
 look you^s say-NOM word now virtue
 ‘Look. The things that you^s say are now virtuous.’

na pərmesor ma-ku-nu? na bhagwan.
 you^s god NEG-COP-COND you^s god
 ‘You^s are the Almighty, isn’t it so? You^s are God.’

tə ke.əbhəne nani na ka-seŋ ede khotar-so laʔ-pa-pi.
 but umh today you^s I-DAT this cage-EL quit-do-DIR
 ‘Let me out of this cage today.’

ede khotar-so ka-seŋ ole-pa.
 this cage-EL I-DAT emerge-do
 ‘Take me out of this cage.’

naŋ-ko bəḍi-ka dharma jen-a-nau.
 you^s.OBL-GEN be.big-NOM virtue become-FUT-3s→2
 ‘Your^s virtue will certainly be great.’

— *khuwāhā-ko bhənai.*
 tiger-GEN saying
 — The tiger said.

— *khuwāhā-ko bhənai.*
 tiger-GEN saying
 — The tiger said.

ahāʔ doʔ-hi doʔ-khe.
 no say-P say-IMPF
 ‘No’, he said.

kalau iŋko jhoko doʔ-na bhai-so te
 so that amount say-IMPL be.like-EL TOP
 So after saying that much,

iŋko jogi khuwāhā-heŋ khotar-so laʔ-pi-hi la.
 that yogi tiger-DAT cage-EL quit-DIR-P MIR
 that yogi let the tiger out of the cage then.

khotar-so laʔ-pi-hi. kalau doʔ-hi doʔ-khe kalau
 cage-EL quit-DIR-P so say-P say-IMPf so
 He let him out of the cage. And then he said,

te ku-nu jəŋgəl-ko raja
 okay COP-COND jungle-GEN king
 ‘Okay then, King of the Jungle,

ka hane-khoi-ka la doʔ-hi doʔ-khe jogi.
 I go-INC-1s MIR say-P say-IMPf yogi
 I will be on my way now’, said the yogi.

kalau khuwāhā hai doʔ-hi doʔ-khe
 so tiger what say-P say-IMPf
 And what did the tiger say?

ma-ko jai dharma pa-khe
 NEG-COP what virtue do-IMPf

wa-ko karma ca-li goi-khe doʔ-khe.
 3s-GEN fate eat-INF must-IMPf say-IMPf
 ‘No, whatever virtue one performs, one must accept one’s fate.’

— *pa-teŋ khuwāhā-ko bhənai.*
 do-SEQ tiger-GEN saying
 — Said the tiger.

— *khuwāhā-ko bhənai.*
 tiger-GEN saying
 — The tiger said.

aro-ŋ insa pa-hi la. ulti-hi.
 more-EMP like.that do-P MIR be.reversed-P
 Again he did like that then. It was reversed.

katha ul̥ti-hi.

matter be.reversed-P

The matter was reversed.

katha ul̥ti-na

matter be.reversed-IMPL

bhai-so te

be.like-EL TOP

jogi ekd̥əm murca pa-li thale-hi la.

yogi very fainting do-INF begin-P MIR

Since the matter was reversed, the yogi began to faint.

arebaphre othemampha doʔ-nha na lampha.

oh.dear that.much say-P.2s you^s before

‘Oh my, all those things that you^s said before.’

na dharmatma. na bh̥agwan.

you^s pious you^s god

‘You^s are pious. You^s are god.’

na ka-sej ede khotar-so laʔ-pi-nu

you^s I-DAT this cage-EL quit-DIR-COND

‘If you^s let me out of this cage,

naṇ-ko dharma b̥əḍi-ka jen-a-nau

you^s.OBL-GEN virtue be.great-NOM become-FUT-3s→2

pa-teṇ doʔ-nha.

do-SEQ say-P.2s

you^s said, your^s virtue will certainly be great.’

ode bhaʔsiṇ ka laʔ-pi-gha.

that reason I quit-DIR-P.1s

‘For that reason I let you^s out.’

ela na hai te doʔ-khe-na?!

now you^s what TOP say-IMPf-2

‘Now what do you^s say?!’

katha uli-teŋ jai dharma pa-hi

matter reversed-SEQ what virtue do-P

wa-ko karma ca-li goi-ka?

3s-GEN fate eat-INF must-NOM

‘Reversing the matter, whatever virtue one performs, one must accept one’s fate?’

te ca ku-nu doʔ-hi doʔ-khe kalau jogi.

okay eat COP-COND say-P say-IMPf so yogi

‘Okay, eat [me] then’, said the yogi.

təɾə insa ma-ca.

but like.that NEG-eat

‘But don’t eat [me] like that.’

ka buŋ eʔ-mi nheʔ-mi-heŋ hiʔt-aŋ-ka.

I also one-HCL two-HCL-DAT ask-FUT-1s

‘I too will ask one or two people.’

obalai buŋ hai doʔ-khe ma-ku-nu pa-teŋ doʔ-labelau

they^p also what say-IMPf NEG-COP-COND do-SEQ say-TEM

Saying, ‘what do they^p say’, isn’t that so?,

te ku-nu hasu-heŋ hiʔt-a-na

okay COP-COND who-DAT ask-FUT-2

doʔ-labelau ti hane-siŋ.

say-TEM come go-ADH.DL

Saying ‘okay then, who will you^s ask?’ then ‘Come on, let us^d go.’

hasu hasu-heŋ dusu-khe-niŋ wa-seŋ hiʔ-li goi-aŋ.
 who who-DAT meet-IMPf-1d 3s-DAT ask-INF must-FUT
 ‘Whoever we^d meet on the way, that is who we must ask.’

— *dama-ta.*
 road-LOC
 — On the way.

— *dama-ta.*
 road-LOC
 — On the way.

kalau dama te pu-hi doʔ-khe kalau.
 so road TOP set.off-P say-IMPf so
 And so they set out.

ela jogi-heŋ lam-pa-hi. khuwāhã nhuʔ-hi.
 now yogi-DAT proceed-do-P tiger follow-P
 He made the yogi go ahead. The tiger followed.

kalau inta-so hane-ka-ta-ŋ hane-ka-ta-ŋ
 so there-EL go-NOM-LOC-EMP go-NOM-LOC-EMP
 And so then going and going,

hane-ka-ta-ŋ hane-ka-ta-ŋ
 go-NOM-LOC-EMP go-NOM-LOC-EMP
 and going and going,

hane-ka-ta-ŋ hane-ka-ta-ŋ hane-ka-ta-ŋ
 go-NOM-LOC-EMP go-NOM-LOC-EMP go-NOM-LOC-EMP
 and going and going and going,

kalau udhinimi te hai-heŋ dusu-hi laʔ
 so they^d TOP what-DAT meet-P MIR
 so what then did they^d come across?

dama-ta jede tiŋ-hi ode-heŋ hiʔ-hi
 road-LOC which see-P that-DAT ask-P

doʔ-na bhai-so te
 say-IMPL seem-EL TOP

Since they said that whoever they saw on the way, that was who they would ask,

eʔ-loŋ dama-ta abe bər-ko siŋ hi-gha-hi doʔ-khe.
 one-CL road-LOC umh banyan-GEN tree be-PIMPF-P say-IMPF
 there was a banyan tree on the way.

bər-ko siŋ.
 banyan-GEN tree
 A banyan tree.

kalau ode siŋ-heŋ hiʔ-hi doʔ-khe.
 so that tree-DAT ask-P say-IMPF
 And so they say that they asked that tree.

e bər-ko siŋ ede khuwāhā khotar-ta
 oh banyan-GEN tree this tiger cage-LOC

dul-ka hi-gha-hi.
 enter-NOM AUX-PIMPF-P

‘Oh, banyan tree, this tiger was trapped in a cage.’

are ede khuwāhā ka-seŋ hai doʔ-he pa-nu
 more this tiger I-DAT what say-HYP do-COND
 ‘And what did this tiger say to me?’

e bhəgwan na ka-seŋ ede khotar-so ole-pa-pi.
 oh lord you^s I-DAT this cage-EL emerge-do-DIR
 ‘Oh lord, let me out of this cage.’

naŋ-ko bəḍi-ka dharma jen-a-nau.
 you^s.OBL-GEN be.great-NOM virtue become-FUT-3S→2
 “Your^s virtue will be great.”

naŋ-ko kolejaŋ jen-a-nau pa-teŋ doʔ-hi.
 you^s.OBL-GEN prosperity become-FUT-3S→2 do-SEQ say-P
 ‘He said, “your^s prosperity will be great.”’

təɾə wa-ko katha saʔ-teŋ ka ole-pa-pi-gha.
 and 3s-GEN word believe-SEQ I emerge-do-DIR-P.1s
 ‘And so, believing his words, I let him out.’

wa te ela hai doʔ-khe pa-nu
 3s TOP now what say-IMPf do-COND
 ‘And him, what does he say now?’

jai dharma pa-khe
 what virtue do-IMPf

wa-ko karma ca-li goi-khe pa-teŋ doʔ-hi ya.
 3s-GEN fate eat-INF must-IMPf do-SEQ say-P 3s
 ‘He says, “whatever virtue one performs, one must accept one’s fate.”’

na hai doʔ-khe-na pa-teŋ
 you^s what say-IMPf-2 do-SEQ

doʔ-labelau odoŋ bəɾ-ko siŋ pa-hi.
 say-TEM that banyan-GEN tree do-P
 ‘What do you^s say?’, saying, the banyan tree answered.

hai doʔ-he pa-nu ede katha ʔhik.
 what say-HYP do-COND this talk fine
 What he said was, ‘this matter is fine.’

jai dharma pa-khe wa-ko karma ca-li goi-khe doʔ-ka
 what virtue do-IMPf 3s-GEN fate eat-INF must-IMPf say-NOM

khalko katha ekdām ka-seṇ ṭhik lage-hi.

such talk very I-DAT fine feel-P

‘The saying, “whatever virtue one performs, one must accept one’s fate”, is fine with me.’

hesa-pa ku-nu pa-teṇ bār-heṇ hiʔ-labelau

like.this-do COP-COND do-SEQ banyan-DAT ask-TEM

Saying, ‘how is this so then?’, while asking the banyan tree,

bār-ko siṇ hai doʔ-khe pa-he pa-nu

banyan-GEN tree what say-P do-HYP do-COND

what the banyan tree says is,

ede dama pakpika dyaṇ-gelai-heṇ othe rhe:-ka

this road pedestrian person-PL-DAT that.much ask.for-NOM

‘However much is requested, to the people travelling this road,’

sital pi-kha. sihaire pi-kha ma-ku-nuʔ

cool give-IMPf.1s shade give-IMPf.1s NEG-COP-COND

‘I provide coolness. I provide shade’, isn’t that so?

othe bāḍi-ka saneʔ iso lo-teṇ

that.much be.great-NOM sunshine this.way come-SEQ

ede kaṇ-ko sital em-khe ebalai.

this I.OBL-GEN cool press-IMPf they^p

‘When it is very hot out, they^p come and take advantage of my cool shade.’

tə əjhai iṇko khiniṇ ma-ko te-ṇ

but more that only NEG-COP TOP-EMP

‘And not only that,

ede siṇ rhuta taṇ-li lhaʔpha tum-li.

this tree above climb-INF leaf gather-INF

they climb up this tree and gather leaves.’

aro ede daleŋ pal-li.
 more this branch sever-INF
 ‘And they cut these branches.

ode daleŋ-ko misiŋ juʔ-li.
 that branch-GEN firewood stoke-INF
 Using those branches for firewood.’

ulta kaŋ-ko karma ma cahĩ ku-nu ebalai?
 reversed I.OBL-GEN fate NEG IND COP-COND they^p
 ‘Isn’t my fate reversed [by] them?’

ede katha doʔ-ka kura khuwāhā-ko bhənai ʔhik
 this matter say-NOM talk tiger-GEN saying fine

pa-teŋ doʔ-pi-hi la.
 do-SEQ say-DIR-P MIR
 He told them that what the tiger had said was fine.

kalau jogi te wa-seŋ hai pore-hi?
 so yogi TOP 3s-DAT what befall-P
 And as for the yogi, how did he feel?

kalau jogi are hai doʔ-hi pa-he pa-nu
 so yogi again what say-P do-HYP do-COND

te ʔhik doŋ-hi.
 okay fine weigh-P
 What the yogi said was ‘okay, that’s fine.’

ede eʔ-khe te bər-ko siŋ naŋ-ko səphət pa-pi-hi.
 this one-time TOP banyan-GEN tree you^s.OBL-GEN agree do-DIR-P
 ‘This one time the banyan tree agreed with you^s.’

hai doŋ manthu ma-ku-nu?
 what FOC NEG.EXT NEG-COP-COND
 ‘It’s nothing at all, isn’t that right?’

ti ku-nu aro-ŋ bhenan buŋ hi-hi.
 walk COP-COND more-EMP different also be-P
 ‘Come on then, there are others too.’

wa-heŋ buŋ hiʔ-li goi-aŋ pa-teŋ
 3s-DAT also ask-INF must-FUT do-SEQ

dama laʔ-hi doʔ-khe la.
 road quit-P say-IMPF MIR
 Saying ‘we have to ask them too’, they set out on their way.

dama laʔ-hi la.
 road quit-P MIR
 Then they set out.

hane-ka-ta-ŋ hane-ka-ta-ŋ
 go-NOM-LOC-EMP go-NOM-LOC-EMP
 Walking and walking,

hane-ka-ta-ŋ hane-ka-ta-ŋ
 go-NOM-LOC-EMP go-NOM-LOC-EMP
 and walking and walking,

hethe dure hane-hi wa la u.
 how.much far go-P DED MIR REFR
 How far they went then.

ela hasu-heŋ hiʔt-aŋ la.
 now who-DAT ask-FUT MIR
 Now then who will [they] ask?

hasu-heṇ ma-tiṇ-khe dama-bhari.
 who-DAT NEG-see-IMPF road-CIRC
 [They] don't see anyone by the road.

baicans nheʔ-noṇ dama tiṇ-hi doʔ-khe inta.
 by.chance two-CL road see-IMPF say-IMPF there
 By chance, [they] see a fork in the road.

nheʔ-noṇ dama tiṇ-na bhai-so te
 two-CL road see-IMPL be.like-EL TOP
 Since [they] saw a fork in the road,

kalau iṇko dama-heṇ hiʔ-hi doʔ-khe.
 so that road-DAT ask-P say-IMPF
 [they] asked that road.

— *dobaʔo-heṇ.*
 road.fork-DAT
 — The fork in the road.

— *dobaʔo-heṇ.*
 road.fork -DAT
 — The fork in the road.

kalau iṇko dobaʔo-heṇ hiʔ-hi.
 so that road.fork -DAT ask-P
 So [they] asked that fork in the road.

kalau e dobaʔo ke.əbhəne
 so oh road.fork umh
 'Oh fork in the road, umh,

ede khuwāhā pinjuri-ta dul-teṇ hi-gha-hi.
 this tiger pen-LOC enter-SEQ AUX-PIMPF-P
 'This tiger was trapped in a pen.'

rə ede khuwāhā-heŋ ka ole-pa-pi-gha.
 and this tiger-DAT I emerge-do-DIR-P.1s
 ‘And I let this tiger out.’

wa aŋ doʔ-hi
 3s FOC1 say-P
 ‘He said,

na ka-seŋ ede khotar-so ole-pa-pi-nu
 you^s I-DAT this cage-EL emerge-do-DIR-COND
 ‘If you^s let me out of this cage,

naŋ-ko bəḍi-ka kolejaŋ jen-a-nau
 you^s.OBL-GEN be.great-NOM prosperity become-FUT-3S→2
 your^s prosperity will be great,”

pa-teŋ wa doʔ-ka hi-gha-khe.
 do-SEQ 3s say-NOM AUX-PIMPF-IMPF
 he had said.’

odon nasin wa-heŋ ka ole-pa-pi-gha.
 that reason 3s-DAT I emerge-do-DIR-P.1s
 ‘For that reason I let him out.’

ole-pa-pi-ka wa te hai doʔ-hi pa-he pa-nu
 emerge-do-DIR-NOM 3s TOP what say-P do-HYP do-COND
 ‘Upon being let out, what did he say?’

ulta jai dharma pa-khe
 reversed REL.what virtue do-IMPF

wa-ko karma ca-li goi-khe
 3s-GEN fate eat-INF must-IMPF
 ‘Reversed, “whatever virtue one performs, one must accept one’s fate,”

pa-teŋ ulta-ŋ wa kaŋ dophā niu bho:-hi.
 do-SEQ reversed-EMP 3s I.OBL COM pretext seek-P
 reversed, he only sought a pretext with me.'

tə əbhəne na hai doʔ-khe-na ku-nu
 but umh you^s what say-IMP2 COP-COND

ede-ko bare-ta pa-teŋ
 this-GEN about-LOC do-SEQ
 Saying, 'what do you^s say about this then?'

dobaʔo-heŋ hiʔ-labelau dobaʔo buŋ
 crossroad-DAT ask-TEM fork also

hai doʔ-hi pa-he pa-nu
 what say-P do-HYP do-COND
 while asking the crossroad, what the fork said was,

ede katha te ʔhik doŋ-hi.
 this matter TOP okay measure-P
 'As for this matter, it is fine.'

hesa-pa ʔhik ku-nu pa-teŋ doʔ-labelau
 thus-do okay COP-COND do-SEQ say-TEM
 saying, 'how is it okay?'

ede katha hesa-pa ʔhik ku-nu tə ke.əbhəne.
 this matter thus-do okay COP-COND but umh
 'How is this matter okay then?'

ka ede dama te-li pi-ka-ta-ŋ pi-ka-ta-ŋ
 I this road walk-INF give-NOM-LOC-EMP give-NOM-LOC-EMP
 'I keep letting [people] walk this road,

are ede-pa buṇ te-pi-khe
 again this-do also walk-DIR-IMPF
 and they walk this (other) way too.'

tə əbhəne ka dharma pa-ka-ta pa-ka-ta
 but umh I virtue do-NOM-LOC do-NOM-LOC
 'But umh, I keep performing virtue,

ulta kaṇ-ko karma ma caḥi ku-nu
 reversed I. OBL-GEN fate NEG IND COP-COND
 and isn't my fate reversed then?'

pa-teṇ doʔ-hi la iṇko dobaṭo buṇ.
 do-SEQ say-P MIR that fork also
 Having said, the fork in the road too spoke [thus].

iṇko dobaṭo buṇ insa doʔ-pi-na bhai-so te
 that fork also thus say-DIR-IMPL seem-EL TOP
 Since that fork in the road also spoke thus,

aro-ṇ jogi-heṇ caḥi wase pore-hi la.
 more yogi-DAT IND disappointment befall-P MIR
 again the yogi was again disappointed.

te ṭhik doṇ-hi jəṇḡal-ko raja.
 okay fine weigh-P jungle-GEN king
 'Okay, that's fine, King of the jungle.'

khali naṇ-ko khiniṇ saphət pa-pi-khe.
 only you^s.OBL-EL only agreement do-DIR-IMPF
 'They only agree with you^s.'

— *are eʔ-sətta be nheʔ-sətta jen-teṇ hi-hi.*
 again one-authority DUB two-authority become-SEQ be-P
 — I wonder whether there are still one or two authorities.

— *jen-teŋ hi-hi.*
become-SEQ be-P

— There are.

— *are eʔ-səttə.*
again one-authority

— One more authority.

— *are eʔ-səttə.*
again one-authority

— One more authority.

— *te ku-nu.*
okay COP-COND

— Okay then.

əɾə ke.əbhəne ela are inta-so
but umh now again there-EL

are dama laʔ-hi la.
again road set.out-P MIR
‘Umh, now again after that they hit the road.’

te jəŋgəl-ko raja are eʔ-khe hiʔt-aŋ-ka ka.
okay jungle-GEN king more one-time ask-FUT-1s I
‘Okay, King of the Jungle, I will ask one more time.’

— *hai doʔ-khe last cans.*
what say-IMPF last chance
— ‘Whatever [they] say, that’s the last chance.’

— *hai doʔ-khe la last.*
What say-IMPF MIR last
— ‘Whatever [they] say is final.’

kalau iŋko-so cahĩ na ka-heŋ ca ku-nu
so that-EL IND you^s I-DAT eat COP-COND

pa-teŋ doʔ-hi doʔ-khe kalau.
 do-SEQ say-P say-IMPF so
 ‘And then after that one, eat me,’ he said.

te ku-nu doʔ-teŋ udhinimi dama laʔ-hi la.
 okay COP-COND say-SEQ they^d road quit-P MIR
 Saying, ‘okay then’, the two of them then set out.

hane-ka-ta-ŋ hane-ka-ta-ŋ hane-ka-ta-ŋ
 go-NOM-LOC-EMP go-NOM-LOC-EMP go-NOM-LOC-EMP
 Walking and walking and walking,

hane-ka-ta-ŋ hane-ka-ta-ŋ
 go-NOM-LOC-EMP go-NOM-LOC-EMP
 and walking and walking,

hane-ka-ta-ŋ hane-ka-ta-ŋ
 go-NOM-LOC-EMP go-NOM-LOC-EMP
 and walking and walking,

jhoraʔ ali ali syaile dhaʔ-gil-gha-hi doʔ-khe.
 river side side jackal run-IM-PIMPF-P say-IMPF
 a jackal was running around on the banks of a river, they say.

lokhorlokhor-lokhorlokhor-lokhorlokhor-pa
 from.place.to.place-REDUP-REDUP-do

syaile dhaʔ-gil-gha-khe.
 jackal run-IM-PIMPF-IMPF
 The jackal was running about from place to place.

kalau iŋko syaile tiŋ-labelau
 so that jackal see-TEM

iŋko khuwāhā hai doʔ-hi doʔ-khe pa-nu
 that tiger what say-P say-IMPf do-COND
 And when he saw the jackal, what did the tiger say?

e məntri.jəmpɸuwan mhaʔ mhaʔ mhaʔ doʔ-hi doʔ-khe.
 oh jackal stop stop stop say-P say-IMPf
 ‘Oh jackal sir, wait up, wait up, wait up.’

kalau məntri.jəmpɸuwan esa ghure-teŋ khaŋ-khe doʔ-khe.
 so jackal thus turn-SEQ look-IMPf say-IMPf
 So the jackal turns like this and looks.

ode khuwāhā-heŋ tin-teŋ-sa
 that tiger-DAT see-SEQ-COM1

wa te dhaʔ-li khaŋ-khoi aŋ.
 3s TOP run-INF try-INC FOC1
 As soon as he sees that tiger, he begins to try to run.’

hajur inta-so bat mare.
 sir there-EL talk kill
 ‘Sir, talk from over there.’

ma-ku-nu ela ka-heŋ jhaka lon-aŋ-ka.
 NEG-COP-COND now I-DAT faint fall-FUT-1s
 ‘Otherwise, I will faint straight away. Talk from over there.’

inta-so bat mare. inta-so bat mare doʔ-khe aŋ.
 there-EL talk kill there-EL talk kill say-IMPf FOC1
 ‘From over there, talk from over there.’

kalau inta-so ma-ko ede jogi—
 so there-EL NEG-COP this yogi—

ka pinjuri-ta thune-nha-ka hi-gha-kha.
 I pen-LOC lock.up-MID-NOM AUX-PIMPF-IMPf.1s
 And then, ‘no, this yogi — I was locked up in a pen.’

tə ede jogi ka-seŋ ole-pa-hi.
 and this yogi I-DAT emerge-do-P
 ‘And this yogi let me out.’

kalau jai dharma pa-khe wa-ko karma ca-li goi-aŋ
 so what virtue do-IMPf 3s-GEN fate eat-INF must-FUT
 ‘And so whatever virtue one performs, one must accept one’s fate,’

khalko katha jharaŋ pa-teŋ doʔ-khe.
 such talk all do-SEQ say-IMPf
 ‘Everyone says that.’

tərə na hai doʔ-khe-na ku-nu pa-teŋ doʔ-labelau
 but you^s what say-IMPf-2 COP-COND do-SEQ say-TEM
 ‘But what do you^s say then’, saying

— *syaile-ko bhənai.*
 jackal-GEN saying
 — Is what the jackal says.

— *syaile-ko bhənai hai doʔ-khe pa-nu*
 jackal-GEN saying what say-IMPf do-COND
 — What does the jackal have to say?

prābhu jābāsamma nidhiŋ-ko iŋko
 lord until you^d.OBL-GEN that

jede thame-ta bat bibad jeŋ-ka hi-gha-khe
 which place-LOC talk dispute happen-NOM AUX-PIMPF-IMPf

odoi-heŋ ma-tiŋ-sa nidhinimi-ko katha səlphəl
 that-DAT NEG-see-NEG.COND you^d-GEN matter successful

ka pa-li ma-do-aṅ-ka pa-teṅ doʔ-hi la syaile.
 I do-INF NEG-can-FUT-1s do-SEQ say-P MIR jackal
 ‘Lord, until I see the place where this dispute occurred, I will not be able to decide this matter successfully,’ said the jackal then.

hai katha ku-nu?
 What matter COP-COND
 ‘What matter then?’

lo-ni lo. iso lo. iso lo.
 come-IMP.POL come hither come hither come
 ‘Please come. Come. Come over here. Come over here.’

kalau syaile-heṅ kai-hi asa bherpa-ṅ.
 so jackal-DAT call-P more near-EMP
 And so he called the jackal closer.

ma-ko ka caḥi khotar-ta dul-teṅ hi-gha-kha.
 NEG-COP I IND cage-LOC enter-SEQ AUX-PIMPF-IMPF.1s
 ‘No, I was trapped in a cage.’

rə ede khotar-so ka-seṅ ole-pa-pi-hi
 and this cage-EL I-DAT emerge-do-DIR-P

ede — bance-pa-hi — ede jogi.
 this survive-do-P this yogi
 ‘And this yogi let me out of this cage. He saved me.’

rə kalau wa ede dharma pa-na-siṅ
 and so 3s this virtue do-IMPL-PURP

wa-ko karma ca-li khaṅ-ka ka.
 3s-GEN fate eat-INF look-NOM I
 ‘And so, because he did this virtuous act, I’m trying [to get him] to accept his fate.’

na hai doʔ-khe-na ku-nu pa-teŋ doʔ-labelau
 you^s what say-IMP-2 COP-COND do-SEQ say-TEM
 ‘What do you^s say then?’, saying,

ahāʔ nidhiŋ-ko bat bibad heta jeŋ-hi
 no you^d.OBL-GEN talk dispute where occur-P
 ‘Oh no, without seeing where your^d dispute occurred,

hede thame-so ede katha utpāna jeŋ-hi
 which place-EL this matter occurrence happen-P
 without seeing which place this matter occurred,

— *ma-tiŋ-sa*
 NEG-see-NEG.COND
 — Without seeing

— *ma-tiŋ-sa*
 NEG-see-NEG.COND
 — Without seeing

ka ede phaisala pa-li ma-do-aŋ-ka pa-teŋ doʔ-hi.
 I this decide do-INF NEG-can-FUT-1s do-SEQ say-P
 I will not be able to make this decision’,

— *doʔ-ka bhānai syaile-ko*
 say-NOM saying jackal-GEN
 — Said the jackal.

— *syaile-ko*
 jackal-GEN
 — Said the jackal.

kalau inta-so ti ku-nu iŋko-ŋ thame-ta
 so there-EL walk COP-COND that-EMP place-LOC

doʔ-hi la jogi rə khuwāhā buŋ.
 say-P MIR yogi and tiger also

And then, ‘come on, to that very spot’, said both the yogi and the tiger.

ti ku-nu kalau aro-ŋ
 walk COP-COND so more-EMP

odoŋ dama ghure-hi udhinimi.
 that road return-P they^d

‘Come on,’ and then they^d returned again along the same road.’

ghure-teŋ ghare-teŋ lo-ka-ta-ŋ lo-ka-ta-ŋ
 return-SEQ REDUP come-NOM-LOC-EMP come-NOM-LOC-EMP
 After turning back, and coming and coming,

lo-ka-ta-ŋ lo-ka-ta-ŋ lo-ka-ta-ŋ
 come-NOM-LOC-EMP come-NOM-LOC-EMP come-NOM-LOC-EMP
 and coming and coming and coming,

lo-ka-ta-ŋ lo-ka-ta-ŋ
 come-NOM-LOC-EMP come-NOM-LOC-EMP

ode jede thame-ta pinjuri hi-gha-hi
 that REL.which place-LOC pen be-PIMPF-P
 coming and coming, the place where the pen had been,

ode thame-ta thukaʔ-pa-hi la wa-heŋ.
 that place-LOC reach-do-P MIR 3s-DAT
 they brought him to that place.

hi-nha-hi. ede-ŋ pinjuri-ta hi-hi.
 be-1p-P this-EMP pen-LOC be-P
 ‘We are [here]. It was in this very pen.’

ka hi-gha-kha. ita hi-hi.

I be-PIMPF-IMPF.1s here be-P

‘I was here. It was here.’

tə ke.əbhəne ede khotar-ta ka dul-teŋ hi-labelau

and umh this cage-LOC I enter-SEQ be-TEM

And, umh, ‘this one let me out when I was caged,’

ka-seŋ ole-pa-pi-hi ya

I-DAT emerge-do-DIR-P 3s

And, umh, ‘this one let me out when I was caged,’

pa-teŋ doʔ-hi khuwāhā syaile-heŋ.

do-SEQ say-P tiger jackal-DAT

said the tiger to the jackal.

ma-ko jəbə.səmmə ede jhoko atui-ka khotar-ta

NEG-COP until this amount small-NOM cage-LOC

ede jəŋgəl-ko raja khuwāhā

this jungle-GEN king tiger

hesa dul-hi wa la ku-nu

how enter-P DED MIR COP-COND

‘No, [until I am able to understand] how this King of the jungle was able to enter such a small cage,’

ede ka tiŋ-li goi-aŋ-ka.

this I see-INF must-FUT-1s

‘I will have to see this.’

— *ku-na khiniŋ*

COP-IMPL only

— ‘Only then,’

— *ku-na khiniŋ*
COP-IMPL only

— ‘Only then,’

— *ka phaisala pa-ã.*
I decide do-FUT.1s
— ‘Will I decide.’

— *ka phaisala pa-ã.*
I decide do-FUT.1s
— ‘Will I decide.’

ma-ku-nu ka ma-do-ã phaisala pa-li.
NEG-COP-COND I NEG-can-FUT.1s decide do-INF
Otherwise, I will not be able to decide.

kalau khuwãhã-ko bhənai hai pa-hi doʔ-khe pa-nu
so tiger-GEN saying what do-P say-IMPF do-COND
And what the tiger’s words were then,

tərə dul-hi la.
and enter-P MIR
Well, he went in.

te dul to jəŋgəl-ko raja.
okay enter then jungle-GEN king
‘Okay then, go in, King of the Jungle.’

— *hesa-pa dul-ka hi-gha-khe-na?*
how-do enter-NOM AUX-PIMPF-IMPF-2
— ‘How had you^s gone in [before]?’

— *hesa-pa dul-ka hi-gha-khe-na?*
how-do enter-NOM AUX-PIMPF-IMPF-2
— ‘How had you^s gone in [before]?’

dul-hi la.
 enter-P MIR
 He went in then.

kalau jogi-heṇ doʔ-hi doʔ-khe e sadhu.baba
 so yogi-DAT say-P say-IMPF oh holyman.father

hesa dheu-nha-ka hi-gha-hi ku-nu ede khuwāhā?
 how tether-MID-NOM AUX-PIMPF-P COP-COND this tiger
 And so he spoke to the yogi. ‘Oh holy father, how then had this tiger
 been tethered?’

dheu to ku-nu doʔ-hi doʔ-khe.
 tether then COP-COND say-P say-IMPF
 ‘Tether him then’, he said.

kalau inta-so jesa-ṇ dheu-nha-ka hi-gha-hi
 so there-EL how-EMP tether-MID-NOM AUX-PIMPF-P
 And then, ‘However he had been tethered,

jesa-ṇ ode khotar-ta teʔ-nha-ka hi-gha-hi
 how-EMP that cage-LOC enclose-MID-NOM AUX-PIMPF-P
 ‘however he had been enclosed in that cage,

odoṇ mukabili-so wa-seṇ.
 that way-EL 3s-DAT
 [do] in the same way to him.’

inta dul-pa-li lagai-hi la wa-seṇ.
 there enter-do-INF put.on-P MIR 3s-DAT
 Then he had him have [the tiger] go in.

kalau inta-so doʔ-hi doʔ-khe
 so there-EL say-P say-IMPF

hesa dheu-nha-ka hi-gha-hi
 how tether-MID-NOM AUX-PIMPF-P

And then he said, ‘However he had been tethered,

ijko bhai-pa dheu.
 that be.like-do tether
 tether him like that.’

hesa kose-ka hi-gha-hi insika khalko kose
 how tighten-NOM AUX-PIMPF-P like.that such tighten
 ‘However tight it had been, make it that tight,’

doʔ-teŋ wa-seŋ jhiŋ-li lagai-hi la carcauwadhi ekdəm.
 say-SEQ 3s-DAT bind-INF put.on-P MIR on.all.sides very
 saying, he had him bind him up all over.

jhiŋ-hi doʔ-khe. ra:-hi doʔ-khe ekdəm.
 bind-P say-IMPF tie.up-P say-IMPF very
 He bound him. He tied him up but good, they say.

nheʔ-noŋ khokoi ekdəm kose-teŋ kose-teŋ jhiŋ-khe aŋ.
 two-CL leg very tighten-SEQ REDUP bind-IMPF FOC1
 He binds both his legs very tightly.

kalau jhiŋ-hi jhaŋ-hi doʔ-khe.
 so bind-P REDUP say-IMPF
 And so he bound him up.

esa hi-gha-hi ku-nu la ede khuwāhā doʔ-hi doʔ-khe.
 thus be-PIMPF-P COP-COND MIRthis tiger say-P say-IMPF
 ‘Was he like this, this tiger?’ he said.

esa hi-gha-hi.
 thus be-PIMPF-P
 ‘He was like this.’

bol pa-li lagai to ku-nu.
 Strength do-INF put.on then COP-COND
 ‘Have him make some effort.’

khaʔ-khe ma-khaʔ-khe?
 flee-IMPF NEG-flee-IMPF
 ‘Can he escape or not?’

bol pa-li lagai-hi. ma-khaʔ-hi.
 strength do-INF put.on-P NEG-flee-P
 He had him make some effort. He didn’t escape.

na jasto eʔ-loŋ jogi murkha-heŋ ma-ca-na bhai-so
 you^s like one-CL yogi fool-DAT NEG-eat-IMPL seem-EL
 ‘Since someone like you^s didn’t eat a fool yogi,

ka ede məntri-heŋ ca-ã wa.
 I this official-DAT eat-FUT.1s DED
 ‘I may eat this official.’

ti dama laʔ doʔ-hi doʔ-khe kalau.
 walk road quit say-P say-IMPF so
 And then he said, ‘come on, hit the road.’

bhəgwan pukare-teŋ udhinimi tatai suta
 God exclaim-SEQ they^d REF home

dama laʔ-hi doʔ-khe.
 road quit-P say-IMPF
 Exclaiming ‘God’, the two of them set out for their^d own homes.

bhəne khuwāhā doʔ-ka iŋko jhoko murkha.
 meaning tiger say-NOM that amount fool
 It means the tiger was that much of a fool.

TEXT SIX

THE SPLITTING OF THE BANANA LEAF¹

ram lāksmān doʔ-ka wa cəudha baʔsar-ko umer-so-ŋ
Rāma Lakṣmaṇ say-NOM 3s fourteen year-GEN age-GEN-EMP
Rāma² and Lakṣmaṇ³, from the age of fourteen years,

wa bānbas hane-hi ma-ku-nu?
3s forest.stay go-P NEG-COP-COND
he went to live in the forest, isn't it so?

rə ke.abhāne wa bānbas hane-labelau wa eklaŋ ma-ko.
and umh 3s forest.stay go-TEM 3s alone NEG-COP
And when he went to the forest he was not alone.

ram hane-hi. lāksmān hane-hi. sita hane-hi.
Rāma go-P Lakṣmaṇ go-P Sītā go-P
Rāma went. Lakṣmaṇ went. Sītā⁴ went.

obalai hane-ka-ta-ŋ hane-ka-ta-ŋ hane-ka-ta-ŋ
they^p go-NOM-LOC-EMP go-NOM-LOC-EMP go-NOM-LOC-EMP
They^p walked and walked and walked and walked,

hane-ka-ta-ŋ obalai pāncābuti bān thekaʔ-li hane-hi.
go-NOM-LOC-EMP they^p Pañcavaṭī forest arrive-INF go-P
they^p went to get to the Pañcavaṭī forest.

¹ This text is based on an episode from the Hindu epic the Rāmāyaṇa. This tale explains how the banana leaf got its central vein and was related by Nar Bahādūr Dhīmāl, aged 39, and recorded in December 1998 in the village of Athiyābārī.

² Rāma is the hero of the Rāmāyaṇa and an incarnation of the god Viṣṇu.

³ Lakṣmaṇ is the brother and companion to Rāma.

⁴ Sītā is the adopted daughter of the king Janaka of Mithilā and wife of Rāma.

obalai pəncəbuti bən thekaʔ-li hane-labelau
 they^p Pañcavaṭī forest arrive-INF go-TEM
 while they^p were going to the Pañcavaṭī forest,

obalai pəncəbuti bən-ta-ŋ hi-hi.
 they^p Pañcavaṭī forest-LOC-EMP be-P
 they^p stayed in the Pañcavaṭī forest.

obalai-ko bas ke.re gās bas kopas gota-ŋ
 they^p-GEN lodging umh grass lodging [?] each-EMP

inta ʃhakʃhuk jura-hi. ela kuṭi buŋ bənai-hi.
 there just.right collect-P now hut also make-P
 Their lodging and food, they collected everything there. They also
 built a hut.

hi-li ti-li ca-li-ko lagi
 be-INF go-INF eat-INF-GEN for

səb kura idir-widir gota-ŋ bənai-hi.
 all thing hither-thither each-EMP make-P
 They^p constructed everything they would need to survive.

rə inta nidasenta inta hi-ka-ta-ŋ
 and there day.and.night there be-NOM-LOC-EMP
 And so, staying there day in and day out,

hi-ka-ta-ŋ hi-ka-ta-ŋ hi-ka-ta-ŋ
 be-NOM-LOC-EMP be-NOM-LOC-EMP be-NOM-LOC-EMP
 they stayed and stayed and stayed,

hi-ka-ta-ŋ hi-ka-ta-ŋ
 be-NOM-LOC-EMP be-NOM-LOC-EMP
 they stayed and stayed,

tə inta wa-heŋ eʔ-loŋ
 then there 3s-DAT one-CL
 And so then, him, one...

səntai-li-ko lagi buŋ te u la ru ma-ko?
 be.ascetic-INF-GEN for also TOP DIST MIR EXCL NEG-COP
 in order to be an ascetic now there too, you know, isn't that so?

tə ke.abhəne ede baicans-so maricmuni wa ke.abhəne
 then umh this by.chance-EL Maricamanī 3s umh
 Then, by chance, Maricamanī, he,

eʔ-mi-ko col-ka porcha wa kabara jen-teŋ
 one-HCL-GEN [?]-NOM [?] 3s spotted.deer become-SEQ
 one person's [?], he became a spotted deer,

wa ke.re sita ci naŋ-li hane-ka bela-ta
 3s umh Sītā water fetch-INF go-NOM time-LOC
 he, umh — when Sītā went to fetch water,

ke.re sita-heŋ dekha pore-pa-ŋ
 umh Sītā-DAT sight befall-do-EMP

ode kabara dekha pore-hi.
 that spotted.deer sight befall-P
 Sītā caught sight of that spotted deer.

tə ke.abhəne ela kabara do-na bhāi-so te
 then umh now spotted.deer can-IMPL be.like-EL TOP

sita te mariyate pa-hi. mariyate pa-hi.
 Sītā TOP obsession do-P obsession do-P
 Then, since he was able [to become] a deer, Sītā became obsessed.

⁵ A demon and nephew (?) of Rāvaṇa.

ekdām jidhi pa-hi.
 very obstinate do-P
 She was very obstinate.

ede kabara rem-ka hi-hi.
 this deer be.good-NOM AUX-P
 ‘This spotted deer is beautiful.’

ede kabara hai pa-teṅ jeṅ-khe
 this spotted.deer what do-SEQ occur-IMPF

ka seʔ-li goi-aṅ-ka.
 I kill-INF must-FUT-1s
 ‘No matter what, I must kill this spotted deer.

kaṅ-ko saʔ-ta cuma-li goi-aṅ-ka!
 I.OBL-GEN house-LOC bring-INF must-FUT-1s
 I must bring it to my house!’

doʔ-ka khalko abhana wa taʔ-hi.
 say-NOM such vow 3s put-P
 she vowed.

— *hasu?*
 who
 — Who?

— *sita.*
 Sītā
 — Sītā.

tə sita iṅko jhoko abhana taʔ-na
 then Sītā that amount vow put-IMPL

bhai-so te lo-hi la.
 be.like-GEN TOP come-P MIR
 Then since Sīta made such a vow as that, she returned.

ci cum-teṅ lo-hi la.
 water hold-SEQ come-P MIR
 Then she returned bringing the water.

ram-ko pas-ta ci cum-teṅ lo-hi.
 Rāmā-GEN pas-LOC water hold-SEQ come-P
 She returned to Rāmā's side carrying the water.

kalau ram-heṅ doʔ-hi e prabhu ke.abhəne
 so Rāmā-DAT say-P oh lord umh
 And she said to Rāmā, 'Oh lord, um,

ka ci naṅ-li hane-ka hi-gha-kha
 I water fetch-INF go-NOM AUX-PIMPF-IMPF.1s
 I had gone to fetch water.'

rə ode ci naṅ-li hane-ka bela-ta
 and that water fetch-INF go-NOM time-LOC

ka eʔ-loṅ kabara tiṅ-gha re.
 I one-CL spotted.deer see-P.1sASS
 'And when I went to fetch that water, I saw a spotted deer.'

kabara tiṅ-gha re pa-teṅ doʔ-hi.
 spotted.deer see-P.1s ASS do-SEQ say-P
 She said, 'I tell you I saw a spotted deer.'

heta tiṅ-nha ku-nu?
 where see-P.2 COP-COND
 'Where did you^s see it then?'

jhoraʔ-bhari. jhoraʔ-ko ceu ceu care-gil-gha-khe.
 river-CIRC river-GEN sideside graze-IM-PIMPF-IMPF
 ‘Over by the river. It was grazing around on the sides of the river.’

ku-nu hai pali ku-nu?
 COP-COND what do-INF COP-COND
 ‘Well, what is to do then?’

ma-ko iŋko kabara hai pa-teŋ jeŋ-khe
 NEG-COP that spotted.deer what do-SEQ occur-IMPF

ka-seŋ goi-khe doʔ-hi sita.
 I-DAT must-IMPF say-P Sītā
 ‘No’, Sītā said, ‘no matter what, I must have that spotted deer.’

kalau sita-ko bəcən kaŋe-li ma-do-teŋ
 so Sītā-GEN promise cut-INF NEG-can-SEQ

ram cahĩ wa hai doʔ-khe?
 Rāma IND 3s what say-IMPF
 And not being able to break Sītā’s promise, what did Rāma say?

kabara seʔ-li hane-ka jeŋ-hi la.
 spotted.deer kill-DAT go-NOM occur-P MIR
 He then had to go and kill the spotted deer.

kabara seʔ-li hane-ka jeŋ-hi.
 spotted.deer kill-DAT go-NOM occur-P
 He had to go and kill the spotted deer.

kalau kabara seʔ-li hane-laubela kabara te tiŋ-hi.
 so sp.deer kill-INF go-TEM sp.deer TOP see-P
 So when he went to kill the spotted deer, the deer saw him.

kalau ode kabara ram-heŋ tiŋ-na-sat
 so that spotted.deer Rāma-DAT see-IMPL-COM1
 And so as soon as that spotted deer saw Rāma,

wa jhar liʔta dul-hi. jhar liʔta dul-hi.
 3s forest inside enter-P forest inside enter-P
 it slipped into the forest. It slipped into the forest.

kalau jhar liʔta dul-labelau ekdəm gil-pu-lau-siŋ.
 so forest inside enter-TEM very chase-DIST-TEM-[-?]
 And so when it fled into the forest, he began to chase it.

gil-ka-ko gil-ka-ŋ gil-ka-ko
 chase-NOM-GEN chase-NOM-EMP chase-NOM-GEN

gil-ka-ŋ gil-ka-ko gil-ka-ŋ pa-hi.
 chase-NOM-EMP chase-NOM-GEN chase-NOM-EMP do-P
 He chased it and chased it and chased it.

tə sita-heŋ mon-ta saŋka lage-hi la.
 then Sītā-DAT heart-LOC suspicion feel-P MIR
 But Sītā became suspicious then.

te ləksmən tə ram lo-na manthu.
 okay Lakṣmaṇ then Rāma come-IMPL NEG.EXT
 ‘Okay Lakṣmaṇ, Rāma has not returned.’

hane to. na buŋ khaŋ-li hane to.
 go then you^s also look-INF go then
 ‘Go then! You^s too go and take a look!’

haipali ma-lo-hi doʔ-ka katha taʔ-hi.
 why NEG-come-P say-NOM word put-P
 ‘Why didn’t he return?’, she said.

hasu taʔ-hi ku-nu doʔ-labelau sita.
 who put-P COP-COND say-TEM Sītā
 Who said that then? Sītā.

kalau te ku-nu bhauji.
 so okay COP-COND sister.in.law
 And so, ‘okay then sister-in-law.

na ades-bina buṇ ka han-aṇ-ka.
 you^s order-without also I go-FUT-1s
 ‘I will go even without your^s order.’

kaṇ-ko dai-heṇ bho:-li ram-heṇ doḥ-teṇ
 I.OBL-GEN e.bro-DAT seek-INF Rāma-DAT say-SEQ

wa dama laḥ-hi la.
 3s road quit-P MIR
 Saying, ‘I will go search for my elder brother Rāma,’ he then set out.

kalau insa-ṇ jasusi pore-teṇ ke.abhāne
 so thus-EMP spy befall-SEQ umh

ram buṇ hane-hi.
 Rāma also go-P
 And so thus, having fallen for the ruse, Rāma went.

lākṣmaṇ buṇ hane-hi.
 Lakṣmaṇ also go-P
 Lakṣmaṇ also went.

hin-dhi-hi te eklaṇ jhar-ta hasu la?
 be-REL-P TOP alone forest-LOC who MIR
 Left behind alone in the forest was who then?

sirib sita ma-ku-nu?
 only Sītā NEG-COP-COND
 Just Sītā, isn’t it so?

rə sita hane-hin-dhi-labelau te
 and Sītā go-be-REL-TEM TOP

jun wa-ko dusman hi-gha-hi,
 which 3s-GEN enemy be-PIMPF-P
 And when Sītā was left behind, then that enemy that she had,

odorj dusman lo-teṇ la-teṇ hai pa-hi la?
 that enemy come-SEQ REDUP what do-P MIR
 when that enemy came, what did he do then?

e nani kaṇ-ko dusman te bəlla
 oh today I.OBL-GEN enemy TOP finally

phela pore-pa-gha la.
 trace befall-do-P.1s MIR
 ‘Oh, today I now found traces of my enemy.’

doʔ-ka katha taʔ-hi hasu? laṅkapati rawaṇ.
 say-NOM word put-P who Laṅkāpati Rāvaṇa
 Who said that? Laṅkāpati Rāvaṇa ‘Rāvaṇa, Lord of Ceylon’.

laṅkapati rawaṇ iṇko jhoko katha taʔ-na bhai-so te
 Laṅkāpati Rāvaṇa that amount word put-IMPL seem-EL TOP
 Since Laṅkāpati Rāvaṇa ‘Rāvaṇa, Lord of Ceylon’ said that much,

hai pa-hi ku-nu la?
 what do-P COP-COND MIR
 What did he do then?

wa-ko maric mamai-heṇ katha doʔ-li hane-hi.
 3s-GEN Marica uncle-DAT word say-INF go-P
 Marica went to speak to his uncle.

te mamai ka te isika isika phela pore-pa-gha.
 okay uncle I TOP this.kind this.kind trace befall-do-P.1s
 ‘Okay uncle, as for me, I found such and such traces.’

na esa pa-li goi-a-na. oso pa-li goi-a-na.
 you^s thus do-INF must-FUT- 2 there do-INF must-FUT-2
 ‘You^s must do like this. You^s must do it over there.’

hai pa-a wa ku-nu bhagina pa-teṇ doʔ-labelau.
 what do-FUT DED COP-COND nephew do-SEQ say-TEM
 ‘What may he do then, nephew?’, saying.

na kabara-ko rup jeṇ.
 you^s spotted.deer-GEN form become
 ‘You^s take the form of a spotted deer.’

ka jogi-ko rup jen-teṇ
 I yogi-GEN form become-SEQ

ka sita-heṇ cuma-aṇ-ka doʔ-ka khalko...
 I Sītā-DAT take-FUT-1s say-NOM kind
 I will take the form of a yogi and bring Sītā,’ saying...

jisika-ṇ rawaṇ nanabhāti jasusi-gha-hi
 what.kind-EMP Rāvaṇa hocus-pocus spy-PIMPF-P
 Whatever kind of hocus-pocus Rāvaṇa concocted,

usika-ṇ maricmuni buṇ katha saʔ-li
 thus-EMP Maricamanī also word obey-INF

goi-hi badiya pore-teṇ.
 must-P evil befall-SEQ
 Maricamanī too had to obey, even if it is evil.

sakbhār ma-pa doʔ-gha-hi iṇko kam-gelai.
 if.possible NEG-do say-PIMPF-P that deed-PL
 ‘If possible, don’t do it’, he was saying, ‘those deeds.’

hajur ma-pa-li ku-nu.
 sir NEG-do-INF COP-COND
 ‘Sir, don’t do it.’

wa-ko dopha te ram dopha te ke.abhane
 3s-GEN COM TOP Rāma COM TOP umh
 ‘With him, with Rāma,’

duniyabhar-ko bir hanuman-gelai hi-hi.
 world-GEN strong Hanumān-PL be-P
 ‘are the world’s strongest Hanumān and his followers.’

māntri jəmpħubən-gelai hi-hi ma-ku-nu?
 advisor jackal-PL be-P NEG-COP-COND
 ‘Jackal advisors are there,’ isn’t that so?

duniyabhar-ko hai pa-nu nanabhati hi-hi.
 world-GEN what do-COND hocus-pocus be-P
 ‘[They] have all the magical powers of the world.’

odoŋ nasiŋ insika kam ma-pa
 that reason like.that work NEG-do

pa-teŋ doʔ-gha-hi maricmuni.
 do-SEQ say-PIMPF-P Maricamanī
 ‘So for that reason,’ Maricamanī was saying, ‘don’t do such a thing.’

təra rawaŋ-ko jidhi-so pa-teŋ
 but Rāvaṇa-GEN obstinate-EL do-SEQ

wa ekdəm pa-li kərtəbe lage-hi.
 3s very do-INF duty befall-P
 So then due to Rāvaṇa’s obstinance, he was forced to perform his duty.

kalau iŋko silsilau-so kalau maricmuni ke.re
 so that chain-GEN so Maricamanī umh

kabara-ko rup jeŋ-lha-hi.
 chital-GEN form become-INTEN-P

And from that chain of events, Maricamanī went to take the form of a spotted deer.

kabara-ko rup jeŋ-labelau ke.re
 chital-GEN form become-TEM umh

sita-heŋ dekha pore-pa-hi.
 Sītā-DAT sight befall-do-P

While in the form of a spotted deer, he caused Sītā to catch sight of it.

sita-heŋ dekha pore-pa-labelau ram-heŋ ke.re do?-hi
 Sītā-DAT sight befall-do-TEM Rāma-DAT umh say-P

And when Sītā had caught sight of it, she said to Rāma,

te esa pa-li goi-aŋ
 okay thus do-INF must-FUT

do?-ka katha-gelai gil-pu-hi.
 say-NOM word-PL chase-DIST-P

Saying ‘okay, it will have to be done like this’, they went chasing.

kalau maricmuni kabara jen-teŋ
 so Maricamanī chital become-SEQ

rawaŋ jogi-ko rup jen-teŋ
 Rāvaṇa yogi-GEN form become-SEQ

And when Maricamanī had become a spotted deer and Rāvaṇa had become a yogi,

sita haran pa-hi. kalau sita haran pa-hi te ʔhik.
 Sītā disappear do-P so Sītā disappear do-P TOP fine
 Sītā disappeared. So, that Sītā disappeared is fine.

tə khoji te pa-li goi-hi sita-ko?
 then search TOP do-INF must-P Sītā-GEN
 Then, was it necessary to go in search of Sītā?

sita-ko khoji-ta hane-hi la hasu hasu? ram ləksmən.
 Sītā-GEN search-LOC go-P MIR who who Rāma Lakṣmaṇ
 Who all then went in search of Sītā? Rāma and Lakṣmaṇ.

ram ləksmən sita-ko khoji-ta hane-hi.
 Rāma Lakṣmaṇ Sītā-GEN search-LOC go-P
 Rāma and Lakṣmaṇ went in search of Sītā.

hane-labelau hane-hi la. ekdəm ekres hane-hi la.
 go-TEM go-P MIR very [?] go-P MIR
 And so they went. They went non-stop.

hane-ka-ta-ŋ hane-ka-ta-ŋ hane-ka-ta-ŋ
 go-NOM-LOC-EMP go-NOM-LOC-EMP go-NOM-LOC-EMP
 Walking and walking and walking,

hane-ka-ta-ŋ hane-ka-ta-ŋ hane-ka-ta-ŋ
 go-NOM-LOC-EMP go-NOM-LOC-EMP go-NOM-LOC-EMP
 and walking and walking and walking,

kayō din kayō bərsa biti-hi.
 thousand day thousand year spend-P
 they spent a thousand days, a thousand years.

sita-ko khoj ma-niŋ-hi ma-ku-nu? khoj ma-niŋ-hi.
 Sītā-GEN search NEG-get-P NEG-COP-COND search NEG-get-P
 They didn't find Sītā, isn't that right? They didn't find her.

kalau ma-niŋ-labelau hai pa-hi ku-nu la?
 so NEG-get-TEM what do-P COP-COND MIR
 And when they couldn't find her, what did they do?

te akhiri hai pa-teŋ jeŋ-khe
 okay end what do-SEQ occur-IMPF

kelai sita-heŋ cuma-li goi-aŋ.
 we^P Sītā-DAT bring-INF must-FUT
 'Okay, in the end, no matter what, we^P must bring back Sītā.'

doʔ-ka khalko katha ditoŋ taʔ-hi ram-ta.
 say-NOM such word tongue put-P Rāma-LOC
 Saying things like that, Rāma swore to it.

te ku-nu ʔhik dada naŋ-ko marej doʔ-labelau
 okay COP-COND fine e.bro you^S.OBL-GEN will say-TEM
 Saying, 'okay fine, elder brother, your will',

u dai-one ekdəm hane-ka-ko hane-ka ekdəm
 that e.bro-y.sib very go-NOM-GEN go-NOM very
 those brothers walked and walked,

hane-ka-ko hane-ka hane-ka-ta-ŋ
 go-NOM-GEN go-NOM go-NOM-LOC-EMP
 Walking and walking and walking,

hane-ka-ta-ŋ hane-ka-ta-ŋ hane-ka-ta-ŋ
 go-NOM-LOC-EMP go-NOM-LOC-EMP go-NOM-LOC-EMP
 and walking and walking and walking,

hane-ka-ta-ŋ hane-ka-ta-ŋ carcauraj ghurai-hoi.
 go-NOM-LOC-EMP go-NOM-LOC-EMP all.over stroll-PERF
 and walking and walking, and went to the four corners.

sita-ko pata ma-lage-hi.
 Sītā-GEN whereabouts NEG-befall-P
 They found no trace of Sītā.

obalai peṭ doṇ jeṇ-hoi.
 they^P stomach FOC become-PERF
 Now they^P became hungry.

heḷ-mahina heḷ-mahina heḷ-mahina
 how.many-month how.many-month how.many-month
 How many months, how many months, how many months,

heḷ-mahina-ko obalai bhoṇiyas lage-hi.
 how.many-month-GEN they^P hunger feel-P
 How many months of hunger did they endure.

bhoṇiyas lage-labelau heta thekaḷ-hi ku-nu la?
 hunger feel-TEM where arrive-P COP-COND MIR
 When they were hungry, where did they come to then?

siwa-ji-ko bāgan-ta saṅkar bhagwan-ko
 Śiva-HON-GEN orchard-LOC Śaṅkar god-GEN

bāgan-ta thekaḷ-li hane-hi.
 orchard-LOC arrive-INF go-P
 Śivaji's⁶ orchard, they arrived at god Śaṅkar's⁷ orchard.

kalau ram doḷ-hi.
 so Rāma say-P
 And so Rāma spoke.

e lakṣmaṇ odoi torse bāgan-ta hane to.
 hey Lakṣmaṇ that mango orchard-LOC go then
 'Hey Lakṣmaṇ, go over to that mango orchard.'

⁶ Lord Śiva is the disintegrating, destroying and reproducing god and third member of the Hindu Trinity, alongside Brahmā and Viṣṇu.

⁷ Śaṅkar is another name by which Śiva is known.

iŋko torse bəgan-ta hane-teŋ
that mangoorchard-LOC go-SEQ

hede dyaŋ hi-he pa-nu
which person be-HYP do-COND
'Go over to that mango orchard, and if anyone is there,

dyaŋ dopha rhe:ti cuma.
person COM permission take
get permission from the person.'

manthu-he pa-nu dyaŋ manthu-he pa-nu
NEG.EXT-HYP do-COND person NEG.EXT-HYP do-COND
'If no one is there, if nobody is there,

eʔ-juri kaura siŋ-ta taʔ-pi-dhe.
one-pair cowrie tree-LOC put-DIR-REL
leave behind a pair of cowries in a tree.'

kalau torse pe:-teŋ cuma doʔ-hi ram ləksmən-heŋ.
so mango pick-SEQ bring say-P Rāma Lakṣmaṇ-DAT
So Rāma said to Lakṣmaṇ, 'pick and bring back some mangoes.'

te dada naŋ-ko agye doʔ-teŋ
okay e.bro you^s.OBL-GEN command say-SEQ

ləksmən dama laʔ-hi la.
Lakṣmaṇ road quit-P MIR
Saying 'okay elder brother, your command, Lakṣmaṇ then set out.

hane-labelau orapora khaŋ-hi.
go-TEM all.around look-P
While going, he looked all about.

dyaŋ te ma-tiŋ-hi la.
 person TOP NEG-see-P MIR
 He didn't see anyone then.

dyaŋ hi-nu te wa dyaŋ dopha
 person be-COND TOP 3s person COM

rhe:ti cuma-dhaŋ wa la.
 permission take-IRR DED MIR
 If he had seen someone, he would have taken permission from that person then.

dyaŋ manthu-gha-hi. ode nasiŋ hai pa-he pa-nu
 person NEG.EXT-PIMPF-P that reason what do-HYP do-COND
 There was no one. For that reason, what he did was,

odoŋ siŋ-ta eʔ-juri kaura esa taʔ-pi-dhi-hi.
 that tree-LOC one-pair cowrie like.this put-DIR-REL-P
 he placed a pair of cowries in that tree and left them like this.

nimta pa-pi-dhi-hi.
 compensation do-DIR-REL-P
 He provided and left behind compensation.

kalau torse pe:-teŋ cuma-ka-ko doʔ-ka suru-gha-khe.
 so mango pick-SEQ bring-NOM-GEN say-NOM begin-PIMPF-IMPF
 And so, he began to pick mangoes to bring back as told.

kalau kaura bot taʔ-hi.
 so cowrie tree put-P
 So he put the cowries in a tree.

torse pe:-li suru pa-labelau
 mango pick-INF begin do-TEM

inta-so hanuman ole-hi la.
 there-EL Hanumān emerge-P MIR

When he began to pick the mangoes, Hanumān then came out.

hanuman ole-hi la.
 Hanumān emerge-P MIR
 Hanumān emerged then.

kalau inta-so hanuman ole-labelau hai doʔ-hi?
 so there-EL Hanumān emerge-TEM what say-P
 And when Hanumān came out, what did he say?

e na hasu-ko ke.re ades-so na ede torse
 oh you^s who-GEN umh order-EL you^s this mango

pe:-nha doʔ-hi hanuman.
 pick-P.2 say-P Hanumān
 ‘Hey, on whose orders did you^s pick these mangoes?’, said Hanumān.

ma-ko na-seŋ ka ma-tiŋ-gha.
 NEG-COP you^s-DAT I NEG-see-P.1s
 ‘No, I didn’t see you^s.’

tiŋ-nu te rhe:ti cuma-dhaŋ-ka. ma-tiŋ-gha.
 see-COND TOP permission take-IRR-1s NEG-see-P.1s
 ‘Had I seen [you] I would have taken permission. I didn’t see [you].’

odoŋ siŋ-ta ka eʔ-juri kaura nimta pi-teŋ
 that tree-LOC I one-pair cowrie compensation give-SEQ
 ‘Having put one pair of cowrie as compensation on that tree,

ka ede torse pe:-pa-kha
 I this mango pick-VEN-IMPF.1s
 I’m picking these mangoes to bring back.’

pa-teŋ doʔ-labelau na jəbərjəsti haipali pe:-nha
 do-SEQ say-TEM you^s by.force why pick-P.2
 Saying, 'Why did you pick them by force?'

pa-teŋ doʔ-hi la hanuman.
 do-SEQ say-P MIR Hanumān
 Hanumān spoke.

kalau inta galabaji pore-ka-ta-ŋ pore-ka-ta-ŋ
 so there fight befall-NOM-LOC-EMP befall-NOM-LOC-EMP
 And then fighting and fighting,

pore-ka-ta-ŋ pore-ka-ta-ŋ pore-ka-ta-ŋ
 befall-NOM-LOC-EMP befall-NOM-LOC-EMP befall-NOM-LOC-EMP
 and fighting and fighting and fighting,

ləksmən-heŋ te khokoi ca:-teŋ
 Lakṣmaṇ-DAT TOP leg grab-SEQ
 grabbing Lakṣmaṇ by the leg,

siŋ-ta pheʔ-hi la hanuman.
 tree-LOC beat-P MIR Hanumān
 Hanumān beat him against a tree then.

kalau ode bela te hare ram doʔ-hi doʔ-khe la ləksmən.
 so that time TOP Lord Rāma say-P say-IMPF MIR Lakṣmaṇ
 And at that time, Lakṣmaṇ said, 'Lord Rāma.'

kalau ram-heŋ saŋka lage-hi doʔ-khe ki
 so Rāma-DAT suspect feel-P say-IMPF ki
 So, Rāma began to suspect that

are iŋko-heŋ ka torse pe:-li diŋ-gil-ka.
 oh.my that-DAT I mango pick-INF send-IM-NOM
 'Oh my, I sent him to pick mangoes.'

kaŋ-ko nam haipali rhu:-hi iŋko dyaŋ?
 I.OBL-GEN name why take-P that person
 ‘Why did that person call out my name.’

həʔ khaŋ-li han-ã ko tə doʔ-hi la ram.
 eh look-INF go-FUT.1s COP then say-P MIR Rāma
 ‘Eh, I will go and have a look,’ said Rāma then.

khaŋ-li hane-hi la wa. khaŋ-li hane-hi.
 look-INF go-P MIR 3s look-INF go-P
 He went to have a look. He went to look.

khaŋ-li hane-labelau te ləksmən lon-teŋ hi-gha-hi.
 look-INF go-TEM TOP Lakṣmaṇ fall-SEQ AUX-PIMP-P
 When he went to look, there was Lakṣmaṇ fallen.

orapora khaŋ-khe. siŋ rhuta te hanuman ki hi-hi.
 all.around look-IMPF tree above TOP Hanumān ki be-P
 He looks all around. In the tree above, there’s Hanumān.

kalau ram doʔ-hi doʔ-khe
 so Rāma say-P say-IMPF

e ede bədməs hasu pa-hi?
 hey this misdeed who do-P
 So Rāma said, ‘hey, who did this misdeed?’

— *ka pa-gha.*
 I do-P.1s
 — ‘I did it.’

— *khuʔ leta!*
 come below
 — ‘Come down here!’

kalau wa-seŋ buŋ hai pa-hi?
 so 3s-DAT also what do-P
 And so what did he do to him?

hanuman-heŋ muisa ca:-teŋ
 Hanumān-DAT body.hair grab-SEQ

torse siŋ-ta pheʔ-hi ram-ko pala.
 mango tree-LOC beat-P Rāma-GEN deed
 What Rāma did was, he took Hanumān by the fur and beat him
 against a mango tree.

kalau hanuman cahĩ hai doʔ-hi doʔ-khe pa-nu?
 so Hanumān IND what say-P say-IMPF do-COND
 And so what did Hanumān say?

hare siwa doʔ-hi doʔ-khe la.
 Lord Śiva say-P say-IMPF MIR
 He said, ‘Lord Śiva!’

kalau səŋkər bhəgwan cahĩ m ca-li pa-teŋ
 so Śaṅkar god IND rice eat-INF do-SEQ
 And the god Śaṅkar, saying ‘time to eat’,

parbati ʔhikka yo:-pi-ka hi-gha-khe.
 Pārvatī just.right serve-DIR-NOM AUX-PIMPF-IMPF
 Pārvatī⁸ had just served the meal.

səŋkər-ji-heŋ parbati m yo:-pi-ka hi-gha-khe.
 Śaṅkar-HON-DAT Pārvatī rice serve-DIR-NOM AUX-PIMPF-IMPF
 Pārvatī had served the meal to Lord Śaṅkar.

te m ca-li goi-aŋ aũ doʔ-labelau kalau
 okay rice eat-INF must-FUT TAG say-TEM so
 And as [she] was saying, ‘okay, one must eat, alright?’,

⁸ Pārvatī is the consort of Śiva.

saṅka lage-hi doʔ-khe ke.əbhəne səŋkər-ji-heŋ buŋ.
 suspect feel-P say-IMPF umh Śaṅkar-HON-DAT also
 [he] began to feel suspicious, umh, Śaṅkarjī too.

are kaŋ-ko inta bəgan-ta hanuman-heŋ
 oh I.OBL-GEN there orchard-LOC Hanumān-DAT

hai pir pore-hi.
 what worry befall-P

‘Oh, what problem has befallen my Hanumān in the orchard there?’

kaŋ-ko miŋ ki lo-hi rə. khaŋ-li han-aŋ-ka.
 I.OBL-GEN name ki come-P CONR look-INF go-FUT-1s
 ‘Why, that was my name that was called out. I will go and have a look.’

eʔ-ghuri mhaʔ aũ doʔ-hi doʔ-khe parbatī-heŋ.
 one-moment stop okay say-P say-IMPF Pārvaṭī-DAT
 ‘Wait a moment, okay?’, he said to Pārvaṭī.

kalau inta-so dama laʔ-hi.
 so then-EL road quit-P
 And then he set out.

ama laʔ-labelau te oso hanuman lon-teŋ hi-hi.
 road quit-TEM TOP over.there Hanumān fall-SEQ AUX-P
 When he set out, over there was Hanumān fallen.

oso ləksmən lon-teŋ hi-hi.
 over.there Lakṣmaṇ fall-SEQAUX-P
 Over there Lakṣmaṇ was fallen.

ram tin-teŋ buŋ jaʔ-teŋ hi-hi.
 Rāma see-SEQ also stand-SEQ AUX-P
 He spotted Rāma too standing there.

ede kam hasu-ko pa-teŋ doʔ-hi la siwa-ji.
 this work who-GEN do-SEQ say-P MIR Śiva-HON
 ‘Whose work is this?’, said Śivajī.

ede kam cahĩ kaŋ-ko.
 this work IND I.OBL-GEN
 ‘This work is mine.’

hai pa-a-na ku-nu doʔ-labelau
 what do-FUT-2 COP-COND say-TEM
 Saying, ‘What are you^s going to do then?’,

pa-ka te ka hai doŋ ma-pa-gha.
 do-NOM TOP I what FOC NEG-do-P.1s
 ‘As for the deed, I did nothing.’

tərə ka torse pe:-li diŋ-gil-gha-kha.
 but I mango pick send-IM-PIMPF-IMPF.1s
 ‘I was sending him to pick mangoes.’

naŋ-ko hanuman esa pa-pi-hi kaŋ-ko ləksmən-heŋ.
 you^s.OBL-GEN Hanumān thus do-DIR-P I.OBL-GEN Lakṣmaṇ-DAT
 ‘Your^s Hanumān did this to my Lakṣmaṇ.’

ka odoŋ nasiŋ naŋ-ko hanuman-heŋ ka seʔ-pa-pi-gha
 I that reason you^s.OBL-GEN Hanumān-DAT I kill-VEN-DIR-1s
 ‘Because of that, I came and killed your^s Hanumān’,

pa-teŋ doʔ-labelau udhimi galabaji ekdəm toʔ-ta
 do-SEQ say-TEM they^d fight very [?]-LOC
 saying, they^d begin to fight.

mon ma-pore-su-hi la ram rə siwa-ji-ko.
 heart NEG-befall-COL-P MIR Rāma and Śiva-HON-GEN
 They didn’t like each other then, Rāma and Śivajī.

kalau ekdəm toʔ-ta mon ma-pore-su-hi la.
 so very [ʔ]-LOC heart NEG-befall-COL-P MIR
 And so then they took a dislike to each other.

pheʔ-su-li thale-hi doʔ-hi doʔ-khe.
 beat-COL-INF begin-P say-P say-IMPF
 They began to fight, they say.

ekdəm kusti gha-su-hi la.
 very wrestle play-COL-P MIR
 They really wrestled then.

pheʔ-su-ka-ta-ŋ pheʔ-su-ka-ta-ŋ
 beat-COL-NOM-LOC-EMP beat-COL-NOM-LOC-EMP
 Fighting and fighting,

pheʔ-su-ka-ta-ŋ pheʔ-su-ka-ta-ŋ
 beat-COL-NOM-LOC-EMP beat-COL-NOM-LOC-EMP
 Fighting and fighting,

pheʔ-su-ka-ta-ŋ pheʔ-su-ka-ta-ŋ
 beat-COL-NOM-LOC-EMP beat-COL-NOM-LOC-EMP
 and fighting and fighting,

pheʔ-su-ka-ta-ŋ ekdəm pheʔ-su-hoi.
 beat-COL-NOM-LOC-EMP very beat-COL-PERF
 and fighting, they really fought it out.

nə.tə səŋkər bhəḡwan hare-khe. nətə ram hare-khe.
 neither Śaṅkar god lose-IMPF neither Rāma lose-IMPF
 Neither the god Śaṅkar lost, nor Rāma lost.

idhimi ma-hare-khe la.
 they^d NEG-lose-IMPF MIR
 Neither of them^d loses then.

ma-hare-labelau hai jeṇ-hi ku-nu la?
 NEG-lose-TEM what happen-P COP-COND MIR
 So what happened then when neither would lose?

kalau parbatī-heṇ saṇka lage-hi doʔ-khe.
 so Pārvatī-DAT suspect feel-P say-IMPF
 Well, Pārvatī began to suspect something, they say.

ma-ko siri bhāḡwan thekaʔ-teṇ lo-aṇ-ka
 NEG-COP dear god arrive-SEQ come-FUT-1s

doʔ-ka khalko dyaṇ
 say-NOM such person
 ‘No, my dear Lord said that he would go there and come back.’

tə ela tə kəbila ma-lo-hi.
 then now then [?] NEG-come-P
 ‘But he still has not returned.’

khaṇ-li han-aṇ-ka to ka buṇ doʔ-teṇ
 look-INF go-FUT-1s then I also say-SEQ
 Saying, ‘I too will go and have a look,’

parbatī dama laʔ-hi la wa buṇ ma-ku-nu?
 Pārvatī road quit-P MIR 3s also NEG-COP-COND
 Pārvatī too set out, isn’t that so?

dama laʔ-hi. kalau dama laʔ-labelau te
 road quit-P so road quit-TEM TOP

bāḡan-bhari thekaʔ-li hane-hi wa.
 orchard-CIRC arrive-INF go-P 3s
 She set out. And so while setting out, she headed towards the orchard.

bagan thekaʔ-li hane-labelau te esa khaŋ-khe doʔ-khe.
 orchard arrive-INF go-TEM TOP thus look-IMPf say-IMPf
 On her way to the orchard, she looks.

nheʔ-mi ekdəm pheʔ-su-khe.
 two-HCL very beat-COL-IMPf
 Two people are really fighting.

nheʔ-mi cahĩ lon-teŋ hi-hi.
 two-HCL IND fall-SEQ AUX-P
 Two people are lying there.

kalau parbatī hai doʔ-hi doʔ-khe pa-nu
 so Pārvaṭī what say-P say-IMPf do-COND
 So what does Pārvaṭī say then?

əni bhagwan mhaʔ. eʔ-ghuri mhaʔ. mhaʔ.
 so god stop one-moment stop stop
 ‘Lord stop. Stop a moment. Hold up.’

nidhinimi mhaʔ-se doʔ-labelau
 you^d stop-IMP.DL say-TEM
 ‘You two stop that.’

— *e na hai gi-a-na na*
 oh you^s what know-FUT-2 you^s

doʔ-khe aŋ səŋkər bhagwan.
 say-IMPf FOC1 Śaṅkar god
 — ‘Oh, and you, what do you^s know?’, said Lord Śaṅkar.

— *ma-ko ka te hai doŋ ma-gi-kha.*
 NEG-COP I TOP what FOC NEG-know-IMPf.1s
 — ‘No, I don’t know anything.’

rəpəni eʔ-ghuri mhaʔ-se-ni
 never.the.less one-moment stop-IMP.DL-POL

pa-teŋ doʔ-hi te u parbatī.
 do-SEQ say-P TOP REFR Pārvatī
 ‘Never the less, please stop for a moment’, said Pārvatī there.

kalau udhinimi laʔ-su-hi doʔ-khe pheʔ-su-li.
 so they^d quit-COL-P say-IMPF beat-COL-INF
 And those two quit fighting, they say.

kalau səŋkər bhəgwan doʔ-hi doʔ-khe kalau
 so Śaṅkar god say-P say-IMPF so
 And so the god Śaṅkar spoke.

te ku-nu hai doʔ-li goi-ka
 okay COP-COND what say-INF must-NOM
 ‘Okay then, what has to be said,

naŋ-ko bicar doʔ doʔ-labelau
 you^s.OBL-GEN idea say say-TEM
 say your^s idea!’, saying,

— *kaŋ-ko doʔ-li goi-ka katha*
 I.OBL-GEN say-INF must-NOM word
 — ‘What I have to say is,

naŋ-ko sərir rem-pha khaŋ tə.
 you^s.OBL-GEN body be.good-do look then
 take a good look at your^s body.’

hai hi-gha-hi rə hai manthu pa-teŋ doʔ-hi parbatī.
 what be-PIMPF-P and what NEG.EXT do-SEQ say-P Pārvatī
 ‘What was there and what isn’t there?’, said Pārvatī.

kalau səŋkər bhəgwan cahĩ gota-ŋ wa-ko
 so Śaṅkar god IND each-EMP 3s-GEN

sərir khaŋ-hi doʔ-khe.
 body look-P say-IMPF

So the god Śaṅkar looked all over his body, they say.

gota-ŋ muisa hu:-hi — gota-ŋ.
 each-EMP body.hair fall.out-P each-EMP
 All his body hair fell out, all of it.

səŋkər bhəgwan-ko muisa eʔ-loŋ manthu-hi.
 Śaṅkar god-GEN body.hair one-CL NEG.EXT-P
 The god Śaṅkar didn't have a single body hair.

kalau doʔ-hi doʔ-khe iŋko muisa
 so say-P say-IMPF that body.hair

insa hu:-ka ma-ko.
 thus fall.out-NOM NEG-COP

And so she said, 'that body hair didn't fall out for no reason.'

tə hiʔ wa-seŋ ko! na hasu pa-teŋ hiʔ!
 then ask 3s-DAT COP you^s who do-SEQ ask
 'Well ask him! Ask him who he is!'

kalau doʔ-hi doʔ-khe kalau səŋkər bhəgwan
 so say-P say-IMPF so Śaṅkar god
 So then the god Śaṅkar said,

ku-nu na hasu ku-nu doʔ-hi doʔ-khe.
 COP-COND you^s who COP-COND say-P say-IMPF
 he asked him, 'who are you^s?'

-- *ka bisnu bhagwan.*
 I Viṣṇu god
 -- 'I am the god Viṣṇu.'

-- *te bisnu bhagwan-nu*
 okay Viṣṇu god-COND
 -- 'Okay, if [you] are the god Viṣṇu,

te ku-nu naṇ-ko ke.re
 okay COP-COND you^s.OBL-GEN umh

kərtəbe palən pa to ku-nu
 skill tending do then COP-COND
 okay, do your^s skill tending' then,

pa-teṇ doʔ-labelau ram ole-hi. ram jeṇ-hi.
 do-SEQ say-TEM Rāma emerge-P Rāma become-P
 and so saying, Rāma emerged. He became Rāma.

kalau ram bisnu bhagwan-heṇ buṇ doʔ-hi doʔ-khe
 so Rāma Viṣṇu god-DAT also say-P say-IMPF
 And so Rāma spoke to the god Viṣṇu too,

na hasu ku-nu pa-teṇ doʔ-labelau
 you^s who COP-COND do-SEQ say-TEM
 Saying, 'who are you^s then?',

— *ka sṇkər bhagwan.*
 I Śaṅkar god
 — 'I am the god Śaṅkar.'

— *te ku-nu na buṇ kərtəbe tim-pa ku-nu.*
 okay COP-COND you^s also duty see-do COP-COND
 — 'Okay then, you^s too show your duty then.'

wa sṅkərjī jē-hi.
 3s Śaṅkarjī become-P
 He became Śaṅkarjī.

kalau udhinimi bhəgwan-bhəgwan mili-hi.
 so they^d god-god be.arranged-P
 And so they^d both emerged as gods.

e kidhiṅ nəramro kam ki pa-nhiṅ mə?
 oh we^d bad deed ki do-P.2d AGR
 ‘Oh, those were some bad deeds that we^d did, weren’t they?’

pa-teṅ doʔ-hi doʔ-khe la ram buṅ sṅkər bhəgwan buṅ.
 do-SEQ say-P say-IMPF MIR Rāma also Śaṅkar god also
 saying, they spoke then, both Rāma and the god Śaṅkar.

ku-nu hai pa-li goi-aṅ ku-nu la
 COP-COND what do-INF must-FUT COP-COND MIR

pa-teṅ doʔ-labelau
 do-SEQ say-TEM
 And so saying, ‘what must we do then?’

te tatai-ko dyaṅ tatai-mi ole-pa-li goi-hoi
 okay REF-GEN person REF-HCL emerge-do-INF must-PERF
 ‘Okay, we each must take out our own people.’

doʔ-labelau te ram ləksmən-heṅ sai-hi doʔ-khe.
 say-TEM TOP Rāma Lakṣmaṇ-DAT touch-P say-IMPF
 So saying, Rāma touched Lakṣmaṇ, they say.

ləksmən sinhu-hi.
 Lakṣmaṇ survive-P
 Lakṣmaṇ survived.

səŋkər bhəgwan hanuman-heŋ sai-hi doʔ-khe.
 Śaṅkar god Hanumān-DAT touch-P say-IMPF
 The god Śaṅkar touched Hanumān, they say.

hanuman sinhu-hi.
 Hanumān survive-P
 Hanumān survived.

te ku-nu la naŋ-ko one kaŋ-ko cəukidar.
 okay COP-COND MIR you^s.OBL-GEN y.sib I.OBL-GEN servant
 ‘Okay then, your^s younger sibling is my servant.’

te idhinimi param taʔ-su-pa-li goi-aŋ
 okay they^d bond.friend put-COL-do-INF must-FUT
 ‘Okay, they^d must become bond friends,’

hanuman-heŋ doʔ-hi səŋkər bhəgwan.
 Hanumān-DAT say-P Śaṅkar god
 the god Śaṅkar said to Hanumān.

kalau ode katha-heŋ suikar pa-hi ram buŋ.
 so that word-DAT permission do-P Rāma also
 And so having agreed, Rāma too gave his permission.

te ʔhik doŋ-hi.
 okay fine weigh-P
 ‘Okay, that’s fine.’

yədi naŋ-ko hanuman kaŋ-ko one ləksmən
 if you^s.OBL-GEN Hanumān I.OBL-GEN y.sib Lakṣmaṇ

dopha param taʔ-su-pa-he pa-nu ʔhik doŋ-hi.
 COM bond.friend put-COL-do-HYP do-COND fine weigh-P
 ‘If your^s Hanumān were to become bond friends with my younger sibling Lakṣmaṇ, that is fine.’

hai hi-hi rə doʔ-labelau te
 what be-P CONR say-TEM okay
 And so saying, ‘what harm could it do?’, [he said] ‘okay’.

odoŋ gəɖi odu belai bəɖi-ka paɾi
 that moment that time big-NOM party

calai-li thale-khe la.
 operate-INF begin-IMPF MIR
 at that moment, at that time, they start a great celebration.

bəɖi-ka paɾi calai-li thale-belau
 big-NOM party operate-INF begin-TEM

udhinimi param taʔ-su-pa-hi.
 they^d bond.friend put-COL-do-P
 When the great celebration began, they two became bond friends.

param taʔ-su-pa-teŋ tuʔ-su-pa-teŋ
 bond.friend put-COL-do-SEQ REDUP
 Having become bond friends with each other,

naŋ-ko eʔ-khe nanabhathi-gelai
 you^s.OBL-GEN one-time hocus-pocus-PL

hisika coklat ca-khe.
 what.kind candy eat-IMPF
 your hocus-pocus once and what candy [they] eat!

am-ka-lai am-khe ə ma-ku-nu?
 drink-NOM-PL drink-IMPF eh NEG-COP-COND
 [They] drink drinks, mmh, isn’t that so?

kalau hanuman rə laksmān-heŋ eʔ-loŋ doŋ lhaʔba-ta
 so Hanumān and Lakṣmaṇ-DAT one-CL FOC leaf-LOC
 And so, to Hanumān and Lakṣmaṇ, on the same leaf,

abe dahi mun dudhe lumphi-sumphi
 umh yoghurt beaten.rice milk banana-REDUP

gota-ŋ pi-hi [?] na?
 each-EMP give-P [?] QUEST
 they give yoghurt, beaten rice, milk, bananas and things, they gave
 them everything, right?

nhōya te rə hanuman.
 monkey TOP CONR Hanumān
 Now, Hanumān is a monkey.

hanuman cahī gwam-gwam-pa ca-hi doʔ-khe.
 Hanumān IND chomp-chomp-do eat-P say-IMPF
 Hanumān ate chomping away, they say.

lāksmən eʔ-loŋ doŋ lhaʔba-ta ca-li
 Lakṣmaṇ one-CL FOC leaf-LOC eat-INF

sikaʔ-hi la wa
 be.disgusted-P MIR 3s
 Lakṣmaṇ then was repulsed to eat from the same leaf.

kalau esa khaŋ-khe doʔ-khe.
 so thus look-IMPF say-IMPF
 And so he looks, they say.

hanuman ca-khe. lāksmən ma-ca-khe.
 Hanumān eat-IMPF Lakṣmaṇ NEG-eat-IMPF
 Hanumān is eating. Lakṣmaṇ is not eating.

ram-ko pala hai pa-hi doʔ-he pa-nu
 Rāma-GEN deed what do-P say-HYP do-COND
 And what did Rāma do,

cəṭṭa silke camuli dagai-pi-hi.
quickly [?] [?] split-DIR-P

ram-ko pala dagai-pi-hi. kalau ləksmən tiṇ-hi doʔ-khe.
Rāma-GEN deed split-DIR-P so Lakṣmaṇ see-P say-IMPF
What Rāma did was quickly split it for [him]. And so Lakṣmaṇ saw,
they say.

e hanuman te oso jhoraʔ-ko ode para ca-khe doʔ-khe.
oh Hanumān TOP there river-GEN that side eat-IMPF say-IMPF
'Oh, Hanumān, he's eating over there on that side of the river,' he
says.

kalau ləksmən caḥi jhoraʔ-ko ede paha
so Lakṣmaṇ IND river-GEN this side

ca-khe doʔ-khe doʔ-teṇ
eat-IMPF say-IMPF say-SEQ
So Lakṣmaṇ is eating on this side of the river, they say, and having
said,

ram-ko dagai-ka ede lumphi lhaʔba.
Rāma-GEN splitting-NOM this banana leaf
what Rāma split was this banana leaf.

ram-ko dagai-ka te lumphi ma-ku-nu?
Rāma-GEN splitting-NOM TOP banana NEG-COP-COND
The thing that Rāma split, it was the banana [leaf], isn't that so?

ram-ko dagai-ka. do:-hoi.
Rāma-GEN splitting-NOM be.done-PERF
That's what Rāma split. That's all.

TEXT SEVEN

THE JACKAL AND THE BEAR¹

eʔ-loŋ syaile rə naibiri hi-gha-khe aŋ.
one-CL jackal and bear be-PIMPF-IMPF FOC1
There once was a jackal and a bear.

iŋko syaile na ... wa-ko...
that jackal na 3s-GEN

naibiri-ko cahĩ can-camindi hi-gha-khe.
bear-GEN IND son-daughter be-PIMPF-IMPF
The jackal — the bear had children.

can-camindi hi-teŋ syaile lo-hi esa
son-daughter be-SEQ jackal come-P thus
The jackal came asking the children.

e jamal-lai doʔ-hi aŋ.
oh child-PL say-P FOC1
Thus, ‘hey kids’ he said.’

naŋ-ko amai hiso hane-hi doʔ-khe.
you^s.OBL-GEN mother whither go-P say-IMPF
‘Where did your^s mother go?’

¹ This tale by Mine Rāj Thāru, aged 20, a resident of Sāno Bāhraghare, was recorded in December 1998 in the village of Āthiyābārī. See also a Limbu version of this story collected by George van Driem (1987, 349)

sikar gha-lha-hi doʔ-hi doʔ-khe.
 hunt play-INTEN-P say-P say-IMPF
 ‘She went hunting’, they said.

ek tep dui tep tin tep pi-ã ela-ŋ doʔ-hi aŋ.
 one tap two tap three tap give-FUT.1s now-EMP say-P FOC1
 ‘I’ll give one tap, two taps, three taps right now’, he said.

eʔ-khe nheʔ-khe sum-khe pi-ã doʔ-hi aŋ.
 one-time two-time three-time give-FUT.1s say-P FOC1
 ‘I’ll give it once, twice, three times’, he said.

kalau esa doʔ-ka-ta-ŋ aro-ŋ hane-hi doʔ-khe.
 so thus say-NOM-LOC-EMP more-EMP go-P say-IMPF
 And so saying like this, he went away.

aro-ŋ lo-hi iŋko syaile.
 more-EMP come-P that jackal
 Once again he came, that jackal.

khuru lo-ka te oi jamal-lai doʔ-hi.
 [?] come-NOM TOP hey child-PL say-P
 Coming, that jackal, and he said ‘hey, children,’ he said.

naŋ-ko aba-amai hiso hane-hi doʔ-hi.
 you^s.OBL-GEN father-mother whither go-P say-P
 ‘Where did these parents of yours^s go?’

sikar gha-lha-hi doʔ-hi.
 hunt play-INTEN-P say-P
 ‘[She] went hunting,’ [they] said.

ek tep dui tep tin tep pi-ã ela-ŋ doʔ-hi doʔ-khe.
 one tap two tap three tap give-FUT.1s now-EMP say-P say-IMPF
 ‘I’ll give one tap, two taps, three taps right now’, [he] said.

kalau wa-ko amai-heŋ doʔ-pi-hi
 so 3s-GEN mother-DAT say-DIR-P
 Then [it] said to it's mother,

amai amai eʔ-loŋ syaile lo-khe na?
 mother mother one-CL jackal come-IMPF QUEST
 'Mother, mother, a jackal comes, mmh?'

oi jamal-lai doʔ-khe.
 hey child-PL say-IMPF
 "'Hey children" he says.'

naŋ-ko amai hiso hane-hi doʔ-labelau
 you^s.OBL-GEN mother whither go-P say-TEM
 'When he says "where did your^s mother go?"',

sikar gha-lha-hi doʔ-pi-nha-khe.
 hunt play-INTEN-P say-DIR-1p-IMPF
 'We say "she went hunting." '

Ek tep dui tep tin tep pi-ã
 One tap two tap three tap give-FUT.1s

doʔ-ka hai amai doʔ-hi doʔ-khe.
 say-NOM what mother say-P say-IMPF
 'What does "I'll give one tap, two taps, three taps" mean mother?'

mha?! ka ita-ŋ yha-ã na doʔ-hi
 stop I here-EMP stay-FUT.1s QUEST say-P

doʔ-teŋ daʔ-teŋ
 say-SEQ REDUP
 'Stop! I will stay here, mmh?', she said and having said it,

a nidhimi nelai sum-mi hiʔt-a wa.
 VOC you^d you^p three-CL ask-FUT DED
 ‘And you two, er you three, [he] may ask.’

sikar gha-lha-hi doʔ-pi-su aũ?
 hunt play-INTEN-P say-DIR-COL TAG
 ‘Say [that she]went hunting, okay?’

ka rem-pha-ŋ gil-pu-ã!
 I be.good-do-EMP chase-DIST-FUT.1s
 ‘I’ll chase him off but good!’

uŋko-heŋ seʔt-ã doʔ-hi doʔ-khe.
 that-DAT kill-FUT.1s say-P say-IMPF
 ‘I’ll kill him’, she said.

aro-ŋ lo-hi. aro-ŋ lo-hi.
 more-EMP come-P more-EMP come-P
 And so he came once more. And so he came once more.

o jamal-lai hiʔ-hi doʔ-khe.
 oh child-PL ask-P say-IMPF
 ‘Hey children’ he asked.

naŋ-ko amai hiso hane-hi doʔ-hi doʔ-khe.
 you^s.OBL-GEN mother whither go-P say-P say-IMPF
 ‘Where did your^s mother go?’, he said.’

sikar gha-li doʔ-pi-hi.
 hunt play-INF say-DIR-P
 ‘[She went] to hunt’, [they] told him.

bhujuka-pa ole-teŋ ale-teŋ gil-pu-hi.
 sudden-do emerge-SEQ REDUP chase-DIST-P
 ‘And suddenly emerging, she chased him off.

gil-pu-hi gil-pu-hi doʔ-khe.
 chase-DIST-P chase-DIST-P say-IMPF
 She chased him and chased him, they say.

gil-pu-teŋ gal-pu-teŋ eʔ-loŋ jhonji hi-gha-khe.
 chase-DIST-SEQ REDUP one-CL thicket be-PIMPF-IMPF
 After chasing him away, there was a thicket.

iŋko jhonji-ta wa syaile te siri-hi.
 that thicket-LOC 3s jackal TOP pierce-P.
 The jackal, he slipped into that thicket.

naibiri u siri-li khaŋ-hi la.
 bear DIST pierce-INF look-P MIR
 The bear, you know, [she] then tried to slip in.

puriŋ oʔki-hi la.
 head be.stuck-P MIR
 Her head got stuck.

lagai iso tane-li ma-el-khe.
 pull over.here pull-INF NEG-be.proper-IMPF
 Pulling this way doesn't work.

oso tane-li dul-li ma-do-khe.
 over.there pull-INF enter-INF NEG-can-IMPF
 Pulling that way, she is unable to go in.

ole-li ma-do-khe la.
 emerge-INF NEG-can-IMPF MIR
 She can't get out now.

ode-pa lo-teŋ la-teŋ lesara-ta le:-teŋ
 that-do come-SEQ REDUP behind-LOC move-SEQ
 Then, coming over behind her,

ek tep dui tep tin tep
 one tap two tap three tap

ek tep dui tep tin tep pi-ã.
 one tap two tap three tap give-FUT.1s
 ‘One tap, two taps, three taps, I’ll give [you] one tap, two taps, three taps.’

kalau naibiri doʔ-teŋ syaile ka naŋ-ko-ŋ
 so bear say-SEQ jackal I you^s.OBL-GEN-EMP

jeŋ-hi la doʔ-hi aŋ.
 happen-P MIR say-P FOC1
 So the bear said, ‘jackal, I have become yours now.’

eʔ-khe wa pa-na bhai-so te wa-ko-ŋ jeŋ-hi la.
 one-time 3s do-IMPL seem-EL TOP 3s-GEN-EMP become-P MIR
 Since he did it once, she became his then.

pa-na bhai-so te pa-hi pu-hi doʔ-hi esa
 do-IMPL be.like-EL TOP do-P REDUP say-P thus
 Since he did it, he did it thoroughly like that.

ela jamal-lai suta hi-hi la.
 now child-P home be-P MIR
 ‘Now the children are at home.’

sikar gha-lha-siŋ la doʔ-hi syaile-heŋ la naibiri.
 hunt play-INTEN-ADH.DL MIR say-P jackal-DAT MIR bear
 ‘Let us^d go hunting now’, said the bear to the jackal.

mili-teŋ muli-teŋ hane-hi sikar gha-li.
 be.arranged-SEQ REDUP go-P hunt play-INF
 After getting ready, they went hunting.

kaup-abe-gelai seʔ-hi doʔ-khe biha
 turtle-DUB-PL kill-P say-IMPf meat
 They say that they killed some some turtles or something—meat.

na tereŋ cum-a-na na biha cum-a-naʔ
 you^s intestines take-FUT-2 or meat take-FUT-2
 ‘Do you^s want to take the intestines or the meat?’

doʔ-hi doʔ-khe naibiri syaile-heŋ wa-ko keʔ-heŋ.
 say-P say-IMPf bear jackal-DAT 3s-GEN husband-DAT
 said the bear to the jackal, to her husband.

ka biha cum-ã doʔ-hi doʔ-khe.
 I meat take-FUT.1s say-P say-IMPf
 ‘I’ll take the meat,’ he said.

ka biha cum-ã. na tereŋ cum doʔ-hi.
 I meat take-FUT.1s you^s intestines take say-P
 ‘I’ll take the meat and you^s take the intestines,’ he said.

na te syaile-ko nui-ta hethe
 QUEST TOP jackal-GEN mouth-LOC how.much

aʔi-hi wa la bihaʔ
 fit-P DED MIR meat
 Now, how much meat do you suppose fit into the jackal’s mouth then?

esa cuma-ka-ta-ŋ cuma-ka-ta-ŋ
 thus take-NOM-LOC-EMP take-NOM-LOC-EMP

suta hane-labelau
 home go-TEM
 Taking it home like that, on the way,

suta puge-labelau nui-ta
 home arrive-TEM mouth-LOC

atuisa eʔ-toi khiniŋ cum-pu-hi.
 a.bit one-piece only take-DIST-P
 when he arrived at home, in his mouth he brought only one small piece.

kalau wa doʔ-khe oso aba u doʔ-khe.
 so 3s say-IMPF over.there father REFR say-IMPF
 And so he says, ‘over there, they say “father,”

ka-heŋ atuisa pi-dhe doʔ-khe.
 I-DAT a.bit give-REL say-IMPF
 “Leave me a little bit behind,” they say.’

oso kheʔ-dhi-khe ru. oso hul-dhi-khe.
 over.there stick-REL-IMPF EXCL over.there fall-REL-IMPF
 It sticks and gets left behind back there. It falls and gets left behind back there.

hul-teŋ hal-teŋ uŋko hul-teŋ hane-lau
 fall-SEQ REDUP that fall-SEQ go-TEM
 While going along, it falls, dropping and dropping,

insa hul-pa-ka-ta-ŋ hul-pa-ka-ta-ŋ
 thus fall-do-NOM-LOC-EMP fall-do-NOM-LOC-EMP
 like that dropping it and dropping it and dropping it,

hul-pa-ka-ta-ŋ tiʔsa cum-pu-hi aŋ.
 fall-do-NOM-LOC-EMP a.tiny.bit take-DIST-P FOC1
 he only brought a little bit.

cum-pu-ka-ta-ŋ cam-pu-ka-ta-ŋ cum-hi doʔ-khe.
 take-DIST-NOM-LOC-EMP REDUP take-P say-IMPF
 Bringing it and bringing it, he brought it.

nai — wa-ko beʔ naibiri doʔ-khe doʔ-khe
 bea 3s-GEN wife bear say-IMPF say-IMPF
 The bear — his wife the bear says,

na ala maha biha na-heŋ cum-pu-li lagai-gha.
 you^s a.lot great meat you^s-DAT take-DIST-IMP put.on-P.1s
 ‘You^s — I had you^s take a great amount of meat.’

na eʔ-toi khiniŋ cum-teŋ lo-nha doʔ-khe wa cahĩ.
 you^s one-piece only take-SEQ come-P.2 say-IMPF 3s IND
 ‘You^s came bringing only one piece?’, she says.

eʔ-toi khiniŋ cum-teŋ lo-nha doʔ-khe.
 one-piece only take-SEQ come-P.2 say-IMPF
 ‘You^s came bringing only one piece!’, she says.

ku-nu la nanci-gelai oso oso rhe:-khe.
 COP-COND MIR pitiable-PL over.there over.there beg-IMPF
 ‘Well then, the poor things, they beg over there and over there.’

oso pi-kha. oso rhe:-khe.
 over.there give-IMPF.1s over.there beg-IMPF
 ‘Over there I give [some to them]. They beg over there.’

oso pi-kha doʔ-hi.
 there give-IMPF.1s say-P
 ‘Over there I give some,’ he said.

esa pi-ka-ta pi-ka-ta oso rhe:-khe.
 thus give-NOM-LOC give-NOM-LOC over.there beg-IMPF
 ‘And so giving and giving like that, they ask for some over there.’

oso pi-kha doʔ-teŋ daʔ-teŋ
 over.there give-IMPF.1s say-SEQ REDUP
 ‘And I give some over there’, so saying

insa pa-ka-ta-ŋ ede jhoko eʔ-toi lo-hi la.
 like.that do-NOM-LOC-EMP this amount one-piece come-P MIR
 Doing like this he came with this much, just one piece.

hai pa-li ku-nu la doʔ-hi?
 what do-INF COP-COND MIR say-P
 ‘What was to do then?’ he said.

oso wa nui-ta hethe ala-ka
 over.there 3s mouth-LOC how.much be.much-NOM

bhari cum-pu-li do-a wa?
 load take-DIST-INF can-FUT DED
 Could he carry such a huge load in his mouth over there?

hul-pa-ka-ta hul-pa-ka-ta do: -hoi.
 fall-do-NOM-LOC fall-do-NOM-LOC be.finished-PERF
 Dropping it and dropping it, it was all gone.

atui-ka toi nui-ta cum-teŋ cam-teŋ
 be.small-NOM piece mouth-LOC take-SEQ REDUP

kalau suta cum-pu-hi.
 so home take-DIST-P
 He came home bringing a small piece in his mouth.

kalau bakharai-teŋ ca-hi obalai.
 so apportion-SEQ eat-P they^p
 And so having apportioned it, they ate.

jamal-lai-heŋ wa naibiri tereŋ-sereŋ eʔ-sa-hi.
 child-PL-DAT 3s bear intestine-REDUP empty-APR-P
 The bear cleaned out the intestines and things for the children.

wa tereṅ-bhuti wa te gota-ṅ cum-pu-hi.
 3s intestines 3s TOP whole-EMP take-DIST-P
 She brought it all, the small and large intestines.

eʔ-sa-hi uʔ-sa-hi
 empty-APR-P REDUP
 She emptied them all out.

kalau jharaṅ insa co:-sa-hi cu:-sa-hi jamal-lai-gelai.
 so all thus divide-APR-P REDUP child-PL-PL
 So then it seems they all divided it up, all the children.

jim-hi. aram pa-hi.
 sleep-P rest do-P
 [They] laid down and rested.

kalau do:-hoi ede katha.
 so be.finished-PERF this story
 And so this story is over.

TEXT EIGHT

THE SNAKE HUSBAND¹

eʔ-loŋ waraŋ-ko na-mi camindi hi-gha-khe.
one-CL old.man-GEN five-HCL daughter be-PIMPF-IMPF
There once was a man who had five daughters.

na-mi camindi hi-gha-khe.
five-HCL daughter be-PIMPF-IMPF
There were five daughters.

kalau bar-ka abe siŋ-ta taŋ-hi doʔ-khe.
so be.big-NOM pause tree-LOC climb-P say-IMPF
And they say that they climbed a big tree.

kase siŋ-ta kase ca-li taŋ-hi doʔ-khe.
kase tree-LOC *kase* eat-INF climb-P say-IMPF
They climbed a *kase* tree to eat *kase* fruit, they say.

jharan taŋ-hi doʔ-khe.
all climb-P say-IMPF
They all climbed up they say.

camindi-gelai aba-gelai jharan taŋ-hi doʔ-khe inta.
daughter-PL father-PL all climb-P say-IMPF there
The daughters, the father and such, all climbed up there.

¹ This tale by Mine Rāj Thāru, aged 20, a resident of Sāno Bāhraghare, was recorded in December 1998 in the village of Aṭhiyābārī.

kalau pūya bar-ka lo-hi doʔ-khe.
 so snake be.big-NOM come-P say-IMPF
 And so a snake, a large one, came up, they say.

pūya lo-teŋ la-teŋ wa-ko aba-heŋ seʔ-li lo-hi.
 snake come-SEQ REDUP 3s-GEN father-DAT kill-INF come-P
 The snake came to kill their father.

na camindi-heŋ pi-nu pi.
 you^s daughter-DAT give-COND give
 ‘Give [me] your^s daughter or else.

ma-ku-nu na-heŋ ka seʔt-ã doʔ-hi.
 NEG-COP-COND you^s-DAT I kill-FUT.1s say-P
 Otherwise, I will kill you^s he said.

wa-ko jeʔhi camindi-heŋ hiʔ-hi.
 3s-GEN eldest daughter-DAT ask-P
 He asked his eldest daughter.

jeʔhi na han-a-na doʔ-hi doʔ-khe.
 eldest you^s go-FUT-2 say-P say-IMPF
 ‘Eldest, will you^s go?’, he said.

ma-han-ã aba doʔ-hi doʔ-khe.
 NEG-go-FUT.1s father say-P say-IMPF
 ‘I won’t go’, she said.

maili han-a-na na doʔ-hi.
 second.eldest go-FUT-2 you^s say-P
 ‘Second eldest, will you^s go?’, he said.

ma-han-ã aba doʔ-hi.
 NEG-go-FUT.1s father say-P
 ‘I won’t go father’, she said.

saili han-a-na doʔ-hi.
 third.eldest go-FUT-2 say-P
 ‘Third eldest, will you^s go?’, he said.

ma-han-ã aba doʔ-hi.
 NEG-go-FUT.1s father say-P
 ‘I won’t go father’, she said.

kaili han-a-na doʔ-hi.
 fourth.eldest go-FUT-2 say-P
 ‘Fourth eldest, will you^s go?’, he said.

ma-han-ã aba doʔ-hi wa buŋ.
 NEG-go-FUT.1s father say-P 3s also
 ‘I won’t go father’, she said too.

səbhəndə kanchi aba han —
 most youngest father go
 And the youngest, ‘Father, I’ll’ —

camindi han-a-na kanchi doʔ-hi.
 daughter go-FUT-2 youngest say-P
 ‘Youngest daughter, will you^s go?’, he said.

han-ã aba.
 go-FUT.1s father
 ‘I’ll go father.’

na jeta pi-li do-khe-na ma-ku-nu doʔ-hi.
 you^s where give-INF can-IMP-2 NEG-COP-COND say-P
 ‘You can send me off wherever,’ she said.

ota han-ã doʔ-hi. hane-ka-ta wa cum-pu-hi.
 there go-FUT.1s say-P go-NOM-LOC 3s take-DIST-P
 ‘I will go there,’ she said. And so going, he took her away.

cum-pu-teŋ cam-pu-teŋ kalau p̃ya lesara lesara
 take-DIST-SEQ REDUP so snake behind behind

lesara lesara hane-hi.
 behind behind go-P

Having taken her away, she went following behind the snake.

wa-ko ma-ku-nu te wa-heŋ seʔ-dhaŋ ru
 3s-GEN NEG-COP-COND TOP 3s-DAT kill-IRR EXCL

camindi ma-pi-nu te!
 daughter NEG-give-COND TOP

Otherwise, he would have killed him if he hadn't given his daughter.

hane-ka-ta-ŋ hane-ka-ta-ŋ wa lesara lesara
 go-NOM-LOC-EMP go-NOM-LOC-EMP 3s behind behind
 Walking and walking behind,

wa p̃ya jinse rai bho:k-a- ...
 3s snake mustard rape seek-FUT-
 The snake will seek mustard and rape [?].

wa lesara lesara hane-ka-ta-ŋ hane-ka-ta-ŋ
 3s behind behind go-NOM-LOC-EMP go-NOM-LOC-EMP

bhai-khe la.
 be.like-IMPF MIR

It seems she kept walking and walking behind then.

ənu te wa ekdəm dhəni. p̃ya jen-teŋ lo-hi.
 and TOP3s very rich snake become-SEQ come-P
 And it turns out he was very rich. Having turned into a snake, he came.

təra wa ekdəm maha-ko khandhani
 but 3s very great-GEN birth

pūya jen-teŋ lo-hi.
 snake become-SEQ come-P

But he was of a very high birth, and having become a snake, he came.

kalau lesara lesara hane-ka-ta-ŋ hane-ka-ta-ŋ
 so behind behind go-NOM-LOC-EMP go-NOM-LOC-EMP

esa khaŋ-khe.
 thus look-IMPF

And so following and following behind, she looks.

dhəni sa? hi-hi. babur-ka sa? hi-hi.
 rich house be-P be.very.big-NOM house be-P

There is an expensive house. There is a great big house.

cum-pu-hi la.
 take-DIST-P MIR

He took her there.

cum-pu-teŋ cam-pu-teŋ kalau wa te
 take-DIST-SEQ REDUP so 3s TOP

dhəni nin-teŋ hi-gha-hi.
 rich get-SEQ AUX-PIMPF-P

And so having taken her there, she had gotten a rich one.

hisika miliŋ-gelai hethemampha hi-gha-khe!
 what.kind land-PL how.much be-PIMPF-IMPF

What lands there were and so much!

tin-ko sa?
 tin-GEN house

A house with a tin roof.

kalau wa-ko cum-pu-teŋ cam-pu-teŋ
 so 3s-GEN take-DIST-SEQ REDUP

And so he took his daughter there.

wa-ko camindi te cum-pu-hi la.
 3s-GEN daughter TOP take-DIST-P MIR

And so he took his daughter there.

wa-ko jeŋhi camindi buŋ aro-ŋ
 3s-GEN eldest daughter also more-EMP

pŷya ke? bho:-pi-li doʔ-ka la pŷya.
 snake husband seek-DIR-INF say-NOM MIR snake
 His eldest daughter too then said to look for a snake husband for her.

aba ka-heŋ buŋ insika ke? bho:-pi.
 father I-DAT also that.kind husband seek-DIR
 ‘Father, look for a husband like that for me.’

pŷya ke? doʔ-khe aŋ ekdəm.
 snake husband say-IMPF FOC1 very
 ‘A snake husband,’ she keeps saying.

aba ka-heŋ buŋ insika bho:-pi.
 father I-DAT also that.kind seek-DIR
 ‘Father, look for one like that for me.’

wa khana jhar-bhari to-gil-khe ekdəm.
 3s only forest-CIRC dig-IM-IMPF very
 He goes around digging in the forest, all over.

pŷya hethe babur-ka ole-pa-pi-khe.
 snake that.much be.very.big-NOM emerge-do-DIR-IMPF
 What a great big snake he takes out for her.

wa buŋ pŭya keʔ pa-li khaŋ-hi la.
 3s also snake husband do-INF look-P MIR
 She too then was looking to marry a snake husband.

bora-ta kose-teŋ cuma-hi la. the-ka pŭya hi-hi.
 sack-LOC tighten-SEQ take-P MIR be.big-NOM snake be-P
 Tying it up in a sack he brought it. It was a big snake.

taʔ-pi-hi suta. okho esa co:-khe.
 put-DIR-P home oho like.this bite-P
 He put it in the house [for her]. Oh ho, it bites like this.

mmmh wa-ko aba te khujalai-khoi.
 mmh 3s-GEN father TOP pester-INC
 Mmmh, her father starts to pester it.

dusu-khe aŋ doʔ-khe. pa-khoi.
 meet-IMPF FOC1 say-IMPF do-INC
 He clashes with it they say. He starts to do it.

dusu-khe aŋ ekdəm. ekdəm co:-khe.
 meet-IMPF FOC1 very very bite-IMPF
 He keeps clashing with it. It bites alot.

ka-heŋ wa khati pŭya-heŋ wa pŭya-heŋ jen-teŋ
 I-DAT 3s khati snake-DAT 3s snake-DAT become-SEQ

lo-ka bən hi-khe ku-nu dyaŋ.
 come-NOM forest be-IMPF COP-COND person
 ‘Having become a *khati* snake, having become a snake, [this] person
 has come to me.’

okho khujalai-khe khujalai-khe. bhənda pa-khoi.
 oh pester-IMPF pester-IMPF [?] do-INC
 Oh, he pesters it and pesters it. He starts to ... [?]

dusu-khe aŋ.

meet-IMPF FOC1

They clash.

kalau ace esa rhima lho:-teŋ khaŋ-ka te
so oh.my thus morning rise-SEQ look-NOM TOP

si-hi wa-ko camindi la. si-hoi la.
die-P 3s-GEN daughter MIR die-PERF MIR

‘So, “oh my”, getting up in the morning and looking, his daughter died then. [She] died.’

wa si-teŋ sya-teŋ kalau liʔ-pu-khe.
3s die-SEQ REDUP so bury-DIST-IMPF

Having died, then [they] go and bury [her].

esa doʔ-khe ku-nu
thus say-IMPF COP-COND

ka-heŋ wa raja dyaŋ pŭya jen-teŋ lo-ka wa
I-DAT 3s king person snake become-SEQ come-NOM 3s

And they say like this, ‘a human king, having become a snake and coming to me.’

kelai kahĩ insika pŭya to-teŋ ta-teŋ pi-ka te
we^p IND like.that snake dig-SEQREDUP give-NOM TOP

‘And then digging up such a snake and putting it by us^p,

ma-seʔt-a wa doʔ-khe aŋ.
NEG-kill-FUT DED say-IMPF FOC1

might it not kill [us]?, [they] say.

kalau liʔ-pu-khe.
so bury-DIST-IMPF

And so they go and bury her.

kalau liʔ-pu-ka-ta-ŋ laʔ-pu-ka-ta-ŋ kalau
 so bury-DIST-NOM-LOC-EMP REDUP so
 And then upon burying her,

kalau ede katha do:-hoi kalau.
 so this story be.done-PERF so
 this story is over.

TEXT NINE

THE BOY AND THE KING'S DAUGHTER¹

eʔ-loŋ waraŋ-beraŋ hi-gha-khe eʔ-loŋ dukhi hi-gha-khe.
one-CL old.couple be-PIMPF-IMPF one-CL wretched be-PIMPF-IMPF
There once was an old couple. There was a wretched [old couple].

eʔ-loŋ waraŋ-beraŋ ekdəm dukhi.
one-CL old.man-old.woman very wretched
A very wretched old couple.

hai doŋ miliŋ mha-manthu-ka hai ma-el-khe.
what FOC land ABS-NEG.EXT-NOM what NEG-be.proper-IMPF
They didn't have any land at all. Nothing was right.

wa-ko wa wa-ko...
3s-GEN 3s 3s-GEN
Her, she, her...

wa-ko keʔ cahĩ ghaila bhar-teŋ ca-kha re.
3s-GEN husband IND clay.pot carry-SEQ eat-IMPF.1S HS
Her husband carried clay pots for a living.

ghaila bhar-khe. nani ca. jumni manthu.
clay.pot carry-IMPF today eat tomorrow NEG.EXT
He carried clay pots. Eat today. Tomorrow there is nothing.

¹ This tale by Mine Rāj Thāru, aged 20, a resident of Sāno Bārghaghare, was recorded in December 1998 in the village of Aṭhiyābārī.

ghaila bhar-gil-khe. bhar-gil-khe. kalau suta lo-khe.
 clay.pot carry-IM-IMPF carry-IM-IMPF so home come-IMPF
 He carries clay pots around. He carries them around. And so he
 returns home.

kalau thikka uṅko rajaina raja ghumai-ka-ta-ṅ
 so just.right that queen king stroll-NOM-LOC-EMP

ghumai-ka-ta-ṅ ghumai-ka-ta-ṅ lo-hi la.
 stroll-NOM-LOC-EMP stroll-NOM-LOC-EMP come-P MIR
 And so just then a king and queen, strolling and strolling, and
 strolling along, arrive.

kohi suta bāsa hi-li. thikka hai doʔ-khe.
 any home lodging be-INF just.right what say-IMPF
 To lodge in some home. Just then, what happens is,

wa-ko uṅko ghaila wa bharkar-ko beʔ
 3s-GEN that clay.pot 3s just.now-GEN wife

thikkə jeṅ-hi la.
 just.right become-P MIR
 his wife, the one who carries clay pots, his new wife was about to
 give birth.

jen-teṅ jun-teṅ kalau thikka na bāsa hi-hi.
 become-SEQ REDUP so just.right [?] lodging be-P
 Having given birth, right then they stayed for the night.

kalau wa-heṅ jeṅ-hi la.
 so 3s-DAT become-P MIR
 And so then he was born.

wa-ko thakdir te bhagwan te esa pa-lau lo-hi.
 3s-GEN fate TOP god TOP thus do-TEM come-P
 As for his fate, god doing thus, came.

lekhe-pi-khe.

write-DIR-IMPF

He writes it for him.

wa-ko thəkdir-ta esa pa-lau bhəgman lekhe-pi-khe.

3s-GEN fate-LOC thus do-TEM god write-DIR-IMPF

God writes his fate for him thus.

kalau uŋko raja hiŋ-hi la ota.

so that king hear-P MIR there

So then that king heard there.

uŋko raja-ko eʔ-mi khiniŋ camindi hi-gha-khe.

that king-GEN one-HCL only daughter be-PIMPF-IMPF

That king had only one daughter.

eʔ-mi khiniŋ camindi rə

one-HCL only daughter CONR

Only one daughter is all.

kalau wa-ko bhəgman lekhe-pi-labelau

so 3s-GEN god write-DIR-TEM

hai doʔ-he pa-nu

what say-HYP do-COND

So, what did his god write for him?

na eʔ-loŋ raja-ko camindi dopha bihu bihu

you^s one-CL king-GEN daughter COM wedding wedding

pa-a-na doʔ-teŋ wa-ko katha la lekhe-pi-hi la.

do-FUT-2 say-SEQ 3s-GEN word MIR write-DIR-P MIR

He wrote for him saying 'You^s will marry a king's daughter.'

wa cahĩ raja cahĩ sose-hi la.
 3s IND king IND consider-P MIR
 The king, he thought about this.

camindi te kaŋ-ko eʔ-loŋ khiniŋ doʔ-hi.
 daughter TOP I.OBL-GEN one-CL only say-P
 ‘I have only one daughter,’ he said.

kaŋ camindi
 I.OBL daughter
 ‘My daughter ...’

wa raja cahĩ hai doʔ-he pa-nu
 3s king IND what say-HYP do-COND
 What did the king say?

na can-heŋ iŋko doʔ-hi la. asa baraʔ-pa-su.
 you^s son-DAT that say-P MIR more be.big-do-COL
 ‘Your^s son,’ that’s what he said. ‘Raise him up a little bigger.’

na can-heŋ ka pərhe-li cum-pu-ã.
 you^s son-DAT I study-INF take-DIST-FUT.1s
 ‘I will take your^s son to study.’

ka baraʔ-pa-ŋ pərhe-pa-teŋ purhe-pa-teŋ
 I be.big-do-EMP study-do-SEQ REDUP

aro-ŋ jagir bho:-pi-ã doʔ-hi baraʔ-pa-hi doʔ-khe.
 more-EMP job seek-DIR-FUT.1s say-P be.big-do-P say-IMPF
 ‘While he grows I will teach him and then I will find him work too.’
 They raised him up, they say.

are eʔ-khe ghumai-lo-labelau jamal te baraʔ-hoi.
 again one-time stroll-come-TEM child TOP be.big-PERF
 Once more when they came around, the child had grown.

are eʔ-khe ghumai-lo-labelau
again one-time stroll-come-TEM

ka cum-pu-ã na-heŋ doʔ-hi.

I take-DIST-FUT.1s you^s-DAT say-P

Once more when they came around, 'I will take you^s away,' he said.

are eʔ-khe ghumai-lo-labelau cum-pu-hi.

again one-time stroll-come-TEM take-DIST-P

Coming around one more time, he took him away.

kalau lo-hi. baraʔ-teŋ hi-hi.

so come-P be.big-SEQ AUX-P

And so he arrived. He was getting big.

uŋko bharkər insa baraʔ-ka manthu-gha-khe.

that just.now like.that be.big-NOM NEG.EXT-PIMPF-IMPF

He hadn't grown up completely.

kelai yum-gil-ka jhoko cum-pu-hi ho.

we^p sit-IM-NOM amount take-DIST-P ho

He took him away at about the age when we^p go sitting around.

baraʔ-pa-ŋ doʔ-teŋ cum-pu-hi.

be.big-do-EMP say-SEQ take-DIST-P

He took him away until he was grown.

wa-ko uŋko dukhi bewal-ko te keʔ

3s-GEN that wretched woman-GEN TOP husband

ghaila bhar-gil-ka te rə. ghaila bhar-gil-hi.

clay.pot carry-IM-NOM TOP CONR clay.pot carry-IM-P

As for that wretched woman's husband, he carried clay pots around.

He transported clay pots.

cum-pu-ka te unko raja cum-pu-hi jhar-jhar-bhari.
 take-DIST-NOM TOP that king take-DIST-P forest-forest-CIRC
 And so that king took him away towards the forest.

na kaŋ camindi-heŋ na bihu pa-a-na
 you^s I.OBL daughter-DAT you^s wedding do-FUT-2

doʔ-teŋ inso-ŋ pheʔ-dhi-hi la. pheʔ-dhi-hi.
 say-SEQ over.there-EMP beat-REL-P MIR beat-REL-P
 Saying, ‘you intend to marry my daughter?’, he beat him and left him
 behind there. He beat him and left him behind.

ma-ko hai rhi:-ka hi-hi ko
 NEG-COP what call.out-NOM AUX-P COP

doʔ-khe wa-ko aba la.
 say-IMPF 3s-GEN father MIR
 ‘No, what is this that has called out?’, says his father then.

abe ma-ko hai rhi:-ka hi-hi ko doʔ-khe aŋ.
 umh NEG-COP what call.out-NOM AUX-P COP say-IMPF FOC1
 Umh, ‘no, what is this that has called out?’, he says.

esa khaŋ-hi.
 thus look-P
 And so he looked.

esa khaŋ-la doʔ-khe taʔ ghaila taʔ-teŋ tuʔ-teŋ
 thus look-TEM say-IMPF put clay.pot put-SEQ REDUP
 While looking, having put down his pots,

okho ya te kaŋ can ki rə doʔ-khe.
 oh 3s TOP I.OBL son ki CONR say-IMPF
 ‘Oh, why this is my son!’, he says.

baʔ-pa-hi aro-ŋ-gelai inta ma-si-hi.
 carry.in.arms-VEN-P more-EMP-PL there NEG-die-P
 He carried [him] back. [He] didn't die there.

wa-ko eʔ-khep phe nheʔ-khep phe kalau te
 3s-GEN one-time [ʔ] two-time [ʔ] so TOP

nicalaʔ-hi doʔ-khe.
 be.desolate-P say-IMPF
 [ʔ]

ode bhagman thakdir-ta lekhe-pi-na bhai-so
 that god fate-LOC write-DIR-IMPL be.like-EL
 Since that god had written his fate for him,

esa-pa lo-teŋ ma-si-khe ru!
 like.this-do come-SEQ NEG-die-IMPF ASS
 in that way, having come, he doesn't die!

si-aŋ ku-nu laʔ kalau insa cuma-hi la.
 die-FUT COP-COND MIR so like.that take-P MIR
 Will he die then? And so he took him.

okho dosaya
 oh friend
 'Oh friend,

na r... hiso cuma-nha-hi ede jamal doʔ-teŋ doʔ-hi.
 you^s r... whither take-MID-P this child say-SEQ say-P
 'You ... where was this child taken?', he said.

inta jhar-bhari insa thal-dhi-ka hi-gha-khe.
 there forest-CIRC thus throw-REL-NOM AUX-PIMPF-IMPF
 He had been thrown and left there by the forest.

hasu-ko doʔ-hi.
 who-GEN say-P
 ‘Whose is this?’, he said.

ede jamal hasu-ko doʔ-hi. wa-ko ama buŋ doʔ-hi
 this child who-GEN say-P 3s-GEN mother also say-P
 ‘Whose child is this?’, she said. His mother also spoke.

ede kaŋ-ko can rə ede!
 this I.OBL-GEN son CONR this
 ‘Why, this is my son!’

kaŋ can-heŋ ... rhe:-hi pose-li.
 I.OBL son ask.for-P raise-INF
 ‘My son he asked to raise him.’

cum-pu-ã doʔ-hi wa uŋko raja doʔ-hi.
 take-DIST-FUT.1s say-P 3s that king say-P
 ‘“I will take him”, he said, that king.’

pose-li cum-pu-ã doʔ-hi. pi-gil-gha.
 raise-INF take-DIST-FUT.1s say-P give-IM-P.1s
 ‘“I will take him to raise”, he said. And I sent him.’

insa dama-ta-ŋ seʔ-thal-dhi-hi hola doʔ-hi.
 thus road-LOC-EMP kill-throw-REL-P perhaps say-P
 ‘They probably threw him by the roadside and left him for dead,’ she said.

kalau aro-ŋ baʔ cuma-hi.
 so more-EMP [?] take-P
 So, again they took him.

kalau iŋko jamal cuma-teŋ cama-teŋ
 so that child take-SEQ REDUP

thyakai wa-heŋ pose-hi.

just.right 3s-DAT raise-P

And so taking that child, she raised him properly.

iŋko bebal doŋ pose-hi mə?

that woman FOC raise-P AGR

That woman raised him, right?

kalau uŋko raja aro-ŋ suta hane-hi.

so that king more-EMP home go-P

And so that king went home again.

ghurai-teŋ gharai-teŋ lo-hi.

return-SEQ REDUP come-P

Heading back, he arrived.

aro-ŋ ghumai-ka-ta-ŋ ghumai-ka-ta-ŋ

more-EMP stroll-NOM-LOC-EMP stroll-NOM-LOC-EMP

iŋko dukhi suta lo-hi.

that poor home come-P

Again strolling and strolling, [they] came to the house of those wretched folk.

dukhi suta lo-teŋ la-teŋ kalau esa khay-hi.

wretched home come-SEQ REDUP so thus look-P

Having come the wretched house, [he] looked.

uŋko jamal te jaman jeŋ-hoi.

that child TOP youth become-PERF

That child had become a young man.

kelai bhai-hoi. kelai bhai-hoi la.

we^P be.like-PERF we^P be.like-PERF MIR

He had become like us^P. He had become like us^P then.

wa-ko jamal jej-hoi. kalau hai doʔ-he pa-nu
 3s-GEN child become-PERF so what say-HYP do-COND
 His child had grown up. And so, what does he say?

na kaŋ-ko ciṭṭhi pi-pu-li
 you^s I.OBL-GEN letter give-DIST-INF

do-a-na kaŋ suta doʔ-hi.
 can-FUT-2 I.OBL home say-P
 ‘Can you^s deliver my letter to my home?’, he said.

jamal cahĩ hai doʔ-hi do-ã doʔ-hi ke wa cahĩ.
 child IND what say-P can-FUT.1s say-P [?] 3s IND
 And what the child said was ‘I can.’

oso si.ai.di-gelai mili-pa-hi.
 over.there spy-PL be.arranged-do-P
 Over there he arranged the intrigue.

ya-heŋ esa-pa te seʔ-su doʔ-hi.
 3s-DAT thus-do TOP kill-COL say-P
 ‘Kill him in this manner,’ he said.

kalau pi-pu-hi pi-pu-ka te.
 so give-DIST-P give-DIST-NOM TOP
 And so he delivered the delivery.

təṛə bhəḡwan thəkdiṛ-ta lekhe-pi-na bhai-so
 and god fate-LOC write-DIR- IMPL be.like-EL
 Since god had written in his fate for him,

esa-pa lo-teŋ bāce-khe. pi-pu-hi.
 like.this-do come-SEQ survive-IMPF give-DIST-P
 thus he comes back and survives. He delivered it.

hai doŋ pa-li ma-do-hi iŋko si.ai.di doŋ.
 what FOC do-INF NEG-can-P that spy FOC
 He could do nothing, not even the spy.

ya ede dyaŋ pi-pu-li do-a-na
 3s this person give-DIST-INF can-FUT-2

doʔ-hi re raja doʔ-hi.
 say-P HS king say-P
 'Can you deliver this to this person?', said the king.

uŋko wa-heŋ te seʔ-li doʔ-ka hi-gha-khe.
 that 3s-DAT TOP kill-INF say-NOM AUX-PIMPF-IMPF
 That one, he had been told to kill him.

wa te seʔ-li ma-do-hi la. kalau inta pi-pu-hi.
 3s TOP kill-INF NEG-can-P MIR so there give-DIST-P
 He couldn't kill him then. And so he delivered it to there.

are ghure-teŋ lo-hi wa. jamal ghure-teŋ lo-hi.
 again turn.back-SEQ come-P 3s child return-SEQ come-P
 Again he returned. The child returned.

esa khaŋ-khe. ma-seʔ-hi. seʔ-li ma-do-hi.
 like.this look-IMPF NEG-kill-P kill-INF NEG-can-P
 He looks. He didn't kill him. He wasn't able to kill him.

kalau aro-ŋ are wa buŋ
 so more-EMP again 3s also

insika si.ai.di lagai-hi aro-ŋ.
 that.kind intrigue put.on-P more-EMP
 And so once again he pulled that kind of intrigue.

ya-heŋ pi-pu-li do-a-na doʔ-hi.
 3s-DAT give-DIST-INF can-FUT-2 say-P
 'Can you deliver this to him?', he said.

inta te okho wa-ko camindi
 there TOP oh 3s-GEN daughter

hisika mǝjjǝ-ko wajan doʔ-hi.
 what.kind fun-GEN boy say-P
 And then, ‘oh what a fine one his daughter is’, said the boy.

esa khaŋ-hi. hisika dami-ko wajan doʔ-hi.
 thus look-P what.kind expensive-GEN boy say-P
 He looks thus. ‘Such a fine one,’ the boy said.’

mon-ta ta:-hi la. wa-ko
 heart-LOC to.like-P MIR 3s-GEN

camindi te mon-ta ta:-hi.
 daughter TOP heart-LOC to.like-P
 He fell in love then. As for his daughter, she fell in love.

esa khaŋ-khe. pi-pu-ka te pi-pu-hi.
 thus look-IMPF give-DIST-NOM TOP give-DIST-P
 She looks over like this. As for the delivery, he delivered it.

esa mon-ta ta:-hi la wa buŋ.
 thus heart-LOC to.like.-P MIR 3s also
 She too fell in love like that then.

esa wa-ko aba inta hi-gha-khe.
 thus 3s-GEN father there be-PIMPF-IMPF
 And her father was there.

na ya-heŋ seʔ-li khaŋ-khe-na na doʔ-hi. doʔ-hi.
 you^s 3s-DAT kill-INF look-IMPF-2 QUEST say-P say-P
 ‘Are you^s planning to kill him?’, she said. She said.

wa-heŋ ya-heŋ seʔ-ka khan-teŋ ka-heŋ seʔ
 3s-DAT 3s-DAT kill-NOM look-SEQ I-DAT kill

doʔ-hi wa-ko camindi la.

say-P 3s-GEN daughter MIR

'Instead of killing him, kill me! ', said his daughter.

ka-heŋ seʔ buruŋ la doʔ-hi.

I-DAT kill forthwith MIR say-P

'Kill me right now then,' she said.

ka ya-ko dopha bihu pa-ã.

I 3s-GEN COM wedding do.FUT.1s

'I will marry him.'

hai pa-li do-a-na doʔ-hi.

what do-INF can-FUT-2 say-P

'What can you^s do?', she said.

wa-ko aba buŋ seʔ-li ma-do-hi la.

3s-GEN father also kill-INF NEG-can-P MIR

So then her father too was unable to kill him.

seʔ-li ma-do-hi.

kill-INF NEG-can-P

He couldn't kill him.

kalau seʔ-li ma-do-hi osa-ŋ.

so kill-INF NEG-can-P over.there-EMP

So he was unable to kill him over there.

gərib dopha esa pa-lau

poor COM thus do-TEM

bejan mon pore-he pa-nu te esa pa-lau buŋ

girl heart fall-HYP do-COND TOP thus do-TEM also

And so, if the girl was in love with a poor man, even though it was like this,

bihu pa... pa-pi-li kor doṇ lage-hi.
 wedding do- do-DIR-INF effort FOC befall-p
 to arrange for a wedding required effort.

wa-ko bejan te rə səkḥər ma-ku-nu?
 3s-GEN girl TOP CONR powerful NEG-COP-COND
 His girl was that powerful, isn't that right?

bihu pa-pi-hi.
 wedding do-DIR-P
 He threw a wedding for them.

kalau insa ede katha do:-hoi la.
 so like.that this story be.done-PERF MIR
 And so thus this story now is ended.

TEXT TEN

THE EVIL STEPMOTHER¹

eʔ-loŋ isika can hi-gha-khe.
 one-CL that.kind son be-PIMPF-IMPF
 There once was such a son.

eʔ-loŋ waraŋ-beraŋ waraŋ-beraŋ ma-ko la buŋ
 one-CL old.man-old.woman old.couple NEG-COP MIR also

mausi amai hi-gha-khe.
 aunt mother be-PIMPF-IMPF
 There once was an old couple, not an old couple, a stepmother.

nheʔ-loŋ beʔ eʔ-loŋ keʔ ma-ku-nu?
 two-CL wife one-CL husband NEG-COP-COND
 Two wives and one husband, isn't that so?

nheʔ-loŋ beʔ eʔ-loŋ keʔ hi-gha-khe.
 two-CL wife one-CL husband be-PIMPF-IMPF
 There were two wives and one husband.

wa-ko keʔ-heŋ la uŋko wa-ko keʔ
 3s-GEN husband-DAT MIR that 3s-GEN husband

wa-heŋ ekdəm abe-gha-khe.
 3s-DAT very do.something.unknown-PIMPF-IMPF
 Her husband then, her husband — they were doing something to her.

¹ This tale about orphans by Mine Rāj Thāru, aged 20, a resident of Sāno Bārghagare, was recorded in December 1998 in the village of Aṭhiyābārī.

wa-heŋ seʔ-hi la.
 3s-DAT kill-P MIR
 She killed her.

wa-ko abe mausi ama wa-heŋ seʔ-teŋ suʔ-teŋ
 3s-GEN umh aunt mother 3s-DAT kill-SEQREDUP
 His stepmother, having killed her,

kalau wa-ko la buŋ hai be mətləb?
 so 3s-GEN MIR also what DUB meaning
 so her uh, what did that mean?

ode hai be jen-teŋ baja jen-teŋ lo-hi la.
 that what DUB become-SEQ kite become-SEQ come-P MIR
 What did she become, she became a kite and returned.

wa-heŋ dudu am-pa-li re.
 3s-DAT breast drink-do-INF HS
 In order to suckle him, they say.

pəhila tə səte hi-khe ru.
 first then virtuous be-IMPF ASS
 First of all, she is really virtuous.

ama dudu am-pa-li baja jen-teŋ lo-hi la.
 mother breast drink-do-INF kite become-SEQ come-P MIR
 Then their mother, in order to suckle them, came back as a kite.

kuleŋ kuleŋ jen-teŋ doʔ-teŋ lo-hi la.
 kuleng kuleng become-SEQ say-SEQ come-P MIR
 Having become a *kuleng*, she returned.

kuleŋ jen-teŋ lo-hi la. wa-ko dudu
 kuleng become-SEQ come-P MIR 3s-GEN breast
 Having becom a *kuleng*, she returned. Her breast —.

thyakai khuʔ-gha-khe.
 just.right descend-PIMPF-IMPF
 She would descend just right.

khuʔ-teŋ khaʔ-teŋ dudu am-pa-gha-khe.
 descend-SEQ REDUP breast drink-do-PIMPF-IMPF
 Having descended, she would breast feed them.

jamal nheʔ-loŋ jamal urai-khe.
 child two-CL child fly-IMPF
 The two children—she flies.

wa-ko mausi ama aro-ŋ pəkka ... ode abe
 3s-GEN aunt mother more-EMP truly that umh
 Their stepmother again ‘really... that umh...’

hede kal abe wa-ko mausi can-heŋ iŋko can-gelai
 which time umh 3s-GEN aunt son-DAT that son-PL

kori can-heŋ khani oʔ-ka sar
 step son-DAT only burn-NOM curry

oʔ-ka m pi-gha-khe.
 burn-NOM rice give-PIMPF-IMPF
 ‘What the devil?’, to her stepchildren she would only give burnt curry
 and burnt rice.

kalau haya-ko cui khiniŋ
 so fish-GEN bone only

ca-li pi-gha-khe nanci-heŋ.
 eat-INF give-PIMPF-IMPF poor.thing-DAT
 She would only give the poor things fish bones to eat.

kalau ode ode jeŋ-hi. iŋko baja jen-teŋ lo-khe.
 so that that occur-P that kite become-SEQ come-IMPF
 And so, that, that happened. She, having become a kite, returns.

nanci-heŋ insa urai-teŋ lo-gha-khe.
 poor.thing-DAT like.that fly-SEQ come-PIMPF-IMPF
 She would come flying like that to the poor things.

iŋko gyatis aʔ-teŋ uʔ-teŋ seʔ-pi-hi la.
 that slingshot shoot-SEQ REDUP kill-DIR-P MIR
 [The stepmother] shot and killed her with a slingshot.

iŋko kuleŋ kuleŋ buŋ seʔ-pi-hi nanci-heŋ.
 that kuleng kuleng also kill-DIR-P poor.thing-DAT
 She killed the *kuleng* too, the poor things.

kuleŋ seʔ-teŋ saʔ-teŋ kalau inta kalau
kuleng kill-SEQ REDUP so there so

kalau hai jeŋ-hi pa-nu tole-siŋ jeŋ-hi la uŋko.
 so what occur-P do-COND flour-tree become-P MIR that
 Having killed the *kuleng*, what happened next is she then became a flour tree.

tole-siŋ jen-teŋ jan-teŋ udhinimi mhitu-labelau
 flour-tree become-SEQ REDUP they^d be.hungry-TEM
 Having become a flour tree, when they^d were hungry,

ode wa-ko can dawa can mhitu-labelau
 that 3s-GEN son [?] son be.hungry-TEM
 that son of hers, [?] — when the child was hungry,

ekdəm udhinimi hane-ka hi-gha-khe.
 very they^d go-NOM AUX-PIMPF-IMPF
 they^d had gone a lot.

hane-labelau dawa-seguya guyaba tole
 go-TEM dawa-fruit.cake cake flour
 When they would go, fruit, flourcakes, flour,

ekdām tole jem-pi-hi re tole-siŋ.
 very flour become-DIR-P HS flour-tree
 the flour tree would produce lots of flour for them, they say.

inta wa seguya udhinimi uŋko ca-khe aŋ.
 there 3s cakes they^d that eat-IMPF FOC1
 And so they eat the fruit-flour cakes.

ca-teŋ cu-teŋ sipaʔ-pa lo-khe.
 eat-SEQ REDUP be.quiet-do come-IMPF
 Having eaten, they return quietly.

ma-ko idhinimi-heŋ ka hethe
 NEG-COP they^d-DAT I how.much

atutui-pa m pi-kha!
 be.tiny-do rice give-IMPF.1s
 ‘This can’t be, I give these two such a tiny amount of rice!’

haipali esa toi-khe ko doʔ-khe aŋ. Insa toi-khe.
 why thus be.fat-IMPF COP say-IMPF FOC1 thus be.fat-IMPF
 ‘Why is it that they are getting fat like this?’, she says. ‘They are getting fat for no reason.’

haipali esa toi-khe ko?! doʔ-khe
 why thus be.fat-IMPF COP say-IMPF
 ‘Why is it that they are getting fat like this?!’, she says.

iŋko buŋ pite-ka-ta-ŋ pite-ka — wa-ko kori-amai
 that also follow-NOM-LOC-EMP follow-NOM 3s-GEN step-mother
 She too following and follow—the stepmother,

pite-ka-ta-ŋ *pite-ka-ta-ŋ*
 track-NOM-LOC-EMP track-NOM-LOC-EMP

iŋko tole-siŋ buŋ pal-pi-hi la.
 that flour-tree also fell-DIR-P MIR
 following and following, she then cut down the flour tree too.

pal-pi-teŋ pul-pi-teŋ iŋko buŋ la jeŋ-hi la uŋko inta.
 fell-DIR-SEQ REDUP that also MIR occur-P MIR that there
 Having cut it down, that is what happened then.

pal-pi-teŋ pul-pi-teŋ inta kalau hane-khe.
 fell-DIR-SEQ REDUP there so go-IMPF
 Having cut it down, they go.

kalau iŋko pal-pi-su-ta si-hoi la.
 so that fell-DIR-COL-LOC die-PERF MIR
 And so cutting it down on them, it died.

kalau esa hai pa-li la doʔ-hi pa-nu
 so that what do-INF MIR say-P do-COND

iŋko jamal nheʔ-loŋ.
 that child two-CL
 And so thus, 'what to do?', is what those two children said.

kalau babar-gha-khe.
 so be.very.big-PIMPF-IMPF
 And so they were growing up.

babar-teŋ bubur-teŋ kalau wa-ko ama te si-hoi la.
 be.big-SEQ REDUP so 3s-GEN mother TOP die-PERF MIR
 Having grown up, then their mother died.

kelai eʔ-loŋ pesa pa-li goi-aŋ
 we^p one-CL job do-INF must-FUT

kelai-ko te kori-amai doʔ-khe.
 we^P-GEN TOP step-mother say-IMPF
 Then, ‘our^P stepmother says we^P must get a job.’

kori-amai — kalau esa kam pa-khe
 step so thus work do-IMPF

kum pa-khe udhinimi mi-one.
 REDUP do-IMPF they^d e.bro-y.sib
 The step... and so those two siblings work and work.

kalau kam pa-teŋ kum pa-teŋ oso-ŋ pa-khe.
 so work do-SEQ REDUP do-SEQ over.there-EMP do-IMPF
 And so they continue working over there.

oso-ŋ hi-khe. oso-ŋ ca-khe.
 over.there-EMP be-IMPF there-EMP eat-IMP
 They stay over there. They eat over there.

suta ma-lo-khe.
 home NEG-come-IMPF
 They don’t come home.

oso-ŋ hi-khe. oso-ŋ ca-khe.
 over.there-EMP be-IMPF over.there-EMP eat-IMP
 They stay over there. They eat over there.

oso-ŋ — suta ma-lo-na bhai-so te
 over.there-EMP home NEG-come-IMPL be.like TOP
 Over there — since they didn’t come home,

kori-ama-heŋ doʔ-teŋ suta ma-lo-khe.
 step-mother-DAT say-SEQ home come-IMPF
 on account of their stepmother, they don’t come home.

oso-ŋ baira baira hane-hi.
over.there-EMP outside outside go-P
They went over there, away from home.

do:-hoi.
be.done-PERF
That's it.

TEXT ELEVEN

WHERE CHICKENS COME FROM¹

eʔ-loŋ kiya-heŋ pausai-khe. kalau tui-li bho:-gil-khe.
one-CL chicken-DAT mate-IMPF and lay-INF seek-IM-IMPF
It mates with a chicken. And then it goes around trying to lay eggs.

kalau bhasa niŋ-nu inta-ŋ tui-khe.
and nest get-COND there-EMP lay.egg-IMPF
And if it gets a nest, then it lays eggs there.

dəs bara-ota tui-khe.
ten twelve-CL lay.egg-IMPF
It lays ten or twelve of them.

kalau nheʔ-ni sum-ni insa hi-khe kalau bam-khe.
and two-day three-day thus be-IMPF and brood-IMPF
And then it stays like that for two or three days and broods.

tui-ko dhale a:-khe kalau kican ole-khe.
ggg-GEN skin crack-IMPF and chick emerge-IMPF
The egg shell cracks and then the chick emerges.

kalau kican baraʔ-teŋ kalau uŋko buŋ pausai-khe.
and chick grow.up-SEQ and that also mate-IMPF
And then the chick grows up and then mates too.

¹ Texts eleven and twelve were related by an eight year-old girl in Āṭhiyābārī.

bhale cahĩ iŋko teli-heŋ pausai-gil-khe.

rooster IND that hen-DAT mate-IM-IMPF

The rooster, he goes around mating with that hen.

do:-hoi la.

be.done-PERF MIR

That's all.

TEXT TWELVE

SHIT EATER

lisi duʔ-ka! lisi bhaʔ-khe.
shit eat-NOM shit attack-IMPF
Shit eater! She attacks shit.

kam pa-li cahĩ mi-gi-khe.
work do-INF IND NEG-know.how-IMPF
She doesn't know how to work.

khali duʔ-li khiniŋ gi-khe.
only eat-INF only know.how-IMPF
All she knows how to do is gobble down.

khali-ŋ m jarai-li gi-khe. kalau jhi-khe.
only-EMP rice gather-INF know.how-IMPF and thresh-IMPF
She only knows how to gather fallen grains of rice and then she
threshes them by foot.

kalau m pi-pu-khe dokan-ta.
and rice give-DIST-IMPF store-LOC
And then she transports the rice to the store.

kalau dokan beranƣ paisa pi-gil-khe.
and store old.lady money give-IM-IMPF
And the old lady at the store sends money.

hethe jeŋ-khe? kilo-ko hisab jeŋ-khe.
how.much become-IMPF kilo-GEN math become-IMPF
How much does it come to? It goes by the kilo.

kalau hisab pa-teṅ paisa pi-gil-khe.

and math do-SEQ money give-IM-IMPF

And so after doing the math, she sends the money.

TEXT THIRTEEN

THE SICK ONE¹

juhā to-lha-li kai-gha-khe.
rat dig-PURP-INF call-PIMPF-IMPF
They invited him to go dig for rats.

kalau ota-so juhā phuṇ-li phaṇ-li
and there-EL rat roast-INF REDUP

phun-teṇ phan-teṇ kuṭi-hi.
roast-SEQ REDUP cut-P
And so afterwards, they roasted up the rats and cut them into pieces.

kuṭi-teṇ kaṭi-teṇ jharaṇ-heṇ bakhrāi-hi.
cut-SEQ REDUP all-DAT apportion-P
After cutting them up, they gave everyone a share.

kalau ho-teṇ ha-teṇ ca-hi. inta-so bimari jeṇ-hi.
and fry-SEQ REDUP eat-P there-EL sick become-P
And then they fried it up and ate it. After that, he became sick.

ca-teṇ cu-teṇ maik dhui-ka hiṇ-gha-khe.
eat-SEQ REDUP microphone speak-NOM hear-PIMPF-IMPF
After he ate, he heard sound being broadcast through speakers.

gaḍi cum-teṇ nani lo-hi. lampha hane-hi.
bus take-SEQ today come-P before go-P
He got a bus and came home today. He walked ahead.

¹ Texts thirteen through fifteen were provided by Umeṣ Dhimāl of Āṭhiyābārī in 1988.

hane-teṇ hune-teṇ lekharā-bhari gesa jolai-pi-hi.
 go-SEQ REDUP behind-CIRC candle light-DIR-P
 As he walked, behind him they lit candles for [him].

dir-gelai dopha bat mare-li thale-hi. phir-gha-khe.
 god-PL COM chat kill-INF begin-P shiver-PIMPF-IMPF
 He began to speak with the gods. He was shivering.

TEXT FOURTEEN

MAKING RICE BEER

uŋkhu col-hoi cal-hoi kalau ga:-hoi
paddy buy-PERF REDUP and cook-PERF
Buy some uncooked rice and then cook it.

ga:-teŋ gu:-teŋ bhonoi-ta lhaʔphada:-hoi.
cook-SEQ REDUP ground-LOC leaf cover-PERF
After it is done cooking, cover the ground with leaves.

lhaʔphada:-teŋ du:-teŋ taʔ-hoi.
leaf cover-SEQ REDUP put-PERF
After covering the ground with the leaves, put out the rice beer.

kalau iŋko bhətiya-heŋ tir-pa-li goi-khe.
and that rice.beer-DAT be.cool-do-INF must-IMPF
And the rice beer must be cooled.

tir-pa-hoi tar-pa-hoi sagua moʔ-hoi.
cool-do-PERF REDUP yeast mix-PERF
Cool it down and mix in yeast.

moʔ-teŋ maʔ-teŋ ghaila oŋ-hoi.
mix-SEQ REDUP clay.jug char-PERF
After mixing it in, char the clay jug.

on-teŋ an-teŋ dalo-ta taʔ-li goi-khe.
char-SEQ REDUP basket-LOC put-INF must-IMPF
After it is charred, one must put the rice beer in a basket.

jhol ole-pa-li goi-khe.
 juice emerge-do-INF must-IMPF
 One must cause the juice to run out.

jhol ole-pa-teŋ am-khe ma-ku-nu piʔ-khe.
 juice emerge-do-SEQ drink-IMPF NEG-COP-COND sell-IMPF
 After removing the juice they drink it or they sell it.

TEXT FIFTEEN

WEDDING CEREMONY

lampha ciu-khe kalau lokhon lagai-khe.
first bathe-IMPF then clothes put.on-IMPF
First, one takes a bath and then puts on clothes.

tupri tuʔ-khe mala giʔ-khe.
hat put.on- IMPF garland lock-IMPF
One puts on a hat and a garland.

wa-ko amai ʔika lagai-pi-khe.
3s-GEN mother ʔikā put.on-DIR-IMPF
His mother puts a ʔikā on him.

dhol sanai cum-pu-khe.
drum śahanāī hold-DIST-IMPF
They take along a drum and a śahanāī.

cum-pu-teṇ cam-pu-teṇ ota hane-khe.
hold-DIST-SEQ REDUP there go-IMPF
Having taken them, they go there.

hane-teṇ hune-teṇ tebul kursi taʔ-khe.
go-SEQ REDUP table chair put-IMPF
Having gone there, they set up tables and chairs.

kalau beula yuṇ-khe. bejan-heṇ ghurai-pa-khe.
so bride sit-IMPF girl-DAT stroll-do-IMPF
Then the groom sits. They walk the girl around (the seated groom).

inta-so wajan-heŋ mala lagai-pi-khe.
 there-EL boy-DAT garland put.on-DIR-IMPF
 After that she puts a garland on the boy.

wajan khur cum-pi-khe.
 boy hand hold-DIR-IMPF
 The boy takes her hand.

khur cum-pi-teŋ cam-pi-teŋ anguthi lagai-pi-khe.
 hand hold-DIR-SEQ REDUP ring put.on-DIR-IMPF
 Having taken hold of her hand, he puts a ring on.

anguthi lagai-labelau photo khici-khe.
 ring put.on-TEM photo take-IMPF
 While putting on the ring, they take a photo.

tai-ko dyaŋ-heŋ ca-pa-khe.
 REF-GEN person-DAT eat-do-IMPF
 They feed their own people.

kalau inta-so ca-pa-teŋ cu-pa-teŋ beula m ca-khe.
 so there-EL eat-do-SEQ REDUP groom rice eat-IMPF
 So then, after [the guests] have eaten, the groom eats.

adhi-mi nha-khe adhi-mi le:-khe.
 half-HCL dance-IMPF half-HCL sing-IMPF
 Half the people dance and half the people sing.

inta-so jheŋ-khe.
 there-EL be.light-P
 After that, it becomes light out.

TEXT SIXTEEN

ASARE CELEBRATION

jharaj saʔ-ta eʔ-mana-pa uŋkhu rə gora eʔ-gilas-pa
all house-LOC one-mana-do paddy and alcohol one-glass-do

mun-gelai taka bis-taka-pa.

beaten.rice-PL money twenty-taka-do

At each house, one mana paddy, alcohol, one glass beaten rice and twenty rupees.

uŋko taka-hoi paya meʔsa pareu kiya col-khe.
that money-INST pig goat pigeon chicken buy-IMPF

They buy pig, goat, pigeon and chicken with that money.

jagon dina jheŋ-ka-por eʔ-loŋ nheʔ-loŋ
[?] day be.light-NOM-after one-CL two-CL

kiya ca-khe.

chicken eat-IMPF

After it becomes light, they eat one or two chickens.

jheŋ-teŋ dilidili-gelai puja pa-khe.
be.light-NOM evening-PL worship do-IMPF

After it becomes light, they perform worship around the evening.

puja do:-teŋ kalau suta lo-labelau
worship finish-SEQ so house come-TEM

dabiya nha-pa-teŋ lo-khe.
khukuri dance-do-SEQ come-IMPF

Having finished the worship, while coming home they come swinging around a *khukuri*.

kalau saʔ-ta majhi-ko camindi
 so house-LOC headman-GEN daughter

jharan waran-gelai-heŋ seu pa-khe.
 all old.man-PL-DAT greet do-IMPF

Then at home, the headman's daughter greets all the old men.

aro-ŋ jumni jharan dera-gelai mile-teŋ
 more-EMP tomorrow all village-PL arrange-SEQ

The next day, having gathered all the villagers,

hai hai-ta kharca jeŋ-hi.
 what what-LOC expense become-P
 [They determine] what all the expenses were.

dera-gelai bho:-khe rə ca-khe am-khe.
 village-PL seek-IMPF and eat-IMPF drink-IMPF
 The villagers seek [to settle accounts] and eat and drink.

kalau dera-bhari waran-gelai hi-gil-khe
 so village-CIRC old.manP be-IM-IMPF

gora am-gil-khe.
 alcohol drink-IM-IMPF

Then the old men go around the village drinking alcohol.

uŋko do:-teŋ biha-gelai bakharai-khe.
 that finish-SEQ meat-PL divide-IMPF

After finishing that, the meat and such are divided up.

saʔ bakhara heʔ-mi hi-hi odoŋ jhoko.
 house share how.many-HCL be-P that amount
 Each house's share depends on how many people are there.

do:-hoi.
 be.done-IMPF
 That's all.

kalau inta-so jhem-pa dhol beʔkhe.
 so there-EL be.light-do drum beat-IMPF
 Then after that, they beat the drums until dawn.

than-gelai agaʔi dham-khe.
 altar-PL before build-IMPF
 Before the altars they build [?].

uŋko miliŋ jharaŋ-ko ailani miliŋ.
 that land all-GEN ailani land
 That land belongs to everyone.

uŋko miliŋ eʔ-mi piʔ-teŋ ca-li ma-nin-aŋ.
 that land one-HCL sell-SEQ eat-INF NEG-get-FUT
 One person may not profit from the sale of that land.

TEXT SEVENTEEN

LATER CLAN WORSHIP DURING PARBA

lampha-ko din-ta sa? li?ta rə bahar dha?-ta
before-GEN day-LOC house inside and outside porch-LOC

puja pa-khe.
worship do-IMPF

The day before, they perform worship inside the house and outside on the porch.

aŭsi-ko bela-ta e?-loŋ tui ta?-khe pecara khacuri
aŭsi-GEN time-LOC one-CL egg put-IMPF wound smallpox

ma-jen-a-ko do?-teŋ kalau jhem-pa-ŋ rhum-khe.
NEG-happen-FUT-OPT say-SEQ then be.light-do-EMP wait-IMPF
During *aŭsi* or the new moon, they place an egg saying may no wounds or smallpox happen and then they wait until dawn.

kalau jumni saleŋ-ta puja pa-khe.
so tomorrow ground-LOC worship do-IMPF
And then the next day they perform worship on the ground.

lāsami berəŋ tisti mai cəudhari maharaj
Lakṣmī old.woman Tisti Mai Chaudharī Mahārāj

buḍha ṭhakur mi-besa parbati kalau
Buḍha Ṭhakur brothers-in-law Pārvatī and

jauhara-gelai-heṇ puja pa-khe.

Jauhara-PL-DAT worship do-IMPF

They worship Old Woman Lakṣmī, Tisti Mai, Chaudharī Mahārāj,
Buḍha Ṭhakur, the Brothers-in-law, Pārvatī and the Jauharas.

RIDDLES.¹

amai yumka can nhaka. hai ti? sim khundi

The mother sitting and the son dancing. What is it? A mortar and pestle

ir kiti mir kiti dower kitikiti. hai ti? cudur

damp dark dank dark door dark. What is it? A snail.

da:ka mundhata ceṅga haya phe:ka. hai ti? nhati

On a black stump a *ceṅga* fish is swept away. What is it? Snot.

one khanteṅ dai laṅkhe. hai ti? lathi

The elder brother precedes the younger. What is it? A cane.

e?loṅ piyako sahe kandhe. hai ti? karaila

A cow's hump shoulder . What is it? A bitter gourd.

e?loṅ barka mundhaheṅ kaĩcihoi cikiṭpa po:khe. hai ti? lekharā

With a pair of scissors it snips a big stump with a cutting sound. What is it? Rear end.

e?loṅ jinisko nhe?pa methoṅ. hai ti? nariya

An animal has tails on both sides. What is it? An elephant.

barka pokharita kanebagula nho?teṅ ci sihoi. hai ti? gesa.

On a big pond a cattle egret landed and the water dried up. What is it?
An oil lamp.

¹ All riddles were provided by Asi Lāl Dhīmāl of Āṭhiyābārī .

eʔloŋ bejan saiteŋ nui giʔkhe. hai ti? makhalai

A girl touches it and it closes up its mouth. What is it? A mussel.

SONGS

CHILDREN'S SONG

jonjo lo lo
jonjo lo lo
oneko nuita wha? la la
nariyako can magha
ko?caanau
ōyako can magha
la?theanau
e anau sona anau
khuwāhāko can magha
bha?tanau
naibiriko can magha
rhaianau
khiyako can magha
cikanau
hā hā hā hā

Moon come come.
Moon come come.
Pour into my younger sibling's mouth.
Don't play with an elephant calf,
It will pull you close.
Don't play with a colt,
It will kick you.
Don't play with a tiger cub,
It will attack you.
Don't play with a bear cub,
It will claw you.

Don't play with a puppy,
It will bite you.
Ha ha ha ha.

TRADITIONAL SONG

pakri siṅko lhaṛpha phirphiraikhe
aṭhiyabariko bejalai girgiraikhe
tana doṅ thirana
naphleṅ phe:kana
wajalai khaṅli lonu
tumta noṛtana anau
tumta noṛtana anau

The leaves of the pipal tree are shaking
The young women of Āṭhiyābārī are stomping
You will weave
You will turn your head aside
If the young men come to look
You will bow your head to your breast, younger sibling
You will bow your head to your breast, younger sibling

POLITICAL SONG

losu re anau
losu re dada
ekta jenaine
bikasbhari haneka dama bho:kaine
edeṅ belata
edeṅ māukata

taiko desko khaltan khultan
gotan puraine
bejan wajan iskul hanaine
kalau te kelaiko desko paristhiti
gotan bujhaine

eden belata
eden mawkata

Oh come younger brothers
 Oh come older brothers
 Let's unite
 And seek the way towards progress
 Right at this moment
 Right at this opportunity

Let's fill in all the uneven spots of our own country
 Boys and girls, let's go to school
 And let's understand all the conditions of our country
 Right at this moment
 Right at this opportunity

TRADITIONAL SONG

jari jari jari sona jari hi.
e sona mhawa hai doʔtaniʔ re?
hai waraniʔ re?
idoʔ jhoko hai doʔ manthu.
sona camindi doʔ pihoiga.
aroʔ hai doʔtaniʔ re.
sujini siʔko bhar doʔ sona
daleʔ diupa diupa
kurja doʔ ku:khe sona
kaʔko mən doʔ thurpa thurpa
supaʔi doʔ canha sona kuʔukuʔupa
madoʔsai nuwa sona gojogojopa

Oh golden one
 Oh dear son-in-law, what shall I say to you?
 What shall I not say to you?
 Not even this much do I have.
 I have given my golden daughter herself.

What more shall I say to you?
 The fruit of the *sujini* tree hangs heavily on the branch.
 A dove coos, my dear,
 And my heart itself is breaking breaking.
 Noisily did you eat the *supārī*, my dear,
 Don't talk on boorishly, dear brother-in-law.

TRADITIONAL SONG

carbo sayo sayo sayo
dama dama roika roi doṇ baguri
cumasu re dadagelai jor doṇ hāsuli
jinseko bhar sona menseko bhar
uraili pi re dada lokondoko bhar
jor jor doṇ gumana jor doṇ hāsuli
manthu re anau sona jor doṇ hāsuli

Clap oh *sayo sayo sayo*
 The hog plum goes rolling and rolling along
 Bring oh brothers a pair of silver neck torques.
 Bean and sesame blossoms
 Make fly, oh elder brother, silk cotton tree blossoms
 A pair, a pair of jews harps and a pair of silver neck torques
 I do not have, oh golden sister, a pair of silver neck torques.

YOUNG GIRLS' DITTY

pasimbhari mili-mili haya jeṇsahi.
naṇko kaṇko oleli sālha jeṇsahi.

dhaṅgai kiya oletomlau nirgai meṇpisiṇ.
naṇko amai okho palau duphe jhatesiṇ.

kiya oletomlau dhoko thumdhisiṇ.
naṇko kaṇko oleli sālha jeṇsahi.

Over by the bamboo, it seems fish are being caught happily.
It seems consultations about you and me concluded.

When the rooster is about to emerge, let's^d wring its neck.
If your mother raises a fuss, let's^d chase her off with an axe.

When the chicken is about to emerge, let's^d cover it with a basket and
leave it.
It seems consultations about you and me concluded.

LAMENT

tho?dara cilim rampukhe.
sale iṅko me doṅ rampukhe.
sale iṅko me doṅ rampukhe.
hasu doṅ pia wa ajaiheṅ?
ajaiko mən doṅ kharpukhe.

dureso loka bansalai
tole gora colgilkhe.
tole gora colgilkhe.
baisakh mahina hanehoi.
jatri bajar lopukhe.

The bamboo pipe is disappearing.
Damn, even that fire is dying out.
Damn, even that fire is dying out.
Who then may give to grandma?
Grandma's heart goes along crying.

Guests from far away who come
Go around buying flour and alcohol.
Go around buying flour and alcohol.
The month of Vaiśākh is come and gone
Jātrī festival approaches.

INFLEXIONAL PARADIGMS

PAST

	singular	dual	plural	collective	affinal
1	<i>-gha</i>	<i>-nhiŋ</i>	<i>-nha-hi</i>		<i>-ghya</i>
2	<i>-nha</i>	<i>-nhiŋ</i>	<i>-su-nha</i>		<i>-nhya</i>
3	<i>-hi</i>	<i>-hi</i>	<i>-hi</i>	<i>-su-hi</i>	

FUTURE

	singular	dual	plural	collective	affinal
1	<i>-ã/aŋ-ka</i>	<i>-a-niŋ</i>	<i>-aŋ</i>		<i>-aŋ-kya</i>
2	<i>-a-na</i>	<i>-a-niŋ</i>	<i>-su-a-na</i>		<i>-a-nya</i>
3	<i>-a/-aŋ</i>	<i>-a/-aŋ</i>	<i>-a/-aŋ</i>	<i>-su-aŋ</i>	

IMPERFECTIVE

	singular	dual	plural	collective	affinal
1	<i>-kha</i>	<i>-khe-niŋ</i>	<i>-nha-khe</i>		<i>-khya</i>
2	<i>-khe-na</i>	<i>-khe-niŋ</i>	<i>-su-khe-na</i>		<i>-khe-nya</i>
3	<i>-khe</i>	<i>-khe</i>	<i>-khe</i>	<i>-su-khe</i>	

PAST IMPERFECTIVE

	singular	dual	plural	collective	affinal
1	<i>-gha-kha</i>	<i>-gha-khe-niŋ</i>	<i>-gha-nha-khe</i>		<i>-gha-khya</i>
2	<i>-gha-khe-na</i>	<i>-gha-khe-niŋ</i>	<i>-gha-su-khe-na</i>		<i>-gha-khe-nya</i>
3	<i>-gha-khe</i>	<i>-gha-khe</i>	<i>-gha-khe</i>	<i>-gha-su-khe</i>	

PROGRESSIVE

	singular	dual	plural	collective	affinal
1	<i>-doŋ-kha</i>	<i>-doŋ-khe-niŋ</i>	<i>-doŋ-nha-khe</i>		<i>-doŋ-khya</i>
2	<i>-doŋ-khe-na</i>	<i>-doŋ-khe-niŋ</i>	<i>-doŋ-su-khe-na</i>		<i>-doŋ-khe-nya</i>
3	<i>-doŋ-khe</i>	<i>-doŋ-khe</i>	<i>-doŋ-khe</i>	<i>-doŋ-su-khe</i>	

PAST PROGRESSIVE

	singular	dual	plural	collective
1	<i>-doŋ-gha-kha</i>	<i>-doŋ-gha-khe-niŋ</i>	<i>-doŋ-gha-nha-khe</i>	
2	<i>-doŋ-gha-khe-na</i>	<i>-doŋ-gha-khe-niŋ</i>	<i>-doŋ-gha-su-khe-na</i>	
3	<i>-doŋ-gha-khe</i>	<i>-doŋ-gha-khe</i>	<i>-doŋ-gha-khe</i>	<i>-doŋ-gha-su-khe</i>

PERFECTIVE

	singular	dual	plural	collective	affinal
1	<i>-hoi-ga</i>	<i>-hoi-niŋ</i>	<i>-nha-hoi</i>		<i>-hoi-gya</i>
2	<i>-hoi-na</i>	<i>-hoi-niŋ</i>	<i>-su-hoi-na</i>		<i>-hoi-nya</i>
3	<i>-hoi</i>	<i>-hoi</i>	<i>-hoi</i>	<i>-su-hoi</i>	

INCEPTIVE

	singular	dual	plural	collective	affinal
1	<i>-khai-ka</i>	<i>-khai-niŋ</i>	<i>-nha-khai</i>		<i>-khai-gya</i>
2	<i>-khai-na</i>	<i>-khai-niŋ</i>	<i>-su-khai-na</i>		<i>-khai-nya</i>
3	<i>-khai</i>	<i>-khai</i>	<i>-khai</i>	<i>-su-khai</i>	

 RECIPROCAL
 (PAST PROGRESSIVE)

	dual	plural	collective
1	<i>-su-doŋ-gha-khe-niŋ</i>	<i>-su-doŋ-gha-nha-khe</i>	
2	<i>-su-doŋ-gha-khe-niŋ</i>	<i>-su-doŋ-gha-su-khe-na</i>	
3	<i>-su-doŋ-gha-khe</i>	<i>-su-doŋ-gha-khe</i>	<i>-su-doŋ-gha-su-khe</i>

 APPARENTIVE
 (IMPERFECTIVE)

	singular	dual	plural	collective
1	<i>-sa-kha</i>	<i>-sa-khe-niŋ</i>	<i>-sa-nha-khe</i>	
2	<i>-sa-khe-na</i>	<i>-sa-khe-niŋ</i>	<i>-sa-su-khe-na</i>	
3	<i>-sa-khe</i>	<i>-sa-khe</i>	<i>-sa-khe</i>	<i>-sa-su-khe</i>

KINSHIP TERMS

father	<i>aba</i>
mother	<i>amai</i>
son	<i>can</i>
daughter	<i>camindi ~ camdi</i>
elder brother	<i>dada</i>
brothers	<i>mi-one ~ me-one</i>
younger sibling	<i>one</i>
elder sister	<i>bai</i>
sisters	<i>bai-one</i>
grandfather	<i>aju</i>
grandmother	<i>ajai</i>
grandchild	<i>cu</i>
grandnephew, grandniece	<i>bodi</i>
nephew	<i>bhagina</i>
niece	<i>bhagini</i>
father's elder sibling	<i>boi</i>
father's younger brother	<i>kaka</i>
father's younger brother's wife	<i>ate ~ kaki</i>
father's younger sister	<i>pisai</i>
father's younger sister's husband	<i>peusa</i>
mother's elder sibling	<i>boi</i>
mother's younger brother	<i>mamai</i>
mother's younger brother's wife	<i>mami</i>
mother's younger sister	<i>mausi</i>
mother's younger sister's husband	<i>mausa</i>
husband	<i>ke?</i>
wife	<i>be?</i>
wife's elder brother	<i>go</i>

wife's elder sister	<i>naju</i>
wife's younger sister	<i>hulme</i>
wife's younger brother	<i>huigo</i>
husband's elder brother	<i>babai</i>
husband's younger brother	<i>hulunga</i>
husband's elder sister	<i>naju ~ bai</i>
husband's younger sister	<i>hulme</i>
elder brother's wife	<i>bhauji</i>
younger brother's wife	<i>nama</i>
younger sister's husband	<i>besa</i>
elder sister's husband	<i>nuwa</i>
son-in-law	<i>mhawa</i>
daughter-in-law	<i>nama</i>
father-in-law	<i>juwa</i>
mother-in-law	<i>jube</i>
parents-in-law	<i>behai-beheni</i>
in-laws whose younger siblings are married	<i>gauri</i>
wives of brothers	<i>yare</i>

DHIMAL-ENGLISH GLOSSARY

The glossary is set up as follows. Words are listed with aspirated and breathy phonemes following the voiceless and voiced counterparts respectively. Long vowels, nasal vowels and those ending in a glottal stop come after the simple vowels. Alternate pronunciations follow the symbol ~. The bulk of non-native words in Dhimal are loans from non-literary varieties of Indo-Aryan languages, primarily Bengali and Maithili, but also Nepali. Due to the complex historical circumstances of the movement of peoples throughout this area, which is a topic of separate study, borrowings from these languages will be identified simply as deriving from Indo-Aryan. Multiple uses are listed numerically with the most basic sense listed first. Finally, semantically related lexemes and Nepali equivalents of cultural objects or native flora and fauna are provided at the end of some entries. The alphabetical order of the glossary is as follows:

<i>ə</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>w</i>
<i>a</i>	<i>ẽ</i>	<i>kh</i>	<i>ph</i>	<i>wh</i>
<i>ã</i>	<i>e:</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>y</i>
<i>a:</i>	<i>eʔ</i>	<i>lh</i>	<i>rh</i>	<i>yh</i>
<i>aʔ</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>s</i>	
<i>b</i>	<i>gh</i>	<i>mh</i>	<i>t</i>	
<i>bh</i>	<i>h</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>th</i>	
<i>c</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>nh</i>	<i>ʈ</i>	
<i>ch</i>	<i>ĩ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	<i>ʈh</i>	
<i>d</i>	<i>i:</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>u</i>	
<i>dh</i>	<i>iʔ</i>	<i>õ</i>	<i>ũ</i>	
<i>ɖ</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>o:</i>	<i>u:</i>	
<i>ɖh</i>	<i>jh</i>	<i>oʔ</i>	<i>uʔ</i>	

ə

əcəmma n., [< Indo-Aryan] surprise, wonder.

əñjan n., [< Indo-Aryan] inadvertantly, unwittingly. *eʔloŋ tui əñjanta bhoinhahi*. An egg accidentally broke.

əʔharə num., [< Indo-Aryan] eighteen.

a

a voc., o, hey; *a baigelai*. Hey, older sisters.

aba n., father.

aba-amai n., father and mother, parents.

a'be part., pause particle.

abeli vt., to do (something unknown). *tutuŋgre m abekhe*. Mole crickets do something to the paddy. *abedhaŋ* ... I would, um... *abedhana*... Would you^s um...

abhana n., [< Indo-Aryan] vow. *kaŋko saʔta cumali goiaŋka doʔka khalko abhana wa taʔhi*. She vowed that she would bring it back to her home.

a'ce inter., interjection conveying a sense of surprise.

a'damka adj., partially ripe.

a'damli vi., to be partially ripe. *torse adamka hihi*. The mango is partially ripe.

ader-maderka adj., any old kind, average. *isika kam bho:kana? adermaderka bho:kaŋka*. What sort of work will you^s seek? I'll look for any old kind.

adili paisa n., [< Indo-Aryan] monetary unit, fifty paisa or half a rupee.

adipa adv., very.

adha adj., [< Indo-Aryan] half.

adhim pron., half the people, half of them.

agabhari postp., [< Indo-Aryan] to the front, on the front side.

a'gaḍi postp., [< Indo-Aryan] in front of, before.

agata postp., [< Indo-Aryan + *ta* locative postposition] in front, before.

ahar n., [< Indo-Aryan] pigslop, animal food.

a'hã? inter., negative interjection, no.

a'huli vi., to howl.

aika adj., rotten, spoilt. *səpənata aika dyaŋ tiŋhi*. He dreamt about a rotten corpse.

aili vi., to rot.

ailhe n., basil.

airən n., [< Nep. < Eng. iron] iron (for clothes).

aithi adj., ritually polluted. *aithi khurhoi* with ritually polluted hands.

ai'yau inter., ouch.

ajai n., grandmother.

aju n., grandfather. *naaju!* Your grandfather! (term of abuse among children).

aju-ajai n., grandfather and grandmother, grandparents.

akara adj., [< Indo-Aryan] disobedient, unheeding person. *akara hihi. do?ka materekhe*. She is disobedient. She doesn't heed what she's told. *akara bejan!* Disobedient girl!

akha n., [< Indo-Aryan] traditional cooking hearth situated in the house and made up of three lumps of dried clay.

a'khe?ka adj., dirty; bad, nasty, vulgar.

a'khe?li vi., to be dirty; be nasty, bad, vulgar. *akhe?taŋ. iso malimpa!* It'll get dirty. Don't get a stain over here.

ala adj., much, a lot; great. *bapre ho! ala m canha!* Oh my, you ate a lot of rice! *ala barka* great big.

a'laiba'lai adv., so far, until now, yet. *alaibalai bhe?eka manthuga*. I haven't met him yet.

a'laka n./adj., great, large, big. *alaka!* [You're] acting big for your briches! *alaka bwali niŋhi anau!* Hey little sibling, he caught a big *bwali* fish! *oso nuita hethe alaka bhari cumpuli doa wa?* How big of a load could he carry in his mouth over there? ~ 'alaka.

a'lasi adj., evil, wicked. *alasi beran!* Wicked old woman!

a'leŋka'leŋ adv., sometimes.

algan n., [< Indo-Aryan] separate. *m algan ni?hi*. He swallowed the rice without chewing.

alghi dhaba? n., plaid handwoven cloth used as a sheet or shawl.

ali n., side. *jhora?ko ali ali*. river banks.

alo'lhopa adv., very slowly.

alsi adj., [< Indo-Aryan] lazy.

alsili vi., to be lazy.

alte-alteni n., helpers at a wedding.

alti n., work.

alhopa adv., slowly.

amai n., mother.

ambhui n., arboreal large orange-coloured ant that bites. Small children eat the abdomen, which has a slight tart flavour.

amdika n., burp.

amdili vi., to burp.

amdhili vt., to drink and leave. *gora amdhisij*. Let's^d drink some alcohol and leave.

amgilli vi., to go around drinking. *kalau derabhari waraṅgelai higilkhe gora amgilkhe*. Then the old men wander around the village and go around drinking alcohol.

amli vi./vt., to drink; smoke, chew (areca nut); swallow, take (a pill, medicine). *dilidilima am la dhaṅka ci*. Drink hot tea in the evenings. *ma-amli aṅ!* Just don't drink! *pani amsij*. Let's^d have some areca nut and betel leaf. *cur amana ma-amana?* Do you^s want to smoke a cigarette or not?

ampali vt., to feed liquid, make drink; breast feed. *dudu ampali* to suckle. *dudu ampakhe*. She's suckling.

ampili vt., to let drink or smoke; drink or smoke for someone.

ampuli vt., to go along drinking or smoking. *ampu do?kha*. Go with a cigarette I say.

a'nau voc. n., younger sibling.

anca adv., before, previously, earlier.

andar-bandar n., wild sweet orange-coloured fruit with a large pit. Nep. *gulajām* (*gulābjāmun*).

anemane n., thing; jewellery. *sika anemane cali sika?khena?* Does eating things that die make you queasy? *naṅko phe?ka anemane manthu?* Don't you have anything to wash? ~ *amne*.

anji adv., yesterday.

anhebare adv., last year.

aṇ part., 1) adhortative agreement particle, okay. *colpi aṇ?* Buy me one, okay? 2) argument/sentence focus particle. *na aṇ colnha saikal?* You bought a bicycle? 3) *aṇ ka*. Give it here.

aṇguli n., [< Indo-Aryan] finger.

aṇguro n., [< Indo-Aryan] charcoal.

aṇguthi n., [< Indo-Aryan] ring.

aṇli vi., to be ignorant, not understand. *hethe aṇhi be?* I wonder how ignorant he is.

ara n., [< Indo-Aryan] saw.

a'raili vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to order someone, command, boss around. *kumarheṇ kam araili doḍteṇ hanegha. khaḍhi.* I went to order Kumār to work, but he snuck off.

aram n., [< Indo-Aryan] rest, relaxation.

aram-barampa adv., over and over, repeatedly. *aram-barampaṇ phom lokhe.* Memories come [to me] over and over.

ardaṇ n., embankment, incline. cf. *tikar*.

are adv., [< Indo-Aryan] again.

aro 1) adv., [< Indo-Aryan] again; more; *aroṇ do?* Say it again. 2) pron., the remainder, the others. ~ *aru, aroṇ*.

asa adv., more; comparative. *aroṇ asa pi.* Give [me] some more. *asa marphaṇ parba cali bhyaili lo ni.* Please come even sooner to be able to celebrate *parba*. *bho:piā asa barka?* Shall I look for a bigger one for [you]?

asa n., [< Indo-Aryan] hope. *asa hihi.* [I] hope so.

a'sare puja n., [< Indo-Aryan] communal festival celebrated during the month of *Asār* (mid-June to mid-July) at the onset of the monsoon rains. Also known as *sirijat*.

asti n., trap, snare. cf. *phanci*.

a'tamli vi., to keep for oneself, hoard. *gotāṇ biskuṭ cali atamkhe.* He wants to eat all the cookies himself.

ate n., father's younger brother's wife, aunt. cf. *kaki*.

a'tuika adj., small, little. ~ *atuṅka*.

a'tuili vi., to be little, small.

a'tuipa adv., little, in small measure. *atutuipa gikha.* I understand very little. ~ *atumpa*.

a'tuisa n., a little bit, a small amount.

atu'tuika adj., very little. ~ *atutuṅka*.

a'thaṅ adv., right away.

a'thar n., [< Indo-Aryan] week. *eʔ-athar*. one week.

athom n., fontanelle, soft spot on baby's head.

auciri adj., wayward, wandering, gad about. *auciri dyaṅ*. A person who wanders about like a chicken or doesn't stay put.

auleli vi., to hurt, break (heart, mind). *nani kaseṅ bejanheṅ mabheṅ mon aulehi*. Today, not having met the girl, my heart broke. *dimak aulehoi*. [I] have lost [my] mind.

aũ part., adhortative agreement particle, okay. ~ *aṅ*.

aũsi n., [< Indo-Aryan] new moon.

aũsi puja n., [< Indo-Aryan] harvest festival celebrated on the same day as the Nepali festival *tihār*. Also known as *parba*.

a'waidhili vi., to be lost after being left behind.

a'waigilli vi., to wander around not knowing where one is going. *nanci nhisinta uraiten dama awaigilkhe*. The poor things (birds), after flying off in the night they lose their way. *gora mhahi kalau saʔ awaigilhi*. He got drunk and couldn't find his way home.

a'waili vi., to hesitate, be lost, be confused. *wa khiniṅ awaiten bawaiten hihi la*. Only he then was completely lost.

a'waipali vt., to mislead, lead astray.

a'waituʔgilli vi., to go around despairing. *kaṅko can bejan maninten awaituʔgilkhe*. Not having found a girl, my son is going around despairing.

a'waituʔli vi., to despair, lose one's senses. *ka te hiso kam maninten awaituʔgha*. Not being able to find work anywhere, I despaired. *na hai biṅ awaituʔkhena ko? kaṭhmanḍubhari kam bho:lha*. What is the reason that you are despairing? Go to look for work in Kathmandu.

a:li vt., to break open, tear apart. *tuiko dhale a:khe*. It breaks open the shell. *saʔ a:kaine*. Let's^p tear down the house. *capri bhonoi a:ghakhe*. They were breaking apart the mud clods.

aʔli vt., to shoot, cast, throw at. *bānduk aʔkhe*. He's shooting a rifle. *guli aʔteṅ seʔhi*. He shot the slingshot and killed it. *odoi kabaraheṅ goli aʔ!* Shoot a bullet at that deer! *iṅko gyatis aʔteṅ uʔteṅ seʔpihi*. He shot the sling and killed it.

b

bə'caili vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to save.

bəgan n., [< Indo-Aryan] garden, orchard.

bəjeli vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to strike (o'clock). *ek bəjehi*. It is one o'clock. *sat bəjehoi*. It is seven o'clock already.

bəllə-bəllə adv., [< Indo-Aryan] finally.

bə'naili vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to build, make, construct. *raigelai atuika saʔ bənaikhe u*. The Rai people build small houses, you know.

bəthan n., [< Indo-Aryan] herd.

bəudili n., [< Indo-Aryan] tornado, whirlwind.

ba conj., [< Indo-Aryan] or. ~ *baʔ* ~ *wa*.

babai n., husband's elder brother.

babarka 1) adj., 1) very big. 2) n., big shot, honcho.

babarli vi., to be very big, grow up. *babarhoi la*. He's has grown up.

abor n., fried rice flour cake shaped like a pancake.

ba'del n., [< Indo-Aryan] cloud.

baduli'ba n., [< Indo-Aryan] bat, especially the large fruit bat *Pteropus giganteus*. Dhimals traditionally eat fruit bats, as do Tharus. The skin is also buried in the ground to rot before being dug up as medicine for crying babies.

ba'dun n., nickname for broody or sulking person.

ba'dhaili vt., to castrate. cf. *khacipali*.

bagula n., [< Indo-Aryan] little egret, *Egretta garzetta*.

baguri n., tart green fruit; Nep. *bāyar*.

baguya n., steamed rice flour cakes. They are made on holidays and when a woman goes to visit her natal home. They are very dense (so best eaten when fresh) and are served with a garlic, chili and salt paste.

baguya tole n., steamed rice flour cake shaped like a very pregnant cigar. cf. *lum tole*.

baha n., [< Indo-Aryan] arm; cf. *khur*.

bahar postp., [< Indo-Aryan] out, outside.

bai n., elder sister.

bai-one n., sisters.

baido n., swing.

baira n., [< Indo-Aryan] outside. ~ *bairə*.

baja n., [< Indo-Aryan] dark kite, *Milvus migrans*.

ba'jar n., [< Indo-Aryan] 1) a fair or *mela* held during the summer months, where young men and women traditionally meet. 2) market.

baje adv., [< Indo-Aryan] o'clock.

bajirham n., inedible grasshopper. cf. *saujirham*.

bakar n., rice storage.

bakoi n., wing.

bakhara n., [< Indo-Aryan] portion, share.

bakha'raili vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to divide, share.

bakhi'naili vt., to talk well about a person, praise.

bala hika adj., [< Indo-Aryan] sandy.

ba'laili vt., to irrigate. *miliṇbhari ci balaili hanehi*. He went to the fields to irrigate.

balli vi., to get something in one's eye. *iso dula mahulpa. misihā balan!* Don't cause dust to fall over here. Something will get in [my] eyes. *ede kaṇko misihā balhi te hai ko?!* What is this that got into my eye?!

bam'biṇ n., kidding, fun. *bambiṇ ba jatiṇ?* Is it kidding or the truth?

bam'biṇko adv., as a joke, for fun. *ba bambiṇko lohi be?* Or did he come for the fun of it. *kelai tas bambiṇko ghanhahi*. We^p played cards for fun (not money).

bamli vi., to lie close together. *dahēko tol sa? bamhi*. The neighbourhood to the north, the houses are nestled together.

bamli vt., to snuggle, brood, hold close. *kiya tui bamkhe*. The chicken is brooding eggs. *amai can bamkhe*. A mother snuggles her son. *babu kharkhe. babuheṇ bamkha*. Baby is crying. I'm snuggling him.

bampali vt., to come and brood, come guard. *auciri kiyahēṇ tui bampakhe*. It is coming to guard its eggs against the wayward chicken

bamusar n., large edible mushroom.

bandha n., dike, dam, blockage.

bane n., [< Indo-Aryan] flood.

bansalai n., guest.

baŋ'gaili vt., to switch, change. *paisa baŋgaili hanehi*. He went to get change. *kerā baŋgaihi*. He broke his oath.

baŋga'laiti n., Dhimal clan.

baŋgi n., melon.

baŋghiya n., [< Indo-Aryan] bamboo shoulder pole with nubs from joints left on at each end to block the slipping of carried objects. cf. Saptariya Tharu *bhaiŋ*.

ba'phaili vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to steam

bar siŋ n., [< Indo-Aryan] banyan tree, *Ficus benghalensis*. ~ *barko siŋ*.

bara?li vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to become big, grow up. *kican bara?teŋ uŋko buŋ pausaike*. After the chick grows up, it too mates. *are ekhe ghumailolabelau jamal bara?hoi*. When he came back strolling one more time, the child was grown up.

bara?pa adv., until grown or big. *bara?paŋ cumpuhi*. He took him away until he was grown.

bara?pali vt., to raise, care for until grown. *asa bara?pasu*. Raise him up a little more.

barka adj., [< Indo-Aryan] great; big, large.

barka juhā n., Indian mole rat, *Bandicota bengalensis*.

barnihā n., sambar, *Cervus unicolor*. cf. *niru*.

ba'sahili vi. [< Indo-Aryan] to spend the night. *na hethe basahiana oso?* How many nights will you spend over there?

basiya adj., [< Indo-Aryan] stale.

bat n., [< Indo-Aryan] chat, talk, discussion. cf. *mareli*.

bati n., [< Indo-Aryan] split bamboo.

batoŋ n., armpit.

bau n., 1) heddle. 2) cotton (archaic).

bau khati n., heddle rods.

bau pha'la n., wooden cleaver-shaped instrument used to construct the heddle.

ba'ya?li vi., to perish, go to waste. *m henja mapi. baya?taŋ*. Don't give [me] a lot of rice – it'll go to waste.

ba'ya?pali vt., to waste.

bāceli vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to survive.

bācepali vi., to save.

bācepapili vi., to save for someone.

bāya n., bee, *Apis indica*.

bāyako di:ka n., [*bāyako* bee's + *di:ka* thing that is sweet] honey.

ba:li vt., to prick, pierce, gouge, gore, stab; kill a pig. *piya ba:hi*. The cow gored [someone]. *sui ba:li hanehi*. He went to get a shot. *curi ba:kaniṇ?! Shall I stab you with a knife?! payaheṇ ba:khe*. They kill the pig (by driving a stake through its lungs).

ba:nhali vm., to be pricked, gored, stabbed; have a sliver. *cui ba:nhahi*. He was pricked by a thorn. *ba:nhaa wa!* One may get pricked (running around barefoot)! *ba:nhanha?* Did you get pricked?

ba:suli vr., to prick, pierce, gouge, gore each other. *piya ba:suhi*. The cows gored one another.

ba?li vt. to carry in one's arms. *kiya ba?khe*. She's carrying a chicken. *babuheṇ ba?taṇka*. I'll carry junior. *ede bejan jamal ba?teṇ hasu dopha nui dhuikhe be?* I wonder who this girl carrying a child is talking to.

ba?pali vt. to come carrying in one's arms. *ba?paka sanaiti*. Friends who came carrying things.

ba?sar n., [*< Indo-Aryan*] year. ~ *ba?har*.

be part., particle indicating ignorance, wonder, surprise and a general uncertainty.

bebal n., woman.

behai n., kinship term for the father of one's child's spouse.

behai-beheni n., kinship term for the parents of one's child's spouse.

be'heni n., kinship term for the mother of one's child's spouse.

bejan n., girl, term applied to a young woman until she marries.

bejat n., [*< Indo-Aryan*] disgrace, shame, dishonour.

berojgari adv., [*< Indo-Aryan*] unemployed.

be'jhemli vi., to lean against.

bela n., sun.

bela n., time, occasion.

be'lomli vi., to be late.

- be'lompa* adv., late or tardy. *ela hethe belompa saʔta hili goiaŋ la tha manthu*. I don't know how long [I] will have to remain at home.
- belhaʔlau* adv., in the evening, evenings. ~ *beləʔlau*.
- belhaʔli* vi., to become evening. *belhaʔhoi*. It's evening already. *belhaʔkhe*. It's becoming evening. *belhaʔta wa*. It may become evening (before we get back). ~ *beləʔli*.
- belhaʔpuli* vi., to gradually become evening. *aroŋ oso belhaʔpukhoi la*. Again it gradually becomes evening over there. ~ *beləʔpuli*.
- bemli* vi., to cleave to one side. *ali bemkhe*. He sticks to the side (to avoid someone). *dama dama bemteŋ hanekhe*. She walks clinging to the side of the road.
- bengalukui* n., tadpole.
- bengana* n., [< Indo-Aryan] eggplant.
- bengana bajar* n., late summer festival that takes place on third of *Vaiśākh* in the town of *Īṭahārī*. It is also celebrated by Tharus and involves eggplants and papier mâché elephants.
- beraŋ* n., old woman. Also used in nicknames for women regardless of age, e.g. *alu beraŋ* 'old lady potato', *marci beraŋ* 'old lady chili pepper', *kopi beraŋ* 'old lady cauliflower', *seŋka beraŋ* 'skinny old lady', *miŋkaini beraŋ* 'old cat woman'.
- berhem* n., bamboo mat; wall.
- besa* n., kinship term for ego's wife's sister's husband. cf. *mi-besa*.
- betai* n., [< Indo-Aryan] cane, rattan. Used to construct certain musical instruments.
- betenai jihā* n., Large cuckoo shrike, *Coracina macei*.
- beʔ* n., wife.
- beʔli* vt., to beat (a drum). *dhol beʔkhe*. They are beating the drum.
- beʔka-khe:ka* n., [*beʔka* drumming + *khe:ka* strumming] musical instruments.
- bicar* n., [< Indo-Aryan] thought, idea, consideration. *aroŋ buŋ kaseŋ haipili bicar paka hinha*. What's more, why have you^s considered me? *naŋko bicar hai hihi*. What do you^s think? ~ *bisar*.
- bigirli* vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to be ruined. *sait bigirli* vi., to have bad luck, have one's fortunes spoilt.
- bigripali* vt., to ruin.

- bi'ha* n., meat; muscle. *payako biha*. Pork. *kiyako biha*. Chicken meat.
- bi'ha sempaka* n., meat drying rack. cf. *celiṅgi*.
- bi'hu* n., [< Indo-Aryan] wedding.
- bihu-bərtən* n., wedding celebration.
- bijala* n., stopper, cork.
- biji* n., [< Indo-Aryan] mongoose, *Herpestes edwardsi*.
- bi'laiti* n., [< Indo-Aryan] potato.
- bi'laitu* n., [< Indo-Aryan] guava.
- bi'mari* adj., [< Indo-Aryan] sick. ~ *birami*.
- binda* n., [< Indo-Aryan] ring made of cloth or straw for carrying things on the head.
- binda khopa* n., woman's hairstyle with the hair wrapped in a bun.
- bindu* n., needle.
- biṅli* vt., to wear in one's hair, adorn. On festive occasions Dhimal women adorn their hair with flowers and fragrant leaves such as the leaf of the *keuḍa* plant.
- birami* adj., [< Indo-Aryan] sick.
- bi'reṅ* part., indicates uncertainty. *hasu bireṅ se?piaṅ?* Who then will kill it for [you]? *hai bireṅ katha do?sukhe*. What could they be saying to each other? ~ *breṅ*, *beṅ*, *biṅ*.
- bisibisipa* adv., in a painful stinging manner. cf. *tu:li*.
- bismala* n., [< Indo-Aryan] silver chain necklace. cf. *tise*.
- biswas* n., [< Indo-Aryan] belief, trust.
- biti* n., pus.
- bitili* vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to spend time.
- bitini* adv., in two days.
- bi:li* vi., to fester. *pecara bi:khe*. The wound is festering. *lumcu bi:hi*. The boil festered.
- bi?li* vt., to plant or sow seed.
- bo* adj., other, different. *bothame hanesiṅ* Let's^d go elsewhere.
- bodi* n., grandnephew or grandniece (used by *boi*).
- bodo* n., flying termites that emerge in the spring (edible).
- bodhala?ka* adj., blunt, dull.
- bodhi* n., bellybutton, navel.

- bogar* n., [< Indo-Aryan] streambank; *bogarbhari lisikhe* They shit over by the streambank.
- boi* n., father or mother's older brother or sister; aunt or uncle. Can be used to address unrelated people of parents generation, though senior.
- bokheli* vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to smack into, stub, bump against. *gabhreka! mundhaheṅ mhamatiṅsagha. remphaṅ bokhegha.* Damn! It seems I didn't see the stump at all. I smacked into it but good! *makhansiṅ telabelau bokhehi.* Not looking while walking, he stubbed his toe.
- bol* n., [< Indo-Aryan] strength, effort. *ekdam bol pakhe uṅko koṭsa.* That monitor lizard puts up a big fight. *bol pali lagai to kunu.* Have him make some effort. *bol manthu.* [I] have no strength.
- bolsaṅ* adv., by force; with effort. *lekheli makiṭṭghahi kalau bolsaṅ lekhehi.* [She] didn't want to write, but wrote by force.
- bonci* n., [< Indo-Aryan] fish hook.
- boṅli* vt., to fuck. *bonteṅ lucakhe.*
- bomi* pron., someone else, another person.
- bora* n., [< Indo-Aryan] gunny sack.
- boraili* vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to fill. *ede berañ ghailata ci boraikhe.* This old woman is filling the clay jug with water.
- borli* vi., to be pulled, be dragged.
- borpali* vt., to come pulling, drag.
- bosa* adv., in a different manner, another way.
- boso* adv., in a different direction.
- bo'tohĩ jihã* n., [< Indo-Aryan] quail.
- bo:li* vt., to grind (in a mortar). *tole bo:ka hihi.* She's grinding flour. *ede bejan simta tole bo:khe.* This girl is grinding flour in a mortar. *tole bo:ka khaykhe.* She's watching the flour being ground.
- boṭboṭka* adj., warm (weather); friendly, cordial.
- boṭboṭli* vi., to be warm (weather); be friendly, cordial.
- boṭboṭpa* adv., warmly, in a warm manner. *boṭboṭpa jim la.* Sleep warmly.
- boṭli* vt., to wear (a *boṭna*). *boṭna boṭkhe.* She's wearing a *boṭna*.

boʔna n., traditional black wrap woven and worn by Dhimal women.

It covers the breast down to the calves. Rather unusual for Nepal, older women often wear their *boʔna* around the waist leaving the breasts exposed when around the house and sometimes even in visits to local market towns. cf. *itangi*, *pataloi*, *samuthi*, *kucini*, *da:boʔna*.

budhi remka adj., [< Indo-Aryan] intelligent.

budhi manthuka adj., stupid, senseless.

buḍha adj., [< Indo-Aryan] old (male).

buḍha ʔhakur n., [< Indo-Aryan] Dhimal deity.

buḍhaʔli vi., to be old (man).

buḍhaʔpa adv., to an old age (man).

buḍhi adj., [< Indo-Aryan] old (female).

buḍhiʔli vi., to be old (woman).

buḍhiʔpa adv., to an old age (woman).

buiju n., lesser mongoose.

bu'jhaili vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to cause to understand, explain. *cittə*

bujhaili vt., to console, soothe.

bujheli vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to understand. *bujhehoina? ahā? bujheka*

manthuga. Do you understand? No, I don't understand. *cittə*

bujheli to be satisfied, to be convinced; (in the negative) to have one's feelings hurt, take offense, be unsatisfied. *cittə mabujhehi*.

He took offense.

bujhepali vt., to explain, make understandable.

bujhepili vt., to explain to or for someone.

bukbakpa onom., sound of rocks and earth falling; sound of water boiling. *rhutaso te bukbakbukbakpa hulkhe aŋ*. From above it

came crashing down. *ci bukbakbukbakpa umelhoi*. The water has begun to boil.

buke musar n., large edible mushroom.

bulbul n., dust or dirt that falls from above (upstairs). *bulbul mapasiŋ!* Don't cause dirt to fall from above!

bulbuli vi., to become spoiled from falling dust or dirt. *gotəŋ caka bulbulhi!* All the food became spoiled from falling debris.

bumbumli vi., to swell, puff up. *bāya cuhi. kalau rhai bumbumhi*. A bee stung him and his face swelled.

- bumbumpa* adv., in huffy manner. *hethe bumbumpa khaṇhi!* What a huffy look he gave!
- bumbumpali* vt., to act in a huffy manner. *mabumbumpa wakobhari.* Don't act in a huffy manner around him.
- bumlaṛpa* adv., in a puffed up manner. *rhai bumlaṛpa cuncalaṛpa pahi.* She puffed and wrinkled her face up.
- bunsu* n., breast pocket formed in the fold of a *boṛna* where women keep money, keys and other small items.
- buṇ* adv., also, too.
- buṇli* vt., to carry in a *bunsu*. *bunsuta hai bunteṇ hinha? cuma to. khanaine.* What are you carrying in your *bunsu*? Bring it here. Let's^p see.
- burli* vt., to spit out liquid. *nui kulkulaiteṇ ci burhi.* Having rinsed his mouth, he spit out the water.
- buruṇ* adv., [< Indo-Aryan] forthwith, right away. *ka buruṇ hanã.* I'll go right away. *seṛtaniṇ buruṇ!* I'm going to kill you forthwith!
- bu:li* vt., to scald. *ela naseṇ dhaṇka ci bu:kaniṇ!* I'm going to scald you with hot water now!
- bu:nhali* vm., to be scalded. *ci dhampaka bherpa malo. bu:nhakhe.* Don't come near water being heated up. One may be scalded.
- buṛsuri* n., ash.
- byadha* n., [< Indo-Aryan] hunter.

bh

- bhəgina* n., [< Indo-Aryan] nephew.
- bhəgini* n., [< Indo-Aryan] niece.
- bhənai* n., [< Indo-Aryan] saying, words.
- bhəti* n., [< Indo-Aryan] alcohol still.
- bhətiya* n., [< Indo-Aryan] rice beer.
- bhətkeli* vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to collapse, fall down.
- bhətkepapili* vt., to knock down so that someone is affected, demolish for, raze for; *bhuĩcal loteṇ saṛ bhətkepapihi* The earthquake came and knocked down the house.
- bhəṭmas* n., [< Indo-Aryan] soybean.
- bhag* n., [< Indo-Aryan] part, portion. ~ *bhak*.

bhaili vi., to look like, be the same; seem. *da:ka mundha bhaika hihi*.

She looks like a blackened stump. *hiso higilli buṇ thinan bhaikhe*.

It seems one is afraid to even travel anywhere.

bhaipa adv., in the same manner.

bhale n., [< Indo-Aryan] rooster.

bhamka adj., thick. *gaiko chali bhamka olehi*. The cream from the cow came out thick.

bhamka adj., hard of hearing, deaf; sealed up, inoperative. *nhaton bhamka hihi wako. kalau mahiṇkhe*. He is hard of hearing. So he doesn't hear. *naṅko amaiko cucu bhamka hihi*. Your mother's cunt is sealed up.

bhamli vi., to be thick.

bhanai' dara n.m., [< Indo-Aryan] poseur, braggart, vain person.

bhanai' dari n.f., [< Indo-Aryan] poseur, braggart, vain person.

bha'naigilli vi., to go around putting on a pretense, go around pretending.

bha'naili vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to put on a pretense, pretend.

bhansa n., [< Indo-Aryan] kitchen, cooking area.

bhaṇ n., [< Indo-Aryan] marijuana.

bhapa?li vi., to collapse (house, dike, wall, etc.). *ci henja jeynu bandha bhapa?tan*. If there is a lot of water, the dike will collapse.

bhar n., fruit; blossom.

bhareli vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to fill.

bhargilli vt., to carry around on the shoulder. *ghaila bhargilkhe*. He carries clay jugs around.

bhari n., [< Indo-Aryan] load, burden.

bharli vi., to set fruit, bud. *lhe? bharli tomhoi*. The flower is about to bud. *tintili siṇ bharhoi*. The tamarind tree already set fruit.

bharli vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to carry a heavy object on one's shoulder. *m ososo bharten cumali goian*. The rice must be carried from over there.

bhasa n., [< Indo-Aryan] language.

bha'sa n., [< Indo-Aryan] nest, cocoon.

bha'sa?li vi., to have a beard, facial hair. *dari bhasa?li do:hoi. be? mabho:khen?* -- *naseṇ haiko caso hihi? kaṅko dari bhasa?hi*.

naŋko mabhasaʔhi rə! Your beard has already come in. Aren't you searching for a wife? – What business is it of yours? My beard came in. You don't even have one!

bhasi n., grassy plant *Saccharum spontaneum*, which colonizes sandy riverbanks and is used by Dhimals to weave baskets and thatch roofs. cf. *naimhe*.

bhauji n., [< Indo-Aryan] older brother's wife.

bhaya n., [< Indo-Aryan] pal, buddy.

bhaʔli vt., to attack, pounce on, maul. *kam manthu. khali bhaʔli*. He has no work. Just attacking (food). *khiya bhaʔhi kaseŋ*. The dog attacked me. *lisi bhaʔkhe. kam pali magikhe*. She attacks shit. She doesn't know how to work.

bhaʔsiŋ n., reason, cause; in order to. *iŋko bhaʔsiŋ*. Therefore, because of that. *odoŋ bhaʔsiŋ hiʔkha*. I ask for that very reason. *bides hanebhaʔsiŋ paisa mathemhi*. In order to go abroad, there was not enough money. *kanchiheŋ cumpuli bhaʔsiŋ herbicar pateŋ lo*. In order to take Kānchī away, think about it and come.

bhe'laʔli vi., to fill. *kyarhita ci bhelaʔhi*. The water filled the irrigation canal.

bheli vt., to mess with (only used with the negative imperative. *mabhe!* Don't mess with it!

bhelka adj., full; deep.

bhelli vi., to be full. *hamu bhelhi?* Is your stomach full? *bakar m bhelhi*. The rice storage is full with rice.

bhemli vi., to be hot (weather or person). *bhemhoina?* Are you^s hot?

bhemti n., [*bhem* heat + *ti* liquid] sweat.

bheney adj., [< Indo-Aryan] other, different. ~ *bhenay*.

bherma n., wind.

bherpa adv., beside, next to.

bheʔ n., [< Indo-Aryan] meeting.

bheʔeli vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to meet.

bheʔli vt., to throw at. *puriŋta unthui bheʔhi*. He threw a rock at [my] head.

bheʔpili vt., to throw at for someone, toss to for someone. *atuisa cuma bihako tukara. ita bheʔpi*. Bring a few more pieces of meat. Toss them here.

bhir n., fin (archaic).

bhirli vt., to remove a grain from the pod with one's teeth. *juhã se-m bhirkhe*. The rat is removing the grain of rice with its teeth. *wa bhãtmas bhirteŋ reʔkhe*. He removed a soybean from the pod with his teeth and chewed it.

bhogeli vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to experience, endure.

bhoili vi., to crack, burst, break (egg, pot, etc.).

bhoinhali vm., to crack, burst, break. *tui bhoinhahi*. An egg broke.

bhoinhapali vt., to inadvertently cause to break, burst. *auciri kiya eʔloŋ tui bhoinhapahi*. A wayward chicken caused an egg to break.

bhoipali vt., to crack, break. *eʔloŋ bhoipahi*. It broke one (egg). *ghaila bhoipahi*. He broke the clay jug.

bhoj n., [< Indo-Aryan] celebration, festivity, feast, banquet.

bhoko marci n., [< Indo-Aryan] black pepper.

bhol n., edible root. cf *lasimbhol*, *dambhol*, *jharko bhol*.

bholi vi., to hide. *wasen tinteŋ bhokhe*. Having seen him he hides. *na hiso bhoana?* Where will you hide? *gora bhoten bhoten amkhe*. He drinks on the sly.

bho'lomli vi., to float on one's belly. *comphe bholomhi*. The frog floated on its belly.

bhomli vi., to lie on one's belly; float. *bhomteŋ jimhi*. He slept on his belly. *jamalai cumalai bhomteŋ bhomteŋ ghakhe*. The children and such are playing on their bellies. *haya matin̄khe. leta bhomteŋ hikhe*. The fish aren't visible. They are floating below. *sika dyan bhomkhe*. Dead people float.

bho'noi n., soil, dirt, earth.

bho:gilli vt., to go around looking for. *insan̄ aro bhenan̄ thame esa bho:gillabelau kasarok pakhe*. So, again while going around looking like this in a different place, it makes a hissing sound.

bho:ka jihã n., magpie robin.

bho:li vt., to look for, seek, search for; try, attempt, plan. *ode wajan kan̄ko oneheŋ bho:kan̄ bho:kan̄ pakhe*. That boy keeps looking for my younger sister. *insika bho:ghakha*. I was looking for that sort. *niu bho:khe*. He is searching for a pretext. *loli khan̄khe na maloli*

- bho:khe hinu dada cuma aũ?* If she's trying to come or not, bring her, okay elder brother?
- bho:lhali* vt., to go to look for. *oso bho:lha*. Go look for it over there.
- bho:pili* vt., to look for for someone, seek for someone. *saikal bho:piã*. I'll look for a bicycle for [you]. *wako lesara lesara bho:pikataŋ bho:pikataŋ haneli goikhe*. One has to go seeking for it and seeking for it.
- bho:puli* vt., to go look for, go seek.
- bho?li* vi., to bark.
- bhundi kiya* n., hen.
- bhundiri* n., dung beetle.
- bhurbhuraili* vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to buzz.
- bhuti* n., large intestines. cf. *tereŋ*.
- bhu?li* vi./vt., to become covered with, be coated with; cover with, coat with. *kiyako bhasata sursure dyaŋheŋ bhu?khe*. The chicken lice in a chicken nest cover a person. *kiya khaŋli hanelau sursure bhu?gha*. When I went to look at the chicken, I became covered with chicken lice. *ci bhu?teŋ ciugha*. I bathed covering myself with water. *rəŋ bhu?hi*. [She] was coated with colour.
- bhu?pali* vi., to cover with.
- bhyaili* vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to manage [to do]; succeed.

c

- cə'laili* vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to use, operate. *iŋko nhe?noŋ jamal kol cəlaikhe*. Those two kids are operating the pump.
- cə'laipili* vt., to use for, operate for someone. *kaŋko sa?ta səməsya jeŋnu atuisa paisa cəlaipi aũ dada?* If there is a problem at my house, throw in a little bit of money, okay elder brother?
- cəlan* n., [< Indo-Aryan] habit, custom.
- cəleli* vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to run, operate. *həpta dinta nepal bənd jeŋkhe. gaḍigelai mhamacəlekhe*. Seven days a week there is a Nepal-wide strike. The buses don't run at all.
- cəndrahar* n., [< Indo-Aryan] silver necklace de rigueur worn by women.
- cətalai* n., [< Indo-Aryan] grass mat.

cəudhari maharaj n., [< Indo-Aryan] Dhimal deity.

cagilli vt., to go around eating. *kaṭhmanḍu higillau cagillauko phom lokhe*. Memories of traveling around and going around eating in Kathmandu come to [me].

ca'hī postp., [< Indo-Aryan] individualising nominal postposition.

caka n., food.

caka n., [< Indo-Aryan] wheel.

caka-amka n., food and drink.

caka cuiti n., cooking oil.

cakiya n., red jungle fowl, *Gallus gallus*.

cakundai n., tail or mane hair, used to string bows for musical instruments.

cakheli vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to taste. *cakheni kunu*. Please have a taste.

calabaj n., [< Indo-Aryan] loom rafter.

calai n., seed (large).

cale? n., roof, traditionally thatched.

cali vt., to eat; attend, celebrate; accept. *m cateṇ hanesu re*. Eat and then go I say. *biḥu cali ninana* You^s will be able to attend the wedding. *parba cali* vt., to celebrate *parba*. *bherma cali* to catch the breeze, take in the breeze. *birgənjko dhaṅka bherma cakha*. I'm taking in the warm breeze of Bīrgaṅj. *lisi cali* to act contemptably or stupidly. *obalai lisi canu kidhiṇ lisi macasiṇ aṭṭa dada?* If they^p act stupidly, let us^d not act stupidly, okay elder brother? *pikiṇ cali* to have a picnic. *mhaha cali* to live with and work for one's prospective bride's parents. *karma cali* to accept one's fate.

calhali vt., to go eat; go attend, go celebrate. *piknik macalhaana?* Aren't you going to the picnic? *biḥu calhahi*. He went to attend a wedding. *m calhaana macalhaana?* Are you^s going to go eat or not?

ca'mhanda n., water leech. ~ *camdha*.

ca'mindi n., daughter. ~ *camdi*.

camli vt., to gather (firewood). *jharbhari misiṇ camli haneli goiā*. I have to go to the forest to gather firewood. *suta m ga:li misiṇ doṇ*

- manthu. misiṇ camkhe.* There is no firewood at home to cook rice.
 He's gathering firewood.
- camphoi* n., traditional wooden sandal that is no longer worn.
- can* n., son, offspring.
- can tereṇ* n., womb.
- can-camindi* n., sons and daughters, children (one's own).
- canca* n., woven bamboo bridge; woven bamboo fishing weir.
- candi* n., [< Indo-Aryan] silver.
- capali* vt., to feed. *payaheṇ hai hai capasukhena?* What do you^p feed pigs?
- capido:li* vt., to be finished eating for someone. *capido:hoi.* He already finished eating.
- capili* vt., to eat for someone, eat so that someone else is affected.
wako paisa capili khayṅkhe. They're trying to eat up his money. *m capiteṇ hanaine.* Let's^p eat the food and go. *te m capisiṇ.* Okay, let's^d eat (since they want us to).
- capri bhonoi* n., clay, lump of clay used for plastering a house.
- caramcarampa* adv., in a mouth-smacking manner (when eating sour things). *daṛka mājale caramcarampa cahi.* He happily ate the sour thing making smacking noises with his mouth.
- carbo* n., clap.
- caregilli* vi., to wander about grazing. *jhoraṛko ceu ceu caregilghakhe.* It went about grazing along the banks of the river.
- careli* vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to graze. *jharan careli hanehi la iṅko diya.* They all went to graze, those water buffaloes.
- carkhi* n., [< Indo-Aryan] skein winder.
- caso* n., [< Indo-Aryan] concern, interest. *naseṇ haiko caso hihi?* What concern is it of yours?
- cauki* n., bed, cot.
- cauli* vi., to have the taste of chewing tobacco. *nanṅko jāḍ te cauhi rə!* Your rice beer tastes of chewing tobacco.
- caure* n., slap. *caure pianiṇ?* Shall I give you a slap?
- caureli* vt., to slap.
- ca:li* vt., to grab hold of, take in the hand. *dudu ca:sukhe.* They grab her breasts. *laksmānheṇ te khokoi ca:teṇ siṅta pheṇi la hanuman.* Hanumān grabbed Lakṣmaṇ by the leg and beat him against a

tree. *dama ca:li* to hit the road, set out. *dama ca:kaine*. Let's^p hit the road. *kalau dama ca:hi*. So they set out. *kera ca:li* to take an oath, forswear, swear off, abjure. *nhaton ca:li* to have one's ears assaulted by loud or otherwise disturbing noise. *man̄ku madhuipare! nhaton ca:sahoi!* Quit making a racket with that loom shuttle! It seems that it's driving me crazy!

ca:pili vt., to grab for someone, grab so that someone is affected. *kan̄ko nhapu ca:pihi*. She grabbed my nose. *kera ca:pili* to forswear for someone. *ka pepar amli kera ca:pigha*. I swore off smoking.

ca?dangaraka n., shriveled or emaciated person. *o ca?dangaraka!* Hey, you withered bag of bones!

ca?li vi., to be dented, sunken, shriveled. *hamu ca?hi*. My stomach is shriveled up (due to hunger). *paya ca?hi*. The pig shriveled up. *thali ca?hi*. The plate got banged up.

ce'lingi n., meat drying rack; dried and smoked pork.

cemata n., [< Indo-Aryan] ability.

cemli vi./vt., to curl up. *cemteŋ jimkhe*. He's sleeping curled up. *dirbe cemhi*. He curled his lip up (in ignorance).

cemnhali vm., to be curled up, be bent in half, be dented. *thali cemnhaŋ! insa mabhe!* The plate will become bent. *kapi cemnhakhe*. The notebook can be bent in half.

cemnhapa adv., in a curled up manner. *cemnhapa jimkhe*. He sleeps curled up.

cempa adv., on one's side. *cempa jim*. Sleep^s on your side.

cemtaŋ adv., near, nearby.

cena n., strip, slice. *celingita cena biha sempakhe*. She is drying strips of meat on the meat drying rack.

cencula n., nickname for a boy.

cense n., bean. Nep. *simi*.

centhara n., swaddling cloth.

ceŋkheti n., mudfish. ~ *ceŋga haya*.

cer n., anger, ire. *wako cer taŋhi*. Her ire rose. *cer do:hoi la*. His anger is finished now.

cerli vt., to scold, curse, be angry with. *waseŋ cernhahi*. We scolded him. *macer*. Don't be angry.

cerpali vt., to come scold. *jharan cerpahoi*. They all came and scolded. *kan̄ko camindiheñ cerpateñ cumagha*. I came and scolded my daughter and then brought her back.

cersuli vr., to curse one another, quarrel. *kelai wa dopha cersunhahi*. We^p quarreled with him. *ka nelai dopha cersugha*. I quarreled with you^p.

cersupali vt., to cause to quarrel. *iñko nhe?miheñ cersupan̄*. He will cause those two people to quarrel.

cesma n., [< Indo-Aryan] glasses.

ceuli vi., to burn, have a burning sensation. *khokoi oñnhalabelau osere lagaiten̄ ceuhi*. When I burned my leg, I put on ointment and it burned.

cēja n., woodpecker (archaic). cf. *thokthoke jihã*.

ce:li vt., to cut. *ghase ce:li hanehi*. He went to cut grass. *iñko m ce:li do:paine*. Let's^p finish cutting the paddy.

ce:nhali vm., to be cut, cut oneself. *ce:nhahoi*. He just cut himself. *ce:nhanha?* Did you cut yourself?

ce?ka adj., narrow.

ce?li vt., to clasp, pinch, catch between two objects. *e?cena biha ce?teñ akhata phun̄*. Clasp the strip of meat (in the tongs) and roast it on the hearth. *majhako dyan̄ kidhimi militeñ ce?sin̄*. Let's^d squeeze the person in the middle.

ce?nhali vm., to be pinched, caught between two objects. *phinuta khur ce?nhahi*. He caught his hand in the door.

ce?nhapali vt., to unintentionally cause to be caught between two objects. *wa kan̄ko khur phinuta ce?nhapahi*. He caused my hand to be caught in the door.

ce?nhapapili vt., to unintentionally pinch or catch between two objects causing someone to be affected. *wa kan̄ko khur phinuta ce?nhapapihi*. He unintentionally caused my hand to be caught in the door.

ce?pa adv., in a pinching manner. *ce?pa ce?pa hihi*. It (the space between two objects) is very narrow.

ce?pili vt., to intentionally pinch or catch between two objects causing someone to be affected. *wa kan̄ko khur phinuta ce?pihi*. He (intentionally) caught my hand in the door.

ci n., water.

ci ka'tasi n., small fish eating jungle cat with a mottled coat, *Felis viverrina*.

cibaisi n., cold, flu.

cibhuŋ n., bladder.

ciciri m n., cooked sticky rice. cf. *likati m*.

ci'hali vi., to cry out, shout.

cika n., shrew. Nep. *cucendra*.

ci'kitpa adv., with a snipping sound.

cikhiriū n., nickname for a dishevelled person.

cikhiriuli vi., to be dishevelled, unkempt.

cikhiriupa adv., in a dishevelled manner, in an unkempt manner.

cikhoili vt., to nip, pinch.

cilibili adv., in a jumble, in a mess, in a bad way. *kaŋko taʔka anemanegelai gotaŋ cilibili papihi*. He messed up all the things that I had put away. *puriŋ tu:teŋ misihā cilibiliŋ hihi*. From having my head hurt, my eyes really hurt.

cilibilika adj., in a jumble, messy, unkempt. *pusiŋ cilibilika dyaŋ m ga:li?! A messy-haired person cooking rice?!*

cilka adj., flashing, blazing (lightning). *badel cilka cilka hihi*. Lightning is flashing.

cilkaʔli vt., to flash, blaze (lightning). *badel cilkaʔkhe*. Lightning is flashing.

cimli vt., to blink, wink. *misihā cimhi*. He winked.

cimti n., [< Indo-Aryan] tongs.

ciŋ n., undershell of a crab.

cir n., iron.

ciricirili vi., to be crunchy or gritty from sand. *nani te hai m ga:hi be? mareŋ ciricirihi rə! rempha uŋkhu mapacesunha na hai ko?* Today what sort of rice did she cook?! It was very gritty! Is it that you^p did not clean the rice well or what? *cudurko tupabhari ciricirikhe*. At the tip of the snail it is crunchy. ~ *circirli*.

ciricirika adj., full of stones and debris, gritty.

cirli vi., to be timid, skittish. *piyaheŋ hinja dənainu cirkhe*. If you beat a cow a lot, it becomes timid.

ciruwa n., intestinal worms.

cittə n., [< Indo-Aryan] feelings. ~ *cit*.

citukun n., type of quail.

ciuciupali vi., to cheep, chirp. *nani te kican pe:hi na hai ko? ciuciupakhe*. Is it that the the chicks hatched today or what? They're cheeping.

ciuli vi., [*ci* water + *huli* to pour] to bathe. *marpha ciu sane?ta*. Bathe in the sunshine quickly. *jhora?ta ciuli hanehi*. He went to bathe in the river.

ciulhali vi., to go to bathe. *ka nani ciulhaanya ita jhora?ta*. Today I will go to bathe in this river. *ciulhaana?* Are you going to bathe?

ciupali vt., to bathe someone. *lo ciupã*. Come, I'll bathe [you].

ci:li vt., to bite; cause harm (supernaturally). *ci:kañ re!* I tell you it'll bite! *gabreka! ci:ka wa u!* Damn you! It may bite, you know! (said to a child after he kicked a dog) *obalai kaseñ ci:li khañkhe*. They're trying to cause me harm.

ci:nhali vm., to be bitten, bite oneself. *m calabelau detoñ ci:nhasahi*. While eating, it seems he bit his tongue. *dirbe ci:nhasagha*. It seems I inadvertently bit my lip.

ci:pili vt., to bite for someone, bite so that someone is affected. *khokoita ci:piteñ hihi*. It is biting [her] on the leg.

ci:suli vr., to bite one another; fight (animals). *obalai ci:suli khañkhe*. They're trying to bite each other. *marpha ci:sukhe*. [Dogs] are quick to fight.

ci?li vi., to be stingy. *kumar paisa mapali ci?khe*. Kumār is too stingy to spend money.

co n., guts or innards of a crab.

cobara n., White-throated fantail, *Rhipidura albicollis*.

cobaili vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to chew.

coili vt., to plough. *ede waraṇ hale coikhe*. This old man is ploughing.

coilhali vt., to go to plough.

coipili vt., to plough for someone. *coipili khañghakhe. coipili madohi*. He was intending to plough for [me], but couldn't.

coise n., large sour citrus species. Nep. *bhogate*

cok n., [< Indo-Aryan] intersection, crossroad (often at the center of town).

cokha n., a shared snack of game, generally eaten with alcohol.

terejko cokha caine. Let's^p share a snack of small intestines.

co'khoili vi., to tap; type (on a keyboard or typewriter).

col'dho? n., osprey. cf. *panikuwari*.

colgilli vt., to go around buying. *tole gora colgilkhe*. The go around buying flour and alcohol.

colli vt., to buy. *hai colnha ko?* What is it that you^s bought? *cudur dhubiso colteṇ cumagha*. I bought snails and brought them from Ḍhubī. *hai colaṇ be? na gora colteṇ amaṇ be na salgam colteṇ caṇ be?* I wonder what she will buy. I wonder whether she will buy alcohol and drink it or whether she will buy turnips and eat them. *ede wajan hetheso haya colkhe be iṅko bejanko?* I wonder how much this boy is buying that girl's fish for.

collhali vt., to go to buy. *ebāti curoṭ collha*. Go buy [me] a pack of cigarettes.

colpali vt., to buy and come, buy and bring back. *boi colpahi*. Uncle bought it and brought it back.

colpili vt., to buy for someone. *macolpianṇ*. He's not going to buy you one.

colpidhili vt., to buy for someone and leave behind. *obalaiko aba jharaṇheṇ cəppəl colpidhihi*. Their father bought them all flip-flops before he left.

colpipuli vt., to go and buy for someone. *jumni colpipuā aũ?* Tomorrow I'll go buy [you] one, okay?

colpuli vt., to go buy (for oneself). *biskuṭ colpu*. Go buy [yourself] a cookie.

com n., chop, blow; harrassment. *wa hiso hanelabuṇ com nincakhe*. Wherever he goes he gets harrassed.

com jihā n., spider hunter; sunbird.

comcali vp., to be crushed, chopped. *sa? li?ta hara comcakhe*. Bones are being chopped inside the house.

comli vt., to crush, chop; harass, give a hard time. *dabiyahoi hara comkhe*. They're chopping bones with a *khukuri*. *waseṇ katha do?li magilabelau bhenanṇ dyanṇ comkhe*. Other people give him a hard time when he doesn't know how to say the words.

compali vt., come chop; come harass. *tejeheŋ compā do?gha*. I said I'll come give Teje what for.

comphe n., frog.

comsula n., chopping board (for meat).

coŋli vt., to wrap up, bundle up, enclose in a bundle. *tole conteŋ canteŋ bansa ghalhahi*. Having wrapped up the steamed rice flour cakes, she went visiting. *bunsuta paisa coŋ*. Wrap the money up in your *bunsu*. *tole topala coŋhi*. They wrapped the steamed rice flour cakes up into a bundle.

co'paiti n., tattoo artist.

cosi n., cock's comb; crest. ~ *cose*.

cosi yo:ka jihā n., Kalij pheasant, *Lophura leucomelanos*.

co:ka n., tattoo.

co:li vt., to peck, bite (snake); tattoo. *kiya co:li khaŋkhe*. The chicken is trying to peck. *pūya co:khe*. Snakes bite.

co:li vt., to share, divide, split. *bansalai gora co:khe*. The guests are sharing the alcohol. *gora botal co:kaine*. Let's^p split a bottle of alcohol.

co:pili vt., to tattoo someone. *copaiti lhe? co:pikhe*. The tattoo artist is tattooing a flower for [someone].

co:suli vr., to peck one another, fight (birds).

co?ka adj., 1) branded. 2) emaciated, shriveled.

co?li vi., to be emaciated, shriveled up.

co?li vt., to brand, burn; cause harm to someone. *narata me co?li goiaŋ*. We have to set the straw on fire. *bāula dyaŋ wako cur khurta co?hi*. The lunatic burned his [own] hand with a cigarette. *mahēko beran jubeheŋ co?li khaŋkhe!* The old woman to the south is trying to cause harm to mother-in-law!

co?pili vt., to brand for, burn for someone. *pusiŋ co?piā?* Shall I burn [your] hair?

cu n., grandchild.

cubiri n., palm squirrel, *Funambulus pennanti*.

cubiri cui n., mimosa, a low-lying thorny plant whose leaves are sensitive to light and touch, genus *Mimosa*.

cucu n., vagina.

cudur n., aquatic snail.

cui n., thorn; fishbone.

cuicam n., safety pin.

cuilhe n., cactus.

cukaili vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to err, go wrong.

culi vt., to sting; to bore, drill, pierce. *bāya cuan̄*. The bee will sting.
bāya cuhi. The bee stung.

cumaili vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to kiss.

cumali vt., to take with, bring; pay for, cost (someone). *kyamara cumanha?* Did you^s bring the camera? *hiso cumasahi?* Where does it seem they took him? *cumako kiya*. Let him take the chicken. *na hetheso cumanha? yeʔtaka cumagha*. How much did you pay for it? I paid eight *taka*.

cumapili vt., to bring for, take along for someone.

cumli vt., to grab, take hold of, grasp. *ci cumteŋ lohi la*. Having grabbed the water she came then. *iŋko raja buŋ kalau suta hanelaubelau pusiŋ cumteŋ hanehi*. Then that king, while on his way home, took the hair and left.

cumpali vt., to come bring. *hasu cumpahi?* Who brought it?

cumpili vt., to grab for, hold for. *wajan khur cumpikhe*. The boy takes her hand.

cumpuli vt., to take to, take away. *heʔkilo cumpuana?* How many kilos will you^s take? *kaseŋ amrika cumpuli doana?* Will you^s be able to take me to America?

cuncalaʔka adj., wrinkled.

cuncalaʔli vi., to be wrinkled. *iŋko beran̄ istu rhai cuncalaʔhi*. That old woman's face is really wrinkled.

cuncalaʔpa adv., wrinklely.

cunceleŋ n., weaver bird, *Ploceus phillipinus*.

cunsar n., fiddlehead, fern sprout.

cun̄ n., cold, cold spell. *maha cun̄ taŋhi la*. A great cold rose up.

cun̄gaipa adv., in a seated manner with knees against one's chest. *haipali cun̄gaipa yumkhena?* Why are you^s sitting with your knees against your^s chest (as though cold)?

cun̄li vi., to be cold. *iso cun̄khe na oso cun̄khe?* Is it colder over here or over there?

cupili vt., to sting or drill for someone, sting or drill so that someone is affected. *ita cupiteṇ kana banaipi*. Drill here and make a hole [for me].

cupini n., hole, opening, orifice.

cur n., cigarette, generally hand rolled.

curi n., [< Indo-Aryan] knife.

curli vt., to wring.

curumcurumli vi., to be crunchy. *mun curumcurumkhe*. Beaten rice is crunchy.

curumcurumpa adv., crunchily. *papaḍ curumcurumpa cali ta:khe*. Pappadam are tasty eaten crunchily.

cutiya n., flea.

cu:li vt., to suck. *cudur cu:kaṇka*. I want to suck on some snails.

cu:pili vt., to suck for someone, suck causing someone to be affected. *thu?cateṇ hiti te cu:pikhe*. Having afflicted [someone], they suck their blood.

cu?ka 1) adj., sharp, cutting. 2) n., knot, coif.

cu?li vi., to whither, fade. *lhe? cu?hoi*. The flower has faded.

cu?li vi./vt., to cut, pierce. *curi macu?taṇ*. The knife won't cut. *nhatoṇ cu?tana?* Are you^s going to pierce your ears? *kalau cu?teṇ ca?teṇ hai si:kana?* And after piercing them, what are you^s going to wear?

cu?li vt., to tie in a knot, tie together (hair, hammock).

cu?pali vt., to sharpen. *curi cu?pa*. Sharpen^s the knife.

cu?pili vt., to tie in a knot for, tie together for. *doiso cu?pi*. Tie^s up the hammock.

cwa n., [< Indo-Aryan] well.

cwaili vt., to distill. *gora cwaikhe*. She's distilling alcohol. *gora cwaina manthu*. The alcohol hasn't been distilled.

d

dəgaili vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to split.

dəgaipili vt., to split causing someone to be affected.

də'nai n., [< Indo-Aryan] beating.

də'naili vt., to beat, hit, strike.

də'naipili vt., to beat for, beat so that someone is affected. *dənaipiā?! Shall I beat [you]?! dənaiپی! Beat [him] for [me]!*

dəndə'naika me n., roaring fire.

dəndha'raili vi., to waddle (a duck). *kelaiko mta hasa dəndharaikhe.*

A the duck is waddling in our rice.

dəndha'raipa adv., northwards, upland.

dəsa gər'ha n., [< Indo-Aryan] eclipse.

dabeli vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to hold back, suppress.

dabi n., [< Indo-Aryan] small dull knife used to sharpen a *dabiya*.

dabiya n., [< Indo-Aryan] long curved knife; Nep. *khukuri*.

da'da n., [< Indo-Aryan] older brother.

dada-one n., brothers. cf. *mi-one*.

dada'langa n., warp beam, roller.

dadalanga siŋ n., species of tree (bark is used for stomach ailments).

daga'raini n., [< Indo-Aryan] midwife.

dahē adv., north, northward.

dahē-mahē-dihē-nuhē adv., [lit. north-south-west-east] everywhere, in all directions.

dahēpa adv., from the north.

dahēpaha adv., on the north side.

daili vi., to be left over. *m atuisa daihi piŋteŋ paŋteŋ.* There is a little rice left, having sold it.

dajhil n., mole; birthmark.

da'landa'lanpa adv., pendulously. *dalaŋdalaŋpa kundol si:khe.* She wears earrings heavy with gold.

daleŋ n., [< Indo-Aryan] branch.

dalli vt., to put a pan or pot on the fire to cook. *akhata ci dalkhe.*

She's putting water on the hearth to heat up. *sar khiŋli kara dalsahoi. othe mampha bela hidoyhi.* It seems she just put the wok on the fire to cook the side dish. It'll still take a lot of time.

dam n., [< Indo-Aryan] mark, track, footprint.

dama n., road, path, way.

dambhol n., large edible root, *Discorea* species. Nep. *tarul*.

damca n., bush, brush, underbrush.

dampa adv., right (hand).

dampikyau n., type of caterpillar that feeds on jute and whose hairs cause stinging when touched.

dampili vt., to heat up for, heat up so that someone is affected. *naŋko rhaita dampianiŋ?! Shall I heat up your^s face?!*

damse n., jackfruit, *Artocarpus heterophyllus*.

danai siŋ n., type of tree. cf. *kabara siŋ*.

dandhiŋ n., string worn around the waist by boys and men, which is also used to hold up a loincloth.

dantako baja n., [< Indo-Aryan] type of raptor.

daŋ n., horn, antler, pincer of a crab or scorpion.

dangara n., emaciated person or animal. *dangara piya! You skinny cow!*

daŋkha n., male animal.

daŋli vi., to do quickly. *m cali daŋkhe*. She's trying to eat quickly. *marci beaŋ ciuli daŋkhe*. Old lady chili pepper is trying to bathe quickly.

daŋli vt., to heat up.

da'rəm n., [< Indo-Aryan < Eng. *drum*] plastic jerkin, drum.

dardaraili vi., to quack.

darhi n., [< Indo-Aryan] beard, whiskers, moustache.

dauli vt., to weed with a hoe. *alubari daukhe*. She's weeding the potato garden with a hoe.

dauni n., [< Indo-Aryan] the threshing of grain by animal.

dawa n., type of soft orange fruit.

dayali vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to be fond of. *kelaiko dhemalaiheŋ dayakhena madayakhena? Are you^s fond of us^p Dhimals?*

da:beaŋ n., nickname for a dark-skinned woman.

da:bo?na n., [*da*: black + *bo?na*] black *bo?na* with two red stripes encircling the waist.

da:ka adj., black.

da:ka kawa n., large-billed crow, *Corvus macrorhynchos*.

da:ka ko?sa n., black monitor lizard.

da:kiculho?ka adj., black as night, pitch black.

da:li vi., to be black. *da:hoina*. You've become black.

da:pa adv., black. *rhai da:pa teŋhi*. Her face turned black with fear.

da:puli vi., to gradually become dark. *da:puhi mə* . She's getting dark, isn't she?

daʔ n., shade.

daʔka adj., sour.

daʔli vi., to be sour, become sour. *daʔna manthu*. It hasn't become sour. *madaʔtaŋ wa la socegha*. It won't turn out sour, I thought. *tintili daʔkhe*. Tamarind is sour.

daʔli vt., to spread out, lay out. *sidau daʔkhe*. She's spreading out the blanket. *lumphiko lhaʔpha daʔhi*. He spread out the banana leaves. *nara daʔteŋ jimaine*. Let's^p spread out some straw and go to sleep.

dedul n., nickname.

degor n., [< Indo-Aryan] path.

dera n., village, neighbourhood, dwelling, compound. *kelaiko dera lo*. Come to our^p neighbourhood.

deragelai n., villagers; community, society.

desan pej., sickly person.

desankar pej., sickly person.

dese n., salt.

deton n., tongue.

dēduʔpa onom., sound that a frog makes, ribbit. *comphe dēduʔdēduʔpa rhikaikhe*. The frog is croaking.

de:li vt., to spit out; catch in a *thociʔ*. *wa enon anemane akheʔka tinten de:hi*. When he saw something unpleasant he spit it out. *m calabelau unthui ninten gotan de:hi*. When he found a stone while eating, he spit everything out. *de:!* Spit it out! *thociʔ thoʔteŋ haya made:hi*. Having put out a *thociʔ*, it didn't catch any fish.

deʔli vt., to lick; eat a small amount, taste. *acar deʔteŋ m whaŋkhe*. Eat a little *acar* and the rice goes down easily. *naŋko beʔko cucu deʔtanaʔ* Are you^s going to lick your^s wife's cunt? (pejorative)

di'ham n., rope, twine.

dihẽ adv., west, westward.

dihẽpa adv., from the west.

dihẽpaha adv., on the west side.

dilidili adv., around evening.

- dilima* adv., evening, in the evening; approximately 15h00 to around 19h00. *dilidilima am la dhaṇka ci*. Drink hot water every evening.
- dimak* n., [< Indo-Aryan] mind, brain; intellect. *dimak manthu*. He's senseless.
- dimli* vi., to hurry, walk quickly. *dimka dimka hanekhe*. He walks quickly. *marpha dimkhe*. He is hurrying. *dim!* Hurry up! *marpha dimteṇ dimteṇ hanekhe*. She is walking hurriedly.
- dimpali* vt., to cause to hurry.
- dina* n., [< Indo-Aryan] day.
- dinaṇ* adv., every day.
- dininipa* adv., in slices, pieces. *biha dininipa kuṭihi*. He cut the meat into pieces.
- dinṇ* n., Dhimal clan.
- dinḍin* n., small black edible cricket with white stomach, which emerges around November.
- dinḡilli* vt., to send someone. *iṇko inta torse pe:li dinḡilgha*. I sent him there to pick mangoes. *kalau kawaheṇ dinḡilhi la*. And so they sent a crow.
- dinḡilpili* vt., to send a person for someone.
- dinḡri* n., round beam used in traditional houses to support the floor.
- dir* n., god, deity.
- dir musar* n., mushroom of the gods (poisonous).
- dirbe* n., lip.
- diuli* vi., to droop, hang down (net, string, stairs, bamboo). ~ *deuli*.
- diupa* adv., in a drooping manner. ~ *deupa*.
- diya* n., water buffalo.
- di:ka* 1) adj., sweet. 2) n., sweetness.
- di:ka bhol* n., yam.
- di:li* vi., to be sweet. *torse di:ka hihi*. Mangoes are sweet.
- di:li* vt., to drive out, chase away. *kiya di:!* Chase the chicken away! *kiya di:kã?* Shall I chase away the chickens?
- di:co:'co:ka* adj., a little sweet, sweetish.
- di:si'sika* adj., sweet and juicy.
- di?ka* 1) adj., greedy. 2) n., greed.
- di?li* vi., to be greedy, desirous. *wa marepa di?hi*. He became very greedy.

di?li vi., to reach up. *ka madi?gha*. I didn't reach it.

di?nhali vm., to reach.

do siŋ n., type of tree.

dodhara n., banana flower.

doili vt., to rock, swing, hang. *wako canheŋ doisota doikhe*. She's rocking her son in the hammock. *baido doiteŋ ghakhe*. She's swinging on the swing.

doiso n., hammock-type cradle for babies made from an old *dhaba?* or *bo?na*. *doisota di?nhaka jamal bhaikhe* He's like a baby hanging in a cradle.

doka n., ability.

doka'raili vi., to cry out, shout.

dokha n., [< Indo-Aryan] deception.

do'khaire siŋ n., type of tree.

dol n., [< Indo-Aryan] bucket, pail.

doli vi., to be able.

dolha n., [< Indo-Aryan] ditch, gully, pond, depression.

domalai adv., later, in the future.

domkala n., layer of 'bark' on a banana plant.

domodomopa adv., softly, faintly (sound).

donabare adv., next year.

donda pūya n., [< Indo-Aryan] water snake.

dondara n., [< Indo-Aryan] open weave basket with a small mouth.

doŋ part., focus particle.

doŋ n., thunder.

doŋ n., loop of rope used to restrain a pig for sacrifice. *doŋ lagaipi*.

Put on a *doŋ* for me. The rope is looped around the pig's lower teeth and pulled taut, while another person decapitates it. Beheading is the traditional method of killing animals, but now is used with pigs only when deity worship is involved.

donḍoŋ n., type of sand cricket with large hind legs, which children capture to engage in kicking battles with each other.

doŋge n., Dhimal clan.

doŋli vt., to weigh, measure. *inta uŋkhu doŋkhe*. They are weighing paddy there. *ṭhik doŋhi*. That's right.

dopha postp., with. *dophaŋ dopha* adv., together.

do'raili vi., to cry out, bellow.

do'raina n., mooing cow.

doriya n., earthworm.

dorka n., sprouting.

dorli vi., to sprout, to germinate. *torse siṅko lha?pa dorhi*. The leaves on the mango tree sprouted. *m dorli tomhoi*. The paddy is about to sprout.

dos n., [< Indo-Aryan] blame.

dosa postp., (var.) with. *dosan doṅ* adv., together.

do:li vi., to be finished, be done, be used up. *ninteṅ nunteṅ oso belha?li buṅ do:khoi la*. Having got [them], dusk began to fall over there. *do:nhiṅ mado:nhiṅ ko?* Are you two finished or not? *sar do:khe wa la*. (I suppose) the vegetables may be getting used up now. *do:khe u*. They're getting used up, of course.

do:li vt., to kindle (a fire). *me do: m minṇpali*. Start a fire to prepare rice. *wa akhata me do:khe*. He's kindling a fire in the hearth.

do:pali vt., to finish. *anji khiniṅ do:pagha u*. I just finished it yesterday, you know.

do?gilli vt., to go around saying.

do?ka n., words, speech. *do?ka masa?khena?* Do you^s not heed what you^s are told?

do?li vt., to say. *makunu ka do?li madoã*. Otherwise I will not be able to say.

do?pili vt., to say for, tell. *do?piã la?* Shall I tell [you]? *kunu hasu jitihi do?pilau hai do?tana?* So when you tell who won, what will you^s say?

do?pidhili vt., to tell and leave. *hanekhoika do?pidhe*. Say 'goodbye' when you^s leave.

do?pigilli vt., to go around telling.

do?puli vt., to go and tell. *ya te do?puan*. This one will go and tell.

do?suli vr., to say to each other, to discuss. *hai beṅ katha do?sukhe?* I wonder what they could be discussing.

dubepali vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to drown, submerge.

dudhe n., [< Indo-Aryan] milk.

dudhe nhōya n., common langur, *Presbytis entellus*.

dudu n., [< Indo-Aryan] breast.

dudunosi n., nipple.

dui num., [< Indo-Aryan] two.

duika adj., boiled. *kiya luilabelau duika ci goikhe*. When you pluck a chicken you need boiling water.

duili vi., to boil, bubble. *nuiso thoʔsi duikhe*. He's making spit bubbles from his mouth. *ci danlaubelau duikhe*. When water is heated it boils.

dukha n., [< Indo-Aryan] trouble, misfortune, unhappiness.

dukhi adj., [< Indo-Aryan] unfortunate, troubled, unhappy.

dukhileŋ adj., unfortunate, troubled.

dula n., [< Indo-Aryan] dust.

dulli vi., to go in, enter. *kalau ode kabara ramheŋ tiŋnasat wa jhar liʔta dulhi*. And when that spotted deer saw Rāma, it slipped into the jungle.

dum n., marrow. ~ *duŋ*.

dumli vt., to put in one's mouth. *m dumkhe*. He's putting rice in his mouth.

dun bherma n., [< Indo-Aryan + *bherma* 'wind'] storm.

duŋduŋ n., termite.

duŋgri n., open-mouthed fishing creel made of reeds and shaped like a carafe (made of *patasi* or *basi*).

duphe n., axe, hatchet.

dure adv., [< Indo-Aryan] far, distant.

dusi n., [< Indo-Aryan] fog.

dusili vt., to talk bad about, bad mouth someone, slander.

dusuli vr., to meet. *madusugha u*. I didn't run into her, you know.

du'hā n., [< Indo-Aryan] smoke.

du'hāli n., to be smokey. *duhākhe?* Is it getting smokey (in here)?

du:li vt., to root about, dig up with the snout. *paya du:khe*. The pig is rooting about. *dincako paya siŋ du:khe*. Wild boars uproot trees. *paya mansar du:hoi*. A pig has dug up [your] garlic.

du:li vt., to cremate. *me lagaiten dyanheŋ du:hi*. They lit a fire and cremated the person.

du:sar n., type of taro fed to pigs.

duʔli vt., to devour greedily, eat like an animal, gobble up, wolf down. *marpha maduʔ!* Don't wolf down your food so quickly!

marpha du?! gabreka desankar! Gobble it down, you sickly whore!
lisi du?ka! Shit gobbler!

dyaʎoŋ num., four.

dyaŋ n., person, human.

dyapaha adv., [*dya* four + *paha* side] on all sides, in every direction.

dh

dhəni adj., [< Indo-Aryan] rich, well off.

dha-m n., freshly cooked rice (hot). cf. *ra-m*.

dha'ba? n., cloth, thick cotton plaid or striped piece of cloth woven by Dhimal women, approximately four feet by six feet and used as a shawl, sheet or child's hammock.

dhaili vt., to slash, cut off, hack down (stalks). *piyaheŋ capali məkai dhaihi*. To feed the cows he cut some cornstalks.

dhakana n., [< Indo-Aryan] cover, lid.

dhakelaili vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to push, jostle, shove.

dhale n., skin, bark, outer covering. *dyaŋko dhale* skin. *siŋko dhale* tree bark. *tuiko dhale* egg shell.

dhami n., [< Indo-Aryan] traditional healer, shaman.

dhamli vt., to build. *sa? dhamli paisa mhamapigilli dogha*. I couldn't send money to build a house at all. *kyarhi dhamli* to build an irrigation dike.

dhampali vt., to heat (food, drinks). *ci dhampaka bherpa malo*. Don't come^s near water being heated.

dhampili vt., to heat up for someone. *dhampihoi la*. It has heated up for [you] now.

dhana adj., young male. *dhana wajan*. Young man.

dhani adj., young female.

dhaŋga?ka adj., tall, long. *dhaŋga?ka cudur* long-shelled water snail.

dhaŋga?li vi., to be tall, be long.

dhaŋga?dhaŋga?li vi., to be very tall, be very long.
dhaŋga?dhaŋga?khe. He is very tall.

dhaŋgai n., rooster. cf. *bhale*, *telhi*, *bhundi kiya*, *kican*.

dhaŋdhaŋgara bajar n., Dhimal fair held during June.

dhaŋka adj., hot (food, drinks, air).

dhaŋli vi., to be hot (food, drinks, air).

dhapadhapali vi., to have a tingly, burning sensation. *nhati heʔkaŋ heʔkaŋ nhapu dhapadhapahi*. Blowing and blowing his nose, his nose had a tingly burning sensation. *istu marci canu lekharako cupini dhapadhapakhe*. If you eat a lot of chilis, your anus tingles and burns.

dhar kawa n., house crow, *Corvus splendens*.

dhari n., loincloth. Some older men and young boys wear the *dhari* around the house while working or fishing, but it is generally not worn in town.

dharka n., [< Indo-Aryan] stripe.

dharse n., wild species of fruit that is elongated, orange-coloured and sour.

dha'taili vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to lie, tell lies. *madhataili goiana*. You^s must not lie. *madhatai*. Don't lie.

dhauki n., white breasted water hen, *Amaurornis phoenicurus*.

dha:li vt., to carry on one's head. *puriŋta mko bojha dha:khe*. He's carrying a load of rice on his head. *misiŋ dha:khe*. She's carrying firewood on her head. *puriŋta dha:kana?* Are you^s going to carry it on your^s head? cf. *phu:li*, *pha:li*, *baʔli*.

dha:pa adv., with a thump, smack, wham.

dhaʔ n., porch.

dhaʔgilli vi., to run around, sail around, run off. *na hiso dhaʔgilnha kalau?* Where did you^s run off to then?

dhaʔli vi., to run, move quickly (bike, auto), sail; *tiro thoteŋ dhaʔkhe*. He's running full bore. *na hiso dhaʔkhe na u?! Where do you^s think you're running off to?! dama dhaʔli* to run along.

dhaʔpa adv., in a running manner, quickly.

dhaʔpali 1) vt., to make run. *saikal dhaʔpali magikhe*. She doesn't know how to ride a bike. 2) vi., to come running. *arna diyagelai garangurunpa dhaʔpakhe*. Wild water buffaloes come running thunderously.

dhaʔpuli vi., to run away, run off. *oso dhaʔpuhi*. He ran off in that direction.

dhelli vt., to brush against, crowd, be touching. *kaseŋ ita madhel*. Don't be crowding me here. *asa oso hane. kaheŋ dhelkhe*. Move

that way a little. It is brushing against me. *nan̄ko khokoi oso ta?*
iso dhelkhe. Put your leg over there. It's touching here.

dhemalai n., Dhimal people.

dhemalai katha n., Dhimal language.

dhemalaipa adv., in Dhimal.

dhemli vt., to fold; coil. *dhemteŋ gu?* Fold it up and put it on. *diham dhem*. Coil up the rope.

dhecikiu n., drongo, *Dicrurus macrocercus*.

dheŋgara n., log. *dheŋgarata tara musar dhu?khe*. Tara mushrooms are sprouting on the log.

dheŋgur n., rainbow. *dheŋgur lohi rə*. Why there's a rainbow there. ~ *dheŋguru*.

dheuli vt., to tether, tie. *o amai me?sa dheunha?* Oh mother, did you^s tie up the goat? *dheuna manthu*. She hasn't tied it up. *diham dheu!* Tie the rope.

dheunhali vm., to be tied up, tethered.

dheupali vt., to come tether. *ace! dheupa! dheupa!* Oh my! Come tether it! Come tether it!

dheupili vt., to tether for. *dheupinha?* Did you^s tether it [for me]?

dhe:li vt., to split, cut in half.

dhe:pali vt., to come split. *puriŋ dhe:pani aŋ?* Please come^s split [his] head open, okay?

dhe:pili vt., to split for, cut in half for someone. *kagati dhe:piã?* Shall I cut the limes in half for [you]? *puriŋ dhe:pianiŋ?! Shall I split your head open for you?!*

dhe?li vi., to be struck, hit (by a moving object). *dhe?tana*. You^s are going to be struck. *dhe?li tomhoi*. He was about to be struck. *siŋ pallabelau dhe?hi*. While cutting down a tree, he was struck.

dhe?nhali vm., to be struck inadvertently (by a moving object). *siŋ pallabelau jhəndai dhe?nhadhaŋka*. I was almost struck while felling a tree.

dhe?pali vt., to strike, knock down, run over. *jhəndai gaði dhe?padhaŋ diyaheŋ*. The bus almost struck the water buffalo.

dhi'kauri n., lump. *bhonoiko dhikauri* a lump of earth; *mko dhikauri* a lump of rice.

dhi'mal n., a Dhimal.

dhimalpa adv., in Dhimal.

dhipiri n., female genitalia. *dhipirita limui hihi?* Do [you] have hair on [your] genitals? cf. *cucu*, *lisinti*.

dhirli vi., to learn.

dhirpali vt., to teach. *kaŋko bhaipaŋ dhirpakhe*. She teaches just like me. *waseŋ pujata dhirpateŋ dhaba? gu?lhahi*. Having taught him at the ceremony, he went to put on a shawl. *kaseŋ dhirpa*. Teach me.

dhi:li vt., to thrust, jab, strike (with the end of a rod). *lathihoi remphaŋ dhi:!* *gabrekaheŋ!* Jab [him] good with the cane! The damn bastard! *lathihoi dhi:kā!* I'll jab [you] with the stick!

dhi:nhali vm., to bump into, be struck. *makhansiŋ hanelaubelau khokoita dha:pa dhi:nhasahi*. Not looking while he was walking, it seems he bumped his leg with a smack. *phinutaŋ dha:pa dhi:nhasagha*. It seems I smacked right into the door.

dhi?li vi., to reach. *cale?ta berhem madhi?khe*. The wall does not reach up to the roof. *kelaiko miliŋ thekapa dhi?taŋ ede diham*. This rope will reach all the way to our property.

dhi?pali vt., to serve, hand to, offer. *ko re anau do?teŋ sikret supaḍi nəriyəl sora dhi?paghahi*. Saying 'here, take it younger sibling', they offer cigarettes, betelnut, coconut and dates.

dhodaigali n., type of small fish with a large mouth.

dhogilli vt., to go around pouring drinks.

dhoili vt., to pour out of a large container into another container. *ghailata ci dhoikhe*. She's pouring water into the clay jug. *jogta ci dhoiteŋ iso bakharaili goiaŋ*. Having poured the water into the jug, one must distribute it over here.

dhokara n., [< Indo-Aryan] jute mat.

dhokara camandha n., large water leech.

dhoko n., [< Indo-Aryan] 1) hill-style basket carried with a strap on the head; cf. *tumce*. 2) large inedible type of land snail.

dhol n., [< Indo-Aryan] drum.

dholi vt., to pour a drink.

dholi vt., to cut. *bodhi dholi* to cut the umbilical cord.

dholli vt., to get on, climb into, board (horse, riksha, bicycle). *riksata dyaŋ dolteŋ hihi*. The person is climbing into the riksha.

dhona n., woven leaf plate used in ceremonies.

dhondro n., hole or cavity in a tree. *dhondrota wa basahili thalehi*.

He began to live in the hole in the tree. *odoi sinṭa hapako dhondro hihi*. In that tree is a wild cat's nest. *thokthoke jihā dhondrota hikhe*. Woodpeckers live in holes in trees. cf. *hodroṇ*.

dhongro n., hollow tube or container made from a gourd or bamboo. *tokarako dhongro* a gourd container. *pasimko dhongro*. a bamboo container.

dho:li vt., to bend over, incline. *gandi dho:khe*. She bent over. *pusiṇ kaipiā. puriṇ dho:!* I'll brush [your] hair for [you]. Bend [your] head over! *khur dho:.* Put out [your] hand.

dho:pili vt., to bend over for, incline for someone. *gandi dho:pihi*. She bent over for them.

dho?li vt., to snap, pull apart, cut off (rope). *iṇko dihamheṇ dho?!* Snap that rope! *iṇko diham dho?teṇ cuma*. Snap that rope and bring it over here.

dho?pali vt., to snap or pull apart and come. *diya diham dho?pahi*. The water buffalo snapped its rope and came. *kumarheṇ dihamhoi dheuteṇ ta?ka highahi. dho?pateṇ dha?hi*. He had tied Kumār up with rope and left him. But he broke his bindings and fled.

dhuili vi., to speak, make noise. *nui madhuikhe*. He's not speaking. *kelaiko pəriwar tharu katha nui dhuikhe*. Our^p family speaks Tharu language. *domodomopa dhuili* to play softly (radio, drum).

dhuipali vt., to cause to speak, make noise. *maṇku madhuipa re! nhatoṇ ca:sahoi!* Quit causing the shuttle to make noise! It seems my ears have had enough!

dhuiti n., saliva.

dhuku n., turtle. cf. *thori, kaca*.

dhuli vt., to wash (one's face). *mi dhunha?* Did you^s wash your^s face?

dhulo n., [< Indo-Aryan] dust.

dhumana n., ceremonial incense made from the resin of the *səkhūwa* tree.

dhumli vt., to fill. *gesata cuiti dhumkha*. I'm pouring oil into the lamp.

dhupali vi./vt., to wash (someone's face); come wash (one's face).
iso mi dhupa. Come^s wash your face. *mi dhupã*. I'll wash [your] face.

dhu: n., [< Indo-Aryan] place to lie in wait for game, ambush spot.

dhu?li vi., to explode, burst; emerge, grow (mushrooms). *tayarko tyub dhu?hi*. The tire tube burst. *makai holabelau dhu?khe*. When you roast corn it pops. *tara musar dhenjarata dhu?khe*. *tara* mushrooms grow on logs.

d

ðəgməgaili vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to tremble, shake; falter, be unsteady.
bhuĩcal lolabelau ðəgməgaihi. During the earthquake, the ground trembled.

ðəgməgaipa adv., in an trembling, shaking manner. *adhimī dyaŋ yumlau buŋ ðəgməgaipa yumkhe*. When half the people sit down, they sit with a trembling thud.

e

e inter., yes.

e inter., oh (in response). *na hiso hanekhena, a bai?* Where are you going older sister? *hate hanekha*. I'm going to the market. *e*. Oh.

ebalai pron., they, third person plural proximal pronoun.

ede dem., this. ~ *idi*.

edoi dem., this very. ~ *idoi*.

ek num., [< Indo-Aryan] one.

ekalaŋ adv., [< Indo-Aryan] alone.

ekalaŋ hika adj., lonely, solitary.

ekdəm adv., [< Indo-Aryan] very; a lot.

eko'horo adv., [< Indo-Aryan] directly, nonstop. *ekohoro do?pili goiana*. You have to tell them directly. *kalau ode jihā pharteŋ hanelau ekdəm ekohoro hanehi la*. So that bird, having taken it in its mouth, while going went nonstop then.

ela adv., now. *ela buŋ* still, yet. *elaŋ* right now. *elaŋ khiniŋ* just now.

elalau adv., nowadays.

elau adv., nowadays.

elauselau adv., nowadays.

elka 1) adj., pretty; good; proper. 2) n., beauty; goodness.

elli vi., 1) to be good; be pretty. 2) to be proper, be fitting, be appropriate. *atuika jamalaiheṇ dānaili ma-el* One should not beat small children. 3) to get better, recover. *osere am elnasiṇ*. Drink the medicine so that you will recover.

elpali vt., to cure, make better. *elpanasiṇ am!* In order to get better, drink (the medicine).

emli vt., to press, massage; to turn on (radio). *khokoi emkha*. I'm massaging my leg. *me emli* to warm oneself by a fire. *me rempha emsanha*. It seems you^s really warmed yourself by the fire. *sane? emli* to warm oneself in the sun.

empali vt., to cause to press; come press. *me empakhe*. He came to warm himself by the fire. *me empali cumpuka hihi*. She took him to warm himself by the fire.

empili vt., to press for, massage for someone. *empiā?* Shall I give you a massage? *jāḍ empiā?* Shall I make some rice beer for you?

eykhe n., ginger, *Zingiber officinale*.

eyli vt., to mix up (flour, earth). *warəṇ berəṇ militeṇ bhonoi eykhe*. The old man and the old woman are mixing up the soil together.

ereli vt., to press down on, bear down on, pin down. *paya rimlau erekhe*. When catching a pig, they pin it down. *jiubhari erekhe*. They are pressing down along his body.

esa adv., like this, in this manner.

esalau adv., thus.

esapa adv., like this, in this manner.

e'the pron., this much.

e'thesa adv., this much.

e:li vi., to catch in one's throat, choke. *hara maca. e:khe*. Don't eat bones. They catch in one's throat. *nam paya e:khoi*. Your^s pig has started to choke. *duhā e:li* to be smokey, be full of smoke; choke on smoke. *duhā e:hoi*. It is smokey already.

e:li vt., to carry hanging from one's shoulder. *jhola-sola e:hi bās*. He shouldered his bags and things, that's it.

e:puli vt., to go carrying hanging from one's shoulder. *gora botal jholata e:pukhe rhe:lhakata*. He is going carrying a bottle of alcohol in a bag while courting.

e?damasiŋ adv., suddenly.

e?li vt., to empty, empty out; milk. *e?ka hihi*. It's empty. *gaiko dudhe e?hoi?* Has the cow been milked? *dudhe e?khena?* Are you^s milking (the cow)? *e?li mapikhe*. It won't allow [us] to milk it.

e?loŋ num., one. *e?loŋ doŋ* adv., same.

e?loloŋpa adv., one each. *nhe?noŋ bahata e?loloŋpa nariya ghapuhi la*. He went along playing, an elephant under each arm.

e?phala n., one half, half. *paya e?phala cumagha*. I took half a pig (carcass).

g

gabaili vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to dye. *sute gabaikhe*. They are dyeing thread.

gabinika adj., [< Indo-Aryan] pregnant.

gabreka pej., [< Indo-Aryan] whore, bastard. *gabreka eŋka!*

gaḍi n., [< Indo-Aryan] bus.

gaipiya n., [< Indo-Aryan + *piya* 'cow'] cow.

gaira n., [< Indo-Aryan] rhinoceros. cf. *laya*.

galaili vt., to swing, wave. *ḍaṭheŋ galaikhe*. She's swinging the pen.

galbhuy n., cheek.

galgali n., phlegm.

galphan n., scarf.

gamli vi., to rest, stop. *gamaine*. Let's^p take a break. *barka wai losahi. e?jhuk gamli goiaŋ. wai khaṭtaŋ be?* It seems it's raining hard. We'll have to wait a minute and see whether the rain will let up.

gampali vt., to cause to rest, come to a halt. *m-sar marepaŋ dhaŋhi. ko mha?* *gampa*. The meal is very hot. Wait a moment. Let it sit. *maŋku gampa re*. Give the shuttle a rest, I say.

gamphala n., wild sweet red strawberry-sized fruit.

ganagwali n., type of poisonous snake with black and yellow stripes.

gandi n., back.

- gandi* num.col., [< Indo-Aryan] group of four (round objects).
eʔgandi tui. Four eggs. *nagandi pe:ka hihi*. Twenty (chicks) have hatched. ~ *ganda*.
- gandili* vt., to count. *gandiã?* Shall I count them?
- ga'ral* n., [< Indo-Aryan] Alexandrine parakeet, *Psittacula eupatria*.
- ga'rang'u'run* n., [< Indo-Aryan] thunder, a crashing noise. *badel garanguruṇ pahi*. It thundered.
- ga'rang'u'runpa* adv., thunderously, with a crashing noise.
- gargar'aali* vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to thunder. *badel gargaraihi*. It thundered.
- gaseli* vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to join, patch.
- gauri* n., referential term for in-laws whose younger brother and sister are married.
- gawa* n., large track or footprint.
- gawaili* vt., to order, order around, command someone. *kam pali buṇ gawaili goikhe*. One must even order him to do any work.
- gawaipili* vt., to order for. *asa gawaipisu kelaiko kanchaheṇ*. Order around our^p Kānchā more for [us].
- ga:li* vt., to cook (rice), prepare (rice beer, alcohol). *m wa taimiṇ ga:khe*. He cooks rice himself. *nani hai m ga:hi be?* What sort of rice did she cook today? *jāḍ ga:ka wa. gora ga:ka wa*. They may prepare rice beer. They may prepare distilled alcohol.
- ga:pili* vt., to cook (rice) for someone; prepare (alcohol) for someone.
- gaʔli* vt., to splash, douse, spray. *phaguwako din rəṇ gaʔli goiaṇ hulmeheṇ*. One has to throw coloured powder on one's younger sisters-in-law during *phaguwa*.
- gaʔpili* vt., to douse for someone, splash on someone.
- gesa* n., candle, oil lamp, light.
- gika-dhirka* n., knowing and learning, knowledge.
- gili* vi., 1) to know; find out. *hai gila?!* Who knows?! *hai gisuana?!* What do you^p know?! *tha magigha*. I didn't find out. 2) to understand, know how; *atutuipa khiniṇ gikha* I only understand a little. *gigha la*. I know how now. *obalai jharaṇ pujata khanteṇ khunteṇ gigha doʔkhe*. Having watched the ceremony, they all say they know how. 3) to feel, sense. *dhaṇka gikhena?* Does it

- feel hot? 4) to suspect. *kelaiko kancha gikhena?* Do you^s suspect our^p Kānchā? *bhaina gili* to seem.
- gilgilli* vt., to chase off, chase around. *a boi obalaiheṇ gilgil*. Uncle, chase them off. *gilgilkhe u*. They're chasing around, you know.
- gilgilpili* vt., to chase around or off for someone. *ajaiko puriṇ tu:hi. gilgilpi aṇ?* Grandma's head hurts. Chase them off for [her], okay?
- gilli* vt., to chase. *khiya kiyahēṇ gilpkhe*. The dog is chasing the chicken.
- gilpuli* vt., to go off chasing, chase away. *ka remphaṇ gilpuā*. I'll chase [him] off but good.
- gi'lub* n., [< Indo-Aryan < Eng. 'globe'] lightbulb.
- gimpa* adv., chewing with the mouth open (to cool food). *gimpa ni?*
- gimpali* vt., to chew, eat food with the mouth open (to cool food). *gimpateṇ ni?* Chew it and swallow^s.
- giṇli* vt., to bury (a post), set in the ground.
- gipa* adv., in an understandable fashion, knowingly, with knowledge. *te kunu dada gipa magipa lekhegha*. Okay then elder brother, I wrote (be it) in an understandable or understandable way.
- girgiraili* vi., to stomp around, go around making noise. *bejalai wajalai dhaṭeṇ girgiraike*. The boys and girls are running around making noise.
- giro* n., [< Indo-Aryan] joint. *khokoiko giro* knee; *aṇguliko giro* knuckle.
- girgho* adv., cross-legged. *girgho yumhi*. They sat cross-legged.
- gi:li* vt., to pour off (the liquid from rice in order to steam it). *mko ci gi:khe*. She's pouring off the rice water.
- giṭdhili* vt., to close and leave. *phinu giṭdhe!* Close the door when you leave!
- giṭli* vt., to close, lock, secure, fasten (a necklace). *phinu giṭtā*. Shall I close the door? *tise giṭ!* Put on the necklace!
- giṭnhali* vm., to close, lock. *naṇko phinu giṭnhakhe?* Does your door lock?
- go* n., 1) kinship term for ego's wife's older brothers or elder male cousins, to whom one must show respect. 2) kinship term of address for older sister's husband by younger brother. cf. *huigo*.

- godhol* n., [< Indo-Aryan] lesser adjutant stork, *Leptoptilus javanicus*. *godhol beran̄*. Old lady stork (nickname for a woman).
cf. Saptariya Tharu *gorul*.
- gogan* n., Great hornbill, *Buceros bicornis*.
- goili* vi., to have to, must. *cali goihi u!* One has to eat, you know! *esa pali goikhe*. One must do it like this. *lekheli goika te hensan̄ highakhe*. As for what had to be written, there was a lot.
- goja* n., warp beam tension peg.
- goji* n., [< Indo-Aryan] pocket.
- gojogojopa* adv., boorishly, in a longwinded fashion. *hinja gojogojopa mado?! kaseñ cer tan̄khe*. Don't talk on in a boorish fashion! I'm getting angry. *mado?sai nuwa sona gojogojopa*. Please don't speak boorishly, dear brother-in-law.
- golgolaili* vi., to speak in a hoarse or unintelligible voice.
- goli* n., [< Indo-Aryan] bullet, projectile.
- golkon haya* n., type of fish with a large head.
- golli* vt., to scoop up with one's hands. *m borata golteñ galteñ hate pipukhe*. Having scooped up the rice into the sack, he's bringing it to market. *dalota m gol!* Scoop up the rice into the basket!
- gomana* n., type of reddish beetle that appears during the monsoon.
- gomli* vt., to capture, sieze; arrest. *wasen̄ gomteñ ta? ita*. Capture him and keep him here.
- gon̄ge* n., nickname for a boy.
- gophi* n., [< Indo-Aryan] talk; bragging.
- gora* n., distilled alcohol, generally made from rice.
- gora mhaka* 1) adj., drunk, intoxicated. 2) n., drunkard.
- gora-ci* n., [*gora* rice liquor + *ci* water] drinks, beverages.
- gorne sara* n., [< Indo-Aryan] starling.
- gornel juhã* n., species of rat that lives in fields and is considered not too bright and therefore easy to catch.
- gos mala* n., [< Indo-Aryan] type of silver chain necklace made with loose, open links.
- gota* adj., [< Indo-Aryan] entire, all. ~ *gote*.
- gotan̄* pron., everything, all. *gotan̄ muisa hu:hi*. All his body hair fell out.
- go?li* vt., to take someone along. *ham go?li* to yawn.

gudini n., 1) heel. 2) banana heart.

guduṇṇa adv., in a rumbling manner, thunderingly. *wai loli tomhoi. badel gudunḡuduṇṇa dhuikhe*. It's about to rain. The clouds are thundering.

guili vi., to set kernels. *makaiko can guikhoi*. The ears of corn have begun to set. *m guikhoi. miliṇbhari ghase ce:khe. gotaṇ bhar hula wa na?* The rice has started to set kernels. They are cutting weeds out by the fields. Will all the fruits fall off?

gujreli vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to pass (time).

guli n., slingshot.

gulikathi n., [< Indo-Aryan] type of chunky silver necklace.

gulli vt., to roll up. *catalai gulkhe*. He's rolling up the mat. *dosana rempha gul ita!* Roll up the comforter well here!

gulthai n., sling.

gumana n., mouth harp.

gumli vi., to stay dry. *wai lolabelau sa? li?ta gumkhe kalau mabhijikhe*. When it rains it stays dry in the house, so he doesn't get wet. *kelai jharaṇ e?thame hiteṇ waiheṇ kha?paine. wa? gumaine*. Let's^p all stay in one place and come escape the rain. And let's^p stay dry.

gum'saili vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to ferment, dry out.

gunanḡli vi., to worry, be worried, fret. *operesan pali gunanteṇ higha*. I'm worried about having the operation. *gunanteṇ hikhe be?* I wonder if he's worried?

gunaso n., [< Indo-Aryan] sadness, grief, sorrow.

gundha n., rice chaff, bran.

gungun'ailli vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to grumble, mumble, hum.

gunjirli vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to groan, growl.

gungi n., leopard cat.

gupugupuli vi., to be very hot (weather). *mādesta gupugupukhe*. In the lowlands it is very hot.

gu?ka n., covering, shawl. cf. *dhaba?*

gu?ka-da?ka n., coverings.

gu?li vt., to put on or cover one's back (shawl).

gu?lhali vt., to go to put on one's back (shawl).

gwabari bajar n., [< Indo-Aryan] fair that takes place in the town of Damak.

gwai n., areca nut (archaic), seed of the fruit of the betel palm, *Areca catechu*. Areca nuts figure importantly in courting and marriage ceremonies in Dhimal culture. cf. *supari*.

gwamari n., [< Indo-Aryan] fennel.

gwampa adv., heartily, with an appetite. *rempha gwamgwampa casahi*. It seems he ate quite heartily. *matha?kar! hede kal cali maniṇna khiniṇ gwamgwampa cahi*. Mother fucker! He ate like he had never got to eat before.

gyatis n., [< Indo-Aryan < Eng. gatige] slingshot.

gh

ghən siṇ n., [< Indo-Aryan] type of tree.

ghagilli vi./vt., to play around, go around playing.

ghaila n., [< Indo-Aryan] clay jug for holding water or rice beer mash.

ghaili vi., to be full, be sated, have enough. *ghaihoina?* Have you^s had enough (to eat)? *ghaia wa*. Perhaps he will have had enough (of your antics).

ghali vi./vt., to play, play with; socialise, visit with. *nariyako can magha*. Don't play with an elephant calf. *a bai iso ghali lo*. Oh elder sister, come over here and socialise. *lhudu ghali* to play dice, gamble. *baido ghali* to swing. *siṇko daleṇso baido ghakhe*. He's swinging from the tree branch. *rhauci ghali* to joke. *rhauci ghakhe*. He's joking. *kusti ghali* to wrestle. *iṇko dopha kusti ghali hanã to ka buṇ*. I too will go and wrestle with him.

ghalsi n., [< Indo-Aryan] clay jug.

ghalterṇ n., wooden objects hanging from the loom beater which make a clattering noise when in use.

ghalhali vi./vt., to go to play. *baibhari ghalhani*. Please go play over by your elder sisters. *oi oso ghalhasu!* Hey, go^p play over there! *bansa ghalhali* to visit, go visiting, go socialise.

ghampa n., [< Indo-Aryan] large clay jug for holding water or rice beer mash.

ghapali vi./vt., to cause to play; come play. *iŋko beran leta ghali mapiteŋ kusti gandita ghapahi doʔkhe la*. Not letting them play below, that old woman made them wrestle on her back they say. *dudu ampalabelau wako amai ghapakhe*. While breast feeding, his mother rocks him in her arms.

ghapuli vi./vt., to go along playing. *nheʔnoŋ bahata eʔloloŋpa nariya ghapuhi la*. He went along playing with an elephant under each arm.

ghara n., pit, hole.

ghase n., [< Indo-Aryan] grass, weeds.

ghasuli vr., to play with one another. *ekdām kusti ghasuhi la*. They really wrestled with each other.

ghelti n., drool.

ghensiŋ n., distilled alcohol (stronger than *gora*). ~ *ghyansiŋ*

ghera n., loofa gourd.

ghe'raili vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to surround, encircle; block, stop. *te inso rempha gheraisu*. Okay, block it well over there.

gherasiŋ n., loofa gourd vine.

ghe:li vt., to carry on one's hip. *ghalsi ghe:khe*. She's carrying a clay jug on her hip. *jamal ghe:teŋ bansa ghalhahi*. She put the child on her hip and went visiting.

gheʔli vt., to stick in (one's hair), place between two closely fitting objects. *caleʔta toʔsi gheʔtaŋ*. She'll put the comb between the roof supports. *pelsiŋ gheʔ*. Stick the pencil between (the roof supports). *lheʔ khopata gheʔkhe*. She sticks a flower into her hairdo.

ghinʔli vt., to snatch, grab. *ghinʔ!* Snatch it!

ghogiya n., [< Indo-Aryan] okra.

ghoghoron n., throat, gullet.

gho'kraili vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to thrust by the neck.

ghontal n., type of bean. Nep. *boḍī*.

ghopili vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to pierce, jab.

gho'seʔli vt., to scrub. *ghoseʔ!* Scrub (yourself)! *takhala ghoseʔ!* Scrub the dishes!

gho:li vt., to tend (animals), sheppard. *gai gho:kataŋ gho:kataŋ belhaʔhi la*. While tending the cows, night fell.

gho:puli vt., to go tend (animals) *diya gho:puaine*. Let's^p go tend the water buffaloes.

ghukulu n., wild fruit similar to a tangerine

ghu'maili vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to stroll; return.

ghu'maipali vt., to turn, rotate.

ghu'raigilli vi., to stroll around.

ghu'raili vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to stroll, visit, tour. *dəmək ghuraisiŋ*.

Let's^d stroll in Damak. *lo ghurai*. Come and visit.

ghu'railhali vi., to go and stroll.

ghu'raipali vt., 1) to pay back, bring back. 2) take someone for a stroll, walk someone around. *bejanheŋ ghuraipakhe*. They walk the girl around (the groom).

ghureli vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to return, come back; turn around, turn. *he?lau ghureteŋ loana?* When will you^s return. *aroŋ ghureka manthu*. He still hasn't returned. *dihē ghureteŋ khaŋgha*. I turned and looked to the west.

ghurghur'aigilli vi., to play around exuberantly, horse around.

ghurghur'ailli vi., to play exuberantly, horse around, rough house. *boibhari ghurghuraisukhena?!* Are you^p rough housing around uncle?!

ghuri n., moment. *e?ghuriŋ*. Just one moment.

h

həpta n., [< Indo-Aryan] week.

hai pron., what. *hai-hai* what all, what things. *hai doŋ mako* nothing at all. *hai doŋ upaisa* adv., somehow, some way.

haibili adv., why.

haipali adv., why.

haipali do?nu conj., [*haipali* why + *do?nu* if say] because.

haipali kunu conj., [*haipali* why + *kunu* if be] because.

haipali panu conj., [*haipali* why + *panu* if do] because.

hakadhuku adv., suddenly.

ha'la?li vi., to dry (in the sun). *lokhon hala?ka hihi*. The clothes are out drying. *sane?ta m hala?khe*. Rice is drying in the sun.

hale n., [< Indo-Aryan] plough.

hamli vi., to yawn. *hamhi u*. There, he yawned.

hamu n., stomach, belly. ~ *ham*, *himu*.

hanedo:li vi., to finish going. *hanedo:hoi ancaŋ*. He already left earlier.

hanehindhili vi., to go and leave behind. *sita hanehindhilabelau te jun wako dusman highahi*. When they went and left Sītā behind, her enemy was there.

haneli vi., to go, leave. *haneka thame manthu*. There was no place to go. *ka te mahanarŋka*. As for me, I won't go. *nhu?so haneli* to walk behind, follow. *səlha haneli* to take advice, confer. *e?khe səlha haneli goiaŋ*. We^p must go once and confer.

hanepa adv., walking, going. *dama hanepa sirpu*. Walk him along to where he's going.

hanepali vt., to cause to go.

hanumpa adv., afternoon, this afternoon.

haŋgar n., (fence) rail.

haŋgarai n., 1) root of jungle plant with licorice-like flavour that is chewed for sore throats. 2) Oriental pied hornbill, *Anthracoceros albirostris*.

har n., [< Indo-Aryan] generic term for necklace.

hara n., [< Indo-Aryan] bone; of the same clan.

ha'rami n., [< Indo-Aryan] wicked or accursed person. *harami!* [You] wicked person!

harcul siŋ n., species of tree with tiny leaves that are crushed and massaged into sprained or sore joints to heal.

hardiya n., [< Indo-Aryan] Dhimal clan.

hareli vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to fail, lose (a contest), be defeated. *paya jitina bhaiso khuwāhā harehi*. Since the pig won, the tiger lost.

hasa n., [< Indo-Aryan] duck. Dhimals raise Muscovy ducks (*ciniya hasa*) and a type of mallard.

hasu pron., who. *hasu-hasu* who all. *hasu doŋ* whoever, no one. *hasuko* whose.

hate n., [< Indo-Aryan] weekly or bi-weekly town market; market town. ~ *hate bajar*.

haya n., fish.

hāsuli n., [< Indo-Aryan] traditional torque neckband made of silver.

It is no longer in vogue, however, having been replaced by the *candrahār* as the neck ornament of choice by Dhimal women of means.

ha:li vt., to clear jungle (for farming).

ha:li vt., to spread out to dry (in the sun). *m sempali ha:khe*. She's spreading out the rice to dry.

ha?pa n., [> Indo-Aryan] short-tailed jungle cat, *Felis chaus*.

hede pron., which. *hede paha* which way.

hedoi pron., which.

hela n., [< Indo-Aryan] hatred, hate.

hengalainhali vm., to shake, vibrate.

hengalaili vt., to shake, jiggle.

herli vi., to stretch, pull.

herpali vt., to come pulling, drag. *wa kaseŋ mako mako pateŋ do?kataŋ khur ca:teŋ bahar herpahi*. He kept saying 'no, no', grabbed my hand and dragged me outside.

hesa adv., how. *hesa doŋ* however, whatever way.

hesapa adv., how, which way.

heta pron., where. *heta buŋ* wherever.

hethe adv., how much. *hethe rempha!* How good! *hethe buŋ* however much.

he:li vt., to open. *phinu he:li doana?* Can you^s open the door?

he:pili vt., to open for.

he?lau adv., when. *he?lau buŋ* whenever.

he?li vt., to blow (one's nose). *nhapu he?khe*. She's blowing her nose. *nhati olehoi. nhapu mahe?tana?* Snot already came out. Aren't you^s going to blow your^s nose?

he?loŋ adv., how many.

he?pali vt., to bite the big one, kick the bucket, croak. *naŋko aba he?pali tomhoi*. Your^s dad is about to kick the bucket. *nani gyani he?pahi*. Today Jñānī bit the big one.

he?pili vt., to blow one's nose [for someone]. *nhati he?pi!* Blow your nose [for me]!

hidirihadaray n., very large raptor (eagle?). In olden days, parents would tell unruly children that if they didn't behave, the *hidirihadaray* would come and carry them off.

higilli vi., to travel, walk about. *nepalta hiso hiso higilka hinha?* Where all have you^s travelled in Nepal?

hili vi., 1) to be. *kelaiko caka isika hihi*. Our^p food is like this. *rempha hinha?* Are you^s well? 2) live, dwell, stay. *ita hika thame manthu. siã. ka mahiã*. There's no place [for me] here. I want to die. I don't want to live. *na hiso hikhena?* Where do you^s live? *ita higha*. Here I am. *kathmandu hethe hiana?* How long will you^s stay in Kathmandu? 3) auxiliary verb.

hima n., moment. cf. *koma*.

himpali vt., to tell, cause to hear.

himpapili vt., to tell for someone. *wasey himpapi*. Tell him for [us].

himpili vt., to let someone hear; listen for someone.

hindhili vi., to stay behind. *hindhe o kunu*. Stay behind (polite - said when taking leave). *hindhihi te ekalay jharta hasu la?* Who was left behind alone then in the jungle? *injo wajan te hindhihi*. That boy was left behind.

hinsa adv., a lot, many. ~ *hinja*.

hinli vt., to listen, hear. *se?piã na hinana?* Shall I kill [you] or are you^s going to listen? *nhatoy mahinakahey wahey ta?dhihi*. They put a deaf person there and left. *kelai bhətijako ciṭṭhi lekheka hinḡha*. I heard our^p nephew wrote a letter.

hipabhari adv., lifelong.

hirhirli vi., to be cold and damp (wind). *jhyal gi?* *bherma marepay hirhirsahi*. Close the window. It seems the wind is really cold and damp!

hisika adj., what kind of.

hi'so adv., where to, whither. *hiso-hiso* where all, to which places. *hiso doḡ* wherever. *hisoso* where from.

hiti n., blood.

hi?li vi., to hiccough. *m calabelau hi?ḡha*. While eating a meal I hiccoughed.

hi?li vt., to ask, question. *a baigelai, e?loḡ katha hi?taḡka* Hey older sisters, I would like to ask you a question. *hi?li jəṭini niḡkhe*. One

- can ask as much as one likes. *odon bhaʔsiŋ hiʔkha*. I ask for that reason. *rhuta hiʔli* to wonder, ponder.
- hiʔli-danli* vt., to inquire, question. *hiʔtaŋka-danaŋka*. I will inquire.
- hiʔti* n., hiccough.
- hodron* n., hollow, hole, cavity.
- hoili* vt., to finish, use up. *miliŋ cakataŋ cakataŋ hoigha*. Eating up the land little by little, I used it up. *bomiheŋ paisa pikataŋ pikataŋ hoihi*. He used up his money giving it to others over and over.
- holi* vt., to dry fry. *tole mahoteŋ baguya majenaŋ*. Unless you dry fry the flour, the *baguya* won't turn out. *kuruŋ hokhe*. She's dry frying rice.
- homka* adj., light (weight).
- homli* vi., to be light in weight.
- honli* vt., to put on, wear (pants, shirt, sari).
- ho:li* vi., to drip, seep (from a hole). *ghailako ci ho:khe. kana hihi na hai ko?* The jug water is dripping. Is there a hole or what? *boraso uŋkhu ho:khe*. Paddy is seeping from the sack.
- hoʔli* vt., to pull out, extricate, remove, take off, undress. *cui hoʔtaŋka*. I'll pull the sliver out. *curoʔ hoʔ*. Take out a cigarette. *lokhon hoʔkhe*. He's undressing. *ela hoʔtana?!* You want to take it off now?!
- huigo* n., ego's wife's younger brother or male cousins.
- hu'kagudi* n., coconut (archaic). cf. *nəriyəl*.
- huldhili* vi., to fall and be left behind. *oso huldhikhe*. He fell and was left back there.
- hulli* vi., to fall from above. *ode bhar misihāta hulhi la*. That load fell in his eye then. *hulaŋ!* It'll fall! *siŋ tanteŋ hulgha*. I climbed up a tree and fell.
- hulme* n., kinship term for ego's wife's younger sister or female cousins; husband's younger sister or female cousins.
- hulpali* vt., to drop, let down. *insa hulpakataŋ hulpakataŋ hulpakataŋ thiʔsa cumpuhi aŋ*. Thus, continually dropping them along the way, he only brought back a little. *wako pusin hulpateŋ hihi*. She is letting her hair down.
- hu'lunga* n., kinship term for ego's husband's younger brother.
- hurli* vi., to snore.

hurtal n., [< Indo-Aryan] green pigeon, *Treron* sp.

hu'rukka adj., exhausted, tired out.

husi n., breath; fog.

hu:li vi./vt., to spill, pour out, fall out. *iŋko muisa insa hu:ka mako*.

That body hair didn't fall out for no reason. *la hu:hi*. There, it spilled. *beraŋ ghailako ci hu:khe*. The old woman is pouring water from the clay jug.

hu:pili vt., to pour out for. *purinŋa ci hu:pihi*. They poured water on his head for [him].

i

icikali vi., to be sprained. *khokoi icikahi*. [My] foot is sprained.

iki'riŋgiya n., large arboreal stinging ant with a black head and abdomen, and red thorax.

ikh inter., exclamation of disgust. It is pronounced forcefully and with falling intonation.

imbalai pron., third person plural distal pronoun.

imli vi., to swell. *naŋko jiu imli khaŋkhe*. Your body is trying to swell.

insa adv., like that. *insaŋ* just like that; just because, for no reason.

Popular retort of young girls when asked 'why'. ~ *ensa*.

insalabelau adv., then, at that time. ~ *ensalabelau*.

insalau adv., like that time. ~ *ensalau*.

insika adj., that kind of.

inso adv., that way, to there.

inta adv., there; then, at that time. *intaso* then, after that, from there.

iŋko dem./pron., that; that one.

irirpa adv., in a cool and damp manner. *irirpa belha?hi*. Evening set in in a cool and damp manner.

irli vi., to be cold and damp. *haipali bənaile iŋko. jumni itini menemene irli*. Why build that. Tomorrow or the next day — to be cold and damp for nothing. *wai loteŋ gotaŋ irhi*. The rain came and everything became cold and damp.

isika adj., this kind of, this type of.

iso adv., in this direction, over here.

istu adv., a lot. *iŋko beran̄ko istu rhai cuncalaʔhi*. That old woman's face is really wrinkled.

ita adv., here. ~ *eta*.

itangi boʔna n., type of *boʔna* with repeating bands of three orange stripes on a black background.

itaraili vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to bother, pester, annoy. *jamalai cumalai kaseŋ ma-itaraisu! puriŋ tu:khe*. Kids, don't pester me. [I] have a headache. *oso yum. jamalai itaraikhe*. Sit over there. The kids pester (here).

itini adv., the day after tomorrow, in a couple of days.

i:co:'co:ka adj., [*i:* red + *co:* diminutive] reddish.

i:ka adj., red.

i:ka koʔsa n., red monitor lizard.

i:ka nhōya n., rhesus monkey, *Macaca mulatta*.

i:ka nhamui n., small red ant.

i:li vi., to be red.

i:li vt., to draw water.

i:lhalaili vi., to be pink. *naŋ rhai i:lhalaihi*. Your^s face turned pink.

i:lhalaipa adv., pink. *i:lhalaipa rhaita roŋ laipih*. They coated his face with coloured powder until it was pink.

i:ta'tarli vi., to be or become orange. *sau phrijta taʔnu i:tatarkhe*. If you put fat in the freezer it turns orange.

i:ta'tarpa adv., orange-coloured. *dese i:tatarpa jeŋhi*. The salt turned orange.

j

jəbərjəsti adv., [< Indo-Aryan] by force, without permission. *na jəbərjəsti haipali pe:nha?* Why did you^s pick them without asking?

jətini adv., [< Indo-Aryan] however much.

ja aŋ kwa aŋ pron., anyone, whoever.

jabara n., weeds, sparse vegetation.

jagulai n., smoke.

jagul'ailli vi., to be smokey.

ja'han n., [< Indo-Aryan] family.

- ja'hã* n., mosquito.
- ja'hãʔka* adj., pearly white, brilliant.
- jai* pron., whatever.
- jaigul* n., marsh mugger, *Crocodilus palustris*.
- ja'la* n., young unripe fruit of a cucumber or pumpkin; nickname for child.
- jale* n., [< Indo-Aryan] web, spider web; net, square fishing net stretched out on two crisscrossed arched slats of bamboo. It is used predominantly by women.
- jali khopa* n., type of hair style worn by Dhimal women.
- ja'mal* n., child, baby.
- ja'man* n., [< Indo-Aryan] young adult (18-28 years old).
- jambai* n., jaw.
- jambu kham* n., red crab that lives in fields.
- jambu siŋ* n., the Jāmun tree, *Syzygium cumini*. Nep. *jāmuna*.
- jamli* vt., to smash, smite, crush. *elaŋ duphehoi jamaniŋ!* I'm going to smash you with an axe right now! *miŋko dhenta jamaniŋ!* I'm going to smash you with a piece of firewood!
- jampili* vt., to smite for. *naŋko puriŋ jampidhaniŋ!* I ought to smash your head! *naŋko seʔguli jampiã!* I'm going to smash your testicles!
- jaŋli* vi., to be excessive, be expensive. *jaŋhi mə?* It's become expensive, hasn't it? *jaŋ jaŋ*. That's quite enough (said when food is being served).
- japai* n., tick (not blood-engorged).
- ja'raili* vt., to gather dropped grain. *khaliŋ m jaraili gikhe*. All she knows how to do is gather dropped grain. *hanesu jamalai. kelaiko miliŋbhari thuproŋ sisa m hulka hihi. rempha jaraisu*. Go children. A lot of loose rice grains have fallen over by our^p fields. Gather it well.
- ja'raʔjaraʔli* vi., to be in a throng, be crowded.
- ja'raʔja'raʔpa* adv., in a throng, in a swarm. *hisu jaraʔjaraʔpa higilsukhena?* Where are you^p going in a throng? *cokta hai jeŋhi be. dyaŋ jaraʔjaraʔpa hihi*. What could be going on at the intersection? People are all in a throng.
- ja'raʔpa* adv., in a throng, en masse, in a swarm.

jaresona n., golden one (lament).

jari n., [< Indo-Aryan] root.

jarli vi., to throng, be crowded.

jasika inter., oh my!

jasusi n., [< Indo-Aryan] intrigue, spying.

jati n., true, real. *jatiŋko monta ta:teŋ lohi be?* I wonder whether he came with a true heart?

jati saro n., [< Indo-Aryan] myna bird.

jatibhari n., truth, reality.

jatri bajar n., Dhimial fair.

jatura siŋ n., [< Indo-Aryan] black-necked stork, *Ephippiorhynchus asiaticus*. This bird is alleged to be named after some historical individual.

jauhara n., hunting deity.

jauthiya n., twins.

jāḍ n., rice beer. cf. *bhatiya*.

ja:li vt., to put things in a jumble.

ja:pa adv., in a jumble, in a heap. *anemane ja:pa ta?hi u*. He put his thing in a jumble you know.

ja?li vi., to stand, stand up.

ja?pali vt., to set up, make stand. *misteri nhe?mi kunti ja?pateŋ ara ce:khe*. Two carpenters set up a saw-horse and are sawing.

jede pron., whichever.

jelauselau adv., sometimes.

jempili vt. to become for, develop for, bear for someone. *tole jempihi do?khe tolesiŋ*. The flour tree bore flour for them, they say.

jempuli vi., to gradually become, gradually develop. *umer jempukhoi*. She's just now coming of age. *kelai dhemalai sukhumbasi jempukhoi la*. We^p Dhimals are becoming landless.

jencali vp., to become, develop. *kelaiko miliŋta jinse jencasahi*. It seems the rape in our^p fields developed.

jenli vi., 1) to become. *na kabarako rup jeŋ*. You take the form of a spotted deer. *je:pa jeŋhi*. She became fair-skinned. *suniya jenli* to become desolate. *suru jenli* to begin. *iŋko dina kalau ekdəm la jhəgəra suru jeŋhi la*. On that day then they really began to fight. *mən jenli* to feel like. *mən majeŋhi*. [I] didn't feel like it. *bejat*

jeṅli to be shamed, lose face. *harena bhaisto kaṅko bejat jena wa*. Since [I] lost, I may lose face. 2) to happen, occur, turn out. *ede kabara hai pateṅ jeṅkhe ka seṇli goiaṅka*. No matter what happens, I must kill this spotted deer. *wako bihu jeṅhoi la*. His marriage already happened. *rəmailo jeṅghahi*. It turned out pleasant. 3) to be acceptable, be okay, be alright. *jenəṅ majenəṅ?* Will that be okay or not? *jumni rhimaṅ jendhaṅ rə!* Tomorrow morning would be okay! 4) to be born. *bihu pakalaiko can-camindi jeṅhi*. Of those who had married children were born. *jeṅlhali* vi., to go to become. *maric muni kabarako rup jeṅlhahi*.

Maricamanī went to take the form of a deer.

jesa pron., however. *jesa palaubun* any way, in any case.

jesalabun adv., any way, in any case.

jeta pron., wherever.

jeṭha n.m., [< Indo-Aryan] eldest son.

jeṭhi n.f., [< Indo-Aryan] eldest daughter.

je:ka 1) adj., white; fair-skinned. 2) n., Caucasian.

je:li vi., to be white; be fair-skinned.

je:pa adv., fair, light-coloured. *je:pa jeṅka* adj., fair-skinned.

jidhi n., [< Indo-Aryan] persistence, obstinacy, stubbornness. *jidhi pali* to be obstinate, be stubborn. *ekdəm jidhi pahi*. [She] became very obstinate.

ji'hā n., bird.

jihā-juileṅ n., [*jihā* bird + *juileṅ* lizard] (small) animals.

ji'hīli vi., to be well aligned. *wako tasi jihika hihi*. His teeth are well aligned. *jihika kundol lagaisahi*. It seems she put on some smart earrings.

jijhili vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to fight, quarrel. *kaṭhmanḍuko ci kalau itako ci jijhihi kalau cibaisi khoṇhi*. The Kathmandu water and the water here fought and he got a cold.

jimdha n., co-wife.

jimdhi vt., to leave [someone] behind sleeping. *jimdhihi*. [They] left [him] behind sleeping. *jimdhigha*. I left [him] sleeping there.

jimli vi., to sleep; lie down; rest. *jim!* Lie down! *a boi jimhoina?* Oh uncle, have you^s fallen asleep? *ka jimā la*. I'm going to sleep now. *narata jimteṅ hihi*. He's asleep in the hay.

jimpali vi./vt., to cause to sleep, put to bed; come sleep.

jimpapuli vt., to go to put to sleep, go put to bed. *jimpapuhi rə*. She went and put him to bed.

jinjako paya n., wild boar, *Sus scrofa*. ~ *dincako paya*.

jinis n., [< Indo-Aryan] creature; thing.

jinse n., rape plant. *jinse sar*. rape greens.

jirham n., generic term for grasshopper, katydid. ~ *jirhaŋ*.

jisika adj., whatever kind of.

jisikalabuŋ adj., any kind of.

jitili vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to win, beat in a competition. *sara dyaŋ gjaŋ kaheŋ paya jitihi*. Everyone will know that the pig beat me.

jiu n., [< Indo-Aryan] body; life.

jiʔjiʔli vi., to be very wet and damp (ground). *leta yumnu jiʔjiʔkhe. dokara daʔli goikhe kalau lekhara boʔboʔkhe*. If you sit down it's wet and damp. It's necessary to lay down a mat and then one's rear end becomes warm.

jiʔli vi., to be wet and damp (ground). *bhonoŋ jiʔkhe. odoŋ bhaʔsiŋ kelaiko m remkhe*. The ground is wet and damp. Because of that our^p paddy does well.

jog n., [< Indo-Aryan] jug.

jogi n., [< Indo-Aryan] Dhimal clan; wise man.

jokso adv., right away, early, soon. Nep. *saberaŋ*.

jolaipili vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to light for, kindle for, set fire to for someone.

joli vt., to sew. *mko bora joaŋka*. I'll sew up the sack of rice. *bhasa joli* to weave a cocoon, build a nest. *jihā peʔsa bhasa jokhe*. Birds and insects build nests.

jolkaili vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to shine, glisten, glitter, glow. *jhenepeteko mi jolkaikhe*. A *jhenepete*'s eyes shine.

jolli vi., to shine.

jolpaŋ n., [< Indo-Aryan] snack. Nep. *khājā*.

jolti n., intercourse.

jomli vi., to gather, collect, assemble. *ci jomhi*. Water collected.

jompali vt., to collect, gather. *paisa jompakha*. I'm collecting money.

jonjo n., moon (babytalk).

jor n., [< Indo-Aryan] pair. ~ *jori*.

jor khopa n., type of hairstyle.

joreli vt., to connect, join, unite, bring together. *behai-beheni joreli goiaŋ be?* I wonder whether it is necessary to bring the parents-in-law together?

joromti n., short piece of rope, such as to tether an animal.

jo:li vt., to stir. *m jo:khe*. She's stirring the rice. *ka jo:kā*. I'll stir.

jo:lhali vt., to go to stir. *ra-m jo:lha*. Go stir the leftover rice.

jo?li vt., to set afloat. *sarsati pujata jo?khe*. During Śarasvatī worship, [images] are set afloat. *bisukarma babaheŋ jo?khe*. They set Viṣvākarma Bābā afloat. *sika khiya cita jo?khe*. A dead dog was set afloat in the water. Nep. *selāunu*.

jo?puli vt., to float away.

jube n., ego's wife's mother.

judhili vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to fight.

juileŋ n., lizard.

jujhepali vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to fight, quarrel. *mi jujhepali* to lock eyes. *khur jujhepali* to arm wrestle.

ju'kaili vt., to sick on. *kelai dera lolabelau iŋko payaheŋ khiya jukaihi*. When it came to our neighbourhood, they sicked the dog on that pig.

ju'kaipili vt., to sick on for someone. *bomiko khiyaheŋ kaŋko khiya jukaipigha*. I sicked my dog on someone else's dog.

jumni adv., tomorrow. *jumni-itini* [*jumni* tomorrow + *itini* day after tomorrow] in a couple of days. *jumni kalau* the next day.

jurukjarak adj., startled.

juŋle n., [< Indo-Aryan] yoke.

ju'hā n., mouse; Indian mole rat, *Bandicota bengalensis*. A common rat that burrows into farmers fields, hoarding large amounts of grain. After the harvest, young Dhimal boys dig up the rat nests to recover the grain and capture the rats to eat.

juwa n., ego's wife's father. *na juwa!* Your father-in-law! (derogatory exclamation used by young girls.)

ju?li vt., to stoke, add fuel. *misiŋ ju?!* Stoke it with some firewood! *me ju? marpa!* *m mina wa*. Stoke the fire quickly! The rice may cook. *me rempha ju?!* *m siŋka yhaa wa*. Stoke the fire well! The rice may remain uncooked.

jh

jhəṇḍai adv., [< Indo-Aryan] almost.

jhaka adj., unconscious.

jhamaḥhamali vi., to tingle, experience a burning sensation. *kam panu khokoi jhamajhamakhe*. If he works, his legs get a burning sensation.

ghan'jauri n., bamboo latticework used to enclose a porch.

ghanḡiri n., trellis used to train or support viny plants.

ghar n., [< Indo-Aryan] forest, jungle.

gha'raṅ pron., all, everyone. *gharaṅ khanteṅ lampa* First of all.

gharka n., [< Indo-Aryan] spinning wheel.

gharka bhol n., large edible root found in the forest.

gharpa adv., intently. *gharpaṅ khaṅkhe*. She's staring.

gharphu n., [< Indo-Aryan] exorcism.

ghategilli vt., to go around thrashing. *basulihoi ghategilhi*. He went around thrashing it with the flute.

ghateli vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to thrash, thresh (by hand).

ghauka adj., big, large.

ghauli vi., to be big.

ghaupali vt., to make larger, raise up (a house).

gha:ka adj., wet, soaked; washed.

gha:li vt., to wet, wash. *lisi gha:ka manthu*. He hasn't washed the shit (off his ass). (said by children when someone can't revive a fire by blowing on it.) *khur gha:!* Wash your hands!

gha:puli vt., to go and wet, go and wash. *gha:pu!* Go wash it!

ghempa adv., light; brightly. *ghempaṅ* until daybreak.

ghemphorophoroka n., dawn.

ghemphuru n., morning star. cf. *sukuru phuru*.

ghenepete n., type of large black caterpillar with shiny eyes whose hairs sting when touched. It lives on *sujini siṅ*.

ghenepete siṅ n., type of vine.

gheyli vi., to become light, become bright.

- jhe:li* vt., to whittle, shave down. *duphehoi khambha jhe:khe*. He's whittling down the post with an axe. *cu?ka dabiyaohi khambha jhe:*. Whittle down the post with a sharp *khukuri*.
- jhili* vt., to thresh with the feet. *nani jinse jhiaine*. Today let's^p thresh the rape. *m jhinhahoi*. We^p finished threshing the rice.
- jhi'lingoi* n., red mite; blood blister.
- jhimpili* vt., to bind for, tie up for someone. *lo to. jhimpia*. Come here. I'll tie it [balloon] for [you].
- jhingli* vt., to tie up or together, bind. *m jhingli do:hoi*. The paddy is already finished being tied into bundles. *waseŋ jhingli lagaihi la*. He got him to tie him up. *bau jhingli* to tie the heddle. *bhasa jhingli* to spin a cocoon, build a nest. *pe?sa bhasa jhinkhe*. Caterpillars build cocoons.
- jhire* n., vein.
- jhiri* vi., to quake, get the willies, tingle. *akhe?ka anemanegelai tiŋna jiu jhiri ru*. Since he saw some awful things, he got the heeby-jeebies. *tasi ci:nhana jiu jhirkhe*. Due to biting one's teeth, one's body tingles. *gandi jhiri*. A shiver went up [my] spine.
- jhoko* n., amount. *ede jhoko* this much.
- jho'koka* n., , the size of, as big as. *iŋko nariya mo?or jhokoka highahi* That elephant was as big as a car.
- jhokso* adv., right away, immediately.
- jhol* n., [< Indo-Aryan] liquid, gravy, sauce, any soupy dish such as lentils.
- jhola* n., [< Indo-Aryan] bag, purse.
- jholi* vi., to float away. *jhora?ta dyaŋ jhohi*. A person was carried away in the river.
- jhonji* n., copse, thicket. *iŋko jhonjita wa syaile te sirihi*. The jackal, he slipped into that thicket.
- jhonjhonj* n., disobedient person. *haipali masa?khe? jhonjhonj. masa?khe. khaŋ!* Why isn't he obeying? Disobedient boy. He's not obeying. Look!
- jhopa* adv., in a flowing manner. *cuiti puriŋta jhopa lagai*. Put oil on your head in a flowing manner. *jhopa sekhe*. It fruits in clusters (like grapes).

- jhopali* vt., to carry away in a flood or river. *bane loten dyaḷoṅ sa? jhopahi*. The flood came and carried away four houses.
- jhora?* n., river.
- jhora?ko ali-ali* n., river banks.
- jho'se?* n., hail.
- jhosim* n., small mortar.
- jho:li* vt., to polish rice. *uṅkhu jho:teṅ je:khe*. After polishing rice it becomes white.
- jhuk* n., moment. *e?jhukta*. In a moment. *e?jhuk rhum*. Wait^s a moment.
- jhuleli* vt., to wobble, swing.
- jhurla* n., type of long-tailed bird of which there are four kinds, the largest being the blue-bearded bee eater, *Nictyornis athertoni* (*barka jhurla*).

k

- kə'maili* vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to earn.
- ka* pron., first person singular pronoun I.
- kabara* n., [< Indo-Aryan 'spotted'] chital, *Axis axis*.
- kabara siṅ* n., the Kābhro tree, *Ficus lacor*. The young tart shoots of this tree are eaten by Dhimals.
- kabarkuburka* adj., colourful.
- kacu* n., large fresh water turtle that grows up to 15-20 kilos.
- kagati* n., [< Indo-Aryan] lime.
- kaicolo* n., [< Indo-Aryan] shell; ear wax.
- kaigilli* vt., to invite. *kaigilhi do?khe u!* He says they invited him, you know.
- kaila* n.m., [< Indo-Aryan] fourth-born son.
- kaili* vi./vt., to call, hail, invite. *udini hasuheṅ kainha?* Who did you^s call the other day?
- kaili* vr., to comb, brush (one's hair). *pusiṅ kaili* to comb one's hair.
- kaili* n.f., [< Indo-Aryan] fourth-born daughter.
- kailhali* vt., to go to call. *kailhahoi do?pi*. Tell [him] they already went to call [her].

- kaipili* vt., to invite; call for someone. *ḍakṭər kaipiã?* Shall I call a doctor?
- kaipili* vt., to brush for someone. *cuiti cuma! pusiṇ kaipiã.* Bring the oil! I'll brush [your] hair.
- kaka* n.m., ego's father's younger brother.
- kaki* n.f., ego's father's younger brother's wife. cf. *ate*.
- kal* n., [< Indo-Aryan] era, time period. *hede kalko hihi?!* What is the world coming to?!
- kalai* n., lentils.
- kalai jihã* n., swallow.
- ka'lau* adv., then, so, and. *kalau buṇ* moreover, however.
- ka'lhamli* vi., to jump over.
- kam* n., [< Indo-Aryan] work; purpose.
- ka'mal* n., exonym for Rajbangsi. *kamalai* the Rajbangsi people.
- kambe* n., shoulder, bank (of a river). *jhora? kambebhari bho:su.* Look along the riverbank.
- kamkiriya* n., [< Indo-Aryan] funeral ceremony.
- kamli* vt., to weed by hand. *alubari kamkhe.* She's weeding the potato garden.
- kana* n., hole, crevice.
- kanabasu* excl., never mind, forget it; said when one is annoyed or fed up with someone.
- ka'naiti* n., dried snot, booger.
- ka'nausi* n., gold earring worn on the upper part of the ear by women.
- kancha* n.m., [< Indo-Aryan] youngest son.
- kanchi* n.f., [< Indo-Aryan] youngest daughter.
- kan'denika* n., butterfly.
- kandhe* n., [< Indo-Aryan] shoulder.
- kane bagula* n., [< Indo-Aryan] cattle egret, *Bubulcus ibis*.
- kantai* n., small type of fish.
- kan'taili* vt., to stretch the warp.
- kantila* n., weft stretcher.
- kaṇko* pron., first person singular possessive pronoun my.
- kapal* n., [< Indo-Aryan] forehead.
- kapca* n., corner.
- karaila* n., [< Indo-Aryan] bitter melon.

karaṅkuruṅ n., black ibis, *Pseudibis papillosa*.

ka'rhaili vt., *tana karhaili* to prepare the warp by coating the threads with rice paste.

kasa'rok onom., sound made by a monitor lizard. ~ *kacalok*.

kase siṅ n., type of fruiting tree.

kaser n., Dhimal clan.

kata bajar n., Dhimal fair that takes place during the month of *Vaisākh* in the town of Damuna.

ka'tasi n., [< Indo-Aryan] fishing cat, *Felis viverrina*.

kato n., chin.

katha n., [< Indo-Aryan] language; story; matter, topic.

kathi mala n., [< Indo-Aryan] chunky silver necklace; cf. *guli kathi*.

kaṭeli vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to cut, slice.

kaṭepili vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to cut for, slice for someone. *da:ka miṅkau dama cəṭṭapa kaṭepihi*. A black cat suddenly crossed [her] path.

kauli vi., to be harsh or unpleasant tasting. *idoi sigret kaukhe*. These cigarettes are harsh tasting. *kauteṅ jhəṇḍele o?cala?gha*. When it became harsh tasting, I almost threw up.

kauri n., [< Indo-Aryan] cowrie shell, unit of currency in former times.

kauta n., type of turtle.

kawa n., crow.

ka:li vi., to caw. *rhima rhima kawa ka:khe*. Every morning the crows caw.

ke'ceṅke'ceṅpa adv., in a noisy manner. *keceṅkeceṅpa mapasu!* Don't be noisy!

keka'laiti n., egg yolk.

kelai pron., first person plural pronoun we.

kelaiko pron., first person plural possessive pronoun our.

kelepeceli vi., to make a racket, be noisy. *leta hikalai mareṅ kelepecehi*. The people down below made a racket.

ke'lendai n., centipede.

ke'liṅke'liṅ n., ruckus, noise, hulabaloo. *mareṅ keliṅkeliṅ hihi dyaṅgelai*. People are making a lot of noise. *keliṅkeliṅ mapasu!* Don't make a ruckus.

ke'linke'linli vi., to make a ruckus, carry on, make noise.

keliṅkeliṅkhe! They're making a racket!

kelsi n., [< *kiya* 'chicken' + *lisi* 'shit'] chicken shit.

keltai n., small tree squirrel.

kemli vi., to be pliable, be agreeable, be willing. *gonge kam pali mareṅ kemkhe*. Gonge is always willing to do work.

keṅku'luṅka adj., twisted.

keṅkhene n., waist, lower back. *dada liṅpaṅ yumteṅ keṅkhene yḁkakhe*. Having sat all day older brother's back is sore.

keṅli vt., to smite, hack, strike with with an axe or *dabiya*. *duphehoi kenaniṅ*. I'm going to smite you with an axe.

kepa adv., left.

kera n., [< Indo-Aryan] oath.

ke'sari kusi n., [< Indo-Aryan] lentil shoots.

keuka adj., crooked, uneven.

keuka-meuka n., a jumble.

keuli vi., to be crooked, bent.

ke:li vi., to crack open, hatch. *tui ke:li tomhoi*. The egg is about to crack open. *tui ke:teṅ kican pe:khe*. After the egg cracks open, the chick hatches. *musar ke:hi*. It's mouldy. *saneṅta masempanu musar ke:kaṅ*. If one doesn't dry it in the sun, it will get mouldy.

keṅ n., husband.

keṅli vi., to be overlapping or crossed (teeth). *kelaiko kanchako tasiṅ thurpili khaṅlabelau mapihi. kunaṅ ki wako bhenan tasiṅ keṅhi*. When we tried to remove our youngest brother's tooth for him, he wouldn't let us. Therefore, another tooth came in overlapping.

kican n., chick, juvenile chicken.

kiculhoṅli vi., to be pitch black. *kiculhoṅhi*. She is dark as night. *karako lekhara kiculhoṅka hihi*. The bottom of the wok is pitch black.

kidhimi pron., first person dual pronoun we. ~ *kidhinimi*, *kidhiṅ*.

kidhiṅko pron., first person dual possessive pronoun our.

ki'ham n., small freshwater crab that lives in burrows beside stream beds and in paddy fields. Dhimals recognise two main species of crab which are eaten roasted, cooked in broth or ground up as *sena*. ~ *kihaṅ*. cf. *tharoi kiam*, *jambu kiam*.

ki'ham n., kidney.

kikile n., adam's apple.

kinikinili vi., to throb, be sore. *puriŋ li?paŋ kinikinīhi*. [My] head was throbbing all day.

kinikinīpa adv., throbbingly. *keŋkhene kinikinīpa tu:naŋ bhahi*. It seems my lower back was throbbingly sore.

kiŋko pron., first person singular possessive pronoun my (affinal kin register).

kirimirika adj., unruly, messy (hair).

kitikitika 1) adj., dark. 2) n., darkness.

kitikitili vi., to be dark, be nighttime.

kiya n., chicken.

kiya bha'sa n., woven rectangular basket hung from the roof against a wall of a house as a chicken nest.

kiya dondara n., 1) open-plait bamboo basket used for carrying fowl. 2) the constellation known as the Seven Sisters.

ki?cali vp., to feel like, be inclined.

ki?li vi., to want, desire. *loli maki?hi*. She didn't want to come. *mhamaki?khe u*. She doesn't want to at all, you know. *aroŋ iskul haneli maki?khoi la*. Again he's starting to not want to go to school. *ci amlī ki?hoiga*. I am thirsty. *lisili ki?nha?* Do you^s have to shit? *khaŋli ki?li* to want to see someone, miss someone. *kaseŋ khaŋli maki?tana?* Won't you miss me? *khaŋli maki?li* to dislike someone.

ki?pa adv., desirous of, wanting. 2) every. *ba?sar ki?paŋ*. every year. *mahina ki?paŋ*. every month

ko part., 1) interjection used when presenting an object. *ko!* Here, take it! 2) presuppositional particle. 3) equational copula.

koba n., left face of a drum.

kodala n., [< Indo-Aryan] hoe.

ko'haloŋ num., nine.

kohi pron., [< Indo-Aryan] some, someone.

koicala n., [< Indo-Aryan] spoon.

koinabare adv., in two years, the year after next. ~ *konabare*.

koitini adv., in four days.

koko adj., that same (time period). *koko dina te insa jena wa la*. Then that same day things may happen like that. *koko bela thekapa*. Up until that same time.

kokoliŋ n., long-tailed bird known as the treepie, *Dendrocitta frontalis*.

koko'riŋka n., small white ant. ~ *kokoriko*.

kokhe n., rib.

kole n., 1) cowshed. 2) lap.

koli n., ankle torque, an oldfashioned style of ankle ornament consisting of a large silver torque. cf. *pouri*.

kolokololi vi., to cluck. *kiya kolokolohi*. The chicken clucked.

koma n., moment. *koma rhum*. Wait a moment. *koma mha?*. Stop a moment.

koma-hima n., moment. *koma-hima mha?*. Wait up a moment.

koma'raili vt., to hog-tie, tie arms and legs together. *kalau iŋko komaraiteŋ kamaraiten isika komarainhakhe*. Then having hog-tied it thoroughly, we hog-tie them like this.

koma'rainhali vm., to be hog-tied.

komli vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to decrease; improve (illness).

kompuli vi., to gradually decrease; to gradually improve (illness).

konaroj n., [< Indo-Aryan] cloth beam on a loom.

konci n., bamboo branch with a hook on the end.

kondaŋ n., heart.

koŋli vi., to become bad (egg). *hasako tui koŋhi. onteŋ cali goiaŋ*.

The duck egg went bad. We'll have to roast it and eat it.

kopti n., [< Indo-Aryan] greedy, dishonest, stingy person.

kor n., [< Indo-Aryan] effort.

kora n., [< Indo-Aryan] slat of wood or bamboo; rafter.

kora khati n., 1) bamboo slat used to carry things on the shoulder. 2) the constellation known as Orion's belt.

korci n., bamboo sliver. *pasimko korci ba:nhateŋ hihi*. He has a bamboo sliver.

kori adj., step. *kori ama* stepmother. *kori can* stepson.

korko n., small owl; male owl.

kosa class., [< Indo-Aryan] pod. *sumkosa lumphi*. Three bananas.

ko'sa? n., berry-sized fruit that is squeezed into a leaf funnel into the ear to heal earaches.

ko'tek onom., the sound a hen makes when it is alarmed, cluck. *korkorkor kote*k. Cluck cluck cluck.

kose n., grape-sized fruit that grows underground on the roots of a certain type of tree.

kote:li vi., to cluck with alarm. *kiya tuili kote:khe*. The chicken is clucking (because it is about) to lay an egg.

ko:li vt., to afflict. *sali ko:khe*. The house goddess afflicts.

ko:cali vt., to afflict. *li?ta dulnu sali ko:cakhe*. If one goes inside, the house goddess will afflict one. *kahej kumarsokho sali beran ko:cahi*. The house goddess afflicted me on account of the potters. *mhaigelai ko:cakhe*. Evil spirits afflict [people].

ko?cali vt., to pull toward oneself, draw in. *bherpa mahane. nariya ko?canau*. Don't go near it. The elephant will pull you close. *sikalai ramkalai kasej ko?cahi. ode bha?siy hamu tu:khe*. The spirits of the dead and lost pulled me close. That's why my stomach hurts.

ko?li vt., to put in a heap, pile together. *m ko?tã na mako?tã?* Shall I pile up the unhusked rice or not?

ko?sa n., monitor lizard, *Varanus* sp. Monitors are one of the most highly prized game by Dhimals, yet are now rare due to the loss of habitat. There are three types: *da:ka ko?sa* 'tree monitor', *i:ka ko?sa* 'fish-eating monitor', and *yauka ko?sa* 'yellow monitor'.

ku'cini bo?na n., old fashioned *bo?na* worn mostly by old women and Eastern Dhimals. Rajbangsi women also wear them. They have broad plaid swatches at the top and bottom edge and are generally purchased. From an Indo-Aryan word meaning 'female Koch' or 'female Rajbangsi'. Hence *kucini bo?na* means 'the *bo?na* worn by Koche women'.

kuciya n., lungfish, *Anguilla bengalensis*.

kucukuculi vi., to be sore and scratchy. *thotai kucukucukhe*. [My] throat is sore and scratchy.

kui n., separate one.

kuili vt., to separate. *pateko cuca kuitej ta?li goianj*. We have to separate the stringy fibres of the jute. *m jinhahoi. koncihoi*

- kuiteṅ nara olepa*. The paddy has been threshed. Separate the straw with a *konci* and remove it.
- kuku'ruka* adj., curly (hair).
- kukuwa* n., fog, mist.
- ku'leṅ* n., large raptor. cf. *baja*.
- kulkulaili* vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to gargle, rinse one's mouth with water to cleanse it before and after eating. *nui kulkulaiteṅ ci burhi*. He rinsed his mouth and spit out the water.
- kulli* vt., to lift up, separate, raise (clothing).
- kulpili* vt., to lift up for, raise for (clothing). *moʔkataṅ moʔkataṅ gotaṅ kulpisakhe aṅ wa cahĩ*. After massaging and massaging, it seems he lifts it all up [her garment].
- ku'munda* n., type of gourd.
- kunaṅ* conj., therefore, as a result. *kunaṅ ki wako bhenanṅ tasiṅ keʔhi*. Therefore, another tooth came in overlapping.
- kundol* n., gold earring worn on the earlobe by Dhimial women of means.
- kunthili* vi., to groan (as when defaecating).
- kunu* adv., then, and, so. *kunu?! So?! kunu hai?! So what?!*
- ku'ri* num., [< Indo-Aryan] a score. *eʔkuri* twenty. *nheʔkuri* fourty.
- kuriya* adj., lazy.
- kurja* n., [*kur* coo + *ja* bird] dove.
- kurkucu* n., taro.
- kurli* vi., to coo. *kurja kurkhe*. Doves coo.
- kuruy* n., roasted rice.
- ku'rhailli* vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to pick up. *thalgilka dhol kurhaigha*. I picked up the drum that was thrown. *lo. kurhai*. Come and get it (a snack).
- ku'rhaipili* vt., to pick up for someone. *kurhaipiã*. I'll pick it up for [you].
- kusi* n., sprout, bud.
- kusti* n., [< Indo-Aryan] wrestling. *kusti pali* to wrestle. ~ *kusti ghali*.
- kusum* n., type of fruit. *rani kusum* 'queen kusum' and *daṅkha kusum* 'male kusum'.
- kuṭukuṭupa* adv., crunchily, with a crunching sound.
- ku'tumba* n., [< Indo-Aryan] relative, family.

kũ?ũ?kũ? onom., sound that a rat makes. *syaiḷe ghara ta?teḷ tu?teḷ na tə mho?tana mho?tana mho?tana mho?tana daḷkha maini hihe panu inta kũ?kũ?kũ? dhuikhe*. After closing up the the escape holes thoroughly, you blow and blow and blow (on the fire). If there are any males or females there they go ‘squeek squeek’.

ku:li vi., to coo.

kya pron., first person singular pronoun I (affinal kin register).

kyarhi n., dike for irrigation, dike for separating fields of rice.

kh

khacepali vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to castrate.

khacuri n., small pox, scabies, measles.

kha'dha? n., fishing creel. cf. *duḡgri*.

khai-makhai adv., whatever, no matter what. *nenabare parbata khai-makhai lo*. Come this year for *parva* no matter what. *khai-makhai manilsij*. No matter what, let us^d not forget.

khaicolo n., earwax.

khaila n., mustard soap.

khaili vi., to get loose, become free. *a peusa paya khaihi*. Oh uncle, the pig has got loose. *diya diham dho?pateḷ khaihi*. The water buffalo snapped the rope and got loose.

khainhali vm., to become loose or untied. *diyako diham hesapa khainhahi?* How did the water buffalo's rope become loose?

khainhapali vt., to unintentionally cause to become untied, accidentally loosen. *dheuli khanlabelau diyako diham khainhapagha*. While trying to tether it, I unintentionally caused the water buffalo's rope to become untied.

khaipali vt., to set free, untie, set loose, loosen (knot, rope). *diya khaipagha jharbhari cumpuli bha?siḷ*. I untied the water buffalo in order to take it to the forest.

khaipili vt., to untie for, loosen for someone. *lamphako juntau rə juntaura beranḷo khopa cu?ka caḥĩ makhaipili do?khe*. Juntau and Juntaura say that one shouldn't untie an old woman's hair knot.

khairam n., threshing ground.

khal n., [< Indo-Aryan] hide, skin.

khalko n., [< Indo-Aryan] type, variety.

khamalai n., relative, someone of the same clan. *taiko dyan̄heñ khamalai doʔkhe. wa kaŋko khamalai.* They call one's own person *khamalai*. He is my relative.

khambha n., [< Indo-Aryan] house post.

khamli vi., to gel, congeal, solidify. *payako hiti nariyalko cuiti khamkhe.* Pig blood and coconut oil congeal.

khampali vt., to show.

khampili vt., to watch over for someone; show to someone.

khampuli vt., to go along looking at, go along reading. *iskul hanelaubelau kitab khampughahi.* While going to school they went along looking at a book.

khani adv., [< Indo-Aryan] only. ~ *khali*.

khañli vt., to look, look at, watch; try, attempt. *ka hæpta din agarisoñ naŋko dama khañgha.* I watched out for your arrival for a week. *misihã jolpa khañhi.* He stared intently. *keuka khañli* to glare at, look askance. *noʔteñ khañli* to discretely glance at, peek. *phinuko kanata noʔteñ khañkhe.* She's peeking through the hole in the door. *loli khañghahi. mapihi.* He tried to come, but she wouldn't let him. *wai loli khañkhe.* It looks like it's going to rain. *ede miŋkau siŋta tanteñ tunteñ sarako canheñ cali khañkhe.* This cat, having climbed up the tree, is trying to eat the baby birds.

khañlhali vt., to go to watch.

khar n., crying.

khara n., rabbit. Nep. *kharāyo*.

kha'raili vi., to be fermented (rice beer).

kharli vi., to cry. *kharsagha.* It seems I cried.

kharpali vt., to make cry. *haipali jamalaiheñ kharpakhena ko?! Why is it that you^s are making the children cry?!*

kharpuli vi., to go along crying. *ajaiko mon doñ kharpukhe.* Grandma's heart goes along weeping.

kharsaŋ n., tobacco.

kharuŋ n., bracelet, bangle.

khati n., [< Indo-Aryan] pole, slat, pin.

kha:co: 'co:pa adv., bitterly.

kha:di:di:ka adj., bittersweet.

kha:ka 1) adj., bitter. 2) n., thing that is bitter; bitterness.

kha:li vi., be bitter.

kha:li vi., to scratch oneself. *khacuri hihi be? kha:ka kha:kaṇ pakhe.*

I wonder whether he has scabies. He keeps scratching.

kha:pili vi., to scratch for. *kaṇko gandi thalhi. kha:pi. kha:pi.* My back itches. Scratch it for [me]. Scratch it for [me].

kha?gilli vi., to flee.

kha?li vi., to escape, flee; subside, ease up (illness, bad weather). *am.*

cibaisi kha?ta wa. Drink. Your cold may go away. *mesa kha?hi.*

His fever subsided. *wai kha?taṇ be?* I wonder whether the rain will let up?

kha?pali vi./vt. to cause to flee, disperse; come flee. *wa bejalai*

kha?pateṇ cumpuhi. He caused the girl to flee and took her away.

kaṇko oneheṇ ka hiso kha?pā ko? Where is it that I can cause my

little sister to flee? *kelai jharan e?thane hiteṇ waiheṇ kha?paine.*

Let's all come flee the rain in one place. *kha?paṇ la.* [The sun] will cause [the fog] to disperse.

khe n., time, occasion. *e?khe* once, one time. *ode khe* that time, then (past). *ode khe ode khe.* Way back when.

khe'kaili vt., to strew, scatter with feet or hands. *kiya gotaṇ khekaihi*

m. The chicken scattered all the rice. *wa jompakhe. na*

khekaikheṇa. He puts them together and you^s scatter them.

khempili vt., to split with someone. *waseṇ ekilo biha khempi.* Split a kilo of meat with him.

kheṇli vi/vt., to divide, split with, divvy up. *kidhiṇ e?mān m kheṇsiṇ.*

Let's^d split a *man* of rice. *dophaṇ lokataṇ lokataṇ kheṇnhahi.*

After journeying together, we split up.

khe:li vt., to play a stringed instrument.

khe?li vi., to stick to, catch on something.

khe?dhili vi., to catch on something and be left behind. *oso*

khe?dhikhe ru! They get caught over there and are left behind!

bajarso lokataṇ lokataṇ dahē dera khe?dhihi. Coming from the bazar, he got held up and stayed behind in the neighbourhood to the north.

kheʔnhali vm., to stick to, catch on something. *torse loʔlabelau kaciya kheʔnhahi*. While dislodging mangoes, the sickle became caught.

kheʔpali vt., to make stick.

kheʔti n., sperm.

khican n., puppy, young dog.

khicili vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to take a snapshot, shoot (a photo).

khijirimijirika adj., rough.

khilli vt., to borrow. *kaseŋ eʔsai taka khilli pi to*. Let me borrow one hundred rupees. *kancha dopha paisa khilgha*. I borrowed money from Kānchā.

khilli pili vt., to lend, let borrow.

khilpali vt., to come borrow; borrow for someone.

khimli vi., to lay one's head down. *khokoita khimteŋ jim*. Lay your head on [my] leg and go to sleep.

khimso n., pillow. cf. *takhim*.

khi'niŋ adv., only.

khinjara n., retted jute stalks. ~ *khi'rinja*.

khinli vt., to cook a side dish. *cudur khinli gikhena?* Do you^s know how to cook snails?

khi'saʔ n., mud.

khiya n., dog. Dhimals raise a medium-sized thin breed of dog for hunting and as a watchdog.

khiyāli vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to spoil, become bunged up. *hale coilabelau phali khiyāhi*. While ploughing, the ploughshare became bunged up. *dabiya saʔta taʔkataŋ taʔkataŋ khiyākhe*. Putting the *khukuri* in the house over and over it became bunged up. *biha kuʔilabelau unthuita nincanu dabiya khiyākhe*. While cutting meat, if it strikes a stone the *khukuri* gets bunged up.

khiʔkir n., fox.

khiʔli vt., to sprinkle (water) on. *kanchiko bihuta maila dai jharanheŋ ci khiʔhi*. At Kānchī's wedding, Māhilo Dāi sprinkled water on everyone. *nani kiya ci khiʔka manthu*. Today they haven't sprinkled water on the (slaughtered) chicken. *beula-beuliheŋ ci khiʔli nilgha*. I forgot to sprinkle water on the bride and groom.

kho'ca? n., loofa sponge.

khoicala n., shell.

khoili vt., to hang (on a protruding object). *lokxon kāṭita khoihi*. He hung the clothing on a nail.

khoinhadhili vm., to catch on a hooked object and be left behind. *khoinhadhihi*. It was caught and left behind.

khoinhali vm., to catch on a hooked object. *lokxon khoinhateṇ the?hi*. The clothes caught and ripped.

khokala?ka adj., loose fitting (clothing).

kho'koi n., foot, leg.

khokoro adj., hollow.

kholi vt., choose, select.

khomli vt., to hug, embrace. *sanaiti dopha khomteṇ jimgha*. I slept embracing a friend. cf. *ba?suli*.

khomsuli vr., to hug one another.

khonci n., small grass coil basket. For the most part, *khonci* are not often made nowadays due to the fact that the river banks on which *bhasi* grows are all privately owned and the materials are unavailable. Tharus, however, still make them.

khonja n., peafowl, *Pavo cristatus*.

khonḷi vi., to envy, become jealous. *kaṅko can bomiko caka tintēṇ khontēṇ khaṅhi*. Having seen another's food, my son watched jealously. *wa te bejalai cumpuhoi. na esaṇ khontēṇ hihi*. As for him, he already took a girl. Thus you are jealous.

khopa n., [< Indo-Aryan] hair knot.

khopara n., [< Indo-Aryan] threshing hut.

khoralī vi., to limp.

khotar n., pen, cage.

kho?li vt., to come down with, catch, be infected with; catch (a thrown object). *cibaisi kho?hi*. He caught a cold.

kho?pili vt., to help.

khudra paisa n., [< Indo-Aryan] small change.

khuiju n., elbow.

khuiḷi vi., to sigh. *maitēṇ khuihi*. He grew tired and sighed.

khujalaili vt., to bother, annoy, tease. *nelai kaseṇ makhujalaisu!*
Don't you^p pester me!

khuli vt., to steal.

khundi n., pestle.

khunta n., loom pile or post.

khunti n., piles supporting a traditional house.

khunti ghara n., loom pit.

khuntila n., old style of gold earring worn on earlobe.

khupili vt., to steal for someone, steal from someone. *sanaitigelai khupikhe*. Friends steal them. *nam baiko paisa khupikhena?! Are you^s stealing your^s elder sister's money?!*

khur n., hand, arm.

khursiṅ n., fingernail, finger.

khushiyaṛ n., [< Indo-Aryan] sugarcane.

khu?li vi., to get down, descend. *ka baṅkok khu?teṅ hanayka* I will have a stopover in Bangkok. *khu? leta!* Come down here!

khwampa onom., sound of biting.

khwappai onom., [< Indo-Aryan] sound of biting.

khuwāhā n., Bengal tiger, *Panthera tigris tigris*.

l

lāsami beray n., [< Indo-Aryan + *beray* 'old woman'] female deity in the Dhimal pantheon. In contrast to the popular Hindu depiction of her as a young and beautiful, Dhimals cast her as an old woman.

la 1) inter., there (expresses completion, exasperation, change). *la! hu:hi*. There! It spilled. *la. olekhoi u*. There, he's starting to coming out (onto the street). 2) part., mirative particle.

la'gaili vt., [< Indo-Aryan] 1) to put on. *isika cuṅkata phelepheleka lokhon lagaihi!?* In this cold, he put on light clothing! 2) to get someone to do something. *inta dulpali lagaihi la waseṅ*. Then he had him go in there.

la'gaipili vt., to put on for someone (clothes), dress someone. *lagaipi*. Put it on [her].

lageli vi., to befall, affect. *mon lageli* to like, want. *kor lageli* to require an effort. *səṅka lageli* to suspect.

laili vi., to be reconciled, be accepting. *kharghahi. bəlla bəlla laihi.*

She was crying, but finally settled down.

laipali vt., to flirt with, woo; persuade, coax; placate. *hede buŋ kam pali laipali goikhe.* To get him to do any work at all one has to sweettalk him. *dirgelaiheŋ laipakhe.* He is placating the gods.

laipili vt., to coat someone, cover someone with. *i:lhalaipa rhaita roŋ laipih.* They coated his face with coloured powder until it was pink.

la'laigilli vi., to go around having insufficient food and clothing, go around being poor.

la'laili vi., to have insufficient food and clothing, be poor.

lampali vt., to cause to go ahead. *ela jogiheŋ lampahi.* Now he made the yogi go ahead.

lampha adv., in advance, in front, first.

lam'phoile adv., first, first of all. *ka lamphoile hanã.* I'll go first.

lanŋli vi., to leave, go ahead. *paisako lagi taiko sa? lantheŋ bides haneli goikhe.* For money it is necessary to leave one's own home and go abroad.

lapalupu n., disaster, misfortune. *asa pharapa cumpu re! lapalupu nincan jamalaiheŋ!* Bring it a little farther away I say! Misfortune will befall the children! *lapalupu macumpunu.* (There will be) misfortune if you don't take it away. Nep. *bhavitabya.*

lara n., [< Indo-Aryan] vine.

lasim bhol n., cassava, *Manihot* sp.

lata n.m., [< Indo-Aryan] deaf person (male); ignorant person (male).

latai jihã n., tailor bird.

later n., Dhimal clan.

lati n.f., [< Indo-Aryan] deaf person (female); ignorant person (female).

lawa n., [< Indo-Aryan] puffed rice.

lawa muri n., small pale green berry that grows in a cluster and is eaten for sores in the throat.

laya n., rhinoceros (archaic), *Rhinoceros unicornus*. cf. *gaira.*

laya degor n., [*laya* rhinoceros + *degor* path] the Milky Way galaxy.

la:li vi., to set out. *dama la:hi la*. [They] set out. *dama la:kaine*.
Let's head out.

laʔli vt., to quit, leave, part. *kaŋko beʔheŋ laʔhoiga*. I left my wife.
oso dama laʔ! Get out of the way there!

laʔpaka n., thing set apart.

laʔpali vt., to make quit; separate. *laʔpaka laʔpakhe*. They remove
the things that must be separated.

laʔpili vt., to quit for someone; set free, let go, abandon. *khotarso*
laʔpihi. He let him out of the pen. *dya klasta pərheghakhe*.
laʔpihi. He was studying in the fourth grade, but he quit.

laʔphalaʔpha adv., thoroughly. *jha: laʔphalaʔpha jha:!* Wash (the
dishes) thoroughly!

laʔsuli vr., to quit one another, separate from one another. *kalau*
udhinimi laʔsuhi doʔkhe pheʔsuli. And so the two of them quit
fighting with one another, they say.

laʔthi n., kick.

laʔthili vt., to kick, push with the foot.

le n., song.

le'derka n., shy person.

lederka manthuka n., shameless person.

le'derli vi., to be shy, be embarrassed, be ashamed. *lederkhe wa la*
ru! She's being shy perhaps now! *maleder!* Don't be shy! *haipali*
lederli? Why be shy?

lekhara n., backside, rear end; ass. ~ *lesara*.

lekhara cupini n., asshole.

lekhara kana n., asshole.

lekhara dumba n., buttock.

lekharabhari postp., behind, in back.

lekhegilli vt., to write and send (a letter). *aroŋ aʔhiyabarita buŋ ciʔʔhi*
lekhegilgha. Again in *Āʔhiyābārī* also I wrote and sent a letter.
uŋko kathagelai lekhegil aũ? Write about those matters, okay?

lekheli vt., [*< Indo-Aryan*] to write. *kaseŋ ciʔʔhi lekhegillaubela suta*
malekhe aũ? When you write to me, don't write to my home,
okay?

lekhepali vt., to make write. *miŋ lekhepali* to enroll. *kyampusta miŋ*
lekhepagha. I enrolled at the campus.

- lekhepili* vt., to write for someone. *təkdirta esa palau bhəgman lekhepikhe*. God writes his destiny.
- lekuwaʔli* vi., to tremble, shake. *kaŋko khur lekuwaʔhi*. My hand trembled.
- lekuwaʔpali* vt., to cause to shake. *diham lekuwaʔpateŋ tauli hulhi*. He caused the rope to shake and the towel fell.
- lelli* vt., to stick out (one's tongue). *paya seʔteŋ saʔteŋ detoŋ lelkhe*. After a pig has been thoroughly killed, it sticks out its tongue.
- lelpili* vt., to stick out (one's tongue) at someone. *ode bejan kaseŋ detoŋ lelpikhe*. That girl is sticking her tongue out at me.
- lempali* vt., to make laugh, be funny. *lempakhe*. He makes [me] laugh.
- lempili* vt., to laugh at someone. *bejalai lempikhe*. The girls laugh at [me]. *lempiaŋ naheŋ*. They will laugh at you^s.
- lencali* vp., to enjoy oneself, have fun. *lencasahi*. It seems they enjoyed themselves.
- lenja* n., hornbill species (black).
- leŋ* n., laughter, enjoyment.
- leŋli* vi., to laugh, smile.
- leŋli* vt., to spread rice out to dry. *khokoiau m leŋkhe*. She's spreading out the rice to dry with her foot.
- leŋwaŋ* n., Dhimal clan. ~ *lembaŋ*
- leta* postp., below, underneath.
- le:ka-beʔka* n., singing and drum playing, music.
- le:li* vi., to sing. *le:li bho:gha. mapihi*. I intended to sing, but they didn't let me. *le:ka wa*. They may sing. *ta:pa le:sahi*. It seems they sang sweetly.
- le:li* vi., to move. *atuisa le:!* Move over a little!
- le:pali* vt., to make sing.
- le:pali* vt., to cause to move. *mko dalo le:pa*. Move the basket of rice.
- leʔli* vt., to make level (ground), smooth out. *kelai hale coiteŋ caiten mawaipatahoi le:nhakhe*. Having ploughed thoroughly, we^p are leveling out the ground with the leveler.
- likati m* n., uncooked sticky rice.
- limiya* n., leech.
- limpali* vt., to get a stain on.

limui n., pubic hair (female).

limui beraŋ n., old lady pubic hair; female ancestor of the *later* clan.

liŋ n., (dial.) cultivated land, field. cf. *miliŋ*.

liŋli vi., to stain. *linaŋ rə!* It'll stain you know! *jhəndala lindhaŋ. atuisaso maliŋhi*. It almost stained. It barely missed staining.

lipai n., fart.

lipali vi., to fart.

lipapili vt., to fart at someone. *lipapihi*. She farted at [me].

lisi n., shit.

lisi raika n., diarrhoea.

lisi yoʔka n., toilet paper.

lisika n., shitting.

lisili vi., to shit. *lisili kiʔnu mə saleŋta lisi. kalau kodalahoi thaigil aŋ?* If you^s have to shit— right?—shit on the ground and then throw it away with a hoe, okay? *cemtaŋ lisikhe*. They shit nearby.

lisilhali vi., to go to shit. *lisilhã*. I'm going to go shit.

lisinti n., clitoris.

lisipili vt., to shit on someone; shit so that someone is affected. *wako lokhonta jamal lisipih*. The child shit on his clothes.

liʔli vt., to bury. *jimteŋ liʔsukhena na yumteŋ?* Do you bury your dead in a sleeping or sitting position? Dhimals traditionally bury their dead in a sleeping position and destroy personal articles belonging to the dead. Hence little in the way of traditional material artefacts has survived.

liʔpa adv., daytime. *liʔpaŋ* all day. *liʔpata* in the daytime.

liʔpili vt., to bury for someone; bury something so that someone is affected. *mhaigelai kaŋko lokhonko tukara liʔpihi. mhaigelai liʔpinu dyaŋ seŋkhe*. The evil spirits buried a piece of my clothing. If the evil spirits bury [something], the person grows thin.

liʔpuli vt., to go and bury. *sikalaiheŋ məncaulita soiteŋ liʔpukhe*. They carry the dead away for burial on a stretcher.

liʔta postp., in, inside.

lobəde n., gecko. ~ *lobədeya*.

loili vt., to separate rice from chafe. *rata taʔteŋ uŋkhu loikhe*.

Having put it in the winnowing tray, she is separating the uncooked rice from the chafe.

lokara n., leopard, *Panthera pardus*.

lokara'kar n., barking dog.

lokondoko bhar n., blossom of the silk cotton tree.

lokondhi n., young women from the groom's side who accompany the bride back to the groom's home.

lokoto n., sweet orange-sized white fruit.

lo'khon n., clothes.

lokhorlokhorpa adv., [< Indo-Aryan] moving along in a carefree manner (like a dog).

lokhuri n., skull.

loli vi., to come, arrive; return. *na heʔlau lonha? eləŋ khiniŋ logha*.

When did you^s arrive? I just arrived. *lo m cali*. Come and eat.

mesa loli to come down with a fever. *bane loli* to be flooded.

bhenti loli to sweat, be sweaty. *bherma loli* to be windy. *wai loli*

to rain. *barka wai losahi*. It seems that a big storm arrived. *wai*

loli khaŋkhe. The rain is trying to come. *wai pitiʔpataʔpa lokhe*.

It's sprinkling.

lompali vt., to cause to fall down. *lompakhoi! lompakhoi!* He's making her fall! He's making her fall!

lompili vt., to cause to fall down.

lomhaŋ katasi n., medium-sized mottled jungle cat.

loŋ class., general classifier. cf. *mi*.

loŋli vi., to fall down. *khaŋlhalabelau te ləksmən lonteŋ hihi*. When

he went to look, Lakṣmaṇ was lying on the ground. *kukuwa loŋli*

to be foggy. *jhaka loŋli* to faint. *husi loŋli* breathe. *pap loŋli* to

be a sin.

lopili vt., to come for someone, come in honor of. *kalau derako*

sanaiti-bhayagelai buŋ jharaŋ lopia wa. And the village friends

and buddies too all will come for [the groom].

lopuli vi., to come along, approach, near. *jatri bajar lopukhe*. *Jatri*

bajar is approaching.

losiŋ n., silk cotton tree, *Bombax ceiba*.

losiŋko peʔsa n., large edible beetle grub that bores into silk cotton trees.

lo'taili vi., to roll on the ground. *can siteŋ bhonoita lotaiten lotaiten kharhi*. When her son died, she cried rolling on the ground. *ti sanaitigelai, khisaʔta lotaiten lotaiten ghaine*. Okay friends, let's^p play rolling around in the mud.

lo'taipali vt., to cause to roll on the ground. *waseŋ jəbərjəsti taneten tuneten lotaipahi*. Pulling by force, he pulled him to the ground.

lotoŋ khopa n., type of Dhimal hairstyle.

lo:li vi., to be loose. *tasi lo:khe*. The tooth is loose. *khambha lo:hi*. The house post became loose.

loʔli vt., to pick, dislodge, knock loose (fruit). *torse minten loʔkhe*. After the mango ripens they knock them loose. *loʔnha?* Did you^s dislodge any? *boi loʔli madokhe u*. Uncle can't knock them (fruit) down, you know.

loʔpili vt., to dislodge for someone.

lucali vt., to fuck. *lucali piana?* Will you let me fuck you^s? *bolsaŋ lucali* to rape.

luili vt., to pluck. *kiya luikhe*. They are plucking chickens. *seʔten saʔten luisai*. Kill it and pluck it.

lujhum n., hillock, foothill.

lukulukuli vi., to be squishy, be friable, be loose. *mundha to:ka thameta lukulukuhi*. The place where the stump was removed was friable. *hai lukulukukhe nani?* What is soft and squishy today? (said poking the blanket to see if someone is sleeping under the covers and not visible) *tasi lukulukukhe*. [Her] tooth is loose.

lukulukupa adv., squishily, with goose bumps. *lukulukupa cuŋgha*. I was cold with goose bumps. *pūya lukulukupa tingha*. I got goose bumps from seeing a snake.

lulhaika adj., weak.

lum tole n., steamed rice flour shaped somewhat like a banana.

lumcu n., boil, abscess. *lumcu bi:hi*. The boil festered.

lumli vt., to roll, shape (something round). *cur lumli magikhe*. He doesn't know how to roll a cigarette. *tole lumka hihi*. They are forming *tole*.

lumphi n., banana. ~ *yumphi*.

lundhaili vt., to roll up, wrap up. *cətalai lundhai*. Roll up the mat.

lh

lhaŋ n., spleen.

lhaugilli vi., to go around boasting.

lhauli vi., to boast, talk big and do nothing. *wa eʔnoŋ kam niŋhi maniŋhi menəŋ lhauihi*. Whether he has work or not, he talks big and does nothing.

lha:li vt., to peel off, remove, separate. *pecarako dhale lha:khe*. He's pulling off the scab from the wound.

lhaʔpha n., leaf. ~ *lhaʔba*.

lhe:li vt., to part, separate, pull apart. *sinda lhe:khe*. She's parting the part in her hair. *dhabaʔ lhe:teŋ khaŋ to*. Pull the sheets apart and take a look. *lampha te bejalai sinda malhe:ghakhe. sojhapa kaighahi*. As for before, girls didn't use to part their hair. They used to come it straight back.

lheʔ n., 1) flower. 2) placenta.

lheʔli vt., to shave off, scrape, peel.

lheʔnhali vm., to shave off, scrape, peel. *mhoʔnu malheʔnhakhe*. If one blows, it doesn't work (pencil sharpener).

lhika adj., heavy. *hisika lhika hihiʔ*. How heavy is it?

lhili vi., to be heavy. *mko bora hethe lhiaŋ wa laʔ*. I wonder how heavy the sack of rice will be.

lhipali vt., to make heavy. *ciciri m lhipakhe*. Sticky rice makes one lethargic.

lhipuli vt., to gradually become heavy. *bhar lhipukhe*. The load gradually grew heavy.

lhiʔli vt., to ret. *pokharita pate lhiʔkha*. I ret jute in the pond. *pate lhiʔteŋ khinjara jeŋkhe*. After retting jute, it becomes *khinjara*. *hai lhiʔkhena koʔ*. What is it that you^s are retting?

lho:li vi., to get up, rise (sun), wake up. *nhisiŋta lisili lho:nhaʔ*. Did you^s get up in the night to shit?

lho:pali vt., to make get up, raise, build (fire). *wa iŋko siŋta basa hika me lho:pahi*. He built a fire in that tree where he was staying.

nhapu lho:pali to be overly proud. *nhapu lho:pakhe*. He's overly proud.

lhudu n., dice.

lhu:li vt., to unravel. *na diham lhu:nha*. You unravelled the rope.

lhu:nhali vi., to unravel, become unravelled. *diham lhu:nhahi*. The rope unravelled.

lhu:nhapali vt., to inadvertently cause to become unravelled. *wa remka sute lhu:nhapahi*. He caused the good thread to become unravelled.

m

m inter., 1) with falling intonation indicates attention is being paid during story telling. 2) with rising intonation solicits agreement.

m n., paddy; cooked rice; meal. *m cahoina?* Have you eaten?

m-sar n., traditional Dhimal meal, consisting of rice and a side dish of meat and/or vegetables. Nep. *dāl-bhāt*.

mə part., clause final particle that solicits agreement.

mədət pali vt., [*<Indo-Aryan*] to help.

mən n., [*<Indo-Aryan*] heart, mind. ~ *mon*.

mənaïli vt., [*<Indo-Aryan*] to celebrate.

məncauli n., [*<Indo-Aryan*] stretcher.

məuka n., [*<Indo-Aryan*] opportunity.

macu?ka adj., dull (knife).

maguri n., [*<Indo-Aryan*] type of catfish.

maha adj./n., [*<Indo-Aryan*] great; great amount. *maha cuŋ lohi*. A great cold arose. *ala maha biha naheŋ cumpuli lagaigha*. I had you^s take a great amount of meat.

mahê adv., south, southward.

mahêpa adv., from the south.

mahêpaha adv., on the south side.

mahina n., [*<Indo-Aryan*] month.

maila n.m., [*<Indo-Aryan*] second-born son.

maili vi., to be tired. *maihoiga*. I'm tired. *maihoina manthuna*. Are you^s tired yet or not?

maili n.f., [*<Indo-Aryan*] second-born daughter.

maini n., female animal. cf. *daṅkha*.

maipali vt., to cause to be tired, tire someone out.

maisali vi., to rest. *eʔjhuk maisaine. gotaṅ khur khokoi tu:sahoi*.

Let's^p rest for a minute. It seems my arms and legs are all sore.

majhamajhata adv., every now and then.

majhata postp., [< Indo-Aryan] in the middle, between.

makarai n., [< Indo-Aryan] spider.

makiʔpa adv., unwillingly.

makunu adv., otherwise, if not; isn't it so.

makhalai n., mussel.

makhi n., bee's wax.

mala n., [< Indo-Aryan] garland.

malamalaka adj., sweet smelling, fragrant.

malamalali vi., to smell good, be fragrant.

malbo n., [< Indo-Aryan] type of banana.

ma'liṅgoi n., praying mantis. ~ *malimaṅgoi*.

malli vt., to skewer. *cena malteṅ meta phuṅ*. Skewer the strips of meat and roast them on the fire. *wako methoṅ wako khursiṅta esa malteṅ multey komarainhahi inta*. Having skewered its feet and tail like this, we hog-tied it there.

mamai n., [< Indo-Aryan] ego's mother's younger brother.

mamarpa adv., very quickly.

mamekar n., term of abuse. *mamekar eṅka*.

mami n., [< Indo-Aryan] ego's mother's younger brother's wife.

mampili vt., to catch (fish) for someone. *ela mampili goiaṅ*. We must catch some for [you] now.

mandal n., [< Indo-Aryan] main roof support beam.

mandi n., rice porridge.

maneli vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to obey.

manise n., [< Indo-Aryan] person, human.

mansar n., garlic.

manthuli vi., to lack, be without.

maṅku n., [< Indo-Aryan] throw boat shuttle (weaving implement).

maṅli vt., to catch (fish). *haya maṅli hanehi*. He went fishing. *haya maṅkhenā?* Are you^s fishing? *kalau haya maṅli cudur bho:li*

- kiham cali goiaŋ*. And we will have to catch fish, search for snails and eat crab.
- maph* n., [< Indo-Aryan] forgiveness.
- mapha* adv., quickly, fast. *lo mapha*. Come quickly. ~ *marpa*.
- marca* n., rust.
- marci* n., [< Indo-Aryan] chilli pepper.
- mareli* vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to chat, have a talk, shoot the breeze (with *bat, katha*). *dhemalai katha phər̥ra maresakhe*. It seems he's chatting fluently in Dhimal. *kalau kelai bat mareaine aũ?* And let's^p have a chat, okay
- maremka* adj., bad, no good; unattractive.
- mareŋ* adv., very.
- marepaŋ* adv., very.
- mariyate pali* vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to forsake all, to try anything, be obsessed. *ela kabara dona bhaiso te sita mariyate pahi*. Now since [he] became a deer, Sītā forsook all. *e?loŋ bejan kaŋ dopha loli mariyate pahi*. One girl tried everything to come with me.
- marpa* adv., quickly. ~ *mapha*.
- masar'ijgiya* n., [< Indo-Aryan] common kingfisher, *Alcedo atthis*.
- ma'tha?* pej., mother fucker.
- matha?ka* pej., mother fucker. *matha?kako ahar!* mother fucker's slop!
- mauriya* n., [< Indo-Aryan] orphan.
- mausa* n., [< Indo-Aryan] ego's mother's younger sister's husband.
- mausi* n., [< Indo-Aryan] ego's mother's younger sister.
- mawai pata* n., [< Indo-Aryan] leveler used in ploughing.
- mawaili* vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to level or smooth out ploughed land. cf. *le?li*.
- ma:li* vi., to disappear, dissolve, fade away. *cini cita pinu ma:khe*. If you put sugar in water it dissolves.
- me* n., fire.
- mekhon'aiti* n., ember, live coal.
- melli* vi., to be disheartened, be disappointed, be despondent. *hai doŋ anemane cumpulaubuŋ do?li madonu melkhe*. If one is unable to say anything even though someone takes things away, one is despondent.

melmelli vi., to be very disheartened, be very despondent. *nanci melmelhi*. The poor thing is very disheartened.

mena adv., very, completely. *gotan menan akhe?ka hihi*. Everything is very bad. *esa mena sui ba:na bhaikhe an*. Thus it's just like a pin prick. *menan dulpa madulkhe an*. It doesn't go in at all.

mene adv., in vain, for nothing, for no reason. *menemenen niu bho:khe*. He's searching for a pretext for no reason. *menen nemhi gora aml*. He acquired the habit of drinking alcohol for nothing. *wa e?noy kam niñhi maninhi menen lhauhi*. Whether he has work or not, he brags without reason.

mense n., sesame.

mepondo n., hearth, campfire.

merli vt., to stare at, eyeball. *minkau juhāheñ merkhe cali bha?siñ*. The cat is eyeballing the mouse in order to eat it. *cali ninā be do?teñ bomiko caka merhi*. Wondering whether he would get some to eat, he stared at the other person's food.

mesa n., fever.

mesanhali vm., to have a fever.

methoy n., tail.

meuka adj., in knots, grumbling (stomach).

meuli vi., to have a grumbling stomach. *m-sar meuhi*. The meal is grumbling. *maca babu. meukhe*. Don't eat it, junior. It'll grumble (in your stomach).

meumeuli vi., to grumble a lot. *jethe calaubuñ meumeukhe*. However much [I] eat, it grumbles a lot.

meumeupa adv., in a grumbling manner (stomach). *hamu meumeupa tu:hi*. [My] stomach is grumbling and hurts.

meusiumeusiuli vi., to grumble and sting (stomach). *hamu meusiumeusiuihi*. [My] stomach is grumbling and stinging. *kañko hamu mhitukako meusiumeusiuihoi*. My stomach has started grumbling and stinging from hunger. *mhituhi wa la. meusiumeusiuihi*. He may be hungry. His stomach is grumbling and stinging.

meusiumeusiupa adv., *hamu meusiumeusiupa tu:hi. mhituli do:hoi*. [His] stomach hurts in a grumbling and stinging manner. He's hungry already.

meʔli vt., to twist. *khur meʔtã? thurpiã?* Shall I twist [your] arm?
Shall I break it for [you]?

meʔnhali vm., to wind around. *siŋta lara meʔnhateŋ hihi*. A vine is winding around the tree.

meʔpili vt., to twist for, wring for someone; cause one's stomach to become upset. *nhatoŋ meʔpiã?* Shall I twist [your] ear? *dhaŋgai kiya oletomlau nirga meʔpisiŋ*. When the rooster is about to come out let's^d wring its neck. *daʔka cateŋ hamu meʔpihi*. Having eaten something sour, it turned [my] stomach.

meʔsa n., goat.

meʔsuliŋ n., cloth beam tension peg.

mi class., human classifier.

mi n., eye.

mi jolka juhã n., type of rat with large eyes that shine at night.

mi-besa n., ego's wife's sister's husbands (term of reference).

mi-one n., elder and younger brothers (term of reference). ~ *me-one*.

miau onom., sound that a cat makes, meow.

micikiri n., mulberry.

midhi n., dirt, grime, filth (on one's body).

mihiʔka adj., to be well milled (no broken grains). *uŋkhu mihiʔka jeŋhi*. The rice turned out well milled.

miko lisi n., eye detritus.

milai n., couple, pair, man and wife.

miliŋ n., cultivated land, field.

milili vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to be arranged.

milipali vt., to arrange, see to something. *tataimi milipanhakhe*. We arrange it ourselves.

milipapili vt., to arrange for someone. *kalau obalai milipapia wa*. They^p may arrange things for [you].

mimpali vt., to cause to be ripe or cooked, cook, prepare food.

mimpapili vt., to cook for someone. *mhituhoiga. m marpha mimpapi*.

I'm hungry already. Cook up some rice for me but quick.

mimui n., eye lash; eye brow.

miŋ n., name; reputation; self.

miŋka adj., ripe; cooked.

miŋkaini beran n., nickname for a woman, 'old cat woman'.

- miṅkau* n., cat. Parents get children to stop crying by saying *miṅkau lokhe* or ‘a cat is coming’, presumably drawn by the child’s crying.
- miṅli* vi., to be ripe; be cooked; be grey (hair). *m miṅkhoi la*. The rice is almost cooked now. *pusiṅ miṅka hihi. waraṅ jeṅhoi*. His hair has turned grey. He’s an old man already.
- mipata* n., eyelid [*mi* ‘eye’ + Nep. *patā* ‘eyelid’].
- mirli* vi., to be dank.
- misihā* n., eyeball.
- misihā kanaka* n., blind person.
- misij* n., [*me* fire + *sij* tree] firewood. *misij selka* chopping firewood.
- misiri* n., [< Indo-Aryan] rock sugar.
- misirikon* n., yam bean, jicama (edible root) .
- miti* n., tear, tear drop.
- mo’hatari* n., Dhimal clan.
- molipali* vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to massage.
- molipili* vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to massage someone.
- moteri saro* n., [< Indo-Aryan] wall creeper (bird).
- mo:li* vt., to lift up (one’s arm as if to strike). *lathe mo:khe*. He’s lifting up the cane (to strike). *khur mo:hi*. He lifted up his arm (to strike).
- mo?li* vt., to mix; rub, massage. *tirpahoi tarpahoi sagua mo?hoi*. Let it cool and then mix in the yeast.
- mo?pili* vt., to rub for, massage for someone. *gandi mo?pi*. Massage [my] back for [me].
- muika* adj., sick.
- muili* vi., to be sick (animals). *paya muikhe*. Pigs get sick. *kiya muiteṅ sihi*. The chicken became sick and died.
- muisa* n., fur, body hair.
- mukabili* n., [< Indo-Aryan] way, method. *odoṅ mukabiliso*. In that way.
- mulai* n., [< Indo-Aryan] daikon radish.
- muleṅ khunti* n., [< Indo-Aryan] roof post.
- mun* n., beaten rice.
- munci* n., broken rice grains.

- mundha* n., [< Indo-Aryan] stump.
- munjhili* vt., to wash (dishes, teeth). *tasi munjhili* to brush one's teeth. *takhala munjhili* to wash dishes.
- munsuri* n., medium-sized raptor with a white belly. ~ *mursini*.
- murkha* n., [< Indo-Aryan] fool, idiot, simpleton.
- murli* vi., to ooze, ooze out; salivate. *ci bhonoi letaso tirka tirka ci murkhe*. The water oozes up from the ground nice and cold. *tintili cakataŋ kaŋko thoʔsi murhi*. While eating tamarind, I started to salivate.
- murpali* vt., to cause to ooze, make drool, salivate. *kaŋko caka tinten wa thoʔsi murpahi*. Having seen what I was eating, it made him start to salivate.
- murti* n., spring, place where water rises from the ground.
- musar* n., mushroom; mould, fungus.
- mutbhaŋga* n., [< Indo-Aryan] green bee eater, *Merops orientalis*.

mh

- mhaha* n., young man who lives with and works for a woman's parents in order to earn the right to marry her without paying a brideprice.
- mhai* n., [usually plural *mhaigelai*] malevolent nocturnal female ghouls that primarily haunt men who are susceptible away from inhabited areas, but even right outside by the home. If they get a hold of you, they sap your strength, and you become sick and die. They are naked, have slimy skin, long fang-like upper teeth and disheveled hair falling in front of their face. Their eyes glow at night and children get a creepy thrill at having spotted one, with their eyes aglow—blinking. Many attacks are attested, with several men bold enough to attack one when they see it (a friend's mother was inadvertently attacked by a neighbour while defaecating). One can not kill them, but they can be disarmed. One should not attempt to wrestle with *mhaigelai* as their slimy skin renders them ungraspable. The optimal plan of attack is to grab them by the hair, wrap it around one's hand, and then proceed to smash their face into the ground to dislodge the teeth.

- While doing this, force them to say *hai doṇ mapã* (I won't do anything). ~ *mhaṇḡelai*.
- mhaigelaiko kiham* n., [lit. female ghouls' crab] scorpion.
- mhaili* vt., to grind (in a *jhato*). *kalai mhaikhe*. She's grinding lentils.
- mhali* vi., to be intoxicated, get intoxicated. *gora mhahoi*. They are drunk on rice alcohol already. *gora mhahi wa la u*. It looks like they are drunk, you know.
- mhalli* vt., to look upward, tilt one's head back. *matinḡha*. I didn't see it. *mhalteṇ khaṇ!* Tilt your head back and look!
- mhapa* adv., in a drunken fashion, until drunk. *gora mhapa amhi*. He drank to the point of drunkenness.
- mhawa* n., kinship term for ego's daughter's husband; term of address used by a man's wife's senior relatives.
- mha?li* vi., to stop, cease, hold up, wait (only used in the imperative). *e?ghuriṇ mha? aũ*. Wait just a minute, okay? *mha?! mha?! mha?!* Wait! Wait! Wait! *nidhimi mha?se*. You two stop it. *koma mha?*. Hold up a moment (said to a person walking along the road).
- mhe?li* vt., to whip. *wa diyaherṇ mhe?khe*. He is whipping the water buffalo. *naseṇ dihamhoi mhe?taṇka!* I'm going to whip you^s with a rope!
- mhituli* vi., to be hungry. *elaṇ ca. nhu?so mhituana*. Eat right now. (Otherwise) you^s will be hungry afterwards. *mhituhoiga*. I'm hungry.
- mhitupa* adv., hungrily. *mhitupa hili* to remain hungry.
- mholi* vi., to hide oneself. *dyaṇ mhokhe*. The person is hiding. *na lonu wa mhoan wa la*. If you come, she may hide then.
- mholhali* vi., to go to hide. *kalau khuwãhã mholhahi la*. And so the tiger went to hide.
- mhopili* vt., to hide oneself from someone. *mhopi! gyani lohi!* Hide! Jñānī arrived!
- mho?li* vi., to blow. *inta ta?teṇ tu?teṇ kalau mho?tana mho?tana mho?tana*. Having put it there, you^s blow and blow and blow. *suri mho?li* to whistle. *ya khali suri mho?khe!* All this one does is whistle! (said in complaint about a child who has just learned a new trick)

mhoʔli vt., to hide something. *kaseŋ tintəŋ rhai mhoʔhi*. Having seen me she hid her face. *cəku hiso mhoʔnha?* Where did you^s hide the knife?

mhoʔpili vt., to hide for someone; hide from someone. *kaŋko atuŋka canheŋ hai biŋ mhoʔpinha?* For what reason did you^s hide my little son?

mhoʔti n., yeast.

mhu'mhuika adj., tiny, itsy-bitsy.

mhuika adj., small.

mhuika m n., type of slightly glutinous rice.

mhuili vi., to be small. *mhuilabelau tasiŋ thurli taŋhi kalau bhenəŋ tasiŋ yo:hi*. When he was small, his tooth grew loose and another tooth came in.

mhuipali vt., to make small; to turn down the volume (on a radio).

n

nəriyəl n., [< Indo-Aryan] coconut. cf. *hukagudi*.

na pron., second person singular pronoun you.

na 1) conj., or. 2) part., clause final question marker.

nabhəndai conj., [< Indo-Aryan] otherwise.

nadoi n., type of earring worn on the upper part of the ear.

nai inter., [< Indo-Aryan] no.

naibiri n., bear, the sloth bear, *Melursus ursinus*.

naimhe n., type of grass used for thatching, *Imperata cylindrica*. Nep khar.

naimhe musar n., type of edible mushroom that grows in *naimhe*.

naju n., ego's wife's older sister; ego's husband's older sister.

naka'mundi n., [< Indo-Aryan] nose pin.

nakuna n., barking deer, *Muntiacus muntjak*.

nalli vt., to know someone, recognize. *manalnha?* Don't you^s recognise [me]? *na kaheŋ rempha manalkhena wa la*. You^s may not know me very well.

naləŋ num., five.

nalpali vt., to introduce, cause to recognize.

nalsuli vr., to be friends, be acquainted, know one another.

- nama* n., 1) ego's son's wife; kinship term used by all of a man's senior relatives to refer to his wife. 2) species of fish-eating bird with a long slender neck, darter, snakebird, *Anhinga melanogaster*.
- nambiri* n., wooden pin holding the beater rods of a loom together.
- nampili* vt., to fetch for someone. *nampiã?* Shall I fetch it for [you]?
- nanabhati* n., [< Indo-Aryan] magic, hocus-pocus.
- nanci* n., term of pity; poor thing. Nep. *bicāra*.
- nani* adv., today.
- nanibare* adv., this year. ~ *nenabare*.
- naŋgaʔli* vi., to awaken.
- naŋgaʔpali* vt., to wake up.
- naŋko* pron., second person singular possessive pronoun your.
- naŋli* vt., to fetch, get. *ka ci naŋli haneka highakha*. I had gone to fetch water.
- napheleŋ* n., side of the face.
- nara* n., [< Indo-Aryan] straw.
- nara musar* n., type of edible mushroom that grows in straw.
- nariya* n., elephant.
- nasij* n., reason, cause. *odoŋ nasij*. For that reason. cf. *bhaʔsij*.
- natinibare* adv., two years ago, the year before last.
- na:ka* adj., muddy, cloudy (water). *na:ka ci amli ma-el*. One shouldn't drink cloudy water.
- na:li* vi., to be muddy, become clouded (water). *jhoraʔta haya maŋlabelau ci na:khe*. When one fishes in the river, the water becomes muddy.
- nãwa* n., [< Indo-Aryan] new.
- nehare* n., dew.
- nekanai juhã* n., mouse.
- nelai* pron., second person plural pronoun you.
- nelaiko* pron., second person plural possessive pronoun your.
- nelpa* adv., [< Indo-Aryan] blue.
- nemli* vi., to be accustomed to, be used to; acquire the habit of. *meney nemhi gora amli*. He acquired the habit of drink for nothing. *ma-amka dyaŋ cur amli nemhi u*. A non-smoking person acquired

the habit of smoking cigarettes, you know. *nemhoi*. He's used to [you] already.

nenabare adv., this year.

nerja n., Indian grey hornbill, *Ocyrceros birostris*.

neuta n., invitation.

ni n., day.

nicala?li vt., to become dreary, be quiet and dull. *nani manicala?hi*.

Today it wasn't quiet. *nicala?ta wa*. It may become quiet and dull [without you].

nidasenta adv., all the time, day and night. *kha?ka nariya nidasenta lokhe*. The escaped elephant comes all the time.

nidhimi pron., second person dual pronoun you. ~ *nidhinimi*.

nidhiṅko pron., second person dual possessive pronoun your. ~ *nidhimiko*.

nilli vt., to forget. *manilaṅka*. I won't forget. *kaseṅ he?lau manil aū?*

Don't ever forget me, okay? *aroṅ te nilhoiga*. The rest I forgot.

nimpili vt., to tell someone, relate (a tale). *niṅka nimpī*. Tell [us] a tale.

nincali vp., to undergo, experience; hurt oneself. *masa?nu dukha nincana*. If you^s don't heed (my words), you'll experience trouble. *nincagha*. I hurt myself. *nincaana!* You^s are going to hurt yourself! *dānai nincali* to get a beating. *thokar nincali* to take a bump, bump into.

niṅka n., story, fable, folk tale.

niṅko pron., second person singular possessive pronoun your (affinal register).

niṅli vi./vt., to be available; get, receive, find; manage, succeed, accomplish. *edoi do?ka cijgelai gotaṅ laṭi jhora?ta haya maṅkata rə kiham yukata niṅkhe*. These things that were said are all available catching fish and crabs in the Lāṭī river. *torse bajarta niṅkhe*. Mangoes are available in the market. *naṅko ciṭṭhi ninteṅ ekdāmāi khusi lagehi*. Having received your^s letter, I became very happy. *cencula kancha rə cāmeli kanchiko bihu cali ninana*. You^s will get to celebrate Cenculā Kānchā's and Camelī Kānchī's wedding. *naseṅ bheṭeteṅ haneli niṅnu remka jendhaṅ*. If [I] manage to meet you^s before going, that would be good. *naṅko*

- paisa pigilka kaṭhmandu haneli maningha*. I didn't manage to go Kathmandu [for] the money that you^s sent.
- nirgai* n., [< Indo-Aryan] throat, neck. cf. *nirgha*.
- nirli* vi., to be tickled.
- nirpali* vt., to tickle.
- niru* n., calf.
- niruko lisi caka sigun* n., Egyptian vulture, *Neophron percnopterus*. Perceptively and appropriately called the 'calf shit eating vulture' by the Dhimal.
- nitima* adv., afternoon (approx. 10am – 3-4pm).
- ni?li* vt., to swallow. *ni?hoi*. It already swallowed it. *gilas ni?su la*. Go on and swallow^p the glasses (since you swallowed the contents so eagerly)!
- nokula* n.m., [< Indo-Aryan] vain or phoney man.
- nokuli* n.f., [< Indo-Aryan] vain or phoney woman.
- nole* n., bobbin.
- nole khati* n., bobbin pin.
- nomka* adj., soft, tender, pliable. *nomka dyaṇheṇ kam araika araika pahi nanciheṇ*. They kept ordering the soft person around, the poor thing.
- nomli* vi., to be soft, tender, pliable. *payako biha nomkhe*. Pork is a tender meat.
- nono* adj., unfermented, underfermented.
- nosoi* n., sash worn around the waist by Dhimal women that doubles as a head covering and light shawl.
- no:li* vt., to make smooth, make even, make level; eat (corn) on the cob. *sukataṇ sukataṇ no:khe*. Polishing and polishing (the rice) it becomes smooth. *m su to. ela no:ka wa rə*. Polish the rice. It might be smooth now. *bhono i no:li do:hoi*. The soil is finished being leveled. *məkai no:khe*. He's eating corn on the cob.
- no?li* vi., to lower the head. *tumta no?tana anau*. You will lower your head younger sibling (when I come around). *no?teṇ khaṅkhe*. She's watching with her head lowered (on the sly).
- nuhē* adv., east, eastward. *kaṅko dera nuhē hihi*. My village is to the east.
- nuhēpa* adv., from the east.

nuhēpaha adv., on the east side.

nui n., mouth.

nuili vi., to swim (fish, duck, turtle).

nuili vi., to sound off, emit a sound.

nuipali vi./vt., to make swim; come swimming.

nuipali vt., to make a sound. *lipaipa nuipa!* Make a farting sound!

nuniya n., [< Indo-Aryan ‘salt’] Dhimal clan.

nuwa n., kinship term for female ego’s elder sister’s husband.

nuʔli vt., to swallow. *osere nuʔkhe*. He’s swallowing medicine.

nya pron., first person singular pronoun you (affinal register)

nh

nhaka n., a dance, dancing. *nhaka khaylhakha*. I’m going to watch the dancing.

nhali vi., to dance. *nhanha?* Did you^s dance?

nhamli vi., to smell, have an odor (disagreeable), stink. *sejsej nhamhi*. It stinks awfully.

nhamui n., ant.

nhapali vt., to make dance, swing around. *inʔko dadahej nhapasuni*.

Please get that older brother to dance. *dabiya nhapatej lokhe*.

They come swinging the *kukhuri* around.

nhapili vt., to dance for someone. *nhapiā?* Shall I dance for [you]?

nhapiti n., dried nasal mucus, booger, snot.

nhapu n., nose; reputation, honour. cf. *nhapu taʔli*, *nhapu lho:pali*.

nhapu rhiŋka n., long nosed person; unfriendly, stuck up.

nhapukana n., nostril.

nhati n., snot.

nhatoi n., heddle pulley (weaving implement).

nhatoj n., ear.

nhatoj mahiŋka n., deaf person.

nhəʔsiuli vi., to sneeze.

nheʔkuri num., forty.

nheʔloj num., two. *nheʔloj doj* both.

nheʔpa adv., in pairs.

nhisiŋ n., night; approximately 19h00 to around 04h00.

nhiʔloŋ num., seven.

nhoʔli vi., to land, alight. *tuirham nhoʔhi*. The fly landed.

nhoʔpali vt., to cause to land, alight. *rajta nhoʔpali* to sley, pass the warp threads through the heddle reed.

nhōya n., monkey.

nhumli vt., to smell something.

nhuʔdina n., the following day, next day.

nhuʔgilli vt., to follow around. *kicangelai bhundi kiyahen nhuʔgilke*. Chicks follow the hen around.

nhuʔli vt., to follow, go behind. *khuwāhā nhuʔhi*. The tiger followed. *nhuʔtaine*. Lets^p follow. *iŋko dyanheŋ jhoraʔ thekapa nhuʔgha*. I followed that man to the river.

nhuʔso postp., after, behind. *iŋko nhuʔso*. After that.

o

obalai pron., third person plural pronoun they (unmarked).

obalaiko pron., third person plural possessive pronoun their (unmarked).

odepa adv., from that direction.

odoi dem., that.

odoŋ dem., that very.

odhimi pron., third person dual pronoun they (unmarked). ~ *odhinimi*.

odhiŋko pron., third person dual possessive pronoun their (unmarked). ~ *odhimiko*.

oi inter., hey (calling from a distance).

oili vt., to wind. *sute oidoŋkhe* She's winding a skein.

oina n., hand-held wooden instrument, consisting of the fork of a branch with a rod inserted at the base parallel to the fork, which is used to wind skeins of thread.

ojha n., [< Indo-Aryan] shaman, traditional healer.

o'khoili vt., to dig up, harvest root crops.

okhuri n., dandruff.

oleka n., interest, profit.

oleli vi., to come out, emerge. *anji peʔsa tuiso olehi*. Yesterday the silkworms emerged from the egg. *gaiko chali bhamka olehi*. The cream came out of the cow thick.

olepali vt., to take out, bring out, remove. *gojiso paisa olepa*. Take the money out of your pocket. *nelai dera gora olepakhe ma-olepakhe rhe:lhakata?* Do they bring out alcohol in your^p village when courting? *kheʔti olepali* to masturbate.

olepapili vt., to take out for someone; cause someone to be let out. *pasimko korci ba:nhateŋ hihi. rempha tereteŋ olepapian̄ka*. [You] have a bamboo sliver. Open it (the wound) good and I'll take it out [for you].

oli vt., to steam. *baguya okhe*. She's steaming *baguya*. cf. *baphaili*.

olli vt., to put on top, put on a roof. *tin olli* to put on a tin roof. *caleʔ olli* to put thatch on a roof.

one n., kinship term for ego's younger brother or sister, younger sibling.

oŋgalaiti n., firefly.

oŋli vt., to burn, char; cook on the coals, fry (an egg). *haipali oŋkhena ede ghaila?* Why are you^s charring this clay jug? *meta pundhui oŋgha*. I cooked the brain in the fire.

oŋnhali vm., to be burned, charred, accidentally burn oneself; to cook (an egg). *khokoi oŋnhahi*. He burned his leg. *tui rempha oŋnhahi*. The egg cooked well.

orapora adv., [< Indo-Aryan] around. *hanelabelau orapora khaŋhi*. While walking, he looked around. ~ *wəripəri*.

osa adv., in that way, in that manner.

osere n., [< Indo-Aryan] medicine.

osere-poiti n., treatment. *osere-poiti pipasu re!* Get her some treatment I say!

oso adv., to there, in that direction.

ota adv., there. *otasō* from there; after that.

othe pron., that much.

othemampha adv., so many, so much, so very. *bihuta othemampha dyaŋ lohi. sar-m mathemhi*. At the wedding so many people came. There wasn't enough food. *othemampha remka hihi*. It is

so very nice. *othemampha nitima madhe saneʔta?! (You are sitting there) in such a mid-day heat as this?!*

othesa adv., that much.

ōya n., horse.

o:li vi., to crow. *kiya o:kaŋ*. The rooster is going to crow.

o:li vt., to peel. *insapa o:kheṇa?! Is that how you^s peel?! ka buŋ o:kā kagati!* I want to peel the limes too! *lumphi o:hi*. He peeled the banana.

oʔcali vp., to vomit. *nanci oʔcakhe rə*. The poor thing, she's vomiting.

oʔcalaʔli vi., to vomit. *oʔcalaʔhoi*. He just vomitted.

oʔka 1) adj., burnt. *oʔka m*. burnt rice, crust formed on the bottom of the pot when cooking rice. 2) n., burning. *me oʔka*. a burn (on one's skin).

oʔli vi., to burn, become burned. *ela khur oʔta wa*. [Your] hand may get burned. *gotəŋ sar oʔhi*. All the veggies burned. *saʔ oʔka hihi*. The house has burned. *me oʔli* to burn, be on fire, catch fire. *me oʔkhe*. It's on fire. *me oʔtaŋ*. It will catch fire.

oʔpali vt., to burn, burn up. *biha sar oʔpahi*. She burned the meat and the vegetables. *jhoraʔta sika dyaŋheŋ oʔpakhe*. They are burning a dead person at the river.

oʔpapili vt., to burn for someone. *mansar oʔpapiā doʔkha*. I say, shall I burn some garlic [for you]? (garlic roots are burned in mustard oil which is then patted vigorously onto the head to cure colds).

oʔti n., vomit.

p

pərheli vi./vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to study, read.

pərhepali vt., to teach (formally, as in a class room), make read.

pərhepalhali vt., to go to teach. *oso pərhepalhadoŋkhe*. He's going over there to teach.

pərhepapili vt., to teach to, teach for.

pəhilaka adv., [< Indo-Aryan] before, first.

pəkka adv., [< Indo-Aryan] truly.

- pənja* n., [< Indo-Aryan] talon.
- pərapər* adv., [< Indo-Aryan] each other.
- pərelī* vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to befall; cost. *naheṇ dukha porehe panu dukh basuli mho?* If you get into trouble, blow on the flute of trouble. *eʔkilo pyaj heʔtaka pərekhe?* How much for one kilo of onions? ~ *poreli*.
- pəṭhaigilli* vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to send; mail.
- pəṭhaili* vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to send. *kaheṇ ciṭṭhi pəṭhaisuana?* Will you^s write to me?
- pəuḍi ghali* vi., [< Indo-Aryan + *ghali* 'to play'] to swim (humans).
- pacan* n., [< *paya* 'pig' + *can* 'son'] piglet.
- paceli* vt., to winnow. *m rata pacekhe*. She is winnowing rice on a winnowing tray. cf. *phasili*.
- pagilli* vt., to go around doing. *bejalai hiso hiso ko doʔteṇ obalai bisar pagilghahi wajan jamalai cahī*. The boys went around thinking, 'where is it that the girls are?'.
- pa'ha* n., side, way. *eʔpaha...bhenəṇ paha*. On the one hand...on the other hand.
- pa'har* n., [< Indo-Aryan] hill, mountain.
- pa'hariya* n., [< Indo-Aryan] hill person, ethnic group originating in the mountains of the Himalayas.
- pahariya katha* n., the Nepali language.
- pairō* n., stairs.
- paisa* n., [< Indo-Aryan] money.
- paka-caka* n., doing and eating, living.
- pakajaka pakajaka* adv., rarely, on occasion. *pakajaka pakajaka khiniṇ amkha*. I only drink on occasion.
- pakapaki* adv., really, truly. *pakapaki cumpuana?* Will you^s really take [me] away?
- pakpika* adj., *pakpika dyaṇ*. Person walking along the road.
- pakpili* vi., to walk along (a road). *dyaṇ dama pakpikhe*. A person is walking along the road.
- pakri siṇ* n., [< Indo-Aryan] pipal tree, *Ficus religiosa*.
- pakhena* n., [< Indo-Aryan] feather.
- pakhuta* n., [< Indo-Aryan] head scarf.
- pa'la* n., [< Indo-Aryan] deed, turn, response.

palau n., intercourse.

pali vt., to do, make; say. *na hasu pateŋ hi?* Ask saying ‘who are you^s?’. *biŋu pali* to wed, marry. *na hethe bheneŋ bejan dopha biŋu palau buŋ kaŋko mən naŋko dopha hiaŋ*. No matter how many different girls you^s marry, my heart will be with you^s. *aram pali* to rest, relax. *phom pali* to remember. *kam pali* to work. *dauni pali* to thresh grain by animal. *gunaso pali* to be sad, grieve. *hela pali* to hate, oppress. *jharphu pali* to exorcise. *tayar pali* to get ready. *pas pali* to pass (a class).

palli vt., to cut down, chop off, lop, behead.

palpili vt., to cut down for, lop off for, behead for someone. *pitekataŋ pitekataŋ tole siŋ buŋ palpihi la*. Following and following [them], she then also cut down the flour tree (on which they depended).

pane n., [< Indo-Aryan] betel leaf.

panihasa n., [< Indo-Aryan] moorhen, *Gallinula chloropus*.

panjere n., [< Indo-Aryan] rib, rib cage (of an emaciated person, skeleton). *gotan panjere tiŋkhe*. One can see all his ribs. cf. *kokhe*.

pan'saili vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to divine, foretell.

pantha n.m., [< Indo-Aryan] boar, buck. *pantha me?sa* buck, male goat.

panthi n.f., [< Indo-Aryan] sow, doe.

pap n., [< Indo-Aryan] sin. *pap loŋkhe*. That is a sin.

papali vt., to blush, be red in the face (from sunburn or physical discomfort). *rhai istu papahi* Your face got real red. *marci thernu rhai papaan*. If the chili pepper is piquant, one's face will turn red.

papapuli vi., to slowly blush, to gradually become red in the face. *rhai papapukhoi*. Your face is starting to turn red.

papidhili vt., to do for someone and leave behind. *nimta papidhihi*. He provided recompense for [him] and left it behind.

papili vt., to do to/for someone, provide for, arrange for someone. *na kaŋko bejat khiniŋ papinha*. You^s only caused me shame. *na kelaiko lagi hisika hisika kam papinha*. You^s did all sorts of work for us. *wako dada buŋ biŋu papili do?nu te jendhan*. Her older

brother also says arranging a wedding would be okay. *bihi papihī*. They threw a wedding for [them].

papuli vt., to go along doing.

para n., [< Indo-Aryan] side, distant side. *ode para*. That side.

parapa adv., with a wide bearth, allowing sufficient room, from afar.

asa parapa cumpu re! Take it a little ways further over there, I say! ~ *pharapa*.

pa'ram n.m., [< Indo-Aryan] ritual friend. Nep. *miṭh sāthī*.

pa'rami n.f., [< Indo-Aryan] ritual friend.

pa'ra?li vt., to cross, cross over; pass, pass by. *mhawa jhora?*

para?li goiaṅ. One must cross the Mhawa river. *jhora? para?khe*.

He is crossing the river. *nəuta para?khe*. He's crossing in a boat.

phul para?nhahi. We^p crossed the bridge. *sa? para?hi*. He passed by the house (not recognising it).

parba n., [< Indo-Aryan] Dhimal harvest festival, celebrated at the same time as the Nepali *tihār*. *Parba* is a clan holiday and each family celebrates according to their particular clan rules. An important part of *parba* is the sacrifices to the clan deities, with each deity requiring a certain type and colour of animal. Consequently, it involves a significant outlay of money and resources. In addition, household deities are worshipped. Dhimals do not celebrate the Nepali festival *dasāī*. This festival is also known as *aūnsi puja*. cf. *asare puja*.

parbati n., [< Indo-Aryan] female deity in Dhimal pantheon borrowed from Hindu *pārvatī*.

pareu n., [< Indo-Aryan] pigeon.

pasai n., mustard plant. *pasai sar* mustard greens. Nep. *rāiko sāg*.

pa'saili vi., to move (a bit), shift position. *iso pasai*. Move back a little this way.

pasim n., bamboo.

patalali vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to be thin and watery (rice beer).

pataloi bo?na n., variety of woman's garment with repeating bands of five verticle orange stripes on a black background.

pa'tam n., gizzard.

pate n., [< Indo-Aryan] jute. cf. *khinjara*.

pauna n., bamboo steamer.

- pau'saigilli* vt., to go around copulating. *bhale cahĩ iŋko telhiheŋ pausaigilkhe*. The rooster goes around mating with that pullet.
- pau'saili* vt., to mate, copulate (animals). *kalau kican bara?teŋ kalau uŋko buŋ pausaikhe*. So after the chick grows up, it also mates.
- paya* n., pig.
- pāya* n., blood-engorged tick.
- pāya* n., [< Indo-Aryan] wheel.
- pa:li* vi., to set fruit. *yumphi pa:khoi*. The banana is starting to set fruit.
- pecara* n., wound, sore.
- pecere?li* vi., to be soggy (rice). *m pecere?hi*. The rice turned out soggy.
- pegurai* n., red-vented bulbul, *Pycnonotus cafer*.
- pela* n., [< Indo-Aryan] glass (drinking). This word is being edged out by a more recent loan *gilas*.
- peleli* vt., to press, push, thrust in.
- pelsi* n., [< *piya* cow + *lisi* shit] cow manure. ~ *pilsĩ*.
- pelsiŋ* n., [< Eng. *pencil*] pencil.
- pem'aiti bhol* n., large edible tuber with maroonish cast on skin and pale dry flesh. Surface plant is a vine. Hindus eat during *māgh saŋkrānti*.
- pempali* vt., to come break, come bust. *puriŋ pempaŋka?* Shall I come bust [your] head?
- pempili* vt., to break for someone. *puriŋ pempiā?* Shall I bust [your] head for [you]?
- pendhi* n., irrigation canal.
- peŋli* vt., to break, burst (bone, clay jug).
- peŋnhali* vm., to be broken, break. *paharso lolabelau lonteŋ khokoi peŋnhahi*. Coming down from the hill, he fell and broke his leg.
- pepər* n., [< Eng. *paper*] home-made cigarette made of coarse tobacco rolled in paper; cigarette. cf. *cur*, *sikret*.
- peusa* n., [< Indo-Aryan] ego's father's younger sister's husband. cf. *pisai*.
- pe:li* vt., 1) to pick, pluck. *kalau torse pe:teŋ cuma*. Pick some mangoes and bring them. 2) to hatch, hatch out. *kiya kican rempha pe:sahi*. It seems the chicken did a good job hatching out

the chicks. *ede bhundi kiya rempha kican pe:sakhe*. It seems this hen does a good job hatching out chicks.

pe:nhali vm., 1) to be picked, plucked. 2) to be hatched, hatch. *pe?sa sin̄ta pe:nhateŋ hihi*. The caterpillars are hatching out in the tree.

pe:pali vt., to come pick; pick and bring. *odoŋ nasiŋ ka e?juri kaura nimta piteŋ ka ede torse pe:pakha*. Because of that, I left a pair of cowries as compensation and I am coming to pick these mangoes.

pe?li vt., to spin (twine, rope, thread). *te kaŋko diyahen diham pe?su*. Okay, spin some rope for my water buffalo. *galaĩca phyak̄rita un pe?khe*. She spins wool in a carpet factory.

pe?sa n, bug, insect; maggot; caterpillar. *anji pe?sa tuiso olehi* Yesterday the silkworms hatched.

picō n., [< Indo-Aryan] large type of owl.

pidhili vt., to give and leave behind, return, give back; bequeath. *kalau nhe?loŋ basuli pidhihi*. And so they left two flutes behind for [him].

pigilli vt., to send. *ka amerikata ciṭṭhi mapigilgha*. I didn't send any letters to America. *wa kaseŋ khərca paisa pigilli khaŋkhe do?gha*. I said he is trying to send me money for expenses.

pili vt., to give; allow, let. *paisa lonu ka naseŋ piā do?hi*. He said if money comes, I'll give it to you^s. *hiso haneli mapihi*. They wouldn't let him go anywhere. *maph pili* to forgive, excuse. *galti jeŋnu maph pi*. If there are mistakes, forgive [me]. *dokha pili* to deceive.

pipali vt., to come give, give back, bring back, return something. *nhe?kilo pipagha*. I presented them (the beggars) with two kilos. *pipa aũ!* Bring it back (when you are done), okay? *ajaiheŋ pipa!* Come give this to grandma! *naŋ amaiheŋ yungai pipaana?* You^s are going to bring back tumeric to your mother?

pipuli vt., to go and give, bring, transport. *tataiko suta khiŋli pipukhe*. They bring them to their own houses to cook. *ajaiheŋ pipu*. Go and give it to grandmother. *ko bəti. pipu oso*. Here, take the bowl and bring it over there.

pisai n., [< Indo-Aryan] ego's father's younger sister. cf. *peusa*.

pitāl n., [< Indo-Aryan] brass.

pitana n., fruitless rice. Nep. *khokori dhān*.

piteli vt., to track, trail after. *insan poisa tinten pitekatan pitekatan pitekatan hanenhahi kelai*. So having spotted tracks, we^p went along like that tracking it and tracking it.

piti n., [< Indo-Aryan] gall.

pi'tiʔpa'taʔpa adv., intermittently, in fits and spurts. *wai pitiʔpataʔpa lokhe*. It is sprinkling.

pituli n., oriental magpie robin, *Copsychus saularis*.

piya n., cow.

piʔli vt., to sell. *micikiri hetheso piʔtana anau* Little sister, how much will you sell the mulberries for?

pohi n., conical shaped net with a bamboo frame used by Dhimal men to fish. cf. *jale*.

po'hoʔka adj./n., small and flat (nose). *nhapu pohoʔka*. flat-nosed person.

poiri n., silver ankle bracelet with bangles.

poisa n., tracks, a trail.

poŋya n., type of fish.

poj class., [< Eng. *pose*] (camera) shot, pose; *dya poj hanehoi* Four shots are already gone.

pokpa adv., in a smacking manner, with a blow.

pokpokiya jihā n., sultan tit.

pombheleli vi., to lie face down.

pomli vt., to cuddle, hold close; keep for oneself. *pomten jimten hihi*.

He's sleeping cuddling. *canhen pomten hihi*. She is holding her child close. *kiya kican pomkhe*. The chicken is covering the chicks. *payako biha cali eklaŋ pomgha*. I kept the pork to eat for myself.

pon'ghaʔli vt., to fill. *kyarhita ci pon'ghaʔhi*. They filled the channel with water. *borata m pon'ghaʔkhe*. He is filling the sack with rice.

porecai n., [< Indo-Aryan] acquaintance.

poseli vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to raise, rear (human or animal). *maposeñ ka*. I won't raise [you].

potini tiya n., [< Indo-Aryan] blossom headed parakeet, *Psittacula cyanocephala*.

potoka adj./n., small, short, diminutive. *nhatoŋ potoka*. Small-eared person.

potoli vi., to be small, be short, be diminutive.

potoloŋ n., bottom layer of thatch on a roof, usually consisting of *naimhe*.

potopotoka adj., very short, very small.

po:li vt., to cut, sever, snip. *khati po:li* to divorce. *jeṭha milai naniso khati po:kaŋ doʔkhe*. Jeṭhā says that from today on the couple will divorce.

po:pili vt., to sever for, snip for someone. *eʔloŋ khokoi po:pika hihi*. They cut off one of her legs. *dama po:pili* to hinder someone, obstruct someone's progress, keep from achieving one's goals. *dama po:pikhe*. They are obstructing [her] progress.

poʔli vt., to put in a pile with ones hands, scoop together. *m poʔkhe*. He's scooping together the rice. cf. *koʔli*.

pugili vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to arrive, reach; suffice. *iŋkoŋ arna diyako baṭhanta pugihi iŋko kawa*. That crow reached that very herd of wild water buffalo.

puili vt., to embroider, weave (net, basket, carpet). cf. *thirli*.

puja n., [< Indo-Aryan] worship.

pujeli vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to worship. *lāsami beranheŋ pujekha*. I'm worshipping *Lakṣmī Beran*.

pukareli vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to exclaim.

puli vi., to go, leave, set out (on foot). *dama te puhi*. He hit the road. *bai gaḍi maninteŋ dama te puhi*. Not having caught a bus, older sister set out on her way.

pulpulaili vt., to dote.

pundhui n., brain.

pupuli vt., go and bring back (for someone). *pupu aŋ?* Go and bring one back, okay? *sar manthuteŋ pasai sar pupuhi*. Not having any vegetable he went and brought back mustard greens.

purbiya 1) adj., [< Indo-Aryan] eastern. 2) n., a speaker of the eastern Dhimal dialect (usually found in the plural). *purbiyalai* eastern Dhimals.

purin n., head.

purkhagelai n., [< Indo-Aryan] ancestors.

pusin n., hair. *pusin hu:ka* n., a bald person.

putuli vi., to sulk. *paisa mapiteṇ putuhi*. Not having given him any money, he sulked.

pūya n., snake.

ph

pharək 1) adj., [< Indo-Aryan] different. 2) n., difference.

pharra adv., [< Indo-Aryan] smoothly, flowingly, fluently.

phaguwa n., [< Indo-Aryan] Hindu holiday celebrated by dousing people with water and coloured powder.

phaili vi., to flow.

phaisalampa adv., light, brightly. *bəlb phaisalampa jholhi*. The bulb shone brightly. *phaisalampaṇ hihi*. It's still light out.

phali n., [< Indo-Aryan] ploughshare.

phalna n.m., [< Indo-Aryan] someone else, another person. *phalna dyaṇ*. Another person.

phanci n., [< Indo-Aryan] snare, trap. cf. *asti*.

pharli vt., to carry in one's mouth. *waheṇ pharteṇ cumpuhi jharbhari*. Having taken him in his mouth, he took him away towards the forest.

pharpuli vt., to carry away in one's mouth. *wa iṅko cətalai pharpuhi*. It carried that mat away in its mouth.

pharuwa n., [< Indo-Aryan] hoe. cf. *kodala*.

phasili vt., to clean stones and debris from rice before cooking. *ṭhuli uṅkhu phasiteṇ m gaː*. Ṭhūlī, clean the rice and cook it. *wa uṅkhu maphasikhe*. She doesn't clean the rice.

phaːli vt., to carry a heavy object on one's shoulder.

phe'ceṇ n., tuber used to control vomiting (similar in appearance to ginger, but fatter).

phelepheleka adj., thin, sheer (cloth).

phelna n.m., [< Indo-Aryan] other person. ~ *phalna*.

phelni n.f., [< Indo-Aryan] other person.

pherli vt., to spin. *un pherli* to spin wool. *sute pherkhe*. She is spinning thread.

pher'saiti thori n., type of tortoise.

phesa n., broom. ~ *phesar*.

phe:li vt., to sweep, wipe, swing from side to side. *kalau eʔloŋ bebal esa saleŋ phe:ghahi doʔkhe*. And so they say a woman was sweeping the ground in this way. *nhapu maphe:kana?* Aren't you^s going to wipe your nose? *tau phe:teŋ phe:teŋ hihi*. [I] really have to piss. *naphleŋ phe:li* to turn one's head away.

phe:pigilli vt., to go around sweeping for someone. *ode bewal te odoŋ nariyaheŋ phesarau phutphutpa phe:pigilhi*. That woman went around sweeping up those elephants one by one with a broom.

phe:pili vt., to sweep for, wipe for someone. *nhati phe:pi*. Wipe your snot.

pheʔdam siŋ n., wild jackfruit tree, 'monkey jackfruit'.

pheʔdhili vt., to beat and leave. *na kaŋ camindiheŋ na bihu paana doʔteŋ insoŋ pheʔdhihi la*. Saying 'you^s want to marry my daughter?', he beat him over there and left him behind.

pheʔgilli vt., to go around beating.

pheʔli vt., to beat, strike; wash clothes by beating against a hard object. *kalau inta galabaji porekataŋ porekataŋ ləksmanheŋ te khokoi ca:teŋ siŋta pheʔhi la hanuman*. So then in the heat of the fight, Hanumān took Lakṣmaṇ by the legs and beat him against a tree. *naŋko pheʔka anemanegelai manthu?* Don't you^s have anything to be washed?

pheʔnhadhili vm., to be struck and be left, bang into and be left, fall down and be left behind. *pheʔnhadhihi*. He was struck and left behind.

pheʔnhagilli vm., to go around banging into, go around falling down. *gora mhahi wa la u. pheʔnhagilkhe*. He's probably drunk now, you know. He's going round bumping into things and falling down.

pheʔnhali vm., to be struck, to bang into, fall down.

pheʔpuli vt., to go and beat.

pheʔsugilli vr., to go around fighting.

pheʔsuka n., fight, battle, quarrel.

pheʔsuli vr., to fight, beat one another. *pheʔsuli thalehi*. They began to fight. *nheʔmi ekdəm pheʔsukhe*. The two of them really fight.

pheʔsupali vt., to come to fight one another.

phinu n., door.

phirli vi., to shiver, shake.

phirphir'aili vi., to shiver all over, shake all over. *phirphiraighakhe*.

He was shivering all over.

phi'si?pa adv., in a hissing manner.

phi'si?phusu?pa dhuili vi., to hiss (snake, kettle). *m phisi?phusu?pa dhuihi*. The rice (in the pot) hissed.

phom n., memory, recollection, remembrance.

phondara n., hives, rash.

pho'paili vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to hiss (snake).

phor n., burrow, tunnel.

phorli vi., to tunnel, burrow. *juhã miliṅta phorkhe*. Rats burrow in the field. *ko?sa jharta phorkhe*. Monitor lizards tunnel in the forest.

photo [< Eng. *photo*] photograph.

pho:li vi., to clap. *carbo pho:li* to clap.

pho?gilli vi., to blow around.

pho?li vi., to blow, be blown. *kagocgelai bhermata pho?khe*. Papers are blowing in the wind.

pho?pali vt., to make blow.

phulepuli vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to swell, expand.

phunṅga n., hole. *lekhara phunṅga anus*. *nhapu phunṅga* nostril.

phunṅka adj., roasted, barbecued. *phunṅka biha*. roasted meat.

phunṅli vt., to roast over coals, barbeque, burn (corpse). *me thonṅaiten payako biha phunṅ*. Get the fire going and roast the pork. *ela suta haneli goiaṅ phunṅli phaṅli*. Now they must go home to roast them up.

phura n., large straw container about two feet high and four to five feet around. It is plastered with mud to store rice seeds for planting the following year.

phurma(s) n., [< Indo-Aryan] expense.

phuru n., star.

phu:li vt., to carry on one's back. cf. *dha:li*, *ba?li*, *pha:li*.

r

rə 1) part., contrastive particle. 2) conj., [< Indo-Aryan] and.

ra n., winnowing tray.

ra-m n., left over rice, reheated rice from a previous meal. *iŋko takhalata ra-m hihi. olepateŋ case*. There is left-over rice in that pot. Take it out and eat it.

raili vt., to scatter, sow. *lisi raili* to have the runs, have diarrhoea. *lisi raikhena?* Do you have the runs?

rainhali vm., to be scattered.

raipuli vt., to go along scattering. *insika cali ma-el. lisi raipukhe*.

One shouldn't eat such things. One goes around having diarrhoea.

raj n., [< Indo-Aryan] reed in a heddle.

raja n., [< Indo-Aryan] king.

rakarakaka adj., difficult.

ram saro n., [< Indo-Aryan] black-necked stork.

ramli vi., to disappear, be lost. *anemanegelai doŋ rama wa*. Things may get lost.

rampali vt., to lose something, cause to disappear. *dilip rampahi*. Dilip lost it.

rampapili vt., to lose someone else's belongings. *kalau rampapinu?* And if [you] lose it?

rampuli vi., to gradually be lost, die out, slowly disappear. *sale iŋko me doŋ rampukhe*. That damn fire is dying out.

raŋli vi., to be stiff. *tatui raŋli* to have an erection.

rasombari bajar n., a Dhimal fair.

rathum n., Dhimal clan.

rauکا adj., stiff, stale. *rauکا m pihi. ka macaŋka!* She gave [me] stale rice. I won't eat it!

rauli vi., to be stiff, stale. *dyaŋ sinu rauکhe*. If a person dies, he becomes stiff.

raupili vt., to be stiff for, become stale so that someone is affected. *ciciri m maraupikhe*. Sticky rice doesn't become stiff.

ra:li vt., to tie up, bind. *khuwāhāheŋ rimteŋ ramteŋ ra:teŋ taʔli goiaŋ. khaʔnu kelaiheŋ caa wa*. We^p must capture the tiger and

- keep him tied up. If he escapes, he may eat us^p. *dyanheṇ siṅta ra:nhahi*. We^p tied the person to a tree.
- ra:puli* vt., spread out to dry (rice). *saneṭta m ra:pu*. Spread the rice out in the sun.
- rela* n., [< Indo-Aryan] joke.
- remka* adj., good; appropriate; pretty.
- remli* vi., to be good, be pretty.
- rempha* adv., well, in a good manner; thoroughly.
- re'remka* adj., very good, very pretty.
- reṭli* vt., to crush (with the teeth), gnaw, chomp. *nhisiṅta tasi reṭkhe*. He grinds his teeth at night. *hara reṭkhe*. He's chomping on a bone. *mun reṭtana?* Do you^s want to chomp on some beaten rice?
- rimdhili* vt., to capture and leave behind. *dhangai rimdhihi*. She caught the rooster and set it aside.
- rimli* vt., to catch, capture. *kaseṇ rimteṇ cumpuhi*. They caught me and took me away. cf. *gomli*.
- rit* n., [< Indo-Aryan] fine.
- roigilli* vi., to crawl around. *nhamui saṭta roigillkhe*. Ants are crawling around in the house.
- roili* vi., to crawl; be winding (road). *dadako can roili gikhe*. Older brother's son knows how to crawl.
- roipuli* vi., to go along crawling. *jamal ajaiko bherpa roipukhe*. The child is crawling along towards grandma.
- romli* vt., to straighten things up, put in an orderly fashion. *gotan anemane rainhaka highahi. romkataṇ romkataṇ belhaṭhi*. All the things had been scattered. By the time things were straightened up it was evening.
- ropa* n., [< Indo-Aryan] 1) transplanting. *ropa thiṇli* to transplant. 2) small track, footprint. cf. *poisa*.
- roṭli* vi., to be partially dried. *biha roṭkhe. rempha seṅka manthu*. The meat is partially dried. It hasn't dried thoroughly. *hinja bhānainu san timpanu roṭkhe*. If one is boastful and proud, one becomes partially dried.
- roṭroṭli* vi., to be nearly dried. *khisaṭ roṭroṭhi*. The mud is nearly dried.
- ru'mal* n., [< Indo-Aryan] handkerchief, napkin, handtowel.

rh

rhai n., face.

rhaili vt., to scratch, claw. *naibiriko can magha. rhaianau!* Don't play with a bear cub. It'll scratch you.

rhauci n., joke.

rhauli vi., reply, retort, respond. *othemampha kaigha kalau bun marhauhi.* I called to him repeatedly, but he didn't respond.

rha:li vi., to be partially ripe.

rha?li vt., to demolish, tear down, dismantle. *ode dyaŋ hai biŋ sa? rha?khe ko? na bhenəŋ dyaŋko miliŋta sa? dhampahi be? na kunu ki sa? rha?li goihi.* Why is it that that person is tearing down his house? I wonder, did he have his house built on someone else's land. Or did he just have to tear it down?

rhe:gilli vt., to go around asking for, go around begging. *iŋko bejalai hai hai rhe:gilhi?* What did those girls come around asking for? *phoŋo khicili rhe:gilhi.* They came around asking for their photo to be taken.

rhe:li vt., to ask for, request.

rhe:lhaka n., courting.

rhe:lhali vt., to go ask for, court. *hesa paten rhe:lhakhe?* How do they court?

rhe:pili vt., to request for someone, to ask for on someone's behalf.

rhe:ti n., permission. *dyaŋ dopha rhe:ti cuma.* Get permission from a person.

rhe?li vt., to squeeze, compress.

rhi'kaili vi., to yell, call out. *comphe dēdu?dēdu?pa rhikaikhe.* Frogs call out *dēdu? dēdu?* *rhikaiteŋ nhatoŋ thumteŋ lokhe.* He's coming with his ears covered from the yelling.

rhili vt., to move, transport. *gaḍita unthui rhikhe.* They are moving stones in a truck. *e?khe nəjər rhiteŋ khaŋgha.* I glanced over once.

rhi'ma n., morning, in the morning (approx. 04h00 to around 10h00). *e?rhimā* early morning, first thing in the morning.

rhijka adj., tall, long. *rhijka berəŋ* (nickname for a woman).

rhinli vi., to be long, be tall.

rhipuli vt., to go along moving, go along transporting away.

rhi'wa?li vi., to be startled, be surprised.

rhi:li vt., 1) to shake, shake out. *sidaui rhi:kaŋ*. She'll shake out the quilt. 2) to make a fuss, raise a ruckus. *hai rhi:ka hihi ko?!* What's all this fussing about?! *cika rhi:li* to act up, be insincere, act silly (said of girls). *cika marhi:!* *suta rempha kam pa!* Don't act silly! Work hard at home!

rhi?li vt., to wear (a loincloth). *dhari rhi?khe*. He's wearing a loincloth. *dhari rhi?teŋ haya maŋli hanehi*. He put on a loincloth and went fishing.

rho:li vt., 1) to block, hinder; fish with a net. *jaŋti lolabelau beulaheŋ dama rho:khe*. When the wedding procession arrives, they block the groom's path. *jale rho:khe*. They are fishing with a *jale* net.

rhuili vt., to pull down (vines, cobwebs).

rhumli vt./vi., to wait, wait for. *koma rhum*. Wait a minute. *waheŋ rhumteŋ hi*. You be waiting for him.

rhuta postp., over, above, on top.

rhu:li vt., 1) to take, accept; cost. *cale? si?li nhi?-sai taka rhu:khe*. It costs seven hundred rupees to thatch a house. *na ede ko?a hetheso rhu:nha?* How much does this room cost you^s? *hetheso rhu:hi?* How much did it cost (did they accept)? *bhag rhu:li* to take part. 2) to straighten up, tidy.

rhu:pili vt., 1) to take for someone. 2) to tidy up for someone. *ka bejalaiheŋ thame rhu:pigha*. I tidied up for the girl.

rhu?li vt., to cause to fly up, dislodge juvenile birds from the nest from below, hunt birds at night with a net or a *tho?si?*. *tho?si?hoi pasimta bagula rhu?khe*. They are hunting egrets in the bamboo with a *tho?si?*. *jale sinso baira lagaikhe kalau danaikhe*. They throw a net up around a tree and beat it.

S

sabda n., [< Indo-Aryan] word.

salha n., [< Indo-Aryan] advice.

samjheli vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to remember.

- səmjhepali* vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to remind.
- səpəna* n., [< Indo-Aryan] dream.
- səstoli* vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to be cheap, be inexpensive.
- sa'baili* vi., to look good in, suit, flatter. *masabaikhe*. It is not flattering.
- sabun* n., [< Indo-Aryan] soap.
- saguwa* n., type of black yeast made from the seed of the *bantai* tree, that is used to brew *ghyansiṅ*.
- sai* n., hump on a cow.
- saila* n.m., [< Indo-Aryan] third-born son.
- saili* vt., to touch. *ram ləksmānheṅ saili doʔkhe*. Rāma touched Lakṣmaṇ they say. *saike ya?* Do [they] touch this (sort of thing)?
- saili* n.f., [< Indo-Aryan] third-born daughter.
- sait* n., [< Indo-Aryan] fate, fortune.
- saitar* n., exonym for the Austroasiatic-speaking Santal.
- saitar khopa* n., type of hair style.
- saj* n., [< Indo-Aryan] beater, tool used in weaving.
- sajeka* adj., ready.
- sajeli* vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to get ready, prepare. *sajekhoina?* Are you^s about ready?
- sajko diham* n., beater suspension cords on a loom.
- sakha* n., sieve, strainer. cf. *saphauni*.
- sal siṅ* n., [< Indo-Aryan] sal wood.
- saleṅ* n., ground.
- sa'laṅgaʔli* vi., to lie prostrate. *lonteṅ salanṅaʔhi*. He fell and lie prostrate.
- sa'laṅgaʔpa* adv., in a prostrate manner. *salanṅaʔpa loṅhi*. He fell prostrate.
- saldona thori* n., type of tortise.
- sali* n., household goddess. ~ *sali beranṅ*.
- salli* vt., to pick out, look over, examine, check out. *sar collabelau remka salteṅ colkhe*. When purchasing vegetables, he picks out good ones and buys them. *wa bejalai salkhe*. He's checking out the girls.
- saman* n., [< Indo-Aryan] things, belongings, stuff.

- samuthi boʻna* n., style of *boʻna* with alternating bands of one and two orange stripes on a black background. ~ *sa'muthi*.
- san* n., pride.
- sanai* n., shehnai, a woodwind musical instrument. Nep. *śahanāī*.
- san'aiti* n., friend.
- saneʔ* n., sunshine.
- saneʔka* adj., sunny.
- saneʔli* vi., to be sunny. *jumni saneʔtaŋ masaneʔtaŋ?* Will it be sunny tomorrow or not?
- sangalo* n., [< Indo-Aryan] cockroach.
- sarjkoī* n., [< Indo-Aryan] bridge.
- sa'phauni* n., [< Indo-Aryan] sieve. cf. *sakha*.
- sar* n., vegetable; cooked vegetable or meat side dish to accompany rice. This word also occurs in many vegetable names, e.g. *musar* 'mushroom', *mansar* 'garlic', *cunsar* 'fiddlehead'.
- sara* adj., [< Indo-Aryan] all.
- sa'ral* n., bow for a musical instrument.
- sa'rangī* n., [< Indo-Aryan] a stringed musical instrument.
- sari'hipa* adv., orderly, in a row.
- saro* n., [< Indo-Aryan] bird. ~ *sara*.
- sa'taili* vt., to knead.
- sa'tiʔ* n., [< Indo-Aryan] umbrella.
- sau* n., fat.
- saujirham* n., edible type of katydid. cf. *bajirham*.
- sauli* vi., to be fatty, exude fat. *saujirham saukhe*. Katydids are fatty.
- saunu musar* n., type of edible mushroom that is found during the month of *Sāun*.
- sa:li* vt., to sieve, strain. *jāḍ sa:khe*. She's straining rice beer. *baguya banailabelau uŋkhu bo:teŋ tole sakhata sa:li goikhe*. When one makes *baguya*, one grinds the rice and then one has to sift the flour in a sieve.
- saʔ* n., house.
- saʔli* vt., to heed; believe; obey. *kaseŋ masaʔkhena?! You^s don't heed me?! saʔli goiana masaʔli?* Do you^s have to obey or not?

- saʔli* vt., to block, stop up, dam up. *pendhiko ci saʔteŋ miliŋta lagaikhe*. They divert water into the irrigation canals and channel it into the fields. *bandha*
- saʔli* to dam, block. *jhoraʔta bandha saʔteŋ suʔteŋ ci gaʔnhahi*. Having blocked up the river, we^p bailed out the water. *jhoraʔ saʔli* to block a river.
- saʔpili* vt., to block up for someone. *pendhiko ci saʔpi!* Block up the water in the irrigation canal for [me]!
- se* n., grain (rice). *se-m*. grain of rice.
- sedha* n., [< Indo-Aryan] porcupine.
- seli* n., [< Indo-Aryan] round doughnut-like deep-fried pastry. Generally cooked and eaten on festive occasions and when visiting a women's natal home. Newly adopted festive food item traditionally filled by *tole* and *babor*. Nep. *sel roti*.
- seli* vi., to bear fruit, set fruit. *nenabare kaŋko kagati thuproŋ sehi*. This year my lime tree bore a lot of fruit. *donabare seay be maseay?* I wonder whether it will bear fruit next year or not. *kagati sekhe*. The lime is bearing fruit.
- sel'kaili* vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to barbeque, roast over a fire (on a skewer). *biha selkaiteŋ phuŋkhe*. He is roasting the meat. *meta selkai cena biha!* Roast the strips of meat on the fire!
- selli* vt., to chop (wood). *misiŋ selkhe*. He's chopping firewood.
- selpili* vt., to chop for someone. *ka selpiã*. I'll chop it for [them].
- sempali* vt., to dry, dry out. *marci sempateŋ taʔka hihi*. [They] have set out chilis to dry.
- sena* n., relish, salty condiment.
- seŋka* adj., dried, dried up; thin, emaciated, shrivelled. *seŋka beran* 'nickname for a woman'.
- seŋli* vi., to be dried; be thin, be emaciated, be shrivelled. *m cali manthuteŋ seŋhi*. Not having had food, he grew thin.
- seŋseŋ* n., stink, stench. *seŋseŋ nhamhi*. It smells awful.
- sesa'laili* vi., to scoot around on one's rear end (child). *jamalai sesalaikhe*. Children scoot around on their rear ends.
- seu* n., [< Indo-Aryan] greeting. *seu pakha*. I greet [you]. *seu paka*. Greetings. Nep. *namaste*.
- sẽsu* n., arboreal insect that bites (onomatopoeic).

se:li vi., to be rough, be coarse. *naŋko dhale se:khe*. Your^s skin feels rough. *darhi se:hi*. His beard felt rough.

seʔguli n., testicle. *seʔguli eʔloŋ hihi!* [You] only have one testicle!

seʔli vt., to kill. *seʔtaniŋ buruŋ!* I'm going to kill you right away! *jharanheŋ seʔtako*. Let them kill them all.

seʔli vt., to fry, deep-fry. *seli seʔteŋ suʔteŋ caine buŋ*. Let's^p also fry up some *seli* and eat it. *cuitita babor seʔkhe*. One fries *babor* in oil.

seʔnhali vm., to be killed. *seʔnhakhoi!* We're starting to be killed! *bajarta paya seʔnhakhe*. Pigs are killed in the bazaar.

seʔpali vt., come and kill; turn off (light). *gesa seʔpa!* Turn off the light!

seʔpapili vt., to cause to be killed for someone; come and kill for someone. *ka odoŋ nasiŋ naŋko hanumanheŋ ka seʔpapigha*. That's why I came and killed your^s Hanumān.

seʔpili vt., to kill for someone, kill so that someone is affected; turn off for, extinguish for someone. *kiya seʔpihi*. They killed a chicken for [him]. *seʔpiã naseŋ?! Shall I kill you^s?! gesa seʔpiã? seʔpi*. Shall I kill the light for [you]? Kill it. *kyaseŋ seʔpiã?* Shall I turn off the stereo for [you]?

seʔseʔ n., testicle. ~ *seʔceʔ*.

seʔthaldhili vt., to kill and leave for dead.

sidau n., mattress.

sidhala n., [< Indo-Aryan] dried fish. cf. *sukhata*.

sidhi n., bedbug, *Cimex lectularius*.

sigun n., vulture.

si'haire n., [< Indo-Aryan] shadow, shade.

si'hã n., seed, grain (small).

sika adj./n., dead. *sika anemane* dead thing. *sikalai* dead ones, the dead.

si'kaʔli vi., to feel queasy, make one feel queasy, be repulsed. *makhalai cali sikaʔkha*. Eating mussels makes me feel queasy. *sika anemane cali sikaʔkhena?* Does eating things that have died make you^s queasy? *sikaʔtana aŋ*. I said you^s will be disgusted by it. *laksman eʔloŋ doŋ lhaʔbata cali sikaʔkhe la wa*. Eating off the same leaf makes Lakṣmaṇ feel queasy.

si'kaʔpa adv., quietly. *anji dilima hasu matiŋpa ka sikaʔpa hanegha*
Yesterday evening I left quietly so that no one would hear.
sikaʔpa hi! Be quiet!

sikumikiupa adv., [< Indo-Aryan] crawling with, be lousy with.

sikret n., cigarette.

sikri siŋ n., type of tree.

sili vi., to die; be exhausted, be in great discomfort. *siã!* I'm going to die! (said while getting a vigorous massage). *sinhakhe be hinhakhe be*. Do we^p live or do we^p die? *sihoiga*. I'm exhausted. *sihoiga!* I just died! (said when the campfire became too hot)

sili madoka n., evil person who is unable to die.

silsil'au n., chain of events, series.

sim n., mortar hollowed out of a log and shaped like an hour glass.
When not in use it is turned upside down and may be used as a seat or step.

si'nara n.m., vain or selfish man.

si'nari n.f., vain or selfish woman.

sincali vp., to live to an old age, live long. *buḍhaʔpaŋ sincaine*.
Let's^p live to an old age. *na buḍhaʔpaŋ sinca aũ?* Live to an old age, okay? (blessing said to an elder when visiting) *nidhimi buḍhaʔpa sincase*. Live^d to an old age (said when giving *ṭika* to the bride and groom). *buḍhaʔpaŋ sincaŋ be*. I wonder whether he will live to a ripe old age (said when someone who is being discussed suddenly appears. In English – 'speak of the devil').

sinda n., part (in hair).

sinhuli vi., to survive, come back to life. *lumphiko can thiŋlabelau sinhuhi*. When I planted the banana offset it survived. *pasim siŋ thinterŋ masinhuhi*. I planted a bamboo plant and it didn't survive. *ləksmən sinhuhi*. Lakṣmaṇ survived. *ka bælla-bælla sinhugha*. In the end I survived.

sinhupa adv., alive, living. *sinhupaŋ hesa hihi rə idoi waraŋ. ela buŋ sika manthu idoi waraŋ*. How is this old man alive. He still hasn't died, this old man.

siŋ n., tree; plant (bush, vine).

siŋ n., [< Indo-Aryan] horn.

siŋ taŋka juhã n., long tailed tree mouse, *Vandeleuria oleracea*.

siṅka adj., unripe; fresh, green; uncooked.

siṅka-miṅka n., ripe and unripe things; cooked and uncooked things; dried and fresh things.

siṅko dhale n., tree bark.

siṅli vi., to be raw; be uncooked.

sipali vt., to finish (eating or drinking), polish off. *a dada, sipa. aroṅ atuisa ita hihi.* Older brother, finish it up. There's still some here.

si'paʔpa adv., quietly, stealthily. *sipaʔpa bat marekhe.* They are talking in a whisper. *sipaʔpa hi.* Stay quiet.

sira n., head louse.

si'raili vi., to be cooked (rice). *m siraiter miṅhi.* The rice cooked and was done. *m siraika manthu.* The rice hasn't cooked.

sirgilli vt., to accompany around, guide around. *waseṅ derabhari sirgilkhe.* He's accompanying him around the village.

sirijat n., Dhimal communal festival, also known as *asare* or *asare puja*.

sirkhati n., shed stick (guide stick), tool for weaving.

sirli vt., to accompany, guide. *dəmək haneli sirkha naseṅ.* I am accompanying you^s to Damak.

sirpali vt., to accompany toward, guide over. *ka waseṅ suta sirpali goiã.* I will have to accompany him home. *sirpa!* Accompany him over here.

sirpuli vt., to accompany someone to, escort, guide to. *naṅko amaiheṅ heta thekapa sirpunha?* Where did you^s escort your^s mother to? *naheṅ saʔ thekapaṅ sirpuanṅka buruṅ.* I will accompany you^s directly to your house.

sisa m n., rice that falls to the ground during harvest.

sitiri n., gums. cf. *tasi*.

sitisitili vi., to be cooked to a tee (rice). *nani m ga:ka sitisitihi.* Today the rice cooking was done to a tee.

sitisitipa adv., in a well-cooked manner. *sitisitipa siraihi.* It cooked to a tee.

si:li vt., to wear (earrings). *nhatoṅta kundol dalaṅdalaṅpa si:kaṅka. wajaḷai jharaṅ khana wa.* I will wear large pendulous earrings on my ears. Then the boys may all look.

- si?dhili* vt., to go and leave behind, leave and forget something. *hiso si?dhihi wa la be u?* Now where did he go and leave it I wonder?
- si?li* vi., to breathe.
- si?li* vr., to shave, trim, cut. *darhi si?khe*. He's shaving.
- si?li* vt., thatch a roof. *cale? si?li goika hihi*. It is necessary to thatch the roof. cf. *olli*.
- si?pali* vt., to cause to be cut, have shaved. *pusiŋ si?pali goiã*. I have to have my hair cut. *pusiŋ masi?pahe panu hai pasukhena?* If you don't have your hair cut (during mourning), what do you^p do?
- si?puli* vi., to go off (negative connotation). *khali inta si?pukhena!* All you^s do is go off over there! *si?puka hihi!* He's gone off! *hiso si?puhi?!* Where did he go off to?!
- so'baipa* adv., comfortably, with pleasure.
- soceli* vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to think, ponder, consider; think up, devise. *kalau uŋko malik buŋ hai sosehi*. And what did that master devise? ~ *soseli*.
- sogara* n., [< Indo-Aryan] hog deer, *Axis porcinus*.
- soili* vt., to carry (a long object with two people). *sikalaiheŋ məncaulita soiteŋ li?pukhe*. They carry dead people on a stretcher and go bury them.
- soipuli* vt., to carry away (long object with two people). *bimari dyaŋheŋ soipuhi*. They carried the sick person away.
- sojhaka* adj., [< Indo-Aryan] straightforward, honest.
- sojhapa* adv., [< Indo-Aryan] in a straightforward manner, honestly.
- solli* vi., to eat or drink up, eat or drink to the last bit. *lha?pha sar cali solkhe*. He eats up all the *lha?pha* vegetable. *m solteŋ cakhe*. He eats up all his food.
- so'loi* n., indigo, genus *Indigofera*. This plant is grown and used to dye thread a rich lustrous blue-black colour.
- solo'lonka* adj., straight.
- solosoloka* adj., upright, straightforward (person); just right (thing). *kiya solosoloka hihi*. The chicken is just the right size.
- solpa* adv., to the last (bit or drop). *gora solpaŋ amhi*. He drank up all the alcohol. *solpa cahi*. He ate it all up.
- sona* n., [< Indo-Aryan] gold.
- sona sigun* n., Eurasian griffon, *Gyps fulvus*.

- soŋli* vt., to put in a pot or pan (by hand) to cook. *dhaŋka cita uŋkhu soŋkhe*. She's putting rice into the hot water. *kharata sar khiŋlabelau sar soŋhi*. While cooking the side dish in a wok, she put the vegetables in to cook.
- sormu musar* n., small edible mushroom with a black cap.
- sorsor'aili* vt., to scoop up. *uŋkhu hu:hi. rempha sorsoraiteŋ ta?* The rice spilled. Scoop it up thoroughly and put it (there).
- soŋa* n., [< Indo-Aryan] date, the dark oval fruit of the date palm, *Phoenix dactylifera*.
- sosa'laili* vi., to scoot around on one's rear end (adult). *gora amteŋ sosalaikhe*. After drinking alcohol they scoot around on their rear ends.
- so:li* vt., to exchange, switch; transfer. *kaŋhmanḍuta paisa so:kana?* Will you^s exchange money in Kathmandu? *mgelai buŋ so:ka hikhe*. They (the rats) also have transferred rice and such.
- so:suli* vr., to exchange with one another. *wa rə ka lokhon so:sugha*. He and I exchanged clothes with each other.
- so?* n., piss, urine.
- so?li* vi./vt., to piss. *maso?tana?* Aren't you^s going to piss? *sidau so?li magoikhena?* Shouldn't you^s not wet the mattress?
- so?lhali* vi., to go to piss. *na hiso hanenha?* Where did you^s go? *so?lhagha*. I went to piss. *so?lhaana*. Are you^s going to piss?
- so?pili* vt., to piss on someone, piss so that someone is affected. *mho?kalaiheŋ puriŋta so?piaŋ*. He's going to piss on the (conch) blowers' heads. *la gotaŋ ka?u so?pihi*. There, he completely pissed his shorts.
- so?so?* n., urine. ~ *so?co?*.
- su* n., cough.
- sui* n., [< Indo-Aryan] needle.
- suili* vi., *mi suili* to be jealous of, resent, look with envy. *bomiko kam paka mi suikhe*. He is jealous of what other person have done. *bomiko caka tinteŋ mi suihi*. Having seen what someone else was eating, she became envious.
- suisuika* adj., cranky, ill-tempered, ill-intentioned, menacing.
- suisuipa* adv., menacingly, in an ill-tempered manner. *mi suisuipa khaŋhi u*. She looked over menacingly, you know.

suiyasuiyapa adv., bitingly, harshly (words). *suiyasuiyapa doʔhi*. She spoke bitingly.

sujini sij n., type of tree. Nep. *sajini*.

sukulu n., lung. *sukulu kondan tumsinheŋ hiso mhoʔpinha?* Where did you^s hide the pride and joy of my life (lungs, heart and liver)? ~ *su'kulu*.

sukuru phuru n., morning star, venus. Nep. *durwa tārā*.

sukhata n., [< Indo-Aryan] dried fish.

sukhumbasi adv., [< Indo-Aryan] landless.

suli vt., to husk, pound in a mortar to remove the husk. *simta m sukhe*. She's husking rice in a mortar. *sim manthunu na hiso suana wa la?* If there is no mortar where might you^s husk then?

sumloŋ num., three.

sumsum'aili vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to stroke.

suniya adv., [< Indo-Aryan] desolate, quiet, empty.

sunsan adv., [< Indo-Aryan] desolate, quiet, empty.

suŋli vt., to put on (shoes, watch). *cəppəl suŋ!* Put on [your] flipflops.

supali vt., to have someone husk, cause to be pounded in a mortar to remove the husk. *dahẽ hanã m supali*. I'm going northward to have some rice husked.

suri n., whistling. *suri mhoʔli* to whistle.

surli vt., to suck in, suck up, inhale. *paip-hoi pepsi surkhe*. He's drinking Pepsi with a straw. *cur surkhe*. He's puffing on the cigarette. ~ *suruli*.

sursure n., chicken lice.

suru n., [< Indo-Aryan] beginning, start.

suruli vi., to begin, start. *kalau torse pe:teŋ cumaka doʔka surughakhe*. So he began to pick and bring the mangoes as instructed.

su'ta adv., home; room.

su'te n., [< Indo-Aryan] thread.

su'toʔ n., honey comb.

su'tuʔpa adv., stealthily, secretly, unnoticed. *obalaiko suta sutuʔpa hanegha*. I went to their^p house unnoticed.

su:li vi., to cough. *ham su:li* to yawn.

suʔli vt., to stroke, rub, caress oneself. *khokoi imlaubelau suʔkaŋ suʔkaŋ pahi*. When his leg swoll up, he kept stroking it and stroking it. *jolti suʔli* to have intercourse.

suʔpili vt., to stroke someone, caress for someone. *mhaigelai kaseŋ jimka belata nhisiŋta suʔpihi*. The *mhaigelai* caressed me at night while sleeping.

syaile n., [< Indo-Aryan] jackal.

syaile ghara n., [< Indo-Aryan] escape hole.

t

tə part., then, so.

təkdir n., [< Indo-Aryan] fate, destiny.

tərpha n., [< Indo-Aryan] behalf.

ta postp., on, at.

ta siŋ n., sal tree, *Shorea robusta*.

taham n., type of large river fish. ~ *taham haya*.

tai pron., own, self.

taimi pron., one's self.

tairham n., shrimp. ~ *tairhaŋ*.

taise n., cucumber.

ta'ka n., [< Indo-Aryan] money; unit of currency, one rupee.

takhala n., [< Indo-Aryan] pot.

takhim n., small wooden stool. cf. *khimso*.

tali n., 1) moon. 2) right hand side of a drum. cf. *koba*.

talipa n., Dhimal clan.

ta'loili vt., to patch.

tamba n., [< Indo-Aryan] bamboo shoot.

tamli vi., to become compressed, be compacted. *no:ka bhonoi wai loteŋ tamhi*. After it rained, the smooth soil was compacted. *coika bari wai lonu tamaŋ*. If it rains, the ploughed fields will become compacted.

tampa adv., compactly. *uŋkhu tampa lagai*. Put the paddy on compactly.

tampali vt., to compress, compact. *no:ka bhonoita jamalai ghateṇ tampahi*. The children played on the smooth soil and compressed it.

tampali vt., to make rise. *cer tampali* to get mad, become angry. *cer tampanha?* Did you^s become angry? *cer matampa aũ?* Don't be mad, okay?

tamui n.m., male pubic hair.

tana n., [< Indo-Aryan] loom; warp.

taneli vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to pull.

taṇ'gaili vt., to hang up, suspend, tie (to two objects, as in a clothes line).

taṇgho n., onion.

taṇli vi./vt., to climb, rise, rise up. *wa siṇ rhuta taṇhi*. He climbed up a tree. *maha cuṇ taṇhi la*. A great cold arose then. *wa phutphatpa taṇhi*. Each climbed up one by one. *cer taṇli* to become angry.

tara musar n., edible fungus that grows on fallen logs.

ta'raili vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to cross. *sikar ghali bha?siṇ wa õya cumteṇ jhora? taraighakhe*. In order to hunt, he took his horse and was crossing a river.

ta'raili vt., to whip. *gaiko kila rempha tarai*. Whip him good with a cow whip. *akara wajanheṇ kilahoi taraikhe*. He's whipping the disobedient boy with a whip.

ta'raṇba'raṇli vi., to be startled, look around scared or surprised.

taraṇbaraṇpa adv., in a startled or surprised manner. *wa jimteṇ jamteṇ nhisiṇta taraṇbaraṇpa lho:hi*. After falling asleep, he arose in the night with a start.

tasi n., tooth.

ta'taimi pron., very own self.

tatiri n., boar bristle.

tatui n., penis, male genitals.

tau n., penis.

tauli n., towel.

tause? n.m., testicles, male genitals. *tause? phe?pianiṇ puriṇta?*
Shall I beat [my] genitals on your head?

ta:ka adj., tasty.

ta:ka-di:ka n., tasty and sweet things.

ta:ka-malamalaka n., tasty and fragrant things.

ta:ka-ta:ka adj., delicious.

ta:li vi., to taste good, be tasty. *ta:hi mata:hi*. Does it taste all right or not? *dese mata:hi*. It's not salty enough. *mānta ta:li* to stay (in one's heart), fancy someone. *waseŋ mānta ta:hi*. He likes her. *na hasuheŋ mānta ta:nha?* Whom do you^s fancy?

ta:pa adv., sweetly, deliciously, in a tasty manner. *ta:pa phunteŋ caine*. After roasting it in a tasty way let's^p eat. *ta:pa le:sahi*. It seems they sang sweetly.

taʔdhili vt., to put and leave. *nhatoŋ mahiŋkaheŋ wahēŋ taʔdhihi*. They put the deaf person there and left.

taʔli vt., to put, set down; keep, save. *toʔsi hiso taʔnha ko?!* Where is it that you^s put the comb?! *na loana doʔteŋ ita gotaŋ kam milipateŋ taʔgha*. For your arrival I put everything in order. *haipali malohi doʔka katha taʔhi*. Why didn't he come, he said. *waseŋ gomteŋ taʔ ita*. Capture him and keep him here. *nhapu taʔli* to save face, maintain one's reputation. *bihi palabelau camindi kaŋko nhapu taʔhi*. When she got married, my daughter kept my reputation. *biswas taʔli* to believe. *rit taʔli* to fine. *hai hai rit taʔkhe odoŋ pali goikhe*. Whatever fine they assess, that is what must be done.

taʔpali vt., to cause to be put; come and put. *wa kaŋko suta lokhon taʔpahi*. He came and put clothes at my house. *saikal inta taʔpagha*. I had the bicycle put there.

taʔpi n., open weave loose mesh basket used as a temporary enclosure over ducks or chickens and their babies (and sometimes human babies).

taʔpidhili vt., to put for someone and leave. *odoŋ siŋta eʔjori kaura esa taʔpidhihi*. He thus put a pair of cowries in that tree for [him] and left.

taʔpili vt., to put for someone; save or keep for someone. *idoi boʔna naŋko beʔheŋ taʔpi aũ*. Keep this *boʔna* for your^s wife, okay? *nhapu taʔpili* to save face for someone. *camindi, kaŋko nhapu taʔpi. bihi rempha papiã*. Daughter, don't shame me. I'll arrange a good marriage for [you].

taʔpuli vt., to put away, go put. *suta taʔpu*. Go put it in the house.

taʔsupali vt., to cause to put to one another. *bəḍika paṛi cali thalebelau udhimi param taʔsupahi*. When they started to have the party, [they] had them^d become ritual friends with each other.

te 1) inter., okay, alright. *te kunu*. Okay then. 2) part., topic marker.

tebrete hasa n., cormorant, *Phalacrocorax carbo*.

tegre n., Dhimal clan.

teli vi., walk, go by foot. *teteṇ hanehi*. He went by foot. *dama teli* to walk along.

teloṇ num., ten.

telhi n., pullet, young hen.

temli vi., to soak. *ka nheʔni ahal temteṇ yhaaṅka*. I will stay and wallow for two days. *paya khisaʔta temteṇ hihi*. The pig is soaking in the mud. *munko lagi jumni m cita temteṇ taʔli goiaṇ eʔni jhoko*. For beaten rice, we have to put rice in water tomorrow and put it aside — for about one day.

teṇ siṇ n., the *ṭāṭarī* tree, *Dillenia pentagyna*. Nep. *ṭāṭarī*.

teṇli vi., to begin, be about to. *haneli teṇhi*. He is about to go. *rhai da:pa teṇhi*. Her face turned black with fear.

teperate n., collared falconet, *Microhierax caerulescens*.

teraʔ n., wooden instrument in the shape of a cross with a metal hook on the end of the base that is used to spin rope.

tereli vt., to believe, obey. *materekhe*. He doesn't obey.

tereli vt., to pull apart (a wound, eyelid). *rempha mi tere! liʔta naṅko peʔsa dulka hihi*. Pull your^s eye apart but good! A bug has gotten in it. *pasimko korci ba:nhateṇ hihi. rempha tereteṇ olepapiaṅka*. You have a bamboo sliver. Pull it apart good and I'll take it out for [you].

tereṇ n., small intestines. cf. *bhuti*.

tereṇ-bhuti n., intestines, small and large intestines.

tertere n., musical instrument.

tetemeteka adj., tight (clothes).

teuli vi., to flutter, thrash around. *hasaheṇ dānailabelau teukhe*. When you strike a duck it flutters.

teu'raili vi., to flop about, thrash about. *haya ciso olepanu teuraikhe*. If you take a fish out of the water it flops around.

- teu'raipa* adv., in a flopping manner. *kancha raj kumarheṇ teuraipaṇ dānaihi*. Kānchā beat Rāj Kumār until he kicked and flopped about.
- te:li* vt., to plaster, smear with a mixture of dung, mud and water. *sa? te:khe*. She's plastering the house. *na sa? te:kheṇa?* You^s are plastering the house?
- te?gilli* vt., to go around sticking to, hang around with someone, stay by someone's side. *wako dopha khiniṇ te?gilkhe*. All he does is hang around with him.
- te?li* vi., to stick, stick to, stick with someone; wear (a sash). *mi te?hi*. His eye was stuck shut. *bihuta alte-alteni jeṇlabelau keṇkeneta je:ka nosoi te?khe*. At the wedding while acting as helpers, (the girls) wear white sashes around their waist. *lekharata lisi te?ka hihi*. Shit has stuck to your backside. *naṅko dopha te?gha*. I stuck around with you.
- te?li* vt., to cover, enclose. *bhundi kiyahēṇ te?li goiaṇ*. It is necessary to enclose the hen. *ta?pita te?teṇ ta?pi bhundi kiyahēṇ. kicangelai joma wa*. Cover the hen in the *ta?pi*. Maybe the chicks will gather about.
- te?pali* vt., to stick on, cause to stick.
- te?pana* n., handwoven thigh-length wrap for men (generally plaid).
- te?pili* vt., to make stick for someone. *nui te?pi*. Shut your mouth for [me].
- ti* n., thing, object. *hai ti?* What is it?
- ti* inter., come, come on. *ti. hanaine*. Come on. Let's go.
- tidhui* n., lymph node.
- tikar* n., embankment. cf. *ardaṇ*.
- tikar dolha* n., uneven surface, pond embankment.
- tili* n., space below a traditional pile house, where lumber and firewood are stored, a pig may be tethered, pit looms constructed or a pen for fowl can be built.
- tiltil* n., blue-tailed bee-eater, *Merops philippinus*.
- timpagilli* vt., to show around. *kalau na kaseṇ matiṅka thamegelai timpagilnha*. And you^s showed me around to places that I hadn't seen.

- timpali* vt., to show. *dos timpali* to blame, accuse. *san timpali* to be prideful, be pompous.
- timpapili* vt., to show to someone, show for someone.
- timpili* vt., to let someone see, show someone. *lekhara phunga i:lhalaipa timpihi*. He showed the pink of his asshole. *wa dhipiri i:lhalaipa timpihi*. She showed the pink of her vagina.
- tintailo* n., dragonfly.
- tintili* n., [*Indo-Aryan*] tamarind, *Tamarindus indica*.
- tintoi* n., wart.
- tinha* n., pubic louse.
- tiṅli* vi/vt., to see, be visible. *matīṅkhe*. It's not visible. *dyaṅ te matīṅhi la*. He didn't see anyone. *eṅmi-nheṅmiko biḥu jeṅka tiṅnha wa la*. Perhaps you^s saw one or two weddings happen. *səpəna tiṅli* to dream.
- tir* n., [*Indo-Aryan*] arrow.
- tira'raipa* adv., (standing) upright.
- tirbir'aḷi* vi., [*Indo-Aryan*] to hurry with arms and legs akimbo. *m cali hethe tirbiraihi be!* How he hurried to eat the meal!
- tirbir'aipa* adv., in a hurried flailing manner, with arms and legs akimbo. *tirbiraipa dhaṅkhe!* It's running like mad!
- tirili* vt., [*Indo-Aryan*] to pay.
- tiripali* vt., to cause to pay, fine someone.
- tirka* adj., cool, cool and damp. *tirka tirka bherma lohi*. A cool and damp wind has arisen.
- tirli* vi., to be cool.
- tiro* n., [*Indo-Aryan*] thigh.
- tirpali* vt., to cool. *kalau iṅko bhətiyaheṅ tirpali goikhe*. Then one has to cool the rice beer.
- tise* n., type of silver chain necklace.
- tisti mai* n., the Tista river.
- titiriu* n., lapwing, *Vanellus* species.
- tiya* n., [*Indo-Aryan*] Indian ring-necked parakeet, *Psittacula krameri*.
- ti:li* vi., to blaze (fire). *me mati:hi u! rempha ju?* The fire isn't blazing, you know! Stoke^s it well!

- tiʔli* vt., to grope, feel about; catch by hand (fish). *haya tiʔli haneli goiaŋ. haya niŋkhe maniŋkhe be?* We^p must go catch fish with our hands. I wonder whether there are any fish or not. *barka haya tiʔteŋ niŋgha*. After enclosing it with my hands, I caught a big fish. *naŋko kapal tiʔ*. Put your hand on your forehead.
- togilli* vt., to go around digging. *wa kana jharbhari togilkhe ekdəm*. He goes around the forest digging holes – lots of them.
- toi* n., piece. *biha toi!* Piece of meat! (term of abuse).
- toika* adj., fat, rotund.
- toili* vi., to be fat, be rotund.
- toili* vt., to hang, hang up.
- toipili* vt., to hang up for someone. *toipi*. Hang it up for [me].
- tokara bāya* n., hornet.
- tokara sar* n., bottle gourd.
- tokeli* vt., to set or fix (a date). *kalau aroŋ ek-dui mahinako batta are bihu tokea wa la*. So in another one or two months, again they set the date for the wedding. *ka ede din tokegha*. I set the date for this day.
- tokepigilli* vt., to go around setting or fixing (a date) for someone. *wa tokepigila wa*. He may go around setting the date for [them].
- tokepili* vt., to set or fix (a date) for someone.
- tole* n., flour, something made from flour.
- tole siŋ* n., type of tree, flour tree. Nep. *piṭhare*.
- toleli* vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to pick up.
- toli* vt., to dig. *nhe? pharuwa sum pharuwa tokataŋ kalau olekhe inta*. Digging with two or three hoes, they emerge there.
- tolhali* vt., to go and dig. *juhā tolhali kaighakhe*. They were calling him to go to dig for rats.
- tom* n., grave.
- tomli* vi., to be about to. *kelai dāmāk haneli tomnhahoi*. We^p are about to go to Damak.
- tomhe* n., piece of red meat (without fat).
- toŋli* vi., to jump. *comphe toŋhi*. The frog jumped.
- topala* n., bundle.
- topala-bhanji* n., bundle of things.
- toreli* vi., to cross, cross over (river, bridge, log).

torka n., [< Indo-Aryan] hole in a tree, cavity. *wa iŋko torkaso olehi*.

He emerged from that hole.

torse n., mango.

totali n., throat. *totali tu:khe?* Does [your] throat hurt? cf. *nirgai*.

totali vi., to hang (by one's hands). *siŋta totaiten ghanhahi*. We^p played swinging in the trees.

totalinhali vm., to be hung (by the neck). *piya totalinhateŋ hihi*. The cow (that was tied to the tree) is hanging by the neck.

to:li vt., to transfer, put away, move. *dhokara to:li nilgha*. I forgot to put away the jute mat. *kaŋko pusiŋ to:li khaŋkhe!* He's trying to transfer my hair!

to:pali vt., to cause to move; to bring in. *tauli to:panha?* Did you^s bring in the towel?

to:pili vt., to move for someone. *yhaako! ka to:piã*. Leave it be! I'll move it for [you].

to?li vt., to become attached, become stuck to; stutter. *kaseŋ haya maŋlabelau camandha to?hi*. While fishing, a water leech became attached to me. *katha to?khe*. He stutters.

to?si n., comb, bamboo comb.

to?si jihã n., common hoopoe, *Upupa epops*.

tu'ghumli vt., to cover oneself, put over (one's head). *barka wai lokhe. sati? tughum*. It is raining hard. Cover yourself with the umbrella. *nosoi tughum*. Cover yourself with your *nosoi*.

tu'ghurli vt., to bend down, stoop. *tughurteŋ khaŋhi*. He bent over and looked.

tui n., egg.

tuili vi., to lay eggs. *tuili bho:khe*. It's planning to lay an egg. *bhasa niŋnu intaŋ tuikhe*. If it finds a nest, it lays eggs right there.

tuirham n., fly. ~ *tuirhaŋ*.

tuloŋ num., six.

tulhu'numka n., round, circular.

tum'bula'bulali vi., to feel queasy, feel like vomiting.

tumce n., basket. Nep. *dhoko*.

tumli vt., to gather, collect (fodder). *tintili siŋko daleŋ tumli goiaŋ*.

We have to gather tamarind branches. *daleŋ tumaine*. Let's^p gather branches.

tumsij n., liver.

tumta n., chest, breast.

tunjai n., musical instrument (cane washboard?).

tungro n., hollow wooden container used in wedding ceremonies, nowadays mostly made of dried gourds.

tupri n., [< Indo-Aryan] hat.

tu'tungre n., mole cricket. The mole cricket is believed to be beneficial and related to good harvests. Therefore, people are reluctant to harm this creature.

tu'wāhe n., type of edible land snail.

tu:li vi., to hurt, ache. *gotəŋ khur khokoi tu:sahoi*. It seems my body aches all over. *mi tu:li* to be jealous, be envious. *mon tu:li* to have one's feelings hurt.

tu:li vt., to overturn, dump out. *duŋgriko haya karata tu:*. Dump out the fish from the creel into the wok.

tu:nhali vm., to be overturned.

tu:nhapali vt., to accidentally overturn, knock over. *haipali cer taŋhi? gilasko ciheŋ tu:nhapanha!* Why did anger arise? You^s knocked over a glass of water!

tu?li vt., to put on (hat, glasses); close up, seal, enclose. *wa cesma tu?ka hihi*. He is wearing glasses. *ka nhatoŋ cu?ka kana tu?hi*. My ear piercings closed up. *kican ta?pihoi tu?*. Enclose the chicks with the *ta?pi*.

tu?pali vt., to come cover, come seal (a hole). *kana tu?pa*. Come plug up the hole.

th

thəgeli vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to cheat.

thər vt., [< Indo-Aryan] clan, lineage.

tha n., [< Indo-Aryan] knowledge. *tha manthu*. [I] don't know.

thaidhili vt., to slice and leave, slash and leave. *dabiyahoi thaidhihi*. He sliced him with a *khukuri* and left.

thaigilli vt., to dispose of, throw away, throw around. *thaigil*. Throw it away. ~ *thalgilli*.

- thaili* vt., to hew, slash, hack. *wa lumphi siŋ thaikhe*. He's slashing banana plants.
- thainhali* vm., to be knicked, be slashed. *aŋguli dabiyaŋhoi atuiŋa thainhahi*. He knicked himself a little with the *khukuri*.
- thaipigilli* vt., to throw away for someone, throw away something belonging to someone. *gotəŋ anemanegelai thaipigilhi*. He threw away all [my] things.
- thaldhili* vt., to throw and leave, abandon. *inta jharbhari inŋa thaldhika highakhe*. They had abandoned him like that there in the forest and left.
- thaleli* vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to begin, start. *dirgelai dopha bat mareli thalehi*. He began to converse with the gods. *aroŋ bho:li thalenhahi la*. Again we^p began to search.
- thalli* vi., to itch. *gandi thalhi*. [My] back itches.
- thalli* vt., to throw.
- thalpuli* vt., to throw away, go discard. ~ *thaipuli*.
- thame* n., [< Indo-Aryan] place. ~ *thane*.
- thameli* vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to locate.
- than* n., [< Indo-Aryan] shrine, temple. Dhimal shrines are simple small wooden structures. In Āṭhiyābārī, the village shrine is about two feet tall and lies beside a large Pipal tree. They are only used during communal celebrations.
- thanŋka* adj., hard.
- thanŋli* vi., to be hard (wood, meat, etc.).
- tharoi kiham* n., small dark crab that lives down long holes in stream banks.
- tharu* n., Dhimal clan; Indo-Aryan-speaking group of lowland peoples, who primarily live to the west and south of the Dhimal.
- thasim* n., large mortar. cf. *jhosim*.
- thaʔli* vt., to fuck. *ma thaʔ!* Fuck your mother! *ma thaʔka!* Mother fucker!
- theka* adj., great, immense. *theka nariya jeŋhi!* He's become a great big elephant (sarcastically - he's become a bigwig).
- thekapa* postp., up to, until.
- themli* vi./vt, to be enough, suffice; have enough. *dhanŋka ci themnha?* Do you have enough hot water? *themgha*. I have

- enough. *in̄ko kam pateŋ cali pali te rempha mathemkhe*. Doing that work, there's not even enough to survive on.
- thempali* vt., to cause to be enough. *jharan̄heŋ thempali goiana*. You^s must ensure that every one gets enough.
- theyli* vt., to set down (a heavy object). *ghase bojha esa theyhi*. He set the load of grass down thus. *ghailako ci rempha they. makunu phuṭea wa*. Set down the clay jugs of water well. Otherwise they may break.
- therka* adj., piquant, spicy.
- therli* vi., to be piquant. *thernaŋ wa m macahi*. Because it was piquant he didn't eat the meal.
- theuli* vi., to be part ripe and part unripe. *lumphi theukhe*. The banana is half ripe and half unripe.
- thewa* n., [< Indo-Aryan] Indian roller, *Coracias benghalensis*.
- the:li* vt., to slap. *cer tanteŋ kaseŋ haipali the:nha? naseŋ buŋ kaŋko cer taŋnu the:kā*. Why did you^s become angry and slap me? If I get mad, I'll slap you^s too.
- theʔka* adj., cut up, ripped, torn.
- theʔli* vi., to be cut up, be ripped, be torn.
- theʔpili* vt., to tear or rip for someone.
- thiduwaʔli* vi., to be startled. *nani səpənata mhaigelai tinten̄ thiduwaʔteŋ lho:gha*. Today I dreamed about *mhaigelai* and arose startled.
- thika* n., tiny, small.
- thi'kaʔli* vi., to reach, arrive. *heʔnita thikaʔkhena suta?* How many days does it take you^s to get home? *nheʔnita thikaʔtā*. I will reach it in two days.
- thikthike* n., gecko, gecko that lives in homes. It is named after the sound it makes and Dhimals often echo the gecko's calls, especially the first ones of the evening.
- thili* vi./vt., to be scared, be afraid of. *la boiheŋ thihi*. There, he became afraid of uncle. *miŋkauheŋ thikhena?* Are you^s scared of cats? *mathi*. Don't^s be afraid. *thiā wa*. I might be afraid.
- thiŋli* vt., to plant, transplant. *ropa thiŋli* to plant (rice seedlings), transplant.
- thipali* vt., to frighten.

thirka n., weaving.

thirli vt., to weave.

thirthir'aili vt., to sprinkle (water, rice) on.

thi'ta?li vi., to stumble; do intermittently, stop and start at intervals.

unthuita bokheteṇ thita?gha. I tripped on a stone and stumbled.

kam paka buṇ khaniṇ thita?teṇ kam pakhe. Even when working, he only works intermittently.

thithika n., teeny-weeny, very small. *obalai thithika dyaṇ. ma-amkhe*.

They^s are little people. They don't drink (alcohol).

thi:li vt., brush off oneself, brush away (a bug). *kancha gandhi thi:khe*.

Kānchā is brushing off his back.

thi:pili vt., to brush off for someone. *kaṇko gandita pe?sa hihi* —

thi:pi! There's a bug on my back — brush it off for [me]!

thobeli vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to push someone's face into something.

thobenhali vm., to have one's face pushed into something, fall on one's face. *unthuita bokheteṇ thobenhagha*. I tripped over a stone and landed on my face.

thoka n., [< Indo-Aryan] silver armlet traditionally worn by Dhimal women, but no longer in vogue.

thokthoke jihā n., woodpecker. cf. *cēja*.

thoṇ'gaili vt., to take burning material from one place to another. *me*

thoṇgaiteṇ ju?! Bring some fire and then stoke it. *mekhonaiti*

thoṇgaiteṇ aironta lagaiteṇ lokhonta rempha lagai. Bring some coals, put them in the iron and apply it well to the clothes.

thoṇli vi., to be tan, be dark from the sun.

thoṇli vt., to lead.

thori n., tortoise.

tho'sa? n., large elongated creel with a narrow neck.

thotoma n., [< Indo-Aryan] beak.

tho:li vt., to pound, hammer.

tho?dara n., bamboo section of *cilim*. *tho?dara cilim* pipe and smoke chamber.

tho?li vi., to spit.

tho?li vt., to empty out (a *tho?si?*). *tho?si? tho?teṇ haya made:hi*.

Having emptied out the *tho?ci?*, it didn't spit out any fish.

tho?pili vt., to spit on/at someone. *tho?pihi*. She spit on [me].

thoʔsi n., spit, saliva.

thoʔ'siʔ n., woven conical trap to catch fish. ~ *tho'ciʔ*.

thu'caʔ n., fibre. *pateko thucaʔ* jute fibre.

thuicu n., woody cocoon of a large moth; spoon made from such a cocoon. The pupae of this moth is rubbed on one's head for headaches.

thu'kaʔli vi., to arrive, reach. *elau buŋ thukaʔhi mathukaʔhi wa laʔ* Did it perhaps arrive by now or not. *ka kalau ʔikəʔ kaʔeteŋ bəs dholgha suta thukaʔgha*. I then purchased a ticket, boarded a bus and arrived home

thu'kaʔlhali vi., to go to arrive.

thu'kaʔpali vt., to cause to arrive, cause to reach. *ode thameta thukaʔpahi la waheŋ*. He made him arrive at that place then.

thumdhili vt., to cover and leave behind. *kiya oleli tomlau dhoko thumdhisiŋ*. When the chicken is about to emerge, let's^d cover it with a basket and leave.

thumli vt., to cover (body, porch). *nui thumka hihi*. Her mouth is covered.

thumnhali vm., to be covered (body, porch).

thuneli vt., [< Indo-Aryan] to block, lock up. *ode khotarta thuneteŋ taʔka highahi*. He had been locked up and kept in that cage.

thunenhali vm., to be locked up, be blocked. *ka pinjurita thunenhaka highakha*. I had been locked up in a cage.

thupro adj., [< Indo-Aryan] a lot, much.

thurli vi., to break; fall out (tooth). *ela keŋkhene thura wa*. My back may break now. *mon thurhi*. He is broken hearted. *tasiŋ mathurhi wa la. kunaŋ ki keʔhi*. His tooth didn't fall out perhaps, because another grew over it.

thurpili vt., to break for someone, break someone else's belongings.

thu:cali vt., to be afflicted by *mhaigelai*. *nhiŋta ekalaŋ hilabelau mhaigelai thu:cakhe*. At night when one is alone, the *mhaigelai* afflict. *thu:cateŋ hiti te cu:pikhe kalau dyaŋ sikhe*. Having afflicted, they suck one's blood and the person dies. *dir taŋlabelau dyaŋheŋ thu:cakhe kalau ci:pikhe*. When the god is rising up, it afflicts the person and then it bites them. *jiuta daga*

banaipikhe. deragelai phalnaheŋ mhaigelai thu:cakhe. The *mhaigelai* afflict villagers and strangers.
thu:li vi., to afflict, put a mark on. *mhaigelai thu:khe. hiso mahanesu.* The *mhaigelai* afflict. Don't go anywhere. *jiu maremkalai buŋ thu:khe.* Those of unsound body also afflict.
thu?ka adj., acrid.
thu?ka lhe? n., marigold.
thu?li vi., to taste sharp, taste acrid. *tintili mulai thu?khe.* Tamarind and daikon radish taste acrid. *basiya anemanegelai thu?khe.* Stale things taste acrid.

t

ʈikəʈ n., [< Eng.] ticket.

th

ʈhik adv., [< Indo-Aryan] alright, okay, fine. *ʈhik doŋhi.* That's fine.
ʈhikli vi., to be alright, be okay, be fine. *ʈhikhi.* That's fine.
ʈhikʈhak adv., [< Indo-Aryan] in order, all set.

u

u 1) inter., over there. 2) part., referential particle.
uda n., [< Indo-Aryan] otter.
u'daili vi., to throw a tantrum.
udini adv., the day before yesterday; a couple of days ago, the other day; recently. The time frame of this adverb may be very subjective and may refer to an event that occurred weeks ago or even scores of years ago (such as referring to the arrival of the Santhal or Satar in southeastern Nepal).
ulka n., behest, urging. *bomiko ulkaso lonha na?* Or did you^s come under the behest of another?
ul'kaili vt., to urge. *phalna kaheŋ be? bho:li ulkaighahi.* Another person was urging me to search for a wife.

ulta adv., [< Indo-Aryan] contrary, opposite; inside out, reversed, backwards.

ulta okharai n., root of a plant similar to ginseng.

ultili vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to be reversed, turn inside out, turn upside down; be transformed into, turn into (one's opposite). *caʔ dangara ulthi*. He turned into a shrivelled up thing. *misihã ultili* to become unconscious, faint.

umelli vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to boil. *ci bukbakbukbakpa umelhoi*. The water came to a rolling boil.

umer n., [< Indo-Aryan] age.

umpai n., nickname (male).

undhili vi., to tip over, fall over, keel over, capsize. *wa maisateŋ undhisahi*. Having grown tired, he apparently keeled over. *siŋ pallabelau undhihi*. While chopping down the tree, it fell over. *maisagha. undhiã la*. It seems I've become tired. I'm about ready to keel over. *nəu undhihi*. The boat capsized.

undhinhali vm., to fall over, overturn. *siŋ bhermata undhinhahi*. Trees fell over in the wind.

undhinhapali vt., to inadvertently knock over, accidentally overturn.

undhipali vt., to knock over, overturn, topple.

unthui n., stone, rock.

uŋko dem., that (distal).

uŋkhu n., uncooked rice.

upai n., [< Indo-Aryan] method, way; way out, solution. *kalau inta upai manthu la hiso buŋ*. And so there was now way out anywhere.

uraigilli vi., to fly around.

uraili vi., [< Indo-Aryan] to fly; go quickly, be suddenly gone. *eʔ-bigha miliŋ uraihi*. One *bighã* of land was gone suddenly (sold for expenses).

uraipali vt., to make fly.

uraipapuli vt., to cause to fly away, carry off flying. *pəndhrə sai gai bəstuko bhar uraipapuhi eʔloŋ jihã*. One bird flew off carrying a load of 1500 cows and livestock.

uraipuli vi., to fly away, fly off.

urni n., [< Indo-Aryan] stringed musical instrument.

uʔli vt., to uproot, pull up, pull out. *khambha uʔtaine*. Let's^p pull up the house post. *ghase uʔkhe*. She's pulling up weeds. *ode payako tatiri uʔhi*. He pulled out that pig's boar bristle.

uʔli vt., to scrub (oneself). *khailahoi pusiŋ uʔkhe*. She's scrubbing her hair with mustard soap. *paya ciunu khal uʔkhe*. If a pig bathes, it scrubs it's hide.

w

wa pron., third person singular pronoun he, she, it (unmarked distal).

wabal n., man, young married man.

wai n., rain.

wajan n., boy, young man (unmarried).

waŋkharaka adj., deep (hole, water).

warəŋ n., old man. *warəŋelai* elder men; forefathers.

warəŋ-berəŋelai n., elders; ancestors.

warli vi., to keep silent. *hai doʔtaniŋ re. hai waraniŋ re*. What shall I say to you. What shall I remain silent to you about. *rhe:kalai warteŋ hihi*. The beggars are remaining silent.

warwarli vi., to be mottled, multicoloured. *lomhaŋ katasi warwarkhe*. The *lomhaŋ katasi* is mottled.

wase adv., [< Indo-Aryan] disappointed; without success.

wasta n., [< Indo-Aryan] care, concern, interest.

wasuwasuli vi., to float in the air.

wasuwasupa adv., floating in the air, in a cloud. *paya ahar wasuwasupa cahi*. The pig ate the slop so that it was floating in the air.

wa:li vt., to take out of, remove. *bakarso m wa:teŋ dəmək piʔli cumpukhe*. Having removed rice from the storage container, he's taking it to Damak to sell.

waʔ conj., [< Indo-Aryan] or, and. ~ *ba ~ baʔ*

wh

whancali vp., to live with, be taken in by, be housed. *hane u ode wajan dopha whancali!* Go ahead and go there, to live with that

boy! *gabreka! wako dopha khiniṅ teʔgilkhena? otaṅ whanca mathaʔ!* Whore! All you^s do is stick around with him. Go live there, mother fucker!

whancalhali vt., to go to live with, go be taken in by. *wako dopha whancalha.* Go live with him. *naṅko aba dopha whancalha.* Go live with your father.

whaṅli vi., to go in, enter. *ita mayum. na lekhara kana whananau.* Don't sit here. It (the nail) will go up your rear end. *jāḍ amnu m mawhaṅkhe.* If you drink rice beer, rice doesn't go down.

whaʔli vt., to put in (an enclosed space), insert. *gojita whaʔ.* Stick it in [your] pocket. *dalohoi m whaʔteṅ cumakhe.* Having put in rice, she's bringing it with a basket. *ḍokota misiṅ whaʔteṅ whuʔteṅ suta cumpukhe.* Having put the firewood in the basket, [they] are bringing it home. *komaraiteṅ kalau iṅko jholata whaʔnhakhe borata.* Having hog-tied it, we^p stuff it in the bag, in the sack.

whaʔpili vt., to put in for someone.

y

yāka adj., to be achey and sore, out of joint. *gandi yāka hihi.* My back is sore and achey. *khur yāka hihi.* My arm is achey and sore.

yākayākali vi., to be very sore, be really out of joint. *jhempaṅ liʔpaṅ yumnu keṅkhene yākayākakhe.* If one sits day and night, one's lower back gets really out of joint.

ya pron., third person singular pronoun he, she, it (marked proximal).

yampili vt., to step on for, trample for someone, trample someone's belongings; massage someone by walking on them. *kican yampihi.* He trampled the (woman's) chick. *marcigelai yampihi.* It (the chicken) trampled the chilis and things. *yampiā?* Shall I massage [you]?

yancere n., loom treadle.

yaṅli vt., to step on, trample. *khokoi yaṅli ma-el. tu:khe.* One shouldn't step on others' feet. It hurts.

yare n., term of address between the wives of brothers.

yauka adj., yellow.

yauka koʔsa n., yellow monitor lizard, *Varanus flavescens*.

- yauli* vi., to be yellow. *sarta istu yungai pinu yaukhe*. If you add a lot of tumeric to the vegetable, it becomes yellow.
- yauyauka* adj., deep golden yellow.
- yauyauli* vi., to be a deep golden yellow. *yauyauhi*. It turned a deep golden yellow.
- yaʔli* vt., to fan. *khairamko m yaʔsu!* Fan the rice on the threshing ground! *yaʔsu yaʔli* to fan oneself. *wa yaʔsu yaʔkhe*. He's fanning himself with the fan.
- yaʔpili* vt., to fan someone. *yaʔsu yaʔpi!* Fan [me] with the fan!
- yaʔsu* n., fan. ~ *yaʔso*.
- yeʔloŋ* num., eight.
- yoli* n., ladle.
- yo:li* vi., to sprout, poke out, emerge (a tooth, beard, feather). *tumahina jamalko tasi yo:khe*. At six months, a child's teeth come in. *dari yo:hoi*. [Your] beard has come in.
- yo:li* vt., to set out, dish up, serve. *m sar yo:teŋ cumapikhe*. She sets out the rice and vegetable, and brings it for him.
- yo:lhali* vi., to be setting in, be emerging, be poking out (a tooth, beard, feather). *tasi yo:lhakhe*. The tooth is coming in.
- yo:pili* vt., to set out for, dish up for someone, serve. *səŋkarjiheŋ parbati m yo:pika highakhe*. Pārvaṭī had dished up the meal for Śaṅkarjī. *yo:piā?* Shall I serve [you]?
- yoʔli* vt., to wipe, wipe up. *lisi yoʔli magikhe*. He doesn't know how to wipe his ass. *yoʔteŋ thaigilhi*. She wiped it up and threw it away.
- yulli* vi., to be worn down, be burned down. *kaŋko pusin yulhi*. My hair is worn down. *cur yulhi*. The cigarette burned down.
- yumgilli* vi., to go around sitting, sit around. *kelai yumgilka jhoko*. About the size as when we^p sat around (in childhood).
- yumka* n., sitting place.
- yumli* vi., to sit. *yum*. Have a seat. *girgho yumhi*. He sat cross-legged. ~ *yunli*.
- yumpali* vt., to set, place in a sitting position. *kalau haneteŋ huneteŋ are botəl gora yumpaa wa*. And so having gone there, again they may set out a bottle of alcohol. *ḍhoka yumpateŋ taʔka hihi*. They have set down the door.

yumpili vt., to sit for; provide a seat, let sit. *iso yumpi*. Sit^s over here for [me]. *yumpi!* Let [him] sit!

yungai n., turmeric, *Curcuma longa*.

yu:li vt., to poke; catch (crabs); plant (large seeds). *kaseŋ yu:kheŋa?* Are you^s poking me? *kiham yu:kaine!* Let's^p catch some crabs! (When catching crabs that live in streamside burrows, it is necessary to stick one's arm down the hole and gently poke to see if a crab is there.) *jamal lisi yu:teŋ deʔkhe*. The child poked the shit and is licking it. *calai insaŋ yu:li goiaŋ*. That's just how one must plant the seeds.

yuʔli vi., to decrease, be used up, die down, recede, be stubby, be sparse. *lumphiko lhaʔpha ce:kataŋ ce:kataŋ yuʔli do:hoi*. Cutting and cutting the banana leaves, they are already stubby. *gesako silendha yuʔhi*. The wick of the oil lamp is used up. *ede cuiti lagaikataŋ lagaikataŋ haipali cuiti lagaikhena?* *pusiŋ yuʔteŋ hanekhe*. Putting this oil on over and over, why do you^s put on oil? Your hair is becoming stubby. *ekalaŋ ekalaŋ naimhe yuʔkhe*. The *naimhe* grass is becoming sparse. *me yuʔli do:hoi*. The fire has died down already.

yh

yhalaʔli vi., to be slippery, be slimy. *iso mahane. yhalaʔtaŋ*. Don't go this way. It'll be slippery. *dama yhalaʔhi*. The road was slippery. *paŋro yhalaʔkhe*. The stairs are slippery. *lapha sar manta mata:kha haipali doʔnu yhalaʔkhe*. I don't like *lapha sar* because it is slimy.

yhali vi./vt., to remain, stay; leave be, let be. *yhaako*. Let it remain (as it is). *insika katha yhaako. wasta mapa!* Leave that kind of talk be. Don't pay it any mind! *naŋko miŋ yhaanau*. Your^s name will go down in history. *ka nheʔni jimteŋ yhaaŋka*. I'll stay here sleeping for two days. *hethe yhaana?* How long will you^s stay?

yhaŋli vt., to make one's way through vegetation, blaze a trail. *jharbhari yhanteŋ yhanteŋ dukhaso misiŋ bho:gha*. Blazing a trail through the forest, I sought firewood with difficulty. *m yhanteŋ yhanteŋ lisihi*. Having made his way through the paddy, he shit.

- yhaʔli* vi., to leak, drip. *inta wai yhaʔhi?* Did the rain leak in there?
wai yhaʔkhe ede caleʔta. This roof leaks. *misihāpa miti yhaʔkhe.*
 Tears fell from her eyes.
- yhaʔpa* adv., in a dripping or leaking manner. *miti yhaʔpaŋ kharhi nanciheŋ.* She cried her eyes out, the poor thing.
- yhaʔpali* vt., to cause to drip or leak; shed.
- yhuʔgilli* vt., to go around stripping from the stalk. *lhaʔpha yhuʔgilkhe.* They're going around stripping leaves from the stalk.
- yhuʔli* vt., to strip off, strip from, remove. *jamalai m yhuʔkhe.* The kids are stripping the rice kernels from the stalk (by running it through their hands). *kiyako dhale yhuʔkhe.* She's stripping skin off of the chicken.

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