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A grammar of the Thangmi language with an ethnolinguistic introduction to the speakers and their culture

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A Grammar of the Thangmi Language

*with an ethnolinguistic introduction
to the speakers and their culture*

A Grammar of
the Thangmi Language
*with an ethnolinguistic introduction to the
speakers and their culture*

Proefschrift

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in 1973

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to my dear grandmother
Lydia Oorthuys-Krienen
who taught me to speak Dutch

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Table of contents	ix
Abbreviations	xviii
List of figures and tables	xx
Transliteration and transcription	xxiii
Preface	xxiv
Acknowledgements	xxviii
Part 1 Grammar	1
Chapter 1 The linguistic classification of Thangmi	3
1. Early classifications of Thangmi within Tibeto-Burman	3
2. Thangmi in light of the Proto-Kiranti verb	6
3. Before and after Mahākirāntī	10
4. Thangmi-Newar lexical correspondences and the case for Newaric	13
4.1 Shared numeral classifiers	13
4.2 Research on the Classical Newar language	15
4.3 Three classes of Thangmi and Classical Newar correspondences	17
4.3.1 Shared common reflexes of Tibeto-Burman	18
4.3.2 Shared Indo-Aryan loans	21
4.3.3 Lexical correspondences specific to Thangmi and Newar	23
5. Concluding thoughts on the genetic affinity of Thangmi	25
Chapter 2 The Thangmi ethnolinguistic context	29
1. Previous research on the Thangmi and their language	29
1.1 Writings in European languages	29
1.2 Religious writings	40
1.2.1 Christian writings	41
1.2.2 Evangelical writings	44
1.3 Journalistic writings	46
1.4 Nepali language writings	48
1.4.1 Nepali language scholarship	48
1.4.2 Nepali language literature and journalism	53

1.4.3 Nepali language political writings	55
2. Ethnonyms and toponyms	56
2.1 Thangmi ethnonyms	56
2.2 Thangmi terms for the Tamang, the Newar and the <i>Se</i> connection	60
2.3 Thangmi terms for caste Hindus and the importance of beef	62
2.4 Thangmi toponyms	65
3. The distribution of ethnic Thangmi and speakers of the language	66
3.1 The geographical distribution of Thangmi speakers	66
3.2 Population statistics for ethnic Thangmi and speakers of the language	69
3.2.1 Thangmi population statistics prior to 1991	75
3.2.2 Consensus for the census and modern identity politics	76
4. The status of the Thangmi language and its dialects	78
4.1 The Thangmi dialect continuum: Dolakhā and Sindhupālcok	78
4.2 Multilingualism and the retention of the Thangmi language	89
4.3 Historically documented stages of the Thangmi language	91
5. The Thangmi mythological world	94
5.1 Genesis	95
5.2 Thangmi ethnogenesis	96
5.2.1 Narrative	96
5.2.2 Analysis	100
6. An ethnolinguistic analysis of Thangmi clan names and structure	101
6.1 Parents of the clans	101
6.2 Male clans	103
6.3 Female clans	105
6.4 Later arrivals	108
6.5 Earlier writings on Thangmi clans	111
7. Thangmi kinship terminology and its social structure	113
7.1 The context of Thangmi kinship	113
7.2 Representing kinship	114
7.3 Thangmi kinship terminology	115
7.4 The sex of speaker distinction	124
7.5 The morphology of Thangmi kinship terms	127
7.6 Thangmi kinship terms and their Tibeto-Burman cognates	128
8. Thangmi religious and cultural practice	130
8.1 The central role of the Thangmi <i>guru</i>	130
8.2 The ritual world	132

8.3 Marriage	133
8.4 Death	133
9. Notes on the history of Dolakhā	134
9.1 The Simraungadh connection	137
9.2 Cultural connections between the Thangmi and Newar of Dolakhā	139
Chapter 3 Phonology	141
1. Vowels	142
1.1 Overview of vowel phonemes	142
1.2 Monophthongs and their allophones	142
1.3 Diphthongs and their allophones	144
1.4 Nasality	147
1.5 Vowel minimal pairs	148
2. Consonants	150
2.1 Overview of consonant phonemes	150
2.2 Obstruents and their allophones	151
2.2.1 Velar stops	151
2.2.2 Retroflex stops	153
2.2.3 Palatal stops	155
2.2.4 Dental stops	156
2.2.5 Bilabial stops	158
2.3 Nasals	160
2.4 Glottal stop	162
2.5 Fricatives, trills and laterals	165
2.6 Approximants	167
2.7 Consonant minimal pairs	170
2.7.1 Distinctiveness of voicing	170
2.7.2 Distinctiveness of aspiration and breathy articulation	171
2.7.3 Distinctiveness of nasals	172
2.7.4 Distinctiveness of other consonants	172
3. Phonotactics, syllables and the Thangmi word	173
3.1 Stress	173
3.2 Syllable structure	174
3.3 Consonant clusters and geminate consonants	178
4. Prosodic lengthening	180
5. The phonology of loans from Nepali	180

6. The orthography	181
Chapter 4 Morphophonology	183
1. Remnants of a liquid-nasal alternation	183
2. Assimilation	184
3. The morphophonology of intervocalic approximants	185
4. Syncope	198
Chapter 5 Nominal morphology	199
1. Gender	199
2. Number	204
2.1 Plural	205
2.2 Pronominal plural for third person	209
3. Case	211
3.1 Unmarked	211
3.2 Ergative	212
3.3 Instrumental	215
3.4 Genitive	221
4. Postpositions	228
4.1 Locative	228
4.2 Comitative	235
4.3 Patient marking for direct and indirect objects	240
4.4 Ablative	248
4.5 The postpositions <i>priŋ</i> ‘outside, without’ and <i>duŋ</i> ‘within’	252
4.6 The postposition <i>dǎi</i> ‘towards’	253
4.7 The postposition <i>ka</i> ‘throughout’	255
4.8 The postposition <i>habi</i> ‘before, in front of’	256
4.9 The postposition <i>uniŋ</i> ‘like, as, than’	258
5. Compounding and miscellaneous nominal suffixes	260
5.1 Diminutive	261
5.2 The topic marker <i>be</i>	262
5.3 The individuating suffix <i>guri</i>	265
6. Pronouns	268
6.1 Personal pronouns	268
6.2 Morphemic analysis of personal pronouns	271

6.3 Interrogative pronouns	271
6.4 The affable suffix <i>che</i>	278
7. Adjectives	279
7.1 Colour adjectives	282
8. Intensifiers and quantifiers	288
9. Numerals	290
9.1 Simple numerals and their classifiers	290
9.2 Numeral decades	300
10. Adverbs of time and the adverbs <i>woi</i> ‘also’ and <i>jukun</i> ‘only’	303
10.1 Periods of a day	303
10.2 Past and future days	306
10.3 Past and future years	310
10.4 Telling the time	311
10.5 The adverb <i>libi</i> ‘after, behind’	313
10.6 The adverb <i>woi</i> ‘also’	315
10.7 The adverb <i>jukun</i> ‘only’	316
11. Some bound nominal elements	316
11.1 The ‘person’ morph	317
11.2 The ‘grain or usable plant matter’ morph	317
11.3 The ‘round and fairly hard internal body organ’ morph	317
11.4 The ‘tree or wood’ morph	318
Chapter 6 Morphology of simplicia	319
1. Affixal slots	320
2. Morphophonology of the verb root in simplicia	323
3. The verb stem	323
3.1 The irregular verb <i>hen-sa</i>	323
3.2 The irregular verb <i>cya-sa</i>	325
4. Simplex person and number agreement morphemes	327
5. Prefixes	332
5.1 The negative morpheme	332
6. Suffixes	335
6.1 The reflexive morpheme	335
6.2 The non-first person singular agent or subject morpheme	339
6.3 The plural agent or plural subject morpheme	341

6.4 The second person plural actant morpheme	345
6.5 The first person plural patient or first person plural subject morpheme	347
6.6 The first person plural to second or third person <i>portemanteau</i> morpheme	349
6.7 The third person patient morpheme	350
6.8 The second person singular actant morpheme	353
6.9 The first person singular actant morpheme	356
6.10 The first person singular to third person <i>portemanteau</i> morpheme	359
6.11 Tense morphemes	360
6.12 The preterite tense third person subject <i>portemanteau</i> morpheme	363
6.13 The preterite tense third person to third person <i>portemanteau</i> morpheme	364
6.14 The preterite tense first person to third person <i>portemanteau</i> morpheme	365
Chapter 7 Other verbal constructions and morphosyntax	367
1. Verbs ‘to be’	367
1.1 The verb <i>tha-sa</i>	367
1.2 The verb <i>hok-sa</i>	373
2. The verb ‘to be okay’	377
3. The verb ‘to appear’	378
4. The infinitive	380
5. The supine	386
6. The imperative	388
6.1 The singular to first person singular imperative morpheme	388
6.2 The plural to first person singular imperative morpheme	390
6.3 The singular to first person plural imperative morpheme	391
6.4 The plural to first person plural imperative morpheme	392
6.5 The singular to third person imperative morpheme	392
6.6 The plural to third person imperative morpheme	393
6.7 The singular intransitive imperative morpheme	394
6.8 The plural intransitive imperative morpheme	396
6.9 The reflexive imperative morpheme	397
6.10 Negative imperatives	398
6.11 The singular intransitive negative imperative morpheme	400
7. Speech particles	403
7.1 Reported speech	403
7.2 Direct speech	404
7.3 Indirect speech	405

8. The optative	406
9. The adhortative	408
10. The causative	413
11. The permissive	416
12. Compound verbs of motion	417
13. Gerunds	420
13.1 The present gerund	420
13.2 The perfect gerund	422
14. Participles	424
14.1 The participial ending <-le>	424
14.2 The transitive preterite participle	425
14.3 The intransitive preterite participle	428
15. The negative participial suffix <-ki>	431
16. The connector suffix <-ŋa>	433
17. The third person singular conditional ending <-thyo>	434
18. The continuous background activity suffix <-ăi>	437
Part 2 Texts	439
Introduction to the texts	441
Getting married to a young girl	443
The father who sold his daughter	447
Chat between friends	450
Lile's life story	453
Smoking	464
Youngest son	469
Your fate	472
Shaman	479
Kathmandu	485
New name	489
Mushrooms	492
Elder brother	496
The god of the Thangmi	499
Kabita	502
Thangmi history	505

Dog-resting place	514
The story of the jackal	516
Sixteen sacred stones	519
Running away to Kathmandu	521
Poor man's burden	525
Hen-pecked husband	529
Round face	538
Blackie	549
The missing bread	559
Greedy sister	564
Feeding the animals	573
Mother-daughter	578
Brother-sister	587
Own people	597
Appearance	603
Thief	610
Tamang	613
Friend	617
Uncle	623
Old woman and chicken	630
The way it used to be	636
Co-wife	639
Mouse	648
Women nowadays	655
Cucumber	661
Going to the wedding	670
Girls these days	674
Boys these days	677
Daughter-in-law	683
Son is killed	688

Part 3 Lexicon	695
Introduction to the lexicon	697
Lexicon	699
Appendices	833
Kinship charts	835
Bibliography	851

ABBREVIATIONS

A	agent (of a transitive verb)
ABL	ablative
ADH	adhortative
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
AFF	affable suffix
(B)	Benedict's <i>Sino-Tibetan</i>
(C)	consonant
CAUS	causative
CLF	non-human numeral classifier
CNS	connector suffix
CON	continuous background activity suffix
conj.	conjunction
(D)	Dolakhā dialect
DIM	diminutive
ERG	ergative
excl.	exclamation
f	final consonant (subscript)
FEM	feminine, female gender
(G)	glide
GEN	genitive
HMG	His Majesty's Government of Nepal
HNC	human numeral classifier
i	initial consonant (subscript)
IMP	imperative
IND	individuative suffix
INF	infinitive
INS	instrumental
interj.	interjection
IPP	intransitive preterite participle
(J)	Jørgensen's <i>Dictionary of the Classical Newārī</i>
lit.	literally
LOC	locative
MALE	masculine, male gender
n.	noun
(NB)	Nepal Bhasa Committee's <i>Dictionary of Classical Newari</i>
NEG	negative
neol.	neologism
Nep.	Nepali
NPS	negative participial suffix

NPT	non-preterite
num.	numeral
OPT	optative
p	plural
P	patient (of a transitive verb)
PCL	participial
PERM	permissive
pf.	prefix, prefixal slot
PFG	perfect gerund
PM	patient marker
Pp	pronominal plural
pron.	pronoun
PRT	particle
PSG	present gerund
PT	preterite
REF	reflexive
REP	reported speech particle, i.e. hearsay evidential
s	singular
S	subject (of an intransitive or reflexive verb)
(S)	Sindhupālcok dialect
sf.	suffix, suffixal slot
TOP	topic marker
TPP	transitive preterite participle
v.	verb
VDC	Village Development Committee
vi.	<i>verbum intransitivum</i> , intransitive verb
vr.	<i>verbum reflexivum</i> , reflexive verb
VS	<i>Vikram Saṃvat</i> era
vs.	versus
vt.	<i>verbum transitivum</i> , transitive verb
*	reconstructed or unattested form
Ø	zero-marker
[...]	phonetic transcription/etymological note
/.../	phonemic transcription
<...>	morpheme/allomorph
<	derives from
→	direction of a transitive relationship
~	alternates with
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
Σ	stem

LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES

Figures

Figure 1. Répartition des groupes ethniques du Népal central	35

Tables

Table 1. Shafer's proposed lexical similarities	4
Table 2. Thangmi population in the eastern districts	70
Table 3. Population data from three villages in Dolakhā	72
Table 4. Unofficial estimate of the total Thangmi population	74
Table 5. Glottalisation of final [-k] in the Sindhupālcok dialect	81
Table 6. Glottalised cognates in the two dialects	82
Table 7. Glottalisation of medial [-k-] in the Sindhupālcok dialect	82
Table 8. Deletion of final [-k] in the Sindhupālcok dialect	82
Table 9. Dentalisation of final sibilant [-s] in the Sindhupālcok dialect	83
Table 10. Glottalisation and the addition of a staccato echo vowel in place of medial [-k-] in verbs of the Sindhupālcok dialect	83
Table 11. Glottalisation and the addition of a staccato echo vowel in verbs of the Sindhupālcok dialect	84
Table 12. Glottalisation of final vowels in the Sindhupālcok dialect	85
Table 13. Retroflex-palatal correspondences in the two dialects	86
Table 14. Sibilant-palatal correspondences in the two dialects	87
Table 15. Vowel opening in the Sindhupālcok dialect	87
Table 16. Dialectal divergences in the lexicon for flora and fauna	88
Table 17. Historically documented stages of the Thangmi language over the period of a century	92
Table 18. Abbreviations used for kinship relations	115
Table 19. Sibling kinship terms from the Dolakhā dialect	116
Table 20. Younger sibling kinship terms from the Sindhupālcok dialect	116
Table 21. Father's siblings kinship terms from the Dolakhā dialect	116
Table 22. Father's siblings kinship terms from the Sindhupālcok dialect	117
Table 23. Mother's siblings kinship terms from the Dolakhā dialect	117
Table 24. Mother's siblings kinship terms from the Sindhupālcok dialect	118

Table 25. Kinship terms for the spouses of father's siblings from the Dolakhā dialect	118
Table 26. Kinship terms for the spouses of father's siblings from the Sindhupālcok dialect	118
Table 27. Kinship terms for the spouses of mother's siblings from the Dolakhā dialect	119
Table 28. Kinship terms for the spouses of mother's siblings from the Sindhupālcok dialect	119
Table 29. Kinship terms for cousins in both dialects	120
Table 30. Kinship terms for male ego's children and children of ego's same sex siblings in both dialects	120
Table 31. Kinship terms for grandchildren in the Dolakhā dialect	121
Table 32. Kinship terms for four generations of grandchildren in the Sindhupālcok dialect (Cokaṭī village)	121
Table 33. Kinship terms for siblings-in-law in both dialects	122
Table 34. The range of meaning for <i>wari</i> in both dialects	122
Table 35. The range of meaning for <i>ḍamari</i> in the Dolakhā dialect	123
Table 36. The range of meaning for <i>jyamari</i> in the Sindhupālcok dialect	123
Table 37. The two meanings of <i>ḍamarni</i> in the Dolakhā dialect	124
Table 38. Kinship terms distinctive for sex of speaker in the Dolakhā dialect	125
Table 39. Kinship terms distinctive for sex of speaker in the Sindhupālcok dialect	125
Table 40. Thangmi phonemes	141
Table 41. Thangmi consonant phonemes	151
Table 42. Contrastive male / female noun pairs in Thangmi	200
Table 43. Gender specific ethnonyms and animal terms in Thangmi	200
Table 44. Possible prefixes and suffixes for the Thangmi noun <i>sya</i>	201
Table 45. Nominal plural marking in Thangmi	205
Table 46. Thangmi personal pronouns	269
Table 47. Thangmi personal pronouns and their suffixes	270
Table 48. Thangmi interrogative pronouns	271
Table 49. Thangmi adjectives derived from verb stems	279
Table 50. Reduplicative and near-reduplicative Thangmi adjectives	280
Table 51. Thangmi colour adjectives	282
Table 52. Thangmi numerals from the Dolakhā dialect	290
Table 53. Thangmi numerals and numeral classifiers from the Dolakhā dialect	291
Table 54. Thangmi numerals from the Sindhupālcok dialect	294
Table 55. Thangmi numeral classifiers from the Sindhupālcok dialect	295

Table 56. Thangmi ordinals from the Darjeeling calendar	299
Table 57. Three contrastive sets of Thangmi numerals	300
Table 58. Decades from the Dolakhā dialect of Thangmi	300
Table 59. Decades from the Sindhupālcok dialect of Thangmi and the Darjeeling wall calendar	301
Table 60. Periods of a Thangmi day from the Dolakhā dialect	303
Table 61. Thangmi adverbs for past and future days in the Dolakhā dialect	307
Table 62. Thangmi adverbs for past and future years in the Dolakhā dialect	310
Table 63. Affixal slots and agreement morphemes for Thangmi simplex verbs	322
Table 64. Transitive and intransitive non-preterite conjugations of the Thangmi verb <i>hen-sa</i>	324
Table 65. Transitive and intransitive non-preterite conjugations of the Thangmi verb <i>cya-sa</i>	327
Table 66. Intransitive morpheme strings for Thangmi simplex verbs	328
Table 67. Reflexive morpheme strings for Thangmi simplex verbs	329
Table 68. Transitive morpheme strings for Thangmi simplex verbs	331
Table 69. Related transitive and reflexive Thangmi verbs	338
Table 70. Affirmative transitive imperative morphemes	388
Table 71. Affirmative intransitive imperative morphemes	394
Table 72. Affirmative reflexive imperative morphemes	397
Table 73. Transitive morpheme strings for Thangmi imperatives	401
Table 74. Intransitive morpheme strings for Thangmi imperatives	402

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSCRIPTION

When referring to a date in the Nepalese Vikram Saṃvat era (VS), the corresponding years in the Gregorian calendar (AD) are provided between parentheses. A year in Vikram Saṃvat overlaps two Gregorian calendar years, e.g. VS 2058 (i.e. AD 2001-02). The Newar Nepāl Saṃvat era (NS) commences in November, with an overlap of only one month with the Gregorian cycle, so the likely year is provided between parentheses, e.g. Nepāl Saṃvat 688 (AD 1568).

Nepali words are transliterated from the Devanāgarī script using the following standard symbols:

<i>a</i>		<i>ā</i>		
<i>i</i>		<i>ī</i>		
<i>u</i>		<i>ū</i>		
		<i>ṛ</i>		
<i>e</i>		<i>ai</i>		
<i>o</i>		<i>au</i>		
<i>ṁ</i>		<i>ḥ</i>		
<i>k</i>	<i>kh</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>gh</i>	<i>ṅ</i>
<i>c</i>	<i>ch</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>jh</i>	<i>ñ</i>
<i>ṭ</i>	<i>ṭh</i>	<i>ḍ</i>	<i>ḍh</i>	<i>ṇ</i>
<i>t</i>	<i>th</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>dh</i>	<i>n</i>
<i>p</i>	<i>ph</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>bh</i>	<i>m</i>
	<i>y</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>v</i>
	<i>ś</i>	<i>ṣ</i>	<i>s</i>	
		<i>h</i>		

The silent *a* is not rendered in the transliteration, even though it is not generally deleted with a *virām* in the Devanāgarī script. The *anusvāra* written above a vowel is transcribed as the homorganic nasal it represents: *ṅ*, *ñ*, *ṇ* or *m*. The *candrabindu* which indicates vowel nasality in Devanāgarī is transliterated by the symbol *~* placed above the vowel. The distinctions between ‘short’ and ‘long’ *i* and *ī*, and *u* and *ū*, as well as those between *b* and *v*, *ś* and *ṣ* and *s* are all preserved in the orthography and transliteration, even though they no longer represent any phonemic distinctions in modern spoken Nepali.

While an official and accepted spelling system for Nepali is yet to be established, Bāl Kṛṣṇa Pokhrel *et al.* (VS 2040) is taken as the spelling standard.

PREFACE

My involvement with the Thangmi language dates back to September 1996, when I moved to the Netherlands from the United Kingdom in order to join the Himalayan Languages Project at Leiden University. I had previously worked, lived and travelled in Nepal for a total of twelve months on two separate trips, in the course of which I had learnt some conversational Nepali.

Prior to 1996, my experience of Nepal was limited to the cities of Kathmandu and Pokhara, and more specifically to the lower reaches of Mustāñ district in Dhaulāgīrī zone of west Nepal. In 1991, I lived for nine months in the village of Kālopāñī where I worked as an assistant volunteer English teacher at a government-run secondary school. For this whole period, I had the good fortune to live with a family of the Thakali ethnic group, the socially and economically dominant community in the area. On this trip, I developed an interest in the Thakali language and succeeded in learning enough to hold my own in a basic conversation. Thakali language and culture sparked my interest in anthropology, and I returned to the United Kingdom to study archaeology and anthropology at the University of Cambridge. In the course of my study I had the opportunity to revisit Nepal for the summer months of 1994, during which time I returned to the Thakali villages of lower Mustāñ and researched issues of language and identity. On this visit, I had the good fortune to meet the linguist Ralf Stefan Georg, who was himself working on a grammar of the Thakali language. Sitting in a smoky Thakali inn, Stefan taught me the difference between phones and phonemes and convinced me of the importance of minimal pairs. I returned to Cambridge with a renewed desire to work on a Tibeto-Burman language.

Upon graduation, I found employment as a Research Assistant to Professor Alan Macfarlane in the Department of Social Anthropology in Cambridge, and helped to create a catalogue of the 16mm films taken by the late Professor Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf. In early 1996, Dr. Roger Blench contacted Professor Macfarlane with an announcement of a PhD studentship offered by Leiden University for thesis research on hitherto undescribed languages of the Himalayan region. It was thus that I became a member of the Himalayan Languages Project under the tutelage of Doctor, now Professor, George van Driem.

When I accepted the studentship I was still unsure which language would be the focus of my study, but was reconciled to abandoning the idea of further researching

Thakali since an excellent grammar of the language had already been published.¹ On my first day in the office in Leiden, Professor van Driem asked me to accompany him to a room where a large-scale map of Nepal hung on the wall. Coloured pins and hand-written stickers adorned the map and indicated the location of the undocumented and endangered languages of Nepal. When Professor van Driem asked where I wanted to work, being more partial to mountains than plains, I chose a sticker closer to the Tibetan border than the Indian one, which read (in Devanāgarī) थामी, or Thāmī. Professor van Driem endorsed my selection, and advised me that little was known about the language, including whether it was still spoken, and if so, where. The account of how I actually reached the Thangmi-speaking area and how I chose to make my home in the village of Dāmārāñ is a longer story than would fit in this *Preface*. Suffice it to say that by the spring of 1997 I was installed in a Thangmi household and learning the language.

Since 1997, I have spent a total of twenty-five months in the Thangmi-speaking areas of Nepal, as well as six months among the Thangmi communities of Darjeeling and Sikkim in India. During my time in Thangmi-speaking villages, I primarily lived in two localities. The first was Dāmārāñ, a southern hamlet of Suspā/Kṣamāvatī Village Development Committee (VDC) in Dolakhā district, Janakpur zone, in central east Nepal. It is here that I eventually constructed a house and came to feel at home. The second field site was Cokaṭī village in the neighbouring district of Sindhupālcok, of Bāgmatī zone. The dialects of Thangmi spoken in these two areas are noticeably different, and I was eager to analyse both and thus be able to compare and contrast them in my thesis. Although I eventually opted to focus on the Dolakhā dialect, for reasons which are explained in Chapter Two, I maintained an interest as well as some conversational fluency in the Sindhupālcok dialect of Thangmi, and examples of both spoken forms feature in this monograph.

In terms of fieldwork methodology, I pursued a range of strategies which I hoped would furnish me with a variety of different styles of spoken Thangmi. In this, I received guidance from Professor van Driem and other senior linguists at Leiden, as well as encouragement and helpful pointers from colleagues in the Himalayan Languages Project. During the first months of fieldwork, I collected basic word lists from two Thangmi men and two Thangmi women, cross-checking the lexical forms that I elicited and so preparing a preliminary phonological inventory. Thereafter, as my comfort in the language gradually grew, I started experimenting with Thangmi sentences and grammatical constructions, much to the amusement of local friends.

¹ Georg, Ralf Stefan. 1996. *Marphatan Thakali: Untersuchungen zur Sprache des Dorfes Marpha in Oberen Kālī-Gaṇḍakī-Tal* (Lincom Studies in Asian Linguistics, 2). München: Lincom Europa.

While I could comfortably manage simple, structured conversations about known topics after about nine months of residence in the Thangmi-speaking area, I still found it very difficult to follow unelicited conversations between two Thangmi speakers not directed towards me.

Only after a total of twelve months cumulative residence in the area can I say that I could make sense of fluid and vernacular Thangmi, at which point I asked villagers with whom I had become friendly to stop speaking to me in Nepali, and rather treat me as a monolingual Thangmi speaker. Weaning myself from a dependence on Nepali as a contact language, although somewhat artificial as a technique, helped to improve my spoken Thangmi considerably. Soon after, I told my first joke in the language, which although not particularly amusing was nevertheless a breakthrough. After this point, I worked closely with Bīr Bahādur Thāmī, a speaker of the Dolakhā dialect, and Mān Bahādur Thāmī, a speaker of the Sindhupālcok dialect, to record stories, origin tales, conversations and also work on grammatical constructions. As the Maoist insurgency spread to eastern Nepal, and it became difficult to spend long periods of time in Thangmi-speaking villages, I decamped to Kathmandu and later to Pokhara where my language teachers joined me and assisted with the analysis of the collected material.

The analysis and transcription of spoken Thangmi which I had collected in the field was facilitated by various items of software and hardware. Using the Macromedia application Fontographer (version 4.1.5) and with considerable help from my friend and colleague Dr. Roland Rutgers, it was possible to generate a set of fonts which accurately represented the phonology of Thangmi. Based on Times, I named this font Dolkha, and have used it throughout the grammar as the standard transcription face for Thangmi. Roland further advised me to store my data in a FileMaker database for easy search and retrieval functionality. While I was initially sceptical, when my Thangmi textual corpus grew to close to three thousand discrete sentences I was relieved to have followed his good counsel. A set of software utilities by the name of TomTools™, designed and maintained by Roland Rutgers, made the process of working with my FileMaker database a great deal easier. TomTools™ is an integrated package of Visual Basic macros for Microsoft Word which provide add-on functionality for certain tasks common to linguistic writing. The typographical formatting and alignment of all interlinear glosses in this grammar was automated though Interlinear Gloss Aligner™, one of the most helpful of the tools. I am indebted to Roland for his extreme patience in helping me install and reinstall these applications each time that I switched computers, and also to his wonderful family for allowing me to barge in every now and then with a new computer crisis requiring immediate attention.

This monograph is structured in three parts. Part One, the bulk of the text, is a description and analysis of the Thangmi language. After addressing the genetic affinity and linguistic classification of Thangmi in Chapter One, the second chapter of the book focuses on a range of ethnolinguistic issues such as previous scholarship on the speech community, indigenous ethnonyms and toponyms, the distribution of Thangmi speakers, the status of the language and details of the Thangmi clan and kinship systems. In Chapter Three I present the phonology of Thangmi, while in the following chapter I draw the reader's attention to regular morphophonological features of the language. Chapters Five and Six address nominal and verbal morphology respectively, while the final chapter focuses on all remaining verbal constructions and features of Thangmi.

Part Two of this monograph is devoted to a set of transcribed oral texts in which segmented Thangmi speech is augmented with interlinear glosses and a free running translation at the bottom of the page. The texts represent a range of speech styles, from unelicited conversations between Thangmi speakers to more controlled recordings of Thangmi shamans explaining the origin of their ethnic community.

Part Three of this study is a lexicon of both dialects of the Thangmi language. Example sentences are used to illustrate and contextualise lexical items, and Nepali translations are provided where possible.

My research on the Thangmi language was made possible by generous financial support from the Onderzoekschool voor Aziatische, Afrikaanse en Amerindische Studies, formerly known as the Centre for Non-Western Studies (CNWS), and the former Department of Descriptive and Comparative Linguistics (VTW), both at Leiden University. The Dutch Organisation for Scientific Research, known in the Netherlands as the *Nederlandse Organisatie voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek* (NWO), was the official granting agency which underwrote my student stipend and fieldwork costs. I am grateful to them for giving me the opportunity to pursue my research interests so freely. The Leiden University Centre for Linguistics (LUCL) have kindly provided a financial contribution towards the costs of printing this dissertation.

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It is impossible to thank all the Thangmi villagers who have shared their language and their hearths with me, but I would like to mention a few in particular. Without the interest, patience and enthusiasm of Bīr Bahādur ‘Lile’ Thāmī, there would quite likely never have been this grammar of Thangmi. Lile was my primary language teacher, and he and his mother taught me most of the Thangmi that I know. Over the years, we have grown from being professional colleagues to being close friends, and Lile and his wife Kamalā have honoured me by letting me name their second son. Lile and I are presently planning a number of collaborative publications which I hope will give him the recognition within his community which he deserves.

My hosts and family in Dāmārāñ have provided me with a warm home and an ever-welcome fire at which to chat about the events of the day. I thank in particular Maṅgal Bahādur and ‘Pāiri’ Thāmī, Sundar Thāmī, Rām Bahādur Thāmī, Jaṅga Bahādur and Pratimā Thāmī, Yasodā and Kṛṣṇa Thāmī, and the great shaman Rāṇā Bahādur Thāmī. The children of these families are an ongoing source of entertainment, and it has been a pleasure to watch them grow up.

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Outside of the Thangmi-speaking area, I should like to thank a number of people for their help during my residence in Nepal. In alphabetical order by last name, I am grateful to Professor Dr. Cūḍā Maṇi Bandhu of Tribhuvan University for helping me find his articles; Dr. Barbara Butterworth and Mike Gill for their hospitality; Dr. Rhoderick Chalmers for being a good sparring partner; Lt. Col. John Philip Cross, Buddhī Mān Durā and their whole family for a true home in Pokhara; Mark Flummerfelt for companionship and his careful editorial eye; Bhuvan and Dr. Clotilde Gauchan and their three delightful children for years of friendship and introducing me to my future wife; Suśmā Jośī for her unconventional view of the

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xxx

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To end on a personal note, my family in Holland, Italy and now in the United States, have been supportive and loving throughout my doctoral research. In particular, I am grateful to my mother, Hannah Turin-Oorthuys, for giving me the strength to embark on this project and also the determination to finish it. Finally, I must thank my wife, Sara Shneiderman, who has been my partner in life and work since we met in Nepal over eight years ago. Sara accompanied me for much of the research that went into this monograph, and her anthropological insights continue to influence my thinking and writing. She has watched this book form more closely than anyone else, commented on multiple versions and has given me the space and time to write.

Needless to say, I take full and final responsibility for any errors which may have crept in and for any important elements which may have crept out.

Amsterdam, January 2006

PART 1

GRAMMAR

CHAPTER 1

THE LINGUISTIC CLASSIFICATION OF THANGMI

1. Early classifications of Thangmi within Tibeto-Burman

The three-page grammatical description of Thangmi, then referred to as ‘Thāmi’, in the *Linguistic Survey of India* compiled by George Abraham Grierson, does not begin auspiciously:

The Thāmis have formerly been considered to speak the same dialect as the Sunwārs. During the preparatory operations of this Survey the two dialects were confounded in Darjeeling, and separate returns were only made from Sikkim. (1909: 280)

Sten Konow, the author of this passage, concludes his introduction on a more promising note when he states that Thangmi is actually ‘quite distinct from Sunwār’, and that despite being ‘much influenced by Aryan dialects’, it appears to be ‘a dialect of the same kind as Dhīmāl, Yākhā, Limbu, etc.’ (1909: 280). This description appears in Volume III, Part I of Grierson’s *Survey*, in a section entitled ‘Eastern Pronominalized Languages’. Thangmi was then classified alongside Barām (then referred to as ‘Bhrāmu’) as forming an ‘Eastern Subgroup’ of the ‘Complex Pronominalizing’ branch of ‘Himalayan Languages’ within the ‘Tibeto-Burman’ language family (1927, Vol. I, Part I: 58). Konow based his putative classification on word lists collected by Brian Houghton Hodgson half a century earlier, specimens of which he provided in the publication. Hodgson himself had recorded these languages as ‘Thāmi’ and ‘Bhrāmú’ respectively, although in the present context, ‘Thangmi’ and ‘Barām’ are more ethnolinguistically appropriate terms.¹

The words and phrases presented in Konow’s list were collected from Thangmi speakers in Darjeeling and make for interesting reading. The lexical items are considerably influenced by the Nepali language, as one might expect from linguistic data collected in the tea estates of north-east India where indigenous tongues were often jettisoned in favour of Nepali, the *Verkehrssprache* or vehicular

¹ The complex issue of the most suitable choice of ethnonym for the Thangmi people and their language is dealt with in depth in Section §2 of Chapter 2. According to George van Driem, the Barām call their language *Bāl Kurā*, the ‘language of the people’, in which *kurā* is Nepali for ‘language’ and *bāl* is Barām for ‘people, person, somebody’. While the term ‘Barāmu’ is allegedly still known to a few elderly non-Barām Nepali-speakers, the Barām themselves universally reject both ‘Barāmu’ and ‘Bhrāmú’, and insist on the use of the term ‘Barām’ in Nepali to describe the group and their language (van Driem 2001: 766).

‘language of commerce’. It is revealing that Thangmi words and phrases recorded in Darjeeling almost 150 years ago show a greater degree of Nepalification than contemporary Thangmi spoken in the districts of Dolakhā and Sindhupālcok in Nepal.²

In his *Introduction to Sino-Tibetan*, Robert Shafer adds his support to the Grierson-Konow proposition of a close genetic relationship between Thangmi and Barām by placing them together in the ‘Eastern Branch’ of the ‘West Himalayish Section’ of the ‘Bodic Division’ of ‘Sino-Tibetan’ (1974: 145). Following Shafer’s classification, Thangmi and Barām would therefore also be close relatives of other West Himalayish languages such as Byangsi, Manchad and Zhangzhung. Shafer admits that this classification is ‘tentative’, but is in no doubt that ‘Thami and Bhramu are closely related’ (1974: 145). Regarding their affinity to other West Himalayish languages, Shafer is similarly cautious: ‘From the limited vocabularies of them one can only say that they are here placed in West Himalayish because they appear to be closer to that group than [sic] to any other’ (1974: 3). While the empirical basis for Shafer’s hypotheses was scanty, his belief in a close linguistic relationship between Thangmi and Barām has been of more lasting interest than his classification of these two languages as West Himalayish.

Shafer posited nine lexical similarities shared by Thangmi and Barām which he believed indicated a degree of close genetic relationship (1966: 128). These nine lexical items are given in Table 1 below.

TABLE 1. SHAFER’S PROPOSED LEXICAL SIMILARITIES

Thami	Bhrámú	English
<i>dī-ware</i>	<i>dé</i>	one
<i>nīs</i>	<i>nī</i>	two
<i>u-nī</i>	<i>u-ní</i>	sun
<i>tśala</i>	<i>chala-wani</i>	moon
<i>nem</i>	<i>nam</i>	house
<i>su-wa</i>	<i>s-wá</i>	tooth
<i>tśiya</i>	<i>chá</i>	eat
<i>ku-lna</i>	<i>ká-pá</i>	ear
<i>ka-pu</i>	<i>ká-pá</i>	head

² Examples are given in Chapter 2, Section §4.3.

Of the nine lexical correspondences, seven may now be discounted since they are either widely attested in other languages or easily reconstructed to Proto-Tibeto-Burman forms, leaving only two possible words supporting a special link between Thangmi and Barām. The comparative evidence is as follows: the Barām and Thangmi words for ‘one’ seem to derive from the Proto-Tibeto-Burman root **t(y)ik* ‘one’ (Benedict 1972: 94) or **tyak* ~ **g-t(y)ik* ‘one, only’ (Matisoff 2003: 616), while the words for ‘two’ in both languages are also reflexes of the widely-attested Proto-Tibeto-Burman root **g-ni-s* (1972: 16) or **ʔ-nit* ~ **ni* and **g/s-ni-s* ‘two’ (Matisoff 2003: 604). Consequently, the words ‘one’ and ‘two’ only indicate the already indisputably Tibeto-Burman nature of Barām and Thangmi, and do not indicate any special relationship between the two languages. Likewise, where Shafer suggests that Barām *s-wá* ‘tooth’ and Thangmi *su-wa* ‘tooth’ are unusual forms, both can now be reconstructed to the Proto-Tibeto-Burman root **s-wa* ‘tooth’ (Benedict 1972: 106) or **swa* ‘tooth’ (Matisoff 2003: 604), and Barām *chá* ‘eat’ and Thangmi *tšiya* ‘eat’ are similarly reflexes of the common Proto-Tibeto-Burman root **dza* ‘eat’ (Benedict 1972: 28) and **dzya* ‘eat’ (Matisoff 2003: 648). When Shafer suggests that Barām *ká-pá* ‘head, ear’ and Thangmi *ka-pu* ‘head’ are unique, he may have been unaware of the Nepali form *kapāl* ‘head, hair’ and the Kusuvār form *ká-pá* ‘head’. Even in the little known language of Thochú, the form *kapat* ‘head’ has been attested (Hodgson 1880: pull-out section containing the *Comparative Vocabulary of the languages of Hôr Sôkyeul and Sifán*). It seems more plausible to suggest that the words for ‘head’ in both languages are Indo-Aryan loans rather than arguing for a separate lexicogenesis. Finally, the Thulung word *nem* ‘house, dwelling place’ (Allen 1975: 224) is cognate with Thangmi *nem* and Barām *nam*, both meaning ‘house’. All that remain are two lexical correspondences, Barām *u-ní* and Thangmi *u-ni* meaning ‘sun’ (perhaps both derived from **nəy* ‘sun, day’ as noted by Matisoff (2003: 604)), and Barām *chala-wani* and Thangmi *tšala* meaning ‘moon’ (both likely cognate with **s/g-la* ‘moon, month’ as reconstructed by Matisoff (2003: 599)). Most of the above data were carefully summarised by the Leiden linguist Arno Loeffen (1995), who reached the conclusion that Shafer’s evidence for grouping Thangmi and Barām together was at best based on two lexical isoglosses showing a specific phonological innovation.

Despite the paucity of empirical data for his classification, it appears from more recent research that Shafer’s suspicion of a special relationship between the two languages may indeed have been correct. The two proposed lexical isoglosses shared by Thangmi and Barām are now further supported by numerous morphological correspondences, particularly in the realm of verbal agreement affixes (van Driem, forthcoming). While the Barām system of verbal agreement has all but decayed, the

verbal morphology of Thangmi is complex and reminiscent of the Kiranti model. The completeness of the Thangmi verbal paradigm may even provide an insight into the degenerated Barām agreement system.

Six years after the publication of Shafer's *Introduction to Sino-Tibetan*, Paul King Benedict's *Sino-Tibetan: A Conspectus* was published. In this classic work, Thangmi and Barām are passed over without specific mention and are classified as belonging to what Benedict labels a 'Himalayish' grouping within 'Tibetan-Kanauri' (1972: 7).³ More important to the present discussion than the virtual absence of Thangmi and Barām, however, is Benedict's suggestion that although the Newar language could not be 'directly grouped with Bahing and Vayu [now Hayu]' (1972: 5-6), it nevertheless showed 'interesting lexical agreements' with them, and 'might be regarded as a Bodish-Bahing link' (1972: 8). The ambiguous position of Newar within Tibeto-Burman had also been noted by Shafer, who rejected Konow's typological classification of the language as 'non-pronominalised', but remained unsure of its genetic position.⁴ Shafer and Benedict's tentative exploration of a Newar-Kiranti link would lie dormant for some twenty years before being re-explored in George van Driem's *Mahākirāntī* hypothesis.⁵

2. Thangmi in light of the Proto-Kiranti verb

Kiranti languages are typically characterised by verbal agreement systems which are complex even by Tibeto-Burman standards. Conjugations of Kiranti verbs may have two or three prefixal slots and up to eight suffixal slots, and person-number agreement is frequently encoded through *portemanteau* morphemes or even tensed *portemanteau* morphemes, especially when involving a first person singular actant (van Driem 1990). It is generally accepted that the identification of slots or functional positions facilitates the comparison of cognate verbal morphologies, as the order of affixal morphemes in Tibeto-Burman verbal conjugations reflects the non-random sequencing of an ancient element order in the proto-language.

In Thangmi, an inflected simplex form consists of a verb stem to which affixes are attached, indicating tense and showing person and number agreement with

³ In his *Handbook of Proto-Tibeto-Burman*, Matisoff puzzlingly suggests that 'Thami' is part of the Chin subgroup of Tibeto-Burman (2003: 702).

⁴ Shafer wrote: 'From the limited number of comparisons brought together here one may tentatively say that Newarish (Newari and Pahri) is probably neither Baric nor Karenic, but somewhat intermediate between Bodic and Burmic; that is, its ties are with languages to the north (Tibet) and the east (Burma and the Indo-Burmese frontier) rather than with Tibeto-Burman languages of Assam' (1952: 93).

⁵ In the intervening years, Scott DeLancey described an 'Eastern Himalayan' grouping, which would include 'the Kiranti languages and others in eastern Nepal; probably also Newari' (1989: 321).

one or both of the actants of the verb. Unlike many Kiranti languages, however, Thangmi does not differentiate for dual number, nor does it exhibit an inclusive-exclusive distinction. Since the detailed workings of the Thangmi verb are analysed in Chapters 6 and 7, it will suffice for the present to discuss the verbal agreement affixes of the Thangmi conjugational paradigm in the context of what is known about the Proto-Kiranti verbal agreement system.

Previous comparisons of Kiranti verbal agreement systems show the conjugations of Kiranti verbs to reflect a split ergative pattern in which third person actants are marked differently than first and second person actants (van Driem, 1991b: 346). In Kiranti languages, markers indicating the involvement of a third person actant usually reflect the so-called ‘accusative system’ by which a third person patient (3P) and a third person agent or subject (3AS) are marked by a separate set of morphemes. On the other hand, markers denoting the involvement of a first or second person actant follow an ergative pattern: one set of morphemes indicates first or second person agent (12A) while another set denotes first or second person patient or subject (12PS). Moreover, number of actant is ‘indexed in the verb by different but apparently cognate morphemes for third person versus first and second person actants’ (van Driem 1991b: 346). As the synchronic morphemic analysis of the Thangmi verbal agreement system given in Chapter 6 demonstrates, Thangmi conforms to the Kiranti split ergativity model in structure while differing in the specifics.

Morphemes in the Thangmi affixal string offer an insight into the particular pattern of split ergativity in the language: the suffix <-i> denotes first person plural patient or subject (1pPS), reflecting an ergative agreement pattern. On the other hand, the zero morpheme (SAS) marking singular number of a second or third person (i.e. non-first person) agent or subject, the zero morpheme (3AS) marking the involvement of a third person agent or subject and the number suffix <-eŋ> marking plural number of a second or third person agent or subject (pAS), illustrate the accusative pattern. This accusative pattern is also reflected in Thangmi by the presence of the third person patient morpheme <-u> (3P). As this analysis demonstrates, Thangmi exhibits a pattern of split ergativity, similar but essentially different to that of the Kiranti type. It is also worth noting that the Thangmi verbal conjugation shows a significant level of morphological fusion reflected by a disproportionately large number of *portemanteau* suffixes, i.e. five out of seventeen.

Of the seventeen affixes in the Thangmi verbal agreement system, at least eight reflect the same morphological etyma as the corresponding Proto-Kiranti morphemes and are also cognate with morphemes attested in extant Kiranti languages spoken in Nepal. The Thangmi negative morpheme <ma-> (NEG) is

cognate with the Limbu and Dumi negative prefixes <mε-> and <mə-> respectively, though negative prefixes in Kiranti are often tensed morphemes. The Thangmi reflexive suffix <-si> (REF) is cognate with Proto-Kiranti *<-nši> (REF), as well as with the Limbu and Bahing reflexive markers <-siŋ> (REF) and <-si> (REF) respectively. The Thangmi second person singular morpheme <-na> (2s) is cognate with Thulung and Lohorong <-na> (2s), both indexing the involvement of a second person singular, all of which are reflexes of Proto-Kiranti *<-na> (2s). Likewise, the Proto-Kiranti third person patient morpheme *<-u> (3P), has reflexes in many extant Kiranti languages such as Lohorong and Limbu <-u> (3P), as well as in Thangmi <-u> (3P). The /w/ in the Thangmi *portemanteau* suffix <-wa> (1p→23), marking the transitive relationship between a first person plural agent and a second or third person patient, may also derive from the Proto-Kiranti third person patient morpheme *<-u> (3P). The Thangmi second person plural morpheme <-ni> (2p) is a reflex of Proto-Kiranti *<-ni> (2p), and is further found in modern Kiranti languages such as Thulung, Lohorong, Kulung and Bahing in which <-ni> (2p) also indicates the involvement of a second person plural actant in a verbal scenario.

In Kiranti languages, as well as in the Tibeto-Burman family in general, the presence of a velar nasal /ŋ/ often indicates the involvement of a first person singular actant. As van Driem suggests, ‘most first-singular morphemes in modern Kiranti languages consist of the velar nasal /ŋ/ with some associated vowel preceding or following the nasal’ (1991b: 350). The Thangmi first person singular actant morpheme <-ŋa> (1s) is seen to be a reflex of either, or both, Proto-Kiranti *<-ŋ>, the first person singular agent marker (1sA), and *<-ŋa>, the marker of a first person singular actant in non-preterite time (1s/NPT). In extant Kiranti languages, reflexes of these Proto-Kiranti forms are found in Limbu <-ŋ> (1sA), Lohorong <-ŋa> (1s) and Dumi <-ŋ> (1s).

The Thangmi tensed *portemanteau* morpheme <-uŋ> (1s→3/PT), marking the transitive relationship between a first person singular agent and a third person patient in preterite time, is typically Kiranti in both form and function. The Thangmi tensed *portemanteau* morpheme <-uŋ> may be a fusion of the Proto-Kiranti morpheme *<-u>, denoting third person patient (3P), with the proto-morpheme *<-aŋ>, denoting first person singular actant in preterite time (1s/PT). If this analysis is accepted, with regard to the *portemanteau* morpheme <-uŋ> (1s→3/PT) at least, it appears that Thangmi is an extant example of the Proto-Kiranti model and arguably more canonically Kiranti in morphological structure than many of the other extant Kiranti languages. The Thangmi morpheme <-uŋ> (1s→3/PT) may also be cognate with Hayu <-ŋ ~ -N ~ -sŋ> (1s→3) or Hayu <-suŋ> (1sPS/PT), Limbu <-paŋ> (1s→3/PT) and Bahing <-ŋ> (1s→3/PT).

The Thangmi morpheme <-i>, denoting first person plural patient or subject (1pPS), is likely a reflex of the Proto-Kiranti inclusive suffix *<-i>. Thangmi makes no inclusive-exclusive distinction, and it is thus to be expected that the reflex of the Proto-Kiranti inclusive marker indicates the involvement of a plural first person in a verbal scenario, since both first person and plural number are implicit in any inclusive category. Moreover, when the Thangmi reflex is shown alongside reflexes of this proto-morpheme in other Kiranti languages, it becomes clear that the above extrapolation is in accordance with the data. In Lohorung, for example, the reflex of the Proto-Kiranti inclusive suffix *<-i> also denotes first person plural patient or subject (1pPS) and takes the form <-i>, while in Thulung the related form <-i> is attested, indicating the relationship between a first person plural inclusive agent and a third person patient (1pi→3).

The remaining morphemes present in the Thangmi verbal agreement system appear to be unrelated to their Proto-Kiranti counterparts, and while the affixes may index similar meanings, their surface forms are very different. Likewise, five Proto-Kiranti morphemes which have well-attested reflexes in extant Kiranti languages have no reflexes in Thangmi.⁶ It should be added, however, that in the case of three of these five Kiranti proto-morphemes, it is not that the categories which they encode are marked by other, non-cognate, morphemes in the Thangmi affixal string, but rather that they are not marked at all. Since Thangmi has no specific dual category, it follows that Thangmi will have no morphemes to mark dual agent or subject (dAS) or third person dual patient (3dP). Similarly, there is no specific third person plural agent (3pA) category in Thangmi, as the Thangmi morpheme <-eŋ> (pAS) marks only a second or third person plural agent or a third person plural subject.

As demonstrated above, it appears that Thangmi occupies a half-way house between a canonical Kiranti-style complex verbal agreement system and that of the less inflecting Tibeto-Burman languages. This conclusion was also reached some thirty years earlier by the French linguist Geneviève Stein, who correctly noted that the Thangmi speak a ‘pronominalized Tibeto-Burman language’ but hesitated to put it together with the Kiranti languages, because ‘although pronominalized, it does not present as complex a verbal morphology as these languages do, [nor] a proper dual nor an opposition inclusive/exclusive’ (as cited in Miller 1997: 116).⁷ While the link between Thangmi and the Kiranti languages will be apparent from the above

⁶ For a full analysis of the evidence, as well as charts of the Proto-Kiranti verbal agreement system as reconstructed by George van Driem, see Turin (1998a).

⁷ Stein never published her findings, and the citation provided by Miller derives from personal communication. Stein’s research findings are dealt with in greater detail in Chapter 2.

comparisons, the genetic position of Thangmi in relation to other Tibeto-Burman languages is discussed in the remaining sections of this chapter.

3. Before and after Mahākirāntī

At the 13th annual meeting of the Linguistic Society of Nepal, George van Driem advanced his *Mahākirāntī* or ‘greater Kiranti’ theory: a ‘hypothetical genetic unit’ including Kiranti and Newar (1992: 246).⁸ While his idea attracted both immediate attention and criticism, van Driem continued to refine his thinking as new linguistic data (specifically on Thangmi and Barām) came to light. In 2001, van Driem redefined the Mahākirāntī group as consisting of ‘the Kiranti languages proper and...the Newaric languages Newar, Barām and Thangmi. The set of languages which are related to Mahakiranti...includes Lepcha, Lhokpu and the Magaric languages’ (2001: 591).⁹ In *Languages of the Himalayas*, van Driem sets out the implications of his theory:

the linguistic ancestors of modern Mahakiranti groups and of Bodic language communities, which appear to be closer to Mahakiranti than to Bodish, peopled the Himalayas from the east and form a cluster of languages connected not only by shared geographical provenance but perhaps also related by more intimate genetic association and shared prehistorical contact situations. (2001: 590-591)

But what evidence did van Driem provide for the existence of the Mahākirāntī grouping? Dismissing lexical data as merely ‘suggestive’ and inadequate for ‘systematic comparison to yield decisive evidence’ (2003: 23), van Driem has stressed that the comparison of inflexional morphology provides evidence of a ‘highly sound and compelling kind’ (1992: 246). The morphological evidence of the Kiranti-Newar genetic link comes from Dolakhā Newar, the ‘most divergent...dialect of the language’ (van Driem 2001: 759) spoken in and around Dolakhā, an ancient Newar settlement and trading post ‘dating back perhaps as far as the Licchavī period [circa 300-879 A.D.]’ (2001: 759). The verbal agreement system of Dolakhā Newar is cognate with the conjugational morphology attested in Kiranti languages: verbs in the Dolakhā dialect of Newar agree for person and number with the intransitive subject and transitive agent in all tenses. Not only is the structure of Dolakhā Newar verbal

⁸ The term of choice in English for both the indigenous people and language of the Kathmandu valley is ‘Newar’, and emphatically not the Aryan-inspired ‘Newari’, which is generally considered to be offensive to contemporary Newar sensibilities.

⁹ That Magaric languages may be genetic relatives of Mahākirāntī is an interesting proposition. A different interpretation is offered by the Newar linguist, Tej Ratna Kansakar, who places Thangmi in a so-called ‘Magar Group’ of languages distinct from ‘Kirantish Languages’ (1993: 167).

morphology reminiscent of the Kiranti model, but Dolakhā also appears to be one of the more archaic and conservative of the extant Newar dialects. Van Driem makes this point succinctly:

Classical Kathmandu Newar...retains vestiges of a verbal agreement system like that of Dolakhā Newar. Therefore, the Classical Newar system is likely to derive from a more complete verbal agreement system, and the Dolakhā Newar verb probably represents a more faithful reflexion of this Proto-Newar system. (2001: 764)

More specifically, however, the Dolakhā dialect of Newar shares an important morphological trait with Thangmi and the Kiranti languages. In Dolakhā Newar, the morpheme <-u>, indexing third person future (3/FUT), is a verbal agreement suffix and also a reflex of the Tibeto-Burman proto-morpheme *<-u>. More specifically, the <-u> suffix in Dolakhā Newar denotes the involvement of a third person actant in the syntactic role of patient, a meaning also found in Thangmi and the Kiranti languages proper, as described in Section §2 above. As van Driem writes elsewhere:

The third person proto-morpheme *<-u> is ubiquitously reflected in Tibeto-Burman...In the Himalayas, these reflexes are all suffixes, and, in Kiranti languages, they all denote third person *patient* involvement. The Dolakha data likewise reflect third person patient marking: The vestigial suffix <-u> in the negative indicative, singular imperative and singular optative of r-stem verbs is clearly associated with grammatical patient marking, as it occurs only after transitive verbs. Similarly, in the past indicative, third singular subject is indexed by the suffix <-a> in intransitive verbs, but by <-u> in transitive verbs. (1993b: 36-37)

While acknowledging that verbal morphology constitutes only ‘one type of evidence which has yet to be corroborated by regular lexical and phonological correspondences’ (1992: 246), van Driem points out that the morphological evidence for the antiquity of the Dolakhā system is ‘decisive because in comparative linguistics conjugational agreement endings such as Dolakhā Newar *<-u> or the third person singular ending <-s> in the English present tense are precisely the type of elements...which are inherited, not borrowed’ (2001: 764-765).¹⁰

While reactions to the Mahākirāntī hypothesis have been mixed, the strongest reaction against the proposed grouping came not from Western linguists, but from academics and lay people within the Newar community. Van Driem describes their resistance as ‘inherently suspect’ (2001: 599), pointing out that their unwillingness to accept the Mahākirāntī hypothesis stems from the social exclusivity

¹⁰ It is prudent to note that flexional morphology is the heart of the inherited portion of any language, and genetic relationships between Indo-European languages had been firmly established on morphological grounds long before sound laws were discovered.

of the Newar community. Van Driem is, however, careful to acknowledge that while the communities may be linguistically related, in a ‘cultural sense these language communities could not be more different’ (2001: 599), and he points to the gulf in the socio-cultural worlds between the different Mahākirāntī groups:

The Newars have for centuries had an advanced metropolitan culture, and, though they are linguistically Tibeto-Burmans, the Newars cultivated their own flourishing Sanskrit literary tradition. By contrast, the Kiranti, i.e. Rais and Limbus, were rural agriculturalists of the eastern hills, whereas the Barām and the Thangmi have remained amongst the socio-economically most disadvantaged groups of central Nepal. (2001: 599)

After a linguistic field trip to Bhutan in 2001, however, van Driem began to reconsider his Mahākirāntī hypothesis. While in Bhutan, he collected data on the Gongduk language, particularly on its conjugational morphology and biactantial agreement system which contains reflexes of the Proto-Tibeto-Burman third person patient morpheme *-<u> (3/P).¹¹ On analysing the data, van Driem realised that:

the two specific morphological traits shared between Newar and Kiranti are not unique to Newar and Kiranti, but would appear to be the shared retention of a far older trait of the Proto-Tibeto-Burman verbal agreement system. Nothing else about Gongduk suggests any immediate affinity with either Newar or Kiranti within Tibeto-Burman. Therefore, the narrow but morphologically highly specific empirical basis for entertaining the Mahakiranti hypothesis no longer exists. (2003: 23-24)

In his conclusion to this article, van Driem suggests that while he no longer entertains the Mahākirāntī hypothesis, the ‘case for Newaric or Mahānevārī has grown’ (2003: 25), and proposes that Thangmi and Barām ‘together form a coherent subgroup within the Tibeto-Burman family’ (2003: 24). Accordingly, the linguistic relationship between the Newaric languages (Newar, Thangmi and Barām) antedates ‘by a large margin the rise of the great Newar urban civilisation in the Kathmandu Valley, let alone the much later emergence in the XVIIIth century of the political entity of the kingdom of Nepal’ (van Driem 2001: 599).¹² In Section §4 below, I present a number of specific lexical isoglosses which further support the antiquity of the proposed Newar-Thangmi link.

¹¹ Van Driem draws attention to the Gongduk *portemanteau* suffix <-uŋi ~ -oŋe> (1→3) when compared with the first person subject morphemes <-ŋŋi> and <-ŋni>, and to the Gongduk *portemanteau* suffix <-uri ~ -ore> (2p→3) when compared with the second person plural subject morpheme <-ire> (2003: 23).

¹² For a list of major Newar settlements which are believed to date back to the Kiranti period, see van Driem (2001: 732).

4. Thangmi-Newar lexical correspondences and the case for Newaric

4.1 Shared numeral classifiers

Following the clues suggesting a special relationship between Thangmi and Newar outlined in the first incarnation of the Mahākirāntī hypothesis, I pursued the evidence for the proposed genetic link further. Supporting data came from the unlikely corner of a common set of numeral classifiers shared by the Sindhupālcok dialect of Thangmi and the Dolakhā dialect of Newar. A brief word about numeral classifiers in Tibeto-Burman languages will serve as a suitable point of departure.

Aside from the well-attested case of Newar, few of Nepal's Tibeto-Burman languages show any sign of having an involved numeral classifier system. A number of Kiranti languages do show remnants of classificatory systems, however, the best known instance of which comes from the pioneering study of Thulung by the Oxford-based anthropologist Nicholas Allen. Allen reports that in 19th century Thulung, as studied by Hodgson, 'countable nouns fell into classes defined by classifier particles associated with numerals' (1975: 113). Allen isolated six classifying particles (CLF) for Thulung: <-bop> meaning 'round objects' (or 'rounds' in Hodgson's notes), as in *ko bop miksi* (one CLF eye) 'one eye'; <-seol> meaning 'elongated object' as in *ko seol khel* (one CLF leg) 'one leg'; <-phe> meaning 'flat object' as in *ko phe nophla* (one CLF ear) 'one ear'; <-waŋ> meaning 'hollow circular object'; <-phu> meaning 'growing things, trees' and <-si> meaning 'holes, roads'. Allen goes on to describe what he calls significant 'variability' in the choice of particle, adding that this might indicate that 'the classifier system was beginning to break down' even in Hodgson's time (1975: 113-115).

More recent evidence of numeral classifiers present in extant Kiranti languages has been collected by members of the Himalayan Languages Project of Leiden University, corroborating Hodgson's early findings. For example, Joyce van Hoorn documents *sumbo?* 'three' in Chiling (personal communication), a fusion of the Tibeto-Burman numeral *sum* 'three' and a numeral classifier *bo?*, most likely cognate with Thulung <-bop> meaning 'round objects'. Similarly in Sāmpāñ, another Kiranti language, *i-bo* 'one' is made up of the numeral *i* 'one' and the classifier <-bo>, once again cognate with Thulung <-bop> meaning 'round objects' (René Huysmans, personal communication). Dumi also attests a numeral classifier cognate with Thulung <-bop>, in *mu-bo* 'six', segmented by van Driem as *mu* 'six' and the classifier <-bo> (1993a: 87-89). While interesting for comparative and historical reasons, however, these Kiranti classifiers have little in common with those attested for Thangmi or Newar.

Newar numeral classifiers, on the other hand, have received considerable attention from linguists of Tibeto-Burman languages and beyond, and a full discussion of the scholarship on this feature of Newar grammar is beyond the scope of the present discussion.¹³ In the following paragraphs, attention is focussed on the set of classifiers apparently cognate between Newar and Thangmi.

In her descriptive and historical account of the Dolakhā dialect of Newar, Carol Genetti notes that numerals are ‘always followed directly by numeral classifiers’ and describes ten classifiers which ‘are not used with any other nominal modification besides numerals’ (1994: 68). Seven of these classifiers are cognate with Thangmi numeral classifiers or nouns used in the Sindhupālcok dialect of Thangmi. In each case, the Newar and Thangmi classifiers are similar in both form and function.

The Thangmi noun *daŋ* ‘year’ from the Sindhupālcok dialect is likely cognate with the Dolakhā Newar classifier <-da> ‘years’ (Genetti 1994: 69), and the Thangmi classifier <-paṭe> ‘clothes, bamboo mats’ is probably cognate with the Dolakhā Newar classifier <-pta> ‘clothes (vests, pants, rugs, shirts, raincoats)’ (Genetti, personal communication). The Thangmi classifier <-pur> ‘branches, trees, long things’ may well be cognate with the Dolakhā Newar classifier <-pu> ‘hairs, bananas, ropes, necklaces, garlands, tongues, branches, sticks, brooms, pens’ (Genetti 1994: 69), and the Thangmi classifier <-pa> ‘leaves, paper, thin or flat things’ may be cognate with either the Dolakhā Newar classifier <-pat> ‘leaves, pieces of paper, silver leaf’ (Genetti 1994: 69) or the classifier <-pā> ‘fingers, knives, legs, arms, wings, ears’ (Genetti 1994: 68).¹⁴ Finally, the Thangmi numeral classifier <-gore> ‘houses, general things’ may be cognate with either the Dolakhā Newar classifier <-gar> ‘eggs, rice, rocks, noses, apples, balls, houses, stars, autos’ (Genetti 1994: 68) or the classifier <-gur> ‘(general classifier)’ (Genetti 1994: 69). The above examples provide powerful evidence of lexical similarities between the Sindhupālcok dialect of Thangmi and the Dolakhā dialect of Newar. Three further Thangmi numeral classifiers have no obvious cognates in Newar, and concomitantly, the five remaining classifiers present in Dolakhā Newar are not found in Thangmi.¹⁵ A full synchronic analysis of Thangmi numeral classifiers is offered in Section § 9 of Chapter 5.

¹³ I refer the reader to Austin Hale and Iswaranda Shresthacarya (1973) and Peri Bhaskararao and S. K. Joshi (1985).

¹⁴ According to Dörte Borchers, the Sunwar language (also known as Koĩnts) has a numeral classifier <-pa>, as in *nim-pa koel* (two-CLF leg) ‘two legs’ (personal communication). This may well be cognate with the Dolakhā Newar classifier <-pā> ‘fingers, knives, legs, arms, wings, ears’ described above.

¹⁵ There are only two numeral classifiers attested in the Dolakhā dialect of Thangmi: <-gore> for ‘non-human’ and <-ka> for ‘human’. While Thangmi <-gore> ‘non-human’ is likely to be

All Thangmi numeral classifiers are grammaticalised forms with no clear derivation from any related Thangmi nominal lexeme, apart from the classifier for human referents <-kapu>, which is also the Thangmi noun for ‘head’. The similarity between the Dolakhā Newar numeral classifiers and those found in the Sindhupālcok dialect of Thangmi are striking, and leaves open the question of whether these forms are borrowed or whether they reflect a close genetic relationship between the two languages.¹⁶ If the numeral classifiers are borrowed, the direction of the borrowing also remains unresolved. The Thangmi forms may be the more archaic as two of the Thangmi classifiers are disyllabic whereas their Newar counterpart are monosyllables: Thangmi <-gore> and <-paṭe> versus Newar <-gar ~ -gur> and <-pta>. If the Thangmi classifiers were borrowed from Newar, then the suffixation of a velar nasal [ŋ] in the Thangmi classifier for ‘years’ <-daŋ> to the original Newar classifier <-da> ‘years’, and the presence of a trill [r] at the coda of the Thangmi classifier <-pur> are also difficult to explain.

Numeral classifiers are used to enumerate things in trade relations, and there is significant evidence of social and economic contact between the Thangmi and Newar groups, which may provide an argument for suggesting that the classifiers are indeed borrowed forms.¹⁷ Whether the shared classifiers can be used to argue for a close genetic relationship between the two languages or whether these impressive lexical similarities are merely a sign of intensive borrowing between Thangmi and Newar remains a central question.

4.2 Research on the Classical Newar language

Pursuing the idea of the alleged Thangmi-Newar link still further, I searched through lexical lists and dictionaries of contemporary and Classical Newar in search of possible correspondences. As this section illustrates, my findings add weight to the suggestion that when taken together, Newar, Thangmi and Barām form the higher-level grouping of Newaric.

cognate with the Dolakhā Newar classifier <-gur> ‘general classifier’, Thangmi <-ka> ‘human’ appears to have no cognates in Newar. The ‘human’ versus ‘non-human’ distinction is more reminiscent of Hayu, which has classifiers <-pu> for ‘human’ and <-uŋ> for ‘non-human’ (Michailovsky 1988: 123).

¹⁶ Quite why and how numeral classifiers attested in the Dolakhā dialect of Newar should have cognates in the Sindhupālcok dialect of Thangmi rather than the geographically closer Thangmi dialect spoken in Dolakhā remains unexplained. It is, however, possible that these classifiers were once also present in the Dolakhā dialect of Thangmi but are now no longer remembered, and are retained only in the Sindhupālcok dialect. This issue certainly warrants further exploration.

¹⁷ The cultural interdependence between the Newar of the Dolakhā and their Thangmi neighbours is dealt with in Section §9.2 of Chapter 2.

The time depth of the Classical Newar language has long been debated, as has its variational breadth. The controversy can be traced back at least as far as Hans Jørgensen, who described Classical Newar as simply ‘the language of the MSS [manuscript]’ (1936: 3). Five years later, in the *Preface* to his grammar of the language, he noted the explicitly ‘historical’ nature of Newar: ‘since the manuscripts...range from the fourteenth to the nineteenth century, and the natural changes in the language during this period have to some extent been reflected in them’ (1941: 3). The editors of the recently published *Dictionary of Classical Newari* are aware of the implications of this historical depth and make their position clear. In the *Introduction*, they state:

All we know at this stage is that Classical Newari is not a single homogenous monolithic stage nor a variety, dialect or stylistic label. (Malla *et al.* 2000: vii)

‘Classical Newari’ is an umbrella term used to describe the older forms of the language found in the 96 manuscript sources consulted for the dictionary, the chronological span of which ranges from 1115 A.D. to 1900 A.D. The editors reiterate their point by precluding comparisons between ‘Classical Newari’ and features of other so-called ‘Classical’ languages, such as Sanskrit, Greek, Arabic. As they see it, ‘Classical Newari’ is little more than a term of convenience used to separate a range of older Newar language varieties from Colloquial Newari (2000: viii).

This view is not shared by the Newar scholar Kashinath Tamot (*Kāśmāth Tamot*). Tamot believes that the existing linguistic divergences are more than ‘mere spatial variations—variations of individual dialects, (social/regional) or evidence of diaglossia [sic] (high style/low style)’ (Malla *et al.* 2000: viii). According to Tamot, there are ‘at least two stages of Classical Newari, i.e., Early and Late...This is approximately equivalent to the division of Nepal’s history into Early (879-1482) and Late (1482-1768) Medieval periods’ (2002: 13). Tamot is quick to point out the linguistic implications of this argument: Jørgensen’s dictionary would now only cover the Late Classical and Early Modern periods of the Newar language (from 1675 A.D. to 1859 A.D.). Tamot suggests that Early Classical Newar exhibited pre-Aryan features which were replaced by Sanskritic vocabulary in the Late Classical and Early Modern periods. Professor Kamal Prakash Malla (*Kamal Prakāś Malla*), Chief Editor and Project Leader of the *Nepal Bhasa Dictionary Committee*, is

palpably non-plussed by this theory and others of what he refers to as ‘Tamot’s hobby-horses’ (Malla *et al.* 2000: iv).¹⁸

At the 9th Seminar of the International Association for Tibetan Studies in June, 2000, Tamot presented a paper entitled ‘Some characteristics of the Tibeto-Burman stock of Early Classical Newari’.¹⁹ I was interested to find cognates between Thangmi as spoken to this day in Dolakhā and Sindhupālcok and certain ‘Early Classical Newar’ words, lexical items which were replaced by Sanskritic loans in Late Classical Newar. Subsequently, Tamot and I discovered that a number of Thangmi ritual words for body parts closely resemble Classical Newar forms, a discovery which lends further credence to the proposed closeness of the Newar and Thangmi peoples and their languages. In the following sections, I present an overview of the lexical similarities between Thangmi and Classical Newar.

4.3 Three classes of Thangmi and Classical Newar correspondences

Lexical items shared by Thangmi and Classical Newar fall into three categories. The first, and also the least spectacular, are words which are well-attested reflexes of Proto-Tibeto-Burman roots found across the genetically-related languages of Nepal and the higher Himalayas. That Thangmi and Classical Newar share these words does little more than reconfirm their membership in the Tibeto-Burman language family. The second class of shared items are Indo-Aryan loan words which have entered both Thangmi and Classical Newar. While many of the Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal are considerably influenced by Indic, the Newar are the sole Tibeto-Burman people to have adopted both a Sanskrit literary tradition as well as a version of the Indo-Aryan caste system, a result of which is a heavily Sanskritised lexicon. The most likely explanation for these shared Indic loans is that one of the two languages loaned words from Sanskrit which were then, at a later date, borrowed by the other. Another possibility is that both Thangmi and Classical Newar were in contact with the same Indic language, perhaps at even approximately the same time. At any rate, as can be seen from the examples below, there are a number of shared Indic loans where one might have expected to find a non-loaned and native Tibeto-Burman form. The third and final class of lexical items shared by Thangmi and Classical Newar is by far the most interesting. This category consists of the numerous correspondences between the two languages, few (if any) of which are attested in other Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in the Himalayan region.

¹⁸ Sadly, this important lexicographical project on the Newar language was not without its tensions and disagreements. Malla writes of ‘unexpected and unhappy turns’ (2000: iii), which included the resignation of Kashinath Tamot, the Chief Compiler of the project.

¹⁹ Now published as an article with the same title, see Tamot (2002).

A brief disclaimer at this point would be prudent: Tibeto-Burman historical linguistics is still in its infancy in comparison with the depth of comparative and historical scholarship which exists for Indo-European languages.²⁰ It is likely that some of the lexical items I include in the proposed list of those shared by only Thangmi and Classical Newar will prove, over time, to be reflexes of Proto-Tibeto-Burman roots or cognate with elements found in other extant Himalayan languages.

The data are presented according to the three categories outlined above. Following each citation of a Proto-Tibeto-Burman form or Classical Newar word, its provenance is indicated by brackets with the following abbreviations: (B) for Benedict's *Sino-Tibetan*, (J) for Jørgensen's *Dictionary of the Classical Newar*, and (NB) for the Nepal Bhasa Dictionary Committee's recent *Dictionary of Classical Newari*. Matisoff's recent *Handbook* builds on, and further develops, many of Benedict's early proto-forms, and I refer to these reconstructions in the forthcoming sections when cognates or reflexes are apparent.

4.3.1 *Shared common reflexes of Tibeto-Burman*

In this section, I present a list of Thangmi and Classical Newar words which are reflexes of well-attested Proto-Tibeto-Burman forms, or clearly cognate with lexical items in other extant Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in the Himalayas.

The reflexes of common Tibeto-Burman proto-forms include body parts, animals, food stuffs and verb roots. Reflexes of Proto-Tibeto-Burman *s-wa 'tooth' (B) are Thangmi *suwa* 'tooth' and Classical Newar *wā* 'tooth' (J); reflexes of Proto-Tibeto-Burman *kliy 'excrement' (B) are Thangmi *kli* 'excrement' and Classical Newar *khi* 'excrements' (J) and *khī* 'faeces' (NB); *(g-)yak 'armpit' (B) has reflexes *yakho* 'armpit' in Thangmi and *yāko* 'armpit' (J) in Classical Newar; Thangmi *nyu* ~ *nyu* ~ *nyu* 'brain' and Classical Newar *hni-pu* 'brain' (J) and *nhipu* 'brain' (NB) are cognate with Proto-Tibeto-Burman *nuk 'brain' (B); Proto-Tibeto-Burman *r-mi(y) 'man' has reflexes *mi* 'person, man' in Thangmi and *mim* 'man' in Classical Newar (NB); Proto-Tibeto-Burman *r-sa 'vein' (B) has reflexes *sasa* 'vein, tendon' in Thangmi and *śaśa* 'sinews, vein' in Classical Newar (NB); Proto-Tibeto-Burman *sya=śa 'meat' (B) has reflexes in both Thangmi and Newar indicating bovines, since these were once eaten by Newars (and still are eaten by the Thangmi): *sya* ~ *shya* 'cow' in Thangmi and *śā* 'cow' in Classical Newar (NB). The related forms *syaca* 'calf' in Thangmi and *sacā* 'calf' in Classical Newar (NB) are derived from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *sya=śa 'meat' (B) and *tsa 'child' (B) respectively. Proto-

²⁰ In a similar vein, James Matisoff writes of the 'present imperfect state of TB [Tibeto-Burman] historical phonology' (2000: 368).

Tibeto-Burman *s-rik=śrik ‘louse’ (B) has reflexes *sirik* ‘louse’ in Thangmi and *śi* ‘body louse’ in Classical Newar (NB); and Proto-Tibeto-Burman *lak ‘arm, hand’ (B) has reflexes *lak* ~ *la?* ‘hand, arm’ in Thangmi and *lā* ‘hand, arm’ (J) or *laka* ‘arm’ (NB) in Classical Newar.

Other reflexes for animal and organic words are as follows: Thangmi *amu* ‘eagle’ and Classical Newar *imā* ~ *yumā* ‘eagle’ (NB) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *muw=məw ‘eagle’ (B); Thangmi *kucu* ‘dog’ and Classical Newar *khicā* ‘dog’ (NB) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *kwiw=kəy ‘dog’ (B); Thangmi *kucuca* ‘puppy’ and Classical Newar *khicācā* ‘puppy’ (NB) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *kwiw=kəy ‘dog’ and *tsa ‘child’ (B); and the related forms *ma-kucu* ‘bitch, female dog’ in Thangmi and *mā-khicā* ‘bitch’ in Classical Newar (J) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *ma ‘mother’ and *kwiw=kəy ‘dog’ (B); Thangmi *naru* ‘horn’ and Classical Newar *nā* ‘horn’ (J) and *nā* ~ *nakura* ‘horn’ (NB), both containing a shared initial element alongside the reflex of Proto-Tibeto-Burman *krew=krəw or *ruŋ=rwaŋ ‘horn’ (B); Thangmi *naŋa* ‘fish’ and Classical Newar *nā* ‘fish’ (J) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *ŋya ‘fish’ (B); Thangmi *pya* ‘pig’ and Classical Newar *phā* ‘hog, boar’ (J) or *phā* ‘pig, boar’ (NB) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *pwak ‘pig’ (B); the Thangmi bound morph <-sek> ‘fruit, round organic object’ and Classical Newar *se* ‘fruit, corn, grain’ (J) and *se* ‘fruits’ or *cākuse* ‘a kind of sweet yellow citrus fruit about the size of an orange’ (NB) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *sey ‘fruit’ (B); Thangmi *jake* ‘rice’ and Classical Newar *jāke* ~ *ke* ‘rice, husked rice’ (NB) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *dza ‘eat’ (B); Thangmi *chya* ‘salt’ and Classical Newar *chi* ‘salt’ (J) or *cī* ‘salt’ (NB) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *tsa ‘salt’ (B); and Thangmi *marci* ‘chilli’ and Classical Newar *maracabhata* ‘chilli’ (NB) which are cognate with Yamphu *marchu* ‘Spanish pepper, red pepper, *Capsicum annum*’ (Rutgers 1998: 555) and similar terms in many other Tibeto-Burman languages, all probably derived from Sanskrit *maricaḥ* ‘pepper’.²¹ Two notable kinship terms are *nini* ‘husband’s sister, father’s sister’ (J) and *nini* ‘aunt, father’s sister’ (NB) in Classical Newar and *nini* ‘father’s sister’ in Thangmi, from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *ni(y) ‘aunt’ (B); and Thangmi *bubu* ‘elder brother’ and Classical Newar *phupa* ‘elder brother’ (NB) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *puw=pəw ‘brother, older’ (B), another reflex of which is Kulung *bu* ~ *bubu* ‘elder brother’ (Tolsma 1999: 197).

Inanimate nouns with common reflexes are Thangmi *asku* ‘smoke’ and Classical Newar *kum* ‘smoke’ (NB) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *kuw=kəw ‘smoke’ (B); Thangmi *asa* ‘oil’ and Classical Newar *so* ‘oil’ (NB) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *sa-w ‘oil’ (B); Thangmi *uni* ‘day, sun’ and Classical Newar *hni* ‘day’ (J) and *nhī*

²¹ Chillies arrived in South Asia some time after the beginning of the 16th century.

‘day’ (NB) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *niy=ŋəy ‘day’ (B); Thangmi *nasa* ‘soil, earth, ground’ and Classical Newar *cā* ‘soil’ (NB) are likely cognate with Tibetan *sa* ‘earth, the ground’ (Jäschke 1968: 568); Thangmi *rapa* ‘axe’ and Classical Newar *pāo* ~ *pā* ‘axe’ (NB) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *r-wa=r-pwa ‘axe’ (B); Thangmi *khanou* ‘door, door-frame’ and Classical Newar *khā* ‘door’ (J) or *kāpā* ‘door’ (NB) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *m-ka ‘door’ (B); Thangmi *ṭaye* ‘night’ and Classical Newar *cā* ‘night’ (NB) perhaps from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *ya ‘night’ (B); Thangmi *cinem* ‘iron’ and Classical Newar *ñam* ‘iron’ (NB) perhaps from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *syam=sam ‘iron’ (B); Thangmi *me* ‘fire’ and Classical Newar *mi* ~ *me* ‘fire’ (J) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *mey ‘fire’ (B); Thangmi *me-thap* ‘fireplace’ and Classical Newar *mi-thap* ‘chimney’ (J) from the two Proto-Tibeto-Burman elements *mey ‘fire’ (B) and *tap ‘fireplace’ (B); Thangmi *kham* ‘word, tale, story’ and Classical Newar *kha* ‘word, tale, story’ (J) or *kham* ‘matter, fact, talk, dispute’ (NB) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *ka ‘word, speech’ (B); Thangmi *siŋ* ‘tree, wood’ and Classical Newar *sima* ~ *siŋ* ‘tree, a plant, wood’ (NB) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *siŋ ‘tree’ (B); and Thangmi *ulam* ‘path, road’ and Classical Newar *laŋ* ‘road, way, direction’ (J) or *laŋ* ‘way, road’ (NB) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *lam ‘road, direction’ (B).

Common verb cognates and other grammatical particles are Thangmi *cabusa* ‘to carry’ and Classical Newar *ku buyu* ‘v.t., to carry’ (NB) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *buw=bəw ‘carry on back or shoulders’ (B); Thangmi *gaŋdu siŋ* ‘dry wood’ and Classical Newar *gaŋga siŋ* ‘dry wood’ (NB) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *kaŋ ‘dry up’ (B); Thangmi *walŋa* ‘five’ and Classical Newar *ñaŋ* ‘five’ (NB) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *l-ŋa ~ b-ŋa ‘five’ (B); Thangmi *ca* ‘small, young, diminutive’, *caca* ‘very small’ and *cacha* ‘grandchild’ and Classical Newar *cā* ‘a young one (of animals)’ (J) or *cā* ‘child, young, small, diminutive suffix’, *cacā* ‘small, minor’ and *chaya* ‘grand-daughter, grand-son’ (NB) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *tsa ‘child, grandchild, nephew, niece’ (B); Thangmi *pisa* ‘to give (away)’ and Classical Newar *pi-të* ‘to give away’ (J) or *biye* ‘to give, to pay’ (NB) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *biy=bəy ‘give’ (B); Thangmi *losa* ~ *lokxa* ‘to pour’ and Classical Newar *lu* ‘to pour’ (J) or *luya* ‘to pour’ (NB) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *(m-)lu(w) ‘pour’ (B); Thangmi *lupsa* ‘to sink, to be submerged’ and Classical Newar *lop* ‘to sink, to be submerged’ (J) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *lip and/or *nup~*nip ‘sink’ (B); Thangmi *sāisa* ‘to know’ and Classical Newar *saya* ‘to know, to understand, to be conversant with’ (J) or *sayā* ~ *saye* ‘to get notice, to know’ (NB) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *syey ‘know’ (B); Thangmi *the* ‘self’ and Classical Newar *thao* ‘self’ (NB) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *tay ‘self’ (B); Thangmi *duŋ* ‘inside’ and Classical Newar *duone* ‘inside’ (NB) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *tsyu.ŋ=tu.ŋ ‘inside’ (B);

Thangmi *namsa* ‘to smell’ and Classical Newar *naṃṇa* ‘to smell’ (NB) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *m-nam ‘smell’ (B); Thangmi *nuisa* ‘to laugh, smile’ and Classical Newar *nhira* ~ *nhile* ‘to laugh’ (NB) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *m-nwi(y) ‘laugh’ (B); Thangmi *sisa* ‘to die’ and Classical Newar *sica* ‘to die’ (NB) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *siy=səy ‘die’ (B); and Thangmi *su* ‘who?’ and *susu* ‘whoever?’ and Classical Newar *su* ‘who? (of persons only)’ (J) or *sū* ‘who’ and *susu* ‘whoever’ (NB) which are cognate with modern written Tibetan *su* ‘who?’ (Jäschke 1990: 573).

Certain Thangmi and Classical Newar words are also cognate with Sampang, a Kiranti language spoken in the north-eastern quadrant of Khoṭāñ district.²² Thangmi *chusa* ‘to fasten’ and Classical Newar *chuya* ‘to fasten, to attach’ (J) are cognate with Sampang *chuyma* ‘to fasten’; Thangmi *bok* ‘inflorescence of corn or rice flower’ and Classical Newar *bo* ‘flower’ (J) and *bo* ‘flower’ (Modern Newar *bun*) (NB) are cognate with Sampang *bun* ‘flower’; Thangmi *mesya* ‘buffalo’ and Classical Newar *mes* ‘buffalo’ (J) or *mesa* ‘buffalo’ (NB) are cognate with Sampang *mesi* ‘buffalo’ and Kulung *me:si* ‘water buffalo’ (Tolsma 1999: 220).

Overall then, the above examples only serve to demonstrate that Thangmi and Newar are Tibeto-Burman languages which contain reflexes of well-attested proto-forms and have cognates in extant Tibeto-Burman languages spoken across the Himalayas.

4.3.2 Shared Indo-Aryan loans

The second category presented here contains lexical items which both Thangmi and Classical Newar have borrowed from Indo-Aryan, and I have focussed solely on the loans which are particularly similar. Thangmi *aji* ‘mother-in-law’ and Classical Newar *ājī* ‘grandmother (paternal and maternal)’ (J) or *aji* ‘grandmother’ (NB) may well have been loaned from Hindi *ājī* ‘paternal grandmother’ (McGregor 2002: 82); Thangmi *kapale* ‘forehead’ and Classical Newar *kapāra* ‘forehead’ (NB) are both cognate with Nepali *kapāl* ‘forehead, scalp’; Thangmi *kaṇṭu* ‘throat, neck’ and Classical Newar *kaṇṭhu* ‘throat’ (NB) are probably borrowed from a later reflex of Sanskrit *kaṇṭha* ‘throat, neck’; Thangmi *ṭupuri* ‘hat, cap’ and Classical Newar *tupuli* ‘a sort of head-gear’ (J) from Hindi or Maithili *ṭopī* ‘cap’; Thangmi *ṭhāi* ‘place, location’ and Classical Newar *ṭhāya* ‘place’ (NB) are likely etymologically related to Nepali *ṭhāū* ‘place’; Thangmi *dudu* ‘milk, woman’s breast’ and Classical Newar *dudu* ‘milk, the breast of a woman’ (J & NB) may be loaned from Nepali (or another neighbouring Indo-Aryan language) *dud* or *dudh* ‘milk, female breast, udder’; Thangmi *ḍumla* ‘common fig, *Ficus carica*’ and Classical Newar *dubala* ‘*Ficus*

²² The Sampang data are provided by René Huysmans, via personal communication.

racemosa (formerly known as *Ficus glomerata*)’ may derive from Sanskrit *uḍumbara* ‘*Ficus racemosa*’; Thangmi *sakalei* ‘all, everything, everyone’ and Classical Newar *śakala* ‘everybody’, *sakale* ‘all’ (NB) and *sakale* ‘all’ (J) likely derive from a later reflex of Sanskrit *sakala* ‘whole’; Thangmi *paṭasi* ‘women’s traditional dress’ and Classical Newar *patāsi* ‘the lower garment’ (J) or *patāse* ‘a woman’s lower garment’ (NB) may derive from a later reflex of Sanskrit *paṭaḥ* ‘cloth’ or Nepali *pāṭ* ‘flax, fibre’; Thangmi *naka* ‘new’ and Classical Newar *naka* ‘new’ (NB) may derive from a later reflex of Sanskrit *nava* ‘new, fresh’; Thangmi *sewa* ‘greetings, hello’ and Classical Newar *sevā* ‘a term of address to show respect to elders’ (NB) are derived from a later reflex of Sanskrit *sevā* ‘attendance (upon someone), servitude’; and finally Thangmi *makar* ‘monkey’ and Classical Newar *markaṭ* ‘monkey’ (J) or *mākarha* ‘monkey’ (NB) are most probably loaned from Nepali *markaṭ* ‘monkey’ and ultimately derive from Sanskrit *markaṭa* ‘monkey’.

As outlined above, Newar has a highly Sanskritised lexicon and it is no surprise that even words which might be considered part of the core lexicon, such as ‘very’, ‘milk’ or ‘breast’, have been loaned from Indo-Aryan. Surprising, however, is that Thangmi has also borrowed these terms, and furthermore, that the loans seem to have undergone similar phonological shifts in both languages. Examples are the reduplicative *dudu* ‘milk’ from Indo-Aryan *dud* or *dudh*, and the extra syllable added to the loan for ‘hat, cap’ as in Thangmi *tupuri* and Classical Newar *tupuli*, from Indo-Aryan *ṭopī*.²³

The most plausible explanation for this similarity in loaned words is that one of the two languages borrowed words from a neighbouring Indic language which were then at a later date borrowed ‘once-removed’ into the second language. The sequence of these loans was most probably Classical Newar borrowing from Indo-Aryan and then Thangmi borrowing an Indic or Sanskritised lexical item from Newar. Due to the high level of literacy and the extensive written tradition of Newar civilisation, loans directly from Sanskrit into Classical Newar were commonplace. For Thangmi, however, which remains to this day an unwritten language spoken far from any urban centre of learning, direct loans from Sanskrit are less likely. The transfer scenario outlined above would support the hypothesis that the Thangmi and Newar languages (and hence their speakers) were in close contact with one another from an early date. In the absence of such early contact, one would have expected

²³ Although less phonologically persuasive, other possible shared Indo-Aryan loans may be Thangmi *athu* ‘joint of the body’ and Classical Newar *athi* or *āthi* ‘joints, articulations’ (NB), both perhaps from a later reflex of Sanskrit *asthi* ‘bone, joint’ or Hindi *asthi* ‘bone’ (McGregor 2002: 70); and Thangmi *athe* ‘very’ and Classical Newar *ati* ‘very, exceedingly’ (J) which may have been loaned from Maithili, Nepali or Hindi *ati* ‘very, very much’.

Thangmi to borrow lexical items directly from Nepali (rather than from Sanskrit by way of Newar) when the Nepali language was brought to Dolakhā and Sindhupālcok by Nepali-speaking Indo-Aryan settlers.

4.3.3 *Lexical correspondences specific to Thangmi and Newar*

The final category, which is the most interesting one, comprises those lexical similarities which I believe to be shared by only Thangmi and Classical Newar and which are probably not cognate with other Tibeto-Burman languages. Although recent articles and conference papers have refined and added to Benedict's list of Tibeto-Burman reconstructions, for reasons of space they are not included here. I have resisted the temptation to order the lexical similarities into classes (such as animate nouns, body parts and verbs) since this would impose a further arbitrary hierarchical order on the data. As far as possible, I have followed the alphabetical order of the Newar dictionaries, thus facilitating cross-referencing for those interested readers.

Thangmi *elepe* 'spleen' is cognate with Classical Newar *al-pe* 'spleen' (J) and *alape* 'spleen' (NB), for which Matisoff reconstructs *r-pay 'spleen' (2003: 208); Thangmi *pin* 'fingernail' may be cognate with Classical Newar *ṛ* 'nail' (NB); Thangmi *ekaṭe* 'alone' is cognate with Classical Newar *ekāṭa* 'alone' (NB), the first syllable of both being cognate with and derived from Sanskrit *eka* 'one, a, only, alone, single'; Thangmi *kaṭasa* 'to quarrel' closely resembles Classical Newar *kacāda* ~ *kacāḍa* 'quarrel, dispute' (NB); Thangmi *kapale kosa* 'skull' similarly resembles Classical Newar *kapāla kosa* 'skull' (NB); Thangmi *kasyu* 'boil, pimple' and Classical Newar *kasu* 'boils' (NB) or Classical Newar *cāsu kacha* 'a pimple that itches' (NB) are most probably cognate, as are Thangmi *kimi* 'tape worm' and Classical Newar *kimi* 'hook worm' (NB).

Other plausible lexical correspondences include Thangmi *cyuku* 'ant' and Classical Newar *kumicā* 'white ant, termite' (NB); Thangmi *kosa* 'bone' and Classical Newar *kvase* ~ *kosa* 'bones' (NB); Thangmi *papasek* 'testicles' and Classical Newar *si-pā* 'the testicles' (J) or *kvāse* 'testicles' (NB), for which Matisoff reconstructs *səw 'testicles, virility' (2003: 182); Thangmi *ukhiṇ* 'dark' and Classical Newar *khiṇu* 'dark, darkness' (J) or *khiṇṇu* 'dark' (NB); Thangmi *gui* ~ *gwi* 'thief' and Classical Newar *khu* 'thief' (NB); and Thangmi *khen* 'face' and Classical Newar *khem* 'face' (NB). The Thangmi individuating suffix *guri* may be cognate with Classical Newar *guri* 'a classifier denoting place' (NB); Thangmi *naṭe* 'cheek' resembles Classical Newar *natāl* 'cheek' (J) and Modern Newar *nyatāḥ* 'cheek' (NB); Thangmi *ṭakadu* 'sweet' is most likely cognate with Classical Newar *cāku* 'sweet' (J) and *cāku* 'sweet thing, molasses' (NB); and Thangmi *cime* 'hair (on the

scalp)’ is most likely cognate with Classical Newar *cimĩ* ‘the hair (of the body)’ (J) and *cimilisāṃ* ‘body hair’ (NB), for which Matisoff reconstructs *mil ~ *mul ~ *myal ‘hair (body)’ (2003: 602).

Other possible cognates are Thangmi *jakcho* ‘wheat’ and Classical Newar *cho* ‘wheat’ (J) or *co* ~ *cho* ‘wheat’ (NB); the Thangmi affable suffix *che* and Classical Newar *che* ‘2.s. you (used mostly in addressing superiors or equals)’ (J) or *cha* ‘you’ (NB); Thangmi *cacha jyamari* ‘granddaughter’s husband’ and Classical Newar *chaya jīri* ‘granddaughter’s husband’ (NB); the Thangmi verb *chyosa* ~ *ṭhosa* ‘to send’ and Classical Newar *choya* ‘to send, to dispatch’ (J) or *choye* ~ *choya* ‘to send’ (NB); Thangmi *jukun* ‘only’ and Classical Newar *jak* ‘only’ (J) or *juko* ‘only’ (NB); the Thangmi noun *jet* ‘work’ and Classical Newar *jyā* ‘work’ (NB); and Thangmi *jyanḡaṇeṇ* ‘bird’ and Classical Newar *jhaṃgara* ‘a bird’ (NB). Another set of lexical similarities shared by the two languages includes Thangmi *ṭhumsa* ‘to bury’ and Classical Newar *ṭhumñā* ~ *ṭhumne* ‘to bury’ (NB); the Thangmi verb *ṭhemsā* ‘to destroy, to break down’ and Classical Newar *ṭhoṇa* ~ *ṭhone* ‘to demolish, to destroy’ (NB); Thangmi *daṇ* ‘year’ and Classical Newar *ḍa* ~ *daṃ* ‘year’ and Modern Newar *daṃ* ‘year’ (NB); the Thangmi male clan *ḍaṇguri* and Classical Newar *ḍhaṃguri* ‘a Newar caste’ (NB); the Thangmi kinship term *tete* ‘elder sister’ and Classical Newar *tatā* ‘an elder sister’ (J) or *tatāju* ‘elder sister (hon.)’ (NB); Thangmi *thope* ‘broom, sweep’ and Classical Newar *tuphe* ‘a broom’ (J) or *tuphi* ‘broomstick, brush’ (NB); Thangmi *du* ‘tiger, leopard, wild cat’ and Classical Newar *dhu* ‘tiger’ (J) or *tedu* ‘leopard’ (NB); the Thangmi verb *thisa* ‘to touch’ and Classical Newar *thiye* ‘to touch’ (NB); Thangmi *thumsa* ‘to immerse’ and Classical Newar *thune* ‘to immerse’ (NB); the Thangmi shamanic and ritual ethnonym for themselves *thani* and Classical Newar *thāni* ‘one kind of caste’ (NB);²⁴ and the Thangmi noun *toṇ* ‘home-made beer’ and Classical Newar *thvaṇi* ‘beer’ (NB).

Further Thangmi-Classical Newar lexical correspondences include: Thangmi *duṇ bisa* ‘to enter (inside)’ and Classical Newar *duṃbiya* ‘to enter, to offer’ (NB); Thangmi *dudu pur* ‘nipple of the breast’ and Classical Newar *dudu pipīri* ‘nipple of the breast’ (NB); Thangmi *nama* ‘with’ and Classical Newar *na* ‘with’ (NB); the Thangmi plural suffix *pali* and Classical Newar *paṇi* ‘plural suffix’ (NB); Thangmi *pay* ‘sour’ and Classical Newar *pānu* ‘sour’ (NB); the Thangmi transitive verb *palsa* ‘to chop’ and Classical Newar *pāle* ‘to cut, to behead’ (NB); Thangmi *priṇ* ‘outside’ and Classical Newar *pi* ~ *piṇ* ‘outside’ (NB); the Thangmi transitive verb *busa* ‘to cover, fill’ and Classical Newar *puya* ‘to cover, to fill’ (NB), for which Matisoff reconstructs *pun ‘wrap, cover, wear’ (2003: 495); the Thangmi noun *puya*

²⁴ As intriguing as this Newar definition is, no further information is provided.

‘seed, seedling’ and Classical Newar *pu* ‘seed’ (J) or *pū* ‘seed’ and *puvā* ‘paddy seedlings’ (NB); the related Thangmi form *puyapasa* ‘grains and seeds’ and Classical Newar *puvāpāsā* ‘grains and seeds’ (NB); and the Thangmi kinship term *pāiri* ‘elder brother’s wife’ and Classical Newar *pairabe* ‘elder brother’s wife’ (NB).

Other possible lexical correspondences are Thangmi *pokole* ‘knee’ and Classical Newar *paulṭ* ‘knee’ (NB); Thangmi *phaṭu* ‘pumpkin’ and Classical Newar *phat-si* ‘a kind of pumpkin’ (J) or *phatase* ~ *phatse* ‘pumpkin’ (NB);²⁵ Thangmi *phasa* ‘wind, storm, air’ and Classical Newar *phas* ‘air, wind’ (J) or *phasa* ‘wind’ (NB); Thangmi *pebu* ‘field’ and Classical Newar *bu* ‘a field’ (J) or *bū* ‘a field’ (NB); Thangmi *bosa* ‘to grow’ and Classical Newar *boye* ‘to grow, to come up’ (NB); the Thangmi verb *mraṇsa* ‘to swell’ and Classical Newar *maṃ-gwo* ‘swelling’ (J) or *māṇa* ~ *māne* ‘to swell’ (NB); the Thangmi noun *maṇa* ~ *maṇiṇ* ‘bread’ and Classical Newar *mādhe* ‘bread’ (NB); Thangmi *mesyaca* ‘buffalo calf’ and Classical Newar *mesacā* ‘buffalo calf’ (NB) (a composite form particular to Thangmi and Newar, although the constituent elements are well-attested throughout Tibeto-Burman); Thangmi *moṭe* ‘soybean’ and Classical Newar *mvāca* ‘soybean’ (NB); and the Thangmi transitive verb *rasa* ‘to bring’ and Classical Newar *rāsa* ~ *rāye* ‘to seize, catch’ (NB).

A particularly interesting lexical similarity shared by Thangmi and Classical Newar is Thangmi *libi* ‘after, later, behind’ and Classical Newar *lithe* ‘later’, *lī* ‘after’ and *livā* ‘afterwards’ (NB). Further correspondences are Thangmi *lukusa* ‘back, backbone’ and Classical Newar *luku* ‘back of body’ (NB); Thangmi *khaśu* ‘cloud’ and Classical Newar *śu* ‘cloud’ (NB); and Thangmi *sumaka* ‘quietly’ and Classical Newar *sumhaka* ‘quietly’ (NB). The final list of correspondences are those lexical items found only in Jørgensen’s *Dictionary* and not present in the newer *Dictionary of Classical Newari*: Thangmi *wasā* ‘to plough’ and Classical Newar *wāsā* ‘a plough’; Thangmi *aṇaldu* ‘ashamed’ and Classical Newar *ñālā-pu* ‘ashamed, shame’; Thangmi *baṭi* ‘cat’ and Classical Newar *bhaṭi* ‘a cat’; Thangmi *makarpapa* ‘spider’ and Classical Newar *mā-khā-pi-khā* ‘a spider’; Thangmi *maṇ* ‘body’ and Classical Newar *hma* ‘a body’; Thangmi *laṅga* ‘courtyard’ and Classical Newar *lam-hñe* ‘a yard, a court’; Thangmi *sebi* ‘leather, hide, skin’ and Classical Newar *se-bu* ‘leather’; and Thangmi *ṭamsil* ‘marrow’ and Classical Newar *sel* ‘marrow’.

5. Concluding thoughts on the genetic affinity of Thangmi

Section §4.3.3 above contains over seventy likely cognates between Thangmi and Classical Newar, many of which may ultimately turn out to be derived from Proto-

²⁵ Both may be derived from Nepali *pharsī* ‘pumpkin’.

Tibeto-Burman roots, but which, at any rate, appear to have undergone a shared history in some earlier stage of Thangmi and Newar. The number of reflexes of Tibeto-Burman proto-forms may actually be quite high, but good reconstructions are hard to come by, and I can only hope that colleagues may lend a hand in weeding out those lexical items which are found in other Tibeto-Burman languages. However, even if half of the above proposed lexical similarities between Thangmi and Classical Newar turn out to be reconstructible to Proto-Tibeto-Burman, over thirty-five specifically shared lexical similarities remain. As mentioned at the outset, Shafer's argument for Thangmi and Barām relatedness was based on nine lexical similarities shared by the two languages, seven of which may now be discounted as they are widely attested in other Tibeto-Burman languages. Even though only two of Shafer's proposed similarities remain, his hunch of a Thangmi-Barām link has been corroborated by more recent research by van Driem and myself. While many Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal have some lexical cognates with either Thangmi or Classical Newar, to my knowledge there is no other language which shares as many lexical correspondences with Thangmi and Classical Newar as these two languages share with one another.

I conclude as I started, by asking a question. Should the similarity between Thangmi and Classical Newar simply be put down to borrowing, or does it reflect a deeper genetic relationship? If we opt for the more cautious explanation, putting the similarities down to cultural contact and lexical borrowing, then the question remains as to what type of early contact situation existed in which the speakers of these two languages could have exchanged so much so long ago.²⁶ If, on the other hand, we choose to conclude that the lexical similarities shown above are an indication of a close genetic relationship between Thangmi and Newar, then sound evidence from the fields of historical phonology and comparative morphology must be produced to support this suggestion.²⁷

²⁶ Tej Ratna Kansakar (*Tej Ratna Kansakār*), a leading scholar of the Newar language and Tibeto-Burman linguistics, is unconvinced by the argument for a close genetic relationship between Thangmi and Newar. He suggests that the linguistic and cultural links between the two groups are most likely the result of 'contact-induced changes' and that there is historical evidence to show that the Newar, wherever they settled, sought the assistance of 'various caste groups to fulfil religious, social and ritual functions' for them. Other than the Thangmi of Dolakhā, a further example Kansakar offers is of Tibetans in their native Lhasa, who were conscripted to play a ritual role in Newar festivals (personal communication, 18 September, 2000).

²⁷ To quote van Driem, the 'current impression is that the older the Newar vocabulary, the more specific lexical correspondences can be identified with Thangmi and Barām' (2001: 761).

It will be interesting to examine further linguistic evidence from the Dolakhā dialect of Newar when it becomes available. Genetti has suggested that many of the Thangmi lexical items presented here have clear cognates with Dolakhā Newar (personal communication, February 2001), which is to be expected given the socio-cultural links between the two groups outlined in Section §9.2 of Chapter 2. Genetti writes of Dolakhā as a ‘centre for trade and commerce’ (1994: 8), but also of the ‘relative isolation of Dolakhā as compared to Kathmandu’ (1994: 8). It is precisely this isolation that van Driem sees as crucial in determining the relative antiquity of the Dolakhā dialect of Newar:

the original Newar grammatical system remains more intact in the language of the descendants of the early Newar mercantile colonists in Dolakhā than in the innovative prestige dialects spoken in Kathmandu and Pāṭan. (2001: 766)

On account of the geographical location of the town of Dolakhā, Genetti suggests that the ‘Dolakha people would have had more contact with the Kiranti peoples of the east’ (1994: 8). In light of the data presented above on the verbal agreement morphology shared by Kiranti languages and Thangmi on the one hand, and the lexical correspondences between Thangmi and Newar on the other, Genetti’s proposal is particularly interesting. While Genetti dates the split between the Kathmandu and Dolakhā dialects of Newar to a ‘minimum of seven hundred years ago, and possibly much longer’ (1994: 8), van Driem suggests that the ‘divergence between the Kathmandu Valley dialects and Dolakhā Newar may perhaps be datable to a period of unrest between 750 and 983 A.D.’ (2001: 766), leading to a stability of the linguistic community which in turn contributed to the ‘evident archaism of Dolakhā verbal morphology’ (2001: 766).

In order to take the study to a deeper level beyond the inspection and comparison of surface forms, the next step in the analysis of the Thangmi-Newar link will be to determine whether there are any phonological correspondences between the two languages. Only then will we learn more about the essence of the relationship between Thangmi and Newar, and the relative position of both languages in the *Stammbaum* of Tibeto-Burman.

CHAPTER 2

THE THANGMI ETHNOLINGUISTIC CONTEXT

1. Previous research on the Thangmi and their language

Considering the relatively large Thangmi population and the accessibility of most Thangmi villages, the absence of any detailed account of the people or their language in the vast literature on Nepal is surprising.¹ To offer a contrastive case in point, the 15,000 strong Thakali population of lower Mustang was already the most studied ethnic group for its size in Nepal in 1985, being the subject of over fifty published works by fifteen different scholars of various disciplines (Turin 1997: 187). The Thangmi, although twice as numerous as the Thakali, have remained undocumented by Western and Nepalese scholars alike.

In this section, I offer a chronological survey of references to the Thangmi people and their language in the literature on the Himalayan region. I have opted to subdivide the chronology into materials written in European languages, on the one hand, and in Nepali, on the other.

1.1 Writings in European languages

One of the earliest recorded references to the Thangmi is in Sylvain Lévi's three-volume work, *Le Népal: Etude historique d'un royaume hindou*, successively published between 1905 and 1908. In a chapter entitled 'Histoire du Népal', in Volume II, Lévi turns his attention to the 'Kirâtas', and posits that:

the Kirâta nation occupies a vaster territory which reaches approximately to the eastern borders of Nepal...and the Thamis claim, more or less legitimately, to connect themselves with it. (translation by Riccardi 1975: 23)²

In light of the Kiranti-Thangmi linguistic link described in Chapter 1, Lévi's statement is an interesting historical proposition. While the 'Kiranti-ness' of Thangmi culture may be debated, I have yet to meet a Thangmi individual who describes himself as Kiranti. In fact, indigenous Thangmi concepts of ethnolinguistic

¹ To my knowledge, no Thangmi village is more than four days walk from a road. By the standards of rural Nepal, this is only moderately remote.

² The original French text reads: 'Mais la nation des Kirâtas occupe un territoire plus étendu, qui atteint à peu près les frontières orientales du Népal: elle comprend les clans des Khambus, des Limbus, des Yakhas; et de plus les Danuars, les Hayus et les Thamis prétendent plus ou moins légitimement s'y rattacher' (Lévi 1905, II: 78).

identity portray Kiranti groups as being precisely what the Thangmi are not: pork-eating, belligerent peoples speaking complicated languages.³

After Lévi, one of the earliest and the most erroneous references to the Thangmi was by Lieutenant-Colonel Eden Vansittart of the Tenth Gurkha Rifles. In his monograph, entitled simply *Gurkhas*, he suggests that the ‘Thami’ are one of the ‘Adikhari Clans’ of what he called the ‘Khas’ grouping (1918: 70). Vansittart provides no reasoning or source to support this suggestion, and no more need be said of this clearly mistaken viewpoint.

A 1928 recruiting manual for Gurkha regiments in the British army, compiled by Major William Brook Northey and Captain Charles John Morris and entitled *The Gurkhas: Their Manners, Customs and Country*, contains two references to the Thangmi, both of which are suspect. In their introductory section on ‘The People and their Languages’, the authors cite Jean Przyluski’s article ‘les langues munda’, published in *Les Langues du Monde*, which mistakenly ascribes ‘Thāmi’, along with a number of other languages, to the Muṇḍā or Austroasiatic stratum of languages spoken in Nepal. Describing ‘les populations qui parlent les langues muṇḍā’, Przyluski’s original suggestion reads as follows:

Le groupe septentrional ou himalayen comprend de l’Ouest à l’Est les parlers suivants: manchātī ou patan, bunān, ranglōi, kanāshi, kanāwri, rangkas ou saukiyā, dārmiyā, byāngsī, chaudāngsī, vāyu, khambu, yākhā, limbu, thāmi et dhīmāl. (1924: 399)⁴

The second error made by Northey and Morris is more offensive and of the authors’ own making. Having already relegated the Thangmi to a final paragraph in their chapter on ‘Limbus’, Northey and Morris dispense with the whole ethnic group using distinctly unfavourable words:

One more caste inhabiting Eastern Nepal remains to be mentioned. This is the Thami. Only about three to four thousand in number, they live chiefly on the banks of the Sunkosi and Tamburkosi [sic] rivers. Coarse in appearance, and the inferior of the other races in social and religious matters, they do not merit further description. (1928: 260)

On Friday, March 18, 1966, the Newar writer and folklorist Kesar Lall wrote an article in the *Rising Nepal*, the only English language newspaper in Nepal at the time,

³ This stereotypical and unflattering image is widely held by ethnic Thangmi in Dolakhā and Sindhupālcok alike, and is analysed later in this chapter.

⁴ Some of Jean Przyluski’s other theories had a longer shelf life than his views on the genetic position of Thangmi. He went on to coin the French term *sino-tibétan* which would eventually make its way into English as ‘Sino-Tibetan’.

entitled simply 'The Thami'. As a result of his two-page account, the Thangmi were briefly propelled into the national limelight for the first time in modern Nepali history. To this day, older residents of Kathmandu remember this article as the first time they heard about the Thangmi community. Lall's article is more popular than scholarly, as evinced by his description of the first Thangmi man he encountered:

Garbed in a cloak of homespun fabric, he was somewhat different from the rest of the population, as he chose to be detached from them... (1966: 3)

In a few hundred words, however, Lall gives an outline of Thangmi culture, presents the origin story of the group, an account of how the clans came by their names, a list of Thangmi villages, statistics from the Census Report of 1954, an overview of their material culture, and a brief synopsis of Thangmi birth, marriage and death rituals. Lall concludes with the statement that:

I learnt something about them, but I soon found that a great many questions about their ethnic group remained unanswered, deepening the mystery about the Thamis. (1966: 3)

The following year, Dor Bahadur Bista published his immediately definitive *People of Nepal*, in which the Thangmi get little more than a passing mention:

Two groups of people, known as Thami and Pahari, live in traditional Tamang areas of the eastern hills. They number only a few thousand and practice similar social, religious and economic customs to the Tamangs. (1967: 48)

Although mistaken, Bista's classification of the Thangmi as culturally similar to the Tamang was destined to stick, and many secondary sources and textbooks published after Bista have perpetuated this error.⁵ In *Peerless Nepal*, for example, Majupuria and Majupuria repeat verbatim Bista's assertion that the Thangmi 'live together with the Tamangs' and that their 'social, religious and economic customs are also similar to those of Tamangs' (1980: 57). The authors go on to suggest that both the Kusundas and the 'Thamis' are 'nomadic' (1980: 61), a proposition which they do nothing to substantiate and which, at least for the Thangmi, has no apparent factual basis.⁶ On a related note, the eminent French scholar Marc Gaborieau, in *Le Népal et*

⁵ Peet also takes issue with Bista's characterisation, 'Bista...classified the Thamis as basically a subgroup of the Tamangs; however, I would tend to disagree' (1978: 190).

⁶ In an earlier work, *Marriage Customs in Nepal*, Majupuria and Majupuria also assert that Thangmi 'social, religious and economic customs are also similar to those of Tamangs' (1978: 60).

ses populations, refers to ‘les Thamis, qui ne sont plus qu’une dizaine de milliers et qui vont être absorbés par les Tamang’ (1978: 107). While Gaborieau’s suggestion is a significant departure from Bista’s position, the Tamang ethnic group are accorded a certain level of unexplained dominance over the Thangmi in both descriptions. This ongoing misrepresentation of the Thangmi in the published literature on Nepal may owe something to their misrepresentation of themselves to researchers and census recorders. Such ‘impression management’ is not as infrequent as researchers would like to believe, and is discussed further in Section §3.2 of this chapter.⁷

In 1970, the French linguist Geneviève Stein spent upwards of a year conducting research with the Thangmi of Dolakhā and Sindhupālcok. While her background was in anthropology, she set out to describe the Thangmi language, and chose to settle in Ālampu, the northernmost Thangmi-speaking village close to the Tibetan border in Dolakhā. Stein never published her findings, and her valuable, if incomplete, field notes and recordings lie in storage in Paris. She did complete a Swadesh 100 Word List for the *Comparative Vocabularies of Languages of Nepal*, however, and these historical data are presented alongside more recent findings in Section §4.3 below.

While in Nepal, Stein met with Christoph von Fürer-Haimendorf, one of the grandfathers of Himalayan anthropology. Fürer-Haimendorf had previously worked among the Nagas and other ‘tribes’ of the *North East Frontier Agency* (NEFA) of British India, and later among the Sherpa and Thakali populations of Nepal. In August 1974, having been denied a visa to visit Bhutan, Fürer-Haimendorf and his wife set off to visit the Tibetan Buddhist nunnery above the village of Bigu in Dolakhā district. Bigu is less than half an hour’s walk from Ālampu, where Stein conducted her fieldwork, and has a large Thangmi population. Albeit only in passing, the Thangmi do feature in Fürer-Haimendorf’s 1976 study of the Bigu convent. He notes that rice fields owned by the *gompa*, or monastery, in the village of ‘Budipara’ [*recte* Budepā] count among their tenants ‘Brahmans, Tamangs and Thamis’ (1976: 127). More intriguing, however, is his description of ‘Sange Chegi (alias Bakti Ama), age 20...the only Thami in the nunnery...and the daughter of a local *jankri* [sic] (shaman)’ (1976: 146). The story of her life, as narrated by Fürer-Haimendorf, presents a very pro-Buddhist worldview in which indigenous shamanic traditions are portrayed as undesirable and harmful. As a young girl, Sange Chegi was ‘ill for a

⁷ The term ‘impression management’ implies that a group of people control the information disseminated about them by actively manipulating the group’s collective image. Andrew Manzardo (1982) has analysed Thakali culture in these terms. For a discussion of ethnic representation and misrepresentation among the Thakali populations of Mustāñ and Myāgdī districts, see Turin (1997: 188-190).

long time, and her father thought that her illness might be caused by his work as a shaman which involved the sacrificing of animals' (1976: 146). Her father then repented for his bloodletting as a practising shaman, followed a course of Buddhist teachings, and sent his daughter off to become a nun. The conclusion of the story reveals that while 'the girl continues to live as a nun', her father 'relapsed into his practice as a shaman' (1976: 146).

Interesting comments about the Thangmi are contained in Fürer-Haimendorf's field diaries from the 1974 trip, held in the Special Collections in the Archives and Manuscripts division of the library of the School of Oriental and African Studies in London.⁸ On August 19, 1974, Fürer-Haimendorf made some notes on the Thangmi in his diary, which are cited in an abridged form below:

This morning we decided to go to Alampur [*recte* Ālampu], a village below and east of Bigu with a majority of Thamis...

...From a chorten and mani-wall built on a spur we looked down on a large Thami settlement which may well have about 80 houses.

The Thami houses are basically not very different from the local Sherpa houses though apparently not quite as well finished and maintained. Each house is surrounded by vegetable plots now full of beans...taro, and various other plants. Chickens are also in abundance. Most houses are roofed with stone slates which are cut from a quarry by local Thamis, but I saw a few thatched roofs...

In physical type and dress the Thamis are not very different from Tamangs, but it struck me that the faces are perhaps smaller and finer, and the stature also somewhat smaller and more delicate. There were not enough people about to be sure of this, but I believe I had the same impression when I met a few Thamis many years ago in or about Risiangku.

The men told us that the total number of Thamis is 45,000 and that several villages have a majority of Thamis.

The most characteristic social feature is their double descent system. They have exogamous clans (and some subclans) but while clan-membership goes from father to son it goes from mother to daughter. Hence brothers and sisters are not of the same clan. There is no cross-cousin marriage and a girl cannot marry a man of her father's clan, even though she is of the clan of her mother and cannot marry a member of her mother's clan either.

The system cannot be fully understood by asking a few questions, but it should certainly be studied by a social anthropologist interested in kinship...

We had heard that the Thamis have little contact with the Bigu gompa, even though one Thami girl is at present a nun. This, however, is an exception. The Thamis have their own gods and priests (which they call gurus), and they worship a deity called Bhumi. Animal sacrifices to this deity are performed in the houses, and there are occasions when many families – presumably of the same clan – gather in a house for such worship. (Diary 32, box 6, acquisition no. PP MS 19)

⁸ I am grateful to the staff of the Special Collections Reading Room in the SOAS library for their assistance in the course of my research, and particularly to the Chief Archivist, Rosemary Seton, without whose help the appropriate boxes would have been much harder to find. I conducted my research in the SOAS archives in December 2001.

While Fürer-Haimendorf never published his diary notes, they contain valuable insights into the cultural life of the Thangmi community of Ālampu in the 1970s. The population figure of 45,000 is by any reckoning a significant overestimate, and most likely the result of wishful thinking on the part of the villagers with whom Fürer-Haimendorf spoke. Of greater importance is Fürer-Haimendorf's note about what he terms the 'double descent system', by which men inherit clan membership from their fathers, and women through their mothers. As he suggests, this is indeed worthy of anthropological study since it is an uncommon feature of the social structures of Himalayan groups and does not yield to easy analysis.⁹ The parallel descent system is currently being investigated by the American anthropologist Sara Shneiderman, who has been working with the Thangmi community since 1998.¹⁰ While the Thangmi were no more than a footnote in Fürer-Haimendorf's writings on the peoples and cultures of the Himalayan region, he was the first to notice the existence of their parallel descent structure.¹¹

In the 1970s and 1980s, a team of French researchers including Jean-François Dobremez, Corneille Jest, Gérard Toffin, Marie-Christine Vartanian and Françoise Vigny produced a series of ecological maps of Nepal. The Thangmi also feature on one such map, and a reproduction of this section of the map is presented in Figure 1 below. The location of the Thangmi population is fairly accurate, and may be the first published source which indicates the Thangmi-speaking area in a visual manner. Under a subheading entitled 'les ethnies des langues tibéto-birmanes', there is a single sentence on the Thangmi:

Dans la haute Kosi, les Thami (10 000 personnes) forment un petit groupe dont la langue et les habitudes socio-religieuses se diluent à peu dans celle des Bahun et Chetri qui les entourent. (1974: 4)

While the reader learns little about the Thangmi from the description presented above, the authors are right to note that dominant social and linguistic influences

⁹ Peet also noted the existence of female clans, 'there is also mention of a parallel group of clan names for women, all ending in the suffix - 'shree'. These have now fallen into general disuse, and many people have forgotten their existence or at least their function' (1978: 191-192).

¹⁰ See in particular Shneiderman (2000). The Thangmi clan system is described in detail in Section §6 of this chapter.

¹¹ In the anthropological literature, parallel descent is understood to be the process by which men trace their descent through the male line of their father while women reckon their descent through the female line of their mother. Different from bilineal descent, in a parallel descent system an individual is only ever a member of one unilineage.

exerted by surrounding Hindu groups have left their mark on Thangmi culture. This impact, as well as the increasingly strong reaction against it, is a topic to which I will return later in this chapter.

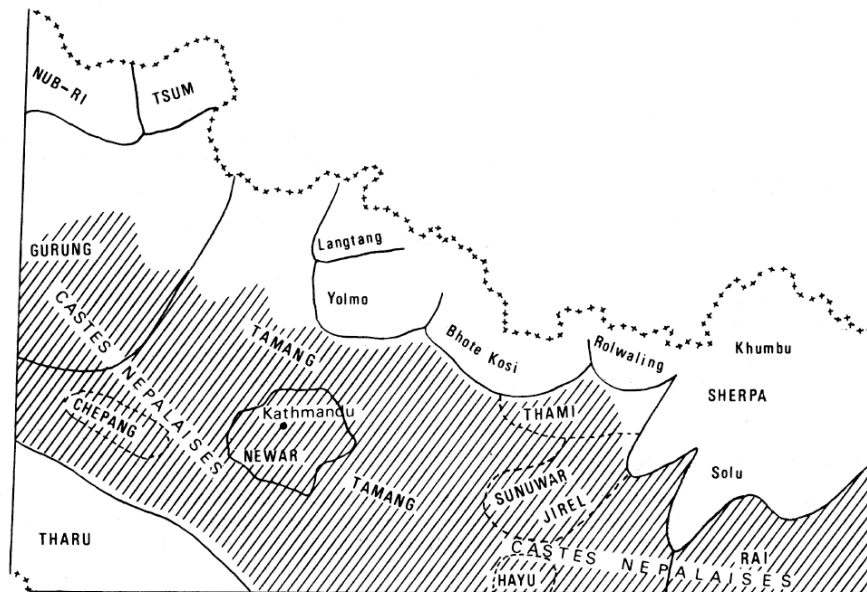


FIGURE 1: RÉPARTITION DES GROUPES ETHNIQUES DU NÉPAL CENTRAL
(from Dobremez *et. al.* 1974: 3)

The American anthropologist Robert Creighton Peet conducted fieldwork in a Thangmi-speaking village of Dolakhā in the 1970s and submitted his doctoral dissertation to Columbia University, New York, in 1978, entitled *Migration, Culture and Community: A Case Study from Rural Nepal*. Peet's thesis is primarily concerned with migration patterns, and he suggests that these patterns can be 'organised by, and are a reflection of, the underlying organization and stratification of the community' (1978: 1). Peet concludes that a 'large majority of Thamis have turned to circular migration as a means of maintaining their economic viability' (1978: 460), a pattern which he defines as involving frequent travel between the village and sites of employment. According to Peet, 'migration has in part served as a mechanism for culture maintenance for the Thamis' (1978: 461). His intensive study was located in a

village where over half of the population were Thangmi.¹² Acknowledging the numerical importance of the Thangmi community at his field site, Peet devotes 90 pages of his dissertation to Thangmi economics, culture and society. Since his comments pertain to many aspects of Thangmi social life, and are of great comparative interest, I have incorporated his observations into the relevant sections of this chapter rather than condensing them in a few pages here.

Father Casper J. Miller's *Faith-Healers in the Himalaya* was first published in 1979. Based on short periods of field research with shamans in Dolakhā district between October 1974 and August 1978, Miller's work formed the basis of his Master's thesis from Nepal's Tribhuvan University. Although the Thangmi were but one of many groups whose shamans he studied, Miller devotes a section of his monograph to the socio-cultural world of Thangmi ritual. He also offers some thoughts on 'the Thamis' understanding of their origins' (1997: 113):

Although the bulk of the Thami population of Nepal now lives in Dolakha District and the remainder in Sindhu Palchok District immediately to the west, they are convinced that they emigrated to this hill region from the plains of the Terai. 'We came from below,' they say. Furthermore they name Simraungardh,¹³ a fortified city whose ruins still exist in the plains, as their original home. (1997: 113-114)

Miller was the first scholar to present the indigenous Thangmi understanding of their origin which suggests that they emigrated from the plains of the Terai and not from the middle hills of Nepal. Citing the linguistic findings provided by Geneviève Stein, with whom he was in contact, Miller is somewhat taken by Thangmi claims, and writes of 'if not historical conclusions, at least...interesting clues to their possible southern origin' (1997: 116).

In 1985, the *Anthropological Survey of India* launched the 'People of India' project to generate an anthropological profile of all communities within its borders. The findings are reported in the *People of India* series, and one chapter in the volume on the state of Sikkim is devoted to the Thangmi.¹⁴ The following citation drawn from this chapter, and attributed to Ṭaṅka Bahādur Subbā, is unenlightening:

¹² According to Peet's statistics from 1972, the total number of Thangmi households in the village was 387 (57.4% of the total number of households) while the total Thangmi population was 1,739 (53.9% of the total population) (1978: 86).

¹³ The central importance of Simraungardh to the Thangmi origin story is dealt with in Sections §5.2.1 and §9.1 of this chapter.

¹⁴ There are two Thangmi communities in West Bengal and Sikkim. The first group is made up of Thangmi citizens of the Republic of India, whose forefathers migrated to the area in search of work. The other community is comprised of temporary wage labourers who have come from the Thangmi-speaking villages of Dolakhā and Sindhupālcok to work in Darjeeling, but who return to their families in Nepal as part of a seasonal migration.

There is no idea about the origin of the Thami community or the term 'Thami'. Their history is indeed obscure. Neither the scanty literature that is available on them nor their own traditions speak enough about their history and culture. (1993: 184)

Regarding the Thangmi language, Subbā comes to a similarly depressing conclusion:

The Thamis speak Nepali among themselves and with outsiders. It is not known whether or not they had any dialect of their own. (1993: 184)

From the perspective of the *Anthropological Survey of India*, the Thangmi appear to be of no essential interest. They are portrayed as an ethnic group without culture, since 'the Thamis do not have any exclusive ritual worth mentioning' (1993: 185), and 'drawing, painting and pottery are not known. Nor are they aware of any specific folk song in their own language' (1993: 187). Their perceived lack of collective identity is also noted: 'the Thamis are not known to have any traditional caste councils or regional associations' (1993: 187).

The following year, Rajesh Gautam and Asoke K. Thapa-Magar published their two-volume *Tribal Ethnography of Nepal*, a project similar in scope and remit to the *Anthropological Survey of India*, and one which suffers from problems of superficiality and prejudice. In their own words, their plan was to 'somehow record whatever we could salvage from the deteriorating tribal landscape' (1994: i). The primary failing of the 14-page section on Thangmi social and cultural life is the supercilious style in which it is written. The gulf between the two scholarly authors and 'all those deprived and loving people inhabiting those nooks and crannies of Nepal, who will never be able to read this book on account of their illiteracy' is admittedly huge (1994: dedication page), but one would have hoped for a less judgemental and more descriptive approach. Instead, the reader learns that the Thangmi 'are unable to lie, cheat or deceive' (1994: 314),¹⁵ that 'they are not clean in their habits' (1994: 314) and that 'when a Thami is seen it is clear that these people have recently renounced their uncivilised ways and have adapted to modern society' (1994: 323).¹⁶ Alongside these all too frequent asides, the authors do provide a basic overview of Thangmi origin stories, which they refer to as 'Legends', as well as a

¹⁵ As if they are guileless 'noble savages'.

¹⁶ Gautam and Thapa-Magar also include a short paragraph on the 'Physical Characteristic' [sic] of the Thangmi, from which the reader learns that 'they possess the regular low nasal roots, flat flared noses, prominent malar bones and lower jaw bones also enlarged side ways, epicanthic eye folds, brown to black eyes, wheat brown complexion, straight black and coarse hair, scanty facial and body hairs and short sticky bodies' (1994: 314). Aside from the unfortunate memories of early anthropological nose-measuring that this description invokes, such alleged physical homogeneity is not applicable for an ethnic group as diverse and phenotypically heterogeneous as the Thangmi.

note on the language, a list of 'Septs' (clans), a long section on 'Life Cycle Rites', short ones on 'Religion', 'Economic Status' and 'Dress & Ornaments', and the obligatory paragraph on 'Fooding', which concludes with, 'they state that in the past they even used to eat rats' (1994: 323).

Gautam and Thapa-Magar are not alone in offering disparaging accounts of Thangmi socio-cultural life which are generally more judgemental than descriptive. The *Nepal Encyclopedia*, by Madhu Raman Acharya, contains an extremely parsimonious, not to mention erroneous, entry on the Thangmi:

Mongoloid people inhabiting mainly Sindhuli and Ramechhap districts. Speak Thami language. Resemble SUNUWAR people. Depend mainly on farming. Observe nature worship, including the worship of a few village deities. (1994: 228-229)

Volume fourteen of the fifteenth edition of the *New Encyclopædia Britannica* contains a long narrative piece on 'South Asian cultures' in which I was surprised to find a mention of the Thangmi. Less surprising, however, is that their location in the account is at the bottom of the list:

In Nepal both Hindus and Buddhists are subject to the code of the caste system...The tribes also have several categories: the Gurung and Magar are at the top; the Newar are in second place followed by the Kirāntī, the Khāmbū, the Limbū, and the Yākhas; below them are the Sunwār and Tamāng [sic] (Mūrmī), who are given approximately equal status...at the bottom of the scale are the Tharu, the Thāmī, the Hāyū, the Thakālī [sic], and numerous other minor tribes. (Vidyarthi 1998: 268)

The website of the *Nepali Congress Party* contains a link to a page entitled 'Short Monographs on the Nationalities of Nepal'¹⁷ which includes a paragraph on the 'Thamis'. Regrettably, the reader is misled about the Thangmi as well as other ethnic groups in Nepal:

The Thami language is similar to the language of the Sunuwars, which again conforms to the Rai language originating in the Tibeto-Burman family...In religious matters, Thamis are much closer to the Tamangs.

Save for a few notable exceptions, then, anthropological references to the Thangmi have been written from the perspective of a dominant Hindu state and its elite academicians, and based more on their neighbours' descriptions of them than on a genuine understanding of the Thangmi ethnic group itself.

¹⁷ At the time of going to press, the URL was:
<http://www.nepalicongress.org.np/contents/nepal/nationalities/monographs/Thamis.php>

More recent references to the Thangmi from the perspective of other groups warrant special attention. One of the most substantial accounts is provided by Brigitte Steinmann:

The Thamis are called mTha' mtshams kyi mi ('people of the frontiers') by their immediate neighbours, the Tamangs. They are also described by them as people living in the forests and eating wild products like poisonous mushrooms, which they make edible, and raw plants. They are said to be adepts of the black Bon and are also called mTha' 'khob yul, '[people living in] the barbarian endings of the world', primitives, without *dharma* and religious law. They are also named *kla klo*, 'barbarians'. (1996: 180) [italics and orthography retained from original article]

According to Steinmann's reading, from the Tamang perspective at least, there is no sense of unity between the two groups. The Thangmi are variously accused of being 'border people', 'wild people', 'barbarians', 'primitives' and practitioners of witchcraft, all of which portray the Thangmi as distinctly undesirable neighbours. While elements of the above description have a factual basis, namely that wild forest products still make up a substantial part of the Thangmi diet, and that there is no textual 'religious law' in the sense of written texts detailing ritual prohibitions and proscriptions, the unfavourable value judgements associated with these characteristics are of course subjective. However, as Shneiderman (2002a) suggests, Thangmi ritual practices may indeed bear some resemblance to non-Buddhist practices termed 'Bön' by the Tamang.

Françoise Pommaret's study of the Mon-pa is reminiscent of Steinmann's description of the Thangmi. In her opening paragraph, Pommaret suggests that the term *Mon* may apply to:

...various groups of Tibetan or Tibeto-Burmese [sic] origin living in the southern part of the Tibetan world, and that the term has been, for the Tibetans, often associated in the past with the notion of being non-Buddhist...It could be taken therefore as a generic term rather than a specific population name. (1999: 52-53)

Pommaret's description of Mon-pa clothing as traditionally woven from the fibre of the nettle *Girardinia palmata* (1999: 56) strikes a chord with what is known about traditional Thangmi dress,¹⁸ and when she searches for ethnic groups that fit the

¹⁸ Until comparatively recently, Thangmi men and women wore clothes made from the fibre of the Himalayan giant nettle, *allo* in Nepali and *naṇḍāi* in Thangmi. Growing at altitudes between 1,000 and 3,000m, the nettle *Girardinia diversifolia* (synonym: *Girardinia palmata*) has strong fibres which people throughout the Himalayan region have traditionally used for weaving clothes, mats, fishing nets, rope and sacks.

definition of Klo-pa or Mon-pa ‘barbarians’ living ‘on the southern fringes of the Tibetan world’ (1999: 65), it is of no surprise that the ‘Thami’ come to mind:

In Nepal, there is the group called Lalo (Kla-klo), ‘Barbarians’. They are the Thami who live in the district of Doramba [sic] in south-east Nepal and are designated as Lalo by their Tamang neighbours. They are described as non-Buddhist people living in wild jungle [sic] and eating raw vegetables. (1999: 65-66)¹⁹

While Mon-pa is also a name given to specific groups, most notably in ‘Arunachal Pradesh, Bhutan and the extreme south of Tibet’ (1999: 52), Pommaret correctly notes that the ‘possibility exists that both Mon-pa and Klo-pa are generic ‘blanket’ terms, which did not apply to specific people until recently’ (1999: 65).²⁰ The Thangmi fit the criteria for inclusion in the Mon-pa catch-all of non-Buddhist foraging peoples relying solely on shamans for their religion and ritual. One is reminded of Matisoff’s discussion of ‘outsiders’ names’ and his point that sometimes the same pejorative term ‘is applied to different peoples, providing clues to the inter-ethnic pecking-order in a certain region’ (1986: 6).

Related descriptions of the Thangmi even appear in travel handbooks for tourists, such *Dolakha: Trekking and Sight-Seeing off the Beaten Track*, by Greta Rana, Christian Haberli and Gerard Neville, in which the ‘Thamis’ are described as ‘animist’ practitioners who ‘follow the worship of the jhankri [shaman]’. The authors conclude that while their ‘racial origin is unknown’, it is ‘possible that when the Sherpas migrated to Nepal they pushed the original Bon or animist worshippers to the south’ (1984: 13).

1.2 Religious writings

A discrete corpus of Christian and evangelical literature exists on the Thangmi and their language. In this section I make a distinction between ‘Christian’ writings, which I take to be publications derived from research by scholars for whom faith is a guiding motivation, and ‘evangelical’ writings, which are guided or inspired by the fundamental motive of conversion. The examples offered below will illustrate this distinction more clearly.

¹⁹ ‘Doramba’, located in Rāmechāp district, is the name of the village which appears in Steinman’s account. It appears that Pommaret may have confused this with Dolakhā district.

²⁰ This had already been understood by a number of previous scholars, including Rolf Alfred Stein (1959). The term Mon-pa is discussed in detail and at length in van Driem (2001).

1.2.1 *Christian writings*

One of the most prominent publications of Christian linguistic scholarship is the *Ethnologue*, a catalogue of the world's languages which is now also available on the Internet. While the online entries are constantly being revised and updated, and thus difficult to cite with any lasting accuracy, the printed *Ethnologue* entries for the Thangmi over the last twenty-five years contain shifting notions about the location of the Thangmi population. The ninth edition of the *Ethnologue*, published in 1978, offers the most parsimonious description:

THAMI: 9,046 (1961 census). Dolakha. Also China. Tibeto-Burman family (ST), Bodic branch, Chepang group. Possible translation needed. (Grimes 1978: 312)

Under China, in the same edition, an entry reads 'THAMI: Tibet. Also in Nepal' (Grimes 1978: 247). The eleventh edition of the *Ethnologue* provides a little more information on the genetic position of the language within the Tibeto-Burman family, but reveals no more about the Thangmi in China:

20,000 in Nepal (1985). Dolakha. Also China. Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Karen, Tibeto-Burman, Bodic, Bodish, Himalayish, Eastern. Related to Baraamu (Grierson-Konow). Stone cutters and transporters, hunters, agriculturalists, pastoralists. Traditional religion, Hindu. No scripture. (Grimes 1988: 569)

In the thirteenth edition of the *Ethnologue*, the entry has been slightly modified to read 'THAMI...May also be in China, although not known by that name' (Grimes 1996: 734).

Two points relating to the descriptions contained in the *Ethnologue* are worthy of note. First, while no source or supporting data are given for the proposition that there may be a Thangmi population in China or Tibet, based on my own research and from the comments of scholars such as Pommaret and Steinmann cited above, it is entirely possible that an indigenous Thangmi population does exist in the Tibetan Autonomous Region. On a preliminary research trip to Tibet in the summer of 2003, I met with a small group of Thangmi seasonal migrants in the Nyalam valley who cross the border at Khasa into Chinese Tibet to work as carpenters and road builders for several months a year.

The second point of interest in the *Ethnologue* description is the suggestion that the Thangmi are 'hunters'. While some hunting is definitely still practised, this is now illegal and frowned upon by the authorities, and consequently few Thangmi openly admit to it. My own exposure to Thangmi hunting came through hearing gun shots at night when staying in Thangmi villages. Only after this continued for many

days was I finally told, and then somewhat shyly, that the neighbours were out hunting. How much time is spent hunting, and what percentage of the nutritional intake of an average Thangmi household is derived from wild meat, has yet to be investigated. Perhaps a more suitable description would be ‘gatherers’, given the heavy reliance on wild vegetable matter collected from the forests.

The Japanese linguist Sueyoshi ‘Tim’ Toba, a member of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, has been studying and researching the Thangmi language since the 1980s. Aside from Geneviève Stein, whose linguistic research remains unpublished, Toba’s documentation of the Thangmi language is by far the most substantial predating my own research in the area.

In 1988, Toba submitted a research proposal to the Central Department of English of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of Tribhuvan University,²¹ entitled ‘Thami: a trans-Himalayan language of Nepal’. Toba’s nine-page proposal provides a helpful overview of the few publications which deal in passing with the Thangmi people and their language, and he observes, quite rightly, that ‘the linguistic picture of the Thamis was quite vague due to the lack of data’ (1988: 1). Toba’s ‘hypothesis’, set out in section three of his statement, is as follows:

The Thami language...originated in the south western part of greater China and the Thamis settled in the present area a long time ago, then the language diverged from its sister languages to such an extent that they became completely unintelligible [sic] to each other. Somehow as the Thamis migrated to the present region the speakers of closely related languages moved away to the far west, and distantly related languages remained nearby. (1988: 1-2)

It is likely that Toba based his hypothesis on the assumption that Thangmi was indeed part of Shafer’s ‘West Himalayish Section’, and thus sought some migratory rationale to explain the geographical distance that lay between Thangmi speakers and speakers of other closely related languages. Toba’s contention, prior to conducting his own field research, was that Thangmi was ‘indeed a trans-Himalayan language in every sense of the word’ (1988: 2).

In 1990, after a series of short field visits to the Thangmi-speaking area supplemented by more in-depth language work with Thangmi speakers resident in Kathmandu, Toba compiled an 87-page ‘Thami-English Dictionary’. This work, which he modestly describes as ‘brief and preliminary’ (1990: i) is a substantial contribution to the description and documentation of the Thangmi language. In the

²¹ In the 1980s, there was no Department of Linguistics at Tribhuvan University, and linguists found an institutional home in either the university’s English Department or the Royal Nepal Academy (*Nepal Rājākīya Prajñā-Pratiṣṭhān*).

dictionary, Toba arranges the entries following the alphabetical order of English and employs the International Phonetic Alphabet to represent Thangmi words. The transitivity or intransitivity of verbs is indicated, and many verb entries also include an illustrative example, such as ‘**kel-sa** v.i. come (back), **kelengadu** I return’ [Toba’s orthography] (1990: 33). While commending Toba’s significant achievement, it must be pointed out that the utility of his dictionary to scholars as well as to the Thangmi people themselves is somewhat compromised by the inconsistencies which pervade the account. The following examples may help to explain why I was unable to rely on this work as a resource in the field against which I could check my own findings.

In the one-page *Introduction*, Toba provides a cursory chart of ‘the consonants and vowels in the Thami language’ alongside their Devanāgarī counterparts, including the ‘nasal’ consonant [ŋ] ङ and the ‘mid central’ vowel [ə] ए (1990: i). In the dictionary entries, however, he is not rigorous in the implementation of his own system. The reader is confronted with ‘**angkhyang** n. lap’ on the same page as ‘**aŋliŋ** n. shin bone’ (1990: 5), with no explanation of what determines his choice of ‘ng’ over ‘ŋ’. Similarly, the vowel ‘ā’ occurs frequently in dictionary entries, as in ‘**ākan** n. barley’ (1990: 2) and ‘**nāleng** temp. adv. now’ (1990: 49), although this phoneme is never mentioned in the vowel chart. Toba’s employment of hyphens is similarly non-standard, as some verbs are heavily segmented, such as ‘**ja-ha-sa** v.i. to get well; heal’ (1990: 28) and ‘**ali-nga-du** I like to, I want’ (1990: 3), while other verbal strings remain unsegmented, such as ‘**athinundu** v.t. I fetch’ (1990: 7). No explanation is given about what determines the difference.

Toba acknowledges his lack of time for such specifics in his research proposal:

As I try to do research on this language I can not cover every detail in the grammar of Thami in this limited time. So minor description may be omitted while important points should be, by all means, included in the dissertation [sic]. (1988: 3)

It also appears that Toba may have misheard certain phonemes. While every linguist comes to his or her field site with some ‘phonological baggage’ which needs to be unlearned *in situ*, Toba’s Japanese origins appear to have crept into his Thangmi dictionary in the form of lateral/trill inversions. For example, while Toba attests ‘**ratal** n. earthworm’ and ‘**ribi** temp.? after’ (1990: 64), all but a handful of Thangmi speakers from the Sindhupālcok dialect area reject both forms in favour of *latar* ‘earthworm’ and *libi* ‘after, later’ respectively.

Toba and his wife, Ingrid, compiled a four-page report on January 9, 1997, entitled ‘Preliminary Information for the KTM Language Assessment Project: Thami’ which contains a number of interesting observations as well as an invaluable bibliography of published materials in Nepali which deal with the Thangmi and their

language. In this report, the Tobas rightly note that the ‘Thami sometimes call themselves and their language Thangmi’, but add, ‘no further information’ (1997: 1). He further posits that while ‘Thami do not enjoy a high status in Nepali society’, they are also ‘not ashamed to be Thami’ (1997: 1). While the former is indisputably the case, I disagree with the latter comment. In fact, I believe that Thangmi ‘shame’, for lack of a better word, is a fundamental determining feature of everyday social life, and self-deprecating actions motivated by this emotion pervade many aspects of Thangmi culture. Concrete examples alongside reasons for this unfortunate state of affairs are given in the latter sections of this chapter.²²

A further interesting observation concerns what the Tobas term ‘language variation’. They state that ‘two dialects of Thami [are] recognized, that is, eastern Thami and western Thami’ (1997: 4), a proposition which I support. While suggesting that the ‘eastern dialect is more conservative’ (1997: 4), the Tobas do not specify in which manner the dialects diverge from one another, concluding instead that ‘dialect differences are not seen as a barrier’ (1997: 4).²³ Finally, the Tobas articulate their Christian proclivities in this report. In subsection VIII, the reader learns that ‘there are some believers in lower Suspa [a Thangmi village]’ and that ‘it is reported that the Thami Chr. [Christians] experience some form of persecution from other villagers’ (1997: 2). In the subsequent section, euphemistically entitled ‘Status of Language Development’, the reader is informed that ‘Gospel Recording produced a cassette tape with ten short stories from the NT [New Testament] in Thami in 1983’ (1997: 2).

1.2.2 *Evangelical writings*

The *Constitution of the Kingdom of Nepal* of November 9, 1990, states that:

Every person shall have the freedom to profess and practise his own religion as handed down to him from ancient times having due regard to traditional practices; provided that no person shall be entitled to convert another person from one religion to another. (Section 1, Article 19)

While the anti-missionary sentiment encapsulated in the Constitution is not new, as previous laws and codes had restricted proselytising within Nepal’s borders, the 1990 Constitution effectively prohibited proselytising and conversion, known in Nepali as

²² The importance of ‘shame’ and the critical self image that this has produced in the collective imagining of Thangmi society has also been noted by anthropologists Philippe de Patoul (1998b: 9-10) and Sara Shneiderman (2002b).

²³ My conclusion is once again the opposite. Thangmi dialect differences are socially and linguistically divisive, as shown in Section §4 of this chapter.

dharma parivartana garāunu. The international evangelical organisations active in Nepal, many of which are based in the United States, thus directly contravene the Constitution of Nepal when they set out to convert Nepali citizens.

To offer an example of the evangelical language employed by such organisations, consider the *Bethany World Prayer Center*, which has a number of ‘Unreached Peoples Prayer Profiles’, including one for the Thangmi. The cultural information offered as an introduction to the group is well-written and accurate, particularly the population estimates of 29,400 in the year 2000.²⁴ The nine ‘Prayer Points’ include: ‘Pray against the demonic spirits that are keeping the Thami bound’ and ‘Pray that God will raise up qualified linguists to translate the Bible [into the Thami language]’ (1997: 4). Of greater concern than these long-distance prayers, however, are the workings of the ‘Tailender Project’, documented by Colin Stott in the August 1997 edition of the newsletter *Sounds of Gospel Recordings*:

High on a mountain hillside in Nepal, Lachhuman made his way home after another day of farming on the steep terrain. As the twilight deepened, this Thami man shivered in the mist and coolness of the evening. Around him, the majestic peaks of the Himalayas thrust upwards in the sky. The growing darkness made him uneasy — perhaps because of his fear of the evil spirits. He would be glad to be home. Lachhuman was totally unaware that there was Someone greater than the evil spirits who could bring joy and peace to his life. Nobody had yet brought the Gospel to the Thamis. (1997: 1)

As a ‘Postscript’, Stott writes:

...not too long ago, the Gospel Recordings team in Nepal trekked into the mountains to record words about Jesus in the Thami language. The team later returned with cassettes and players. People in many countries were praying for this outreach, and God’s Spirit moved in a mighty way convicting the Thamis of sin. Many gave their lives to the Lord Jesus. And praise God, Lachhuman was among them! (1997: 2)

In the Spring 1994 edition of *Sounds of Gospel Recordings*, another short feature on the Thangmi states:

At another place, the leader of the village said, ‘We aren’t really Hindu or Buddhist. We don’t have a religion, but this sounds good for all the Thami people. Wait and see, we’ll all become Christians.’ (Anonymous 1994: 2)

²⁴ How the *Bethany World Prayer Center* came by this figure is unexplained, particularly since the official figures provided by His Majesty’s Government of Nepal are much lower. At the time of going to press, the URL was http://www.ksafe.com/profiles/p_code1/319.html.

The above citation positions the Thangmi as a people ‘without religion’, a metaphorically empty vessel waiting to be filled, and thus particularly susceptible to evangelical Christianity. From my own understanding, it appears that Thangmi villagers who have attended Christian prayer sessions lump evangelists together with development workers in terms of their earnest manner and unrealistic objectives. Thangmi villagers explain that while an immediate material benefit may be derived from attending one of their meetings, such as a free meal or free notebook, these *priŋ-ko mi* ‘outsiders’ (lit. ‘outside-GEN person’) have had little success in convincing Thangmi men and women to believe in an exclusively Christian god. As one Thangmi man once put it to me, ‘I don’t think that this *jekha deuta* (literally ‘big god’) of theirs speaks the same language as our *guru* (shaman)’. Having said this, there are a handful of Thangmi Christians in villages throughout the Thangmi-speaking area, often from the poorer families. More recently, the ideology advanced by Nepal’s Maoist insurgents has been successful in appealing to these same down-trodden members of society.

In short, international evangelical groups have targeted the Thangmi as a group open to conversion since they are neither exclusively Hindu nor Buddhist. When an evangelical team visited the Thangmi, they reported in the journal *Mission Frontiers*, “it was like reaping a ripe harvest. Most everyone [sic] seemed eager to hear the gospel” (Hargrove 1995: 34). There is little that the Nepali authorities can do about such proselytising, particularly when the activities of such missionaries are conducted beyond the reach of the district administration.

1.3 Journalistic writings

Since 1996, during my intermittent residence in Nepal, a number of articles on the Thangmi have appeared in the Kathmandu-based English language press. A single report is often rehashed, reworked and then republished by a rival newspaper some months later. The prejudices of certain reporters, not unlike those described above for social scientists, are apparent from the short examples given below.

On May 29, 1997, the *Kathmandu Post* ran an article entitled ‘Monkey duty keeps Thami children out of school’, from which readers learn that the ‘Thami people of eastern Nepal have their own language and their own nature-worshipping religion’, and that ‘although schools are available to them, few attend’ (Anonymous 1997: 2). The reason for this, it transpires, is that ‘parents expect their children to stay home and guard the family’s meagre crops against raiding monkeys’ (Anonymous 1997: 2). While the veracity of the report is not the topic of the present discussion, the intimations contained therein are worth a closer look. In this article, as in countless others, the Thangmi are portrayed as quaint primitives, practising strange

cultural habits which the reporter describes in the expectation that readers will agree with his unflattering assessment. As seen from the following citations, the words ‘backward’ and ‘ignorant’ are often used to describe the Thangmi and their culture.

The *Kathmandu Post* published an article on October 15, 1998, entitled ‘Thami observe Dashain beyond their means’, which reads as follows:

The backward and uneducated people of Thami community [sic] living in the northern belt of Dolakha district celebrate Dashain festival with great zeal and happiness but they fall into debt.

...They spend more money in [sic] local beer, alcohol and hospitality than for cloth and other food items during Dashain. (Anonymous 1998: 2)

Similarly, the *Rising Nepal*, the other main English language daily, ran a story entitled ‘Govt urged to bring out plan for Thamis’ on September 4, 2001. In this short piece, the reader is informed that:

The Thami community people [sic] have been facing various problems because of ignorance. They still give birth to 5-10 children. With their low-income source, it has been very difficult for them to bring up their children.

The Thami community has about 40,000 population [sic], who live in several hilly districts. (Anonymous 2001b: 3)

Another commonly invoked image is of Thangmi people as content and happy-go-lucky types for whom every new event is a cause for intense celebration. It is their alleged Hobbit-like zeal for a good party which attracts journalistic critique, as in the above description of their Dasain (Nepali *dasāī*) festivities, and it is a prejudice which also appears in the *Rising Nepal* article cited below:

Thami villagers revel as electricity comes to their homes

The local Thami people of Lapilang Village Development Committee (VDC) ...performed the ‘Mailuja’ and ‘Bhume Puja’ according to their tradition in celebration of the electrification of their areas from the local Bhadrawati Khola Micro Hydel Project.

They danced and sang throughout the day in celebration of the electrification of their villages.

The people of these areas also slaughtered a pair of pigeons and solemnised the Maipuja at the source of the dam and made an offering of a he-goat and performed the Bishwakarma and the Bhume Puja at the power house... (Anonymous 2000: 7)

While more scholarly publications record the Thangmi as a people without culture, a lack for which they are disparaged, in more journalistic writing, it is precisely their local colour and intractable culture (with all the requisite merry-making and

slaughtering) which is condemned as old-fashioned and anti-modern. The depiction of Thangmi culture in the Nepali press contrasts starkly with largely favourable representations of more prominent ethnic groups such as the Gurung, Magar, Tamang and Thakali.

1.4 Nepali language writings

Nepali writings on the Thangmi and their language can be divided into three categories: longer scholarly essays or books on the ethnic group, journalistic reports on Thangmi socio-cultural issues and events, and politically-motivated writings by ethnic activists.

1.4.1 Nepali language scholarship

Three books stand out when discussing Nepali language scholarship on the Thangmi: *Dolakhāko Aitihāsik Ruprekḥā*, *Dolakhāko Thāmī: Jāti tathā Sāskṛti - Ek Adhyayan* and *Thāmī Jātī Ek Paricaya*.

Dolakhāko Aitihāsik Ruprekḥā, first published in VS 2031 (i.e. AD 1974-75) and perhaps best translated as ‘An Historical Outline of Dolakhā’, by Dhanavajra Vajrācārya and Tek Bahādur Śreṣṭha, is a meticulous study of historical sources pertaining to the settlement and habitation of the Dolakhā region. It includes particularly valuable sections on the temples of Dolakhā bazaar and the surrounding villages. In Chapter 4 of their book, Vajrācārya and Śreṣṭha refer to an important inscription located in the archives of the Bhīmeśvar temple complex in Dolakhā. This inscription, dated to Nepal Saṃvat 688 (AD 1568), includes a list of the three social divisions within the community of the period, *prajā*, *sāja* and *thāmi* (2031: 97). The authors suggest that *prajā* refers to the Newar population, *sāja* describes the ethnic Tibetan inhabitants of the higher villages of Dolakhā, such as the Sherpa and Tamang, and that *thāmi* is a category exclusively reserved for the Thangmi. The authors associate the independent listing of the Thangmi with the group’s domination by Newar merchants and the inferior economic position of Thangmi peasants at the time of the inscription (2031: 98).²⁵ The inscription relates specifically to taxation, and the group referred to as *thāmi* are singled out as being required to pay taxation on demand.²⁶

Vajrācārya and Śreṣṭha also believe the Dolakhā dialect of Newar to have been significantly influenced by other languages spoken in the surrounding area,

²⁵ Casper J. Miller also cites Vajrācārya and Śreṣṭha’s book, drawing a similar conclusion from the temple inscription, ‘Bajracharya suggests the Thamis’ poverty as a reason for this independent listing’ (1997: 114).

²⁶ Specific taxes which the Thangmi were required to pay include *jāthvā* and *kethvā*.

including Nepali, Tamang and Thangmi. The authors point out numerous references to the Thangmi in the historical documents which they analyse, usually as servants or labourers. For example, they provide a description of a Thangmi slave known as Rameśvar, whose grandfather had gifted his own daughter to the father of a certain Ratna Vīr Siṃha. This transaction is dated as Saṃvat 1827 (i.e. AD 1770-71).

Prem Prasād Śarmā Sāpkoṭā's *Dolakhāko Thāmī: Jāti tathā Sāskṛti - Ek Adhyayan* 'A study of the Thamis of Dolakhā: the ethnic group and their culture' was published in VS 2045 (i.e. AD 1988-89) in Jhāpā district. The print run was only 500 copies, and it has been difficult to secure even a third-generation photocopy of the text. I possess a facsimile of sixty-two pages, but I cannot ascertain what percentage of the book this is. When living and working in the districts of Dolakhā and Jhāpā as a civil servant, Sāpkoṭā came into contact with the Thangmi ethnic group and felt compelled to study them for reasons given in the author's *Preface*:

I have the notion that detailed studies of the culture of such backward tribes [i.e. Thangmi] should be undertaken prior to their modernisation. [my translation]²⁷

This is a sentiment echoed in the 'Introduction', written by the Chief of the Mechi Multiple Campus in Bhadrapur, Mr. Dhanśyām Khanāl:

Another distinctive characteristic of his [Sāpkoṭā's] research is that the author has not only analysed various reasons for the backwardness of the Thami of Dolakhā, but has also pointed out various ways to eradicate those evils. [my translation]²⁸

Aside from these corrective tendencies, all too common in writings on the Thangmi by Nepali scholars, Sāpkoṭā's scholarship is solid and thorough, and he attempts to describe each part of Thangmi socio-cultural life in some detail. He adds supplementary information to corroborate the historical data contained in the Bhīmeśvar temple complex inscriptions which support the presence of a mediaeval Thangmi community in the area:

²⁷ The Nepali, in transliteration, reads, 'yastā pachāḍiekā jātiko sāskṛtimā ādhunikīkaraṇ hunuāgāvai vistṛt adhyayan garinu āvaśyak cha bhanne mero ghāraṇā cha' (2045: 1).

²⁸ The Nepali, in transliteration, reads, 'yas anusandhānko arko mukhya viśeṣatā ke raheko cha bhane lekhakle dolakhākā thāmī jātiko anunnat hunukā kāraṇ mātra hoina, tyasko nirākaraṇakā lāgi kehī akāṭya sujhāu prastut garera cintanśik nepālī śikṣit samūhalāi tyas jātipratī cintan garne preraṇā pani dinubhaeko cha' (2045: i).

The golden decrees issued by the seven ruling Kings of Dolakhā in VS 1624 [i.e. AD 1567-68] state *inter alia* that apart from two kinds of levies...all other levies have been withdrawn from the Thami. In the medieval age, the Thami occupied third place after the Bhotias and Tamang who were both in the second category. [my translation] (2045: 3-4)

Sāpkoṭā goes on to describe the advent of the Thangmi ethnic group according to Thangmi tradition (which I deal with in Section §5.2 of this chapter), the origin of their ethnonym, the physical characteristics of the group as a whole, the origin of their clans and the distribution of Thangmi speakers. He also offers a largely incorrect note on the language, a description of Thangmi dress, food and drink, a longer description of Thangmi festivals and life cycle rituals, a note on their religion and an interesting section on the influence of Thangmi culture on surrounding groups. The third section of the book is devoted to economic, educational and occupational concerns, supported by statistical data. In the fourth and final section, Sāpkoṭā discusses household structure and social life, including a section on folk songs. In his concluding remarks, the author returns to his original objective, and suggests a number of means, both economic and social, of raising the standard of living among the Thangmi community.

While Sāpkoṭā's writing is punctuated with unsubstantiated conjecture and historically improbable etymologies and reconstructions, he should be given credit for devoting at least sixty pages to the social and cultural life of the Thangmi community. The author emerges with considerable respect for the ways of life he sets out to describe, even though he hopes to change them.

Little can be said about the final book, *Thāmī Jātī Ek Paricaya*. I cannot establish whether this substantial corpus of writing is a book in its own right, or a section from a larger study, since I only have a much degraded fourth generation photocopy with no title or reference page. The pages that I do have follow a pattern similar to that outlined for Sāpkoṭā's *Dolakhāko Thāmī: Jātī tathā Sāskṛti - Ek Adhyayan* discussed above, with sections on origin tales, clans, culture and education. A preliminary translation suggests that this study contains little first-hand information, and that the book is rather a compilation of secondary material.

A number of other scholarly works in Nepali on the Thangmi and their language, published either as chapters in books or as articles in journals, should be discussed here. On Asār 12, vs 2049 (i.e. Friday, June 26, 1992), Śrīvīkram Rāṇā wrote a one-page article entitled 'Thāmī Jātī: Sāskṛti ra Bhāṣā' (The Thami ethnic group: their culture and language) for *Sāptāhik Nepali Āvāj*. In the third paragraph, Rāṇā suggests that the Thangmi were a hunting and foraging people from the western regions of Nepal prior to moving east where they eventually settled. He goes on to

describe the jungle huts he believes the Thangmi used to inhabit, and suggests that the Thangmi are related to the Raute and Cepang ethnic groups, although he provides no evidence to support any of his claims.²⁹ Alongside a short description of Thangmi rituals, Rāṇā makes a series of other unsubstantiated claims about the Thangmi, including a suggestion that their death rites and funeral activities appear to be Buddhist.³⁰ Although there may be some elements of Buddhist, or Bön, tradition incorporated into the ritual sequence, Thangmi death rites are of an indisputably indigenous form.³¹

Dr. Dil Bahādur Kṣetrī, Assistant Professor of History in Pokhara, has written an excellent study of the funerary rituals of the Thangmi entitled ‘Thāmī Jātiko Mṛtyū-Sāskār: Sākṣipta Carca’ (Death rituals of the Thami: a short discourse) in *Janajāti Mañc*. Kṣetrī’s careful study demonstrates an appreciation of indigenous Thangmi understandings of death, and he supports his hypotheses with precise observation and description.

Ṭaṅka Bahādur Rāi’s VS 2041 (i.e. AD 1984-85) four-page article in the journal *Pāruhān* entitled ‘Thāmī Janjīvan - Choṭo Paricaya’ (Thami cultural life - a brief introduction) suggests that the total Thangmi population is around 70,000.³² Rāi’s article tends towards political polemic, suggesting that the socio-economic situation of Thangmi villagers was far better under Kiranti rule than under the Rāṇās who followed, a belief which may in part be motivated by his own Kiranti ancestry. He also describes the area in which the Thangmi presently reside as being part of Khambūvān.³³ According to Rāi’s understanding, under Khambūvān sovereignty, the Thangmi people had not only a script (*lipī*) for their language but also practised *Prākṛt Mundhum*, their own shamanistic and animistic religion which was later forcibly suppressed by the Rāṇā rulers (2041: 1). Since Rāi offers no evidence to support his claims, the reader cannot but help but feel that the author’s scholarship has been coloured by his own political and ethnic concerns.

Dr. Cūḍā Maṇi Bandhu, a Nepali linguist at Tribhuvan University, conducted a survey of a number of the ethnic languages of Nepal in VS 2024 (i.e. AD 1967-68). He includes data on Jirel, Sunwar, Tamang and Thangmi in his 38-page report, to name but a few of the languages covered. While not extensive, the few

²⁹ Rāṇā’s suggestion, in transliteration, reads, ‘yo jātilāi pherante jātiko rupmā pahile liinthyo. paścim nepālbāṭa tī pūrva lāgekā hun’ (2049).

³⁰ In transliteration, his suggestion reads, ‘yī jātiko mṛtyu sambandhī sāskār herdā yinīharū bauddha dharmāvalambī jastā dekhinchān’ (2049).

³¹ See Shneiderman (2002a) and Section §8.4 of this chapter.

³² The Nepali, in transliteration, reads, ‘thāmīharūko anumānīt janasākhyā sattarīhajār jati cha’ (2041: 1).

³³ ‘Thāmīharūko basobās bhaeko bhūbhāg khambūvān ilākā antargat pardacha’ (2041: 1).

basic verb forms and conjugations that he supplies for Thangmi, along with a word list of 100 basic lexical items, form an important early collection of linguistic data from the Thangmi-speaking area, predating even Geneviève Stein's 1970s work in Ālampu. Bandhu's Thangmi word list shows considerable influence from Nepali, a fact perhaps attributable to the author's collection of data in and around the market town of Dolakhā which lies in the southern periphery of the Thangmi-speaking area, rather than in the more remote Thangmi heartland. For example, while Bandhu attests *bābu* (item no. 6 on his word list) as being the Thangmi word for 'father', the kinship term *apa* 'father' is in fact used throughout the Thangmi-speaking realm (2024: 33).³⁴ Bandhu also attests the Nepali loan word *nidhār* to be the Thangmi term of choice for 'forehead' (2024: 34, item no. 32 on his list), while I have found Thangmi from both the Dolakhā and Sindhupālcok dialect areas to commonly use the indigenous term *kapale* 'forehead'.

Thangmi culture is given a half-page write-up in Volume II of *Mecīdekhi Mahākālī* 'From Mecī to Mahākālī', published by His Majesty's Government of Nepal in VS 2031 (i.e. AD 1974-75). The paragraph-length descriptions of Thangmi rituals are of little note, being both in an abridged format and largely inaccurate, but two other sections are more engaging. The account opens with a description of the origin of the ethnonym 'Thāmī', which the author relates to a corruption of Ṭhimī, a Newar town near Kathmandu. The original Thangmi couple, the reader learns, came from Kumañ Ghāṭ and Simaṅghāṭ to Ṭhimī, where they settled and had a number of sons. One of these sons then allegedly left to go east and became Rai, once again underscoring a perceived relationship with Kiranti peoples. The other brothers stayed in Ṭhimī, where they worked as potters and manual labourers. As inhabitants of this locale, they eventually assumed the name 'Thāmī' (HMG 2031: 109). While I have never heard this account from Thangmi themselves, the Newar town of Ṭhimī does hold a special place in Thangmi collective memory. Many Thangmi individuals believe the town to be home to a temple which their ancestors helped build, bearing an inscription documenting the presence of the Thangmi in this otherwise Newar settlement.

³⁴ Even ethnic Thangmi from Darjeeling and Sikkim, who have not spoken their ancestral tongue for two generations, commonly address their father as *apa* 'father' rather than using the otherwise common Nepali and English terms *buvā* and *daddy*.

The other section of note in *Mecādekhi Mahākālī* states that ‘according to tradition, the Thami are prohibited from even touching a pig. It is believed that touching pigs will result in bodily harm due to the wrath of the Earth God. This is why the Thangmi people do not raise pigs’ [my translation].³⁵

1.4.2 *Nepali language literature and journalism*

References to the Thangmi ethnic group also appear in Nepali literature, in the form of a short story by Rām Lāl Adhikārī, published in Kathmandu in 1997. Entitled *Thaminī Kānchī*, Adhikārī’s seven-page story is revealing for the manner in which it portrays the life of a poor Thangmi woman who works as a porter in the Indian town of Darjeeling. At one point in the story, as *Thaminī Kānchī* carries the bags of a foreign couple, they offer her some of their food. She rejects the offer, disgusted, saying to herself ‘foreigner’s food is contaminated with cow meat’.³⁶ This is a surprising aversion for a Thangmi woman, given that consumption of cow meat is one of the primary markers of Thangmi cultural identity, as discussed in Section §2.3 below, and also because beef is widely consumed in and around Darjeeling by members of various ethnic groups. The reaction evidently reflects the writer’s proclivities more than that of the imaginary Thangmi woman he describes. The term ‘Thāmī’ is used as a general or universal designation meaning ‘coolie’ or ‘porter’ in Darjeeling, much as the ethnonym ‘Sherpa’ has come to be synonymous with ‘mountain or trekking guide’ in Nepal. As such, then, the *Thaminī Kānchī* of Adhikārī’s story may not even be an ethnic Thangmi.

Since the democratic movement of 1990, the Nepali press has grown considerably. Alongside the emergence of FM radio stations, the newly found freedom of speech has led to a blossoming of Nepali-language national dailies, many of which now carry short features from remote districts on the socio-cultural lives of Nepal’s many ethnic groups. The Thangmi often feature in such reports, and few weeks now pass without some national or local paper running a short piece on their culture or festivals. Only after I started collecting, reading and translating these articles did I realise that many are rehashed versions of earlier pieces, or even literal reprints with no words changed, originating from the syndicated Nepali news source *Rāṣṭriya Samācār Samiti* (RĀ.SA.SA.).

³⁵ The Nepali reads, ‘thāmīko paramparā anusār sūgur chunu pani hūdaina. choemā bhūme deutā lāgī aṅghaṅ huncha banne bhanāi hūdā thāmī jātile sūgur pālne garekā chainan’ (HMG 2031: 110).

³⁶ The Nepali reads, ‘kuirekā khāne kurāmā gāiko māsuko laṭpaṭ bhanera uslāi ghin lāgthyo’ (1997: 95).

The Nepali weekly, *Surya Sāptāhik*, ran an article in VS 2058 (i.e. AD 2001-02) entitled ‘Āyasrot Nabhae Pani Dherai Bāl Baccā Janmāuchan Thāmīharū’ (In spite of their low income, Thamis bear many offspring) in which the reader is informed that anywhere between three and nine children are born to most Thangmi families, and that the total population of the ethnic group is 40,000. According to the journalist, their meagre income and small land holdings are not enough to support most Thangmi households, and as a result their standard of living has decreased.

The much-rumoured fecundity of the Thangmi is the topic of a *Gorkhāpatra* article in which Thangmi families are allegedly sixteen or seventeen strong (Anonymous VS 2057(a): 16). According to the article, we learn that the economic, social and educational status of the Thangmi has been deteriorating by the day. Once again, their poverty is attributed to family size, which is an indication of the supposedly universal Thangmi rejection of family planning due to the belief that medical interventions make men weak and unable to carry loads. These claims are not supported by my fieldwork observations.

Three days after the publication of the above *Gorkhāpatra* article, on Saturday, May 13, 2000, one of the main Nepali language dailies, *Kāntipur*, ran an article with similar content and a slightly revised message. Entitled ‘Thāmīharū Anna Pākepachi Mātra Āphantako Kiriya Garchan’ (Thami only perform death rituals after the crops have ripened), the article suggests that large Thangmi families lead to poverty and that Thangmi villagers are unable to perform their death rituals on time as a result of their lack of money or crops or both (Anonymous VS 2057(b): 13). These two articles purport to describe the state of affairs in the village of Khāḍādaivī in Rāmechāp district, and the influx of journalists asking questions appears to have been too much for Kāle Thāmī, a Thangmi man interviewed by one reporter who is cited as saying, ‘we are in a hurry, nothing will happen if we share our problems with you, and our time will be wasted’.³⁷

One of the more far-fetched newspaper reports on the Thangmi appeared in *Spacetime Daily*, on Thursday, January 11, 2001. Entitled ‘Dolakhāko Thāmīharū Āphulāi ‘Yatī’ ko Santān Thānchan’ (The Thamis of Dolakhā think they are descendants of the Yeti), and written by Rājendra Mānandhar, this article attracted a fair amount of attention upon publication. Mānandhar cites fifty-five-year-old Vīr Mān Thāmī as saying that he believes he is descended from the union of a female Yeti with a human. The story is so ludicrous that it appears Vīr Mān Thāmī may have been taking the reporter for a ride. Mānandhar describes the Thangmi inhabitants of

³⁷ In transliteration, the Nepali reads, ‘hāmīlāi hatār cha, tapālāi hāmro duḥkha batāera mātra ke huncha ra baru din mātrai jāncha’ (Anonymous VS 2057(b): 13).

the village of Tāthelī as having a ‘lifestyle quite similar to that of Stone Age people’, and adds insult to injury when he suggests that ‘at a glance, they look like Yetis and most of them resemble each other. Looking at their big feet and robust hairy bodies, their belief seems quite true’ [my translation].³⁸ Mānandhar’s comments were not well received by literate members of the Thangmi community in Kathmandu and Darjeeling, among whom his article was widely circulated, particularly since he categorically states in his conclusion that the Thangmi are an ‘illiterate and poverty-stricken ethnic group of whom none has studied beyond Class Four’.³⁹ After reading such an article, the grievances of Thangmi ethnoactivists, which I address below, are easy to understand.

1.4.3 *Nepali language political writings*

The democratic movement of 1990 ushered in a period in which ethnic rights activists acquired significant political prominence. Such ethnoactivists believe the *jana-jāti* groups of Nepal to have suffered considerable exploitation at the hands of Nepal’s Nepali-speaking higher Hindu castes, and have set out plans to right these wrongs.⁴⁰ Along with creating political parties and social committees, which sponsor cultural programmes, indigenous activists have established a number of journals and newspapers dedicated to their cause. Many of these publications have carried reports on the Thangmi language and the culture of its speakers.

The November 1997 edition of *Roduñ*, published by the Kirāt Bhāṣā Sārakṣaṇa Samiti (the Committee for the Conservation of Kiranti Languages), contains a three-page Thangmi word list by Uttar Kumār Cāmlīñ Rāī. The data were collected in Thangmi-speaking villages in Dolakhā district, and the editors brought copies of the magazine back to these same villages where they were sold to eager villagers. Some literate Thangmi were disappointed, however, since many of the words listed were incorrectly transcribed and they felt their eleven rupees to have been misspent. Rāī suggests that the Thangmi word for ‘eye’ is **mhēsi*, a form rejected by Thangmi speakers in favour of *mesek* ‘eye’, and he nasalises *la* ‘hand, arm’ to give **lā*, also rejected by Thangmi speakers (1997: 2). The author of the

³⁸ The Nepali reads, ‘...thāmīharūko jīvanśailī, rahansahan ra cetanā karib-karib dhuñgeyugakai jasto cha’ and ‘jhaṭṭa herdā kālpanik yatijastai dekhine unīharūmadhye dheraiko ākṛti mildojuldo dekhincha. ṭhulāṭhulā khuṭṭā, asvābhāvik moṭo śarīr ra śarīrbhari āsāmātya rāū umriekā kāraṇ unīharūko dābī hāvādārī lāgna sakdaina’ (Mānandhar VS 2057).

³⁹ ‘āsīkṣit, garibīle pilsiekā yī jātiharūmadhye kasaile pani cār kakṣābhandā baḍhī paḍhekā chainan’ (Mānandhar VS 2057).

⁴⁰ The term *jana-jāti* is confusingly translated as ‘nationalities’ in official government documents, when the term in fact refers to the indigenous and oppressed ethnic groups of Nepal.

article devotes over a page and a half to a list of all the Thangmi numerals up to 100, widely seen by Thangmi readers to be specious since they are never used. Many members of the Thangmi community continue to express an interest in having a dictionary of their own language, and I was frequently asked to assemble such a word list in modified Devanāgarī as part of my work.⁴¹

The government-backed *Rāṣṭriya Janajāti Vikās Samiti*, officially translated as the ‘National Committee for the Development of Nationalities’, published the *Rāṣṭriya Bhāṣākā Kavita Saṅgālo* ‘An Anthology of Poems in Languages of the Nationalities’ in VS 2056 (i.e. AD 1999-2000) which included poems written in each of Nepal’s indigenous languages. Two poems in the Thangmi language are included, each with a Nepali translation, written by Buddhi Māyā Thāmī and Prakāś Thāmī ‘Dūsūpere’ respectively. Both poems show considerable influence from Nepali.

2. Ethnonyms and toponyms

Ethnolinguistics is an arena in which indigenous exegesis and Western scholarship meet and often validate one another, and nowhere is this more apparent than in regard to ethnonyms. In this section, my aim is not to posit a tentative Himalayan *Völkerwanderungen* on the basis of similar-sounding ethnonyms, but rather to deal with three Thangmi ethnonyms in a synchronic and diachronic perspective. As Charles Ramble writes of Tibetan ethnonyms, ‘we may well be dealing not with the wanderings of tribes but the migrations of names’ (1997: 495).

2.1 Thangmi ethnonyms

In his study entitled ‘Placename [sic] persistence in Washington State’, Grant Smith notes that place names ‘generally tell us far more about the people doing the naming than about the features named’ (1993: 62). The same may be said for ‘people names’ or ethnonyms, and choices governing the use of one ethnonym over another, and the respective etymologies that users invoke in so doing, reveal more about the *ethno-namer* than the *ethno-namee*.

James Matisoff has described what he refers to as ‘nomenclatural complexity’ (1986: 3) in the Tibeto-Burman language family, in which ‘rampant polynymy prevails’ (1986: 4). ‘Rare is the language that is not known by more than

⁴¹ Together with my main language teacher and colleague, Bīr Bahādur ‘Lile’ Thāmī, I compiled a trilingual Nepali-Thangmi-English glossary which was published by Martin Chautari in Kathmandu with publishing subventions from the British Embassy in Kathmandu, the International Centre for Integrated Mountain Development (ICIMOD), the Kathmandu branch of Eco Himal and the Alice Cozzi Heritage Language Foundation (Turin with Thami 2004). A version of the trilingual glossary employing Nepali Unicode can also be accessed online at <http://iris.lib.virginia.edu/tibet/reference/dictionary/thangmi/index.php>.

one name', Matisoff concludes (1986: 4), and Thangmi is an illustrative case in point. The three existing ethnonyms for the Thangmi ethnic group are: *Thāmī*, *Thangmi* and *Thani*.⁴² Brian Houghton Hodgson is credited with first recording the name of the language and people as 'Thāmi', which he derived from *Thāmī*, the Nepali designation for the group. Mother tongue Nepali speakers who refer to the ethnic group as *Thāmī* often invoke etymological arguments to justify their choice of ethnonym. A common, albeit highly unlikely story, is predicated on the Nepali word *thām* meaning 'pillar, column, prop, main stem' or 'tree trunk'. The story relating to the origin of the ethnonym *Thāmī* is worth relating in full to illustrate the unlikelihood of this etymological proposition. Once upon a time, a *bāhun* (Brahmin) man saw a semi-naked stranger approaching him carrying a heavy tree trunk. When stopped and questioned about where he was going and what his name was, the stranger replied that he was hoping to barter the wood for grain, and confessed that he had no name. The *bāhun* bought the wood for use in the construction of his house and named the man *thāmī*, literally 'the one who carries the wooden pillar'.

This absurd anecdote illustrates the manner in which even the genesis tales of indigenous communities within Nepal are liable to be hijacked by socially dominant Hindu ideologies. Etymological explanations for the Nepalified term *Thāmī* are offered by Thangmi and non-Thangmi alike, but these elucidations are unlikely since they are based on a non-native term for the group.⁴³

The use of the marker *ī* suffixed to a proper noun to indicate a language or people, such as *Nepālī*, derived from *Nepāl*, is an Indo-Aryan morphological process not characteristic of Tibeto-Burman languages. The derivation of *Thāmī* from *thām* thus reveals more about the morphological characteristics of the Nepali language than it does about any inherent characteristics of the Thangmi ethnic group or their language.

The second objection to the Nepalified term *Thāmī* is that it is likely that the Nepali term *Thāmī* derives from the indigenous term *Thangmi*, rather than the other way around. The Nepali etymology of the term *Thāmī* reflects the belief that prior to the wayside encounter between this unidentified tribal man and the *bāhun*, the

⁴² In the Swadesh 100 word list which she submitted to the *Comparative Vocabularies of Languages of Nepal*, compiled by the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Geneviève Stein offers 'Tharimi' as a local variant of 'Thami' (1972). I have asked many native speakers of Thangmi for confirmation of this ethnonym, but have as yet received no positive response. Even during my period of research in Ālampu, where Stein herself worked, I was unable to unearth the origin of the term 'Tharimi'.

⁴³ Matisoff (1986) has coined a range of neologisms for different classes of ethnonyms. *Thāmī*, according to his schema, would be an *exonym*, since it is a term used by outsiders to refer to the group and their language.

Thangmi ethnic group had no name, no livelihood other than as ‘beasts of burden’, and consequently no place in the caste system. The absence of the Thangmi from the caste hierarchy is particularly salient in a country such as Nepal, where ethnic and caste groups were historically stratified according to occupation, with manual labourers positioned at the lower end of the scale. Thus, in the Nepali explanation of the term *Thāmī*, folk etymology is used to reconfirm the position of the Thangmi ethnic group near the bottom of the caste system.⁴⁴

The ethnonym *Thangmi* is the term of choice among most members of the community itself. This *autonym* or ‘self-name’ is used almost exclusively by Thangmi speakers in mother tongue linguistic interactions, and is rarely heard in Nepali-language discussions with individuals from other ethnic groups.⁴⁵ *Thangmi*, then, is a term whose distribution is limited to intra-ethnic interactions, as opposed to inter-ethnic interactions which take place in Nepali, in which the term *Thāmī* is used. Although rarely heard outside of the community, *Thangmi* remains the indigenous ethnonym of choice and the one I have adopted in all of my writings in English on the people and their language. This choice reflects the rejection of the Nepalified *Thāmī* by culturally active members of the Thangmi community who challenge the process of assimilation of autochthonous Thangmi culture into the value systems propagated by Hindu Nepal.

The ethnonym Thangmi has two possible cognates in Tibetan: *thang mi*, ‘people of the steppe or pasture lands’,⁴⁶ and the more disparaging but potentially more plausible *mthaḥ mi*, ‘border people’, ‘neighbouring people’ or ‘barbarians’.⁴⁷ We must be wary, however, of back-to-front analyses in which Tibetan etymologies are unearthed to fit indigenous words from unwritten Tibeto-Burman languages. Such an approach can lead to the belief that the ‘true’ meaning of words can only be found in Tibetan and Sanskrit dictionaries, while a closer cognate might be found in some other language, e.g. Thangmi or Newar. András Höfer offers wise words of warning against an overly Tibeto-centric approach to etymology in a recent article on Tamang oral texts:

⁴⁴ The Thangmi are notably absent from the *Mulukī Ain* of 1854, the legal code introduced by the first Rāṇā prime minister, a document which combined ancient Hindu sanctions and customary law with common law modelled on British and Indian practices.

⁴⁵ Matisoff rejects *endonym* in favour of *autonym*, finding the latter ‘more immediately understandable’ (1986: 5).

⁴⁶ There is no single English word which corresponds exactly to Tibetan *thang*. Jäschke offers an entire column on the various contextual meanings of *thang*, including ‘flat country’, ‘a plain’, ‘steppe’, ‘meadow’, ‘prairie’, and ‘pasture ground’ (1990: 228); Charles Alfred Bell offers ‘plain’ (1920: 364), while Melvyn C. Goldstein suggests ‘plain, steppe’ to best convey the meaning (2001: 485).

⁴⁷ Sarat Chandra Das (1902: 598).

...despite some archaic forms and despite numerous borrowings from Tibetan, the language of the texts in question is Tamang, rather than some sort of corrupt Tibetan. Etymological meanings serve to throw some light on the sources and the development of Tamang oral tradition, rather than to 'correct' present meanings as given by the informants. (2000: 234-235, note 3)

Höfer's point is welcome: Himalayan ethnic groups and their cultures are all too often portrayed as being non-standard offshoots of one of the 'great' linguistic or religious traditions, rather than as viable cultural entities in their own right. It follows, then, that Tibetan language etymologies for the name Thangmi are not linguistically diagnostic but rather interesting propositions to bear in mind.

While the first etymology, *thang mi*, is a direct rendering of Tibetan orthography, the second Tibetan etymology, *mthah mi*, may be a more plausible cognate for the name of the ethnic group under discussion.

It is unlikely that an ethnic group would adopt a disparaging name to refer to themselves. If the name was not so much chosen by members of the community as it was assigned by others from outside, then by whom was it foisted upon the people now known as *Thangmi*? Were the people who came to be labelled as Thangmi aware of the Tibetan meaning of the word and its inauspicious connotation, or were they oblivious of its significance?⁴⁸ Matisoff makes a helpful point regarding such terms:

Human nature being what it is, exonyms are liable to be pejorative rather than complimentary, especially where there is a real or fancied difference in cultural level between the ingroup and the outgroup. (1986: 6)

An insight into the term *Thangmi* may come from the unlikely corner of yet another ethnonym. Thangmi shamans refer to themselves and the group as a whole as *Thani*, and while this term is not commonly used by laymen, it is still widely known. The first syllable of the ethnonym *Thani* may be cognate with Tibetan *mthah*, 'edge', 'border' or 'frontier', and it is possible that *ni* may be cognate with Zhangzhung *ni* 'man', 'human' or 'people'.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Persecuted and oppressed minorities have been given disparaging 'nicknames' throughout history. One need look no further than to Central Europe, where many Ashkenazi Jews were given defamatory names three centuries ago which they still hold today.

⁴⁹ Zhangzhung is the name given to the now extinct West Himalayish language and historical kingdom which presently forms part of western Tibet. According to Haahr, *ni* may be translated as 'human being, people' (1968: 34).

While this Zhangzhung cognate is at present no more than a hypothesis, it should not be ruled out *a priori*. Some ethnic groups speaking Tibeto-Burman languages who presently inhabit the southern flanks of the Himalayas have their origins in non-Buddhist Tibet and may have been Bön practitioners fleeing from religious persecution.⁵⁰ Such an explanation would fit well with the earlier proposed etymology of *mīhaḥ mi*, ‘frontier people’.⁵¹

That the term *Thani* is at present only used by shamans could be explained by processes of linguistic attrition and decline by which previously commonplace terminology and vernacular lexicon are retained only in a newly created ritual language which evolves to preserve salient cultural idiom. The Nepalified *Thāmī* is a corruption of *Thangmi* or even the potentially more archaic *Thani*. This Nepali term most probably dates to the Khaś-Thangmi encounter which began in Dolakhā no more than 150-200 years ago, when Nepali-speaking high-caste Hindus were encouraged to colonise fertile hill areas by the Rāṇā prime ministers in Kathmandu.⁵²

There are, then, three names in currency for the ethnic group, each of which carries a different cultural weight. The Nepalified *Thāmī* is of secondary importance, for both cultural and linguistic reasons. The remaining two ethnonyms are interesting for the very reason that they do not compete for ethnolinguistic validity, but rather complement one another. Thangmi shamans maintain that the terms *Thangmi* and *Thani* have the same meaning and may be used interchangeably.

2.2 Thangmi terms for the Tamang, the Newar and the *Se* connection

There are no indigenous Thangmi terms for any of the Rai groupings to the east, nor are there Thangmi names for the Sherpa and Tibetan populations to the north. Specifically Thangmi terms for other regional ethnic groups are limited to the Tamang, the Newar and a selection of Hindu castes.

By far the most interesting of these words is the Thangmi ethnonym for the Tamang: *sem* in the Sindhupālcok dialect of the language and *semni* in the Dolakhā dialect. Language-internally, the morpheme *sem* has no traceable etymological meaning, although the second syllable of the latter term, *ni*, may once again be cognate with Zhangzhung *ni* ‘human being, people’. When viewed in a comparative context, however, the Thangmi term *sem* ~ *semni* ‘Tamang’ abounds with possible cognates. In many varieties of modern Newar, *sāy* is used to refer to Tamangs,

⁵⁰ Ramble writes of ‘the flight of the Bonpos of Central Tibet from persecution at the hands of Khri Srong-lde-bstan in the eighth century’ (1997: 500).

⁵¹ To offer a comparative example, Ukrainians derive their name from *Ukraina*, ‘the borderland region’, which is how the area is seen from the dominant Russian perspective.

⁵² Upon retirement from the armed forces, officers were often granted land in remote districts by the central government.

Gurungs, Manangis and all other peoples sharing some surface resemblance to Tibetans, while *sami* is an older now obsolete form for Tibet proper (Manandhar 1986: 253).⁵³ According to Malla *et al.*, in Classical Newar *sāja* meant ‘Tibetan, related to Tibet, Tibetan-origin’ (2000: 474), somewhat like the Nepali term *bhoṭe*.⁵⁴ Of the Newar ‘Sē’, Ramble writes:

...it is likely that the latter was applied specifically to the Tamang and by extension to other people of Tibetan appearance. After all, it is Tamangs who are the immediate neighbours of the Newars in the Kathmandu Valley, and the ethnic group with which they would have been constantly in contact. (1997: 498-499)

The Thangmi situation is once again similar, as their closest Tibetan-like neighbours are also the Tamang, who practise an indigenous form of Buddhism and make some use of Tibetan liturgical texts.⁵⁵ In brief then, Thangmi *sem* ~ *semni* ‘Tamang’ and modern Newar *sāy* ‘Tibetan, Tamang, Gurung’ are etymologically related terms used to describe similar peoples.

While the Thangmi data are presented here for the first time, the importance of the Newar term *sāy* and its cognates in other Tibeto-Burman languages has been noted previously by many other scholars. Cognates of the Thangmi term *sem* ~ *semni* ‘Tamang’ are found in ethnonyms used by speakers of Kiranti languages further east. Dumi, a language spoken in Khoṭāñ district in the Sagarmāthā zone of eastern Nepal, has a range of ethnonyms for neighbouring ethnic groupings, including *naksim* ‘Gurung’ (van Driem 1993a: 400), *neksim* ‘Newari’ (1993a: 401), *Saksim* ‘Tamangs, Sherpa, cis-Himalayan Tibetan’ (1993a: 413) and *Suksim* ‘Sunuwar’ (1993a: 420). The Dumi element <-sim>, the final syllable in each of the above four ethnonyms, is most probably related to Thangmi *sem* and Newar *sāy*, and its presence in a complex pronominalising Kiranti language of eastern Nepal lends further support to Ramble’s suggestion that, ‘Se may be an archaic ethnonym of certain Nepalese people’ (1997: 498).⁵⁶

⁵³ Newar traders, merchants and artisans have long had close historical ties with Tibetans and with related neighbouring groups, such as the Tamang.

⁵⁴ See Ramble’s brief but interesting discussion of the unflattering term *bhoṭe* (1993: 17).

⁵⁵ This is the perception of the Tamang from the Thangmi perspective. This view is subjective and I make no claim that the Tamang are as homogenous as the Thangmi believe them to be.

⁵⁶ René Huysmans (personal communication, December, 2000) has drawn my attention to the existence of an ethnic group known as *Sām* living in the north-west quadrant of Bhojpur district. They speak an endangered Kiranti language and inhabit the villages of Okharbāṭe, Dobhāne and Limkhim near the Lāhure Kholā. The existence of the *Sām* people has been noted by a number of scholars, but as yet no detailed information is in the public domain. Gerd Hanßon devotes two pages to the *Saam* people and their language in the published findings of the Linguistic Survey of Nepal and concludes that ‘the label of Saam is used here as a term

If the Newar, Thangmi, Dumi and Gurung terms are indeed related, then we may look to neighbouring groups for other possible etymological links. One cognate which immediately comes to mind is the term *Se* from the Mustang area. The discussion around the importance of this ethnonym, the *Se skad* language, and the relationship to the polity known as *Se rib*, has been recently reactivated by Charles Ramble in a number of articles (most notably 1997 and 1998). Ramble suggests that ‘the element *Se* is the obsolete ethnonym of a people that lent its name to compounds such as *Se skad* (the ‘language of Se’) and *Se rib* (possibly ‘enclave of the Se’), as well as a number of other expressions that are currently used in Southern Mustang’ (1998: 124). Ramble has pointed out that a number of place names in the Muktināth Valley are Seke rather than Tibetan words (1998: 104), and has noted that a ‘seventeenth-century document...implies that the indigenous people were at least culturally different’ (1998: 124-125).

Based on the data outlined above, there is good reason to posit *Se/sem/sāy/sim* as a pan-Himalayan descriptive ethnonym for Tibetan-like people. Ramble writes of the need to re-examine both the ‘evidence available in Tibetan literature’ and in the ‘ethnography of Nepal...to shed light on the significance of the term *Se* on both sides of the border’ (1997: 486). The findings from Thangmi and Dumi add an eastern Nepalese perspective to a discussion previously restricted to languages in the central and western regions of Nepal, Newar from Kathmandu and Tibetan to the north.

Finally, the Newar are known as *roimi* in the Thangmi language. The second element, <-mi>, is derived from the Thangmi noun *mi*, ‘person’,⁵⁷ while the initial element <roi-> may well be related to the pan-ethnic term *Rai*.⁵⁸

2.3 Thangmi terms for caste Hindus and the importance of beef

The Thangmi have a range of names for the Hindu caste groups with whom they interact. Thangmi speakers in Sindhupālcok make no distinction between Chetrī and Brahmin, referring to all high-caste Hindus as *doη*, literally ‘intestines’. The folk explanation for this term is entertaining, if not altogether flattering, and most high-caste Hindus living in Thangmi villages remain oblivious to the use of the term and its Thangmi meaning. The account of the origin of the term goes as follows: A *bāhun*

intermediate between the name for a single language and a cover term for a group of languages’ (1991: 85). Hanßon’s conclusion strikes a chord with Ramble’s discussion of the term *Se* cited above.

⁵⁷ *mi* ‘man, person, human’ is widely attested across the Tibeto-Burman language family, and is not limited to Thangmi.

⁵⁸ Peet suggests that ‘Roi’ carries the meaning of king, but he does not state in which language (1978: 191).

(Brahmin) once encountered a group of Thangmi men slaughtering a cow, and severely reprimanded them for committing deicide. This lecture on the sin of killing a cow so incensed one Thangmi man that he flung the intestines of the dead bovine at the *bāhun*, which wrapped around the *bāhun*'s bare chest to form the sacred thread (Nepali *janai*) that every twice-born Hindu is required to wear. While this story regarding the origin of the sacred thread is not unique to the Thangmi,⁵⁹ and must be thought of as cultural metaphor, the account has an important anthropological subtext.

The Thangmi are one of a few ethnic groups of Nepal who overtly consume beef. Even though beef is eaten throughout Nepal, it is usually consumed covertly, and the seriousness with which cow slaughter is regarded by high-caste Hindus should not be underestimated.⁶⁰ Bhīmsen Thāpā's decree outlawing both cow slaughter and beef eating in 1806 led to an uprising two years later, as villagers were incensed by laws restricting their dietary intake. According to Lt. Col. Eden Vansittart, writing a century ago, the Hindu prohibition on bovine consumption had far-reaching consequences:

The abstinence from beef which the Gurkhālis enforced was exceedingly disagreeable to the Kirānts. It is stated that the Gurkhālis threatened and eventually carried out war against the Kirānts, because they would not give up their beef-eating propensities...Kirāntis profess not to eat beef now, it being, they say, forbidden. In their own country, when free from observation, they probably go back gladly to what they have ever considered excellent food. It is well-known that they not only ate beef in the days before the Gurkhā conquest, but that it was their favourite meat, and their refusing to give up their beef-eating propensities was, in part, a reason for the Gurkhā invasion. (1896: 132, 157)

The issue of beef consumption remains an emotional issue in Nepal to this day, and Thangmi villagers for whom beef is an important dietary element are ridiculed and derided for this habit by their Hindu neighbours. Beef consumption ranks high in commonly held Thangmi conceptions of group identity, and references to cow meat slip into conversations in the most unlikely situations.

The proto-Tibeto-Burman root **sa* 'meat' has modern reflexes meaning specifically 'cow' in Thangmi, Newar, Barām and Chepang.⁶¹ The semantic evolution of this word in these four Tibeto-Burman languages from the general

⁵⁹ A very similar story, albeit with slightly different details, is told throughout eastern Nepal, particularly among the Rai groups.

⁶⁰ The beef served in tourist restaurants in Kathmandu and Pokhara is called 'fillet' and is said to be imported from Calcutta.

⁶¹ Newar *sā* (also *sā*) 'cow' (Malla *et al.* 2000: 467); Barām *sya* 'cow' (personal communication, van Driem) and Chepang *sya?* 'cow' (Caughley 1982: 142).

meaning ‘meat’ to the specific meaning ‘cow’ may be another indication of their genetically close relationship. For the beef-eating Thangmi, it comes as no surprise that the word for ‘cow’, *sya*, should be derived from the Tibeto-Burman root for ‘meat’.⁶² In an interesting parallel development, the Thangmi word for ‘meat’ matches the Nepali and Newar children’s word for ‘meat’: *cici*.⁶³ Perhaps on account of the injunction on beef eating, the words *sya* and *cici* have a slightly comical tone and may raise a smile among Thangmi and non-Thangmi speakers alike.

This self-styled and self-professed taboo contravention is interesting for a number of reasons. To a certain degree, the symbolic importance attached to beef-eating by the Thangmi may be an invented tradition, a wilful adoption of a demonstrably low status activity by an already marginalised pariah group. Contemporary Thangmi ethnic identity is in part defined by the group’s overt consumption of beef, and their association with such a renegade activity may be in part deliberate. In some ways, an already marginalised group has little to lose by breaking taboos, and socially noticeable yet non-violent forms of resistance and protest have been documented the world over among similarly oppressed minorities.⁶⁴

In the Sindhupālcok dialect of Thangmi, speakers commonly refer to Sherpa and Tibetan villagers as *nyaldan-syaldan*, a term believed to reflect the repetitive low-pitched murmur of Tibetan Buddhists saying their prayers accompanied by the creak of a hand-turned prayer wheel. Native Thangmi ethnonyms also exist for occupational Hindu castes living in predominantly Thangmi villages. These terms are nominalised forms of Thangmi verbs which describe the activity of the said caste. Members of the tailor caste, *Damāi* in Nepali, are known in Thangmi as *mutudu*, ‘the blowers’, derived from the Thangmi verb *mutsa*, ‘to blow’, because of their traditional role as trumpet players at weddings. The blacksmith caste, *Kāmī* in Nepali, are referred to in Thangmi as *tupudu*, ‘the strikers’. This nominalised term derives from the Thangmi verb *tupsa*, ‘to strike, beat’, which describes the physical activity of forging iron.

⁶² When the biological sex of a bovine needs to be made explicit in Thangmi, then *mama-* and *papa-* may be prefixed to *sya* to indicate ‘cow’ and ‘bull’ respectively, as explained in detail in Chapter 5, Section §1.

⁶³ For Nepali, see Turner (1997: 174); for Newar, see Manandhar (1986: 60). Both translate *cici* as ‘meat’ in child’s talk or children’s speech.

⁶⁴ See Scott (1985) for an account of everyday forms of peasant resistance and rule-breaking.

2.4 Thangmi toponyms

There are a number of Thangmi language terms for local places. These indigenous toponyms can be divided into three classes differing in terms of morphology and use. First, there are a handful of Thangmi place names identical in meaning and structure to their Nepali counterparts. For example, the largely Thangmi hamlet of Ward No. 4 in Suspā/Kṣamāvātī Village Development Committee (VDC) in Dolakhā district is referred to as Okharboṭ in Nepali and Arkapole in Thangmi. *Okhar* is Nepali for ‘walnut’ and *boṭ* Nepali for ‘tree, trunk’, identical in form and meaning to Thangmi *arka* ‘walnut’ and *pole* ‘tree, trunk’. Both names describe a prominent walnut tree in the centre of the village.

The second class of toponyms are those indigenous Thangmi terms for places whose Nepali names are unrelated. While Thangmi speakers assure me that there are many such toponyms, I have been able to elicit only one: Rikhipole, the Thangmi name for the hamlet known locally as Phāseluñ, Ward No. 5 of Suspā/Kṣamāvātī VDC in Dolakhā district. According to inhabitants of the hamlet, the toponym derives from the prominent tree located in the heart of the village, from Thangmi *rikhi* ‘the tree, *Ficus lacor*’ and *pole* ‘tree, trunk’. While the etymology is entirely feasible, older inhabitants of the area point out an irony in local adherence to this Thangmi toponym. Although they readily concede that Rikhipole is indeed a Thangmi word, elders argue that the indigenous toponym of choice should be Phāseluñ, since this too is a Thangmi word and one of far greater antiquity than the modern Rikhipole. According to these elders, the toponym Phāseluñ is derived from Thangmi *phase* ‘flour’ and *luṇ* ‘rock, stone’, because the site of the present village is believed to be the location of an early Thangmi settlement.⁶⁵ While residing at this site, a group of Thangmi ancestors are said to have ground their millet and corn in a hand-mill or quern. The toponym Phāseluñ is thus said to derive from the activity of stone-grinding hard grain, an important element of Thangmi social life to this day, given the prohibitive expense of mechanised mills.⁶⁶ Non-Thangmi inhabitants of Phāseluñ remain unaware that the toponym is of Thangmi rather than Nepali provenance.

⁶⁵ The element *luṇ* ‘rock, stone’ is attested in a number of other Kiranti languages. The element also recurs in toponyms such as *myaṇluṇ* (Nep. *myāñlun*), a Limbu village which is located in Tehrathum district in eastern Nepal (van Driem 1987: 472).

⁶⁶ While water-driven or diesel mills are more efficient in terms of time, most Thangmi villagers do not use them. In villages in Dolakhā district, the standard payment to a mill owner or operator is one eighth of the milled grain, a significant loss for a household whose land already yields insufficient grain for year-round consumption. While labour is cheap, the cost of mechanised milling is high, and consequently many Thangmi householders continue to mill by hand rather than part with valuable grain in payment for mechanised milling.

The third set of Thangmi toponyms are official Nepali names for local places which are believed to derive from Thangmi lexical items. Two examples are often cited in this regard. The place name of the predominantly Thangmi village of Ālampu, home to a slate mine and located less than five miles from the Tibetan border, is widely thought to be Thangmi. As the furthest and northernmost Thangmi settlement, it is described in the Thangmi language as being *ālāmtha* ‘distant, far’, from which the toponym Ālampu is said to derive. No explanation is offered for the provenance of the third syllable <-pu>. Another village in Dolakhā district with a Thangmi name is Nāmdū, close to the Jirī road. The toponym Nāmdū is said to derive from Thangmi *nam-Ø-du* (smell-SAS-NPT) ‘it smells’, the third person singular indicative form of the verb *namsa* ‘to smell’. The water in this village is widely believed to be polluted, emitting a foul odour when boiled, at least according to residents of other Thangmi villages. This is believed to be the explanation of the place name.

A further toponymical issue deserves a brief note. In certain parts of Dolakhā and Sindhupālcok, the Thangmi population is dominant in only one administrative ward of the entire VDC. The natural clumping together of Thangmi households occurs most frequently when the Thangmi inhabitants are in a minority. In such situations, the Thangmi subdivision of the village is often referred to in Nepali as Thāmīgāũ, literally ‘Thami village’. Thangmi villagers are reluctant to use this term, and rather opt for Thaṃmidese, derived from *thaṃmi* ‘Thangmi’ and *dese* (< Nepali *deś* ‘country’) ‘village’, a literal translation of Thāmīgāũ.⁶⁷ Older Thangmi speakers often refer to this part of the village as *oste-ko thāi* (self-GEN place) ‘our own place’.

3. The distribution of ethnic Thangmi and speakers of the language

3.1 The geographical distribution of Thangmi speakers

According to the Population Census of Nepal of 1991, 74 of Nepal’s 75 districts had Thangmi inhabitants. This impressive fact should not be taken at face value, however, since in three of these districts (Rasuvā, Mustānī and Ḍolpā) the total Thangmi population amounted to only one inhabitant. While detailed population statistics are discussed in Section §3.2 below, the aim here is to sketch the geographical distribution of Thangmi speakers across the nation of Nepal and to provide, when available, the latitude and longitude coordinates of villages with large

⁶⁷ It is alternatively possible that Thangmi *dese* ‘village’ is cognate with Proto-Tibeto-Burman **dyal* ‘village’, Kiranti reflexes of which are Jero *deI_{am}*, Wambule *dyal*, Bahing *dyal*, Thulung *del*, Khaling *del* and Dumi *deI* (Opgenort 2005: 394).

Thangmi populations.⁶⁸ In the course of my research, I have visited most of the villages in which Thangmi are resident in the districts of Dolakhā, Sindhupālcok and Jhāpā. The criteria for including the rest in this non-exhaustive list are that two or more independent sources have named the same location as being home to citizens of Thangmi ethnicity.

The two districts in which the Thangmi are most numerous, and also claim to be autochthonous, are Dolakhā and Sindhupālcok. In Dolakhā, Thangmi are known to reside in the following Village Development Committees: Ālampu (27°52' N, 86°07' E), Bābare (27°48' N, 86°07' E), Bārāñ (27°49' N, 86°12' E), Bigu (27°50' N, 86°03' E), Buluñ (27°47' N, 86°11' E), Bhīmeśvar Nagarpālikā (Dolakhā Municipality) (27°41' N, 86°05' E), Cilākhā (27°49' N, 86°08' E), Dumkoṭ (27°41' N, 86°03' E), Ḍāḍākharka (27°32' N, 86°02' E), Ḍokthalī (27°41' N, 96°04' E), Hilepāñī (27°44' N, 86°07' E), Jirī (27°38' N, 86°03' E), Jhyāku (27°43' N, 86°10' E), Kālincok (27°48' N, 86°02' E), Kusipā (27°41' N, 86°02' E), Kṣamāvatī (27°43' N, 86°02' E), Khāre (27°48' N, 86°15' E), Khopācāgu (27°50' N, 86°08' E), Lākuriḍāḍā (27°42' N, 85°57' E), Lāmābagar (27°55' N, 86°13' E), Lāmīḍāḍā (27°44' N, 86°10' E), Lāpilāñ (27°44' N, 86°07' E), Leptuñ (27°44' N, 86°05' E), Makaibārī (27°41' N, 86°00' E), Malepū (27°41' N, 86°06' E), Māgāpauvā (27°40' N, 86°01' E), Meluñ (27°31' N, 86°04' E), Nāmdu (27°37' N, 86°06' E), Pavaṭī (27°36' N, 86°04' E), Phasku (27°37' N, 86°01' E), Sundrāvatī (27°42' N, 86°04' E), Sunkhāñī (27°42' N, 86°05' E), Surī (27°33' N, 86°13' E) and Suspā (27°42' N, 86°02' E). According to the 1991 Census of Nepal, the Thangmi population of Dolakhā was exactly 11,000 (HMG 1999: 53).⁶⁹

In Sindhupālcok, Thangmi are known to reside in the villages of Budepā (27°47' N, 85°57' E), Cokaṭī (27°47' N, 85°58' E), Dhuskun (27°46' N, 85°54' E), Ghorthalī (27°47' N, 85°49' E), Ghumtāñ (27°51' N, 85°52' E), Piskar (27°44' N, 85°57' E), Phulpiñkaṭṭī (27°48' N, 85°48' E), Rāmce (27°47' N, 85°53' E), Sunkhāñī (27°41' N, 85°50' E), Tauthalī (27°43' N, 85°55' E), Tātopāñī (27°57' N, 85°56' E), Ṭekanpur (27°44' N, 85°53' E) and Yāmunāḍāḍā (27°43' N, 85°49' E). The 1991 Census of Nepal placed the total number of ethnic Thangmi resident in Sindhupālcok at 3,173 (HMG 1999: 53).

In Rāmechāp district, Thangmi are resident in the following villages: Bhīrpāñī (27°25' N, 85°57' E), Cisāpāñī (27°26' N, 86°03' E), Ḍaḍuvā (27°31' N, 86°58' E), Hiledevī (27°29' N, 86°53' E), Khāḍādevī (27°29' N, 85°56' E) and

⁶⁸ These are taken from the 1988 *Index of Geographical Names of Nepal, Volume 2, Central Development Region*, published by the Mapping Sub-Committee of the National Council for Science and Technology in Kathmandu.

⁶⁹ Statistics from the 2001 census of Nepal were not fully disaggregated at the time of writing.

Sukājor/Sukhājor (27°20' N, 86°07' E). The 1991 Census of Nepal listed the total number of ethnic Thangmi resident in Rāmechāp as being 1,334 (HMG 1999: 53).

In Ilām district, Thangmi are known to reside in Gorkhe, Jamunā, Jogamāī, Ilām Nagarpālikā (Ilām Municipality), Nayābajār, Paśupatinagar and Phikkal. According to the census, the Thangmi population of Ilām district was 715 (HMG 1999: 52). In Jhāpā district, ethnic Thangmi are resident in Bāhundāggī, Bhadrapur, Garāmunī, Jalthal, Mahārānījhoḍā, Prithvinagar, Rājgaḍh, Satāsīdhām and in the Municipalities of Mecīnagar and Damak. The census of 1991 placed the total number of ethnic Thangmi resident in Jhāpā district at 148 (HMG 1999: 52). In Morañ district, Thangmi live in at least four villages, namely: Amardah, Bayarban, Hasandah and Yānsilā, and the total Thangmi population of this district in 1991 was 129 (HMG 1999: 52). In Sunsarī district, only two locales are reported as having Thangmi residents, the village of Barāhkṣetra and Iṭaharī Municipality, with a total Thangmi population of 21 (HMG 1999: 52). In Udayapur district, four villages are reported to have Thangmi residents: Basāh, Hardenī, Hāḍiyā Rāmpur and Ṭhoksilā, with a total Thangmi population of 162 (HMG 1999: 52). In the district of Khoṭāñ, three villages with Thangmi residents are reported: Ḍamarkhu, Simpānī and Śivālaya, with a total Thangmi population of 54 (HMG 1999: 52). Neighbouring Bhojpur also records only three villages with Thangmi inhabitants, Campe, Pāñcā and Yāñpāñ, with a total Thangmi population of 157 (HMG 1999: 52). Finally, while the district of Sindhulī returned only three villages with Thangmi residents, Dudhauī (26°57' N, 86°17' E), Ladābhir (26°59' N, 86°16' E) and Ṭāḍī (27°13' N, 86°04' E), the official Thangmi population was somewhat higher at 465 (HMG 1999: 53).

Although urban centres such as Kathmandu and Pokhara have sizeable populations of resident and migrant Thangmi, the distribution and numbers are hard to estimate since many hail from the states of West Bengal, Assam and Sikkim in India, while others are seasonal migrants who leave their home villages in Dolakhā and Sindhupālcok to seek wage labour in the towns.

Data on the geographical distribution of ethnic Thangmi in India are hard to come by. According to Ṭaṅka Bahādur Subbā, author of the section on the Thangmi in Vol. XXXIX on Sikkim in the *People of India* series:

There is only one conspicuous cluster of Thamis at Aritar Sunua, Aritar (East Sikkim). They are also found in small numbers in places like Hhuga (South Sikkim), West Pancam (above Singtam) and the development area of Gangtok. (Subbā 1993: 184)

Subbā also lists two further villages in East Sikkim as having a sizeable number of Thangmi inhabitants: Thamigaon, from Nepali *Thāmīgāũ* ‘Thangmi village’, and West Pendam. As for the geographical location of ethnic Thangmi and speakers of the Thangmi language in West Bengal, the area in and around Darjeeling municipality has a sizeable Thangmi population, as do the villages which encircle tea plantations in Bijanbārī, Siñlā and Tāmsāñ.

3.2 Population statistics for ethnic Thangmi and speakers of the language

Numerous scholars have noted the importance of a periodic and detailed national census for understanding the ethnolinguistic composition of a country, including Roland J. L. Breton, who suggests that ‘the best instrument of measuring the diffusion of languages is the general census’ (1991: 83). Breton, like other commentators, is under no illusions about the difficulties of conducting an accurate statistical survey. He points out that many countries do not include questions about language in their surveys for ‘fear [of] the consequences of research in this area’ (1991: 83), and that it is rare to find census questions about the usual language of the home, subsidiary languages spoken, or an appreciation of the fact that reading skills may diverge from writing skills in any given language (1991: 83-84). With the ever shifting boundaries of ethnicity and individual mobility as a backdrop, conducting a fair and representative national census is an increasingly complex and politically sensitive task for any modern state.

The challenges of census taking faced by Nepal are accentuated by the lack of infrastructure, the extremity of the physical terrain, the absence of motorable roads and the cultural prejudices of the ruling Hindu elite. Walks of upwards of a week from a motorable road to access alpine valleys may deter census collectors, and there are accounts of data gatherers setting up shop in a district capital where they interview local school teachers and shopkeepers about the ethnolinguistic composition and population density of remoter villages. A greater problem may be the attitudes, expectations, and in some cases quite palpable prejudices of the census-takers who are predominantly drawn from the urban middle classes. The disjuncture between city-dwelling educated Nepalis and their illiterate rural cousins is stark, and it is quite likely that both literal and figurative miscommunication abounds when the former ask potentially intrusive questions of the latter.

The last complete census of Nepal for which all disaggregated data have been released was the National Population Census of 1991. The Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) of the National Planning and Commission Secretariat of His Majesty’s Government of Nepal publishes an annual *Statistical Yearbook of Nepal*, even though the statistics are only updated every ten years at the time of the next

census. The following figures are drawn from the 1999 publication of the CBS, which I contrast with grassroots population data carefully collected by members of a local Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) and other concerned individuals.

While the 2001 *Census of Nepal* recorded the total ‘Thami’ population as 22,999 (HMG 2003: 30) and the population of mother tongue Thangmi-speakers as 18,991 (HMG 2003: 22), the 1991 census recorded the total ‘Thami’ population as being 19,103 (HMG 1999: 52) and the total number of mother tongue Thangmi-speakers as only 14,440 (HMG 1999: 22). Of greater interest than these general figures, however, is the official breakdown of the Thangmi population according to administrative districts as outlined in Section §3.1 above. This is where the comparative material provided by a Dolakhā-based NGO and the first volume of an annual Thangmi cultural journal entitled *Dolakhāreñ* most clearly demonstrate the unreliability of the official data. Table 2 below offers a Thangmi population count for the eastern districts of Nepal, first according to the official statistics from the 1991 census (HMG 1999: 52) and then according to a survey conducted in January 1997 by Megh Rāj Simī Riśmī Thāmī, editor and publisher of *Dolakhāreñ* (1999: 38-44).

TABLE 2. THANGMI POPULATION IN THE EASTERN DISTRICTS

Administrative District (<i>jillā</i>)	Official Statistics (1991)	Survey Results from <i>Dolakhāreñ</i> (1997-1998)
<i>Jhāpā</i>	148	300
<i>Ilām</i>	715	3,000
<i>Morañ</i>	129	150
<i>Udayapur</i>	162	221
<i>Khoṭāñ</i>	54	160
<i>Bhojpur</i>	157	200
<i>Sunsarī</i>	21	50
Total	1,386	4,081

As is apparent from the above figures, a significant disparity exists between the official statistics and those provided in the journal *Dolakhāreñ*. Part of this difference may be attributed to natural population growth in the six or seven years that elapsed between the two surveys (1991 to 1997), which could well account for the small increase in districts like Morañ (from 129 to 150 people) or Bhojpur (from 157 to 200 people). It is also possible that the editor and survey-taker of *Dolakhāreñ* may have miscalculated the total population figures, either unintentionally or with a

conscious desire to bolster the Thangmi population.⁷⁰ While some inaccuracy in the *Dolakhāreni* statistics is likely, wholesale fabrication is out of the question. On my own fieldtrip to Jhāpā in March 2000, I conducted a careful survey of Thangmi residence in the district and arrived at the same figure of approximately 300. Since the Jhāpā data are respectable, there is little reason to challenge the *Dolakhāreni* figures for other districts. The Thangmi settlements in eastern Nepal are tightly knit communities and maintain close contact with one another. The number of Thangmi households in each village is common knowledge to most Thangmi, and significant over or under-estimates would be rejected by other members of the community. Judging by the above figures (4,081 vs. 1,386), there are almost three times more Thangmi people living in the eastern districts of Nepal than the official census recognises. Before attempting to find an explanation for this discrepancy, further divergent population statistics from the districts of Dolakhā and Sindhupālcok are provided.

According to the *Statistical Yearbook of Nepal*, the administrative district with the largest Thangmi population is Dolakhā, with 11,000 Thangmi (HMG 1999: 53). While the focus on Dolakhā is correct, I believe the figure of 11,000 to be a sizeable under-estimate. The Dolakhā-registered NGO, *Integrated Community Development Movement*, has been conducting detailed profiles of villages in the Dolakhā district for five years now. In the late 1990s, Philippe de Patoul, a Belgian social scientist who established the NGO, realised the need for accurate statistical data to support development projects in the predominantly Thangmi village of Lāpilān in which he worked. In an admirable effort to rectify the dearth of accurate data, de Patoul built a bilingual (Nepali-English) relational database which he named *Nepsus* (< Nepal Census) to collate statistical information from any number of villages. To date, four detailed profiles of villages in Dolakhā district have been completed: Ālampu (1999), Sundrāvātī (1999), Buluñ (2000) and Orāñ (2000), to which should be added the 1998 *Village Profile of Lāpilān*, conducted before the establishment of the NGO.

While the total Thangmi population of Dolakhā district has not yet been established using the *Nepsus* software, three settlements with substantial Thangmi populations have been meticulously studied. Table 3 below displays the salient data from the Ālampu, Sundrāvātī and Lāpilān profiles. Although there is a natural variation in the number of Thangmi villagers as a percentage of the total population within the administrative unit of a village, it is clear that in just three villages of

⁷⁰ Megh Rāj Simī Rīśmī Thāmī, editor and publisher of *Dolakhāreni*, concludes that the total Thangmi population exceeds 65,000 (1999: 19), a figure which he does little to substantiate.

Dolakhā district, there are 5,656 Thangmi men, women and children. The implications of these figures for the total Thangmi population of Dolakhā district are profound. I estimate there to be ten villages in Dolakhā district which have Thangmi populations on a par with the villages cited below. If each of these ten villages are estimated to have an average of 2,000 Thangmi inhabitants (the figures in Table 3 below range from 1,117 to 2,454 Thangmi per village), then we arrive at a total population of around 20,000 Thangmi just within the administrative confines of Dolakhā, already more than the official figure of the total Thangmi population within the whole of Nepal (19,103). The official figures published by His Majesty's Government of Nepal are therefore no longer convincing.

**TABLE 3. POPULATION DATA FROM THREE VILLAGES IN DOLAKHĀ
ACCORDING TO VILLAGE PROFILES COMPILED BY THE
INTEGRATED COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT MOVEMENT**

	Ālampu	Sundrāvātī	Lāpilāñ	Total
<i>Year conducted</i>	1999	1999	1998	
<i>Total population</i>	2,228	3,424	5,025	10,677
<i>Thangmi population</i>	2,025	1,177	2,454	5,656
<i>Thangmi as % of total population</i>	90.9%	34.4%	48.9%	53%

After Dolakhā, Sindhupālcok is the district home to the greatest number of Thangmi. According to the *Statistical Yearbook of Nepal*, there were 3,173 Thangmi in Sindhupālcok at the time of the 1991 census (HMG 1999: 53). While detailed village-level population statistics such as those cited for Dolakhā are not available for Sindhupālcok or for the eastern districts of Nepal, I believe the official figure of 3,173 Thangmi in Sindhupālcok to be an underestimate. During my stay in Sindhupālcok in 1998, I managed to ascertain from the local authorities that there were at least 1,200 Thangmi men, women and children in one village alone, and I know of at least six further villages in the district with sizeable Thangmi populations. To be conservative, we may take the village in which I resided to have a high Thangmi population density, and posit that the six other villages have no more than 800 Thangmi each. In this scenario, the total count arrives at a figure of 6,000 Thangmi in Sindhupālcok, already double the official number.

There are several reasons for the discrepancies between the official and non-official population statistics. First, ethnic Thangmi usually live in remote and

inaccessible areas where population surveys are difficult to conduct with any real accuracy. It is likely that many Thangmi were not included in the census simply because of their remote geographical location, thereby resulting in a lower total population count. Second, and perhaps more importantly, many Thangmi pass themselves off as belonging to other of Nepal's more prominent ethnic groups such as Tamang, and less frequently, Gurung or Rai. Their reasoning is that since few people in administrative positions have ever heard of them, admitting to being Thangmi may unwittingly result in a stream of invasive questions about who they are and where they come from. When Thangmi introduce themselves to strangers, they are often mistaken for undesirable groups such as *Kāmī* 'blacksmiths' or *Dhāmī* 'folk-healer', due to the similar sounding nature of their Nepalified name, 'Thāmī'. Most of the Thangmi men whom I interviewed working in areas in which they are not indigenous stated that when first applying for a job, they claimed to belong to one of the more prominent ethnic groups and did not admit to being Thangmi. Third, as described above, latent discrimination on the part of officials conducting the census may have tempered the objectivity of both the questions asked and the answers received. Discrimination by census officials, although hard to quantify, may have resulted in the wilful manipulation of final figures in an attempt to shield the dominant Hindu backbone of the country from the increasingly populous non-Hindu ethnic minorities. Recently, the *Central Bureau of Statistics* (CBS) has been criticised for the under-enumeration of ethnic groups and for biased interpretation of the raw data collected (Rai 2001: 4). These, then, are some of the most likely reasons for the discrepancy in the figures.

Although not within Nepal's national borders, the district of Darjeeling in West Bengal and the state of Sikkim in India have sizeable Thangmi populations. While the details of the migration to these areas are interesting and involved, they are not the substance of the present discussion, and brief population statistics from these regions will suffice. Based on data collected by the Thangmi Welfare Association in Darjeeling in the early 1990s, there are more than 4,400 ethnic Thangmi in the district. The Sikkim population data are not so accurate, but there are many Thangmi families settled in and around Gangtok. My estimate, based on conversations with people from the area as well as a field visit in March 2000, is of around 1,000 Thangmi in the area. This brings the total Thangmi population in the eastern regions of India to just under 5,500.⁷¹

⁷¹ Writing about Sikkim in Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India*, Konow suggests that the number of Thangmi speakers 'in that district was estimated at 100' and according to the Census of 1901, 'Sunwār and Thāmi were classed together in Assam' (Grierson 1909: 280). The population figures for other districts were as follows: within the Bengal Presidency there

In conclusion, I would propose 33,000 to 38,500 to be a more realistic total Thangmi population estimate. The figure requires two points of clarification. First, the total population depends on whether Thangmi residing permanently or semi-permanently outside of Nepal are counted. The Thangmi populations of Darjeeling and Sikkim are sizeable, not to mention economically influential, and adding them to the total figure raises the total by over 5,000. Naturally enough, the national census of Nepal does not include citizens of India, so in an effort to compare like with like, I offer two totals in Table 4 below, one including and the other excluding the Thangmi population of India. The second point of clarification refers to the category I have labelled ‘Remaining Districts’. Thangmi inhabit many districts in Nepal, although they are indigenous and autochthonous to no more than three. I estimate that around 3,000 Thangmi live in various districts outside of Dolakhā, Sindhupālcok and Rāmechāp in the Kingdom of Nepal, including metropolitan areas such as Kathmandu.

TABLE 4. UNOFFICIAL ESTIMATE OF THE TOTAL THANGMI POPULATION

Area	Population
<i>Dolakhā</i>	20,000
<i>Sindhupālcok</i>	6,000
<i>Eastern Districts (surveyed in Dolakhāren)</i>	4,081
<i>Remaining Districts</i>	3,000
<i>Darjeeling and Sikkim, India</i>	5,500
<i>Total (including Indian Thangmi population)</i>	38,500
Total (excluding Indian Thangmi population)	33,500

Having established that a considerable divergence exists between the official census figures for the Thangmi population and those that I have provided, as well as discussed potential causes, we must ask why this discrepancy actually matters. The most persuasive argument voiced by members of the Thangmi community who are aware of their poor showing in the national census relates to the visibility of the ethnic group as a whole on the national stage. Thangmi ethnoactivists equate a small

were a total of 311 Thangmi, broken down into 9 in Jalpaiguri, 264 in Darjeeling, 6 in Chittagong and 32 in Sikkim. The total for the Bombay Presidency on the other hand, was only 8 (Grierson 1909: 280). While the accuracy of these figures is debatable, the important point to note is that there was already a Thangmi-speaking population in India over 100 years ago.

population number with invisibility and associate a larger population count with a greater role in policy and decision making.

3.2.1 *Thangmi population statistics prior to 1991*

Various sources cite population statistics for the Thangmi from previous national censuses. According to Megh Rāj Thāmī, the total Thangmi population was 10,000 in VS 2008 (i.e. AD 1951-52), 9,000 in VS 2018 (i.e. AD 1961-62) and 18,000 in VS 2038 (i.e. AD 1981-82), although he provides no sources or references to back up these figures (1999: 19). In his 1966 article, Kesar Lall states that a 'linguistic table attached to the 1952/1954 Census Report gave the number of speakers of the Thami dialect [sic] as 10,240' (1966: 2), a figure also cited by Peet (1978: 421). According to Peet, the distribution of Thangmi speakers as reported in the 1952/1954 Census was 10,073 in the 'Eastern Hills', 162 in the 'Eastern Inner Terai' and 5 in the 'Central Terai' (1978: 421). Peet is the only scholar to provide census statistics for Thangmi speakers from the 1961 Census, and he notes the drop in the total Thangmi-speaking population to 9,046 in 1961 (from 10,240 in 1952/1954). The 1961 geographical breakdown of Thangmi speakers per region of Nepal was 8,952 in the 'Eastern Hills', 83 in the 'Eastern Inner Terai', none in the 'Central Terai', 10 in the 'East Terai', 6,405 in Dolakhā district and 2,286 in Sindhupālcok (1978: 421). For 1971, Peet lists the overall Thangmi population as 'not available', but does provide an impressively high total for Dolakhā district: 10,087, an increase of 3,500 from the previous census a decade earlier (1978: 421).

Other scholars cite different figures. Sueyoshi and Ingrid Toba provide the figure of 13,606 Thangmi from the 1971 population census, although they offer no bibliographic reference (1997: 1). Prem Prasād Śarmā Sāpkoṭā's VS 2045 (i.e. AD 1988-89) book on the Thangmi includes further population statistics, and ones which challenge the figures provided by Megh Rāj Thāmī. According to Sāpkoṭā, the census of VS 2018 (i.e. AD 1961-62) returned 4,046 Thangmi in the whole of Nepal, and he cites Bāl Kṛṣṇa Pokhrel's *Rāṣṭribhāṣā* published in VS 2043 (i.e. AD 1986-87) as his source (2045: 14). Sāpkoṭā retrieves 1981 census figures from the 1986 *Statistical Pocket Book of Nepal*, and posits that the total population of Dolakhā in 1981 was recorded as being 150,576, of whom 12,590 were Thangmi (2045: 14). It is unfortunate that only some of the above authors explicitly state whether the figures they cite represent mother tongue speakers of the Thangmi language or rather citizens who count themselves as ethnic Thangmi.⁷² The utility of the above figures is

⁷² According to Peet, of the 10,240 people who spoke Thangmi as their mother tongue, 3,449 are reported as volunteering their 'second language' as Nepali in the 1952/1954 Census (1978: 421).

therefore limited, but they do indicate the presence of ethnic Thangmi in official government census records from the 1950s onwards.

3.2.2 *Consensus for the census and modern identity politics*

Nepal's most recent census, entitled *Nepal Census on Population and Housing*, was conducted in 2001 in keeping with the ten-year cycle. Aware of growing ethnic tensions in the country and increasingly vocal calls for greater visibility for non-Hindu populations, the Central Bureau of Statistics in Kathmandu implemented a series of revisions to make the census-taking process more impartial and scientific. Prior to the census, a number of activists representing the indigenous groups of Nepal had arranged community meetings to formulate a policy on how best to represent themselves, and to determine under which religion they should be grouped. The Thakali, Gurung, Tamang and Magar ethnic groups decided to register as 'Buddhist', the Dhimal as 'natural religion' and a consortium of Rai, Limbu, Sunwar and Yakkha groups as 'Kirati'. Questions relating to ethnicity, while included in the 1991 census, were absent from the census questionnaires of the three preceding decades (1961 to 1981), despite having made their first appearance in the *Second National Census of Nepal* in 1920 and being included on census forms until 1950.

This ethnic activism grew out of a realisation that returns for minorities would be highly fragmented should the mistakes of the 1991 census be repeated in 2001, in which clustered hamlets were recorded with different ethnonyms and mother tongues than their neighbours, further splitting already small populations. While the complete results of the 2001 census are not yet publicly available, the data that have been released suggest that campaigners for ethnic rights have had limited success. The national percentage of Nepalis identifying their religion as Hindu has fallen from 90% to 80%, while the reported numbers of Buddhists and followers of indigenous religions has doubled. Although the district-wide distribution of languages and ethnic groups has not yet been published, 1,200 different languages were reported (compared to an official list of 151) as well as 533 ethnic groups (against the 61 officially recognised communities) (Rai 2002: 5). While such ethnolinguistic variation is a clear boon to activists pushing for political recognition of Nepal's diversity, those campaigning for consolidation and consensus may be disappointed. They will argue, and with good reason, that the greater the number of individual languages and ethnic groups reported, the less cause the national government has to take any single one of them seriously. By this reasoning, the longer Nepal remains an ethnic patchwork, the longer it will be before economic and social empowerment comes to the disadvantaged minority communities.

The Thangmi are an interesting case in this broader debate. While younger and politically active members of the community have called for their group to be represented and recorded as 'Thangmi', there is considerable opposition to this choice of ethnonym. Many older Thangmi men and women favour the Nepalified term *Thami*. Their logic is that *Thami* is an ethnic label with which at least some Nepalis are now familiar, while *Thangmi* is an unknown term which will require many years of promotion at the national level before it is recognised. Rather than boosting the prominence of their population, they argue, choosing to label themselves as *Thangmi* would render their community even more invisible, ironically just at a time when the group is finally achieving some recognition.

Two pressure groups within the Thangmi community counter this cautious approach. The first, comprised of shamans and elders, believe that the time is ripe for a return to the 'original' name *Thani*, while the other, made up of radical and usually young ethnoactivists, have started using their 'clan' names in lieu of, or alongside, the unifying 'tribal' ethnonym, and are aggressively pushing others to follow suit. While the former group has little political clout, the proponents of the latter are a growing and outspoken force. These ethnoactivists prioritise local accuracy over national visibility, choosing to be known by clan names such as *Akyaṃmi*, *Rismi* and *Duṃsupere* rather than achieving numerical prominence as an ethnic group within the Kingdom of Nepal. Such a movement is not unique to the Thangmi, and many of Nepal's other ethnic groups have been using clan names as surnames instead of their collective ethnic names for some years now. The motivation behind this choice is based primarily on the rejection of collective ethnic surnames as markers of group identity. Collective ethnonyms such as Thami, Sherpa and Gurung, to name but a few, are increasingly perceived to embody external, essentialised concepts of ethnic consistency and homogeneity foisted upon indigenous communities by the central state, and younger members of ethnic communities are reacting against being 'tribalised'.⁷³

The Thangmi case illustrates the central importance of ethnonyms and population statistics to the standing of numerically small ethnic groups within Nepal. As the above sections have shown, ethnolinguistic categories are contested within the ethnic group itself by members with different factional agendas, who manipulate the representation of their language and identity to achieve different political ends.

⁷³ While Nepal was never 'colonised', the legacy of colonial terminology, such as *Murmi* rather than *Tamang*, and *Gurung* in place of *Tamu*, has taken ethnic activists many years to shake off.

4. The status of the Thangmi language and its dialects

4.1 The Thangmi dialect continuum: Dolakhā and Sindhupālcok

There are two dialects of Thangmi, spoken in the districts of Dolakhā and Sindhupālcok respectively, hereafter referred to as the Dolakhā dialect and the Sindhupālcok dialect.⁷⁴ The dialects differ from one another in terms of phonology, nominal and verbal morphology, and also in lexicon. Intelligibility between speakers of the two dialects varies, and is determined as much by the degree to which commonly known Nepali loan words are used in conversation as it is by genuine differences between the dialects. From my own observations of linguistic interactions between Thangmi speakers from Dolakhā and Sindhupālcok, the gist of a Thangmi utterance is likely to be understood by a speaker of the other dialect, albeit without much appreciation of nuance and detail. When conversing with a Thangmi speaker from the other dialect, younger Thangmi speakers effortlessly switch between simple Thangmi and Nepali for complex sentences. Having said this, the opportunities for social and linguistic interaction between speakers of the two Thangmi dialects remain relatively few, the reasons for which are discussed below.

I have concentrated my linguistic research on describing and analysing the Dolakhā dialect of the language for three main reasons. First, at a practical level, when I originally travelled to the Thangmi area, I settled and started to work in the district of Dolakhā. I only discovered sometime later that there were speakers in Sindhupālcok as well. As a consequence, my early fieldwork was spent collecting and analysing data solely from the Dolakhā dialect, and I would travel to the Thangmi villages of Sindhupālcok when I could. That it took me so long to discover that Sindhupālcok was home to Thangmi speakers of a different dialect reflects the fact that there are few socio-economic dealings between the Thangmi speakers of these two neighbouring districts.

Second, my fieldwork among the Thangmi community became increasingly affected by the growing political tensions in both Dolakhā and Sindhupālcok when the Maoist insurgency, which had started in western Nepal, moved east. During my early fieldwork stints in 1997 and 1998, the violence occurring in the western districts of Nepal, as described in Radio Nepal news broadcasts, seemed unimaginable in Dolakhā and Sindhupālcok. By late 1998, however, the front of the 'People's War' had moved eastwards, and Sindhupālcok was soon labelled as a 'Maoist-affected' area. The details of the growth of the Maoist movement in

⁷⁴ While it is now fashionable in some linguistic circles to use the term 'language variety' rather than 'dialect', I reject this bland neologism and use the word 'dialect' in a consciously non-pejorative sense.

Thangmi-speaking areas are the subject of another paper (Shneiderman and Turin 2004) and will not be repeated here. Suffice it to say that by the summer of 1999, the political and ethnic tensions evident during my visits to the Thangmi villages of Sindhupālcok district were so great that I was forced to abandon the area as a field site. I should qualify this statement by adding that I was at no point concerned for my personal safety. My concern was rather a result of the unease which my presence in the village created, particularly for my Thangmi hosts who were visited by Maoist guerrillas in the dead of night after my departure and interrogated about their foreign guest, his work, motivations and financial arrangements. Out of consideration for the safety, security and privacy of my host family, I decided to cease fieldwork in this Thangmi village and rather work with Thangmi speakers of the Sindhupālcok dialect who were living in Kathmandu. By the end of 2001, the ‘People’s War’ had migrated further east to Dolakhā itself, and letters that I received from Thangmi friends spoke of raging gun battles between security forces and the Maoists, and of their fear of being caught in the middle. If I were starting my linguistic research on the Thangmi language at this point, I would not be able to travel freely to remote Thangmi villages in the manner I have done, nor would it be possible to reside for months on end in Maoist-affected areas of Dolakhā and Sindhupālcok.

The third and perhaps most important reason dictating my focus on the Dolakhā dialect is the issue of speaker numbers. There are many more speakers of the Dolakhā dialect than there are of the Sindhupālcok form, and it seemed a natural choice for me to focus on the more widely spoken dialect, adding supporting data from Sindhupālcok whenever appropriate.⁷⁵ While the Dolakhā dialect of Thangmi is spoken in almost all villages in the central and northern reaches of the district, the Sindhupālcok dialect of Thangmi is spoken in only a handful of Thangmi-dominant villages in the far-eastern and far-northern valleys of Sindhupālcok district. The main villages in which the Sindhupālcok dialect of Thangmi is spoken in fact lie along the border with Dolakhā district, and ethnic Thangmi from both districts view the Dolakhā dialect and Thangmi settlements in the Dolakhā area as chronologically primary, followed only later by habitation in Sindhupālcok and Rāmechāp. While this indigenous explanation should not necessarily be taken at face value, it is revealing that Thangmi origin stories and oral narratives exclusively feature villages and natural features in Dolakhā, never once touching on Sindhupālcok.

There is no inherent reason why dialect variations or isoglosses should follow the path of political divisions and administrative units. Quite often, in fact,

⁷⁵ As explained in Section §3.1 above, the official 1991 census records the total Thangmi population of Dolakhā as 11,000 and that of Sindhupālcok as 3,173 (HMG 1999: 53).

they do not.⁷⁶ However, more so than many other districts of Nepal, Dolakhā and Sindhupālcok are separated by a geographical landmark: the Kālincok Ridge (Nepali *ḍāḍā*). This ridge, running north to south and separating the two districts from one another, reaches a maximum elevation of 3,810 metres and is at all points above 3,000 metres, effectively inhibiting cultural and linguistic exchange between the Thangmi groups who reside on its eastern and western slopes. While for communities used to higher altitudes, such as those resident in Solu, Mustāñ and Māñāñ, a mountain pass under 4,000 metres would pose little problem, most Thangmi view the Kālincok Ridge as an insurmountable obstacle which precludes socio-cultural contact with their ethnic cousins on the other side. There is little intermarriage between Dolakhā and Sindhupālcok Thangmi, and aside from the yearly *Kālincok Melā*, a festival of shamans, which takes place on *Janai Pūrṇimā* (usually in the month of August) at the summit of Kālincok, there is no forum for them to meet.⁷⁷

The general features of the two Thangmi dialects are as follows: The Dolakhā dialect exhibits a verbal agreement system which appears to be complete and archaic, in contrast to the verbal morphology of the Sindhupālcok dialect which seems decayed. The imperative verbal agreement suffixes of the Sindhupālcok dialect, however, are not degraded but rather ordered differently to those in Dolakhā. In terms of nominal morphology, the Sindhupālcok dialect of Thangmi appears to be more complex, preserving a range of locative case suffixes and numeral classifiers not present in the Dolakhā dialect.⁷⁸

In this grammatical description of the Thangmi language, my focus is on the Dolakhā dialect. When a linguistic feature exclusive to the Sindhupālcok dialect is of particular interest, I describe it in the relevant section of the grammar alongside its Dolakhā counterpart. I have listed both Dolakhā and Sindhupālcok forms in the

⁷⁶ The isoglosses that run along the southern reaches of the Netherlands and the northern regions of Germany are some of the most cited examples of linguistic boundaries not fitting within the political and administrative confines of modern nation states.

⁷⁷ Kālincok is a sacred mountain for various ethnic communities, and is visited by pilgrims from across the area for festivals throughout the year. The mountain top is believed to be the abode of the goddess Kālī Mai, one of the emanations of the wrathful female deity Kālī. For observant Hindus, the Kālī shrine is an auspicious place to conduct the yearly ritual at which they renew the *janai*, or sacred thread, worn around their torsos. Known as *Janai Pūrṇimā*, the festival is held in late summer and attracts pilgrims of all faiths. Thangmi and Tamang shamans believe that the climb to Kālincok gives them life force and healing power, and that the blood offerings that they make to the goddess will ensure ritual efficacy in the coming year. Thangmi shamans from both Sindhupālcok and Dolakhā meet at this festival, and villagers of both districts participate in the rituals.

⁷⁸ See Chapter 1, Section §4.1 for more details.

lexicon, which I indicate by (D) and (S) respectively. When neither (D) nor (S) is given, this indicates that the lexical item is common to both dialects.

The differences between the two Thangmi dialects can be grouped into a number of systematic oppositions. The syllable-final voiceless, unaspirated, dorso-velar stop [-k] in the Dolakhā dialect is often rendered as a glottal stop [-ʔ] in the Sindhupālcok dialect, as shown in Table 5 below. This falls short of a systematic opposition since there are handful of examples in which a final [-k] is not glottalised.⁷⁹ A number of other lexical items, while not identical in the two dialects, exhibit a similar pattern of glottalisation, and are given in Table 6 below.

TABLE 5. GLOTTALISATION OF FINAL [-K] IN THE SINDHUPĀLCOK DIALECT

Dolakhā dialect [-k]	Sindhupālcok dialect [-ʔ]	Meaning
aṅgalek	aṅgaleʔ	coals from the fireplace
akrak	akraʔ	inedible toad or frog
alak	alaʔ	small, wooden foot bridge
bok	boʔ	maize or rice blossom
camek	cameʔ	tufted bamboo
gogok	gogoʔ	bark, crust, shell
ijik	ijiʔ	cold, wet
lak	laʔ	arm, hand, wrist
limek	limeʔ	animal tail
loṅsek	loṅseʔ	heart
mesek	meseʔ	eye
narek	nareʔ	pheasant
puncyuṅuk	puncyuṅuʔ	red-vented bulbul
sirik	siriʔ	louse
tenterek	tentereʔ	partridge
warak	waraʔ	precipice, steep slope
yak	yaʔ	giant taro

While the glottalisation of word-final [-k] is widespread in the Sindhupālcok dialect, two examples of glottalisation of syllable-final [-k-] within a word are attested, and shown in Table 7 below. The glottalisation of [-k] in the Sindhupālcok dialect takes a different form and is discussed later.

I have recorded five examples of a syllable-final voiceless, unaspirated, dorso-velar stop [-k] in the Dolakhā dialect being deleted in the Sindhupālcok dialect, with no noticeable glottalisation. These examples are given in Table 8 below.

⁷⁹ See Chapter 3, Section §2.4 for more details.

TABLE 6. GLOTTALISED COGNATES IN THE TWO DIALECTS

Dolakhā dialect [-k]	Sindhupālcok dialect [-ʔ]	Meaning
aŋkalak	kaŋkalaʔ	brown-green lizard
agak	aghaʔ	crow, raven (< Nepali <i>kāg</i> ?)
amek	uyuameʔ	bat
gunjilik	gujiliʔ	a species of grass
karjek	karceʔ	sugar cane
nirek	nyereʔ	grasshopper, locust
papasek	seʔ	testicle(s)

TABLE 7. GLOTTALISATION OF MEDIAL [-K-] IN THE SINDHUPĀLCOK DIALECT

Dolakhā dialect [-k-]	Sindhupālcok dialect [-ʔ-]	Meaning
dokmaŋ	doʔmaŋ	Nepal pepper, prickly ash
jakcho	jaʔco	wheat

TABLE 8. DELETION OF FINAL [-K] IN THE SINDHUPĀLCOK DIALECT

Dolakhā dialect [-k]	Sindhupālcok dialect [Ø]	Meaning
aŋeŋsek	aŋiŋse	kidney
apok	apo	cave
caltak	calda	male-fern
pokolek	pokole	knee
tokolok	tokolo	hoe, mattock

The Dolakhā voiceless sibilant [-s] in word-final position may be dentalised and rendered as a voiceless, unaspirated, apico-alveolar stop [t] in the Sindhupālcok dialect. Four examples are attested and these are given in Table 9 below.

TABLE 9. DENTALISATION OF FINAL SIBILANT [-s] IN THE SINDHUPĀLCOK DIALECT

Dolakhā dialect [-s]	Sindhupālcok dialect [-t]	Meaning
citabas	citabat	day after tomorrow
kinabas	kīyabat	in three days
ros ~ rose	rot	landslide
was	wat	bee

A phonologically striking systematic opposition exists between the voiceless, unaspirated, dorso-velar stem final [-k-] in Dolakhā verbs and the Sindhupālcok glottal stop stem final with an associated staccato echo vowel [vʔv], as demonstrated in Table 10 below.

TABLE 10. GLOTTALISATION AND THE ADDITION OF A STACCATO ECHO VOWEL IN PLACE OF MEDIAL [-K-] IN VERBS OF THE SINDHUPĀLCOK DIALECT

Dolakhā dialect [-k-]	Sindhupālcok dialect [-vʔv-]	Meaning
asaksa	asaʔasa	to taste pungent
aṭaksa	aṭoʔosa	to shake, shake out
ceksa	ceʔesa	to sting, bite
cisereksa	cisereʔesa	to arouse, get someone up
curuksa	curuʔusa	to sew, stitch
doroksa	droʔosa	to run, flee
hiksa	heʔesa	to stick, get stuck in
ileksa	ilyaʔasa	to lick
jeksa	jeʔesa	to clean
karpaksa	karpaʔasa	to embrace, hug
leksa	lyoʔosa	to swallow
loksa	loʔosa	to drain, pour out, spill
niksa	niʔisa	to be born
poroksa	proʔosa	to break up, uproot
taksa	taʔasa	to weave at a loom
tiriksa	triʔisa	to trample on, tread on

The preceding vowel of an intervocalic voiced, apico-alveolar trill [-r-] in the Dolakhā dialect elides in allegro speech in the Sindhupālcok dialect, as in Dolakhā *tiriksa* ‘to trample on, tread on’ vs. Sindhupālcok *triʔisa* ‘to trample on, tread on’, or Dolakhā *doroksa* ‘to run, flee’ vs. Sindhupālcok *droʔosa* ‘to run, flee’. The word-internal replacement of syllable-final [-k-] in the Dolakhā dialect with a glottal stop and echo vowel in Sindhupālcok is attested in only one noun, namely *tokman*

‘walking stick with a crossbar-like handle’ (Dolakhā) vs. *toʔomaŋ* ‘walking stick’ (Sindhupālcok). This example is a deviation from standard nominal glottalisation, by which we would expect Dolakhā *tokmaŋ* to be rendered as *toʔmaŋ* in Sindhupālcok. It is plausible that the staccato echo vowel provided in this example was the result of hypercorrection by the speaker from whom it was elicited, or a peculiarity of his particular idiolect.

Table 11 below offers additional examples of an echo vowel accompanying glottalisation in verbs of the Sindhupālcok dialect. The glottalising tendency of the Sindhupālcok dialect can also be seen in a number of lexical items from different word classes, such as Dolakhā *ragdu* vs. Sindhupālcok *raʔadu* ‘it’s sour’; Dolakhā *awagdu* vs. Sindhupālcok *awaʔdu* ‘it’s bitter’; Dolakhā *pakpak* vs. Sindhupālcok *paʔapaʔ* ‘cone or pod of the plantain flower’; Dolakhā *cālāuni* vs. Sindhupālcok *calaʔuni* ‘moon’; Dolakhā *jekhama* vs. Sindhupālcok *jhyaʔama* ‘mother’s elder sister, father’s elder brother’s wife’; Dolakhā *ahum* vs. Sindhupālcok *aʔum* ~ *aʔom* ‘egg’; Dolakhā *lahisa* ‘to wait, attend, guard’ vs. Sindhupālcok *laʔisa* ‘to wait for’; Dolakhā *amatsa* vs. Sindhupālcok *amaʔsa* ‘to beg’ and Dolakhā *hani* vs. Sindhupālcok *haʔi* ‘how much, how many’. As the examples below illustrate, the process of glottalisation is a widespread feature of the Sindhupālcok dialect of Thangmi.

TABLE 11. GLOTTALISATION AND THE ADDITION OF A STACCATO ECHO VOWEL IN VERBS OF THE SINDHUPĀLCOK DIALECT

Dolakhā dialect [Ø]	Sindhupālcok dialect [-VʔV-]	Meaning
boṭhasa	boṭhaʔasa	to serve food, ladle rice
busa	buʔusa	to cover, put a lid on
ciphosa	ciphoʔosa	to make someone wet
jisa	jiʔisa	to chop or split into two
kiṇi tasa	kili taʔasa	to defaecate
koṭesa	koṭeʔesa	to cut small things
lesa	leʔesa	to select, choose
lisa	liʔisa	to scatter, broadcast
musa	muʔusa	to pierce, make a hole in
nasa	naʔasa	to put, place, position
nesa	neʔesa	to grind, pound
nisa	niʔisa	to see
nosa	noʔosa	to stir food
ṇesa	ṇeʔesa	to hit, strike, pound, knock
phasa	phaʔasa	to hold out, be given

Other phonological correspondences between the Dolakhā and Sindhupālcok dialects are also worthy of note. I have recorded at least five nouns with final vowels in the Dolakhā dialect which are glottalised in Sindhupālcok. These are given in Table 12 below. It is possible that the glottalised element attested in these Sindhupālcok nouns indicates the prior existence of a velar stop in the Dolakhā dialect.

TABLE 12. GLOTTALISATION OF FINAL VOWELS IN THE SINDHUPĀLCOK DIALECT

Dolakhā dialect [-V]	Sindhupālcok dialect [-Vʔ]	Meaning
ce	ceʔ	Indian chestnut tree
jinchiri	jinchiriʔ	clitoris
kapa	kapaʔ	feathery bamboo
rapa	rapaʔ	axe
rence	rencheʔ	beans, pulses

Stops which have a retroflex articulation in Dolakhā are often rendered with a palatal articulation in Sindhupālcok. Although not systematic, the unvoiced retroflex stop *ʈ* in Dolakhā often corresponds to *c(y)* in Sindhupālcok, the aspirated unvoiced retroflex stop *ʈʰ* in Dolakhā often corresponds to *ch(y)* in Sindhupālcok, and the voiced retroflex stop *ɖ* in Dolakhā often corresponds to *jy* in Sindhupālcok, as illustrated by the examples in Table 13 below.

A further correspondence between the two dialects is as follows: While the infinitive suffix of closed stem verbs in the Sindhupālcok dialect of Thangmi has an initial voiceless palatal affricate, either unaspirated [ts] /c/ or aspirated [tsʰ] /ch/, as in <ca ~ -cha> (INF), the infinitive suffix in the Dolakhā dialect is invariably <-sa> (INF) using the initial sibilant *s*. The opposition is not systematic, and the Dolakhā infinitive suffix <-sa> (INF) is also attested in Sindhupālcok, as illustrated in Table 14 below.

TABLE 13. RETROFLEX-PALATAL CORRESPONDENCES IN THE TWO DIALECTS

Dolakhā dialect	Sindhupālcok dialect	Meaning
[ʈ]	[c(y)]	
ʈakadu	cyakadu	sweet, sugary, tasty
ʈaye	cyaye	night
ʈeksa	cyeʔesa	to tear, rend, lacerate
ʈepsa	cyepsa	to squeeze under the arm
ʈiklak	cyiklaʔ	drongo
ʈiku	cyuku	black ant
ʈila	cyila	cold
ʈisensa	cyesensa	to teach, explain
ʈuŋi	culi	goat
kanʈi	kanci	young, fresh, unripe (?< Nepali <i>kāco</i>)
[ʈh]	[ch(y)]	
ʈhare	chyare	weeds, tufts of grass
ʈhati	chyati	waterfall
ʈhemsā	chyemsa	to break, crack
ʈhenthēlek	cyenchyeleʔ	a species of cricket
ʈhoŋe	chyōŋe	old man, husband
ʈhoŋi	chyōŋi	old woman, wife
ʈhorok	chyoro	eggshell, fruit skin
ciʈhemsā	cichyemsa	to ask someone to break something
goʈhe	gochye	pubic hair
[ɖ]	[j(y)]	
ɖamari	jyamari	son-in-law, younger sister's husband
ɖaŋaŋeŋ	jyaŋgaŋeŋ	bird
ɖaŋkharəŋsisa	jyaŋgaraŋsisa	to sit or walk with one's legs apart
ɖiŋ-ɖiŋ	jyiŋ-jyiŋ	red
ɖisisa	jhisisa	to comb one's own hair

TABLE 14. SIBILANT-PALATAL CORRESPONDENCES IN THE TWO DIALECTS

Dolakhā dialect	Sindhupālcok dialect	Meaning
<-sa>	<-ca>	
ahunsa	ahunca	to pick up from the ground
akhassa	akhatca	to vomit, throw up
rage letsa	rage letca	to get angry
<-sa>	<-cha>	
cikinsa	cikinchā	to give someone a fright
hensa	hencha	to go, leave
keletsa	keletcha	to arrive
khitsa	khitcha	to peel off, scrape off
lunsa	luncha	to climb, ride

In the Sindhupālcok dialect, vowels have a tendency to be somewhat more open than in Dolakhā. For example, the short, unrounded, high front vowel [i] in initial position in Dolakhā lexical items is often rendered as the short, mid-open, unrounded, front vowel [ɛ] in Sindhupālcok; and the short, rounded, high back vowel [u] in initial position in Dolakhā lexical items is often rendered as the short, mid-closed, rounded, back vowel [o] in Sindhupālcok, as illustrated in Table 15 below.

TABLE 15. VOWEL OPENING IN THE SINDHUPĀLCOK DIALECT

Dolakhā dialect	Sindhupālcok dialect	Meaning
[i] → [ɛ]		
ikhesa	ekhesa	to crow (by a rooster)
isen	esen	maggot
ithedu paŋku	ethedu paŋku	spirit, distilled liquor
[u] → [o]		
ubo	obo	white
ucyaca	ocyanaca	very small
ugo	ogo	mouth
uskol	oskol	marking nut, <i>Semecarpus anacardium</i>
ustok	usto?	saliva, spittle, sputum

Inverted lexical forms are another dialectal variation. Phonological inversions include Dolakhā *latar* vs. Sindhupālcok *ratal* ‘earthworm’ (the latter form was documented by Toba), Dolakhā *cukri* vs. Sindhupālcok *cikuri* ‘toe’ and Dolakhā *loʔok* vs. Sindhupālcok *ʔoklok* ‘on one’s haunches’. Examples of inverted meanings in the dialects, which cause confusion between Thangmi speakers, are Dolakhā *biliŋ* ‘wrong side, wrong way up, back to front’ vs. Sindhupālcok *thiʔbliŋ* ‘wrong side, wrong way up, back to front’ compared with Dolakhā *sipliŋ* ‘aright, right way up, right side up’ and Sindhupālcok *iʔbliŋ* ‘aright, right way up, right side up’.

The phonological differences between the two dialects of Thangmi result in minimal pairs being lost in one dialect, while being retained in the other. For example, Dolakhā *nisa* ‘to see’ and *niksa* ‘to be born’ are a minimal pair, but in the Sindhupālcok dialect both verbs become homophonous on account of the glottalisation described above, viz. *niʔisa* ‘to see; to be born’. On the other hand, *phasa* ‘storm, wind’ and *phasa* ‘to hold out’ are homophonous in the Dolakhā dialect but are distinct in Sindhupālcok: *phasya* ‘storm, wind’ vs. *phaʔasa* ‘to hold out’.

While lexical items which differ between the two Thangmi dialects are too numerous to list in one table, a few key examples are presented in Table 16 below.

TABLE 16. DIALECTAL DIVERGENCES IN THE LEXICON FOR FLORA AND FAUNA

Dolakhā dialect	Sindhupālcok dialect	Meaning
ahel	syuŋŋan	garuga, <i>Garuga pinnata</i>
akal	cyolampi	a species of tree, <i>Persea odoratissima</i>
altak	paʔareŋ	the Nepalese rhododendron tree
broŋ	phusa	mildew
buŋ	ameʔ	tassels at the top of a maize inflorescence
cuksa	thamsa	to insert, pour into
demca	bi	load
dosken	phulu	the fern <i>Gleichenia linearis</i>
loŋa	jalat	the Nepalese hog plum
makarpapa	jaramphal	spider
pepelek	akusya	money, coins
rulau	juro	cockroach

The majority of these lexical divergences are proper names of flora and fauna, a lexical realm prone to borrowing, change and spontaneous evolution. It is usually when a conversation between two Thangmi speakers, one from each dialect, turns to plants, animals, insects, topographical features and clan names, that communication is most likely to break down and be continued in Nepali. Thangmi speakers

themselves emphasise the noticeable lexical differences between the dialects in words for flora and fauna as proof of the vast differences between the two speech forms and their speakers. On numerous occasions, I have heard Thangmi speakers of one dialect say something on the lines of, ‘you won’t believe what they call a rhododendron on the other side of Kālincok...’.

4.2 Multilingualism and the retention of the Thangmi language

Many ethnic Thangmi from Dolakhā and Sindhupālcok are effectively bilingual in Thangmi and Nepali. I have observed that Thangmi men and women over the age of fifty are often monolingual Thangmi speakers, while Thangmi youths under twenty years of age usually have little more than a passive understanding of their own tongue. The middle generation, between the ages of twenty and fifty, are most likely to be bilingual, using Thangmi for most intra-ethnic linguistic exchanges and Nepali in conversations with members of other ethnic groups and castes.

The monolingualism that I attribute to older Thangmi villagers must be qualified with the observation that while this age group may not be conversant in Nepali, speakers do use many Nepali words in their speech. Nepali adjectives and adverbs are particularly popular, and older speakers who adamantly claim that they speak no Nepali will pepper their speech with Nepali terms such as *dherai* ‘very’, *ek dam* ‘very much’, *rāmro* ‘good’ and *bistārai* ‘slowly’. While unable or unwilling to speak Nepali, these older Thangmi speakers show considerable passive understanding of the national language, and seem to follow the gist of a discussion when they attend village meetings at which Nepali is spoken. However, should a Thangmi elder wish to speak at such meetings, he or she is liable to speak in Thangmi and demand that a younger Thangmi speaker translate his or her words into Nepali for the benefit of the audience. There are two motivations for using Thangmi in such situations. First, older speakers feel more comfortable speaking in their mother tongue than in their imperfect Nepali, in which their grammatical errors may be looked down upon by native Nepali speakers. Second, older Thangmi speakers may wish to make an ethnolinguistic ‘statement’ by using the Thangmi language, drawing attention to their linguistic heritage and so demonstrate the value of speaking Thangmi to the youngsters present.⁸⁰

When older Thangmi speakers do speak Nepali, they do so with a reduced phonology, effortlessly Thangmi-fying Nepali words and phrases. This is especially prevalent among speakers of the Sindhupālcok dialect who are predisposed to

⁸⁰ Peet’s conclusions from the 1970s support my findings, as he suggests that ‘older’ Thangmi are often ‘more conservative and generally refuse to attend Bahun-Chhetri events and to use Nepali except with non-Thami speakers’ (1978: 246).

glottalising velar stops, palatalising retroflex consonants and inserting echo vowels in their Nepali speech. I have overheard older Sindhupālcok dialect Thangmi speakers render Nepali *chīto* ‘fast, quickly’ as **chicyo*, Nepali *kukur* ‘dog’ as **kuʔur* and Nepali *pāknu* ‘to cook, to ripen’ as **paʔanu*.

Thangmi speakers between the ages of twenty and fifty make up the bulk of the population. Mother tongue retention is varied, but better in remote, high altitude villages than around the more accessible market towns, as might be expected. Complex expressions involving conditional or hypothetical forms are usually rendered in Nepali. Rather than constructing complex sentences in Thangmi, the grammar of which the speaker may be unsure, and even less sure of listener comprehension, most Thangmi speakers of the twenty to fifty age group revert to Nepali to convey sentences of the type ‘if you hadn’t already eaten, I would have offered you something to eat’ or ‘whether or not he leaves now, I still don’t trust him’. The degraded Thangmi lexicon has few words to convey feelings, emotions, beliefs, fears and likes with any subtlety, and consequently phrases such as *gǎi-go bicar-te...* (I-GEN *idea*-LOC) ‘in my opinion’, a calque from Nepali *mero vicār-mā* ‘in my opinion’,⁸¹ and *gǎi-gǎi mǎn lǎgǎi-Ø-du* (I-PM *mind feel*-SAS-NPT) ‘I like’, a calque from Nepali *ma-lāi man lǎgcha* ‘I like’, are very common. Certain subsets of the Thangmi lexicon appear to be particularly poorly retained by this age group of speakers, most noticeably kinship terms, numerals, toponyms, ethnonyms, clan names and colour adjectives. While passive understanding of these lexical items is high, active retention and productive use varies widely, and appears to be largely conditioned by the educational level of the speaker and the immediate linguistic environment, i.e. the language of currency in the household. In my experience, higher levels of education result in lower language retention.

The final age set of Thangmi speakers which I have somewhat arbitrarily defined as children and youths up to the age of twenty speak Nepali as their first language. These young men and women are more likely than their parents to have studied in government schools and listen to the radio, read newspapers or magazines obtained from the market towns, and even write letters, all activities which are conducted in the Nepali language. While the ethnic tongue is still widely understood, many in this age group speak the Thangmi language with a reduced phonology and a heavy reliance on Nepali loan words. Code switching and the Nepalification of Thangmi lexical items and grammar are common among the under-twenties, and some individuals even describe their own linguistic fusion as *Thangali* or *Thamali*, derived from *Thang(mi)* or *Tham(i)* and the <-ali> of *Nepālī*. Albeit at a village level,

⁸¹ Nepali *mero vicār-mā* ‘in my opinion’ may in turn be a calque from English.

this mixed Thangmi-Nepali speech pattern mirrors the Nepali-English blending which occurs in Darjeeling and in the speech of urban Nepalis. It is unclear whether Thangmi youngsters seek to emulate this effect for reasons of status and prestige, or whether *Thangali* is the natural consequence of linguistic attrition and decline. In *Vanishing Voices*, David Nettle and Suzanne Romaine suggest that:

The pulse of a language clearly lies in the youngest generation. Languages are at risk when they are no longer transmitted naturally to children in the home by parents or other caretakers. Even languages which older, but not younger, children in a community have acquired are at risk. (2000: 8)

By this criterion, Thangmi is also at risk, since it is no longer a living language for ethnic Thangmi of school-going age. While on the decline, Thangmi is thankfully not yet at the stage of Dumi, which George van Driem described as being ‘in the throes of death’ (1993a: 8). The sociolinguistic environment of Thangmi speakers is endangered, however, and I concur with Nettle and Romaine when they suggest that:

A community of people can exist only where there is a viable environment for them to live in, and a means of making a living. Where communities cannot thrive, their languages are in danger. When languages lose their speakers, they die. (2000: 5)

4.3 Historically documented stages of the Thangmi language

While there have been no in-depth studies of the Thangmi language before I started my investigation in 1997, short word lists of the language dating back to the turn of the 20th century do exist. In this brief subsection, I compare Thangmi words and phrases published in Grierson’s *Linguistic Survey of India* with Stein’s Swadesh 100 word list from 1972, and finally contrast these with my more recent findings on the Thangmi language. Grierson reported more Thangmi words than Stein included in her 100 word list, so I have opted to use Stein’s Swadesh word list as the lowest common denominator for comparison, as shown in Table 17 below. I have also chosen to remain faithful to the original orthography for both Grierson and Stein’s lists, and indicate Nepali loans with [N]. A blank entry in Grierson’s list indicates that this word was not provided, while a blank entry in my list indicates that a Nepali loan is used. A number of items in my list are suffixed with [N], indicating that a word is Indo-Aryan in origin but is so widely used in Thangmi that speakers believe this lexical item to be a native form. A discussion of the changes in the language and the discrepancies in the lists follows the table.

**TABLE 17. HISTORICALLY DOCUMENTED STAGES OF THE THANGMI LANGUAGE
OVER THE PERIOD OF A CENTURY**

Grierson (1901)	Stein (1970)	Turin (1997 onwards)	English
Gai	gai	găi	I
Nānko	nāŋ	naŋ	thou
Ai-mi	ni	ni	we
	ka	ka	this
	to	to	that
Suguri	su	su	who?
Hārāburi	'hara	hara	what?
	ma-	ma-	not
	sakkhale [N]	sakale ~ sakalei [N]	all
	ahe ^h	ahe	many
Diware	dil	di	one
Nis	nis	nis	two
	dzekha	jekha	big
	alamga	ălămgā	long
	ucatsa ~ ocatsa	ucyaca	small
Chā-maichā	tsamaitsa	camăica	woman
Mi	mi	cahuca	man
	mi	mi	person
	naŋa	naŋa	fish
	ḍāŋgaleŋ	ḍaŋaŋeŋ	bird
	kutsu	kucu	dog
	siri	sirik	louse
	ruk ^h [N]	domba	tree
	puya	puya	seed
	adza	aja	leaf
	dzara [N]	nara	root
	bokra [N]	gogok	bark
	ḥebi	sebi	skin
	ḥebi	cici	flesh
	tsai	coi ~ căi	blood
	koṣa	kosa ~ kosya	bone
	tshou		grease
	om	ahum ~ om	egg
	naru	naru	horn
	lime	limek ~ lime?	tail
	bullā		feather
Chimeng	tsimyān	cime / mus	hair
Kāpu	kapu	kapu	head
Kulnā	kulna	kulna ~ kulla ~ kunla	ear
Mise	meḥe	mesek ~ mese?	eye
Chingā	tsiŋa	ciŋya ~ cīyā	nose
Ugo	ugo ~ ogo	ugo ~ ogo	mouth
Suwā	suwa	suwa	tooth
Chile	tsile	cile	tongue

Konte	pin k ^w on̄te	pin kon̄te	finger nail foot
Lāk	pokole	pokolek ~ pokole	knee
Bāng-kāl	laʔ bāŋkal kaŋtu cucu lōŋse ariŋse	lak ~ laʔ baŋkal ~ baŋgal kaŋtu cyocyo ~ nunupuʔu loŋsek ~ loŋseʔ cārŋa ~ carŋa	hand belly neck breasts heart liver
Chi yā	toe tunan (tunsa) toe cahan (casa) toe tsekudu (tseʔesa) toe niuno (nisa) toe saeno (saisa) toe saeno (saisa) to amian (amisa) to şian (şisa) toe satunu (satsa) to pouri nampahan (nampasa) [N]	tunsa cyasa ceksa ~ ceʔesa nisa ~ niʔisa nasāisa sāisa amisa sisā satsa	drink eat bite see hear know sleep die kill swim
Rāā	to peran (perdu) to tsawan (tsawasa) to yusa suwan (yusa) toe dāʔaidu [N]	persa cawasa ~ cawatsa yusa / kyelsa / rasa	fly walk come lie
Hokā	to hoʔodu	hokdu ~ hoʔodu	sit
Thiungā	to tikiri hoʔodu		stand
Piyāng	toe piʔuni (piʔsa) toe ŋaono (ŋaʔsa)	pisa ŋasa ~ ŋatcha	give say
Ūni	uni	uni	sun
Chālā	tsalauni	cālāuni ~ calaʔuni	moon
Ūchhi	uts ^h i	uchi	star
Pāngku	pāŋku dzari, pāŋku lyunŋ masa pirtiʔi [N] dumma asku me ^h khorani [N] jousa, tisa ulam himal [N] dīŋdīŋ hario [N] pahelo [N] ubo ~ obo kidzi ʔa tato [N] tsiso [N]	paŋku jhāri [N] lyunŋ ~ liŋ ~ ŋiŋ nasak ~ nasa nasak ~ nasa dhumba / khasu asku me traba jyousa ~ jyosa / tisa ulam dīŋ-dīŋ ~ jyīŋ-jyīŋ ubo ~ obo kji ʔaye ~ chaye adum ajik ~ ijik / ʔila	water rain stone sand earth cloud smoke fire ash burn path mountain red green yellow white black night hot cold

bhari [N]	klenj ~ plenj	full
naka	naka	new
ramro [N]	apraca	good
gore [N]	gonthe ~ gore	round
gaãntale	ganđu (ganjsa)	dry
name [N]	name [N]	name

At the level of transcription, a number of differences may be noted. Grierson appears to distinguish vowel length in the closed, back, unrounded vowel [u], as in *Ugo* ‘mouth’ vs. *Ūni* ‘sun’, a distinction which is not attested in my fieldwork areas. Grierson’s examples demonstrate that his approach to morphemic segmentation was idiosyncratic at best, and inconsistent at worst, as shown by *Chā-maichā* ‘woman’ and *Bāng-kāl* ‘belly’. Stein, on the other hand, makes a distinction between [ts] and [c], which corresponds to the distinction *c* vs. *cy* in my fieldwork data, as in *tsamaitsa* ‘woman’ (Stein) vs. *camāica* ‘woman’ (Turin), and *cucu* ‘breast’ (Stein) vs. *cyocy* ‘breast’ (Turin). While it remains unclear whether Stein’s transcription is phonetic or phonological, the similarity between the forms she collected in 1970 and my data of thirty years later is striking. If anything, in fact, it appears that the Thangmi speakers with whom I worked exhibit a higher retention of indigenous Thangmi forms than Stein’s informants, since she has given Nepali forms for ten lexical items for which I have native Thangmi forms. In part, this may have to do with the degree of fluency in Nepali on the part of the fieldworker, and it is possible that neither Stein nor her informants were aware that a number of the lexical items she recorded were of Nepali origin. Historical word lists of lexical items tell little of the complex linguistic reality at the time they were recorded, and no more can be said about the state of the Thangmi language at the time of Stein’s research without analysis of the linguistic details contained in her unpublished field notes.

5. The Thangmi mythological world

While the Thangmi have been described as having no recognisable folklore or ethnohistory, the existence of a specifically Thangmi cosmogony and ethnic origin story would suggest otherwise. Although the Thangmi account of the world’s origin includes identifiably Hindu deities such as Viṣṇu and Mahādev, and pan-Asian themes such as the lotus flower, these are mixed in with uniquely Thangmi elements. The following account is a distillation of the various stories that I have heard in the villages where Thangmi are either autochthonous or dominant, and where their language is still spoken. The stories were narrated to me in the Thangmi language with some reliance on Nepali. Each telling was different, even by the same narrator, and it is extremely difficult to determine which details are central to the story and

which should remain peripheral. What I present here is the ‘lowest common denominator’ account, including as many of the salient details as possible but few of the personal embellishments of the narrators. In brief, then, with the episodes clearly borrowed wholesale from Hindu mythology removed, the story is as follows.⁸²

5.1 Genesis

In the beginning, there was only water, and the gods held a meeting to decide how to develop this vast expanse of ocean. They first created a species of small insect, known in Thangmi as *korsani* (Nepali *kumālkoṭi*), but these insects could find no solid land on which to live on account of the water everywhere. Consequently, the gods created a species of fish, known in ritual Thangmi as *koṃorsa*, which could live in water. The *korsani* took to living on the fins of the fish, which protruded far enough out of the water to allow the insects to breathe. The *korsani* collected a species of river grass, *Saccharum spontaneum* (Nepali *kās*) which they mixed with mud in order to build dwellings on the fins of the fish. These insects built houses in each of the four directions: south, west, north and east.

One day, a lotus flower arose spontaneously out of the water with the god Viṣṇu seated in the middle. From the four corners of the lotus flower came armies of ants, known in Thangmi as *ṭiku* (Nepali *kamilā*). From the south came blue ants, from the west red ants, from the north black ants, and from the east white ants. These ants then killed all the *korsani* and destroyed their houses. The ants left, taking all the mud that the *korsani* had used for their dwellings, and collecting another species of grass, *Cynodon dactylon* (Nepali *dubo*), as they went. The ants then mixed this grass with the stolen mud to construct new houses.

Eventually the gods came together and decided to create people. Mahādev first tried to make a man out of gold, then one out of silver, then iron, and finally out of copper. However, none of these metal men could speak. Viṣṇu then joined Mahādev in the endeavour, and tried his hand at making humans. After constructing 108 piles of wood, he burnt each pile down to ash. He subsequently proceeded to mix each pile of ash together with chicken shit, and Mahādev and Viṣṇu used this mixture to make a new person. Viṣṇu built the person from the head down to the waist, while Mahādev built the human from the feet up. The two halves were thus made separately and joined together at the navel on completion. The human was now ready. The gods called out to him, and he responded, unlike the earlier men who had

⁸² An earlier version of origin tale was submitted to the Kathmandu-based journal *Himalayan Culture* as part of an article co-authored with Sara Shneiderman in 1999. To date, the journal has never been published, despite numerous reworkings of the layout and content, and the editor himself, Hari Bhaṇsa Kirāt, is unable to give an estimated date of publication.

been made of metal and consequently had been unable to speak. On hearing his voice, the gods commanded the man to go and die. This he promptly did.

A thousand years passed. During this time, the man's spirit roamed the earth alone and in vain, and no other people were created. Eventually, the man's spirit ended up near Mount Kailās, where it entered the womb of a giant sacred cow (Nepali *gauri gāi*) in the hope of being reborn. Having been inseminated by the man's wandering spirit, the sacred cow gave birth to three sons. These three men are the forefathers of all human beings.

5.2 Thangmi ethnogenesis

5.2.1 Narrative

At this point in the story, the protagonists shift from amorphous pre-social beings to more human, ethnically defined members of a nascent society. The three brothers born to the giant sacred cow come to represent three identifiable segments of contemporary Nepali, and perhaps even South Asian, society. The first group are practitioners of religious traditions based on texts, i.e. both high-caste Hindus and Tibetan Buddhists. The second group are low caste Hindus and the occupational castes, who provide the foundational labour of their society, such as the *Damāi* and *Kāmī*. The third and final group represented by the three brothers are the hill peoples who speak Tibeto-Burman languages (including the Thangmi), who belong to neither of the former groups. The following sections of the narrative document the splintering of the hill ethnic groups, and I have chosen not to include the details here. Instead, I fast-forward to the moment at which the Thangmi break off from their ethnic brethren and begin to order their own social world.

The forefather of the Thangmi, known variously as *Yaḷapa* or *Yaḷapati Chuku*, was the eldest of five brothers. These five brothers were sons of the proto-human deity *Naroseṭu*, the third son of the giant sacred cow and the progenitor of all ethnic groups speaking Tibeto-Burman languages in the hills of Nepal. Each of the five brothers is identified as the forefather of a different Himalayan subgroup. After residing for some years in the town of Ṭhimī, known as *Thebe* in Thangmi, *Yaḷapa* and his four brothers were forced to leave the town due to a conflict with local rulers. *Yaḷapa* went east with his youngest brother, *Kancapa*, while the other three brothers went west. After many days of wandering, *Yaḷapa* and *Kancapa* met two sisters who were the daughters of a snake spirit (Nepali *nāg*). The four travellers continued together, by way of Simraungadh or Simaṅghāt, until they reached the confluence of the Sunkośī and Indravatī rivers. There they met a boatman (Nepali *mājhī*) who ferried them across the river. They then continued to the confluence of the Tāmakośī,

but only the two brothers and the younger of the two sisters could fit in the boat to cross the river, and the eldest sister, known variously as *Sunari Ama* ‘golden mother’ or *Sunari Aji* ‘golden mother-in-law’, was left on the other side by herself. They all continued up the Tāmākośī, with *Sunari Ama* walking alone on the near side of the river.

At the next confluence, the brothers split up. *Kancapa* and the younger sister walked up the tributary, while *Ya?apa* and *Sunari Ama* continued along the Tāmākośī. From this point on, *Kancapa* is identified as the forefather of the Rai peoples living to the east of the Thangmi. Finally, after walking on opposite sides of the river for many days, *Sunari Ama* and *Ya?apa* came to a place called Nāgdaha. While walking, *Sunari Ama* had been spinning a thread of the Himalayan nettle *Girardinia diversifolia* (Thangmi *naṇāi*, Nepali *allo sisnu*) on her spindle, and by the time they reached Nāgdaha it was long enough to plait into a coarse rope. She threw one end of the rope across the river to *Ya?apa*, and he threw a length back to double it up and make a secure, if simple, bridge. In this manner, *Sunari Ama* finally succeeded in crossing the river to join *Ya?apa*. So relieved were they to be reunited, that they decided to settle nearby in an area known to this day as Raṇathali or Raṇ Raṇ Thali. Having made a home, they then cleared parts of the jungle to make fields.⁸³

From this point in the narrative, there are two slightly different versions. The first version suggests that *Sunari Ama* gave birth to seven sons and seven daughters, while the second account tells of seven sons and eight daughters, of which the youngest daughter does not marry, choosing rather to become a nun.⁸⁴ Both stories concur that when the children were of marriageable age, the Thangmi parents had little choice but to marry their children off to one another because there were no other suitable partners. The children were paired off by age, the eldest son marrying the eldest daughter, the second-eldest son marrying the second-eldest daughter, and so on. Having witnessed and orchestrated the marriages, the Thangmi couple then assigned all of their children separate clans, both sons and daughters, thus making their shameful incestuous marriages more socially acceptable. The parents organised an archery contest to determine their sons’ clan names, and assigned clan names to

⁸³ In Thangmi, *raṇ* means ‘dry or unirrigated field, land’, and Raṇ Raṇ Thali would indicate a place with many fields.

⁸⁴ More information on quite what kind of ‘nun’ this youngest daughter became has not been forthcoming. For most narrators of this tale, she is out of sight and out of mind. It should be noted that in Thangmi society, women who choose not to marry are often jokingly referred to as ‘nuns’ even though there is little expectation that they remain celibate, and they do not resemble the celibate Buddhist religious practitioners which spring to mind when one speaks of a ‘nun’ in a Himalayan cultural context.

their daughters according to the kind of domestic work in which they were engaged. After naming the clans, the Thangmi parents pronounced a strict injunction against any further incestuous marriages. When they came of age, the next generation of Thangmi children were obliged to find potential spouses from one of the other clans rather than from their own parents' clans. Section §6 below deals with the clan names in detail.

Nearby lived a wealthy and powerful king of what is the present-day Dolakhā region. He had a court fisherman in his service who was responsible for catching fresh fish for the palace every day. One morning, the fisherman returned to court with disturbing news: He had found small pieces of bamboo and wood chippings in his nets, obviously chopped by a human hand. No humans were known to live in the jungle surrounding the palace, and the king, being the *de facto* owner of all the land, immediately ordered a reconnaissance mission of his best guards to follow the source of the river and find the man or beast who had been using his wood without royal permission.

After returning empty-handed from many exploratory trips, the king's guards finally came across a small hut deep in the forest inhabited by a wild-looking man and woman: *Ya?apa* and *Sunari Ama*. The guards surrounded the couple, apprehended *Ya?apa* and escorted him to the king's palace. Fearing for his life, *Ya?apa* brought with him a wild pheasant he had killed as an offering to appease the angry king. Once in court, the king interrogated *Ya?apa* and charged him with living on royal land and killing royal game without permission. The king was angry, and sent the offender away under heavy supervision, fixing a date for him to return and receive punishment. On that day, *Ya?apa* dutifully returned, but this time with a deer in tow as a present for the angry king. The king was now furious at what he saw as the wanton destruction of his regal fauna, and sent *Ya?apa* away again, having fixed a date for their next meeting. Keeping his word, *Ya?apa* arrived on the appointed day, this time with a mountain goat as a present for the king. The king could now hold back his rage no longer and informed *Ya?apa* that he would be executed the following day. Understandably dejected, *Ya?apa* returned home to *Sunari Ama* for the last time, and told her of the king's pronouncement. While she had not travelled with him to the king's court on his previous visits, preferring to remain at home in the forest, she promised to accompany him the following day, and do what she could to prevent his execution.

Arriving at the palace the next morning, *Ya?apa* was immediately incarcerated and it became clear that preparations for his execution were well underway. The couple were granted their final audience with the king, and *Sunari Ama* pleaded for the release of her husband, but nothing that she offered the king

would change his mind. After much weeping, howling and bargaining, she offered to present the king with something that he couldn't already have in his palace: a golden deer. This she miraculously did, and also produced a beautiful golden plate from within the long, tangled braids of her hair. The king was greatly impressed and immediately released *Ya?apa* from captivity and granted the couple leave to settle on his land. As a token of his gratitude for the exotic presents, he asked them how much land they wanted, to which the couple replied, 'no more than the size of a buffalo skin'. The king urged them to accept more, but they refused, requesting only that a buffalo skin be brought so that they could show the king exactly how much they desired. This was duly done, and *Ya?apa* proceeded to cut the dried skin into extremely long, thin strips, which he then laid out in the shape of a huge square, encircling much of the kingdom, and promptly demanded that the ruler honour his offer and let them have a piece of land that size.⁸⁵ So impressed was the king with the wit and ingenuity of the Thangmi couple that he honoured his pledge and granted them their request. Confident in the king's promise, *Ya?apa* and *Sunari Ama* returned to their previous habitation as the rightful owners of land stretching from the Thangmi village of Ālampu in the north to the Sunkośī river in the west.⁸⁶

Delighted by this unexpected resolution to their predicament, *Ya?apa* and *Sunari Ama* returned to their family. *Ya?apa* instructed his seven sons, married to the seven daughters, to migrate to and settle in far-lying parts of the area that they had been given by the king. In order to determine where each son would settle, a second archery contest was organised. Together the seven brothers climbed to the top of Kālincoḳ ridge and shot their arrows as far as they could in diverse directions. Each brother then tracked his arrow and settled where it had landed. The contemporary names of these original seven settlements, most of which still have Thangmi inhabitants, organised by descending order of the age of the sons who settled there are: Surkhe, Suspā, Dumkoṭ, Lāpilāñ, Kusāti, Ālampu and Kuthisyāñ. In all of these places, the Thangmi were granted exclusive hereditary rights to the land and maintained them until comparatively recently through the *kīpaṭ* system.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ Readers familiar with the Tibetan origin story of Bodhnāth Stūpa will note a striking resemblance in these details. The story of Bodhnāth tells of a female Tibetan trader who petitioned the local ruler to grant her a piece of land the size of a buffalo skin to build a stupa for Buddhist merit. The ruler agreed and she proceeded to cut the hide into thin strips which she laid out in what is the present-day arrangement of the Bodhnāth Stūpa. The use of a buffalo hide to demarcate the limits of land is clearly a common motif.

⁸⁶ The southern and eastern borders of their land are not defined in this version of the story.

⁸⁷ See Caplan (1970) and Regmi (1976) for detailed discussions of different forms of land ownership in Nepal.

5.2.2 *Analysis*

The account of the provenance of the Thangmi ethnic group narrated above is interesting for a number of reasons, but in this short section I shall concentrate on only one of the many issues it raises: incest.

Incest involves sexual relations with people who are close relatives, or perhaps more correctly, with individuals who are believed to be close relatives. While the incest taboo is as close as one can get to a human universal, since all known cultures have some form of prohibition against it, quite who qualifies for inclusion in the taboo and how the taboo is constructed is specific to each cultural grouping. Even within Nepal there are significant variations. Some members of the Thakali community, for example, still practise preferential cross cousin marriage by which a young man will be encouraged to marry his mother's brother's daughter, and a young woman may be foresworn to her father's sister's son. In Thakali society, however, the relationship between parallel cousins is akin to that of siblings and thus fundamentally contravenes the incest taboo. By Thakali reckoning then, sex between cross cousins is not incest because they are not considered to be relatives of the same order as parallel cousins.

According to the rules of Thangmi descent, both cross cousin and parallel cousin marriage fall within the domain of incest. The union of the seven brothers with their seven sisters described above is still taken quite literally by many in the community, and the incestuous nature of the origin story continues to cause many Thangmi consternation and shame. Being beef-eaters in a Hindu nation which prohibits cow slaughter, and further being situated towards the lower end of the socio-economic hierarchy, not to mention being largely unknown in the context of Nepal's many ethnic groups, the Thangmi community as a whole has particularly low self-esteem. This situation is exacerbated by what is seen to be a shameful origin story. There are, of course, plenty of young Thangmi men and women who do not interpret the origin story literally, whether it be the incestuous section or the account of the golden deer, and prefer to view the whole narrative as allegory.

However exotic and distasteful these incestuous unions may be to contemporary Thangmi sensibilities, the group is not alone in having an oral history which talks of sibling unions whence lineages or clans derive. In fact, the very prevalence of such stories all over the world led the French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss to posit that the practice of incest, and then a subsequent taboo on it, were fundamental patterns or 'structural' parts of what he called 'mythologies'.⁸⁸ One of the best explanations of the incest taboo is that it may have arisen to ensure clan

⁸⁸ The classic publication on this topic is Lévi-Strauss (1958).

exogamy by forcing people to marry outside of their direct family and close kin, thereby extending their network of social relations.

To conclude, since there were no other suitable mates for the children of the original Thangmi couple, the incestuous unions, the subsequent dispersal of the married children and finally their fragmentation into different clans, provide an archetypal explanation for the provenance of a small ethnic group. One can imagine how, from the highly symbolic and symmetrical unions of the paired children, a Thangmi incest taboo might have emerged.

6. An ethnolinguistic analysis of Thangmi clan names and structure

In this section, I present the indigenous Thangmi interpretation of their clan origins, as well as a semantic analysis of the various clan names.⁸⁹ With regard to marriage, the Thangmi are group-endogamous and clan-exogamous, although the latter is more closely adhered to than the former. In other words, while it is considered sinful to marry or have sexual relations with a relative until seven generations have elapsed, sexual relations culminating in marriage with non-Thangmi partners are not taboo.

The prominence of certain clan names over others varies greatly across the Thangmi-speaking areas of Dolakhā and Sindhupālcok.⁹⁰ While there is some overlap, no particular clan has primacy across the dialect boundaries. On a village-by-village count, however, higher concentrations of certain clans are observed and in some cases, clan names unique to one particular locality exist. In this section, I concentrate on clans represented in the village of Suspā in Dolakhā district.

6.1 Parents of the clans

As described above, the male progenitor or Thangmi forefather is known as *Ya?apa* or *Ya?apati Chuku*, while his partner, the first Thangmi woman and foremother is referred to as either *Sunari Ama* or *Sunari Aji*. The first element of the Thangmi forefather's name, *ya?*, has two possible cognates. The root may well be cognate with modern Thangmi *ya?* 'giant taro, *Alocasia indicum*' (Nepali *piṇḍālu*). Although only some Thangmi spontaneously provide this explanation when asked for an

⁸⁹ This section is loosely based on data previously published in the *Journal of Nepalese Literature, Art and Culture* (Shneiderman and Turin 2001).

⁹⁰ On many occasions, Thangmi villagers have informed me that they were no longer aware of their own clan affiliation, and were entirely reliant on the memory of a *guru* to vet suitable marriage partners. Peet, some thirty years earlier, notes a similar tendency, 'the fact that I asked for Thami lineage names caused some amusement and curiosity among my informants. Some Thamis were not even sure of their lineage's name' (1978: 233). Peet uses this as evidence for the Thangmi kinship system comprising of 'rather shallow patrilineal lineages and very weakly developed clans' (1978: 273), a conclusion which my data do not support.

interpretation for the provenance of the name *Ya?apati*, there is a common belief that his diet was made up of wild and gathered foods such as taro and yam. The other plausible cognate for the element *Ya?* in his name is that of *jekha* ‘big, large, senior, elder’, reflexes of which can be found in Thangmi kinship terms such as *jekhapa* ‘father’s elder brother’ and *jekha ca* ‘eldest son’. Most Thangmi feel more comfortable with this explanation, although the phonological shift remains unexplained. The other possibility is that *Ya?* is simply a proper noun and not cognate with any modern Thangmi lexical items.

The variation in the second morpheme of his first name suggests one of two plausible cognates. While *-pa* is most likely cognate with Thangmi *apa* ‘father’, *-pati* is more likely derived from Nepali *pati* ‘husband’ (Turner 1997: 361). The second segment of his name, *Chuku*, is derived from Thangmi *chuku* ‘father-in-law’. His full name, when translated element by element, would be ‘Father [in-law], of the giant taro’, ‘Senior father [in-law]’ or ‘*Ya?*, the senior father [in-law]’. Of the three, the middle translation, with reference to neither the yam nor to *Ya?* as a personal name is the most popular explanation among Thangmi villagers. This translation resonates closely with the indigenous Thangmi conception of *Ya?apati Chuku* as the male ancestor, progenitor and forefather of all Thangmi and would further explain the presence of both the term *apa* ‘father’ and *chuku* ‘father-in-law’ in his name, two highly distinct socio-cultural roles which are never conflated in Thangmi society. *Ya?apati Chuku* plays both roles, being at once the ‘father’ and ‘father-in-law’ of all Thangmi.

The name of the Thangmi female ancestor, *Sunari Ama* or *Sunari Aji*, is derived from a combination of Nepali and Thangmi. Her first name, *Sunari*, is evidently related to Nepali *sunār* ‘goldsmith’ or *sun* ‘gold’ (Turner 1997: 614), and is most likely derived from her role in the Thangmi origin story. As described in full in Section §5.2.1 above, *Sunari Aji* presents the king of Dolakhā with gifts of a golden deer and a beautiful golden plate in exchange for her husband’s life. These are the sole elements of ‘magic’ in an otherwise unfantastical account, and the seminal events which secure the release of *Ya?apa* and allow the Thangmi people to flourish. If *Sunari Aji* had not offered the gold items, *Ya?apati Chuku* would likely have been killed, and his family banished from the Dolakhā area. *Sunari Aji*’s name is thus believed to derive from the golden deer and golden plate which she offered the king.

The variation in the second element of her name, *Ama* and *Aji*, is similar to that of *Apa* and *Chuku* as described above for *Ya?apa*. In Thangmi, *ama* denotes ‘mother’ and *aji* ‘mother-in-law’, but *ama* also denotes ‘mother’ in Nepali and *aji* is also cognate with Classical Newar *ājī* ‘grandmother, paternal or maternal’ (Jørgensen 1936: 18) and with Hindi *ājī* ‘paternal grandmother’ (McGregor 2002: 82). *Aji* may

well be an early loan into Newar from a neighbouring Indo-European language which has also worked its way into Thangmi. The borrowed term *aji* is now thought to be a native Thangmi word for this kinship relationship. The full translation of *Sunari Ama* or *Sunari Aji* thus runs ‘Golden mother [in-law]’. She too is both ‘mother’ and ‘mother-in-law’ to all Thangmi.

6.2 Male clans

According to the Thangmi origin story, only once the children of *Yaʔapati Chuku* and *Sunari Aji* had reached marriageable age were they given clan identities. The fact that the clans were not assigned at birth but at a later date is one argument in favour of the view that their emergence was a pragmatic response to the social taboo of sibling incest. The seven male clans were named following the archery competition described in Section §5.2.1 above. According to the order given by Thangmi shamans in the village of Suspā, the clans are as follows:

akal akyammi
kyampole akyammi
aŋeŋ akyammi
ɖumla akyammi
daŋguri akyammi
mosan thali akyammi
jăidhane akyammi

The first point worth noting is the presence of the term *akyammi* as the final element in each of the clan names. *Akyammi* is made up of three syllables, a prefixed *a-* of uncertain provenance, the element *-kyam-*, from Thangmi *kyam* ‘needle wood tree, *Schima wallichii*’ (Nepali *cilāune rukh*) and the final element *-mi*, from Thangmi *mi* ‘person, human, man’. The full translation of *akyammi* might be ‘people of the needle wood tree’. In the village of Suspā, the all-encompassing high level clan to which all Thangmi men belong is that of *akyammi*, within which there are seven sub-clans. The shamans of Suspā have no explanation for the emphasis on the needle wood tree, but stress that all men were *akyammi* before they were anything else. The clan identity of *Yaʔapati Chuku* is thus thought to have been simply *akyammi*, and his sons were thus also all *akyammi*, but belonged to different sub-clans. The reader should note that each Thangmi village is home to a different set of clans and that Thangmi shamans from different localities accord a varying combination of seven clans with primacy and orthodoxy in their origin narratives.

A possible explanation for this variation is provided by the origin story itself. After the sons received their clan names, they were ordered to settle in seven far-flung corners of the wide area of land granted to *Ya?apati Chuku* by the king of Dolakhā. If these mythical migrations are to be believed, it is likely that the inhabitants of each area are descended from the clan that originally settled there, especially if the early Thangmi inhabitants practised patrilocal marriage as they do today which would result in few, if any, men from other clans being brought in. Over time, the population may have expanded through group-exogamous marriage practices, and new clans and sub-clans may have been created in response to inheritance disputes and other social fractures. The multi-layered and heterogeneous nature of Thangmi clan structure is worthy of a study in its own right.

Of the seven clans and sub-clans listed above, four names are directly traceable to Thangmi proper nouns for flora. *Akal akyaṇmi* derives from Thangmi *akal* ‘*Persea odoratissima* (synonym: *Machilus odoratissima*), from the family Lauraceae’ (Nepali *ciplo kāulo*); *kyanpole* derives from Thangmi *kyan* ‘needle wood tree, *Schima wallichii*’ (Nepali *cilāune rukh*) and *pole* ‘foot of tree, tree trunk’ (Nepali *phed, boḥ*); *aṇeṇ* derives from Thangmi *aṇeṇ* ‘oak tree, *Lithocarpus elegans*’ (Nepali *arkhauilo*), and *ḍumla* derives from Thangmi *ḍumla* ‘common fig, *Ficus carica*’ (Nepali *nebhāro*). The above four clan names are believed to derive from the species of tree or plant in which the arrows shot by the sons lodged.

There are still three clans whose etymologies need to be explained. The first is *daṇguri akyaṇmi*, a clan name which is made up of two separate Thangmi elements, <daṇ-> from the stem of the verb *daṇsa* ‘to find, look for, search, seek’ (Nepali *khoṇu*), and the element *guri*, the Thangmi individuating suffix (IND). *Daṇguri* can thus be translated as ‘the one who searches’ or ‘the searcher’, an etymology which fits well with the indigenous explanation of how this son received his clan name. According to the story, when all the sons had loosed their arrows, one of the seven was sent to see where they had landed. He searched far and wide for the arrows and when he finally brought them back to *Ya?apati Chuku* and *Sunari Aji*, he was duly named *daṇguri*, ‘the one who searches’ or ‘the searcher’. One version of the explanation goes a little further and tells that not only was the son sent out to retrieve all seven arrows, but he also never found his own arrow. He thus returned to his parents and brothers bearing just six arrows, and was consequently named ‘the one who searches’. To this day, *daṇguri* clan members are rumoured to be restless and inquisitive, as their ancestor never found his arrow.

The clan name *mosan thali* is comprised of two elements, both of them Nepali. *Mosan* is derived from Nepali *masān* ‘burning ground where the dead are burnt; burial-ground; cemetery; ghost’ (Turner 1997: 496) and *thali* is from Nepali

thal or *thali* meaning ‘place, ground, spot’ (Turner 1997: 294-295). *Mosan thali* thus means ‘place of the spirits’ or ‘burial place’, and the origin of this name is explained by the fact that this brother’s arrow landed in a charnel ground. As yet, no Thangmi shaman has been able to supplement this rather opaque account. In whose burial ground did the arrow land? Was it a real ‘burial ground’ where corpses were interred or rather a cremation site where bodies were burnt? Why is the clan name derived from the Nepali language? The answers to these questions might also illuminate our understanding of Thangmi death rituals and their important role within Thangmi culture. As Shneiderman has pointed out, there are aspects of the Thangmi death ritual which suggest that the Thangmi may have once served as ritual functionaries within a larger ethnic grouping (2002a: 245). The fact that death rites are referred to in such a basic cultural component as a clan name, and further that they are the only life cycle event to be represented in a clan name, adds weight to the suggestion that the death ritual is indeed the most salient aspect of Thangmi ritual life. However, contemporary *mosan thali* clan members have no special status or chores in Thangmi cultural life, during the death ritual or otherwise.

The final clan to be mentioned is *jăidhane*, a name whose Thangmi etymology and provenance is opaque. Shamans with a good knowledge of Thangmi cosmogony could offer no native origin for the term, nor could I find any Thangmi lexical item cognate with *jăidhane*. For the moment, the only possible etymology of the clan name *jăidhane* is the Nepali term *jayadhvani* meaning ‘sound of victory’.

6.3 Female clans

The seven female clans, according to the shamans of Suspā, are ordered as follows:

būdati
yante siri
khatu siri
caltā siri
alta siri
khasa siri
bampa siri

According to the account of Thangmi origin, the seven daughters received their clan names at the same time as their brothers. While the clan names of the boys were determined by the flora their arrows hit, the clan names of the girls were derived from whatever domestic task, chore or craft they were engaged in at that time.

The first point worthy of note is that six of the seven women's clan names end with the word *siri*, almost certainly cognate with and derived from Indo-Aryan *śrī* ~ *siri* 'good fortune, prosperity, happiness' (Turner 1997: 575 & 609). The element *śrī* is also commonly used as a title of respect in Nepali, and is prefixed to personal names or other titles. As the second element in all but one of the women's clans, *siri* has connotations of both respect and good fortune. The more interesting issue is how this Nepali term became associated with Thangmi women's clans. The absence of the *siri* from the first clan in the above list, *būdati*, is also left unexplained by Thangmi shamans, although the name derives from the daughter's involvement in the preparation and weaving of leaf plates used in local rituals. I have been unable to establish whether *būdati* refers to the leaf plate itself or rather to the action of weaving one, since this word is neither known nor used in vernacular Thangmi. Of the remaining six clan names, two derive from plants and four from household activities or implements. *Calta siri* derives from Thangmi *caltak* 'male-fern, *Dryopteris filix-mas*; edible fern crozier, *Dryopteris cochleata*' (Nepali *sothar*), while *alta siri* derives from Thangmi *altak* 'rhododendron, *Rhododendron arboreum*' (Nepali *lālī gurās*). These two daughters were allegedly out collecting ferns and rhododendron flowers when the clan names were ascribed.

The names of the remaining four female clans are of greater interest since they offer an insight into what early Thangmi domestic industries may have been. The reference to certain crafts in a basic element of social structure such as a clan name may indicate that these tools and occupations were salient aspects of early Thangmi culture. Although the evidence is circumstantial, in the absence of a written record, structural clues such as these can be helpful in the tentative reconstruction of Thangmi prehistory. The clan name *yante siri* derives from Thangmi *yante* 'quern' (Nepali *jāto*), a simple two-layered circular hand-driven millstone with a wooden handle which is found in all Thangmi houses. Given the relatively scarcity of water or diesel mills in the Thangmi-speaking area, the quern or hand mill is a central socio-economic feature of every Thangmi household, an importance reflected in this clan name.

Another clan name of comparable derivation is *khaṭu siri*, cognate with Thangmi *khaṭu* 'loom, warp' (Nepali *tān*). Before the influx of cheap factory-spun cotton and woollen clothes from China and India, Thangmi men and women wore home-made clothes known in Thangmi as *phenga* (Nepali *bhāñro*), 'a coarse kind of sack-cloth made from the fibre of nettles' (Turner 1997: 474). The fibres used were either wild hemp or Himalayan nettle, *Girardinia diversifolia* (Nepali *allo sisnu*), and were woven by women on small wooden hand looms. Hand looms are still in use in Thangmi villages and the shift towards imported clothes is relatively recent. Most

older Thangmi villagers grew up wearing only *phenga* made of nettle fibre. Some of the few remaining traditional Thangmi songs sung by women describe the process of collecting, preparing and weaving nettle fibre. The socio-economic importance of the loom is beyond doubt, and this is reflected in the fact that one of the Thangmi female clans should derive its name from this.

The clan name *khasa siri* is said to derive from archaic Thangmi *khasa* 'ladder, wooden steps, stairs' (Nepali *bharyāñi*) for which the modern Thangmi term is *cali*. According to the narrative, one daughter received the clan name *khasa siri* because she was proficient at constructing ladders from tree trunks. The final clan name to be discussed, *bampa siri*, is the most interesting of all. A *bampa* is a large, flat, black stone traditionally placed between the fireplace and the door of a Thangmi home. Some Thangmi villagers provide functional explanations for its presence in their homes, and suggest that the prominent location of the stone so close to the fireplace may be because it functioned as a windbreak or fire shield. Thangmi shamans, however, talk of a lost ritual meaning associated with the *bampa*, and at present only a handful of Thangmi homes still sport an original black rock. Being one of the few uniquely Thangmi elements of material culture, some Thangmi families have begun reintroducing the *bampa* into their kitchens. While the ritual meaning remains obscure, the *bampa* has come to be seen as a key component of a 'traditional' Thangmi house and thus as a requisite symbol of identity for those eager to demonstrate their Thangminess. How and why this daughter was given the clan identity of *bampa siri* remains unexplained. Some shamans suggest that she collected the original *bampa* for the first Thangmi home, while others say that when cooking and eating by the fire, this daughter sat beside the *bampa*. Either way, this clan name now embodies a distinguishing feature of Thangmi identity.

While four of the seven male clan names can be traced to plant names, only two of the women's clan names are derived from flora. In contrast, while only one male clan name derives from an action or occupation (*danguri*), four of the women's clan names are cognate with crafts and production. To some extent, Thangmi clan names reflect the sexual division of labour in Thangmi society by which men are largely active in the public sphere (wage labour, portering, hunting), while women are more active in the domestic context (milling, weaving, collecting plant material and house building). While the clan names do highlight the *de facto* differences between 'men's work' and 'women's work', at another level it is rather unusual that no elements of the clan names or clan structure are inherently gendered. None of the female clan names refer to gendered activities such as child bearing or mothering, for example, nor do the clan names subordinate women's activities to that of men. There are also an equal number of male and female clans.

Thangmi clan structure reflects the broader egalitarianism of Thangmi culture, one of the few social features that each observer of Thangmi culture has noted (cf. Peet 1978; Miller 1979; Shneiderman 2000; Stein, personal communication).⁹¹ Not only is there relative gender equality, but there are also no prescribed social divisions of the type found in the status-oriented Hindu society of greater Nepal, but also at a more subtle level in the Buddhist societies of neighbouring Sherpa and Tamang.⁹² This lack of internal hierarchy may prove to be one of the distinguishing features of Thangmi society, and is aptly inscribed in the names of the clans and their geographical distribution.⁹³

From a comparative perspective, however, while the clan names are not hierarchically ordered according to gender, the symbols used to mark 'male' and 'female' within the Thangmi clan naming system do parallel gendered symbols used in other Himalayan societies. Most notable is the pervasive theme of 'the arrow and the spindle', a feature which has been described by scholars working with culturally-Tibetan communities (cf. Karmay 1998). 'The arrow' typically symbolises male qualities and actions, while 'the spindle' symbolises the female. Such symbolism also plays a part in the Thangmi clan system, as all of the male clan names derive from the locations of the fallen arrows in an archery contest, while one of the female clan names, *khatu siri*, derives from spinning and weaving.

6.4 Later arrivals

Alongside the seven primary male and female clans are five further clans which are believed to have emerged later, four male and one female. The one extra female clan derives from an abandoned girl who was found in the forest and adopted by *Ya?apati*

⁹¹ Peet goes a step further when he suggests that 'Thami men do not tend to treat their wives as inferiors who must slave for them, but they treat them more as partners, each with tasks to be done, each dependent on the other's completion of these tasks. If anything a Thami man is more dependent on his wife than she is on him' (1978: 211-212).

⁹² Peet also noted that 'Thamis prefer their reciprocal, communal, egalitarian patterns to those of the patron-client, hierarchical type which are involved in interactions with Bahun-Chhetris' (1978: 231). My own findings support Peet's conclusion.

⁹³ On a somewhat similar note, Peet suggests that while 'Thamis are today patrilineal, this evidence for some sort of female-based kinship group suggests that at one time Thamis may have had a bilateral kinship system, but in the presence of the strongly patrilineal Hindu population the female lineages died out' (1978: 192). Equating the demise in the importance of Thangmi female-to-female descent with the growth in numerical strength of higher caste Hindu villagers and associated ideological dominance of Hindu culture in the Thangmi-speaking area is an interesting, if untestable, proposition. Another interpretation may be that the apparent egalitarianism of Thangmi socio-cultural life is a consequence of the Thangmis' low status in general, which also means lower status for Thangmi males.

Chuku and *Sunari Aji* after the archery contest.⁹⁴ The son who was later given the clan name *daṅguri* happened across her when he went to reclaim the arrows fired by his brothers, and she was adopted as the eighth daughter of the couple even though she was the biological offspring of a forest spirit, known in Thangmi as *apan* (Nepali *ban mānche*). On account of her ancestry, she was given the clan *apan siri*. Since there was no parallel eighth son for her to marry, she remained unmarried and lived an ascetic life. At some point after her brothers and sisters were all married off, she went to meditate in a cave near the present village of Dumkoṭ. There she resided for many years in complete retreat until a Newar king of Dolakhā received reports from his hunters of a lone woman living in a cave and ordered her to be brought before him. The narrative tells that the king was so smitten with her virtue and beauty, that he abandoned his first wife and promptly married the Thangmi woman.

After some time, the seven Thangmi brothers came to know of their sister's capture and confinement in Dolakhā, and hatched an elaborate plan to liberate her. They arrived in the market town of Dolakhā dressed in outrageous attire, playing musical instruments, hoping to attract the attention of everyone in the town, including their sister. Their sister did indeed hear the commotion and peered out of a palace window to see the dancing revellers. As they had hoped, she saw through their disguises and recognised her seven brothers. She quickly left the palace and worked her way through the crowd to her brothers who, on catching sight of her, lunged to grab her hand. She reprimanded them in Thangmi, telling them not to touch her because she was pregnant with the king's child. After some discussion, the brothers persuaded her to return with them to Raṅ Raṅ Thali where she later gave birth to male twins. These two boys were the first of the *roimirati* clan.

Certain elements of the above account are particularly interesting. First is the concept of retreat and meditation by a lone woman, a spiritual element not present in modern Thangmi religious life but more in line with the religious traditions of Hinduism or Buddhism. A second key feature is the involvement of the Newar ethnic group in the story, through the intervention of a Newar king who makes the unusual choice of an ascetic Thangmi female orphan as his wife. A further interesting element is the taboo on touching a pregnant woman, even if she is one's sister. Two explanations for this are ventured by Thangmi shamans. Some suggest that the touch of a brother would be polluting to a Thangmi woman carrying a high-caste and royal child, while others believe that after marriage a woman effectively severs her close pre-marital ties with her male kin and physical contact with them becomes taboo.

⁹⁴ Some Thangmi shamans believe this orphan girl to be the eighth daughter who went off to become a nun, as described in Section §5.2.1 above.

Either way, the avoidance of touch is surprising because of its distinct reference to Hindu social customs and, perhaps more ironically, because it in no way reflects the ethnographic reality of contemporary Thangmi social life. From my experience, opposite sex Thangmi siblings remain very close to each other even after marriage, often visiting each other's households with their children and even without their spouses. In modern Thangmi society, touching, teasing and intimacy between opposite sex married siblings appears perfectly normal and concepts of caste, status and pollution are not a part of Thangmi social ideology. For these reasons, it is likely that this element of the story, and perhaps the entire description of the daughter's marriage to the Dolakhā king, is a later addition to the narrative.

Of the four later male clans, the most interesting is *roimirati*. The sons of the adopted daughter who was impregnated by a Newar king became a new clan within the Thangmi descent structure. The Thangmi word for Newar is *roimi*, and the second element of the clan name, *-rati*, is used interchangeably with *-jati*, from Nepali *jāti* 'caste, ethnic group', or as Turner suggests, 'race, nation' (1997: 213). *Roimirati* or *roimijati* thus simply means 'the Newar group/clan/people' on account of the paternity of the twin brothers.⁹⁵ The narrative continues with each of the twin brothers establishing his own lineage, leading to two subgroups within the *roimirati* clan. These days, while some men of the *roimirati* clan claim direct descent from one of the two original brothers, the term *roimirati* is widely used to refer to the offspring of more recent unions between Newar men and Thangmi women, of which there are many across Dolakhā. In Sindhupālcok, however, a distinction is made between members of the original *roimirati* clan and present-day children of such liaisons, the latter being called *nagarkoṭi* rather than *roimirati*.⁹⁶ An interesting feature of the *roimirati* clan is its presence throughout the Thangmi-speaking region. While the distribution of all the other clans is more sporadic, and some are entirely absent from certain villages, the pan-Thangmi existence of the *roimirati* suggests an early, or even a recurrent, relationship between the Thangmi and the Newar which was sufficiently important for the Newar-Thangmi clan to have become part of the shared history of all Thangmi subgroups. The precise nature of the Thangmi-Newar

⁹⁵ Peet reaches a similar conclusion regarding the *roimirati*, 'one of the more recent clans has its origin in the marriage of a Thami woman with a Newar king of Dolakha. At that time the Newars were 'kings' of the region, so the descendants have the clan name of 'Roymirati'' (1978: 191).

⁹⁶ In his analysis of certain aspects of the 1854 legal code of Nepal, Höfer provides contemporary ethnographic data to show that the term *nagarkoṭi* denotes the offspring of a union between a 'Hill Newar' man and a Gurung, Magar or Tamang woman in certain parts of Nepal (1979: 140 and 217).

relationship is central to understanding the history of the Dolakhā region as a whole, and discussed in Section §9.2 of this chapter.

Not much is known about the remaining three male clans which emerged at a later date. One, known as *budapere*, has no obvious etymology or cognates in modern Thangmi, and local shamans could offer no clues as to its provenance. The male clan *nakami* quite literally means ‘new person’ or ‘new people’, from Thangmi *naka* ‘new’, and *mi* ‘person, people’. Referring to more recent immigrants as ‘new people’ is a well-known ethnolinguistic feature the world over, present even in German, English and Czech, in which names such as *Neumann*, *Newman* and *Novák* occur.⁹⁷ Thangmi shamans claim to have no knowledge of the ethnic or geographical provenance of the *nakami*. The final clan to be discussed is *sāiba akyammi*, ‘the knowledgeable ones of the needle wood tree’, derived from the stem of the Thangmi verb *sāisa* ‘to know’ and a particle *-ba*. In Tibetan, the nominaliser *-pa* (often rendered as *-ba* or *-wa*) is productive and found in a large number of nouns derived from verbs (Beyer 1992: 130). In Thangmi, however, there is no nominalising morpheme cognate with Tibetan *-pa*, and nominals derived from verbs are constructed quite differently. However, the *-ba* in Thangmi *sāiba* functions very much like a nominaliser, turning the verb ‘to know’ into ‘the one who knows, the knower, the knowledgeable one’. Thangmi shamans assert that members of this clan were at some point privy to secret information, and thereafter always known as *sāiba akyammi*.

6.5 Earlier writings on Thangmi clans

Prior to my own research on the Thangmi clan system, and that by Shneiderman on female clans, a number of writers had provided lists of Thangmi clan names, albeit with little comparative or historical analysis. In *People of Nepal*, for example, Dor Bahadur Bista suggests that the Thangmi are ‘subdivided into several thars—Rishmi,

⁹⁷ Aside from the personal names of the Thangmi progenitors and the various Thangmi clans discussed in this section, the Thangmi language has few indigenous proper names for people. After working in the Thangmi-speaking area for about a year, I was given a ‘Thangmi’ name: *Nakaman*, derived from Thangmi *naka* ‘new’ and Nepali *mān* ‘respect, honour, rank’ (Turner 1997: 503). The name was fitting enough for a newcomer, but it seemed ironic that I as a non-Thangmi should have a Thangmi name, while Thangmi men and women use only Nepali names. Often people may have a Thangmi nickname, such as *Silipitik*, a term of uncertain derivation but allegedly related to an animal species. Miller offers a list of the ‘traditional series of names’ of Thangmi kings, which include ‘Hai Hai Raja, Huin Huin Raja, Su Su Raja (sometimes pronounced Suin Suin), Golma Raja, Golma Rani, Pandu Raja, and ending with the name of Kando Raja’ (1997: 115). These traditional names are known only in Thangmi mythology, and I have never heard them used to refer to people who are known to have existed.

Angkami, Polorishmi, Dolakhe, Dumpali, Ishirishmi, Dangurishmi, and Shirishmi' (1967: 51). Issues of transliteration and phonology aside, many of the clans I have described in Sections §6.2 to 6.4 above also appear in Bista's list.

According to Ṭaṅka Bahādur Subbā, the author of the section on the Thangmi in Singh's *People of India*, the 'major clans' are:

Rishmi, Anglami, Dolakhe, Dugpali, Ishirishmi, Dangurishmi and Shirishmi. Each of these clans is believed to have originated from a common source. (1993: 184)

The similarity between Subbā's list of Thangmi clans and those noted by Bista, not to mention the identical orthography, make it hard to escape the conclusion that Subbā's list derives directly from Bista.

A more substantial contribution on Thangmi clans, or what they refer to as 'septs' in their chapter, comes from Gautam and Thapa-Magar who state that 'there are only seven *thars* [Nepali for 'clan'] among these people' (1994: 315). The 'septs' they list are 'Rijmi Akyangmi, Khurpe Akyangmi, Sairo Akyangmi, Jaidhane Akyangmi, Sat Thanglo Akyangmi, Tyampae Akyangmi, Vudaperae Akyangmi', with the additional note that 'each *thar* has the Akyangmi suffix' (1994: 315). While their list is a useful addition to the understanding of Thangmi clans, their subsequent discussion of the 'sub-septs' which 'gradually branched out at a later date' is orthographically sloppy. The list of these 'sub-septs', according to Gautam and Thapa-Magar, runs as follows:

Rismi, Harva Thanti Akyangmi, Pente Tale Akyangmi, Dolkhæ, Humphali, Siti Rismi, Dan Gore Akyangmi, Rismi Bhimsen Akyangmi, Chalya Rismi, Thro Rismi, Dada Rishmi, Ise Rishmi, Dumpali, etc. Besides there are others like Agyang Sri Rmn, Dmn Remirati, Pentedali, Ynti Sri, Alta Sri, etc. (1994: 316)

Besides the consonant clusters 'Dmn' [sic] and 'Ynti' [sic], impossible given the constraints of Thangmi phonology, I fear that their Thangmi language informant may have had some fun at the authors' expense. The word *pente*, which occurs twice in their list, means 'chicken shit' in Thangmi, and is also used as a term of abuse roughly equivalent to calling someone a 'prat' or 'arse' in British English. Much to the amusement of my Thangmi-speaking friends, I have asked around in different Thangmi villages whether a clan by the name of *pente* exists, and although the question has generated a good deal of laughter, I have yet to receive an affirmative response.

7. Thangmi kinship terminology and its social structure

Bronisław Malinowski wrote that ‘linguistic analysis inevitably leads us into the study of all the subjects covered by Ethnographic field-work’ (1945: 302). One such subject is kinship terminology, a topic as much rooted in linguistics as in anthropology. The manner by which people construct and perceive their relationships with others has a direct impact on the words they use to describe them. The ethnocentric nature of kinship studies was not lost on Arthur Hocart, who observed that:

All our difficulties spring from a preconceived idea that kinship terms everywhere try and express the same thing as they do in Aryan...languages. (1937: 547)

At best, a cogent linguistic analysis of kinship terminology illuminates specific culturally defined relationships. At worst, the blending of anthropology and linguistics in kinship studies creates a weak mixture of the most nebulous social observations combined with the impenetrable abbreviations of linguistic code. Hocart’s perfect parody of the latter type of analysis warrants citing in full:

A Fijian introduces his wife as *wati*, so the word is noted as ‘wife’. When it is found that there are hundreds of *wati*’s who are not his wives, the first translation is not abandoned, but all other uses are explained as extensions: these women, it is explained, are called wives because he might marry any of them if the family so decided; they are wives by anticipation, ‘potential wives’. Upon this muddled lexicography has been built up a whole edifice of primitive promiscuity. (1937: 546)

In an attempt to avoid such difficulties, Section §7.3 offers a synchronic analysis of Thangmi kinship terms while Section §7.6 places them in a comparative context.⁹⁸

7.1 The context of Thangmi kinship

Victor Doherty noted the Brahmin-Chetrī custom of ‘spacing homesteads widely rather than grouping houses into a nucleated village with the fields of all the residents surrounding this’ (1974: 27), and concluded that ‘the settlement pattern scatters the members of the society, so do the marriage and kinship rules’ (1974: 37). A similar pattern is observable in the Thangmi-speaking area in which most houses are built far apart from one another, and where each dwelling is surrounded by fields. In Thangmi villages, then, it is rare to see houses packed closely together with fields surrounding the entire village.

⁹⁸ The following analysis of the Thangmi kinship system is an expanded and revised version of Turin (2004).

This scattering may be explained in a number of ways. An economically motivated argument suggests that Thangmi land holdings are predominantly small, due in part to generations of land exploitation but also to ever smaller inheritances, and that villagers consequently build their homes within the boundaries of their farmland. This explanation is not sufficient, however, since it does not address why even wealthy Thangmi families with substantial land holdings dispersed across a wide area choose to live far apart from one another.⁹⁹

A more convincing explanation lies in the observation that Thangmi households operate on a model that is more often nuclear than joint. Children are quite young when they leave the parental home to establish independent households, and grandparents do not commonly live with their grandchildren.¹⁰⁰ While this is uncommon in hill Nepal, more uncommon still is the practice that when a grandparent dies, the other grandparent continues to live alone and does not move in with one of his or her children. In the Thangmi villages of Dolakhā and Sindhupālcok, the majority of Thangmi couples above the age of fifty-five are self-sufficient and continue to live alone. It is a common sight to see sixty-year-old men and women carrying wood, fetching water, tending animals and cooking for themselves. The few residents in the area from Nepal's other ethnic groups and castes express outrage at this cultural practice. In particular, Newar villagers living in otherwise predominantly Thangmi areas are disdainful of what they see as a flagrant disregard for seniority and age. This opprobrium is of little concern to Thangmi villagers, who view nuclear rather than joint families as both a cultural norm and a marker of their ethnic identity.¹⁰¹ Elements of the cultural context of Thangmi familial life may be represented in the linguistic terms used to describe social relationships. As illustrated by the discussion below, the Thangmi language encodes a number of kinship relationships in culturally revealing ways.

7.2 Representing kinship

While kinship is culturally determined and specific, a cross cultural metalanguage is needed to understand the structure of a kinship system through an analysis of indigenous categories.

⁹⁹ A further practical explanation for the spacing between households may be to minimise the risk of house fires spreading to neighbouring homes, thus preventing a single fire from consuming a whole hamlet.

¹⁰⁰ Peet supports this impression with carefully collected statistical data, from which he concludes that 'when compared to Bahun-Chhetris, Thamis have a substantially smaller percentage of extended family households (joint or generationally)' (1978: 194).

¹⁰¹ Once again, my data support Peet's observation that, 'Thamis in fact tend to be cared for less well in their old age than the elderly of other caste/ethnic groups' (1978: 198).

Over time, specific modes of representing kinship relationships have emerged as *de facto* standards, ranging from the taxonomical tree-like model with circles and triangles (cf. Doherty 1974: 283-296) to a list of abbreviations (cf. Vinding 1979: 208-220). Here I have opted to represent kinship relationships in both ways, and have also included kinship charts in an appendix to this monograph. Table 18 below provides the common abbreviations used for indexing kinship relationships. Abbreviations are combined to indicate complex relationships.

TABLE 18. ABBREVIATIONS USED FOR KINSHIP RELATIONSHIPS

mother	(M)	father	(F)
sister	(Z)	brother	(B)
daughter	(D)	son	(S)
wife	(W)	husband	(H)
elder	(e)	younger	(y)
e.g. (FyZ) = father's younger sister			

7.3 Thangmi kinship terminology

The Thangmi language differentiates kin on the basis of generation, age within a specific generation, gender, in-law relationships, and, to a limited extent, kin through sibling relationship vs. kin through one's spouse. The gender of the speaker can be a differentiating factor, but not in all situations. There is no single or specific word for 'spouse'.¹⁰²

In addition to distinctions on the basis of generation, Thangmi differentiates on the basis of age within a generation by marking the relative age of kin with respect to the speaker. Table 19 below presents the Thangmi sibling kinship terms from the Dolakhā dialect.

¹⁰² In 1999, the Limbu scholar Subhadrā Subbā Dāhāl submitted a three-and-a-half-page article to *Nepalese Linguistics* entitled 'Thami Kinship Terms', the only other published work on Thangmi kinship terminology. The data she presents in her study demonstrate an overwhelming Nepalification of the kinship lexicon, indicating that the speakers with whom she worked were either not fluent in the Thangmi language or from villages close to the market town of Dolakhā.

TABLE 19. SIBLING KINSHIP TERMS FROM THE DOLAKHĀ DIALECT

elder brother	(eB)	<i>bubu</i>
elder sister	(eZ)	<i>tete</i>
younger brother	(yB)	<i>hu</i>
younger sister	(yZ)	<i>humi</i>

Apart from one notable exception, sibling kinship terms are common to both dialects. In the Sindhupālcok dialect of Thangmi, somewhat akin to Limbu kinship as described by Davids and van Driem (1985: 122-123), the ‘sex principle’ is not strictly upheld and both younger brother and younger sister are referred to by the same gender-indifferent term *hu* ‘younger sibling’. Aware of the confusion this can generate, speakers of the Sindhupālcok dialect may qualify the term *hu* ‘sibling’ by prefacing it with either *calaca* ‘male, man’ or *camāica* ‘female, woman’, as shown in Table 20 below.

TABLE 20. YOUNGER SIBLING KINSHIP TERMS FROM THE SINDHUPĀLCOK DIALECT

younger brother	(yB)	<i>(calaca) hu</i>
younger sister	(yZ)	<i>(camāica) hu</i>

Age in generation also functions distinctively in kinship terms referring to members of the speaker’s parents’ generation. Thangmi kinship nomenclature distinguishes between uncles and aunts by blood and uncles and aunts by marriage, somewhat like Gurung (Pignède 1966), but unlike Limbu (Davids and van Driem 1985: 124). In the Dolakhā dialect, the age distinction is upheld for father’s brothers only and not for father’s sisters, as illustrated in Table 21 below.

TABLE 21. FATHER’S SIBLINGS KINSHIP TERMS FROM THE DOLAKHĀ DIALECT

father’s elder brother	(FeB)	<i>jekhapa</i>
father’s younger brother	(FyB)	<i>ucyapa</i>
father’s sister (elder or younger)	(FZ)	<i>nini</i>

In the Sindhupālcok dialect, the age distinction is upheld across all of father’s siblings, as illustrated in Table 22.

TABLE 22. FATHER’S SIBLINGS KINSHIP TERMS FROM THE SINDHUPĀLCOK DIALECT

father’s elder brother	(FeB)	<i>jhyaʔapa</i>
father’s younger brother	(FyB)	<i>pacyu</i>
father’s elder sister	(FeZ)	<i>jhyaʔama</i>
father’s younger sister	(FyZ)	<i>nini</i>

In Sindhupālcok, Thangmi speakers do not differentiate for gender of a younger sibling, but do differentiate on the basis of age for father’s sister. On the other hand, speakers of the Dolakhā dialect of Thangmi distinguish the gender of a younger sibling, but do not differentiate between father’s elder sister and father’s younger sister.

In the Sindhupālcok dialect, age in generation relative to the speaker’s father is differentiated. In the Dolakhā dialect, parallel uncles (of the same gender as the parent) are distinct on the father’s side, while cross aunts (of different gender to the parent) are not. This is reminiscent of Limbu kinship terminology in which there is only one term for ‘father’s sister’ (FZ), *nyaʔ*, and one for ‘mother’s brother’ (MB), *nwaʔ*, indeterminate of age (Davids and van Driem 1985: 123).

The age in generation principle also functions distinctively in kinship terms for mother’s siblings in both dialects. In both Dolakhā and Sindhupālcok, the Thangmi language upholds the age distinction for all four siblings of ego’s mother, as shown in Tables 23 and 24 below.

TABLE 23. MOTHER’S SIBLINGS KINSHIP TERMS FROM THE DOLAKHĀ DIALECT

mother’s elder brother	(MeB)	<i>palam</i>
mother’s younger brother	(MyB)	<i>malam</i>
mother’s elder sister	(MeZ)	<i>jekhama</i>
mother’s younger sister	(MyZ)	<i>macyu</i>

TABLE 24. MOTHER'S SIBLINGS KINSHIP TERMS FROM THE SINDHUPĀLCOK DIALECT

mother's elder brother	(MeB)	<i>palam</i>
mother's younger brother	(MyB)	<i>mou</i>
mother's elder sister	(MeZ)	<i>jhya?ama</i>
mother's younger sister	(MyZ)	<i>phusama</i>

In the Dolakhā dialect, the age in generation principle also applies to aunts and uncles by marriage on the father's side. Aunts by marriage on the father's side (FBW) are differentiated for age, while uncles by marriage on the father's side (FZH) are not, following the pattern outlined above. Table 25 illustrates the kinship terms for the spouses of father's siblings in the Dolakhā dialect of Thangmi.

TABLE 25. KINSHIP TERMS FOR THE SPOUSES OF FATHER'S SIBLINGS FROM THE DOLAKHĀ DIALECT

father's elder brother's wife	(FeBW)	<i>jekhama</i>
father's younger brother's wife	(FyBW)	<i>ucyama</i>
father's sister's husband (elder or younger)	(FZH)	<i>mama</i>

It is worth noting that the kinship term for father's sister's husband (FZH) in the Dolakhā dialect, *mama*, is homophonous with the Nepali kinship term for mother's younger brother (MyB), *māmā*.

In the Sindhupālcok dialect, the age distinction is upheld across all father's siblings' spouses, as illustrated in Table 26 below.

TABLE 26. KINSHIP TERMS FOR THE SPOUSES OF FATHER'S SIBLINGS FROM THE SINDHUPĀLCOK DIALECT

father's elder brother's wife	(FeBW)	<i>jhya?ama</i>
father's younger brother's wife	(FyBW)	<i>macyu</i>
father's elder sister's husband	(FeZH)	<i>jhya?apa</i>
father's younger sister's husband	(FyZH)	<i>mou</i>

In the Dolakhā dialect, the age in generation principle similarly applies to aunts and uncles by marriage on the mother's side. Uncles by marriage on the mother's side (MZH) are differentiated for age, while aunts by marriage on the mother's side (MBW) are not, following the pattern outlined above. Table 27 below illustrates the kinship terms from the Dolakhā dialect used for the spouses of mother's siblings.

**TABLE 27. KINSHIP TERMS FOR THE SPOUSES OF MOTHER'S SIBLINGS
FROM THE DOLAKHĀ DIALECT**

mother's elder sister's husband	(MeZH)	<i>jekhapa</i>
mother's younger sister's husband	(MyZH)	<i>pacyu</i>
mother's brother's wife (elder or younger)	(MBW)	<i>nini</i>

In the Sindhupālcok dialect, the age distinction is upheld across all of mother's siblings' spouses, as shown in Table 28 below.

**TABLE 28. KINSHIP TERMS FOR THE SPOUSES OF MOTHER'S SIBLINGS
FROM THE SINDHUPĀLCOK DIALECT**

mother's elder sister's husband	(MeZH)	<i>jhya?apa</i>
mother's younger sister's husband	(MyZH)	<i>phusapa</i>
mother's elder brother's wife	(MeBW)	<i>malam</i>
mother's younger brother's wife	(MyBW)	<i>nini</i>

There are some crucial differences between the Dolakhā and the Sindhupālcok dialects regarding uncles and aunts by blood and marriage, as outlined in the examples above. In the Dolakhā dialect, a subset of cross aunts, i.e. father's sisters but not mother's brothers, and their spouses are not differentiated for age, while in the Sindhupālcok dialect they are. Other Tibeto-Burman languages configure these kinship relationships quite differently. In Limbu, for example, kinship nomenclature makes no distinction between uncles and aunts by blood vs. uncles and aunts by marriage (Davids and van Driem 1985: 123-124), while in Gurung, the terms for aunt and uncle by blood are distinct from those for aunt and uncle by marriage, as in the Sindhupālcok dialect of Thangmi. With the exceptions noted above, then, uncles and aunts by marriage are terminologically differentiated in Thangmi on the basis of age within generation of spouse relative to ego's parent.

In both dialects of Thangmi, cross cousins and parallel cousins are classified as siblings, and a marriage taboo exists between ego and any cousin. Unlike some other ethnic groups in Nepal, the Thangmi do not practise preferential cross cousin marriage (i.e., *ego* with MBD or FZS). In the Thangmi language, the age of ego and not the birth order of their parents determines whether a male cousin is referred to as ‘elder brother’ or ‘younger brother’. In other words, the son of ego’s *palam* ‘mother’s elder brother’ (MeB) is termed *hu* ‘younger brother’ (yB) when younger than ego, even though this individual’s father is older than ego’s mother. As with younger siblings, the Sindhupālcok dialect does not differentiate between gender, and both younger male cousins and younger female cousins are termed *hu*. These terms are illustrated in Table 29 below.

TABLE 29. KINSHIP TERMS FOR COUSINS IN BOTH DIALECTS

elder male cousin	<i>bubu</i>
elder female cousin	<i>tete</i>
younger male cousin	<i>hu</i> [Dolakhā]
younger female cousin	<i>humi</i> [Dolakhā]
younger cousin (male or female)	<i>hu</i> [Sindhupālcok]

In both Dolakhā and Sindhupālcok, the offspring of a male ego’s brothers are classificatory children, as are the offspring of a female ego’s sisters, and responsibilities to them are akin to the responsibility an individual has towards his or her own children. On the other hand, a male ego’s sister’s children and a female ego’s brother’s children are regarded as nephews and nieces, and the principal social responsibility towards them rests with the siblings of one’s own sibling’s spouse. The kinship terms for ego’s children and the children of ego’s same sex sibling are the same in both dialects, as shown in Table 30 below.

TABLE 30. KINSHIP TERMS FOR MALE EGO’S CHILDREN AND CHILDREN OF EGO’S SAME SEX SIBLINGS IN BOTH DIALECTS

son, brother’s son	(S), (BS)	<i>ca</i>
daughter, brother’s daughter	(D), (BD)	<i>camăi</i>
sister’s son	(ZS)	<i>băine</i>
sister’s daughter	(ZD)	<i>bini</i>

In the Sindhupālcok dialect, neither the gender of a grandchild nor the gender of his or her parent is expressed in the kinship term. Daughters' sons and daughters and sons' sons and daughters (SS, SD, DS, DD) are all referred to as *cache*. The same does not hold for the Dolakhā dialect, in which the gender of a grandchild is made explicit, even when the gender of his or her parent remains immaterial. This is demonstrated in Table 31 below.

TABLE 31. KINSHIP TERMS FOR GRANDCHILDREN IN THE DOLAKHĀ DIALECT

son's son, daughter's son	(SS), (DS)	<i>cache</i>
son's daughter, daughter's daughter	(SD), (DD)	<i>cachi</i>

A handful of speakers of the Sindhupālcok dialect, particularly from the village of Cokaṭī, insist that Thangmi kinship terms for great-grandchildren, great-great-grandchildren and even great-great-great-grandchildren exist and are in common use. While older speakers from Cokaṭī use these terms, they have not been corroborated by other native speakers of Thangmi beyond this village. It is interesting to note that while grandchildren are not differentiated for gender (both grandson and granddaughter are *cache*), gender differentiation does exist for the following generations, as illustrated in Table 32 below. It is possible that the element /-ni/, present in the kinship terms for great-granddaughter and great-great-granddaughter, is the Nepali loan suffix <-ni> (FEM) found in the Nepali terms *nātinī* 'granddaughter', *panātinī* 'great-granddaughter' and in *Limbuṇi* 'a female Limbu'.

TABLE 32. KINSHIP TERMS FOR FOUR GENERATIONS OF GRANDCHILDREN IN THE SINDHUPĀLCOK DIALECT (COKAṬĪ VILLAGE)

grandson	<i>cache</i>
granddaughter	<i>cache</i>
great-grandson	<i>cayā</i>
great-granddaughter	<i>cayāni</i>
great-great-grandson	<i>cuyū</i>
great-great-granddaughter	<i>cuyūni</i>
great-great-great-grandson	<i>ūyu</i>
great-great-great-granddaughter	<i>ūyuni</i>

Similar to Thangmi kinship terms for siblings, the terms for brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law distinguish both for sex of referent and for relative age of sibling. Aside from a regular phonological variation, these terms are the same in both dialects, as shown in Table 33 below.

TABLE 33. KINSHIP TERMS FOR SIBLINGS-IN-LAW IN BOTH DIALECTS

elder brother's wife	(eBW)	<i>păiri ~ poiri</i>
elder sister's husband	(eZH)	<i>jarphu</i>
younger brother's wife	(yBW)	<i>hu wari</i>
younger sister's husband	(yZH)	<i>(humi) ḍamari</i> [Dolakhā]
younger sister's husband	(yZH)	<i>jyamari</i> [Sindhupālcok]

The Thangmi term *wari* is rarely used without a preceding kinship term to qualify it. On its own, with no qualification, *wari* occupies a lexical domain identical to Nepali *buhāri*. Both Thangmi *wari* and Nepali *buhāri* have a range of meanings which fall within the category of 'wife of male kin younger than ego'. The Thangmi term *wari* may be a loan from Nepali *buhāri*, since the intervocalic [h] in *buhāri* elides in allegro Nepali speech, and the initial [b] in Nepali may be realised as [w] in Thangmi.

In combination with a prefixed qualifier, however, Thangmi *wari* covers a range of meanings including 'younger brother's wife' (yBW), 'brother's son's wife' (BSW), 'son's wife' (SW), 'son's son's wife' (SSW), 'daughter's son's wife' (DSW) and 'sister's son's wife' (ZSW), as illustrated in Table 34 below.

TABLE 34. THE RANGE OF MEANING FOR *WARI* IN BOTH DIALECTS

younger brother's wife	(yBW)	<i>hu wari</i>
brother's son's wife	(BSW)	<i>ca wari</i>
son's wife	(SW)	<i>ca wari</i>
son's son's wife	(SSW)	<i>cacha wari</i>
daughter's son's wife	(DSW)	<i>cacha wari</i>
sister's son's wife	(ZSW)	<i>băine wari</i> [Dolakhā]
sister's son's wife	(ZSW)	<i>bini wari</i> [Sindhupālcok]

A similar semantic field to *wari* is occupied by the Thangmi kinship term *ḍamari* (Dolakhā) or *jyamari* (Sindhupālcok). The term *ḍamari* ~ *jyamari* is also rarely used without a preceding qualifier. Without qualification, *ḍamari* ~ *jyamari* occupies a domain identical to Nepali *javāṭ*, which has a range of meanings encompassed within ‘husband of female kin younger than ego’. It is possible that *ḍamari* ~ *jyamari* is a loan from Nepali and is etymologically related to *javāṭ*. In combination with a prefixed qualifier, Thangmi *ḍamari* ~ *jyamari* has meanings which include ‘younger sister’s husband’ (yZH), ‘brother’s daughter’s husband’ (BDH), ‘daughter’s husband’ (DH), ‘son’s daughter’s husband’ (SDH), ‘daughter’s daughter’s husband’ (DDH) and ‘sister’s daughter’s husband’ (ZDH), as shown in Tables 35 and 36 below.

TABLE 35. THE RANGE OF MEANING FOR *ḌAMARI* IN THE DOLAKHĀ DIALECT

younger sister’s husband	(yZH)	<i>humi ḍamari</i>
brother’s daughter’s husband	(BDH)	<i>camāi ḍamari</i>
daughter’s husband	(DH)	<i>camāi ḍamari</i>
son’s daughter’s husband	(SDH)	<i>cachi ḍamari</i>
daughter’s daughter’s husband	(DDH)	<i>cachi ḍamari</i>
sister’s daughter’s husband	(ZDH)	<i>bini ḍamari</i>

TABLE 36. THE RANGE OF MEANING FOR *JYAMARI* IN THE SINDHUPĀLCOK DIALECT

younger sister’s husband	(yZH)	<i>jyamari</i>
brother’s daughter’s husband	(BDH)	<i>camāi jyamari</i>
daughter’s husband	(DH)	<i>camāi jyamari</i>
son’s daughter’s husband	(SDH)	<i>camāi jyamari</i>
daughter’s daughter’s husband	(DDH)	<i>camāi jyamari</i>
sister’s daughter’s husband	(ZDH)	<i>bini jyamari</i>

Related to the term *ḍamari* is the kinship term *ḍamarni*, with a general meaning of ‘sister of husband of female kin younger than ego’ and specifically used for younger sister’s husband’s sister (yZHZ) and daughter’s husband’s sister (DZH), as shown in Table 37 below. This term is used only by speakers of the Dolakhā dialect, and the term *ḍamarni* co-occurs with some, but not all, instances of *ḍamari*.

**TABLE 37. THE TWO MEANINGS OF *ḍAMARNI*
IN THE DOLAKHĀ DIALECT**

younger sister's husband's sister	(yZHZ)	<i>ḍamarni</i>
daughter's husband's sister	(DHZ)	<i>ḍamarni</i>

7.4 The sex of speaker distinction

The kinship systems of some Tibeto-Burman languages distinguish for sex of speaker. In certain dialects of Tibetan, for example, a distinction is made between elder siblings on the basis of the speaker's gender. A sex distinction is also made in Limbu, and Benedict maintains that it 'must be regarded as archaic for the group as a whole' (1941: 319, cited in Davids and van Driem 1985: 125). While sex of speaker is not generally distinctive in Thangmi, a select few kinship terms, such as those for siblings-in-law, uncles-in-law and aunts-in-law, do reflect the Tibeto-Burman sex of speaker criterion.

A number of features of Thangmi kinship terms which distinguish for sex of speaker must be noted. In the Dolakhā dialect of Thangmi, all such terms relate to affinal rather than blood kin, people related by marriage rather than descent, and are notable for being a secondary extension of the primary meaning of a specific kinship term. Examples included *aji*, which means first and foremost 'mother-in-law' and only secondarily 'wife's elder sister', and *tete*, with a primary meaning of 'elder sister' and a secondary meaning of 'husband's elder sister'. Kinship terms from the Dolakhā dialect distinctive for sex of speaker are shown in Table 38 below, and those from the Sindhupālcok dialect are given in Table 39.

There is a greater differentiation for sex of speaker in the Sindhupālcok dialect than in the Dolakhā dialect. In the Sindhupālcok dialect, the sex of speaker criterion is applied to offspring-in-law, and specifically to the children of ego's spouse's elder sister, while in the Dolakhā dialect the differentiation does not extend so far. Second, aside from the extension of the system to include children of one's spouse's elder sister, the sex of speaker distinction relates to the same kinship roles in both dialects: spouse's elder sister, spouse's mother's younger brother and his wife, and spouse's mother's younger sister's husband. Why these terms should be differentiated for sex of speaker when others are not is unclear, since none of the differentiated kin are socially or ritually more important to ego than other similarly positioned kin in Thangmi society.

**TABLE 38. KINSHIP TERMS DISTINCTIVE FOR SEX OF SPEAKER
IN THE DOLAKHĀ DIALECT**

wife's elder sister	(WeZ)	<i>aji</i>
husband's elder sister	(HeZ)	<i>tete</i>
wife's mother's younger brother	(WMyB)	<i>malam chuku</i>
husband's mother's younger brother	(HMyB)	<i>mou chuku</i>
wife's mother's younger brother's wife	(WMyBW)	<i>malam aji</i>
husband's mother's younger brother's wife	(HMyBW)	<i>nini aji</i>
wife's mother's younger sister's husband	(WMyZH)	<i>pacyu chuku</i>
husband's mother's younger sister's husband	(HMyZH)	<i>ocyana chuku</i>

**TABLE 39. KINSHIP TERMS DISTINCTIVE FOR SEX OF SPEAKER
IN THE SINDHUPĀLCOK DIALECT**

wife's elder sister	(WeZ)	<i>jhya?ama</i>
husband's elder sister	(HeZ)	<i>malam ca</i>
wife's elder sister's husband	(WeZH)	<i>bubu</i>
husband's elder sister's husband	(HeZH)	<i>jhya?apa</i>
wife's elder sister's son	(WeZS)	<i>ca</i>
husband's elder sister's son	(HeZS)	<i>bāine</i>
wife's elder sister's daughter	(WeZD)	<i>camăi</i>
husband's elder sister's daughter	(HeZD)	<i>bini</i>
wife's elder sister's son's wife	(WeZSW)	<i>ca wari</i>
husband's elder sister's son's wife	(HeZSW)	<i>bini wari</i>
wife's elder sister's daughter's husband	(WeZDH)	<i>camăi jyamari</i>
husband's elder sister's daughter's husband	(HeZDH)	<i>bini jyamari</i>
wife's mother's younger brother	(WMyB)	<i>mou chuku</i>
husband's mother's younger brother	(HMyB)	<i>malam chuku</i>
wife's mother's younger brother's wife	(WMyBW)	<i>nini aji</i>
husband's mother's younger brother's wife	(HMyBW)	<i>malam aji</i>
wife's mother's younger sister's husband	(WMyZH)	<i>ocyana chuku</i>
husband's mother's younger sister's husband	(HMyZH)	<i>pacyu chuku</i>

Finally, the sex differentiated terms for mother's younger siblings are reversed in the two dialects. This reversal may be attributed to linguistic attrition and language decay, processes by which rarely used and socially less important kinship terms would be the first to be confused and eventually lost. Also, while the archaic Tibeto-Burman sex of speaker distinction may have applied to elder sibling kinship terminology, the above examples show that Thangmi also differentiates for spouse's elder sister and mother's younger siblings. In the Dolakhā dialect, a further terminological distinction is made between siblings-in-law related to ego via spouse (married kin) vs. relationships through ego's siblings (blood kin). For example, the terms for sister-in-law differ depending on whether the referent is related to the speaker through the speaker's sibling or through the speaker's spouse: 'elder brother's wife' (eBW) *pāiri* vs. 'wife's elder sister' (WeZ) *aji*. The Dolakhā dialect of Thangmi makes this distinction for all siblings-in-law.

In Thangmi society, the relationship between an ego and his or her spouse's siblings is often very close, reflected by the fact that an ego refers to his or her siblings-in-law and their spouses with the terms for ego's own siblings, *bubu* (eB), *tete* (eZ), *hu* (yB) and *humi* (yZ).¹⁰³ In both dialects of Thangmi, the kinship terms *bubu* 'elder brother' and *tete* 'elder sister' are also widely used as respectful terms of address for male and female strangers of around the same age of the speaker.¹⁰⁴

Nepali and many of the Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal distinguish an individual's age within a generation by birth order. In Nepali, specifically gendered kinship forms exist for 'first-born male', 'first-born female', 'second-born male', 'second-born female', and so on.¹⁰⁵ No such terminological distinction is present in Thangmi, in which the only kinship form indexed for age is *jekha* 'large, big'. The term *jekha* 'large, big' is occasionally used as a term of address to attract the attention of the eldest male child and indicates seniority. When used in this manner, the term *jekha* 'large, big' usually conveys a sense of anger or dissatisfaction on the part of the speaker, which may explain its limited utility.

¹⁰³ Viewing siblings-in-law as akin to one's own brothers and sisters is a distinctly non-Nepali view, given the often sexually charged relations between a man and his wife's younger sister (WyZ) or *sālī* in Nepali, or a woman and her husband's younger brother (HyB) or *dewār*.

¹⁰⁴ The also holds true for Nepali, in which *dār* 'elder brother' and *didī* 'elder sister' are commonly used as terms of address for strangers of the same age. Turin (2002b) deals with the intricacies of Nepali kinship terminology with special reference to terms used for foreigners.

¹⁰⁵ This system is also attested in Italian, e.g. *primo* 'first-born son', *seconda* 'second-born daughter' and *terzo* 'third-born son'.

7.5 The morphology of Thangmi kinship terms

A number of Thangmi kinship terms yield readily to language-internal morphological analysis. A point worth noting is the frequency of reduplicative, near reduplicative or mirrored forms, such as *bubu* ‘elder brother’, *cacha* ‘grandson’, *malam* ‘mother’s younger brother’, *mama* ‘father’s sister’s husband’, *nini* ‘father’s sister’, *palam* ‘mother’s elder brother’ and *tete* ‘elder sister’. This manner of doubling is a common feature of kinship terminologies in many of the world’s languages, including the Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in Nepal.

The kinship term *cacha* ‘grandson’ is a reduplicative form of *ca* ‘son’ combined with an aspirated second element *cha*. Younger and imperfect Thangmi speakers frequently use an unaspirated second element, resulting in **caca*, a form rejected by fluent Thangmi speakers.

Both dialects of Thangmi have a number of kinship terms in which female gender is indicated by a final /-i/ or /-ni/, such as *cacha* ‘grandson’ vs. *cachi* ‘granddaughter’, *thone* ‘old man’ vs. *thoni* ‘old woman’, *damari* ‘son’s wife’ vs. *damarni* ‘daughter’s husband’s sister’, and *jarphu* ‘elder sister’s husband’ vs. *jarphuni* ‘elder sister’s husband’s sister’. This sex differentiation is probably derived from the Nepali feminine suffix <-i ~ -ni> (FEM) common to all Nepali nouns in which female sex is explicitly indicated by a productive derivational ending. Nepali examples include *chorā* ‘son’ vs. *chorī* ‘daughter’ and *kukur* ‘hound’ vs. *kukurnī* ‘bitch’.

By contrast, the native gendered prefixes <ma- ~ mama-> (FEM) and <pa- ~ papa-> (MALE) are found as fused elements of the noun, e.g. *macyu* (MyZ) ‘mother’s younger sister’ and *pacyu* (MyZH) ‘mother’s younger sister’s husband’ or *malam* (MyB) ‘mother’s younger brother’ and *palam* (MeB) ‘mother’s elder brother’. These twinned terms function as gendered pairs, offering both the female and the male side of a respective kinship relationship. However, the structural opposition between *macyu* : *pacyu* is semantically distinct from *malam* : *palam*. In the Dolakhā dialect, the first pair refers to an aunt and her husband, while the second pair refers to a younger uncle and an elder one.¹⁰⁶

Thangmi kinship terms are often compounds, such as *jekhama* in Dolakhā and *jhya?ama* in Sindhupālcok, meaning ‘mother’s elder sister’ (MeZ), derived from *jekha* ~ *jhya* ‘big, large, senior’ and *ama* ‘mother’. In the Dolakhā form, the /a/ elides and the form is fused, while in the Sindhupālcok dialect, the boundary of the two elements is glottalised producing /-a?a-/. The same morphophonological patterns are

¹⁰⁶ Nominal gender marking is explored in greater depth in Chapter 5, Section §1.

at play in *jekhapa* (Dolakhā) and *jhya?apa* (Sindhupālcok) ‘father’s elder brother’ (FeB) respectively.

Other compounded kinship terms make use of the elements *ocyana* or *ucya*, both meaning ‘small’, as in the non-fused kinship term *ocyana chuku* (literally ‘small father-in-law’) meaning ‘husband’s mother’s younger sister’s husband’ and the fused *ucyapa* (literally ‘small father’) meaning ‘father’s younger brother’. These forms may be calques from Nepali, as in Thangmi *jekhapa* (literally ‘big father’) ‘father’s elder brother’ (FeB) from Nepali *thūlo bā* (literally ‘big father’) ‘father’s elder brother’ (FeB). Another qualifying prefix used in compounded kinship terms is *thone* (Dolakhā) or *chyode* (Sindhupālcok) ‘old male’, and the associated female form, *thoni* (Dolakhā) or *chyodi* (Sindhupālcok) ‘old female’. When used as prefixal qualifiers, these lexical items add a generation to the kinship term which they prefix, such as *chuku* ‘father-in-law’ vs. *thone chuku* ‘father-in-law’s father’, or *aji* ‘mother-in-law’ vs. *thoni aji* ‘mother-in-law’s mother’. While rarely heard, the kinship term *thone apa* (literally ‘old male father’) can be used to address a grandfather, a compound created by logical extension given the absence of an indigenous Thangmi kinship term for ‘grandfather’.

7.6 Thangmi kinship terms and their Tibeto-Burman cognates

In this section, I relate Thangmi kinship terms to reconstructed Tibeto-Burman etyma and suggest a number of cognates in Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in Nepal.

The Thangmi terms *ama* ‘mother’, *apa* ‘father’ and *ca* ‘son’ correspond to the Tibeto-Burman roots reconstructed by Benedict **ma* ‘mother’ (1972: 148), **pa* ‘father’ (1972: 19) and **tsa~*za* ‘child (offspring)’ (1972: 27). The Thangmi kinship term *hu* ‘younger brother’ (Dolakhā) or ‘younger sibling’ (Sindhupālcok), may well be cognate with Classical Tibetan *nu* ‘younger sibling’, the latter also being present in compounds to give gender-specific younger sibling terms. Thangmi *ca* ‘son’ and *camāi* ‘daughter’ are cognate with Thakali and Darjeeling Tamang *ca* ‘son’ and *came* ‘daughter’ (Vinding 1979: 208-215), and Gurung *cxā* ‘son’ (Glover *et al.* 1977: 22) and *camī* or *camī* ‘daughter’ (Glover *et al.* 1977: 17). Thangmi *bubu* ‘elder brother’ is cognate with Tibetan *phu* ‘elder brother’, corresponding to the Tibeto-Burman root **puw* meaning ‘grandfather’. According to Benedict, however, **puw* has undergone a ‘striking semantic transference’ (1941: 319), and has adopted the meaning ‘elder brother’ in Limbu *phu* ‘elder brother’ (van Driem 1987: 502) and Kulung *bu* ‘elder brother’ (Tolsma 1999: 197).

Thangmi *nini* ‘father’s sister, mother’s brother’s wife’ corresponds to Tibeto-Burman **ni(y)* ‘aunt’ (Benedict 1972: 69), and also to Newar *nini* ‘the husband’s sister, the father’s sister’ (Jørgensen 1936: 101); Limbu *nya?* ‘ego’s

paternal aunt, wife of ego's maternal aunt' (van Driem 1987: 483); Dumi *nini* 'paternal aunt' (van Driem 1993a: 402); Bumthang *nene* 'father's sister' (van Driem 1995: 54); Yamphu *niñi* 'wife of mother's brother' (Rutgers 1998: 560) and Kulung *ni* 'paternal aunt' (Tolsma 1999: 223).

Benedict posits the root **ts'e* 'great, old' underlying many honorific kinship terms in Tibetan, such as *che-ba* and *chen-po* 'great'. Thangmi *chyode* 'senior, big, large' (Sindhupālcok) and *thone* (Dolakhā) may be cognate with the same Tibetan form or its Tibeto-Burman root. Benedict (1972: 27) posits a root **tsa* for 'grandchild' as well as 'child' for the 'Tibetanized languages of Nepal', related to or ultimately derived from Tibeto-Burman **tsa~*za* 'child (offspring)'. Thangmi *cacha* 'grandchild' would fit well within such an analysis.

A number of Thangmi kinship terms appear to be cognate with Classical Newar forms, and are not readily attested in other Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in Nepal. These Thangmi-Newar lexical correspondences include Thangmi *cacha jyamari* 'granddaughter's husband' and Classical Newar *chaya jñri* 'grand-daughter's husband' (Malla *et al.* 2000: 131); Thangmi *tete* 'elder sister' and Classical Newar *tatā* 'an elder sister' (Jørgensen 1936: 75) or *tatāju* 'elder sister (hon.)' (Malla *et al.* 2000: 170); and Thangmi *pāñri* 'elder brother's wife' and Classical Newar *pairabe* 'an elder brother's wife' (Malla *et al.* 2000: 296).

In Thangmi, kinship terms are employed to address and refer to consanguineal and affinal relatives, and often replace an individual's given name. When kinship terms are used as terms of address and reference for non-kin, a person's age and social position with respect to the speaker determines the choice of kinship term. For example, an elderly man may address a younger man as *ca* 'son' or *cacha* 'grandson', depending on how great he imagines the age difference to be. The metaphorical usage of kinship terms for non-kin is widely observed among languages spoken in Nepal, including Nepali.

In their study of Limbu kinship, Davids and van Driem conclude that 'no inferences about the social structure amongst the Limbus can be made on the basis of the fieldwork conducted with its emphasis on linguistic aspects of kinship terminology' (1985: 141). They explicitly follow Kroeber's view that 'terms of kinship reflect psychology, not sociology' and that these terms 'are determined primarily by language and can be used for sociological inferences only with extreme caution' (1909: 84, as cited in Davids and van Driem 1985: 140). While I agree that great care must be taken when attempting to construct social meaning from the lexicon of a language, I would suggest that a detailed analysis of kinship terminology supported by in-depth ethnographic research may provide a basis for forming a number of preliminary hypotheses about salient features of Thangmi culture.

For example, the relative isolation of grandparents in Thangmi society and their absence from the daily social lives of their grandchildren was noted in Section §7.1 above, as was the Thangmi preference for nuclear rather than joint family household composition. It comes as little surprise then that Thangmi kinship terminology exhibits no indigenous terms for grandparents: Their social absence is mirrored by a lexical absence.¹⁰⁷

8. Thangmi religious and cultural practice

8.1 The central role of the Thangmi *guru*

The Thangmi maintain an elaborate religious system that employs independent ritual practitioners, referred to in Thangmi as *guru* and in Nepali as *jhākrī* (usually translated as ‘shaman’). With a ritual schema conducted largely in vernacular Thangmi, but which also includes occasional instances of specific ritual vocabulary, Thangmi rituals establish Thangmi identity through their cultural and linguistic uniqueness.¹⁰⁸

Although the Thangmi at present live in an ethnically diverse area where opportunities to borrow from both Buddhist and Hindu ritual are plentiful, the core elements of Thangmi ritual appear to be indigenous. Unlike other ethnic groups in Nepal speaking Tibeto-Burman languages, such as the Gurung and Tamang, who in addition to a *jhākrī* may employ a ritual specialist from a literary tradition (either a Buddhist *lama* or a Hindu *paṇḍit*) to create a multi-levelled ritual system, the Thangmi rely exclusively on their *guru*.¹⁰⁹ The Thangmi are acutely aware that they lack a literary tradition, and see its absence as one of the defining features of their own cultural identity. This is one of the crucial ways in which the Thangmi differentiate themselves from the neighbouring Tamang, whom they categorise as practitioners of Tibetan Buddhism and whom they group with Hindu caste groups observing a literary tradition.

It is essential to differentiate the role of the Thangmi *guru* from the popular image of the pan-Nepalese *jhākrī* or ‘faith healer’. The Thangmi *guru* who officiate at Thangmi rituals do not, as a rule, also act as healers. Although there are Thangmi *jhākrī* who play this less prestigious role, the *guru* who perform marriages and

¹⁰⁷ The Nepali loan words *baje* ‘grandfather’ and *bajyāi* ‘grandmother’ are used.

¹⁰⁸ Section §8 is based in part on research conducted together with Sara Shneiderman in Thangmi villages in eastern Nepal. More details on Thangmi cultural and religious practice can be found in Shneiderman (2002a).

¹⁰⁹ The reliance on *guru* extends beyond the domain of ritual. As Peet noted in the 1970s, ‘it is the *jhankris* who were and still are important Thami leaders in many non-political activities, but especially religious, ritual and social events’ (1978: 254).

funerary rites are in a separate category and of higher status.¹¹⁰ Some Thangmi communities distinguish between two types of *guru*. The first plays the *take*, a two-sided drum known in Nepali as *ḍhyāñiro*, associated with the *jhākrī* of other Himalayan ethnic groups, and works as a healer. The second officiates at life cycle and calendrical rituals, during which he does not play a drum, and draws upon a different set of cultural knowledge. Those who recognise this distinction identify the second type of *guru* as superior and more spiritually accomplished.¹¹¹

The title of address for a *guru* when he performs a death ritual is *lama bonpo*, a restricted term used during the funeral rites only. Similarly, the title *kami* is reserved to describe the *guru* during the marriage ritual only, fitting within the larger Himalayan pattern of renaming the practitioner in specific ritual contexts.¹¹²

It is difficult to ascertain whether contemporary *guru* derive from fixed spiritual lineages, akin to those of Buddhist householder lamas or Hindu *paṇḍit*. In the more culturally conservative Thangmi villages of Sindhupālcok, some informants suggest that only members of two of the original seven male Thangmi clans were traditionally eligible to act as *guru*. Whether or not this was once the case, such rules are no longer followed and there are now practising *guru* from each of the male clans. The Thangmi have no tradition of asceticism or celibacy, and almost all *guru* are married and have families. Remnants of what may have once been a hereditary lineage structure are evident in that many *guru* qualified to perform the death rites first learnt their craft from their father, an uncle or another male relative. There are at present no strict hereditary rules, however, and *guru* take on apprentices from outside their own family. These apprentices have usually been ‘summoned’ by the spirit world at a young age, and only later seek training from an accomplished practitioner. Apprentices maintain close contact with their teachers and usually ask their leave to perform rituals or go on pilgrimage. Most Thangmi rituals begin with a chant listing a catalogue of Thangmi kings and ancient *guru* and conclude with the naming the current *guru* and his recent predecessors. All this would suggest that a case may be

¹¹⁰ Such a ritual division of labour has been documented for many other Himalayan ethnic groups, e.g. the Dumi (cf. van Driem 1993a: 22-47).

¹¹¹ This distinction is also made by Peet, ‘among *jhankris* there seem to be two different types, the more respected being also the more knowledgeable, the others acting mainly as shaman-mediums in diagnosing and curing disease’ (1978: 271).

¹¹² In the Tamang tradition, the terms *lama* and *bonpo* (or *bompo*) refer to two distinctly different categories of ritual practitioners. *Lama* are Buddhist, and largely responsible for death rituals, while *bonpo* are shamanic practitioners who focus primarily on healing and propitiating the spirit world. In the Thangmi tradition, *lama bonpo* is a compound term used exclusively to refer to the practitioner of a death ritual while he is performing it. It is not clear if there is any direct relationship between the Tamang and Thangmi usage of the terms.

made for the existence of a loose, albeit not strictly hereditary, spiritual lineage structure.¹¹³

8.2 The ritual world

As some of the earlier observers of Thangmi culture noted, one of the most striking features of the ethnic group's social arena is its conspicuous lack of material culture. This same emptiness does not, however, extend to the Thangmi ritual world. Thangmi ritual is built around life cycle events rather than a system of deity worship, and the most important rituals are performed inside individual homes or in unenclosed public spaces believed to belong collectively to the Thangmi rather than to any individual or deity.¹¹⁴ The few Thangmi temples devoted to the earth deity *bhume* (Nepali) are non-elaborate open air structures whose sacred status derives from the land on which they stand, rather than any structural features of the temple itself. Most Thangmi ritual implements are everyday items rather than religiously distinctive objects. One reason for the frequent occurrence of ritual vocabulary may be to differentiate an everyday object from its visually equivalent ritual twin.

The Thangmi interpretation of ritual is noticeably syncretic. For example, when Thangmi villagers are asked what religion they practice, answers include Hindu, Buddhist and often *bhume*, which may be best translated as 'animistic earth worship'. The Thangmi thus practice their own mixture of earth-based shamanism or *bhume*, devotional Hinduism, and lay Buddhism, which combine together to create a unique socio-religious complex. It is not clear at what point Hinduism and Buddhism began to insinuate themselves into the pre-existing shamanic system, but in contemporary Thangmi social practice, calendrical holidays from both Hindu (e.g. *daśāī* and *tihār*) and Buddhist traditions (e.g. *buddha jayantī*) play an important role.

Most major Thangmi settlements possess a *bhume* shrine of some sort. These are constructed around meaningful natural sites, such as rocks with unique imprints and holes that suggest the presence of deities, or around a grand and ancient tree. The shrines built up around these natural sites range from the addition of a small flat rock on which offerings can be made to a more defined area replete with Hindu bells and tridents. Some more recent Thangmi *bhume* shrines are even government-funded concrete structures. These shrines serve as a focal point for Thangmi

¹¹³ More data are needed to form a detailed hypothesis about the roles of clan affiliation, lineage, and descent within the Thangmi spiritual world.

¹¹⁴ An important distinction between patterns of Hindu and Thangmi worship is made by Peet, 'orthodox Hindus...worship as individuals for themselves, whereas in Thami worship the emphasis is on [the] group...' (1978: 246).

devotional life and are the site of rituals conducted on the full moon of every month, as well as on other calendrically determined festival days.

8.3 Marriage

Marriage rituals, known as *bore* in Thangmi, highlight the unique social roles of Thangmi *guru*. The involvement of a *guru* in any Thangmi marriage begins with the *săuti*, the initial ritual during which the man formally asks for the woman's hand. At this point, the *guru* calls on the various earth deities to protect the new couple through the marriage, and then oversees each ensuing ritual component. This entails the involvement of the *guru* for weeks and months, if not years. During each stage of the marriage, the *guru* chants both in Thangmi and in Nepali, outlining the history of the couple and blessing their union. In the final part of the wedding, which occurs at the bride's house, the *guru* is temporarily given the ritual title of *kami*, a term whose provenance is unknown.¹¹⁵ During this ritual, the *guru* is treated with reverence and a portion of the edible offerings are always reserved for him.

According to Dor Bahadur Bista, 'Thami marriage customs are very similar to those of Chepangs living west of Kathmandu' (1967: 53). Bista goes on to cite Kesar Lal's 1966 article on the Thangmi published in the *Rising Nepal*, which has details of Thangmi marriage rituals. Of greater interest than Lal's observations, however, is a comment by Bista himself which he relegates to a footnote:

Some Chepangs maintain the belief that they originated as an offshoot of the people of Dolakha to the east. Further study into this matter might disclose a relationship with Thami. (1967: 53)

To my knowledge, the Thangmi do not believe in a Thangmi-Chepeng link, but the suggestion is certainly worthy of further research.

8.4 Death

Thangmi attitudes towards death and ancestor worship do not fit neatly within classic models described for Tibetan peoples or for ethnic groups speaking Tibeto-Burman languages. The Thangmi do not attach their cults of ancestor worship to specific mountains and their associated deities, nor do the Thangmi rely upon a shamanic journey mapped onto a real geographical landscape to escort the dead to the abode of the ancestors. Instead, Thangmi *guru* conduct a series of rituals over several days in which they symbolically reintegrate the body of the deceased with the ancestral Thangmi homeland, and then reconstruct this body using foodstuffs and other natural

¹¹⁵ It is unclear whether this word is derived from Nepali *Kāmī* 'blacksmith'.

products. The spirit of the deceased transits through this ‘body’, as well as through a series of other symbolic containers, ending in a chicken, as the *guru* guide the spirit out of the world of the living towards the afterlife.

The term for the funerary ritual cycle in the Dolakhā dialect of Thangmi is *mumptra*, while in the Sindhupālcok dialect it is *mamptra*. The entire *mumptra* cycle unfolds over an extended time period, from the cremation or burial of the corpse on the day of death, through the *ocyana mumptra*, or minor death rite, which is conducted three days after death, to the *jekha mumptra*, or major death rite. This may be conducted up to one year after death, depending on the desires and financial situation of the surviving family, but is now commonly conducted thirteen days after death due to Hindu influence. In each of these instances, the *guru*’s chants begin with renditions of the Thangmi origin story and propitiation of major Thangmi animistic deities (*chirkun*, *gaṭṭe*, *biswokarma* and *bhume*), and then turn to satisfying the spirit of the deceased by making offerings and guiding it to the underworld where the ancestors are believed to reside. This ensures that the spirit does return to haunt the living. By invoking specific tropes of Thangmi identity, such chants provide the context for the spirit of the deceased to leave the world of the living in a specifically Thangmi manner.

The importance of such funeral rituals to Thangmi socio-cultural life should not be underestimated: the *mumptra* is in all senses crucial, as much for the spirit or soul of the individual who has died and for the family of the deceased as it is for the officiating *guru*. The sequence of rituals associated with death showcase Thangmi *guru* at their finest, and give them an opportunity to transmit their knowledge of Thangmi history and culture to the community in a structured form.¹¹⁶

9. Notes on the history of Dolakhā

While no known historical sources, in Nepali or otherwise, deal explicitly with the Thangmi populations of Dolakhā and Sindhupālcok before the 1950s, nuggets of information can be pieced together to form a historical impression of early Thangmi socio-cultural life.

The absence of historical information on Dolakhā is not limited to the Thangmi. Comparatively little is known about the area as a whole, and as Genetti has noted, ‘the history of Dolakha is not as well documented as that of the Kathmandu valley’ (1994: 7). According to Mary Slusser’s *Nepal Mandala*, Dolakhā was at one point ‘probably’ a Licchavī settlement (1982: 85). Slusser also suggests that under the Mallas, ‘Bhaktapur also laid claim to Dolakha’ (1982: 63) and that as a ‘small

¹¹⁶ For more details of the Thangmi death ritual, see Shneiderman (2002a).

state', Dolakhā was an 'important center of trade that facilitated Valley commerce with Limbuan and eastern Tibet' (1982: 60). Slusser goes on to cite a number of documents from Dolakhā of the Malla period, ranging from AD 1370 to 1554, corresponding with Nepāl Saṃvat 490 Phāgun to 674 Cait (1982: 60).

Prem Prasād Śarmā Sāpkoṭā's *Dolakhāko Thāmī: Jāti tathā Sāskṛti - Ek Adhyayan*, discussed in Section §1.4.1 above, includes a short section on the history of the Dolakhā area. Sāpkoṭā writes of Dolakhā's importance in the early history of Nepal, its transformation from a fort into a township in the mediaeval period, and its salience as a central point of control linking Kuṭī in Tibet with the plains of India along a route which followed the Tāmākośī river (2045: 1).¹¹⁷ According to Sāpkoṭā, after the establishment of Dolakhā during the seventh century, the settlement was moved northwards away from the river bed to its present location (2045: 2). Later on, Dolakhā gained prominence as the first place to introduce silver coins in Nepāl Saṃvat 668 (AD 1548) under the leadership of Indra Siṃha Dev, a few years prior to King Mahendra Malla's introduction of silver coins as a currency in and around the Kathmandu valley. At least one coin struck in Dolakhā during this period remains, bearing the inscription 'Dolakhādhpati Śrī Śrī Jayendrasimhadeva' (Slusser 1982: 60, footnote 56). From then on, Dolakhā alternated in allegiance between Kathmandu and Bhaktapur, and even secured a century of independence between 1550 and 1650. From the fifteenth century onwards, Dolakhā began to develop into an important site of trade and commerce, and Sāpkoṭā writes of a walled city inhabited by astrologers and sages as well as numerous business men (2045: 2).

According to Sāpkoṭā's reckoning, in a subsection entitled *Dolakhāmā Thāmīharūko Āgaman* 'Advent of the Thami in Dolakhā', the Thangmi were well settled in the region by the beginning of the seventeenth century, and perhaps even earlier, even though he offers no supporting evidence to back up his claim (2045: 4). Sāpkoṭā speculates that if the Thangmi arrived in Nepal over mountainous terrain from the north, it is quite possible that some of them could have branched off and formed different groups, such as the Newar and Chepang. Only after arriving in Suspā, he continues, did the ancestors of the modern Thangmi abandon their nomadic ways and adopt a permanent settlement (2045: 7). Sāpkoṭā further surmises that the Kirantis may have conquered the area, a proposition which he supports with the existence of a settlement known as Kirāṭichāp near modern-day Suspā, which he concludes must have been inhabited by Kirantis from the east. While Sāpkoṭā's hypotheses warrant consideration, it is difficult to reach any conclusions about the

¹¹⁷ Known as Kuṭī in Nepali and Nyalam in Tibetan (written gnya' nang), this important trading town just inside Tibet now also goes by the Chinese name Nielamu.

early history of Dolakhā due to the paucity of historical evidence for the area as a whole. Sāpkoṭā concludes this section with a bold statement:

It is assumed that the Thami were regarded as a subgroup of the Kirants and that they started living in Dolakhā around the thirteenth century. By the sixteenth century, these simple folk had developed their identity as Thamis. (2045: 10) [my translation]

Peet reconstructs the history of the area in Dolakhā in which he worked in the 1970s from ‘hearsay, myth and bits of documentary evidence’ (1978: 30), and states that ‘all informants agree that the first inhabitants in the area which is now Sangaswara were Thamis’ (1978: 30). He posits that the first settlers were ‘probably small-scale herders and slash-and-burn agriculturalists growing millet’ (1978: 30), and that from their origins in the lower reaches of what is presently Dolakhā district, ‘Thamis have slowly spread northward into uncleared land’ (1978: 31). Peet provides no date for this migration, however, and concludes his reconstruction by stating:

Exactly how long Thamis have been living in this area is difficult to determine, but they arrived ahead of the Brahmins. (1978: 31)¹¹⁸

At any rate, Peet dates the decline of Thangmi independence and prosperity to the arrival of caste Hindu migrants in the area. His statement, albeit outspoken, is one with which I agree, and is worth citing in full:

Once the Brahmin-Chhetri, Hindu people gained control of the area, yearly taxes and other labor obligations became, increasingly, directly imposed on the Thamis, and the Brahmins and Chhetris...began to settle among the Thamis and thus compete for the available land and other resources, as well as trying to dominate the latter—socially, politically and economically. (1978: 32)

It is also difficult to date the arrival of Nepali-speaking caste Hindus in the Dolakhā region. While it is generally known that under the Rāṇā prime ministers, higher caste army officers were encouraged to colonise fertile areas in remote districts of Nepal, the data on such migrations to Dolakhā are sparse. Citing the Nepali historian Bāburām Ācārya, the editors of the Nepali-language *Dolakhā Darpaṇ*, Sudhā Tripāṭhī and Rameś Khaḍkā, suggest that Dolakhā had already become a Hinduised ‘colony’ (Nepali *upanivēś*) by the seventh century, implying that this area had already been settled by outsiders at an earlier stage (2051: 1).

¹¹⁸ Later in his thesis, Peet suggests that the Thangmi ‘probably...arrived well over 200 years ago’ (1978: 37).

9.1 The Simraungaḍh connection

The primary source on the history of the region, to which all other authors defer, is Dhanavajra Vajrācārya and Ṭek Bahādur Śreṣṭha's *Dolakhāko Aitihāsik Ruprekhā* 'A Historical Outline of Dolakhā', discussed in brief above. The authors speak of an old saying regarding the 'seven hundred Newars of Dolakhā', a proverb which they in turn relate to the original seven hundred habitations within the walled city. By far the most interesting historical pointer for understanding early Thangmi history relates to King Hari Siṃha Dev, the last king of Mithilā, or Tirhut, the 'Indian state formerly straddling the Bihar-Tarai border' (Slusser 1982: 55). According to Vajrācārya and Śreṣṭha, and repeated in Miller (1979) and Slusser (1982), King Hari Siṃha Dev (whom Slusser refers to as Hara or Harasiṃha) was ousted from his kingdom by Muslim forces, having been unsuccessful in repelling their invasion.¹¹⁹ He is believed to have abandoned his fort at Simraungaḍh between AD 1324 and 1325 and fled northwards seeking refuge. While certain accounts speak of Hari Siṃha coming to Kathmandu,¹²⁰ more reliable sources indicate that he set off to Dolakhā, believing it to be more secure than Kathmandu and less likely to fall under attack. He never reached the haven of Dolakhā, dying en route in AD 1326 at a place referred to only as Tīnapāṭana.¹²¹ After his death, however, his son and court (who had accompanied their king) continued on to Dolakhā. On arrival, where they had hoped for welcome and refuge, they were instead imprisoned, and were relieved of all their possessions and belongings by the noblemen of Dolakhā.¹²²

The importance of this account relates to King Hari Siṃha Dev's court being in Simraungaḍh, perhaps not coincidentally, a key location in the Thangmi origin tale described in Section §5.2.1 above. Most Thangmi believe that a place variously known as Simraungaḍh or Simaṅghāṭ was of crucial significance in their emergence as a cohesive ethnic group, although they are hard pushed to say what specific role this location played. Casper Miller must be credited for first recognising the link between the recorded history of King Hari Siṃha Dev's fortified capital in

¹¹⁹ In his article entitled 'Simraongarh Revisited', Thomas O. Ballinger suggests that the commander of the Muslim forces was most probably Ghazi Malik Ghiyasuddin Tuḡhlaq, who had previously achieved some notoriety for assassinating the Sultan of Delhi (1973: 181).

¹²⁰ Slusser describes in some detail the popular belief and 'common misconception of Nepalese history, bequeathed by the late chroniclers' that King Hari Siṃha Dev conquered the Kathmandu valley (1982: 55, note 24).

¹²¹ There appears to be some confusion about the exact date of King Hari Siṃha Dev's death. Slusser herself is inconsistent, dating his passing at once point to AD 1326, Nepāl Saṃvat 446 Māgh, (1982: 55) while later in her book stating that 'Harasiṃha died in the Nepalese Tarai in AD 1324' (1982: 259).

¹²² This story is also narrated in Miller (1997: 114).

Simraungadh and Thangmi claims that their ancestors had some history there.¹²³ According to Miller, Simraungadh is a contraction of *Simra* and *ban* ‘forest’ and *gaḍh* ‘fort’ (1997: 134), and he notes the possibility that ancestors of the present-day Thangmi populations of Dolakhā and Sindhupālcok were ‘part of the group of refugees from Simraungadh’ that accompanied the King as he fled (1997: 114). Miller finds the possibility enticing, particularly in light of the separate listing for the Thangmi in the temple archives of Dolakhā (described in detail in Section §1.4.1 above) which might be due to their being ‘unwelcome refugees from Simraungadh’ (1997: 115). While it is not impossible that the forefathers of modern-day Thangmi were part of the court entourage that fled Simraungadh, arriving in Dolakhā without their king, and were subsequently subjugated by the Newar inhabitants, none of this reconstructed account helps explain the morphological correspondences between the Thangmi verbal agreement system and that of Rai languages further east, nor does it explain the overwhelming number of Thangmi-Newar lexical correspondences documented in Chapter 1.

In a subsection entitled ‘Other Brahmanical Gods’, Mary Slusser discusses the importance of the worship of Bhīmasena, one of the five Pāṇḍava brothers of Mahābhārata fame, to the Dolakhā area:

Bhīmasena’s cult is apparently relatively recent in the Kathmandu Valley, and its immediate source is Dolakha, a large Newar settlement in eastern Nepal. Even today in Dolakha, Bhīmasena worship exceeds that of Śiva and Śakti in popularity, and his annual festival is the chief event of the region. (1982: 258)

Slusser notes that while ‘how and in what form the Bhīmasena cult became associated with Dolakha is unknown’, in India the worship of Bhīmasena in his manifestation as ‘a hero figure was prevalent in Bihar and Mithilā in medieval times’ (1982: 259). She goes on to suggest that this may be the origin of, and form in which, the cult spread to the Dolakhā region, and reminds the reader of the tragic tale of King Hari Siṃha Dev, the last king of Mithilā. ‘That Mithilā and Dolakha had some relations is clear’, Slusser concludes (1982: 259), and it is possible that the Thangmi connection to Simraungadh and the Dolakhā-based worship of Bhīmasena are related cultural issues.

¹²³ The claim of a southern origin among ethnic groups living in Nepal is not unique to the Thangmi. In his *Languages of the Himalayas*, van Driem discusses a belief held by a segment of the Limbu community that they originated in Benares (2001: 673-674).

9.2 Cultural connections between the Thangmi and Newar of Dolakhā

The Thangmi and Newar populations of the Dolakhā area have been in close cultural contact for some time. The Thangmi origin story features a Newar king who first imprisons a Thangmi man and then later impregnates a Thangmi woman, and one of the male Thangmi clans even reckons its descent directly from this Newar-Thangmi liaison.

The details provided in this section illustrate how the Thangmi have incorporated the Newar into their own socio-cultural world. Such an adaptation might be expected from a relatively small ethnic group coming into contact with a regionally dominant culture, in this case, the Newar. There are, however, many examples of the more surprising reverse situation in which the Thangmi have been incorporated into the Newar social paradigm.¹²⁴ The most notable of these inclusions is the key role that the Thangmi play in calendrical festivals celebrated by the Newar in the town of Dolakhā. These festivals, such as *devīkoṭjātrā* and *khadgajātrā*, the ‘Sword Festival’ held on the eleventh day of *mohanī* (Nepali *dasāī*), and *matsyendranāthjātrā* are explicitly Newar events which are also celebrated in other Newar-dominant areas, such as the Kathmandu valley. For the Newar of Dolakhā, active participation in some of their rituals by specific members of the surrounding Thangmi community is obligatory. Should the Thangmi fail to perform their duties, or worse still, not come at all, then the Newar festival may be cancelled.

There are two particularly salient features of the Newar-Thangmi cultural interdependence. First, before a Newar festival may commence, ritual offerings and implements must be assembled to exact specifications by Thangmi villagers, after which they are brought to Dolakhā. Second, Thangmi *guru* and laymen have a ritual role in festivals otherwise wholly officiated by Newar priests. These roles are played by Thangmi from specific villages: the *devīkoṭjātrā* and *khadgajātrā* duties are performed exclusively by Thangmi from the village of Dumkoṭ, while the *matsyendranāthjātrā* involves only Thangmi from Lāpilāñ. Such a division of labour by village may suggest that these ritual duties originated as a form of taxation on the Thangmi by the local Newar rulers. At any rate, the Newar of Dolakhā view the Thangmi presence as essential to the efficacy of their rituals and festivals. Casper Miller describes in detail the happenings that led to the Thangmi villagers’ refusal to play their part in the *devīkoṭjātrā* of AD 1912 (1997: 89-93), an event which is remembered and discussed to this day.

¹²⁴ Peet makes an unsupported statement to the effect that the ‘small Newar principality based in Dolakha Bazaar during this early period [1700s] claimed the political allegiance of the Thamis, but otherwise the Newars left the Thamis fairly much to themselves’ (1978: 37).

Van Driem has noted that the ‘largest segment of the Newar population in Dolakhā belong to the Śreṣṭha caste, whereas there are virtually no Newar settlers of the Jyāpu caste in Dolakhā’ (2001: 765).¹²⁵ In Kathmandu, van Driem points out, the situation is reversed, and the Śreṣṭha caste, while numerous, are ‘vastly outnumbered by the agrarian Jyāpu caste which is widely held to represent the indigenous population of the valley’ (2001: 765). Van Driem’s statement opens up the possibility that from the Newar perspective, the Thangmi essentially came to function as the ‘Jyāpu’ of Dolakhā, both in the sense of being autochthonous to the area prior to the arrival of the Newar, by providing the main source of agricultural labour to the urban Newar of the market town, and also on account of their lowly social status. This argument was also made by Peet based on his field observations in the 1970s. Speaking of the urban Newar who settled in Dolakhā, he writes:

They became government officials, shopkeepers, merchants and traders, and over time they also became landowners, with tenants such as Thamīs in the Dolakha Bazaar area. (1978: 399-400)

At any rate, whether the presence of the Thangmi predated the arrival of the Newars in Dolakhā, or whether ancestors of the two groups migrated together to their present location, it is clear that contemporary Thangmi and Newar cultural and ritual lives are significantly intermeshed.

¹²⁵ Peet had made a similar observation many years earlier, ‘since most of the Newars who left the Kathmandu Valley were not of the *Jyapu* farming caste, agricultural activities were not initially of paramount importance to them’ (1978: 399).

CHAPTER 3

PHONOLOGY

The Thangmi sound system is the topic of this chapter. The full inventory of Thangmi phonemes is given in Table 40 below.

TABLE 40. THANGMI PHONEMES

vowel phonemes					
i	e	a	ă	o	u
diphthongs					
ei	ăi	oi	ui		
eu	ău	ou			
consonant phonemes					
k	kh	g	gh	ŋ	
c	ch	j	jh		
ʈ	ʈh	ɖ	ɖh	ɳ	
t	th	d	dh	n	nh
p	ph	b	bh	m	
y	r	l	w		
	s	h	(ʔ)		

A phoneme is defined as the smallest contrastive unit in the Thangmi sound system, with the qualification that a phoneme may exhibit a range of acoustic values which are treated as equivalent by the Thangmi speech community. A phoneme is therefore not a discrete sound segment with a clearly defined boundary, but rather one in a set of speech sounds which serve to distinguish one word from another. An allophone, on the other hand, is a phonetic variant of a phoneme and can be defined as one of several speech sounds which are regarded as contextual or environmental variants of the same phoneme.

The structure of this chapter is as follows: in Section §1, I discuss the vowel phonemes and allophones, their limited nasality, and offer a list of contrastive minimal pairs. In Section §2, I discuss consonant phonemes and their allophones and also provide a list of minimal pairs. In Section §3, I focus on phonotactics, stress, syllable structure and consonant clusters; and in Section §4, I address prosodic lengthening. In Section §5, I discuss the phonology of Nepali loans, while in Section §6, I explain the chosen orthography and the motivations that have informed my decisions in presenting the phonology of Thangmi in this manner.

1. Vowels

1.1 Overview of vowel phonemes

Thangmi distinguishes six monophthongal vowels /i/, /u/, /e/, /o/, /a/, /ǎ/ which represent three grades of vowel height and three steps on the front-back scale. Thangmi exhibits no contrast between short and long vowels, but does distinguish seven diphthongs /ei/, /ǎi/, /oi/, /ui/, /eu/, /ǎu/, /ou/. In the following subsections, I describe the distribution of Thangmi phonemes and their allophones by contrasting minimal and near minimal pairs.

1.2 Monophthongs and their allophones

The phoneme /i/ is a short, unrounded, high front vowel [i], with a lowered or retracted allophone [ɪ] in closed syllables:

<i>cici</i>	meat
[tsitsi]	
<i>tim</i>	mortar
[tɪm]	
<i>liṣa</i>	to scatter, broadcast
[liṣa]	

The phoneme /u/ is a short, closed, rounded high back vowel [u]:

<i>pur</i>	nipple
[pur]	

<i>ulam</i>	path, road, way
[ulam]	

The phoneme /e/ is variously realised by Thangmi speakers. In general, older and monolingual Thangmi speakers realise /e/ as a short, mid-open, unrounded front vowel [ɛ], while younger Thangmi speakers who are bilingual in Nepali articulate /e/ as [e], with slightly more closure:

<i>elepe</i>	spleen
[ɛlɛpɛ ~ elepe]	

<i>ahel</i>	garuga, <i>Garuga pinnata</i>
[aɦel ~ aɦel]	

The phoneme /o/ is usually realised as a short, mid-closed, rounded, back vowel [o], particularly in open syllables. In closed syllables, the phoneme /o/ has a mid-open realisation as [ɔ]:

<i>obo</i>	white
[obo]	

<i>tokolok</i>	hoe, long-handled mattock with a narrow blade
[tokolɔkʰ]	

The phoneme /a/ is variously realised by Thangmi speakers. In general, older and monolingual Thangmi speakers realise /a/ as a short, open, unrounded, front vowel [a], while younger Thangmi speakers who are bilingual in Nepali pronounce /a/ with slightly more closure, as in English [æ] in *cat*:

<i>alak</i>	small wooden or bamboo foot bridge
[alakʰ ~ ælækʰ]	

<i>cahuca</i>	man, menfolk
[tsaɦutsa ~ tsæɦutsæ]	

The phoneme /ǎ/ has varying realisations from speaker to speaker, and occurs only infrequently. The phoneme /ǎ/ is usually pronounced as a short, open, unrounded,

back vowel [ɑ], but in the speech of some Thangmi speakers it is given more closure and rendered as [ʌ]:

ālāmtha far, distant
[ɑlam̥tha ~ ʌlam̥tha]

jārāme the spirit of death
[dzaramɛ ~ dzʌramɛ]

The Thangmi phonemes /ǎ/ and /a/ correspond to what are often, albeit erroneously, referred to as the ‘short’ and ‘long’ /a/ of Nepali. Although these two Nepali vowel phonemes are qualitatively distinct from one another in timbre and vowel quality, following accepted and traditional Indological transcription they are rendered as *a* and *ā* respectively, as in Nepali *pani* ‘also’ versus *pānī* ‘water’. In my chosen orthography for Thangmi, these words would be represented as *pǎni* and *pani*.

1.3 Diphthongs and their allophones

Although Thangmi boasts more vowel diphthongs than monophthongs, diphthongs occur only infrequently in native Thangmi words.¹ They are more common, however, in open-stem verbs borrowed from Nepali, as in Thangmi *ghumǎisa* ‘to turn around, show around’ from Nepali *ghumāunu* ‘to turn around, show around’, and Thangmi *banǎisa* ‘to make’ from Nepali *banāunu* ‘to make’. Diphthongs are attested in a handful of indigenous Thangmi forms, in which they have the same length as a monophthongal vowel. The criterion of length provides the justification for analysing these vowel forms as diphthongs rather than as vowel sequences or chains.

The diphthong /ei/ commences as a mid-open, unrounded front vowel [ɛ] and concludes with the unrounded, front retracted allophone [ɪ]. In natural allegro speech, the diphthong /ei/ is occasionally realised close to the mid-open, unrounded front vowel [ɛ].

kheisa to pour, be poured
[k^hɛɪʂa]

kokoteisa to become stiff from cold, become numb
[kokotɛɪʂa]

¹ While it may seem peculiar to suggest that Thangmi has more diphthong than monophthong vowels, this proposition is the result of careful examination. A Thangmi diphthong is indeed the union of two vowels pronounced as one syllable, and may not be analysed as a sequence of two monophthongs.

The diphthong /ăi/ starts as a slightly advanced, short, open, unrounded, back vowel [ɑ] and ends with the short, unrounded, front retracted allophone [ɪ]:²

<i>adhăi</i> [ɑɖ ^h ɑɪ]	cucumber, <i>Cucumis sativus</i>
<i>ăikuca</i> [ɑɪkutsɑ]	long, slightly curved knife, <i>khukurī</i>
<i>aspăisa</i> [ɑʂpɑɪʂɑ]	to throw something violently, smash

The diphthong /oi/ starts as a short, mid-open, rounded, back vowel [ɔ] and ends with the short, unrounded, front retracted allophone [ɪ]:

<i>joisa</i> [dzɔɪʂɑ]	to leak, penetrate
<i>coi</i> [tsɔɪ]	blood
<i>roimi</i> [rɔɪmi]	a Newar person

The level diphthong /ui/ starts as a short, closed, rounded, high back vowel [u] and ends with the short, unrounded, front retracted allophone [ɪ]:

<i>chyaituk uyu</i> [ts ^h juɪtʊk ^ʔ uju]	small black rodent, mole, vole
<i>luisa</i> [luɪʂɑ]	to become flaccid (particularly of a penis)
<i>mui</i> [muɪ]	banana, <i>Musa x paradisiaca</i>

² It is not uncommon for a rarely occurring or even phonologically non-existing vocoid to be a constituent of a diphthong.

deusal a box of matches [Sindhupālcok dialect only]
[dɛuʂal]

<i>călăuni</i>	moon
[tsalauni]	

aprou tump line or head strap for carrying a load
[aprou]

The diphthongs /eɪ/, /äi/ and /ui/ are particularly associated with emphatic function or intensified meaning in Thangmi, and may well have been borrowed directly from the Nepali emphatic morpheme <-ai> (EMP). The diphthong /eɪ/, for example, is present in Thangmi *sakalei* ‘all, each, every, everything, totally’ which is itself loaned from Nepali *sakal* ‘all, every’. Likewise, the diphthong /äi/ is often associated with emphatic meaning in Thangmi, as in the adverb *choncäi* ‘fast, quickly’, and the adjective *begaläi* ~ *begale* ‘other (emphatic)’ from Nepali *beglo* ~ *beglai* ‘other’. It is probable that Thangmi *begaläi* ~ *begale* ‘other (emphatic)’ was borrowed directly from Nepali *beglai* ‘other’, since in Nepali the emphatic form is more frequent than *beglo* ‘other’. Finally, the Thangmi diphthong /ui/ is also associated with emphatic meaning in *ayehui* ‘very much (emphatic)’ (Sindhupālcok dialect only), an intensified form of Thangmi *aye* ~ *ahe* ‘very’. In this instance, <-ui> occurs as a suffix indicating an intensified feeling.

Diphthongs are particularly common in lexical loans from Nepali. Two co-occurring monophthongs in Nepali may give rise to a diphthong in Thangmi. For example, while Nepali *makai* ‘corn, maize’ has two syllables and Nepali *malāi* ‘to me’ has three syllables, both forms are disyllabic in Thangmi (creating a minimal pair), and make use of the diphthong /ǎi/:

<i>mǎkǎi</i>	corn, maize (from Nepali <i>makai</i>)
[makǎi]	

<i>mǎlǎi</i>	to me, for me (from Nepali <i>malāi</i>)
[malǎi]	

1.4 Nasality

Nasalised vowels are not a distinctive feature of Thangmi phonology.³ Thangmi contains only a handful of lexemes with nasalised vowels, none of which can be contrasted with non-nasalised vowels. Nasality is more pronounced in the Sindhupālcok dialect of Thangmi, and most of the examples I present below are therefore drawn from this speech area. Moreover, as seen in the following examples, nasalised vowels occur primarily in onomatopoeic or reduplicative expressions and interjections:

<i>ǎdǎi</i>	yes, uh-huh
[ǎdǎi]	
<i>heʔẽ</i>	yes, uh-huh [Sindhupālcok dialect]
[heʔẽ]	
<i>hĩʔikote</i>	over there [Sindhupālcok dialect]
[hĩʔikoʔe]	
<i>khoĩkhoĩsa</i>	to cough [Sindhupālcok dialect]
[kʰɔĩkʰɔĩʂa]	
<i>hũhũisa</i>	to writhe in pain, squirm
[hũhũiʂa]	

³ See Rutgers (1998: 15) for a similar discussion on nasality in Yamphu. Although minimal pairs for the nasal/non-nasal distinction are not attested in Thangmi, there remains a possibility that nasality is nevertheless distinctive. For the present discussion, however, I regard nasality as non-distinctive.

In a few Thangmi lexemes, nasalised vowels occur in free variation alongside their non-nasalised counterparts. It should be noted, however, that these instances invariably co-occur with the voiced, dorso-velar nasal continuant [ŋ]. In such cases, vowel nasalisation may be the result of assimilation to the nasal phoneme, as in the following examples:

<i>ciŋya</i> ~ <i>cīyā</i> ~ <i>cīŋa</i> [tsiŋja ~ tsījā ~ tsīŋa]	nose
<i>saŋa</i> ~ <i>sāwā</i> [saŋa ~ sāwā]	finger millet, <i>Eleusine coracana</i>
<i>ŋyasa</i> ~ <i>ŋyāsa</i> [ŋjaʂa ~ ŋjāʂa]	to rot, become rotten, suppurate

Thangmi has only three lexemes with nasalised vowels which do not occur in free variation with non-nasalised vowels. Two of these forms are recorded in the Sindhupālcok dialect area only. The nasalised short, mid-closed, rounded, back vowel [o] in *phōŋok* [pʰōŋɔkʰ] ‘inflated, swollen’, which was also recorded in Dolakhā, results from assimilation to the following retroflex nasal:

<i>bhaīse</i> [bʰaīʂe]	tomorrow [Sindhupālcok dialect]
<i>kīyabat</i> [kījabatʰ]	in three days [Sindhupālcok dialect]
<i>phōŋok</i> [pʰōŋɔkʰ]	inflated, swollen, squashy (especially used to describe people’s noses)

1.5 Vowel minimal pairs

The distinctive qualities of vowel height and lip rounding are illustrated by the following chart of minimal and near minimal pairs:

/i/ vs. /u/	<i>nini</i> ‘paternal aunt, father’s sister’, <i>nunu</i> ‘milk’; <i>thisa</i> ‘to touch’, <i>thusa</i> ‘to pull up weeds’.
/i/ vs. /e/	<i>ir-ir</i> ‘totally stuffed with food’, <i>ere</i> ‘flour ball used in the death rite (ritual language)’; <i>lisa</i> ‘to scatter, broadcast’, <i>lesa</i> ‘to select’.

/i/ vs. /o/	<i>ili</i> ‘a species of house-dwelling gecko’, <i>oli</i> ‘four’; <i>nisa</i> ‘to see’, <i>nosa</i> ‘to stir food, serve’; <i>cici</i> ‘meat, flesh’, <i>cyocy</i> ‘female breast’.
/i/ vs. /a/	<i>arki</i> ‘deer’, <i>arka</i> ‘walnut, <i>Juglans regia</i> ’; <i>tisa</i> ‘to burn’, <i>tasa</i> ‘to boil’; <i>wari</i> ‘daughter-in-law’, <i>warak</i> ‘precipice, steep slope’.
/i/ vs. /ǎ/	<i>ciŋya</i> ‘nose’, <i>cǎŋge</i> ‘pigweed, <i>Amaranthus viridis</i> ’; <i>dilaŋ</i> ‘stone resting place’, <i>dǎlǎk</i> ‘dust’.
/u/	<i>yu</i> ‘black-mouthed, white-bodied and long-tailed white money’, <i>uyu</i> ‘mouse’.
/u/ vs. /e/	<i>umansa</i> ‘to cook, prepare food’, <i>emsa</i> ‘to be exhausted by sitting in the sun’; <i>thumsa</i> ‘to bury’, <i>themsa</i> ‘to break’; <i>suwa</i> ‘tooth’, <i>sewa</i> ‘greetings, hello’.
/u/ vs. /o/	<i>ɬupsa</i> ‘to husk rice or millet in a mortar’, <i>ɬopsa</i> ‘to wash clothes by beating them’; <i>ulum</i> ‘the upper part of a grinding stone’, <i>olon</i> ‘milk, yoghurt’.
/u/ vs. /a/	<i>uma</i> ‘wife’, <i>ama</i> ‘mother’; <i>cuksa</i> ‘to insert, pour into’, <i>caksa</i> ‘to cover, patch or overlay bamboo when there are holes’.
/u/ vs. /ǎ/	<i>culi</i> ‘goat’, <i>cǎlǎuni</i> ‘moon’; <i>duru</i> ‘earthquake’, <i>dǎri nunu</i> ‘cow or buffalo milk used in the death rite (ritual language)’.
/e/ vs. /o/	<i>leksa</i> ‘to swallow’, <i>lokxa</i> ‘to drain’; <i>melsa</i> ‘to roast millet prior to grinding’, <i>molsa</i> ‘to mix in, stir up’.
/e/ vs. /a/	<i>ere</i> ‘flour ball used in the death rite (ritual language)’, <i>ari</i> ‘fear’; <i>nem</i> ‘house’, <i>name</i> ‘name’; <i>reŋ</i> ‘flower’, <i>raŋ</i> ‘dry or unirrigated field’.
/e/ vs. /ǎ/	<i>elepe</i> ‘spleen’, <i>ǎlǎmtha</i> ‘far, distant’; <i>kerepsa</i> ‘to cry, weep’, <i>kǎrǎisa</i> ‘to call out, be hungry’.
/o/ vs. /a/	<i>oŋgol</i> ‘Adam’s apple’, <i>aŋal</i> ‘shame, embarrassment’; <i>doŋ</i> ‘intestines, Brahmin’, <i>daŋsa</i> ‘to look for, search, seek’.
/o/ vs. /ǎ/	<i>kotale</i> ‘under, below’, <i>kǎtǎra</i> ‘trough, tray’.
/a/	<i>naŋ</i> ‘you’, <i>naŋa</i> ‘fish’.

/a/ vs. /ǎ/	<i>alam</i> ‘red and white flag used in shamanic ritual’, <i>ălămtha</i> ‘far, distant’; <i>bagale</i> ‘peach, <i>Prunus persica</i> ’, <i>băgale</i> ‘type of tree, <i>Maesa chisia</i> ’; <i>caṇ</i> ‘chir pine, <i>Pinus roxburghii</i> ’, <i>căṇge</i> ‘pigweed, <i>Amaranthus viridis</i> ’; <i>cali</i> ‘ladder’, <i>călăuni</i> ‘moon’.
/ei/ vs. /e/	<i>kheisa</i> ‘to pour’, <i>khemsa</i> ‘to make, build’.
/ăi/ vs. /ău/	<i>ăi</i> ‘pus’, <i>ău</i> ‘mango’.
/oi/ vs. /i/	<i>joisa</i> ‘to leak’, <i>jisa</i> ‘to chop, split’; <i>coi</i> ‘blood’, <i>cile</i> ‘tongue’; <i>roimi</i> ‘a Newar person’, <i>rim</i> ‘homemade beer drunk during death rite (ritual language)’.
/ui/ vs. /u/	<i>luisa</i> ‘to become flaccid’, <i>lunsa</i> ‘to climb, ride’; <i>mui</i> ‘banana’, <i>mus</i> ‘body hair’.
/ui/ vs. /i/	<i>luisa</i> ‘to become flaccid’, <i>lisa</i> ‘to scatter, broadcast’; <i>mui</i> ‘banana’, <i>mi</i> ‘person’.
/eu/ vs. /e/	<i>deusal</i> ‘a box of matches’, <i>dese</i> ‘village’.
/ău/	<i>rulău</i> ‘cockroach’, <i>rul</i> ‘snake’.
/ău/ vs. /a/	<i>ău</i> ‘mango’, <i>ayu</i> ‘pine-marten, <i>Martes flavigula</i> ’.
/ău/ vs. /ou/	<i>călăuni</i> ‘moon’, <i>calou</i> ‘wild nettle’.
/ou/ vs. /a/	<i>aprou</i> ‘tump line, head strap’, <i>apraca</i> ‘good’.
/ou/ vs. /o/	<i>jyousa</i> ‘to burn wood’, <i>jyoksa</i> ‘to be burnt’.

2. Consonants

2.1 Overview of consonant phonemes

Thangmi consonant phonemes were presented in Table 40 on the first page of this chapter following the conventional Indological ordering, and are shown in Table 41 below according to phonetic features. The Thangmi consonant inventory is comprised of five series of obstruents across five distinctive and contrastive points of articulation (bilabial, dental, palatal, retroflex and velar), each of which includes an unaspirated voiceless, an aspirated voiceless, an unaspirated voiced and a breathy member.⁴ The Thangmi consonant system further includes a series of nasals at four

⁴ Following van Driem (1993a: 52), I have opted for the term ‘breathy voiced plosive’ rather than ‘voiced aspirate’ to describe the series /bh/, /dh/, /jh/, /ḍh/, /gh/. While such plosives are commonly referred to as ‘voiced aspirates’, particularly in the context of South Asian

points of articulation, one breathy nasal, one glottal stop, one fricative, one trill, one lateral and three approximants. Apart from the glottal stop /ʔ/, all consonants may occur in word-initial position.

TABLE 41. THANGMI CONSONANT PHONEMES

	<i>bilabial</i>	<i>dental</i>	<i>palatal</i>	<i>retroflex</i>	<i>velar</i>	<i>glottal</i>
<i>voiceless</i>	p	t	c	ɖ	k	
<i>aspirated</i>	ph	th	ch	ɖʰ	kh	
<i>voiced</i>	b	d	j	ɖ̣	g	
<i>breathy voiced</i>	bh	dh	jh	ɖ̤h	gh	
<i>nasal</i>	m	n		ɳ	ŋ	
<i>breathy nasal</i>		nh				
<i>glottal</i>						(ʔ)
<i>fricative</i>		s				
<i>trill</i>		r				
<i>lateral</i>		l				
<i>approximant</i>	w		y			h

2.2 Obstruents and their allophones

2.2.1 Velar stops

The phoneme /k/ can occur in all positions in the Thangmi word or syllable. In word-initial, syllable-initial and intervocalic positions, the phoneme /k/ is a voiceless, unaspirated dorso-velar stop [k]:

<i>kapu</i> [kapu]	head
<i>aŋkalak</i> [aŋkalakʰ]	green-brown coloured lizard
<i>lakaŋe</i> [lakaŋɛ]	radish, <i>Raphanus sativus</i>

languages, this label is misleading since they are usually neither voiced nor aspirated. See van Driem (1993a: 52) for the evidence and discussion.

<i>cikinsa</i>	to give someone a fright
[tsikinʃa]	

Word-finally, the phoneme /k/ is a voiceless, unreleased, unaspirated dorso-velar stop [kʔ] in the Dolakhā dialect and either completely glottalised [ʔ] or a voiceless, unreleased, unaspirated dorso-velar stop with a simultaneous glottal stop [ʔkʔ] in the Sindhupālcok dialect:⁵

<i>akrak</i>	frog [Dolakhā dialect]
[akrakʔ]	
<i>akrak</i>	frog [Sindhupālcok dialect]
[akraʔ]	
<i>ajik</i>	cold (of food and water) [Dolakhā dialect]
[adzɪkʔ]	
<i>ajik</i>	cold (of food and water) [Sindhupālcok dialect]
[adzɪʔkʔ]	

The phoneme /kh/ can occur in word-initial, syllable-initial and intervocalic positions, in which it is realised as a voiceless, aspirated dorso-velar stop [kʰ]. The phoneme /kh/ is not attested in word-final position:

<i>khen</i>	face
[kʰɛn]	
<i>aŋkhe</i>	lap
[aŋkʰɛ]	
<i>rikhi</i>	the tree, <i>Ficus lacor</i>
[rikʰi]	

The phoneme /g/ can occur in word-initial, syllable-initial and intervocalic positions, in which it is realised as a voiced, unaspirated dorso-velar stop [g]. The phoneme /g/ is not attested in word-final position:

⁵ For a more detailed description of the differences between the two dialects, see Chapter 2, Section §4.1.

<i>gaŋsa</i> [gaŋsa]	to dry
<i>goŋgiŋ</i> [goŋgiŋ]	brown or green praying mantis
<i>jagapsa</i> [dzaɡap̚sa]	to faint, have an epileptic fit

The phoneme /gh/ occurs in word-initial and intervocalic positions, in which it is realised as a voiced, breathy (or murmured) dorso-velar stop [g^h].⁶ The phoneme /gh/ is not attested in word-final position:

<i>ghăŋeu</i> [g ^h aŋeu]	burp (n.)
<i>aghorsa</i> [aɡ ^h ɔ̌r̥sa]	to dig, scratch with fingernails

The phoneme /gh/ is further attested in two reduplicative lexemes, in which it occurs both word-initially, word-medially and syllable-initially. Syllable-initial and word-medial /gh/ is only attested in these two reduplicative forms, both of which are onomatopoeic:

<i>ghorghorsa</i> [g ^h ɔ̌rg ^h ɔ̌r̥sa]	to grunt (of a pig), roar (of a tiger)
<i>ghoŋloŋ-ghoŋloŋ</i> [g ^h ɔ̌ŋloŋg ^h ɔ̌ŋloŋ]	loose-fitting, baggy, wide, floppy

2.2.2 Retroflex stops

The phoneme /ɖ/ is a voiceless, unaspirated apico-post-alveolar or retroflex stop [ɖ] which is attested in word-initial, syllable-initial, intervocalic and word-final or syllable-final positions, as illustrated by the examples below:

<i>ɖampe</i> [ɖampe]	magnolia tree, <i>Magnolia campbelli</i>

⁶ For the reader's comfort, I have chosen to transcribe breathy voice using the raised ^h, as in [g^h] over the phonetically more accurate notation [ḡ].

kaŋi young, fresh, unripe
[kaŋi]

cyat̪aŋmaraŋ a species of thorny bush
[tsjaŋmaraŋ]

lampaŋ plain, farmyard
[lampaŋ]

The phoneme /t̪h/ is a voiceless, aspirated apico-post-alveolar or retroflex stop [t̪ʰ] which is attested in word-initial, syllable-initial and intervocalic positions. The phoneme /t̪h/ is not attested in word-final or syllable-final position, and is illustrated by the examples below:

t̪hoka large silver bracelet worn by women
[t̪ʰoka]

bom̪hissa to blister
[bom̪t̪ʰiʃsa]

kuŋhup tadpole
[kuŋt̪ʰup]

The phoneme /d̪/ is a voiced, unaspirated apico-post-alveolar or retroflex stop [d̪] which is attested in word-initial, syllable-initial and intervocalic positions. The phoneme /d̪/ is not attested in word-final or syllable-final position:

d̪umla common fig, *Ficus carica*
[d̪umla]

han̪da clay pot for cooking nettles
[han̪da]

a̪d̪ipsa to tear pieces of meat off the bone
[a̪d̪iɸsa] with one's teeth

The phoneme /d̪h/ occurs only in word-initial position, in which it is realised as a voiced, breathy (or murmured) apico-post-alveolar or retroflex stop [d̪ʰ]. The phoneme /d̪h/ is not attested in syllable-initial, intervocalic or word-final positions:

ḍhopit anus
[ḍʰopɪt̪]

ḍhokse large bamboo basket used for carrying manure
[ḍʰɔkʂɛ]

The phoneme /ḍh/ is further attested in one reduplicative and onomatopoeic lexeme, in which it occurs both word-initially and syllable-initially:

ḍholoṅ-ḍholoṅ being wide in circumference or diameter
[ḍʰolɔŋḍʰolɔŋ]

2.2.3 Palatal stops

The phoneme /c/ can occur in word-initial, syllable-initial and intervocalic positions, in which it is realised as a voiceless, unaspirated, apico-palatal or lamino-palatal affricate [ts]. The phoneme /c/ is not attested in word-final position:

cabusa to carry
[tsabuʂa]

demca load (n.)
[ḍɛmtsa]

apraca good, clean, nice
[apratsa]

The phoneme /ch/ can occur in word-initial, syllable-initial and intervocalic positions, in which it is realised as a voiceless, aspirated, apico-palatal or lamino-palatal affricate [tsʰ]. The phoneme /ch/ is not attested in word-final position:

chinik chutney made of the edible seed, *Perilla*
[tsʰinɪkʰ] *frutescens*

jinchiri clitoris
[dzɪntsʰiri]

cacha grandson
[tsatsʰa]

The phoneme /j/ can occur in word-initial, syllable-initial and intervocalic positions, in which it is realised as a voiced, unaspirated, lamino-palatal affricate [dz]. The phoneme /j/ is not attested in word-final position:

<i>jireŋ</i> [dzireŋ]	red wasp
<i>dunji</i> [ɖundzi]	lean, thin, meagre, without fat
<i>aʃa</i> [adza]	leaf

The phoneme /jh/ can occur in word-initial, syllable-initial and intervocalic positions, in which it is realised as a voiced, breathy (or murmured) lamino-palatal affricate [dz^h]. The phoneme is not attested in syllable-initial, intervocalic or word-final positions. While the phoneme /jh/ is attested in only three native Thangmi words from the Dolakhā dialect, it is far more common in the Sindhupālcok dialect. The phoneme /jh/ is also widely attested in Nepali loan words in both dialects.

<i>jhintyak</i> [dz ^h intjak ^ʔ]	catapult, trap
<i>jhyaɭtun</i> [dz ^h jaɭtun]	vessel for carrying burning coals
<i>kuriʃhin</i> [kuridz ^h in]	blemish or spot

2.2.4 Dental stops

The phoneme /t/ is a voiceless, unaspirated dental or alveolar stop [t̪] which is attested in word-initial, syllable-initial, intervocalic and word-final or syllable-final positions. Younger Thangmi speakers who are also fluent in Nepali are more likely to articulate the phoneme /t/ as a dental stop, while older and monolingual Thangmi speakers tend towards an alveolar articulation:

<i>toŋsa</i> [t̪oŋsa]	to wash clothes

<i>altak</i> [aɭtakʔ]	Nepalese rhododendron tree, <i>Rhododendron arboreum</i>
<i>kotale</i> [koɭale]	under, below
<i>aɭit</i> [aɭit]	blue whistling thrush, <i>Myiophoneus caeruleus</i>

The phoneme /th/ is a voiceless, aspirated dental or alveolar stop [tʰ] which is attested in word-initial, syllable-initial and intervocalic positions. The phoneme is not attested in word-final or syllable-final position. Younger Thangmi speakers who are also fluent in Nepali are more likely to articulate the phoneme /th/ as a dental stop, while older and monolingual Thangmi speakers tend towards an alveolar articulation:

<i>themba</i> [tʰɛmba]	doorframe, doorway
<i>cyurthin</i> [tsjurʰin]	mouth shaped like a monkey's mouth
<i>athaŋsa</i> [aɭʰaŋsa]	to become light

The phoneme /d/ is a voiced, unaspirated dental or alveolar stop [d] which is attested in word-initial, syllable-initial and intervocalic positions. The phoneme is not attested in word-final or syllable-final position. Younger Thangmi speakers who are also fluent in Nepali are more likely to articulate the phoneme /d/ as a dental stop, while older and monolingual Thangmi speakers tend towards an alveolar articulation:

<i>doksa</i> [dɔkʂa]	to peck, sting, bite
<i>denderek</i> [dɛnderekʔ]	coarse, rough
<i>adum</i> [aɖum]	hot (food or drink)

The phoneme /dh/ is a voiced, breathy (or murmured) dental or alveolar stop [d^h] which is attested in word-initial and intervocalic positions. The phoneme is not attested in syllable-initial and word-final or syllable-final positions. Younger Thangmi speakers who are also fluent in Nepali are more likely to articulate the phoneme /dh/ as a dental stop, while older and monolingual Thangmi speakers tend towards an alveolar articulation:

<i>dhiri</i> [d ^h iri]	thunder
<i>dhapre</i> [d ^h apɾe]	Indian aloe, <i>Aloe vera</i>
<i>kadhrap</i> [kad ^h rapʰ]	unidentified species of plant (Nep. <i>malāyo</i>)

2.2.5 Bilabial stops

The phoneme /p/ occurs in all positions in the Thangmi word or syllable. In word-initial, syllable-initial and intervocalic positions, the phoneme /p/ is a voiceless, unaspirated, bilabial stop [p]:

<i>paŋku</i> [paŋku]	water
<i>pampanek</i> [pampanekʰ]	butterfly
<i>papasek</i> [papaʃɛkʰ]	testicles

Word-finally, the phoneme /p/ is a voiceless, unreleased, unaspirated bilabial stop [pʰ]:

<i>asip</i> [asipʰ]	the flower of an unidentified species of tree (Nep. <i>ghurmiso-ko phūl</i>)
<i>kaŋtap</i> [kaŋtapʰ]	chip of bamboo or splint of wood used to make baskets and cradles

The phoneme /ph/ is a voiceless, aspirated, bilabial stop [p^h] which is attested in word-initial, syllable-initial and intervocalic positions. The phoneme /ph/ is not attested in word-final or syllable-final position.

<i>phase</i> [p ^h aɸ]	flour
<i>lamphaṅsa</i> [lamp ^h aṅsa]	to cross over, step over
<i>aphinca</i> [ap ^h intsa]	light (in weight), thin, narrow
<i>laphar</i> [lap ^h ar]	cowardly, timid, irresolute

The phoneme /b/ is a voiced, unaspirated bilabial stop [b] which is attested in word-initial, syllable-initial and intervocalic positions. The phoneme /b/ is not attested in word-final or syllable-final position:

<i>bosiṅ</i> [boɸiŋ]	alder, Nepal black cedar, <i>Alnus nepalensis</i>
<i>domba</i> [ɖɔmba]	tree
<i>kitriṅbas</i> [kiɽriŋbaɸ]	in four days
<i>abu</i> [abu]	penis

The phoneme /bh/ is a voiced, breathy (or murmured) bilabial stop [b^h] which is infrequent in occurrence and attested in word-initial position only. The phoneme /bh/ is not attested in intervocalic, word-final or syllable-final position.

<i>bhămbăla</i> [b ^h ambala]	unidentified species of tree (Nep. <i>culetro</i>)

<i>bheterek</i>	bamboo mat
[b ^h ɛ̃tɛrɛkʔ]	

The phoneme /bh/ is further attested in one reduplicative lexeme, in which it occurs both word-initially and syllable-initially:

<i>bhutbhute</i>	flameless and white-hot centre of a fire
[b ^h uʔb ^h uʔɛ]	

2.3 Nasals

Thangmi has a series of voiced nasals at four points of articulation, velar, retroflex, dental and labial, and one breathy nasal. The phoneme /ŋ/ is a voiced, velar nasal [ŋ] which is attested in word-initial, syllable-initial, intervocalic and word-final or syllable-final positions. This Thangmi phoneme occurs frequently:

<i>ŋasa</i>	to say, ask, order, tell
[ŋaʂa]	
<i>căŋa</i>	liver
[tsaŋa]	
<i>aŋil</i>	gum(s)
[aŋɪl]	
<i>loŋsa</i>	to do, make
[lɔŋsa]	
<i>akloŋ</i>	grasshopper, locust
[aklɔŋ]	

The phoneme /ŋ/ is a voiced, retroflex nasal continuant [ŋ] with a free alternate as a voiced, retroflex tap [ɽ]. This phoneme is attested in word-initial, syllable-initial, intervocalic and word-final or syllable-final positions:⁷

<i>ŋepsa</i>	to crush with a stone, bruise by falling
[ŋɛpʂa ~ ɽɛpʂa]	

⁷ In Nepali, /ŋ/ is a marginal phoneme and occurs only infrequently in the informal register of the language.

<i>kuchipṇasa</i> [kutsʰipṇaʃa ~ kutsʰipṛaʃa]	to have a bad experience
<i>alaloṇoṇ</i> [alaloṇoṇ ~ alaloṛoṇ]	large bamboo mat used in death rituals into which a corpse is rolled
<i>aṇeṇsek</i> [aṇeṇ]ʃekʰ ~ aṛeṇ]ʃekʰ]	kidney
<i>kaṇṭu</i> [kaṇṭu ~ kaṛṭu]	neck, throat
<i>cicikoṇ</i> [tsitsikōṇ ~ tsitsikōṛ]	chopping block

The phoneme /n/ is attested in word-initial, syllable-initial, intervocalic and word-final or syllable-final positions. In general, older and monolingual Thangmi speakers realise /n/ as a voiced, alveolar continuant [n], while younger Thangmi speakers who are bilingual in Nepali pronounce /n/ as a voiced, dental nasal continuant [ɳ]. The two allophones exist in free variation:

<i>nembo</i> [nembo ~ ɳembo]	other person
<i>semni</i> [ʃemni ~ ʃemɳi]	a Tamang person
<i>chyunupuṭuk</i> [tsʰyunupuṭukʰ ~ tsʰyuɳupuṭukʰ]	protruding behind of a chicken
<i>yanatasa</i> [janataʃa ~ jaɳataʃa]	to deliver
<i>yante</i> [jaɳte ~ jaɳte]	hand-driven millstone, grindstone, quern
<i>akan</i> [akan ~ akaɳ]	barley, <i>Hordeum vulgare</i>

The phoneme /nh/ is a voiced, breathy alveolar continuant [n^h]. Younger Thangmi speakers who are bilingual in Nepali pronounce /nh/ as a voiced, breathy (or even murmured) dental nasal continuant [ɳ^h]. The two allophones exist in free variation and are attested in both dialects of Thangmi in word-initial position only, preceding vowels [a] and [u], and occurring only in lexical items indicating place, location or direction:

<i>nhabasa</i> [n ^h abaʂa ~ ɳ ^h abaʂa]	lower
<i>nhu-te</i> [n ^h uʔɛ ~ ɳ ^h uʔɛ]	over there (far and down)
<i>nhăiko</i> [n ^h ai̯ko ~ ɳ ^h ai̯ko]	lower storey [Sindhupālcok dialect]

The phoneme /m/ is a voiced, bilabial nasal continuant [m] which is attested in word-initial, syllable-initial, intervocalic and word-final or syllable-final positions:

<i>makarpapa</i> [makarpapa]	spider
<i>dokmaŋ</i> [dɔ̌kmaŋ]	Nepal pepper, prickly ash, <i>Zanthoxylum armatum</i>
<i>cime</i> [cime]	hair (on the scalp)
<i>cumsa</i> [cumʂa]	to seize, hold, grab, catch, grasp, clasp
<i>nem</i> [nem]	house

2.4 Glottal stop

The phoneme /ʔ/ is an energetically articulated glottal stop [ʔ] which is attested only in the Sindhupālcok dialect of Thangmi. While the phone is heard in the northernmost villages of Dolakhā in which Thangmi is spoken, the glottal stop /ʔ/ has phonemic status in Sindhupālcok only. The phoneme /ʔ/ is attested in intervocalic

and syllable-final positions only. In intervocalic position, the phoneme /ʔ/ is most commonly followed by a staccato echo vowel, as in the following five examples, all drawn from the Sindhupālcok dialect:

<i>asaʔasa</i> [aʃaʔaʃa]	to itch
<i>abeʔesa</i> [abeʔeʃa]	to carry a child on one's back
<i>jiʔisa</i> [dziʔiʃa]	to split in two
<i>loʔosa</i> [loʔoʃa]	to drain, pour out
<i>buʔusa</i> [buʔuʃa]	to cover, cover up, put a lid on a pot

There are, however, a number of examples of the phoneme /ʔ/ occurring in intervocalic position followed by a different vowel in the the Sindhupālcok dialect:

<i>cyaʔe</i> [tsjaʔe]	night
<i>haʔi</i> [haʔi]	how much, how many?
<i>aʔum</i> [aʔum]	egg
<i>kiʔuliŋ</i> [kiʔuliŋ]	bottom, buttocks

In a few cases, the phoneme /ʔ/ occurs in syllable-final position in polysyllabic lexical items. In these cases, non-glottalised articulations are rejected by speakers of the Sindhupālcok dialect:

<i>iʔbliŋ</i> [iʔbliŋ]	aright, right side up, right way up

<i>jaʔco</i> [dzaʔtso]	wheat, <i>Triticum sativum</i> , <i>Triticum aestivum</i>
<i>pecyəʔca</i> [petsjeʔtsa]	small, cramped (of a habitation or living place)
<i>amaʔsa</i> [amaʔʂa]	to beg

At first glance, word-final glottal stops which follow a vowel in the Sindhupālcok dialect appear to be allophones of final consonants, particularly when compared with cognate forms from the Dolakhā dialect in which these lexical items indeed possess final consonants, as in *akraʔ* [akraʔ] ‘inedible toad or frog’ (Sindhupālcok) versus *akrak* [akrakʰ] ‘inedible toad or frog’ (Dolakhā). However, this putative allophonic explanation must be discounted for a number of reasons. First, there is no systematic opposition between Dolakhā [-k] and Sindhupālcok [-ʔ], and a number of Sindhupālcok lexical forms contain the same final voiceless velar stop as recorded for Dolakhā. Second, final vowels may be glottalised in Sindhupālcok in instances when the cognate Dolakhā lexical form exhibits a word-final vowel. Third, speakers of the Sindhupālcok dialect of Thangmi reject final consonants in the place of a glottal stop and similarly reject glottal stops in the place of final /k/ and /t/.

<i>alaʔ</i>	small wooden or bamboo foot bridge [Sindhupālcok dialect]
<i>alak</i>	small wooden or bamboo foot bridge [Dolakhā dialect]
[alaʔ ~ alakʰ]	
<i>asariʔ</i>	taste [Sindhupālcok dialect]
<i>asare</i>	taste [Dolakhā dialect]
[aʂariʔ ~ aʂare]	
<i>asariʔ</i>	common fly [Sindhupālcok dialect]
<i>asareŋ</i>	common fly [Dolakhā dialect]
[aʂariʔ ~ aʂareŋ]	
<i>lonḍoʔ</i>	sternum, middle of chest [Sindhupālcok dialect]
<i>lonḍo</i>	sternum, middle of chest [Dolakhā dialect]
[lonḍoʔ ~ lonḍo]	

jinchiri? clitoris [Sindhupālcok dialect]
jinchiri clitoris [Dolakhā dialect]
 [dzɪntsʰiri? ~ dzɪntsʰiri]

In phonological monosyllables of the Sindhupālcok dialect of Thangmi, the final glottal stop /ʔ/ is articulated in an energetic manner which automatically triggers an echo of the preceding vowel upon release of the closure. The result of this automatically conditioned echo vowel is that phonological monosyllables with a final glottal stop /ʔ/ are phonetically disyllabic:⁸

ce? chestnut tree, *Castanopsis hystrix* [Sindhupālcok dialect]
ce chestnut tree, *Castanopsis hystrix* [Dolakhā dialect]
 [tseʔe ~ tse]

bo? inflorescence of maize [Sindhupālcok dialect]
bok inflorescence of maize or rice [Dolakhā dialect]
 [boʔo ~ bok]

2.5 Fricatives, trills and laterals

The Thangmi sound system contains one fricative /s/, one trill /r/ and one lateral /l/. The phoneme /s/ has two allophones which exist in free variation: a voiceless, lamino-alveolar, grooved fricative [ɕ] and a voiceless, palatal fricative [ç]. Younger Thangmi speakers who are also fluent in Nepali are more likely to articulate the phoneme /s/ as [ɕ] while older and monolingual Thangmi speakers tend towards a palatal articulation [ç]. The allophone [ç] is rejected in syllable-initial position following a consonant, as in *seksa* [ʃɛkɕa] and explicitly not *[ʃɛkʃa]. The phoneme /s/ is attested in word-initial, syllable-initial, intervocalic and word-final or syllable-final positions:

sempir ginger, *Zingiber officinale*
 [ɕempɪr ~ ʃempɪr]

sereksa to get up, wake up, arise
 [ɕɛɾɛkɕa ~ ʃɛɾɛkɕa]

⁸ Van Driem (1993a: 56) describes the same process for Dumi, in which the phonological monosyllable /boʔ/ ‘word, language’ is phonetically disyllabic [boʔo].

<i>amisa</i> [amiʃa ~ amiʃa]	to sleep
<i>ustok</i> [uʃtɔkʰ ~ uʃtɔkʰ]	spit, spittle, sputum, saliva
<i>citabas</i> [tsiʈabaʃ ~ tsiʈabaʃ]	day after tomorrow

The phoneme /r/ is a voiced, apico-alveolar trill or resonant [r] which is optionally released as a tap [ɾ] in intervocalic position. The phoneme /r/ is attested in word-initial, syllable-initial, intervocalic and word-final or syllable-final positions:

<i>raphil</i> [rapʰɪl]	tear from the eye (n.)
<i>gamra</i> [gamra]	molar, jaw
<i>bərma</i> [barma]	bouquet grass, <i>Thysanolaena agrestis</i>
<i>akar</i> [akar]	short-tailed Himalayan jungle cat, <i>Felis chaus</i>
<i>baraŋ</i> [baraŋ]	platform of boards or bamboo, shed, stall

The phoneme /l/ is a voiced, apico-alveolar, lateral approximant [l] which is attested in word-initial, syllable-initial, intervocalic and word-final or syllable-final positions:

<i>lembe</i> [lembe]	flat, bamboo winnowing tray
<i>sinlati</i> [ʃɪnlaʈi]	butterfly bush, <i>Buddleja (Buddleia) asiatica</i>
<i>calak</i> [tsalakʰ]	air potato, bitter air yam, <i>Dioscorea bulbifera</i>

duldul flying male of the white ant
[ɖulɖul]

hucil eagle-owl, *Bubo nipalensis*
[hucɪl]

2.6 Approximants

Thangmi contains three approximants or frictionless continuants: glottal /h/, alveolar /y/ and bilabial /w/. The phoneme /h/ is realised as a voiceless glottal approximant [h] in word-initial and syllable-initial position and as a breathy and voiced allophone [ɦ] in intervocalic position. The phoneme /h/ is attested in word-initial and intervocalic positions only:

hapsa to aim, fire, shoot, hunt
[hɑpɕa]

ahunsa to pick up (from the ground), pluck
[aɦunɕa]

In word-initial position, the phoneme /h/ often indicates a question word, as in:

hara what?
[hara]

hara-kăi what for, for what reason, why?
[hara-kɑi]

hani how many, how much?
[hani]

The phoneme /h/ is further attested in one reduplicative noun, in which it occurs both word-initially and syllable-initially:

haŋhaŋ steam
[haŋhaŋ]

Two instances of the phoneme /h/ are attested in combinations with other approximants and nasals, e.g. /hw/ and /hy/. The sequence /hwa/ occurs in only one lexical item of the Dolakhā dialect and two forms from the Sindhupālcok dialect of Thangmi:

hwaŋ-hwaŋ open, spacious, wide [Dolakhā dialect]
[hwaŋhwaŋ]

hwali four [Sindhupālcok dialect]
[hwali]

hwalŋa five [Sindhupālcok dialect]
[hwalŋa]

The sequence /hy/ is attested in both dialects in word-initial position only, preceding vowels [a] and [u], and in lexical items indicating place, location or direction:

hyaletcha to arrive [Sindhupālcok dialect]
[hjaletts^ha]

hya-te ~ hyu-te up there, over there
[hjaɽɛ ~ hjuɽɛ]

The phoneme /y/ is a voiced, lamino-palatal approximant [j] which is attested in word-initial and intervocalic positions:

yaŋ today
[jaŋ]

yuli needle
[juli]

uyu mouse
[uju]

paɽaya rice stalks once the paddy has been removed
[paɽaja]

The phoneme /y/ is also widely attested in both dialects as a post-consonantal offglide:

byeŋga a species of toad [Sindhupālcok dialect]
[byeŋga]

cyasa to eat
[tsjaɣa]

<i>ŋyal-ŋyal</i> [ŋjalŋjal]	soft, tender
<i>agyosa</i> [agjoʃa]	to call, cry, rumble
<i>ghyoksa</i> [gʰjɔkʃa]	to bark (of a dog)

The phoneme /w/ is a voiced, median, labial-velar approximant [w] which is attested in word-initial, syllable-initial and intervocalic positions:

<i>wakhe</i> [wakhe]	word, story, chat
<i>wa</i> [wa]	chicken, hen
<i>awa</i> [awa]	locally-grown tobacco [Sindhupālcok dialect]
<i>lawa</i> [lawa]	husband, boyfriend
<i>cawasa</i> [cawaʃa]	to walk, wander, roam

The phoneme /w/ is also widely attested in both dialects as a post-consonantal offglide following the unaspirated velar stops /k/ and /g/:

<i>kwăi</i> [kwai]	all root vegetables, particularly potatoes
<i>kwassa</i> [kwaʃsa]	to be enough, feed to the full, be stuffed
<i>gwi</i> [gwi]	thief, robber

gwaŋaŋiŋ pregnant female
[gwaŋaŋiŋ ~ gwaŋaŋiŋ]

2.7 Consonant minimal pairs

Some minimal pairs and near minimal pairs illustrating the distinctiveness of the consonant phonemes are given below:

2.7.1 Distinctiveness of voicing

/k/ vs. /g/	<i>koŋkolyaŋ</i> ‘bent, twisted’, <i>goŋkolyaŋ</i> ‘snaked, articulated in many places’; <i>koŋe</i> ‘stone wall’, <i>goŋe</i> ‘pubic hair’; <i>kari</i> ‘song’, <i>gare</i> ‘rooster’; <i>kaŋ</i> ‘boil, pimple’, <i>gaŋsa</i> ‘to dry’; <i>bagale</i> ‘peach, <i>Prunus persica</i> ’, <i>bakal-cakal</i> ‘half-cooked, half-raw’.
/kh/ vs. /gh/	<i>khaŋou</i> ‘door’; <i>ghaŋău</i> ~ <i>ghaŋeu</i> ‘burp’; <i>khirimsa</i> ‘to braid, twist, entwine’, <i>ghiritsa</i> ‘to scratch, peel off’; <i>agha?</i> ‘crow, raven’, <i>akho</i> ‘grasshopper’.
/t/ vs. /d/	<i>teksa</i> ‘to tear cloth or paper, lacerate’, <i>deksa</i> ‘to have enough sleep’; <i>tiŋsa</i> ‘to close, shut’, <i>diŋsa</i> ‘to comb someone’s hair’; <i>aŋit</i> ‘the whistling thrush’, <i>aŋipsa</i> ‘to suckle on a mother’s milk’.
/th/ vs. /dh/	<i>thoka</i> ‘large bracelet’, <i>dhokse</i> ‘large bamboo container or basket’.
/c/ vs. /j/	<i>calak</i> ‘air potato, <i>Dioscorea bulbifera</i> ’, <i>jalat</i> ‘Nepalese hog plum, <i>Choerospondias axillaris</i> ’; <i>ceksa</i> ‘to bite, sting’, <i>jeksa</i> ‘to clean, wash’; <i>cisa</i> ‘to throw, throw away’, <i>jiŋsa</i> ‘to chop, split in two’; <i>cyokpa</i> ‘a small bird’, <i>jiyoksa</i> ‘to be burnt’; <i>cyou</i> ‘fat, grease’, <i>jiyousa</i> ‘to burn, roast’.
/ch/ vs. /jh/	<i>chinik</i> ‘chutney made of the edible perilla seed, <i>Perilla frutescens</i> ’, <i>jhintyak</i> ‘catapult, trap’; <i>chyapaŋ</i> ‘ritual pollution related to death’, <i>jhyaŋtuŋ</i> ‘a vessel used to carry burning coals’.
/t/ vs. /d/	<i>taŋsa</i> ‘to be happy, smile’, <i>daŋsa</i> ‘to look for, search’; <i>tapsa</i> ‘to beat or play the drum’, <i>dapsa</i> ‘to measure, fill’; <i>ti</i> ‘honey’, <i>di</i> ‘one’.

/th/ vs. /dh/	<i>thapu</i> ‘fireplace, hearth’, <i>dhapre</i> ‘Indian aloe, <i>Aloe vera</i> ’; <i>thumsa</i> ‘to mark, stain, stick’, <i>dhumba</i> ‘mist, fog, cloud’.
/p/ vs. /b/	<i>pampanek</i> ‘butterfly’, <i>bampre</i> ‘rib, chest’; <i>paṅku</i> ‘water’, <i>baṅkal</i> ‘stomach, belly’; <i>pene</i> ‘vagina’, <i>bena</i> ‘brown oak of the Himalaya, <i>Quercus semecarpifolia</i> ’; <i>pisa</i> ‘to give’, <i>bisa</i> ‘to enter, go inside’.
/ph/ vs. /bh/	<i>phetelek</i> ‘watery, moist’, <i>bheterek</i> ‘bamboo mat’; <i>phinphin</i> ‘smooth, flat, even’; <i>bhimbira</i> ‘termite’.

2.7.2 Distinctiveness of aspiration and breathy articulation

/k/ vs. /kh/	<i>kari</i> ‘song’, <i>kharu</i> ‘old’; <i>keret</i> ‘red, orange’, <i>kherte</i> ‘near, close’; <i>ken</i> ‘cooked vegetable curry’, <i>khen</i> ‘face’; <i>koṇ</i> ‘trough’, <i>khonṇa</i> ‘a small basket for carrying fish’.
/g/ vs. /gh/	<i>gaṇa</i> ‘spherical earthenware jug, large mud jar’, <i>ghaṇṇu</i> ‘burp’; <i>goṅgiṇ</i> ‘a praying mantis’, <i>ghoṇṇoṇ</i> ‘loose fitting, wide, baggy’.
/t/ vs. /tʰ/	<i>ṭaṇsa</i> ‘to open’, <i>tʰaṇsa</i> ‘to discover a god’; <i>ṭasa</i> ‘to tease, deride, joke, harass’, <i>tʰasa</i> ‘to scrape off, peel off, strip off’; <i>ṭesa</i> ‘to remove corn cobs from the stalk’, <i>tʰesa</i> ‘to displace water’.
/ḍ/ vs. /ḍh/	<i>ḍoṇḍoṇ</i> ‘the lower leaves or outer covering of a bamboo plant’, <i>ḍholoṇ-ḍholoṇ</i> ‘being wide in circumference or diameter’.
/c/ vs. /ch/	<i>ca</i> ‘son’, <i>cha</i> ‘salt’; <i>caṇ</i> ‘the chir pine, Himalayan long-leaved pine, <i>Pinus roxburghii</i> ’, <i>chaṇ</i> ‘wicker or bamboo basket to carry a baby’; <i>ciniksa</i> ‘to impregnate, conceive’, <i>chinik</i> ‘chutney made of the edible perilla seed, <i>Perilla frutescens</i> ’.
/j/ vs. /jh/	<i>jinchiri</i> ‘clitoris’, <i>jhintyak</i> ‘catapult’.
/t/ vs. /tʰ/	<i>tamsa</i> ‘to loose’, <i>thamsa</i> ‘to insert, add, put in’; <i>taṇsa</i> ‘to be happy, smile’, <i>thaṇsa</i> ‘to be healthy’; <i>tasa</i> ‘to boil’, <i>thasa</i> ‘to be’.

/d/ vs. /dh/	<i>dǎi</i> ‘towards’, <i>dha</i> ‘he, she, it’; <i>dabsa</i> ‘to measure, fill’, <i>dhabasa</i> ‘on the other side’.
/n/ vs. /nh/	<i>nabi</i> ‘downhill, downward’, <i>nhabasa</i> ‘lower’.
/p/ vs. /ph/	<i>pakpak</i> ‘cone or pod of the plantain flower’, <i>phakphak</i> ‘dry flour’; <i>peksa</i> ‘to strip bamboo’, <i>pheksa</i> ‘to tear something apart, split’.
/b/ vs. /bh/	<i>betre</i> ‘bamboo mat’, <i>bhere</i> ‘the wild cherry tree, <i>Prunus puddum</i> ’; <i>buthuru</i> ‘muzzle (for cows, buffaloes, goats)’, <i>bhutbhute</i> ‘the white-hot centre of a fire’.

2.7.3 Distinctiveness of nasals

/m/ vs. /ŋ/	<i>khoma</i> ‘the feathery inflorescence of the millet plant’, <i>khonja</i> ‘a small basket for carrying fish’; <i>maŋ</i> ‘body’, <i>ŋaŋ</i> ‘and’; <i>myuŋ</i> ‘cloth, clothes, material’, <i>ŋyu</i> ‘brain’; <i>thamsa</i> ‘to insert, put in’, <i>thaŋsa</i> ‘to be healthy, be able’.
/m/ vs. /n/	<i>mama</i> ‘father’s sister’s husband’, <i>nama</i> ‘with, together’; <i>mansa</i> ‘to knead’, <i>namsa</i> ‘to smell’.
/m/ vs. /ŋ/	<i>mesa</i> ‘water buffalo’, <i>nesa</i> ‘to hit, strike’; <i>miŋ</i> ‘cloth, clothes, material’, <i>ŋiŋ</i> ‘stone, rock’.
/n/ vs. /ŋ/	<i>nasa</i> ‘to put’, <i>ŋasa</i> ‘to be infested with lice’; <i>nesa</i> ‘to grind, pound’, <i>nesa</i> ‘to hit, strike’.
/n/ vs. /ŋ/	<i>thansa</i> ‘to move, transfer, change’, <i>thaŋsa</i> ‘to discover a god’; <i>nasa</i> ‘to put, place, position’, <i>ŋasa</i> ‘to say, tell, inquire, order, ask’.
/ŋ/ vs. /ŋ/	<i>ŋasa</i> ‘to say, tell, inquire, order, ask’, <i>ŋasa</i> ‘to be infested with lice’; <i>ŋyu</i> ‘brain’, <i>ŋu</i> ‘later’.

2.7.4 Distinctiveness of other consonants

/s/ vs. /r/ vs. /l/	<i>sasa</i> ‘vein, tendon, ligament’, <i>rasa</i> ‘to come’, <i>lasa</i> ‘Indian rhododendron, <i>Melastoma malabathricum</i> ’; <i>sisa</i> ‘to die’, <i>rise</i> ‘the tree, <i>Maesa chisia</i> ’, <i>lisa</i> ‘to scatter, broadcast’; <i>kosa</i> ‘bone’, <i>korsa</i> ‘to weed with a hoe’, <i>kolsa</i> ‘to add the leftover millet or maize paste from a previous meal to a new pot of hot water in order to reuse it and prepare a new meal’.

<i>/w/</i> vs. <i>/y/</i> vs. <i>/h/</i>	<i>was</i> ‘to plough’, <i>ya</i> ‘to feed, give food’, <i>has</i> ‘to fall from a height’; <i>wa</i> ‘chicken, hen’, <i>ya</i> ‘ritual word for giant taro, <i>Alocasia</i> <i>indicum</i> ’; <i>awa</i> ‘locally-grown tobacco’, <i>ayu</i> ‘pine-marten’, <i>ahe</i> ‘very, a lot, much’.

3. Phonotactics, syllables and the Thangmi word

3.1 Stress

In Thangmi, stress is non-distinctive, prosodic and relatively unpronounced. In glossary entries in the lexicon, stress is indicated by a stress mark ['] before the stressed syllable, but only in instances when it is not predictable. Unless otherwise indicated, all Thangmi words are stressed on the first syllable. The only deviations from this rule are Thangmi verb forms composed of three syllables or more, in which the stress falls on the second syllable:

<i>ca</i> [tʰsa]	son [one syllable]
<i>bok</i> [bɔkʰ]	maize or rice inflorescence [one syllable]
<i>hara</i> [hara]	what? [two syllables]
<i>akyarak</i> [akʰarakʰ]	bulb of an arum lily, <i>Arum campanulatum</i> [three syllables]
<i>bosa</i> [boʂa]	to grow (of crops) [two syllables]
<i>kerepsa</i> [keʰrepʂa]	to cry, weep [three syllables]
<i>cinampasa</i> [tsiʰnampaʂa]	to cause to amuse, make play [four syllables]

Reflexive verbs follow a slightly different pattern with regard to word and syllable stress. Since the reflexive marker <-si> (REF) is never stressed, the stress always falls on the preceding syllable, as in the examples below:

<i>phaksisa</i>	to eat by throwing a mouthful at a time into
[p ^h akʃiʂa]	one's mouth [three syllables]

<i>thanṇaraṇsisa</i>	to lie on one's back without sleeping
[thanṇa'raṇʃiʂa]	[five syllables]

Inflected verb forms do not deviate from the above rules, as illustrated by the examples below:

<i>boy-an</i>	it grew
[ˈbojan]	[two syllables]

<i>kerep-ṇa-n</i>	I cried
[ke'repṇan]	[three syllables]

<i>cinampay-eṇ-du</i>	they are made to play
[tsi'nampajɛṇdu]	[five syllables]

<i>phak-si-du</i>	s/he's eating by throwing a mouthful at a time
[p ^h akʃiɖu]	into his/her mouth [three syllables]

<i>thanṇaraṇ-si-ṇa-du</i>	I am lying on my back without sleeping
[thanṇa'raṇʃiṇaɖu]	[six syllables]

3.2 Syllable structure

The phonological word consists of one or more syllables, the borders of which are determined by the rules of Thangmi syllable structure and type. The canonical syllable structure observed for Thangmi lexical items may be schematised as follows:⁹

$$(C_i) (G) V (C_f)$$

A syllable may consist of a single vowel phoneme (V):

⁹ Loans from Nepali may deviate from this schema.

<i>ǎi</i>	pus	(V)
[aɪ]		

<i>ǎu</i>	mango	(V)
[au]		

A syllable may also be formed by a consonant and a vowel (C_iV), in which (C_i) is the initial and optional opening segment of a syllable consisting of a single consonant. All Thangmi consonant phonemes listed in Table 41 above, apart from the glottal stop /ʔ/, may occur as the syllabic onset and are thus attested in initial position:

<i>ca</i>	son	(C _i V)
[tsa]		

<i>ni</i>	we, honey	(C _i V)
[ni]		

<i>to</i>	he, she, it	(C _i V)
[tʰo]		

A syllable may consist of a consonant, a vowel and another consonant (C_iVC_f), in which (C_f) is the final and optional closing segment of a syllable. This coda always consists of a single consonant. Of the Thangmi consonant phonemes listed in Table 41 above, 15 are attested in final position as the coda of a syllable: /p/, /t/, /c/, /tʰ/, /k/, /b/, /g/, /m/, /n/, /ŋ/, /ʔ/, /s/, /r/ and /l/, some examples of which are given below:

<i>doŋ</i>	intestines	(C _i VC _f)
[dʰoŋ]		

<i>ban</i>	friend	(C _i VC _f)
[ban]		

<i>dol</i>	valley, deep place	(C _i VC _f)
[dʰol]		

<i>lak</i>	hand, arm	(C _i VC _f)
[lakʰ]	[Dolakhā]	

<i>laʔ</i>	hand, arm	(C _i VC _f)
[laʔ]	[Sindhupālcok]	

<i>mus</i> [muʃ]	body hair, head hair	(C _i VC _f)
<i>pur</i> [pur]	nipple	(C _i VC _f)
<i>rot</i> [rɔ̃t]	landslide	(C _i VC _f)
<i>sem</i> [ʃɛm]	a Tamang [Sindhupālcok]	(C _i VC _f)

A syllable may also consist of a consonant and a vowel (C_iV) which are separated by a glide (G). The phonemes /l/, /r/, /y/ and /w/ occur as post-consonantal glides (G). The phoneme /l/ is attested as a post-consonantal glide following /b/, /g/, /k/ and /p/ only:

<i>bliṇsa</i> [bliṇsa]	to reverse, overturn
<i>glensa</i> [glɛṇsa]	to be left over (of food)
<i>kleṇ thasa</i> [kleṇ tʰaṣa]	to be full [Dolakhā dialect]
<i>pleṇsa</i> [pleṇsa]	to become full, be filled [Sindhupālcok dialect]

The phoneme /r/ is attested as a post-consonantal glide (G) following /b/, /d/, /k/, /kh/, /p/, /s/ and /t/:

<i>broṇ</i> [brɔ̃ṇ]	mildew
<i>droʔosa</i> [d̥rɔʔɔṣa]	to run, flee [Sindhupālcok dialect]
<i>krepsa</i> [kreṗsa]	to cry, weep

<i>khrimsa</i> [k ^h rimʂa]	to twist, braid, entwine
<i>priŋ</i> [priŋ]	outside
<i>srăi</i> [ʂrai]	a species of small tree, <i>Eurya japonica</i>
<i>traba</i> [traba]	ashes

The phoneme /y/ is attested as a post-consonantal glide (G) following /b/, /c/, /ch/, /d/, /g/, /k/, /kh/, /j/, /l/, /m/, /n/, /ŋ/, /p/, /r/, /s/, /t/, /t̪/ and /tʰ/, some examples of which are given below:

<i>cyasa</i> [tsjaʂa]	to eat
<i>chyasa</i> [ts ^h jaʂa]	to be pulled off, scraped off
<i>dyaksa</i> [djakʂa]	to mature, ripen
<i>gyal-gyalti</i> [gjalgjal̥ti]	fecund, highly fertile
<i>kyan̥</i> [kjan̥]	needle wood tree, <i>Schima wallichii</i>
<i>khyaksa</i> [k ^h jakʂa]	to fall from above and get trapped or stuck
<i>lyun̥</i> [ljun̥]	stone, rock
<i>myun̥</i> [mjun̥]	cloth, clothes, material

<i>ɲyu</i> [ɲju]	brain
<i>ɬyaŋ</i> [ɬjaŋ]	then, well, and
<i>ɬyaŋ-ɬyaŋ</i> [ɬjaŋɬjaŋ]	naked

The phoneme /w/ is attested as a post-consonantal glide (G) following /g/ and /k/ only:

<i>gwi</i> [gwi]	thief, robber
<i>gwaŋiŋiŋ</i> [gwaŋiŋiŋ]	pregnant female
<i>kwǎi</i> [kwai]	root vegetables, particularly potatoes

3.3 Consonant clusters and geminate consonants

Thangmi does not permit sequences of consonants in syllable-final position. Loan words from English which have final nasal consonant clusters, such as *think*, would be rendered in Thangmi as /thiŋ/ [tʰiŋ]. In syllable-initial position, the only consonant clusters attested are those in which the second phoneme is either /l/, /r/, /y/ or /w/. These four consonant phonemes then function as post-consonantal glides, as described in Section §3.2 above. At syllable breaks in Thangmi words, consonant clusters are attested in so far as they involve the closed coda of one syllable and a consonant initial in the following segment, as in:

<i>syap̣ta</i> [sjaɸta]	a species of small bird	(C _i GVC _f C _i V)
<i>aɖipsa</i> [aɖɪpsa]	to suckle (vi.)	(V C _i VC _f C _i V)
<i>tamtam</i> [taɸtaɸta]	white clay	(C _i VC _f C _i VC _f)

Gemination is the adjacent clustering of identical consonants within a phonological word. The phonetic value of geminate consonants is discerned to be different to single consonants on the basis of clearly audible length. The consonants /p/, /t/, /ʈ/, /k/, /n/, /ŋ/, /s/ and /l/ are attested as geminates in native Thangmi lexical items:

<i>puppap</i> [puppap]	sweepings
<i>botton</i> [bɔʈʈɔn]	thorny bamboo, <i>Bambusa arundinacea</i>
<i>gyaʈʈa</i> [gjaʈʈa]	loincloth
<i>ukkar</i> [ukkar]	wild cush-cush, yam, <i>Dioscorea deltoidea</i>
<i>hen-no</i> [henno]	take!
<i>syuŋŋan</i> [ʃjuŋŋan]	garuga, <i>Garuga pinnata</i>
<i>hassa</i> [haʃʃa]	to fall from a height, fall down (and not die)
<i>kulla</i> [kulla]	ear

On account of the phonological composition of the verbal agreement suffixes in Thangmi, geminate sequences of the consonant phoneme /ŋ/ are widely attested:

<i>cijyaŋ-ŋa-du</i> [tsidzaŋŋadu]	I speak
<i>waŋ-ŋa-n</i> [waŋŋan]	I came up

The Sindhupālcok dialect of Thangmi has one single example of a lexical form in which the doubling of a consonant (but then aspirated) leads to a difference in meaning:

<i>huca</i>	baby, child, infant
[hutsa]	
<i>huccha</i>	baby, child, infant when being spoken or
[hutsts ^h a]	referred to in a derogatory manner

4. Prosodic lengthening

Certain Thangmi vowels are lengthened for emphasis or as the result of bearing the prosodic accent of a clause or sentence. These lengthened vowels occur primarily in adjectives, adverbs and interjections when the speaker intends to convey an intensified feeling or emotion. Examples include *ho to* (yes that) ‘yes, that one’ from Nepali *ho* ‘yes’ and Thangmi *to* ‘he, she, it (distal)’ which is rendered as [ho: to:] and *atthe apraca* ‘very good, excellent’ which is often pronounced with lengthened initial vowels on each word, as in [a:tt^he a:pratsa]. When giving directions, older Thangmi speakers use vowel lengthening to indicate relative distance and the difficulty of the terrain, as in *dhu-te hen-ko māi-Ø-du* (over.there-LOC go-ADH must-SAS-NPT) ‘you must go over there’, in which [d^hu] is often rendered as [d^hu:] to underscore the distance.

5. The phonology of loans from Nepali

On account of the copious borrowing of grammatical and lexical elements from Nepali, a few words about these loans should be included in this chapter on the Thangmi sound system. There is considerable variation among Thangmi speakers in the rendering of Nepali forms, with younger and bilingual Thangmi speakers usually articulating Nepali words with standard and received Nepali pronunciation, while older Thangmi speakers pronounce Nepali less perfectly. Moreover, as is apparent from the overview of Thangmi phonemes in Table 40 of this chapter, Thangmi phonology does not differ greatly from Nepali phonology, and the inventory of consonant phonemes is near identical.

The most immediately audible difference between Thangmi speakers articulating Nepali and the speech of native Nepali speakers is vowel quality and length. Many Thangmi speakers, even those with a high level of conversational fluency in Nepali, render Nepali अ as a short, open, unrounded, front vowel [a] and not as a short, half-open, unrounded back vowel [a ~ ə] which would be the correct

Nepali pronunciation. This is particularly significant since Thangmi has a similar, albeit infrequently occurring phoneme: the short, open, unrounded, back vowel [ɑ ~ ʌ] /ǎ/. The result is that Nepali अ [ɑ] and आ [a] are both pronounced as [a] by Thangmi speakers, making Nepali *ma* ‘I’ and *mā* ‘at, in’ appear homophonous since both are rendered as [ma]. This phonological contraction has not gone unnoticed by native speakers of Nepali who live in otherwise predominantly Thangmi villages. Non-Thangmi mother tongue Nepali speakers imitate Nepali-speaking ethnic Thangmi by mimicking their inability to disambiguate Nepali अ [ɑ] and आ [a].

Another noticeable feature of Nepali as spoken by most Thangmi is the tendency to diphthongise clusters of Nepali vowels, as described in Section §1.3 above. Two co-occurring monophthongs in Nepali give rise to a diphthong in Thangmi, as in *gāī* ‘cow’, which is disyllabic in Nepali but which becomes a monosyllabic diphthong when articulated by Thangmi speakers as *gǎi* [gɑi]; or the trisyllabic Nepali *thakāī* ‘weariness, fatigue’ which becomes disyllabic when rendered by most Thangmi as *thakǎi* [tʰakɑi].

The final distinctive feature of Nepali loans in Thangmi relates to borrowed verbs. Nepali causative verb forms, such as *paḍhāunu* ‘to teach (lit. to cause to learn)’ and their standard non-causative transitive or intransitive forms, such as *paḍhnu* ‘to read, study’, are slightly reworked when borrowed into Thangmi. Causative verb forms from Nepali lose the causative and infinitive elements <-āunu> and receive <-ǎisa> in Thangmi, as in Thangmi *paḍhǎisa* [paḍʰɑɪʂa] ‘to teach’ from Nepali *paḍhāunu* ‘to teach’. Non-causative verb forms which Thangmi speakers borrow from Nepali undergo a slightly different process: the Nepali infinitive suffix <-nu> is replaced with Thangmi <-ǎisisa> (*ǎi* + REF + INF), as in Nepali *paḍhnu* ‘to read, study’ and Thangmi *paḍhǎisisa* [paḍʰɑɪʂɪʂa] ‘to read, study’.

6. The orthography

The orthography I have adopted for transcribing Thangmi follows the phonological value of words and syllables. As discussed in Section §3.1 above, stress is not indicated unless it deviates from the expected norm. In keeping with widespread orthographical conventions, I have opted to use the character *ǎ* to represent the infrequently occurring short, open, unrounded, back vowel [ɑ], in order to distinguish it from *a* [a]. In large part this orthographical choice has been motivated by a limitation of computer typography for representing the Times font: when italicised, the regular character **a** loses its head loop and becomes *a*. This change is frustrating to linguists, since [a] is a different vowel to [ɑ], whether rendered in Roman or cursive script.

The staccato vowel following /ʔ/ from the Sindhupālcok dialect of Thangmi is always indicated in the orthography, as in *loʔosa* [lɔʔɔsa] ‘to drain, pour’. Word-internal morpheme boundaries are indicated with hyphens, as in *hen-sa* [hensa] (go-INF) ‘to go’. Hyphenation is also used to separate two phoneme symbols which might otherwise be read as the digraph for another phoneme, as in *hik-hiksa* ‘to hiccough’, for which the pronunciation is [hikhiksa] and certainly not *[hik^hiksa]. Hyphens are further used to separate the components of reduplicative, rhyming and onomatopoeic adjectival forms, as in *ʃyanʃ-ʃyanʃ* [tʃaŋtʃaŋ] ‘naked’, but not for nouns such as *puppap* [puppap] ‘sweepings’.

When they form part of a glossed and translated example, loan words from Nepali are transcribed according to the local pronunciation provided by the speaker. Borrowed forms with an identical meaning in the source language are indicated by italicising the English gloss, as in Thangmi *begläi* ~ *begale* ‘other, another’ from Nepali *beglo* ‘other’. Naturalised loan words or borrowed forms with a variant indigenous meaning, such as Thangmi *guru* ‘shaman’ (from Indo-Aryan *guru* ‘spiritual guide, mentor, teacher’), Thangmi *name* ‘name’ (from Indo-Aryan *nām* ‘name’) and Thangmi *dese* ‘village’ (from Indo-Aryan *deś* ‘place, quarter, region, province, country, nation’), are not italicised in the English gloss.

CHAPTER 4

MORPHOPHONOLOGY

The morphophonological regularities which are attested throughout the Thangmi language, or within a defined grammatical category, are the topic of this short chapter. While the actual realisations of specific morphemes are analysed in the following chapters of this grammar, they are discussed here only if their morphophonological forms are conditioned by factors which appear to be widespread throughout the Thangmi language. In line with established convention, morphemes and allomorphs are represented between morpheme brackets, as in <-si> (REF). Such a form is considered to be the underlying representation which may then undergo environmentally conditioned modifications. A phonetic form is represented in square brackets, as in [ʃi], and a phonologically correct representation is italicised with no brackets, as in *si*.

1. Remnants of a liquid-nasal alternation

Thangmi displays the remnants of what may be a defunct liquid-nasal alternation. Unlike Yamphu, which still attests an alternation of liquid initials in suffixes and auxiliary verbs (Rutgers 1998: 40), Thangmi retains a mere handful of examples of a system which may once have been more productive. The four instances of liquid-nasal variation attested in modern spoken Thangmi show an alternation between the voiced, apico-alveolar approximant /l/ [l] and the voiced, retroflex nasal continuant /ŋ/ [ŋ], as shown below:

<lyuŋ ~ liŋ ~ ɲiŋ>	stone, rock
<kili ~ kiŋi>	faeces, excrement, shit
<lukumbasya ~ ɲukumbasya>	behind, back
<lore ~ ɲoneŋ>	jackal

While the alternation of /l/ and /ŋ/ is most commonly heard in the forms shown above, older monolingual Thangmi speakers use /l/ and /ŋ/ interchangeably in scores of native Thangmi words. In particular, popular alternations include <lu ~ ɲu> ‘later, after’ and <lumsa ~ ɲumsa> ‘to sink into water’ (both Sindhupālcok dialect). These alternates are rejected by younger speakers.

2. Assimilation

Verb stems and nouns that end in a voiced, velar nasal [ŋ] are morphophonologically ‘weak’. This weakness entails that under certain conditions, the segment does not retain its regular phonological identity but assimilates to the segments that follow, bringing about a regular alternation in the verb stem or nominal final. Before a short, mid-open, unrounded front vowel /e/ [ɛ], a voiced, velar nasal final is subject to regressive assimilation for place of articulation. The result is a palatalised /ny/ [ɲ], as in the following five examples:

wany-eŋ-du they’re coming up from below
[waɲeŋɖu]
<waŋ-eŋ-du>
come.from.below-pAS-NPT

dany-eŋ-no they sought
[ɖaɲeŋno]
<daŋ-eŋ-no>
seek-pAS-3→3/PT

lony-eŋ-ŋa-n they did [it] to me
[loɲeŋŋan]
<loŋ-eŋ-ŋa-n>
do-pAS-1s-PT

nany-e you (singular) (ERG)
[naɲɛ]
<naŋ-e>
you(s)-ERG

su-bany-e who (plural) (ERG)
[sɯbaɲɛ]
<su-baŋ-e>
who-Pp-ERG

This assimilation is represented by the following rule:

$$\Sigma \text{ /}\eta\text{ /} \quad \rightarrow \quad \Sigma \text{ /}\eta\text{y /} \quad / \quad \_ \text{ /}\epsilon\text{ /}$$

3. The morphophonology of intervocalic approximants

When followed by a vowel-initial verbal agreement suffix, Thangmi open-stem verbs are realised with an intervocalic glide, either /h/, /y/ or /w/, an example of which is *amiy-Ø-an* (sleep-sAS-3S/PT) 'he/she/it slept', from *ami-sa* 'to sleep'. The rules governing each vowel cluster combination are presented alongside illustrative examples below. The rule governing a vowel-initial verbal agreement suffix following an open-stem verb ending with a short, open, unrounded, front vowel [a] is as follows:

$$\Sigma /a/ \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \Sigma /ah/ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \_ /a/ \\ \_ /o/ \\ \_ /u/ \end{array} \right\} \\ \Sigma /ay/ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \_ /e/ \\ \_ /i/ \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right\}$$

For the rule

$$\Sigma /a/ \rightarrow \Sigma /ah/ \quad / \quad \_ /a/$$

examples include:

<i>thah-an</i>	he/she/it became
[tʰafian]	
<tha-Ø-an>	
be-sAS-3S/PT	

<i>cawah-an</i>	he/she/it walked
[tsawafian]	
<cawa-Ø-an>	
walk-sAS-3S/PT	

For the rule

$$\Sigma /a/ \rightarrow \Sigma /ah/ \quad / \quad \_ /o/$$

examples include:

ŋah-o! say it!
 [ŋaɦio]
 <ŋa-o>
 say-s→3/IMP

tortah-o! leave it!
 [tɔɾtaɦio]
 <torta-o>
 leave-s→3/IMP

For the rule

$$\Sigma /a/ \rightarrow \Sigma /ah/ \quad / \quad \_ /u/$$

examples include:

ŋah-u-n-uŋ I said
 [ŋaɦununŋ]
 <ŋa-u-n-uŋ>
 say-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT

cyah-u-no he/she/it ate
 [tsjaɦuno]
 <cya-Ø-u-no>
 eat-sAS-3P-3→3/PT

For the rule

$$\Sigma /a/ \rightarrow \Sigma /ay/ \quad / \quad \_ /e/$$

examples include:

ŋay-eŋ-du they say
 [ŋajɛŋdu]
 <ŋa-eŋ-du>
 say-pAS-NPT

usyay-eŋ-an he/she/it danced
 [uɕjaɛŋan]
 <usya-eŋ-an>
 dance-pAS-3S/PT

For the rule

$$\Sigma /a/ \rightarrow \Sigma /ay/ \quad / \quad \_ /i/$$

examples include:

<i>ray-i-n</i>	we came
[rajɪn]	
<ra-i-n>	
come.from.level-1pPS-PT	
<i>thay-i-du</i>	we are
[tʰajɪdu]	
<tha-i-du>	
be-1pPS-NPT	

The rule governing a vowel-initial verbal agreement suffix following an open-stem verb ending with a short, mid-open, unrounded front vowel [ɛ] is as follows:

$$\Sigma /e/ \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \Sigma /ey/ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \_ /a/ \\ \_ /e/ \\ \_ /i/ \end{array} \right\} \\ \Sigma /eh/ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \_ /u/ \end{array} \right\} \\ \Sigma /ew/ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \_ /o/ \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right\}$$

For the rule

$$\Sigma /e/ \rightarrow \Sigma /ey/ \quad / \quad \_ /a/$$

an example is:

<i>ikhey-an</i>	it crowed
[ikʰɛjan]	
<ikhe-Ø-an>	
crow-sAS-3S/PT	

For the rule

$$\Sigma /e/ \rightarrow \Sigma /ey/ \quad / \quad \_ /e/$$

an example is:

<i>ney-eη-to-le</i>	having ground
[nejeŋtole]	
<ne-eη-to-le>	
grind-pAS-TPP-PCL	

For the rule

$$\Sigma /e/ \rightarrow \Sigma /ey/ \quad / \quad \_ /i/$$

an example is:

<i>ney-i-n</i>	you/he/they beat us
[nejin]	
<ne-i-n>	
beat-1pPS-PT	

For the rule

$$\Sigma /e/ \rightarrow \Sigma /eh/ \quad / \quad \_ /u/$$

an example is:

<i>koṭeh-u-du</i>	he/she/it cuts
[koṭeɦuḍu]	
<koṭe-Ø-u-du>	
cut-sAS-3P-NPT	

For the rule

$$\Sigma /e/ \rightarrow \Sigma /ew/ \quad / \quad \_ /o/$$

an example is:

<i>sew-o!</i>	taste it!
[sewo]	
<se-o>	
taste-s→3/IMP	

The rule governing a vowel-initial verbal agreement suffix following an open-stem verb ending with a short, unrounded, high front vowel [i] is shown below:

$$\Sigma /i/ \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \Sigma /iy/ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \_ /a/ \\ \_ /e/ \\ \_ /i/ \\ \_ /o/ \end{array} \right\} \\ \Sigma /ih \sim iy/ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \_ /u/ \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right\}$$

For the rule

$$\Sigma /i/ \rightarrow \Sigma /iy/ \quad / \quad \_ /a/$$

an example is:

amiy-an he/she/it slept
[amijan]
<ami-Ø-an>
sleep-sAS-3S/PT

For the rule

$$\Sigma /i/ \rightarrow \Sigma /iy/ \quad / \quad \_ /e/$$

an example is:

piy-eη-no they gave
[pijeηno]
<pi-eη-no>
give-pAS-3→3/PT

For the rule

$$\Sigma /i/ \rightarrow \Sigma /iy/ \quad / \quad \_ /i/$$

an example is:

ariy-i-n we were afraid
 [arijn]
 <ari-i-n>
 be.afraid-1pPS-PT

For the rule

$$\Sigma /i/ \rightarrow \Sigma /iy/ \quad / \quad \_ /o/$$

an example is:

ciy-o! throw it away!
 [tsijo]
 <ci-o>
 throw.away-s→3/IMP

For the following rule, the glides /ih/ and /iy/ exist in free variation, and are both equally attested in open-stem verb forms in allegro Thangmi speech. For the rule

$$\Sigma /i/ \rightarrow \Sigma /ih \sim iy/ \quad / \quad \_ /u/$$

Examples include:

nih-u-n-un ~ *niy-u-n-un* I saw
 [nifunun ~ nijunun]
 <ni-u-n-un>
 see-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT

pih-Ø-u-no ~ *piy-Ø-u-no* he/she/it gave
 [pifuno ~ pijuno]
 <pi-Ø-u-no>
 give-sAS-3P-3→3/PT

The rule governing a vowel-initial verbal agreement suffix following an open-stem verb ending with a short, mid-closed, rounded, back vowel [o] is shown on the following page:

$$\Sigma /o/ \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \Sigma /oy/ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \_ /e/ \\ \_ /i/ \end{array} \right\} \\ \Sigma /oh/ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \_ /o/ \\ \_ /u/ \end{array} \right\} \\ \Sigma /ow/ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \_ /a/ \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right\}$$

For the rule

$$\Sigma /o/ \rightarrow \Sigma /oy/ \quad / \quad \_ /e/$$

an example is:

yoy-eŋ-no they looked at [something]
 [jojeŋno]
 <yoy-eŋ-no>
 look.at-pAS-3→3/PT

For the rule

$$\Sigma /o/ \rightarrow \Sigma /oy/ \quad / \quad \_ /i/$$

an example is:

po-y-i-n you/he/they chased us
 [pojɪn]
 <po-i-n>
 chase-1pPS-PT

For the rule

$$\Sigma /o/ \rightarrow \Sigma /oh/ \quad / \quad \_ /o/$$

an example is:

toh-o! dig!
 [toɦio]
 <to-o>
 dig-s→3/IMP

For the rule

$$\Sigma /o/ \rightarrow \Sigma /oh/ \quad / \quad \_ /u/$$

an example is:

<i>yoh-u-du</i>	he/she/it looks at [something]
[joɦuɖu]	
<yo-Ø-u-du>	
look.at-sAS-3P-NPT	

For the rule

$$\Sigma /o/ \rightarrow \Sigma /ow/ \quad / \quad \_ /a/$$

an example is:

<i>mow-an</i>	he/she/it survived
[mowan]	
<mo-Ø-an>	
survive-sAS-3S/PT	

The rule governing a vowel-initial verbal agreement suffix following an open-stem verb ending with a short, closed, rounded high back vowel [u] is shown below:

$$\Sigma /u/ \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \Sigma /uy/ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \_ /e/ \\ \_ /i/ \end{array} \right\} \\ \Sigma /uw/ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \_ /a/ \\ \_ /o/ \end{array} \right\} \\ \Sigma /uh/ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \_ /u/ \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right\}$$

For the rule

$$\Sigma /u/ \rightarrow \Sigma /uy/ \quad / \quad \_ /e/$$

an example is:

cabuy-eŋ-du they carry
 [tsabujɛŋɖu]
 <cabu-eŋ-du>
 carry-pAS-NPT

For the rule

$$\Sigma /u/ \rightarrow \Sigma /uy/ \quad / \quad \_ /i/$$

an example is:

nuɣ-i-n we laughed
 [nujɪn]
 <nu-i-n>
 laugh-1pPS-PT

For the rule

$$\Sigma /u/ \rightarrow \Sigma /uw/ \quad / \quad \_ /a/$$

an example is:

yuw-an he/she/it came from above
 [juwan]
 <ju-Ø-an>
 come.from.above-sAS-3S/PT

For the rule

$$\Sigma /u/ \rightarrow \Sigma /uw/ \quad / \quad \_ /o/$$

an example is:

chyuw-o! tie it up!
 [ts^hjuwo]
 <chyu-o>
 tie-s→3/IMP

For the rule

$$\Sigma /u/ \rightarrow \Sigma /uh/ \quad / \quad \_ /u/$$

an example is:

ḍapuh-u-du he/she/it spies
 [ḍapufuḍu]
 <ḍapu-Ø-u-du>
 spy-sAS-3P-NPT

Verb stems ending in a diphthong also take an intervocalic glide when followed by a vowel-initial verbal agreement suffix. The examples I have collected are represented by the rules below. The rule governing a vowel-initial verbal agreement suffix following an open-stem verb ending with the diphthong /äi/ is as follows:

$$\Sigma/\text{äi}/ \rightarrow \left\{ \Sigma/\text{äiy}/ \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \_ /a/ \\ \_ /e/ \\ \_ /i/ \\ \_ /o/ \\ \_ /u/ \end{array} \right\} \right\}$$

Examples include:

mäiy-an he/she/it must [preterite tense]
 [maɪjan]
 <mäi-Ø-an>
 must-sAS-3S/PT

säiy-eŋ-no they knew
 [ʃaɪjeŋno]
 <säi-eŋ-no>
 know-pAS-3→3/PT

karäiy-i-n we feel [hungry]
 [kaɪɪm]
 <karäi-i-n>
 shout-1pPS-PT

nasäiy-o! listen!
 [naʃaɪjo]
 <nasäi-o>
 hear-s→3/IMP

kăiy-u-du he/she/it removes
 [kaijuḁu]
 <kăi-Ø-u-du>
 remove-SAS-3P-NPT

The rule governing a vowel-initial verbal agreement suffix following an open-stem verb ending with the diphthong /ei/ is as follows:

$$\Sigma /ei/ \rightarrow \left\{ \Sigma /eiy/ \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \_ /a/ \\ \_ /u/ \end{array} \right\} \right\}$$

Examples include:

kheiy-an it spilled
 [k^hɛiɲan]
 <khei-Ø-an>
 spill-SAS-3S/PT

kheiy-u-no he/she/it poured
 [k^hɛiɲuno]
 <khei-Ø-u-no>
 pour-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

The rule governing a vowel-initial verbal agreement suffix following an open-stem verb ending with the diphthong /ui/ is as follows:

$$\Sigma /ui/ \rightarrow \Sigma /uiy/ \quad / \quad \_ /a/$$

an example of which is:

nuiy-an he/she/it laughed
 [nuiɲan]
 <nui-Ø-an>
 laugh-SAS-3S/PT

The rule governing a vowel-initial verbal agreement suffix following an open-stem verb ending with the diphthong /ou/ is as follows:

$$\Sigma /ou/ \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \Sigma /ouw/ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \_ /a/ \end{array} \right\} \\ \Sigma /ouy/ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \_ /i/ \end{array} \right\} \\ \Sigma /ouh/ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \_ /u/ \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right\}$$

Examples include:

<i>aghyow-an</i>	he/she/it cried out
[ag ^h jəuwan]	
<aghyou-Ø-an>	
cry.out-sAS-3S/PT	
<i>urouy-i-n</i>	you/he/they called us
[urəujɪn]	
<rou-i-n>	
call-1pPS-PT	
<i>urouh-u-du</i>	he/she/it calls
[urəufiud̪u]	
<rou-Ø-u-du>	
call-sAS-3P-NPT	

Younger Thangmi speakers of the Dolakhā dialect with increasing fluency in Nepali sometimes disregard the morphophonology of open verb stems when the initial of the following verbal agreement suffix is the same vowel as the verb stem. In such cases, younger speakers may lengthen the vowel of the verb stem, as shown in the examples below:

<i>tha-an</i>	he/she/it became
[t ^h a:n] rather than [t ^h afian]	
<tha-Ø-an>	
be-sAS-3S/PT	

<i>ne-eŋ-to-le</i>	having ground
[nɛ:ŋtɔlɛ] rather than [nɛjɛŋtɔlɛ]	
<ne-eŋ-to-le>	
grind-pAS-TPP-PCL	
<i>ari-i-n</i>	we were afraid
[arɪ:n] rather than [arijin]	
<ari-i-n>	
be.afraid-1pPS-PT	
<i>to-o!</i>	dig!
[tɔ:] rather than [tɔfio]	
<to-o>	
dig-s→3/IMP	
<i>ɖapu-u-du</i>	he/she/it spies
[ɖapu:ɖu] rather than [ɖapufiɖu]	
<ɖapu-Ø-u-du>	
spy-sAS-3P-NPT	

Thangmi speakers from the village of Piskar in Sindhupālcok district insert a glottal stop in the place of a glide. This intervocalic hiatus prevents diphthongisation. The phenomenon of a hiatus is not attested elsewhere in Sindhupālcok, and is also rejected by speakers of the Dolakhā dialect of Thangmi. The following three examples demonstrate this glottalisation:

<i>thaʔ-an</i>	he/she/it became
[tʰaʔan] rather than [tʰafian]	
<tha-Ø-an>	
be-sAS-3S/PT	
<i>toʔ-o!</i>	dig!
[tɔʔo] rather than [tɔfio]	
<to-o>	
dig-s→3/IMP	
<i>yuʔ-an</i>	he/she/it came from above
[juʔan]	
<ju-Ø-an>	
come.from.above-sAS-3S/PT	

4. Syncope

Syncope is internal deletion involving the omission of sounds from within a word. In Thangmi, vowel syncope is a feature of both the Dolakhā and Sindhupālcok dialects when a verb stem has the following structure:

$$C \ V \ /r/ \ V$$

In such instances, as shown in the examples below, the first vowel may be syncopated. While both vowel syncope and vowel retention are attested, the rate of omission increases with connected or flowing natural speech:¹

<i>dorok-an</i> ~ <i>drok-an</i>	he/she/it ran
[dɔɾɔkan ~ drɔkan]	
<dorok-Ø-an>	
run-sAS-3S/PT	
<i>tarak-an</i> ~ <i>trak-an</i>	he/she/it made him/her/it-self present/felt
[tarakan ~ trakan]	
<tarak-Ø-an>	
make.itself.present-sAS-3S/PT	
<i>serek-an</i> ~ <i>srek-an</i>	he/she/it got up
[ʃɛɾɛkan ~ ʃɾɛkan]	
<serek-Ø-an>	
arise-sAS-3S/PT	

¹ The same is true in English, in which certain cases of syncope are conventions which speed up or simplify speech patterns, as in ['sekɾɪtrɪ] rather than ['sekɾɪtɛrɪ] 'secretary'.

CHAPTER 5

NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

This chapter is devoted to nominals which comprise the following parts of speech: nouns, adjectives, pronouns and numerals. The criteria for distinguishing between ‘nouns’ and ‘verbs’ are morphological and syntactic. While nouns can take postpositions or be marked for case and number, finite verbs are marked for person, number and tense and have different syntactic roles and functions in any given sentence. The most common functional role for nominals is to serve as an argument for a verb.

In this chapter, I discuss the morphosyntax of nominals in general. Case suffixes or postpositions attach directly to the nominal form, and two or more case endings or postpositions may co-occur if this yields a semantically plausible combination. Aside from biological sex, nominals do not distinguish grammatical gender. Grammatical cases include the absolutive, ergative, instrumental and genitive. Postpositions include locative, ablative, comitative and direct or indirect object markers, as well as numerous lexical postpositions. Adjectives may be adnominal, predicative or occur independently as nominal heads. When adjectives are used independently, they function as nouns and may take nominal case and number suffixes. Pronouns are either personal, demonstrative or interrogative. Demonstratives include deictic and anaphoric adverbs as well as pronouns and adjectives. Adverbs of time, bound nominal elements and a range of discourse particles are also discussed in this chapter.

1. Gender

While a few Thangmi nouns are gender-specific, these forms are not independent of the semantic sex of the referent, and the Thangmi language makes no grammatical gender distinction for animate nouns aside from their biological sex. Biologically masculine nouns and male kinship terms are formally unmarked while certain feminine nouns are marked by the final element /i/ <-i ~ -măi ~ -mi> (FEM). While the Thangmi feminine ending <-i ~ -măi ~ -mi> (FEM) may be derived from Nepali, in which the <-o ~ -a> (MASC) versus <-i> (FEM) distinction is commonplace (i.e. *chorā* ‘son’ vs. *chorī* ‘daughter’), other Thangmi gendered endings have Tibeto-Burman etymologies.

Table 42 below offers four examples of contrastive male/female noun pairs in Thangmi. While the first and second examples in the table are likely to be

indigenous Thangmi forms, the third and fourth gendered noun pairs may be calqued from Nepali.¹ The feminine ending <-i ~ -măi ~ -mi> (FEM) is not indicated in the gloss as it is a non-productive morphological process in Thangmi.

TABLE 42. CONTRASTIVE MALE / FEMALE NOUN PAIRS IN THANGMI

<i>hu / humi</i>	younger brother / younger sister
<i>ca / camăi</i>	son / daughter
<i>huca / huci</i>	boy / girl
<i>thone / thoŋi</i>	old man, husband / old woman, wife

Certain Thangmi animal names and ethnonyms exhibit contrastive gender pairing in Thangmi, using <-ni> (FEM) as the female suffix. This marker is most likely a loan from Nepali <-ni> (FEM), by which animals and ethnic or caste groups are gendered, as in Nepali *tāmān* ‘a Tamang man’ and *tāmānī* ‘a Tamang woman’. In both Thangmi and Nepali, the female suffix <-ni> (FEM) is only added to a lexical item when the referent is female. The unmarked form is either specifically male or gender unspecific. Table 43 below shows four Thangmi gender specific ethnonyms and animal terms.

TABLE 43. GENDER SPECIFIC ETHNONYMS AND ANIMAL TERMS IN THANGMI

<i>kucu / kucuni</i>	dog / bitch
<i>roimi / roimini</i>	Newar man / Newar woman
<i>sem / semni</i>	Tamang man / Tamang woman
<i>thaŋmi / thaŋmini</i>	Thangmi man / Thangmi woman

The grammatical gender distinctions expressed in kinship terms and animal names illustrated above are bound forms, and are not the result of any extant or productive morphological process. Consequently, the Thangmi feminine suffix <-ni> (FEM) is not indicated in the gloss.

¹ Thangmi *thone* ‘old man, husband’ and *thoŋi* ‘old woman, wife’ resemble Nepali *bādhā* ‘old man’ and *bādhī* ‘old woman, wife’. Opgenort observes a similar case of borrowing in Wambule: ‘A new gender marker pattern which has found its way into Wambule under the increasing influence of Nepali consists of a final vowel alternation between masculine forms in /ā/ and feminine terms in /i/’ (2002: 135).

Thangmi also has a number of gender-specific kinship terms. Although ‘sex of speaker’ is not a prominent feature of Thangmi kinship terminology (cf. Chapter 2, Section §7.4), some Thangmi terms for affines (siblings-in-law, uncles-in-law and aunts-in-law) do reflect the Tibeto-Burman sex of speaker criterion. For example, while *bubu* refers to ‘elder brother’, regardless of whether the speaker is a woman or a man, a sex of speaker distinction does exist for *aji* ‘wife’s elder sister’ and *tete* ‘husband’s elder sister’. From the evidence I have collected, it appears that this distinction is made solely for affinal relationships, and that blood kin are not differentiated for sex of speaker. The complete Thangmi kinship paradigm is discussed in Section §7 of Chapter 2.

Gendered kinship terms may be borrowed or calqued, as in *jekhapa* ‘father’s elder brother’ (< Nep. *ṭhulo buwā* ‘big father’) and *jekhama* ‘father’s elder brother’s wife’ (< Nep. *ṭhulī āmā* ‘big mother’), in which <jekh-> is a Thangmi bound morpheme meaning ‘large’ or ‘senior’ derived from Thangmi *jekha* ‘big, large’.

A further way of emphasising or disambiguating biological gender in Thangmi is through the use of one of two gendered prefixes: <mama-> (FEM) or <papa-> (MALE). These reduplicative prefixal forms are attached to the noun in question to indicate biological sex and are primarily used for animals. Table 44 below shows possible prefixal and suffixal modifications to the Thangmi noun *sya* ‘bovine’ (often more loosely translated as ‘cow’ by informants).

TABLE 44. POSSIBLE PREFIXES AND SUFFIXES FOR THE THANGMI NOUN SYA

<i>mama-</i> (FEM)		
<i>papa-</i> (MALE)		
<i>me-</i> buffalo	<i>sya</i> bovine, cow	<i>-ca</i> (DIM)
<i>wa-</i> ox		

Possible combinations include: *mama-sya* ‘cow’, *papa-sya* ‘bull’, *mesya* ‘buffalo’, *wasya* ‘ox’ (restricted to bulls used for ploughing), *sya-ca* ‘calf’, *papa-sya-ca* ‘bullock’ and *mesya-ca* ‘buffalo calf’. While *mesya* ‘buffalo’ is composed of two

etymological elements, **me* ‘buffalo’ and *sya* ‘bovine, cow’, in spoken Thangmi both *mesya* ‘buffalo’ and *wasya* ‘ox’ are bound and unsegmentable forms.²

The elements <mama-> (FEM) and <papa-> (MALE) can be used with all non-human animates when it is important to differentiate or disambiguate the biological sex of the referent. These prefixal gender markers are particularly prevalent in rhetorical speech and story telling. This manner of gender coding is also present in Dutch for animate nouns that have no specific gendered form, such as *mannetjeskrocodile* ‘male crocodile’ or *vrouwtjeskikker* ‘female frog’. Examples 1 to 7 illustrate the use of the elements <mama-> (FEM) and <papa-> (MALE). While the diminutive suffix <ca-> (DIM) also features in some of these examples, its use and distribution is dealt with in Section §5.1 of this chapter.

- 1 *ci-ja-to-le, to-kăi gă-ye di-gore mama-wa*
 CAUS-survive-TPP-PCL that-PM I-ERG one-CLF FEM-chicken
 pal-to-le piy-u-n-un.
 chop-TPP-PCL give-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT

Having healed her, I slaughtered a chicken and gave it to the shaman.

- 2 *mama-mesya thi cyah-Ø-an, papa-mesya ma-cyah-Ø-an.*
 FEM-buffalo fodder eat-SAS-3S/PT MALE-buffalo NEG-eat-SAS-3S/PT

The buffalo cow has eaten the fodder, but the buffalo bull hasn’t.

- 3 *papa-kucu-ye mama-kucu-ca-kăi chit-le hok-Ø-du.*
 MALE-dog-ERG FEM-dog-DIM-PM fuck-PCL be-SAS-NPT

The male dog is screwing the little bitch.

- 4 *gare-ye mama-wa-kăi chit-ŋa libi, mama-wa-ye ahum*
 rooster-ERG FEM-chicken-PM fuck-CNS after FEM-chicken-ERG egg
 tah-Ø-u-du.
 lay-SAS-3P-NPT

Once the cockerel has screwed the hen, the hen will lay eggs.

² Other Tibeto-Burman cognates for Thangmi *mesya* ‘buffalo’ include Classical Newar *mesa* ‘buffalo’ (Malla *et al.* 2000: 400), Sampang *mesi* ‘buffalo’ (René Huysmans, personal communication), Kulung *me:si* ‘water buffalo’ (Tolsma 1999: 220) and Dumi *me:si* (van Driem 1993a: 396).

- 5 *găi-go bubu-ko sum-gore mama-phesu hok-Ø-du, găi-go-guri*
 I-GEN elder.brother-GEN three-CLF FEM-sheep be-SAS-NPT I-GEN-IND
dī-gore woi ma-hok.
 one-CLF also NEG-be

My elder brother has three ewes, but I don't have even one.

- 6 *jekha papa-sya-ko bhanda, ucyacya sya-ca-ko cici aṭṭhe*
 big MALE-bovine-GEN than small bovine-DIM-GEN meat very
se-Ø-du.
 be.tasty-SAS-NPT

The meat of very small cows is tastier than that of big old bulls.

- 7 *to mama-tuṇi roimi uniṇ bāsinṭe bhari uni*
 that FEM-goat Newar like morning full sun
cyataṇ-si-Ø-ta-le hok-Ø-du.
 soak.up-REF-SAS-IPP-PCL be-SAS-NPT

That female goat is just like a Newar, she spends the whole morning lying in the sun.

A restricted set of inanimate Thangmi nouns may also take gendered prefixes, a commonly occurring example of which is *yante* 'quern, hand-mill, grindstone, mill-stone', as illustrated by examples 8 and 9 below. The upper of the two stones, which has an embedded wooden handle off to one side and a central hole into which the grain is fed, is the *papa-yante*. The lower of the two, secured to the floor, and onto which the upper part is heaved, is the *mama-yante*. Informants claim that this gendering has a clear sexual connotation.

- 8 *papa-yante-ko doron-ṇaṇ saṇa tham-ko mǎi-Ø-du.*
 MALE-quern-GEN hole-inside millet insert-GEN must-SAS-NPT

The millet must be fed into the hole in the upper part of the grindstone.

- 9 *mi-ko uniṇ, mama-yante papa-yante nhabasa hok-Ø-du.*
 person-GEN like FEM-quern MALE-quern underneath be-SAS-NPT

Just like a person, the female part of the grindstone lies underneath the male.

Further examples of gendered inanimate nouns are attested in the Sindhupālcok dialect, where *mamala?* 'middle finger' is contrasted with *papala?* 'thumb'. In the case of fingers, <papa-> (MALE) is senior to <mama-> (FEM) in status rather than in

length. In the Sindhupālcok dialect, certain plant names may also take a gendered prefix, although this distinction does not correspond to any perceived biological difference. An illustrative example is provided in 10 below.

- 10 *tinyaŋ kor-sa dum-ŋa-parti, rapa?came?-ko*
 then fit.together-INF finish-CNS-after red.Himalayan.bamboo-GEN
yala-kāi pe?e-ta-le papa-came?-kāi adum paŋku-te
 flexible-PM strip.down-IPP-PCL MALE-bamboo-PM hot water-LOC
da?a-sa.
 boil-INF

Then, having finished fitting it together, you strip down the flexible red Himalayan bamboo and boil the outer layer in hot water. [Sindhupālcok]

The only other example of a gender prefix co-occurring with an inanimate object is that of *papasek* ‘testicle(s)’, a form attested in both dialects.³ The gender choice of <papa-> (MALE) in this case is fairly self-explanatory. Given the contrastive pairing of many gendered nouns in Thangmi, I suggested to informants that **mamasek* might be used to indicate ‘ovaries’, but this form was rejected.

The Thangmi feminine prefix <mama-> (FEM) is most probably derived from the well-attested Tibeto-Burman feminine suffixal form *<-ma> and to the proto-nouns **ma* ‘mother’ and **mow* ‘woman’ (Benedict 1972: 96, 148 & 66). Cognate forms in extant Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in Nepal are widespread, and include Dumi *mama* ~ *ma* ‘mother’ (van Driem 1993a: 395), the Wambule feminine morpheme <-mā ~ -m> (Opgenort 2002: 130) and the Yamphu morpheme <-ma ~ -m> ‘female person’ (Rutgers 1998: 52). Similarly, the Thangmi masculine prefix <papa-> (MALE) is most probably derived from the Proto-Tibeto-Burman masculine suffixal form *<-pa> and from the noun **pa* = *pwa* ‘man, person, husband; father’ (Benedict 1972: 96 & 19). Cognate forms in extant Tibeto-Burman languages include Dumi *pa* ~ *papa* ~ *pu* ‘father’ (van Driem 1993a: 404, 405 & 408), the Wambule masculine morpheme <-pā ~ -p> (Opgenort 2002: 130) and the Yamphu morpheme <-pa ~ -p> ‘male person’ (Rutgers 1998: 52).

2. Number

Thangmi has two systems of number marking on nominals, a standard plural suffix and a restricted plural suffix to indicate plurality on third person pronominals.

³ The bound nominal element *sek* is analysed in detail in Section §11.3 of this chapter.

2.1 Plural

morph:	<-pali>
label:	p

There is a privative opposition between singular and plural number in Thangmi, in many ways reminiscent of Nepali <-haru> (p). Singular number in Thangmi nouns is not indexed because there is no grammatical singular category as such for Thangmi nouns, and thus no zero morpheme is shown in the gloss. Plural number is indicated by the plural suffix <-pali> (p), e.g. *bubu-pali* ‘elder brothers’. The plural suffix <-pali> (p) expresses the plurality of both animate (human and non-human) and inanimate nominals, and is suffixed directly to the nominal form to which it refers. The plural suffix <-pali> (p) thus precedes all other case endings and postpositions. While there is no grammatical dual category for Thangmi nouns, duality can be expressed by using the numeral *nis* ‘two’, followed by a suitable numeral classifier, as in *ni nis-ka* (we two-HNC) ‘the two of us’ (lit. ‘we two people’) (Nep. *hāmī duī janā*). Plural marking on adjectives refers to plural objects or mass objects. Examples of nominal plural marking in Thangmi are given in Table 45 below.

TABLE 45. NOMINAL PLURAL MARKING IN THANGMI

nouns:	<i>nem</i>	house
	<i>nem-pali</i>	houses
	<i>huca</i>	child
	<i>huca-pali</i>	children
	<i>mi</i>	person
	<i>mi-pali</i>	people
adjectives:	<i>ubo</i>	white
	<i>ubo-pali</i>	the white ones

Examples 11 and 12 show the plural suffix <-pali> (p) being used with animate and inanimate nouns respectively, while example 13 demonstrates its use with an adjective functioning as a nominal head.

- 11 *naŋ-ko bubu-pali kuta yey-eŋ-an?*
you-GEN elder.brother-p where go-pAS-3S/PT

Where have your elder brothers gone?

- 12 *ka di bitta tha-Ø-du beryaŋ, ka-kăi tokolok-e*
this one hand.measurement be-SAS-NPT that.time this-PM hoe-INS
ka-ko pole-ŋaŋ tha-Ø-du ʈhare-pali kăi-ko măi-Ø-du.
this-GEN trunk-inside be-SAS-NPT weed-p remove-ADH must-SAS-NPT

When [the seedlings] are about one hand length in height, one must use the hoe to remove the weeds which are growing around the stem of the seedlings.

- 13 *bophura-pali, ariy-eŋ-ta-le, jekha mi-kăi ŋa-sa*
pity-p be.afraid-pAS-IPP-PCL big person-PM say-INF
dorok-eŋ-an.
run-pAS-3S/PT

Those poor people, being scared, ran off to tell the important man [what had happened].

The plural suffix <-pali> (p) is superfluous when the plurality of the noun is indicated by the verb or is clear from the general context. As in Nepali, where the meaning of <-haru> (p) conflicts with a definite number, the Thangmi plural suffix <-pali> (p) is characteristically omitted when the plurality of the noun is already indicated by a numeral, as in examples 14 and 15 below. However, the suffix is typically present when the number is non-specific, as in example 16.

- 14 *găi-go nem nis-gore hok-Ø-du.*
I-GEN house two-CLF be-SAS-NPT

I have two houses.

- 15 *jekha bubu-ko sum-ka camăi hok-eŋ-du, ca ma-hok.*
big elder.brother-GEN three-HNC daughter be-pAS-NPT son NEG-be

My eldest brother has three daughters but no son.

- 16 *to-ko ahe ban-pali hok-eŋ-du.*
that-GEN many friend-p be-pAS-NPT

He has many friends.

Concomitantly, the verb does not necessarily show plural number agreement if the nominal plural ending <-pali> (p) has already been suffixed to the nominal head. In Thangmi, the marking of plurality across different word classes is perceived as tautologous. An example of a pluralised nominal together with a singular verb is provided in 17 below. As this example shows, unknown quantity can be presented as plural in Thangmi speech.

- 17 *naŋ-ko huca-pali hok-Ø-du ra ma-hok?*
 you-GEN child-p be-SAS-NPT or NEG-be

Do you have any children?

If the answer to the question asked in example 17 is affirmative, then the verb in the following question, in which the addressee is asked how many children he or she has, will be marked for plural number, as in example 18. Note that the nominal plural marker <-pali> (p) is not used with the noun *ca* ‘son’.

- 18 *ŋa-to-le, naŋ-ko hani-ka ca hok-eŋ-du?*
 say-TPP-PCL you-GEN how.many-HNC son be-pAS-NPT

That’s to say, how many sons do you have?

Since the Thangmi plural marker <-pali> (p) conveys a general sense of plurality, the suffix cannot be used to mark a specific number greater than one. However, the plural suffix can be used to indicate multiplicity or to suggest manifoldness, such as *baŋi-pali* ‘pots and pans’. In such cases, the plural morpheme <-pali> (p) conveys the sense of ‘and the like’ or ‘[that] and more stuff’, as in the plural of *ken* ‘vegetable curry’ shown in example 19 below.

- 19 *su-ko nem-te isa ken-pali ma-hok?*
 who-GEN house-LOC food vegetable.curry-p NEG-be

Who doesn’t have anything to eat at home (lit. food and vegetable curries)?

The plural suffix <-pali> (p) is only occasionally used with proper nouns, and then not to refer to two individuals or places with the same name, but rather to extrapolate on the basis of a specific instance or to indicate a specific person or place and others like it. For example, *lile-pali* (Lile-p) refers to ‘Lile and his friends’ or ‘Lile and his family’, while *Dolkha-pali* (Dolakhā-p) indicates ‘Dolakhā and other similar market towns’.

Plural marking on mass nouns indicates various types or varieties of the referent denoted by the noun, such as *coi-pali* ‘various types of blood’, i.e. ‘bodily

fluids' from *coi* 'blood'. In many cases, plural marking on mass nouns adds a metaphorical meaning to the referent, sometimes euphemistic, and often humorous, such as *paṅku-pali* 'various types of water or liquid', i.e. 'alcohol', from *paṅku* 'water', or *sargya-pali* 'skies', i.e. 'heaven', from *sargya* 'sky'. When referring to varieties of grain, however, Thangmi speakers use the plural suffix <-pali> (p) to indicate 'piles of...' or 'heaps of...', as in *saṇa-pali* 'piles of millet' or *akan-pali* 'heaps of barley'. Opgenort makes a similar observation for Wambule when he suggests that 'number markers are also commonly employed to create countable units of mass nouns' (2002: 137).

The Thangmi plural marker <-pali> (p) is also encountered as a suffix on quantifiers marking non-singular referents, as in *nembo-pali* (other-p) 'others' from the indefinite pronoun *nembo* 'other', and *sakalei-pali* (all-p) 'all (of them)' from *sakalei* 'all, every'. The Thangmi plural marker <-pali> (p) can co-occur with other nominal postpositions and case markers as in examples 20 to 22.

- 20 *ni-ko huca-pali-ye 'ni-ye saṇa kum-wa-du'*
 we-GEN child-p-ERG we-ERG millet cut.horizontally-1p→23-NPT
ṇay-eṇ-thyo.
 say-pAS-3sCOND

Our children had said, 'we'll harvest the millet'.

- 21 *ni-ye sakalei mi-pali-ko miṇ ni-wa-n.*
 we-ERG all person-p-GEN cloth see-1p→23-PT

We saw everyone's clothes.

- 22 *huca-pali-kāi tun-sa gap-eṇ-an?*
 child-p-PM drink-INF be.enough-pAS-3S/PT

Have the children had enough to drink?

If the result yields a semantically plausible combination, adjectives may also take the plural marker <-pali> (p), as in example 23.

- 23 *jekha-pali-ye pheṇga cabuy-eṇ-du.*
 big-p-ERG hemp.cloak carry-pAS-NPT

The big ones will carry the sack-cloth made of hemp.

Nominalised verbs may also take the plural suffix <-pali> (p), as in 24 and 25 below.

- 24 *ulam-te caway-eŋ-du-pali-ye ɲey-eŋ-no, to nuiy-Ø-an.*
road-LOC walk-pAS-NPT-p-ERG beat-pAS-3→3/PT that laugh-sAS-3S/PT

People walking along the road beat him, but he [the jackal] only laughed.

- 25 *băsințe thaŋmi-pali-ko naka nem, naka bore lony-eŋ-du-pali-ye,*
morning Thangmi-p-GEN new house new marriage do-pAS-NPT-p-ERG
gare toŋ alam hen-ko mǎi-Ø-du.
rooster beer ritual.flag take-ADH must-sAS-NPT

In the morning, all the Thangmi people who have recently built a new house or are newly married must take a cockerel and some beer and carry the shaman's flag [to the temple].

2.2 Pronominal plural for third person

morph: <-baŋ>
label: Pp

Third person pronouns and the interrogative pronoun *su* 'who' take the third person pronominal plural marker <-baŋ> (Pp) rather than the plural suffix <-pali> (p). Examples include *ka-baŋ* (this-Pp) 'they', *to-baŋ* (that-Pp) 'they (distal)', *dha-baŋ* (that.distant-Pp) 'they (distant)' and *su-baŋ* (who-Pp) 'who(p)'. Fluent Thangmi speakers reject **ka-pali*, **to-pali*, **dha-pali* and **su-pali* as viable alternatives, even though such forms are increasingly heard among young and imperfect Thangmi speakers.

Other than in the third person, Thangmi personal pronouns do not take the pronominal plural marker <-baŋ> (Pp), thus the plural form of *naŋ* 'you' is not **naŋ-baŋ* (you-p) but rather the irregular *niŋ* 'you(p)'. The complete pronominal system of Thangmi is discussed in Section §6 of this chapter. Sentences 26 to 28 illustrate the use of the pronominal plural marker <-baŋ> (Pp).

- 26 *libi to-ye ɲah-Ø-u-no 'nan ka-baŋ amiy-eŋ-du, tyay*
after that-ERG say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT now this-Pp sleep-pAS-NPT then
ya-ŋa-du', tyay lawa amiy-Ø-an.
go-1S-NPT then husband sleep-sAS-3S/PT

Later she thought [to herself] 'now, when they're all asleep, then I'll go', then her husband fell asleep.

- 27 *to-baŋ gǎi-go palam-ko ca camăi thay-eŋ-du.*
 that-Pp I-GEN mother's.elder.brother-GEN son daughter be-pAS-NPT

They are my mother's elder brother's children.

- 28 *su-baŋ ray-eŋ-an?*
 who-Pp come.from.level-pAS-3S/PT

Who(p) have come?

The pronominal plural marker <-baŋ> (Pp) remains absent if plurality has already been indicated on an associated nominal referent by the plural suffix <-pali> (p), as shown in example 29 below.

- 29 *ka mi-pali apraca jet lony-eŋ-du.*
 this person-p good work do-pAS-NPT

These people are doing good work.

The pronominal plural marker <-baŋ> (Pp) may co-occur with other nominal postpositions and case endings if this yields a semantically plausible combination. In such situations, the pronominal plural marker <-baŋ> (Pp) is suffixed directly to the pronominal head and all other elements follow, as in examples 30 and 31 below. When the ergative suffix <-e ~ -ye> (ERG) follows the pronominal plural marker <-baŋ> (Pp), the final velar nasal [ŋ] of the suffix <-baŋ> (Pp) is subject to regressive assimilation for place of articulation, as in example 32 below. This morphophonological assimilation is thus represented in my phonological representation of the Thangmi language, and is discussed in detail in Section §2 of Chapter 4.

- 30 *ka su-baŋ-ko nem hok-Ø-du?*
 this who-Pp-GEN house be-sAS-NPT

Whose(p) is this house?

- 31 *dī-ka mi-ye 'nan ka-baŋ-kǎi paŋ pi-ko*
 one-HNC person-ERG now this-Pp-PM sour.fruit give-ADH
măi-Ø-du, tyəŋ ja-Ø-du' ŋah-Ø-u-no.
 must-sAS-NPT then okay-sAS-NPT say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT

One person said 'we should feed them some sour fruit, and then they will be fine'.

- 32 *to-bany-e gǎi-gǎi niy-eŋ-ŋa-n.*
 that-Pp-ERG I-PM see-pAS-1s-PT
 They saw me.

Other than *su* ‘who’, all Thangmi interrogative pronouns convey plurality by reduplication, a topic which is dealt with in Section §6.3 of this chapter. The interrogative pronoun *su* ‘who’ has two plural forms: *su-baŋ* ‘who(p)’, as outlined above, and *su su* (who who) ‘who(p)’. Somewhat like Nepali *ko ko* (who who) or Dutch *wie allemaal*, the latter reduplicative form is used to indicate a diverse range of expected actants and is best translated by ‘who...all’, as in example 33 below.

- 33 *su su mi-pali ray-eŋ-an?*
 who who person-p come.from.level-pAS-3S/PT
 Who(p) are all the people who have come?

3. Case

In Thangmi, a distinction exists between nominal suffixes which function as case endings and those which function as postpositions. ‘Case’ implies a grammatical category used in the analysis of word classes to identify the syntactic relationship between words in a sentence. Case endings are a closed or limited set of suffixes which exhibit morphophonological variations of a fusional nature and which constitute a class of bound morphemes which are used to distinguish different grammatical roles from one another. A ‘postposition’ is a suffix which follows one or more nominal constituents to form a single constituent of structure, usually with no apparent morphophonological alternation. The present distinction between case endings and postpositions has been made to facilitate analysis of the grammar of Thangmi.

3.1 Unmarked

In Thangmi, unmarked verbal arguments include the subjects of intransitive and reflexive verbs and inanimate direct objects in transitive verbal scenarios, as in *gǎi isa cya-ŋa-du* (I food eat-1s-NPT) ‘I eat/am eating food’. In both the lexicon and in citation, nominals are given in the unmarked form.

3.2 Ergative

morph:	<-e ~ -ye>
label:	ERG

The ergative case is marked by the suffix <-e ~ -ye> (ERG), as in *ban-e* ‘friend(ERG)’. If the nominal constituent to which the ergative morpheme is suffixed ends in a vowel, the ergative morpheme has a regular allomorph with a glide /y/, as in *mi-ye* ‘person(ERG)’. The ergative case always marks the agent or cause of a transitive verb in the preterite tense and sometimes also the agent or cause of a transitive verb in non-preterite time. The ergative case also marks the subject of intransitively conjugated transitive verbs. Human beings, spirits, gods, animals and objects may all take the ergative case. Examples 34 to 36 illustrate the use of the allomorph <-e> (ERG), and examples 37 to 39 illustrate the allomorph <-ye> (ERG).

- 34 *‘nan lipem-e tel-to-le sat-i-du’ ηa-to-le.*
 now snow-ERG squeeze-TPP-PCL kill-1pPS-NPT say-TPP-PCL
 ‘Now the snow will squish us to death’, we thought.

- 35 *apan-e hen-ηa libi, guru-kāi begale wakhe*
 forest.spirit-ERG take-CNS after shaman-PM other word
ṭisen-Ø-u-du.
 teach-SAS-3P-NPT

Having taken the shaman away, the forest spirit teaches him secret things.

- 36 *miryaṇ sony-e ṭuṇi hen-Ø-u-no.*
 yesterday river-ERG goat take-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

Yesterday the river carried away a goat.

- 37 *miryaṇ gǎ-ye jet loṇ-u-n-uṇ.*
 yesterday I-ERG work do-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT

Yesterday, I worked.

- 38 *nem-te ya-let-ta-i-le, ni-ye nembo-kāi sakalei*
 house-LOC go-appear-IPP-1pPS-PCL we-ERG other.person-PM all
wakhe ηa-wa-n.
 word say-1p→23-PT

Once we got home, we told everyone all our stories.

- 39 *yaŋ gǎi-gǎi kucu-ye cek-Ø-ŋa-n.*
 today I-PM dog-ERG bite-SAS-1s-PT

Today the dog bit me.

Ergative marking on the agent or cause of a transitive verb is obligatory in the preterite tense. In the non-preterite, ergative marking is optional, akin to the distribution of the Nepali ergative marker <-le> (ERG), and follows the pattern of split ergativity outlined in Section § 2 of Chapter 1. When the direct and indirect objects of a non-preterite situation are not made explicit, the ergative marker <-e ~ -ye> (ERG) is usually absent. In the non-preterite, the ergative suffix is used to disambiguate the agent from the patient as well as to add emphasis or intent to the phrase, not unlike Nepali *ma garchu* ‘I’ll do it’ versus *maile garchu* ‘I will be the one to do it’. Consequently, many occurrences of the ergative suffix in the non-preterite tense are answers to a question which contained an interrogative pronoun such as ‘who’ or ‘what’. Sentences 40 and 41 are answers to such questions.

- 40 *nī-ye jet loŋ-wa-du.*
 we-ERG work do-1p→23-NPT

We shall work.

- 41 *gǎ-ye seŋ cabuh-u-n-du.*
 I-ERG wood carry-3P-1s→3-NPT

I’ll carry the wood.

Examples 42 to 44 illustrate non-preterite transitive scenarios from which the ergative marker is absent.

- 42 *gǎi chya gǎi-go nem-te hen-u-n-du.*
 I salt I-GEN house-LOC take-3P-1s→3-NPT

I’m taking the salt home.

- 43 *gǎi jet loŋ-u-n-du.*
 I work do-3P-1s→3-NPT

I work / I am working.

- 44 *e tete, naŋ hara loŋ-u-na-du?*
 oh elder.sister you what do-3P-2s-NPT

Oh, elder sister, what are you doing?

The plural suffix <-pali> (p) precedes the ergative marker, as in examples 45 and 46.

- 45 *ka jet habi habi tha-Ø-du, tyaŋ camăica-pali-ye libi libi*
 this work before before be-SAS-NPT then woman-p-ERG after after
saŋa-ko puya peŋe-sa ray-eŋ-du.
 millet-GEN seed sow-INF come.from.level-pAS-NPT

All this work happens first, and only then do the women follow, bringing the millet seeds to sow.

- 46 *camăica mi-pali-ye racya peŋey-eŋ-du beryaŋ, kari woi*
 woman person-p-ERG paddy sow-pAS-NPT that.time song also
kariy-eŋ-du.
 sing-pAS-NPT

When sowing the paddy, the womenfolk also sing songs.

In a syntagma containing an embedded sentence, such as example 47 below, both the main clause and the embedded clause may take an actant in the ergative case.

- 47 *gă-ye miryaŋ toŋ-u-n-du miŋ nany-e kuta nah-u-na-n?*
 I-ERG yesterday wash-3P-1s→3-NPT cloth you-ERG where put-3P-2s-PT

Where have you put the clothes that I washed yesterday?

The ergative marker <-e ~ -ye> (ERG) co-occurs with *uni* ‘day, sun’ to convey the meaning of ‘one day, this day’, as in examples 48 and 49. Here the ergative suffix <-e ~ -ye> (ERG) marks the agent which sets the scene for an event or which facilitates further action.

- 48 *to uni-yiŋ, gă-ye di uni-ye nis-dicip-gore tun-u-n-thyo.*
 that day-ABL I-ERG one day-ERG two-ten-CLF drink-3P-1s→3-3sCOND

From that day on, I smoked twenty [cigarettes] a day.

- 49 *camăi nik-Ø-du sum uni-ye, wagal uniŋ nem-te*
 daughter give.birth-SAS-NPT three day-ERG henhouse like house-LOC
di-ka camăica kerep-Ø-du.
 one-HNC woman cry-SAS-NPT

Having given birth to a daughter three days earlier, the woman is crying in jail [lit. ‘henhouse-like house’].

3.3 Instrumental

morphs: <-e ~ -ye>
label: INS

The instrumental case is marked by the suffix <-e ~ -ye> (INS), as in *lak-e* ‘by hand’. If the nominal constituent to which the instrumental morpheme is suffixed ends in a vowel, the instrumental morpheme has a regular allomorph with a glide /y/, as in *ăikuca-ye* ‘with a knife’.

The instrumental case ending <-e ~ -ye> (INS) is formally identical to the ergative case ending <-e ~ -ye> (ERG), and they are one and the same category from the point of view of nominal morphology. From a syntactic point of view, however, two different functions of this morphological category can be distinguished. A nominal argument in the instrumental case does not exhibit the same morphosyntactic behaviour as an actant in the ergative case, nor does it fulfil the same semantic functions. The instrumental case indicates an instrument, implement or means by which or with which an action is enacted or takes place, as shown in examples 50 to 57. As such, the instrumental case marker is used to mark the cause of a situation. In such cases, as in example 74 below, the instrumental case marker is suffixed to the entity which is perceived to have caused a second entity to have performed an action or undergone some change.

- 50 *to isyaŋ begale thăi-te woi ăikuca-ye pal-eŋ-no*
that period other place-LOC also large.knife-INS chop-pAS-3→3/PT
ŋa-to-le nasăiy-eŋ-no.
say-TPP-PCL hear-pAS-3→3/PT

On that day they heard that these guys had been chopping with their knives in other places also.

- 51 *cyatane-ye neh-Ø-u-du beryaŋ, to-yiŋ coi*
rice.spoon-INS beat-SAS-3P-NPT that.time that-ABL blood
let-Ø-an, coi let-Ø-ta-le, to mi-ye yo-le
appear-SAS-3S/PT blood appear-SAS-IPP-PCL that person-ERG look.at-PCL
nah-Ø-u-no.
put-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

When he beat it with the rice-cooking spoon, blood appeared, and when that blood came out that person just stared and stared.

- 52 *nan libi racya-ko puya lak-e li-ko mǎi-Ø-du.*
 now after paddy-GEN seed hand-INS scatter-ADH must-sAS-NPT

After this, the paddy seed should be scattered by hand.

- 53 *libi bubu oste-ye isa ken loŋ-sa*
 after elder.brother self-ERG food vegetable.curry do-INF
daŋ-Ø-u-du, soyony-e me mut-Ø-u-du, me ma-ti.
 search-sAS-3P-NPT tube-INS fire blow-sAS-3P-NPT fire NEG-light

Then elder brother tries to prepare the food and vegetable curry by himself,
 and he blows on the fire with the tube, but the fire won't light.

- 54 *kiji nasa-ye tel-to-le nah-Ø-u-du uniŋ tha-Ø-ta-le*
 black mud-INS squeeze-TPP-PCL put-sAS-3P-NPT like be-sAS-IPP-PCL
hok-Ø-an.
 be-sAS-3S/PT

She lived feeling as if she were squished by black mud.

- 55 *libi pepelek-e begale naka naka miŋ rah-Ø-u-no, asare*
 after money-INS other new new cloth bring-sAS-3P-3→3/PT tasty
ni-Ø-du isa cyah-Ø-an.
 appear-sAS-NPT food eat-sAS-3S/PT

Later, with that money, he brought new clothes to wear and tasty food to eat.

- 56 *ka uniŋ ŋa-to-le, suwa-ye cek-Ø-u-thyo, ka*
 this like say-TPP-PCL tooth-INS bite-sAS-3P-3sCOND this
chuku-ye nih-Ø-u-no.
 father.in.law-ERG see-sAS-3P-3→3/PT

That's to say, she bit it [the money] off with her teeth and her father-in-law
 saw it.

- 57 *'tyaŋ libi serek-ta-ŋa-le, to-kǎi ŋeh-u-n-uŋ, mesek-e*
 then after arise-IPP-1s-PCL that-PM beat-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT eye-INS
ma-nih-u-n-uŋ, hani ŋeh-u-n-uŋ.'
 NEG-see-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT how.much beat-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT

'Then I got up and beat him, not seeing out of my eyes, who knows how
 much I beat him.'

An instrumentally marked argument can occur with an infinitive verb, as in examples 58 to 60, as can an ergatively marked one, as in example 61. Since infinitives do not show agreement for subject, agent or patient, the difference between an instrumentally and ergatively marked infinitive argument is entirely semantic. In example 61, *di-ka-ye* (one-HNC-ERG) is the agent which performs the action, in this case *tap-sa* (beat-INF), whilst *konṭe-ye* (leg-INS) is the implement or instrument used by the agent to perform the said action.

58 *rapa-ye ji-sa.*

axe-INS chop-INF

To chop with an axe.

59 *ṇiny-e khem-sa.*

stone-INS build-INF

To build with stone.

60 *maṇṇāi lak-e man-sa.*

bread hand-INS knead-INF

To knead bread by hand.

61 *di-ka-ye citaliṇ tap-sa, to woi konṭe-ye.*

one-HNC-ERG drum beat-INF that also leg-INS

One of them played the drums, but then with his feet.

In finite transitive verbal forms, the verb agrees with the actant in the ergative case, and not with an instrumentally marked argument, even if the actant is implicit, as in examples 62 to 64 below.

62 *‘to loṇ-to-le woi kutaleṇ woi ma-jah-Ø-an, rage*
that do-TPP-PCL also when also NEG-okay-SAS-3S/PT anger

let-ṇa-n, maṇ-ṇaṇ me-ye jyouh-u-n-uṇ.’

appear-1s-PT body-inside fire-INS burn-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT

‘Even doing this, things never improved, and in anger, I burnt his body with fire.’

63 *gaṇ-ṇa libi, seny-e ṇey-eṇ-du.*

dry-CNS after firewood-INS beat-pAS-NPT

Once it’s dry, they beat [it] with a piece of wood.

- 64 *racya min-ŋa libi, karati-ye koŋey-eŋ-du.*
 paddy ripen-CNS after sickle-INS cut-pAS-NPT

Once the paddy has ripened, they cut it with sickles.

A further morphosyntactic distinction between the ergative and instrumental case is that an actant in the ergative case cannot occur in an intransitive verbal scenario, whereas an actant in the instrumental case can, as in example 65.

- 65 *ni nis-ka lipem-e phoy-i-le hok-i-thyo.*
 we two-HNC snow-INS soak-1pPS-PCL be-1pPS-3sCOND

The two of us were totally drenched by the snow.

Expressions of hunger and anger are two of the most common Thangmi idioms governed by the instrumental case. The hungry actant is the subject of the scenario and thus he, she or it is unmarked for case, while *isa* ‘food’ is marked with the instrumental case <-e ~ -ye> (INS), as shown in examples 66 and 67 below. Two verbs are used to express hunger in Thangmi: *karāisa*, derived from Nepali *karāunu* ‘to shout, call’, and the indigenous Thangmi verb *kolasa* ‘to be hungry’, which is heard less frequently. Both verbs conjugate intransitively and show subject agreement in the verbal affixal string.

Instrumental marking for such forms is unusual in the Himalayan context, since neighbouring Tibeto-Burman languages as well as Nepali use patient marking to express hunger, i.e. Nepali *malāi bhok lāgyo* (lit. hunger is felt to/by me) ‘I feel hungry’. Aside from the lack of nominal marking on the actant, further evidence for instrumental rather than ergative patterning is found in the verbal agreement morphology. While the intransitive preterite first person subject form *karāi-ŋa-n* (shout-1s-PT) ‘I shouted’ is homophonous with the transitive preterite singular agent to first person singular patient form *karāi-Ø-ŋa-n* (shout-SAS-1s-PT) ‘he/he/it shouted to/at me’, expressions of hunger involving third person singular and plural subjects clearly show intransitive rather than transitive verbal agreement marking, i.e. *to isa-ye karāiy-Ø-an* (that food-INS shout-SAS-3S/PT) ‘he/she/it is feels hungry) and *to-baŋ isa-ye karāiy-eŋ-an* (that-Pp food-INS shout-SAS-3S/PT) ‘they feel hungry’.

- 66 *cya-sa pi-Ø-ŋa-n, isa-ye kola-ŋa-du beryaŋ, sola*
 eat-INF give-SAS-1s-PT food-INS be.hungry-1s-NPT that.time snack
pi-Ø-ŋa-n.
 give-SAS-1s-PT

She gave me food, and when I was hungry, [mother] fed me snacks.

67 *găi isa-ye karăi-ŋa-n.*

I food-INS shout-1s-PT

I am hungry.

The Thangmi noun *rage* ‘anger’ conveys the meaning ‘in anger’ when used in combination with the instrumental case <-e ~ -ye> (INS), as in examples 68 and 69.

68 *su woi khaŋou ɬaŋ-sa ma-kyel-Ø-an, mosani rage-ye*
who also door open-INF NEG-come-SAS-3S/PT spirit anger-INS

khaŋou ɬem-to-le biy-Ø-an.

door break-TPP-PCL enter-SAS-3S/PT

No one came to open the door, and the spirit, breaking down the door in fury, entered.

69 *ŋiŋ ci-theŋ-Ø-u-no, ɬitiŋ-Ø-an hani*
stone CAUS-stand.up-SAS-3P-3→3/PT fall.over-SAS-3S/PT how.much

ci-theŋ-Ø-u-no, ɬitiŋ-Ø-an, tyaŋ rage-ye to
CAUS-stand.up-SAS-3P-3→3/PT fall.over-SAS-3S/PT then anger-INS that

ŋiŋ-kăi cyaŋane-ye ɬeh-Ø-u-no.

stone-PM rice.spoon-INS beat-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

He set the stone upright, but it fell down, and as many times as he set it straight, it fell over again, so in anger he beat the stone with a rice-cooking spoon.

Thangmi *rage* ‘anger’ is also attested in combination with two intransitive verbs, *thasa* ‘to be’ and *letsa* ‘to appear, feel’. The difference in meaning between the two forms is as follows: *rage thasa* ‘to be angry’ is used to describe those who are moody or angry without cause, while *rage letsa* ‘to appear angry, become angry’ describes the anger of the unjustly wronged and is also used for people pretending to be angry. In neither of these two idioms is *rage* ‘anger’ governed by the instrumental case. In expressions of anger, the subject of the intransitive verbs *thasa* ‘to be’ and *letsa* ‘to appear’ may take the patient marker <-kăi> (PM), as shown in example 71 below, or not, as in example 70. While the presence of the Thangmi patient marker <-kăi> (PM) normally indicates the involvement of a transitive verb, the verbs *thasa* ‘to be’ and *letsa* ‘to appear, feel’ are always conjugated intransitively and show no verbal agreement marking for a transitive actant. The Thangmi phrase *găi-găi rage let-ŋa-n* (I-PM anger appear-1s-PT) ‘I became angry’ may be calqued from the Nepali form *malāi rīs āyo/uṭhyo* (lit. anger came to me, anger arose in me) ‘I became angry’.

- 70 *nyoŋi apa-kǎi woi ci-sǎiy-Ø-u-no, to woi rage*
 evening father-PM also CAUS-hear-sAS-3P-3→3/PT that also anger
thah-Ø-an.
 be-sAS-3S/PT

In the evening, she also told her father, and he too was angry.

- 71 *'nembo-ko nem-te gwi-to-le, gǎi-gǎi rage let-ŋa-n.'*
 other.person-GEN house-LOC steal-TPP-PCL I-PM anger appear-1s-PT
 'Stealing [as he did] from other people's house, I became angry.'

The instrumental case marker <-e ~ -ye> (INS) can also be suffixed to *sare* 'voice', as in example 72 below, to yield an expression of manner.

- 72 *jekha sare-ye, bubu-ye 'hara ka thǎi-te? lawa*
 big voice-INS elder.brother-ERG what this place-LOC husband
ma-hok-Ø-du-ye, mo-sa ma-khalam?' ŋa-to-le
 NEG-be-sAS-NPT-ERG survive-INF NEG-receive say-TPP-PCL
ŋah-Ø-u-du.
 say-sAS-3P-NPT

And elder brother says in a loud voice 'what is it with this place? Is one not allowed to live without a husband?'

Similarly, adjectives may take instrumental marking, as in example 73 below, in which *apraca* 'good' and the instrumental suffix <-e ~ -ye> (INS) combine to give the meaning 'well', literally 'by good'. In example 74, the adjective *ajik* 'cold' takes the instrumental case to mean 'by the cold' or 'on account of the cold'. In this example, the instrumental case is used to mark the cause of a situation.

- 73 *saŋa-ko puya na-sa habi, raŋ-kǎi apraca-ye*
 millet-GEN seed put-INF before unirrigated.field-PM good-INS
sya-ko syā-kli cuk-to-le sya wa-ko
 bovine-GEN bovine-shit insert-TPP-PCL bovine plough-ADH
mǎi-Ø-du.
 must-sAS-NPT

Before planting the millet seeds, cow dung is well spread over the fields, and the fields must then be ploughed with oxen.

- 74 *ajik-e racya ucyaca sek-sa loŋ-Ø-u-du.*
cold-INS paddy small to.ripen-INF do-sAS-3P-NPT

The cold makes the paddy small when it ripens.

3.4 Genitive

basic morphs: <-ko ~ -go>
label: GEN

The genitive case is marked by the suffix <-ko ~ -go> (GEN). The only instance of the allomorph <-go> (GEN) is in combination with the first person singular pronoun *gǎi* ‘I’, to form the first person singular possessive pronoun *gǎi-go* (I-GEN) ‘my’, as in example 75. All other occurrences of the genitive morpheme are of the regular allomorph <-ko> (GEN).

- 75 *gǎi-go nem babre.*
I-GEN house Bābre

My home is Bābre (I live in Bābre).

The genitive forms of all other personal pronouns are discussed in Section §6.1 of this chapter. The genitive case indicates belonging, ownership or possession, as in examples 76 to 79.

- 76 *naŋ-ko nem kuta?*
you-GEN house where

Where is your home (where do you live)?

- 77 *gǎi naŋ-ko palam-ko nem-yiŋ*
I you-GEN mother’s.elder.brother-GEN house-ABL
ra-ŋa-n.
come.from.level-1s-PT

I came from your mother’s elder brother’s house.

- 78 *amrika-ko jekha mi-ko nem-ko name ‘ubo nem’.*
America-GEN big person-GEN house-GEN name white house

The house of the big man of America is known as ‘White House’.

- 79 *‘tyaŋ su-ko nunu to koŋe doroŋ loŋ-to-le, gǎi-go ugo-te*
 then who-GEN milk that wall hole do-TPP-PCL I-GEN mouth-LOC
bi-Ø-du, to gǎi-go ama, to-ko lawa, gǎi-go apa.’
 enter-SAS-NPT that I-GEN mother that-GEN husband I-GEN father

‘Then whoever’s milk makes a hole in the wall and enters my mouth, she is my mother and her husband is my father’ [he said].

The genitive case suffix <-ko ~ -go> (GEN) also indicates related semantic functions such as the membership of an element in a set or a part-whole relationship, as in examples 80 to 83.

- 80 *saŋa-ko isa.*
 millet-GEN food

Millet paste.

- 81 *gǎ-ye wa-ko mus pun-u-n-du.*
 I-ERG chicken-GEN hair pull.out-3P-1S→3-NPT

I’m plucking the chicken.

- 82 *isa-guri, saŋa-ko denderek phase-ko isa nyakaŋeŋ-ko*
 food-IND millet-GEN coarse.and.rough flour-GEN food nettle-GEN
ken cya-ta-i-le, nis uni to-te hok-i-n.
 vegetable.curry eat-IPP-1pPS-PCL two day that-LOC stay-1pPS-PT

As for the food, well we ate this rough, coarse millet flour paste with nettle soup, and we stayed for two days.

- 83 *yamiryaŋ-ko thaŋmi-ko huca-pali oste-ko kham*
 nowadays-GEN Thangmi-GEN child-p self-GEN language
ma-cijyany-eŋ.
 NEG-speak-pAS

These days Thangmi children don’t even speak their own language.

Nominalised verbs may also take genitive case marking, as in examples 84 and 85, if this results in a semantically plausible combination.

- 84 *libi to laŋi khyak-si-Ø-du-ko apa-ye*
 after that necklace strap.on-REF-sAS-NPT-GEN father-ERG
ŋah-Ø-u-no:
 say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT

Later, the father of the one wearing the necklace said:

- 85 *hok-Ø-du-ko nem-te, phase ney-eŋ-to-le cey-eŋ-du,*
 be-sAS-NPT-GEN house-LOC flour grind-pAS-TPP-PCL eat-pAS-NPT
ma-hok-Ø-du-ko nem-te, thel thel isa cey-eŋ-du, to
 NEG-be-sAS-NPT-GEN house-LOC watery watery food eat-pAS-NPT that
woi tany-eŋ-du.
 also be.happy-pAS-NPT

In houses that have it, they grind flour to eat, in those that don't, they eat watery food, but even they are happy.

Under certain circumstances, adjectives can also take the genitive case, as in examples 86 and 87. In example 86, *ɕila-ko uni* (cold-GEN day) has the meaning 'on a cold day', and native speakers reject the form **ɕila uni* (cold day). To convey the meaning 'it was a cold day' or 'the day was cold', the adjective *ɕila* 'cold' follows the noun *uni* 'day, sun', as in the phrase *uni ɕila thah-Ø-an* (day cold be-sAS-3S/PT).

- 86 *ɕila-ko uni, cereŋ-cereŋ uni woi ma-hok-Ø-thyo.*
 cold-GEN day scorching sun also NEG-be-sAS-3S/COND

On a cold day, the sun wasn't scorching.

- 87 *di chin libi, wa jekha mi-ko nem-te*
 one moment after chicken big person-GEN house-LOC
ya-let-Ø-an, kherte-ko arka pole-te hok-Ø-an, to isyan
 go-appear-sAS-3S/PT near-GEN walnut tree-LOC be-sAS-3S/PT that period
to-ko camăi-ko bore tha-Ø-le hok-Ø-thyo.
 that-GEN daughter-GEN marriage be-sAS-PCL be-sAS-3S/COND

A moment later, the chicken arrived at the house of the important person, and sat down nearby a walnut tree, [and it happened that] that day that man's daughter was getting married.

A noun in the genitive case yields a constituent which may, if semantically plausible, take a further case ending. In the nominal string, the genitive suffix <-ko ~ -go> (GEN) always occupies a position posterior to the plural suffix <-pali> (p), as

demonstrated by examples 88 and 89. The suffixal string *<-ko-pali> (GEN-p) is rejected by Thangmi speakers as it yields a semantically implausible combination. The difference between a compound and a genitive construction, when both are semantically plausible, is the difference between a type of thing and a specific thing or group of things, such as *sya-kli* ‘cow dung’ versus *sya-ko kli* ‘the cow’s dung’, ‘the dung of a cow’, ‘the dung of the cow’, or *wa-ahum* ‘chickens’ eggs’, ‘a chicken’s egg’ versus *wa-ko ahum* ‘the chicken’s egg’, ‘the egg of a chicken’, ‘the egg of the chicken’.

- 88 *‘huca-pali-ko ama rah-u-n-du’ ŋa-to-le ŋah-Ø-u-no,*
 child-p-GEN mother bring-3P-1s→3-NPT say-TPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
ŋaŋ di uni nis-ka mi hen-to-le ɬaye caway-eŋ-an.
 and one day two-HNC person take-TPP-PCL night walk-pAS-3S/PT
 ‘I’ll bring the children’s mother’, he said, and then one day he set off
 walking in the night with two other guys.

- 89 *nan to oste-ko camăi-pali-ko nem-te yah-Ø-an.*
 now that self-GEN daughter-p-GEN house-LOC go-SAS-3S/PT
 So he went off to the houses of his own daughters.

The genitive case marker <-ko ~ -go> (GEN) and the locative postposition <-te> (LOC) occupy the same suffixal position in the nominal chain. According to the rules of Thangmi morphology, when these two suffixes appear in combination, their relative order has semantic implications. If the locative postposition precedes the genitive, as in *to-te-ko* (that-LOC-GEN) ‘of that (one), of there’, then the meaning is that of a genitive of location or place, as shown in examples 90 and 91. If the genitive suffix precedes the locative postposition, such as *naŋ-ko-te* (you-GEN-LOC) ‘at/in your’s’, then the meaning is akin to French *chez* ‘at the house of’, as in examples 92 and 93. Nepali has a similar construction to convey the sense of being at someone’s home, *tapāṭ-ko-mā* (you.honorific-GEN-LOC) ‘at your place’, from which the Thangmi version may be calqued.

- 90 *nan to-te-ko mosani priŋ ci-let-Ø-u-du tyaŋ libi*
 now that-LOC-GEN spirit outside CAUS-appear-SAS-3P-NPT then after
libi poh-Ø-u-du.
 after chase-SAS-3P-NPT

Now the spirit that is there is made to come out and is then chased away.

- 91 *po-ŋa libi, ni di-gore dewa nem duŋ-ŋaŋ*
 chase-CNS after we one-CLF god house within-inside
bi-ta-i-le hok-i-n, to-ŋaŋ-ko athaŋ sat-wa-n.
 enter-IPP-1pPS-PCL be-1pPS-PT that-within-GEN light kill-1p→23-PT

After we had been chased away, we snuck into a temple, turned off the light inside and stayed there.

- 92 *libi to-ko uma ma-thaŋ-Ø-an, ma-thaŋ-ŋa libi,*
 after that-GEN wife NEG-be.well-sAS-3S/PT NEG-be.well-CNS after
guru-ko-te hen-wa-n, guru-kăi ci-yo-wa-n.
 shaman-GEN-LOC take-1p→23-PT shaman-PM CAUS-look.at-1p→23-PT

Some time later, his wife got ill, and being ill, we took her to the shaman's house where we showed her to him.

- 93 *libi loŋe dese-te cawah-Ø-an, di-ka mesek*
 after jackal village-LOC walk-sAS-3S/PT one-HNC eye
ma-niy-Ø-u-du mi-ko-te ya-let-Ø-an.
 NEG-see-sAS-3P-NPT person-GEN-LOC go-appear-sAS-3S/PT

Later the jackal walked to the village and arrived at the home of a blind person.

When combined with the genitive marker, any remaining suffixal markers occupy a posterior position, such as <-be> (TOP) or <-guri> (IND), as shown in examples 94 and 95.

- 94 *nem-te ya-Ø-ta-le uma-kăi sakalei wakhe*
 house-LOC go-sAS-IPP-PCL wife-PM all word
ci-nasăiy-Ø-u-no, thoŋi kerep-kerep-Ø-ta-le
 CAUS-hear-sAS-3P-3→3/PT old.woman cry-cry-sAS-IPP-PCL
ŋah-Ø-u-no 'naŋ-ko-be camăi hok-Ø-du, pi-Ø-na-du,
 say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT you-GEN-TOP daughter be-sAS-NPT give-sAS-2s-NPT
găi-go su hok-Ø-du ra?'
 I-GEN who be-sAS-NPT or

Having gone home he told his wife everything that had happened, and the old woman said, crying and crying, 'you have a daughter who gives you things, now whom do I have?'

- 95 *naŋ-ko-guri hara jet hok-Ø-du to dese-ŋaŋ?*
 you-GEN-IND what work be-SAS-NPT that village-inside

What is it that you have to do in that village?

Genitive nominals may occur as independent heads, as in the possessive *gǎi-go hok-Ø-du* (I-GEN be-SAS-NPT) ‘I have one/mine’, or as in example 96.

- 96 *naŋ-ko hok-Ø-du, gǎi-go ma-hok.*
 you-GEN be-SAS-NPT I-GEN NEG-be

You have one, I don’t.

The genitive suffix <-ko ~ -go> (GEN) can also function as an adverbial nominaliser. Examples 97 and 98 illustrate the nominalised forms of *habi* ‘before’ and *libi* ‘after’ through the suffixation of the genitive marker <-ko ~ -go> (GEN), meaning ‘earlier, first’ and ‘later, last’ respectively.

- 97 *macyu-ko ca, gǎi-go bubu, ahe habi-ko*
 mother’s.younger.sister-GEN son I-GEN elder.brother very before-GEN
wakhe loŋ-u-n-du, to-ko.
 word do-3P-1s→3-NPT that-GEN

Let me tell a story about what happened a long time ago to my mother’s younger sister’s son, my elder brother.

- 98 *gǎi-go walŋa-ka tete, libi-ko gǎi.*
 I-GEN five-HNC elder.sister after-GEN I

There were five elder sisters, and last of all, me.

In Thangmi, a number of frequently used idiomatic phrases are governed by the genitive case. First, the narrative construction *di uni-ko wakhe* (one day-GEN word), best translated as ‘once upon a time...’ or ‘one day, this happened...’. Most Thangmi folk tales and historical anecdotes narrated around the family hearth open with this formulaic construction, as in example 99.

- 99 *di uni-ko wakhe, gǎi begale mi-ko bore-te ya-ŋa-thyo,*
 one day-GEN word I other person-GEN marriage-LOC go-1s-3sCOND
to-te di-ka ubo mi hok-Ø-thyo.
 that-LOC one-HNC white person be-SAS-3sCOND

Once upon a time, I went to someone else's wedding and there, at the wedding, was a white man.

While *oste* 'self' is attested without the genitive suffix in verbal scenarios, in noun phrases it most commonly occurs in the form *oste-ko* (self-GEN) 'own', as in examples 100 and 101.

- 100 *bubu woi gǎi-go oste-ko bubu uniŋ hok-Ø-du.*
 elder.brother also I-GEN self-GEN elder.brother like be-SAS-NPT

And that man is just like my own elder brother.

- 101 *nyoŋi tha-ŋa libi, oste oste-ko nem dǎi yey-eŋ-du.*
 evening be-CNS after self self-GEN house towards go-PAS-NPT

And when it's evening, they all go to their own homes.

The Thangmi language has no indigenous way of constructing comparative or superlative adjectival forms, such as 'more than' or 'most'. While younger speakers find ways of conveying these expressions through Nepali,⁴ older speaker still use the Thangmi word *uniŋ* 'like, as, than', to express comparative scenarios, in the same way that speakers of German use *als* 'like, as, than'. In such cases, *uniŋ* appears after a noun together with the genitive case suffix <-ko ~ -go> (GEN), as in example 102.

- 102 *ka-kǎi li-sa, saŋa, makǎi-ko uniŋ aye jet loŋ-sa*
 this-PM broadcast-INF millet maize-GEN like much work do-INF
ma-mǎi.
 NEG-must

Broadcasting this [wheat] is far less work than scattering millet or maize.

[lit. broadcasting this, one doesn't have to do as much work as one does with millet or maize.]

The Thangmi noun *pepelek* 'money, coins' combines with the genitive suffix <-ko ~ -go> (GEN) to give highly specific meanings. The phrase *pepelek-ko* (money-GEN)

⁴ Younger Thangmi speakers use Nepali *bhandā* 'more than' and *sab bhandā* 'most' to convey the comparative and superlative meaning of adjectives.

denotes ‘wealthy’ or ‘monied’ (example 103), while *pepelek-ko mi* (money-GEN person), ‘wealthy person’, has the more negative connotation of ‘money-lender’ (example 104). With interest rates of anything up to 60% per annum, it is no wonder that the Thangmi language has a specific term for those individuals who lend money.⁵

- 103 *‘soŋ-te di-gore pepelek-ko moro itu-le*
 river-LOC one-CLF money-GEN corpse bring.from.above-PCL
nah-Ø-u-du.’
 put-SAS-3P-NPT

‘At the river, a wealthy dead person [corpse with a money on it] has been washed down from above’ [the jackal said].

- 104 *pepelek-ko mi-ye nem cya-sa daŋ-Ø-u-du.*
 money-GEN person-ERG house eat-INF search-SAS-3P-NPT
 A money lender tries to take [lit. eat] houses.

4. Postpositions

4.1 Locative

morph:	<-te>
label:	LOC
morph:	<-ŋaŋ>
label:	inside

The locative case indicates location, place or destination. Thangmi has two locative postpositions, <-te> (LOC) which is variously translated as ‘in’, ‘on’, ‘at’ or ‘by’ and may be termed a locative proper, and the inessive <-ŋaŋ> ‘inside’. While both locative postpositions denote location, only <-te> (LOC) indicates direction. Less fluent or younger Thangmi speakers often use them interchangeably.

Examples 105 to 111 illustrate a range of uses of the locative suffix <-te> (LOC), *nem-te* (house-LOC) ‘home (direction)’ or ‘at home’ (105), *ka-te* (this-LOC) ‘here’ (106), *dilaŋ-te* (stone.resting.place-LOC) ‘by/on/at the stone resting place’ (107), *ken-te* (vegetable.curry-LOC) ‘in the curry’ (108), *kham-te* (language-LOC) ‘in the language’ (109), *uni-te* (sun-LOC) ‘in the sun’ (110) and *thapu-te* (fireplace-LOC) ‘on the stove’ and *lak-te* (hand-LOC) ‘on the hand’ (111).

⁵ In the northernmost Thangmi villages *pepelek-ko mi* also means ‘Brahmin’ since higher-caste non Thangmi are usually the lenders and Thangmi are the recipients.

- 105 *gǎi nem-te ya-ŋa-du.*
 I house-LOC go-1s-NPT
 I'm going home.
- 106 *gǎi-go nem ka-te.*
 I-GEN house this-LOC
 My house is here (I live here).
- 107 *to dilaŋ-te di-si-Ø-du.*
 that stone.resting.place-LOC rest-REF-SAS-NPT
 He is resting by the stone resting place.
- 108 *gǎi ken-te chya cuk-u-n-du.*
 I vegetable.curry-LOC salt insert-3P-1s→3-NPT
 I'm putting some salt in the vegetable curry.
- 109 *naŋ-ko kham-te to-kǎi hara isiy-eŋ-du?*
 you-GEN language-LOC that-PM what say-pAS-NPT
 How do they say that in your language?
- 110 *nan saŋa let-Ø-an, saŋa uni-te areŋ-to-le, yante-te*
 then millet appear-SAS-3S/PT millet sun-LOC dry-TPP-PCL quern-LOC
na-to-le ney-eŋ-du.
 put-TPP-PCL grind-pAS-NPT
 Then the millet comes clean off the husk and is then dried in the sun, put in
 a quern [grindstone], and ground.
- 111 *baŋi thapu-te nah-Ø-u-du, lak-te kiji thum-Ø-du, me*
 pot fireplace-LOC put-SAS-3P-NPT hand-LOC black stain-SAS-NPT fire
ma-ti-Ø-ta-le kerep-Ø-du, raphil thor-si-Ø-du
 NEG-light-SAS-IPP-PCL cry-SAS-NPT tear wipe.away-REF-SAS-NPT
beryaŋ, kiji naŋe-te thum-Ø-du.
 that.time black cheek-LOC stain-SAS-NPT
 As he puts the pot on the fireplace, he gets black [soot] on his hands, and
 what with the fire still not being alight, he cries, and as he wipes the tears
 away, the soot smears all over his cheeks.

The locative postposition <-te> (LOC) may also be suffixed to adjectives and adverbs, as in examples 112 to 115, *ǎlǎmtha-te* (distance-LOC) ‘in the distance/far away’

(112), *ukhiṇ-te* (dark-LOC) ‘in the dark/by night’ (113), *dha-te* (that.distant-LOC) ‘over there/in that place’ (114) and *chin-te* (moment-LOC) ‘in a moment’ (115), the latter a calque from Nepali *ek chin-mā* (one moment-LOC) ‘in a moment’.

- 112 *ălāmtha-te di-ka camāica khalam-Ø-u-no, camāica-ko apa*
 distant-LOC one-HNC woman meet-SAS-3P-3→3/PT woman-GEN father
ama-kāi ṇa-to-le, ca-ko bore loṇ-Ø-u-no.
 mother-PM say-TPP-PCL son-GEN marriage do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

He found a woman in a place far away, and having discussed it with the woman’s father and mother, the son was married.

- 113 *nis-ka-ye huca-pali cabuy-eṇ-to-le, ukhiṇ-te caway-eṇ-an.*
 two-HNC-ERG child-p carry-pAS-TPP-PCL dark-LOC walk-pAS-3S/PT

Those two people, carrying the children, walked by night.

- 114 *dha-te ulam apraca ma-hok.*
 that.distant-LOC path good NEG-be

That path over there is not good.

- 115 *to mi-ye ṇa-Ø-ṇa-n, ‘nan, ka-yiṇ di chin-te*
 that person-ERG say-SAS-1s-PT now this-ABL one moment-LOC
ya-let-ni-du.’
 go-appear-2p-NPT

And that person said to me, ‘from here you’ll(p) be there in no time.’

The spatial adverb *kherte* ‘near, nearby, close’ is derived from **kher* ‘close’ combined with the locative postposition <-te> (LOC), as illustrated in example 116 below. Thangmi speakers reject **kher* as a viable alternate in all scenarios.

- 116 *isa cya-ta-i-le, thapu kherte gāi ami-ṇa-n.*
 food eat-IPP-1pPS-PCL fireplace near I sleep-1s-PT

Once we had eaten, I fell asleep close to the fireplace.

When the result is semantically plausible, the locative postposition <-te> (LOC) may also be suffixed to a nominalised verb, as in example 117.

- 117 *per-Ø-du-te woi lun-ŋa-n, nan hara tha-Ø-du? masăi.*
 fly-SAS-NPT-LOC also ride-1s-PT now what be-SAS-NPT who.knows

I even got to ride one of those flying things, now what else will happen?
 Who knows?

As discussed in Section §3.4 above, locative postpositions may be combined with the genitive marker (examples 90 to 93). Along with the genitive, the locative suffixes may also be combined with other suffixal elements, such as *ka* ‘throughout’ (118), <-guri> (IND) (119) and <-be> (TOP) (120).

- 118 *ari-Ø-ta-le ŋah-Ø-u-no, ‘bubu, ka dese-te*
 be.afraid-SAS-IPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT elder.brother this village-LOC
găi-go su woi ma-hok, găi sumaka thăi daŋ-ca daŋ-ca
 I-GEN who also NEG-be I silent place search-PSG search-PSG
ra-ŋa-du, tyaj ka-te ka ra-let-ŋa-n.’
 come.from.level-1s-NPT then this-LOC throughout come-appear-1s-PT

All afraid, she said, ‘elder brother, I know no one in this village, and I have been searching and searching for a quiet place to go to, and ended up here.’

- 119 *to-te-guri di-gore kiji ŋiŋ na-to-le cikhet-eŋ-no.*
 that-LOC-IND one-CLF black stone put-TPP-PCL show-pAS-3→3/PT

And in that place, they left a black stone to show her [i.e. the mother, what she had given birth to].

- 120 *‘fila-te-be me ma-mut, yamiryaŋ adum tha-Ø-du beryaŋ*
 cold-LOC-TOP fire NEG-blow nowadays hot be-SAS-NPT that.time
hara-ko me mut-Ø-u-thyo?’
 what-GEN fire blow-SAS-3P-3sCOND

‘They don’t light the heater when it’s cold, and these days, now that it’s warm, why would they light a fire anyway?’ [my friend said].

The locative postpositions <-te> (LOC) and <-ŋaŋ> ‘inside’ may be suffixed to both demonstrative and interrogative pronouns, such as *to-te* (that-LOC) ‘there’, *hara-te* (what-LOC) ‘in/by what’ (example 121) or *to-ŋaŋ* (that-inside) ‘in that place’ (example 122).

- 121 *'di pepelek-ko jake hani pi-sa? phah-o!*
 one money-GEN rice how.much give-INF hold.out.and.receive-s→3/IMP
hara-te hen-u-na-du?'
 what-LOC take-3P-2S-NPT

'How much rice should I give you for one coin? Hold out your hand! But what will you carry it inside?' [the storekeeper asked].

- 122 *to ni-to-le atthe taη-Ø-an, libi to-ηaη arki*
 that see-TPP-PCL much be.happy-sAS-3S/PT after that-inside deer
sya-pali nih-Ø-u-no.
 cow-p see-sAS-3P-3→3/PT

She was really happy to see all that, and in that place she later saw deer and cows also.

When combined with the locative postposition <-te> (LOC), certain Thangmi nominals take on a specific meaning. Thangmi *dewa* 'deity, god, spirit', derived from Nepali *deva* 'god', combines with the locative <-te> (LOC) to give *dewa-te* (*god-LOC*), meaning 'place of worship' or 'temple', as in example 123. There are no indigenous proper nouns in Thangmi for the bazaar towns of Dolakhā and Carikoṭ, nor for the capital city Kathmandu. The latter is usually referred to as *jekha dese* (big village) 'the big village'. Travelling to Dolakhā or Carikoṭ is described as going *jet-te* (work-LOC) 'to work', since these district towns are important sources of wage labour for the impoverished Thangmi community (see example 124). In contrast to example 72 above, in which a fluent Thangmi speaker used the instrumental case with the noun *sare* 'voice' to convey the meaning 'in a...voice', less fluent Thangmi speakers may use the locative postposition <-te> (LOC). While opting for the locative postposition over the instrumental case in such instances does not result in a semantic difference, the locative construction illustrated by example 125 below is most likely calqued from Nepali *ṭhūlo svar-mā* (big voice-LOC) 'in a loud voice'.

- 123 *cawa-ηa libi, ṭaye dewa-te ya-let-i-n.*
 walk-CNS after night god-LOC go-appear-1pPS-PT

Having travelled all day, we only arrived at the temple at night.

- 124 *uma lawa isa cey-eŋ-ta-le, me sat-eŋ-to-le, jet*
 wife husband food eat-pAS-IPP-PCL fire kill-pAS-TPP-PCL work
jet-te yey-eŋ-thyo.
 work-LOC go-pAS-3sCOND

Having eaten their meal and put out the fire, the wife and husband went off to their respective jobs.

- 125 *to-kǎi ma-piy-Ø-u-du mi-ko laŋga-te ya-Ø-ta-le,*
 that-PM NEG-give-sAS-3P-NPT person-GEN courtyard-LOC go-sAS-IPP-PCL
jekha sare-te kiḍiy-Ø-an.
 big voice-LOC quarrel-sAS-3S/PT

He went to the courtyard of that person who wouldn't give the money and, in a very loud voice, started a quarrel.

The inessive postposition <-ŋaŋ> 'inside' specifies location rather than direction, as demonstrated by examples 126 to 131 below.

- 126 *naŋ-ko nem to dese-ŋaŋ hok-Ø-du ra?*
 you-GEN house that village-inside be-sAS-NPT or
 Do you live in that village?

- 127 *jakcho-kǎi yante-ŋaŋ ne-to-le phase loŋ-to-le, maṇṇi, isa,*
 wheat-PM quern-inside grind-TPP-PCL flour do-TPP-PCL bread food
anek-to-le, cya-ŋa sola woi tha-Ø-du.
 fry-TPP-PCL eat-CNS snack also be-sAS-NPT

Having ground the wheat in a quern and made it into flour, it can be eaten as bread, as cooked food or even as a snack when fried.

- 128 *aye adum tha-Ø-du ṭhǎi-ŋaŋ ka racya jet apraca*
 very hot be-sAS-NPT place-inside this paddy work good
tha-Ø-du.
 be-sAS-NPT

In very hot places, paddy grows well. [lit. the rice work is good]

- 129 *tyaŋ thaɸu-ŋaŋ na-to-le jyoh-Ø-u-no, min-ŋa libi*
 then fireplace-inside put-TPP-PCL burn-sAS-3P-3→3/PT cook-CNS after
cyah-Ø-an.
 eat-sAS-3S/PT

Then he put it in the fire and roasted it, when it was cooked he ate it.

- 130 *gǎi naka nem-ŋaŋ hok-ŋa-n, naka isa cya-ŋa-n'*
 I new house-inside be-1s-PT new food eat-1s-PT
ŋah-Ø-u-no.
 say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT

'I stayed in a new house and ate new food', she told them.

- 131 *gǎi kiŋi ta-sa ukhiŋ-ŋaŋ ya-ŋa-n, tah-u-n-uŋ.*
 I shit release-INF dark-inside go-1s-PT release-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT

I went to take a shit in the dark, and I shat.

In certain contexts, the inessive postposition <-ŋaŋ> 'inside' is understood to convey the sense of 'right there', as in example 132.

- 132 *libi to-ŋaŋ ni yo-siy-i-n, nuy-i-n.*
 after that-inside we look.at-REF-1pPS-PT laugh-1pPS-PT

Then, right there, we looked at each other and laughed.

In other situations, the locative postposition <-ŋaŋ> 'inside' may best be translated by 'on' or 'onto', as in example 133.

- 133 *miryaŋ gǎ-ye to-ko koŋte-ŋaŋ ŋiŋ ci-ros-u-n-uŋ,*
 yesterday I-ERG that-GEN leg-inside stone CAUS-fall-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT
tyaŋ gare thah-Ø-an.
 then wound be-sAS-3S/PT

Yesterday I dropped a stone on his foot, and now there's a wound.

When both locative postpositions are used in a single sentence, the difference between them becomes clear. In example 113 above, *ukhiŋ-te* (dark-LOC) conveys the meaning of 'in the dark, by night', while in example 134 below, *ukhiŋ-ŋaŋ* (dark-inside) has the sense of 'in the dead of night' or 'in complete darkness'.

- 134 *thoŋi-ye, ukhiŋ-ŋaŋ tʊŋi rah-Ø-an ŋa-to-le,*
 old.woman-ERG dark-inside goat come.from.level-sAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL
nyakaŋeŋ pole-te ciy-Ø-u-no.
 nettle shrub-LOC throw.away-sAS-3P-3→3/PT

In the darkness, thinking that the goat had come, the old woman threw him into the nettle bush.

In example 135, the locative postpositions <te> and <-ŋaŋ> are translated as ‘to’ and ‘into’ respectively.

- 135 *jekha mi-ko nem-te ya-ŋa libi, to-kǎi bhutbhute-ŋaŋ*
 big person-GEN house-LOC go-CNS after that-PM white.hot.fire-inside
jun-Ø-u-no.
 chase-sAS-3P-3→3/PT

Having gone to the chief’s house, he was chased into the centre of the white hot fire.

4.2 Comitative

morph:	<i>nama</i>
label:	with

The comitative postposition *nama* ‘with’ denotes accompaniment by indicating the person or things which take part in an action. Unlike many Kiranti languages, the Thangmi comitative postposition does not coordinate nominal arguments. Examples 136 to 140 below show commonly occurring instances of the comitative postposition *nama*. The postposition appears posterior to the noun which it modifies.

- 136 *chya nama cya-Ø!*
 salt with eat-s/IMP
 Eat it with salt!
- 137 *naŋ mīryaŋ su nama ya-na-n?*
 you yesterday who with go-2s-PT
 With whom did you go yesterday?

- 138 *gǎi ari-sa ma-mǎi-thyo, to nama jet loŋ-sa mi*
 I be.afraid-INF NEG-must-3sCOND that with work do-INF person
ma-hok-Ø-thyo.
 NEG-be-sAS-3sCOND

I needn't have been afraid, since he simply didn't have anyone to work with.

- 139 *nama ya-Ø-ta-le, di-ka cahuca nama cijyaŋ-Ø-an.*
 with go-sAS-IPP-PCL one-HNC man with speak-sAS-3S/PT

Having gone off with them, she spoke to one of the men.

- 140 *ca nama apa cijyaŋ-Ø-du, uma nama ma-cijyaŋ, lawa-kǎi*
 son with father speak-sAS-NPT wife with NEG-speak father-PM
nem duŋ-ŋaŋ woi bi-sa ma-pi.
 house within-inside also enter-INF NEG-give

The father speaks with his son but not with his wife, she doesn't even let him come inside the house.

The comitative postposition *nama* 'with' is also used to convey the sense of 'together', in which case the associated verb usually shows agreement for plural number, as in examples 141 and 142 below.

- 141 *ja-Ø-du, nama hen-ko!*
 okay-sAS-NPT with go-ADH

Okay, let's go together!

- 142 *baŋhe ra-ŋa-n, nama hok-i-n, thaŋmi kham*
 tomorrow come.from.level-1s-PT with be-1pPS-PT Thangmi language
loŋ-wa-n.
 do-1p→23-PT

The next day I came [to him] and we sat together and spoke Thangmi.

Thangmi has no verb 'to have', and possession of non-animate things is indicated by means of the comitative postposition *nama*, much in the way that possession in Nepali can be conveyed through the suffix *saŋga* 'with'. Examples 143 and 144 below illustrate *nama* conveying the possession of inanimate goods. When used in relation to an animate noun, *nama* 'with' denotes physical proximity and togetherness rather than possession or ownership, as in example 145 below. The English sense of 'having' brothers and sisters is conveyed in Thangmi using the

genitive case marker <-ko ~ -go> (GEN), in which case the associated verb shows agreement for plural number, as in example 146 below. Transliterations of comparable examples in Nepali are offered for sentences 143 to 146 to facilitate comparison. The semantics of ownership and being are further discussed in Chapter 7, Sections §1.1 and §1.2, where the copula verbs *tha-sa* and *hok-sa* ‘to be’ which indicate possession of non-portable or immovable objects, such as family members and houses, are explained.

143 *găi nama pepelek ma-hok.*

I with money NEG-be

I don’t have a penny [any money]. [*ma saṅga paisā chaina.*]

144 *naṅ nama me hok-Ø-du?*

you with fire be-SAS-NPT

Do you have a light? [*tīmī saṅga āgo cha?*]

145 *to nama sum-ka hu hok-eṅ-du.*

that with three-HNC younger.brother be-PAS-NPT

He has / there are three brothers with him. [*u saṅga tīn-janā bhāi chan.*]

146 *to-ko sum-ka hu hok-eṅ-du.*

that-GEN three-HNC younger.brother be-PAS-NPT

He has three brothers. [*usko tīn-janā bhāi chan.*]

When duplicated, as in *nama nama*, the comitative postposition *nama* ‘with’ means ‘together’. This reduplicative form resembles a similar reduplication in Nepali, *saṅga saṅgai* ‘together’. Examples of the reduplicative *nama nama* are given in 147 to 149 below.

147 *libi ma-ray-e, nalenṅ nama nama hen-ko.*

after NEG-come.from.level-s/NEG/IMP present with with go-ADH

Don’t come later, let’s go together now.

148 *nīs-ka nama nama caway-eṅ-du beryaṅ, nem-te*

two-HNC with with walk-PAS-NPT that.time house-LOC

ya-let-eṅ-an.

go-appear-PAS-3S/PT

The two of them, walking together, arrived at his house.

- 149 *'libi gǎ-ye duŋ-yiŋ naŋ-kǎi urou-na-ŋa-du, tyaŋ naŋ*
 after I-ERG within-ABL you-PM call-2s-1s-NPT then you
ra-Ø, to-yiŋ ni nis-ka nama nama hok-i-du.'
 come.from.level-s/IMP that-ABL we two-HNC with with be-1pPS-NPT
 'Then I will call to you from inside the house, and you must come in, and
 from that point, you and I will live together.'

The Thangmi comitative postposition *nama* 'with' combines with a number of verbs to render highly specific meanings: 'to be in peace' is conveyed by *sumaka nama hoksa* (lit. be with silence) as in example 150; 'to come across, meet accidentally' is conveyed by *nama yaletsa* (lit. appear with) as in example 151; 'to meet someone' is *nama thasa* (lit. be with) as in example 152 and 'to leave someone' is conveyed by *nama ǎlǎmtha thasa* (lit. be distant with) as in example 153 below.

- 150 *naleŋ sumaka nama hok-le hok-eŋ-du.*
 present silent with be-PCL be-pAS-NPT
 At present they are living together in peace.
- 151 *ya-ya woi, di-ka ucyaca huca nama ya-let-Ø-an.*
 go-go also one-HNC small child with go-appear-sAS-3S/PT
 As she was going, she came across a small child.
- 152 *'nan baŋthe nama tha-ko' ŋa-to-le ŋah-u-n-uŋ, wakhe*
 now tomorrow with be-ADH say-TPP-PCL say-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT word
loŋ-sa-kǎi di ʈǎi-te hok-ta-i-le, loŋ-wa-n.
 do-INF-PM one place-LOC be-IPP-1pPS-PCL do-1p→23-PT
 'Now let's meet again tomorrow', I said to her, and finding a place to talk,
 we sat there and chatted.
- 153 *to-ko ka jet ni-to-le, camǎica woi to nama ǎlǎmtha*
 that-GEN this work see-TPP-PCL woman also that with distant
thah-Ø-an.
 be-sAS-3S/PT
 Seeing what he was doing, that woman also left him.

In the Thangmi language, one gets married 'with' rather than 'to' someone, as shown in example 154.

- 154 *to-ye di-ka camăica nama bore loŋ-Ø-u-no.*
 that-ERG one-HNC woman with marriage do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

He married a woman.

In Thangmi, the sense of ‘without’ is conveyed using the comitative postposition *nama* ‘with’ in combination with a negated verb, as in example 155. There is no specific postposition or lexical form which is comparable to English ‘without’.

- 155 *camăi jekhapa nama ma-hok-tiniŋ nem dăi*
 daughter father’s.elder.brother with NEG-be-PFG house towards
yah-Ø-an.
 go-SAS-3S/PT

Daughter returned home without ever having sat with uncle.

If it yields a semantically plausible combination, the comitative postposition *nama* ‘with’ may be combined with other suffixes, such as <-guri> (IND) and <-be> (TOP), as in examples 156 and 157.

- 156 *uyu-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘găi nama-be kanŋi racya, jakcho*
 mouse-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT I with-TOP fresh paddy wheat
hok-Ø-du, naŋ ma-cya thaŋun, naŋ ka-te hok-a! daŋ-to-le
 be-SAS-NPT you NEG-eat maybe you this-LOC be-s/IMP search-TPP-PCL
kyel-u-n-du’ ŋa-to-le cawah-Ø-an.
 bring-3P-1s→3-NPT say-TPP-PCL walk-SAS-3S/PT

The mouse said, ‘I only have raw paddy and wheat with me, and I fear that you can’t eat that, you stay here! I will go and find something and bring it back’, and saying this, he walked off.

- 157 *to huca woi hok-Ø-an, hok-Ø-du beryaŋ bubu nama*
 that child also be-SAS-3S/PT be-SAS-NPT that.time elder.brother with
ma-cijyaŋ-Ø-an, tete nama-guri cijyaŋ-Ø-an.
 NEG-speak-SAS-3S/PT elder.sister with-IND speak-SAS-3S/PT

That child also went to stay, and during the time of her stay, she never once spoke with elder brother, although she did speak with elder sister.

Finally, the comitative postposition *nama* ‘with’ occurs in Thangmi phrases calqued from the Nepali *rāmro saŋga khānuhos* ‘bon appétit’ (lit. please eat well) and *rāmro saŋga basnuhos* ‘be comfortable’ (lit. please stay well). Thangmi versions of these

popular Nepali sayings are frequently used in everyday speech, as demonstrated by examples 158 and 159.

- 158 *'tyaŋ sum-ka-kăi apraca nama cya-sa nik-i-du.'*
 then three-HNC-PM good with eat-INF receive-1pP-NPT

'Then the three of us shall be able to eat well.'

- 159 *tete jarphu-ko nem-te ulica uni apraca*
 elder.sister elder.sister's.husband-GEN house-LOC few day good
nama hok-Ø-an.
 with be-SAS-3S/PT

He only stayed at his sister's and brother-in-law's house for a few days.

4.3 Patient marking for direct and indirect objects

morphs: <-kăi ~ -găi>
 label: PM

The Thangmi patient marker <-kăi ~ -găi> (PM) is best translated as 'to' or 'for' and marks what in English grammar would be termed animate direct objects and all indirect objects in transitive verbal scenarios. When the patient marker <-kăi ~ -găi> (PM) is appended to an infinitive verb, the suffix conveys the supine meaning 'in order to'. The patient marker <-kăi ~ -găi> (PM) is one of the most commonly occurring postpositions in Thangmi and its distribution requires careful analysis.

Strictly speaking, Thangmi has an unmarked case but no absolute case, and Thangmi marks the nominal patient in transitive constructions in a manner reminiscent of Nepali. Finding a suitable label for the postposition <-kăi ~ -găi> has not been easy, and I have resisted using the terms 'accusative' and 'oblique' because these indicate case agreement and the Thangmi object marker <-kăi ~ -găi> (PM) is clearly a postposition. Rather than opting for a fashionable term such as 'anti-dative' to describe this grammatical category, I have chosen the more descriptive and conventional label 'patient marker' or (PM).

Animacy in transitive verbs is a salient category in Thangmi as illustrated by the patient marker <-kăi ~ -găi> (PM). Examples 160 to 164 show animate direct objects taking the marker <-kăi ~ -găi> (PM). Note that the patient marker <-kăi ~ -găi> (PM) suffixes directly to the nominal head, which may be a noun (example 163), a personal pronoun (examples 160 to 162) or an interrogative pronoun (example 164).

- 160 *gǎ-ye naŋ-kǎi baʔhe yo-na-ŋa-du.*
 I-ERG you-PM tomorrow look.at-2s-1s-NPT
 I will see you tomorrow.

- 161 *uni-ye gǎi-gǎi jyou-to-le, sebi yah-Ø-an.*
 sun-ERG I-PM burn-TPP-PCL skin go-sAS-3S/PT
 The sun burnt me, and my skin peeled off.

- 162 *gǎi naŋ-kǎi seny-e ɲe-na-ŋa-du.*
 I you-PM wood-INS hit-2s-1s-NPT
 I'll hit you with a piece of wood.

- 163 *nem-te ama-kǎi dikaca torta-to-le cawa-ŋa-n.*
 house-LOC mother-PM alone leave-TPP-PCL walk-1s-PT
 I left mum at home by herself and left [lit. walked away].

- 164 *to-te gǎ-ye su-kǎi woi ma-ŋosǎiy-u-n-thyo.*
 that-LOC I-ERG who-PM also NEG-recognise-3P-1s→3-3sCOND
 In that place I didn't know a single person.

Inanimate direct objects do not take the patient marker <-kǎi ~ -gǎi> (PM), thus: *gǎi isa cya-ŋa-du* (I food eat-1s-NPT) 'I am eating food' and explicitly not **gǎi isa-kǎi cya-ŋa-du* (I food-PM eat-1s-NPT). The patient marker <-kǎi ~ -gǎi> (PM) marks all indirect objects in transitive verbal scenarios, regardless of whether the direct object is explicit or implicit, and also regardless of whether the indirect object is animate or inanimate, as shown in examples 165 to 169.

- 165 *gǎi naŋ-kǎi saŋa-ko toŋ pi-na-ŋa-du.*
 I you-PM millet-GEN beer give-2s-1s-NPT
 I'll give you millet beer.

- 166 *to dikaca ma-cya-Ø-thyo, bakotek-guri to-ko uma-kǎi,*
 that alone NEG-eat-sAS-3sCOND half-IND that-GEN wife-PM
ŋa-to-le gǎi-go apa-ko ama-kǎi, piy-Ø-u-thyo.
 say-TPP-PCL I-GEN father-GEN mother-PM give-sAS-3P-3sCOND

He wouldn't smoke alone either, he would give half to his wife, meaning to say, my father's mother.

- 167 *ni nis-ka-kǎi to-te isa piy-i-n.*
 we two-HNC-PM that-LOC food give-1pPS-PT

In that place, we were given food.

- 168 *gǎ-ye apraca jet loŋ-ŋa libi, naŋ-kǎi kalijyaŋ naka miŋ*
 I-ERG good work do-CNS after you-PM year.after.next new cloth
pi-na-ŋa-du.
 give-2s-1s-NPT

The year after next, once I've worked well, I'll give you some new clothes.

- 169 *gǎi-gǎi cijyaŋ-sa ʃisen-Ø-ŋa-du bubu-ye na-Ø-ŋa-du*
 I-PM speak-INF teach-sAS-1s-NPT elder.brother-ERG put-sAS-1s-NPT
name lile.
 name Lile.

The name given to me by the elder brother who taught me to speak was Lile.

The patient marker <-kǎi ~ -gǎi> (PM) combines with the interrogative pronouns *hara* 'what' and *su* 'who' to produce *hara-kǎi* 'why' (lit. 'what-PM') and *su-kǎi* 'whom' (lit. 'who-PM') respectively, as shown in examples 170 to 173.

- 170 *hara-kǎi ma-cya?*
 what-PM NEG-eat

Why don't (you) eat?

- 171 *hara-kǎi rage tha-na-n?*
 what-PM anger be-2s-PT

Why have you become angry?

- 172 *hen-ko, hara-kǎi ma-hen-sa? naŋ-ko pepelek ma-hok-Ø-ta-le*
 go-ADH what-PM NEG-go-INF you-GEN money NEG-be-sAS-IPP-sAS-PCL
hara tha-Ø-du? naŋ cya-na-du sola-ko pepelek gǎ-ye
 what be-sAS-NPT you eat-2s-NPT snack-GEN money I-ERG
piy-u-n-du.
 give-3P-1s→3-NPT

Come on, let's go, why would you not go? What does it matter that you have no money? Whatever snacks you eat, I'll pay for.

- 173 *camăi thombe tha-Ø-ta-le 'nan su-kăi ra-sa?' ŋa-to-le*
 daughter surprise be-SAS-IPP-PCL now who-PM bring-INF say-TPP-PCL
hok-Ø-an.
 be-SAS-3S/PT

Totally shocked, the daughter sat down and thought 'now whom shall I bring?'

In more complex sentences, which include both an indirect and direct object, only the indirect object is marked, even when the direct object is animate. In example 174, for example, *humi* 'younger sister' remains unmarked:

- 174 *găi to-kăi humi ma-pi.*
 I that-PM younger.sister NEG-give
 I am not giving him [my] younger sister.

In *Nepali: A Complete Course in Understanding, Speaking and Writing*, Michael Hutt and Abhi Subedi devote two pages to a discussion of what they call the 'object marker' in Nepali, *-lāi*. They suggest that in sentences containing only one object, 'personal names, human nouns and human pronouns...should carry *-लाई* when they are the object of a verb, while inanimate nouns need not' (1999: 92). One of three exceptions to the rule is 'in contexts in which a human being is being treated as a commodity that can be bought or given away (giving a daughter in marriage, for example), in which case it will be treated as an inanimate noun and will not take *-लाई*' (1999: 93). The same rule applies to Thangmi, as illustrated by example 174 above.

Thangmi *<kăi ~ găi>* (PM) and Nepali *-lāi* are similar in both form and function. One set of idiomatic uses for the Thangmi patient marker *<kăi ~ găi>* (PM) includes feelings, emotions and descriptions of states, many of which are Nepali calques. Commonly occurring constructions denoting feelings are shown in examples 175 to 179. Readers familiar with Nepali will note the similarity between the Thangmi examples and the same constructions in Nepali.

- 175 *găi-găi nui-sa ali-ŋa-n.*
 I-PM laugh-INF like-1s-PT
 I like laughing.
- 176 *to beryaŋ găi-găi cya-sa ma-ali-Ø-thyo.*
 that that.time I-PM eat-INF NEG-like-SAS-3sCOND
 At that time I didn't like eating.

- 177 *găi-găi tila-ŋa-n, găi me cyatəŋ-si-ŋa-du.*
 I-PM be.cold-1s-PT I fire warm.by-REF-1s-NPT

I'm cold, I shall warm myself by the fire.

- 178 *lak-te cum-to-le ŋah-Ø-u-no 'ka-kăi kapu kalăi-Ø-du,*
 hand-LOC hold-TPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT this-PM head hurt-SAS-NPT
baŋkal woi kalăi-Ø-du'.
 stomach also hurt-SAS-NPT

Holding onto her hand, he said, 'her head hurts and her stomach also hurts'.

- 179 *thonə-kăi woi ma-ci-let-Ø-u-no, thonə-kăi rage*
 old.man-PM also NEG-CAUS-appear-SAS-3P-3→3/PT old.woman-PM anger
let-Ø-an.
 appear-SAS-3S/PT

But he didn't release the old man, and the old woman got angry.

The patient object marker <-kăi ~ -găi> (PM) occurs in a number of other calques from Nepali, particularly in constructions such as 'how are you?', 'I'm fine', 'I don't know' and 'I'm sleepy'. In Nepali, all these phrases take the object marker *-lăi*. Sentences 180 to 184 below offer examples of constructions calqued, or even directly loaned, from Nepali which make use of the patient marker <-kăi ~ -găi> (PM).

- 180 *naŋ-kăi kasto hok-Ø-du.*
 you-PM how be-SAS-NPT

How are you?

- 181 *găi-găi ninra kyel-ŋa-n.*
 I-PM sleepy come-1s-PT

I'm tired [lit. sleepiness has come to me].

- 182 *bophura, găi-găi thaha ma-thah-Ø-an.*
 pity I-PM knowledge NEG-be-SAS-3S/PT

I'm sorry, I didn't know.

- 183 *găi-găi saŋa-ko isa gap-Ø-an.*
 I-PM millet-GEN food be.enough-SAS-3S/PT

I'm full of millet paste [I've had enough].

- 184 *gǎ-ye ñah-u-n-uŋ* ‘*gǎi-gǎi thaŋmi kham uchincǎi*
 I-ERG say-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT I-PM Thangmi language very.little
ra-Ø-du, hara jet loŋ-sa?’
 come.from.level-sAS-NPT what work do-INF

So I said ‘I only speak a very little bit of Thangmi, what help can I be?’

When the Thangmi patient marker <-kǎi ~ -gǎi> (PM) co-occurs with an infinitive verb, the postposition conveys the meaning of ‘in order to’ and functions as a supine. Nepali *-lāi* is used with verbal infinitives in a similar manner. Sentences 185 to 188 illustrate this use of the Thangmi patient marker <-kǎi ~ -gǎi> (PM).

- 185 *ni-kǎi dewa yo-sa-kǎi ucyapa-ko ca-ye*
 we-PM god look.at-INF-PM father’s.younger.brother-GEN son-ERG
urouy-i-thyo.
 call-1pps-3sCOND

Our father’s younger brother’s son had called us [to the city] to see the temples.

- 186 *libi libi gǎi to-kǎi yo-sa-kǎi ya-ŋa-n.*
 after after I that-PM look.at-INF-PM go-1s-PT

Much later I went to visit him.

- 187 *kucu-ye gǎi-gǎi cek-sa-kǎi polot-si-sa daŋ-Ø-u-du.*
 dog-ERG I-PM bite-INF-PM break.loose-REF-INF search-sAS-3P-NPT

The dog is trying to break loose in order to bite me.

- 188 *gǎ-ye ðoka tak-sa-kǎi ñiny-e camek*
 I-ERG wicker.basket weave-INF-PM stone-INS thin.bamboo
neh-u-n-du.
 beat-3P-1s→3-NPT

I’ll beat the thin bamboo with a rock to weave the carrying basket.

The patient marker <-kǎi ~ -gǎi> (PM) can also combine with a verb phrase if this yields a semantically plausible combination. In example 189, the third person singular conjugation of *kalǎisa* ‘to hurt’, *kalǎi-Ø-du* (hurt-sAS-NPT) ‘hurts’, acts like a noun and is translated by ‘pain’. In example 190, the verb also takes the role of a nominal head to mean ‘blind person’.

- 189 'ka kalăi-Ø-du-kăi hara loŋ-sa?' ŋa-to-le, găi-go jekha
 this hurt-SAS-NPT-PM what do-INF say-TPP-PCL I-GEN big
 tete-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no.
 elder.sister-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

'What can we do about this pain?', my elder sister asked.

- 190 libi mesek ma-niy-Ø-u-du-kăi oŋgaŋe-ŋaŋ tham-Ø-u-no,
 after eye NEG-see-SAS-3P-NPT-PM hole-inside insert-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
 tyaŋ nasa-ye lup-Ø-u-no.
 then earth-INS fill.up-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

Then he [the jackal] inserted the blind person into the hole and then filled it up with earth.

The irregular allomorph <-găi> of the patient marker <-kăi ~ -găi> (PM) only occurs with the first person singular pronoun *găi* 'I', as in *găi-găi* (I-PM) 'for/to me', as illustrated in examples 191 and 192 below.

- 191 găi-găi pi-ŋa!
 I-PM give-s→1s/IMP
 Give [it to] me!

- 192 hok-Ø-du, găi-go ama-ye găi-găi arkapole-ŋaŋ
 be-SAS-NPT I-GEN mother-ERG I-PM walnut.tree-inside
 nik-Ø-ŋa-n.
 give.birth-SAS-1s-PT

Yes, Walnut Tree is [the village] where my mother gave birth to me.

The patient marker <-kăi ~ -găi> (PM) is also used to convey the meaning 'for', in the sense of 'for the sake of' or 'intended for', as shown in example 193 below. Once again, this particular function of the patient marker <-kăi ~ -găi> (PM) is very similar to Nepali *-lāi*, which can replace *-ko lāgi* 'for' in vernacular Nepali.

- 193 *'nan camăi-pali-kăi damari, ca-pali-kăi wari, kyel-ko*
 now daughter-p-PM son.in.law son-p-PM daughter.in.law bring-ADH
măi-Ø-du' ŋa-to-le, nis-ka thoŋe thoŋi-ye wakhe
 must-sAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL two-HNC old.man old.woman-ERG word
lony-eŋ-no.
 do-pAS-3→3/PT

'Now we must bring sons-in-law for our daughters and daughters-in-law for our sons', said the old man and old woman, discussing it.

The patient marker <-kăi ~ -găi> (PM) can co-occur with other suffixes, case endings and postpositions if these result in semantically plausible combinations. In such cases, the patient marker <-kăi ~ -găi> (PM) appears posterior to the number markers <-pali> (p) and <-baŋ> (Pp), and anterior to the individuating and topic markers <-guri> (IND) and <-be> (TOP), as illustrated in examples 194 to 196 and 410 below, and example 31 above.

- 194 *hok-Ø-du, hok-Ø-du, naŋ-kăi-guri?*
 be-sAS-NPT be-sAS-NPT you-PM-IND

Fine, fine, and how about you?

- 195 *to tha-Ø-ta-le, găi-găi-guri cya-sa ma-ali-Ø-thyo.*
 that be-sAS-IPP-PCL I-PM-IND eat-INF NEG-like-sAS-3sCOND

Because of that [leaf], I didn't like to smoke.

- 196 *habi cey-eŋ-du huca-pali-kăi nan kapu kalăi-sa thah-Ø-an,*
 before eat-pAS-NPT child-p-PM now head hurt-INF be-sAS-3S/PT
baŋkal woi kalăi-sa thah-Ø-an.
 stomach also hurt-INF be-sAS-3S/PT

The children who had eaten earlier started to get headaches and stomach cramps.

Example 197 below demonstrates various uses of patient marker <-kăi ~ -găi> (PM) in a single sentence.

- 197 *to mi-pali-kăi cum-eŋ-to-le, jekha mi-kăi cikhet-sa-kăi*
 that person-p-PM hold-pAS-TPP-PCL big person-PM show-INF-PM
kyel-eŋ-no, to woi thombe thah-Ø-an.
 bring-pAS-3→3/PT that also surprise be-sAS-3S/PT

Grabbing those wild-looking people, they brought them back to show them to the chief, and even he was astonished.

4.4 Ablative

morphs: <-yiŋ ~ -yiniŋ>
 label: ABL

In the Dolakhā dialect of Thangmi, the ablative is marked by the postposition <-yiŋ ~ -yiniŋ> (ABL). The allomorphic distribution is as follows: The form <-yiŋ> is a reduced form of the full ablative morpheme <-yiniŋ>, and this contracted morph is now so widely used by Thangmi speakers that the bisyllabic allomorph <-yiniŋ> is rarely heard. Thangmi speakers over the age of fifty report that they grew up using the allomorph <-yiniŋ> and that <-yiŋ>, the ‘newer’ form, has emerged over the last thirty years. While only one of the following examples includes the more archaic form <-yiniŋ> (ABL), I have nevertheless included it as an allomorph, both for historical reasons and out of deference to the older speech community who are convinced of its anteriority. The one example of the allomorph <-yiniŋ> (ABL) which I recorded comes from the village of Lāpīlān where many Thangmi speakers still use this form in preference to the reduced form <-yiŋ>. The situation in Sindhupālcok is different once again, and is addressed below.

The ablative suffix <-yiŋ ~ -yiniŋ> (ABL) denotes ‘from’ and ‘via’ in either a spatial or figurative sense, and also has the meaning of ‘by means of which’. Examples 198 to 202 demonstrate some of the spatial uses of the ablative postposition with pronouns and nouns.

- 198 *naŋ kuta-yiŋ kyel-na-n?*
 you where-ABL come-2s-PT

Where have you come from?

- 199 *guru-ye khora-yiŋ niŋ-te paŋku kheiy-Ø-u-no.*
 shaman-ERG small.bowl-ABL stone-LOC water pour.out-sAS-3P-3→3/PT

The shaman poured water onto the stone from a small bowl.

- 200 *naŋ kundu ulam-yiŋ kyel-na-n?*
 you which road-ABL come-2s-PT

By which road did you come?

- 201 *to-yiŋ, ni nis-ka caway-i-n.*
 that-ABL we two-HNC walk-1pPS-PT

From there, the two of us set off walking [again].

- 202 *ni to doron-yiŋ duŋ-ŋaŋ biy-i-n.*
 we that hole-ABL within-inside enter-1pPS-PT

We entered inside through that hole.

The ablative suffix <-yiŋ ~ -yiniŋ> (ABL) is used in constructions to convey spatial or temporal distance. Examples 203 and 204 demonstrate two meanings of the Thangmi noun *uni* ‘sun’ and ‘day’, *uni-yiŋ* (sun-ABL) ‘from the sun’ and *uni-yiŋ* (day-ABL) ‘from [this/that] day’.

- 203 *ka ŋiŋ uni-yiŋ ros-Ø-an, adum hok-Ø-du.*
 this stone sun-ABL fall.from.height-SAS-3S/PT hot be-SAS-NPT

This stone has fallen from the sun, it’s hot.

- 204 *bore loŋ-Ø-u-du uni-yiŋ, apraca hok-Ø-an.*
 marriage do-SAS-3P-NPT day-ABL good be-SAS-3S/PT

Ever since he got married, things were good.

Sentences 205 to 207 offer further examples of the temporal uses of the ablative suffix <-yiŋ ~ -yiniŋ> (ABL).

- 205 *tyaŋ to isyaŋ-yiŋ bajareŋ torta-wa-n.*
 then that period-ABL tobacco leave-1p→23-PT

Then, from that day on, we gave up tobacco.

- 206 *to-yiŋ sunari aji ŋa-to-le woi ŋay-eŋ-no.*
 that-ABL Sunari mother.in.law say-TPP-PCL also say-pAS-3→3/PT

From that point on, she [the old woman] came to be known as Sunari Aji [lit. golden mother-in-law].

- 207 *yaŋ-yiŋ habi, oste-ko thar ŋa-sa-kǎi aŋal-eŋ-thyo.*
 today-ABL before self-GEN clan say-INF-PM be.ashamed-pAS-3sCOND
 Some time ago, Thangmi people were ashamed to talk of their own clan names.

Example 109 above uses *kham-te* (language-LOC) to express the sense ‘in the language’. Another way of articulating the same concept is by using the ablative postposition <-yiŋ ~ -yiniŋ> (ABL), as in 208 below, in combination with the Thangmi noun *wakhe* ‘word, sense, meaning, saying’.

- 208 *libi guru ra-Ø-ta-le, oste-ko wakhe-yiŋ*
 after shaman come.from.level-SAS-IPP-PCL self-GEN word-ABL
mut-Ø-u-du.
 blow-SAS-3P-NPT
 Then the shaman comes and, speaking his own secret words, blows.

The ablative marker <-yiŋ ~ -yiniŋ> (ABL) may also be suffixed to adverbs, as in examples 209 and 210 below.

- 209 *to-ye ci-sa-kǎi hen-Ø-u-no, ya-ya woi di-ka*
 that-ERG throw.away-INF-PM take-SAS-3P-3→3/PT go-go also one-HNC
mi-ye nih-Ø-u-no, to-ye ǎlāmtha-yiŋ
 person-ERG see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-ERG distant-ABL
ŋosǎiy-Ø-u-no ka ti-Ø-du ŋiŋ.
 recognise-SAS-3P-3→3/PT this burn-SAS-NPT stone
 He took it to throw away, but as he was walking, someone saw him and from some distance recognised that this was a precious [lit. burning] stone.

- 210 *duŋ-ŋaŋ ama camǎi-ye maŋǎi jyouy-eŋ-no,*
 within-inside mother daughter-ERG bread burn-pAS-3→3/PT
damari-ye priŋ-yiŋ yo-le nah-Ø-u-no.
 son.in.law-ERG outside-ABL look.at-PCL put-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
 Inside mother and daughter were baking bread, and from outside son-in-law looked at them.

For narrative effect, the ablative marker <-yiŋ ~ -yiniŋ> (ABL) is often used in conjunction with the postposition *ka* ‘throughout’ to give the sense of a long duration or ‘from...until...’, as in example 211.

- 211 *ḍiṇ-ḍiṇ gare-ye humi-kăi kapu-yiṇ koṇe-te ka*
 red rooster-INS younger.sister-PM head-ABL foot-LOC throughout
ci-thi-to-le mut-Ø-u-no.
 CAUS-touch-TPP-PCL blow-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

The shaman brushed the red cockerel against our younger sister, from her head to her toes, blowing all the while.

The ablative marker <-yiṇ ~ -yiniṇ> (ABL) may also be suffixed to nominalised verbs, as in examples 212 and 213, to convey the sense of ‘since...’.

- 212 *to-ye woi ṭuṇi-ko kosa ṭhum-Ø-u-du-yiṇ, sakalei wakhe*
 that-ERG also goat-GEN bone bury-SAS-3P-NPT-ABL all word
ci-nasăiy-Ø-u-no.
 CAUS-hear-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

So she told them everything that had happened since she buried the bones of the goat.

- 213 *uma rah-Ø-u-du-yiṇ, apa woi begale uma uniṇ thah-Ø-an.*
 wife bring-SAS-3P-NPT-ABL father also other wife like be-SAS-3S/PT

Ever since father had brought this wife, he too had become just like her.

The Sindhupālcok dialect of Thangmi uses <-giṇ> (ABL) instead of <-yiṇ ~ -yiniṇ> (ABL) to mark ablative arguments, as in example 214. Dolakhā <-yiṇ ~ -yiniṇ> is understood in Sindhupālcok, but the reverse is not the case, and speakers of the Dolakhā dialect categorically reject <-giṇ> as an ablative allomorph.

- 214 *to-giṇ to racya-kăi lembe-ye hatyap-sa.*
 that-ABL that unhusked.rice-PM bamboo.winnowing.tray-INS fan-INF

And from that point, that unhusked rice is fanned with a bamboo winnowing tray. [Sindhupālcok]

Two speakers of the Dolakhā dialect volunteered the forms <-i> and <-ṇi> as allomorphs of the ablative postposition <-yiṇ ~ -yiniṇ> (ABL), but these forms remain unverified by speakers outside their immediate families. It is likely that these forms represent highly local idiolects.

4.5 The postpositions *priŋ* ‘outside, without’ and *duŋ* ‘within’

morph:	<i>priŋ</i>
label:	outside, without
morph:	<i>duŋ</i>
label:	within

The Thangmi postpositions *priŋ* ‘outside, without’ and *duŋ* ‘within’ function as both adverbs and adjectives. While the postposition *priŋ* ‘outside, without’ cannot co-occur with either of the two locative suffixes, it can be combined with other nominal endings. Examples 215 and 216 demonstrate *priŋ* being used as an adverb and adjective respectively.

- 215 *wari sakalei amiy-eŋ-an ŋa-to-le, karati*
 daughter.in.law all sleep-pAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL sickle
khyak-si-Ø-ta-le, nem-yiŋ priŋ let-Ø-an.
 strap.on-REF-SAS-IPP-PCL house-ABL outside appear-SAS-3S/PT

Thinking that they were all asleep, the daughter-in-law strapped a sickle on [her belt] and crept outside.

- 216 *ama nui-Ø-ta-le ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘camăi, nem-te-ko*
 mother laugh-SAS-IPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT daughter house-LOC-GEN
sakalei jet camăi-ye loŋ-ko măi-Ø-du, damari-ye
 all work daughter-ERG do-ADH must-SAS-NPT son.in.law-ERG
priŋ-ko jet loŋ-Ø-u-du, rage ma-thay-e!’
 outside-GEN work do-SAS-3P-NPT anger NEG-be-s/NEG/IMP

Mother smiled and said, ‘daughter, the housework is what the daughter does, son-in-law’s work is outside of the house, now don’t get angry!’

Thangmi *duŋ* ‘within’ may co-occur with other nominal suffixes, including the locative postposition <-ŋaŋ> ‘inside’, thus *duŋ-ŋaŋ* (within-inside) ‘inside’. In allegro speech, the initial velar nasal /ŋ/ of the locative suffix may elide when *duŋ* ‘within’ and <-ŋaŋ> ‘inside’ are combined, thus *duŋ-aŋ* (within-inside) ‘inside’. Thangmi speakers reject the form **duŋ-te* (within-LOC). Examples 217 and 218 demonstrate *duŋ* ‘within’, with the genitive marker <-ko ~ -go> (GEN) and the locative marker <-ŋaŋ> ‘inside’ respectively.

- 217 *camăica-pali-ye puya peŋey-eŋ-du cahuca-pali-ye khoŋi,*
 woman-p-ERG seed sow-pAS-NPT man-p-ERG small.mattock
tokolok-e wa-si-Ø-du thăi-ŋaŋ to-to-le duŋ-ko
 hoe-INS plough-REF-SAS-NPT place-inside dig-TPP-PCL within-GEN
nasak piriŋ ci-let-to-le raŋ min-minca
 earth outside CAUS-appear-TPP-PCL unirrigated.field fine.and.grainy
lony-eŋ-du.
 do-pAS-NPT

Now the women sow the seeds while the men use small and large mattocks on the ploughed land and dig up the soil, bringing the deep earth to the surface and thus making the field level and free of clods.

- 218 *miŋ duŋ-ŋaŋ na-ko măi-Ø-du.*
 cloth within-inside put-ADH must-SAS-NPT

The clothes must be put inside.

4.6 The postposition *dăi* ‘towards’

morph:	<i>dăi</i>
label:	towards

The Thangmi adverb *dăi* ‘towards’ indicates direction and movement. For the sake of consistency, I have glossed *dăi* as ‘towards’ in all cases. In many instances, a fluid English translation requires other constructions such as ‘that way’ or ‘going off’. When following the noun *nem* ‘house’, as in *nem dăi* (house towards), *dăi* ‘towards’ is often best translated as ‘homewards’. Examples of the use the adverb *dăi* ‘towards’ are given in 219 to 222 below.

- 219 *sum oli uni ka hok-ta-i-le, nem dăi caway-i-n.*
 three four day throughout be-IPP-1pPS-PCL house towards walk-1pPS-PT

We stayed for three or four days and then set off home again.

- 220 *daŋ-sa mi-pali to dăi dorok-eŋ-an, libi di-ka*
 search-INF person-p that towards run-pAS-3S/PT after one-HNC
lak-te ăikuca cabu-to-le dorok-Ø-du niy-eŋ-no.
 hand-LOC large.knife carry-TPP-PCL run-SAS-NPT see-pAS-3→3/PT

The search party ran towards that place, and then they saw one person carrying a large knife and running away.

- 221 *'nan gǎi dikaca nem-te hara-kǎi hen-sa? nan ma-ya'*
 now I alone house-LOC what-PM go-INF now NEG-go
ŋa-to-le, to begale jekha dese dǎi cawah-Ø-an.
 say-TPP-PCL that other big village towards walk-SAS-3S/PT

'Now why should I go back home all alone? I won't go', [is what he thought], and he set off towards that other big village [Kathmandu].

- 222 *to mi woi warak dǎi dorok-Ø-an, ʈuŋi warak-te*
 that person also ridge towards run-SAS-3S/PT goat ridge-LOC
nih-Ø-u-no.
 see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

That person also ran towards the ridge and saw his goat up there.

The adverb *dǎi* 'towards' is used in certain idiomatic expressions to convey the sense of 'on the one hand...and on the other'. In such expressions, the adverb is usually repeated for contrastive effect, as in example 223.

- 223 *ka dǎi ʈila aʈʈhe tha-Ø-du, dha dǎi pepelek-guri*
 this towards cold very be-SAS-NPT that.distant towards money-IND
uchinca tha-Ø-du.
 little be-SAS-NPT

On the one hand he's freezing, and on the other, he has only a little money [i.e. both options are bleak].

When combined, the pronoun *ka* 'this' together with the postposition *dǎi* 'towards', as in *ka dǎi* (this towards), may convey the meaning of 'around here', while *ka dǎi dha dǎi* (this towards that.distant towards) is best translated as 'here and there', as shown in examples 224 and 225 below. These constructions are analogous to Nepali *yatā-tira utā-tirā* 'over here and over there'.

- 224 *'nan ka dǎi su mi woi ma-hok-eŋ, nan su daŋ-sa,*
 now this towards who person also NEG-be-pAS now who search-INF
su nama bore loŋ-sa?' ɲa-to-le nis-ka-ye wakhe
 who with marriage do-INF say-TPP-PCL two-HNC-ERG word
lony-eŋ-no.
 do-pAS-3→3/PT

'There is simply no one around here, whom should we look for, with whom can they marry?', the two of them thought.

- 225 *ɬaye uma lawa-ko wakhe thah-Ø-an 'uma, gǎi sumaka*
 night wife husband-GEN word be-sAS-3S/PT wife I silent
hok-ɲa-du, nany-e ka nunu ka dǎi dha dǎi
 be-1S-NPT you-ERG this milk this towards that.distant towards
ma-loŋ-tiniŋ nah-o!'
 NEG-do-PFG put-s→3/IMP

At night, the couple talked [and he said] 'wife, I will sit quietly and you put the milk down without spilling it here and there!'

4.7 The postposition *ka* 'throughout'

morph:	<i>ka</i>
label:	throughout

The Thangmi adverb *ka* 'throughout' occurs in nominal arguments to indicate duration, distance or a length of time. Although always glossed as 'throughout', *ka* is often best translated as 'all during the...' or 'until'. Examples 226 to 228 below illustrate some of the uses of *ka* 'throughout'.

- 226 *ɬaye ka ɬhoiθhoi-Ø-thyo.*
 night throughout cough-sAS-3sCOND

He would cough all night.

- 227 *'di uni ka raŋ-te jet loŋ-to-le, nyoŋi woi*
 one day throughout unirrigated.field-LOC work do-TPP-PCL evening also
isa ken uman-sa, gǎ-ye ma-mǎi.'
 food vegetable.curry cook-INF I-ERG NEG-must

'Having worked in the fields all day, she'll even cook dinner in the evening so I won't have to.'

- 228 *tyaŋ tam-Ø-du mi nan let-Ø-ta-le, yaŋ ka*
 then disappear-SAS-NPT person now appear-SAS-IPP-PCL today throughout
ma-si woi hok-Ø-ta-le.
 NEG-die also be-SAS-IPP-PCL

And then that lost person appeared, and it became clear that until this day he wasn't dead at all.

The Thangmi postposition *ka* 'throughout' often occurs after the locative suffix <-te> (LOC) to convey an intensified sense of 'all the way' or 'whole', as shown in examples 229 and 230 below.

- 229 *'hara thah-Ø-an?' ŋa-to-le, dese-te ka aŋik-eŋ-ta-le*
 what be-SAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL village-LOC throughout cry-pAS-IPP-PCL
caway-eŋ-an.
 walk-pAS-3S/PT

'What happened?' they cried, as they wandered all through the village.

- 230 *baŋthe syaŋ-yiŋ wakhe dese-te ka ŋah-Ø-u-no*
 tomorrow period-ABL word village-LOC throughout say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
'găi-go ɖamari aŋthe săi-Ø-du guru hok-Ø-du'
 I-GEN son.in.law very know-SAS-NPT shaman be-SAS-NPT
ŋa-to-le.
 say-TPP-PCL

The next morning she told the whole village 'my son-in-law is a very powerful [knowledgeable] shaman'.

4.8 The postposition *habi* 'before, in front of'

morph: *habi*
 label: before

The Thangmi postposition *habi* 'before, in front of' occurs in nominal arguments to convey the temporal sense of 'before, first, previously', as in examples 231 and 232, or the spatial sense of 'in front of', as in example 233.

- 231 *ka-kăi li-sa habi raŋ-kăi sya wa-to-le*
 this-PM broadcast-INF before unirrigated.field-PM bull plough-TPP-PCL
na-ko măi-Ø-du.
 put-ADH must-sAS-NPT

Before broadcasting, the fields must be ploughed using an ox.

- 232 *cawa-sa habi, aji-ye maŋăi kwăi ɖamari-kăi*
 walk-INF before mother.in.law-ERG bread potato son.in.law-PM
piy-Ø-u-no.
 give-sAS-3P-3→3/PT

Before he left, his mother-in-law gave him bread and potatoes.

- 233 *ka nasăi-to-le, me let-Ø-ta-le to-ko habi*
 this hear-TPP-PCL fire appear-sAS-IPP-PCL that-GEN before
tiy-Ø-an, sakalei to-yiŋ dorok-eŋ-an.
 burn-sAS-3S/PT all that-ABL run-pAS-3S/PT

Hearing this, the fire lit in front of them, and all the people ran away from that place.

The Thangmi postposition *habi* ‘before, in front of’ may be reduplicated, in which case the meaning is intensified, as in ‘ages ago’ or ‘a long way in front’, illustrated by examples 234 and 235.

- 234 *habi habi sya-ye wah-u-du, dol-ŋaŋ makăi*
 before before bovine-INS plough-3P-NPT valley-inside maize
di-di-gore nis-nis bitta-ko pharak-ŋaŋ libi libi
 one-one-CLF two-two hand.measurement-GEN different-inside after after
makăi li-ko măi-Ø-du.
 maize broadcast-ADH must-sAS-NPT

A long time before one ploughs with an ox, the maize seeds must be scattered one or two hand-widths apart from each other in the ditches.

- 235 *habi habi, camăica-pali-ye racya peŋe-sa ray-eŋ-du.*
 before before woman-p-ERG paddy sow-INF bring-pAS-NPT

A long way in front [of the men], the womenfolk come sowing the paddy.

The Thangmi postposition *habi* ‘before, in front of’ is often found in combination with the genitive case marker <-ko ~ -go> (GEN), as in *habi-ko* (before-GEN) ‘the one before, the last one’, as in examples 236 to 238 below.

- 236 *habi-ko* *name sukaman nay-eŋ-du*, *libi* *nay-eŋ-du* *name-guri*
 before-GEN name Sukaman put-pAS-NPT after put-pAS-NPT name-IND
begale hok-Ø-thyo.
other be-SAS-3sCOND

The first name they gave me was Sukaman, but the later one was different.

- 237 *habi-ko* *uniŋ naleŋ* *ma-thah-Ø-an*, *naka naka wakhe*
 before-GEN like present NEG-be-SAS-3S/PT new new word
săiy-Ø-u-no, *naka nem*, *naka hok-sa thăi* *ni-to-le*
 know-SAS-3P-3→3/PT new house new be-INF place see-TPP-PCL
thombe thah-Ø-an.
 surprise be-SAS-3S/PT

But this time was not like the last trip, she came to know many many new things, stayed in a new place and was completely bowled over.

- 238 *di-ka* *naleŋ* *woi hok-Ø-du*, *to-ko* *habi-ko* *nis-ka*
 one-HNC present also be-SAS-NPT that-GEN before-GEN two-HNC
uma-ko *oli-ka* *ca-pali hok-eŋ-du*.
 wife-GEN four-HNC son-p be-pAS-NPT

At present, the last wife is still around, as are the four sons from the previous two wives.

4.9 The postposition *uniŋ* ‘like, as, than’

morph: *uniŋ*
 label: like

The Thangmi postposition *uniŋ* ‘like, as, than’ occurs in nominal arguments to express the meaning of sameness, likeness, comparison or equality, as in examples 239 to 242. Thangmi *uniŋ* ‘like, as, than’ resembles the functions of German *als*.

- 239 *to* *akrak uniŋ arŋik-Ø-du*.
 that frog like cry-SAS-NPT

She croaks just like a frog.

- 240 *jakcho-kăi uniŋ, nis-paṭak sya wa-ko mǎi-Ø-du.*
 wheat-PM like two-times bovine plough-ADH must-SAS-NPT

Just like with wheat, you have to plough twice [with an ox].

- 241 *ka uniŋ jet loŋ-tuŋ-le, bore-ko pepelek uchincăi*
 this like work do-1s/TPP-PCL marriage-GEN money very.little
piy-u-n-uŋ.
 give-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT

Working in this manner, I managed to pay back a little of the money I had borrowed for my wedding.

- 242 *to tete woi gǎi-go tete uniŋ hok-Ø-du.*
 that elder.sister also I-GEN elder.sister like be-SAS-NPT

That woman is like my own elder sister.

The Thangmi postposition *uniŋ* ‘like, as, than’ also occurs posterior to the demonstrative pronoun *ka* ‘this’, as in example 243 below, in which *ka uniŋ* (this like) means ‘like this’.

- 243 *to-bany-e amum cey-eŋ-ta-le ka uniŋ thah-Ø-an*
 that-Pp-ERG mushroom eat-pAS-IPP-PCL this like be-SAS-3S/PT
ŋa-to-le ma-thaha sāiy-eŋ-no.
 say-TPP-PCL NEG-knowledge know-pAS-3→3/PT

They didn’t know that it would happen like this if they ate the mushrooms.

When the Thangmi postposition *uniŋ* ‘like, as, than’ appears in a sequence with *ka* ‘this’, as in the phrase *ka uniŋ* (this like) ‘like this’, the resultant meaning is best translated as ‘in this manner, in this way’, as shown by examples 244 and 245 below.

- 244 *ka uniŋ tha-Ø-ta-le, begale name thar piy-eŋ-no.*
 this like be-SAS-IPP-PCL other name clan give-pAS-3→3/PT

In this way, [Thangmi] people give other names and clans [when asked].

- 245 *dese-mi-pali ka uniŋ ŋay-eŋ-to-le dewa lony-eŋ-du.*
 village-person-p this like say-pAS-TPP-PCL god do-pAS-NPT

This is the way that village people propitiate the gods.

The postposition *uniŋ* ‘like, as, than’ often occurs in nominal arguments to convey a sense of surprise, make believe or pretence, similar to Dutch *als*, *alsof*. In such scenarios, the postposition is best translated by ‘as if’, as in examples 246 and 247 below. In example 248, since the father-in-law’s intent is to deceive, I have translated *uniŋ* as ‘make as if to...’.

- 246 *libi apa-guri huca-pali amiy-eŋ-du uniŋ tiŋiy-eŋ-an,*
 after father-IND child-p sleep-pAS-NPT like fall.from.level-pAS-3S/PT
uma-guri thombe thah-Ø-an.
 wife-IND surprise be-SAS-3S/PT

Thereafter the father and all the kids fell over as if they were asleep, and the wife was quite astonished.

- 247 *camăica ma-hok-Ø-du-be, to nem hara woi ma-tha-Ø-du*
 woman NEG-be-SAS-NPT-TOP that house what also NEG-be-SAS-NPT
uniŋ tha-Ø-thyo.
 like be-SAS-3S/COND

Since there were no women living there, the house felt as if it were empty.

- 248 *chuku-guri ami-Ø-du uniŋ loŋ-Ø-u-no, ŋaŋ*
 father.in.law-IND sleep-SAS-NPT like do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT and
amiy-Ø-an.
 sleep-SAS-3S/PT

Father-in-law made as if he were sleep, but then he actually fell asleep.

In example 249 below, the postposition *uniŋ* ‘like, as, than’ closely resembles the German *als*, and conveys the sense of ‘as, in the manner that...’.

- 249 *libi guru-ye ŋah-Ø-u-du uniŋ, di-ka ca nik-Ø-an.*
 after shaman-ERG say-SAS-3P-NPT like one-HNC son be.born-SAS-3S/PT

Then, as the shaman had predicted, a son was born.

5. Compounding and miscellaneous nominal suffixes

Outside of kinship terminology, compounding is an uncommon and unproductive feature of Thangmi word formation. The few existing compounds are limited to village names and to the faecal material of various species, as in *sya-kli* ‘cow dung’, composed of *sya* ‘bovine’ and *kli* ‘shit’, and *wa-kli* ‘chicken shit’, composed of *wa*

‘chicken’ and *kli* ‘shit’.⁶ Village names and other toponyms are some of the last vestiges of Thangmi nominal compounding, examples being *arkapole* ‘the village of Walnut Tree’, composed of *arka* ‘walnut, *Juglans regia*’ and *pole* ‘tree, stump, root, trunk’, and *rikhipole* ‘the village of Phāseluñ’, composed of *rikhi* ‘*Ficus lacor*’ and *pole* ‘tree, stump, root, trunk’. These toponyms are discussed in Section §2.4 of Chapter 2.

Certain Thangmi kinship terms consist of compounded or fused lexical items, as in *cacha* ‘grandson’ derived from a reduplication of the term *ca* ‘son’ in which the second element is aspirated, and *jekhapa* ‘mother’s elder sister’s husband, father’s elder brother’, a composite form derived from *jekha* ‘large, senior’ and *apa* ‘father’. The morphology of Thangmi kinship terminology is addressed in Section §7.5 of Chapter 2.

5.1 Diminutive

morph:	<-ca>
label:	DIM

The Thangmi diminutive particle <-ca> (DIM) is a productive morpheme which can be suffixed to nouns and adjectives. In common with many other Tibeto-Burman languages, the Thangmi diminutive particle <-ca> (DIM) is derived from the kinship term *ca* ‘son, offspring’, and combines with nominals to convey the meaning of ‘small, endearing’ or to convey the sense of diminutive.⁷ Commonly occurring uses include *nem-ca* (house-DIM) ‘little house, cottage, hut’, *dese-ca* (village-DIM) ‘hamlet’ or *seŋ-ca* (wood-DIM) ‘chippings, kindling’. The system is still productive and everyday speech is replete with diminutives, although not to the extent observed in European languages such as Dutch or Italian. The Thangmi diminutive suffix <-ca> (DIM) cannot be used with proper nouns or kinship terms, thus **Ram-ca* ‘little Rām’ and **humi-ca* (younger.sister-DIM) ‘little sister’ are rejected.

When used with animals, a semantic distinction exists between [animal]-GEN *ca* which indicates ‘offspring of [animal]’ and [animal]-DIM which indicates ‘small [animal]’, as in *kucu-ko ca* (dog-GEN offspring) ‘puppy’ versus *kucu-ca* (dog-DIM) ‘little doggie’, and *wa-ko ca* (chicken-GEN offspring) ‘chick’ versus *wa-ca* (chicken-DIM) ‘little chicken’. Example 250 below illustrates the use of the Thangmi diminutive particle <-ca> (DIM).

⁶ I have asked far and wide, but all speakers reject **mikli* ‘human shit’, from *mi* ‘person’ and *kli* ‘shit’. To convey the meaning ‘human excrement’, Thangmi speakers rather use a genitive construction, *mi-ko kli* (human-GEN shit).

⁷ Benedict (1972: 208) reconstructs **tsa* for ‘child, grandchild’.

- 250 *libi to ahum-te wa-ko ca aghyoh-Ø-u-du nasăiy-Ø-u-no,*
 after that egg-LOC chicken-GEN son cry-SAS-3P-NPT hear-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
ya-yoh-Ø-u-du beryaŋ, di-gore apraca wa-ca
 go-look.at-SAS-3P-NPT that.time one-CLF good chicken-DIM
nih-Ø-u-no.
 see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

Later she heard a chick crying from inside that egg, and when she went to take a look, she saw a beautiful little chicken.

The Thangmi diminutive particle <-ca> (DIM) can co-occur with other nominal case endings, suffixes and postpositions if this results in a meaningful combination. When combined with other nominal suffixes, the diminutive particle <-ca> (DIM) is suffixed directly to the nominal head anterior to any case endings or postpositions, as in example 251 below.

- 251 *to ʈəni-ye oste ma-cya-tiniŋ, to wa-ca-kăi cya-sa*
 that old.woman-ERG self NEG-eat-PFG that chicken-DIM-PM eat-INF
piy-Ø-u-no.
 give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

Without having eaten anything herself, that old lady fed the little chicken.

5.2 The topic marker *be*

morph:	<-be>
label:	TOP

The Thangmi topic marker <-be> (TOP) occurs in combination with nouns, pronouns, adjectives and verbs to focus the listener's attention on the item to which it is suffixed. Since the Thangmi topic marker <-be> (TOP) may be suffixed to any verbal or nominal constituent or clause, its distribution is extremely widespread, and most Thangmi speakers are barely aware that they use it. Somewhat like the Nepali particle *ta*, the function of the Thangmi topic marker <-be> (TOP) is to provide a background for the modified element or to establish a point of departure for the information that follows. Using the topic marker <-be> (TOP) makes the modified word or phrase the theme of the sentence, and often conveys a sense of light contrast

or distinction from other elements in the phrase.⁸ Examples 252 to 255 below illustrate standard uses of the Thangmi topic marker <-be> (TOP) in everyday speech.

- 252 *gǎi-be kutaleŋ woi ma-ya-ta-ŋa-ki.*
I-TOP when also NEG-go-IPP-1s-FNEG

My never having gone.

- 253 *gǎi-be isa cya-sa ma-thaŋ.*
I-TOP food eat-INF NEG-be.able

I just can't eat.

- 254 *gǎi aŋthe cya-ŋa-be, gǎi woi gǎi-go apa-ko apa uniŋ*
I much eat-CNS-TOP I also I-GEN father-GEN father like
si-ŋa-thyo.
die-1s-3sCOND

If I continued to smoke a lot, I would also die, just like my grandfather.

- 255 *ka uniŋ tha-Ø-du guru-ko jet: pepelek-be ma-khalam,*
this like be-sAS-NPT shaman-GEN work money-TOP NEG-receive
cya-sa-guri khalam-Ø-u-du!
eat-INF-IND receive-sAS-3P-NPT

This is what the work of shaman is like: he gets no money but he does get plenty to eat!

In example 256 below, the Thangmi topic marker <-be> (TOP) occurs on both nominal arguments in the phrase with the implication of contrast.

- 256 *gǎi-be ya-ŋa-n, to-be ma-yah-Ø-an.*
I-TOP go-1s-PT that-TOP NEG-go-sAS-3S/PT

Well, I went but he didn't.

In example 257 below, the Thangmi topic marker <-be> (TOP) highlights the agentivity of the first person in the ergative case, which in this context conveys a sense of powerlessness. The phrase *gǎ-ye-be hara loŋ-sa?* (I-ERG-TOP what do-INF) is

⁸ See Rutgers' description of the Yamphu theme suffix <-ko> (TH) (1998: 282-286) and Opgenort's analysis of the Wambule theme marker <-dā ~ -d> (THM) (2002: 186-187) for examples of comparable markers used for information structuring in Kiranti languages.

essentially rhetorical and could also be translated as ‘what on earth can *I* do now?’ or ‘what can I possibly do now?’.

- 257 *mi siy-Ø-an, gǎ-ye-be hara loŋ-sa?*
 person die-SAS-3S/PT I-ERG-TOP what do-INF

The person died, what can I do?

In a similar vein, the phrase in example 258 was used by a Thangmi speaker to highlight the involvement of an ergative third person singular actant, in the sense of ‘what’s *he* saying now’, or less literally, ‘*he*’s at it again’.

- 258 *to-ye-be hara isi-Ø-du?*
 that-ERG-TOP what say-SAS-NPT

What on earth is he saying?

In example 259, the speaker uses the Thangmi topic marker <-be> (TOP) to imply that the ‘other one’ is inherently or categorically unsuitable.

- 259 *begale-be ma-ja.*
 other-TOP NEG-okay

The other one is just not okay.

In example 260 below, the Thangmi topic marker <-be> (TOP) is used by the speaker to express her frustration that her friends have already eaten. The implication, as I understood it in the heat of the moment, was that she had hoped that they would wait. Her statement raises no expectation on the part of the listener that any more information will be forthcoming after this statement.

- 260 *to ban-pali-ye-be cey-eŋ-ta-le.*
 that friend-p-ERG-TOP eat-pAS-IPP-PCL

Those friends (of ours) have eaten.

The Thangmi topic marker <-be> (TOP) is used in example 261 to create a rhetorical question more along the lines of ‘you mean there’s none left for us?’. There is no expectation of receiving a serious answer.

- 261 *ni-kǎi-be hok-Ø-du ra ma-hok?*
 we-PM-TOP be-SAS-NPT or NEG-be

Is there any for us or not?

In example 262 below, the Thangmi topic marker <-be> (TOP) is used to abstract from a specific example to a general statement of fact, ‘he never does what I tell him’. The implication is that he won’t do what anyone else tells him to do either.

- 262 *gǎ-ye ɲah-u-n-du-be ma-loŋ.*
 I-ERG say-3P-1s→3-NPT-TOP NEG-do
 He simply doesn’t do what I tell him.

5.3 The individuating suffix *guri*

morph: <-guri>
 label: IND

The Thangmi individuating suffix <-guri> (IND) zooms in on, or singles out, the referent denoted by the modified constituent, and is parallel in distribution to the Nepali marker *cāhĩ*. The Thangmi individuating suffix <-guri> (IND) may be suffixed to any verbal or nominal constituent or clause, and functions to single out the entity or situation referred to from other options, regardless of whether the alternative possibilities are explicit or implicit. Examples 263 to 266 below illustrate standard uses of the Thangmi individuating suffix <-guri> (IND) in everyday unelicited speech.

- 263 *naŋ-guri kuta-yiniŋ ra-na-n?*
 you-IND where-ABL come.from.level-2s-PT
 Where have you come from?

- 264 *naŋ-ko chuku-guri kuta yah-Ø-an?*
 you-GEN father.in.law-IND where go-SAS-3S/PT
 So where has your father-in-law gone?

- 265 *to-ŋaŋ bubu-guri hok-Ø-an, gǎi-guri oste-ko nem*
 that-inside elder.brother-IND be-SAS-3S/PT I-IND self-GEN house
dǎi cawa-ŋa-n.
 towards walk-1s-PT
 Elder brother stayed in that place, and I set off back to my own house.

- 266 *naleŋ toŋ-guri cey-i-du, bajareŋ-guri ma-cya, nan hara*
 present beer-IND eat-1pPS-NPT tobacco-IND NEG-eat now what
tha-Ø-du?
 be-SAS-NPT

Now we drink beer but we don't smoke, now how about that?

In example 267 below, the Thangmi individuating suffix <-guri> (IND) occurs on both nominal arguments in the phrase and conveys a sense of contrast between the actants. Moreover, the implication in this sentence is that the speaker made the right choice by going.

- 267 *găi-guri ya-ŋa-n, to-guri ma-yah-Ø-an.*
 I-IND go-1s-PT that-IND NEG-go-SAS-3S/PT

Well, 'I' went but he didn't.

Example 268 below was offered as an answer to the question 'where did they go?'. The questioner knew that a group of people had been present moments previously, and noticed that they were no longer there. Both elements of the sentence are marked with the Thangmi contrastive individuating suffix <-guri> (IND), with no implication that one of the two ways is better.

- 268 *to-baŋ-guri dha dăi yey-eŋ-an, ni-guri ka dăi*
 that-Pp-IND that.distant towards go-pAS-3S/PT we-IND this towards
hen-ko.
 go-ADH

They (that lot) went off that way, but we'll go this way.

Example 269 below is a variation of example 268, and an equally plausible answer to the question 'where did they go?'. Here too the questioner knows that a group of people were present moments previously, and notices that they have now gone. In this case, however, the combined use of the Thangmi topic marker <-be> (TOP) and the Thangmi individuating suffix <-guri> (IND) conveys a subtle meaning along the lines of, 'we know better than them, we'll go the right way'.

- 269 *to-baŋ-be dha dǎi yey-eŋ-an, ni-guri ka dǎi*
 that-Pp-TOP that.distant towards go-pAS-3S/PT we-IND this towards
hen-ko.
 go-ADH

Well they went off that way, but we'll go this way.

In contrast to example 257 above, in which the Thangmi topic marker <-be> (TOP) is used to convey a sense of powerlessness, the Thangmi individuating suffix <-guri> (IND) in example 270 below is used to make the phrase non-rhetorical and sincere. The speaker is asking what useful work she can do in light of the demise of a family member.

- 270 *mi siy-Ø-an, gǎ-ye-guri hara loŋ-sa?*
 person die-sAS-3S/PT I-ERG-IND what do-INF

The person died, what work should I do/be doing?

In example 271 below, the use of the Thangmi individuating suffix <-guri> (IND) leads the listener to assume that the speaker has not heard what was said. In contrast to example 258 above, in which the Thangmi topic marker <-be> (TOP) is used to convey a sense of surprise in a similar construction, the Thangmi suffix <-guri> (IND) is here used to seek clarification, because it zooms in on the referent of the modified constituent, i.e. the person speaking.

- 271 *to-ye-guri hara isi-Ø-du?*
 that-ERG-IND what say-sAS-NPT

What is he saying?

In example 259 above, the Thangmi topic marker <-be> (TOP) expresses a value judgement and strong opinion that 'as for the other one, it simply won't do'. In example 272 below, however, the Thangmi individuating suffix <-guri> (IND) is used to temper the force of an otherwise strongly worded statement. In this example, as in others, the Thangmi suffix <-guri> (IND) is associated with careful or diplomatic-sounding speech because it singles out or individuates the 'other one'.

- 272 *begale-guri ma-ja.*
 other-IND NEG-okay

The other one is most likely not okay.

In example 273 below, the Thangmi individuating suffix <-guri> (IND) is used in a sentence that is incomplete and will likely never be completed, ‘they have eaten, [but we haven’t yet...]’.

273 *to ban-pali-ye-guri cey-ey-ta-le...*
 that friend-p-ERG-IND eat-pAS-IPP-PCL

Those friends (of ours) have eaten...

In contrast to example 261 above, in which the Thangmi topic marker <-be> (TOP) is used rhetorically to indicate dismay, the Thangmi suffix <-guri> (IND) in example 274 below indicates a genuine question. The expectation implicit in the question is that the answer will be affirmative, ‘yes, there is some left’.

274 *ni-kāi-guri hok-Ø-du ra ma-hok?*
 we-PM-IND be-SAS-NPT or NEG-be

Is there any for us or not?

In example 275 below, the Thangmi individuating suffix <-guri> (IND) indicates that while the referent has not heeded the speaker’s request, there is every indication that he may listen to someone else. The sentence is incomplete and has the implication that ‘although he didn’t do what I asked him to, [he might do it if you ask]...’. The use of the Thangmi suffix <-guri> (IND) here is in clear contrast to example 262 above, in which the speaker is convinced that there’s no hope since the referent is simply recalcitrant.

275 *gǎ-ye ŋah-u-n-du-guri ma-loŋ...*
 I-ERG say-3P-1s→3-NPT-IND NEG-do

He doesn’t do what I tell him...

6. Pronouns

6.1 Personal pronouns

Thangmi personal pronouns differentiate three persons and two numbers, and distinguish for proximal, distal and distant in the third person. The Thangmi pronominal system exhibits neither an inclusive/exclusive distinction, nor a specific category for dual as distinct from singular or plural. Plural forms are used when the number is more than one. The personal pronouns are listed in Table 46 below.

The pronouns *ka* ‘he, she, it (proximal)’, *to* ‘he, she, it (distal)’ and *dha* ‘he, she, it (distant)’ are actually demonstratives ‘this’, ‘that’ and ‘that (distant)’ respectively. In order to maintain consistency in the labels, I have opted to gloss all instances of these pronouns as ‘this’, ‘that’ and ‘that (distant)’, since their meaning is always clear from the context of the sentence. These demonstratives function both as adnominal modifiers and as nominal heads. In their latter form, *ka*, *to* and *dha* serve as third person pronouns for both human and non-human referents. Thangmi has a specific plural form for third person pronominal referents, *ka-baŋ* (this-Pp) ‘they (proximal)’, *to-baŋ* (that-Pp) ‘they (distal)’ and *dha-baŋ* (that.distant-Pp) ‘they (distant)’. These forms are derived from one of the three third person singular pronominal forms combined with the third person pronominal plural suffix <-baŋ> (Pp), discussed in Section §2.2 above.

TABLE 46. THANGMI PERSONAL PRONOUNS

<i>gǎi</i>	I	1s
<i>ni</i>	we	1p
<i>naŋ</i>	you	2s
<i>niŋ</i>	you(p)	2p
<i>ka</i>	he, she, it	3s (proximal)
<i>to</i>	he, she, it	3s (distal)
<i>dha</i>	he, she, it	3s (distant)
<i>ka-baŋ</i>	they	3p (proximal)
<i>to-baŋ</i>	they	3p (distal)
<i>dha-baŋ</i>	they	3p (distant)

Demonstratives cannot be pluralised using the plural suffix <-pali> (p), and informants reject **ka-pali* (this-p) for ‘these’, **to-pali* (that-p) for ‘those’ and **dha-pali* (that.distant-p) for ‘those (distant)’. When used adnominally, the third person singular demonstrative forms carry both singular and plural meaning, as in *ka* ‘he, she, it, this, these’, *to* ‘he, she, it, that, those’ and *dha* ‘he, she, it, that (distant), those (distant)’ as in examples 276 and 277 below. The pronominal plural forms *ka-baŋ* (this-Pp) ‘they (proximal)’, *to-baŋ* (that-Pp) ‘they (distal)’ and *dha-baŋ* (that.distant-Pp) ‘they (distant)’ are used as independent plural pronouns, and syntactically, therefore, as nominal heads but not adnominally to modify another nominal constituent.

- 276 *di-ka-ye* *ŋah-Ø-u-no* 'ban-pali, nan ka mi-pali-kǎi
 one-HNC-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT friend-p now this person-p-PM
ŋe-to-le *ka-baŋ-ko* *pepelek* *kat-ko* *mǎi-Ø-du*, *tyaŋ*
 beat-TPP-PCL this-Pp-GEN money steal-ADH must-SAS-NPT then
cya-ko *mǎi-Ø-du*.
 eat-ADH must-SAS-NPT

One of them said 'hey friends, we should beat these guys up, steal their money and then get something to eat'.

- 277 *sakalei-ye* 'ja-Ø-du' *ŋay-eŋ-no*, *to* *mi-pali-kǎi*
 all-ERG okay-SAS-NPT say-pAS-3→3/PT that person-p-PM
yey-eŋ-ta-le *cum-eŋ-no*, *to-bany-e* *woi* *to-baŋ-ko* *lak*
 go-pAS-IPP-PCL hold-pAS-3→3/PT that-Pp-ERG also that-Pp-GEN hand
cum-eŋ-no.
 hold-pAS-3→3/PT

They all said 'okay', and going up to those people, grabbed them and also grabbed their arms.

The unmarked, ergative, genitive and direct / indirect object forms of Thangmi personal pronouns are shown in Table 47 below.

TABLE 47. THANGMI PERSONAL PRONOUNS AND THEIR SUFFIXES

Unmarked	Ergative	Genitive	Patient Marker
<i>gǎi</i>	<i>gǎ-ye ~ ge</i>	<i>gǎi-go</i>	<i>gǎi-gǎi</i>
<i>nǐ</i>	<i>nǐ-ye</i>	<i>nǐ-ko</i>	<i>nǐ-kǎi</i>
<i>naŋ</i>	<i>nany-e</i>	<i>naŋ-ko</i>	<i>naŋ-kǎi</i>
<i>niŋ</i>	<i>niny-e</i>	<i>niŋ-ko</i>	<i>niŋ-kǎi</i>
<i>ka</i>	<i>ka-ye</i>	<i>ka-ko</i>	<i>ka-kǎi</i>
<i>to</i>	<i>to-ye</i>	<i>to-ko</i>	<i>to-kǎi</i>
<i>dha</i>	<i>dha-ye</i>	<i>dha-ko</i>	<i>dha-kǎi</i>
<i>ka-baŋ</i>	<i>ka-bany-e</i>	<i>ka-baŋ-ko</i>	<i>ka-baŋ-kǎi</i>
<i>to-baŋ</i>	<i>to-bany-e</i>	<i>to-baŋ-ko</i>	<i>to-baŋ-kǎi</i>
<i>dha-baŋ</i>	<i>dha-bany-e</i>	<i>dha-baŋ-ko</i>	<i>dha-baŋ-kǎi</i>

The first person singular personal pronoun *gǎi* ‘I’ has irregular forms in the ergative, genitive and in combination with the patient marker, *gǎ-ye* (I-ERG) or *ge* (I.ERG) ‘I (ergative)’, *gǎi-go* (I-GEN) ‘mine’ and *gǎi-gǎi* (I-PM) ‘to me, for me’, instead of **gǎi-ye* (I-ERG), **gǎi-ko* (I-GEN) and **gǎi-kǎi* (I-PM). The ergative forms *gǎ-ye* (I-ERG) or *ge* (I.ERG) exist in free variation. Examples of inflected pronominal forms are not provided here since they occur in practically every Thangmi sentence and are copiously illustrated throughout this grammar.

6.2 Morphemic analysis of personal pronouns

A number of Thangmi personal pronouns reflect known Tibeto-Burman roots and have cognates in extant Tibeto-Burman languages spoken in the surrounding area. Thangmi *gǎi* ‘I’ may well be related to Yamphu *ka* ‘I’ (Rutgers 1998: 90) and Kulung *koŋ* ‘I’ (Tolsma 1999: 30), which are all likely to be reflexes of Tibeto-Burman **ka* ‘I’ (Benedict 1972: 215). Thangmi *ni* ‘we’ is cognate with Chepang *ni ~ ŋi* ‘we’ (Caughley 2000: 160), while Thangmi *naŋ* ‘you (singular)’ is a clear reflex of Tibeto-Burman **naŋ* ‘thou’ (Benedict 1972: 93) and cognate with Chepang *naŋ* ‘you (singular)’ (Caughley 2000: 159) and Dhimal *na* ‘you, thou’ (King 1994: 126). Thangmi *niŋ* ‘you (plural)’ is cognate with Chepang *niŋ* ‘you (plural)’ (Caughley 2000: 161).

6.3 Interrogative pronouns

Thangmi interrogative pronouns occupy the same position in the syntagma that the corresponding non-interrogative part of speech would occupy. With the exception of *su* ‘who’, Thangmi interrogatives have an initial /k/ or /h/, as shown in Table 48 below.

TABLE 48. THANGMI INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

<i>kuta</i>	where, whither
<i>kutaleŋ</i>	when
<i>kundu</i>	which (one)
<i>kunyaŋ</i>	how (in which manner)
<i>hara</i>	what
<i>hani</i>	how many, how much
<i>su</i>	who

A further set of interrogative pronouns are constituted from the seven basic interrogative forms in combination with a nominal postposition, such as *kuta-yiŋ* (where-ABL) ‘where from, whence’ and *hara-kǎi* (what-PM) ‘why, for what reason’.

Nominal case endings and postpositions may be suffixed to an interrogative pronoun if these yield a semantically plausible combination, such as *su-ye* (who-ERG) ‘who’ (287 below), *su-ko* (who-GEN) ‘whose’ (19 and 79 above), *su-kǎi* (who-PM) ‘(to) whom’ (164 and 173 above); *hara-ye* (what-ERG) ‘what’ (285 below), *hara-ko* (what-GEN) ‘of what’ (120 above), *hara-te* (what-LOC) ‘in what’ (121 above) and *hani-te* (how.much-LOC) ‘for how much’ (288 below). In many short question forms, the verb may be absent since its involvement is taken to be implicit, as in examples 278 to 280.

- 278 *naŋ-ko* *name* *hara?*
you-GEN name what

What is your name (what are you called)?

- 279 *gǎi-gǎi* *ŋa-Ø-ŋa-n* *‘hu-ko* *nem-guri* *kuta?’*
I-PM say-SAS-1s-PT younger.brother-GEN house-IND where

He asked me, ‘where do you live, younger brother?’

- 280 *naŋ-kǎi* *hara?*
you-PM what

What do you need?

Further illustrations of sentences with one or more interrogative pronouns are offered below, in examples 281 to 289.

- 281 *‘kuta* *khalam-u-na-n?* *kuta-yiŋ* *kyel-u-na-n?’*
where meet-3P-2s-PT where-ABL bring-3P-2s-PT

‘Where did you find it? Whence did you bring it?’

- 282 *naŋ* *kutaleŋ* *ra-na-n?*
you when come.from.level-2s-PT

When did you come?

- 283 *gǎ-ye* *kundu* *thi-sa?*
I-ERG which touch-INF

Which one shall I touch?

- 284 *libi to-kǎi ŋay-eŋ-du 'kunyaŋ, hara-kǎi ca sat-u-na-n?'*
 after that-PM say-pAS-NPT how what-PM son kill-3P-2s-PT
ŋa-to-le.
 say-TPP-PCL

Later they ask her, 'how and why did you kill your son?'

- 285 *'hara-ye cyah-Ø-u-du?' ŋa-to-le, di uni nem priŋ*
 what-ERG eat-sAS-3P-NPT say-TPP-PCL one day house outside
hok-Ø-ta-le ɖapuh-Ø-u-no.
 be-sAS-IPP-PCL spy-sAS-3P-3→3/PT

'What is eating [my bread]?' he thought, so one day, sitting outside his house, he eavesdropped.

- 286 *hani syak-Ø-an?*
 how.many strike-sAS-3S/PT

What time is it?

- 287 *naŋ-kǎi ka su-ye ŋa-Ø-na-n?*
 you-PM this who-ERG say-sAS-2s-PT

Who told you this?

- 288 *to cahuca taŋ-Ø-du 'ja-Ø-du, hani-te*
 that man be.happy-sAS-NPT okay-sAS-NPT how.much-LOC
piy-u-na-du? gǎi-gǎi pi-ŋa, naŋ-kǎi libi pepelek
 give-3P-2s-NPT I-PM give-s→1s/IMP you-PM after money
pi-na-ŋa-du.'
 give-2s-1s-NPT

That man is happy [and says] 'okay, how much are you selling her for? Give her to me now and I will give you the money later.'

- 289 *su-ko huca kerep-Ø-du?*
 who-GEN child cry-sAS-NPT

Whose child is that crying?

Thangmi interrogative pronouns cover a range of meanings. In common with other languages of the Himalayan region, Thangmi interrogative pronouns appear in combination with adverbs and negated verb forms to articulate concepts expressed by negative pronouns in English, such as 'nowhere', 'never', 'nothing' and 'no one'.

When reduplicated, the interrogative *kuta* ‘where’ conveys the sense of ‘where are all the places’ as in 290, more aptly captured by the Dutch expression ‘*waar...zoal...*’.

- 290 *naŋ-kǎi kuta kuta kalǎi-na-du?*
you-PM where where hurt-2s-NPT

Where are all the places that it hurts?

In combination with the adverb *woi* ‘also’ and a negated verb, *kuta* ‘where’ has the meaning of ‘nowhere, in no place’, as in example 291.

- 291 *hu-ko wakhe nasǎi-to-le, tete thombe*
younger.brother-GEN word hear-TPP-PCL elder.sister surprise
thah-Ø-an, yoh-Ø-u-no, kuta woi ma-hok.
be-SAS-3S/PT look.at-SAS-3P-3→3/PT where also NEG-be

Hearing younger brother’s voice, elder sister was surprised, and she looked around, but he was nowhere to be seen.

The interrogative pronoun *kuta* ‘where’ can also be used as a relative to mean ‘wherever’ or ‘at that time’, as shown in example 292, similar to Nepali *jahā ~ tyahā*.

- 292 *cawa-cawa woi, kuta ukhiŋ-Ø-du, to-te hok-eŋ-thyo.*
walk-walk also where become.dark-SAS-NPT that-LOC be-pAS-3sCOND

On their way, they would rest [and camp] at whichever place they had got to when it became dark.

The interrogative pronoun *kutaleŋ* ‘when’ can be reduplicated to mean ‘sometimes’, ‘on occasion’ or ‘from time to time’, as in example 293.

- 293 *to aŋthe se-Ø-du hok-Ø-thyo, tyaŋ gǎi-be di-di-gore*
that very taste-SAS-NPT be-SAS-3sCOND then I-TOP one-one-CLF
loŋ-to-le kutaleŋ kutaleŋ cya-ŋa-n.
do-TPP-PCL when when eat-1s-PT

It was so tasty, that from then on, I would smoke cigarettes sometimes, one at a time.

In combination with the adverb *woi* ‘also’ and a negated verb, *kutaleŋ* ‘when’ means ‘never’, as in example 294.

294 *găi kutaleŋ woi ma-ghurghur-si.*

I when also NEG-snore-REF

I never snore.

The interrogative pronoun *kutaleŋ* ‘when’ can be used as a relative to convey the future sense of ‘at that time’ or ‘when (in the future)’, as in example 295, similar to Nepali *jahile*.

295 *‘ca kutaleŋ jekha thaŋun ŋaŋ wari bore loŋ-to-le*
son when big maybe and daughter.in.law marriage do-TPP-PCL
sumaka hok-sa’.
silence be-INF

‘When my son is grown up, then maybe I can have a daughter-in-law and I will be able to live in peace’ [the old man thought].

The interrogative pronoun *kundu* ‘which’ is frequently seen in combination with the nominal postposition *uniŋ* ‘like’, to convey the sense of ‘how’ or ‘what/which quality’, as in examples 296 and 297.

296 *ka ulam kundu uniŋ hok-Ø-du?*
this road which like be-SAS-NPT

How is this road?

297 *naŋ-ko sebi kundu uniŋ hok-Ø-du?*
you-GEN skin how like be-SAS-NPT

What is your skin like?

When reduplicated, the interrogative pronoun *kundu* ‘which’ carries the meaning ‘a few (people)’, as in 298, just like Nepali *kunai kunai* from which the expression may have been calqued.

298 *kundu kundu jekha mi-ko nem-te jet loŋ-sa hok-eŋ-du,*
which which big person-GEN house-LOC work do-INF be-PAS-NPT
apraca tha-Ø-du.
good be-SAS-NPT

A few [people] find work in the houses of important people, which is good.

In combination with the adverb *woi* ‘also’ and a negated verb, the interrogative *hara* ‘what’ has the meaning of ‘nothing’ or ‘not...anything’, as in examples 299 and 300.

- 299 *wari sumaka hok-Ø-an, ka dǎi yoh-Ø-u-du,*
 daughter.in.law silence be-SAS-3S/PT this towards look.at-SAS-3P-NPT
hara woi ma-hok-Ø-du nem-te.
 what also NEG-be-SAS-NPT house-LOC

The daughter-in-law sat in silence, and looking this way, saw that there was nothing [to eat] at home.

- 300 *begale-be hara woi ma-ra, gǎi-go ulica jet hok-Ø-du*
 other-TOP what also NEG-bring I-GEN small work be-SAS-NPT
bajar-ŋaŋ.
 market-inside

I'm not bringing back anything else, I just have a little something to do at the market.

When reduplicated, the pronoun *hara* 'what' conveys 'what (plural)', 'what else' or 'all what things' as in 301 and 302, very similar to the Dutch phrase '*wat...zoal...*'.

- 301 *begale hara hara rah-u-na-du?*
 other what what bring-3P-2s-NPT

What else will you bring back?

- 302 *'damari, nan laŋi ni-ye ra-le na-wa-du, ni-ye*
 son.in.law now necklace we-ERG bring-PCL put-1p→23-NPT we-ERG
gwi-wa-du ma-ŋay-e, naŋ-kǎi ni-ye hara hara
 steal-1p→23-NPT NEG-say-s/NEG/IMP you-PM we-ERG what what
pi-wa-du.'
 give-1p→23-NPT

'Son-in-law, we have brought the necklace to you, please don't tell [them] that we are the ones who stole it, and we will give you all kinds of things', [they said].

One of the most salient uses of the interrogative *hara* 'what' is in the rhetorical question *hara loŋ-sa* (what do-INF) 'what to do?'. This idiom is attested throughout Nepal, in many of the Tibeto-Burman languages as well as in Nepali. It is unclear whether this idiom was once calqued from Nepali *ke garne* (what do-INF) 'what to do?' or whether there is evidence to show that languages such as Thangmi have always had native terms to express this somewhat fatalistic concept. In the Thangmi context at least, *hara loŋ-sa* encapsulates a range of meanings from the purely

rhetorical ‘what on earth can we do now?’ and practical ‘what is there left to do?’, to genuine expressions of doubt ‘what [as in ‘how’] to do?’ and ‘what can I/we do (to help)?’.

Another calque from Nepali is *hani parāidu* ‘what does it cost?’ a combination of the Thangmi interrogative *hani* ‘how many, how much’ and the loaned *parāi-Ø-du* (*cost-SAS-NPT*) ‘it costs’, from Nepali *parnu* ‘to cost, fall’. There is no Thangmi native verb ‘to cost’, even though the indigenous Thangmi numeral system is quite extensive, as discussed in Section §9 of this chapter.

The pronoun *su* ‘who’ may be reduplicated, as illustrated by example 33 above and described in Section §2.2. As with other interrogatives, the pronoun *su* ‘who’ may be combined with the adverb *woi* ‘also’ and a negated verb, in which case it has the meaning of ‘nobody, no one’, as in examples 303 and 304 below.

- 303 *nalen woi thaymi ŋa-to-le, su-ye woi ma-ŋosāiy-en.*
 present also Thangmi say-TPP-PCL who-ERG also NEG-recognise-pAS

But even now, nobody knows who the Thangmi are.

- 304 *yoh-Ø-u-no, su woi ma-nih-Ø-u-no, sakalei thāi*
 look.at-SAS-3P-3→3/PT who also NEG-see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT all place
daŋ-Ø-u-no, kiji ma-hok.
 search-SAS-3P-3→3/PT blackie NEG-be

He looked around but saw no one, he searched everywhere, but Blackie wasn’t there.

The final interrogative to be discussed is *hanimyan* ‘how big’. Somewhat like Nepali *katro* ‘how big?’, it is rarely heard, and I have recorded only one example (305).

- 305 *tyaŋ ama-ye ŋa-Ø-ŋa-n ‘naŋ hanimyan-ko tha-ta-na-le, naŋ*
 then mother-ERG say-SAS-1s-PT you how.big-GEN be-IPP-2s-PCL you
ka-te hara jet loŋ-u-na-du?’
 this-LOC what work do-3P-2s-NPT

Then [recognising me] mother said, ‘my, how you have grown, now what work do you plan to do?’

Thangmi interrogatives can be concatenated in strings, much as in English we might say ‘what, why and when?’ when questioning somebody. Examples 306 and 307 demonstrate such interrogative concatenations.

- 306 *‘thangmi ηay-eη-no-be, thangmi ηay-eη-du, hara kuta*
 Thangmi say-pAS-3→3/PT-TOP Thangmi say-pAS-NPT what where
hok-Ø-du, ka mi su?’ ηa-to-le sakalei dany-eη-thyo.
 be-SAS-NPT this person who say-TPP-PCL all search-pAS-3sCOND
 ‘Thangmi, what’s a Thangmi? Where do they live and what kind of people
 are they?’, people said as they searched for them.

- 307 *to-ηaη ni-ye kutaleη woi kuta woi torta-to-le*
 that-inside we-ERG when also where also leave-TPP-PCL
ma-hen-ko ηa-wa-n.
 NEG-go-ADH say-1p→23-PT
 And there we promised never ever to break up [with one another] and leave.

6.4 The affable suffix *che*

morph: <-che>
 label: AFF

In Thangmi villages closer to Dolakhā bazaar, Thangmi speakers occasionally use the affable suffix <-che> (AFF) to convey a sense of friendship and goodwill on the part of the speaker. The suffix explicitly does not carry information about the addressee, and thus cannot be glossed as a non-honorific or informal suffix. I have recorded only three examples in unelicited speech, all of which are affixed to a second person pronoun as shown below.

- 308 *naη-che hara cya-na-n?*
 you-AFF what eat-2s-PT
 What have you eaten?
- 309 *niη-che su-ko-te cya-ni-n?*
 you(p)-AFF who-GEN-LOC eat-2p-PT
 At whose house did you(p) eat?
- 310 *naη-che-ko apa kuta yah-Ø-an?*
 you-AFF-GEN father where go-SAS-3S/PT
 Where has your father gone?

7. Adjectives

Unlike Tibeto-Burman languages such as Chinese or Lahu, which express adjectival concepts through intransitive verbs, Thangmi possesses parts of speech which may be called adjectives. As with other nominals, adjectives may take case endings and postpositions. Adjectives used adnominally generally precede the noun they modify, as in *jekha nem* (large house) ‘large house’ and *ălănga mi* (tall person) ‘tall person’. While also functioning as nouns, the sole example of a gendered adjectival pair is *thone* (old.MALE) ‘old male, old man, husband’ and *thoni* (old.FEM) ‘old female, old woman, wife’, as in *thone kucu* ‘old hound’ (old.MALE dog) versus *thoni kucu* ‘old bitch’ (old.FEM dog). Apart from *thoni* (old.FEM), no separate feminine forms are attested for adjectives.

Adjectives cannot be negated through affixes but are rather negated by their associated verb, for example: *to mi apraca hok-Ø-du* (that person good be-SAS-NPT) ‘he’s a good guy’ versus *to mi apraca ma-hok* (that person good NEG-be) ‘that person is no good’. Non-fluent speakers of Thangmi have been recorded attempting to negate adjectives following the pattern of Nepali *na-rāmro* (NEG-good) ‘bad, not good’, resulting in the ungrammatical Thangmi construction **ma-apraca* (NEG-good). Such constructions are rejected by fluent Thangmi speakers who see this as yet another indication of the encroaching influence of Nepali.

Many adjectives are derived from verb stems or from third person singular non-preterite verbal forms. Examples of adjectives derived from verb stems are presented in Table 49 below.

TABLE 49. THANGMI ADJECTIVES DERIVED FROM VERB STEMS

<i>ajik ~ ijik</i>	cold (of food)	< <i>ijiksa</i> ‘to be cold’
<i>cyucyum</i>	sharp, pointed	< <i>cyucyumsa</i> ‘to sharpen’
<i>gonthe</i>	round, spherical	< <i>gonthesa</i> ‘to make into a ball’
<i>kokorok</i>	bent, crumpled	< <i>koroksisa</i> ‘to be bent, crumpled’
<i>pecerek</i>	flattened	< <i>pecereksa</i> ‘to flatten, squash’
<i>pothok</i>	smooth, trim	< <i>pothoksa</i> ‘to smooth, trim’
<i>tila</i>	cold (weather)	< <i>tilasa</i> ‘to be cold (of weather)’
<i>ukhiŋ</i>	dark	< <i>ukhiŋsa</i> ‘to be dark, to set (of the sun)’

Many of the remaining Thangmi adjectives are reduplicated and phonaesthetic forms, such as *run-run* ‘weak, feeble’ or *op-op* ‘hot and sticky (of weather)’. Although

clearly reduplicated in the sense that one or more of the elements are repeated, these adjectives do not necessarily convey an intensified meaning. In fact, non-reduplicated forms such as **run* ‘weak’ or **op* ‘hot and sticky (of weather)’ do not exist. A list of reduplicative and near-reduplicative adjectives is provided in Table 50 below.

TABLE 50. REDUPLICATIVE AND NEAR-REDUPLICATIVE THANGMI ADJECTIVES

<i>phin-phinca</i>	light (in weight), thin, narrow
<i>bakal-cakal</i>	half-cooked, half-raw
<i>cereŋ-cereŋ</i>	glaring, scorching (of the sun)
<i>cyak-cyak</i>	shredded, sliced
<i>chok-chok</i>	complete darkness
<i>denderek</i>	coarse, rough
<i>ḍiŋ-ḍiŋ</i>	red, orange, purple
<i>ḍholoŋ-ḍholoŋ</i>	wide (in circumference)
<i>gum-gumca</i>	lukewarm, tepid
<i>ghoŋloŋ-ghoŋloŋ</i>	wide (of clothes), loose fitting, baggy
<i>hoŋloŋ-hoŋloŋ</i>	wide (of clothes), loose fitting, baggy
<i>hwaŋ-hwaŋ</i>	wide (space), spacious, open-feeling
<i>jenene</i>	sticky, gluey, gummy
<i>kakaṭak-kokoṭok</i>	lame, unable to walk
<i>koŋkolyaŋ</i>	bent, twisted
<i>kyac-kyac</i>	soft, marshy, muddy, clay-like, water-logged
<i>khuririŋ</i>	rounded, circular
<i>lenreŋ-lenreŋ</i>	dangling as if about to fall off, very loose
<i>nenreŋ-nenreŋ</i>	hanging as if about to fall off, very loose
<i>ŋyal-ŋyal</i>	soft, tender, gentle
<i>op-op</i>	hot, sticky (of weather)
<i>pen-pen</i>	sticky, muddy, clayey, slippery
<i>phin-phin</i>	smooth, flat, even
<i>ren-ren</i>	dragging along the ground
<i>reŋ-reŋ</i>	hasty, fidgety, rash, naughty
<i>run-run</i>	weak, feeble
<i>sorot-sarat</i>	pulled, stretched, extended
<i>thel-thel</i>	watery, wobbly
<i>ṭăi-ṭăi</i>	chewy, tough (of meat)
<i>ṭyaŋ-ṭyaŋ</i>	naked, undressed
<i>ṭhău-ṭhău</i>	hard, crunchy (of food)

The adjectives contained in Table 50 above are used both as adnominal modifiers, as in *bakal-cakal isa* (half-cooked food) ‘undercooked rice’, and as predicate adjectives, such as *isa bakal-cakal thah-Øan* (food half-cooked be-SAS-3S/PT) ‘the rice is undercooked’.

The above table is provided to facilitate comparison by permitting adjectives to be viewed alongside one another without needing to scour the lexicon. Many of these adjectives are no longer in common use and the collection of these forms has taken much time. Onomatopoeic adjectives may raise a smile on the face of the speaker or listener when uttered.

A number of Thangmi adjectives occur in adverbial phrases, in combination with a postposition. For example, the adjective *apraca* ‘good, nice, attractive’ carries the meaning ‘well’ when it occurs with a postposition in an adverbial phrase, as illustrated by the three contrastive examples below (311 to 313).

- 311 *tete-ye apraca miŋ toŋ-Ø-u-no.*
 elder.sister-ERG good cloth wash-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

Elder sister washed the good clothes.

- 312 *tete-ye miŋ apraca nama toŋ-Ø-u-no.*
 elder.sister-ERG cloth well with wash-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

Elder sister washed the clothes well.

- 313 *tete-ye apraca miŋ apraca nama toŋ-Ø-u-no.*
 elder.sister-ERG good cloth well with wash-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

Elder sister washed the good clothes well.

Thangmi adjectives most commonly combine with postpositions when used in their nominalised form, as in *gonthe-ko* ‘of Round Face’ or ‘Round Face’s’, from *gonthe* ‘round, spherical’, as shown in examples 314 and 315, or *tila-te* (cold-LOC) ‘in the cold’, from *tila* ‘cold’, as in example 316.

- 314 *jekha mi-ye gonthe-ko uma hen-sa*
 big person-ERG round.face-GEN wife take-INF
ma-thaŋ-Ø-u-no, nan begale wakhe loŋ-Ø-u-no.
 NEG-be.able-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now other word do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

The chief hadn’t been able to take Round Face’s wife, so now he hatched another plan.

- 315 'gonthe-kăi nan du-ko nunu nat-sa tho-ko măiy-Ø-an,
 round.face-PM now tiger-GEN milk milk-INF send-ADH must-sAS-3S/PT
 tyay du-ye cyah-Ø-u-du, ηay si-Ø-du, to-ko uma găi-go
 then tiger-ERG eat-sAS-3P-NPT and die-sAS-NPT that-GEN wife I-GEN
 tha-Ø-du' ηah-Ø-u-no.
 be-sAS-NPT say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT

'I must send Round Face off to milk a tiger, then the tiger will eat him up
 and he will die, and then his wife will be mine', he thought.

- 316 'yamiryan-ko tila-te woi may-te thum-sa miη
 nowadays-GEN cold-LOC also body-LOC stick-INF cloth
 bu-siy-eη-du, ma-tilay-eη ra?'
 cover-REF-pAS-NPT NEG-cold-pAS or

'These days, they even wear these body-sticking clothes in cold weather,
 [are you telling me that] they're not cold?' [he said].

7.1 Colour adjectives

The Thangmi language has adjectives to express three colours: black, white and red. While older speakers insist that there were once terms for a greater range of colours on the spectrum, there is no persuasive evidence of this. According to Berlin and Kay's proposed evolution of colour terminology, as presented in their *Basic Colour Terms*, Thangmi would be an example of typical stage II language, having indigenous lexical items for 'black', 'white' and 'red' only. All other colour terms are borrowed from Nepali. Alongside the terms for these three primary colours, Thangmi has adjectives meaning 'dark' and 'light', but these cannot be used to modify the intensity of a colour. Thangmi colour terms and the associated adjectives expressing lightness and darkness from the Dolakhā dialect are presented in Table 51 below.

TABLE 51. THANGMI COLOUR ADJECTIVES

<i>ḍiη-ḍiη</i>	red
<i>kiji</i>	black
<i>ubo</i>	white
<i>athay</i>	light (as in brightness)
<i>ukhiη</i>	dark

Despite the limited range of lexical items to express colour that exist in Thangmi, the colour terms that do exist have a range of uses which warrant discussing in some detail. Alongside the standard meaning of *ubo* ‘white’, as illustrated by example 317, *ubo* ‘white’ can precede *mi* ‘person’ to render *ubo mi* (white person) ‘foreigner, white-skinned person’, as in examples 318 to 321.

- 317 *gǎi-go miŋ ubo hok-Ø-du, tara aye bu-si-ta-ŋa-le kiji*
 I-GEN cloth white be-SAS-NPT but much cover-REF-IPP-1s-PCL black
thah-Ø-an.
 be-SAS-3S/PT

My clothes are white, but because I have worn them for so long, they have become black.

- 318 *ubo mi-ko camăica-pali-ye oste-ko huca-kăi cyocyo ma-pi*
 white person-GEN woman-p-ERG self-GEN child-PM breast NEG-give
isiy-eŋ-du.
 say-pAS-NPT

They say that white women don’t give their children the breast.

- 319 *ubo mi-ko pepelek aye hok-Ø-du.*
 white person-GEN money much be-SAS-NPT

White people have a lot of money.

- 320 *to isyaŋ ubo mi-pali demca ra-to-le*
 that period white person-p load bring-TPP-PCL
ray-eŋ-an.
 come.from.level-pAS-3S/PT

That same day some foreigners [lit. white people] came carrying their own packs.

- 321 *‘bore yo-sa-kăi ra-ŋa-n’ to ubo mi-ye*
 marriage look.at-INF-PM come.from.level-1s-PT that white person-ERG
ŋa-Ø-ŋa-n.
 say-SAS-1s-PT

‘I have come to see the wedding’, the white man said to me.

The adjective *ubo* ‘white’ can also be combined with the noun *bajareŋ* ‘local tobacco’, giving *ubo bajareŋ* ‘cigarette’ (lit. ‘white tobacco’, as distinct from home-grown tobacco), as in example 322.

- 322 *to mi-ye di-gore ucyaca menca-yiŋ ubo bajareŋ*
 that person-ERG one-CLF small bag-ABL white tobacco
kăiy-Ø-u-no, gă-ye yo-le nah-u-n-uŋ.
 take.out-SAS-3P-3→3/PT I-ERG look.at-PCL put-3P-1S→3-1S→3/PT

That person took some white tobacco out of a small pouch, and I was watching.

The Thangmi adjective *ubo* can also mean ‘clean’, in which case it is often contrasted with *kiji* ‘black’, the latter then meaning ‘dirty’, as in example 323 below. In a South Asian linguistic context, combining the meanings of ‘white’ and ‘clean’ on the one hand, and ‘black’ and ‘dirty’ on the other, is by no means unusual. In Hindi, for example, *safed* ‘white’ is etymologically related to *sāf* ‘clean, fair, bright’.

- 323 *di uni ahe jhari yuw-Ø-an, to phow-Ø-an,*
 one day much rain come.from.above-SAS-3S/PT that be.wet-SAS-3S/PT
pho-Ø-ta-le to-ko kiji maŋ ubo thah-Ø-an.
 be.wet-SAS-IPP-PCL that-GEN black body white be-SAS-3S/PT

One day it rained really hard and he was totally drenched, and being so drenched, his dirty body became clean.

Alongside the standard use of *kiji* to mean ‘black’, as in examples 324 and 325, *kiji* ‘black’ can precede *mi* ‘person’ to render *kiji mi* (black person) ‘southerner, plainsman, Indian’, as in example 326.

- 324 *to-ko mus găi-go uniŋ kiji hok-Ø-du.*
 that-GEN hair I-GEN like black be-SAS-NPT

His hair is black like mine.

- 325 *to kiji semni-ko bore kityaŋ thah-Ø-an.*
 that black Tamang-GEN marriage three.days.ago be-SAS-3S/PT

That black-faced Tamang got married three days ago.

- 326 *ni-ko kucu-pali-ye kiji mi niy-eŋ-to-le aṭṭhe*
 we-GEN dog-p-ERG black person see-pAS-TPP-PCL very
aghyoy-eŋ-du.
 bark-pAS-NPT

When our dogs see dark people they bark a lot.

The adjective *kiji* ‘black’ can also be used as a proper noun. Slightly dark-skinned Thangmi children are often called *kiji* ‘Blackie’, either in their official papers, if they have any, or as a village nickname. One of the narrative texts which I recorded concerned a person named ‘Blackie’, as illustrated by example 327. Unlike Nepali, in which black hounds and dark male children may be called *kāle* ‘Blackie (MASC)’, while dark bitches and girls are referred to as *kālī* ‘Blackie (FEM)’, there is no gender differentiation for ‘Blackie’ in Thangmi, and boys as well as girls may be named *kiji*. Thangmi individuals may carry the nickname *kiji* ‘Blackie’ with them into adulthood.

- 327 *di-ka kiji name tha-Ø-du camāica hok-Ø-thyo.*
 one-HNC blackie name be-SAS-NPT woman be-SAS-3sCOND

There once lived a woman by the name of Blackie.

Just as *ubo* ‘white’ is used to mean ‘clean’, so too *kiji* ‘black’ can mean ‘dirty’ or ‘dark’, as in examples 328 and 329.

- 328 *naŋ-ko khi aṭṭhe kiji thah-Ø-an.*
 you-GEN face very black be-SAS-3S/PT

Your face has become very dirty [black].

- 329 *nany-e thapu thi-to-le lak kiji thah-Ø-an.*
 you-ERG fireplace touch-TPP-PCL hand black be-SAS-3S/PT

You touched the fireplace and your hand has become dirty [black].

The final use of *kiji* ‘black’ is as an intensifier for *chokchok* ‘darkness’ in the phrase *kiji chokchok* (black darkness), best translated as ‘complete darkness’, and illustrated by example 330.

- 330 *di uni thoŋi-ye kiji chokchok-te luma*
 one day old.woman-ERG black darkness-LOC partially.husked.rice
kăi-sa ci-loŋ-Ø-u-no.
 remove-INF CAUS-do-sAS-3P-3→3/PT

One day the old woman made her remove all the partially-husked rice in complete darkness.

In the Dolakhā dialect of Thangmi, the adjective *ḍiŋ-ḍiŋ* ‘red’ is used both to describe things that are permanently red, such as a cockerel’s comb (examples 331 and 332) and more temporary reds, such as flushed cheeks (example 333).

- 331 *nem thil-sa beryaŋ hyawasa-ŋaŋ ubo nasak,*
 house paint-INF that.time upper.part-inside white earth
nhawasa-ŋaŋ ḍiŋ-ḍiŋ nasak-e thil-eŋ-du.
 lower.part-inside red earth-INS paint-pAS-NPT

When it’s time to paint a house, they paint the upper with white earth and the lower with red.

- 332 *gare-ko jire ḍiŋ-ḍiŋ tha-Ø-du.*
 rooster-GEN crest red be-sAS-NPT

The crest of the cockerel is red. [Cockerels’ crests are red] [A cockerel’s crest is red]

- 333 *marci cya-Ø-ta-le cile ḍiŋ-ḍiŋ tha-Ø-du.*
 hot.chilli eat-sAS-IPP-PCL tongue red be-sAS-NPT

If you eat chillies your tongue will go red.

The adjective *ḍiŋ-ḍiŋ* ‘red’ can also be used idiomatically to convey the sense of ‘red-hot’, as in example 334.

- 334 *dorok-ca ra-Ø-ta-le uma-ye nah-Ø-u-du ḍiŋ-ḍiŋ*
 run-PSG come.from.level-sAS-IPP-PCL wife-ERG put-sAS-3P-NPT red
baŋi-te biy-Ø-an.
 pot-LOC enter-sAS-3S/PT

He came back [home] running and dove into the red-hot pot his wife had put ready.

In the Sindhupālcok dialect of Thangmi, however, a distinction is made between *keret* ‘red (permanent)’ and *jiŋ-jyŋ* ‘red (temporary)’. In the village of Cokaṭi, the adjective *keret* ‘red’ is used for clothes, coloured pens and blood, and *jiŋ-jyŋ* ‘red’ used to describe the sunset, someone’s face when hot, and irritated or inflamed eyes.

The only other adjective used in Thangmi to convey a sense of colour or hue is *ariŋalya* ‘yellow-orange-red’, derived from the Nepali noun *ariṅāl* ‘hornet’ on account of the insect’s golden colouring. Although not widely used, Thangmi speakers incorrectly assert that *ariŋalya* ‘yellow-orange-red’ is an indigenous Thangmi colour word and not a loan. An example of its use is given in 335.

- 335 *saŋa peŋey-eŋ-du sum oli māina-ye, saŋa ariŋalya*
 millet sow-PAS-NPT three four month-ERG millet red.yellow
tha-Ø-ta-le min-Ø-du.
 be-SAS-IPP-PCL cook-SAS-NPT

Three or four months after it has been sown, the millet goes a golden-yellow colour and is then ripe.

In Thangmi, the adjectives *athan* ‘light’ and *ukhiŋ* ‘dark’ can combine with postpositions to mean ‘in the daylight’ or ‘in daytime’ and ‘in the dark’ or ‘at night’ respectively, as in examples 336 and 337. Younger Thangmi speakers also use *athan* ‘light’ as a noun to mean ‘light bulb’, as shown in example 338.

- 336 *athan-te caway-eŋ-ta-le, begale dese mi-ye niy-eŋ-du*
 light-LOC walk-PAS-IPP-PCL other village person-ERG see-PAS-NPT
ŋa-to-le, ŋaye sul-siy-eŋ-ta-le caway-eŋ-du.
 say-TPP-PCL night hide-REF-PAS-IPP-PCL walk-PAS-NPT

Had they walked in the daytime, then they might be seen by people from other villages, so they walked secretly at night.

- 337 *ukhiŋ-ŋaŋ, ubo mi-pali kiji icinis-eŋ-du.*
 dark-inside white person-p black appear-PAS-NPT

In the dark, [even] white people seem to be black.

- 338 *athan̩ sat-wa-du-be, dewa yo-sa mi kyel-Ø-ta-le*
 light kill-1p→23-NPT-TOP god look.at-INF person come-sAS-IPP-PCL
ni-kǎi ci-let-i-n.
 we-PM CAUS-appear-1pPS-PT

But even though we extinguished the light, a worshipper coming to the temple saw us and dragged us out.

Both *athan̩* ‘light’ and *ukhiŋ* ‘dark’ are derived from indigenous Thangmi verb forms, *athan̩sa* ‘to become light’ and *ukhiŋsa* ‘to become dark’ respectively, examples of which are given in 339 and 340 below.

- 339 *athan̩-Ø-an ŋa-to-le priŋ let-Ø-an, ukhiŋ*
 become.light-sAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL outside appear-sAS-3S/PT dark
nih-Ø-u-no ‘hara thah-Ø-an?’ ŋa-to-le duŋ-ŋaŋ
 see-sAS-3P-3→3/PT what be-sAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL within-inside
biy-Ø-an.
 enter-sAS-3S/PT

Thinking that it was light, he went outside only to see that it was still dark, ‘what happened?’ he thought to himself, as he went back inside.

- 340 *tyaŋ ɬaye tha-Ø-ta-le ukhiŋ-Ø-an, ni ariy-i-n.*
 then night be-sAS-IPP-PCL become.dark-sAS-3S/PT we be.afraid-1pPS-PT

Night fell and then it became really dark, and we were frightened.

8. Intensifiers and quantifiers

Intensifiers are modifying adverbs which increase or decrease the effect or quality of another element in a nominal phrase, usually a verb or an adjective, as in *aŋthe* ‘very, extremely’ and *uchinca* ‘less’. Quantifiers are modifying adverbs which increase or decrease the quantity of another element in a phrase, usually a verb or an adjective, as in *ahe* ‘a lot, much, many’ and *uchinca* ‘a little, few, some’. The Thangmi adverb *uchinca* functions as both an intensifier and a quantifier, and has an emphatic form *uchincǎi* ‘much less, very little, very few’, as in examples 184 and 241 above. Examples 341 to 343 below illustrate the use of the intensifiers *aŋthe* and *uchinca*, while examples 344 to 346 illustrate the use of the Thangmi quantifiers *ahe* and *uchinca*.

341 *miryaŋ aʔthe uni tow-Ø-an.*

yesterday very sun shine-SAS-3S/PT

Yesterday it was very sunny.

342 *ka isa, cici ŋaŋ kiji moʔe-ko ken-te aʔthe*

this food meat and black soybean-GEN vegetable.curry-LOC very

se-Ø-du.

be.tasty-SAS-NPT

This food is very tasty with meat and black soybean vegetable curry.

343 *bubu-ye gǎi-gǎi usare pi-Ø-ŋa-n, libi uchincǎi*

elder.brother-ERG I-PM medicine give-SAS-1s-PT after much.less

kalǎi-sa jah-Ø-an.

hurt-INF recover-SAS-3S/PT

Elder brother gave me some medicine, and after that it became much less painful.

344 *bore loŋ-u-n-du beryaŋ, ahe pepelek thah-Ø-an.*

marriage do-3P-1s→3-NPT that.time much money be-SAS-3S/PT

When I got married, it cost a lot of money.

345 *‘ka ahe nem hok-Ø-du ʔhǎi, kuta kuta?’ ni thombe*

this very house be-SAS-NPT place where where we surprise

thay-i-n.

be-1pPS-PT

‘Where on earth is this place, in and amongst all these many houses?’, we thought and were surprised.

346 *pepelek uchinca pi-Ø-ŋa-thyo, cya-sa-kǎi woi*

money a.little give-SAS-1s-3sCOND eat-INF-PM also

ma-gap-Ø-du.

NEG-be.enough-SAS-NPT

They gave me a little bit of money, but not even enough to eat.

9. Numerals

9.1 Simple numerals and their classifiers

Numerals are one of the most interesting features of Thangmi nominal morphology. Although the Nepali numeral system is now widely used by Thangmi speakers for numerals above ten, and often even for numerals above five, a native numeral system does still exist. Interesting features of the numeral system include notable dialectal variation in both the numerals themselves and their associated classifiers, as well as a rather unusual way of constructing the higher decades. These issues are discussed in this section.

Thangmi numerals are considered nominals on the basis of their morphosyntactic properties. They may occur as modifiers of nominal heads or appear independently as heads themselves. Numerals may take case endings and postpositions when occurring as independent nominals, and numeral classifiers are obligatory for all situations other than counting out loud or tallying a list. Table 52 below shows the Thangmi numeral forms for one to nine in the Dolakhā dialect.

TABLE 52. THANGMI NUMERALS FROM THE DOLAKHĀ DIALECT

1	<i>di</i>
2	<i>nis</i>
3	<i>sum</i>
4	<i>oli</i>
5	<i>walḡa</i>
6	<i>mat</i>
7	<i>ṇo</i>
8	<i>lā</i>
9	<i>kit</i>

Attributive forms of the numerals are used in most cases, and also sometimes for counting. These attributive forms are constructed by attaching one of the numeral classifier suffixes to the numeral. In spontaneous unelicited speech, numerals without classifiers are rarely heard. In example 347 below, while seemingly appearing without a classifier, *uni* ‘day’ actually functions as a classifier itself.

347 *găi walḡa uni libi yu-ḡa-du.*

I five day after come.from.above-1s-NPT

I’ll come back down in five days.

In example 348 below, in which the speaker is counting out loud, the Thangmi numerals occur as independent nominals.

- 348 *naŋ-ko kham-te 'di nis sum'-kăi hara ŋah-Ø-u-du?*
 you-GEN language-LOC one two three-PM what say-SAS-3P-NPT

How do you say 'one, two, three' in your language?

The most frequent instances of Thangmi numerals appearing without a classifier are in questions or statements pertaining to age, as in example 349.

- 349 *găi walŋa tha-ŋa-du beryaŋ, găi-go jekha tete-ko bore*
 I five be-1s-NPT that.time I-GEN large elder.sister-GEN marriage
thah-Ø-an.
 be-SAS-3S/PT

My eldest sister got married when I was five.

In the Dolakhā dialect, the numeral classifiers in use are <-ka> (HNC) for human referents and <-gore> (CLF) for non-human referents. The distribution of the Dolakhā dialect numeral classifiers corresponds closely to that of the Nepali numeral classifiers *-janā* 'human' and *-vaṭā ~ -ṭā* 'non-human'. Thangmi numerals from the Dolakhā dialect, from one to nine, are shown with their classifiers in Table 53 below.

TABLE 53. THANGMI NUMERALS AND NUMERAL CLASSIFIERS
FROM THE DOLAKHĀ DIALECT

1	<i>di-ka</i>	one person	<i>dī-gore</i>	one of them, one thing, one piece
2	<i>nis-ka</i>	two people	<i>nis-gore</i>	two of them, two things...
3	<i>sum-ka</i>	three people	<i>sum-gore</i>	three pieces
4	<i>oli-ka</i>	four people	<i>oli-gore</i>	four pieces
5	<i>walŋa-ka</i>	five people	<i>walŋa-gore</i>	five pieces
6	<i>mat-ka</i>	six people	<i>mat-gore</i>	six pieces
7	<i>ŋo-ka</i>	seven people	<i>ŋo-gore</i>	seven pieces
8	<i>lā-ka</i>	eight people	<i>lā-gore</i>	eight pieces
9	<i>kit-ka</i>	nine people	<i>kit-gore</i>	nine pieces

The numeral classifier for human referents <-ka> (HNC) is most probably derived from Thangmi *kapu* 'head'. This full form is still used in the Sindhupālcok dialect, where the numeral classifier for human referents is <-kapu> (HNC). Sentences

from the Dolakhā dialect using Thangmi numeral classifiers are shown in examples 350 to 355.

- 350 *ni nis-ka isa cya-ŋa libi hara loŋ-sa?*
we two-HNC food eat-CNS after what do-INF

What shall we two do after having eaten?

- 351 *gǎi sum ŋaŋ oli tha-ŋa-du beryaŋ, gǎi-go sum-ka tete*
I three and four be-1s-NPT that.time I-GEN three-HNC elder.sister
woi siy-eŋ-an.
also die-pAS-3S/PT

When I was between the ages of three and four, three of my elder sisters passed away.

- 352 *nan nem-te oli-ka thay-i-n ŋaŋ sakalei oste-ko mi-pali*
now house-LOC four-HNC be-1pPS-PT and all self-GEN person-p
tany-eŋ-an.
be.happy-pAS-3S/PT

Now that there were four of us in the house, all my relatives were happy.

- 353 *gǎi-go kham-te gǎi di-gore kari kariy-u-n-du.*
I-GEN language-LOC I one-CLF song sing-3P-1s→3-NPT

I shall sing a song in my language.

- 354 *gǎi jekha tha-ta-ŋa-le, gǎi-go sum-gore name thaha*
I big be-IPP-1s-PCL I-GEN three-CLF name knowledge
sǎiy-u-n-uŋ.
know-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT

When I became older, I came to know that I had three names.

- 355 *‘ma-kaṭa, gǎi-gǎi amat-sa-kǎi sum-gore jake-ko maŋǎi, di-gore*
NEG-scold I-PM beg-INF-PM three-CLF rice-GEN bread one-CLF
wa, di kulin toŋ ra-to-le
chicken one small.earthenware.water.vessel beer bring-TPP-PCL
ra-Ø’ ŋa-Ø-ŋa-n.
come.from.level-s/IMP say-sAS-1s-PT

‘He won’t scold you. In order to request [my hand in marriage], just come bringing three rice breads, one chicken and one jug of beer’, she said.

In the Dolakhā dialect of Thangmi, the spirits of dead people, malevolent forest spirits, forest-dwelling wild men and gods all take the human numeral classifier <-ka> (HNC), as shown in examples 356 to 359 below. In Nepali, by contrast, gods are more usually referred to with the non-human numeral classifier *-vaṭā* ~ *-ṭā* ‘non-human’.

- 356 *amamakaleŋ ni-ko apa-ye di-ka apan*
 long.time.ago we-GEN father-ERG one-HNC forest.spirit
sat-Ø-u-no.
 kill-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

A long time ago, our father killed a forest spirit.

- 357 *nis-ka mi yey-eŋ-ta-le yoy-eŋ-du-be, nis-ka*
 two-HNC person go-PAS-IPP-PCL look.at-PAS-NPT-TOP two-HNC
apan uniŋ mi niy-eŋ-no.
 wild.man like person see-PAS-3→3/PT

Going off, these two people went to look around, and they saw two wild-looking people.

- 358 *to beryaŋ di-ka mosani kyel-Ø-ta-le ‘humi,*
 that that.time one-HNC spirit come-SAS-IPP-PCL younger.sister
di-gore maŋăi găi-găi pi-ŋa’ ŋah-Ø-u-no.
 one-CLF bread I-PM give-S→1S/IMP say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

At that time, a spirit came by and said, ‘younger sister, give me a bread!’

- 359 *to dese-te di-ka dewa woi cawa-Ø-thyo.*
 that village-LOC one-HNC god also walk-SAS-3sCOND

[At that time] there was a god walking around in that village.

Animals often speak in Thangmi stories and are personified with the human numeral classifier <-ka> (HNC) in place of <-gore> (CLF) for non-human referents. An anecdote will serve to illustrate the point. I was once travelling on a bus with some Thangmi villagers, one of whom had a goat with him. When a policeman boarded the bus and asked how many of us were travelling to Kathmandu, the Thangmi villager muttered to himself, laughing, *oli-ka mi ŋa di-ka ṭuŋi* (four-HNC person and one-HNC goat) ‘four humans and a goat’, using <-ka> (HNC) for his goat instead of the grammatically correct <-gore> (CLF) for non-human referents.

Certain nouns do not require numeral classifiers because they function as units of measurement in and of themselves, as in example 355 above, where *kulin* ‘small earthenware jug’ does not take a classifier, or as in 347 above and 360 below, in which the Thangmi words *uni* ‘day’ and the Nepali loan *barsa* ‘year’ function as numeral classifiers themselves.

- 360 *naŋ hani barsa tha-na-n?*
 you how.many year be-2s-PT
 How old are you?

In most scenarios, the interrogative pronoun *hani* ‘how much, how many’ takes a numeral classifier, as in examples 18 above and 361 below.

- 361 *to-ko ʈuŋi hani-gore hok-Ø-du?*
 that-GEN goat how.many-CLF be-SAS-NPT
 How many goats does he have?

Numerals from the Sindhupālcok dialect of Thangmi differ slightly from their Dolakhā counterparts, as shown in Table 54 below. Moreover, in the few villages of Sindhupālcok district where Thangmi is still spoken, indigenous Thangmi numerals are more widely used for counting and enumeration than in Dolakhā.

TABLE 54. THANGMI NUMERALS FROM THE SINDHUPĀLCOK DIALECT

1	<i>dil</i>
2	<i>nis</i>
3	<i>sum</i>
4	<i>whali</i>
5	<i>whalɣa</i>
6	<i>mat</i>
7	<i>ŋo</i>
8	<i>laʔ</i>
9	<i>kit</i>

While the Dolakhā dialect of Thangmi has but two numeral classifiers, there are seven numeral classifiers attested in the Sindhupālcok dialect. The numeral classifiers of the Sindhupālcok dialect and the semantic classes of nominals with which they occur are given in Table 55 below.

TABLE 55. THANGMI NUMERAL CLASSIFIERS FROM THE SINDHUPĀLCOK DIALECT

form	semantic class of noun	gloss
<i>kapu</i>	humans	HNC
<i>gore</i>	houses, general things	CLF
<i>kău</i>	non-human animates	CLF2
<i>kulaŋ</i>	wood, round or short things	CLF3
<i>pa</i>	leaves, paper, thin or flat things	CLF4
<i>paŋe</i>	clothes, bamboo mats	CLF5
<i>pur</i>	trees, branches, long things	CLF6

In the Dolakhā dialect of Newar, according to Carol Genetti, numerals are ‘always followed directly by numeral classifiers’ and ‘classifiers are not used with any other nominal modification besides numerals’ (1994: 68). The same holds true for the Sindhupālcok dialect of Thangmi, with the exception of the noun *daŋ* ‘year’ which precedes the numeral ‘one’, as in *daŋ dil thah-Ø-an* (year one be-SAS-3S/PT) ‘one year ago’, but which follows all other numerals, as in *ca sum daŋ tha-Ø-du* (son three year be-SAS-NPT) ‘son is three years old’. An analysis of the close correspondences in the numeral classifiers of the Dolakhā dialect of Newar and the Sindhupālcok dialect of Thangmi is presented in Section §4.1 of Chapter 1.

Examples of numeral classifiers from the Sindhupālcok dialect of Thangmi are shown in 362 to 373 below. Since I have recorded so few examples of these classifiers, all of which are drawn from unelicited and natural speech, I have chosen to gloss them with numbers rather than attempting to find a fitting label for the semantic class which they describe. The distribution and use of the classifier <-gore> (CLF) for non-human referents is the same in both the Dolakhā and Sindhupālcok dialects, so I retain the label (CLF). Likewise, the Dolakhā human numeral classifier <-ka> (HNC) and the Sindhupālcok human numeral classifier <-kapu> (HNC) are cognate terms with exactly the same distribution, so I have chosen to gloss both with the same label. The remaining classifiers appear infrequently and are sequentially glossed as (CLF2), (CLF3), (CLF4), (CLF5) and (CLF6) respectively.

Examples 362 to 364 below illustrate the use of the classifier <-gore> (CLF) for non-human referents in the Sindhupālcok dialect.

- 362 *ki di-gore jhyeka jaṅkha-te aṭṭhe usruʔu-sa.*
 and one-CLF large rice.cooking.pot-LOC very stuff.in-INF

And then these [dried leafy greens] are all stuffed into a very large rice-cooking pot.

- 363 *si-Ø-du isyaṅ nem-ko laṅga-te nis-gore syeṅ-te*
 die-sAS-NPT period house-GEN courtyard-LOC two-CLF wood-LOC
ṇoʔ-gore uchiga syeṅ-ko ṇoʔ cali naṅāi-ye
 seven-CLF short wood-GEN seven stairs Himalayan.nettle-INS
chyu-sa.
 tie-INF

On the day of death, in the courtyard of the house of the deceased, a ladder is made out of two large poles of wood and seven smaller pieces of firewood, all bound together with twine made from Himalayan nettle.

- 364 *to nasye-kāi hara hara māi-Ø-du? ṇa-ṇa di*
 that first.death.rite-PM what what must-sAS-NPT say-CNS one
ṭoke jake, di-gore aʔum to me thapu-te
 unit.of.measurement unhusked.rice one-CLF egg that fire hearth-LOC
noṅ-sa.
 do-INF

For that first death ritual what is needed? It is said that one *mānā* of unhusked rice and one egg are put into the fireplace.

Example 365 below illustrates the use of the classifier <-kapu> (HNC) for human referents in the Sindhupālcok dialect.

- 365 *di uni, di-kapu mi ni-ko nem-te kyel-Ø-an.*
 one day one-HNC person we-GEN house-LOC come-sAS-3S/PT

One day, a man came to our house.

Examples 366 and 367 below illustrate the use of the classifier <-kāu> (CLF2) for non-human animates in the Sindhupālcok dialect.

- 366 *tinyaṅ di-kāu wa daṅ-sa.*
 then one-CLF2 chicken find-INF

Then one chicken is found.

- 367 *'to-giŋ, to isa, maŋiŋ, moŋe, makăi, di-kău wa-ca li*
 that-ABL that food bread soybean *maize* one-CLF2 chicken-DIM also
ka cya?areŋ-te tham-o.'
 this flat.wicker.mat-LOC insert-s→3/IMP

'And then, put that cooked food, that bread, the soybeans and maize and also one little chicken on that flat wicker mat' [the shaman said].

Example 368 below illustrates the use of the Sindhupālcok dialect classifier <-kulaŋ> (CLF3) for wood, round things or short things.

- 368 *tinyaŋ to si-Ø-du mi-ko name 'moro', to moro-ko*
 then that die-SAS-NPT person-GEN name moro that moro-GEN
the-ko jyamari-ye si-Ø-du mi-ko hapa hapa di-gore
 self-GEN son.in.law-ERG die-SAS-NPT person-GEN before before one-CLF
naŋăi-ko minca-te boro isa ŋo? puya-ko
 Himalayan.nettle-GEN rope.bag-LOC cooked.rice food seven seed-GEN
ane di-gore tokolo ŋa cakur-la?a-te sum-kulaŋ syeŋ-ko
 grain one-CLF hoe and eating-hand-LOC three-CLF3 wood-GEN
mekapul cabu?u-sa.
 dead.person's.fire carry-INF

Then that dead person is known as a *moro* [corpse] and that *moro*'s own son-in-law walks ahead of the corpse carrying a rope bag made of Himalayan nettles containing cooked food, seven grain seeds and a hand-held hoe; while in his right hand, he [the son-in-law] carries three pieces of small firewood burning with the dead man's fire.

Examples 369 to 371 below illustrate the use of the classifier <-pa> (CLF4) for leaves, paper and thin or flat things, in the Sindhupālcok dialect.

- 369 *noŋ-ta-le sum-pa mampra aja thibliŋ*
 do-IPP-PCL three-CLF4 *Macaranga.indica* leaf back.to.front
lap-ta-le isa lo?o-sa ki guru khasi-Ø-du.
 spread.out-IPP-PCL food pour.out-INF and shaman do.the.rite-SAS-NPT

Having done that, three leaves of the *Macaranga indica* are spread out [on the ground] and cooked food is served on them and the shaman commences the death ritual.

- 370 *to-giŋ di-pa phaŋgaŋeŋ-ko aja-te paŋku kyel-ta-le*
 that-ABL one-CLF4 Co.co.yam-GEN leaf-LOC water bring-IPP-PCL
nem-te sakhalī mi-kăi lat-cha ki dum-Ø-du.
 house-LOC all person-PM sprinkle-INF and finish-SAS-NPT

From that point, the leaf of a Co-co yam (*Colocasia antiquorum*) is brought and all the people at the house must sprinkle water on it, and then it [the ritual] is finished.

- 371 *'nan hapa me lyuŋ kyel-o, tinyaŋ sum-pa*
 now before fire stone bring-s→3/IMP then three-CLF4
mampra aja ibliŋ lap-o, tinyaŋ di-mana
Macaranga.indica leaf right.side.up spread.out-s→3/IMP then one-*mana*
di-muŋhi meke dap-o'.
 one-fistful meke fill-s→3/IMP

'Now, first of all, bring the fire stone [for the incense], then lay down three leaves of the *Macaranga indica* the right side up, and then fill them with one *mānā* and one fistful of *meke*' [he said].

Examples 372 and 373 below illustrate the use of the classifier <-paŋe> (CLF5) for clothes, bamboo mats and long flat things, in the Sindhupālcok dialect.

- 372 *tinyaŋ di-paŋe philya seny-e philya poŋoŋ-te*
 then one-CLF5 flat piece.of.wood-INS flat rock-LOC
sui-sa.
 beat-INF

Then it is beaten on a flat rock with a flat piece of wood.

- 373 *to-giŋ di-paŋe chaŋ ta-ko di-paŋe*
 that-ABL one-CLF5 cylindrical.wicker.basket weave-ADH one-CLF5
cya?areŋ ta-ko.
 flat.wicker.mat weave-ADH

And then one cylindrical wicker basket and one flat wicker mat must be woven.

I have collected a further set of numerals from the Thangmi community in Darjeeling, a culturally active and highly literate group of ethnic Thangmi. While most Darjeeling-born Thangmi no longer speak their language, some of the older immigrants who came to India from villages in Dolakhā and Sindhupālcok still do,

and the community printed a wall calendar in 1997 to promote Thangmi cultural awareness. In this calendar, Thangmi ordinal numerals are given in the Devanāgarī script and differ once again from those recorded in Dolakhā and Sindhupālcok. Table 56 below shows these ordinal numbers from one to nine in transliteration as they are presented on the wall calendar, including the final element <-gure> which is cognate with <-gore> (CLF), the classifier for non-human referents in both Dolakhā and Sindhupālcok.

TABLE 56. THANGMI ORDINALS FROM THE DARJEELING CALENDAR

1 st	<i>dig-gure</i>
2 nd	<i>niś-gure</i>
3 rd	<i>sum-gure</i>
4 th	<i>olī-gure</i>
5 th	<i>vāñg-gure</i>
6 th	<i>ṇok-gure</i>
7 th	<i>māt-gure</i>
8 th	<i>lāk-gure</i>
9 th	<i>khīt-gure</i>

A few points about the contents of Table 56 are worth noting. First, the calendar was compiled by ethnic Thangmi from Darjeeling whose first language is Nepali and who were most likely not attuned to the phonological differences between Thangmi and Nepali. Second, it appears that in the Darjeeling calendar the numerals for ‘six’ and ‘seven’, have been accidentally reversed. These two numerals are also the ones most likely to be forgotten by Thangmi speakers. It is unfortunate, however, that this error is now immortalised in print since the written word has a tendency to take on a level of orthodoxy and authenticity which the spoken word rarely achieves.

To facilitate comparison between the three numeral systems, Table 57 juxtaposes the numerals from one to nine in the Thangmi dialects of Dolakhā and Sindhupālcok and from the Darjeeling wall calendar.

TABLE 57. THREE CONTRASTIVE SETS OF THANGMI NUMERALS

	Dolakhā	Sindhupālcok	Darjeeling
1	<i>di</i>	<i>dil</i>	<i>dig</i>
2	<i>nis</i>	<i>nis</i>	<i>niś</i>
3	<i>sum</i>	<i>sum</i>	<i>sum</i>
4	<i>oli</i>	<i>whali</i>	<i>olī</i>
5	<i>wal̥ɣa</i>	<i>whal̥ɣa</i>	<i>vāñg</i>
6	<i>mat</i>	<i>mat</i>	<i>ɲok</i>
7	<i>ɲo</i>	<i>ɲo</i>	<i>māt</i>
8	<i>lā</i>	<i>laʔ</i>	<i>lāk</i>
9	<i>kit</i>	<i>kit</i>	<i>khīt</i>

9.2 Numeral decades

In Thangmi, *dicip* ‘ten’ is a numeral compound composed of two elements: The unit number morpheme *di* ‘one’ is the first syllable, and the decimal morpheme <-cip> is the second element. Thus, in Dolakhā, *dicip* ‘ten’ is derived from *di* ‘one’ and the decimal morpheme <-cip>. In Sindhupālcok, *dhicip* ‘ten’ derives from *dil* ‘one’ and the decimal morpheme <-cip>, while in Darjeeling, *digcip* ‘ten’ derives from *dig* ‘one’ and the decimal morpheme <-cip>.

In the Dolakhā variety of Thangmi, the dialect which forms the focus of this grammar, decades from twenty to ninety are constructed as compounds consisting of the relevant unit number morpheme together with *dicip*, the compound for ‘ten’. For example, *oli-dicip* ‘forty’ derives from *oli* ‘four’ and *dicip* ‘ten’ (lit. ‘four-ten’). Although rarely heard, the indigenous Thangmi forms for decades are in occasional use, and are presented in Table 58 below.

TABLE 58. DECADES FROM THE DOLAKHĀ DIALECT OF THANGMI

20	<i>nis-dicip</i>
30	<i>sum-dicip</i>
40	<i>oli-dicip</i>
50	<i>wal̥ɣa-dicip</i>
60	<i>mat-dicip</i>
70	<i>ɲo-dicip</i>
80	<i>lā-dicip</i>
90	<i>kit-dicip</i>

In both the Sindhupālcok dialect and the Darjeeling wall calendar, the decades from twenty to ninety are constructed slightly differently. In these two dialects, decades are constructed using the unit number morpheme together with the decimal morpheme <-cip>, but without the element *dil* or *dig* ‘one’. Sindhupālcok and Darjeeling decades are shown in Table 59 below.

**TABLE 59. DECADES FROM THE SINDHUPĀLCOK DIALECT OF THANGMI
AND THE DARJEELING WALL CALENDAR**

	Sindhupālcok	Darjeeling
20	<i>nis-cip</i>	<i>niś-cip</i>
30	<i>sum-cip</i>	<i>sum-cip</i>
40	<i>whali-cip</i>	
50	<i>whalḡa-cip</i>	
60	<i>mat-cip</i>	
70	<i>ṇo-cip</i>	
80	<i>laʔ-cip</i>	
90	<i>kit-cip</i>	

For Thangmi numerals between ten and twenty, the numeral ten, *dicip*, precedes the unit number morpheme in all dialects, as in *dicip-walḡa* ‘fifteen’, from *dicip* ‘ten’ and *walḡa* ‘five’ (lit. ‘ten-five’). Examples 374 to 376 illustrate Thangmi numerals between ten and twenty as drawn from natural conversations between speakers of the Dolakhā dialect of the language.

- 374 *bāsint̪e serek-Ø-ta-le cawah-Ø-an, to-ye di ṭhăi-te*
 morning arise-SAS-IPP-PCL walk-SAS-3S/PT that-ERG one place-LOC
d̪i-ka camăica dicip-nis-gore laṇi khyak-si-Ø-du
 one-HNC woman ten-two-CLF necklace strap.on-REF-SAS-NPT
nih-Ø-u-no.
 see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

In the morning he got up and set off, and in one place he saw a woman wearing twelve necklaces.

- 375 *gǎi dicip-walɥa tha-ŋa-du beryaŋ, gǎi-go apa-ko apa*
 I ten-five be-1s-NPT that.time I-GEN father-GEN father
runrun thah-Ø-an.
 weak.and.ill be-SAS-3S/PT

When I was fifteen, my grandfather became weak and ill.

- 376 *thaŋmi-ko nem-te mosani ci-po-sa-kǎi 'dicip-mat ɲiŋ*
 Thangmi-GEN house-LOC spirit CAUS-chase-INF-PM ten-six stone
hap-sa' ŋay-eŋ-du.
 throw-INF say-pAS-NPT

Driving spirits from a Thangmi house is known as 'throwing the sixteen stones'.

In the Dolakhā dialect, the numeral 100 is formed by adding a second *dicip* 'ten' to the compounded string that already denotes ninety *kit-dicip*, resulting in *kit-dicip-dicip* '100' (lit. '[9 x 10] + 10'). I have not heard the Thangmi numeral for 100 used in Sindhupālcok, nor does it occur on the Darjeeling wall calendar.

Based on comparative evidence from Limbu, a different analysis of the unit number numerals *kit* 'nine' and *dicip* 'ten' may be proposed. In Limbu, <-kip> is found in the decades 40, 50, 60, 70, 80 and 90 as a suffix, and in 100 as the root, for example *likip* 'forty' and *phaŋkip* 'ninety' (van Driem 1987: 33). The Thangmi morpheme *kit* 'nine' may be cognate with the Limbu morpheme <-kip>, and Benedict identifies Limbu *gip* with a poorly attested Tibeto-Burman decimal root **gip* (1972: 19 and 94), of which the Thangmi decimal morpheme <-cip> may be a reflex.

The remaining non-decade numerals higher than twenty but lower than 99 are formed by using the unit number morpheme together with the decimal morpheme to specify the decade, and then adding a further unit number morpheme as a suffix, as in *sum-dicip-oli* 'thirty-four' from *sum* 'three', *dicip* 'ten' and *oli* 'four', or *nis-dicip-walɥa* 'twenty-five' from *nis* 'two', *dicip* 'ten' and *walɥa* 'five'. Further illustrations of complex numbers are given in examples 377 and 378 below.

- 377 *adum tha-Ø-du ɬǎi-ŋaŋ nis-dicip-di-yiŋ uni sum-dicip-kit-te*
 warm be-SAS-NPT place-inside two-ten-one-ABL day three-ten-nine-LOC
ka racya-ko puya bo-Ø-du.
 throughout paddy-GEN seed sprout-SAS-NPT

In warm places the rice seeds sprout in twenty-one to thirty-nine days.

- 378 *găi nis-dicip-di tha-ŋa-du beryaŋ, găi-go bore thah-Ø-an.*
 I two-ten-one be-1s-NPT that.time I-GEN marriage be-sAS-3S/PT
 When I was twenty-one, I got married.

10. Adverbs of time and the adverbs *woi* ‘also’ and *jukun* ‘only’

The Thangmi language has an impressive set of indigenous time adverbials. While the terms used for days of the week and months of the year are loans from Nepali, indigenous Thangmi temporal adverbs exist and their widespread use and range of meanings extend beyond those of the corresponding Nepali terms. There are separate and distinct Thangmi lexical items for four days in the past to four days in the future, and from three years back to the year after next. Although not strictly part of nominal morphology, a number of Thangmi adverbial constructions are discussed in this section for reasons of expediency.

10.1 Periods of a day

Thangmi specifies four periods in any given day: ‘morning’, ‘daytime’, ‘evening’ and ‘night’, which roughly correspond to their equivalents in Nepali. I should stress at this point that glosses and the English adverbs used in translation should not be thought of as we would understand them in the West, but rather understood in their South Asian context, in which any time after breakfast may be termed ‘afternoon’ and any time after 2 p.m. may be referred to as ‘evening’. Thangmi temporal adverbs for the periods of a day are shown in Table 60 below.

TABLE 60. PERIODS OF A THANGMI DAY FROM THE DOLAKHĀ DIALECT

<i>băsinŋe</i>	morning
<i>unise</i>	daytime
<i>nyoŋi</i>	evening
<i>ŋaye</i>	night

Examples 379 and 380 below illustrate the use of the Thangmi temporal adverb *băsinŋe* ‘morning’.

- 379 *băsinŋe serek-ta-i-le, nobi caway-i-n.*
 morning arise-1PP-1pPS-PCL downhill walk-1pPS-PT
 In the morning we got up and set off down the hill.

- 380 *tyaŋ lawa-ye-guri bāsinte-ko pecerek isa nama*
 then husband-ERG-IND morning-GEN stale.and.leftover food with
amum-ko ken cya-Ø-ta-le, ca camăi-kăi woi
 mushroom-GEN vegetable.curry eat-SAS-IPP-PCL son daughter-PM also
pi-to-le.
 give-TPP-PCL

And then the husband ate the leftover food from the morning with some mushroom curry, also giving some to his sons and daughters.

Examples 381 and 382 below illustrate the uses of the Thangmi temporal adverb *nyoŋi* ‘evening’ while examples 383 and 384 illustrate the meanings of *ɬaye* ‘night’.

- 381 *nyoŋi, uma huca-pali oste oste-ko jet-yiŋ nem-te*
 evening wife child-p self self-GEN work-ABL house-LOC
kyel-eŋ-an.
 come-pAS-3S/PT

In the evening, [his] wife and children, returning from their own jobs, all came home.

- 382 *nyoŋi tha-ŋa libi, saŋa-ko demca cabuy-eŋ-to-le nem-te*
 evening be-CNS after millet-GEN load carry-pAS-TPP-PCL house-LOC
ray-eŋ-du, nem-te ray-eŋ-to-le, bhetere-te
 bring-pAS-NPT house-LOC bring-pAS-TPP-PCL woven.bamboo.mat-LOC
mor-eŋ-to-le nay-eŋ-du.
 roll.up-pAS-TPP-PCL put-pAS-NPT

When it’s evening, they bundle the millet into loads and carry it home; and once it has been brought home, they roll it up in woven bamboo mats and store it away.

- 383 *humi ɬaye let-sa ari-Ø-du, to-kăi*
 younger.sister night appear-INF be.afraid-SAS-NPT that-PM
ma-cic-ariy-e!
 NEG-CAUS-be.afraid-s/NEG/IMP

Younger sister is afraid to go out at night, so don’t frighten her!

- 384 *ni ɬaye ulam-ko nem-te hok-i-thyo, di-ka naka mi*
 we night road-GEN house-LOC be-1pPS-3sCOND one-HNC new person
kyel-Ø-ta-le ni-kăi poy-i-n.
 come-SAS-IPP-PCL we-PM chase-1pPS-PT

We spent the night sitting on the road until a stranger came along and chased us away.

The adverb *unise*, ‘daytime’, has a similar meaning to the Nepali term *diũso*, and is used to describe any time from soon after breakfast to just before dusk, as in example 385. When combined with the suffix *ka* ‘throughout’, the Thangmi adverb *unise* has the meaning ‘all day’, as shown in example 386.

- 385 *unise tha-Ø-du, guru-pali habi syaŋ-ko nem-te*
 daytime be-SAS-NPT shaman-p before period-GEN house-LOC
yuy-eŋ-du.
 come.from.above-pAS-NPT

Then it’s daytime, and the shamans come back down to the first house at which they started the day before.

- 386 *‘hara tha-na-n? unise ka hara-kăi kerep-na-n?’*
 what be-2s-PT daytime throughout what-PM cry-2s-PT

‘What’s up? Why have you been crying all day?’

Thangmi *beryaŋ*, ‘the time at which’ or ‘at that time’, evidently derived from Nepali *ber* ‘period of time’, is a relative term which always takes the non-preterite tense, regardless of the tense in the scenario of the main clause. In this manner it works somewhat like a proper gerund in which the focus is on the preceding and modifying clause, ‘at the time I was eating...’, rather than the ensuing main clause ‘...he called’. A range of examples with main clauses in different tenses will serve to illustrate the point. Examples 344 and 351 above, and 387 below, illustrate scenarios which are clearly in the past, example 46 above and 388 below are general statements of fact or advice, and in 389 and 390, the main clauses are in the present.

- 387 *caway-i-du beryaŋ, di-ka mi-ko nem-te hok-i-n.*
 walk-1pPS-NPT that.time one-HNC person-GEN house-LOC stay-1pPS-NT

When walking, we ended up staying in this person’s house.

- 388 *ahe phasa ra-Ø-du beryaṇ syākli li-sa*
 much wind come.from.level-sAS-NPT that.time manure scatter-INF
ma-ja.
 NEG-okay

If it's very windy, then the manure must not be scattered.

- 389 *toṇ cya-ṇa-du beryaṇ, bajareṇ naleṇ woi cya-ṇa-du.*
 beer eat-1s-NPT that.time tobacco present also eat-1s-NPT

When I drink beer, only then do I still smoke tobacco.

- 390 *naleṇ gāi-gāi nembo cya-Ø-du nih-u-n-du beryaṇ,*
 present I-PM other.person eat-sAS-NPT see-3P-1s→3-NPT that.time
cya-sa ma-ali.
 eat-INF NEG-like

Now, when I see others smoke, I don't feel like smoking.

10.2 Past and future days

From the vantage point of a foreign learner, one of the most pleasing features of Nepali is that there exist single-word temporal adverbs for 'the day before yesterday', 'the day after tomorrow' and even 'the day after the day after tomorrow'. After the tongue-twisting English solutions for expressing these relatively simple concepts, Nepali is refreshingly to the point. Nepali has separate lexical items to express from *asti*, 'the day before yesterday' to *kānekorsī*, 'four days from now'. In terms of temporal adjectives, Nepali has more in common with many Tibeto-Burman languages in the area than it does with its genetically close cousin language Hindi, in which *kal* means both 'yesterday' and 'tomorrow', and *parsō* means both 'the day before yesterday' and 'the day after tomorrow'. Thangmi, on the other hand, as shown in Table 61 below, has separate lexical items from four days in the past to four days in the future.

**TABLE 61. THANGMI ADVERBS FOR PAST AND FUTURE DAYS IN
THE DOLAKHĀ DIALECT**

<i>kimityaŋ</i>	four days ago
<i>kityaŋ</i>	three days ago
<i>cityaŋ</i>	the day before yesterday
<i>miryaŋ</i>	yesterday
<i>yaŋ</i>	today
<i>baŋhe</i>	tomorrow
<i>citabas</i>	the day after tomorrow
<i>kinabas</i>	three days from now
<i>kitriŋbas</i>	four days from now

Far from being archaic or unused, these temporal adverbs pepper daily conversations and bilingual Thangmi speakers are aware that Nepali does not possess a similarly diverse range of expression. Most interestingly, older and fluent Thangmi speakers attempt to export the concepts encoded by these temporal adverbs into their Nepali speech, resulting in grammatically impossible constructions such as **niko asti* and **niko niko asti* by which they mean ‘the day before the day before yesterday’ and ‘four days ago’ respectively. Examples 391 to 397 below and 36 and 325 above illustrate the use of the adverbs shown in Table 61.

- 391 *kimityaŋ, bubu-ko uma dorok-Ø-an.*
four.days.ago elder.brother-GEN wife run-SAS-3S/PT

Four days ago, elder brother’s wife ran away.

- 392 *găi cityaŋ ra-ko măi-Ø-thyo, oste-ko*
I day.before.yesterday come.from.level-ADH must-SAS-3sCOND self-GEN
mi ma-thaŋ-Ø-ta-le ma-ra-ŋa-n.
person NEG-be.well-SAS-IPP-PCL NEG-come.from.level-1s-PT

I was meant to come the day before yesterday, but because a relative of mine was ill, I didn’t make it.

- 393 *găi isa cya-ta-ŋa-le, yaŋ hara woi ma-loŋ.*
I food eat-IPP-1s-PCL today what also NEG-do

Once I’ve eaten, I’ll do nothing today.

- 394 *găi baṭhe naŋ-ko ama-ko nem-te toŋ tun-sa-kăi*
 I tomorrow you-GEN mother-GEN house-LOC beer drink-INF-PM
yu-ŋa-du.
 come.from.above-1s-NPT

I'll come down tomorrow to drink beer at your mother's house.

- 395 *citabas gă-ye to ṭhoŋe-ko mesya*
 day.after.tomorrow I-ERG that old.man-GEN buffalo
kăiy-u-n-du.
 buy-3P-1s→3-1s→3/NPT

I'll buy that old man's buffalo the day after tomorrow.

- 396 *guru-pali kinabas kari kariy-eŋ-to-le usyay-eŋ-du.*
 shaman-p three.days.from.now song sing-pAS-TPP-PCL dance-pAS-NPT

In three days from now, the shamans will sing songs and then dance.

- 397 *mi si-ŋa libi, to-ko kitriŋbas mumpra loŋ-ko*
 person die-CNS after that-GEN four.days.from.now death.ritual do-ADH
măi-Ø-du.
 must-sAS-NPT

Four days after someone dies, the death rites should be conducted.

A few points arise from the above examples. First, Thangmi temporal adverbs need not necessarily relate to the present moment or the moment of speaking. For example, in 397 above, *kitriŋbas*, which is glossed as 'four days from now', is better translated as 'four days after', since in this context it relates to a general statement rather than a specific instance. On the whole though, as can be seen from the other examples, Thangmi temporal adverbs are used in concrete situations, i.e. 'tomorrow' rather than 'the day after' or 'a day later'. The prevalence of such examples has been the deciding factor in determining the phrasing of the glosses. In Thangmi there is no modifying term such as the Nepali *palṭa* 'change, turn, time', as in *bholi palṭa* 'the next day'. In Thangmi, whether the adverb *baṭhe* means 'tomorrow' or 'the day after' can only be determined by context.

It is apparent that the four adverbs denoting days past contain the Thangmi element <-yaŋ> 'today', identical with the noun *yaŋ* 'today'. The remaining initial segments of the four adverbs, <mir->, <cit->, <kit-> and <kimit-> do not yield to immediate analysis. There is no obvious link between the Thangmi numeral *kit* 'nine', and *kityaŋ* 'three days ago'. The final segment <-bas>, as in *citabas*, *kinabas*

and *kitriŋbas* may well reflect some proto-morpheme **bas* meaning ‘day after’, also reflected in the initial syllable in *baŋhe* ‘tomorrow’. Supporting evidence comes from the Sindhupālcok dialect of Thangmi in which the adverb denoting ‘tomorrow’ is *bāise*, also a likely reflex of **bas* ‘day after’. Finally, the segment <cit- ~ cita->, which appears as the initial segment in both *cityaŋ* ‘the day before yesterday’ and *citabas* ‘the day after tomorrow’, evidently denotes ‘two days from now in the past or future’.

While the above examples deal with defined or completed time, the Thangmi adverb *yamiryaŋ* ‘nowadays, these days, presently’ deals with a less specific and non-finite time period. The adverb *yamiryaŋ* is made up of two elements: a reduced form of *yaŋ* ‘today’ as an initial segment and *miryaŋ* ‘yesterday’ as a second element. In a similar vein, there are a range of ways to express ‘nowadays’ in Nepali, two of which are *ājabholi* and *hijoāja*. The former is made up of the two segments *āja* ‘today’ and *bholi* ‘tomorrow’, while the latter Nepali adverb is comprised of *hijo* ‘yesterday’ and *āja* ‘today’. In terms of their morphological construction then, *yamiryaŋ* (Thangmi) and *hijoāja* (Nepali) are reminiscent of each other. Examples 398 to 400 illustrate different uses of the adverb *yamiryaŋ*.

- 398 *yamiryaŋ gǎi ma-thaŋ tha-ŋa-le, usare cya-ŋa-le hok-ŋa-du.*
nowadays I NEG-be.well be-1s-PCL medicine eat-1s-PCL be-1s-NPT

On account of being ill these days, I am taking medicine.

- 399 *to beryaŋ yamiryaŋ-ko uniŋ se-Ø-du bajareŋ*
that that.time nowadays-GEN like taste-SAS-NPT tobacco
ma-hok-Ø-thyo.
NEG-be-SAS-3sCOND

In those days, tasty cigarettes like the ones you get these days weren’t to be had.

- 400 *thaŋmi di-ka apa ama-ko huca-pali thay-eŋ-le woi,*
Thangmi one-HNC father mother-GEN child-p be-pAS-PCL also
yamiryaŋ di-ka-ye di-ka-kǎi ma-ŋosǎiy-eŋ.
nowadays one-HNC-ERG one-HNC-PM NEG-recognise-pAS

Even though all Thangmi people are the descendants of the first Thangmi father and mother, these days we don’t even recognise one another.

The Thangmi temporal adverb *nokkhol* ‘some time ago’ expresses a time period of non-specific length and depth. The adverb *nokkhol* ‘some time ago’ is used in

colloquial speech when the speaker is unsure of the exact time that a certain event took place, as in example 401. The adverb is most often encountered in its emphatic or intensified form, *nokkhol-ăi*, together with the suffix <-ăi> (CON), as in example 402.

- 401 *nokkhol to-ye thaŋna miŋ ciy-Ø-u-no.*
 some.days.ago that-ERG old cloth throw.away-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
 He threw his old clothes away a few days ago.

- 402 *tete nem-te ma-hok, nokkhol-ăi yah-Ø-an.*
 elder.sister house-LOC NEG-be some.time.ago-CON go-SAS-3S/PT
 Elder sister isn't at home, she left some time ago already.

10.3 Past and future years

Although not quite as rich as the adverbs for days, which extend four days into the past as well as for days into the future, a set of Thangmi temporal adverbs exists for years past and future. As can be seen in Table 62 below, there is a greater range of adverbs for expressing past years (up to three years back) than future ones (no further than the year after next). This is to be expected since past years have definitely occurred, while future ones have an element of uncertainty about them. The adverb *amamakaleŋ* 'a (very) long time ago' is included in Table 62 because it shares some morphological features with the other adverbs presented, despite the fact that it indicates non-specific time.

TABLE 62. THANGMI ADVERBS FOR PAST AND FUTURE YEARS
 IN THE DOLAKHĀ DIALECT

<i>amamakaleŋ</i>	a (very) long time ago
<i>amasmakaleŋ</i>	three years ago
<i>asmakaleŋ</i>	two years ago
<i>amakaleŋ</i>	last year
<i>tarul</i>	this year
<i>kalyaŋ</i>	next year
<i>kalijyaŋ</i>	the year after next

All of the adverbs denoting years past and future presented in Table 62 above, excluding *tarul* ‘this year’, contain the element <kal>. Both as a substantive and as an adverb, *kāl* has a range of meanings in Indo-Aryan languages, ranging from ‘time’ to ‘tomorrow’ (Turner 1997: 90). The Thangmi element <kal> attested in adverbs expressing years past and future would appear to be a loan from Indo-Aryan *kāl*, ‘time’. A morphemic analysis of the adverb *kalyaṇ* ‘next year’ would therefore be: <kal> ‘time, tomorrow’ combined with <-yaṇ> ‘today’, resulting in a literal meaning of ‘tomorrow year’. Examples 403 to 407, and example 356 above, illustrate the use of the seven temporal adverbs presented in Table 62.

403 *găi-go pepelek amasmakaleṇ gwi-y-Ø-u-no.*

I-GEN money three.years.ago steal-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

My money was stolen three years ago.

404 *asmakaleṇ jekha tete siy-Ø-an, ni sakalei kerep-i-n.*

two.years.ago big elder.sister die-SAS-3S/PT we all cry-1pPS-PT

Elder sister died the year before last, and we all cried.

405 *ban-pali nama amakaleṇ gă-ye naka nem khem-u-n-uṇ.*

friend-p with last.year I-ERG new house build-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT

Last year, I built a new house with the help of my friends.

406 *‘tarul bore loṇ-u-na-n, kalyaṇ hara tha-Ø-du?’*

this.year marriage do-3P-2s-PT next.year what be-SAS-NPT

‘This year you got married, what will next year bring?’

407 *hu-ye tarul bore loṇ-ṇa-be, kalijyaṇ*

younger.brother-ERG this.year marriage do-CNS-TOP year.after.next

to-ko ca camăi tha-Ø-du.

that-GEN son daughter be-SAS-NPT

If younger brother marries this year, by the year after next he will have a son or a daughter.

10.4 Telling the time

Perhaps since watches and wall clocks are not widespread in the Thangmi area, the Thangmi language has calqued Nepali constructions to tell the time. The Nepali question *kati bajyo?* ‘what time is it?’ is composed of *kati* ‘how much, how many’ and *bajyo*, the third person singular preterite form of the verb *bajnu* ‘to ring, strike,

sound’. Thangmi uses a similar construction: *hani syk-Ø-an?* (how.much strike-SAS-3S/PT) ‘what time is it?’, composed of *hani* ‘how much, how many’ and the third person singular preterite form of the verb *syaksa* ‘to ring, strike, sound’. While unit number morphemes are used to indicate the hours, there is no way to express ‘half past...’ or ‘quarter to...’ in Thangmi. If needed, the words for fractions of hours are borrowed from Nepali. The only numeral fraction attested in Thangmi is *bakoṭek* ‘half’, as in *bakoṭek ulam* (half road) ‘half way (in a journey)’, also illustrated by example 408 below.

- 408 *găi thombe tha-ŋa-n, to uni to-ye bakoṭek*
 I surprise be-1s-PT that day that-ERG half
ciy-Ø-u-no, to găi kum-to-le cya-ŋa-n.
 throw.away-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that I pick.up-TPP-PCL eat-1s-PT

I was so surprised, but that same day he threw away half of one of those cigarettes, so I picked it up and smoked it.

The construction for asking ‘at what time...?’ in Thangmi differs slightly from its Nepali counterpart, *kati baje* ‘at what time?’, on account of the inclusion of the noun *beryaŋ* ‘time’. Examples 409 to 411 below and 286 above illustrate Thangmi constructions for telling the time.

- 409 *hani syk-Ø-du beryaŋ hen-sa?*
 how.much strike-SAS-NPT that.time go-INF
 At what time will you leave?
- 410 *sum syk-Ø-an.*
 three strike-SAS-3S/PT
 It’s three o’clock.
- 411 *nis syk-Ø-du beryaŋ, jakcho ara-sa hen-ko*
 two strike-SAS-NPT that.time wheat cut.with.sickle-INF go-ADH
măi-Ø-du.
 must-SAS-NPT
 At two o’clock, we should go and harvest the wheat.

10.5 The adverb *libi* ‘after, behind’

morph:	<i>libi</i>
label:	after

The Thangmi adverb *libi* ‘after, behind’ occurs freely as an adverb or in nominal arguments to convey the temporal sense of ‘after, later’ in time, as in examples 412 to 415 below.

- 412 *gǎ-ye naŋ-kǎi libi urou-na-ŋa-du.*
I-ERG you-PM after call-2s-1s-NPT

I’ll call you later.

- 413 *tyaŋ libi, saŋa-ko puya li-ko mǎi-Ø-du.*
then after millet-GEN seed scatter-ADH must-SAS-NPT.

After that, the millet seeds must be scattered.

- 414 *peŋey-eŋ-du di nis mǎina libi, to saŋa nama ʈhare*
sow-PAS-NPT one two month after that millet with weed
boy-eŋ-du, to-kǎi pun-to-le ci-ko mǎi-Ø-du.
sprout-PAS-NPT that-PM uproot-TPP-PCL throw.away-ADH must-SAS-NPT

One or two months after sowing, in amongst the millet, weeds sprout up and these have to be pulled out and thrown away.

- 415 *tyaŋ libi racya min-Ø-du.*
that after paddy ripen-SAS-NPT

After that the paddy ripens.

When reduplicated, the Thangmi adverb *libi* ‘after, behind’ has one of two possible meanings. Either the meaning is intensified, as in *libi libi* ‘a long way after’, and illustrated by examples 416 and 417, or *libi libi* conveys the spatial sense of ‘behind’, as in examples 418 and 419.

- 416 *ja-Ø-du, susto ya-Ø, naŋ-ko libi libi gǎi woi*
okay-SAS-NPT slow go-s/IMP you-GEN after after I also
ra-ŋu ra?
come.from.level-PER or

Fine, travel safely, shall I trail behind you a little ways?

- 417 *libi libi, cahuca camăica-ye tokolok-e gonthe*
 after after man woman-ERG hoe-INS round.clod.of.earth
them-to-le ucya ucya lony-eη-du sya wa-sa habi,
 break.up-TPP-PCL small small do-pAS-NPT bull plough-INF before
jakcho liy-eη-du.
 wheat broadcast-pAS-NPT

Afterwards, the men and womenfolk break up the round clods of earth with their hoes and make the earth fine and level; and before the bull is used to plough the fields again, they broadcast the wheat.

- 418 *libi libi, cahuca-pali-ye jet lony-eη-du.*
 after after man-p-ERG work do-pAS-NPT

The menfolk do their work, coming behind.

- 419 *libi libi, alam ηaη guru take tap-to-le*
 after after ritual.flag and shaman-ERG shaman's.drum beat-TPP-PCL
usya-sa caway-eη-du.
 dance-INF walk-pAS-NPT

Behind comes the shaman's ritual flag, and the shamans come beating their drums and dancing.

I have recorded only one example of the Thangmi adverb *libi* 'after, behind' in combination with another postposition or case marker. Example 98 above illustrates the use of the genitive case marker <-ko ~ -go> (GEN) together with the postposition *libi* 'after, behind', as in *libi-ko* (before-GEN) 'the last one, the one [who came] after'. However, the Thangmi adverb *libi* 'after, behind' does occur in the widely used phrase VERB-*ηa libi* (VERB-CNS after) 'after having...', as in examples 420 and 421.

- 420 *min-ηa libi, raη-ηaη ti, aprou,*
 cook-CNS after unirrigated.field-inside wicker.basket carrying.strap
karati cabu-to-le yey-eη-du, ka jet aye camăica-pali-ye
 sickle carry-TPP-PCL go-pAS-NPT this work more woman-p-ERG
lony-eη-du.
 do-pAS-NPT

Once it's ripe, wicker baskets, carrying straps and sickles are carried to the field—this work is more often done by the womenfolk.

- 421 *gǎ-ye-guri aye toŋ tun-ŋa libi, apraca almaŋ-ŋa-du.*
 I-ERG-IND much beer drink-CNS after good dream-1s-NPT

When I drink a lot of beer, I have great dreams.

10.6 The adverb *woi* ‘also’

morph: *woi*
 label: also

The adverb *woi* ‘also, even’ takes no nominal suffixes or postpositions. Examples 422 and 423 below illustrate the use of the adverb *woi* in its meaning as ‘also’.

- 422 *gǎi-gǎi woi apraca hok-Ø-du, naŋ naleŋ kuta-yiŋ*
 I-PM also fine be-SAS-NPT you present where-ABL
ra-na-du?
 come.from.level-2s-NPT

I’m also fine, where are you coming from now?

- 423 *ubo mi-ko coi ubo woi tha-Ø-du ra ma-tha?*
 white person-GEN blood white also be-SAS-NPT or NEG-be

Is the blood of white people also white?

The adverb *woi* can also be used in phrases whose meaning is contrary to what the listener might expect. In such cases, as in examples 424 and 425 below, the adverb *woi* is best translated as ‘even’.

- 424 *kutaleŋ kutaleŋ pǎtrika cabu-to-le arŋik-sa jet woi*
 when when newspaper carry-TPP-PCL shout-INF work also
loŋ-u-n-uŋ.
 do-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT

From time to time I would even work selling newspapers.

- 425 *dorok-ŋa libi, di-gore phesu gal-te ya-let-i-n, to woi*
 run-CNS after one-CLF sheep cage-LOC go-appear-1pPS-PT that also
ŋi-si-Ø-du.
 close-REF-SAS-NPT

After running [downhill], we finally arrived at a sheep hut, but even that was closed.

The adverb *woi* is often appropriately translated by English ‘too’, as in example 426 below and examples 70 and 213 above.

- 426 *begale uma-ko sum-ka ca thay-eŋ-an, ucyaca ca*
other wife-GEN three-HNC son be-pAS-3S/PT small son
nik-Ø-ta-le, to woi siy-Ø-an.
 give.birth-SAS-IPP-PCL that also die-SAS-3S/PT

His new wife went on to have three sons, but as she was giving birth to the last one, she too died.

As described in Section §6.3 of this chapter, the adverb *woi* ‘also’ is used in conjunction with interrogative pronouns to negate their meaning, as in examples 291, 294, 299 and 303 above.

10.7 The adverb *jukun* ‘only’

morph: *jukun*
 label: only

The adverb *jukun* ‘only’ is attested in the Sindhupālcok dialect of Thangmi only, in which it marks one element in a nominal phrase to the exclusion of others. Speakers of the Dolakhā dialect of Thangmi use the Nepali loan word *mātra* ‘only’, and usually in its emphatic form *mātrāi*, as there is no indigenous Thangmi alternative. Example 427 below illustrates the use of the adverb *jukun* ‘only’ in the Sindhupālcok dialect.

- 427 *tojukun ami-Ø-du, gǎi ma-ami.*
 that only sleep-SAS-NPT I NEG-sleep
 Only he’s asleep, I’m not.

11. Some bound nominal elements

A number of Thangmi nouns are constituted from bound elements whose meaning is transparent. Since these bound lexical items are unproductive, perhaps even ancient, nominal affixes, they are not glossed in the examples used to illustrate the grammatical description, nor are they separately marked in the lexicon. While some

of the nominal roots to which these bound forms are attached are lexical items in modern Thangmi, the meanings of others are not transparent.⁹

11.1 The ‘person’ morph

morph:	<-mi>
label:	person

The bound morph <-mi> indicates human referents and is found as a suffix in Thangmi kinship terms, ethnonyms and clan names. The bound suffixal morph <-mi> is clearly cognate with the Thangmi noun *mi* ‘person, human’, and occurs in the bound forms *humi* ‘younger sister’, *akyangmi* ‘a Thangmi clan name’, *Thangmi* ‘Thangmi’ and *Roimi* ‘Newar’.

11.2 The ‘grain or usable plant matter’ morph

morph:	<ja>
label:	grain, usable plant matter

The bound morph <ja> ‘grain, usable plant matter’ is found in at least three Thangmi lexical items relating to grains or usable plant matter, mostly as the initial element in polysyllabic words. Examples include *jakcho* ‘wheat, *Triticum sativum*’, *jake* ‘uncooked rice, *Oryza sativa*’ and *jakhore* ‘basket for storing rice and other grains’. Other possible Thangmi cognates are *bajareŋ* ‘locally-grown tobacco, *Nicotiana tabacum*’, *jabi* ‘small bag made of nettle fibre’, *aja* ‘leaf’, *racya* ‘paddy, rice in the field, harvested but unhusked rice, *Oryza sativa*’, *puya* ‘seed, shoot of a plant’ and *yak* ‘giant taro, *Alocasia indicum*’. Cognates of the Thangmi bound morph <ja> ‘grain’ in other Tibeto-Burman languages include the Wambule suffix ‘grain’ <-ja> (Opgenort 2002: 128), Dumi *dza...* ‘rice, cooked grain’ (van Driem 1993a: 375), Limbu *ya?* ‘unhusked rice; paddy’ (van Driem 1987: 541) and Kulung *ja* ‘cooked rice’ (Tolsma 1999: 210).

11.3 The ‘round and fairly hard internal body organ’ morph

morph:	<sek>
label:	round and fairly hard internal body organ

The bound morph <sek> ‘round and fairly hard internal body organ’ is found as the final element in the Thangmi lexical items *aŋeŋsek* ‘kidney’, *loŋsek* ‘heart’, *mesek* ‘eyeball’ and *papasek* ‘testicle, gonad’, and as the first element in the Thangmi verb

⁹ See Opgenort (2002: 126-130) for a helpful discussion of noun classifying suffixes in Wambule and their cognates in related Tibeto-Burman languages.

seksa ‘to flower, bloom, blossom’. The bound morph <sek> is cognate with Proto-Tibeto-Burman **sey* ‘fruit’ (Benedict 1972: 27), other extant reflexes of which include the Wambule suffix ‘fruit’ <-si ~ -ci> (Opgenort 2002: 129), Limbu *seÖ* ‘pit, seed, kernel (of husked grain)’ (van Driem 1987: 507) and Kulung *se* ‘fruit’ (Tolsma 1999: 230) and *sisi* ‘testicles, seeds’ (Tolsma 1999: 232).

11.4 The ‘tree or wood’ morph

morph:	<-seŋ ~ -siŋ>
label:	tree, wood

The bound morph <-seŋ ~ -siŋ> ‘tree, wood’ is related to the Thangmi noun *seŋ* ‘firewood, wood’ and is a reflex of Proto-Tibeto-Burman **siŋ* ‘tree, wood’ (Benedict 1972: 55). The bound morph <-seŋ ~ -siŋ> ‘tree, wood’ is found as the final element in many Thangmi lexical items denoting species of trees, as in *bosiŋ* ~ *busiŋ* ‘alder, Nepal black cedar, *Alnus nepalensis*’, *brusiŋ* ‘the wild cherry tree, *Prunus puddum*’, *kosaseŋ* ‘a species of tree, *Cephalanthus naucleoides*’, *nunuseŋ* ‘the tree, *Ficus neriifolia*’ and *ʈukusiŋ* ‘a species of tree, *Fraxinus floribunda*’. Other reflexes include the archaic and largely defunct word for ‘forest, jungle, wood’, *teŋseŋ* ~ *teŋsiŋ*, and the ritual Thangmi word *marəŋseŋ* ‘the bier used for carrying the corpse, which is made from bamboo or wood’. Cognates in other Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal include the Wambule suffix ‘tree, wood’ <-si ~ -ci ~ -chi> (Opgenort 2002: 129), Kulung *siŋ* ‘firewood’ (Tolsma 1999: 231), Dumi *sĕ* ‘wood, stick, log, lumber, timber, firewood; tree’ (van Driem 1993a: 418), Limbu *siŋ* ‘wood’ (van Driem 1987: 511) and Yamphu *siŋ* ‘firewood’ (Rutgers 1998: 577).

CHAPTER 6

MORPHOLOGY OF SIMPLICIA

In this chapter, a morphemic analysis of the affixes in simplex forms of the Thangmi verb is provided. Simplicia, or simplex verb forms, are non-periphrastic finite indicatives which consist of the verb stem affixes indicating tense and agreement for person and number with the actant or actants involved in the verbal scenario. Five Thangmi verbal agreement affixes are *portemanteau* forms, i.e. single morphemes conveying more than one semantic feature. Complex verb forms, such as gerunds, participles, adhortatives, optatives, infinitives, imperatives and the various Thangmi periphrastic tense forms discussed in Chapter 7, are derived from the simplex forms analysed in this chapter.

In the analysis of Thangmi verbal morphology, zero morphemes appear as ‘Ø’ in the segmented verb form and are labelled in the interlinear morpheme gloss. While some linguists opt to label only overt verbal morphemes in the gloss (see van Driem 1987: 69), verbal agreement zero morphs are consistently marked throughout this grammatical description. Unlike Limbu, in which redundant and overt verbal morphemes may be dropped in the interest of efficiency or to prevent ambiguity (van Driem 1987: 69), Thangmi does not permit morphological ‘short cuts’. Even when the meaning is abundantly clear from the context and from the morphological marking on the associated nominal elements in an argument, verbal agreement morphemes are never superfluous and may not be dropped.

On account of the terminological complexity of the issues discussed in this chapter, it is prudent to define the morphological categories and terms used at the outset. *Singularity* is defined as one actant and *plurality* as more than one actant. The *root* or *core syllable* is the syllable of a verb stem to which all verbal affixes are attached. In polysyllabic verb stems, the core syllable is the last syllable of the stem. In monosyllabic verb stems, the root or core syllable is the only syllable of the stem. An *affixal string* is a sequence of one or more affixes attached to the root or core syllable of the stem, either in prefixal or suffixal position. An *agent* is the most agentive actant in a transitive verbal scenario and is obligatorily marked by the ergative suffix in the preterite tense and optionally marked by the ergative suffix in non-preterite scenarios, as described in Section §3.2 of Chapter 5. A *patient* is the less agentive actant in a transitive verbal scenario. The patient may be a beneficiary, victim, undergoer or recipient of the action, and is marked by the patient marker <-kai ~ -gai> (PM) following the distribution outlined in Section §4.3 of Chapter 5.

An *object* is the peripheral or least animate third argument in a transitive verbal scenario, and is not reflected in the verbal agreement markers. A *subject* is the only actant of an intransitive or reflexive verb. In contrast with many Kiranti languages, Thangmi does not differentiate for dual number, nor does the language exhibit an inclusive versus exclusive distinction.

1. Affixal slots

A segmental morphemic analysis of Thangmi conjugational endings requires the positing of seven distinct functional positions, or *slots*, in the affixal string of a simplex verb. This affixal string can be subdivided into one prefixal slot and six suffixal slots to accommodate the complete Thangmi paradigm. Each slot or functional position in the affixal string of a verb is occupied by a definable set of morphemes. The morphemes which share a position in the string define the function of that position, and there is a tendency for semantically related morphemes to occupy the same slot.

It is generally accepted that the positing of slots facilitates the comparison of cognate verbal morphologies, as the sequence of affixal morphemes in Tibeto-Burman verbal conjugations reflects an ‘ancient element order’ in the proto-language (van Driem 1993c: 293). Slots are language-specific and analysis-dependent, and represent the non-random sequential ordering of morphemes in conjugated verb forms. In Thangmi, each slot may contain one or more morphemes. While most Thangmi verbal agreement morphemes may be assigned to a specific slot on the basis of formal arguments, in some cases, a morpheme cannot be assigned to a specific suffixal slot because it occupies a position which can only be described as anterior to certain suffixes and posterior to others in the suffixal chain. In these situations, I have assigned the morpheme to a suffixal slot on the basis of semantic and pragmatic considerations.

The morphemes which have been assigned to a slot on semantic grounds are the following: The first person plural patient or subject morpheme <-i> (1pPS) and the first person plural agent to second or third person patient *portemanteau* morpheme <-wa> (1p→23) have both been placed in suffixal slot 2, the number and person morpheme slot, although both suffixes could occupy an affixal position anywhere after the reflexive morpheme <-si> (REF), which occupies suffixal slot 1, and before the tense and tensed *portemanteau* morphemes of suffixal slot 6. The first person singular to third person *portemanteau* morpheme <-n> (1s→3) could occupy either suffixal slot 4 or 5, as it appears after the third person patient morpheme <-u> (3P) and before the preterite *portemanteau* morpheme <-uŋ> (1s→3/PT) which specifically indexes a transitive relationship between a first person agent and a third

person patient in preterite time. Because of the shared feature of first person singular involvement, the first person singular to third person *portemanteau* morpheme <-n> (1s→3) is placed alongside the first person singular actant morpheme <-ŋa> (1s) in suffixal slot 5, which may be thought of as the first person singular morpheme slot.

Like the first person singular to third person *portemanteau* morpheme <-n> (1s→3), the tensed *portemanteau* morpheme <-uŋ> (1s→3/PT) occurs only in the transitive scenario between a first person agent and a third person patient, and then always after the *portemanteau* morpheme <-n> (1s→3). The functional position of the suffix <-uŋ> (1s→3/PT) depends on which suffixal slot the morpheme <-n> (1s→3) is assigned to. As outlined above, for reasons of semantic consistency the *portemanteau* morpheme <-n> (1s→3) has been assigned to the fifth functional position, and so concomitantly the associated *portemanteau* suffix <-uŋ> (1s→3/PT) must occupy the following functional position, which is suffixal slot 6. Finally, the *portemanteau* morpheme <-no> (3→3/PT), which specifically indexes a transitive relationship between a third person agent and a third person patient in preterite time, could occupy a position anywhere between suffixal slots 4 and 6, since the morpheme follows the third person patient morpheme <-u> (3P) situated in suffixal slot 3. Given that all other morphemes indexing tense in Thangmi occupy the final functional position, suffixal slot 6, the tensed *portemanteau* morpheme <-no> (3→3/PT) has been assigned to this final position, the so-called tense and tensed *portemanteau* slot, on semantic grounds.

While many verbal agreement morphemes are common to both the intransitive, reflexive and transitive paradigms of Thangmi verbs, some morphemes have a more restricted distribution. The reflexive morpheme <-si> (REF) occurs only in reflexive verbal paradigms, while the preterite tense third person subject *portemanteau* morpheme <-an> (3S/PT) occurs only in reflexive and intransitive verbal paradigms and thus not in transitive verbal scenarios. The first person plural agent to second or third person plural patient *portemanteau* morpheme <-wa> (1p→23), the third person patient morpheme <-u> (3P), the first person singular to third person *portemanteau* morpheme <-n> (1s→3), the third person agent to third person patient preterite *portemanteau* morpheme <-no> (3→3/PT) and the first person agent to third person patient preterite *portemanteau* morpheme <-uŋ> (1s→3/PT) occur only in transitive verbal paradigms. The remaining agreement morphemes in Thangmi simplex verbs not listed above may occur in intransitive, reflexive and transitive paradigms.

Table 63 below presents an overview of the slots, their functions and the verbal agreement morphemes which fill them.

TABLE 63. AFFIXAL SLOTS AND AGREEMENT MORPHEMES
FOR THANGMI SIMPLEX VERBS

pf	Negative morpheme slot:	
	<ma->	negative (NEG)
sf1	Reflexive morpheme slot:	
	<-si ~ -siy>	reflexive (REF)
sf2	Person and number morpheme slot:	
	<∅>	non-first person singular agent or subject (sAS)
	<-eŋ>	plural agent or plural subject (pAS)
	<-ni ~ -n>	second person plural actant (2p)
	<-i>	first person plural patient or first person plural subject (1pPS)
	<-wa>	first person plural to second or third person <i>portemanteau</i> (1p→23)
sf3	Third person patient morpheme slot:	
	<-u>	third person patient (3P)
sf4	Second person singular morpheme slot:	
	<-na>	second person singular actant (2s)
sf5	First person singular morpheme slot:	
	<-ŋa>	first person singular actant (1s)
	<-n>	first person singular to third <i>portemanteau</i> (1s→3)
sf6	Tense and tensed <i>portemanteau</i> morpheme slot:	
	<-du>	non-preterite tense (NPT)
	<-n>	preterite tense (PT)
	<-an>	preterite tense third person subject <i>portemanteau</i> (3S/PT)
	<-no>	preterite tense third to third <i>portemanteau</i> (3→3/PT)
	<-uŋ>	preterite tense first to third <i>portemanteau</i> (1s→3/PT)

Actant markers for agent, patient and subject are not evenly distributed across the affixal slots, nor are they parallel in function for all persons and numbers. Three distinct groups can be distinguished on the basis of morpheme function and distribution in the affixal string. Suffixal slot 2 functions as the person and number slot, and five agreement morphemes are located in this functional position. Suffixal slot 5, on the other hand, is restricted to morphemes indexing the involvement of a first person actant; while the final suffixal slot, functional position 6 in the sequence, houses five agreement markers, all of which signal tense.

A further distinction can be made between two types of person and number agreement morphemes. In the following sections of this chapter, I present an analysis of Thangmi flexional verb paradigms and describe the distribution and meaning of each affix which plays a role in the simplex verb. One group of affixes is used in finite simplex verb forms, while another set, the imperative person and number agreement suffixes, are used only in imperative verbal forms. The former are analysed in this chapter whereas the latter are discussed in Chapter 7.

2. Morphophonology of the verb root in simplicia

The suffixation of simplex person and number verbal agreement markers to a verb root may result in morphophonologically conditioned alterations. When followed by a vowel-initial verbal agreement suffix, Thangmi open-stem verbs are realised with one of three intervocalic glides: either /h/, /y/ or /w/. The morphophonology of intervocalic approximants is described in detail in Section §3 of Chapter 4.

3. The verb stem

In striking contrast to many Kiranti languages, Thangmi verbs show no paradigmatic stem alternations, except in two verbs. A Thangmi verb stem may consist of one or more syllables, and affixes are prefixed and suffixed directly to the stem. Aside from the regular and predictable morphophonological alternations described in Section §2 above and in Section §3 of Chapter 4, all but two Thangmi verb stems are regular. The two irregular verbs are *hen-sa* ‘to go’ and *cya-sa* ‘to eat’. Other Thangmi verbs, even when related in meaning or form to the two irregular verbs, do not exhibit the irregularities attested below for *hen-sa* and *cya-sa*.

3.1 The irregular verb *hen-sa*

The Thangmi verb *hen-sa* ‘to go’ has three interesting features. First, like the English verb ‘to go’, which has stem form alternates <go> and <went>, the Thangmi verb *hen-sa* ‘to go’ has stem forms <hen-> and <ya- ~ -ye> which are etymologically unrelated to one another. Verb stem suppletion for the Thangmi intransitive verb

hen-sa ‘to go’ can be categorised by the following rule: the stem alternate <hen-> occurs in combination with the adhortative <-ko> (ADH) and infinitive suffixes <-sa> (INF) only, and the verb stem <ya- ~ -ye> is used in all other verbal scenarios.¹ Contrastive examples are *hen-ko* (go-ADH) ‘let’s go’ versus *ya-ŋa-du* (go-1s-NPT) ‘I’m going’.

Second, the Thangmi verb *hen-sa* may be conjugated transitively as well as intransitively. When used intransitively, *hen-sa* means ‘to go’, whereas the transitive conjugation of the verb means ‘to take’. Stem suppletion occurs in the intransitive conjugation only, so no confusion arises about the intended meaning of a specific utterance. Finally, when conjugated intransitively, the stem <ya- ~ -ye> of the verb *hen-sa* ‘to go’, has the stem alternate <ye-> in combination with the verbal agreement morphemes for first person plural subject (1pPS) and second and third person plural subject (pAS), as in *ni yey-i-n* (we go-1pPS-PT) ‘we went’ and *to-baŋ yey-eŋ-du* (that-Pp go-pAS-NPT) ‘they go’. While the basic stem alternate in such forms is <ye->, according to the morphophonological rule for intervocalic approximants discussed in detail in Section §3 of Chapter 4, the realisation is <yey> before /i/ and /e/, as summarised by the following diagram:

$$\Sigma /e/ \rightarrow \Sigma /ey/ \quad / \quad \_ /e/ \text{ and } \_ /i/$$

Table 64 below illustrates the irregularities of the Thangmi verb *hen-sa* ‘to take’ and ‘to go’.

**TABLE 64. TRANSITIVE AND INTRANSITIVE NON-PRETERITE
CONJUGATIONS OF THE THANGMI VERB *HEN-SA***

transitive	to take	intransitive	to go
<i>hen-u-n-du</i>	I take	<i>ya-ŋa-du</i>	I go
<i>hen-u-na-du</i>	you take	<i>ya-na-du</i>	you go
<i>hen-Ø-u-du</i>	he, she, it takes	<i>ya-Ø-du</i>	he, she, it goes
<i>hen-wa-du</i>	we take	<i>yey-i-du</i>	we go
<i>hen-n-u-du</i>	you(p) take	<i>ya-ni-du</i>	you(p) go
<i>hen-eŋ-du</i>	they take	<i>yey-eŋ-du</i>	they go

¹ The stem form <ya> and the infinitive suffix <-sa> (INF) combine to form *ya-sa*, meaning ‘to feed’ rather than *‘to go’.

The stem <ya> ‘go’ of the verb *hen-sa* ‘to go’ is often reduplicated to convey intensified feeling or a sense of urgency, as in examples 1 and 2 below. This manner of reduplication has not been attested for any other verb.

- 1 *to cawah-Ø-an, ya-ya woi di-gore laca pole*
 that walk-SAS-3S/PT go-go also one-CLF Indian.rhododendron trunk
ya-let-Ø-an, uma-ye ηah-Ø-u-du uniη loη-Ø-u-no.
 go-appear-SAS-3S/PT wife-ERG say-SAS-3P-NPT like do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
 So he set off, and after walking and walking he came to an Indian
 rhododendron tree and did exactly as his wife had told him to.
- 2 *libi ya-ya woi, chaη-te huca sony-e hen-Ø-u-du*
 after go-go also bamboo.cradle-LOC child river-ERG take-SAS-3P-NPT
niy-eη-no.
 see-pAS-3→3/PT
 After running and running, they saw a child in a bamboo cradle being
 washed down the river.

3.2 The irregular verb *cya-sa*

The Thangmi verb *cya-sa* ‘to eat’ exhibits no suppletion, but does show a pattern of stem alternation similar to that described above for *hen-sa* ‘to go’. The verb *cya-sa* is conjugated intransitively for human subjects and transitively for non-human agents. While non-human agents of the verb *cya-sa* ‘to eat’ are usually animals, as in examples 3 and 4 below, example 5 illustrates an ‘animified’ inanimate noun which can also ‘eat’.

- 3 *loηe-kai-guri rage let-Ø-ta-le, to-te hok-eη-du*
 jackal-PM-IND anger appear-SAS-IPP-PCL that-LOC be-pAS-NPT
makar-pali cyah-Ø-u-no, thoηi oste-ko nem-te
 monkey-p eat-SAS-3P-3→3/PT old.woman self-GEN house-LOC
yah-Ø-an.
 go-SAS-3S/PT
 Becoming angry, the jackal ate up all the monkeys that were there, and the
 old woman went back to her own house.

- 4 *makar-pali-ye saṇa cey-eṇ-no.*
 monkey-p-ERG millet eat-pAS-3→3/PT

The monkeys ate the millet.

- 5 ‘*tony-e ni-ko maṇ sakalei cyah-Ø-u-du, sewa bubu’*,
 beer-ERG we-GEN body all eat-sAS-3P-NPT salute elder.brother
 ṇa-to-le ṇah-Ø-u-no.
 say-TPP-PCL say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT

‘Beer totally consumes our bodies, I salute you, elder brother’, she said.

In example 6 below, *cya-sa* is conjugated transitively for an animal agent, while in example 7, the same sentence is conjugated intransitively for a human subject. The object of consumption, *cici* ‘meat’, is the same in both cases.

- 6 *du-ye cici cyah-Ø-u-no.*
 tiger-ERG meat eat-sAS-3P-3→3/PT

The tiger ate the meat.

- 7 *tete gai-go cici cyah-Ø-an.*
 elder.sister I-GEN meat eat-sAS-3S/PT

Elder sister ate the meat that was mine.

Much like the verb *hen-sa* ‘to go’, *cya-sa* ‘to eat’ has a stem alternate <ce-> in combination with the verbal agreement morphemes for a first person plural actant (1p→23 or 1pPS) and a plural agent or plural subject (pAS), as in *ni cey-i-n* (we eat-1pPS-PT) ‘we ate’ and *to-baṇ cey-eṇ-du* (that-Pp eat-pAS-NPT) ‘they are eating’. This stem alternation occurs regardless of the transitivity of the verb, so that the stem alternate <ce-> is present in verbal strings when the agent is a non-human animate as well as when the subject is human. While the base stem alternate is <ce->, according to the morphophonological rule for intervocalic approximants discussed in detail in Section §3 of Chapter 4, the realisation before /i/ and /e/ is <-cey>, as summarised by the following diagram:

$$\Sigma /e/ \rightarrow \Sigma /ey/ \quad / \quad \_ /e/ \text{ and } \_ /i/$$

While some other Thangmi verbs may be conjugated both transitively and intransitively, such as *ra-sa* ‘to bring’ (transitive) and *ra-sa* ‘to come’ (intransitive), no other Thangmi verbs exhibit stem alternation or suppletion outlined above for

hen-sa and *cya-sa*. The non-preterite conjugation of the Thangmi verb *cya-sa* ‘to eat’ is illustrated in Table 65 below.

**TABLE 65. TRANSITIVE AND INTRANSITIVE NON-PRETERITE
CONJUGATIONS OF THE THANGMI VERB *CYA-SA***

transitive	non-human	intransitive	human
<i>cyah-u-n-du</i>	I eat	<i>cya-ŋa-du</i>	I eat
<i>cyah-u-na-du</i>	you eat	<i>cya-na-du</i>	you eat
<i>cyah-Ø-u-du</i>	it eats	<i>cya-Ø-du</i>	he, she eats
<i>ce-wa-du</i>	we eat	<i>cey-i-du</i>	we eat
<i>cya-n-u-du</i>	you(p) eat	<i>cya-ni-du</i>	you(p) eat
<i>cey-eŋ-du</i>	they eat	<i>cey-eŋ-du</i>	they eat

4. Simplex person and number agreement morphemes

Simplex verb forms may contain up to three person and number agreement suffixes in any given string. An inventory of the simplex person and number agreement morphemes is given in Table 63 above. The morphemes in the first functional position occur as the initial elements after the verb stem while those in suffixal slot 6 make up the final elements in any given string.

Tables 66 to 68 below show the distribution of Thangmi person and number verbal agreement morphemes. Table 66 presents the agreement suffixes in intransitive verbs. Table 67 shows the agreement suffixes in reflexive verbs and Table 68 presents the suffixes for transitive verbs. Intransitive and reflexive conjugations use the same set of simplex agreement suffixes marking the involvement of person and number of grammatical subject. The only formal difference between the intransitive and reflexive conjugations is the presence of the reflexive marker <si> (REF) anterior to any person and number agreement morphemes in reflexive verbal forms.

In Tables 66 to 68, the four morpheme strings under each agreement heading represent the non-preterite, the preterite, the non-preterite negative, and the preterite negative simplex forms respectively. The morpheme gloss labels are provided directly beneath each example, and the negative forms are listed below the corresponding affirmative strings.

TABLE 66. INTRANSITIVE MORPHEME STRINGS FOR THANGMI SIMPLEX VERBS

subject	non-preterite	preterite
1s	Σ - <i>ηa-du</i>	Σ - <i>ηa-n</i>
	Σ -1s-NPT	Σ -1s-PT
	<i>ma</i> - Σ NEG- Σ	<i>ma</i> - Σ - <i>ηa-n</i> NEG- Σ -1s-PT
2s	Σ - <i>na-du</i>	Σ - <i>na-n</i>
	Σ -2s-NPT	Σ -2s-PT
	<i>ma</i> - Σ NEG- Σ	<i>ma</i> - Σ - <i>na-n</i> NEG- Σ -2s-PT
3s	Σ - $\emptyset$ - <i>du</i>	Σ - $\emptyset$ - <i>an</i>
	Σ -sAS-NPT	Σ -sAS-3S/PT
	<i>ma</i> - Σ NEG- Σ	<i>ma</i> - Σ - $\emptyset$ - <i>an</i> NEG- Σ -sAS-3S/PT
1p	Σ - <i>i-du</i>	Σ - <i>i-n</i>
	Σ -1pPS-NPT	Σ -1pPS-PT
	<i>ma</i> - Σ NEG- Σ	<i>ma</i> - Σ - <i>i-n</i> NEG- Σ -1pPS-PT
2p	Σ - <i>ni-du</i>	Σ - <i>ni-n</i>
	Σ -2p-NPT	Σ -2p-PT
	<i>ma</i> - Σ NEG- Σ	<i>ma</i> - Σ - <i>ni-n</i> NEG- Σ -2p-PT
3p	Σ - <i>eη-du</i>	Σ - <i>eη-an</i>
	Σ -pAS-NPT	Σ -pAS-3S/PT
	<i>ma</i> - Σ NEG- Σ	<i>ma</i> - Σ - <i>eη-an</i> NEG- Σ -pAS-3S/PT

TABLE 67. REFLEXIVE MORPHEME STRINGS FOR THANGMI SIMPLEX VERBS

subject	non-preterite	preterite
1s	Σ - <i>si-ŋa-du</i>	Σ - <i>si-ŋa-n</i>
	Σ -REF-1s-NPT	Σ -REF-1s-PT
	<i>ma-Σ-si</i> NEG-Σ-REF	<i>ma-Σ-si-ŋa-n</i> NEG-Σ-REF-1s-PT
2s	Σ - <i>si-na-du</i>	Σ - <i>si-na-n</i>
	Σ -REF-2s-NPT	Σ -REF-2s-PT
	<i>ma-Σ-si</i> NEG-Σ-REF	<i>ma-Σ-si-na-n</i> NEG-Σ-REF-2s-PT
3s	Σ - <i>si-Ø-du</i>	Σ - <i>siy-Ø-an</i>
	Σ -REF-sAS-NPT	Σ -REF-sAS-3S/PT
	<i>ma-Σ-si</i> NEG-Σ-REF	<i>ma-Σ-siy-Ø-an</i> NEG-Σ-REF-sAS-3S/PT
1p	Σ - <i>siy-i-du</i>	Σ - <i>siy-i-n</i>
	Σ -REF-1pPS-NPT	Σ -REF-1pPS-PT
	<i>ma-Σ-si</i> NEG-Σ-REF	<i>ma-Σ-siy-i-n</i> NEG-Σ-REF-1pPS-PT
2p	Σ - <i>si-ni-du</i>	Σ - <i>si-ni-n</i>
	Σ -REF-2p-NPT	Σ -REF-2p-PT
	<i>ma-Σ-si</i> NEG-Σ-REF	<i>ma-Σ-si-ni-n</i> NEG-Σ-REF-2p-PT
3p	Σ - <i>siy-eŋ-du</i>	Σ - <i>siy-eŋ-an</i>
	Σ -REF-pAS-NPT	Σ -REF-pAS-3S/PT
	<i>ma-Σ-si</i> NEG-Σ-REF	<i>ma-Σ-siy-eŋ-an</i> NEG-Σ-REF-pAS-3S/PT

In transitive conjugations, the agreement suffixes mark the tense, person and number of the agent or patient, a transitive relationship between the agent and the patient, or a combination of the above. The distribution of the simplex person and number agreement suffixes in the 14 finite forms of transitive verbs is presented in Table 68 below.

Previous comparisons of Kiranti verbal agreement systems (van Driem, 1990, 1991(a), 1991(b)) show the conjugations of Kiranti verbs to reflect a split-ergative pattern in which third person actants are marked differently in the verb than are first and second person actants. In Kiranti languages, then, morphemes indicating involvement of a third person actant usually reflect a so-called accusative system in which distinct sets of morphemes index for a third person patient (3P) as opposed to a

third person agent or subject (3AS). On the other hand, morphemes denoting the involvement of a first or second person actant follow an ergative pattern in that one set of morphemes indexes for first or second person agent (12A) while another set denotes first or second person patient or subject (12PS). Moreover, number of actant has been seen to be ‘indexed in the verb by different but apparently cognate morphemes for third person versus first and second person actants’ (van Driem 1991(b): 346).

As the morphemic analysis of the Thangmi verbal agreement system demonstrates, Thangmi conforms to the Kiranti split-ergativity model in structure while it differs in the specifics. Where in Kiranti languages the marking of first and second person follows an ergative pattern and the marking of third person actants in the verb follows an accusative pattern, in Thangmi it is only the first person which is marked ergatively by verbal agreement suffixes, and the non-first person, i.e. the second and third persons, reflects an accusative pattern. The morphemes filling the second functional position, sf2, in the Thangmi affixal string offer an insight into the particular pattern of split ergativity in this language.

Certain Thangmi morphemes index for agent of a transitive verb and subject of an intransitive verb as opposed to patient, following an accusative pattern, such as the plural agent or plural subject morpheme <-eŋ> (pAS) and the singular agent or subject zero morpheme <Ø> (sAS). The accusative pattern is also reflected in Thangmi by the third person patient morpheme <-u> (3P) in suffixal slot three. However, the first person plural patient or subject morpheme <-i> (1pPS) which specifies patient and subject rather than first person plural agent, and the first person plural agent to second or third person patient *portemanteau* morpheme <-wa> (1p→23), both reflect an ergative pattern.

As this analysis demonstrates, Thangmi exhibits a pattern of split ergativity, similar but essentially different to that of the Kiranti type. In connection with this discussion, it is worthy of note that the Thangmi conjugation exhibits a significant level of morphological fusion reflected by a disproportionately large number of *portemanteau* suffixes, i.e. five out of fifteen.

TABLE 68. TRANSITIVE MORPHEME STRINGS FOR THANGMI SIMPLEX VERBS

subject	non-preterite	preterite
1s→2s	Σ -na- η a-du Σ -2s-1s-NPT <i>ma</i> - Σ NEG- Σ	Σ -na- η a-n Σ -2s-1s-PT <i>ma</i> - Σ -na- η a-n NEG- Σ -2s-1s-PT
1s→2p	Σ -ni- η a-du Σ -2p-1s-NPT <i>ma</i> - Σ NEG- Σ	Σ -ni- η a-n Σ -2p-1s-PT <i>ma</i> - Σ -ni- η a-n NEG- Σ -2p-1s-PT
1s→3	Σ -u-n-du Σ -3P-1s→3-NPT <i>ma</i> - Σ NEG- Σ	Σ -u-n-u η Σ -3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT <i>ma</i> - Σ -u-n-u η NEG- Σ -3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT
1p→23	Σ -wa-du Σ -1p→23-NPT <i>ma</i> - Σ NEG- Σ	Σ -wa-n Σ -1p→23-PT <i>ma</i> - Σ -wa-n NEG- Σ -1p→23-PT
s→1s	Σ - $\emptyset$ - η a-du Σ -sAS-1s-NPT <i>ma</i> - Σ NEG- Σ	Σ - $\emptyset$ - η a-n Σ -sAS-1s-PT <i>ma</i> - Σ - $\emptyset$ - η a-n NEG- Σ -sAS-1s-PT
p→1s	Σ -e η - η a-du Σ -pAS-1s-NPT <i>ma</i> - Σ NEG- Σ	Σ -e η - η a-n Σ -pAS-1s-PT <i>ma</i> - Σ -e η - η a-n NEG- Σ -pAS-1s-PT
2/3→1p	Σ -i-du Σ -1pPS-NPT <i>ma</i> - Σ NEG- Σ	Σ -i-n Σ -1pPS-PT <i>ma</i> - Σ -i-n NEG- Σ -1pPS-PT
2s→3	Σ -u-na-du Σ -3P-2s-NPT <i>ma</i> - Σ NEG- Σ	Σ -u-na-n Σ -3P-2s-PT <i>ma</i> - Σ -u-na-n NEG- Σ -3P-2s-PT
2p→3	Σ -n-u-du Σ -2p-3P-NPT <i>ma</i> - Σ NEG- Σ	Σ -n-u-n Σ -2p-3P-PT <i>ma</i> - Σ -n-u-n NEG- Σ -2p-3P-PT

3s→2s	Σ - $\emptyset$ - <i>na-du</i>	Σ - $\emptyset$ - <i>na-n</i>
	Σ -sAS-2s-NPT	Σ -sAS-2s-PT
	<i>ma</i> - Σ	<i>ma</i> - Σ - $\emptyset$ - <i>na-n</i>
	NEG- Σ	NEG- Σ -sAS-2s-PT
3p→2s	Σ - <i>ey-na-du</i>	Σ - <i>ey-na-n</i>
	Σ -pAS-2s-NPT	Σ -pAS-2s-PT
	<i>ma</i> - Σ	<i>ma</i> - Σ - <i>ey-na-n</i>
	NEG- Σ	NEG- Σ -pAS-2s-PT
3→2p	Σ - <i>ni-du</i>	Σ - <i>ni-n</i>
	Σ -2p-NPT	Σ -2p-PT
	<i>ma</i> - Σ	<i>ma</i> - Σ - <i>ni-n</i>
	NEG- Σ	NEG- Σ -2p-PT
3s→3	Σ - $\emptyset$ - <i>u-du</i>	Σ - $\emptyset$ - <i>u-no</i>
	Σ -sAS-3P-NPT	Σ -sAS-3P-3→3/PT
	<i>ma</i> - Σ	<i>ma</i> - Σ - $\emptyset$ - <i>u-no</i>
	NEG- Σ	NEG- Σ -sAS-3P-3→3/PT
3p→3	Σ - <i>ey-du</i>	Σ - <i>ey-no</i>
	Σ -pAS-NPT	Σ -pAS-3→3/PT
	<i>ma</i> - Σ	<i>ma</i> - Σ - <i>ey-no</i>
	NEG- Σ	NEG- Σ -pAS-3→3/PT

5. Prefixes

There is only one prefixal slot (pf) in the Thangmi verbal agreement system, and this is filled by the negative morpheme <ma-> (NEG).

5.1 The negative morpheme

morph:	<ma->
slot:	pf
label:	NEG

The negative morpheme <ma-> (NEG) is prefixed directly to the verb stem to negate the meaning of a verb. The negative morpheme <ma-> (NEG) is the only verbal prefix. In all non-preterite negative transitive and intransitive forms, the negative morpheme <ma-> (NEG) appears all by itself in combination with the verb stem (Σ). The person, number and tense suffixes which appear in the corresponding non-preterite affirmative forms are then absent. Consequently, non-preterite negative forms show no agreement for person and number, and personal pronouns are often used to disambiguate the identity of the verbal actants, as shown in examples 8 and 9.

8 *hara cya-na-du?*

what eat-2s-NPT

What are you eating?

9 *gai hara woi ma-cya.*

I what also NEG-eat

I'm not eating anything.

In non-preterite negative reflexive forms, the negative morpheme <ma-> (NEG) appears in combination with the verbal stem (Σ) accompanied by only the reflexive morpheme <-si> (REF). All the other suffixes present in the corresponding affirmative forms are dropped, as in example 10.

10 *gai kapu ma-uli-si.*

I head NEG-wash-REF

I'm not washing my hair / I won't wash my hair.

In negated preterite tense scenarios, however, the person and number agreement suffixes are present just as in the affirmative agreement string, as illustrated by examples 11 and 12.

11 *naŋ dese-te ya-na-n?*

you village-LOC go-2s-PT

Did you go to the village?

12 *gai ma-ya-ŋa-n.*

I NEG-go-1s-PT

I didn't go.

The negative morpheme <ma-> (NEG) can be attached to finite verb forms, optatives and imperatives. Negative notions expressed by English 'no one', 'nothing' and 'never' are rendered in Thangmi by the combination of an interrogative pronoun, the adverb *woi* 'also' and a negated verb. This process has been fully described in Section §6.3 of Chapter 5, and I refer the reader to the comprehensive list of examples contained there. For the present discussion, examples 13 to 15 below are sufficient to illustrate the point.

- 13 *su rah-Ø-an?*
 who come.from.level-sAS-3S/PT
 Who came?
- 14 *su woi ma-rah-Ø-an.*
 who also NEG-come.from.level-sAS-3S/PT
 No one came.
- 15 *hara woi ma-tha.*
 what also NEG-be
 Nothing is happening.

To respond negatively to a question, a negated form of the verb used in the question is offered in response. In informal, non-polite speech, the interjection *nai* ‘no’ may also be used, probably loaned from Nepali or Hindi, as illustrated by the dialogue shown in examples 16 and 17.

- 16 *naŋ ka-te-ko mi?*
 you this-LOC-GEN person
 Are you from here?
- 17 *nai, gai ka-te-ko ma-tha.*
no I this-LOC-GEN NEG-be
 No, I’m not from around here.

To respond affirmatively, a range of different interjections are available to Thangmi speakers. In the Dolakhā dialect, the most commonly occurring affirmative interjections are *ādai* ‘yes’, *laiyoho* ‘yes, yeah, u-huh’ and *ā* ‘yeah, right’. While *ādai* is perfectly acceptable in polite speech or when addressing elders, *laiyoho* and *ā* are distinctly informal and only heard in conversations between children, peers, family and close friends. In the Sindhupālcok dialect of Thangmi, the affirmative interjection *he?e ~ he?ẽ* ‘yes’ is suitable for all situations, both polite and informal. A further interjection *adi* ‘oh, I see’ exists in the Sindhupālcok dialect, cognate with *ādai* ‘yes’ in Dolakhā, which is used to express sudden comprehension or agreement.

The Thangmi negative morpheme <ma-> (NEG) is unmarked for tense, though the use of <ma-> (NEG) in finite forms with no accompanying person and number agreement affixes is a clear indication of non-preterite tense. This contrasts with many of the Kiranti languages which have tensed negative prefixes. The Thangmi negative morpheme <ma-> (NEG) is cognate with negative prefixes in other

Tibeto-Burman languages such as Limbu <me-> (van Driem 1987: 104), Dumi <mə-> (van Driem 1993a: 124), Yamphu <mæn-> (Rutgers 1998:110) and Kulung <man-> (Tolsma 1999: 58). These Kiranti negative prefixes as well as the Thangmi negative morpheme <ma-> (NEG) are all reflexes of Proto-Tibeto-Burman **ma* ‘negative’ (Benedict 1972: 203).

6. Suffixes

There are six slots in the suffixal string of a Thangmi simplex verb and fifteen different verbal agreement morphemes which occur in the agreement paradigm. The slots and their fillers are discussed under the separate morpheme headings below.

6.1 The reflexive morpheme

morph:	<-si ~ -siy>
slot:	sf1
label:	REF

The reflexive morpheme <-si> (REF) occurs in all reflexive forms, where it indexes a reflexive relationship. This morpheme is the only suffixal slot 1 filler and is affixed immediately to the stem before any of the person and number suffixes, as in examples 18 to 21 below.

- 18 *gai myuŋ bu-si-ŋa-n.*
 I cloth cover-REF-1s-PT
 I wore clothes.

- 19 *gai uli-si-ŋa-du.*
 I wash-REF-1s-NPT
 I am washing (myself).

- 20 *naŋ kapu ɬi-si-na-n ra?*
 you head comb-REF-2s-PT or
 Have you combed your hair?

- 21 *guru-ye bu-si-sa nis-gore ɬiŋ-ɬiŋ ŋaŋ ubo kapu-te*
 shaman-ERG cover-REF-INF two-CLF red and white head-LOC
chyu-si-sa ăləmga miŋ tha-Ø-du.
 tie-REF-INF long cloth be-SAS-NPT
 Tied around his head, the shaman wears two long red and white pieces of cloth.

The reflexive morpheme <-si> (REF) has a regular allomorph <-siy> (REF) before a vowel-initial suffix in the verbal string. The allomorph <-siy> (REF) occurs in combination with the plural agent or plural subject marker <-eŋ> (pAS), as in examples 22 and 23 below, with the first personal plural patient or subject morpheme <-i> (1pPS), as illustrated in examples 24 to 27, and with the preterite tense third person subject *portemanteau* <-an> (3S/PT) as in example 115 below. When used in combination with the first personal plural patient or subject morpheme <-i> (1pPS), the reflexive morpheme <-si ~ -siy> (REF) conveys the sense of a reciprocity between actants ‘doing something to/for each other’. Aside from the reflexive conjugation, there are no independent grammaticalised reciprocal forms in Thangmi.

- 22 *rage tha-Ø-ta-le, kiŋe-siy-eŋ-an, nunu kheiy-Ø-an.*
 anger be-SAS-IPP-PCL fight-REF-pAS-3S/PT milk spill-SAS-3S/PT
 Having become angry, they fought, and the milk spilled.
- 23 *jekha dese-ko camai-pali naka miŋ bu-siy-eŋ-du, naka*
 big village-GEN daughter-p new cloth cover-REF-pAS-NPT new
jet lony-eŋ-du.
 work do-pAS-NPT
 Daughters from cities [lit. big villages] wear new clothes and have modern jobs.
- 24 *gai ama-ko-yiŋ ra-ŋa-n, to woi oste-ko-yiŋ*
 I mother-GEN-ABL come.from.level-1s-PT that also self-GEN-ABL
ra-Ø-ta-le, ni ulam-te yo-siy-i-n.
 come.from.level-SAS-IPP-PCL we road-LOC look.at-REF-1pPS-PT
 I came from mother’s place, she also left her place, and we saw each other again on the road.
- 25 *gai ŋaŋ uma, ni nem duŋ-ŋaŋ, oste-ko wakhe loŋ-siy-i-n.*
 I and wife we house within-inside self-GEN word do-REF-1pPS-PT
 My wife and I, inside our house, spoke privately to each other.
- 26 *ni nis-ka-kai maŋ asak-i-n, nama hok-ta-i-le ni*
 we two-HNC-PM body itch-1pPS-PT together be-IPP-1pPS-PCL we
aghor-siy-i-n.
 scratch-REF-1pPS-PT
 Both of our bodies itched, and sitting together, we scratched one another.

- 27 *ni ucyaca thay-i-du beryaŋ, gai ŋaŋ hu*
 we small be-1pPS-NPT that.time I and younger.brother
uli-si-sa-kai kapu-te paŋku lok-siy-i-n.
 wash-REF-INF-PM head-LOC water pour-REF-1pPS-PT

When we were young, younger brother and I would wash by pouring water over each other's heads.

While all other person and number agreement morphemes are absent from negated non-preterite verb forms, the reflexive marker <-si> (REF) is retained as the sole suffix in negated non-preterite reflexive verbs. In such cases, the reflexive marker <-si> (REF) is suffixed directly to the verb stem, as in example 28 below.

- 28 *'ka uniŋ ma-thah-Ø-an-be, gai naŋ nama bore ma-loŋ-si',*
 this like NEG-be-SAS-3S/PT-TOP I you with marriage NEG-do-REF
ŋah-Ø-u-no.
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

'If you don't mend your ways [lit. if it's not like this], then I won't marry you', she said.

Certain Thangmi verbs taken directly from Nepali are lexically reflexive even though they are not reflexive in Nepali, such as Thangmi *ghumaisisa* 'to wander, stroll, go for a walk' from Nepali *ghumnu* 'to turn round, wind, wander, go about', and Thangmi *ghurghursisa* 'to snore' from Nepali *ghurnu* 'to snore'. Illustrations of verbs borrowed from Nepali which take the reflexive conjugation in Thangmi are given in examples 29 to 31 below. Since these verb forms are borrowed directly from Nepali they are italicised in the interlinear gloss.

- 29 *naŋ miryaŋ ɬaye aɬthe ghurghur-si-na-n.*
 you yesterday night very snore-REF-2s-PT

You snored a lot last night.

- 30 *gai ghumai-si-sa ya-ŋa-du.*
 I wander-REF-INF go-1s-NPT

I'm going for a stroll.

- 31 *naŋ hara səmjhaisi-si-na-du?*
 you what think-REF-2s-NPT

What are you thinking?

Reflexivity is a productive grammatical and verbal category in Thangmi and many transitive verbs have reflexive counterparts in which the subject performs the action upon himself, herself or itself. A few examples of related transitive and intransitive verbs are given in Table 69 below.

TABLE 69. RELATED TRANSITIVE AND REFLEXIVE THANGMI VERBS

transitive		intransitive	
<i>aghorsa</i>	to dig, scratch	<i>aghorsisa</i>	to scratch oneself with one's nails
<i>busa</i>	to cover	<i>busisa</i>	to wear
<i>cuksa</i>	to insert, pour	<i>cuksisa</i>	to jump on someone
<i>disa</i>	to rest	<i>disisa</i>	to rest oneself
<i>disa</i>	to comb (someone's) hair	<i>disisa</i>	to comb one's own hair
<i>kheisa</i>	to pour, spill	<i>kheisisa</i>	to pour on oneself
<i>lorsa</i>	to drain, spill, overthrow	<i>lorsisa</i>	to pour, spill on oneself
<i>namsa</i>	to smell, sniff	<i>namsisa</i>	to [be able to] smell oneself
<i>niksa</i>	to be pregnant, give birth to	<i>niksisa</i>	to be born
<i>phosa</i>	to make wet, drench	<i>phosisa</i>	to make oneself wet
<i>sulsa</i>	to hide, conceal something	<i>sulsisa</i>	to hide, conceal oneself
<i>satsa</i>	to kill	<i>satsisa</i>	to kill oneself, commit suicide
<i>torsa</i>	to bend, break	<i>torsisa</i>	to bend oneself, contort oneself
<i>thurulsa</i>	to masturbate someone	<i>thurulsisa</i>	to masturbate oneself
<i>jisensa</i>	to teach, explain	<i>jisensisa</i>	to learn, study
<i>toisa</i>	to undress somebody	<i>toisisa</i>	to undress oneself
<i>tolisa</i>	to clean, cleanse, rinse	<i>tolisisa</i>	to clean, cleanse, rinse oneself
<i>thansa</i>	to move, transfer, change	<i>thansisa</i>	to move oneself, be transferred
<i>thumsa</i>	to bury	<i>thumsisa</i>	to be buried
<i>ulisa</i>	to wash something	<i>ulisisa</i>	to wash oneself, bathe

In Thangmi, verbal stems are reduplicated to intensify or otherwise emphasise the action denoted by the verb, and thereby indicate persistence or vehemence. In reduplicated reflexive forms, the person and number suffixes are attached to the second stem. I have recorded only two examples of such doubling with reflexive verbs, both of which are unelicited sentences from narrative texts, and these are given below in 32 and 33. In such cases, both the verb stem and the reflexive morpheme <-si> (REF) are reduplicated, resulting in <Σ-si-Σ-si>.

- 32 *to nama sul-si-sul-si-Ø-ta-le, to-ye loŋ-Ø-u-du jet*
 that with hide-REF-hide-REF-SAS-IPP-PCL that-ERG do-SAS-3P-NPT work
dap-Ø-u-no.
 peep-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

She hid near him, and eavesdropped on what he was doing.

- 33 *libi ka wakhe humi-ye 'lawa siy-Ø-an' ŋa-to-le*
 after this word younger.sister-ERG husband die-SAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL
thaha sai-Ø-du, bampre ŋe-si-ŋe-si-Ø-ta-le
 knowledge know-SAS-NPT rib beat-REF-beat-REF-SAS-IPP-PCL
kerep-Ø-du, aji chuku sakalei kerep-eŋ-du.
 cry-SAS-NPT mother.in.law father.in.law all cry-pAS-NPT

After coming to know of her husband's death, younger sister cried while beating and beating her breast, her mother-in-law and father-in-law also both cried.

The Thangmi reflexive marker <-si> (REF) is a reflex of the Proto-Kiranti reflexive suffix *<-nši> (cf. Turin 1998a: 486) and is cognate with reflexive morphemes in other Kiranti languages such as Limbu <-siŋ> (van Driem 1987: 86), Dumi <-nsi> (van Driem 1993a: 125) and the Wambule middle suffix <si-> (Ongenort 2002: 280).

6.2 The non-first person singular agent or subject morpheme

morph:	<Ø>
slot:	sf2
label:	SAS

The singular agent or subject zero morpheme <Ø> (SAS) marks a second or third person singular agent in a transitive verbal scenario, and a third person singular subject in an intransitive or reflexive verbal scenario. The singular agent or subject zero morpheme <Ø> (SAS) thus marks the involvement of any non-plural and non-first person actant in a verbal string. While a more precise gloss for this morpheme might have been (23sAS), I have opted for the equally accurate but more streamlined (SAS).

The singular agent or subject zero morpheme <Ø> (SAS) is a frequently occurring suffixal slot 2 filler and follows an accusative pattern by marking the involvement of an agent or a subject rather than the patient in any given verbal scenarios. The singular agent or subject zero morpheme <Ø> (SAS) is situated posterior to both the verb stem and the reflexive morpheme <-si> (REF), but anterior

to the person and tense morpheme slots in the affixal string. All zero morphs are shown and labelled in the interlinear morpheme glosses. Examples 34 to 36 below illustrate the occurrence of the singular agent or subject zero morpheme $\langle\emptyset\rangle$ (sas) in intransitive verbs, marking the involvement of a third person singular subject in the preterite and non-preterite tenses.

- 34 *naŋ-ko nem kuta hok- $\emptyset$ -du?*
 you-GEN house where be-SAS-NPT
 Where is your house situated (where do you live)?
- 35 *uni yah- $\emptyset$ -an, ŋila tha- $\emptyset$ -du.*
 sun go-SAS-3S/PT cold be-SAS-NPT
 The sun has gone, and it's [become] cold.
- 36 *aikuca hul-ko mai- $\emptyset$ -du.*
 knife sharpen-ADH must-SAS-NPT
 One must sharpen the knife.

In transitive verbs, the singular agent or subject zero morpheme $\langle\emptyset\rangle$ (sas) occurs in three different combinations of affixal strings. First, it occurs in a transitive relationship between a second or third person singular agent and a first person singular patient, as in examples 37 and 38. In such instances, the singular agent or subject zero morpheme $\langle\emptyset\rangle$ (sas) marks the agent that is doing or has done something to 'me'.

- 37 *kucu-ye gai-gai cek- $\emptyset$ -ŋa-n.*
 dog-ERG I-PM bite-SAS-1s-PT
 The dog bit me.
- 38 *to camaica gai-go naŋe-te kuŋik- $\emptyset$ -ŋa-n.*
 that woman I-GEN cheek-LOC pinch-SAS-1s-PT
 That woman pinched my cheek.

The singular agent or subject zero morpheme $\langle\emptyset\rangle$ (sas) also occurs in transitive relationships between a third person singular agent and a second person singular patient, as in examples 39 and 40.

- 39 *kucu-ye naŋ-kai cek-Ø-na-du.*
dog-ERG you-PM bite-SAS-2s-NPT

The dog will bite you.

- 40 *libi naka miŋ niy-eŋ-to-le* 'su-ye pi-Ø-na-n?' *ŋa-to-le*
after new cloth see-pAS-TPP-PCL who-ERG give-SAS-2s-PT say-TPP-PCL
ŋay-eŋ-du beryaŋ, 'ka ni-ko tete-ye gai-gai
say-pAS-NPT that.time this we-GEN elder.sister-ERG I-PM
pi-Ø-ŋa-n' ŋah-Ø-u-no.
give-SAS-1s-PT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

When other people saw her new clothes they asked her 'who gave you that?', and she replied 'our elder sister gave them to me.'

Finally, the singular agent or subject zero morpheme <Ø> (sAS) occurs in transitive relationships between a third person singular agent and a third person singular or plural patient, as in examples 41 and 42 below.

- 41 *kucu-ye to-kai cek-Ø-u-du.*
dog-ERG that-PM bite-SAS-3P-NPT

The dog is going to bite him.

- 42 *naŋ-ko ama hara jet loŋ-Ø-u-du?*
you-GEN mother what work do-SAS-3P-NPT

What work does your mother do?

6.3 The plural agent or plural subject morpheme

morph:	<-eŋ>
slot:	sf2
label:	pAS

The plural agent or plural subject morpheme <-eŋ> (pAS) marks the involvement of a second or third person plural agent in a transitive verb and a third person plural subject in an intransitive or reflexive verb. Somewhat like the singular agent or subject zero morpheme <Ø> (sAS), the plural agent or plural subject morpheme <-eŋ> (pAS) is a number marker whose distribution follows an accusative pattern by indicating the involvement of an agent or subject rather than a patient. While a more precise gloss for this morpheme might have been (23pAS), I have opted for the equally accurate but more concise (pAS).

Taking into account its function, distribution and position in the affixal string, the plural agent or plural subject morpheme <-eŋ> (pAS) can best be seen as the plural counterpart to the singular agent or subject zero morpheme <Ø> (sAS). Neither of these two morphemes indicate the number of the subject in a second person intransitive or reflexive verb. The involvement of a second person singular or plural subject is rather marked by the specific morphemes <-na> (2s) and <-ni ~ -n> (2p) which are dealt with below.

The plural agent or plural subject morpheme <-eŋ> (pAS) is a suffixal slot 2 filler, and is situated posterior to the verb stem and to the reflexive morpheme <-si> (REF) in reflexive verbs, but anterior to the person and tense morphemes that follow in the affixal string.

The plural agent or plural subject morpheme <-eŋ> (pAS) has only one allomorph and no alternate form. Open-stem Thangmi verbs are realised with the glide /y/ in combination with the plural agent or plural subject morpheme <-eŋ> (pAS), as in example 43 below. Further details of the morphophonology of intervocalic approximants is described in detail in Section §3 of Chapter 4. The reflexive morpheme <-si> (REF) has a regular allomorph <-siy> (REF) before a vowel-initial suffix that follows in the verbal agreement system, such as the plural agent or plural subject morpheme <-eŋ> (pAS). The co-occurrence of these two morphemes is illustrated by examples 22 and 23 above.

- 43 *ka ci-sa-kai 'saŋa-ko puya thu-sa' ŋay-eŋ-du.*
 that throw.away-INF-PM millet-GEN seed weed-INF say-pAS-NPT

This process of throwing away [the weeds] is known as 'weeding the millet'.

Examples 44 to 46 below illustrate the occurrence of the plural agent or plural subject morpheme <-eŋ> (pAS) in intransitive verbs, marking the involvement of a third person plural subject in both the preterite and non-preterite.

- 44 *to-baŋ cey-eŋ-du.*
 that-Pp eat-pAS-NPT

They're eating.

- 45 *huca-pali busikasi-te nampay-eŋ-du.*
 child-p dirt-LOC play-pAS-NPT

The children are playing in the dirt.

- 46 *ni-kai unise sewa-ta-i-le caway-eη-an.*
 we-PM daytime salute-IPP-1pPS-PCL walk-pAS-3S/PT

In the afternoon, thanking us, they walked home.

In transitive verbs, the plural agent or plural subject morpheme <-eη> (pAS) occurs in three different combinations of affixal strings. First, the morpheme is present in transitive relationships between a second or third person plural agent and a first person singular patient, as in examples 47 and 48 below, in which the morpheme <-eη> (pAS) marks the agents that are doing or have done something to ‘me’. In these examples, the number of the agent is not marked in the verbal agreement suffixes. It is only apparent from context whether the agent is a second or third person.

- 47 *gai-gai-guri me ra-sa ci-thoy-eη-ηa-thyo.*
 I-PM-IND fire bring-INF CAUS-send-pAS-1s-3sCOND

You(p) used to send me to bring fire.

- 48 *‘libi jet loη-sa tete ηaη gai-go ban kucu*
 after work do-INF elder.sister and I-GEN friend dog
ray-eη-ta-le ci-moy-eη-ηa-n, naleη ka uniη
 come.from.level-pAS-IPP-PCL CAUS-survive-pAS-1s-PT present this like
tha-ηa-n.’
 be-1s-PT

‘And then the elder sister who works as a helper and my friend the dog came and saved me, and now here I am.’

Second, the plural agent or plural subject morpheme <-eη> (pAS) occurs in transitive relationships between a third person plural agent and a second person singular patient, as in examples 49 and 50.

- 49 *naη-kai ca-pali-ye kaṭay-eη-na-n-be, to-baη-kai acyukuli*
 you-PM son-p-ERG insult-pAS-2s-PT-TOP that-Pp-PM tickle
loη-o!
 do-s→3/IMP

If the boys bother you, just tickle them!

- 50 *to beryaŋ, doroŋ-yiŋ di-gore uyu let-Ø-ta-le*
 that that.time hole-ABL one-CLF mouse appear-sAS-IPP-PCL
aghyow-Ø-an ‘tete, naŋ ka-te ma-hok-e, naŋ-kai
 cry.out-sAS-3S/PT elder.sister you this-LOC NEG-be-s/NEG/IMP you-PM
sat-eŋ-na-du.’
 kill-pAS-2s-NPT

At that time, a mouse came out of a hole and squeaked ‘elder sister, don’t stay in this place, they are going to kill you.’

Finally, the plural agent or plural subject morpheme <eŋ> (pAS) occurs in transitive relationships between a third person plural agent and a third person singular or plural patient, as in examples 51 to 53 below. The involvement of a third person patient is unmarked in non-preterite third person agent to third person patient verbal scenarios, making the non-preterite transitive form formally identical to its corresponding non-preterite intransitive counterpart.

- 51 *peŋey-eŋ-du beryaŋ, camaica-pali-ye kari woi kariy-eŋ-du.*
 sow-pAS-NPT that.time woman-p-ERG song also sing-pAS-NPT

At the time of sowing, the womenfolk also sing songs.

- 52 *kerep-ta-i-le hara loŋ-sa, guŋhi mi-pali kyel-eŋ-ta-le*
 cry-IPP-1pPS-PCL what do-INF mourner person-p come-pAS-IPP-PCL
moro hen-eŋ-no.
 corpse take-pAS-3→3/PT

Crying, well, what to do, all the mourners came and carried the corpse away.

- 53 *libi, to amum ci-min-sa-kai me mut-eŋ-no, tyay*
 after that mushroom CAUS-ripen-INF-PM fire blow-pAS-3→3/PT then
ci-min-eŋ-no.
 CAUS-ripen-pAS-3→3/PT

And then, in order to cook those mushrooms they started a fire [lit. blew the fire] and prepared them.

As described above, only the negative morpheme <ma-> (NEG) appears with the verbal stem (Σ) in negated non-preterite verbal forms and all suffixes which would be present in the corresponding non-preterite affirmative forms are absent. The only exception to this rule is the plural agent or plural subject morpheme <eŋ> (pAS) which may occur suffixed to the verb stem in a negated non-preterite form to

emphasise the plurality of the negated verb or to underscore the absence of a number of actants, as in examples 54 and 55 below. Usually, however, the plural agent or plural subject morpheme <-eŋ> (pAS) does not occur in negated non-preterite verbal forms, and its appearance is the exception rather than the norm.

- 54 *yamiryaŋ-ko ca-pali apa ama-ye ŋay-eŋ-du hara woi*
 nowadays-GEN son-p father mother-ERG say-pAS-NPT what also
ma-lony-eŋ ‘naka jet ŋisen-si-sa ya-ŋa-du’ ŋa-to-le gwi
 NEG-do-pAS new work teach-REF-INF go-1s-NPT say-TPP-PCL thief
ban nama yey-eŋ-du.
 friend with go-pAS-NPT

Boys these days don’t do anything that their parents tell them, ‘I’m off to learn a new job’ they say, and then they go off with their thieving friends.

- 55 *ălāmtha cawa-sa ma-thany-eŋ, isa ken loŋ-sa*
 distant walk-INF NEG-be.able-pAS food vegetable.curry do-INF
ma-saiy-eŋ.
 NEG-know-pAS

They are not able to walk long distances, and they don’t know how to cook.

6.4 The second person plural actant morpheme

morph:	<-ni ~ -n>
slot:	sf2
label:	2p

The second person plural actant morpheme <-ni ~ -n> (2p) occurs in all transitive, intransitive and reflexive scenarios involving a second person plural actant. The second person plural actant morpheme <-ni ~ -n> (2p) is a suffixal slot 2 filler, situated posterior to both the verb stem and the reflexive morpheme <-si> (REF), but anterior to other person morphemes and all tense morpheme slots in the affixal string.

The allomorphic distribution of the second person plural actant morpheme <-ni ~ -n> (2p) is as follows: <-ni> preceding a consonant and <-n> preceding a vowel, as represented in the figure below:

$$<-ni \sim -n> (2p) \rightarrow \left\{ \begin{array}{l} /ni/ \quad / \quad \_C \\ /n/ \quad / \quad \_V \end{array} \right\}$$

Examples 56 and 57 below illustrate the occurrence of the second person plural actant morpheme <ni ~ -n> (2p) in intransitive verbs in which it marks the involvement of a second person plural subject in both the preterite and non-preterite.

- 56 *amakaleŋ niŋ apok-te hok-ta-ni-le, naleŋ guru tha-ni-n.*
 last.year you(p) cave-LOC be-IPP-2p-PCL present shaman be-2s-PT

Last year you(p) lived in a cave, now you(p) have become shamans.

- 57 *niŋ kapu ma-uli-si-tiniŋ ami-ni-du?*
 you head NEG-wash-REF-PFG sleep-2p-NPT

Are you(p) going to sleep without having washed your hair?

In transitive verbs, the second person plural actant morpheme <ni ~ -n> (2p) occurs in three different combinations of affixal strings. First, it occurs in a transitive relationship between a first person singular agent and a second person plural patient, as in examples 58 and 59.

- 58 *jekha mi taŋ-Ø-ta-le 'nan niny-e hara*
 big person be.happy-SAS-IPP-PCL now you(p)-ERG what
amat-n-u-du, gǎ-ye pi-ni-ŋa-du' ŋah-Ø-u-no.
 beg-2p-3P-NPT I-ERG give-2p-1s-NPT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

The chief was happy and then said 'now, whatever you(p) ask for, I will give you'.

- 59 *'gǎ-ye niŋ nama kutaleŋ kutaleŋ wakhe loŋ-ni-ŋa-thyo.'*
 I-ERG you(p) with when when word do-2p-1s-3sCOND

'Very occasionally I would tell you(p) about them' [mother said].

The second person plural actant morpheme <ni ~ -n> (2p) also occurs in transitive relationships between a second person plural agent and a third person singular or plural patient, as illustrated in examples 60 and 61 below.

- 60 *niny-e miryaŋ poiri-ko kari nasai-n-u-n?*
 you(p)-ERG yesterday elder.brother's.wife-GEN song hear-2p-3P-PT

Did you(p) hear sister-in-law's song yesterday?

- 61 *libi aji damari-kai 'uma sat-n-u-n' ηay-ey-to-le*
 after mother.in.law son.in.law-PM wife kill-2p-3P-PT say-pAS-TPP-PCL
cum-ey-no.
 hold-pAS-3→3/PT

Later, saying 'you(p) killed your wife', they held the mother-in-law and son-in-law.

Finally, the second person plural actant morpheme <-ni ~ -n> (2p) occurs in transitive relationships between a third person singular or plural agent and a second person plural patient, as in example 62 below. In such scenarios, the involvement of a third person agent must be marked by a third person agent or subject zero morpheme <Ø> (3AS), since this transitive form is formally identical to the second person plural intransitive conjugation. While acknowledged as a component of the verbal agreement system, this zero morpheme is not shown in the transliteration or in the interlinear gloss.

- 62 *kucu-ye niη-kai cek-ni-du.*
 dog-ERG you(p)-PM bite-2p-NPT

The dog will bite you(p).

The Thangmi second person plural actant morpheme <-ni ~ -n> (2p) is a reflex of the Proto-Kiranti second person plural morpheme *<-ni> (cf. Turin 1998a: 487) and is cognate with second person plural morphemes in other Kiranti languages, such as Kulung <-ni> (Tolsma 1999: 68-69), Thulung <-ni> (Allen 1975: 48), Wambule <-ni> Ogenort (2002: 271) and Lohorung <-ni> (van Driem 1991a: 61-62).

6.5 The first person plural patient or first person plural subject morpheme

morph:	<-i>
slot:	sf2
label:	1pPS

The first person plural patient or first person plural subject morpheme <-i> (1pPS) occurs in all transitive scenarios involving a first person plural patient and in all intransitive or reflexive scenarios involving a first person plural subject. By specifically indexing patients and subjects, and not agents, the morpheme <-i> (1pPS) reflects an ergative agreement pattern.

The first person plural patient or first person plural subject morpheme <-i> (1pPS) is a suffixal slot 2 filler, situated posterior to both the verb stem and the reflexive morpheme <-si> (REF) in reflexive verbs, but anterior to the other person,

number and tense morpheme slots in the affixal string. Examples 63 and 64 below illustrate the occurrence of the morpheme <-i> (1pPS) in intransitive verbs, marking the involvement of a first person plural subject in both the preterite and non-preterite.

- 63 *ni-kai cya-sa ma-gap-i-n.*
 we-PM eat-INF NEG-be.enough-1pPS-PT

There wasn't enough for us to eat.

- 64 *libi to bubu-ye pi-Ø-ŋa-du pepelek-e naka nem*
 after that elder.brother-ERG give-SAS-1s-NPT money-INS new house
khem-tuŋ-le, naleŋ hok-i-du.
 build-1s/TPP-PCL present be-1pPS-PT

Having built the house with elder brother's loan, we now live there.

The morpheme <-i> (1pPS) appears in all transitive verbal relationships between a second or third person singular or plural agent and a first person plural patient, illustrations of which are given in examples 65 and 66 below.

- 65 *'bubu, naŋ-ko nem-te ni toŋ tun-sa khalam-i-du?',*
 elder.brother you-GEN house-LOC we beer drink-INF receive-1pPS-NPT
to-ye woi 'khalam-n-u-du' ŋah-Ø-u-no, toŋ tha-to-le
 that-ERG also receive-2p-3P-NPT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT beer strain-TPP-PCL
piy-Ø-u-no.
 give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

'Elder brother, can we get some beer in your house?' [they asked], and he replied 'sure it is' and, straining the beer, gave it to them.

- 66 *to-ye woi 'ja-Ø-du' ŋah-Ø-u-no, hok-sa thai*
 that-ERG also okay-SAS-NPT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT be-INF place
piy-i-n.
 give-1pPS-PT

And that person said 'okay' and gave us a place to stay.

The first person plural patient or first person plural subject morpheme <-i> (1pPS) has only one allomorph and no alternate form. Open stem Thangmi verbs are realised with the glide /y/ in combination with the first person plural patient or first person plural subject morpheme <-i> (1pPS), as in example 67 below. The morphophonology of intervocalic approximants is discussed in Section §3 of Chapter 4. The reflexive

morpheme <-si> (REF) has a regular allomorph <-siy> (REF) before any vowel-initial suffixes that follow in the verbal agreement system, such as the first person plural patient or first person plural subject morpheme <-i> (1pPS). The co-occurrence of these two morphemes usually indicates a reciprocal relationship, as in examples 24 to 27 above.

- 67 *caway-i-du beryan, di-ka mi-ko nem-te hok-i-n.*
 walk-1pPS-NPT that.time one-HNC person-GEN house-LOC stay-1pPS-NT

When walking, we ended up staying in this person's house.

The first person plural patient or first person plural subject morpheme <-i> (1pPS) is a reflex of the Proto-Kiranti inclusive morpheme *<-i> (van Driem 1991(b): 354). Thangmi makes no inclusive-exclusive distinction, and it is therefore to be expected that the reflex of the Proto-Kiranti inclusive marker would index the involvement of a plural first person in Thangmi, since both first person and plural number are implicit in any inclusive category. Moreover, when the Thangmi reflex is seen alongside reflexes of the inclusive proto-morpheme *<-i> in other Kiranti languages, it is clear that the above extrapolation is perfectly in accordance with the data. In Lohorung, for example, the suffix <-i> also denotes a first person plural patient or subject (van Driem 1991a: 59). In Thulung, <-i> marks the transitive relationship between a first person plural inclusive agent and a third person patient (Allen 1975: 48), while in Limbu, the verbal agreement suffix <-i> indicates plurality of subject and patient in the first and second persons (van Driem 1987: 95).

6.6 The first person plural to second or third person *portemanteau* morpheme

morph:	<-wa>
slot:	sf2
label:	1p→23

The first person plural agent to second or third person patient *portemanteau* morpheme <-wa> (1p→23) occurs in all transitive scenarios involving a first person plural agent. In affixal strings, the first person plural agent to second or third person patient *portemanteau* morpheme <-wa> (1p→23) occurs posterior to the verb stem but anterior to the tense and tensed *portemanteau* morphemes which occur in suffixal slot 6. The first person plural agent to second or third person patient *portemanteau* morpheme <-wa> (1p→23) can only be described as anterior to certain suffixes and posterior to others in the affixal chain. The morpheme has been assigned to suffixal slot 2, the person and number morpheme slot, on the basis of semantic considerations.

In previous writings, I have glossed this morpheme as (1pA), indicating only the involvement of a first person plural agent. The gloss has now been revised on account of the highly specific meaning and distribution of this morpheme, and because the present synchronic analysis also has a certain diachronic logic. The /w/ in the *portemanteau* suffix <-wa> (1p→23), marking the transitive relationship between a first person plural agent and a second or third person patient, may well derive from the Proto-Kiranti third person patient morpheme *<-u> (3P).

The first person plural agent to second or third person patient *portemanteau* morpheme <-wa> (1p→23) occurs in transitive verbal relationships between a first person plural agent and a second or third person patient as illustrated by examples 68 to 70 below.

- 68 *nem-te tete, ama, gai hok-ta-i-le, nem-ko jet*
 house-LOC elder.sister mother I stay-IPP-1pPS-PCL house-GEN work
loŋ-wa-n.
 do-1p→23-PT

Elder sister, mother and I lived at home and we did the housework.

- 69 *sola cya-ŋa libi, lipem yu-sa dum-Ø-an, pirin*
 snack eat-CNS after snow come.from.above-INF finish-SAS-3S/PT outside
yo-wa-du-be ulam ma-ni-wa-n!
 look.at-1p→23-NPT-TOP path NEG-see-1p→23-PT

Once we had finished our snack, the snow had stopped falling, and when we looked outside, we couldn't see the path any more!

- 70 *bubu ŋaŋ gǎ-ye di uni-ye torta-wa-n.*
 elder.brother and I-ERG one day-ERG leave-1p→23-PT

One day, elder brother and I gave up [smoking].

6.7 The third person patient morpheme

morph:	<-u>
slot:	sf3
label:	3P

The third person patient morpheme <-u> (3P) occurs in transitive verbal scenarios involving a third person patient. Suffixal slot 3 is reserved for the third person patient morpheme <-u> (3P), which occupies a position posterior to the person and number

morphemes in suffixal slot 2 but anterior to the second person singular morpheme actant <-na> (2s) in suffixal slot 4.

The third person patient morpheme <-u> (3P) occurs in transitive strings involving a third person patient, except in transitive verbal scenarios between a first person plural agent and a third person patient where third person patient involvement is indicated by the (1p→23) *portemanteau* <-wa>. In the transitive third person plural agent to third person singular or plural patient form, in which the third person patient morpheme <-u> (3P) is also absent, the verbal string is formally identical to the corresponding third person plural intransitive form, a strong indication of an agent-subject accusative patterning.

In transitive verbs, the third person patient morpheme <-u> (3P) occurs in four different combinations of affixal strings. First, it appears in transitive relationships between a first person singular agent and a third person singular or plural patient, as in examples 71 and 72 below.

- 71 *gai jet loŋ-u-n-du.*
 I work do-3P-1s→3-NPT
 I work.

- 72 *gai ucya tha-ŋa-du beryaŋ, apa, sum-ka tete siy-eŋ-du*
 I small be-1s-NPT that.time father three-HNC elder.sister die-pAS-NPT
nih-u-n-du beryaŋ, gai-go mesek-yiŋ raphil let-Ø-an.
 see-3P-1s→3-NPT that.time I-GEN eye-ABL tear appear-sAS-3S/PT

When I was small, on seeing my father and three elder sisters dying, tears flowed from my eyes.

The third person patient morpheme <-u> (3P) also occurs in transitive relationships between a second person singular agent and a third person singular or plural patient, as in examples 73 and 74 below.

- 73 *'habi ŋa-ŋa, gǎ-ye ŋah-u-n-du jet loŋ-u-na-du ra*
 before say-s→1s/IMP I-ERG say-3P-1s→3-NPT work do-3P-2s-NPT or
ma-loŋ?'
 NEG-do

'First tell me, will you do the work that I say or not?'

- 74 *e bubu, naŋ hara loŋ-u-na-du?*
 oh elder.brother you what do-3P-2s-NPT
 Oh elder brother, what are you doing?

The third person patient morpheme <-u> (3P) also occurs in transitive relationships between a second person plural agent and a third person singular or plural patient, as in examples 75 and 76 below.

- 75 *'niŋ hara-kai ka-te kyel-ta-ni-le, ni-ko seŋ pal-n-u-n?*
 you(p) what-PM this-LOC come-IPP-2p-PCL we-GEN wood cut-2p-3P-PT
nan niŋ-kai gǎ-ye nem duŋ-ŋaŋ na-ni-ŋa-du'
 now you(p)-PM I-ERG house within-inside put-2p-1s-NPT
ŋah-Ø-u-no.
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

'Why did you come to this place and cut down our trees for wood? I am going to jail you both [lit. put you inside a house]', he said.

- 76 *to-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no, 'niŋ di uni-ye hani cawa-sa*
 that-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT you(p) one day-ERG how.much walk-INF
thaŋ-n-u-du, to sakalei niŋ-ko'.
 be.able-2p-3P-NPT that all you(p)-GEN

He said, 'whatever distance you can cover by foot in one day, well, that much is yours'.

Finally, the third person patient morpheme <-u> (3P) occurs in transitive relationships between a third person singular agent and a third person singular or plural patient, as illustrated by examples 77 and 78 below.

- 77 *to-ye ahum dah-Ø-u-du.*
 that-ERG egg boil-SAS-3P-NPT
 He's boiling an egg.
- 78 *tuŋi-ye khaŋou suk-Ø-u-no.*
 goat-ERG door strike-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
 The goat butted the door.

The Thangmi third person patient morpheme <-u> (3P) is a reflex of the Proto-Kiranti third person patient morpheme *<-u>. While the proto-morpheme *<-u> is

ubiquitously reflected in modern Tibeto-Burman languages, in Himalayan languages its reflexes are all suffixes, and in the Kiranti languages of eastern Nepal, reflexes of Proto-Tibeto-Burman *<-u> (3P) usually denote the involvement of a third person patient (van Driem 1991(b)). Examples include the Lohorung third person patient marker <-u> (van Driem 1991a: 59-60), the Limbu third person patient marker <-u> (van Driem 1987: 82) and the Kulung third person patient preterite morpheme <-u> (Tolsma 1999: 66). The Kiranti language Wambule is a notable exception. In Wambule, the morpheme <-u> in the verbal agreement system marks the involvement of a third person non-plural agent in transitive forms.

6.8 The second person singular actant morpheme

morph:	<-na>
slot:	sf4
label:	2s

The second person singular actant morpheme <-na> (2s) occurs in all intransitive, transitive and reflexive verbal scenarios specifically involving a second person singular actant. The fourth functional position in the Thangmi affixal string, suffixal slot 4, houses only the second person singular actant morpheme <-na> (2s) and no other affixal markers. The second person singular actant morpheme <-na> (2s) occupies a position posterior to the third person patient morpheme <-u> (3P) of suffixal slot 3 and anterior to the morphemes in the first person singular morpheme slot, suffixal slot 5, such as the first person singular actant morpheme <-ŋa> (1s) and the *portemanteau* morpheme <-n> (1s→3).

The second person singular actant morpheme <-na> (2s) is not present in the suffixal string of a Thangmi verb when the person of the agent of a transitive relationship is unspecified, e.g. in the singular agent to first person singular patient form ‘he/she/it/you(s) *verb* me’. In Thangmi, only singular number is explicitly marked in this transitive relationship and the person of the agent is left unspecified. Consequently, the non-first person singular agent or subject morpheme <-Ø> (sAS) is used in place of the second person singular actant morpheme <-na> (2s) in such transitive utterances.

Examples 79 and 80 below illustrate the occurrence of the second person singular actant morpheme <-na> (2s) in intransitive verbs, marking the involvement of a second person singular subject in both the preterite and non-preterite.

- 79 *naŋ isa cya-na-n?*
 you food eat-2s-PT
 Have you eaten (food)?

- 80 *naŋ kuta ya-na-du?*
 you where go-2s-NPT
 Where are you going?

Examples 81 and 82 below illustrate the occurrence of the second person singular actant morpheme <-na> (2s) in reflexive verbs, marking the involvement of a second person singular subject in both the preterite and non-preterite.

- 81 *nany-e ka wakhe tisen-si-na-n-be, naŋ jekha mi tha-na-du.*
 you-ERG this word teach-REF-2s-PT-TOP you big person be-2s-NPT
 If you learn this stuff, then you will be an important person.

- 82 *naŋ oste uli-si-na-du?*
 you self wash-REF-2s-NPT
 Are you going to wash yourself?

In transitive verbs, the second person singular actant morpheme <-na> (2s) occurs in four different combinations of affixal strings. First, it occurs in a transitive relationship between a first person singular agent and a second personal singular patient in both the preterite and non-preterite, as shown in examples 83 and 84 below.

- 83 *gai ra-ta-ŋa-le pi-na-ŋa-du.*
 I come.from.level-IPP-1s-PCL give-2s-1s-NPT
 Once I've come, I'll give it to you.

- 84 *gǎ-ye naŋ-kai them-them-na-ŋa-n tara naŋ ma-serek-na-n.*
 I-ERG you-PM shake-2s-1s-PT but you NEG-wake.up-2s-PT
 I shook you, but you didn't wake up.

The second person singular actant morpheme <-na> (2s) also occurs in a transitive relationship between a second personal singular agent and a third person singular or plural patient, in both the preterite and non-preterite tenses, as in examples 85 and 86.

- 85 *nany-e khaṇou ɸih-u-na-n ra?*
 you-ERG door close-3P-2s-PT or
 Have you closed the door or not?

- 86 *nany-e hara loŋ-u-na-du?*
 you-ERG what do-3P-2s-NPT
 What are you doing?

Third, the second person singular actant morpheme <-na> (2s) occurs in the transitive relationship between a third personal singular agent and a second person singular patient, in both the preterite and non-preterite tenses, as in examples 87 and 88.

- 87 *naŋ-kai kucu-ye cek-Ø-na-n-be, kucu-kai ɸew-o!*
 you-PM dog-ERG bite-SAS-2s-PT-TOP dog-PM strike-s→3/IMP
 If the dog bites you, hit it!

- 88 *to-ye naŋ-kai urou-Ø-na-du.*
 that-ERG you-PM call-SAS-2s-NPT
 He's calling you.

Finally, the second person singular actant morpheme <-na> (2s) occurs in a transitive relationship between a third personal plural agent and a second person singular patient, in both the preterite and non-preterite tenses, as in examples 49 and 50 above.

The Thangmi second person singular actant morpheme <-na> (2s) is a reflex of the Proto-Kiranti and Proto-Tibeto-Burman second person morphemes *<-na> (cf. Turin 1998a: 487). The Thangmi reflex is cognate with second person actant morphemes in Kiranti languages such as the Kulung second person singular preterite tense morpheme <-na> (Tolsma 1999: 64), the Thulung second person singular marker <-na> (Allen 1975: 48), the Wambule second person singular morpheme <-nu> Opgenort (2002: 272) and the second person marker in Lohorung <-na> (van Driem 1991a: 61).

6.9 The first person singular actant morpheme

morph:	<-ŋa>
slot:	sf5
label:	1s

The first person singular actant morpheme <-ŋa> (1s) occurs in all intransitive, transitive and reflexive verbal scenarios which involve a first person singular actant. The first person singular actant morpheme <-ŋa> (1s) is a suffixal slot 5 filler, appearing posterior to the second person singular actant morpheme <-na> (2s) and anterior to the final functional position, suffixal slot 6, occupied by the tense and tensed *portemanteau* morphemes.

The first person singular actant morpheme <-ŋa> (1s) marks the involvement of a first person singular actant in all intransitive, transitive and reflexive conjugations except in transitive verbal relationships between a first person singular agent and a third person singular or plural patient, where the involvement of a first person singular agent is indexed by the *portemanteau* morphemes <-n> (1s→3) and <-uŋ> (1s→3/PT). Examples 89 and 90 below illustrate the occurrence of the first person singular actant morpheme <-ŋa> (1s) in intransitive verbs, marking the involvement of a first person singular subject in both the preterite and non-preterite.

- 89 *gai ulam phat-to-le* *ra-ŋa-n.*
 I road dig.deep-TPP-PCL come.from.level-1s-PT
 Having dug the road, I came.

- 90 *naŋ hok-a,* *gai ya-ŋa-du.*
 you be-s/IMP I go-1s-NPT
 You stay, I'm off.

Examples 91 and 92 below illustrate the occurrence of the first person singular actant morpheme <-ŋa> (1s) in reflexive verbs, marking the involvement of a first person singular subject in both the preterite and non-preterite. Example 92 was provided by my assistant and language teacher after I attempted to make this statement but formulated the sentence incorrectly.

- 91 *gai miryaŋ* *myuŋ bu-si-ŋa-n.*
 I yesterday cloth cover-REF-1s-PT
 Yesterday, I wore clothes.

- 92 *gai kapu uli-si-ŋa libi, naŋ nama thaŋmi kham*
 I head wash-REF-CNS after you with Thangmi language
ʔisen-si-ŋa-du.
 teach-REF-1s-NPT

Once I've washed my hair, I'll learn some more Thangmi language with you.

In transitive verbs, the first person singular actant morpheme <-ŋa> (1s) occurs in four different combinations of affixal strings. First, it occurs in a transitive relationship between a first person singular agent and a second personal singular patient in both the preterite and non-preterite, where it marks the involvement of the first person agent, as shown in example 84 above and 93 below.

- 93 *'to niŋ gai-gai pi-ŋa! naŋ-kai gai-go sakalei*
 that stone I-PM give-s→1s/IMP you-PM I-GEN all
raŋ pi-na-ŋa-du', ŋah-Ø-u-no.
 unirrigated.field give-2s-1s-NPT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

'Give me that stone! I will give you all my land', he said.

Second, the first person singular actant morpheme <-ŋa> (1s) also occurs in a transitive relationship between a first person singular agent and a second personal plural patient in both the preterite and non-preterite, in which it marks the involvement of the first person agent, as shown in examples 58 and 59 above, and example 94 below.

- 94 *gǎ-ye niŋ-kai miryaŋ pepelek pi-ni-ŋa-n.*
 I-ERG you(p)-PM yesterday money give-2p-1s-PT

I gave you(p) money yesterday.

Third, the first person singular actant morpheme <-ŋa> (1s) occurs in transitive relationships between a second or third person singular agent and a first person singular patient in both the preterite and non-preterite, as shown in examples 95 and 96 below.

- 95 *'gai-gai hara hara ŋa-Ø-ŋa-du?', ŋa-to-le ya-ŋa-n.*
 I-PM what what say-SAS-1s-NPT say-TPP-PCL go-1s-PT

'What kinds of things will he say to me?', I thought as I went.

- 96 'gai hyate ya-let-ηa-n, to-te t̪hoŋe mi-ye hok-sa
 I up.there go-appear-1s-PT that-LOC old person-ERG be-INF
 ma-pi-Ø-ηa-n!', ηa-to-le ηah-Ø-u-no.
 NEG-give-sAS-1s-PT say-TPP-PCL say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT

'When I arrived all the way up there [i.e. heaven], the old man [who lives there] didn't let me stay!', he said.

Finally, the first person singular actant morpheme <ηa> (1s) occurs in transitive relationships between a second or third person plural agent and a first person singular patient in both the preterite and non-preterite, as shown in examples 97 and 98 below.

- 97 to-ye ηah-Ø-u-du 'gai-gai dese mi-ye hara
 that-ERG say-sAS-3P-NPT I-PM village person-ERG what
 ηay-eŋ-an thaŋun? oste-ko ca sat-Ø-u-du, 'moro'
 say-pAS-3S/PT maybe self-GEN son kill-sAS-3P-NPT corpse
 ηay-eŋ-ηa-du thaŋun'.
 say-pAS-1s-NPT maybe

She thinks to herself, 'what do the villagers think of me? Maybe they're calling me a 'corpse' for killing my own son'.

- 98 'kunyaŋ-be gǎ-ye ηa-na-ηa-du, gai nik-ηa-du beryaŋ, gai-gai
 how-TOP I-ERG say-2s-1s-NPT I be.born-1s-NPT that.time I-PM
 jekhama-pali-ye paṭasi-te pore-to-le
 big.mother-p-ERG traditional.skirt-LOC bundle.up-TPP-PCL
 ciy-eŋ-ηa-n.'
 throw.away-pAS-1s-PT

'And now I'll tell you how, when I was born, well at that time my step-mothers bundled me up in a skirt and threw me away' [he said].

In Kiranti languages, as well as in the Tibeto-Burman family in general, the velar nasal /ŋ/ usually figures prominently in morphemes indicating the involvement of a first person singular actant. As van Driem suggests, 'most first-singular morphemes in modern Kiranti languages consist of the velar nasal /ŋ/ with some associated vowel preceding or following the nasal' (1991b: 350). The Thangmi first person singular actant morpheme <ηa> (1s) is a reflex of either, or both, Proto-Kiranti morphemes *<η> and *<ηa>, which index the first person singular agent (1sA) and the first person singular actant in non-preterite time (1s/NPT) respectively (cf. Turin 1998a:

487). The Thangmi reflex <-ŋa> (1s) is cognate with first person singular morphemes in other Kiranti languages, such as the Limbu first person agent marker <-ŋ> (van Driem 1987: 99), the Dumi first person singular morpheme <-ŋ> (van Driem 1993a: 133), the Wambule first person singular marker <-ñu> (Ongenort 2002: 275) and the first person singular marker in Lohorung <-ŋa> (van Driem 1991a: 58).

6.10 The first person singular to third person *portemanteau* morpheme

morph:	<-n>
slot:	sf5
label:	1s→3

In first person singular to third person (1s→3) forms, the *portemanteau* morpheme <-n> (1s→3) specifically indexes a transitive relationship between a first person singular agent and a third person patient. The *portemanteau* morpheme <-n> (1s→3) occupies a functional position before the tense and tensed *portemanteau* morphemes of suffixal slot 6 and after the third person patient marker <-u> (3P) in suffixal slot 3. On the basis of semantic and pragmatic considerations, the *portemanteau* morpheme <-n> (1s→3) is therefore assigned to suffixal slot 5.

Examples 99 to 102 below illustrate the occurrence of the *portemanteau* morpheme <-n> (1s→3) in transitive verbs. In these examples, the marker specifically indexes a relationship between a first person singular agent and a third person patient in both preterite and non-preterite scenarios.

99 *gai phase neh-u-n-du.*

I flour grind-3P-1s→3-NPT

I am grinding the flour.

100 *gǎ-ye seŋ cabuh-u-n-uŋ.*

I-ERG wood carry-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT

I carried the wood.

101 *ya-ta-ŋa-le yoh-u-n-du-be, bubu-ko jet*
 go-IPP-1s-PCL look.at-3P-1s→3-1s→3/NPT-TOP elder.brother-GEN work
loŋ-sa nem nih-u-n-uŋ.
 do-INF house see-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT

I went and looked, and I saw the place where elder brother works.

102 *gai ɬaye ami-sa ma-thaŋ-u-n-uŋ, to-ko khiŋ gai-go*
 I night sleep-INF NEG-be.able-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT that-GEN face I-GEN
mesek-te usyah-Ø-an.
 eye-LOC dance-SAS-3S/PT

I couldn't sleep that night, her face was dancing before my eyes.

6.11 Tense morphemes

morph:	<-du>
slot:	sf6
label:	NPT
morph:	<-n>
slot:	sf6
label:	PT

The Thangmi non-preterite tense morpheme <-du> (NPT) marks non-preterite tense in each and every transitive, intransitive and reflexive verbal scenario, and appears to be cognate with the Dzongkha copula *ɬdug* <*dû* ~ *du*>, rather than with any Proto-Kiranti morpheme.² The Thangmi non-preterite tense morpheme <-du> (NPT) conveys the meaning of non-past time and is a suffixal slot 6 filler along with other morphemes marking tense.

The Thangmi preterite tense morpheme <-n> (PT) conveys the meaning of past time and is a suffixal slot 6 filler. The morpheme <-n> (PT) marks preterite tense in transitive, intransitive and reflexive verbal scenarios unless there is a more specific tensed *portemanteau* which marks preterite tense and the person or number of actant. The three tensed *portemanteau* suffixes are: the morpheme <-an> (3S/PT), which marks a third person subject of an intransitive or reflexive verb in preterite time; the morpheme <-no> (3→3/PT), which marks a transitive relationship between a third person agent and a third person patient in preterite time; and the morpheme <-uŋ> (1s→3/PT), which marks the transitive relationship between a first person singular agent and a third person patient in preterite time.

In Thangmi, a distinction can be made between telic and atelic verbs on the basis of tense.³ For telic verbs, the preterite tense ending <-n> (PT) indicates that the

² འདུག་ in dBu-can script.

³ In this description of Thangmi grammar, telic verbs are taken to be those verbs which tend towards an end.

transition conveyed in the verb is complete or has taken place, while the use of the non-preterite tense marker <-du> (NPT) indicates that the transition conveyed is either taking place at the time of the utterance or has yet to occur. For Thangmi atelic verbs, on the other hand, the use of the preterite tense ending <-n> (PT) indicates that the state or action denoted by the verb in question was occurring at some point in the past. Concomitantly, the non-preterite tense marker <-du> (NPT) occurs in atelic verbs to indicate that an action or state is presently in effect. In terms of tense marking, Thangmi closely resembles the Kiranti languages Dumi (van Driem 1993a: 135-137) and Limbu in which ‘the choice of tense...is contingent upon the moment of inception’ (van Driem 1987: 89). Sentences 103 to 108 below illustrate tense marking in telic verbs through six contrastive examples.

103 *uni ti-Ø-du.*

sun burn-SAS-NPT

The sun will shine / The sun is about to start shining.

104 *uni tiy-Ø-an.*

sun burn-SAS-3S/PT

The sun is shining / The sun has broken through the cloud cover.

105 *uni to-Ø-du.*

sun rise-SAS-NPT

The sun will rise [in a moment] / The sun is about to rise.

106 *uni tow-Ø-an.*

sun rise-SAS-3S/PT

The sun has risen / The sun rose.

107 *uni nip-Ø-du.*

sun set-SAS-NPT

The sun will set [in a moment] / The sun is about to set.

108 *uni nip-Ø-an.*

sun set-SAS-3S/PT

The sun [has] set / The sun went under.

Example 104 above indicates that the sun is shining and uses the preterite tense form of the intransitive verb *ti-sa* ‘to burn, to shine’. The non-preterite tense in example 103 indicates rather that the sun will shine later or is about to start shining. Similarly,

example 106 makes use of the preterite tense to indicate that the sun has risen in the sky, while the corresponding and contrastive form in 105, *uni to-Ø-du* (sun rise-SAS-NPT), using the non-preterite tense morpheme <-du> (NPT), indicates that the sun has not yet risen but is about to do so. Sentence 108 was uttered by a Thangmi speaker after the event, once the sun had actually set, while 107 was used to indicate that there was still a little time left to gather fodder for the goats before nightfall.

Verbs of perception in Thangmi are telic and take the preterite tense even when their English translation requires a present tense. For example, once when my village sister was cooking the nettle stew, she threw in too much salt and said, rather regretfully, *ahe chya se-Ø-du* (much salt taste-SAS-NPT) ‘it’ll taste (too) salty’. On eating the stew, her grandson later concurred, *ahe chya thah-Ø-an* (much salt be-SAS-3S/PT) ‘it’s very salty / it’s too salty’.

In telic verbs which denote a process culminating in some form of transition, the preterite vs. non-preterite distinction relates to the moment of change. For example, the preterite tense *miŋ gaŋ-Ø-an* (cloth dry-SAS-3S/PT) ‘the clothes have dried, the clothes are dry’ indicates that a transition has taken place, whereas the use of the non-preterite tense in *miŋ gaŋ-Ø-du* (cloth dry-SAS-NPT) ‘the clothes are drying’ implies that the drying is taking place but that the moment of transition has not yet been reached. Likewise, the negative preterite *miŋ ma-gaŋ-Ø-an* (cloth NEG-dry-SAS-3S/PT) ‘the clothes are not yet dry, the clothes have not yet dried’ indicates that the process has started but that the transition has not occurred, while the negative non-preterite preterite *miŋ ma-gaŋ* (cloth NEG-dry) ‘the clothes are not drying’ implies that the process of drying itself is not occurring, let alone any transition to ‘dryness’. On a similar note, the non-preterite tense of the verb *si-sa* ‘to die’, as in *to mi si-Ø-du* (that person die-SAS-NPT) ‘that person is dying, that person will die’ implies an imminent transition to death, while *to mi siy-Ø-an* (that person die-SAS-3S/PT) ‘that person is dead, that person has died’ indicates that the transition has occurred and that referent has indeed expired.

For other telic verbs in Thangmi, the preterite vs. non-preterite distinction centres around the moment of inception. A suitable example is provided by the verb *hen-sa* ‘to go’, in which *gai ya-ŋa-du* (I go-1S-NPT) ‘I’ll go, I’m going, I’ll be on my way’ contrasts with *gai ya-ŋa-n* (I go-1S-PT) ‘I’m gone, I’m out of here, I’m off’. While the former example is heard by speakers getting up to leave and those on the verge of departing, the preterite tense example may be uttered by someone who has left in anger or by a speaker who is already on his way and is calling back to those who have remained behind.

In atelic verbs, tense is distinguished between past vs. non-past, comparable to tense distinctions familiar to speakers of English, as in *guru ŋah-Ø-u-du* (shaman

speaking-SAS-3P-NPT) ‘the shaman speaks’ versus *guru-ye ηah-Ø-u-no* (shaman-ERG speaking-SAS-3P-3→3/PT) ‘the shaman spoke’. In atelic verbs, the non-preterite marker <-du> (NPT) indicates that the state described is presently in effect and that it may continue into the future, while the preterite tense implies that the state denoted by the verb was effective in the past. Atelic verbs mark sustained activities or states of being, as shown in examples 109 to 112 below.

- 109 *uma cya-Ø-du ni-to-le, gai-gai woi cya-ηa cya-ηa ali-ηa-du.*
 wife eat-SAS-NPT see-TPP-PCL I-PM also eat-CNS eat-CNS like-1s-NPT

When I see my wife smoke, I really feel like smoking myself.

- 110 *libi bore nem-te ya-let-i-n, to-ηaη isa*
 after marriage house-LOC go-appear-1pPS-PT that-inside food
ken sakalei hok-Ø-thyo, to ni-to-le
 vegetable.curry all be-SAS-3sCOND that see-TPP-PCL
cya-sa ma-ali-ηa-n.
 eat-INF NEG-like-1s-PT

Thereafter we came to the house of the wedding and there was all this food, but seeing that, I didn’t feel like eating at all.

- 111 *‘humi yoh-u-n-du, nany-e ηah-u-na-du jet*
 younger.sister look.at-3P-1s→3-NPT you-ERG say-3P-2s-NPT work
loη-u-n-du’.
 do-3P-1s→3-NPT

‘I will look after my little sister, I will do what you say’ [he had said].

- 112 *pebu raη-ko jet woi loη-u-n-uη.*
 irrigated.field dry.field work also do-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT

I also worked in the fields.

6.12 The preterite tense third person subject *portemanteau* morpheme

morph:	<-an>
slot:	sf6
label:	3S/PT

The *portemanteau* morpheme <-an> (3S/PT) specifically indexes preterite tense and third person subject involvement in intransitive and reflexive verbs. The *portemanteau* morpheme <-an> (3S/PT) is a suffixal slot 6 filler along with other

suffixes marking tense. Examples 113 and 114 below illustrate the occurrence of the preterite tense third person subject *portemanteau* morpheme <-an> (3S/PT) in intransitive verbs, in which it marks the involvement of either singular or plural third person subjects.

- 113 *to nem-te yah-Ø-an.*
 that house-LOC go-SAS-3S/PT
 He went home.

- 114 *aji chuku sakalei kerep-eŋ-an.*
 mother.in.law father.in.law all cry-pAS-3S/PT
 The parents-in-law and everyone else burst into tears.

Examples 22 above and 115 below illustrate the occurrence of the preterite tense third person subject *portemanteau* morpheme <-an> (3S/PT) in reflexive verbs, in which it marks the involvement of either singular or plural third person subjects.

- 115 *baŋhe syaŋ bāsinte serek-Ø-ta-le, soŋ-te ya-Ø-ta-le,*
 tomorrow period morning arise-SAS-IPP-PCL river-LOC go-SAS-IPP-PCL
cuk-siy-Ø-an, kutaleŋ woi ma-rah-Ø-an.
 insert-REF-SAS-3S/PT when also NEG-come.from.level-SAS-3S/PT
 The following morning she got up, went to the river and jumped in, never to return.

6.13 The preterite tense third person to third person *portemanteau* morpheme

morph:	<-no>
slot:	sf6
label:	3→3/PT

The preterite tense *portemanteau* morpheme <-no> (3→3/PT) specifically indexes a transitive relationship between a third person agent and a third person patient in preterite time. The *portemanteau* morpheme <-no> (3→3/PT) is a suffixal slot 6 filler along with other suffixes marking tense. Examples 116 and 117 below illustrate the occurrence of the preterite tense *portemanteau* morpheme <-no> (3→3/PT) in transitive relationships between a third person singular agent and a third person patient in preterite time, while examples 118 and 119 illustrate the morpheme in transitive relationships between a third person plural agent and a third person patient in preterite time.

- 116 *naŋ-ko kapu su-ye uliy-Ø-u-no?*
 you-GEN head who-ERG wash-sAS-3P-3→3/PT

Who washed your hair?

- 117 *damari-ye oste-ko nem-te hen-sa wakhe loŋ-Ø-u-no,*
 son.in.law-ERG self-GEN house-LOC go-INF word do-sAS-3P-3→3/PT
aji-ye ‘nan di nis uni hok-a!’ ŋah-Ø-u-no.
 mother.in.law-ERG now one two day be-s/IMP say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT

Son-in-law talked about going back to his own house, but mother-in-law said ‘please stay another day or two!’

- 118 *suwa tany-eŋ-to-le paŋku piy-eŋ-no, ma-lek-eŋ-no.*
 tooth open-pAS-TPP-PCL water give-pAS-3→3/PT NEG-swallow-pAS-3→3/PT

They pushed open their teeth and gave them water, but they didn’t swallow.

- 119 *sakalei bubu hu-ye ‘ja-Ø-du’ ŋay-eŋ-no,*
 all elder.brother younger.brother-ERG okay-sAS-NPT say-pAS-3→3/PT
ŋaŋ usya hen-eŋ-no.
 and dance take-pAS-3→3/PT

All the brothers agreed, saying ‘okay’, and set off with their dance.

6.14 The preterite tense first person to third person *portemanteau* morpheme

morph:	<-uŋ>
slot:	sf6
label:	1s→3/PT

The preterite *portemanteau* morpheme <-uŋ> (1s→3/PT) specifically indexes a transitive relationship between a first person agent and a third person patient in preterite time. The *portemanteau* morpheme <-uŋ> (1s→3/PT) is a suffixal slot 6 filler along with other suffixes marking tense. As is apparent from the following examples, the first person agent and third person agent transitive strings are elaborate and tautological in their morphological structure.

Examples 120 to 123 below illustrate the occurrence of the preterite tense *portemanteau* morpheme <-uŋ> (1s→3/PT) in transitive relationships between a first person singular agent and a third person patient in preterite time.

120 *gǎ-ye seŋ pal-u-n-uŋ.*

I wood chop-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT

I chopped wood.

121 *gǎ-ye saiy-u-n-uŋ, naŋ naleŋ kuta ya-na-du?*

I-ERG know-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT you present where go-2s-NPT

I've got it, so where are you off to now?

122 *gǎ-ye pepelek na-sa ma-than-u-n-uŋ, gai oste-ko*

I-ERG money put-INF NEG-be.able-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT I self-GEN

nem-te ya-ŋa-n.

house-LOC go-1s-PT

I wasn't able to save any money [lit. be able to put], so I went back home.

The Thangmi preterite *portemanteau* morpheme <-uŋ> (1s→3/PT) is reminiscent of verbal agreement markers in other Kiranti languages and easily traceable to the Proto-Kiranti verbal agreement system proposed by van Driem. The Thangmi preterite *portemanteau* morpheme <-uŋ> (1s→3/PT) may be interpreted as a fusion of the Proto-Kiranti morpheme *<-u> denoting third person patient (3P) with the proto-morpheme *<-aŋ> denoting first person singular actant in preterite time (1s/PT). If this analysis is accepted, with regard to the *portemanteau* suffix <-uŋ> (1s→3/PT) at least, Thangmi is a living example of the Proto-Kiranti model and more canonically Kiranti in morphological structure than many extant Kiranti languages.

CHAPTER 7

OTHER VERBAL CONSTRUCTIONS AND MORPHOSYNTAX

This chapter deals with all remaining verbal constructions, including verbs ‘to be’, ‘to be okay’, ‘to appear’, the infinitive, the supine, the optative, the adhortative, the causative, the permissive, various imperative forms, speech particles, compound verbs of motion, gerunds, preterite participles, particles and adverbs. Only more complex syntax is discussed explicitly since general syntax can be deduced from the corpus of texts supplied in Part Two of this monograph and from the examples provided throughout the text.

1. Verbs ‘to be’

Copula are parts of propositions which connect a subject to its predicate and are verbs which refer or relate to identity. Nominal or attributive predicates require the copula in Thangmi. Thangmi has two copula verbs which cover the various senses of the English verb ‘to be’: *tha-sa* ‘to be’ and *hok-sa* ‘to be’. Both of these Thangmi verbs have straightforward intransitive conjugations and their meanings are explained in this section. In the interest of clarity and continuity, the same gloss, ‘be’, has been used for both verbs since the differences in meaning are explained below.

1.1 The verb *tha-sa*

The Thangmi verb *tha-sa* ‘to be’ is used equationally to indicate an intrinsic property, e.g. *gai camăica tha-ŋa-du* (I woman be-1s-NPT) ‘I am a woman’, identificationally to attribute a feature to an agent, or in statements regarding the truth value of a proposition, in which case the affirmative verb can be translated as ‘yes’ and the negative as ‘no’. The Thangmi verb *tha-sa* ‘to be’ is commonly translated into Nepali using the *ho* paradigm of the Nepali verb *hunu* ‘to be’ which has a definitional rather than locational meaning. Examples 1 to 5 below, for which the corresponding Nepali verb form are also provided, illustrate the Thangmi verb *tha-sa* ‘to be’ in the non-preterite conjugation.

- 1 *libi to mi-ye ṇah-Ø-u-no, 'apa, gai naṇ-ko ca*
 after that person-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT father I you-GEN son
tha-ṇa-du'.
 be-1s-NPT

Then that person said, 'father, I am your son'.

(Nepali ... *ma tapāṭko chorā hū*)

- 2 *'ma-let-na-n-be, gai kaṭa-ṇa-du, su tha-na-du.'*
 NEG-appear-2S-PT-TOP I scold-1s-NPT who be-2s-NPT

'If you don't come out, I will scold you, who are you anyway?'

(Nepali ... *tapāṭ ko hunuhuncha?*)

- 3 *naleṇ-guri nan ni thaṇmi thay-i-du, nan thaṇmi-kai hyate*
 present-IND now we Thangmi be-1pPS-NPT now Thangmi-PM up
hen-ko mai-Ø-du.
 take-ADH must-SAS-NPT

But now we say that we are Thangmi, and it's time for Thangmi people to rise up. (Nepali ... *hāmī thāmī haū*)

- 4 *niṇ ka dese-ko mi tha-ni-du ra ma-tha?*
 you(p) this village-GEN person be-2p-NPT or NEG-be

Are you(p) from this village or not?

(Nepali *timīharu yo gāū-ko mānche hau ki hoinau?*)

- 5 *camai, jekha dese-ko, ucya dese-ko, sakalei di-gore*
 daughter big village-GEN small village-GEN all one-CLF
thay-eṇ-du.
 be-pAS-NPT

Daughters, whether they come from big villages or small ones, are all the same. (Nepali ... *sab euṭai hun*)

The verb *tha-sa* 'to be' also occurs in the preterite, as shown in example 6 below. Inchoative senses, reflecting the transition from one state to another, are also conveyed by *tha-sa* 'to be', in which case the verb may occur in conjunction with an adjective. In such cases, illustrated by examples 7 to 11, *tha-sa* 'to be' is best translated into English as 'become'.

- 6 *nan gai no barsa tha-ŋa-n.*
now I seven year be-1s-PT
I was then seven years old.
- 7 *gai rage tha-ŋa-n.*
I anger be-1s-PT
I became angry.
- 8 *libi, gai jekha tha-ŋa-n.*
after I big be-1s-PT
Soon thereafter, I grew up [lit. became big].
- 9 *'nan humi jekha tha-na-n, naŋ-ko bore loŋ-ko*
now younger.sister big be-2s-PT you-GEN marriage do-ADH
mai-y-Ø-an, hara tha-Ø-du?'
must-sAS-3S/PT what be-sAS-NPT
'Now you've become mature, younger sister, and it's time for you to get married, what will it be?'
- 10 *libi to nis-ka huca nik-Ø-an, huca-pali jekha*
after that two-HNC child give.birth-sAS-3S/PT child-p big
thay-eŋ-an.
be-pAS-3S/PT
She then gave birth to twins, and they grew up.
- 11 *'ma-thaŋ-u-n-du jet-guri hara woi ma-hok-Ø-thyo,*
NEG-be.able-3P-1s→3-NPT work-IND what also NEG-be-sAS-3sCOND
nal ʔhəne tha-ŋa-n.'
present old be-1s-PT
'There was no work that I wasn't able to do, but now I have become old'.

The Thangmi verb *tha-sa* 'to be' can convey the sense of 'to happen' in both preterite and non-preterite time, in combination with *hara* 'what', as illustrated by examples 12 to 14 below.

- 12 *tyaŋ libi ka uniŋ thaŋ-Ø-an ŋaŋ di uni to bubu-ye*
 then after this like be-SAS-3S/PT and one day that elder.brother-ERG
gai-gai naka nem khem-sa-kai pepelek pi-Ø-ŋa-n.
 I-PM new house build-INF-PM money give-SAS-1S-PT

And in this way it happened that one day the same elder brother gave me money to build a new house.

- 13 *serek-eŋ-ta-le libi, di-ka mi-kai, 'hara tha-na-n?'*
 arise-PAS-IPP-PCL after one-HNC person-PM what be-SAS-PT
ŋa-to-le ŋay-eŋ-du beryaŋ, to-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no:
 say-TPP-PCL say-PAS-NPT that.time that-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

After they had woken up, they asked one man 'what happened to you?', and he said:

- 14 *libi, jet loŋ-sa ma-sai-ŋa 'hara hara tha-Ø-du?' thoŋi*
 after work do-INF NEG-know-CNS what what be-SAS-NPT old.woman
waraŋi-Ø-an.
 shiver-SAS-3S/PT

Later, not knowing how to work [such fields], 'what on earth will happen?' the old lady thought, and shivered [in fear].

In the non-preterite, the verb *tha-sa* 'to be' may also refer to future time and is best translated into English as 'will be' or 'will become', as illustrated by examples 15 and 16 below.

- 15 *gai-go ca-ye bore loŋ-ŋa-be, gai wari-ko*
 I-GEN son-ERG marriage do-CNS-TOP I daughter.in.law-GEN
aji tha-ŋa-du.
 mother.in.law be-1S-NPT

If my son gets married, then I will be his wife's mother-in-law.

- 16 *nany-e ka wakhe ŋisen-si-na-n-be, naŋ jekha mi tha-na-du.*
 you-ERG this word teach-REF-2S-PT-TOP you big person be-2S-NPT

If you learn this stuff, then you will be an important person.

But the verb *tha-sa* 'to be' does not always refer to future time, it can also indicate a sense of 'being in a place' or 'residing', as in example 17.

- 17 *di-gore dese-te nis-ka bubu humi thay-ey-du.*
 one-CLF village-LOC two-HNC elder.brother younger.sister be-PAS-NPT

In a certain village there live two people, a brother and his younger sister.

The verb *tha-sa* 'to be' may also occur with the negative prefix <ma-> (NEG), as in examples 18 and 19 below. Used at the end of an interrogative sentence, *ma-tha* (NEG-be) 'is not' means 'isn't it?' or 'isn't that so?', rather like Nepali *hoina ra*. This sense is illustrated by examples 20 and 21 below.

- 18 *'naŋ habi jekha mi tha-ko mai-Ø-thyo, yaŋ ka*
 you before big person be-ADH must-SAS-3sCOND today throughout
ma-tha-na-n.'
 NEG-be-2s-PT

'You should have been an important person by now, but until today you haven't become one.'

- 19 *gai-gai ari ma-tha-ŋa-n, ma-ari-ŋa-n woi.*
 I-PM fear NEG-be-1s-PT NEG-be.afraid-1s-PT also

I wasn't afraid, no, I wasn't scared at all.

- 20 *ama sumaka hok-Ø-an, 'ama, to ni-ko apa ma-tha?'*
 mother silent be-SAS-3S/PT mother that we-GEN father NEG-be

Mother fell silent, 'mother, isn't he our father?' [the son asked].

- 21 *naŋ-ko apa arkapole-ko guru hok-Ø-thyo, ma-tha?*
 you-GEN father walnut.tree-GEN shaman be-SAS-3sCOND NEG-be

Your father was the shaman of Walnut Tree [village], wasn't he?

When referring to the presence or existence of family members who are thought to be permanent and inalienable additions, Thangmi *tha-sa* 'to be' is best translated into English as 'to get, to have', as in examples 22 to 24. In the three examples below, the speaker is impressing upon the listener that there is no expectation that he will ever have less wives or children. Impermanent possession and temporary ownership, with an expectation of a change in the circumstances described, is conveyed using the verb *hok-sa* 'to be' and is illustrated by examples 46 and 47 below. Without the comitative postposition *nama* 'with', the verbs *tha-sa* and *hok-sa* 'to be' may only be used to convey possession or ownership of non-portable or immovable objects. The involvement of the comitative postposition *nama* 'with' indicates portability or mobility, as illustrated in Section §4.2 of Chapter 5.

- 22 *nan to-ko nis-ka apraca uma thay-ey-an.*
 now that-GEN two-HNC good wife be-pAS-3S/PT

Now he has two beautiful wives.

- 23 *di-ka mi-ko sum-ka uma thay-ey-du.*
 one-HNC person-GEN three-HNC wife be-pAS-NPT

There's a man who got himself three wives.

- 24 *libi to-bay-ko no-ka ca no-ka camai thay-ey-an.*
 after that-Pp-GEN seven-GEN son seven-GEN daughter be-pAS-3S/PT

They went on to have seven sons and seven daughters.

A common use of the verb *tha-sa* 'to be' in combination with *beryaŋ* 'time' conveys the meaning 'when...was...', as in examples 25 to 28 below. In combination with *beryaŋ* 'time', the verb *tha-sa* 'to be' occurs only in the non-preterite.

- 25 *gai nis tha-ŋa-du beryaŋ, gai-go apa siy-Ø-an.*
 I two be-1S-NPT that.time I-GEN father die-SAS-3S/PT

When I was two, my father died.

- 26 *'naŋ-kai gǎ-ye ucyaca tha-na-du beryaŋ ni-na-ŋa-du.'*
 you-PM I-ERG small be-2S-NPT that.time see-2S-1S-NPT

'I saw you when you were very small' [she said].

- 27 *to-bay ucyaca thay-ey-du beryaŋ, to-bay-ko apa ama*
 that-Pp small be-pAS-NPT that.time that-Pp-GEN father mother
siy-ey-an.
 die-pAS-3S/PT

When they were young, their father and mother had died.

- 28 *baŋthe syaŋ aŋaŋ tha-Ø-du beryaŋ, nis-ka mi to-ko*
 tomorrow period light be-SAS-NPT that.time two-HNC person that-GEN
nem-te jekha mi-ye thoh-Ø-u-no, to-bany-e
 house-LOC big person-ERG send-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-Pp-ERG
yoy-ey-no, nis-ka apraca uma, di-gore du niy-ey-no.
 look.at-pAS-3→3/PT two-HNC good wife one-CLF tiger see-pAS-3→3/PT

The next day, when it was light, the chief sent out two men to his house to have a look [around], and they saw two beautiful women and a tiger.

1.2 The verb *hok-sa*

The Thangmi verb *hok-sa* 'to be' occurs more frequently than the verb *tha-sa* 'to be'. Usually translated as 'to sit' or 'to have', *hok-sa* 'to be' covers the descriptive, existential, attributive and locational senses of English 'to be', and is commonly translated into Nepali using the *cha* paradigm base which is derived from the infinitive, *chanu* 'to be'. As an existential verb, *hok-sa* 'to be' indicates the availability or existence of an entity or situation in a specific form, as in examples 29 to 32 below. In the examples below, a corresponding Nepali verb form is also provided.

- 29 *naleŋ gai-go nem-te oli-ka hok-i-du.*
 present I-GEN house-LOC four-HNC be-1pPS-NPT
 At present there are four of us in my house.
 (Nepali ... *hāmī ahile cārjanā chaū*)
- 30 *to uniŋ nembo mi-pali woi nama hok-eŋ-du.*
 that like other.person person-p also with be-pAS-NPT
 There are other people like her with whom she lives.
 (Nepali ... *arke pani chan*)
- 31 *di-gore dese ka uniŋ hok-Ø-du: di uni ka*
 one-CLF village this like be-SAS-NPT one day throughout
raŋ to-le woi, nyoŋi bāsinte cya-sa
 unirrigated.field dig-PCL also evening morning eat-INF
ma-khalam, cya-sa ma-gap.
 NEG-receive eat-INF NEG-be.enough
 There is a village which is like this: Even if the fields are worked all day,
 there is not enough food to eat in both the morning and evening.
 (Nepali ... *yo jastai cha*)
- 32 *'naŋ-ko demca cabu-sa hok-Ø-du ra?' 'hok-Ø-du.'*
 you-GEN load carry-INF be-SAS-NPT or be-SAS-NPT
 'Do you have a load to carry or not?' 'I do.'
 (Nepali ... *timro bhārī boknu cha ki?*)

In its negated existential form, the verb *hok-sa* 'to be' indicates the unavailability or non-existence of a thing or person, as in examples 33 to 35 below.

- 33 *bophura, to-ko nem ma-hok.*
 pity that-GEN house NEG-be
 Pity on him, he doesn't have a home.
- 34 *ni-kai-guri hok-Ø-du ra ma-hok?*
 we-PM-IND be-SAS-NPT or NEG-be
 Is there any for us or not?
- 35 *'nan ahe mi kyel-sa-kai cya-sa ma-hok, hara loŋ-sa*
 now many person bring-INF-PM eat-INF NEG-be what do-INF
hu?'
 younger.brother
 'But we don't have enough food to bring to that many people, what can we
 do younger brother?'

As an attributive verb 'to be', *hok-sa* is used to describe or ascribe an attribute or trait to a subject. In such instances, the predicate commonly contains an adjective or noun with a strongly evaluative or descriptive meaning, as in examples 36 to 38 below.

- 36 *e bubu, apraca hok-Ø-du?*
 oh elder.brother fine be-SAS-NPT
 Oh elder brother, is everything OK?
- 37 *kyel-Ø-ta-le ŋa-Ø-ŋa-n, 'naŋ-ko name apraca hok-Ø-du,*
 come-SAS-IPP-PCL say-SAS-1s-PT you-GEN name good be-SAS-NPT
nany-e gai-gai bore loŋ-aŋ!'
 you-ERG I-PM marriage do-s→1s/IMP
 Having come, she said to me, 'you have a nice name, marry me!'
- 38 *'hara-ko ŋila? adum hok-Ø-du', to woi 'jet loŋ-sa ŋhai-te*
 what-GEN cold warm be-SAS-NPT that also work do-INF place-LOC
naka thapu hok-Ø-du, to-te me cyaŋaŋ-si-ŋa-du'
 new fireplace be-SAS-NPT that-LOC fire soak.up-REF-1s-NPT
ŋah-Ø-u-no.
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
 'Why would I be cold? I am warm', she said, adding, 'in the place that I
 work there is a new heater and I warm myself by it'.

In its negated attributive form, the verb *hok-sa* 'to be' indicates the lack of a trait or attribute of a thing or person, as in examples 39 to 41 below.

- 39 *'naleŋ, gai-go maŋ woi apraca ma-hok.'*
present I-GEN body also good NEG-be

'And at present, my body is no good anyway.'

- 40 *gai sarma ma-hok.*
I strong NEG-be

I'm not strong.

- 41 *di uni, ca-kai dese mi-ye ŋey-eŋ-du 'apa*
one day son-PM village person-ERG beat-pAS-NPT father
ma-hok-Ø-du ca' ŋay-eŋ-du, rage let-Ø-du.
NEG-be-SAS-NPT son say-pAS-NPT anger appear-SAS-NPT

One day, the villagers beat the son, calling him 'a father-less son' and he gets angry.

As a locational verb 'to be', *hok-sa* situates a subject in a specific place. Examples 42 to 45 below illustrate negated and non-negated locational verb forms.

- 42 *ma-thaŋ-Ø-du mi-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no, 'kuta hok-Ø-du?*
NEG-be.well-SAS-NPT person-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT where be-SAS-NPT
gai-gai ŋa-ŋa! gai-go ca-pali sarma sarma hok-eŋ-du,
I-PM say-s→1s/IMP I-GEN son-p strong strong be-pAS-NPT
to-bany-e kyel-eŋ-du thaŋun'.
that-Pp-ERG bring-pAS-NPT maybe

Then the ill person said, 'where is this place? Tell me! My sons are young and strong and perhaps they can bring it [the fruit]'.

- 43 *libi kari kariy-Ø-u-du: 'gai ka nem-te-ko ca tha-ŋa-du,*
 after song sing-SAS-3P-NPT I this house-LOC-GEN son be-1s-NPT
gai-gai sat-ta-ŋa-le, raŋ cya-sa daŋ-Ø-u-du mi
 I-PM kill-IPP-1s-PCL unirrigated.field eat-INF search-SAS-3P-NPT person
ka-te hok-Ø-du'.
 this-LOC be-SAS-NPT

Thereafter he sings a song: 'I am the son of this household, the person who tried to kill me and steal [lit. eat] my land is here'.

- 44 *'naŋ ka-te hok-na-du, ni-kai thaha ma-hok.'*
 you this-LOC be-2s-NPT we-PM knowledge NEG-be

'We didn't know that you were living here [in this area]' [she said].

- 45 *duŋ-ŋaŋ ma-hok, priŋ-te hok-Ø-du thaŋun.*
 within-inside NEG-be outside-LOC be-SAS-NPT maybe

She's not inside, perhaps she is outside.

The Thangmi verb *hok-sa* 'to be' can also convey impermanent possession or temporary ownership of non-portable or immovable entities, in which case the verb is best translated as 'to have' or 'to own', as in examples 46 and 47 below. The involvement of the comitative postposition *nama* 'with' indicates portability or mobility, as illustrated in Section §4.2 of Chapter 5 and also by example 48 below.

- 46 *gai-go nem nis-gore hok-Ø-du.*
 I-GEN house two-CLF be-SAS-NPT

I have two houses.

- 47 *jekha bubu-ko sum-ka camai hok-eŋ-du, ca ma-hok.*
 big elder.brother-GEN three-HNC daughter be-pAS-NPT son NEG-be

My eldest brother has three daughters but no son.

- 48 *'naleŋ gai dikaca hok-ŋa-du, naleŋ isa-ye karāi-ŋa-n, naŋ nama*
 present I alone be-1s-NPT present food-INS shout-1s-PT you with
hara woi hok-Ø-du, ra? gai-gai pi-ŋa!'
 what also be-SAS-NPT or I-PM give-s→1s/IMP

'At present I am all alone here, and now I am hungry, do you have any food with you? If so, give me some!' [the elder brother said].

Finally, the verb *hok-sa* ‘to be’ can also be used to indicate the physical act of sitting or resting in a specific location, as illustrated by examples 49 to 51 below.

- 49 *gai jet loŋ-to-le hok-ŋa-du.*
 I work go-TPP-PCL be-1s-NPT
 I will sit down after having worked.
- 50 *ni nem-te hok-i-du.*
 we house-LOC be-1pPS-NPT
 We are sitting at home.
- 51 *piriŋ hok-i-n, libi to bubu-ye di-gore jet*
 outside be-1pPS-PT after that elder.brother-ERG one-CLF work
loŋ-Ø-u-no.
 do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
 We had been sitting outside for a while, and then elder brother did something.

2. The verb ‘to be okay’

The Thangmi verb *ja-sa* ‘to be okay’ occurs as an interjection of agreement meaning ‘fine, okay, alright’, as illustrated by examples 52 to 55 below. The Thangmi verb *ja-sa* ‘to be okay’ is not a verb ‘to be’, and is therefore glossed as ‘to be okay’. The commonly heard third person singular affirmative form *ja-Ø-du* (okay-SAS-NPT) ‘okay’ is translated by Nepali *huncha*, while the corresponding third person singular negative form *ma-ja* (NEG-okay) translates as Nepali *hundaina*.

- 52 *gǎ-ye ‘ja-Ø-du’ ŋah-u-n-uŋ, gǎ-ye hara jet loŋ-sa,*
 I-ERG okay-SAS-NPT say-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT I-ERG what work do-INF
kuta hen-sa?
 where go-INF
 I said ‘okay’, [and I thought] what kind of work will I do, where will I end up going? (Nepali *maile huncha bhannē ...*)
- 53 *‘nan ka huca-kai ja-Ø-du’, ŋah-Ø-u-no.*
 now this child-PM okay-SAS-NPT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
 ‘Now this child will be okay’, he said.
 (Nepali *aba yo bābu fīhik huncha ...*)

- 54 'naŋ gai nama hok-ta-na-le, thaŋmi kham loŋ-ko,
 you I with be-IPP-2s-PCL Thangmi language do-ADH
 ja-Ø-du ra ma-ja?'
 okay-SAS-NPT or NEG-okay

'When you and I are sitting [working] together, let us speak the Thangmi language, is that okay or not?' [he asked]. (Nepali ... *huncha ki hundaina?*)

- 55 'yaŋ jah-Ø-an ra ma-jah-Ø-an', isi-Ø-ta-le
 today okay-SAS-3S/PT or NEG-okay-SAS-3S/PT say-SAS-IPP-PCL
 isiy-i-n.
 say-1pPS-PT

'Is she feeling any better today?', he asked us.

In its negated form, the verb *ja-sa* 'to be okay' functions as a prohibitive with the meaning 'to be not okay' or 'to must not...', as in examples 56 to 58 below.

- 56 yaŋ naŋ piriŋ hen-sa ma-ja, nem thil-ko mai-Ø-du.
 today you outside go-INF NEG-okay house paint-ADH must-SAS-NPT
 Today you mustn't go out, we must paint the house.

- 57 ka isa boro uniŋ man-to-le cya-sa ma-ja.
 this food cooked.rice like knead-TPP-PCL eat-INF NEG-okay.
 This food should not be kneaded in the manner that one eats cooked rice.

- 58 di uni bubu-ye ŋa-Ø-ŋa-n, 'nan ni bajareŋ cya-ko
 one day elder.brother-ERG say-SAS-1s-PT now we tobacco eat-ADH
 ma-ja'.
 NEG-okay

One day, my elder brother said to me, 'now we really shouldn't smoke'.

3. The verb 'to appear'

The transitive verb *ni-sa* 'to see' has the meaning 'to appear' when conjugated intransitively. Thangmi speakers suggest that when describing something with a pleasant taste, it is correct to say *asare ni-Ø-du* (tasty appear-SAS-NPT) 'it's tasty' and incorrect to use *hok-sa* 'to be'. The construction *asare ni-Ø-du* is illustrated by examples 59 to 61 below. In many verbal scenarios, *ni-Ø-du* (appear-SAS-NPT) conveys the sense of 'with' or 'containing', like Nepali *bhaeko*, as in examples 62 to

64. The common third person singular intransitive form *ni-Ø-du* (appear-SAS-NPT) is an archaic vestige in modern vernacular Thangmi.

- 59 *oste-ko camai-kai-guri asare ni-Ø-du cya-sa*
 self-GEN daughter-PM-IND tasty appear-SAS-NPT eat-INF
piy-Ø-u-thyo kiji-kai-guri ma-yah-Ø-u-thyo.
 give-SAS-3P-3sCOND blackie-PM-IND NEG-feed-SAS-3P-3sCOND

She [mother] would give her own daughter tasty things to eat, but would not feed Blackie.

- 60 *libi nem-te hen-sa beryañ, ‘humi, honce asare*
 after house-LOC go-INF that.time younger.sister early.evening taste
ni-Ø-du isa ken ci-min-o!’ ñah-Ø-u-du.
 appear-SAS-NPT food vegetable.curry CAUS-ripen-s→3/IMP say-SAS-3P-NPT

And later, when it’s time to come home, he says, ‘younger sister, prepare a tasty meal this evening!’

- 61 *ubo mi-ko mañai asare ni-Ø-du isiy-eñ-du.*
 white person-GEN bread tasty appear-SAS-NPT say-pAS-NPT

They say that white man’s bread is tasty.

- 62 *‘ka jet loñ-sa-kai, di-gore ñiñ-ñiñ jire ni-Ø-du*
 this work do-INF-PM one-CLF red comb.of.cockerel appear-SAS-NPT
gare ñañ di kulin toñ rah-o!’ ña-Ø-ñan.
 rooster and one earthenware.vessel beer bring-s→3/IMP say-SAS-1s-PT

‘To cure her, you must bring a cockerel with a red comb and an earthenware vessel filled with beer!’, he said to me.

- 63 *libi asa ni-Ø-du bañi-te biy-Ø-an, asa*
 after oil appear-SAS-NPT pot-LOC enter-SAS-3S/PT oil
mañ-ko mus-te thum-Ø-an, dorok-ca ra-Ø-ta-le
 body-GEN hair-LOC stain-SAS-3S/PT run-PSG come.from.level-SAS-IPP-PCL
adum bañi-te biy-Ø-an.
 hot pot-LOC enter-SAS-3S/PT

Then he dived into a pot containing oil, the oil stuck to hair on his body, and he came running back [home] and dived into the hot pot.

- 64 *nem-te* *ya-let-eŋ-ta-le* *uma-kai piy-eŋ-no*
 house-LOC go-appear-pAS-IPP-PCL wife-PM give-pAS-3→3/PT
 uma-ye woi asare ni-Ø-du *cici ci-min-Ø-u-no.*
 wife-ERG also tasty appear-sAS-NPT meat CAUS-ripen-sAS-3P-3→3/PT

Having arrived back home, they gave the meat to the wife, and she cooked it so that it was tasty.

Example 65 below contains examples of the Thangmi verb *hoksa* ‘to be’ alongside the verbs *ni-sa* ‘to appear’ and *ja-sa* ‘to be okay’ in one short sentence.

- 65 *mosani ni-Ø-du* *thai-te* *mi* *hok-sa* *ma-ja.*
 spirit appear-sAS-NPT place-LOC person be-INF NEG-okay

People shouldn’t stay in a place inhabited by spirits.

4. The infinitive

morph: <-sa>
 label: INF

The Thangmi infinitive is formed by adding the infinitival ending <-sa> (INF) to a verb stem. An infinitive can function as a verbal noun, as the verbal complement of a finite verb, or even as the main verb of a sentence. As a verbal noun, a Thangmi infinitive may take the role of a *nomen concretum* or a *nomen actionis*. Examples of the former include the verb *ta-sa* ‘to release, deposit, evacuate’, which when used as a noun denotes the anus or buttocks, and the verb *tho-sa* ‘to send up’, which as a noun denotes plant shoots. The use of a Thangmi infinitive as a *nomen concretum*, as in examples 66 and 67 below, is reminiscent of Dumi (van Driem 1993a: 267).

- 66 *bu-si-sa* *kuta* *hok-Ø-du?*
 cover-REF-INF where be-sAS-NPT

Where are the covers? [lit. where’s the thing to cover myself?]

- 67 *to-ko* *cya-sa* *ahe* *hok-Ø-thyo.*
 that-GEN eat-INF much be-sAS-3sCOND

She had lots of things to eat.

Equally reminiscent of Dumi and Nepali is the Thangmi practice of using an infinitive adnominally to function as a modifier, as in example 68 below, which can

be various translated as ‘a rice-cooking pot’, ‘a pot for cooking rice in’ or ‘a pot in which to cook rice’.

- 68 *isa uman-sa baŋi.*
 food cook-INF pot

Rice-cooking pot.

Other adnominal uses of the Thangmi infinitive include *jet loŋ-sa mi* (work do-INF person) ‘worker, helper, slave’ (lit. ‘a person who works’) as in examples 69 and 70 below, *hok-sa ʔhai* (be-INF place) ‘resting place, bed’ (lit. ‘a place to be’) as in example 71 below, and *dewa yo-sa mi* (god look.at-INF person) ‘worshipper’ (lit. ‘a person who looks at god’) illustrated by example 72 below.

- 69 *gai ari-sa ma-mai-thyo, to nama jet loŋ-sa mi*
 I be.afraid-INF NEG-must-3sCOND that with work do-INF person
ma-hok-Ø-thyo.
 NEG-be-SAS-3sCOND

I needn’t have been afraid, since he simply didn’t have anyone to work with.

- 70 *‘hara jet loŋ-u-na-du?’ ‘jet loŋ-sa mi tha-ŋa-du, demca*
 what work do-3P-2s-NPT work do-INF person be-1s-NPT load
cabuh-u-n-du.’
 carry-3P-1s→3-NPT

‘What work do you do?’ ‘I am a working man, I carry loads.’

- 71 *to-ye woi, ‘ja-Ø-du’ ŋah-Ø-u-no, hok-sa ʔhai*
 that-ERG also okay-SAS-NPT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT be-INF place
piy-i-n.
 give-1pPS-PT

And that person said, ‘okay’ and gave us a place to stay.

- 72 *athan sat-wa-du-be, dewa yo-sa mi kyel-Ø-ta-le*
 light kill-1p→23-NPT-TOP god look.at-INF person come-SAS-IPP-PCL
ni-kai ci-let-i-n.
 we-PM CAUS-appear-1pPS-PT

But even though we extinguished the light, a worshipper coming to the temple saw us and dragged us out.

The Thangmi infinitive ending <-sa> (INF) also functions as a verbal complement of a finite form. In such cases, the infinitive is found as an object in verbal constructions expressing a preference or state, accompanied by *ali-sa* ‘to like’ (examples 73 and 74 below), *dum-sa* ‘to finish’ (example 75 below), *thaŋ-sa* ‘to be able’ (examples 76 and 77 below), *gap-sa* ‘to be enough’ (example 78 below) and *ja-sa* ‘to be okay’ (example 57 above).

- 73 *gai-gai nui-sa ali-ŋa-n.*
I-PM laugh-INF like-1s-PT

I like laughing.

- 74 *gai thaŋmi kham ciyaŋ-sa ali-ŋa-n.*
I Thangmi language speak-INF like-1s-PT

I like to speak the Thangmi language.

- 75 *naŋ kapu ɖi-si-sa dum-u-na-n ra?*
you head comb-REF-INF finish-3P-2s-PT or

Have you finished combing your hair?

- 76 *wa per-sa ma-thaŋ.*
chicken fly-INF NEG-be.able

Chickens can’t fly.

- 77 *to-ko koŋɕe tor-Ø-ta-le cawa-sa ma-thaŋ.*
that-GEN leg break-SAS-IPP-PCL walk-INF NEG-be.able

His leg is broken and he can’t walk. [Because his leg is broken, he can’t walk]

- 78 *naŋ-kai ami-sa gap-na-n?*
you-PM sleep-INF be.enough-2s-PT

Have you slept enough? [Have you had enough sleep?]

Negative infinitive constructions are also attested, as in examples 79 and 80 below.

- 79 *hen-ko, hara-kai ma-hen-sa? naŋ-ko pepelek ma-hok-Ø-ta-le*
 go-ADH what-PM NEG-go-INF you-GEN money NEG-be-sAS-IPP-sAS-PCL
hara tha-Ø-du? naŋ cya-na-du sola-ko pepelek gǎ-ye
 what be-sAS-NPT you eat-2s-NPT snack-GEN money I-ERG
piy-u-n-du.
 give-3P-1s→3-NPT

Come on, let's go, why would you not go? What does it matter that you have no money? Whatever snack you eat I'll pay for.

- 80 *tete-ye kerep-Ø-ta-le ŋah-Ø-u-no, 'hu, habi*
 elder.sister-ERG cry-IPP-PCL say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT younger.brother before
gǎ-ye ma-loŋ-sa jet loŋ-u-n-uŋ, gai ma-sai-ŋa-n,
 I-ERG NEG-do-INF work do-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT I NEG-know-1s-PT
nan-guri ma-loŋ, hu ra-Ø!'
 now-IND NEG-do younger.brother come.from.level-s/IMP

Crying, elder sister said, 'younger brother, before I did something that I shouldn't have done, I wasn't thinking, but now I won't do it, please come back younger brother!'

In combination with *beryaŋ* 'time', the Thangmi infinitive <-sa> (INF) conveys the meaning 'time to...', as in examples 81 and 82 below and 60 above.

- 81 *nem thil-sa beryaŋ hyawasa-ŋaŋ ubo nasak,*
 house paint-INF that.time upper.part-inside white earth
nhawasa-ŋaŋ ɖiŋ-ɖiŋ nasak-e thil-eŋ-du.
 lower.part-inside red earth-INS paint-pAS-NPT

When it's time to paint a house, they paint the upper with white earth and the lower with red.

- 82 *ami-sa beryaŋ 'nan baŋe su-ko jet ya-ta-ŋa-le,*
 sleep-INF that.time now tomorrow who-GEN work go-IPP-1s-PCL
cya-sa khalam-u-n-du thaŋun?', ŋa-to-le kapu-te lak
 eat-INF receive-3P-1s→3-NPT maybe say-TPP-PCL head-LOC hand
na-to-le amiy-eŋ-du.
 put-TPP-PCL sleep-PAS-NPT

When it's time to sleep, they put their hands to their heads thinking, 'now, where will I work tomorrow and will I get anything to eat?', and in this way they fall asleep.

The Thangmi infinitive may also function as a *nomen actionis*, in a manner similar to that recorded for Dumi (van Driem 1993a: 267), Kulung (Tolsma 1999: 110) and Wambule (Opgenort 2002: 325). Examples 83 and 84 below illustrate the *nomen actionis* in Thangmi.

- 83 *ka ci-sa-kai 'saŋa-ko puya thu-sa' ŋay-eŋ-du.*
 that throw.away-INF-PM millet-GEN seed weed-INF say-PAS-NPT

This process of throwing away [the weeds] is known as 'weeding the millet'.

- 84 *nembo-ko dese-ŋaŋ ya-ta-ŋa-le, ŋiŋ cabu-sa jet*
 other.person-GEN village-inside go-IPP-1s-PCL stone carry-INF work
loŋ-u-n-uŋ.
 do-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT

Going to distant villages, I worked carrying stones.

Other commonly occurring constructions involving the infinitive ending <-sa> (INF) in its quality as a nominal constituent include Σ -sa *habi* 'before Σ -ing' (as in examples 85 and 86 below) and the infinitive suffix in combination with the individuating and topic markers, <-guri> (IND) and <-be> (TOP), as in examples 87 to 90 below. In Thangmi, the construction 'after Σ -ing' is formed using the connector suffix <-ŋa> (CNS) and the lexical item *libi* 'after', as discussed in Section §16 below, and not with the infinitive ending <-sa> (INF).

- 85 *nem-te hen-sa habi, gai-gai chuku-ye cabu-Ø-ηa-n,*
 house-LOC go-INF before I-PM father.in.law-ERG carry-SAS-1s-PT
uma-kai aji-ye cabu-to-le hen-i-n.
 wife-PM mother.in.law-ERG carry-TPP-PCL take-1pPS-PT

Before going home, I was carried by my father-in-law and my wife was carried by my mother-in-law [her mother], and in this way we were taken.

- 86 *racya peñe-sa habi, pebu-ηaη paηku*
 paddy plant-INF before irrigated.field-inside water
jamai-to-le seŋu-ye wa-to-le apraca loη-ko
 gather.together-TPP-PCL plough-INS plough-TPP-PCL good do-ADH
mai-Ø-du.
 must-SAS-NPT

Before the paddy is planted, water is gathered in the field and it should be well ploughed.

- 87 *raη pebu cya-sa-guri di-ka woi*
 unirrigated.field irrigated.field eat-INF-IND one-HNC also
ma-hok-Ø-thyo.
 NEG-be-SAS-3sCOND

There was no one to eat the food that grew in their fields.

- 88 *hok-sa-guri, nembo-ko di-gore nem-te hok-eη-du.*
 be-INF-IND other.person-GEN one-CLF house-LOC be-pAS-NPT

As for living, well they live together in someone else's house.

- 89 *'naη-kai hen-sa-be hen-u-n-du, naη-ko huca-pali hara*
 you-PM take-INF-TOP take-3P-1s→3-NPT you-GEN child-p what
loη-sa?'
 do-INF

'Of course I'll take you, but what shall we do with your kids?'

- 90 *loŋe-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no, 'gai ma-let, ka uniŋ ʈhai-te*
 jackal-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT I NEG-appear this like place-LOC
hok-sa-be jekha mi tha-ko mai-Ø-du'.
 be-INF-TOP big person be-ADH must-SAS-NPT

And the jackal replied, 'I'm not coming out, you have to be a really important person to live in a place like this'.

In common with many of Nepal's other languages, Thangmi has an expression to mean 'what can be done' which is constructed using the infinitive ending <-sa> (INF). This rhetorical question, *hara loŋ-sa* (what do-INF) 'what to do', is as common in colloquial Thangmi as *ke garne* 'what to do' is in conversational Nepali. Example 91 below illustrates the point.

- 91 *gai ra-sa-be ra-ŋa-thyo, tara gai nama*
 I come.from.level-INF-TOP come.from.level-1s-3sCOND but I with
naleŋ pepelek ma-hok, hara loŋ-sa, ya-ŋu ra ma-ya-ŋu?
 present money NEG-be what do-INF go-PERM or NEG-go-PERM

I would love to come, but I don't have any money with me now, what to do, should I go or not?

5. The supine

The Thangmi supine is formed by suffixing the patient marker <-kai ~ -gai> (PM) to the infinitival ending <-sa> (INF), conveying the meaning 'in order to'. The supine expresses intent or purpose, and generally translates as an infinitive. In Nepali, the patient marker *-lār* is used with verbal infinitives in a manner similar to Thangmi <-kai ~ -gai> (PM) to convey supine meaning. While there is no Thangmi supine as such, the infinitive is used as a supine in combination with the patient marker to communicate the sense of 'in order to'.

While the Thangmi patient marker <-kai ~ -gai> (PM) is obligatory with transitive supine constructions, the patient marker is optional in intransitive constructions, as illustrated by examples 92 to 97 below. The relationship of the supine to Thangmi nominal morphology is discussed in Chapter 5, Section §4.3.

- 92 *to naŋ-kai cek-sa-kai rah-Ø-an.*
 that you-PM bite-INF-PM come.from.level-SAS-3S/PT

He has come to bite you.

- 93 *chya ra-sa-kai ya-ŋa-du.*
salt bring-INF-PM go-1s-NPT

I'm going to get some salt.

- 94 *to nembo-ko pebu-te sya wa-sa-kai*
that other.person-GEN unirrigated.field-LOC bovine plough-INF-PM
yah-Ø-an ŋa.
go-SAS-3S/PT REP

They say that he has gone to plough someone else's fields.

- 95 *gai ami-sa ya-ŋa-du.*
I sleep-INF go-1s-NPT

I'm going to sleep.

- 96 *gai isa cya-sa ra-ŋa-du.*
I food eat-INF come.from.level-1s-NPT

I'm coming to eat.

- 97 *to mi 'thangmi wakhe ŋisen-si-sa ra-ŋa-du'*
that person Thangmi word teach-REF-INF come.from.level-1s-NPT
ŋa-to-le ŋah-Ø-u-du, gǎ-ye nasaiy-u-n-uŋ.
say-TPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-NPT I-ERG hear-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT

I had heard that this man had said, 'I have come to learn the Thangmi language'.

An affirmative supine construction can be negated using the Thangmi negative morpheme <-ma> (NEG), as in example 98 below.

- 98 *racya-ko pebu-yiŋ paŋku piriŋ hen-sa ma-pi-sa-kai*
paddy-GEN irrigated.field-ABL water outside go-INF NEG-give-INF-PM
pebu-ko kherte nasa na-ko mai-Ø-du.
irrigated.field-GEN near mud put-ADH must-SAS-NPT

In order to not let the water in the rice paddy run out, the sides of the terrace [lit. close mud] must be built up.

Thangmi infinitival forms are widely used in complex verbal constructions, as in example 99 below. Example 35 above, on the other hand, illustrates three functions of the infinitival ending <-sa> (INF) in one sentence.

- 99 *ka jet loŋ-sa ma-thaŋ-sa uniŋ hok-Ø-thyo.*
 this work do-INF NEG-be.able-INF like be-sAS-3sCOND

This was almost impossible work.

6. The imperative

In Thangmi, the imperative mood is used to convey requests, commands, orders, suggestions and instructions. Like the indicative verbal agreement system, Thangmi imperative forms must agree for person and number, and distinctions exist between the agreement morphology for intransitive and transitive paradigms. While intransitive imperatives agree only with the number of the subject, transitive imperatives agree with both the number of the agent and the person of the patient. As in Wambule, Thangmi imperatives are ‘paradigmatically distinct but formally and semantically...related to the agreement morphemes used in simplicia’ (Opgenort 2002: 307).

Person and subject pronouns are optional in Thangmi imperatival clauses, since the identity of the speaker or addressee is usually clear both from the context and from the verbal agreement morphology. Negative imperatives, also known as prohibitives, are used to express negative advice or prohibition. They are formed by prefixing the negative morpheme <ma-> (NEG) to the verb stem, and such forms result in a modified set of agreement suffixes which are discussed below. Table 70 shows the endings of affirmative transitive imperatives.

TABLE 70. AFFIRMATIVE TRANSITIVE IMPERATIVE MORPHEMES

agent	patient		
	1s	1p	3
2s	-aŋ ~ -ŋa	-se	-o
2p	-ne	-neŋ	-no

6.1 The singular to first person singular imperative morpheme

morph: <-aŋ ~ -ŋa>
 label: s→1s/IMP

The imperative morpheme <-aŋ ~ -ŋa> (s→1s/IMP) suffixes directly to the verb stem in all affirmative transitive imperative scenarios involving a second person singular agent and a first person singular patient. The allomorphic distribution is entirely

regular and follows Thangmi morphophonology, whereby <-aŋ> follows a closed stem verb and <-ŋa> follows an open stem, as outlined in Chapter 4. Examples 100 to 107 illustrate the imperative morpheme <-aŋ ~ -ŋa> (s→1s/IMP).

- 100 *gai-gai raksi pi-ŋa!*
 I-PM liquor give-s→1s/IMP
 Give me liquor!

- 101 *gai ya-ŋa libi, gai-gai ciŋŋhi ʰho-ŋa!*
 I go-CNS after I-PM letter send-s→1s/IMP
 Write to me after I've gone!

- 102 *'libi pi-ŋa! habi naŋ-ko jet loŋ-o!'* *ŋa-to-le*
 after give-s→1s/IMP first you-GEN work do-s→3/IMP say-TPP-PCL
ŋa-Ø-ŋa-n.
 say-sAS-1s-PT
 'Give it [the money] back later, first do your work!', he said to me.

- 103 *'gai-gai woi ka-te camai uniŋ loŋ-to-le na-ŋa,*
 I-PM also this-LOC daughter like do-TPP-PCL put-s→1s/IMP
bubu.'
 elder.brother
 'Put me to work here and let me be like a daughter for you, elder brother.'

- 104 *gai-go hu ucyaca tha-Ø-du beryaŋ, to soŋ-te*
 I-GEN younger.brother small be-sAS-NPT that.time that river-LOC
nampa-Ø-thyo. tyaŋ to soŋ-ŋaŋ ros-Ø-an, tyaŋ aŋtik-Ø-an
 play-sAS-3sCOND and that river-inside fall-sAS-3S/PT and call-sAS-3S/PT
'gai-gai sorot-aŋ!' *ŋa-Ø-ŋa-n, gǎ-ye ci-let-u-n-uŋ,*
 I-PM pull-s→1s/IMP say-sAS-1s-PT I-ERG CAUS-appear-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT
tyaŋ to mow-Ø-an.
 and that survive-sAS-3S/PT
 When my younger brother was young, he used to play by the river. Once he fell in and shouted 'pull me out!', so I pulled him out and he survived.

- 105 *konṭe-te gare hok-Ø-du? ja-Ø-du, gai-gai cikhet-aŋ!*
 leg-LOC wound be-SAS-NPT okay-SAS-NPT I-PM show-s→1s/IMP

Do you have a wound on your leg? Yes? Well then, show it to me!

- 106 *'guru, kyel-ta-na-le, gai-gai hara thah-Ø-an? mut-aŋ!'*
 shaman come-IPP-2s-PCL I-PM what be-SAS-PT blow-s→1s/IMP

'Oh shaman, you have come back [she said] 'what has happened to me?

Blow on me again!'

- 107 *dī-ka ma-sai-Ø-du mi to ulam-yiŋ*
 one-HNC NEG-know-SAS-NPT person that road-ABL
ra-Ø-thyo, loŋe-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no
 come.from.level-SAS-3sCOND jackal-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
'gai-gai jun-aŋ, bubu!'
 I-PM push-s→1s/IMP elder.brother

A rather stupid man [lit. unknowing] came walking along that road one day,
 and the jackal said to him, 'elder brother, give me a little push!'

6.2 The plural to first person singular imperative morpheme

morph: <-ne>
 label: p→1s/IMP

The imperative morpheme <-ne> (p→1s/IMP) suffixes directly to the verb stem in all affirmative transitive imperative scenarios involving a second person plural agent and a first person singular patient. Examples 108 to 111 below illustrate the use of the imperative morpheme <-ne> (p→1s/IMP).

- 108 *gai-be dikaca hen-sa ma-thaŋ, gai nama nis-ka mi*
 I-TOP alone go-INF NEG-be.able I with two-HNC person
ṭho-ne!
 send-p→1s/IMP

I am not able to go alone, send two people with me!

- 109 *'niny-e gai-gai jet ṭisen-ne, ja-Ø-du?'*
 you(p)-ERG I-PM work teach-p→1s/IMP okay-SAS-NPT

'You(p) teach me the work [I have to do], okay?'

- 110 *libi, oste-ko nis-ka ca urou-to-le, 'cijyaŋ-Ø-du paŋ*
 after self-GEN two-HNC son call-TPP-PCL speak-sAS-NPT sour.fruit
kyel-ne!' *ŋah-Ø-u-no, nis-ka hu-pali paŋ*
 bring-p→1s/IMP say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT two-HNC younger.brother-p sour.fruit
daŋ-sa caway-eŋ-an.
 search-INF walk-pAS-3S/PT

Then, calling his two sons, he [the father] said 'bring me this sour fruit!',
 and the two brothers set off to find the fruit.

- 111 *ʃhoŋi-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no, 'nan gai-gai cya-ne! cya-sa*
 old.woman-ERG say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT now I-PM eat-p→1s/IMP eat-INF
habi me-te uman-to-le cya-ŋa-be apraca tha-Ø-du'.
 before fire-LOC cook-TPP-PCL eat-CNS-TOP good be-sAS-NPT

The old woman said, 'now eat me! But before you do, cook me on the fire
 and I will taste much better'.

6.3 The singular to first person plural imperative morpheme

morph: <-se>
 label: s→1p/IMP

The imperative morpheme <-se> (s→1p/IMP) suffixes directly to the verb stem in all affirmative transitive imperative scenarios involving a second person singular agent and a first person plural patient. Examples 112 to 116 below illustrate the imperative morpheme <-se> (s→1p/IMP).

- 112 *ni-kai raksi pi-se!*
 we-PM liquor give-s→1p/IMP

Give us liquor!

- 113 *ni-kai ŋa-se!*
 we-PM say-s→1p/IMP

Tell us!

- 114 *e tete, ni-kai toŋ pi-se!*
 oh elder.sister we-PM beer give-s→1p/IMP

Oh elder sister, [please] give us some beer!

- 115 *naŋ isa cya-na-n ra ma-cya-na-n, ni-kai ŋa-se!*
 you food eat-2s-PT or NEG-eat-2s-PT we-PM say-s→1p/IMP
 Have you eaten or not? Tell us!

- 116 *ni-kai naŋ-ko kham ma-ra, ni-kai ʔisen-se!*
 we-PM you-GEN language NEG-come.from.level we-PM teach-s→1p/IMP
 We don't know your language, teach it to us!

6.4 The plural to first person plural imperative morpheme

morph: <-neŋ>
 label: p→1p/IMP

The imperative morpheme <-neŋ> (p→1p/IMP) suffixes directly to the verb stem in all affirmative transitive imperative scenarios involving a second person plural agent and a first person plural patient. Examples 117 and 118 below illustrate the imperative morpheme <-neŋ> (p→1p/IMP).

- 117 *niny-e ni-kai ami-sa ʔhai pi-neŋ!*
 you(p)-ERG we-PM sleep-INF place give-p→1p/IMP
 Give us a place to sleep!

- 118 *niŋ-kai koʔe ceŋ-sa ra-Ø-du? ni-kai*
 you(p)-PM wall build-INF come.from.level-sAS-NPT we-PM
cikhet-neŋ!
 show-p→1p/IMP
 Can you(p) build a wall? Show us!

6.5 The singular to third person imperative morpheme

morph: <-o>
 label: s→3/IMP

The imperative morpheme <-o> (s→3/IMP) suffixes directly to the verb stem in all affirmative transitive imperative scenarios involving a second person singular agent and a third person patient. Examples 119 to 122 below illustrate the imperative morpheme <-o> (s→3/IMP).

- 119 *nany-e to-kai piy-o!*
 you-ERG that-PM give-s→3/IMP

Give it to him!

- 120 *to-kai ηah-o!*
 that-PM say-s→3/IMP

Tell him!

- 121 *to-ban-kai ηah-o!*
 that-Pp-PM say-s→3/IMP

Tell them!

- 122 *to ucyapa-kai nan-ko name ηah-o!*
 that father's.younger.brother-PM you-GEN name say-s→3/IMP

Tell uncle your name!

6.6 The plural to third person imperative morpheme

morph: <-no>
 label: p→3/IMP

The imperative morpheme <-no> (p→3/IMP) suffixes directly to the verb stem in all affirmative transitive imperative scenarios involving a second person plural agent and a third person patient. Examples 123 to 126 below illustrate the imperative morpheme <-no> (p→3/IMP).

- 123 *ka jakcho niny-e phase ne-sa-kai hen-no!*
 this wheat you(p)-ERG flour grind-INF-PM take-p→3/IMP

You(p) take this wheat and grind it into flour!

- 124 *e ban-pali, to ama-kai bu-si-sa min pi-no!*
 oh friend-p that mother-PM cover-REF-INF cloth give-p→3/IMP

Oh friends, give that old lady something to wear!

- 125 *di-ka hu-ye ni-to-le, 'humi, ka-te*
 one-HNC younger.brother-ERG see-TPP-PCL younger.sister this-LOC
ra-Ø-ta-le, yo-no! nan ka-kai urou-ko!',
 come.from.level-sAS-IPP-PCL look.at-p→3/IMP now this-PM call-ADH
ηah-Ø-u-no.
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

One of the younger brothers, seeing her, said, 'look, all of you, our younger sister has come here, now we must call her to come!'

- 126 *wa-ye woi ηah-Ø-u-no 'was-pali let-ta-ni-le*
 chicken-ERG also say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT bee-p appear-IPP-2p-PCL
ka-baη-ko kapu-yiη cek-no!'
 this-Pp-GEN head-ABL bite-p→3/IMP

And the chicken said 'bees, come out, and sting those people from their heads down!'

6.7 The singular intransitive imperative morpheme

morph: <-a ~ -Ø>
 label: s/IMP

The imperative morpheme <-a ~ -Ø> (s/IMP) suffixes directly to the verb stem in all affirmative intransitive imperative scenarios involving a second person singular subject. The allomorphic distribution is entirely regular: The allomorph <-a> follows a closed stem verb while the zero morph <-Ø> follows an open stem. Examples 127 to 134 below illustrate the imperative morpheme <-a ~ -Ø> (s/IMP). Affirmative intransitive imperatival endings are presented in Table 71 below.

TABLE 71. AFFIRMATIVE INTRANSITIVE IMPERATIVE MORPHEMES

subject	
2s	-a ~ -Ø
2p	-ne

- 127 *poiri hok-a!*
 elder.brother's.wife be-s/IMP
 Oh sister-in-law, please be seated!
- 128 *naŋ oste paŋku lok-to-le tun-a!*
 you self water pour-TPP-PCL drink-s/IMP
 Pour the water yourself and drink it!
- 129 *'ma-tha, naŋ let-a! gai kutiriŋ-si-ŋa-du'.*
 NEG-be you appear-s/IMP I hang.up-REF-1s-NPT
 'No way, you come out! I am going to hang myself' [the stupid man said].
- 130 *'ja-Ø-du, yaŋ naŋ-ko lawa kyel-to-le kyel-a!'*,
 okay-sAS-NPT today you-GEN husband bring-TPP-PCL come-s/IMP
ŋah-Ø-u-no.
 say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT
 'Fine, so bring your husband here today!', he said.
- 131 *isa ma-cya woi ra-Ø! ni nis-ka dolkha-te*
 food NEG-eat also come.from.level-s/IMP we two-HNC Dolakhā-LOC
nama sola cya-ko.
 with snack eat-ADH
 Come without having eaten! Let's have a snack together in Dolakhā.
- 132 *naŋ-ko bubu nama bore-te ya-Ø!*
 you-GEN elder.brother with marriage-LOC go-s/IMP
 Go with your elder brother to the wedding!
- 133 *'naŋ mo-sa ali-na-du-be, ka-yiŋ cawa-Ø!'*, *jekha mi-ye*
 you live-INF like-2s-NPT-TOP this-ABL walk-s/IMP big person-ERG
ŋah-Ø-u-no.
 say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT
 'If you want to go on living, then get out of here now!', the big man said.

- 134 *‘tyaŋ ya-na-du-be, ka racya jakcho hen-o! kuta isa-ye*
 then go-2s-NPT-TOP this paddy wheat take-s→3/IMP where food-ERG
karăi-na-du, to-te cya-Ø!’, *ŋa-to-le, bu-si-sa miŋ woi*
 shout-2s-NPT that-LOC eat-s/IMP say-TPP-PCL cover-REF-INF cloth also
pi-to-le, thoh-Ø-u-no.
 give-TPP-PCL send-sAS-3P-3→3/PT

‘Well then, if you insist on going, then take this paddy and wheat and eat it when you get hungry!’, and with that she also gave him clothes to wear and sent him off.

6.8 The plural intransitive imperative morpheme

morph: <-ne>
 label: p/IMP

The imperative morpheme <-ne> (p/IMP) suffixes directly to the verb stem in all affirmative intransitive imperative scenarios involving a second person plural subject. The morpheme is cognate with the transitive imperative morpheme <-ne> (p→1s/IMP) which indexes the transitive relationship between a second person plural agent and a first person singular patient. Examples 135 to 137 below illustrate the intransitive imperative morpheme <-ne> (p/IMP).

- 135 *niŋ saŋa-ko isa-ko gogok cya-ne!*
 you(p) millet-GEN food-GEN burnt.flour.paste eat-p/IMP
 You(p) eat the burnt millet paste!

- 136 *niŋ soŋ-yiŋ ra-ne!*
 you(p) river-ABL come.from.level-p/IMP
 You(p) come back from the river!

- 137 *loŋe-ye sakalei du makar-pali-kai ŋah-Ø-u-no, ‘niŋ*
 jackal-ERG all tiger monkey-p-PM say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT you(p)
ra-ne!’
 come.from.level-p/IMP

The jackal said to the tiger and all of the monkeys, ‘you lot, come over here!’

The endings of Thangmi affirmative reflexive imperatives are presented in Table 72 below.

TABLE 72. AFFIRMATIVE REFLEXIVE IMPERATIVE MORPHEMES

subject	
2s	-se
2p	-si-ne

6.9 The reflexive imperative morpheme

morph:	<-se>
label:	s/REF/IMP

The imperative morpheme <-se> (s/REF/IMP) suffixes directly to the verb stem in all affirmative reflexive imperative scenarios involving a second person singular subject. The morpheme is cognate with the transitive imperative morpheme <-se> (s→1p/IMP) which indexes the transitive relationship between a second person singular agent and a first person plural patient. Examples 138 to 142 below illustrate the reflexive imperative morpheme <-se> (s/REF/IMP).

138 *mesek ti-se!*

eye close-s/REF/IMP

Close your eyes!

139 *naŋ soŋ-te oste uli-se!*

you river-LOC self wash-s/REF/IMP

Go wash yourself by the river!

140 *naŋ isa cya-sa habi, lak jek-se!*

you food eat-INF before hand wash-s/REF/IMP

Before eating your food, wash your hands!

141 *ca naŋ aŋthe kiji tha-na-n, oste paŋku lok-se!*

son you very black be-2s-PT self water pour-s/REF/IMP

Son, you are very dirty, pour some water on yourself!

142 *naŋ-ko lukusa kalaiy-Ø-an-be, maŋ chaŋ-se!*

you-GEN back hurt-sAS-3S/PT-TOP body stretch-s/REF/IMP

If your back hurts, then stretch your body!

Plural reflexive imperatives are marked by a combination of two morphemes: the standard indicative reflexive marker <-si> (REF) and the affirmative intransitive imperative marker for second person plural subject <-ne> (p/IMP). Examples 143 to 145 below illustrate plural reflexive imperatives using the verbal agreement morphemes <-si> (REF) and <-ne> (p/IMP).

- 143 *niŋ soŋ-te oste uli-si-ne!*
 you(p) river-LOC self wash-REF-p/IMP
 Go wash yourselves by the river!
- 144 *niŋ isa cya-sa habi, lak jek-si-ne!*
 you(p) food eat-INF before hand wash-REF-p/IMP
 Before eating your(p) food, wash your(p) hands!
- 145 *paŋku adum loŋ-to-le, niŋ oste lok-si-ne!*
 water hot do-TPP-PCL you(p) self pour-REF-p/IMP
 Having warmed the water, pour it on yourselves!

6.10 Negative imperatives

Transitive, intransitive and reflexive negative imperatives are formed using the negative prefix <ma-> (NEG) in combination with the appropriate affirmative imperative marker, apart from the singular intransitive negative imperative which is discussed in Section §6.11 below. Negative transitive imperatives are illustrated in examples 146 to 150, negative intransitive imperatives in examples 151 and 152, and the negative reflexive imperative is illustrated in example 153.

- 146 *gai-gai acyukuli ma-loŋ-aŋ!*
 I-PM tickle NEG-do-s→1s/IMP
 Don't tickle me!
- 147 *to-ko nis-gore lak sakpa-ye chyu-tuŋ-le nah-u-n-uŋ,*
 that-GEN two-CLF hand rope-INS tie-1s/TPP-PCL put-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT
kerep-Ø-an, 'gai-gai ma-ŋe-ŋa!' ŋa-to-le ŋa-Ø-ŋa-n.
 cry-sAS-3S/PT I-PM NEG-beat-s→1s/IMP say-TPP-PCL say-sAS-1s-PT
 I tied his hands together with rope and he cried out to me, saying, 'don't beat me!'

- 148 *'nan gai-gai ma-thi-ne! gai baŋkal cabu-le hok-ŋa-du,*
 now I-PM NEG-touch-p→1s/IMP I stomach carry-PCL be-1s-NPT
gai nembo-ko mi tha-ŋa-n, nan niŋ ya-ne!'
 I other.person-GEN person be-1s-PT now you(p) go-p/IMP

'Now you(p) please don't touch me! I am pregnant and I have become the woman of another man, please go now!'

- 149 *ma-piy-o.*
 NEG-give-s→3/IMP

Don't give.

- 150 *ka huca-pali aŋthe aŋtik-eŋ-le woi, niny-e to-baŋ-kai*
 this child-p much scream-pAS-PCL also you(p)-ERG that-Pp-PM
ma-ŋe-no!
 NEG-strike-p→3/IMP

However much the children scream, you(p) do not hit them!

- 151 *'niŋ ya-ne, ka-te ma-hok-ne!' ŋah-u-no, ŋaŋ ni to-te*
 you(p) go-p/IMP this-LOC NEG-be-p/IMP say-3P-3→3/PT and we that-LOC
ma-hok-tiniŋ caway-i-n.
 NEG-be-PFG walk-1pPS-PT

'You(p) must go, do not stay here!' he said, and so without having stayed, we left.

- 152 *bamŋi-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no, 'ma-kerep-ne, hara thah-Ø-an?*
 brahmin-ERG say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT NEG-cry-p/IMP what be-sAS-3S/PT
ŋa-ne!'
 say-p→1s/IMP

The Brahmin said, 'don't cry, what happened to you(p)? Tell me!'

- 153 *to camaica-kai ŋa-ko mai-Ø-du, lawa nama*
 that woman-PM say-ADH must-sAS-NPT husband with
ma-sorot-se!
 NEG-pull-s/REF/IMP

That woman must be told not to allow herself to be pulled by her husband so.

6.11 The singular intransitive negative imperative morpheme

morph:	<-e>
label:	s/NEG/IMP

The only negative imperative form which deviates from the system outlined above is the singular intransitive negative imperative which is marked by the morpheme <-e> (s/NEG/IMP) and which invariably co-occurs with the negative prefix <ma-> (NEG). The singular intransitive negative imperative marker is illustrated by examples 154 to 160 below.

- 154 *gai nama rage ma-thay-e!*
 I with anger NEG-be-s/NEG/IMP
 Don't get angry with me!

- 155 *baṭhe ma-ray-e, citabas*
 tomorrow NEG-come.from.level-s/NEG/IMP day.after.tomorrow
ra-Ø!
 come.from.level-s/IMP
 Don't come tomorrow, come the day after that!

- 156 *humi ṭaye let-sa ari-Ø-du, to-kai*
 younger.sister night appear-INF be.afraid-sAS-NPT that-PM
ma-cic-ariy-e!
 NEG-CAUS-be.afraid-s/NEG/IMP
 Younger sister is afraid to go out at night, so don't frighten her!

- 157 *'naley gai-gai sat-Ø-ṇa-du, gai nama ma-cijyany-e!'*
 present I-PM kill-sAS-1s-NPT I with NEG-speak-s/NEG/IMP
 'Now you're trying to kill me, don't talk to me!' [he said]

- 158 *'nan baṭhe apa-ye gai-gai sat-Ø-ṇa-du, gai-gai sat-ṇa*
 now tomorrow father-ERG I-PM kill-sAS-1s-NPT I-PM kill-CNS
libi, naṇ ma-kerep-e, ma-cijyany-e', ṭuṇi-ye
 after you NEG-cry-s/NEG/IMP NEG-speak-s/NEG/IMP goat-ERG
ṇah-Ø-u-no.
 say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT
 'Now tomorrow father will kill me, once he has killed me, don't you cry,
 and don't say a thing', the goat said.

- 159 *to beryaŋ, doroŋ-yiŋ di-gore uyu let-Ø-ta-le*
 that that.time hole-ABL one-CLF mouse appear-sAS-IPP-PCL
aghyow-Ø-an, 'tete, naŋ ka-te ma-hok-e! naŋ-kai
 cry.out-sAS-3S/PT elder.sister you this-LOC NEG-be-s/NEG/IMP you-PM
sat-eŋ-na-du.'
 kill-pAS-2s-NPT

At that time, a mouse came out of a hole and squeaked, 'elder sister, don't stay in this place! They are going to kill you.'

- 160 *camaica taŋ-Ø-an, 'bubu, naŋ nan kutaleŋ woi toŋ*
 woman be.happy-sAS-3S/PT elder.brother you now when also beer
ma-cyay-e!'
 NEG-eat-s/NEG/IMP

The woman was happy, [and said] 'elder brother, now you must never drink beer again!'

Tables 73 and 74 below show the distribution of the Thangmi person and number agreement morphemes in the imperative mood for transitive and intransitive conjugations respectively.

TABLE 73. TRANSITIVE MORPHEME STRINGS FOR THANGMI IMPERATIVES

	affirmative	negative
s→1s	Σ -aŋ ~ -ŋa Σ -s→1s/IMP	ma- Σ -aŋ ~ -ŋa NEG- Σ -s→1s/IMP
s→1p	Σ -se Σ -s→1p/IMP	ma- Σ -se NEG- Σ -s→1p/IMP
s→3	Σ -o Σ -s→3/IMP	ma- Σ -o NEG- Σ -s→3/IMP
p→1s	Σ -ne Σ -p→1s/IMP	ma- Σ -ne NEG- Σ -p→1s/IMP
p→1p	Σ -neŋ Σ -p→1p/IMP	ma- Σ -neŋ NEG- Σ -p→1p/IMP
p→3	Σ -no Σ -p→3/IMP	ma- Σ -no NEG- Σ -p→3/IMP

TABLE 74. INTRANSITIVE MORPHEME STRINGS FOR THANGMI IMPERATIVES

	affirmative	negative
s	$\Sigma\text{-}a \sim \emptyset$ $\Sigma\text{-}s/\text{IMP}$	$ma\text{-}\Sigma\text{-}e$ $\text{NEG-}\Sigma\text{-}s/\text{NEG/IMP}$
p	$\Sigma\text{-}ne$ $\Sigma\text{-}p/\text{IMP}$	$ma\text{-}\Sigma\text{-}ne$ $\text{NEG-}\Sigma\text{-}p/\text{IMP}$

A brief discussion of how the imperative verbal agreement markers presented in Tables 73 and 74 above compare and are related to the verbal agreement morphemes in Thangmi simplex verbs discussed in Chapter 6 is necessary at this point.

The imperative morpheme <-aŋ ~ -ŋa> (s→1s/IMP) which suffixes directly to the verb stem in all affirmative transitive imperative scenarios involving a singular agent and a first person singular patient is clearly cognate with the Thangmi first person singular actant morpheme <-ŋa> (1s). Both the imperative morpheme <-se> (s→1p/IMP), which occurs in all affirmative transitive imperative scenarios involving a singular agent and a first person plural patient, and the reflexive imperative morpheme <-se> (s/REF/IMP) are cognate with the Thangmi reflexive morpheme <-si ~ -siy> (REF). The imperative morpheme <-o> (s→3/IMP), which suffixes directly to the verb stem in all affirmative transitive imperative scenarios involving a singular agent and a third person patient, is most likely derived from the Thangmi third person patient morpheme <-u> (3P).

The Thangmi imperative morphemes <-ne> (p/IMP) and <-ne> (p→1s/IMP), which occur in all affirmative intransitive imperative scenarios involving a second person plural subject and in all affirmative transitive imperative scenarios involving a plural agent and a first person singular patient, are cognate with the Thangmi second person plural actant morpheme <-ni ~ -n> (2p). Finally, the imperative morpheme <-no> (p→3/IMP) which suffixes directly to the verb stem in all affirmative transitive imperative scenarios involving a plural agent and a third person patient is cognate with the Thangmi preterite tense third person agent to third person patient *portemanteau* morpheme <-no> (3→3/PT).

7. Speech particles

7.1 Reported speech

morph:	ŋa
label:	REP

The Thangmi reported speech or ‘hearsay evidential’ particle *ŋa* (REP) indicates that the speaker has received the purport of the syntagm by word of mouth rather than by direct observation. While the information source is left unspecified in sentences using the reported speech particle *ŋa* (REP), the statement can sometimes be attributed to a speaker through context, rather like Nepali *re* (REP). The Thangmi reported speech particle *ŋa* (REP) is particularly common in mythological tales and oral history narratives, in which it is used in a manner comparable to the English phrase ‘once upon a time...’. In ordinary vernacular speech, the particle is usually translated by ‘it is said’ or ‘they say’, as in examples 161 to 163 below and example 94 above.

- 161 *habi, to nis-ka mi uireŋ-ko cyoporok nem*
 before that two-HNC person Artemisia.vulgaris-GEN hut house
khem-eŋ-to-le hok-eŋ-thyo ŋa.
 build-pAS-TPP-PCL be-pAS-3sCOND REP

Before all this, they say that those two people lived in a hut made of the leaves of the *Artemisia vulgaris* plant.

- 162 *‘ka di-ka huca-ye gai-gai pi-Ø-ŋa-n, to huca-ye*
 this one-HNC child-ERG I-PM give-SAS-1s-PT that child-ERG
soŋ-yiŋ kyel-Ø-u-du ŋa.’
 river-ABL bring-SAS-3P-NPT REP

‘This was given to me by a child who said that he had found it by the river.’

- 163 *ka wakhe habi-ko apa-ye woi nasaŋ-Ø-u-no, ‘ulam-ko*
 this word before-GEN father-ERG also hear-SAS-3P-3→3/PT road-GEN
reŋ kum-sa ma-thaŋ ŋa’, ŋa-to-le.
 flower pick-INF NEG-be.able REP say-TPP-PCL

The previous father came to hear these words as well, ‘it is said that the flower along the road is unpickable’.

7.2 Direct speech

Direct speech in Thangmi is usually effectuated by intonation and by the clause-final or clause-initial positioning of the verb *ŋa-sa* ‘to say, tell, ask’. In direct speech, a switch of reference occurs between the actants of the quote and that of the main clause in which the quote is embedded, as shown in examples 164 to 167 below.

- 164 *humi-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no, ‘bubu-pali, gai-gai*
 younger.sister-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT elder.brother-p I-PM
ka-te-ko jekha mi-ye ra-Ø-ŋa-n, ka-te na-Ø-ŋa-n’.
 this-LOC-GEN big person-ERG bring-SAS-1s-PT this-LOC put-SAS-1s-PT
 And the younger sister said, ‘elder brothers, the chief of this place brought me and installed me here.’

- 165 *‘gai su-ko ca ŋa-sa-kai, gǎ-ye ŋah-u-n-du uniŋ loŋ-ko*
 I who-GEN son say-INF-PM I-ERG say-3P-1s→3-NPT like do-ADH
mai-Ø-du, tyaŋ gǎ-ye su-ko ca ŋah-u-n-du’,
 must-SAS-NPT then I-ERG who-GEN son say-3P-1s→3-NPT
ŋah-Ø-u-no.
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

‘For me to tell you whose son I am, first you must do exactly as I say, and then I will tell you whose son I am’, he said.

- 166 *humi-kai kaŋa-Ø-du, ‘humi, nany-e hara woi isa*
 younger.sister-PM scold-SAS-NPT younger.sister you-ERG what also food
ken ma-loŋ-u-na-n’, ŋah-Ø-u-du, ‘gai-gai thi-sa
 vegetable.curry NEG-do-3P-2s-PT say-SAS-3P-NPT I-PM touch-INF
ma-ja, tyaŋ ma-loŋ-u-n-du.’
 NEG-okay then NEG-do-3P-1s→3-NPT

He scolded his sister, saying, ‘younger sister, you have prepared neither food nor curry’, [she replies] ‘I have my period, so I can’t cook anything.’

- 167 *'tyaŋ naŋ-kai hara pi-sa?', to-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no, 'gai-gai*
 then you-PM what give-INF that-ERG say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT I-PM
du-ko nunu pi-ŋa!'
 tiger-GEN milk give-s→1s/IMP
 'Now what shall I give you?' [she said], he said 'give me some tiger's
 milk!'

7.3 Indirect speech

Indirect speech in Thangmi is expressed using a combination of two forms of the verb *ŋa-sa* 'to say, tell, ask'. Indirect speech constructions contain the subordinator *ŋa-to-le* (say-TPP-PCL), made up of the verb stem *ŋa* 'say', the transitive preterite participle *to* (TPP) and the participial ending *le* (PCL), followed by a finite form of the verb *ŋa-sa* 'to say, tell, ask'. This construction closely parallels the Nepali subordinators *bhanera* and *bhaneko* which are in turn derived from the Nepali verb *bhannu* 'to say'. Indirect speech constructions are illustrated by examples 168 to 171.

- 168 *camaica taŋ-Ø-du, sewah-Ø-u-du, libi naŋ nama bore*
 woman be.happy-sAS-NPT salute-sAS-3P-NPT after you with marriage
loŋ-u-n-du, ŋa-to-le ŋah-Ø-u-du.
 do-3P-1s→3-NPT say-TPP-PCL say-sAS-3P-NPT

The woman is happy, and greeting him, says that she will marry him.

- 169 *dese mi nama kiŋe-si-Ø-du, nem-te kyel-Ø-ta-le*
 village person with fight-REF-sAS-NPT house-LOC come-sAS-IPP-PCL
ama-kai ni-ko apa kuta hok-Ø-du, ŋa-to-le
 mother-PM we-GEN father where be-sAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL
ŋah-Ø-u-du.
 say-sAS-3P-NPT

He gets into a fight with the villagers and coming home asks his mother
 where his father is.

- 170 *libi di-ka mi-ye 'naŋ-ko bubu hok-Ø-du'*,
 after one-HNC person-ERG you-GEN elder.brother be-SAS-NPT
ŋa-to-le ŋah-Ø-u-no.
 say-TPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

Some time later, this guy asked me whether my elder brother was still around.

- 171 *uni-ye gaŋ-ŋa libi kiji tha-Ø-ta-le, 'nan-guri cya-sa*
 son-ERG dry-CNS after black be-SAS-IPP-PCL now-IND eat-INF
ja-Ø-du', ŋa-to-le ŋah-Ø-u-no.
 okay-SAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

Once the sun had dried them and they had turned black, he said that they were now good to eat.

8. The optative

morph: <e->
 label: OPT

The optative indicates a wish or a desired situation and are illustrated by examples 172 to 176 below. The Thangmi optative prefix <e-> (OPT) conveys the speaker's hope that the utterance will be fulfilled. Thangmi optatives are formed by prefixing the morpheme <e-> (OPT) to simplex verb forms, an uncommon construction in Tibeto-Burman languages where optatives are usually suffixes. Tense markers, normally occupying the final suffixal slot, are generally dropped in the optative mode.

- 172 *naŋ aye e-mo-na!*
 you much OPT-live-2s

May you live a long time!

- 173 *'nan bhutbhute e-tha-Ø, tyāŋ gai-gai jyou-to-le*
 now white.hot.fire OPT-be-SAS then I-PM burn-TPP-PCL
cya-ne!' ŋah-Ø-u-no.
 eat-p→1s/IMP say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

'Now let this fire be white hot, and eat me roasted!', she said.

- 174 *‘tyaŋ si-le woi e-si-ŋa!’*, *ŋa-to-le*, *ʈhoŋi-ye*
 then die-PCL also OPT-die-s→1s/IMP say-TPP-PCL old.woman-ERG
ŋah-Ø-u-no, *‘ma-tha, gai-gai tortah-o!’*, *gai camai-ko*
 say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT NEG-be I-PM leave-s→3/IMP I daughter-GEN
khen yo-to-le ra-ŋa-du, *niŋ ka-te hok-ne!*,
 face look.at-TPP-PCL come.from.level-1s-NPT you(p) this-LOC be-p/IMP
tyaŋ libi cya-ne!’
 then after eat-p→1s/IMP

Thinking ‘well, if I die, then let me die!’, the old woman said ‘no, let me go!
 I will come back once I have seen my daughter’s face, you lot stay here! Eat
 me later!’

- 175 *‘humi, naŋ-ko nem apraca e-tha-Ø, lawa apraca*
 younger.sister you-GEN house good OPT-be-sAS husband good
e-tha-Ø, gai uman-to-le cya-ŋa-du.’
 OPT-be-sAS I cook-TPP-PCL eat-1s-NPT

‘Younger sister, let your house be good, let your husband be good, I will
 manage with the cooking and eating.’

- 176 *‘oste-kai apraca e-niy-eŋ-no ŋa-to-le, ʈaye ami-sa*
 self-PM good OPT-show-pAS-3→3/PT say-TPP-PCL night sleep-INF
beryaŋ bu-si-sa miŋ unise ulam-te bu-siy-eŋ-ta-le
 that.time cover-REF-INF cloth afternoon road-LOC cover-REF-pAS-IPP-PCL
caway-eŋ-du.’
 walk-pAS-NPT

‘To make themselves appear beautiful, they wear their night clothes in the
 daytime and walk around in them.’

Negative optatives are formed through the affixation of the negative morpheme
 <ma-> (NEG) between the optative prefix <e-> (OPT) and the verb stem, as in example
 177 below.

- 177 *'ka wakhe su-kai woi ma-ci-nasaiy-e, su-ye woi*
 this word who-PM also NEG-CAUS-hear-s/NEG/IMP who-ERG also
e-ma-niy-ey-no', tete-ye 'ja-Ø-du' ηah-Ø-u-no.
 OPT-NEG-see-pAS-3→3/PT elder.sister-ERG okay-sAS-NPT say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT
 'Don't let anyone know about this plan, and let no one see you', [they said]
 and elder sister said 'fine'.

9. The adhortative

morph: <-ko>
 label: ADH

Adhortative forms in Thangmi are constructed by suffixing the adhortative morpheme <-ko> (ADH) to the verb stem, conveying the meaning 'let's...', as shown in examples 178 to 181 below.

- 178 *ni nama hen-ko.*
 we with go-ADH
 Let's go together.
- 179 *isa cya-ko, hok-ko.*
 food eat-ADH be-ADH
 Let's eat food, let's sit down.
- 180 *nan ban-pali milai-ko jet loη-ko.*
 now friend-p organise-ADH work do-ADH
 Now let's get all the guys together and work.
- 181 *sakalei saηa nem duη-ηaη na-ko.*
 all millet house within-inside put-ADH
 Let's store all the millet inside the house.

Negative adhortatives are formed by adding the negative prefix <ma-> (NEG) to an affirmative adhortative construction, as in examples 182 and 183 below.

- 182 *hen-ko bubu, ka-te woi ma-hok-ko.*
 go-ADH elder.brother this-LOC also NEG-be-ADH
 Let's go, elder brother, let's not stay only here.

- 183 *to-ŋaŋ ni-ye kutaleŋ woi kuta woi torta-to-le*
 that-inside we-ERG when also where also leave-TPP-PCL
ma-hen-ko ŋa-wa-n.
 NEG-go-ADH say-1p→23-PT

And there we promised never ever to break up [with one another] and leave.

Reflexive adhortatives are formed by adding the reflexive suffix <-si> (REF) directly to the verb stem in a position anterior to the adhortative morpheme <-ko> (ADH), as in examples 184 to 186 below. Reflexive adhortatives can be translated as ‘let us...’ or ‘we should’.

- 184 *nan thaŋmi-pali di-ka tha-ko, oste-ko thar pi-to-le*
 now Thangmi-p one-HNC be-ADH self-GEN clan give-TPP-PCL
ŋosai-si-ko!
 recognise-REF-ADH

Now we Thangmi people should be united, let us recognise one another and the clan names that we have been given!

- 185 *ŋosai-si-ko mai-Ø-du.*
 recognise-REF-ADH must-sas-NPT

We should know and recognise each other.

- 186 *nem-ko priŋ-te jhari yu-le hok-Ø-du, nem*
 house-GEN outside-LOC rain come.from.above-PCL be-sas-NPT house
duŋ-ŋaŋ hok-ko, me cyataŋ-si-ko.
 within-inside be-ADH fire warm.by-REF-ADH

It’s raining outside, let’s stay inside the house and warm ourselves by the fire.

The Thangmi adhortative morpheme <-ko> (ADH) commonly occurs in combination with the verb *mai-sa* ‘to must, have to’, conveying the meaning ‘must do...’. The adhortative morpheme <-ko> (ADH) suffixes to the stem of the main verb which is then followed by either the non-preterite *mai-Ø-du* (must-sas-NPT), as in examples 187 to 191, or the preterite *mai-Ø-an* (must-sas-3S/PT), as in examples 192 to 195 below. The complement of *mai-sa* ‘to must, have to’ is always a verb in <-ko> (ADH), and never the infinitive complement <-sa> (INF).

- 187 *aikuca hul-ko mai-Ø-du.*
knife sharpen-ADH must-sAS-NPT

One must sharpen the knife [the knife must be sharpened].

- 188 *kuṭik-to-le di di kucik loŋ-to-le cya-ko mai-Ø-du.*
pinch-TPP-PCL one one morsel do-TPP-PCL eat-ADH must-sAS-NPT

It must be eaten by pinching off [pieces] and by taking it one mouthful at a time.

- 189 *habi sya way-eŋ-du, sya wa-to-le, libi woi*
before bovine plough-pAS-NPT bovine plough-TPP-PCL after also
sya wa-ko mai-Ø-du.
bovine plough-ADH must-sAS-NPT

They plough with the bull once before, and then, having ploughed, they have to plough twice more [with the bull].

- 190 *'nan gǎ-ye bajareŋ cya-ta-ŋa-le ma-jah-Ø-an, nan torta-ko*
now I-ERG tobacco eat-IPP-1s-PCL NEG-okay-sAS-3S/PT now leave-ADH
mai-Ø-du', ŋa-to-le ŋah-u-n-uŋ.
must-sAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL say-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT

'Now I really shouldn't smoke, I should give up', is what I thought.

- 191 *ni-ko guru-kai, hara woi jet loŋ-sa-kai, toŋ thum-ko*
we-GEN shaman-PM what also work do-INF-PM beer insert-ADH
mai-Ø-du.
must-sAS-NPT

Whatever the ritual he does, we must pour beer for the shaman.

- 192 *jet-guri mesek nih-Ø-u-du sakalei loŋ-ko maiy-Ø-an.*
work-IND eye see-sAS-3P-NPT all do-ADH must-sAS-3S/PT

She had to do every job which the eye sees.

- 193 *libi wakhe nasai-to-le, let-ko maiy-Ø-an ŋa-to-le, to*
after word hear-TPP-PCL appear-ADH must-sAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL that
mi nama camai ari-ari-Ø-ta-le theŋ-Ø-an.
person with daughter be.afraid-be.afraid-sAS-IPP-PCL stand.up-sAS-3S/PT

Having heard these words, she had to come out, and full of fear for this man, she stood up.

- 194 *nan to jekha mi-ko walŋa-ka uma-ye loŋ-ko maiy-Ø-an*
 now that big person-GEN five-HNC wife-ERG do-ADH must-SAS-3S/PT
ŋa-to-le, lony-eŋ-no.
 say-TPP-PCL do-pAS-3→3/PT

Now, that important person's five wives had to do it also, and they did.

- 195 *to-te hok-Ø-du sakalei pepelek chyu-to-le na-to-le, libi*
 that-LOC be-SAS-NPT all money tie-TPP-PCL put-TPP-PCL after
ka koteh-u-n-uŋ-be, pepelek koteh-Ø-u-du, ka-kai nan
 this cut-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT-TOP money cut-SAS-3P-NPT this-PM now
cek-to-le phet-ko maiy-Ø-an.
 bite-TPP-PCL take.off-ADH must-SAS-3S/PT

All the money had been tied on to that [corpse], if she were to cut it off then she would also risk cutting into the money, so she had to remove the coins by biting them off [with her teeth].

When negated, the verb *mai-sa* 'to must, have to' invariably takes the negative morpheme <ma-> (NEG) and is governed by the infinitive <-sa> (INF) rather than the adhortative <-ko> (ADH), as shown in examples 196 to 198 below.

- 196 *oli walŋa din-e jakcho bo-Ø-du, ka-kai saŋa makai-kai*
 four five day-ERG wheat sprout-SAS-NPT this-PM millet maize-PM
uniŋ thu-sa ma-mai.
 like remove.weeds-INF NEG-must

After four or five days the wheat begins to sprout, and unlike millet or maize, it need not be weeded.

- 197 *'nan libi camai-kai ni-ye bore loŋ-sa ma-mai',*
 now after daughter-PM we-ERG marriage do-INF NEG-must
ŋah-Ø-u-no.
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

'And then we don't have to arrange the marriage of our daughters', he said.

- 198 *'naŋ ka-te hara-kai ra-na-n? nan naŋ-kai*
 you this-LOC what-PM come.from.level-2s-PT now you-PM
ŋe-na-ŋa-du, oste-ko nem dai ya-Ø! gai-go lawa nama
 beat-2s-1s-NPT self-GEN house towards go-s/IMP I-GEN husband with
hok-sa ma-mai', ŋah-Ø-u-no.
 be-INF NEG-must say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT

'Why have you come here? Now I am going to beat you, go back to your own home! You shouldn't be living here with my husband', she said.

The Thangmi adhortative <-ko> (ADH) also occurs as the complement of the verbs *dum-sa* 'to finish' and *so-sa* 'to be about to', as shown in examples 199 to 204 below. The verbs *dum-sa* 'to finish' and *so-sa* 'to be about to' may also govern verbal complements in <-sa> (INF).

- 199 *gai isa cya-ko dum-ŋa-n.*
 I food eat-ADH finish-1s-PT
 I have finished eating.
- 200 *min-ko dum-Ø-an.*
 be.cooked-ADH be.finished-sAS-3S/PT
 It has finished cooking [it's totally cooked].
- 201 *guru-ye nan mut-sa jet loŋ-ko sow-Ø-u-no,*
 shaman-ERG now blow-INF work do-ADH be.about.to-sAS-3P-3→3/PT
ni-ye yo-le na-wa-n.
 we-ERG look.at-PCL put-1p→23-PT
 Now the shaman was about to start the part of the ritual in which he blows,
 and we were looking on.
- 202 *to huca atthe reŋ-reŋ isi-Ø-du, naleŋ sum tha-ko*
 that child very fidgety do-sAS-NPT present three be-ADH
sow-Ø-an.
 be.about.to-sAS-3S/PT
 That child is such a fidget now that she is almost three.

- 203 *'nan hara ŋa-sa? ma-ŋah-u-n-uŋ-be, camai si-ko*
 now what say-INF NEG-say-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT-TOP daughter die-ADH
sow-Ø-an.'
 be.about.to-sAS-3S/PT

'What to say now? If I say nothing, then my daughter looks as if she may die.'

- 204 *camai-pali sarma thay-eŋ-ta-le, bore loŋ-ko*
 daughter-p strong be-pAS-IPP-PCL marriage do-ADH
soy-eŋ-no.
 be.about.to-pAS-3→3/PT

Being young, the daughters were soon to be married.

10. The causative

morph: <ci- ~ cic->
 label: CAUS

The causative prefix <ci- ~ cic-> (CAUS) conveys the meaning 'to cause to...' or 'to make happen'. Causativisation using the prefix <ci- ~ cic-> (CAUS) is a productive process in Thangmi, and the prefix is attested with both transitive and intransitive verbs. The allomorphic distribution of the causative prefix <ci- ~ cic-> (CAUS) is entirely regular: The allomorph <ci-> precedes a consonant while the form <cic-> precedes a vowel. The causative prefix <ci- ~ cic-> (CAUS) occupies a slot posterior to the negative morpheme <ma-> (NEG) but anterior to the verb stem, as illustrated by examples 205 to 207 below and examples 156 and 177 above.

- 205 *humi-kai nyoŋi thi-sa ma-ja tha-Ø-du, bubu*
 younger.sister-PM evening touch-INF NEG-okay be-sAS-NPT elder.brother
ŋiŋ them-to-le ra-Ø-du beryaŋ, isa
 stone break-TPP-PCL come.from.level-sAS-NPT that.time food
ken hara woi ma-ci-min-Ø-u-no.
 vegetable.curry what also NEG-CAUS-ripen-sAS-3P-3→3/PT

One day, younger sister got her monthly period [lit. touch not okay], so when elder brother came back from breaking rocks, she had not cooked the evening meal.

- 206 *thon̩e-kai woi ma-ci-let-Ø-u-no, thon̩i-kai rage*
 old.man-PM also NEG-CAUS-appear-sAS-3P-3→3/PT old.woman-PM anger
let-Ø-an.
 appear-sAS-3S/PT

But he didn't release the old man and the old woman got angry.

- 207 *'ka-kai nem-yiŋ ci-let-o!'*, *to-ye ma-ci-let-tiniŋ*
 this-PM house-ABL CAUS-appear-s→3/IMP that-ERG NEG-CAUS-appear-PFG
nah-Ø-u-no.
 put-sAS-3P-3→3/PT

'Take this thing out of the house!' [she said], but he didn't get rid of her, and just left her at home.

Examples 208 to 212 below illustrate the allomorph <ci-> of the Thangmi causative prefix <ci- ~ cic-> (CAUS).

- 208 *baŋthe isyaŋ bubu-ye ni-kai cum-to-le*
 tomorrow period elder.brother-ERG we-PM hold-TPP-PCL
ci-yoy-i-n, naka nem, dewa, sakalei yo-wa-n.
 CAUS-look.at-1pPS-PT new house god all look.at-1p→23-PT

The very next day, elder brother took us and showed us new houses and temples, we looked at them all.

- 209 *gǎ-ye thaŋna seŋ ci-tih-u-n-uŋ.*
 I-ERG old wood CAUS-burn-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT

I burnt the old wood.

- 210 *bhuŋla ci-let-to-le, jakcho chuŋtei-ko mai-Ø-du.*
 husk CAUS-appear-TPP-PCL wheat separate-ADH must-sAS-NPT

Once the husk has been removed, it must be separated.

- 211 *nis sum uni-te, ka racya uni-ŋaŋ ci-gany-eŋ-du.*
 two three day-LOC throughout paddy sun-inside CAUS-dry-pAS-NPT

Then they lay out the cut paddy and dry it in the sun for two to three days.

- 212 *libi humi rolon-Ø-an, guru-ye*
 after younger.sister recover-SAS-3S/PT shaman-ERG
ci-jah-Ø-u-no.
 CAUS-survive-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

After that younger sister recovered, the shaman had saved her.

Examples 213 to 218 below illustrate the allomorph <cic-> of the Thangmi causative prefix <ci- ~ cic-> (CAUS).

- 213 *saŋa peŋey-eŋ-du beryaŋ, cic-amiy-eŋ-to-le peŋey-eŋ-du.*
 millet sow-pAS-NPT that.time CAUS-sleep-pAS-TPP-PCL sow-pAS-NPT

When they plant the millet, they plant it horizontally [lit. in a sleeping position].

- 214 *gai hik-ŋa-du beryaŋ, nany-e cic-ari-ŋa! tyay*
 I hiccough-1s-NPT that.time you-ERG CAUS-be.afraid-s→1s/IMP then
libi ya-Ø-du.
 after go-SAS-NPT

When I have the hiccoughs, give me a fright, and it will pass.

- 215 *ka lon-sa-kai naka nem, 'ma-thaŋ-Ø-du nem',*
 this do-INF-PM new house NEG-be.well-SAS-NPT house
cic-ariy-Ø-u-du nem-te, lony-eŋ-du.
 CAUS-be.afraid-SAS-3P-NPT house-LOC do-pAS-NPT

They do this in new houses, 'sick' houses and in haunted houses.

- 216 *nyoŋi thah-Ø-an, di-ka mosani rah-Ø-an,*
 evening be-SAS-3S/PT one-HNC spirit come.from.level-SAS-3S/PT
nyoŋi-ko isa cya-Ø-ta-le, cic-amiy-Ø-u-no.
 evening-GEN food eat-SAS-IPP-PCL CAUS-sleep-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

It was evening, and the spirit came home, ate his evening meal, and then put her [daughter] to bed.

- 217 *'miŋ-te cic-amiy-u-n-uŋ.'*
 cloth-LOC CAUS-sleep-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT

'I laid him down in his clothes.'

- 218 *di uni, dese-ko cahuca khalam-Ø-u-no, to-ye to-kai*
 one day village-GEN man meet-sAS-3P-3→3/PT that-ERG that-PM
ahe toŋ pi-to-le nembo-ko uma nama
 much beer give-TPP-PCL other.person-GEN wife with
cic-amiy-Ø-u-no.
 CAUS-sleep-sAS-3P-3→3/PT

One day, he met the man from the village, and having given him a lot of beer, caused him to sleep with the wife of another man.

When the Thangmi causative <ci- ~ cic-> (CAUS) is prefixed to an intransitive stem, such as *serek-sa* ‘to arise’, this results in a change in the valence of the verb to a transitive causative, as in *ci-serek-sa* ‘to get somebody up, cause them to arise’. The switch in verb valence from transitive to intransitive in combination with the causative suffix can be seen from the verbal agreement morphology in examples 219 and 220 below.

- 219 *ka ma-ja-Ø-du camaica-ko jet ŋa-to-le, ca-kai*
 this NEG-okay-sAS-NPT woman-GEN work say-TPP-PCL son-PM
ci-serek-Ø-u-no.
 CAUS-arise-sAS-3P-3→3/PT

Seeing what this useless woman had done, he woke his son up.

- 220 *ci-serek-Ø-u-no, ca-guri serek-Ø-an, wari*
 CAUS-arise-sAS-3P-3→3/PT son-IND arise-sAS-3S/PT daughter.in.law
ma-serek-Ø-an.
 NEG-arise-sAS-3S/PT

She tried to wake them up, and the son got up but the daughter-in-law didn’t.

11. The permissive

morph: <-ŋu>
 label: PERM

Thangmi permissive forms are constructed by suffixing the permissive morpheme <-ŋu> (PERM) to the verb stem, as shown in examples 221 to 227 below and by example 91 above. The permissive can be translated as ‘shall I...?’ or ‘may I...?’ The permissive morpheme <-ŋu> (PERM) is only attested in question forms, and then

only in expressions pertaining to a first person singular agent or subject. In permissive constructions, the verbal agreement morphemes for person, numbers and tense are all absent. The Thangmi permissive <-ηu> (PERM) is cognate with two verbal agreement morphemes found in simplex verbs, <-ηa> (1s) and <-u> (3P).

- 221 *ja-Ø-du, susto ya-Ø, naη-ko libi libi gai woi*
 okay-SAS-NPT slow go-s/IMP you-GEN after after I also
ra-ηu ra?
 come.from.level-PERM or

Fine, travel safely, shall I come along some time after you?

- 222 *e tete, gai duη-ηaη ra-ηu ra?*
 hey elder.sister I within-inside come.from.level-PERM or

Hey elder sister, shall I come inside?

- 223 *e ama, gǎ-ye seη ra-ηu ra?*
 hey mother I-ERG wood bring-PERM or

Hey mother, shall I bring some firewood?

- 224 *gai nem-te ya-ηu?*
 I house-LOC go-PERM

Shall I go home?

- 225 *gǎ-ye paηku θo-ηu?*
 I-ERG water send-PERM

Shall I send water?

- 226 *gǎ-ye sakalei ηa-ηu?*
 I-ERG all say-PERM

Shall I tell all [say everything]?

- 227 *gǎ-ye sakalei jet loη-ηu?*
 I-ERG all work do-PERM

Shall I do all the work?

12. Compound verbs of motion

The English expressions ‘going to do something’ and ‘coming to do something’ can be rendered into Thangmi in two different ways. Commonly, the action verb occurs

in its infinitival form, as in *cya-sa* ‘to eat’ or *ami-sa* ‘to sleep’ followed by an auxiliary intransitive verb of motion which is conjugated accordingly, such as *gai cya-sa ra-ŋa-du* (I eat-INF come-1s-NPT) ‘I am coming to eat’ or *camai ami-sa ya-Ø-du* (daughter sleep-INF go-SAS-NPT) ‘daughter is going off to sleep’. Compound verbs of motion differ from the Thangmi supine constructions discussed in Section §5 above in that the former involve physical movement, as in ‘I am going (lit. moving towards) to do something’, while the latter simply convey the sense of ‘in order to’.

In the alternative construction, less common among younger speakers of Thangmi, the stem of the auxiliary motion verb prefixes to the action verb. The latter is then conjugated accordingly. The only two verbs of motion for which this construction is attested are *hen-sa* ‘to go’ and *ra-sa* ‘to come’, as illustrated by examples 228 to 238 below.

228 *gai me ya-cyaŋaŋ-si-ŋa-du.*

I fire go-warm.by-REF-1s-NPT

I’m off to go and warm myself by the fire.

229 *gai isa ya-cya-ŋa-du.*

I food go-eat-1s-NPT

I’m going to eat food [I’m off to eat food].

230 *‘ya-yo-sa-be ya-yo-wa-du, priŋ ma-let, kunyaŋ*
go-look.at-INF-TOP go-look.at-1p→23-NPT outside NEG-appear how

ni-sa?’, begale hu-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no.

see-INF other younger.brother-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

‘Well of course we can go and look, but even if we do, how will we see her, because she is sure not to come outside?’, another younger brother said.

231 *nan kit dicip din dai ya-yo-ko mai-Ø-du.*

now nine ten day towards go-look.at-ADH must-SAS-NPT

And in about nine or ten days you have to go and take a look.

232 *bophura, di-ka bubu-ko ban-e ni-kai hen-i-n,*
pity one-HNC elder.brother-GEN friend-ERG we-PM take-1pPS-PT

tyaŋ bubu nama ya-ci-let-i-n.

then elder.brother with go-CAUS-appear-1pPS-PT

What a shame, but one of elder brother’s friends took us and delivered us to elder brother.

- 233 *libi jarphu hok-Ø-du thai-te*
 after elder.sister's.husband be-SAS-NPT place-LOC
ya-ci-let-Ø-u-no, to-te hok-Ø-an.
 go-CAUS-appear-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-LOC be-SAS-3S/PT

Then someone took her to where her brother-in-law lived, and she stayed there.

- 234 *'ka di-gore ñiŋ tha-Ø-du, gǎ-ye soŋ-te khalam-u-n-uŋ,*
 this one-HNC stone be-SAS-NPT I-ERG river-LOC meet-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT
gai-gai ama-ye 'ya-na-tah-o!' ñah-Ø-ŋa-n, tyaŋ
 I-PM mother-ERG go-put-release-s→3/IMP say-SAS-1s-PT then
ci-sa-kai hen-u-n-du.'
 throw.away-INF-PM take-3P-1s→3-NPT

'This is a stone which I found by the river, but my mother said to me 'get rid of it!', so I am taking it to throw it away.'

- 235 *ɬaye, to camaica-ko nem-te ya-let-eŋ-an, to-te*
 night that woman-GEN house-LOC go-appear-pAS-3S/PT that-LOC
ya-let-eŋ-ta-le 'nan ni-ye naŋ-kai
 go-appear-pAS-IPP-PCL now we-ERG you-PM
ra-kai-wa-n, ya-na-du ra ma-ya?', ŋay-eŋ-no.
 come.from.level-remove-1p→23-PT go-2s-NPT or NEG-go say-pAS-3→3/PT

They reached that woman's house at night, and, having reached there, said to her, 'we have come to get you, are you coming [with us] or not?'

- 236 *tyaŋ di-ka thaŋmi bubu-ko nem-te ya-let-i-n.*
 then one-HNC Thangmi elder.brother-GEN house-LOC go-appear-1pps-PT

Then we arrived at the house of a Thangmi man.

- 237 *sakpa chyu-to-le, kutiriŋ-si-Ø-du beryaŋ, to-ko bubu*
 rope tie-TPP-PCL hang-REF-SAS-NP that.time that-GEN elder.brother
ra-let-Ø-du.
 come.from.level-appear-SAS-NPT

Having tied the rope, as she is hanging herself, her elder brother arrives.

- 238 *gai isa ra-cya-ŋa-du.*
 I food come.from.level-eat-1s-NPT
 I'm coming to eat.

13. Gerunds

Gerunds are adverbials which behave like verbs in the clauses which they modify. Thangmi has two gerunds which occur adverbially or in combination with auxiliary particles to form periphrastic tenses. These are the present gerund <-ca> (PSG), the perfect gerund <-tiniŋ> (PFG). The uses of these two gerunds are discussed below.

13.1 The present gerund

morph: <-ca>
 label: PSG

The Thangmi present gerund indicates an action at or during a point of orientation or focus and is formed by suffixing the particle <-ca> (PSG) to the verb stem. As such, the Thangmi present gerund <-ca> (PSG) indicates that the situation denoted by the verb is coetaneous with the situation denoted by the following main clause. Examples 239 to 242 below illustrate the Thangmi present gerund.

- 239 *ni-ye kucu ni-to-le, ni dorok-ca ray-i-n.*
 we-ERG dog see-TPP-PCL we run-PSG come.from.level-1pPS-PT
 Seeing the dog, we came running.

- 240 *apa woi 'uma sat-eŋ-no thaŋun' ŋa-to-le, dorok-ca*
 father also wife kill-pAS-3→3/PT maybe say-TPP-PCL run-PSG
rah-Ø-an.
 come.from.level-sAS-3S/PT

Thinking 'maybe they'll kill her', father also came running.

- 241 *dorok-ca ra-Ø-ta-le, uma-ye nah-Ø-u-du diŋ-diŋ*
 run-PSG come.from.level-sAS-IPP-PCL wife-ERG put-sAS-3P-NPT red
baŋi-te biy-Ø-an.
 pot-LOC enter-sAS-3S/PT

He came back [home] running and dove into the red-hot pot his wife had put ready.

- 242 *libi, di-ka camaica-kai nis-ka cahuca-ye po-ca*
 after one-HNC woman-PM two-HNC man-ERG chase-PSG
ray-ey-du, ka ni-to-le to-ye to cahuca-pali-kai
 bring-pAS-NPT this see-TPP-PCL that-ERG that man-p-PM
ne-to-le poh-Ø-u-du.
 beat-TPP-PCL chase-SAS-3P-NPT

After this, two men come running in pursuit of a woman, and seeing this, he chases them away.

The present gerund <-ca> (PSG) is frequently reduplicated. In such instances the verb stem and the suffixed gerund are repeated to convey an iterative meaning, repeated until the condition is satisfied, as illustrated by examples 243 to 245 below.

- 243 *mosani po-ca po-ca hen-Ø-u-du soŋ-te ka.*
 spirit chase-PSG chase-PSG take-SAS-3P-NPT river-LOC throughout

The spirit is chased and chased, all the way to the river.

- 244 *ka niy-ey-to-le, apa ama nui-ca nui-ca*
 this see-pAS-TPP-PCL father mother laugh-PSG laugh-PSG
ŋay-ey-no, ‘camai, ka kuta-yiŋ kyel-u-na-n?’
 say-pAS-3→3/PT daughter this where-ABL bring-3P-2s-PT

When the father and mother saw this, they said, laughing and smiling ‘daughter, from where did you bring this?’

- 245 *ari-Ø-ta-le ŋah-Ø-u-no, ‘bubu, ka dese-te*
 be.afraid-SAS-IPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT elder.brother this village-LOC
gai-go su woi ma-hok, gai sumaka ʔhai day-ca day-ca
 I-GEN who also NEG-be I silent place search-PSG search-PSG
ra-ŋa-du, tyay ka-te ka ra-let-ŋa-n.’
 come.from.level-1s-NPT then this-LOC throughout come-appear-1s-PT

All afraid, she said, ‘elder brother, I know no one in this village, and I have been searching and searching for a quiet place to go to, and ended up here.’

13.2 The perfect gerund

morph:	<-tiniŋ>
label:	PFG

The Thangmi perfect gerund indicates activity before a point of orientation or focus and is formed by suffixing the element <-tiniŋ> (PFG) to the verb stem. While many of the examples given below illustrate the perfect gerund in negative verbal scenarios, the element <-tiniŋ> (PFG) should not be classed as a negative perfect gerund since affirmative examples are also attested. The perfect gerund does not convey a sense of sequence, and functions more like an adverb, determining the manner in which or by which an action is conducted. The Thangmi perfect gerund <-tiniŋ> (PFG) is usually translated into Nepali with the conjunctive participial construction, *ikana*. Examples 246 to 248 below illustrate the Thangmi perfect gerund in affirmative clauses, while examples 249 to 254 illustrate its use in negative constructions.

- 246 'yaŋ *habi-ko wari hok-sa-be, isa-ye karăi-tiniŋ,*
 today before-GEN daughter.in.law be-INF-TOP food-INS shout-PFG
hok-sa ma-mai-Ø-thyo.'
 be-INF NEG-must-SAS-3sCOND

'Were our previous daughter-in-law still with us today, then we wouldn't be sitting around going hungry.'

- 247 'to *uniŋ wari-kai gă-ye sat-u-n-uŋ, to-ye*
 that like daughter.in.law-PM I-ERG kill-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT that-ERG
loŋ-Ø-u-du beryaŋ, gai yaŋ isa-ye karăi-tiniŋ hok-ko
 do-SAS-3P-NPT that.time I today food-INS shout-PFG be-ADH
mai-Ø-an.'
 must-SAS-3S/PT

'A good daughter-in-law like that I killed, and on account of this having happened, I must today sit here being hungry.'

- 248 *tete-guri hu sat-ŋa libi, raŋ*
 elder.sister-IND younger.brother kill-CNS after unirrigated.field
pebu oste-ko tha-Ø-du, 'hok-hok-tiniŋ cya-ko
 irrigated.field self-GEN be-SAS-NPT be-be-PFG eat-ADH
nik-i-du', ŋah-Ø-u-no, ka uniŋ ma-thah-Ø-an.
 receive-1pPS-NPT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT this like NEG-be-SAS-3S/PT

Elder sister, after killing her younger brother, now with all the fields being hers, thought 'we will receive food by just hanging around', but it was not to be.

- 249 *libi libi tha-Ø-du beryaŋ, gǎ-ye ma-cya-tiniŋ hok-sa*
 after after be-SAS-NPT that.time I-ERG NEG-eat-PFG be-INF
ma-thaŋ-u-n-uŋ.
 NEG-be.able-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT

After a while I was no longer able to sit still without eating.

- 250 *ca-ye woi uma-kai hara woi ma-ŋa-tiniŋ ʔhoh-Ø-u-no.*
 son-ERG also wife-PM what also NEG-say-PFG send-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

And the son sent his wife off without even saying good-bye to her.

- 251 *tyaŋ naka wari-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no, 'gai-be apa-ko*
 then new daughter.in.law-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT I-TOP father-GEN
nem-te jet ma-loŋ-tiniŋ hok-ŋa-thyo, nan hara-kai
 house-LOC work NEG-do-PFG be-1s-3sCOND now what-PM
ci-let-sa jet loŋ-sa mi?'
 CAUS-appear-INF work do-INF person

Then the new daughter-in-law said, 'I lived in my father's house without [ever] having worked, why do we now have to get rid of the domestic servants?'

- 252 *naŋ gai-gai isa ma-ya-tiniŋ ami-na-du?*
 you I-PM food NEG-feed-PFG sleep-2s-NPT

Are you going to sleep without having fed me?

- 253 *uni ma-to-tiniŋ, to-bany-e jet ma-loŋ.*
 sun NEG-shine-PFG that-Pp-ERG work NEG-do

Without the sun having shone they won't work.

- 254 *hu-ye ahe uni ka apa ama ma-ni-tiniŋ*
 younger.brother-ERG many day throughout father mother NEG-see-PFG
hok-Ø-thyo, tete nama ŋah-Ø-u-no, 'nan gai
 be-SAS-3sCOND elder.sister with say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now I
apa ama nama ya-ŋa-du, gai-gai hen-aŋ!
 father mother with go-1s-NPT I-PM take-s→1s/IMP

Younger brother had lived many days without seeing his parents, and he said to his elder sister, 'I want to go to father and mother, so take me!'

From a diachronic viewpoint, the perfect gerund <-tiniŋ> (PFG) is particularly interesting. The first syllable is a reflex of the Proto-Kiranti preterite marker *<-ta> (PT) and cognate with the Dumi present gerund <-tæ> (prG) (van Driem 1993a: 248) while the velar nasal in the final syllable is likely cognate with the Limbu perfect gerund <-aŋ> (pfG) (van Driem 1987: 148). It is possible that Thangmi *<-ti> was once a preterite marker occupying a suffixal slot close to the verb stem, akin to Proto-Kiranti *<-ta> (PT).

14. Participles

14.1 The participial ending <-le>

morph:	<-le>
label:	PCL

The Thangmi periphrastic participial ending is formed by suffixing the element <-le> (PCL) to the conjugated verb form, complete with person and number markers but without tense morphemes. The periphrastic participial ending <-le> indicates a sequence of activities and is one of the most commonly occurring elements in complex verbal constructions in Thangmi. In examples 255 to 260 below, the ending <-le> is followed by the auxiliary verb *hok-sa* 'to be, sit'. This construction conveys an ongoing or continuous event, translated into English using the suffix '-ing'. The Thangmi participial ending <-le> is similar in function to the Nepali participial ending *-era*.

- 255 *yamiryaŋ, gai ma-thaŋ tha-ŋa-le, usare cya-ŋa-le hok-ŋa-du.*
 nowadays I NEG-be.well be-1s-PCL medicine eat-1s-PCL be-1s-NPT

On account of being ill these days, I am taking medicine.

- 256 *dha-ŋaŋ su-ko nem jyok-Ø-le hok-Ø-du.*
 that.distant-inside who-GEN house burn-sAS-PCL be-sAS-NPT

Whose house is that on fire [lit. burning] over there?

- 257 *tha-Ø-du, gai-go bubu cya-Ø-le hok-Ø-du.*
 be-sAS-NPT I-GEN elder.brother eat-sAS-PCL be-sAS-NPT

Yes, my brother is eating [right now].

- 258 *ni nis-ka lipem-e phoy-i-le hok-i-thyo.*
 we two-HNC snow-INS soak-1pPS-PCL be-1pPS-3sCOND

The two of us were totally drenched by the snow.

- 259 *niŋ hara yo-ni-le hok-ni-du?*
 you(p) what look.at-2p-PCL be-2p-NPT

What are you(p) looking at?

- 260 *loŋe ya-Ø-ta-le ŋah-Ø-u-no, 'tete, gai-gai*
 jackal go-sAS-IPP-PCL say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT elder.sister I-PM
sul-si-sa ʔhai cikhet-aŋ! gai-gai sat-sa mi-pali
 hide-REF-INF place show-s→1s/IMP I-PM kill-INF person-p
kyel-eŋ-le hok-eŋ-du, naŋ-kai woi sat-eŋ-du.'
 come-pAS-PCL be-pAS-NPT you-PM also kill-pAS-NPT

The jackal went and said, 'elder sister, show me a place to hide. There are people coming to kill me and they may kill you too.'

Aside from the above examples, the periphrastic participial ending <-le> most commonly occurs in combination with the transitive preterite participle <-to> (TPP) and the intransitive preterite participle <-ta> (IPP). These participles are discussed in Sections §14.2 and §14.3 below.

14.2 The transitive preterite participle

morph:	<-to>
label:	TPP
morph:	<-tuŋ>
label:	1s/TPP

The transitive preterite participle <-to> (TPP) occurs in all preterite transitive gerundal constructions with the meaning 'having ..., then ...', often translated into English using 'and'. The transitive preterite participle <-to> (TPP) occurs only in

combination with the participial ending <-le> (PCL) discussed above. While the verb which follows takes affixal agreement markers, the construction Σ -to-le (verb-TPP-PCL) ‘having...’ is invariable and contains no suffixes to indicate the person or number of the agent. Examples 261 to 263 below illustrate uses of the transitive preterite participle <-to> (TPP) best translated as ‘having...’, while examples 264 to 266 are more easily translated using ‘and’.

- 261 *sya wa-ŋa libi tokolok-e gonthe them-to-le*
 bovine plough-CNS after hoe-INS clump.of.earth break.up-TPP-PCL
raŋ-kai min-minca loŋ-ko mai-Ø-du.
 unirrigated.field-PM fine.and.grainy do-ADH must-SAS-NPT

Having ploughed with the ox and having broken up the clods of earth with a hoe, the earth in the field must be made dry and crumbly.

- 262 *ka loŋ-to-le, di maina libi nis maina libi makai*
 this do-IPP-PCL one month after two month after maize
min-Ø-du.
 ripen-SAS-NPT

Having done this, after one or two months the maize ripens.

- 263 *tyaŋ pi-to-le, to thoŋi-ye jekha ca-kai, ŋa-to-le*
 then give-TPP-PCL that old.woman-ERG big son-PM say-TPP-PCL
gai-go apa-kai, piy-Ø-u-thyo.
 I-GEN father-PM give-SAS-3P-3sCOND

Then, once it had been given, the old lady would give [the cigarette] to her eldest son, meaning to say my father.

- 264 *to maŋai kutik-to-le cyah-Ø-an.*
 that bread break-TPP-PCL eat-SAS-3S/PT

He broke the bread and ate it.

- 265 *kundu kundu uni gǎ-ye woi seŋ pi-to-le pepelek*
 which which day I-ERG also firewood give-TPP-PCL money
rah-u-n-thyo.
 bring-3P-1s→3-3sCOND

Some days even I would go and sell firewood and bring back the money.

- 266 *gai 'ja-Ø-du' ŋa-to-le taŋ-ŋa-n.*
 I okay-sAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL be.happy-1s-NPT
 I said 'okay' and was happy.

While person and number suffixes are usually absent in constructions using the transitive preterite participle <-to> (TPP), there are two exceptions to this rule. In preterite transitive constructions involving a third person plural agent, the plural agent morpheme <-eŋ> (pAS) is inserted into the string Σ -to-le (verb-TPP-PCL) 'having...', changing it to Σ -eŋ-to-le (verb-pAS-TPP-PCL) 'having...', as illustrated by examples 267 to 269 below. The plural agent morpheme <-eŋ> (pAS) occupies a position posterior to the verb stem but anterior to the transitive preterite participle <-to> (TPP). This position is fixed and unchangeable.

- 267 *cahuca mi-pali nem-te racya kyel-eŋ-to-le, tim-te*
 man person-p house-LOC paddy bring-pAS-TPP-PCL mortar-LOC
sui-to-le, isa cey-eŋ-du.
 thresh-TPP-PCL food eat-pAS-NPT

Having brought the paddy back home, the menfolk thresh it in a mortar and eat it.

- 268 *paŋ ray-eŋ-to-le, aikuca-ye suwa ʔany-eŋ-to-le*
 sour.fruit bring-pAS-TPP-PCL large.knife-INS tooth open-pAS-TPP-PCL
ugo duŋ-ŋaŋ piy-eŋ-no.
 mouth within-inside give-pAS-3→3/PT

Having brought back a sour fruit, they pried open their mouths with a knife and put it inside.

- 269 *ka dewa loŋ-sa beryaŋ, thaŋmi-pali-ko guru-pali naka miŋ*
 this god do-INF that.time Thangmi-p-GEN shaman-p new cloth
bu-siy-eŋ-ta-le ʔake tap-eŋ-to-le usyay-eŋ-du.
 cover-REF-pAS-IPP-PCL shaman's.drum beat-pAS-TPP-PCL dance-pAS-NPT

When worshipping their god, Thangmi shamans wear new clothes and dance beating their shaman's drums.

The second exception to the otherwise invariable form Σ -to-le (verb-TPP-PCL) occurs in transitive preterite constructions involving a first person singular agent, in which the transitive preterite participle <-to> (TPP) is replaced by the *portemanteau* form <-tuŋ> (1s/TPP), resulting in Σ -tuŋ-le (verb-1s/TPP-PCL), as illustrated by examples

270 to 272 below. The first person singular transitive preterite *portemanteau* <-tuŋ> (1s/TPP) is a fused form comprised of the transitive preterite participle <-to> (TPP) and the first person singular actant morpheme <-ŋ> (1s).

- 270 *apraca ni-tuŋ-le, to nama kutaleŋ cijyaŋ-sa uniŋ tha-ŋa-n.*
 good see-1s/TPP-PCL that with when speak-INF like be-1s-PT

Seeing that beauty, I wondered when I might speak with her.

- 271 *gai woi di toke nunu kai-tuŋ-le cya-ŋa-n.*
 I also one small.bowl milk remove-1s/TPP-PCL eat-1s-PT

Then I scooped out a bowl of milk and drank it.

- 272 *to pepelek khalam-tuŋ-le, nem-te jake chya asa*
 that money receive-1s/TPP-PCL house-LOC rice salt oil
rah-u-n-uŋ.
 bring-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT

Having received the money [from the foreigners], I brought rice, salt and oil back home.

14.3 The intransitive preterite participle

morph:	<-ta>
label:	IPP

The intransitive preterite participle <-ta> (IPP) occurs in all intransitive preterite gerundal constructions with the meaning ‘having ..., then ...’, often translated into English using ‘and’. The intransitive preterite participle <-ta> (IPP) may not occur without the participial ending <-le> (PCL), but unlike the transitive preterite participle <-to> (TPP) discussed above in Section §14.2, the intransitive preterite participle <-ta> (IPP) requires the intransitive verbal agreement morphemes marking person and number to be present. The sequential ordering of the morphemes is as follows: the first and second person singular and plural verbal agreement morphemes occupy a functional position between the intransitive preterite participle <-ta> (IPP) and the participial ending <-le> (PCL), as in Σ -*ta-na-le* (verb-IPP-2s-PCL), while the third person singular and plural morphemes occupy a functional position between the verb stem (Σ) and the intransitive preterite participle <-ta> (IPP), as in Σ -*eŋ-ta-le* (verb-PAS-IPP-PCL). The intransitive preterite participle occurs in combination with all intransitive simplex verbal agreement morphemes.

The intransitive preterite participle <-ta> (IPP) in combination with the first person singular actant morpheme <-ŋa> (1s) in first person singular verbal scenarios is illustrated by examples 273 and 274 below.

- 273 *tyaŋ gai woi to nama kherte ya-ta-ŋa-le ciŋyaŋ-ŋa-n.*
 then I also that with near go-IPP-1s-PCL speak-1s-PT

Then I walked over to him and spoke to him.

- 274 *gai isa cya-ta-ŋa-le hok-ŋa-du.*
 I food eat-IPP-1s-PCL be-1s-NPT

I will relax after having eaten.

The intransitive preterite participle <-ta> (IPP) in combination with the first person plural patient and subject morpheme <-i> (1pPS) in first person plural verbal scenarios is illustrated by examples 275 and 276 below.

- 275 *ya-ta-i-le, thapu kherte hok-i-n, to camaica-ko apa*
 go-IPP-1pPS-PT fireplace near be-1pPS-PT that woman-GEN father
ama-ye ni-kai kaŋay-i-n.
 mother-ERG we-PM scold-1pPS-PT

Having gone there, we sat down close to the fire, and the woman's father, and mother scolded us.

- 276 *ni nis-ka isa cya-ta-i-le hara loŋ-sa?*
 we two-HNC food eat-IPP-1pPS-PCL what do-INF

What shall we two do after eating?

The intransitive preterite participle <-ta> (IPP) in combination with the second person singular actant morpheme <-na> (2s) in second person singular verbal scenarios is illustrated by examples 277 and 278 below.

- 277 *'nan naŋ soŋ-te ya-ta-na-le, nany-e yo-to-le di-gore*
 now you river-LOC go-IPP-2s-PCL you-ERG look.at-TPP-PCL one-CLF
chaŋ uniŋ kyel-o!'
 bamboo.cradle like bring-s→3/IMP

'Now go to the river, have a look around, and bring back something that resembles a bamboo cradle!' [said the old woman].

- 278 *naŋ isa cya-ta-na-le ya-na-du?*
 you food eat-IPP-2s-PCL go-2s-NPT

Will you go, having eaten?

The intransitive preterite participle <-ta> (IPP) in combination with the second person plural actant morpheme <-ni ~ -n> (2p) in second person plural verbal scenarios is illustrated by examples 279 and 280 below.

- 279 *'niŋ hara-kai ka-te kyel-ta-ni-le, ni-ko seŋ pal-n-u-n?*
 you(p) what-PM this-LOC come-IPP-2p-PCL we-GEN wood cut-2p-3p-PT
nan niŋ-kai gǎ-ye nem duŋ-ŋaŋ na-ni-ŋa-du',
 now you(p)-PM I-ERG house within-inside put-2p-1s-NPT
ŋah-Ø-u-no.
 say-SAS-3p-3→3/PT

'For what reason did you(p) come to this place and cut down my trees for wood? I am going to jail you both [lit. put you inside a house]', he said.

- 280 *amakaleŋ niŋ apok-te hok-ta-ni-le, naleŋ guru tha-ni-n.*
 last.year you(p) cave-LOC be-IPP-2p-PCL present shaman be-2s-PT

Last year you(p) lived in a cave, now you have become shamans.

The intransitive preterite participle <-ta> (IPP) in combination with the non-first person singular agent or subject zero morpheme <-Ø> (SAS) in third person singular verbal scenarios is illustrated by examples 281 and 282 below.

- 281 *ya-ŋa libi, to-te ɰiŋ-Ø-ta-le ami-Ø-du uniŋ*
 go-CNS after that-LOC fall.from.level-SAS-IPP-PCL sleep-SAS-NPT like
thah-Ø-an.
 be-SAS-3s/PT

Having gone there, she also toppled over as if she were asleep.

- 282 *ni-ko jarphu kyaŋ-pole-yiŋ*
 we-GEN elder.sister's.husband needle.wood-tree-ABL
ros-Ø-ta-le sih-Ø-an.
 fall.from.height-SAS-IPP-PCL die-SAS-3s/PT

Our brother-in-law fell from the needle wood tree and died.

The intransitive preterite participle <-ta> (IPP) in combination with the plural agent or subject morpheme <-eη> (pAS) in third person plural verbal scenarios is illustrated by examples 283 and 284 below.

- 283 *to-baη jekha jekha thay-eη-ta-le, bore loη-sa thay-eη-an.*
 that-Pp big big be-pAS-IPP-PCL marriage do-INF be-pAS-3S/PT

Having all grown up, they got married.

- 284 *nyoηi guru-pali ray-eη-ta-le, dewa lony-eη-to-le,*
 evening shaman-p come.from.level-pAS-IPP-PCL god do-pAS-TPP-PCL
dewa hok-Ø-du thai-te yey-eη-du.
 god be-sAS-NPT place-LOC go-pAS-NPT

In the evening, having come, and having done their worship, the shamans then go the place where the gods reside.

15. The negative participial suffix <-ki>

morph: <-ki>
 label: NPS

The Thangmi negative participial suffix <-ki> (NPS) occurs in negative preterite verbal constructions to convey the meaning ‘...not having...’. The negative participial suffix <-ki> (NPS) is the final element in any given verbal string, after the person and number agreement markers if they are present, and in combination with the transitive or intransitive preterite participles <-to> (TPP) and <-ta> (IPP). The use of the Thangmi negative participial suffix <-ki> (NPS) in intransitive verbal scenarios, in combination with the intransitive preterite participle <-ta> (IPP), is illustrated by examples 285 to 291 below.

- 285 *ma-tha, gai isa ma-cya-ta-ηa-ki.*
 NEG-be I food NEG-eat-IPP-1s-NPS

No, that’s not possible, my not having eaten yet.

- 286 *gai-go chuku kuta woi ma-ya-Ø-ta-ki, amakaleη*
 I-GEN father.in.law where also NEG-go-SAS-IPP-NPS last.year
siy-Ø-an.
 die-SAS-3S/PT

My father-in-law not having gone anywhere, died last year.

287 *naŋ kapu ma-uli-si-ta-na-ki.*

you head NEG-wash-REF-IPP-2s-NPS

You not having washed your hair yet.

288 *naŋ nem-yiŋ ma-waŋ-ta-na-ki.*

you house-ABL NEG-come.from.below-IPP-2s-NPS

You not having come from your home.

289 *ni mesya-ko ʔamsil ma-cya-ta-i-ki.*

we buffalo-GEN marrow NEG-eat-IPP-1pPS-NPS

Our not having eaten buffalo marrow.

290 *ulam apraca ma-hok-Ø-thyo, niŋ-kai ma-thur-ta-ni-ki.*

road good NEG-be-sAS-3sCOND you(p)-PM NEG-stumble-IPP-2p-NPS

The path wasn't good, you(p) not having stumbled.

291 *apa si-Ø-du-yiŋ, to-baŋ ma-kerep-eŋ-ta-ki.*

father die-sAS-NPT-ABL that-Pp NEG-cry-pAS-IPP-NPS

Their not having cried since father died.

The use of the Thangmi negative participial suffix <-ki> (NPS) in preterite transitive verbal scenarios, in combination with the transitive preterite participle <-to> (TPP), is illustrated by examples 292 to 295 below.

292 *yaŋ ni-ye jet ma-loŋ-to-wa-ki.*

today we-ERG work NEG-do-TPP-1p→23-NPS

Our not having worked today.

293 *to-bany-e naka nem ma-thil-eŋ-to-ki.*

that-Pp-ERG new house NEG-paint-pAS-TPP-NPS

Their not yet having painted the house.

294 *to-baŋ apraca mi, kucu-ye cuk-Ø-u-le woi*

that-Pp good person dog-ERG bite-sAS-3P-PCL also

ma-ney-eŋ-to-ki.

NEG-beat-pAS-TPP-NPS

They are kind people, not having beaten the dog even though it bites [them].

- 295 *naŋ cile cya-na-du? gǎ-ye ma-khit-tuŋ-ki.*
 you yam eat-2s-NPT I-ERG NEG-peel-1s/TPP-NPS

Are you eating the yam? My not having scraped it off yet.

In second person negative verbal scenarios involving the preterite transitive particle <-to> (TPP) and the Thangmi negative participial suffix <-ki> (NPS), the preterite transitive particle <-to> (TPP) takes the form <-tu> (2/NEG/TPP). The second person preterite transitive particle <-tu> (2/NEG/TPP) is illustrated by example 296 below.

- 296 *nany-e jet ma-loŋ-tu-na-ki, naŋ-kai cya-sa ma-pi.*
 you-ERG work NEG-do- 2/NEG/TPP-2s-NPS you-PM eat-INF NEG-give

Not having worked, you won't get anything to eat.

The second person plural actant marker <-ni ~ -n> (2p) has the irregular form <-nu> (2p/NEG/TPP) in negative constructions involving the second person preterite transitive particle <-tu> (2/NEG/TPP) and the negative participial suffix <-ki> (NPS), as illustrated by examples 297 and 298 below.

- 297 *niny-e camai-ko cime ma-ḍi-tu-nu-ki.*
 you(p)-ERG daughter-GEN hair NEG-comb-2/NEG/TPP-2p/NEG/TPP-NPS

You(p) not having combed daughter's hair.

- 298 *niny-e gwi ma-ḍapu-tu-nu-ki.*
 you(p)-ERG thief NEG-spy-2/NEG/TPP-2p/NEG/TPP-NPS

You(p) not having spied on the thief.

16. The connector suffix <-ŋa>

morph: <-ŋa>
 label: CNS

The connector suffix <-ŋa> (CNS) occurs in combination with a verbal stem (Σ) and the postposition *libi* 'after' to mean 'after Σ-ing'. The syntactic connector <-ŋa> (CNS) is a bound suffix with a highly limited distribution. The suffix <-ŋa> (CNS) acts like an infinitive connecting the verb stem to the postposition *libi* 'after' which governs it. Some uses of the connector suffix <-ŋa> (CNS) are illustrated in examples 299 to 302 below.

- 299 *uma-kai ηah-Ø-u-no, 'nany-e huca nik-ηa libi*
 wife-PM say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT you-ERG child give.birth-CNS after
ka citaliη tap-sa, tyay ni-ye thaha sai-wa-du.'
 this drum beat-INF then we-ERG knowledge know-1p→23-NPT

He [the husband] said to his wife, 'when you have just given birth to the child, beat this drum and then we will know.'

- 300 *gai-gai ama-ye nik-ηa libi, gai ucyaca kere uniη*
 I-PM mother-ERG give.birth-CNS after I small insect like
hok-ηa-thyo thaηun.
 be-1s-3sCOND maybe.

After my mother gave birth to me, I think that I was like a small insect.

- 301 *to mi toη cya-ηa libi, cijyaη-sa ma-ra.*
 that man beer eat-CNS after speak-INF NEG-come.from.level

After that man drinks, he can't talk [when that man is drunk, he isn't able to talk properly].

- 302 *puya li-ηa libi, paηku cuk-ko mai-Ø-du.*
 seed scatter-CNS after water insert-ADH must-SAS-NPT

After scattering the seeds, water should be added.

17. The third person singular conditional ending <-thyo>

morph: <-thyo>
 label: 3sCOND

Thangmi makes use of the Nepali conditional form *thyo* in periphrastic constructions to convey a habitual or conditional meaning, much like the English form *would*. The use of the borrowed element <-thyo> (3sCOND) is so abundant in Thangmi habitual or conditional verbal constructions that Thangmi speakers do not perceive it to be a loaned element. Instances of the loaned element <-thyo> (3sCOND) being used to convey the past habitual meaning 'used to' are illustrated by examples 303 to 306 below.

- 303 *gai-gai tete-ye cabu-to-le hen-Ø-ηa-thyo.*
 I-PM elder.sister-ERG carry-TPP-PCL take-SAS-1s-3sCOND

My elder sister used to carry me around.

- 304 *di-ka apa uniŋ ʃhəne mi-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no, 'habi*
 one-HNC father like old.man person-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT before
camai wakhe ʃisen-si-Ø-ta-le, unise nem-te
 daughter word teach-REF-SAS-IPP-PCL afternoon house-LOC
ra-Ø-thyo.'
 come.from.level-SAS-3sCOND

One old man said, 'daughters used to come home after school.'

- 305 *gai ucyaŋa tha-ŋa-du beryaŋ, gai-go apa-ko apa aʃthe*
 I small be-1s-NPT that.time I-GEN father-GEN father many
bajareŋ cya-Ø-thyo.
 tobacco eat-SAS-3sCOND

When I was small, my father's father used to smoke a lot of tobacco.

- 306 *habi, jekha dese yo-sa-kai, cawa-ta-i-le ya-yo-ko*
 before big village look.at-INF-PM walk-IPP-1pPS-PCL go-look.at-ADH
mai-Ø-thyo.
 must-SAS-3sCOND

In the olden days, in order to see the city [lit. big village], we used to have to walk [to get there].

Instances of the borrowed element <-thyo> (3sCOND) being used to convey a conditional meaning are illustrated by examples 307 to 312 below.

- 307 *huca ni-to-le yoh-Ø-u-no, 'ka huca gai-go nem-te*
 child see-TPP-PCL look.at-SAS-3P-3→3/PT this child I-GEN house-LOC
tha-sa-be, ka nama hok-ŋa-thyo' ŋah-Ø-u-no.
 be-INF-TOP this with be-1s-3sCOND say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

Seeing the child, she looked at it and said, 'if this child had been in my house, I would have lived with him.'

- 308 *'naŋ ma-tha-na-n-be, gai-gai sat-eŋ-ŋa-thyo, naŋ*
 you NEG-be-2s-PT-TOP I-PM kill-pAS-1s-3sCOND you
tha-Ø-ta-na-le gai mo-ŋa-n', ŋah-Ø-u-no.
 be-SAS-IPP-2s-PCL I survive-1s-PT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

'If you hadn't been here, they would have killed me, it's because of you that I survived', she said.

- 309 *kucu ban ma-hok-Ø-an-be to ca si-Ø-thyo.*
 dog friend NEG-be-SAS-3S/PT-TOP that son die-SAS-3sCOND

Had his friend the dog not been there, then that boy would have died.

- 310 *guru-ye yoh-Ø-u-no, 'ra-sa-be ra-to-le, libi*
 shaman-ERG look.at-SAS-3P-3→3/PT bring-INF-TOP bring-TPP-PCL after
gaŋ-Ø-ta-le, ka di-gore ma-jah-Ø-an, naŋ ja-na-thyo,
 dry-SAS-IPP-PCL this one-CLF NEG-okay-SAS-3S/PT you recover-2s-3sCOND
nan ka ma-ja', ŋah-Ø-u-no.
 now this NEG-okay say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

The shaman looked at it and said, 'well he brought it well and fine, but having dried out, this one is now no good; you would have been cured, but this one won't do the job.'

- 311 *paŋku dany-eŋ-to-le, cya-ko mai-Ø-thyo, naka thapu*
 water search-pAS-TPP-PCL eat-ADH must-SAS-3sCOND new fireplace
khem-to-le, cawa-ko mai-Ø-thyo.
 build-TPP-PCL walk-ADH must-SAS-3sCOND

Having found water, they would have to eat, and having made a new fireplace each day, they would have to walk.

- 312 *chya kyel-sa-kai, nem-yiŋ jake hen-ko mai-Ø-thyo.*
 salt bring-INF-PM house-ABL rice take-ADH must-SAS-3sCOND

In order to bring salt, they would have to take rice with them from home.

The loaned element <-thyo> (3sCOND) is particularly common in descriptive or narrative stories when chronological sequence is more important than temporal specificity. In such cases, the element <-thyo> (3sCOND) occurs in the final position of a Thangmi verbal string in the slot usually occupied by the Thangmi preterite or non-preterite tense markers, conveying the meaning 'used to, would', as illustrated by examples 313 to 318 below.

- 313 *di uni-ye, to apa-ko apa-ye nis-dicip-walŋa-gore bajareŋ*
 one day-ERG that father-GEN father-ERG two-ten-five-CLF tobacco
cya-Ø-thyo.
 eat-SAS-3sCOND

In one day, my grandfather would smoke twenty-five fags.

- 314 *ma-tha-Ø-thyo,* *arkapole-ko* *guru* *gai-go*
 NEG-be-SAS-3sCOND walnut.tree-GEN shaman I-GEN
jarphu *hok-Ø-thyo.*
 elder.sister's.husband be-SAS-3sCOND

No he wasn't, the shaman of Walnut Tree was my brother-in-law [i.e. elder's sister's husband].

- 315 *nyoñi,* *ama-ye* *ya-kai-Ø-ŋa-thyo.*
 evening mother-ERG go-take-SAS-1s-3sCOND

In the evening, mum would go and fetch me.

- 316 *di uni-ko,* *dicip-walŋa pepelek pi-Ø-ŋa-thyo.*
 one day-GEN ten-five money give-SAS-1s-3sCOND

For one day's work, I was given fifteen rupees.

- 317 *gai nama di-gore woi pepelek ma-hok-Ø-thyo.*
 I with one-CLF also money NEG-be-SAS-3sCOND

I had not a penny to my name.

- 318 *duŋ-ŋaŋ* *bi-sa* *thai* *ma-hok-Ø-thyo.*
 within-inside enter-INF place NEG-be-SAS-3sCOND

There was no place to enter.

18. The continuous background activity suffix <-ÄI>

morph:	<-ÄI>
label:	CON

The use of the Thangmi continuous background activity suffix <-ÄI> (CON) lends prominence to the modified constituent. Aside from one recorded instance of the Thangmi suffix <-ÄI> (CON) in combination with the temporal adverb *nokkhol* 'some time ago', the suffix occurs only in combination with verb stems. In such cases, the verb stem is reduplicated and the Thangmi continuous background activity suffix <-ÄI> (CON) is attached directly to this reduplicated form, rather like the Nepali imperfect participle <-da> in its morphologically emphatic form <-dai>. The Thangmi suffix <-ÄI> (CON) is not compatible with person or number verbal agreement suffixes. Examples 319 to 322 below illustrate the use of the suffix to convey a continuing activity which then becomes the backdrop for another narrative event.

- 319 *daŋ-daŋ-ăi, di uni wa-ca gwi-sa beryaŋ*
 search-search-CON one day chicken-DIM steal-INF that.time
khalam-Ø-u-no.
 meet-sAS-3P-3→3/PT

Searching and searching, one day he found it [the jackal] stealing a little chicken.

- 320 *di uni, hen-hen-ăi ama-ye nih-Ø-u-no, ca-kăi*
 one day take-take-CON mother-ERG see-sAS-3P-3→3/PT son-PM
kaŋa-Ø-ta-le 'gă-ye naŋ-kăi cya-sa pi-na-ŋa-du, sola
 scold-sAS-IPP-PCL I-ERG you-PM eat-INF give-2s-1s-NPT snack
hara-kăi to-kăi piy-u-na-du?'
 what-PM that-PM give-3P-2s-NPT

One day, as he was taking [the food], mother saw him and scolded him 'I give you food to eat, why do you give it to him?'

- 321 *di uni, di-ka toŋ cya-Ø-du mi-ye, miŋ toŋ-toŋ-ăi,*
 one day one-HNC beer eat-sAS-NPT person-ERG cloth wash-wash-CON
humi-ko lak-te tirik-Ø-u-no.
 younger.sister-GEN hand-LOC tread.on-sAS-3P-3→3/PT

One day, a drunk [lit. beer-eating] man trod on younger sister's hand while she was scrubbing clothes.

- 322 *huca hen-hen-ăi, di-ka amat-cya-Ø-du mi-ko nem-te*
 child take-take-CON one-HNC beg-eat-sAS-NPT person-GEN house-LOC
hen-Ø-u-no, to-te hok-eŋ-an.
 take-sAS-3P-3→3/PT that-LOC be-pAS-3S/PT

Carrying and carrying that child, she took him to the house of a beggar, and they stayed there.

PART 2

TEXTS

INTRODUCTION TO THE TEXTS

Part Two of this monograph is devoted to the presentation of forty-five Thangmi texts. None of these oral documents originated in a written form, nor, to my knowledge, have any been committed to paper before now.

A wide range of speaking styles and registers are represented in these oral narratives. Some are simply conversations between two villagers, while others are monologues or fables narrated by Thangmi friends. Those readers familiar with Nepali folklore will notice certain well known motifs, particularly from Newar folk tales which remain popular throughout the kingdom. Magical or superstitious events occur frequently, and kinship relationships and marriages are particularly salient elements in many of these narratives.

The oral texts which follow were recorded in the field and thereafter transcribed and translated in Kathmandu or Amsterdam. For the first stint of fieldwork, a SONY Professional recorder was used to record narratives and tales on analogue audio cassette. During later research trips, the author had access to a SONY handheld video camcorder with an external stereo microphone, providing high quality audio and video tracks. Some of the most culturally interesting texts will be hosted on a website in the future, together with glosses and an English translation.

When they form part of an example, loan words from Nepali are transcribed according to the local pronunciation provided by the speaker. Borrowed forms with an identical meaning in the source language are indicated by italicising the English gloss. Naturalised loan words or borrowed forms with a variant indigenous meaning, such as Thangmi *guru* 'shaman' (from Indo-Aryan *guru* 'spiritual guide, mentor, teacher'), Thangmi *name* 'name' (from Indo-Aryan *nām* 'name') and Thangmi *dese* 'village' (from Indo-Aryan *deś* 'place, quarter, region, province, country, nation'), are not italicised in the English gloss.

GETTING MARRIED TO A YOUNG GIRL

- 1 *di uni, ulam-te cawa-ŋa-du beryaŋ, di-ka apraca camăica*
 one day road-LOC walk-1s-NPT that.time one-HNC good woman
khalam-u-n-uŋ. 2 *apraca ni-tuŋ-le, to nama kutaleŋ*
 meet-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT good see-1s/TPP-PCL that with when
cijyaŋ-sa uniŋ tha-ŋa-n. 3 *tyaŋ to libi libi cawa-ŋa-n, cijyaŋ-sa*
 speak-INF like be-1s-PT then that after after walk-1s-PT speak-INF
ma-thaŋ-u-n-uŋ. 4 *to nama cijyaŋ-sa-kăi, di uni to-ko*
 NEG-be.able-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT that with speak-INF-PM one day that-GEN
kherte ya-ŋa-n. 5 *to-ye lak-te cabuh-Ø-u-du menca ulam-te*
 near go-1s-PT that-ERG hand-LOC carry-SAS-3P-NPT bag road-LOC
ros-Ø-an, *gă-ye 'sewa' ŋa-tuŋ-le, to-ko menca*
 fall.from.level-SAS-3S/PT I-ERG salute say-1s/TPP-PCL that-GEN bag
kum-sa-kăi kokorok-si-ŋa-n. 6 *to woi to beryaŋ*
 pick.up-INF-PM bend.over-REF-1s-PT that also that that.time
korok-si-Ø-ta-le, *to-ko kapu nama găi-go kapu*
 bend.over-REF-SAS-IPP-PCL that-GEN head with I-GEN head
thyok-Ø-an. 7 *libi to-ŋaŋ ni yo-siy-i-n,*
 bump.against-SAS-3S/PT after that-inside we look.at-REF-1pPS-PT
nuy-i-n. 8 *tyaŋ nama nama caway-i-n 'naŋ-ko name hara?'*
 laugh-1pPS-PT then with with walk-1pPS-PT you-GEN name what
ŋa-to-le, gă-ye ŋah-u-n-uŋ. 9 *tyaŋ to-ye oste-ko name*
 say-TPP-PCL I-ERG say-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT then that-ERG self-GEN name

1 One day, while walking along the road, I met a beautiful woman. 2 Seeing that beauty, I wondered when I might speak with her. 3 Then I followed her, but was unable to speak. 4 In order to speak with her, one day I went up really close. 5 The bag that she was carrying in her hand fell onto the road, and I, saying 'good morning', bent down to pick it up. 6 At that time she also bent over, and her head bumped against mine. 7 Then, right there, we looked at each other and laughed. 8 And then we walked together and I asked her 'what's your name?' 9 Then she told me her name and I told her mine.

ηah-Ø-ηa-n, gǎ-ye woi ηah-u-n-uη. 10 *‘nan baṭhe nama*
 say-SAS-1s-PT I-ERG also say-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT now tomorrow with
tha-ko’ ηa-to-le ηah-u-n-uη, wakhe loη-sa-kǎi di ṭhǎi-te
 be-ADH say-TPP-PCL say-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT word do-INF-PM one place-LOC
hok-ta-i-le, loη-wa-n. 11 *libi torta-to-le oste-ko ami-sa*
 be-IPP-1pPS-PCL do-1p→23-PT after leave-TPP-PCL self-GEN sleep-INF
nem-te yey-i-n. 12 *gǎi ṭaye ami-sa ma-thaη-u-n-uη,*
 house-LOC go-1pPS-PT I night sleep-INF NEG-be.able-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT
to-ko khien gǎi-go mesek-te usyah-Ø-an. 13 *nan kutaleη*
 that-GEN face I-GEN eye-LOC dance-SAS-3S/PT now when
athaη-Ø-du, tyaη khalam-sa ηah-u-n-uη. 14 *bǎsinṭe gare*
 be.light-SAS-NPT then meet-INF say-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT morning rooster
ikhey-Ø-an, serek-ta-ηa-le khalam-sa ṭhǎi-te ya-ηa-n. 15 *libi to*
 crow-SAS-3S/PT arise-IPP-1s-PCL meet-INF place-LOC go-1s-PT after that
rah-Ø-an di ṭhǎi hok-sa ṭhǎi-te ya-ta-i-le
 come.from.level-SAS-3S/PT one place be-INF place-LOC go-IPP-1pPS-PCL
wakhe loη-wa-n. 16 *to-ηaη ni-ye kutaleη woi kuta woi*
 word do-1p→23-PT that-inside we-ERG when also where also
torta-to-le ma-hen-ko ηa-wa-n. 17 *tyaη gǎi-gǎi to camǎica-ye*
 leave-TPP-PCL NEG-go-ADH say-1p→23-PT then I-PM that woman-ERG
to-ko nem-te hen-Ø-ηa-n, gǎi woi ya-ηa-n. 18 *libi to-ko*
 that-GEN house-LOC take-SAS-1s-PT I also go-1s-PT after that-GEN
ama kyel-Ø-an, camǎi-guri-ye ηah-Ø-u-no ‘to gǎi-go
 mother come-SAS-3S/PT daughter-IND-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that I-GEN

10 ‘Now let’s meet again tomorrow’, I said to her, and finding a place to talk, we sat there and chatted. 11 Taking leave of each other, we went back to sleep in our respective houses. 12 I couldn’t sleep that night, her face was dancing before my eyes. 13 I had said that we should meet as soon as it was light. 14 In the morning, the cock crowed and I got up and went to the meeting place. 15 Then she came and we went to a place where we could sit and talk. 16 And there we promised never ever to break up [with one another] and leave. 17 Then that woman took me to her house, and of course I went. 18 Then her mother came home and the daughter said ‘this is my friend.’

ban. 19 *ama-ye* *ŋah-Ø-u-no* 'camăi, *adum paŋku loŋ-to-le*
 friend mother-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT daughter hot water do-TPP-PCL
rah-o!', *camăi duŋ-ŋaŋ biy-Ø-an.* 20 *ama-ye wakhe*
 bring-s→3/IMP daughter within-inside enter-SAS-3S/PT mother-ERG word
loŋ-Ø-u-no 'naŋ-ko *nem kuta? apa ama hok-eŋ-du ra*
 do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT you-GEN house where father mother be-PAS-NPT or
ma-hok-eŋ?' 21 *găi-go name, apa ama sakalei-ko name*
 NEG-be-PAS I-GEN name father mother all-GEN name
sat-u-n-uŋ. 22 *tyaŋ ama-ye ŋa-Ø-ŋa-n* 'naŋ *hanimyaŋ-ko*
 kill-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT then mother-ERG say-SAS-1s-PT you how.big-GEN
tha-ta-na-le, naŋ ka-te hara jet loŋ-u-na-du?' 23 'naŋ *ka-te*
 be-IPP-2s-PCL you this-LOC what work do-3P-2s-NPT you this-LOC
hok-na-du, ni-kăi thaha ma-hok.' 24 *gă-ye ŋah-u-n-uŋ* 'ka
 be-2s-NPT we-PM knowledge NEG-be I-ERG say-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT this
găi-go ama-ko ban thaŋun?' 25 'naŋ-kăi *gă-ye ucyaca tha-na-du*
 I-GEN mother-GEN friend maybe you-PM I-ERG small be-2s-NPT
beryaŋ ni-na-ŋa-du.' 26 *camăi-ye adum paŋku ra-to-le*
 that.time see-2s-1s-NPT daughter-ERG hot water bring-TPP-PCL
rah-Ø-an, *pi-Ø-ŋa-n,* *tyaŋ ama-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no:*
 come.from.level-SAS-3S/PT give-SAS-1s-PT then mother-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
 27 'camăi, *ka-kăi nany-e ŋosăiy-u-na-du? ka-be găi-go*
 daughter this-PM you-ERG recognise-3P-2s-NPT this-TOP I-GEN
tete-ko ca.' 28 'gă-ye *niŋ nama kutaleŋ kutaleŋ wakhe*
 elder.sister-GEN son I-ERG you(p) with when when word

19 Mother said 'daughter, go put some hot water on and bring it here!', and daughter disappeared inside. 20 Mother chatted for a while 'where is your house? Are your mother and father still alive?' 21 I told [her] my name, and the names of my father, mother and all my family. 22 Then [recognising me] mother said, 'my, how you have grown, now what work do you plan to do?' 23 'We didn't know that you were living here [in this area]' [she said]. 24 I thought 'maybe this woman is a friend of my mother's?' 25 'I saw you when you were very small' [she said]. 26 Daughter came bringing hot water, gave it to me, and then mother said: 27 'Daughter, do you recognise him at all? He is the son of my elder sister.' 28 'Very occasionally I would tell you about them' [mother said].

loŋ-ni-ŋa-thyo.’ 29 *‘tete ma-khalam-u-n-du woi ahe uni*
 do-2p-1s-3SECOND elder.sister NEG-meet-3P-1s→3-NPT also many day
thah-Ø-an.’ 30 *‘ca-be ka uniŋ tha-Ø-ta-le’, ka wakhe*
 be-sAS-3S/PT son-TOP this like be-sAS-IPP-PCL this word
nasăi-to-le ni thombe thay-i-n. 31 *‘to camăica-be găi-go*
 hear-TPP-PCL we surprise be-1pPS-PT that woman-TOP I-GEN
humi.’ 32 *găi to-ko nem-te ma-ya-ŋa-n-be, to*
 younger.sister I that-GEN house-LOC NEG-go-1s-PT-TOP that
humi nama găi-go bore tha-Ø-thyo thaŋun.
 younger.sister with I-GEN marriage be-sAS-3SECOND maybe

29 ‘It’s been ages since I saw my elder sister.’ 30 ‘And her son has grown up so much’ [the mother said], when we heard her words, we were totally shocked. 31 ‘That woman is my younger sister’ [I thought]. 32 Had I not gone back to her house, I might have got married to my younger sister.

THE FATHER WHO SOLD HIS DAUGHTER

- 1 *di-gore dese ka uniñ hok-Ø-du: di uni ka*
 one-CLF village this like be-SAS-NPT one day throughout
- rañ to-le woi, nyoñi bāsinte cya-sa ma-khalam, cya-sa*
 unirrigated.field dig-PCL also evening morning eat-INF NEG-receive eat-INF
- ma-gap. 2 to-ñañ-ko mi cya-sa ma-khalam-to-le, nan*
 NEG-be.enough that-inside-GEN person eat-INF NEG-receive-TPP-PCL now
- dha-basa nem-ko mi cici cyah-Ø-an, boro*
 that.distant-side house-GEN person meat eat-SAS-3S/PT cooked.rice
- cyah-Ø-an. 3 ka ni-to-le nem-te cya-sa ma-hok-Ø-du*
 eat-SAS-3S/PT this see-TPP-PCL house-LOC eat-INF NEG-be-SAS-NPT
- mi-pali ugo-te ustok ci-let-eñ-du. 4 ka uniñ ña-to-le,*
 person-p mouth-LOC spit CAUS-appear-PAS-NPT this like say-TPP-PCL
- di-ka apa nem-te hok-Ø-ta-le ñah-Ø-u-du. 5 ‘camăi-ye*
 one-HNC father house-LOC be-SAS-IPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-NPT daughter-ERG
- nembo-ko nem-te ya-Ø-ta-le, jet loñ-ko măi-Ø-du.’*
 other.person-GEN house-LOC go-SAS-IPP-PCL work do-ADH must-SAS-NPT
- 6 *‘jekha tha-Ø-du, oste-ko nem-te hok-sa ma-nik.’ 7 ‘camăi*
 big be-SAS-NPT self-GEN house-LOC be-INF NEG-receive daughter
- di uni nembo-ko nem-te ya-Ø-du.’ 8 ‘ni nama hok-sa*
 one day other.person-GEN house-LOC go-SAS-NPT we with be-INF
- ma-nik, ni-ye torta-ko măi-Ø-du.’ 9 ‘nan ka uniñ ma-tha,*
 NEG-receive we-ERG leave-ADH must-SAS-NPT now this like NEG-be

1 There is a village which is like this: Even if the fields are worked all day, there is not enough food to eat in both the morning and evening. 2 The people from that place, not getting any food, [saw] the person in the house on the other side eating meat and rice. 3 Seeing this caused saliva to appear in the mouths of the people from the house where there was nothing to eat. 4 This being the way it is, one old man sitting at home has an idea. 5 ‘Daughter must go and work [as a domestic help] in the house of another.’ 6 ‘She is now grown up, she shouldn’t live in her own [maternal] house any more.’ 7 ‘Daughter will one day go to [work in] someone else’s house.’ 8 ‘She shouldn’t be allowed to stay with us, we must break with her.’ 9 ‘Not just like that, though, first I should get a little money for my daughter and only then give her away.’

habi camăi pepelek pha-to-le, *camăi pi-ko*
 before daughter money hold.out.hand.to.receive-TPP-PCL daughter give-ADH
măiy-Ø-an.' 10 *di-ka apa-ye ka uniŋ dikaca hok-Ø-ta-le*
 must-sAS-3S/PT one-HNC father-ERG this like alone be-sAS-IPP-PCL
ŋah-Ø-u-du. 11 *to-ko woi nem-te cya-sa ma-nik, di-ka*
 say-sAS-3P-NPT that-GEN also house-LOC eat-INF NEG-receive one-HNC
dese-ko cahuca jekha dese-yiŋ ra-Ø-du
 village-GEN man big village-ABL come.from.level-sAS-NPT
nih-Ø-u-du. 12 *to-kăi ŋah-Ø-u-du 'hu, naŋ kuta*
 see-sAS-3P-NPT that-PM say-sAS-3P-NPT younger.brother you where
hok-na-du? găi-go camăi woi hen-to-le, găi-găi pepelek
 be-2s-NPT I-GEN daughter also take-TPP-PCL I-PM money
rah-o!' 13 *to cahuca taŋ-Ø-du 'ja-Ø-du,*
 bring-s→3/IMP that man be.happy-sAS-NPT okay-sAS-NPT
hani-te piy-u-na-du? găi-găi pi-ŋa, naŋ-kăi libi pepelek
 how.much-LOC give-3P-2s-NPT I-PM give-s→1s/IMP you-PM after money
pi-na-ŋa-du.' 14 *camăi-kăi ŋah-Ø-u-du 'camăi, naŋ libi woi*
 give-2s-1s-NPT daughter-PM say-sAS-3P-NPT daughter you after also
nembo-ko nem-te hen-ko măi-Ø-du, naleŋ woi hen-ko
 other.person-GEN house-LOC go-ADH must-sAS-NPT present also go-ADH
măi-Ø-du.' 15 *'naŋ-kăi gă-ye bore loŋ-sa-kăi di-ka cahuca*
 must-sAS-NPT you-PM I-ERG marriage do-INF-PM one-HNC man
daŋ-le nah-u-n-du.' 16 *camăi-ye ŋah-Ø-u-du 'apa, găi*
 search-PCL put-3P-1s→3-NPT daughter-ERG say-sAS-3P-NPT father I

10 Sitting alone like this, this old man was thinking. 11 There wasn't enough to eat in his house either, but then he saw a villager returning from the city. 12 Then he says to him 'younger brother, where do you live? Take my daughter and bring me some money [in exchange for her]!' 13 That man is happy [and says] 'okay, how much are you selling her for? Give her to me now and I will give you the money later.' 14 And he says to his daughter 'daughter, later you will also have to go and live in someone else's house, and now you also must go to someone else's house.' 15 'I have even found a man for you to marry.' 16 Then the daughter says 'father, once I am married, perhaps I won't be able to live with you any more', and then she cries.

bore tha-ŋa libi, apa nama hok-sa ma-khalam thaŋun'
 marriage do-CNS after father with be-INF NEG-receive maybe
kerep-Ø-du. 17 'hara tha-Ø-du? bore loŋ-o, ɖamari
 cry-SAS-NPT what be-SAS-NPT marriage do-s→3/IMP son.in.law
tha-Ø-du, oste-ko nem-te hok-a!' 18 *ka uniŋ ŋa-to-le,*
 be-SAS-NPT self-GEN house-LOC be-s/IMP this like say-TPP-PCL
oste-ko camăi pepelek pha-to-le piy-Ø-u-du.
 self-GEN daughter money hold.out.hand.to.receive-TPP-PCL give-SAS-3P-NPT
 19 *libi 'ɖamari' ŋah-Ø-u-du-ye, camăi begale ɖăi-te ahe*
 after son.in.law say-SAS-3P-ERG daughter other place-LOC much
pepelek-te piy-Ø-u-du.
 money-LOC give-SAS-3P-NPT

17 'What can happen? Just get married, there is always son-in-law, and you should go and live in his house!' 18 And saying all this, he gives his daughter away in exchange for a handful of money. 19 Later, the one known as 'son-in-law' sells the daughter for much more money in another place.

CHAT BETWEEN FRIENDS

1 *e bubu, apraca hok-Ø-du?* 2 *hok-Ø-du, hok-Ø-du,*
 oh elder.brother fine be-SAS-NPT be-SAS-NPT be-SAS-NPT
naŋ-kǎi-guri? 3 *gǎi-gǎi woi apraca hok-Ø-du, naŋ naleŋ kuta-yiŋ*
 you-PM-IND I-PM also fine be-SAS-NPT you present where-ABL
ra-na-du? 4 *gǎi naleŋ dakhkha dese-yiŋ*
 come.from.level-2s-NPT I present far village-ABL
ra-le hok-ŋa-du. 5 *dakhkha dese-ko name hara?*
 come.from.level-PCL be-1s-NPT distant village-GEN name what
 6 *dakhkha dese-ko name arkapole.* 7 *naŋ-ko nem to*
 distant village-GEN name walnut.tree you-GEN house that
dese-ŋaŋ hok-Ø-du ra? 8 *hok-Ø-du, gǎi-go ama-ye gǎi-gǎi*
 village-inside be-SAS-NPT or be-SAS-NPT I-GEN mother-ERG I-PM
arkapole-ŋaŋ nik-Ø-ŋa-n. 9 *naŋ-ko apa arkapole-ko*
 walnut.tree-inside give.birth-SAS-1s-PT you-GEN father walnut.tree-GEN
guru hok-Ø-thyo, ma-tha? 10 *ma-tha-Ø-thyo, arkapole-ko*
 shaman be-SAS-3SCOND NEG-be NEG-be-SAS-3SCOND walnut.tree-GEN
guru gǎi-go jarphu hok-Ø-thyo. 11 *gǎ-ye*
 shaman I-GEN elder.sister's.husband be-SAS-3SCOND I-ERG
sǎiy-u-n-uŋ, naŋ naleŋ kuta ya-na-du? 12 *gǎi dolkha*
 know-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT you present where go-2s-NPT I Dolakhā
dǎi ya-ŋa-du. 13 *e dolkha dǎi, hara-kǎi ya-na-du?* 14 *chya*
 towards go-1s-NPT oh Dolakhā towards what-PM go-2s-NPT salt

1 Oh elder brother, how are things? 2 Fine, fine, and how about you? 3 I'm also fine, where are you coming from now? 4 I'm now coming from that distant village. 5 What's the name of that distant village? 6 That distant village is called Walnut Tree. 7 Do you live in that village? 8 Yes, Walnut Tree is [the village] where my mother gave birth to me. 9 Your father was the shaman of Walnut Tree [village], wasn't he? 10 No he wasn't, the shaman of Walnut Tree was my brother-in-law [i.e. elder's sister's husband]. 11 I've got it, so where are you off to now? 12 I'm going to Dolakhā. 13 Oh, to Dolakhā, what are you going for? 14 I'm going to get some salt.

ra-sa-kāi ya-ŋa-du. 15 begale hara hara rah-u-na-du?
 bring-INF-PM go-1s-NPT other what what bring-3P-2s-NPT
 16 *begale-be hara woi ma-ra, gāi-go ulica jet hok-Ø-du*
 other-TOP what also NEG-bring I-GEN small work be-SAS-NPT
bajar-ŋaŋ. 17 naŋ-ko-guri hara jet hok-Ø-du to dese-ŋaŋ?
 market-inside you-GEN-IND what work be-SAS-NPT that village-inside
 18 *aji-ko sya wa-sa-kāi ya-ŋa-du. 19 naŋ-ko*
 mother.in.law-GEN bovine plough-INF-PM go-1s-NPT you-GEN
chuku-guri kuta yah-Ø-an? 20 gāi-go chuku kuta woi
 father.in.law-IND where go-SAS-3S/PT I-GEN father.in.law where also
ma-ya-Ø-ta-ki, amakaleŋ siy-Ø-an. 21 bophura, gāi-gāi thaha
 NEG-go-SAS-IPP-NPS last.year die-SAS-3S/PT pity I-PM knowledge
ma-thah-Ø-an. 22 ja-Ø-du, pharak ma-parāi, tara gāi hen-ko
 NEG-be-SAS-3S/PT okay-SAS-NPT difference NEG-make but I go-ADH
māi-Ø-du. 23 ja-Ø-du, susto ya-Ø, naŋ-ko libi libi gāi
 must-SAS-NPT okay-SAS-NPT slow go-s/IMP you-GEN after after I
woi ra-ŋu ra? 24 libi ma-ray-e,
 also come.from.level-PERM or after NEG-come.from.level-s/NEG/IMP
naleŋ nama nama hen-ko. 25 ma-tha, gāi isa ma-cya-ta-ŋa-ki.
 present with with go-ADH NEG-be I food NEG-eat-IPP-1s-NPS
 26 *isa ma-cya woi ra-Ø! ni nis-ka dolkha-te*
 food NEG-eat also come.from.level-s/IMP we two-HNC Dolakhā-LOC
nama sola cya-ko. 27 gāi ra-sa-be
 with snack eat-ADH I come.from.level-INF-TOP

15 What else will you bring back? 16 I'm not bringing back anything else, I just have a little something to do at the market. 17 What is it that you have to do in that village? 18 I'm off to plough [the fields] for my mother-in-law. 19 So where has your father-in-law gone? 20 My father-in-law, not having gone anywhere, died last year. 21 I'm sorry, I didn't know. 22 It's okay, no problem, it really doesn't matter, but I must go. 23 Fine, travel safely, shall I come along some way after you? 24 Don't come later, let's go together now. 25 No, that's not possible, my not having eaten yet. 26 Come without having eaten! Let's have a snack together in Dolakhā. 27 I would love to come, but I don't have any money with me now, what to do, should I go or not?

ra-ŋa-thyo, tara gǎi nama naleŋ pepelek ma-hok, hara
 come.from.level-1s-3SECOND but I with present money NEG-be what
loŋ-sa, ya-ŋu ra ma-ya-ŋu? 28 hen-ko, hara-kǎi ma-hen-sa?
 do-INF go-PERM or NEG-go-PERM go-ADH what-PM NEG-go-INF
naŋ-ko pepelek ma-hok-Ø-ta-le hara tha-Ø-du? naŋ cya-na-du
 you-GEN money NEG-be-sAS-IPP-PCL what be-sAS-NPT you eat-2s-NPT
sola-ko pepelek gǎ-ye piy-u-n-du. 29 hen-ko, tinyaŋ hen-ko.
 snack-GEN money I-ERG give-3P-1s→3-NPT go-ADH then go-ADH

28 Come on, let's go, why would you not go? What does it matter that you have no money? Whatever snack you eat, I'll pay for. 29 All right then, let's go.

LILE'S LIFE STORY

1 *găi nis tha-ŋa-du beryaŋ, găi-go apa siy-Ø-an.* 2 *găi sum*
 I two be-1s-NPT that.time I-GEN father die-SAS-3S/PT I three
ŋaŋ oli tha-ŋa-du beryaŋ, găi-go sum-ka tete woi
 and four be-1s-NPT that.time I-GEN three-HNC elder.sister also
siy-eŋ-an. 3 *găi-go walŋa-ka tete, libi-ko găi.* 4 *găi*
 die-pAS-3S/PT I-GEN five-HNC elder.sister after-GEN I I
walŋa tha-ŋa-du beryaŋ, găi-go jekha tete-ko bore
 five be-1s-NPT that.time I-GEN large elder.sister-GEN marriage
thah-Ø-an. 5 *nan nem-te tete, ama ŋaŋ găi hok-i-n,*
 be-SAS-3S/PT now house-LOC elder.sister mother and I be-1pPS-PT
nan sum-ka. 6 *găi ucya tha-ŋa-du beryaŋ, apa, sum-ka*
 now three-HNC I small be-1s-NPT that.time father three-HNC
tete siy-eŋ-du nih-u-n-du beryaŋ, găi-go mesek-yiŋ raphil
 elder.sister die-pAS-NPT see-3P-1s→3-NPT that.time I-GEN eye-ABL tear
let-Ø-an. 7 *jekha tete-ko bore-te găi kerep-ŋa-n.*
 appear-SAS-3S/PT big elder.sister-GEN marriage-LOC I cry-1s-PT
 8 *nem-te tete, ama, găi hok-ta-i-le, nem-ko jet*
 house-LOC elder.sister mother I stay-IPP-1pPS-PCL house-GEN work
loŋ-wa-n. 9 *nan găi ɲo barsa tha-ŋa-n.* 10 *găi-găi*
 do-1p→23-PT now I seven year be-1s-PT I-PM
tete-ye cabu-to-le hen-Ø-ŋa-thyo. 11 *nyoŋi ama-ye*
 elder.sister-ERG carry-TPP-PCL take-SAS-1s-3SCOND evening mother-ERG

1 When I was two, my father died. 2 When I was between the ages of three and four, three of my elder sisters passed away. 3 There were five elder sisters, and last of all, me. 4 My eldest sister got married when I was five. 5 From then on, only the three of us lived in the house: elder sister, mother and I. 6 When I was small, on seeing my father and three elder sisters dying, tears flowed from my eyes. 7 I cried at the wedding of my eldest sister. 8 Elder sister, mother and I lived at home and we did all the housework. 9 I was then seven years old. 10 My elder sister used to carry me around. 11 In the evening, mum would go and pick me up.

- ya-kăi-Ø-ŋa-thyo.* 12 *nem-te ama-ye sya mesa tūni*
 go-take-SAS-1s-3SCOND house-LOC mother-ERG cow buffalo goat
wa na-to-le pepelek ni-sa-kăi ka jet loŋ-Ø-u-thyo.
 chicken put-TPP-PCL money see-INF-PM this work do-SAS-3P-3SCOND
 13 *kundu kundu uni gă-ye woi seŋ pi-to-le pepelek*
 which which day I-ERG also firewood give-TPP-PCL money
rah-u-n-thyo. 14 *pebu raŋ-ko jet woi*
 bring-3P-1s→3-3SCOND irrigated.field dry.field work also
loŋ-u-n-uŋ. 15 *găi kit tha-ŋa-du beryaŋ ucya tete-ko*
 do-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT I nine be-1s-NPT that.time small elder.sister-GEN
bore woi thah-Ø-an. 16 *nan nem-te nis-ka, ama ŋaŋ găi.*
 marriage also be-SAS-3S/PT now house-LOC two-HNC mother and I
 17 *găi dicip-walŋa tha-ŋa-du beryaŋ, ŋiŋ cabu-sa ya-ŋa-n.* 18 *di*
 I ten-five be-1s-NPT that.time stone carry-INF go-1s-PT one
uni-ko dicip-walŋa pepelek pi-Ø-ŋa-thyo. 19 *ka uniŋ jet gă-ye*
 day-GEN ten-five money give-SAS-1s-3SCOND this like work I-ERG
aŋthe loŋ-u-n-uŋ. 20 *di uni-ye găi ŋaŋ găi-go*
 much do-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT one day-ERG I and I-GEN
ucyapa-ko ca, găi-go bubu, seŋ pi-sa-kăi
 father's.younger.brother-GEN son I-GEN elder.brother firewood give-INF-PM
yey-i-thyo. 21 *to isyaŋ ubo mi-pali demca ra-to-le*
 go-1pPS-3SCOND that period white person-p load bring-TPP-PCL
ray-eŋ-an. 22 *to-baŋ-ko demca cabu-to-le, ni woi*
 come.from.level-pAS-3S/PT that-Pp-GEN load carry-TPP-PCL we also

12 Mother raised cows, buffaloes, goats and chickens in order to make [lit. see] a little money from her work. 13 Some days I would even go and sell firewood and bring back the money. 14 I also worked in the fields. 15 When I was nine, my second eldest sister also got married. 16 Now there were only two of us at home, mother and I. 17 When I was fifteen, I went off to work carrying stones and rocks. 18 For one day's work, I was given fifteen rupees. 19 I did a lot of work like this. 20 One day I went with my father's younger brother's son, my elder brother, to sell firewood. 21 That same day some foreigners [lit. white people] came carrying their own packs. 22 Carrying their loads, the two of us walked with them.

caway-i-n. 23 *demca cabu-to-le nobi yey-i-n.* 24 *di uni,*
 walk-1pPS-PT load carry-TPP-PCL downhill go-1pPS-PT one day
demca cabu-to-le, di-gore dese-te hok-i-n. 25 *to pepelek*
 load carry-TPP-PCL one-CLF village-LOC stay-1pPS-PT that money
khalam-tuŋ-le, nem-te jake chya asa rah-u-n-uŋ.
 receive-1s/TPP-PCL house-LOC rice salt oil bring-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT
 26 *libi gǎi jekha tha-ŋa-n.* 27 *nem-te tete*
 after I big be-1s-PT house-LOC elder.sister
jarphu-ye bore loŋ-sa wakhe lony-eŋ-no. 28 *to*
 elder.sister's.husband-ERG marriage do-INF word do-pAS-3→3/PT that
beryŋ gǎ-ye bore loŋ-sa ma-ja ŋah-u-n-uŋ. 29 *gǎi*
 that.time I-ERG marriage do-INF NEG-okay say-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT I
nama di-gore woi pepelek ma-hok-Ø-thyo. 30 *nem-te ama-kǎi*
 with one-CLF also money NEG-be-SAS-3SCOND house-LOC mother-PM
dikaca torta-to-le cawa-ŋa-n. 31 *nembo-ko dese-ŋaŋ*
 alone leave-TPP-PCL walk-1s-PT other.person-GEN village-inside
ya-ta-ŋa-le, ŋiŋ cabu-sa jet loŋ-u-n-uŋ. 32 *pepelek uchinca*
 go-IPP-1s-PCL stone carry-INF work do-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT money a.little
pi-Ø-ŋa-thyo, cya-sa-kǎi woi ma-gap-Ø-du. 33 *gǎ-ye*
 give-SAS-1s-3SCOND eat-INF-PM also NEG-be.enough-SAS-NPT I-ERG
pepelek na-sa ma-thaŋ-u-n-uŋ, gǎi oste-ko nem-te
 money put-INF NEG-be.able-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT I self-GEN house-LOC
ya-ŋa-n. 34 *gǎi nis-dicip-di tha-ŋa-du beryŋ, gǎi-go bore*
 go-1s-PT I two-ten-one be-1s-NPT that.time I-GEN marriage

23 Carrying their loads, we went steep downhill. 24 One of those days, carrying their loads, we stopped in a village. 25 Having received the money [from the foreigners], I brought rice, salt and oil back home. 26 Soon thereafter, I grew up. 27 At home, my elder sister and her husband were telling me to get married. 28 At that time I said that I didn't want to get married. 29 I had not a penny to my name. 30 I left mum at home by herself and left [lit. walked away]. 31 Going to distant villages, I worked carrying stones. 32 They gave me a little bit of money, but not even enough to eat. 33 I wasn't able to put [away] any money, so I went back home. 34 When I was twenty-one years old, I got married.

thah-Ø-an. 35 *nan nem-te sum-ka thay-i-n.* 36 *bore*
 be-SAS-3S/PT now house-LOC three-HNC be-1pPS-PT marriage
loŋ-u-n-du beryaŋ, ahe pepelek thah-Ø-an. 37 *bore*
 do-3P-1s→3-NPT that.time much money be-SAS-3S/PT marriage
tha-Ø-du walŋa mǎine libi, uma torta-tuŋ-le, pepelek daŋ-sa
 be-SAS-NPT five month after wife leave-1s/TPP-PCL money search-INF
begale dese ya-ŋa-n. 38 *begale dese-ŋaŋ ya-ta-ŋa-le, niŋ*
 other village go-1s-PT other village-inside go-IPP-1s-PCL stone
cabu-sa jet loŋ-u-n-uŋ. 39 *kutaleŋ kutaleŋ pǎtrika*
 carry-INF work do-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT when when newspaper
cabu-to-le aŋtik-sa jet woi loŋ-u-n-uŋ. 40 *ka uniŋ jet*
 carry-TPP-PCL shout-INF work also do-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT this like work
loŋ-tuŋ-le, bore-ko pepelek uchincǎi piy-u-n-uŋ.
 do-1s/TPP-PCL marriage-GEN money very.little give-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT
 41 *bore loŋ-u-n-du nis barsa libi, gǎi-go uma di-ka*
 marriage do-3P-1s→3-NPT two year after one-GEN wife one-HNC
camǎi nik-Ø-an. 42 *nan nem-te oli-ka thay-i-n*
 daughter give.birth-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now house-LOC four-HNC be-1pPS-PT
ŋaŋ sakalei oste-ko mi-pali tany-eŋ-an. 43 *di uni-ko wakhe,*
 and all self-GEN person-p be.happy-pAS-3S/PT one day-GEN word
gǎi begale mi-ko bore-te ya-ŋa-thyo, to-te di-ka ubo
 I other person-GEN marriage-LOC go-1s-3SCOND that-LOC one-HNC white
mi hok-Ø-thyo. 44 *to mi ‘thaŋmi wakhe ɸisen-si-sa*
 person be-SAS-3SCOND that person Thangmi word teach-REF-INF

35 Now there were three of us at home. 36 When I got married, it cost a lot of money. 37 Five months after my wedding, leaving my wife, I went to look for paid work in other villages. 38 Going to other villages, I worked carrying stones. 39 From time to time I would even work selling newspapers. 40 Working in this manner, I managed to pay back a little of the money I borrowed for my wedding. 41 Two years after getting married, my wife gave birth to a daughter. 42 Now that there were four of us in the house, all my relatives were happy. 43 Once upon a time, I went to someone else's wedding and there, at the wedding, was a white man. 44 I had heard that this man had said 'I have come to learn the Thangmi language.'

ra-ŋa-du' *ŋa-to-le* *ŋah-Ø-u-du,* *gǎ-ye*
 come.from.level-1s-NPT say-TPP-PCL say-sAS-3P-NPT I-ERG
nasǎiy-u-n-uŋ. 45 *tyaŋ* *gǎi* *woi* *to* *nama* *kherte* *ya-ta-ŋa-le*
 hear-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT then I also that with near go-IPP-1s-PCL
cijyaŋ-ŋa-n. 46 *gǎ-ye* *to-kǎi* *ŋah-u-n-uŋ* '*naŋ* *kuta-yiŋ*
 speak-1s-PT I-ERG that-PM say-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT you where-ABL
kyel-na-n?' 47 *to* *mi-ye* *gǎi-gǎi* *ŋa-Ø-ŋa-n* '*gǎi* *ubo*
 come-2s-PT that person-ERG I-PM say-sAS-1s-PT I white
mi-ko *dese-yiŋ* *ra-ŋa-n.'* 48 *to* *thaŋmi* *wakhe*
 person-GEN village-ABL come.from.level-1s-PT that Thangmi word
cijyaŋ-Ø-du *beryaŋ,* *gǎi-be* *nui-ŋa-n.* 49 '*gǎ-ye* *nasǎiy-u-n-uŋ,*
 speak-sAS-NPT that.time I-TOP laugh-1s-PT I-ERG hear-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT
naŋ *ka-te* *hara-kǎi* *kyel-na-n?'* 50 '*bore* *yo-sa-kǎi*
 you this-LOC what-PM come-2s-PT marriage look.at-INF-PM
ra-ŋa-n' *to* *ubo* *mi-ye* *ŋa-Ø-ŋa-n.* 51 *gǎi-gǎi*
 come.from.level-1s-PT that white person-ERG say-sAS-1s-PT I-PM
ŋa-Ø-ŋa-n '*hu-ko* *nem-guri* *kuta?'* 52 *gǎ-ye*
 say-sAS-1s-PT younger.brother-GEN house-IND where I-ERG
ŋah-u-n-uŋ '*gǎi-go* *nem* *rikhi-pole* *na-basa.'* 53 '*baŋhe*
 say-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT I-GEN house *Ficus.lacor*-tree under-side tomorrow
bǎsinŋe *gǎi* *hok-ŋa-du* *nem-te* *ra-Ø!'* *ŋa-to-le*
 morning I stay-1s-NPT house-LOC come.from.level-s/IMP say-TPP-PCL
ŋa-Ø-ŋa-n. 54 *baŋhe* *ya-ŋa-du* *beryaŋ,* *gǎi* *ari-ŋa-n.*
 say-sAS-1s-PT tomorrow go-1s-NPT that.time I be.afraid-1s-PT

45 Then I walked over to him and spoke to him. 46 And I asked him 'where have you come from?' 47 That man said to me 'I have come from the white man's village.' 48 That he spoke in the Thangmi tongue made me laugh. 49 'I heard [that you had come], but what have you come to do here?' 50 'I have come to see the wedding', the white man said to me. 51 He asked me, 'where do you live, younger brother?' 52 'My house is just under the *Ficus lacor* tree', I said. 53 'Please come by tomorrow morning to the house where I am staying', he said to me. 54 When I went the next day [to his house], I was afraid.

55 ‘gǎi-gǎi hara hara *ŋa-Ø-ŋa-du?*’ *ŋa-to-le* *ya-ŋa-n.* 56 gǎi
 I-PM what what say-SAS-1s-NPT say-TPP-PCL go-1s-PT I
ari-sa ma-mǎi-thyo, to nama jet loŋ-sa mi
 be.afraid-INF NEG-must-3SCOND that with work do-INF person
ma-hok-Ø-thyo. 57 *tyaŋ to-ye gǎi-gǎi ŋa-Ø-ŋa-n ‘naŋ gǎi*
 NEG-be-SAS-3SCOND then that-ERG I-PM say-SAS-1s-PT you I
nama jet loŋ-u-na-du?’ 58 gǎi *di chin sumaka hok-ŋa-n.* 59 gǎi
 with work do-3P-2s-NPT I one moment silent be-1s-PT I
to beryaŋ begale dese-te jet loŋ-u-n-thyo. 60 gǎ-ye
 that that.time other village-LOC work do-3P-1s→3-3SCOND I-ERG
‘*ja-Ø-du*’ *ŋah-u-n-uŋ, gǎ-ye hara jet loŋ-sa, kuta hen-sa?*
 okay-SAS-NPT say-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT I-ERG what work do-INF where go-INF
 61 ‘*naŋ gǎi nama hok-ta-na-le, thaŋmi kham loŋ-ko, ja-Ø-du*
 you I with be-IPP-2s-PCL Thangmi language do-ADH okay-SAS-NPT
ra ma-ja?’ 62 gǎ-ye *ŋah-u-n-uŋ ‘gǎi-gǎi thaŋmi kham*
 or NEG-okay I-ERG say-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT I-PM Thangmi language
uchincǎi ra-Ø-du, hara jet loŋ-sa?’ 63 ‘*nany-e*
 very.little come.from.level-SAS-NPT what work do-INF you-ERG
sǎi-na-du wakhe loŋ-o! ma-sǎi-na-du, nembo nama
 know-2s-NPT word do-s→3/IMP NEG-know-2s-NPT other.person with
ṭisen-se! ja-Ø-du?’ 64 gǎi ‘*ja-Ø-du*’ *ŋa-to-le*
 teach-s/REF/IMP okay-SAS-NPT I okay-SAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL
taŋ-ŋa-n. 65 *to isyaŋ gǎi oste-ko nem dǎi cawa-ŋa-n.*
 be.happy-1s-NPT that period I self-GEN house towards walk-1s-PT

55 ‘What kinds of things will he say to me?’, I thought as I went. 56 I needn’t have been afraid, since he simply didn’t have anyone to work with. 57 Then he asked me, ‘will you work with me?’ 58 I fell silent for a moment. 59 At that time I had found work in another village. 60 I said ‘okay’, [and I thought] what kind of work will I do, where will I have to go? 61 ‘When you and I are sitting [working] together, let us speak the Thangmi language, is that okay or not?’ [he asked]. 62 So I said ‘I only speak a very little bit of Thangmi, what help can I be?’ 63 ‘The stuff you know, tell me that, and what you don’t know, learn from someone who does! Okay?’ [he said] 64 I said ‘okay’ and was happy. 65 Then, on that day, I walked back to my own house.

66 *baṭhe ra-ŋa-n, nama hok-i-n, thaŋmi kham*
 tomorrow come.from.level-1s-PT with be-1pPS-PT Thangmi language
loŋ-wa-n. 67 *ka uniŋ loŋ-ŋa libi, gǎi-gǎi nembo dese*
 do-1p→23-PT this like do-CNS after I-PM other.person village
dǎi yo-sa-kǎi hen-Ø-ŋa-n. 68 *ni nis-ka tha-ta-i-le*
 towards look.at-INF-PM take-SAS-1s-PT we two-HNC be-IPP-1pPS-PCL
caway-i-n. 69 *caway-i-du beryaŋ, di-ka mi-ko nem-te*
 walk-1pPS-PT walk-1pPS-NPT that.time one-HNC person-GEN house-LOC
hok-i-n. 70 *ni nis-ka-kǎi to-te isa piy-i-n.* 71 *isa-guri,*
 stay-1pPS-NT we two-HNC-PM that-LOC food give-1pPS-PT food-IND
saŋa-ko denderek phase-ko isa nyakaŋeŋ-ko ken
 millet-GEN coarse.and.rough flour-GEN food nettle-GEN vegetable.curry
cya-ta-i-le, nis uni to-te hok-i-n. 72 *to-yiŋ, ni nis-ka*
 eat-IPP-1pPS-PCL two day that-LOC stay-1pPS-PT that-ABL we two-HNC
caway-i-n. 73 *to isyaŋ ulam-te paŋku yuw-Ø-an,*
 walk-1pPS-PT that period path-LOC water come.from.above-SAS-3S/PT
libi lipem woi yuw-Ø-an. 74 *lipem yu-ŋa*
 after snow also come.from.above-SAS-3S/PT snow come.from.above-CNS
libi, ni nis-ka ariy-i-n. 75 *'nan lipem-e tel-to-le*
 after we two-HNC be.afraid-1pPS-PT now snow-ERG squeeze-TPP-PCL
sat-i-du' ŋa-to-le. 76 *warak-te ya-let-i-thyo, ahe*
 kill-1pPS-NPT say-TPP-PCL precipice-LOC go-appear-1pPS-3SCOND much
lipem yuw-Ø-an, to-yiŋ ni dorok-i-n. 77 *nobi*
 snow come.from.above-SAS-3S/PT that-ABL we run-1pPS-PT downhill

66 The next day I came [to him] and we sat together and spoke Thangmi. 67 After having worked like this for a while, he took me to see other people's villages. 68 The two of us travelled together. 69 When walking, we ended up staying in this person's house. 70 In that place, we were given food. 71 As for the food, well we ate this rough, coarse millet flour paste with nettle soup, and we stayed for two days. 72 From there, the two of us set off walking [again]. 73 That same day it started to rain and after that it even started snowing. 74 Once it started snowing, we both got really scared. 75 'Now the snow will squish us to death', we thought. 76 When we arrived at the top of the steep slope, we found that a whole load of snow had fallen, and we [quickly] ran [down]. 77 As were going downhill we got really cold.

yey-i-du beryaŋ, aŋthe ɬilay-i-n. 78 *dorok-ŋa libi, di-gore*
 go-1pps-NPT that.time very be.cold-1pps-PT run-CNS after one-CLF
phesu gal-te ya-let-i-n, to woi ɬi-si-Ø-du. 79 *piriŋ*
 sheep cage-LOC go-appear-1pps-PT that also close-REF-sas-NPT outside
hok-i-n, libi to bubu-ye di-gore jet loŋ-Ø-u-no.
 be-1pps-PT after that elder.brother-ERG one-CLF work do-sas-3p-3→3/PT
 80 *phesu gal bheterek-e kho-le hok-Ø-thyo.*
 sheep cage bamboo.mat-INS surround-PCL be-sas-3scond
 81 *duŋ-ŋaŋ bi-sa ɬhăi ma-hok-Ø-thyo.* 82 *bubu-ye*
 within-inside enter-INF place NEG-be-sas-3scond elder.brother-ERG
to di-gore phesu gal-ko bheterek ɬek-to-le mi bi-sa
 that one-CLF sheep cage-GEN bamboo.mat tear-TPP-PCL person enter-INF
doroŋ loŋ-Ø-u-no. 83 *ni nis-ka lipem-e phoy-i-le*
 hole do-sas-3p-3→3/PT we two-HNC snow-INS soak-1pps-PCL
hok-i-thyo. 84 *ni to doroŋ-yiŋ duŋ-ŋaŋ biy-i-n.*
 be-1pps-3scond we that hole-ABL within-inside enter-1pps-PT
 85 *bi-ta-i-le, me mut-wa-n, găi miŋ ɬoi-si-ŋa-n, me*
 enter-1pp-1pps-PCL fire blow-1p→23-PT I cloth take.off-REF-1s-PT fire
mut-to-le ni miŋ areŋ-wa-n, sola cey-i-n. 86 *sola cya-ŋa*
 blow-TPP-PCL we cloth dry-1p→23-PT snack eat-1pps-PT snack eat-CNS
libi, lipem yu-sa dum-Ø-an, piriŋ
 after snow come.from.above-INF finish-sas-3s/PT outside
yo-wa-du-be ulam ma-ni-wa-n! 87 *ulam sakalei lipem-e*
 look.at-1p→23-NPT-TOP path NEG-see-1p→23-PT path all snow-INS

78 After running [downhill], we finally arrived at a sheep hut, but even that was closed. 79 We had been sitting outside for a while, and then elder brother did something. 80 The sheep hut had been enclosed by a bamboo mat. 81 There was no place to enter. 82 Then elder brother tore one of the bamboo mats surrounding the sheep hut enough to make a hole for a person to enter. 83 The two of us were totally drenched by the snow. 84 We entered inside through that hole. 85 Once inside, we started a fire and I took off my [wet] clothes and, blowing the fire, we dried our clothes and ate a snack. 86 Once we had finished our snack, the snow had stopped falling, and when we looked outside we couldn't see the path any more! 87 The path was totally covered by snow.

bu-le nah-u-thyo. 88 *'nan yaŋ ka-te hok-ko, baŋthe*
 cover-PCL put-3P-3SCOND now today this-LOC stay-ADH tomorrow
băsinŋe serek-ta-i-le hen-ko' ŋa-siy-i-n. 89 *ni hok-i-n*
 morning arise-IPP-1pPS-PCL go-ADH say-REF-1pPS-PT we stay-1pPS-PT
woi libi di-ka mi demca cabu-to-le waŋ-Ø-du
 also after one-HNC person load carry-TPP-PCL come.from.below-sas-NPT
ni-wa-n. 90 *to mi-kăi gă-ye 'mi nem ya-let-sa, nan*
 see-1p→23-PT that person-PM I-ERG person house go-appear-INF now
hani ulam hok-Ø-du?' ŋa-to-le ŋah-u-n-uŋ. 91 *to*
 how.much path be-sas-NPT say-TPP-PCL say-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT that
mi-ye ŋa-Ø-ŋa-n, 'nan, ka-yiŋ di chin-te ya-let-ni-du.'
 person-ERG say-sas-1s-PT now this-ABL one moment-LOC go-appear-2p-NPT
 92 *'niŋ ya-ne, ka-te ma-hok-ne!' ŋah-u-no, ŋaŋ ni to-te*
 you(p) go-p/IMP this-LOC NEG-be-p/IMP say-3P-3→3/PT and we that-LOC
ma-hok-tiniŋ caway-i-n. 93 *di chin libi dese*
 NEG-be-PFG walk-1pPS-PT one moment after village
waŋ-Ø-an, to-te-ko mi-kăi ŋa-wa-n 'ni-kăi
 come.from.below-sas-3S/PT that-LOC-GEN person-PM say-1p→23-PT we-PM
ka-te hok-sa ɬăi pi-se!' 94 to-ye woi 'ja-Ø-du'
 this-LOC be-INF place give-s→1p/IMP that-ERG also okay-sas-NPT
ŋah-Ø-u-no, hok-sa ɬăi piy-i-n. 95 *isa cya-ta-i-le,*
 say-sas-3P-3→3/PT be-INF place give-1pPS-PT food eat-IPP-1pPS-PCL
thapu kherte găi ami-ŋa-n. 96 *băsinŋe serek-ta-i-le, nobi*
 fireplace near I sleep-1s-PT morning arise-IPP-1pPS-PCL downhill

88 'Now, today let's stay here and then tomorrow morning get up and leave', we said to each other. 89 After sitting there for a while we saw someone coming up carrying a load. 90 And then I asked that man 'how far is it to the nearest inhabited house?' 91 And that person said to me, 'from here you'll(p) be there in no time.' 92 'You(p) must go, do not stay here!' he said, and so without having stayed, we left. 93 And after a short while we came to a village and we said to the people of that place 'please give us a place to stay!' 94 And that person said 'okay' and gave us a place to stay. 95 Once we had eaten, I fell asleep close to the fireplace. 96 In the morning we got up and set off down the hill.

caway-i-n. 97 *tyaŋ di-ka thaŋmi bubu-ko nem-te*
 walk-1pPS-PT then one-HNC Thangmi elder.brother-GEN house-LOC
ya-let-i-n. 98 *to-te woi saŋa-ko isa moŋe-ko*
 go-appear-1pPS-PT that-LOC also millet-GEN food soybean-GEN
ken cey-i-n. 99 *to-ŋaŋ bubu-guri hok-Ø-an,*
 vegetable.curry eat-1pPS-PT that-inside elder.brother-IND be-SAS-3S/PT
găi-guri oste-ko nem dăi cawa-ŋa-n. 100 *tyaŋ libi ka uniŋ*
 I-IND self-GEN house towards walk-1s-PT then after this like
thah-Ø-an ŋaŋ di uni to bubu-ye găi-găi naka nem
 be-SAS-3S/PT and one day that elder.brother-ERG I-PM new house
khem-sa-kăi pepelek pi-Ø-ŋa-n. 101 *'libi pi-ŋa! habi naŋ-ko*
 build-INF-PM money give-SAS-1s-PT after give-s→1s/IMP first you-GEN
jet loŋ-o!' 102 *ŋa-to-le ŋa-Ø-ŋa-n. gă-ye woi naka nem*
 work do-s→3/IMP say-TPP-PCL say-SAS-1s-PT I-ERG also new house
khem-u-n-uŋ. 103 *libi to bubu-ye pi-Ø-ŋa-du*
 build-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT after that elder.brother-ERG give-SAS-1s-NPT
pepelek-e naka nem khem-tuŋ-le, naleŋ hok-i-du. 104 *nama*
 money-INS new house build-1s/TPP-PCL present be-1pPS-PT with
nama caway-i-du beryaŋ, găi apa ma-ya-let-Ø-du
 with walk-1pPS-NPT that.time I father NEG-go-appear-SAS-NPT
thăi-ŋaŋ găi-be ya-let-ŋa-n. 105 *per-Ø-du-te woi lun-ŋa-n,*
 place-inside I-TOP go-appear-1s-PT fly-SAS-NPT-LOC also ride-1s-PT
nan hara tha-Ø-du? masăi. 106 *naleŋ găi-go nem-te oli-ka*
 now what be-SAS-NPT who.knows present I-GEN house-LOC four-HNC

97 Then we arrived at the house of a Thangmi man. 98 And there we also ate millet paste and soybean curry. 99 Elder brother stayed in that place, and I set off back to my own house. 100 And in this way it happened that one day the same elder brother gave me money to build a new house. 101 'Give the money back later, first do your work!', he said to me. 102 And then I built a new house. 103 Having built the house with elder brother's loan, we now live there. 104 When we walked and travelled together, I got to go places which even my father never went to. 105 I even got to ride one of those flying things, now what else will happen? Who knows? 106 At present there are four of us in my house.

hok-i-du. 107 *to bubu woi di-ka tete nama hok-le*
 be-1pPS-NPT that elder.brother also one-HNC elder.sister with be-PCL
hok-Ø-du. 108 *to tete woi gǎi-go tete uniŋ hok-Ø-du.*
 be-sAS-NPT that elder.sister also I-GEN elder.sister like be-sAS-NPT
 109 *bubu woi gǎi-go oste-ko bubu uniŋ hok-Ø-du.*
 elder.brother also I-GEN self-GEN elder.brother like be-sAS-NPT
 110 *nan libi hara tha-Ø-du, masǎi, yo-ko!*
 now after what be-sAS-NPT who.knows look.at-ADH

107 That man [elder brother] is living with a woman [elder sister]. 108 That woman is like my own elder sister. 109 And that man is just like my own elder brother. 110 Now, what will come to be? Let's see!

SMOKING

- 1 *găi ucyaca tha-ŋa-du beryaŋ, găi-go apa-ko apa aŋthe bajareŋ*
 I small be-1s-NPT that.time I-GEN father-GEN father many tobacco
cya-Ø-thyo. 2 *di uni-ye, to apa-ko apa-ye*
 eat-SAS-3SCOND one day-ERG that father-GEN father-ERG
nis-dicip-walŋa-gore bajareŋ cya-Ø-thyo. 3 *to dikaca*
 two-ten-five-CLF tobacco eat-SAS-3SCOND that alone
ma-cya-Ø-thyo, bakoŋek-guri to-ko uma-kăi, ŋa-to-le găi-go
 NEG-eat-SAS-3SCOND half-IND that-GEN wife-PM say-TPP-PCL I-GEN
apa-ko ama-kăi, piy-Ø-u-thyo. 4 *tyaŋ pi-to-le, to*
 father-GEN mother-PM give-SAS-3P-3SCOND then give-TPP-PCL that
ŋoŋi-ye jekha ca-kăi, ŋa-to-le găi-go apa-kăi,
 old.woman-ERG big son-PM say-TPP-PCL I-GEN father-PM
piy-Ø-u-thyo. 5 *to beryaŋ găi-găi cya-sa ma-ali-Ø-thyo.*
 give-SAS-3P-3SCOND that that.time I-PM eat-INF NEG-like-SAS-3SCOND
 6 *to beryaŋ yamiryaŋ-ko uniŋ se-Ø-du bajareŋ*
 that that.time nowadays-GEN like taste-SAS-NPT tobacco
ma-hok-Ø-thyo. 7 *to beryaŋ laca-ko aja-te*
 NEG-be-SAS-3SCOND that that.time Indian.rhododendron-GEN leaf-LOC
kanŋi aja na-to-le ŋoŋe ŋoŋi wakhe loŋ-loŋ-to-le
 fresh leaf put-TPP-PCL old.man old.woman word do-do-TPP-PCL
cey-eŋ-thyo. 8 *to tha-Ø-ta-le, găi-găi-guri cya-sa*
 eat-pAS-3SCOND that be-SAS-IPP-PCL I-PM-IND eat-INF

1 When I was small, my father's father used to smoke a lot of tobacco. 2 In one day, my grandfather would smoke twenty-five fags. 3 He wouldn't smoke alone either, he would give half to his wife, meaning to say, my father's mother. 4 Then, once it had been given, the old lady would give [the cigarette] to her eldest son, meaning to say my father. 5 At that time I didn't like smoking. 6 In those days, tasty cigarettes like the ones you get these days weren't to be had. 7 In those days old men and women would put fresh leaves in the leaf of an Indian rhododendron and smoke. 8 Because of that [leaf], I didn't like to smoke.

ma-ali-Ø-thyo. 9 *gǎi-gǎi-guri me ra-sa*
 NEG-like-sAS-3SCOND I-PM-IND fire bring-INF
ci-thoy-eŋ-ŋa-thyo. 10 *tyaŋ di uni-ko wakhe: gǎi nem-te*
 CAUS-send-pAS-1s-3SCOND then one day-GEN word I house-LOC
apa-ko apa nama hok-ŋa-thyo, di-ka naka mi ni-ko
 father-GEN father with be-1s-3SCOND one-HNC new person we-GEN
nem-te rah-Ø-an. 11 *to mi-ye di-gore ucyaca*
 house-LOC come.from.level-sAS-3S/PT that person-ERG one-CLF small
menca-yiŋ ubo bajareŋ kǎiy-Ø-u-no, gǎ-ye yo-le
 bag-ABL white tobacco take.out-sAS-3P-3→3/PT I-ERG look.at-PCL
nah-u-n-uŋ. 12 *to bajareŋ ugo-te na-to-le, me*
 put-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT that tobacco mouth-LOC put-TPP-PCL fire
amat-Ø-u-no, gǎ-ye me piy-u-n-uŋ. 13 *tyaŋ to mi-ye*
 beg-sAS-3P-3→3/PT I-ERG fire give-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT then that person-ERG
tun-Ø-u-no to bajareŋ. 14 *gǎi thombe tha-ŋa-n, to uni*
 drink-sAS-3P-3→3/PT that tobacco I surprise be-1s-PT that day
to-ye bakotek ciy-Ø-u-no, to gǎi kum-to-le
 that-ERG half throw.away-sAS-3P-3→3/PT that I pick.up-TPP-PCL
cya-ŋa-n. 15 *to atthe se-Ø-du hok-Ø-thyo, tyaŋ gǎi-be*
 eat-1s-PT that very taste-sAS-NPT be-sAS-3SCOND then I-TOP
di-di-gore loŋ-to-le kutaleŋ kutaleŋ cya-ŋa-n. 16 *libi libi,*
 one-one-CLF do-TPP-PCL when when eat-1s-PT after after
tha-Ø-du beryaŋ, gǎ-ye ma-cya-tiniŋ hok-sa ma-thaŋ-u-n-uŋ.
 be-sAS-NPT that.time I-ERG NEG-eat-PFG be-INF NEG-be.able-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT

9 They used to send me to bring fire. 10 Then one day, this is what happened: I was sitting at home with my grandfather and this stranger came into our house. 11 That person took some white tobacco out of a small bag, and I was watching. 12 He put that white tobacco in his mouth and asked for a light which I then gave him. 13 Then that man, he smoked that tobacco. 14 I was so surprised, but that same day he threw away half of one of those cigarettes, so I picked it up and smoked it. 15 That was so tasty, that from then on, I started to smoke cigarettes sometimes, one at a time. 16 After a while I was no longer able to sit still without smoking.

- 17 *tyaŋ gǎi woi, gǎi-go apa-ko apa nama, hok-ta-ŋa-le cya-ŋa-n.*
 then I also I-GEN father-GEN father with be-IPP-1s-PCL eat-1s-PT
- 18 *to uni-yiŋ, gǎ-ye woi di uni-ye nis-dicip-gore*
 that day-ABL I-ERG also one day-ERG two-ten-CLF
- tun-u-n-thyo.* 19 *bajareŋ gǎi-gǎi isa ken uniŋ*
 drink-3P-1s→3-3SCOND tobacco I-PM food vegetable.curry like
- thah-Ø-an, gǎi sarma tha-sa ya-ŋa-n.* 20 *gǎi dicip-walŋa tha-ŋa-du*
 be-SAS-3S/PT I strong be-INF go-1s-PT I ten-five be-1s-NPT
- beryaŋ, gǎi-go apa-ko apa runrun thah-Ø-an.* 21 *tyaŋ to*
 that.time I-GEN father-GEN father weak.and.ill be-SAS-3S/PT then that
- thoŋe mi tha-Ø-ta-le woi, di uni-ye aŋthe bajareŋ*
 old.man person be-SAS-IPP-PCL also one day-ERG much tobacco
- cya-Ø-thyo.* 22 *ŋaye ka thoŋthoi-Ø-thyo.* 23 *tyaŋ to*
 eat-SAS-3SCOND night throughout cough-SAS-3SCOND then that
- thoŋe lā-dicip thah-Ø-an, aŋthe ma-thaŋ-Ø-an, guru*
 old.man eight-ten be-SAS-3S/PT very NEG-be.well-SAS-3S/PT shaman
- urou-wa-n ma-jah-Ø-an.* 24 *di uni siy-Ø-an, si-Ø-du*
 call-1p→23-PT NEG-okay-SAS-3S/PT one day die-SAS-3S/PT die-SAS-NPT
- isyaŋ gǎi apa ama sakalei kerep-i-n.* 25 *kerep-ta-i-le hara*
 period I father mother all cry-1pPS-PT cry-IPP-1pPS-PCL what
- loŋ-sa, guŋhi mi-pali kyel-eŋ-ta-le moro hen-eŋ-no.*
 do-INF mourner person-p come-pAS-IPP-PCL corpse take-pAS-3→3/PT
- 26 *libi apa-ko apa-ko mumpira thah-Ø-an, to isyaŋ-yiŋ*
 after father-GEN father-GEN death.ritual be-SAS-3S/PT that period-ABL

17 And then I would even sit together with my grandfather and smoke. 18 From that day on, I smoked twenty [cigarettes] a day. 19 Tobacco became like rice and curry to me, and I was getting stronger all the time. 20 When I was fifteen, my grandfather became weak and ill. 21 Then, despite being an old man, he would smoke a great deal every day. 22 He would cough all night. 23 Then when that old man was eighty years old, he became very unwell and we called a shaman, but it didn't help. 24 Then one day he died, and on that day, all of us, father, mother and I, cried. 25 Crying, well, what to do, all the mourners came and carried the corpse away. 26 After that came the death rites for grandfather, and from that day on my own throat started to hurt.

găi-go woi kaŋtu kalăi-ŋa-n. 27 *kaŋtu kalăi-ŋa libi ‘nan hara*
 I-GEN also throat hurt-1s-PT throat hurt-CNS after now what
loŋ-sa?’ ŋah-u-n-uŋ. 28 *‘nan gă-ye bajareŋ cya-ta-ŋa-le*
 do-INF say-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT now I-ERG tobacco eat-IPP-1s-PCL
ma-jah-Ø-an, nan torta-ko măi-Ø-du’ ŋa-to-le
 NEG-okay-SAS-3S/PT now leave-ADH must-SAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL
ŋah-u-n-uŋ. 29 *di uni bubu-ye ŋa-Ø-ŋa-n ‘nan ni*
 say-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT one day elder.brother-ERG say-SAS-1s-PT now we
bajareŋ cya-ko ma-ja.’ 30 *‘bajareŋ cey-i-n ra ni-ko cǎrŋa*
 tobacco eat-ADH NEG-okay tobacco eat-1pPS-PT or we-GEN liver
loŋsek min-Ø-du, ŋaŋ ni siy-i-du.’ 31 *tyaŋ to isyaŋ-yiŋ*
 heart cook-SAS-NPT and we die-1pPS-NPT then that period-ABL
bajareŋ torta-wa-n. 32 *sum oli uni ka cya-sa ali-ŋa-n,*
 tobacco leave-1p→23-PT three four day throughout eat-INF like-1s-PT
isa cya-ŋa libi to cya-ko măi-Ø-du uniŋ tha-ŋa-n.
 food eat-CNS after that eat-ADH must-SAS-NPT like be-1s-PT
 33 *‘ma-cya-ŋa-n’ ŋah-u-n-du, cya-sa ali-ŋa-du.* 34 *găi-go*
 NEG-eat-1s-PT say-3P-1s→3-NPT eat-INF like-1s-NPT I-GEN
nem-te găi-go uma woi cya-Ø-du. 35 *uma cya-Ø-du ni-to-le,*
 house-LOC I-GEN wife also eat-SAS-NPT wife eat-SAS-NPT see-TPP-PCL
găi-găi woi cya-ŋa cya-ŋa ali-ŋa-du. 36 *toŋ cya-ŋa-du beryaŋ,*
 I-PM also eat-CNS eat-CNS like-1s-NPT beer eat-1s-NPT that.time
bajareŋ naleŋ woi cya-ŋa-du. 37 *naleŋ găi-găi nembo*
 tobacco present also eat-1s-NPT present I-PM other.person

27 After my throat started to hurt, I thought ‘what to do now?’ 28 ‘Now I really shouldn’t smoke, I should give up’, is what I thought. 29 One day, my elder brother said to me ‘from now on we really shouldn’t smoke.’ 30 ‘If we continue to smoke, our livers and hearts will be cooked and we will surely die.’ 31 Then, from that day on, we gave up tobacco. 32 For three or for days after [giving up], I really yearned to smoke and particularly after eating food, I really felt like I needed to smoke. 33 ‘I didn’t smoke’ I was saying, but I so wanted to. 34 At home, my wife also smokes. 35 When I see my wife smoke, I really feel like smoking myself. 36 When I drink beer, only then do I still smoke tobacco. 37 Now, when I see others smoke, I don’t feel like smoking.

cya-Ø-du nih-u-n-du beryaŋ, cya-sa ma-ali. 38 *gǎi aŋthe*
 eat-SAS-NPT see-3P-1s→3-NPT that.time eat-INF NEG-like I much
cya-ŋa-be, gǎi woi gǎi-go apa-ko apa uniŋ si-ŋa-thyo.
 eat-CNS-TOP I also I-GEN father-GEN father like die-1s-3SCOND
 39 *bubu ŋaŋ gǎ-ye di uni-ye torta-wa-n.* 40 *naleŋ*
 elder.brother and I-ERG one day-ERG leave-1p→23-PT present
toŋ-guri cey-i-du, bajareŋ-guri ma-cya, nan hara tha-Ø-du?
 beer-IND eat-1pPS-NPT tobacco-IND NEG-eat now what be-SAS-NPT

38 If I continued to smoke a lot, I would also die, just like my grandfather. 39 One day, elder brother and I gave up [smoking]. 40 Now, we drink beer but we don't smoke, now how about that?

YOUNGEST SON

- 1 *ama-kǎi di ʔhǎi hok-sa ma-piy-eŋ-to-le, nembo-ko*
 mother-PM one place be-INF NEG-give-PAS-TPP-PCL other.person-GEN
raŋ-te nem khem-to-le di-ka ca nama hok-Ø-du.
 unirrigated.field-LOC house build-TPP-PCL one-HNC son with be-SAS-NPT
- 2 *dese mi-ye ama-kǎi ma-sadey-eŋ, kaʔay-eŋ-du.* 3 *di uni*
 village person-ERG mother-PM NEG-like-PAS scold-PAS-NPT one day
ca-kǎi dese mi-ye ɲey-eŋ-du ‘apa ma-hok-Ø-du ca’
 son-PM village person-ERG beat-PAS-NPT father NEG-be-SAS-NPT son
ɲay-eŋ-du, rage let-Ø-du. 4 *dese mi nama*
 say-PAS-NPT anger appear-SAS-NPT village person with
kiŋe-si-Ø-du, nem-te kyel-Ø-ta-le ama-kǎi ‘ni-ko apa
 fight-REF-SAS-NPT house-LOC come-SAS-IPP-PCL mother-PM we-GEN father
kuta hok-Ø-du?’ ɲa-to-le ɲah-Ø-u-du. 5 *ama*
 where be-SAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-NPT mother
kerep-kerep-Ø-ta-le ‘ca, naŋ-ko apa jekha dese-te ya-Ø-ta-le
 cry-cry-SAS-IPP-PCL son you-GEN father big village-LOC go-SAS-IPP-PCL
hok-le hok-Ø-du, yaŋ ka ma-ra-Ø-ta-ki.’
 be-PCL be-SAS-NPT today throughout NEG-come.from.level-SAS-IPP-NPS
- 6 *‘naŋ-kǎi baŋkal-te torta-to-le yah-Ø-an.’* 7 *ama-ko*
 you-PM stomach-LOC leave-TPP-PCL go-SAS-3S/PT mother-GEN
wakhe nasǎi-to-le, to ʔaye ma-ami. 8 *bǎsiŋte serek-Ø-ta-le,*
 word hear-TPP-PCL that night NEG-sleep morning arise-SAS-IPP-PCL

1 Since they didn't give mother a place to live in this one place, she builds a house on someone else's land and lives there with her son. 2 The villagers don't like mother and they scold her. 3 One day the villagers beat the son, calling him 'a father-less son' and he gets angry. 4 He gets into a fight with the villagers and coming home asks his mother 'where is our father?'. 5 Crying and crying, mother says 'son, your father went to live in the city, not having returned to this day.' 6 'He left you when you were still in my womb.' 7 Having heard mother's words, he can't sleep that night. 8 In the morning, getting up, he sets off to search for his father in the city.

apa daŋ-sa jekha dese cawa-Ø-du. 9 *di ʔhǎi kiji ban*
 father search-INF big village walk-SAS-NPT one place black friend
nama hok-Ø-du, libi ulam-te cawa-Ø-du. 10 *cawa-Ø-du beryaŋ,*
 with be-SAS-NPT after road-LOC walk-SAS-NPT walk-SAS-NPT that.time
ulam-te hok-eŋ-du huca-pali-ko pepelek gwi-pali-ye kat-eŋ-du
 road-LOC be-pAS-NPT child-p-GEN money thief-p-ERG snatch-pAS-NPT
nih-Ø-u-du. 11 *to-ye to-baŋ-kǎi ʔe-to-le, pepelek*
 see-SAS-3P-NPT that-ERG that-Pp-PM beat-TPP-PCL money
kat-to-le, piy-Ø-u-du. 12 *libi di-ka camǎica-kǎi nis-ka*
 snatch-TPP-PCL give-SAS-3P-NPT after one-HNC woman-PM two-HNC
cahuca-ye po-ca ray-eŋ-du, ka ni-to-le to-ye to
 man-ERG chase-PSG bring-pAS-NPT this see-TPP-PCL that-ERG that
cahuca-pali-kǎi ʔe-to-le poh-Ø-u-du. 13 *camǎica*
 man-p-PM beat-TPP-PCL chase-SAS-3P-NPT woman
taŋ-Ø-du, sewah-Ø-u-du, libi naŋ nama bore
 be.happy-SAS-NPT salute-SAS-3P-NPT after you with marriage
loŋ-u-n-du ʔa-to-le ʔah-Ø-u-du. 14 *to camǎica-ko apa*
 do-3P-1s→3-NPT say-TPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-NPT that woman-GEN father
ama-ye-guri begale cahuca nama bore lony-eŋ-du. 15 *camǎica*
 mother-ERG-IND other man with marriage do-pAS-NPT woman
‘begale nama hen-sa ma-khalam-ʔa-n’ ʔa-to-le kerep-Ø-du.
 other with go-INF NEG-receive-1s-PT say-TPP-PCL cry-SAS-NPT
 16 *bore loŋ-Ø-u-du lawa-kǎi, habi poy-eŋ-du mi-pali-ye*
 marriage do-SAS-3P-NPT husband-PM before chase-pAS-NPT person-p-ERG

9 In one place, he stays with his black-faced friend, and thereafter walks along the road. 10 As he walks, he sees thieves stealing money from the homeless street kids. 11 He beats them [the thieves], and snatching the money back, gives it back to them [the kids]. 12 After this, two men come running pursuing a woman, and seeing this, he chases them away. 13 The woman is happy, and greeting him, says that she will marry him. 14 But that woman's father and mother marry her off to another man. 15 The woman cries, saying 'I didn't get to go with the other one.' 16 Those guys who first chased the woman, now blind the groom.

mesek ʔit-eŋ-du. 17 *ka wakhe begale habi-ko cahuca-ye*
 eye blind-pAS-NPT this word other before-GEN man-ERG
nasăiy-Ø-u-du. 18 *to ya-Ø-ta-le oste-ko nis-gore mesek*
 hear-sAS-3P-NPT that go-sAS-IPP-PCL self-GEN two-CLF eye
piy-Ø-u-du. 19 *libi mesek tha-Ø-ta-le, lawa-ye nih-Ø-u-du.*
 give-sAS-3P-NPT after eye be-sAS-IPP-PCL husband-ERG see-sAS-3P-NPT
 20 *libi to-ko ama dese-yiŋ ca daŋ-sa kyel-Ø-du.*
 after that-GEN mother village-ABL son search-INF come-sAS-NPT
 21 *di-gore dewa hok-Ø-du ʔhăi-te khalam-Ø-u-du, ama ca*
 one-CLF god be-sAS-NPT place-LOC meet-sAS-3P-NPT mother son
nama nama oste-ko nem dăi yey-eŋ-ta-le hok-eŋ-du.
 with with self-GEN house towards go-pAS-IPP-PCL be-pAS-NPT

17 The other man from before [the villager] hears about this. 18 Going over there, he donates his two eyes [to the husband]. 19 After getting these eyes, the husband can see again. 20 Later his mother comes from the village searching for her son. 21 They meet in a temple, and then mother and son go back together towards their house in the village and live there [forever after].

YOUR FATE

1 *di-gore dese-te di-ka ʔhoŋi hok-Ø-thyo, to-ko*
 one-CLF village-LOC one-HNC old.woman be-SAS-3SCOND that-GEN
di-ka kiji camăi hok-Ø-thyo. 2 *kiji-kăi ama-ye*
 one-HNC black daughter be-SAS-3SCOND black-PM mother-ERG
nem-te-ko sakalei jet ʔisen-Ø-u-thyo, camăi-guri jet
 house-LOC-GEN all work teach-SAS-3P-3SCOND daughter-IND work
ma-loŋ-tiniŋ hok-Ø-thyo. 3 *to-kăi hara woi jet ʔisen-si-sa*
 NEG-do-PFG be-SAS-3SCOND that-PM what also work teach-REF-INF
ma-ali-Ø-thyo. 4 *di uni kiji amat-sa-kăi nis-ka mi*
 NEG-like-SAS-3SCOND one day black beg-INF-PM two-HNC person
kyel-eŋ-an. 5 *‘di-ka cahuca-kăi naŋ-ko camăi amat-sa*
 come-PAS-3S/PT one-HNC man-PM you-GEN daughter beg-INF
kyel-i-n’ ʔay-eŋ-no. 6 *ama-guri-ye ‘ja-Ø-du, nan*
 come-1pPS-PT say-PAS-3→3/PT mother-IND-ERG okay-SAS-NPT now
bore loŋ-ko măi-Ø-du’ ʔah-Ø-u-no. 7 *libi di-ka cahuca*
 marriage do-INF must-SAS-NPT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after one-HNC man
nama kiji-ko bore thah-Ø-an. 8 *lawa woi to uniŋ jet*
 with black-GEN marriage be-SAS-3S/PT husband also that like work
ma-loŋ-Ø-u-thyo. 9 *nem-te-ko sakalei jet uma-ye*
 NEG-SAS-3P-3SCOND house-LOC-GEN all work wife-ERG
loŋ-Ø-u-no, to-guri hok-Ø-ta-le cyah-Ø-an. 10 *di uni,*
 do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-IND be-SAS-IPP-PCL eat-SAS-3S/PT one day

1 There was an old woman who lived in a village, and she had a daughter known as ‘Blackie.’ 2 Mother would teach Blackie all the jobs to do around the house, but the daughter would just sit around doing nothing. 3 She wasn’t interested in learning anything at all. 4 One day, two people came to ask for Blackie. 5 ‘We have come on behalf of a man to ask for your daughter [to marry],’ they said. 6 Mother said ‘okay, now they must get married.’ 7 Later, Blackie got married to the man. 8 Her husband also didn’t work, just like her. 9 The wife did all the work around the house, and he, well, he just sat around and ate. 10 One day, Blackie wanted to see her mum.

kiji-kǎi ama nama hok-sa aliy-Ø-an. 11 *ama-ko nem*
 black-PM mother with be-INF like-sAS-3S/PT mother-GEN house
dǎi cawah-Ø-an, ama khalam-to-le, ama nama wakhe
 towards walk-sAS-3S/PT mother meet-TPP-PCL mother with word
loŋ-Ø-u-no. 12 ‘*ama, naŋ-ko ɖamari-ye-be hara woi jet*
 do-sAS-3P-3→3/PT mother you-GEN son.in.law-ERG-TOP what also word
ma-loŋ, nem-ko sakalei jet gǎ-ye loŋ-ko mǎi-Ø-du.’ 13 *ama*
 NEG-do house-GEN all work I-ERG do-ADH must-sAS-NPT mother
nui-Ø-ta-le ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘camǎi, nem-te-ko sakalei jet
 laugh-sAS-IPP-PCL say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT daughter house-LOC-GEN all work
camǎi-ye loŋ-ko mǎi-Ø-du, ɖamari-ye priŋ-ko jet
 daughter-ERG do-ADH must-sAS-NPT son.in.law-ERG outside-GEN work
loŋ-Ø-u-du, rage ma-thay-e!’ 14 *nan uma ahe uni ka*
 do-sAS-3P-NPT anger NEG-be-s/NEG/IMP now wife many day throughout
ma-ra-Ø-ta-le, uma ya-kǎi-sa aji-ko
 NEG-come.from.level-sAS-IPP-PCL wife go-remove-INF mother.in.law-GEN
nem dǎi lawa ari-ari-Ø-ta-le cawah-Ø-an.
 house towards husband be.afraid-be.afraid-sAS-IPP-PCL walk-sAS-3S/PT
 15 *ama camǎi-ye-guri maŋǎi jyouy-eŋ-to-le cya-sa*
 mother daughter-ERG-IND bread burn-pAS-TPP-PCL eat-INF
dany-eŋ-no. 16 *nyoŋi ɖamari aji-ko nem-te*
 search-pAS-3→3/PT evening son.in.law mother.in.law-GEN house-LOC
ya-let-Ø-an, nan duŋ-ŋaŋ bi-ŋa-be ‘aji-ye
 go-appear-sAS-3S/PT now within-inside enter-CNS-TOP mother.in.law-ERG

11 She walked towards her mother's house, and having met her mum, chatted with her. 12 'Mother, your son-in-law does nothing at all, I have to do all the housework', [she said]. 13 Mother smiled and said, 'daughter, the housework is what the daughter does, son-in-law's work is outside of the house, now don't get angry!' 14 Now that his wife had been away for many days and hadn't yet come back, the husband set off in considerable fear to his mother-in-law's house to go and get his wife back. 15 Mother and daughter wanted to eat baked breads. 16 In the evening, the son-in-law reached the mother-in-law's house, and then as he went inside he thought 'if mother-in-law has heard what daughter had to say, perhaps she will be angry with me, better that I should sit outside now and spy in', and thinking this, he spied on them.

camăi-ko wakhe nasăi-to-le, rage loŋ-Ø-u-du thaŋun, nan
 daughter-GEN word hear-TPP-PCL anger do-SAS-3P-NPT maybe now

priŋ hok-ta-ŋa-le ɖapuh-u-n-du' ŋa-to-le ɖapuh-Ø-u-no.
 outside be-IPP-1s-PCL spy-3P-1s→3-NPT say-TPP-PCL spy-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

17 *duŋ-ŋaŋ ama camăi-ye maŋăi jyouy-eŋ-no,*
 within-inside mother daughter-ERG bread burn-pAS-3→3/PT

ɖamari-ye priŋ-yiŋ yo-le nah-Ø-u-no. 18 ɬaye
 son.in.law-ERG outside-ABL look.at-PCL put-SAS-3P-3→3/PT night

ɖamari-ye kharou ɬaŋ-Ø-u-no, ka ni-to-le kiji
 son.in.law-ERG door open-SAS-3P-3→3/PT this see-TPP-PCL black

taŋ-Ø-ta-le 'ama, naŋ-ko ɖamari kyel-Ø-an.'
 be.happy-SAS-IPP-PCL mother you-GEN son.in.law come-SAS-3S/PT

19 *ɖamari ra-Ø-du ni-to-le, aji-ye*
 son.in.law come.from.level-SAS-NPT see-TPP-PCL mother.in.law-ERG

maŋăi ɖuŋkuŋi dăi sul-to-le nah-Ø-u-no.
 bread storehouse towards hide-TPP-PCL put-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

20 *ɖamari-kăi-guri phaliŋge piy-Ø-u-no, ɖamari thombe*
 son.in.law-PM-IND beaten.rice give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT son.in.law surprise

tha-Ø-ta-le ŋah-Ø-u-no: 21 'aji, maŋăi jyoh-u-na-du,
 be-SAS-IPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT mother.in.law bread burn-3P-2s-NPT

ma-tha?' 22 aji-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no 'nis sum-gore maŋăi
 NEG-be mother.in.law-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT two three-CLF bread

jyoh-u-n-thyo, tap-Ø-an.' 23 ɖamari-ye
 burn-3P-1s→3-3SCOND be.finished-SAS-3S/PT son.in.law-ERG

17 Inside mother and daughter were baking bread, and from outside son-in-law looked at them. 18 At night, the son-in-law opened the door, and seeing this, Blackie was happy [and said] 'mother, your son-in-law has come.' 19 Seeing her son-in-law coming in, mother-in-law quickly hid the breads by the storehouse. 20 She gave her son-in-law beaten rice and he, somewhat surprised, said: 21 'Mother-in-law, weren't you just baking bread?' 22 The mother-in-law replied 'yes, I had baked two or three breads, but they are now finished.' 23 Son-in-law said 'mother-in-law, you baked ten breads.'

ŋah-Ø-u-no 'aji-ye *dicip-gore mañăi jyou-le*
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT mother.in.law-ERG ten-CLF bread burn-PCL
nah-u-na-du. 24 *ka nasăi-to-le* 'găi-go *damari săi-Ø-du*
 put-3P-2S-NPT this hear-TPP-PCL I-GEN son.in.law know-SAS-NPT
guru hok-Ø-du *ŋah-Ø-u-no.* 25 *to isyaŋ cey-eŋ-ta-le*
 shaman be-SAS-NPT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that period eat-pAS-IPP-PCL
amiy-eŋ-an. 26 *baŋhe syaŋ-yiŋ wakhe dese-te ka*
 sleep-pAS-3S/PT tomorrow period-ABL word village-LOC throughout
ŋah-Ø-u-no 'găi-go *damari aŋthe săi-Ø-du guru*
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT I-GEN son.in.law very know-SAS-NPT shaman
hok-Ø-du *ŋa-to-le.* 27 *damari-ye oste-ko nem-te hen-sa*
 be-SAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL son.in.law-ERG self-GEN house-LOC go-INF
wakhe loŋ-Ø-u-no, *aji-ye* 'nan di nis uni *hok-a!'*
 word do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT mother.in.law-ERG now one two day be-s/IMP
ŋah-Ø-u-no. 28 *damari aji-ko nem-te hok-Ø-an.*
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT son.in.law mother.in.law-GEN house-LOC be-SAS-3S/PT
 29 *thoni-ko wakhe nasăi-to-le, dha-basa-ko mi-ko*
 old.woman-GEN word hear-TPP-PCL that.distant-side-GEN person-GEN
tuŋi tam-Ø-an, *meke ra-to-le ci-yoh-Ø-u-du.*
 goat get.lost-SAS-3S/PT ritual.offering bring-TPP-PCL CAUS-look.at-SAS-3P-NPT
 30 'găi-go *tuŋi tam-le hok-Ø-du, su-ye woi hen-eŋ-no*
 I-GEN goat get.lost-PCL be-SAS-NPT who-ERG also take-pAS-3→3/PT
ra? yoh-o!' 31 *băsinŋe soŋ-te kiŋi ya-tah-Ø-u-du*
 or look.at-s→3/IMP morning river-LOC shit go-release-SAS-3P-NPT

24 Hearing this, she said 'my son-in-law is a wise shaman.' 25 That day they ate and went to sleep. 26 The next morning she told the whole village 'my son-in-law is a very powerful [knowledgeable] shaman.' 27 Son-in-law talked about going back to his own house, but mother-in-law said 'stay another day or two!' 28 Son-in-law stayed in mother-in-law's house. 29 One of the neighbour's goats had disappeared, and hearing the old woman's words, he brought a ritual offering for him [the son-in-law] to look in [and divine]. 30 'My goat is lost, has someone taken him or what? please have a look!' [the neighbour said]. 31 When he had gone to take a shit down near the river in the morning, he [the son-in-law] had seen a single goat grazing up by the ridge.

beryaŋ, di-gore ʔuŋi warak-te ja-si-Ø-du nih-Ø-u-thyo.
 that.time one-CLF goat ridge-LOC graze-REF-SAS-NPT see-SAS-3P-3SCOND
 32 *to-ye woi lak-te meke na-to-le nah-Ø-u-no,*
 that-ERG also hand-LOC ritual.offering put-TPP-PCL put-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
ma-nih-Ø-u-du uniŋ ‘naŋ-ko ʔuŋi di-gore warak-te
 NEG-see-SAS-3P-NPT like you-GEN goat one-CLF ridge-LOC
ja-si-Ø-le hok-Ø-du, ya-yoh-o!’ 33 to mi woi
 graze-REF-SAS-PCL be-SAS-NPT go-look.at-s→3/IMP that person also
warak dăi dorok-Ø-an, ʔuŋi warak-te nih-Ø-u-no.
 ridge towards run-SAS-3S/PT goat ridge-LOC see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
 34 *ɖamari aʔthe săi-Ø-du mi hok-Ø-du ŋa-to-le sakalei*
 son.in.law very know-SAS-NPT person be-SAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL all
mi-ye nasăiy-eŋ-no. 35 di uni di-ka-ko camăi-ko
 person-ERG hear-PAS-3→3/PT one day one-HNC-GEN daughter-GEN
laŋi hok-Ø-du ʔăi-yiŋ tam-Ø-ta-le, nan
 necklace be-SAS-NPT place-ABL get.lost-SAS-IPP-PCL now
ci-yo-sa-kăi ɖamari-ko-te ray-eŋ-no. 36 ‘nan su-ye
 CAUS-look.at-INF-PM son.in.law-GEN-LOC bring-PAS-3→3/PT now who-ERG
laŋi hen-Ø-u-no, yoh-o! ma-nih-u-na-n-be, naŋ-kăi
 necklace take-SAS-3P-3→3/PT look.at-s→3/IMP NEG-see-3P-2s-PT-TOP you-PM
ni-ye sat-wa-du’ ŋay-eŋ-no. 37 nan to ʔaye
 we-ERG kill-1p→23-NPT say-PAS-3→3/PT now that night
ma-amiy-Ø-an, ‘nan kuta daŋ-to-le pi-sa? kunyaŋ
 NEG-sleep-SAS-3S/PT now where search-TPP-PCL give-INF how

32 Then he put the ritual rice offering in his hand and, doing as if he hadn't seen [the goat in the morning], said 'your goat is out grazing near a ridge, go take a look!' 33 That person also ran towards the ridge and saw his goat up there. 34 Everyone came to know that the son-in-law was a very wise man. 35 One day, the necklace of someone's daughter had disappeared from the place that it should have been, so they brought [a rice offering] to the house of son-in-law to ask him to look for it. 36 'Now look and find out who took the necklace! If you can't see who did it, we will kill you', they said. 37 Now that night he didn't sleep, 'now where will I find one to give? How will I explain it?' [he thought].

- ci-nasăi-sa?* 38 *laŋi-guri to-ko jet loŋ-sa mi-ye hen-le*
 CAUS-hear-INF necklace-IND that-GEN work do-INF person-ERG take-PCL
- nah-Ø-u-thyo.* 39 *'nan săi-Ø-du mi-kăi ci-yo-le*
 put-sAS-3P-3SECOND now know-sAS-NPT person-PM CAUS-look.at-PCL
- nah-Ø-u-du, nan ni-kăi sat-i-du' ŋa-to-le laŋi*
 put-sAS-3P-NPT now we-PM kill-1pPS-NPT say-TPP-PCL necklace
- gwi-y-ey-du mi-pali ɖamari nama ɬaye yey-ey-ta-le*
 steal-pAS-NPT person-PM son.in.law with night go-pAS-IPP-PCL
- ŋay-ey-no.* 40 *'ɖamari, nan laŋi ni-ye ra-le*
 say-pAS-3→3/PT son.in.law now necklace we-ERG bring-PCL
- na-wa-du, ni-ye gwi-wa-du ma-ŋay-e, naŋ-kăi ni-ye*
 put-1p→23-NPT we-ERG steal-1p→23-NPT NEG-say-s/NEG/IMP you-PM we-ERG
- hara hara pi-wa-du.'* 41 *ka wakhe nasăi-to-le ɖamari*
 what what give-1p→23-NPT this word hear-TPP-PCL son.in.law
- taŋ-Ø-an, baŋhe syaŋ meke yo-sa yah-Ø-an.*
 be.happy-sAS-3S/PT tomorrow period ritual.offering look.at-INF go-sAS-3S/PT
- 42 *laŋi tam-Ø-du-ko nem-te ya-Ø-ta-le*
 necklace get.lost-sAS-NPT-GEN house-LOC go-sAS-IPP-PCL
- yoh-Ø-u-no.* 43 *'niŋ-ko laŋi pebu-te ɬhum-le*
 look.at-sAS-3P-3→3/PT you(p)-GEN necklace irrigated.field-LOC bury-PCL
- nah-Ø-u-du, ya-kăi-no!' ŋah-Ø-u-no, to nama*
 put-sAS-3P-NPT go-remove-p→3/IMP say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT that with
- ya-Ø-ta-le laŋi kăi-to-le wany-ey-no.*
 go-sAS-IPP-PCL necklace remove-TPP-PCL bring.from.below-pAS-3→3/PT

38 The necklace had actually been taken by his servant. 39 'Now that the wise man will come to see what has happened, they will kill us', thought the thieves, and so they went to the son-in-law's house at night and spoke to him. 40 'Son-in-law, we have brought the necklace to you, please don't tell [them] that we are the ones who stole it, and we will give you all kinds of things', [they said]. 41 Hearing this the son-in-law was most pleased and the next day he went to divine from the ritual offering. 42 Going to the house of the missing necklace, he made his divination. 43 'Your necklace is buried in a rice field, go fetch it!', he said, and he went with them to unearth the necklace and bring it back up.

44 *ka ni-to-le laŋi ci-tam-Ø-du-ko apa-ye to-kǎi*
 this see-TPP-PCL necklace CAUS-lose-sAS-NPT-GEN father-ERG that-PM
ahe pepelek piy-Ø-u-no. 45 *hara woi jet ma-loŋ-Ø-u-du*
 much money give-sAS-3P-3→3/PT what also work NEG-do-sAS-3P-NPT
mi, naka nem khem-to-le, jet loŋ-sa mi na-to-le,
 person new house build-TPP-PCL work do-INF person put-TPP-PCL
hok-Ø-an.
 be-sAS-3S/PT

44 Upon seeing this, the father of the one who had lost the necklace gave him [the son-in-law] a lot of money. 45 Having built himself a new house [with the money], that guy who couldn't work employed a domestic help and lived there [happily].

SHAMAN

1 'guru' *ŋay-eŋ-du* *thaŋmi-pali-ko* *bore* *mumpra*
 shaman say-PAS-NPT Thangmi-p-GEN marriage death.ritual
loŋ-Ø-u-du *mi-kăi* 'guru' *ŋay-eŋ-du*. 2 *guru* *nis-ka*
 do-SAS-3P-NPT person-PM shaman say-PAS-NPT shaman two-HNC
thay-eŋ-du: *di-ka* *oste* *tha-Ø-du*, *di-ka* *nembo* *guru-ye*
 be-PAS-NPT one-HNC self be-SAS-NPT one-HNC other.person shaman-ERG
ɬisen-Ø-u-du *mi* *tha-Ø-du*. 3 *oste* *tha-Ø-du* *mi-kăi*
 teach-SAS-3P-NPT person be-SAS-NPT self be-SAS-NPT person-PM
apan-e *woi* *hen-Ø-u-du*. 4 *apan-e* *hen-ŋa* *libi*,
 forest.spirit-ERG also take-SAS-3P-NPT forest.spirit-ERG take-CNS after
guru-kăi *begale* *wakhe* *ɬisen-Ø-u-du*. 5 *tyaŋ* *to* *guru* *aŋthe*
 shaman-PM other word teach-SAS-3P-NPT then that shaman much
săi-Ø-du. 6 *ni-ko* *guru-kăi*, *hara* *woi* *jet* *loŋ-sa-kăi*, *toŋ*
 know-SAS-NPT we-GEN shaman-PM what also work do-INF-PM beer
thum-ko *măi-Ø-du*. 7 *toŋ* *thum-to-le*, *guru-kăi* *jet*
 insert-ADH must-SAS-NPT beer insert-TPP-PCL shaman-PM work
loŋ-Ø-u-du *beryaŋ* *pi-ko* *măi-Ø-du*. 8 *tyaŋ* *guru*
 do-SAS-3P-NPT that.time give-ADH must-SAS-NPT then shaman
taŋ-Ø-du, *apraca* *jet* *loŋ-Ø-u-du*. 9 *ni-ko* *nem-te*, *hara*
 be.happy-SAS-NPT good work do-SAS-3P-NPT we-GEN house-LOC what
woi *jet* *thah-Ø-an-be*, *guru* *kyel-Ø-du*. 10 *guru*
 also work be-SAS-3S/PT-TOP shaman come-SAS-NPT shaman

1 The person called 'shaman' is the one who conducts weddings and death rituals for the Thangmi people. 2 There are two types of shaman: one comes to be a shaman of his own will, and the other type is taught by another shaman. 3 The one who has come to shamanism by himself is kidnapped by the forest spirit. 4 Having taken the shaman away, the forest spirit teaches him secret things. 5 And then that shaman becomes very knowledgeable. 6 Whatever ritual he does, we must pour beer for the shaman. 7 Having poured out the beer, we must give it to the shaman when he conducts the ritual. 8 Then the shaman is happy and does his work well. 9 If there is any kind of ritual work which needs to be done in our house, then the shaman comes. 10 Whenever the shaman comes, he brings the ritual drum that he has with him.

kyel-Ø-du beryaŋ, guru nama hok-Ø-du ʔake
 come-SAS-NPT that.time shaman with be-SAS-NPT ritual.drum
kyel-Ø-u-du. 11 guru nama rul-ko kosa-ko laŋi
 bring-SAS-3P-NPT shaman with snake-GEN bone-GEN necklace
tha-Ø-du, ʔake tap-sa ɖokliŋ tha-Ø-du.
 be-SAS-NPT ritual.drum strike-INF curved.drum.stick be-SAS-NPT
 12 *guru-ye bu-si-sa nis-gore ɖiŋɖiŋ ŋaŋ ubo kapu-te*
 shaman-ERG cover-REF-INF two-CLF red and white head-LOC
chyu-si-sa ălămga miŋ tha-Ø-du. 13 kapu-ko ʔupuri-te kusi-ko
 tie-REF-INF long cloth be-SAS-NPT head-GEN cap-LOC porcupine-GEN
puʔu tha-Ø-du. 14 to bu-si-Ø-ta-le, guru laŋi
 feather be-SAS-NPT that cover-REF-SAS-IPP-PCL shaman necklace
khyak-si-Ø-ta-le, ʔake ɖokliny-e tap-to-le
 strap.on-REF-SAS-IPP-PCL ritual.drum curved.drum.stick-INS play-TPP-PCL
oste-ko kham loŋ-to-le warăi-Ø-du. 15 di uni, găi-go ucya
 self-GEN language do-TPP-PCL shiver-SAS-NPT one day I-GEN small
humi ma-thaŋ-Ø-an, găi guru urou-sa cawa-ŋa-n.
 younger.sister NEG-be.well-SAS-3S/PT I shaman call-INF walk-1s-PT
 16 *guru ra-to-le ra-ŋa-n, guru-ye*
 shaman bring-TPP-PCL come.from.level-1s-PT shaman-ERG
humi-kăi yoh-Ø-u-no. 17 lak-te cum-to-le
 younger.sister-PM look.at-SAS-3P-3→3/PT hand-LOC hold-TPP-PCL
ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘ka-kăi kapu kalăi-Ø-du, baŋkal woi kalăi-Ø-du.’
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT this-PM head hurt-SAS-NPT stomach also hurt-SAS-NPT

11 The shaman has a necklace of snake bones and has a curved stick to beat his ritual drum.
 12 Tied around his head, the shaman wears two long red and white pieces of cloth. 13 On his head, he wears a hat of porcupine feathers. 14 Wearing all this stuff, the shaman straps on his necklace, beats his ritual drum with the curved drum stick and shakes and shivers while he speaks in his own secret language. 15 One day my little younger sister became ill and I went off to call the shaman. 16 I came back with the shaman and he looked at younger sister. 17 Holding onto her hand, he said, ‘her head hurts and her stomach also hurts.’

- 18 *'ka kalăi-Ø-du-kăi hara loŋ-sa?'* *ŋa-to-le, găi-go jekha*
 this hurt-SAS-NPT-PM what do-INF say-TPP-PCL I-GEN big
tete-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no. 19 *tyaŋ guru-ye woi*
 elder.sister-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT then shaman-ERG also
ŋah-Ø-u-no: 20 *'ka jet loŋ-sa-kăi, di-gore ðiŋðiŋ*
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT this work do-INF-PM one-CLF red
jire ni-Ø-du gare ŋaŋ di
 comb.of.cockerel appear-SAS-NPT rooster and one
kulin toŋ rah-o!' *ŋa-Ø-ŋa-n.* 21 *gă-ye*
 small.earthenware.water.vessel beer bring-s→3/IMP say-SAS-1s-PT I-ERG
woi di kulin toŋ hyawasa nem-yiŋ
 also one small.earthenware.water.vessel beer upper house-ABL
it-u-n-uŋ. 22 *guru-ye nan mut-sa jet*
 bring.from.above-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT shaman-ERG now blow-INF work
loŋ-ko sow-Ø-u-no, ni-ye yo-le na-wa-n.
 do-ADH be.about.to-SAS-3P-3→3/PT we-ERG look.at-PCL put-1p→23-PT
 23 *ðiŋðiŋ gare-ye humi-kăi kapu-yiŋ koŋte-te ka*
 red rooster-INS younger.sister-PM head-ABL foot-LOC throughout
ci-thi-to-le mut-Ø-u-no. 24 *khora-te paŋku woi*
 CAUS-touch-TPP-PCL blow-SAS-3P-3→3/PT small.cup-LOC water also
nah-Ø-u-no, wa-ko ahum woi nah-Ø-u-no. 25 *aja-te*
 put-SAS-3P-3→3/PT chicken-GEN egg also put-SAS-3P-3→3/PT leaf-LOC
ahum na-to-le ahum ðhem-Ø-u-no. 26 *tyaŋ thapu-ŋaŋ*
 egg put-TPP-PCL egg break-SAS-3P-3→3/PT then fireplace-inside

18 'What can we do about this pain?', my elder sister asked. 19 And then the shaman said: 20 'To cure her, you must bring a cockerel with a red comb and an earthenware vessel filled with beer!' he said to me. 21 So I brought down a jug of beer from the upper house. 22 Now the shaman was about to start the part of the ritual in which he blows, and we were looking on. 23 The shaman brushed the red cockerel against our younger sister, from her head to her toes, blowing all the while. 24 In a small bowl he put both water and a chicken egg. 25 Having put the egg on a leaf, he then broke it. 26 Then he put the egg in the fire and roasted it, when it was cooked he ate it.

na-to-le jyoh-Ø-u-no, min-ŋa libi cyah-Ø-an. 27 *gare*
 put-TPP-PCL burn-SAS-3P-3→3/PT cook-CNS after eat-SAS-3S/PT rooster
woi paŋku uman-to-le bolok-Ø-u-no. 28 *libi cici koŋe-to-le*
 also water boil-TPP-PCL pluck-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after meat cut-TPP-PCL
toŋ nama cyah-Ø-an. 29 *cya-ŋa libi, ʔake cum-to-le*
 beer with eat-SAS-3S/PT eat-CNS after ritual.drum hold-TPP-PCL
tap-Ø-u-no ŋaŋ waräiy-Ø-an, baŋi-ŋaŋ meke pepelek
 beat-SAS-3P-3→3/PT and shake-SAS-3S/PT pot-inside ritual.offering money
na-to-le yoh-Ø-u-no. 30 *‘nan ka huca-käi ja-Ø-du’*
 put-TPP-PCL look.at-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now this child-PM okay-SAS-NPT
ŋah-Ø-u-no. 31 *di-gore wa-ko lakpa, di-ʔoke*
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT one-CLF chicken-GEN limb one-half.kilo
jake menca-ŋaŋ tham-to-le oste-ko nem däi
 unhusked.rice bag-inside insert-TPP-PCL self-GEN house towards
hen-Ø-u-no. 32 *gǎ-ye yo-le nah-u-n-uŋ.* 33 *libi*
 take-SAS-3P-3→3/PT I-ERG look.at-PCL put-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT after
hen-to-le uma-käi piy-Ø-u-no, uma-ye woi
 bring-TPP-PCL wife-PM give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT wife-ERG also
phah-Ø-u-no. 34 *nem duŋ-ŋaŋ hen-to-le*
 hold.out.hand.to.receive-SAS-3P-3→3/PT house within-inside take-TPP-PCL
me-te na-to-le uman-Ø-u-no. 35 *to-ko sakalei*
 fire-LOC put-TPP-PCL cook-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-GEN all
hok-eŋ-ta-le, phaliŋge nama cey-eŋ-an. 36 *to guru baŋhe*
 be-PAS-IPP-PCL beaten.rice with eat-PAS-3S/PT that shaman tomorrow

27 Then he boiled the cockerel in water and plucked it. 28 Thereafter he cut the meat and ate it along with the beer. 29 Having finished eating, [the shaman] taking hold of his ritual drum, beat it and his body shook, then into a pot he put ritually-offered rice and money and watched it. 30 ‘Now this child will be okay’, he said. 31 He put one chicken thigh and a half kilo of unhusked rice into his bag and took them home. 32 I was watching all this. 33 Thereafter he brought all those things home to his wife, gave them to her and she held out her hands to accept them. 34 [She] took the foodstuffs inside and put them on the fire to cook. 35 And all his [family], sitting there, ate that food with flattened and beaten rice. 36 That same shaman came to our house the next evening to have a look at our younger sister.

nyoŋi ni-ko nem-te kyel-Ø-an, kyel-ŋa libi
 evening we-GEN house-LOC come-SAS-3S/PT come-CNS after
humi-kǎi yoh-Ø-u-no. 37 'yaŋ jah-Ø-an ra
 younger.sister-PM look.at-SAS-3P-3→3/PT today okay-SAS-3S/PT or
ma-jah-Ø-an' isi-Ø-ta-le isiy-i-n. 38 humi-ye
 NEG-okay-SAS-3S/PT say-SAS-IPP-PCL say-1pPS-PT younger.sister-ERG
ma-thaŋ ma-thaŋ woi serek-Ø-ta-le, guru-kǎi
 NEG-be.well NEG-be.well also arise-SAS-IPP-PCL shaman-PM
yoh-Ø-u-no. 39 'guru, kyel-ta-na-le, gǎi-gǎi hara thah-Ø-an?
 look.at-SAS-3P-3→3/PT shaman come-IPP-2s-PCL I-PM what be-SAS-PT
mut-aŋ!' 40 guru-ye kapu-ko ʈupuri kǎi-si-Ø-ta-le,
 blow-s→1s/IMP shaman-ERG head-GEN cap remove-REF-SAS-IPP-PCL
mut-sa jet loŋ-Ø-u-no. 41 libi humi roloŋ-Ø-an,
 blow-INF work do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after younger.sister recover-SAS-3S/PT
guru-ye ci-jah-Ø-u-no. 42 ci-ja-to-le, to-kǎi
 shaman-ERG CAUS-survive-SAS-3P-3→3/PT CAUS-survive-TPP-PCL that-PM
gǎ-ye di-gore mama-wa pal-to-le piy-u-n-uŋ. 43 tyəŋ
 I-ERG one-CLF FEM-chicken chop-TPP-PCL give-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT then
guru-ko cacha-pali hok-eŋ-ta-le, boro, wa-ko cici
 shaman-GEN grandson-p be-pAS-IPP-PCL cooked.rice chicken-GEN meat
cey-eŋ-an. 44 ni-kǎi unise sewa-ta-i-le caway-eŋ-an.
 eat-pAS-3S/PT we-PM daytime salute-IPP-1pPS-PCL walk-pAS-3S/PT
 45 *ka uniŋ tha-Ø-du guru-ko jet: pepelek-be ma-khalam,*
 this like be-SAS-NPT shaman-GEN work money-TOP NEG-receive

37 'Is she feeling any better today?', he asked us. 38 With the greatest of difficulty, younger sister managed to get up and look at the shaman. 39 'Oh shaman, you have come again' [she said] 'what has happened to me? Blow on me again!' 40 The shaman took off his hat and did the blowing thing. 41 After that younger sister recovered, the shaman had saved her. 42 Having healed her, I slaughtered a chicken and gave it to the shaman. 43 And then the shaman's grandsons, sitting [in our house], ate rice and chicken meat. 44 In the afternoon, thanking us, they walked home. 45 This is what the work of a shaman

cya-sa-guri khalam-Ø-u-du!

eat-INF-IND receive-sAS-3P-NPT

is like: he gets no money but he does get plenty to eat!

KATHMANDU

- 1 *găi ucyaca tha-ŋa-du beryaŋ, găi ŋaŋ găi-go macyu,*
 I small be-1s-NPT that.time I and I-GEN mother's.younger.sister
ucyapa-ko ca nama, jekha dese dăi caway-i-n.
 father's.younger.brother-GEN son with big village towards walk-1pPS-PT
- 2 *ni sum-ka tha-ta-i-le, dewa yo-sa-kăi caway-i-n.*
 we three-HNC be-IPP-1pPS-PCL god look.at-INF-PM walk-1pPS-PT
- 3 *cawa-ŋa libi, ɬaye dewa-te ya-let-i-n.* 4 *ni-kăi dewa*
 walk-CNS after night god-LOC go-appear-1pPS-PT we-PM god
yo-sa-kăi ucyapa-ko ca-ye urouy-i-thyo.
 look.at-INF-PM father's.younger.brother-GEN son-ERG call-1pPS-3SECOND
- 5 *ya-let-sa-be ya-let-i-n, bubu-kăi ma-khalam-wa-n.*
 go-appear-INF-TOP go-appear-1pPS-PT elder.brother-PM NEG-meet-1p→23-PT
- 6 *gă-ye macyu-kăi di-gore naka ulam-te na-tuŋ-le,*
 I-ERG mother's.younger.sister-PM one-CLF new road-LOC put-1s/TPP-PCL
bubu-kăi daŋ-u-n-uŋ, ma-khalam-u-n-uŋ. 7 *tyaŋ*
 elder.brother-PM search-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT NEG-meet-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT then
ɬaye tha-Ø-ta-le ukhiŋ-Ø-an, ni ariy-i-n. 8 *ni*
 night be-SAS-IPP-PCL become.dark-SAS-3S/PT we be.afraid-1pPS-PT we
ɬaye ulam-ko nem-te hok-i-thyo, di-ka naka mi
 night road-GEN house-LOC be-1pPS-3SECOND one-HNC new person
kyel-Ø-ta-le ni-kăi poy-i-n. 9 *po-ŋa libi, ni di-gore*
 come-SAS-IPP-PCL we-PM chase-1pPS-PT chase-CNS after we one-CLF

1 When I was young, I went to the big village [city], together with my maternal aunt and my paternal uncle's son. 2 The three of us went to look at the temples [lit. gods]. 3 Having travelled all day, we only arrived at the temple at night. 4 Our father's younger brother's son had called us [to the city] to see the temples. 5 We arrived fine and all that, but we didn't meet elder brother. 6 I left my auntie sitting by New Road and went off to search for my elder brother, but I didn't find him. 7 Night fell and then it became really dark, and we were frightened. 8 We spent the night sitting on the road until a stranger came along and chased us away. 9 After we had been chased away, we snuck into a temple, turned off the light inside and stayed there.

dewa nem duŋ-ŋaŋ bi-ta-i-le hok-i-n, to-ŋaŋ-ko
 god house within-inside enter-IPP-1pPS-PCL be-1pPS-PT that-within-GEN
athaŋ sat-wa-n. 10 athaŋ sat-wa-du-be, dewa yo-sa mi
 light kill-1p→23-PT light kill-1p→23-NPT-TOP god look.at-INF person
kyel-Ø-ta-le ni-kǎi ci-let-i-n. 11 to-te gǎ-ye su-kǎi
 come-SAS-IPP-PCL we-PM CAUS-appear-1pPS-PT that-LOC I-ERG who-PM
woi ma-ŋosǎiy-u-n-thyo. 12 libi di-ka mi-ye
 also NEG-recognise-3P-1s→3-3SECOND after one-HNC person-ERG
kyel-Ø-ta-le, gǎi-gǎi ŋah-Ø-ŋa-n ‘hu, hara-kǎi
 come-SAS-IPP-PCL I-PM say-SAS-1s-PT younger.brother what-PM
kyel-na-n, naŋ-ko su hok-Ø-du ka-te?’ 13 gǎ-ye
 come-2s-PT you-GEN who be-SAS-NPT this-LOC I-ERG
ŋah-u-n-uŋ ‘gǎi bubu hok-Ø-du ʈǎi-te kyel-ŋa-du.’
 say-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT I elder.brother be-SAS-NPT place-LOC come-1s-NPT
 14 ‘ka ahe nem hok-Ø-du ʈǎi, kuta kuta?’ ni thombe
 this very house be-SAS-NPT place where where we surprise
thay-i-n. 15 tyaj di-ka mi-ye ‘hu, naŋ
 be-1pPS-PT then one-HNC person-ERG younger.brother you
ra-Ø! gǎ-ye nih-u-n-du, tha-Ø-du ra ma-tha,
 come.from.level-s/IMP I-ERG see-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT be-SAS-NPT or NEG-be
nany-e yoh-o!’ gǎ-ye ‘ja-Ø-du’ ŋah-u-n-uŋ, ŋaŋ
 you-ERG look.at-s→3/IMP I-ERG okay-SAS-NPT say-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT and
ya-ŋa-n. 16 ya-ta-ŋa-le yoh-u-n-du-be, bubu-ko
 go-1s-PT go-IPP-1s-PCL look.at-3P-1s→3-1s→3/NPT-TOP elder.brother-GEN

10 But even though we killed the light, a worshipper coming to the temple saw us and dragged us out. 11 In that place I didn't know a single person. 12 After a while a person came up to me and asked, 'younger brother, what have you come to do here, who do you know here?' 13 'I have come to stay at my elder brother's place', I said. 14 'Where on earth is this place, in and amongst all these many houses?', we thought and were surprised. 15 Then a stranger came up [and said to me] 'younger brother, come with me! I think I have seen the place [he lives], [come] and see if it's right or not!', so I said 'okay' and went. 16 I went and looked, and I saw the place where elder brother works.

jet loŋ-sa nem nih-u-n-uŋ. 17 *piriŋ-yiŋ bubu-kǎi*
 work do-INF house see-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT outside-ABL elder.brother-PM
urouh-u-n-uŋ, to-ŋaŋ woi ma-hok-Ø-ta-le, jet loŋ-sa di
 call-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT that-inside also NEG-be-sAS-IPP-PCL work do-INF one
thǎi, ɬaye hok-sa di thǎi. 18 *bophura di-ka bubu-ko*
 place night be-INF one place pity one-HNC elder.brother-GEN
ban-e ni-kǎi hen-i-n, tyaŋ bubu nama
 friend-ERG we-PM take-1pPS-PT then elder.brother with
ya-ci-let-i-n. 19 *ya-let-ŋa libi, bubu*
 go-CAUS-appear-1pPS-PT go-appear-CNS after elder.brother
uli-si-Ø-ta-le hok-Ø-thyo, ni-kǎi ni-to-le bubu
 wash-REF-sAS-IPP-PCL be-sAS-3SECOND we-PM see-TPP-PCL elder.brother
nuiy-Ø-an. 20 *to isyaŋ to-te hok-i-n.* 21 *bubu*
 laugh-sAS-3S/PT that period that-LOC be-1pPS-PT elder.brother
khalam-ŋa libi, kwǎi cey-i-n, toŋ cey-i-n nan-be cya-sa-kǎi
 meet-CNS after potato eat-1pPS-PT beer eat-1pPS-PT now-TOP eat-INF-PM
hok-i-n. 22 *baŋhe isyaŋ bubu-ye ni-kǎi cum-to-le*
 be-1pPS-PT tomorrow period elder.brother-ERG we-PM hold-TPP-PCL
ci-yoy-i-n, naka nem, dewa, sakalei yo-wa-n. 23 *sum*
 CAUS-look.at-1pPS-PT new house god all look.at-1p→23-PT three
oli uni ka hok-ta-i-le, nem dǎi caway-i-n.
 four day throughout be-IPP-1pPS-PCL house towards walk-1pPS-PT
 24 *nem-te ya-let-ta-i-le, ni-ye nembo-kǎi sakalei*
 house-LOC go-appear-IPP-1pPS-PCL we-ERG other.person-PM all

17 From outside I called elder brother, but he wasn't even there, he works in once place and sleeps in another. 18 What a shame, but one of elder brother's friends took us and delivered us to elder brother. 19 When we arrived, elder brother was having a shower, and when he saw us he smiled. 20 And that day we stayed there. 21 Once we had met with elder brother, we ate potatoes and drank beer, and then we also stayed to eat [dinner]. 22 The very next day, elder brother took us and showed us new houses and temples, we looked at them all. 23 We stayed for three or four days and then set off home again. 24 Once we got home,

wakhe *ŋa-wa-n.*

word say-1p→23-PT

we told everyone all our stories.

NEW NAME

- 1 *găi-găi ama-ye nik-ŋa libi, găi ucyaca kere uniŋ*
 I-PM mother-ERG give.birth-CNS after I small insect like
hok-ŋa-thyo thaŋun. 2 *găi-găi nik-ŋa libi, ama-ye găi-găi*
 be-1s-3SECOND maybe I-PM give.birth-CNS after mother-ERG I-PM
jekha loŋ-Ø-ŋa-n. 3 *cya-sa pi-Ø-ŋa-n, isa-ye kola-ŋa-du*
 big do-SAS-1s-PT eat-INF give-SAS-1s-PT food-INS be.hungry-1s-NPT
beryŋ, sola pi-Ø-ŋa-n. 4 *găi jekha tha-ta-ŋa-le, găi-go*
 that.time snack give-SAS-1s-PT I big be-IPP-1s-PCL I-GEN
sum-gore name thaha săiy-u-n-uŋ. 5 *habi-ko name*
 three-CLF name knowledge know-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT before-GEN name
sukaman nay-eŋ-du, libi nay-eŋ-du name-guri begale hok-Ø-thyo.
 Sukaman put-pAS-NPT after put-pAS-NPT name-IND other be-SAS-3SECOND
 6 *găi-găi cijyaŋ-sa řisen-Ø-ŋa-du bubu-ye na-Ø-ŋa-du*
 I-PM speak-INF teach-SAS-1s-NPT elder.brother-ERG put-SAS-1s-NPT
name lile. 7 *libi găi-go name nasăi-to-le, di-ka camăica*
 name Lile. after I-GEN name hear-TPP-PCL one-HNC woman
kyel-Ø-an. 8 *kyel-Ø-ta-le ŋa-Ø-ŋa-n 'naŋ-ko name apraca*
 come-SAS-3S/PT come-SAS-IPP-PCL say-SAS-1s-PT you-GEN name good
hok-Ø-du, nany-e găi-găi bore loŋ-aŋ!' 9 *gă-ye*
 be-SAS-NPT you-ERG I-PM marriage do-s→1s/IMP I-ERG
ŋah-u-n-uŋ 'naŋ-ko apa-ye găi-găi kařa-Ø-ŋa-du.'
 say-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT you-GEN father-ERG I-PM scold-SAS-1s-NPT

1 After my mother gave birth to me, I think that I was like a small insect. 2 Once I was born, mother brought me up [lit. made me big]. 3 She gave me food, and when I was hungry, [mother] fed me snacks. 4 When I became older, I came to know that I had three names. 5 The first name they gave me was Sukaman, but the later one was different. 6 The name given to me by the elder brother who taught me to speak was Lile. 7 Hearing my name, a woman came. 8 Having come, she said to me 'you have a nice name, marry me!' 9 I said 'your father will scold me.'

- 10 *'ma-kaṭa, gǎi-gǎi amat-sa-kǎi sum-gore jake-ko maṇǎi, di-gore*
 NEG-scold I-PM beg-INF-PM three-CLF rice-GEN bread one-CLF
wa, di kulin toṇ ra-to-le
 chicken one small.earthenware.water.vessel beer bring-TPP-PCL
ra-Ø' ṇa-Ø-ṇa-n. 11 gǎ-ye woi sum-gore maṇǎi
 come.from.level-s/IMP say-SAS-1s-PT I-ERG also three-CLF bread
menca-ṇaṇ tham-to-le jarphu-kǎi hen-to-le ya-ṇa-n.
 bag-inside insert-TPP-PCL elder.sister's.husband-PM take-TPP-PCL go-1s-PT
 12 *ya-ta-i-le, thapu kherte hok-i-n, to camǎica-ko apa*
 go-IPP-1pPS-PT fireplace near be-1pPS-PT that woman-GEN father
ama-ye ni-kǎi kaṭay-i-n. 13 tyaṇ ni to isyaṇ to-te
 mother-ERG we-PM scold-1pPS-PT then we that period that-LOC
ma-ami caway-i-n, nem-te ya-ta-i-le ṭaye ama-kǎi
 NEG-sleep walk-1pPS-PT house-LOC go-IPP-1pPS-PCL night mother-PM
ci-serek-wa-n, toṇ tha-to-le cey-i-n. 14 libi
 CAUS-arise-1p→23-PT beer filter.and.strain-TPP-PCL eat-1pPS-PT after
wakhe camǎica-ko apa nama thah-Ø-an, apraca loṇ-Ø-u-no.
 word woman-GEN father with be-SAS-3S/PT good do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
 15 *libi bore tha-Ø-du isyaṇ, gǎi-go tete nini-pali-ye*
 after marriage be-SAS-NPT period I-GEN elder.sister father's.sister-p-ERG
lampay-eṇ-ṇa-n maṇǎi paliṇge ni-kǎi piy-eṇ-ṇa-n.
 block.the.road-pAS-1s-PT bread beaten.rice we-PM give-pAS-1s-PT
 16 *nem-te hen-sa habi, gǎi-gǎi chuku-ye cabu-Ø-ṇa-n,*
 house-LOC go-INF before I-PM father.in.law-ERG carry-SAS-1s-PT

10 'He won't scold you. In order to request [my hand in marriage], just come bringing three rice breads, one chicken and one jug of beer', she said. 11 And then I put three breads in a bag and set off with them and my elder sister's husband. 12 Having gone there, we sat down close to the fire and the woman's father and mother scolded us. 13 That day we didn't sleep there but walked home, and arriving at night, we woke mum up, prepared some beer [filtered and strained it] and drank it. 14 Hereafter there was some discussion with that woman's father and it turned out fine. 15 Later, on the day of the wedding, my elder sisters and paternal aunts blocked the road and then gave us bread and beaten rice. 16 Before going home, I was carried by my father-in-law and my wife was carried by my mother-in-law [her mother], and in this way we were taken.

uma-kǎi aji-ye cabu-to-le hen-i-n. 17 nem-te
 wife-PM mother.in.law-ERG carry-TPP-PCL take-1pPS-PT house-LOC
ṭho-sa habi, aji-ko nem-te lak konṭe jek-i-n,
 send-INF before mother.in.law-GEN house-LOC hand leg wash-1pPS-PT
ni-kǎi sewa loṇ-i-n. 18 ni-ko bore loṇ-sa, ahe toṇ pepelek
 we-PM salute do-1pPS-PT we-GEN marriage do-INF much beer money
daṇ-ko mǎi-Ø-du, ahe mi urou-ko mǎi-Ø-du, tyaṇ
 search-ADH must-SAS-NPT many person call-ADH must-SAS-NPT then
bore tha-Ø-du.
 marriage be-SAS-NPT

17 Before sending us home, they washed our hands and feet in my mother-in-law's house and paid their respects to us. 18 For a [Thangmi] wedding one has to find a lot of beer and money, and also to invite many people, only then does one get married.

MUSHROOMS

- 1 *di uni-ko wakhe: gǎi-go nem-yiŋ hya-basa*
 one day-GEN word I-GEN house-ABL higher-side
ucyapa-ko ca-ko nem hok-Ø-du. 2 *di uni to*
 father's.younger.brother-GEN son-GEN house be-SAS-NPT one day that
bubu-ye begale thǎi-yiŋ nis-ʔoke amum ra-to-le.
 elder.brother-ERG other place-ABL two-half.kilo mushroom bring-TPP-PCL
 3 *amum ra-to-le, libi di uni ka uni-te*
 mushroom bring-TPP-PCL after one day throughout sun-LOC
areŋ-to-le. 4 *uni-ye gaŋ-ŋa libi kiji tha-Ø-ta-le, 'nan-guri*
 dry-TPP-PCL son-ERG dry-CNS after black be-SAS-IPP-PCL now-IND
cya-sa ja-Ø-du' ŋa-to-le ŋah-Ø-u-no. 5 *nyoŋi, uma*
 eat-INF okay-SAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT evening wife
huca-pali oste oste-ko jet-yiŋ nem-te kyel-eŋ-an. 6 *libi to*
 child-p self self-GEN work-ABL house-LOC come-pAS-3S/PT after that
amum ci-min-sa-kǎi me mut-eŋ-no, tyəŋ
 mushroom CAUS-ripen-INF-PM fire blow-pAS-3→3/PT then
ci-min-eŋ-no. 7 *tyəŋ lawa-ye-guri bǎsinŋe-ko*
 CAUS-ripen-pAS-3→3/PT then husband-ERG-IND morning-GEN
pecerek isa nama amum-ko ken cya-Ø-ta-le,
 stale.and.left-over food with mushroom-GEN vegetable.curry eat-SAS-IPP-PCL
ca camǎi-kǎi woi pi-to-le. 8 *sakalei mi cey-eŋ-ta-le,*
 son daughter-PM also give-TPP-PCL all person eat-pAS-IPP-PCL

1 This is what happened one day: a little above my house is my father's younger brother's son's house. 2 One day, that elder brother brought about one kilo of mushrooms from some other place. 3 Having brought the mushrooms, he left them to dry in the sun for a whole day. 4 Once the sun had dried them and they had turned black, he said that they were now good to eat. 5 In the evening, [his] wife and children, returning from their own jobs, all came home. 6 And then, in order to prepare those mushrooms they started a fire [lit. blew the fire] and cooked them. 7 And then the husband ate the left-over food from the morning with some mushroom curry, and he also gave some to his sons and daughters. 8 Everyone ate, and one old lady ate only later.

di-ka uma-guri libi cya-Ø-ta-le. 9 *habi cey-eη-du*
 one-HNC wife-IND after eat-SAS-IPP-PCL before eat-pAS-NPT
huca-pali-kăi nan kapu kalăi-sa thah-Ø-an, baykal woi kalăi-sa
 child-p-PM now head hurt-INF be-SAS-3S/PT stomach also hurt-INF
thah-Ø-an. 10 *to-bany-e amum cey-eη-ta-le ka uniη*
 be-SAS-3S/PT that-Pp-ERG mushroom eat-pAS-IPP-PCL this like
thah-Ø-an ηa-to-le ma-thaha săiy-eη-no. 11 *libi*
 be-SAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL NEG-knowledge know-pAS-3→3/PT after
apa-guri huca-pali amiy-eη-du uniη tiŋiy-eη-an, uma-guri
 father-IND child-p sleep-pAS-NPT like fall.from.level-pAS-3S/PT wife-IND
thombe thah-Ø-an. 12 *uma-guri-kăi woi uchin uchin kapu kalăi-le*
 surprise be-SAS-3S/PT wife-IND-PM also a.little a.little head hurt-PCL
hok-Ø-du, nan atthe kalăi-Ø-du beryaη hara woi ηa-sa
 be-SAS-NPT now very hurt-SAS-NPT that.time what also say-INF
ma-thaη-Ø-u-no, hya-basa-te aji chuku-ko
 NEG-be.able-SAS-3P-3→3/PT higher-side-LOC mother.in.law father.in.law-GEN
nem-te ma-thaη ma-thaη woi yah-Ø-an. 13 *ya-ηa libi*
 house-LOC NEG-be.well NEG-be.well also go-SAS-3S/PT go-CNS after
to-te tiŋiy-Ø-ta-le ami-Ø-du uniη thah-Ø-an.
 that-LOC fall.from.level-SAS-IPP-PCL sleep-SAS-NPT like be-SAS-3S/PT
 14 *aji chuku sakalei kerep-eη-an.* 15 *‘wari-kăi*
 mother.in.law father.in.law all cry-pAS-3S/PT daughter.in.law-PM
hara thah-Ø-an?’ ηa-to-le, ca-kăi ηa-sa wari-ko
 what be-SAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL son-PM say-INF daughter.in.law-GEN

9 The children who had eaten earlier started to get headaches and stomach cramps. 10 They didn't know that this would happen if they ate the mushrooms. 11 Thereafter the father and all the kids fell over as if they were asleep, and the wife was totally shocked. 12 Then the wife also started to get a bit of a headache, and when it became so bad she couldn't even speak, although terribly ill, she went up to the upper house where her parents-in-law live. 13 Having gone there, she also toppled over as if she were asleep. 14 The parents-in-law and everyone else burst into tears. 15 Thinking 'what has happened to our daughter-in-law?', they set off to ask their son, but in their daughter-in-law's house their son and all their grandchildren looked dead.

nem-te yey-eŋ-du-be, ca cacha-pali sakalei siy-eŋ-du uniŋ
 house-LOC go-PAS-NPT-TOP son grandchild-p all die-PAS-NPT like
niy-eŋ-no. 16 ‘hara thah-Ø-an?’ ŋa-to-le, dese-te ka
 see-PAS-3→3/PT what be-SAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL village-LOC throughout
artik-eŋ-ta-le caway-eŋ-an. 17 libi dese-ko mi-pali
 cry-PAS-IPP-PCL walk-PAS-3S/PT after village-GEN person-p
kyel-eŋ-an, yoy-eŋ-no si-Ø-du mi uniŋ niy-eŋ-no,
 come-SAS-3S/PT look.at-PAS-3→3/PT die-SAS-NPT person like see-PAS-3→3/PT
suwa chyuy-eŋ-du. 18 suwa tany-eŋ-to-le paŋku
 tooth be.locked.together-PAS-NPT tooth open-PAS-TPP-PCL water
piy-eŋ-no, ma-lek-eŋ-no. 19 di-ka mi-ye ‘nan
 give-PAS-3→3/PT NEG-swallow-PAS-3→3/PT one-HNC person-ERG now
ka-baŋ-kăi paŋ pi-ko măi-Ø-du, tyay ja-Ø-du’
 this-Pp-PM sour.fruit give-ADH must-SAS-NPT then okay-SAS-NPT
ŋah-Ø-u-no. 20 paŋ ray-eŋ-to-le, äikuca-ye suwa
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT sour.fruit bring-PAS-TPP-PCL large.knife-INS tooth
tany-eŋ-to-le ugo duŋ-ŋay piy-eŋ-no. 21 di-ka mi
 open-PAS-TPP-PCL mouth within-inside give-PAS-3→3/PT one-HNC person
paŋ lek-to-le libi cijyay-Ø-an, nan sakalei-kăi paŋ
 sour.fruit swallow-TPP-PCL after speak-SAS-3S/PT now all-PM sour.fruit
yey-eŋ-no. 22 libi sakalei serek-eŋ-an. 23 serek-eŋ-ta-le libi,
 feed-SAS-3→3/PT after all arise-PAS-3S/PT arise-PAS-IPP-PCL after
di-ka mi-kăi, ‘hara tha-na-n?’ ŋa-to-le ŋay-eŋ-du beryay,
 one-HNC person-PM what be-SAS-PT say-TPP-PCL say-PAS-NPT that.time

16 ‘What happened?’ they cried, as they wandered all through the whole village. 17 Later the villagers came and looked at those who were lying down as if dead, and they saw that their teeth were locked together. 18 They pushed open their teeth and gave them water, but they didn’t swallow it. 19 One person said ‘we should feed them some sour fruit, and then they will be fine.’ 20 Having brought the sour fruit, they pried open their mouths with a knife and put it inside. 21 Having swallowing the sour fruit one person spoke, so they fed it to all the others also. 22 And then all of them woke up. 23 After they had woken up, they asked one man, ‘what happened to you?’, and he said:

to-ye ηah-Ø-u-no: 24 *‘gǎi hyate ya-let-ηa-n, to-te θhə*
 that-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT I up.there go-appear-1s-PT that-LOC old
mi-ye hok-sa ma-pi-Ø-ηa-n!’ ηa-to-le ηah-Ø-u-no.
 person-ERG be-INF NEG-give-SAS-1s-PT say-TPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
 25 *‘di-ka khaṇou-te hok-Ø-du mi-ye gǎi-gǎi jun-Ø-ηa-n!’*
 one-HNC door-LOC be-SAS-NPT person-ERG I-PM push-SAS-1s-PT

24 ‘When I arrived all the way up there [i.e. heaven], the old man [who lives there] didn’t let me stay!’, he said. 25 ‘And this person sitting by the door pushed me out!’

ELDER BROTHER

- 1 *macyu-ko* *ca, gǎi-go bubu, ahe habi-ko*
 mother's.younger.sister-GEN son I-GEN elder.brother very before-GEN
wakhe loŋ-u-n-du, to-ko. 2 *to sarma tha-Ø-du beryaŋ,*
 word do-3P-1s→3-NPT that-GEN that strong be-SAS-NPT that.time
to-ko bore ălāmtha-ko camăica nama thah-Ø-an. 3 *libi uma*
 that-GEN marriage distant-GEN woman with be-SAS-3S/PT after wife
nama aji chuku-ko nem-te yey-eŋ-an.
 with mother.in.law father.in.law-GEN house-LOC go-pAS-3S/PT
 4 *chuku-ko nem-te hok-ŋa libi, di uni aji-ye*
 father.in.law-GEN house-LOC be-CNS after one day mother.in.law-ERG
ŋah-Ø-u-no: 5 *‘damari, dikaca ya-Ø, camăi libi*
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT son.in.law alone go-s/IMP daughter after
thoh-u-n-du’ ŋa-to-le ŋah-Ø-u-no. 6 *tyaŋ bubu uma*
 send-3P-1s→3-NPT say-TPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT then elder.brother wife
to-te torta-to-le, oste-ko nem-te cawah-Ø-an. 7 *cawa-sa*
 that-GEN leave-TPP-PCL self-GEN house-LOC walk-SAS-3S/PT walk-INF
habi, aji-ye maŋăi kwăi damari-kăi piy-Ø-u-no.
 before mother.in.law-ERG bread potato son.in.law-PM give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
 8 *damari-kăi ‘ulam-te cya-sa sola hen-o’ ŋa-to-le*
 son.in.law-PM road-LOC eat-INF snack take-s→3/IMP say-TPP-PCL
thoh-Ø-u-no. 9 *to aji-ko wakhe nasăi-to-le*
 send-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that mother.in.law-GEN word hear-TPP-PCL

1 Let me tell a story about what happened a long time ago to my mother's younger sister's son, my elder brother. 2 When he was a young lad, he married a woman from far-away. 3 Later, he and his wife went to visit his parents-in-law. 4 While they were living at his parents-in-law, one day his mother-in-law said to him: 5 'You go alone now, son-in-law, I will send our daughter later', she said. 6 Then elder brother left his wife there and set off home. 7 Before he left, his mother-in-law gave him bread and potatoes. 8 'Take these snacks to eat along the road', she said to her son-in-law, sending him off. 9 Listening to the words of his mother-in-law, elder brother set off.

bubu cawah-Ø-an. 10 *aji-ko wakhe nasăi-to-le,*
 elder.brother walk-sAS-3S/PT mother.in.law-GEN word hear-TPP-PCL
bubu-kăi rage let-Ø-thyo, to sumaka hok-Ø-an.
 elder.brother-PM anger appear-sAS-3SCOND that silent be-sAS-3S/PT
 11 *libi bakotek ulam ya-let-Ø-thyo, to-ko kapu-ye begale*
 after half road go-appear-sAS-3SCOND that-GEN head-ERG other
jet loŋ-Ø-u-no. 12 *‘nan găi dikaca nem-te hara-kăi hen-sa?*
 work do-sAS-3P-3→3/PT now I alone house-LOC what-PM go-INF
nan ma-ya’ ŋa-to-le, to begale jekha dese dăi cawah-Ø-an.
 now NEG-go say-TPP-PCL that other big village towards walk-sAS-3S/PT
 13 *to aji-ye thoh-Ø-u-du sola warak dăi*
 that mother.in.law-ERG send-sAS-3P-NPT snack precipice towards
cih-Ø-u-no. 14 *jekha dese ya-let-Ø-ta-le, kote*
 throw.away-sAS-3P-3→3/PT big village go-appear-sAS-IPP-PCL wall
ceŋ-sa jet loŋ-Ø-u-no. 15 *libi jekha mi-ko nem-te*
 build-INF work do-sAS-3P-3→3/PT after big person-GEN house-LOC
hok-Ø-ta-le baŋi jek-sa jet loŋ-Ø-u-no. 16 *jekha dese*
 be-sAS-IPP-PCL pot wash-INF work do-sAS-3P-3→3/PT big village
dăi tam-Ø-ta-le hok-Ø-an. 17 *ni-ye-guri ‘to*
 towards disappear-sAS-IPP-PCL be-sAS-3S/PT we-ERG-IND that
siy-Ø-an’ ŋa-to-le ŋa-wa-n. 18 *libi di-ka mi-ye*
 die-sAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL say-1p→23-PT after one-HNC person-ERG
‘naŋ-ko bubu hok-Ø-du’ ŋa-to-le ŋah-Ø-u-no. 19 *tyaŋ*
 you-GEN elder.brother be-sAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT then

10 Listening to the words of his mother-in-law, elder brother became angry and fell completely silent. 11 When he had completed about half of his journey, his mind started racing [lit. his head did another job]. 12 ‘Now why should I go back home all alone? I won’t go’, [is what he thought], and he set off towards that other big village [Kathmandu]. 13 And the snacks that his mother-in-law had given him he threw over a steep precipice. 14 Having arrived in the big village, he worked building walls. 15 After that, he lived in an important person’s house and washed dishes. 16 He had disappeared in the city. 17 We thought ‘he’s dead’, that’s what we said. 18 Some time later, this guy asked me whether my elder brother was still around. 19 And then that lost person appeared, and it became clear that until this day he wasn’t dead at all [as we had thought].

tam-Ø-du mi nan let-Ø-ta-le, yaŋ ka
 disappear-SAS-NPT person now appear-SAS-IPP-PCL today throughout
ma-si woi hok-Ø-ta-le. 20 libi libi, gǎi to-kǎi yo-sa-kǎi
 NEG-die also be-SAS-IPP-PCL after after I that-PM look.at-INF-PM
ya-ŋa-n. 21 libi bubu-kǎi hen-to-le, begale camǎica
 go-1S-PT after elder.brother-PM take-TPP-PCL other woman
amat-to-le, bore loŋ-Ø-u-no. 22 naleŋ, sum-ka ca camǎi
 beg-TPP-PCL marriage do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT present three-HNC son daughter
hok-eŋ-du. 23 uma-ye nem-te jet loŋ-Ø-u-du, lawa-ye
 be-PAS-NPT wife-ERG house-LOC work do-SAS-3P-NPT husband-ERG
jekha dese-te jet loŋ-Ø-u-du. 24 kutaleŋ kutaleŋ nem dǎi
 big village-LOC work do-SAS-3P-NPT when when house towards
ya-Ø-du. 25 libi to-ko uma ma-thaŋ-Ø-an, ma-thaŋ-ŋa
 go-SAS-NPT after that-GEN wife NEG-be.well-SAS-3S/PT NEG-be.well-CNS
libi, guru-ko-te hen-wa-n, guru-kǎi ci-yo-wa-n.
 after shaman-GEN-LOC take-1p→23-PT shaman-PM CAUS-look.at-1p→23-PT
 26 *‘nan ka-kǎi ka-te ma-ja’ ŋa-to-le ŋah-Ø-u-no.*
 now this-PM this-LOC NEG-okay say-TPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
 27 *libi jekha dese-te hen-to-le roloŋ-Ø-an.*
 after big village-LOC take-TPP-PCL recover-SAS-3S/PT

20 Much later I went to visit him. 21 Later I brought elder brother [back to the village] and, having requested another woman, he got married [again]. 22 At present, he has three sons and daughters. 23 The wife works in the house and the husband works in the big village [Kathmandu]. 24 On occasion he goes home. 25 Some time later, his wife got ill, and being ill, we took her to the shaman's house where we showed her to him. 26 'Now, she shouldn't be here [I can't help her]', is what he [the shaman] said. 27 Then he took her to the big city and she recovered.

THE GOD OF THE THANGMI

1 *bhumya thaŋmi-ko dewa tha-Ø-du.* 2 *ka dewa loŋ-sa*
 earth.god Thangmi-GEN god be-SAS-NPT this god do-INF
beryaŋ, thaŋmi-pali-ko guru-pali naka miŋ bu-siy-eŋ-ta-le
 that.time Thangmi-p-GEN shaman-p new cloth cover-REF-pAS-IPP-PCL
take tap-eŋ-to-le usyay-eŋ-du. 3 *ni-ko tete-ko*
 shaman's.drum beat-pAS-TPP-PCL dance-pAS-NPT we-GEN elder.sister-GEN
nem-te di ɬaye ka dewa lony-eŋ-du. 4 *to-te wa*
 house-LOC one night throughout god do-pAS-NPT that-LOC chicken
walɬa-gore, pucyuk mat-gore, na-ko mǎi-Ø-du. 5 *guru-pali*
 five-CLF flour.offering six-CLF put-ADH must-SAS-NPT shaman-p
dewa loŋ-ŋa libi, nay-eŋ-du pucyuk tor-eŋ-to-le, ahum
 god do-CNS after put-pAS-NPT flour.offering break-pAS-TPP-PCL egg
them-eŋ-to-le, cey-eŋ-du. 6 *di-gore pucyuk-guri ɬakare*
 crack-pAS-TPP-PCL eat-pAS-NPT one-CLF flour.offering-IND branched
tha-Ø-du. 7 *cya-ŋa libi, unise guru-pali amiy-eŋ-du.*
 be-SAS-NPT eat-CNS after daytime shaman-p sleep-pAS-NPT
 8 *ami-sa habi, dese-te nis-ka mi-kǎi pucyuk*
 sleep-INF before village-LOC two-HNC person-PM flour.offering
thoy-eŋ-to-le, di di kucik boɬhay-eŋ-to-le, nem nem-te
 send-pAS-TPP-PCL one one morsel distribute-pAS-TPP-PCL house house-LOC
jakcho ya-kǎi-ko mǎi-Ø-du. 9 *jakcho ray-eŋ-to-le,*
 wheat go-remove-ADH must-SAS-NPT wheat bring-pAS-TPP-PCL

1 The earth god is the god of the Thangmi people. 2 When worshipping their god, Thangmi shamans wear new clothes and dance beating their shaman's drums. 3 One time they were doing their ritual all night long in our elder sister's house. 4 Five chickens and six ritual flour effigies are required to be put ready in that place. 5 Once the shamans have finished their worship, they break the ritual flour effigies into pieces that have been put there, crack some eggs, and then eat it all up. 6 One of these ritual flower effigies is branched. 7 Having eaten, the shamans sleep all day. 8 Before sleeping, they [the shamans] send ritual flour effigies to two people in the village who break these offerings into little pieces and, giving a piece to each house, go to collect wheat [as payment]. 9 Bringing the wheat, roasting it, and having ground it [the flour] in a quern [handmill], five ritual flour effigies are then prepared.

aṇek-eṇ-to-le, yante-te ney-eṇ-to-le, walḥa-gore pucyuk
 roast-pAS-TPP-PCL quern-LOC grind-pAS-TPP-PCL five-CLF flour.offering
khem-ko mǎi-Ø-du. 10 nyoṇi guru-pali ray-eṇ-ta-le,
 build-ADH must-sAS-NPT evening shaman-p come.from.level-pAS-IPP-PCL
dewa lony-eṇ-to-le, dewa hok-Ø-du ṭhǎi-te yey-eṇ-du. 11 habi
 god do-pAS-TPP-PCL god be-sAS-NPT place-LOC go-pAS-NPT before
habi dewa loṇ-Ø-u-du nem-ko mi, lembe-te
 before god do-sAS-NPT house-GEN person winnowing.tray-LOC
pucyuk cabu-to-le, cawa-Ø-du. 12 libi libi, alam ṇaṇ
 flour.offering carry-TPP-PCL walk-sAS-NPT after after ritual.flag and
guru ṭake tap-to-le usya-sa caway-eṇ-du. 13 nan
 shaman-ERG shaman's.drum beat-TPP-PCL dance-INF walk-pAS-NPT now
begale nem-te woi di chin hok-eṇ-ta-le dewa lony-eṇ-du.
 other house-LOC also one moment be-pAS-IPP-PCL god do-pAS-NPT
 14 *to-te dum-eṇ-to-le, to-yiṇ dicip-lǎ-gore pucyuk*
 that-LOC finish-pAS-TPP-PCL that-ABL ten-eight-CLF flour.offering
hen-eṇ-du, gare woi hen-eṇ-du. 15 pucyuk hen-eṇ-to-le
 take-pAS-NPT rooster also take-pAS-NPT flour.offering take-pAS-TPP-PCL
dewa nem-te nay-eṇ-du. 16 ṭaye ka guru-pali-ye jet
 god house-LOC put-pAS-NPT night throughout shaman-p-ERG work
lony-eṇ-du. 17 bǎsinṭe thaṇmi-pali-ko naka nem, naka bore
 do-pAS-NPT morning Thangmi-p-GEN new house new marriage
lony-eṇ-du-pali-ye, gare toṇ alam hen-ko mǎi-Ø-du.
 do-pAS-NPT-p-ERG rooster beer ritual.flag take-ADH must-sAS-NPT

10 In the evening, having come, and having done their worship, the shamans then go the place where the gods reside. 11 In front of the shamans walks one person of the house in which the ritual is being conducted, carrying a winnowing tray with the flour effigies. 12 Behind comes the shaman's ritual flag, and the shamans come beating their drums and dancing. 13 And [along the way], they stop here and there for a moment in other houses to worship. 14 Having finished there, they take eighteen flour effigies and also take [eighteen] cockerel [one each from the houses they have stopped at]. 15 Having taken the flour offerings, they put them in the house of the gods [temple]. 16 They worship all night long. 17 In the morning, all the Thangmi people who have recently built a new house or are newly married must take a cockerel and some beer and carry the shaman's flag [to the temple].

- 18 *hen-eŋ-to-le, guru-kăi pi-ŋa libi, gare koŋeh-Ø-u-du,*
 take-pAS-TPP-PCL shaman-PM give-CNS after rooster cut-sAS-3P-NPT
kapu-guri koŋeh-Ø-u-du mi-ye hen-Ø-u-du, maŋ-guri
 head-IND cut-sAS-3P-NPT person-ERG take-sAS-3P-NPT body-IND
piy-Ø-u-du. 19 *unise tha-Ø-du, guru-pali habi syaŋ-ko*
 give-sAS-3P-NPT daytime be-sAS-NPT shaman-p before period-GEN
nem-te yuy-eŋ-du. 20 *yuy-eŋ-ta-le*
 house-LOC come.from.above-pAS-NPT come.from.above-pAS-IPP-PCL
gare-ko kapu maŋăi pucyuk cey-eŋ-ta-le, oste oste-ko nem
 rooster-GEN head bread flour.offering eat-pAS-IPP-PCL self self-GEN house
nem-te yey-eŋ-du.
 house-LOC go-pAS-NPT

18 Bringing all this, and having given it to the shamans, the cockerels are sacrificed and the person who cuts the cockerel keeps the head, and gives the body back [to the person whose cockerel it was]. 19 Then it's daytime, and the shamans come back down to the first house at which they started the day before. 20 Having come down, and having eaten the heads of the sacrificed cockerels, some bread and the flour effigies, they go back to their own homes.

KABITA

- 1 *kābita gǎi-go camǎi.* 2 *to huca aṭṭhe reṇreṇ isi-Ø-du, nalen*
 Kabitā I-GEN daughter that child very fidgety do-SAS-NPT present
sum tha-ko sow-Ø-an. 3 *to-ye oste-ko ama-kǎi ‘ama’*
 three be-ADH be.about.to-SAS-3S/PT that-ERG self-GEN mother-PM mother
ma-ṇa, gǎi-go ama-kǎi ṇah-Ø-u-du. 4 *di uni to*
 NEG-say I-GEN mother-PM say-SAS-3P-NPT one day that
ṭiṭiṇ-Ø-ta-le, *kapu-te gare woi thah-Ø-an.* 5 *gare*
 fall.from.level-SAS-IPP-PCL head-LOC wound also be-SAS-3S/PT wound
tha-Ø-ta-le kerep-Ø-an, phophonḍa thah-Ø-an. 6 *di uni to-kǎi,*
 be-SAS-IPP-PCL cry-SAS-3S/PT swelling be-SAS-3S/PT one day that-PM
gǎi-go uma-kǎi, begale dese-yiṇ bubu-ye ni-kǎi urouy-i-n.
 I-GEN wife-PM other village-ABL elder.brother-ERG we-PM call-1pPS-PT
 7 *ni nem-yiṇ yey-i-n, tyay bubu-ko nem-te hok-i-n.*
 we house-ABL go-1pPS-PT then elder.brother-GEN house-LOC be-1pPS-PT
 8 *to huca woi hok-Ø-an, hok-Ø-du beryay bubu nama*
 that child also be-SAS-3S/PT be-SAS-NPT that.time elder.brother with
ma-cijyay-Ø-an, tete nama-guri cijyay-Ø-an. 9 *hara-kǎi*
 NEG-speak-SAS-3S/PT elder.sister with-IND speak-SAS-3S/PT what-PM
masǎi, jekhapa ni-to-le kerep-sa daṇ-Ø-u-du.
 who.knows father’s.elder.brother see-TPP-PCL cry-INF search-SAS-3P-NPT
 10 *tete ni-to-le nui-Ø-du, sade-Ø-du.* 11 *di uni du*
 elder.sister see-TPP-PCL laugh-SAS-NPT like-SAS-NPT one day tiger

1 Kabitā is my daughter. 2 That child is such a fidget now that she is almost three. 3 She doesn’t even call her own mother ‘mother’, but calls my mother that. 4 One day she fell and cut her head. 5 Having been wounded, she cried, and it became swollen. 6 One day, my elder brother from another village invited her and my wife over. 7 We came from our house and went to stay in elder brother’s house. 8 That child also went to stay, and during the time of her stay, she never once spoke with elder brother, although she did speak with elder sister. 9 Who knows why she does this, but whenever she sees her paternal uncle she makes as if to cry. 10 When she sees elder sister, whom she likes, she smiles. 11 One day we took her to the place where tigers and jackals live [i.e. the zoo].

loŋe hok-Ø-du ʈhăi-te hen-wa-n. 12 to ni-to-le aʈʈhe
 jackal be-SAS-NPT place-LOC take-1p→23-PT that see-TPP-PCL much
taŋ-Ø-an, libi to-ŋaŋ arki sya-pali nih-Ø-u-no.
 be.happy-SAS-3S/PT after that-inside deer cow-p see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
 13 *libi hok-sa nem-te ray-i-du beryaŋ ‘lak*
 after be-INF house-LOC come.from.level-1pPS-NPT that.time hand
kalăiy-Ø-an’ ŋah-Ø-u-no. 14 ‘lak-te hara thah-Ø-an?’
 hurt-SAS-3S/PT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT hand-LOC what be-SAS-3S/PT
ŋa-to-le yo-wa-du-be lak maraŋ-Ø-ta-le camăi
 say-TPP-PCL look.at-1p→23-NPT-TOP hand swell-SAS-IPP-PCL daughter
kerep-Ø-an. 15 nem-te woi kerep-Ø-an, ‘oste-ko nem-te hen-ko’
 cry-SAS-3S/PT house-LOC also cry-SAS-3S/PT self-GEN house-LOC go-ADH
ŋah-Ø-u-no. 16 tyaŋ ɲo uni hok-ta-i-le oste-ko nem-te
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT then seven day be-IPP-1pPS-PCL self-GEN house-LOC
yey-i-n. 17 hen-sa habi, camăi naka naka isa cyah-Ø-an,
 go-1pPS-PT go-INF before daughter new new food eat-SAS-3S/PT
uma-guri habi woi rah-Ø-an. 18 habi-ko uniŋ
 wife-IND before also come.from.level-SAS-3S/PT before-GEN like
naleŋ ma-thah-Ø-an, naka naka wakhe săiy-Ø-u-no, naka nem,
 present NEG-be-SAS-3S/PT new new word know-SAS-3P-3→3/PT new house
naka hok-sa ʈhăi ni-to-le thombe thah-Ø-an. 19 camăi
 new be-INF place see-TPP-PCL surprise be-SAS-3S/PT daughter
jekhapa nama ma-hok-tiniŋ nem dăi yah-Ø-an.
 father’s.elder.brother with NEG-be-PFG house towards go-SAS-3S/PT

12 She was really happy to see all that, and in that place she later saw deer and cows also. 13 Afterwards, as we were coming back to the house where we were staying, she said ‘my hand hurts.’ 14 ‘What has happened to her hand?’, we thought, and when we looked at it, it was swollen and daughter cried. 15 She cried all the time at that house and said ‘let’s go home to our own house.’ 16 Then, having stayed seven days, we went home. 17 Before leaving, daughter ate all kinds of new foods, but my wife had come [to Kathmandu] before. 18 But this time was not like the last trip, she came to know many many new things, stayed in a new place and was completely bowled over. 19 Daughter returned home without ever having been with uncle.

- 20 *jekhama* *nama nui-Ø-du, wakhe woi*
 father's.elder.brother's.wife with laugh-SAS-NPT word also
loŋ-Ø-u-no. 21 *libi nem-te ya-ta-i-le, camăi*
 do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after house-LOC go-IPP-1pPS-PCL daughter
nuiy-Ø-an. 22 *tyaŋ to-ko hu humi nama*
 laugh-SAS-3S/PT then that-GEN younger.brother younger.sister with
hok-Ø-ta-le, to-te nih-Ø-u-du sakalei ŋah-Ø-u-no. 23 *‘găi*
 be-SAS-IPP-PCL that-LOC see-SAS-3P-NPT all say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT I
naka nem-ŋaŋ hok-ŋa-n, naka isa cya-ŋa-n’ ŋah-Ø-u-no.
 new house-inside be-1s-PT new food eat-1s-PT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
 24 *libi naka miŋ niy-eŋ-to-le ‘su-ye pi-Ø-na-n?’ ŋa-to-le*
 after new cloth see-pAS-TPP-PCL who-ERG give-SAS-2s-PT say-TPP-PCL
ŋay-eŋ-du beryaŋ, ‘ka ni-ko tete-ye găi-găi pi-Ø-ŋa-n’
 say-pAS-NPT that.time this we-GEN elder.sister-ERG I-PM give-SAS-1s-PT
ŋah-Ø-u-no. 25 *yamiryaŋ to-te nih-Ø-u-du sakalei*
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT nowadays that-LOC see-SAS-3P-NPT all
nembo huca-pali-kăi sat-Ø-u-du.
 other.person child-p-PM explain-SAS-3P-NPT

20 But with auntie, she laughed and even chatted. 21 Once we went home, well then daughter was all happy again. 22 Then, sitting with her younger brothers and sisters, she told about all the things she had seen there [in Kathmandu]. 23 ‘I stayed in a new house and ate new food’, she told them. 24 When other people saw her new clothes they asked her, ‘who gave you that?’ and she replied ‘our elder sister gave them to me.’ 25 These days she tells all the other children about the things she saw there [in Kathmandu].

THANGMI HISTORY

1 *amamakaleŋ, thaŋmi-pali di ʈhǎi-te hok-eŋ-thyo.* 2 *nǐ-ko*
 long.time.ago Thangmi-p one place-LOC be-pAS-3SCOND we-GEN
jyu-jyu cyapjyu-pali sunari aji yapǎti chuku
 great-great ancestor-p Sunari mother.in.law Yapati father.in.law
thay-eŋ-du. 3 *ka nis-ka ʈhoŋe ʈhoŋi-ko ca camǎi*
 be-pAS-NPT this two-HNC old.man old.woman-GEN son daughter
naleŋ sakalei oste oste-ko ʈhǎi-te hok-eŋ-du. 4 *habi, to*
 present all self self-GEN place-LOC be-pAS-NPT before that
nis-ka mi uireŋ-ko cyoporok nem khem-eŋ-to-le
 two-HNC person *Artemisia.vulgaris*-GEN hut house build-pAS-TPP-PCL
hok-eŋ-thyo ŋa. 5 *libi to-baŋ-ko ŋo-ka ca ŋo-ka*
 be-pAS-3SCOND REP after that-Pp-GEN seven-GEN son seven-GEN
camǎi thay-eŋ-an. 6 *to-baŋ jekha jekha thay-eŋ-ta-le, bore*
 daughter be-pAS-3S/PT that-Pp big big be-pAS-IPP-PCL marriage
loŋ-sa thay-eŋ-an. 7 *‘nan camǎi-pali-kǎi ɖamari, ca-pali-kǎi*
 do-INF be-pAS-3S/PT now daughter-p-PM son.in.law son-p-PM
wari, kyel-ko mǎi-Ø-du’ ŋa-to-le, nis-ka ʈhoŋe
 daughter.in.law bring-ADH must-SAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL two-HNC old.man
ʈhoŋi-ye wakhe lony-eŋ-no. 8 *‘nan ka dǎi su mi*
 old.woman-ERG word do-pAS-3→3/PT now this towards who person
woi ma-hok-eŋ, nan su daŋ-sa, su nama bore loŋ-sa?’
 also NEG-be-pAS now who search-INF who with marriage do-INF

1 A long long time ago, the Thangmi people all lived in one place. 2 Our ancestors are the mother-in-law Sunari and the father-in-law Yapati. 3 The sons and daughters of this old couple now all inhabit their own areas. 4 Before all this, they say that those two people lived in a hut made of the leaves of the *Artemisia vulgaris* plant. 5 They went on to have seven sons and seven daughters. 6 Having all grown up, they would have to get married. 7 ‘Now we must bring sons-in-law for our daughters and daughters-in-law for our sons’, said the old man and old woman, discussing it. 8 ‘There is simply no one around here, whom should we look for, with whom can they marry?’, the two of them thought.

ŋa-to-le *nis-ka-ye* *wakhe lony-eŋ-no.* 9 ‘*nan ka uniŋ*
 say-TPP-PCL two-HNC-ERG word do-pAS-3→3/PT now this like
loŋ-ko *măi-Ø-du,* *ka-baŋ-kăi* *oste oste-ko* *thar pi-ko*
 do-ADH must-sAS-NPT this-Pp-PM self self-GEN clan give-ADH
măi-Ø-du, *ŋaŋ libi bore* *loŋ-ko măi-Ø-du.*’ 10 *kuta-yiŋ*
 must-sAS-NPT and after marriage do-ADH must-sAS-NPT where-ABL
ka-baŋ-ko *thar pi-sa* *ŋay-eŋ-du beryaŋ,* *lawa-ye*
 this-Pp-GEN clan give-INF say-pAS-NPT that.time husband-ERG
ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘*nan jekha ca-kăi, nembo* *ca-pali-kăi, sakalei-kăi*
 say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT now big son-PM other.person son-p-PM all-PM
thar daŋ-sa *tho-ko.*’ 11 *libi thar dany-eŋ-to-le*
 clan search-INF send-ADH after clan search-pAS-TPP-PCL
kyel-eŋ-an, *oste oste-ko, camăi-pali woi ka uniŋ thar*
 come-pAS-3S/PT self self-GEN daughter-p also this like clan
dany-eŋ-no. 12 *daŋ-ŋa* *libi, jekha ca-kăi jekha camăi,*
 search-pAS-3→3/PT search-CNS after big son-PM big daughter
ucyaca ca-kăi *ucyaca camăi, bore* *lony-eŋ-no.* 13 *to*
 small son-PM small daughter marriage do-pAS-3→3/PT that
aji *chuku-guri* *apok, uireŋ-ko* *cyoporok*
 mother.in.law father.in.law-IND cave *Artemisia.vulgaris*-GEN hut
nem-te *woi, hok-eŋ-thyo.* 14 *libi begale thăi-te* *yey-eŋ-ta-le,*
 house-LOC also be-pAS-3SCOND after other place-LOC go-pAS-IPP-PCL
seŋ pal-eŋ-to-le. 15 *to-ko* *ucyaca seŋ sony-e* *hen-to-le,*
 wood chop-pAS-TPP-PCL that-GEN small wood river-ERG take-TPP-PCL

9 ‘Now, this is what we should do, we must give them each their own clan names and thereafter get them married.’ 10 When thinking about how to give them their clan names, the old husband said ‘From the eldest son to the youngest, let’s send all of them off to find their clan names.’ 11 Having searched for their very own clan names, they returned, and then the daughters went off to search for their clan names in the same way. 12 Having looked around [for their clan names], [the parents] married the eldest son to the eldest daughter and [so on, until] the youngest son to the youngest daughter. 13 That mother-in-law and father-in-law lived alternately in a cave and in a hut made of fibres of the *Artemisia vulgaris* plant. 14 Later they moved to another place where they chopped down some wood. 15 A small piece of that wood was washed away by the river, and was seen by a chief [lit. big person].

tyaŋ di-ka jekha mi-ye ni-to-le. 16 *ni-ŋa libi ‘nan ka*
 then one-HNC big person-ERG see-TPP-PCL see-CNS after now this
ni-ko thăi-te su mi bi-Ø-ta-le? to-kăi daŋ-ko
 we-ADH place-LOC who person enter-sAS-IPP-PCL that-PM search-ADH
măi-Ø-du’ ŋah-Ø-u-no. 17 *‘ma-daŋ-ŋa-be, ka-ye ni-ko*
 must-sAS-NPT say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT NEG-search-CNS-TOP this-ERG we-GEN
sakalei seŋ pal-Ø-u-du, tyaŋ ci-tap-Ø-u-du, ka-kăi nan
 all wood chop-sAS-3P-NPT then CAUS-finish-sAS-3P-NPT this-PM now
daŋ-ko măi-Ø-du.’ 18 *ka uniŋ ŋa-to-le, nis-ka mi*
 search-ADH must-sAS-NPT this like say-TPP-PCL two-HNC person
thoh-Ø-u-no. 19 *nis-ka mi yey-eŋ-ta-le yoy-eŋ-du-be,*
 send-sAS-3P-3→3/PT two-HNC person go-pAS-IPP-PCL look.at-pAS-NPT-TOP
nis-ka apan uniŋ mi niy-eŋ-no. 20 *to mi-pali-kăi*
 two-HNC wild.man like person see-pAS-3→3/PT that person-p-PM
cum-eŋ-to-le, jekha mi-kăi cikhet-sa-kăi kyel-eŋ-no, to woi
 hold-pAS-TPP-PCL big person-PM show-INF-PM bring-pAS-3→3/PT that also
thombe thah-Ø-an. 21 *jekha mi-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘niŋ su*
 surprise be-sAS-3S/PT big person-ERG say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT you(p) who
mi?’ ŋa-to-le ŋah-Ø-u-du beryaŋ, to-bany-e ŋay-eŋ-no
 person say-TPP-PCL say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT that.time that-Pp-ERG say-pAS-3→3/PT
‘ni thaŋmi.’ 22 *‘niŋ hara-kăi ka-te kyel-ta-ni-le, ni-ko seŋ*
 we Thangmi you(p) what-PM this-LOC come-IPP-2p-PCL we-GEN wood
pal-n-u-n? nan niŋ-kăi gă-ye nem duŋ-ŋaŋ na-ni-ŋa-du’
 cut-2p-3P-PT now you(p)-PM I-ERG house within-inside put-2p-1s-NPT

16 Having seen this, he said ‘now, who has entered into our territory? We must search him out.’ 17 ‘If we don’t look for him, this person will cut down all our trees and finish off our wood supply, we must look for him.’ 18 Saying this, he sent two people [to search]. 19 Going off, these two people went to look around, and they saw two wild-looking people. 20 Grabbing those wild-looking people, they brought them back to show them to the chief, and even he was astonished. 21 When the chief then asked ‘who are you people?’, they replied ‘we are the Thangmi.’ 22 ‘Why did you come to this place and cut down our trees for wood? I am going to jail you both [lit. put you inside a house]’, he said.

- ŋah-Ø-u-no.* 23 *tyaŋ ʔhoŋe-kăi nah-Ø-u-no, ʔhoŋi-kăi*
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT then old.man-PM put-SAS-3P-3→3/PT old.woman-PM
ʔhoh-Ø-u-no. 24 *baʔhe syaŋ ʔhoŋi-ye jekha mi-kăi*
 send-SAS-3P-3→3/PT tomorrow period old.woman-ERG big person-PM
ci-taŋ-sa-kăi arki, nem-te hok-Ø-du sakalei,
 CAUS-be.happy-INF-PM deer house-LOC be-SAS-NPT all
piy-Ø-u-no, kutaleŋ woi ma-taŋ-Ø-an. 25 *ʔhoŋe-kăi woi*
 give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT when also NEG-be.happy-SAS-3S/PT old.man-PM also
ma-ci-let-Ø-u-no, ʔhoŋi-kăi rage let-Ø-an.
 NEG-CAUS-appear-SAS-3P-3→3/PT old.woman-PM anger appear-SAS-3S/PT
 26 *di uni ʔhoŋi-ye to jekha mi nama hok-Ø-ta-le,*
 one day old.woman-ERG that big person with be-SAS-IPP-PCL
kapu-ko mus-yiŋ arki ci-let-to-le to-kăi piy-Ø-u-no.
 head-GEN hair-ABL deer CAUS-appear-TPP-PCL that-PM give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
 27 *pi-ŋa libi, to taŋ-Ø-an, ʔhore-kăi*
 give-CNS after that be.happy-SAS-3S/PT old.man-PM
ci-let-Ø-u-no. 28 *to-yiŋ sunari aji ŋa-to-le*
 CAUS-appear-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-ABL Sunari mother.in.law say-TPP-PCL
woi ŋay-eŋ-no. 29 *jekha mi taŋ-Ø-ta-le ‘nan*
 also say-pAS-3→3/PT big person be.happy-SAS-IPP-PCL now
niny-e hara amat-n-u-du, gă-ye pi-ni-ŋa-du’ ŋah-Ø-u-no.
 you(p)-ERG what beg-2p-3P-NPT I-ERG give-2p-1s-NPT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
 30 *aji-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘nan ni-kăi hok-sa ʔhăi, saŋa*
 mother.in.law-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now we-PM be-INF place millet

23 Then he locked the old man up and sent the old woman away. 24 The very next day the old woman brought the chief a deer, and gave him all the things which she had in her house to make him happy, but nothing would please him. 25 But he didn't release the old man and the old woman got angry. 26 One day, when sitting with that chief, the old woman pulled a deer from her hair and gave it to him. 27 After giving that, the chief was happy and he released the old man. 28 From that point on, she [the old woman] came to be known as Sunari Aji [lit. golden mother-in-law]. 29 The chief was happy and then said 'now, whatever you(p) ask for, I will give you.' 30 And the mother-in-law said 'well then, give us a place to live and land on which to plant our millet and rice!'

- racya peŋe-sa ʈhǎi pi-se!*’ 31 *to-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘niŋ*
 rice plant-INF place give-s→1p/IMP that-ERG say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT you(p)
di uni-ye hani cawa-sa thaŋ-n-u-du, to sakalei niŋ-ko.’
 one day-ERG how.much walk-INF be.able-2p-3P-NPT that all you(p)-GEN
- 32 *nis-ka thay-eŋ-ta-le di uni ka jekha ʈhǎi*
 two-HNC be-pAS-IPP-PCL one day throughout big place
caway-eŋ-ta-le. 33 *alampu-ŋaŋ alam ʈhum-eŋ-to-le, tyaŋ*
 walk-pAS-IPP-PCL Ālampu-inside ritual.flag bury-pAS-TPP-PCL then
ray-eŋ-an. 34 *nan habi-ko cyoporok-te yey-eŋ-ta-le*
 come.from.level-pAS-3S/PT then before-GEN hut-LOC go-pAS-IPP-PCL
hok-eŋ-an. 35 *ca camǎi begale begale ʈhǎi-te yey-eŋ-ta-le*
 be-pAS-3S/PT son daughter other other place-LOC go-pAS-IPP-PCL
hok-eŋ-an, naleŋ to-baŋ-ko ca camǎi thaŋmi-pali thay-eŋ-du.
 be-pAS-3S/PT present that-Pp-GEN son daughter Thangmi-p be-pAS-NPT
- 36 *libi di-ka camǎi woi hok-Ø-thyo, to camǎi-kǎi-guri*
 after one-HNC daughter also be-sAS-3SCOND that daughter-PM-IND
bore ma-loŋ-Ø-u-no. 37 *to-guri apok-te hok-Ø-an. di uni*
 marriage NEG-do-sAS-3P-3→3/PT that-IND cave-LOC be-sAS-3S/PT one day
nis-ka mi arki daŋ-sa yey-eŋ-thyo, to camǎica-kǎi
 two-HNC person deer search-INF go-pAS-3SCOND that woman-PM
khalam-eŋ-no. 38 *to-kǎi cum-eŋ-to-le roimi-ko nem-te*
 meet-pAS-3→3/PT that-PM hold-pAS-TPP-PCL Newar-GEN house-LOC
ray-eŋ-no. 39 *ray-eŋ-to-le, libi to-kǎi roimi-ye*
 bring-pAS-3→3/PT bring-pAS-TPP-PCL after that-PM Newar-ERG

31 He said ‘whatever distance you can cover by foot in one day, well, that much is yours.’ 32 Walking together, that couple covered a huge area in one day. 33 They planted a flag in the village of Ālampu and then returned. 34 Then they returned to the hut they lived in before and settled down there. 35 Their sons and daughters went off to live separately in different places, and at present their sons and daughters are the Thangmi people. 36 There was still one daughter left, but this one they didn’t marry off. 37 Well that one, she lived in a cave by herself. One day two people met her while hunting for deer. 38 They grabbed her and brought her to the house of a Newar. 39 Having brought her, the Newar man hid her away in his house and soon she became pregnant.

sul-to-le nah-Ø-u-no, libi baŋkal cabuh-Ø-u-no.
 hide-TPP-PCL put-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after stomach carry-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
 40 *to-ko bubu-pali-ye-guri dany-eŋ-no 'humi kuta*
 that-GEN elder.brother-p-ERG-IND search-pAS-3→3/PT younger.sister where
yah-Ø-an?' ŋa-to-le. 41 di-ka hu-ye
 go-SAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL one-HNC younger.brother-ERG
ŋah-Ø-u-no 'ni-ko humi roimi-ye hen-Ø-u-no
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT we-GEN younger.sister Newar-ERG take-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
thaŋun, nan ya-yo-ko mǎi-Ø-du.' 42 'ya-yo-sa-be
 maybe now go-look.at-ADH must-SAS-NPT go-look.at-INF-TOP
ya-yo-wa-du, priŋ ma-let, kunyaŋ ni-sa?' begale
 go-look.at-1p→23-NPT outside NEG-appear how see-INF other
hu-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no. 43 di-ka-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no
 younger.brother-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT one-HNC-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
'nan to-ŋaŋ ya-ta-i-le, ni-ye kuta woi ma-hok-Ø-du usya
 now that-inside go-IPP-1pPS-PCL we-ERG where also NEG-be-SAS-NPT dance
usya-ko mǎi-Ø-du, tyaŋ yo-sa-kǎi ra-Ø-du.'
 dance-ADH must-SAS-NPT then look.at-INF-PM come.from.level-SAS-NPT
 44 *sakalei bubu hu-ye 'ja-Ø-du' ŋay-eŋ-no,*
 all elder.brother younger.brother-ERG okay-SAS-NPT say-pAS-3→3/PT
ŋaŋ usya hen-eŋ-no. 45 di-ka-ye citaliŋ tap-sa, to woi
 and dance take-pAS-3→3/PT one-HNC-ERG drum beat-INF that also
konŋe-ye. 46 libi kuta woi ma-hok-Ø-du usya hen-ŋa libi,
 leg-INS after where also NEG-be-SAS-NPT dance take-CNS after

40 Her elder brothers looked for her, saying 'where has our younger sister gone?' 41 Then one younger brother said 'maybe our younger sister has been taken by the Newar, we must go and have a look.' 42 'Well of course we can go and look, but even if we do, how will we see her, because she is sure not to come outside?', another younger brother said. 43 Then one of them said 'now, having gone there, we must perform a dance which has never been done elsewhere, and she [our younger sister] is sure to come and watch.' 44 All the brothers agreed, saying 'okay', and set off with their dance. 45 One of them played the drums, but then with his feet. 46 And while performing their previously unseen dance, [the younger sister] looked on from the door of the upper floor of a house.

khaṭe-ṇaṇ-ko *khaṇou-yiṇ* *yo-to-le.* 47 *di-ka*
 upper.floor-inside-GEN door-ABL look.at-TPP-PCL one-HNC
hu-ye *ni-to-le* ‘*humi,* *ka-te*
 younger.brother-ERG see-TPP-PCL younger.sister this-LOC
ra-Ø-ta-le, *yo-no!* *nan ka-kăi urou-ko!’*
 come.from.level-sas-IPP-PCL look.at-p→3/IMP now this-PM call-ADH
ṇah-Ø-u-no. 48 *libi bubu* *hu* *yey-eṇ-ta-le*
 say-sas-3P-3→3/PT after elder.brother younger.brother go-pAS-IPP-PCL
‘*humi,* *yaṇ ka* *kuta ya-na-n?* *naṇ-kăi ni-ye hani*
 younger.sister today throughout where go-2s-PT you-PM we-ERG how.much
daṇ-wa-n, *kuta woi ma-khalam-wa-n.’* 49 *humi-ye*
 search-1p→23-PT where also NEG-meet-1p→23-PT younger.sister-ERG
ṇah-Ø-u-no ‘*bubu-pali,* *găi-găi ka-te-ko* *jekha mi-ye*
 say-sas-3P-3→3/PT elder.brother-p I-PM this-LOC-GEN big person-ERG
ra-Ø-ṇa-n, *ka-te na-Ø-ṇa-n.’* 50 ‘*nan găi-găi ma-thi-ne!*
 bring-sas-1s-PT this-LOC put-sas-1s-PT now I-PM NEG-touch-p→1s/IMP
găi baṇkal cabu-le hok-ṇa-du, *găi nembo-ko* *mi tha-ṇa-n,*
 I stomach carry-PCL be-1s-NPT I other.person-GEN person be-1s-PT
nan niṇ ya-ne!’ 51 *bubu* *hu-ye* ‘*nan oste-ko*
 now you(p) go-p/IMP elder.brother younger.brother-ERG now self-GEN
nem-te hen-ko, hara-kăi hok-na-du?’ *ṇay-eṇ-du beryaṇ,*
 house-LOC go-ADH what-PM be-2s-NPT say-pAS-NPT that.time
hen-eṇ-no. 52 *humi-ye* *ṇah-Ø-u-no* ‘*nan găi huca*
 take-pAS-3→3/PT younger.sister-ERG say-sas-3P-3→3/PT now I child

47 One of the younger brothers, seeing her said ‘look, all of you, our younger sister has come here, now we must call her to come!’ 48 And then all the brothers went and said ‘younger sister, where have you been up to this day? We searched so much for you, but [until now] didn’t find you.’ 49 And the younger sister said ‘elder brothers, the chief of this place brought me and installed me here.’ 50 ‘Now you(p) please don’t touch me! I am pregnant and I have become the woman of another man, please go now!’ 51 The brothers said ‘now let’s go back home, why would you stay here?’ and while saying this, they took her with them. 52 The younger sister said ‘but when I have given birth to the child, whose shall I say that it is? What clan should it be given?’

nik-ŋa libi, su-ko ŋa-sa? hara thar pi-sa?
 give.birth-CNS after who-GEN say-INF what clan give-INF
 53 *bubu-ye 'nan nan huca nik-ŋa libi, nan-ko huca*
 elder.brother-ERG now you child give.birth-CNS after you-GEN child
thanmi tha-Ø-du, thar-guri roimirati tha-Ø-du' ŋa-to-le
 Thangmi be-SAS-NPT clan-IND Roimirati be-SAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL
ŋah-Ø-u-no. 54 libi to nis-ka huca nik-Ø-an,
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after that two-HNC child give.birth-SAS-3S/PT
huca-pali jekha thay-eŋ-an. 55 libi rapeŋ soŋ-te
 child-p big be-pAS-3S/PT after large.edible.frog river-LOC
rapeŋ dany-eŋ-no, di-ka-ye catok
 large.edible.frog search-pAS-3→3/PT one-HNC-ERG flaming.torch
cum-Ø-u-no, di-ka-ye nam-to-le daŋ-Ø-u-no. 56 tyan
 hold-SAS-3P-3→3/PT one-HNC-ERG smell-TPP-PCL search-SAS-3P-3→3/PT then
libi bubu-pali-ye nam-Ø-u-du-kăi namkha, catok
 after elder.brother-p-ERG smell-SAS-3P-NPT-PM Namkha flaming.torch
cum-Ø-u-du-kăi cathok, ŋay-eŋ-to-le thar piy-eŋ-no.
 hold-SAS-3P-NPT-PM Cathok say-pAS-TPP-PCL clan give-pAS-3→3/PT
 57 *naleŋ woi thanmi-ŋaŋ ka thar-pali hok-eŋ-du. 58 nis-ka*
 present also Thangmi-inside this clan-p be-pAS-NPT two-HNC
apa ama-ko huca-pali naleŋ sakalei thăi-te hok-eŋ-du.
 father mother-GEN child-p present all place-LOC be-pAS-NPT
 59 *naleŋ woi thanmi ŋa-to-le, su-ye woi ma-ŋosăiy-eŋ.*
 present also Thangmi say-TPP-PCL who-ERG also NEG-recognise-pAS

53 And one of the elder brothers said 'now when your child is born, he will be a Thangmi, but his clan shall be known as Roimirati.' 54 She then gave birth to twins, and they grew up. 55 Later, in a river where frogs lived, they went searching for large edible frogs. One held a flaming torch while the other searched for them by sniffing. 56 Then the elder brothers gave the one who sniffed [frogs] the clan name Namkha, and the one who carried the flaming torch the clan name Cathok. 57 And up until this day, these clans are present among the Thangmi. 58 At present, the children of that [original] father and mother can be found inhabiting all kinds of different places. 59 But even now, nobody knows who the Thangmi are.

60 *nan thaŋmi-pali di-ka tha-ko, oste-ko thar pi-to-le*
 now Thangmi-p one-HNC be-ADH self-GEN *clan* give-TPP-PCL
ŋosăi-si-ko!
 recognise-REF-ADH

60 Now we Thangmi people should be united, let us recognise one another and the clan names that we have been given!

DOG RESTING PLACE

- 1 *thaŋmi di-ka apa ama-ko huca-pali thay-eŋ-le woi,*
Thangmi one-HNC father mother-GEN child-p be-pAS-PCL also
yamiryaŋ di-ka-ye di-ka-kăi ma-ŋosăiy-eŋ. 2 *naleŋ*
nowadays one-HNC-ERG one-HNC-PM NEG-recognise-pAS present
thaŋmi-pali oste-ko thar day-sa, kuta kuta let-le hok-eŋ-du.
Thangmi-p self-GEN clan search-INF where where appear-PCL be-pAS-NPT
- 3 *yaŋ-yiŋ habi, oste-ko thar ŋa-sa-kăi aŋal-eŋ-thyo.*
today-ABL before self-GEN clan say-INF-PM be.ashamed-pAS-3SCOND
- 4 *‘thaŋmi ŋay-eŋ-no-be, thaŋmi ŋay-eŋ-du, hara kuta*
Thangmi say-pAS-3→3/PT-TOP Thangmi say-pAS-NPT what where
hok-Ø-du, ka mi su?’ ŋa-to-le sakalei dany-eŋ-thyo.
be-SAS-NPT this person who say-TPP-PCL all search-pAS-3SCOND
- 5 *ka uniŋ tha-Ø-ta-le, begale name thar piy-eŋ-no.*
this like be-SAS-IPP-PCL other name clan give-pAS-3→3/PT
- 6 *naleŋ-guri nan ni thaŋmi thay-i-du, nan thaŋmi-kăi hyate*
present-IND now we Thangmi be-1pPS-NPT now Thangmi-PM up
hen-ko măi-Ø-du. 7 *ŋosăi-si-ko măi-Ø-du.* 8 *ni-ko*
take-ADH must-SAS-NPT recognise-REF-ADH must-SAS-NPT we-GEN
cyapju-ye dewa loŋ-Ø-u-du thăi naleŋ woi hok-Ø-du.
forefather-ERG god do-SAS-3P-NPT place present also be-SAS-NPT
- 9 *naleŋ to dewa sakalei jom-eŋ-ta-le naka*
present that god all gather.together-pAS-IPP-PCL new

1 Even though all Thangmi people are the descendants of the first Thangmi father and mother, these days we don't even recognise one another. 2 At present a few Thangmi people are attempting to search for their own clan names. 3 Some time ago, [Thangmi] people were ashamed to talk of their own clan names. 4 'Thangmi, what's a Thangmi? Where do they live and what kind of people are they?', people said as they searched for them. 5 In this way, [Thangmi] people give other names and clans [when asked]. 6 But now we say that we are Thangmi, and it's time for the Thangmi people to rise up. 7 We should know and recognise each other. 8 The place in which our forefather worshipped still exists to this day. 9 At present, all the village people have come together and are in the process of building a new temple.

khem-eŋ-le nay-eŋ-du. 10 to bhumya di-ka-ko ma-tha, sakalei
 build-PAS-PCL put-PAS-NPT that earth.god one-HNC-GEN NEG-be all
mi-ko tha-Ø-du. 11 ya-yo-ko, apraca hok-Ø-du. 12 ʔhoŋe
 person-GEN be-SAS-NPT go-look.at-ADH good be-SAS-NPT old.man
mi-pali-ye ŋay-eŋ-du ‘to bhumya amamakaleŋ to ʔhǎi-te
 person-p-ERG say-PAS-NPT that earth.god long.time.ago that place-LOC
ma-hok-Ø-ta-le cawa-Ø-thyo.’ 13 ‘mi-pali-ye hen-eŋ-to-le
 NEG-be-SAS-IPP-PCL walk-SAS-3SCOND person-p-ERG take-PAS-TPP-PCL
nay-eŋ-du, woi ra-Ø-thyo, libi to
 put-PAS-NPT also come.from.level-SAS-3SCOND after that
ra-Ø-du ulam-te kucu pal-eŋ-to-le nay-eŋ-no.’
 come.from.level-SAS-NPT road-LOC dog chop-PAS-TPP-PCL put-PAS-3→3/PT
 14 *na-ŋa libi, to bhumya to-te hok-Ø-an, tyañ-guri dewa*
 put-CNS after that earth.god that-LOC be-SAS-3S/PT then-IND god
to-te lony-eŋ-no. 15 naleŋ to-te jekha brusiŋ-ko pole
 that-LOC do-PAS-3→3/PT present that-LOC big *Prunus.puddum*-GEN tree
hok-Ø-du.
 be-SAS-NPT

10 This earth god does not belong to just one person, it is everyone's. 11 Let's go and look, it's beautiful. 12 The old people say 'a long long time ago, that earth god wouldn't stay put in that place, but would wander around.' 13 'People would fetch the god and put it back, but it would just come down again, so after some time, they slaughtered a dog on the path that the god walked along and left it there.' 14 Having put it [the dead dog] there, the earth god stayed in that place, and from then on the rituals have been conducted there. 15 Now there is a big wild cherry tree in that very place.

THE STORY OF THE JACKAL

- 1 *di-gore dese-te di-gore sāi-Ø-du loṇe hok-Ø-thyo.*
one-CLF village-LOC one-CLF know-SAS-NPT jackal be-SAS-3SCOND
- 2 *loṇe dese-ko sakalei wa-pali gwi-to-le cya-Ø-thyo.*
jackal village-GEN all chicken-p steal-TPP-PCL eat-SAS-3SCOND
- 3 *habi-guri oste 'gwi kyel-Ø-an!' ṇa-to-le arṭik-Ø-an.*
before-IND self thief come-SAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL shout-SAS-3S/PT
- 4 *mi-pali gwi yo-sa-kāi priṇ let-eṇ-ta-le*
person-p thief look.at-INF-PM outside appear-pAS-IPP-PCL
yoy-eṇ-thyo, di-basa-yiṇ hen-Ø-u-thyo. 5 di uni, di-ka
look.at-pAS-3SCOND one-side-ABL take-SAS-3P-3SCOND one day one-HNC
- mi-ye to-kāi sat-sa daṇ-Ø-u-no. 6 di uni, loṇe-ye*
person-ERG that-PM kill-INF search-SAS-3P-3→3/PT one day jackal-ERG
- wa-kāi haṭyap-Ø-u-thyo, mi-ye nih-Ø-u-no.*
chicken-PM assault-SAS-3P-3SCOND person-ERG see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
- 7 *ni-to-le, to loṇe-kāi aspāiy-Ø-u-no. 8 libi to*
see-TPP-PCL that jackal-PM beat.severely-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after that
- loṇe woi sāi-Ø-thyo, taṇ-Ø-an. 9 ka niy-eṇ-to-le,*
jackal also know-SAS-3SCOND be.happy-SAS-3S/PT this see-pAS-TPP-PCL
- sakalei mi-pali kyel-eṇ-an yoy-eṇ-no. 10 to loṇe-be*
all person-p come-pAS-3S/PT look.at-pAS-3→3/PT that jackal-TOP
- nui-Ø-ta-le hok-Ø-du. 11 libi to-kāi ulam-ko bosij*
laugh-SAS-IPP-PCL be-SAS-NPT after that-PM road-LOC *Alnus.nepalensis*

1 In a certain village, there lived a very clever jackal. 2 Stealing all the chickens in the village, that jackal would eat them up. 3 Before [a raid], he [the jackal] would himself shout out 'the thief has come!' 4 People would come outside to look for the thief, and while they were looking, he [the jackal] would take [a chicken] from the other side. 5 One day, a person tried to kill him [the jackal]. 6 And then one day, when the jackal sprung upon a chicken, the person saw it. 7 Seeing this, he [the man] beat him [the jackal] severely. 8 Then that jackal, being so clever, made out as if he enjoyed it. 9 Seeing this, all the people came and looked on. 10 That crazy jackal was just sitting there smiling. 11 After that, they tied him [the jackal] up with string and hung him up from a black cedar tree along the road.

pole-te sakpa-ye chyuy-eŋ-to-le, ci-kutiriny-eŋ-no. 12 *ulam-te*
 tree-LOC string-INS tie-pAS-TPP-PCL CAUS-hang.up-pAS-3→3/PT road-LOC
caway-eŋ-du-pali-ye ŋey-eŋ-no, to nuiy-Ø-an. 13 *di-ka*
 walk-pAS-NPT-p-ERG beat-pAS-3→3/PT that laugh-sAS-3S/PT one-HNC
ma-săi-Ø-du mi to ulam-yiŋ ra-Ø-thyo,
 NEG-know-sAS-NPT person that road-ABL come.from.level-sAS-3SCOND
loŋe-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘găi-găi jun-aŋ, bubu!’ 14 *to*
 jackal-ERG say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT I-PM push-s→1s/IMP elder.brother that
mi-ye jun-Ø-u-no, ahe taŋ-Ø-an, tyaŋ
 person-ERG push-sAS-3P-3→3/PT very be.happy-sAS-3S/PT then
ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘loŋe, nan let-a! găi hok-ŋa-du.’ 15 *loŋe-ye*
 say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT jackal now appear-s/IMP I be-1s-NPT jackal-ERG
ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘găi ma-let, ka uniŋ thăi-te hok-sa-be jekha
 say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT I NEG-appear this like place-LOC be-INF-TOP big
mi tha-ko măi-Ø-du.’ 16 *‘ma-tha, naŋ let-a! găi*
 person be-ADH must-sAS-NPT NEG-be you appear-s/IMP I
kutiriŋ-si-ŋa-du.’ 17 *‘ja-Ø-du, găi-găi ka sakpa phet-aŋ!*
 hang.up-REF-1s-NPT okay-sAS-NPT I-PM this rope undo-s→1s/IMP
tyaŋ libi naŋ-kăi chyu-na-ŋa-du.’ 18 *‘ja-Ø-du’ ŋa-to-le,*
 then after you-PM tie-2s-1s-NPT okay-sAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL
mi-ye phet-Ø-u-no, libi to-kăi to pole-te chyuh-Ø-u-no.
 person-ERG undo-sAS-3P-3→3/PT after that-PM that tree-LOC tie-sAS-3P-3→3/PT
 19 *oste-guri dese-te wa cya-sa-kăi dorok-Ø-an.* 20 *nan ulam*
 self-IND village-LOC chicken eat-INF-PM run-sAS-3S/PT now road

12 People walking along the road beat him, but he [the jackal] only laughed. 13 A rather stupid man [lit. unknowing] came walking along that road one day, and the jackal said to him, ‘elder brother, give me a little push!’ 14 That [stupid] person pushed him and the jackal was most pleased, then the man said to him ‘all right then jackal, now come out! I’ll take your place.’ 15 And the jackal replied ‘I’m not coming out, you have to be a really important person to live in a place like this.’ 16 ‘No way, you come out! I am going to hang myself up’ [the stupid man said]. 17 ‘Okay, then, undo this rope [tied around me]! Then I will tie you up’ [said the jackal]. 18 ‘Okay’ said the man, and he untied the jackal who then afterwards tied him to that very tree. 19 And then what he [the jackal] did was to run off to the village to eat some chickens. 20 Now people walking along the road beat that person thinking that he was the jackal.

caway-eŋ-du mi-pali-ye to mi-kǎi, loŋe ŋa-to-le,
 walk-pAS-NPT person-p-ERG that person-PM jackal say-TPP-PCL
ŋey-eŋ-no. 21 libi to mi runrun thah-Ø-an, bophura.
 beat-pAS-3→3/PT after that person weak be-sAS-3S/PT pity
 22 *di-ka mi-ye di uni to-kǎi phet-Ø-u-no ŋaŋ to*
 one-HNC person-ERG one day that-PM undo-sAS-3P-3→3/PT and that
let-Ø-an. 23 nan to mi rage tha-Ø-ta-le, loŋe nama
 appear-sAS-3S/PT now that person anger be-sAS-IPP-PCL jackal with
lakpa nampa-sa-kǎi daŋ-Ø-u-no. 24 daŋ-daŋ-ǎi, di uni
 limb fight-INF-PM search-sAS-3P-3→3/PT search-search-CON one day
wa-ca gwi-sa beryaŋ khalam-Ø-u-no. 25 libi cum-to-le
 chicken-DIM steal-INF that.time meet-sAS-3P-3→3/PT after hold-TPP-PCL
to loŋe-kǎi jyoh-Ø-u-no.
 that jackal-PM burn-sAS-3P-3→3/PT

21 And then that [stupid] man became weak and ill, poor thing. 22 One day, some guy untied him and he came down. 23 Then he became really angry and went out searching for the jackal to fight with him. 24 Searching and searching, one day he found it [the jackal] stealing a little chicken. 25 Once he'd got hold of that jackal, he burnt him alive.

SIXTEEN SACRED STONES

- 1 *thaŋmi-ko nem-te mosani ci-po-sa-kǎi ‘dicip-mat ɲiŋ*
Thangmi-GEN house-LOC spirit CAUS-chase-INF-PM ten-six stone
hap-sa’ ɲay-eŋ-du. 2 *ka loŋ-sa-kǎi naka nem, ‘ma-thaŋ-Ø-du*
throw-INF say-PAS-NPT this do-INF-PM new house NEG-be.well-SAS-NPT
nem’, cic-ariy-Ø-u-du nem-te lony-eŋ-du. 3 *ka loŋ-sa-kǎi*
house CAUS-be.afraid-SAS-3P-NPT house-LOC do-PAS-NPT this do-INF-PM
thaŋmi-ko guru-pali-ye lony-eŋ-du. 4 *syaŋu ɲiŋ*
Thangmi-GEN shaman-P-ERG do-PAS-NPT white.flint stone
them-to-le, sum toke ci-gap-ko mǎi-Ø-du.
break.into.pieces-TPP-PCL three half.kilo CAUS-be.enough-ADH must-SAS-NPT
5 *sum toke aŋek-si-Ø-du saŋa-ko phase, di karpak*
three half.kilo roast-REF-SAS-NPT millet-GEN flour one armful
catok na-ko mǎi-Ø-du. 6 *libi guru*
flaming.torch put-ADH must-SAS-NPT after shaman
ra-Ø-ta-le, oste-ko wakhe-yiŋ mut-Ø-u-du.
come.from.level-SAS-IPP-PCL self-GEN word-ABL blow-SAS-3P-NPT
7 *di-ka-ye catok cum-ko mǎi-Ø-du, guru-ye to*
one-HNC-ERG flaming.torch hold-ADH must-SAS-NPT shaman-ERG that
sum toke syaŋu ɲiŋ cum-to-le nem-kǎi tup-Ø-u-du,
three half.kilo white.flint stone hold-TPP-PCL house-PM strike-SAS-3P-NPT
nem duŋ-ŋaŋ, khaŋe-te. 8 *di-ka-ye nama nama*
house within-inside upper.floor-LOC one-HNC-ERG with with

1 Driving spirits from a Thangmi house is known as ‘throwing the sixteen stones.’ 2 This is done for new houses, ‘sick’ houses and in haunted houses. 3 Thangmi shamans are the ones who do this. 4 White flint stones are broken into pieces, about one and a half kilos are sure to be enough. 5 About a kilo and a half of roasted millet flour and one armful [bundle] of sticks used for making torches must also be collected. 6 Then the shaman comes and, speaking his own secret words, blows. 7 One person must hold the flaming torch while the shaman grabs white flint stones, and throws them wildly against the walls of the house, both inside and on the upper floors. 8 One person, having set the torch alight and while holding it, must throw millet flour into the flames.

catok ci-ti-to-le lyamlyam-te saŋa-ko phase
 flaming.torch CAUS-burn-TPP-PCL flame-LOC millet-GEN flour
li-ko mǎi-Ø-du. 9 libi to ti-Ø-du, tyaŋ nem
 broadcast-ADH must-SAS-NPT after that burn-SAS-NPT then house
duŋ-ŋaŋ jyou-ko mǎi-Ø-du. 10 nan to-te-ko mosani priŋ
 within-inside burn-ADH must-SAS-NPT now that-LOC-GEN spirit outside
ci-let-Ø-u-du tyaŋ libi libi poh-Ø-u-du. 11 libi guru
 CAUS-appear-SAS-3P-NPT then after after chase-SAS-3P-NPT after shaman
nem-te hok-Ø-du, mosani ya-Ø-du. 12 dese-mi-pali ka uniŋ
 house-LOC be-SAS-NPT spirit go-SAS-NPT village-person-p this like
ŋay-eŋ-to-le dewa lony-eŋ-du. 13 mosani po-ca po-ca
 say-pAS-TPP-PCL god do-pAS-NPT spirit chase-PSG chase-PSG
hen-Ø-u-du soŋ-te ka. 14 soŋ-te ya-let-Ø-ta-le,
 take-SAS-3P-NPT river-LOC throughout river-LOC go-appear-SAS-IPP-PCL
guru-ye syusyuk-si-Ø-du mosani urouh-Ø-u-du. 15 mosani
 shaman-ERG whistle-REF-SAS-NPT spirit call-SAS-3P-NPT spirit
ra-ŋa libi, guru-ye sat-Ø-u-du, tyaŋ
 come.from.level-CNS after shaman-ERG kill-SAS-3P-NPT then
ma-thaŋ-Ø-du nem-ko mi roloŋ-Ø-du. 16 ni-ko
 NEG-be.well-SAS-NPT house-GEN person recover-SAS-NPT we-GEN
dese-ko guru-pali-ye woi ka uniŋ lony-eŋ-du.
 village-GEN shaman-p-ERG also this like do-pAS-NPT

9 That then burns and then the inside of the house is set alight. 10 Now the spirit that is there is made to come out and is then chased away. 11 Then the shaman sits down in the house and the spirit leaves [forever]. 12 This is the way that village people propitiate the gods. 13 The spirit is chased and chased, all the way to the river. 14 Arriving at the river, the shaman whistles and calls. 15 Once the spirit has come the shaman kills it, and then the person of the ‘sick’ house recovers. 16 The shamans of our village do it just like this.

RUNNING AWAY TO KATHMANDU

- 1 *di-ka camăica di uni ama nama kiḍi-Ø-ta-le, jekha*
 one-HNC woman one day mother with fight-SAS-IPP-PCL big
dese cawa-Ø-du. 2 to nembo camăica-ko wakhe nasăi-to-le.
 village walk-SAS-NPT that other.person woman-GEN word hear-TPP-PCL
- 3 *di uni-ko wakhe: to dilaŋ-te hok-Ø-du, to-ko*
 one day-GEN word that stone.resting.place-LOC be-SAS-NPT that-GEN
dese-ko begale camăica jekha dese-te hok-Ø-du. 4 di uni
 village-GEN other woman big village-LOC be-SAS-NPT one day
nem dăi ra-Ø-du beryaŋ, dilaŋ-te
 house towards come.from.level-SAS-NPT that.time stone.resting.place-LOC
hok-Ø-du nih-Ø-u-du. 5 to camăica nama wakhe loŋ-Ø-u-du
 be-SAS-NPT see-SAS-3P-NPT that woman with word do-SAS-3P-NPT
‘humi, naŋ găi nama jet loŋ-sa jekha dese ya-na-du?’
 younger.sister you I with work do-INF big village go-2s-NPT
ŋah-Ø-u-no. 6 to-ye woi ‘ya-ŋa-du’ ŋah-Ø-u-no, ‘hara
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-ERG also go-1s-NPT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT what
jet hok-Ø-du?’ 7 ‘miŋ toŋ-sa jet hok-Ø-du’ ŋah-Ø-u-no.
 work be-SAS-NPT cloth wash-INF work be-SAS-NPT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
- 8 *‘kutaleŋ hen-sa? nama hen-aŋ! găi woi ya-ŋa-du.’*
 when go-INF with take-s→1s/IMP I also go-1s-NPT
- 9 *‘baŋhe băsinŋe hen-ko, nama nama ya-ta-i-le jekha dese*
 tomorrow morning go-ADH with with go-IPP-1pps-PCL big village

1 One day, a woman argues with her mother and goes off to the big village. 2 She had listened to the words of another woman. 3 And this is what had happened: one day, she was sitting at a stone resting place, [and heard about] another woman from her village who lived in the big village. 4 One day, on her way back home, she saw her [the other woman] sitting at the resting place. 5 She spoke with that woman, who said ‘younger sister, will you go with me and work in the big village?’ 6 And she said ‘I’ll go, what is the work?’ 7 ‘The work is washing clothes’, she said. 8 ‘When do we leave? Take me with you! I’ll definitely go.’ 9 ‘Let’s go tomorrow morning, going together we should have a look around the city.’

yo-ko mǎi-Ø-du. 10 *tyaŋ ɬaye oste-ko nem-te ya-Ø-du*
 look.at-ADH must-SAS-NPT then night self-GEN house-LOC go-SAS-NPT
beryaŋ, ama-ye ɲeh-Ø-u-no, kaɬah-Ø-an. 11 *bǎsiŋte*
 that.time mother-ERG beat-SAS-3P-3→3/PT scold-SAS-3S/PT morning
thah-Ø-an, habi syaŋ-ko camǎica khalam-Ø-u-no, naka dese
 be-SAS-3S/PT before period-GEN woman meet-SAS-3P-3→3/PT new village
yo-sa caway-eŋ-an. 12 *jekha dese*
 look.at-INF walk-pAS-3S/PT big village
ra-let-eŋ-an, nama ra-Ø-du camǎica
 come.from.level-appear-pAS-3S/PT with come.from.level-SAS-NPT woman
tam-Ø-an. 13 *‘nan kuta hen-sa?’ ɲa-to-le*
 get.lost-SAS-3S/PT now where go-INF say-TPP-PCL
yoh-Ø-u-no, to-te kerep-Ø-an. 14 *libi di-gore jekha*
 look.at-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-LOC cry-SAS-3S/PT after one-CLF big
nem-te ya-let-Ø-an, to-te-ko mi-ye to-kǎi ‘kuta-yiŋ
 house-LOC go-appear-SAS-3S/PT that-LOC-GEN person-ERG that-PM where-ABL
ra-na-n?’ ɲah-Ø-u-no. 15 *to-ye ɲah-Ø-u-no ‘gǎi*
 come.from.level-2s-PT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT I
ucya dese-yiŋ ra-ɲa-n, kuta ra-let-ɲa-n,
 small village-ABL come.from.level-1s-PT where come.from.level-appear-1s-PT
gǎi-be ma-sǎi. 16 *‘gǎi nan jarphu hok-Ø-du ɬǎi-te*
 I-TOP NEG-know I now elder.sister’s.husband be-SAS-NPT place-LOC
ya-ɲa-du. 17 *‘gǎi-gǎi gǎi-go jarphu hok-Ø-du ɬǎi-te*
 go-1s-NPT I-PM I-GEN elder.sister’s.husband be-SAS-NPT place-LOC

10 Then, when she went to her own home at night, her mother beat and scolded her. 11 Then it was morning, and she met with the woman from the day before, and they set off to look around the new city. 12 They arrived in the city, and then the woman with whom she came got lost. 13 ‘Where to go now?’ she thought, looking around, and started to cry right there. 14 Later she arrived at a big house, and a person there asked her ‘where have you come from?’ 15 She said ‘I have come from a small village, but where I now am, I have no idea.’ 16 ‘Now I will go to where my brother-in-law lives’ [she said]. 17 ‘Take me to where my brother-in-law lives!’, she said.

18 Then someone took her to where her brother-in-law lived, and she stayed there. 19 Then brother-in-law was surprised and said ‘whence and why have you come, leaving your mother?’ 20 ‘Now I am taking you homewards tomorrow, you must go home’ [he said]. 21 ‘Even if I die I won’t go home, I’m gonna stay around here and work.’ 22 Now what could brother-in-law do, he took her somewhere and found her some work to do. 23 Later elder sister came to hear of this, and thought ‘my husband has run off with my younger sister.’ 24 It wasn’t that she had run off with him, she had come of her own accord, and later elder sister came to the city [to find her].

25 *humi lawa-kǎi ni-to-le rage thah-Ø-an.* 26 *‘naŋ*
 younger.sister husband-PM see-TPP-PCL anger be-SAS-3S/PT you
ka-te hara-kǎi ra-na-n? nan naŋ-kǎi ɲe-na-ŋa-du,
 this-LOC what-PM come.from.level-2s-PT now you-PM beat-2s-1s-NPT
oste-ko nem dǎi ya-Ø, gǎi-go lawa nama hok-sa ma-mǎi’
 self-GEN house towards go-s/IMP I-GEN husband with be-INF NEG-must
ŋah-Ø-u-no. 27 *humi kerep-Ø-ta-le hok-Ø-an, libi*
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT younger.sister cry-SAS-IPP-PCL be-SAS-3S/PT after
tete-ye miŋ toŋ-sa jet daŋ-to-le nah-Ø-u-no.
 elder.sister-ERG cloth wash-INF work search-TPP-PCL put-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

25 Seeing her younger sister and husband, she became angry. 26 ‘Why have you come here? Now I am going to beat you, go back to your own home, you shouldn’t be living here with my husband’, she said. 27 Younger sister sat there crying, and later her elder sister found a place for her to work washing clothes and left her there.

POOR MAN'S BURDEN

1 *di-ka mi ulam-te nis-gore lak kapu-te na-to-le*
 one-HNC person road-LOC two-CLF hand head-LOC put-TPP-PCL
hok-Ø-thyo. 2 *sum uni jhari yu-Ø-ta-le,* *aṭṭhe ṭila*
 be-SAS-3SCOND three day rain come.from.above-SAS-IPP-PCL very cold
tha-le hok-Ø-thyo. 3 *to-ko maṇ thaṇṇa miny-e piriṇ-ko*
 be-PCL be-SAS-3SCOND that-GEN body old cloth-ERG outside-GEN
ṭila kho-sa jet loṇ-Ø-u-du. 4 *to-ye, to mi*
 cold protect-INF work do-SAS-3P-NPT that-ERG that person
kakaṭakkokoṭok tha-le hok-Ø-thyo. 5 *ka dāi ṭila aṭṭhe*
 frozen.solid be-PCL be-SAS-3SCOND this towards cold very
tha-Ø-du, dha dāi pepelek-guri uchinca tha-Ø-du. 6 *jhari*
 be-SAS-NPT that.distant towards money-IND little be-SAS-NPT rain
yu-sa habi, oli uni ka jet
 come.from.above-INF before four day throughout work
ma-khalam-Ø-u-no. 7 *isa ma-cya-Ø-du woi nis uni*
 NEG-receive-SAS-3P-3→3/PT food NEG-eat-SAS-NPT also two day
thah-Ø-an. 8 *habi syaṇ jekha mi-ko naka miṇ-pali na-sa*
 be-SAS-3S/PT before period big person-GEN new cloth-p put-INF
jet loṇ-Ø-u-no, begale hara woi ma-hok-Ø-thyo. 9 *to*
 work do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT other what also NEG-be-SAS-3SCOND that
tha-Ø-ta-le, to-ye jet daṇ-Ø-u-no. 10 *'hara woi jet*
 be-SAS-IPP-PCL that-ERG work search-SAS-3P-3→3/PT what also work

1 There was man who was sitting on a path with both hands on his head. 2 It having rained for three days, it had become very cold. 3 The old clothes on his body protect him from the cold outside. 4 Because of this [the weather], that man was frozen solid. 5 On the one hand he's freezing, and on the other, he has only a little money [i.e. both sides of the coin are bleak]. 6 Before the rains had started, he hadn't had work for three days. 7 He also hadn't eaten for two days. 8 The day before [the rains had started], he had worked stacking new clothes for a wealthy man [in his shop], but after that there was no more work. 9 On account of this he had searched for work. 10 Thinking to himself 'will I get any work or not?', he looked at the faces of the people who passed close by him.

khalam-u-n-du ra?’ *ŋa-to-le,* *oste kherte ya-Ø-du mi-ko*
 receive-3P-1s→3-NPT or say-TPP-PCL self near go-SAS-NPT person-GEN
khen-te yoh-Ø-u-no. 11 *di-ka mi-ye woi to-ko*
 face-LOC look.at-SAS-3P-3→3/PT one-HNC person-ERG also that-GEN
kapu-te lak-e thi-to-le ŋah-Ø-u-no: 12 *‘naŋ-ko name*
 head-LOC hand-INS touch-TPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT you-GEN name
hara? nem kuta?’ 13 *‘gǎi-go name sukaman, gǎi-go nem arkapole.’*
 what house where I-GEN name Sukaman I-GEN house walnut.tree
 14 *‘hara jet loŋ-u-na-du?’ ‘jet loŋ-sa mi tha-ŋa-du, demca*
 what work do-3P-2s-NPT work do-INF person be-1s-NPT load
cabuh-u-n-du.’ 15 *‘naŋ-ko demca cabu-sa hok-Ø-du ra?’*
 carry-3P-1s→3-NPT you-GEN load carry-INF be-SAS-NPT or
‘hok-Ø-du.’ 16 *‘gǎ-ye ŋah-u-n-du jet loŋ-u-na-du?’ ‘loŋ-u-n-du.’*
 be-SAS-NPT I-ERG say-3P-1s→3-NPT work do-3P-2s-NPT do-3P-1s→3-NPT
 17 *‘jet loŋ-sa begale dese bi-ŋa-n naleŋ demca cabu-sa*
 work do-INF other village enter-1s-PT present load carry-INF
ma-khalam-u-n-uŋ.’ 18 *‘seŋ ji-sa, miŋ toŋ-sa thaŋun,*
 NEG-receive-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT wood chop-INF cloth wash-INF maybe
loŋ-u-n-du.’ ‘to ma-tha.’ 19 *‘tyaŋ hara jet loŋ-sa? raŋ*
 do-3P-1s→3-NPT that NEG-be then what work do-INF unirrigated.field
to-sa gǎi ma-thaŋ.’ 20 *‘habi ŋa-ŋa, gǎ-ye ŋah-u-n-du*
 dig-INF I NEG-be.able before say-s→1s/IMP I-ERG say-3P-1s→3-NPT
jet loŋ-u-na-du ra ma-loŋ?’ 21 *‘jet loŋ-u-n-du, hara jet*
 work do-3P-2s-NPT or NEG-do work do-3P-1s→3-NPT what work

11 One person, touching that man’s head with his hand, said: 12 ‘What is your name? Where do you live?’ 13 ‘My name is Sukaman, and I live in [the village of] Walnut Tree.’ 14 ‘What work do you do?’ ‘I am a working man, I carry loads.’ 15 ‘Do you have a load to carry or not?’ ‘I do.’ 16 ‘Will you do the work I say?’ ‘I will.’ 17 ‘I went to another village to find work, but I didn’t find any loads to carry.’ 18 ‘If it’s chopping wood or washing clothes, I’ll do it.’ ‘No, it’s not that.’ 19 ‘Then what work is it? I am not able to dig fields.’ 20 ‘First tell me, will you do the work that I say or not?’ 21 ‘Of course I’ll work, but what is the work? First tell me! I’m no thief.’

loŋ-sa? habi ŋa-ŋa! gǎi gwi-be ma-tha. 22 *bophura, uchinca*
 do-INF before say-s→1s/IMP I thief-TOP NEG-be pity a.little
rage thah-Ø-an, aprou cyuri-te hok-Ø-du mi serek-Ø-an.
 anger be-sAS-3S/PT carrying.strap top-LOC be-sAS-NPT person arise-sAS-3S/PT
 23 *'bubu, gǎ-ye ŋiŋ them-sa mi daŋ-u-n-du, ka uniŋ*
 elder.brother I-ERG rock break-INF person search-3P-1s→3-NPT this like
gǎi-go jet tha-Ø-du. 24 *ŋiŋ them-sa jet ŋa-to-le, thombe*
 I-GEN work be-sAS-NPT rock break-INF work say-TPP-PCL surprise
thah-Ø-an, nan hara loŋ-sa? 25 *nan hok-ta-ŋa-le cya-sa ma-khalam,*
 be-sAS-3S/PT now what do-INF now be-IPP-1s-PCL eat-INF NEG-receive
'jet loŋ-u-n-du' ŋa-to-le cawah-Ø-an. 26 *nis-ka nama nama*
 work do-3P-1s→3-NPT say-TPP-PCL walk-sAS-3S/PT two-HNC with with
caway-eŋ-du beryaŋ, nem-te ya-let-eŋ-an. 27 *nem-te, to*
 walk-pAS-NPT that.time house-LOC go-appear-pAS-3S/PT house-LOC that
jekha mi-ko uma kaŋah-Ø-an 'ka su mi kyel-u-na-n,
 big person-GEN wife scold-sAS-3S/PT this who person bring-3P-2s-PT
hara-kǎi kyel-u-na-n, ka-ye jet loŋ-sa ma-thaŋ.
 what-PM bring-3P-2s-PT this-ERG work do-INF NEG-be.able
 28 *'ma-thaŋ-u-n-du jet-guri hara woi ma-hok-Ø-thyo,*
 NEG-be.able-3P-1s→3-NPT work-IND what also NEG-be-sAS-3SCOND
naleŋ thone tha-ŋa-n. 29 *'niny-e gǎi-gǎi jet ŋisen-ne,*
 present old be-1s-PT you(p)-ERG I-PM work teach-p→1s/IMP
ja-Ø-du?' 30 *tyaŋ to mi-ye to-te hok-Ø-ta-le, jet*
 okay-sAS-NPT then that person-ERG that-LOC be-sAS-IPP-PCL work

22 Poor man, he had become a little angry now, and stood up from where he was sitting on his carrying strap. 23 'Elder brother, I am searching for someone to break rocks, it's like this the work that I have to offer.' 24 He was shocked that the work was breaking rocks, now what to do? 25 Now if I just sit here I won't get anything to eat [he thought], so he said 'yes, I'll do the work', and off he walked. 26 The two of them, walking together, arrived at his house. 27 Once at home, that wealthy person's wife scolded him 'who is this person you have brought [with you]? Why have you brought him? He won't be able to do the work.' 28 'There was no work that I wasn't able to do, but now I am old' [he said]. 29 'You(p) teach me the work [I have to do], is that okay?' 30 And staying in that place, that man worked

loŋ-Ø-u-no, cya-sa woi khalam-Ø-u-no.
do-sAS-3P-3→3/PT eat-INF also receive-sAS-3P-3→3/PT

and he also got enough to eat.

HEN-PECKED HUSBAND

- 1 *di-gore dese-te apa ca hok-eŋ-thyo.* 2 *camăica*
 one-CLF village-LOC father son be-PAS-3SCOND woman
ma-hok-Ø-du-be, to nem hara woi ma-tha-Ø-du uniŋ
 NEG-be-SAS-NPT-TOP that house what also NEG-be-SAS-NPT like
tha-Ø-thyo. 3 *to-te su mi woi ma-hok-Ø-du uniŋ*
 be-SAS-3SCOND that-LOC who person also NEG-be-SAS-NPT like
hok-Ø-du. 4 *nem-ko koŋe porok-le hok-Ø-du.* 5 *‘ca kutaleŋ*
 be-SAS-NPT house-GEN wall break.up-PCL be-SAS-NPT son when
jekha thaŋun ŋaŋ wari bore loŋ-to-le sumaka hok-sa.’
 big maybe and daughter.in.law marriage do-TPP-PCL silence be-INF
 6 *libi ca calăuni uniŋ jekha thah-Ø-an ŋaŋ sarma thah-Ø-an.*
 after son moon like big be-SAS-3S/PT and strong be-SAS-3S/PT
 7 *di uni, ami-Ø-du beryaŋ, to-ye ‘nan wari*
 one day sleep-SAS-NPT that.time that-ERG now daughter.in.law
kyel-ŋa libi, găi hok-sa nik-ŋa-du’ ŋah-Ø-u-no. 8 *‘nan*
 bring-CNS after I be-INF receive-1s-NPT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now
wari kyel-ŋa libi, găi taŋ-ŋa-du.’ 9 *‘bakoŋek jet*
 daughter.in.law bring-CNS after I be.happy-1s-NPT half work
wari-ye loŋ-Ø-u-du, ne-sa ŋe-sa jet sakalei
 daughter.in.law-ERG do-SAS-3P-NPT grind-INF thresh-INF work all
loŋ-Ø-u-du.’ 10 *‘di uni ka raŋ-te jet*
 do-SAS-3P-NPT one day throughout unirrigated.field-LOC work

1 There once were a father and son who lived in a village. 2 Since there were no women living there, the house felt as if it were empty. 3 It's like nobody lived there. 4 The walls of the house were breaking up. 5 'When son is grown up, then maybe I can get a daughter-in-law and I will be able to live in peace' [the old man thought]. 6 Later the son became as big and strong as the moon. 7 One day, while sleeping, he thought 'now once I've brought a daughter-in-law, then I can finally live in peace.' 8 'Now, once I've brought a daughter-in-law I will be happy.' 9 'The daughter-in-law will do half of the work, and she'll do all the grinding and threshing.' 10 'Having worked in the fields all day she'll even cook dinner in the evening so I won't have to.'

loŋ-to-le, nyoŋi woi isa ken uman-sa, gǎ-ye ma-mǎi.
 do-TPP-PCL evening also food vegetable.curry cook-INF I-ERG NEG-must
 11 *'nan isa ken loŋ-sa beryaŋ, pebu-te jet*
 now food vegetable.curry do-INF that.time irrigated.field-LOC work
loŋ-u-n-du.' 12 *'tyaŋ sum-ka-kǎi apraca nama cya-sa*
 do-3P-1s→3-NPT then three-HNC-PM good with eat-INF
nik-i-du.' 13 *libi to serek-Ø-du beryaŋ, athaŋ tha-Ø-ta-le.*
 receive-1pPS-NPT after that arise-SAS-NPT that.time light be-SAS-IPP-PCL
 14 *ṭila-ko uni, cereŋcereŋ uni woi ma-hok-Ø-thyo.* 15 *ca jekha*
 cold-GEN day scorching sun also NEG-be-SAS-3SCOND son big
tha-le woi, dikaca jet loŋ-sa ma-thaŋ. 16 *to tha-Ø-ta-le,*
 be-PCL also alone work do-INF NEG-be.able that be-SAS-IPP-PCL
apa-ye camǎica wari daŋ-sa cawah-Ø-an. 17 *ya-ya*
 father-ERG woman daughter.in.law search-INF walk-SAS-3S/PT go-go
woi, dha-te ya-let-ŋa libi, di-ka camǎica nama wakhe
 also that.distant-LOC go-appear-CNS after one-HNC woman with word
loŋ-Ø-u-no. 18 *oste-ko jat tha-Ø-ta-le, to-bany-e woi*
 do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT self-GEN caste be-SAS-IPP-PCL that-Pp-ERG also
'ja-Ø-du' ŋa-to-le camǎi pi-sa thay-eŋ-an. 19 *nis-ka*
 okay-SAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL daughter give-INF be-pAS-3S/PT two-HNC
woi ucyaca mi thay-eŋ-ta-le 'ahe mi woi ra-ko ma-ja,
 also small person be-pAS-IPP-PCL many person also bring-ADH NEG-okay
ni-ye cya-sa tun-sa pi-sa ma-thaŋ' ŋay-eŋ-no. 20 *apa*
 we-ERG eat-INF drink-INF give-INF NEG-be.able say-pAS-3→3/PT father

11 'When she's cooking, I can be working in the paddy fields.' 12 'Then the three of us will be able to eat well.' 13 When he got up, [he noticed that] it had already become light. 14 It was a cold day, the sun wasn't scorching. 15 Although the son had grown up, he was still unable to work alone. 16 On account of this, the father set off to look for a woman [to be a] daughter-in-law. 17 Travelling in this way, having reached that point over there, he spoke with a woman [he met]. 18 Being of the same caste, they [her parents] said 'okay' and agreed to give their daughter. 19 On account of both of them being poor [lit. small] people, they said 'don't invite too many people [to the wedding], we won't be able to give them food or drink.' 20 Both the father and son went to the woman's house.

ca nis-ka, camăica-ko nem-te yey-eŋ-an. 21 *tyaŋ wari*
 son two-HNC woman-GEN house-LOC go-PAS-3S/PT then daughter.in.law
kyel-eŋ-to-le, nem-te kyel-eŋ-an. 22 *wari aŋthe*
 bring-PAS-TPP-PCL house-LOC come-PAS-3S/PT daughter.in.law very
săi-le hok-Ø-thyo, sya ŋuŋi agyoy-eŋ-du săi-Ø-thyo.
 know-PCL be-SAS-3SCOND cow goat cry-PAS-NPT know-SAS-3SCOND
 23 *wari kyel-eŋ-du-yiŋ isa ken sakalei*
 daughter.in.law bring-PAS-NPT-ABL food vegetable.curry all
loŋ-Ø-u-du, cya-sa beryaŋ apa ŋupuri kăi-si-Ø-ta-le
 do-SAS-3P-NPT eat-INF that.time father cap remove-REF-SAS-IPP-PCL
hok-ŋa jah-Ø-an. 24 *di uni sakalei isa cya-sa dum-eŋ-thyo.*
 be-CNS okay-SAS-3S/PT one day all food eat-INF finish-PAS-3SCOND
 25 *nem na-basa di-gore loŋe aghyow-Ø-an, wari-ye*
 house under-side one-CLF jackal cry-SAS-3S/PT daughter.in.law-ERG
to aghyow-Ø-u-du nasăiy-Ø-u-no, to-ko kham woi
 that cry-SAS-3P-NPT hear-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-GEN language also
săiy-Ø-u-no. 26 *‘soŋ-te di-gore pepelek-ko moro*
 understand-SAS-3P-3→3/PT river-LOC one-CLF money-GEN corpse
itu-le nah-Ø-u-du.’ 27 *‘moro kăi-to-le, to-ko*
 bring.from.above-PCL put-SAS-3P-NPT corpse remove-TPP-PCL that-GEN
pepelek-pali rah-o, găi-găi-guri cici cya-sa pi-ŋa’
 money-p bring-s→3/IMP I-PM-IND meat eat-INF give-s→1s/IMP
loŋe-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no. 28 *wari-ye ka wakhe*
 jackal-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT daughter.in.law-ERG this word

21 Then, bringing the daughter-in-law, they came home. 22 The daughter-in-law was very wise, she understood the cries of cows and goats. 23 After having brought the daughter-in-law, she cooked rice and vegetable curry and did everything, at dinner time it was okay for father to just take off his cap and sit down. 24 One day they had just finished their meal. 25 Just down from the house a jackal cried out, and the daughter-in-law heard the cry, and even understood what it said. 26 ‘At the river, a corpse with a money on it has been washed down from above’ [the jackal said]. 27 ‘Having removed the body [from the river], bring its coins, and give me its flesh to eat’, the jackal said. 28 The daughter-in-law related the story to her father-in-law.

chuku-kăi ci-săiy-Ø-u-no. 29 *chuku-ye*
 father.in.law-PM CAUS-know-SAS-3P-3→3/PT father.in.law-ERG
ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘ka-be ma-ja-Ø-du mi, hara ŋah-u-na-du?’
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT this-TOP NEG-okay-SAS-NPT person what say-3P-2s-NPT
ŋa-to-le kaṭah-Ø-an. 30 *wari sumaka hok-Ø-an, ka*
 say-TPP-PCL scold-SAS-3S/PT daughter.in.law silence be-SAS-3S/PT this
dăi yoh-Ø-u-du, hara woi ma-hok-Ø-du nem-te. 31 *libi*
 towards look.at-SAS-3P-NPT what also NEG-be-SAS-NPT house-LOC after
to-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘nan ka-baŋ amiy-eŋ-du, tyaŋ ya-ŋa-du’,
 that-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now this-Pp sleep-pAS-NPT then go-1s-NPT
tyaŋ lawa amiy-Ø-an. 32 *chuku-guri ami-Ø-du uniŋ*
 then husband sleep-SAS-3S/PT father.in.law-IND sleep-SAS-NPT like
loŋ-Ø-u-no, ŋaŋ amiy-Ø-an. 33 *wari sakalei*
 do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT and sleep-SAS-3S/PT daughter.in.law all
amiy-eŋ-an ŋa-to-le, karati khyak-si-Ø-ta-le, nem-yiŋ
 sleep-pAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL sickle strap.on-REF-SAS-IPP-PCL house-ABL
priŋ let-Ø-an. 34 *libi chuku woi serek-Ø-ta-le,*
 outside appear-SAS-3S/PT after father.in.law also arise-SAS-IPP-PCL
wari libi libi cawa-le hok-Ø-thyo, wari
 daughter.in.law after after walk-PCL be-SAS-3SECOND daughter.in.law
loŋe-ko libi libi cawa-Ø-du, libi soŋ kyel-let-Ø-an.
 jackal-GEN after after walk-SAS-NPT after river come-appear-SAS-3S/PT
 35 *wari-ye moro nih-Ø-u-no, di-gore seŋ*
 daughter.in.law-ERG corpse see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT one-CLF wood

29 And the father-in-law scolded her saying ‘you useless person, what on earth are you suggesting?’ 30 The daughter-in-law sat in silence, and looking this way, saw that there was nothing [to eat] at home. 31 Later she thought [to herself] ‘now, when they’re all asleep, then I’ll go’, then her husband fell asleep. 32 Father-in-law had made as if to sleep but had [actually] fallen asleep. 33 Thinking that they were all asleep, the daughter-in-law strapped a sickle on [her belt] and crept outside. 34 Thereafter the father-in-law, having woken up, was following the daughter-in-law, who in turn was on the heels of the jackal, and after a while they came to the river. 35 The daughter-in-law saw the corpse and, chopping a piece of wood, she pulled it [the corpse] out of the river.

pal-to-le son-yiŋ priŋ kǎiy-Ø-u-no. 36 to-te
 chop-TPP-PCL river-ABL outside remove-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-LOC
hok-Ø-du sakalei pepelek chyu-to-le na-to-le, libi ka
 be-SAS-NPT all money tie-TPP-PCL put-TPP-PCL after this
koteh-u-n-uŋ-be, pepelek koteh-Ø-u-du, ka-kǎi nan cek-to-le
 cut-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT-TOP money cut-SAS-3P-NPT this-PM now bite-TPP-PCL
phet-ko mǎiy-Ø-an. 37 ka uniŋ ŋa-to-le, suwa-ye
 take.off-ADH must-SAS-3S/PT this like say-TPP-PCL tooth-INS
cek-Ø-u-thyo, ka chuku-ye nih-Ø-u-no. 38 'ka-be
 bite-SAS-3P-3SCOND this father.in.law-ERG see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT this-TOP
moro cya-Ø-du mi' ŋa-to-le, chuku nem-te
 corpse eat-SAS-NPT person say-TPP-PCL father.in.law house-LOC
ya-Ø-ta-le amiy-Ø-an. 39 libi wari woi nem-te
 go-SAS-IPP-PCL sleep-SAS-3S/PT after daughter.in.law also house-LOC
waŋ-Ø-ta-le amiy-Ø-an, taye chuku
 come.from.below-SAS-IPP-PCL sleep-SAS-3S/PT night father.in.law
serek-Ø-ta-le yoh-Ø-u-du-be, nem duŋ-ŋaŋ sakalei ahaŋ
 arise-SAS-IPP-PCL look.at-SAS-3P-NPT-TOP house within-inside all light
nih-Ø-u-no. 40 ahaŋ-Ø-an ŋa-to-le priŋ
 see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT become.light-SAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL outside
let-Ø-an, ukhiŋ nih-Ø-u-no 'hara thah-Ø-an?' ŋa-to-le
 appear-SAS-3S/PT dark see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT what be-SAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL
duŋ-ŋaŋ biy-Ø-an. 41 nan woi duŋ-ŋaŋ ahaŋ, nem
 within-inside enter-SAS-3S/PT now also within-inside light house

36 All the money had been tied on to that [corpse], if she were to cut it off then she would also risk cutting into the money, so she had to remove the coins by biting them off [with her teeth]. 37 That's to say, she bit it [the money] off with her teeth and father-in-law saw it. 38 'So she is a person who eats corpses', father-in-law said to himself, going home to sleep. 39 Later the daughter-in-law also came back home and fell asleep, then in the night the father-in-law, having arisen, looked around and saw that it was all bright inside the house. 40 Thinking that it was light, he went outside only to see that it was still dark, 'what happened?' he thought to himself, as he went back inside. 41 And again inside it was light, and inside the house he saw piles of money.

duŋ-ŋaŋ pepelek nih-Ø-u-no. 42 ka ma-ja-Ø-du
 within-inside money see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT this NEG-okay-SAS-NPT
camăica-ko jet ŋa-to-le, ca-kăi ci-serek-Ø-u-no.
 woman-GEN work say-TPP-PCL son-PM CAUS-arise-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
 43 *wari woi serek-Ø-an, ɬaye apa ca-ye*
 daughter.in.law also arise-SAS-3S/PT night father son-ERG
wari-kăi nem-yiŋ ci-let-eŋ-no. 44 băsinɬe
 daughter.in.law-PM house-ABL CAUS-appear-pas-3→3/PT morning
serek-Ø-ta-le, wari-ye isa thih-Ø-u-du ŋa-to-le,
 arise-SAS-IPP-PCL daughter.in.law-ERG food touch-SAS-3P-NPT say-TPP-PCL
oste loŋ-Ø-u-no. 45 wari laŋga-te uni
 self do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT daughter.in.law courtyard-LOC sun
cyatəŋ-si-Ø-ta-le hok-Ø-an. 46 to beryaŋ di-gore agak
 soak.up-REF-SAS-IPP-PCL be-SAS-3S/PT that that.time one-CLF crow
kyel-Ø-ta-le ŋah-Ø-u-no 'rikhipole dilaŋ-te sum
 come-SAS-IPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT Phāseluŋ resting.place-LOC three
kulin pepelek hok-Ø-du.' 47 'to-ko ugo-te
 small.earthenware.water.vessel money be-SAS-NPT that-GEN mouth-LOC
nunu hok-Ø-du, pepelek nany-e rah-o, nunu găi-găi
 milk be-SAS-NPT money you-ERG bring-s→3/IMP milk I-PM
pi-ŋa!' 48 wari-ye ka nasăi-to-le, chuku-kăi
 give-s→1s/IMP daughter.in.law-ERG this hear-TPP-PCL father.in.law-PM
ŋah-Ø-u-no, chuku rage thah-Ø-an. 49 'naleŋ găi-găi
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT father.in.law anger be-SAS-3S/PT present I-PM

42 Seeing what this useless woman had done, he woke his son up. 43 The daughter-in-law also got up, and father and son threw her out of the house in the middle of the night. 44 In the morning, having gotten up, fearing that daughter-in-law might touch his food [and thus pollute him also], he cooked it himself. 45 The daughter-in-law sat in the courtyard warming herself in the sun. 46 At that moment a crow came and said 'at the resting place in the village of Phāseluŋ are three small earthenware vessels filled with money.' 47 'In the opening [lit. mouth] [of the jugs] there is also milk, bring the money and give me the milk!' 48 Hearing this, the daughter-in-law told the father-in-law, but he got angry. 49 'Now you're trying to kill me, don't talk to me!' [he said]

sat-Ø-ŋa-du, gǎi nama ma-cijyany-e! 50 *‘nan ka-kǎi ka-te*
 kill-SAS-1s-NPT I with NEG-speak-s/NEG/IMP now this-PM this-LOC
na-sa ma-jah-Ø-an, ka-kǎi apa-ko nem-te ʔho-ko
 put-INF NEG-okay-SAS-3S/PT this-PM father-GEN house-LOC send-ADH
mǎiy-Ø-an’ ŋa-to-le. 51 *di katara isa laŋga-te*
 must-SAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL one trough food courtyard-LOC
piy-Ø-u-no. 52 *wari woi cyah-Ø-an, ‘ca, nem*
 give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT daughter.in.law also eat-SAS-3S/PT son house
yo-sa, gǎi wari-kǎi hen-to-le apa-kǎi piy-u-n-du’
 look.at-INF I daughter.in.law-PM take-TPP-PCL father-PM give-3P-1s→3-NPT
ŋa-to-le wari-kǎi hen-Ø-u-no. 53 *ca-ye woi*
 say-TPP-PCL daughter.in.law-PM take-SAS-3P-3→3/PT son-ERG also
uma-kǎi hara woi ma-ŋa-tiniŋ ʔhoh-Ø-u-no. 54 *ya-ya woi, di-gore*
 wife-PM what also NEG-say-PFG send-SAS-3P-3→3/PT go-go also one-CLF
soŋ-te alak-yiŋ hen-ko mǎi-Ø-thyo. 55 *chuku-ye*
 river-LOC foot.bridge-ABL go-ADH must-SAS-3SCOND father.in.law-ERG
‘nan ka wari-kǎi ka-yiŋ ciu-u-n-du, tyañ gǎi-guri
 now this daughter.in.law-PM this-ABL throw.away-3P-1s→3-NPT then I-IND
nem dǎi ya-ŋa-du’ ŋah-Ø-u-no. 56 *tyañ alak-yiŋ*
 house towards go-1s-NPT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT then foot.bridge-ABL
jun-to-le, oste-ko nem dǎi kyel-Ø-an. 57 *di uni*
 push-TPP-PCL self-GEN house towards come-SAS-3S/PT one day
to-ko nem-te di-ka jekha mi kyel-Ø-ta-le, nem-te
 that-GEN house-LOC one-HNC big person come-SAS-IPP-PCL house-LOC

50 ‘Now this one [daughter-in-law] really can’t stay here, she needs to be sent back to her father’s home’, he said. 51 He gave [her] a trough of food [to eat] in the courtyard. 52 The daughter-in-law ate the food, [and the father said] ‘son, keep an eye on the house, I am taking this daughter-in-law back and will return her to her father’, and with that he took the daughter-in-law. 53 And the son sent his wife off without even saying good-bye to her. 54 Along the way, they came to a river with a foot bridge they had to cross. 55 ‘Now, I will throw this daughter-in-law off [the bridge] here and then go homewards again’, the father-in-law thought. 56 Then pushing her off the foot bridge, he made his way homewards. 57 One day, an important man came to that house and saw all the money in the place.

hok-Ø-du pepelek ni-to-le. 58 *jekha mi-ye ʔhone nama*
 be-SAS-NPT money see-TPP-PCL big person-ERG old.man with
ʔah-Ø-u-no ‘*ka gǎi-gǎi pi-ʔa,* *gǎ-ye naʔ-kǎi libi ahe*
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT this I-PM give-s→1s/IMP I-ERG you-PM after much
pepelek pi-na-ʔa-du.’ 59 *to-ye woi ‘ja-Ø-du’ ʔa-to-le,*
 money give-2s-1s-NPT that-ERG also okay-SAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL
piy-Ø-u-no. 60 *libi pepelek-e begale naka naka miʔ*
 give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after money-INS other new new cloth
rah-Ø-u-no, *asare ni-Ø-du isa cyah-Ø-an.* 61 *jet*
 bring-SAS-3P-3→3/PT tasty appear-SAS-NPT food eat-SAS-3S/PT work
loʔ-sa mi-pali nah-Ø-u-no, *apraca nama hok-Ø-an.* 62 *libi*
 do-INF person-p put-SAS-3P-3→3/PT good with be-SAS-3S/PT after
ca-kǎi begale wari *kyel-Ø-u-no,* *wari-kǎi*
 son-PM other daughter.in.law bring-SAS-3P-3→3/PT daughter.in.law-PM
ʔah-Ø-u-no ‘*wari,* *nan ka pepelek tap-ko*
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT daughter.in.law now this money be.finished-ADH
sow-Ø-an, *jet loʔ-sa mi ci-let-ko mǎi-Ø-du.*’
 be.about.to-SAS-3S/PT work do-INF person CAUS-appear-ADH must-SAS-NPT
 63 *nan ʔhone-ko sakalei pepelek tap-Ø-an.* 64 *habi-ko*
 now old.man-GEN all money be.finished-SAS-3S/PT before-GEN
wari-ye ʔah-Ø-u-du rikhipole dilaʔ-te
 daughter.in.law-ERG say-SAS-3P-NPT Phāseluñ resting.place-LOC
ya-Ø-ta-le toh-Ø-u-no, *to-ʔaʔ sum kulin*
 go-SAS-IPP-PCL dig-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-inside three small.earthenware.vessel

58 And the important man spoke with the old man, saying ‘give all this to me, and later I will give you much more money in return.’ 59 And saying ‘okay’, he gave it all to him. 60 Later, with that money, he brought new clothes to wear and tasty food to eat. 61 He appointed people to do the domestic work, and sat back and relaxed. 62 Later, he brought another daughter-in-law for his son and he said to her ‘daughter-in-law, now the money is almost finished, we have to get rid of those workers [because we can’t pay them].’ 63 Now all the old man’s money was finished. 64 Going to the stone resting place in the village of Phāseluñ which the previous daughter-in-law had spoken of, he dug down and right there found three small earthenware vessels of money.

pepelek khalam-Ø-u-no. 65 *tyaŋ naka wari-ye*
 money meet-SAS-3P-3→3/PT then new daughter.in.law-ERG
ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘*gǎi-be apa-ko nem-te jet ma-loŋ-tiniŋ*
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT I-TOP father-GEN house-LOC work NEG-do-PFG
hok-ŋa-thyo, nan hara-kǎi ci-let-sa jet loŋ-sa mi?’ 66 *nan*
 be-1s-3SCOND now what-PM CAUS-appear-INF work do-INF person now
nyoŋi bǎsiŋte cya-sa ma-gap-Ø-an, *tyaŋ habi-ko*
 evening morning eat-INF NEG-be.enough-SAS-3S/PT then before-GEN
wari ŋa-to-le thaha sǎiy-Ø-u-no. 67 ‘*yaŋ*
 daughter.in.law say-TPP-PCL knowledge know-SAS-3→3/PT today
habi-ko wari hok-sa-be, isa-ye karǎi-tiniŋ, hok-sa
 before-GEN daughter.in.law be-INF-TOP food-INS shout-PFG be-INF
ma-mǎi-Ø-thyo.’ 68 ‘*to uniŋ wari-kǎi gǎ-ye*
 NEG-must-SAS-3SCOND that like daughter.in.law-PM I-ERG
sat-u-n-uŋ, to-ye loŋ-Ø-u-du beryaŋ, gǎi yaŋ isa-ye
 kill-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT that-ERG do-SAS-3P-NPT that.time I today food-INS
karǎi-tiniŋ hok-ko mǎiy-Ø-an.’ 69 *ka uniŋ ŋa-to-le bampre*
 shout-PFG be-ADH must-SAS-3S/PT this like say-TPP-PCL rib
ŋe-ŋe-to-le kerep-Ø-an. 70 *nan kerep-eŋ-ta-le, hara phase*
 beat-beat-TPP-PCL cry-SAS-3S/PT now cry-pAS-IPP-PCL what flour
ma-cuk-eŋ-du, ŋyakanəŋ cey-eŋ-ta-le hok-eŋ-an. 71 *dese-ko*
 NEG-insert-pAS-NPT nettle eat-pAS-IPP-PCL be-pAS-3S/PT village-GEN
bubu hu, sakalei thombe thay-eŋ-an.
 elder.brother younger.brother all surprise be-pAS-3S/PT

65 Then the new daughter-in-law said ‘as long as I lived in my father’s house I never worked, why do we now have to get rid of the domestic servants?’ 66 Now there wasn’t enough to eat for dinner or breakfast, and he [the father-in-law] thought of his previous daughter-in-law. 67 ‘If our previous daughter-in-law were with us today, then we wouldn’t be going hungry.’ 68 ‘A good daughter-in-law like that I killed, and on account of happened, I must today sit here hungry.’ 69 And in this manner, beating his ribs, he cried. 70 And without even putting any flour in their nettle soup, they ate it sitting there crying. 71 And all the men in the village were totally shocked.

ROUND FACE

- 1 *di-ka* *thoni-ko* *di-ka* *ca* *hok-Ø-du*, *to-ko* *name*
 one-HNC old.woman-GEN one-HNC son be-SAS-NPT that-GEN name
gonthe. 2 *to* *ucyaca* *tha-Ø-du* *beryan*, *to-ko* *apa*
 round.face that small be-SAS-NPT that.time that-GEN father
siy-Ø-an. 3 *ama-ye* *jet* *loŋ-to-le*, *huca-kăi* *cya-sa*
 die-SAS-3S/PT mother-ERG work do-TPP-PCL child-PM eat-INF
pi-to-le, *jekha* *loŋ-Ø-u-no.* 4 *di* *uni* *huca* *nampa-nampa* *woi*
 give-TPP-PCL big do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT one day child play-play also
soŋ-te *ya-let-Ø-ta-le*, *to-te* *to-ye* *di-gore* *ti-Ø-du*
 river-LOC go-appear-SAS-IPP-PCL that-LOC that-ERG one-CLF burn-SAS-NPT
niŋ *nih-Ø-u-no.* 5 *to-kăi* *apraca* *thah-Ø-an*, *to-ye*
 stone see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-PM good be-SAS-3S/PT that-ERG
nem-te *kyel-Ø-u-no.* 6 *ama-kăi* *to* *niŋ* *cikhet-Ø-u-no*,
 house-LOC bring-SAS-3P-3→3/PT mother-PM that stone show-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
libi *to-ye* *thaha* *săiy-Ø-u-no* 'ka *hira* *tha-Ø-du*
 after that-ERG knowledge know-SAS-3P-3→3/PT this diamond be-SAS-NPT
niŋ' *ŋa-to-le*, *ca-kăi* *kaŋah-Ø-an.* 7 'nan *ka* *hara-kăi*
 stone say-TPP-PCL son-PM scold-SAS-3S/PT now this what-PM
kyel-u-na-n? *ni-ko* *nem-te* *gwi* *kyel-Ø-du*, *gwi-y-Ø-u-du.*
 bring-3P-2s-PT we-GEN house-LOC thief come-SAS-NPT steal-SAS-3P-NPT
 8 'nan *ka* *kuta* *hok-Ø-thyo*, *to-te* *hen-to-le* *nah-o!*
 now this where be-SAS-3SCOND that-LOC take-TPP-PCL put-s→3/IMP

1 An old woman had a son by the name of Round Face. 2 When he was young, his father had died. 3 By working, and giving the child food, mother brought him up. 4 One day, while playing and playing, the child came to a river where he saw a burning stone. 5 He liked it and brought it home. 6 He showed that stone to his mother, and then she realised what it was, and she scolded him saying 'this stone is a diamond.' 7 'Now why did you bring this here? Now a thief may come to our house and steal it.' 8 'Now, take this back to wherever it was and leave it there!'

9 *to-ye ci-sa-kǎi hen-Ø-u-no, ya-ya woi di-ka*
 that-ERG throw.away-INF-PM take-SAS-3P-3→3/PT go-go also one-HNC
mi-ye nih-Ø-u-no, to-ye ǎlǎmtha-yiŋ ɲosǎiy-Ø-u-no
 person-ERG see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-ERG distant-ABL recognise-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
ka ti-Ø-du ɲiŋ. 10 mi-ye ɲah-Ø-u-no 'hu,
 this burn-SAS-NPT stone person-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT younger.brother
naŋ-ko lak-te hara?' 11 *'ka di-gore ɲiŋ tha-Ø-du, gǎ-ye*
 you-GEN hand-LOC what this one-HNC stone be-SAS-NPT I-ERG
soŋ-te khalam-u-n-uŋ, gǎi-gǎi ama-ye 'ya-na-tah-o!'
 river-LOC meet-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT I-PM mother-ERG go-put-release-s→3/IMP
ɲah-Ø-ɲa-n, tyaŋ ci-sa-kǎi hen-u-n-du.' 12 *'to ɲiŋ*
 say-SAS-1s-PT then throw.away-INF-PM take-3P-1s→3-NPT that stone
gǎi-gǎi pi-ɲa! naŋ-kǎi gǎi-go sakalei raŋ pi-na-ɲa-du'
 I-PM give-s→1s/IMP you-PM I-GEN all unirrigated.field give-2s-1s-NPT
ɲah-Ø-u-no. 13 to-ye woi 'ja-Ø-du' ɲah-Ø-u-no ɲaŋ
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-ERG also okay-SAS-NPT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT and
piy-Ø-u-no, libi to-ko ama kaŋah-Ø-an. 14 libi jet
 give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after that-GEN mother scold-SAS-3S/PT after work
loŋ-sa ma-sǎi-ɲa 'hara hara tha-Ø-du?' ɬoŋi warǎiy-Ø-an.
 do-INF NEG-know-CNS what what be-SAS-NPT old.woman shiver-SAS-3S/PT
 15 *di uni di-gore ɬǎi-te bore hok-Ø-thyo, to bore-te*
 one day one-CLF place-LOC marriage be-SAS-3SCOND that marriage-LOC
habi-ko mi-ko camǎi hira-ko laŋi
 before-GEN person-GEN daughter diamond-GEN necklace

9 He took it to throw away, but as he was walking, someone saw him and from some distance recognised that this was a precious [lit. burning] stone. 10 And the person said 'younger brother, what have you got in your hand?' 11 'This is a stone which I found by the river, but my mother said to me 'get rid of it!' so I am taking it to throw it away.' 12 'Give me that stone! I will give you all my land', he said. 13 So he said 'okay' and gave it to him, but later his mother scolded him. 14 Later, not knowing how to work [such fields], 'what on earth will happen?' the old lady thought, and shivered [in fear]. 15 One day there was a wedding in a certain place, and the daughter of the person mentioned before [the one who bought the diamond], went wearing the diamond as a necklace.

khyak-si-Ø-ta-le *yah-Ø-an.* 16 *to jekha mi-ko camăi-ye*
 tie.on-REF-SAS-IPP-PCL go-SAS-3S/PT that big person-GEN daughter-ERG
nih-Ø-u-no. 17 *to ni-to-le, to-kăi woi to uniŋ*
 see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that see-TPP-PCL that-PM also that like
khyak-si-Ø-sa *aliy-Ø-an,* *ŋaŋ apa-kăi ŋah-Ø-u-no.* 18 ‘*apa,*
 tie.on-REF-SAS-INF like-SAS-3S/PT and father-PM say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT father
găi woi to uniŋ laŋi khyak-si-ŋa-du’ ŋa-to-le nan apa-ye
 I also that like necklace tie.on-REF-1s-NPT say-TPP-PCL now father-ERG
daŋ-Ø-u-no, ‘*to su-ye piy-Ø-u-no?* *to-kăi ka-te*
 search-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that who-ERG give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-PM this-LOC
urou-ko măiy-Ø-an.’ 19 *libi to laŋi*
 take.out-ADH must-SAS-3S/PT after that necklace
khyak-si-Ø-du-ko *apa-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no:* 20 ‘*ka di-ka*
 strap.on-REF-SAS-NPT-GEN father-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT this one-HNC
huca-ye găi-găi pi-Ø-ŋa-n, *to huca-ye soŋ-yiŋ kyel-Ø-u-du*
 child-ERG I-PM give-SAS-1s-PT that child-ERG river-ABL bring-SAS-3P-NPT
ŋa.’ 21 ‘*to huca kuta hok-Ø-du?* *to-kăi urou-to-le, ‘begale*
 REP that child where be-SAS-NPT that-PM call-TPP-PCL other
laŋi rah-o!’ *ŋa-ko măiy-Ø-an’ ŋah-Ø-u-no.*
 necklace bring-s→3/IMP say-ADH must-SAS-3S/PT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
 22 *huca-kăi urouy-eŋ-no* ‘*huca, nany-e ka uniŋ laŋi*
 child-PM call-pAS-3→3/PT child you-ERG this like necklace
kyel-to-le kyel-a, *ma-kyel-u-na-n-be,* *naŋ-kăi sat-wa-du.’*
 bring-TPP-PCL come-s/IMP NEG-bring-2s-3P-PT-TOP you-PM kill-1p→23-NPT

16 That important person's daughter saw it. 17 Having seen it, she also wanted to wear one [diamond necklace] and she mentioned this to her father. 18 'Father, I also want to wear a necklace like that', she said, and then father looked for one, saying 'who gave it to her? Whoever it is, we should call him over right now.' 19 Later, the father of the one wearing the necklace said: 20 'This was given to me by a child who said that he had found it by the river.' 21 'Where is that child now? We must call him and say 'bring another necklace!'' he [the other father] said. 22 They called the child, [and said] 'kid, bring another necklace like this, and if you don't bring one, then we'll kill you.'

- 23 *huca*, ‘*nan laŋi kuta daŋ-sa?*’ *ŋa-to-le*, *nem-te*
 child now necklace where search-INF say-TPP-PCL house-LOC
ya-Ø-ta-le amiy-Ø-an. 24 *băsinŋe serek-Ø-ta-le cawah-Ø-an*,
 go-SAS-IPP-PCL sleep-SAS-3S/PT morning arise-SAS-IPP-PCL walk-SAS-3S/PT
to-ye di ʔhăi-te di-ka camăica dicip-nis-gore laŋi
 that-ERG one place-LOC one-HNC woman ten-two-CLF necklace
khyak-si-Ø-du nih-Ø-u-no. 25 ‘*nan ka nama hok-ta-ŋa-le*,
 strap.on-REF-SAS-NPT see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now this with be-IPP-1s-PCL
ka-ko laŋi kat-u-n-du.’ 26 *libi to camăica-ye*
 this-GEN necklace steal-3P-1s→3-NPT after that woman-ERG
ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘bubu, naŋ kuta-yiŋ ra-na-n,
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT elder.brother you where-ABL come.from.level-2s-PT
hara-kăi kyel-na-n?’ 27 ‘*găi di-gore ti-Ø-du laŋi daŋ-sa*
 what-PM come-2s-PT I one-CLF burn-SAS-NPT necklace search-INF
kyel-ŋa-du, laŋi ma-hen-be, găi-găi jekha mi-ye
 come-1s-NPT necklace NEG-take-TOP I-PM big person-ERG
sat-Ø-ŋa-du.’ 28 ‘*naŋ sumaka hok-a! găi-go bore naŋ nama*
 kill-SAS-1s-NPT you silent be-s/IMP I-GEN marriage you with
loŋ-u-n-du, găi-găi hen-aŋ, laŋi woi hen-o!’
 do-3P-1s→3-NPT I-PM take-s→1s/IMP necklace also take-s→3/IMP
 29 ‘*ja-Ø-du*’ *ŋah-Ø-u-no, to camăica woi rah-Ø-u-no,*
 okay-SAS-NPT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that woman also bring-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
laŋi woi ra-to-le nem-te nah-Ø-u-no. 30 *baŋhe*
 necklace also bring-TPP-PCL house-LOC put-SAS-3P-3→3/PT tomorrow

23 And the child, thinking ‘now where on earth can I find another necklace’, just went home and fell asleep. 24 In the morning he got up and set off, and in one place he saw a woman wearing twelve necklaces. 25 ‘Now, I’ll sit with her and then steal her necklaces’ [he thought]. 26 After a while that woman said ‘elder brother, where have you come from and what have you come to do?’ 27 ‘I have come looking for a precious [lit. burning] necklace, and if I don’t bring one back, then the chief will kill me.’ 28 ‘Be quiet! I will marry you, take me and the necklaces also!’ [the woman said]. 29 ‘Okay’ he said, and he took the woman and also bringing the necklaces, put them in his house. 30 The following day he went to the chief’s house and gave him the necklaces.

syaŋ jekha mi-ko nem-te ya-Ø-ta-le laŋi
 period big person-GEN house-LOC go-SAS-IPP-PCL necklace
piy-Ø-u-no. 31 libi to-ko uma ni-to-le, ama
 give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after that-GEN wife see-TPP-PCL mother
kaṭah-Ø-an 'ka camăica hara-kăi kyel-u-na-n? nan sakalei-ye ni-kăi
 scold-SAS-3S/PT this woman what-PM bring-3P-2s-PT now all-ERG we-PM
chichidurdur lony-eŋ-du.' 32 'ka-kăi nem-yiŋ ci-let-o!',
 hate do-PAS-NPT this-PM house-ABL CAUS-appear-s→3/IMP
to-ye ma-ci-let-tiniŋ nah-Ø-u-no. 33 libi ka wakhe jekha
 that-ERG NEG-CAUS-appear-PFG put-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after this word big
mi-ye săiy-Ø-u-no, camăica apraca hok-Ø-du ŋa-to-le.
 person-ERG know-SAS-3P-3→3/PT woman good be-SAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL
 34 *nan jekha mi-ye nis-ka mi yo-sa-kăi*
 now big person-ERG two-HNC person look.at-INF-PM
ṭhoh-Ø-u-no, camăica apraca niy-eŋ-no. 35 ka wakhe jekha
 send-SAS-3P-3→3/PT woman good see-PAS-3→3/PT this word big
mi-kăi ŋay-eŋ-no, 'nan ka camăica kunyaŋ găi-go uma loŋ-sa?'
 person-PM say-PAS-3→3/PT now this woman how I-GEN wife do-INF
 36 *'gonṭhe-kăi nan du-ko nunu nat-sa ṭho-ko măiy-Ø-an,*
 round.face-PM now tiger-GEN milk milk-INF send-ADH must-SAS-3S/PT
tyaŋ du-ye cyah-Ø-u-du, ŋaŋ si-Ø-du, to-ko uma găi-go
 then tiger-ERG eat-SAS-3P-NPT and die-SAS-NPT that-GEN wife I-GEN
tha-Ø-du' ŋah-Ø-u-no. 37 to-kăi urou-to-le ŋah-Ø-u-no
 be-SAS-NPT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-PM call-TPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

31 Later, when his mother saw his wife, she scolded him 'why have you brought this woman here? Now everyone will hate us.' 32 'Take this thing out of the house!' [she said], but he didn't get rid of her, and just left her at home. 33 Later the chief came to know of this and also heard that that woman was beautiful. 34 Now the chief sent two people to go and have a look, and they saw that the woman was beautiful. 35 They told the chief what they had seen, [and he thought] 'now how can I make this woman my wife?' 36 'I must send Round Face off to milk a tiger, then the tiger will eat him up and he will die, and then his wife will be mine', he thought. 37 So he called him over and said 'go milk a tiger and bring back the milk!'

'nan nany-e du-ko nunu nat-to-le rah-o!' 38 *cahuca*
 now you-ERG tiger-GEN milk milk-TPP-PCL bring-s→3/IMP man
ariy-Ø-an, thombe thah-Ø-an. 39 *'nan kunyay du-ko nunu*
 be.afraid-sAS-3S/PT surprise be-sAS-3S/PT now how tiger-GEN milk
ra-sa?' *ṇa-to-le uma-kăi ṇah-Ø-u-no, uma-ye ṇah-Ø-u-no*
 bring-INF say-TPP-PCL wife-PM say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT wife-ERG say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT
'naṇ sumaka hok-a, gă-ye loṇ-u-n-du.' 40 *uma-ye*
 you silent be-s/IMP I-ERG do-3P-1s→3-NPT wife-ERG
ṇah-Ø-u-no 'găi-go di-ka humi hok-Ø-du, to ka-yiṇ
 say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT I-GEN one-HNC younger.sister be-sAS-NPT that this-ABL
ălăṃtha hok-Ø-du, to du-ko jet loṇ-Ø-u-du.' 41 *'to-kăi*
 distant be-sAS-NPT that tiger-GEN work do-sAS-3P-NPT that-PM
khalam-to-le ka miṇ piy-o, to-ye 'ka miṇ găi-go
 meet-TPP-PCL this cloth give-s→3/IMP that-ERG this cloth I-GEN
tete-ko' ṇa-to-le ṇosăiy-Ø-u-du.' 42 *'naṇ*
 elder.sister-GEN say-TPP-PCL recognise-sAS-3P-NPT you
laca pole-te lun-ta-na-le hok-a, to-ko
 Indian.rhododendron trunk-LOC climb-IPP-2s-PCL be-s/IMP that-GEN
pole-te humi du nama ra-Ø-du, to-kăi
 trunk-LOC younger.sister tiger with come.from.level-sAS-NPT that-PM
amat-to-le rah-o.' 43 *to cawah-Ø-an, ya-ya woi di-gore*
 beg-TPP-PCL bring-s→3/IMP that walk-sAS-3S/PT go-go also one-CLF
laca pole ya-let-Ø-an, uma-ye ṇah-Ø-u-du
 Indian.rhododendron trunk go-appear-sAS-3S/PT wife-ERG say-sAS-3P-NPT

38 The man was afraid and very surprised. 39 'Now how will I bring tiger milk?' he said to his wife, and his wife replied 'you stay here and be quiet, I'll tell you how.' 40 The wife said 'I have a younger sister who lives a long way from here, but she raises tigers.' 41 'When you meet her give her this cloth and she will recognise the cloth as belonging to her elder sister.' 42 'Climb up the trunk of the Indian rhododendron tree and stay there, younger sister will come with a tiger to the base of the tree, and then ask for it [some milk], and bring it back.' 43 So he set off, and after walking and walking he came to an Indian rhododendron tree and did exactly as his wife had told him to.

uniŋ loŋ-Ø-u-no. 44 *pole cyuri lun-Ø-ta-le hok-Ø-an, di*
 like do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT trunk top climb-SAS-IPP-PCL be-SAS-3S/PT one
chin libi du cyuri lun-Ø-ta-le apraca camăica
 moment after tiger top climb-SAS-IPP-PCL good woman
rah-Ø-an, ra-Ø-ta-le pole-te
 come.from.level-SAS-3S/PT come.from.level-SAS-IPP-PCL trunk-LOC
hok-Ø-an. 45 *to-ye woi uma-ye piy-Ø-u-du miŋ camăica-ko*
 be-SAS-3S/PT that-ERG also wife-ERG give-SAS-3P-NPT cloth woman-GEN
aŋkhe-te ci-ros-Ø-u-no. 46 *camăica thombe tha-Ø-ta-le*
 lap-LOC CAUS-fall-SAS-3P-3→3/PT woman surprise be-SAS-IPP-PCL
arŋik-Ø-an ‘ka miŋ su-ye kyeŋ-Ø-u-no, găi-go
 cry.out-SAS-3S/PT this cloth who-ERG bring-SAS-3P-3→3/PT I-GEN
tete-ko miŋ, let-a! naŋ-kăi gă-ye hara pi-sa? ŋa-ŋa!’
 elder.sister-GEN cloth appear-S/IMP you-PM I-ERG what give say-S→1S/IMP
 47 *libi to mi yu-Ø-ta-le ‘gă-ye rah-u-n-du*
 after that person come.from.above-SAS-IPP-PCL I-ERG bring-3P-1S→3-NPT
ka miŋ, naŋ-ko tete-ye thoh-Ø-u-du.’ 48 *‘tyaŋ naŋ-kăi hara*
 this cloth you-GEN elder.sister-ERG send-SAS-3P-NPT then you-PM what
pi-sa?’ to-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘găi-găi du-ko nunu pi-ŋa!’
 give-INF that-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT I-PM tiger-GEN milk give-S→1S/IMP
 49 *‘găi-go du ŋaŋ găi-găi hen-aŋ, ja-Ø-du?’* 50 *to-ye*
 I-GEN tiger and I-PM take-S→1S/IMP okay-SAS-NPT that-ERG
woi ‘ja-Ø-du’ ŋa-to-le, du camăica nem-te
 also okay-SAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL tiger woman house-LOC

44 He climbed to the top of the tree and sat there, a moment later a pretty woman riding on a tiger came and, having come, sat at the base of the tree. 45 Then on purpose he dropped the cloth that his wife had given him into her lap. 46 The woman was shocked and cried out ‘who brought this cloth belonging to my sister? [Whoever you are] come out! What must I give you? Tell me!’ 47 Then the man came down [and said] ‘I have brought this cloth that your elder sister sent.’ 48 ‘Now what shall I give you?’ [she said], he said ‘give me some tiger’s milk!’ 49 ‘How about taking me and my tiger?’ 50 Then he said ‘okay’, and he took the woman and the tiger home.

kyel-Ø-u-no. 51 *nan to-ko nis-ka apraca uma thay-eŋ-an.*
 bring-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now that-GEN two-HNC good wife be-pAS-3S/PT
 52 *baŋthe syaŋ aŋaŋ tha-Ø-du beryaŋ nis-ka mi to-ko*
 tomorrow period light be-SAS-NPT that.time two-HNC person that-GEN
nem-te jekha mi-ye ʔhoh-Ø-u-no, to-bany-e
 house-LOC big person-ERG send-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-Pp-ERG
yoy-eŋ-no, nis-ka apraca uma, di-gore du niy-eŋ-no.
 look.at-pAS-3→3/PT two-HNC good wife one-CLF tiger see-pAS-3→3/PT
 53 *libi libi, to-ye nunu ma-tha, du hen-to-le yah-Ø-an,*
 after after that-ERG milk NEG-be tiger take-TPP-PCL go-SAS-3S/PT
jekha mi thombe thah-Ø-an 'naleŋ woi ka-kăi sat-sa
 big person surprise be-SAS-3S/PT present also this-PM kill-INF
ma-thaŋ-wa-n.' 54 *jekha mi-ye gonŋthe-ko uma hen-sa*
 NEG-be.able-1p→23-PT big person-ERG round.face-GEN wife take-INF
ma-thaŋ-Ø-u-no, nan begale wakhe loŋ-Ø-u-no. 55 *'nan*
 NEG-be.able-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now other word do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now
ka nem-te jekha me mut-ko măiy-Ø-an, to-kăi woi urou-ko
 this house-LOC big fire blow-ADH must-SAS-3S/PT that-PM also call-ADH
măiy-Ø-an, tyaŋ ra-Ø-du, me-ko bhutbhute-ŋaŋ
 must-SAS-3S/PT then come.from.level-SAS-NPT fire-GEN white.hot.fire-inside
jun-ko măiy-Ø-an, tyaŋ libi si-Ø-du.' 56 *'to-ko uma-pali,*
 chase-ADH must-SAS-3S/PT then after die-SAS-NPT that-GEN wife-p
găi-go uma thay-eŋ-du' ŋa-to-le, jet loŋ-sa mi nama
 I-GEN wife be-pAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL work do-INF person with

51 Now he had two beautiful wives. 52 The following day, when it was light, the chief sent out two men to his house to have a look [around], and they saw two beautiful wives and a tiger. 53 Some time later he took the tiger, not the milk, to the important person who was shocked, 'even now we haven't been able to kill him' [he thought]. 54 The chief hadn't been able to take Round Face's wife, so now he hatched another plan. 55 'Now we must make a big fire and then call him, and he will come, then we must chase him into the centre of the white hot fire and then he will die' [he said]. 56 'His wives will be mine' he said to his assistants.

ŋah-Ø-u-no. 57 *me mut-eŋ-to-le gonthe-kăi*
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT fire blow-PAS-TPP-PCL round.face-PM
ciy-aghyow-Ø-u-no, uma-pali-ye thaha săiy-eŋ-no 'nan
 CAUS-call-SAS-3P-3→3/PT wife-p-ERG knowledge know-PAS-3→3/PT now
ka-kăi sat-Ø-u-du, tyaŋ ni-kăi hen-to-le uma loŋ-Ø-u-du.'
 this-PM kill-SAS-3P-NPT then we-PM take-TPP-PCL wife do-SAS-3P-NPT
 58 *di-ka uma-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no 'ka di-gore laŋi*
 one-HNC wife-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT this one-CLF necklace
hen-o, hara woi thah-Ø-an-be, ka laŋi khyak-se'
 take-s→3/IMP what also be-SAS-3S/PT-TOP this necklace tie.on-s/REF/IMP
tyaŋ gonthe cawah-Ø-an. 59 *jekha mi-ko nem-te ya-ŋa*
 then round.face walk-SAS-3S/PT big person-GEN house-LOC go-CNS
libi, to-kăi bhutbhute-ŋaŋ jun-Ø-u-no. 60 *to woi*
 after that-PM white.hot.fire-inside chase-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that also
uma-ye piy-Ø-u-du laŋi khyak-siy-Ø-an, tyaŋ
 wife-ERG give-SAS-3P-NPT necklace tie.on-REF-SAS-3S/PT then
amu tha-Ø-ta-le per-Ø-an. 61 *oste-ko nem-te*
 crested.serpent.eagle be-SAS-IPP-PCL fly-SAS-3S/PT self-GEN house-LOC
ya-let-Ø-an, uma-pali-kăi ŋah-Ø-u-no. 62 *di-ka uma-ye*
 go-appear-SAS-3S/PT wife-p-PM say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT one-HNC wife-ERG
ŋah-Ø-u-no 'nan ni woi to-ko nem-te hen-ko, ŋaŋ 'lawa
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now we also that-GEN house-LOC go-ADH and husband
siy-Ø-an' ŋa-to-le kerep-ko', to-baŋ kerep-sa caway-eŋ-an.
 die-SAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL cry-ADH that-Pp cry-INF walk-PAS-3S/PT

57 They stoked the fire and sent someone to call Round Face, but his wives understood what was going on [and thought] 'now they'll kill him, and then he'll take us and make us be his wives.' 58 One of the wives said 'take this one necklace, and should anything happen [to you], then wear it', and with that Round Face walked away. 59 Having gone to the chief's house, he was chased into the centre of the white hot fire. 60 Putting on the necklace his wife had given him, he turned into a crested serpent eagle and flew [away]. 61 He got back to his own house and told his wives [what had happened]. 62 One wife said 'now the two of us should go to his house saying 'our husband is dead' and then cry', and they went off crying.

- 63 *'ni-ko lawa siy-Ø-an, nan hara loŋ-sa, kuta hen-sa?'*
 we-GEN husband die-SAS-3S/PT now what do-INF where go-INF
ŋa-to-le kerep-eŋ-an, jekha mi-guri taŋ-Ø-an. 64 *'nan*
 say-TPP-PCL cry-pAS-3S/PT big person-IND be.happy-SAS-3S/PT now
găi-go uma tha-ni-du' ŋa-to-le. 65 *libi gonthe*
 I-GEN wife be-2p-NPT say-TPP-PCL after round.face
amu tha-Ø-ta-le yah-Ø-an, jekha mi hok-Ø-du
 crested.serpent.eagle be-SAS-IPP-PCL go-SAS-3S/PT big person be-SAS-NPT
thăi-te hok-Ø-an ŋaŋ arŋik-Ø-an. 66 *habi to jekha mi*
 place-LOC be-SAS-3S/PT and cry.out-SAS-3S/PT before that big person
nama ban woi chyu-si-le hok-Ø-thyo. 67 *phasa uniŋ*
 with blood.brother also tie-REF-PCL be-SAS-3SCOND wind like
tha-Ø-ta-le cijyaŋ-Ø-an 'ban, găi-găi bhutbhute-ŋaŋ
 be-SAS-IPP-PCL speak-SAS-3S/PT blood.brother I-PM white.hot.fire-inside
jun-u-na-thyo, găi-be naŋ-ko apa nama ya-let-ŋa-n.'
 chase-3P-2s-3SCOND I-TOP you-GEN father with go-appear-1s-PT
 68 *'apraca thăi hok-Ø-du, naŋ woi apa khalam-sa ya-Ø, găi-găi*
 good place be-SAS-NPT you also father meet-INF go-s/IMP I-PM
naŋ-kăi ra-sa-kăi tho-Ø-ŋa-n, kutaleŋ ya-na-du?' 69 *jekha mi*
 you-PM bring-INF-PM send-SAS-1s-PT when go-2s-NPT big person
woi gonthe uniŋ me-ŋaŋ biy-Ø-an, tyaŋ to siy-Ø-an.
 also round.face like fire-inside enter-SAS-3S/PT then that die-SAS-3S/PT
 70 *libi gonthe, to-ko uma-pali, to hok-Ø-du thăi-te*
 after round.face that-GEN wife-p that be-SAS-NPT place-LOC

63 'Our husband has died, now what will we do and where will we go?' they cried, and the chief was happy. 64 'Now you will be my wives', he said. 65 Then Round Face, having become a crested serpent eagle, flew back, and came to where the chief was, sat down and cried out. 66 Some time before he had even become a ritual blood brother with that chief. 67 And he spoke as if he had become the wind, 'blood brother, you chased me into the white hot fire and now I have gone to join your father [i.e. in heaven].' 68 'It's a nice place [up there], you must go and meet your father, he sent me to bring you [back], when will you go?' 69 The chief also entered the fire the way that Round Face had, and then he died. 70 And from

hok-eη-an.

be-pAS-3S/PT

then on, Round Face and his wives lived in that place.

BLACKIE

- 1 *di-ka kiji name tha-Ø-du camăica hok-Ø-thyo.*
one-HNC blackie name be-SAS-NPT woman be-SAS-3SCOND
- 2 *to-ko ama si-ŋa libi, apa-ye begale uma*
that-GEN mother die-CNS after father-ERG other wife
- rah-Ø-u-no.* 3 *libi kiji-kăi begale ama-ye loŋ-Ø-u-du*
bring-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after blackie-PM other mother-ERG do-SAS-3P-NPT
- beryaŋ, ahe jet thah-Ø-an.* 4 *jet-guri mesek nih-Ø-u-du*
that.time much work be-SAS-3S/PT work-IND eye see-SAS-3P-NPT
- sakalei loŋ-ko măiy-Ø-an.* 5 *apa-ye woi uma-ko wakhe*
all do-ADH must-SAS-3S/PT father-ERG also wife-GEN word
- nasăi-to-le ja-Ø-du ma-ja-Ø-du kiji-kăi kaŋah-Ø-an.*
hear-TPP-PCL okay-SAS-NPT NEG-okay-SAS-NPT blackie-PM scold-SAS-3S/PT
- 6 *uma rah-Ø-u-du-yiŋ, apa woi begale uma uniŋ thah-Ø-an.*
wife bring-SAS-3P-NPT-ABL father also other wife like be-SAS-3S/PT
- 7 *kiji-kăi nan oste-ko su woi ma-hok-Ø-du uniŋ thah-Ø-an.*
blackie-PM now self-GEN who also NEG-be-SAS-NPT like be-SAS-3S/PT
- 8 *kiji nasa-ye tel-to-le nah-Ø-u-du uniŋ tha-Ø-ta-le*
black mud-INS squeeze-TPP-PCL put-SAS-3P-NPT like be-SAS-IPP-PCL
- hok-Ø-an.* 9 *libi begale ama di-ka camăi nik-Ø-an.*
be-SAS-3S/PT after other mother one-HNC daughter give.birth-SAS-3S/PT
- 10 *libi humi woi jekha thah-Ø-an, kiji-kăi-guri isa-ko*
after younger.sister also big be-SAS-3S/PT blackie-PM-IND food-GEN

1 There once lived a woman by the name of Blackie. 2 After her mother had died, her father brought another wife. 3 On account of this other mother Blackie had a great deal of work to do. 4 She had to do every job which the eye sees. 5 Father listened to his wife, and for better or for worse, scolded Blackie. 6 Since father had brought this wife, he too had become just like her [i.e. mean]. 7 Now Blackie felt like she had no family left at all. 8 She lived feeling as if she was squished by black mud. 9 Later her step-mother gave birth to a daughter. 10 As her younger sister grew up, Blackie was given only the crusts of the food to eat.

gogok piy-Ø-u-thyo. 11 *oste-ko camăi-kăi-guri, nunu, asare*
 crust give-SAS-3P-3SCOND self-GEN daughter-PM-IND milk tasty
ni-Ø-du yah-Ø-u-thyo. 12 *ka tha-Ø-du-guri, kiji-ko*
 appear-SAS-NPT feed-SAS-3P-3SCOND this be-SAS-NPT-IND blackie-GEN
di-gore tuṇi hok-Ø-thyo, to-ye-guri yo-le nah-Ø-u-thyo.
 one-CLF goat be-SAS-3SCOND that-ERG-IND look.at-PCL put-SAS-3P-3SCOND
 13 *to tuṇi tha-le woi, kiji-ye hara loṇ-Ø-u-du, sakalei*
 that goat be-PCL also blackie-ERG what do-SAS-3P-NPT all
săiy-Ø-u-thyo. 14 *tuṇi oste ja-si-Ø-du thăi-te*
 know-SAS-3P-3SCOND goat self graze-REF-SAS-NPT place-LOC
ya-let-Ø-ta-le, kiji-kăi isa okyok-yiṇ kăi-to-le
 go-appear-SAS-IPP-PCL blackie-PM food throat-ABL remove-TPP-PCL
piy-Ø-u-thyo. 15 *di uni humi woi tuṇi ja-sa*
 give-SAS-3P-3SCOND one day younger.sister also goat graze-INF
tete nama yah-Ø-an. 16 *pebu-te ya-let-Ø-du*
 elder.sister with go-SAS-3S/PT irrigated.field-LOC go-appear-SAS-NPT
beryaṇ, tuṇi-ye okyok-yiṇ isa kăi-to-le piy-Ø-u-no, ka
 that.time goat-ERG throat-ABL food remove-TPP-PCL give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT this
humi-ye ni-to-le ‘tete, găi-găi woi pi-ṇa!’
 younger.sister-ERG see-TPP-PCL elder.sister I-PM also give-s→1s/IMP
ṇah-Ø-u-no. 17 *‘găi hara woi ma-cya-ta-ṇa-ki, pebu-te*
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT I what also NEG-eat-IPP-1s-NPS irrigated.field-LOC
khalam-u-n-du di-gore racya cya-ṇa-du’ kiji-ye
 meet-3P-1s→3-NPT one-CLF unhusked.rice eat-1s-NPT blackie-ERG

11 She [the mother] fed her own daughter milk and other tasty things. 12 At this time, Blackie had a goat who was watching what was happening. 13 Even though it was a goat, it understood everything that Blackie did. 14 Having arrived at the place where it grazed, the goat would remove food from its throat, and would give it to Blackie. 15 One day, younger sister went along with her elder sister to graze the goat. 16 When they arrived at the irrigated field, the goat removed some food from its throat and gave it [to Blackie], and seeing this, the younger sister said ‘elder sister, give me some too!’ 17 ‘My not having eaten anything at all, I came across one grain of rice in the field which I will eat’, Blackie said.

- ŋah-Ø-u-no.* 18 *'nany-e oste-ko ama-kăi ma-ŋah-o, gǎ-ye*
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT you-ERG self-GEN mother-PM NEG-say-s→3/IMP I-ERG
pi-na-ŋa-du' ŋah-Ø-u-no. 19 *'gǎ-ye su-kăi woi ma-ŋa, nan*
 give-2s-1s-NPT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT I-ERG who-PM also NEG-say now
găi-găi pi-ŋa!', *to-ye piy-Ø-u-no.* 20 *oste-ko*
 I-PM give-s→1s/IMP that-ERG give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT self-GEN
camăi-kăi-guri asare ni-Ø-du cya-sa piy-Ø-u-thyo,
 daughter-PM-IND tasty appear-SAS-NPT eat-INF give-SAS-3P-3SCOND
kiji-kăi-guri ma-yah-Ø-u-thyo. 21 *libi tete-ye*
 blackie-PM-IND NEG-feed-SAS-3P-3SCOND after elder.sister-ERG
piy-Ø-u-du isa pin-ŋaŋ na-to-le ama-kăi cikhet-sa
 give-SAS-3P-NPT food fingernail-inside put-TPP-PCL mother-PM show-INF
nem-te hen-Ø-u-no. 22 *nem-te hen-to-le, sakalei wakhe*
 house-LOC take-SAS-3P-3→3/PT house-LOC take-TPP-PCL all word
to-ko ama-kăi ŋah-Ø-u-no. 23 *ka nasăi-to-le, ama-kăi*
 that-GEN mother-PM say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT this hear-TPP-PCL mother-PM
tuŋi nama aŋthe rage let-Ø-an. 24 *nyoŋi apa-kăi woi*
 goat with very anger appear-SAS-3S/PT evening father-PM also
ci-săiy-Ø-u-no, *to woi rage thah-Ø-an.* 25 *tyaŋ apa-ye*
 CAUS-hear-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that also anger be-SAS-3S/PT then father-ERG
ŋah-Ø-u-no 'nan baŋthe ka tuŋi sat-ko măiy-Ø-an.'
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now tomorrow this goat kill-ADH must-SAS-3S/PT
 26 *ka wakhe tuŋi-ye nasăiy-Ø-u-no, tyaŋ to-ye kiji-kăi*
 this word goat-ERG hear-SAS-3→3/PT then that-ERG blackie-PM

18 'I'll give you some, but don't tell your mother', she [Blackie] said. 19 'I won't tell anyone, now give it to me!' and [so] she gave it to her. 20 She [mother] would give her own daughter tasty things to eat, but would not feed Blackie. 21 Then she placed the food that her elder sister had given her on her fingernail and took it back home to show her mother. 22 Having taken it home, she told her mother everything that had happened. 23 When she heard this, the mother became very angry with the goat. 24 In the evening, she also told her father, and he too was angry. 25 Then father said 'now tomorrow this goat must be killed.' 26 The goat [over]heard this discussion and then called Blackie over and told her.

- urou-to-le* *ηah-Ø-u-no.* 27 *'nan baṭhe apa-ye gǎi-gǎi*
 call-TPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now tomorrow father-ERG I-PM
sat-Ø-ηa-du, gǎi-gǎi sat-ηa libi, naṭ ma-kerep-e,
 kill-SAS-1s-NPT I-PM kill-CNS after you NEG-cry-s/NEG/IMP
ma-cijyany-e', tuṇi-ye ηah-Ø-u-no. 28 *'gǎ-ye naṭ-kǎi*
 NEG-speak-s/NEG/IMP goat-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT I-ERG you-PM
di-gore wakhe ηa-na-ηa-du, nasǎiy-o!' 29 *'baṭhe naṭ-kǎi*
 one-CLF word say-2s-1s-NPT hear-s→3/IMP tomorrow you-PM
apa-ye isa cya-sa-kǎi urouh-Ø-u-du, naṭ-guri 'kapu kalǎi-le
 father-ERG food eat-INF-PM call-SAS-3P-NPT you-IND head hurt-PCL
hok-ηa-du, ma-cya' ηah-o!' 30 *'libi kosa ci-sa*
 be-1s-NPT NEG-eat say-s→3/IMP after bone throw.away-INF
urouy-eṇ-du, tyāṇ hen-sa, to kosa ṭhum-sa, ṭhum-si-Ø-du ṭhǎi-yiṇ
 call-pAS-NPT then go-INF that bone bury-INF bury-REF-SAS-NPT place-ABL
maṇǎi-ko pole bo-Ø-du.' 31 *to tuṇi sat-sa wakhe nasǎi-to-le,*
 bread-GEN tree sprout-SAS-NPT that goat kill-INF word hear-TPP-PCL
kiji kerep-Ø-an. 32 *baṭhe syāṇ tuṇi pal-eṇ-no, cici*
 blackie cry-SAS-3S/PT tomorrow period goat chop-pAS-3→3/PT meat
uman-to-le cey-eṇ-an. 33 *libi kiji-kǎi woi cya-sa-kǎi*
 cook-TPP-PCL eat-pAS-3S/PT after blackie-PM also eat-INF-PM
urouy-eṇ-no, to-guri 'kapu kalǎi-Ø-du' ηa-to-le ma-yah-Ø-an.
 call-pAS-3→3/PT that-IND head hurt-SAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL NEG-go-SAS-3S/PT
 34 *'kosa-guri ci-sa-kǎi ra-Ø' 'ja-Ø-du'*
 bone-IND throw.away-INF-PM come.from.level-s/IMP okay-SAS-NPT

27 'Now tomorrow father will kill me, once he has killed me, don't you cry, and don't say a thing', the goat said. 28 'Now I'm going to tell you something, so listen carefully!' 29 'Tomorrow your father will call you to come and eat and you must say 'I have a headache, I won't eat.' 30 'Then they will call you to come and throw away the bones, then go and bury the bones, and from the place that they are buried, a bread-tree will sprout.' 31 When she heard all this talk about the goat being killed, Blackie cried. 32 The following day they slaughtered the goat, cooked up the meat and ate it. 33 Later they also called Blackie to come and eat, but she said 'I have a headache' and she didn't go. 34 'Come and throw the bones away!' [they called], 'okay' [she replied], and went off to remove the bones.

ŋa-to-le, kosa ya-kăiy-Ø-u-no. 35 *kosa ra-to-le*
 say-TPP-PCL bone go-remove-SAS-3P-3→3/PT bone bring-TPP-PCL
ʔuŋi-ye ŋah-Ø-u-du uniŋ ʔhum-Ø-u-no. 36 *baʔhe syaŋ*
 goat-ERG say-SAS-3P-NPT like bury-SAS-3P-3→3/PT tomorrow period
yoh-Ø-u-du beryaŋ, to-te maŋăi-ko pole cyuri-te maŋăi
 look.at-SAS-3P-NPT that.time that-LOC bread-GEN tree top-LOC bread
sek-Ø-du nih-Ø-u-no, libi to maŋăi cya-le kiji
 bloom-SAS-NPT see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after that bread eat-PCL blackie
hok-Ø-an. 37 *to beryaŋ di-ka mosani kyel-Ø-ta-le*
 be-SAS-3S/PT that that.time one-HNC spirit come-SAS-IPP-PCL
‘humi, di-gore maŋăi găi-găi pi-ŋa’ ŋah-Ø-u-no.
 younger.sister one-CLF bread I-PM give-s→1s/IMP say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
 38 *kiji-ye di-gore maŋăi ci-ros-Ø-u-no.* 39 *mosani-ye*
 blackie-ERG one-CLF bread CAUS-fall-SAS-3P-3→3/PT spirit-ERG
ahe amat-Ø-u-no, kiji-ye woi ci-ros-Ø-u-no, libi
 much beg-SAS-3P-3→3/PT blackie-ERG also CAUS-fall-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after
mosani-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no: 40 *‘humi, naŋ-ko maŋăi sakalei usi*
 spirit-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT younger.sister you-GEN bread all piss
kiŋi-te ros-Ø-an.’ 41 *‘naŋ nhate yu-ta-na-le, maŋăi*
 shit-LOC fall-SAS-3S/PT you down come.from.above-IPP-2s-PCL bread
pi-ŋa!’ ŋah-Ø-u-no. 42 *to woi nhate*
 give-s→1s/IMP say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that also down
yu-Ø-ta-le maŋăi piy-Ø-u-no. 43 *libi to*
 come.from.above-SAS-IPP-PCL bread give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after that

35 Having brought the bones, she buried them as the goat had said. 36 The following day, when she went to look, she saw that at the top of the bread tree a bread had blossomed, and then Blackie sat there eating the bread. 37 At that time, a spirit came by and said ‘younger sister, give me a bread!’ 38 So Blackie made one bread fall [from the tree]. 39 The spirit asked for a lot [of bread], and Blackie made them fall, then the spirit said: 40 ‘Younger sister, all your bread has fallen into piss and shit.’ 41 ‘You come down [from up there on the tree], and give me some bread!’, he said. 42 So she came down and gave him some bread. 43 Later, carrying that Blackie, the spirit took her to his house.

kiji-kăi cabu-to-le, mosani-ko nem-te hen-Ø-u-no.
 blackie-PM carry-TPP-PCL spirit-GEN house-LOC take-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
 44 *mosani-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘humi, nany-e maŋăi jyoh-o,*
 spirit-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT younger.sister you-ERG bread burn-s→3/IMP
ni uli-si-ta-i-le kyel-i-du’, jet ci-loŋ-to-le oste-guri
 we wash-REF-IPP-1pPS-PCL come-1pPS-NPT work CAUS-do-TPP-PCL self-IND
ăikuca hul-sa ya-kăiy-eŋ-no. 45 nem-te kiji-ye
 large.knife sharpen-INF go-remove-pAS-3→3/PT house-LOC blackie-ERG
maŋăi jyoh-Ø-u-no. 46 to beryaŋ doron-yiŋ di-gore uyu
 bread burn-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that that.time hole-ABL one-CLF mouse
let-Ø-ta-le aghyow-Ø-an ‘tete, naŋ ka-te
 appear-SAS-IPP-PCL cry.out-SAS-3S/PT elder.sister you this-LOC
ma-hok-e, naŋ-kăi sat-eŋ-na-du.’ 47 uyu-kăi di-gore maŋăi
 NEG-be-s/NEG/IMP you-PM kill-pAS-2s-NPT mouse-PM one-CLF bread
piy-Ø-u-no, uyu doron-ŋaŋ maŋăi hen-to-le biy-Ø-an.
 give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT mouse hole-inside bread take-TPP-PCL enter-SAS-3S/PT
 48 *mosani ăikuca kyel-to-le khaŋou-yiŋ urouh-Ø-u-no,*
 spirit large.knife bring-TPP-PCL door-ABL call-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
ma-cijyaŋ-Ø-an. 49 kiji-ye ustok-Ø-u-du, ustok cijyaŋ-Ø-an.
 NEG-speak-SAS-3S/PT blackie-ERG spit-SAS-3P-NPT spit speak-SAS-3S/PT
 50 *su woi khaŋou ɬaŋ-sa ma-kyel-Ø-an, mosani rage-ye*
 who also door open-INF NEG-come-SAS-3S/PT spirit anger-INS
khaŋou ɬhem-to-le biy-Ø-an. 51 yoh-Ø-u-no, su woi
 door break-TPP-PCL enter-SAS-3S/PT look.at-SAS-3P-3→3/PT who also

44 The spirit said ‘younger sister, you bake the bread and we’ll come once we have had a wash’, and setting her to work in this way, they themselves went off to go and sharpen their large knives. 45 Blackie baked the breads in the house. 46 At that time, a mouse came out of a hole and squeaked ‘elder sister, don’t stay in this place, they are going to kill you.’ 47 She gave the mouse one piece of bread and the mouse, taking the bread, went back into his hole. 48 The spirit, bringing the large knife, called to her from the door [of the house] but she didn’t reply. 49 Blackie spat, and her spit spoke. 50 No one came to open the door, and the spirit, breaking down the door in fury, entered. 51 He looked around but saw no one, he searched everywhere, but Blackie wasn’t there.

ma-nih-Ø-u-no, sakalei thăi daŋ-Ø-u-no, kiji ma-hok.
 NEG-see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT all place search-SAS-3P-3→3/PT blackie NEG-be
 52 *kiji demca cabu-to-le oste-ko nem-te ya-let-Ø-an,*
 blackie load carry-TPP-PCL self-GEN house-LOC go-appear-SAS-3S/PT
ya-let-Ø-ta-le ama apa-kăi urouh-Ø-u-no, to-baŋ
 go-appear-SAS-IPP-PCL mother father-PM call-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-Pp
ma-cijyany-eŋ-an. 53 libi to-ye 'găi-găi ahe thah-Ø-an'
 NEG-speak-pAS-3S/PT after that-ERG I-PM much be-SAS-3S/PT
ŋa-to-le aŋik-Ø-du beryaŋ serek-eŋ-an. 54 'camăi-ye hara
 say-TPP-PCL shout-SAS-NPT that.time arise-pAS-3S/PT daughter-ERG what
ra-to-le ra?' ŋa-to-le khaŋou ŋany-eŋ-no. 55 apa-ye
 bring-TPP-PCL or say-TPP-PCL door open-pAS-3→3/PT father-ERG
to-kăi khate-te hen-Ø-u-no, libi kiji-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no
 that-PM roof-LOC take-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after blackie-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
'apa, menca phah-o!' 56 *apa-ye menca*
 father cloth.bag hold.out.hand.to.receive-s→3/IMP father-ERG cloth.bag
phah-Ø-u-no, libi camăi-ye di menca
 hold.out.hand.to.receive-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after daughter-ERG one cloth.bag
pepelek pi-to-le nih-Ø-u-no. 57 ka niy-eŋ-to-le apa
 money give-TPP-PCL see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT this see-pAS-TPP-PCL father
ama nui-ca nui-ca ŋay-eŋ-no 'camăi, ka kuta-yiŋ
 mother laugh-PSG laugh-PSG say-pAS-3→3/PT daughter this where-ABL
kyel-u-na-n?' 58 'kuta khalam-u-na-n? kuta-yiŋ kyel-u-na-n?'
 bring-3P-2s-PT where meet-3P-2s-PT where-ABL bring-3P-2s-PT

52 Blackie arrived at her own house carrying a load, and having arrived she called her mother and father, but they didn't reply. 53 When she cried out 'this is too heavy for me' they [the parents] finally got up. 54 'What is it that our daughter has brought?' they said, as they opened the door. 55 The father took her up to the roof, and then Blackie said 'father, please take the cloth bag from me!' 56 Father held out his hand to receive the bag, and then saw that she had given him a bag full of money. 57 When the father and mother saw this, they said, laughing and smiling 'daughter, whence did you bring this?' 58 'Where did you find it? Whence did you bring it?'

- 59 *to-ye woi ʔuŋi-ko kosa ʔhum-Ø-u-du-yiŋ, sakalei wakhe*
 that-ERG also goat-GEN bone bury-SAS-3P-NPT-ABL all word
ci-nasăiy-Ø-u-no. 60 *libi uyu-ko-guri wakhe ŋa-sa*
 CAUS-hear-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after mouse-GEN-IND word say-INF
ma-săi-to-le. 61 *ka wakhe nasăi-to-le, ama taŋ-Ø-an.*
 NEG-know-TPP-PCL this word hear-TPP-PCL mother be.happy-SAS-3S/PT
 62 *libi oste-ko camăi-kăi woi to-te ʔho-sa daŋ-Ø-u-no.*
 after self-GEN daughter-PM also that-LOC send-INF search-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
 63 *‘nan găi-go camăi-kăi woi to-te ʔho-ko măiy-Ø-an’*
 now I-GEN daughter-PM also that-LOC send-ADH must-SAS-3S/PT
ŋah-Ø-u-no. 64 *baʔhe syaŋ oste-ko camăi-kăi pole-te*
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT tomorrow period self-GEN daughter-PM tree-LOC
ci-lun-to-le nah-Ø-u-no. 65 *mosani kyel-Ø-ta-le pole*
 CAUS-climb-TPP-PCL put-SAS-3P-3→3/PT spirit come-SAS-IPP-PCL tree
nama hen-Ø-u-no. 66 *libi to-kăi woi maŋăi jyou-sa jet*
 with take-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after that-PM also bread burn-INF work
ci-loŋ-Ø-u-no. 67 *libi oste-guri ăikuca hul-sa*
 CAUS-do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after self-IND large.knife sharpen-INF
yah-Ø-an. 68 *maŋăi jyou-to-le nah-Ø-u-no, di-gore uyu*
 go-SAS-3S/PT bread burn-TPP-PCL put-SAS-3P-3→3/PT one-CLF mouse
let-Ø-ta-le aghyow-Ø-an ‘tete, naŋ-ko di-gore maŋăi
 appear-SAS-IPP-PCL cry.out-SAS-3S/PT elder.sister you-GEN one-CLF bread
woi cya-ŋa-du, di-gore wakhe woi ŋa-na-ŋa-du’ ŋah-Ø-u-no.
 also eat-1s-NPT one-CLF word also say-3P-1s→3-NPT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

59 So she told them everything that had happened since she buried the bones of the goat. 60 But she forgot to tell them about the mouse. 61 Hearing this story, mother was happy. 62 Then she even tried to send her own daughter to that place. 63 ‘Now I really should send my daughter to that place’, she said. 64 The following day she made her own daughter climb the tree. 65 Then the spirit came and took her away along with the [whole] tree. 66 Then he [the spirit] made her [the daughter] bake the bread. 67 Later, he himself went off to sharpen his big knife. 68 They left her to bake the bread, then a mouse appeared and squeaked ‘elder sister, let me eat one of your breads, and then I’ll tell you something’, he said.

- 69 *to-ye uyu-kăi mañăi ma-piy-Ø-u-no, uyu-kăi*
 that-ERG mouse-PM bread NEG-give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT mouse-PM
kaṭah-Ø-an. 70 *uyu ari-Ø-ta-le doronj duṇ-ṇaṇ*
 scold-SAS-3S/PT mouse be.afraid-SAS-IPP-PCL hole within-inside
biy-Ø-an, to wakhe ci-nasăi-sa ma-thaṇ-Ø-u-no.
 enter-SAS-3S/PT that word CAUS-hear-INF NEG-be.able-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
- 71 *nyoṇi thaṇ-Ø-an, di-ka mosani rah-Ø-an,*
 evening be-SAS-3S/PT one-HNC spirit come.from.level-SAS-3S/PT
nyoṇi-ko isa cya-Ø-ta-le, cic-amiy-Ø-u-no. 72 *ṭaye*
 evening-GEN food eat-SAS-IPP-PCL CAUS-sleep-SAS-3P-3→3/PT night
to-ko cici mosani-ye cyah-Ø-u-no. 73 *huca arṭik-Ø-an*
 that-GEN meat spirit-ERG eat-SAS-3P-3→3/PT child shout-SAS-3S/PT
‘ra-Ø, apa ra-Ø!’ ṇa-to-le, libi
 come.from.level-s/IMP father come.from.level-s/IMP say-TPP-PCL after
to-ko sakalei cici cyah-Ø-u-no. 74 *mosani-ye kosa-guri apa-ko*
 that-GEN all meat eat-SAS-3P-3→3/PT spirit-ERG bone-IND father-GEN
nem-te ra-to-le laṅga-te nah-Ø-u-no. 75 *ama-guri*
 house-LOC bring-TPP-PCL courtyard-LOC put-SAS-3P-3→3/PT mother-IND
‘nan camăi-ye ahe pepelek rah-Ø-u-du’ ṇa-to-le
 now daughter-ERG much money bring-SAS-3P-NPT say-TPP-PCL
taṇ-taṇ woi kapu ḍi-si-Ø-ta-le hok-Ø-thyo. 76 *to*
 be.happy-be.happy also head comb-REF-SAS-IPP-PCL be-SAS-3SCOND that
beryaṇ di-gore agak yuw-Ø-an. 77 *‘nan naṇ-ko*
 that.time one-CLF crow come.from.above-SAS-3S/PT now you-GEN

69 Not giving the mouse a bread, she scolded it. 70 The mouse was afraid and so it went back into its hole, without having been able to tell its story. 71 It was evening, and the spirit came home, ate his evening meal, and then put her [daughter] to bed. 72 At night, the spirit feasted on her meat [ate her]. 73 The child shouted ‘come, father, come!’, but by then her whole body [lit. meat] had been eaten up. 74 The spirit brought the bones back to her father’s house and left them in the courtyard. 75 Mother was thinking ‘now daughter will bring back a lot of money’ and she sat there smiling and laughing, combing her hair. 76 At that time, a crow came down [and landed]. 77 ‘Now your daughter is but [a pile of] bones’, the crow cried.

camăi kosa thah-Ø-an' agak-e ŋah-Ø-u-no. 78 libi
 daughter bone be-SAS-3S/PT crow-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after
langa-te yoh-Ø-u-du beryaŋ cămăi-ko kosa
 courtyard-LOC look.at-SAS-3P-NPT that.time daughter-GEN bone
nih-Ø-u-no. 79 nan apa ama kerep-eŋ-an. 80 kiji-guri
 see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now father mother cry-pAS-3S/PT blackie-IND
sumaka hok-Ø-an.
 silent be-SAS-3S/PT

78 Then, when she [mother] looked around in the courtyard she saw her daughter's bones. 79
 Now father and mother cried. 80 And Blackie sat in silence.

THE MISSING BREAD

1 *di-ka cahuca-ko apa ama siy-eŋ-an.* 2 *to-ko*
 one-HNC man-GEN father mother die-pAS-3S/PT that-GEN
nem-te cya-sa hara woi ma-hok-Ø-thyo. 3 *to cahuca*
 house-LOC eat-INF what also NEG-be-sAS-3SCOND that man
dese-te amat-to-le mañăi cya-Ø-thyo. 4 *mañăi-guri nem-te*
 village-LOC beg-TPP-PCL bread eat-sAS-3SCOND bread-IND house-LOC
ra-to-le nah-Ø-u-thyo, loŋe gwi-to-le cya-Ø-thyo.
 bring-TPP-PCL put-sAS-3P-3SCOND jackal steal-TPP-PCL eat-sAS-3SCOND
 5 *‘hara-ye cyah-Ø-u-du?’ ŋa-to-le, di uni nem priŋ*
 what-ERG eat-sAS-3P-NPT say-TPP-PCL one day house outside
hok-Ø-ta-le ɖapuh-Ø-u-no. 6 *‘mañăi loŋe gwi-to-le*
 be-sAS-IPP-PCL spy-sAS-3P-3→3/PT bread jackal steal-TPP-PCL
cyah-Ø-an, nan ka-kăi cum-to-le ŋe-ko măiy-Ø-an’
 eat-sAS-3S/PT now this-PM hold-TPP-PCL beat-ADH must-sAS-3S/PT
ŋah-Ø-u-no. 7 *di uni ɖapu-to-le hok-Ø-thyo, loŋe*
 say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT one day spy-TPP-PCL be-sAS-3SCOND jackal
ra-Ø-ta-le, nem duŋ-ŋaŋ loŋe biy-Ø-an, to
 come.from.level-sAS-IPP-PCL house within-inside jackal enter-sAS-3S/PT that
woi bi-Ø-ta-le cum-Ø-u-no. 8 *‘nan naŋ-kăi gă-ye*
 also enter-sAS-IPP-PCL hold-sAS-3P-3→3/PT now you-PM I-ERG
sat-na-ŋa-du, găi-go mañăi nany-e cyah-u-na-n.’ 9 *loŋe-ye*
 kill-2s-1s-NPT I-GEN bread you-ERG eat-3P-2s-PT jackal-ERG

1 A man's father and mother had died. 2 There was nothing to eat in his house. 3 That man ate bread that he begged in the village. 4 Bringing the bread back, he stored it at home, but a jackal stole it and ate it up. 5 'What is eating [my bread]?' he thought, so one day, sitting outside his house, he spied. 6 'It's the jackal who stole my bread and ate it, now I must catch it and beat it', he said. 7 One day he was sitting there spying when he saw the jackal come over and enter the house, so he also went in and caught the jackal. 8 'Now I'm going to kill you, [as] you ate my bread.' 9 The jackal said 'please don't kill me, I'll bring food from another place and give it to you.'

ŋah-Ø-u-no 'gǎi-gǎi *ma-sat-aŋ,* gǎ-ye *naŋ-kǎi begale*
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT I-PM NEG-kill-s→1s/IMP I-ERG you-PM other
ʔhǎi-yiŋ isa kyel-to-le pi-na-ŋa-du.' 10 *cahuca-ye 'ja-Ø-du'*
 place-ABL food bring-TPP-PCL give-2s-1s-NPT man-ERG okay-SAS-NPT
ŋah-Ø-u-no, *to-kǎi to-te nah-Ø-u-no,* *nan nis-ka*
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-PM that-LOC put-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now two-HNC
bubu hu uniŋ hok-eŋ-an. 11 *di uni loŋe-ye*
 elder.brother younger.brother like be-PAS-3S/PT one day jackal-ERG
cahuca-kǎi bore loŋ-sa daŋ-Ø-u-no. 12 *di uni loŋe*
 man-PM marriage do-INF search-SAS-3P-3→3/PT one day jackal
bamŋi-ko nem-te ya-Ø-ta-le, ya-ŋa libi to-ye ŋa-to-le
 Brahmin-GEN house-LOC go-SAS-IPP-PCL go-CNS after that-ERG say-TPP-PCL
'gǎi bamŋi-ko ca-kǎi wari amat-sa kyel-ŋa-du.' 13 *libi*
 I Brahmin-GEN son-PM daughter.in.law beg-INF come-1s-NPT after
bamŋi-ye 'ja-Ø-du' ŋa-to-le camǎi piy-Ø-u-no, 'nan
 Brahmin-ERG okay-SAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL daughter give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now
ahe mi kyel-o, tyaŋ gǎi-go camǎi hen-o'
 many person bring-s→3/IMP then I-GEN daughter take-s→3/IMP
ŋah-Ø-u-no. 14 *loŋe cahuca-ko nem-te kyel-Ø-an*
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT jackal man-GEN house-LOC come-SAS-3S/PT
'bubu, gǎ-ye naŋ-kǎi uma amat-to-le ra-ŋa-n,
 elder.brother I-ERG you-PM wife beg-TPP-PCL come.from.level-1s-PT
baŋthe ahe mi hen-to-le hen-ko mǎi-Ø-du.' 15 'nan ahe
 tomorrow many person take-TPP-PCL go-ADH must-SAS-NPT now many

10 The man said 'okay' and set him down right there, and from then on they lived together as if they were brothers. 11 One day the jackal sought to get the man married. 12 One day the jackal went to a Brahmin's house, and having got there, said 'I have come to ask for a daughter-in-law for the son of a Brahmin.' 13 Then the Brahmin said 'okay' and he offered his daughter, 'now come back with many people and then take my daughter' he said. 14 The jackal came back home [and said] 'elder brother, I have returned from arranging a wife for you, tomorrow we must take many people and go [there].' 15 'But we don't have enough food to bring to that many people, what can we do younger brother?'

- mi kyel-sa-kăi cya-sa ma-hok, hara loŋ-sa hu?*
 person bring-INF-PM eat-INF NEG-be what do-INF younger.brother
- 16 *loŋe-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘gă-ye săi-le hok-ŋa-du, nan ni-ye*
 jackal-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT I-ERG know-PCL be-1s-NPT now we-ERG
- ahe ɬupuri curuk-ko măi-Ø-du, tyaŋ ɬupuri hen-ko măi-Ø-du.*
 many cap sew-ADH must-SAS-NPT then cap take-ADH must-SAS-NPT
- 17 *baŋthe syaŋ ahe ɬupuri curuk-eŋ-no, tyaŋ nis-ka*
 tomorrow period many cap sew-pAS-3→3/PT then two-HNC
- thay-eŋ-ta-le caway-eŋ-an, loŋe-ye ɬupuri cabuh-Ø-u-no.*
 be-pAS-IPP-PCL walk-pAS-3S/PT jackal-ERG cap carry-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
- 18 *hen-sa beryaŋ, di-gore soŋ-yiŋ hen-ko măi-Ø-thyo.* 19 *libi*
 go-INF that.time one-CLF river-ABL go-ADH must-SAS-3SCOND after
- bamŋi-ko nem-te ya-let-eŋ-an, tyaŋ loŋe-ye*
 Brahmin-GEN house-LOC go-appear-pAS-3S/PT then jackal-ERG
- ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘ni-ko sakalei tap-Ø-an, tap-Ø-an,*
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT we-GEN all be.finished-SAS-3S/PT be.finished-SAS-3S/PT
- nan hara woi ma-hok’ ŋa-to-le kerep-eŋ-an.* 20 *bamŋi-ye*
 now what also NEG-be say-TPP-PCL cry-pAS-3S/PT Brahmin-ERG
- ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘ma-kerep-ne, hara thah-Ø-an? ŋa-ne!’*
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT NEG-cry-p/IMP what be-SAS-3S/PT say-p→1s/IMP
- 21 *loŋe-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘ni-ko ahe mi kyel-eŋ-thyo,*
 jackal-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT we-GEN many person come-pAS-3SCOND
- sony-e hen-Ø-u-no, ɬupuri-guri cum-to-le rah-u-n-uŋ,*
 river-INS take-SAS-3P-3→3/PT cap-IND hold-TPP-PCL bring-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT

16 The jackal said ‘I know [what to do], we must now sew up many caps and then take those caps [along tomorrow].’ 17 By the following day, they had sewn many caps and then the two of them set off, with the jackal carrying the caps. 18 Along the way they had to cross a river. 19 Later they arrived at the Brahmin’s house and the jackal said ‘everything we had is gone, finished, now we have nothing left’, and saying this they cried. 20 The Brahmin said ‘don’t cry, what happened? Tell me!’ 21 The jackal said ‘many of our people were coming but then the river washed them away, I brought their caps which I fished out, here, take a look!’

ka yoh-o! 22 *bam̃i-ye ηah-Ø-u-no 'ja-Ø-du,*
 this look.at-s→3/IMP Brahmin-ERG say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT okay-sAS-NPT
niny-e gǎi-go camǎi hen-no, cya-sa pi-no!
 you(p)-ERG I-GEN daughter take-p→3/IMP eat-INF give-p→3/IMP
 23 *bam̃i-ko camǎi hen-eη-no oste-ko nem-te, sum-ka*
 Brahmin-GEN daughter take-pAS-3→3/PT self-GEN house-LOC three-HNC
thay-eη-ta-le kyel-eη-an. 24 *libi loηe dese-te cawah-Ø-an,*
 be-pAS-IPP-PCL come-pAS-3S/PT after jackal village-LOC walk-sAS-3S/PT
di-ka mesek ma-niy-Ø-u-du mi-ko-te ya-let-Ø-an.
 one-HNC eye NEG-see-sAS-3P-NPT person-GEN-LOC go-appear-sAS-3S/PT
 25 *to-ko cya-sa ahe hok-Ø-thyo.* 26 *loηe ya-Ø-ta-le*
 that-GEN eat-INF much be-sAS-3SCOND jackal go-sAS-IPP-PCL
ηah-Ø-u-no 'tete, gǎi-gǎi sul-si-sa thǎi cikhet-aη,
 say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT elder.sister I-PM hide-REF-INF place show-s→1s/IMP
gǎi-gǎi sat-sa mi-pali kyel-eη-le hok-eη-du, naη-kǎi woi
 I-PM kill-INF person-p come-pAS-PCL be-pAS-NPT you-PM also
sat-eη-du. 27 *'habi gǎi-gǎi duηkuṭi-ko oηgaηe-ηaη gǎi-gǎi*
 kill-pAS-NPT before I-PM storehouse-GEN hole-inside I-PM
ci-bi-ηa, libi ka racya-ko bheterek-te naη
 CAUS-enter-s→1s/IMP after this unhusked.rice-GEN bamboo.mat-LOC you
bi-ta-na-le sul-se! 28 *libi mesek*
 enter-IPP-2s-PCL hide-s/REF/IMP jackal be.happy-sAS-3S/PT after eye
ma-niy-Ø-u-du-kǎi oηgaηe-ηaη tham-Ø-u-no, tyaη nasa-ye
 NEG-see-sAS-3P-NPT-PM hole-inside insert-sAS-3P-3→3/PT then earth-INS

22 And the Brahmin said 'okay, take my daughter and feed her!' 23 They took the Brahmin's daughter, returning home as a threesome. 24 Later the jackal walked to the village and arrived at the home of a blind person. 25 She had lots of things to eat. 26 The jackal went and said 'elder sister, show me a place to hide, there are people coming to kill me and they may kill you too.' 27 'First push me into the hole in the storehouse, then get into a bamboo mat for holding rice and hide yourself there!' [the blind woman said], and the jackal smiled to himself. 28 Then he [the jackal] inserted the blind person in the hole and then filled it up with earth.

lup-Ø-u-no. 29 *to-ye-guri* *to-ko* *nem-te* *hok-Ø-du*
 fill.up-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-ERG-IND that-GEN house-LOC be-SAS-NPT
racya *saŋa* *jakcho* *sakalei* *ra-to-le* *bamŋi-ko*
 unhusked.rice finger.millet wheat all bring-TPP-PCL Brahmin-GEN
camăi *ḍamari-kăi* *piy-Ø-u-no.* 30 *libi* *jekha* *mi*
 daughter son.in.law-PM give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after big person
thay-eŋ-ta-le *hok-eŋ-an.*
 be-pAS-IPP-PCL be-pAS-3S/PT

29 Then he [the jackal] brought back all unhusked rice, finger millet and wheat that was in that house, and gave it all to the Brahmin's daughter and son-in-law. 30 And from then on they lived as important people.

GREEDY SISTER

- 1 *di ʔhǎi-te nis-ka uma lawa hok-eŋ-thyo.* 2 *to-baŋ-ko*
 one place-LOC two-HNC wife husband be-PAS-3SCOND that-Pp-GEN
- ahe raŋ pebu woi hok-Ø-thyo.*
 much unirrigated.field irrigated.field also be-SAS-3SCOND
- 3 *raŋ pebu cya-sa-guri di-ka woi*
 unirrigated.field irrigated.field eat-INF-IND one-HNC also
- ma-hok-Ø-thyo.* 4 *to-baŋ ca amat-sa-kǎi dewa-te woi yey-eŋ-an,*
 NEG-be-SAS-3SCOND that-Pp son beg-INF-PM god-LOC also go-PAS-3S/PT
- ca camǎi ma-thah-Ø-an.* 5 *libi to-baŋ guru-ko-te*
 son daughter NEG-be-SAS-3S/PT after that-Pp shaman-GEN-LOC
- yey-eŋ-an, guru-kǎi meke hen-to-le ‘ca camǎi*
 go-PAS-3S/PT shaman-PM ritual.offering take-TPP-PCL son daughter
- tha-Ø-du ra ma-tha?’ ŋa-to-le ci-yoy-eŋ-no.* 6 *libi*
 be-SAS-NPT or NEG-be say-TPP-PCL CAUS-look.at-PAS-3→3/PT after
- di-ka camǎi nik-Ø-an ‘nan ca-guri tha-sa-be*
 one-HNC daughter be.born-SAS-3S/PT now son-IND be-INF-TOP
- ja-Ø-thyo’ ŋay-eŋ-no.* 7 *nan guru-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no*
 okay-SAS-3SCOND say-PAS-3→3/PT now shaman-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
- ‘niŋ-ko camǎi-ko bore ma-loŋ-tiniŋ, ca ma-nik.’*
 you(p)-GEN daughter-GEN marriage NEG-do-PFG son NEG-be.born
- 8 *‘habi camǎi-ko bore loŋ-no, tyay ca tha-Ø-du’*
 before daughter-GEN marriage do-p→3/IMP then son be-SAS-NPT

1 There once lived a husband and a wife in a certain place. 2 They had many fields, both wet and dry. 3 There was no one to eat the food that grew in their fields. 4 They went to a temple to beg for a son, but received neither son nor daughter. 5 Then they went to see the shaman, taking a ritual offering, and saying ‘will there ever be a son or a daughter?’ they asked him to look [offer a prophetic reading]. 6 Later a daughter was born to them, and they said ‘had this one been a son, then that would have been enough.’ 7 Now the shaman said ‘as long as your daughter remains unmarried, no son will be born.’ 8 ‘First get your daughter married and then you shall have a son’, the shaman told them.

guru-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no. 9 nan camăi-ko bore loŋ-sa
 shaman-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now daughter-GEN marriage do-INF
dany-eŋ-no. 10 libi di-ka apraca cahuca day-to-le,
 search-pAS-3→3/PT after one-HNC good man search-TPP-PCL
bore lony-eŋ-no. 11 libi guru-ye ŋah-Ø-u-du uniŋ,
 marriage do-pAS-3→3/PT after shaman-ERG say-SAS-3P-NPT like
di-ka ca nik-Ø-an. 12 ca nik-Ø-ta-le, nis-ka uma
 one-HNC son be.born-SAS-3S/PT son be.born-SAS-IPP-PCL two-HNC wife
lawa tany-eŋ-ta-le dese mi-kăi ahe cya-sa
 husband be.happy-pAS-IPP-PCL village person-PM much eat-INF
piy-eŋ-no. 13 libi ucyaca tha-Ø-du beryaŋ, to-ko apa
 give-pAS-3→3/PT after small be-SAS-NPT that.time that-GEN father
ama siy-eŋ-an. 14 apa ama siy-eŋ-du beryaŋ to aŋthe
 mother die-pAS-3S/PT father mother die-pAS-NPT that.time that much
kerep-Ø-an, to ucyaca hok-Ø-thyo. 15 libi tete-ye
 cry-SAS-3S/PT that small be-SAS-3SCOND after elder.sister-ERG
hu-kăi oste-ko nem-te na-sa hen-Ø-u-no.
 younger.brother-PM self-GEN house-LOC put-INF take-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
 16 *dese mi-pali-ye woi oste-ko hu na-sa-kăi*
 village person-p-ERG also self-GEN younger.brother put-INF-PM
hen-Ø-u-no ŋa-to-le sumaka hok-eŋ-an. 17 tete
 take-SAS-3P-3→3/PT say-TPP-PCL silent be-pAS-3S/PT elder.sister
jarphu-ko nem-te ulica uni apraca nama hok-Ø-an.
 elder.sister's.husband-GEN house-LOC few day good with be-SAS-3S/PT

9 Now they started to arrange their daughter's marriage. 10 Later, having found a nice man, they got her married. 11 Then, as the shaman predicted, a son was born. 12 After the son was born, being very happy, the wife and husband offered the villagers a feast. 13 Later, when he [the son] was still small, his father and mother died. 14 When his father and mother died, at that time he cried a lot, still being so young. 15 Afterwards, elder sister took her younger brother and raised him in her own house. 16 The villagers, on discovering that she had taken her own younger brother into her house, stayed silent. 17 He only stayed at his sister's and brother-in-law's house for a few days.

- 18 *di uni tete jarphu-ko wakhe thah-Ø-an 'nan*
 one day elder.sister elder.sister's.husband-GEN word be-SAS-3S/PT now
ka-kăi sat-to-le, ka-ko raŋ pebu ni-ye
 this-PM kill-TPP-PCL this-GEN unirrigated.field irrigated.field we-ERG
cya-ko măi-Ø-du' ŋay-eŋ-no. 19 *di uni hu apa*
 eat-ADH must-SAS-NPT say-PAS-3→3/PT one day younger.brother father
ama nama hok-sa aliy-Ø-an, to-ye tete-kăi
 mother with be-INF like-SAS-3S/PT that-ERG elder.sister-PM
ŋah-Ø-u-no. 20 *'tete, ni-ko apa ama kuta hok-eŋ-du?*
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT elder.sister we-GEN father mother where be-PAS-NPT
găi-găi cikhet-sa hen-aŋ!' tete-kăi ŋah-Ø-u-no.
 I-PM show-INF take-s→1s/IMP elder.sister-PM say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
- 21 *tete-ye hu-kăi sat-sa-kăi daŋ-Ø-u-thyo*
 elder.sister-ERG younger.brother-PM kill-INF-PM search-SAS-3P-3SCOND
'hu, ni-ko apa ama to oŋgaŋe duŋ-ŋaŋ hok-le
 younger.brother we-GEN father mother that hole within-inside be-PCL
hok-eŋ-du, to duŋ-ŋaŋ sakalei hok-Ø-du.' 22 *'to-ŋaŋ sya tuŋi*
 be-PAS-NPT that within-inside all be-SAS-NPT that-inside cow goat
raŋ pebu sakalei hok-Ø-du, naŋ ya-na-du?'
 unirrigated.field irrigated.field all be-SAS-NPT you go-2s-NPT
- 23 *hu-ye ahe uni ka apa ama ma-ni-tiniŋ*
 younger.brother-ERG many day throughout father mother NEG-see-PFG
hok-Ø-thyo, tete nama ŋah-Ø-u-no 'nan găi apa ama
 be-SAS-3SCOND elder.sister with say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now I father mother

18 One day, elder sister and her husband had a chat 'now we should kill him and take [lit. eat] his fields' they said. 19 One day, the younger brother really wanted to be with his mother and father, and he told his elder sister. 20 'Elder sister, where are our father and mother? Please take me there and show me!', he said to his sister. 21 The elder sister was still trying to kill her younger brother, [so she said] 'brother, our father and mother are living inside that hole, inside there is every kind of thing.' 22 'Inside that [hole] are cows, goats, and wet and dry fields, are you going?' [she said]. 23 Younger brother had lived many days without seeing his parents, and he said to his elder sister 'I want to go to father and mother, take me!'

- nama ya-ŋa-du, gǎi-gǎi hen-aŋ!* 24 *'ja-Ø-du' ŋa-to-le,*
 with go-1s-NPT I-PM take-s→1s/IMP okay-SAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL
tete-ye hu-kǎi to oŋgaŋe kherte hen-Ø-u-no.
 elder.sister-ERG younger.brother-PM that hole near take-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
- 25 *tete-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no 'hu, gǎi-gǎi baŋkal*
 elder.sister-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT younger.brother I-PM stomach
kalǎi-ŋa-le hok-Ø-du, naŋ ya-Ø, gǎi libi ra-ŋa-du.'
 hurt-1s-PCL be-SAS-NPT you go-s/IMP I after come.from.level-1s-NPT
- 26 *tete-ye ŋah-Ø-u-du wakhe nasǎi-to-le ya-Ø-thyo, to*
 elder.sister-ERG say-SAS-3P-NPT word hear-TPP-PCL go-SAS-3SCOND that
duŋ-ŋaŋ biy-Ø-an ŋaŋ siy-Ø-an. 27 *libi tete-ye*
 within-inside enter-SAS-3S/PT and die-SAS-3S/PT after elder.sister-ERG
'hu siy-Ø-an' ŋa-to-le, dese-te ka
 younger.brother die-SAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL village-LOC throughout
kerep-Ø-ta-le cawah-Ø-an. 28 *'nan hu-ko*
 cry-SAS-IPP-PCL walk-SAS-3S/PT now younger.brother-GEN
raŋ pebu sakalei gǎi-go thah-Ø-an' ŋa-to-le.
 unirrigated.field irrigated.field all I-GEN be-SAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL
- 29 *uma lawa sumaka hok-eŋ-an, libi athaŋ-Ø-an, uma*
 wife husband silent be-pAS-3S/PT after become.light-SAS-3S/PT wife
lawa laŋga-te hok-eŋ-ta-le kerep-eŋ-an. 30 *'nan gǎi-go*
 husband courtyard-LOC be-pAS-IPP-PCL cry-pAS-3S/PT now I-GEN
ŋa-sa ka thǎi-te su woi ma-hok' ŋa-to-le, tete
 say-INF this place-LOC who also NEG-be say-TPP-PCL elder.sister

24 'Okay' said elder sister, and she took him to near the hole. 25 Elder sister said 'younger brother, my stomach hurts, you go [ahead] and I will come later.' 26 Having heard what his elder sister said, he set off, went inside and died. 27 Then, shouting 'younger brother is dead', elder sister walked all around the village crying. 28 'Now younger brother's fields are all mine', she thought. 29 The wife and husband stayed silent, and then when it became light, they sat in the courtyard crying. 30 'Now I have no family left in this place', the elder sister cried.

kerep-Ø-an. 31 *hu* *si-ŋa* *libi*, *oŋgaŋe-yiŋ* *di-gore*
 cry-SAS-3S/PT younger.brother die-CNS after hole-ABL one-CLF
kapa *bow-Ø-an.* 32 *libi* *to* *kapa* *ălāmga*
 feathery.bamboo sprout-SAS-3S/PT after that feathery.bamboo tall
thah-Ø-an. 33 *tete-guri* *hu* *sat-ŋa* *libi*
 be-SAS-3S/PT elder.sister-IND younger.brother kill-CNS after
raŋ *pebu* *oste-ko* *tha-Ø-du*, *‘hok-hok-tiniŋ* *cya-ko*
 unirrigated.field irrigated.field self-GEN be-SAS-NPT be-be-PFG eat-ADH
nik-i-du’ *ŋah-Ø-u-no*, *ka* *uniŋ* *ma-thah-Ø-an.* 34 *libi*
 receive-1PPS-NPT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT this like NEG-be-SAS-3S/PT after
lawa-ye *begale* *uma* *rah-Ø-u-no.* 35 *tyaŋ* *meseŋ-yiŋ* *raphil*
 husband-ERG other wife bring-SAS-3P-3→3/PT then eye-ABL tear
ci-let-to-le *kerep-Ø-an*, *‘nan* *naŋ* *ma-kerep-e’*
 CAUS-appear-TPP-PCL cry-SAS-3S/PT now you NEG-cry-s/NEG/IMP
ŋa-to-le, *su-ye* *woi* *ma-ŋay-eŋ-no.* 36 *to-kăi* *lawa-ko*
 say-TPP-PCL who-ERG also NEG-say-pAS-3→3/PT that-PM husband-GEN
begale *uma-ye* *nem-yiŋ* *ci-let-Ø-u-no.* 37 *libi*
 other wife-ERG house-ABL CAUS-appear-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after
hu-ko *nem-te* *ya-Ø-ta-le*, *kerep-kerep-Ø-ta-le*
 younger.brother-GEN house-LOC go-SAS-IPP-PCL cry-cry-SAS-IPP-PCL
hok-Ø-an. 38 *di* *uni* *to-ye* *hu* *cijyaŋ-Ø-du* *uniŋ*
 be-SAS-3S/PT one day that-ERG younger.brother speak-SAS-NPT like
nasăiy-Ø-u-no. 39 *theŋ-Ø-ta-le* *yoh-Ø-u-no*,
 hear-SAS-3P-3→3/PT stand.up-SAS-IPP-PCL look.at-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

31 After younger brother died, a stalk of feathery bamboo sprouted from the hole. 32 Then that feathery bamboo became very tall. 33 The elder sister, after killing her younger brother, with all the fields being her own, thought ‘we will just sit around and receive food’, but it wasn’t to be like that. 34 Then the husband brought another wife. 35 Then she made tears appear from her eyes and cried, but no one told her not to cry. 36 The husband’s other wife kicked her out of the house. 37 Afterwards she went to her younger brother’s house and sat there crying and crying. 38 One day she heard [what she thought was] her younger brother speaking. 39 She got up and looked around, and in the courtyard saw a person carrying a two-sided drum.

langa-te di-ka citaliη cabuh-Ø-u-du mi
 courtyard-LOC one-HNC two.sided.drum carry-SAS-3P-NPT person
nih-Ø-u-no. 40 citaliη-yiη hu cijyaη-Ø-du
 see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT two.sided.drum-ABL younger.brother speak-SAS-NPT
wakhe let-le hok-Ø-thyo, to-ye di-gore citaliη
 word appear-PCL be-SAS-3SCOND that-ERG one-CLF two.sided.drum
kăiy-Ø-u-no, nem-te nah-Ø-u-no. 41 țaye to
 remove-SAS-3P-3→3/PT house-LOC put-SAS-3P-3→3/PT night that
citaliη cijyaη-Ø-an ‘tete, nany-e găi-go raη
 two.sided.drum speak-SAS-3S/PT elder.sister you-ERG I-GEN unirrigated.field
cya-sa-kăi găi-găi sat-Ø-ηa-n, naleη naη kerep-ko măiy-Ø-an.’
 eat-INF-PM I-PM kill-SAS-1s-PT present you cry-ADH must-SAS-3S/PT
 42 *hu-ko wakhe nasăi-to-le, tete thombe*
 younger.brother-GEN word hear-TPP-PCL elder.sister surprise
thah-Ø-an, yoh-Ø-u-no, kuta woi ma-hok. 43 libi to
 be-SAS-3S/PT look.at-SAS-3P-3→3/PT where also NEG-be after that
citaliη nem duη-ηaη nah-Ø-u-no, to
 two.sided.drum house within-inside put-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that
syak-si-Ø-ta-le ηah-Ø-u-no: 44 ‘tete, nan
 strike-REF-SAS-IPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT elder.sister now
ma-kerep-e, nan naη-yiη găi ălămtha tha-ηa-n, naη nama găi
 NEG-cry-s/NEG/IMP now you-ABL I distant be-1s-PT you with I
kutaleη woi ma-ra.’ 45 tete-ye kerep-Ø-ta-le
 when also NEG-come.from.level elder.sister-ERG cry-IPP-PCL

40 Younger brother's voice was coming from the two-sided drum, so she [elder sister] bought the drum and put it in her house. 41 At night that two-sided drum spoke 'elder sister, in order to steal [lit. eat] my land, you killed me, now you must cry.' 42 Hearing younger brother's voice, elder sister was surprised, and she looked around, but he was nowhere to be seen. 43 Later, she put that two-sided drum inside the house, but beating by itself, it said: 44 'Elder sister, now stop crying, I am now a long way from you and I will never come back to be with you again.' 45 Elder sister, crying, said 'younger brother, before I did something that I shouldn't have done, I wasn't thinking, but now I won't do it, younger brother, please come back!'

ŋah-Ø-u-no 'hu, *habi* *gǎ-ye* *ma-loŋ-sa* *jet*
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT younger.brother before I-ERG NEG-do-INF work
loŋ-u-n-uŋ, *gǎi* *ma-sǎi-ŋa-n,* *nan-guri* *ma-loŋ,* *hu*
 do-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT I NEG-know-1s-PT now-IND NEG-do younger.brother
ra-Ø!' 46 '*nan* *naŋ-kǎi* *kunyaŋ* *mi* *loŋ-sa?* *kunyaŋ*
 come.from.level-s/IMP now you-PM how person do-INF how
mi *tha-na-du?* *gǎi-gǎi* *ŋa-ŋa!'* 47 *libi* *hu-ye*
 person be-2s-NPT I-PM say-s→1s/IMP after younger.brother-ERG
ŋah-Ø-u-no 'tete, *gǎi-gǎi* *khalam-sa-kǎi* *dì-gore* *jet* *loŋ-ko*
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT elder.sister I-PM meet-INF-PM one-CLF work do-ADH
mǎi-Ø-du, *tyaŋ* *gǎi* *mi* *tha-ŋa-du.'* 48 '*ja-Ø-du,* *gǎ-ye* *jet*
 must-SAS-NPT then I person be-1s-NPT okay-SAS-NPT I-ERG work
loŋ-u-n-du.' 49 '*nasǎiy-o!* *dha-te* *dì-gore* *oŋgaŋe*
 do-3P-1s→3-NPT hear-s→3/IMP that.distant-LOC one-CLF hole
hok-Ø-du, *to-te* *kapa-pali* *bo-le* *hok-eŋ-du,* *dì-gore*
 be-SAS-NPT that-LOC feathery.bamboo-p sprout-PCL be-pAS-NPT one-CLF
ǎlǎmga *kapa-ko* *pole-te* *toh-o!'* 50 '*to-ŋa* *libi,*
 tall feathery.bamboo-GEN trunk-LOC dig-s→3/IMP dig-CNS after
dì-gore *ahum* *let-Ø-du,* *to* *ahum* *ma-them-tiniŋ* *rah-o!'*
 one-CLF egg appear-SAS-NPT that egg NEG-break-PFG bring-s→3/IMP
 51 '*nem-te* *ra-to-le,* *to-kǎi* *sya-ko* *syakli-ye* *porew-o,*
 house-LOC bring-TPP-PCL that-PM cow-GEN cow.shit-INS cover-s→3/IMP
nem *thil-to-le,* *nah-o!'* 52 '*tyaŋ* *naŋ-guri* *khaŋou* *fi-to-le,*
 house paint-TPP-PCL put-s→3/IMP then you-IND door close-TPP-PCL

46 'Now how can I make you into a person again? How can I make you alive? Tell me!' [she said]. 47 Then the younger brother said 'elder sister, to meet me again you have to do something, and only then will I be human again.' 48 'Fine, I will do it.' [she said] 49 'Now listen! Over there is a hole from which a lot of feathery bamboo is sprouting, dig at the root of one of the tall bamboo stalks!' 50 'Having dug, an egg will appear, and without breaking it, bring that egg [here]!' 51 'Bring it home, cover it all over with cow dung, and having painted the house, put it there!' 52 'Then close the door, go outside and I will come alive.'

priŋ let-a, gǎi mi tha-ŋa-du. 53 *'libi gǎ-ye duŋ-yiŋ*
 outside appear-s/IMP I person be-1s-NPT after I-ERG within-ABL
naŋ-kǎi urou-na-ŋa-du, tyaŋ naŋ ra-Ø, to-yiŋ ni
 you-PM call-2s-1s-NPT then you come.from.level-s/IMP that-ABL we
nis-ka nama nama hok-i-du. 54 *'ka wakhe su-kǎi woi*
 two-HNC with with be-1pps-NPT this word who-PM also
ma-ci-nasǎiy-e, su-ye woi e-ma-niy-eŋ-no',
 NEG-CAUS-hear-s/NEG/IMP who-ERG also OPT-NEG-see-pAS-3→3/PT
tete-ye 'ja-Ø-du' ŋah-Ø-u-no. 55 *ṭaye, tete*
 elder.sister-ERG okay-sAS-NPT say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT night elder.sister
tokolok cabu-to-le, kapa phat-sa cawah-Ø-an,
 hoe carry-TPP-PCL feathery.bamboo dig.deep-INF walk-sAS-3S/PT
hu-ye ŋah-Ø-u-du uniŋ loŋ-Ø-u-no. 56 *libi*
 younger.brother-ERG say-sAS-3P-NPT like do-sAS-3P-3→3/PT after
hu let-Ø-an, tete-ye jarphu-ko
 younger.brother appear-sAS-3S/PT elder.sister-ERG elder.sister's.husband-GEN
wakhe sakalei ci-sǎiy-Ø-u-no. 57 *jarphu nama*
 word all CAUS-know-sAS-3P-3→3/PT elder.sister's.husband with
rage tha-Ø-ta-le, dese mi aghyou-to-le, jarphu-ko
 anger be-sAS-IPP-PCL village person call-TPP-PCL elder.sister's.husband-GEN
nem-te hen-Ø-u-no. 58 *habi hen-Ø-u-du sakalei*
 house-LOC take-sAS-3P-3→3/PT before take-sAS-3P-NPT all
raŋ pepelek oste-ko nem-te ray-eŋ-no. 59 *libi*
 unirrigated.field money self-GEN house-LOC bring-pAS-3→3/PT after

53 'Then I will call to you from inside the house, and you must come in, and from that point you and I will live together.' 54 'Don't let anyone know about this plan, and make sure that no one sees you', [he said] and elder sister said 'fine.' 55 At night, carrying a hoe, elder sister set off to dig deep down by the feathery bamboo, and she did just as younger brother told her. 56 Then younger brother appeared and elder sister told him everything that her husband had said. 57 He became angry with elder sister's husband and, calling the village people, took them down to his house. 58 They took back all the fields and money that he had taken before. 59 Thereafter, elder sister and younger brother lived together in

tete hu habi-ko nem-te hok-eŋ-an. 60 naleŋ
 elder.sister younger.brother before-GEN house-LOC be-pAS-3S/PT present
sumaka nama hok-le hok-eŋ-du.
 silent with be-PCL be-pAS-NPT

their ancestral home. 60 At present they are living together in peace.

FEEDING THE ANIMALS

- 1 *di-ka mi-ko nis-ka uma hok-eŋ-thyo.* 2 *to nis-ka*
 one-HNC person-GEN two-HNC wife be-PAS-3SCOND that two-HNC
uma-ko di-di-ka camăi-pali hok-eŋ-du. 3 *habi-ko uma, huca*
 wife-GEN one-one-HNC daughter-p be-SAS-NPT before-GEN wife child
nik-ŋa libi siy-Ø-an, to-ko camăi-guri hok-Ø-an.
 give.birth-CNS after die-SAS-3S/PT that-GEN daughter-IND be-SAS-3S/PT
- 4 *di uni begale ama-ye sat-sa daŋ-Ø-u-no.* 5 *di uni*
 one day other mother-ERG kill-INF search-SAS-3P-3→3/PT one day
ama-ye oste-ko camăi-kăi urou-to-le ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘*camăi,*
 mother-ERG self-GEN daughter-PM call-TPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT daughter
nany-e tete-kăi woi uli-sa-kăi soŋ-te hen-o!’ 6 ‘*soŋ*
 you-ERG elder.sister-PM also wash-INF-PM river-LOC take-s→3/IMP river
kherte ya-let-ŋa libi, to-kăi-guri jun-no, tyañ si-Ø-du.’
 near go-appear-CNS after that-PM-IND push-p→3/IMP then die-SAS-NPT
- 7 *tyañ hen-to-le jun-Ø-u-no, soŋ duŋ-ŋaŋ biy-Ø-an.*
 then take-TPP-PCL push-SAS-3P-3→3/PT river within-inside enter-SAS-3S/PT
- 8 *to beryañ dewa-ye to-kăi lak phah-Ø-u-no,*
 that that.time god-ERG that-PM hand hold.out.to.receive-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
tyañ dewa-ye oste-ko nem-te hen-Ø-u-no. 9 *hen-sa-be*
 then god-ERG self-GEN house-LOC take-SAS-3P-3→3/PT take-INF-TOP
hen-Ø-u-no, to-te ŋosăi-Ø-du su woi ma-hok-Ø-thyo.
 take-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-LOC recognise-SAS-NPT who also NEG-be-SAS-3SCOND

1 There was once a man who had two wives. 2 Those two wives also each had one daughter. 3 After giving birth to the child, the first wife died, but the daughter lived. 4 One day, her step-mother tried to kill her. 5 One day the mother called her own daughter and said ‘daughter, take your elder sister to the river to wash!’ 6 ‘Once you have got close to the river, push her [in] and she will die.’ 7 She took her to the river, pushed her and she fell into the river. 8 At that very moment, god held out his hand and took her [the daughter] to his own house. 9 Although he took her, once there she recognised absolutely no one.

- 10 *to isa-ye karăi-tiniŋ hok-Ø-an, su-ye woi hara woi*
 that food-INS shout-PFG be-SAS-3S/PT who-ERG also what also
ma-piy-eŋ-no. 11 *cawa-cawa woi di-ka ʔhoŋi*
 NEG-give-pAS-3→3/PT walk-walk also one-HNC old.woman
mi-ko-te ya-let-Ø-an. 12 *to ʔhoŋi-kăi*
 person-GEN-LOC go-appear-SAS-3S/PT that old.woman-PM
ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘găi-găi cya-sa pi-ŋa, jet woi
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT I-PM eat-INF give-s→1s/IMP work also
ci-loŋ-aŋ, găi aʔthe isa-ye karăi-ŋa-n.’ 13 *ʔhoŋi-ye*
 CAUS-do-s→1s/IMP I very food-INS shout-1s-PT old.woman-ERG
ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘naŋ-kăi cya-sa, bu-si-sa, sakalei pi-na-ŋa-du,
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT you-PM eat-INF cover-REF-INF all give-2s-1s-NPT
nany-e ka-te jet loŋ-ko măi-Ø-du.’ 14 *‘libi naŋ-kăi pepelek*
 you-ERG this-LOC work do-ADH must-SAS-NPT after you-PM money
woi pi-na-ŋa-du.’ 15 *to-ye woi ‘ja-Ø-du’ ŋa-to-le, sya ʔuŋi*
 also give-2s-1s-NPT that-ERG also okay-SAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL cow goat
ja-sa, sya-ko nunu nat-sa jet loŋ-Ø-u-no. 16 *di uni*
 graze-INF cow-GEN milk milk-INF work do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT one day
sya-ko nunu nat-Ø-u-thyo, to nama ahe baʔi-pali
 cow-GEN milk milk-SAS-3P-3SCOND that with many cat-p
kyel-eŋ-an. 17 *to-ye woi nunu kăi-to-le piy-Ø-u-no.*
 come-pAS-3S/PT that-ERG also milk remove-TPP-PCL give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
 18 *tyaŋ baʔi-pali nunu cya-sa kyel-eŋ-an.* 19 *di uni*
 then cat-p milk eat-INF come-pAS-3S/PT one day

10 She sat there getting hungry, but nobody gave her anything [to eat]. 11 She walked and walked, and arrived at the house of an old woman. 12 And she said to that old woman ‘please give me something to eat, and also give me work to do, I am so hungry.’ 13 The old woman said ‘I will give you [food] to eat and [clothes] to wear, but you must stay here and work.’ 14 ‘Later I will also give you money’ [she said]. 15 She said ‘okay’, and grazed the cows and goats and milked the cows. 16 One day, when she was milking the cows, many cats came up to her. 17 So she took some milk out and gave it to them [the cats]. 18 Then the cats came to eat the milk [every day]. 19 One day the old woman set her to work painting the house, sweeping the courtyard and threshing unhusked rice.

thoŋi-ye to-kǎi nem thil-sa, laŋga pup-sa, racya
 old.woman-ERG that-PM house paint-INF courtyard sweep-INF unhusked.rice
sui-sa jet ci-loŋ-Ø-u-no. 20 racya sui-Ø-du
 thresh-INF work CAUS-do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT unhusked.rice thresh-SAS-NPT
beryəŋ, ɖaŋaŋeŋ-pali-kǎi luma cya-sa piy-Ø-u-no.
 that.time bird-p-PM partially.husked.rice eat-INF give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
 21 *di uni thoŋi-ye kiji chokchok-te luma*
 one day old.woman-ERG black darkness-LOC partially.husked.rice
kǎi-sa ci-loŋ-Ø-u-no. 22 ka jet loŋ-sa ma-thaŋ-sa
 remove-INF CAUS-do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT this work do-INF NEG-be.able-INF
uniŋ hok-Ø-thyo. 23 kerep-Ø-ta-le hok-Ø-an, libi baŋi-pali
 like be-SAS-3S/COND cry-SAS-IPP-PCL be-SAS-3S/PT after cat-p
kyel-eŋ-ta-le ŋay-eŋ-no ‘naŋ hara-kǎi kerep-na-du? hara
 come-pAS-IPP-PCL say-pAS-3→3/PT you what-PM cry-2s-NPT what
thah-Ø-an?’ 24 ‘naŋ-ko jet ni-ye loŋ-wa-du, ma-kerep-e!’
 be-SAS-3S/PT you-GEN work we-ERG do-1p→23-NPT NEG-cry-s/NEG/IMP
 25 *libi sakalei baŋi-pali-ye mesek catok-to-le luma*
 after all cat-p-ERG eye burn-TPP-PCL partially.husked.rice
ciy-eŋ-no. 26 baŋthe syaŋ thoŋi-ye
 throw.away-pAS-3→3/PT tomorrow period old.woman-ERG
lembe-te paŋku ra-sa thoŋ-Ø-u-no, kerep-kerep
 winnowing.tray-LOC water bring-INF send-SAS-3P-3→3/PT cry-cry
soŋ-te yah-Ø-an. 27 to ni-to-le ɖaŋaŋeŋ-pali kyel-eŋ-an,
 river-LOC go-SAS-3S/PT that see-TPP-PCL bird-p come-pAS-3S/PT

20 While she was threshing the rice, she gave the partially husked bits to the birds to eat. 21 One day the old woman made her remove all the partially husked rice in complete darkness. 22 This was an almost impossible task. 23 While she sat there crying, the cats came and said ‘why are you crying? What happened?’ 24 ‘We’ll do it for you, don’t cry!’ [they said]. 25 Then all the cats lit up their eyes and threw away all the partially husked rice. 26 The following day the old woman sent her to the river to bring water in a winnowing tray, and she went off crying and crying. 27 Seeing that, the birds came and said ‘what happened?’

'hara thah-Ø-an?' *ηa-to-le* *ηay-eη-no.* 28 *libi sakalei wakhe*
 what be-SAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL say-pAS-3→3/PT after all word
sat-Ø-u-no, *'ma-kerep-e!* *ni-ye* *loη-wa-du'* *ηay-eη-no.*
 kill-SAS-3P-3→3/PT NEG-cry-s/NEG/IMP we-ERG we-1p→23-NPT say-pAS-3→3/PT
 29 *ḍaṇaṇeη-pali-ye* *toṭhok-e* *lembe* *nasa-ye* *thil-eη-no,*
 bird-p-ERG beak-INS winnowing.tray earth-INS paint-pAS-3→3/PT
tyaη paṅku hen-Ø-u-no. 30 *ka ni-to-le* *ṭhoṇi*
 then water bring-SAS-3P-3→3/PT this see-TPP-PCL old.woman
taη-Ø-an. 31 *'nan naη soη-te* *ya-ta-na-le,* *nany-e*
 be.happy-SAS-3S/PT now you river-LOC go-IPP-2s-PCL you-ERG
yo-to-le *di-gore* *chaη* *uniη kyel-o!'* 32 *to*
 look.at-TPP-PCL one-CLF bamboo.cradle like bring-s→3/IMP that
ya-Ø-ta-le *di-gore* *chaη* *kyel-Ø-u-no,* *to* *duη-ηaη*
 go-SAS-IPP-PCL one-CLF bamboo.cradle bring-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that within-inside
naka naka laṇi, *naka miη-pali* *hok-Ø-thyo.* 33 *to beryaη*
 new new necklace new cloth-p be-SAS-3SCOND that that.time
di-ka *cahuca* *kyel-Ø-an* *ηaη ηah-Ø-u-no* *'naη gǎi nama*
 one-HNC man come-SAS-3S/PT and say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT you I with
bore *loη-u-na-du?'*, *to-ye* *woi* *'loη-u-n-du'* *ηah-Ø-u-no.*
 marriage do-3P-2s-NPT that-ERG also do-3P-1s→3-NPT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
 34 *libi to oste-ko* *nem-te* *yah-Ø-an,* *ka ni-to-le,* *ama*
 after that self-GEN house-LOC go-SAS-3S/PT this see-TPP-PCL mother
kin-Ø-an. 35 *to-ye* *ηah-Ø-u-no* *'gǎi-gǎi*
 be.startled-SAS-3S/PT that-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT I-PM

28 Once she had explained everything they said 'don't cry! We'll take care of it.' 29 With their beaks, the birds filled the holes in the winnowing tray by smearing them with earth, and then she brought the water. 30 When she saw this, the old woman was happy. 31 'Now go to the river, have a look around, and bring back something like a bamboo cradle!' [said the old woman] 32 She went and brought back a bamboo cradle, inside of which were new necklaces and new clothes. 33 At that moment a man came by and said 'will you marry me?', and she said 'yes, I will.' 34 Then she went back to her own house [on earth] and her mother, seeing her, was startled. 35 Then she said 'my younger sister pushed me into the river to kill me, but I didn't die.'

humi-ye sat-sa soŋ-ŋaŋ jun-Ø-ŋa-n, gǎi ma-si-ŋa-n.'
 younger.sister-ERG kill-INF river-inside push-sAS-1s-PT I NEG-die-1s-PT
 36 *apa-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no 'yaŋ ka kuta ya-na-n? hara*
 father-ERG say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT today throughout where go-2s-PT what
cya-na-n?' 37 *to-ye woi sakalei wakhe ci-nasǎiy-Ø-u-no, nan*
 eat-2s-PT that-ERG also all word CAUS-hear-sAS-3P-3→3/PT now
bore loŋ-sa wakhe woi ci-nasǎiy-Ø-u-no. 38 *humi-ye*
 marriage do-INF word also CAUS-hear-sAS-3P-3→3/PT younger.sister-ERG
woi nan soŋ-te ya-Ø-ta-le tete-ye uniŋ laŋi miŋ
 also now river-LOC go-sAS-IPP-PCL elder.sister-ERG like necklace cloth
bu-si-sa hen-sa thah-Ø-an. 39 *baŋthe syaŋ bǎsinŋe*
 cover-REF-INF go-INF be-sAS-3S/PT tomorrow period morning
serek-Ø-ta-le, soŋ-te ya-Ø-ta-le, cuk-siy-Ø-an, kutaleŋ woi
 arise-sAS-IPP-PCL river-LOC go-sAS-IPP-PCL insert-REF-sAS-3S/PT when also
ma-rah-Ø-an. 40 *to-te siy-Ø-an, apa ama*
 NEG-come.from.level-sAS-3S/PT that-LOC die-sAS-3S/PT father mother
kerep-eŋ-ta-le hok-eŋ-an.
 cry-pAS-IPP-PCL be-pAS-3S/PT

36 And father said 'up until this day, where have you travelled and what have you eaten?' 37 She told them everything that had happened and then she also spoke of getting married. 38 Younger sister also decided to go down to the river to find necklaces and clothes to wear in the same way that her elder sister had done. 39 The following morning she got up, went to the river and jumped in, never to return. 40 And in that place she died, and father and mother lived on crying.

MOTHER-DAUGHTER

1 *di-gore nem-te ama camăi hok-eŋ-thyo.* 2 *ama-guri*
 one-CLF house-LOC mother daughter be-PAS-3SCOND mother-IND
ṭaye ṭaye camăi dikaca torta-to-le cawa-Ø-thyo. 3 *di uni*
 night night daughter alone leave-TPP-PCL walk-SAS-3SCOND one day
camăi-ye ṇah-Ø-u-no ‘ama, naŋ ṭaye ṭaye kuta ya-na-du,
 daughter-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT mother you night night where go-2s-NPT
găi-găi torta-to-le?’ 4 *ṇah-Ø-u-no ‘camăi, găi dese-te*
 I-PM leave-TPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT daughter I village-LOC
wakhe ṭisen-sa-kăi ya-ŋa-du.’ 5 *tyaŋ libi ama-kăi ṇah-Ø-u-no*
 word teach-INF-PM go-1s-NPT then after mother-PM say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
‘naŋ sakalei-ko huca-pali-kăi ṭisen-sa ya-na-du, găi-găi hani
 you all-GEN child-p-PM teach-INF go-2s-NPT I-PM how.much
ṭisen-Ø-ŋa-n?’ 6 *‘naŋ kapu-ko wakhe woi săi-na-du, găi-go*
 teach-SAS-1s-PT you head-GEN word also know-2s-NPT I-GEN
kapu-te hara hara hok-Ø-du?’ 7 *‘nan hara ŋa-sa?*
 head-LOC what what be-SAS-NPT now what say-INF
ma-ŋah-u-n-uŋ-be, camăi si-ko sow-Ø-an.’
 NEG-say-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT-TOP daughter die-ADH be.about.to-SAS-3S/PT
 8 *ama-ye ṇah-Ø-u-no, ‘naŋ-ko kapu-te naŋ-ko bore*
 mother-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT you-GEN head-LOC you-GEN marriage
apraca nama tha-Ø-du ŋa-to-le hok-Ø-du.’ 9 *ama-ko wakhe*
 good with be-SAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL be-SAS-NPT mother-GEN word

1 There once lived a mother and daughter in a house. 2 Night after night, the mother left the daughter [at home] by herself while she went out. 3 One day the daughter said ‘mother, after leaving me, where do you go every night?’ 4 She said ‘daughter, I go to the village in order to teach.’ 5 And then she [the daughter] said to her mother ‘you go and teach all these children, but how much have you taught me?’ 6 ‘You also understand this brainy stuff [lit. word of the head], what’s [written] on my head?’ 7 ‘What to say now? If I say nothing, then my daughter looks as if she may die.’ 8 Mother said ‘on your head it’s [written] said that you will have a good marriage.’ 9 Hearing mother’s words, the daughter went off to sit in a cave.

nasăi-to-le camăi apok-te hok-sa yah-Ø-an. 10 *ya-Ø-du*
 hear-TPP-PCL daughter cave-LOC be-INF go-SAS-3S/PT go-SAS-NPT
beryaŋ di-ka mi nih-Ø-u-no, to-ye to mi-kăi
 that.time one-HNC person see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-ERG that person-PM
ḍapu-to-le yoh-Ø-u-no. 11 *to nama*
 peep-TPP-PCL look.at-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that with
sul-si-sul-si-Ø-ta-le, to-ye loŋ-Ø-u-du jet
 hide-REF-hide-REF-SAS-IPP-PCL that-ERG do-SAS-3P-NPT work
ḍap-Ø-u-no. 12 *tyaŋ to mi uli-si-sa-kăi soŋ-te*
 peep-SAS-3P-3→3/PT then that person wash-REF-INF-PM river-LOC
yah-Ø-an. 13 *to beryaŋ camăica ya-Ø-ta-le, to-ye*
 go-SAS-3S/PT that that.time woman go-IPP-PCL that-ERG
loŋ-Ø-u-du jet nem-te hok-Ø-ta-le loŋ-Ø-u-no. 14 *to*
 do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT work house-LOC be-SAS-IPP-PCL do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that
mi uli-si-Ø-ta-le waŋ-Ø-du beryaŋ, nem-te
 person wash-REF-SAS-IPP-PCL come.from.below-SAS-NPT that.time house-LOC
sakalei jet loŋ-Ø-u-du nih-Ø-u-no. 15 *tyaŋ to-ye jekha*
 all work do-SAS-3P-NPT see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT then that-ERG big
wakhe-te ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘ka-te su hok-Ø-du? ka jet su-ye
 voice-LOC say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT this-LOC who be-SAS-NPT this work who-ERG
loŋ-Ø-u-no? priŋ let-a!’ 16 *‘ma-let-na-n-be, găi*
 do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT outside appear-s/IMP NEG-appear-2S-PT-TOP I
kaṭa-ŋa-du, su tha-na-du?’ 17 *libi wakhe nasăi-to-le let-ko*
 scold-1s-NPT who be-2s-NPT after word hear-TPP-PCL appear-ADH

10 As she was going, she saw a person and she looked at that person with scrutiny. 11 She hid near him, and spied on what he was doing. 12 Then that person went to the river to wash himself. 13 At that time the woman left and, sitting in the house, did exactly the same jobs as he had done. 14 Having washed, when that person came home he saw that all the work was done. 15 Then he said in a loud voice ‘who is here? Who has done this work? Come and show yourself!’ 16 ‘If you don’t come out I will scold you, who are you?’ 17 Having heard these words she had to come out, and full of fear for this man, she stood up.

măiy-Ø-an ŋa-to-le, to mi nama camăi
 must-SAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL that person with daughter
ari-ari-Ø-ta-le theŋ-Ø-an. 18 ari-Ø-ta-le
 be.afraid-be.afraid-SAS-IPP-PCL stand.up-SAS-3S/PT be.afraid-SAS-IPP-PCL
ŋah-Ø-u-no, ‘bubu, ka dese-te găi-go su woi ma-hok,
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT elder.brother this village-LOC I-GEN who also NEG-be
găi sumaka thăi daŋ-ca daŋ-ca ra-ŋa-du, tyaŋ
 I silent place search-PSG search-PSG come.from.level-1s-NPT then
ka-te ka ra-let-ŋa-n.’ 19 ‘tyaŋ naŋ-ko nem
 this-LOC throughout come.from.level-appear-1s-PT then you-GEN house
nih-u-n-uŋ, ka-te ra-ŋa-n.’ 20 ‘găi-găi woi
 see-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT this-LOC come.from.level-1s-PT I-PM also
ka-te camăi uniŋ loŋ-to-le na-ŋa, bubu.’
 this-LOC daughter like do-TPP-PCL put-s→1s/IMP elder.brother
 21 *bubu-ye to camăica-kăi camăi uniŋ loŋ-to-le*
 elder.brother-ERG that woman-PM daughter like do-TPP-PCL
nah-Ø-u-no. 22 di uni bubu-kăi jakcho cya-sa
 put-SAS-3P-3→3/PT one day elder.brother-PM wheat eat-INF
aliy-Ø-an, camăi-kăi urou-to-le ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘camăi, găi-găi
 like-SAS-3S/PT daughter-PM call-TPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT daughter I-PM
jakcho cya-sa ali-ŋa-n, ya-kăi-to-le ra-to-le
 wheat eat-INF like-1s-PT go-remove-TPP-PCL bring-TPP-PCL
ra-Ø!’ 23 camăi jakcho ya-kăi-sa yah-Ø-an,
 come.from.level-s/IMP daughter wheat go-remove-INF go-SAS-3S/PT

18 All afraid, she said, ‘elder brother, I know no one in this village, and I have been searching and searching for a quiet place to go to, and ended up here.’ 19 ‘Then I saw your house and came here.’ 20 ‘Put me to work here and let me be like a daughter for you, elder brother’ [she said]. 21 And elder brother let that woman stay as if she were his daughter. 22 One day elder brother wanted to eat wheat so he called over the daughter and said ‘daughter, I feel like eating wheat, go find some, get it, and bring it back!’ 23 The daughter went off to find wheat, and she saw some wheat [growing] in a field.

to-ye di-gore pebu-te jakcho nih-Ø-u-no. 24 to-ye
 that-ERG one-CLF irrigated.field-LOC wheat see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-ERG
kokorok-Ø-ta-le jakcho kum-Ø-u-thyo, ulam caway-eŋ-du
 bend.over-SAS-IPP-PCL wheat pick-SAS-3P-3SECOND road walk-pAS-NPT
mi-pali nih-Ø-u-no. 25 nama ya-Ø-ta-le, di-ka cahuca nama
 person-p see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT with go-SAS-IPP-PCL one-HNC man with
cijyaŋ-Ø-an. 26 to di ʔa to-te cahuca nama hok-Ø-an.
 speak-SAS-3S/PT that one night that-LOC man with be-SAS-3S/PT
 27 *libi baŋkal cabuh-Ø-u-no, nan huca nik-sa thah-Ø-an.*
 after stomach carry-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now child give.birth-INF be-SAS-3S/PT
 28 *nan huca yaŋ yaŋ baʔhe baʔhe loŋ-to-le, di uni*
 now child today today tomorrow tomorrow do-TPP-PCL one day
huca nik-Ø-an. 29 nan bubu-ye nih-Ø-u-du
 child be.born-SAS-3S/PT now elder.brother-ERG see-SAS-3P-NPT
ŋa-to-le huca puʔu pole-te sul-to-le cih-Ø-u-no.
 say-TPP-PCL child thorn tree-LOC hide-TPP-PCL throw.away-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
 30 *libi di-ka mi arki sat-sa ra-Ø-thyo.*
 after one-HNC person deer kill-INF come.from.level-SAS-3SECOND
 31 *puʔu pole-te huca kerep-Ø-du nasäiy-Ø-u-no. 32 to-ko woi*
 thorn tree-LOC child cry-SAS-NPT hear-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-GEN also
huca-pali ma-hok-Ø-thyo. 33 puʔu pole-te yoh-Ø-u-du
 child-p NEG-be-SAS-3SECOND thorn tree-LOC look.at-SAS-3P-NPT
beryaŋ, paʔasi-te huca nih-Ø-u-no. 34 to-ye to
 that.time traditional.skirt-LOC child see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-ERG that

24 As she was bending over and picking the wheat, she saw people walking along the road.
 25 Having gone off with them, she spoke to one of the men. 26 She spend one night with that man in that very place. 27 Then she became pregnant, and was going to give birth to a child.
 28 Now carrying that child day after day [lit. today today tomorrow tomorrow], one day she gave birth to a baby. 29 Now the elder brother sees this, he got rid of the child by hiding it at the foot of a thorny bush. 30 Thereafter a man came to kill deer. 31 He heard a child crying by the foot of a thorny bush. 32 Also he didn't have any children. 33 When he looked at the foot of the thorny bush, he saw a child [wrapped] in a traditional woman's skirt. 34 Carrying that child, he took it back to his own house.

huca oste-ko nem-te cabu-to-le hen-Ø-u-no. 35 *nem-te*
 child self-GEN house-LOC carry-TPP-PCL take-sAS-3P-3→3/PT house-LOC
hen-ŋa libi to woi jekha thah-Ø-an. 36 *nan to-kăi apa-ye*
 take-CNS after that also big be-sAS-3S/PT now that-PM father-ERG
bore loŋ-sa daŋ-Ø-u-no. 37 *dha-te habi-ko*
 marriage do-INF search-sAS-3P-3→3/PT that.distant-LOC before-GEN
camăi-kăi woi bubu-ye bore loŋ-sa daŋ-Ø-u-no.
 daughter-PM also elder.brother-ERG marriage do-INF search-sAS-3P-3→3/PT
 38 *habi-ko camăica-ko bubu woi damari*
 before-GEN woman-GEN elder.brother also son.in.law
daŋ-daŋ-ăi, cahuca-ko nem-te ya-let-Ø-an. 39 *cahuca-ko*
 search-search-CON man-GEN house-LOC go-appear-sAS-3S/PT man-GEN
nem-te ya-let-Ø-ta-le ‘găi-go humi nama bore
 house-LOC go-appear-sAS-IPP-PCL I-GEN younger.sister with marriage
loŋ-o! si-sa, mo-sa, hara tha-Ø-du, hara.’ 40 *cahuca-ye woi*
 do-s→3/IMP die-INF survive-INF what be-sAS-NPT what man-ERG also
‘ja-Ø-du’ ŋah-Ø-u-no, tyaj oste-ko nem-te yah-Ø-an
 okay-sAS-NPT say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT then self-GEN house-LOC go-sAS-3S/PT
humi-kăi ŋah-Ø-u-no. 41 *‘nan humi jekha tha-na-n,*
 younger.sister-PM say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT now younger.sister big be-2s-PT
naŋ-ko bore loŋ-ko măiy-Ø-an, hara tha-Ø-du?’
 you-GEN marriage do-ADH must-sAS-3S/PT what be-sAS-NPT
 42 *bubu-ko wakhe nasăi-to-le, humi-ye*
 elder.brother-GEN word hear-TPP-PCL younger.sister-ERG

35 Having taken him home, he grew up [there]. 36 Now father was looking to get him married. 37 The elder brother mentioned before, living over there, was also trying to get his daughter married. 38 The elder brother of the woman mentioned previously was searching and searching for a son-in-law, and in this manner arrived at the man's house. 39 Having arrived at the man's house, [he said] 'marry my little sister! Dying, living, who knows what will happen in the future.' 40 And the man said 'fine', so he [the elder brother] went back to his own house and told his little sister [previously referred to as daughter]. 41 'Now you've become mature, younger sister, and it's time for you to get married, what will it be?' 42 Having heard what her elder brother said, younger sister replied 'I am not going to get married now, it's on account of not wanting to get married that I left my mother and came in this direction.'

ŋah-Ø-u-no 'gǎi *naleŋ bore ma-loŋ, bore ma-loŋ*
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT I present marriage NEG-do marriage NEG-do
ŋa-to-le gǎi *ama-kǎi torta-to-le ka dǎi*
 say-TPP-PCL I mother-PM leave-TPP-PCL this towards
ra-ŋa-n.' 43 'humi, *naŋ-ko su woi ma-hok, gǎi*
 come.from.level-1s-PT younger.sister you-GEN who also NEG-be I
woi si-ŋa libi naŋ kunyaŋ dikaca hok-na-du? nan bore
 also die-CNS after you how alone be-2s-NPT now marriage
loŋ-o!' 44 'ja-Ø-du, *nany-e hara ŋah-u-na-du, loŋ-u-n-du.*'
 do-s→3/IMP okay-SAS-NPT you-ERG what say-3P-2s-NPT do-3P-1s→3-NPT
 45 *nan bubu cahuca-ko nem-te yah-Ø-an, bore loŋ-sa*
 now elder.brother man-GEN house-LOC go-SAS-3S/PT marriage do-INF
thay-eŋ-an libi bore lony-eŋ-no. 46 *libi ami-Ø-du beryaŋ,*
 be-PAS-3S/PT after marriage do-PAS-3→3/PT after sleep-SAS-NPT that.time
habi huca pore-to-le ciy-Ø-u-du paṭasi kherte
 before child cover.up-TPP-PCL throw.away-SAS-3P-NPT traditional.skirt near
nih-Ø-u-no, ŋaŋ kin-Ø-an. 47 'ka gǎi-go huca *thanun*'
 see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT and be.startled-SAS-3S/PT this I-GEN child maybe
ŋa-to-le, to-yiŋ ṭaye dorok-Ø-an. 48 *ya-ya woi, di-ka ucyaca*
 say-TPP-PCL that-ABL night run-SAS-3S/PT go-go also one-HNC small
huca nama ya-let-Ø-an. 49 *huca ni-to-le yoh-Ø-u-no*
 child with go-appear-SAS-3S/PT child see-TPP-PCL look.at-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
 'ka huca gǎi-go *nem-te tha-sa-be, ka nama hok-ŋa-thyo*'
 this child I-GEN house-LOC be-INF-TOP this with be-1s-3SCOND

43 'Younger sister, you have no one, and once I'm dead, how will you live by yourself? Now get married!' [he said] 44 'All right, then, I will do as you say.' [she said] 45 Then elder brother went to the man's house, and they started the wedding process, and later they got married. 46 Later, when it was time to sleep, she saw nearby the traditional woman's skirt in which she had wrapped the child all that time ago and she was very startled. 47 Thinking 'he [my groom] could be my child', she ran away from that place in the night. 48 As she was going, she came across a small child. 49 Seeing the child, she looked at it and said 'if this child had been in my house, I would have lived with him.'

- ŋah-Ø-u-no.* 50 *libi to huca nama wakhe loŋ-Ø-u-no.*
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after that child with word do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
- 51 *‘hu, naŋ kuta-yiŋ kyel-na-n? kuta ya-na-du?’*
 younger.brother you where-ABL come-2s-PT where go-2s-NPT
- 52 *huca-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘gǎi begale dese pepelek daŋ-sa*
 child-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT I other village money search-INF
jet loŋ-sa cawa-ŋa-du.’ 53 *‘naŋ-kǎi su-ye jet pi-Ø-na-du?’*
 work do-INF walk-1s-NPT you-PM who-ERG work give-SAS-2s-NPT
su nama hok-na-du? cya-sa su-ye pi-Ø-na-du?’ 54 *to huca*
 who with be-2s-NPT eat-INF who-ERG give-SAS-2s-NPT that child
nama nama cawah-Ø-an. 55 *to huca begale dese yah-Ø-an,*
 with with walk-SAS-3S/PT that child other village go-SAS-3S/PT
camǎica apok-te hok-sa yah-Ø-an. 56 *libi to huca jekha dese*
 woman cave-LOC be-INF go-SAS-3S/PT after that child big village
ya-let-Ø-an, naka thǎi, nem, ulam ni-to-le, thombe
 go-appear-SAS-3S/PT new place house road see-TPP-PCL surprise
thah-Ø-an. 57 *nan ukhiŋ thah-Ø-an ‘kuta hok-sa?’ ŋa-to-le*
 be-SAS-3S/PT now dark be-SAS-3S/PT where be-INF say-TPP-PCL
ŋah-Ø-u-no. 58 *ṭaye thah-Ø-an to huca ulam-te*
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT night be-SAS-3S/PT that child road-LOC
amiy-Ø-an, nis uni ka jet ma-khalam-Ø-u-no.
 sleep-SAS-3S/PT two day throughout work NEG-receive-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
- 59 *nan amat-to-le cyah-Ø-an, ulam-te hok-Ø-an, ulam-te*
 now beg-TPP-PCL eat-SAS-3S/PT road-LOC be-SAS-3S/PT road-LOC

50 Then she spoke with the child. 51 ‘Younger brother, where have you come from? Where are you going?’ 52 The child said ‘I’m off to find money and work in a different village.’ 53 ‘Who will give you work? With whom will you live? Who will feed you?’ [she said]. 54 She walked together with that child. 55 That child went to a different village, and the woman went to live in a cave. 56 Thereafter the child reached a big city and, seeing new places, houses and roads, was shocked. 57 Then it became dark, ‘where to stay?’ he thought. 58 It became night and that child slept on the road, and for two whole days he didn’t find work. 59 Now, he managed to eat by begging, he lived and slept on the road.

amiy-Ø-an. 60 *nembo-ye* *ciy-eŋ-du* *isa*
 sleep-SAS-3S/PT other.person-ERG throw.away-pAS-NPT food
daŋ-to-le *cyah-Ø-an.* 61 *oste uniŋ begale ban*
 search-TPP-PCL eat-SAS-3S/PT self like other friend
khalam-Ø-u-no, *ban uniŋ amat-to-le cyah-Ø-an,* *jekha*
 meet-SAS-3P-3→3/PT friend like beg-TPP-PCL eat-SAS-3S/PT big
thah-Ø-an, *miŋ woi ma-toŋ-si-Ø-du,* *khen woi*
 be-SAS-3S/PT cloth also NEG-wash-REF-SAS-NPT face also
ma-jek-si-Ø-du, *kiji hok-Ø-thyo.* 62 *di uni ahe jhari*
 NEG-wash-REF-SAS-NPT black be-SAS-3SECOND one day much rain
yuw-Ø-an, *to phow-Ø-an,* *pho-Ø-ta-le* *to-ko*
 come.from.above-SAS-3S/PT that be.wet-SAS-3S/PT be.wet-SAS-IPP-PCL that-GEN
kiji maŋ ubo thah-Ø-an. 63 *to beryaŋ di-ka sarma camăica*
 black body white be-SAS-3S/PT that that.time one-HNC strong woman
ra-Ø-ta-le *ŋah-Ø-u-no* *‘hu,* *naŋ găi-go*
 come.from.level-SAS-IPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT younger.brother you I-GEN
nem-te hok-sa ya-na-du?’ 64 *to-ye woi ‘ya-ŋa-du’*
 house-LOC be-INF go-2s-NPT that-ERG also go-1s-NPT
ŋah-Ø-u-no, *hen-to-le,* *libi to-kăi ami-sa ʈhăi*
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT take-TPP-PCL after that-PM sleep-INF place
cikhet-Ø-u-no, *camăica-ye isa ken* *uman-to-le*
 show-SAS-3P-3→3/PT woman-PM food vegetable.curry cook-TPP-PCL
piy-Ø-u-no. 65 *libi kherte-ko camăica bore loŋ-Ø-u-no,*
 give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after near-GEN woman marriage do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

60 He found and ate the food that others threw away. 61 He made friends with someone just like himself, and like that friend, he also ate by begging, and grew up in this manner, not washing his clothes, not washing his face, and being all dirty. 62 One day it rained really hard and he was totally drenched, and being so drenched, his dirty body became clean. 63 At that time, a young woman who was passing said ‘younger brother, why don’t you go and stay at my house?’ 64 He said ‘I’ll go’, so and she took him home, after which she showed him his sleeping place and, having cooked up food and vegetable curry, gave it to him. 65 Later

sumaka hok-eŋ-an.
silent be-pAS-3S/PT

he married a local woman and they lived peacefully together.

BROTHER - SISTER

- 1 *di-gore dese-te nis-ka bubu humi thay-eŋ-du.*
one-CLF village-LOC two-HNC elder.brother younger.sister be-pAS-NPT
- 2 *to-baŋ ucyaca thay-eŋ-du beryaŋ, to-baŋ-ko apa ama*
that-Pp small be-pAS-NPT that.time that-Pp-GEN father mother
- siy-eŋ-an. 3 libi bubu-ye ɲiŋ ʈhem-to-le, pepelek*
die-pAS-3S/PT after elder.brother-ERG stone break-TPP-PCL money
- ra-to-le, cya-sa piy-Ø-u-thyo. 4 libi humi-kăi*
bring-TPP-PCL eat-INF give-SAS-3P-3S/COND after younger.sister-PM
- bore loŋ-sa wakhe loŋ-Ø-u-no. 5 di uni humi-kăi,*
marriage do-INF word do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT one day younger.sister-PM
- sola cya-Ø-du beryaŋ, 'bore loŋ-o' ɲah-Ø-u-du,*
snack eat-SAS-NPT that.time marriage do-s→3/IMP say-SAS-3P-NPT
- humi rage tha-Ø-du. 6 bubu-kăi aŋek-si-Ø-du*
younger.sister anger be-SAS-NPT elder.brother-PM roast-REF-SAS-NPT
- makăi moŋe sola yanatah-Ø-u-du. 7 libi nem-te hen-sa*
maize soybean snack deliver-SAS-3P-NPT after house-LOC go-INF
- beryaŋ 'humi, honce asare ni-Ø-du isa*
that.time younger.sister early.evening taste appear-SAS-NPT food
- ken ci-min-o' ɲah-Ø-u-du. 8 humi-kăi*
vegetable.curry CAUS-ripen-s→3/IMP say-SAS-3P-NPT younger.sister-PM
- nyoŋi thi-sa ma-ja tha-Ø-du, bubu ɲiŋ ʈhem-to-le*
evening touch-INF NEG-okay be-SAS-NPT elder.brother stone break-TPP-PCL

1 In a certain village there live two people, an elder brother and his younger sister. 2 When they were young, their father and mother had died. 3 Later, elder brother worked breaking rocks, and bringing money, would give them both something to eat. 4 Later, he talked to his younger sister about getting married. 5 One day, while he was eating a snack, he says to his younger sister 'get married!', and she becomes angry. 6 [Every day] she delivers a snack of roasted maize and soybeans to her elder brother. 7 And later, when it's time to come home, he always says 'younger sister, prepare a tasty meal this evening!' 8 One day, younger sister got her monthly period [lit. not okay to touch], so when elder brother came back from breaking rocks, she had not cooked the evening meal.

ra-Ø-du *beryaŋ, isa ken* *hara woi*
 come.from.level-SAS-NPT that.time food vegetable.curry what also
ma-ci-min-Ø-u-no. 9 *bubu* *isa-ye* *karăi-Ø-ta-le*
 NEG-CAUS-ripen-SAS-3P-3→3/PT elder.brother food-INS shout-SAS-IPP-PCL
ra-Ø-du, *yoh-Ø-u-du,* *ma-ni.* 10 *humi-kăi*
 come.from.level-SAS-NPT look.at-SAS-3P-NPT NEG-see younger.sister-PM
kaŋa-Ø-du ‘*humi,* *nany-e* *hara woi isa ken*
 scold-SAS-NPT younger.sister you-ERG what also food vegetable.curry
ma-loŋ-u-na-n’ *ŋah-Ø-u-du,* ‘*găi-găi thi-sa* *ma-ja,* *tyaŋ*
 NEG-do-3P-2s-PT say-SAS-3P-NPT I-PM touch-INF NEG-okay then
ma-loŋ-u-n-du.’ 11 *libi* *bubu* *oste-ye* *isa* *ken*
 NEG-do-3P-1s→3-NPT after elder.brother self-ERG food vegetable.curry
loŋ-sa daŋ-Ø-u-du, *soyony-e* *me* *mut-Ø-u-du,* *me* *ma-ti.*
 do-INF search-SAS-3P-NPT tube-INS fire blow-SAS-3P-NPT fire NEG-light
 12 *baŋi* *thapu-te* *nah-Ø-u-du,* *lak-te* *kiji* *thum-Ø-du,* *me*
 pot fireplace-LOC put-SAS-3P-NPT hand-LOC black stain-SAS-NPT fire
ma-ti-Ø-ta-le *kerep-Ø-du,* *raphil* *thor-si-Ø-du* *beryaŋ,*
 NEG-light-SAS-IPP-PCL cry-SAS-NPT tear wipe.away-REF-SAS-NPT that.time
kiji *naŋe-te* *thum-Ø-du.* 13 *humi-ye* *yo-le*
 black cheek-LOC stain-SAS-NPT younger.sister-ERG look.at-PCL
nah-Ø-u-du ‘*bubu,* *găi-găi bore* *loŋ-sa daŋ-u-na-du,* *găi*
 put-SAS-3P-NPT elder.brother I-PM marriage do-INF search-3P-2s-NPT I
ma-tha-ŋa-be, *naŋ* *kunyaŋ* *isa* *ken* *uman-to-le* *cya-na-du?’*
 NEG-be-1s-TOP you how food vegetable.curry cook-TPP-PCL eat-2s-NPT

9 Elder brother comes back hungry, looks around, but doesn't see anything. 10 He scolds his sister, saying 'younger sister, you have prepared neither food nor curry', [she replies] 'I have my period, so I can't cook anything.' 11 Then elder brother tries to prepare the food and vegetable curry by himself, and he blows on the fire with the tube, but the fire won't light. 12 As he puts the pot on the fireplace, he gets black [soot] on his hands, and what with the fire still not being alight, he cries, and as he wipes the tears away, the black smears all over his cheeks. 13 Looking at her brother, younger sister says 'elder brother, you are trying to get me married, but if I weren't here, how would you manage to cook your food and eat?'

14 *'humi, naŋ-ko nem apraca e-tha-Ø, lawa apraca*
 younger.sister you-GEN house good OPT-be-sas husband good
e-tha-Ø gǎi uman-to-le cya-ŋa-du.' 15 *di uni ɲiŋ ɬhem-Ø-u-du*
 OPT-be-sas I cook-TPP-PCL eat-1s-NPT one day stone break-sas-3P-NPT
ɬǎi-te dese-ko mi ɬuŋi kyel-to-le humi amat-sa
 place-LOC village-GEN person goat bring-TPP-PCL younger.sister beg-INF
kyel-Ø-du. 16 *bubu-ye humi piy-Ø-u-du, libi*
 come-sas-NPT elder.brother-ERG younger.sister give-sas-3P-NPT after
bore thah-Ø-an. 17 *bore tha-Ø-ta-le, lawa begale dese*
 marriage be-sas-3S/PT marriage be-sas-IPP-PCL husband other village
pepelek daŋ-sa cawa-Ø-du, cawa-Ø-du beryaŋ, lawa ulam-te
 money search-INF walk-sas-NPT walk-sas-NPT that.time husband road-LOC
ɬiŋ-Ø-ta-le si-Ø-du. 18 *libi ka wakhe humi-ye*
 fall.over-sas-IPP-PCL die-sas-NPT after this word younger.sister-ERG
'lawa siy-Ø-an' ŋa-to-le thaha sǎi-Ø-du, bampre
 husband die-sas-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL knowledge know-sas-NPT rib
ɲe-si-ɲe-si-Ø-ta-le kerep-Ø-du, aji chuku sakalei
 beat-REF-beat-REF-sas-IPP-PCL cry-sas-NPT mother.in.law father.in.law all
kerep-eŋ-du. 19 *aji-ye wari-kǎi sampuh-Ø-u-du,*
 cry-pas-NPT mother.in.law-ERG daughter.in.law-PM pull.hair-sas-3P-NPT
nate-te kapu-te ɲeh-Ø-u-du. 20 *lak-te-ko ɬhoka-pali*
 cheek-LOC head-LOC beat-sas-3P-NPT hand-LOC-GEN bracelet-p
ɬhem-eŋ-du, to kerep-Ø-du beryaŋ sakalei-ye yoy-eŋ-du.
 break-pas-NPT that cry-sas-NPT that.time all-ERG look.at-pas-NPT

14 'Younger sister, let your house be good, let your husband be good, I will manage with the cooking and eating.' 15 One day a villager comes bringing a goat to the stone quarry to ask for the younger sister's hand in marriage. 16 Elder brother gives away his younger sister, and later the marriage takes place. 17 Having gotten married, the husband sets off to another village to find work [lit. search for money], but walking along the road, he falls and dies. 18 After coming to know of her husband's death, younger sister cries while beating and beating her breast, her mother-in-law and father-in-law also both cry. 19 Mother-in-law grabs her daughter-in-law by her hair, striking her cheeks and beating her head. 20 They break up the bracelets on her wrists, and everyone looks at her when she cries.

- 21 *aji-ye* 'lawa *cya-na-n'* *ŋa-to-le* *kaṭa-Ø-du*,
 mother.in.law-ERG husband eat-2s-PT say-TPP-PCL scold-SAS-NPT
oste-guri boro *cici cey-eŋ-du*, *wari-kǎi-guri*
 self-IND cooked.rice meat eat-pAS-NPT daughter.in.law-PM-IND
laŋga-te *kucu-kǎi uniŋ maŋǎi piy-eŋ-du*. 22 *wari*
 courtyard-LOC dog-PM like bread give-pAS-NPT daughter-in-law
kerep-kerep-Ø-ta-le *cya-Ø-du*. 23 *aji-ye* *kwǎi koṭeh-Ø-u-du*,
 cry-cry-SAS-IPP-PCL eat-SAS-NPT mother.in.law-ERG potato cut-SAS-3P-NPT
wari-ye *sya-ko syakli cabuh-Ø-u-du*. 24 *karati-ye*
 daughter.in.law-ERG cow-GEN cow.dung carry-SAS-3P-NPT sickle-INS
aji *oste-ko lak koṭeh-Ø-u-du*, *rage-ye wari-kǎi*
 mother.in.law self-GEN hand cut-SAS-3P-NPT anger-INS daughter.in.law-PM
sampu-sa *ya-Ø-du*. 25 *to aṭṭhe kerep-Ø-du*, *tyaŋ di uni*
 pull.hair-INF go-SAS-NPT that much cry-SAS-NPT then one day
si-sa-kǎi sakpa cabu-to-le kutiriŋ-si-sa cawa-Ø-du. 26 *sakpa*
 die-INF-PM rope carry-TPP-PCL hang-REF-INF walk-SAS-NPT rope
chyu-to-le, *kutiriŋ-si-Ø-du beryaŋ*, *to-ko bubu*
 tie-TPP-PCL hang-REF-SAS-NP that.time that-GEN elder.brother
ra-let-Ø-du. 27 *bubu-ye kaṇṭu-ko sakpa*
 come.from.level-appear-SAS-NPT elder.brother-ERG neck-GEN rope
phet-Ø-u-du, *humi-kǎi kaṭa-Ø-du*. 28 *jekha sare-ye*,
 untie-SAS-3P-NPT younger.sister-PM scold-SAS-NPT big voice-INS
bubu-ye 'hara *ka ṭhǎi-te?* *lawa ma-hok-Ø-du-ye*,
 elder.brother-ERG what this place-LOC husband NEG-be-SAS-NPT-ERG

21 Mother-in-law scolded her, saying 'you ate your husband', and while they all ate rice and meat, they treated their daughter-in-law like a dog, feeding her only bread outside in the courtyard. 22 Daughter-in-law eats crying and crying the whole time. 23 Mother-in-law cuts the potatoes, daughter-in-law carries the cow manure. 24 Mother-in-law cut her own hand with a sickle, and in anger goes off to pull daughter-in-law's hair. 25 She cries lots, and then one day she goes off, carrying a rope, to hang herself and die. 26 Having tied the rope, as she is hanging herself, her elder brother arrives. 27 Elder brother unties the rope from around her neck and scolds his younger sister. 28 And elder brother says in a loud voice 'what is it with this place? Is one not allowed to live without a husband?'

mo-sa ma-khalam?’ ŋa-to-le ŋah-Ø-u-du. 29 humi
 survive-INF NEG-receive say-TPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-NPT younger.sister
bubu-kăi cum-to-le kerep-Ø-du, bubu-ye
 elder.brother-PM hold-TPP-PCL cry-SAS-NPT elder.brother-ERG
humi-ko bore loŋ-sa-kăi kyel-Ø-u-du pepelek pi-sa
 younger.sister-GEN marriage do-INF-PM bring-SAS-3P-NPT money give-INF
ma-thaŋ. 30 pepelek-ko mi-ye nem cya-sa daŋ-Ø-u-du.
 NEG-be.able money-GEN person-ERG house eat-INF search-SAS-3P-NPT
 31 *libi pepelek-ko mi-kăi nem torta-to-le, bubu*
 after money-GEN person-PM house leave-TPP-PCL elder.brother
humi begale dese yey-eŋ-du. 32 ya-let-eŋ-ta-le,
 younger.sister other village go-PAS-NPT go-appear-PAS-IPP-PCL
bubu-ye nem khem-sa jet loŋ-Ø-u-du, humi-ye
 elder.brother-ERG house build-INF work do-SAS-3P-NPT younger.sister-ERG
miŋ toŋ-sa jet loŋ-Ø-u-du. 33 hok-sa-guri, nembo-ko
 cloth wash-INF work do-SAS-3P-NPT be-INF-IND other.person-GEN
di-gore nem-te hok-eŋ-du. 34 di uni, di-ka toŋ cya-Ø-du
 one-CLF house-LOC be-PAS-NPT one day one-HNC beer eat-SAS-NPT
mi-ye, miŋ toŋ-toŋ-ăi, humi-ko lak-te
 person-ERG cloth wash-wash-CON younger.sister-GEN hand-LOC
tirik-Ø-u-no. 35 toŋ cya-Ø-du mi nama to rage
 tread.on-SAS-3P-3→3/PT beer eat-SAS-NPT person with that anger
thah-Ø-an, libi to mi to-te jagap-Ø-an. 36 habi-be
 be-SAS-3S/PT after that person that-LOC faint-SAS-3S/PT before-TOP

29 Holding onto her brother, younger sister cries, but elder brother is not able to return the money which he loaned for his little sister's wedding. 30 A money lender tries to take [lit. eat] their house. 31 Then, leaving the house to the money lender, brother and sister go off to live in a different village. 32 Having arrived, elder brother works building houses and younger sister works washing clothes. 33 As for living, well they live together in someone else's house. 34 One day, a drunk [lit. beer-eating] man trod on younger sister's hand while she was washing clothes. 35 She got angry with that drunk man, and then he fainted right there. 36 Whereas before she had scolded him, now she revived him by splashing him with water.

kaṭah-Ø-an, libi to-kǎi paŋku lat-to-le
 scold-SAS-3S/PT after that-PM water splash-TPP-PCL
ci-moh-Ø-u-no. 37 serek-Ø-ta-le yoh-Ø-u-no,
 CAUS-survive-SAS-3P-3→3/PT arise-SAS-IPP-PCL look.at-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
apraca camăica ni-to-le aŋal-Ø-an. 38 serek-Ø-ta-le
 good woman see-TPP-PCL be.ashamed-SAS-3S/PT arise-SAS-IPP-PCL
sewa-to-le cawah-Ø-an. 39 di uni to camăica-kǎi gwi-pali-ye
 salute-TPP-PCL walk-SAS-3S/PT one day that woman-PM thief-p-ERG
cum-eŋ-no ‘nan naŋ ni-ko uma tha-ko mǎi-Ø-du’
 hold-pAS-3→3/PT now you we-GEN wife be-ADH must-SAS-NPT
ŋay-eŋ-no. 40 to beryaŋ toŋ cya-Ø-du mi
 say-pAS-3→3/PT that that.time beer eat-SAS-NPT person
kyel-Ø-ta-le, gwi-pali-kǎi di-ka di-ka loŋ-to-le
 come-SAS-IPP-PCL thief-p-PM one-HNC one-HNC do-TPP-PCL
ciy-Ø-u-no. 41 camăica taŋ-Ø-an ‘bubu, naŋ
 throw.away-SAS-3P-3→3/PT woman be.happy-SAS-3S/PT elder.brother you
nan kutaleŋ woi toŋ ma-cyay-e!’ 42 ‘tony-e ni-ko maŋ
 now when also beer NEG-eat-s/NEG/IMP beer-ERG we-GEN body
sakalei cyah-Ø-u-du, sewa bubu’, ŋa-to-le ŋah-Ø-u-no.
 all eat-SAS-3P-NPT salute elder.brother say-TPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
 43 ‘sewa humi, nan naŋ-kǎi hara woi tha-na-n-be, gǎi
 salute younger.sister now you-PM what also be-2s-PT-TOP I
hok-ŋa-du.’ 44 to cahuca jekha mi-ko ca tha-Ø-thyo,
 be-1s-NPT that man big person-GEN son be-SAS-3SCOND

37 Arising he looked around, and seeing a beautiful woman he felt ashamed. 38 Getting up, and greeting everyone, he walked off. 39 One day thieves grabbed that woman and said ‘now you must be our wife.’ 40 At that time the drunk man came and kicked the thieves away one by one. 41 The woman was happy and said ‘elder brother, now you must never drink beer again!’ 42 ‘Beer totally eats up our bodies, I salute you, elder brother’, she said. 43 ‘Greetings to you [too] younger sister, if ever anything happens to you, I am [always] here.’ 44 That man was the son of an important person, and he lived in a household of three with his father and his own younger sister.

to-ko humi apa oste sum-ka hok-eŋ-thyo.
 that-GEN younger.sister father self three-HNC be-pAS-3SCOND
 45 *dha dăi humi-ye miŋ toŋ-sa jet*
 that.distant towards younger.sister-ERG cloth wash-INF work
loŋ-Ø-u-no, habi-ko cahuca woi khalam-Ø-u-no.
 do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT before-GEN man also meet-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
 46 *bubu-ye woi toŋ cya-Ø-du cahuca-ko humi, nem*
 elder.brother-ERG also beer eat-SAS-NPT man-GEN younger.sister house
khem-Ø-u-du thăi-te, khalam-Ø-u-no. 47 di uni to jekha
 build-SAS-3P-NPT place-LOC meet-SAS-3P-3→3/PT one day that big
mi-ko camăi-kăi apa-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘camăi, nan naŋ
 person-GEN daughter-PM father-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT daughter now you
jekha tha-na-n, naŋ-ko bore loŋ-to-le, naŋ-ko ca
 big be-2s-PT you-GEN marriage do-TPP-PCL you-GEN son
nih-u-n-uŋ-be, găi taŋ-ŋa-thyo.’ 48 ‘apa, găi-go bore
 see-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT-TOP I be.happy-1s-3SCOND father I-GEN marriage
gă-ye khalam-u-n-du cahuca nama loŋ-u-n-du.’ 49 ‘ja-Ø-du,
 I-ERG meet-3P-1s→3-NPT man with do-3P-1s→3-NPT okay-SAS-NPT
yaŋ naŋ-ko lawa kyel-to-le kyel-a!’ ŋah-Ø-u-no.
 today you-GEN husband bring-TPP-PCL come-s/IMP say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
 50 *camăi thombe tha-Ø-ta-le ‘nan su-kăi ra-sa?’ ŋa-to-le*
 daughter surprise be-SAS-IPP-PCL now who-PM bring-INF say-TPP-PCL
hok-Ø-an. 51 libi nan to bubu-kăi pepelek pi-to-le
 be-SAS-3S/PT after now that elder.brother-PM money give-TPP-PCL

45 Younger sister worked washing clothes all the way over, and she met that man from before again. 46 Elder brother met the younger sister of the beer-drinker at the place he was building a house. 47 One day that important person's father said to his daughter 'daughter, you have now grown up and should get married, if I were to see your son, it would make me happy.' 48 'Father, I will marry the man I met.' 49 'Fine, so bring your husband here today!' he said. 50 Totally shocked, the daughter sat down and thought 'now whom shall I bring?' 51 Then, she walked off to give money to that elder brother [the man she liked], to whom she was planning to say 'you must come.'

- ‘*ra-ko* *măiy-Ø-an*’ *ŋa-to-le* *cawah-Ø-an*.
 come.from.level-ADH must-sAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL walk-sAS-3S/PT
- 52 *bubu-kăi* *khalam-Ø-u-no* ‘*bubu*, *nany-e* *găi-go*
 elder.brother-PM meet-sAS-3P-3→3/PT elder.brother you-ERG I-GEN
- di-gore* *jet* *loŋ-o*, *naŋ-kăi* *pepelek* *pi-na-ŋa-du*’ *ŋah-Ø-u-no*.
 one-CLF work do-s→3/IMP you-PM money give-2s-1s-NPT say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT
- 53 *to* *nem* *khem-le* *nah-Ø-u-thyo*, *khen-te* *busikasi* *thum-le*
 that house build-PCL put-sAS-3P-3SCOND face-LOC dust stain-PCL
- hok-Ø-thyo*. 54 *libi* *to-kăi* *naka* *miŋ* *ci-bu-si-to-le*,
 be-sAS-3SCOND after that-PM new cloth CAUS-cover-REF-TPP-PCL
- apa-kăi* ‘*ka* *găi-go* *lawa*’ *ŋah-Ø-u-no*, *apa-ye* ‘*ja-Ø-du*’
 father-PM this I-GEN husband say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT father-ERG okay-sAS-NPT
- ŋah-Ø-u-no*. 55 *oste* *hok-sa* *nem-te* *rah-Ø-an*,
 say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT self be-INF house-LOC come.from.level-sAS-3S/PT
- humi-ye* *ci-min-Ø-u-du* *isa* *ken* *cyah-Ø-an*.
 younger.sister-ERG CAUS-ripen-sAS-3P-NPT food vegetable.curry eat-sAS-3S/PT
- 56 *di* *uni* *to-ko* *humi* *ŋaŋ* *toŋ* *cya-Ø-du* *mi* *nama*
 one day that-GEN younger.sister and beer eat-sAS-NPT person with
- isa* *cya-sa-kăi* *ălămtha* *yey-eŋ-an*. 57 *ŋaye* *thah-Ø-an*, *ulam-te*
 food eat-INF-PM distant go-pAS-3S/PT night be-sAS-3S/PT road-LOC
- hok-eŋ-an*, *ulam-te* *toŋ* *cey-eŋ-an*, *usyay-eŋ-an*. 58 *baŋthe*
 be-pAS-3S/PT road-LOC beer eat-pAS-3S/PT dance-pAS-3S/PT tomorrow
- băsinŋe* *hok-sa* *nem-te* *kyel-Ø-an*, *bubu-ye* *kaŋah-Ø-an*,
 morning be-INF house-LOC come-sAS-3S/PT elder.brother-ERG scold-sAS-3S/PT

52 She met elder brother and said ‘elder brother, please do this one thing for me, I’ll even give you money [for it].’ 53 He had been building a house and his face was stained with dust and dirt. 54 Then, having dressed him up in new clothes, she said to her father ‘this is my husband’, and father said ‘fine.’ 55 He came back to the house in which he lived, and ate the meal that younger sister had cooked. 56 One day, his younger sister and the beer-drinking man went off together to have a meal together in a far-away place. 57 Night had fallen, so they stayed on the road, drinking beer and dancing. 58 The following morning she came back home and elder brother scolded her, but she didn’t tell him ‘we went somewhere else to eat.’

'ni isa cya-sa begale thăi yey-i-n' ŋa-to-le bubu-kăi
 we food eat-INF other place go-1pPS-PT say-TPP-PCL elder.brother-PM
ma-ŋah-Ø-u-no. 59 libi humi-ye baŋkal cabuh-Ø-u-du,
 NEG-say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after younger.sister-ERG stomach carry-SAS-3P-NPT
bubu-ye thaha săiy-Ø-u-no, katah-Ø-an.
 elder.brother-ERG knowledge know-SAS-3P-3→3/PT scold-SAS-3S/PT
 60 *bubu nama aŋal-Ø-an 'nan huca nik-ŋa-n-be,*
 elder.brother with be.ashamed-SAS-3S/PT now child give.birth-1S-PT-TOP
su-ko ŋa-sa?' ŋa-to-le. 61 libi bubu-ye cici
 who-GEN say-INF say-TPP-PCL after elder.brother-ERG meat
ya-kăiy-Ø-u-du beryaŋ, humi-ye huca nik-sa
 go-receive-SAS-3P-NPT that.time younger.sister-ERG child give.birth-INF
daŋ-Ø-u-du, arŋik-Ø-du ami-Ø-du thăi-te. 62 bubu
 search-SAS-3P-NPT cry-SAS-NPT sleep-SAS-NPT place-LOC elder.brother
priŋ hok-Ø-du, libi huca kerep-Ø-du nasăiy-Ø-u-no.
 outside be-SAS-NPT after child cry-SAS-NPT hear-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
 63 *bubu duŋ-ŋaŋ biy-Ø-an, huca ni-to-le rage-ye*
 elder.brother within-inside enter-SAS-3S/PT child see-TPP-PCL anger-INS
huca ci-sa daŋ-Ø-u-no, humi-ye 'găi-go huca
 child throw.away-INF search-SAS-3P-3→3/PT younger.sister-ERG I-GEN child
ma-ci-y-e!' ŋah-Ø-u-no. 64 huca jekha tha-Ø-du,
 NEG-throw.away-s/NEG/IMP say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT child big be-SAS-NPT
di uni huca-pali kiŋe-siy-eŋ-du, to huca-kăi 'apa ma-hok-du
 one day child-p fight-REF-pAS-NPT that child-PM father NEG-be-NPT

59 Later elder brother came to know that younger sister was pregnant, and he scolded her. 60 In front of her brother she was ashamed, 'now whose child shall I say it is when I give birth?', she thought. 61 Later, when elder brother went off to get some meat, younger sister tried to give birth to the child and screamed in the bedroom. 62 Elder brother was sitting outside and then heard a baby crying. 63 Elder brother went inside and, seeing the baby, in his anger tried to throw the baby away, but younger sister said 'don't [you dare] throw my baby away!' 64 The child grows up, and one day some kids are fighting together and say about him, 'that boy hasn't got a father.'

huca' ηay-eη-du. 65 *ya-Ø-ta-le,* *ama-kăi* 'ni-ko apa kuta
 child say-PAS-NPT go-SAS-IPP-PCL mother-PM we-GEN father where
hok-Ø-du.' *ηa-to-le* *ηah-Ø-u-no.* 66 'naη-ko apa begale
 be-SAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT you-GEN father other
dese jet loη-sa ya-le hok-Ø-du.' 67 *libi ca jekha tha-Ø-du,*
 village work do-INF go-PCL be-SAS-NPT after son big be-SAS-NPT
apa ma-ni-Ø-du ca nah-Ø-u-no. 68 *di uni huca-ko apa*
 father NEG-see-SAS-NPT son put-SAS-3P-3→3/PT one day child-GEN father
ra-Ø-du, *bubu-kăi ca-ko apa cikhet-Ø-u-du.*
 come.from.level-SAS-NPT elder.brother-PM son-GEN father show-SAS-3P-NPT
 69 *sakalei tany-eη-du,* *bubu-ye woi to-ko lawa-ko*
 all be.happy-PAS-NPT elder.brother-ERG also that-GEN husband-GEN
humi bore loη-Ø-u-du. 70 *libi pepelek hen-to-le,*
 younger.sister marriage do-SAS-3P-NPT after money take-TPP-PCL
nem-te hok-Ø-du mi-kăi piy-eη-du, tyan oste-ko nem-te
 house-LOC be-SAS-NPT person-PM give-PAS-NPT then self-GEN house-LOC
nama nama hok-eη-du.
 with with be-PAS-NPT

65 Going off, he asks his mother 'where is our father?' 66 'Your father has gone off to another village to work' [she replies]. 67 Then the son grows up, and he is raised never having seen his father. 68 One day the child's father comes, and she shows her elder brother who the father of her son is. 69 They are all happy, and elder brother even marries her husband's younger sister. 70 Then, bringing money, they go and give it to the person [money lender] living in their house, and then they settle down and live together in their own home.

OWN PEOPLE

1 *di-ka cahuca oste-ko nem-yiŋ ălămtha ya-Ø-du.* 2 *ya-ŋa*
 one-HNC man self-GEN house-ABL distant go-SAS-NPT go-CNS
libi, di-ka pepelek hok-Ø-du mi-ko-te ya-let-Ø-du.
 after one-HNC money be-SAS-NPT person-GEN-LOC go-appear-SAS-NPT
 3 *to jekha mi nembo-kăi jet ci-loŋ-to-le oste jekha*
 that big person other.person-PM work CAUS-do-TPP-PCL self big
tha-Ø-du. 4 *di-ka mi nama rage let-Ø-du, tyəŋ to*
 be-SAS-NPT one-HNC person with anger appear-SAS-NPT then that
mi-kăi nembo-kăi ci-ŋeh-Ø-u-thyo. 5 *di uni, to*
 person-PM other.person-PM CAUS-beat-SAS-3P-3SCOND one day that
cahuca-ye to jekha mi khalam-Ø-u-no. 6 *to cahuca woi*
 man-ERG that big person meet-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that man also
pepelek tha-ŋa ma-thəŋ-sa jet woi loŋ-Ø-u-thyo. 7 *di uni,*
 money be-CNS NEG-be.able-INF work also do-SAS-3P-3SCOND one day
to jekha mi-kăi rage let-Ø-du mi-ko uma-kăi di ʔa
 that big person-PM anger appear-SAS-NPT person-GEN wife-PM one night
na-to-le, to-kăi rage ci-let-ko măi-Ø-thyo. 8 *di uni,*
 put-TPP-PCL that-PM anger CAUS-appear-ADH must-SAS-3SCOND one day
dese-ko cahuca khalam-Ø-u-no, to-ye to-kăi ahe toŋ
 village-GEN man meet-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-ERG that-PM much beer
pi-to-le nembo-ko uma nama cic-amiy-Ø-u-no.
 give-TPP-PCL other.person-GEN wife with CAUS-sleep-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

1 A man leaves his own house to travel far away. 2 Having gone, he arrives at the house of a person who has a lot of money. 3 That wealthy man had become influential by getting other people to do his work for him. 4 He would get angry with someone and then get someone else to beat him up on his behalf. 5 One day the man met the important man. 6 That man would do anything to earn money. 7 One day, that important person became angry with someone so he took his wife for one night, just to make him really angry. 8 One day he met the man from the village, and having given him a lot of beer, caused him to sleep with the wife of another man.

- 9 *libi camăica-ko lawa ra-Ø-du beryaŋ, begale*
 after woman-GEN husband come.from.level-SAS-NPT that.time other
lawa nama ami-Ø-du nih-Ø-u-no. 10 *libi to camăica-ko*
 husband with sleep-SAS-NPT see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after that woman-GEN
lawa-ye tortah-Ø-u-no 'nan kuta hen-sa?' ŋa-to-le
 husband-ERG leave-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now where go-INF say-TPP-PCL
cawah-Ø-an. 11 *cawa-Ø-du beryaŋ, to ami-Ø-du cahuca woi*
 walk-SAS-3S/PT walk-SAS-NPT that.time that sleep-SAS-NPT man also
nama nama cawah-Ø-an. 12 *cahuca-ko di-ka ban woi*
 with with walk-SAS-3S/PT man-GEN one-HNC friend also
hok-Ø-thyo, libi to camăica-kăi di-gore ʔhăi-te huca-pali
 be-SAS-3SCOND after that woman-PM one-CLF place-LOC child-p
ʔisen-sa nah-Ø-u-no. 13 *oste-guri sya wa-sa jet*
 teach-INF put-SAS-3P-3→3/PT self-IND cow plough-INF work
loŋ-Ø-u-no. 14 *camăica-ye to cahuca-kăi nih-Ø-u-no-be,*
 do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT woman-ERG that man-PM see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT-TOP
aʔthe rage let-Ø-thyo. 15 *camăica hok-Ø-du nem-te*
 very anger appear-SAS-3SCOND woman be-SAS-NPT house-LOC
oste-guri nem duŋ-ŋaŋ ami-Ø-du, cahuca priŋ ami-Ø-du.
 self-IND house within-inside sleep-SAS-NPT man outside sleep-SAS-NPT
 16 *libi, camăica di uni huca nik-Ø-an, cya-sa tun-sa*
 after woman one day child give.birth-SAS-3S/PT eat-INF drink-INF
hara woi ma-hok. 17 *cahuca-ye dese-te ya-Ø-ta-le, wa*
 what also NEG-be man-ERG village-LOC go-SAS-IPP-PCL chicken

9 Later, when that woman's husband came [back], he saw her sleeping with another man. 10 Then, the woman's husband left her and walked off thinking 'where shall I go now?' 11 As he walked, that man who slept [with his wife] walked together with him. 12 The man had a friend who arranged for the woman to teach children in a certain place [a school]. 13 He himself worked ploughing [with] oxen. 14 When the woman saw that man, she would become very angry. 15 At the woman's house, she slept inside and the man slept outside. 16 After this, one day the woman gave birth to a child, but she had nothing to eat or drink. 17 The man went to the village, stole a chicken and brought it back.

gwi-to-le, rah-Ø-u-no. 18 wa-ko mi kyel-Ø-ta-le
 steal-TPP-PCL bring-sAS-3P-3→3/PT chicken-GEN person come-sAS-IPP-PCL
cum-Ø-u-no 'naŋ-ko wa-ko pepelek baŋhe
 hold-sAS-3P-3→3/PT you-GEN chicken-GEN money tomorrow
citabas pi-na-ŋa-du' ŋah-Ø-u-no. 19 wa
 day.after.tomorrow give-3P-1s→3-NPT say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT chicken
pal-to-le, cici uman-to-le, nem duŋ-ŋaŋ hen-Ø-u-no,
 chop-TPP-PCL meat cook-TPP-PCL house within-inside take-sAS-3P-3→3/PT
uma-ye cici cum-to-le to-ko khien-te tup-Ø-u-no.
 wife-ERG meat hold-TPP-PCL that-GEN face-LOC strike-sAS-3P-3→3/PT
 20 *cahuca kerep-Ø-an 'nan huca nik-Ø-du mi kutaleŋ woi*
 man cry-sAS-3S/PT now child give.birth-sAS-NPT person when also
isa ma-cya' ŋa-to-le. 21 cahuca-ye di-ka uma-ko ban nama
 food NEG-eat say-TPP-PCL man-ERG one-HNC wife-GEN friend with
wakhe loŋ-Ø-u-no 'tete, gǎi-go uma gǎ-ye piy-u-n-du,
 word do-sAS-3P-3→3/PT elder.sister I-GEN wife I-ERG give-3P-1s→3-NPT
hara woi ma-cya.' 22 'nany-e hen-to-le piy-o! cya-Ø-du
 what also NEG-eat you-ERG take-TPP-PCL give-s→3/IMP eat-sAS-NPT
ra? gǎ-ye naŋ-kǎi pi-na-ŋa-du' ŋah-Ø-u-no. 23 camǎica-ye woi
 or I-ERG you-PM give-2s-1s-NPT say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT woman-ERG also
'ja-Ø-du' ŋa-to-le hen-Ø-u-no, lawa-ye piy-Ø-u-du
 okay-sAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL take-sAS-3P-3→3/PT husband-ERG give-sAS-3P-NPT
ma-ŋah-Ø-u-no. 24 nan lawa-ye sya wa-to-le pepelek
 NEG-say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT now husband-ERG cow plough-TPP-PCL money

18 The owner of the chicken came and grabbed him, 'I'll give you the money for the chicken tomorrow or the day after', he [the man] said. 19 Having slaughtered the chicken and cooked the meat, he took it inside the house but his wife, grabbing the meat, slapped it in his face. 20 The man cried saying 'this woman who has just given birth doesn't eat her food.' 21 The man had a chat with one of his wife's friends [saying] 'elder sister, my wife doesn't eat anything that I give her.' 22 'You take it and give it to her! Maybe she'll eat it then? I'll give it to you' he said. 23 The woman said 'okay' and took it, not saying that her husband had given it to her. 24 Now the money the husband earned from ploughing he gave to his wife's friend, and she gave it to his wife.

uma-ko ban-kăi piy-Ø-u-no, ban-e uma-kăi
 wife-GEN friend-PM give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT friend-ERG wife-PM
piy-Ø-u-no. 25 libi ca woi jekha thah-Ø-an. 26 ca nama
 give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after son also big be-SAS-3S/PT son with
apa cijyaŋ-Ø-du, uma nama ma-cijyaŋ, lawa-kăi nem duŋ-ŋaŋ
 father speak-SAS-NPT wife with NEG-speak father-PM house within-inside
woi bi-sa ma-pi. 27 lawa dese mi-ko sya wa-sa
 also enter-INF NEG-give husband village person-GEN cow plough-INF
ya-Ø-du, sola woi ma-cya, ca-ye ama-yiŋ sul-to-le
 go-SAS-NPT snack also NEG-eat son-ERG mother-ABL hide-TPP-PCL
hen-to-le apa-kăi piy-Ø-u-thyo. 28 di uni, hen-hen-ăi
 take-TPP-PCL father-PM give-SAS-3P-3SCOND one day take-take-CON
ama-ye nih-Ø-u-no, ca-kăi kaŋa-Ø-ta-le ‘gă-ye naŋ-kăi
 mother-ERG see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT son-PM scold-SAS-IPP-PCL I-ERG you-PM
cya-sa pi-na-ŋa-du, sola hara-kăi to-kăi piy-u-na-du?’ 29 ca-ye
 eat-INF give-2s-1s-NPT snack what-PM that-PM give-3P-2s-NPT son-ERG
ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘ni-ko apa sola ma-cya woi sya
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT we-GEN father snack NEG-eat also cow
wah-Ø-u-du, sola su-ye piy-Ø-u-du?’ 30 ama sumaka
 plough-SAS-3P-NPT snack who-ERG give-SAS-3P-NPT mother silent
hok-Ø-an ‘ama, to ni-ko apa ma-tha?’ 31 ama-ye
 be-SAS-3S/PT mother that we-GEN father NEG-be mother-ERG
ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘to naŋ-ko apa ma-tha, to gwi tha-Ø-du,
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that you-GEN father NEG-be that thief be-SAS-NPT

25 Then the son grew up. 26 The father may speak with his son but not with his wife, she doesn't even let him come inside the house. 27 [Every day] the husband goes off to plough for the villagers without having a snack, but his son, hiding it from his mother, always gave one [snack] to him. 28 One day, as he was taking [the food], mother saw him and scolded him 'I give you food to eat, why do you give it to him?' 29 And the son said 'our father, without eating a snack, is ploughing, now who is going to give him something to eat?' 30 Mother fell silent, 'mother, isn't he our father?' [the son asked] 31 And mother said 'he's not your father, he's a thief, and you shouldn't look into his face.'

to-ko khen yo-ko ma-ja. 32 *di uni, lawa to-te*
 that-GEN face look.at-ADH NEG-okay one day husband that-LOC
hok-Ø-an ŋa-to-le, uma-ye ca cabu-to-le cawah-Ø-an.
 be-sAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL wife-ERG son carry-TPP-PCL walk-sAS-3S/PT
 33 *ca-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no 'ama ni-ko apa-kǎi woi hen-ko!'*
 son-ERG say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT mother we-GEN father-PM also take-ADH
 34 *'to-kǎi hen-ko ma-ja, to-ye ni-kǎi rage loŋ-Ø-u-du'*
 that-PM take-ADH NEG-okay that-ERG we-PM anger do-sAS-3P-NPT
ama-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no. 35 *'to thah-Ø-an-be, gǎi woi ma-ya,*
 mother-ERG say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT that be-sAS-3S/PT-TOP I also NEG-go
apa-kǎi woi hen-ko!' *ŋah-Ø-u-no.* 36 *ya-ya woi sum-ka*
 father-PM also take-ADH say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT go-go also three-HNC
gwi-ye ulam-te to camǎica-kǎi cum-to-le 'naŋ yaŋ ni-ko
 thief-ERG road-LOC that woman-PM hold-TPP-PCL you today we-GEN
uma tha-ko mǎi-Ø-du' ŋay-eŋ-no. 37 *camǎica nan si-ko*
 wife be-ADH must-sAS-NPT say-pAS-3→3/PT woman now die-ADH
sow-Ø-an, ca apa-kǎi urou-sa dorok-Ø-an. 38 *apa*
 be.about.to-sAS-3S/PT son father-PM call-INF run-sAS-3S/PT father
khalam-to-le, sakalei wakhe ŋah-Ø-u-no. 39 *apa woi 'uma*
 meet-TPP-PCL all word say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT father also wife
sat-eŋ-no thaŋun' ŋa-to-le dorok-ca rah-Ø-an.
 kill-pAS-3→3/PT maybe say-TPP-PCL run-PSG come.from.level-sAS-3S/PT
 40 *ra-Ø-du beryaŋ, sum-ka gwi-ye sampuy-eŋ-le*
 come.from.level-sAS-NPT that.time three-HNC thief-ERG pull.hair-pAS-PCL

32 One day, the husband stayed there and the wife set off carrying her son. 33 And the son said 'mum, let's also take our father!' 34 'We can't take him, he will just get angry with us' mother said. 35 'Well, in that case, I also won't go, take dad along as well!' he said. 36 As they were going along the road three thieves grabbed the woman and said 'today you must be our wife.' 37 The woman was about to die and the son ran off to call his father. 38 Having reached his father, he told him everything [that had happened]. 39 Thinking 'maybe they'll kill her', father also came running. 40 When he came he saw that the three robbers were pulling her by her hair.

nay-eŋ-du nih-Ø-u-no. 41 *to-ye di-ka-kăi lak-te*
 put-pAS-NPT see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-ERG one-HNC-PM hand-LOC
cum-to-le na-basa ciy-Ø-u-no. 42 *begale-kăi kaŋtu*
 hold-TPP-PCL under-side throw.away-SAS-3P-3→3/PT other-PM neck
tor-to-le aspăiy-Ø-u-no, *di-ka-kăi lakpa*
 break-TPP-PCL throw.violently-SAS-3P-3→3/PT one-HNC-PM limb
tor-Ø-u-no. 43 *libi uma kerep-Ø-ta-le lawa-kăi*
 break-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after wife cry-SAS-IPP-PCL husband-PM
karpak-Ø-u-no, *kerep-Ø-an.* 44 *'naŋ ma-tha-na-n-be, găi-găi*
 embrace-SAS-3P-3→3/PT cry-SAS-3S/PT you NEG-be-2s-PT-TOP I-PM
sat-eŋ-ŋa-thyo, naŋ tha-Ø-ta-na-le găi mo-ŋa-n'
 kill-pAS-1s-3SCOND you be-SAS-IPP-2s-PCL I survive-1s-PT
ŋah-Ø-u-no. 45 *libi uma lawa ca thay-eŋ-ta-le, oste-ko*
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after wife husband son be-pAS-IPP-PCL self-GEN
nem-te yey-eŋ-ta-le hok-eŋ-an.
 house-LOC go-pAS-IPP-PCL be-pAS-3S/PT

41 He grabbed one of them by the arm and threw him down the side. 42 Breaking the neck of another, he threw him violently, and then he broke the limbs of another one. 43 Then, crying, the wife embraced the husband, and then cried [more]. 44 'If you hadn't been here, they would have killed me, it's because you came that I survived', she said. 45 Then the wife, husband and son, all reunited, went and lived together in their own house.

APPEARANCE

- 1 *ahe habi, di-gore dese-te nis-ka uma lawa*
many before one-CLF village-LOC two-HNC wife husband
- hok-eŋ-thyo.* 2 *to-baŋ nama cya-sa tun-sa-ko name-te*
be-PAS-3SCOND that-Pp with eat-INF drink-INF-GEN name-LOC
- sum-ka camăi hok-eŋ-thyo.* 3 *camăi-pali sarma thay-eŋ-ta-le*
three-HNC daughter be-PAS-3SCOND daughter-p strong be-PAS-IPP-PCL
- bore loŋ-ko soy-eŋ-no.* 4 *di uni jekha camăi-kăi*
marriage do-ADH be.about.to-PAS-3→3/PT one day big daughter-PM
- du nama bore ci-lony-eŋ-to-le.* 5 *begale-kăi makar nama,*
tiger with marriage CAUS-do-PAS-TPP-PCL other-PM monkey with
- ŋaŋ ucyaca camăi-kăi amu nama bore ci-lony-eŋ-to-le.*
and small daughter-PM eagle with marriage CAUS-do-PAS-TPP-PCL
- 6 *camăi-pali-ko bore loŋ-to-le, camăi-pali-kăi di-di uni*
daughter-p-GEN marriage do-TPP-PCL daughter-p-PM one-one day
- khalam-sa-kăi thoŋe yah-Ø-an.* 7 *nan to oste-ko camăi-pali-ko*
meet-INF-PM old.man go-SAS-3S/PT now that self-GEN daughter-p-GEN
- nem-te yah-Ø-an.* 8 *thoŋi nama ŋa-to-le, jekha*
house-LOC go-SAS-3S/PT old.woman with say-TPP-PCL big
- camăi-ko-te yah-Ø-an.* 9 *jekha camăi-ko nem apok*
daughter-GEN-LOC go-SAS-3S/PT big daughter-GEN house cave
- hok-Ø-thyo.* 10 *ălămtha-yiniŋ apa ra-Ø-du*
be-SAS-3SCOND distant-ABL father come.from.level-SAS-NPT

1 A long time ago, a wife and a husband lived in a village. 2 On account of having three daughters, they had enough to eat and to drink. 3 Being young, the daughters were soon to be married. 4 One day they [the parents] made the eldest daughter marry a tiger. 5 Another one [daughter] they married off to a monkey, and the youngest daughter to an eagle. 6 The daughters having gotten married, the old man went off to visit his daughters for a day at a time. 7 So he went off to the houses of his own daughters. 8 Having discussed it with his old lady, he went off to the house of the eldest daughter. 9 The eldest daughter's house was a cave. 10 They saw from a distance that father was coming.

niy-eŋ-no. 11 *du-ye oste-ko limek phet-to-le chuku-kăi*
 see-PAS-3→3/PT tiger-ERG self-GEN tail unfurl-TPP-PCL father.in.law-PM
hok-sa piy-Ø-u-no, chuku damari-ko limek-te hok-Ø-an.
 be-INF give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT father.in.law son.in.law-GEN tail-LOC be-SAS-3S/PT
 12 *du-ye uma-kăi ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘nan găi ŋaŋ chuku cici*
 tiger-ERG wife-PM say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now I and father.in.law meat
kyel-to-le kyel-i-du, nany-e adum paŋku uman-to-le
 bring-TPP-PCL come-1pPS-NPT you-ERG hot water cook-TPP-PCL
nah-o!’ 13 *ka ŋa-to-le damari chuku caway-eŋ-an.*
 put-s→3/IMP this say-TPP-PCL son.in.law father.in.law walk-PAS-3S/PT
 14 *du-ye chuku-kăi ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘apa, naŋ priŋ hok-a,*
 tiger-ERG father.in.law-PM say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT father you outside be-s/IMP
găi tuŋi gal-te ya-ta-ŋa-le tuŋi priŋ ciy-u-n-du, nany-e
 I goat cage-LOC go-IPP-1s-PCL goat outside throw-3P-1s→3-NPT you-ERG
nyakaŋeŋ pole-te ciy-o!’ 15 *chuku-ye ‘ja-Ø-du’*
 nettle shrub-LOC throw.away-s→3/IMP father.in.law-ERG okay-SAS-NPT
ŋah-Ø-u-no, ka ŋa-to-le du duŋ-ŋaŋ biy-Ø-an,
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT this say-TPP-PCL tiger within-inside enter-SAS-3S/PT
di-gore tuŋi priŋ ciy-Ø-u-no, chuku-ye woi to-kăi
 one-CLF goat outside throw-SAS-3P-3→3/PT father.in.law-ERG also that-PM
nyakaŋeŋ pole-te ciy-Ø-u-no. 16 *tyaŋ du let-Ø-ta-le*
 nettle shrub-LOC throw-SAS-3P-3→3/PT then tiger appear-SAS-IPP-PCL
chuku nama cawah-Ø-an. 17 *nem-te ya-let-eŋ-ta-le*
 father.in.law with walk-SAS-3S/PT house-LOC go-appear-PAS-IPP-PCL

11 Unfurling his tail, the tiger gave it to his father-in-law to sit on, and thus father-in-law sat on his son-in-law's tail. 12 Then the tiger said to his wife 'now father-in-law and I will bring some meat, you boil up some hot water!' 13 Having said this the son-in-law and father-in-law set off. 14 The tiger said to the father-in-law 'father, you stay outside, I'll go inside the goat cage and throw the goat out, you [grab it and] throw it into the nettle shrub!' 15 Father-in-law said 'okay', and having said this, the tiger went inside and threw out a goat which the father-in-law then threw into the nettle shrub. 16 Then the tiger appeared and walked off with the father-in-law. 17 Having arrived back home, they gave the meat to the wife, and she cooked it so that it was tasty.

uma-kǎi piy-eŋ-no, uma-ye woi asare ni-Ø-du cici
 wife-PM give-pAS-3→3/PT wife-ERG also tasty appear-sAS-NPT meat
ci-min-Ø-u-no. 18 apa-kǎi piy-eŋ-no, apa
 CAUS-ripen-sAS-3P-3→3/PT father-PM give-pAS-3→3/PT father
taŋ-Ø-ta-le, baŋthe syaŋ oste-ko nem-te cawah-Ø-an.
 be.happy-sAS-IPP-PCL tomorrow period self-GEN house-LOC walk-sAS-3S/PT
 19 *nem-te ya-Ø-ta-le uma-kǎi sakalei wakhe*
 house-LOC go-sAS-IPP-PCL wife-PM all word
ci-nasǎiy-Ø-u-no, ʈhoŋi kerep-kerep-Ø-ta-le ŋah-Ø-u-no
 CAUS-hear-sAS-3P-3→3/PT old.woman cry-cry-sAS-IPP-PCL say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT
‘naŋ-ko-be camǎi hok-Ø-du, pi-Ø-na-du, gǎi-go su hok-Ø-du
 you-GEN-TOP daughter be-sAS-NPT give-sAS-2s-NPT I-GEN who be-sAS-NPT
ra?’ 20 ʈhoŋe-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘naŋ-ko gǎi hok-ŋa-du.’ 21 ‘nan
 or old.man-ERG say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT you-GEN I be-1s-NPT now
naŋ-kǎi gǎ-ye di-gore wakhe ci-nasǎi-na-ŋa-du, tyaŋ naŋ woi
 you-PM I-ERG one-CLF word CAUS-hear-2s-1s-NPT then you also
loŋ-o! tyaŋ cici cya-sa khalam-u-na-du’, ʈhoŋe-ye
 do-s→3/IMP then meat eat-INF receive-3P-2s-NPT old.man-ERG
ŋah-Ø-u-no. 22 to-ye woi ɖamari-ye uniŋ ʈuŋi ra-sa
 say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT that-ERG also son.in.law-ERG like goat bring-INF
daŋ-Ø-u-no. 23 uma-kǎi ʈuŋi gal-te hen-Ø-u-no,
 search-sAS-3P-3→3/PT wife-PM goat cage-LOC take-sAS-3P-3→3/PT
ɖamari-ye loŋ-Ø-u-du uniŋ, ʈhoŋi-kǎi priŋ nah-Ø-u-no.
 son.in.law-ERG do-sAS-3P-NPT like old.woman-PM outside put-sAS-3P-3→3/PT

18 They gave it [the meat] to father and he was happy, and the next day he set off home. 19 Having gone home he told his wife everything that had happened, and the old woman said, crying and crying, ‘you have a daughter who gives you things, now who do I have?’ 20 The old man said ‘you have me.’ 21 ‘Now I’ll tell you something which you must do, and then you will also get meat to eat’, the old man said. 22 He tried to get a goat in the way that son-in-law had. 23 He took his wife off to the goat cage, and doing like his son-in-law, left the old woman outside.

- 24 'gǎ-ye *ṭuṇi priṇ* *cih-u-n-du*, *nany-e ṭuṇi nyakanen*
 I-ERG goat outside throw.away-3P-1s→3-NPT you-ERG goat nettle
pole-te ciy-o' *ṇah-Ø-u-no.* 25 *oste duṇ-ṇaṇ*
 shrub-LOC throw.away-s→3/IMP say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT self within-inside
biy-Ø-an, *ṭhoṇi ṭuṇi yo-le nah-Ø-u-no.* 26 *to*
 enter-sAS-3S/PT old.woman goat look.at-PCL put-sAS-3P-3→3/PT that
isyaṇ di-gore suk-sa ṭuri khaṇou-te chyu-le nah-Ø-u-thyo.
 period one-CLF strike-INF goat door-LOC tie-PCL put-sAS-3P-3SCOND
 27 *ṭhoṇe khaṇou kherte ya-let-Ø-thyo*, *ṭuṇi-ye suk-to-le*
 old.man door near go-appear-sAS-3SCOND goat-ERG strike-TPP-PCL
priṇ ciy-Ø-u-no. 28 *ṭhoṇi-ye*, *ukhiṇ-ṇaṇ ṭuṇi*
 outside throw-sAS-3P-3→3/PT old.woman-ERG dark-inside goat
rah-Ø-an ṇa-to-le, *nyakanen pole-te*
 come.from.level-sAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL nettle shrub-LOC
ciy-Ø-u-no. 29 *libi ṭhoṇe kerep-Ø-du nasǎiy-Ø-u-no*,
 throw.away-sAS-3P-3→3/PT after old.man cry-sAS-NPT hear-sAS-3P-3→3/PT
uma thombe thah-Ø-an. 30 *ṭhoṇe-ye 'gǎi ṭhoṇe, ka-te*
 wife surprise be-sAS-3S/PT old.man-ERG I old.man this-LOC
ra-Ø, *gǎi-gǎi ci-let-aṇ!*' *ṇah-Ø-u-no.*
 come.from.level-s/IMP I-PM CAUS-appear-s→1s/IMP say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT
 31 *nis-ka woi kerep-eṇ-ta-le oste-ko nem-te*
 two-HNC also cry-pAS-IPP-PCL self-GEN house-LOC
ray-eṇ-an, *cici cya-sa ma-khalam-eṇ-no.* 32 *nan*
 come.from.level-pAS-3S/PT meat eat-INF NEG-receive-pAS-3→3/PT now

24 'I'll throw the goat outside and you throw it into the nettle shrub', he said. 25 He went inside while the old woman remained [outside] looking for the goat. 26 That same day a butting goat had been tied to the door [by someone else]. 27 The old man got to the door, and then the goat butted him outside. 28 In the darkness, thinking that the goat had come, the old woman threw him into the nettle bush. 29 Then when the wife heard the old man crying, she was shocked. 30 The old man said, 'it's me, your old man, come here and help me out!' 31 The two of them went back to their house crying, without having gotten any meat to eat. 32 Then he went to the house of his monkey son-in-law, and seeing his father-in-law, the monkey said to his wife 'wife, you put the pot on the fire and I will bring some oil.'

begale makar damari-ko-te yah-Ø-an, chuku ni-to-le
other monkey son.in.law-GEN-LOC go-SAS-3S/PT father.in.law see-TPP-PCL
makar-e woi uma-kăi ŋah-Ø-u-no 'uma, nany-e baŋi me-te
monkey-ERG also wife-PM say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT wife you-ERG pot fire-LOC
nah-o, gă-ye asa ra-to-le ra-ŋa-du.' 33 *'tyaŋ*
put-s→3/IMP I-ERG oil bring-TPP-PCL come.from.level-1s-NPT then
maŋăi jyou-to-le chuku-kăi pi-ko măi-Ø-du',
bread burn-TPP-PCL father.in.law-PM give-ADH must-SAS-NPT
ŋah-Ø-u-no. 34 *damari cawah-Ø-an, asa ci-let-Ø-u-du*
say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT son.in.law walk-SAS-3S/PT oil CAUS-appear-SAS-3P-NPT
thăi-te yah-Ø-an, makar ni-to-le mi-pali ariy-eŋ-ta-le
place-LOC go-SAS-3S/PT monkey see-TPP-PCL person-p be.afraid-pAS-IPP-PCL
dorok-eŋ-an. 35 *libi asa ni-Ø-du baŋi-te biy-Ø-an, asa*
run-pAS-3S/PT after oil appear-SAS-NPT pot-LOC enter-SAS-3S/PT oil
maŋ-ko mus-te thum-Ø-an, dorok-ca ra-Ø-ta-le
body-GEN hair-LOC stain-SAS-3S/PT run-PSG come.from.level-SAS-IPP-PCL
adum baŋi-te biy-Ø-an. 36 *libi di baŋi asa thah-Ø-an, libi*
hot pot-LOC enter-SAS-3S/PT after one pot oil be-SAS-3S/PT after
camăi-ye maŋăi jyou-to-le apa-kăi piy-Ø-u-no. 37 *nan*
daughter-ERG bread burn-TPP-PCL father-PM give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now
chuku oste-ko nem-te ya-Ø-ta-le thoni-kăi
father.in.law self-GEN house-LOC go-SAS-IPP-PCL old.woman-PM
ci-nasăiy-Ø-u-no. 38 *thoni-kăi woi 'baŋi me-te na-to-le*
CAUS-hear-SAS-3P-3→3/PT old.woman-PM also pot fire-LOC put-TPP-PCL

33 'Then bake some bread and give it to father-in-law', he said. 34 Son-in-law set off and went to the place where oil is pressed, and when the people there saw the monkey, they were afraid and ran away. 35 Then he dived into a pot of oil, the oil stuck to his body hair, and he came running back [home] and dived into the hot pot. 36 In this way, they had a pot of oil, and later the daughter made breads and gave them to her father. 37 Then father-in-law went home and told his old woman all about it. 38 And he said to the old woman 'put a pot on the fire to warm it up, I will bring some oil.'

adum-o, gǎ-ye asa ra-to-le ra-ŋa-du'
 heat-s→3/IMP I-ERG oil bring-TPP-PCL come.from.level-1s-NPT
ŋah-Ø-u-no. 39 to woi asa ci-let-Ø-u-du ʈhǎi-te
 say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT that also oil CAUS-appear-sAS-3P-NPT place-LOC
ya-hok-Ø-an, ʈyanʈyan tha-Ø-ta-le asa baŋi-ŋaŋ biy-Ø-an.
 go-be-sAS-3S/PT naked be-sAS-IPP-PCL oil pot-inside enter-sAS-3S/PT
 40 *dorok-ca ra-Ø-ta-le uma-ye nah-Ø-u-du ɖiŋɖiŋ*
 run-PSG come.from.level-sAS-IPP-PCL wife-ERG put-sAS-3P-NPT red
baŋi-te biy-Ø-an. 41 asa ma-let-Ø-ta-le, muji sakalei
 pot-LOC enter-sAS-3S/PT oil NEG-appear-sAS-IPP-PCL buttocks all
ʈyok-Ø-an 'ka woi ma-jah-Ø-an' ŋa-to-le ʈhoŋi
 burn-sAS-3S/PT this also NEG-okay-sAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL old.woman
ʈhoŋe kerep-eŋ-an. 42 ʈhoŋe aɾɪk-Ø-ta-le 'paŋku
 old.man cry-pAS-3S/PT old.man scream-sAS-IPP-PCL water
cuk-aŋ! gǎi si-ŋa-n' ŋah-Ø-u-no. 43 libi ucya
 insert-s→1s/IMP I die-1s-PT say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT after small
camǎi-ko-te yah-Ø-an, ucya camǎi-ko-te ya-Ø-ta-le
 daughter-GEN-LOC go-sAS-3S/PT small daughter-GEN-LOC go-sAS-IPP-PCL
amu-ye lukusa-te na-to-le per-Ø-ta-le sakalei
 eagle-ERG backbone-LOC put-TPP-PCL fly-sAS-IPP-PCL all
ci-yoh-Ø-u-no, apraca apraca ʈhǎi nih-Ø-u-no. 44 libi
 CAUS-look.at-sAS-3P-3→3/PT good good place see-sAS-3P-3→3/PT after
oste-ko nem-te ya-Ø-ta-le uma-kǎi ŋah-Ø-u-no 'uma naŋ
 self-GEN house-LOC go-sAS-IPP-PCL wife-PM say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT wife you

39 He went to sit in the place where oil is pressed and he entered the oil pot totally naked. 40 He came back [home] running and dived into the red-hot pot his wife had put ready. 41 The oil didn't come off [lit. appear] so he burnt his arse, and the old woman and old man cried saying 'also this has failed.' 42 The old man said screaming 'throw water on me! I'm dying.' 43 After that he went to his youngest daughter's house, and having got there, the eagle [son-in-law] put him on his back and flying around, showed him everything, and he saw some very nice places. 44 Then he went back to his own house and said to his wife 'wife, do you want to see some beautiful villages?'

apraca dese yoh-u-na-du? 45 *‘gǎ-ye naŋ-kǎi ci-yo-na-ŋa-du,*
 good village look.at-3P-2s-NPT I-ERG you-PM CAUS-look.at-2s-1s-NPT
ja-Ø-du?’, *uma-ye woi ‘ja-Ø-du’ ŋa-to-le ŋah-Ø-u-no.*
 okay-sAS-NPT wife-ERG also okay-sAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT
 46 *ʈhone-ye nis ʈhǎi lembe na-to-le warak*
 old.man-ERG two place winnowing.tray put-TPP-PCL precipice
cyuri-te yey-eŋ-an, ʈhoŋi-kǎi lukusa-te cabuh-Ø-u-no,
 summit-LOC go-pAS-3S/PT old.woman-PM backbone-LOC carry-sAS-3P-3→3/PT
cyuri-yiŋ nobi per-sa daŋ-Ø-u-du-be warak-te
 summit-ABL downhill fly-INF search-sAS-3P-NPT-TOP precipice-LOC
ros-eŋ-an, nis-ka woi siy-eŋ-an.
 fall.from.height-pAS-3S/PT two-HNC also die-pAS-3S/PT

45 ‘I’ll show it to you, alright?’ [he said] and his wife said ‘fine.’ 46 The old man strapped winnowing trays on in two places and they went up to the summit of the hill, then he carried the old woman on his back and when he tried to fly down from the summit, they fell from the precipice and both died.

THIEF

- 1 'sewa, gǎi-go naŋ-kǎi jekha sewa.' 2 'yaŋ naŋ jekha mi
salute I-GEN you-PM big salute today you big person
tha-na-n ŋa-to-le, gǎi taŋ-ŋa-n.' 3 'ni-kǎi habi naŋ jekha
be-2s-PT say-TPP-PCL I be.happy-1s-PT we-PM before you big
mi tha-na-du ŋa-to-le, naŋ-kǎi reŋ-ko laŋi sil-to-le
person be-2s-NPT say-TPP-PCL you-PM flower-GEN necklace thread-TPP-PCL
na-to-le na-wa-n.' 4 'naŋ habi jekha mi tha-ko
put-TPP-PCL put-1p→23-PT you before big person be-ADH
mǎi-Ø-thyo, yaŋ ka ma-tha-na-n.' 5 'naleŋ hara
must-SAS-3SECOND today throughout NEG-be-2s-PT present what
tha-Ø-ta-le, masǎi, naleŋ-guri naŋ-kǎi pepelek pi-ta-na-le.'
be-SAS-IPP-PCL who.knows present-IND you-PM money give-IPP-2s-PCL
6 'to mi jekha tha-Ø-ta-le, ni nan sakalei dum-i-n'
that person big be-SAS-IPP-PCL we now all finish-1pPS-PT
ŋay-eŋ-thyo 'naleŋ let-Ø-ta-le, apraca thah-Ø-an.' 8 'to
say-pAS-3SECOND present appear-SAS-IPP-PCL good be-SAS-3S/PT that
hok-Ø-du uni-yiniŋ, sakalei pepelek oste cyah-Ø-an, oste-ko
be-SAS-NPT day-ABL all money self eat-SAS-3S/PT self-GEN
mi-kǎi uchinca piy-Ø-u-no.' 9 'su woi ma-cijyany-eŋ-an,
person-PM a.little give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT who also NEG-speak-pAS-3S/PT
gǎi di-ka cijyaŋ-ŋa-du, gǎi di-ka-ko wakhe ma-nasǎiy-eŋ-no.'
I one-HNC speak-1s-NPT I one-HNC-GEN word NEG-hear-pAS-3→3/PT

1 'Greetings, hearty greetings from me to you.' 2 'That you have become an important person today makes me happy.' 3 'Thinking that you would become an important person, we have already threaded a flower garland for you.' 4 'You should have been an important person by now, but until today it hadn't happened.' 5 'Now what has happened, who knows, because now you have received money.' 6 'Now that that person has become important, we are finished', they said, 'now that he's gone, it's good.' 8 'Since that day he used up [lit. ate] all the money himself, and gave only a little to his family' [lit. own people]. 9 'Nobody said anything at all, I was the only one to speak but they didn't hear what I had to say.'

10 *ka uniŋ ŋah-Ø-u-thyo, di-ka mi-ye, ‘gǎ-ye yo-le*
 this like say-SAS-3P-3SCOND one-HNC person-ERG I-ERG look.at-PCL
nah-u-n-uŋ, to-kǎi-guri ma-piy-eŋ-no.’ 11 *nyoŋi nem-te*
 put-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT that-PM-IND NEG-give-pAS-3→3/PT evening house-LOC
ya-Ø-ta-le, uma nama wakhe loŋ-Ø-u-no ‘uma, nan ka
 go-SAS-IPP-PCL wife with word do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT wife now this
cey-eŋ-du-pali-kǎi, gǎ-ye sakalei wakhe ŋah-u-n-du.’ 12 *uma sumaka*
 eat-pAS-NPT-p-PM I-ERG all word say-3P-1s→3-NPT wife silent
hok-Ø-an ‘hara ŋah-Ø-u-du?’ ŋa-to-le, ‘to mi-be jekha
 be-SAS-3S/PT what say-SAS-3P-NPT say-TPP-PCL that person-TOP big
mi-ko ban hok-Ø-thyo.’ 13 *di uni pepelek boŋhay-eŋ-du*
 person-GEN friend be-SAS-3SCOND one day money distribute-pAS-NPT
beryaŋ, to-kǎi ma-thop-Ø-ta-le, tyaŋ kǎcyalaŋ-si-Ø-du
 that.time that-PM NEG-be.enough-SAS-IPP-PCL then disturbance-REF-SAS-NPT
mi-be hok-Ø-du. 14 *to-kǎi ma-piy-Ø-u-du mi-ko*
 person-TOP be-SAS-NPT that-PM NEG-give-SAS-3P-NPT person-GEN
laŋga-te ya-Ø-ta-le, jekha sare-te kiŋdiy-Ø-an. 15 *‘e*
 courtyard-LOC go-SAS-IPP-PCL big voice-LOC quarrel-SAS-3S/PT hey
moro, naŋ let-a! naŋ-kǎi gǎ-ye ǎikuca-ye pal-na-ŋa-du!’
 corpse you appear-s/IMP you-PM I-ERG large.knife-INS chop-2s-1s-NPT
 16 *‘naŋ-kǎi mosani ɖaŋɖi-te hen-sa-kǎi, oste-guri ahe cya-na-n,*
 you-PM spirit hill-LOC take-INF-PM self-IND much eat-2s-PT
gǎi-gǎi-guri ma-pi-Ø-ŋa-n.’ 17 *‘nan naŋ dikaca loŋ-o! naŋ-ko*
 I-PM-IND NEG-give-SAS-1s-PT now you alone do-s→3/IMP you-GEN

10 This is what one person said ‘I was watching, and they didn’t give him anything.’ 11 When he went home in the evening, he spoke with this wife and said ‘wife, now I am going to tell everything to those people who used up the money [lit. the eaters].’ 12 And the wife fell silent, thinking ‘what will he say? That person was the friend of influential people.’ 13 One day, when they were distributing the money, he didn’t get [his fair] share and he made a song and dance about it. 14 He went to the courtyard of that person who wouldn’t give the money and, in a very loud voice, started a quarrel. 15 ‘Hey, dead man, come out here! I’m gonna chop you up with my knife.’ 16 ‘You should be taken to the graveyard [lit. hill of the spirits], having eaten so much yourself and given nothing to me.’ 17 ‘From now on, you’ll

jet loŋ-sa gǎi kutaleŋ woi ma-ra, hara hara loŋ-u-na-du,
 work do-INF I when also NEG-come.from.level what what do-3P-2s-NPT
loŋ-o! gǎ-ye sakalei mi-pali-kǎi ŋah-u-n-du nan.’ 18 jekha
 do-s→3/IMP I-ERG all person-p-PM say-3P-1s→3-NPT now big
mi khaŋou-yiŋ yo-le nah-Ø-u-thyo ‘nan ka-ye dese
 person door-ABL look.at-PCL put-SAS-3P-3SCOND now this-ERG village
mi-kǎi ŋah-Ø-u-no-be, gǎi-gǎi kaŋay-eŋ-du, ka-kǎi ‘sumaka
 person-PM say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT-TOP I-PM scold-pAS-NPT this-PM silent
hok-a!’ ŋa-ko mǎiy-Ø-an.’ 19 ya-Ø-ta-le, to mi-kǎi
 be-s/IMP say-ADH must-SAS-3S/PT go-SAS-IPP-PCL that person-PM
lak-te cum-to-le ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘hu, naŋ sumaka
 hand-LOC hold-TPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT younger.brother you silent
hok-a! naŋ-kǎi gǎ-ye pepelek pi-na-ŋa-du.’ 20 to woi sumaka
 be-s/IMP you-PM I-ERG money give-2s-1s-NPT that also silent
hok-Ø-an, libi piy-Ø-u-no, nem-te hen-to-le uma-kǎi
 be-SAS-3S/PT after give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT house-LOC take-TPP-PCL wife-PM
piy-Ø-u-no.
 give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

have to do it alone! I will never come and work for you again, do whatever you have to do! I am now going to tell everyone [about you].’ 18 That important person was peeking out from the door [of his house], thinking ‘now if this guy tells the villagers then they will come and scold me, I must tell him to shut up.’ 19 Going while holding that man’s hand, he said ‘younger brother, please be silent! I will give you money.’ 20 So he fell silent and was then given some money which he took home and gave to his wife.

TAMANG

- 1 *di-ka semni hok-Ø-thyo, to guru jet loŋ-Ø-u-thyo.*
one-HNC Tamang be-SAS-3SCOND that shaman work do-SAS-3P-3SCOND
- 2 *to dewa nama woi wakhe loŋ-sa thaŋ-Ø-u-du mi.*
that god with also word do-INF be.able-SAS-3P-NPT person
- 3 *‘naŋ kit-dicip-dicip ka mo-na-du’ ŋa-to-le, dewa-ye*
you nine-ten-ten throughout live-2S-NPT say-TPP-PCL god-ERG
ŋah-Ø-u-no. 4 *to-ye di-ka camăica nama bore*
say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-ERG one-HNC woman with marriage
loŋ-Ø-u-no. 5 *bore ma-loŋ-ŋa, to aye samay ka*
do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT marriage NEG-do-CNS that many time throughout
ma-mo. 6 *bore loŋ-Ø-u-du uni-yiŋ, apraca hok-Ø-an.*
NEG-live marriage do-SAS-3P-NPT day-ABL good be-SAS-3S/PT
- 7 *uma lawa isa cey-eŋ-ta-le, me sat-eŋ-to-le, jet*
wife husband food eat-pAS-IPP-PCL fire kill-pAS-TPP-PCL work
jet-te yey-eŋ-thyo. 8 *tyaŋ, thaŋ-yiŋ asku, me ti-Ø-du*
work-LOC go-pAS-3SCOND then fireplace-ABL smoke fire light-SAS-NPT
uniŋ, let-Ø-thyo. 9 *ka uniŋ tha-Ø-ta-le, uma-ye ‘ka hara*
like appear-SAS-3SCOND this like be-SAS-IPP-PCL wife-ERG this what
tha-Ø-du? lawa-ye loŋ-Ø-u-du jet-be ma-tha’ ŋa-to-le
be-SAS-NPT husband-ERG do-SAS-3P-NPT work-TOP NEG-be say-TPP-PCL
ŋah-Ø-u-no. 10 *‘găi-go lawa dikaca hok-Ø-an-be, ka asku*
say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT I-GEN husband alone be-SAS-3S/PT-TOP this smoke

1 There was a Tamang man who worked as a shaman. 2 He was someone who was able to communicate with the gods. 3 ‘You will live to be a hundred’, the god told him. 4 He married a woman. 5 If he didn’t get married, then he wouldn’t live for so many years. 6 Ever since he got married, things were good. 7 Having eaten their meal and put out the fire, the wife and husband went off to their respective jobs. 8 Then, from the fireplace, smoke and flames appeared as if it were alight. 9 This being so, the wife thought ‘what’s all this? This is not of my husband’s doing.’ 10 ‘If my husband were alone then this smoke wouldn’t appear, maybe he has another wife.’

ma-let, ka-ko begale uma hok-Ø-du thaŋun. 11 *di uni uma*
 NEG-appear this-GEN other wife be-SAS-NPT maybe one day wife
nem-yiŋ let-Ø-an, lawa-kăi ɖapu-sa. 12 *thapu-yiŋ asku*
 house-ABL appear-SAS-3S/PT husband-PM spy-INF fireplace-ABL smoke
let-Ø-du nih-Ø-u-no. 13 *tyaŋ lawa-kăi ɖapuh-Ø-u-no,*
 appear-SAS-NPT see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT then husband-PM spy-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
to beryaŋ lawa begale camăica nama wakhe loŋ-Ø-u-du
 that that.time husband other woman with word do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
nasăiy-Ø-u-no. 14 *to beryaŋ to dese-te, thapu su-ko*
 hear-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that that.time that village-LOC fireplace who-GEN
woi ma-hok-Ø-thyo. 15 *to dese-te di-ka dewa woi*
 also NEG-be-SAS-3SCOND that village-LOC one-HNC god also
cawa-Ø-thyo. 16 *dewa nama semni-ye wakhe loŋ-Ø-u-du,*
 walk-SAS-3SCOND god with Tamang-ERG word do-SAS-3P-NPT
uma-ye ɖapu-le nah-Ø-u-no. 17 *to beryaŋ dese-te chya*
 wife-ERG spy-PCL put-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that that.time village-LOC salt
ma-hok-Ø-thyo. 18 *dewa-kăi ‘nan chya hok-Ø-du thăi ɖaŋ-ko*
 NEG-be-SAS-3SCOND god-PM now salt be-SAS-NPT place find-ADH
măiy-Ø-an, ka-te-ko mi-ye cya-sa ma-khalam-eŋ-no’
 must-SAS-3S/PT this-LOC-GEN person-ERG eat-INF NEG-receive-pAS-3→3/PT
ŋa-to-le dewa nama wakhe loŋ-Ø-u-no. 19 *‘nan ni uma*
 say-TPP-PCL god with word do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now we wife
lawa tha-ta-i-le chya kăi-sa wakhe loŋ-ko măiy-Ø-an.’
 husband be-IPP-1pPS-PCL salt remove-INF word do-ADH must-SAS-3S/PT

11 One day the wife came out of the house to spy on her husband. 12 She saw smoke rising from the fireplace. 13 Then she spied on her husband and at that time, heard him speaking with another woman. 14 At that time, in that village, there was no one [else] with a fireplace. 15 [At that time] there was a god walking around in that village. 16 The Tamang was speaking with the god and his wife was spying on him. 17 At that time, there was no salt in the village. 18 Speaking with the god, he [the Tamang] said to him ‘now I must find a place where there is salt because the people here have none to eat.’ 19 ‘Now, the two of us, husband and wife, must talk about where to find some salt’ [he said].

- 20 *ka uniŋ ɲa-to-le dewa-kǎi ʔhoh-Ø-u-no.* 21 *uma-ye*
 this like say-TPP-PCL god-PM send-sAS-3P-3→3/PT wife-ERG
 ‘gǎi-go lawa begale uma nama wakhe loŋ-Ø-u-no’ *ɲa-to-le*
 I-GEN husband other wife with word do-sAS-3P-3→3/PT say-TPP-PCL
ɲah-Ø-u-no. 22 *ʔaye uma lawa-ko wakhe thah-Ø-an ‘uma,*
 say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT night wife husband-GEN word be-sAS-3S/PT wife
gǎi sumaka hok-ɲa-du, nany-e ka nunu ka dǎi dha
 I silent be-1s-NPT you-ERG this milk this towards that.distant
dǎi ma-loŋ-tiniŋ nah-o!’ 23 *uma-ye ɲah-Ø-u-no ‘di-gore*
 towards NEG-do-PFG put-s→3/IMP wife-ERG say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT one-CLF
wakhe ma-ɲa-tiniŋ, ka nunu gǎ-ye ma-cum.’ 24 *‘gǎi priŋ*
 word NEG-say-PFG this milk I-ERG NEG-hold I outside
let-ɲa-du beryaŋ, kunyaŋ asku let-Ø-du? gǎi-gǎi ɲa-ɲa!’
 appear-1s-NPT that.time how smoke appear-sAS-NPT I-PM say-s→1s/IMP
 25 *‘yaŋ naŋ-kǎi ma-ɲa, baʔhe citabas ɲa-na-ɲa-du,*
 today you-PM NEG-say tomorrow day.after.tomorrow say-2s-1s-NPT
yaŋ sumaka hok-a!’ 26 *‘to wakhe yaŋ ɲa-ko mǎi-Ø-thyo’,*
 today silent be-s/IMP that word today say-ADH must-sAS-3S/COND
lawaye ‘baʔhe ɲah-u-n-du’ ɲa-to-le ɲah-Ø-u-no.
 husband-ERG tomorrow say-3P-1s→3-NPT say-TPP-PCL say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT
 27 *uma ma-ɲa-tiniŋ nunu ma-cum-Ø-u-no, lawa-kǎi rage*
 wife NEG-say-PFG milk NEG-hold-sAS-3P-3→3/PT husband-PM anger
let-Ø-an. 28 *rage tha-Ø-ta-le, kiŋe-siy-eŋ-an, nunu*
 appear-sAS-3S/PT anger be-sAS-IPP-PCL fight-REF-pAS-3S/PT milk

20 In this way, he sent the god off. 21 The wife thought to herself ‘my husband is talking with his other wife.’ 22 At night, the couple talked [and he said] ‘wife, I will sit quietly and you put the milk down without spilling it here and there!’ 23 The wife said ‘without saying what I want to say, I won’t hold the milk.’ 24 ‘When I went outside, how did the smoke appear? Tell me that!’ [she said]. 25 ‘I won’t tell you today, I will tell you tomorrow or the day after, but for now, be silent!’ [the husband said]. 26 ‘This discussion should have been held today’ [she thought], but the husband said ‘I will tell you tomorrow.’ 27 Not being allowed to speak, the wife wouldn’t hold the milk, and the husband got angry. 28 Having got angry, they fought, and the milk spilled.

kheiy-Ø-an. 29 *semni uma-kăi kaṭah-Ø-an, libi wakhe*
 spill-SAS-3S/PT Tamang wife-PM scold-SAS-3S/PT after word
lony-eṅ-no, baṭhe syaṅ uma isa cya-Ø-ta-le priṅ
 do-PAS-3→3/PT tomorrow period wife food eat-SAS-IPP-PCL outside
let-Ø-an. 30 *dewa to beryaṅ nem-te kyel-Ø-an,*
 appear-SAS-3S/PT god that that.time house-LOC come-SAS-3S/PT
uma-ye to beryaṅ woi sul-si-Ø-ta-le ḍapuh-Ø-u-no.
 wife-ERG that that.time also hide-REF-SAS-IPP-PCL spy-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
 31 *uma-ye ṇah-Ø-u-no 'ka mi-ko habi syaṅ-ko*
 wife-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT this person-GEN before period-GEN
camăica-ko sare uniṅ hok-Ø-du.' 32 *tyaṅ uma duṅ-ṇaṅ*
 woman-GEN voice like be-SAS-NPT then wife within-inside
biy-Ø-an, libi dewa ubo gonṭhe uniṅ thah-Ø-an. 33 *libi*
 enter-SAS-3S/PT after god white round.clump like be-SAS-3S/PT after
to woi to-te tam-Ø-an. 34 *ka uniṅ tha-Ø-ta-le, uma-kăi*
 that also that-LOC get.lost-SAS-3S/PT this like be-SAS-IPP-PCL wife-PM
aṭṭhe kaṭah-Ø-an. 35 *naleṅ woi to ṭhăi-te chya ma-khalam.*
 very scold-SAS-3S/PT present also that place-LOC salt NEG-meet

29 The Tamang [man] scolded his wife, then they talked about things and the next day the wife ate her food and went out. 30 At that point the god came to the house and then the wife, hiding herself, spied on the scene. 31 The wife said 'this person's voice is like the woman's voice of the other day.' 32 Then the wife went inside and then the god turned into a white round clump. 33 After that he [the god] got lost in that place. 34 On account of this, he [the man] really scolded his wife. 35 To this day, salt cannot be found in that place.

FRIEND

- 1 *uma lawa thay-eṇ-du, to-baṇ nis-ka jekha nem-te*
 wife husband be-PAS-NPT that-Pp two-HNC big house-LOC
hok-eṇ-du. 2 *to-baṇ-ko huca ma-tha, di uni uma-ye lawa-kăi*
 be-PAS-NPT that-Pp-GEN child NEG-be one day wife-ERG husband-PM
ṇah-Ø-u-no ‘nany-e begale nama bore loṇ-o!’
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT you-ERG other with marriage do-s→3/IMP
- 3 *lawa-ye ṇah-Ø-u-du ‘găi bore ma-loṇ, naṇ tha-na-n-be*
 husband-ERG say-SAS-3P-NPT I marriage NEG-do you be-2s-PT-TOP
găi-găi hara-kăi bore loṇ-sa?’ 4 *libi jet tha-Ø-ta-le pokhăra*
 I-PM what-PM marriage do-INF after work be-SAS-IPP-PCL Pokharā
ya-Ø-du lawa. 5 *to-te di-ka camăica khalam-to-le bore*
 go-SAS-NPT husband that-LOC one-HNC woman meet-TPP-PCL marriage
loṇ-Ø-u-du. 6 *ka dăi nem-te uma-ye baṇkal*
 do-SAS-3P-NPT this towards house-LOC wife-ERG stomach
cabuh-Ø-u-du, uma taṇ-Ø-du. 7 *dha dăi*
 carry-SAS-3P-NPT wife be.happy-SAS-NPT that.distant towards
lawa-ye begale bore loṇ-Ø-u-du. 8 *bore loṇ-to-le*
 husband-ERG other marriage do-SAS-3P-NPT marriage do-TPP-PCL
pokhăra-te nah-Ø-u-du di-ka uma, begale uma ka dăi huca
 Pokharā-LOC put-SAS-3P-NPT one-HNC wife other wife this towards child
nik-Ø-du. 9 *huca nik-Ø-du, ucya uma-ye sat-sa*
 give.birth-SAS-NPT child give.birth-SAS-NPT small wife-ERG kill-INF

1 There’s this wife and husband, and the two of them live in a big house. 2 They don’t have any children, and one day the wife says to her husband ‘you should get remarried!’ 3 And the husband replies ‘I won’t get remarried, as long as I have you, why do I need to get married [again]?’ 4 Later, the husband goes to work in Pokharā. 5 There, having met a woman, he gets married. 6 In the house in this direction, the wife is pregnant and she is most pleased. 7 On the other side, the husband is getting married to another. 8 Having gotten married, he has one wife in Pokharā while the other gives birth to a child over on this side. 9 The child is born and the second wife [lit. small wife] tries to kill it saying ‘later that child will eat all our land.’

daŋ-Ø-u-du 'nan *raŋ-pali* *libi to huca-ye cya-Ø-du*
 search-SAS-3P-NPT now unirrigated.field-p after that child-ERG eat-SAS-NPT
ŋa-to-le. 10 *ucya uma-ye oste-ko hu-kăi* *ŋah-Ø-u-du,*
 say-TPP-PCL small wife-ERG self-GEN younger.brother-PM say-SAS-3P-NPT
hu *gwi uniŋ tha-Ø-du, tete-kăi* *ŋah-Ø-u-du*
 younger.brother thief like be-SAS-NPT elder.sister-PM say-SAS-3P-NPT
 'tete, *naŋ sumaka hok-a! to huca-kăi gă-ye sat-u-n-du.*'
 elder.sister you silent be-s/IMP that child-PM I-ERG kill-3P-1S→3-NPT
 11 *di uni lak yo-sa mi kyel-Ø-u-du, huca-ko apa*
 one day hand look.at-INF person bring-SAS-3P-NPT child-GEN father
ama-ko lak ci-yoh-Ø-u-du. 12 *guru-kăi*
 mother-GEN hand CAUS-look.at-SAS-3P-NPT shaman-PM
hu-ye *pepelek pi-to-le* *wakhe ŋisen-Ø-u-du* 'nany-e
 younger.brother-ERG money give-TPP-PCL word teach-SAS-3P-NPT you-ERG
ka ka ŋah-o!' *ŋa-to-le.* 13 *tete jarphu-ko*
 this this say-s→3/IMP say-TPP-PCL elder.sister elder.sister's.husband-GEN
lak cum-to-le ci-yoh-Ø-u-du. 14 *guru-ye ŋah-Ø-u-du*
 hand hold-TPP-PCL CAUS-look.at-SAS-3P-NPT shaman-ERG say-SAS-3P-NPT
 'naleŋ *nik-Ø-du huca-ko khen, apa-ye yo-sa ma-ja.*'
 present give.birth-SAS-NPT child-GEN face father-ERG look.at-INF NEG-okay
 15 'apa-ye *nih-Ø-u-no-be,* *apa si-Ø-du* *ŋah-Ø-u-no.*
 father-ERG see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT-TOP father die-SAS-NPT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
 16 *huca-be thah-Ø-an, nan yo-sa ma-ja ŋa-to-le, begale*
 child-TOP be-SAS-3S/PT now look.at-INF NEG-okay say-TPP-PCL other

10 The second wife tells her younger brother, who is a kind of thief, and he says to her 'elder sister, sit still in silence! I will kill that child.' 11 One day, he [the younger brother] brings a palm reader [to them] and makes him read the palms of the child's father and mother. 12 The younger brother, having paid him off, teaches the palm reader what to say, saying 'say this and that!' 13 Holding his elder sister's and her husband's hands, he makes him [the palm reader] look at them. 14 The palm reader then says 'the father must not look into the face of the recently born child.' 15 'If the father sees [his face], then the father will die', he said. 16 Well, the child had been born, and now, on account of not being able to look at him, father went to live in a different place.

thăi ya-hok-Ø-an. 17 *ka dăi, huca-ko ama-kăi begale*
 place go-be-SAS-3S/PT this towards child-GEN mother-PM other
uma-ko hu-ye cijyaŋ-sa ma-thaŋ-sa usare
 wife-GEN younger.brother-ERG speak-INF NEG-be.able-INF medicine
piy-Ø-u-du. 18 *libi cijyaŋ-sa, cawa-sa ma-thaŋ, sakalei uni*
 give-SAS-3P-NPT after speak-INF walk-INF NEG-be.able all day
ami-Ø-du, to nama di-ka jet loŋ-sa camăica tha-Ø-du.
 sleep-SAS-NPT that with one-HNC work do-INF woman be-SAS-NPT
 19 *di uni begale uma-ko hu ra-Ø-ta-le,*
 one day other wife-GEN younger.brother come.from.level-SAS-IPP-PCL
huca ci-sa-kăi hen-Ø-u-du. 20 *to nem-te jet loŋ-sa*
 child throw.away-INF-PM take-SAS-3P-NPT that house-LOC work do-INF
camăica nama di-gore kucu woi hok-Ø-du. 21 *pokhăra-te*
 woman with one-CLF dog also be-SAS-NPT Pokharā-LOC
jarphu nama wakhe loŋ-Ø-u-du ‘nan naŋ-ko ca
 elder.sister’s.husband with word do-SAS-3P-NPT now you-GEN son
siy-Ø-an, ni-ye soŋ-te hen-to-le ci-wa-n’
 die-SAS-3S/PT we-ERG river-LOC take-TPP-PCL throw.away-1p→23-PT
ŋah-Ø-u-no. 22 *ka wakhe nasăi-to-le, kucu nama jet loŋ-sa*
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT this word hear-TPP-PCL dog with work do-INF
camăica dorok-Ø-ta-le yah-Ø-an. 23 *libi ya-ya woi,*
 woman run-SAS-IPP-PCL go-SAS-3S/PT after go-go also
chaŋ-te huca sony-e hen-Ø-u-du niy-eŋ-no.
 bamboo.cradle-LOC child river-ERG take-SAS-3P-NPT see-pAS-3→3/PT

17 And on this side, the younger brother of the other wife gives the child's mother a poison to make her unable to speak. 18 Afterwards, she can't speak and can't walk, and spends each and every day sleeping, so a woman joins her to do the housework. 19 One day, the younger brother of the other wife comes to take the child and throw it away. 20 The woman who works in that house also happens to have a dog with her. 21 He [the younger brother] tells elder sister's husband in Pokharā 'your son is now dead, we took him to the river and threw him in' he said. 22 Hearing these words, the woman helper went running off with her dog. 23 After running and running, they saw a child in a bamboo cradle being washed down the river.

- 24 *kucu ya-Ø-ta-le sorot-to-le huca rah-Ø-u-no, jet*
 dog-ERG go-SAS-IPP-PCL pull-TPP-PCL child bring-SAS-3P-3→/PT work
loŋ-sa camăica-ye ɬep-to-le sul-sa hen-Ø-u-no.
 do-INF woman-ERG carry.on.one's.flank-TPP-PCL hide-INF take-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
- 25 *ma-sul-ŋa-be, begale uma-ko hu-ye sat-Ø-u-du.*
 NEG-hide-CNS-TOP other wife-GEN younger.brother-ERG kill-SAS-3P-NPT
- 26 *huca hen-hen-ăi, di-ka amat-cya-Ø-du mi-ko nem-te*
 child take-take-CON one-HNC beg-eat-SAS-NPT person-GEN house-LOC
hen-Ø-u-no, to-te hok-eŋ-an. 27 *libi jekha thah-Ø-an, jet*
 take-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-LOC be-pAS-3S/PT after big be-SAS-3S/PT work
loŋ-sa camăica-kăi 'ama' ŋah-Ø-u-no. 28 *di uni to ca ɬaye*
 do-INF woman-PM mother say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT one day that son night
ka nem-te ma-ra-Ø-ta-le, ama
 throughout house-LOC NEG-come.from.level-SAS-IPP-PCL mother
kaɬah-Ø-an, naɬe-te ŋeh-Ø-u-no. 29 *di uni to-ye*
 scold-SAS-3S/PT cheek-LOC hit-SAS-3P-3→3/PT one day that-ERG
ŋah-Ø-u-no 'ni-ko apa kuta hok-Ø-du, găi-găi cikhet-aŋ!'
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT we-GEN father where be-SAS-NPT I-PM show-s→1s/IMP
- 30 *tyaŋ ama-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no 'naŋ-ko găi ama ma-tha.'*
 then mother-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT you-GEN I mother NEG-be
- 31 *'naŋ-kăi nik-na-du ama-be begale hok-Ø-du'*
 you-PM give.birth-2s-NPT mother-TOP other be-SAS-NPT
ŋah-Ø-u-no, sakalei wakhe ci-nasăiy-Ø-u-no. 32 *dha*
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT all word CAUS-hear-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that.distant

24 The dog went and pulling the child out, brought it ashore, then the woman worker, carrying him under her arm, took him away to hide him. 25 If she didn't hide him, then the younger brother of the other wife would kill him. 26 Carrying and carrying that child, she took him to the house of a beggar, and they stayed there. 27 Then he grew up and called that working woman 'mother.' 28 One day, when that son didn't come home all night, mother scolded him and smacked his cheek. 29 One day he said 'where does our father live? show me!' 30 Then mother said [to him] 'I am not your mother.' 31 'The mother that gave birth to you is another' she said, and then she told him everything. 32 On the other side, the father and mother thought that their son was dead.

dăi, apa ama-ye ca siy-Ø-an ηay-eη-no. 33 di uni
 towards father mother-ERG son die-SAS-3S/PT say-pAS-3→3/PT one day
sul-si-sul-si-Ø-ta-le apa ηosăi-sa-kăi yah-Ø-an.
 hide-REF-hide-REF-SAS-IPP-PCL father recognise-INF-PM go-SAS-3S/PT
 34 *apa ηosăiy-Ø-u-no ma-cijyaη-Ø-an. 35 di uni*
 father recognise-SAS-3P-3→3/PT NEG-speak-SAS-3S/PT one day
apa-ko nem-te bore uniη hok-Ø-thyo, to yah-Ø-an.
 father-GEN house-LOC marriage like be-SAS-3SCOND that go-SAS-3S/PT
 36 *nan to-te hok-Ø-du, to-kăi ciη-Ø-u-du mi-kăi*
 now that-LOC be-SAS-NPT that-PM throw.away-SAS-3P-NPT person-PM
ηe-sa-kăi. 37 libi kari kariy-Ø-u-du ‘găi ka nem-te-ko ca
 beat-INF-PM after song sing-SAS-3P-NPT I this house-LOC-GEN son
tha-ηa-du, găi-găi sat-ta-ηa-le, raη cya-sa daη-Ø-u-du
 be-1s-NPT I-PM kill-IPP-1s-PCL unirrigated.field eat-INF search-SAS-3P-NPT
mi ka-te hok-Ø-du.’ 38 ‘găi-go ama-kăi cijyaη-sa
 person this-LOC be-SAS-NPT I-GEN mother-PM speak-INF
ma-thaη-sa usare ya-to-le, găi-găi soη-te hen-to-le
 NEG-be.able-INF medicine feed-IPP-PCL I-PM river-LOC take-TPP-PCL
ci-Ø-ηa-n.’ 39 ‘libi jet loη-sa tete ηaη găi-go ban
 throw.away-SAS-1s-PT after work do-INF elder.sister and I-GEN friend
kucu ray-eη-ta-le ci-moy-eη-ηa-n, naleη ka uniη
 dog come.from.level-pAS-IPP-PCL CAUS-survive-pAS-1s-PT present this like
tha-ηa-n.’ 40 ka uniη ηa-to-le kariy-Ø-u-no, libi sakalei
 be-1s-PT this like say-TPP-PCL sing-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after all

33 One day, he [the son] secretly crept off to get to know his own father. 34 He recognised his father, but didn't speak. 35 One day, there was a wedding-like event in his father's house, so he went along. 36 Now, being in that place, he [recognises] the person who threw him [in the river] and makes as if to strike him. 37 Thereafter he sings a song 'I am the son of this household, the person who tried to kill me and steal [lit. eat] my land is here.' 38 'Having fed my mother poison to make her mute, he took me to the river and threw me in' [he sang]. 39 'And then the elder sister who works as a helper and my friend the dog came and saved me, and now here I am.' 40 In this way he sang, and everyone there was shocked.

mi thombe thay-eŋ-an. 41 *yoy-eŋ-no,* *apa-ye*
 person surprise be-pAS-3S/PT look.at-pAS-3→3/PT father-ERG
karpak-Ø-u-no ‘*găi-go ca*’ *ŋa-to-le* *ŋosăiy-Ø-u-no.* 42 *libi*
 hug-sAS-3P-3→3/PT I-GEN son say-TPP-PCL recognise-sAS-3P-3→3/PT after
cih-Ø-u-du *mi-kăi* *ŋe-to-le* *sat-Ø-u-no,* *kucu*
 throw.away-sAS-3P-NPT person-PM beat-TPP-PCL kill-sAS-3P-3→3/PT dog
ban-e *woi cek-Ø-u-no.* 43 *kucu ban* *ma-hok-Ø-an-be*
 friend-ERG also bite-sAS-3P-3→3/PT dog friend NEG-be-sAS-3S/PT-TOP
to ca si-Ø-thyo. 44 *libi apa* *nama hok-Ø-an,* *jet loŋ-sa*
 that son die-sAS-3SCOND after father with be-sAS-3S/PT work do-INF
camăica woi rah-Ø-u-no. 45 ‘*găi-go ban* *kucu hok-Ø-du*’
 woman also bring-sAS-3P-3→3/PT I-GEN friend dog be-sAS-NPT
ŋa-to-le *sewah-Ø-u-no,* *sumaka hok-eŋ-an.*
 say-TPP-PCL salute-sAS-3P-3→3/PT silent be-pAS-3S/PT

41 As everyone looked on, the father recognised him and hugged [him], saying ‘my son.’ 42 Then, beating the man who had thrown him [in the river], the son killed him, and his friend the dog bit him also. 43 Had his friend the dog not been there [at the river], then that boy would have died. 44 Then he went to live with his father and he brought along the worker woman. 45 ‘My [best] friend is this dog’ he said, saluting him, and they lived in peace.

UNCLE

- 1 *găi-go ucyapa naleŋ ni-ko dese-te hok-Ø-du.*
I-GEN father's.younger.brother present we-GEN village-LOC be-SAS-NPT
- 2 *to ucyaca tha-Ø-du beryaŋ, to-ko apa ama siy-eŋ-an.*
that small be-SAS-NPT that.time that-GEN father mother die-PAS-3S/PT
- 3 *to-ko di-ka bubu woi hok-Ø-du, di uni jekha*
that-GEN one-HNC elder.brother also be-SAS-NPT one day big
tha-Ø-ta-le, begale dese yah-Ø-an, bubu nama.
be-SAS-IPP-PCL other village go-SAS-3S/PT elder.brother with
- 4 *to-te jet lony-eŋ-du beryaŋ, ma-thaŋ-Ø-an,*
that-LOC work do-PAS-NPT that.time NEG-be.well-SAS-3S/PT
bubu-ye usare piy-Ø-u-no, libi jah-Ø-an. 5 *jet*
elder.brother-ERG medicine give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after okay-SAS-3S/PT work
ma-khalam-eŋ-no, cya-sa ma-khalam-eŋ-no, jet daŋ-daŋ
NEG-receive-PAS-3→3/PT eat-INF NEG-receive-PAS-3→3/PT work search-search
woi, di uni di-ka mi-ye jet loŋ-sa hen-Ø-u-no.
also one day one-HNC person-ERG work do-INF take-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
- 6 *jet uni ma-to-Ø-du ʔhăi-te lony-eŋ-no.* 7 *pepelek*
work sun NEG-shine-SAS-NPT place-LOC do-PAS-3→3/PT money
ra-to-le nem-te rah-Ø-an, di-ka camăica nama
bring-TPP-PCL house-LOC come.from.level-SAS-3S/PT one-HNC woman with
bore loŋ-sa daŋ-Ø-u-no, camăica jekha mi-ko camăi
marriage do-INF search-SAS-3P-3→3/PT woman big person-GEN daughter

1 My father's younger brother at present lives in our village. 2 His parents died when he was young. 3 He had one elder brother, and one day, when he was grown up, he went with his brother to another village. 4 While working in that place, he became ill and his brother gave him some medicine, then he became better. 5 They couldn't find work and they had nothing to eat, until one day, when searching for work, a person took them and put them to work. 6 They worked in a place where the sun didn't shine. 7 He came home carrying his money and found a woman to marry, she was the daughter of an important person.

hok-Ø-thyo. 8 *bore loŋ-sa-kǎi, di uni camăica nama wakhe*
 be-SAS-3SCOND marriage do-INF-PM one day woman with word
loŋ-Ø-u-no, to-ko apa-ye thaha sǎi-to-le
 do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-GEN father-ERG knowledge know-TPP-PCL
ucyapa-kǎi ŋeh-Ø-u-no. 9 ‘*gǎi-go camăi nany-e*
 father’s.younger.brother-PM beat-SAS-3P-3→3/PT I-GEN daughter you-ERG
hen-sa daŋ-u-na-du?’ ŋa-to-le. 10 *camăica-ye-guri habi*
 take-INF search-3P-2s-NPT say-TPP-PCL woman-ERG-IND before
ŋah-Ø-u-thyo ‘bubu, naŋ ma-ray-e!’ gǎi-go
 say-SAS-3P-3SCOND elder.brother you NEG-come.from.level-s/NEG/IMP I-GEN
apa-ye ŋe-Ø-na-du.’ 11 *ucyapa yah-Ø-an,*
 father-ERG beat-SAS-2s-NPT father’s.younger.brother go-SAS-3S/PT
nembo-ko bore-te kapu-te ŋeh-Ø-u-no, tyaŋ rage-ye
 other.person-GEN marriage-LOC head-LOC beat-SAS-3P-3→3/PT then anger-INS
‘*nan naŋ-ko camăi di uni gǎ-ye hen-u-n-du’ ŋah-Ø-u-no.*
 now you-GEN daughter one day I-ERG take-3P-1s→3-NPT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
 12 *libi sya chyuh-Ø-u-du goŋa-te hok-Ø-thyo, camăica*
 after cow tie-SAS-3P-NPT animal.shelter-LOC be-SAS-3SCOND woman
khalam-sa ŋaye ŋaye ucyapa yah-Ø-an. 13 *di uni*
 meet-INF night night father’s.younger.brother go-SAS-3S/PT one day
ŋaye camăica hen-to-le cawah-Ø-an, libi camăica-ko apa-ye
 night woman take-TPP-PCL walk-SAS-3S/PT after woman-GEN father-ERG
thaha sǎiy-Ø-u-no. 14 *ucyapa-ko nem-te*
 knowledge know-SAS-3P-3→3/PT father’s.younger.brother-GEN house-LOC

8 In order to get married, one day he was talking with the woman [he wanted to marry], but her father found out and beat him. 9 ‘You are trying to take my daughter?’, he said. 10 The woman had already said before ‘elder brother, please don’t come! Father will beat you.’ 11 So uncle left, but at someone else’s wedding, he [the woman’s father] beat him, and then uncle got really angry, saying ‘now, one of these days I am going to take your daughter.’ 12 Thereafter, the woman was living in an animal shelter where the cows are tied up, and uncle would go and visit her night after night. 13 One night, he made off with the woman, but the woman’s father came to know of it. 14 He [the father] went to uncle’s house and scolded his daughter.

ya-Ø-ta-le, camăi-kăi kaṭah-Ø-an. 15 libi ca nik-Ø-an,
 go-SAS-IPP-PCL daughter-PM scold-SAS-3S/PT after son be.born-SAS-3S/PT
ca jekha tha-Ø-du beryaṇ, uma siy-Ø-an, ca na-to-le
 son big be-SAS-3S/PT that.time wife die-SAS-3S/PT son put-TPP-PCL
hok-Ø-an. 16 ‘nan begale uma ra-ko măiy-Ø-an’ ŋa-to-le,
 be-SAS-3S/PT now other wife bring-ADH must-SAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL
uma daṇ-Ø-u-no. 17 oste-ko bore loṇ-to-le, ca-ko woi
 wife search-SAS-3P-3→3/PT self-GEN marriage do-TPP-PCL son-GEN also
bore loṇ-Ø-u-no, nama nama. 18 begale uma-ko sum-ka ca
 marriage do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT with with other wife-GEN three-HNC son
thay-eṇ-an, ucyaca ca nik-Ø-ta-le, to woi siy-Ø-an.
 be-pAS-3S/PT small son give.birth-SAS-IPP-PCL that also die-SAS-3S/PT
 19 *nis-ka uma siy-eṇ-du beryaṇ, ucyapa aṭṭhe*
 two-HNC wife die-pAS-NPT that.time father’s.younger.brother much
kerep-Ø-an, ca-pali hok-eṇ-le woi, uma si-Ø-du beryaṇ, kunyaṇ
 cry-SAS-3S/PT son-p be-pAS-PCL also wife die-SAS-NPT that.time what.like
thah-Ø-an. 20 ca-pali jekha thay-eṇ-an, ‘nan begale uma ra-ko
 be-SAS-3S/PT son-p big be-pAS-3S/PT now other wife bring-ADH
măiy-Ø-an’ ŋa-to-le, di-ka camăica nembo-ko
 must-SAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL one-HNC woman other.person-GEN
bore-yiṇ rah-Ø-u-no. 21 libi to camăica begale uma-ko
 marriage-ABL bring-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after that woman other wife-GEN
ca-pali aye hok-eṇ-du ŋa-to-le, begale lawa daṇ-to-le,
 son-p many be-pAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL other husband search-TPP-PCL

15 Soon after a son was born, and when that son came of age, his wife [the son’s mother] died, but the son lived on. 16 ‘Now, I must get hold of another wife’, he said, and went off to look for one. 17 Father and son got married at the same time. 18 His new wife went on to have three sons, but as she was giving birth to the last one, she too died. 19 Having lost two wives, uncle cried a great deal, despite having sons, when his wife died, well, think what that was like. 20 The sons grew up, and saying ‘now I must go and get myself another wife’ he [uncle] brought back a woman from someone else’s wedding. 21 Later, when that woman saw how many sons there were from the previous wives, she found herself another husband and, leaving uncle, ran away.

to-kǎi torta-to-le cawah-Ø-an. 22 *nan begale uma*
 that-PM leave-TPP-PCL walk-sAS-3S/PT now other wife
daŋ-Ø-u-no, *di uni uma daŋ-sa cawa-Ø-du beryaŋ,*
 search-sAS-3P-3→3/PT one day wife search-INF walk-sAS-NPT that.time
ălāmtha ʔhǎi-te nis-ka ca, di-ka camăi ɲaŋ di-ka ama
 distant place-LOC two-HNC son one-HNC daughter and one-HNC mother
hok-eŋ-du ʔhǎi-te ya-let-Ø-an. 23 *to-te ʔaye hok-Ø-an,*
 be-pAS-NPT place-LOC go-appear-sAS-3S/PT that-LOC night be-sAS-3S/PT
‘gǎi uma daŋ-sa waŋ-ɲa-du’ *ɲah-Ø-u-no, to*
 I wife search-INF come.from.below-1s-NPT say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT that
nem-te ʔaye isa cya-Ø-ta-le amiŋ-Ø-an. 24 *ʔaye ka*
 house-LOC night food eat-sAS-IPP-PCL sleep-sAS-3S/PT night throughout
wakhe loŋ-Ø-u-no. 25 *libi to nem-ko camăica-ye ‘gǎi-gǎi*
 word do-sAS-3P-3→3/PT after that house-GEN woman-ERG I-PM
hen-aŋ’ *ɲah-Ø-u-no, to-ye woi ‘ja-Ø-du’*
 take-s→1s/IMP say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT that-ERG also okay-sAS-NPT
ɲah-Ø-u-no. 26 *‘naŋ-kǎi hen-sa-be hen-u-n-du, naŋ-ko*
 say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT you-PM take-INF-TOP take-3P-1s→3-NPT you-GEN
huca-pali hara loŋ-sa?’ 27 *‘huca-pali woi hen-to-le hen-ko*
 child-p what do-INF child-p also take-TPP-PCL go-ADH
măi-Ø-du’ camăica-ye ɲah-Ø-u-no. 28 *‘ja-Ø-du, naŋ-kǎi*
 must-sAS-NPT woman-ERG say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT okay-sAS-NPT you-PM
ra-kǎi-sa-kǎi, *sum uni libi ra-ɲa-du’*
 come.from.level-remove-INF-PM three day after come.from.level-1s-NPT

22 He now went off to find himself another wife, and one day, while walking and looking, he arrived at a far-away place where there lived a mother, her two sons and one daughter. 23 And that night he spent there, ‘I am searching for a wife’, he said, and having eaten, he slept in that very house. 24 All night he talked. 25 Then the woman of that house said ‘take me’, and he said ‘okay.’ 26 ‘Of course I’ll take you, but what shall we do with your kids?’ [he said]. 27 ‘We have to take the children with us’, the woman said. 28 Saying ‘fine, I’ll come to get you in three days’, he walked off.

ŋa-to-le cawah-Ø-an. 29 nem-te ra-Ø-ta-le,
 say-TPP-PCL walk-sAS-3S/PT house-LOC come.from.level-sAS-IPP-PCL
oste-ko mi-kăi ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘gă-ye di-ka uma
 self-GEN person-PM say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT I-ERG one-HNC wife
khalam-u-n-uŋ, ra-sa mi ma-hok-eŋ-an.’ 30 gă-ye
 meet-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT bring-INF person NEG-be-pAS-3S/PT I-ERG
ŋah-u-n-uŋ ‘uma ra-sa-kăi, hani mi daŋ-u-na-du?’
 say-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT wife bring-INF-PM how.many person search-3P-2s-NPT
ŋah-u-n-du beryaŋ, to-ye ŋa-Ø-ŋa-n ‘huca-pali cabu-sa
 say-3P-1s→3-NPT that.time that-ERG say-sAS-1s-PT child-p carry-INF
mi-pali.’ 31 ‘huca-pali-ko ama rah-u-n-du’ ŋa-to-le
 person-p child-p-GEN mother bring-3P-1s→3-NPT say-TPP-PCL
ŋah-Ø-u-no, ŋaŋ di uni nis-ka mi hen-to-le ɬaye
 say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT and one day two-HNC person take-TPP-PCL night
caway-eŋ-an. 32 ɬaye to camăica-ko nem-te ya-let-eŋ-an,
 walk-pAS-3S/PT night that woman-GEN house-LOC go-appear-pAS-3S/PT
to-te ya-let-eŋ-ta-le ‘nan ni-ye naŋ-kăi
 that-LOC go-appear-pAS-IPP-PCL now we-ERG you-PM
ra-kăi-wa-n, ya-na-du ra ma-ya?’ ŋay-eŋ-no.
 come.from.level-remove-1p→23-PT go-2s-NPT or NEG-go say-pAS-3→3/PT
 33 *‘ya-ŋa-du’ ŋah-Ø-u-no, ‘nan, huca-pali su-bany-e*
 go-1s-NPT say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT now child-p who-Pp-ERG
cabuy-eŋ-du?’ ŋah-Ø-u-du beryaŋ, ‘ni-ye cabu-wa-du’
 carry-pAS-NPT say-sAS-3P-NPT that.time we-ERG carry-1p→23-NPT

29 When he got home, he told his family ‘I have found myself a wife, but there was no one to bring her back.’ 30 When I said ‘how many people are you looking for to bring back your wife?’, he replied ‘people to carry the kids.’ 31 ‘I’ll bring the children’s mother’, he said, and then one day he set off walking in the night with two other guys. 32 They reached that woman’s house in the night, and, having reached there, said to her ‘we have come to get you, are you coming [with us] or not?’ 33 ‘I’ll come’, she said, and when she said ‘but who will carry my children?’, they replied ‘we will carry them.’

ŋa-to-le ŋay-eŋ-no. 34 *ɬaye sum-ka huca-pali ucya ucya*
 say-TPP-PCL say-pAS-3→3/PT night three-HNC child-p small small
thay-eŋ-ta-le, cabu-ko mǎi-Ø-thyo. 35 *nis-ka-ye huca-pali*
 be-pAS-IPP-PCL carry-ADH must-SAS-3SECOND two-HNC-ERG child-p
cabuy-eŋ-to-le, ukhiŋ-te caway-eŋ-an. 36 *athan-te caway-eŋ-ta-le,*
 carry-pAS-TPP-PCL dark-LOC walk-pAS-3S/PT light-LOC walk-pAS-IPP-PCL
begale dese mi-ye niy-eŋ-du ŋa-to-le, ɬaye
 other village person-ERG see-pAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL night
sul-siy-eŋ-ta-le caway-eŋ-du. 37 *caway-eŋ-du beryaŋ, ɬaye*
 hide-REF-pAS-IPP-PCL walk-pAS-NPT walk-pAS-NPT that.time night
ulam-te isa-ye karǎiy-eŋ-an, ‘nan isa kuta cya-sa?’ ŋa-to-le
 road-LOC food-INS shout-pAS-3S/PT now food where eat-INF say-TPP-PCL
‘di-gore nem-te cya-ko’ ŋay-eŋ-no. 38 *‘bubu, naŋ-ko*
 one-CLF house-LOC eat-ADH say-pAS-3→3/PT elder.brother you-GEN
nem-te ni toŋ tun-sa khalam-i-du?’, *to-ye woi*
 house-LOC we beer drink-INF receive-1pPS-NPT that-ERG also
‘khalam-n-u-du’ ŋah-Ø-u-no, toŋ tha-to-le piy-Ø-u-no.
 receive-2p-3P-NPT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT beer strain-TPP-PCL give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
 39 *toŋ-ko mi-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘niŋ kuta cawa-ni-du?’*,
 beer-GEN person-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT you(p) where walk-2s-NPT
to-bany-e ŋay-eŋ-no ‘ni bore yo-sa caway-i-du, ukhiŋ
 that-Pp-ERG say-pAS-3→3/PT we marriage look.at-INF walk-1pPS-NPT dark
thah-Ø-an.’ 40 *di ɬa di uni ka cawa-ŋa libi, nem-te*
 be-SAS-3S/PT one night one day throughout walk-CNS after house-LOC

34 That night, since those three children were very small, they had to be carried. 35 Those two people, carrying the children, walked in the dark. 36 Had they walked in the daytime, then they might have been seen by people from other villages, so they walked secretly at night. 37 Walking on the road at night, they got hungry and thinking ‘where shall we eat?’, ‘let’s eat at the next house we come across’, they said. 38 ‘Elder brother, is beer available in your house?’ [they asked], and he replied ‘sure it is’ and, straining the beer, gave it to them. 39 The man serving the beer said ‘where are you lot off to then?’, to which they replied ‘we are going to see a wedding, but it got dark.’ 40 After walking for one whole night and all day, they arrived at their house.

ra-let-eŋ-an. 41 *dese mi-ye libi 'uma*
 come.from.level-appear-pAS-3S/PT village person-ERG after wife
kyel-Ø-u-no' ŋa-to-le ŋay-eŋ-no. 42 *naleŋ ka*
 bring-sAS-3P-3→3/PT say-TPP-PCL say-pAS-3→3/PT present throughout
to-ko oli-ka uma thay-eŋ-an, nis-ka uma siy-eŋ-an, di-ka
 that-GEN four-HNC wife be-pAS-3S/PT two-HNC wife die-pAS-3S/PT one-HNC
uma begale nama yah-Ø-an. 43 *di-ka naleŋ woi hok-Ø-du,*
 wife other with go-sAS-3S/PT one-HNC present also be-sAS-NPT
to-ko habi-ko nis-ka uma-ko oli-ka ca hok-eŋ-du.
 that-GEN before-GEN two-HNC wife-GEN four-HNC son be-pAS-NPT
 44 *naleŋ-ko uma-ko nis-ka ca, di-ka camăi hok-eŋ-du.*
 present-GEN wife-GEN two-HNC son one-HNC daughter be-pAS-NPT
 45 *camăi-ko bore loŋ-to-le, di-ka ca woi hok-Ø-du, jekha*
 daughter-GEN marriage do-TPP-PCL one-HNC son also be-sAS-NPT big
ca-ko nis-ka ca, sum-ka camăi hok-eŋ-du.
 son-GEN two-HNC son three-HNC daughter be-pAS-NPT

41 The villagers then said 'he has brought a wife.' 42 Up to this point, he had had four wives, two of whom had died, and one of whom had gone off with another man. 43 At present, the last wife is still around, as are the four sons from the previous two wives. 44 The present wife has two sons and one daughter [of her own]. 45 The daughter, having gotten married, also has one son, and the eldest son has two sons and three daughters of his own.

OLD WOMAN AND CHICKEN

- 1 *di ʔhǎi-te, di-ka cya-sa ma-khalam-Ø-u-du ʔhoŋi*
 one place-LOC one-HNC eat-INF NEG-receive-SAS-3P-NPT old.woman
hok-Ø-thyo. 2 *seŋ daŋ-to-le, nembo-kǎi pi-to-le,*
 be-SAS-3SCOND wood search-TPP-PCL other.person-PM give-TPP-PCL
nyoŋi bǎsinʔe isa cya-Ø-thyo. 3 *di uni seŋ daŋ-sa*
 evening morning food eat-SAS-3SCOND one day wood search-INF
yah-Ø-an, to-te to-ye di-gore wa-ko ahum
 go-SAS-3S/PT that-LOC that-ERG one-CLF chicken-GEN egg
khalam-Ø-u-no. 4 *to ahum nem-te hen-to-le nah-Ø-u-no.*
 meet-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that egg house-LOC take-TPP-PCL put-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
 5 *libi to ahum-te wa-ko ca aghyoh-Ø-u-du nasǎiy-Ø-u-no,*
 after that egg-LOC chicken-GEN son cry-SAS-3P-NPT hear-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
ya-yoh-Ø-u-du beryaŋ, di-gore apraca wa-ca
 go-look.at-SAS-3P-NPT that.time one-CLF good chicken-DIM
nih-Ø-u-no. 6 *to ʔhoŋi-ye oste ma-cya-tiniŋ, to*
 see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that old.woman-ERG self NEG-eat-PFG that
wa-ca-kǎi cya-sa piy-Ø-u-no. 7 *di uni wa-ca jekha*
 chicken-DIM-PM eat-INF give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT one day chicken-DIM big
tha-Ø-ta-le, ʔhoŋi-kǎi ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘naŋ nama pepelek
 be-SAS-IPP-PCL old.woman-PM say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT you with money
hok-Ø-du-yiŋ, gǎi-gǎi pi-ŋa!’ 8 *wa mi uniŋ*
 be-SAS-NPT-ABL I-PM give-s→1s/IMP chicken person like

1 In this place, there lived an old woman who had nothing to eat. 2 Searching for wood and giving it to others, in this way she would eat in the evening and in the morning. 3 One day she went off to search for firewood, and there she came across a single chicken egg. 4 Taking that egg, she brought it home. 5 Later she heard a chick crying from inside that egg, and when she went to take a look, she saw a beautiful little chicken. 6 Without having eaten anything herself, that old lady fed the little chicken. 7 One day, having grown up, that little chicken said to the old woman ‘if you have any money, then please give it to me.’ 8 When she heard the chicken speaking like a person, she [the old lady] was most surprised.

cijyaŋ-Ø-du nasăi-to-le, thombe thah-Ø-an. 9 oste nama
 speak-SAS-NPT hear-TPP-PCL surprise be-SAS-3S/PT self with
tha-Ø-du di pepelek kăi-to-le piy-Ø-u-no. 10 wa
 be-SAS-NPT one money remove-TPP-PCL give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT chicken
di-gore ahe jake tha-Ø-du thăi-te yah-Ø-an, jake-ko mi-kăi
 one-CLF much rice be-SAS-NPT place-LOC go-SAS-3S/PT rice-GEN person-PM
ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘bubu, găi-găi ka pepelek-ko jake pi-ŋa!’
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT elder.brother I-PM this money-GEN rice give-s→1s/IMP
 11 *‘di pepelek-ko jake hani pi-sa? phah-o!*
 one money-GEN rice how.much give-INF hold.out.and.receive-s→3/IMP
hara-te hen-u-na-du?’ 12 wa-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘găi-go kulla-ko
 what-LOC take-3P-2s-NPT chicken-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT I-GEN ear-GEN
doroy-te tham-o!’ 13 jake-ko mi-ye wa-ko kulla-te jake
 hole-LOC insert-s→3/IMP rice-GEN person-ERG chicken-GEN ear-LOC rice
nah-Ø-u-no, to-ko jake sakalei kulla-te biy-Ø-an, ‘hara
 put-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-GEN rice all ear-LOC enter-SAS-3S/PT what
thah-Ø-an?’ ŋa-to-le ŋah-Ø-u-no. 14 ‘naŋ-ko pepelek
 be-SAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT you-GEN money
hen-o! găi-go jake rah-o!’ 15 wa-ye woi ‘ja-Ø-du’
 take-s→3/IMP I-GEN rice bring-s→3/IMP chicken-ERG also okay-SAS-NPT
ŋa-to-le, pepelek phah-Ø-u-no, uchincăi jake
 say-TPP-PCL money hold.out.and.receive-SAS-3P-3→3/PT very.little rice
na-to-le per-Ø-ta-le cawah-Ø-an. 16 nem-te ya-Ø-ta-le
 put-TPP-PCL fly-SAS-IPP-PCL walk-SAS-3S/PT house-LOC go-SAS-IPP-PCL

9 Pulling out the one coin she had with her, she gave it [to the chicken]. 10 The chicken went to a rice store and said to the storekeeper ‘elder brother, please give me rice to the value of this coin!’ 11 ‘How much rice should I give you for one coin? Hold out your hand! But what will you carry it in?’ [the storekeeper asked]. 12 The chicken replied ‘put it in my earhole!’ 13 The rice storekeeper put the rice in the chicken’s ear, and all his rice entered [and fitted] inside the chicken’s ear. ‘How can this be?’, he thought to himself. 14 ‘Take your money back! Give me my rice back’, [he said]. 15 The chicken said ‘okay’, held out his hand to receive the money, and then, putting a little of the rice [down], he set off flying. 16 When he got home he said ‘mother, paint the house!’, and the old woman did as he said.

'ama, nem thil-o!' *ŋah-Ø-u-no,* *ʔhoŋi-ye* *woi*
 mother house paint-s→3/IMP say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT old.woman-ERG also
ŋah-Ø-u-du *uniŋ loŋ-Ø-u-no.* 17 *ʔhoŋi-ko* *cyoporok nem*
 say-SAS-3P-NPT like do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT old.woman-GEN hut house
jake jake thah-Ø-an. 18 *nan wa* *per-Ø-ta-le* *di-gore rence*
 rice rice be-SAS-3S/PT now chicken fly-SAS-IPP-PCL one-CLF bean
nem-te yah-Ø-an, *to-te rence-ko mi-kăi ŋah-Ø-u-no,*
 house-LOC go-SAS-3S/PT that-LOC bean-GEN person-PM say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
habi-ko uniŋ loŋ-to-le, *rence woi rah-Ø-u-no.* 19 *begale*
 before-GEN like do-TPP-PCL bean also bring-SAS-3P-3→3/PT other
cya-sa woi rah-Ø-u-no, *aye tha-Ø-ta-le,* *nis-ka-ye jekha*
 eat-INF also bring-SAS-3P-3→3/PT much be-SAS-IPP-PCL two-HNC-ERG big
nem khem-eŋ-no. 20 *tyaŋ libi wa jekha mi-ko camăi*
 house build-PAS-3→3/PT then after chicken big person-GEN daughter
bore loŋ-sa cawah-Ø-an. 21 *ya-ya woi, ulam-te di-gore was*
 marriage do-INF walk-SAS-3S/PT go-go also road-LOC one-CLF bee
hok-Ø-du ʔhăi nih-Ø-u-no. 22 *was-e ŋah-Ø-u-no* *'wa*
 be-SAS-NPT place see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT bee-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT chicken
bubu, *naŋ kuta ya-na-du?'*, *to-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no* *'găi*
 elder.brother you where go-2s-NPT that-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT I
bore loŋ-sa cawa-ŋa-du.' 23 *'ni-kăi woi hen-se!* *ni-ye*
 marriage do-INF walk-1s-NPT we-PM also take-s→1p/IMP we-ERG
naŋ-kăi ma-cek, *naŋ-ko jet loŋ-wa-du'* *was-pali-ye ŋay-eŋ-no.*
 you-PM NEG-bite you-GEN work do-1p→23-NPT bee-p-ERG say-PAS-3→3/PT

17 That old woman's hut-like house was full to the brim of rice. 18 Now the chicken flew off and went to a bean store where he spoke to the storekeeper, and then doing just like before, he brought back a load of beans. 19 He also brought more things to eat, and because it had become so much, the two of them built a bigger house. 20 After all that, the chicken went off to marry the daughter of an important person. 21 As he walked, he came across a place where bees lived. 22 A bee said to him 'Oh elder brother chicken, where are you going?', and he replied 'I am off to get married.' 23 'Take us along with you! We won't sting you, we will even do your work for you', the bees said.

- 24 *wa-ye sakalei was kulla duŋ-ŋaŋ na-to-le*
 chicken-ERG all bee ear within-inside put-TPP-PCL
hen-Ø-u-no. 25 *ya-ya woi di-gore soŋ khalam-Ø-u-no,*
 take-sAS-3P-3→3/PT go-go also one-CLF river meet-sAS-3P-3→3/PT
sony-e ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘naŋ kuta ya-na-du?’ ‘gǎi bore loŋ-sa.’
 river-ERG say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT you where go-2s-NPT I marriage do-INF
 26 *paŋku-ye woi ‘hen-aŋ!’ ŋah-Ø-u-no, begale kulla-te*
 water-ERG also take-s→1s/IMP say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT other ear-LOC
tham-to-le hen-Ø-u-no. 27 *libi ti-Ø-du me*
 insert-TPP-PCL take-sAS-3P-3→3/PT after burn-sAS-NPT fire
khalam-Ø-u-no, to-kǎi woi hen-Ø-u-no. 28 *di chin libi,*
 meet-sAS-3P-3→3/PT that-PM also take-sAS-3P-3→3/PT one moment after
wa jekha mi-ko nem-te ya-let-Ø-an, kherte-ko arka
 chicken big person-GEN house-LOC go-appear-sAS-3S/PT near-GEN walnut
pole-te hok-Ø-an, to isyaŋ to-ko camǎi-ko bore
 tree-LOC be-sAS-3S/PT that period that-GEN daughter-GEN marriage
tha-Ø-le hok-Ø-thyo. 29 *libi wa arɣik-Ø-ta-le, khaŋou-te*
 be-sAS-PCL be-sAS-3SECOND after chicken cry.out-sAS-IPP-PCL door-LOC
hok-Ø-du mi-kǎi ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘gǎ-ye ka nem-ko camǎi
 be-sAS-NPT person-PM say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT I-ERG this house-GEN daughter
bore loŋ-sa kyel-ŋa-du.’ 30 *to mi nuiy-Ø-an, libi*
 marriage do-INF come-1s-NPT that person laugh-sAS-3S/PT after
nembo mi aghyo-to-le wa-kǎi ci-poh-Ø-u-no.
 other.person person call-TPP-PCL chicken-PM CAUS-chase-sAS-3P-3→3/PT

24 The chicken put all the bees inside his ear and took them. 25 As he went along his way, he came across a river, and the river said to him ‘where are you going’, [to which he replied] ‘I am off to get married.’ 26 The water also said ‘take me along!’, so pouring some in his other ear, he [the chicken] took it. 27 Then he came across a burning fire, and he took that also. 28 A moment later, the chicken arrived at the house of the important person, and sat down near a walnut tree, [and it happened that] that day that man’s daughter was getting married. 29 Then the chicken cried out and said to the man sitting by the door ‘I have come to marry the daughter of this house.’ 30 That person laughed and then, calling over another person, chased the chicken away.

- 31 *wa-ye woi ηah-Ø-u-no 'was-pali let-ta-ni-le*
 chicken-ERG also say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT bee-p appear-IPP-2p-PCL
ka-baη-ko kapu-yiη cek-no!' 32 ka nasäiy-eη-to-le, was-pali
 this-Pp-GEN head-ABL bite-p→3/IMP this hear-pAS-TPP-PCL bee-p
let-eη-ta-le cek-eη-no. 33 bophura-pali, ariy-eη-ta-le,
 appear-pAS-IPP-PCL bite-pAS-3→3/PT pity-p be.afraid-pAS-IPP-PCL
jekha mi-kăi ηa-sa dorok-eη-an. 34 jekha mi-ye woi
 big person-PM say-INF run-pAS-3S/PT big person-ERG also
wa-kăi urou-sa thoh-Ø-u-no. 35 libi wa-ye jekha
 chicken-PM call-INF send-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after chicken-ERG big
mi-kăi ηah-Ø-u-no 'naη-ko gă-ye camăi bore loη-sa
 person-PM say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT you-GEN I-ERG daughter marriage do-INF
kyel-ηa-du.' 36 'găi nama naη-ko camăi bore ci-loη-aη,
 come-1s-NPT I with you-GEN daughter marriage CAUS-do-s→1s/IMP
ma-tha-be, nany-e kerep-ko măi-Ø-du.' 37 jekha mi jekha
 NEG-be-TOP you-ERG cry-ADH must-SAS-NPT big person big
sare-te ηah-Ø-u-no 'naη uniη wa nama găi-go camăi
 voice-LOC say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT you like chicken with I-GEN daughter
bore ci-loη-u-n-du?' 38 'naη mo-sa ali-na-du-be, ka-yiη
 marriage CAUS-do-3P-1s→3-NPT you live-INF like-2s-NPT-TOP this-ABL
cawa-Ø!' jekha mi-ye ηah-Ø-u-no. 39 wa woi to-te
 walk-s/IMP big person-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT chicken also that-LOC
hok-Ø-ta-le habi-ko me-kăi ηah-Ø-u-no 'ka-ko nem
 be-SAS-IPP-PCL before-GEN fire-PM say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT this-GEN house

31 And the chicken said 'bees, come out, and sting those people from their heads down!' 32 Hearing this, the bees came out and stung them. 33 Those poor people, being scared, ran off to tell the important man [what had happened]. 34 The important person then sent someone to call the chicken. 35 After this the chicken said to the important person 'I have come to marry your daughter.' 36 'Marry your daughter to me! If you don't, you will be forced to cry' [the chicken said]. 37 Then the important person said in a loud voice 'do you think that I would marry my daughter to a chicken like you?' 38 'If you want to go on living, then get out of here now!', the important person said. 39 The chicken, sitting right there, said to the fire that he had picked up earlier 'burn his house!'

jyoh-o! 40 *ka nasăi-to-le, me let-Ø-ta-le to-ko habi*
 burn-s→3/IMP this hear-TPP-PCL fire appear-sAS-IPP-PCL that-GEN before
tiy-Ø-an, sakalei to-yiŋ dorok-eŋ-an. 41 *me sat-sa, sakalei*
 burn-sAS-3S/PT all that-ABL run-pAS-3S/PT fire kill-INF all
mi-pali kyel-eŋ-an, me aŋthe tiy-Ø-an. 42 *libi wa-kăi*
 person-p come-pAS-3S/PT fire very burn-sAS-3S/PT after chicken-PM
sewa-to-le, camăi piy-Ø-u-no. 43 *tyaŋ libi paŋku-kăi*
 salute-TPP-PCL daughter give-sAS-3P-3→3/PT then after water-PM
ŋah-Ø-u-no 'ka me sat-o! paŋku' kulla-yiŋ let-Ø-ta-le
 say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT this fire kill-s→3/IMP water ear-ABL appear-sAS-IPP-PCL
me sat-Ø-u-no. 44 *nan, wa nama, jekha mi-ko camăi*
 fire kill-sAS-3P-3→3/PT now chicken with big person-GEN daughter
ŋhoŋi-ko nem-te yah-Ø-an. 45 *wa-ko uma ni-to-le,*
 old.woman-GEN house-LOC go-sAS-3S/PT chicken-GEN wife see-TPP-PCL
ŋhoŋi woi taŋ-Ø-an, libi jet loŋ-sa mi na-to-le
 old.woman also be.happy-sAS-3S/PT after work do-INF person put-TPP-PCL
hok-eŋ-an.
 be-pAS-3S/PT

40 Hearing this, the fire lit in front of them, and all the people ran away from that place. 41 Everyone came to extinguish the fire, but it just burnt more strongly. 42 Having paid his respects to the chicken, he [the important man] gave his daughter. 43 Then, after that, [the chicken] said to the water 'now, water, kill this fire!', and the water, emerging from his ear, extinguished the fire. 44 Now, together with the chicken, the important person's daughter went back to the old woman's house. 45 Seeing the chicken's wife, the old woman became happy, and later, having gotten themselves someone to do all the work, they lived [happily].

THE WAY IT USED TO BE

- 1 *habi jekha dese yo-sa-kăi, cawa-ta-i-le ya-yo-ko*
 before big village look.at-INF-PM walk-IPP-1pPS-PCL go-look.at-ADH
măi-Ø-thyo. 2 *ni-ko apa-pali caway-eŋ-ta-le, jekha nem*
 must-SAS-3SCOND we-GEN father-p walk-pAS-IPP-PCL big house
yo-sa-kăi yey-eŋ-thyo. 3 *naleŋ ni cawa-sa ma-thaŋ,*
 look.at-INF-PM go-pAS-3SCOND present we walk-INF NEG-be.able
ni-ko apa-pali oli walŋa uni caway-eŋ-thyo. 4 *yey-eŋ-du*
 we-GEN father-p four five day walk-pAS-3SCOND go-pAS-NPT
beryəŋ, nama nama saŋa-ko phase, makăi-ko phase, jake,
 that.time with with millet-GEN flour maize-GEN flower rice
moŋe-ko aŋek-si-Ø-du phase, hen-to-le yey-eŋ-an.
 soybean-GEN roast-REF-SAS-NPT flour take-TPP-PCL go-pAS-3S/PT
- 5 *cawa-cawa woi kuta ukhiŋ-Ø-du, to-te hok-eŋ-thyo.*
 walk-walk also where become.dark-SAS-NPT that-LOC be-pAS-3SCOND
- 6 *hok-eŋ-du ʈăi-te isa uman-eŋ-to-le cey-eŋ-thyo, nama*
 be-pAS-NPT place-LOC food cook-pAS-TPP-PCL eat-pAS-3SCOND with
nama seŋ woi cabuy-eŋ-thyo. 7 *ʈaye to-te hok-eŋ-thyo,*
 with wood also carry-pAS-3SCOND night that-LOC be-pAS-3SCOND
- jhari yu-Ø-le woi, phosi-phosiy-eŋ-ta-le caway-eŋ-an,*
 rain come.from.above-SAS-PCL also soak-soak-pAS-IPP-PCL walk-pAS-3S/PT
- naleŋ-ko uniŋ naka jŋ ma-hok-Ø-thyo.* 8 *paŋku*
 present-GEN like new umbrella NEG-be-SAS-3SCOND water

1 In the olden days, in order to see the city [lit. big village], we used to have to walk [to get there]. 2 Our fathers would go by foot to look at big buildings. 3 These days, we aren't able to walk anymore, but our fathers would walk for four or five days. 4 When they travelled, they would take millet flour, maize flour, rice and roasted soybean flour with them. 5 On their way, they would rest [and camp] at which ever place they had got to when it became dark. 6 In the place that they stopped they would cook and eat their food, having carried firewood with them. 7 At night, they would stay in that place, even if it rained, and totally soaked them, they would still walk, as there were no new umbrellas like the ones that we have now. 8 Having found water, they would have to eat, and having made a new fireplace each day, they would have to walk.

- dany-eŋ-to-le,* *cya-ko mǎi-Ø-thyo,* *naka thapu khem-to-le,*
 search-pAS-TPP-PCL eat-ADH must-sAS-3SCOND new fireplace build-TPP-PCL
- cawa-ko mǎi-Ø-thyo.* 9 *ka uniŋ tha-Ø-ta-le caway-eŋ-an.*
 walk-ADH must-sAS-3SCOND this like be-sAS-IPP-PCL walk-pAS-3S/PT
- 10 *nem-te chya cya-sa-kǎi sum oli uni caway-eŋ-ta-le*
 house-LOC salt eat-INF-PM three four day walk-pAS-IPP-PCL
- kyel-eŋ-thyo.* 11 *chya kyel-sa-kǎi, nem-yiŋ jake hen-ko*
 come-pAS-3SCOND salt bring-INF-PM house-ABL rice take-ADH
- mǎi-Ø-thyo.* 12 *chya-ko mi-kǎi jake pi-to-le, chya*
 must-sAS-3SCOND salt-GEN person-PM rice give-TPP-PCL salt
- kyel-eŋ-thyo.* 13 *dese-te chya ma-khalam-to-le, di uni*
 bring-pAS-3SCOND village-LOC salt NEG-receive-TPP-PCL one day
- ka jet lony-eŋ-no-be, to-kǎi di ʔoke chya*
 throughout work do-pAS-3→3/PT-TOP that-PM one half.kilo salt
- piy-eŋ-thyo.* 14 *chya cya-sa-kǎi woi, jake phase hen-ko*
 give-pAS-3SCOND salt eat-INF-PM also rice flour take-ADH
- mǎi-Ø-thyo.* 15 *di uni di-ka mi-ye isa loŋ-sa-kǎi*
 must-sAS-3SCOND one day one-HNC person-ERG food do-INF-PM
- thapu khem-Ø-u-no, thakpa khem-sa-kǎi ɳiŋ*
 fire.place build-sAS-3P-3→3/PT fire.stone build-INF-PM stone
- kyel-Ø-u-no.* 16 *ɳiŋ ci-theŋ-Ø-u-no, ʔitiŋ-Ø-an*
 bring-sAS-3P-3→3/PT stone CAUS-stand.up-sAS-3P-3→3/PT fall.over-sAS-3S/PT
- hani ci-theŋ-Ø-u-no, ʔitiŋ-Ø-an, tyaŋ rage-ye*
 how.much CAUS-stand.up-sAS-3P-3→3/PT fall.over-sAS-3S/PT then anger-INS

9 This is the way that they travelled. 10 To get salt to use at home they would walk for three or four days. 11 In order to bring salt, they would have to take rice with them from home. 12 Having given the rice to the man with the salt, they would bring salt [back home]. 13 If there was no salt in the village, then those who worked for a whole day would be given half a kilo of salt [as payment]. 14 In order to get salt, they would also have to take rice flour with them [to eat along the way]. 15 One day, a man made himself a fireplace to cook his food, and to make his hearth he brought a stone. 16 He set the stone upright, but it fell down, and as many times as he set it straight, it fell over again, so in anger he beat the stone with a rice-cooking spoon.

to niŋ-kǎi cyatane-ye neh-Ø-u-no. 17 *cyatane-ye*
 that stone-PM rice.spoon-INS beat-SAS-3P-3→3/PT rice.spoon-INS
neh-Ø-u-du beryaŋ, to-yiŋ coi let-Ø-an, coi
 beat-SAS-3P-NPT that.time that-ABL blood appear-SAS-3S/PT blood
let-Ø-ta-le, to mi-ye yo-le nah-Ø-u-no.
 appear-SAS-IPP-PCL that person-ERG look.at-PCL put-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
 18 *'ka-be dewa thaŋun, gǎ-ye thakpa loŋ-u-n-uŋ, tyaŋ*
 this-TOP god maybe I-ERG fire.stone do-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT then
ma-theŋ thaŋun' ŋa-to-le ŋah-Ø-u-no. 19 *libi dewa*
 NEG-stand.up maybe say-TPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after god
hok-Ø-du ŋa-to-le, to-kǎi dewa lony-eŋ-no. 20 *naleŋ woi*
 be-SAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL that-PM god do-pAS-3→3/PT present also
to-kǎi bhimsin ŋa-to-le dewa lony-eŋ-du.
 that-PM Bhimsen say-TPP-PCL god do-pAS-NPT

17 When he beat it with the rice-cooking spoon, blood appeared, and as that blood came out that person just stared and stared. 18 'Maybe this is a god, and that is why it wouldn't stand up when I made it into a fire stone', he thought to himself. 19 Later, saying that it was a god, people worshipped it. 20 And to the present day, they worship that [stone] as the God Bhimsen.

CO-WIFE

1 *di-ka mi-ko oli-ka uma hok-eŋ-thyo.* 2 *ca camăi*
 one-HNC person-HEN four-HNC wife be-PAS-3SCOND son daughter
thay-eŋ-du ra ŋa-to-le, oli-ka uma bore loŋ-Ø-u-no,
 be-PAS-NPT or say-TPP-PCL four-HNC wife marriage do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
di-ka-ye woi huca ma-nik-eŋ-no. 3 *libi begale uma*
 one-HNC-ERG also child NEG-give.birth-PAS-3→3/PT after other wife
bore loŋ-sa daŋ-Ø-u-no, bubu hu-kăi
 marriage do-INF search-SAS-3P-3→3/PT elder.brother younger.brother-PM
ŋa-to-le, di-ka camăica bore loŋ-Ø-u-no. 4 *to uma-ye*
 say-TPP-PCL one-HNC woman marriage do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that wife-ERG
libi baŋkal cabuh-Ø-u-no, nan huca nik-ko
 after stomach carry-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now child give.birth-ADH
sow-Ø-an. 5 *nan begale uma-pali-ye, huca nik-ko*
 be.about.to-SAS-3S/PT now other wife-p-ERG child give.birth-ADH
sow-Ø-an ŋa-to-le, rage lony-eŋ-no. 6 *uma-pali hok-sa*
 be.about.to-SAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL anger do-PAS-3→3/PT wife-p be-INF
thăi begale begale hok-Ø-thyo, ucya uma hok-Ø-du thăi-te,
 place other other be-SAS-3SCOND small wife be-SAS-NPT place-LOC
di-gore citaliŋ woi thone-ye nah-Ø-u-no. 7 *uma-kăi*
 one-CLF drum also old.man-ERG put-SAS-3P-3→3/PT wife-PM
ŋah-Ø-u-no 'nany-e huca nik-sa daŋ-sa habi, ka
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT you-ERG child give.birth-INF search-INF before this

1 There was a man who had four wives. 2 Just to make sure that he would have sons and daughters he took four wives, but not one of them gave birth to a single child. 3 Then he searched for another wife to marry, and, having discussed it with his brothers, married a woman. 4 Later that wife became pregnant, and then she was about to give birth to a child. 5 On account of being about to give birth to a child, those other wives got angry. 6 The wives all lived in different places, and in the place that the youngest wife lived, the husband had put a drum. 7 He [the husband] said to his wife 'when you are about to give birth to the child, beat this drum and then we shall know.'

citaliŋ tap-sa, tyaŋ ni-ye thaha sāi-wa-du. 8 *‘tyaŋ gǎi*
 drum beat-INF then we-ERG knowledge know-1p→23-NPT then I
ra-ŋa-du’ *ŋa-to-le, oste-ko jet-te yah-Ø-an.*
 come.from.level-1s-NPT say-TPP-PCL self-GEN work-LOC go-SAS-3S/PT
 9 *di uni ‘lawa ra-Ø-du ra ma-ra?’*
 one day husband come.from.level-SAS-NPT or NEG-come.from.level
ŋa-to-le, citaliŋ tap-Ø-u-no, lawa dorok-Ø-ta-le
 say-TPP-PCL drum beat-SAS-3P-3→3/PT husband run-SAS-IPP-PCL
rah-Ø-an, yoh-Ø-u-no, uma nui-Ø-ta-le
 come.from.level-SAS-3S/PT look.at-SAS-3P-3→3/PT wife laugh-SAS-IPP-PCL
hok-Ø-du. 10 *kaṭah-Ø-an ‘hara-kǎi tap-u-na-n? gǎ-ye-be naŋ huca*
 be-SAS-NPT scold-SAS-3S/PT what-PM beat-3P-2s-PT I-ERG-TOP you child
nik-na-n *ŋa-to-le dorok-ta-ŋa-le ra-ŋa-n.* 11 *‘sewa,*
 give.birth-2s-PT say-TPP-PCL run-IPP-1s-PCL come.from.level-1s-PT salute
gǎ-ye naŋ ra-na-du ra ma-ra ŋa-to-le,
 I-ERG you come.from.level-2s-NPT or NEG-come.from.level say-TPP-PCL
gǎ-ye tap-u-n-uŋ, naŋ ra-na-n, rage
 I-ERG beat-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT you come.from.level-2s-PT anger
ma-thay-e!’ 12 *baṭhe syaŋ jet loŋ-sa mi-ye miŋ*
 NEG-be-s/NEG/IMP tomorrow period work do-INF person-ERG cloth
toŋ-sa-kǎi, miŋ kǎiy-Ø-u-du beryaŋ, citaliŋ syak-Ø-an.
 wash-INF-PM cloth remove-SAS-3P-NPT that.time drum strike-SAS-3S/PT
 13 *‘nan-guri uma huca nik-Ø-an’* *ŋa-to-le,*
 now-IND wife child give.birth-SAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL

8 ‘And then I will come’, he said, and with that went off to get on with his own work. 9 One day, thinking ‘will my husband come or not?’, she beat the drum, and the husband came running and saw his wife sitting there laughing. 10 And he scolded her ‘why did you beat it? I came running thinking that you were giving birth.’ 11 ‘Forgive me, I beat the drum to see whether you would come or not, and you came, please don’t be angry!’ [she said]. 12 The next day, when the domestic help was washing clothes, as she pulled the clothes out the drum struck. 13 ‘Well now my wife has given birth’, he [the husband] thought, and being all happy, he came back to take a look.

taŋ-Ø-ta-le *rah-Ø-an* *yoh-Ø-u-no.*
 be.happy-SAS-IPP-PCL come.from.level-SAS-3S/PT look.at-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
 14 *uma kapu ði-si-Ø-ta-le* *hok-Ø-du nih-Ø-u-no,*
 wife head comb-REF-SAS-IPP-PCL be-SAS-NPT see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
rage-ye hara woi ma-nih-Ø-u-no! 15 *lawa yah-Ø-an*
 anger-INS what also NEG-see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT husband go-SAS-3S/PT
 ‘*nan-guri citaliŋ syak-Ø-du beryaŋ, gǎi ma-ra*’
 now-IND drum strike-SAS-NPT that.time I NEG-come.from.level
ŋa-to-le cawah-Ø-an. 16 *libi, huca nik-Ø-du syaŋ,*
 say-TPP-PCL walk-SAS-3S/PT after child be.born-SAS-NPT period
tap-Ø-u-no, citaliŋ syak-Ø-du, sakalei-ye nasǎiy-eŋ-no.
 beat-SAS-3P-3→3/PT drum strike-SAS-NPT all-ERG hear-PAS-3→3/PT
 17 *begale oli-ka uma ray-eŋ-an,* *huca nik-ko*
 other four-HNC wife come.from.level-PAS-3S/PT child give.birth-ADH
so-le nah-Ø-u-thyo. 18 *nan begale uma-pali-ye to-ko*
 be.about.to-PCL put-SAS-3P-3SCOND now other wife-p-ERG that-GEN
huca sat-sa dany-eŋ-no. 19 *to-kǎi ŋay-eŋ-no ‘humi,*
 child kill-INF search-PAS-3→3/PT that-PM say-PAS-3→3/PT younger.sister
nan naŋ huca nik-na-du beryaŋ, naŋ-ko kapu
 now you child give.birth-2s-NPT that.time you-GEN head
gaŋa duŋ-ŋaŋ ci-bi-ko mǎi-Ø-du, tyaŋ
 spherical.earthenware.jug within-inside CAUS-enter-ADH must-SAS-NPT then
huca nik-ko mǎi-Ø-du’ ŋa-to-le ŋay-eŋ-no. 20 *libi*
 child give.birth-ADH must-SAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL say-PAS-3→3/PT after

14 He saw his wife sitting there combing her hair, well, you have never seen such anger! 15 And the husband went off, ‘now when I hear that drum strike, I won’t come’, he said as he walked off. 16 Later, on the day that she gave birth, she beat the drum, and everyone heard the drum sound. 17 The four other wives came, and the baby was just about to be born. 18 Now those other wives attempted to kill her baby. 19 And they said to her ‘younger sister, now when you are giving birth to the baby you must put your head inside an earthenware pot and only then should you give birth’, they said. 20 Then they forced her head into the earthenware jug and she gave birth to the baby.

- gaŋa-ŋaŋ* *kapu ci-bi-to-le* *huca*
spherical.earthenware.jug-inside head CAUS-enter-TPP-PCL child
- 21 *nik-Ø-an.* *huca ama-kăi ma-cikhet-eŋ-no,* *huca-kăi*
give.birth-SAS-3S/PT child mother-PM NEG-show-pAS-3→3/PT child-PM
- paŋasi-te* *pore-to-le* *ci-sa* *hen-eŋ-no.*
traditional.skirt-LOC make.a.bundle-TPP-PCL throw.away-INF take-pAS-3→3/PT
- 22 *to-te-guri di-gore kiji ɲiŋ na-to-le cikhet-eŋ-no.*
that-LOC-IND one-CLF black stone put-TPP-PCL show-pAS-3→3/PT
- 23 *libi lawa rah-Ø-an,* *to ɲiŋ uma-pali-ye*
after husband come.from.level-SAS-3S/PT that stone wife-p-ERG
- cikhet-eŋ-no, ucya uma nama rage thah-Ø-an.* 24 *libi di-ka*
show-pAS-3→3/PT small wife with anger be-SAS-3S/PT after one-HNC
- semni ulam cawa-Ø-thyo, ulam na-basa huca kerep-Ø-du*
Tamang road walk-SAS-3SCOND road under-side child cry-SAS-NPT
- nasăiy-Ø-u-no, ya-yoh-Ø-u-no.* 25 *to-te ucya huca*
hear-SAS-3P-3→3/PT go-look.at-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-LOC small child
- paŋasi-te nih-Ø-u-no, oste-ko nem-te*
traditional.skirt-LOC see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT self-GEN house-LOC
- kyel-Ø-u-no.* 26 *libi jekha thah-Ø-an, dikaca nampah-Ø-an,*
bring-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after big be-SAS-3S/PT alone play-SAS-3S/PT
- nampa-Ø-du beryaŋ lakpa nampa-Ø-thyo.* 27 *di uni, to*
play-SAS-NPT that.time limb play-SAS-3SCOND one day that
- habi-ko apa to ulam ra-Ø-thyo,* *ca-ye to*
before-GEN father that road come.from.level-SAS-3SCOND son-ERG that

21 Without showing the baby to its mother, they bundled it up in a skirt and went to throw it away. 22 And in its place, they left a black stone to show her [i.e. the mother, what she had given birth to]. 23 Later when the husband came, the wives showed him the stone, and he got angry with his youngest wife [thinking that she had given birth to a stone]. 24 [One day] a Tamang man was walking along the road when he heard a child crying from the lower side of the path, so he went to take a look. 25 There he saw a small baby wrapped in a skirt, so he brought it home. 26 When he later grew up, he played alone, when he played, he would play fight. 27 One day, his real father came walking along that road, and the son tried to get into a play fight with him, and they got talking.

nama lakpa nampa-sa daŋ-Ø-u-no, wakhe loŋ-Ø-u-no.
 with limb fight-INF search-SAS-3P-3→3/PT word do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
 28 ‘*hu, naŋ gǎi nama lakpa nampa-sa ma-thaŋ, naŋ*
 younger.brother you I with limb play-INF NEG-be.able you
nampa-na-du?’ 29 *to-te woi ‘ja-Ø-du’ ŋah-Ø-u-no, ‘naŋ-ko*
 play-2s-NPT that-ERG also okay-SAS-NPT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT you-GEN
apa su?’ ŋah-Ø-u-no, ‘gǎi-go apa semni.’ 30 ‘*to huca*
 father who say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT I-GEN father Tamang that child
semni-ko ma-tha, jekha mi-ko tha-ko mǎi-Ø-du’ ŋa-to-le,
 Tamang-GEN NEG-be big person-GEN be-ADH must-SAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL
nem-te wakhe loŋ-Ø-u-no. 31 *ka wakhe nasǎi-to-le, begale*
 house-LOC word do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT this word hear-TPP-PCL other
uma-pali ray-eŋ-ta-le ca-kǎi sat-eŋ-no.
 wife-p come.from.level-PAS-IPP-PCL son-PM kill-PAS-3→3/PT
 32 *sat-to-le, soŋ-ko kherte hen-to-le ʈum-eŋ-no.* 33 *libi*
 kill-TPP-PCL river-GEN near take-TPP-PCL bury-PAS-3→3/PT after
to ʈum-eŋ-du ʈǎi-yiŋ di-gore altak-ko pole
 that bury-PAS-NPT place-ABL one-CLF rhododendron-GEN tree
bow-Ø-an, to-te di-gore apraca reŋ woi how-Ø-an.
 sprout-SAS-3S/PT that-LOC one-CLF good flower also bloom-SAS-3S/PT
 34 *ulam caway-eŋ-du mi-pali-ye kum-sa dany-eŋ-du,*
 road walk-PAS-NPT person-p-ERG pick-INF search-PAS-NPT
ma-thany-eŋ-no. 35 *reŋ kum-sa-kǎi pole-te lun-eŋ-du,*
 NEG-be.able-PAS-3→3/PT flower pick-INF-PM tree-LOC climb-PAS-NPT

28 ‘Younger brother, you wouldn’t be able to wrestle with me, do you want to try?’ [the father said]. 29 And he said ‘okay, then’, ‘who is your father?’ he asked, ‘my father is Tamang’ [he replied]. 30 ‘There is no way that that kid is the son of a Tamang, he must be the son of an important person’, he said to himself when he got home. 31 When they heard these words, the other wives came and killed the son. 32 Having killed him, they took him to near the river and buried him there. 33 Later, from the place that they buried him, a rhododendron tree sprouted and a beautiful flower also bloomed. 34 People walking along the road tried to pluck it [the flower], but they couldn’t. 35 In order to pick the flower, people would climb the tree, but the flower would just shift way up there to the top, and all the people would stand there watching.

reŋ hya-hya cyuri-te ya-Ø-du, sakalei mi-pali yo-le
 flower up-up summit-LOC go-SAS-NPT all person-p look.at-PCL
nay-eŋ-du. 36 ka wakhe habi-ko apa-ye woi nasăiy-Ø-u-no,
 put-pAS-NPT this word before-GEN father-ERG also hear-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
‘ulam-ko reŋ kum-sa ma-than ŋa’ ŋa-to-le. 37 di uni
 road-GEN flower pick-INF NEG-be.able REP say-TPP-PCL one day
oste-ko nem-te jet loŋ-sa mi-pali hen-to-le yah-Ø-an.
 self-GEN house-LOC work do-INF person-p take-TPP-PCL go-SAS-3S/PT
 38 *habi, jet loŋ-sa mi-kăi ci-lun-Ø-u-no, reŋ*
 before work do-INF person-PM CAUS-climb-SAS-3P-3→3/PT flower
cyuri-te yah-Ø-an. 39 libi oste lun-Ø-an, reŋ kherte
 summit-LOC go-SAS-3S/PT after self climb-SAS-3S/PT flower near
ra-Ø-ta-le lak-te hok-Ø-an. 40 to mi-ye
 come.from.level.-SAS-IPP-PCL hand-LOC be-SAS-3S/PT that person-ERG
ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘ka pole-te hara hok-Ø-du? nan ka pole-kăi
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT this tree-LOC what be-SAS-NPT now this tree-PM
pal-ko măi-Ø-du.’ 41 libi to pole pal-eŋ-no, to-yiŋ
 chop-ADH must-SAS-NPT after that tree chop-pAS-3→3/PT that-ABL
di-ka sarma cahuca let-Ø-an, sakalei-ye yoy-eŋ-no.
 one-HNC strong man appear-SAS-3S/PT all-ERG look.at-pAS-3→3/PT
 42 *libi ŋay-eŋ-no ‘hu, naŋ su tha-na-du? naŋ hara*
 after say-pAS-3→3/PT younger.brother you who be-2s-NPT you what
tha-na-du? su-ko ca, ni-kăi ŋa-se!’ 43 ‘găi su-ko ca
 be-2s-NPT who-GEN son we-PM say-s→1p/IMP I who-GEN son

36 The father came to hear these words as well: ‘the flower along the road is unpickable’, it was said. 37 One day he went off, taking with him workers from his own house. 38 First, he made one of his workers climb [the tree], but the flower just went up to the summit. 39 Then he climbed [the tree] himself, and the flower came close and sat in his hand. 40 Then that man said ‘what is it with this tree? It must now be chopped down.’ 41 Then they chopped the tree down, and from inside a young man appeared, and everyone stared [in wonder]. 42 Then they said ‘younger brother, who are you? What are you? Whose son are you? Tell us that!’ 43 ‘For me to tell you whose son I am, first you must do exactly as I say, and then I will tell you whose son I am’, he said.

ŋa-sa-kăi, gǎ-ye ŋah-u-n-du uniŋ loŋ-ko mǎi-Ø-du, tyaŋ gǎ-ye
 say-INF-PM I-ERG say-3P-1s→3-NPT like do-ADH must-SAS-NPT then I-ERG
su-ko ca ŋah-u-n-du' ŋah-Ø-u-no. 44 'ja-Ø-du, ni-ye
 who-GEN son say-3P-1s→3-NPT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT okay-SAS-NPT we-ERG
hara loŋ-sa?' 45 'niny-e kit-gore koŋe ceŋ-no! to koŋe
 what do-INF you(p)-ERG nine-CLF wall build-p→3/IMP that wall
ka-basa gǎi hok-ŋa-du, koŋe dha-basa, camăica-pali hok-eŋ-du.'
 this-side I be-1s-NPT wall that.distant-side woman-p be-PAS-NPT
 46 'tyaŋ su-ko nunu to koŋe doron loŋ-to-le, gǎi-go ugo-te
 then who-GEN milk that wall hole do-TPP-PCL I-GEN mouth-LOC
bi-Ø-du, to gǎi-go ama, to-ko lawa, gǎi-go apa.'
 enter-SAS-NPT that I-GEN mother that-GEN husband I-GEN father
 47 to-bany-e woi kit-gore koŋe ceny-eŋ-no, ka-basa to cahuca
 that-Pp-ERG also nine-CLF wall build-PAS-3→3/PT this-side that man
nay-eŋ-no. 48 dha-basa sakalei dese-ko camăica-pali
 put-PAS-3→3/PT that.distant-side all village-GEN woman-p
kyel-eŋ-ta-le, nunu nat-eŋ-no, su-ko-ye woi koŋe doron
 come-PAS-IPP-PCL milk milk-PAS-3→3/PT who-GEN-ERG also wall hole
ma-loŋ-Ø-u-no. 49 nan to jekha mi-ko walŋa-ka uma-ye
 NEG-do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now that big person-GEN five-HNC wife-ERG
loŋ-ko mǎiy-Ø-an ŋa-to-le, lony-eŋ-no. 50 nan libi ucya
 do-ADH must-SAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL do-PAS-3→3/PT now after small
uma-ye nunu nat-Ø-u-thyo, kit-gore koŋe doron loŋ-to-le, to
 wife-ERG milk milk-SAS-3P-3SCOND nine-CLF wall hole do-TPP-PCL that

44 'Okay, what must we do?' [they said]. 45 'You lot build nine walls! On this side of the walls I will sit, and on the other side will sit the womenfolk' [he said]. 46 'Then whoever's milk makes a hole in the wall and enters my mouth, she is my mother and her husband is my father' [he said]. 47 They built those nine walls, and on the near side, they placed the man. 48 All the women from the village came to the other side and milked their breasts, but no one's milk made a hole in the wall. 49 Now, that important person's five wives had to do it also, and they did. 50 And then when the youngest wife milked her breast, her milk made a hole in each of the nine walls and entered the mouth of that man.

- cahuca-ko ugo-te biy-Ø-an.* 51 *'ka-guri gǎi-go ama*
 man-GEN mouth-LOC enter-SAS-3S/PT this-IND I-GEN mother
tha-Ø-du' ηa-to-le ηah-Ø-u-no. 52 *camăica thombe*
 be-SAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT woman surprise
tha-Ø-ta-le 'ka-ye gǎi-go raη cya-sa-kǎi ka uniη
 be-SAS-IPP-PCL this-ERG I-GEN unirrigated.field eat-INF-PM this like
loη-Ø-u-no, ka gǎi-go ca ma-tha' ηa-to-le rage thah-Ø-an.
 do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT this I-GEN son NEG-be say-TPP-PCL anger be-SAS-3S/PT
 53 *libi to mi-ye ηah-Ø-u-no, 'apa, gǎi naη-ko ca*
 after that person-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT father I you-GEN son
tha-ηa-du.' 54 *'kunyaη-be gǎ-ye ηa-na-ηa-du, gǎi nik-ηa-du*
 be-1S-NPT how-TOP I-ERG say-2S-1S-NPT I be.born-1S-NPT
beryaη, gǎi-gǎi jekhama-pali-ye paṭasi-te pore-to-le
 that.time I-PM big.mother-p-ERG traditional.skirt-LOC bundle.up-TPP-PCL
ciy-eη-ηa-n.' 55 *'libi gǎi-gǎi semni-ye hen-to-le, jekha*
 throw.away-pAS-1S-PT after I-PM Tamang-ERG take-TPP-PCL big
loη-Ø-ηa-n, to-te woi yey-eη-ta-le jekhama-pali-ye gǎi-gǎi
 do-SAS-1S-PT that-LOC also go-pAS-IPP-PCL big.mother-p-ERG I-PM
sat-eη-ηa-n.' 56 *'tyaη gǎi altak-ko pole tha-ta-ηa-le*
 kill-pAS-1S-PT then I rhododendron-GEN tree be-IPP-1S-PCL
bo-ηa-n, naleη gǎi mi tha-ηa-n, apa' ηah-Ø-u-no. 57 *ka*
 sprout-1S-PT present I person be-1S-PT father say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT this
nasǎi-to-le, to-ye begale uma-pali-kǎi poh-Ø-u-no, nem-yiη
 hear-TPP-PCL that-ERG other wife-p-PM chase-SAS-3P-3→3/PT house-ABL

51 'This woman is my mother', he said. 52 The woman was totally shocked and, thinking to herself 'this guy is just doing all this to steal my land, he's not my son', she became angry. 53 Then that person said, 'father, I am your son.' 54 'And now I'll tell you how, when I was born, well at that time my step-mothers bundled me up in a skirt and threw me away' [he said]. 55 'Then, a Tamang took me home and brought me up, but my step-mothers even came to that place and killed me', [he said]. 56 'Then I became a rhododendron tree and I sprouted, and now I am a person again, father', he said. 57 Having heard this, he [the father] chased the other wives away and ejected them from his house.

ci-let-Ø-u-no. 58 *libi ucya uma nama wakhe*
 CAUS-appear-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after small wife with word
loŋ-Ø-u-no, apa, ca, uma thay-eŋ-ta-le, nem-te hok-eŋ-an.
 do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT father son wife be-pAS-IPP-PCL house-LOC be-pAS-3S/PT

58 Afterwards he spoke to his youngest wife and then father, son and wife, being reunited, lived together in one house.

MOUSE

1 *di-ka mi-ko sum-ka uma thay-ey-du.* 2 *nis-ka*
 one-HNC person-GEN three-HNC wife be-pAS-NPT two-HNC
uma-ko-guri nis-ka ca sarma thay-ey-du, ucya uma-ko-guri di-ka
 wife-GEN-IND two-HNC son strong be-pAS-NPT small wife-GEN-IND one-HNC
ca uyu tha-Ø-du. 3 *uma uyu nik-Ø-du ni-to-le,*
 son mouse be-sAS-NPT wife mouse give.birth-sAS-NPT see-TPP-PCL
uma-kăi lawa-ye begale thăi-te cyoporok nem khem-to-le,
 wife-PM husband-ERG other place-LOC hut house build-TPP-PCL
uyu nama nah-Ø-u-du. 4 *ama-ye to uyu ca-kăi isa*
 mouse with put-sAS-3P-3→3/PT mother-ERG that mouse son-PM food
ken loŋ-to-le piy-Ø-u-du. 5 *uyu jekha thah-Ø-an.*
 vegetable.curry do-TPP-PCL give-sAS-3P-NPT mouse big be-sAS-3S/PT
 6 *di uni, uyu-ko apa ma-thaŋ-Ø-an, di*
 one day mouse-GEN father NEG-be.well-sAS-3S/PT one
thăi-yiŋ begale thăi-te ka, cawa-sa
 place-ABL other place-LOC throughout walk-INF
ma-thaŋ-Ø-u-no. 7 *to beryaŋ, di-ka guru*
 NEG-be.able-sAS-3P-3→3/PT that that.time one-HNC shaman
rah-Ø-an, apa-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no 'găi
 come.from.level-sAS-3S/PT father-ERG say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT I
ma-thaŋ-ŋa-n, nany-e ci-ja-Ø-ŋa-du ra?' 8 guru-ye
 NEG-be.well-1s-PT you-ERG CAUS-recover-sAS-1s-NPT or shaman-ERG

1 There was a man who had three wives. 2 Two of the wives each had a strong son, but the youngest wife had only a mouse for a son. 3 Seeing that his wife had given birth to a mouse, the husband made her a hut to live in and put the mouse there with her. 4 The mother prepared food for that mouse son and fed him. 5 And the mouse grew up. 6 One day, the mouse's father became ill and was unable to walk from one place to another. 7 At that time, a shaman came by, and father said 'I am ill, can you make me better or not?' 8 The shaman examined him and said to that father 'to recover, you need to eat the sour fruit that grows in a certain place, and only then will you get better', he said.

yoh-Ø-u-no, to apa-kǎi ηah-Ø-u-no 'naη ja-sa-kǎi,
 look.at-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that father-PM say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT you recover-INF-PM
di-gore thǎi-ko cijyaη-Ø-du paη cya-ko mǎi-Ø-du, tyaη
 one-CLF place-GEN speak-SAS-NPT sour.fruit eat-ADH must-SAS-NPT then
ja-Ø-du' ηah-Ø-u-no. 9 'nan, cijyaη-Ø-du paη kuta
 recover-SAS-NPT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now speak-SAS-NPT sour.fruit where
khalam-sa?' ηah-Ø-u-du beryaη, guru-ye ηah-Ø-u-no.
 meet-INF say-SAS-3P-NPT that.time shaman-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
 10 *'ka-yiη ǎlǎmtha ulam hok-Ø-du, to-te su woi ya-let-sa*
 this-ABL distant road be-SAS-NPT that-ERG who also go-appear-INF
ma-thany-eη, yey-eη-du-pali siy-eη-du, kunyaη hen-sa?'
 NEG-be.able-PAS go-PAS-NPT-P die-PAS-NPT how go-INF
 11 *ma-thaη-Ø-du mi-ye ηah-Ø-u-no 'kuta hok-Ø-du?*
 NEG-be.well-SAS-NPT person-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT where be-SAS-NPT
gǎi-gǎi ηa-ηa! gǎi-go ca-pali sarma sarma hok-eη-du, to-bany-e
 I-PM say-S→1S/IMP I-GEN son-P strong strong be-PAS-NPT that-Pp-ERG
kyel-eη-du thaηun.' 12 *to beryaη uyu woi kherte*
 bring-PAS-NPT maybe that that.time mouse also near
ya-Ø-ta-le ɖapu-to-le nasǎiy-Ø-u-no. 13 guru-ye
 go-SAS-IPP-PCL spy-TPP-PCL hear-SAS-3P-3→3/PT shaman-ERG
ηah-Ø-u-no 'ka-yiη hen-sa, di-gore thǎi-te me-ko dese
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT this-ABL go-INF one-CLF place-LOC fire-GEN village
ra-Ø-du, to-te hen-ηa libi, to-yiη dha-basa
 come.from.level-SAS-NPT that-LOC go-CNS after that-ABL that.distant-side

9 When he said 'now, where am I to find this sour fruit?', the shaman told him. 10 'The road is a long, long way from here, no one has managed to get there, and those who try die, how will you get there?' [the shaman said]. 11 Then the ill person said 'where is this place? Tell me! My sons are young and strong and perhaps they can bring it [the fruit].' 12 At that time, the mouse, having gone close, listened secretly. 13 The shaman said 'go from here, then you come to a village full of fire, having gone past that, on the far side, you come to place inhabited by spirits, and after that you come to the place where there are snakes.'

di-gore mosani-ko ʔhǎi ra-Ø-du, to-yiŋ libi rul
 one-CLF spirit-GEN place come.from.level-SAS-NPT that-ABL after snake
hok-Ø-du ʔhǎi ra-Ø-du. 14 *ʔyaŋ libi di-gore*
 be-SAS-NPT place come.from.level-SAS-NPT then after one-CLF
raŋ-te paŋ pole hok-Ø-du, to-te cijyaŋ-Ø-du
 unirrigated.field-LOC sour.fruit tree be-SAS-NPT that-LOC speak-SAS-NPT
paŋ icinis-Ø-du, to ra-to-le cya-na-n-be ja-na-du
 sour.fruit be.seen-SAS-NPT that bring-TPP-PCL eat-2s-PT-TOP recover-2s-NPT
ŋah-Ø-u-no. 15 *uyu nasǎi-to-le oste-ko cyoporok nem-te*
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT mouse hear-TPP-PCL self-GEN hut house-LOC
kyel-Ø-an. 16 *libi oste-ko nis-ka ca urou-to-le ʔcijyaŋ-Ø-du*
 come-SAS-3S/PT after self-GEN two-HNC son call-TPP-PCL speak-SAS-NPT
paŋ kyel-ne! *ŋah-Ø-u-no, nis-ka hu-pali*
 sour.fruit bring-p→1s/IMP say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT two-HNC younger.brother-p
paŋ daŋ-sa caway-eŋ-an. 17 *tyaŋ uyu woi ama-kǎi*
 sour.fruit search-INF walk-pAS-3S/PT then mouse also mother-PM
ŋah-Ø-u-no ʔnan gǎi woi ka-baŋ nama sul-si-ta-ŋa-le
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now I also this-Pp with hide-REF-IPP-1s-PCL
cijyaŋ-Ø-du paŋ ya-kǎiy-u-n-du, apa-kǎi usare.
 speak-SAS-NPT sour.fruit go-remove-3P-1s→3-NPT father-PM medicine
 18 *ama-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no ʔni nama apa-be ma-cijyaŋ, naŋ*
 mother-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT we with father-TOP NEG-speak you
hara-kǎi ya-na-du? nany-e ma-thaŋ, naŋ uyu tha-na-du.
 what-PM go-2s-NPT you-ERG NEG-be.able you mouse be-2s-NPT

14 ‘And then after that, there is a sour fruit tree in a field, and on that tree a sour fruit can be seen, if you bring that and eat it, then you will recover’, he [the shaman] said. 15 The mouse, having heard [all this], came back to his little hut. 16 Then, calling his two sons, he [the father] said ‘bring me this sour fruit!’, and the two brothers set off to find the fruit. 17 Then the mouse also said to his mother ‘now, I am going to go along with them, hiding myself, and go and get this speaking sour fruit, father’s medicine.’ 18 Mother said to him ‘father doesn’t even speak to us, so why do you want to go? You won’t succeed anyway, you are a mouse.’

- 19 *'to-baŋ-ko ca-pali yey-eŋ-du, ma-tha? ama, gǎi woi ya-ŋa-du,*
 that-Pp-GEN son-p go-pAS-NPT NEG-be mother I also go-1s-NPT
gǎi-gǎi ya-Ø! ŋa-ŋa! ama!' 20 *'tyaŋ ya-na-du-be, ka racya*
 I-PM go-s/IMP say-s→1s/IMP mother then go-2s-NPT-TOP this paddy
jakcho hen-o! kuta isa-ye karǎi-na-du, to-te cya-Ø!'
 wheat take-s→3/IMP where food-INS shout-2s-NPT that-LOC eat-s/IMP
ŋa-to-le, bu-si-sa miŋ woi pi-to-le, thoh-Ø-u-no.
 say-TPP-PCL cover-REF-INF cloth also give-TPP-PCL send-sAS-3P-3→3/PT
- 21 *bubu-pali ya-ya woi, di-ka me-ko dese-te*
 elder.brother-p go-go also one-HNC fire-GEN village-LOC
ma-ya-let-tiniŋ nem-te rah-Ø-an, di-ka mosani
 NEG-go-appear-PFG house-LOC come.from.level-sAS-3S/PT one-HNC spirit
thǎi-te hok-sa ariy-Ø-an. 22 *uyu-guri cawa-Ø-ta-le,*
 place-LOC be-INF be.afraid-sAS-3S/PT mouse-IND walk-sAS-IPP-PCL
rul-ko dese ya-let-Ø-an. 23 *libi di-ka bubu woi*
 snake-GEN village go-appear-sAS-3S/PT after one-HNC elder.brother also
to-te nih-Ø-u-no, nis-ka woi cijyaŋ-Ø-du paŋ
 that-LOC see-sAS-3P-3→3/PT two-HNC also speak-sAS-NPT sour.fruit
ya-kǎiy-eŋ-du. 24 *bubu-ye uyu-kǎi ni-to-le*
 go-remove-pAS-NPT elder.brother-ERG mouse-PM see-TPP-PCL
ŋah-Ø-u-no 'hu, naŋ kuta-yiŋ kyel-na-n? hara-kǎi
 say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT younger.brother you where-ABL come-2s-PT what-PM
kyel-na-n?' 25 *uyu-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no 'gǎi-be uyu, ka dǎi*
 come-2s-PT mouse-ERG say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT I-ERG mouse this towards

19 'Their sons are going, aren't they? Mum, I also want to go, just tell me that I can, mum!' [the mouse said]. 20 'Well then, if you insist on going, then take this paddy and wheat and eat it when you get hungry!', and with this she also gave him clothes to wear and sent him off. 21 As the elder brothers went along their way, one turned back before reaching the village of fire, while the other was afraid to stay in the spirit place. 22 But the mouse, walking, reached the place of the snakes. 23 Later he saw one of his elder brothers there, so it was that the two of them were off to get the speaking sour fruit. 24 The elder brother saw the mouse and said 'younger brother, where have you come from? Why have you come?' 25 The mouse replied 'I may be but a mouse, I have come out walking this way to see some new places.'

naka naka thǎi yo-sa-kǎi cawa-ŋa-du. 26 *bubu-ye*
 new new place look.at-INF-PM walk-1s-NPT elder.brother-ERG
ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘*gǎi-be apa-kǎi cijyaŋ-Ø-du paŋ usare*
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT I-TOP father-PM speak-SAS-NPT sour.fruit medicine
daŋ-sa cawa-ŋa-du. 27 ‘*bubu ra-Ø-thyo,*
 search-INF walk-1s-NPT elder.brother come.from.level-SAS-3SCOND
ma-thaŋ-Ø-ta-le, *nem dǎi yah-Ø-an.* 28 ‘*naleŋ gǎi dikaca*
 NEG-be.able-SAS-IPP-PCL house towards go-SAS-3S/PT present I alone
hok-ŋa-du, naleŋ isa-ye karǎi-ŋa-n, naŋ nama hara woi hok-Ø-du,
 be-1s-NPT present food-INS shout-1s-PT you with what also be-SAS-NPT
ra? gǎi-gǎi pi-ŋa!’ 29 *uyu-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no* ‘*gǎi nama-be*
 or I-PM give-s→1s/IMP mouse-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT I with-TOP
kaŋti racya, jakcho hok-Ø-du, naŋ ma-cya thaŋun, naŋ ka-te
 fresh paddy wheat be-SAS-NPT you NEG-eat maybe you this-LOC
hok-a! daŋ-to-le kyel-u-n-du’ *ŋa-to-le cawah-Ø-an.*
 be-s/IMP search-TPP-PCL bring-3P-1s→3-NPT say-TPP-PCL walk-SAS-3S/PT
 30 *uyu-ye doron phat-to-le rul-ko isa nah-Ø-u-du*
 mouse-ERG hole dig.deep-TPP-PCL snake-GEN food put-SAS-3P-NPT
thǎi-te ya-Ø-ta-le, cya-sa kyel-Ø-u-no, piy-Ø-u-no,
 place-LOC go-SAS-IPP-PCL eat-INF bring-SAS-3P-3→3/PT give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
bubu cyah-Ø-an. 31 *ṭaye nis-ka to-te ami-sa*
 elder.brother eat-SAS-3S/PT night two-HNC that-LOC sleep-INF
dany-eŋ-no, ṭaye rul-pali ray-eŋ-ta-le, mi-kǎi
 search-pAS-3→3/PT night snake-p come.from.level-pAS-IPP-PCL person-PM

26 The elder brother said ‘Well, I am walking out here looking for this sour fruit medicine for father.’ 27 ‘Elder brother had [also] came out, but he wasn’t up to it, and he went home’ [he said]. 28 ‘At present I am all alone here, and now I am hungry, do you have any food with you? If so, give me some!’ [the elder brother said]. 29 The mouse said, ‘I only have raw paddy and wheat with me, and I fear that you can’t eat that, you stay here! I will go and find something and bring it back’, and saying this, he walked off. 30 The mouse, having dug a deep hole, went to the place that the snakes store their food, and brought that back and gave it [to his brother], who ate it up. 31 At night, the two of them tried to sleep right there, but that night snakes came and tried to sting the man.

dok-sa dany-eŋ-no 32 *uyu-ye yo-le nah-Ø-u-no,*
 sting-INF search-PAS-3→3/PT mouse-ERG look.at-PCL put-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
bubu-kǎi dok-sa daŋ-Ø-u-du beryaŋ, uyu-ye rul-ko
 elder.brother-PM sting-INF search-SAS-3P-NPT that.time mouse-ERG snake-GEN
limek-te cek-Ø-u-no, sakalei rul-pali gare cabu-to-le
 tail-LOC bite-SAS-3P-3→3/PT all snake-p wound carry-TPP-PCL
caway-eŋ-an. 33 *libi to-baŋ caway-eŋ-du beryaŋ, cijyaŋ-Ø-du*
 walk-PAS-3S/PT after that-Pp walk-PAS-NPT that.time speak-SAS-NPT
paŋ-te ya-let-eŋ-an, bubu-ye di-gore paŋ
 sour.fruit-LOC go-appear-PAS-3S/PT elder.brother-ERG one-CLF sour.fruit
kum-to-le yah-Ø-an. 34 *uyu-ye libi paŋ-ko pole sakalei*
 pick-TPP-PCL go-SAS-3S/PT mouse-ERG after sour.fruit-GEN tree all
porok-to-le rah-Ø-u-no, su-kǎi woi ma-cikhet-Ø-u-no,
 uproot-TPP-PCL bring-SAS-3P-3→3/PT who-PM also NEG-show-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
nem-te ra-to-le peŋeh-Ø-u-no. 35 *ca-ye di-gore paŋ*
 house-LOC bring-TPP-PCL plant-SAS-3P-3→3/PT son-ERG one-CLF sour.fruit
rah-Ø-u-du ni-to-le, apa taŋ-Ø-an, guru-kǎi
 bring-SAS-3P-NPT see-TPP-PCL father be.happy-SAS-3S/PT shaman-PM
aghyoh-Ø-u-no. 36 *guru-ye yoh-Ø-u-no 'ra-sa-be*
 call-SAS-3P-3→3/PT shaman-ERG look.at-SAS-3P-3→3/PT bring-INF-TOP
ra-to-le, libi gaŋ-Ø-ta-le ka di-gore ma-jah-Ø-an, naŋ
 bring-TPP-PCL after dry-SAS-IPP-PCL this one-CLF NEG-okay-SAS-3S/PT you
ja-na-thyo, nan ka ma-ja' ŋah-Ø-u-no. 37 *libi*
 recover-2s-3SCOND now this NEG-okay say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after

32 The mouse was watching, and as one snake tried to sting his elder brother, at that moment he bit its tail and so all the snakes, covered in wounds [lit. carrying their wounds], slithered away. 33 Later, as they were walking, they arrived at the sour fruit [tree], and picking one, the elder turned back. 34 Later the mouse uprooted that whole sour fruit tree and brought it back home without showing it to anyone, and he planted it there. 35 Seeing that his son had brought a sour fruit, father became most happy and called for the shaman. 36 The shaman looked at it and said 'well he brought it well and fine, but now having dried out, this one is no good, you would have been cured, but this one won't do the job.' 37 Later the mouse's mother went and said 'husband, my son the mouse brought a sour fruit for you, and it has blossomed and ripened on the tree.'

uyu-ko ama ya-Ø-ta-le 'naŋ-kǎi paŋ gǎi-go uyu
 mouse-GEN mother go-SAS-IPP-PCL you-PM sour.fruit I-GEN mouse
ca-ye ra-le nah-Ø-u-du, pole-te sek-le hok-Ø-du,
 son-ERG bring-PCL put-SAS-3P-NPT tree-LOC blossom-PCL be-SAS-NPT
lawa' ŋah-Ø-u-no. 38 ka nasǎi-to-le rage-ye ɲe-sa
 husband say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT this hear-TPP-PCL anger-INS beat-INF
daŋ-Ø-u-no 'mi-ye-be di-gore paŋ rah-Ø-u-no,
 search-SAS-3P-3→3/PT person-ERG-TOP one-CLF sour.fruit bring-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
naŋ-ko uyu ca-ye kunyaŋ rah-Ø-u-no?' 39 tyañ guru-ye
 you-GEN mouse son-ERG how bring-SAS-3P-3→3/PT then shaman-ERG
ŋah-Ø-u-no 'ka woi naŋ-ko uma, hok-Ø-du ra, ya-yo-ko'
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT this also you-GEN wife be-SAS-NPT or go-look.at-ADH
ŋa-to-le yey-eŋ-an. 40 ya-yoy-eŋ-du beryañ, to-te
 say-TPP-PCL go-pAS-3S/PT go-look.at-pAS-NPT that.time that-LOC
cijyaŋ-Ø-du paŋ niy-eŋ-no, paŋ hen-to-le lawa-kǎi
 speak-SAS-NPT sour.fruit see-pAS-3→3/PT sour.fruit take-TPP-PCL husband-PM
piy-eŋ-no. 41 libi lawa taŋ-Ø-an, uyu-kǎi woi
 give-pAS-3→3/PT after husband be.happy-SAS-3S/PT mouse-PM also
urou-to-le, oste hok-Ø-du nem-te nah-Ø-u-no, to woi
 call-TPP-PCL self be-SAS-NPT house-LOC put-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that also
jah-Ø-an.
 recover-SAS-3S/PT

38 Hearing this he became angry and tried to strike her 'a man brought only one sour fruit, how on earth could your mouse son have brought it [the whole tree]?' 39 Then the shaman said 'she is also your wife, maybe they have one, let's go and take a look', and off they went. 40 When they went to look, they saw a speaking sour fruit, and taking it, they gave it to the husband. 41 Then the husband was most happy, and summoning the mouse, installed him in his own house where he recovered.

WOMEN NOWADAYS

1 *naleŋ camăi jekha thah-Ø-an-be, nembo-ko nem-te*
 present daughter big be-SAS-3S/PT-TOP other.person-GEN house-LOC
ya-Ø-ta-le oste-ko nem khem-ko măi-Ø-du. 2 camăi, jekha
 go-SAS-IPP-PCL self-GEN house build-ADH must-SAS-NPT daughter big
dese-ko, ucya dese-ko, sakalei di-gore thay-eŋ-du. 3 jekha
 village-GEN small village-GEN all one-CLF be-PAS-NPT big
dese-ko camăi-pali naka miŋ bu-siy-eŋ-du, naka jet
 village-GEN daughter-p new cloth cover-REF-PAS-NPT new work
lony-eŋ-du. 4 ucya dese-ko camăi-pali-ye uniŋ jet loŋ-sa
 do-PAS-NPT small village-GEN daughter-p-ERG like work do-INF
ma-thany-eŋ. 5 ălămtha cawa-sa ma-thany-eŋ, isa ken
 NEG-be.able-PAS distant walk-INF NEG-be.able-PAS food vegetable.curry
loŋ-sa ma-săiy-eŋ. 6 ucya dese-ko camăica-ye thaŋna miŋ
 do-INF NEG-know-PAS small village-GEN woman-ERG old cloth
bu-siy-eŋ-le woi, jet loŋ-sa thany-eŋ-du. 7 ŋhi-ko
 cover-REF-PAS-PCL also work do-INF be.able-PAS-NPT fodder-GEN
demca cabu-to-le, nem-te ray-eŋ-du, seŋ
 load carry-TPP-PCL house-LOC come.from.level-PAS-NPT wood
daŋ-to-le, jekha demca cabuy-eŋ-du. 8 naleŋ jekha dese-ko
 search-TPP-PCL big load carry-PAS-NPT present big village-GEN
camăi ka uniŋ loŋ-sa ma-thany-eŋ. 9 seŋ-ko demca
 daughter this like do-INF NEG-be.able-PAS wood-GEN load

1 Now that daughter has grown up, it's time for her to go to another house and build a home.
 2 Daughters, whether they come from big villages or small ones, are all the same. 3
 Daughters from cities [lit. big villages] wear new clothes and do new jobs. 4 They are not
 able to work in the way that the daughters from smaller villages are. 5 They are not able to
 walk long distances and they don't know how to cook. 6 Women from small villages are able
 to work even when they [have to] wear old clothes. 7 Carrying a load of fodder they come
 home, searching for wood they carry huge loads. 8 These days, urban [lit. big village] women
 aren't able to do this. 9 Bringing a load of firewood, having sat for a moment, they eat
 roasted maize.

ra-to-le, hok-ŋa libi, aŋek-si-Ø-du makăi cey-eŋ-du.
 bring-TPP-PCL be-CNS after roast-REF-SAS-NPT *maize* eat-pAS-NPT
 10 *ma-hok-Ø-an-be, oste me mut-to-le, isa uman-to-le yante-te*
 NEG-be-SAS-3S/PT self fire blow-TPP-PCL food cook-TPP-PCL quern-LOC
phase ney-eŋ-to-le, saŋa-ko makăi-ko isa cey-eŋ-du woi
 flour grind-pAS-TPP-PCL millet-GEN *maize*-GEN food eat-pAS-NPT also
sarma thay-eŋ-du. 11 jekha dese-ko camăi-pali jet-yiŋ
 strong be-pAS-NPT big village-GEN daughter-p work-ABL
kyel-eŋ-du, jet loŋ-sa mi-ye isa ken sola
 come-pAS-NPT work do-INF person-ERG food vegetable.curry snack
uman-to-le piy-Ø-u-du. 12 ray-eŋ-ta-le, cey-eŋ-du,
 cook-TPP-PCL give-SAS-3P-NPT come.from.level-pAS-IPP-PCL eat-pAS-NPT
ma-hok-Ø-an-be rage thay-eŋ-ta-le hok-eŋ-du. 13 libi ‘nan
 NEG-be-SAS-3S/PT-TOP anger be-pAS-IPP-PCL be-pAS-NPT after now
camăi hara cya-Ø-du?’ ŋa-to-le, to-kăi cya-sa ali-Ø-du sola
 daughter what eat-SAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL that-PM eat-INF like-SAS-NPT snack
pi-ko măi-Ø-du. 14 ma-pi-ŋa, to apa ama-kăi
 give-ADH must-SAS-NPT NEG-give-CNS that father mother-PM
kaŋa-Ø-ta-le priŋ let-Ø-du. 15 ka uniŋ ucya dese-te
 scold-SAS-IPP-PCL outside appear-SAS-NPT this like small village-LOC
thah-Ø-an-be, to cya-sa ma-khalam. 16 hok-Ø-du-ko nem-te,
 be-SAS-3S/PT-TOP that eat-INF NEG-receive be-SAS-NPT-GEN house-LOC
phase ney-eŋ-to-le cey-eŋ-du, ma-hok-Ø-du-ko nem-te,
 flour grind-pAS-TPP-PCL eat-pAS-NPT NEG-be-SAS-NPT-GEN house-LOC

10 If there is no [food], then stoking their own fire, cooking their [own] food, grinding millet or maize flour in a quern, they eat and yet still remain young and strong. 11 When urban women come home from their work, then the domestic help cooks their meals and snacks and serves them. 12 Having come, they eat, and if it's not ready, then they get angry and sit around. 13 Later, when you ask 'now what will daughter eat?', you have to give her her favourite snack. 14 If you don't give her [what she wants], then she shouts at her father and mother and runs outside [in a huff]. 15 If she behaved like this in a small village, then she wouldn't get anything to eat. 16 In houses that have it, they grind flour to eat, in those that don't, they eat watery food, but even they are happy.

thel thel isa cey-eŋ-du, to woi tany-eŋ-du. 17 *ucya*
 watery watery food eat-PAS-NPT that also be.happy-PAS-NPT small
dese-te camăi-pali di uni ka ray pebu
 village-LOC daughter-p one day throughout unirrigated.field irrigated.field
to-sa yey-eŋ-du, unise makăi moŋe maŋăi sola cey-eŋ-du,
 dig-INF go-PAS-NPT afternoon maize soybean bread snack eat-PAS-NPT
to woi asare ni-Ø-du uniŋ cey-eŋ-du. 18 *nyoŋi tha-Ø-du,*
 that also tasty appear-SAS-NPT like eat-PAS-NPT evening be-SAS-NPT
lak-te tokolok cabuy-eŋ-to-le nem-te ray-eŋ-du.
 hand-LOC hoe carry-PAS-TPP-PCL house-LOC come.from.level-PAS-NPT
 19 *nem-te hok-Ø-du hara hara cey-eŋ-du, ŋaye amiy-eŋ-du.*
 house-LOC be-SAS-NPT what what eat-PAS-NPT night sleep-PAS-NPT
 20 *ami-sa beryaŋ ‘nan baŋe su-ko jet ya-ta-ŋa-le,*
 sleep-INF that.time now tomorrow who-GEN work go-IPP-1s-PCL
cya-sa khalam-u-n-du thaŋun?’ ŋa-to-le kapu-te lak
 eat-INF receive-3P-1s→3-NPT maybe say-TPP-PCL head-LOC hand
na-to-le amiy-eŋ-du. 21 *băsinŋe tha-Ø-du, gare ikhe-Ø-du*
 put-TPP-PCL sleep-PAS-NPT morning be-SAS-NPT rooster crow-SAS-NPT
beryaŋ, serek-eŋ-ta-le sya ŋuŋi hok-Ø-du-yiŋ, to-te yey-eŋ-du.
 that.time arise-PAS-IPP-PCL cow goat be-SAS-NPT-ABL that-LOC go-PAS-NPT
 22 *syā-kăi ŋhi piy-eŋ-to-le, nem-te*
 cow-PM fodder give-PAS-TPP-PCL house-LOC
ray-eŋ-ta-le, isa ken uman-eŋ-to-le,
 come.from.level-PAS-IPP-PCL food vegetable.curry cook-PAS-TPP-PCL

17 In small villages, daughters dig the fields all day long, in the afternoon, they eat snacks of maize, soybean and bread, and eat it all as if it were delicious. 18 In the evening, carrying their hoes, they come home. 19 They eat whatever there is at home, and then sleep all night. 20 When it's time to sleep, they put their hands to their heads thinking 'now, where will I work tomorrow and will I get anything to eat?', and in this way they fall asleep. 21 And then it's morning, and they get up as the cockerel crows, and if they have cows and goats, then they go to the animal shed. 22 Having given the cows fodder, come back home again and cooked the food, they then have to go out to work for someone else.

nembo-ko jet-te hen-ko mǎi-Ø-du. 23 ka uniŋ
 other.person-GEN work-LOC go-ADH must-SAS-NPT this like
lony-eŋ-to-le ucya dese-ko camǎi-pali moy-eŋ-du. 24 jekha
 do-pAS-TPP-PCL small village-GEN daughter-p live-pAS-NPT big
dese-ko camǎi-pali jet lony-eŋ-to-le ray-eŋ-du
 village-GEN daughter-p work do-pAS-TPP-PCL come.from.level-pAS-NPT
ugo-te cya-sa piy-eŋ-du. 25 ucya dese-ko mi-ko 'nan
 mouth-LOC eat-INF give-pAS-NPT small village-GEN person-GEN now
huca-pali-kǎi naka wakhe řisen-ko mǎi-Ø-an' řa-to-le, kutaleŋ
 child-p-PM new word teach-ADH must-SAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL when
woi kapu-te ma-hok. 26 kunyaŋ huca-pali-kǎi naka wakhe řisen-sa,
 also head-LOC NEG-be how child-p-PM new word teach-INF
ka woi ma-sǎiy-eŋ. 27 ahe huca-pali thay-eŋ-du, jekha huca-ye
 this also NEG-know-pAS many child-p be-pAS-NPT big child-ERG
ucya huca-kǎi yo-ko mǎi-Ø-du. 28 apa ama jet-te
 small child-PM look.at-ADH must-SAS-NPT father mother work-LOC
yey-eŋ-du, jekha ca camǎi-ye ucya huca cabu-ko mǎi-Ø-du.
 go-pAS-NPT big son daughter-ERG small child carry-ADH must-SAS-NPT
 29 *ka uniŋ tha-Ø-ta-le, naka wakhe řisen-si-sa ma-thany-eŋ.*
 this like be-SAS-IPP-PCL new word teach-REF-INF NEG-be.able-pAS
 30 *libi dicip walřa thah-Ø-an-be bore lony-eŋ-du, tyañ apa*
 after ten five be-SAS-3S/PT-TOP marriage do-pAS-NPT then father
ama uniŋ thay-eŋ-du. 31 naleŋ-guri ucya dese-ko camǎi-pali
 mother like be-pAS-NPT present-IND small village-GEN daughter-p

23 Working in this manner is how daughters from small villages live. 24 When urban women come home from work, food is put in their mouths. 25 'Now, we should teach our children some new things', is something that never enters the head of people from small villages. 26 Even how to teach their children new things they don't know. 27 There are many children, and the older ones have to keep an eye on the younger ones. 28 The parents go to work, and the elder sons and daughters must carry the smaller children. 29 Things being like this, they are not ever able to learn new things [go to school]. 30 When they are fifteen, they get married, and become like their parents. 31 At present, some daughters from small villages go to cities, taking with them daughters from small villages who have nothing to eat.

kundu kundu jekha dese yey-eŋ-ta-le, cya-sa ma-khalam-eŋ-du
 which which big village go-PAS-IPP-PCL eat-INF NEG-receive-PAS-NPT
ucya dese-ko camăi-pali hen-eŋ-to-le yey-eŋ-du. 32 ka uniŋ
 small village-GEN daughter-P take-PAS-TPP-PCL go-PAS-NPT this like
tha-Ø-ta-le, hara woi ma-săiy-eŋ-du huca-pali-kăi gwi-le
 be-SAS-IPP-PCL what also NEG-know-PAS-NPT child-P-PM thief-ERG
khalam-Ø-u-du. 33 ‘naŋ-kăi gă-ye bore loŋ-na-ŋa-du’ ŋay-eŋ-du,
 meet-SAS-3P-NPT you-PM I-ERG marriage do-2s-1s-NPT say-PAS-NPT
hen-eŋ-du, libi to camăi-kăi begale nama pepelek
 take-PAS-NPT after that daughter-PM other with money
phay-eŋ-to-le piy-eŋ-du. 34 to wakhe
 put.out.hand.to.receive-PAS-TPP-PCL give-PAS-NPT that word
camăi-pali-ye ma-thaha săiy-eŋ, tyaŋ maŋ piy-eŋ-to-le,
 daughter-P-ERG NEG-knowledge know-PAS then body give-PAS-TPP-PCL
begale-ye pepelek phah-Ø-u-du. 35 kundu kundu jekha
 other-ERG money put.out.hand.to.receive-SAS-3P-NPT which which big
mî-ko nem-te jet loŋ-sa hok-eŋ-du, apraca tha-Ø-du.
 person-GEN house-LOC work do-INF be-PAS-NPT good be-SAS-NPT
 36 *ka uniŋ tha-Ø-du, ucya dese-ko camăi-ko maŋ camăi-pali*
 this like be-SAS-NPT small village-GEN daughter-GEN body daughter-P
hen-eŋ-to-le nem duŋ-ŋaŋ nay-eŋ-du. 37 apa ama-ye
 take-PAS-TPP-PCL house within-inside put-PAS-NPT father mother-ERG
prîŋ dany-eŋ-du, camăi ma-khalam-eŋ. 38 ‘nan camăi
 outside search-PAS-NPT daughter NEG-meet-PAS now daughter

32 In this way, children who know nothing are introduced to crooks. 33 ‘I will marry you’, they say, and they take them, but later they sell these daughters to others for money. 34 Not knowing about this, the daughters give their bodies, and strangers pay for it. 35 A few find work in the houses of important people, which is good. 36 In this way, taking the bodies of the daughters from small villages, they hide them inside houses [to be sex workers]. 37 The father and mother look for the daughter outside, but they don’t find her. 38 ‘Now our daughter is lost [forever]’, they cry, but the daughter is actually in someone else’s house giving her body to others for money.

tam-Ø-an' *ηay-eη-to-le* *kerep-eη-du*, *camăi* *di-ka-ko*
 be.lost-SAS-3S/PT say-pAS-TPP-PCL cry-pAS-NPT daughter one-HNC-GEN
nem-te *pepelek daη-to-le*, *begale-kăi maη piy-Ø-u-du*.
 house-LOC money search-TPP-PCL other-PM body give-SAS-3P-NPT
 39 *libi to nem-yiη ʔhoŋi tha-Ø-ta-le*, *tortah-Ø-u-du*, *to*
 after that house-ABL old.woman be-SAS-IPP-PCL leave-SAS-3P-NPT that
uniη jet daη-Ø-u-du. 40 *nan to-kăi su-ye woi ma-nay-eη*,
 like work search-SAS-3P-NPT now that-PM who-ERG also NEG-put-pAS
ʔaye ʔaye cawa-Ø-ta-le cahuca daη-Ø-u-du, *tyaη libi*
 night night walk-SAS-IPP-PCL man search-SAS-3P-NPT then after
ʔhoŋi tha-Ø-ta-le, *kerep-Ø-ta-le hok-ko măi-Ø-du*, *ucya*
 old.woman be-SAS-IPP-PCL cry-SAS-IPP-PCL be-ADH must-SAS-NPT small
dese-ko cămăi-pali.
 village-GEN daughter-p

39 Later, when she is old, she is thrown out of that house [i.e. the brothel], and she sets off to find similar work elsewhere. 40 Now, no one takes her in, and all night she walks [the streets] looking for men, and then, having become old, she sits around crying, these are daughters from small villages.

CUCUMBER

1 *di-ka-ko ama camăi hok-eŋ-thyo.* 2 *camăi jekha*
 one-HNC-GEN mother daughter be-PAS-3SCOND daughter big
tha-Ø-ta-le, ɖamari nama bore loŋ-Ø-u-no. 3 *bore*
 be-SAS-IPP-PCL son.in.law with marriage do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT marriage
loŋ-Ø-u-du ahe tha-Ø-ta-le, di uni camăi nama
 do-SAS-3P-NPT much be-SAS-IPP-PCL one day daughter with
hok-Ø-ta-le wakhe loŋ-sa aliy-Ø-an. 4 *di uni, camăi-ko*
 be-SAS-IPP-PCL word do-INF like-SAS-3S/PT one day daughter-GEN
nem-te hen-sa-kăi daŋ-Ø-u-no. 5 *di uni, oste-ko nem*
 house-LOC go-INF-PM search-SAS-3P-3→3/PT one day self-GEN house
ɖi-to-le dese mi-kăi ŋa-to-le camăi-ko nem dăi
 close-TPP-PCL village person-PM say-TPP-PCL daughter-GEN house towards
cawah-Ø-an. 6 *ulam ălămtha hok-Ø-thyo.* 7 *ălămtha hok-le woi,*
 walk-SAS-3S/PT road distant be-SAS-3SCOND distant be-PCL also
ɖhoŋi camăi khalam-sa-kăi cawah-Ø-an. 8 *ɖhoŋi di-gore*
 old.woman daughter meet-INF-PM walk-SAS-3S/PT old.woman one-CLF
ukhiŋ ɖăi-te ya-let-Ø-an. 9 *to-ŋaŋ di-gore loŋe*
 dark place-LOC go-appear-SAS-3S/PT that-inside one-CLF jackal
khalam-Ø-u-no, loŋe-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no 'ɖhoŋi, nan naŋ-kăi
 meet-SAS-3P-3→3/PT jackal-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT old.woman now you-PM
cya-na-ŋa-du, găi isa ma-cya-ŋa-du yaŋ sum uni thah-Ø-an.'
 eat-2s-1s-NPT I food NEG-eat-1s-NPT today three day be-SAS-3S/PT

1 There once lived a mother and daughter. 2 When she grew up she married a man [who became son-in-law]. 3 Many years after getting married, one day she [the mother] wanted to sit with her daughter because she wanted to talk. 4 One day, she tried to find a way to her daughter's house. 5 One day, she locked up her house and telling the villagers, set off to her daughter's house. 6 The road was long. 7 Despite being a long way away, the old woman set off to meet with her daughter. 8 The old woman came to a dark place. 9 In that place, she came across a jackal, and the jackal said to her 'old lady, I am going to eat you as I haven't eaten anything for three whole days.'

10 'yaŋ naŋ gǎi-go isa tha-ta-na-le ra-na-n, nan gǎ-ye
 today you I-GEN food be-IPP-2s-PCL come.from.level-2s-PT now I-ERG
 cya-na-ŋa-du.' 11 'hok-a! nan gǎi-go wakhe nasǎi-y-o! tyāŋ gǎi-gǎi
 eat-2s-1s-NPT be-s/IMP now I-GEN word hear-s→3/IMP then I-PM
 cya-sa ja-Ø-du' thoŋi-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no. 12 'yaŋ gǎi
 eat-INF okay-SAS-NPT old.woman-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT today I
 camǎi-ko nem-te cawa-ŋa-du, gǎ-ye camǎi ma-khalam-u-n-du
 daughter-GEN house-LOC walk-1s-NPT I-ERG daughter NEG-meet-3P-1s→3-NPT
 aye thah-Ø-an, to-yiŋ ra-ŋa libi gǎi-gǎi cya-ŋa!'
 much be-SAS-3S/PT that-ABL come.from.level-CNS after I-PM eat-s→1s/IMP
 13 'naleŋ gǎi-go maŋ woi apraca ma-hok.' 14 'gǎi sarma
 present I-GEN body also good NEG-be I strong
 tha-ta-ŋa-le ra-ŋa-du' thoŋi-ko wakhe nasǎi-to-le,
 be-IPP-1s-PCL come.from.level-1s-NPT old.woman-GEN word hear-TPP-PCL
 loŋe-ye woi tortah-Ø-u-no. 15 thoŋi camǎi-ko khen
 jackal-ERG also leave-SAS-3P-3→3/PT old.woman daughter-GEN face
 yo-sa-kǎi ya-Ø-du, bophura ari-Ø-ta-le. 16 cawah-Ø-an,
 look.at-INF-PM go-SAS-NPT pity be.afraid-SAS-IPP-PCL walk-SAS-3S/PT
 'nan-guri ka uniŋ ma-tha thaŋun' ŋa-to-le. 17 ya-ya woi
 now-IND this like NEG-be maybe say-TPP-PCL go-go also
 walŋa-gore makar khalam-Ø-u-no, ŋay-eŋ-no 'thoŋi, nan
 five-CLF monkey meet-SAS-3P-3→3/PT say-pAS-3→3/PT old.woman you
 kyel-ta-na-le, nan naŋ-kǎi ni-ye cya-wa-du.' 18 sakalei
 come-IPP-2s-PCL now you-PM we-ERG eat-1p→23-NPT all

10 'Today, you have come to be my meal, I am going to eat you' [he said]. 11 'Sit down! Listen to what I have to say! Then you can eat me', the old woman said. 12 'Today, I am off to my daughter's house, and I haven't seen my daughter for a very long time, when I have come back from there, eat me then!' [she said]. 13 'And at present, my body is no good anyway.' 14 'I will return stronger and younger', [she said], and hearing the old woman's words, the jackal let her go. 15 The old woman sets off to see her daughter's face, poor thing, she was so scared. 16 She walked, thinking 'well, I hope that there's no more experiences like that.' 17 As she went along her way, she met five monkeys who said to her 'old lady, now that you have come, we are going to eat you.' 18 Each of the monkeys, being all excited, showed his own dance.

makar-pali-ye oste oste-ko usya cikhet-eη-no tany-eη-ta-le.
 monkey-p-ERG self self-GEN dance show-pAS-3→3/PT be.happy-pAS-IPP-PCL
 19 *ṭhoṇi-ye ηah-Ø-u-no ‘găi camăi-ko nem-te*
 old.woman-ERG say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT I daughter-GEN house-LOC
cawa-ηa-du, ra-ηa libi cya-ne!’ ηa-to-le loṇe-kăi
 walk-1s-NPT come.from.level-CNS after eat-p→1s/IMP say-TPP-PCL jackal-PM
uniṇ ηah-Ø-u-no. 20 ‘ma-tha, ni-ye naṇ-kăi yaṇ cya-ko
 like say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT NEG-be we-ERG you-PM today eat-ADH
măi-Ø-du, mi hok-Ø-du ṭhăi-te ni yey-i-n-be, ni-kăi
 must-sAS-NPT person be-sAS-NPT place-LOC we go-1pPS-PT-TOP we-PM
kucu-kăi ci-poy-eη-du’ ηay-eη-no. 21 ṭhoṇi-ye
 dog-PM CAUS-chase-pAS-NPT say-pAS-3→3/PT old.woman-ERG
ηah-Ø-u-no ‘ma-tha, găi ka ulam ra-ta-ηa-le, libi
 say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT NEG-be I this road come.from.level-IPP-1s-PCL after
niny-e cya-ne!’ ηa-to-le cawah-Ø-an. 22 ṭhoṇi ya-ya
 you(p)-ERG eat-p→1s/IMP say-TPP-PCL walk-sAS-3S/PT old.woman go-go
woi di ṭhăi du jom-eη-du ṭhăi-te ya-let-Ø-an
 also one place tiger gather.together-pAS-NPT place-LOC go-appear-sAS-3S/PT
‘nan-guri mo-sa ma-măi’ ηa-to-le jagap-Ø-an.
 now-IND survive-INF NEG-must say-TPP-PCL faint-sAS-3S/PT
 23 *ṭhoṇi-kăi du-ye ηah-Ø-u-no ‘ama, găi ηaṇ găi-go*
 old.woman-PM tiger-ERG say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT mother I and I-GEN
huca-pali kit uni ka isa ma-cya-ta-i-le, hok-le
 child-p nine day throughout food NEG-eat-IPP-1pPS-PCL be-PCL

19 The old woman said ‘I am now going to my daughter’s house, eat me on the way back!’, and she told them like she had told the jackal. 20 ‘No way, we must eat you now, if we go to the place that humans live then they set their dogs on us to chase us away’, they said. 21 The old woman said ‘No, when I come back along this road, eat me then!’, and saying this, she walked off. 22 As the woman walked, she arrived at a gathering place of tigers, and thinking to herself ‘now this part I won’t survive’, she fainted. 23 One tiger said to the old woman ‘mother, my children and I sit here not having eaten for nine days.’

- hok-i-du.*’ 24 ‘*yaŋ naŋ ra-ta-na-le, ni-ko cici.*’
be-1pPS-NPT today you come.from.level-IPP-2s-PCL we-GEN meat
- 25 *nan ʃhoŋi-ye ‘camăi-ko khen ma-tha, camăi-ko*
now old.woman-ERG daughter-GEN face NEG-be daughter-GEN
- apa-ko khen nih-u-n-uŋ’ ŋa-to-le ma-cijyaŋ-tiniŋ*
father-GEN face see-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT say-TPP-PCL NEG-speak-PFG
- hok-Ø-an.* 26 ‘*tyaŋ si-le woi e-si-ŋa!*’ *ŋa-to-le,*
be-SAS-3S/PT then die-PCL also OPT-die-s→1s/IMP say-TPP-PCL
- ʃhoŋi-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘ma-tha, găi-găi tortah-o!, găi*
old.woman-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT NEG-be I-PM leave-s→3/IMP I
- camăi-ko khen yo-to-le ra-ŋa-du, niŋ ka-te*
daughter-GEN face look.at-TPP-PCL come.from.level-1s-NPT you(p) this-LOC
- hok-ne!, tyaŋ libi cya-ne!’* 27 *du-pali-ye tortay-eŋ-no,*
be-p/IMP then after eat-p→1s/IMP tiger-p-ERG leave-pAS-3→3/PT
- ʃhoŋi camăi-ko nem-te ya-let-ko sow-Ø-an.*
old.woman daughter-GEN house-LOC go-appear-ADH be.about.to-SAS-3S/PT
- 28 *camăi-kăi ulam-ko hara woi wakhe ma-ŋah-Ø-u-no.*
daughter-PM road-GEN what also word NEG-say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
- 29 *camăi-ko nem-te hok-Ø-an, libi oste-ko nem-te hen-sa*
daughter-GEN house-LOC be-SAS-3S/PT after self-GEN house-LOC go-INF
- uni ra-let-Ø-an.* 30 *sumaka hok-sa*
day come.from.level-appear-SAS-3S/PT silent be-INF
- ma-thaŋ-Ø-u-no, camăi-kăi habi-ko ulam-te-ko wakhe*
NEG-be.able-SAS-3P-3→3/PT daughter-PM before-GEN road-LOC-GEN word

24 ‘Today you have come [to be] our meat.’ 25 Now the old lady thought ‘now I am not seeing my daughter’s face, but my daughter’s father’s face’, as she sat there not saying a thing. 26 Thinking ‘well, if I die, then let me die!’, the old woman thought as she said ‘no, let me go! I will come back once I have seen my daughter’s face, you lot stay here! Eat me later!’ 27 The tigers let her go and the old woman was about to reach her daughter’s house. 28 She didn’t tell her daughter anything about what had happened on the way. 29 She stayed at her daughter’s house and then the day to go back to her own house came around. 30 Unable to sit silently, she told her daughter everything that had happened before on the road.

- sakalei ci-nasăiy-Ø-u-no.* 31 *camăi woi săi-Ø-du mi*
 all CAUS-hear-SAS-3P-3→3/PT daughter also know-SAS-NPT person
hok-Ø-thyo ‘ama, naŋ sumaka hok-a! gă-ye loŋ-u-n-du, naŋ-kăi
 be-SAS-3SECOND mother you silent be-s/IMP I-ERG do-3P-1s→3-NPT you-PM
hara-ye woi ma-cya’ ŋah-Ø-u-no. 32 *nan nem-te hen-sa*
 what-ERG also NEG-eat say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now house-LOC go-INF
thah-Ø-an, camăi-ye ama-kăi di-gore phaŋu duŋ-ŋaŋ
 be-SAS-3S/PT daughter-ERG mother-PM one-CLF pumpkin within-inside
tham-Ø-u-no. 33 *adhăi-kăi ulam cikhet-to-le, phaŋu*
 insert-SAS-3P-3→3/PT cucumber-PM road show-TPP-PCL pumpkin
cabu-to-le hen-Ø-u-no. 34 *adhăi ulam-te ya-Ø-du*
 carry-TPP-PCL take-SAS-3P-3→3/PT cucumber road-LOC go-SAS-NPT
beryaŋ, ulam-te habi-ko du makar-pali hok-le hok-eŋ-thyo.
 that.time road-LOC before-GEN tiger monkey-p be-PCL be-pAS-3SECOND
 35 *‘kutaleŋ ʒoŋi ra-Ø-du ra?’ cya-sa-kăi*
 when old.woman come.from.level-SAS-NPT or eat-INF-PM
ŋa-to-le hok-eŋ-thyo. 36 *adhăi-ye ʒoŋi-kăi*
 say-TPP-PCL be-pAS-3SECOND cucumber-ERG old.woman-PM
cabuh-Ø-u-du, to-bany-e ma-niy-eŋ-no, ulam-te du-ye
 carry-SAS-3P-NPT that-Pp-ERG NEG-see-pAS-3→3/PT road-LOC tiger-ERG
ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘adhăi, ni-ko ʒoŋi nih-u-na-n?’
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT cucumber we-GEN old.woman see-3P-2s-PT
 37 *ʒoŋi-ye phaŋu duŋ-yiŋ jekha sare-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no*
 old.woman-ERG pumpkin within-ABL big voice-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

31 The daughter was also a wise person and said ‘mother, sit still! I will do everything, nothing is going to eat you.’ 32 Now it was time to go home, so the daughter put her mother inside a pumpkin. 33 Showing a cucumber the way, it [the cucumber] carried the pumpkin away. 34 As the cucumber went along the road, the tiger and monkeys from before were sitting there on the road [waiting]. 35 ‘When will the old woman come?’, they thought as they sat there waiting to eat her. 36 They didn’t see the cucumber carrying the old woman, but then on the road the tiger said to the cucumber ‘hey cucumber, have you seen our old lady?’ 37 The old woman spoke in a loud voice from inside the pumpkin ‘what would we know about your old lady? I have no idea.’

'naŋ-ko ʔhoŋi ni-kǎi hara jet? gǎi ma-sǎi.' 38 *'cawa-Ø!*
 you-GEN old.woman we-GEN what work I NEG-know walk-s/IMP
adhǎi! oste-ko ulam' ŋah-Ø-u-no, du kerep-Ø-an 'nan
 cucumber self-GEN road say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT tiger cry-sAS-3S/PT you
ʔhoŋi kutaleŋ ra-Ø-du ra cya-sa' ŋa-to-le
 old.woman when come.from.level-sAS-NPT or eat-INF say-TPP-PCL
hok-Ø-an. 39 *'ʔhoŋi rah-Ø-an-be, gǎ-ye kanʔi woi*
 be-sAS-3S/PT old.woman come.from.level-sAS-3S/PT-TOP I-ERG raw also
cya-ŋa-thyo.' 40 *rage-ye di-gore pole-te suwa sap-Ø-u-no.*
 eat-1s-3SECOND anger-INS one-CLF tree-LOC tooth stab-sAS-3P-3→3/PT
 41 *to libi siy-Ø-an, ugo-yiŋ coi let-Ø-an du-ko.*
 that after die-sAS-3S/PT mouth-ABL blood appear-sAS-3S/PT tiger-GEN
 42 *nan makar-pali hok-eŋ-du ʔhǎi-te ya-let-Ø-an, makar-pali*
 now monkey-p be-pAS-NPT place-LOC go-appear-sAS-3S/PT monkey-p
adhǎi yo-sa-kǎi ray-eŋ-an. 43 *to-bany-e*
 cucumber look.at-INF-PM come.from.level-pAS-3S/PT that-Pp-ERG
ŋay-eŋ-no 'adhǎi bubu, nany-e ni-ko ʔhoŋi
 say-pAS-3→3/PT cucumber elder.brother you-ERG we-GEN old.woman
ama-kǎi nih-u-na-n?' 44 *phaʔu duŋ-yiŋ ʔhoŋi-ye 'naŋ-ko*
 mother-PM see-3P-2s-PT pumpkin within-ABL old.woman-ERG you-GEN
ama gǎ-ye ma-ni, kuta hok-Ø-du?' *ŋa-to-le cawah-Ø-an.*
 mother I-ERG NEG-see where be-sAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL walk-sAS-3S/PT
 45 *makar-pali-kǎi rage let-Ø-an, to-te hok-eŋ-an ʔhoŋi*
 monkey-p-PM anger appear-sAS-3S/PT that-LOC be-pAS-3S/PT old.woman

38 'Walk on cucumber! On your way', she [the old woman] said, and the tiger cried, 'now when will that old lady ever come and when will we eat?', he said as he sat [and waited]. 39 'If that old maid comes, I would even eat her raw' [the tiger said]. 40 In anger, he stabbed his teeth into a nearby tree. 41 After that the tiger died, and blood poured from his mouth. 42 Now they reached the place that the monkeys lived, and all the monkeys came to look at the cucumber. 43 They said 'elder brother cucumber, have you seen our old woman?' 44 From inside the pumpkin, the old woman walked off saying 'I haven't seen your old mother, now where could she be?' 45 The monkeys got angry and stayed sitting there, the old woman inside the pumpkin was sitting there all happy.

phaṭu duŋ-ŋaŋ taŋ-Ø-ta-le hok-le hok-Ø-du. 46 *nan*
 pumpkin within-inside be.happy-SAS-IPP-PCL be-PCL be-SAS-NPT now
loŋe-te ya-let-Ø-an, nan makar du
 jackal-LOC go-appear-SAS-3S/PT now monkey tiger
ray-eŋ-ta-le, loŋe-kăi ŋay-eŋ-no ‘loŋe hu,
 come.from.level-pAS-IPP-PCL jackal-PM say-pAS-3→3/PT jackal younger.brother
nan ni-kăi ʔhoŋi-ye ‘ra-ŋa-du’ ŋa-to-le
 now we-PM old.woman-ERG come.from.level-1s-NPT say-TPP-PCL
yah-Ø-an, yaŋ ka ma-rah-Ø-an, hara loŋ-sa?’
 go-SAS-3S/PT today throughout NEG-come.from.level-SAS-3S/PT what do-INF
 47 *to beryaŋ adhăi loŋe nama wakhe loŋ-to-le hok-le*
 that that.time cucumber jackal with word do-TPP-PCL be-PCL
hok-Ø-thyo. 48 *‘adhăi, ni-ko ʔhoŋi ama nih-u-na-n?’*
 be-SAS-3SCOND cucumber we-GEN old.woman mother see-3P-2s-PT
‘gă-ye ma-ni’ ŋah-Ø-u-no. 49 *tyaŋ loŋe kherte ya-Ø-ta-le*
 I-ERG NEG-see say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT then jackal near go-SAS-IPP-PCL
hok-Ø-an, habi ya-Ø-ta-le to hen-sa ʔhăi-te di-gore seŋ
 be-SAS-3S/PT before go-SAS-IPP-PCL that go-INF place-LOC one-CLF wood
sapuh-Ø-u-no. 50 *ya-Ø-du beryaŋ, seŋ-te*
 stab-SAS-3P-3→3/PT go-SAS-NPT that.time wood-LOC
trak-Ø-ta-le, phaṭu ʔhem-Ø-an. 51 *loŋe woi*
 make.itself.present-SAS-IPP-PCL pumpkin crack-SAS-3S/PT jackal also
kherte ɖapu-to-le hok-le hok-Ø-thyo. 52 *loŋe-ye to*
 near peek-TPP-PCL be-PCL be-SAS-3SCOND jackal-ERG that

46 Now she arrived at the jackal's place, and the monkeys and tiger having also come, said to the jackal 'younger brother jackal, now the old woman said to us 'I will come', and we let her go, but to this day she hasn't returned, what shall we do?' 47 At that time, the cucumber was sitting speaking with the jackal. 48 'Cucumber, have you seen our old mum?' [the jackal said], 'I haven't seen a thing', the cucumber replied. 49 And then the jackal came and sat a bit closer, sometime before having already stabbed a piece of wood into the ground in that very place. 50 As it [the cucumber] walked, it bumped into the stick, and the pumpkin cracked open. 51 The jackal then had a really good nose around. 52 The jackal saw the old woman and was most pleased, saying 'now how on earth could there be a speaking cucumber?'

- thoni-kăi nih-Ø-u-no, taŋ-Ø-ta-le ŋah-Ø-u-no*
 old.woman-PM see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT be.happy-SAS-IPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
- ‘kuta woi adhăi cijyaŋ-Ø-du?’ ŋa-to-le. 53 loŋe-ye sakalei*
 where also cucumber speak-SAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL jackal-ERG all
- du makar-pali-kăi ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘niŋ ra-ne!’*
 tiger monkey-p-PM say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT you(p) come.from.level-p/IMP
- 54 thon-i-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘nan găi-găi cya-ne! cya-sa*
 old.woman-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now I-PM eat-p→1s/IMP eat-INF
- habi me-te uman-to-le cya-ŋa-be apraca tha-Ø-du.’*
 before fire-LOC cook-TPP-PCL eat-CNS-TOP good be-SAS-NPT
- 55 sakalei-ye ‘ja-Ø-du’ ŋay-eŋ-no, me mut-eŋ-no, me*
 all-ERG okay-SAS-NPT say-pAS-3→3/PT fire blow-pAS-3→3/PT fire
- tiy-Ø-an. 56 ‘nan bhutbhute e-tha-Ø, tyaŋ găi-găi jyou-to-le*
 burn-SAS-3S/PT now white.hot.fire OPT-be-SAS then I-PM burn-TPP-PCL
- cya-ne!’ ŋah-Ø-u-no. 57 libi bhutbhute thah-Ø-an,*
 eat-p→1s/IMP say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after white.hot.fire be-SAS-3S/PT
- thoni-ye lak-te na-to-le sakalei-ko mesek-te*
 old.woman-ERG hand-LOC put-TPP-PCL all-GEN eye-LOC
- lat-Ø-u-no. 58 to-baŋ mesek ma-niy-eŋ-to-le, to-te*
 sprinkle-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-Pp eye NEG-see-pAS-TPP-PCL that-LOC
- tiŋiny-eŋ-an. 59 sakalei oste-baŋ-ko thăi-te yey-eŋ-an.*
 fall.from.level-pAS-3S/PT all self-Pp-GEN place-LOC go-pAS-3S/PT
- 60 loŋe-kăi-guri rage let-Ø-ta-le, to-te hok-eŋ-du makar-pali*
 jackal-PM-IND anger appear-SAS-IPP-PCL that-LOC be-pAS-NPT monkey-p

53 The jackal said to the tiger and all of the monkeys ‘you lot, come over here!’ 54 The old woman said ‘now eat me! But before you do, cook me on the fire and I will taste much better.’ 55 All of them said ‘okay’ and then they made a fire and it burnt well. 56 ‘Now let this fire be white hot, and eat me roasted!’, she said. 57 When it had become white hot, the old woman took some embers in her hand and sprinkled them in everyone’s eyes. 58 Not being able to see out of their eyes, they all fell down right there. 59 Then they all ran back to where they came from. 60 Becoming angry, the jackal ate up all the monkeys that were there,

cyah-Ø-u-no, thoṇi oste-ko nem-te yah-Ø-an.
 eat-SAS-3P-3→3/PT old.woman self-GEN house-LOC go-SAS-3S/PT

and the old woman went back to her own house.

GOING TO THE WEDDING

1 *gǎi-go ban-ko bore hok-Ø-thyo, gǎi bore-te hen-sa-kǎi*
 I-GEN friend-GEN marriage be-SAS-3SCOND I marriage-LOC go-INF-PM
ma-than-u-n-un. 2 *gǎi-guri habi syaŋ ya-ta-ŋa-le,*
 NEG-be.able-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT I-IND before period go-IPP-1s-PCL
bore nem-te hok-ŋa-n. 3 *baŋthe syaŋ bore bǎsinŋe*
 marriage house-LOC be-1s-PT tomorrow period marriage morning
hen-ko mǎi-Ø-thyo, to tha-Ø-ta-le, gǎi habi syaŋ
 go-ADH must-SAS-3SCOND that be-SAS-IPP-PCL I before day
ya-ta-ŋa-le hok-ŋa-n. 4 *to isyaŋ gǎi isa-ye karǎi-ta-ŋa-le,*
 go-IPP-1s-PCL be-1s-PT that period I food-INS shout-IPP-1s-PCL
ken boro ahe cya-ŋa-n. 5 *lakaŋe-ko ken*
 vegetable.curry cooked.rice much eat-1s-PT radish-GEN vegetable.curry
bakalcakal hok-Ø-thyo, apraca nama cya-ŋa-n. 6 *tyaŋ ami-sa-kǎi*
 half.cooked be-SAS-3SCOND good with eat-1s-PT then sleep-INF-PM
ya-ŋa-n. 7 *gǎi-go baŋkal ɬaye aghyow-Ø-an, ‘nan hara*
 go-1s-PT I-GEN stomach night grumble-SAS-3S/PT now what
tha-Ø-du?’ ɬa-to-le, gǎi ari-ŋa-n. 8 *ɬaye ami-ŋa-du*
 be-SAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL I be.afraid-1s-PT night sleep-1s-NPT
thǎi-yiŋ serek-ŋa-n, jhari yu-le hok-Ø-thyo,
 place-ABL arise-1s-PT rain come.from.above-PCL be-SAS-3SCOND
chokchok ukhiŋ woi hok-Ø-thyo. 9 *gǎi-gǎi ari ma-tha-ŋa-n,*
 complete.darkness dark also be-SAS-3SCOND I-PM fear NEG-be-1s-PT

1 My friend was getting married, but I wasn't able to go to the wedding. 2 I had gone the day before to the house where the wedding would be. 3 The following day the wedding was to be in the morning, and on account of that I had gone the day before. 4 On that day, being hungry, I ate a lot of rice and vegetable curry. 5 The radish curry was only half cooked, but I ate well. 6 Then I went off to sleep. 7 At night my stomach started grumbling, 'now what could be the matter?', I thought and became afraid. 8 At night I got up from the place that I was sleeping, it was raining and it was also completely and totally dark. 9 I wasn't afraid, no, I wasn't scared at all.

ma-ari-ŋa-n *woi.* 10 *gǎi-go baŋkal kalǎi-le hok-Ø-thyo, gǎ-ye*
 NEG-be.afraid-1s-PT also I-GEN stomach hurt-PCL be-sAS-3SCOND I-ERG
nan ka baŋkal-te hok-Ø-du ma-ci-ŋa, gǎi si-ŋa-du uniŋ
 now this stomach-LOC be-sAS-NPT NEG-throw.away-CNS I die-1s-NPT like
tha-ŋa-du. 11 *gǎi kiŋi ta-sa ukhiŋ-ŋaŋ ya-ŋa-n,*
 be-1s-NPT I shit release-INF dark-inside go-1s-PT
tah-u-n-uŋ. 12 *ka uniŋ gǎi-gǎi sum phero ɬaye*
 release-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT this like I-PM three time night
thah-Ø-an, nan athaŋ-Ø-an, bǎsinɬe woi thah-Ø-an.
 be-sAS-3S/PT now become.light-sAS-3S/PT morning also be-sAS-3S/PT
 13 *bore-ko mi-pali cawa-sa dany-eŋ-no.* 14 *ni woi*
 marriage-GEN person-p walk-INF search-pAS-3→3/PT we also
caway-i-n, gǎi-go baŋkal-te rose ya-Ø-du uniŋ thah-Ø-an,
 walk-1pPS-PT I-GEN stomach-LOC landslide go-sAS-NPT like be-sAS-3S/PT
gǎi-go baŋkal ros-Ø-du uniŋ thah-Ø-an. 15 *gǎi kiŋi gaŋe*
 I-GEN stomach fall-sAS-NPT like be-sAS-3S/PT I shit earthenware.pot
daŋ-sa cawa-ŋa-n, to-te woi kiŋi ta-tuŋ-le, nan mi-pali
 search-INF walk-1s-PT that-LOC also shit release-1s/TPP-PCL now person-p
nama cawa-ŋa-n. 16 *libi ni begale ɬǎi-te*
 with walk-1s-PT after we other place-LOC
ra-let-i-n, *nan woi gǎi-go baŋkal habi-ko uniŋ*
 come.from.level-appear-1pPS-PT now also I-GEN stomach before-GEN like
thah-Ø-an. 17 *nan-be ka nembo mi-pali hok-le woi*
 be-sAS-3S/PT now-TOP this other.person person-p be-PCL also

10 My stomach was really hurting, until I had gotten rid of whatever was in that stomach of mine, I would feel like I was dying. 11 I went to take a shit in the dark, and I shat. 12 This happened to me thrice that night, and then it got light and it was morning already. 13 The people in the wedding procession were getting ready to set off. 14 We also walked with them, but my stomach felt as if it were a landslide rolling, my stomach felt like it had completely crashed. 15 I walked off looking for a toilet [lit. shit pot], took a shit there, and then joined the group again. 16 Then we arrived in this other place, and then my stomach started feeling [bad again] like before. 17 Now I felt that I would be fine if only the other people would sit down.

ja-Ø-thyo *uniŋ tha-ŋa-n.* 18 *nembo* *ma-hok-tiniŋ*
 okay-SAS-3SCOND like be-1s-PT other.person NEG-be-PFG
caway-eŋ-du. 19 *gǎi soŋ dǎi* *dorok-ŋa-n, tyəŋ gǎ-ye*
 walk-pAS-NPT I river towards run-1s-PT then I-ERG
bubu-kǎi *ŋah-u-n-uŋ* ‘*bubu,* *gǎi-go baŋkal aŋthe*
 elder.brother-PM say-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT elder.brother I-GEN stomach very
kalǎiy-Ø-an.’ 20 *bubu-ye* *gǎi-gǎi usare* *pi-Ø-ŋa-n, libi*
 hurt-SAS-3S/PT elder.brother-ERG I-PM medicine give-SAS-1s-PT after
uchincǎi kalǎi-sa jah-Ø-an. 21 *libi bore* *nem-te*
 much.less hurt-INF recover-SAS-3S/PT after marriage house-LOC
ya-let-i-n, *to-ŋəŋ isa ken* *sakalei hok-Ø-thyo,*
 go-appear-1pPS-PT that-inside food vegetable.curry all be-SAS-3SCOND
to ni-to-le *cya-sa ma-ali-ŋa-n.* 22 *bubu-ye* *ŋa-Ø-ŋa-n,*
 that see-TPP-PCL eat-INF NEG-like-1s-PT elder.brother-ERG say-SAS-1s-PT
nunu cikhet-to-le ‘*hu,* *naŋ ka nunu cya-Ø! baŋkal*
 milk show-TPP-PCL younger.brother you this milk eat-s/IMP stomach
kalǎi-sa ja-Ø-du.’ 23 *gǎi woi di toke* *nunu*
 hurt-INF recover-SAS-NPT I also one small.bowl milk
kǎi-tuŋ-le *cya-ŋa-n.* 24 *libi gǎi-gǎi uchin uchin baŋkal*
 remove-1s/TPP-PCL eat-1s-PT after I-PM a.little a.little stomach
kalǎi-sa jah-Ø-an, *tyəŋ gǎi taŋ-ŋa-n.* 25 *libi bore-te*
 hurt-INF recover-SAS-3S/PT then I be.happy-1s-PT after marriage-LOC
hok-ta-i-le *kari kari-wa-n,* *gǎi usya-ŋa-n.* 26 *libi nem-te*
 be-IPP-1pPS-PCL song sing-1p→23-PT I dance-1s-PT after house-LOC

18 The others walked on without stopping. 19 I ran towards the river, and then said to my elder brother ‘elder brother, my stomach really hurts.’ 20 Elder brother gave me some medicine, and after that it became much less painful. 21 Thereafter we came to the house of the wedding and there was all this food, but seeing that, I didn’t feel like eating at all. 22 Then, pointing to the milk, elder brother said to me ‘younger brother, drink this milk! It will help your stomach.’ 23 Then I scooped out a bowl of milk and drank it. 24 Then my stomach ache got a little bit better, and I was happy. 25 Later, sitting at the wedding, we sang songs and I danced. 26 After that I went home, but to the present day, when I hear anything about

ya-ŋa-n, naleŋ woi bore-ko wakhe nasăiy-u-n-uŋ-be, găi-go
 go-1s-PT present also marriage-GEN word hear-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT-TOP I-GEN
baŋkal kalăi-Ø-du uniŋ tha-Ø-du.
 stomach hurt-SAS-NPT like be-SAS-NPT

that wedding, my stomach feels like it's going to hurt.

GIRLS THESE DAYS

1 *di uni, gǎi-go ban-e, di-ka camăica-kǎi uchika miŋ*
 one day I-GEN friend-ERG one-HNC woman-PM short cloth
bu-si-Ø-du ni-to-le, ŋah-Ø-u-no: 2 *‘humi, naŋ-kǎi*
 cover-REF-SAS-NPT see-TPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT younger.sister you-PM
lakpa-te ma-ŋila?’, *gǎi ban nama hok-ŋa-thyo.* 3 *‘hara-ko ŋila?*
 limb-LOC NEG-be.cold I friend with be-1s-3SCOND what-GEN cold
adum hok-Ø-du’, to woi ‘jet loŋ-sa ʈǎi-te naka thapu
 warm be-SAS-NPT that also work do-INF place-LOC new fireplace
hok-Ø-du, to-te me cyatəŋ-si-ŋa-du’ ŋah-Ø-u-no. 4 *‘bǎsinŋe*
 be-SAS-NPT that-LOC fire soak.up-REF-1s-NPT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT morning
hara woi jet ma-khalam-u-na-n, ŋaŋ gǎi nama ka uniŋ wakhe
 what also work NEG-receive-3P-2s-PT and I with this like word
loŋ-u-na-du?’ ŋa-to-le kaŋah-Ø-an. 5 *ka wakhe nasǎi-tuŋ-le,*
 do-3P-2s-NPT say-TPP-PCL scold-SAS-3S/PT this word hear-1s/TPP-PCL
gǎi-gǎi rage let-ŋa-n ŋaŋ ban-kǎi ŋah-u-n-uŋ ‘hara? nan
 I-PM anger appear-1s-PT and friend-PM say-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT what now
camăica nama cijyaŋ-sa woi ma-jah-Ø-an?’ 6 *ban-e gǎi-gǎi*
 woman with speak-INF also NEG-okay-SAS-3S/PT friend-ERG I-PM
ŋa-Ø-ŋa-n ‘ka camăica jet loŋ-sa ʈǎi-te, gǎi hani
 say-SAS-1s-PT this woman work do-INF place-LOC I how.much
ya-ŋa-n.’ 7 *‘ŋila-te-be me ma-mut, yamiryəŋ adum tha-Ø-du*
 go-1s-PT cold-LOC-TOP fire NEG-blow nowadays hot be-SAS-NPT

1 One day, a friend of mine, seeing a woman wearing very short clothes, said: 2 ‘Younger sister, aren’t your arms and legs cold?’, I was with my friend. 3 ‘Why would I be cold? I am warm’, she said, adding, ‘in the place that I work there is a new heater and I warm myself by it.’ 4 ‘Having nothing to do this morning, do you think that you can just speak to me in this way?’, she said, scolding him [my friend]. 5 Hearing this, I became angry, and said to my friend ‘what’s all this? Is it now not okay to speak with women?’ 6 And my friend said to me ‘the place that this woman works, I’ve been there many times.’ 7 ‘They don’t light the heater when it’s cold, and these days, now that it’s warm, why would they light a fire anyway?’ [my friend said].

- beryaŋ hara-ko me mut-Ø-u-thyo?* 8 *'nan nany-e*
 that.time what-GEN fire blow-SAS-3P-3SCOND now you-ERG
ŋa-ŋa! *yamiryaŋ-ko camăica-pali hara thay-eŋ-an?*
 say-s→1s/IMP nowadays-GEN woman-p what be-pAS-3S/PT
- 9 *'yamiryaŋ-ko ŋila-te woi maŋ-te thum-sa miŋ*
 nowadays-GEN cold-LOC also body-LOC stick-INF cloth
bu-siy-eŋ-du, ma-tilay-eŋ ra? 10 *'hara-kăi ka uniŋ*
 cover-REF-pAS-NPT NEG-cold-pAS or what-PM this like
caway-eŋ-du yamiryaŋ-ko camăica-pali? 11 *'oste-kăi apraca*
 walk-pAS-NPT nowadays-GEN woman-p self-PM good
e-niy-eŋ-no ŋa-to-le, ŋaye ami-sa beryaŋ bu-si-sa
 OPT-show-pAS-3→3/PT say-TPP-PCL night sleep-INF that.time cover-REF-INF
miŋ unise ulam-te bu-siy-eŋ-ta-le caway-eŋ-du. 12 *'habi*
 cloth afternoon road-LOC cover-REF-pAS-IPP-PCL walk-pAS-NPT before
habi cahuca-pali-ye camăica-kăi yoy-eŋ-to-le kaŋay-eŋ-thyo,
 before man-p-ERG woman-PM look.at-pAS-TPP-PCL scold-pAS-3SCOND
naleŋ camăica-pali-ye cahuca-kăi ŋe-sa dany-eŋ-du. 13 *'yamiryaŋ*
 present woman-p-ERG man-PM beat-INF search-pAS-NPT nowadays
camăica-ko wakhe nasăi-ko măi-Ø-du, camăi-ye woi apa-ko
 woman-GEN word hear-ADH must-sAS-NPT daughter-ERG also father-GEN
raŋ bakoŋtek khalam-ko măi-Ø-du, ŋay-eŋ-du.
 unirrigated.field half receive-ADH must-sAS-NPT say-pAS-NPT
- 14 *di-ka apa uniŋ ŋoŋe mi-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no 'habi*
 one-HNC father like old.man person-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT before

8 'Now you tell me! What has happened to women these days?' 9 'These days, they even wear these body-sticking clothes in cold weather, [are you telling me that] they're not cold?' [he said]. 10 'Why do women walk around like this these days?' 11 'To make themselves appear beautiful, they wear their night clothes in the daytime to walk around in.' 12 'In the olden days, men would look at women and scold them, at present women try to beat up the men.' 13 'Nowadays, we have to listen to what women say, and they say that daughters must even receive half of their father's land.' 14 One old man said 'daughters used to come home after school.'

camăi wakhe řisen-si-Ø-ta-le, unise nem-te
 daughter word teach-REF-SAS-IPP-PCL afternoon house-LOC
ra-Ø-thyo. 15 *'naleŋ cămăi jekha thah-Ø-an, řaye*
 come.from.level-SAS-3SECOND present daughter big be-SAS-3S/PT night
kyel-Ø-du. 16 *'naleŋ ka 'kuta ya-na-n?' řa-wa-du*
 come-SAS-NPT present throughout where go-2s-PT say-1p→23-NPT
beryaŋ, 'găi ban-ko nem-te ya-ta-řa-le ra-řa-du'
 that.time I friend-GEN house-LOC go-IPP-1s-PCL come.from.level-1s-NPT
řah-i-du. 17 *'kuta ya-Ø-du, ni-kăi hara woi ma-řa.'*
 say-1pPS-NPT where go-SAS-NPT we-PM what also NEG-say
 18 *'cămăi jet řisen-si-Ø-ta-le ra-Ø-du thaŋun*
 daughter work teach-REF-SAS-IPP-PCL come.from.level-SAS-NPT maybe
řa-to-le ni-ye torta-wa-du. 19 *'nan libi cămăi-kăi ni-ye*
 say-TPP-PCL we-ERG leave-1p→23-NPT now after daughter-PM we-ERG
bore loŋ-sa ma-măi' řah-Ø-u-no. 20 *'nan ka uniŋ*
 marriage do-INF NEG-must say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now this like
tha-řa-be, cămăi-kăi řamari daŋ-ko măi-Ø-du, su-ye woi
 be-CNS-TOP daughter-PM son.in.law search-ADH must-SAS-NPT who-ERG also
ma-hen' řa-to-le, di-ka mi-ye găi-găi řa-Ø-řa-n.
 NEG-take say-TPP-PCL one-HNC person-ERG I-PM say-SAS-1s-PT

15 'Now daughters have become more confident, and they only come home at night.' 16
 'These days when we ask 'where have you been?', they tell us 'I've just come back from a
 friend's house where I went.' 17 'Where they go, they don't tell us a thing.' 18 'Thinking
 that maybe our daughters will come back having learnt some new things, we let them go.' 19
 'And then we don't have to arrange the marriage of our daughters' he [the old man] said. 20
 'Now, things being like this, you have to go and search for a son-in-law [husband] for your
 daughter, but no one will take her', is what one man said to me.

BOYS THESE DAYS

1 *yamiryaŋ-ko ca-pali apa ama-ye ŋay-eŋ-du hara woi*
 nowadays-GEN son-p father mother-ERG say-pAS-NPT what also
ma-lony-eŋ ‘naka jet ʔisen-si-sa ya-ŋa-du’ ŋa-to-le gwi ban
 NEG-do-pAS new work teach-REF-INF go-1s-NPT say-TPP-PCL thief friend
nama yey-eŋ-du. 2 ka uniŋ, di-ka-ko ca jekha dese-te
 with go-pAS-NPT this like one-HNC-GEN son big village-LOC
hok-Ø-du. 3 to-ko apa ama nama, nembo-ko nem-te
 be-SAS-NPT that-GEN father mother with other.person-GEN house-LOC
hok-eŋ-thyo. 4 to ca-ye di-ka camăica nama bore loŋ-sa
 be-pAS-3SCOND that son-ERG one-HNC woman with marriage do-INF
daŋ-Ø-u-no. 5 ‘naka jet ʔisen-si-sa ya-ŋa-du’ ŋa-to-le
 search-SAS-3P-3→3/PT new work teach-REF-INF go-1s-NPT say-TPP-PCL
camăica nama ya-Ø-thyo. 6 ca apa ama-ko wakhe
 woman with go-SAS-3SCOND son father mother-GEN word
ma-nasăi-tiniŋ, oste-ko ma-ja-Ø-du jet-guri aʔthe
 NEG-hear-PFG self-GEN NEG-okay-SAS-NPT work-IND much
loŋ-Ø-u-thyo. 7 to-ko ka jet ni-to-le, camăica woi to
 do-SAS-3P-3SCOND that-GEN this work see-TPP-PCL woman also that
nama ălămtha thah-Ø-an. 8 di uni nama hok-eŋ-ta-le, camăica-ye
 with distant be-SAS-3S/PT one day with be-pAS-IPP-PCL woman-ERG
ŋah-Ø-u-no ‘naŋ nembo ban nama ma-cawa-tiniŋ, oste-ko
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT you other.person friend with NEG-walk-PFG self-GEN

1 Boys these days don't do anything that their parents tell them, 'I'm off to learn a new job' they say, and then go off with their thieving friends. 2 In this manner, the son of this one guy lives in a city [lit. big village]. 3 Together with his mother and father, they lived [took a room] in someone else's house. 4 That boy tried to get married to a woman. 5 Saying 'I'm off to learn a new job' he went off with that woman. 6 Without listening to his father and mother's words, that son would do many bad things. 7 Seeing what he was doing, that woman also left him. 8 One day, when sitting together, the woman said 'you shouldn't roam around with those friends of yours, rather do something meaningful for yourself!'

apraca jet loŋ-o!’ 9 *‘găi naŋ nama bore loŋ-si-ŋa-du.’*
 good work do-s→3/IMP I you with marriage do-REF-1s-NPT
 10 *‘ka uniŋ ma-thah-Ø-an-be, găi naŋ nama bore ma-loŋ-si’*
 this like NEG-be-sAS-3S/PT-TOP I you with marriage NEG-do-REF
ŋah-Ø-u-no. 11 *‘nan ka camăica ŋah-Ø-u-du gă-ye*
 say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT now this woman say-sAS-3P-NPT I-ERG
loŋ-u-n-uŋ-be, găi-go ban-pali rage thay-eŋ-du.’ 12 *‘ŋah-Ø-u-du*
 do-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT I-GEN friend-p anger be-pAS-NPT say-sAS-3P-NPT
uniŋ ma-loŋ-u-n-uŋ-be, camăica begale nama bore
 like NEG-do-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT-TOP woman other with marriage
loŋ-si-Ø-du’ ŋa-to-le thombe thah-Ø-an. 13 *tyaŋ nem-te*
 do-REF-sAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL surprise be-sAS-3S/PT then house-LOC
yah-Ø-an, rage let-Ø-ta-le, nem-ko baŋi sakalei
 go-sAS-3S/PT anger appear-sAS-IPP-PCL house-GEN pot all
ciy-Ø-u-no. 14 *ka ni-to-le, ama-ye kaŋtu-te*
 throw-sAS-3P-3→3/PT this see-TPP-PCL mother-ERG neck-LOC
cum-to-le, priŋ ci-let-Ø-u-no. 15 *to woi di-gore*
 hold-TPP-PCL outside CAUS-appear-sAS-3P-3→3/PT that also one-CLF
ăikuca cabu-to-le ban-pali nama yah-Ø-an. 16 *nem-yiŋ*
 large.knife carry-TPP-PCL friend-p with go-sAS-3S/PT house-ABL
let-Ø-ta-le, ban-ko-te hok-Ø-an, nembo ban woi
 appear-sAS-IPP-PCL friend-GEN-LOC be-sAS-3S/PT other.person friend also
to uniŋ hok-eŋ-thyo. 17 *apa ama-ye to-kăi*
 that like be-pAS-3SCOND father mother-ERG that-PM

9 ‘I will marry you [if you do as I say]’ [she said]. 10 ‘If you don’t mend your ways [lit. if it’s not like this], then I won’t marry you’, she said. 11 ‘Now if I do as this woman says, then my friends will get angry with me’ [he thought]. 12 ‘If I don’t do as she says, then my woman will marry someone else’, he thought and was totally shocked. 13 Then he went home, and becoming angry, threw all of the pots in the house around. 14 Seeing this, mother grabbed him by the neck and kicked him out. 15 And, carrying a big knife, he went off with his friends. 16 Leaving home, he lived in his friend’s house where there were also other friends just like him. 17 His parents didn’t look for him.

ma-dany-eŋ-no. 18 *'nan di uni isa cya-ko ma-nik,*
 NEG-search-pAS-3→3/PT now one day food eat-ADH NEG-receive
oste-ko nem-te ra-Ø-du' ŋa-to-le
 self-GEN house-LOC come.from.level-sAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL
ma-dany-eŋ-no. 19 *di uni, to uniŋ oli-ka ban cya-sa*
 NEG-search-pAS-3→3/PT one day that like four-HNC friend eat-INF
ma-nik-eŋ-ta-le, caway-eŋ-an. 20 *di-ka mi ulam-te*
 NEG-receive-pAS-IPP-PCL walk-pAS-3S/PT one-HNC person road-LOC
cawa-Ø-du beryaŋ, lak-te cum-eŋ-no ŋey-eŋ-no, to
 walk-sAS-NPT that.time hand-LOC hold-pAS-3→3/PT beat-pAS-3→3/PT that
nama hok-Ø-du pepelek kat-eŋ-no. 21 *to uni to-baŋ toŋ cici*
 with be-sAS-NPT money steal-pAS-3→3/PT that day that-Pp beer meat
cey-eŋ-an. 22 *nan baŋthe syaŋ-kăi cya-sa ma-hok.* 23 *jet woi*
 eat-pAS-3S/PT now tomorrow period-PM eat-INF NEG-be work also
ma-lony-eŋ, nan ŋiŋ cabu-sa-kăi aŋal-eŋ-du. 24 *to-baŋ-ko*
 NEG-do-pAS now stone carry-INF-PM shame-pAS-NPT that-Pp-GEN
ălănga ălănga mus, nam-Ø-du maŋ, thay-eŋ-ta-le caway-eŋ-du.
 long long hair smell-sAS-NPT cloth be-pAS-IPP-PCL walk-pAS-NPT
 25 *'nan hara jet loŋ-to-le cya-sa?'* 26 *di ʔa oli-ka ban*
 now what work do-TPP-PCL eat-INF one night four-HNC friend
jom-eŋ-ta-le wakhe lony-eŋ-no. 27 *di-ka nama*
 be.together-pAS-IPP-PCL word do-pAS-3→3/PT one-HNC with
hok-Ø-du pepelek-e toŋ cey-eŋ-an, ʔaye tha-ŋa libi ulam-te
 be-sAS-NPT money-INS beer eat-pAS-3S/PT night be-CNS after road-LOC

18 Thinking 'now one day, when he has nothing to eat, he will come home', his parents didn't go looking for him. 19 One day, in this way, not having enough to eat, [he and] four friends set off walking. 20 When [they saw] a man walking along the road, they grabbed his hands and beat him, and stole all the money that he had with him. 21 That day they drank beer and ate meat. 22 Now there is nothing to eat for tomorrow. 23 They didn't work and they were too ashamed [proud] to carry rocks. 24 They walk around with their long long hair and their smelly clothes. 25 'Now what shall we do to eat?' [they said]. 26 One night, the four friends being together, talked about their plans. 27 They drank beer with the money that one of them had with him, and then, once night had fallen, they walked along the road, each of them carrying a large knife.

di-di-gore *ăikuca* *cabuy-eŋ-to-le* *caway-eŋ-an.* 28 *nan su*
 one-one-CLF large.knife carry-pAS-TPP-PCL walk-pAS-3S/PT now who
mi *khalam-eŋ-du,* *to-kăi* *ăikuca-ye* *pal-eŋ-to-le,* *to* *nama*
 person meet-pAS-NPT that-PM large.knife-ERG chop-pAS-TPP-PCL that with
hok-Ø-du *pepelek kat-sa-kăi.* 29 *caway-eŋ-du* *beryəŋ,* *nis-ka*
 be-sAS-NPT money steal-INF-PM walk-pAS-NPT that.time two-HNC
mi *ulam-te* *ɬaye* *caway-eŋ-du* *niy-eŋ-no.* 30 *di-ka-ye*
 person road-LOC night walk-pAS-NPT see-pAS-3→3/PT one-HNC-ERG
ŋah-Ø-u-no *‘ban-pali,* *nan ka* *mi-pali-kăi* *ŋe-to-le* *ka-baŋ-ko*
 say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT friend-p now this person-p-PM beat-TPP-PCL this-Pp-GEN
pepelek kat-ko *măi-Ø-du,* *tyəŋ cya-ko* *măi-Ø-du.’* 31 *sakalei-ye*
 money steal-ADH must-sAS-NPT then eat-ADH must-sAS-NPT all-ERG
‘ja-Ø-du’ *ŋay-eŋ-no,* *to* *mi-pali-kăi* *yey-eŋ-ta-le*
 okay-sAS-NPT say-pAS-3→3/PT that person-p-PM go-pAS-IPP-PCL
cum-eŋ-no, *to-bany-e* *woi to-baŋ-ko* *lak cum-eŋ-no.*
 hold-pAS-3→3/PT that-Pp-ERG also that-Pp-GEN hand hold-pAS-3→3/PT
 32 *aye* *mi-te* *to* *nis-ka-ko* *hara tha-Ø-thyo.*
 many person-LOC that two-HNC-GEN what be-sAS-3SCOND
 33 *nis-ka-kăi* *oli-ka-ye* *lak-te* *ăikuca-ye* *pal-eŋ-no.*
 two-HNC-PM four-HNC-ERG hand-LOC large.knife-INS chop-pAS-3→3/PT
 34 *nis-ka* *to-te* *ɬiɬiy-eŋ-an,* *to-baŋ* *nama* *hok-Ø-du*
 two-HNC that-LOC fall.from.level-pAS-3S/PT that-Pp with be-sAS-NPT
sakalei pepelek hen-eŋ-no. 35 *hen-eŋ-to-le,* *to* *uni ahe*
 all money take-pAS-3→3/PT take-pAS-TPP-PCL that day much

28 Now whoever they should meet, they would chop him with their knives in order to steal whatever money he had with him. 29 As they walked, they saw two people walking along the road at night. 30 One of them said ‘hey friends, we should beat these guys up, steal their money and then get something to eat.’ 31 They all said ‘okay’, and going up to those people, grabbed them and also grabbed their arms. 32 Since there were so many of them, what could those poor two guys do. 33 The four of them chopped at the arms of those two guys. 34 Those two fell down right there, and they [the thieves] took all the money they had with them. 35 Having taken the money, that day they ate a huge amount.

cey-eŋ-an. 36 *băsinŋe thah-Ø-an, to nis-ka mi*
 eat-pAS-3S/PT morning be-sAS-3S/PT that two-HNC person
ŋiŋi-y-eŋ-du lak-yiŋ coi let-Ø-du niy-eŋ-to-le,
 fall.from.level-pAS-NPT hand-ABL blood appear-sAS-NPT see-pAS-TPP-PCL
ulam caway-eŋ-du mi-pali-ye usare loŋ-Ø-u-du ʔhăi-te
 road walk-pAS-NPT person-p-ERG medicine do-sAS-3P-NPT place-LOC
hen-eŋ-no. 37 *libi ‘niŋ-kăi hara tha-ni-n?’ ŋa-to-le*
 take-pAS-3→3/PT after you(p)-PM what be-2p-PT say-TPP-PCL
ŋay-eŋ-du beryaŋ ‘ni ulam caway-i-du beryaŋ, oli-ka mi
 say-pAS-NPT that.time we road walk-1pPS-NPT that.time four-HNC person
kyel-eŋ-ta-le, ni-kăi ŋey-i-n, pal-i-n, ni nama hok-Ø-du
 come-pAS-IPP-PCL we-PM beat-1pPS-PT chop-1pPS-PT we with be-sAS-NPT
sakalei pepelek hen-eŋ-no’ ŋa-to-le kerep-eŋ-an. 38 *nan*
 all money take-pAS-3→3/PT say-TPP-PCL cry-pAS-3S/PT now
to-baŋ-kăi daŋ-sa mi caway-eŋ-an. 39 *to isyaŋ begale*
 that-Pp-PM search-INF person walk-pAS-3S/PT that period other
ʔhăi-te woi ăikuca-ye pal-eŋ-no ŋa-to-le nasăiy-eŋ-no.
 place-LOC also large.knife-INS chop-pAS-3→3/PT say-TPP-PCL hear-pAS-3→3/PT
 40 *daŋ-sa mi-pali to dăi dorok-eŋ-an, libi di-ka*
 search-INF person-p that towards run-pAS-3S/PT after one-HNC
lak-te ăikuca cabu-to-le dorok-Ø-du niy-eŋ-no.
 hand-LOC large.knife carry-TPP-PCL run-sAS-NPT see-pAS-3→3/PT
 41 *dany-eŋ-du mi-pali woi libi libi yey-eŋ-ta-le*
 search-pAS-NPT person-p also after after go-pAS-IPP-PCL

36 Then it was morning, and people walking along the road saw blood pouring from the arms of those two fallen guys, and they took them to the hospital [lit. medicine do place]. 37 Then when they asked ‘what happened to you(p)?’ they replied ‘we were walking along the road when four people came and beat us, chopped us, and then made off with all our money’, they cried. 38 Then people went off to find those guys [the thieves]. 39 On that day they heard that these guys had been chopping with their knives in other places also. 40 The search party ran towards that place, and then they saw one person carrying a large knife and running away. 41 The search party went after him and eventually caught him.

cum-eŋ-no. 42 *libi to-kǎi ray-eŋ-to-le ɲey-eŋ-no*
 hold-pAS-3→3/PT after that-PM bring-pAS-TPP-PCL beat-pAS-3→3/PT
 ‘*naŋ-ko ban su su hok-eŋ-du? ɲa-se!*’ *ɲay-eŋ-no.*
 you-GEN friend who who be-pAS-NPT say-s→1p/IMP say-pAS-3→3/PT
 43 *libi sakalei ban-pali cikhet-Ø-u-no, ban-pali hok-eŋ-du*
 after all friend-p show-SAS-3P-3→3/PT friend-p be-pAS-NPT
thǎi-te hen-Ø-u-no. 44 *ban-pali hok-eŋ-du thǎi-te, to woi*
 place-LOC take-SAS-3P-3→3/PT friend-p be-pAS-NPT place-LOC that also
ami-Ø-thyo, to-te ahe ǎikuca, toŋ, cey-eŋ-du baŋi
 sleep-SAS-3SECOND that-LOC many large.knife beer eat-pAS-NPT *pot*
khalam-eŋ-no. 45 *libi to begale sum-ka ban-pali-kǎi woi*
 meet-pAS-3→3/PT after that other three-HNC friend-p-PM also
cum-eŋ-no, nalen oli-ka cahuca-pali begale nem duŋ-ɲaŋ
 hold-pAS-3→3/PT present four-HNC man-p other house within-inside
hok-eŋ-du.
 be-pAS-NPT

42 Then they brought him back and beat him, asking him ‘your friends, who are they? Tell us!’ 43 Then he showed them who all his friends were and took them to the place that they lived. 44 He also slept in the place that his friends lived, and in that place they [the search party] found many knives, beer and cooking pots. 45 Then they caught the other three friends, and now, all four men are living inside another house [i.e. jail].

DAUGHTER-IN-LAW

1 *ca sarma thah-Ø-an, jekha thah-Ø-an, nan apa ama-kăi*
 son strong be-SAS-3S/PT big be-SAS-3S/PT now father mother-PM
wari daŋ-sa kuta hen-sa uniŋ thah-Ø-an. 2 *‘nan ca*
 daughter.in.law search-INF where go-INF like be-SAS-3S/PT now son
bore ma-loŋ-ŋa libi, cacha-ko khen yo-sa ma-khalam’
 marriage NEG-do-CNS after grandchild-GEN face look.at-INF NEG-receive
ka uniŋ ŋa-to-le, nis-ka ʃhone ʃhoŋi wakhe lony-eŋ-no.
 this like say-TPP-PCL two-HNC old.man old.woman word do-PAS-3→3/PT
 3 *to-baŋ-ko nem-te oli-ka hok-eŋ-thyo, uma, lawa, ca,*
 that-Pp-GEN house-LOC four-HNC be-PAS-3SECOND wife husband son
di-ka camăi. 4 *apa phase ne-sa yante-ko jet*
 one-HNC daughter father flour grind-INF quern-GEN work
loŋ-Ø-u-thyo, uma raŋ-te, camăi nem-ko sakalei
 do-SAS-3P-3SECOND wife unirrigated.field-LOC daughter house-GEN all
jet loŋ-Ø-u-thyo, ca jet ʃisen-si-sa ya-Ø-thyo. 5 *ka*
 work do-SAS-3P-3SECOND son work teach-REF-INF go-SAS-3SECOND this
uniŋ jet lony-eŋ-thyo. 6 *di uni ca-kăi bore loŋ-sa*
 like work do-PAS-3SECOND one day son-PM marriage do-INF
ŋa-to-le, apa camăica daŋ-sa cawah-Ø-an. 7 *ălămtha-te*
 say-TPP-PCL father woman search-INF walk-SAS-3S/PT distant-LOC
di-ka camăica khalam-Ø-u-no, camăica-ko apa ama-kăi
 one-HNC woman meet-SAS-3P-3→3/PT woman-GEN father mother-PM

1 The son was strong and mature, and the parents were thinking about where to find a daughter-in-law. 2 ‘If our son doesn’t get married [soon], then we won’t get to see the faces of our grandchildren’, said the old man and old woman. 3 Four people lived in their house: wife, husband, son and one daughter. 4 Father would work grinding flour in the handmill, mother in the fields, daughter would do all the housework and son would go off to learn new things. 5 This is the way that they would work. 6 One day, saying that his son should get married, father went off searching for a woman. 7 He found a woman in a place far-away, and having discussed it with the woman’s father and mother, the son was married.

ŋa-to-le, ca-ko bore loŋ-Ø-u-no. 8 yaŋ baŋhe nan
 say-TPP-PCL son-GEN marriage do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT today tomorrow now
nem-ko jet wari-ye loŋ-Ø-u-no. 9 camăi-ye
 house-GEN work daughter.in.law-ERG do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT daughter-ERG
loŋ-sa jet sakalei wari-ye loŋ-Ø-u-no.
 do-INF work all daughter.in.law-ERG do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
 10 *wari woi sǎi-Ø-du mi hok-Ø-thyo, libi*
 daughter.in.law also know-SAS-NPT person be-SAS-3SCOND after
wari woi begale thǎi jet loŋ-sa yah-Ø-an. 11 ca
 daughter.in.law also other place work do-INF go-SAS-3S/PT son
bore loŋ-le woi, oste-ko jet loŋ-Ø-u-no. 12 nan
 marriage do-PCL also self-GEN work do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now
wari-kǎi ulam-te hara woi tha-Ø-du ŋa-to-le,
 daughter.in.law-PM road-LOC what also be-SAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL
chuku-ye nama nama jet loŋ-sa thǎi-te hen-Ø-u-no.
 father.in.law-ERG with with work do-INF place-LOC take-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
 13 *nyoŋi woi wari-kǎi jet loŋ-sa thǎi-te ya-kǎi-sa*
 evening also daughter.in.law-PM work do-INF place-LOC go-remove-INF
thah-Ø-an. 14 libi wari-ye nem-ko sakalei jet
 be-SAS-3S/PT after daughter.in.law-ERG house-GEN all work
loŋ-Ø-u-du ni-to-le, apa ama-ye woi wari-kǎi
 do-SAS-3P-NPT see-TPP-PCL father mother-ERG also daughter.in.law-PM
apraca lony-eŋ-du ni-to-le, camăi-kǎi rage let-Ø-an.
 good do-PAS-NPT see-TPP-PCL daughter-PM anger appear-SAS-3S/PT

8 And those days, daughter-in-law did all the housework. 9 The daughter-in-law did all of the daughter's work. 10 The daughter-in-law was a bright woman, and later went off to work in a different place. 11 The son, despite being married, continued doing his own work. 12 Then, afraid of what might happen on the road, father-in-law took the daughter-in-law to the place of her work. 13 In the evening, he also went and picked her up from the place of work. 14 Later, seeing that daughter-in-law was doing all the housework, and seeing that father and mother were very loving to her, daughter became angry.

- 15 *nan poiri-ko ma-ja-Ø-du wakhe ama-kăi*
 now elder.brother's.wife-GEN NEG-okay-SAS-NPT word mother-PM
ci-nasăi-to-le, to nama cijyaŋ-sa ma-ja-Ø-du
 CAUS-hear-TPP-PCL that with speak-INF NEG-okay-SAS-NPT
ci-loŋ-Ø-u-no. 16 ka wakhe nasăi-to-le ama-ye woi
 CAUS-do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT this word hear-TPP-PCL mother-ERG also
'camăi-be găi-go, wari nembo-ko, găi-go camăi-kăi
 daughter-TOP I-GEN daughter.in.law other.person-GEN I-GEN daughter-PM
ci-kerep-Ø-u-du.' 17 nan ma-jah-Ø-an, ca-kăi ŋa-to-le
 CAUS-cry-SAS-3P-NPT now NEG-okay-SAS-3S/PT son-PM say-TPP-PCL
'ci-let-ko măiy-Ø-an, wari-kăi' ŋah-Ø-u-no.
 CAUS-appear-ADH must-SAS-3S/PT daughter.in.law-PM say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
 18 *di uni ca jet-yiŋ rah-Ø-an, ama-ye*
 one day son work-ABL come.from.level-SAS-3S/PT mother-ERG
humi-ye tha-Ø-du ma-tha-Ø-du sakalei
 younger.sister-ERG be-SAS-NPT NEG-be-SAS-NPT all
poiri-ko wakhe lony-eŋ-no. 19 ca sumaka
 elder.brother's.wife-GEN word do-PAS-3→3/PT son silent
hok-Ø-ta-le nasăiy-Ø-u-no. 20 nyoŋi apa nama uma
 be-SAS-IPP-PCL hear-SAS-3P-3→3/PT evening father with wife
ra-Ø-du nih-Ø-u-no, to-ye woi rage mesek-e
 come.from.level-SAS-NPT see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-ERG also anger eye-ERG
uma-kăi yoh-Ø-u-no. 21 to nama habi uma-ye baŋkal
 wife-PM look.at-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that with before wife-ERG stomach

15 Now, having told mother about the bad things that her elder brother's wife had said, she made her [mother] stop speaking to her [daughter-in-law]. 16 Hearing this, mother also thought 'well, this daughter is mine but the daughter-in-law is someone else's, and she makes my daughter cry.' 17 This was no good, so she spoke to her son saying 'we have to get rid of daughter-in-law.' 18 One day when son returned home from work, his mother and younger sister told him all the things that his wife had and hadn't done. 19 Son sat in silence and listened. 20 In the evening he saw his wife coming home with his father and he looked at her with angry eyes. 21 She had told him earlier that her stomach hurt.

- kalăi-Ø-du* *ŋah-Ø-u-thyo.* 22 *‘nan ka uma găi-găi ma-ja*
hurt-SAS-NPT say-SAS-3P-3SCOND now this wife I-PM NEG-okay
- thaŋjun’* *ŋah-Ø-u-no.* 23 *ɬaye ami-Ø-du ɬăi-te usare*
maybe say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT night sleep-SAS-NPT place-LOC medicine
- ŋa-to-le,* *si-sa usare,* *piy-Ø-u-no.* 24 *‘ma-cya’*
say-TPP-PCL die-INF medicine give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT NEG-eat
- ŋah-Ø-u-du woi, lak-e ugo-te tham-Ø-u-no.* 25 *nan*
say-SAS-3P-NPT also hand-INS mouth-LOC insert-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now
- ama humi-ko wakhe nasăi-to-le, oste-ko uma sat-sa*
mother younger.sister-GEN word hear-TPP-PCL self-GEN wife kill-INF
- daŋ-Ø-u-no.* 26 *si-sa usare uma-ko okyok duŋ-ŋaŋ*
search-SAS-3P-3→3/PT die-INF medicine wife-GEN throat within-inside
- tham-Ø-u-no.* 27 *ɬaye uma-kăi yoh-Ø-u-no, uma*
insert-SAS-3P-3→3/PT night wife-PM look.at-SAS-3P-3→3/PT wife
- si-Ø-du nih-Ø-u-no.* 28 *uma si-Ø-du ni-to-le, oste woi*
die-SAS-NPT see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT wife die-SAS-NPT see-TPP-PCL self also
- si-Ø-du uniŋ thah-Ø-an.* 29 *băsințe aji-ye*
die-SAS-NPT like be-SAS-3S/PT morning mother.in.law-ERG
- wari ca hara-kăi ma-serek-eŋ-an ŋa-to-le*
daughter.in.law son what-PM NEG-arise-pAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL
- ya-yoh-Ø-u-no.* 30 *khaŋou ɬaŋ-Ø-u-no, nis-ka woi*
go-look.at-SAS-3P-3→3/PT door open-SAS-3P-3→3/PT two-HNC also
- siy-eŋ-du uniŋ nih-Ø-u-no.* 31 *ci-serek-Ø-u-no, ca-guri*
die-pAS-NPT like see-SAS-3P-3→3/PT CAUS-arise-SAS-3P-3→3/PT son-IND

22 ‘Maybe this wife is no good for me’, he thought. 23 At night, in the bedroom, he gave her medicine, that’s to say, poison [lit. to die medicine]. 24 Although she said ‘I won’t eat it’, he shoved it into her mouth with his hand. 25 So, having listened to the words of his mother and sister, he tried to kill his own wife. 26 He put the poison deep down his wife’s throat. 27 At night, he looked in on his wife, and he saw that she was dying. 28 When he saw his wife dying, he felt like dying himself. 29 In the morning, wondering why her daughter-in-law and son hadn’t gotten up, mother-in-law went to look. 30 She opened the door and saw the two of them looking as if they were dead. 31 She tried to wake them up, and the son got up but the daughter-in-law didn’t.

serek-Ø-an, wari ma-serek-Ø-an. 32 wari-ko
 arise-SAS-3S/PT daughter.in.law NEG-arise-SAS-3S/PT daughter.in.law-GEN
ugo-yiŋ phapphap let-le hok-Ø-thyo. 33 nan wari
 mouth-ABL foam appear-PCL be-SAS-3SCOND now daughter.in.law
si-Ø-ta-le ŋa-to-le, hen-eŋ-to-le jyouy-eŋ-no. 34 libi
 die-SAS-IPP-PCL say-TPP-PCL take-pAS-TPP-PCL burn-pAS-3→3/PT after
ka wakhe wari-ko apa-ye nasăiy-Ø-u-no ‘găi-go
 this work daughter.in.law-GEN father-ERG hear-SAS-3P-3→3/PT I-GEN
camăi kunyaŋ siy-Ø-an?’ ŋa-to-le ŋah-Ø-u-no. 35 ‘camăi
 daughter how die-SAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL say-AS-3P-3→3/PT daughter
oste ma-siy-Ø-an, damari aji thay-eŋ-ta-le
 self NEG-die-SAS-3S/PT son.in.law mother.in.law be-pAS-IPP-PCL
sat-eŋ-no’ ŋa-to-le sakalei-kăi ŋah-Ø-u-no. 36 libi
 kill-pAS-3→3/PT say-TPP-PCL all-PM say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after
aji damari-kăi ‘uma sat-n-u-n’ ŋay-eŋ-to-le
 mother.in.law son.in.law-PM wife kill-2p-3P-PT say-pAS-TPP-PCL
cum-eŋ-no. 37 libi kerep-Ø-ta-le ‘uma găi-go, gă-ye ama
 hold-pAS-3→3/PT after cry-SAS-IPP-PCL wife I-GEN I-ERG mother
humi-ko wakhe nasăiy-u-n-uŋ, tyay gă-ye uma
 younger.sister-GEN word hear-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT then I-ERG wife
sat-u-n-uŋ’ ŋah-Ø-u-no. 38 naley to woi wagal uniŋ
 kill-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT present that also henhouse like
thăi-te hok-le hok-Ø-du.
 place-LOC be-PCL be-SAS-NPT

32 Foam was dribbling from daughter-in-law's mouth. 33 Now, since daughter-in-law was dead, they took her off and burnt her. 34 Later, the daughter-in-law's father came to hear of this, and said 'how did my daughter die?' 35 'My daughter didn't die on her own, she was killed by that son-in-law and mother-in-law together', he told everyone. 36 Later, saying 'you killed your wife' they held the mother-in-law and son-in-law. 37 Then, crying he said 'yes, [I killed] my wife, I listened to my mother and sister's words and killed her.' 38 At present he is living in a place rather like a henhouse [jail].

SON IS KILLED

1 *camăi nik-Ø-du sum uni-ye, wagal uniŋ nem-te*
 daughter give.birth-SAS-NPT three day-ERG henhouse like house-LOC
di-ka camăica kerep-Ø-du. 2 *kutaleŋ huca kerep-Ø-du beryaŋ*
 one-HNC woman cry-SAS-NPT when child cry-SAS-NPT that.time
cyocyo yah-Ø-u-du, kutaleŋ mesek-yiŋ ros-Ø-du raphil
 breast feed-SAS-3P-NPT when eye-ABL fall-SAS-NPT tear
thor-si-Ø-du. 3 *ka-basa dha-basa yo-to-le,*
 wipe.away-REF-SAS-NPT this-side that.distant-side look.at-TPP-PCL
kokorok-si-Ø-du. 4 *to-ko loŋsek them-Ø-du uniŋ, bampre*
 be.bent-REF-SAS-NPT that-GEN heart break-SAS-NPT like rib
pheŋek-Ø-ta-le ra-Ø-du. 5 *naleŋ to-kăi ca*
 be.torn-SAS-IPP-PCL come.from.level-SAS-NPT present that-PM son
sat-to-le ahe kerep-ko măi-le hok-Ø-du. 6 *to-ye*
 kill-TPP-PCL much cry-ADH must-PCL be-SAS-NPT that-ERG
ŋah-Ø-u-du ‘găi-găi dese mi-ye hara ŋay-eŋ-an thaŋun?
 say-SAS-3P-NPT I-PM village person-ERG what say-pAS-3S/PT maybe
oste-ko ca sat-Ø-u-du, ‘moro’ ŋay-eŋ-ŋa-du thaŋun.’
 self-GEN son kill-SAS-3P-NPT corpse say-pAS-1s-NPT maybe
 7 *‘tha-sa-be, nan găi-go sat-sa jet thah-Ø-an.’* 8 *‘gă-ye*
 be-INF-TOP now I-GEN kill-INF work be-SAS-3S/PT I-ERG
ma-loŋ-sa jet loŋ-u-n-uŋ.’ 9 *‘tha-sa-be, nem-te-ko hara*
 NEG-do-INF work do-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT be-INF-TOP house-LOC-GEN what

1 Having given birth to a daughter three days earlier, the woman is crying in jail [lit. ‘henhouse-like house’]. 2 Sometimes she gives the child her breast to suckle on, other times she wipes away tears that fall from her own eyes. 3 Looking this way and that, she sits bent over and crumpled. 4 Her heart feels as if it will break, her ribs feel as if they have been torn apart. 5 Having killed her son, she now needs to cry a great deal. 6 She thinks to herself, ‘what do the villagers think of me? Maybe they’re calling me a ‘corpse’ for killing my own son.’ 7 ‘That may be, but now the killing that I had to do is done’ [she thought]. 8 ‘I did something which I shouldn’t have done.’ 9 ‘Well, it may well be that he didn’t steal much from the house, but he did steal flour, oil and clarified butter.’

woi ma-gwi-y-Ø-u-no, nem-ŋaŋ hok-Ø-du phase, asa,
 also NEG-steal-sAS-3P-3→3/PT house-inside be-sAS-NPT flour oil
mar-be gwi-y-Ø-u-no.’ 10 ‘nembo-ko nem-te
 clarified.butter-TOP steal-sAS-3P-3→3/PT other.person-GEN house-LOC
gwi-to-le, gǎi-gǎi rage let-ŋa-n.’ 11 aŋkhe-te sum uni-ko huca
 steal-TPP-PCL I-PM anger appear-1s-PT lap-LOC three day-GEN child
kerep-Ø-du. 12 bu-si-Ø-du miŋ phet-to-le, huca-kǎi
 cry-sAS-NPT cover-REF-sAS-NPT cloth undo.clothes-TPP-PCL child-PM
cyocyo piy-Ø-u-du. 13 to ucyaca huca sumaka hok-Ø-du, cyocyo
 breast give-sAS-3P-NPT that small child silent be-sAS-NPT breast
cya-Ø-du. 14 tyaŋ libi cyocyo cya-Ø-du, huca-kǎi yoh-Ø-u-du,
 eat-sAS-NPT then after breast eat-sAS-NPT child-PM look.at-sAS-3P-NPT
oste-ko mesek-yiŋ raphil ci-let-to-le kerep-Ø-du. 15 to-ko
 self-GEN eye-ABL tear CAUS-appear-TPP-PCL cry-sAS-NPT that-GEN
raphil aŋkhe-ko huca-ko ugo-te bi-Ø-du, chya se-Ø-du
 tear lap-GEN child-GEN mouth-LOC enter-sAS-NPT salt taste-sAS-NPT
thaŋun, huca-ye cyocyo cya-sa tortah-Ø-u-du. 16 tha-sa-be, sum
 maybe child-ERG breast eat-INF leave-sAS-3P-NPT be-INF-TOP three
uni-ko huca-kǎi hara chya se-Ø-du, hara chya ma-se?
 day-GEN child-PM what salt taste-sAS-NPT what salt NEG-taste
 17 ‘gǎi-go ama hara-kǎi kerep-Ø-du?’ ŋa-to-le, to-kǎi hara?
 I-GEN mother what-PM cry-sAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL that-PM what
 18 to-be isa-ye karǎi-Ø-du, ama-ko cyocyo cya-Ø-du, kiŋi
 that-TOP food-INS shout-sAS-NPT mother-GEN breast eat-sAS-NPT shit

10 ‘Stealing [as he did] from other people’s house, I became angry.’ 11 The three-day-old child in her lap cries. 12 Taking off the clothes she is wearing, she offers the child her breast. 13 Then that baby is silent, and suckles at the breast. 14 She then looks at the child suckling at her breast, thus causing tears to stream from her eyes, and she cries. 15 Her tears [fall and] enter the mouth of the baby in her lap, and perhaps because they taste salty, the child stops suckling at her breast. 16 It’s possible, but what would a three-day-old baby know about salty or not salty? 17 Thinking ‘why is my mother crying?’, what would that child know? 18 [What does the baby know], when she’s hungry she suckles at her mother’s breast, then she shits in her mother’s lap.

let-Ø-du, ama-ko aṅkhe-te tah-Ø-u-du. 19 to-kǎi hara
 appear-SAS-NPT mother-GEN lap-LOC release-SAS-3P-NPT that-PM what
bubu siy-Ø-an ṅa-to-le, to woi jekha tha-ṅa libi,
 elder.brother die-SAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL that also big be-CNS after
thaha sāi-Ø-du ra? 20 nan habi-ko wakhe
 knowledge know-SAS-NPT or now before-GEN word
ra-Ø-du, ‘gǎ-ye ṅe-sa woi tunyaṅ
 come.from.level-SAS-NPT I-ERG beat-INF also in.that.manner
ma-ja-Ø-thyo.’ 21 naleṅ oste-kǎi ari tha-Ø-du, ṅeh-u-n-du
 NEG-okay-SAS-3SCOND present self-PM fear be-SAS-NPT beat-3P-1s→3-NPT
beryaṅ ‘gǎi-gǎi ma-ṅe-ṅa, gǎi si-ṅa-n, nan-yiṅ gǎ-ye
 that.time I-PM NEG-beat-s→1s/IMP I die-1s-PT now-ABL I-ERG
ma-gwi, su-ko woi, hara woi ma-loṅ, nem-te hok-ṅa-du.’
 NEG-steal who-GEN also what also NEG-do house-LOC be-1s-NPT
 22 *‘humi yoh-u-n-du, nany-e ṅah-u-na-du jet*
 younger.sister look.at-3P-1s→3-NPT you-ERG say-3P-2s-NPT work
loṅ-u-n-du.’ 23 ka uniṅ wakhe to-ko kulla-te nasǎi-Ø-thyo.
 do-3P-1s→3-NPT this like word that-GEN ear-LOC hear-SAS-3SCOND
 24 *‘nan hara loṅ-sa? habi-ko rage let-ta-ṅa-le,*
 now what do-INF before-GEN anger appear-IPP-1s-PCL
sat-u-n-uṅ, nan tap-Ø-an.’ 25 libi wagal uniṅ
 kill-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT now be.finish-SAS-3S/PT after henhouse like
nem-ko khaṇou ṭaṅ-Ø-du, to ari-Ø-ta-le kin-Ø-du.
 house-GEN door open-SAS-NPT that fear-SAS-IPP-PCL be.startled-SAS-NPT

19 What does she [the child] know about her elder brother dying, but when she is older, will she know? 20 Then memories of what happened come flooding back ‘I shouldn’t have beat him like that.’ 21 Then it was his time to be afraid, when she beat him [he said] ‘don’t beat me! I am dying, from now on I won’t steal anymore, I won’t take anything from anyone, I will stay at home.’ 22 ‘I will look after my little sister, I will do what you say’ [he had said]. 23 These were the words that she heard ringing in her ears. 24 ‘What is there left to do now? In my earlier rage, I killed him, now it’s all over.’ 25 Then the jailhouse door opened, and being frightened, she was startled.

- 26 *to uniŋ nembo mi-pali woi nama hok-eŋ-du.* 27 *libi*
 that like other.person person-p also with be-pAS-NPT after
to-kǎi ŋay-eŋ-du ‘kunyaŋ, hara-kǎi ca sat-u-na-n?’ ŋa-to-le.
 that-PM say-pAS-NPT how what-PM son kill-3P-2s-PT say-TPP-PCL
- 28 *to-ye ŋah-Ø-u-du ‘habi habi woi gǎi-go ca-ye*
 that-ERG say-sAS-3P-NPT before before also I-GEN son-ERG
gwi-Ø-u-thyo, gǎ-ye hani ŋah-u-n-uŋ, to
 steal-sAS-3P-3SECOND I-ERG how.much say-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT that-ERG
ma-loŋ-Ø-u-no.’ 29 *‘libi jekha thah-Ø-an, ahe ahe*
 NEG-do-sAS-3P-3→3/PT after big be-sAS-3S/PT much much
gwi-to-le hen-Ø-u-no.’ 30 *‘libi dese mi-ko woi gwi-sa*
 steal-TPP-PCL take-sAS-3P-3→3/PT after village person-GEN also steal-INF
cawah-Ø-an.’ 31 *‘dese mi-ye ‘naŋ-ko ca gwi tha-Ø-du,*
 walk-sAS-3S/PT village person-ERG you-GEN son thief be-sAS-NPT
oste-ko nem-te nah-o!’ ŋay-eŋ-ŋa-n.’ 32 *‘dese mi habi*
 self-GEN house-LOC put-s→3/IMP say-pAS-1s-PT village person before
khen cikhet-sa aŋal-ŋa-n.’ 33 *‘tyaŋ libi kutaleŋ kutaleŋ-be, gǎ-ye*
 face show-INF be.ashamed-1s-PT then after when when-TOP I-ERG
cya-sa woi ma-piy-u-n-uŋ.’ 34 *‘to-kǎi nem-te ami-sa woi*
 eat-INF also NEG-give-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT that-PM house-LOC sleep-INF also
ma-piy-u-n-uŋ.’ 35 *‘to loŋ-to-le woi kutaleŋ woi*
 NEG-give-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT that do-TPP-PCL also when also
ma-jah-Ø-an, rage let-ŋa-n, maŋ-ŋaŋ me-ye
 NEG-okay-sAS-3S/PT anger appear-1s-PT body-inside fire-INS

26 There are other people like her with whom she lives. 27 Later they ask her ‘how and why did you kill your son?’ 28 And she says ‘my son had been stealing for ages and ages already, how many times had I told him [to stop it], but he didn’t do as I said.’ 29 ‘Then he grew up and made off with tonnes of stolen stuff.’ 30 ‘Later he also started stealing from other villagers.’ 31 ‘The villagers said to me ‘your son is a thief, keep him in your own home!’’ 32 ‘I was ashamed of showing my face in the presence of villagers.’ 33 ‘And thereafter, I would sometimes not give him [my son] anything to eat.’ 34 ‘I didn’t even let him sleep at home anymore.’ 35 ‘Even doing this, things never improved, and in anger, I burnt his body with fire.’

- jyauh-u-n-uŋ.*’ 36 ‘*gǎ-ye huca nik-ŋa libi, cya-sa-kǎi phase*
burn-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT I-ERG child give.birth-CNS after eat-INF-PM flour
mar nah-u-n-thyo.’ 37 ‘*gǎ-ye guru-kǎi apa-kǎi*
clarified.butter put-3P-1s→3-3SECOND I-ERG shaman-PM father-PM
urou-le nah-u-n-thyo, libi ca dese-yiŋ kyel-Ø-an.’
call-PCL put-3P-1s→3-3SECOND after son village-ABL come-SAS-3S/PT
38 ‘*gǎ-ye ca-kǎi ‘mar kuta hen-u-na-n?’ ŋah-u-n-uŋ,*
I-ERG son-PM clarified.butter where take-3P-2s-PT say-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT
ma-cijyaŋ-Ø-an.’ 39 ‘*tyaŋ libi serek-ta-ŋa-le, to-kǎi*
NEG-speak-SAS-3S/PT then after arise-IPP-1s-PCL that-PM
ŋeh-u-n-uŋ, mesek-e ma-nih-u-n-uŋ, hani
beat-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT eye-INS NEG-see-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT how.much
ŋeh-u-n-uŋ.’ 40 ‘*to-ko nis-gore lak sakpa-ye chyu-tuŋ-le*
beat-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT that-GEN two-CLF hand rope-INS tie-1s/TPP-PCL
nah-u-n-uŋ, kerep-Ø-an, ‘gǎi-gǎi ma-ŋe-ŋa!’ ŋa-to-le
put-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT cry-SAS-3S/PT I-PM NEG-beat-s→1s/IMP say-TPP-PCL
ŋa-Ø-ŋa-n.’ 41 ‘*nis-gore mesek-yiŋ raphil ci-let-Ø-u-no,*
say-SAS-1s-PT two-CLF eye-ABL tear CAUS-appear-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
khen-te coi hok-Ø-thyo.’ 42 ‘*libi to-ko maŋ warǎiy-Ø-an,*
face-LOC blood be-SAS-3SECOND after that-GEN body shake-SAS-3S/PT
to-ko kapu-yiŋ coi let-le hok-Ø-thyo.’ 43 ‘*konŋe-ko*
that-GEN head-ABL blood appear-PCL be-SAS-3SECOND leg-GEN
pokolek-te-ko sebi khit-le hok-Ø-thyo.’ 44 ‘*libi ugo*
knee-LOC-GEN skin peel.off-PCL be-SAS-3SECOND after mouth

36 ‘After having given birth to the baby, I had stored up some flour and clarified butter to eat.’ 37 ‘I had called the shaman and father, and later son came back from the village.’ 38 ‘I said to son ‘where have you taken the clarified butter?’, but he didn’t reply.’ 39 ‘Then I got up and beat him, not seeing out of my eyes, who knows how much I beat him.’ 40 ‘I tied his hands together with rope and he cried out to me, saying ‘don’t beat me!’’ 41 ‘Tears streamed from both of his eyes and there was blood on his face.’ 42 ‘Then his body shook and blood started coming from his head.’ 43 ‘The skin was peeling off his knees.’ 44 ‘Then he opened his mouth and at that time he may have asked for water.’

taŋ-Ø-u-no, to beryaŋ to-ye paŋku amat-Ø-u-du thaŋun.
 open-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that that.time that-ERG water beg-SAS-3P-NPT maybe
 45 *'si-sa beryaŋ paŋku woi ma-piy-u-n-uŋ, tyaŋ to-ko*
 die-INF that.time water also NEG-give-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT then that-GEN
maŋ sakalei coi sumaka hok-Ø-an. 46 *'ma-thaŋ ma-thaŋ libi,*
 body all blood silent be-SAS-3S/PT NEG-be.able NEG-be.able after
duŋkuŋi-te hen-u-n-uŋ. 47 *'miŋ-te*
 storehouse-LOC take-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT cloth-LOC
cic-amiy-u-n-uŋ. 48 *'ugo-te woi miŋ bu-tuŋ-le,*
 CAUS-sleep-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT mouth-LOC also cloth cover-1s/TPP-PCL
ami-Ø-du uniŋ nah-u-n-uŋ. 49 *'to si-sa beryaŋ apa*
 sleep-SAS-NPT like put-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT that die-INF that.time father
ma-daŋ-Ø-u-no, gǎi-gǎi urouh-Ø-u-no' ka ŋa-to-le ahe
 NEG-search-SAS-3→3/PT I-PM call-SAS-3P-3→3/PT this say-TPP-PCL much
kerep-Ø-an. 50 *hara woi ŋa-sa ma-thaŋ-Ø-u-no, libi libi*
 cry-SAS-3S/PT what also say-INF NEG-be.able-SAS-3P-3→3/PT after after
wagal uniŋ thǎi-te siy-Ø-an.
 henhouse like place-LOC die-SAS-3S/PT

45 'Even as he died I didn't give him water, and then his whole body was covered in blood and he fell silent.' 46 'When I was no longer able to do any more, I dragged him to the storehouse.' 47 'I lay him down in his clothes.' 48 'I covered his face to make it look as if he was sleeping.' 49 'When he died he didn't look for his father, but he called out to me', and saying this, she burst into tears. 50 She was unable to say anything else, and much later she passed away in that very same prison [lit. henhouse-like place].

PART 3

LEXICON

INTRODUCTION TO THE LEXICON

The lexicon of Thangmi presented below is sorted according to a slightly modified Latin alphabet. Nasalised vowels follow normal vowels, and aspirated consonants follow unaspirated ones. The lexicon is sorted as follows:

ă	dh	i	ŋ	t
a	ḍ	j	ṇ	th
ăi	ḍh	jh	o	ṭ
ău	e	k	oi	ṭh
b	ei	kh	ou	u
bh	eu	l	p	ui
c	g	m	ph	v
ch	gh	n	r	w
d	h	nh	s	y

The Dolakhā dialect of Thangmi has been the focus throughout this grammatical description of the language. When a linguistic feature exclusive to the Sindhupālcok dialect is of particular interest, the feature is described in the relevant section of the grammar alongside its Dolakhā counterpart. In the lexicon, both Dolakhā and Sindhupālcok forms are included and are indicated by (D) and (S) respectively. When neither (D) nor (S) is given, this designates that the lexical item is common to both dialects.

Homonyms are numbered with Roman numerals, and allomorphs between morpheme brackets indicate free variations with the more commonly occurring form. Case endings, postpositions, nominal suffixes, particles and the individual morphemes which occur in the verbal agreement system of Thangmi are not included in the lexicon as separate or distinct entries. Hyphens in the bold lexical entries are used solely for reduplicative adjectives and adverbs, and morpheme breaks are not shown. Where helpful, illustrative examples of lexical items are provided, particularly in the case of verbs. Loans from Nepali are only shown when they have been naturalised, i.e. *guru* ‘shaman’, from Nepali *guru* ‘teacher, wise man’. Where possible, a Nepali translation of the Thangmi lexical item is provided, according to the spelling used in the *Nepālī Bṛhat Śabdakoś*, published in VS 2040 (i.e. AD 1983–84). Abbreviations used in the lexicon are included in the list of abbreviations at the beginning of this monograph.

Throughout this monograph, Nepali months are given in their colloquial rather than Sanskritic forms. They correspond to the Gregorian calendar as follows:

<i>baiśākh</i>	April-May
<i>jeṭh</i>	May-June
<i>asār</i>	June-July
<i>sāun</i>	July-August
<i>bhāda</i>	August-September
<i>aso</i>	September-October
<i>kārtik</i>	October-November
<i>maṅsir</i>	November-December
<i>pūs</i>	December-January
<i>māgh</i>	January-February
<i>phāgun</i>	February-March
<i>cait</i>	March-April

ă

ăcărăŋ adj., foul-smelling, sulphurous; *akar-ko usi ăcărăŋ nam-Ø-du*
(short.tailed.Himalayan.jungle.cat-GEN urine foul.smelling smell-SAS-NPT) the
urine of the short-tailed Himalayan jungle cat smells foul. (D)

ăcăreŋgya see **acareŋgya**

ăhogor n., [ritual language] golden water pot. Nep. *gāgri* (D)

ălămga adj., long, tall, high. Nep. *lāmo*, *aglo* (D) [alaŋga = S]

ălămga loŋsa vt., to stretch (out), expand. Nep. *tankāunu* (D) [alaŋga noŋsa = S]

ălāmtha adv., far, distant. Nep. *ṭādhā* (D) [alamtha = S]

ăsălăŋgi thasa see **asalaŋgi thasa**

a

abek n., flank of the chest, where one carries a baby. (D)

abe?esa vt., to carry a child on one's back. (S)

abu n., I adult penis. Nep. *lāḍo*, *liŋgā* (S) [tuturi = D]

abu n., II penis. Nep. *lāḍo*, *liŋgā* (D) [cf. tuturi = D]

acareŋgya <ăcăreŋgya> n., an adult who urinates when he or she should not do, a
bed-wetter. Nep. *mutuvā* (D)

acyukuli adv., ticklish, tickly. Nep. *kutkuttī* (D) [ajyugula = S]

acyukuli loŋsa vt., to tickle. Nep. *kutkutyāunu* (D) [yugula?asa = S]

acha n., smoke from a fire. Nep. *dhūvā* (S) [asku = D]

adăi see **adhăi**

adi interj., oh, I see. Nep. *e* (S) [ădăi = D]

adum adj., hot (food or drink). Nep. *tāto* (D) [adumca = S]

adumca adj., hot (food or drink). Nep. *tāto* (S) [adum = D]

adumsa vt., to dry someone or something by the fire or in the sun (often used for
drying a child); *tete-ye huca adum-Ø-u-no* (elder.sister-ERG child dry.by.fire-
SAS-3P-3→3/PT) elder sister dried the child by the fire. Nep. *baccā sekāunu* (D)

adhăi <adăi> n., cucumber, *Cucumis sativus*. The fruit is edible both raw and
cooked. The older fruits are traditionally cooked as a vegetable curry or
preserved as a pickle. When consumed raw, cucumbers are believed to protect
against jaundice and to counteract the harmful effects of smoking. Ritual uses
are limited to the Hindu festival of *tij*, during which it is auspicious if a
cucumber is the first food consumed after the conclusion of the fast. Nep. *kākro*

aḍipsa vt., I to suckle, drink one's mother's milk; *huca-ye ama-ko nunu aḍip-Ø-u-no* (child-ERG mother-GEN milk suckle-SAS-3P-3→3/PT) the child drank his mother's milk. Nep. *dudh cusnu* (D) [cf. *ajyipsa* = S]

aḍipsa vt., II to tear pieces of meat off the bone with one's teeth; *kucu-ye wa-ko cici aḍip-Ø-u-du* (dog-ERG chicken-GEN meat tear.with.teeth-SAS-3P-NPT) the dog is tearing the chicken meat off with his teeth. Nep. *māsu luchnu* (D)

ae see **ahe**

agak n., house crow, *Corvus splendens*; raven (perhaps reversed Nepali). ?<Nep. *kāg* (D) [agha? = S]

agorsisa see **aghorsisa**

agroksa see **aghroksa**

agyāusa see **agyosa**

agyosa vi., I to rumble (of one's belly), to moo (by a cow or buffalo), to roar (by a tiger), to scream (by a jackal); *du agyow-Ø-an* (tiger roar-SAS-3S/PT) the tiger roared; *gāi-go baṅkal agyo-Ø-du* (I-GEN stomach rumble-SAS-NPT) my stomach is rumbling. Nep. (*peṭ*) *karāunu*

agyosa <aghyosa ~ agyāusa ~ aghyāusa> vt., II to call or cry (for help or assistance); *lak-yiṅ coi let-Ø-du, huca-ye ama-kāi agyoh-Ø-u-du* (hand-ABL blood appear-SAS-NPT child-ERG mother-PM cry.for.help-SAS-3P-NPT) there's blood coming from the child's hand and he's calling his mother for help. Nep. *bolāunu, guhārnu, karāunu*

agha? n., house crow, *Corvus splendens*; raven. ?<Nep. *kāg* (S) [agak = D]

aghorsa <ahorsa> vt., to dig, scratch, scratch with nails; *gare-ṇaṇ aghor-sa ma-ja* (wound-inside scratch.with.nails-INF NEG-okay) you shouldn't scratch the wound with your nails. Nep. *khosranu, citharnu, kanyāunu*

aghorsisa <agorsisa ~ ahorsisa> vr., to scratch oneself with one's nails; *to mi kapu-te aghor-si-Ø-du* (that person head-LOC scratch.with.nails-REF-SAS-NPT) that person is scratching his head with his finger nails. Nep. *āphai koparnu*

aghroksa <agroksa> vt., to eat in a scratching manner; *makar-e makāi aghrok-Ø-u-no* (monkey-ERG maize eat.scratchingly-SAS-3P-3→3/PT) the monkey gobbled up the maize in a scratching manner. Nep. *citharnu* (D)

aghyāusa see **agyosa**

aghyosa see **agyosa**

ahare n., [ritual language] meat offering prepared for the death ritual. (D)

ahe <ae ~ aye> adj., very, a lot, too many, too much (in quantity). Nep. *dherai, nikai*

- ahē cyasa** vi., to gobble, stuff one's face, eat greedily, eat a great deal; *ahē cya-Ø-du mi rah-Ø-an* (much eat-SAS-NPT person come.from.level-SAS-3S/PT) the great greedy guts has come. Dutch *vreten*. Nep. *dherai khānu*
- ahel** n., garuga, *Garuga pinnata*, also *Lannea coromandelica*. Used as fodder for domesticated animals. Nep. *dabdabe* (D) [syuŋŋan = S]
- ahorsa** see **aghorsa**
- ahorsisa** see **aghorsisa**
- ahum** n., egg. Nep. *phul* (D) [aʔum = S]
- ahum tasa** vt., to lay an egg; *mama-wa-ye ahum tah-Ø-u-no* (FEM-chicken-ERG egg lay-SAS-3P-3→3/PT) the hen layed an egg. Nep. *phul pārnu, ḍimmā pārnu* (D) [aʔum casa = S]
- ahunca** vt., to pluck or pick (up from ground). Nep. *ṭipnu* (S) [ahunsa = D]
- ahunsa** vt., to pluck or pick (up from ground); *gǎ-ye lembe-yiŋ saŋa ahun-u-n-uŋ* (I-ERG winnowing.tray-ABL millet pick.up-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT) I picked the millet up from the winnowing tray. Nep. *ṭipnu* (D) [ahunca = S]
- aja** n., leaf. Nep. *pāt*
- aji** n., I husband's mother, wife's mother, brother's wife's mother, wife's elder sister. Nep. *sāsū* (D)
- aji** n., II husband's mother, wife's mother, younger brother's wife's mother. Nep. *sāsū* (S)
- aji kukuri** n., a Thangmi place name for an original habitation, marked by a bent standing stone. (D)
- ajik** adj., cold, cool (of water, food or climate). Nep. *ciso, jāḍo*
- ajir** n., hate, disgust, repulsion, contempt; *ajir ni-tuŋ-le akhas let-Ø-du* (disgust see-1s/TPP-PCL vomit appear-SAS-NPT) when I see something gross, I puke. Nep. *ghin*
- ajirsa** vi., to hate, be disgusted by, find disgusting, find repugnant, dislike; *gǎi kiŋi ni-tuŋ-le ajir-ŋa-n* (I shit see-1s/TPP-PCL be.disgusted-1s-PT) I find seeing shit disgusting. Nep. *ghin lāgnu, ghināunu*
- ajirsa phandu** phrase, disagreeable, unpleasant, ugly, gross; *to mi ajir-sa phan-Ø-du* (that person disgust-INF be.empty-SAS-NPT) that person is really gross. Nep. *ghin-lāḡdo*; Nep. *ghin lāḡdo* (D)
- ajyibsa** see **ajyipsa**
- ajyipsa** <ajyibsa> vt., to suck, draw (through a straw), kiss. Nep. *cusnu* (S) [cf. aḍipsa = D]
- ajyugula** adv., ticklish, tickly. Nep. *kutkuttī* (S) [acyukuli = D]
- akal** n., a species of tree, *Persea odoratissima*. The leaves are collected as fodder for domesticated animals, while the bark is used to flavour *sel roḡṭ* and as a red

dye. The wood of the trunk is burnt as firewood, and the better sections are used in house construction and for furniture. Nep. *seto kāulo* (D) [cyolampi = S, ciplya = S]

akal akyaṃmi n., a male Thangmi clan name attested in the village of Suspā.

akan n., barley, *Hordeum vulgare*. This hard grain is made into flat breads or a porridge-like substance. The ritual uses of barley include the cleansing of polluted spaces in marriage and death ceremonies, during which the grains are burnt in the fire to frighten away evil spirits. Barley stalks are used as thatch on roofs and are also collected as fodder for domesticated animals. If the auspicious day of *sombāre aūsī* falls within the month of *pūs*, then balls of barley flour mixed together with water and cow's milk are taken to the nearest river and thrown in. This offering is believed to bring peace to the spirits of the dead. Nep. *jau*

akar n., short-tailed Himalayan jungle cat, *Felis chaus*, known for having bad-smelling urine. Nep. *ban birālo*

akloṅ n., grasshopper, locust. Nep. *phaṭeṅgro, salah* (D) [akho ~ are? = S]

akrak n., inedible toad or frog. Nep. *bhyāguto* (D) [akra? = S]

akra? n., inedible toad or frog. Nep. *bhyāguto* (S) [akrak = D]

akusya n., [archaic term] money, coins. Nep. *paisā* (S) [pepelek = D]

akyarak n., the bulb of an arum lily, *Arum campanulatum*. The inside of the bulb is eaten as a polenta-like paste in times of hardship, after being peeled, dried, beaten and cooked. The 'eyes' or new sprouts of the bulb are poisonous to humans if consumed, as are the seeds. Nep. *bāko* (D)

akhaca see **akhassa**

akhas <akhat> n., vomit, sick, puke. Nep. *bāntā, chāt* (D)

akhassa <akhaca> vi., to vomit, throw up; *cici cya-ta-ṇa-le akhas-ṇa-n* (meat eat-IPP-1s-PCL vomit-1s-PT) having eaten some meat I threw up. Nep. *bāntā garnu* (D) [akhatca = S]

akhat see **akhas**

akhatca vi., to vomit, throw up. Nep. *bāntā garnu* (S) [akhassa = D]

akho n., grasshopper. Nep. *phaṭeṅgro* (S) [akloṅ = D]

akhyak n., the inflorescence of the wheat and barley plants. The inflorescence is fed as fodder to cows in the months of *cait* and *baiśākh*. Nep. *bhus* (D)

alak n., small wooden or bamboo foot bridge. Nep. *sāghu* (D) [ala? = S]

alaloṇṇ n., large bamboo mat used in death rituals into which a corpse is rolled, also reputed to be used in Newar rituals. Nep. *māndro* (D)

alam n., red and white flag used in shamanic rituals. Nep. *jhaṇḍā* (D)

alamala n., stuff, things, whatever. Nep. *ke ke* (S)

- alamtha** adv., far, distant. Nep. *ṭādhā* (S) [ălāmtha = D]
- alaŋga** adj., long. Nep. *lāmco*, *lāmo* (S) [ălāmga ~ toiling = D]
- alaŋga noŋsa** vt., to stretch (out), expand. Nep. *tankāunu* (S) [ălāmga loŋsa = D]
- ala?** n., small wooden or bamboo foot bridge. Nep. *sāghu* (S) [alak = D]
- alemsa** vi., to have a sour or coppery taste; *miryañ-ko toŋ aṭṭhe alem-Ø-an* (yesterday-GEN beer very coppery.in.taste-SAS-3S/PT) the beer we drank yesterday tasted very coppery. Nep. *tamtamāunu* (D)
- alisa** vi., to like, want to, appreciate; *to oste-ko ama nama hok-sa aliy-Ø-an* (that self-GEN mother with be-INF like-SAS-3S/PT) he likes being with his own mother. Nep. *man lāgnu*, *man parnu* (D)
- almaŋ** n., dream, vision seen by shamans during trance. Nep. *sapanā*
- almaŋsa** vt., to dream; *ami-Ø-du beryañ to-ye wakhe loŋ-Ø-u-no, almaŋ-Ø-u-no thaŋjun* (sleep-SAS-NPT that.time that-ERG word do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT dream-SAS-3P-3→3/PT maybe) while sleeping he spoke, perhaps he was dreaming. Nep. *sapanā dekhnu*
- alta siri** n., a female Thangmi clan name attested in the village of Suspā.
- altak** n., the Nepalese rhododendron tree, *Rhododendron arboreum*. In the winter months, the fresh leaves make good fodder, but when the flowers are in bloom, the leaves are poisonous to animals. The wood of the trunk can be burnt as firewood or used for furniture and construction. If the flower is consumed by someone choking on a fish or chicken bone, the petals are believed to remove the obstruction and aid the swallowing reflex. Nep. *lāligurās* (D) [paṭareŋ = S]
- altum** n., calf of the leg. Nep. *pṛḍulā* (S)
- ama** n., mother, elder sister's husband's mother, old woman. ?<Nep. *āmā*
- amacya?udu mi** n., beggar (lit. beg-eat-SAS-NPT person). Nep. *māgne*, *bhikh* (S) [amatcyadu mi = D]
- amagaleŋ** adv., last year. Nep. *pohor* (S) [amakaleŋ = D]
- amakaleŋ** adv., last year. Nep. *pohor* (D) [amagaleŋ = S]
- amamakaleŋ** adv., a long time ago, many years ago. Nep. *uhile* (D) [amasyaleŋ = S]
- amaskaleŋ** <asmakaleŋ> adv., two years ago, the year before last. Nep. *parāhār*, *parār* (D) [asnyagaleŋ = S]
- amasmakaleŋ** adv., three years ago. Nep. *pohor parāhār* (D)
- amasyaleŋ** adv., once, some time ago, long ago, many years ago. Nep. *uhile*, *pohor parāhār* (S) [amamakaleŋ = D]
- amatcyadu mi** n., beggar (lit. beg-eat-SAS-NPT person). Nep. *māgne*, *bhikh* (D) [amacya?udu mi = S]
- amatsa** vt., to beg. Nep. *māgnu* (D) [ama?sa = S]

- amaʔsa** vt., to beg. Nep. *māgnu* (S) [amatsa = D]
amek n., bat. Nep. *camero* (D) [uyuameʔ = S]
ameʔ n., I butterfly. Nep. *putalī* (S) [pampanek = D]
ameʔ n., II inflorescence at the top of a maize or rice blossom. The nectar is collected by bees. Nep. *dhāncamarāko māthī* (S) [buŋ = D]
ami jyeʔesa vi., to have enough sleep. Nep. *nindrā pugnu* (S) [nidra ɖeksa = D]
ami kumsa vi., to fall asleep. Nep. *nidhāunu*
amisa vi., to sleep; *naleŋ sumaka hok-ko, ami-ko!* (present silent be-ADH sleep-ADH) let's be quiet now and sleep! Nep. *sutnu*
amkhore see **aŋkhore**
amo n., yellow-legged gull, *Larus cachinnans*; kite, crested serpent eagle, *Spilornis cheela*. Nep. *cīl, baūḍāī* (S) [amu = D]
amom n., edible mushroom. Nep. *khāne cyāu* (S) [amum = D]
amu n., yellow-legged gull, *Larus cachinnans*; kite, crested serpent eagle, *Spilornis cheela*. Nep. *cīl, baūḍāī* (D) [amo = S]
amum n., edible mushroom. Nep. *cyāu* (D) [amom = S]
ancame n., plant shoots. Nep. *ṭusā* (S) [ṭhosa I = D]
aneksa <aŋeksa> vt., to fry, dry roast. Nep. *bhuṭnu* (D) [aryosa = S]
aŋthu n., leg or wing of a bird. Nep. *philā, pakheṭā, tighro* (D) [cf. lakpa, burup = S]
aŋal n., embarrassment, shame. Nep. *lāj*
aŋalsa vi., to be embarrassed, ashamed; *gāī aŋal-ŋa-n* (I be.embarrassed-1S-NPT) I am embarrassed. Nep. *lāj lāgnu*
aŋgalek n., coals from the fireplace. Nep. *koilā* (D) [aŋgaleʔ = S]
aŋgaleʔ n., coals from the fireplace. Nep. *koilā* (S) [aŋgalek = D]
aŋil n., gum(s). Nep. *gṭjo, gṭjā* (D)
aŋkalak n., brown-green coloured lizard. Nep. *chepāro* (D) [kaŋkalaʔ = S]
aŋkhe n., lap. Nep. *kākh, palēṭī* (D) [aŋkhyañ = S]
aŋkhesisa vr., to sit down cross-legged (thereby making a lap for a child to sit in); *ama-ko aŋkhe-te huca aŋkhei-siy-Ø-an* (mother-GEN lap-LOC child cross.legs-REF-SAS-3S/PT) the child sat down cross-legged in his mother's lap. Nep. *palēṭī kasnu* (D) [koropsisa = S]
aŋkhore <amkhore> n., crotch, groin. Nep. *jāñ, jāg* (D)
aŋkhoreŋ n., hollow of the knee, *fossa poplitea*. (S) [goŋgoresasa = D]
aŋkhyañ n., lap. Nep. *kākh* (S) [aŋkhe = D]
aŋeksa see **aneksa**

- aṇeṇ** n., a species of tree. The leaves are collected as fodder for domesticated animals, and the small red nut is roasted and peeled and eaten as a snack. The trunk is used in furniture construction on account of its strength. Nep. *harkaulo*
- aṇeṇ akyaṇmi** n., a male Thangmi clan name attested in the village of Suspā.
- aṇeṇsek** n., kidney. Nep. *mirgaulā* (D) [aṇeṇse = S]
- aṇiṇkuṇṇāi** n., a species of worm-like insect found around cow dung, maggot. Nep. *khumle kirā* (D)
- aṇiṇse** n., kidney. Nep. *mirgaulā* (S) [aṇeṇsek = D]
- apa** n., father, sister's husband's father, old man. Nep. *buvā*
- apa omīa** n., thumb. <Nep. *budhi aṭlā* (D) [papala? = S]
- apan** n., wild person, forest spirit. Nep. *ban mānche, yeti* (D)
- apo** n., cave. Nep. *oḍār, gophā* (S) [apok = D]
- apok** n., cave. Nep. *oḍār, gophā* (D) [apo = S]
- apraca** adj., clean, good, well, nice, beautiful, attractive, shining, bright; *apraca mana yaʔa* (good together go-s/IMP) mind how you go, go safely, travel safely (especially in a group) (<Nep. *rāmro-saṅga jānuhos*) (S); *aprako tini yaʔa* mind how you go, go safely, travel safely (used when the road is difficult or the speaker has some reason to fear that the route is unsafe) (<Nep. *rāmro-saṅga jānuhos*) (S). Nep. *rāmro, saphā, sundar, jhaka-makka*
- aprit** n., common hawk cuckoo, *Hierococcyx varius*. Nep. *biu kuhie caro, biu kuhiyo* (D)
- aprou** n., headstrap or tump line for carrying a load. Nep. *nāmlo*
- apsa** vt., to shoot (with a bow, gun or catapult). Nep. *hānnu, golī calāunu* (S) [hapsa = D]
- aphinca** <phin-phinca> adj., light (in weight), thin, narrow; *to-ko demca aṭṭhe apinca hok-Ø-du* (that-GEN load very light be-SAS-NPT) his load is very light. Nep. *halukā, haluṇ, pātalo* (D) [hālunṇa = S]
- aral** n., penis and testicles, the male sexual organs. (D)
- arasa** vt., to cut things which are thin (such as paddy, fodder or stalks) in a slicing movement, usually with a sickle; *pebu-te karati-ye humi-ye racya arah-Ø-u-du* (irrigated.field-LOC sickle-INS younger.sister-ERG paddy cut-SAS-3P-NPT) younger sister is cutting the paddy in the field with a sickle. Nep. *kāṭnu, reṭnu*
- arcyiʔsa** vt., to scream or shout loudly. Nep. *cicyāunu* (S) [arṭiksa = D]
- areʔ** n., locust. Nep. *salah* (S) [aklon = D]
- ari** n., fear. Nep. *ḍar*
- aripecerek** adj., scaredy cat, a person who is quickly afraid. Nep. *ḍarcheruvā, kāyar* (D)

- arisa** vi., to be afraid, be scared; *coi ni-tuŋ-le ari-ŋa-n* (blood see-1s/TPP-PCL be.afraid-1s-PT) having seen the blood I was afraid. Nep. *darāunu, tarsanu, tarsinu*
- arka** n., walnut, *Juglans regia*; *arkapole*, Thangmi name for village Ward No. 4, in Suspā V.D.C. (lit. trunk of the walnut tree, Nep. *okharbhoŋ*). The nut can be eaten raw. The outside shell gives off a black dye when beaten, which is used to paint house doors. The bark of the tree trunk as well as the leaves are used as a poison to stun fish, for which the preparation is as follows: the bark is stripped off and walnut leaves are collected, these are then beaten and little pieces are thrown in the water where fish are known to swim. The substance in the bark temporarily stuns the fish after which they float to the surface and can be collected. The poison does not affect humans and consumption is thus safe. The trunk of the tree is used for timber and household furniture, while smaller pieces are burnt as firewood. At *bhāi ŋikā* during the Hindu festival of *tihār*, women place walnuts in the doorways of houses. When cracked, these are believed to kill local demons. (D). Nep. *okhar*
- arki** n., deer; *arki uyu* a species of big red rodent which lives in trees (<Nep. *mṛga muso*) (D). ?<Nep. *mṛga*
- arkun** n., small wooden vase or jug made of wood with a narrow opening into which a plug is fitted as a lid, used for transporting beer and mustard seed oil during a wedding. At other times it is used for storing oil and clarified butter. Nep. *kaṭhuvā, thekī* (D) [asa ʔeleʔe = S]
- arou** n., handspindle. Nep. *katuvā*
- arṭiksa** vi., to cry, screech, shout or scream loudly; *gāi ŋiŋ-ŋa-n humi arṭik-Ø-an* (I fall.from.height-1s-PT younger.sister shout-sAS-3S/PT) I fell down and younger sister cried out. Nep. *cicyāunu* (D) [arcyiʔsa = S]
- aryosa** vt., to fry, dry roast. Nep. *bhuṭnu* (S) [aneksa = D]
- asa ʔeleʔe** n., small wooden vase or jug made of wood with a narrow opening into which a plug is fitted as a lid, used for transporting beer and mustard seed oil during a wedding. At other times it is used for storing oil and clarified butter. Nep. *thekī* (S) [arkun = D]
- asaksa** vi., I to itch after being bitten or stung by an insect; *konŋe-te ŋiku-ye cek-Ø-ŋa-n asak-Ø-ŋa-du* (leg-LOC ant-ERG bite-sAS-1s-PT itch-sAS-1s-PT) an ant stung me on the leg and it itches. Nep. *cilāunu* (D) [asaʔasa = S]
- asaksa** vt., II to taste pungent; *phaŋgaŋeny-e gāi-go ugo asak-Ø-ŋa-n* (arum-ERG I-GEN mouth taste.pungent-sAS-1s-PT) the arum I ate tasted very pungent. Nep. *kokyāunu* (D) [asaʔasa = S]

- asalaŋgi thasa** <āsālāŋgi thasa> vi., to suffocate; *pāiri asalaŋgi tha-Ø-ta-le siy-Ø-an* (elder.brother's.wife suffocate be-SAS-IPP-PCL die-SAS-3S/PT) elder brother's wife suffocated and died. Nep. *nisāsinu* (D)
- asare** n., taste. Nep. *svād* (D) [asari? = S]
- asare nisa** vi., to be tasty; *asare ni-Ø-du* (taste be-SAS-NPT) it's tasty. Nep. *miṭho hunu* (D)
- asareŋ** n., fly. Nep. *jhīṅā* (D) [asari? = S]
- asari?** n., I fly. Nep. *jhīṅā* (S) [asareŋ = D]
- asari?** n., II taste. Nep. *svād* (S) [asare = D]
- asasyunduri** n., a part of the Thangmi wedding ritual, after the *senewa*. (D)
- asa?asa** vi., I to itch. Nep. *cilāunu* (S) [asaksa = D]
- asa?asa** vi., II to taste pungent. Nep. *kokyāunu* (S) [asaksa = D]
- asip** n., the flower of a species of plant. The leaves are collected as fodder for cows and goats. The timber is used for making traditional bee hives, since bees are partial to this wood. The flowers, which blossom in the month of *cait*, secrete a sweet juice and are eaten. Nep. *ghurmiso-ko phūl* (D) [cf. bephun]
- asir** n., Himalayan swiflet, *Collocalia brevirostris*. Nep. *gaūthalī* (D)
- asku** n., smoke from a fire. Nep. *dhūvā* (D) [acha = S]
- asmakaleŋ** see **amaskaleŋ**
- asnyagaleŋ** adv., two years ago. Nep. *parāhār, parār* (S) [amaskaleŋ = D]
- asotsa** vt., to remove all the grains of wheat or rice from the stalk in one movement; *racya mīn-ŋa libi asot-ko māi-Ø-du* (paddy ripen-CNS after remove.grains-ADH must-SAS-NPT) once the paddy has ripened, all the grains must be removed. Nep. *sohornu* (D) [asyutsa = S]
- aspāisa** vt., to throw something violently, smash, beat, thresh, knock down, cause to fall, trip up, subdue, beat (especially clothes when washing); *mīryaŋ hu-ye soŋ-te naŋa aspāiy-Ø-u-no* (yesterday younger.brother-LOC river-ABL fish subdue-SAS-3P-3→3/PT) yesterday, younger brother caught a fish from the river and beat it senseless. Nep. *pachārnu* (D) [aspyāisa = S]
- aspyāisa** vt., to throw something violently, smash, beat, thresh. Nep. *pachārnu* (S) [aspāisa = D]
- asyutsa** vt., to remove an outer skin or layer by pulling down. Nep. *sohornu* (S) [asotsa = D]
- athaŋ** adv., light (not dark). Nep. *ujyālo*
- athaŋsa** vi., to become light; *ka-te athaŋ-Ø-an* (here-LOC become.light-SAS-3S/PT) it has become light here. Nep. *ujyālo hunu*
- athiksa** vi., to drip; *bheterek-yiŋ paŋku athik-Ø-an* (bamboo.mat-ABL water drip-SAS-3S/PT) water dripped from the bamboo mat. Nep. *cuhunu* (D)

- athousa** vt., to go for a walk or wander with a flashlight, to shine a light in a dark place. Nep. *bālera hiḍnu* (S) [catoksa = D]
- aṭit** n., blue whistling thrush, *Myiophoneus caeruleus*, a large crepuscular blackbird of the thrush family with a yellow bill which nests within crevices in precipitous cliffs and escarpments. Nep. *kalcūḍo*, *kalcaūḍe* (D)
- aṭoksa** vt., to shake, shake out; *ṭaye bu-si-sa miṇ aṭok-ko māi-Ø-du* (night cover-REF-INF cloth shake.out-ADH must-sAS-NPT) the clothes one wears at night should be shaken out. Nep. *ṭakṭakyāunu*, *jhaḍkārnu* (D) [aṭo?sa ~ hattharsa = S]
- aṭo?sa** vt., to shake, shake out. Nep. *ṭakṭakyāunu*, *jhaḍkārnu* (S) [aṭoksa = D, hattharsa = S]
- aṭṭhe** <aṭhe> adv., very, extremely (quality); *aṭṭhe ṭaka-Ø-du* (very be.sweet-sAS-NPT) it's very sweet (i.e. tasty). Nep. *dherai*, *ek dam* (D)
- aṭu?sa** vt., to bang a nail into something (such as a post). (S)
- aṭhe** see **aṭṭhe**
- aṭhu** n., joint(s) of the body. Nep. *jornī* (D) ?< Sanskrit *asthi*
- awa** n., locally-grown tobacco, *Nicotiana tabacum* (< *awa?du* 'bitter'). Nep. *surtī* (S) [bajareṇ = D]
- awadu cala?** n., bitter air yam, *Dioscorea bulbifera*. Calque from Nep. *tite gūṭhā* (S) [awakdu calak = D]
- awagdu** see **awakdu**
- awakdu** <awagdu> adj., bitter. Nep. *tīto* (D) [awa?du = S]
- awakdu calak** n., bitter air yam, *Dioscorea bulbifera*. The leaves are collected as fodder for domesticated animals. The bulb, which grows underground, is boiled in water, peeled and eaten as a snack in the month of *māgh*. The fruit, which ripens in the months of *kārtik* and *maṇsir*, can also be boiled and eaten. Calque from Nep. *tite gūṭhā* (D) [awadu cala? = S]
- awa?du** adj., bitter. Nep. *tīto* (S) [awakdu = D]
- aye** see **ahe**
- ayehui** <ayenāi> adv., very (emphatic). Nep. *dherai nai*
- ayenāi** see **ayehui**
- ayu** n., the Himalayan yellow-throated marten, *Martes flavigula*. Nep. *malsāpro* (D) [ayuca = S]
- ayuca** n., the Himalayan yellow-throated marten, *Martes flavigula*. Nep. *malsāpro* (S) [ayu = D]
- ayujyanḷaṇ** n., [ritual language] soya bean and rice when roasted for the dead, *Glycine max*. Nep. *bhaṭamās* (D)
- ayut** n., pus. Nep. *pīp* (S) [āi = D]

aʔum n., egg. Nep. *phul* (S) [ahum = D]

aʔum casa vt., to lay an egg. Nep. *ḍimmā pārnu, phul pārnu* (S) [ahum tasa = D]

āḍāi interj., yes, uh-huh (in agreement), I see. Nep. *ho ho, hajur, e* (D) [adi = S]

ăi

ăi n., pus. Nep. *pīp* (D) [ayut = S]

ăikuca n., long slightly curved knife common throughout Nepal. Nep. *khukurī*

ăitcha vt., to ask, inquire. Nep. *sodhnu* (S) [ṇasa = D]

ău

ău n., [ritual language] mango, *Mangifera sylvatica, Mangifera indica*. The fruit is consumed and the wood is used as timber. ?<Nep. *āp* (D)

ăulya n., hand-crafted wooden spoon used to stir millet paste. Nep. *dābilo* (D) [cf. cyatane]

b

băgălya amum n., a species of mushroom. This mushroom is cooked and consumed as a vegetable curry. It ripens in the months of *asār* and *bhadau*. Nep. *chāte cyāu* (D)

băgale n., a species of tree, *Maesa chisia*, the tree *Maesa indica*. The leaves are collected as fodder for domesticated animals. Nep. *bilāunī* (D) [rise = S]

băn kwăi n., potato yam, *Dioscorea bulbifera*. The bulb is edible after being boiled and peeled, and the creeper has a flower which can be eaten in a similar manner. When eaten raw, the bulb may help to reduce throat pain. The leaves are collected as fodder and fed to domesticated animals. On *māghe saṅkrānti*, after an early morning ritual at the nearest water source, a *ṭikā* is made from raw *băn kwăi* and placed on the forehead of attendees. <Nep. *ban tarul* (D) [ruṇ kwăi = S]

bărma n., bouquet grass, *Thysanolaena agrestis*, widely used for making brooms and sweeps. The leaves are collected as fodder for domesticated animals, but are more commonly used to make brooms. During wedding rituals and pujas

for newly constructed houses, individual stalks of bouquet grass are placed in various locations around the house to create an auspicious environment. The plant is also believed to have medicinal uses for women during labour or childbirth: when a baby has been born but the placenta is not forthcoming, then bouquet grass roots are tied together, along with a copper coin, and placed in the woman's navel. This is believed to expedite the expulsion of the placenta. If the leaves are eaten by either animals or humans during pregnancy, then the foetus will likely be aborted. This characteristic is also shared by the *melunpaŋ* discussed below. Nep. *amriso*, *amliso* (D) [barma = S]

bărmi n., shaman's assistant. Nep. *kartā* (D)

băsințe n., morning. Nep. *bihān* (D) [baʔace = S]

bagale n., peach, *Prunus persica*. The edible fruit ripens in the month of *bhadau* and is consumed raw. The wood from the trunk is used to make furniture while the chippings are burnt as firewood. Nep. *āru* (D) [bagalya = S]

bagalya n., peach, *Prunus persica*. Nep. *āru* (S) [bagale = D]

bagdu adj., astringent, pungent. Nep. *ṭarro* (D)

băine n., sister's son, husband's sister's son, nephew. ?<Nep. *bhānjā*, *bhānīs*

băine wari n., sister's son's wife, husband's sister's son's wife, nephew's wife. ?<Nep. *bhānjā buhārī*

băini n., sister's daughter, niece. <Nep. *bahinī* (D) [bini = S]

bajareŋ n., locally-grown tobacco, *Nicotiana tabacum*. The old leaves, after being dried in the sun and crumbled, are rolled into *aŋgerī* or *sāl* (*Shorea robusta*) leaves, and smoked as cigarettes. The leaves have a medicinal quality when beaten, mixed with water, and smeared over the body of a goat. This concoction is believed to combat infestations of lice or fleas. If insects are consuming or destroying spinach or other leafy greens, then this same mixture of beaten leaves and water can be used as an effective pesticide. The leaves are also used for rituals: when curing a case of possession, Thangmi shamans place hot coals on a large *bajareŋ* leaf. Millet flour is then sprinkled on top of the coals, attracting the spirit and burning it on the coals. The polluted leaf-plate is then taken to a fork in the path and left there, so that the spirit will be unable to find its way back. Nep. *kācopāt*, *surtī* (D) [awa = S]

bakal-cakal adj., half-cooked, half-raw; *to-ko-te isa ma-cya-e, ken bakalcakal loŋ-Ø-u-du!* (that-LOC-GEN cooked.rice NEG-eat-s/NEG/IMP vegetable.curry half.cooked make-SAS-3P-NPT) don't eat in her house, the curry she cooks is only half-cooked! Nep. *kaṭmero* (D)

bakoṭe see **bakoṭek**

bakoṭek <bakoṭe> adj., half. Nep. *ādhā*

- baldane** <bandalek> n., a species of tree, *Oroxylum indicum*. In every Thangmi ritual and in each house, there must be at least one dried *baldane* fruit. The plant does not grow in the Thangmi-speaking area and must therefore be brought from the Terai. The seeds also have a medicinal use when finely beaten, mixed with water, and strained. This concoction is fed to patients suffering from a high fever or pneumonia, and is believed to help restore health or bring down the fever. The Thangmi ritual word for this species in the Dolakhā dialect is *darjum*. Nep. *ṭoṭalā*
- bamṇi** n., Brahmin, Chetrī. <Nep. *brāhmaṇ*, *bāhun* (D) [bāṇi = S]
- bampa** n., a large, flat, black stone traditionally placed between the fireplace and the door of a Thangmi home.
- bampa siri** n., a female Thangmi clan name attested in the village of Suspā.
- bampre** n., rib, chest, breast. Nep. *karai*
- ban** n., friend. ritual bond friend, blood brother. Nep. *sāthī*, *mit*
- ban chusisa** vr., to make a ritual bond with someone from another caste or ethnic group; *gāi-go ama to nama ban chu-siy-Ø-an* (I-GEN mother that with friend tie-REF-SAS-3S/PT) my mother made a ritual bond friendship with that person. Nep. *mī lagāunu* (D)
- banali** n., ritual bond friend (female), blood sister. Nep. *mītinī* (D)
- bandalek** see **baldane**
- baṅgal** n., belly, stomach, womb. Nep. *peṭ* (S) [baṅkal = D]
- baṅgal cabusa** vt., to be pregnant (lit. stomach carry-INF). Calque from Nep. *peṭ boknu* (S) [baṅkal cabusa = D]
- baṅkal** n., belly, stomach, womb. Nep. *peṭ* (D) [baṅgal = S]
- baṅkal cabusa** vt., to be pregnant (lit. stomach carry-INF); *ahe thah-Ø-an, gāi-go uma-ye baṅkal cabuh-Ø-u-du* (much be-SAS-3S/PT I-GEN wife-ERG stomach carry-SAS-3P-NPT) it's been a while now that my wife has been pregnant. Calque from Nep. *peṭ boknu* (D) [baṅgal cabusa = S]
- baṇi** n., cooking pot. <Nep. *bhāḍo*
- baraṅ** n., platform of boards or bamboo, shed, stall. Nep. *ṭāḍ*, *kaṭero* (D)
- barma** n., bouquet grass, *Thysanolaena agrestis*, widely used for making brooms and sweeps. Nep. *amriso*, *amliso* (S) [bārma = D]
- baṭi** n., cat. ?<Newar. Nep. *birālo* (D) [gurinca = S]
- baṭhe** adv., tomorrow. Nep. *bholi* (D) [bhaṭse = S]
- bāṇi** n., Brahmin, Chetrī. <Nep. *bāhun* (S) [bamṇi = D]
- baṭace** n., morning. Nep. *bihān* (S) [bāsinte = D]
- baṭasa** n., lungi-like cloth worn by women. Nep. *phariyā* (S) [paṭasi = D]
- begale** adj., another, other. <Nep. *beglo* (D) [beglāi = S]

beglăi adj., another, other. <Nep. *beglo* (S) [begale = D]

beka n., thread. Nep. *dhāgo* (D)

benā n., brown oak of the Himalayas, *Quercus semecarpifolia*. The leaves are collected as fodder for domesticated animals, and the tree trunk is used to make furniture, doors and windows. The chippings are burnt in the household fire. The resin from the tree is collected and can be drunk as a medicinal infusion for stomach ache. Nep. *khasru* (D)

bephuṅ n., a species of plant. The leaves are collected as fodder for cows and goats, and the timber is used for making traditional bee hives. The flowers, which blossom in *cait*, secrete a juice which makes them sweet and edible. Nep. *ghurmiso* [cf. asip = D]

beryaṅ adv., time, when. ?<Nep. *berā*, *belā*, *samay* (D)

betre n., bamboo mat. Nep. *citro* (S) [bheterek = D]

bi n., load. Nep. *bhārī* (S) [demca = D]

biliṅ adj., wrong side, wrong way up, back to front. Nep. *ulṭo* (D) [thi?bliṅ = S]

biliṅ thibliṅ maṇiṅ n., special kind of bread made for the death rituals, used to represent the ears and tongue of the deceased (lit. upside down bread). Nep. *ulṭo sulṭo roṭī* (D)

biliṅsa <bliṅsa> vt., to reverse, overturn, turn upside down or inside out; *uni-te miṅ gaṅ-Ø-an*, *naleṅ biliṅ-ko māi-Ø-du* (sun-LOC cloth dry-SAS-3S/PT now turn.over-ADH must-SAS-NPT) the clothes have dried in the sun, now they need to be turned inside out. Nep. *paṭāunu*

bini n., sister's daughter, husband's sister's daughter, niece. ?<Nep. *bhānjī* (S) [bāini = D]

bini ḍamari n., sister's daughter's husband, husband's sister's daughter's husband. (D) [bini jyamari = S]

bini jyamari n., sister's daughter's husband, husband's sister's daughter's husband. (S) [bini ḍamari = D]

bini wari n., sister's son's wife, husband's sister's son's wife. ?<Nep. *bhānjī buhārī* (S) [wari = D]

bisa vi., to enter, go inside, pass through; *miryaṅ gwi ni-ko nem duṅ-ṅaṅ biy-Ø-an* (yesterday thief we-GEN house within-inside enter-SAS-3S/PT) yesterday a thief entered our house. Nep. *pasnu*, *chirnu* (D) [lisa = S]

biṭya kaṅkala? n., a species of gecko that lives inside houses (lit. wall gecko) <Nep. *bhittā*. Nep. *māusulī* (S) [bhitte aṅkalak = D]

bliṅsa see **biliṅsa**

- bok** n., top of the maize or rice inflorescence, *Zea mays* and *Oryza sativa*. The blossoms are collected as fodder for cows and goats. The flowers are visited by bees. Nep. *makāi-ko phul, dhāncamarā* (D) [boʔ = S]
- boloksa** vt., I to boil and then dry vegetables for preserving; *lakaṇe bolok-sa ja-Ø-du* (radish boil.and.dry-INF okay-SAS-NPT) it's fine to boil and dry radishes. Nep. *baphāunu* (D)
- boloksa** vt., II to remove the feathers, pluck, shave off, pluck off; *wa-ko cici ci-min-sa habi, bolok-ko māi-Ø-du* (chicken-GEN meat CAUS-cook-INF before pluck-ADH must-SAS-NPT) before chicken meat is cooked, it [the chicken] must be plucked. Nep. *khulkyāunu* (D)
- bomṭhissa** vi., to blister or swell up as a result of severe rubbing or a burn; *me-ye jyok-to-le lak bomṭhis-ṇa-n* (fire-ERG burn-TPP-PCL hand swell.up-1S-PT) the fire burnt my hand and it swelled up into a blister. Nep. *phokā hunu* (D)
- bophura** excl., poor, pitiable, how sad. ?<Newar, <Nep. *bicarā, bāphre* (D)
- bore** n., wedding, marriage. Nep. *bihā, vivāh* (D)
- boro** n., cooked rice. Nep. *bhāt*
- borok uyu** n., a species of field mouse which eats rice paddy, red in colouring. Nep. *dhān khāne muso* (D)
- borthok-barthak** adj., rough or coarse (describing materials such as wood). Nep. *hasro* (D)
- bosa** vi., to grow (of crops), sprout; *apa-ko raṇ-te jakcho boy-Ø-an* (father-GEN field-LOC wheat sprout-SAS-3S/PT) the wheat has sprouted in father's fields. Nep. *umranu, umrinu*
- bosiṇ** n., alder, Nepal black cedar, *Alnus nepalensis*. The wood is used for furniture and household construction and also for making beehives. The leaves, while not eaten by animals, are collected and used as fertiliser in small-scale cardamom cultivation. Nep. *uttis* (D) [busiṇ = S]
- botle** n., a species of fodder. The leaves are collected as fodder for domesticated animals. Nep. *harkaṭo* (D)
- botton** n., a species of thorny bamboo, *Bambusa arundinacea*. Nep. *bhālu niṅgro* (S) [ḍoṅṭhya = D]
- botton kere** n., caterpillar. Nep. *jhusil-kīrā* (S)
- bothorok** adj., rough or coarse (of foodstuffs). Nep. *hasro, phuko* (D)
- boṭhasa** <boṭhaʔasa> vt., to serve food, ladle rice, deal out, distribute; *gāi-go-te tete-ye isa boṭhah-Ø-u-du* (I-GEN-LOC elder.sister-ERG food serve-SAS-3P-NPT) in my house, elder sister serves the food. Nep. *paskanu, bāḍnu*
- boṭhaʔasa** see **boṭhasa**

- bo?** n., top of the maize or rice inflorescence, *Zea mays* and *Oryza sativa*; the flower of the stinging nettle, *Urtica doica*. Nep. *makai-ko phul, sisnuko pāt* (S) [bok = D]
- broŋ** n., mildew. Nep. *ḍhusī* (D) [phusa = S]
- broŋ hosa** vi., to become mildewy; *gǎi-go miŋ broŋ how-Ø-an* (I-GEN cloth mildew appear-SAS-3S/PT) my clothes have come mildewy. Nep. *ḍhusī parnu* (D) [phusa hosa = S]
- brusiŋ** n., the wild cherry tree, *Prunus puddum*. The leaves are collected as fodder for domesticated animals, and the tree trunk is used to make furniture, doors and windows. The chippings are burnt in the household fire. Straight *brusiŋ* branches are used during the Thangmi wedding ritual to support the bamboo canopy or marquee. Nep. *paīyū* (D) [bhere = S]
- bubu** n., I elder brother, mother's brother's son, mother's sister's son, father's brother's son, father's sister's son, brother's wife's elder brother, wife's elder brother, wife's elder sister's husband, wife's father's brother's son, wife's father's sister's son, husband's elder brother, husband's elder sister's husband, husband's father's brother's son, husband's father's sister's son, wife's elder brother, wife's elder sister's husband, wife's mother's brother's son, wife's mother's sister's son, husband's mother's brother's son, husband's mother's sister's son. Nep. *dāi, jeṭhān* (D)
- bubu** n., II elder brother, mother's brother's son, mother's sister's son, father's brother's son, father's sister's son, wife's elder sister's husband. Nep. *dāi, jeṭhān* (S)
- buŋ** n., inflorescence at the top of a maize or rice blossom. The nectar is collected by bees. Nep. *dhāncamarāko māthī, parāg* (D) [ame? = S]
- buŋeŋtho** n., big toe or thumb. ?<Nep. *buḍhī aūtho, buḍhī aūlā* (D) [papalāi = S]
- burup** n., a wing of a bird. Nep. *pakheṭā* (S) [aŋthu = D]
- busa** vt., to cover, cover up, put a lid on a pot; *gǎi-go ama-ye isa loŋ-Ø-u-du beryaŋ baŋi ma-bu* (I-GEN mother-ERG cooked.food do-SAS-3P-NPT that.time pot NEG-cover) when my mother cooks, she doesn't cover the pots. Nep. *ḍhāknu, chopnu* (D) [bu?usa = S]
- busikasi** <kasibusi> n., ashes, dust, dirt, refuse. Nep. *dhūlo, phohor, mailo, kasiŋgar, chāro*
- busiŋ** n., alder, Nepal black cedar, *Alnus nepalensis*. Nep. *uttis* (S) [bosiŋ = D]
- busisa** vr., to cover up, cover oneself (i.e. with a blanket), wear clothes, wear shoes; *ṭila-te woi, gǎi-go hu miŋ ma-bu-si* (cold-LOC also I-GEN younger.brother cloth NEG-cover-REF) even in the cold, my younger brother doesn't wear his clothes. Nep. *lagāunu, oḍnu*

buti see **butinati**

butinati <buti> n., cereals, all kinds of food stuffs. Nep. *sāmal* (S)

buthru n., large, tightly-woven bamboo basket. Nep. *thunce, thunse* (S)
[musuri = D]

buthuru n., muzzle (for cows, buffaloes or goats). Nep. *phuñilo, molā* (D)

bu?usa vt., to cover, cover up, put a lid on a pot. Nep. *ḍhāknu, chopnu* (S)
[busa = D]

būdati n., a female Thangmi clan name attested in the village of Suspā.

byeṅga n., a species of toad. Nep. *peṅpaṭṭā* (S)

bh

bhāmbāla n., a species of tree. The leaves are collected as fodder for domesticated animals. Nep. *culetro* (D) [cyokre = S]

bhaṅse adv., tomorrow. Nep. *bholi* (S) [baṅhe = D]

bhere n., the wild cherry tree, *Prunus puddum*. Nep. *paṅyū* (S) [brusiṅ = D]

bhetere see **bheterek**

bheterek <bhetere> n., bamboo mat. Nep. *citro* (D) [betre = S]

bhimbira n., termite. Nep. *dhamiro* (S) [domoṅca = D]

bhitte aṅkalak n., a species of gecko that lives inside houses (lit. wall gecko)
<Nep. *bhittā*. Nep. *māusulī* (D) [bitya kaṅkala? = S]

bhoṅya? n., potato, *Solanum tuberosum*. Nep. *ālu* (S) [kwāi = D]

bhuṅla n., the chaff or husk of grain. Nep. *bhus* (D)

bhutbhute n., the white-hot centre of a fire where there are no flames, embers, burning coals. Nep. *bhubro, khaliyo* (D)

c

cālāuni n., moon. Nep. *jūn* (D) [cala?uni = S]

cāṅge n., pigweed, *Amaranthus viridis*, *Amaranthus albus*. The green leaves are prepared and eaten as a vegetable curry, and are believed to help cure diarrhoea. The seeds of the flower are ground into a powder and mixed with water, and are taken as an infusion to help with general 'gastric' problems. The seeds can also be beaten and fried in clarified butter and fed to pregnant women to lessen pregnancy pains. Nep. *laṭṭhe sāg* (D) [cāṅgya = S]

cărcăre see **carcare**

cărğa <carğa> n., liver. Nep. *kalejo*

ca n., I son, brother's son, husband's brother's son, wife's sister's son. Nep. *chorā* (D)

ca n., II son, brother's son, husband's brother's son, wife's brother's son, wife's sister's son. Nep. *chorā* (S)

ca wari n., I son's wife, brother's son's wife, husband's brother's son's wife, wife's sister's son's wife. Nep. *chorā buhārī* (D)

ca wari n., II son's wife, brother's son's wife, husband's brother's son's wife, wife's brother's son's wife, wife's sister's son's wife. Nep. *chorā buhārī* (S)

cabusa vt., to carry; *ubo mi-ko demca cabu-sa ma-ja* (white person-GEN load carry-INF NEG-okay) one shouldn't carry the loads of tourists. Nep. *boknu*

cache n., I son's son, daughter's son. Nep. *nāti* (D)

cache n., II son's son, son's daughter, daughter's son, daughter's daughter, i.e. grandchild of either gender. Nep. *nāti, nātinī* (S)

cache jyamari n., son's daughter's husband or daughter's daughter's husband, i.e. granddaughter's husband. Nep. *nātinī juvāī* (S) [*cachi ḍamari* = D]

cache wari n., son's son's wife, daughter's son's wife. Nep. *nātinī buhārī*

cachi n., son's daughter, daughter's daughter. Nep. *nātinī* (D)

cachi ḍamari n., son's daughter's husband, daughter's daughter's husband. Nep. *nātinī juvāī* (D) [*cache jyamari* = S]

cadumsa vt., to dry children by the fire, rub down and dry after washing, heat one's hands up by the fire and then lay them on others to transmit heat; *găi ucyaca tha-ŋa-du beryaŋ, tete-ye găi-găi cadum-Ø-ŋa-n* (I small be-1S-NPT that.time elder.sister-ERG I-PM dry-SAS-1S-PT) When I was young, my elder sister dried me by the fire. Nep. *sekāunu*

cahuca n., men, menfolk, male. Nep. *lognemānche, keṭā mānche* (D) [*calaca* = S]

căi see **coi**

căi nalit n., blood vessel, vein. Nep. *nasā, nāḍī* (S) [*sasa* = D]

căiŋgya n., pigweed, *Amaranthus viridis*, *Amaranthus albus*. Nep. *laṭṭhe sāg* (S) [*căiŋge* = D]

caksa vt., to cover, patch, overlay bamboo work when there are holes or breaks; *lembe cak-ko măi-Ø-du* (winnowing.tray patch-ADH must-SAS-NPT) the winnowing tray must be patched. Nep. *mornu* (D)

cakur la? n., right hand. Nep. *dăyă, dăhīne, khāne hāt* (S) [cf. *cyasa la?*, *cakhur lak* = D]

cakhur lak n., right hand. Nep. *dăyă, dăhīne, khāne hāt* (D) [*cakur la?* ~ *cyasa la?* = S]

- calaca** n., men, menfolk, males. Nep. *lognemānche* (S) [cahuca = D]
- calaca hu** n., younger brother. Nep. *bhāi* (S)
- calak** n., air potato, *Dioscorea bulbifera*. The leaves are collected as fodder for domesticated animals. The bulb can be consumed when boiled and skinned, but the thicker veins must be removed since they are too chewy to be eaten. The creepers have a blossom which can also be eaten when boiled. Nep. *gīṭhā* (D) [cala? = S]
- cala?** n., air potato, *Dioscorea bulbifera*. Nep. *gīṭhā* (S) [calak = D]
- cala?uni** n., moon. Nep. *jūn* (S) [cālāuni = D]
- calda** n., male-fern, *Dryopteris filix-mas*; edible fern crozier, *Dryopteris cochleata*. Nep. *sothar* (S) [caltak = D]
- cali** n., ladder, notched log or bamboo trunk of tree used as ladder. Nep. *bharyān*
- calou** n., Himalayan nettle, *Girardinia diversifolia*. The very top bud is edible when prepared as a vegetable curry. The stems are beaten, dried and boiled to make a thread which is then woven into traditional nettle clothing. The spines of the Himalayan nettle are believed to stimulate milk production. If cows and buffaloes are not lactating, they are thought to be possessed and are then beaten with the nettles to make them lactate. Thangmi shamans also beat humans possessed by evil spirits with these wild nettles in the belief that this will end the possession. The Himalayan nettle should not be touched or eaten by family members of a deceased person on the day of death. If the deceased is one's mother or father, this prohibition remains in place for a whole year. Nep. *ban sisnu* [cf. naṅāi]
- calta siri** n., a female Thangmi clan name attested in the village of Suspā.
- caltak** n., male-fern, *Dryopteris filix-mas*; edible fern crozier, *Dryopteris cochleata*. This is used as soft padding for livestock pens, and functions as a natural blanket or mattress. It is also spread on maize fields as fertiliser. Nep. *sothar* (D) [calda = S]
- camāi** n., I daughter, brother's daughter, husband's brother's daughter, wife's sister's daughter. Nep. *chorī* (D)
- camāi** n., II daughter, brother's daughter, husband's brother's daughter, wife's brother's daughter, wife's sister's daughter. Nep. *chorī* (S)
- camāi ḍamari** n., daughter's husband, brother's daughter's husband, husband's brother's daughter's husband, wife's sister's daughter's husband. Nep. *chorī juvāi* (D) [camāi jyamari = S]
- camāi jyamari** n., daughter's husband, brother's daughter's husband, husband's brother's daughter's husband, wife's brother's daughter's husband, wife's sister's daughter's husband. Nep. *chorī juvāi* (S) [camāi ḍamari = D]

camăi wari n., women folk, female relatives. Nep. *celī beṭī*

camăica n., woman, female, girl. Nep. *āimāi, keṭī, keṭī mānche* (D)

camăicahu n., younger sister. Nep. *bahinī* (S)

camek n., red Himalayan bamboo, *Thamnocalamus spathiflorus*; tufted bamboo, *Dendrocalamus hamiltoni*. The primary use is for making bamboo household articles such as baskets and mats, but it is also used in furniture construction. The small bamboo shoots can be eaten as a vegetable curry, and the leaves are collected as fodder for domesticated animals. It can also be used as a rope to tie or bundle things together. Bamboo has multiple ritual uses in Thangmi culture, as the flagpole for a shaman's banner in rituals, and in the construction of various articles to send the deceased to heaven during the Thangmi death ritual. If bamboo leaves are fed to lactating cows and buffaloes, their milk is believed to dry up very quickly. The fodder is therefore only given to male bovines or old females. Nep. *māliṅgo, coyā* (D) [cf. liṅliṅ, came? ~ rapacame? = S]

came? n., tufted bamboo, *Dendrocalamus hamiltoni*. Nep. *coyā bās* (S) [cf. liṅliṅ, camek = D]

cancanek n., white-eyed buzzard, *Butastur teesa*. Nep. *bāj* (D) [sanica = S]

canyău n., a species of reproductive bee which doesn't make honey. Nep. *kālo ariṅgal* (D)

caṅ n., the chir pine, Himalayan long-leaved pine, *Pinus roxburghii*. The wood is excellent for furniture construction, while the kindling or smaller branches are used as flaming torches to light the way at night. Resin is released from the incisions where branches are cut, and this can be tapped and used as fuel. When dried, the cone at the end of the branches can also be turned into a flaming torch since it is very flammable. This cone exudes a sticky substance which is also used as a glue to bind things together. The wood is also burnt during exorcism rituals. During various Thangmi rituals, the flaming torches must be made from *caṅ*. Nep. *sallā*

carcare <cărcăre> n., the red-fruited bramble, *Rubus moluccanus*. The leaves are collected as fodder for domesticated animals. The stems are used to make string or rope to bind things together, particularly to attach livestock to their stakes. The rope is strong enough to be used to pull heavy items, such as in the construction of wooden bridges. Nep. *pānī-laharā* (D)

carṇa see **cărṇa**

caroksa vt., to spin thread; *thoṇi ama-ye miṅ tak-sa-kăi naṅăi carok-Ø-u-no* (old.woman mother-ERG cloth weave-INF-PM Himalayan.nettle spin-SAS-3P-3→3/PT) in order to weave her clothes, the old mother spun the Himalayan nettle. Nep. *kātnu* (D)

catik n., parrot tree, East Indian walnut, *Albizia lebbek*. The leaves are collected as fodder for domesticated animals, and the trunk is burnt as firewood. Nep. *śīrīṣ*

catok n., old-fashioned torch made of fine pieces of highly-flammable wood chippings. Nep. *rāko* (D)

catoksa vt., I to go for a walk or wander with a torch, to shine a light in a dark place; *yamiryaṇ ni-ko dese-te ban-pali catok-eṇ-du* (nowadays we-GEN village-LOC friend-p walk.with.light-pAS-NPT) in our village these days, the Maoists (lit. friends) have torchlight processions. Nep. *bālera hiḍnu* (D) [athousa = S]

catoksa vt., II to set fire to a torch, light a torch. Nep. *bālnu* (D)

catta?sa vi., to be in pain. Nep. *dukhnu* (S) [kalāisa = D]

cawasa <cawatsa> vi., to walk, wander, roam, travel; *gāi-go nem ra-let-sa-kāi ahe cawa-ko māi-Ø-du* (I-GEN house come.from.level-appear-INF-PM much walk-ADH must-SAS-NPT) to get to my house, you need to walk a lot. Nep. *hīḍnu*

cawatsa see **cawasa**

ce n., the Nepal or Indian chestnut tree, *Castanopsis hystrix*, *Castanopsis indica*. The leaves are collected as fodder for domesticated animals, and the trunk is used for furniture construction. The smaller chippings are burnt as firewood. The nuts are roasted and eaten as snacks, and the smallest leaves are boiled in water to make ink. During the Thangmi death ritual, shamans use branches of the chestnut tree to kill evil spirits. Leafy branches are dipped in boiling water and used to beat the possessed person (who must be naked for the cure to be efficacious) during Thangmi exorcism rituals. Nep. *kaṭus*, *dhālne kaṭus* (D) [ce? = S]

cebo?osa see **cibo?osa**

ceksa vt., to sting, bite. Nep. *cilnu*, *toknu* (D) [ce?esa = S]

cekhetcha vt., to show. Nep. *dekhāunu* (S) [cf. *uchyi?isa*, *cikhetsa* = D]

celetcha vt., to remove, take out of. Nep. *nikālnu* (S) [ciletsa = D]

cema n., triangular straw basket into which fermented maize is put, to which water is then added for the preparation of beer. Nep. *cālnu*, *chapanī* (D) [kitte = S]

ceṇsa vt., I to load, thrust into, force into; *bubu seṇ-ko demca ceṇ-to-le, nem dāi yah-Ø-an* (elder.brother firewood-GEN load load-TPP-PCL house towards go-SAS-3S/PT) having packed his load, elder brother set off homewards. Nep. *bhārī hālnu*, *khāḍnu*

ceṇsa vt., II to pile, heap up, build a wall, put things on top of one another. Nep. *khapīyāunu*, *cāñ pārnū* (D)

cepho?osa vt., to libate, splash somebody or something, sprinkle with water, make something wet. Nep. *charkāunu*, *chyāpnu* (S) [latsa = D]

- cereṇ-cereṇ** adj., glaring, scorching; *yaṇ cereṇ-cereṇ uni tow-Ø-an* (today scorching sun shine-SAS-3S/PT) today the sun is really scorching. Nep. *ṭaṇṭālāpur, carko* (D)
- cerepeṭek** n., white heather, *Gaultheria fragrantissima*. Nep. *macheno* (D) [cf. *meluṇ*]
- cesre?sa** vt., to arouse, wake or get someone up. Nep. *uṭhāunu, byujhāunu* (S) [cisereksa = D]
- cetheri** adj., poorly proportioned, fat on top and thin at the bottom (used to describe people with odd-shaped bodies or for poorly woven bamboo baskets). (D) [cf. *petheri*]
- ceṭi** n., a platform made of bamboo strips on which offerings are made to the spirit of the deceased during the death ritual. (D) [cf. ritual term: *elebetheri*]
- ce?** n., the Nepal or Indian chestnut tree, *Castanopsis hystrix*, *Castanopsis indica*. Nep. *kaṭus, ḍhālne kaṭus* (S) [ce = D]
- ce?esa** vt., to sting, bite. Nep. *cilnu, ʔoknu* (S) [ceksa = D]
- cibisa** vt., to cause to enter, make enter, thrust in; *hu aṇal-Ø-an, gǎ-ye camǎica-ko nem duṇ-ṇaṇ ci-bih-u-n-uṇ* (younger.brother be.ashamed-SAS-3S/PT I-ERG woman-GEN house within-inside CAUS-enter-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT) younger brother was embarrassed, but I made him enter the woman's house. Nep. *pasāunu* (D)
- cibosa** vt., to cause to grow; *ni-ye lakaṇe ci-bo-wa-du* (we-ERG radish CAUS-grow-1p→2/3-NPT) we are growing radishes. Nep. *umārnu* (D)
- cibo?osa** <cebo?osa> vt., to upset, pour out, spill, overthrow. Nep. *ghoṭṭyāunu* (S) [loksa = D]
- cicabusa** vt., to cause to carry; *ubo mi-ye gǎi-gǎi demca ci-cabuh-Ø-u-no* (white person-ERG I-PM load CAUS-carry-SAS-3P-3→3/PT) the tourist made me carry his load. Nep. *bokāunu* (D)
- cicabutsisa** vr., to ask to be carried; *huca kerep-Ø-ta-le, ni nama ci-cabut-si-Ø-n* (child cry-SAS-IPP-PCL we with CAUS-carried-REF-SAS-PT) the child cried and begged to be carried. Nep. *bokī māgnu* (D)
- cicamisa** vt., to put to bed, put to sleep; *oste-ko huca ci-cami-ko mǎi-Ø-du* (self-GEN child CAUS-sleep-ADH must-SAS-NPT) one should put one's own child to sleep. Nep. *sutāunu* (D) [cicami?sa = S]
- cicami?sa** vt., to put to bed, put to sleep. Nep. *sutāunu* (S) [cicamisa = D]
- cicarisa** vt., to frighten, reproach, scold, scare, make someone afraid; *humi-kǎi ci-cari-sa ma-ja* (younger.sister-PM CAUS-frighten-INF NEG-okay) you shouldn't scare your younger sister. Nep. *dhamkāunu, tarsāunu* (D) [cicari?sa = S]
- cicari?sa** vt., to frighten. Nep. *tarsāunu* (S) [cicarisa = D]

- cicawatcha** vt., to walk somebody or something, drive cattle. Nep. *hīḍāunu* (S)
[cicawatsa = D]
- cicawatsa** vt., to walk somebody or something, drive cattle; *gǎ-ye sya wa-sa-kǎi ci-cawat-u-n-du* (I-ERG bovine plough-INF-PM CAUS-walk-3P-1s→3-NPT) I am driving the cows to plough the fields. Nep. *hīḍāunu* (D) [cicawatcha = S]
- cici** n., meat, flesh. <Newar *cici*, <Nep. *cicī*, *māsu*
- cici koṭesa** vt., to cut or slice small pieces of meat. <Nep. *māsu* (*cicī*) *kāṭnu*
- cici palsa** vt., to cut or slice a big piece of meat. <Nep. *māsu* (*cicī*) *kāṭnu*
- cikikoṇ** n., a chopping block, a block of wood on which food is chopped. Nep. *acānu* (D)
- cicikhui** n., rufous-vented tit, *Parus rubidiventris*. <Nep. *setogardane cicilkoṭe* (D)
- cicipore** n., [ritual language] chicken meat distributed to all the attendees of a wedding ceremony. (D)
- cici?sa** vt., to fasten, stick, join. Nep. *ṭāṣnu* (S)
- cicumsa** vt., to be captured, be made captive; *gwi-kǎi ci-cum-Ø-u-no* (thief-PM CAUS-catch-SAS-3P-3→3/PT) the thief was caught. Nep. *samātāunu* (D)
- cichitsa** vt., to have sexual intercourse; *gǎi-go uma-ye to mi-kǎi ci-chit-Ø-u-no* (I-GEN wife-ERG that person-PM CAUS-fuck-SAS-3P-3→3/PT) my wife had sex with that man. Nep. *cikāunu* (D)
- cichyemsa** vt., to break, crack. Nep. *phuṭāunu* (S) [cf. *cīthemsa* = D]
- cidoroksa** <cidroksa> vt., to cause to run, to make gallop; *to-ye warak-te ṭuṇi ci-ja-sa-kǎi ci-dorok-Ø-u-no* (that-ERG precipice-LOC goat CAUS-graze-INF-PM CAUS-run-SAS-3P-3→3/PT) to get the goat to graze by the cliff, he made it run. Nep. *kudāunu*, *dagurāunu* (D)
- cidosa** vt., to introduce someone to someone else; *gǎ-ye bubu-kǎi ban nama ci-doh-u-n-uṇ* (I-ERG elder.brother-PM friend with CAUS-know-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT) I introduced my brother to my friend. Nep. *cināunu* (D)
- cidroksa** see **cidoroksa**
- ciḍisa** vt., to get someone to comb someone else's hair; *camǎi-ye ama-kǎi kapu ci-ḍih-Ø-u-du* (daughter-ERG mother-PM head CAUS-comb-SAS-3P-NPT) the daughter is getting her mother to comb her hair. Nep. *kapāl korna lagāunu* (D)
- cigapsa** vt., to bring right up to, to escort, lead, fetch, share out, cause to reach; *bore-te isa ken boṭha-to-le ci-gap-sa* (marriage-LOC cooked.rice vegetable.curry share.out-TPP-PCL CAUS-finish-INF) at a wedding, the cooked rice and vegetable curry is divided out and shared out. Nep. *puryāunu* (D)
- ciglencha** vi., to remain (of food), be left over, save, gather together. Nep. *ubhārnu*, *jagera garnu* (S)
- ciguisa** see **cigwisa**

- cigwisa** <ciguisa> vt., to cause to steal; *to-ye hu-kǎi nunu ci-gwih-Ø-u-no* (that-ERG younger.brother-PM milk CAUS-steal-SAS-3P-3→3/PT) he got his younger brother to steal the milk. Nep. *corāunu* (D)
- cihatcha** vt., to cause to fall from a height, cause to fall down, make drop. Nep. *khasālhu* (S) [cirossa = D]
- cijasa** vt., I to get someone else to graze an animal; *gǎ-ye ban-kǎi sya ci-jah-u-n-du* (I-ERG friend-PM cow CAUS-graze-3P-1s→3-1s→3/NPT) I got my friend to graze my cow. Nep. *carāuna lagāunu* (D)
- cijasa** vt., II to heal, to make better, to cause to recover; *guru-ye tete-kǎi mut-to-le ci-jah-Ø-u-no* (shaman-ERG elder.sister-PM blow-TPP-PCL CAUS-heal-SAS-3P-3→3/PT) the shaman, blowing on elder sister, caused her to get better. Nep. *bisek pārnu* (D)
- cijoisa** vt., to make a leak, cause to drip, pierce through something, put through; *humi-ye gaṇa them-to-le paṅku ci-joih-Ø-u-no* (younger.sister-ERG earthenware.jug break-TPP-PCL water CAUS-drip-SAS-3P-3→3/PT) by breaking the earthenware jug, younger sister caused water to leak. Nep. *chirāunu*, *cuvāunu* (D)
- cijyaṇsa** vi., to speak, talk; *to thaṇmi kham ma-cijyaṇ* (that Thangmi language NEG-speak) he doesn't speak Thangmi. Nep. *bolnu* (D) [kacya?sa = S]
- cikāisa** vt., to cause to be taken out, bring out, take out; *gǎi-go koṇṭe-ko puṭu ucyapa-kǎi apa-ye ci-kāih-Ø-u-no* (I-GEN leg-GEN splinter father's.younger.brother-PM father-ERG CAUS-remove-SAS-3P-3→3/PT) father got his younger brother to remove the splinter from my foot. Nep. *jhikāunu* (D)
- cikalāisa** vt., to cause to hurt, cause pain, cause distress; *ban-kǎi rage let-Ø-an, tyāṇ gǎi-gǎi ci-kalāi-Ø-ṇa-n* (friend-PM anger appear-SAS-3S/PT then I-PM CAUS-hurt-SAS-1s-PT) my friend got angry, thus causing me to be hurt. Nep. *dukhāunu* (D)
- cikatsa** vt., to cause to snatch away, cause to take away; *oste-ko bubu-ko pepelek ci-kat-sa ma-ja* (self-GEN elder.brother-GEN money CAUS-snatch-INF NEG-okay) one shouldn't cause the money of one's own brother to be stolen. Nep. *khosāunu* (D)
- cikincha** vt., to give someone a fright, give someone a start, frighten another person. Nep. *tarsāunu* (S) [cikinsa = D]
- cikinsa** vt., to give someone a fright, give someone a start, frighten another person; *ṭaye huca-ye thoṇi ama-kǎi ci-kin-Ø-u-no* (night child-ERG old.woman mother-PM CAUS-frightened-SAS-3P-3→3/PT) at night, the child gave the old mother a fright. Nep. *tarsāunu* (D) [cikincha = S]

- cikumsa** vt., to cause to be plucked, cause to pick, have plucked; *jekha mi-ye ni-kăi saŋa ci-kum-i-n* (big person-ERG we-PM millet CAUS-pick-1pPS-PT) the important person got us to pick the millet. Nep. *ṭipāunu* (D)
- cikuri** n., digit (finger or toe). Nep. *aūlā* (S) [cf. *cukri* = D]
- cikutriŋsa** vt., to cause to hang up, string up, suspend; *wa cah-Ø-u-du loŋe-kăi domba-te ci-kutriny-eŋ-no* (chicken eat-sAS-3P-NPT jackal-PM tree-LOC CAUS-hang-pAS-3→3/PT) they caused the jackal who was eating the chickens to be strung up on a tree. Nep. *jhuṇḍyāunu* (D)
- cikhetsa** vt., to show, point out; *găi-go naka ban-e to-ko nem ci-khet-Ø-ŋa-n* (I-GEN new friend-ERG that-GEN house CAUS-show-sAS-1s-PT) my new friend showed me his house. Nep. *dekhāunu* (D) [cekhetča ~ uchyi?sa = S]
- cile** n., I cush-cush, yam, *Dioscorea deltoidea*, *Dioscorea trifida*. The bulb and fruit which grow on the creeper are edible when peeled and boiled. Nep. *bhyākur*
- cile** n., II tongue. Nep. *jibro*
- ciletsa** vt., to remove, take out of, cause to appear; *gaŋ-Ø-du seŋ nem duŋ-yiŋ ci-let-u-n-du* (dry-sAS-NPT wood house within-ABL CAUS-appear-3P-1s→3-NPT) I'll take the dried wood from inside the house. Nep. *nikālnu* (D) [celetča = S]
- ciloŋsa** vt., to cause, appoint, cause to be made; *jekha mi-ye palam-kăi jet ci-loŋ-Ø-u-no* (big person-ERG mother's.elder.brother-PM work CAUS-do-sAS-3P-3→3/PT) the important person got my mother's elder brother to do his work [for him]. Nep. *garāunu* (D)
- cilunsa** vt., to cause to raise, lift, make climb, cause to climb; *paŋ kum-sa-kăi, gă-ye hu-kăi dombo-te ci-lun-u-n-uŋ* (sour.fruit pick-INF-PM I-ERG younger.brother-PM tree-LOC CAUS-climb-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT) in order to pick the sour fruit, I made younger brother climb the tree. Nep. *ukālnu* (D)
- cime** n., hair (on the scalp). Nep. *kapāl* (D) [cf. *mus*]
- ciminsa** vt., to cook, cause to ripen; *asare ni-Ø-du isa uma-ye ci-min-Ø-u-no* (tasty be-sAS-3P-NPT cooked.rice wife-ERG CAUS-ripen-sAS-3P-3→3/PT) my wife cooked a delicious meal. Nep. *pakāunu* (D) [noŋsa = S]
- cimirliksa** vt., to cause to shine, make glitter, polish, brighten. Nep. *camkāunu* (D)
- cimitsa** vt., to look angrily; *to-ye găi-găi cimit-Ø-ŋa-du* (that-ERG I-PM look.angrily-sAS-1s-NPT) he is looking at me angrily. Nep. *risāera hernu, ākhā jhimkyāunu* (D)
- cimorsa** vt., to cause to rot; *bubu-ye paŋku-ye seŋ ci-mor-Ø-u-no* (elder.brother-ERG water-INS firewood CAUS-rot-sAS-3P-3→3/PT) elder brother caused the firewood to become rotten through [the presence of] water. Nep. *makāunu* (D) [cf. *ciŋya?sa* = S]

- cimosa** vt., to cause to survive, revive; *warak-yiŋ ros-Ø-du mi ci-moh-u-n-uŋ* (precipice-ABL fall-sAS-NPT person CAUS-survive-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT) I revived the man who had fallen from the cliff. Nep. *jagāunu, taŋgrāunu, bacāunu* (D)
- cinampasa** vt., to cause to amuse, divert, make fun, make play; *thaŋmi-ko huca-pali busikasi-te ci-nampay-eŋ-du* (thangmi-GEN child-p dirt-LOC CAUS-play-pAS-NPT) Thangmi children are made to play in the dirt and dust. Nep. *khelāunu* (D)
- cinamsa** vt., to cause to smell; *ṭhoŋi-ye isa loŋ-to-le gǎi-gǎi ci-nam-Ø-ŋa-n* (old.woman-ERG cooked.rice do-TPP-PCL I-PM CAUS-smell-sAS-1s-PT) having cooked the food, my wife made me smell it. Nep. *suŋhāunu* (D)
- cinasāisa** vt., to cause to be heard, recite, relate, repeat; *ni-ko wakhe to-kǎi ci-nasāi-sa ma-ja* (we-GEN word that-PM CAUS-hear-INF NEG-okay) we shouldn't tell him our secret words. Nep. *sunāunu* (D)
- cincirak** n., small green cricket. Nep. *birālī kirā*. (D) [cf. ṭhenthelek, cyenchyle? = S]
- cinem** n., iron. Nep. *phalām*
- cinem ṇesa** vt., to forge iron. Nep. *phalām kuṭnu* (D) [cinem ṇeṣa = S]
- cinem ṇeṣa** vt., to forge iron. Nep. *phalām kuṭnu* (S) [cinem ṇesa = D]
- ciniksa** vt., to make pregnant, to conceive, impregnate; *gǎ-ye huca ci-nik-u-n-uŋ* (I-ERG child CAUS-conceive-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT) I conceived a child; *uma-kǎi ci-nik-ko mǎi-Ø-du* (wife-PM CAUS-impregnate-ADH must-sAS-NPT) one should impregnate one's wife. Nep. *garba dhāraŋ garnu, garba dhāraŋ garāunu* (D)
- ciŋasisa** vr., to be said, be named; *to gwi ci-ŋa-si-Ø-du* (he thief CAUS-called-REF-sAS-NPT) he wants to be called a thief. Nep. *bhani māgnu* (D)
- ciŋya** <cīyǎ ~ cīŋa> n., nose. Nep. *nāk*
- ciŋya dorōŋ** n., nostril. Nep. *nāk-ko pvāl, nāthri* (D) [ciŋyako dorōŋ = S]
- ciŋyako dorōŋ** n., nostril. Nep. *nāk-ko pvāl, nāthri* (S) [ciŋya dorōŋ = D]
- ciŋyasa** vt., to cause to ferment; *toŋ tha-sa habi, ci-ŋya-ko mǎi-Ø-du* (beer be-INF before CAUS-ferment-ADH must-sAS-NPT) before it become beer, it must made to ferment. Nep. *kuhāunu* (D) [ciŋyaṣa = S]
- ciŋyaṣa** vt., to rot away, waste away (not of food). Nep. *makāunu, kuhāunu* (S) [cf. morsa, cimorsa ~ ciŋyasa = D]
- ciṇesa** vt., to cause to be severely beaten, make someone thrash something or someone; *jekha mi-ye jet loŋ-sa mi-kǎi saŋa ci-ṇeh-Ø-u-no* (big person-ERG work do-INF person-PM millet CAUS-beat-sAS-3P-3→3/PT) the important person made the worker beat the millet. Nep. *godāunu, kuṭāunu* (D)

cipersa vt., to lift up, chase up, sweep away, cause to fly, take off; *gǎ-ye mama-wa ci-per-u-n-uŋ* (I-ERG FEM-chicken CAUS-fly-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT) I made the hen fly. Nep. *uḍāunu* (D)

ciplya n., a species of tree, *Persea odoratissima*. <Nep. *ciplo*. Nep. *kāulo* (D) [cf. akal, cyolampi = S]

ciposa vt., to scare away, drive away, drive out, chase away, cause to leave; *makar-e racya cyah-Ø-u-no, gǎ-ye hu-kǎi ci-poh-u-n-uŋ* (monkey-ERG paddy eat-SAS-3P-3→3/PT I-ERG younger.brother-PM CAUS-drive.away-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT) the monkey ate the paddy, so I made younger brother chase it away. Nep. *dhapāuna lagāunu* (D)

cipharsa vt., to make a flower open, to cause to blossom; *uni-ye reŋ ci-phar-Ø-u-no* (sun-ERG flower CAUS-blossom-SAS-3P-3→3/PT) the sun caused the flower to bloom. Nep. *phakrāuna lagāunu* (D)

ciphosa vt., to cause someone to make somebody or something else wet (not self), submerge, immerse; *gǎ-ye hu-kǎi huca-kǎi ci-phoh-u-n-uŋ* (I-ERG younger.brother-PM child-PM CAUS-make.wet-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT) I got younger brother to make the child wet. Nep. *aru-lāi bhijāuna lagāunu* (D) [cf. ciphososa = S]

ciphosisa vr., to want or ask to be made wet; *gǎi to nama ci-pho-si-ŋa-n* (I that with CAUS-make.wet-REF-1s-PT) I asked him to make me wet. Nep. *āphai bhiji māgnu* (D) [ciphososisa = S]

cipho?osa vt., to make someone or something wet. Nep. *aru-lāi bhijāunu* (S) [cf. ciphosa = D]

cipho?osisa vr., to ask to be made wet. Nep. *āphai bhiji māgnu* (S) [ciphosisa = D]

ciripiṭik amum n., a species of chewy edible mushroom, *Flammulina velutipes*. This chewy mushroom is cooked and consumed as a vegetable curry or preserved as a chutney. It ripens in the month of *sāun*. Nep. *chālā cyāu, paṭpaṭe cyāu* (D)

cirolsa vt., to cause to fall away; *rose-ye nem ci-rol-Ø-u-no* (landslide-ERG house CAUS-fall.away-SAS-3P-3→3/PT) the landslide caused the house to fall away. Nep. *bhatkāunu* (D)

cirossa <cirotsa> vt., to cause to fall from a height, cause to fall down, make drop; *ban-e warak-yiŋ ŋiŋ ci-ros-Ø-u-no* (friend-ERG precipice-ABL stone CAUS-fall-SAS-3P-3→3/PT) my friend made the rock fall from the cliff. Nep. *khasānu* (D) [cihatcha = S]

cirotsa see **cirossa**

- cirumsa** vt., to cause to bend, cause to wrinkle, cause to shrink; *gǎ-ye to-kǎi mīŋ ci-rum-u-n-du* (I-ERG that-PM cloth CAUS-wrinkle-3P-1s→3-NPT) I'm getting him to wrinkle the clothes. Nep. *khumcyāuna lagāunu* (D)
- cisa** vt., to throw, throw away; *mīryaŋ-ko isa ci-sa ma-ja* (yesterday-GEN food throw.away-INF NEG-okay) yesterday's food shouldn't be thrown away. Nep. *phālŋu* (D) [cf. warsa]
- cisāisa** vt., to cause to know, wake up from sleep; *ubo mi-ko kham to-kǎi ci-sǎiy-u-n-uŋ* (white person-GEN language that-PM CAUS-know-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT) I made him aware of the language of the white man. Nep. *sikāunu, byujhāunu* (D)
- cisereksa** vt., to arouse, to get someone up; *ni-ko apa ahe ami-Ø-du mi, ci-serek-ko mǎi-Ø-du* (we-GEN father much sleep-SAS-NPT person CAUS-wake-ADH must-SAS-NPT) our father is a great sleeper, he must be woken up. Nep. *uḥhāunu, byujhāunu* (D) [cesreʔsa = S]
- cisesa** vt., to cause to taste, cause to be tasted, give to taste; *ḥakadu toŋ tete-ye gǎi-gǎi ci-se-Ø-ŋa-n* (sweet beer elder.sister-ERG I-PM CAUS-taste-SAS-1s-PT) elder sister made me taste the sweet beer. Nep. *cakāunu* (D)
- cisutisa** vt., to cause to ward off evil spirits, cause to exorcise; *naŋ ma-thaŋ, guru-kǎi ci-suti-ko mǎi-Ø-du* (you NEG-be.able shaman-PM CAUS-exorcise-ADH must-SAS-NPT) you are unable [to do it], the shaman must be called upon to exorcise the spirits. Nep. *mansāuna lagāunu* (D)
- citabas** n., the day after tomorrow. Nep. *parsi* (D) [citabat = S]
- citabat** n., the day after tomorrow. Nep. *parsi* (S) [citabas = D]
- citaliŋ** n., two-sided drum played on the lap. Nep. *mādal* (D)
- citaŋsa** vt., to make happy, to cause to be happy, impress or please someone; *gǎi kerep-ŋa-thyo, bubu-ye ci-taŋ-Ø-ŋa-n* (I cry-1s-3sCOND elder.brother-ERG CAUS-happy-SAS-1s-PT) I was crying, but elder brother cheered me up. Nep. *khuṣi pārnu* (D)
- citapsa** vt., I to cause to finish; *isa hok-Ø-du, hu nany-e ci-tap-o!* (food be-SAS-NPT younger.brother you-ERG CAUS-finish-s→3/IMP) there is still some food left, younger brother, you polish it off! Nep. *sakāunu* (D)
- citapsa** vt., II to cause to play, cause to strike; *gǎ-ye kari karih-u-n-du, nany-e begale-kǎi citaliŋ ci-tap-o!* (I-ERG song sing-3P-1s→3-NPT you-ERG other-PM drum CAUS-play-s→3/IMP) I will sing a song, you get someone else to play the drum! Nep. *bajāuna lagāunu* (D)
- citasa** vt., I to cause to boil, to boil; *ubo mi-kǎi paŋku ahe ahe ci-ta-ko mǎi-Ø-du* (white person-PM water much much CAUS-boil-ADH must-SAS-NPT) water must be boiled a very long time for tourists [for them to be able to drink it]. Nep. *umālŋu* (D)

- citasa** vt., II to cause to defaecate, make shit; *huca-pali-kăi ălămtha kiŋi ci-ta-ko măi-Ø-du* (child-p-PM distant faeces CAUS-deposit-ADH must-sas-NPT) children should be made to defaecate far away. Nep. *hagāunu* (D)
- citelsa** vt., to cause to press down, cause to throw down, cause to oppress; *dony-e to-ko jet loŋ-sa mi-kăi ŋa-to-le ni-kăi ci-tel-i-n* (brahmin-ERG that-GEN work do-INF person-PM say-TPP-PCL we-PM CAUS-press-1pPS-PT) the Brahmin made his assistant oppress us. Nep. *thicāunu* (D)
- citiriksa** vt., to cause to tread on; *gă-ye sya-kăi ŋa-tuŋ-le gwi-kăi ci-tirik-u-n-uŋ* (I-ERG cow-PM say-1s/TPP-PCL thief-PM CAUS-tread.on-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT) I made the cow tread on the thief. Nep. *kulcāunu* (D)
- citisa** vt., to set fire to, kindle, light a fire; *ṭaye catok ci-ti-ko măi-Ø-du* (night flaming.torch CAUS-burn-ADH must-sas-NPT) at night, torches should be lit. Nep. *balāunu, salkāunu*
- cityaŋ** adv., the day before yesterday. Nep. *asti*
- cithilsa** vt., to cause to whitewash; *ni thil-sa ma-thaŋ, begale-kăi ci-thil-ko măi-Ø-du* (we whitewash-INF NEG-be.able other-PM CAUS-whitewash-ADH must-sas-NPT) we are unable to whitewash it, we must get someone else to do the whitewashing for us. Nep. *potna lagāunu* (D)
- cithisa** vt., to cause to touch; *paŋku adum hok-Ø-thyo, to-ye hu-kăi ci-thih-Ø-u-no* (water hot be-sas-3sCOND that-ERG younger.brother-PM CAUS-touch-sas-3P-3→3/PT) the water was hot, so he made his younger brother touch it. Nep. *chuvāunu* (D)
- cithumsa** vt., to cause to dip, cause to soak; *camăi-kăi ken nama saŋa-ko isa ci-thum-ko măi-Ø-du* (daughter-PM vegetable.curry with millet-GEN food CAUS-dip-ADH must-sas-NPT) daughter must be made to dip her millet paste into the vegetable curry. Nep. *copāunu* (D)
- ciṭolsa** vt., to cause someone to rinse something; *huca-ko ama-kăi miŋ ci-ṭol-u-n-uŋ* (child-GEN mother-PM cloth CAUS-rinse-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT) I made the child's mother rinse the clothes. Nep. *pakhālŋa lagāunu* (D)
- ciṭolsisa** vr., to ask someone to rinse onself; *to-nama găi ci-ṭol-si-ŋa-n* (that-with I CAUS-someone.to.rinse.me-REF-1s-PT) I asked him to rinse me off. Nep. *pakhālī māgnu* (D)
- ciṭhemsa** vt., to order or ask someone to break or crack something; *găi ari-ŋa-n, to-kăi kaŋ ci-ṭhem-u-n-uŋ* (I be.afraid-1s-PT that-PM boil CAUS-burst-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT) I was afraid so I made him burst my boil. Nep. *phuṭāuna lagāunu* (D)
[cf. cichyemsa = S]
- ciṭhiksa** vt., to make someone break, break off, pluck; *ni-ye ma-thaŋ-wa-n, to-kăi sya-ko sakpa ci-ṭhik-wa-n* (we-ERG NEG-be.able-1p→2/3-PT that-PM cow-GEN

rope CAUS-break-1p→2/3-PT) we were unable to do it, so we got him to untie the cow's rope. Nep. *chināuna lagāunu* (D)

ciṭhosa vt., to send someone to do something; *naṇ ya-sa ma-thaṇ, begale ban-kāi ci-ṭhoh-o!* (you go-INF NEG-be.able other friend-PM CAUS-send-s→3/PT) you are unable to go yourself, get your friend to send someone else. Nep. *paṭhāuna lagāunu* (D)

ciyeksa vt., to cause to burn, be spoiled; *saṇa ma-mel-Ø-u-no thaṇun, me-te ci-yek-Ø-u-no* (millet NEG-roast-sAS-3P-3→3/PT maybe fire-LOC CAUS-burnt-sAS-3P-3→3/PT) perhaps the millet wasn't roasted properly, because he caused it to be burnt in the fire. Nep. *ḍaḍāunu* (D)

ciyileksa vt., to cause to lick; *gā-ye sya-kāi kapu ci-yilek-u-n-uṇ* (I-ERG cow-PM head CAUS-lick-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT) I made the cow lick my head. Nep. *caṭāunu* (D)

cīṇa see **ciṇya**

cīyā see **ciṇya**

cīyā doron see **ciṇya doron**

coi <cāi> n., blood. Nep. *ragat*

cukri n., toe. Nep. *khuṭṭā-ko aālā* (D) [cf. cikuri = S]

cuksa vt., to insert, pour into; *apa-ko ugo-te usare cuk-ko māi-Ø-du* (father-GEN mouth-LOC medicine insert-ADH must-sAS-NPT) medicine must be poured into father's mouth. Nep. *hālhu* (D) [cf. thamsa]

cuksisa vr., to come to a complete stop and then fall when running; *to dorok-ca ya-Ø-thyo, soṇ-te cuk-si-Ø-n* (that run-PSG go-sAS-3sCOND river-LOC stop.and.fall-REF-sAS-PT) he had set off running, but when he came to the river he skidded to a halt and fell in. Nep. *hāmphālhu* (D) [cf. warsisa = S]

culi n., goat. Nep. *bākhro, bākhri* (S) [ṭuṇi = D]

cumsa vt., to seize, hold, grab, catch, grasp, clasp; *uma-ye gāi-go lak cum-Ø-ṇa-n* (wife-ERG I-GEN arm hold-sAS-1s-PT) my wife held on to my hand. Nep. *samātnu, samāunu* [cf. telsa = D]

cunāisa vt., to chew; *nar-nar cici cunāi-ko māi-Ø-du* (stringy meat chew-ADH must-sAS-NPT) stringy meat must be chewed. Nep. *capāunu*

cupsa vt., to kiss; *gāi uma-kāi cup-u-n-du* (I wife-PM kiss-3P-1s→3-NPT) I'm going to kiss my wife. <Nep. *cuppā*. Nep. *moī khānu* (D)

curuksa vt., to sew, stitch; *ṭek-Ø-du miṇ ama-ye curuk-Ø-u-no* (tear-sAS-NPT cloth mother-ERG sew-sAS-3P-3→3/PT) mother sewed the torn clothes. Nep. *siunu* (D) [curu?sa = S]

curu?sa vt., to sew, stitch. Nep. *siunu* (S) [curuksa = D]

curu?udu n., tailor, tailor's caste (lit. sew-sAS-NPT). Nep. *damāī* (S) [mutudu = D]

- cyakadu** adj., sweet, sugary. Nep. *guliyo* (S) [takadu = D]
cyakadu thasa vi., to be sweet. Nep. *guliyo hunu* (S) [takasa = D]
cyak-cyak adj., shredded, sliced. Nep. *chiyā-chiyā* (D)
cyala n., Cedrela tree, Moulmein tree, *Toona ciliata*. The trunk is used as firewood.
 Nep. *tūnā tūni* (S)
cyapjyu n., ancestor, elder. <Nep. *jyu*, Nep. *purkhā* (D)
cyapjyu aji n., husband's mother's father's mother, husband's father's father's mother, wife's mother's father's mother, wife's father's father's mother. (D)
cyapjyu chuku n., husband's mother's father's father, husband's father's father's father, wife's mother's father's father, wife's father's father's father. (D)
cyapriṅ n., a bamboo drying rack suspended above the fireplace, located in the *cyariṅ* area. Nep. *saraṅ* (D) [cf. *miliṅ* = D]
cyariṅ n., the whole area above the fireplace in which the *cyapriṅ* is situated. Nep. *saraṅ* (D)
cyasa vi. and vt., to eat. Nep. *khānu*
cyasa la? n., right hand. Nep. *dāyā, khāne hāt* (S) [cf. *cakur la?*, *cakhur lak* = D]
cyatane n., hand-crafted wooden spoon used to stir millet paste. Nep. *dābilo* (D) [cf. *ālyā*]
cyatṅmarṅ n., a species of thorny bush. (D)
cyatṅsisa vr., to warm oneself by the fire or in the sun; *baṭhe hara woi ma-loṅ, gāi uni cyatṅ-si-ṅa-du* (tomorrow what also NEG-do I sun warm-REF-1S-NPT) tomorrow I will do nothing, just sit in the sun all day. Nep. *āgo tāpnu, ghām tāpnu* (D)
cyaye <cyā?e> n., night. Nep. *rāti* (S) [ṭaye = D]
cyā?areṅ n., wooden drying rack suspended above the fireplace. Nep. *saraṅ* (S) [miliṅ = D]
cyā?e see **cyaye**
cyenchele? n., cricket. Nep. *birālī kirā* (S) [ṭhenṭhelek ~ cincirak = D]
cyepsa vt., to carry a child on one's flank. <Nep. *cyāpnu* (S) [ṭepsa II = D]
cyesensa vt., to teach, tell, explain. Nep. *sikāunu, batāunu* (S) [ṭisensa = D]
cyesensisa vr., to learn. Nep. *siknu* (S) [ṭisensisa = D]
cyē?esa vt., to tear (cloth or paper), lacerate. Nep. *cyātṅnu, cyātṅinu* (S) [ṭeksa = D]
cyikla? n., drongo cuckoo, *Surniculus lugubris*. Nep. *kālo cibe, cobe koilī* (S) [ṭiklak = D]
cyila adj., cold (of weather). Nep. *jāḍo* (S) [ṭila = D]
cyila cala n., cold season. Nep. *jāḍo mahinā* (S) [ṭila māine = D]
cyilasa vi., to be cold. Nep. *jāḍo hunu* (S) [ṭilasa = D]
cyobo adj., hybrid, cross-bred. Nep. *ṭhimāhā, ṭhimsī* (D)

- cyocy** n., female breast. Nep. *dudh* (D) [nunupuṭu = S]
- cyokoisa** vt., to sift, cull, remove impurities, sort out, move winnowing tray back and forth. Nep. *kelāunu, jhārnu* (S) [chyokoisa = D]
- cyokpa** n., yellow-bellied Prinia, *Prinia flaviventris*; a small bird whose flesh used to be used in the Thangmi death ritual. Nep. *pītodar ghāsephisto* (D)
- cyokre** n., a species of tree. Nep. *culetro* (S) [bhāmbāla = D]
- cyolāmpi** see **cyolampi**
- cyolampi** <cyolāmpi> n., a species of tree, *Persea odoratissima*. Nep. *seto kāulo* (S) [akal ~ ciplya = D]
- cyoporok** n., hut. Nep. *jhupro* (D)
- cyothrok** n., a species of barberry bush, common barberry, *Berberis asiatica*, *Berberis nepalensis*. This bush is primarily used for fencing on account of its sizeable thorns. In the month of *baisākh*, a small red fruit ripens which can be eaten raw. Nep. *cutro* (D)
- cyou** n., grease, fat. Nep. *boso* (S) [chyou = D]
- cyucyum** adj., I sharp, pointed; *to-ye cyucyum āikuca-ye camek pek-Ø-du* (that-ERG sharp knife-INS bamboo strip.bamboo-SAS-NPT) he is striping the bamboo with a sharp knife. Nep. *tikhō*
- cyucyum** n., II peak, summit, top of a tree. <Nep. *culī, cucuro, tuppo, tākūrī*
- cyucyum ṇiṇ** n., a large self-standing upright rock with a pointed top. <Nep. *cuccā bhaeko dhuṅgā* (D) [cyucyum poṭoṇ = S]
- cyucyum poṭoṇ** n., a large self-standing upright rock with a pointed top. <Nep. *cuccā bhaeko dhuṅgā* (S) [cyucyum ṇiṇ = D]
- cyucyumsa** vt., to sharpen to a point (bamboo, wood, pencil); *āikuca-ye tokmaṇ cyucyum-u-n-du* (large.knife-INS walking.stick sharpen.to.point-3P-1s→3-NPT) I am sharpening the walking stick to a point with the knife. Nep. *tikhārnu* (D)
- cyukluksa** vi. and vt., to submerge in water producing a gurgling sound; *bari-ko paṅku-te ṇiṇ cyukluk-Ø-an* (unirrigated.field-GEN water-LOC stone submerge.and.gurgle-SAS-3S/PT) the stone sank in the water-logged field and gurgled. Nep. *pānī-mā ke ḍallo cij hāle pachi āune āvāj* (D) [cf. chyuklu?sa = S]
- cyuklu?sisā** vr., to rinse (one's mouth). Nep. *pakhālnu, khokalnu* (S) [kulsa = D]
- cyukri** n., toe. Nep. *khuṭṭā-ko aṭlā* (D) [cyukuri = S]
- cyuku** n., black ant. Nep. *kamilā* (S) [ṭiku = D]
- cyukunare** n., back of the head. Nep. *tāuko pachādī* (S) [cyukunḍaṇi = D]
- cyukunḍaṇi** see **cyukunḍaṇi**
- cyukunḍaṇi** <cyukunḍaṇi> n., back of the head. Nep. *tāuko pachādī* (D) [cyukunare = S]

- cyukupsa** vt., to bend, to cause to wrinkle, cause to shrink. Nep. *khumcyāunu* (S)
- cyukuri** n., digit (finger or toe). Nep. *aūlā* (S) [cyukri = D]
- cyukwāi** n., small crab. Nep. *gaṅgaṭo* (S) [kaṅkarek = D]
- cyuṇumsa** vt., to immerse. Nep. *copālhu, pakhālhu* (S)
- cyuri** n., I hail. Nep. *asinā* (S) [serba = D]
- cyuri** n., II top of a tree, mountain peak, summit of a hill. <Nep. *cucuro*. Nep. *tuppo, ṭākuri* (D) [cf. cyucyum = S]
- cyurkun** n., house sparrow, *Passer domesticus*. Nep. *bhaṅgero* (D) [koṭeṅ jyaṅgareṅ = S]
- cyurkunsuna** n., a species of shrub. The leaves are collected as fodder for domesticated animals and the flower is used in Thangmi wedding rituals. The shrub is strung up in the groom's house the night before a wedding to ensure that the couple have a long and prosperous life together. (D)
- cyurthin** adj., a mouth shaped like a monkey, used to describe people with very prominent lips; *ka huca-ko ugo cyurthin hok-Ø-du* (this child-GEN mouth monkey.like be-SAS-NPT) this child has a face like a monkey. (D)

ch

cha see **chya**

- chansisa** vr., to stretch the body; *nem duṅ-ṇaṅ chan-si-sa ma-ja* (house within-inside stretch.the.body-REF-INF NEG-okay) one shouldn't stretch one's body inside the house. Nep. *āñ tānnu* (D)
- chaṅ** n., wicker cradle or bamboo basket to carry a baby, cot. Nep. *kokro* (D)
- chasa** vt., to lay an egg; *mama-wa-ye ahum chah-Ø-u-no* (FEM-chicken-ERG egg lay-SAS-3P-3→3/PT) the hen layed an egg. Nep. *phul pārnu* (D) [cf. ahum tasa]
- chemariṅ** n., destruction, damage, loss, waste. Nep. *hāni* (D)
- chera** n., traditional blanket made of Himalayan nettle used to keep warm at night. Nep. *borā* (D)
- cherkeṭe?** n., small broom made from red Himalayan bamboo. Nep. *jhāḍū* (S)
- chichidurdur** n., hate, dislike, disgust, contempt; *chichidurdur loṅ-sa* (dislike do-INF) to dislike. Nep. *ghīn, man naparāunu* (D)
- chinik** n., a chutney made of perilla, *Perilla frutescens*. Once the seeds are black and have ripened, they are picked and ground. The chutney is often eaten with cucumber. Nep. *ban silām-ko acār* (D) [cf. more]
- chitcha** vt., to copulate, fuck. Nep. *ciknu* (S) [chitsa = D]

- chitsa** vt., to copulate, fuck; *nembo-ko uma-kăi chit-sa ma-ja* (other.person-GEN wife-PM fuck-INF NEG-okay) one shouldn't have sex with other people's wives. Nep. *ciknu* (D) [chitcha = S]
- chi?isa** vt., to bind together. Nep. *găsnu* (S)
- chok-chok** adj., complete darkness, dead of night; *nyoŋi chokchok-ŋaŋ ni ray-i-n* (evening complete.darkness-inside we come.from.level-1pPS-PT) yesterday evening, we came back when it was totally dark. Nep. *nispattā ādhyāro* (D)
- cholsa** vt., to insert an arm into a shirt or blouse, or a foot into a sock and then a shoe; *miŋ bu-si-sa habi lak chol-ko măi-Ø-du* (cloth cover-REF-INF before hand insert.limb-ADH must-SAS-NPT) before putting on your clothes you have to insert your hand in the sleeve. Nep. *ghusārnu, hālnu* (D)
- choncāi** adv., quick, quickly. Nep. *chiŋo* (D)
- choŋchoŋ warak** n., an extremely high and steep cliff which causes vertigo or dizziness. Nep. *kahālī lāgdo bhir* (D)
- cho?ocho?osa** vt., to tap a bundle of long things into place in order to make them all the same level (as in when making a broom). Nep. *thakthakāunu* (S)
- cho?osa** vt., to break. Nep. *bhăcnu* (S) [torsa = D]
- chuku** n., I husband's father, wife's father, brother's wife's father. Nep. *sasurā* (D)
- chuku** n., II husband's father, wife's father, younger brother's wife's father. Nep. *sasurā* (S)
- chumpi** n., [archaic term] finger. Nep. *aūlā* (D)
- chusisa** vr., to decorate, make oneself up, put on makeup, make oneself beautiful, clothe and ornament oneself. Nep. *nakkal pārnu, siŋgārnu* (S)
- chya** <cha> n., salt; *chya ma-se-Ø-du* (salt NEG-taste-SAS-NPT) unsalty, i.e. tasteless, insipid, vapid, flavourless. Nep. *nūn*
- chyapaŋ** n., ritual pollution related to death. Nep. *juŋho* (D)
- chyapaŋ cisa** vt., to caste off the ritual pollution at the end of the death ritual (lit. pollution throw.away-INF); *mumpra tap-ŋa libi, ŋamari-ye chyapaŋ ci-ko măi-Ø-du* (death.ritual finish-CNS after son.in.law-ERG ritual.pollution throw.away-ADH must-SAS-NPT) once the death ritual has finished, the son-in-law must ritually purify himself. Nep. *juŋho phālnu* (D)
- chyare** n., weeds, tufts of grass. Nep. *jhār* (S) [thare = D]
- chyasa** vi., to be peeled off, scraped off, stripped off, shed skin. Nep. *tāchinu* (S) [khitsisa = D]
- chyati** n., waterfall. Nep. *jharanā* (S) [thati = D]
- chya?asa** vt., to peel off, scrape off, strip off, strip with an axe. Nep. *tāchnu* (S) [khitsa = D]

chyemsa vi. and vt., to break, destroy, pull down, crack, be broken, be cracked.

Nep. *bhatkāunu, phornu, phuṭnu, phuṭinu* (S) [t̪hemsɑ = D]

chyode see **chyone**

chyodi see **chyoni**

chyokoisa vt., to sift, cull, remove impurities; *racya sui-ŋa libi, lembe-te chyokoi-ko mǎi-Ø-du* (unhusked.rice beat-CNS after winnowing.tray-LOC sift-ADH must-SAS-NPT) once the unhusked rice has been beaten, it must also be sifted in the winnowing tray. Nep. *kelāunu* (D) [cyokoisa = S]

chyonganeŋ n., orphan. Nep. *tuhuro, tuhurī* (S)

chyone <chyode> n., old man. Nep. *budho* (S) [t̪hone = D]

chyone bajya n., great-grandfather. <Nep. *jijyu-bāje* (S) [t̪hone bajya = D]

chyoni <chyodi> n., old woman. Nep. *budhī* (S) [t̪hoŋi = D]

chyoni aji n., husband's mother's father's mother, husband's father's father's mother, wife's mother's father's mother, wife's father's father's mother. Nep. *budhī sāsu* (S) [t̪hoŋi aji = D]

chyoni bujyu n., great-grandmother. <Nep. *jijyu-bojyu* (S) [t̪hoŋi bojyǎi = D]

chyoni chuku n., husband's mother's father's father, husband's father's father's father, wife's mother's father's father, wife's father's father's father. Nep. *budhī sasurā* (S) [t̪hoŋi chuku = D]

chyoro n., eggshell, fruit skin. Nep. *thokrā, bokrā* (S) [roθhok = D]

chyou n., grease, fat. Nep. *boso* (D) [cyou = S]

chyosa vi., to live, survive. Nep. *bācnu, jāgnu* (S) [mosa = D]

chyu n., rim of knife. Nep. *biṭ*

chyuituk uyu n., a species of very small black rodent which is found living in holes in walls and rocks, particularly partial to eating clothes. (D)

chyuklu?sa vt., to stir. Nep. *gholnu* (S) [cf. cyukluksa = D]

chyulduŋǎi adj., watery, molten. Nep. *gilo* (S) [phetelek = D]

chyunupuṭu n., bottom, buttocks, behind, arse. Nep. *cāk* (S) [cf. chyunupuṭuk, muji = D]

chyunupuṭuk n., parson's nose, protruding behind of a chicken from which its eggs emerge; *chyunupuṭuk-yiŋ ahum let-Ø-du* (chicken's.rear.end-ABL egg appear-SAS-NPT) eggs emerge from a chicken's behind. Nep. *kukhurā-ko cāk* (D) [cf. chyunupuṭu = S]

chyusa vt., to tie, pull firm, harness, to lock together; *gwi-kǎi sakpa-ye apraca nama chyu-ko mǎi-Ø-du* (thief-PM rope-INS good with tie-ADH must-SAS-NPT) the thief must be securely tied up with the rope. Nep. *bādhnu, kasnu*

chyusisa vr., to tie oneself up, wrap something around oneself, bind oneself, fasten oneself; *karati-ye koṭe-ŋa libi chyu-si-ŋa-n* (sickle-INS cut-CNS after tie-REF-1s-PT) having cut myself with a sickle, I tied [the wound] up. Nep. *āphai bādhnu*

d

dālāk n., dust. Nep. *hilo* (D) [dyolo? = S]

dāri nunu n., [ritual language] cow or buffalo milk used as an offering during the Thangmi death ritual. Nep. *caḍāune dudh* (D)

dabi <dobi> adv., over there (on same plane as the speaker). Nep. *utā, para*

dabi dāi adv., over there (medium distance). Nep. *para tira* (S) [dhate = D]

dabsa see **dapsa**

dāi adv., towards. Nep. *tira*

dāikasa vi., [ritual language] to emerge, originate, take birth; *nis-ka ṭhone ṭhoṇi-yiṇ thaṇmi-pali dāikay-eṇ-an* (two-HNC old.man old.woman-ABL Thangmi-p originate-PAS-3S/PT) the Thangmi people originated from a specific old couple. Nep. *utpatti, bikās hunu* (D)

dalkhareṇ n., epiphytic orchid. Nep. *sunākharī* (S) [dolgareṇ = D]

daṇ n., year. Nep. *varṣa*

daṇguri akyañmi n., a male Thangmi clan name attested in the village of Suspā.

daṇsa vt., to look for, search, seek; *laṇi tam-Ø-an, ni-ko hu daṇ-sa yah-Ø-an* (necklace lose-SAS-3S/PT we-GEN younger.brother search-INF go-SAS-3S/PT) the necklace is lost, but our younger brother has gone off to look for it. Nep. *khojnu* (D)

dapsa <dabsa> vt., to measure, fill; *jet loṇ-sa mi-kāi ṭoke-te racya dap-to-le pi-ko māi-Ø-du* (work do-INF person-PM bowl-LOC unhusked.rice measure-TPP-PCL give-ADH must-SAS-NPT) having measured out the rice, it must be given to the worker. Nep. *nāpnu, bharnu, jokhnu*

daridaṇdaṇ n., frost. Nep. *tusāro* (S) [suti = D]

darjum n., [ritual language] a species of tree, *Oroxylum indicum*. Nep. *ṭotalā* (D)

dasa vt., to boil; *gāi kwāi paṇku-te da-tuṇ-le cya-ŋa-n* (I potato water-LOC boil-1s/TPP-PCL eat-1s-PT) I boiled the potato in the water and ate it. Nep. *usinnu* (D)

demca n., load. Nep. *bhārī* (D) [bi = S]

denderek adj., coarse, rough. Nep. *hasro* (D) [rotho? ~ reje? = S]

dese n., village. <Nep. *deś, gāū*

dese mi n., villager. <Nep. *deś, gāūle*

deusal n., matches. Nep. *salātī* (S)

dewa n., god, spirit. <Nep. *deutā* (D)

dewa loṅsa vt., to worship or make offerings (lit. god do-INF); *naka nem khem-ŋa libi, guru-ye dewa loṅ-Ø-u-no* (new house build-CNS after shaman-ERG god do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT) after a new house has been built, a shaman must worship the gods. <Nep. *deutā garnu, puyā garnu* (D)

di num., one. Nep. *ek* (D) [dīl = S]

di chin adv., in a minute. <Nep. *ek chin* (D) [di khari = S]

di khari adv., in a minute. Nep. *ek chin* (S) [di chin = D]

di lak num., holding out one hand. Nep. *pasarā* (D) [hole = S]

di uni n., one day (lit. one sun). Nep. *ek dīn* (D) [uni = S]

dicip num., ten. Nep. *das* (D) [dhicip = S]

dika adv., one person (lit. one-HNC). Nep. *ek-janā*

dikaca adv., alone (lit. one-HNC-DIM). Nep. *eklai* (D) [ekaṭe ~ dikāu = S]

dikāu adv., alone (lit. one-HNC). Nep. *eklai* (S) [dikaca = D]

dil num., one. Nep. *ek* (S) [dī = D]

dilaṅ n., stone resting place; platform built of earth, plaster or brick for sitting on, usually constructed under a tree or at a cross-roads and often in memory of a deceased relative. Nep. *cautāro* (D)

diriksa vt., to flatten earth after ploughing. Nep. *bājho banāunu* (D)

disa vt., to set down a load, take rest, take a breather; *tete-ye seṅ-ko demca dilaṅ-te dih-Ø-u-no* (elder.sister-ERG wood-GEN load stone.resting.place-LOC rest-SAS-3P-3→3/PT) elder sister set her load of wood down at a stone resting place and took a breather. Nep. *bisāunu* (D)

disisa vr., to rest oneself; *ubo mi-ko demca ahe tha-Ø-ta-le dilaṅ-te di-si-ŋa-n* (white person-GEN load much be-SAS-IPP-PCL stone.resting.place-LOC rest-REF-1S-PT) on account of the foreigner's load being so heavy, I took a breather at the resting place. Nep. *āphai bisāunu*

dobi see **dabi**

dogar lyuṅ n., white flint stone. Nep. *dalsiṇi* (S) [syalu ṇiṅ = D]

dokmaṅ n., Nepal pepper, prickly ash, *Zanthoxylum armatum*. Nepal pepper is primarily used as a spice in cooking, particularly in vegetable curry. It can also provide a substitute for lentil soup, eaten with millet or maize paste. The seeds are collected, dried and consumed as a medicine to help ease the pain of stomach aches and 'gastric' problems. If a close relative dies, family members are prohibited from eating *dokmaṅ* for six months for ritual reasons. The dried and beaten seeds also function as an effective pesticide against small insects when spread liberally around the base of wheat plants. When made into a liquid paste together with *uireṅ* leaves, *dokmaṅ* seeds are an effective weapon against

termites and other insects which eat through wood. This paste is applied to wooden house beams or furniture where the wood is eroded by insects. The concoction is believed to emit an odour which is disliked by insects. Nep. *ṭimur* (D) [doʔmaŋ = S]

doksa vt., to peck, sting, bite (by a snake or a chicken); *jarphu-kăi saŋa thuh-Ø-u-du beryaŋ, rul-e dok-Ø-u-no* (elder.brother's.wife-PM millet weed-SAS-3P-NPT that.time snake-ERG sting-SAS-3P-3→3/PT) while weeding the millet, a snake bit my brother-in-law. Nep. *thuniu* (D)

dokhesa vi., to become tired. Nep. *thāknu* (S)

dol n., valley, deep place, abyss; *găi-go nem nis-gore soŋ-ko dol-te hok-Ø-du* (I-GEN house two-CLF river-GEN valley-LOC be-SAS-NPT) my house is situated in the valley between two rivers. Nep. *gairo* (D)

dolgareŋ n., epiphytic orchid. This plant is used in Thangmi *bhume puja* rituals, during which the flower is placed on top of a wheat flour offering. Nep. *sunākharī* (D) [dalkhareŋ = S]

domba n., tree. Nep. *rukḥ* (D)

domoŋca n., termite. Nep. *dhamiro* (D) [bhimbira = S]

doŋ n., I intestines, entrails. Nep. *āndrā*

doŋ n., II Brahmin (because their *janai* or sacred thred resembles an intestine). Nep. *bāhun* (S)

doroksa vi., to flee, run; *gwi ʔaye nem gwi-to-le soŋ dăi dorok-Ø-an* (thief night house steal-TPP-PCL river towards flee-SAS-3S/PT) having robbed the house at night, the thief fled towards the river. Nep. *bhāgnu, dagurnu, kudnu, dauḍīnu* (D) [droʔosa ~ pholsa = S]

doroŋ n., hole, opening. Nep. *pval*

doroʔsa see **droʔosa**

dosken n., the fern, *Gleichenia linearis*; the fern crozier, *Dryopteris cochleata*. The fern croziers are edible when cooked as a vegetable curry in the months of *bhadau* and *asoj*. When boiled with salt and eaten, the plant purportedly has a powerful medicinal use in combating diarrhoea with blood in the stool. Nep. *niūro, niguro, niuro* (D) [phulu = S]

doʔmaŋ n., Nepal pepper, prickly ash, *Zanthoxylum armatum*. Nep. *ṭimur* (S) [dokmaŋ = D]

droʔosa <doroʔsa> vi., to run. Nep. *dagurnu* (S) [doroksa = D]

du n., forest leopard or panther, *Panthera pardus*, popularly thought of as being a tiger. Nep. *bāgh*

duldul n., the flying male of the white ant, very tasty when fried in mustard oil. Nep. *chicimiro* (D)

- dumsa** vi. and vt., to be able, to finish work or some task, complete; *miryaŋ-yiŋ gǎi-go saŋa peŋe-sa jet dum-Ø-an* (yesterday-ABL I-GEN millet plant-INF work be.finished-SAS-3S/PT) as of yesterday, my work of planting the millet is finished; *kǎlyan nem khem-sa dum-u-n-du* (next.year house build-INF finish-3P-1s→3-NPT) next year I will finish building my house. Nep. *saknu, siddhinu, siddhyāunu*
- dunduni** adv., stinkingly, with a foul smell; *kiŋi dunduni nam-Ø-du* (shit stinkingly smell-SAS-NPT) shit really stinks badly. Nep. *ṭhaṣṭhasi* (D)
- dundup** n., Nepal aromatic leaf garlic, *Allium hypsistum*, *Allium wallichii*. Nep. *jimbu* (S) [jumu = D]
- duŋji** adj., lean, thin, meagre, without fat. Nep. *dublo* (D) [rope? = S]
- duŋŋaŋ cibisa** vt., to cause to enter; *tete-ye wagal-ŋaŋ wa ci-bih-Ø-u-no* (elder.sister-ERG chicken.cage-inside chicken CAUS-enter-SAS-3P-3→3/PT) elder sister made the chickens enter their cage. Nep. *bhitra pasāunu* (D) [duŋŋaŋ thamsa = S]
- duŋŋaŋ thamsa** vt., to insert, pour in. Nep. *bhitra pasāunu* (S) [duŋŋaŋ cibisa = D]
- duru** n., earthquake. Nep. *bhuicālo* (D) [dhuru = S]
- dya?adu toŋ** n., first beer from a batch, extra virgin beer. Nep. *jeṭhā jād* (S)
- dya?asa** vi., to mature, ripen, become fermented. Nep. *cipinu* (S) [ḍyaksa = D]
- dyolo?** n., dust. Nep. *hilo* (S) [dǎlak = D]

dh

- dha** pron., he, she, it, that (far away). Nep. *u, tyo* (D)
- dha dǎi** adv., over there (implying movement). Nep. *para tira* (D)
- dhabasa** <dhabasi> adv., on the other side. Nep. *pallo paṭṭi*
- dhabasaŋaŋ** adv., over there. Nep. *tyahā para* (D) [cf. dhute]
- dhabasi** see **dhabasa**
- dhapre** n., Indian aloe, *Aloe vera* (*Aloe barbadensis*). The gum which is released when the leaves are broken in half is used as a medicinal ointment applied to burns and scalds. Aloe is known to have strong healing powers. Nep. *ghiukumārī* (D)
- dhate** adv., over there (medium distance). Nep. *para* (D) [dabi = S]
- dhicip** num., ten. Nep. *das* (S) [dicip = D]
- dhiri** n., I thunder. Nep. *caṭyān* (D)
- dhiri** n., II vessel for holding milk or water. Nep. *ḍhuīro* (D) [ḍhongoroŋ = S]

- dhiri thasa** vi., to thunder; *dhiri tha-Ø-ta-le huca-pali ariy-eṇ-an* (thunder be-SAS-IPP-PCL child-p be.afraid-pAS-3S/PT) on account of the thunder, the children were afraid. Nep. *caṭyāñ parnu* (D) [kapeṭeṇsa = S]
- dhotra** n., hook, hooked piece of wood. Nep. *āṇkuse* (D)
- dhu dāi** adv., over there (greater distance). Nep. *uta tira*
- dhumba** n., mist, fog. Nep. *kuhīro, bādal*
- dhuru** n., earthquake. Nep. *bhuicālo* (S) [duru = D]
- dhute** adv., over there (far away and level). Nep. *tyahā para*

ḍ

- ḍāṇḍi** n., peak, hill. <Nep. *ḍāḍā, culī*
- ḍāṇḍi koṭesa** vt., to cross a ridge; *tete-ko nem-te hen-sa-kāi hu-ye ḍāṇḍi koṭe-ko dum-Ø-u-no* (elder.sister-GEN house-LOC go-INF-PM younger.brother-ERG ridge cut-ADH finish-SAS-3P-3→3/PT) to get to his sister's house, younger brother had to complete crossing the ridge. <Nep. *ḍāḍā kāṇnu*
- ḍakar** n., big-eyed bamboo basket. <Nep. *ḍoko* (S) [ḍhakar = D]
- ḍamari** n., son-in-law, brother's daughter's husband, younger sister's husband. Nep. *juvāī, jvāi* (D) [jyamari = S]
- ḍamarni** n., daughter's husband's sister, younger sister's husband's sister. (D)
- ḍaṇaṇeṇ** n., bird. Nep. *carā* (D) [jyaṇaṇeṇ = S]
- ḍaṇkhāi** adv., walking with one's legs splayed, walking by taking unusually large steps. (D)
- ḍaṇkharāṇsisa** vr., to sit or walk with one's legs pulled apart, to put one's legs out wide; *to mi-kāi lakpa-te gare tha-Ø-ta-le ḍaṇkharāṇ-si-ta-le cawa-Ø-du* (that person-PM thigh-LOC wound be-SAS-IPP-PCL pull.legs.apart-REF-IPP-PCL walk-SAS-NPT) on account of having a wound on his thigh, that person walked with his legs wide apart. Nep. *ṭāḡ phārnu* (D) [jyaṇaraṇsisa = S]
- ḍapusa** vt., to peek, peep, spy, observe secretly, scrutinize; *palam-e rage tha-Ø-ta-le khaṇou-yiṇ ḍapuh-Ø-u-no* (mother's.elder.brother-ERG anger be-SAS-IPP-PCL door-ABL spy-SAS-3P-3→3/PT) since he was angry, my maternal uncle spied on us from the door. Nep. *ciyāunu* (D)
- ḍeksa** vi., to have enough sleep; *huca ami-Ø-thyo, naleṇ nindra ḍek-Ø-an* (child sleep-SAS-3S/COND now sleep be.enough.sleep-SAS-3S/PT) the child was sleeping but now he's had enough sleep. Nep. *nindrā pugnu* (D)
- ḍeksi** n., spirit of an ancestor or person who has passed away, evil spirit, ghost. Nep. *bhūt* (S) [cf. mosani]

- ḍiksi** n., a traditional home-made quilt or blanket made of old clothes, used for warmth when sleeping. Nep. *sirak*, *purāno lugāko sirak* (D) [cf. lokpa]
- ḍiṇ-ḍiṇ** adj., red, orange, purple. Nep. *rāto* (D) [cf. keret, jyiṇ-jyiṇ = S]
- ḍiṇ-ḍiṇ ileṇ** n., a species of red raspberry, *Rubus pentagonus*. The fruits ripen in the months of *phāgun* or *cait*, and are delicious when eaten raw. The roots of the shrub are beaten for use in the preparation of local beer. The stalks of the shrub are used to construct fences around vegetable gardens due to their sharp thorns. During the Thangmi death ritual, after the corpse has been burnt, the mourners must block the path on their way back home to stop the spirit of the deceased returning to its village. This symbolic blockage takes the form of a fire lit with flint stones and inflammable plant matter known in Nepali as *julo*. The thorny branches of the *ḍiṇ-ḍiṇ ileṇ* are placed atop this fire, and as the mourners back away, they wave their caps over the flaming pile to take leave of the spirit. Nep. *rāto aīselu* (D)
- ḍiṇ-ḍiṇ lapat** n., a particular species of very large leech which lives on trees. Nep. *khari-jugā* (D)
- ḍisa** vt., to comb someone's hair; *gāi huca-ko kapu phini-ye ḍih-u-n-du* (I child-GEN head comb-INS comb-3P-1S→3-NPT) I'm combing the child's hair with a comb. Nep. *kapāl kornu* (D)
- ḍisisa** vr., to comb one's own hair; *bore-te hen-sa habi kapu ḍi-si-ṇa-n* (wedding-LOC go-INF before head comb-REF-1S-PT) before I left for the wedding, I combed my hair. Nep. *āphno kapāl kornu* (D) [kapu jhisisa = S]
- ḍokliṇ** n., beater for striking the *ṭake* or shaman's drum. Nep. *phurke, gajo* (D) [koṅkolyaṇ = S]
- ḍoṇḍoṇ** n., the lower leaves or outer covering of a bamboo plant which fan out at the base. Nep. *bās-ko khapaṭā* (D)
- ḍoṇḍla** n., leaf of the banana or plantain tree. Nep. *kerā-ko pāt* (S) [pakpak = D]
- ḍoṇṭhya** n., a species of thorny bamboo, *Bambusa arundinacea*. The large leaves of this plant are used to cover newly sown or broadcast seeds so that birds and other pests do not eat them. Nep. *bhālu niṅgro* (D) [botton = S]
- ḍumla** n., common fig, *Ficus carica*. The leaves are collected as fodder for domesticated animals, and the wood of the trunk is burnt as firewood. The 'fruit' ripens between *asār* and *bhadau* and is eaten raw. The large leaves are pinned together to make disposable plates for weddings and other local feasts. Nep. *nibhāro*
- ḍumla akyammi** n., a male Thangmi clan name attested in the village of Suspā.
- ḍuṇkuṭi** n., storehouse for grain. Nep. *bhāḍār* (D)

ḍyaksa vi., I to mature, become ripe, become fermented; *toṇ ḍyak-Ø-an* (beer ferment-sAS-3S/PT) the beer has fermented. Nep. *chipinu* (D) [dyaʔasa = S]

ḍyaksa vi., II to thrive, flourish; *was ḍyak-Ø-du* (bee thrive-sAS-NPT) the bees are thriving. Nep. *maulanu* (D)

ḍh

ḍhakar n., big-eyed bamboo basket. <Nep. *ḍoko* (D) [ḍakar = S]

ḍhokse n., a very large bamboo container or basket used for carrying leaves or manure. Nep. *ḥulo ḍoko* (D)

ḍholoṇ-ḍholoṇ adj., being wide in circumference or diameter. Nep. *pharākilo*

ḍhongoroṇ n., vessel for holding milk or water. <Nep. *ḍhuṇro* (S) [dhiri = D]

ḍhopit n., anus. Nep. *kaṇḍo* (D) [kyuʔuliṇ = S]

ḍhopit doroṇ n., rectum, anal passage. Nep. *gudvār* (D) [kyuʔuliṇko doroṇ = S]

ḍhuṅgreisisa vr., to have diarrhoea; *ḥoṇe mi pecerek isa cya-Ø-ta-le ḍhuṅgrei-siy-Ø-an* (old.man person left.over food eat-sAS-IPP-PCL have.diarrhoea-REF-sAS-3S/PT) having eaten the left over food, the old man had diarrhoea. Nep. *pakhālo lāgnu* (D)

e

ekaṭe adv., alone. ?<Nep. *eklai* (S) [dikaca = D]

eksa vi., to spoil (of food), be burnt or roasted, be destroyed; *ken ek-Ø-an* (vegetable.curry spoil-sAS-3S/PT) the vegetable curry is spoilt. Nep. *ḍāmnū, ḍaḍnu, khaharinu* (D)

ekhesa vi., to crow (of a rooster). Nep. *bāsnu* (S) [ikhesa = D]

elebether n., [ritual language] a platform made of eight bamboo strips by eight bamboo strips on which offerings are made to the spirit of the deceased during the death ritual. (D) [cf. ceṭi]

elepe n., II spleen. Nep. *phiyo*

elepe <helekpa> n., I curly dock, common field sorrel, *Rumex crispus*, *Rumex nepalensis*. The leaves are collected as fodder for domesticated animals, and can also be cooked and made into vegetable curry for human consumption. Nep. *halhale* (D)

emsa vi., to be exhausted by sitting in the sun, to have laziness and fatigue caused by heat; *cereṇ-cereṇ uni-ye gāi em-ṇa-n* (scorching sun-ERG I be.exhausted-1s-PT) in the scorching sun I was overcome by fatigue. Nep. *ālasya hunu* (D)

ere see **yere**

esen n., a soft-bodied apodous larva, typically found in decaying organic matter such as meat or excrement. Nep. *māsu-ko kira* (S) [isen = D]

ethedu paṅku n., spirit, distilled liquor. Nep. *raksi* (S) [ithedu paṅku = D]

g

gārmī n., sweat. <Nep. *garmi, pasinā* (S)

gārmī letcha vi., to sweat. <Nep. *garmi niskinu, pasinā niskinu* (S)

gāye <gaye ~ ge> pron., I (ERG). Nep. *maile*

gāi pron., I; *gāi ṭhone tha-ṇa-n* (I old.man be-1s-PT) I have become old. Nep. *ma*

gal n., cage. Nep. *khōr* (D)

gamra n., molar, jaw. Nep. *baṅgāro* (D) [garamba = S]

gaṅkhal n., henhouse. Nep. *khōr* (S) [wagal = D]

gaṅsa vi., to dry, to be dried. Nep. *suknu*

gaṇa n., spherical earthenware jug, large mud jar. Nep. *ghyāmpo, gāgro*

gaṇaṇi n., goitre. <Nep. *gāḍ*

gaṇāusa vi., to burp. Nep. *ḍakārnu* (S) [ghāṇeusa = D]

gaṇe n., mine, quarry; *tam-tam gaṇe* (white.clay quarry) the quarry of white clay. Nep. *khāni* (D)

garamba <gramba> n., molar, jaw. Nep. *baṅgāro* (S) [gamra = D]

garāu n., burp. Nep. *ḍakār* (S) [ghāṇeu = D]

gare n., I rooster, cockrel. Nep. *bhāle*

gare n., II wound, cut. Nep. *ghāu*

gaye see **gāye**

ge see **gāye**

glencha <glensa> vi., to be left over (of food). Nep. *ubhrinu* (S)

glensa see **glencha**

gochye n., pubic hair. Nep. *jāṭhā* (S) [goṭhe = D]

gogok n., tree bark, crust, scab. Nep. *rukḥ-ko bokrā, māmri* (D) [gogo? = S]

gogo? n., eggshell, shell. Nep. *bokrā* (S) [roṭhok ~ gogok = D]

gonṭhe adj., round, spherical. Nep. *ḍalle, ḍallo* (D) [gore = S]

gonṭhesa vt., to stuff together, lump together, make a ball of something; *mumpra-te yere loṇ-sa-kāi saṇa-ko phase gonṭhe-ko māi-Ø-du* (death.ritual-LOC flour.ball

do-INF-PM millet-GEN flour lump.together-ADH must-SAS-NPT) to make the flour balls for the death ritual, millet flour must be lumped together and made into balls. Nep. *ḍallo pāṛnu, ḍalyāunu* (D)

goṅgiṅ n., a green-brown praying mantis. Nep. *lāmco phaṭeṅgro* (D) [ghoṅgi = S]

goṅgolyaṅ adj., snaked, articulated in many placed. Nep. *bāṅgo* (D)

goṅgoresasa n., hollow of the knee, *fossa poplitea*. (D) [aṅkhoreṅ = S]

goṅkhor adv., crouching or sitting with all four limbs on the ground; *to mi goṅkhor hok-Ø-an* (that person sitting.on.haunches be-SAS-3S/PT) that guy sat on all fours. (D)

goṅkhorsisa vr., to walk on four limbs like an animal (only used for humans); *toṅ tun-Ø-ta-le apa goṅkhor-siy-Ø-an* (beer drink-SAS-IPP-PCL father walk.on.four.legs-REF-SAS-PT) having drunk beer, father walked on four legs. Nep. *cār khuṭṭā-le hīḍnu* (D)

gore adj., round, spherical. Nep. *ḍalle, ḍallo* (S) [goṅthe = D]

goresa vi. and vt., to fall rolling, roll (as in a ball); *warak-yiṅ ṇiṅ gore-Ø-ta-le gāi-go kapu-te trak-Ø-an* (ridge-ABL rock roll-SAS-IPP-PCL I-GEN head-LOC strike-SAS-3S/PT) the rock rolled off the ridge and struck me on the head. Nep. *guḍnu*

gosero n., beard, facial hair. Nep. *dārī* (D)

gothemuṅsa n., [ritual language] a ritual conducted during a Thangmi wedding. Nep. *thāmīko biheko rit* (D)

goṭhe n., pubic hair. Nep. *jāṭhā* (D) [gochye = S]

goṭhepaṅ n., Indian sorrel, creeping sorrel, *Oxalis corniculata*. The leaves are collected as fodder for domesticated animals, and the wood of the trunk is burnt as firewood. The fruit ripens between *maṅsir* and *māgh* and is eaten raw. The fresh fruit is also consumed as a medicine to lessen throat pain. Nep. *carī amilo* (D) [raʔaducapaṅ = S]

goṭhomama n., a species of insect which resembles a grasshopper or locust but has no wings, appears in the summer months, is often black, and has large pincers and teeth. Nep. *nāṅge phaṭeṅgro* (S)

gramba see **garamba**

gucikma n., a brown praying mantis. (D) [ghoṅgi = S]

gui see **gwi**

guisa see **gwise**

gujili? n., a species of sharp-pointed spear grass, *Triumfetta pilosa*. Nep. *kuro* (S) [gunjilik = D]

gum-gumca adj., lukewarm, tepid. Nep. *nyāno*

gumsisa vr., to convulse, be warm, have a fever, as in when sitting by the fire and having difficulty breathing. <Nep. *gumsinu, ukusmukus hunu* (D)

- gunjilik** n., a species of sharp pointed spear-grass, *Triumfetta pilosa*. When green, the leaves are collected as fodder for goats. Nep. *kuro* (D) [gujili? = S]
- gunusa** vt., mutter, hum. <Nep. *gungunāunu* (S) [satāusa = D]
- gunḡḡuḡ** n., [ritual language] stomach, belly, abdomen. Nep. *peṭ*, *bhūḍī* (D)
- gunḡḡusa** vi., to thunder; *gunḡḡ-Ø-an* (thunder-sAS-3S/PT) it's thundering. Nep. *caṭyāñ parnu* (D) [ghuḡḡusa = S]
- gurinca** n., cat. Nep. *birālo* (S) [baṭi = D]
- guru** n., shaman. <Nep. *guru*, *jhākrī*, *dhāmī*
- guṭhi mi** n., mourners at a funeral, those people who make up a funeral procession. <Newar *guṭhi*. Nep. *malāmi*
- gwaṇaṇiṇ** n., pregnant female (human or animal). Nep. *garbheni* (D)
- gwi** <gui> n., thief, robber. Nep. *cor* (D) [khui ~ khwi = S]
- gwisā** <guisā> vt., to steal, rob; *makar-e jakcho gwi-to-le cyah-Ø-u-no* (monkey-ERG wheat steal-TPP-PCL eat-sAS-3P-3→3/PT) the monkey stole the wheat and ate it. Nep. *cornu* (D) [khuisa ~ khwisa ~ taṭasa = S]
- gyal-gyalti** adj., fecund, highly fertile individual (unflattering connotation); *gyalgyalti huca nik-Ø-an* (fecund child be.born-sAS-3S/PT) she lots of kids. (D)
- gyaṭṭa** n., loin-cloth. Nep. *dhoti* (S)

gh

- ghāṇeu** n., burp. Nep. *ḍakār* (D) [garāu = S]
- ghāṇeusa** vt., to burp; *toṇ tun-Ø-ta-le ghāṇeu-sa ma-ja* (beer drink-sAS-IPP-PCL burp-INF NEG-okay) having drunk beer, one shouldn't burp. Nep. *ḍakārnu* (D) [gaṇāusa = S]
- ghiritsa** vi. and vt., to scratch, peel off, tear off; to be scratched off, peeled off, torn off; *ulam-te ṭiṭiṇ-ta-ṇa-le pokole gherit-ṇa-n* (road-LOC fall-IPP-1s-PCL knee scratch-1s-PT) falling on the road, I scratched my knee. Nep. *tachārnu*, *tachārinu* (D)
- ghoṇgi** n., praying mantis. Nep. *lāmco phaṭeṇgro* (S) [goṇgiṇ ~ gucikma = D]
- ghoṇloṇ-ghoṇloṇ** <ghoṇṇoṇ> adj., loosely fitting, wide, baggy. Nep. *khukulo* [cf. hoṇloṇ-hoṇloṇ]
- ghoṇṇoṇ** see **ghoṇloṇ-ghoṇloṇ**
- ghorghorsa** vi., to grunt (of a pig), roar (of a tiger), snore; *yaṇ du ṭuṇi cya-to-le ghoghor-Ø-an* (today tiger goat eat-TPP-PCL roar-sAS-3S/PT) today, having eaten a goat, the tiger roared. Nep. *ḍukranu*, *ghurnu*, *karāunu* (D) [ghroṭosa ~ ghruṭusa = S]

- ghro?osa** vi., to grunt (of a pig), snore. Nep. *ḡukranu, ghurnu* (S) [ghorghorsa = D]
ghru?usa vi., to roar (of a tiger). Nep. *bāgh karāunu* (S) [ghorghorsa = D]
ghuṇuṇsa vi., to thunder; *ghuṇuṇ-Ø-an* (thunder-sAS-3S/PT) it's thundering. Nep. *caṭyāñ parnu* (S) [guṇuṇsa = D]
ghyoksa vi., to bark (of a dog); *ṭaye kucu ghyok-Ø-ta-le ni-kāi ci-serek-i-n* (night dog bark-sAS-IPP-PCL we-PM CAUS-wake-1pPS-PT) barking at night, the dog woke us up. Nep. *bhuknu* (D) [ghyo?sa = S]
ghyo?osa vi., to bark (of a dog). Nep. *bhuknu* (S) [ghyoksa = D]

h

- hākunaṇ** <kiji ileṇ> n., the black raspberry, *Rubus foliolosus*. The leaves are collected as fodder for domesticated animals, while the woody older stems are burnt as firewood. The fruit ripens between *baiśākh* and *asār* and can be eaten raw as a medicine for diarrhoea. The stem is twisted into rope for securing domesticated livestock to their stakes and for attaching oxen during ploughing. The stem is also used as rope to stretch a goat skin in the construction of drums. Nep. *kālo aīselu* (D)
hālunṇa adj., light (in weight). <Nep. *halukā* (S) [aphinca = D]
hāṅgaleṇ see **haṅgaleṇ**
habi adv., already, before, first, just. Nep. *aghi, pahilā* (D) [hapa = S]
hachyāu n., a sneeze; *ma-thaṇ-sa habi hachyāu let-Ø-du* (NEG-be.able-INF before sneeze appear-sAS-NPT) before getting ill, one sneezes. <Nep. *hāchi* (D)
hachyāusa <hachyusa> vi., to sneeze. <Nep. *hāchi garnu*
hachyo?osa vi. and vt., to go and break something. Nep. *bhācna jānu* (S)
hachyusa see **hachyāusa**
halsa vi., to feel abandoned, lost, indecisive, depressed. Nep. *ṭolāunu* (D)
haṇḍa n., I a clay cooking pot. Nep. *āri, māṭo-ko bhiṭḍ* (D) [haṇḍalu = S]
haṇḍa n., II pieces of broken egg shell or clay pot, potsherd. Nep. *khapaṭo* (D)
hani pron., how many?, how much? Nep. *kati* (D) [ha?i = S]
hani myaṅko adv., how big? Nep. *katro* (D)
hanigore pron., how many (things)? Nep. *kati-vaṭā* (D) [ha?i gore = S]
hanika pron., how many (people)? Nep. *kati-janā* (D) [ha?i kapu = S]
hanite pron., for how much? Nep. *kati-mā* (D) [ha?ite = S]
haṅgaleṇ <hāṅgaleṇ> pron., when, at which time? Nep. *kahile, kun samay* (S) [kutaleṇ = D]

hangaleŋ-hangaleŋ adv., sometimes, on occasion. Nep. *kahile kehī* (S) [kutaleŋ-kutaleŋ ~ kundu-kundusyaŋ = D]

haŋhaŋ n., steam. Nep. *bāph*

haŋsisa vr., [ritual language] to come and eat (used only by shamans to call spirits during the death ritual); *mi si-ŋa libi isa cya-sa-kāi haŋ-si-sa kyel-Ø-du* (person die-CNS after food eat-INF-PM come.to.eat-REF-INF come-SAS-NPT) once a person is dead, [the spirit] comes down to eat the ritual food offering. (D) [cf. ŋapsisa]

haŋḍalu n., a clay cooking pot. Nep. *āri, māṭo-ko bhiūḍ* (S) [haḍa = D]

hapa adv., already, before, first, just. Nep. *aghi, pahilā* (S) [habi = D]

hapsa vt., to aim, aim at, fire a gun, shoot, hunt; *narek jhinṭyak-e hap-to-le cici cya-ko māi-Ø-du* (pheasant catapult-INS shoot-TPP-PCL meat eat-ADH must-SAS-NPT) having shot the pheasant with the catapult, one should eat the meat. Nep. *tāknu, hānnu* (D) [apsa = S]

hara pron., what? Nep. *ke*

hara hara adj., what? (plural) Nep. *kehī, ke ke* (D) [haraguri = S]

hara woi adv., whatsoever. <Nep. *je pani*

haraguri adj., I some. Nep. *kehī, ke ke* (S) [hara hara = D]

haraguri pron., II which one, what? Nep. *ke cāī*

harakāi pron., what for, for what reason, why? Nep. *ke-ko lāgī, kina* (D) [harakotiniŋ = S]

harako pron., what kind of? Nep. *ke-ko*

harakotiniŋ pron., for what reason? Nep. *ke-ko lāgī* (S) [harakāi = D]

haraye pron., with what? Nep. *ke-le*

haskam n., yawn. Nep. *hāi*

haskamsa vi., to yawn; *kuchipṇa-ta-ŋa-le gāi haskam-ŋa-n* (be.bored-IPP-1s-PCL I yawn-1s-PT) being bored, I yawned. Nep. *hāi garnu*

hassa vi., to fall from a height, fall down and not die; *mui lak-yiŋ has-Ø-ta-le busikasi thum-Ø-an* (banana hand-ABL fall-SAS-IPP-PCL dust stain-SAS-3S/PT) falling from my hand, the banana got covered in dust. Nep. *hasnu, jharnu* (D) [cf. rossa, hatcha = S]

hatcha vi., to fall down from a height, die. Nep. *hasnu, jharnu* (S) [hassa = D]

hattersa vt., to twitch, jerk, flap; *isa cya-sa beryaŋ lak hater-sa ma-ja* (food eat-INF that.time hand twitch-INF NEG-okay) when eating your food, you shouldn't flap your hands around. Nep. *jhaḍkāunu* (D) [hattharsa = S]

hattharsa vt., to shake. Nep. *jhaḍkāunu* (S) [cf. aṛo?sa, aṭoksa ~ hattersa = D]

haṭepsa see **haṭyapsa**

haṭyapsa <haṭepsa> vt., to spring upon, pounce upon, assault; *amu-ye wa-ca hen-sa-kāi laṅga-te haṭyap-Ø-u-no* (eagle-ERG chicken-DIM take-INF-PM courtyard-LOC pounce.upon-SAS-3P-3→3/PT) the eagle pounced down on the chick in the courtyard in order to make off with it. Nep. *jhamṭanu* (D)

haʔi adv. and pron., as much as, how many? Nep. *jati, kati* (S) [hani = D]

haʔigore pron., how many (things)? Nep. *kati-vaṭā* (S) [hanigore = D]

haʔikapu <haʔikāu> pron., how many (people)? Nep. *kati-janā* (S) [hanika = D]

haʔikāu see **haʔikapu**

haʔite pron., for how much? Nep. *kati-mā* (S) [hanite = D]

helekpa see **elepe**

helsa vt., to spread, spread out, lay out. Nep. *phijāunu* (D)

hencha see **hensa**

hensa vt., II to take, take away; *gā-ye pih-u-n-du adhāi nem-te hen-Ø-u-no* (I-ERG give-3P-1s→3-NPT cucumber house-LOC take-SAS-3P-3→3/PT) he took home the cucumber that I gave him. Nep. *lānu, liera jānu*

hensa <hencha> vi., I to go, leave, walk; *tete-ko bore-te hen-sa-kāi bubu bāsintē ra-ko māi-Ø-du* (elder.sister-GEN wedding-LOC go-INF-PM elder.brother morning come.from.level-ADH must-SAS-NPT) in order to get to elder sister's wedding, elder brother must come in the morning. Nep. *jānu* (D)

heʔe <heʔē> interj., yes, affirmative, agreement. Nep. *ho, ho ta, hajur* (S)

heʔesa vi., to stick, get stuck (in something). Nep. *aḍkanu, aljhinu* (S) [hiksa = D]

heʔē see **heʔe**

hicāni n., a cut branch. Nep. *syāulo* (D)

hikiʔisa vi., to hiccough. <Nep. *hikkā garnu, bāḍulī lāgnu* (S) [hikhiksa = D]

hikkisa see **hikhiksa**

hiksa vi., to choke, stick, get stuck (in something); *mañāi cya-ta-ṅa-le gāi hik-ṅa-n* (bread eat-IPP-1s-PCL I choke-1s-PT) having eaten the bread, it got stuck in my throat. Nep. *aḍkanu, aljhinu* (D) [heʔesa = S]

hikhiksa <hikkisa> vi., to hiccough; *ahe isa ugo-te tham-u-n-uṅ, lek-sa ma-thaṅ-tuṅ-le hikhik-ṅa-n* (much food mouth-LOC insert-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT swallow-INF NEG-be.able-1s/TPP-PCL hiccough-1s-PT) I put too much food in my mouth, and on account of not being able to swallow it, I hiccoughed. <Nep. *hikkā garnu, bāḍulī lāgnu* (D) [hikiʔisa = S]

hildisa vi. and vt., to move, shake. Nep. *hallāunu* (S)

hiriṅ asari n., a big green fly partial to excrement. Nep. *hariyo jhṅga* (S) [miliṅ asareṅ = D]

hīʔikote adv., over there (close and slightly above). Nep. *māthilo thāū* (S) [hyukhute = D]

- hoksa** vi., to be, sit. Nep. *hunu*
- hole** adj., holding out one cupped hand. Nep. *pasarā* (S) [di lak = D]
- honce** see **honche**
- honche** <honce> adv., later. Nep. *bhare* (D) [onche = S]
- honche țaye** adv., tonight. Nep. *bhare rāti* (D) [onche cyae = S]
- hogloŋ-hogloŋ** adj., fitting loosely, wide, baggy. Nep. *khukulo* [cf. ghogloŋ-ghogloŋ] (D)
- hosa** vi., to blossom, flower, appear; *ubo rey ho-ko sow-Ø-an* (white flower blossom-ADH be.about.to-SAS-3S/PT) the white flower is about to bloom. Nep. *phulnu*
- hotani** adv., that way, in that manner, like this, similar to. Nep. *tyasarī, jasto* (S) [tuniŋ ~ tunyaŋ = D]
- hote wancha** vt., to bring up. Nep. *māthi lyāunu* (S) [hyute wansa = D]
- hote waŋsa** vi., to come up (to higher or further than the speaker). Nep. *māthi āunu* (S) [hyute waŋsa = D]
- hoto bareŋ** adv., then, at that time. <Nep. *uti belā, tyo belā-mā* (S) [to beryaŋ = D]
- ho?oginiŋ hitcha** vt., to bring down. Nep. *māthi-dekhi lyāunu* (S) [hyuyiŋ itsa = D]
- ho?oginiŋ yusa** vi., to come down. Nep. *māthi-dekhi āunu* (S) [yusa = D]
- hu** n., I younger brother, mother's brother's son, mother's sister's son, father's brother's son, father's sister's son, wife's younger sister's husband, any male first cousin younger than self. Nep. *bhāi* (D)
- hu** n., II younger sibling of either gender, father's brother's son, father's sister's son, wife's younger sister's husband. Nep. *bhāi, bahinī* (S)
- hu wari** n., younger brother's wife. Nep. *bhāi buhārī*
- huca** n., baby, child, offspring. Nep. *baccā*
- hucapali** n., children, kids (collectively). Nep. *keṭā-keṭī, baccā-haru*
- huccha** n., baby, child, offspring when being spoken to in a derogatory manner, or when being scolded by an adult. Nep. *baccā* (S)
- huci** n., small girl. Nep. *sāno keṭī* (D)
- hucipali** n., small girls. Nep. *keṭīharu* (D)
- huli** n., needle. Nep. *siyo* (S) [yuli = D]
- hulsa** vt., I to burn something off with a stick of burning wood (such as a cobweb), to chase something away with fire (such as cockroaches). (S)
- hulsa** vt., II to sharpen; *bubu-ye seŋ pal-sa-kāi āikuca hul-Ø-u-no* (elder.brother-ERG wood chop-INF-PM knife sharpen-SAS-3P-3→3/PT) elder brother sharpened the knife in order to chop wood. Nep. *udhyāunu, pasāunu* (D) [nulsa = S]
- hulsa ŋiŋ** n., whet stone. Nep. *udhyāune ḍhuŋgā* (D) [nulsa lyuŋ = S]

humi n., younger sister, mother's brother's daughter, mother's sister's daughter, father's brother's daughter, father's sister's daughter, husband's younger brother's wife, wife's younger brother's wife, brother's wife's younger brother's wife, younger sister's husband's brother's wife, any female first cousin younger than self. Nep. *bahinī* (D)

humi ḍamari n., younger sister's husband. Nep. *bahinī juvāī* (D)

huruhursa vi., to burn, blaze; *hu-ko nem jyok-du beryañ me huruhur-Ø-an* (younger.brother-GEN house burn-NPT that.time fire blaze-SAS-3S/PT) as younger brother's house was burning, the fire blazed. Nep. *dankanu* (D)

hute adv., above, up, upwards. Nep. *māthi, māthi-nai* (S) [hyate ~ hyute = D]

hūhūsisa vr., to writhe in pain, squirm; *āikuca-ye konṭe pal-si-ta-ṇa-le ṭaye ka hūhū-si-ṇa-n* (knife-ERG leg chop-REF-IPP-1s-PCL night throughout squirm-REF-1s-PT) having chopped myself in the leg with a knife, I squirmed in pain all night. ?<Nep. *hāhā garnu* (D)

hwali see **whali**

hwaṇ-hwaṇ adj., open (as in space), spacious, wide; *nem duṇ-ṇaṇ hwaṇ-hwaṇ hok-Ø-du* (house within-inside open be-SAS-NPT) inside the house it's very spacious. Nep. *khulā* (D)

hya adv., above, upper. Nep. *māthilo* (D)

hyaletcha vi., to arrive. Nep. *pugnu* (S) [yaletsa = D]

hyanata?asa vt., to deliver. Nep. *puryāunu* (S) [yanatasa = D]

hyañe?esa see **ṇe?esa**

hyate adv., I above, up, up there. Nep. *māthi* (D) [hute = S]

hyate adv., II far away, over there. Nep. *para* (S) [hyute ~ dhute = D]

hyuiniṇ itsa see **hyuyiṇ itsa**

hyukhute adv., over there (close and slightly up). Nep. *māthīlo ṭhāū* (D) [hī?ikote = S]

hyute adv., above, up, up there, upwards. Nep. *māthi, māthi-nai* (D) [hute = S]

hyute wansa vt., to bring up; *to-bany-e phesu ja-sa-kāi hyu-te wan-eṇ-no* (that-Pp-ERG sheep graze-INF-PM up-LOC bring-pAS-3→3/PT) they brought the sheep up to graze them. Nep. *māthi lyāunu* (D) [kleṇ wancha ~ hote wancha = S]

hyute waṇsa vi., to come up; *jet loṇ-sa hyu-te wany-eṇ-an* (work do-INF up-LOC come.from.below-pAS-3S/PT) they came up to work. Nep. *māthi āunu* (D) [kacyo waṇsa ~ hote waṇsa = S]

hyuyiṇ itsa <hyuiniṇ itsa> vt., to bring down; *mesa hyu-yiṇ it-u-n-du* (buffalo up-ABL bring.from.above-3P-1s→3-NPT) I will bring the buffalo down (from higher up). Nep. *māthī-dekhi lyāunu* (D) [ho?oginiṇ hitcha = S]

i

iccha see **itsa**

icidu chyare n., a species of small annual plant, *Drymaria cordata*, which commonly grows as a weed among tea bushes. Nep. *abijālo* (S) [ragdu ʈhare = D]

icinissa vi., to be seen; *ka-yiŋ tete-ko nem icinis-Ø-du* (this-ABL elder.sister-GEN house be.seen-SAS-NPT) from here elder sister's house can be seen. Nep. *dekhinu* (D)

icyiladu phrase, it's cold (of weather). Nep. *jāḍo cha* (S) [ʈila = D]

igadare see **ighadhare**

igyaŋ <iyaŋ> adv., today. Nep. *āja* (S) [yaŋ = D]

ighadhare <igadare> adj., stretched out, long. Nep. *lāmo* (S)

ijik adj., cold, wet. Nep. *ciso* (D) [ijiʔ = S]

ijiksa vi., to cool down (of food or drink); *isa ijik-Ø-an* (food become.cold-SAS-3S/PT) the food is (has become) cold. Nep. *selāunu* (D) [ijiʔsa = S]

ijiʔ adj., cold, wet. Nep. *ciso* (S) [jik = D]

ijiʔsa vi., to become cold, to cool down. Nep. *selāunu* (S) [ijiksa = D]

ikhesa vi., to crow (of a rooster or pheasant); *bāsinte ḍiŋ-ḍiŋ gare ikhe-ŋa libi serek-ŋa-du* (morning red rooster crow-CNS after arise-1s-PT) in the morning, I got up after the red rooster crowed. Nep. *bāṣnu* (D) [ekhesa = S]

ilame n., a species of fodder, *Lindenbergia indicia*, the leaves of which are collected as fodder for domesticated animals. Thangmi villagers use this plant as a natural clock since it stands up high in the daytime and wilts in the evening. Nep. *cheruvā jhār* (D)

ileksa vt., to lick; *huca-ye isa cya-ŋa libi lak ilek-Ø-u-no* (child-ERG food eat-CNS after hand lick-SAS-3P-3→3/PT) after eating, the child licked his hand. Nep. *cāṭnu* (D) [ilyaʔasa = S]

ileŋ n., a species of edible berry, *Rubus lasiocarpus*. Nep. *aiselu* (D) [ilyaŋ = S]

ili n., a species of gecko which lives outside houses. Nep. *bhālemuñro, mansulī* (S)

ilyaŋ n., a species of edible berry, *Rubus lasiocarpus*. The thorny branches are used to make fences along property borders to hinder animal movement. The fruits ripen between *cait* and *jeṭh* and can be eaten raw. Nep. *aiselu* (S) [ileŋ = D]

ilyaʔasa vt., to lick. Nep. *cāṭnu* (S) [ileksa = D]

incyak rul n., a species of small gecko which lives on walls outside houses. Nep. *bhālemuñro, māusulī* (D)

ini see **iniŋ**

iniŋ <ini> adv., in this manner, like this. Nep. *yasari* (S) [uniŋ = D]

- iŋe** n., a species of weed, *Desmodium elegans*. The leaves are collected as fodder for goats. Nep. *rāto bākhre ghās* (S)
- ir-ir** adj., completely full of food, totally stuffed; *ahe cya-ta-ŋa-le baŋkal ir-ir thah-Ø-an* (much eat-IPP-1s-PCL stomach completely.stuffed be-SAS-3S/PT) I ate a huge amount and now my stomach is completely stuffed. (D)
- isa** n., food. Nep. *khānā*
- isa karāisa** <krāisa> vi., be hungry. <Nep. *karāunu*. Nep. *bhol lāgnu* (S) [isaye karāisa = D]
- isaye karāisa** <krāisa> vi., to be hungry; *bāsinte isa ma-cya-ŋa-thyo, naleŋ isa-ye karāi-ŋa-n* (morning food NEG-eat-1s-3sCOND now food-ERG shout-1s-PT) in the morning I didn't eat, now I am hungry. <Nep. *karāunu*. Nep. *bhok lāgnu* (D) [isa karāisa = S]
- isen** n., a soft-bodied apodous larva, typically found in decaying organic matter such as meat or excrement. Nep. *guhe kirā* (D) [esen = S]
- isilyaŋŋāi noŋsa** see **isilyaŋtsa**
- isilyaŋtsa** <isilyaŋŋāi noŋsa> vt., to make smooth, polish. Nep. *cilyāunu* (S)
- isisa** vr., to inquire, ask, say, tell, do; *to mi oste-kāi apraca i-si-Ø-du* (that person self-PM good be.said-REF-SAS-NPT) that person says of himself that he is great. Nep. *bhaninu*, *bhanī māgnu* (D)
- isyaŋ** <syay> adv., change, day, turn, time, period; *baŋthe isyaŋ* (tomorrow period) the following day; *habi syay-ko* (before period-GEN) the day before. Nep. *paŋto*
- itar** n., wick, lamp. Nep. *batti* (D)
- itsa** <iccha> vt., to bring down (from above); *naŋāi warak-yiŋ khit-tuŋ-le it-u-n-uŋ* (Himalayan.nettle ridge-ABL scrape-1s/TPP-PCL bring.from.above-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT) having peeled it, I brought some Himalayan nettle down from the ridge. Nep. *māthī-dekhi lyāunu* (D)
- ithedu paŋku** n., spirit, distilled liquor. Nep. *raksi* (D) [ethedu paŋku = S]
- ithesa** vi., to be sharp (of a mind or blade); *āikuca ithe-Ø-du ma-thah-Ø-an-be mesa ma-pal* (knife be.sharp-SAS-NPT NEG-be-SAS-3S/PT-TOP buffalo NEG-chop) if the knife is not sharp then it won't cut the buffalo. Nep. *lāgnu*
- iŋil isa** n., [ritual language] a kind of ritual rice used during the death ritual. (D)
- iyaŋ** see **igyaŋ**
- iʔbliŋ** adj., aright, right side, right way up. Nep. *sulʔto* (S) [sipliŋ = D]

j

jārāme n., [ritual language] the spirit of death. Nep. *kāl* (D)

- jabi** n., small bag made of nettle fibre, also known as *naṇṇāi menca*. Nep. *allo-ko thailo*
- jadu** interj., yes, okay (in response to an imperative or an adhortative), it is allowed. Nep. *huncha*
- jagapsa** vi., to faint, have an epileptic fit; *jagap-Ø-du mi-ko ugo-yiṇ phap-phap let-Ø-du* (faint-SAS-NPT person-GEN mouth-ABL foam appear-SAS-NPT) foam bubbles appear from the mouth of unconscious people. Nep. *behos hunu* (D)
- jāidhane akyaṇmi** n., a male Thangmi clan name attested in the village of Suspā.
- jakcho** n., wheat, *Triticum sativum*, *Triticum aestivum*. The leaves and stalks are collected as fodder for domesticated animals. The grain is harvested between *baiśākh* and *jeth* and is made into grain paste or baked as a flat bread. The grains are also roasted whole and made into a porridge for children. The dried stalks are used as thatch for roofs. Wheat breads are prepared during Thangmi rituals, particularly for marriages and deaths. Nep. *gahū* (D) [jaʔco = S]
- jake** n., uncooked rice, rice in general, *Oryza sativa*. The leaves and stalks are collected as fodder for domesticated animals. The rice grain is harvested between *kārtik* and *maṇsir*. The grains can also be roasted whole and made into porridge for children. The dried stalks are used as thatch for roofs. Some form of rice is used in most Thangmi rituals. Rice is a newer import and luxury food, and most Thangmi villagers do not own their own rice fields. Nep. *cāmal*
- jakhore** n., basket for storing rice and other grains. Nep. *ḍālo* (D)
- jalat** n., Nepalese hog plum, *Choerospondias axillaris*. Nep. *lapsi* (S) [loṇa = D]
- jaramphal** n., spider. Nep. *mākurā* (S) [makarpapa = D]
- jaramphalko nem** n., spider web (lit. spider-GEN house). Nep. *gāḍ, jāl* (S)
- jarphu** n., elder sister's husband. Nep. *bhinājyu*
- jarphuni** n., elder sister's husband's sister. Nep. *bhinājyu-ko didī* (D)
- jasā** vi., I to get better in health, recover from illness; *guru-ye mut-to-le nini jah-Ø-an* (shaman-ERG blow-TPP-PCL father's.sister recover-SAS-3S/PT) the shaman blew on my father's sister and she recovered. Nep. *taṇgrinu* [cf. thaṇsa]
- jasā** vt., II to be okay. Nep. *hunu, ṭhik hunu*
- jasā** vt., III to make graze, cause to graze; *gā-ye sya jah-u-n-du* (I-ERG cow graze-3P-1S→3-1S→3/NPT) I graze my cow. Nep. *carāunu* (D)
- jasisa** vr., to graze; *mesa-pali ja-siy-eṇ-du* (buffalo-p graze-REF-pAS-NPT) the buffaloes are grazing. Nep. *carnu* (D)
- jaʔco** n., wheat, *Triticum sativum*, *Triticum aestivum*. Nep. *gahū* (S) [jakcho = D]
- je woi** adv., whatsoever. <Nep. *je pani* (D)
- jejeram** n., a species of green flying insect which stinks when touched. Nep. *ganāune kirā* (D)

- jeksa** vt., to clean (pots and pans, not clothes), wash hands or something (but not the whole body); *kwăi jek-Ø-u-du tete-kăi pepelek pi-ko măi-Ø-du* (potato wash-SAS-3P-NPT elder.sister-PM money give-ADH must-SAS-NPT) the woman who is cleaning the potatoes should be given some money. Nep. *dhunu* (D) [jeʔesa = S]
- jeksisa** vr., to clean oneself, wash parts of one's body (but not the whole body); *mañăi cya-sa-kăi lak jek-si-ŋa-n* (bread eat-INF-PM hand wash-REF-1s-PT) in order to eat the bread I washed my hands. Nep. *āphai dhunu* (D) [jeʔesisa = S]
- jekha** adj., big, fat, large. Nep. *thūlo, moŋo* (D) [jhyeka = S]
- jekha aji** n., husband's mother's elder sister, wife's mother's elder sister, husband's father's elder brother's wife, wife's father's elder brother's wife, brother's wife's elder sister. Nep. *jeṭhī sāsu* (D) [jhya aji = S]
- jekha bubu** n., senior elder brother, eldest brother. Nep. *thūlo dāi* (D) [jhya bubu = S]
- jekha ca** n., first-born son. <Nep. *thūlo bābu, jeṭho* (D) [jhya baba = S]
- jekha camăi** n., first-born daughter. <Nep. *thūlī nānī, jeṭhī* (D) [jhya nani = S]
- jekha chuku** n., husband's mother's elder sister's husband, wife's mother's elder sister's husband, husband's father's elder brother, wife's father's elder brother. Nep. *jeṭhā sasurā* (D) [jhya chuku = S]
- jekha ḍamari** n., younger sister's husband's elder brother. (D)
- jekha jarphu** n., elder sister's husband's elder brother. (D)
- jekha rul** n., large snake. Nep. *sāp* (D) [jhyeka rul = S]
- jekha thasa** vi., to be big, grow; *ka huca amakalenṇ ucyaca hok-Ø-thyo, tarul jekha thah-Ø-an* (this child last.year small be-SAS-3sCOND this.year big be-SAS-3S/PT) last year this child was small, this year he has grown. Nep. *thūlo hunu* (D) [jhyeka thasa = S]
- jekhama** n., mother's elder sister, father's elder brother's wife. <Nep. *thūlī amā* (D) [jhyaʔama = S]
- jekhapa** n., father's elder brother, mother's elder sister's husband. <Nep. *thūlo bā* (D) [jhyaʔapa]
- jenene** adj., sticky, gluey, gummy. Nep. *cyāpcyāpe* (D)
- jet** n., work, study, occupation, thing. Nep. *kām*
- jet loṇsa** vt., to work, do something. Nep. *kām garnu*
- jet loṇsa mi** phrase, worker, slave, domestic help (lit. work do-INF person). <Nep. *nokor, kām garne mānche* (D) [jet noṇsa mi = S]
- jet noṇsa mi** phrase, worker, slave, domestic help (lit. work do-INF person). <Nep. *nokor, kām garne mānche* (S) [jet noṇsa mi = D]

- jeʔesa** vt., to clean, wash (hands, face, rice), wash someone else or something. Nep. *dhunu* (S) [jeksa = D]
- jeʔesisa** <jeʔesisa> vr., to clean, wash parts of self, wash oneself. Nep. *āphai dhunu, nuhāunu* (S) [jeksisa = D]
- jinchiri** <jintuk> n., clitoris. Nep. *ṭisī* (D) [jinchiriʔ = S]
- jinchiriʔ** n., clitoris. Nep. *ṭisī* (S) [jinchiri = D]
- jintuk** see **jinchiri**
- jiŋ** n., rainshield made out of woven bamboo, these days often with a plastic lining, now also used to mean umbrella. Nep. *ghum, chātā*
- jire** n., comb of a cockrel. Nep. *siur*
- jireŋ** n., red wasp. Nep. *bārulā* (D) [jhiryəŋ = S]
- jirimuṣṭi** adj., finished, exhausted, all out. Nep. *sakhāb* (D)
- jisa** vt., I to chop or split in two; *bosiŋ-ko seŋ rapa-ye ji-to-le jyou-ko mǎi-Ø-du* (Nepal.black.cedar-GEN wood axe-INS split-TPP-PCL burn-ADH must-SAS-NPT) having split it, the wood of the Nepal black cedar should be burnt. Nep. *cirnu* (D) [jiʔisa = S]
- jisa** vt., II to make as if to slap or strike someone in an argument; *pāiri-ye kaṭa-kaṭa woi lak-e ji-Ø-ŋa-n* (elder.brother's.wife-ERG scold-scold also hand-INS make.as.if.to.strike-SAS-1s-PT) scolding and scolding me, elder brother's wife made as if to slap me. Nep. *dhārīm hat lagāunu* (D)
- jiʔisa** vt., to split in two. Nep. *cirnu* (S) [jisa = D]
- joisa** vi., to leak, come through, penetrate; *ṭoke phetək-Ø-ta-le toŋ joih-Ø-an* (small.bowl be.torn-SAS-IPP-PCL beer leak-SAS-3S/PT) being split, the beer leaked out of the small bowl. Nep. *cuhinu, chirnu*
- joksa** vi., [ritual language] to be fated to be. Nep. *jurāunu*
- jomsa** vt., to collect, be together, gather together (people, not things); *hya nem-te mi si-Ø-du syaŋ ahe mi jom-eŋ-an* (above house-LOC person die-SAS-NPT period many person be.together-pAS-3S/PT) the day the person from the upper house died, many people came together. <Nep. *jammā hunu* (D)
- joŋkhorsa** vi., to crouch down with one's legs apart and groin showing. (D)
- jugitsa** vi., to doze off sitting up; *nyoŋi bore yoh-u-n-uŋ, tyəŋ nalen jugit-ŋa-n* (evening wedding watch-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT then now doze.off-1s-PT) in the evening I watched a wedding and now I have dozed off sitting up. ?<Nep. *jhakinu* (D)
- jukun** adv., only. Nep. *mātra* (S)
- jumu** n., Nepal aromatic leaf garlic, *Allium hypsistum*, *Allium wallichii*. This is used as a spice to flavour lentil soup. ?<Nep. *jimbu* (D) [dundup = S]

- junsa** vt., to chase, pursue, push, shove; *ca-ye gǎi-gǎi soŋ-ŋaŋ jun-to-le gǎi pho-ŋa-n* (son-ERG I-PM river-inside push-TPP-PCL I be.wet-1s-PT) my son pushed me in the river and I was drenched. Nep. *ghaceḍnu* (D) [jhuncha = S]
- juro** n., cockroach. Nep. *sāñlo, sāñglī* (S) [rulău = D]
- jyabsa** vt., to look at, see. Nep. *hernu* (S) [cf. yoʔsa, yosa = D]
- jyamari** n., younger sister's husband, son-in-law, husband of a sibling's daughter. Nep. *juvāī* (S) [ḍamari = D]
- jyaŋgaŋeŋ** n., bird. Nep. *carā* (S) [ḍaŋgaŋeŋ = D]
- jyaŋgaraŋsisa** vr., to sit with one's legs pulled apart, to put one's legs out wide. Nep. *ṭāg phārnu* (S) [ḍaŋkharāŋsisa = D]
- jyiŋ-jyiŋ** adj., temporarily red (such as the sunset, someone's face when hot, or irritated and inflamed red eyes). Nep. *rāto* (S) [cf. keret, ḍiŋ-ḍiŋ = D]
- kyoksa** vi. and vt., to be burnt or scalded; *priŋ-te ahe hok-ŋa-n, uni-ye gǎi-gǎi jyok-Ø-ŋa-n* (outside-LOC much be-1s-PT sun-ERG I-PM burn-sAS-1s-PT) I sat outside for a long time and now the sun has burnt me. Nep. *polnu* (D)
- jyosa** see **jyousa**
- jyoujhāi** n., the act of burning, singeing. Nep. *pol-pāl* (D)
- jyousa** <jyosa> vt., to burn wood, roast something; *wa-ko cici jyou-Ø-du-guri atṭhe se-Ø-du* (chicken-GEN meat roast-sAS-NPT-IND very be.tasty-sAS-NPT) roasted chicken meat is really tasty. Nep. *polnu* (D) [jhyăusa = S]

jh

- jhāri** n., rain; *jhāri yuw-Ø-an* (rain come.from.above-sAS-3S/PT) it rained. <Nep. *jharī*
- jhimjhim** n., firefly. Nep. *jūnkīrī* (S) [methaŋgare = S, metutu = D]
- jhintyak** n., catapult, trap. Nep. *gulelī, phaḍke, codhānī* (D)
- jhiryay** n., red wasp. Nep. *bārulā* (S) [jireŋ = D]
- jhumit** n., a species of tree. The leaves are collected as fodder for domesticated animals, and the trunk is burnt as firewood. (D)
- jhuncha** vt., to chase, pursue, push, shove. Nep. *ghaceḍnu* (S) [junsa = D]
- jhya aji** n., husband's mother's elder sister, wife's mother's elder sister, husband's father's elder brother's wife, wife's father's elder brother's wife. Nep. *jeṭhī sāsu* (S) [jekha aji = D]
- jhya baba** n., first-born son. <Nep. *ṭhūlo bābu, jeṭho* (S) [jekha ca = D]
- jhya bubu** n., senior elder brother, eldest brother. Nep. *ṭhūlo dāt* (S) [jekha bubu = D]

- jhya chuku** n., husband's mother's elder sister's husband, wife's mother's elder sister's husband, husband's father's elder brother, wife's father's elder brother. Nep. *jeṭhā sasurā* (S) [jekha chuku = D]
- jhya nani** n., first-born daughter. <Nep. *ṭhūlī nānī*, *jeṭhī* (S) [jekha nani = D]
- jhyalṭuṇ** n., a vessel to carry burning coals from house to house, also used to burn the leaves of the mugwort, *Artemisia vulgaris*, as incense. Nep. *dhupauro* (D)
- jhyāusa** vt., to burn wood, roast something. Nep. *polnu* (S) [jyousa = D]
- jhya?ama** n., father's elder sister, father's elder brother's wife, mother's elder sister, husband's elder brother's wife, wife's elder sister, wife's elder brother's wife. Nep. *jeṭhī sāsu*, *jeṭhunī didī*, *ṭhūlī āmā* (S) [jekhama = D]
- jhya?apa** n., father's elder brother, father's elder sister's husband, mother's elder sister's husband, husband's mother's brother's son, husband's mother's sister's son, husband's elder brother, husband's elder sister's husband, husband's father's brother's son, husband's father's sister's son, wife's elder brother, wife's mother's brother's son, wife's mother's sister's son, wife's father's brother's son, wife's father's sister's son. Nep. *kākā*, *ṭhūlo buvā* (S) [jhekapa = D]
- jhyeka** adj., big, fat, large. Nep. *ṭhūlo* (S) [jekha = D]
- jhyeka rul** n., large snake. Nep. *sāp* (S) [jekha rul = D]
- jhyeka thasa** vi., to be big, grow, increase. Nep. *ṭhūlo hunu*, *baḍhnu* (S) [jekha thasa = D]

k

- kăcyălăṇ** n., disturbance, riot, uproar. <Nep. *kackac*, *khalbal* (D)
- kăcyălăṇsisa** vr., to make a noise, create a disturbance; *yaṇ unise huca-pali kăcyălăṇ-siy-eṇ-an* (today afternoon child-p make.noise-REF-PAS-3S/PT) this afternoon the children made a lot of noise. <Nep. *kackac garnu* (D)
- kălijyaṇ** <kaliyaṇ> adv., year after next. Nep. *parāghaū* (D) [kinilyaṇ = S]
- kălyyaṇ** <kalyaṇ> adv., next year. Nep. *āghū*
- kăṇṭi** see **kaṇṭi**
- kătāra** n., trough, tray. Nep. *āri* (D)
- ka** pron., this, this one, he, she, it. Nep. *yo*
- ka dăi** adv., hither (horizontal level, towards the speaker). Nep. *yatā tira*
- ka dăi dha dăi** adv., in one of these two places. Nep. *yatā-tira utā-tira* (D) [ka dăi to dăi = S]

ka dǎi to dǎi adv., in those places, around there, in that area, up and down, around and about that place. Nep. *yatā-utā, yatā-tetā* (S) [ka dǎi dha dǎi = D]

ka daŋ adv., this year. Nep. *yo sāl* (S) [cf. *tarin, tarul* = D]

ka ulamgiŋ phrase, this way (lit. this road-ABL). Nep. *yo bāto-bāta* (S)
[ka ulamyiŋ = D]

ka ulamyiŋ phrase, this way (lit. this road-ABL). Nep. *yo bāto-bāta* (D)
[ka ulamgiŋ = S]

ka uniŋ adv., in this manner, in this way, like this. Nep. *yasarī, jasto* (D)
[ka wani = S]

ka wani adv., in this manner, in this way, like this. Nep. *yasarī, jasto* (S)
[ka uniŋ = D]

kabaŋ pron., they (near) (lit. this-Pp). Nep. *yiniharu* (D) [cf. *tobaŋ*]

kabasa adv., on this side, this way. Nep. *yatā paṭṭi*

kabasayiŋ adv., from this side. Nep. *etā-bāta*

kacya?sa vi. and vt., to speak, talk, cry (human), rumble of one's belly. Nep. *bolnu, karāunu* (S) [arṭiksa ~ cijyaŋsa = D]

kacyo waŋsa vi., to come up (to where the speaker is). Nep. *māthī āunu* (S) [hyute waŋsa = D]

kachamsa vt., to make a sticking or slurping sound with the lips when eating, make a sound with the lips to show anticipation of food; *camāi-ye cici cya-sa habi ugo kacham-Ø-u-no* (daughter-ERG meat eat-INF before mouth make.hungry.noises-SAS-3P-3→3/PT) daughter made hungry noises before eating. Nep. *miṭhyāunu* (D)

kadhrap n., a species of plant. The leaves and stalks are collected as fodder for domesticated animals in the month of *maṇsir*, and the wood of the tree trunk is burnt as firewood. The fruit ripens in *maṇsir* and is beaten, dried and then made into a chutney. The ripe fruit is useful as a medicine to combat diarrhoea, as an antidote to mushroom poisoning and to lessen the oral irritation caused by eating taro. The plant is also used to make wicker baskets and other goods, and is used by shamans to construct the outer part of their ritual drums. The shape of the branches can be altered using hot water or steam, making them suitable for the construction of items which require elasticity, such as the catapults and slingshots used by children to kill birds. Nep. *malāyo* (D) [kyadrap = S]

kagiŋ phrase, from here. Nep. *yahā-dekhi* (S) [kayiŋ = D]

kāisa vt., to buy, purchase, pull out, remove, take something out of something else; *apa-ye menca-yiŋ maṇāi kāih-Ø-u-no* (father-ERG bag-ABL bread remove-SAS-3P-3→3/PT) father removed the bread from his bag; *jekha dese-te miŋ kāi-tuŋ-le uma-kāi hen-u-n-uŋ* (big village-LOC cloth buy-1s/TPP-PCL wife-PM take-3P-

1s→3-1s→3/PT) having bought cloth in the town, I took it to my wife. Nep.

nikālnu, kinnu, jhiknu

kakaṭak-kokoṭok adv., frozen solid, totally numb. Nep. *kaṭhyāṅgriyo* (D)

kakhrukca adj., chewy, particularly used for something which sticks in one's teeth when eating. (D)

kalāisa vi., to be in a great deal of pain; *akyarak cya-ta-ṇa-le baṅkal kalāi-ṇa-n* (arum.lilly eat-IPP-1s-PCL stomach hurt-1s-PT) having eaten the bulb of the arum lilly, my stomach hurt. Nep. *dukhnu* (D) [catta?sa = S]

kalijyaṇ see **kālijyaṇ**

kaḷiṅkulaṇ n., pestle and mortar. Nep. *muslī*

kalyaṇ see **kālyaṇ**

kameṇsa vi., to be drunk. Nep. *māteko hunu* (S)

kampe n., the softer and more flexible part of bamboo used exclusively for weaving bamboo baskets and mats. Nep. *gidro* (D)

kancama n., wife of father's younger brother. <Nep. *kānchī āmā* (S) [ucyama = D]

kanca?apa n., father's younger brother. <Nep. *kānchā buvā* (S) [ucyapa = D]

kanci adj., young (of wood), fresh, unripe. <Nep. *kāco* (S) [kañṭi = D]

kanci cikuri n., little finger, pinkie. <Nep. *kānchī aulā* (S) [ucya omla = D]

kanci la? n., little finger, pinkie. <Nep. *kānchī aulā* (S) [ucya omla = D]

kaṇṭap n., a chip of bamboo or splint of wood used to make baskets or cradles.

These chips are secured to the outside of bamboo goods and wicker cots to strengthen them. Nep. *kāmro* (D)

kañṭi <kāñṭi> adj., young (of wood), fresh, unripe. ?<Nep. *kāco* (D) [kanci = S]

kaṇ n., boil. Nep. *pilo*

kaṇkāi n., comb. ?<Nep. *kāgiyo* (S) [phini = D]

kaṇkala? n., brown-green coloured lizard. Nep. *chepāro* (S) [aṅkalak = D]

kaṇkarek n., crab, crayfish. Nep. *gaṅgaṭo* (D) [kaṇkareṇ ~ cyukwāi = S]

kaṇkareṇ n., large crab, crayfish. Nep. *gaṅgaṭo* (S) [cf. cyukwāi, kaṇkarek = D]

kaṇliṅ n., bone in the lower leg, beneath the knee, *tibia*. Nep. *ḍhuṇī khuṭṭā* (D) [kaṇtuṅ = S]

kaṇpe?e n., the part of the bamboo which is preferentially used for weaving. Nep. *coyā* (S)

kaṇtuṅ n., bone in the lower leg, beneath the knee, *tibia*. Nep. *ḍhuṇī khuṭṭā* (S) [kaṇliṅ = D]

kaṇṭu n., neck, throat. Nep. *ghāṭī*

kapa n., feathery bamboo, *Bambusa vulgare*. The leaves are collected as fodder for domesticated animals. The small shoots are edible between *asār* and *bhadau*, and are cooked as a vegetable curry or made into chutney. The stronger stalks

of bamboo are used as ceiling beams in house construction. Household articles and baskets are commonly made of feathery bamboo. Some roofs, huts and ladders are also made of this species of bamboo on account of its strength. Inside the old bamboo stalks there is a kind of white ‘butter’ which is an excellent ointment for burns. Inside young bamboo is a different kind of watery substance which is fed to adults and children to stop bedwetting. Feathery bamboo is also used to construct the bier on which the deceased is carried to the cremation ground. This ritual bamboo structure is known as a *maran̄seŋ*.
Nep. *bās* (D) [cf. rapa, kapa? = S]

kapale n., forehead. Nep. *nidhār*

kapane n., traditional Thangmi plate, either wooden or clay. Nep. *kāthko thāl*,
māṭoko thāl (D)

kapa? n., feathery bamboo, *Bambusa vulgare*. Nep. *bās* (S) [cf. rapa, kapa = D]

kapeteŋsa <peŋsa> vi., to thunder. Nep. *caṭyāñ parnu* (S) [dhiri thasa = D]

kapu n., head. Nep. *ṭauko*

kapu jyisisa vr., to comb one’s own hair. Nep. *āphno kapāl kornu* (S) [ḍisisa = D]

kapu koṭesa vt., to shave the head; *bubu hu si-ŋa libi mumpra-te kapu koṭe-ko mǎi-Ø-du* (elder.brother younger.brother die-CNS after death.ritual-LOC head cut-ADH must-SAS-NPT) once one’s brothers have died, one must shave one’s head.
Nep. *kapāl khauranu* (D)

kapu ulisa vt., to wash someone else’s hair; *uma-ye huca-ko kapu ulih-Ø-u-du ma-jah-Ø-an* (wife-ERG child-GEN head wash-SAS-3P-NPT NEG-okay-SAS-3S/PT) my wife didn’t wash the child’s head well. Nep. *kapāl dhunu* (D)

kapu ulisisa vr., to wash one’s own hair, wash one’s head; *ajik paŋku-ye kapu uli-si-ŋa-du honce kalāi-ŋa-du* (cold water-INS head wash-REF-1S-NPT later hurt-1S-NPT) I’m washing my hair in cold water and later my head will hurt. Nep.
āphno kapāl dhunu

karati n., sickle, small knife. Nep. *kaciyā*

karāisa vi., to be hungry, *isa-ye gǎi karāi-ŋa-du* (food-ERG I shout-1S-NPT) I am hungry. <Nep. *karāunu*. Nep. *bhok lāgnu*

karce? n., sugar cane, *Saccharum officinarum*. Nep. *ukhu* (S) [karjek = D]

kari n., song. Nep. *gīt*

karisa vt., to sing; *bore-te tete-ye aṭṭhe karih-Ø-u-no* (wedding-LOC elder.sister-ERG much sing-SAS-3P-3→3/PT) elder sister sang a lot at the wedding. Nep.
gāunu

karjek n., sugar cane, *Saccharum officinarum*. The sap is used as sugar to sweeten tea and is also consumed as a medicine against jaundice. During Thangmi

wedding rituals, shamans burn small pieces of sugar cane in the fire along with rice. Nep. *ukhu* (D) [karce? = S]

karok warsa vt., to make a plate of food for one's dead parents at important rituals and festivals. Should the spirits of one's parents come, then the food must be thrown away. This ritual may not be practised by people whose parents are still alive; *naka racya cey-i-du beryañ apa-ye karok war-Ø-u-no* (new unhusked.rice eat-1pPS-NPT that.time father-ERG food.offering throw-SAS-3P-3→3/PT) when we ate the new rice, father made a food offering to the ancestors. Nep. *apsanī hālnu* (D)

karpaksa vt., to embrace, hug; *uma-ye huca karpak-to-le amiy-Ø-an* (wife-ERG child embrace-TPP-PCL sleep-SAS-3S/PT) the wife fell asleep holding he child. Nep. *agālnu, aṅgālo hālnu* (D) [karpa?asa ~ kro?osa = S]

karpa?asa vt., to bend or one's fold arms, embrace, hug, put over one's shoulders. Nep. *agālnu, aṅgālo hālnu* (S) [cf. kro?osa, karpaksa = D]

kasibusi see **busikasi**

kasyu n., small spot, skin blemish, a small wound that emerges by itself (not a cut). Nep. *dāg, ghāu* (S) [maṇaphok = D]

katakat n., spoils, booty, loot. ?<Nep. *khosā-khos* (D)

kataṇ adv., just, previously, earlier, already, a while ago; *gāi isa kataṇ cya-ṇa-n* (I food just eat-1s-PT) I ate earlier. Nep. *bharkhar*

katcha vt., to steal. Nep. *khosnu, luṇnu* (S) [katsa = D]

kate adv., here. Nep. *yahā*

katsa vt., to steal, plunder, pilfer, purloin, snaffle, pinch, snatch away; *jekha huca-ye ucyaca-ko mui kat-Ø-u-no* (big child-ERG small-GEN banana steal-SAS-3P-3→3/PT) the bigger child stole the banana from the smaller one. Nep. *khosnu, lutnu* (D) [katcha = S]

kaṭasa vi., to insult, be rude to, offend, scold, swear at, rebuke, reprimand; *mesa-ye racya cya-to-le jekhapa kaṭah-Ø-an* (buffalo-ERG unhusked.rice eat-TPP-PCL father's.elder.brother scold-SAS-3S/PT) the buffalo ate the paddy and father's elder brother rebuked the animal. Nep. *gālī garnu* (D) [syampe?sa = S]

kayīṇ phrase, from here. Nep. *yahā-dekhi* (D) [kagiṇ = S]

ka?i adv., so. Nep. *yati* (S)

ka?i jukun adv., this much. Nep. *yati nai* (S)

kelemsa vi., to have leisure, free time; *yamīryañ jet ma-hok, gāi kelem-ṇa-du* (these.days work NEG-be I have.free.time-1s-NPT) There's no work these days, so I have some free time. Nep. *phursat hunu*

keletcha vi., to arrive. Nep. *āipugnu* (S) [keletsa = D]

keletsa vi., to arrive; *miryaŋ cawa-Ø-du mi yaŋ kelet-Ø-an* (yesterday walk-SAS-NPT person today arrive-SAS-3S/PT) the person who walked yesterday arrived today. Nep. *āṭpugnu* (D) [keletcha = S]

kelsa see **kyelsa**

ken n., cooked vegetable curry. Nep. *tihun, tarkārki*

kere n., worm, bug, insect. <Nep. *kīrā*

kerepsa <krepsa> vi., to weep, cry; *cya-sa ma-khalam-ŋa libi huca kerep-Ø-an* (eat-INF NEG-receive-CNS after child cry-SAS-3S/PT) after not getting anything to eat the child cried. Nep. *runu* (D) [kherepsa = S]

keret adj., red, orange, purple. Nep. *rāto* [cf. *ḍiṇ-ḍiṇ*]

kiceksa vi., to quarrel with one another, bicker; *yaŋ bāsint̃e ubo ŋaŋ kiji kucu kicek-eŋ-an* (today morning white and black dog bicker-PAS-3S/PT) this morning the black and white dogs quarreled with one another. Nep. *ṭokā-ṭok garnu* (D)

kicitsisa vr., to have sexual intercourse; *kucu-pali kicit-siy-eŋ-an* (dog-p have.intercourse.with.eachother-REF-PAS-3S/PT) the dogs are screwing each other. Nep. *cikācik garnu* (D)

kiḍisa vi., to quarrel, argue; *jekhapa-kāi cici ma-gap-Ø-an tyāŋ kiḍiy-Ø-an* (father's.elder.brother-PM meat NEG-be.enough-SAS-3S/PT then argue-SAS-3S/PT) father's elder brother didn't get his fill of meat, so then he argued. Nep. *bājnu* (D) [cf. *kiṇesa*]

kiji adj., black. Nep. *kālo*

kiji altak n., the black rhododendron, *Rhododendron grande*. See above under *altak* for uses. Nep. *kālo gurās* (D)

kiji amom n., *Armillariella mellea*. (S) [kiji amum = D]

kiji amum n., black edible mushroom or honey fungus, *Armillariella mellea*. This mushroom is cooked and consumed as a vegetable curry. It ripens in the months of *sāun* and *bhadau*. Nep. *kālo khāne cyāu* (D) [kiji amom = S]

kiji camek n., small mountain bamboo, *Arundinaria intermedia*. Nep. *kālo nigālo* (D) [kiji came? = S]

kiji came? n., small mountain bamboo, *Arundinaria intermedia*. Nep. *kālo nigālo* (S) [kiji camek = D]

kiji chokchok adj., total darkness; *yaŋ ṭaye kiji chokchok thah-Ø-an* (today night black darkness be-SAS-3S/PT) last night was totally dark. Nep. *andhakār* (D)

kiji chyare n., crofton weed, *Eupatorium adenophorum*. Nep. *kālī jhār* (S) [kiji ṭhare = D]

kiji gunjilik n., a species of plant, also known in English as 'beggar tick', *Bidens pilosa*. The green leaves are collected as fodder for goats. Nep. *kālo kuro* (D)

kiji ileŋ see **hăkuŋap**

kiji mi n., Terai dweller, Indian (lit. black man). Nep. *madhesī, madeśī*

kiji thasa vi., to be black; *ahe asku-te hok-ŋa libi kiji tha-i-du* (much smoke-LOC be-CNS after black be-1pPS-NPT) having sat around a lot of smoke, we will go black. Nep. *kālo hunu*

kiji ʈhare n., crofton weed, *Eupatorium adenophorum*. The leaves are collected as fodder for domesticated animals. Nep. *kālī jhār* (D) [kiji chyare = S]

kili <kiŋi ~ kli> n., excrement, faeces, shit. Nep. *guhu, disā*

kili boŋboŋ n., a species of flying insect which multiplies itself in dung. Nep. *guhe kirā* (D) [kli kuʈut kere = S]

kili gaŋe n., latrine, privy, toilet, WC (lit. shit mine). Nep. *carpi* (D)

kili tasa vt., defaecate, shit; *gā-ye kili ta-tuŋ-le serek-ŋa libi kucu-ye cyah-Ø-u-no* (I-ERG shit remove-1s/TPP-PCL arise-CNS after dog-ERG eat-SAS-3P-3→3/PT) after I got up and took a shit, the dog ate it. Nep. *hagru* (D) [kili taʔasa = S]

kili taʔasa vt., to defaecate. (S) [kili tasa = D]

kilicyutinsa vi., to be upside down (lit. shit.fall.out-INF); *camāi warak-te ʈhi arah-Ø-u-du beryaŋ kilicyutin-Ø-an* (daughter ridge-LOC fodder cut-SAS-3P-NPT that.time be.upside.down-SAS-3S/PT) when daughter is cutting fodder up by the ridge, she hangs upside down. Nep. *ulʈo hunu* (D)

kiloʔsa vt., to fight, quarrel, get angry, argue. Nep. *jhagaḍā garu* (S) [kiḍisa = D]

kimi n., tapeworm. Nep. *curnā*

kinabas adv., in three days. Nep. *nikorsi* (D) [kīyabat = S]

kincha vi., to be startled, be scared. Nep. *jhaskanu, tarsinu* (S) [kinsa = D]

kinilyaŋ adv., year after next. Nep. *paraghaū* (S) [kālijyaŋ = D]

kinsa vi., to be startled, be scared; *arki khyok-Ø-du beryaŋ gāi kin-ŋa-n* (deer cry-SAS-NPT that.time I be.startled-1s-PT) when the deer cried I was startled. Nep. *jhaskanu, tarsinu* (D) [kincha = S]

kiŋesa vi., to fight, quarrel, get angry. Nep. *jhagaḍā garu* [cf. kiḍisa = D]

kiŋesisa vr., to fight with someone, battle with another; *ni asmakaleŋ mut-Ø-u-du nama kiŋe-siy-i-n* (we year.before.last blow-SAS-3P-NPT with fight.with.someone-REF-1pPS-PT) two years ago we got into a fight with a tailor. Nep. *kuʈākuʈ garu* (D)

kiŋi see **kili**

kipal n., navel, umbilical cord. Nep. *nāiʈo* (S) [kispāi ~ tyamphuri = D]

kipotoloksisa vr., to roll about, wallow on the ground or in mud; *ulam-te nis-gore rul kipotolok-siy-eŋ-an* (road-LOC two-CLF snake roll.about-REF-pAS-3S/PT) two snakes were rolling about on the road. Nep. *laʈpaʈinu* (D)

kipsa vt., to thrust in (such as the wall of house, a joist). Nep. *siuranu* (S)

kiput kiput loṅsa vt., to pulsate, squeeze, tighten and release. Nep. *mucuk mucuk garnu* (D)

kispāi n., navel, umbilical cord. Nep. *nāiṭo* (D) [cf. ṭyamphuri, kupal = S]

kit num., nine. Nep. *nau*

kitriṅbas adv., in four days. Nep. *kanekorsi* (D)

kitte n., triangular straw basket into which fermented maize is put, to which water is then added for the preparation of beer. Nep. *chapanī* (S) [cema = D]

kiṭuliṅ n., bottom, buttocks. Nep. *cāk* (S) [muji = D]

kīyabat adv., in three days. Nep. *nikorsi* (S) [kinabas = D]

kleṅ adv., above, up. Nep. *māthi*

kleṅ thasa vi., to become full, be filled, be above (not of the stomach); *paṅku dhiri-te kleṅ tha-Ø-ta-le kheiy-Ø-an* (water water.vessel-LOC up be-SAS-IPP-PCL spill-SAS-3S/PT) having become totally full, the water spilled out of the vessel. Nep. *bharinu, bharnu, māthi hunu* (D) [pleṅsa = S]

kleṅ wancha vt., to bring up. Nep. *māthi lyāunu* (S) [kleṅ wansa = D]

kleṅ wansa vt., to bring up; *kyañ-ko dhotra hu-ye kleṅ wan-Ø-u-no* (needle.wood.tree-GEN hooked.branch younger.brother-ERG up bring-SAS-3P-3→3/PT) younger brother brought up a hooked branch of the Needle wood tree. Nep. *māthi lyāunu* (D) [kleṅ wancha = S]

kleṅko dewaye yoṭudu phrase, he/she fainted, had an epileptic fit (lit. above-GEN god-ERG see-SAS-3P-NPT). Nep. *chāre rog* (S)

kli see **kili**

kli kuṭut kere n., a species of flying insect which multiplies itself in dung. Nep. *guhe kirā* (S) [kili boṅboṅ = D]

kokoliṅ n., crested serpent eagle, *Spilornis cheela*, known to eat snakes. Nep. *kākākul* (S) [kokoṅiṅ = D]

kokoṅ n., a large orthopterous insect. Nep. *phaṭeṅgro* (D)

kokoṅiṅ n., crested serpent eagle, *Spilornis cheela*, known to eat snakes. Nep. *kākākul* (D) [kokokliṅ = S]

kokorok adj., old, bent, crumpled. Nep. *kupro* (D)

kokoroksisa vr., to be bent over, be old, be crumpled; *saṅa peṇe-sa-kāi kokorok-si-ko māi-Ø-du* (millet plant-INF-PM bend.over-REF-ADH must-SAS-NPT) in order to plant millet you have to bend yourself over. Nep. *kuprinu* (D)

kokoṭeisa vi., to become stiff from the cold, be numbed, be huddled up; *ṭila-ye mi kokoṭeiy-Ø-an* (cold-INS person be.numbed-SAS-3S/PT) the person became numbed by the cold. ?<Nep. *kakrinu* (D)

kokoṭok-kakaṭak adj., lame, unable to walk. Nep. *kujo* (D)

kolasa vi., to be hungry; *isa-ye kola-ŋa-n* (food-INS be.hungry-1s-PT) I am hungry.

Nep. *bhok lāgnu* (D)

koloksa vi., to not swallow all of one's mother's milk, vomit milk (of a baby only);

huca ama-ko nunu tun-ŋa libi kolok-Ø-an (child mother-GEN milk drink-CNS

after regurgitate-sAS-3S/PT) after drinking his mother's milk, the child

regurgitated. Nep. *bāntā garnu* (D)

kolsa vt., I to add the leftover and dried out millet or maize paste from a previous

meal to a new pot of hot water so as to reuse it and cook a new meal; *nyoŋi-ko*

isa uma-ye kol-to-le ni cey-i-n (evening-GEN food wife-ERG

reheat.polenta.paste-TPP-PCL we eat-1pPS-PT) my wife re-used the flour paste

and we ate it. (D)

kolsa vt., II to weed with a hoe (only in maize fields). Nep. *goḍnu* (S) [korsa = D]

koŋap see **kyadrap**

koŋte n., foot, leg, kick. Nep. *khutṭā, lāttī*

koŋ n., trough. Nep. *okhal* (D) [toŋgo? = S]

koŋkolyaŋ adj., I bent, twisted. Nep. *bāṅgo* (D)

koŋkolyaŋ n., II beater for striking the *take* or shaman's drum. Nep. *gaja* (S)

[ḍokliŋ = D]

koŋkoŋiŋ adj., bent like a shaman's beating stick which curls back on itself. (D)

koŋkoŋisa vt., to bend; *kadhrap koŋkoŋi-to-le jhinyak tha-Ø-du* (species.of.plant

bend-TPP-PCL catapult be-sAS-NPT) once the wood of the tree has been bent, it

can be used as a catapult. Nep. *baṅgyāunu* (D) [kuŋkuŋi?sa = S]

koŋiŋ adj., the rounded diameter of something bent in a circle. Nep. *golo*

koŋoŋsisa vr., to echo, *warak koroŋ-siy-Ø-an* (cliff echo-REF-sAS-NPT) the cliff

echoed. Nep. *pratidhvani hunu* (D)

korok n., gizzard of a bird. Nep. *gāḍ* (D)

koroksa vt., to bend something over, fold (clothes); *bheterek aṭṭhe korok-sa ma-ja,*

tor-Ø-du (bamboo.mat much bend-INF NEG-okay break-sAS-NPT) the bamboo

mat should not be bent too much, it will break. Nep. *dobārnu, paṭṭyāunu* (D)

[tepsa = S]

koroksa vt., to bend something over, fold. Nep. *paṭṭyāunu* (S) [tepsa I = D]

koropsisa vr., to sit cross-legged. Nep. *paleṭi kasnu* (S) [aŋkhesisa = D]

korote n., [ritual language] anger, envy, jealousy. Nep. *lobh, rīs* (D) [cf. rage]

korsa vt., to weed with a hoe (only in maize fields); *makāi buŋ ho-sa habi kor-ko*

māi-Ø-du (maize maize.infloresence bloom-INF before weed.with.a.hoe-ADH

must-sAS-NPT) before the maize flower blooms, one should weed with a hoe.

Nep. *goḍnu* (D) [kolsa = S]

kosa n., bone. Nep. *hāḍ, haḍḍī* (D) [kosya = S]

kosaseŋ n., a species of tree, *Cephalanthus naucleoides*. The leaves are collected as fodder for goats. The wood of the trunk and that of larger branches is used to manufacture handles for domestic tools and is also used for furniture. Smaller chippings are burnt as firewood. Nep. *kāli-kāṭh* (D)

kosrop n., nest. <Nep. *kosero*. Nep. *gūḍ* (S) [kosyorok = D]

kosya n., bone. Nep. *hāḍ, haḍḍī* (S) [kosa = D]

kosyorok n., nest. <Nep. *kosero*. Nep. *gūḍ* (D) [kosrop = S]

kotale adv., under, below (of a place). Nep. *muni*

koṭe n., stone wall, inner wall of a house. Nep. *bhittā, gāro*

koṭeŋ ज्यांगारेण n., house sparrow, *Passer domesticus*. Nep. *bhaṅgero* (S)
[cyurkun = D]

koṭesa vt., to cut small things, especially horizontally with a knife; *lak koṭe-tuŋ-le coi let-Ø-an* (hand cut-1s/TPP-PCL blood appear-SAS-3S/PT) having cut my hand, blood appeared. ?<Nep. *kāṭnu, gṛḍnu* (D) [koṭeṣa = S]

koṭeṣa vt., to cut small things, especially horizontally with a knife. ?<Nep. *kāṭnu* (S) [koṭesa = S]

koṭho n., a tightly-woven bamboo basket for storing grain, shaped rather like a huge egg. Nep. *anna rākhne bhakārī* (D)

krāisa see **karāisa**

krepsa see **kerepsa**

kritcha vt., to scrape, scratch. Nep. *khurkhāunu* (S) [cf. khitcha, khitsa = D]

kroṣa vi., to embrace, hug, bend or fold one's arms. Nep. *hāt bāḍhnu, agālnu, aṅgālo hālnu* (S) [cf. karpāṣa, karpaksa ~ lak ṭepsisa = D]

kucik n., a piece or part of something (often broken), morsel. Nep. *ṭukro* (D)

kucisa vt., to pinch, break into little pieces (as in tobacco leaves when preparing to make a local cigarette). Nep. *cimoṭnu* (S) [kuṭiksa = D]

kucu n., dog. Nep. *kukur*

kucu suwa n., canines (lit. dog tooth). ?<Nep. *kukur dāt*

kucu wani n., bear (lit. dog like, because of a bear's dog-like face) Nep. *bhālu* (S)

kucuni n., bitch, female dog, ugly or bad woman. ?<Nep. *kukurnī*

kucyapro see **kocyapro**

kuchipṇasa vi., to be bored, have a bad experience, have one's fun spoiled, be bummed out; *unise jet loŋ-u-n-du beryaŋ, kuchipṇa-ṇa-n* (daytime work do-3P-1s→3-NPT that.time be.bored-1s-NPT) when I have to work all day, it's no fun. Nep. *dikka lāgnu, alchi lāgnu* (D)

kulin n., a small earthenware water vessel. Nep. *ghaṭṭo* (D)

kulla see **kulna**

kulla kaṭap see **kulna kaṭap**

kullareŋ see **kunlareŋ**

kulna <kunla ~ kulla> n., ear. Nep. *kān*

kulna amum n., a species of ear-shaped mushroom which is cooked and consumed as a vegetable curry. It ripens in the month of *bhadau*. Nep. *kān cyāu* (D)

kulna kaṭap <kulla kaṭap> n., an earwig. Nep. *kānsutlo* (D)

kulna kuṭu n., earwax. Nep. *kān-ko guji* (S)

kulna masāi phrase, deaf (lit. ear NEG-know). Nep. *bahiro*

kulsa vt., to rinse (one's mouth); *awak-Ø-du toŋ tun-ŋa libi ugo kul-ko mǎi-Ø-du* (bitter-SAS-NPT beer drink-CNS after mouth rinse.out-ADH must-SAS-NPT) after drinking bitter beer, one must rinse one's mouth out. <Nep. *kullā garnu, pakhālnu, khokalnu* (D) [cyuklu?sisā = S]

kululu n., short-eared owl, *Asio flammeus*. Nep. *laghukarṇa lāṭokosero* (D)

kumbi metap n., [ritual language] torch light used in the death ritual. Nep. *mare pachi batti bālnu* (D)

kumsa vt., to cut, harvest, pick, pluck, trim, prune; *saṇa kum-to-le ŋe-ko mǎi-Ø-du* (millet harvest-TPP-PCL beat-ADH must-SAS-NPT) after the millet is harvested it must be threshed. Nep. *ṭipnu*

kundani pron., how? Nep. *kasto* (S) [kunduniŋ = D]

kundu pron., which? Nep. *kun*

kundu nama pron., with whom? Nep. *kun saṇga* (D)

kundu ulamgiŋ phrase, by which road, which way? Nep. *kun bāṭo-bāṭa* (S)

kundu ulamyiŋ phrase, by which road, which way? Nep. *kun bāṭo-bāṭa* (D)

kunduguri pron., which one? Nep. *kun cāhī* (D)

kundu-kundusyaŋ adv., sometimes. Nep. *kahile kahī* (D) [haŋgaleŋ-haŋgaleŋ = S]

kunduniŋ pron., how? Nep. *kasto* (D) [kundani = S]

kundunyaŋ pron., what like? Nep. *ke kasto* (D)

kuni see **kunyaŋ**

kuniŋ see **kunyaŋ**

kunla see **kulna**

kunlareŋ <kullareŋ> n., a species of flower which resembles a human ear, *Stellaria vestita*. This flower is worn for beauty's sake only and has no ritual or medicinal uses. <Nep. *karṇaphul* (D)

kunṭap n., pincers. Nep. *sanāso* (D)

kunyaŋ <kuniŋ ~ kuni> pron., how, in what manner? Nep. *kasari*

kuṇkuṇi?sa vt., to bend. Nep. *baṇgyāunu* (S) [koṇkoṇisa = D]

kutaleŋ pron., when, at which time? Nep. *kahile, kun samay* (D) [haŋgaleŋ = S]

kutaleŋ-kutaleŋ adv., sometimes, on occasion. Nep. *kahile kehī* (D) [haŋgaleŋ-haŋgaleŋ = S]

kutrepsa vt., to winnow; *jakcho ne-ŋa libi humi-ye kutrep-Ø-u-no* (wheat beat-CNS after younger.sister-ERG winnow-SAS-3P-3→3/PT) after beating the wheat, younger sister winnowed it. Nep. *niphannu* (D) [petrepsa = S]

kuthersa vt., to turn earth over, rout up, grub, dig deep with fingers; *huca-ye gare kuther-Ø-u-du naleŋ coi let-Ø-du* (child-ERG wound dig.at-SAS-3P-NPT now blood appear-SAS-NPT) the child is digging away at his cut, in a minute it will bleed. Nep. *udhinnu, nuŋgryāunu* (D) [uphlatcha = S]

kuṭiksa vt., to pinch, break into little pieces (as in tobacco leaves when rolling a cigarette); *bubu ami-Ø-du beryaŋ kuṭiy-u-n-uŋ tyāŋ bubu kin-Ø-an* (elder.brother sleep-SAS-NPT that.time pinch-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT then elder.brother be.startled-SAS-3S/PT) while elder brother was sleeping, I pinched him and he was startled. Nep. *cimoṇnu* (D) [kucisa = S]

kuṭisa vt., to chop up, break into little pieces. Nep. *gṛḍnu* (S)

kuṭhup n., tadpole. Nep. *cepagāṇā, gāṇe* (D) [kuṭhut = S]

kuṭhut n., tadpole. Nep. *cepagāṇā, gāṇe* (S) [kuṭhup = D]

kuyutsa vt., to suckle. Nep. *cusnu* (D)

kwāi n., I potato, *Solanum tuberosum*. The leaves are collected as fodder for domesticated animals, and the bulb is consumed as a vegetable after being boiled and peeled. A certain red form should be eaten when suffering from diarrhoea, particularly if the stool is white or red with blood. On the Hindu festival of *māghe saṅkrānti*, after an early morning ritual at the nearest water source, a *ṭikā* is made from raw *kwāi* and placed on the forehead of all attendees. It is believed to bring good luck if *kwāi* is eaten before anything else on this morning. Nep. *ālu* (D) [bhōṇya? = S]

kwāi <kwoi> n., II all root vegetables, and specifically *Dioscorea sagittata*. Nep. *tarul*

kwassa <kwatsa> vi., to be enough, feed to the full, be full, be satisfied; *isa cya-Ø-ta-ŋa-le gāi kwas-ŋa-n* (food eat-SAS-IPP-1s-PCL I be.full-1s-PT) having eaten, I became full. Nep. *aghāunu* (D)

kwatraṇsa n., a species of animal. <Newar? Nep. *malsāpro* (D)

kwatsa see **kwassa**

kwoi see **kwāi**

kyac-kyac adj., soft, marshy, muddy, clay-like, water-logged; *raŋ-te usi ta-to-le kyac-kyac tha-Ø-du* (unirrigated.field-LOC urine evacuate-TPP-PCL muddy be-SAS-NPT) peeing in the field makes it muddy. Nep. *daldale* (D)

kyadrap <koṇṭap> n., a species of plant. Nep. *malāyo* (S) [kadhrap = D]

- kyan** n., needle wood tree, *Schima wallichii*. The wood is used to make ploughs and furniture, and chippings are burnt as firewood. The timber is excellent for house construction. Nep. *cilāune*
- kyanḍola** n., squirrel. Nep. *lokharke* (D)
- kyanḍula** n., mongoose. Nep. *nyāurī muso* (S)
- kyanḍpole akyanmi** n., a male Thangmi clan name attested in the village of Suspā.
- kyelsa** <kelsa> vi., I to come (for a specific purpose, particularly when the direction is unknown); *bubu nama naka wakhe ḡisen-si-sa nem-yiḡ kyel-ḡa-n* (elder.brother with new word teach-REF-INF house-ABL come-1s-PT) I came with elder brother to learn new things. Nep. *āunu*
- kyelsa** <kelsa> vt., II to bring; *ka ubo miḡ bubu-ko dese-yiḡ kyel-Ø-u-no* (this white cloth elder.brother-GEN village-ABL bring-SAS-3P-3→3/PT) this white cloth was brought from elder brother's village. Nep. *lyāunu*
- kyonḡiḡ** n., gun, rifle. Nep. *banduk* (D)
- kyuʔuliḡ** n., anus. Nep. *kaḡḡo* (S) [ḡhopit = D]
- kyuʔuliḡko doronḡ** n., rectum, anal passage. Nep. *gudvār* (S) [ḡhopit doronḡ = D]

kh

- khām** interj., emphatic, used when one does something wrong. (D)
- khāḡḡrāḡ** n., bamboo basket inverted to make a cage for chickens. Nep. *jhak* (D)
- khāsyabamḡi** n., Chetrī, Brahmin, higher Hindu castes. <Nep. *kṣetrī*, *bāhun* (D)
- khalamsa** vt., to receive, get, meet; *pepelek khalam-tuḡ-le ḡāi taḡ-ḡa-n* (money receive-1s/TPP-PCL I be.happy-1s-PT) having gotten some money, I was happy. Nep. *pāunu*, *bheḡnu*
- khalsa** vt., to mix. Nep. *misāunu* (S)
- kham** n., language; *nany-e ni-ko thaḡmi kham cijyaḡ-ko māi-Ø-du* (you-ERG we-GEN Thangmi language speak-ADH must-SAS-NPT) you must (learn to) speak our Thangmi language. Nep. *bhāṣā* (D) [cf. *wakhe*]
- khamṣa** vt., to tease, deride, harrass. Nep. *jiskāunu* (S)
- khaḡou** n., door. Nep. *ḡhokā* (D) [cf. *themba*, *khaḡu* = S]
- khaḡu** n., door. Nep. *ḡhokā* (S) [khaḡou ~ themba = D]
- kharu** adj., old. Nep. *purāno* (S) [thaḡna = D]
- khasa siri** n., a female Thangmi clan name attested in the village of Suspā.
- khasu** n., cloud. Nep. *bādal* (D)
- khaṭe** n., upper floor of a house, roof. Nep. *coṭā* (D)
- khaṭu siri** n., a female Thangmi clan name attested in the village of Suspā.

khayam n., a species of plant, *Indigofera pulchella*. Nep. *mire pāttī* (S)

khe n., [ritual language] snow. Nep. *hiū* (D)

kheisa vi. and vt., to be poured, be spilled out, pour, spill; *racya laŋ-u-n-du beryaŋ laŋga-te kheiy-Ø-an* (unhusked.rice lift.up-3P-1s→3-NPT that.time courtyard-LOC be.spilled-sAS-3S/PT) when I lifted up the rice, it spilled in the courtyard; *uma-ye wan-Ø-u-du paŋku bubu-ye kheih-Ø-u-no* (wife-ERG bring-sAS-3P-NPT water elder.brother-ERG spill-sAS-3P-3→3/PT) elder brother spilled the water that his wife had brought. Nep. *pokhnu, pokhāunu*

kheisisa vr., to pour water on oneself. Nep. *āphai pokhāunu* (S) [loksisa = D]

khemsa vt., to make, build; *hu-ye naka nem khem-Ø-u-no* (younger.brother-ERG new house build-sAS-3P-3→3/PT) younger brother built a new house. Nep. *banāunu* (D)

khen n., face; *to-ko khen kiji thah-Ø-an* (that-GEN face black be-sAS-3S/PT) his face became black. Nep. *anuhār*

kheraŋ adv., near. Nep. *najīk* (S) [kherte = D]

khrekksa <khrekksa> vt., to grind down (to a pulp), pulverize, powder (spices and herbs); *isa ci-min-sa habi dokmaŋ kherek-ko mǎi-Ø-du* (food CAUS-ripen-INF before Nepal.pepper grind.down-ADH must-sAS-NPT) before one starts to cook, some Nepal pepper should be ground down. Nep. *pisnu*

khrepsa vi., to weep, cry. Nep. *runu* (S) [kerepsa = D]

kherte adv., near; *kherte ra-Ø! ga-ye ma-cek* (close come.from.level-s/IMP I-ERG NEG-bite) come close, I won't bite! Nep. *najīk* (D) [kheraŋ = S]

kheʔesisa vr., to strap on, put on, attach to self. Nep. *bhirnu* (S) [khyaksisa = D]

khipa n., shade, shadow; *uni tow-Ø-an, gǎi khipa-te hok-sa ya-ŋa-n* (sun shine-sAS-3S/PT I shade-LOC be-INF go-1s-PT) the sun shone, so I went to sit in the shade. Nep. *chāyǎ*

khipa baŋi n. neol., camera (lit. shadow box). Nep. *kyāmera* (S)

khirimsa <khrimsa> vt., to twist, braid, entwine, plait (rope only, not hair); *sakpa khirim-sa mi rah-Ø-an* (rope plait-INF person come.from.level-sAS-3S/PT) the guy who plaits the rope came. Nep. *bāṭnu*

khitcha vt., to peel off, scrape off, strip. Nep. *tāchnu* (S) [cf. chyaʔasa, khitsa = D]

khitkhat n., planing and scraping in woodwork. Nep. *tāch-tuch* (D)

khitsa vt., to peel off, scrape off, strip off, skin an animal, peel vegetables or something soft; *kwǎi ma-khit-Ø-ta-ki cya-sa ma-ja* (potato NEG-peel.off-sAS-IPP-NPS eat-INF NEG-okay) you shouldn't eat a potato without peeling it (first). Nep. *tāchnu, khurkhāunu, khuīlyāunu* (D) [khitcha ~ chyaʔasa ~ kritcha = S]

- khitsisa** vr., to be peeled off, scraped off, stripped; *ca t̥it̥iŋ-Ø-ta-le, uru-ko sebi khit-siy-Ø-an* (son fall-SAS-IPP-PCL elbow-GEN skin scrape.off-REF-SAS-3S/PT) son fell and scraped the skin of his elbow off. Nep. *tāchinu* (D) [chyasa = S]
- khoikhoisa** vi., to cough. ?<Nep. *khoknu* (S) [t̥hoi̯thoisa = D]
- khokorsokor** n., the edible dried leaves of any green vegetable. (D)
- khola lak** n., left hand (used for cleaning after ablutions); *to ubo mi khola lak-e isa cya-Ø-du* (that white person left hand-INS food eat-SAS-NPT) that foreigner is eating with her left hand. Nep. *debre hāt* (D) [khola la? = S]
- khola la?** n., left hand (used for cleaning after ablutions). Nep. *debre hāt* (S) [khola lak = D]
- khoma** n., the feathery inflorescence of the millet plant. This is collected as fodder for domesticated animals. Nep. *kodo-ko bhus* (D)
- khondoroŋ** n., bell, gong (worn by cows, goats and shamans); *găi sya-ko khondoroŋ ma-nasăi, du-ye cyah-Ø-u-no thaŋun* (I cow-GEN bell NEG-hear tiger-ERG eat-SAS-3P-3→3/PT maybe) I don't hear the cow bell, perhaps the tiger has eaten it. Nep. *ghaŋt̥i* (D)
- khoŋa** n., I a small basket for carrying fish. Nep. *māchā rākhne peruŋgo* (D)
- khoŋa** n., II a trap for catching porcupines. Nep. *dumsi mārne jhak* (D)
- khon̥sa** <khyoksa> vi., to cry (of a deer); *arki khoŋ-Ø-an* (deer cry-SAS-3S/PT) the deer cried. Nep. *m̥gā karāunu* (D)
- khon̥sya** n., beaver. Nep. *ōt* (S)
- khon̥pe** n., ankle. Nep. *golīgāthā* (S)
- khon̥i** n., a short-handled mattock or hoe with a narrow blade, held with two hands. Nep. *kodāli* (D) [khōŋi = S]
- khōŋi** n., a short-handled mattock or hoe. (S) [khon̥i = D]
- khora** n., small metal bowl. Nep. *boṭuko*
- khoroisa** vi., to be unhappy; *ama khoroiy-Ø-ta-le, găi-go ca ma-thaŋ-Ø-an* (mother be.unhappy-SAS-IPP-PCL I-GEN son NEG-be.healthy-SAS-3S/PT) on account of mother being unhappy, my son became ill. Nep. *cittā dukhnu* (D)
- khosa** vt., to enclose, surround, hedge, fence, stop, prevent, hinder, obstruct, protect; *găi-ko raŋ to semni-ye koṭe-ye khoh-Ø-u-no* (I-GEN unirrigated.field that Tamang-ERG stone.wall-INS enclose-SAS-3P-3→3/PT) that Tamang enclosed my field with a stone wall. Nep. *bārnu, cheknu* (D)
- khreksa** see **khereksa**
- khrimsa** see **khirimsa**
- khui** <khwi> n., thief. Nep. *cor* (S) [gwi = D]
- khui cukuri** n., index finger (lit. thief finger). <Nep. *cor aulā* (S)
- khuisa** <khwisa> vt., to steal, rob, take unlawfully. Nep. *cornu* (S) [gwisā = D]

khuririŋ adj., round, rounded, circular, spherical. Nep. *golo* (D)

khusisa vr., to bend oneself down, bow down. Nep. *nihuranu* (S)

khwi see **khui**

khwisa see **khuisa**

khyaksa vi., to fall from above and to get trapped or held up in the fall; *warak-yiŋ sya ros-Ø-ta-le khyak-Ø-an* (cliff-ABL cow fall-SAS-IPP-PCL be.stopped.in.the.fall-SAS-3S/PT) having fallen from the cliff, the cow's fall was broken. Nep. *aḍkinu* (D)

khyaksisa <khyatsisa> vr., to strap on, put on, attach to oneself, wear; *seŋ pal-sa habi, āikuca khyak-si-ko māi-Ø-du* (wood chop-INF before knife strap.on-REF-ADH must-SAS-NPT) before you go wood chopping, you have to tie your knife on [to your waist]. Nep. *bhirnu, lāunu* (D) [kheʔesisa = S]

khyakhya n., phlegm. ?<Nep. *khakār* (S)

khyatsisa see **khyaksisa**

khyoksa see **khon̄sa**

l

laba n., sole of foot, *planta pedis*. Nep. *paitālo* (D) [paʔe = S]

laca see **lasa**

lahisa vt., to await, wait for someone, attend, watch, guard, protect; *gāi lahih-u-n-du, naleŋ ka uma ma-yu-Ø-ta-ki* (I wait-3P-1s→3-NPT present throughout wife NEG-come.from.above-IPP-NPS) I am still waiting, but as of yet my wife has not come down. Nep. *parkhanu, kurnu, ruñnu* (D) [laʔisa = S]

lāiyoho interj., uh-huh, yeah, yes. Nep. *ā* (D)

lak n., hand, arm. Nep. *hāt* (D) [laʔ = S]

lak ʔepsisa vr., to bend or fold one's arms; *to-ko bubu rage tha-ŋa libi, lak ʔep-si-Ø-du* (that-GEN elder.brother anger be-CNS after hand fold-REF-SAS-NPT) her elder brother folds his arms when he is angry. Nep. *hāt bādhnu, agālnu* (D) [kroʔosa = S]

lakaŋe n., radish, *Raphanus sativus*. The root is eaten raw as a snack, and is also made into a pickle or chutney. Radish is believed to settle the stomach and to reduce gas when eaten raw. The leaves are eaten as a vegetable curry to help against jaundice. When pickled or dried, the leaves have a medicinal function as a cure for headaches and fever during the monsoon months. Nep. *mulā*

lakasa vi., to have thirst. Nep. *tirkhā hunu* (S) [karāisa = D]

lakpa n., thigh. Nep. *philā* (D) [cf. an̄thu = D]

lakpa nampasa vi., to knock down, tackle, wrestle, play around; *ni-ko huca-pali busikasi-te lakpa nampay-en-du* (we-GEN child-p dirt-LOC thigh play-pAS-NPT) our children are playing in the dirt. <Nep. *lākpāk khelnu, kūstī khelnu* [cf. lakpasa ~ lampasa]

lakpasa vi., to knock down, tackle, wrestle, play around. <Nep. *lākpāk khelnu* (D) [cf. nampasa, lampasa = S]

lakte hensa vt., to take or carry by hand; *hu, ahum lak-te hen-ko māiy-Ø-an!* (younger.brother egg hand-LOC take-ADH must-sAS-3S/PT) younger brother, eggs should be carried by hand! Nep. *hāt-mā lānu* (D) [laʔte naʔasa = S]

lakte nasa vt., to put by hand. Nep. *hāt-mā rākhnu* (D) [laʔte naʔasa = S]

lampasa vt., to play. Nep. *khelnu* (S) [lakpasa ~ nampasa = D]

lampaṭ n., plain, farmyard; *ni-ko nem-ko camāica-pali lampaṭ-te hok-en-du* (we-GEN house-GEN woman-p farmyard-LOC be-pAS-NPT) the women from our house are sitting in the farmyard. Nep. *maidhān* (D) [thali = S]

lamphaṇsa vt., to cross over, step over (someone or something); *nembo-ko isa-kāi lamphaṇ-sa ma-ja* (other.person-GEN food-PM step.over-INF NEG-okay) you shouldn't step over someone else's food. Nep. *nāghnu* (D)

lamphasa see **laṇphasa**

laṇe n., necklace. Nep. *mālā* (S) [laṇi = D]

laṇga n., courtyard, yard; *saṇa laṇga-te gaṇ-Ø-du* (millet courtyard-LOC dry-sAS-NPT) the millet is drying in the courtyard. Nep. *āgan*

laṇi n., necklace. Nep. *mālā* (D) [laṇe = S]

laṇmikhuṭame n., a discrete part of the Thangmi ritual of asking for a bride. (D)

laṇphasa <lamphasa> vt., to walk around or circumambulate the bride and groom during a wedding procession (done by womenfolk only). Nep. *bāṭo cheknu* (D)

laṇsa vt., to lift, lift up, remove; *jekha ṇiṇ laṇ-tuṇ-le raṇ-te nah-u-n-uṇ* (big rock lift.up-1s/TPP-PCL unirrigated.field-LOC put-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT) having lifted up the big rock, I put it in the field. Nep. *ucālnu*

lapat n., land leech. Nep. *jukā*

lapit n., lower eyelid. Nep. *ākhī bhui* (S)

lapsa vt., to spread, spread out, cover; *ami-sa ṭhāi-te uma-ye miṇ lap-Ø-u-no* (sleep-INF place-LOC wife-ERG cloth spread.out-sAS-3P-3→3/PT) my wife spread out the bedding in the sleeping area. Nep. *ochyāunu*

laphaṇ adj., wanton, desolate, forsaken, weird; *gāi-go jarphu laphaṇ mi hok-Ø-du* (I-GEN elder.sister's.husband forsaken person be-sAS-NPT) my brother-in-law is a weird kind of guy. Nep. *chāḍā* (D)

laphar adj., cowardly, timid; *gāi-go bubu laphar hok-Ø-du* (I-ERG elder.brother cowardly be-sAS-NPT) my elder brother is a coward. Nep. *kātar* (D)

- larak-lirik thasa** vi., to be completely exhausted and thus not be in control of one's body; *sum uni jet loŋ-tuŋ-le, gǎi larak-lirik tha-ŋa-du* (three day work do-1S/TPP-PCL I completely.exhausted be-1S-NPT) having worked for three days, I am completely exhausted. Nep. *ekdam thakāi lāgnu* (D)
- lasa** <laca> n., Indian rhododendron, *Melastoma melabathricum*; Lyonia, *Lyonia ovalifolia*. The tree trunk can be burnt as firewood, and the leaves are used to roll cigarettes made of *bajareŋ*. When beaten and mixed with cold water, the leaves are rubbed on the skin to reduce inflammations, irritations and allergies. If the leaves are eaten by goats in the months of *phāgun* and *cait*, they may be poisonous and kill the animal. In such cases, however, the meat of the animal is not poisoned and may still be consumed by humans. Nep. *aŋgerī*
- lasa aja** n., leaf of the Indian rhododendron, *Melastoma malabathricum*; leaf of the Lyonia, *Lyonia ovalifolia*. Nep. *aŋgerī-ko pāt* (S) [lasako aja = D]
- lasako aja** n., leaf of the Indian rhododendron, *Melastoma malabathricum*; leaf of the Lyonia, *Lyonia ovalifolia*; used for rolling tobacco. Nep. *aŋgerī-ko pāt* (D) [lasa aja = S]
- latar** n., earthworm (inversion of Sindhupālcok form). Nep. *gāḍyaūlo* (D) [ratal = S]
- latsa** vt., to libate, make wet, splash, sprinkle with water; *dewa loŋ-Ø-u-du beryaŋ, guru-ye paŋku lat-Ø-u-du* (god do-SAS-3P-NPT that.time shaman-ERG water sprinkle-SAS-3P-NPT) when worshipping the gods, the shaman sprinkles water around. Nep. *chyāpnu, charkinu* (D) [cepho?osa = S]
- lawā** n., husband, boyfriend. Nep. *logne*
- la?** num., I eight. Nep. *āth* (S) [lā = D]
- la?** n., II hand, arm. Nep. *hāt* (S) [lak = D]
- la?apa** n., palm, top of arm, shoulder, shoulder joint. Nep. *hāt, hatkelā* (S) [lak ~ lakpa = D]
- la?isa** vt., to await, wait for someone, attend, watch, guard, protect. Nep. *parkhanu, kurnu, ruṇnu* (S) [lahisa = D]
- la?te na?asa** vt., carry by hand, put by hand. Nep. *hāt-mā lānu, hāt-mā rākhnu* (S) [lakte hensa ~ lakte nasa = D]
- lā** num., eight. Nep. *āth* (D) [la? = S]
- leksa** vt., I to peel bark off a tree trunk, to pull back the foreskin; *to ucyaca huca oste-ko abu lek-Ø-u-du* (that small child self-GEN penis pull.back.foreskin-SAS-3P-NPT) that little boy is playing with himself. Nep. *khuṭyāunu, neparnu* (D)
- leksa** vt., II to swallow; *saŋa-ko isa ma-cunāi-tiniŋ lek-sa ja-Ø-du* (millet-GEN food NEG-chew-PFG swallow-INF okay-SAS-NPT) it's okay to eat millet paste without chewing. Nep. *nilnu* (D) [lyo?osa = S]

lembe n., flat winnowing tray made of bamboo. Nep. *nāñilo*

lenreŋ-lenreŋ <nenreŋ-nenreŋ> adj., dangling loosely and being about to fall (off), blowing in the wind; *gǎi-go miŋ lenreŋ-lenreŋ thah-Ø-an* (I-GEN cloth dangle.loose be-SAS-3S/PT) my clothes are dangling loosely; *phasa-ye aja-kǎi nenreŋ-nenreŋ loŋ-Ø-u-no* (wind-ERG leaf-PM hang.loose do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT) the wind is making the leaves about to fall off. Nep. *tānrāñ-tunruñ* (D)

leplep n., gum, tree resin; *gogok lek-to-le leplep kǎi-ko mǎi-Ø-du* (bark peel.off-TPP-PCL resin remove-ADH must-SAS-NPT) having peeled off the tree bark, the resin should be removed. Nep. *cop* (D)

leplep thare n., a species of plant which grows in and around a marsh, bog or morass, *Lecanthus peduncularis*. The leaves are collected as fodder for domesticated animals. This species grows in and around marshes or bogs. Nep. *khole jhār* (D)

lesa vt., to select, choose; *humi-ye diŋ-diŋ miŋ leh-Ø-u-no* (younger.sister-ERG red cloth choose-SAS-3P-3→3/PT) younger sister chose the red cloth. Nep. *chānnu* (D) [leʔesa = S]

letcha vi., to go out, appear. Nep. *niskanu, niskīnu* (S) [letsa = D]

letsa vi., to go out, appear; *gǎi-go ugo-yiŋ coi let-Ø-an* (I-GEN mouth-ABL blood appear-SAS-3S/PT) blood came out of my mouth. Nep. *niskanu, niskīnu* (D) [letcha = S]

leʔesa vt., I to pull back (especially the foreskin). Nep. *neparnu* (S) [leksa = D]

leʔesa vt., II to select, choose. Nep. *chānnu* (S) [lesa = D]

li adv., I also. Nep. *pani* (S) [woi = D]

li n., II bow (and arrow). Nep. *dhanu* (D)

libi adv., after, later, then; *to woi libi ya-Ø-du* (that also later go-SAS-NPT) he'll also go later. Nep. *pachi* (D) [ṇubasye = S]

libisa vi. and vt., to follow, pursue; *naŋ nama gǎi libi-ŋa-du* (you with I follow-1s-NPT) I'll follow along with you; *naŋ-kǎi libi-na-ŋa-du* (you-PM follow-2s-1s-NPT) I'll follow you. Nep. *pachyāunu* (D) [uritcha = S]

liki see **likin**

likin <liki> n., wheat stalks used as thatch for a house. Nep. *gahū-ko khar, chwālī*

limba see **limbak**

limbak <limba> n., old cloth with which to hold hot pots. Nep. *hanbernu* (D)

limek n., tail (of an animal). Nep. *pucchar*

linṭhiŋsa vt., to wave around (as in a dog's tail); *ka camāica-ko mus ālāmga hok-Ø-du, ka-ye mus linṭiŋ-Ø-u-du* (this woman-GEN hair long be-SAS-NPT this-ERG hair wave.around-SAS-3P-NPT) this woman has really long hair and she waves it around. Nep. *hallāunu* (D)

liŋ see **lyuŋ**

liŋliŋ n., various species of bamboo, red Himalayan bamboo, *Thamnocalamus spathiflorus*; small mountain bamboo, *Arundinaria intermedia*; tufted bamboo, *Dendrocalamus hamiltonii*. Nep. (*kālo*) *nigālo*, *māliŋgo*, *coyā* (*bās*) (D) [cf. rapa, rapacame?, kiji came? = S]

lipem n., I lip(s). Nep. *oṭh* (S) [lipin = D]

lipem n., II snow. Nep. *hiū*

lipin n., lip(s). Nep. *oṭh* (D) [lipem = S]

lipya n., a species of small fish which sticks to rocks with its flat mouth. (S)

lisa vi., I to enter, go inside. Nep. *pasnu* (S) [bisa = D]

lisa vt., II to scatter, broadcast; *apa-ye racya-ko puya lih-Ø-u-no* (father-ERG unhusked.rice-GEN seed broadcast-SAS-3P-3→3/PT) father scattered the rice seed. Nep. *charnu* (D) [liʔisa = S]

lit n., water leech. Nep. *pānī jukā*

liʔisa vt., to scatter, broadcast. Nep. *charnu* (S) [lisa = D]

lokpa n., a quilt, traditional mattress or undersheet made from old torn clothes, used to provide warmth when sleeping. Nep. *ḍasnā*, *purāno lugāko sirak* (D) [cf. ḍiksi]

lokpa vt., to drain, upset, pour out, spill, overthrow; *isa-ko adum paŋku tun-sa ma-ja*, *lok-ko māi-Ø-du* (food-GEN hot water drink-INF NEG-okay pour.out-ADH must-SAS-NPT) the hot rice water should not be drunk, it should be poured out. Nep. *khanyāunu*, *ghoṭṭyāunu* (D) [loʔosa ~ ciboʔosa = S]

loksisa vr., to pour water on oneself; *bāsintē serek-ta-ŋa-le*, *gāi ajik paŋku oste-ko kapu-te lok-si-ŋa-du* (morning arise-IPP-1s-PCL I cold water self-GEN head-LOC pour-REF-1s-NPT) in the morning, after getting up, I pour cold water over my head. Nep. *āphai-mā pokhāunu* (D) [kheisisa = S]

lonḍo n., chest. Nep. *chātī* (D) [lonḍoʔ = S]

loŋa n., Nepalese hog plum, *Choerospondias axillaris*. The leaves are collected as fodder for goats and the fruit is made into chutney. The trunk is used for furniture and burnt as firewood. It is believed that if a person with a high fever eats *loŋa*, he or she will likely die. Nep. *lapsi* (D) [jalat = S]

loŋma ama n., the female guardian angel who looks after babies and is believed to be what makes them laugh in their sleep and make sucking sounds. (D)

loŋmaŋ n., the lower part of a grinding stone, hand mortar. Nep. *silauṭā* (D)

loŋsa <noŋsa> vt., to do, make, cook; *hara loŋ-u-na-du?* (what do-3P-2s-NPT) what are you doing?; *gāi-go humi apraca nama isa loŋ-Ø-u-du* (I-GEN younger.sister good with food do-SAS-3P-NPT) my younger sister cooks really well. Nep. *garnu*, *banāunu*, *pakāunu*

- loṇsek** n., heart, feeling, opinion (used metaphorically). Nep. *muṭu*
- loṇya?asa** vi., to consider, think, remember. Nep. *samjhanu*, *socnu* (S)
- loṇḍo?** n., sternum, breastbone. Nep. *chātī-ko hād*, *ghyākulā* (S) [lonḍo = D]
- loṇe** n., jackal, *Canis aureus*. Nep. *śyāl* (D) [ṇoneṇ = S]
- lothārke** see **lothorkya**
- lothorkya** <lothārke> n., a species of small mouse that lives in the needle wood tree, *Schima wallichii*. ?<Nep. *lopharke* (S)
- loṭok** adv., on one's haunches (inversion of Sindhupālcok form); *to-ko camāi loṭok hok-Ø-du* (that-GEN daughter on.haunches be-SAS-NPT) her daughter is sitting on her haunches. Nep. *ṭukrukka* (D) [ṭoklok = S]
- lo?osa** vt., to drain, pour out. Nep. *khanyāunu*, *ghoṭyāunu* (S) [lokṣa = D]
- luṇaṭṭhe** n., backbone, spine, spinal chord. Nep. *meru-daṇḍa*, *ḍāḍālnu*, *ḍhāṇ* (S) [cf. lukunbasya, lukusya = D]
- luisa** vi., to become flaccid (especially of a penis); *chit-to-le, abu lui-Ø-du* (fuck-TPP-PCL penis become.flaccid-SAS-NPT) having had sex, one's penis becomes flaccid. Nep. *lathrinu* (D)
- lukubasya** n., back, behind part. Nep. *ḍhāṇ* (S) [cf. luṇaṭṭhe, lukusya = D]
- lukusya** n., backbone, spine, spinal chord. Nep. *meru-daṇḍa*, *ḍāḍālnu*, *ḍhāṇ* (D) [luṇaṭṭhe ~ lukubasya = S]
- luma** n., rice which has been partially husked. cf. Yamphu *camlu?a*. Nep. *biyā*
- luncha** vt., to climb. Nep. *caḍhnu* (S) [lunsa = D]
- lunsa** vi., to climb, ride (horse); *ucyaca tha-ṇa-du beryaṇ*, *gāi arkapole-te lun-ṇa-thyo* (small be-1s-NPT that.time I walnut.tree climb-1s-3sCOND) when I was young, I used to climb into walnut trees. Nep. *caḍhnu* (D) [luncha = S]
- luṇ** n., gold. Nep. *sun* (D) [cf. uṇ]
- luṇguri** n., emotion, feeling, love, heart. Nep. *man*, *muṭu*
- luṇkuṇiṇ** n., silky oak, *Grevillea robusta*. The leaves are collected as fodder for domesticated animals, and the trunk is used for furniture and burnt as firewood. Nep. *kāḡgiyo rukh* (D)
- luplap** n., the act of filling holes up. Nep. *pur-pār* (D)
- luplap loṇsa** vt., to fill holes in the ground, fill up; *jekha serba yu-Ø-ta-le, ni-ye luplup loṇ-wa-n* (big hail come.from.above-SAS-IPP-PCL we-ERG fill.up.holes do-1p→2/3-PT) after a big hail storm, we filled up the holes in the ground. Nep. *pur-pār garnu* (D)
- lupsa** vi., I to sink into mud. Nep. *bhāsinu*, *ḍubnu* (S)
- lupsa** vt., II to fill up, bury, cover; *mi si-ṇa libi, lup-sa ma-ja, maṇ jyou-ko māi-Ø-du* (person die-CNS after bury-INF NEG-okay body burn-ADH must-SAS-NPT)

after someone dies, one shouldn't bury them, but rather cremate the body. Nep. *purnu* (D)

lutum n., a species of tree, *Saurauia napaulensis* (also written as *Saurauia nepaulensis*). The leaves are collected as fodder for domesticated animals, and the trunk is burnt as firewood. The fruit has a seed which may be sucked on for its sweet flavour. Nep. *gogan*

lyoʔosa vt., to swallow. Nep. *nilnu* (S) [leksa = D]

lyuŋ <liŋ ~ ŋiŋ> n., stone, rock. Nep. *ḍhuŋā*

m

macyu n., I elder brother's wife's younger sister (reckoned from the position of the children), husband's younger brother's wife, father's younger brother's wife. Nep. *sālī, deurāni, kāncī āmā* (S)

macyu n., II mother's younger sister, father's second wife, step-mother. Nep. *sanī mā* (D) [phusaʔama = S]

macyu aji n., wife's mother's younger sister, husband's mother's younger sister. Nep. *sānī āmā sāsu*

macyu ca n., husband's younger brother's wife. (S)

māisa vi., to must. Nep. *parnu*

māithe adj., blunt (lit. NEG-be.sharp). Nep. *bhutte* (D)

makacya makacya noŋsa vt., to whisper. Nep. *kānekhuṣṭ garnu* (S)

makāi n., maize, corn. <Nep. *makai*

makar n., rhesus monkey, *Macaca mulata*. ?<Sanskrit *markaṭ* Nep. *bādar* (D) [yuʔ = S]

makarpapa n., spider. ?<Nep. *mākurā* (D) [jaramphal = S]

malam n., I mother's younger brother. Nep. *māmā* (D)

malam n., II mother's elder brother's wife. (S)

malam aji n., I husband's mother's younger brother's wife. Nep. *māijyu sāsu* (S)

malam aji n., II wife's mother's younger brother's wife. Nep. *māijyu sāsu* (D)

malam ca n., husband's elder sister, husband's mother's brother's daughter, husband's mother's sister's daughter, husband's father's brother's daughter, husband's father's sister's daughter, wife's mother's brother's daughter, wife's mother's sister's daughter, wife's father's brother's daughter, wife's father's sister's daughter. (S)

malam chuku n., I husband's mother's younger brother. Nep. *māmā sasurā* (S)

malam chuku n., II wife's mother's younger brother. Nep. *māmā sasurā* (D)

- malamca** n., wife's elder sister. Nep. *jeṭhī sāsu* (S) [jekha aji = D]
- malimca** adj., honest, straight; *to mi malimca ma-hok* (that person honest NEG-be) that guy's not straight. Nep. *sojho* (D)
- malimca thasa** vi., to be honest, straight; *malimca tha-sa apraca tha-Ø-du* (honest be-INF good be-SAS-NPT) it's good to be honest. Nep. *sojho hunu* (D)
- mama** n., || father's sister's husband. Nep. *phupājyu*
- mamakucu** n., bitch, female dog. Nep. *kukurnī*
- mamala?** n., middle finger. Nep. *mājhī aūlā* (S)
- mamawa** n., hen. Nep. *kukhurī, pothī*
- mamayante** n., lower part of a circular hand-driven millstone, grindstone, quern. Nep. *jāto-ko tallo paṭī*
- mampra** n., the Thangmi death ritual. Nep. *ghevā, ghyāvā* (S) [mumpra = D]
- mancha** vt., to knead. Nep. *muchnu* (S) [mansa = D]
- mansa** vt., to knead; *baṭhe bāsinte gāi jet loṇ-sa habi camāi-ye maṇāi man-Ø-u-du* (tomorrow morning I work do-INF before daughter-ERG bread knead-SAS-3P-NPT) before I go to work tomorrow morning, daughter will knead some breads. Nep. *muchnu* (D) [mancha = S]
- maṇ** n., body. Nep. *śarīr*
- maṇa usyare** n., yeast, leaven. (S) [maṇāi usare = D]
- maṇāi** n., bread, flat pancake. Nep. *roṭī* (D) [maṇiṇ = S]
- maṇāi usare** n., yeast, leaven (lit. bread medicine), *Saccharomyces* in particular but also other genera of ascomycete; *toṇ loṇ-sa-kāi maṇāi usare cuk-ko māi-Ø-du* (beer do-INF-PM bread medicine insert-ADH must-SAS-NPT) to make beer you have to add yeast. This is used in the fermentation process for making local beer and distilled spirit. It also plays an important role in Thangmi wedding and death rituals, often as a substitute for beer should none be available. Nep. *marcā* (D) [maṇa usyare = S]
- maṇaphok** n., pimple. Nep. *dāg* (D) [kasyu = S]
- maṇiṇ** n., bread, flat pancake. Nep. *roṭī* (S) [maṇāi = D]
- marāṇsa** <mraṇsa> vi., to swell, swell up, enlarge in sickness; *ni-ko apa maraṇ-Ø-an* (we-GEN father swell-SAS-3S/PT) our father is all swollen (up). Nep. *sunninu, phulinu*
- marāṇseṇ** n., the bier used for carrying the corpse, which can be made from bamboo or wood. Nep. *ghāro (murdā-lāi bokne)*
- marci** n., red pepper, *Capsicum frutescens*. This spice is used in the preparation of most curries, and is also used to detach leeches from the body and kill them. Thangmi shamans often use *marci* in their rituals, both fresh and dried, to exorcise malevolent spirits affecting people or houses. In such rituals, *marci* is

- burnt in the fire to give off an acrid and foul-smelling smoke. ?<Hindi *mirca*.
Nep. *khorsāni* (D)
- masāi** interj., I don't know (lit. NEG-know). Nep. *jāndina*, *thāhā chaina*
- mat** num., six. Nep. *cha*
- mathaṅsa** vi., I to be ill; *amum cya-ta-ṅa-le ma-than-ṅa-n* (mushroom eat-IPP-1s-PCL NEG-be.well-1s-PT) after eating mushrooms I became ill; *ma-than-Ø-du mi* (NEG-be.well-SAS-NPT person) patient, ill person. Nep. *birāmī hunu*.
- mathaṅsa** vt., II to be unable to do something; *bubu cinem ṅe-sa ma-than* (elder.brother iron strike-INF NEG-be.able) elder brother is unable to forge iron. Nep. *nasaknu*
- me** n., fire. Nep. *āgo*
- me cyaṭaṅsisa** vr., to warm oneself by the fire; *ṭila-Ø-du, gāi me cyaṭaṅ-si-sa ya-ṅa-du* (be.cold-SAS-NPT I fire warm-REF-INF go-1s-NPT) it's cold, I'm off to warm myself by the fire. Nep. *āgo tāpnu*
- me dulsā** vt., to set fire to, kindle, light; *seṅ phow-Ø-an, me dul-sa ma-than* (wood be.wet-SAS-3S/PT fire kindle-INF NEG-be.able) the wood is damp, I can't kindle a fire. Nep. *salkāunu* (D)
- me thapu** n., the whole area around the fireplace. Nep. *āgo culo*
- me ṭatsa** vt., to strike a light, make a fire, cause a fire; *gā-ye mecyat-e me ṭat-u-n-uṅ* (I-ERG flint.stone-INS fire strike-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT) I lit a fire with a flint stone. Nep. *āgo pārnu* (D)
- mecyat** n., white flint stone. Nep. *cakmak*
- meke** n., uncooked husked rice for ritual purposes, rice for the gods or blessed by the gods, rice offered in worship. Nep. *akṣatā* (D)
- mekhenti** n., eye sty. Nep. *ando* (D)
- melsa** vt., to roast millet prior to grinding; *saṅa ne-sa habi, ama-ye mel-Ø-u-no* (millet grind-INF before mother-ERG roast.millet-SAS-3P-3→3/PT) before she ground it, mother roasted the millet. Nep. *bhuṭnu* (D)
- meluṅ** n., white heather, *Gaultheria fragrantissima*. The leaves are collected as fodder for domesticated animals, but only in the months between *kārtik* and *phāgun*. The fruit can be eaten raw and has a sweet flavour. The leaves are used as perfume and may help to relieve nasal blockages as a local decongestant. Shamans use the leaves of the *meluṅ* in exorcism rituals for humans and cows, during which they are set alight and struck on the body of the possessed individual. Nep. *macheno* [cf. cerepeṭek]
- meluṅ phatsa** vt., to dig with an inverted hoe during the Thangmi death ritual. (D)
- meluṅpaṅ** n., the large wild lime, citron, *Citrus medica*. The trunk of the tree is burnt as firewood, while the edible citrus fruit, which ripens between *bhadau*

and *pūs*, is eaten raw. The outside skin is sweet, and the inner flesh is sour. The fruit is worshipped during the Hindu festival of *tihār*. During the Thangmi wedding ritual, the very top of the tree is used to make a necklace for the groom, to whom it is presented on the night before the wedding by the attendant shaman. The plant also has a medicinal use during labour and birth: if the child has been born but the placenta is not forthcoming, then roots of this plant are tied together, along with a copper coin, and placed in the navel of the birthing woman. This is believed to expedite the expulsion of the placenta. Finally, if the leaves are eaten by animals or humans during pregnancy, the foetus will likely be aborted. In these uses, *melunpaŋ* resembles the *bārma* plant discussed above. Nep. *bimiro* (D)

menca n., a small traditional bag woven out of nettle cloth; *apa ucyaca tha-Ø-du beryaŋ, sakalei-ko menca hok-Ø-thyo* (father small be-SAS-NPT that.time everyone-GEN nettle.bag be-SAS-3sCOND) when father was young, everyone had a small nettle bag. Nep. *thailo* (D) [minca ~ upan = S]

mereksa vi., to be sprained, twisted, brittle; *konṭe merek-Ø-an* (leg be.sprained-SAS-3S/PT) I have a sprained foot. ?<Nep. *markanu* (D)

meryaŋ adv., yesterday. Nep. *hijo* (S) [miryaŋ = D]

mesa <mesya> n., water buffalo Nep. *bhaṭṣī*

meseban n. neol., eye-glasses (lit. eye-friend). Nep. *casmā* (S)

mesebaṇi n. neol., video camera (lit. eye-box). Nep. *bhiḍīyo kyāmera* (S)

mesek n., eye. Nep. *ākhā* (D) [mese? = S]

mesek manidu mi n., blind person (lit. eye NEG-see-SAS-NPT person). Nep. *ākhā na-dekhne mānche, andho* (D)

mese? n., eye. Nep. *ākhā* (S) [mesek = D]

mese? cimmayasisa vr., to close one's eyes. <Nep. *ākhā cimlanu* (S)

mesya see **mesa**

metutu n., firefly. Nep. *jūnkīrī* (D) [methaŋgare ~ jhimjhim = S]

methaŋgare n., firefly. Nep. *jūnkīrī* (S) [cf. jhimjhim, metutu = D]

mi n., human being, person, man. Nep. *mānche, mānīs*

mikli?sa vi., to flash (of lightning). Nep. *bijuli camkinu* (S) [mirliksa = D]

miliŋ n., the whole area above the fireplace in which the *cyapriŋ* is situated. ?<Sherpa *miliŋ*. Nep. *saraŋ* (D) [cf. cyapriŋ, cya?areŋ]

miliŋ asareŋ n., large green fly, often found on excrement. Nep. *hariyo jhīṅga* (D) [hiriŋ asari ~ kli asari = S]

minca n., a small traditional bag woven out of nettle cloth. Nep. *thailo* (S) [cf. upan, menca = D]

mincha vi., to cook, to be ripe, ripen. Nep. *pāknu, pākinu* (S) [minsa = D]

- min-minca** adj., fine and grainy, dry and crumbly, particularly of earth or mud.
Nep. *burburāūdo* (D)
- minsa** vi., to cook, be ripe, ripen; *mui min-ŋa libi cya-sa ja-Ø-du, ma-min-tiniŋ cya-sa ma-ja* (banana ripen-CNS after eat-INF okay-SAS-NPT NEG-ripen-PFG eat-INF NEG-okay) only when ripe can bananas be eaten, as long as they're not ripe they shouldn't be eaten. Nep. *pāknu, pākinu* (D) [mincha = S]
- miŋ** n., cloth, clothes, material. Nep. *kapaḍā, lugā* (D) [cf. myuŋ]
- miŋ cigaŋsa** vt., to dry clothes; *miŋ toŋ-tuŋ-le, uma-ye uni-te ci-gaŋ-Ø-u-no* (cloth wash-1S/TPP-PCL wife-ERG sun-LOC CAUS-dry-SAS-3P-3→3/PT) once I had washed the clothes, my wife dried them in the sun. Nep. *lugā sukāunu* (D) [myuŋ cigaŋsa]
- miŋ gaŋsa** vi., to dry (of clothes); *uni-te miŋ gaŋ-Ø-an* (sun-LOC clothes dry-SAS-3S/PT) the clothes dried in the sun. Nep. *lugā suknu* (D)
- mirkaŋ** n., tiger bone horn used by shamans in various rituals, most prominently the death ritual. (D)
- mirliksa** vi., to flash (of lightning), shine; *mirlik-Ø-du* (flash-SAS-NPT) brilliant, glittering, shiny. Nep. *bijuli camkinu* (D) [mikli?sa = S]
- miryaŋ** adv., yesterday. Nep. *hiŋo* (D) [meryaŋ = S]
- molsa** vt., to mix in, stir up, pour flour or a powdery substance into a pot (such as to add sugar to beaten rice or add millet flour to a pot when fermenting beer); *saŋa-ko phase ma-gap, uchinca mol-u-n-du* (millet-GEN flour NEG-be.enough a.little mix.in-3P-1S→3-NPT) there's not enough millet flour, I will mix a little more in. Nep. *misāunu, charnu*
- more** n., perilla, edible seed (used for making chutney), *Perilla frutescens*. When the fresh leaves are rolled between the fingers, a small quantity of juice is released which is very effective in removing leeches from the body. *Chinik* is the name of the chutney made from the seeds. Once the seeds are black and have ripened, they are picked and ground. The chutney is often eaten with cucumber. Nep. *ban silām* (D) [cf. chinik]
- moro** n., corpse. <Nep. *murdā* (D)
- moroksa** vt., to twist, wrench, wring off; *gare sat-sa-kāi morok-ko māi-Ø-du* (rooster kill-INF-PM wring-ADH must-SAS-NPT) to kill a rooster you must wring (its neck). Nep. *nimoṭhnu* (D)
- morsa** vi., to rot, rot away, waste away (not of food); *seŋ mor-Ø-an* (firewood rot-SAS-3S/PT) the firewood is rotten. Nep. *makāunu* [ciŋya?sa = S]
- mosa** vi., to live, survive, revive, come to life; *ama si-ko sow-Ø-an, usare cya-Ø-ta-le mow-Ø-an* (mother die-ADH be.about.to-SAS-3S/PT medicine eat-SAS-IPP-

PCL survive-SAS-3S/PT) mother was on the point of dying, but she ate some medicine and survived. Nep. *bācnu, jāgnu* (D) [chyoʔosa = S]

mosāi interj., who knows? Nep. *khai, kunnī, koni* (D)

mosāisa vt., to know someone. Nep. *cinnu* (S) [ɲosāisa = D]

mosan thali akyañmi n., a male Thangmi clan name attested in the village of Suspā.

mosani n., I cremation place, open site where the dead are burnt, burial-ground, cemetery. <Nep. *masān*

mosani n., II spirit of an ancestor or person who has passed away, evil spirit, ghost. <Nep. *masān, bhūt* [ɖeksi = S]

moṭe n., soya bean, *Glycine max*. The pulse can be eaten fresh or dried, either as a roasted snack or in a curried preparation. During the Thangmi death ritual, the dried pulse is used to represent the eyes of the deceased. Nep. *bhaṭmās*

mou n., father's younger sister's husband, mother's younger brother, husband's younger sister's husband. Nep. *sālā, phupājū, māmā, bhāi* (S)

mou chuku n., I husband's mother's younger brother. Nep. *māmā sasurā* (D)

mou chuku n., II husband's mother's elder brother, husband's father's sister's husband, wife's mother's brother, wife's father's sister's husband. Nep. *māmā sasurā* (S)

mraṅsa see **marañsa**

mui n., banana, plantain, *Musa x paradisiaca*. The fruit is eaten raw and is used in many rituals by neighbouring Hindu castes. The leaves are used in a Thangmi ritual which precedes the marriage ceremony. When a patient is very ill, a shaman may slice a banana lengthways to give the person a chance of living a little longer. This ritual can also be used as a prophylactic measure against future or imminent disease. The sap released by the banana tree is believed to be a good remedy against fever and pneumonia, but only when drunk directly from the tree. Nep. *kerā*

muiko paʔapaʔ n., banana skin. Nep. *kerā-ko sutlā* (S)

muikwāi n., a species of tuber (lit. banana-potato). The leaves are collected as fodder for domesticated animals, and the bulb is cooked, peeled and eaten. Nep. *puṣṭakārī* (S)

muji n., buttocks, arse, behind. Nep. *cāk* (D) [chyunupuṭu ~ kiʔuliŋ = S]

mumpra n., the Thangmi death ritual. Nep. *ghevā, ghyāvā* (D) [mampra = S]

mumprabaraṅ n., a wooden hut used for the death ritual which is built in a field far from the house. (D)

munṭe sewa n., a greeting or salutation to the family of the bride, done by the groom at a wedding. ?<Nep. *munṭo* (D)

- mus** n., I body hair, facial hair. Nep. *rañ, kapāl* [cf. cime]
- mus** n., II cornsilk, *Zea mays*. This is collected as fodder for domesticated animals. Nep. *makāi-ko juṅgā* (D) [syandaŋ = S]
- musa** vt., to pierce, make a hole in; *puṭu-ye to-ko naka miṇ muh-Ø-u-no, humi kerep-Ø-an* (thorn-ERG that-GEN new cloth pierce-SAS-3P-3→3/PT younger.sister cry-SAS-3S/PT) the thorn made a whole in her new clothes, and younger sister cried. Nep. *chednu, khopnu* (D) [muṭusa = S]
- musāi** <musyāi> n., mucus, snot. Nep. *siṅgān*
- musāi kāisa** vt., to remove or wipe away snot from the nose (of someone else); *gāi naṇ-ko huca-ko ciṇya-ko musāi ma-kāi, to naṇ-ko jet hok-Ø-du* (I you-GEN child-GEN nose-GEN snot NEG-remove that you-GEN work be-SAS-NPT) I'm not wiping the snot from your child's nose, that's your job. Nep. *siṅgān jhiknu*
- musāi kāisisa** vr., to remove or wipe away snot from one's own nose; *humi, oste-ko musāi kāi-si-ko māi-Ø-du* (younger.sister self-GEN snot remove-REF-ADH must-SAS-NPT) younger sister, you must wipe the snot away yourself. Nep. *āphai siṅgān jhiknu*
- musuri** n., large tightly-woven bamboo basket. Nep. *thunce, thunse* (D) [buthru = S]
- musyāi** see **musāi**
- musyare** n., cold, cough. Nep. *markī rughā* (S)
- mutcha** vt., to blow, fan the fire to make it burn, blow the fire. Nep. *phuknu* (S) [mutsa = D]
- mutmat** n., the act of exorcising evil spirits, formula for exorcising. Nep. *phāk-phuk* (D)
- mutsa** vt., to blow, fan the fire to make it burn, blow the fire, play a flute or wind instrument; *naṇ isa ci-mīn-o, gāi me mut-u-n-du!* (you food CAUS-ripen-s→3/IMP I fire blow-3P-1s→3-NPT) you cook the food, I'll fan the fire! Nep. *phuknu* (D) [mutcha = S]
- mutudu** n., tailor caste, so named because they play trumpets for weddings (lit. blow-SAS-3P-NPT). Nep. *damāñ, darjī* (D) [curuṭudu = S]
- muṭusa** vt., to pierce, make a hole in. Nep. *chednu* (S) [musa = D]
- myuṇ** n., cloth, material, clothes. Nep. *kapaḍā* [miṇ = D]
- myuṇ cigaṇsa** vt., to dry clothes. Nep. *lugā sukāunu* [miṇ cigaṇsa = D]

n

nābi see **nabi**

nabi <nābi ~ nobi> adv., downhill, downward (from the speaker). Nep. *orālo*, *udho*

naka adj., new. Nep. *nayā*

naka mi n., new person, visitor, outsider. Nep. *paradeśī*, *pahunā* (D)

nakdhiṅ n., the temple (of the head), side of the head. Nep. *purpuro* (D)

naleṅ adv., present, just, just now, at this time, in this season. Nep. *bharkhar*, *ahile*, *yati khera* (D) [naney ~ na?nyey = S]

naleṅ-naleṅ adv., just now. Nep. *ahile bharkhar* (D) [naney-naney ~ na?nyey-na?nyey = S]

nama thasa vi., to be together, meet; *ban-ko nem-te ya-ta-ṅa-le*, *ni nama thay-i-n* (friend-GEN house-LOC go-IPP-1s-PCL we together be-1pPS-PT) once I went to my friend's house, we were together again. Nep. *bheṅnu*, *saṅga hunu*

namdu chyare n., goat weed, *Ageratum conyzoides*. Calque from Nep. *ganāune jhār* (S) [namdu ṭhare = D]

namdu ṭhare n., goat weed, *Ageratum conyzoides*. The strong-smelling leaves are collected as fodder for domesticated animals. Calque from Nep. *ganāune jhār* (D) [namdu chyare = S]

name n., name. <Nep. *nām*

nampasa vi., to play; *isa cya-na-du beryaṅ*, *busikasi-te nampa-sa ma-ja* (food eat-2s-NPT that.time dirt-LOC play-INF NEG-okay) you shouldn't play in the dirt when you're eating. Nep. *khelnu* (D) [lampasa = S]

namsa vi. and vt., to smell (both good and bad), stink; *naṅ-ko koṅte nam-Ø-du* (you-GEN foot smell-SAS-NPT) your feet stink; *to ken apraca nam-Ø-du* (that vegetable.curry good smell-SAS-NPT) that vegetable curry smells good. Nep. *ganhāunu*, *bāsnā suṅghnu*

namsisa vr., to smell oneself, sniff oneself; *gāi oste nam-si-ṅa-du* (I self smell-REF-1s-NPT) I can smell myself (I stink). Nep. *āphai suṅghnu*

nan adv., again, now, yet. Nep. *pheri*, *aba*, *ajhai*

naney adv., now, at this time. Nep. *ahile* (S) [cf. na?nyey, naleṅ = D]

naney-naney adv., just now. Nep. *ahile bharkhar* (S) [cf. na?nyey-na?nyey, naleṅ-naleṅ = D]

naṅ pron., you (singular). Nep. *tapāṭṭ*, *timṭ*, *tā*

naṅ ṅaṅ gāi pron., you and me, we two, the two of us. Nep. *hāmṭ dui jānā*, *tapāṭṭ ra ma* (D)

naṅa n., fish. Nep. *māchā*

naṅāi n., Himalayan nettle, *Girardinia diversifolia*, the fibre of which is used for many practical and ritual purposes; *ni-ko apa-ko apa naṅāi-ko miṅ bu-si-Ø-thyo* (we-GEN father-GEN father Himalayan.nettle-GEN cloth cover-REF-SAS-

3sCOND) our father's father used to wear clothes made of nettle fibre. The same plant as *calou*, *nañāi* refers to the practical and ritual purposes and not its use as a foodstuff. Nep. *allo sisnu* [cf. *calou*]

nañāi menca n., small bag made of nettle fibre. Nep. *allo-ko thailo* [cf. *jabi*]

nara n., root of a plant. Nep. *jarā*

nare n., pheasant, *Lophura leucomelanos*. Nep. *kālij* (S) [narek = D]

narek n., pheasant, *Lophura leucomelanos*. Nep. *kālij* (D) [nare = S]

narki n., the strap which connects the yoke to the pole of the plough, made of leather. Nep. *halūḍo*, *hallūḍo* (D)

narnar adj. and n., tendon (not attached to bone); tendonous, stringy (for meat). Nep. *nasā* (D)

narū n., horn, antler. Nep. *siñ*

nasa vt., I to put, place, position, store (up); *racya nem duṇ-ṇaṇ na-ko māi-Ø-du* (unhusked.rice house within-inside put-ADH must-sAS-NPT) the unhusked rice must be stored inside the house. Nep. *rākhnu*, *thankyāunu* (D) [naʔasa = S]

nasa vt., II to ration, use sparingly, make something last, be economical, save for later; *naleṇ sakalei cya-sa ma-ja, bāsīṇṇe-kāi uchinca na-ko!* (present all eat-INF NEG-okay morning-PM a.little save-ADH) you shouldn't eat it all now, let's save a little for the morning! Dutch. *zuinig zijn*. Nep. *sācnu* (D)

nasa <nasak> n., III mud, earth. Nep. *māṭo*

nasāisa vt., to hear; *uma-ye hara hara ṇah-Ø-u-du? gā-ye ma-nasāiy-u-n-uṇ* (wife-ERG what what say-sAS-3P-NPT I-ERG NEG-hear-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT) what's the wife going on about? I haven't heard it. Nep. *sunnu*

nasak see **nasa** III

natcha vt., to twist, entwine, plait (hair, string to make rope), wring out, squeeze, milk (a cow or buffalo). Nep. *nicornu*, *duhunu* (S) [natsa = D]

nate adv., down. Nep. *tala* (D)

natsa vt., to milk (cow, buffalo), squeeze; *jekha mama-sya gā-ye baṭhe nat-u-n-du* (big FEM-cow I-ERG tomorrow milk-3P-1s→3-NPT) I'll milk the big cow tomorrow. Nep. *duhunu*, *nicarnu* (D) [natcha = S]

naṭe n., cheek. Nep. *gālā*

naʔasa vt., to put, place, store (up). Nep. *rākhnu*, *thankyāunu* (S) [nasa = D]

naʔneʔ adv., just. Nep. *bharkhar* (S)

naʔnyeṇ see **naney**

naʔnyeṇ-naʔnyeṇ see **naney-naney**

nem n., house. Nep. *ghar*

nem kwāi n., white yam, *Dioscorea alata*. Calque from Nep. *ghar tarul* (D) [suṇḍaṇ = S]

- nembo** adj., I other person; *naŋ-kǎi ma-pi*, *nembo-kǎi pih-u-n-du* (you-PM NEG-give other.person-PM give-3P-1s→3-NPT) I'm not giving it to you, I'm giving it to someone else. Nep. *aru* (D)
- nembo** adj., II other. Nep. *arko* (S)
- nenreŋ-nenreŋ** see **lenreŋ-lenreŋ**
- nesa** vt., to grind, pound and grind (such as maize); *yante-te makǎi gǎi neh-u-n-du* (quern-LOC maize I grind-3P-1s→3-NPT) I'll grind the maize in the quern. Nep. *pīdhnu*, *pinnu* (D) [neʔesa = S]
- neʔesa** vt., to grind, pound. Nep. *pīdhnu*, *pinnu* (S) [nesa = D]
- ni** pron., I we. Nep. *hāmī*
- ni** <ti> n., II honey. Nep. *maha* (D)
- ni niska** phrase, the two of us (lit. we two-HNC). Nep. *hāmī duṭ-janā* (D)
- ni niskapu** pron., the two of us (lit. we two-HNC). Nep. *hāmī duṭ-janā* (S)
- nidra ɖeksa** vi., to have enough sleep; *miryaŋ nidra ma-ɖek-Ø-an*, *naleŋ gǎi ami-ko mǎi-Ø-du* (yesterday sleep NEG-be.sufficient present I sleep-ADH must-SAS-NPT) I didn't get enough sleep yesterday, I must go to bed now. <Nep. *nindrā pugnu* (D) [ami jyeʔesa = S]
- niksa** vi., I to be born; *to huca ka dese-te nik-Ø-an* (that child this village-LOC be.born-SAS-3S/PT) that child was born in this village. Nep. *janminu* (D) [niʔisa II = S]
- niksa** vi., II to be pregnant; *gǎi-go uma nik-sa hok-Ø-du* (I-GEN wife be.pregnant-INF be-SAS-NPT) my wife is pregnant. Nep. *garbhini hunu* (D)
- niksa** vt., III to give birth to; *huca nik-Ø-u-du beryaŋ*, *gǎi-go uma kerep-Ø-an* (child give.birth.to-SAS-3P-NPT that.time I-GEN wife cry-SAS-3S/PT) my wife cried when giving birth to our child. Nep. *janmāunu* (D)
- nili** n., lemon, Otaheite orange, *Citrus limon*. The tree trunk is burnt as firewood only once the tree is dead and dried out. The fruit is sour and is eaten raw, or made into chutney and preserved. The fruit has a medicinal function as an antidote to mushroom poisoning and also against oral irritations caused by eating taro. Nep. *nibuvā* (D) [cf. paŋ]
- nimsāilo** adv., downhill. Nep. *orālo*, *bhirālo* (D)
- nini** n., I mother's brother's wife, father's sister. Nep. *phupū* (D)
- nini** n., II father's younger sister, mother's younger brother's wife. Nep. *bahinī*, *nanda* (S)
- nini aji** n., I husband's mother's younger brother's wife, husband's father's sister, wife's father's sister. Nep. *phupū sāsu* (D)
- nini aji** n., II husband's mother's elder brother's wife, husband's father's sister, wife's mother's brother's wife, wife's father's sister. Nep. *phupū sāsu* (S)

- nini ca** n., husband's younger sister, husband's mother's brother's daughter, husband's mother's sister's daughter, husband's father's brother's daughter, husband's father's sister's daughter, wife's mother's brother's daughter, wife's mother's sister's daughter, wife's father's brother's daughter, wife's father's sister's daughter. Nep. *phupū* (S)
- nini chuku** n., husband's father's sister's husband, wife's father's sister's husband. Nep. *phupājyū sasurā* (D)
- ninica** n., husband's younger sister. Nep. *nanda* (S)
- niŋ** pron., you (plural). Nep. *timīharu, tapātharu*
- niŋis amum** n., a species of ear-shaped mushroom which is cooked and consumed as a vegetable curry. It ripens in the month of *bhadau*. Nep. *kān cyāu* (D)
- nipsa** vi., to set (of sun, moon, stars and planets), turn off a light; *uni tow-Ø-an, cālāuni nip-Ø-an* (sun rise-SAS-3S/PT moon set-SAS-3S/PT) the sun rose and the moon set. Nep. *astāunu* (D) [nisa = S]
- nirek** n., grasshopper, locust. Nep. *phaṭengro, salah* (D) [akho? ~ nyere? = S]
- nis** num., two. Nep. *duī*
- nisa** vi., I to appear; *asare ni-Ø-du* (tasty appear-SAS-NPT) it's tasty. Nep. *hunu, dekhinu* (D) [ni?isa I = S]
- nisa** vt., II to see; *to ubo mi-ko lonḍo nih-u-na-n? mus ahe hok-Ø-du* (that white man-GEN chest see-3P-2s-PT hair much be-SAS-NPT) have you seen the foreigner's chest? It's all hairy. Nep. *deknu, dekhinu* (D) [ni?isa II = S]
- ni?isa** vi., I to appear. Nep. *hunu, dekhinu* (S) [nisa = D]
- ni?isa** vi., II to be born. Nep. *janminu* (S) [niksa = D]
- ni?isa** vt., III to see. Nep. *dekhinu* (S) [nisa = D]
- nobi** see **nabi**
- noŋsa** see **loŋsa**
- nosa** vt., to stir food, serve food, ladle food out; *ni-ko nem-te tete-ye isa noh-Ø-u-du* (we-GEN house-LOC elder.sister-ERG food serve-SAS-3P-NPT) in our house elder sister serves the food. Nep. *oḍālnu* (D) [no?osa = S]
- no?osa** vt., to stir food, serve food, ladle food out. Nep. *oḍālnu* (S) [nosa = D]
- nugul** see **nulsa lyuŋ**
- nugulsa** see **nulsa**
- nuhute** adv., down there (further away). Nep. *u tala* (S)
- nuisa** vi., to laugh; *hu nui-Ø-du beryaŋ, suwa cikhet-Ø-u-du* (younger.brother laugh-SAS-NPT that.time tooth show-SAS-3P-NPT) when younger brother laughs, he shows his teeth. Nep. *hāsnu*
- nukkhute** adv., over there (close and down). Nep. *tallo paṭṭi, tehī tala* (D) [nhāikote = S]

nulsa <nugulsa> vt., to sharpen. Nep. *udhyāunu* (S) [hulsa = D]

nulsa lyuŋ <nugul> n., whet stone. Nep. *udhyāune dhuṅgā* (S) [hulsa ṇiŋ = D]

nunu n., milk, breast. Nep. *dudh* (D)

nunu amum n., a species of mushroom which is cooked and consumed as a vegetable curry. It ripens in the month of *bhadau*. Nep. *dudh cyāu* (D)

nunu seŋ n., the tree, *Ficus neriifolia* (lit. milk-wood). <Nep. *dudhilo* (S) [nunu thi = D]

nunu suwa n., incisors (lit. milk-teeth). Nep. *aghāḍi-ko dāt*

nunu thi n., the tree, *Ficus neriifolia* (lit. milk-fodder). This is the favourite fodder of most domesticated animals. The trunk is used as firewood, and only rarely for furniture. The fruit, which ripens in *bhadau*, is edible and has a sweet taste. <Nep. *dudhilo* (D) [nunu seŋ = S]

nunuko cukuli n., nipple of breast. Nep. *munṭo* (S) [pur = D]

nunumole n., the ritual of the groom's family giving goat meat to the bride's mother during a Thangmi wedding.

nunupuṭu n., female breast. Nep. *dudh* (S) [cyocyo = D]

nuru n., jackfruit, *Artocarpus heterophyllus*; pineapple, *Ananas comosus*. An archaic term, rarely used in vernacular Thangmi. The plant does not grow in the Thangmi-speaking area, but jackfruit wood is known to be good for furniture. Nep. *kaṭahar* (D)

nuruŋ n., mustard seed, Indian rape seed, *Brassica rapa*. The leaves are collected as fodder for domesticated animals, and the young leaves are picked and prepared as vegetable curry for human consumption. The leaves can also be preserved as *gundruk* (preserved leafy green). The seeds release an oil which is pressed and extracted for cooking, or burnt as lamp fuel. The oil is also used for head and body massage, particularly for babies and young children. Mustard seeds are used in the Thangmi death ritual to scare away malevolent spirits, and are sprinkled, together with the pressed oil, on corpses to make them burn speedily during cremation. The oil is applied to bleeding wounds in the belief that this will precipitate healing and prevent infection. Before the heavy monsoon field work begins, both humans and oxen are fed large quantities of *nuruŋ* oil, honey and eggs to give them strength for the coming months. Nep. *torī* (D)

nyakapeŋ n., stinging nettle, *Urtica dioica*. The leaves are collected as fodder for domesticated animals, both raw and cooked. When cooked in water and consumed as a soup, the nettle leaves are believed to stimulate lactation in buffaloes and cows. The flowers and leaves are eaten year round by humans as a vegetable curry or soup, and are known to contain many vitamins good for

- general health. While some Thangmi still make clothing from *nyakaŋeŋ*, the fibre is not as strong as *calou*, so its main use is culinary. Nep. *sisnu* [cf. *calou*]
- nyakaŋeŋko bok** n., the flower of the stinging nettle, *Urtica dioica*. Nep. *sisnu-ko phul* (D) [bo? = S]
- nyere?** n., flying grasshopper. Nep. *phaŋeŋgro* (S) [nirek = D]
- nyoŋi** n., evening. Nep. *belukā* (D) [ŋyoŋi = S]
- nyu** <ŋyi> n., brain. Nep. *gidī* (D) [ŋyu = S]
- nyuli** n., small rice-flour effigies, made to keep the spirits and ghosts out of a newly constructed house or away from a wedding. They are placed as follows: one in each corner of the house, one by the door, and one on the road at a fork in the path. Each one is accompanied by a stake made of marking nut, *Semecarpus anacardium*. After the ritual, these effigies are thrown on the roof of the house. (D)
- nyute** see **nhute**

nh

- nhabasa** adv., lower. Nep. *tallo*
- nhāiko** adv., lower storey. Nep. *tallo* (S)
- nhāikote** adv., over there (close and down). Nep. *tallo paŋti, tehī tala* (S) [nukkhute = D]
- nhute** <nyute> adv., over there (far and down). Nep. *ali tala, yatā tala*

ŋ

- ŋa** prt., I the Thangmi reported speech particle. Nep. *re*
- ŋa** || see **ŋaŋ**
- ŋaŋ** <ŋa> conj., and, also. Nep. *ra*
- ŋasa** vt., to say, tell, order, inquire, ask; *hara ŋah-u-na-n?* (what say-sAS-2s-PT) what did you say/ask? Nep. *bhannu, sodhnu* (D) [ŋatcha ~ äitcha = S]
- ŋatcha** vt., to say, tell, order, inquire, ask. Nep. *bhannu, sodhnu* (S) [cf. äitcha, ŋasa = D]
- ŋosāisa** vt., to know something, recognise; *nany-e gāi-gāi ma-ŋosāi-Ø-ŋa-n?* gāi naŋ-ko tete-ko ban (you-ERG I-PM NEG-know-sAS-1s-PT I you-GEN elder.sister-

GEN friend) didn't you recognise me? I'm your elder sister's friend. Nep. *cinnu* (D) [mosäisa = S]

nyaldanşyaldan n., Sherpa or Tibetan, an onomatopoeic noun which derives from the sound made by Tibetan Buddhists when chanting their mantras. Nep. *serpā*, *bhoṭe* (S)

nyal-nyal adj., soft, tender (of meat, clothes, sheets, wool); *sya-ca-ko cici nyal-nyal hok-Ø-du* (cow-DIM-GEN meat tender be-SAS-NPT) calf meat is tender. Nep. *mulāyam* (D)

nyanşaldak n., male-fern, *Dryopteris filix-max*. When the stalks are burnt on millet fields, the ash works as a good fertiliser. Nep. *hāḍe unyau*, *sothar* (D)

nyanşsa vt., to taste. Nep. *cākhnu* (S) [sesa = D]

nyasa <nyāsa> vi., to rot, become rotten, suppurate; *mui pole-yiṅ ros-Ø-an*, *nasak-te nyah-Ø-an* (banana tree-ABL fall.from.height-SAS-3S/PT earth-LOC rot-SAS-3S/PT) the banana fell from the tree and rotted on the ground. Nep. *kuhunu*

nyāsa see **nyasa**

nyi see **nyu**

nyoṇi n., evening. Nep. *belukā* (S) [nyoṇi = D]

nyu n., brain. Nep. *gidī* (S) [nyu = D]

ṇ

ṇapsisa vr., to gobble, stuff one's face, eat greedily; *gāi-go huca makar uniṅ isa ṇap-si-Ø-du* (I-GEN child monkey like food gobble-REF-SAS-NPT) my child gobbles his food like a monkey. Dutch *vreten*. Nep. *ghicnu* [cf. haṅsisa]

ṇasa vi., I to appear of a pattern (in the grain of wood or cloth); *gaṇ-Ø-du seṅ ṇah-Ø-an* (dry-SAS-NPT wood to.appear.of.a.pattern-SAS-3S/PT) a pattern appeared in the dry wood. Nep. *meso niskīnu*

ṇasa vi., II to be infested with (lice); *naṅ-ko kapu-ko mus-te ṇah-Ø-an* (you-GEN head-GEN hair-LOC be.infested-SAS-3S/PT) the hair on your head is infested. Nep. *kirā parnu*, *kirā niskanu* (D)

ṇepsa vi. and vt., to crush (with a stone), bruise by falling, be crushed, be bruised; *gā-ye bubu-ko paṅku-ko baṇi ṇep-u-n-uṅ* (I-ERG elder.brother-GEN water-GEN pot crush-3P-1S→3-1S→3/PT) I crushed elder brother's water bottle. Nep. *kucyāunu*, *thicnu* [cṇ. ṭheksa]

ṇesa vt., to hit, kick, strike, pound, crush, knock, forge, beat, tear, thresh; *nany-e to kere ṇeh-u-na-n*, *naleṅ gāi naṅ-kāi sola ma-pi* (you-ERG that insect strike-3P-

- 2s-PT present I you-PM snack NEG-give) you pounded that insect [to death],
now I won't give you any snacks. Nep. *hirkāunu, kuṭnu, piṭnu* (D) [ṇeʔesa = S]
ṇeʔesa <hyañeʔesa> vt., to hit, kick, strike, pound, crush, knock, forge, beat, tear,
thresh. Nep. *hirkāunu, kuṭnu, piṭnu* (S) [ṇesa = D]
ṇiṇ see **lyuṇ**
ṇisa vi., to set (of the sun, moon, stars and planets). Nep. *astāunu* (S) [nipsa = D]
ṇiʔisa vt., to stick together with glue. Nep. *lahā hālṇu* (S)
ṇo num., seven. Nep. *sāt*
ṇoneṇ n., jackal. Nep. *śyāl* (S) [loṇ = D]
ṇopotsa vi., to be covered in mud or drenched by water, particularly after working
in the fields during the monsoon. Nep. *hilo-mā muchinu* (D)
ṇu adv., later, after. Nep. *pachi, pachāḍi* (S) [libi = D]
ṇubasye adv., after, later, then. Nep. *pachi* (S) [libi = D]
ṇukubasya n., back. Nep. *piṭhyā* (S)
ṇukumbasya adj., behind. Nep. *pachāḍi* (S)
ṇumbasya adj., behind the house, the rear of the house. Nep. *ghar-ko pachāḍi* (S)
ṇumsa vi., to sink (into water). Nep. *bhāsinu, ḍubnu* (S)
-

o

- obo** adj., white. Nep. *seto* (S) [ubo = D]
ocyana aji n., husband's father's younger brother's wife, wife's father's younger
brother's wife. Nep. *kāncho sāsu* (S)
ocyana chuku n., husband's father's younger brother, husband's mother's younger
sister's husband, wife's mother's younger sister's husband, wife's father's
younger brother. Nep. *kāncho sasurā*
ocyanaca <ocyanca> adj., small. Nep. *sānu* (S) [ucya ~ ucyaca = D]
ocyanca see **ocyanaca**
ochinca see **uchinica**
ogo n., mouth. Nep. *mukh* (S) [ugo = D]
ohoksa vi., to become white (of hair); *ucyaca tha-Ø-du beryañ, jekha guru-ko mus
ohok-Ø-an* (small be-SAS-NPT that.time big shaman-GEN hair turn.white-SAS-
3S/PT) already when he was young, the hair of the senior shaman turned white.
Nep. *kapāl phūlṇu* (D)
ojyoʔosa vi., to become hot or warm; *ojyoʔ-Ø-an* (become.hot-SAS-3S/PT) it has
become hot. Nep. *garmī hunu* (S)
okolok n., womb. Nep. *pāṭheghar* (D)

oksa vi., to be disgusted and try to vomit, to retch. Nep. *ghin lāgdā bāntā garna khojnu* (D)

okyok n., inside of throat. Nep. *galā* (D)

olān see **olon**

oli num., four. Nep. *cār* (D) [whali ~ hwali = S]

olon <olān> n., milk, yoghurt. Nep. *dudh, dāhi* (D)

omla n., finger. <Nep. *aūlā* (D)

oncyorok n., a small, black hopping insect. Nep. *bīrālī kirā* (D)

onche adv., later. Nep. *bhare* (S) [honche = D]

onche cyae adv., tonight. Nep. *bhare rāti* (S) [honce ṭaye = D]

oṅgaṇe see **oṅgaṇeṅ**

oṅgaṇeṅ <oṅgaṇe> n., hole in the ground, pit. Nep. *khāḍal, khālḍo*

oṅgol n., Adam's apple, a part of the inside throat where swallowing takes place. Nep. *rudra ghaṇṭī* (S)

op-op adj., hot, sticky (of weather). Nep. *garmī*

oskol n., marking nut, *Semecarpus anacardium*. (S) [uskol = D]

osto? n., spit, spittle, sputum, saliva. Nep. *thuk* (S) [ustok = D]

osto?osa vt., to spit. Nep. *thuknu* (S) [ustoksa = D]

P

pacyu n., I father's younger brother, husband's mother's brother's son, husband's mother's sister's son, husband's father's brother's son, husband's father's sister's son, wife's mother's brother's son, wife's mother's sister's son, wife's father's brother's son, wife's father's sister's son. Nep. *kākā* (S) [ucyapa = D]

pacyu n., II mother's younger sister husband. Nep. *sāno buvā* (D) [jha?apa = S]

pacyu ca n., husband's younger brother. Nep. *dewār* (S)

pacyu chuku n., wife's mother's younger sister's husband. Nep. *sāno buvā sasurā* (D)

pāi n., fart. Nep. *pād*

pāi tasa vt., to fart, break wind; *huca, nem duṅ-ṇaṅ pāi ta-sa ma-ja* (child house within-inside fart release-INF NEG-okay) child, you shouldn't fart inside the house. Nep. *pādnu, pādhnu* (D) [pāi ta?asa = S]

pāi ta?asa vt., to fart, break wind. Nep. *pādnu, pādhnu* (S) [pāi tasa = D]

pāiri <poiri> n., elder brother's wife. Nep. *bhāujyu* (D)

pakpak n., cone or pod of the plantain flower. These pods have no medicinal, ritual or nutritional value. Nep. *buṅgo* (D) [pa?pa? ~ ḍoṅla = S]

palam n., mother's elder brother. Nep. *ṭhūlo māmā*

palam aji n., husband's mother's elder brother's wife, wife's mother's elder brother's wife. Nep. *māijyu sāsu* (D)

palam chuku n., husband's mother's elder brother, wife's mother's elder brother. Nep. *māmā sasurā* (D)

palka n., leafy greens, particularly of the Indian mustard plant, *Brassica juncea*. The word *palka* is used for the leaves of all edible green vegetables which can be eaten or preserved as *gundruk*. It is believed that consuming leafy green vegetable matter will lead to good muscular development due to the high level of vitamin content in the leaves. <Hindī *palak*, Nep. *rāyo-ko sāg*

palsa vt., to chop (wood), cut big things, prune (branches of a tree); *toṇ tun-ta-ṇa-le, gāi seṇ ya-pal-u-n-du* (beer drink-IPP-1s-PCL I wood go-chop-3P-1s→3-NPT) once I've drunk my beer, I'll go and chop wood. Nep. *kāṇnu, chāsnu*

pampanek n., butterfly. Nep. *putali* (D) [ame? = S]

pamsa vt., to stop. Nep. *roknu* (S)

paṇ n., sour fruit. The tree trunk can be burnt as firewood, but only once the tree is dead and the trunk has dried out. Sour fruits are eaten fresh and raw, or made into chutney and preserved. The fruits also have a medicinal function as an antidote to mushroom poisoning and are believed to relieve the oral irritation caused by eating taro. Nep. *amilo* (D) [cf. *nili*]

paṇku n., water. Nep. *pānī*

paṇku cisa vt., to splash water, throw water out; *saṇa uman-to-le, to-ko kiji paṇku ciy-o!* (millet boil-TPP-PCL that-GEN black water throw.out-s→3/IMP) once you've boiled the millet, throw out the black water from that! Nep. *pānī phālnu* (D) [cf. *paṇku warsa*]

paṇku citcit n., dragonfly. Calque from Nep. *pānī cikuvā* (S) [paṇku chitchit = D]

paṇku chitchit n., dragonfly. Calque from Nep. *pānī cikuvā* (D) [paṇku citcit = S]

paṇku maṇṇāi n., wheat or millet pancake cooked in boiling water (lit. water bread). Calque from Nep. *pānī roṭī* (D)

paṇku warsa vt., to splash water, throw water out; *adum paṇku ma-war-e! gāi libi kapu uli-si-ṇa-du* (hot water NEG-throw.away-s/NEG/IMP I after head wash-REF-1s-NPT) don't throw out the hot water! I'll use it to wash my hair later. Nep. *pānī phālnu* [cf. *paṇku cisa*]

paṇkui thahan phrase, watery (lit. water-EMP become-sas-NPT). (S)

paṇisa vt., to accidentally brush someone with one's foot, thus requiring an apology; *bubu-ye gāi-gāi paṇi-Ø-ṇa-n* (elder.brother-ERG I-PM knock.with.foot-sas-1s-PT) elder brother accidentally brushed me with his foot. Nep. *lātā lāgnu* (D)

papa la? n., thumb. Nep. *budhī aulā* (S) [apa omla = D]

papa sya n., bull. Nep. *goru*

papa yante n., upper part of circular hand-driven millstone, grindstone, quern.

Nep. *māthī-ko jāto*

papalāi n., big toe. Nep. *buḍhī aūtho* (S) [buṇeṅtho = D]

papasek n., testicle, gonad. Nep. *gulā* (D) [se? = S]

paṭareṅ n., the Nepalese rhododendron tree, *Rhododendron arboreum*. Nep. *lāli gurās* (S) [altak = D]

paṭasi n., a cloth worn by women as a skirt, somewhat resembling a *lungi*.

?<Newar. Nep. *phariyā* (D) [baṭasa = S]

paṭaya n., rice stalks once the paddy has been removed, *Oryza sativa*. The stalks are collected as fodder for domesticated animals. When dry, the stalks are woven into long mats for sitting and sleeping on, known as *gundri* in Nepali. The dried stalks are further used as roof thatch for traditional houses. Cows are often afflicted by a bad fever in the monsoon months and become weak or be unable to move easily. If *paṭaya* are fed as fodder to these ill animals, they have a better chance of making a full and speedy recovery. Nep. *soyā* (D)

paṭe n., sole of foot, *planta pedis*. Nep. *paitālo* (S) [laba = D]

paṭpaṭ n., cone or pod of the plaintain flower, *Musa x paradisiaca*. Nep. *buṅgo* (S) [cf. ḍoṅla, pakpak = D]

pebu n., irrigated field. Nep. *khet*

peceṇek adj., lowered, depressed, flat; *to mi-ko cīṅa peceṇek hok-Ø-du* (that person-GEN nose flat be-SAS-NPT) that person has a flat nose. Nep. *thepco* (D)

peceṇeksa vt., to press, flatten, squeeze or squash between one's hands or with one's feet; *gā-ye sirik peceṇek-u-n-uṅ, ma-si-Ø-ta-ki* (I-ERG louse squash.between.hands-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT NEG-die-IPP-NPS) I squashed the louse between my palms, but it didn't die. Nep. *kicnu, thepcyāunu* (D)

peceṇeksisā vr., to be flat, flattened, pressed; *aṅkalak peceṇek-si-Ø-ta-le siy-Ø-an* (lizard flatten-REF-SAS-IPP-PCL die-SAS-3S/PT) the lizard was squashed and died. Nep. *thepcinu* (D)

pecerek adj., left over or stale food. Nep. *bāsi* (D)

pecere? n., beer mush. Nep. *hure-ko chokrā* (S) [cf. syaphi, syapi = D]

pece? <pepe?> n., child's vagina, derogatory word for vagina, kid's word for vagina, a vagina when referred to diminutively. Nep. *putī* (S) [cf. pene]

pecyē?ca adj., small, cramped (to describe a small habitation or living place); *pecyē?ca apo?* (cramped cave) a cramped cave. (S)

pekṣa vt., to strip bamboo; *camek pek-tuṅ-le lembe loṅ-u-n-du* (tufted.bamboo strip-1s/TPP-PCL winnowing.tray do-3P-1s→3-NPT) having stripped the bamboo I'll make a winnowing tray. Nep. *coyā kāḍnu* (D)

pene n., vagina. Nep. *putī* [cf. pece?]

pen-pen adj., sticky, muddy, clayey, slippery. Nep. *lisyāilo* (D)

peṇṭe n., chicken shit. Nep. *suli* [cf. wako kli]

peṇsa vi., to wake up, open one's eyes; *hu peṇ-Ø-an, ma-serek-ta-ki* (younger.brother wake.up-sAS-3S/PT NEG-arise-IPP-NPS) younger brother has woken up but hasn't gotten up. Nep. *biūjhanu* (D) [pyaṇsa = S]

peṇesa vt., to plant (paddy, millet or vegetables); *peṇe-sa beryaṇ thah-Ø-an* (plant-INF that.time be-sAS-3S/PT) it's planting time. Nep. *ropnu* (D) [ple?esa = S]

pepelek n., money, coins. Nep. *paiṣā* (D) [akusya = S]

pepe? see **pece?**

pereksa <preksa> vi., to be torn; *miṇ perek-Ø-an* (clothes torn-sAS-3S/PT) the clothes are torn; *perek-Ø-du* (torn-sAS-NPT) hangnail. Nep. *cyātinu* (D)

persa vi., to fly; *to daṇṇaṇeṇ racya-ko puya cya-to-le, per-Ø-an* (that bird unhusked.rice-GEN seed eat-TPP-PCL fly-sAS-3S/PT) having eaten some rice seeds, that bird flew away. Nep. *uḍnu*

petrepsa vt., to winnow; *lembe-ye petrep-sa gāi ma-sāi* (winnowing.tray-INS winnow-INF I NEG-know) I don't know how to winnow using a winnowing tray. Nep. *niphannu* (S) [kutrepsa = D]

petheri adj., poorly-proportioned, fat at the bottom and thin on top (used to describe people with odd-shaped bodies and bamboo baskets). (D) [cf. cetheri]

peṭeṇsa see **kapeṭeṇsa**

picincha vt., to send, send away, throw far away. Nep. *paṭhāunu* (S) [ṭhosa II = D]

picyak adv., walking in the way that children do, taking many small steps. (D)

pin n., finger or toe nail. Nep. *naṇi*

piriṇ see **priṇ**

pisa vt., to give, pay; *uma-kāi miṇ pi-ko māi-Ø-du, pepelek ma-pi* (wife-PM cloth give-ADH must-sAS-NPT money NEG-give) wives should be given clothes not money. Nep. *dinu, tirnu* (D) [pitcha = S]

pitcha vt., to give, pay. Nep. *dinu, tirnu* (S) [pisa = D]

pitya n., money, coins. ?<Nep. *paiṣā* (S)

piṭhiṇ n., upper back. <Nep. *piṭhiū* (D)

pleṇsa vi., to become full, be filled. Nep. *bharinu, bharnu* (S) [kleṇ thasa = D]

ple?esa vt., to plant. Nep. *ropnu* (S) [peṇesa = D]

poiri see **pāiri**

pokole n., knee. Nep. *ghūḍā* (S) [pokolek = D]

pokolek n., knee. Nep. *ghūḍā* (D) [pokole = S]

pole n., foot, base, root (particularly of a tree or tree trunk, but also of stairs, a mill, a water spout). Nep. *phed, boṭ*

- polotsisa** vr., to come loose, break away from; *kucu polot-siy-Ø-an* (dog break.loose-REF-SAS-3S/PT) the dog broke loose. Nep. *phuklinu* (D)
- pomce** adj., I shaped like a piece of flat wood (for humans). Nep. *muṅgre* (D)
- pomce** n., II mallet, flat piece of wood used to beat clothes when washing. Nep. *muṅgro* (D)
- poṅgo** adj., empty, gaping, open. Nep. *ritto, khālī* (S) [phuṅga = D]
- poresa** vt., to tie up, pack up, cover in order to protect; *ama-ko laṅi gāi baṭhe poreh-u-n-du* (mother-GEN necklace I tomorrow pack.up-3P-1s→3-NPT) I'll pack up mum's necklace tomorrow. Nep. *poko pārnu* (D)
- poroksa** vi. and vt., to be broken open (of a floor of a house), be uprooted (of a tree); *miryaṅ jekha phasa wah-Ø-an, kyaṅ pole porok-Ø-an* (yesterday big wind blow-SAS-3S/PT needlewood.tree trunk be.uprooted-SAS-3S/PT) yesterday a strong wind blew, and the needlewood tree was uprooted; to break open/up the floor of a house, uproot (a tree); *naka nem khem-sa habi, thaṅna nem porok-ko mǎi-Ø-du* (new house build-INF before old house break.up.floor-ADH must-SAS-NPT) before building a new house, the floor of the old one must be broken up. Nep. *upkinu, upkāunu* (D) [poʔosa ~ poʔosisa = S]
- posa** vt., to chase away, chase off, drive off, overtake, run down; *to cahuca ni-ko humi-kǎi poh-Ø-u-du* (that man we-GEN younger.sister-PM chase-SAS-3P-NPT) that boy is chasing our younger sister. Nep. *khednu, dhapāunu, lakheṭnu* (D) [poʔosa = S]
- poṭe** n., rice porridge, rice meal or rice milk made for shamans before going into trance. Nep. *cāmal-ko piṭho musera banāeko ghol* (D)
- poṭoksa** vt., to break a cob of corn off the stalk; *makar-e raṅ-te hok-Ø-ta-le makǎi poṭok-to-le cyah-Ø-u-du* (monkey-ERG unirrigated.field-LOC be-SAS-IPP-PCL maize break.cob.from.stalk-TPP-PCL eat-SAS-3P-NPT) the monkey is sitting in the field, breaking off cobs of maize and eating them. Nep. *makai bhācnu* (D)
- poṭoṅ** n., a large rock of any kind. Nep. *ṭhulo dhuṅgā* (D)
- poṭhok** adj., smooth, trim. Nep. *muṭhuro* (D)
- poṭhoksa** vt., to smooth, trim; *koṭe ceṅ-u-n-uṅ, naleṅ nasak lak-e poṭhok-u-n-du* (stone.wall build.a.wall-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT present earth hand-INS smooth-3P-1s→3-NPT) I have built the wall, now I am smoothing the earth down with my hand. Nep. *muṭhārnu* (D)
- poʔosa** vt., to chase, overtake, run down, chase off, drive off. Nep. *khednu, dhapāunu, lakheṭnu* (S) [posa = D]
- preksa** see **pereksa**
- preʔesa** vt., to tear something apart which was previously in one piece, split. Nep. *phaṭāunu, chufyāunu* (S) [pheksa = D]

priŋ <piriŋ> adv., outside; the Thangmi postposition indicating ‘without’. Nep.

bāhira

pro?osa vt., to break open/up the floor of a house. Nep. *upkāunu* (S) [poroksa = D]

pro?osisa vr., to be broken open (i.e. a house floor). Nep. *upkinu* (S) [poroksa = D]

pucyuk n., sacrificial offering made of flour; *guru-ye dewa loŋ-sa-kāi, pucyuk*

khem-ko mǎi-Ø-du (shaman-ERG god do-INF-PM sacrificial.offering make-ADH must-SAS-NPT) when doing their rituals, shamans must make sacrificial offerings to the gods. Tibetan *torma*, Tamang *solphu* (D)

puncyuŋuk n., striated bulbul, *Pycnonotus striatus*. Nep. *dharke jurelī* (D)

puncyuŋu? n., striated bulbul, *Pycnonotus striatus*. Nep. *dharke jurelī* (S)

puncha vt., to pull up, uproot. Nep. *ukhelnu* (S) [punsā = D]

punsa vt., to pull up, uproot; *ama raŋ dǎi thare pun-sa-kāi yah-Ø-an* (mother unirrigated.field towards weeds uproot-INF-PM go-SAS-3S/PT) mother has gone to the field to uproot some weeds. Nep. *ukhelnu* (D) [puncha = S]

puppap n., sweepings. Nep. *baḍār-kuḍār* (D)

pupsa vt., to sweep with a broom, wipe off, wipe up; *nem duŋ-ŋaŋ busikasi ahe thah-Ø-an, naleŋ gǎi thope-ye pup-u-n-du* (house within-inside dust much be-SAS-3S/PT present I broom-INS sweep-3P-1s→3-NPT) inside the house it has become very dusty, I’ll give it a sweep with the broom in a moment. Nep. *baḍārnu, kuco lāunu, puchnu*

pur n., nipple. Nep. *munṭo* (D) [nunuko cukuli = S]

purussa vt., to hull maize, open out; *gǎ-ye makāi purus-u-n-du* (I-ERG maize husk.and.hull-3P-1s→3-NPT) I am husking and hulling the maize. Nep. *choḍāunu* (D) [phe?esa = S]

puṭu n., spine of a plant, thorn, scale, splinter, barb. Nep. *kāḍo*

puṭu nirek n., a species of small grasshopper. Nep. *phaṭeŋgro* (D)

puṭu ṭampe n., prickly apple, *Catesbaea spinosa*. The leaves are collected as fodder for domesticated animals, and the timber is used for making furniture.

The chippings are burnt as firewood. Calque from Nep. *kāḍe cāp* (D)

puṭuye susa vt., to get a splinter; *seŋ pal-u-n-du beryaŋ, puṭu-ye gǎi-gǎi su-Ø-ŋa-an* (wood chop-3P-1s→3-NPT that.time thorn-ERG I-PM pierce-SAS-1s-PT) when chopping wood, I got a splinter. Nep. *kāḍā-le ghocnu*

puya n., seed, shoot of a plant. Nep. *būu, biruvā, ṭusā*

puyapasa n. plural, seeds and grains. Nep. *būubijan* (S) [puyapasa = D]

puyapesa n. plural, seeds and grains. Nep. *būubijan* (D) [puyapasa = S]

pya n., pig, boar, wild pig. Nep. *suŋgur, banel* (D) [pya? = S]

pyaho n., great Barbet, *Megalaima virens*. Nep. *nyāulī* (D)

pyako cici n., pork (lit. pig-GEN meat). Nep. *suŋgur-ko māsu* (D) [pya?ko cici = S]

- pyako huca** n., piglet (lit. pig-GEN child). Nep. *suṅgur-ko pātho* (D)
[pyaʔko huca = S]
pyaṅsa vi., to wake up, open one's eyes. Nep. *biṭṭjhanu* (S) [peṅsa = D]
pyaʔ n., pig, boar. Nep. *suṅgur* (S) [pya = D]
pyaʔko cici n., pork (lit. pig-GEN meat). Nep. *suṅgur-ko māsu* (S) [pyako cici = D]
pyaʔko huca n., piglet (lit. pig-GEN child). Nep. *suṅgur-ko pātho* (S)
[pyako huca = D]
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ph

- phakphak** n., dry flour. ?<Nep. *phuko* (D) [phonphon = S]
phaksisa vr., to eat by throwing a mouthful at a time into the mouth, catch with an open mouth; *to huca phak-si-Ø-du, apraca ma-tha* (that child eat.by.throwing-REF-SAS-NPT good NEG-be) that child eats by throwing food into his mouth, it's no good. ?<Nep. *phāko mānu* (D) [phaʔasisa = D]
phalatcha vt., to scratch and uncover things (in the earth). Nep. *khosranu* (S) [cf. phulphulsa]
phaligonsa n., lymph node or gland. Nep. *hāṇe* (D)
phansa vi., to be empty; *lembe phan-Ø-an* (winnowing.tray be.empty-SAS-3S/PT) the winnowing tray is empty. Nep. *khālī hunu* (D)
phaṅgaṇeṅ <phaṅgaṇeṅ> n., I giant taro, *Alocasia indicum*; co-co yam, *Colocasia esculenta*. The roots are edible if first boiled and peeled. The leaves are eaten as vegetable curry, both fresh and dried. When eaten fresh or cooked in water and made into a soup, the leaves and bulb are believed to stimulate lactation in buffaloes and cows. During the Thangmi death ritual, a *phaṅgaṇeṅ* is used to represent the head of the deceased in the reconstruction of the body. Nep. *piṇḍālu* (D) [yak ~ yaʔ = S]
phaṅgaṇeṅ <phaṅgaṇeṅ> n., II leaf of the co-co yam, *Colocasia esculenta*. Nep. *piṇḍālu-ko pāt* (S) [phaṅgaṇeṅko wala = D]
phaṅgaṇeṅko wala n., leaf of the giant taro, *Alocasia indicum*; leaf of the co-co yam, *Colocasia esculenta*. Nep. *piṇḍālu-ko pāt* (D) [phaṅgaṇeṅ II = S]
phaṅgaṇeṅ see **phaṅgaṇeṅ**
phaṇapsa vt., to filter, strain beer, rub nettles in between the hands in order to make them soft to eat; *nyakaṇeṅ ci-mīn-sa habi, ama-ye phaṇap-Ø-u-no* (stinging.nettle CAUS-ripen-INF before mother-ERG rub.between.hands-SAS-3P-3→3/PT) before cooking stinging nettles, mother rubs them between her hands. Nep. *jāḍ chānnu* (D)

phapphap n., foam. Nep. *phĩj*

pharsa vi., to blossom, bloom, flower, ripen; *reŋ phar-Ø-an, naleŋ cya-ko!* (flower blossom-SAS-3S/PT present eat-ADH) the flower has ripened, let's eat it! Nep. *phakrinu* (D)

pharsisa vr., to go for a short stroll or wander about; *to-baŋ-ko jet dum-Ø-an, jekha dese dāi ya-phar-siy-eŋ-an* (that-Pp-GEN work be.finished-SAS-3S/PT big village towards go-wander-REF-pAS-3S/PT) their work is finished so they've gone off for a stroll towards the town. Nep. *ghumera ānanda linu* (D)

phasa n., I storm, wind; *phasa wa-Ø-du* (wind blow-SAS-NPT) it's going to get windy, it's getting windy; *phasa wa-Ø-an* (wind blow-SAS-3S/PT) it's windy. Nep. *hurĩ, hāvā* (D) [phasya = S]

phasa vt., II to hold out, to be given, add to; *isa-ye kolo-na-n? khora phaw-o!* (food-INS be.hungry-2s-PT small.bowl hold.out-s→3/IMP) are you still hungry? Hold out your bowl then! Nep. *thāpnu* (D) [pha?asa = S]

phase adj., I fine, thin. Nep. *masino* (S)

phase n., II flour. Nep. *piŋho*

phasya n., storm, wind. Nep. *hurĩ, hāvā* (S) [phasa = D]

phatsa vt., to dig deep, dig to clear a space; *mi si-ŋa libi, ubo mi-pali-ye oŋgaŋeŋ phat-eŋ-du* (person die-CNS after white person-p-ERG pit dig.deep-pAS-NPT) when foreigners die, they dig deep pits [for them]. Nep. *khannu* (D)

phaŋu n., pumpkin, summer or winter squash, marrow, *Cucurbita maxima*, *Cucurbita pepo*. The leaves are collected as fodder for domesticated animals, but are also eaten by humans as a vegetable curry. The large fruit can be made into vegetable curry when it ripens between the months of *jeŋh* and *asoŋ*, and the dried seeds are eaten as a snack. The fruit is believed to contain agents which help fight jaundice when eaten raw. Nep. *pharsi* (D)

pha?asa vt., to hold out, to be given, add to. Nep. *thāpnu* (S) [phasa II = D]

pha?asisa vr., to eat by throwing a mouthful at a time into the mouth, catch with open mouth. ?<Nep. *phāko mārnu* (S) [phaksisa = D]

pheksa vt., to tear something apart which was previously in one piece, split (such as separating the bark from a tree or the skin from a fruit); *humĩ, paŋ cya-sa habi, roŋhok phək-ko mǎi-Ø-du* (younger.sister sour.fruit eat-INF before fruit.skin tear.off-ADH must-SAS-NPT) younger sister, before eating the sour fruit, you must tear off the peel. Nep. *phaŋāunu, chuŋyāunu* (D) [pre?esa = S]

phelyāu adj., weak (of alcohol). (D)

phenderēŋ adj., heart-burn; *apa toŋ tun-Ø-ta-le baŋkal phenderēŋ thah-Ø-an* (father beer drink-SAS-IPP-PCL stomach hearth.burn be-SAS-3S/PT) having drunk some beer, father suffered from heart-burn. Nep. *pharkeko* (D)

- phengga** n., sack-cloth cloak made of wild hemp or Himalayan nettle, *naŋăi*. Nep. *bhāṅgro*
- phereksa** vt., to rip (a thread), open up (a bean or pea pod); *jet dum-Ø-an naŋ-ko?* *rence pherek-o!* (work be.finished-sAS-3S/PT you-GEN bean open.up-s→3/IMP) is your work finished? Then pop open some pea pods! Nep. *udhārnu* (D)
- phetcha** vi., to slip off, open clothes, untie. ?<Nep. *phuskanu* (S) [phetsa = D]
- phetelek** adj., watery, moist, molten. Nep. *gilo* (D) [cyulduŋăi = S]
- phetsa** vi. and vt., to be slipped off, untied, unrolled or unfurled (also used for an animal unrolling its tail), take off (jewellery, clothes), undo bit-by-bit, unbutton bit-by-bit; *kucu-ko limek phet-Ø-an* (dog-GEN tail unroll-sAS-3S/PT) the dog's tail unrolled; *gă-ye to-ko miŋ phet-u-n-uŋ* (I-ERG that-GEN cloth take.off-3P-1S→3-1S→3/PT) I took her clothes off/I undressed her. ?<Nep. *phuskanu*, *kholnu*, *phukālnu* (D) [phetcha ~ myuŋ ʔosisa = S]
- phetsisa** vr., to untie (a rope), loosen, take off one's own clothes; *ami-ŋa-du beryaŋ, găi oste-ko miŋ ma-phet-si* (sleep-1S-NPT that.time I self-GEN cloth NEG-untie-REF) when it's time to sleep, I don't take off my clothes. Nep. *āphai phukāunu*
- pheteksas** vi., to be rent, be torn, be lacerated, be stripped off (of skin and bodies); *konŋe phetek-Ø-an* (foot be.lacerated-sAS-3S/PT) my foot is lacerated. Nep. *cyātinu* (D)
- phe?esa** vt., to fold open, make come apart. <Nep. *choḍāunu*, *callā kādhnū* (S) [purussa = D]
- phini** n., comb. Nep. *kāgiyo* (D) [kaŋkăi = S]
- phin-phin** adj., smooth, flat, even. Nep. *ceṭto*, *pātalo* (D) [phi?lya = S]
- phin-phinca** see **aphinca**
- phintyak** n., a trap to catch small animals or birds. Nep. *phaḍke* (D)
- phi?lya** adj., smooth, flat, even. Nep. *ceṭto* (S) [phin-phin = D]
- phoksa** vi., to damage an ear, to go deaf; *găi-go kulna phok-Ø-an, hara woi ma-nasăi* (I-GEN ear be.deaf-sAS-3S/PT what also NEG-hear) my ear is damaged, I can't hear a thing. Nep. *kān phūtnu* (D)
- phole** n., glans of penis, forehead. Nep. *ṭuppo* (S)
- pholsa** vi., to flee. Nep. *bhāgnu* (S) [doroksa = D]
- phompholok** n., the little bubbles of air which appear to escape from the ground after a big rain storm, the air bubbles when rice is cooking, a swelling full of pus or air after a burn or scold; *nasak-ŋaŋ paŋku-ko phompholok waŋ-Ø-an* (earth-LOC water-GEN little.bubbles come.from.below-sAS-3S/PT) little water bubbles are popping up from the earth. ?<Nep. *phoko* (D)
- phonphon** n., dry earth, dry mud. Nep. *sukeko māto* (D)

phoŋphoŋ n., || dry flour. ?<Nep. *phuko* (S) [phakphak = D]

phophonḍa n., bump, blow, swelling on the head. Nep. *tuṭulko* (D)

phosa vi. and vt., to get wet, become wet, be immersed, make wet, drench; *jhāri yuw-Ø-an, gāi pho-ŋa-n* (rain come.from.above-SAS-3S/PT I become.wet-1s-PT) it rained and I was drenched; *miŋ gaŋ-Ø-an, hu-ye phoh-Ø-u-no* (cloth be.dry-SAS-3S/PT younger.brother-ERG make.wet-SAS-3P-3→3/PT) the clothes were dry but younger brother made them wet [again]. Nep. *bhijnu, copalnu, bhijāunu* (D) [phoʔosa = S]

phosisa vr., to become wet of oneself; *bāsinte serek-ta-ŋa-le, gāi ajik paŋku-ye pho-si-ŋa-du* (morning arise-IPP-1s-PCL I cold water-INS make.wet-REF-1s-NPT) After getting up, I drench myself in cold water every morning. Nep. *āphai bhijnu* (D) [phoʔosisa = S]

photoŋ n., wingless grasshopper. Nep. *ḍallo phateŋgro* (D)

phoʔosa vt., to make wet, immerse. Nep. *bhijāunu* (S) [phosa = D]

phoʔosisa vr., to become wet. Nep. *bhijna hunu, bhijinu* (S) [phosisa = D]

phōṇok adj., inflated, swollen, squashy (especially used to describe people's noses). Nep. *ṭhulo nāk* (D)

phulphulsa vt., to scratch up; *mama-wa-ye latar phul-phul-Ø-u-no* (FEM-chicken-ERG earthworm scratch.up-SAS-3P-3→3/PT) the hen scratched up an earthworm. Nep. *khosranu* (D) [phalatcha = S]

phulu n., the fern, *Gleichenia linearis*; the fern crozier, *Dryopteris cochleata*. Nep. *niuro, niūro* (S) [dosken = D]

phuŋga <phuŋga> adj., empty, gaping, open. Nep. *ritto, khālī* (D) [poŋgo = S]

phuŋga see **phunga**

phurba n., small iron spoon, small cutting instrument. Nep. *thurmī* (D)

phurko n., red or black thread worn by women in their hair. Nep. *kapāl-mā lagāune dhāgo* (S) [syamphuri = D]

phuru n., small wooden bowl with handle. Nep. *kāṭh-ko boṭuko* (D)

phusa n., mildew. Nep. *ḍhusi* (S) [broŋ = D]

phusa hosa vi., to become mildewy. Nep. *ḍhusi parnu* (S) [broŋ hosa = D]

phusaʔama n., mother's younger sister. Nep. *sānī āmā* (S) [macyu = D]

phusaʔapa n., mother's younger sister's husband. Nep. *sāno buvā* (S) [pacyu = D]

r

ra conj., or. Nep. *ki*

racya n., paddy, rice in the field, harvested but unhusked rice, *Oryza sativa*. The leaves are collected as fodder for domesticated animals, while the grain is the most preferred foodstuff in Thangmi villages. Thangmi rituals invariably use rice in some form, raw, cooked or as flour. Nep. *dhān* [cf. jake, paṭaya]

racya bo? n., rice blossom. Nep. *dhancamarā* (S) [bok = D]

ragdu paṇ see **rui paṇ**

ragdu thare n., a species of small annual plant, *Drymaria cordata*, which commonly grows as a weed among tea bushes. The leaves are collected as fodder for domesticated animals. The plant has a medicinal function when beaten, cooked with water, strained and consumed. It is believed to ease the pain of sore throats, fevers and headaches. Nep. *abijālo* (D) [icidu chyare = S]

rage n., anger. ?<Nep. *rāg*, *rīs* (D) [cf. korete]

rage letca vi., to get angry (lit. anger appear-INF). <Nep. *rāg*. Nep. *risāunu*, *rīs uṭhnu* (S) [rage letsa = D]

rage letsa vi., to get angry (lit. anger appear-INF); *to nama gāi rage let-ṇa-n* (that with I anger appear-1s-PT) I became angry with him. <Nep. *rāg*. Nep. *risāunu*, *rīs uṭhnu* (D) [rage letca = S]

rage thasa vi., to be angry (lit. anger be-INF); *nem-te uma ma-hok, to rage thah-Ø-du* (house-LOC wife NEG-be that anger be-SAS-NPT) his wife's not at home, so he's angry. <Nep. *rāg*. Nep. *risāunu*, *rāg hunu* (D) [rage letca = S]

ragsa <raksa> vi., to be sour; *rag-Ø-du* (be.sour-SAS-NPT) it's sour. Nep. *amilo hunu* (D) [raṭasa = S]

raksa see **ragsa**

raksa n., necklace made of bells, worn by *guru*. Nep. *ghanṭī mālā* (D)

rakho n., mark, spot, particularly the Hindu mark on the forehead. Nep. *ṭikā* (D)

rakhoreṇ n., leaves or flowers offered in worship. Nep. *pāti* (D)

raletsa vi., to arrive (across a horizontal plane); *jet-yiṇ naṇ ra-let-na-n?* (work-ABL you come.from.level-appear-2s-PT) have you arrived from your work? Nep. *āṭpugnu*

rani ukkar n., wild cush-cush, yam, *Dioscorea deltoidea*. The bulb is edible when peeled and boiled, as is the fruit which grows on the creeper. Nep. *ban-ko bhyākur* (D) [cf. ukkar]

raṇ n., dry or unirrigated field, land. Nep. *bārī*, *jaggā*

rapa n., I axe. Nep. *bancaro* (D) [rapa? = S]

rapa n., II long bamboo, the shoots of which are eaten, feathery or tufted bamboo, *Bambusa tulda*, *Bambusa vulgaris*. Nep. *tāme bās*, *tāmā bās* (D)

rapa n., III red Himalayan bamboo, *Thamnocalamus spathiflorus*. Nep. *māliṅgo* (S) [liṇliṇ = D]

rapacamek n., tufted bamboo, *Dendrocalamus hamiltonii*. Nep. *coyā bās* (D)

rapacame? n., red Himalayan bamboo, *Thamnocalamus spathiflorus*, tufted bamboo, *Dendrocalamus hamiltonii*. Nep. *mālīngo, coyā* (S) [cf. camek, liṅliṅ ~ rapacamek = D]

rapa? n., axe. Nep. *bancaro* (S) [rapa = D]

rapeṅ n., large edible frog. Nep. *pāhā*

raprup n., scraping together, collecting carefully, hoarding. Nep. *baṭul-bāṭul* (D)

raphāi n., a species of plant with a fruit resembling a wild strawberry, *Fragaria vesca*. The tree trunk is used for furniture and firewood, and the fruit which ripens between *cait* and *baiśākh* is eaten raw. The tree bark, when peeled off, beaten and mixed with water, has a black colour and is used to paint doors and houses. The ripe fruit has medicinal properties for patients suffering from diarrhoea with blood in the stool. It is also believed to cure general stomach infections. Nep. *kāphal*

raphil n., tear. Nep. *āsu*

rasa vi., I to come (especially horizontally or from the same level); *to isa cya-sa-kāi rah-Ø-an* (that food eat-INF-PM come.from.level-sas-3S/PT) he has come to eat. Nep. *āunu* (D) [ratcha I = S]

rasa vt., II to bring; *gāi paṅku ra-tuṅ-le tun-ṇa-n* (I water bring-1s/TPP-PCL drink-1s-PT) having brought the water I drank it. Nep. *lyāunu, liera āunu* (D) [ratcha II = S]

ratal n., earthworm (inversion of Dolakhā form). Nep. *gāḍyaūlo* (S) [latar = D]

ratcha vi., I to come (especially from the same level). Nep. *āunu* (S) [rasa = D]

ratcha vt., II to bring. Nep. *lyāunu, liera āunu* (S) [rasa = D]

rattasa vt., to desire, like, want. Nep. *man parāunu, man lāgnu, cāhānu* (S)

ra?adu adj., sour. Nep. *amilo* (S) [ragdu = D]

ra?aduca see **ra?aducapaṅ**

ra?aducapaṅ <ra?aduca> n., Indian sorrel, creeping sorrel, *Oxalis corniculata*. Nep. *carī amilo* (S) [goṭhepaṅ = D]

ra?asa vi., to be sour. Nep. *amilo hunu* (S) [ragasa = D]

rejek adj., ritually polluted, impure. Nep. *juṭho* (D)

reje? adj., coarse, rough. Nep. *khasro* (S) [cf. rothto?, denderek = D]

rem <rim> n., [ritual language] home-made beer drunk during the death ritual. (D)

rence n., beans, pulses, Hyacinth bean, *Lablab purpureus* (*Dolichos lablab*), the general Thangmi term for beans and pulses of all kinds. The leaves are collected as fodder for domesticated animals, and the dried fruits are cooked as a soup or vegetable curry. Pulses are believed to help stomach cramps when eaten as a soup. Nep. *dāl, sīmī* (D) [renche? = S]

- renche?** n., Hyacinth bean, *Lablab purpureus*. (S) [rence = D]
- ren-ren** adj., dragging along the ground; *chaŋ-yiŋ huca-ko miŋ ren-ren thah-Ø-an* (cot-ABL child-GEN clothes dragging be-SAS-3S/PT) the child's clothes are hanging out of the cot and dragging along the ground. Nep. *larkieko* (D)
- reŋ** <ryeŋ> n., flower. Nep. *phul*
- reŋ mesek** n., sepal of a flower. Calque from Nep. *phul-ko ākhā* (D)
[reŋko mese? = S]
- reŋko đāŋthi** n., pistil of a flower. <Nep. *đāth, bīl* (D) [reŋko muguli = S]
- reŋko mese?** n., sepal of a flower. Calque from Nep. *phul-ko ākhā* (S)
[reŋ mesek = D]
- reŋko muguli** n., pistil of a flower. Nep. *đāth, bīl* (S) [reŋko đāŋthi = D]
- reŋ-reŋ** adj., hasty, fidgety, rash, naughty. Nep. *utāulo, cakcak* (D)
- ridi?isa** vt., to push, shake, swing violently. Nep. *hallāunu* (S) [saŋsa = D]
- rikhi** n., the tree, *Ficus lacor*. The leaves are collected as fodder for domesticated animals and the wood is burnt as firewood. Nep. *kābhro* (D)
- rikhipole** n., local Thangmi name for the village of Phāseluñ, (lit. *Ficus lacor*-trunk). Nep. *kābhro bo?* (D)
- rim** see **rem**
- rise** n., the tree, *Maesa chisia*; the tree, *Maesa indica*. Nep. *bilāunī* (S) [bāgale = D]
- risma** n., [ritual language] central seed found inside the kernal of maize. Nep. *nāthuri* (D)
- ritasa** vt., [ritual language] to ejaculate; *almaŋ-te dewa-ye ritah-Ø-u-no* (dream-LOC god-ERG ejaculate-SAS-3P-3→3/PT) in his dream the god ejaculated. Nep. *sābhog garnu* (D)
- roimi** n., a Newar person. Nep. *nevār*
- rojeme** n., [ritual language] the fire on which a corpse is burnt. (D)
- rolaŋsa** see **roloŋsa**
- roloŋsa** <rolaŋsa> vi., to recover (from illness), get better in health, survive; *ama aŋthe ma-thaŋ-thyo naleŋ roloŋ-Ø-an* (mother very NEG-be.well-3sCOND now recover-SAS-3S/PT) mother was very ill but now she's recovered. Nep. *taŋgrinu, jāgnu*
- rolsa** vi., to fall away (as in a house or wall after a landslide or earthquake); *nem rol-Ø-an, koŋe woi rol-Ø-an* (house fall.away-SAS-3S/PT wall also fall.away-SAS-3S/PT) the house fell away, as did the wall. Nep. *laḍnu, bhatkinu* (D)
- roŋo-roŋo** adj., swirling, spinning, rotating. (D)
- rope** see **rope?**
- rope?** <rope> adj., weak, feeble, thin. Nep. *dublo, kamjor* (S)
[dunji ~ run-run = D]

- ropoksa** vi. and vt., to lie face down; *ahe toŋ tun-ta-ŋa-le, gǎi ropok-ŋa-n* (much beer drink-IPP-1s-PCL I lie.face.down-1s-PT) having drunk a lot of beer, I found myself lying face down. Nep. *ghopto garnu* (D)
- rose** n., landslide. Nep. *pahiro* (D) [rot = S]
- rossa** <rotsa> vi., to fall from some height, die; *reŋ pole-yiŋ ros-Ø-an* (flower tree-ABL fall.from.height-sAS-3S/PT) the flower fell from the tree. Nep. *hasnu, jharnu* (D) [cf. hassa, hacha = S]
- rot** n., landslide. Nep. *pahiro* (S) [rose = D]
- rotcha** vi., to fall from the the same level. Nep. *laḍnu* (S) [ṭiṭṭsa = D]
- rotsa** see **rossa**
- rotho?** adj., coarse, rough. Nep. *hasro* (S) [cf. reje?, denderek = D]
- roṭhok** <ṭhorok> n., shell, eggshell, fruit skin. Nep. *phul-ko bokrā, ṭhokra, bokrā* (D) [gogo? ~ chyoro = S]
- rubasye** adv., a few days later. Nep. *kehī din pachi* (S) [libi = D]
- ruipaŋ** <ragdu paŋ> n., Chinese sumac, *Rhus javanica*. The leaves are collected as fodder for domesticated animals and the wood is burnt as firewood. The fruit, which ripens around the month of *pūs*, can be eaten either raw or as a chutney. The cooked fruit is believed to work as a cure for a distended stomach or serious cramps, for which it is mixed together with water and a raw egg and is drunk quickly on account of its very sour taste. Nep. *bhakī amilo, bhakīmlo*
- rul** n., snake. Nep. *sāp*
- ruḷāu** n., cockroach. Nep. *sānilo* (D) [juro = S]
- rumsa** vi., to be bent, become wrinkled, wrinkle, shrink (of people and clothes); *ṭhoŋi-ko naṭe rum-Ø-an* (old.woman-GEN cheek wrinkle-sAS-3S/PT) the old woman's cheek is wrinkled. Nep. *cāurinu, cāurī parnu, khumcinu* (D) [cyukupsa = S]
- run-run** adj., weak, feeble. Nep. *kamjor* (D) [rope ~ rununu rununu = S]
- rununu-rununu** adj., always ill. Nep. *kamjor* (S) [run-run = D]
- ruŋ** adj., wild, foreign. Nep. *pardeś* (S)
- ruŋ kucu** n., wolf, wild dog, *Cyon rutilans*. Nep. *bvāso* (S)
- ruŋ kwāi** n., potato yam, *Dioscorea bulbifera*. Nep. *ban tarul* (S) [bǎn kwāi = D]
- rupsa** vt., to collect, gather together, heap up; *mi-ye sakalei puṇapasa rup-to-le, jyouh-Ø-u-no* (person-ERG all grains.and.seeds gather.together-TPP-PCL burn-sAS-3P-3→3/PT) men gathered all the grains together and burnt them. Nep. *baṭulnu, thupārnu*
- rusil** n., centipede. Nep. *khajuro* (D) [rusul = S]
- rusul** n., centipede. Nep. *khajuro* (S) [rusil = D]
- ryeŋ** see **reŋ**

S

sărgya see **sargya**

sabal n., corn spurrey, *Spergula arvensis*. There are two forms, one found on trees and one on rocks. The tree variety has no use, while the rock variety is applied to deep cuts or wounds for its healing and antiseptic qualities. Nep. *jhyāu* (D)

sadesa vi., to like, appreciate, enjoy; *saŋa-ko isa gǎi sade-ŋa-du* (millet-GEN food I like-1S-NPT) I really like millet paste. Nep. *man parāunu* (D)

săidu adj., clever, knowing, able. Nep. *calākh, bātho, jānne*

săisa vi., to understand, know; *gǎi hara woi ma-săi* (I what also NEG-know) I don't know anything. Nep. *jānnu, bujhnu*

săi-săi woi adv., wittingly, knowingly. Nep. *jānā-jāni* (D)

săisisa vr., to wake up; *băsinŋe gǎi săi-si-sa ma-thaŋ* (morning I wake.up-REF-INF NEG-be.able) I am unable to wake up in the morning. Nep. *biūjhanu* (D)

sakale see **sakalei**

sakalei <sakale> adv., all, each, every, totally. <Nep. *sakal*. Nep. *sab, sabai, jammai* (D) [sakhali = S]

sakalei thăi adv., everywhere. <Nep. *sakal*. Nep. *sabai thăū* (D) [sakhali te = S]

sakpa n., rope, string. Nep. *ḍorī* (D)

sakhali adv., all, each, totally. <Nep. *sakal*. Nep. *sab, jammai* (S) [sakalei = D]

sakhalite adv., everywhere. <Nep. *sakal*. Nep. *sabai thăū* (S) [sakalei thăi = D]

sale n., handle. Nep. *ujhiṇḍo* (D)

salsa vi., to increase. Nep. *thāpnu, thāp dinu* (S)

sampusa vt., to pull someone's hair in anger; *hu-ye humi-ko mus sampuh-Ø-u-no, tyañ humi kerep-Ø-an* (younger.brother-ERG younger.sister-GEN hair pull.hair-SAS-3P-3→3/PT then younger.sister cry-SAS-3S/PT) younger brother pulled his sister's hair, so she cried. Nep. *bhutlyāunu* (D)

sanica n., white-eyed buzzard, *Butastur teesa*. Nep. *bāj* (S) [cancanek = D]

saŋa <sāwā> n., finger millet, *Eleusine coracana*. The leaves are collected as fodder for domesticated animals, and the grain is harvested and eaten by humans as a kind of paste. During the Thangmi death ritual, balls of millet flour, known as *ere* in Thangmi, are cooked and eaten by the officiating shaman and mourners. Pregnant women are fed millet paste in the belief that this will give them the necessary strength to deliver their baby and will produce a strong child. Nep. *kodo*

saŋsa vt., to cause to move, cause to arouse; *lawā-ye uma saŋ-to-le, uma serek-Ø-an* (husband-ERG wife shake-TPP-PCL wife arise-SAS-3S/PT) the husband shook the wife and she got up. Nep. *calāunu, hallāunu* (D) [ridi?isa = S]

- saj̥sisa** vr., to move oneself slightly, stir; *ami-ŋa-du beryaŋ, gǎi saŋ-si-ŋa-du* (sleep-1s-NPT that.time I stir-REF-1s-NPT) when sleeping, I move around a little. Nep. *calmalinu*
- sapsa** vt., to stab in the ground, bury in the ground (but not people); *nem khem-sa habi, nasa-ŋaŋ seŋ sap-u-n-du* (house build-INF before earth-inside wood stab-3P-1s→3-NPT) before building a house, I will stab a wooden stake in the ground. Nep. *bhāsnu, gāḍnu, gāḍinu* (D) [syapsa = S]
- sare** n., voice, sound. ?<Nep. *svar*
- sargi** n., sky. Nep. *ākāś* (S) [sargya = D]
- sargya** <sārgya> n., sky. Nep. *ākāś* (D) [sargi = S]
- sarma** adj., strong, young, fresh. Nep. *baliyo, javān, tarunī, ṭhiṭo* (D)
- sasa** n., vein (in the body), tendon, ligament. Nep. *nasā, nāḍī* (D) [cǎi nalit = S]
- sataḥsa** vt., to mutter, hum; *hara ŋah-Ø-u-du to mi? to satāuh-Ø-u-du* (what say-SAS-3P-NPT that person he mutter-SAS-3P-NPT) what's that person saying? He's muttering. Nep. *gungunāunu* (D) [gunusa = S]
- satcha** see **satsa** I
- satsa** vt., I to explain; *naŋ-ko kham gǎi ma-sǎi, gǎi-gǎi sat-aŋ!* (you-GEN language I NEG-know I-PM explain-s→1s/IMP) I don't understand your language, explain it to me! Nep. *batāunu* (D) [syatcha = S]
- satsa** <satcha> vt., II to kill, extinguish, blow out, put out; *gǎi-go ban-e di-ka mi sat-Ø-u-no* (I-GEN friend-ERG one-HNC person kill-SAS-3P-3→3/PT) my friend has killed someone. Nep. *mārnu, nibhāunu* (D)
- satsisa** vr., to be killed, commit suicide; *to-ko tete oste sat-si-Ø-n* (that-GEN elder.sister self kill-REF-SAS-NPT) that guy's elder sister killed herself. Nep. *mārinu* (D)
- sayo** n., knowledge; *jet loŋ-sa naŋ woi sayo* (work do-INF you also knowledge) you also know how to work. Nep. *jān* (D)
- sāwā** see **saŋa**
- sebi** n., skin, hide, leather. Nep. *chālā*
- seksa** vi., to bear fruit, to ripen (of fruit or grain); *mui sek-Ø-an, naleŋ cya-sa ja-Ø-du* (banana ripen-SAS-3S/PT present eat-INF okay-SAS-NPT) the banana has ripened, it's okay to eat now. Nep. *phalnu* (D) [seṭesa = S]
- sem** n., Tamang person. Nep. *Tāmāñ* (S) [cf. syere, semni = D]
- semni** n., Tamang person. Nep. *Tāmāñ* (D) [sem ~ syere = S]
- semper** n., ginger. (S) [sempir = D]
- sempir** n., ginger, *Zingiber officinale*. The root is used to flavour curries or soups and may also be boiled in hot water and drunk as an infusion to help ease throat pain, colds and coughs. Nep. *aduvā* (D) [semper = S]

sempher n., turmeric, *Curcuma longa*; Indian arrowroot, *Curcuma angustifolia*.

The root is used to flavour curries and soups, and can be boiled and drunk as an infusion to help ease throat pains, cold, coughs and fever. Turmeric should not be consumed by people with jaundice as it is believed to make their skin turn even more yellow. Nep. *besār* (D)

senewa n., a discrete section of the Thangmi wedding ritual. (D)

seŋ n., firewood, wood. Nep. *dāurā*, *kāth*

seŋ palsa vt., to cut, split, chop (wood), usually vertically; *naleŋ ka seŋ pal-Ø-u-du mi ma-yu-Ø-ta-ki* (present throughout wood chop-sAS-3P-NPT person NEG-come.from.above-sAS-IPP-NPS) the wood chopper still hasn't come down the hill. Nep. *dāurā kāṭnu*

seŋ puṭu n., tree, tree trunk. Nep. *rūkh*, *rūkhko boṭ* (S)

seŋko gogo? n., tree bark. Nep. *rūkhko bokrā* (S) [gogok = D]

serba n., hail. Nep. *asinā* (D) [cyuri = S]

sereksa <sreksa> vi., to get up, wake up, arise; *bubu serek-Ø-an* (elder.brother arise-sAS-3S/PT) elder brother has arisen. Nep. *uṭhnu* (D) [sere?esa = S]

sereŋthali n., Thangmi name for the river by Phāseluñ. Nep. *Ghaṭṭe Kholā* (D)

sere?esa vi., to get up, wake up, arise. Nep. *uṭhnu* (S) [sereksa = D]

sesa vi. and vt., I to taste; *karjek asare se-Ø-du* (sugar.cane taste tasty-sAS-NPT) sugar cane taste good; *isa ci-min-u-n-du beryaŋ, gāi ken se-ko mǎi-Ø-du* (food CAUS-ripen-3P-1s→3-NPT that.time I vegetable.curry taste-ADH must-sAS-NPT) when I'm cooking, I have to taste the vegetables. Nep. *cākhnu*, *lāgnu* (D) [ŋyaŋsa = S]

sesa vt., II to sort out (rice); *jakcho-ŋaŋ ucyaca kiji ŋiŋ hok-eŋ-du, se-ko may-Ø-an* (wheat-inside small black stone be-pAS-NPT sort.out-ADH must-sAS-3S/PT) there are small black stones in the wheat, it should have been sorted out. Nep. *kelāunu* (D)

setu n., plough. Nep. *halo* (S) [seṭu = D]

seṭu n., plough. Nep. *halo* (D) [setu = S]

sewa n., homage, greetings, salutations. <Nep. *sevā*

sewasa vt., to bow down before, salute respectively, prostrate oneself, greet; *guru-ye dewa-ko habi sewah-Ø-u-du* (shaman-ERG god-GEN before salute-sAS-3P-NPT) the shaman is prostrating himself before the gods. <Nep. *sevā*. Nep. *namaskār garnu*, *ḍhognu*, *sevā garnu*

se? n., testicle. Nep. *gulā* (S) [papasek = D]

se?esa vi., to ripen, bear fruit, bloom, blossom. Nep. *phalnu* (S) [seksa = D]

si n., hem. Nep. *biṭ*

si satcha vt., to hem. Nep. *biṭ mārnu* (S) [si satsa = D]

si satsa vt., to hem; *thaŋna miŋ-ko si sat-Ø-u-no ama-ye* (old cloth-GEN hem kill-SAS-3P-3→3/PT mother-ERG) mother hemmed the old clothes. Calque from Nep. *biṭ māṛnu* (D) [si satcha = S]

sidigare n., prickly pear, *Opuntia monacantha*. (S) [sijigare = D]

sidu mi n., corpse (lit. die-sAS-NPT person). Nep. *murdā*

sijigare n., prickly pear, *Opuntia monacantha*. The thorny bush is very effective as a fence to control the movement of animals. The milk extracted from the stem is collected and used to stun (or even kill) fish in small bodies of water. This milk is a powerful poison which has an acidic quality that can burn the skin or even blind if brought into contact with human eyes. If suffering from a splinter lodged far under the skin, a small drop of prickly pear milk can heat the wound and thus disgorge the offending splinter. Moreover, a dab of this same milk can be used to dry up painful boils on the body. Thangmi villagers often cut a little piece of the prickly pear bush and place it on their roofs or above their doors to prevent attacks from malevolent spirits. It is also believed to protect humans from suffering from fainting spells. Thangmi shamans may feed a very small amount of the milk to individuals who are bewitched because the poison will make the spirit want to depart from the affected body. Nep. *siūdī* (D) [sidigare = S]

sikiṭip n., [ritual language] the small pieces of human body flesh left over after a cremation, also used to describe the first section of the death ritual; *sikiṭip-ko bhakha*, the melody of the first part of the death ritual. (D)

silsa vt., to thread something, pass through a hole (as in a thread through a needle or flowers on a garland). <Nep. *sil pārnu*, *siuranu*

sim wa n., white-breasted waterhen, *Amaurornis phoenicurus*. <Nep. *sim kukhurā* (D)

simsa vi., to shrink, wrinkle. Nep. *cāurinu*

sinḍe n., spirit, spirit of a dead person who died under unfortunate circumstances, possessing ghost. (D)

sinlati n., butterfly bush, *Buddleja (Buddleia) asiatica*. The leaves are collected as fodder for domesticated animals, and the trunk is burnt as firewood. During Thangmi wedding rituals, the female relatives of the groom wear necklaces made of the white flower. Nep. *bhimsen pātī*

sipliŋ adj., aright, right side up, right way up. Nep. *sulṭo* (D) [iḥbliŋ = S]

sipsa vt., to wring, squeeze, squeeze the water out of clothes or green vegetables; *huca-ko miŋ toŋ-tuŋ-le, su-ye sip-Ø-u-du?* (child-GEN cloth wash-1S/TPP-PCL who-ERG wring.out-SAS-3P-NPT) once I've washed the child's clothes, who will wring them out? Nep. *nicornu*

- sirik** n., louse. Nep. *jumrā* (D) [siri? = S]
- sirikko ahum** n., louse-egg. Nep. *jumrā-ko phul* (D) [siriko a?um = S]
- siriko a?um** n., louse-egg. Nep. *jumrā-ko phul* (S) [sirikko ahum = D]
- siri?** n., louse. Nep. *jumrā* (S) [sirik = S]
- sisa** vi., to die; *sya siy-Ø-an, naleŋ hara loŋ-ko?* (cow die-SAS-3S/PT present what do-ADH) the cow has died, now what shall we do? Nep. *marnu*
- sisin** n., Sal tree, *Shorea robusta*. The trunk is used for furniture and also burnt as firewood. The large leaves are pinned together and used as disposable plates during festivals and rituals. The resin is burnt as an incense because it releases a pleasant smell. Nep. *sāl* (D)
- sithe** n., wax. Nep. *main* (S)
- soisa** vi., to miscarry a child; *ni-ko tete huca soiy-Ø-an* (we-GEN elder.sister child miscarry-SAS-3S/PT) our elder sister had a miscarriage. Nep. *kholinu, tuhinu* (D)
- sola** n., snack, bite to eat. Nep. *khājā* (D)
- solopisa** vt., to cause to hatch, to put chickens in a quiet place to let the eggs hatch; *mama-wa nem duŋ-ŋaŋ solopih-u-n-du* (FEM-chicken house within-inside put.to.hatch.eggs-3P-1s→3-NPT) I'm going to put the hen inside the house to make the eggs hatch. Nep. *othāro dinu* (D) [syolo? pitcha = S]
- solosa** vt., to roll and rotate the egg (by a hen or other bird); *ḍaŋaŋeny-e kosyorok-ŋaŋ ahum soloh-Ø-u-no* (bird-ERG nest-inside egg roll-SAS-3P-3→3/PT) in her nest, the bird rolled and rotated the eggs. Nep. *phul calāunu* (D)
- soŋ** n., river. Nep. *kholā* (D) [syoŋ = S]
- sorotcha** vt., to suck, draw (through a straw), kiss, pull on something (a cigarette). Nep. *tānnu* (S) [sorotsa = D]
- sorotsa** vt., to suck, draw (through a straw), kiss, pull on something (a cigarette); *naŋ-ko bajareŋ gāi di-chin sorot-u-n-du* (you-GEN tobacco I one-moment suck.on-3P-1s→3-NPT) I'll just take a drag of your cigarette. Nep. *tānnu* (D) [sorotcha = S]
- sorot-sarat** adj., pulled, stretched, extended; *sakpa sorot-sarat loŋ-to-le, ālāmga tha-Ø-du* (rope stretched.extended do-TPP-PCL long be-SAS-NPT) having pulled and extended the rope, it will be longer. Nep. *tān-tun* (D)
- sorotsisa** vr., to creep, crawl (as in a snake or insect), slither; *rul sorot-si-Ø-n* (snake slither-REF-SAS-PT) the snake slithered away. Nep. *ghisrinu, ghasrinu* (D)
- sosa** vi. and vt., to be about to do something, be on the point of doing something, intend to, begin to; *loŋ-ko sow-Ø-u-no* (do-ADH be.about.to-SAS-3P-3→3/PT) he was about to do something; *tha-ko sow-Ø-an* (be-ADH be.about.to-SAS-3S/PT) he was about to be(come). Nep. *āṭnu* (D)

soyog n., cylindrical tube to blow the fire. Nep. *dhungro* (D)

so?oso?osa vt., to make rapid movements with a knife to remove the bark from small branches. Nep. *kelāunu* (S)

srāi n., I a species of plant. Nep. *giṇolā ghās* (S)

srāi n., II a species of small tree, *Eurya japonica*, also *Eurya symlocina*. The leaves are collected as fodder for domesticated animals, and the trunk is used for furniture and house construction. The chippings are burnt as firewood. Nep. *jhiñānī* (D)

sreksa see **sereksa**

su pron., who? Nep. *ko*

su mana pron., with whom? Nep. *ko-saṅga* (S) [su nama = D]

su nama pron., with whom? Nep. *ko-saṅga* (D) [su mana = S]

subanye pron., who (plural) (lit. who-Pp-ERG)? Nep. *ko-ko-le* (D)

suguri pron., who is it (lit. who-IND)? Nep. *ko-cāhī*

suguriye pron., who (lit. who-IND-ERG)? Nep. *ko-cāhī-le*

suisa vt., to thresh, beat (in a mortar); *saṅa hara-ye sui-sa? kaliṅkulaṅ-te* (millet what-INS thresh-INF mortar-INS) with what to thresh the millet? The mortar. Nep. *kuṭnu*

suko pron., whose (lit. who-GEN)? Nep. *kasko*

suksa vt., to strike, headbut, ram; *ṭuṇi-ye gāi-gāi suk-Ø-ṇa-n* (goat-ERG I-PM headbut-SAS-1S-PT) the goat headbutted me. Nep. *hānnu* (D)

sukhurmuni n., a large, red winged bug which does not fly, but bites with its mouth. Nep. *budho kamilā*

sulsa vt., to hide (something), conceal; *gwi rah-Ø-an, pepelek sul-ko!* (thief come.from.level-SAS-3S/PT money hide-ADH) the thief has come, let's hide the money! Nep. *lukāunu* (D) [syulsa = S]

sulsisa vr., to hide oneself; *makar oṅgaṇeṅ-ṇaṅ sul-si-Ø-n* (monkey pit-inside hide-REF-SAS-PT) the monkey hid himself in the pit. Nep. *luknu* (D) [syulsisa = S]

sum num., three. Nep. *tīn*

sumaka adv., be quiet, be silent; *gāi sumaka hok-ṇa-du* (I silent be-1S-NPT) I'm sitting silently. Nep. *cup, khusukka* (D)

sumpur cala n., constellation of three stars, Orion's belt. (D)

sumsumsa vt., to grope, feel one's way around, grab for support; *apa toṅ tun-Ø-ta-le nem dāi ya-sumsum-Ø-u-no* (father beer drink-SAS-IPP-PCL house towards go-grope-SAS-3P-3→3/PT) having drunk beer, father went off groping his way homewards. Nep. *chānnu* (D)

sumuhu n., orange, *Citrus sinensis*; mandarin, tangerine, *Citrus reticulata*. An archaic term, rarely used in vernacular Thangmi. The trunk is burnt as firewood

when dead and dry, and the fruit is sweet and edible. The peel is eaten as a cure for tonsillitis and fever or headaches, although the fruit is not eaten at such times. ?<Nep. *suntalā* (D)

sunamre n., I a species of tree with long spines, *Homalium napaulense*. The leaves are collected as fodder for domesticated animals, and the trunk is burnt as firewood. Nep. *phalāme kãḍā* (D)

sunamre n., II the tree, *Ilex dipyrena*. The leaves are collected as fodder for domesticated animals, and the trunk is burnt as firewood. The fruit is sweet when ripe and black, and can be eaten raw as a snack. Nep. *hãḍe biṇe* (D)

sunḍuni see **sunḍuri**

sunḍuri <sunḍuni> n., ritual assistant (in weddings and festivals), steward, servant at a ritual, helper. Nep. *kāmdāri* (D)

suṇḍaṇ n., white yam, *Dioscorea alata*. Nep. *ghar tarul* (S) [nem kwāi = D]

supaliye pron., who (lit. who-plural-ERG)? Nep. *ko-ko-le, ka-kas-le* (S) [subanye ~ susuye = D]

suru n., betel nut, areca nut, *Areca catechu*. An archaic term, rarely used in vernacular Thangmi. Nep. *supāri* (D)

susa vi., I to smell, be off (of food); *pecerek isa suw-Ø-an* (stale food be.off-SAS-3S/PT) the old food has gone off. Nep. *ganāunu* (D)

susa vi. and vt., II to be pierced, be pricked, be stabbed, pierce, prick, stab; *gã-ye sya-kāi puṭu-ye suh-u-n-uṇ* (I-ERG cow-PM thorn-INS prick-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT) I pricked the cow with a thorn. Nep. *ghocnu, ghocinu* (D) [suṇusa = S]

susto adv., slow. <Nep. *susta*

susuksa vt., to whistle; *nem duṇ-ṇaṇ susuk-sa ma-ja* (house within-inside whistle-INF NEG-okay) you shouldn't whistle inside the house. <Nep. *suselnu* (D) [syusyula tapsa = S]

susuye pron., who (lit. who-who-ERG)? Nep. *ko-ko-le, ka-kasle* (D) [cf. subanye, supaliye = S]

suti n., frost. Nep. *tusāro* (D) [daridaṇḍaṇ = S]

sutisa vt., to ward off evil spirits, exorcise; *gã-ye suti-sa ma-thaṇ, guru-ye loṇ-Ø-u-du* (I-ERG exorcise-INF NEG-be.able shaman-ERG do-SAS-3P-NPT) I am not able to exorcise spirits, the shaman will do that. Nep. *mansāunu* (D)

suwa n., tooth. Nep. *dāt*

suye pron., who (lit. who-ERG)? Nep. *kas-le*

suṇusa <syuṇusa> vt., to pierce, prick, stab. Nep. *ghocnu* (S) [susa II = D]

sya n., cow, bovine. Nep. *gār*

syaca n., calf (lit. cow-DIM). Nep. *bācho* (D)

syakli n., cow dung (lit. cow-shit). Nep. *gāiko gobar* (D)

syaksa vi., to sound, strike, chime (of a bell, clock or drum); *hani syak-Ø-an?*

(how.many strike-sAS-3S/PT) what time is it? Nep. *bajnu* (D)

syalu ñiŋ <syauŋ> n., white flint stone. Nep. *dalsiñ* (D) [dogar lyuŋ = S]

syampe?esa <syampe?sa> vt., to scold, swear at, rebuke, reprimand, tell off. Nep.

gālī garnu, sarāpnu (S) [kaṭasa ~ gāleisa = D]

syampe?sa see **syampe?esa**

syamphuri n., red or black thread worn by women in their hair. Nep. *kapāl-mā*

lagāune dhāgo (D) [phurko = S]

syandañ n., I cornsilk, *Zea mays*. Nep. Nep. *makai-ko juñgā* (S) [mus = D]

syandañ n., II omen, portent for a dead person's spirit. Nep. *bicār* (D)

syañ see **isyañ**

syauŋ see **syalu ñiŋ**

syapi n., beer mash. Nep. *jāḍ-ko chokrā* (D) [syaphi ~ pecere? = S]

syapsa vt., to stab in the ground (with a stick). Nep. *gāḍnu* (S) [sapsa = D]

syapṭa n., yellow-bellied *Prinia*, *Prinia flaviventris*. Nep. *pītodar ghāsephisto* (D)

syaphi n., beer mush. Nep. *jirmā-ko chokrā* (S) [cf. pecere?, syapi = D]

syasyako nalit n., tendon. Nep. *nasā* (S) [sasa = D]

syatcha vt., to explain. Nep. *batāunu* (S) [satsa I = D]

syā?apa n., rope, cord, thread. Nep. *ḍorī, dhāgo* (S)

syere n., Tamang person. Nep. *Tāmāñ* (S) [cf. sem, semni = D]

syoksyok n., the bark of the *Daphne bholua*, a species of tree used to make paper.

The fibres are used to make rope to secure livestock, while the bark is used to make traditional paper. Only with the advent of development projects and cottage industries has paper production taken off. The stalks are used to weave sitting or sleeping mats (*gundri* in Nepali). The raw leaves are fed to baby goats suffering from fever or diarrhoea in the belief that this will cure their illness. Nep. *loktā* (D) [syo?syo? = S]

syolo? pitcha vt., to cause to hatch, to put chickens in a quiet place to let the eggs

hatch. Nep. *othāro dinu* (S) [solo pisa = D]

syon n., river. Nep. *kholā* (S) [soŋ = D]

syor n., juice of fermented rice. Nep. *niḡār* (S) [toŋ II = D]

syo?syo? n., the bark of the *Daphne bholua*. (S) [syoksyok = D]

syulsa vt., to hide (someone or something), conceal. Nep. *lukāunu* (S) [sulsa = D]

syulsisa vr., to hide oneself, conceal oneself. Nep. *luknu* (S) [sulsisa = D]

syuŋŋan n., garuga, *Garuga pinnata*; also *Lannea coromandelica*. Nep. *dabdabe*

(S) [ahel = D]

syusyula tapsa vt., to whistle. ?<Nep. *suselnu* (S) [susuksa = D]

syu?usa see **su?usa**

t

- taksa** vt., to weave; *nyal-nyal miñ tak-sa ma-săi* (soft cloth weave-INF NEG-know) I don't know how to weave soft material. Nep. *bunnu* (D) [taʔasa II = S]
- tamakhu tundu jyangapən** n., woodpecker or Himalayan flameback, *Dinopium shorii* (lit. tobacco drink-SAS-NPT bird), on account of the sounds that Newars make when sucking on their tobacco pipes). Nep. *lāhāce* (S)
- tamsa** vi. and vt., to be lost, disappear, lose; *hu tam-Ø-an, găi ari-ŋa-du* (younger.brother disappear-SAS-3S/PT I be.afriad-1s-PT) younger brother is lost, and I'm afraid; *gă-ye pepelek tam-u-n-uŋ, ama-ye găi-găi ŋe-Ø-ŋa-du thaŋun* (I-ERG money lose-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT mother-ERG I-PM strike-SAS-1s-NPT maybe) I lost the money, mother may well beat me. Nep. *harāunu*
- tamtam** n., white clay. Nep. *kamero* (D)
- taŋgaʔ** n., a traditional wooden plate. Nep. *kāth-ko thāl* (S) [ʔoke = D]
- taŋsa** vi., to be happy, smile; *uma ni-tuŋ-le găi taŋ-ŋa-n* (wife see-1s/TPP-PCL I be.happy-1s-PT) on seeing my wife I became happy. Nep. *ramāunu, khuṣṭ hunu*
- tapsa** vi., I to be able to, be capable of, feel fit to do. Nep. *saknu* (S) [taŋsa II = D]
- tapsa** vi., II to be finished (things, edibles); *isa tap-Ø-an* (food be.finished-SAS-3S/PT) there's no food left, the food is finished. Nep. *sakinu, siddhinu*
- tapsa** vt., III to beat, play (the drum); *bore-te găi citaliŋ tap-u-n-du* (wedding-LOC I two.sided.drum play-3P-1s→3-NPT) I'll play the two-sided drum at the wedding. Nep. *bajāunu*
- taraksa** <traksa> vi., to feel itself, be present; *găi-găi ŋiny-e trak-Ø-ŋa-n* (I-PM stone-ERG let.itself.be.felt-SAS-1s-PT) I was hit by a rock. Nep. *lāgnu* (D) [traʔasa = S]
- tarin** adv., this year. Nep. *yo sāl, yas pālī* (S) [cf. ka daŋ, tarul = D]
- tarul** adv., this year. Nep. *yo sāl, yas pālī* (D) [tarin ~ ka daŋ = S]
- tasa** n., I buttocks, backside, behind. Nep. *maldvār* (D)
- tasa** vi., II to boil (of water or other liquid), reach the boiling point; *paŋku tah-Ø-an, adum thah-Ø-an, tun-ko!* (water boil-SAS-3S/PT hot be-SAS-3S/PT drink-ADH) the water has boiled, it's hot, lets drink! Nep. *umlinu, umlanu*
- tasa** vt., III to release, deposit, evacuate; *gă-ye kiŋi tah-u-n-du* (I-ERG shit release-3P-1s→3-NPT) I am taking a shit. Nep. *garu, rākhnu* (D)
- tasa** vt., IV to untie, unfasten, undo, take off the cord for tethering cows to a post, let animals roam free; *ama-ye sya tah-Ø-u-no* (mother-ERG cow untie-SAS-3P-3→3/PT) mother untethered the cow. Nep. *dāmlo phukāunu, dāmlo choḍnu* (D)
- taʔasa** vt., I to steal. Nep. *cornu* (S) [gwiśa = D]
- taʔasa** vt., II to weave (at a loom), leave. Nep. *bunnu, choḍnu* (S) [taksa = D]

- teksisa** vr., to braid or plait one's own hair; *uni-te hok-ta-ŋa-le, mus tek-si-ŋa-du* (sun-LOC be-IPP-1s-PCL hair plait-REF-1s-NPT) sitting in the sun, I'll braid my hair. Nep. *āphno kes bāṭnu* (D) [teʔesisa = S]
- telsa** vt., to press, push, squeeze; *gāi ari-ŋa-n, gāi-ko lak tel-o!* (I be.afraid-1s-PT I-GEN hand squeeze-s→3/IMP) I'm afraid, squeeze my hand! Nep. *thicnu* [cf. *cumsa*]
- telyaha** n., a species of fish. ?<Nep. *telsāpre, cepṭe māchā* (D)
- tenterek** <tentrek> n., partridge. Nep. *titro* (D) [tentere? = S]
- tentere?** n., partridge. Nep. *titro* (S) [tenterek = D]
- tentrek** see **tenterek**
- teṇseṇ** n., forest, wood, jungle. Nep. *ban* (D) [teṇsiṇ = S]
- teṇsiṇ** n., forest, jungle, woods. Nep. *ban* (S) [teṇseṇ = D]
- tesa** vt., I to thatch (the roof of a house), cover; *ban-ko nem likin-e te-ko mǎi-Ø-du* (friend-GEN house wheat.stalks-INS thatch-ADH must-sAS-NPT) our friend's house must be thatched with wheat stalks. Nep. *chāunu* (D) [teʔesa = S]
- tesa** vt., II to win, conquer, beat somebody in a competition. Nep. *jītnu* (S)
- tete** n., I elder sister, mother's brother's daughter, mother's sister's daughter, brother's wife's elder brother's wife, wife's elder brother's wife, wife's father's brother's daughter, wife's father's sister's daughter, elder sister's husband's brother's wife, husband's elder sister, husband's elder brother's wife, husband's father's brother's daughter, husband's father's sister's daughter, wife's mother's brother's daughter, wife's mother's sister's daughter, husband's mother's brother's daughter, husband's mother's sister's daughter, father's brother's daughter, father's sister's daughter. Nep. *didī, āmājyu, jeṭhunī didī* (D)
- tete** n., II elder sister, mother's brother's daughter, mother's sister's daughter, father's brother's daughter, father's sister's daughter. Nep. *didī, āmājyu, jeṭhunī didī* (S)
- teʔesa** vt., to thatch (the roof of a house), cover, roof. Nep. *chāunu* (S) [tesa = D]
- teʔesisa** vr., to braid (rope or hair). Nep. *bāḍnu* (S) [teksisa = D]
- ti** see **ni** II
- tim** n., mortar. Nep. *okhlī, ḍhikī*
- timsa** vt., to count; *hani-ka mi hok-eṇ-du? tim-o!* (how.many-HNC person be-PAS-NPT count-s→3/IMP) how many people are there? Count them! Nep. *gannu*
- tinyaṇ** conj., I in this manner, in that way. Nep. *tyasarī* (D)
- tinyaṇ** conj., II otherwise, if not, then, well. Nep. *ani, natrabhane* (S) [tyaṇ = D]

tiriksa <triksa> vt., to trample on, tread on; *sya-ye gaŋ-Ø-du jakcho tirik-Ø-u-no* (cow-ERG dry-sAS-NPT wheat trample.on-sAS-3P-3→3/PT) the cow trampled on the dried wheat. Nep. *kulcanu* (D) [triʔisa = S]

tisa vi., to burn; *me tiy-Ø-an* (fire lit-sAS-3S/PT) the fire is lit. Nep. *balnu*

to pron., he, she, it, that one. Nep. *u, unī, tyo*

to beryaŋ adv., then, at that time. <Nep. *tyahī belāmā, uti belā* (D) [hoto bareŋ = S]

to dāi adv., toward that place, thither. Nep. *tyatā tira*

to dāi hucyo? adv., up to that place. Nep. *tyatā māthi* (S) [to dāi hyuʔok = D]

to dāi hyuʔok adv., up to that place. Nep. *tyatā māthi tira* (D) [to dāi hucyo? = S]

to dāi nhunāi adv., down to that place. Nep. *tyatā tala* (S) [to dāi nyunāi = D]

to dāi nyunāi adv., down to that place. Nep. *tyatā tala tira* (D) [to dāi nhunāi = S]

to uniŋ phrase, like this, like that. Nep. *tyo jasto* (D) [to waniŋ = S]

to uniŋ adv., that way, in that manner. Nep. *tyasarī* (D) [hotani = S]

to waniŋ phrase, like this, like that. Nep. *tyo jasto* (S) [to uniŋ = D]

tobaŋ pron., they, all those (lit. that-Pp). Nep. *tinīharu* (D) [cf. kabaŋ, topali = S]

tobasayīŋ adv., from that side. Nep. *utā-bāṭa* (D) [to basiŋ = S]

tobasiŋ adv., from that side. Nep. *utā-bāṭa* (S) [to basayīŋ = D]

togiŋ pron., from there, from that place (lit. that-ABL). Nep. *tyahābāṭa* (S) [toyiŋ = D]

togiŋŋu adv., then, thereafter, after that. Nep. *tyaspachi* (S) [toyiŋ libi = D]

toiliŋ adj., long (for horizontal things, such as sleeping jackals or snakes). Nep. *lāmco* (D) [alaŋga = S]

tokmaŋ n., walking stick with handle. Nep. *laṭṭhī, lauro* (D) [toʔomaŋ = S]

tokolo n., long-handled mattock with a narrow blade, hoe. Nep. *kodālo* (S) [tokolok = D]

tokolok n., long-handled mattock with a narrow blade, hoe. Nep. *kodālo* (D) [tokolo = S]

toŋ n., I beer of millet or maize, generic term for alcoholic drink. Nep. *jāḍ*

toŋ n., II juice of fermented rice. Nep. *nigār* (D) [syor = S]

toŋsa vt., to wash clothes; *naka miŋ, bu-si-sa habi, toŋ-ko māi-Ø-du* (new cloth cover-REF-INF before wash-ADH must-sAS-NPT) new clothes should be washed before they are worn. Nep. *dhunu*

topali pron., they, all those (lit. that-Pp). Nep. *tinīharu* (S) [tobaŋ = D]

toringya n., serpent or snake gourd, *Trichosanthes cucumerina*. The fruit, which ripens between the months of *bhadau* and *kārtik*, can be cooked and eaten when small. When dried, the fruit is an excellent loofah-like scrubbing brush for washing the body or clothes. Nep. *ghiraūlā* (D) [torya = S]

- torsa** vi. and vt., to break; *tokolok tor-Ø-an* (long.handed.mattock break-SAS-3S/PT) the long-handled mattock broke. Nep. *bhācnu, tukrinu* (D) [choʔosa ~ ʔheʔesa = S]
- torsisa** vr., to bend oneself backwards, contort oneself, break some part of oneself; *konʔe tor-si-ŋa-n* (leg break-REF-1s-PT) I broke my leg. Nep. *bhācīnu* (D)
- tortar** n., breaking and spoiling. Nep. *bhāci-kuci* (D)
- tortasa** vt., to leave, let go, give up (as in smoking); *amakaleŋ bubu-ye bajareŋ tortah-Ø-u-no* (last.year elder.brother-ERG cigarette give.up-SAS-3P-3→3/PT) last year elder brother gave up smoking. Nep. *choḍnu* (D)
- torya** n., serpent or snake gourd, *Trichosanthes cucumerina*. Nep. *ghiraūlā* (S) [toriŋgya = D]
- tosa** vi., I to shine of the sun or moon. Nep. *udāunu* (D)
- tosa** vt., II to dig, scratch; *puya li-sa habi, cahuca-ye raŋ to-ko māi-Ø-du* (seed scatter-INF before man-ERG unirrigated.field dig-ADH must-SAS-NPT) before the seeds are scattered, the men must dig the fields. Nep. *khannu* (D) [toʔosa = S]
- tote** adv., there, in there (close), over there (lit. that-LOC). Nep. *tyahā*
- towani** adv., in that manner. Nep. *tyaso* (S) [tunyaŋ = D]
- toyiŋ** pron., from there, from that place (lit. that-ABL). Nep. *tyahā-bāṭa* (D) [togiŋ = S]
- toyiŋ libi** <tyaŋ libi> adv., then, thereafter, after that, afterwards (lit. that-ABL after). Nep. *tyaspachi* (D) [togiŋnu = S]
- toʔomaŋ** n., walking stick with crossbar for a handle. Nep. *laṭṭhī* (S) [tokmaŋ = D]
- toʔosa** vt., to dig, scratch. Nep. *khannu* (S) [tosa II = D]
- traba** n., ashes. Nep. *kharānī* (S)
- traksa** see **taraksa**
- traʔasa** vi., to feel itself, be present. Nep. *lāgnu* (S) [taraksa = D]
- triksa** see **tiriksa**
- triʔisa** vt., to trample on, tread. Nep. *kulcanu* (S) [tiriksa = D]
- trousa** vi., to jump. Nep. *uphrinu* (S)
- tuncha** vt., to drink, suck, draw through a straw. Nep. *piunu* (S) [tunsa = D]
- tuniŋ** <tunyaŋ> adv., that way, in that manner, like this, similar to. Nep. *tyasarī, jasto* (D) [hotani = S]
- tunsa** vi. and vt., to drink, suck, draw through a straw; *to mi toŋ tun-Ø-du* (person beer drink-SAS-NPT) that person is drinking beer; *sya-ye ahe paŋku tun-Ø-u-no* (cow-ERG much water drink-SAS-3P-3→3/PT) the cow drank a lot of water. Nep. *piunu* (D) [tuncha = S]
- tunyaŋ** see **tuniŋ**

- tupsa** vt., to hit, kick, strike, throw (something round and small, as in a stone); *tete yu-Ø-ta-le, hu-ye reny-e tup-Ø-u-no* (elder.sister come.from.above-SAS-IPP-PCL younger.brother-ERG flower-INS strike-SAS-3P-3→3/PT) once elder sister had come up, younger brother struck her with a flower. Nep. (*ḍhuṅgā*) *hānnu, hirkāunu*
- tupudu** n., blacksmith. Nep. *kāmī*
- tuturi** n., penis, a child's immature penis (in Sindhupālcok dialect only). ?<Newar Nep. *lāḍo, liṅgā* [cf. abu]
- tyaṅ** conj., then, well. Nep. *ani* (D) [tinyaṅ II = S]
- tyaṅ libi** see **toyiṅ libi**

th

- thadu** interj., yes (lit. be-SAS-NPT). Nep. *ho*
- thakpa** n., a certain kind of stone used to construct a fireplace, for which usually three are used. Nep. *culo-ko ḍhuṅgā* (D)
- thale woi** conj., although, albeit (lit. be-SAS-PCL also). Nep. *bhae ta pani* (D) [thaṅṅa li = S]
- thali** n., plain, farmyard. Nep. *maidhān* (S) [lampaṭ = D]
- thampa uyu** n., a species of large and black house-dwelling rodent. Nep. *ghar-mā basne muso* (D)
- thamsa** vt., to insert, add to, put in; *hu-ye rul oṅgaṇeṅ-ṅaṅ tham-Ø-u-no* (younger.brother-ERG snake pit-inside insert-SAS-3P-3→3/PT) younger brother put the snake in a pit. Nep. *hālnu* [cf. cuksa]
- thaṅṅaraṅ** <thaṅṅaraṅ> adj., lying on one's back, supine. Nep. *uttānu* (D)
- thaṅṅaraṅ amisa** vi., to sleep lying on one's back; *kutaleṅ-kutaleṅ ni-ko humi thaṅṅaraṅ ami-Ø-ta-le ghor-ghor-Ø-du* (when we-GEN younger.sister on.back sleep-SAS-IPP-PCL snore-SAS-NPT) sometimes our younger sister snores when sleeping on her back. Nep. *uttānu sutnu* (D)
- thaṅṅa** adj., old. Nep. *purāno* (D) [kharu = S]
- thaṅṅa li** conj., although, albeit. Nep. *bhae ta pani* (S) [thale woi = D]
- thaṅṅaraṅ** see **thaṅṅaraṅ**
- thaṅṅaraṅsisa** vr., to lie on one's back (not sleeping); *almaṅ ni-tuṅ-le, gāi thaṅṅaraṅ-si-ṅa-n* (dream see-1s/TPP-PCL I lie.on.back.awake-REF-1s-PT) having had a dream, I lay awake on my back. Nep. *uttānu hunu* (D)
- thaṅsa** vi., I to be healthy, get better after being unwell, recover; *narek-ko cici cya-ta-ṅa-le, gāi thaṅ-ṅa-n* (pheasant-GEN meat eat-IPP-1s-PCL I recover-1s-PT)

having eaten some pheasant meat, I recovered. Nep. *niko hunu, taṅgrinu* [cf. *jasā*]

thaṅsa vt., II to be able; *isa ci-min-sa gǎi ma-thaṅ, tete urou-ko!* (food CAUS-ripen-INF I NEG-be.able elder.sister call-ADH) I can't cook, let's call elder sister! Nep. *saknu* (D) [dumsa ~ tapsa = S]

thapu n., fireplace, hearth, cooking place, stove. Nep. *culo*

thasa vi., I to be, become; *habi apraca ma-tha-Ø-thyo, naleṅ apraca thah-Ø-an to huca* (before good NEG-be-SAS-3sCOND present good be-SAS-3S/PT that child) he never used to be nice, but now that child has become pleasant. Nep. *hunu*

thasa vt., II to filter, strain beer, squeeze and prepare beer; *toṅ ma-thah-u-na-n? cunǎi-ko!* (beer NEG-strain-3P-2s-PT chew-ADH) haven't you strained the beer? Well then, we'll have to chew it. Nep. *chānnu* (D)

thati prokan phrase, the inside floor of the house is broken up. (S)

theko mi n., relative, own family member. Nep. *āphno mānche* (S)

theleṅsa vi., to slip. Nep. *ciplinu* (S)

thel-thel adj., watery, wobbly. Nep. *gilo* (D)

themba n., doorframe, doorway. Nep. *ḍhokā* (D) [cf. *khaṇou*]

themthemsā vt., I to lull, calm down; *huca cic-ami-sa-kǎi them-them-ko mǎi-Ø-du* (child CAUS-sleep-INF-PM lull-ADH must-SAS-NPT) in order to get a child to sleep you must calm it down. ?<Nep. *thumthumyāunu* (D)

themthemsā vt., II to make soft by handling (as with fruit), cause to become soft; *gǎ-ye mui them-them-u-n-uṅ* (I-ERG banana make.soft-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT) I softened the banana by handling. Nep. *gilgilyāunu* (D)

theṅsa vi., to stand up, stand erect, become erect (especially of a penis); *uma ni-to-le, to-ko abu theṅ-Ø-an* (wife see-TPP-PCL his-GEN penis become.erect-SAS-3S/PT) seeing his wife, his penis became erect. Nep. *thāḍinu, uṭhnu, thāḍo hunu, ubhinu* (D) [thiṅsa = S]

thilsa vt., to plaster, smear, paint; *naka nem khem-u-na-n? naleṅ thil-sa beryaṅ thah-Ø-an* (new house build-3P-2s-PT present paint-INF that.time be-SAS-3S/PT) you've built a new house? Well now it's time to paint it. Nep. *lipnu*

thilthal n., the act of smearing with earth and cowdung, the act of whitewashing (a house). Nep. *pot-pāt, lip-lāp* (D)

thisa vt., to touch; *guru-ko ḍokliṅ thi-sa ma-ja* (shaman-GEN beating.stick touch-INF NEG-okay) you shouldn't touch the shaman's drum-beating stick. Nep. *chunu* (D) [thi?isa = S]

thisa maja vi., to menstruate; *gǎi-go uma thi-sa ma-ja-Ø-du* (I-GEN wife touch-INF NEG-allow-SAS-NPT) my wife is menstruating. (calque) Calque from Nep. *nachune hunu* (D) [thi?isa maja = S]

thi?bliŋ adj., wrong side, wrong way up. Nep. *ulṭo* (S) [biliŋ = D]

thi?isa vt., to touch. Nep. *chunu* (S) [thisa = D]

thi?isa maja vi., to menstruate. Nep. *nachune hunu* (S) [thisa maja = D]

thombe n., surprise, shock. Nep. *acamma, chakka* (D)

thombe thasa vi., to be dumbfounded, perplexed, troubled, agitated, confused, surprised; *gāi thombe tha-ŋa-n* (I surprise be-1s-PT) I was totally surprised.
Nep. *akamakka, chakka parnu* (D)

thopok see **roṭhok**

thope n., broom, sweep. Nep. *kuco*

thopsa vi., to be enough of something when shared out or distributed; *bubu-ye sakalei-kāi chya piy-Ø-u-no, ni-kāi ma-thop* (elder.brother-ERG all-PM salt give-SAS-3P-3→3/PT we-PM NEG-be.enough) elder brother gave everyone some salt, but we didn't get enough. Nep. *pugnu* (D)

thoroksa vi., to ripen of maize; *baṭhe citabas makāi thorok-Ø-du* (tomorrow day.after.tomorrow maize ripen-SAS-NPT) the maize will ripen in a couple of days. Nep. *makai pāknu* (D)

thorsa vt., to wipe off, clean, wipe down; *naṇ-ko miṇ kiji thah-Ø-an, ka-te ra-Ø!* *gā-ye thor-u-n-du* (you-GEN cloth black be-SAS-3S/PT this-LOC come.from.level-s/IMP I-ERG wipe.off-3P-1s→3-NPT) your clothes are all dirty, come over here! I'll wipe them down. Nep. *puchnu*

thorthar n., wiping the hands, wiping something off. Nep. *puch-pāch* (D)

thulāisisa vr., to masturbate oneself. Nep. *āphai cholnu* (S) [thurulsisa = D]

thumsa vi. and vt., I to mark, stain, stick; *naṇ-ko kapu-ko mus-ŋaṇ ni thum-Ø-an* (you-GEN head-GEN hair-within honey be.stuck-SAS-3S/PT) you have honey stuck in your hair. Nep. *lāgnu, ṭāsinu* (D)

thumsa vt., II to dip, soak, drown; *saṇa-ko isa cya-sa-kāi, ken-te thum-ko māi-Ø-du* (millet-GEN food eat-INF-PM vegetable.curry-LOC dip-ADH must-SAS-NPT) to eat millet paste, you must first dip it in the vegetable curry. Nep. *copnu* (D)

thumsa vt., III to pour beer into a container for storage. Nep. *jāḍ hālnu* (D)

thurjinsa vi., to stumble, fall down; *mi ṭhone tha-Ø-ta-le, miryaṇ thurjin-Ø-an* (person old.man be-SAS-IPP-PCL yesterday stumble.and.fall-SAS-3S/PT) becoming quite old, yesterday the man stumbled and fell. Nep. *ṭhessinu* (D)

thursa vi., to stumble, fall down, stub one's toe; *ulam-te cawa-ŋa-du beryaṇ, koṇṭe thur-ŋa-n* (road-LOC walk-1s-NPT that.time foot stub-1s-PT) When walking down the road, I stumbled. Nep. *ṭhes lāgnu, ṭhesnu* (D)

thurulsa vt., to masturbate someone else. Nep. *cholnu* (D)

thurulsisa vr., to masturbate oneself. Nep. *āphai cholnu* (D) [thulāisisa = S]

- thusa** vt., to pull up weeds by hand, weed (only in rice and millet fields); *racya-ko pebu-te thare thu-sa jet gǎi ma-ali* (paddy-GEN irrigated.field-LOC weed weed-INF work I NEG-like) I don't much enjoy weeding in a wet rice field. Nep. *goḍnu* (D) [thuʔusa = S]
- thutum** n., a bank of earth, hillock, knoll. Nep. *ḍhisko* (D)
- thutumsa** vt., to pull a face by pursing the lips and sticking them out; *huca-ye ugo thutum-Ø-u-no* (child-ERG face purse.lips-SAS-3P-3→3/PT) the child pulled a funny face. Nep. *sūḍ pasārnu* (D)
- thuʔusa** vt., to pull up weeds by hand, weed (only in rice and millet fields). Nep. *goḍnu* (S) [thusa = D]

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- ṭa** n., night. Nep. *rāt* (D)
- ṭāi-ṭāi** adj., chewy, hard to chew. Nep. *cāmro* (D)
- ṭakadu** adj., sweet, sugary, tasty. Nep. *guliyo* (D) [cyakadu = S]
- ṭakare** adj., branched, having branches (such as a radish plant). Nep. *hāge* (D)
- ṭakasa** vi., to be sweet; *toṇ ṭakah-Ø-an* (beer be.sweet-SAS-3S/PT) the beer was tasty/sweet. Nep. *guliyo hunu* (D) [cyakadu thasa = S]
- ṭake** n., one-sided drum played by the Thangmi shamans who officiate at funeral rites. Nep. *ḍhyāṅgro* (D)
- ṭampe** n., the magnolia tree, *Magnolia campbelli*. The leaves are collected as fodder for domesticated animals, and the trunk is used to construct furniture and houses as well as bee hives, since bees are attracted to it. The chippings are burnt as firewood. Nep. *cāp* (D)
- ṭamsil** n., marrow. Nep. *māsī* (D) [ṭaṇa = S]
- ṭaṇ** n., the space between open legs. (D)
- ṭaṇa** n., marrow. Nep. *māsī* (S) [ṭamsil = D]
- ṭaṇsa** vi. and vt., to be opened, open (a door); *khaṇou ṭaṇ-Ø-an* (door be.open-SAS-3S/PT) the door opened; *gǎ-ye khaṇou ṭaṇ-u-n-uṇ* (I-ERG door open-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT) I opened the door. Nep. *kholinu, ughranu, kholnu, ughārnu* (D)
- ṭasa** vt., I to move around; *to huca ahe ṭah-Ø-u-du, gǎi ami-sa ma-thaṇ* (that child much move.around-SAS-3P-NPT I sleep-INF NEG-be.able) that child is moving around a lot, I am unable to sleep. Nep. *calāunu* (D)
- ṭasa** vt., II to tease, deride, harass, joke; *humi-kāi ṭa-sa ma-ja, kerep-Ø-du* (younger.sister-PM tease-INF NEG-okay cry-SAS-NPT) you shouldn't tease your younger sister, she will cry. Nep. *jiskāunu, satāunu* (D)

- ṭaye** n., night, at night. Nep. *rāti* (D) [cyaye = S]
- ṭeksa** vi. and vt., to be torn, tear (a cloth or paper), rend, lacerate; *huca-ko miṇ ṭek-Ø-an* (child-GEN clothes tear-SAS-3S/PT) the child's clothes are torn. Nep. *cyātnu, cyātinu* (D) [cyetesa = S]
- ṭepsa** vt., I to bend something over, fold. Nep. *dobārnu, paṭṭyāunu* (S) [koroksa = D]
- ṭepsa** vt., II to carry a child on one's flank, squeeze under the arm; *to tete-ye oste-ko camāi ṭep-Ø-u-no* (that elder.sister-ERG self-GEN daughter squeeze.under.arm-SAS-3P-3→3/PT) that elder sister is carrying her daughter squeezed under her arm. Nep. *cyāpnu* (D) [cyepsa = S]
- ṭesa** vt., to remove maize cobs from the stalk; *nem-ko laṅga-te uni cyataṇ-si-ṇa-du, gāi naleṇ makāi ma-ṭe* (house-GEN courtyard-LOC sun warm-REF-1S-NPT I present maize NEG-remove.maize.from.stalk) I'm sitting at home, in the sun, in my courtyard, I'm not going to remove the maize from the stalk now. Nep. *makai bhācnu* (D)
- ṭiklak** n., drongo cuckoo, *Surniculus lugubris*. Nep. *kālo cibe, cibe koilī* (D) [cyikla? = S]
- ṭiku** n., black ant. Nep. *kamilā* (D) [cyuku = S]
- ṭikupaṇ** n., mulberry, *Morus laevigata*. The leaves are collected as fodder for domesticated animals and the wood is burnt as firewood. The fruit, which ripens around the month of *pūs*, is edible and can be eaten either raw or as chutney. The fruit is also believed to lessen throat infections and swellings when eaten raw. Nep. *kimbu* (D) [uchu = S]
- ṭila** adj., cold. Nep. *jāḍo* (D) [cyila = S]
- ṭila māine** n., cold season. <Nep. *jāḍo mahinā* (D) [cyila cala = S]
- ṭiladu** phrase, it is cold. Nep. *jāḍo cha, jāḍo huncha* (D) [icyiladu = S]
- ṭilasa** vr., to be cold; *gāi-gāi yaṇ ṭila-ṇa-n* (I-PM today be.cold-1S-PT) I'm cold today. Nep. *jāḍo hunu* (D) [cyilasa = S]
- ṭimpāi** adj., hardy, wiry, well-built, tough (of meat), hard (of muscle). Nep. *kasilo, sāhro* (D)
- ṭimsa** vi., to be caught, stuck (such as a finger stuck in the door); *gāi-go lak khaṇou-te ṭim-Ø-an* (I-GEN hand door-LOC be.caught.in.something-SAS-3S/PT) my hand got stuck in the door. Nep. *cyāpnu* (D)
- ṭinini** n., mosquito. Nep. *machet, lāmkuṭṭe* (D)
- ṭiriṭhyaṭṭhyaṭ** n., pied bushchat, *Saxicola caprata*. Nep. *jhekjhek* (D)
- ṭisa** vi. and vt., to close, shut; *e hu, khaṇou ṭiw-o!* (hey younger.brother door close-s→3/IMP) hey younger brother, close the door! Nep. *thunnu, lagāunu* (D) [ṭiṭisa = S]

- ṭisensa** <ṭiṭensa> vt., to teach, explain; *guru-ye ni-ko kham sakalāi naṇ-kāi ṭisen-Ø-na-du* (shaman-ERG we-GEN language all you-PM teach-SAS-2s-NPT) the shaman will teach you our whole language. Nep. *sikāunu* (D) [cyesensa = S]
- ṭisensisa** vr., to learn; *ni-ko jet ṭisen-si-ko!* (we-GEN work teach-REF-ADH) let's learn our tasks! Nep. *siknu* (D) [cyesensisa = S]
- ṭitsa** vi. and vt., to go blind, damage an eye render someone else blind; *mi ṭhoṇi tha-Ø-ta-le, mesek ṭit-Ø-an* (person old.woman be-SAS-IPP-PCL eye go.blind-SAS-3S/PT) having become old, she went blind. Nep. *ākhā phūṭāunu* (D)
- ṭitsisa** vr., to destroy one's own eyes. (D)
- ṭiṭensa** see **ṭisensa**
- ṭiṭiṇsa** vi., to fall (from the same level), to fall down, keel over; *to mi toṇ tun-Ø-ta-le, ṭaye ṭiṭiṇ-Ø-an* (that person beer drink-SAS-IPP-PCL night fall.from.level-SAS-3S/PT) having drunk beer, that person fell over walking back in evening. Nep. *laḍnu, ḍhalnu* (D) [rotcha = S]
- ṭiṭisa** vt., to close, shut. Nep. *thunnu, lagāunu* (S) [ṭisa = D]
- ṭoisa** vt., to undress someone else, take off someone else's clothes, *gā-ye uma-ko miṇ ṭoiy-u-n-uṇ* (I-ERG wife-GEN clothes undress.someone-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT) I undressed my wife. Nep. *lugā kholnu* (D)
- ṭoisisa** vr., to take off one's own clothes or jewellery; *gāi laṇi ṭoi-si-ṇa-n* (I necklace take.off-REF-1s-PT) I took my necklace off. Nep. *āphno lugā kholnu*
- ṭok** adv., that place (emphatic); *dha-ṭok* (that-EMP) over there; *ka-ṭok* (this-EMP) over here. Nep. *utai, yatai* (D)
- ṭoke** n., a small wooden bowl or pot. Nep. *kāṭh-ko boṭuko, phuru* (D) [taṇḡa? = S]
- ṭoklok** adv., on one's haunches (inversion of Dolakhā form). Nep. *ṭukrukka* (S) [loṭok = D]
- ṭokṭok ḍaṇḡaṇeṇ** n., woodpecker. Nep. *lāhāce* (D) [ṭokṭoke jyāṇḡaṇeṇ = S]
- ṭokṭoke jyāṇḡaṇeṇ** n., woodpecker. Nep. *lāhāce* (S) [ṭokṭok ḍaṇḡaṇeṇ = D]
- ṭolsa** vt., I to rinse or wash one's mouth; *rag-Ø-du toṇ tun-ta-ṇa-le, ugo ṭol-u-n-uṇ* (sour-SAS-NPT beer drink-IPP-1s-PCL mouth rinse.out-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT) having drunk sour beer, I rinsed my mouth out. Nep. *khakālnu* (D)
- ṭolsa** <ṭotsa> vt., II to clean, cleanse, immerse, rinse something in water (such as clothes, rice, intestines of slaughtered animals); *mesya pal-tuṇ-le, doṇ paṇku-ṇaṇ ṭol-ko māi-Ø-du* (buffalo chop-1s/TPP-PCL intestine water-inside rinse-ADH must-SAS-NPT) having slaughtered the buffalo, I must rinse its intestines in water. Nep. *pakhālnu, copālnu* (D)
- ṭolsisa** vr., to rinse oneself off (after a wash); *gāi paṇku-ye ṭol-si-ṇa-du* (I water-INS rinse-REF-1s-NPT) I am rinsing myself off. Nep. *āphai pakhālinu* (D)
- ṭoṇgo?** n., trough. Nep. *okhal* (S) [koṇ = D]

ṭopsa vt., to wash clothes by beating them on rocks; *ahe habi, ama-ko ama-ye miṇ top-Ø-u-thyo* (much before mother-GEN mother-ERG cloth wash.by.beating-SAS-3P-3sCOND) a long time ago, mother's mother would wash clothes by beating them on rocks. (D)

ṭotsa see **ṭolsa**

ṭoṭe n., chin. <Nep. *ṭoṭhī, ciūḍo* (S)

ṭoṭhok n., beak. Nep. *thutuno* (D)

ṭukusiṇ n., a species of tree, *Fraxinus floribunda*. The leaves are collected as fodder for domesticated animals and the wood is burnt as firewood or sometimes made into furniture. Bees favour the nectar of these flowers above other nectar, and even humans are known to like its taste. Nep. *lākurī* (D)

ṭuli see **ṭuṇi**

ṭuṇi <ṭuli> n., goat. Nep. *bākhro, bākhri* (D) [culi = S]

ṭupsa vt., to husk rice or millet in a mortar, cleanse; *saṇa ṭup-ko māi-Ø-du* (millet husk.in.mortar-ADH must-SAS-NPT) millet must be husked in a mortar. Nep. *phalnu* (D)

ṭupuri n., cap, hat. <Nep. *ṭopī*

ṭusa vt., to scoop out with a spoon; *paṇku tun-sa ali-ṇa-du, ṭu-sa ja-Ø-du?* (water drink-INF like-1s-NPT scoop.out-INF okay-SAS-NPT) I want to drink some water, is it okay to scoop some out? Nep. *ughāunu* (D) [ṭuṣa = S]

ṭuṭuli n., head of a sprouting mushroom or phallic shoot of plant. Nep. *ṭusā*

ṭuṭumbaraṇ n., a wooden construction build in the courtyard of the groom's house under which the wedding takes place once the bride has been brought. (D)

ṭuṣa vt., to scoop out with a spoon. Nep. *ughāunu* (S) [ṭusa = D]

ṭyampuri see **ṭyamphuri**

ṭyamphuri <ṭyampuri> n., navel, umbilical cord. Nep. *nāiṭo* (D) [cf. kispāi, kipal = S]

ṭyaṇkasuna n., a species of shrub of which the flower is used in Thangmi wedding rituals. (D)

ṭyaṇ-ṭyaṇ adj., naked. Nep. *nāngo*

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ṭhāi n., area, place, region. <Nep. *ṭhāū* (D)

ṭhansa vt., to move, transfer, change; *konṭe amiy-Ø-an, ṭhan-sa beryaṇ thah-Ø-an* (leg sleep-SAS-3S/PT move-INF that.time be-SAS-3S/PT) my leg's asleep, it's time to move it. Nep. *sārnu* (D)

- ṭhansisa** vr., to move oneself, be transferred, advance; *gǎi to-yiṇ ṭhan-si-ṇa-n* (I that-ABL move-REF-1s-PT) I moved from that place. Nep. *sarnu, sārnu* (D)
- ṭhaṇsa** vt., I to bring out a god from hiding, discover a god; *guru-ye dewa ka dese-yiṇ ṭhaṇ-Ø-u-no* (shaman-ERG god this village-ABL discover.diety-SAS-3P-3→3/PT) the shaman discovered a god in this village. Nep. *deutā uṭhāunu* (D)
- ṭhaṇsa** vt., II to lift up, pick up (blankets and clothes). Nep. *ṭhaḍyāunu* (D)
- ṭhapraṇ** n., a semi-useless field located in or near a precipitous hillside. Nep. *pākhābārī* (D)
- ṭhare** n., weeds, tufts of grass. Nep. *jhār* (D) [chyare = S]
- ṭhasa** vt., to scrape off, peel off, plane, strip, split off, sharpen a stake; *apa-ye rapa-ye seṭu ṭhah-Ø-u-no* (father-ERG axe-INS plough strip-SAS-3P-3→3/PT) father stripped the plough with an axe. Nep. *tāchnu* (D)
- ṭhati** n., waterfall. Nep. *jharanā* (D) [chyati = S]
- ṭhǎu-ṭhǎu** adj., hard, crunchy; *ka maṇǎi aṭhe ṭhǎu-ṭhǎu hok-Ø-du* (this bread very hard.and.crunchy be-SAS-NPT) this bread is really hard and crunchy. Nep. *sāhro*
- ṭheksa** vi. and vt., to be crushed, bruised, crush, bruise; *wa-ko ahum ṭhek-Ø-an* (chicken-GEN egg be.crushed-SAS-3S/PT) the chicken egg was crushed; *mama-wa-ye oste-ko ahum ṭhek-Ø-u-no* (FEM-chicken-ERG own-GEN egg crush-SAS-3P-3→3/PT) the hen crushed her own egg. Nep. *kucinu, kucyāunu* (D) [cf. ṇepsa]
- ṭhele?e** n., wooden vase or vessel, filled with beer at a Thangmi wedding. Nep. *ṭhekī* (S) [ṭhilik = D]
- ṭhemsā** vi. and vt., to be broken, break, crack; *ṇiṇ ṭhem-Ø-an* (stone be.broken-SAS-3S/PT) the stone is broken; *gǎ-ye gaṇa ṭhem-u-n-uṇ* (I-ERG mud.pot break-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT) I broke the mud pot. Nep. *phuṭnu, phuṭāunu* (D) [chyemsa = S]
- ṭhenṭhelek** n., a species of cricket which makes an uninterrupted sound with its hind legs. Nep. *birālī kirā* (D) [cf. cincirak, cyenchyele? = S]
- ṭheṇga** n., walking stick without handle. Nep. *laṭṭhī* (S) [ṭhuwale = D]
- ṭhesa** vt., to displace water, pour water from one place to another; *ka ahe ṭhah-Ø-an, paṇku ṭhe-ko* (this much be-SAS-3S/PT water displace-ADH) this has become a lot, let's move the water. Nep. *pānī sārnu* (D)
- ṭhe?esa** vt., to break. Nep. *bhācnu* (S) [torsa = D]
- ṭhi** n., fodder, weeds. Nep. *ghās* (D)
- ṭhiksa** vi. and vt., to be broken apart, be torn, cut into two parts, pluck, break, break off, break apart; *sakpa ṭhik-Ø-an* (rope be.broken.apart-SAS-3S/PT) the rope broke in two; *tete-ye syamphuri ṭhik-Ø-u-no* (elder.sister-ERG hair.thread tear.apart-SAS-3P-3→3/PT) elder sister broke the hair thread in two. Nep. *cūḍinu, cūḍnu, chināunu* (D) [ṭhi?isa = S]

- ṭhilik** n., wooden vase or vessel, filled with beer for a Thangmi wedding. ?<Nep. *ṭhekī* (D) [ṭeleʔe = S]
- ṭhiṅgya** adj., upright, standing, standing straight; *mi ṭhiṅgya theṅ-Ø-du* (person straight stand-up-SAS-NPT) the person is standing up straight. Nep. *ṭhāḍo* (D)
- ṭhiṅsa** vi., to stand erect, become hard. Nep. *ṭhāḍinu* (S) [theṅsa = D]
- ṭhiʔisa** vi. and vt., to be broken apart, be torn, cut into two parts, break apart. Nep. *cāḍinu* (S) [ṭhiksa = D]
- ṭhoiṭhoisa** vi., to cough; *hani ṭhoiṭhoi-Ø-du, to huca* (how cough-SAS-NPT that child) my, how that child coughs. Nep. *khoknu* (D) [khoĩkhoĩsa = S]
- ṭhoka** n., large bracelet, usually silver, worn only by women. Nep. *curā*
- ṭhone** n., old man, husband. Nep. *buḍho* (D) [chyone = S]
- ṭhone bajya** n., great-grandfather. <Nep. *jijyu-bāje* (D) [chyone bajya = S]
- ṭhone chuku** n., husband's mother's father, husband's father's father, wife's mother's father, wife's father's father. Nep. *buḍho sasurā* (D) [chyoni chuku = S]
- ṭhoṇi** n., old woman, wife. Nep. *buḍhī* (D) [chyoni = S]
- ṭhoṇi aji** n., husband's mother's mother, husband's father's mother, wife's mother's mother, wife's father's mother. Nep. *buḍhī sāsu* (D) [chyoni aji = S]
- ṭhoṇi bojyāi** n., great-grandmother. <Nep. *jijyu-bojyu* (D) [chyoni bujyu = S]
- ṭhorok** see **roṭhok**
- ṭhosa** n., I plant shoots. ?<Nep. *ṭusā* (D) [ancame = S]
- ṭhosa** vt., II to send, send away; *gǎ-ye ca ṭisen-sa-kǎi ṭhoh-Ø-u-n-uṅ* (I-ERG son learn-INF-PM send-SAS-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT) I sent my son away to study. Nep. *paṭhāunu* (D) [picincha = S]
- ṭhu** n., small tightly-woven bamboo basket for storing grain. Nep. *ḍālo* (D)
- ṭhumsa** vt., to bury (a dead person or thing), bury something to hide it; *mi si-ṇa libi, ṭhum-ko mǎi-Ø-du* (person die-CNS after bury-ADH must-SAS-NPT) when a person has died, you must bury them. Nep. *gāḍnu, purnu* (D)
- ṭhutcha** vt., to roll, wrap up. Nep. *bernu* (S)
- ṭhuwale** n., walking stick. Nep. *laṭṭhī* (D) [ṭheṅga = S]
- ṭhyoksa** vi. and vt., to become blunt, bump against, blunt, make blunt; *seṭu ṭhyok-Ø-an* (plough become.blunt-SAS-3S/PT) the plough has become blunt. Nep. *kāḍinu, ṭhokinu* (D)

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- ubo** adj., white. Nep. *seto* (D) [obo = S]

- ubhoṅkhaṭi** n., a species of plant. The leaves are collected as fodder for domesticated animals. When beaten and strained through water, the leaves can help cure a fever, although their flavour is very bitter. Nep. *gāṭihāre phul* (D)
- ucya** adj., small. Nep. *sānu* (D) [ocyana = S]
- ucya aji** n., husband's father's younger brother's wife, wife's father's younger brother's wife. Nep. *kāncḥī sāsu* (D)
- ucya chuku** n., husband's father's younger brother, wife's father's younger brother. Nep. *kāncḥā sasurā* (D)
- ucya ḍamari** n., younger sister's husband's younger brother. Nep. *sāno juvāṭ* (D)
- ucya jarphu** n., elder sister's husband's younger brother. Nep. *kāncḥā bhinājyu* (D)
- ucya omla** n., little finger, pinkie. <Nep. *kāncī aṭlā* (D) [kanci la? ~ kanci cikuri = S]
- ucyaca** adj., very small. Nep. *dherai sānu* (D) [ocyana = S]
- ucyama** n., father's younger brother's wife. Nep. *kāncī āmā, kākī* (D) [macyu ~ kancama = S]
- ucyapa** n., father's younger brother. Nep. *kāncā buvā, kākā* (D) [pacyu ~ kancā?apa = S]
- uchi** n., star. Nep. *tārā*
- uchiga** adj., short. Nep. *choṭo* (S) [uchika = D]
- uchika** adj., short. Nep. *choṭo* (D) [uchiga = S]
- uchinca** adj. and adv., less. Nep. *alikaṭi* (D) [uchini = S]
- uchincāi** adj. and adv., a little, very little. Nep. *thorai, alikaṭi* (D) [uchini = S]
- uchincāi thasa** vi., to decrease, become less; *habi gāi-go pepelek ahe hok-Ø-thyo, naleṅ uchincāi thah-Ø-an* (before I-GEN money much be-SAS-3sCOND present very.little be-SAS-3S/PT) I used to have a lot of money, but now it has become less. Nep. *ghaṭī hunu, thorai hunu* (D) [uchini thasa = S]
- uchini** adv., very little. Nep. *thorai* (S) [uchinca = D]
- uchini thasa** vi., to decrease, become less. Nep. *ghaṭī hunu, thorai hunu* (S) [uchincāi thasa = D]
- uchinica** <ochinca> adv., a little. Nep. *alikaṭi* (S) [uchinca = D]
- uchu** n., mulberry, *Morus laevigata*. Nep. *kimbu* (S) [ṭikupaṅ = D]
- uchyi?sa** vt., to point out. Nep. *dekhāunu* (S) [cikhetsa = D]
- udeṅpala** n., snail. Nep. *ciple kirā* (D)
- udhaṅga** adj., open, uncovered, exposed. ?<Nep. *ughāro* (D)
- ugo** n., mouth. Nep. *mukh* (D) [ogo = S]
- ukhiṅsa** vi., to be twilight or dusk. Nep. *jusmus hunu* (S) [cf. ukhiṅsa = D]

- ukkar** n., wild cush-cush, yam, *Dioscorea deltoidea*. The bitter-tasting bulb is edible when peeled and boiled, as is the fruit which grows on the creeper. Nep. *ban-ko bhyākur* [cf. *cile I*, *rani ukkar* = D]
- ukhiṇ** adj. and adv., dark. Nep. *ādhyaṛo* (D)
- ukhiṇsa** vi., to get dark; *uni nip-Ø-an*, *ukhiṇ-Ø-an*, *naleṇ cawa-sa naṇ ma-ja* (sun set-SAS-3S/PT become.dark-SAS-3S/PT present walk-INF you NEG-okay) the sun has set and it's become dark, you shouldn't walk now. Nep. *ādhyaṛo hunu, rāt parnu* (D) [cf. *ukiṇsa* = S]
- ulam** n., path, way, road, throughfare. Nep. *bāṭo*
- ulam ban** n. neol., flashlight, torch (lit. road friend). (S)
- ulam malongyaṇan** phrase, I went the wrong way. Nep. *bāṭo bhulē* (S)
- ulaṇ** n., lower leg, from the knee to the foot. Nep. *pāsulā*
- ulica** adv., a little, some; *gāi thaṇmi kham ulica cijyaṇ-ṇa-du* (I Thangmi language a.little speak-1S-NPT) I speak a little Thangmi. Nep. *ali ali* (D)
- ulisa** vt., to wash, bathe, bath someone; *ca-ko ugo kiji thum-Ø-an*, *gā-ye ulih-u-n-du* (son-GEN mouth black be.stained-SAS-3S/PT I-ERG wash-3P-1S→3-NPT) son's face is stained black, I'll wash him. Nep. *nuhāunu*
- ulisisa** vr., to wash, bathe, bath self; *jet dum-Ø-an*, *naleṇ uli-si-ko* (work be.finished-SAS-3S/PT present wash-REF-ADH) work's finished, let's wash. Nep. *āphai nuhāunu*
- ulum** n., I a hornet with a black body and a red head. Nep. *ariṇāl* (D)
- ulum** n., II the upper part of a grinding stone, hand pestle. Nep. *lohorō* (D)
- um** n., lid, top of bottle. <Nep. *birko* (S)
- uma** n., wife, girlfriend. Nep. *srimati*, *svāsnī*, *keṭī-sāthī*
- umak** n., guava, *Psidium guajava*. An archaic term, rarely used in vernacular Thangmi. The fruit, which ripens between the months of *bhadau* and *manisir*, can be eaten raw. The trunk of the tree is burnt for firewood. The tree bark is collected, pounded into dust, added to hot water and then drunk as medicine against dysentery with blood in the stool. Nep. *ambā* (D)
- umansa** vt., to cook, prepare food, boil rice or millet paste; *saṇa-ko isa uman-sa ma-ali* (millet-GEN food cook-INF NEG-like) I don't like to cook millet paste. Nep. *pakāunu*, *khānā banāunu*
- uni** n., day, sun, sunshine. Nep. *ghām*, *din*
- uni bosa** vi., to rise (of the sun). Nep. *ghām jhulkinu* (S) [uni tosa = D]
- uni cyaṭaṇsisa** vr., to warm oneself in the sun. Nep. *ghām tāpnu* (D)
- uni nipsa** vi., to set (of the sun). Nep. *ghām astāunu* (D) [uni ṇisa = S]
- uni ṇisa** vi., to set (of the sun). Nep. *ghām astāunu* (S) [uni nipsa = D]
- uni tosa** vi., to rise (of the sun). Nep. *ghām jhulkinu* (D) [uni bosa = S]

- uniṇ** adv., in this manner, in this way, like, than. Nep. *yasarī, jasto* (D) [iniṇ ~ waniṇ = S]
- unise** adv. and n., daytime, any time after the morning meal and before the evening meal. Nep. *diūso*
- uni-uni** adv., day by day, every day. Nep. *din kā din* (S)
- uṇ** n., silver. Nep. *cāḍī* (D) [cf. luṇ]
- upan** n., small woven bag used to carry ground flour. Nep. *thailo* (S) [cf. minca, menca = D]
- uphlatcha** vt., to turn earth over, rout up. Nep. *udhinnu* (S) [kuthersa = D]
- uritcha** vi., to follow, pursue. Nep. *pachyāunu* (S) [libisa = D]
- urousa** vt., to call, cry for help; *mi ros-Ø-ta-le urouh-Ø-u-no* (person fall.from.height-sas-IPP-PCL call-sas-3P-3→3/PT) having fallen down, the man called for help. Nep. *bolāunu, guhārnu* (D) [cf. agyosa II]
- uru** n., elbow. Nep. *kuhinā*
- usi** n., urine, pee. Nep. *pisāb*
- usi tasa** vt., to piss, urinate (lit. urine release-INF); *toṇ ahe tun-ṇa-n, naleṇ usi ta-sa-kāi priṇ ya-ṇa-du* (beer much drink-1s-NPT present urine remove-INF-PM outside go-1s-NPT) I've drunk a lot of beer, now I'll go outside for a pee. Nep. *pisāb phernu* (D) [usi taʔsa = S]
- usi taʔsa** vt., to piss, urinate. Nep. *pisāb phernu* (S) [usi tasa = D]
- uskol** n., marking nut, *Semecarpus anacardium*. The leaves are collected as fodder for domesticated animals and the trunk is burnt as firewood. Its primary use is in the purification ritual for a new house or settlement, during which the officiating shaman prepares seven stakes of this wood, placing one in each corner of the house, one by the door, one in the courtyard and one at the nearest fork in the road. These stakes are believed to keep the ghosts and evil spirits at bay. Furthermore, when the milk of cows or buffaloes has turned or is no longer tasty, milch animals are thought to be possessed. The seeds of the marking nut are added to the milk to restore its taste, since they force the departure of the possessing spirits. Livestock possession can also be counteracted by burning the seeds as incense, since the smoke is believed to chase spirits away. Should the resin of the tree come into contact with the human body, a strong allergic reaction occurs which burns the skin. This swelling and the associated pain can be reduced by applying goat milk. Nep. *bhalāyo* (D) [oskol = S]
- usrusa** vt., to squeeze in, enter in by force. Nep. *ghusrinu* (S) [usulsa = D]
- usruʔsa** vt., to push through. Nep. *ghusārnu* (S)
- ustok** n., spit, spittle, sputum, saliva. Nep. *thuka* (D) [ostoʔ = S]

- ustoksa** vt., to spit, hawk up; *kiji asku lek-tuŋ-le, ustok-u-n-uŋ* (black smoke swallow-1s/TPP-PCL spit-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT) having breathed in black smoke, I spat. Nep. *thuknu, khakār thuknu* (D) [osto?osa = S]
- usul** n., splinter of wood. Nep. *chaḍke* (D)
- usulsa** vi., to enter (of a splinter), squeeze in, enter by force. Nep. *coiṭo pasnu, ghusrinu* (D) [usrusa = S]
- usupsa** vt., to rub, stroke (in order to calm down); *huca ariy-Ø-an, gǎ-ye usup-ko mǎi-Ø-du* (child be.afraid-sAS-3S/PT I-ERG stroke-ADH must-sAS-NPT) the child is afraid, I should stroke him to calm him down. Nep. *sumsumyāunu* (D)
- usya** n., dance. Nep. *nāc*
- usyasa** vi., to dance; *uma nama gǎi usya-sa ali-ŋa-du* (wife with I dance-INF like-1s-NPT) I like dancing with my wife. Nep. *nācnu*
- uthirsa** vt., to wave a smoking stick around in order to encourage it to take light; *ukhiŋ-te ari-ŋa-du, catok uthir-u-n-du* (dark-LOC be.afraid-1s-NPT wooden.torch wave.around.to.make.burn-3P-1s→3-NPT) I become afraid in the dark, so I will make the torch come alight by waving it around. (D)
- uthir-uthir** adv., agitating a dying fire to make it catch light again. (D)
- uḥhibal** n., trap, snare (for catching deer and jackals). Nep. *darjan, dharāp* (D)
- uyu** n., mouse. Nep. *muso*
- uyuame?** n., bat. Nep. *camero* (S) [amek = D]
- uyupul** n., mouse trap. Nep. *jyābilo, dharāp*

ui

- uireŋ** n., mugwort, *Artemisia vulgaris*. The leaves are collected and burnt as incense. They are also an essential component of Thangmi rituals, particularly to purify ritual space and the human body. If a Thangmi individual becomes ritually polluted by drinking someone else's beer, then consuming a few fresh leaves of mugwort will help to restore ritual purity. Thangmi shamans may eat mugwort leaves to purify themselves before major rituals. When eaten or rubbed on the body, the leaves are believed to protect against allergic reactions on the skin. The leaves also function as a pesticide when beaten and mixed with water and applied to wooden furniture or household structures infested with termites or other wood-eating insects. The same infusion works as a pesticide when poured onto the freshly sown or early sprouting wheat seedlings. Nep. *titepāṭī* (D)

W

wa n., chicken, hen. Nep. *kukhurā*

waca n., chick (lit. chicken-DIM). Nep. *callā*

wacareṇ n., a species of plant. The sticky resin which is released when the fruit is broken in two is used as an adhesive to bind things together. The flower is used during the Thangmi *bhume pujā*, at which time it is placed on top of the wheat flour effigy which dominates the ritual. Nep. *callāphul*, *ban kerā-ko phul* (D)

wagal n., henhouse. Nep. *khōr* (D) [gaṅkhal = S]

wagare n., dawn (lit. hen-rooster). Nep. *rimrim uḡyālo* (S)

wako kli n., chicken shit. Nep. *suli* [cf. penṭe]

wakhe n., story, chat, words; *nī-ye wakhe loṅ-ko* (we-ERG word do-ADH) let's chat. Nep. *kurā*, *gaph* [cf. kham]

wakhe baṇi n. neol., radio (lit. word box). (S)

wala n., large leaf. Nep. *ṭhūlo pāt* (D) [cf. aja]

walṇa num., five. Nep. *pāc* (D) [whalṇa = S]

wancha vt., to bring up. Nep. *tala-bāṭa lyāunu* (S) [wansa = D]

waniṇ adv., as in, like. Nep. *jasto* (S) [uniṇ = D]

wansa vt., to bring up; *tete-ye soṅ-yiṇ paṅku wan-Ø-u-no* (elder.sister-ERG river-ABL water bring.from.below-sAS-3P-3→3/PT) elder sister brought water up from the river. Nep. *tala-bāṭa lyāunu* (D) [wancha = S]

waṅsa vi., to come up, come from below; *su waṅ-Ø-an, gāi ma-nih-u-n-uṅ?* (who come.from.below-sAS-3S/PT I NEG-see-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT) who came up? I didn't get to see. Nep. *tala-bāṭa āunu*

warāisa vi., to shiver; *ṭila ṭhāi-te hok-ta-ṇa-le, warāi-ṇa-n* (cold place-LOC be-IPP-1s-PCL shiver-1s-PT) sitting in a cold place I shivered. Nep. *kāmnū*

warak n., precipice, steep slope; *warak koṇoṅ-siy-Ø-an* (precipice echo-REF-sAS-3S/PT) the cliff echoed. Nep. *bhīr* (D) [wara? = S]

wara? n., precipice, steep slope. Nep. *bhīr* (S) [warak = D]

warewasan n., fruit(s). Nep. *phalphul* (S)

wari n., younger brother's wife, son's wife, father's younger brother's son's wife, sister's son's wife. Nep. (*bhānṭi*) *buhārī* (D) [cf. huwari, bini wari ~ ca wari = S]

warsa vt., to throw, throw away; *thaṇna miṇ gā-ye war-u-n-uṅ* (old cloth I-ERG throw.away-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT) I threw my old clothes away. Nep. *phālnu* [cf. cisa]

warsisa vr., to jump on. Nep. *hāmphālnu* (S) [cf. cuksisa = D]

was n., bee. Nep. *maurī* (D) [wat = S]

- was nem** n., beehive. Nep. *khopā, maurī ghār* (D)
- wasā** vi., I to blow (of wind); *miryaṇ jekha phasa wah-Ø-an pole ṭiṭiṇ-Ø-an* (yesterday big wind blow-sAS-3S/PT tree fall.from.level-sAS-3S/PT) yesterday a big wind blew and the tree fell down. Nep. *calnu* (D)
- wasā** vt., II to plough; *baṭhe wah-u-n-du thaṇun* (tomorrow plough-3P-1s→3-NPT maybe) perhaps I will plough tomorrow. Nep. *jotnu* (D) [waʔasa = S]
- wat** n., bee. Nep. *maurī* (S) [was = D]
- waʔasa** vt., to plough. Nep. *jotnu* (S) [wasā = D]
- whali** <hwali> num., four. Nep. *cār* (S) [oli = D]
- whalṇa** num., five. Nep. *pāc* (S) [walṇa = D]
- woi** adv., also. Nep. *pani* (D) [li I = S]
- woile** adv., folding together of two palms; *woile makāi piy-o!* (hands.together maize give-s→3/IMP) give the maize with your hands together! Nep. *aṇjuli* (D)

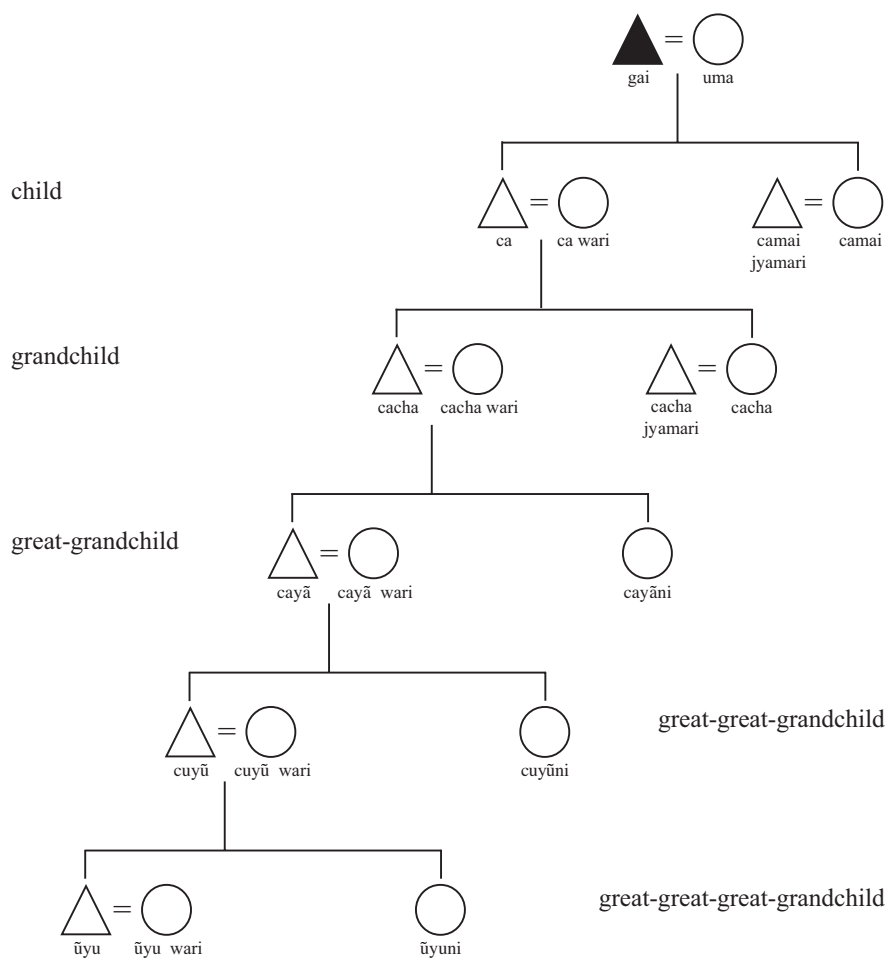
y

- yacyasa** vt., to go to eat; *jet dum-Ø-an ja-cyo-ko!* (work be.finished-sAS-3S/PT go-eat-ADH) the work's finished, let's go eat! Nep. *khāna jānu* (D)
- yak** n., [ritual language] giant taro, *Alocasia indicum*; co-co yam, *Colocasia esculenta*, this term is only used during the Thangmi death ritual Nep. *piṇḍālu* (D) [yaʔ = S]
- yaku** n., the side of the body up to the armpit, flank. Nep. *kokhā* (D)
- yakhoʔ** n., armpit. Nep. *kākhī* (S)
- yaletsā** vi., to arrive (lit. go-appear-INF), *ulam ālāmga hok-Ø-thyo, ni nalen ya-let-i-n* (road long be-sAS-3sCOND we go-appear-1pPS-PT) the road was long, but now we have arrived. Nep. *gaipugnu, āipugnu* (D) [hyaletcha = S]
- yaloṇsa** vt., to go and do; *gāi jet ya-loṇ-u-n-du* (I work go-do-3P-1s→3-NPT) I am off to work. Nep. *garna jānu* (D)
- yambak** n., the stone on which flat breads are roasted or baked. Nep. *tāī, tayā* (D)
- yamiryaṇ** adv., nowadays, these days. Nep. *ājkāl, ājabholī* (D) [yaṇmeryaṇ = S]
- yanatasa** vt., to deliver; *nunu jekhapa-ko-te yanatah-u-n-du* (milk father's.elder.brother-GEN-LOC deliver-3P-1sK3-NPT) I'm off to deliver some milk to my paternal uncle. Nep. *puryāunu* (D) [hyanataʔasa = S]
- yante** n., circular hand-driven millstone, grindstone, quern. Nep. *jāto*
- yante siri** n., a female Thangmi clan name attested in the village of Suspā.
- yaṇ** adv., today. Nep. *āja* (D) [igyaṇ = S]
- yaṇmeryaṇ** adv., nowadays, these days. Nep. *ājkāl, ājabholī* (S) [yamiryaṇ = D]

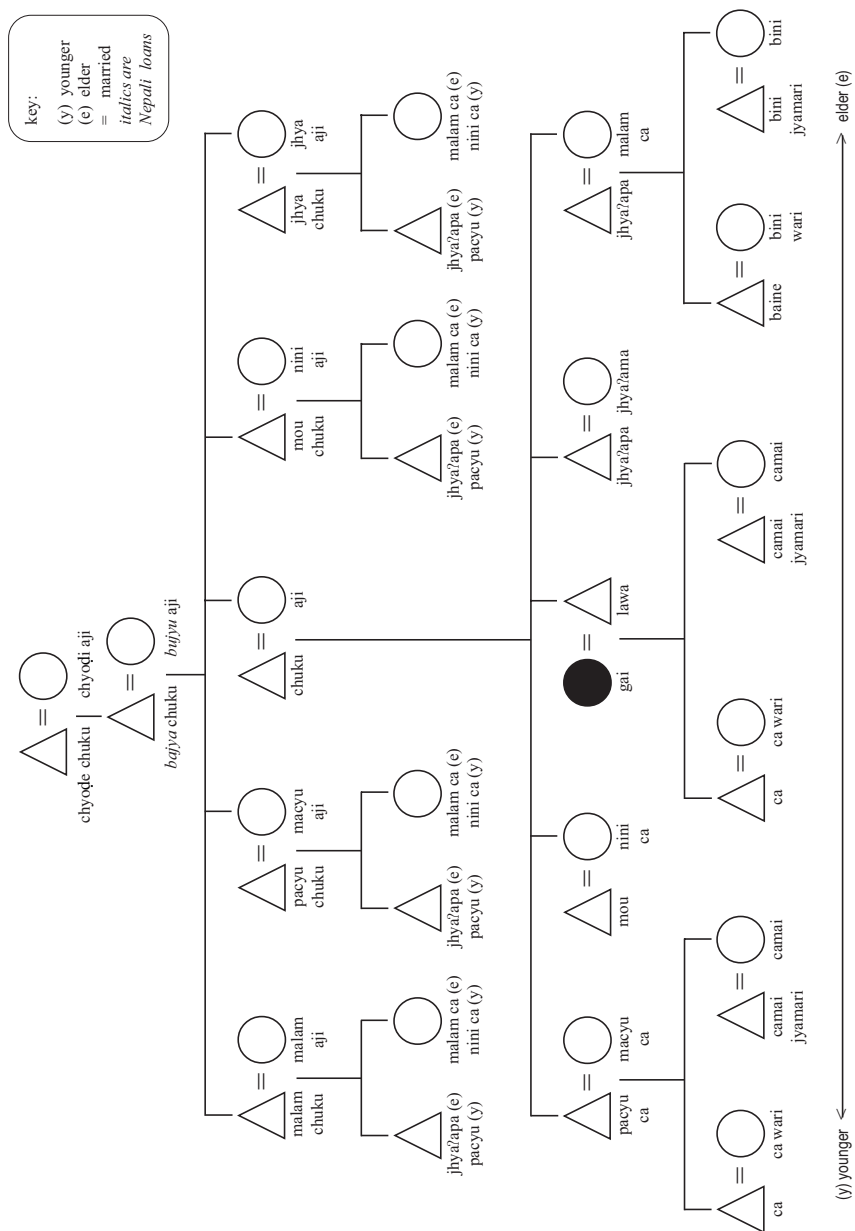
- yaṇesa** vt., to go and beat; *naṇ jakcho ya-ṇeh-u-na-du?* (you wheat go-beat-3P-2S-NPT) are you off to thresh the wheat? Nep. *kuṇa jānu* (D)
- yasa** vt., to feed, give food; *makar-kāi sola ya-sa ma-ja* (monkey-PM snack feed-INF NEG-okay) you shouldn't feed snacks to the monkey. Nep. *khuvāunu* (D) [yaṇasa = S]
- yasisa** vr., I to do, speak, tell. Nep. *garṇu, bhannu* (S)
- yasisa** vr., II to go and die, go to die; *ama-ko ama ṭhoṇi tha-Ø-ta-le, ya-sih-Ø-an* (mother-GEN mother old.woman be-SAS-IPP-PCL go-die-SAS-3S/PT) being so old, my grandmother went off to die. Nep. *marnu jānu* (D)
- yatorsa** vt., to go to break something; *to huca kuta yah-Ø-an? makāi ya-tor-Ø-u-du?* (that child where go-SAS-3S/PT maize go-break-SAS-3P-NPT) where has that child gone? Is he off breaking corn? Nep. *bhācna jānu* (D)
- ya?** n., giant taro, *Alocasia indicum*; co-co yam, *Colocasia esculenta*. Nep. *piṇḍālu* (S) [phaṇgaṇeṇ ~ yak = D]
- yaṇasa** vt., to feed. Nep. *khuvāunu* (S) [yasa = D]
- yere** <ere> n., [ritual language] ball made of ground and roasted wheat, millet or rice flower, cooked in water and prepared for the deceased during the death ritual. Nep. *pānīroṭi* (D)
- yobi** adv., uphill, upward from the speaker. Nep. *ukālo, ūbho*
- yosa** vt., to look at, look around, check out, see; *hara yoh-u-na-du? su ra-Ø-du?* (what look.at-3P-2S-NPT who come.from.level-SAS-NPT) what are you looking at? Who is coming? Nep. *hernu* (D) [yoṇsa ~ jyabsa = S]
- yousa** vi., to fit into a space; *mi aphinca hok-Ø-du ṭhāi-te apraca nama youh-Ø-u-du* (person narrow be-SAS-NPT place-LOC good with fit-SAS-3P-NPT) the person is quite petite, he'll fit into the space. Nep. *aṭinu*
- yoṇsa** vt., [archaic term] to look at, see. Nep. *hernu* (S) [cf. jyabsa, yosa = D]
- yu** n., a black-mouthed, white-bodied and long-tailed white monkey. Nep. *ḍheḍu bādar* (D)
- yugulaṇasa** vt., to tickle. Nep. *kutkutyāunu* (S) [acyukuli loṇsa = D]
- yuli** n., needle. Nep. *siyo* (D) [huli = S]
- yurkunsuna** n., a species of shrub of which the flower is used in Thangmi wedding rituals. (D)
- yusa** vi., to come down (from above); *jhāri yuw-Ø-an* (rain come.from.above-SAS-3S/PT) it's raining. Nep. *māthi-bāṭa āunu* (D) [hoṇoginiṇ yusa = S]
- yu?** n., rhesus monkey, *Macaca mulata*. Nep. *bādar* (S) [makar = D]

APPENDICES

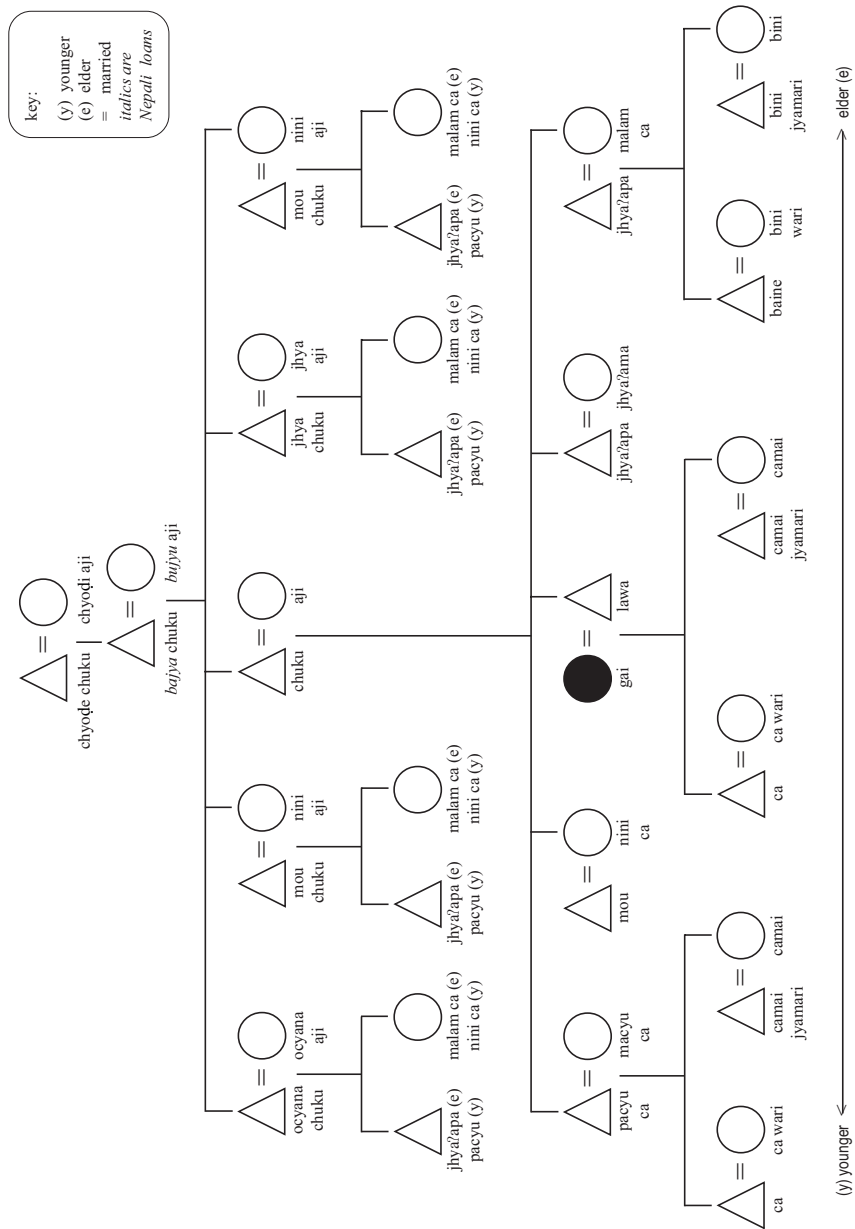
Thangmi kinship terms for offspring in Sindhupālcok



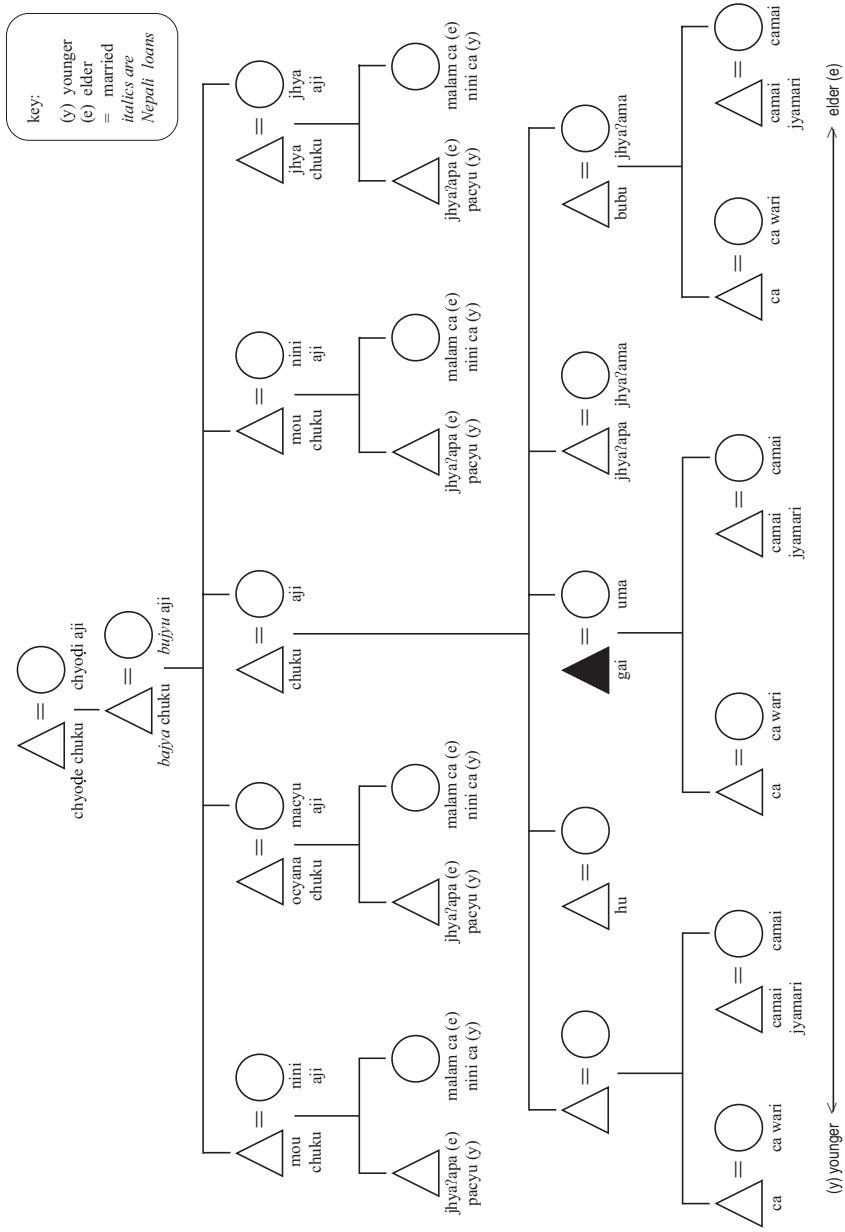
Female ego Thangmi female in-law alliance in Sindhupālcok



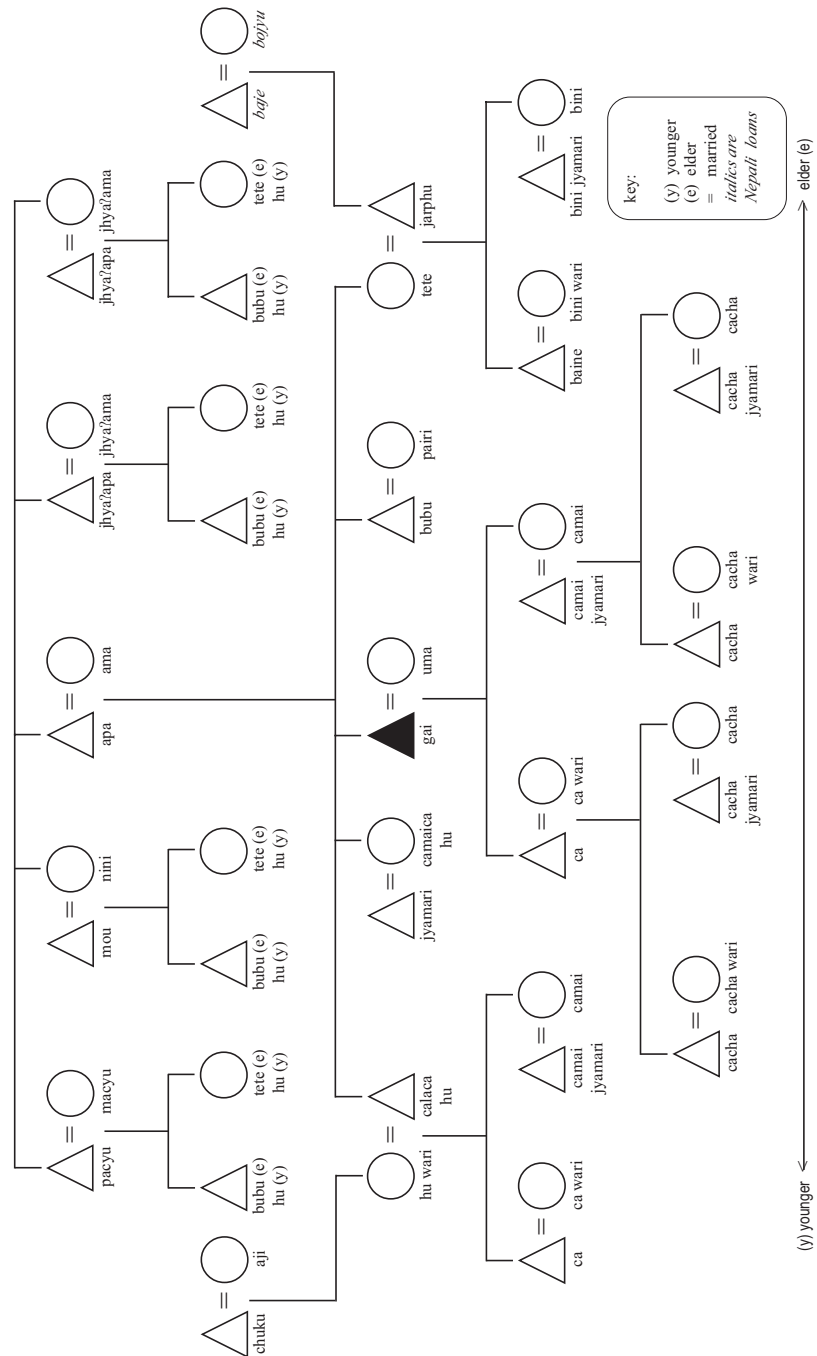
Female ego Thangmi male in-law alliance in Sindhupālcok



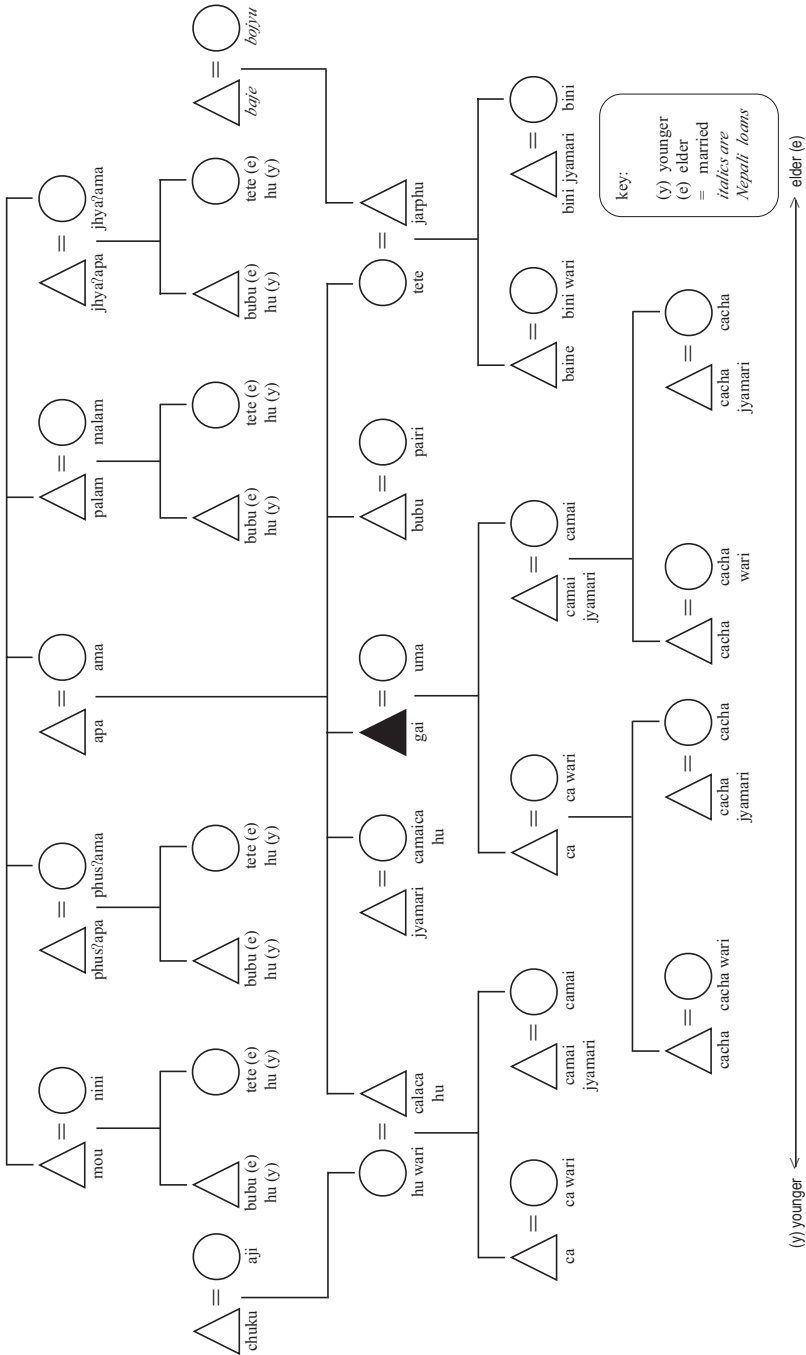
Male ego Thangmi female in-law alliance in Sindhupālcok



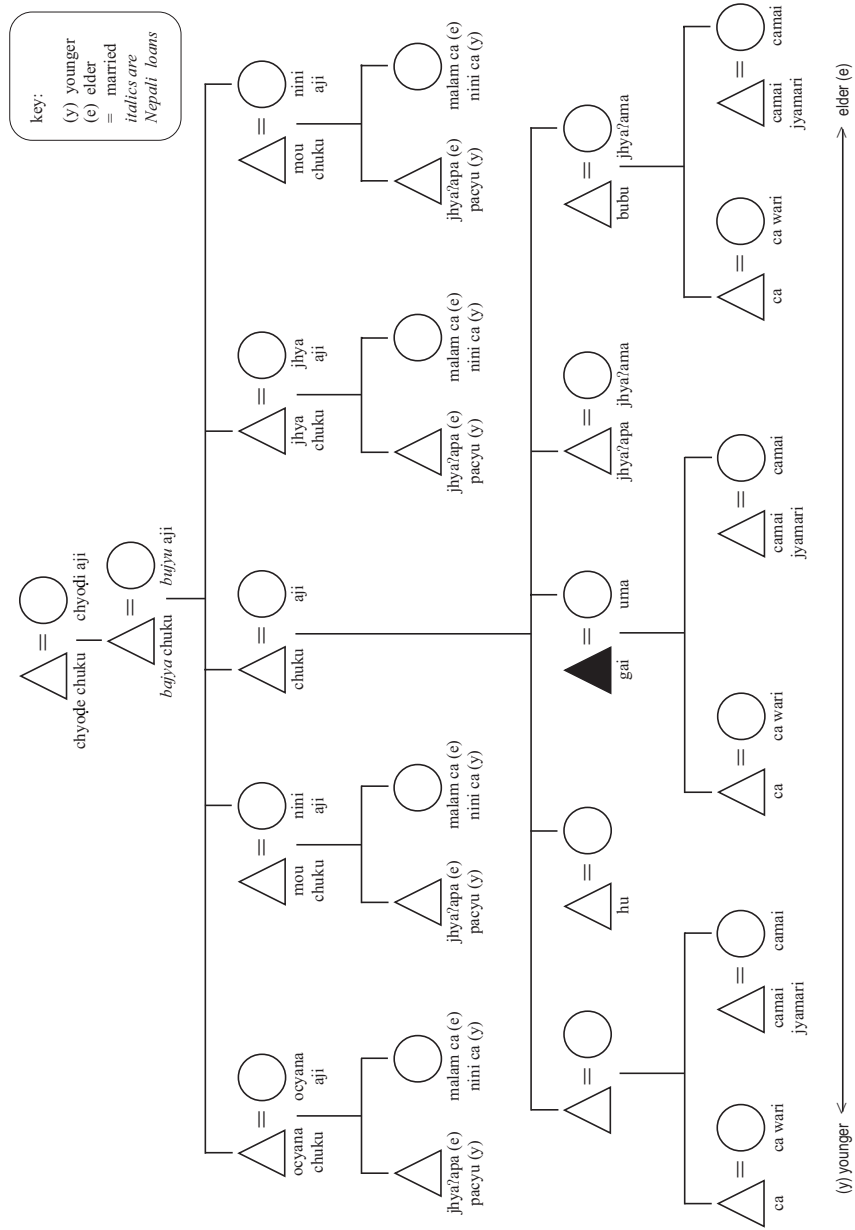
Male ego Thangmi paternal kin in Sindhupālchok



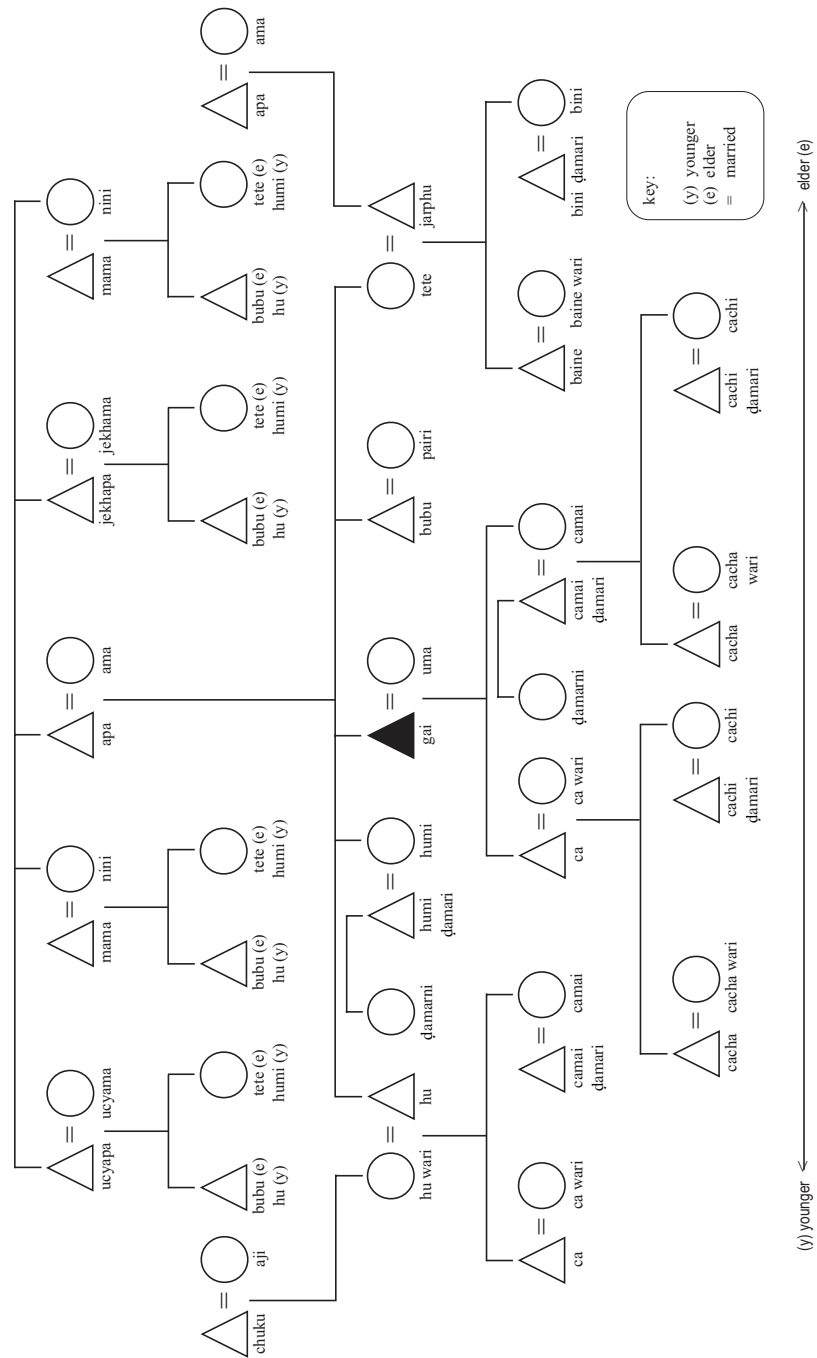
Thangmi maternal descent in Sindhpālcook



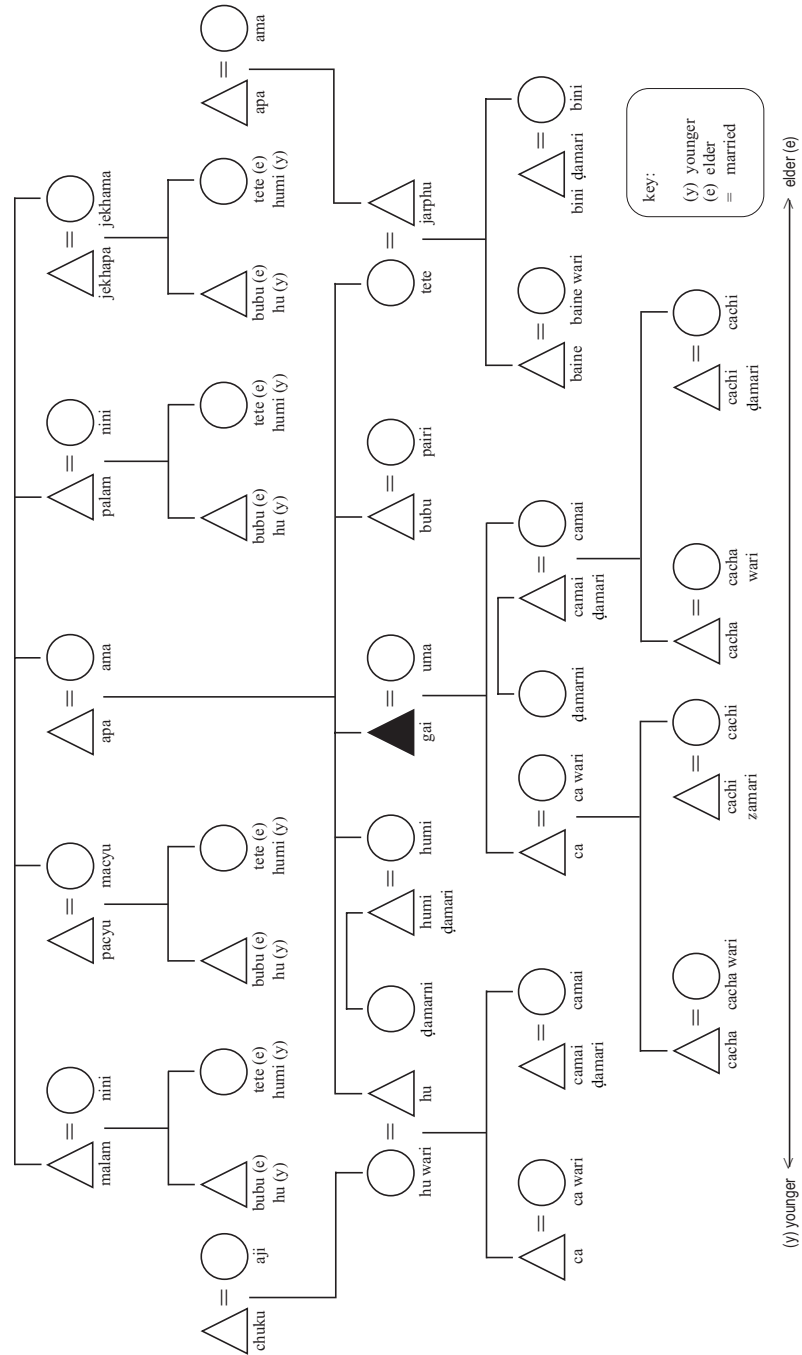
Thangmi male in-law alliance in Sindhpālcook



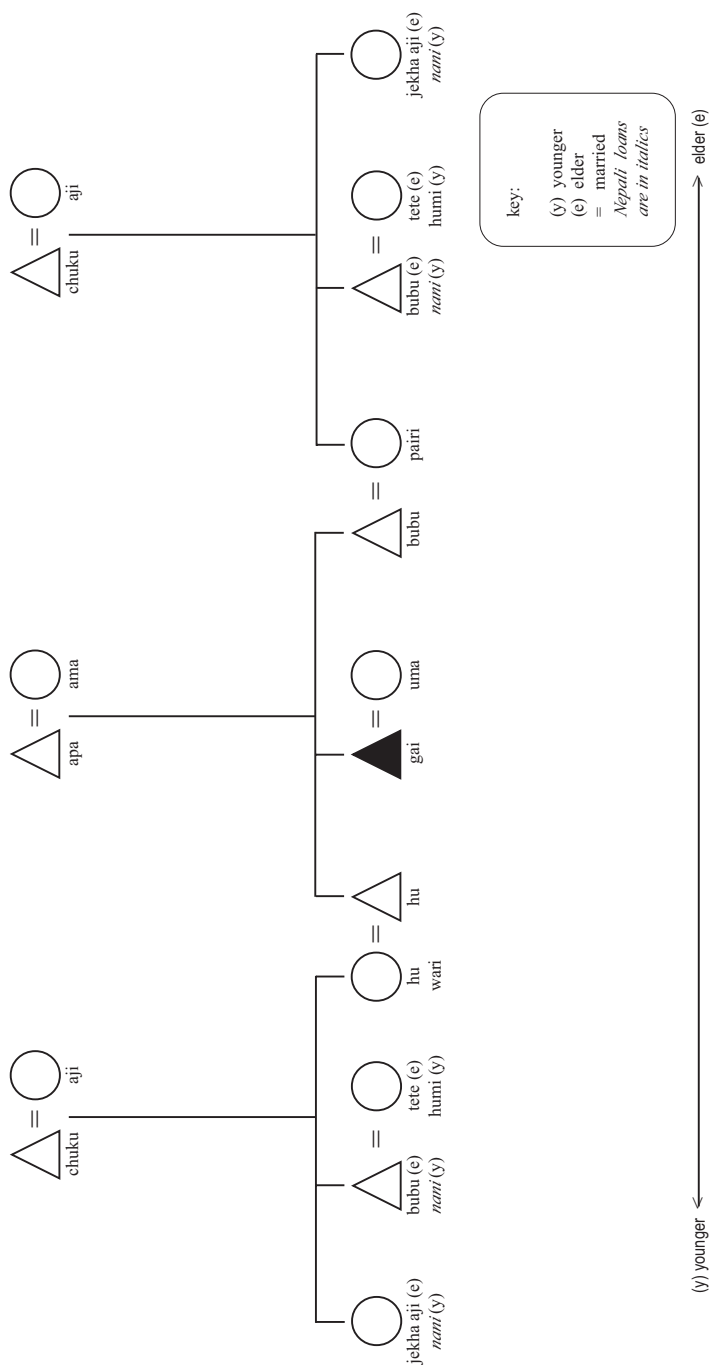
Male ego Thangmi paternal kin in Dolakhā



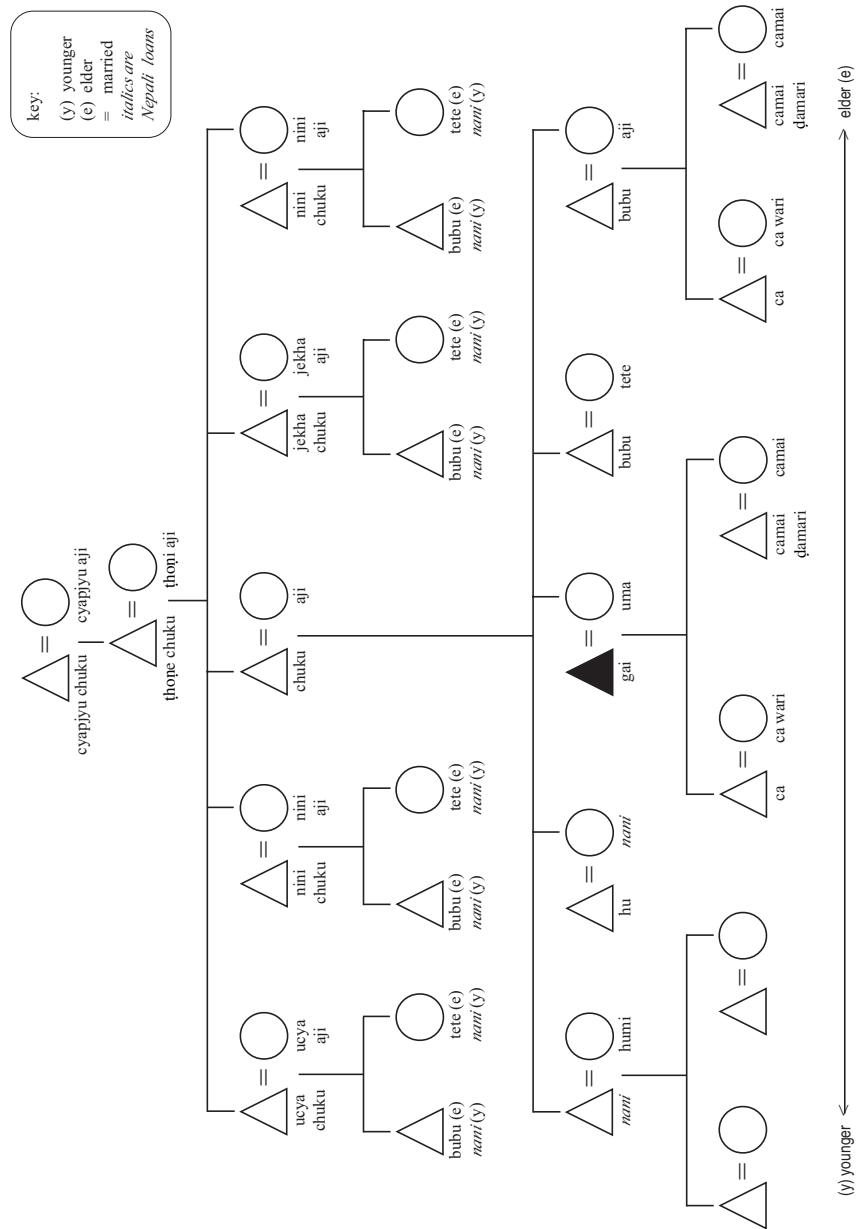
Thangmi maternal descent in Dolakhā



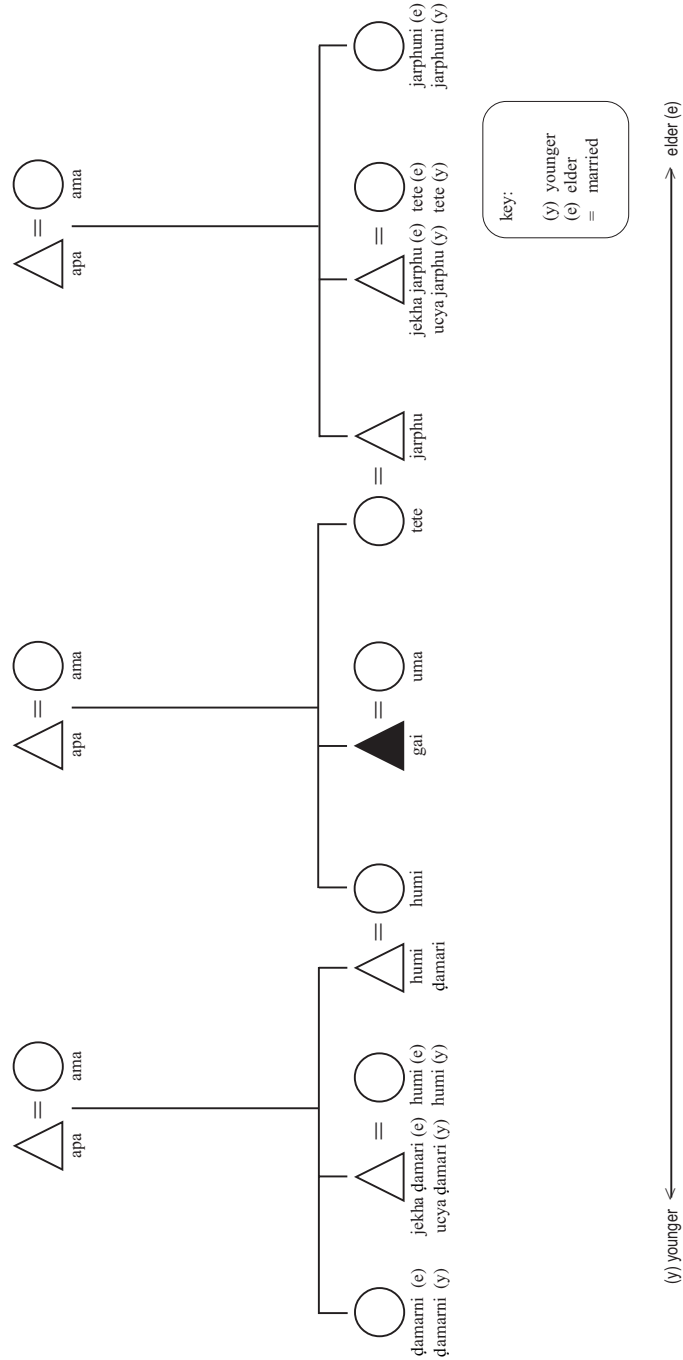
Male ego Thangmi sisters-in-law in Dolakhā



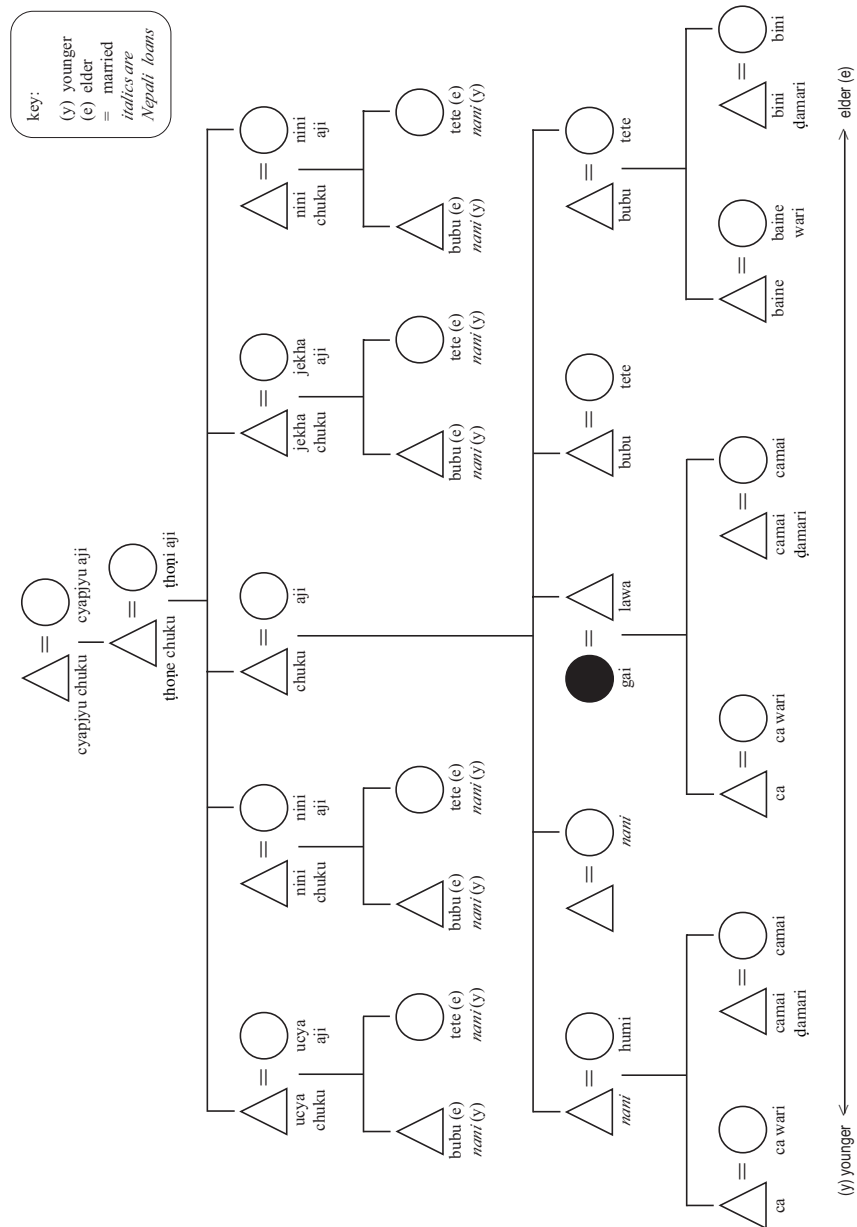
Thangmi male in-law alliance in Dolakhā



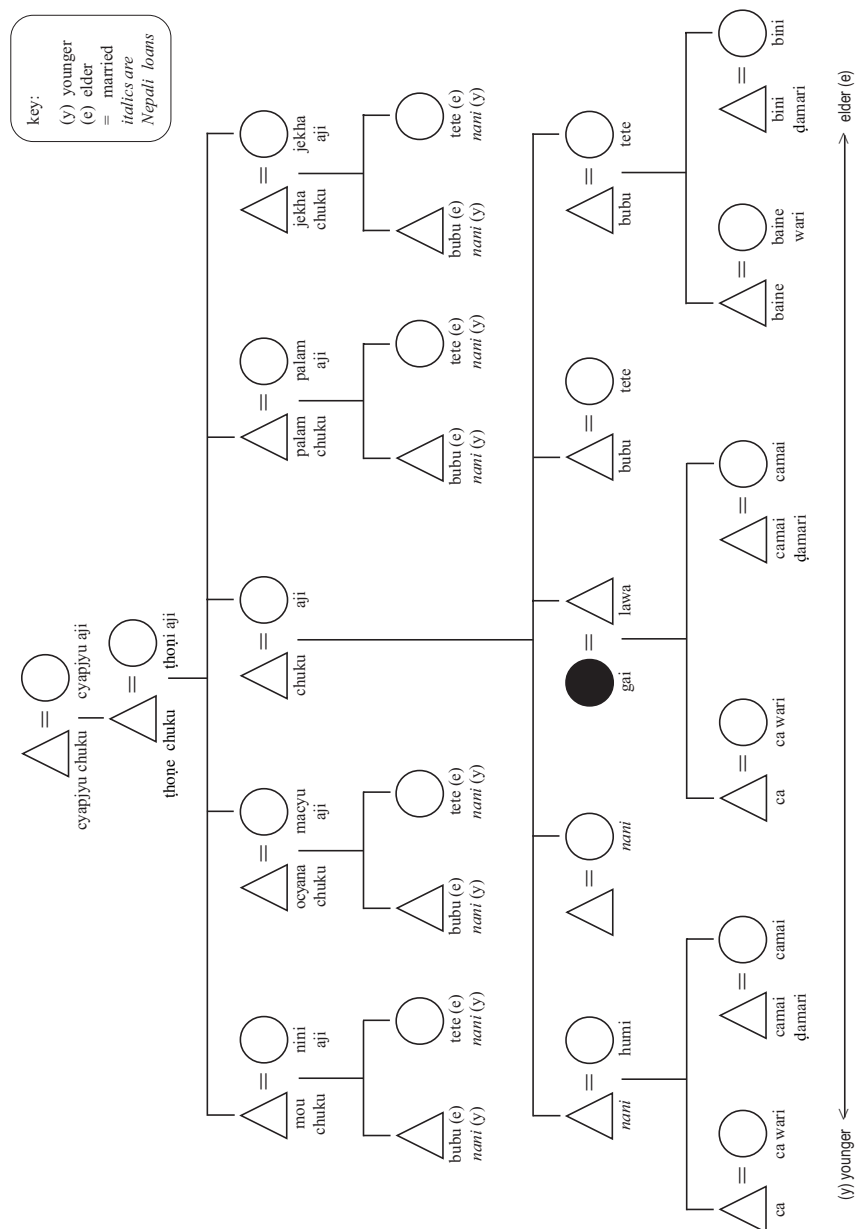
Male ego Thangmi brothers-in-law in Dolakhā



Female ego Thangmi male in-law alliance in Dolakhā



Female ego Thangmi female in-law alliance in Dolakhā



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stellingen, samenvatting en *curriculum vitae*
behorend bij het proefschrift

A Grammar of the Thangmi Language
*with an ethnolinguistic introduction
to the speakers and their culture*

van
Mark Turin

te verdedigen op
17 mei 2006

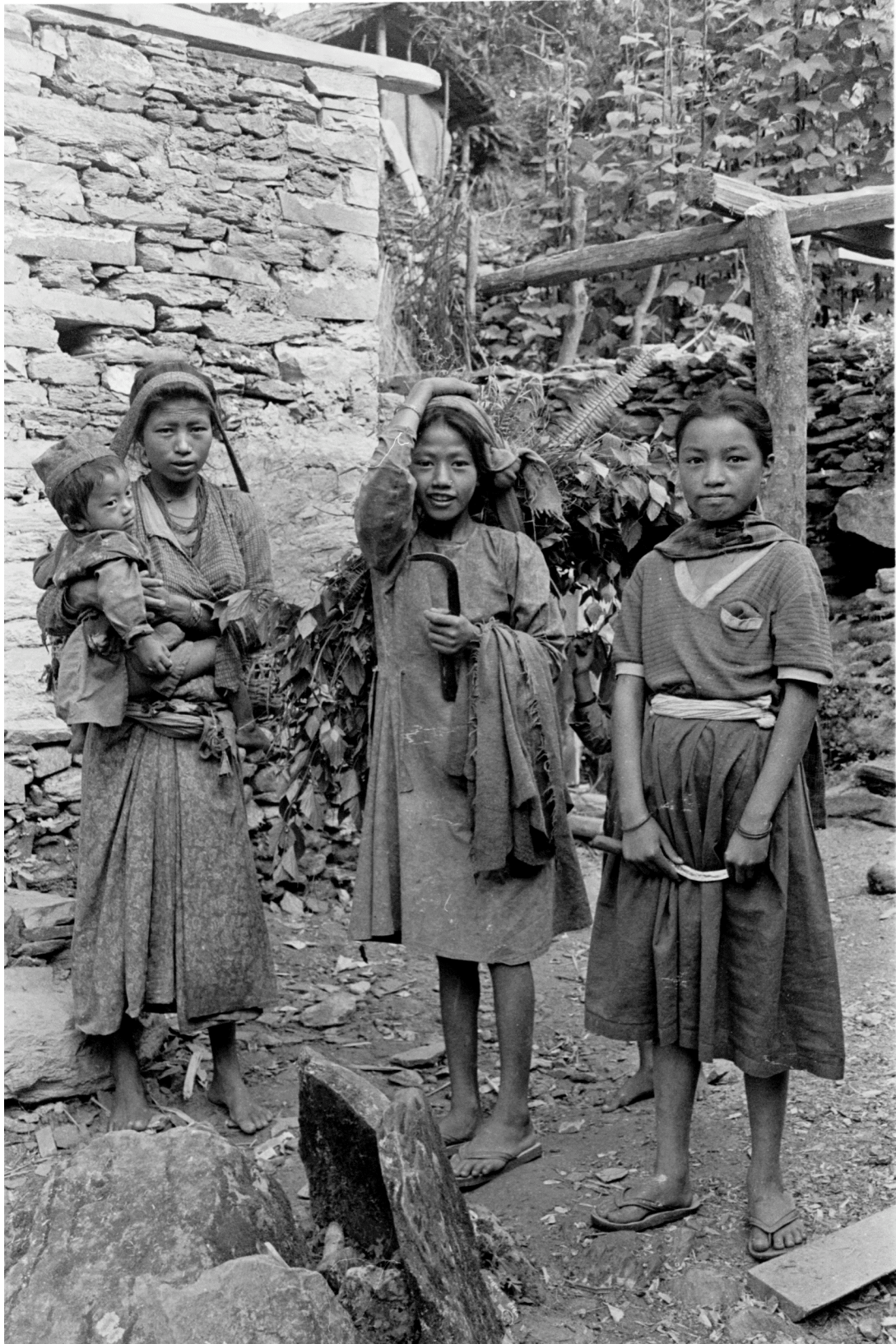


A dancing *guru* (shaman) in Dāmārañ (Dolakhā) surrounded by Thangmi villagers.

Stellingen

1. Thangmi and Barām are most likely the closest living linguistic relatives of Newar.
2. While the verbal agreement morphology of Thangmi closely resembles the proto-Kiranti model, its nominal morphology is strikingly similar to Nepali and may have been influenced by this dominant national language to which it is genetically unrelated.
3. The complexity and specificity of Thangmi kinship terminology reflect the intricate nature of Thangmi socio-cultural life and the overarching importance of an individual's relationships with his or her relatives.
4. The suggestion by Northey and Morris, two Gurkha officers, that the Thangmi are “coarse in appearance, and the inferior of the other races in social and religious matters...they do not merit further description” (1928: 260) is neither insightful nor accurate.
5. Due to the prevalence of loan words from neighbouring languages in the lexicon of many endangered languages, field linguists must learn a contact language when conducting their research in order to disambiguate one tongue from the other.
6. The term ‘dialect’, which is not in and of itself pejorative, is preferable to the bland and new-fangled term ‘variety’ which is currently more fashionable in linguistic circles.

7. In certain subfields of linguistics, the predilection for decontextualised modelling and theoretical abstraction over insights derived from fluency has resulted in practitioners who are rarely plurilingual.
8. In aim and methodology, cryptanalysis closely resembles descriptive linguistics. In both endeavours, altering the position of a single element may fundamentally change the analysis.
9. The general confidence which Dutch citizens display when speaking other languages is both admirable and its own undoing, particularly when they assume that proficiency in spoken English is equivalent to fluency in its written form.
10. Most Dutch bureaucrats interpret rules and regulations literally, assuming a citizen to be guilty until proven innocent. British bureaucrats implement the spirit rather than the letter of the law, and presume that citizens are innocent until proven otherwise. This difference of approach has far-reaching effects on the social formations of these two countries.
11. A lasting legacy of British imperial expansion into the United States and Australia is the small-minded monolingualism which its proponents and agents advanced.
12. It is difficult, without some training, to explain the grammatical rules of one's mother tongue.



Thangmi women in Cokaṭi (Sindhupālcok) on their way to the jungle.

Samenvatting

Dit proefschrift bevat een beschrijving van het Thangmi, een Tibeto-Birmaanse taal die in het oosten van het Koninkrijk Nepal gesproken wordt, voornamelijk in de districten Dolakhā en Sindhupālcok, alsook in het district Darjeeling van de Indiase deelstaat West-Bengalen. Deze grammatica beschrijft in hoofdzaak het dialect van Dolakhā. Eveneens worden belangwekkende afwijkingen besproken die het dialect van Sindhupālcok kenmerken. Hoewel de Thangmi als groep ruim veertigduizend mensen vertegenwoordigt, telt het Thangmi heden ten dage slechts zo'n twintigduizend sprekers. Het Thangmi is een Tibeto-Birmaanse taal die nauw aan het Newaars en het Barām verwant blijkt te zijn. Tezamen vormen deze talen de 'Newarische' groep. Het Thangmi is ook verwant aan de zogenaamde 'complex pronominaliserende' Kiranti talen, die samen met het Newarisch de 'Mahākirāntī' tak van de Tibeto-Birmaanse taalfamilie vormen. De Thangmi noemen zichzelf *Thangmi*. De sjamanen noemen de eigen groep echter *Thani*, terwijl de Thangmi in het Nepalees steeds *Thami* genoemd worden.

Dit boek bevat een grammaticale analyse, vijfenveertig geanalyseerde teksten met vertaling en morfeemanalyse, een Thangmi-Engels-Nepalees woordenboek en een overzicht van de verwantschapstermen van het Thangmi, afgesloten met een bibliografie. Deze taalbeschrijving is gebaseerd op veldwerk dat tussen 1997 en 2004 uitgevoerd is tijdens verschillende bezoeken aan Nepal en het district Darjeeling. De grammaticale analyse is onderverdeeld in zeven hoofdstukken. Het eerste hoofdstuk behandelt de verschillende historische classificaties van het Thangmi binnen het Tibeto-Birmaans en besteedt aandacht aan lexicale overeenkomsten tussen het Thangmi en het Newaars.

Hoofdstuk 2 biedt een kennismaking met de Thangmi en hun cultuur en bevat ook een samenvatting van eerder onderzoek naar het Thangmi. Ook worden Thangmi plaatsnamen, stammen, verwantschapstermen, mythologie en geschiedenis besproken.

Hoofdstuk 3 behandelt het foneemsysteem en de fonologie, en hoofdstuk 4 de morfofonologie. Hoofdstuk vijf behandelt de naamwoordelijke vormleer, woordklassen en afleiding. De morfologie van het Thangmi maakt veelvuldig gebruik van achtervoegsels. Het Thangmi vertoont geen grammaticaal geslacht en de nomina vertonen geen congruentie met adjectieven. Kenmerkend voor het Thangmi is de complexiteit van de werkwoordsmorfologie, die in hoofdstukken 6 en 7 behandeld wordt. Hoofdstuk 6 bevat een morfologische analyse van de simplexvormen van het werkwoord. Simplicia zijn onovergankelijke, overgankelijke en wederkerige werkwoordsvormen die congruentie met één of meer actanten vertonen en een tijdsmorfeem bevatten. Complexe werkwoordsvormen, waartoe ook de perifrastische constructies gerekend worden, imperativi en aanverwante modi vormen het onderwerp van hoofdstuk 7. In dit hoofdstuk worden de gerundia en twee onovergankelijke werkwoorden die corresponderen met het Nederlandse werkwoord 'zijn' besproken. Het Thangmi kent de syntactische volgorde SOV, net als de overige Tibeto-Birmaanse talen met uitzondering van het Chinees en het Karen.

Curriculum Vitae

Mark Turin werd op 27 oktober 1973 geboren te Londen. In 1991 legde hij het eindexamen af aan de University College School te Londen. Hij vertrok daarna naar Nepal, waar hij een jaar lang in Mustang als vrijwilliger Engelse les gaf. Tussen 1992 en 1995 studeerde hij antropologie en archeologie aan de universiteit van Cambridge, waar hij in 1995 zijn bachelors graad in de sociale antropologie behaalde met de onderscheiding *First Class Honours*. Reeds tijdens zijn studie verichtte hij antropologisch veldwerk in Nepal.

Van september 1996 tot september 2001 was hij binnen de toenmalige vakgroep Vergelijkende Taalwetenschappen aan de Universiteit Leiden werkzaam bij het Himalayan Languages Project onder leiding van Prof. dr. G.L. van Driem, aanvankelijk als beurspromovendus en daarna als assistent-in-opleiding. Sindsdien doceert hij antropologie aan de universiteit van Cambridge, waar hij leiding geeft aan het Digital Himalaya Project. Van 2002 tot 2004 was hij tevens gastonderzoeker bij de vakgroep Antropologie van de Cornell universiteit te Ithaca. Sinds oktober 2005 richt hij zich op het in kaart brengen van de taalsituatie in Sikkim. Hij heeft één boek en bijdragen in verschillende boeken en tijdschriften geschreven en drie boeken geredigeerd.