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

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A Grammar of
the Thangmi Language

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

Proefschrift

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       Prof. Dr. A. Griffiths
       Prof. Dr. A.M. Lubotsky

to my dear grandmother

Lydia Oorthuys-Krienen

who taught me to speak Dutch

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Introduction to the texts

ABBREVIATIONS

A	agent (of a transitive verb)
ABL	ablative
ADH	adhortative
adj.	adjective
adv.	adverb
AFF	affable suffix
(B)	Benedict's *Sino-Tibetan*
(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 *Dictionary of the Classical Newārī*
lit.	literally
LOC	locative
MALE	masculine, male gender
n.	noun
(NB)	Nepal Bhasa Committee's *Dictionary of Classical Newari*
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.	*verbum intransitivum*, intransitive verb
vr.	*verbum reflexivum*, reflexive verb
VS	*Vikram Saṃvat* era
vs.	versus
vt.	*verbum transitivum*, 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

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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:

a	*ā*			
i	*ī*			
u	*ū*			
	ṛ			
e	*ai*			
o	*au*			
ṃ	*ḥ*			

k	*kh*	*g*	*gh*	*ṅ*
c	*ch*	*j*	*jh*	*ñ*
ṭ	*ṭh*	*ḍ*	*ḍh*	*ṇ*
t	*th*	*d*	*dh*	*n*
p	*ph*	*b*	*bh*	*m*
	y	*r*	*l*	*v*
	ś	*ṣ*	*s*	
	h			

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 Mustāṅ district in Dhaulāgīrī zone of west Nepal. In 1991, I lived for nine months in the village of Kālopānī 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 Mustāṅ 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 Dāmārāṅ 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 Dāmārāṅ, 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.

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[1] Georg, Ralf Stefan. 1996. *Marphatan Thakali: Untersuchungen zur Sprache des Dorfes Marpha in Oberen Kāli-Gaṇḍaki-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.

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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 'Thámi' and 'Bhrámú' 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

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[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 'Bhrámú', 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 tham [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
di-ware	*dé*	one
nis	*ni*	two
u-ni	*u-ní*	sun
tśala	*chala-wani*	moon
nem	*nam*	house
su-wa	*s-wá*	tooth
tśiya	*chá*	eat
ku-lna	*ká-pá*	ear
ka-pu	*ká-pá*	head

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[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 tśiya '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 tśala 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

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[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 <mɛ-> 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 Lohorung 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, Lohorung, 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 ~ -sɷŋ> (1s→3) or Hayu <-sʊŋ> (1sPS/PT), Limbu <-paŋ> (1s→3/PT) and Bahing <-ɔŋ> (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 demontrated 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

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[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

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[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

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[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.

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[11] Van Driem draws attention to the Gongduk *portemanteau* suffix <-uŋi ᷉ -oŋe> (1→3) when compared with the first person subject morphemes <-ɣŋi> and <-ɣni>, 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 *sumboʔ* 'three' in Chɨlɨng (personal communication), a fusion of the Tibeto-Burman numeral *sum* 'three' and a numeral classifier *boʔ*, most likely cognate with Thulung <-bop> meaning 'round objects'. Similarly in Sāmpāṅ, 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.

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[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 mono-syllables: 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 though 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.

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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 *(Kāśīnāth Tamoṭ)*. 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.

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[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 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 Newarī*, 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* ~ *ŋyu* ~ *ŋyi* '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 *miṃ* '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-

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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 ∽ laʔ* '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 *kwiy=kəy 'dog' (B); Thangmi *kucuca* 'puppy' and Classical Newar *khicācā* 'puppy' (NB) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *kwiy=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 *kwiy=kəy 'dog' (B); Thangmi *naru* 'horn' and Classical Newar *ṅa* 'horn' (J) and *ṅa ∽ ṅakura* '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 *ṅā* '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 *maracabhatā* '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 *kuṃ* '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*

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[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 *khaṇou* '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 *ñaṃ* 'iron' (NB) perhaps from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *syam=śam '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 *khaṃ* 'matter, fact, talk, dispute' (NB) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *ka 'word, speech' (B); Thangmi *siŋ* 'tree, wood' and Classical Newar *śima ∽ siṃ* 'tree, a plant, wood' (NB) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *siŋ 'tree' (B); and Thangmi *ulam* 'path, road' and Classical Newar *laṃ* 'road, way, direction' (J) or *laṃ* '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 *gaṃga siṃ* 'dry wood' (NB) from Proto-Tibeto-Burman *kaŋ 'dry up' (B); Thangmi *walŋa* 'five' and Classical Newar *ṅaṃ* '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 ∽ loksa* '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 *săisa* '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 *naṃṅa* '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 Khoṭāṅ 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 *buṃ*) (NB) are cognate with Sampang *buŋ* '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 *ajī* '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 *kaṃṭhu* '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 *ṭhăi* 'place, location' and Classical Newar *ṭhāya* 'place' (NB) are likely etymologically related to Nepalli *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*

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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 *ṭupuri* 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

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[23] Although less phonologically persuasive, other possible shared Indo-Aryan loans may be Thangmi *aṭhu* '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 *aṭhe* '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 *ukhiŋ* 'dark' and Classical Newar *khiṅu* 'dark, darkness' (J) or *khiṃṅu* 'dark' (NB); Thangmi *gui* ~ *gwi* 'thief' and Classical Newar *khu* 'thief' (NB); and Thangmi *khen* 'face' and Classical Newar *kheṃ* 'face' (NB). The Thangmi individuative suffix *guri* may be cognate with Classical Newar *guri* 'a classifier denoting place' (NB); Thangmi *naṭe* 'cheek' resembles Classical Newar *ṅatāl* '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 *cimĭ* '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 *jyaŋgaṇeŋ* '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 *ṭhuṃñā ~ ṭhuṇne* 'to bury' (NB); the Thangmi verb *ṭhemsa* 'to destroy, to break down' and Classical Newar *ṭhoña ~ ṭhone* 'to demolish, to destroy' (NB); Thangmi *daŋ* 'year' and Classical Newar *ḍa ~ ḍaṃ* 'year' and Modern Newar *daṃ* 'year' (NB); the Thangmi male clan *ḍaŋguri* 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 *toŋ* 'home-made beer' and Classical Newar *thvaṃ* 'beer' (NB).

Further Thangmi-Classical Newar lexical correspondences include: Thangmi *duŋ 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 *paŋ* 'sour' and Classical Newar *pāñu* 'sour' (NB); the Thangmi transitive verb *palsa* 'to chop' and Classical Newar *pāle* 'to cut, to behead' (NB); Thangmi *priŋ* 'outside' and Classical Newar *pi ~ piṃ* '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*

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[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 *păiri* 'elder brother's wife' and Classical Newar *pairabe* 'elder brother's wife' (NB).

Other possible lexical correspondences are Thangmi *pokole* 'knee' and Classical Newar *paulɽ* 'knee' (NB); Thangmi *phaʈu* '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 *mraŋsa* 'to swell' and Classical Newar *maṁ-gwo* 'swelling' (J) or *māṅa* ∼ *māne* 'to swell' (NB); the Thangmi noun *maṇa* ∼ *maṇiŋ* '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 *moʈe* '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 *wasa* 'to plough' and Classical Newar *wāsā* 'a plough'; Thangmi *aŋaldu* 'ashamed' and Classical Newar *ṅālā-pu* 'ashamed, shame'; Thangmi *baʈi* 'cat' and Classical Newar *bhaʈi* 'a cat'; Thangmi *makarpapa* 'spider' and Classical Newar *mā-khā-pi-khā* 'a spider'; Thangmi *maŋ* 'body' and Classical Newar *hma* 'a body'; Thangmi *laŋga* 'courtyard' and Classical Newar *laṁ-hṅe* 'a yard, a court'; Thangmi *sebi* 'leather, hide, skin' and Classical Newar *se-bu* 'leather'; and Thangmi *ʈamsil* '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-

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[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]

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[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 Kirāta 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

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[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,

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[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 Przyluki'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 makes 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*

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[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

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[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 Mustāṅ 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)

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[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

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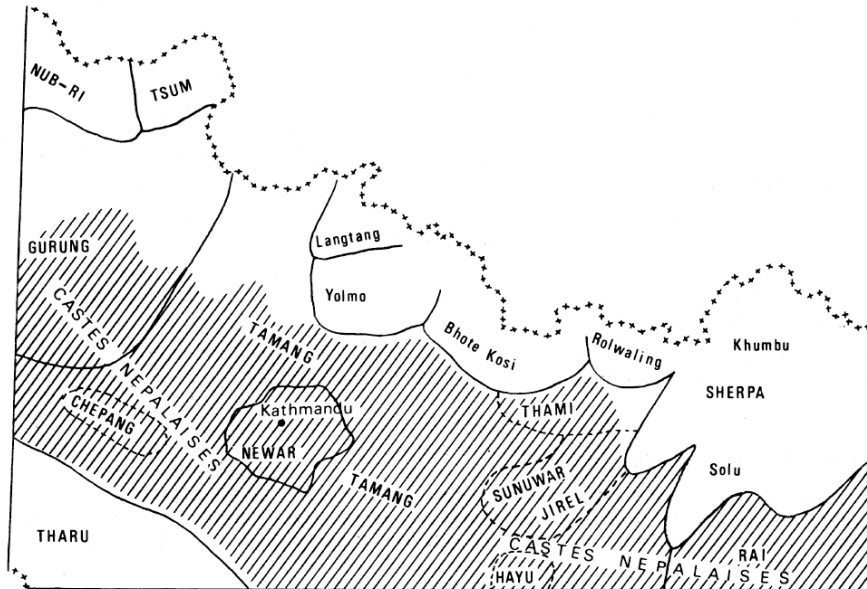
FIGURE 1: RÉPARTITION DES GROUPES ETHNIQUES DU NÉPAL CENTRAL
(from Dobremez *et. al.* 1974: 3)

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:

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[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 Simraungaḍh 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

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[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 posses 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 physically 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 Thakalī [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.

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[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

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[18] Until comparatively recently, Thangmi men and women wore clothes made from the fibre of the Himalayan giant nettle, *allo* in Nepali and *naŋǎi* 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.

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[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

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[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 Rājakīya 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** <u>v.i.</u> 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] अ (1990: i). In the dictionary entries, however, he is not rigorous in the implementation of his own system. The reader is confronted with '**angkhyang** <u>n.</u> lap' on the same page as '**aŋliŋ** <u>n.</u> 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** <u>n.</u> barley' (1990: 2) and '**nāleng** <u>temp. adv.</u> 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** <u>v.i.</u> 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** <u>v.t.</u> 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 dissartation [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 unlearnt *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** <u>n.</u> earthworm' and '**ribi** <u>temp.?</u> 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 ᴋᴛᴍ 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

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[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)

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[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 downtrodden 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 *daśāī*) 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 Ruprekhā, Dolakhāko Thāmī: Jāti tathā Sāskṛti - Ek Adhyayan* and *Thāmī Jātī Ek Paricaya.*

  Dolakhāko Aitihāsik Ruprekhā, first published in VS 2031 (i.e. AD 1974-75) and perhaps best translated as 'An Historical Outline of Dolakhā', by Dhanavajra Vajrācārya and Ṭek 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,

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[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:

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[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 cintanśīk nepālī śikṣit samūhalāī tyas jātiprati 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: Jāti 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), Śrīvikram Rāṇā wrote a one-page article entitled 'Thāmī Jāti: 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 Rāī's VS 2041 (i.e. AD 1984-85) four-page article in the journal *Pāruhāṅ* entitled 'Thāmī Janjīvan - Choṭo Paricaya' (Thami cultural life - a brief introduction) suggests that the total Thangmi population is around 70,000.[32] Rāī'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 Rāī'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 Rāī 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

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[29] Rāṇā's suggestion, in transliteration, reads, 'yo jātilāī 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 dekhinchan' (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 Kumaṅ 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.

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[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 *Mecīdekhi 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.).

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[35] The Nepali reads, 'thāmīko paramparā anusār sūgur chunu pani hūdaina. choemā bhūme deutā lāgī aṅgbhaṅg huncha banne bhanai hūdā thāmī jātile sūgur pālne garekā chainan' (HMG 2031: 110).

[36] The Nepali reads, 'kuirekā khāne kurāmā gāiko māsuko latpaṭ bhanera uslāi ghin lāgthyo' (1997: 95).

The Nepali weekly, *Surya Sāptāhīk*, 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 Kiriyā 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 Khãḍādaivī 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 Āphūlāī 'Yatī' ko Santān Ṭhānchan' (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

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[37] In transliteration, the Nepali reads, 'hāmīlāī hatār cha, tapāĩlāī hāmro duḥkha batāera mātra ke huncha ra baru din mātrai jāncha' (Anonymous VS 2057(b): 13).

the village of Tātheḷī 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 *janajāti* 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 *Roduṅ*, 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 Cāmliṅ 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

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[38] The Nepali reads, '…thāmīharūko jīvanśailī, rahansahan ra cetanā karib-karib ḍhuṅgeyugakai jasto cha' and 'jhaṭṭa herdā kālpanik yatījastai dekhine unīharūmadhye dheraiko ākṛti mildojuldo dekhincha. ṭhūlāṭhūlā khuṭṭā, asvābhāvik moṭo śarīr ra śarīrbhari āsāmātya rāū umriekā kāraṇ unīharūko dābī hāvādārī lāgna sakdaina' (Mānandhar VS 2057).

[39] 'āśikṣit, garibīle pilsiekā yī jātiharūmadhye kasaile pani cār kakṣābhandā baḍhī paḍhekā chainan' (Mānandhar VS 2057).

[40] The term *janajāti* 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 Kavitā 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 'Dūśupere' 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

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[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 'Thámi', 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 unlikeliness 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

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[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:

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[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, *mthaḥ 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 *mthaḥ*, 'edge', 'border' or 'frontier', and it is possible that *ni* may be cognate with Zhangzhung *ni* 'man', 'human' or 'people'.[49]

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[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 Haarh, *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 *mthaḥ 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, *sãy* is used to refer to Tamangs,

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[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, Ukranians 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 *saṁ* 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 'Sẽ', 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 Khoṭāṅ district in the Sagarmāthā zone of eastern Nepal, has a range of ethnonyms for neighbouring ethnic groupings, including *naksɨm* 'Gurung' (van Driem 1993a: 400), *neksɨm* 'Newari' (1993a: 401), *Saksɨm* 'Tamangs, Sherpa, cis-Himalayan Tibetan' (1993a: 413) and *Suksɨm* 'Sunuwar' (1993a: 420). The Dumi element <-sɨm>, 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]

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[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 *doŋ*, 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*

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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 Gurkhális enforced was exceedingly disagreeable to the Kiránts. It is stated that the Gurkhális threatened and eventually carried out war against the Kiránts, because they would not give up their beef-eating propensities…Kirántis 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 Gurkhá 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 Gurkhá 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

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[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 *śā* (also *sā*) 'cow' (Malla *et al.* 2000: 467); Barām *sya* 'cow' (personal communication, van Driem) and Chepang *syaʔ* '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 *ŋyaldaŋ-syaldaŋ*, 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.

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[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/Kṣamāvatī 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 Phāseluṅ, Ward No. 5 of Suspā/Kṣamāvatī 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 Phāseluṅ, since this too is a Thangmi word and one of far greater antiquity than the modern Rikhipole. According to these elders, the toponym Phāseluṅ is derived from Thangmi *phase* 'flour' and *luŋ* '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 Phāseluṅ 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 Phāseluṅ remain unaware that the toponym is of Thangmi rather than Nepali provenance.

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[65] The element *luŋ* 'rock, stone' is attested in a number of other Kiranti languages. The element also recurs in toponyms such as *myaŋluŋ* (Nep. *myāṅluṅ*), 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 *ălămtha* '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 Nāmdu, close to the Jirī road. The toponym Nāmdu 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 Thāmīgāū, literally 'Thami village'. Thangmi villagers are reluctant to use this term, and rather opt for Thaŋmidese, derived from *thaŋmi* 'Thangmi' and *dese* (< Nepali *deś* 'country') 'village', a literal translation of Thāmīgāū.[67] Older Thangmi speakers often refer to this part of the village as *oste-ko ṭhăi* (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, Mustāṅ 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

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[67] It is alternatively possible that Thangmi *dese* 'village' is cognate with Proto-Tibeto-Burman **dyal* 'village', Kiranti reflexes of which are Jero *dɛl*ₐₘ, Wambule *dyal*, Bahing *dyal*, Thulung *del*, Khaling *del* and Dumi *deːl* (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), Bārāṅ (27°49' N, 86°12' E), Bigu (27°50' N, 86°03' E), Buluṅ (27°47' N, 86°11' E), Bhīmeśvar Nagarpālikā (Dolakhā Municipality) (27°41' N, 86°05' E), Cilā̃khā (27°49' N, 86°08' E), Dumkoṭ (27°41' N, 86°03' E), Ḍā̃ḍākharka (27°32' N, 86°02' E), Ḍokthalī (27°41' N, 96°04' E), Hilepānī (27°44' N, 86°07' E), Jirī (27°38' N, 86°03' E), Jhyā̃ku (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), Lākurīḍā̃ḍā (27°42' N, 85°57' E), Lāmābagar (27°55' N, 86°13' E), Lāmīḍā̃ḍā (27°44' N, 86°10' E), Lāpilāṅ (27°44' N, 86°07' E), Lepṭuṅ (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), Meluṅ (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), Sunkhānī (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), Ghumtāṅ (27°51' N, 85°52' E), Piskar (27°44' N, 85°57' E), Phulpiṅkaṭṭī (27°48' N, 85°48' E), Rāmce (27°47' N, 85°53' E), Sunkhānī (27°41' N, 85°50' E), Tauthalī (27°43' N, 85°55' E), Tātopānī (27°57' N, 85°56' E), Ṭekanpur (27°44' N, 85°53' E) and Yāmunāḍā̃ḍā (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: Bhīrpānī (27°25' N, 85°57' E), Cisāpānī (27°26' N, 86°03' E), Ḍaḍuvā (27°31' N, 86°58' E), Hiledevī (27°29' N, 86°53' E), Khā̃ḍādevī (27°29' N, 85°56' E) and

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[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), Nayãbajār, 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 Bāhunḍãgī, Bhadrapur, Garāmunī, Jalthal, Mahārānījhoḍā, Prithvīnagar, 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 Moraṅ district, Thangmi live in at least four villages, namely: Amardah, Bayarban, Hasandah and Yāṅsilā, 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 Khoṭāṅ, 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 Yāṅpāṅ, with a total Thangmi population of 157 (HMG 1999: 52). Finally, while the district of Sindhulī returned only three villages with Thangmi residents, Dudhaulī (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, Siṅlā and Tāmsāṅ.

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 *Dolakhāreṅ* 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 *Dolakhāreṅ* (1999: 38-44).

TABLE 2. THANGMI POPULATION IN THE EASTERN DISTRICTS

Administrative District (*jillā*)	Official Statistics (1991)	Survey Results from *Dolakhāreṅ* (1997-1998)
Jhāpā	148	300
Ilām	715	3,000
Moraṅ	129	150
Udayapur	162	221
Khoṭāṅ	54	160
Bhojpur	157	200
Sunsarī	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 *Dolakhāreṅ*. 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 Moraṅ (from 129 to 150 people) or Bhojpur (from 157 to 200 people). It is also possible that the editor and survey-taker of *Dolakhāreṅ* 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 *Dolakhāreṅ* 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 *Dolakhāreṅ* 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 Lāpilāṅ 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), Sundrāvatī (1999), Buluṅ (2000) and Orāṅ (2000), to which should be added the 1998 *Village Profile of Lāpilāṅ*, 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, Sundrāvatī and Lāpilāṅ 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

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[70] Megh Rāj Simī Riśmī Thāmī, editor and publisher of *Dolakhāreṅ*, 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	Sundrāvatī	Lāpilāṅ	Total
Year conducted	1999	1999	1998	
Total population	2,228	3,424	5,025	**10,677**
Thangmi population	2,025	1,177	2,454	**5,656**
Thangmi as % of total population	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]

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[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
Dolakhā	20,000
Sindhupālcok	6,000
Eastern Districts (surveyed in Dolakhāreṅ)	4,081
Remaining Districts	3,000
Darjeeling and Sikkim, India	5,500
Total (including Indian Thangmi population)	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

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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 Kṛṣna 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

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[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 *Akyaŋmi*, *Rismi* and *Duŋsupere* 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.

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[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

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[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,

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[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 *ḍā̃ḍā*). 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, Mustā̃ and Mānā̃, 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

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[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
aŋgalek	aŋgaleʔ	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
loŋsek	loŋseʔ	heart
mesek	meseʔ	eye
narek	nareʔ	pheasant
puncyuṇuk	puncyuṇuʔ	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.

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[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 *kāg*?)
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
aṭoksa	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 *tokmaŋ*

'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 *călăuni* 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 *ṭ* in Dolakhā often corresponds to *c(y)* in Sindhupālcok, the aspirated unvoiced retroflex stop *ṭh* in Dolakhā often corresponds to *ch(y)* in Sindhupālcok, and the voiced retroflex stop *ḍ* 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
[ṭ]	**[c(y)]**	
ṭakadu	cyakadu	sweet, sugary, tasty
ṭaye	cyaye	night
ṭeksa	cyeʔesa	to tear, rend, lacerate
ṭepsa	cyepsa	to squeeze under the arm
ṭiklak	cyiklaʔ	drongo
ṭiku	cyuku	black ant
ṭila	cyila	cold
ṭisensa	cyesensa	to teach, explain
ṭuṇi	culi	goat
kanṭi	kanci	young, fresh, unripe (?< Nepali *kãco*)
[ṭh]	**[ch(y)]**	
ṭhare	chyare	weeds, tufts of grass
ṭhati	chyati	waterfall
ṭhemsa	chyemsa	to break, crack
ṭhenṭhelek	cyenchyeleʔ	a species of cricket
ṭhoṇe	chyoṇe	old man, husband
ṭhoṇi	chyoṇi	old woman, wife
ṭhorok	chyoro	eggshell, fruit skin
ciṭhemsa	cichyemsa	to ask someone to break something
goṭhe	gochye	pubic hair
[ḍ]	**[j(y)]**	
ḍamari	jyamari	son-in-law, younger sister's husband
ḍaŋaṇeŋ	jyaŋgaṇeŋ	bird
ḍaŋkharaŋsisa	jyaŋgaraŋsisa	to sit or walk with one's legs apart
ḍiŋ-ḍiŋ	jyiŋ-jyiŋ	red
ḍisisa	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	cikincha	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, *Semecarpus anacardium*
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 *loṭok* vs. Sindhupālcok *ṭoklok* '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, *Garuga pinnata*
akal	cyolampi	a species of tree, *Persea odoratissima*
altak	paṭareŋ	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 *Gleichenia linearis*
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

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[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 *chiṭo* '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 *găi-go bicar-te…* (I-GEN *idea*-LOC) 'in my opinion', a calque from Nepali *mero vicār-mā* 'in my opinion',[81] and *găi-găi măn lăgăi-Ø-du* (I-PM *mind feel*-sAS-NPT) 'I like', a calque from Nepali *ma-lāī man lāgcha* '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,

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[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	nã̄ŋ	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
	aheʰ	ahe	many
Diware	dil	di	one
Nis	nis	nis	two
	dzekha	jekha	big
	alamga	ălămga	long
	ucatsa ∿ ocatsa	ucyaca	small
Chā-maichā	tsamaitsa	camăica	woman
Mi	mi	cahuca	man
	mi	mi	person
	naŋa	naŋa	fish
	ḍã̄galeŋ	ḍaṇaṇeŋ	bird
	kutsu	kucu	dog
	siri	sirik	louse
	rukʰ [N]	domba	tree
	puya	puya	seed
	adza	aja	leaf
	dzara [N]	nara	root
	bokra [N]	gogok	bark
	çebi	sebi	skin
	çebi	cici	flesh
	tsai	coi ∿ căi	blood
	koṣa	kosa ∿ kosya	bone
	tshou		grease
	om	ahum ∿ om	egg
	naru	naru	horn
	lime	limek ∿ lime?	tail
	bulla		feather
Chimeng	tsimyãn	cime / mus	hair
Kāpu	kapu	kapu	head
Kulnā	kulna	kulna ∿ kulla ∿kunla	ear
Mise	meçe	mesek ∿ mese?	eye
Chingā	tsiŋa	ciŋya ∿ cĩyã	nose
Ugo	ugo ∿ ogo	ugo ∿ ogo	mouth
Suwā	suwa	suwa	tooth
Chile	tsile	cile	tongue

	pin	pin	fingernail
Konte	kʷonṭe	konṭe	foot
	pokole	pokolek ∼ pokole	knee
Lāk	laʔ	lak ∼ laʔ	hand
Bāng-kāl	bãŋkal	baŋkal ∼ baŋgal	belly
	kanṭu	kanṭu	neck
	cucu	cyocyo ∼ nunupuṭu	breasts
	lõŋse	loŋsek ∼ loŋseʔ	heart
	ariŋse	căṛŋa ∼ carŋa	liver
	toe tunan (tunsa)	tunsa	drink
Chiyā	toe cahan (casa)	cyasa	eat
	toe tsekudu (tseʔesa)	ceksa ∼ ceʔesa	bite
	toe niuno (nisa)	nisa ∼ niʔisa	see
	toe saeno (saisa)	nasăisa	hear
	toe saeno (saisa)	săisa	know
	to amian (amisa)	amisa	sleep
Siyā	to ṣian (ṣisa)	sisa	die
	toe satunu (satsa)	satsa	kill
	to pouri nampahan (nampasa) [N]		swim
	to peran (perdu)	persa	fly
	to tsawan (tsawasa)	cawasa ∼ cawatsa	walk
Rāā	to yusa suwan (yusa)	yusa / kyelsa / rasa	come
	toe ḍāṭaidu [N]		lie
Hokā	to hoʔodu	hokdu ∼ hoʔodu	sit
Thiungā	to tikiri hoʔᵒdu		stand
Piyāng	toe piʔuni (piʔⁱsa)	pisa	give
	toe ŋaono (ŋaʔᵃsa)	ŋasa ∼ ŋatcha	say
Ūni	uni	uni	sun
Chālā	tsalauni	călăuni ∼ calaʔuni	moon
Ūchhi	utsʰi	uchi	star
Pāngku	pãŋku	paŋku	water
	dzari, pãŋku	jhări [N]	rain
	lyunŋ	lyuŋ ∼ liŋ ∼ ṇiŋ	stone
	masa	nasak ∼ nasa	sand
	pirtißi [N]	nasak ∼ nasa	earth
	dumma	dhumba / khasu	cloud
	asku	asku	smoke
Meh	meʰ	me	fire
	khorani [N]	traba	ash
	jousa, tisa	jyousa ∼ jyosa / tisa	burn
	ulam	ulam	path
	himal [N]		mountain
	ḍiŋḍiŋ	ḍiŋ-ḍiŋ ∼ jyiŋ-jyiŋ	red
	hario [N]		green
	pahelo [N]		yellow
	ubo ∼ obo	ubo ∼ obo	white
	kidzi	kji	black
	ṭa	ṭaye ∼ chaye	night
	tato [N]	adum	hot
	tsiso [N]	ajik ∼ ijik / ṭila	cold

bhari [N]	kleŋ ∾ pleŋ	full
naka	naka	new
ramro [N]	apraca	good
gore [N]	goṇṭhe ∾ gore	round
gaãŋtale	gaŋdu (gaŋsa)	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 *Bāṅg-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. *camăica* 'woman' (Turin), and *cucu* 'breast' (Stein) vs. *cyocyo* '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 *koŋorsa*, 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 *kãs*) 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

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[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 Bhaṅsa Kirãt, 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 Kailāś, 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 *Yaʔapa* or *Yaʔapati Chuku*, was the eldest of five brothers. These five brothers were sons of the proto-human deity *Narosetu*, 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, *Yaʔapa* and his four brothers were forced to leave the town due to a conflict with local rulers. *Yaʔapa* went east with his youngest brother, *Kancapa*, while the other three brothers went west. After many days of wandering, *Yaʔapa* and *Kancapa* met two sisters who were the daughters of a snake spirit (Nepali *nāg*). The four travellers continued together, by way of Simraungaḍh or Simaṅghāṭ, 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 Tāmākośī,

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 *Yaʔapa* 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 *Yaʔapa* came to a place called Nāgdaha. While walking, *Sunari Ama* had been spinning a thread of the Himalayan nettle *Girardinia diversifolia* (Thangmi *naŋăi*, 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 *Yaʔapa*, 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 *Yaʔapa*. So relieved were they to be reunited, that they decided to settle nearby in an area known to this day as Raŋathali or Raŋ Raŋ 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

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[83] In Thangmi, *raŋ* means 'dry or unirrigated field, land', and Raŋ Raŋ 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: *Yaʔapa* and *Sunari Ama*. The guards surrounded the couple, apprehended *Yaʔapa* and escorted him to the king's palace. Fearing for his life, *Yaʔapa* brought with him a wild pheasant he had killed as an offering to appease the angry king. Once in court, the king interrogated *Yaʔapa* 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, *Yaʔapa* 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 *Yaʔapa* away again, having fixed a date for their next meeting. Keeping his word, *Yaʔapa* 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 *Yaʔapa* that he would be executed the following day. Understandably dejected, *Yaʔapa* 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, *Yaʔapa* 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 *Yaʔapa* 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 *Yaʔapa* 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, *Yaʔapa* 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 Suṅkośī river in the west.[86]

Delighted by this unexpected resolution to their predicament, *Yaʔapa* and *Sunari Ama* returned to their family. *Yaʔapa* 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 Kālincok 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, Lāpilāṅ, Kusāti, Ālampu and Kuthisyāṅ. In all of these places, the Thangmi were granted exclusive hereditary rights to the land and maintained them until comparatively recently through the *kipaṭ* system.[87]

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[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

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[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 *Yaʔapa* or *Yaʔapati 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, *yaʔ-*, has two possible cognates. The root may well be cognate with modern Thangmi *yaʔ* 'giant taro, *Alocasia indicum*' (Nepali *piṇḍālu*). Although only some Thangmi spontaneously provide this explanation when asked for an

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[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 *Yaʔapati*, 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 *Yaʔ-* 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 *Yaʔ-* 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 '*Yaʔ*, the senior father [in-law]'. Of the three, the middle translation, with reference to neither the yam nor to *Yaʔ* as a personal name is the most popular explanation among Thangmi villagers. This translation resonates closely with the indigenous Thangmi conception of *Yaʔapati 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. *Yaʔapati 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 *Yaʔapa* and allow the Thangmi people to flourish. If *Sunari Aji* had not offered the gold items, *Yaʔapati 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 *Yaʔapa*. 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 *ajī* '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 akyaŋmi*
> *kyaŋpole akyaŋmi*
> *aṇeŋ akyaŋmi*
> *ḍumla akyaŋmi*
> *daŋguri akyaŋmi*
> *mosan thali akyaŋmi*
> *jăidhane akyaŋmi*

The first point worth noting is the presence of the term *akyaŋmi* as the final element in each of the clan names. *Akyaŋmi* is made up of three syllables, a prefixed *a-* of uncertain provenance, the element *-kyaŋ-*, from Thangmi *kyaŋ* 'needle wood tree, *Schima wallichii*' (Nepali *cilāune rukh*) and the final element *-mi*, from Thangmi *mi* 'person, human, man'. The full translation of *akyaŋmi* 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 *akyaŋmi*, 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 *akyaŋmi* before they were anything else. The clan identity of *Yaʔapati Chuku* is thus thought to have been simply *akyaŋmi*, and his sons were thus also all *akyaŋmi*, 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 *Yaʔapati 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 akyaŋmi* derives from Thangmi *akal* '*Persea odoratissima* (synonym: *Machilus odoratissima*), from the family Lauraceae' (Nepali *ciplo kāulo*); *kyaŋpole* derives from Thangmi *kyaŋ* 'needle wood tree, *Schima wallichii*' (Nepali *cilāune rukh*) and *pole* 'foot of tree, tree trunk' (Nepali *phed, boṭ*); *aŋeŋ* derives from Thangmi *aŋeŋ* 'oak tree, *Lithocarpus elegans*' (Nepali *arkhaulo*), 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 *daŋguri akyaŋmi*, a clan name which is made up of two separate Thangmi elements, <daŋ-> from the stem of the verb *daŋsa* 'to find, look for, search, seek' (Nepali *khojnu*), and the element *guri*, the Thangmi individuative suffix (IND). *Daŋguri* 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 *Yaʔapati Chuku* and *Sunari Aji*, he was duly named *daŋguri*, '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, *daŋguri* 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*
> *khaṭu siri*
> *calta 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 gurãs*). 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 *jā̃to*), 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 *pheŋga* (Nepali *bhā̃ro*), '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 *pheŋga* 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 *bharyāṅ*) 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 (*daŋguri*), 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, *khaṭu 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 *Yaʔapati*

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[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 *daŋguri* 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 Raŋ Raŋ 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.

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[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

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[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 *buḍapere,* 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 *sǎiba akyaŋmi*, 'the knowledgeable ones of the needle wood tree', derived from the stem of the Thangmi verb *sǎisa* '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 *sǎiba* 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 *sǎiba akyaŋmi*.

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,

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[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 Subba'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, Dolkhae, 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.

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[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.

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[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.

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[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)	*bubu*
elder sister	(eZ)	*tete*
younger brother	(yB)	*hu*
younger sister	(yZ)	*humi*

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 *camăica* 'female, woman', as shown in Table 20 below.

TABLE 20. YOUNGER SIBLING KINSHIP TERMS FROM THE SINDHUPĀLCOK DIALECT

younger brother	(yB)	*(calaca) hu*
younger sister	(yZ)	*(camăica) hu*

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)	*jekhapa*
father's younger brother	(FyB)	*ucyapa*
father's sister (elder or younger)	(FZ)	*nini*

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)	*jhyaʔapa*
father's younger brother	(FyB)	*pacyu*
father's elder sister	(FeZ)	*jhyaʔama*
father's younger sister	(FyZ)	*nini*

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)	*palam*
mother's younger brother	(MyB)	*malam*
mother's elder sister	(MeZ)	*jekhama*
mother's younger sister	(MyZ)	*macyu*

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

mother's elder brother	(MeB)	*palam*
mother's younger brother	(MyB)	*mou*
mother's elder sister	(MeZ)	*jhyaʔama*
mother's younger sister	(MyZ)	*phusama*

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)	*jekhama*
father's younger brother's wife	(FyBW)	*ucyama*
father's sister's husband (elder or younger)	(FZH)	*mama*

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)	*jhyaʔama*
father's younger brother's wife	(FyBW)	*macyu*
father's elder sister's husband	(FeZH)	*jhyaʔapa*
father's younger sister's husband	(FyZH)	*mou*

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)	*jekhapa*
mother's younger sister's husband	(MyZH)	*pacyu*
mother's brother's wife (elder or younger)	(MBW)	*nini*

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)	*jhyaʔapa*
mother's younger sister's husband	(MyZH)	*phusapa*
mother's elder brother's wife	(MeBW)	*malam*
mother's younger brother's wife	(MyBW)	*nini*

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	*bubu*
elder female cousin	*tete*
younger male cousin	*hu* [Dolakhā]
younger female cousin	*humi* [Dolakhā]
younger cousin (male or female)	*hu* [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)	*ca*
daughter, brother's daughter	(D), (BD)	*camăi*
sister's son	(ZS)	*băine*
sister's daughter	(ZD)	*bini*

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 *cacha*. 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)	*cacha*
son's daughter, daughter's daughter	(SD), (DD)	*cachi*

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 grand-daughter are *cacha*), 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 *Limbunī* 'a female Limbu'.

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

grandson	*cacha*
granddaughter	*cacha*
great-grandson	*cayā*
great-granddaughter	*cayāni*
great-great-grandson	*cuyū*
great-great-granddaughter	*cuyūni*
great-great-great-grandson	*ūyu*
great-great-great-granddaughter	*ūyuni*

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)	*păiri ∼ poiri*
elder sister's husband	(eZH)	*jarphu*
younger brother's wife	(yBW)	*hu wari*
younger sister's husband	(yZH)	*(humi) ḍamari* [Dolakhā]
younger sister's husband	(yZH)	*jyamari* [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)	*hu wari*
brother's son's wife	(BSW)	*ca wari*
son's wife	(SW)	*ca wari*
son's son's wife	(SSW)	*cacha wari*
daughter's son's wife	(DSW)	*cacha wari*
sister's son's wife	(ZSW)	*băine wari* [Dolakhā]
sister's son's wife	(ZSW)	*bini wari* [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 *javāī*, 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 *javāī*. 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)	*humi ḍamari*
brother's daughter's husband	(BDH)	*camăi ḍamari*
daughter's husband	(DH)	*camăi ḍamari*
son's daughter's husband	(SDH)	*cachi ḍamari*
daughter's daughter's husband	(DDH)	*cachi ḍamari*
sister's daughter's husband	(ZDH)	*bini ḍamari*

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

younger sister's husband	(yZH)	*jyamari*
brother's daughter's husband	(BDH)	*camăi jyamari*
daughter's husband	(DH)	*camăi jyamari*
son's daughter's husband	(SDH)	*camăi jyamari*
daughter's daughter's husband	(DDH)	*camăi jyamari*
sister's daughter's husband	(ZDH)	*bini jyamari*

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 (DHZ), 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)	*ḍamarni*
daughter's husband's sister	(DHZ)	*ḍamarni*

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

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

wife's elder sister	(WeZ)	*jhyaʔama*
husband's elder sister	(HeZ)	*malam ca*
wife's elder sister's husband	(WeZH)	*bubu*
husband's elder sister's husband	(HeZH)	*jhyaʔapa*
wife's elder sister's son	(WeZS)	*ca*
husband's elder sister's son	(HeZS)	*băine*
wife's elder sister's daughter	(WeZD)	*camăi*
husband's elder sister's daughter	(HeZD)	*bini*
wife's elder sister's son's wife	(WeZSW)	*ca wari*
husband's elder sister's son's wife	(HeZSW)	*bini wari*
wife's elder sister's daughter's husband	(WeZDH)	*camăi jyamari*
husband's elder sister's daughter's husband	(HeZDH)	*bini jyamari*
wife's mother's younger brother	(WMyB)	*mou chuku*
husband's mother's younger brother	(HMyB)	*malam chuku*
wife's mother's younger brother's wife	(WMyBW)	*nini aji*
husband's mother's younger brother's wife	(HMyBW)	*malam aji*
wife's mother's younger sister's husband	(WMyZH)	*ocyana chuku*
husband's mother's younger sister's husband	(HMyZH)	*pacyu chuku*

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) *pǎiri* 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.

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[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 *dāī* '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', *ṭhoṇe* 'old man' vs. *ṭhoṇi* 'old woman', *ḍamari* 'son's wife' vs. *ḍamarni* '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 *jhyaʔama* 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 /-aʔa-/. The same morphophonological patterns are

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

at play in *jekhapa* (Dolakhā) and *jhyaʔapa* (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 *ṭhūlo bā* (literally 'big father') 'father's elder brother' (FeB). Another qualifying prefix used in compounded kinship terms is *ṭhoṇe* (Dolakhā) or *chyoḍe* (Sindhupālcok) 'old male', and the associated female form, *ṭhoṇi* (Dolakhā) or *chyoḍi* (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. *ṭhoṇe chuku* 'father-in-law's father', or *aji* 'mother-in-law' vs. *ṭhoṇi aji* 'mother-in-law's mother'. While rarely heard, the kinship term *ṭhoṇe 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 *camǎi* 'daughter' are cognate with Thakali and Darjeeling Tamang *ca* 'son' and *came* 'daughter' (Vinding 1979: 208-215), and Gurung *cxa* 'son' (Glover *et al.* 1977: 22) and *camī* or *cami* '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 *nyaʔ* '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 *niŋi* '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 *chyoḍe* 'senior, big, large' (Sindhupālcok) and *ṭhoṇe* (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 jīri* '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 *păiri* '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 *jhãkrī* (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 *jhãkrī* 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 *jhãkrī* or 'faith healer'. The Thangmi *guru* who officiate at Thangmi rituals do not, as a rule, also act as healers. Although there are Thangmi *jhãkrī* who play this less prestigious role, the *guru* who perform marriages and

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[107] The Nepali loan words *baje* 'grandfather' and *bajyăi* '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 *ṭake*, a two-sided drum known in Nepali as *ḍhyāṅro*, associated with the *jhãkrī* 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

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[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

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[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 *sǎuti*, 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 Lall's 1966 article on the Thangmi published in the *Rising Nepal*, which has details of Thangmi marriage rituals. Of greater interest than Lall'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-Chepang 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

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[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 *mumpra*, while in the Sindhupālcok dialect it is *mampra*. The entire *mumpra* cycle unfolds over an extended time period, from the cremation or burial of the corpse on the day of death, through the *ocyana mumpra*, or minor death rite, which is conducted three days after death, to the *jekha mumpra*, 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 *mumpra* 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 know 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

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[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 'Dolakhādhipati Śrī Śrī Jayendrasiṃhadeva' (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 Kirātīchāp 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

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[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 *upaniveś*) by the seventh century, implying that this area had already been settled by outsiders at an earlier stage (2051: 1).

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[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 Harisiṃha) 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

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[119] In his article entitled 'Simraongarh Revisited', Thomas O. Ballinger suggests that the commander of the Muslim forces was most probably Ghazi Malik Ghiyasuddin Tuqhlaq, 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).

Simraungaḍh and Thangmi claims that their ancestors had some history there.[123]
According to Miller, Simraungaḍh 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 Simraungaḍh, 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 Simraungaḍh and the Dolakhā-based worship of Bhīmasena are related
cultural issues.

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[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 *khaḍgajātrā*, the 'Sword Festival' held on the eleventh day of *mohanī* (Nepali *daśaī*), 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 *khaḍgajātrā* duties are performed exclusively by Thangmi from the village of Dumkoṭ, while the *matsyendranāthjātrā* involves only Thangmi from Lāpilāṅ. 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.

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[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 Thamis 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.

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[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				u	
	e			o	
		a	ă		
diphthongs					
ei		ăi	oi	ui	
eu		ău	ou		
consonant phonemes					
k	kh	g	gh	ŋ	
c	ch	j	jh		
ṭ	ṭh	ḍ	ḍh	ṇ	
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/, /ă/ 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/, /ăi/, /oi/, /ui/, /eu/, /ău/, /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:

cici	meat
[tsitsi]	
tim	mortar
[t̪ɪm]	
lisa	to scatter, broadcast
[liṣa]	

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

pur   nipple
[pur]

ulam   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:

elepe   spleen
[ɛlɛpɛ ~ elepe]

ahel   garuga, *Garuga pinnata*
[aɦɛl ~ 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]:

obo   white
[obo]

tokolok   hoe, long-handled mattock with a narrow blade
[ṭokolɔk˺]

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*:

alak   small wooden or bamboo foot bridge
[alak˺ ~ ælæk˺]

cahuca   man, menfolk
[tsaɦutsa ~ tsæɦutsæ]

The phoneme /ă/ has varying realisations from speaker to speaker, and occurs only infrequently. The phoneme /ă/ 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]:

> *ălămtha*   far, distant
> [ɑlɑm̥tha ∽ ʌlʌm̥tha]
>
> *jărăme*   the spirit of death
> [dzɑrɑmɛ ∽ dzʌrʌmɛ]

The Thangmi phonemes /ă/ 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 *păni* 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 *ghumăisa* 'to turn around, show around' from Nepali *ghumāunu* 'to turn around, show around', and Thangmi *banăisa* '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
> [kʰɛɪṣa]
>
> *kokoṭeisa*   to become stiff from cold, become numb
> [kokoṭɛɪṣa]

---

[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]

adhăi	cucumber, *Cucumis sativus*
[aḍʰɑɪ]	
ăikuca	long, slightly curved knife, *khukurī*
[ɑɪkutsa]	
aspăisa	to throw something violently, smash
[aṣpɑɪṣa]	

The diphthong /oi/ starts as a short, mid-open, rounded, back vowel [ɔ] and ends with the short, unrounded, front retracted allophone [ɪ]:

joisa	to leak, penetrate
[dzɔɪṣa]	
coi	blood
[tsɔɪ]	
roimi	a Newar person
[rɔɪmi]	

The level diphthong /ui/ starts as a short, closed, rounded, high back vowel [u] and ends with the short, unrounded, front retracted allophone [ɪ]:

chyuituk uyu	small black rodent, mole, vole
[tsʰjuɪʈuk˺ uju]	
luisa	to become flaccid (particularly of a penis)
[luɪṣa]	
mui	banana, *Musa* x *paradisiaca*
[muɪ]	

---

[2] It is not uncommon for a rarely occurring or even phonologically non-existing vocoid to be a constituent of a diphthong.

The diphthong /eu/ occurs only twice in the whole Thangmi lexicon. The diphthong commences as a short, mid-open, unrounded front vowel [ɛ] and concludes with a slightly advanced short, closed, rounded, high back vowel [u]:

    deusal   a box of matches [Sindhupālcok dialect only]
    [d̪ɛuṣal]

    ghăṇeusa   to burp
    [gʰɑɳɛuṣa]

The diphthong /ău/ starts as a short, open, unrounded, back vowel [ɑ] and ends with a short, closed, rounded, high back vowel [u]:

    călăuni   moon
    [tsɑlɑuni]

    rulău   cockroach
    [rulɑu]

The diphthong /ou/ starts as a short, mid-open, rounded, back vowel [ɔ] and ends with a short, closed, rounded, high back vowel [u]:

    aprou   tump line or head strap for carrying a load
    [aprɔu]

    jyousa   to burn wood, roast something
    [dzjɔuṣa]

The diphthongs /ei/, /ăi/ 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 /ei/, for example, is present in Thangmi *sakalei* 'all, each, every, everything, totally' which is itself loaned from Nepali *sakal* 'all, every'. Likewise, the diphthong /ăi/ is often associated with emphatic meaning in Thangmi, as in the adverb *choncăi* 'fast, quickly', and the adjective *begalăi* ∽ *begale* 'other (emphatic)' from Nepali *beglo* ∽ *beglai* 'other'. It is probable that Thangmi *begalăi* ∽ *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 *malāī* 'to me' has three syllables, both forms are disyllabic in Thangmi (creating a minimal pair), and make use of the diphthong /ăi/:

măkăi   corn, maize (from Nepali *makai*)
[mʌkɑɪ]

mălăi   to me, for me (from Nepali *malāī*)
[mʌlɑɪ]

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:

ādăi   yes, uh-huh
[ãd̪ɑɪ]

heʔẽ   yes, uh-huh [Sindhupālcok dialect]
[hɛʔẽ]

hĩʔikote   over there [Sindhupālcok dialect]
[hĩʔɪkot̪ɛ]

khoĩkhoĩsa   to cough [Sindhupālcok dialect]
[kʰɔ̃ɪkʰɔ̃ɪʂa]

hūhũisa   to writhe in pain, squirm
[hũɦũɪʂa]

---

[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:

ciŋya ∼ cĩyã ∼ cĩŋa [tsɪŋja ∼ tsĩjã ∼ tsĩŋa]	nose
saŋa ∼ sãwã [ṣaŋa ∼ ṣãwã]	finger millet, *Eleusine coracana*
ŋyasa ∼ ŋyãsa [ŋjaṣa ∼ ŋjãṣa]	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 *phõṇok* [pʰõŋɔk˺] 'inflated, swollen', which was also recorded in Dolakhā, results from assimilation to the following retroflex nasal:

bhaĩse [bʰɑ̃ĩṣɛ]	tomorrow [Sindhupālcok dialect]
kĩyabat [kĩjabaṭ˺]	in three days [Sindhupālcok dialect]
phõṇok [pʰõŋɔk˺]	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/	*nini* 'paternal aunt, father's sister', *nunu* 'milk'; *thisa* 'to touch', *thusa* 'to pull up weeds'.
/i/ vs. /e/	*ir-ir* 'totally stuffed with food', *ere* 'flour ball used in the death rite (ritual language)'; *lisa* 'to scatter, broadcast', *lesa* 'to select'.

/i/ vs. /o/	*ili* 'a species of house-dwelling gecko', *oli* 'four'; *nisa* 'to see', *nosa* 'to stir food, serve'; *cici* 'meat, flesh', *cyocyo* 'female breast'.
/i/ vs. /a/	*arki* 'deer', *arka* 'walnut, *Juglans regia*'; *tisa* 'to burn', *tasa* 'to boil'; *wari* 'daughter-in-law', *warak* 'precipice, steep slope'.
/i/ vs. /ă/	*ciŋya* 'nose', *căŋge* 'pigweed, *Amaranthus viridis*'; *dilaŋ* 'stone resting place', *dălăk* 'dust'.
/u/	*yu* 'black-mouthed, white-bodied and long-tailed white money', *uyu* 'mouse'.
/u/ vs. /e/	*umansa* 'to cook, prepare food', *emsa* 'to be exhausted by sitting in the sun'; *ṭhumsa* 'to bury', *ṭhemsa* 'to break'; *suwa* 'tooth', *sewa* 'greetings, hello'.
/u/ vs. /o/	*ṭupsa* 'to husk rice or millet in a mortar', *ṭopsa* 'to wash clothes by beating them'; *ulum* 'the upper part of a grinding stone', *olon* 'milk, yoghurt'.
/u/ vs. /a/	*uma* 'wife', *ama* 'mother'; *cuksa* 'to insert, pour into', *caksa* 'to cover, patch or overlay bamboo when there are holes'.
/u/ vs. /ă/	*culi* 'goat', *călăuni* 'moon'; *duru* 'earthquake', *dări nunu* 'cow or buffalo milk used in the death rite (ritual language)'.
/e/ vs. /o/	*leksa* 'to swallow', *loksa* 'to drain'; *melsa* 'to roast millet prior to grinding', *molsa* 'to mix in, stir up'.
/e/ vs. /a/	*ere* 'flour ball used in the death rite (ritual language)', *ari* 'fear'; *nem* 'house', *name* 'name'; *reŋ* 'flower', *raŋ* 'dry or unirrigated field'.
/e/ vs. /ă/	*elepe* 'spleen', *ălămtha* 'far, distant'; *kerepsa* 'to cry, weep', *kărăisa* 'to call out, be hungry'.
/o/ vs. /a/	*oŋgol* 'Adam's apple', *aŋal* 'shame, embarrassment'; *doŋ* 'intestines, Brahmin', *daŋsa* 'to look for, search, seek'.
/o/ vs. /ă/	*kotale* 'under, below', *kătăra* 'trough, tray'.
/a/	*naŋ* 'you', *naŋa* 'fish'.

/a/ vs. /ă/	*alam* 'red and white flag used in shamanic ritual', *ălămtha* 'far, distant'; *bagale* 'peach, Prunus persica', *băgale* 'type of tree, Maesa chisia'; *caŋ* 'chir pine, Pinus roxburghii', *căŋge* 'pigweed, Amaranthus viridis'; *cali* 'ladder', *călăuni* 'moon'.
/ei/ vs. /e/	*kheisa* 'to pour', *khemsa* 'to make, build'.
/ăi/ vs. /ău/	*ăi* 'pus', *ău* 'mango'.
/oi/ vs. /i/	*joisa* 'to leak', *jisa* 'to chop, split'; *coi* 'blood', *cile* 'tongue'; *roimi* 'a Newar person', *rim* 'homemade beer drunk during death rite (ritual language)'.
/ui/ vs. /u/	*luisa* 'to become flaccid', *lunsa* 'to climb, ride'; *mui* 'banana', *mus* 'body hair'.
/ui/ vs. /i/	*luisa* 'to become flaccid', *lisa* 'to scatter, broadcast'; *mui* 'banana', *mi* 'person'.
/eu/ vs. /e/	*deusal* 'a box of matches', *dese* 'village'.
/ău/	*rulău* 'cockroach', *rul* 'snake'.
/ău/ vs. /a/	*ău* 'mango', *ayu* 'pine-marten, Martes flavigula'.
/ău/ vs. /ou/	*călăuni* 'moon', *calou* 'wild nettle'.
/ou/ vs. /a/	*aprou* 'tump line, head strap', *apraca* 'good'.
/ou/ vs. /o/	*jyousa* 'to burn wood', *jyoksa* '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

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[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

	bilabial	*dental*	*palatal*	*retroflex*	*velar*	*glottal*
voiceless	p	t	c	ṭ	k	
aspirated	ph	th	ch	ṭh	kh	
voiced	b	d	j	ḍ	g	
breathy voiced	bh	dh	jh	ḍh	gh	
nasal	m	n		ṇ	ŋ	
breathy nasal		nh				
glottal						(ʔ)
fricative		s				
trill		r				
lateral		l				
approximant	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]:

kapu   head
[kapu]

aŋkalak   green-brown coloured lizard
[aŋkalak˺]

lakaṇe   radish, *Raphanus sativus*
[lakaɳɛ]

---

languages, this label is misleading since they are usually neither voiced nor aspirated. See van Driem (1993a: 52) for the evidence and discussion.

cikinsa	to give someone a fright
[tsikɪnṣa]	

Word-finally, the phoneme /k/ is a voiceless, unreleased, unaspirated dorso-velar stop [k˺] in the Dolakhā dialect and either completely glottalised [ʔ] or a voiceless, unreleased, unaspirated dorso-velar stop with a simultaneous glottal stop [ʔk˺] in the Sindhupālcok dialect:[5]

akrak	frog [Dolakhā dialect]
[akrak˺]	
akrak	frog [Sindhupālcok dialect]
[akraʔ]	
ajik	cold (of food and water) [Dolakhā dialect]
[adzɪk˺]	
ajik	cold (of food and water) [Sindhupālcok dialect]
[adzɪʔk˺]	

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:

khen	face
[kʰɛn]	
aŋkhe	lap
[aŋkʰɛ]	
rikhi	the tree, *Ficus lacor*
[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:

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[5] For a more detailed description of the differences between the two dialects, see Chapter 2, Section §4.1.

gaŋsa   to dry
[gaŋṣa]

goŋgiŋ   brown or green praying mantis
[gɔŋgɪŋ]

jagapsa   to faint, have an epileptic fit
[dzagapṣa]

The phoneme /gh/ occurs in word-initial and intervocalic positions, in which it is realised as a voiced, breathy (or murmured) dorso-velar stop [gʱ].[6] The phoneme /gh/ is not attested in word-final position:

ghăṇeu   burp (n.)
[gʱɑɳɛu]

aghorsa   to dig, scratch with fingernails
[agʱɔrṣa]

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:

ghorghorsa   to grunt (of a pig), roar (of a tiger)
[gʱɔrgʱɔrṣa]

ghoŋloŋ-ghoŋloŋ   loose-fitting, baggy, wide, floppy
[gʱɔŋlɔŋgʱɔŋlɔŋ]

2.2.2 *Retroflex stops*

The phoneme /ṭ/ is a voiceless, unaspirated apico-post-alveolar or retroflex stop [ṭ] which is attested in word-initial, syllable-initial, intervocalic and word-final or syllable-final positions, as illustrated by the examples below:

ṭampe   magnolia tree, *Magnolia campbelli*
[ṭampɛ]

---

[6] For the reader's comfort, I have chosen to transcribe breathy voice using the raised ʱ, as in [gʱ] over the phonetically more accurate notation [g̈].

kanṭi [kanʈi]	young, fresh, unripe
cyaṭaŋmaraŋ [tsjaʈaŋmaraŋ]	a species of thorny bush
lampaṭ [lampaʈ]	plain, farmyard

The phoneme /ṭh/ is a voiceless, aspirated apico-post-alveolar or retroflex stop [ʈʰ] which is attested in word-initial, syllable-initial and intervocalic positions. The phoneme /ṭh/ is not attested in word-final or syllable-final position, and is illustrated by the examples below:

ṭhoka [ʈʰoka]	large silver bracelet worn by women
bomṭhissa [bɔmʈʰiṣṣa]	to blister
kuṭhup [kuʈʰupˀ]	tadpole

The phoneme /ḍ/ is a voiced, unaspirated apico-post-alveolar or retroflex stop [ɖ] which is attested in word-initial, syllable-initial and intervocalic positions. The phoneme /ḍ/ is not attested in word-final or syllable-final position:

ḍumla [ɖumla]	common fig, *Ficus carica*
hanḍa [hanɖa]	clay pot for cooking nettles
aḍipsa [aɖɪpṣa]	to tear pieces of meat off the bone with one's teeth

The phoneme /ḍh/ occurs only in word-initial position, in which it is realised as a voiced, breathy (or murmured) apico-post-alveolar or retroflex stop [ɖʱ]. The phoneme /ḍh/ is not attested in syllable-initial, intervocalic or word-final positions:

    ḍhopit   anus
    [ɖʰopɪ̈ʈ]

    ḍhokse   large bamboo basket used for carrying manure
    [ɖʰɔkʂɛ]

The phoneme /ḍh/ is further attested in one reduplicative and onomatopoeic lexeme, in which it occurs both word-initially and syllable-initially:

    ḍholoŋ-ḍholoŋ   being wide in circumference or diameter
    [ɖʰolɔŋɖʰolɔŋ]

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*
    [tsʰinɪk˺]   *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:

jireŋ	red wasp
[dzirɛŋ]	
dunji	lean, thin, meagre, without fat
[d̪undzi]	
aja	leaf
[adza]	

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 [dzʰ]. 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.

jhinṭyak	catapult, trap
[dzʰɪnʈjak˺]	
jhyalṭuŋ	vessel for carrying burning coals
[dzʰjalʈuŋ]	
kurijhin	blemish or spot
[kuridzʰɪn]	

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:

toŋsa	to wash clothes
[t̪ɔŋʂa]	

altak	Nepalese rhododendron tree,
[al̪t̪akˀ]	*Rhododendron arboreum*
kotale	under, below
[ko̪t̪alɛ]	
aṭit	blue whistling thrush, *Myiophoneus caeruleus*
[at̪ɪt̪]	

The phoneme /th/ is a voiceless, aspirated dental or alveolar stop [t̪ʰ] 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:

themba	doorframe, doorway
[t̪ʰɛmba]	
cyurthin	mouth shaped like a monkey's mouth
[tsjur̪t̪ʰɪn]	
athaŋsa	to become light
[at̪ʰaŋsa]	

The phoneme /d/ is a voiced, unaspirated dental or alveolar stop [d̪] 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:

doksa	to peck, sting, bite
[d̪ɔkṣa]	
denderek	coarse, rough
[d̪ɛnd̪ɛrɛkˀ]	
adum	hot (food or drink)
[ad̪um]	

The phoneme /dh/ is a voiced, breathy (or murmured) dental or alveolar stop [d̪ʰ] 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:

dhiri	thunder
[d̪ʰiri]	
dhapre	Indian aloe, *Aloe vera*
[d̪ʰaprɛ]	
kadhrap	unidentified species of plant (Nep. *malāyo*)
[kad̪ʰrap̚]	

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]:

paŋku	water
[paŋku]	
pampanek	butterfly
[pampanɛk̚]	
papasek	testicles
[papaʃɛk̚]	

Word-finally, the phoneme /p/ is a voiceless, unreleased, unaspirated bilabial stop [p̚]:

asip	the flower of an unidentified species of tree
[asɪp̚]	(Nep. *ghurmiso-ko phūl*)
kaṇṭap	chip of bamboo or splint of wood used to
[kanʈap̚]	make baskets and cradles

The phoneme /ph/ is a voiceless, aspirated, bilabial stop [pʰ] which is attested in word-initial, syllable-initial and intervocalic positions. The phoneme /ph/ is not attested in word-final or syllable-final position.

phase
[pʰaʃɛ]
flour

lamphaŋsa
[lampʰaɳ̥sa]
to cross over, step over

aphinca
[apʰɪntsa]
light (in weight), thin, narrow

laphar
[lapʰar]
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:

bosiŋ
[boʃɪŋ]
alder, Nepal black cedar, *Alnus nepalensis*

domba
[d̪ɔmba]
tree

kitriŋbas
[ki̪trɪŋbaʂ]
in four days

abu
[abu]
penis

The phoneme /bh/ is a voiced, breathy (or murmured) bilabial stop [bʰ] 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.

bhămbăla
[bʰɑmbɑla]
unidentified species of tree (Nep. *culetro*)

bheterek   bamboo mat
[bʰɛ̝ʈɛrɛk˺]

The phoneme /bh/ is further attested in one reduplicative lexeme, in which it occurs both word-initially and syllable-initially:

bhutbhute   flameless and white-hot centre of a fire
[bʰu̝tbʰu̝ʈɛ]

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:

ŋasa   to say, ask, order, tell
[ŋaṣa]

cărŋa   liver
[tsɑrŋa]

aŋil   gum(s)
[aŋɪl]

loŋsa   to do, make
[lɔŋṣa]

akloŋ   grasshopper, locust
[aklɔŋ]

The phoneme /ṇ/ is a voiced, retroflex nasal continuant [ɳ] 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]

ṇepsa   to crush with a stone, bruise by falling
[ɳɛpṣa ~ ɽɛpṣa]

---

[7] In Nepali, /ṇ/ is a marginal phoneme and occurs only infrequently in the informal register of the language.

kuchipṇasa   to have a bad experience
[kutsʰɪpṇaʂa ~ kutsʰɪpɽaʂa]

alaloṇoŋ   large bamboo mat used in death rituals into
[alaloŋɔŋ ~ alaloɽɔŋ]   which a corpse is rolled

aṇeŋsek   kidney
[aŋɛŋʃɛkˀ ~ aɽɛŋʃɛkˀ]

kaṇṭu   neck, throat
[kaŋʈu ~ kaɽʈu]

cicikoṇ   chopping block
[tsitsikɔŋ ~ tsitsikɔɽ]

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 [n̪]. The
two allophones exist in free variation:

nembo   other person
[nɛmbo ~ n̪ɛmbo]

semni   a Tamang person
[ʂɛmni ~ ʂɛmn̪i]

chyunupuṭuk   protruding behind of a chicken
[tsʰyunupuʈukˀ ~ tsʰyun̪upuʈukˀ]

yanatasa   to deliver
[janataʂa ~ jan̪ataʂa]

yante   hand-driven millstone, grindstone, quern
[jan̪tɛ ~ jan̪tɛ]

akan   barley, *Hordeum vulgare*
[akan ~ akan̪]

The phoneme /nh/ is a voiced, breathy alveolar continuant [nʰ]. Younger Thangmi speakers who are bilingual in Nepali pronounce /nh/ as a voiced, breathy (or even murmured) dental nasal continuant [n̪ʰ]. 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:

nhabasa   lower
[nʰabaṣa ~ n̪ʰabaṣa]

nhu-te   over there (far and down)
[nʰute ~ n̪ʰute]

nhăiko   lower storey [Sindhupālcok dialect]
[nʰɑɪko ~ n̪ʰɑɪko]

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:

makarpapa   spider
[makarpapa]

dokmaŋ   Nepal pepper, prickly ash, *Zanthoxlum armatum*
[d̪ɔkmaŋ]

cime   hair (on the scalp)
[cimɛ]

cumsa   to seize, hold, grab, catch, grasp, clasp
[cumṣa]

nem   house
[nɛm]

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 northern-most 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:

asaʔasa   to itch
[aʃaʔaṣa]

abeʔesa   to carry a child on one's back
[abɛʔɛṣa]

jiʔisa   to split in two
[dziʔiṣa]

loʔosa   to drain, pour out
[lɔʔɔṣa]

buʔusa   to cover, cover up, put a lid on a pot
[buʔuṣa]

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:

cyaʔe   night
[tsjaʔɛ]

haʔi   how much, how many?
[haʔi]

aʔum   egg
[aʔum]

kiʔuliŋ   bottom, buttocks
[kiʔulɪŋ]

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:

iʔbliŋ   aright, right side up, right way up
[ɪʔblɪŋ]

jaʔco   wheat, *Triticum sativum, Triticum aestivum*
[dzaʔtso]

pecyeʔca   small, cramped (of a habitation or living place)
[pɛtsjɛʔtsa]

amaʔsa   to beg
[amaʔṣa]

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* [akrak˺] '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/.

alaʔ   small wooden or bamboo foot bridge [Sindhupālcok dialect]
alak   small wooden or bamboo foot bridge [Dolakhā dialect]
[alaʔ ~ alak˺]

asariʔ   taste [Sindhupālcok dialect]
asare   taste [Dolakhā dialect]
[aṣariʔ ~ aṣarɛ]

asariʔ   common fly [Sindhupālcok dialect]
asareŋ   common fly [Dolakhā dialect]
[aṣariʔ ~ aṣarɛŋ]

loṇḍoʔ   sternum, middle of chest [Sindhupālcok dialect]
loṇḍo   sternum, middle of chest [Dolakhā dialect]
[lɔŋḍɔʔ ~ lɔŋḍo]

jinchiriʔ   clitoris [Sindhupālcok dialect]
jinchiri   clitoris [Dolakhā dialect]
[dzɪntsʰɪrɪʔ ~ 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]

ceʔ   chestnut tree, *Castanopsis hystrix* [Sindhupālcok dialect]
ce   chestnut tree, *Castanopsis hystrix* [Dolakhā dialect]
[tsɛʔɛ ~ tse]

boʔ   inflorescence of maize [Sindhupālcok dialect]
bok   inflorescence of maize or rice [Dolakhā dialect]
[bɔʔɔ ~ bɔk]

2.5 Fricatives, trills and laterals

The Thangmi sound system contains one fricative /s/, one trill /r/ and one lateral /l/. The phoneme /s/ is has two allophones which exist in free variation: a voiceless, lamino-alveolar, grooved fricative [ṣ] and a voiceless, palatal fricative [ʃ]. Younger Thangmi speakers who are also fluent in Nepali are more likely to articulate the phoneme /s/ as [ṣ] while older and monolingual Thangmi speakers tend towards a palatal articulation [ʃ]. The allophone [ʃ] is rejected in syllable-initial position following a consonant, as in *seksa* [ʃɛkṣa] 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*
[ṣɛmpɪr ~ ʃɛmpɪr]

sereksa   to get up, wake up, arise
[ṣɛɾɛkṣa ~ ʃɛɾɛkṣa]

---

[8] Van Driem (1993a: 56) describes the same process for Dumi, in which the phonological monosyllable /boʔ/ 'word, language' is phonetically disyllabic [bɔʔɔ].

| *amisa* | to sleep |
| [amiṣa ~ amiʃa] | |

| *ustok* | spit, spittle, sputum, saliva |
| [uṣtɔk˺ ~ uʃt̪ɔk˺] | |

| *citabas* | day after tomorrow |
| [tsit̪abaṣ ~ tsit̪abaʃ] | |

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:

| *raphil* | tear from the eye (n.) |
| [rapʰɪl] | |

| *gamra* | molar, jaw |
| [gamra] | |

| *bărma* | bouquet grass, *Thysanolaena agrestis* |
| [bɑrma] | |

| *akar* | short-tailed Himalayan jungle cat, *Felis chaus* |
| [akar] | |

| *baraŋ* | platform of boards or bamboo, shed, stall |
| [baɾaŋ] | |

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:

| *lembe* | flat, bamboo winnowing tray |
| [lɛmbɛ] | |

| *sinlati* | butterfly bush, *Buddleja (Buddleia) asiatica* |
| [ṣɪnlat̪i] | |

| *calak* | air potato, bitter air yam, *Dioscorea bulbifera* |
| [tsalak˺] | |

| *duldul* | flying male of the white ant |
| [d̪uld̪ul] | |

| *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 |
| [hapṣa] | |

| *ahunsa* | to pick up (from the ground), pluck |
| [aɦunṣa] | |

In word-initial position, the phoneme /h/ often indicates a question word, as in:

| *hara* | what? |
| [haɾa] | |

| *hara-kăi* | what for, for what reason, why? |
| [haɾa-kɑɪ] | |

| *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] |
| [hjalɛ̝ttsʰa] | |

| *hya-te ∼ hyu-te* | up there, over there |
| [hjate̝ ∼ hju̝te̝] | |

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] | |

| *paṭaya* | rice stalks once the paddy has been removed |
| [paṭaja] | |

The phoneme /y/ is also widely attested in both dialects as a post-consonantal offglide:

| *byeŋga* | a species of toad [Sindhupālcok dialect] |
| [bjɛŋga] | |

| *cyasa* | to eat |
| [tsjaṣa] | |

ŋyal-ŋyal [ŋjalŋjal]	soft, tender
agyosa [agjoṣa]	to call, cry, rumble
ghyoksa [gʱjɔkṣa]	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:

wakhe [wakhɛ]	word, story, chat
wa [wa]	chicken, hen
awa [awa]	locally-grown tobacco [Sindhupālcok dialect]
lawa [lawa]	husband, boyfriend
cawasa [cawaṣa]	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/:

kwăi [kwɑɪ]	all root vegetables, particularly potatoes
kwassa [kwaṣṣa]	to be enough, feed to the full, be stuffed
gwi [gwi]	thief, robber

gwaṇaṇiŋ   pregnant female
[gwaṇaṇɪŋ ~ gwaɽaɽɪŋ]

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/	*koŋkolyaŋ* 'bent, twisted', *goŋkolyaŋ* 'snaked, articulated in many places'; *koṭe* 'stone wall', *goṭhe* 'pubic hair'; *kari* 'song', *gare* 'rooster'; *kaŋ* 'boil, pimple', *gaŋsa* 'to dry'; *bagale* 'peach, Prunus persica', *bakal-cakal* 'half-cooked, half-raw'.
/kh/ vs. /gh/	*khaṇou* 'door'; *ghaṇău ~ ghaṇeu* 'burp'; *khirimsa* 'to braid, twist, entwine', *ghiritsa* 'to scratch, peel off'; *aghaʔ* 'crow, raven', *akho* 'grasshopper'.
/ṭ/ vs. /ḍ/	*ṭeksa* 'to tear cloth or paper, lacerate', *ḍeksa* 'to have enough sleep'; *ṭisa* 'to close, shut', *ḍisa* 'to comb someone's hair'; *aṭit* 'the whistling thrush', *aḍipsa* 'to suckle on a mother's milk'.
/ṭh/ vs. /ḍh/	*ṭhoka* 'large bracelet', *ḍhokse* 'large bamboo container or basket'.
/c/ vs. /j/	*calak* 'air potato, Dioscorea bulbifera', *jalat* 'Nepalese hog plum, Choerospondias axillaris'; *ceksa* 'to bite, sting', *jeksa* 'to clean, wash'; *cisa* 'to throw, throw away', *jisa* 'to chop, split in two'; *cyokpa* 'a small bird', *jyoksa* 'to be burnt'; *cyou* 'fat, grease', *jyousa* 'to burn, roast'.
/ch/ vs. /jh/	*chinik* 'chutney made of the edible perilla seed, Perilla frutescens', *jhinṭyak* 'catapult, trap'; *chyapaŋ* 'ritual pollution related to death', *jhyalṭuŋ* 'a vessel used to carry burning coals'.
/t/ vs. /d/	*taŋsa* 'to be happy, smile', *daŋsa* 'to look for, search'; *tapsa* 'to beat or play the drum', *dapsa* 'to measure, fill'; *ti* 'honey', *di* 'one'.

/th/ vs. /dh/	*thapu* 'fireplace, hearth', *dhapre* 'Indian aloe, Aloe vera'; *thumsa* 'to mark, stain, stick', *dhumba* 'mist, fog, cloud'.
/p/ vs. /b/	*pampanek* 'butterfly', *bampre* 'rib, chest'; *paŋku* 'water', *baŋkal* 'stomach, belly'; *pene* 'vagina', *bena* 'brown oak of the Himalaya, Quercus semecarpifolia'; *pisa* ' to give', *bisa* 'to enter, go inside'.
/ph/ vs. /bh/	*phetelek* 'watery, moist, *bheterek* 'bamboo mat'; *phinphin* 'smooth, flat, even'; *bhimbira* 'termite'.

2.7.2 *Distinctiveness of aspiration and breathy articulation*

/k/ vs. /kh/	*kari* 'song', *kharu* 'old'; *keret* 'red, orange', *kherte* 'near, close'; *ken* 'cooked vegetable curry', *khen* 'face'; *koŋ* 'trough', *khoŋa* 'a small basket for carrying fish'.
/g/ vs. /gh/	*gaṇa* 'spherical earthenware jug, large mud jar', *ghaṇău* 'burp'; *goŋgiŋ* 'a praying mantis', *ghoŋŋoŋ* 'loose fitting, wide, baggy'.
/ṭ/ vs. /ṭh/	*ṭaŋsa* 'to open', *ṭhaŋsa* 'to discover a god'; *ṭasa* 'to tease, deride, joke, harass', *ṭhasa* 'to scrape off, peel off, strip off'; *ṭesa* 'to remove corn cobs from the stalk', *ṭhesa* 'to displace water'.
/ḍ/ vs. /ḍh/	*ḍoŋḍoŋ* 'the lower leaves or outer covering of a bamboo plant', *ḍholoŋ-ḍholoŋ* 'being wide in circumference or diameter'.
/c/ vs. /ch/	*ca* 'son', *cha* 'salt'; *caŋ* 'the chir pine, Himalayan long-leaved pine, Pinus roxburghii', *chaŋ* 'wicker or bamboo basket to carry a baby'; *ciniksa* 'to impregnate, conceive', *chinik* 'chutney made of the edible perilla seed, Perilla frutescens'.
/j/ vs. /jh/	*jinchiri* 'clitoris', *jhinṭyak* 'catapult'.
/t/ vs. /th/	*tamsa* 'to loose', *thamsa* 'to insert, add, put in'; *taŋsa* 'to be happy, smile', *thaŋsa* 'to be healthy'; *tasa* 'to boil', *thasa* 'to be'.

/d/ vs. /dh/	*dăi* 'towards', *dha* 'he, she, it'; *dabsa* 'to measure, fill', *dhabasa* 'on the other side'.
/n/ vs. /nh/	*nabi* 'downhill, downward', *nhabasa* 'lower'.
/p/ vs. /ph/	*pakpak* 'cone or pod of the plantain flower', *phakphak* 'dry flour'; *peksa* 'to strip bamboo', *pheksa* 'to tear something apart, split'.
/b/ vs. /bh/	*betre* 'bamboo mat', *bhere* 'the wild cherry tree, Prunus puddum'; *buthuru* 'muzzle (for cows, buffaloes, goats)', *bhutbhute* 'the white-hot centre of a fire'.

2.7.3 Distinctiveness of nasals

/m/ vs. /ŋ/	*khoma* 'the feathery inflorescence of the millet plant', *khoŋa* 'a small basket for carrying fish'; *maŋ* 'body', *ŋaŋ* 'and'; *myuŋ* 'cloth, clothes, material', *ŋyu* 'brain'; *thamsa* 'to insert, put in', *thaŋsa* 'to be healthy, be able'.
/m/ vs. /n/	*mama* 'father's sister's husband', *nama* 'with, together'; *mansa* 'to knead', *namsa* 'to smell'.
/m/ vs. /ṇ/	*mesa* 'water buffalo', *ṇesa* 'to hit, strike'; *miŋ* 'cloth, clothes, material', *ṇiŋ* 'stone, rock'.
/n/ vs. /ṇ/	*nasa* 'to put', *ṇasa* 'to be infested with lice'; *nesa* 'to grind, pound', *ṇesa* 'to hit, strike'.
/n/ vs. /ŋ/	*ṭhansa* 'to move, transfer, change', *ṭhaŋsa* 'to discover a god'; *nasa* 'to put, place, position', *ŋasa* 'to say, tell, inquire, order, ask'.
/ŋ/ vs. /ṇ/	*ŋasa* 'to say, tell, inquire, order, ask', *ṇasa* 'to be infested with lice'; *ŋyu* 'brain', *ṇu* 'later'.

2.7.4 Distinctiveness of other consonants

/s/ vs. /r/ vs. /l/	*sasa* 'vein, tendon, ligament', *rasa* 'to come', *lasa* 'Indian rhododendron, Melastoma malabathricum'; *sisa* 'to die', *rise* 'the tree, Maesa chisia', *lisa* 'to scatter, broadcast'; *kosa* 'bone', *korsa* 'to weed with a hoe', *kolsa* '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'.

| /w/ vs. /y/ vs. /h/ | *wasa* 'to plough', *yasa* 'to feed, give food', *hassa* 'to fall from a height'; *wa* 'chicken, hen', *ya* 'ritual word for giant taro, *Alocasia indicum*'; *awa* 'locally-grown tobacco', *ayu* 'pine-marten', *ahe* '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 of more, in which the stress falls on the second syllable:

| *ca* | son |
| ['tsa] | [one syllable] |

| *bok* | maize or rice inflorescence |
| ['bɔkˀ] | [one syllable] |

| *hara* | what? |
| ['hara] | [two syllables] |

| *akyarak* | bulb of an arum lily, *Arum campanulatum* |
| ['akjarakˀ] | [three syllables] |

| *bosa* | to grow (of crops) |
| ['boṣa] | [two syllables] |

| *kerepsa* | to cry, weep |
| [kɛˈrɛpṣa] | [three syllables] |

| *cinampasa* | to cause to amuse, make play |
| [tsiˈnampaṣa] | [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:

phaksisa	to eat by throwing a mouthful at a time into
[ˈpʰakṣiṣa]	one's mouth [three syllables]
thaŋŋaraŋsisa	to lie on one's back without sleeping
[thaŋŋaˈraŋṣiṣa]	[five syllables]

Inflected verb forms do not deviate from the above rules, as illustrated by the examples below:

boy-an	it grew
[ˈbojan]	[two syllables]
kerep-ŋa-n	I cried
[kɛˈrɛpŋan]	[three syllables]
cinampay-eŋ-du	they are made to play
[tsiˈnampajɛŋdu]	[five syllables]
phak-si-du	s/he's eating by throwing a mouthful at a time
[ˈpʰakṣiḍu]	into his/her mouth [three syllables]
thaŋŋaraŋ-si-ŋa-du	I am lying on my back without sleeping
[thaŋŋaˈraŋṣiŋaḍu]	[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.

ăi [ɑɪ]	pus	(V)
ău [ɑu]	mango	(V)

A syllable may also be formed by a consonant and a vowel (C$_i$V), 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:

ca [tsa]	son	(C$_i$V)
ni [ni]	we, honey	(C$_i$V)
to [t̪o]	he, she, it	(C$_i$V)

A syllable may consist of a consonant, a vowel and another consonant (C$_i$VC$_f$), 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/, /ʈ/, /k/, /b/, /g/, /m/, /n/, /ɳ/, /ŋ/, /ʔ/, /s/, /r/ and /l/, some examples of which are given below:

doŋ [d̪ɔŋ]	intestines	(C$_i$VC$_f$)
ban [ban]	friend	(C$_i$VC$_f$)
dol [d̪ɔl]	valley, deep place	(C$_i$VC$_f$)
lak [lak˺]	hand, arm [Dolakhā]	(C$_i$VC$_f$)
laʔ [laʔ]	hand, arm [Sindhupālcok]	(C$_i$VC$_f$)

| *mus* | body hair, head hair | (C$_i$VC$_f$) |
| [muṣ] | | |

| *pur* | nipple | (C$_i$VC$_f$) |
| [pur] | | |

| *rot* | landslide | (C$_i$VC$_f$) |
| [rɔt̯] | | |

| *sem* | a Tamang | (C$_i$VC$_f$) |
| [ṣɛm] | [Sindhupālcok] | |

A syllable may also consist of a consonant and a vowel (C$_i$V) 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:

| *bliŋsa* | to reverse, overturn |
| [blɪŋṣa] | |

| *glensa* | to be left over (of food) |
| [glɛnṣa] | |

| *kleŋ thasa* | to be full [Dolakhā dialect] |
| [klɛŋ t̯ʰaṣa] | |

| *pleŋsa* | to become full, be filled [Sindhupālcok dialect] |
| [plɛŋṣa] | |

The phoneme /r/ is attested as a post-consonantal glide (G) following /b/, /d/, /k/, /kh/, /p/, /s/ and /t/:

| *broŋ* | mildew |
| [brɔŋ] | |

| *droʔosa* | to run, flee [Sindhupālcok dialect] |
| [d̯rɔʔɔṣa] | |

| *krepsa* | to cry, weep |
| [krɛpṣa] | |

khrimsa [kʰrɪmʂa]	to twist, braid, entwine
priŋ [prɪŋ]	outside
srăi [ʂrɑɪ]	a species of small tree, *Eurya japonica*
traba [ṭraba]	ashes

The phoneme /y/ is attested as a post-consonantal glide (G) following /b/, /c/, /ch/, /ḍ/, /g/, /k/, /kh/, /j/, /l/, /m/, /n/, /ŋ/, /p/, /r/, /s/, /t/, /ṭ/ and /ṭh/, some examples of which are given below:

cyasa [tsjaʂa]	to eat
chyasa [tsʰjaʂa]	to be pulled off, scraped off
ḍyaksa [ḍjakʂa]	to mature, ripen
gyal-gyalti [gjalgjalṭi]	fecund, highly fertile
kyaŋ [kjaŋ]	needle wood tree, *Schima wallichii*
khyaksa [kʰjakʂa]	to fall from above and get trapped or stuck
lyuŋ [ljuŋ]	stone, rock
myuŋ [mjuŋ]	cloth, clothes, material

ŋyu   brain
[ŋju]

tyaŋ   then, well, and
[ṭjaŋ]

tyaŋ-tyaŋ   naked
[ṭjaŋṭjaŋ]

The phoneme /w/ is attested as a post-consonantal glide (G) following /g/ and /k/ only:

gwi   thief, robber
[gwi]

gwaṇiṇiŋ   pregnant female
[gwaṇiṇɪŋ]

kwăi   root vegetables, particularly potatoes
[kwɑɪ]

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/ [tʰɪŋ]. 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:

syapṭa   a species of small bird   (C_iGVC_f C_iV)
[ṣjapṭa]

aḍipsa   to suckle (vi.)   (V C_iVC_f C_iV)
[aḍɪpsa]

tamtam   white clay   (C_iVC_f C_iVC_f)
[ṭamṭam]

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:

puppap   sweepings
[pupᵖap]

botton   thorny bamboo, *Bambusa arundinacea*
[bɔʈʈɔn]

gyaṭṭa   loincloth
[gjaʈʈa]

ukkar   wild cush-cush, yam, *Dioscorea deltoidea*
[ukkar]

hen-no   take!
[hɛnno]

syuŋŋan   garuga, *Garuga pinnata*
[ṣjuŋŋan]

hassa   to fall from a height, fall down (and not die)
[haṣṣa]

kulla   ear
[kulla]

On account of the phonological composition of the verbal agreement suffixes in Thangmi, geminate sequences of the consonant phoneme /ŋ/ are widely attested:

cijyaŋ-ŋa-du   I speak
[tsidzaŋŋadu]

waŋ-ŋa-n   I came up
[waŋŋan]

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:

huca	baby, child, infant
[hutsa]	

huccha	baby, child, infant when being spoken or
[hutstsʰa]	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 [hoː ṭoː] and *aṭṭhe apraca* 'very good, excellent' which is often pronounced with lengthened initial vowels on each word, as in [aːṭṭʰɛ aːpratsa]. 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 măi-Ø-du* (over.there-LOC go-ADH must-sAS-NPT) 'you must go over there', in which [d̪ʰu] is often rendered as [d̪ʰuː] 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 [ɑ ~ 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] /ă/. 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 *găi* [gɑɪ]; or the trisyllabic Nepali *thakāī* 'weariness, fatigue' which becomes disyllabic when rendered by most Thangmi as *thakăi* [t̪ʰakɑɪ].

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 loose the causative and infinitive elements <-āunu> and receive <-ăisa> in Thangmi, as in Thangmi *paḍhăisa* [paḍʰɑɪṣa] '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 <-ăisisa> (*ăi* + REF + INF), as in Nepali *paḍhnu* 'to read, study' and Thangmi *paḍhăisisa* [paḍʰɑɪṣiṣa] '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 *ă* 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* [hɛnsa] (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 [hɪkhɪksa] and certainly not *[hikʰɪksa]. Hyphens are further used to separate the components of reduplicative, rhyming and onomatopoeic adjectival forms, as in *ṭyaŋ-ṭyaŋ* [ʈjaŋʈjaŋ] '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 *beglăi ∼ 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 [ṣi], 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 /ṇ/ [ɳ], as shown below:

<lyuŋ ∽ liŋ ∽ ṇiŋ>	stone, rock
<kili ∽ kiṇi>	faeces, excrement, shit
<lukumbasya ∽ ṇukumbasya>	behind, back
<lore ∽ ṇoneŋ>	jackal

While the alternation of /l/ and /ṇ/ is most commonly heard in the forms shown above, older monolingual Thangmi speakers use /l/ and /ṇ/ interchangeably in scores of native Thangmi words. In particular, popular alternations include <lu ∽ ṇu> 'later, after' and <lumsa ∽ ṇumsa> '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
[waɲɛŋḍu]
<waŋ-eŋ-du>
come.from.below-pAS-NPT

dany-eŋ-no   they sought
[ḍaɲɛŋno]
<daŋ-eŋ-no>
seek-pAS-3→3/PT

lony-eŋ-ŋa-n   they did [it] to me
[loɲɛŋŋan]
<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)
[ṣubaɲɛ]
<su-baŋ-e>
who-Pp-ERG

This assimilation is represented by the following rule:

$$\sum /\eta/ \quad \rightarrow \quad \sum /ny/ \qquad\qquad / \qquad\_/e/$$

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

$$\Sigma\ /a/ \quad \rightarrow \quad \Sigma\ /ah/ \qquad / \qquad \_/a/$$

examples include:

> *thah-an*   he/she/it became
> [t̪ʰafian]
> <tha-Ø-an>
> be-sAS-3S/PT
>
> *cawah-an*   he/she/it walked
> [tsawafian]
> <cawa-Ø-an>
> walk-sAS-3S/PT

For the rule

$$\Sigma\ /a/ \quad \rightarrow \quad \Sigma\ /ah/ \qquad / \qquad \_/o/$$

examples include:

ŋah-o!   say it!
[ŋafio]
<ŋa-o>
say-s→3/IMP

tortah-o!   leave it!
[t̪ɔr̪t̪afio]
<torta-o>
leave-s→3/IMP

For the rule

$$\sum /a/ \quad \rightarrow \quad \sum /ah/ \qquad / \qquad \_/u/$$

examples include:

ŋah-u-n-uŋ   I said
[ŋafiunuŋ]
<ŋa-u-n-uŋ>
say-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT

cyah-u-no   he/she/it ate
[tsjafiuno]
<cya-Ø-u-no>
eat-sAS-3P-3→3/PT

For the rule

$$\sum /a/ \quad \rightarrow \quad \sum /ay/ \qquad / \qquad \_/e/$$

examples include:

ŋay-eŋ-du   they say
[ŋajɛŋd̪u]
<ŋa-eŋ-du>
say-pAS-NPT

usyay-eŋ-an   he/she/it danced
[us̪jajɛŋan]
<usya-eŋ-an>
dance-pAS-3S/PT

For the rule

$$\Sigma \text{ /a/} \quad \rightarrow \quad \Sigma \text{ /ay/} \qquad / \qquad \_\text{/i/}$$

examples include:

ray-i-n   we came
[rajɪn]
<ra-i-n>
come.from.level-1pPS-PT

thay-i-du   we are
[t̪ʰajiḍu]
<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:

$$\Sigma \text{ /e/} \quad \rightarrow \quad \begin{Bmatrix} \Sigma \text{ /ey/} \begin{Bmatrix} \_\text{/a/} \\ \_\text{/e/} \\ \_\text{/i/} \end{Bmatrix} \\ \Sigma \text{ /eh/} \begin{Bmatrix} \_\text{/u/} \end{Bmatrix} \\ \Sigma \text{ /ew/} \begin{Bmatrix} \_\text{/o/} \end{Bmatrix} \end{Bmatrix}$$

For the rule

$$\Sigma \text{ /e/} \quad \rightarrow \quad \Sigma \text{ /ey/} \qquad / \qquad \_\text{/a/}$$

an example is:

ikhey-an   it crowed
[ikʰɛjan]
<ikhe-Ø-an>
crow-sAS-3S/PT

For the rule

        ∑ /e/   →   ∑ /ey/   /   _/e/

an example is:

    ney-eŋ-to-le   having ground
    [nɛjɛɳʈolɛ]
    <ne-eŋ-to-le>
    grind-pAS-TPP-PCL

For the rule

        ∑ /e/   →   ∑ /ey/   /   _/i/

an example is:

    ṇey-i-n   you/he/they beat us
    [ɳɛjɪn]
    <ṇe-i-n>
    beat-1pPS-PT

For the rule

        ∑ /e/   →   ∑ /eh/   /   _/u/

an example is:

    koʈeh-u-du   he/she/it cuts
    [koʈɛɦuɖu]
    <koʈe-Ø-u-du>
    cut-sAS-3P-NPT

For the rule

        ∑ /e/   →   ∑ /ew/   /   _/o/

an example is:

    şew-o!   taste it!
    [şɛwo]
    <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:

$$
\Sigma\ /i/ \;\rightarrow\; \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \Sigma\ /iy/ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \_/a/ \\ \_/e/ \\ \_/i/ \\ \_/o/ \end{array} \right\} \\[2em] \Sigma\ /ih \sim iy/ \left\{ \quad \_/u/ \quad \right\} \end{array} \right\}
$$

For the rule

$$\Sigma\ /i/ \quad \rightarrow \quad \Sigma\ /iy/ \qquad / \qquad \_/a/$$

an example is:

    amiy-an   he/she/it slept
    [amijan]
    <ami-Ø-an>
    sleep-sAS-3S/PT

For the rule

$$\Sigma\ /i/ \quad \rightarrow \quad \Sigma\ /iy/ \qquad / \qquad \_/e/$$

an example is:

    piy-eŋ-no   they gave
    [pijɛŋno]
    <pi-eŋ-no>
    give-pAS-3→3/PT

For the rule

$$\Sigma\ /i/ \quad \rightarrow \quad \Sigma\ /iy/ \qquad / \qquad \_/i/$$

an example is:

ariy-i-n   we were afraid
[arijɪn]
<ari-i-n>
be.afraid-1pPS-PT

For the rule

$$\sum /i/ \quad \rightarrow \quad \sum /iy/ \qquad / \qquad \_/o/$$

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

$$\sum /i/ \quad \rightarrow \quad \sum /ih \sim iy/ \qquad / \qquad \_/u/$$

Examples include:

nih-u-n-uŋ ∼ niy-u-n-uŋ   I saw
[niɦunuŋ ∼ nijunuŋ]
<ni-u-n-uŋ>
see-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT

pih-Ø-u-no ∼ piy-Ø-u-no   he/she/it gave
[piɦuno ∼ 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:

$$\Sigma \text{ /o/} \rightarrow \begin{cases} \Sigma \text{ /oy/} & \begin{cases} \_\text{/e/} \\ \_\text{/i/} \end{cases} \\ \Sigma \text{ /oh/} & \begin{cases} \_\text{/o/} \\ \_\text{/u/} \end{cases} \\ \Sigma \text{ /ow/} & \begin{cases} \_\text{/a/} \end{cases} \end{cases}$$

For the rule

$$\Sigma \text{ /o/} \quad \rightarrow \quad \Sigma \text{ /oy/} \qquad / \qquad \_\text{/e/}$$

an example is:

    yoy-eŋ-no   they looked at [something]
    [jojɛŋno]
    <yo-eŋ-no>
    look.at-pAS-3→3/PT

For the rule

$$\Sigma \text{ /o/} \quad \rightarrow \quad \Sigma \text{ /oy/} \qquad / \qquad \_\text{/i/}$$

an example is:

    poy-i-n   you/he/they chased us
    [pojɪn]
    <po-i-n>
    chase-1pPS-PT

For the rule

$$\Sigma \text{ /o/} \quad \rightarrow \quad \Sigma \text{ /oh/} \qquad / \qquad \_\text{/o/}$$

an example is:

    toh-o!   dig!
    [ṭoɦo]
    <to-o>
    dig-s→3/IMP

For the rule

$$\Sigma \ /o/ \quad \rightarrow \quad \Sigma \ /oh/ \qquad\qquad / \qquad\qquad \_/u/$$

an example is:

    yoh-u-du   he/she/it looks at [something]
    [joɦu̯du]
    <yo-Ø-u-du>
    look.at-sAS-3P-NPT

For the rule

$$\Sigma \ /o/ \quad \rightarrow \quad \Sigma \ /ow/ \qquad\qquad / \qquad\qquad \_/a/$$

an example is:

    mow-an   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:

$$\Sigma \ /u/ \quad \rightarrow \quad
\begin{cases}
\Sigma \ /uy/ & \begin{cases} \_/e/ \\ \_/i/ \end{cases} \\[2ex]
\Sigma \ /uw/ & \begin{cases} \_/a/ \\ \_/o/ \end{cases} \\[2ex]
\Sigma \ /uh/ & \{\ \_/u/\ \}
\end{cases}$$

For the rule

$$\Sigma \ /u/ \quad \rightarrow \quad \Sigma \ /uy/ \qquad\qquad / \qquad\qquad \_/e/$$

an example is:

cabuy-eŋ-du   they carry
[tsabujɛŋ̠du]
<cabu-eŋ-du>
carry-pAS-NPT

For the rule

       ∑ /u/   →   ∑ /uy/   /   _/i/

an example is:

nuy-i-n   we laughed
[nujɪn]
<nu-i-n>
laugh-1pPS-PT

For the rule

       ∑ /u/   →   ∑ /uw/   /   _/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

       ∑ /u/   →   ∑ /uw/   /   _/o/

an example is:

chyuw-o!   tie it up!
[tsʰjuwo]
<chyu-o>
tie-s→3/IMP

For the rule

       ∑ /u/   →   ∑ /uh/   /   _/u/

an example is:

ḍapuh-u-du   he/she/it spies
[ḍapuɦuḍu]
<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 /ăi/ is as follows:

$$
\Sigma / \breve{a}i/ \quad \rightarrow \quad \left\{ \Sigma / \breve{a}iy/ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \_/a/ \\ \_/e/ \\ \_/i/ \\ \_/o/ \\ \_/u/ \end{array} \right\} \right\}
$$

Examples include:

măiy-an   he/she/it must [preterite tense]
[mɑɪjan]
<măi-Ø-an>
must-sAS-3S/PT

săiy-eŋ-no   they knew
[ʂɑɪjeŋno]
<săi-eŋ-no>
know-pAS-3→3/PT

karăiy-i-n   we feel [hungry]
[kaɾɑɪjɪn]
<karăi-i-n>
shout-1pPS-PT

nasăiy-o!   listen!
[naʂɑɪjo]
<nasăi-o>
hear-s→3/IMP

kăiy-u-du   he/she/it removes
[kɑɪjud̪u]
<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:

$$
\Sigma \text{ /ei/} \quad \rightarrow \quad \left\{ \quad \Sigma \text{ /eiy/} \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \_/a/ \\ \_/u/ \end{array} \right\} \quad \right\}
$$

Examples include:

kheiy-an   it spilled
[kʰɛɪjan]
<khei-Ø-an>
spill-sAS-3S/PT

kheiy-u-no   he/she/it poured
[kʰɛɪjuno]
<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:

$$
\Sigma \text{ /ui/} \quad \rightarrow \quad \Sigma \text{ /uiy/} \qquad / \qquad \_/a/
$$

an example of which is:

nuiy-an   he/she/it laughed
[nuɪjan]
<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:

$$\Sigma\ /ou/ \ \rightarrow \ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \Sigma\ /ouw/ \ \left\{ \quad \_/a/ \quad \right\} \\[2em] \Sigma\ /ouy/ \ \left\{ \quad \_/i/ \quad \right\} \\[2em] \Sigma\ /ouh/ \ \left\{ \quad \_/u/ \quad \right\} \end{array} \right\}$$

Examples include:

aghyouw-an   he/she/it cried out
[agʰjɔuwan]
<aghyou-Ø-an>
cry.out-sAS-3S/PT

urouy-i-n   you/he/they called us
[urɔujɪn]
<urou-i-n>
call-1pPS-PT

urouh-u-du   he/she/it calls
[urɔuɦuḍu]
<urou-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:

tha-an   he/she/it became
[t̺ʰaːn] rather than [t̺ʰaɦan]
<tha-Ø-an>
be-sAS-3S/PT

ne-eŋ-to-le   having ground
[neːŋʈolɛ] rather than [nɛjeŋʈolɛ]
<ne-eŋ-to-le>
grind-pAS-TPP-PCL

ari-i-n   we were afraid
[arɪːn] rather than [arijɪn]
<ari-i-n>
be.afraid-1pPS-PT

to-o!   dig!
[ʈoː] rather than [ʈofio]
<to-o>
dig-s→3/IMP

ḍapu-u-du   he/she/it spies
[ḍapuːd̪u] rather than [ḍapufiud̪u]
<ḍapu-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:

thaʔ-an   he/she/it became
[t̪ʰaʔan] rather than [t̪ʰafian]
<tha-Ø-an>
be-sAS-3S/PT

toʔ-o!   dig!
[ʈoʔo] rather than [ʈofio]
<to-o>
dig-s→3/IMP

yuʔ-an   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]

dorok-an ~ drok-an   he/she/it ran
[dɔɾɔkan ~ drɔkan]
<dorok-Ø-an>
run-sAS-3S/PT

tarak-an ~ trak-an   he/she/it made him/her/it-self present/felt
[taɾakan ~ trakan]
<tarak-Ø-an>
make.itself.present-sAS-3S/PT

serek-an ~ srek-an   he/she/it got up
[ʂɛɾɛkan ~ ʂrɛkan]
<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 ['sɛkrɪtrɪ] rather than ['sɛkrɪtɛri] '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 ~ -mǎi ~ -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

hu / humi	younger brother / younger sister
ca / camǎi	son / daughter
huca / huci	boy / girl
ṭhoṇe / ṭhoṇi	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 *tāmāṅ* 'a Tamang man' and *tāmāṅnī* '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

kucu / kucuni	dog / bitch
roimi / roimini	Newar man / Newar woman
sem / semni	Tamang man / Tamang woman
thaŋmi / thaŋmini	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 *ṭhoṇe* 'old man, husband' and *ṭhoṇi* 'old woman, wife' resemble Nepali *būḍhā* 'old man' and *būḍhī* '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 buvā* '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*

mama- (FEM)			
papa- (MALE)			
me- buffalo	*sya* bovine, cow	*-ca* (DIM)	
wa- 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 *mannetjeskrokodil* '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-uŋ.*
     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*   *ṭhi*   *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 *gǎi-go bubu-ko   sum-gore mama-phesu hok-Ø-du,   gǎi-go-guri*
   I-GEN   elder.brother-GEN three-CLF FEM-sheep   be-sAS-NPT   I-GEN-IND

   di-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-ṭuṇi roimi   uniŋ bǎsinṭe bhari uni*
   that FEM-goat   Newar   like   morning *full*   sun

   cyaṭaŋ-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, millstone', 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   doroŋ-ŋaŋ   saŋa   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   uniŋ, 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 *mamalaʔ* 'middle finger' is contrasted with *papalaʔ* '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,   rapaʔcameʔ-ko*
    then   fit.together-INF finish-CNS-after red.Himalayan.bamboo-GEN

    yala-kăi   peʔe-ta-le   papa-cameʔ-kăi   adum   paŋku-te
    flexible-PM   strip.down-IPP-PCL   MALE-bamboo-PM   hot   water-LOC

    daʔa-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:	*nem*	house
	nem-pali	houses
	huca	child
	huca-pali	children
	mi	person
	mi-pali	people
adjectives:	*ubo*	white
	ubo-pali	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   ṭhare-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 *baṛi-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 *paŋku-pali* 'various types of water or liquid', i.e. 'alcohol', from *paŋku* '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 *saŋa-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   saŋa   kum-wa-du'*
    we-GEN   child-p-ERG   we-ERG   millet   cut.horizontally-1p→23-NPT

    ŋay-eŋ-thyo.
    say-pAS-3sCOND

        Our children had said, 'we'll harvest the millet'.

21 *ni-ye   sakalei mi-pali-ko   miŋ   ni-wa-n.*
    we-ERG   all   person-p-GEN   cloth   see-1p→23-PT

        We saw everyone's clothes.

22 *huca-pali-kăi tun-sa   gap-eŋ-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 pheŋga   cabuy-eŋ-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   ņey-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   măi-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   ŋah-Ø-u-no   'nan   ka-baŋ   amiy-eŋ-du,   tyaŋ*
after   that-ERG   say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   now   this-Pp   sleep-pAS-NPT   then

ya-ŋa-du',   tyaŋ   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 găi-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 represent-ation 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 *di-ka   mi-ye   'nan ka-baŋ-kăi paŋ   pi-ko*
    one-HNC person-ERG now   this-Pp-PM sour.fruit give-ADH

    măi-Ø-du,   tyaŋ 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 redup-
lication, 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 the 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'　　　ŋa-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-ŋa　libi, guru-kăi　　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　*miryaŋ　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　*miryaŋ　gă-ye　jet　loŋ-u-n-uŋ.*
　　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-kăi　　　sakalei*
　　house-LOC　go-appear-IPP-1pPS-PCL　we-ERG　other.person-PM　all

　　wakhe　ŋa-wa-n.
　　word　say-1p→23-PT

　　　Once we got home, we told everyone all our stories.

39   *yaŋ   găi-găi   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   *ni-ye   jet   loŋ-wa-du.*
     we-ERG   work   do-1p→23-NPT

          We shall work.

41   *gă-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   *găi chya găi-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   *găi 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 peṇe-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 peṇey-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 ṭhăi-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   *cyaṭane-ye   ṇeh-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   ṇeh-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   ṇeh-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 *maṇăi lak-e   man-sa.*
    bread   hand-INS   knead-INF

        To knead bread by hand.

61 *di-ka-ye   citaliŋ 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 loŋ-to-le   woi kutaleŋ woi ma-jah-Ø-an,   rage*
    that do-TPP-PCL   also when   also NEG-okay-sAS-3S/PT anger

    let-ŋa-n,   maŋ-ŋaŋ   me-ye   jyouh-u-n-uŋ.'
    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 *gaŋ-ŋa libi, seny-e   ṇey-eŋ-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 koṭey-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: *karăisa*, 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 *malāī 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 *karăi-ŋa-n* (shout-1s-PT) 'I shouted' is homophonous with the transitive preterite singular agent to first person singular patient form *karăi-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 karăiy-Ø-an* (that food-INS shout-sAS-3S/PT) 'he/she/it is feels hungry) and *to-baŋ isa-ye karăiy-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 khaṇou ṭaŋ-sa   ma-kyel-Ø-an,   mosani rage-ye*
    who   also door   open-INF   NEG-come-sAS-3S/PT   spirit anger-INS

    khaṇou ṭhem-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 *niŋ   ci-theŋ-Ø-u-no,   ṭiṭiŋ-Ø-an   hani*
    stone CAUS-stand.up-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   fall.over-sAS-3S/PT how.much

    ci-theŋ-Ø-u-no,   ṭitiŋ-Ø-an,   tyaŋ   rage-ye   to
    CAUS-stand.up-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   fall.over-sAS-3S/PT then   anger-INS   that

    niŋ-kăi   cyaṭane-ye   neh-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
malāī rīs āyo/uṭhyo (lit. anger came to me, anger arose in me) 'I became angry'.

70   *nyoṇi   apa-kăi   woi   ci-săiy-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,   găi-găi   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   ṭhăi-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-kăi   apraca-ye*
      millet-GEN   seed put-INF before unirrigated.field-PM   good-INS

      sya-ko   syă-kli   cuk-to-le   sya   wa-ko
      bovine-GEN   bovine-shit   insert-TPP-PCL   bovine   plough-ADH

      măi-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 *găi* 'I', to form the first person singular possessive pronoun *găi-go* (I-GEN) 'my', as in example 75. All other occurrences of the genitive morpheme are of the regular allomorph <-ko> (GEN).

75 *găi-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 *găi 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   koṭe 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   nyakaṇeŋ-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, *ṭila-ko uni* (cold-GEN day) has the meaning 'on a cold day', and native speakers reject the form **ṭila uni* (cold day). To convey the meaning 'it was a cold day' or 'the day was cold', the adjective *ṭila* 'cold' follows the noun *uni* 'day, sun', as in the phrase *uni ṭila thah-Ø-an* (day cold be-sAS-3S/PT).

86   *ṭila-ko   uni, cereŋ-cereŋ uni woi ma-hok-Ø-thyo.*
     cold-GEN   day scorching   sun also NEG-be-sAS-3sCOND

        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   isyaŋ
     go-appear-sAS-3S/PT   near-GEN   walnut   tree-LOC be-sAS-3S/PT that period

     to-ko   camǎi-ko   bore   tha-Ø-le   hok-Ø-thyo.
     that-GEN   daughter-GEN   marriage be-sAS-PCL   be-sAS-3sCOND

        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   ṭaye 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 ᴗ -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, *tapāĩ-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   loṇe   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,   ṭhoṇi   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 *găi-go hok-Ø-du* (I-GEN be-sAS-NPT) 'I have one/mine', or as in example 96.

96 *naŋ-ko   hok-Ø-du,   găi-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, găi-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 *găi-go walŋa-ka tete,   libi-ko   găi.*
    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, găi 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 găi-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 *nyoṇi   tha-ŋa libi, oste oste-ko   nem   dăi   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 ᵕ -go> (GEN), as in example 102.

102 *ka-kăi   li-sa,   saŋa, makăi-ko uniŋ aye jet loŋ-sa*
    this-PM broadcast-INF millet *maize*-GEN like much work do-INF

    ma-măi.
    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 ᵕ -go> (GEN) to give highly specific meanings. The phrase *pepelek-ko* (money-GEN)

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[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).

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[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 *găi nem-te   ya-ŋa-du.*
     I   house-LOC   go-1s-NPT

       I'm going home.

106 *găi-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 *găi 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-kăi   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 *baṇi 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 naṭe-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, *ălămtha-te* (distance-LOC) 'in the distance/far away'

(112), *ukhiŋ-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 *ălămtha-te   di-ka   camăica khalam-Ø-u-no,   camăica-ko apa*
     distant-LOC one-HNC woman   meet-sAS-3P-3→3/PT woman-GEN father

     ama-kăi   ŋa-to-le,   ca-ko   bore   loŋ-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-eŋ-to-le,   ukhiŋ-te   caway-eŋ-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   ŋa-Ø-ŋa-n,   'nan, ka-yiŋ   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 găi ami-ŋa-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 ṭhăi daŋ-ca   daŋ-ca
    I-GEN who also NEG-be I silent place search-PSG search-PSG

    ra-ŋa-du,   *tyaŋ 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 ṇiŋ   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 *'ṭila-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   aṭṭhe   taŋ-Ø-an,   libi   to-ŋaŋ   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-ŋa   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-kăi   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-kăi yante-ŋaŋ   ne-to-le   phase loŋ-to-le,   maṇăi, 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   ṭhăi-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 thapu-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 *'găi 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 *găi kiṇi 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   gă-ye to-ko   konṭe-ŋaŋ   ṇiŋ   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 *ṭhoṇi-ye,   ukhiŋ-ŋaŋ   ṭuṇi rah-Ø-an   ŋa-to-le,*
old.woman-ERG dark-inside goat come.from.level-sAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL

nyakaṇeŋ   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-kăi   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: *nama*
    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 miryaŋ   su   nama ya-na-n?*
you yesterday who   with   go-2s-PT

> With whom did you go yesterday?

138 *găi ari-sa   ma-măi-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-kăi*
    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 *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.
    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 *saṅga* '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 *gǎi   nama   pepelek   ma-hok.*
    I   with   money   NEG-be

      I don't have a penny [any money]. [*ma saṅga paisā chaina*.]

144 *naŋ   nama   me   hok-Ø-du?*
    you with   fire be-sAS-NPT

      Do you have a light? [*timī saṅga āgo cha?*]

145 *to   nama   sum-ka   hu   hok-eŋ-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-eŋ-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,*   *naleŋ   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 *nis-ka   nama   nama   caway-eŋ-du   beryaŋ,   nem-te*
    two-HNC with   with   walk-pAS-NPT that.time house-LOC

    ya-let-eŋ-an.
    go-appear-pAS-3S/PT

      The two of them, walking together, arrived at his house.

149 *'libi gă-ye duŋ-yiŋ   naŋ-kăi 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 ălămtha 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 baṭhe   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-kăi di ṭhăi-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,   camăica woi to   nama ălămtha*
     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 kanṭi 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 saṅga khānuhos* 'bon appétit' (lit. please eat well) and *rāmro
saṅga 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 *gă-ye naŋ-kăi baṭhe yo-na-ŋa-du.*
 I-ERG you-PM tomorrow look.at-2s-1s-NPT

  I will see you tomorrow.

161 *uni-ye găi-găi 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 *găi naŋ-kăi seny-e ṇe-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-kăi 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 gă-ye su-kăi woi ma-ŋosăiy-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 <-kăi ∽ -găi> (PM), thus: *găi isa cya-ŋa-du* (I food eat-1s-NPT) 'I am eating food' and explicitly not **găi isa-kăi cya-ŋa-du* (I food-PM eat-1s-NPT). The patient marker <-kăi ∽ -găi> (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 *găi naŋ-kăi 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, bakoṭek-guri to-ko uma-kăi,*
 that alone NEG-eat-sAS-3sCOND half-IND that-GEN wife-PM

 ŋa-to-le găi-go apa-ko ama-kăi, 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-kăi   to-te   isa   piy-i-n.*
    we   two-HNC-PM   that-LOC   food   give-1pPS-PT

      In that place, we were given food.

168 *gă-ye apraca jet   loŋ-ŋa libi, naŋ-kăi 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 *găi-găi cijyaŋ-sa ṭisen-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 <-kăi ∽ -găi> (PM) combines with the interrogative pronouns *hara* 'what' and *su* 'who' to produce *hara-kăi* 'why' (lit. 'what-PM') and *su-kăi* 'whom' (lit. 'who-PM') respectively, as shown in examples 170 to 173.

170 *hara-kăi   ma-cya?*
    what-PM   NEG-eat

      Why don't (you) eat?

171 *hara-kăi   rage   tha-na-n?*
    what-PM   anger   be-2s-PT

      Why have you become angry?

172 *hen-ko, hara-kăi 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 gă-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, *-lāī*. 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 *-lāī* 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 *gǎi-gǎi tila-ŋa-n,   gǎi me   cyaṭaŋ-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-kǎi   kapu kalǎi-Ø-du,*
     hand-LOC   hold-TPP-PCL say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT this-PM   head hurt-sAS-NPT

    baŋkal   woi kalǎi-Ø-du'.
     stomach   also hurt-sAS-NPT

    Holding onto her hand, he said, 'her head hurts and her stomach also hurts'.

179 *ṭhoṇe-kǎi   woi ma-ci-let-Ø-u-no,   ṭhoṇi-kǎi   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 <-kǎi ‿ -gǎi> (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 *-lāī*. Sentences 180 to 184 below offer examples of constructions calqued, or even directly loaned, from Nepali which make use of the patient marker <-kǎi ‿ -gǎi> (PM).

180 *naŋ-kǎi kasto hok-Ø-du.*
     you-PM   *how*   be-sAS-NPT

    How are you?

181 *gǎi-gǎi ninra   kyel-ŋa-n.*
     I-PM   *sleepy* come-1s-PT

    I'm tired [lit. sleepiness has come to me].

182 *bophura, gǎi-gǎi thaha   ma-thah-Ø-an.*
     pity   I-PM   *knowledge*   NEG-be-sAS-3S/PT

    I'm sorry, I didn't know.

183 *gǎi-gǎi 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 *gă-ye ŋah-u-n-uŋ*   *'găi-găi thaŋmi kham   uchincăi*
     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 <-kăi ∽ -găi> (PM) co-occurs with an infinitive
verb, the postposition conveys the meaning of 'in order to' and functions as a supine.
Nepali *-lāī* is used with verbal infinitives in a similar manner. Sentences 185 to 188
illustrate this use of the Thangmi patient marker <-kăi ∽ -găi> (PM).

185 *ni-kăi   dewa yo-sa-kăi   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   găi to-kăi   yo-sa-kăi   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   găi-găi cek-sa-kăi   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 *gă-ye ḍoka   tak-sa-kăi   ṇiny-e   camek*
     I-ERG *wicker.basket* weave-INF-PM stone-INS thin.bamboo

     ṇeh-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 <-kăi ∽ -găi> (PM) can also combine with a verb phrase if this
yields a semantically plausible combination. In example 189, the third person
singular conjugation of *kalăisa* 'to hurt', *kalăi-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   oŋgaṇe-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 -*lāī*, which can replace -*ko lāgi* 'for' in vernacular Nepali.

193 *'nan   camăi-pali-kăi   ḍamari,   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   ṭhoṇe   ṭhoṇi-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 individuative 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 Lāpīlāṅ 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   ṇiŋ-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   doroŋ-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   ṇiŋ   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-kăi   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-kăi   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   ălămtha-yiŋ
person-ERG see-sAS-3P-3→3/PT that-ERG distant-ABL

ŋosăiy-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   camăi-ye   maŋăi jyouy-eŋ-no,*
within-inside mother daughter-ERG bread   burn-pAS-3→3/PT

ḍamari-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 *ḍiŋ-ḍiŋ gare-ye   humi-kăi   kapu-yiŋ konṭe-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 <-yiŋ ‿ -yiniŋ> (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-yiŋ,   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-yiŋ,   apa   woi begale uma uniŋ 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 <-giŋ> (ABL) instead of <-yiŋ ‿ -yiniŋ>
(ABL) to mark ablative arguments, as in example 214. Dolakhā <-yiŋ ‿ -yiniŋ> is
understood in Sindhupālcok, but the reverse is not the case, and speakers of the
Dolakhā dialect categorically reject <-giŋ> as an ablative allomorph.

214 *to-giŋ   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<-ŋi> as
allomorphs of the ablative postposition <-yiŋ ‿ -yiniŋ> (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:	*priŋ*
label:	outside, without
morph:	*duŋ*
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   'camǎi,   nem-te-ko*
       mother   laugh-sAS-IPP-PCL   say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   daughter   house-LOC-GEN

       sakalei   jet   camǎi-ye   loŋ-ko   mǎi-Ø-du,   ḍamari-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 peṇey-eŋ-du   cahuca-pali-ye khoṇi,*
     woman-p-ERG   seed sow-pAS-NPT man-p-ERG   small.mattock

     tokolok-e wa-si-Ø-du   ṭhăi-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: *dăi*
     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 găi dikaca nem-te   hara-kăi hen-sa? nan ma-ya'*
     now   I   alone   house-LOC   what-PM   go-INF   now NEG-go

     ŋa-to-le,   to   begale jekha dese dăi   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 dăi   dorok-Ø-an,   ṭuṇi 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 *dăi* '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   dăi   ṭila aṭṭhe tha-Ø-du,   dha   dăi   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 *dăi* 'towards',
as in *ka dăi* (this towards), may convey the meaning of 'around here', while *ka dăi
dha dăi* (this towards that.distant towards) is best translated as 'here and there', as
shown in examples 224 and 225 below. These constructions are analagous to Nepali
yatā-tira utā-tirā 'over here and over there'.

224 *'nan   ka   dăi   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?'   ŋa-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 *ṭaye uma lawa-ko   wakhe thah-Ø-an   'uma, găi sumaka*
night wife husband-GEN   word   be-sAS-3S/PT wife   I   silent

hok-ŋa-du, nany-e   ka   nunu ka   dăi   dha   dăi
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:	*ka*
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 *ṭaye ka   ṭhoiṭhoi-Ø-thyo.*
night throughout   cough-sAS-3sCOND

> He would cough all night.

227 *'di uni ka   raŋ-te   jet loŋ-to-le,   nyoṇi   woi*
one day throughout   unirrigated.field-LOC   work do-TPP-PCL   evening also

isa   ken   uman-sa,   gă-ye ma-măi.'
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*   *aṛtik-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 *baṭhe*   *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 ḍamari aṭṭhe 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   maṇăi   kwăi   ḍamari-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   peṇe-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 ṭhăi   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 arṭik-Ø-du.*
    that frog   like   cry-sAS-NPT

        She croaks just like a frog.

240 *jakcho-kăi   uniŋ, nis-paṭak   sya   wa-ko   măi-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 găi-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   săiy-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   ṭiṭiy-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-3sCOND

       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 improductive 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 Phāseluṅ', 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).

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[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 ṭhoṇi-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   aṭṭhe   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

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[8] See Rutgers' description of the Yamphu theme suffix <-ko> (TH) (1998: 282-286) and Opgenort's analysis of the Wambule theme marker <-ḍā ~ -ḍ> (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,   gă-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-kăi-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 *gă-ye   ŋah-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 individuative suffix *guri*

    morph: <-guri>
    label: IND

The Thangmi individuative 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 individuative 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 individuative 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,   găi-guri oste-ko   nem*
    that-inside elder.brother-IND   be-sAS-3S/PT I-IND   self-GEN   house

    dăi   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 individuative 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 individuative 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 individuative 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 individuative 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 individuative 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 individuative 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 individuative 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-eŋ-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-kăi-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 individuative 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 *gă-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

găi	I	1s
ni	we	1p
naŋ	you	2s
niŋ	you(p)	2p
ka	he, she, it	3s (proximal)
to	he, she, it	3s (distal)
dha	he, she, it	3s (distant)
ka-baŋ	they	3p (proximal)
to-baŋ	they	3p (distal)
dha-baŋ	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-kăi*
   one-HNC-ERG   say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT friend-p   now this person-p-PM

   ṇe-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-kăi*
   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
gǎi	*gǎ-ye ~ ge*	*gǎi-go*	*gǎi-gǎi*
ni	*ni-ye*	*ni-ko*	*ni-kǎi*
naŋ	*nany-e*	*naŋ-ko*	*naŋ-kǎi*
niŋ	*niny-e*	*niŋ-ko*	*niŋ-kǎi*
ka	*ka-ye*	*ka-ko*	*ka-kǎi*
to	*to-ye*	*to-ko*	*to-kǎi*
dha	*dha-ye*	*dha-ko*	*dha-kǎi*
ka-baŋ	*ka-bany-e*	*ka-baŋ-ko*	*ka-baŋ-kǎi*
to-baŋ	*to-bany-e*	*to-baŋ-ko*	*to-baŋ-kǎi*
dha-baŋ	*dha-bany-e*	*dha-baŋ-ko*	*dha-baŋ-kǎi*

The first person singular personal pronoun *găi* 'I' has irregular forms in the ergative, genitive and in combination with the patient marker, *gă-ye* (I-ERG) or *ge* (I.ERG) 'I (ergative)', *găi-go* (I-GEN) 'mine' and *găi-găi* (I-PM) 'to me, for me', instead of **găi-ye* (I-ERG), **găi-ko* (I-GEN) and **găi-kăi* (I-PM). The ergative forms *gă-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 *găi* '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

kuta	where, whither
kutaleŋ	when
kundu	which (one)
kunyaŋ	how (in which manner)
hara	what
hani	how many, how much
su	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-kăi* (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-kăi* (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 *găi-găi   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-kăi   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 *gă-ye kundu thi-sa?*
    I-ERG   which touch-INF

        Which one shall I touch?

284 *libi   to-kăi   ŋay-eŋ-du   'kunyaŋ, hara-kăi 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   ḍapuh-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-kăi   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?   găi-găi pi-ŋa,   naŋ-kăi 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-kăi kuta kuta kalăi-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 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.
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 *jahã ∽ tyahã*.

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 aṭṭhe se-Ø-du hok-Ø-thyo, tyaŋ găi-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   dăi   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,   găi-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 *'ḍamari,   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-kăi   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 parăidu* 'what does it cost?' a combination of the Thangmi interrogative *hani* 'how many, how much' and the loaned *parăi-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 *naleŋ   woi thaŋmi   ŋa-to-le,   su-ye   woi ma-ŋosăiy-eŋ.*
     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 ţhăi*
     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 *hanimyaŋ* '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 hanimyaŋ-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 *'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

>   '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-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.

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 *naŋ-che hara cya-na-n?*
     you-AFF what eat-2s-PT

>   What have you eaten?

309 *niŋ-che   su-ko-te   cya-ni-n?*
     you(p)-AFF who-GEN-LOC eat-2p-PT

>   At whose house did you(p) eat?

310 *naŋ-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 *ălămga mi* (tall person) 'tall person'. While also functioning as nouns, the sole example of a gendered adjectival pair is *ṭhoṇe* (old.MALE) 'old male, old man, husband' and *ṭhoṇi* (old.FEM) 'old female, old woman, wife', as in *ṭhoṇe kucu* 'old hound' (old.MALE dog) versus *ṭhoṇi kucu* 'old bitch' (old.FEM dog). Apart from *ṭhoṇi* (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

ajik ∽ ijik	cold (of food)	< *ijiksa* 'to be cold'
cyucyum	sharp, pointed	< *cyucyumsa* 'to sharpen'
gonṭhe	round, spherical	< *gonṭhesa* 'to make into a ball'
kokorok	bent, crumpled	< *koroksisa* 'to be bent, crumpled'
peceṛek	flattened	< *peceṛeksa* 'to flatten, squash'
poṭhok	smooth, trim	< *poṭhoksa* 'to smooth, trim'
ṭila	cold (weather)	< *ṭilasa* 'to be cold (of weather)'
ukhiŋ	dark	< *ukhiŋsa* '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

phin-phinca	light (in weight), thin, narrow
bakal-cakal	half-cooked, half-raw
cereŋ-cereŋ	glaring, scorching (of the sun)
cyak-cyak	shredded, sliced
chok-chok	complete darkness
denderek	coarse, rough
ḍiŋ-ḍiŋ	red, orange, purple
ḍholoŋ-ḍholoŋ	wide (in circumference)
gum-gumca	lukewarm, tepid
ghoŋloŋ-ghoŋloŋ	wide (of clothes), loose fitting, baggy
hoŋloŋ-hoŋloŋ	wide (of clothes), loose fitting, baggy
hwaŋ-hwaŋ	wide (space), spacious, open-feeling
jenene	sticky, gluey, gummy
kakaṭak-kokoṭok	lame, unable to walk
koŋkolyaŋ	bent, twisted
kyac-kyac	soft, marshy, muddy, clay-like, water-logged
khuririŋ	rounded, circular
lenreŋ-lenreŋ	dangling as if about to fall off, very loose
nenreŋ-nenreŋ	hanging as if about to fall off, very loose
ŋyal-ŋyal	soft, tender, gentle
op-op	hot, sticky (of weather)
pen-pen	sticky, muddy, clayey, slippery
phin-phin	smooth, flat, even
ren-ren	dragging along the ground
reŋ-reŋ	hasty, fidgety, rash, naughty
run-run	weak, feeble
sorot-sarat	pulled, stretched, extended
thel-thel	watery, wobbly
ṭăi-ṭăi	chewy, tough (of meat)
ṭyaŋ-ṭyaŋ	naked, undressed
ṭhău-ṭhău	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 *gonṭhe-ko* 'of Round Face' or 'Round Face's', from *gonṭhe* 'round, spherical', as shown in examples 314 and 315, or *ṭila-te* (cold-LOC) 'in the cold', from *ṭila* 'cold', as in example 316.

314 *jekha mi-ye   gonṭhe-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 *'gonṭhe-kǎi   nan du-ko   nunu nat-sa   ṭho-ko   mǎiy-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 gǎi-go
     then tiger-ERG   eat-sAS-3P-NPT and die-sAS-NPT   that-GEN   wife I-GEN

     tha-Ø-du'   ŋah-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 *'yamiryaŋ-ko   ṭila-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?'
     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

ḍiŋ-ḍiŋ	red
kiji	black
ubo	white
athaŋ	light (as in brightness)
ukhiŋ	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 *găi-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   camăica 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   khen 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   ṭhoṇi-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

     baṇi-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 *jyiŋ-jyiŋ* 'red (temporary)'. In the village of Cokaṭī, the adjective *keret* 'red' is used for clothes, coloured pens and blood, and *jyiŋ-jyiŋ* '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 *ariṅgāl* '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 peṇey-eŋ-du sum oli mǎina-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 *athaŋ* '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 *athaŋ* 'light' as a noun to mean 'light bulb', as shown in example 338.

336 *athaŋ-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,   ṭaye 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 *athaŋ   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-kăi   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 *athaŋ* 'light' and *ukhiŋ* 'dark' are derived from indigenous Thangmi verb
forms, *athaŋsa* 'to become light' and *ukhiŋsa* 'to become dark' respectively,
examples of which are given in 339 and 340 below.

339 *athaŋ-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   ṭaye   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 *aṭṭhe* '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
uchincăi 'much less, very little, very few', as in examples 184 and 241 above.
Examples 341 to 343 below illustrate the use of the intensifiers *aṭṭhe* and *uchinca*,
while examples 344 to 346 illustrate the use of the Thangmi quantifiers *ahe* and
uchinca.

341 *miryaŋ   aṭṭhe uni tow-Ø-an.*
     yesterday   very   sun   shine-sAS-3S/PT

    Yesterday it was very sunny.

342 *ka   isa, cici ŋaŋ kiji moṭe-ko   ken-te   aṭṭhe*
     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   găi-găi usare   pi-Ø-ŋa-n,   libi uchincăi*
     elder.brother-ERG I-PM   medicine give-sAS-1s-PT after much.less

    kalăi-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   ṭhăi, 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-kăi   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	*di*
2	*nis*
3	*sum*
4	*oli*
5	*walŋa*
6	*mat*
7	*ṇo*
8	*lā*
9	*kit*

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 walŋa uni libi   yu-ŋa-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	*di-ka*	one person	*di-gore*	one of them, one thing, one piece
2	*nis-ka*	two people	*nis-gore*	two of them, two things…
3	*sum-ka*	three people	*sum-gore*	three pieces
4	*oli-ka*	four people	*oli-gore*	four pieces
5	*walŋa-ka*	five people	*walŋa-gore*	five pieces
6	*mat-ka*	six people	*mat-gore*	six pieces
7	*ṇo-ka*	seven people	*ṇo-gore*	seven pieces
8	*lā-ka*	eight people	*lā-gore*	eight pieces
9	*kit-ka*	nine people	*kit-gore*	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 *găi sum ŋaŋ oli   tha-ŋa-du beryaŋ, găi-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 *găi-go kham-te   găi 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 *găi jekha tha-ta-ŋa-le,   găi-go sum-gore name thaha*
     I   big   be-IPP-1s-PCL I-GEN three-CLF name *knowledge*

    săiy-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, găi-găi amat-sa-kăi sum-gore jake-ko   maṇăi, 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   maṇăi   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 ṭuṇi* (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 ṭuṇi 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	*dil*
2	*nis*
3	*sum*
4	*whali*
5	*whalŋa*
6	*mat*
7	*ṇo*
8	*laʔ*
9	*kit*

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
kapu	humans	HNC
gore	houses, general things	CLF
kău	non-human animates	CLF2
kulaŋ	wood, round or short things	CLF3
pa	leaves, paper, thin or flat things	CLF4
paṭe	clothes, bamboo mats	CLF5
pur	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 jaŋkha-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   isyaŋ   nem-ko   laŋga-te   nis-gore syeŋ-te*
    die-SAS-NPT period house-GEN courtyard-LOC two-CLF   wood-LOC

   ṇoʔ-gore   uchiga syeŋ-ko   ṇoʔ   cali   naŋăi-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-kăi   hara hara măi-Ø-du?   ŋa-ŋa   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

   noŋ-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 <-kău> (CLF2) for non-human animates in the Sindhupālcok dialect.

366 *tinyaŋ di-kău   wa   daŋ-sa.*
    then   one-CLF2 chicken find-INF

> Then one chicken is found.

367 *'to-giŋ,   to   isa,   maṇiŋ,   moṭe,   makăi, di-kău   wa-ca   li*
     that-ABL   that   food   bread   soybean   *maize* one-CLF2 chicken-DIM   also

     ka   cyaʔareŋ-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   ṇoʔ   puya-ko
     Himalayan.nettle-GEN   rope.bag-LOC   cooked.rice   food   seven   seed-GEN

     ane   di-gore tokolo ŋa   cakur-laʔa-te   sum-kulaŋ   syeŋ-ko
     grain   one-CLF hoe   and   eating-hand-LOC   three-CLF3   wood-GEN

     mekapul   cabuʔu-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   loʔo-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   phaŋgaṇeŋ-ko aja-te   paŋku kyel-ta-le*
   that-ABL   one-CLF4   Co.co.yam-GEN leaf-LOC   water   bring-IPP-PCL

   nem-te   sakhali 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-muṭhi   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 <-paṭe> (CLF5) for clothes, bamboo mats and long flat things, in the Sindhupālcok dialect.

372 *tinyaŋ di-paṭe   philya seny-e   philya poṭoŋ-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-paṭe   chaŋ   ta-ko   di-paṭe*
   that-ABL   one-CLF5   cylindrical.wicker.basket   weave-ADH one-CLF5

   cyaʔareŋ   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

1st	*dig-gure*
2nd	*niś-gure*
3rd	*sum-gure*
4th	*olī-gure*
5th	*vāṅg-gure*
6th	*ṇok-gure*
7th	*māt-gure*
8th	*lāk-gure*
9th	*khit-gure*

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	*di*	*dil*	*dig*
2	*nis*	*nis*	*niś*
3	*sum*	*sum*	*sum*
4	*oli*	*whali*	*olī*
5	*walŋa*	*whalŋa*	*vāṅg*
6	*mat*	*mat*	*ṇok*
7	*ṇo*	*ṇo*	*māt*
8	*lā*	*laʔ*	*lāk*
9	*kit*	*kit*	*khit*

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	*nis-dicip*
30	*sum-dicip*
40	*oli-dicip*
50	*walŋa-dicip*
60	*mat-dicip*
70	*ṇo-dicip*
80	*lā-dicip*
90	*kit-dicip*

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	*nis-cip*	*niś-cip*
30	*sum-cip*	*sum-cip*
40	*whali-cip*	
50	*whalŋa-cip*	
60	*mat-cip*	
70	*ṇo-cip*	
80	*laʔ-cip*	
90	*kit-cip*	

For Thangmi numerals between ten and twenty, the numeral ten, *dicip*, precedes the unit number morpheme in all dialects, as in *dicip-walŋa* 'fifteen', from *dicip* 'ten' and *walŋa* '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 *băsinṭe   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

     di-ka   camăica   dicip-nis-gore   laŋi   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 *găi dicip-walŋa tha-ŋa-du beryaŋ,   găi-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-kăi   'dicip-mat ṇiŋ*
    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-
walŋa* 'twenty-five' from *nis* 'two', *dicip* 'ten' and *walŋa* 'five'. Further illustrations
of complex numbers are given in examples 377 and 378 below.

377 *adum tha-Ø-du   ṭhăi-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

băsiṇṭe	morning
unise	daytime
nyoṇi	evening
ṭaye	night

Examples 379 and 380 below illustrate the use of the Thangmi temporal adverb *băsiṇṭe* 'morning'.

379 *băsiṇṭe serek-ta-i-le, nobi caway-i-n.*
    morning arise-IPP-1pPS-PCL downhill walk-1pPS-PT

    In the morning we got up and set off down the hill.

380 *tyaŋ lawa-ye-guri   băsinṭe-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
nyoṇi 'evening' while examples 383 and 384 illustrate the meanings of *ṭaye* 'night'.

381 *nyoṇi,   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 *nyoṇi   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   ṭaye 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   ṭaye 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*   *beryaŋ   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 *toŋ   cya-ŋa-du beryaŋ,   bajareŋ naleŋ   woi cya-ŋa-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 *naleŋ   găi-găi nembo   cya-Ø-du   nih-u-n-du   beryaŋ,*
    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 *parsõ* 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**

kimityaŋ	four days ago
kityaŋ	three days ago
cityaŋ	the day before yesterday
miryaŋ	yesterday
yaŋ	today
baṭhe	tomorrow
citabas	the day after tomorrow
kinabas	three days from now
kitriŋbas	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   ṭhoṇe-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 *baṭhe* 'tomorrow'. Supporting evidence comes from the Sindhupālcok dialect of Thangmi in which the adverb denoting 'tomorrow' is *băise*, 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　găi　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-kăi　　ma-ŋosăiy-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-ǎi*, together with the suffix <-ǎi> (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, nokhkhol-ǎi   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**

amamakaleŋ	a (very) long time ago
amasmakaleŋ	three years ago
asmakaleŋ	two years ago
amakaleŋ	last year
tarul	this year
kalyaŋ	next year
kalijyaŋ	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 *kalyaŋ* 'next year' would therefore be: <kal> 'time, tomorrow' combined with <-yaŋ> '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   amasmakaleŋ   gwiy-Ø-u-no.*
     I-GEN   money   three.years.ago   steal-sAS-3P-3→3/PT

       My money was stolen three years ago.

404 *asmakaleŋ   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 amakaleŋ   gă-ye naka nem   khem-u-n-uŋ.*
     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   loŋ-u-na-n, kalyaŋ   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   loŋ-ŋa-be,   kalijyaŋ*
     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 syak-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   syak-Ø-du   beryaŋ hen-sa?*
    how.much strike-sAS-NPT that.time go-INF

      At what time will you leave?

410 *sum   syak-Ø-an.*
    three   strike-sAS-3S/PT

      It's three o'clock.

411 *nis syak-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: *libi*
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 *gă-ye naŋ-kăi 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   măi-Ø-du.*
    then after millet-GEN seed scatter-ADH must-sAS-NPT.

        After that, the millet seeds must be scattered.

414 *peṇey-eŋ-du di   nis măina libi, to   saŋa   nama ṭhare*
    sow-pAS-NPT one two *month* after that millet with   weed

    boy-eŋ-du,   to-kăi   pun-to-le   ci-ko   măi-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   găi woi*
    okay-sAS-NPT   *slow* go-s/IMP   you-GEN after after I   also

    ra-ŋu   ra?
    come.from.level-PERM   or

        Fine, travel safely, shall I trail behind you a little ways?

417 *libi   libi,   cahuca camãica-ye tokolok-e gonṭhe*
    after   after   man   woman-ERG   hoe-INS   round.clod.of.earth

    ṭhem-to-le   ucya   ucya lony-eŋ-du sya   wa-sa   habi,
    break.up-TPP-PCL   small small do-pAS-NPT bull   plough-INF before

    jakcho   liy-eŋ-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-eŋ-du.*
    after   after   man-p-ERG   work   do-pAS-NPT

    > The menfolk do their work, coming behind.

419 *libi   libi,   alam   ŋaŋ guru   ṭake   tap-to-le*
    after   after   ritual.flag and shaman-ERG   shaman's.drum   beat-TPP-PCL

    usya-sa   caway-eŋ-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-*ŋa libi* (VERB-CNS after) 'after having…', as in examples 420 and 421.

420 *min-ŋa   libi,   raŋ-ŋaŋ   ṭi,   aprou,*
    cook-CNS   after   unirrigated.field-inside   wicker.basket   carrying.strap

    karati   cabu-to-le   yey-eŋ-du,   ka   jet   aye   camãica-pali-ye
    sickle   carry-TPP-PCL   go-pAS-NPT   this work   more   woman-p-ERG

    lony-eŋ-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 *gă-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 *găi-găi 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   pătrika   cabu-to-le   arṭik-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

   ṭi-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 *mātrăi*, as there is no indigenous Thangmi alternative. Example 427 below illustrates the use of the adverb *jukun* 'only' in the Sindhupālcok dialect.

427 *to   jukun 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 improductive, 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', *Thaŋmi* '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

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[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 *ṭukusiŋ* '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 *maraŋseŋ* '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 *sÈ* '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:**	
	<-Ø>	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 *portemanteau* (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 *portemanteau* (1s→3)
sf6	**Tense and tensed *portemanteau* morpheme slot:**	
	<-du>	non-preterite tense (NPT)
	<-n>	preterite tense (PT)
	<-an>	preterite tense third person subject *portemanteau* (3S/PT)
	<-no>	preterite tense third to third *portemanteau* (3→3/PT)
	<-uŋ>	preterite tense first to third *portemanteau* (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:

$$\sum /e/ \quad \rightarrow \quad \sum /ey/ \quad\quad / \quad\quad \_/e/ \text{ and } \_/i/$$

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
hen-u-n-du	I take	*ya-ŋa-du*	I go
hen-u-na-du	you take	*ya-na-du*	you go
hen-Ø-u-du	he, she, it takes	*ya-Ø-du*	he, she, it goes
hen-wa-du	we take	*yey-i-du*	we go
hen-n-u-du	you(p) take	*ya-ni-du*	you(p) go
hen-eŋ-du	they take	*yey-eŋ-du*	they go

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[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   ŋah-Ø-u-du   uniŋ   loŋ-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,   chaŋ-te   huca   sony-e   hen-Ø-u-du*
     after   go-go   also   bamboo.cradle-LOC   child   river-ERG   take-sAS-3P-NPT

     niy-eŋ-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   *loṇe-kai-guri   rage   let-Ø-ta-le,   to-te   hok-eŋ-du*
     jackal-PM-IND   anger   appear-sAS-IPP-PCL   that-LOC   be-pAS-NPT

     makar-pali   cyah-Ø-u-no,   ṭhoṇi   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   saŋa   cey-eŋ-no.*
     monkey-p-ERG   millet   eat-pAS-3→3/PT

          The monkeys ate the millet.

5   *'tony-e   ni-ko   maŋ   sakalei   cyah-Ø-u-du,   sewa   bubu',*
     beer-ERG   we-GEN   body   all   eat-sAS-3P-NPT   salute   elder.brother

     ŋa-to-le   ŋah-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-baŋ cey-eŋ-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:

$$\Sigma \text{ /e/} \quad \rightarrow \quad \Sigma \text{ /ey/} \qquad\qquad / \qquad \_\text{/e/ and } \_\text{/i/}$$

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
cyah-u-n-du	I eat	*cya-ŋa-du*	I eat
cyah-u-na-du	you eat	*cya-na-du*	you eat
cyah-Ø-u-du	it eats	*cya-Ø-du*	he, she eats
ce-wa-du	we eat	*cey-i-du*	we eat
cya-n-u-du	you(p) eat	*cya-ni-du*	you(p) eat
cey-eŋ-du	they eat	*cey-eŋ-du*	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	∑-*ŋa-du* ∑-1s-NPT	∑-*ŋa-n* ∑-1s-PT
	ma-∑ NEG-∑	*ma-*∑-*ŋa-n* NEG-∑-1s-PT
2s	∑-*na-du* ∑-2s-NPT	∑-*na-n* ∑-2s-PT
	ma-∑ NEG-∑	*ma-*∑-*na-n* NEG-∑-2s-PT
3s	∑-*Ø-du* ∑-sAS-NPT	∑-*Ø-an* ∑-sAS-3S/PT
	ma-∑ NEG-∑	*ma-*∑-*Ø-an* NEG-∑-sAS-3S/PT
1p	∑-*i-du* ∑-1pPS-NPT	∑-*i-n* ∑-1pPS-PT
	ma-∑ NEG-∑	*ma-*∑-*i-n* NEG-∑-1pPS-PT
2p	∑-*ni-du* ∑-2p-NPT	∑-*ni-n* ∑-2p-PT
	ma-∑ NEG-∑	*ma-*∑-*ni-n* NEG-∑-2p-PT
3p	∑-*eŋ-du* ∑-pAS-NPT	∑-*eŋ-an* ∑-pAS-3S/PT
	ma-∑ NEG-∑	*ma-*∑-*eŋ-an* NEG-∑-pAS-3S/PT

TABLE 67. REFLEXIVE MORPHEME STRINGS FOR THANGMI SIMPLEX VERBS

subject	non-preterite	preterite
1s	∑-*si-ŋa-du* ∑-REF-1s-NPT	∑-*si-ŋa-n* ∑-REF-1s-PT
	ma-∑-*si* NEG-∑-REF	*ma-*∑-*si-ŋa-n* NEG-∑-REF-1s-PT
2s	∑-*si-na-du* ∑-REF-2s-NPT	∑-*si-na-n* ∑-REF-2s-PT
	ma-∑-*si* NEG-∑-REF	*ma-*∑-*si-na-n* NEG-∑-REF-2s-PT
3s	∑-*si-Ø-du* ∑-REF-sAS-NPT	∑-*siy-Ø-an* ∑-REF-sAS-3S/PT
	ma-∑-*si* NEG-∑-REF	*ma-*∑-*siy-Ø-an* NEG-∑-REF-sAS-3S/PT
1p	∑-*siy-i-du* ∑-REF-1pPS-NPT	∑-*siy-i-n* ∑-REF-1pPS-PT
	ma-∑-*si* NEG-∑-REF	*ma-*∑-*siy-i-n* NEG-∑-REF-1pPS-PT
2p	∑-*si-ni-du* ∑-REF-2p-NPT	∑-*si-ni-n* ∑-REF-2p-PT
	ma-∑-*si* NEG-∑-REF	*ma-*∑-*si-ni-n* NEG-∑-REF-2p-PT
3p	∑-*siy-eŋ-du* ∑-REF-pAS-NPT	∑-*siy-eŋ-an* ∑-REF-pAS-3S/PT
	ma-∑-*si* NEG-∑-REF	*ma-*∑-*siy-eŋ-an* NEG-∑-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	∑-*na-ŋa-du* ∑-2s-1s-NPT	∑-*na-ŋa-n* ∑-2s-1s-PT
	ma-∑ NEG-∑	*ma*-∑-*na-ŋa-n* NEG-∑-2s-1s-PT
1s→2p	∑-*ni-ŋa-du* ∑-2p-1s-NPT	∑-*ni-ŋa-n* ∑-2p-1s-PT
	ma-∑ NEG-∑	*ma*-∑-*ni-ŋa-n* NEG-∑-2p-1s-PT
1s→3	∑-*u-n-du* ∑-3P-1s→3-NPT	∑-*u-n-uŋ* ∑-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT
	ma-∑ NEG-∑	*ma*-∑-*u-n-uŋ* NEG-∑-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT
1p→23	∑-*wa-du* ∑-1p→23-NPT	∑-*wa-n* ∑-1p→23-PT
	ma-∑ NEG-∑	*ma*-∑-*wa-n* NEG-∑-1p→23-PT
s→1s	∑-*Ø-ŋa-du* ∑-sAS-1s-NPT	∑-*Ø-ŋa-n* ∑-sAS-1s-PT
	ma-∑ NEG-∑	*ma*-∑-*Ø-ŋa-n* NEG-∑-sAS-1s-PT
p→1s	∑-*eŋ-ŋa-du* ∑-pAS-1s-NPT	∑-*eŋ-ŋa-n* ∑-pAS-1s-PT
	ma-∑ NEG-∑	*ma*-∑-*eŋ-ŋa-n* NEG-∑-pAS-1s-PT
2/3→1p	∑-*i-du* ∑-1pPS-NPT	∑-*i-n* ∑-1pPS-PT
	ma-∑ NEG-∑	*ma*-∑-*i-n* NEG-∑-1pPS-PT
2s→3	∑-*u-na-du* ∑-3P-2s-NPT	∑-*u-na-n* ∑-3P-2s-PT
	ma-∑ NEG-∑	*ma*-∑-*u-na-n* NEG-∑-3P-2s-PT
2p→3	∑-*n-u-du* ∑-2p-3P-NPT	∑-*n-u-n* ∑-2p-3P-PT
	ma-∑ NEG-∑	*ma*-∑-*n-u-n* NEG-∑-2p-3P-PT

3s→2s	∑-Ø-na-du ∑-sAS-2s-NPT	∑-Ø-na-n ∑-sAS-2s-PT
	ma-∑ NEG-∑	ma-∑-Ø-na-n NEG-∑-sAS-2s-PT
3p→2s	∑-eŋ-na-du ∑-pAS-2s-NPT	∑-eŋ-na-n ∑-pAS-2s-PT
	ma-∑ NEG-∑	ma-∑-eŋ-na-n NEG-∑-pAS-2s-PT
3→2p	∑-ni-du ∑-2p-NPT	∑-ni-n ∑-2p-PT
	ma-∑ NEG-∑	ma-∑-ni-n NEG-∑-2p-PT
3s→3	∑-Ø-u-du ∑-sAS-3P-NPT	∑-Ø-u-no ∑-sAS-3P-3→3/PT
	ma-∑ NEG-∑	ma-∑-Ø-u-no NEG-∑-sAS-3P-3→3/PT
3p→3	∑-eŋ-du ∑-pAS-NPT	∑-eŋ-no ∑-pAS-3→3/PT
	ma-∑ NEG-∑	ma-∑-eŋ-no NEG-∑-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 *ãdai* 'yes', *laiyoho* 'yes, yeah, u-huh' and *ã* 'yeah, right'. While *ãdai*
is perfectly acceptable in polite speech or when addressing elders, *laiyoho* and *ã* are
distinctly informal and only heard in conversations between children, peers, family
and close friends. In the Sindhupālcok dialect of Thangmi, the affirmative
interjection *heʔe ~ heʔē* 'yes' is suitable for all situations, both polite and informal. A
further interjection *adi* 'oh, I see' exists in the Sindhupālcok dialect, cognate with
ãdai '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 <mɛ-> (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 ḍi-si-na-n   ra?*
   you head comb-REF-2s-PT or

     Have you combed your hair?

21 *guru-ye   bu-si-sa   nis-gore ḍiŋ-ḍiŋ ŋaŋ ubo   kapu-te*
   shaman-ERG cover-REF-INF two-CLF red   and white head-LOC

   chyu-si-sa ălămga 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,   kiṇe-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   ṭaye   aṭṭhe   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 sămjhai-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	
aghorsa	to dig, scratch	*aghorsisa*	to scratch oneself with one's nails
busa	to cover	*busisa*	to wear
cuksa	to insert, pour	*cuksisa*	to jump on someone
disa	to rest	*disisa*	to rest oneself
ḍisa	to comb (someone's) hair	*ḍisisa*	to comb one's own hair
kheisa	to pour, spill	*kheisisa*	to pour on oneself
loksa	to drain, spill, overthrow	*loksisa*	to pour, spill on oneself
namsa	to smell, sniff	*namsisa*	to [be able to] smell oneself
niksa	to be pregnant, give birth to	*niksisa*	to be born
phosa	to make wet, drench	*phosisa*	to make oneself wet
sulsa	to hide, conceal something	*sulsisa*	to hide, conceal oneself
satsa	to kill	*satsisa*	to kill oneself, commit suicide
torsa	to bend, break	*torsisa*	to bend oneself, contort oneself
thurulsa	to masturbate someone	*thurulsisa*	to masturbate oneself
ṭisensa	to teach, explain	*ṭisensisa*	to learn, study
ṭoisa	to undress somebody	*ṭoisisa*	to undress oneself
ṭolsa	to clean, cleanse, rinse	*ṭolsisa*	to clean, cleanse, rinse oneself
ṭhansa	to move, transfer, change	*ṭhansisa*	to move oneself, be transferred
ṭhumsa	to bury	*ṭhumsisa*	to be buried
ulisa	to wash something	*ulisisa*	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 <∑-si-∑-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

    ḍap-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   ṇe-si-ṇe-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-> (Opgenort 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 <Ø> (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-Ø-du?*
      you-GEN   house   where   be-sAS-NPT

         Where is your house situated (where do you live)?

35   *uni   yah-Ø-an,   ṭila   tha-Ø-du.*
      sun   go-sAS-3S/PT   cold   be-sAS-NPT

         The sun has gone, and it's [become] cold.

36   *aikuca   hul-ko   mai-Ø-du.*
      knife   sharpen-ADH   must-sAS-NPT

         One must sharpen the knife.

In transitive verbs, the singular agent or subject zero morpheme <Ø> (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 <Ø> (sAS) marks the agent that is doing or has done something to 'me'.

37   *kucu-ye   gai-gai   cek-Ø-ŋa-n.*
      dog-ERG   I-PM   bite-sAS-1s-PT

         The dog bit me.

38   *to   camaica   gai-go   naṭe-te   kuṭik-Ø-ŋa-n.*
      that   woman   I-GEN   cheek-LOC   pinch-sAS-1s-PT

         That woman pinched my cheek.

The singular agent or subject zero morpheme <Ø> (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-eŋ-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 <-eŋ> (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 <-eŋ> (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-ṭhoy-eŋ-ŋa-thyo.*
     I-PM-IND   fire bring-INF   CAUS-send-pAS-1s-3sCOND

          You(p) used to send me to bring fire.

48   *'libi jet   loŋ-sa tete   ŋaŋ gai-go ban   kucu*
     after   work do-INF elder.sister and I-GEN   friend   dog

     ray-eŋ-ta-le   ci-moy-eŋ-ŋa-n,   naleŋ   ka   uniŋ
     come.from.level-pAS-IPP-PCL   CAUS-survive-pAS-1s-PT   present this like

     tha-ŋa-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 <-eŋ> (pAS) occurs in transitive relationships between a third person plural agent and a second person singular patient, as in examples 49 and 50.

49   *naŋ-kai ca-pali-ye   kaṭay-eŋ-na-n-be,   to-baŋ-kai   acyukuli*
     you-PM   son-p-ERG   insult-pAS-2s-PT-TOP   that-Pp-PM   tickle

     loŋ-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   *peṇey-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,   guṭhi   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,   tyaŋ*
     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   ṭisen-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   *ălămtha   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:

$$<\text{-ni} \sim \text{-n}> (2p) \quad \rightarrow \quad \left\{ \begin{array}{l} /\text{ni}/ \quad / \quad \_C \\[2ex] /\text{n}/ \quad / \quad \_V \end{array} \right\}$$

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,   gă-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   *'gă-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   ḍamari-kai   'uma   sat-n-u-n'   ŋay-eŋ-to-le*
    after mother.in.law son.in.law-PM wife   kill-2p-3P-PT say-pAS-TPP-PCL

    cum-eŋ-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 niŋ-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> Opgenort (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 ṭhai*
     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   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.

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,   piriŋ*
    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 gă-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,   gă-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   gă-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   *ṭuṇi-ye   khaṇou 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   ṭisen-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   *gă-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 ṭih-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 ṇew-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

    ṭisen-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 ŋiŋ   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 *gă-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-ŋa-n,   to-te   ṭhoṇe mi-ye   hok-sa*
    I   up.there go-appear-1s-PT   that-LOC old   person-ERG   be-INF

    ma-pi-Ø-ŋa-n!',   ŋa-to-le   ŋah-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 <-ŋa> (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   ŋah-Ø-u-du   'gai-gai dese   mi-ye   hara*
    that-ERG   say-sAS-3P-NPT I-PM   village person-ERG   what

    ŋay-eŋ-an   thaŋun? oste-ko   ca   sat-Ø-u-du,   'moro'
    say-pAS-3S/PT   maybe   self-GEN son   kill-sAS-3P-NPT corpse

    ŋay-eŋ-ŋa-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 gă-ye ŋa-na-ŋa-du, gai   nik-ŋa-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-ŋa-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 <-ŋa> (1s) is a reflex of either, or both, Proto-Kiranti morphemes
*<-ŋ> and *<-ŋa>, 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 <-ṅu> (Opgenort 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 *gă-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 ṭaye ami-sa   ma-thaŋ-u-n-uŋ,*   *to-ko   khen 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 *ḥdug <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

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[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 occuring 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 it 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

speak-sAS-3P-NPT) 'the shaman speaks' versus *guru-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no* (shaman-ERG speak-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-ŋa   cya-ŋa   ali-ŋa-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-ŋaŋ   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-ŋa-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   ŋah-u-na-du   jet*
     younger.sister look.at-3P-1s→3-NPT you-ERG say-3P-2s-NPT work

     loŋ-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   raŋ-ko   jet   woi loŋ-u-n-uŋ.*
     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 *baṭhe   syaŋ   bǎsinṭe   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 *ḍamari-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   ṭany-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 *gă-ye seŋ   pal-u-n-uŋ.*
     I   wood   chop-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT

    I chopped wood.

121 *gă-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 *gă-ye pepelek na-sa   ma-thaŋ-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   ŋah-Ø-u-no,   'apa, gai naŋ-ko   ca*
    after that person-ERG say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT father I   you-GEN son

    tha-ŋa-du'.
    be-1s-NPT

        Then that person said, 'father, I am your son'.
        (Nepali … *ma tapāĩko chorā hũ*)

2   *'ma-let-na-n-be,   gai kaṭa-ŋa-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 … *tapāĩ ko hunuhuncha?*)

3   *naleŋ-guri   nan   ni   thaŋmi   thay-i-du,   nan   thaŋmi-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 haũ*)

4   *niŋ   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 gāũ-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-eŋ-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 ṇo   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

     maiy-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   thoṇe   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 thah-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?' ṭhoṇi*
    after work do-INF NEG-know-CNS what   what be-sAS-NPT old.woman

    waraiy-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 ṭisen-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-eŋ-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-eŋ-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-eŋ-du.*
     one-HNC person-GEN three-HNC wife be-pAS-NPT

        There's a man who got himself three wives.

24   *libi to-baŋ-ko   ṇo-ka   ca   ṇo-ka   camai   thay-eŋ-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-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.
     die-pAS-3S/PT

        When they were young, their father and mother had died.

28   *baṭhe   syaŋ   athaŋ 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   ṭhoh-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

        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 chaũ*)

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 … *arko 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,   nyoṇi   bǎsinṭe   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 ṭila? adum hok-Ø-du', to   woi 'jet loŋ-sa ṭhai-te*
     what-GEN cold warm be-sAS-NPT that also work do-INF place-LOC

     naka thapu   hok-Ø-du,   to-te   me cyaṭaŋ-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   ṇey-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   karăi-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 bhannẽ …*)

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 ṭhik 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 beryaŋ,   'humi,   honce   asare*
    after house-LOC go-INF that.time younger.sister early.evening taste

    ni-Ø-du   isa   ken   ci-min-o!'   ŋah-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   maṇai asare ni-Ø-du   isiy-eŋ-du.*
    white person-GEN bread tasty appear-sAS-NPT   say-pAS-NPT

    > They say that white man's bread is tasty.

62 *'ka jet   loŋ-sa-kai, di-gore ḍiŋ-ḍiŋ jire   ni-Ø-du*
    this work do-INF-PM one-CLF red   comb.of.cockerel appear-sAS-NPT

    gare   ŋaŋ di   kulin   toŋ   rah-o!'   ŋa-Ø-ŋa-n.
    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   baṇi-te   biy-Ø-an,   asa*
    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   baṇi-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*   *ṭhai-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 *ṭho-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   baṇi.*
    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 ṭhai* (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 ṭhai*
    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 *athaŋ 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   cijyaŋ-sa ali-ŋa-n.*
    I   Thangmi   language speak-INF like-1s-PT

    I like to speak the Thangmi language.

75 *naŋ kapu ḍi-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   konṭe 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 gă-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

    gă-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   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.

82 *ami-sa   beryaŋ   'nan   baṭe   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,   ṇiŋ   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 ∑-*sa habi* 'before ∑-ing' (as in
examples 85 and 86 below) and the infinitive suffix in combination with the
individuative and topic markers, <-guri> (IND) and <-be> (TOP), as in examples 87 to
90 below. In Thangmi, the construction 'after ∑-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-ŋa-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 peṇe-sa habi,   pebu-ŋaŋ   paŋku*
    paddy plant-INF before irrigated.field-inside water

    jamai-to-le   seṭu-ye   wa-to-le   apraca loŋ-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 *raŋ   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-eŋ-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 *'naŋ-kai hen-sa-be   hen-u-n-du,   naŋ-ko   huca-pali hara*
    you-PM   take-INF-TOP   take-3P-1s→3-NPT you-GEN child-p   what

    loŋ-sa?'
    do-INF

> 'Of course I'll take you, but what shall we do with your kids?'

90   *loṇe-ye*   *ŋah-Ø-u-no,*   *'gai   ma-let,   ka   uniŋ   ṭhai-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 ᴗ -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 inifinitive. In Nepali, the
patient marker *-lāī* is used with verbal infinitives in a manner similar to Thangmi
<-kai ᴗ -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 ᴗ -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   'thaŋmi   wakhe ṭisen-si-sa   ra-ŋa-du'*
    that person Thangmi   word   teach-REF-INF   come.from.level-1s-NPT

    ŋa-to-le   ŋah-Ø-u-du,   gă-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

	patient		
agent	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 ciṭṭhi ṭho-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 aṛik-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,   gă-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 *di-ka   ma-sai-Ø-du   mi   to   ulam-yiŋ*
    one-HNC   NEG-know-sAS-NPT   person   that road-ABL

    ra-Ø-thyo,   loṇe-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 *ṭhoṇi-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   ṭisen-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   ṭhai   pi-neŋ!*
you(p)-ERG   we-PM   sleep-INF   place   give-p→1p/IMP

    Give us a place to sleep!

118 *niŋ-kai   koṭe 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   ŋah-o!*
    that-PM   say-s→3/IMP

       Tell him!

121 *to-baŋ-kai   ŋah-o!*
    that-Pp-PM   say-s→3/IMP

       Tell them!

122 *to   ucyapa-kai   naŋ-ko   name   ŋah-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   miŋ   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

    ŋah-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*   *ŋah-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-baŋ-ko   *kapu-yiŋ*   *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,   ṭhoh-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 *loṇe-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 ṭi-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 aṭṭhe 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-ṇe-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 aṭṭhe   arṭik-eŋ-le   woi, niny-e   to-baŋ-kai*
       this child-p   much   scream-pAS-PCL also you(p)-ERG that-Pp-PM

      ma-ṇe-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 *bamṇi-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 *'naleŋ   gai-gai sat-Ø-ŋa-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-ŋa-du,   gai-gai sat-ŋa*
    now   tomorrow father-ERG I-PM   kill-sAS-1s-NPT I-PM   kill-CNS

    libi, naŋ ma-kerep-e,   ma-cijyany-e',   ṭuṇi-ye
    after you NEG-cry-s/NEG/IMP NEG-speak-s/NEG/IMP goat-ERG

    ŋah-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	$\sum$-*aŋ* ~ -*ŋa* $\sum$-s→1s/IMP	*ma*-$\sum$-*aŋ* ~ -*ŋa* NEG-$\sum$-s→1s/IMP
s→1p	$\sum$-*se* $\sum$-s→1p/IMP	*ma*-$\sum$-*se* NEG-$\sum$-s→1p/IMP
s→3	$\sum$-*o* $\sum$-s→3/IMP	*ma*-$\sum$-*o* NEG-$\sum$-s→3/IMP
p→1s	$\sum$-*ne* $\sum$-p→1s/IMP	*ma*-$\sum$-*ne* NEG-$\sum$-p→1s/IMP
p→1p	$\sum$-*neŋ* $\sum$-p→1p/IMP	*ma*-$\sum$-*neŋ* NEG-$\sum$-p→1p/IMP
p→3	$\sum$-*no* $\sum$-p→3/IMP	*ma*-$\sum$-*no* NEG-$\sum$-p→3/IMP

TABLE 74. INTRANSITIVE MORPHEME STRINGS FOR THANGMI IMPERATIVES

	affirmative	negative
s	∑-*a* ～ -Ø ∑-s/IMP	*ma*-∑-*e* NEG-∑-s/NEG/IMP
p	∑-*ne* ∑-p/IMP	*ma*-∑-*ne* NEG-∑-p/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 nasaiy-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,* *gă-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* *gă-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*   *kaṭa-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 kiṇe-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 *'naŋ   bhutbhute   e-tha-Ø,   tyaŋ   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,* *ṭhoṇi-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,* *ṭaye 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-eŋ-no',   *tete-ye*   *'ja-Ø-du'*   *ŋah-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   loŋ-ko.*
     now   friend-p   organise-ADH   work   do-ADH

> Now let's get all the guys together and work.

181 *sakalei   saŋa   nem   duŋ-ŋaŋ   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 cyaṭaŋ-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 *maiy-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   gă-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   koṭeh-u-n-uŋ-be,   pepelek koṭeh-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

   ṇe-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   aṭṭhe   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   nyoṇi   thi-sa   ma-ja   tha-Ø-du, bubu*
     younger.sister-PM   evening touch-INF NEG-okay   be-sAS-NPT elder.brother

     ṇiŋ   ṭhem-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 *ṭhoṇe-kai   woi ma-ci-let-Ø-u-no,*   *ṭhoṇi-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 *baṭhe   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 *gă-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   chuṭṭei-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   roloŋ-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 peṇey-eŋ-du beryaŋ, cic-amiy-eŋ-to-le   peṇey-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!   tyaŋ*
     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   loŋ-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 *nyoṇi   thah-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.
     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 <-ŋu> (PERM) is cognate with two verbal agreement morphemes found in simplex verbs, <-ŋa> (1s) and <-u> (3P).

221 *ja-Ø-du,   susto ya-Ø,   naŋ-ko   libi libi gai woi*
     okay-SAS-NPT slow   go-s/IMP you-GEN after after I   also

     ra-ŋu   ra?
     come.from.level-PERM   or

          Fine, travel safely, shall I come along some time after you?

222 *e   tete,   gai duŋ-ŋaŋ   ra-ŋu   ra?*
     hey elder.sister   I   within-inside come.from.level-PERM   or

          Hey elder sister, shall I come inside?

223 *e   ama,   gă-ye seŋ   ra-ŋu   ra?*
     hey mother   I-ERG wood bring-PERM or

          Hey mother, shall I bring some firewood?

224 *gai nem-te   ya-ŋu?*
     I   house-LOC go-PERM

          Shall I go home?

225 *gă-ye paŋku ṭho-ŋu?*
     I-ERG water   send-PERM

          Shall I send water?

226 *gă-ye sakalei ŋa-ŋu?*
     I-ERG all   say-PERM

          Shall I tell all [say everything]?

227 *gă-ye sakalei jet   loŋ-ŋu?*
     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-cyaṭaŋ-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   ṭhai-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   ṇiŋ   tha-Ø-du, gă-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!'   ŋah-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 *ṭaye, 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   ḍiŋ-ḍiŋ*
run-PSG   come.from.level-sAS-IPP-PCL wife-ERG put-sAS-3P-NPT red

baṇi-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-eŋ-du,   ka ni-to-le   to-ye   to   cahuca-pali-kai
     bring-pAS-NPT this see-TPP-PCL that-ERG that man-p-PM

     ṇe-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-eŋ-to-le,   apa   ama   nui-ca   nui-ca*
     this see-pAS-TPP-PCL father mother laugh-PSG laugh-PSG

     ŋay-eŋ-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 ṭhai daŋ-ca   daŋ-ca
     I-GEN who also NEG-be I   silent   place search-PSG search-PSG

     ra-ŋa-du,   tyaŋ 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, *īkana*. 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

maiy-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,   gă-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   ṭhoh-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 <-tœ> (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 *loṇe*   *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   *ṭhai* *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 ∑-*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   gonṭhe   ṭhem-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   ṭhoṇi-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   maṇai   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   gă-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 ∑-*to-le* (verb-TPP-PCL) 'having…', changing it to ∑-*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*   *ṭany-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   *ṭake*   *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 ∑-*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 ∑-*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 ṭoke   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 agreements 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 ∑-*ta-na-le* (verb-IPP-2s-PCL), while the third person singular and plural morphemes occupy a functional position between the verb stem (∑) and the intransitive preterite participle <-ta> (IPP), as in ∑-*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   cijyaŋ-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   kaṭay-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 ᴗ -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   gă-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   ṭiṭiŋ-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 <-eŋ> (PAS) in third person plural verbal scenarios is illustrated by examples 283 and 284 below.

283 *to-baŋ jekha jekha thay-eŋ-ta-le,   bore   loŋ-sa thay-eŋ-an.*
     that-Pp big   big   be-PAS-IPP-PCL marriage do-INF   be-PAS-3S/PT

     Having all grown up, they got married.

284 *nyoṇi   guru-pali ray-eŋ-ta-le,   dewa   lony-eŋ-to-le,*
     evening shaman-p   come.from.level-PAS-IPP-PCL *god* do-PAS-TPP-PCL

    dewa   hok-Ø-du   ṭhai-te   yey-eŋ-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-ŋa-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,   amakaleŋ*
     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   ṭamsil   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-ṇey-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? gă-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 (∑) and
the postposition *libi* 'after' to mean 'after ∑-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   ŋah-Ø-u-no,*   '*nany-e   huca   nik-ŋa*   *libi*
      wife-PM   say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   you-ERG   child   give.birth-CNS   after

      ka   citaliŋ   tap-sa,   tyaŋ 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-ŋa   libi,   gai   ucyaca   kere   uniŋ*
      I-PM   mother-ERG   give.birth-CNS   after   I   small   insect   like

      hok-ŋa-thyo   thaŋun.
      be-1s-3sCOND   maybe.

>   After my mother gave birth to me, I think that I was like a small insect.

301   *to   mi   toŋ   cya-ŋa libi,   cijyaŋ-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-ŋa   libi,   paŋku 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-ŋa-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 ṭhoṇe   mi-ye   ŋah-Ø-u-no,   'habi*
     one-HNC father like   old.man person-ERG say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT before

     camai   wakhe   ṭisen-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 ucyaca tha-ŋa-du beryaŋ,   gai-go   apa-ko   apa   aṭṭhe*
     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
         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   *nyoṇi,*   *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*   *ṭhai*   *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 <-ăi>

     morph: <-ăi>
     label: CON

The use of the Thangmi continuous background activity suffix <-ăi> (CON) lends prominence to the modified constituent. Aside from one recorded instance of the Thangmi suffix <-ăi> (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 <-ăi> (CON) is attached directly to this reduplicated form, rather like the Nepali imperfect participle <-da> in its morphologically emphatic form <-dai>. The Thangmi suffix <-ăi> (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

   kaṭa-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 camǎica*
    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-kǎi, 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,   gǎ-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-kǎi   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 gǎi-go kapu
bend.over-REF-sAS-IPP-PCL   that-GEN   head with I-GEN   head

ṭhyok-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,   gǎ-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

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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.

ŋah-Ø-ŋa-n, *gă-ye* *woi* *ŋah-u-n-uŋ.* 10 *'nan* *baṭhe* *nama*
say-sAS-1s-PT I-ERG also say-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT now tomorrow with

tha-ko' *ŋa-to-le* *ŋah-u-n-uŋ,* *wakhe* *loŋ-sa-kăi* *di* *ṭhăi-te*
be-ADH say-TPP-PCL say-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT word do-INF-PM one place-LOC

hok-ta-i-le, *loŋ-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 *găi* *ṭaye* *ami-sa* *ma-thaŋ-u-n-uŋ,*
house-LOC go-1pPS-PT I night sleep-INF NEG-be.able-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT

to-ko *khen* *găi-go* *mesek-te* *usyah-Ø-an.* 13 *nan* *kutaleŋ*
that-GEN face I-GEN eye-LOC dance-sAS-3S/PT now when

athaŋ-Ø-du, *tyaŋ* *khalam-sa* *ŋah-u-n-uŋ.* 14 *băsinṭe* *gare*
be.light-sAS-NPT then meet-INF say-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT morning rooster

ikhey-Ø-an, *serek-ta-ŋa-le* *khalam-sa* *ṭhăi-te* *ya-ŋa-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* *ṭhăi* *hok-sa* *ṭhăi-te* *ya-ta-i-le*
come.from.level-sAS-3S/PT one place be-INF place-LOC go-IPP-1pPS-PCL

wakhe *loŋ-wa-n.* 16 *to-ŋaŋ* *ni-ye* *kutaleŋ* *woi* *kuta* *woi*
word do-1p→23-PT that-inside we-ERG when also where also

torta-to-le *ma-hen-ko* *ŋa-wa-n.* 17 *tyaŋ* *găi-găi* *to* *camăica-ye*
leave-TPP-PCL NEG-go-ADH say-1p→23-PT then I-PM that woman-ERG

to-ko *nem-te* *hen-Ø-ŋa-n,* *găi* *woi* *ya-ŋa-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,* *camăi-guri-ye* *ŋah-Ø-u-no* *'to* *găi-go*
mother come-sAS-3S/PT daughter-IND-ERG say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT that I-GEN

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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-3SCOND 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-3SCOND maybe

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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   uniŋ hok-Ø-du: di   uni ka*
     one-CLF   village this like be-sAS-NPT one day throughout

raŋ   to-le   woi, nyoṇi băsinṭe cya-sa ma-khalam, cya-sa
unirrigated.field dig-PCL also evening morning eat-INF NEG-receive eat-INF

ma-gap.   2   to-ŋaŋ-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-eŋ-du.   4   ka   uniŋ ŋa-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   ŋah-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 loŋ-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   uniŋ 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,*   *ḍamari*
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   'ḍamari'   ŋah-Ø-u-du-ye, camăi   begale ṭhăi-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-kăi-guri? 3 *găi-găi* *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 *găi* *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,* *găi-go* *ama-ye* *găi-găi*
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 *găi-go* *jarphu* *hok-Ø-thyo.* 11 *gă-ye*
shaman I-GEN elder.sister's.husband be-sAS-3SCOND   I-ERG

săiy-u-n-uŋ, *naŋ* *naleŋ* *kuta* *ya-na-du?* 12 *găi* *dolkha*
know-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT you present where go-2s-NPT   I Dolakhā

dăi *ya-ŋa-du.* 13 *e* *dolkha* *dăi,* *hara-kăi* *ya-na-du?* 14 *chya*
towards go-1s-NPT   oh Dolakhā towards what-PM go-2s-NPT   salt

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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-kăi *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,* *găi-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-kăi 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 *găi-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, găi-găi 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-parăi, tara găi hen-ko*
NEG-be-sAS-3S/PT okay-sAS-NPT *difference* NEG-*make but* I go-ADH

măi-Ø-du. 23 *ja-Ø-du,* *susto ya-Ø, naŋ-ko libi libi găi*
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, găi 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 *găi ra-sa-be*
with snack eat-ADH I come.from.level-INF-TOP

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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-3SCOND *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

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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   *gǎi   nis   tha-ŋa-du beryaŋ,   gǎi-go apa   siy-Ø-an.*   2   *gǎi   sum*
     I   two be-1s-NPT that.time I-GEN father die-sAS-3S/PT   I   three

ŋaŋ oli   tha-ŋa-du beryaŋ, gǎi-go sum-ka   tete   woi
and four be-1s-NPT that.time I-GEN   three-HNC elder.sister also

siy-eŋ-an.   3   gǎi-go walŋa-ka tete,   libi-ko   gǎi. 4   gǎi
die-pAS-3S/PT   I-GEN five-HNC elder.sister after-GEN I   I

walŋa tha-ŋa-du beryaŋ, gǎi-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 gǎi hok-i-n,
be-sAS-3S/PT   now house-LOC elder.sister mother and I   be-1pPS-PT

nan sum-ka.   6   gǎi 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, gǎi-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   gǎi kerep-ŋa-n.
appear-sAS-3S/PT   big elder.sister-GEN marriage-LOC I cry-1s-PT

8   *nem-te   tete,   ama,   gǎi 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 gǎi ṇo   barsa tha-ŋa-n. 10   gǎi-gǎi
do-1p→23-PT   now I   seven *year* be-1s-PT   I-PM

tete-ye   cabu-to-le   hen-Ø-ŋa-thyo.   11   nyoṇi   ama-ye
elder.sister-ERG carry-TPP-PCL take-sAS-1s-3SCOND   evening mother-ERG

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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   ṭuṇi*
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,   ṇiŋ   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

aṭṭhe   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

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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 găi 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

beryaŋ   gă-ye bore   loŋ-sa ma-ja   ŋah-u-n-uŋ.   29 *găi*
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-kăi*
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-kăi woi ma-gap-Ø-du.   33 *gă-ye*
give-sAS-1s-3SCOND   eat-INF-PM also NEG-be.enough-sAS-NPT   I-ERG

pepelek na-sa   ma-thaŋ-u-n-uŋ,   găi 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 *găi nis-dicip-di tha-ŋa-du beryaŋ,   găi-go bore*
go-1s-PT   I   two-ten-one   be-1s-NPT that.time I-GEN   marriage

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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 măine 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, ŋiŋ*
other village go-1s-PT *other* village-inside go-IPP-1s-PCL stone

cabu-sa jet loŋ-u-n-uŋ. 39 *kutaleŋ kutaleŋ pătrika*
carry-INF work do-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT when when *newspaper*

cabu-to-le arṭik-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 uchincăi 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, găi-go uma di-ka*
marriage do-3P-1s→3-NPT two *year* after one-GEN wife one-HNC

camăi 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

găi 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 ṭisen-si-sa*
person be-sAS-3SCOND that person Thangmi word teach-REF-INF

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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,*   *gă-ye*
come.from.level-1s-NPT say-TPP-PCL say-sAS-3P-NPT I-ERG

nasăiy-u-n-uŋ.   45 *tyaŋ* *găi* *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 *gă-ye* *to-kăi* *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*   *găi-găi* *ŋa-Ø-ŋa-n* '*găi* *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,* *găi-be* *nui-ŋa-n.* 49 '*gă-ye* *nasăiy-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-kăi* *kyel-na-n?'* 50 '*bore*   *yo-sa-kăi*
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 *găi-găi*
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 *gă-ye*
say-sAS-1s-PT younger.brother-GEN house-IND where   I-ERG

ŋah-u-n-uŋ   '*găi-go* *nem* *rikhi-pole*   *na-basa.'* 53 '*baṭhe*
say-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT I-GEN house Ficus.lacor-tree under-side   tomorrow

băsinṭe *găi* *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 *baṭhe*   *ya-ŋa-du* *beryaŋ,* *găi* *ari-ŋa-n.*
say-sAS-1s-PT   tomorrow go-1s-NPT that.time I   be.afraid-1s-PT

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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 *'găi-găi hara hara ŋa-Ø-ŋa-du?'*   *ŋa-to-le*   *ya-ŋa-n.* 56 *găi*
    I-PM   what what say-sAS-1s-NPT say-TPP-PCL go-1s-PT   I

ari-sa   *ma-măi-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 găi-găi ŋa-Ø-ŋa-n* *'naŋ găi*
NEG-be-sAS-3SCOND   then that-ERG I-PM say-sAS-1s-PT you I

nama jet   loŋ-u-na-du?' 58 *găi di chin   sumaka hok-ŋa-n.* 59 *găi*
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 *gă-ye*
that that.time *other* village-LOC work do-3P-1s→3-3SCOND   I-ERG

'ja-Ø-du'   *ŋah-u-n-uŋ,*   *gă-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 găi 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 *gă-ye ŋah-u-n-uŋ*   *'găi-găi thaŋmi   kham*
or NEG-okay   I-ERG say-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT I-PM   Thangmi language

uchincăi ra-Ø-du,   *hara jet   loŋ-sa?'* 63 *'nany-e*
very.little come.from.level-sAS-NPT what work do-INF   you-ERG

săi-na-du   wakhe loŋ-o!   ma-săi-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 *găi '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 găi oste-ko nem dăi   cawa-ŋa-n.*
be.happy-1s-NPT   that period I self-GEN house towards walk-1s-PT

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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,   găi-găi nembo   dese
do-1p→23-PT   this like   do-CNS after   I-PM   other.person   village

dăi   yo-sa-kăi   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-kăi   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   nyakaṇeŋ-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

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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,   aṭṭhe ṭilay-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   ṭi-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   ṭhăi   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   ṭek-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   ṭoi-si-ŋa-n,   me*
    enter-IPP-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

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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,   baṭhe
cover-PCL   put-3P-3SCOND   now   today this-LOC stay-ADH tomorrow

băsinṭe   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 ṭhăi 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 ṭhăi 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 băsinṭe   serek-ta-i-le,   nobi
fireplace near   I   sleep-1s-PT   morning   arise-IPP-1pPS-PCL downhill

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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*   *moṭe-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!'*   *ŋa-to-le*   *ŋa-Ø-ŋa-n.*   102 *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

ṭhăi-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

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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* *găi-go* *tete* *uniŋ* *hok-Ø-du.*
be-sAS-NPT   that elder.sister also I-GEN elder.sister like be-sAS-NPT

109 *bubu* *woi* *găi-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,* *masăi,* *yo-ko!*
    now after what be-sAS-NPT who.knows look.at-ADH

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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   aṭṭhe   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,   bakoṭek-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

ṭhoṇi-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

kanṭi aja   na-to-le   ṭhoṇe   ṭhoṇi   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

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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   *găi-găi-guri me   ra-sa*
NEG-like-sAS-3SCOND   I-PM-IND   fire bring-INF

ci-ṭhoy-eŋ-ŋa-thyo.   10   *tyaŋ di   uni-ko   wakhe: găi 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 kăiy-Ø-u-no,   gă-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,   gă-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 *găi thombe   tha-ŋa-n, to   uni*
drink-sAS-3P-3→3/PT that tobacco   I   surprise be-1s-PT   that day

to-ye   bakoṭek ciy-Ø-u-no,   to   găi kum-to-le
that-ERG half   throw.away-sAS-3P-3→3/PT that I   pick.up-TPP-PCL

cya-ŋa-n. 15 *to   aṭṭhe se-Ø-du   hok-Ø-thyo,   tyaŋ găi-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,   gă-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

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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 găi woi, găi-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, gă-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 găi-găi isa   ken   uniŋ*
drink-3P-1s→3-3SCOND   tobacco I-PM   food vegetable.curry like

thah-Ø-an,   găi sarma   tha-sa ya-ŋa-n. 20 *găi dicip-walŋa tha-ŋa-du*
be-sAS-3S/PT I   strong be-INF go-1s-PT   I   ten-five   be-1s-NPT

beryaŋ,   găi-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

ṭhoṇe   mi   tha-Ø-ta-le   woi, di   uni-ye   aṭṭhe bajareŋ
old.man person be-sAS-IPP-PCL also one day-ERG much   tobacco

cya-Ø-thyo.   22 *ṭaye   ka   ṭhoiṭhoi-Ø-thyo.*   23 *tyaŋ to*
eat-sAS-3SCOND   night throughout cough-sAS-3SCOND   then   that

ṭhoṇe   lā-dicip   thah-Ø-an,   aṭṭhe 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   găi 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, guṭhi   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   mumpra   thah-Ø-an,   to   isyaŋ-yiŋ*
    after father-GEN father-GEN death.ritual be-sAS-3S/PT that period-ABL

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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.

gǎi-go woi kaṇṭu kalǎi-ŋa-n. 27 *kaṇṭu kalǎi-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 gǎ-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 mǎi-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 mǎi-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 *gǎi-go*
     NEG-eat-1s-PT say-3P-1s→3-NPT eat-INF like-1s-NPT   I-GEN

nem-te gǎi-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

gǎi-gǎi 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 gǎi-gǎi nembo*
tobacco present also eat-1s-NPT   present I-PM other.person

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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 *găi* *aṭṭhe*
eat-sAS-NPT see-3P-1s→3-NPT that.time eat-INF NEG-like I much

cya-ŋa-be, *găi* *woi* *găi-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* *gă-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

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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-kăi   di   ṭhăi   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-kăi   ma-sadey-eŋ,   kaṭay-eŋ-du.   3   di   uni*
    village   person-ERG   mother-PM   NEG-like-pAS   scold-pAS-NPT   one   day

ca-kăi   dese   mi-ye   ṇey-eŋ-du   'apa   ma-hok-Ø-du   ca'
son-PM   village   person-ERG   beat-pAS-NPT   father   NEG-be-sAS-NPT   son

ŋay-eŋ-du,   rage   let-Ø-du.   4   dese   mi   nama
say-pAS-NPT   anger   appear-sAS-NPT   village   person   with

kiṇe-si-Ø-du,   nem-te   kyel-Ø-ta-le   ama-kăi   'ni-ko   apa
fight-REF-sAS-NPT   house-LOC   come-sAS-IPP-PCL   mother-PM   we-GEN   father

kuta   hok-Ø-du?'   ŋa-to-le   ŋah-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-kăi   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   nasăi-to-le,   to   ṭaye   ma-ami.   8   băsiṇṭe   serek-Ø-ta-le,
word   hear-TPP-PCL   that   night   NEG-sleep   morning   arise-sAS-IPP-PCL

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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   ṭhǎi 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   ṇe-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 ṇe-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   ŋa-to-le   ŋah-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-ŋa-n' ŋa-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

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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 ṭit-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   ṭhăi-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

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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   ṭhoṇi   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   ṭisen-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   ṭisen-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'   ŋay-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'   ŋah-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

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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-kăi   ama   nama hok-sa aliy-Ø-an.   11 ama-ko   nem
black-PM mother with   be-INF like-sAS-3S/PT   mother-GEN   house

dăi   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   ḍamari-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   gă-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,   ḍamari-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-kăi-sa   aji-ko
NEG-come.from.level-sAS-IPP-PCL wife go-remove-INF   mother.in.law-GEN

nem   dăi   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   maṇăi jyouy-eŋ-to-le   cya-sa*
    mother daughter-ERG-IND bread burn-pAS-TPP-PCL   eat-INF

dany-eŋ-no.   16 nyoṇi   ḍamari   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

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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*   *ḍapuh-u-n-du'*   *ŋa-to-le*   *ḍapuh-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*   *maṇăi* *jyouy-eŋ-no,*
     within-inside mother daughter-ERG bread burn-pAS-3→3/PT

ḍamari-ye   *priŋ-yiŋ*   *yo-le*   *nah-Ø-u-no.*   18 *ṭaye*
son.in.law-ERG outside-ABL look.at-PCL put-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   night

ḍamari-ye   *kharou* *ṭaŋ-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* *ḍamari*   *kyel-Ø-an.'*
be.happy-sAS-IPP-PCL mother you-GEN son.in.law come-sAS-3S/PT

19 *ḍamari*   *ra-Ø-du*   *ni-to-le,*   *aji-ye*
     son.in.law come.from.level-sAS-NPT see-TPP-PCL mother.in.law-ERG

maṇăi *ḍuŋkuṭi* *dăi*   *sul-to-le*   *nah-Ø-u-no.*
bread storehouse towards hide-TPP-PCL put-sAS-3P-3→3/PT

20 *ḍamari-kăi-guri* *phaliŋge* *piy-Ø-u-no,*   *ḍamari*   *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,*   *maṇăi 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* *maṇăi*
NEG-be   mother.in.law-ERG say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT two three-CLF bread

jyoh-u-n-thyo,   *tap-Ø-an.'*   23 *ḍamari-ye*
burn-3P-1s→3-3SCOND be.finished-sAS-3S/PT   son.in.law-ERG

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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* *maṇăi* *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* *ḍamari*   *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 *baṭhe*   *syaŋ-yiŋ* *wakhe* *dese-te*   *ka*
sleep-pAS-3S/PT   tomorrow period-ABL word   village-LOC throughout

ŋah-Ø-u-no   *'găi-go* *ḍamari* *aṭṭhe* *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 *ḍamari-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 *ḍamari* *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 *ṭhoṇi-ko*   *wakhe* *nasăi-to-le,*   *dha-basa-ko*   *mi-ko*
    old.woman-GEN word   hear-TPP-PCL   that.distant-side-GEN person-GEN

ṭuṇi *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* *ṭuṇi* *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 *băsinṭe* *soŋ-te*   *kiṇi* *ya-tah-Ø-u-du*
or   look.at-s→3/IMP   morning river-LOC shit go-release-sAS-3P-NPT

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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   ṭuṇi   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   ṭuṇi   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   dǎi   dorok-Ø-an,   ṭuṇi   warak-te   nih-Ø-u-no.
ridge   towards   run-sAS-3S/PT   goat   ridge-LOC   see-sAS-3P-3→3/PT

34 *ḍamari   aṭṭhe   sǎi-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   nasǎiy-eŋ-no.   35 di   uni   di-ka-ko   camǎi-ko
person-ERG   hear-pAS-3→3/PT   one   day   one-HNC-GEN   daughter-GEN

laŋi   hok-Ø-du   ṭhǎi-yiŋ   tam-Ø-ta-le,   nan
necklace   be-sAS-NPT   place-ABL   get.lost-sAS-IPP-PCL   now

ci-yo-sa-kǎi   ḍamari-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-kǎi
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   ṭaye
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

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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-3SCOND   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

gwiy-eŋ-du   mi-pali   ḍamari   nama   ṭaye yey-eŋ-ta-le
steal-pAS-NPT person-PM son.in.law with night go-pAS-IPP-PCL

ŋay-eŋ-no. 40 *'ḍamari,   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   ḍamari*
what what give-1p→23-NPT   this word hear-TPP-PCL son.in.law

taŋ-Ø-an,   baṭhe   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   ṭhum-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-eŋ-no.
go-sAS-IPP-PCL necklace remove-TPP-PCL bring.from.below-pAS-3→3/PT

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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-kăi*
    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

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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

ṭisen-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* *ṭisen-Ø-u-du.*   5   *tyaŋ* *to*   *guru*   *aṭthe*
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

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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   ṭake
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,   ṭake   tap-sa   ḍokliŋ   tha-Ø-du.
be-sAS-NPT ritual.drum strike-INF curved.drum.stick be-sAS-NPT

12 *guru-ye   bu-si-sa   nis-gore ḍiŋḍiŋ 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   ṭupuri-te kusi-ko
tie-REF-INF long   cloth be-sAS-NPT   head-GEN cap-LOC porcupine-GEN

puṭu   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,   ṭake   ḍokliny-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

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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 ḍiŋḍiŋ*
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 *ḍiŋḍiŋ gare-ye   humi-kăi*   *kapu-yiŋ konṭe-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 ṭhem-Ø-u-no.*   26 *tyaŋ thapu-ŋaŋ*
egg   put-TPP-PCL   egg   break-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   then fireplace-inside

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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*   *koṭe-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,*   *ṭake*   *cum-to-le*
beer   with   eat-sAS-3S/PT   eat-CNS   after   ritual.drum   hold-TPP-PCL

tap-Ø-u-no   *ŋaŋ*   *warăiy-Ø-an,*   *baṇi-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-kăi*   *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-ṭoke*
say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   one-CLF   chicken-GEN   limb   one-half.kilo

jake   *menca-ŋaŋ*   *tham-to-le*   *oste-ko*   *nem*   *dăi*
unhusked.rice   bag-inside   insert-TPP-PCL   self-GEN   house   towards

hen-Ø-u-no.   32   *gă-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-kăi*   *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*   *baṭhe*
be-pAS-IPP-PCL   beaten.rice   with   eat-pAS-3S/PT   that   shaman   tomorrow

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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.

nyoṇi   ni-ko   nem-te   kyel-Ø-an,   kyel-ŋa   libi
evening   we-GEN   house-LOC   come-sAS-3S/PT   come-CNS   after

humi-kăi   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-kăi
NEG-be.well   NEG-be.well   also   arise-sAS-IPP-PCL   shaman-PM

yoh-Ø-u-no.   39 'guru,   kyel-ta-na-le,   găi-găi   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   ṭupuri   kăi-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-kăi
shaman-ERG   CAUS-survive-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   CAUS-survive-TPP-PCL   that-PM

gă-ye   di-gore   mama-wa   pal-to-le   piy-u-n-uŋ.   43 tyaŋ
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-kăi   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

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is like: he gets no money but he does get plenty to eat!

KATHMANDU

1 *gǎi ucyaca tha-ŋa-du beryaŋ, gǎi ŋaŋ gǎi-go macyu,*
I small be-1s-NPT that.time I and I-GEN mother's.younger.sister

ucyapa-ko ca nama, jekha dese dǎi 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-kǎi caway-i-n.*
we three-HNC be-IPP-1pPS-PCL god look.at-INF-PM walk-1pPS-PT

3 *cawa-ŋa libi, ṭaye dewa-te ya-let-i-n.* 4 *ni-kǎi dewa*
walk-CNS after night god-LOC go-appear-1pPS-PT we-PM god

yo-sa-kǎi ucyapa-ko ca-ye urouy-i-thyo.
look.at-INF-PM father's.younger.brother-GEN son-ERG call-1pPS-3SCOND

5 *ya-let-sa-be ya-let-i-n, bubu-kǎi ma-khalam-wa-n.*
go-appear-INF-TOP go-appear-1pPS-PT elder.brother-PM NEG-meet-1p→23-PT

6 *gǎ-ye macyu-kǎi 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-kǎi 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

ṭaye 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

ṭaye ulam-ko nem-te hok-i-thyo, di-ka naka mi
night road-GEN house-LOC be-1pPS-3SCOND one-HNC new person

kyel-Ø-ta-le ni-kǎi 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

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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-kăi*   *ci-let-i-n.*   11   *to-te*   *gă-ye*   *su-kăi*
come-sAS-IPP-PCL   we-PM   CAUS-appear-1pPS-PT   that-LOC   I-ERG   who-PM

woi   *ma-ŋosăiy-u-n-thyo.*   12   *libi*   *di-ka*   *mi-ye*
also   NEG-recognise-3P-1s→3-3SCOND   after   one-HNC   person-ERG

kyel-Ø-ta-le,   *găi-găi*   *ŋah-Ø-ŋa-n*   *'hu,*   *hara-kăi*
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   *gă-ye*
come-2s-PT   you-GEN   who   be-sAS-NPT   this-LOC   I-ERG

ŋah-u-n-uŋ   *'găi*   *bubu*   *hok-Ø-du*   *ţhăi-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*   *ţhăi,*   *kuta*   *kuta?'*   *ni*   *thombe*
    this   very   house   be-sAS-NPT   place   where   where   we   surprise

thay-i-n.   15   *tyaŋ*   *di-ka*   *mi-ye*   *'hu,*   *naŋ*
be-1pPS-PT   then   one-HNC   person-ERG   younger.brother   you

ra-Ø!   *gă-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!',*   *gă-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

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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-kăi*
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

ṭhăi, ṭaye hok-sa di   ṭhăi. 18 *bophura di-ka   bubu-ko*
place night be-INF one place   pity   one-HNC   elder.brother-GEN

ban-e   ni-kăi   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-kăi   ni-to-le   bubu
wash-REF-sAS-IPP-PCL be-sAS-3SCOND 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,   kwăi cey-i-n,   toŋ cey-i-n   nan-be   cya-sa-kăi
meet-CNS   after potato eat-1pPS-PT beer eat-1pPS-PT now-TOP eat-INF-PM

hok-i-n.   22 *baṭhe   isyaŋ   bubu-ye   ni-kăi   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   dăi   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-kăi   sakalei*
    house-LOC go-appear-IPP-1pPS-PCL we-ERG other.person-PM all

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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-3SCOND   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

beryaŋ,   *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-3SCOND

6   *găi-găi*   *cijyaŋ-sa*   *ṭisen-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*   *kaṭa-Ø-ŋa-du.*'
say-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT   you-GEN   father-ERG   I-PM   scold-sAS-1s-NPT

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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, găi-găi amat-sa-kăi sum-gore jake-ko   maṇăi, 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.*   11 *gă-ye woi sum-gore maṇăi*
come.from.level-s/IMP   say-sAS-1s-PT   I-ERG also three-CLF bread

menca-ŋaŋ tham-to-le   jarphu-kăi   hen-to-le   ya-ŋa-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   camăica-ko   apa*
    go-IPP-1pPS-PT   fireplace near   be-1pPS-PT that woman-GEN   father

ama-ye   ni-kăi   kaṭay-i-n.   13 *tyaŋ ni   to   isyaŋ   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-kăi
NEG-sleep   walk-1pPS-PT   house-LOC go-IPP-1pPS-PCL night   mother-PM

ci-serek-wa-n,   toŋ   tha-to-le   cey-i-n.   14 *libi*
CAUS-arise-1p→23-PT   beer   filter.and.strain-TPP-PCL   eat-1pPS-PT   after

wakhe camăica-ko   apa   nama thah-Ø-an,   apraca loŋ-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   isyaŋ,   găi-go tete   nini-pali-ye*
    after marriage be-sAS-NPT   period   I-GEN   elder.sister father's.sister-p-ERG

lampay-eŋ-ŋa-n   maṇăi paliŋge   ni-kăi   piy-eŋ-ŋa-n.
block.the.road-pAS-1s-PT bread beaten.rice   we-PM   give-pAS-1s-PT

16 *nem-te   hen-sa habi,   găi-găi chuku-ye   cabu-Ø-ŋa-n,*
    house-LOC   go-INF before   I-PM   father.in.law-ERG   carry-sAS-1s-PT

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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-kăi 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-kăi sewa   loŋ-i-n.   18 ni-ko   bore   loŋ-sa, ahe   toŋ   pepelek
we-PM   salute do-1pPS-PT   we-GEN marriage do-INF much   beer   money

daŋ-ko   măi-Ø-du,   ahe   mi   urou-ko măi-Ø-du,   tyaŋ
search-ADH must-sAS-NPT many person call-ADH must-sAS-NPT then

bore   tha-Ø-du.
marriage be-sAS-NPT

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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: găi-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 ṭhăi-yiŋ   nis-ṭoke   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   *nyoṇi,   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-kăi   me   mut-eŋ-no,   tyaŋ
mushroom CAUS-ripen-INF-PM fire blow-pAS-3→3/PT then

ci-min-eŋ-no.   7   *tyaŋ lawa-ye-guri   băsinṭe-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   camăi-kăi   woi   pi-to-le.   8   *sakalei mi   cey-eŋ-ta-le,*
son daughter-PM also give-TPP-PCL   all   person eat-pAS-IPP-PCL

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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-eŋ-du
one-HNC wife-IND   after eat-sAS-IPP-PCL   before eat-pAS-NPT

huca-pali-kăi nan kapu kalăi-sa thah-Ø-an,   baŋkal   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-eŋ-ta-le   ka   uniŋ
be-sAS-3S/PT   that-Pp-ERG mushroom eat-pAS-IPP-PCL this like

thah-Ø-an   ŋa-to-le   ma-thaha   săiy-eŋ-no.   11 libi
be-sAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL NEG-*knowledge* know-pAS-3→3/PT   after

apa-guri huca-pali amiy-eŋ-du   uniŋ țițiy-eŋ-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 ațțhe kalăi-Ø-du   beryaŋ   hara woi ŋa-sa
be-sAS-NPT now very   hurt-sAS-NPT that.time what also say-INF

ma-thaŋ-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-thaŋ   ma-thaŋ   woi yah-Ø-an.   13 ya-ŋa   libi
house-LOC NEG-be.well NEG-be.well also go-sAS-3S/PT   go-CNS after

to-te   țițiŋ-Ø-ta-le   ami-Ø-du   uniŋ thah-Ø-an.
that-LOC fall.from.level-sAS-IPP-PCL sleep-sAS-NPT like be-sAS-3S/PT

14 *aji   chuku   sakalei kerep-eŋ-an.*   15 *‘wari-kăi*
     mother.in.law father.in.law all   cry-pAS-3S/PT   daughter.in.law-PM

hara thah-Ø-an?’ ŋa-to-le,   ca-kăi ŋa-sa   wari-ko
what be-sAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL son-PM say-INF daughter.in.law-GEN

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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

arṭik-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 ṭany-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,   tyaŋ 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,   ăikuca-ye   suwa
say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   sour.fruit   bring-pAS-TPP-PCL   large.knife-INS   tooth

ṭany-eŋ-to-le   ugo   duŋ-ŋaŋ   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   cijyaŋ-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   beryaŋ,
one-HNC   person-PM   what   be-sAS-PT   say-TPP-PCL   say-pAS-NPT   that.time

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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   ŋah-Ø-u-no: 24   'găi   hyate   ya-let-ŋa-n,   to-te   ṭhoṇe
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-ŋa-n!'   ŋa-to-le   ŋah-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   găi-găi   jun-Ø-ŋa-n!'
    one-HNC   door-LOC   be-sAS-NPT   person-ERG   I-PM   push-sAS-1s-PT

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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   ǎlǎmtha-ko camǎica 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   *'ḍamari,   dikaca ya-Ø,   camǎi   libi*
say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   son.in.law alone go-s/IMP daughter after

ṭhoh-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   maṇǎi kwǎi ḍamari-kǎi   piy-Ø-u-no.
before mother.in.law-ERG bread   potato son.in.law-PM give-sAS-3P-3→3/PT

8   *ḍamari-kǎi   '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

ṭhoh-Ø-u-no.   9   *to   aji-ko   wakhe nasǎi-to-le*
send-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   that mother.in.law-GEN word   hear-TPP-PCL

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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*   *bakoṭek* *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*   *ṭhoh-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,*   *koṭe*
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   *baṇi* *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

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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,*   *găi*   *to-kăi*   *yo-sa-kăi*
NEG-die also be-sAS-IPP-PCL   after after I   that-PM   look.at-INF-PM

ya-ŋa-n.   21   *libi*   *bubu-kăi*   *hen-to-le,*   *begale*   *camăica*
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*   *camăi*
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*   *dăi*
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-kăi*   *ci-yo-wa-n.*
after shaman-GEN-LOC take-1p→23-PT shaman-PM CAUS-look.at-1p→23-PT

26   ʼ*nan*   *ka-kăi*   *ka-te*   *ma-ja*ʼ   *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

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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

ṭake   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   ṭaye   ka   dewa   lony-eŋ-du.   4   *to-te   wa*
house-LOC   one   night   throughout   *god*   do-pAS-NPT   that-LOC   chicken

walŋa-gore,   pucyuk   mat-gore,   na-ko   măi-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

ṭhem-eŋ-to-le,   cey-eŋ-du.   6   *di-gore   pucyuk-guri   ṭakare*
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-kăi   pucyuk*
    sleep-INF   before   village-LOC   two-HNC   person-PM   flour.offering

ṭhoy-eŋ-to-le,   di   di   kucik   boṭhay-eŋ-to-le,   nem   nem-te
send-pAS-TPP-PCL   one   one   morsel   distribute-pAS-TPP-PCL   house   house-LOC

jakcho   ya-kăi-ko   măi-Ø-du.   9   *jakcho   ray-eŋ-to-le,*
wheat   go-remove-ADH   must-sAS-NPT   wheat   bring-pAS-TPP-PCL

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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-eŋ-to-le,   *yante-te*   *ney-eŋ-to-le,*   *walŋa-gore* *pucyuk*
roast-pAS-TPP-PCL quern-LOC grind-pAS-TPP-PCL five-CLF   flour.offering

khem-ko   *măi-Ø-du.*   10 *nyoṇi*   *guru-pali* *ray-eŋ-ta-le,*
build-ADH   must-sAS-NPT   evening shaman-p come.from.level-pAS-IPP-PCL

dewa *lony-eŋ-to-le,*   *dewa* *hok-Ø-du* *ṭhăi-te*   *yey-eŋ-du.*   11 *habi*
god   do-pAS-TPP-PCL god   be-sAS-NPT place-LOC go-pAS-NPT   before

habi   *dewa* *loŋ-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*   *ŋaŋ*
flour.offering carry-TPP-PCL   walk-sAS-NPT   after after ritual.flag and

guru   *ṭake*   *tap-to-le*   *usya-sa* *caway-eŋ-du.*   13 *nan*
shaman-ERG shaman's.drum beat-TPP-PCL dance-INF walk-pAS-NPT   now

begale *nem-te*   *woi* *di* *chin*   *hok-eŋ-ta-le*   *dewa* *lony-eŋ-du.*
other house-LOC also one *moment* be-pAS-IPP-PCL *god* do-pAS-NPT

14 *to-te*   *dum-eŋ-to-le,*   *to-yiŋ*   *dicip-lā-gore* *pucyuk*
    that-LOC finish-pAS-TPP-PCL   that-ABL ten-eight-CLF flour.offering

hen-eŋ-du,   *gare* *woi* *hen-eŋ-du.*   15 *pucyuk*   *hen-eŋ-to-le*
take-pAS-NPT rooster also take-pAS-NPT   flour.offering take-pAS-TPP-PCL

dewa *nem-te*   *nay-eŋ-du.*   16 *ṭaye* *ka*   *guru-pali-ye*   *jet*
god house-LOC put-pAS-NPT   night throughout shaman-p-ERG work

lony-eŋ-du.   17 *băsinṭe* *thaŋmi-pali-ko* *naka* *nem,* *naka* *bore*
do-pAS-NPT   morning Thangmi-p-GEN new house new marriage

lony-eŋ-du-pali-ye, *gare*   *toŋ* *alam*   *hen-ko*   *măi-Ø-du.*
do-pAS-NPT-p-ERG rooster beer ritual.flag take-ADH must-sAS-NPT

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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   koțeh-Ø-u-du,*
   take-pAS-TPP-PCL shaman-PM give-CNS after rooster cut-sAS-3P-NPT

kapu-guri koțeh-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 mațăi 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

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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 *kăbita găi-go camăi.* 2 *to huca aṭṭhe reŋreŋ isi-Ø-du, naleŋ*
Kabitā I-GEN daughter that child very fidgety do-sAS-NPT present

sum tha-ko sow-Ø-an. 3 *to-ye oste-ko ama-kăi 'ama'*
three be-ADH be.about.to-sAS-3S/PT that-ERG self-GEN mother-PM mother

ma-ŋa, găi-go ama-kăi ŋah-Ø-u-du. 4 *di uni to*
NEG-say I-GEN mother-PM say-sAS-3P-NPT one day that

ṭiṭiŋ-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-kăi,*
be-sAS-IPP-PCL cry-sAS-3S/PT swelling be-sAS-3S/PT one day that-PM

găi-go uma-kăi, begale dese-yiŋ bubu-ye ni-kăi urouy-i-n.
I-GEN wife-PM *other* village-ABL elder.brother-ERG we-PM call-1pPS-PT

7 *ni nem-yiŋ yey-i-n, tyaŋ 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 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. 9 *hara-kăi*
NEG-speak-sAS-3S/PT elder.sister with-IND speak-sAS-3S/PT what-PM

masăi, jekhapa ni-to-le kerep-sa daŋ-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

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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].

loṇe   hok-Ø-du   ṭhăi-te   hen-wa-n.   12 to   ni-to-le   aṭṭhe
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 ṇo   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 ṭhăi 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

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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,*   *camǎi*
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 'gǎi
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*   *gǎi-gǎi 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-kǎi sat-Ø-u-du.*
other.person child-p-PM   explain-sAS-3P-NPT

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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   ṭhăi-te   hok-eŋ-thyo.*   2   *ni-ko*
long.time.ago   Thangmi-p   one   place-LOC   be-pAS-3SCOND   we-GEN

jyu-jyu   cyapjyu-pali   sunari   aji   yapăti   chuku
great-great   ancestor-p   Sunari   mother.in.law   Yapati   father.in.law

thay-eŋ-du.   3   *ka   nis-ka   ṭhoṇe   ṭhoṇi-ko   ca   camăi*
be-pAS-NPT   this   two-HNC   old.man   old.woman-GEN   son   daughter

naleŋ   sakalei   oste   oste-ko   ṭhăi-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   ṇo-ka   ca   ṇo-ka*
be-pAS-3SCOND   REP   after   that-Pp-GEN   seven-GEN   son   seven-GEN

camăi   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   camăi-pali-kăi   ḍamari,   ca-pali-kăi*
do-INF   be-pAS-3S/PT   now   daughter-p-PM   son.in.law   son-p-PM

wari,   kyel-ko   măi-Ø-du'   ŋa-to-le,   nis-ka   ṭhoṇe
daughter.in.law   bring-ADH   must-SAS-NPT   say-TPP-PCL   two-HNC   old.man

ṭhoṇi-ye   wakhe   lony-eŋ-no.   8   *'nan   ka   dăi   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

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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   ṭho-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   ṭhăi-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

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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   ṭhăi-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

ṭhoh-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

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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* *ṭhoṇe-kăi* *nah-Ø-u-no,*   *ṭhoṇi-kăi*
say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   then old.man-PM put-sAS-3P-3→3/PT old.woman-PM

ṭhoh-Ø-u-no.   24 *baṭhe*   *syaŋ* *ṭhoṇi-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 *ṭhoṇe-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,   *ṭhoṇi-kăi*   *rage* *let-Ø-an.*
NEG-CAUS-appear-sAS-3P-3→3/PT old.woman-PM anger appear-sAS-3S/PT

26 *di* *uni* *ṭhoṇi-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,*   *ṭhore-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* *ṭhăi,* *saŋa*
    mother.in.law-ERG say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT now   we-PM   be-INF   place   millet

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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 peṇe-sa ṭhăi 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 ṭhăi*
two-HNC be-pAS-IPP-PCL one day throughout big place

caway-eŋ-ta-le. 33 *alampu-ŋaŋ alam ṭhum-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 camăi begale begale ṭhăi-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 camăi thaŋmi-pali thay-eŋ-du.
be-pAS-3S/PT present that-Pp-GEN son daughter Thangmi-p be-pAS-NPT

36 *libi di-ka camăi woi hok-Ø-thyo, to camăi-kăi-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 camăica-kăi
two-HNC person deer search-INF go-pAS-3SCOND that woman-PM

khalam-eŋ-no. 38 *to-kăi 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-kăi roimi-ye*
bring-pAS-3→3/PT bring-pAS-TPP-PCL after that-PM Newar-ERG

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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*   *măi-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   *măi-Ø-du,*   *tyaŋ* *yo-sa-kăi*   *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

konţe-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

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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-ŋaŋ-ko   khaṇou-yiŋ 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

ŋah-Ø-u-no.   48 libi bubu   hu   yey-eŋ-ta-le
say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   after elder.brother younger.brother go-pAS-IPP-PCL

'humi,   yaŋ ka   kuta ya-na-n? naŋ-kăi ni-ye   hani
younger.sister today throughout where go-2s-PT you-PM we-ERG how.much

daŋ-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

ŋah-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-ŋa-n,   ka-te   na-Ø-ŋa-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 baŋkal cabu-le hok-ŋa-du, găi nembo-ko   mi   tha-ŋa-n,
I   stomach carry-PCL be-1s-NPT I   other.person-GEN person be-1s-PT

nan niŋ   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?' ŋay-eŋ-du   beryaŋ,
house-LOC   go-ADH what-PM be-2s-NPT   say-pAS-NPT that.time

hen-eŋ-no.   52 humi-ye   ŋah-Ø-u-no   'nan găi huca
take-pAS-3→3/PT   younger.sister-ERG say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT now I   child

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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 naŋ huca nik-ŋa libi, naŋ-ko huca*
elder.brother-ERG now you child give.birth-CNS after you-GEN child

thaŋmi 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 *tyaŋ*
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 thaŋmi-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 ṭhăi-te hok-eŋ-du.
father mother-GEN child-p present all place-LOC be-pAS-NPT

59 *naleŋ woi thaŋmi ŋa-to-le, su-ye woi ma-ŋosăiy-eŋ.*
present also Thangmi say-TPP-PCL who-ERG also NEG-recognise-pAS

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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 daŋ-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 ṭhăi 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

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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 *ṭhoṇe*
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   ṭhăi-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,   tyaŋ-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   săi-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-kăi   priŋ   let-eŋ-ta-le*
   person-p   thief   look.at-INF-PM   outside   appear-pAS-IPP-PCL

yoy-eŋ-thyo,   di-basa-yiŋ   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-kăi   sat-sa   daŋ-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-kăi   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-kăi   aspăiy-Ø-u-no.*   8 *libi   to*
   see-TPP-PCL   that   jackal-PM   beat.severely-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   after that

loṇe   woi   săi-Ø-thyo,   taŋ-Ø-an.   9 *ka   niy-eŋ-to-le,*
jackal   also   know-sAS-3SCOND   be.happy-sAS-3S/PT   this   see-pAS-TPP-PCL

sakalei mi-pali   kyel-eŋ-an   yoy-eŋ-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-kăi   ulam-ko   bosiŋ*
laugh-sAS-IPP-PCL   be-sAS-NPT   after that-PM   road-LOC   *Alnus.nepalensis*

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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   ṇey-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

loṇe-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   'loṇe, nan let-a!   găi hok-ŋa-du.' 15 *loṇe-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 ṭhăi-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

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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-paḷi-ye to mi-kăi, loṇe ŋa-to-le,
walk-pAS-NPT person-p-ERG that person-PM jackal say-TPP-PCL

ṇey-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-kăi 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, loṇe nama*
appear-sAS-3S/PT now that person anger be-sAS-IPP-PCL jackal with

lakpa nampa-sa-kăi daŋ-Ø-u-no. 24 *daŋ-daŋ-ăi, 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 loṇe-kăi jyoh-Ø-u-no.
that jackal-PM burn-sAS-3P-3→3/PT

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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-kăi   'dicip-mat   ṇiŋ*
  Thangmi-GEN house-LOC spirit   CAUS-chase-INF-PM ten-six   stone

hap-sa'   ŋay-eŋ-du.   2   ka   loŋ-sa-kăi 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-kăi
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   syaṇu   ṇiŋ
Thangmi-GEN shaman-p-ERG do-pAS-NPT   white.flint stone

ṭhem-to-le,   sum   ṭoke   ci-gap-ko   mǎi-Ø-du.
break.into.pieces-TPP-PCL three half.kilo CAUS-be.enough-ADH must-sAS-NPT

5   *sum   ṭoke   aṇek-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   ṭoke   syaṇu   ṇiŋ   cum-to-le   nem-kăi   tup-Ø-u-du,
three half.kilo white.flint stone hold-TPP-PCL house-PM strike-sAS-3P-NPT

nem   duŋ-ŋaŋ,   khaṭe-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   *măi-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*   *măi-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

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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 camãica 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 camãica-ko wakhe nasãi-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 camãica jekha dese-te hok-Ø-du. 4 *di uni*
village-GEN *other* woman big village-LOC be-sAS-NPT one day

nem dãi 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 camãica nama wakhe loŋ-Ø-u-du*
be-sAS-NPT see-sAS-3P-NPT that woman with word do-sAS-3P-NPT

'humi, naŋ gãi 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! gãi woi ya-ŋa-du.'*
  when go-INF with take-s→1s/IMP I also go-1s-NPT

9 *'baṭhe bãsinṭe 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, one 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 ṭaye 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   ṇeh-Ø-u-no,   kaṭah-Ø-an. 11 *bǎsinṭe*
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?'   ŋa-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?'   ŋah-Ø-u-no. 15 *to-ye   ŋah-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-ŋa-n,   kuta   ra-let-ŋa-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   ṭhǎi-te*
I-TOP   NEG-know   I   now elder.sister's.husband be-sAS-NPT place-LOC

ya-ŋa-du.' 17 *'gǎi-gǎi gǎi-go jarphu   hok-Ø-du   ṭhǎi-te*
go-1s-NPT   I-PM   I-GEN   elder.sister's.husband be-sAS-NPT place-LOC

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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.

ya-ci-let-aŋ!'   *ŋah-Ø-u-no.*   18 *libi   jarphu*
go-CAUS-appear-s→1s/IMP   say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   after elder.sister's.husband

hok-Ø-du   ṭhăi-te   ya-ci-let-Ø-u-no,   *to-te   hok-Ø-an.*
be-sAS-NPT place-LOC go-CAUS-appear-sAS-3P-3→3/PT that-LOC be-sAS-3S/PT

19 *libi   jarphu*   *thombe   thah-Ø-an,   'kuta-yiŋ,   hara-kăi*
    after elder.sister's.husband surprise be-sAS-3S/PT where-ABL   what-PM

ama   torta-to-le   ra-na-n?'   *ŋah-Ø-u-no.*   20 *'nan*
mother   leave-TPP-PCL   come.from.level-2s-PT say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   now

naŋ-kăi gă-ye baṭhe   nem   dăi   hen-na-ŋa-du, naŋ nem-te
you-PM   I-ERG tomorrow house towards take-2s-1s-NPT you house-LOC

hen-ko   măi-Ø-du.'   21 *'găi si-ŋa-le   woi, nem   dăi   ma-ya,*
go-ADH   must-sAS-NPT   I   die-CNS-PCL also house towards NEG-go

ka   dăi   jet   loŋ-tuŋ-le   hok-ŋa-du.' 22 *jarphu-kăi*
this towards work do-1s/TPP-PCL be-1s-NPT   elder.sister's.husband-PM

nan   hara loŋ-sa, kuta   hen-to-le   jet   ci-loŋ-sa   thah-Ø-an.
now   what do-INF where take-TPP-PCL work CAUS-do-INF be-sAS-3S/PT

23 *libi   ka   wakhe   tete-ye   nasăiy-Ø-u-no,   'găi-go*
    after this   word   elder.sister-ERG hear-sAS-3P-3→3/PT I-GEN

ṭhoṇe-ye   humi   bore   loŋ-Ø-u-no'   ŋa-to-le.
old.man-ERG   younger.sister   marriage   do-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   say-TPP-PCL

24 *bore   loŋ-Ø-u-du-be   ma-tha, oste ra-Ø-ta-le*
    marriage   do-sAS-3P-NPT-TOP   NEG-be   self come.from.level-sAS-IPP-PCL

hok-Ø-du, libi   tete   jekha dese   rah-Ø-an.
be-sAS-NPT after elder.sister big   village come.from.level-sAS-3S/PT

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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-kăi*   *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-kăi* *ra-na-n?*   *nan*   *naŋ-kăi* *ṇe-na-ŋa-du,*
this-LOC what-PM   come.from.level-2s-PT   now   you-PM   beat-2s-1s-NPT

oste-ko   *nem*   *dăi*   *ya-Ø,*   *găi-go*   *lawa*   *nama*   *hok-sa*   *ma-măi'*
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*   *maŋ* *thaŋna* *miny-e*   *piriŋ-ko*
be-PCL be-sAS-3SCOND   that-GEN body old   cloth-ERG outside-GEN

ṭila *kho-sa*   *jet* *loŋ-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* *dǎi*   *ṭila* *aṭṭhe*
frozen.solid   be-PCL be-sAS-3SCOND   this towards cold very

tha-Ø-du, *dha*   *dǎi*   *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* *syaŋ* *jekha* *mi-ko*   *naka* *miŋ-pali* *na-sa*
be-sAS-3S/PT   before period big   person-GEN new cloth-p put-INF

jet *loŋ-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*   *daŋ-Ø-u-no.*   10   *'hara* *woi* *jet*
be-sAS-IPP-PCL that-ERG work search-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   what also work

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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   *'găi-go*   *name*   *sukaman,*   *găi-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   *'gă-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   *găi ma-thaŋ.'*   20   *'habi ŋa-ŋa,*   *gă-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

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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!   găi 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,   gă-ye ṇiŋ ṭhem-sa mi   daŋ-u-n-du,   ka uniŋ*
elder.brother I-ERG rock break-INF person search-3P-1s→3-NPT this like

găi-go jet   tha-Ø-du.' 24 *ṇiŋ ṭhem-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 kaṭah-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-kăi 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 ṭhoṇe tha-ŋa-n.' 29 *'niny-e   găi-găi jet   ṭisen-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 koṭe 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 *'bakoṭek jet*
daughter.in.law bring-CNS after I be.happy-1s-NPT half work

wari-ye loŋ-Ø-u-du, ne-sa ṇe-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

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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,   nyoṇi woi isa   ken   uman-sa, gă-ye ma-mãi.'
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-kăi   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   camăica 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   camăica 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   camăi   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

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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 aṭṭhe*
bring-pAS-TPP-PCL house-LOC come-pAS-3S/PT daughter.in.law very

săi-le hok-Ø-thyo, sya ṭuṇi 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 ṭupuri 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 loṇe aghyouw-Ø-an, wari-ye*
house under-side one-CLF jackal cry-sAS-3S/PT daughter.in.law-ERG

to aghyouh-Ø-u-du nasăiy-Ø-u-no, to-ko kham woi
that cry-sAS-3P-NPT hear-sAS-3P-3→/PT that-GEN language also

săiy-Ø-u-no. 26 *'soŋ-te di-gore pepelek-ko moro*
understand-sAS-3P-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

loṇe-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no. 28 *wari-ye ka wakhe*
jackal-ERG say-sAS-3P-3→/IMP daughter.in.law-ERG this word

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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-3SCOND   daughter.in.law

loṇe-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

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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   *soŋ-yiŋ*   *priŋ*   *kăiy-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

koṭeh-u-n-uŋ-be,   *pepelek*   *koṭeh-Ø-u-du,*   *ka-kăi*   *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   *măiy-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,*   *ṭaye*   *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*   *athaŋ*
arise-sAS-IPP-PCL   look.at-sAS-3P-NPT-TOP   house   within-inside   all   light

nih-Ø-u-no.   40   *athaŋ-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*   *athaŋ,*   *nem*
within-inside   enter-sAS-3S/PT   now   also   within-inside   light   house

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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,* *ṭaye* *apa* *ca-ye*
    daughter.in.law also arise-sAS-3S/PT night father son-ERG

wari-kăi   *nem-yiŋ* *ci-let-eŋ-no.*   44 *băsinṭe*
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

cyaṭaŋ-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 Phāseluṅ 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

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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 Phāseluṅ 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,   găi nama ma-cijyany-e!'   50 *'nan ka-kăi   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-kăi   apa-ko   nem-te   țho-ko
put-INF NEG-okay-sAS-3S/PT this-PM father-GEN   house-LOC   send-ADH

măiy-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,   găi wari-kăi   hen-to-le   apa-kăi   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-kăi   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-kăi   hara woi   ma-ŋa-tiniŋ   țhoh-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   măi-Ø-thyo.   55 *chuku-ye*
river-LOC foot.bridge-ABL go-ADH   must-sAS-3SCOND   father.in.law-ERG

'nan ka   wari-kăi   ka-yiŋ   cih-u-n-du,   tyaŋ găi-guri
now   this daughter.in.law-PM this-ABL throw.away-3P-1s→3-NPT then I-IND

nem   dăi   ya-ŋa-du'   ŋah-Ø-u-no.   56 *tyaŋ alak-yiŋ*
house towards go-1s-NPT say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   then foot.bridge-ABL

jun-to-le,   oste-ko   nem   dăi   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

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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   ṭhoṇe   nama*
be-sAS-NPT   money   see-TPP-PCL   big   person-ERG old.man with

ŋah-Ø-u-no   'ka gă̆i-gă̆i pi-ŋa,   gă̆-ye naŋ-kă̆i libi   ahe
say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT this I-PM   give-s→1s/IMP I-ERG you-PM after much

*pepelek pi-na-ŋa-du.'   59 *to-ye   woi 'ja-Ø-du'   ŋa-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 miŋ*
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

loŋ-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-kă̆i   begale wari   kyel-Ø-u-no,   wari-kă̆i
son-PM *other* daughter.in.law bring-sAS-3P-3→3/PT daughter.in.law-PM

ŋah-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 loŋ-sa mi   ci-let-ko   mă̆i-Ø-du.'
be.about.to-sAS-3S/PT work do-INF person CAUS-appear-ADH must-sAS-NPT

63 *nan ṭhoṇe-ko   sakalei pepelek tap-Ø-an.*   64 *habi-ko*
    now old.man-GEN all   money   be.finished-sAS-3S/PT   before-GEN

wari-ye   ŋah-Ø-u-du   rikhipole   dilaŋ-te
daughter.in.law-ERG say-sAS-3P-NPT Phāseluṅ   resting.place-LOC

ya-Ø-ta-le   toh-Ø-u-no,   to-ŋaŋ   sum   kulin
go-sAS-IPP-PCL dig-sAS-3P-3→3/PT that-inside three small.earthenware.vessel

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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 Phāseluṅ
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   *'găi-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-kăi ci-let-sa   jet   loŋ-sa mi?' 66 *nan*
be-1s-3SCOND now what-PM CAUS-appear-INF work do-INF person   now

nyoṇi băsiṇṭe 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   săiy-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   karăi-tiniŋ, hok-sa
before-GEN daughter.in.law be-INF-TOP food-INS shout-PFG   be-INF

ma-măi-Ø-thyo.'   68 'to uniŋ wari-kăi   gă-ye
NEG-must-sAS-3SCOND   that like daughter.in.law-PM I-ERG

sat-u-n-uŋ,   to-ye   loŋ-Ø-u-du   beryaŋ, găi yaŋ isa-ye
kill-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT that-ERG do-sAS-3P-NPT that.time I today food-INS

karăi-tiniŋ hok-ko măiy-Ø-an.'   69 ka   uniŋ ŋa-to-le   bampre
shout-PFG   be-ADH must-sAS-3S/PT   this like say-TPP-PCL rib

ṇe-ṇe-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,   ŋyakaṇeŋ 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

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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   ṭhoṇi-ko   di-ka   ca hok-Ø-du, to-ko   name*
     one-HNC old.woman-GEN one-HNC son be-sAS-NPT that-GEN name

gonṭhe.   2   *to   ucyaca tha-Ø-du   beryaŋ,   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

ṇiŋ 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 ṇiŋ 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

ṇiŋ' ŋa-to-le,   ca-kăi kaṭah-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,   gwiy-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

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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*   *ălămtha-yiŋ* *ŋosǎiy-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*   *ṇiŋ.* 10 *mi-ye*   *ŋah-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* *ṇiŋ*   *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

ŋah-Ø-ŋa-n, *tyaŋ ci-sa-kǎi*   *hen-u-n-du.'*   12 *'to ṇiŋ*
say-sAS-1s-PT then throw.away-INF-PM take-3P-1s→3-NPT   that stone

gǎi-gǎi pi-ŋa!   *naŋ-kǎi gǎi-go sakalei raŋ*   *pi-na-ŋa-du'*
I-PM give-s→1s/IMP you-PM I-GEN all   unirrigated.field give-2s-1s-NPT

ŋah-Ø-u-no.   13 *to-ye*   *woi* *'ja-Ø-du'*   *ŋah-Ø-u-no*   *ŋaŋ*
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* *kaṭah-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-ŋa   *'hara hara tha-Ø-du?'* *ṭhoṇi*   *warǎiy-Ø-an.*
do-INF NEG-know-CNS what what be-sAS-NPT old.woman shiver-sAS-3S/PT

15 *di uni di-gore* *ṭhǎi-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

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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

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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 băsiṇṭe 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   ṭhăi-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 baṭhe
necklace also bring-TPP-PCL house-LOC put-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   tomorrow

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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

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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 kunyaŋ du-ko   nunu*
be.afraid-sAS-3S/PT surprise be-sAS-3S/PT   now   how   tiger-GEN milk

ra-sa?'   ŋa-to-le   uma-kăi   ŋah-Ø-u-no,   uma-ye   ŋah-Ø-u-no
bring-INF   say-TPP-PCL   wife-PM   say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   wife-ERG   say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT

'naŋ   sumaka hok-a,   gă-ye   loŋ-u-n-du.'   40   *uma-ye*
you   silent be-s/IMP   I-ERG   do-3P-1s→3-NPT   wife-ERG

ŋah-Ø-u-no   'găi-go   di-ka   humi   hok-Ø-du,   to   ka-yiŋ
say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   I-GEN   one-HNC   younger.sister be-sAS-NPT that   this-ABL

ălămtha hok-Ø-du,   to   du-ko   jet   loŋ-Ø-u-du.'   41   *'to-kăi*
distant   be-sAS-NPT that tiger-GEN work do-sAS-3P-NPT   that-PM

khalam-to-le   ka   miŋ   piy-o,   to-ye   'ka   miŋ   găi-go
meet-TPP-PCL   this cloth give-s→3/IMP   that-ERG   this cloth I-GEN

tete-ko'   ŋa-to-le   ŋosăiy-Ø-u-du.'   42   *'naŋ*
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   ŋah-Ø-u-du
Indian.rhododendron trunk go-appear-sAS-3S/PT wife-ERG   say-sAS-3P-NPT

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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

arṭik-Ø-an   *'ka   miŋ   su-ye   kyel-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   ṭhoh-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

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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   *baṭhe*   *syaŋ*   *athaŋ*   *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*   *ṭhoh-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*   *gonṭhe-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

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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   gonṭhe-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   gonṭhe   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

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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   gonṭhe*
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

ṭhăi-te   hok-Ø-an   ŋaŋ arṭik-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 ṭhăi 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   ṭho-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 gonṭhe   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 gonṭhe,   to-ko   uma-pali,   to   hok-Ø-du   ṭhăi-te*
    after round.face that-GEN wife-p   that be-sAS-NPT   place-LOC

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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 became 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-eŋ-an.
be-pAS-3S/PT

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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*   *kaṭah-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

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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 țuņi 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 țuņi tha-le woi, kiji-ye　　hara loŋ-Ø-u-du,　sakalei*
　　that goat be-PCL also blackie-ERG what do-sAS-3P-NPT all

săiy-Ø-u-thyo.　　14　*țuņi oste ja-si-Ø-du　　țhăi-te*
know-sAS-3P-3SCOND　　　goat self graze-REF-sAS-NPT place-LOC

ya-let-Ø-ta-le,　　kiji-kăi isa okyok-yiŋ 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 țuņi 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

beryaŋ, țuņi-ye okyok-yiŋ 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-ŋa!'
younger.sister-ERG see-TPP-PCL elder.sister I-PM also give-s→1s/IMP

ŋah-Ø-u-no.　　17　*'găi hara woi ma-cya-ta-ŋa-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-ŋa-du' kiji-ye
meet-3P-1s→3-NPT one-CLF unhusked.rice eat-1s-NPT blackie-ERG

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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,   gă-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 *'gă-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

ṭuṇi   nama   aṭṭhe rage   let-Ø-an.   24 *nyoṇi   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   baṭhe   ka   ṭuṇi   sat-ko   măiy-Ø-an.'
say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT now   tomorrow this goat kill-ADH must-sAS-3S/PT

26 *ka   wakhe   ṭuṇi-ye   nasăiy-Ø-u-no,   tyaŋ   to-ye   kiji-kăi*
   this   word   goat-ERG   hear-sAS-3→3/PT   then   that-ERG blackie-PM

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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   ŋah-Ø-u-no.   27 *'nan   baṭhe   apa-ye   găi-găi*
call-TPP-PCL   say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   now   tomorrow father-ERG I-PM

sat-Ø-ŋa-du,   găi-găi sat-ŋa   libi,   naŋ   ma-kerep-e,
kill-sAS-1s-NPT I-PM   kill-CNS after   you   NEG-cry-s/NEG/IMP

ma-cijyany-e',   ṭuṇi-ye   ŋah-Ø-u-no.   28 *'gă-ye   naŋ-kăi*
NEG-speak-s/NEG/IMP   goat-ERG say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   I-ERG   you-PM

di-gore   wakhe   ŋa-na-ŋa-du,   nasăiy-o!'   29 *'baṭhe   naŋ-kăi*
one-CLF   word   say-2s-1s-NPT   hear-s→3/IMP   tomorrow you-PM

apa-ye   isa   cya-sa-kăi   urouh-Ø-u-du,   naŋ-guri   'kapu kalăi-le
father-ERG food   eat-INF-PM   call-sAS-3P-NPT you-IND   head   hurt-PCL

hok-ŋa-du, ma-cya' ŋah-o!'   30 *'libi   kosa   ci-sa*
be-1s-NPT   NEG-eat say-s→3/IMP   after bone   throw.away-INF

urouy-eŋ-du, tyaŋ hen-sa, to   kosa   ṭhum-sa,   ṭhum-si-Ø-du   ṭhăi-yiŋ
call-pAS-NPT   then go-INF that   bone   bury-INF bury-REF-sAS-NPT   place-ABL

maṇăi-ko   pole   bo-Ø-du.'   31 *to   ṭuṇi sat-sa   wakhe nasăi-to-le,*
bread-GEN   tree   sprout-sAS-NPT   that   goat kill-INF word   hear-TPP-PCL

kiji   kerep-Ø-an. 32 *baṭhe   syaŋ   ṭuṇi   pal-eŋ-no,   cici*
blackie   cry-sAS-3S/PT   tomorrow period goat chop-pAS-3→3/PT meat

uman-to-le   cey-eŋ-an.   33 *libi   kiji-kăi   woi   cya-sa-kăi*
cook-TPP-PCL eat-pAS-3S/PT   after blackie-PM also eat-INF-PM

urouy-eŋ-no,   to-guri   'kapu   kalăi-Ø-du'   ŋa-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-kăi   ra-Ø'*   *'ja-Ø-du'*
   bone-IND   throw.away-INF-PM   come.from.level-s/IMP   okay-sAS-NPT

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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

ṭuṇi-ye   ŋah-Ø-u-du   uniŋ ṭhum-Ø-u-no.   36 baṭhe   syaŋ
goat-ERG   say-sAS-3P-NPT   like bury-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   tomorrow period

yoh-Ø-u-du   beryaŋ,   to-te   maṇăi-ko   pole   cyuri-te   maṇăi
look.at-sAS-3P-NPT that.time that-LOC bread-GEN tree   top-LOC   bread

sek-Ø-du   nih-Ø-u-no,   libi   to   maṇăi 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 maṇăi 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 maṇăi 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   maṇăi sakalei usi
spirit-ERG say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   younger.sister you-GEN bread all   piss

kiṇi-te   ros-Ø-an.'   41 'naŋ nhate yu-ta-na-le,   maṇăi
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   maṇăi piy-Ø-u-no.   43 libi   to
come.from.above-sAS-IPP-PCL bread give-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   after that

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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 maṇăi 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

maṇăi jyoh-Ø-u-no.   46 to   beryaŋ   doroŋ-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 maṇăi
NEG-be-s/NEG/IMP   you-PM kill-pAS-2s-NPT   mouse-PM   one-CLF bread

piy-Ø-u-no,   uyu   doroŋ-ŋaŋ maṇăi 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   khaṇou-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 khaṇou ṭaŋ-sa   ma-kyel-Ø-an,   mosani rage-ye*
     who also door   open-INF NEG-come-sAS-3S/PT   spirit anger-INS

khaṇou ṭhem-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

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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 ṭhăi 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 much I-PM be-sAS-3S/PT

ŋa-to-le arṭik-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 ṭany-eŋ-no. 55 apa-ye
bring-TPP-PCL or say-TPP-PCL door open-pAS-3→3/PT father-ERG

to-kăi khaṭe-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

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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* *ṭuṇi-ko* *kosa* *ṭhum-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* *ṭho-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* *ṭho-ko* *măiy-Ø-an'*
   now I-GEN daughter-PM also that-LOC send-ADH must-sAS-3S/PT

ŋah-Ø-u-no. 64 *baṭhe* *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* *maṇăi* *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 *maṇăi* *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* *maṇăi*
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

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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-kǎi*   *maṇǎi*   *ma-piy-Ø-u-no,*   *uyu-kǎi*
     that-ERG   mouse-PM   bread   NEG-give-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   mouse-PM

kaṭah-Ø-an.   70   *uyu*   *ari-Ø-ta-le*   *doroŋ*   *duŋ-ŋaŋ*
scold-sAS-3S/PT   mouse   be.afraid-sAS-IPP-PCL   hole   within-inside

biy-Ø-an,   *to*   *wakhe* *ci-nasǎi-sa*   *ma-thaŋ-Ø-u-no.*
enter-sAS-3S/PT   that   word   CAUS-hear-INF   NEG-be.able-sAS-3P-3→3/PT

71   *nyoṇi*   *thah-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!'*   *ŋa-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*   *laŋga-te*   *nah-Ø-u-no.*   75   *ama-guri*
house-LOC   bring-TPP-PCL   courtyard-LOC   put-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   mother-IND

'nan   *camǎi-ye*   *ahe*   *pepelek* *rah-Ø-u-du'*   *ŋa-to-le*
now   daughter-ERG   much   money   bring-sAS-3P-NPT   say-TPP-PCL

taŋ-taŋ   *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

beryaŋ   *di-gore*   *agak*   *yuw-Ø-an.*   77   *'nan*   *naŋ-ko*
that.time   one-CLF   crow   come.from.above-sAS-3S/PT   now   you-GEN

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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

laŋa-te   yoh-Ø-u-du   beryaŋ   camăi-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

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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   maṇăi   cya-Ø-thyo.   4   *maṇăi-guri   nem-te*
village-LOC   beg-TPP-PCL   bread   eat-sAS-3SCOND   bread-IND   house-LOC

ra-to-le   nah-Ø-u-thyo,   loṇe   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   ḍapuh-Ø-u-no.   6   *'maṇăi   loṇe   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   ṇe-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   ḍapu-to-le   hok-Ø-thyo,   loṇe*
say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   one   day   spy-TPP-PCL   be-sAS-3SCOND   jackal

ra-Ø-ta-le,   nem   duŋ-ŋaŋ   loṇe   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   maṇăi   nany-e   cyah-u-na-n.'   9   *loṇe-ye*
kill-2s-1s-NPT   I-GEN   bread   you-ERG   eat-3P-2s-PT   jackal-ERG

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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   '*găi-găi ma-sat-aŋ,*   *gă-ye naŋ-kăi begale*
say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT I-PM   NEG-kill-s→1s/IMP I-ERG you-PM *other*

ṭhăi-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-kăi 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 loṇe-ye*
elder.brother younger.brother like be-pAS-3S/PT   one day jackal-ERG

cahuca-kăi bore   *loŋ-sa daŋ-Ø-u-no.*   12   *di uni loṇe*
man-PM   marriage do-INF search-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   one day jackal

bamṇi-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

'*găi bamṇi-ko*   *ca-kăi wari*   *amat-sa kyel-ŋa-du.*'   13   *libi*
I   Brahmin-GEN son-PM daughter.in.law beg-INF come-1s-NPT   after

bamṇi-ye   '*ja-Ø-du*'   *ŋa-to-le*   *camăi*   *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 găi-go camăi*   *hen-o*'
many person bring-s→3/IMP   then I-GEN daughter take-s→3/IMP

ŋah-Ø-u-no.   14   *loṇe*   *cahuca-ko nem-te*   *kyel-Ø-an*
say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   jackal man-GEN house-LOC come-sAS-3S/PT

'*bubu,*   *gă-ye naŋ-kăi uma amat-to-le*   *ra-ŋa-n,*
elder.brother I-ERG you-PM wife beg-TPP-PCL come.from.level-1s-PT

baṭhe   *ahe*   *mi*   *hen-to-le*   *hen-ko*   *măi-Ø-du.*'   15   '*nan ahe*
tomorrow many person take-TPP-PCL go-ADH must-sAS-NPT   now many

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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 *loṇe-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   ṭupuri curuk-ko măi-Ø-du,   tyaŋ ṭupuri hen-ko   măi-Ø-du.'
many cap   sew-ADH must-sAS-NPT then cap   take-ADH must-sAS-NPT

17 *baṭhe   syaŋ   ahe   ṭupuri 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,   loṇe-ye   ṭupuri 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

bamṇi-ko   nem-te   ya-let-eŋ-an,   tyaŋ loṇe-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 bamṇi-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 *loṇe-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,   ṭupuri-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 *bamṇi-ye   ŋah-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   găi-go camăi   hen-no,   cya-sa pi-no!'
you(p)-ERG I-GEN daughter take-p→3/IMP eat-INF give-p→3/IMP

23 *bamṇi-ko   camăi   hen-eŋ-no   oste-ko   nem-te,   sum-ka*
     Brahmin-GEN daughter take-pAS-3→3/PT self-GEN house-LOC three-HNC

thay-eŋ-ta-le   kyel-eŋ-an.   24 *libi loṇe 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 *loṇe   ya-Ø-ta-le*
     that-GEN eat-INF much be-sAS-3SCOND   jackal go-sAS-IPP-PCL

ŋah-Ø-u-no   'tete,   găi-găi sul-si-sa   ṭhăi   cikhet-aŋ,
say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT elder.sister I-PM   hide-REF-INF place show-s→1s/IMP

găi-găi sat-sa   mi-pali kyel-eŋ-le   hok-eŋ-du, naŋ-kăi woi
I-PM   kill-INF person-p come-pAS-PCL be-pAS-NPT you-PM   also

sat-eŋ-du.'   27 *'habi   găi-găi ḍuŋkuṭi-ko   oŋgaṇe-ŋaŋ găi-găi*
kill-pAS-NPT   before I-PM   storehouse-GEN hole-inside   I-PM

ci-bi-ŋa,   libi ka   racya-ko   bheterek-te   naŋ
CAUS-enter-s→1s/IMP after this unhusked.rice-GEN bamboo.mat-LOC you

bi-ta-na-le   sul-se!'   loṇe   taŋ-Ø-an.   28 *libi mesek*
enter-IPP-2s-PCL hide-s/REF/IMP jackal be.happy-sAS-3S/PT   after eye

ma-niy-Ø-u-du-kăi   oŋgaṇe-ŋaŋ tham-Ø-u-no,   tyaŋ nasa-ye
NEG-see-sAS-3P-NPT-PM hole-inside insert-sAS-3P-3→3/PT then earth-INS

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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* *bamṇi-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

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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   ṭhăi-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-kăi dewa-te   woi   yey-eŋ-an,
NEG-be-sAS-3SCOND   that-Pp son beg-INF-PM   god-LOC also go-pAS-3S/PT

ca   camăi   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-kăi   meke   hen-to-le   'ca   camăi
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   camăi   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   camăi-ko   bore   ma-loŋ-tiniŋ, ca   ma-nik.'
you(p)-GEN   daughter-GEN marriage   NEG-do-PFG   son   NEG-be.born

8   *'habi   camăi-ko   bore   loŋ-no,   tyaŋ ca   tha-Ø-du'*
    before daughter-GEN marriage   do-p→3/IMP then   son   be-sAS-NPT

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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 daŋ-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 aṭṭhe*
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

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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*   *oŋgaṇe* *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* *ṭuṇi*
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

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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, găi-găi 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-kăi   to   oŋgaṇe 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,   găi-găi baŋkal*
     elder.sister-ERG say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT younger.brother I-PM   stomach

kalăi-ŋa-le hok-Ø-du, naŋ ya-Ø,   găi 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 nasăi-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 găi-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 găi-go*
husband courtyard-LOC be-pAS-IPP-PCL cry-pAS-3S/PT   now I-GEN

ŋa-sa   ka   ṭhăi-te   su   woi ma-hok'   ŋa-to-le,   tete
say-INF this place-LOC who also NEG-be say-TPP-PCL elder.sister

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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, oŋgaṇe-yiŋ di-gore*
cry-sAS-3S/PT younger.brother die-CNS after hole-ABL one-CLF

kapa bow-Ø-an. 32 *libi to kapa ălămga*
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 mesek-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

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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.

laŋga-te   *di-ka*   *citaliŋ*   *cabuh-Ø-u-du*   *mi*
courtyard-LOC   one-HNC   two.sided.drum   carry-sAS-3P-NPT   person

nih-Ø-u-no.   40   *citaliŋ-yiŋ*   *hu*   *cijyaŋ-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*   *citaliŋ*
word   appear-PCL   be-sAS-3SCOND   that-ERG   one-CLF   two.sided.drum

kăiy-Ø-u-no,   *nem-te*   *nah-Ø-u-no.*   41   *ṭaye*   *to*
remove-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   house-LOC   put-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   night   that

citaliŋ   *cijyaŋ-Ø-an*   *'tete,*   *nany-e*   *găi-go*   *raŋ*
two.sided.drum   speak-sAS-3S/PT   elder.sister   you-ERG   I-GEN   unirrigated.field

cya-sa-kăi   *găi-găi*   *sat-Ø-ŋa-n,*   *naleŋ*   *naŋ*   *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

citaliŋ   *nem*   *duŋ-ŋaŋ*   *nah-Ø-u-no,*   *to*
two.sided.drum   house   within-inside   put-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   that

syak-si-Ø-ta-le   *ŋah-Ø-u-no:*   44   *'tete,*   *nan*
strike-REF-sAS-IPP-PCL   say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   elder.sister   now

ma-kerep-e,   *nan*   *naŋ-yiŋ*   *găi*   *ălămtha*   *tha-ŋa-n,*   *naŋ*   *nama*   *găi*
NEG-cry-s/NEG/IMP   now   you-ABL   I   distant   be-1s-PT   you   with   I

kutaleŋ   *woi*   *ma-ra.'*   45   *tete-ye*   *kerep-Ø-ta-le*
when   also   NEG-come.from.level   elder.sister-ERG   cry-IPP-PCL

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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 gă-ye ma-loŋ-sa jet*
say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT younger.brother before I-ERG NEG-do-INF work

loŋ-u-n-uŋ, găi ma-săi-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-kăi kunyaŋ mi loŋ-sa? kunyaŋ*
come.from.level-s/IMP now you-PM how person do-INF how

mi tha-na-du? găi-găi 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, găi-găi khalam-sa-kăi di-gore jet loŋ-ko*
say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT elder.sister I-PM meet-INF-PM one-CLF work do-ADH

măi-Ø-du, tyaŋ găi mi tha-ŋa-du.' 48 'ja-Ø-du, gă-ye jet*
must-sAS-NPT then I person be-1s-NPT okay-sAS-NPT I-ERG work

loŋ-u-n-du.' 49 'nasăiy-o! dha-te di-gore oŋgaṇe*
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, di-gore
be-sAS-NPT that-LOC feathery.bamboo-p sprout-PCL be-pAS-NPT one-CLF

ălămga kapa-ko pole-te toh-o!' 50 'to-ŋa libi,*
tall feathery.bamboo-GEN trunk-LOC dig-s→3/IMP dig-CNS after

di-gore ahum let-Ø-du, to ahum ma-ṭhem-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-kăi 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 khaṇou ṭi-to-le,*
house paint-TPP-PCL put-s→3/IMP then you-IND door close-TPP-PCL

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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,   gă̆i   mi   tha-ŋa-du.'   53   'libi   gă-ye   duŋ-yiŋ
outside   appear-s/IMP I   person be-1s-NPT   after I-ERG within-ABL

naŋ-kă̆i   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-kă̆i   woi
two-HNC   with   with   be-1pPS-NPT   this   word   who-PM   also

ma-ci-nasă̆iy-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-săiy-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

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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,*   *tyaŋ*   *si-Ø-du.'*
near   go-appear-CNS   after   that-PM-IND   push-p→3/IMP   then   die-sAS-NPT

7   *tyaŋ*   *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*   *beryaŋ*   *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

tyaŋ   *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

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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 ṭhoṇi*
NEG-give-pAS-3→3/PT walk-walk also one-HNC old.woman

mi-ko-te ya-let-Ø-an. 12 *to ṭhoṇi-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 aṭṭhe isa-ye karăi-ŋa-n.' 13 *ṭhoṇi-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 ṭuṇi*
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 baṭi-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 baṭi-pali nunu cya-sa kyel-eŋ-an.* 19 *di uni*
   then cat-p milk eat-INF come-pAS-3S/PT one day

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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.

ṭhoṇi-ye   *to-kăi* *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

beryaŋ, *ḍaŋaŋeŋ-pali-kăi* *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* *ṭhoṇi-ye*   *kiji* *chokchok-te* *luma*
    one day old.woman-ERG black darkness-LOC partially.husked.rice

kăi-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* *baṭi-pali*
like be-sAS-3SCOND   cry-sAS-IPP-PCL be-sAS-3S/PT after cat-p

kyel-eŋ-ta-le   *ŋay-eŋ-no*   '*naŋ* *hara-kăi* *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* *baṭi-pali-ye* *mesek* *catok-to-le*   *luma*
    after all   cat-p-ERG   eye   burn-TPP-PCL partially.husked.rice

ciy-eŋ-no.   26 *baṭhe* *syaŋ* *ṭhoṇi-ye*
throw.away-pAS-3→3/PT   tomorrow period old.woman-ERG

lembe-te   *paŋku* *ra-sa* *ṭhoh-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*   *ḍaŋaŋeŋ-pali* *kyel-eŋ-an,*
river-LOC go-sAS-3S/PT   that see-TPP-PCL bird-p   come-pAS-3S/PT

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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?' ŋa-to-le   ŋay-eŋ-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 loŋ-wa-du' ŋay-eŋ-no.
kill-sAS-3P-3→3/PT NEG-cry-s/NEG/IMP we-ERG we-1p→23-NPT say-pAS-3→3/PT

29 ḍaŋaṇeŋ-pali-ye ṭoṭhok-e lembe   nasa-ye thil-eŋ-no,
    bird-p-ERG   beak-INS winnowing.tray earth-INS paint-pAS-3→3/PT

tyaŋ paŋku hen-Ø-u-no.   30 ka   ni-to-le   ṭhoṇi
then water bring-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   this see-TPP-PCL old.woman

taŋ-Ø-an.   31 'nan naŋ soŋ-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 chaŋ   uniŋ kyel-o!'   32 to
look.at-TPP-PCL one-CLF bamboo.cradle like bring-s→3/IMP   that

ya-Ø-ta-le   di-gore chaŋ   kyel-Ø-u-no,   to   duŋ-ŋaŋ
go-sAS-IPP-PCL one-CLF bamboo.cradle bring-sAS-3P-3→3/PT that within-inside

naka naka laŋi,   naka miŋ-pali hok-Ø-thyo.   33 to   beryaŋ
new   new   necklace new   cloth-p be-sAS-3SCOND   that that.time

di-ka   cahuca kyel-Ø-an   ŋaŋ ŋah-Ø-u-no   'naŋ găi nama
one-HNC   man   come-sAS-3S/PT and say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT you I   with

bore loŋ-u-na-du?', to-ye   woi 'loŋ-u-n-du'   ŋah-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   ŋah-Ø-u-no   'găi-găi
be.startled-sAS-3S/PT   that-ERG say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT I-PM

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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,   găi   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-nasăiy-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-nasăiy-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 baṭhe   syaŋ   băsinṭe
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

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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　　ŋah-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　ŋah-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　　ŋah-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　　ŋah-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

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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

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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.

mǎiy-Ø-an   *ŋa-to-le,*   *to   mi   nama   camǎi*
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   gǎi-go su   woi ma-hok,*
say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   elder.brother this village-LOC I-GEN who also NEG-be

gǎi sumaka ṭhǎi 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   *'gǎi-gǎi woi*
see-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT   this-LOC come.from.level-1s-PT   I-PM   also

ka-te   camǎi   uniŋ loŋ-to-le   na-ŋa,   bubu.'
this-LOC   daughter like   do-TPP-PCL put-s→1s/IMP elder.brother

21 *bubu-ye   to   camǎica-kǎi camǎi   uniŋ loŋ-to-le*
    elder.brother-ERG   that woman-PM   daughter like   do-TPP-PCL

nah-Ø-u-no.   22 *di   uni bubu-kǎi   jakcho cya-sa*
put-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   one day elder.brother-PM wheat   eat-INF

aliy-Ø-an,   *camǎi-kǎi   urou-to-le   ŋah-Ø-u-no   'camǎi, gǎi-gǎi*
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-kǎi-to-le   ra-to-le
wheat   eat-INF like-1s-PT go-remove-TPP-PCL bring-TPP-PCL

ra-Ø!'   23 *camǎi   jakcho ya-kǎi-sa   yah-Ø-an,*
come.from.level-s/IMP   daughter wheat   go-remove-INF go-sAS-3S/PT

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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-3SCOND 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   ṭa   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 baṭhe   baṭhe   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 puṭu 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-3SCOND

31 *puṭu pole-te   huca kerep-Ø-du nasăiy-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 puṭu pole-te   yoh-Ø-u-du
child-p   NEG-be-sAS-3SCOND   thorn tree-LOC look.at-sAS-3P-NPT

beryaŋ, paṭasi-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

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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   ḍamari*
    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,   tyaŋ 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

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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   *'găi naleŋ   bore   ma-loŋ, bore   ma-loŋ*
say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT I   present marriage NEG-do   marriage NEG-do

ŋa-to-le   găi ama-kăi   torta-to-le   ka dăi
say-TPP-PCL   I   mother-PM leave-TPP-PCL   this towards

ra-ŋa-n.'   43 *'humi,   naŋ-ko   su   woi ma-hok, găi*
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 găi-go huca thaŋun'
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 găi-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

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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   'găi   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-kăi   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

camăica   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   ṭhăi,   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

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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-3SCOND 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* *ṭhăi*
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

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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

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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   ṇiŋ ṭhem-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-3SCOND   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'   ŋah-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   aṇek-si-Ø-du
younger.sister anger be-sAS-NPT   elder.brother-PM roast-REF-sAS-NPT

makăi moṭe   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'   ŋah-Ø-u-du. 8 humi-kăi
vegetable.curry CAUS-ripen-s→3/IMP say-sAS-3P-NPT   younger.sister-PM

nyoṇi thi-sa   ma-ja   tha-Ø-du, bubu   ṇiŋ ṭhem-to-le
evening touch-INF NEG-okay be-sAS-NPT elder.brother stone break-TPP-PCL

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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

kaṭa-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 *baṇi 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 *naṭe-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

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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   *găi* *uman-to-le*   *cya-ŋa-du.'* 15 *di*   *uni* *ŋiŋ*   *ṭhem-Ø-u-du*
OPT-be-sAS   I   cook-TPP-PCL   eat-1s-NPT   one   day   stone break-sAS-3P-NPT

ṭhăi-te   *dese-ko*   *mi*   *ṭuṇi* *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

ṭiṭiŋ-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*   *săi-Ø-du,*   *bampre*
husband die-sAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL   *knowledge* know-sAS-NPT rib

ṇe-si-ṇe-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-kăi*   *sampuh-Ø-u-du,*
cry-pAS-NPT   mother.in.law-ERG daughter.in.law-PM pull.hair-sAS-3P-NPT

naṭe-te   *kapu-te*   *ṇeh-Ø-u-du.*   20 *lak-te-ko*   *ṭhoka-pali*
cheek-LOC head-LOC beat-sAS-3P-NPT   hand-LOC-GEN   bracelet-p

ṭhem-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

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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-kăi-guri
self-IND   cooked.rice meat eat-pAS-NPT   daughter.in.law-PM-IND

laŋga-te   kucu-kăi uniŋ maṇăi 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   kwăi   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-kăi
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-kăi   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   kaṇtu-ko   sakpa
come.from.level-appear-sAS-NPT   elder.brother-ERG   neck-GEN   rope

pheṭ-Ø-u-du,   humi-kăi   kaṭa-Ø-du.   28   jekha sare-ye,
untie-sAS-3P-NPT   younger.sister-PM   scold-sAS-NPT   big   voice-INS

bubu-ye   'hara ka   ṭhăi-te?   lawa   ma-hok-Ø-du-ye,
elder.brother-ERG   what   this place-LOC husband NEG-be-sAS-NPT-ERG

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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

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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-kăi*   *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-kăi 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*   *măi-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-kăi 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-kăi hara woi tha-na-n-be,*   *găi*
     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

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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   *ṭhăi-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

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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 ṭaye 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 baṭhe
be-pAS-3S/PT road-LOC beer eat-pAS-3S/PT dance-pAS-3S/PT   tomorrow

băsiṇṭe hok-sa nem-te   kyel-Ø-an, bubu-ye   kaṭah-Ø-an,
morning be-INF house-LOC come-sAS-3S/PT elder.brother-ERG scold-sAS-3S/PT

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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   ṭhăi   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,*   *kaṭah-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,   *arṭik-Ø-du   ami-Ø-du*   *ṭhăi-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-ciy-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   kiṇe-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

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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' ŋay-eŋ-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?'   *ŋa-to-le*   *ŋah-Ø-u-no.*   66 *'naŋ-ko*   *apa*   *begale*
be-sAS-NPT   say-TPP-PCL   say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   you-GEN   father   *other*

dese   *jet*   *loŋ-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-eŋ-du,*   *bubu-ye*   *woi*   *to-ko*   *lawa-ko*
       all   be.happy-pAS-NPT   elder.brother-ERG   also   that-GEN   husband-GEN

humi   *bore*   *loŋ-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-eŋ-du,*   *tyaŋ*   *oste-ko*   *nem-te*
house-LOC   be-sAS-NPT   person-PM   give-pAS-NPT   then   self-GEN   house-LOC

nama   *nama*   *hok-eŋ-du.*
with   with   be-pAS-NPT

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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,*   *tyaŋ to*
be-sAS-NPT   one-HNC person with anger appear-sAS-NPT then that

mi-kăi   *nembo-kăi*   *ci-ṇeh-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-thaŋ-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* *ṭa*
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

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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 ṭhăi-te   huca-pali
be-sAS-3SCOND   after that woman-PM   one-CLF place-LOC child-p

ṭisen-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

aṭṭhe 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

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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*   *baṭhe*
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*   *khen-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,*   *găi-go*   *uma*   *gă-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?   *gă-ye*   *naŋ-kăi*   *pi-na-ŋa-du'*   *ŋah-Ø-u-no.*   23   *camăica-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

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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   kaṭa-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

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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-kăi   woi hen-ko!'*
    son-ERG say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT mother we-GEN father-PM also take-ADH

34 *'to-kăi   hen-ko   ma-ja,   to-ye   ni-kăi 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,   găi woi ma-ya,
mother-ERG say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   that be-sAS-3S/PT-TOP   I   also NEG-go

apa-kăi   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 camăica-kăi cum-to-le   'naŋ yaŋ   ni-ko
thief-ERG road-LOC that woman-PM   hold-TPP-PCL you today we-GEN

uma tha-ko   măi-Ø-du'   ŋay-eŋ-no.   37 camăica nan si-ko
wife be-ADH must-sAS-NPT say-pAS-3→3/PT   woman   now die-ADH

sow-Ø-an,   ca apa-kăi   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

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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　kaṇṭu*
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

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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 camǎi hok-eŋ-thyo. 3 *camǎi-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 camǎi-kǎi*
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-kǎi makar nama,*
tiger with marriage CAUS-do-pAS-TPP-PCL *other*-PM monkey with

ŋaŋ ucyaca camǎi-kǎi amu nama bore ci-lony-eŋ-to-le.
and small daughter-PM eagle with marriage CAUS-do-pAS-TPP-PCL

6 *camǎi-pali-ko bore loŋ-to-le, camǎi-pali-kǎi di-di uni*
daughter-p-GEN marriage do-TPP-PCL daughter-p-PM one-one day

khalam-sa-kǎi ṭhoṇe yah-Ø-an. 7 *nan to oste-ko camǎi-pali-ko*
meet-INF-PM old.man go-sAS-3S/PT now that self-GEN daughter-p-GEN

nem-te yah-Ø-an. 8 *ṭhoṇi nama ŋa-to-le, jekha*
house-LOC go-sAS-3S/PT old.woman with say-TPP-PCL big

camǎi-ko-te yah-Ø-an. 9 *jekha camǎi-ko nem apok*
daughter-GEN-LOC go-sAS-3S/PT big daughter-GEN house cave

hok-Ø-thyo. 10 *ǎlǎmtha-yiniŋ apa ra-Ø-du*
be-sAS-3SCOND distant-ABL father come.from.level-sAS-NPT

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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*   *ḍamari-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*   *ḍamari* *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 ṭuṇi gal-te *ya-ta-ŋa-le*   *ṭuṇi priŋ* *ciy-u-n-du,*   *nany-e*
I   goat cage-LOC go-IPP-1s-PCL goat outside throw-3P-1s→3-NPT you-ERG

nyakaṇeŋ 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 ṭuṇi 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

nyakaṇeŋ 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

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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-kăi 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-kăi   piy-eŋ-no,*   *apa*
CAUS-ripen-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   father-PM give-pAS-3→3/PT father

taŋ-Ø-ta-le,   *baṭhe   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-kăi sakalei wakhe*
    house-LOC go-sAS-IPP-PCL wife-PM all   word

ci-nasăiy-Ø-u-no,   *ṭhoṇi   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   camăi   hok-Ø-du,   pi-Ø-na-du,   găi-go su hok-Ø-du*
you-GEN-TOP daughter be-sAS-NPT give-sAS-2s-NPT I-GEN who be-sAS-NPT

ra?' 20 *ṭhoṇe-ye   ŋah-Ø-u-no   'naŋ-ko găi hok-ŋa-du.*' 21 '*nan*
or   old.man-ERG say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT you-GEN I   be-1s-NPT   now

naŋ-kăi gă-ye di-gore wakhe ci-nasăi-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', ṭhoṇe-ye
do-s→3/IMP then meat eat-INF receive-3P-2s-NPT old.man-ERG

ŋah-Ø-u-no.   22 *to-ye   woi ḍamari-ye   uniŋ ṭuṇi 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-kăi ṭuṇi gal-te   hen-Ø-u-no,*
search-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   wife-PM goat cage-LOC take-sAS-3P-3→3/PT

ḍamari-ye   loŋ-Ø-u-du uniŋ, ṭhoṇi-kăi   priŋ   nah-Ø-u-no.
son.in.law-ERG do-sAS-3P-NPT like   old.woman-PM outside put-sAS-3P-3→3/PT

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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 *'gă-ye*   *ṭuṇi*   *priŋ*   *cih-u-n-du,*   *nany-e*   *ṭuṇi*   *nyakaṇeŋ*
    I-ERG   goat   outside   throw.away-3P-1s→3-NPT   you-ERG   goat   nettle

pole-te   *ciy-o'*   *ŋah-Ø-u-no.*   25   *oste*   *duŋ-ŋaŋ*
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

isyaŋ   *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

priŋ   *ciy-Ø-u-no.*   28   *ṭhoṇi-ye,*   *ukhiŋ-ŋaŋ*   *ṭuṇi*
outside   throw-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   old.woman-ERG   dark-inside   goat

rah-Ø-an   *ŋa-to-le,*   *nyakaṇeŋ*   *pole-te*
come.from.level-sAS-3S/PT   say-TPP-PCL   nettle   shrub-LOC

ciy-Ø-u-no.   29   *libi*   *ṭhoṇe*   *kerep-Ø-du*   *nasăiy-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*   *'găi*   *ṭhoṇe,*   *ka-te*
wife   surprise   be-sAS-3S/PT   old.man-ERG   I   old.man   this-LOC

ra-Ø,   *găi-găi*   *ci-let-aŋ!'*   *ŋah-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-eŋ-ta-le*   *oste-ko*   *nem-te*
    two-HNC   also   cry-pAS-IPP-PCL   self-GEN   house-LOC

ray-eŋ-an,   *cici*   *cya-sa*   *ma-khalam-eŋ-no.*   32   *nan*
come.from.level-pAS-3S/PT   meat   eat-INF   NEG-receive-pAS-3→3/PT   now

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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 ḍamari-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 baṇi 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

maṇăi 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 *ḍamari 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

ṭhăi-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 baṇi-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 baṇi-te biy-Ø-an. 36 *libi di baṇi asa thah-Ø-an, libi*
hot *pot*-LOC enter-sAS-3S/PT after one *pot* oil be-sAS-3S/PT after

camăi-ye maṇăi 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 ṭhoṇi-kăi
father.in.law self-GEN house-LOC go-sAS-IPP-PCL old.woman-PM

ci-nasăiy-Ø-u-no. 38 *ṭhoṇi-kăi woi 'baṇi me-te na-to-le*
CAUS-hear-sAS-3P-3→3/PT old.woman-PM also *pot* fire-LOC put-TPP-PCL

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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,   gă-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   ṭhăi-te
say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   that also oil CAUS-appear-sAS-3P-NPT place-LOC

ya-hok-Ø-an, ṭyaŋṭyaŋ tha-Ø-ta-le   asa baṇi-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   ḍiŋḍiŋ*
   run-PSG come.from.level-sAS-IPP-PCL wife-ERG put-sAS-3P-NPT red

baṇi-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

jyok-Ø-an   'ka woi ma-jah-Ø-an'   ŋa-to-le   ṭhoṇi
burn-sAS-3S/PT this also NEG-okay-sAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL old.woman

ṭhoṇe   kerep-eŋ-an. 42 ṭhoṇe arṭik-Ø-ta-le   'paŋku
old.man cry-pAS-3S/PT   old.man scream-sAS-IPP-PCL water

cuk-aŋ!   găi 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

camăi-ko-te   yah-Ø-an, ucya camăi-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 ṭhăi 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-kăi ŋah-Ø-u-no   'uma naŋ
self-GEN house-LOC go-sAS-IPP-PCL wife-PM say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT wife you

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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 *'gă-ye naŋ-kăi 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 *țhoņe-ye   nis   țhăi   lembe   na-to-le   warak*
    old.man-ERG   two   place winnowing.tray   put-TPP-PCL   precipice

cyuri-te   yey-eŋ-an,   țhoņi-kăi   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

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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,   găi-go naŋ-kăi jekha sewa.'   2   'yaŋ   naŋ jekha mi
     salute   I-GEN   you-PM big   salute   today you   big   person

tha-na-n   ŋa-to-le,   găi taŋ-ŋa-n.'   3   'ni-kăi 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-kăi 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

măi-Ø-thyo,   yaŋ   ka   ma-tha-na-n.'   5   'naleŋ   hara
must-sAS-3SCOND   today   throughout NEG-be-2s-PT   present what

tha-Ø-ta-le,   masăi,   naleŋ-guri   naŋ-kăi 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-3SCOND   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-kăi   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

găi di-ka   cijyaŋ-ŋa-du, găi di-ka-ko   wakhe ma-nasăiy-eŋ-no.'
I   one-HNC   speak-1s-NPT   I   one-HNC-GEN   word   NEG-hear-pAS-3→3/PT

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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,   'gă-ye yo-le*
   this like say-sAS-3P-3SCOND one-HNC person-ERG I-ERG look.at-PCL

nah-u-n-uŋ,   to-kăi-guri ma-piy-eŋ-no.'   11 nyoṇi   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-kăi, gă-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 boṭhay-eŋ-du
person-GEN friend be-sAS-3SCOND   one day money distribute-pAS-NPT

beryaŋ, to-kăi ma-thop-Ø-ta-le,   tyaŋ kăcyalaŋ-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-kăi 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 kiḍiy-Ø-an.   15 'e
courtyard-LOC go-sAS-IPP-PCL big voice-LOC quarrel-sAS-3S/PT   hey

moro, naŋ let-a!   naŋ-kăi gă-ye ăikuca-ye   pal-na-ŋa-du!'
corpse you appear-s/IMP you-PM I-ERG large.knife-INS chop-2s-1s-NPT

16 *'naŋ-kăi mosani ḍaṇḍi-te hen-sa-kăi, oste-guri ahe   cya-na-n,*
   you-PM spirit *hill*-LOC take-INF-PM self-IND much eat-2s-PT

găi-găi-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

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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 găi 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!   găye sakalei mi-pali-kăi 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 khaṇou-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-kăi   ŋah-Ø-u-no-be,   găi-găi kaṭay-eŋ-du, ka-kăi 'sumaka
person-PM say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT-TOP I-PM scold-pAS-NPT this-PM silent

hok-a!'   ŋa-ko măiy-Ø-an.' 19 *ya-Ø-ta-le,   to mi-kăi*
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-kăi gă-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-kăi
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

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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*   *camãica* *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,* *thapu-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   '*gãi-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

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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*   *ḍapu-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*   *ḍapuh-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   *ḍapu-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*   *ṭhăi daŋ-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

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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   ŋa-to-le   dewa-kăi   ṭhoh-Ø-u-no.*   21   *uma-ye*
     this like say-TPP-PCL god-PM send-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   wife-ERG

'găi-go   lawa   begale uma nama wakhe loŋ-Ø-u-no'   ŋa-to-le
I-GEN   husband *other* wife with word do-sAS-3P-3→3/PT say-TPP-PCL

ŋah-Ø-u-no.   22 *ṭaye uma lawa-ko   wakhe thah-Ø-an   'uma,*
say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   night wife husband-GEN word be-sAS-3S/PT wife

găi sumaka hok-ŋa-du, nany-e ka   nunu ka   dăi   dha
I   silent   be-1s-NPT you-ERG this milk this towards that.distant

dăi   ma-loŋ-tiniŋ nah-o!'   23 *uma-ye ŋah-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-ŋa-tiniŋ, ka   nunu gă-ye   ma-cum.' 24 *'găi priŋ*
word   NEG-say-PFG   this milk I-ERG NEG-hold   I   outside

let-ŋa-du   beryaŋ, kunyaŋ asku   let-Ø-du?   găi-găi ŋa-ŋa!'
appear-1s-NPT that.time how   smoke appear-sAS-NPT I-PM   say-s→1s/IMP

25 *'yaŋ naŋ-kăi ma-ŋa, baṭhe   citabas   ŋa-na-ŋa-du,*
    today you-PM NEG-say tomorrow day.after.tomorrow say-2s-1s-NPT

yaŋ   sumaka hok-a!' 26 *'to wakhe yaŋ   ŋa-ko   măi-Ø-thyo',*
today silent   be-s/IMP   that word today say-ADH must-sAS-3SCOND

lawa-ye   'baṭhe   ŋah-u-n-du'   ŋa-to-le   ŋah-Ø-u-no.
husband-ERG tomorrow say-3P-1s→3-NPT say-TPP-PCL say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT

27 *uma ma-ŋa-tiniŋ nunu ma-cum-Ø-u-no,   lawa-kăi   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,   kiṇe-siy-eŋ-an,   nunu*
appear-sAS-3S/PT   anger be-sAS-IPP-PCL fight-REF-pAS-3S/PT milk

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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-eŋ-no,   baṭhe   syaŋ   uma   isa   cya-Ø-ta-le   priŋ
do-pAS-3→3/PT   tomorrow period wife food   eat-sAS-IPP-PCL   outside

let-Ø-an.   30 *dewa   to   beryaŋ   nem-te   kyel-Ø-an,*
appear-sAS-3S/PT   god   that   that.time house-LOC come-sAS-3S/PT

uma-ye   to   beryaŋ   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   ŋah-Ø-u-no   'ka   mi-ko   habi   syaŋ-ko*
    wife-ERG   say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT this person-GEN before period-GEN

camăica-ko   sare   uniŋ hok-Ø-du.' 32 *tyaŋ uma   duŋ-ŋaŋ*
woman-GEN   voice like   be-sAS-NPT   then wife within-inside

biy-Ø-an,   libi   dewa ubo   gonṭhe   uniŋ 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   uniŋ 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 *naleŋ   woi   to   ṭhăi-te   chya ma-khalam.*
very   scold-sAS-3S/PT   present also that place-LOC   salt   NEG-meet

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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-eŋ-du,* *to-baŋ* *nis-ka*   *jekha* *nem-te*
    wife   husband be-pAS-NPT that-Pp two-HNC big   house-LOC

hok-eŋ-du. 2   *to-baŋ-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

ŋah-Ø-u-no   'nany-e* *begale* *nama* *bore*   *loŋ-o!'*
say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT you-ERG *other*   with   marriage do-s→3/IMP

3   *lawa-ye*   *ŋah-Ø-u-du*   'găi* *bore*   *ma-loŋ, naŋ* *tha-na-n-be*
    husband-ERG say-sAS-3P-NPT I   marriage NEG-do you be-2s-PT-TOP

găi-găi *hara-kăi* *bore*   *loŋ-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

loŋ-Ø-u-du. 6   *ka* *dăi*   *nem-te*   *uma-ye*   *baŋkal*
do-sAS-3P-NPT   this towards house-LOC wife-ERG stomach

cabuh-Ø-u-du, *uma* *taŋ-Ø-du.*   7   *dha*   *dăi*
carry-sAS-3P-NPT wife be.happy-sAS-NPT   that.distant towards

lawa-ye   *begale* *bore*   *loŋ-Ø-u-du.* 8   *bore*   *loŋ-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

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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*　*ṭisen-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*

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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.

ṭhăi 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

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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 camãica-ye ṭep-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 camãica-kăi 'ama'   ŋah-Ø-u-no.   28 *di uni to   ca   ṭaye*
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

kaṭah-Ø-an,   naṭe-te   ṇeh-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

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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   ŋay-eŋ-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 ŋosăi-sa-kăi   yah-Ø-an.
hide-REF-hide-REF-sAS-IPP-PCL father recognise-INF-PM go-sAS-3S/PT

34 *apa ŋosăiy-Ø-u-no   ma-cijyaŋ-Ø-an.   35 di   uni*
     father recognise-sAS-3P-3→3/PT NEG-speak-sAS-3S/PT   one day

apa-ko   nem-te   bore   uniŋ 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 cih-Ø-u-du   mi-kăi*
     now that-LOC be-sAS-NPT that-PM throw.away-sAS-3P-NPT person-PM

ņe-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-ŋa-du, găi-găi sat-ta-ŋa-le,   raŋ   cya-sa daŋ-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   cijyaŋ-sa
person this-LOC be-sAS-NPT   I-GEN   mother-PM speak-INF

ma-thaŋ-sa   usare   ya-to-le,   găi-găi soŋ-te   hen-to-le
NEG-be.able-INF medicine feed-IPP-PCL I-PM   river-LOC take-TPP-PCL

ci-Ø-ŋa-n.'   39 'libi jet   loŋ-sa tete   ŋaŋ găi-go ban
throw.away-sAS-1s-PT   after work do-INF elder.sister and I-GEN friend

kucu ray-eŋ-ta-le   ci-moy-eŋ-ŋa-n,   naleŋ ka uniŋ
dog   come.from.level-pAS-IPP-PCL CAUS-survive-pAS-1s-PT present this like

tha-ŋa-n.' 40 ka uniŋ ŋa-to-le   kariy-Ø-u-no,   libi sakalei
be-1s-PT   this like say-TPP-PCL sing-sAS-3P-3→3/PT after all

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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*   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*   *ṇe-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

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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   ṭhăi-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

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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-kăi, 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*   *săi-to-le*
do-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   that-GEN   father-ERG   *knowledge*   know-TPP-PCL

ucyapa-kăi   *ṇeh-Ø-u-no.*   9   *'găi-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!*   *găi-go*
say-sAS-3P-3SCOND   elder.brother   you   NEG-come.from.level-s/NEG/IMP   I-GEN

apa-ye   *ṇe-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*   *ṇeh-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*   *gă-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*   *goṭha-te*   *hok-Ø-thyo,*   *camăica*
    after   cow   tie-sAS-3P-NPT   *animal.shelter*-LOC   be-sAS-3SCOND   woman

khalam-sa   *ṭaye*   *ṭaye*   *ucyapa*   *yah-Ø-an.*   13   *di*   *uni*
meet-INF   night   night   father's.younger.brother   go-sAS-3S/PT   one   day

ṭaye   *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   *săiy-Ø-u-no.*   14   *ucyapa-ko*   *nem-te*
knowledge   know-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   father's.younger.brother-GEN   house-LOC

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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*   *beryaŋ,* *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 daŋ-Ø-u-no.   17 *oste-ko* *bore*   *loŋ-to-le,*   *ca-ko*   *woi*
wife search-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   self-GEN marriage do-TPP-PCL son-GEN also

bore   *loŋ-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-eŋ-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-eŋ-du*   *beryaŋ,* *ucyapa*   *aṭṭhe*
    two-HNC   wife die-pAS-NPT that.time father's.younger.brother much

kerep-Ø-an, *ca-pali hok-eŋ-le* *woi,* *uma si-Ø-du*   *beryaŋ,* *kunyaŋ*
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-eŋ-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-yiŋ   *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-eŋ-du* *ŋa-to-le,*   *begale* *lawa*   *daŋ-to-le,*
son-p many be-pAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL *other*   husband search-TPP-PCL

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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-kăi *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

ălămtha *ṭhăi-te* *nis-ka* *ca,* *di-ka* *camăi* *ŋaŋ* *di-ka* *ama*
distant place-LOC two-HNC son one-HNC daughter and one-HNC mother

hok-eŋ-du *ṭhăi-te* *ya-let-Ø-an.* 23 *to-te* *ṭaye* *hok-Ø-an,*
be-pAS-NPT place-LOC go-appear-sAS-3S/PT that-LOC night be-sAS-3S/PT

'*găi* *uma* *daŋ-sa* *waŋ-ŋa-du*' *ŋah-Ø-u-no,* *to*
I wife search-INF come.from.below-1s-NPT say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT that

nem-te *ṭaye* *isa* *cya-Ø-ta-le* *amiy-Ø-an.* 24 *ṭaye* *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* '*găi-găi*
word do-sAS-3P-3→3/PT after that house-GEN woman-ERG I-PM

hen-aŋ' *ŋah-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

ŋah-Ø-u-no. 26 '*naŋ-kăi* *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* *ŋah-Ø-u-no.* 28 '*ja-Ø-du,* *naŋ-kăi*
must-sAS-NPT woman-ERG say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT okay-sAS-NPT you-PM

ra-kăi-sa-kăi, *sum* *uni* *libi* *ra-ŋa-du*'
come.from.level-remove-INF-PM three day after come.from.level-1s-NPT

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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   ṭaye
say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   and   one   day   two-HNC   person   take-TPP-PCL   night

caway-eŋ-an.   32   *ṭaye   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

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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 *ṭaye* *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* *măi-Ø-thyo.*   35 *nis-ka-ye* *huca-pali*
be-pAS-IPP-PCL   carry-ADH must-sAS-3SCOND   two-HNC-ERG child-p

cabuy-eŋ-to-le,   *ukhiŋ-te* *caway-eŋ-an.*   36 *athaŋ-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,*   *ṭaye*
other   village person-ERG see-pAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL night

sul-siy-eŋ-ta-le   *caway-eŋ-du.*   37 *caway-eŋ-du* *beryaŋ,* *ṭaye*
hide-REF-pAS-IPP-PCL   walk-pAS-NPT   walk-pAS-NPT that.time night

ulam-te *isa-ye*   *karăiy-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* *ṭa*   *di* *uni* *ka*   *cawa-ŋa* *libi,* *nem-te*
be-sAS-3S/PT   one night one day throughout walk-CNS after house-LOC

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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   ṭhăi-te,   di-ka   cya-sa ma-khalam-Ø-u-du   ṭhoṇi*
     one   place-LOC   one-HNC   eat-INF   NEG-receive-sAS-3P-NPT   old.woman

hok-Ø-thyo.   2   *seŋ daŋ-to-le,   nembo-kăi   pi-to-le,*
be-sAS-3SCOND   wood search-TPP-PCL   other.person-PM   give-TPP-PCL

nyoṇi   băsinṭe   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 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.   6   *to   ṭhoṇi-ye   oste ma-cya-tiniŋ, to*
see-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   that old.woman-ERG   self NEG-eat-PFG   that

wa-ca-kăi   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,   ṭhoṇi-kăi   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,   găi-găi pi-ŋa!'   8   *wa   mi   uniŋ*
be-sAS-NPT-ABL   I-PM   give-s→1s/IMP   chicken person like

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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   ṭhăi-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

doroŋ-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

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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,*   *ṭhoṇi-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   *ṭhoṇi-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   *ṭhăi*   *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

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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?' 'găi 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-kăi 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   camăi-ko   bore
tree-LOC be-sAS-3S/PT that period that-GEN daughter-GEN marriage

tha-Ø-le   hok-Ø-thyo. 29 libi   wa   arʈik-Ø-ta-le,   khaṇou-te
be-sAS-PCL   be-sAS-3SCOND   after chicken cry.out-sAS-IPP-PCL door-LOC

hok-Ø-du   mi-kăi   ŋah-Ø-u-no   'gă-ye ka   nem-ko   camăi
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-kăi   ci-poh-Ø-u-no.
other.person person call-TPP-PCL   chicken-PM   CAUS-chase-sAS-3P-3→3/PT

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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*   *ŋah-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-baŋ-ko   *kapu-yiŋ*   *cek-no!*'   32   *ka*   *nasăiy-eŋ-to-le*,   *was-pali*
this-Pp-GEN   head-ABL   bite-p→3/IMP   this   hear-pAS-TPP-PCL   bee-p

let-eŋ-ta-le   *cek-eŋ-no.*   33   *bophura-pali,*   *ariy-eŋ-ta-le,*
appear-pAS-IPP-PCL   bite-pAS-3→3/PT   pity-p   be.afraid-pAS-IPP-PCL

jekha mi-kăi   *ŋa-sa*   *dorok-eŋ-an.*   34   *jekha*   *mi-ye*   *woi*
big   person-PM   say-INF   run-pAS-3S/PT   big   person-ERG   also

wa-kăi   *urou-sa*   *ṭhoh-Ø-u-no.*   35   *libi*   *wa-ye*   *jekha*
chicken-PM   call-INF   send-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   after   chicken-ERG   big

mi-kăi   *ŋah-Ø-u-no*   '*naŋ-ko*   *gă-ye camăi*   *bore*   *loŋ-sa*
person-PM   say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   you-GEN   I-ERG   daughter   marriage   do-INF

kyel-ŋa-du.'   36   '*găi*   *nama*   *naŋ-ko*   *camăi*   *bore*   *ci-loŋ-aŋ,*
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   *ŋah-Ø-u-no*   '*naŋ*   *uniŋ*   *wa*   *nama*   *găi-go*   *camăi*
voice-LOC   say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   you   like   chicken   with   I-GEN   daughter

bore   *ci-loŋ-u-n-du?*'   38   '*naŋ*   *mo-sa*   *ali-na-du-be,*   *ka-yiŋ*
marriage   CAUS-do-3P-1s→3-NPT   you   live-INF   like-2s-NPT-TOP   this-ABL

cawa-Ø!'   *jekha*   *mi-ye*   *ŋah-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*   *ŋah-Ø-u-no*   '*ka-ko*   *nem*
be-sAS-IPP-PCL   before-GEN   fire-PM   say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   this-GEN   house

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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* *aṭṭhe* *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

ṭhoṇi-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

ṭhoṇi   *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

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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

beryaŋ, nama nama saŋa-ko   phase, makăi-ko phase, jake,
that.time with with millet-GEN flour   *maize*-GEN flower rice

moṭe-ko   aṇek-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 ṭhăi-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   ṭaye   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 jiŋ   ma-hok-Ø-thyo.   8   paŋku
present-GEN   like   new   umbrella NEG-be-sAS-3SCOND   water

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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   ṭoke   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   ṇiŋ
fire.place build-sAS-3P-3→3/PT fire.stone build-INF-PM   stone

kyel-Ø-u-no.   16   ṇiŋ   ci-theŋ-Ø-u-no,   ṭiṭiŋ-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,   ṭiṭiŋ-Ø-an,   tyaŋ rage-ye
how.much CAUS-stand.up-sAS-3P-3→3/PT fall.over-sAS-3S/PT then anger-INS

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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   ṇiŋ-kăi   cyaṭane-ye   ṇeh-Ø-u-no.   17 *cyaṭane-ye*
that   stone-PM   rice.spoon-INS beat-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   rice.spoon-INS

ṇeh-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, gă-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-kăi   dewa lony-eŋ-no.   20 *naleŋ   woi*
be-sAS-NPT   say-TPP-PCL   that-PM   god   do-pAS-3→3/PT   present   also

to-kăi   bhimsin   ŋa-to-le   dewa lony-eŋ-du.
that-PM   Bhimsen   say-TPP-PCL   god   do-pAS-NPT

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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

ṭhăi begale begale hok-Ø-thyo,   ucya uma hok-Ø-du   ṭhăi-te,
place *other* *other* be-sAS-3SCOND small wife be-sAS-NPT place-LOC

di-gore citaliŋ woi ṭhoṇe-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

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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   săi-wa-du.'   8   'tyaŋ găi
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-kăi tap-u-na-n? gă-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

gă-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

gă-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-kăi,   miŋ   kăiy-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

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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 ḍi-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, găi 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 nasăiy-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-kăi*   *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

gaṇa   *duŋ-ŋaŋ*   *ci-bi-ko*   *măi-Ø-du,*   *tyaŋ*
spherical.earthenware.jug   within-inside   CAUS-enter-ADH   must-sAS-NPT   then

huca nik-ko   *măi-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

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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.

gaṇa-ŋaŋ   *kapu ci-bi-to-le*   *huca*
spherical.earthenware.jug-inside   head   CAUS-enter-TPP-PCL   child

nik-Ø-an.   21   *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

paṭasi-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*   *ṇiŋ*   *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*   *ṇiŋ*   *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*   *ucyaca huca*
hear-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   go-look.at-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   that-LOC   small   child

paṭasi-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

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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 găi 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,*   *'găi-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*   *măi-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 nasăi-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-kăi*   *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*   *ṭhum-eŋ-no.*   33 *libi*
     kill-TPP-PCL river-GEN near take-TPP-PCL bury-pAS-3→3/PT   *after*

to   *ṭhum-eŋ-du*   *ṭhăi-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-kăi*   *pole-te lun-eŋ-du,*
NEG-be.able-pAS-3→3/PT   flower pick-INF-PM tree-LOC climb-pAS-NPT

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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-thaŋ   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

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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, gă-ye ŋah-u-n-du uniŋ loŋ-ko măi-Ø-du, tyaŋ gă-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 koțe ceŋ-no! to koțe*
what do-INF you(p)-ERG nine-CLF wall build-p→3/IMP that wall

ka-basa găi hok-ŋa-du, koțe 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 koțe doroŋ loŋ-to-le, găi-go ugo-te*
then who-GEN milk that wall hole do-TPP-PCL I-GEN mouth-LOC

bi-Ø-du, to găi-go ama, to-ko lawa, găi-go apa.'
enter-sAS-NPT that I-GEN mother that-GEN husband I-GEN father

47 *to-bany-e woi kit-gore koțe 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 koțe doroŋ
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 măiy-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 koțe doroŋ loŋ-to-le, to
wife-ERG milk milk-sAS-3P-3SCOND nine-CLF wall hole do-TPP-PCL that

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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   găi-go   ama
man-GEN   mouth-LOC   enter-sAS-3S/PT   this-IND   I-GEN   mother

tha-Ø-du'   ŋa-to-le   ŋah-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   găi-go   raŋ   cya-sa-kăi   ka   uniŋ
be-sAS-IPP-PCL   this-ERG   I-GEN   unirrigated.field eat-INF-PM   this like

loŋ-Ø-u-no,   ka   găi-go ca   ma-tha'   ŋa-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   ŋah-Ø-u-no,   'apa,   găi   naŋ-ko   ca*
    after that person-ERG   say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   father   I   you-GEN   son

tha-ŋa-du.' 54 'kunyaŋ-be   gă-ye   ŋa-na-ŋa-du,   găi   nik-ŋa-du
be-1s-NPT   how-TOP   I-ERG   say-2s-1s-NPT I   be.born-1s-NPT

beryaŋ,   găi-găi   jekhama-pali-ye   paṭasi-te   pore-to-le
that.time I-PM   big.mother-p-ERG   traditional.skirt-LOC   bundle.up-TPP-PCL

ciy-eŋ-ŋa-n.'   55 'libi   găi-găi   semni-ye   hen-to-le,   jekha
throw.away-pAS-1s-PT   after   I-PM   Tamang-ERG   take-TPP-PCL   big

loŋ-Ø-ŋa-n,   to-te   woi yey-eŋ-ta-le   jekhama-pali-ye   găi-găi
do-sAS-1s-PT   that-LOC also go-pAS-IPP-PCL   big.mother-p-ERG   I-PM

sat-eŋ-ŋa-n.' 56 'tyaŋ   găi   altak-ko   pole   tha-ta-ŋa-le
kill-pAS-1s-PT   then   I   rhododendron-GEN   tree   be-IPP-1s-PCL

bo-ŋa-n,   naleŋ   găi   mi   tha-ŋa-n,   apa'   ŋah-Ø-u-no.   57 ka
sprout-1s-PT present   I   person   be-1s-PT   father   say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   this

nasăi-to-le,   to-ye   begale   uma-pali-kăi   poh-Ø-u-no,   nem-yiŋ
hear-TPP-PCL   that-ERG   other   wife-p-PM   chase-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   house-ABL

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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

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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-eŋ-du.* 2   *nis-ka*
     one-HNC person-GEN three-HNC wife be-pAS-NPT   two-HNC

uma-ko-guri   *nis-ka*   *ca* *sarma* *thay-eŋ-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* *ṭhăi-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

ṭhăi-yiŋ   *begale*   *ṭhăi-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

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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-kăi* *ŋah-Ø-u-no*   *'naŋ* *ja-sa-kăi,*
look.at-sAS-3P-3→3/PT that father-PM say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT you recover-INF-PM

di-gore *ṭhăi-ko* *cijyaŋ-Ø-du* *paŋ*   *cya-ko* *măi-Ø-du,* *tyaŋ*
one-CLF place-GEN speak-sAS-NPT sour.fruit eat-ADH must-sAS-NPT then

ja-Ø-du'   *ŋah-Ø-u-no.*   9 *'nan,* *cijyaŋ-Ø-du* *paŋ*   *kuta*
recover-sAS-NPT say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   now speak-sAS-NPT sour.fruit where

khalam-sa?' *ŋah-Ø-u-du* *beryaŋ,* *guru-ye* *ŋah-Ø-u-no.*
meet-INF   say-sAS-3P-NPT that.time shaman-ERG say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT

10 *'ka-yiŋ* *ălămtha* *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-eŋ,   *yey-eŋ-du-pali* *siy-eŋ-du,*   *kunyaŋ* *hen-sa?'*
NEG-be.able-pAS   go-pAS-NPT-p die-pAS-NPT how   go-INF

11 *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

găi-găi *ŋa-ŋa!*   *găi-go* *ca-pali* *sarma* *sarma* *hok-eŋ-du,* *to-bany-e*
I-PM   say-s→1s/IMP I-GEN son-p strong strong be-pAS-NPT that-Pp-ERG

kyel-eŋ-du   *thaŋun.'* 12 *to* *beryaŋ* *uyu* *woi* *kherte*
bring-pAS-NPT maybe   that that.time mouse also near

ya-Ø-ta-le *ḍapu-to-le* *nasăiy-Ø-u-no.*   13 *guru-ye*
go-sAS-IPP-PCL spy-TPP-PCL hear-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   shaman-ERG

ŋah-Ø-u-no   *'ka-yiŋ* *hen-sa,* *di-gore* *ṭhăi-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-ŋa* *libi,* *to-yiŋ* *dha-basa*
come.from.level-sAS-NPT that-LOC go-CNS after that-ABL that.distant-side

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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   ṭhǎi   ra-Ø-du,   *to-yiŋ   libi   rul*
one-CLF   spirit-GEN   place   come.from.level-sAS-NPT   that-ABL   after   snake

hok-Ø-du   ṭhǎi   ra-Ø-du.'   14 *'tyaŋ   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   'cijyaŋ-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   'nan   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   'ni   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

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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,   găi woi ya-ŋa-du,*
    that-Pp-GEN son-p   go-pAS-NPT   NEG-be mother I   also go-1s-NPT

găi-găi 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   karăi-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,   țhoh-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

*țhăi-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-kăiy-eŋ-du.   24 *bubu-ye   uyu-kăi   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-kăi
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   'găi-be uyu,   ka   dăi*
come-2s-PT   mouse-ERG   say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT I-ERG   mouse this towards

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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 ṭhăi yo-sa-kăi   cawa-ŋa-du.' 26 *bubu-ye*
new   new   place look.at-INF-PM walk-1s-NPT   elder.brother-ERG

ŋah-Ø-u-no   'găi-be apa-kăi 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   dăi   yah-Ø-an.' 28 *'naleŋ găi dikaca*
NEG-be.able-sAS-IPP-PCL   house towards go-sAS-3S/PT   present I   alone

hok-ŋa-du, naleŋ isa-ye   karăi-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? găi-găi pi-ŋa!'   29 *uyu-ye   ŋah-Ø-u-no   'găi nama-be*
or I-PM   give-s→1s/IMP   mouse-ERG say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT I   with-TOP

kanṭi 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   doroŋ phat-to-le   rul-ko   isa   nah-Ø-u-du*
     mouse-ERG hole   dig.deep-TPP-PCL snake-GEN food put-sAS-3P-NPT

ṭhăi-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-kăi
search-pAS-3→3/PT night snake-p come.from.level-pAS-IPP-PCL person-PM

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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-kăi   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-kăi   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   peṇeh-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-kăi
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

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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-kăi paŋ   găi-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   nasăi-to-le   rage-ye   ṇe-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 tyaŋ 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   beryaŋ,   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-kăi
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-kăi   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

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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*   *camǎi*   *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*   *mǎi-Ø-du.*   2   *camǎi,*   *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   *camǎi-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*   *camǎi-pali-ye*   *uniŋ*   *jet*   *loŋ-sa*
do-pAS-NPT   small   village-GEN   daughter-p-ERG   like   work   do-INF

ma-thany-eŋ.   5   *ălǎmtha*   *cawa-sa*   *ma-thany-eŋ,*   *isa*   *ken*
NEG-be.able-pAS   distant   walk-INF   NEG-be.able-pAS   food   vegetable.curry

loŋ-sa   *ma-sǎiy-eŋ.*   6   *ucya*   *dese-ko*   *camǎica-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   *ʈhi-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

camǎi   *ka*   *uniŋ*   *loŋ-sa*   *ma-thany-eŋ.*   9   *seŋ-ko*   *demca*
daughter   this   like   do-INF   NEG-be.able-pAS   wood-GEN   load

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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, aṇek-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

kaṭa-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

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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   raŋ   pebu
village-LOC   daughter-p   one   day   throughout   unirrigated.field   irrigated.field

to-sa   yey-eŋ-du,   unise   makăi moṭe   maṇăi 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   nyoṇi   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,   ṭaye   amiy-eŋ-du.*
house-LOC   be-sAS-NPT   what   what   eat-pAS-NPT   night   sleep-pAS-NPT

20   *ami-sa   beryaŋ 'nan baṭe   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   băsinṭe   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   ṭuṇi 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   *sya-kăi   ṭhi   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

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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*   *măi-Ø-du.*   23 *ka*   *uniŋ*
other.person-GEN   work-LOC   go-ADH   must-sAS-NPT   this   like

lony-eŋ-to-le   *ucya*   *dese-ko*   *camăi-pali*   *moy-eŋ-du.*   24 *jekha*
do-pAS-TPP-PCL   small   village-GEN   daughter-p   live-pAS-NPT   big

dese-ko   *camăi-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-kăi   *naka*   *wakhe*   *ţisen-ko*   *măiy-Ø-an'*   *ŋa-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-kăi*   *naka*   *wakhe*   *ţisen-sa,*
also   head-LOC   NEG-be   how   child-p-PM   new   word   teach-INF

ka   *woi*   *ma-săiy-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-kăi*   *yo-ko*   *măi-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*   *camăi-ye*   *ucya*   *huca*   *cabu-ko*   *măi-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*   *ţisen-si-sa*   *ma-thany-eŋ.*
   this   like   be-sAS-IPP-PCL   new   word   teach-REF-INF   NEG-be.able-pAS

30 *libi*   *dicip*   *walŋa*   *thah-Ø-an-be*   *bore*   *lony-eŋ-du,*   *tyaŋ*   *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*   *camăi-pali*
mother   like   be-pAS-NPT   present-IND   small   village-GEN   daughter-p

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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

mi-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

priŋ   dany-eŋ-du,   camăi   ma-khalam-eŋ. 38 'nan camăi
outside search-pAS-NPT daughter NEG-meet-pAS   now daughter

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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'   *ŋay-eŋ-to-le*   *kerep-eŋ-du, camăi*   *di-ka-ko*
be.lost-sAS-3S/PT say-pAS-TPP-PCL cry-pAS-NPT daughter one-HNC-GEN

nem-te   *pepelek daŋ-to-le,*   *begale-kăi maŋ piy-Ø-u-du.*
house-LOC money search-TPP-PCL *other*-PM body give-sAS-3P-NPT

39 *libi*   *to*   *nem-yiŋ*   *ṭhoṇi*   *tha-Ø-ta-le,*   *tortah-Ø-u-du,*   *to*
    after that house-ABL old.woman be-sAS-IPP-PCL leave-sAS-3P-NPT that

uniŋ jet   *daŋ-Ø-u-du.*   40   *nan*   *to-kăi*   *su-ye*   *woi*   *ma-nay-eŋ,*
like work search-sAS-3P-NPT   now that-PM who-ERG also NEG-put-pAS

ṭaye   *ṭaye*   *cawa-Ø-ta-le*   *cahuca*   *daŋ-Ø-u-du,*   *tyaŋ*   *libi*
night night walk-sAS-IPP-PCL man   search-sAS-3P-NPT then after

ṭhoṇi   *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   *camăi-pali.*
village-GEN daughter-p

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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,   *ḍamari*   *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

ṭi-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

ṭhoṇi   *camăi*   *khalam-sa-kăi*   *cawah-Ø-an.*   8   *ṭhoṇi*   *di-gore*
old.woman   daughter   meet-INF-PM   walk-sAS-3S/PT   old.woman   one-CLF

ukhiŋ   *ṭhăi-te*   *ya-let-Ø-an.*   9   *to-ŋaŋ*   *di-gore*   *loṇe*
dark   place-LOC   go-appear-sAS-3S/PT   that-inside   one-CLF   jackal

khalam-Ø-u-no,   *loṇe-ye*   *ŋah-Ø-u-no*   '*ṭhoṇi,*   *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

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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   găi-go   isa   tha-ta-na-le   ra-na-n,   nan   gă-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   găi-go   wakhe   nasăiy-o!   tyaŋ   găi-găi*
eat-2s-1s-NPT   be-s/IMP now   I-GEN   word   hear-s→3/IMP   then   I-PM

cya-sa   ja-Ø-du'   ṭhoṇi-ye   ŋah-Ø-u-no.   12 *'yaŋ   găi*
eat-INF okay-sAS-NPT   old.woman-ERG say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   today   I

camăi-ko   nem-te   cawa-ŋa-du,   gă-ye   camăi   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   găi-găi   cya-ŋa!'
much   be-sAS-3S/PT that-ABL come.from.level-CNS after I-PM   eat-s→1s/IMP

13 *'naleŋ   găi-go   maŋ   woi   apraca   ma-hok.'*   14 *'găi   sarma*
    present I-GEN   body   also good   NEG-be   I   strong

tha-ta-ŋa-le   ra-ŋa-du'   ṭhoṇi-ko   wakhe   nasăi-to-le,
be-IPP-1s-PCL   come.from.level-1s-NPT old.woman-GEN word   hear-TPP-PCL

loṇe-ye   woi   tortah-Ø-u-no.   15 *ṭhoṇi   camăi-ko   khen*
jackal-ERG also leave-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   old.woman daughter-GEN face

yo-sa-kăi   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   'ṭhoṇi,   naŋ
five-CLF   monkey   meet-sAS-3P-3→3/PT say-pAS-3→3/PT old.woman you

kyel-ta-na-le,   nan   naŋ-kăi   ni-ye   cya-wa-du.'   18 *sakalei*
come-IPP-2s-PCL   now   you-PM   we-ERG eat-1p→23-NPT   all

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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-eŋ-no   tany-eŋ-ta-le.
monkey-p-ERG self self-GEN dance show-pAS-3→3/PT be.happy-pAS-IPP-PCL

19 *ṭhoṇi-ye   ŋah-Ø-u-no   'găi camăi-ko   nem-te*
    old.woman-ERG say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT I   daughter-GEN house-LOC

cawa-ŋa-du, ra-ŋa   libi cya-ne!'   ŋa-to-le   loṇe-kăi
walk-1s-NPT come.from.level-CNS after eat-p→1s/IMP say-TPP-PCL jackal-PM

uniŋ ŋah-Ø-u-no.   20 'ma-tha, ni-ye   naŋ-kăi yaŋ   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-eŋ-du'   ŋay-eŋ-no.   21 ṭhoṇi-ye
dog-PM   CAUS-chase-pAS-NPT say-pAS-3→3/PT   old.woman-ERG

ŋah-Ø-u-no   'ma-tha, găi ka ulam ra-ta-ŋa-le,   libi
say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT NEG-be I   this road come.from.level-IPP-1s-PCL after

niny-e   cya-ne!'   ŋa-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-eŋ-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' ŋa-to-le   jagap-Ø-an.
now-IND   survive-INF NEG-must say-TPP-PCL faint-sAS-3S/PT

23 *ṭhoṇi-kăi   du-ye   ŋah-Ø-u-no   'ama, găi ŋaŋ 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

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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   ṭhoṇi-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

ṭhoṇi-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

ṭhoṇi   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

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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-3SCOND   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   phaṭu   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,*   *phaṭu*
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-3SCOND

35   *'kutaleŋ   ṭhoṇi   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   ṭhoṇi-kăi*
say-TPP-PCL   be-pAS-3SCOND   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   ṭhoṇi   nih-u-na-n?'
say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   cucumber   we-GEN   old.woman   see-3P-2s-PT

37   *ṭhoṇi-ye   phaṭu   duŋ-yiŋ   jekha   sare-ye   ŋah-Ø-u-no*
      old.woman-ERG   pumpkin   within-ABL   big   voice-ERG   say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT

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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   ṭhoṇi   ni-kăi   hara   jet?   găi ma-săi.'   38   *'cawa-Ø!*
you-GEN   old.woman   we-GEN what work I   NEG-know   walk-s/IMP

adhăi!   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

ṭhoṇi   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   *'ṭhoṇi   rah-Ø-an-be,   gă-ye kanṭi 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-3SCOND   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   ṭhăi-te   ya-let-Ø-an,   makar-pali*
      now   monkey-p   be-pAS-NPT place-LOC go-appear-sAS-3S/PT monkey-p

adhăi   yo-sa-kăi   ray-eŋ-an.   43   *to-bany-e*
cucumber look.at-INF-PM come.from.level-pAS-3S/PT   that-Pp-ERG

ŋay-eŋ-no   'adhăi   bubu,   nany-e   ni-ko   ṭhoṇi
say-pAS-3→3/PT cucumber elder.brother you-ERG we-GEN old.woman

ama-kăi   nih-u-na-n?'   44   *phaṭu   duŋ-yiŋ   ṭhoṇi-ye   'naŋ-ko*
mother-PM see-3P-2s-PT   pumpkin within-ABL old.woman-ERG you-GEN

ama   gă-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-kăi rage   let-Ø-an,   to-te   hok-eŋ-an   ṭhoṇi*
      monkey-p-PM   anger appear-sAS-3S/PT that-LOC be-pAS-3S/PT old.woman

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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

loṇe-te   ya-let-Ø-an,   nan   makar   du
jackal-LOC go-appear-sAS-3S/PT now monkey tiger

ray-eŋ-ta-le,   loṇe-kăi   ŋay-eŋ-no   'loṇe   hu,
come.from.level-pAS-IPP-PCL jackal-PM say-pAS-3→3/PT jackal younger.brother

nan   ni-kăi   ṭhoṇi-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   loṇe   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   ṭhoṇi   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   loṇe   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   ṭhăi-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   ṭhem-Ø-an.   51 loṇe   woi
make.itself.present-sAS-IPP-PCL pumpkin crack-sAS-3S/PT   jackal also

kherte   ḍapu-to-le   hok-le   hok-Ø-thyo.   52 loṇe-ye   to
near   peek-TPP-PCL be-PCL   be-sAS-3SCOND   jackal-ERG that

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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?'

ṭhoṇi-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   *loṇe-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   *ṭhoṇi-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

ṭhoṇi-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

ṭiṭiny-eŋ-an.   59   *sakalei oste-baŋ-ko   ṭhăi-te   yey-eŋ-an.*
fall.from.level-pAS-3S/PT   all   self-Pp-GEN   place-LOC   go-pAS-3S/PT

60   *loṇe-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

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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,   *ṭhoṇi*   *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   *găi-go ban-ko   bore   hok-Ø-thyo,   găi bore-te   hen-sa-kăi*
     I-GEN friend-GEN marriage be-sAS-3SCOND I marriage-LOC go-INF-PM

ma-thaŋ-u-n-uŋ.   2   *găi-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 *bathe   syaŋ   bore   băsinṭe*
marriage house-LOC be-1s-PT   tomorrow period marriage morning

hen-ko   măi-Ø-thyo,   to   tha-Ø-ta-le,   găi 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 găi isa-ye   karăi-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 *lakaṇe-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-kăi*
half.cooked be-sAS-3SCOND good   with eat-1s-PT   then sleep-INF-PM

ya-ŋa-n. 7   *găi-go baŋkal ṭaye aghyow-Ø-an,   'nan hara*
go-1s-PT   I-GEN stomach night grumble-sAS-3S/PT now what

tha-Ø-du?' ŋa-to-le,   găi ari-ŋa-n.   8   *ṭaye ami-ŋa-du*
be-sAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL I be.afraid-1s-PT   night sleep-1s-NPT

ṭhăi-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   *găi-găi ari ma-tha-ŋa-n,*
complete.darkness dark also be-sAS-3SCOND   I-PM   fear NEG-be-1s-PT

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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 *găi-go baŋkal kalăi-le hok-Ø-thyo, gă-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, găi si-ŋa-du uniŋ
now this stomach-LOC be-sAS-NPT NEG-throw.away-CNS I die-1s-NPT like

tha-ŋa-du. 11 *găi kiṇi 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 găi-găi sum phero ṭaye*
release-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT   this like I-PM three *time* night

thah-Ø-an, nan athaŋ-Ø-an, băsinṭe 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, găi-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

găi-go baŋkal ros-Ø-du uniŋ thah-Ø-an. 15 *găi kiṇi gaṇe*
I-GEN stomach fall-sAS-NPT like be-sAS-3S/PT   I shit earthenware.pot

daŋ-sa cawa-ŋa-n, to-te woi kiṇi 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 ṭhăi-te*
with walk-1s-PT   after we *other* place-LOC

ra-let-i-n,   *nan woi găi-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

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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 *găi* *soŋ* *dăi*   *dorok-ŋa-n,* *tyaŋ* *gă-ye*
walk-pAS-NPT   I   river towards run-1s-PT   then   I-ERG

bubu-kăi   *ŋah-u-n-uŋ*   *'bubu,*   *găi-go* *baŋkal*   *aṭṭhe*
elder.brother-PM say-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT elder.brother I-GEN   stomach   very

kalăiy-Ø-an.' 20 *bubu-ye*   *găi-găi* *usare*   *pi-Ø-ŋa-n,*   *libi*
hurt-sAS-3S/PT   elder.brother-ERG I-PM   medicine give-sAS-1s-PT after

uchincăi   *kalăi-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-ŋaŋ*   *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

kalăi-sa *ja-Ø-du.'*   23 *găi* *woi*   *di*   *ṭoke*   *nunu*
hurt-INF recover-sAS-NPT   I   also one small.bowl milk

kăi-tuŋ-le   *cya-ŋa-n.* 24 *libi* *găi-găi* *uchin*   *uchin*   *baŋkal*
remove-1s/TPP-PCL eat-1s-PT   after I-PM   a.little a.little stomach

kalăi-sa *jah-Ø-an,*   *tyaŋ* *găi* *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,*   *găi* *usya-ŋa-n.* 26 *libi* *nem-te*
be-IPP-1pPS-PCL song sing-1p→23-PT I   dance-1s-PT   after house-LOC

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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, găi-go ban-e,   di-ka   camăica-kăi 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-kăi
cover-REF-SAS-NPT   see-TPP-PCL   say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT   younger.sister you-PM

lakpa-te   ma-țila?',   găi ban   nama hok-ŋa-thyo. 3   'hara-ko   țila?
limb-LOC   NEG-be.cold   I   friend with   be-1s-3SCOND   what-GEN   cold

adum hok-Ø-du',   to   woi 'jet   loŋ-sa țhăi-te   naka thapu
warm be-SAS-NPT   that also work do-INF place-LOC   new   fireplace

hok-Ø-du,   to-te   me   cyațaŋ-si-ŋa-du'   ŋah-Ø-u-no.   4   'băsințe
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 găi 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   kațah-Ø-an.   5   ka   wakhe nasăi-tuŋ-le,
do-3P-2s-NPT   say-TPP-PCL   scold-SAS-3S/PT   this word   hear-1s/TPP-PCL

găi-găi rage   let-ŋa-n   ŋaŋ ban-kăi   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   găi-găi
woman   with   speak-INF also NEG-okay-SAS-3S/PT   friend-ERG   I-PM

ŋa-Ø-ŋa-n   'ka camăica jet   loŋ-sa țhăi-te,   găi hani
say-SAS-1s-PT this woman   work do-INF place-LOC   I   how.much

ya-ŋa-n.'   7   'țila-te-be   me   ma-mut,   yamiryaŋ adum tha-Ø-du
go-1s-PT   cold-LOC-TOP   fire NEG-blow nowadays hot   be-SAS-NPT

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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   ṭila-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,   ṭaye   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   kaṭay-eŋ-thyo,
before man-p-ERG   woman-PM   look.at-pAS-TPP-PCL   scold-pAS-3SCOND

naleŋ   camăica-pali-ye   cahuca-kăi   ṇe-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   bakoṭek khalam-ko   măi-Ø-du,   ŋay-eŋ-du.'
unirrigated.field half   receive-ADH must-sAS-NPT say-pAS-NPT

14 *di-ka   apa   uniŋ ṭhoṇe   mi-ye   ŋah-Ø-u-no   'habi*
    one-HNC   father like old.man person-ERG   say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT before

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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   ṭisen-si-Ø-ta-le,   unise   nem-te
daughter word   teach-REF-sAS-IPP-PCL   afternoon   house-LOC

ra-Ø-thyo.'   15 *'naleŋ   camăi   jekha thah-Ø-an,   ṭaye*
come.from.level-sAS-3SCOND   present daughter big   be-sAS-3S/PT night

kyel-Ø-du.'   16 *'naleŋ ka   'kuta   ya-na-n?' ŋa-wa-du*
come-sAS-NPT   present throughout where go-2s-PT   say-1p→23-NPT

beryaŋ,   'găi ban-ko   nem-te   ya-ta-ŋa-le   ra-ŋa-du'
that.time I   friend-GEN house-LOC   go-IPP-1s-PCL   come.from.level-1s-NPT

ŋah-i-du.'   17 *'kuta   ya-Ø-du,   ni-kăi   hara woi   ma-ŋa.'*
say-1pPS-NPT   where   go-sAS-NPT we-PM   what also NEG-say

18 *'camăi   jet   ṭisen-si-Ø-ta-le   ra-Ø-du   thaŋun*
    daughter work teach-REF-sAS-IPP-PCL   come.from.level-sAS-NPT   maybe

ŋa-to-le   ni-ye   torta-wa-du.'   19 *'nan   libi   camăi-kăi   ni-ye*
say-TPP-PCL we-ERG leave-1p→23-NPT   now   after daughter-PM   we-ERG

bore   loŋ-sa ma-măi' ŋah-Ø-u-no.   20 *'nan   ka   uniŋ*
marriage   do-INF NEG-must say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   now   this like

tha-ŋa-be, camăi-kăi   ḍamari   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'   ŋa-to-le,   di-ka   mi-ye   găi-găi ŋa-Ø-ŋa-n.
NEG-take   say-TPP-PCL one-HNC   person-ERG   I-PM   say-sAS-1s-PT

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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*   *ṭisen-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*   *ṭisen-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*   *aṭṭhe*
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

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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   baṇi   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   kaṇtu-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

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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   ney-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   baṭhe   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   ṇiŋ   cabu-sa-kăi   aŋal-eŋ-du.   24 *to-baŋ-ko*
NEG-do-pAS   now stone carry-INF-PM shame-pAS-NPT   that-Pp-GEN

ălămga ălămga 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 ṭa   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,   ṭaye   tha-ŋa   libi ulam-te
be-sAS-NPT money-INS beer eat-pAS-3S/PT night be-CNS after road-LOC

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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* *beryaŋ,* *nis-ka*
be-sAS-NPT money steal-INF-PM walk-pAS-NPT that.time two-HNC

mi *ulam-te* *ṭaye* *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* *ṇe-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,* *tyaŋ* *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* *ṭiṭiy-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

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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 *băsinṭe   thah-Ø-an,   to   nis-ka   mi*
eat-pAS-3S/PT   morning   be-sAS-3S/PT   that two-HNC   person

ṭiṭiy-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   ṭhăi-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*

ṭhăi-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

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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-kăi   ray-eŋ-to-le   ŋey-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? ŋa-se!'   ŋay-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

*ṭhăi-te   hen-Ø-u-no.   44 *ban-pali hok-eŋ-du   ṭhăi-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   ăikuca,   toŋ, cey-eŋ-du   baṇi
sleep-sAS-3SCOND   that-LOC many   large.knife   beer eat-pAS-NPT *pot*

khalam-eŋ-no.   45 *libi   to   begale   sum-ka   ban-pali-kăi woi*
meet-pAS-3→3/PT   after that *other* three-HNC   friend-p-PM   also

cum-eŋ-no,   *naleŋ   oli-ka   cahuca-pali begale   nem   duŋ-ŋaŋ*
hold-pAS-3→3/PT   present four-HNC   man-p   *other*   house   within-inside

hok-eŋ-du.
be-pAS-NPT

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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   ṭhoṇe   ṭhoṇi   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-3SCOND 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-3SCOND wife unirrigated.field-LOC daughter house-GEN all

jet loŋ-Ø-u-thyo,   ca jet ṭisen-si-sa   ya-Ø-thyo.   5   ka
work do-sAS-3P-3SCOND son work teach-REF-INF go-sAS-3SCOND   this

uniŋ jet lony-eŋ-thyo. 6   di uni ca-kăi bore   loŋ-sa
like work do-pAS-3SCOND   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

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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   baṭhe   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   săi-Ø-du   mi   hok-Ø-thyo,   libi*
    daughter.in.law   also   know-sAS-NPT   person   be-sAS-3SCOND   after

wari   woi   begale   ṭhăi   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-kăi   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   ṭhăi-te   hen-Ø-u-no.
father.in.law-ERG   with   with   work   do-INF   place-LOC   take-sAS-3P-3→3/PT

13 *nyoṇi   woi   wari-kăi   jet   loŋ-sa   ṭhăi-te   ya-kăi-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-kăi
do-sAS-3P-NPT   see-TPP-PCL   father   mother-ERG   also   daughter.in.law-PM

apraca   lony-eŋ-du   ni-to-le,   camăi-kăi   rage   let-Ø-an.
good   do-pAS-NPT   see-TPP-PCL   daughter-PM   anger   appear-sAS-3S/PT

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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 *nyoṇi   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

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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

thaŋun'   ŋah-Ø-u-no.   23   *ṭaye   ami-Ø-du   ṭhăi-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   *ṭaye   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   *băsinṭe   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   ṭaŋ-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

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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,   ḍamari   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   ḍamari-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,   tyaŋ 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 naleŋ   to woi wagal   uniŋ
kill-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT   present that also henhouse like

ṭhăi-te   hok-le hok-Ø-du.
place-LOC be-PCL be-sAS-NPT

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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　ṭhem-Ø-du　　uniŋ,　bampre
be.bent-REF-sAS-NPT　　that-GEN　heart　break-sAS-NPT　like　　rib

pheṭek-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

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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-gwiy-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   gwiy-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,   găi-găi   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-kăi
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-kăi   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-kăi hara chya se-Ø-du,   hara chya ma-se?
day-GEN   child-PM what salt taste-sAS-NPT   what salt   NEG-taste

17   *'găi-go   ama   hara-kăi kerep-Ø-du?'   ŋa-to-le,   to-kăi   hara?*
     I-GEN   mother   what-PM   cry-sAS-NPT   say-TPP-PCL   that-PM   what

18   *to-be   isa-ye   karăi-Ø-du,   ama-ko   cyocyo cya-Ø-du,   kiṇi*
     that-TOP food-INS   shout-sAS-NPT   mother-GEN   breast eat-sAS-NPT shit

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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*   *aŋkhe-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*   *ŋa-to-le,*   *to*   *woi*   *jekha* *tha-ŋa* *libi,*
elder.brother die-sAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL that also big   be-CNS   after

thaha   *sǎi-Ø-du*   *ra?* 20   *nan* *habi-ko*   *wakhe*
knowledge   know-sAS-NPT   or   now   before-GEN   word

ra-Ø-du,   *'gǎ-ye* *ṇe-sa*   *woi* *tunyaŋ*
come.from.level-sAS-NPT   I-ERG   beat-INF   also   in.that.manner

ma-ja-Ø-thyo.'   21   *naleŋ*   *oste-kǎi* *ari*   *tha-Ø-du,*   *ṇeh-u-n-du*
NEG-okay-sAS-3SCOND   present   self-PM   fear   be-sAS-NPT   beat-3P-1s→3-NPT

beryaŋ *'gǎi-gǎi* *ma-ṇe-ŋa,*   *gǎi* *si-ŋa-n,* *nan-yiŋ*   *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-loŋ,* *nem-te*   *hok-ŋa-du.'*
NEG-steal   who-GEN   also   what   also   NEG-do   house-LOC   be-1s-NPT

22   *'humi*   *yoh-u-n-du,*   *nany-e*   *ŋah-u-na-du*   *jet*
     younger.sister   look.at-3P-1s→3-NPT   you-ERG   say-3P-2s-NPT   work

loŋ-u-n-du.'   23   *ka*   *uniŋ*   *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* *loŋ-sa?* *habi-ko*   *rage*   *let-ta-ŋa-le,*
     now   what   do-INF   before-GEN   anger   appear-IPP-1s-PCL

sat-u-n-uŋ,   *nan* *tap-Ø-an.'*   25   *libi*   *wagal*   *uniŋ*
kill-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT   now   be.finish-sAS-3S/PT   after   henhouse   like

nem-ko   *khaṇou* *ṭaŋ-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

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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-kăi   ŋay-eŋ-du   'kunyaŋ, hara-kăi 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 găi-go ca-ye*
    that-ERG say-sAS-3P-NPT   before before also I-GEN son-ERG

gwiy-Ø-u-thyo,   gă-ye hani   ŋah-u-n-uŋ,   to
steal-sAS-3P-3SCOND   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, gă-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-kăi   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

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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.'

jyouh-u-n-uŋ.'   36   *'gă-ye   huca   nik-ŋa*   *libi,   cya-sa-kăi   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   *'gă-ye   guru-kăi   apa-kăi*
clarified.butter   put-3P-1s→3-3SCOND   I-ERG   shaman-PM   father-PM

urou-le   nah-u-n-thyo,   libi   ca   dese-yiŋ   kyel-Ø-an.'
call-PCL   put-3P-1s→3-3SCOND   after   son   village-ABL   come-sAS-3S/PT

38   *'gă-ye   ca-kăi   '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-kăi*
NEG-speak-sAS-3S/PT   then   after   arise-IPP-1s-PCL   that-PM

ṇeh-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

ṇeh-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,   'găi-găi   ma-ṇe-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   warăiy-Ø-an,*
face-LOC   blood   be-sAS-3SCOND   after   that-GEN   body   shake-sAS-3S/PT

to-ko   kapu-yiŋ   coi   let-le   hok-Ø-thyo.'   43   *'konṭe-ko*
that-GEN   head-ABL   blood   appear-PCL   be-sAS-3SCOND   leg-GEN

pokolek-te-ko   sebi   khit-le   hok-Ø-thyo.'   44   *'libi   ugo*
knee-LOC-GEN   skin   peel.off-PCL   be-sAS-3SCOND   after   mouth

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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.'

ṭaŋ-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

ḍuŋkuṭi-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,   *găi-găi* *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* *ṭhăi-te*   *siy-Ø-an.*
henhouse like   place-LOC die-sAS-3S/PT

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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:

baiśākh	April-May
jeṭh	May-June
asār	June-July
sāun	July-August
bhadau	August-September
asoj	September-October
kārtik	October-November
maṅsir	November-December
pūs	December-January
māgh	January-February
phāgun	February-March
cait	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]
ălămtha   adv., far, distant. Nep. *ṭāḍhā* (D) [alamtha = S]
ăsălăŋgi thasa   see **asalaŋgi thasa**

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a

abek   n., flank of the chest, where one carries a baby. (D)
abeʔesa   vt., to carry a child on one's back. (S)
abu   n., I adult penis. Nep. *lāḍo, liṅgā* (S) [tuturi = D]
abu   n., II penis. Nep. *lāḍo, liṅgā* (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) [yugulaʔasa = S]
acha   n., smoke from a fire. Nep. *dhūvã* (S) [asku = D]
adăi   see **adhăi**
adi   interj., oh, I see. Nep. *e* (S) [ãdăi = 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. *kãkro*

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) [aghaʔ = S]

agorsisa see **aghorsisa**

agroksa see **aghroksa**

agyăusa 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; *găi-go baŋkal agyo-Ø-du* (I-GEN stomach rumble-sAS-NPT) my stomach is rumbling. Nep. *(peṭ) karāunu*

agyosa <aghyosa ᷱ agyăusa ᷱ aghyăusa> vt., **II** to call or cry (for help or assistance); *lak-yiŋ coi let-Ø-du, huca-ye ama-kăi 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*

aghaʔ n., house crow, *Corvus splendens*; raven. ?<Nep. *kāg* (S) [agak = D]

aghorsa <ahorsa> vt., to dig, scratch, scratch with nails; *gare-ŋaŋ 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 makăi 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)

aghyăusa 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*

ahe cyasa   vi., to gobble, stuff one's face, eat greedily, eat a great deal; *ahe 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); *gă-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; *găi kiṇi 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-lāgdo*; Nep. *ghin lāgdo* (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 roṭī* 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 akyaŋmi 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*

akloŋ n., grasshopper, locust. Nep. *phaṭeṅgro, salah* (D) [akho ∽ areʔ = S]

akrak n., inedible toad or frog. Nep. *bhyāguto* (D) [akraʔ = S]

akraʔ 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. *bãko* (D)

akhaca see **akhassa**

akhas <akhat> n., vomit, sick, puke. Nep. *bāntā, chāt* (D)

akhassa <akhaca> vi., to vomit, throw up; *cici cya-ta-ŋa-le akhas-ŋa-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) [akloŋ = 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. *sãghu* (D) [alaʔ = S]

alaloṇoŋ 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. *ṭāḍhā* (S) [ălămtha = D]

alaŋga   adj., long. Nep. *lāmco, lāmo* (S) [ălămga ∽ toiling = D]

alaŋga noŋsa   vt., to stretch (out), expand. Nep. *tankāunu* (S) [ălămga loŋsa = D]

alaʔ   n., small wooden or bamboo foot bridge. Nep. *sãghu* (S) [alak = D]

alemsa   vi., to have a sour or coppery taste; *miryaŋ-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 beryaŋ to-ye wakhe loŋ-Ø-u-no, almaŋ-Ø-u-no thaŋun* (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. *lāligurãs* (D) [paṭareŋ = S]

altum   n., calf of the leg. Nep. *pĩḍulā* (S)

ama   n., mother, elder sister's husband's mother, old woman. ?<Nep. *āmā*

amacyaʔudu mi   n., beggar (lit. beg-eat-sAS-NPT person). Nep. *māgne, bhīkh* (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, bhīkh* (D) [amacyaʔudu mi = S]

amatsa   vt., to beg. Nep. *māgnu* (D) [amaʔsa = 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 ḍeksa = 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, baũḍāī* (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, baũḍāī* (D) [amo = S]

amum   n., edible mushroom. Nep. *cyāu* (D) [amom = S]

ancame   n., plant shoots. Nep. *ṭusā* (S) [ṭhosa I = D]

aneksa   <aṇeksa> vt., to fry, dry roast. Nep. *bhuṭnu* (D) [aryosa = S]

anthu   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; *găi 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. *gījo, gījā* (D)

aŋkalak   n., brown-green coloured lizard. Nep. *chepāro* (D) [kaŋkalaʔ = S]

aŋkhe   n., lap. Nep. *kākh, palēṭī* (D) [aŋkhyaŋ = 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. *jāṅ, jã̄g* (D)

aŋkhoreŋ   n., hollow of the knee, *fossa poplitea*. (S) [goŋgoresasa = D]

aŋkhyaŋ   n., lap. Nep. *kākh* (S) [aŋkhe = D]

aṇeksa   see **aneksa**

aɳeŋ 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*

aɳeŋ akyaŋmi n., a male Thangmi clan name attested in the village of Suspā.

aɳeŋsek n., kidney. Nep. *mirgaulā* (D) [aɳiŋse = S]

aɳiŋkuɳǎi n., a species of worm-like insect found around cow dung, maggot. Nep. *khumle kirā* (D)

aɳiŋse n., kidney. Nep. *mirgaulā* (S) [aɳeŋsek = D]

apa n., father, sister's husband's father, old man. Nep. *buvā*

apa omla n., thumb. <Nep. *buḍhi aūlā* (D) [papalaʔ = 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, haluṅ, pātalo* (D) [hǎluŋca = 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) [akloŋ = 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. *ḍarāunu, 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. *okharbhoṭ*). 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 ṭikā* 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. *mr̥ga*
muso) (D). ?<Nep. *mr̥ga*

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, ṭhekī* (D) [asa ṭeleʔe = S]

arou n., handspindle. Nep. *katuvā*

arṭiksa vi., to cry, screech, shout or scream loudly; *gǎi ṭiṭiŋ-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 ṭeleʔe 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. *ṭhekī* (S) [arkun = D]

asaksa vi., I to itch after being bitten or stung by an insect; *konṭe-te ṭiku-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; *phaŋgaṇeny-e gǎi-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 <ăsălăŋgi thasa> vi., to suffocate; *păiri 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) [asariʔ = 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. *jhingā* (D) [asariʔ = S]

asariʔ n., I fly. Nep. *jhingā* (S) [asareŋ = D]

asariʔ n., II taste. Nep. *svād* (S) [asare = D]

asasyunduri n., a part of the Thangmi wedding ritual, after the *senewa*. (D)

asaʔasa vi., I to itch. Nep. *cilāunu* (S) [asaksa = D]

asaʔasa 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. bephuŋ]

asir n., Himalayan swiflet, *Collocalia brevirostris*. Nep. *gaūthalī* (D)

asku n., smoke from a fire. Nep. *dhūvã* (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 min-ŋa libi asot-ko măi-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]

aspăisa vt., to throw something violently, smash, beat, thresh, knock down, cause to fall, trip up, subdue, beat (especially clothes when washing); *miryaŋ hu-ye soŋ-te naŋa aspăiy-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) [aspyăisa = S]

aspyăisa vt., to throw something violently, smash, beat, thresh. Nep. *pachārnu* (S) [aspăisa = 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, kalcaũḍe* (D)

aṭoksa vt., to shake, shake out; *ṭaye bu-si-sa miŋ aṭok-ko mǎi-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) [aṭoʔsa ~
    hattharsa = S]

aṭoʔsa 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)

aṭuʔsa 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* (< *awaʔdu* 'bitter'). Nep. *surtī*
    (S) [bajareŋ = D]

awadu calaʔ n., bitter air yam, *Dioscorea bulbifera*. Calque from Nep. *tite gīṭṭhā*
    (S) [awakdu calak = D]

awagdu see **awakdu**

awakdu <awagdu> adj., bitter. Nep. *tīto* (D) [awaʔdu = 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 *maṅsir*, can also be boiled and eaten. Calque
    from Nep. *tite gīṭṭhā* (D) [awadu calaʔ = S]

awaʔdu adj., bitter. Nep. *tīto* (S) [awakdu = D]

aye see **ahe**

ayehui <ayenǎi> adv., very (emphatic). Nep. *dherai nai*

ayenǎi see **ayehui**

ayu n., the Himalayan yellow-throated marten, *Martes flavigula*. Nep. *malsãpro*
    (D) [ayuca = S]

ayuca n., the Himalayan yellow-throated marten, *Martes flavigula*. Nep. *malsãpro*
    (S) [ayu = D]

ayujyaŋlaŋ n., [ritual language] soya bean and rice when roasted for the dead,
    Glycine max. Nep. *bhaṭamās* (D)

ayut n., pus. Nep. *pīp* (S) [ǎi = 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]

ãdăi   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) [ŋasa = D]

ău

ău   n.,   [ritual language] mango, *Mangifera sylvatica, Mangifera indica*. The fruit is
consumed and the wood is used as timber. ?<Nep. *ãp* (D)

ăulya   n.,   hand-crafted wooden spoon used to stir millet paste. Nep. *dābilo* (D) [cf.
cyaṭane]

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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)
[ruŋ 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 *meluŋpaŋ* discussed below. Nep. *amriso, amliso* (D) [barma = S]

bărmi   n., shaman's assistant. Nep. *kartā* (D)

băsinṭe   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 *aṅgerī* 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. *kãcopāt, 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) [băuṇi = 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. *karaṅ*

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; *gǎi-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. *mīt lagāunu* (D)

banali n., ritual bond friend (female), blood sister. Nep. *mītinī* (D)

bandalek see **baldane**

baŋgal n., belly, stomach, womb. Nep. *peṭ* (S) [baŋkal = D]

baŋgal cabusa vt., to be pregnant (lit. stomach carry-INF). Calque from Nep. *peṭ*
   boknu (S) [baŋkal cabusa = D]

baŋkal n., belly, stomach, womb. Nep. *peṭ* (D) [baŋgal = S]

baŋkal cabusa vt., to be pregnant (lit. stomach carry-INF); *ahe thah-Ø-an, gǎi-go*
   uma-ye baŋkal 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) [baŋgal cabusa = S]

baṇi n., cooking pot. <Nep. *bhãḍo*

baraŋ n., platform of boards or bamboo, shed, stall. Nep. *ṭãḍ, kaṭero* (D)

barma n., bouquet grass, *Thysanolaena agrestis*, widely used for making brooms
   and sweeps. Nep. *amriso, amliso* (S) [bǎrma = D]

baṭi n., cat. ?<Newar. Nep. *birālo* (D) [gurinca = S]

baṭhe adv., tomorrow. Nep. *bholi* (D) [bhaĩse = S]

băuṇi n., Brahmin, Chetrī. <Nep. *bāhun* (S) [bamṇi = D]

baʔace n., morning. Nep. *bihān* (S) [bǎsinṭe = D]

baʔasa n., lungi-like cloth worn by women. Nep. *phariyā* (S) [paṭasi = D]

begale adj., another, other. <Nep. *beglo* (D) [beglǎi = S]

beglăi   adj., another, other. <Nep. *beglo* (S) [begale = D]

beka   n., thread. Nep. *dhāgo* (D)

bena   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)

bephuŋ   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]

beryaŋ   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]

biliŋ   adj., wrong side, wrong way up, back to front. Nep. *ulṭo* (D) [thiʔbliŋ = S]

biliŋ thibliŋ maṇiŋ   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)

biliŋsa <bliŋsa> vt., to reverse, overturn, turn upside down or inside out; *uni-te miŋ gaŋ-Ø-an, naleŋ biliŋ-ko măi-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. *palṭāunu*

bini   n., sister's daughter, husband's sister's daughter, niece. ?<Nep. *bhānjī* (S) [băini = 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'sister'son's wife. ?<Nep. *bhānjī buhārī* (S) [wari = D]

bisa   vi., to enter, go inside, pass through; *miryaŋ gwi ni-ko nem duŋ-ŋaŋ 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]

bitya kaŋkalaʔ   n., a species of gecko that lives inside houses (lit. wall gecko) <Nep. *bhittā*. Nep. *māusulī* (S) [bhitte aŋkalak = D]

bliŋsa   see **biliŋsa**

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. *makǎi-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 mǎi-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-ŋa-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 course (describing materials such as wood). Nep. *khasro* (D)

bosa   vi.,   to grow (of crops), sprout; *apa-ko raŋ-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*

bosiŋ   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) [busiŋ = 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) [ḍoṇṭhya = D]

botton kere   n.,   caterpillar. Nep. *jhusil-kīrā* (S)

bothorok   adj.,   rough or course (of foodstuffs). Nep. *khasro, phuko* (D)

boṭhasa   <boṭhaʔasa>   vt.,   to serve food, ladle rice, deal out, distribute; *gǎi-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, bā̃ḍnu*

boṭhaʔasa   see **boṭhasa**

boʔ 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. *paīyũ* (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) [ameʔ = S]

buṇeŋṭho n., big toe or thumb. ?<Nep. *buḍhī aũṭho, buḍhī aũlā* (D) [papalǎi = S]

burup n., a wing of a bird. Nep. *pakheṭā* (S) [anṭhu = D]

busa vt., to cover, cover up, put a lid on a pot; *gǎi-go ama-ye isa loŋ-Ø-u-du
beryaŋ baṇi 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) [buʔusa = S]

busikasi <kasibusi> n., ashes, dust, dirt, refuse. Nep. *dhūlo, phohor, mailo,
kasiṅgar, 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. *phuṅlo, molā* (D)

buʔusa   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.

byeŋga   n.,   a species of toad. Nep. *peṅpaṭṭā* (S)

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bh

bhămbăla   n.,   a species of tree. The leaves are collected as fodder for domesticated
animals. Nep. *culetro* (D) [cyokre = S]

bhaĩse   adv.,   tomorrow. Nep. *bholi* (S) [baṭhe = D]

bhere   n.,   the wild cherry tree, *Prunus puddum*. Nep. *paĩyū* (S) [brusiŋ = D]

bhetere   see **bheterek**

bheterek   <bhetere>   n.,   bamboo mat. Nep. *citro* (D) [betre = S]

bhimbira   n.,   termite. Nep. *dhamiro* (S) [domoŋca = D]

bhitte aŋkalak   n.,   a species of gecko that lives inside houses (lit. wall gecko)
<Nep. *bhittā*. Nep. *māusulī* (D) [bitya kaŋkalaʔ = S]

bhoṇyaʔ   n.,   potato, *Solanum tuberosum*. Nep. *ālu* (S) [kwăi = D]

bhuŋla   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)

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c

călăuni   n.,   moon. Nep. *jūn* (D) [calaʔuni = S]

căŋge   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 been beaten and fried in clarified butter and fed to pregnant
women to lessen pregnancy pains. Nep. *laṭṭhe sāg* (D) [căiŋgya = S]

cărcăre see **carcare**

cărŋa <carŋa> 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*

cacha n., I son's son, daughter's son. Nep. *nāti* (D)

cacha n., II son's son, son's daughter, daughter's son, daughter's daughter, i.e.
        grandchild of either gender. Nep. *nāti, nātinī* (S)

cacha 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]

cacha 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) [cacha 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)
        [căŋge = 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 laʔ n., right hand. Nep. *dāyā̃, dāhīne, khāne hāt* (S) [cf. cyasa laʔ,
        cakhur lak = D]

cakhur lak n., right hand. Nep. *dāyā̃, dāhīne, khāne hāt* (D) [cakur laʔ ~
        cyasa laʔ = 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. *gīṭṭhā* (D) [calaʔ = S]

calaʔ   n.,   air potato, *Dioscorea bulbifera*. Nep. *gīṭṭhā* (S) [calak = D]

calaʔuni   n.,   moon. Nep. *jūn* (S) [călăuni = 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. *bharyāṅ*

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. naŋăi]

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]

camăi   n.,   ‖ daughter, brother's daughter, husband's brother's daughter, wife's sister's daughter. Nep. *chorī* (D)

camăi   n.,   ‖ daughter, brother's daughter, husband's brother's daughter, wife's brother's daughter, wife's sister's daughter. Nep. *chorī* (S)

camăi 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 juvāī* (D) [camăi jyamari = S]

camăi 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 juvāī* (S) [camăi 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. liŋliŋ, cameʔ ∽ rapacameʔ = S]

cameʔ   n., tufted bamboo, *Dendrocalamus hamiltoni*. Nep. *coyā bãs* (S) [cf. liŋliŋ,
    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)

caŋ   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 *caŋ*. 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)

carŋa   see **cărŋa**

caroksa   vt., to spin thread; *ṭhoṇi ama-ye miŋ tak-sa-kăi naŋăi 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. *śirīṣ*

catok n., old-fashioned torch made of fine pieces of highly-flammable wood chippings. Nep. *rãko* (D)

catoksa vt., **I** to go for a walk or wander with a torch, to shine a light in a dark place; *yamiryaŋ ni-ko dese-te ban-pali catok-eŋ-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)

cattaʔsa vi., to be in pain. Nep. *dukhnu* (S) [kalăisa = D]

cawasa <cawatsa> vi., to walk, wander, roam, travel; *găi-go nem ra-let-sa-kăi ahe cawa-ko măi-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. *hĩḍnu*

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, ḍhālne kaṭus* (D) [ceʔ = S]

ceboʔosa see **ciboʔosa**

ceksa vt., to sting, bite. Nep. *cilnu, ṭoknu* (D) [ceʔesa = S]

cekhetcha vt., to show. Nep. *dekhāunu* (S) [cf. uchyiʔisa, 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]

ceŋsa vt., **I** to load, thrust into, force into; *bubu seŋ-ko demca ceŋ-to-le, nem dăi 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, khãdnu*

ceŋsa vt., **II** to pile, heap up, build a wall, put things on top of one another. Nep. *khapṭyāunu, cāṅ pārnu* (D)

cephoʔosa vt., to libate, splash somebody or something, sprinkle with water, make something wet. Nep. *charkāunu, chyāpnu* (S) [latsa = D]

cereŋ-cereŋ adj., glaring, scorching; *yaŋ cereŋ-cereŋ uni tow-Ø-an* (today scorching sun shine-sAS-3S/PT) today the sun is really scorching. Nep. *ṭanṭalāpur, carko* (D)

cerepeṭek n., white heather, *Gaultheria fragrantissima*. Nep. *macheno* (D) [cf. meluŋ]

cesreʔsa 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: elebethere]

ceʔ n., the Nepal or Indian chestnut tree, *Castanopsis hystrix, Castanopsis indica*. Nep. *kaṭus, ḍhālne kaṭus* (S) [ce = D]

ceʔesa vt., to sting, bite. Nep. *cilnu, ṭoknu* (S) [ceksa = D]

cibisa vt., to cause to enter, make enter, thrust in; *hu aŋal-Ø-an, gă-ye camăica-ko nem duŋ-ŋaŋ ci-bih-u-n-uŋ* (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)

ciboʔosa <ceboʔosa> vt., to upset, pour out, spill, overthrow. Nep. *ghoptyāunu* (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) [cicamiʔsa = S]

cicamiʔsa 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) [cicariʔsa = S]

cicariʔsa vt., to frighten. Nep. *tarsāunu* (S) [cicarisa = D]

cicawatcha   vt., to walk somebody or something, drive cattle. Nep. *hĩḍāunu* (S)
        [cicawatsa = D]

cicawatsa   vt., to walk somebody or something, drive cattle; *gă-ye sya wa-sa-kăi 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. *hĩḍāunu* (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*

cicikoṇ   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)

ciciʔsa   vt., to fasten, stick, join. Nep. *ṭãsnu* (S)

cicumsa   vt., to be captured, be made captive; *gwi-kăi 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; *găi-go uma-ye to mi-kăi 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. ciṭhemsa = D]

cidoroksa   <cidroksa>   vt., to cause to run, to make gallop; *to-ye warak-te ṭuṇi ci-
        ja-sa-kăi 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; *gă-ye bubu-kăi ban nama ci-
        doh-u-n-uŋ* (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; *camăi-ye ama-kăi 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, jagerna garnu (S)

ciguisa   see **cigwisa**

cigwisa <ciguisa> vt., to cause to steal; *to-ye hu-kăi 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. *khasālnu* (S) [cirossa = D]

cijasa vt., I to get someone else to graze an animal; *gă-ye ban-kăi 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-kăi 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 ṭhem-to-le paŋku 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)

cijyaŋsa vi., to speak, talk; *to thaŋmi kham ma-cijyaŋ* (that Thangmi language NEG-speak) he doesn't speak Thangmi. Nep. *bolnu* (D) [kacyaʔsa = S]

cikăisa vt., to cause to be taken out, bring out, take out; *găi-go konṭe-ko puṭu ucyapa-kăi apa-ye ci-kăih-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)

cikalăisa vt., to cause to hurt, cause pain, cause distress; *ban-kăi rage let-Ø-an, tyaŋ găi-găi ci-kalăi-Ø-ŋa-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 ṭhoṇi ama-kăi 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 loṇe-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) [cekhetcha ∽ uchyiʔsa = 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) [celetcha = 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, ãkhā 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. ciŋyaʔsa = 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, taṅgrāunu, 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; *ṭhoṇi-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. *suṅghāunu* (D)

cinasǎisa   vt., to cause to be heard, recite, relate, repeat; *ni-ko wakhe to-kǎi ci-nasǎi-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. ṭhenṭhelek, cyenchyeleʔ = S]

cinem   n., iron. Nep. *phalām*

cinem ṇesa   vt., to forge iron. Nep. *phalām kuṭnu* (D) [cinem ṇeʔesa = S]

cinem ṇeʔesa   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 dhāraṇ garnu, garba dhāraṇ 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   <cĩyã ⁓ cĩŋa>   n., nose. Nep. *nāk*

ciŋya doroŋ   n., nostril. Nep. *nāk-ko pvāl, nāthri* (D) [ciŋyako doroŋ = S]

ciŋyako doroŋ   n., nostril. Nep. *nāk-ko pvāl, nāthri* (S) [ciŋya doroŋ = 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) [ciŋyaʔsa = S]

ciŋyaʔsa   vt., to rot away, waste away (not of food). Nep. *makāunu, kuhāunu* (S) [cf. morsa, cimorsa ⁓ ciŋyasa = D]

ciŋesa   vt., to cause to be severely beaten, make someone thrash something or someone; *jekha mi-ye jet loŋ-sa mi-kǎi saŋa ci-ŋeh-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; *gă-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, gă-ye hu-kăi 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; *gă-ye hu-kăi huca-kăi 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-lāī bhijāuna lagāunu* (D) [cf. cipho?osa = S]

ciphosisa   vr., to want or ask to be made wet; *găi 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) [cipho?osisa = S]

cipho?osa   vt., to make someone or something wet. Nep. *aru-lāī 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 ṇiŋ 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. *khasālnu* (D) [cihatcha = S]

cirotsa   see **cirossa**

cirumsa vt., to cause to bend, cause to wrinkle, cause to shrink; *gă-ye to-kăi miŋ 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; *miryaŋ-ko isa ci-sa ma-ja* (yesterday-GEN food throw.away-INF NEG-okay) yesterday's food shouldn't be thrown away. Nep. *phālnu* (D) [cf. warsa]

cisăisa vt., to cause to know, wake up from sleep; *ubo mi-ko kham to-kăi ci-săiy-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 măi-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. *uṭhāunu, byujhāunu* (D) [cesreʔsa = S]

cisesa vt., to cause to taste, cause to be tasted, give to taste; *ṭakadu toŋ tete-ye găi-găi 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-kăi ci-suti-ko măi-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; *găi 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. *khuśi 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; *gă-ye kari karih-u-n-du, nany-e begale-kăi 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-kăi paŋku ahe ahe ci-ta-ko măi-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. *umālnu* (D)

citasa vt., II to cause to defaecate, make shit; *huca-pali-kăi ălămtha kiṇi 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. *pakhālna 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; *naŋ ya-sa ma-thaŋ, begale ban-kăi 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; *saŋa ma-mel-Ø-u-no thaŋun, 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; *gă-ye sya-kăi kapu ci-yilek-u-n-uŋ* (I-ERG cow-PM head CAUS-lick-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT) I made the cow lick my head. Nep. *caṭāunu* (D)

cĭŋa   see **ciŋya**

cĭyã   see **ciŋya**

cĭyã doroŋ   see **ciŋya doroŋ**

coi <căi> n., blood. Nep. *ragat*

cukri   n., toe. Nep. *khuṭṭā-ko aūlā* (D) [cf. cikuri = S]

cuksa   vt., to insert, pour into; *apa-ko ugo-te usare cuk-ko măi-Ø-du* (father-GEN mouth-LOC medicine insert-ADH must-sAS-NPT) medicine must be poured into father's mouth. Nep. *hālnu* (D) [cf. thamsa]

cuksisa   vr., to come to a complete stop and then fall when running; *to dorok-ca ya-Ø-thyo, soŋ-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. *hāmphālnu* (D) [cf. warsisa = S]

culi   n., goat. Nep. *bākhro, bākhrī* (S) [ṭuṇi = D]

cumsa   vt., to seize, hold, grab, catch, grasp, clasp; *uma-ye găi-go lak cum-Ø-ŋa-n* (wife-ERG I-GEN arm hold-sAS-1s-PT) my wife held on to my hand. Nep. *samātnu, samāunu* [cf. telsa = D]

cunăisa   vt., to chew; *nar-nar cici cunăi-ko măi-Ø-du* (stringy meat chew-ADH must-sAS-NPT) stringy meat must be chewed. Nep. *capāunu*

cupsa   vt., to kiss; *găi uma-kăi 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 miŋ 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) [curuʔsa = S]

curuʔsa   vt., to sew, stitch. Nep. *siunu* (S) [curuksa = D]

curuʔudu   n., tailor, tailor's caste (lit. sew-sAS-NPT). Nep. *damāī* (S) [mutudu = D]

cyakadu   adj., sweet, sugary. Nep. *guliyo* (S) [ṭakadu = D]

cyakadu thasa   vi., to be sweet. Nep. *guliyo hunu* (S) [ṭakasa = 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. *ṭūnā ṭuni* (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)

cyapriŋ   n., a bamboo drying rack suspended above the fireplace, located in the
        cyariŋ area. Nep. *saran* (D) [cf. miliŋ = D]

cyariŋ   n., the whole area above the fireplace in which the *cyapriŋ* is situated. Nep.
        saran (D)

cyasa   vi. and vt., to eat. Nep. *khānu*

cyasa laʔ   n., right hand. Nep. *dāyã̃, khāne hāt* (S) [cf. cakur laʔ, cakhur lak = D]

cyaṭane   n., hand-crafted wooden spoon used to stir millet paste. Nep. *dābilo* (D)
        [cf. ăulya]

cyaṭaŋmaraŋ   n., a species of thorny bush. (D)

cyaṭaŋsisa   vr., to warm oneself by the fire or in the sun; *baṭhe hara woi ma-loŋ,
        găi uni cyaṭaŋ-si-ŋa-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 <cyaʔe>   n., night. Nep. *rāti* (S) [ṭaye = D]

cyaʔareŋ   n., wooden drying rack suspended above the fireplace. Nep. *saran* (S)
        [miliŋ = D]

cyaʔe   see **cyaye**

cyenchyeleʔ   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]

cyeʔesa   vt., to tear (cloth or paper), lacerate. Nep. *cyātnu, cyātinu* (S) [ṭeksa = D]

cyiklaʔ   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 măine = D]

cyilasa   vi., to be cold. Nep. *jāḍo hunu* (S) [ṭilasa = D]

cyobo   adj., hybrid, cross-bred. Nep. *ṭhimāhā, ṭhimsī̃* (D)

cyocyo   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 ghãsephisṭo* (D)

cyokre   n., a species of tree. Nep. *culetro* (S) [bhămbăla = D]

cyolămpi   see **cyolampi**

cyolampi   <cyolămpi> 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 barbery, *Berberis asiatica*, *Berberis nepalensis*. This bush is primarily used for fencing on account of its sizeable thorns. In the month of *baiśākh*, 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 ăikuca-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. *tīkho*

cyucyum   n., **II** peak, summit, top of a tree. <Nep. *culī, cucuro, ṭuppo, ṭākurī*

cyucyum ṇiŋ   n., a large self-standing upright rock with a pointed top. <Nep. *cuccā bhaeko ḍhuṅgā* (D) [cyucyum poṭoŋ = S]

cyucyum poṭoŋ   n., a large self-standing upright rock with a pointed top. <Nep. *cuccā bhaeko ḍhuṅgā* (S) [cyucyum ṇiŋ = D]

cyucyumsa   vt., to sharpen to a point (bamboo, wood, pencil); *ăikuca-ye tokmaŋ 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 paŋku-te ṇiŋ 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. chyukluʔsa = S]

cyukluʔsisa   vr., to rinse (one's mouth). Nep. *pakhālnu, khokalnu* (S) [kulsa = D]

cyukri   n., toe. Nep. *khuṭṭā-ko aūlā* (D) [cyukuri = S]

cyuku   n., black ant. Nep. *kamilā* (S) [ṭiku = D]

cyukunare   n., back of the head. Nep. *ṭāuko pachāḍī* (S) [cyukuṇḍaṇi = D]

cyukuṇḍăṇḍi   see **cyukuṇḍaṇi**

cyukuṇḍaṇi   <cyukuṇḍăṇḍi> n., back of the head. Nep. *ṭāuko pachāḍī* (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]

cyukwăi   n., small crab. Nep. *gaṅgaṭo* (S) [kaŋkarek = D]

cyuṇumsa   vt., to immerse. Nep. *copālnu, pakhālnu* (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.
   ṭuppo, ṭākurī (D) [cf. cyucyum = S]

cyurkun   n., house sparrow, *Passer domesticus*. Nep. *bhaṅgero* (D) [koṭeŋ
   jyaŋgareŋ = 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 duŋ-ŋaŋ 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. *āṅ tānnu* (D)

chaŋ   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]

chemariŋ   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)

cherkeṭeʔ   n., small broom made from red Himalayan bamboo. Nep. *jhāḍū* (S)

chichidurdur   n., hate, dislike, disgust, contempt; *chichidurdur loŋ-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]

chiʔisa vt., to bind together. Nep. *gã̃snu* (S)

chok-chok adj., complete darkness, dead of night; *nyoṇi 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. *nispaṭṭa 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)

choncăi adv., quick, quickly. Nep. *chiṭo* (D)

choŋchoŋ warak n., an extremely high and steep cliff which causes vertigo or dizziness. Nep. *kahālī lāgdo bhir* (D)

choʔochoʔosa 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. *ṭhakṭhakāunu* (S)

choʔosa vt., to break. Nep. *bhã̃cnu* (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. *aũlā* (D)

chusisa vr., to decorate, make oneself up, put on makeup, make oneself beautiful, clothe and ornament oneself. Nep. *nakkal pārnu, siṅgārnu* (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. *juṭho* (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, ḍamari-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. *juṭho phālnu* (D)

chyare n., weeds, tufts of grass. Nep. *jhār* (S) [ṭhare = D]

chyasa vi., to be peeled off, scraped off, stripped off, shed skin. Nep. *tāchinu* (S) [khitsisa = D]

chyati n., waterfall. Nep. *jharanā* (S) [ṭhati = D]

chyaʔasa 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) [ṭhemsa = D]

chyoḍe see **chyoṇe**

chyoḍi see **chyoṇi**

chyokoisa vt., to sift, cull, remove impurities; *racya sui-ŋa libi, lembe-te chyokoi-ko măi-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]

chyoŋgaṇeŋ n., orphan. Nep. *ṭuhuro, ṭuhurī* (S)

chyoṇe <chyoḍe> n., old man. Nep. *buḍho* (S) [ṭhoṇe = D]

chyoṇe bajya n., great-grandfather. <Nep. *jijyu-bāje* (S) [ṭhoṇe bajya = D]

chyoṇi <chyoḍi> n., old woman. Nep. *buḍhī* (S) [ṭhoṇi = D]

chyoṇi 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. *buḍhī sāsu* (S) [ṭhoṇi aji = D]

chyoṇi bujyu n., great-grandmother. <Nep. *jijyu-bojyu* (S) [ṭhoṇi bojyăi = D]

chyoṇi 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. *buḍhī sasurā* (S) [ṭhoṇi chuku = D]

chyoro n., eggshell, fruit skin. Nep. *ṭhokrā, bokrā* (S) [roṭhok = D]

chyou n., grease, fat. Nep. *boso* (D) [cyou = S]

chyoʔosa vi., to live, survive. Nep. *bắcnu, 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)

chyukluʔsa vt., to stir. Nep. *gholnu* (S) [cf. cyukluksa = D]

chyulduŋŋăi 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-kăi sakpa-ye apraca nama chyu-ko măi-Ø-du* (thief-PM rope-INS good with tie-ADH must-sAS-NPT) the thief must be securely tied up with the rope. Nep. *bắdhnu, 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 bā̃dhnu*

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d

dălăk n., dust. Nep. *hilo* (D) [dyoloʔ = S]

dări 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 dăi adv., over there (medium distance). Nep. *para tira* (S) [dhate = D]

dabsa see **dapsa**

dăi adv., towards. Nep. *tira*

dăikasa vi., [ritual language] to emerge, originate, take birth; *nis-ka ṭhoṇe ṭhoṇi-yiŋ thaŋmi-pali dăikay-eŋ-an* (two-HNC old.man old.woman-ABL Thangmi-p originate-pAS-3S/PT) the Thangmi people orginated from a specific old couple. Nep. *utpatti, bikās hunu* (D)

dalkhareŋ n., epiphytic orchid. Nep. *sunākhari* (S) [dolgareŋ = D]

daŋ n., year. Nep. *varṣa*

daŋguri akyaŋmi n., a male Thangmi clan name attested in the village of Suspā.

daŋsa vt., to look for, search, seek; *laŋi tam-Ø-an, ni-ko hu daŋ-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 loŋ-sa mi-kăi ṭoke-te racya dap-to-le pi-ko mǎi-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*

daridaŋdaŋ n., frost. Nep. *tusāro* (S) [suti = D]

darjum n., [ritual language] a species of tree, *Oroxylum indicum*. Nep. *ṭoṭalā* (D)

dasa vt., to boil; *găi kwăi paŋku-te da-tuŋ-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. *khasro* (D) [rothoʔ ~ rejeʔ = S]

dese n., village. <Nep. *deś, gāū̃*

dese mi n., villager. <Nep. *deś, gāū̃le*

deusal n., matches. Nep. *salāī* (S)

dewa   n., god, spirit. <Nep. *deutā* (D)

dewa loŋsa   vt., to worship or make offerings (lit. god do-INF); *naka nem khem-ŋa libi, guru-ye dewa loŋ-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) [dil = 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 din* (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) [ekațe ~ dikău = S]

dikău   adv., alone (lit. one-HNC). Nep. *eklai* (S) [dikaca = D]

dil   num., one. Nep. *ek* (S) [di = D]

dilaŋ   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. *bãjho banāunu* (D)

disa   vt., to set down a load, take rest, take a breather; *tete-ye seŋ-ko demca dilaŋ-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 dilaŋ-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 lyuŋ   n., white flint stone. Nep. *dalsiṅ* (S) [syalu ṇiŋ = D]

dokmaŋ   n., Nepal pepper, prickly ash, *Zanthoxlum 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 *dokmaŋ* 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 *uireŋ* leaves, *dokmaŋ* 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. *ṭhuṅnu* (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 pujā* rituals, during which the flower is placed on top of a wheat flour offering. Nep. *sunākhari* (D) [dalkhareŋ = S]

domba n., tree. Nep. *rukh* (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 ṭaye 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. *pvāl*

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. *niṅro, niguro, niuro* (D) [phulu = S]

doʔmaŋ n., Nepal pepper, prickly ash, *Zanthoxlum 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 peṇe-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; *kǎlyaŋ 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; *kiṇi dunduni nam-Ø-du* (shit stinkingly smell-sAS-NPT) shit really stinks badly. Nep. *ṭhasṭhasi* (D)

dundup n., Nepal aromatic leaf garlic, *Allium hypsistum, Allium wallichii*. Nep. *jimbu* (S) [jumu = D]

duṇji adj., lean, thin, meagre, without fat. Nep. *dublo* (D) [ropeʔ = 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. *bhuĩcālo* (D) [dhuru = S]

dyaʔadu toŋ n., first beer from a batch, extra virgin beer. Nep. *jeṭhā jǎ̃ḍ* (S)

dyaʔasa vi., to mature, ripen, become fermented. Nep. *cipinu* (S) [ḍyaksa = D]

dyoloʔ n., dust. Nep. *hilo* (S) [dǎlǎk = D]

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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. *tyahā̃ 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. *caṭyāṅ* (D)

dhiri n., II vessel for holding milk or water. Nep. *ḍhuṅro* (D) [ḍhoŋgoroŋ = S]

dhiri thasa   vi., to thunder; *dhiri tha-Ø-ta-le huca-pali ariy-eŋ-an* (thunder be-sAS-IPP-PCL child-p be.afraid-pAS-3S/PT) on account of the thunder, the children were afraid. Nep. *catyāṅ parnu* (D) [kapeṭeŋsa = S]

dhotra   n., hook, hooked piece of wood. Nep. *aṅkuse* (D)

dhu dăi   adv., over there (greater distance). Nep. *uta tira*

dhumba   n., mist, fog. Nep. *kuhīro, bādal*

dhuru   n., earthquake. Nep. *bhuĩcālo* (S) [duru = D]

dhute   adv., over there (far away and level). Nep. *tyahã para*

ḍ

ḍăṇḍi   n., peak, hill. <Nep. *ḍā̃ḍā, culī*

ḍăṇḍi koṭesa   vt., to cross a ridge; *tete-ko nem-te hen-sa-kăi hu-ye ḍăṇḍi 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. *ḍā̃ḍā kāṭnu*

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. *juvāĩ, jvāi* (D) [jyamari = S]

ḍamarni   n., daughter's husband's sister, younger sister's husband's sister. (D)

ḍaŋaneŋ   n., bird. Nep. *carā* (D) [jyaŋgaŋeŋ = S]

ḍaŋkhăi   adv., walking with one's legs splayed, walking by taking unusually large steps. (D)

ḍaŋkharaŋsisa   vr., to sit or walk with one's legs pulled apart, to put one's legs out wide; *to mi-kăi lakpa-te gare tha-Ø-ta-le ḍaŋkharaŋ-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. *ṭã̄g phārnu* (D) [jyaŋgaraŋsisa = S]

ḍapusa   vt., to peek, peep, spy, observe secretely, scrutinize; *palam-e rage tha-Ø-ta-le khaṇou-yiŋ 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, naleŋ nindra ḍek-Ø-an* (child sleep-sAS-3sCOND 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]

ḍiŋ-ḍiŋ adj., red, orange, purple. Nep. *rāto* (D) [cf. keret, *jyiŋ-jyiŋ* = S]

ḍiŋ-ḍiŋ ileŋ 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 *ḍiŋ-ḍiŋ ileŋ* 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 aĩselu* (D)

ḍiŋ-ḍiŋ lapat n., a particular species of very large leech which lives on trees. Nep. *khari-jugā* (D)

ḍisa vt., to comb someone's hair; *gǎi 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-ŋa-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]

ḍokliŋ n., beater for striking the *ṭake* or shaman's drum. Nep. *phurke, gajo* (D) [koŋkolyaŋ = S]

ḍoŋḍoŋ n., the lower leaves or outer covering of a bamboo plant which fan out at the base. Nep. *bãs-ko khapaṭā* (D)

ḍoŋla n., leaf of the banana or plantain tree. Nep. *kerā-ko pāt* (S) [pakpak = D]

ḍoŋṭhya 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 akyaŋmi n., a male Thangmi clan name attested in the village of Suspā.

ḍuŋkuṭi n., storehouse for grain. Nep. *bhãḍār* (D)

ḍyaksa   vi., **I** to mature, become ripe, become fermented; *toŋ 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. *ṭhulo ḍoko* (D)

ḍholoŋ-ḍholoŋ   adj., being wide in circumference or diameter. Nep. *pharākilo*

ḍhoŋgoroŋ   n., vessel for holding milk or water. <Nep. *ḍhuṅro* (S) [dhiri = D]

ḍhopit   n., anus. Nep. *kaṇḍo* (D) [kyuʔuliŋ = S]

ḍhopit doroŋ   n., rectum, anal passage. Nep. *gudvār* (D) [kyuʔuliŋko doroŋ = S]

ḍhuŋgreisisa   vr., to have diarrhoea; *ṭhoṇe mi pecerek isa cya-Ø-ta-le ḍhuŋgrei-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. *ḍāmnu,
     ḍaḍnu, khaharinu* (D)

ekhesa   vi., to crow (of a rooster). Nep. *bāsnu* (S) [ikhesa = D]

elebethere   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; *cereŋ-cereŋ uni-ye găi em-ŋa-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 paŋku   n., spirit, distilled liquor. Nep. *raksi* (S) [ithedu paŋku = D]

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g

gărmi   n., sweat. <Nep. *garmi, pasinā* (S)

gărmi letcha   vi., to sweat. <Nep. *garmi niskinu, pasinā niskinu* (S)

găye   <gaye ∽ ge> pron., I (ERG). Nep. *maile*

găi   pron., I; *găi ṭhoṇe tha-ŋa-n* (I old.man be-1s-PT) I have become old. Nep. *ma*

gal   n., cage. Nep. *khor* (D)

gamra   n., molar, jaw. Nep. *baṅgāro* (D) [garamba = S]

gaŋkhal   n., henhouse. Nep. *khor* (S) [wagal = D]

gaŋsa   vi., to dry, to be dried. Nep. *suknu*

gaṇa   n., spherical earthenware jug, large mud jar. Nep. *ghyāmpo, gāgro*

gaṇaṇi   n., goitre. <Nep. *gā̃ḍ*

gaŋăusa   vi., to burp. Nep. *ḍakārnu* (S) [ghăṇeusa = 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]

garău   n., burp. Nep. *ḍakār* (S) [ghăṇeu = D]

gare   n., I rooster, cockrel. Nep. *bhāle*

gare   n., II wound, cut. Nep. *ghāu*

gaye   see **găye**

ge   see **găye**

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. *rukh-ko bokrā, māmri* (D) [gogoʔ = S]

gogoʔ   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 loŋ-sa-kăi saŋa-ko phase gonṭhe-ko măi-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 pārnu, ḍalyāunu* (D)

goŋgiŋ   n., a green-brown praying mantis. Nep. *lāmco phaṭeṅgro* (D) [ghoŋgi = S]

goŋgolyaŋ   adj., snaked, articulated in many placed. Nep. *bāṅgo* (D)

goŋgoresasa   n., hollow of the knee, *fossa poplitea*. (D) [aŋkhoreŋ = S]

goŋkhor   adv., crouching or sitting with all four limbs on the ground; *to mi goŋkhor hok-Ø-an* (that person sitting.on.haunches be-sAS-3S/PT) that guy sat on all fours. (D)

goŋkhorsisa   vr., to walk on four limbs like an animal (only used for humans); *toŋ tun-Ø-ta-le apa goŋkhor-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 hĩḍnu* (D)

gore   adj., round, spherical. Nep. *ḍalle, ḍallo* (S) [gonṭhe = D]

goresa   vi. and vt., to fall rolling, roll (as in a ball); *warak-yiŋ ṇiŋ gore-Ø-ta-le găi-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)

gothemuŋsa   n., [ritual language] a ritual conducted during a Thangmi wedding. Nep. *thāmīko biheko rit* (D)

goṭhe   n., pubic hair. Nep. *jãṭhā* (D) [gochye = S]

goṭhepaŋ   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) [raʔaducapaŋ = 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) [ghoŋgi = S]

gui   see **gwi**

guisa   see **gwisa**

gujiliʔ   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) [gujiliʔ = S]

gunusa   vt., mutter, hum. <Nep. *gungunāunu* (S) [satăusa = D]

guŋguŋ   n., [ritual language] stomach, belly, abdomen. Nep. *peṭ, bhũḍī* (D)

guṇuŋsa   vi., to thunder; *guṇuŋ-Ø-an* (thunder-sAS-3S/PT) it's thundering. Nep.
caṭyāṅ parnu (D) [ghuṇuŋsa = S]

gurinca   n., cat. Nep. *birālo* (S) [baṭi = D]

guru   n., shaman. <Nep. *guru, jhãkrī, dhāmī*

guṭhi mi   n., mourners at a funeral, those people who make up a funeral procession.
<Newar *guṭhi*. Nep. *malāmi*

gwaṇaṇiŋ   n., pregnant female (human or animal). Nep. *garbheni* (D)

gwi <gui>   n., thief, robber. Nep. *cor* (D) [khui ∽ khwi = S]

gwisa <guisa>   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 ∽ taʔasa = 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. *dhotī* (S)

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gh

ghăṇeu   n., burp. Nep. *ḍakār* (D) [garău = S]

ghăṇeusa   vt., to burp; *toŋ tun-Ø-ta-le ghăṇeu-sa ma-ja* (beer drink-sAS-IPP-PCL
burp-INF NEG-okay) having drunk beer, one shouldn't burp. Nep. *ḍakārnu* (D)
[gaṇăusa = S]

ghiritsa   vi. and vt., to scratch, peel off, tear off; to be scratched off, peeled off, torn
off; *ulam-te ṭiṭiŋ-ta-ŋa-le pokole ghirit-ŋa-n* (road-LOC fall-IPP-1s-PCL knee
scratch-1s-PT) falling on the road, I scratched my knee. Nep. *tachārnu,
tachārinu* (D)

ghoŋgi   n., praying mantis. Nep. *lāmco phaṭeṅgro* (S) [goŋgiŋ ∽ gucikma = D]

ghoŋloŋ-ghoŋloŋ <ghoŋŋoŋ>   adj., loosely fitting, wide, baggy. Nep. *khukulo* [cf.
hoŋloŋ-hoŋloŋ]

ghoŋŋoŋ   see **ghoŋloŋ-ghoŋloŋ**

ghorghorsa   vi., to grunt (of a pig), roar (of a tiger), snore; *yaŋ 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) [ghroʔosa ∽
ghruʔusa = S]

ghroʔosa   vi., to grunt (of a pig), snore. Nep. *ḍukranu, ghurnu* (S) [ghorghorsa = D]

ghruʔusa   vi., to roar (of a tiger). Nep. *bāgh karāunu* (S) [ghorghorsa = D]

ghuṇuŋsa   vi., to thunder; *ghuṇuŋ-Ø-an* (thunder-sAS-3S/PT) it's thundering. Nep. *caṭyāṅ parnu* (S) [guṇuŋsa = D]

ghyoksa   vi., to bark (of a dog); *ṭaye kucu ghyok-Ø-ta-le ni-kăi 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) [ghyoʔsa = S]

ghyoʔosa   vi., to bark (of a dog). Nep. *bhuknu* (S) [ghyoksa = D]

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h

hăkuṇap <kiji ileŋ> 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 aĩselu* (D)

hăluŋca   adj., light (in weight). <Nep. *halukā* (S) [aphinca = D]

hăŋgaleŋ   see **haŋgaleŋ**

habi   adv., already, before, first, just. Nep. *aghi, pahilā* (D) [hapa = S]

hachyău   n., a sneeze; *ma-thaŋ-sa habi hachyău let-Ø-du* (NEG-be.able-INF before sneeze appear-sAS-NPT) before getting ill, one sneezes. <Nep. *hāchi* (D)

hachyăusa <hachyusa> vi., to sneeze. <Nep. *hāchi garnu*

hachyoʔosa   vi. and vt., to go and break something. Nep. *bhãcna jānu* (S)

hachyusa   see **hachyăusa**

halsa   vi., to feel abandoned, lost, indecisive, depressed. Nep. *ṭolāunu* (D)

haṇḍa   n., I a clay cooking pot. Nep. *āri, māṭo-ko bhiũḍ* (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) [haʔi = S]

hani myaŋko   adv., how big? Nep. *katro* (D)

hanigore   pron., how many (things)? Nep. *kati-vaṭā* (D) [haʔi gore = S]

hanika   pron., how many (people)? Nep. *kati-janā* (D) [haʔi kapu = S]

hanite   pron., for how much? Nep. *kati-mā* (D) [haʔite = S]

haŋgaleŋ <hăŋgaleŋ> pron., when, at which time? Nep. *kahile, kun samay* (S) [kutaleŋ = D]

haŋgaleŋ-haŋgaleŋ 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-kăi 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. ṇapsisa]

haṇḍalu n., a clay coooking pot. Nep. *āri, māṭo-ko bhiũḍ* (S) [haṇḍa = 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 măi-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 cāĩ*

harakăi 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) [harakăi = D]

haraye pron., with what? Nep. *ke-le*

haskam n., yawn. Nep. *hāi*

haskamsa vi., to yawn; *kuchipṇa-ta-ŋa-le găi 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. *khasnu, jharnu* (D) [cf. rossa, hatcha = S]

hatcha vi., to fall down from a height, die. Nep. *khasnu, jharnu* (S) [hassa = D]

hatersa 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. aṛoʔsa, aṭoksa ~ hatersa = D]

haṭepsa see **haṭyapsa**

haṭyapsa <haṭepsa> vt., to spring upon, pounce upon, assault; *amu-ye wa-ca hen-sa-kăi laŋga-te haṭyap-Ø-u-no* (eagle-ERG chicken-DIM take-INF-PM courtyard-LOC pounce.upon-sAS-3P-3→3/PT) the eagle pounched 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 <haʔikău> pron., how many (people)? Nep. *kati-janā* (S) [hanika = D]

haʔikău 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., ‖ to take, take away; *gă-ye pih-u-n-du adhăi 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., ǀ to go, leave, walk; *tete-ko bore-te hen-sa-kăi bubu băsinṭe ra-ko măi-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 <heʔẽ> interj., yes, affirmative, agreement. Nep. *ho, ho ta, hajur* (S)

heʔesa vi., to stick, get stuck (in something). Nep. *aḍkanu, aljhinu* (S) [hiksa = D]

heʔẽ see **heʔe**

hicăni 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); *maṇăi cya-ta-ŋa-le găi hik-ŋa-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-uŋ, lek-sa ma-thaŋ-tuŋ-le hikhik-ŋa-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]

hilḍisa vi. and vt., to move, shake. Nep. *hallāunu* (S)

hiriŋ asari n., a big green fly partial to excrement. Nep. *hariyo jhīnġa* (S) [miliŋ asareŋ = D]

hĩʔikote adv., over there (close and slightly above). Nep. *māthīlo ṭhāū* (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 ṭaye   adv., tonight. Nep. *bhare rāti* (D) [onche cyae = S]

honloŋ-honloŋ   adj., fitting loosely, wide, baggy. Nep. *khukulo* [cf. ghonloŋ-
      ghonloŋ] (D)

hosa   vi., to blossom, flower, appear; *ubo reŋ 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. *māthī āunu*
      (S) [hyute waŋsa = D]

hoto bareŋ   adv., then, at that time. <Nep. *uti belā, tyo belā-mā* (S) [to beryaŋ = D]

hoʔoginiŋ hitcha   vt., to bring down. Nep. *māthi-dekhi lyāunu* (S) [hyuyiŋ itsa = D]

hoʔoginiŋ 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. *bhai* (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. *bhāī 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 a cockroaches). (S)

hulsa   vt., II to sharpen; *bubu-ye seŋ pal-sa-kăi ăikuca 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 ṇiŋ   n., whet stone. Nep. *udhyāune ḍhuṅgā* (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 beryaŋ 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]

hũhũsisa   vr., to writhe in pain, squirm; *ăikuca-ye konṭe pal-si-ta-ŋa-le ṭaye ka hũhũ-si-ŋa-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**

hwaŋ-hwaŋ   adj., open (as in space), spacious, wide; *nem duŋ-ŋaŋ hwaŋ-hwaŋ 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]

hyanataʔasa   vt., to deliver. Nep. *puryāunu* (S) [yanatasa = D]

hyaṇeʔesa   see **ṇeʔesa**

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]

hyuiniŋ itsa   see **hyuyiŋ itsa**

hyukhute   adv., over there (close and slightly up). Nep. *māthīlo ṭhāū* (D) [hĩʔikote = 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-kăi hyu-te wan-eŋ-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) [kleŋ wancha ∽ hote wancha = S]

hyute waŋsa   vi., to come up; *jet loŋ-sa hyu-te wany-eŋ-an* (work do-INF up-LOC come.from.below-pAS-3S/PT) they came up to work. Nep. *māthi āunu* (D) [kacyo waŋsa ∽ hote waŋsa = S]

hyuyiŋ itsa   <hyuiniŋ itsa>   vt., to bring down; *mesa hyu-yiŋ 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) [hoʔoginiŋ 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 ṭhare = 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) [ṭila = 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) [ijik = D]

ijiʔsa vi., to become cold, to cool down. Nep. *selāunu* (S) [ijiksa = D]

ikhesa vi., to crow (of a rooster or pheasant); *băsinṭe 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. *bāsnu* (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. *bhālemuṅro, 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. *bhālemuṅro, māusulī* (D)

ini see **iniŋ**

iniŋ <ini> adv., in this manner, like this. Nep. *yasarī* (S) [uniŋ = D]

iṇe n., a species of weed, *Desmodium elegans*. The leaves are collected as fodder
    for goats. Nep. *rāto bākhre ghãs* (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 karăisa <krăisa> vi., be hungry. <Nep. *karāunu*. Nep. *bhol lāgnu* (S) [isaye
    karăisa = D]

isaye karăisa <krăisa> vi., to be hungry; *băsiṇṭe isa ma-cya-ŋa-thyo, naleŋ isa-ye*
    karăi-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 karăisa = 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]

isilyaŋŋăi noŋsa see **isilyaŋtsa**

isilyaŋtsa <isilyaŋŋăi noŋsa> vt., to make smooth, polish. Nep. *cilyāunu* (S)

isisa vr., to inquire, ask, say, tell, do; *to mi oste-kăi 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 <syaŋ> adv., change, day, turn, time, period; *baṭhe isyaŋ* (tomorrow period)
    the following day; *habi syaŋ-ko* (before period-GEN) the day before. Nep. *palṭo*

itar n., wick, lamp. Nep. *batti* (D)

itsa <iccha> vt., to bring down (from above); *naŋăi 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); *ăikuca 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*

iṭil 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. *sulṭo* (S) [sipliŋ = D]

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j

jărăme n., [ritual language] the spirit of death. Nep. *kāl* (D)

jabi n., small bag made of nettle fibre, also known as *naŋăi 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-yiŋ 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)

jăidhane akyaŋmi 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 *jeṭh* 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 *maṅsir*. 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) [loŋa = D]

jaramphal n., spider. Nep. *mākurā* (S) [makarpapa = D]

jaramphalko nem n., spider web (lit. spider-GEN house). Nep. *gūḍ, jāl* (S)

jarphu n., elder sister's husband. Nep. *bhinājyu*

jarphuni n., elder sister's husband's sister. Nep. *bhinājyu-ko didī* (D)

jasa 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. *taṅgrinu* [cf. thaŋsa]

jasa vt., **II** to be okay. Nep. *hunu, ṭhik hunu*

jasa vt., **III** to make graze, cause to graze; *gă-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-eŋ-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);
              maṇăi 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. *ṭhūlo, moṭo* (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. *ṭhūlo dāī* (D)
                 [jhya bubu = S]

jekha ca   n., first-born son. <Nep. *ṭhūlo bābu, jeṭho* (D) [jhya baba = S]

jekha camăi   n., first-born daughter. <Nep. *ṭhūlī 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 amakaleŋ 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. *ṭhūlo hunu* (D)
                  [jhyeka thasa = S]

jekhama   n., mother's elder sister, father's elder brother's wife. <Nep. *ṭhūlī āmā*
              (D) [jhyaʔama = S]

jekhapa   n., father's elder brother, mother's elder sister's husband. <Nep. *ṭhūlo bā*
              (D) [jhyaʔapa]

jenene   adj., sticky, gluey, gummy. Nep. *cyāpcyāpe* (D)

jet   n., work, study, occupation, thing. Nep. *kām*

jet loŋsa   vt., to work, do something. Nep. *kām garnu*

jet loŋsa mi   phrase, worker, slave, domestic help (lit. work do-INF person). <Nep.
                   nokor, kām garne mānche (D) [jet noŋsa mi = S]

jet noŋsa mi   phrase, worker, slave, domestic help (lit. work do-INF person). <Nep.
                   nokor, kām garne mānche (S) [jet noŋsa mi = D]

je?esa   vt., to clean, wash (hands, face, rice), wash someone else or something. Nep.
        dhunu (S) [jeksa = D]

je?esisa <je?esisa> vr., to clean, wash parts of self, wash oneself. Nep. *āphai*
        dhunu, nuhāunu (S) [jeksisa = D]

jinchiri <jintuk> n., clitoris. Nep. *ṭisī* (D) [jinchiri? = S]

jinchiri? 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) [jhiryaŋ = S]

jirimusṭi   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 măi-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) [ji?isa = S]

jisa   vt., **II** to make as if to slap or strike someone in an argument; *păiri-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)

ji?isa   vt., to split in two. Nep. *cirnu* (S) [jisa = D]

joisa   vi., to leak, come through, penetrate; *ṭoke pheṭek-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; *nyoṇi bore yoh-u-n-uŋ, tyaŋ naleŋ 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 găi-găi soŋ-ŋaŋ jun-to-le găi 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. *sāṅlo, sāṅglī* (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]

jyaŋgaṇeŋ n., bird. Nep. *carā* (S) [ḍaṇaṇeŋ = D]

jyaŋgaraŋsisa vr., to sit with one's legs pulled apart, to put one's legs out wide. Nep. *ṭẫg phārnu* (S) [ḍaŋkharaŋsisa = 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]

jyoksa vi. and vt., to be burnt or scalded; *priŋ-te ahe hok-ŋa-n, uni-ye găi-găi 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**

jyoujhăi 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 aṭṭhe 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]

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jh

jhări n., rain; *jhări yuw-Ø-an* (rain come.from.above-sAS-3S/PT) it rained. <Nep. *jharī*

jhimjhim n., firefly. Nep. *jūnkīrī* (S) [methaŋgare = S, metutu = D]

jhinṭyak n., catapult, trap. Nep. *gulelī, phaḍke, codhānī* (D)

jhiryaŋ 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 dāī* (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]

jhyalṭuŋ   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)

jhyăusa   vt., to burn wood, roast something. Nep. *polnu* (S) [jyousa = D]

jhyaʔama   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]

jhyaʔapa   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]

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k

kăcyălăŋ   n., disturbance, riot, uproar. <Nep. *kackac, khalbal* (D)

kăcyălăŋsisa   vr., to make a noise, create a disturbance; *yaŋ unise huca-pali
kăcyălăŋ-siy-eŋ-an* (today afternoon child-p make.noise-REF-pAS-3S/PT) this
afternoon the children made a lot of noise. <Nep. *kackac garnu* (D)

kălijyaŋ   <kalijyaŋ> adv., year after next. Nep. *parāghaũ* (D) [kinilyaŋ = S]

kălyaŋ   <kalyaŋ> adv., next year. Nep. *āghũ*

kănṭi   see **kanṭi**

kătăra   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 dăi to dăi   adv., in those places, around there, in that area, up and down, around
and about that place. Nep. *yatā-utā, yatā-tetā* (S) [ka dăi dha dăi = 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 bāṭo-bāta* (S)
[ka ulamyiŋ = D]

ka ulamyiŋ   phrase, this way (lit. this road-ABL). Nep. *yo bāṭo-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-bāṭa*

kacyaʔsa   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; *camăi-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 *maṅsir*, and the wood of the tree trunk is
burnt as firewood. The fruit ripens in *maṅsir* 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. *yahã̄-dekhi* (S) [kayiŋ = D]

kăisa   vt., to buy, purchase, pull out, remove, take something out of something else;
apa-ye menca-yiŋ maṇăi kăih-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 kăi-tuŋ-le
uma-kăi 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)

kalăisa vi., to be in a great deal of pain; *akyarak cya-ta-ŋa-le baŋkal kalăi-ŋa-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) [cattaʔsa = S]

kalijyaŋ see **kălijyaŋ**

kaliŋkulaŋ n., pestle and mortar. Nep. *muslī*

kalyaŋ see **kălyaŋ**

kameŋsa 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]

kancaʔapa n., father's younger brother. <Nep. *kānchā buvā* (S) [ucyapa = D]

kanci adj., young (of wood), fresh, unripe. <Nep. *kãco* (S) [kanṭi = D]

kanci cikuri n., little finger, pinkie. <Nep. *kānchī aūlā* (S) [ucya omla = D]

kanci laʔ n., little finger, pinkie. <Nep. *kānchī aūlā* (S) [ucya omla = D]

kanṭap 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)

kanṭi <kănṭi> adj., young (of wood), fresh, unripe. ?<Nep. *kãco* (D) [kanci = S]

kaŋ n., boil. Nep. *pilo*

kaŋkăi n., comb. ?<Nep. *kãgiyo* (S) [phini = D]

kaŋkalaʔ n., brown-green coloured lizard. Nep. *chepāro* (S) [aŋkalak = D]

kaŋkarek n., crab, crayfish. Nep. *gaṅgaṭo* (D) [kaŋkareŋ ∽ cyukwăi = S]

kaŋkareŋ n., large crab, crayfish. Nep. *gaṅgaṭo* (S) [cf. cyukwăi, kaŋkarek = D]

kaŋliŋ n., bone in the lower leg, beneath the knee, *tibia*. Nep. *ḍhuṇī khuṭṭā* (D)
[kaŋtuŋ = S]

kaŋpeʔe n., the part of the bamboo which is preferentially used for weaving. Nep.
coyā (S)

kaŋtuŋ n., bone in the lower leg, beneath the knee, *tibia*. Nep. *ḍhuṇī khuṭṭā* (S)
[kaŋliŋ = D]

kaṇṭu n., neck, throat. Nep. *ghãṭī*

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 *maraŋseŋ*.
Nep. *bā̃s* (D) [cf. rapa, kapaʔ = S]

kapale n., forehead. Nep. *nidhār*

kapaṇe n., traditional Thangmi plate, either wooden or clay. Nep. *kāṭhko thāl,
māṭoko thāl* (D)

kapaʔ n., feathery bamboo, *Bambusa vulgare*. Nep. *bā̃s* (S) [cf. rapa, kapa = D]

kapeṭeŋsa <peṭeŋsa> vi., to thunder. Nep. *caṭyāṅ parnu* (S) [dhiri thasa = D]

kapu n., head. Nep. *ṭāuko*

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 măi-
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 kalăi-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*

karăisa vi., to be hungry, *isa-ye găi karăi-ŋa-du* (food-ERG I shout-1s-NPT) I am
hungry. <Nep. *karāunu*. Nep. *bhok lāgnu*

karceʔ 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) [karceʔ = 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 beryaŋ 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) [karpaʔasa ∼ kroʔosa = S]

karpaʔasa   vt., to bend or one's fold arms, embrace, hug, put over one's shoulders. Nep. *agālnu, aṅgālo hālnu* (S) [cf. kroʔosa, 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)

kataŋ   adv., just, previously, earlier, already, a while ago; *găi isa kataŋ cya-ŋa-n* (I food just eat-1s-PT) I ate earlier. Nep. *bharkhar*

katcha   vt., to steal. Nep. *khosnu, luṭnu* (S) [katsa = D]

kate   adv., here. Nep. *yahã*

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, luṭnu* (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) [syampeʔsa = S]

kayiŋ   phrase, from here. Nep. *yahã-dekhi* (D) [kagiŋ = S]

kaʔi   adv., so. Nep. *yati* (S)

kaʔi jukun   adv., this much. Nep. *yati nai* (S)

kelemsa   vi., to have leisure, free time; *yamiryaŋ jet ma-hok, găi kelem-ŋa-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. *āīpugnu* (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. *āīpugnu* (D) [keletcha = S]

kelsa   see **kyelsa**

ken   n., cooked vegetable curry. Nep. *tihun, tarkārkī*

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. ḍiŋ-ḍiŋ]

kiceksa   vi., to quarrel with one another, bicker; *yaŋ băsinṭe 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-kăi cici ma-gap-Ø-an tyaŋ 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 gurãs* (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 cameʔ = S]

kiji cameʔ   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 **hăkuṇap**

kiji mi   n., Terai dweller, Indian (lit. black man). Nep. *madhesī, madesī*

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 ṭhare   n., crofton weed, *Eupatorium adenophorum*. The leaves are collected as
fodder for domesticated animals. Nep. *kālī jhār* (D) [kiji chyare = S]

kili   <kiṇi ⁓ 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 kuṭut kere = S]

kili gaṇe   n., latrine, privy, toilet, WC (lit. shit mine). Nep. *carpi* (D)

kili tasa   vt., defaecate, shit; *gă-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. *hagnu* (D) [kili taʔasa = S]

kili taʔasa   vt., to defaecate. (S) [kili tasa = D]

kilicyutinsa   vi., to be upside down (lit. shit.fall.out-INF); *camăi warak-te ṭhi 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. *ulṭo hunu* (D)

kiloʔsa   vt., to fight, quarrel, get angry, argue. Nep. *jhagaḍā garnu* (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) [kălijyaŋ = D]

kinsa   vi., to be startled, be scared; *arki khyok-Ø-du beryaŋ găi 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]

kiṇesa   vi., to fight, quarrel, get angry. Nep. *jhagaḍā garnu* [cf. kiḍisa = D]

kiṇesisa   vr., to fight with someone, battle with another; *ni asmakaleŋ mut-Ø-u-du
nama kiṇe-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. *kuṭākuṭ garnu* (D)

kiṇi   see **kili**

kipal   n., navel, umbilical cord. Nep. *nāiṭo* (S) [kispăi ⁓ ṭyamphuri = 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. *laṭpaṭinu* (D)

kipsa   vt., to thrust in (such as the wall of house, a joist). Nep. *siuranu* (S)

kiput kiput loŋsa   vt., to pulsate, squeeze, tighten and release. Nep. *mucuk mucuk garnu* (D)

kispǎi   n., navel, umbilical cord. Nep. *nāiṭo* (D) [cf. ṭyamphuri, kipal = S]

kit   num., nine. Nep. *nau*

kitriŋbas   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]

kiʔuliŋ   n., bottom, buttocks. Nep. *cāk* (S) [muji = D]

kīyabat   adv., in three days. Nep. *nikorsi* (S) [kinabas = D]

kleŋ   adv., above, up. Nep. *māthi*

kleŋ thasa   vi., to become full, be filled, be above (not of the stomach); *paŋku dhiri-te kleŋ 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) [pleŋsa = S]

kleŋ wancha   vt., to bring up. Nep. *māthi lyāunu* (S) [kleŋ wansa = D]

kleŋ wansa   vt., to bring up; *kyaŋ-ko dhotra hu-ye kleŋ 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) [kleŋ wancha = S]

kleŋko dewaye yoʔudu   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 boŋboŋ = D]

kokoliŋ   n., crested serpent eagle, *Spilornis cheela*, known to eat snakes. Nep. *kākākul* (S) [kokoṇiŋ = D]

kokoŋ   n., a large orthopterous insect. Nep. *phaṭeṅgro* (D)

kokoṇiŋ   n., crested serpent eagle, *Spilornis cheela*, known to eat snakes. Nep. *kākākul* (D) [kokokliŋ = S]

kokorok   adj., old, bent, crumpled. Nep. *kupro* (D)

kokoroksisa   vr., to be bent over, be old, be crumpled; *saŋa peṇe-sa-kǎi kokorok-si-ko mǎi-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; *nyoṇi-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]

konṭap see **kyadrap**

konṭe n., foot, leg, kick. Nep. *khuṭṭā, lāttī*

koŋ n., trough. Nep. *okhal* (D) [ṭoŋgoʔ = S]

koŋkolyaŋ adj., I bent, twisted. Nep. *bāṅgo* (D)

koŋkolyaŋ n., II beater for striking the *ṭake* or shaman's drum. Nep. *gaja* (S) [ḍokliŋ = D]

koŋkoṇiŋ adj., bent like a shaman's beating stick which curls back on itself. (D)

koŋkoṇisa vt., to bend; *kadhrap koŋkoṇi-to-le jhinṭyak 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) [kuŋkuṇiʔsa = S]

koṇṇiŋ adj., the rounded diameter of something bent in a circle. Nep. *golo*

koṇoŋsisa 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. *gā̃ḍ* (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) [ṭepsa = S]

koroksa vt., to bend something over, fold. Nep. *paṭṭyāunu* (S) [ṭepsa 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); *makăi buŋ ho-sa habi kor-ko măi-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 jyaŋgareŋ 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, gĩḍnu* (D) [koṭeʔesa = S]

koṭeʔesa 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)

krăisa see **karăisa**

krepsa see **kerepsa**

kritcha vt., to scrape, scratch. Nep. *khurkhāunu* (S) [cf. khitcha, khitsa = D]

kroʔosa vi., to embrace, hug, bend or fold one's arms. Nep. *hāt bãdhnu, agālnu, aṅgālo hālnu* (S) [cf. karpaʔasa, 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 dãt*

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 spoilt, be bummed out; *unise jet loŋ-u-n-du beryaŋ, kuchipṇa-ŋa-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. *ghaĩṭo* (D)

kulla see **kulna**

kulla kaṭap see **kulna kaṭap**

kullareŋ see **kunlareŋ**

kulna <kunla ᴠ 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 masăi 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 măi-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) [cyukluʔsisa = S]

kululu n., short-eared owl, *Asio flammeus*. Nep. *laghukarṇa lāṭokosero* (D)

kumbi metaŋ 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; *saŋa kum-to-le ṇe-ko măi-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 saṅga* (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 cāhĩ* (D)

kundu-kundusyaŋ adv., sometimes. Nep. *kahile kahĩ* (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 ᴠ kuni> pron., how, in what manner? Nep. *kasarī*

kuŋkuṇiʔsa vt., to bend. Nep. *baṅgyāunu* (S) [koŋkoṇisa = D]

kutaleŋ pron., when, at which time? Nep. *kahile, kun samay* (D) [haŋgaleŋ = S]

kutaleŋ-kutaleŋ adv., sometimes, on occasion. Nep. *kahile kehĩ* (D) [haŋgaleŋ-haŋgaleŋ = S]

kutrepsa vt., to winnow; *jakcho ṇe-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, nuṅgryāunu* (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 tyaŋ 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. *cimoṭnu* (D) [kucisa = S]

kuṭisa vt., to chop up, break into little pieces. Nep. *gĩḍnu* (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)

kwăi 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 *kwăi* and placed on the forehead of all attendees. It is believed to bring good luck if *kwăi* is eaten before anything else on this morning. Nep. *ālu* (D) [bhoṇyaʔ = S]

kwăi <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 găi kwas-ŋa-n* (food eat-sAS-IPP-1s-PCL I be.full-1s-PT) having eaten, I became full. Nep. *aghāunu* (D)

kwatraŋsa n., a species of animal. <Newar? Nep. *malsãpro* (D)

kwatsa see **kwassa**

kwoi see **kwăi**

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 <konṭap> n., a species of plant. Nep. *malāyo* (S) [kadhrap = D]

kyaŋ 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*

kyaŋdola n., squirrel. Nep. *lokharke* (D)

kyaŋdula n., mongoose. Nep. *nyāurī muso* (S)

kyaŋpole akyaŋmi 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 ṭisen-si-sa nem-yiŋ kyel-ŋa-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 miŋ bubu-ko dese-yiŋ 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*

kyoṇiŋ n., gun, rifle. Nep. *banduk* (D)

kyuʔuliŋ n., anus. Nep. *kaṇḍo* (S) [ḍhopit = D]

kyuʔuliŋko doroŋ n., rectum, anal passage. Nep. *gudvār* (S) [ḍhopit doroŋ = D]

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kh

khăm interj., emphatic, used when one does something wrong. (D)

khăŋrăŋ n., bamboo basket inverted to make a cage for chickens. Nep. *jhak* (D)

khăsyabamṇi n., Chetrī, Brahmin, higher Hindu castes. <Nep. *kṣetrī, bāhun* (D)

khalamsa vt., to receive, get, meet; *pepelek khalam-tuŋ-le găi taŋ-ŋa-n* (money
receive-1s/TPP-PCL I be.happy-1s-PT) having gotten some money, I was happy.
Nep. *pāunu, bheṭnu*

khalsa vt., to mix. Nep. *misāunu* (S)

kham n., language; *nany-e ni-ko thaŋmi kham cijyaŋ-ko măi-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]

khamsa vt., to tease, deride, harrass. Nep. *jiskāunu* (S)

khaṇou n., door. Nep. *ḍhokā* (D) [cf. themba, khaṇu = S]

khaṇu n., door. Nep. *ḍhokā* (S) [khaṇou ⏜ themba = D]

kharu adj., old. Nep. *purāno* (S) [thaŋna = 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. *hiũ* (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]

khereksa   <khreksa>   vt., to grind down (to a pulp), pulverize, powder (spices and herbs); *isa ci-min-sa habi dokmaŋ kherek-ko măi-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*

kherepsa   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, găi 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. *chāyã*

khipa baṇi   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; *kwăi 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 ṭiṭiŋ-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]

khoĩkhoĩsa   vi., to cough. ?<Nep. *khoknu* (S) [ṭhoiṭhoisa = 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 laʔ = S]

khola laʔ   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, pehaps the tiger has eaten it. Nep. *ghaṇṭī* (D)

khoŋa   n., I a small basket for carrying fish. Nep. *māchā rākhne peruṅgo* (D)

khoŋa   n., II a trap for catching porcupines. Nep. *dumsi mārne jhak* (D)

khoŋsa   <khyoksa> vi., to cry (of a deer); *arki khoŋ-Ø-an* (deer cry-sAS-3S/PT) the deer cried. Nep. *mr̥gā karāunu* (D)

khoŋsya   n., beaver. Nep. *õt* (S)

khoṇeṇe   n., ankle. Nep. *golīgắṭhā* (S)

khoṇi   n., a short-handled mattock or hoe with a narrow blade, held with two hands. Nep. *kodāli* (D) [khõṇi = S]

khõṇi   n., a short-handled mattock or hoe. (S) [khoṇi = 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 aũlā* (S)

khuisa   <khwisa> vt., to steal, rob, take unlawfully. Nep. *cornu* (S) [gwisa = 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, ăikuca khyak-si-ko măi-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 **khoŋsa**

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l

laba   n., sole of foot, *planta pedis*. Nep. *paitālo* (D) [paṭe = S]

laca   see **lasa**

lahisa   vt., to await, wait for someone, attend, watch, guard, protect; *găi 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, ruṅnu* (D) [laʔisa = S]

lăiyoho   interj., uh-huh, yeah, yes. Nep. *ã* (D)

lak   n., hand, arm. Nep. *hāt* (D) [laʔ = S]

lak ṭepsisa   vr., to bend or fold one's arms; *to-ko bubu rage tha-ŋa libi, lak ṭep-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 bãdhnu, agālnu* (D)
        [kroʔosa = S]

lakaṇe   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) [karăisa = D]

lakpa   n., thigh. Nep. *philā* (D) [cf. anṭhu = D]

lakpa nampasa vi., to knock down, tackle, wrestle, play around; *ni-ko huca-pali busikasi-te lakpa nampay-eŋ-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 mǎiy-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 camǎica-pali lampaṭ-te hok-eŋ-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]

lamphaŋsa vt., to cross over, step over (someone or something); *nembo-ko isa-kǎi lamphaŋ-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 **laŋphasa**

laŋe n., necklace. Nep. *mālā* (S) [laŋi = D]

laŋga n., courtyard, yard; *saŋa laŋga-te gaŋ-Ø-du* (millet courtyard-LOC dry-sAS-NPT) the millet is drying in the courtyard. Nep. *ãgan*

laŋi n., necklace. Nep. *mālā* (D) [laŋe = S]

laŋmikhuṭame n., a discrete part of the Thangmi ritual of asking for a bride. (D)

laŋphasa <lamphasa> vt., to walk around or circumambulate the bride and groom during a wedding procession (done by womenfolk only). Nep. *bāṭo cheknu* (D)

laŋsa vt., to lift, lift up, remove; *jekha ŋiŋ laŋ-tuŋ-le raŋ-te nah-u-n-uŋ* (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. *ãkhī bhui* (S)

lapsa vt., to spread, spread out, cover; *ami-sa ṭhǎi-te uma-ye miŋ 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*

laphaŋ adj., wanton, desolate, forsaken, weird; *gǎi-go jarphu laphaŋ 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; *gǎi-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 competely 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. *aṅgerī*

lasa aja   n., leaf of the Indian rhododendron, *Melastoma malabathricum*; leaf of the
          Lyonia, *Lyonia ovalifolia*. Nep. *aṅgerī-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. *aṅgerī-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) [cephoʔosa = S]

lawa   n., husband, boyfriend. Nep. *logne*

laʔ   num., I eight. Nep. *āṭh* (S) [lã = D]

laʔ   n., II hand, arm. Nep. *hāt* (S) [lak = D]

laʔapa   n., palm, top of arm, shoulder, shoulder joint. Nep. *hāt, hatkelā* (S) [lak ∼
          lakpa = D]

laʔisa   vt., to await, wait for someone, attend, watch, guard, protect. Nep. *parkhanu,
          kurnu, ruṅnu* (S) [lahisa = D]

laʔte naʔasa   vt., carry by hand, put by hand. Nep. *hāt-mā lānu, hāt-mā rākhnu* (S)
          [lakte hensa ∼ lakte nasa = D]

lã   num., eight. Nep. *āṭh* (D) [laʔ = 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. *khuīlyāunu, neparnu* (D)

leksa   vt., II to swallow; *saŋa-ko isa ma-cunǎi-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) [lyoʔosa = S]

lembe n., flat winnowing tray made of bamboo. Nep. *nāṅlo*

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. *tānrāṅ-tunruṅ* (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 ṭhare 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 ḍiŋ-ḍiŋ 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) [le?esa = 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]

le?esa vt., I to pull back (especially the foreskin). Nep. *neparnu* (S) [leksa = D]

le?esa 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) [ŋubasye = 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 camǎica-ko mus ǎlǎmga 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, māliṅgo, coyā (bãs)* (D) [cf. rapa, rapacameʔ, kiji cameʔ = S]

lipem n., I lip(s). Nep. *oṭh* (S) [lipin = D]

lipem n., II snow. Nep. *hiũ*

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]

loksa vt., to drain, upset, pour out, spill, overthrow; *isa-ko adum paŋku tun-sa ma-ja, lok-ko mǎi-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, ghopṭyāunu* (D) [loʔosa ∽ ciboʔosa = S]

loksisa vr., to pour water on oneself; *bǎsinṭe serek-ta-ŋa-le, gǎi 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]

loṇḍo n., chest. Nep. *chātī* (D) [loṇḍoʔ = 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?; *gǎi-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*

loŋsek n., heart, feeling, opinion (used metaphorically). Nep. *muṭu*

loŋyaʔasa vi., to consider, think, remember. Nep. *samjhanu, socnu* (S)

lonḍoʔ n., sternum, breastbone. Nep. *chātī-ko hād, ghyākulā* (S) [lonḍo = D]

loṇe n., jackal, *Canis aureus*. Nep. *śyāl* (D) [ṇoneŋ = S]

lothǎrke see **lothorkya**

lothorkya <lothǎrke> 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 camǎi loṭok
     hok-Ø-du* (that-GEN daughter on.haunches be-sAS-NPT) her daughter is sitting
     on her haunches. Nep. *ṭukrukka* (D) [ṭoklok = S]

loʔosa vt., to drain, pour out. Nep. *khanyāunu, ghopṭyāunu* (S) [loksa = D]

lugaṇṭhe 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. lugaṇṭhe, lukusya = D]

lukusya n., backbone, spine, spinal chord. Nep. *meru-daṇḍa, ḍāḍālnu, ḍhāṇ* (D)
     [lugaṇṭhe ~ lukubasya = S]

luma n., rice which has been partially husked. cf. Yamphu *camluʔa*. Nep. *biyã*

luncha vt., to climb. Nep. *caḍhnu* (S) [lunsa = D]

lunsa vi., to climb, ride (horse); *ucyaca tha-ŋa-du beryaŋ, gǎi arkapole-te lun-ŋa-
     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]

luŋ n., gold. Nep. *sun* (D) [cf. uŋ]

luŋguri n., emotion, feeling, love, heart. Nep. *man, muṭu*

luŋkuṇiŋ 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. *kãgiyo rukh* (D)

luplap n., the act of filling holes up. Nep. *pur-pār* (D)

luplap loŋsa vt., to fill holes in the ground, fill up; *jekha serba yu-Ø-ta-le, ni-ye
     luplup loŋ-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-ŋa libi, lup-sa ma-ja, maŋ jyou-ko mǎi-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. *ḍhuṅgā*

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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)

măisa vi., to must. Nep. *parnu*

măithe adj., blunt (lit. NEG-be.sharp). Nep. *bhutte* (D)

makacya makacya noŋsa vt., to whisper. Nep. *kānekhusī garnu* (S)

makăi n., maize, corn. <Nep. *makai*

makar n., rhesus monkey, *Macaca mulata*. ?<Sanskrit *markaṭ* Nep. *bãdar* (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*

mamalaʔ   n., middle finger. Nep. *mājhī aũlā* (S)

mamawa   n., hen. Nep. *kukhurī, pothī*

mamayante   n., lower part of a circular hand-driven millstone, grindstone, quern. Nep. *jā̃to-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 bă̆siṇṭe gă̆i jet loŋ-sa habi camă̆i-ye maṇă̆i 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]

maŋ   n., body. Nep. *śarīr*

maṇa usyare   n., yeast, leaven. (S) [maṇă̆i usare = D]

maṇă̆i   n., bread, flat pancake. Nep. *roṭī* (D) [maṇiŋ = S]

maṇă̆i usare   n., yeast, leaven (lit. bread medicine), *Saccharomyces* in particular but also other genera of ascomycete; *toŋ loŋ-sa-kă̆i maṇă̆i usare cuk-ko mă̆i-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]

maṇiŋ   n., bread, flat pancake. Nep. *roṭī* (S) [maṇă̆i = D]

maraŋsa   <mraŋsa> vi., to swell, swell up, enlarge in sickness; *ni-ko apa maraŋ-Ø-an* (we-GEN father swell-SAS-3S/PT) our father is all swollen (up). Nep. *sunninu, phulinu*

maraŋseŋ   n., the bier used for carrying the corpse, which can be made from bamboo or wood. Nep. *ghāro (murdā-lāī 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)

masăi   interj., I don't know (lit. NEG-know). Nep. *jāndina, thāhā chaina*

mat   num., six. Nep. *cha*

mathaŋsa   vi., I to be ill; *amum cya-ta-ŋa-le ma-thaŋ-ŋa-n* (mushroom eat-IPP-1s-
PCL NEG-be.well-1s-PT) after eating mushrooms I became ill; *ma-thaŋ-Ø-du mi*
(NEG-be.well-sAS-NPT person) patient, ill person. Nep. *birāmī hunu.*

mathaŋsa   vt., II to be unable to do something; *bubu cinem ŋe-sa ma-thaŋ*
(elder.brother iron strike-INF NEG-be.able) elder brother is unable to forge iron.
Nep. *nasaknu*

me   n., fire. Nep. *āgo*

me cyaṭaŋsisa   vr., to warm oneself by the fire; *ṭila-Ø-du, găi me cyaṭaŋ-si-sa ya-
ŋa-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 dulsa   vt., to set fire to, kindle, light; *seŋ phow-Ø-an, me dul-sa ma-thaŋ* (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; *gă-ye mecyat-e me ṭat-u-n-
uŋ* (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; *saŋa 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)

meluŋ   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 *meluŋ* 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]

meluŋ phatsa   vt., to dig with an inverted hoe during the Thangmi death ritual. (D)

meluŋpaŋ   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, *meluŋpaŋ* resembles the *bărma* 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. *bhaĩsī*

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. *ãkhā* (D) [meseʔ = S]

mesek manidu mi   n., blind person (lit. eye NEG-see-sAS-NPT person). Nep. *ãkhā na-dekhne mānche, andho* (D)

meseʔ   n., eye. Nep. *ãkhā* (S) [mesek = D]

meseʔ cimmayasisa   vr., to close one's eyes. <Nep. *ãkhā 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*

mikliʔsa   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 *miliṅ*. Nep. *saraṅ* (D) [cf. cyapriŋ, cyaʔareŋ]

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) [mikliʔsa = S]

miryaŋ adv., yesterday. Nep. *hijo* (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-kăi morok-ko măi-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* [ciŋyaʔsa = 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. *bãcnu, jāgnu* (D) [chyoʔosa = S]

mosăi   interj., who knows? Nep. *khai, kunnī, koni* (D)

mosăisa   vt., to know someone. Nep. *cinnu* (S) [ŋosăisa = D]

mosan thali akyaŋmi   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* [ḍeksi = 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)

mraŋsa   see **maraŋsa**

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)

muikwăi   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. *pusṭakārī* (S)

muji   n., buttocks, arse, behind. Nep. *cāk* (D) [chyunupuṭu ∽ kiʔuliŋ = S]

mumpra   n., the Thangmi death ritual. Nep. *ghevā, ghyāvā* (D) [mampra = S]

mumprabaraŋ   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. *raũ, kapāl* [cf. cime]

mus   n., II cornsilk, *Zea mays*. This is collected as fodder for domesticated animals.
Nep. *makăi-ko juṅgā* (D) [syaṇḍaŋ = S]

musa   vt., to pierce, make a hole in; *puṭu-ye to-ko naka miŋ 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. *cheḍnu, khopnu* (D) [muʔusa = S]

musăi   <musyăi> n., mucus, snot. Nep. *siṅgān*

musăi kăisa   vt., to remove or wipe away snot from the nose (of someone else); *găi
naŋ-ko huca-ko ciŋya-ko musăi ma-kăi, to naŋ-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*

musăi kăisisa   vr., to remove or wipe away snot from one's own nose; *humi, oste-
ko musăi kăi-si-ko măi-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]

musyăi   see **musăi**

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; *naŋ isa ci-min-o, găi 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. *damāĩ, darjī* (D) [curuʔudu = S]

muʔusa   vt., to pierce, make a hole in. Nep. *cheḍnu* (S) [musa = D]

myuŋ   n., cloth, material, clothes. Nep. *kapaḍā* [miŋ = D]

myuŋ cigaŋsa   vt., to dry clothes. Nep. *lugā sukāunu* [miŋ cigaŋsa = D]

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n

năbi   see **nabi**

nabi <năbi ~ nobi> adv., downhill, downward (from the speaker). Nep. *orālo*, *udho*

naka adj., new. Nep. *nayã*

naka mi n., new person, visitor, outsider. Nep. *paradeśī, pahunā* (D)

nakdhiŋ n., the temple (of the head), side of the head. Nep. *purpuro* (D)

naleŋ adv., present, just, just now, at this time, in this season. Nep. *bharkhar, ahile, yati khera* (D) [naneŋ ~ naʔnyeŋ = S]

naleŋ-naleŋ adv., just now. Nep. *ahile bharkhar* (D) [naneŋ-naneŋ ~ naʔnyeŋ-naʔnyeŋ = S]

nama thasa vi., to be together, meet; *ban-ko nem-te ya-ta-ŋa-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. *bheṭnu, 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 beryaŋ, 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; *naŋ-ko konṭe 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; *găi oste nam-si-ŋa-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*

naneŋ adv., now, at this time. Nep. *ahile* (S) [cf. naʔnyeŋ, naleŋ = D]

naneŋ-naneŋ adv., just now. Nep. *ahile bharkhar* (S) [cf. naʔnyeŋ-naʔnyeŋ, naleŋ-naleŋ = D]

naŋ pron., you (singular). Nep. *tapāĩ, timī, tã*

naŋ ŋaŋ găi pron., you and me, we two, the two of us. Nep. *hāmī duī janā, tapāĩ ra ma* (D)

naŋa n., fish. Nep. *māchā*

naŋăi n., Himalayan nettle, *Girardinia diversifolia*, the fibre of which is used for many practical and ritual purposes; *ni-ko apa-ko apa naŋăi-ko miŋ 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*, *naŋăi* refers to the practical and ritual purposes and not its use as a foodstuff. Nep. *allo sisnu* [cf. calou]

naŋăi 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)

naru   n., horn, antler. Nep. *siṅ*

nasa   vt., **I** to put, place, position, store (up); *racya nem duŋ-ŋaŋ na-ko măi-Ø-du* (unhusked.rice house within-inside put-ADH must-sAS-NPT) the unhusked rice must be strored inside the house. Nep. *rākhnu, thankyāunu* (D) [naʔasa = S]

nasa   vt., **II** to ration, use sparingly, make something last, be economical, save for later; *naleŋ sakalei cya-sa ma-ja, băsinṭe-kăi 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. *sằcnu* (D)

nasa   <nasak> n., **III** mud, earth. Nep. *māṭo*

nasăisa   vt., to hear; *uma-ye hara hara ŋah-Ø-u-du? gă-ye ma-nasăiy-u-n-uŋ* (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 gă-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)

naʔnyeŋ   see **naneŋ**

naʔnyeŋ-naʔnyeŋ   see **naneŋ-naneŋ**

nem   n., house. Nep. *ghar*

nem kwăi   n., white yam, *Dioscorea alata*. Calque from Nep. *ghar tarul* (D) [suŋdaŋ = S]

nembo adj., I other person; *naŋ-kăi ma-pi, nembo-kăi 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 makăi găi neh-u-n-du* (quern-LOC *maize* I grind-3P-1s→3-NPT) I'll grind the maize in the quern. Nep. *pĭdhnu, pinnu* (D) [neʔesa = S]

neʔesa vt., to grind, pound. Nep. *pĭdhnu, 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 duī-janā* (D)

ni niskapu pron., the two of us (lit. we two-HNC). Nep. *hāmī duī-janā* (S)

nidra ḍeksa vi., to have enough sleep; *miryaŋ nidra ma-ḍek-Ø-an, naleŋ găi ami-ko măi-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; *găi-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, găi-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]

nimsăilo 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, tapā̃īharu*

niṇis 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, călăuni nip-Ø-an* (sun rise-SAS-3S/PT moon set-SAS-3S/PT) the sun rose and the moon set. Nep. *astāunu* (D) [ṇisa = S]

nirek   n., grasshopper, locust. Nep. *phaṭeṅgro, salah* (D) [akhoʔ ∼ nyereʔ = 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) [niʔisa I = S]

nisa   vt., II to see; *to ubo mi-ko loṇḍo 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) [niʔisa II = S]

niʔisa   vi., I to appear. Nep. *hunu, dekhinu* (S) [nisa = D]

niʔisa   vi., II to be born. Nep. *janminu* (S) [niksa = D]

niʔisa   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) [noʔosa = S]

noʔosa   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. *hã̄snu*

nukkhute   adv., over there (close and down). Nep. *tallo paṭṭi, tehĩ tala* (D) [nhăikote = S]

nulsa <nugulsa> vt., to sharpen. Nep. *udhyāunu* (S) [hulsa = D]

nulsa lyuŋ <nugul> n., whet stone. Nep. *udhyāune ḍhuṅgā* (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 ṭhi
     = D]

nunu suwa n., incisors (lit. milk-teeth). Nep. *aghāḍī-ko dãt*

nunu ṭhi 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)

nyakaṇeŋ 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 *nyakaṇeŋ*, the
fibre is not as strong as *calou*, so its main use is culinary. Nep. *sisnu* [cf. calou]

nyakaṇeŋko bok   n., the flower of the stinging nettle, *Urtica dioica*. Nep. *sisnu-ko phūl* (D) [boʔ = S]

nyereʔ   n., flying grasshopper. Nep. *phaṭeṅgro* (S) [nirek = D]

nyoṇi   n., evening. Nep. *belukā* (D) [ŋyoṇi = 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*

nhăiko   adv., lower storey. Nep. *tallo* (S)

nhăikote   adv., over there (close and down). Nep. *tallo paṭṭi, tehī̃ 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 II 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 ∽ ăitcha = S]

ŋatcha   vt., to say, tell, order, inquire, ask. Nep. *bhannu, sodhnu* (S) [cf. ăitcha,
ŋasa = D]

ŋosăisa   vt., to know something, recognise; *nany-e găi-găi ma-ŋosăi-Ø-ŋa-n? găi
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) [mosăisa = S]

ŋyaldaŋsyaldaŋ   n., Sherpa or Tibetan, an onomatoepic noun which derives from the sound made by Tibetan Buddhists when chanting their mantras. Nep. *śerpā, bhoṭe* (S)

ŋyal-ŋyal   adj., soft, tender (of meat, clothes, sheets, wool); *sya-ca-ko cici ŋyal-ŋyal hok-Ø-du* (cow-DIM-GEN meat tender be-sAS-NPT) calf meat is tender. Nep. *mulāyam* (D)

ŋyaŋcaldak   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)

ŋyaŋsa   vt., to taste. Nep. *cākhnu* (S) [sesa = D]

ŋyasa <ŋyãsa>   vi., to rot, become rotten, suppurate; *mui pole-yiŋ ros-Ø-an, nasak-te ŋyah-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*

ŋyãsa   see **ŋyasa**

ŋyi   see **nyu**

ŋyoṇi   n., evening. Nep. *belukā* (S) [nyoṇi = D]

ŋyu   n., brain. Nep. *gidī* (S) [nyu = D]

ṇ

ṇapsisa   vr., to gobble, stuff one's face, eat greedily; *găi-go huca makar uniŋ 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. haŋsisa]

ṇasa   vi., I to appear of a pattern (in the grain of wood or cloth); *gaŋ-Ø-du seŋ 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); *naŋ-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; *gă-ye bubu-ko paŋku-ko baṇi ṇep-u-n-uŋ* (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* [cŋ. ṭheksa]

ṇesa   vt., to hit, kick, strike, pound, crush, knock, forge, beat, tear, thresh; *nany-e to kere ṇeh-u-na-n, naleŋ găi naŋ-kăi 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 \<hyaṇeʔesa\> vt., to hit, kick, strike, pound, crush, knock, forge, beat, tear,
thresh. Nep. *hirkāunu, kuṭnu, piṭnu* (S) [ṇesa = D]

ṇiŋ see **lyuŋ**

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 hālnu* (S)

ṇo num., seven. Nep. *sāt*

ṇoneŋ n., jackal. Nep. *śyāl* (S) [loṇe = 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. *piṭhyū̃* (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 beryaŋ, 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 phūlnu* (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)

olǎn   see **olon**

oli   num., four. Nep. *cār* (D) [whali ᴧ hwali = S]

olon   <olǎn>   n., milk, yoghurt. Nep. *dudh, dāhi* (D)

omla   n., finger. <Nep. *aũlā* (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]

oŋgaṇe   see **oŋgaṇeŋ**

oŋgaṇeŋ   <oŋgaṇe>   n., hole in the ground, pit. Nep. *khāḍal, khālḍo*

oŋgol   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]

ostoʔ   n., spit, spittle, sputum, saliva. Nep. *thuk* (S) [ustok = D]

ostoʔosa   vt., to spit. Nep. *thuknu* (S) [ustoksa = D]

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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) [jhaʔapa = 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)

pǎi   n., fart. Nep. *pād*

pǎi tasa   vt., to fart, break wind; *huca, nem duŋ-ŋaŋ pǎi 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) [pǎi taʔasa = S]

pǎi taʔasa   vt., to fart, break wind. Nep. *pādnu, pādhnu* (S) [pǎi tasa = D]

pǎiri   <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) [paʔpaʔ ᴧ ḍoŋla = 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. <Hindi *palak*, Nep. *rāyo-ko sāg*

palsa   vt., to chop (wood), cut big things, prune (branches of a tree); *toŋ tun-ta-ŋa-*
        le, gǎi seŋ 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. *kāṭnu, chāsnu*

pampanek   n., butterfly. Nep. *putali* (D) [ameʔ = S]

pamsa   vt., to stop. Nep. *roknu* (S)

paŋ   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]

paŋku   n., water. Nep. *pānī*

paŋku cisa   vt., to splash water, throw water out; *saŋa uman-to-le, to-ko kiji paŋku*
        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. paŋku warsa]

paŋku citcit   n., dragonfly. Calque from Nep. *pānī cikuvā* (S) [paŋku chitchit = D]

paŋku chitchit   n., dragonfly. Calque from Nep. *pānī cikuvā* (D) [paŋku citcit = S]

paŋku maṇǎi   n., wheat or millet pancake cooked in boiling water (lit. water
        bread). Calque from Nep. *pānī roṭī* (D)

paŋku warsa   vt., to splash water, throw water out; *adum paŋku ma-war-e! gǎi libi*
        kapu uli-si-ŋa-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. paŋku cisa]

paŋkui thahan   phrase, watery (lit. water-EMP become-sAS-NPT). (S)

paṇisa   vt., to accidently brush someone with one's foot, thus requiring an apology;
        bubu-ye gǎi-gǎi paṇi-Ø-ŋa-n (elder.brother-ERG I-PM knock.with.foot-sAS-1s-
        PT) elder brother accidently brushed me with his foot. Nep. *lāttā lāgnu* (D)

papa laʔ   n., thumb. Nep. *buḍhī aũlā* (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 jā̃to*

papalăi   n., big toe. Nep. *buḍhī aũṭho* (S) [buṇeŋṭho = D]

papasek   n., testicle, gonad. Nep. *gulā* (D) [seʔ = S]

paṭareŋ   n., the Nepalese rhododendron tree, *Rhododendron arboreum*. Nep. *lāli
gurā̃s* (S) [altak = D]

paṭasi   n., a cloth worn by women as a skirt, somewhat resembling a *lungi*.
?<Newar. Nep. *phariyā* (D) [baʔasa = 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]

paʔpaʔ   n., cone or pod of the plaintain flower, *Musa x paradisiaca*. Nep. *buṅgo*
(S) [cf. ḍoŋla, pakpak = D]

pebu   n., irrigated field. Nep. *khet*

peceṇek   adj., lowered, depressed, flat; *to mi-ko cĩŋa 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; *gă-ye sirik peceṇek-u-n-uŋ, 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)

peceṇeksisa   vr., to be flat, flattened, pressed; *aŋkalak 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)

pecereʔ   n., beer mush. Nep. *hure-ko chokrā* (S) [cf. syaphi, syapi = D]

peceʔ <pepeʔ>   n., child's vagina, derogatory word for vagina, kid's word for
vagina, a vagina when referred to diminitutively. Nep. *putī* (S) [cf. pene]

pecyeʔca   adj., small, cramped (to describe a small habitation or living place);
pecyeʔca apoʔ (cramped cave) a cramped cave. (S)

peksa   vt., to strip bamboo; *camek pek-tuŋ-le lembe loŋ-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*ʔ*]

pen-pen   adj.,   sticky, muddy, clayey, slippery. Nep. *lisyāilo* (D)

penṭe   n.,   chicken shit. Nep. *suli* [cf. wako kli]

peŋsa   vi.,   to wake up, open one's eyes; *hu peŋ-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) [pyaŋsa = S]

peṇesa   vt.,   to plant (paddy, millet or vegetables); *peṇe-sa beryaŋ thah-Ø-an* (plant-INF that.time be-sAS-3S/PT) it's planting time. Nep. *ropnu* (D) [ple*ʔ*esa = S]

pepelek   n.,   money, coins. Nep. *paiṣā* (D) [akusya = S]

pepe*ʔ*   see **pece*ʔ***

pereksa   <preksa>   vi.,   to be torn; *miŋ 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 ḍaŋgaṇeŋ 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 găi ma-săi* (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]

peṭeŋsa   see **kapeṭeŋsa**

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. *naṅ*

piriŋ   see **priŋ**

pisa   vt.,   to give, pay; *uma-kăi miŋ pi-ko măi-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)

piṭhiŋ   n.,   upper back. <Nep. *piṭhiū* (D)

pleŋsa   vi.,   to become full, be filled. Nep. *bharinu, bharnu* (S) [kleŋ thasa = D]

ple*ʔ*esa   vt.,   to plant. Nep. *ropnu* (S) [peṇesa = D]

poiri   see **păiri**

pokole   n.,   knee. Nep. *ghũḍā* (S) [pokolek = D]

pokolek   n.,   knee. Nep. *ghũḍā* (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)

poŋgo adj., empty, gaping, open. Nep. *ritto, khālī* (S) [phuŋga = D]

poresa vt., to tie up, pack up, cover in order to protect; *ama-ko laŋi găi 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); *miryaŋ jekha phasa wah-Ø-an, kyaŋ 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, thaŋna nem porok-ko măi-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) [proʔosa ~ proʔosisa = S]

posa vt., to chase away, chase off, drive off, overtake, run down; *to cahuca ni-ko humi-kăi 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 raŋ-te hok-Ø-ta-le makăi 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 bhãcnu* (D)

poṭoŋ n., a large rock of any kind. Nep. *ṭhulo ḍhuṅgā* (D)

poṭhok adj., smooth, trim. Nep. *muṭhuro* (D)

poṭhoksa vt., to smooth, trim; *koṭe ceŋ-u-n-uŋ, naleŋ 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, chuṭyāunu* (S) [pheksa = D]

priŋ <piriŋ> adv., outside; the Thangmi postposition indicating 'without'. Nep.
 bāhira

proʔosa vt., to break open/up the floor of a house. Nep. *upkāunu* (S) [poroksa = D]

proʔosisa 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-kăi, pucyuk*
 khem-ko măi-Ø-du (shaman-ERG god do-INF-PM sacrificial.offering make-ADH
 must-sAS-NPT) when doing their rituals, shamans must made sacrificial
 offerings to the gods. Tibetan *torma,* Tamang *solphu* (D)

puncyuṇuk n., striated bulbul, *Pycnonotus striatus*. Nep. *dharke jurelī* (D)

puncyuṇuʔ n., striated bulbul, *Pycnonotus striatus*. Nep. *dharke jurelī* (S)

puncha vt., to pull up, uproot. Nep. *ukhelnu* (S) [punsa = D]

punsa vt., to pull up, uproot; *ama raŋ dăi ṭhare pun-sa-kăi 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 găi 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; *gă-ye makăi purus-u-n-du* (I-ERG *maize*
 husk.and.hull-3P-1s→3-NPT) I am husking and hulling the maize. Nep.
 choḍāunu (D) [pheʔesa = S]

puṭu n., spine of a plant, thorn, scale, splinter, barb. Nep. *kẵḍo*

puṭu nirek n., a species of small grasshopper. Nep. *phaṭeṅgro* (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. *kẵḍe căp* (D)

puṭuye susa vt., to get a splinter; *seŋ pal-u-n-du beryaŋ, puṭu-ye găi-găi 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. *kẵḍā-le ghocnu*

puya n., seed, shoot of a plant. Nep. *bīu, biruvā, ṭusā*

puyapasa n. plural, seeds and grains. Nep. *bīubijan* (S) [puyapesa = D]

puyapesa n. plural, seeds and grains. Nep. *bīubijan* (D) [puyapasa = S]

pya n., pig, boar, wild pig. Nep. *suṅgur, banel* (D) [pyaʔ = S]

pyaho n., great Barbet, *Megalaima virens*. Nep. *nyāulī* (D)

pyako cici n., pork (lit. pig-GEN meat). Nep. *suṅgur-ko māsu* (D) [pyaʔko cici = S]

pyako huca n., piglet (lit. pig-GEN child). Nep. *suṅgur-ko pāṭho* (D)
[pyaʔko huca = S]

pyaŋsa vi., to wake up, open one's eyes. Nep. *biūjhanu* (S) [peŋsa = 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 pāṭho* (S)
[pyako huca = D]

ph

phakphak n., dry flour. ?<Nep. *phuko* (D) [phoŋphoŋ = 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. *phãko mārnu* (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. *hãṇe* (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)

phaŋgaṇeŋ <phaŋŋaṇeŋ> 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 *phaŋgaṇeŋ* is used to
represent the head of the deceased in the reconstruction of the body. Nep.
piṇḍālu (D) [yak ~ yaʔ = S]

phaŋgaṇeŋ <phaŋŋaṇeŋ> n., Ⅱ leaf of the co-co yam, *Colocasia esculenta*. Nep.
piṇḍālu-ko pāt (S) [phaŋgaṇeŋko wala = D]

phaŋgaṇeŋko wala n., leaf of the giant taro, *Alocasia indicum*; leaf of the co-co
yam, *Colocasia esculenta*. Nep. *piṇḍālu-ko pāt* (D) [phaŋgaṇeŋ Ⅱ = S]

phaŋŋaṇeŋ see **phaŋgaṇeŋ**

phaṇapsa vt., to filter, strain beer, rub nettles in between the hands in order to
make them soft to eat; *nyakaṇeŋ ci-min-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. *jã̄ḍ 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 dăi 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. *hurī, 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) [phaʔasa = S]

phase adj., I fine, thin. Nep. *masino* (S)

phase n., II flour. Nep. *piṭho*

phasya n., storm, wind. Nep. *hurī, hāvā* (S) [phasa = D]

phatsa vt., to dig deep, dig to clear a space; *mi si-ŋa libi, ubo mi-pali-ye oŋgaṇeŋ 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)

phaṭu 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 *jeṭh* and *asoj*, 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)

phaʔasa vt., to hold out, to be given, add to. Nep. *thāpnu* (S) [phasa II = D]

phaʔasisa vr., to eat by throwing a mouthful at a time into the mouth, catch with open mouth. ?<Nep. *phãko 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); *humi, paŋ cya-sa habi, roṭhok phek-ko măi-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. *phaṭāunu, chuṭyāunu* (D) [preʔesa = S]

phelyău adj., weak (of alcohol). (D)

phendereŋ adj., heart-burn; *apa toŋ tun-Ø-ta-le baŋkal phendereŋ 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)

pheŋga   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) [cyulduŋŋăi = 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 ṭosisa = 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

pheṭeksa   vi.,   to be rent, be torn, be lacerated, be stripped off (of skin and bodies);
   konṭe pheṭek-Ø-an (foot be.lacerated-sAS-3S/PT) my foot is lacerated. Nep.
   cyātinu (D)

pheʔesa   vt.,   to fold open, make come apart. <Nep. *choḍāunu, callā kāḍhnu* (S)
   [purussa = D]

phini   n.,   comb. Nep. *kẵgiyo* (D) [kaŋkăi = S]

phin-phin   adj.,   smooth, flat, even. Nep. *cepṭo, pātalo* (D) [phiʔlya = S]

phin-phinca   see **aphinca**

phinṭyak   n.,   a trap to catch small animals or birds. Nep. *phaḍke* (D)

phiʔlya   adj.,   smooth, flat, even. Nep. *cepṭo* (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 phūṭnu* (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)

phoŋphoŋ   n.,   I dry earth, dry mud. Nep. *sukeko māṭo* (D)

phoŋphoŋ n., ‖ dry flour. ?<Nep. *phuko* (S) [phakphak = D]

phophonḍa n., bump, blow, swelling on the head. Nep. *ṭuṭulko* (D)

phosa vi. and vt., to get wet, become wet, be immersed, make wet, drench; *jhări yuw-Ø-an, găi 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; *băsinṭe serek-ta-ŋa-le, găi 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]

phoṭoŋ n., wingless grasshopper. Nep. *ḍallo phaṭeṅgro* (D)

phoʔosa vt., to make wet, immerse. Nep. *bhijāunu* (S) [phosa = D]

phoʔosisa vr., to become wet. Nep. *bhijna hunu, bhijinu* (S) [phosisa = D]

phõṇok 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, niṅro* (S) [dosken = D]

phuŋga <phuŋŋa> adj., empty, gaping, open. Nep. *ritto, khālī* (D) [poŋgo = S]

phuŋŋa 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 boʔ n., rice blossom. Nep. *dhancamarā* (S) [bok = D]

ragdu paŋ see **rui paŋ**

ragdu ṭhare 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 găi rage let-ŋa-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) [raʔasa = S]

raksa see **ragsa**

raksa n., necklace made of bells, worn by *guru*. Nep. *ghaṇṭī mālā* (D)

rakho n., mark, spot, particularly the Hindu mark on the forehead. Nep. *ṭikā* (D)

rakhoreŋ n., leaves or flowers offered in worship. Nep. *pāti* (D)

raletsa vi., to arrive (across a horizontal plane); *jet-yiŋ naŋ ra-let-na-n?* (work-ABL you come.from.level-appear-2s-PT) have you arrived from your work? Nep. *āīpugnu*

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]

raŋ n., dry or unirrigated field, land. Nep. *bārī, jaggā*

rapa n., I axe. Nep. *bancaro* (D) [rapaʔ = S]

rapa n., II long bamboo, the shoots of which are eaten, feathery or tufted bamboo, *Bambusa tulda, Bambusa vulgaris*. Nep. *tāme bãs, tāmā bãs* (D)

rapa n., III red Himalayan bamboo, *Thamnocalamus spathiflorus*. Nep. *māliṅgo* (S) [liŋliŋ = D]

rapacamek   n.,   tufted bamboo, *Dendrocalamus hamiltonii*. Nep. *coyā bã̄s* (D)

rapacameʔ   n.,   red Himalayan bamboo, *Thamnocalamus spathiflorus*, tufted
       bamboo, *Dendrocalamus hamiltonii*. Nep. *māliṅgo, coyā* (S) [cf. camek, liŋliŋ
       ∼ rapacamek = D]

rapaʔ   n.,   axe. Nep. *bancaro* (S) [rapa = D]

rapeŋ   n.,   large edible frog. Nep. *pāhā*

raprup   n.,   scraping together, collecting carefully, hoarding. Nep. *baṭul-bāṭul* (D)

raphăi   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. *ã̄su*

rasa   vi.,   I to come (especially horizontally or from the same level); *to isa cya-sa-
       kăi 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; *găi paŋku ra-tuŋ-le tun-ŋa-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. *gā̄ḍyaūlo* (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)

raʔadu   adj.,   sour. Nep. *amilo* (S) [ragdu = D]

raʔaduca   see **raʔaducapaŋ**

raʔaducapaŋ   <raʔaduca>   n.,   Indian sorrel, creeping sorrel, *Oxalis corniculata*.
       Nep. *carī amilo* (S) [goṭhepaŋ = D]

raʔasa   vi.,   to be sour. Nep. *amilo hunu* (S) [ragsa = D]

rejek   adj.,   ritually polluted, impure. Nep. *juṭho* (D)

rejeʔ   adj.,   coarse, rough. Nep. *khasro* (S) [cf. rothtoʔ, 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) [rencheʔ = 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. *phūl*

reŋ mesek n., sepal of a flower. Calque from Nep. *phul-ko ãkhā* (D) [reŋko mese? = S]

reŋko ɖǎṇṭhi n., pistil of a flower. <Nep. *ɖãṭh, bĩɖ* (D) [reŋko muguli = S]

reŋko mese? n., sepal of a flower. Calque from Nep. *phul-ko ãkhā* (S) [reŋ mesek = D]

reŋko muguli n., pistil of a flower. Nep. *ɖãṭh, bĩɖ* (S) [reŋko ɖǎṇṭhi = 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 Phāseluṅ, (lit. *Ficus lacor*-trunk). Nep. *kābhro boṭ* (D)

rim see **rem**

rise n., the tree, *Maesa chisia*; the tree, *Maesa indica*. Nep. *bilāunī* (S) [băgale = D]

risma n., [ritual language] central seed found inside the kernal of maize. Nep. *nāthurī* (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 in burnt. (D)

rolaŋsa see **roloŋsa**

roloŋsa <rolaŋsa> vi., to recover (from illness), get better in health, survive; *ama aṭṭhe 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. *taṅgrinu, jāgnu*

rolsa vi., to fall away (as in a house or wall after a landslide or earthquake); *nem rol-Ø-an, koṭe 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. *laɖnu, 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, găi 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 downn. Nep. *ghopṭo 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. *khasnu,*
　　　jharnu (D) [cf. hassa, hatcha = S]

rot   n., landslide. Nep. *pahiro* (S) [rose = D]

rotcha   vi., to fall from the the same level. Nep. *laḍnu* (S) [ṭiṭiŋsa = D]

rotsa   see **rossa**

rotho?   adj., coarse, rough. Nep. *khasro* (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. *sãp*

rulău   n., cockroach. Nep. *sāṅlo* (D) [juro = S]

rumsa   vi., to be bent, become wrinkled, wrinkle, shrink (of people and clothes);
　　　ṭhoṇi-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. *bvãso* (S)

ruŋ kwăi   n., potato yam, *Dioscorea bulbifera*. Nep. *ban tarul* (S) [băn kwăi = D]

rupsa   vt., to collect, gather together, heap up; *mi-ye sakalei puyapasa 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 găi 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, bāṭho, jānne*

săisa vi., to understand, know; *găi 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; *băsinṭe găi 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 ṭhăi adv., everywhere. <Nep. *sakal*. Nep. *sabai ṭhāū* (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 ṭhāū* (S) [sakalei ṭhăi = 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, tyaŋ 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 <sāwã> 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; *lawa-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) [ridiʔisa = S]

saŋsisa 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 <sǎrgya> 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]

satǎusa vt., to mutter, hum; *hara ŋah-Ø-u-du to mi? to satǎuh-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)

sãwã 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) [seʔesa = S]

sem n., Tamang person. Nep. *Tāmāṅ* (S) [cf. syere, semni = D]

semni n., Tamang person. Nep. *Tāmāṅ* (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, kāṭh*

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 gogoʔ   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) [sereʔesa = S]

sereŋthali   n., Thangmi name for the river by Phāseluṅ. Nep. *Ghaṭṭe Kholā* (D)

sereʔesa   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, gǎi 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 ṇiŋ 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., hommage, 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*

seʔ   n., testicle. Nep. *gulā* (S) [papasek = D]

seʔesa   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 mārnu (D) [si satcha = S]

sidigare   n., prickly pear, *Opuntia monocantha.* (S) [sijigare = D]

sidu mi   n., corpse (lit. die-sAS-NPT person). Nep. *murdā*

sijigare   n., prickly pear, *Opuntia monocantha.* 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. *siũḍī* (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) [iʔbliŋ = 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) [siriʔ = S]

sirikko ahum   n., louse-egg. Nep. *jumrā-ko phul* (D) [siriko aʔum = S]

siriko aʔum   n., louse-egg. Nep. *jumrā-ko phul* (S) [sirikko ahum = D]

siriʔ   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 micarriage. 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) [syoloʔ 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 gǎi 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, ǎlǎmga 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. *ãṭnu* (D)

soyoŋ n., cylindrical tube to blow the fire. Nep. *ḍhuṅgro* (D)

soʔosoʔosa vt., to make rapid movements with a knife to remove the bark from
small branches. Nep. *kelāunu* (S)

srăi n., I a species of plant. Nep. *giṇolā ghãs* (S)

srăi n., II a species of small tree, *Eurya japonica*, also *Eurya symplocina*. 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.
jhiṅānī (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-cāhĩ*

suguriye pron., who (lit. who-IND-ERG)? Nep. *ko-cāhĩ-le*

suisa vt., to thresh, beat (in a mortar); *saŋa hara-ye sui-sa? kaliŋkulaŋ-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 găi-găi suk-Ø-ŋa-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. *buḍho 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 oŋgaṇeŋ-ŋaŋ 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; *găi sumaka hok-ŋa-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 toŋ tun-Ø-ta-
le nem dăi 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. *chāmnu* (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 kā̃ḍā* (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. *hāḍe biṇe* (D)

sunḍuni   see **sunḍuri**

sunḍuri   <sunḍuni>   n., ritual assistant (in weddings and festivals), steward, servant at a ritual, helper. Nep. *kāmdāri* (D)

suŋdaŋ   n., white yam, *Dioscorea alata*. Nep. *ghar tarul* (S) [nem kwǎi = 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; *gǎ-ye sya-kǎi puṭu-ye suh-u-n-uŋ* (I-ERG cow-PM thorn-INS prick-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT) I pricked the cow with a thorn. Nep. *ghocnu, ghocinu* (D) [suʔusa = S]

susto   adv., slow. <Nep. *susta*

susuksa   vt., to whistle; *nem duŋ-ŋaŋ 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) [daridaŋdaŋ = S]

sutisa   vt., to ward off evil spirits, exorcise; *gǎ-ye suti-sa ma-thaŋ, guru-ye loŋ-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. *dā̃t*

suye   pron., who (lit. who-ERG)? Nep. *kas-le*

suʔusa   <syuʔusa>   vt., to pierce, prick, stab. Nep. *ghocnu* (S) [susa II = D]

sya   n., cow, bovine. Nep. *gāī*

syaca   n., calf (lit. cow-DIM). Nep. *bācho* (D)

syakli   n., cow dung (lit. cow-shit). Nep. *gāīko 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 ṇiŋ <syaṇu> n., white flint stone. Nep. *dalsiṅ* (D) [dogar lyuŋ = S]

syampeʔesa <syampeʔsa> vt., to scold, swear at, rebuke, reprimand, tell off. Nep.
gālī garnu, sarāpnu (S) [kaṭasa ⌣ gǎleisa = D]

syampeʔsa see **syampeʔesa**

syamphuri n., red or black thread worn by women in their hair. Nep. *kapāl-mā
lagāune dhāgo* (D) [phurko = S]

syanḍaŋ n., I cornsilk, *Zea mays*. Nep. Nep. *makai-ko juṅgā* (S) [mus = D]

syanḍaŋ n., II omen, portent for a dead person's spirit. Nep. *bicār* (D)

syaŋ see **isyaŋ**

syaṇu see **syalu ṇiŋ**

syapi n., beer mash. Nep. *jãd-ko chokrā* (D) [syaphi ⌣ pecereʔ = 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 ghãsephisṭo* (D)

syaphi n., beer mush. Nep. *jirmā-ko chokrā* (S) [cf. pecereʔ, syapi = D]

syasyako nalit n., tendon. Nep. *nasā* (S) [sasa = D]

syatcha vt., to explain. Nep. *batāunu* (S) [satsa I = D]

syaʔapa n., rope, cord, thread. Nep. *ḍorī, dhāgo* (S)

syere n., Tamang person. Nep. *Tāmāṅ* (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) [syoʔsyoʔ = S]

syoloʔ 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]

syoŋ n., river. Nep. *kholā* (S) [soŋ = D]

syor n., juice of fermented rice. Nep. *nigār* (S) [toŋ II = D]

syoʔsyoʔ 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 onself, 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]

syuʔusa see **suʔusa**

t

taksa vt., to weave; *ŋyal-ŋyal miŋ tak-sa ma-săi* (soft cloth weave-INF NEG-know) I
don't know how to weave soft material. Nep. *bunnu* (D) [ta*ʔ*asa **II** = S]

tamakhu tundu jyaŋgaṇeŋ n., woodpecker or Himalayan flameback, *Dinopium
shorii* (lit. tabacco drink-SAS-NPT bird), on account of the sounds that Newars
make when sucking on their tobacco pipes). Nep. *lāhã̃ce* (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 ṇe-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. *kāṭh-ko thāl* (S) [ṭoke = 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, khuśī hunu*

tapsa vi., **I** to be able to, be capable of, feel fit to do. Nep. *saknu* (S) [thaŋsa **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 ṇiny-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)
[tra*ʔ*asa = 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 kiṇi tah-u-n-du* (I-ERG shit release-
3P-1s→3-NPT) I am taking a shit. Nep. *garnu, 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) [gwisa = 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) sittting in the sun, I'll braid my hair. Nep. *āphno kes bāṭnu* (D) [teʔesisa = S]

telsa vt., to press, push, squeeze; *găi ari-ŋa-n, găi-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. *telsãpre, cepṭe māchā* (D)

tenterek <tentrek> n., partridge. Nep. *titro* (D) [tentereʔ = S]

tentereʔ n., partridge. Nep. *titro* (S) [tenterek = D]

tentrek see **tenterek**

teŋseŋ n., forest, wood, jungle. Nep. *ban* (D) [teŋsiŋ = S]

teŋsiŋ n., forest, jungle, woods. Nep. *ban* (S) [teŋseŋ = D]

tesa vt., I to thatch (the roof of a house), cover; *ban-ko nem likin-e te-ko măi-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. *jitnu* (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-eŋ-du? tim-o!* (how.many-HNC person be-pAS-NPT count-s→3/IMP) how many people are there? Count them! Nep. *gannu*

tinyaŋ conj., I in this manner, in that way. Nep. *tyasarī* (D)

tinyaŋ conj., II otherwise, if not, then, well. Nep. *ani, natrabhane* (S) [tyaŋ = 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 dăi adv., toward that place, thither. Nep. *tyatā tira*

to dăi hucyoʔ adv., up to that place. Nep. *tyatā māthi* (S) [to dăi hyuṭok = D]

to dăi hyuṭok adv., up to that place. Nep. *tyatā māthi tira* (D) [to dăi hucyoʔ = S]

to dăi nhunăi adv., down to that place. Nep. *tyatā tala* (S) [to dăi nyunăi = D]

to dăi nyunăi adv., down to that place. Nep. *tyatā tala tira* (D) [to dăi nhunăi = 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]

tobasayiŋ adv., from that side. Nep. *utā-bāṭa* (D) [to basiŋ = S]

tobasiŋ adv., from that side. Nep. *utā-bāṭa* (S) [to basayiŋ = D]

togiŋ pron., from there, from that place (lit. that-ABL). Nep. *tyahā̃bāṭa* (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. *jā̃ḍ*

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 măi-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]

toriŋgya 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.handled.mattock break-sAS-3S/PT) the long-handled mattock broke. Nep. *bhā̆cnu, ṭukrinu* (D) [choʔosa ~ ṭheʔesa = S]

torsisa vr., to bend oneself backwards, contort oneself, break some part of oneself; *konṭe tor-si-ŋa-n* (leg break-REF-1s-PT) I broke my leg. Nep. *bhā̆cīnu* (D)

tortar n., breaking and spoiling. Nep. *bhā̆ci-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 mǎi-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. *tyahā̃*

towani adv., in that manner. Nep. *tyaso* (S) [tunyaŋ = D]

toyiŋ pron., from there, from that place (lit. that-ABL). Nep. *tyahā̃-bāṭa* (D) [togiŋ = S]

toyiŋ libi <tyaŋ libi> adv., then, thereafter, after that, afterwards (lit. that-ABL after). Nep. *tyaspachi* (D) [togiŋṇu = 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]

tyaŋ conj., then, well. Nep. *ani* (D) [tinyaŋ ‖ = S]

tyaŋ libi see **toyiŋ libi**

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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) [thaŋŋa 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 oŋgaṇeŋ-ŋaŋ 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]

thaŋgaraŋ <thaŋŋaraŋ> adj., lying on one's back, supine. Nep. *uttānu* (D)

thaŋgaraŋ amisa vi., to sleep lying on one's back; *kutaleŋ-kutaleŋ ni-ko humi thaŋgaraŋ 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)

thaŋna adj., old. Nep. *purāno* (D) [kharu = S]

thaŋna li conj., although, albeit. Nep. *bhae ta pani* (S) [thale woi = D]

thaŋŋaraŋ see **thaŋgaraŋ**

thaŋŋaraŋsisa vr., to lie on one's back (not sleeping); *almaŋ ni-tuŋ-le, găi thaŋŋaraŋ-si-ŋa-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)

thaŋsa vi., ɪ to be healthy, get better after being unwell, recover; *narek-ko cici cya-ta-ŋa-le, găi thaŋ-ŋa-n* (pheasant-GEN meat eat-IPP-1s-PCL I recover-1s-PT)

having eaten some pheasant meat, I recovered. Nep. *niko hunu, taṅgrinu* [cf. jasa]

thaŋsa   vt., **II** to be able; *isa ci-min-sa găi ma-thaŋ, 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, naleŋ 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; *toŋ ma-thah-u-na-n? cunăi-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)

theleŋsa   vi.,   to slip. Nep. *ciplinu* (S)

thel-thel   adj.,   watery, wobbly. Nep. *gilo* (D)

themba   n.,   doorframe, doorway. Nep. *ḍhokā* (D) [cf. khaṇou]

themthemsa   vt., **I** to lull, calm down; *huca cic-ami-sa-kăi them-them-ko măi-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)

themthemsa   vt., **II** to make soft by handling (as with fruit), cause to become soft; *gă-ye mui them-them-u-n-uŋ* (I-ERG banana make.soft-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT) I softened the banana by handling. Nep. *gilgilyāunu* (D)

theŋsa   vi.,   to stand up, stand erect, become erect (especially of a penis); *uma ni-to-le, to-ko abu theŋ-Ø-an* (wife see-TPP-PCL his-GEN penis become.erect-sAS-3S/PT) seeing his wife, his penis became erect. Nep. *ṭhāḍinu, uṭhnu, ṭhāḍo hunu, ubhinu* (D) [ṭhiŋsa = S]

thilsa   vt.,   to plaster, smear, paint; *naka nem khem-u-na-n? naleŋ thil-sa beryaŋ 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 ḍokliŋ 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) [thiʔisa = S]

thisa maja   vi.,   to menstruate; *găi-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) [thiʔisa maja = S]

thiʔbliŋ   adj., wrong side, wrong way up. Nep. *ulṭo* (S) [biliŋ = D]

thiʔisa   vt., to touch. Nep. *chunu* (S) [thisa = D]

thiʔisa 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; *gǎi thombe tha-ŋa-n* (I surprise be-1s-PT) I was totally surprised. Nep. *akamakka, chakka parnu* (D)

thoṇok   see **roṭhok**

thope   n., broom, sweep. Nep. *kuco*

thopsa   vi., to be enough of something when shared out or distributed; *bubu-ye sakalei-kǎi chya piy-Ø-u-no, ni-kǎi 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 makǎi 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; *naŋ-ko miŋ kiji thah-Ø-an, ka-te ra-Ø! gǎ-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)

thulǎisisa   vr., to masturbate oneself. Nep. *āphai cholnu* (S) [thurulsisa = D]

thumsa   vi. and vt., I to mark, stain, stick; *naŋ-ko kapu-ko mus-ŋaŋ 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, ṭãsinu* (D)

thumsa   vt., II to dip, soak, drown; *saŋa-ko isa cya-sa-kǎi, ken-te thum-ko mǎi-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. *jãḍ hālnu* (D)

thurjinsa   vi., to stumble, fall down; *mi ṭhoṇe tha-Ø-ta-le, miryaŋ 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 beryaŋ, konṭe 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) [thulǎisisa = S]

thusa　vt., to pull up weeds by hand, weed (only in rice and millet fields); *racya-ko pebu-te ṭhare thu-sa jet găi 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. *sũḍ 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)

ṭăi-ṭăi　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. *hãge* (D)

ṭakasa　vi., to be sweet; *toŋ 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. *cãp* (D)

ṭamsil　n., marrow. Nep. *māsī* (D) [ṭaŋa = S]

ṭaŋ　n., the space between open legs. (D)

ṭaŋa　n., marrow. Nep. *māsī* (S) [ṭamsil = D]

ṭaŋsa　vi. and vt., to be opened, open (a door); *khaṇou ṭaŋ-Ø-an* (door be.open-sAS-3S/PT) the door opened; *gă-ye khaṇou ṭaŋ-u-n-uŋ* (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, găi ami-sa ma-thaŋ* (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-kăi 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 miŋ ṭek-Ø-an* (child-GEN clothes tear-sAS-3S/PT) the child's clothes are torn. Nep. *cyātnu, cyātinu* (D) [cyeʔesa = 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 camăi 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 laŋga-te uni cyaṭaŋ-si-ŋa-du, găi naleŋ makăi 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 bhã̄cnu* (D)

ṭiklak   n., drongo cuckoo, *Surniculus lugubris*. Nep. *kālo cibe, cibe koilī* (D) [cyiklaʔ = S]

ṭiku   n., black ant. Nep. *kamilā* (D) [cyuku = S]

ṭikupaŋ   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 măine   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; *găi-găi yaŋ ṭila-ŋa-n* (I-PM today be.cold-1s-PT) I'm cold today. Nep. *jāḍo hunu* (D) [cyilasa = S]

ṭimpăi   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); *găi-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. *macheṭ, lāmkhuṭṭe* (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) [ṭiʔisa = S]

ṭisensa <ṭiṭensa> vt., to teach, explain; *guru-ye ni-ko kham sakalăi naŋ-kăi 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. *ãkhā phūṭāunu* (D)

ṭitsisa vr., to destroy one's own eyes. (D)

ṭiṭensa see **ṭisensa**

ṭiṭiŋsa vi., to fall (from the same level), to fall down, keel over; *to mi toŋ tun-Ø-ta-le, ṭaye ṭiṭiŋ-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]

ṭiʔisa vt., to close, shut. Nep. *thunnu, lagāunu* (S) [ṭisa = D]

ṭoisa vt., to undress someone else, take off someone else's clothes, *gă-ye uma-ko miŋ ṭoiy-u-n-uŋ* (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 jewellry; *găi laŋi ṭoi-si-ŋa-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) [taŋgaʔ = S]

ṭoklok adv., on one's haunches (inversion of Dolakhā form). Nep. *ṭukrukka* (S) [loṭok = D]

ṭokṭok ḍaŋgaṇeŋ n., woodpecker. Nep. *lāhăce* (D) [ṭokṭoke jyaŋgaṇeŋ = S]

ṭokṭoke jyaŋgaṇeŋ n., woodpecker. Nep. *lāhăce* (S) [ṭokṭok ḍaŋgaṇeŋ = D]

ṭolsa vt., I to rinse or wash one's mouth; *rag-Ø-du toŋ tun-ta-ŋa-le, ugo ṭol-u-n-uŋ* (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-tuŋ-le, doŋ paŋku-ŋaŋ ṭol-ko măi-Ø-du* (buffalo chop-1s/TPP-PCL instestine 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); *găi paŋku-ye ṭol-si-ŋa-du* (I water-INS rinse-REF-1s-NPT) I am rinsing myself off. Nep. *āphai pakhālinu* (D)

ṭoŋgoʔ n., trough. Nep. *okhal* (S) [koŋ = D]

ṭopsa   vt., to wash clothes by beating them on rocks; *ahe habi, ama-ko ama-ye miŋ*
   ṭop-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, ciũḍo* (S)

ṭoṭhok   n., beak. Nep. *thutuno* (D)

ṭukusiŋ   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. *lãkurī* (D)

ṭuli   see ṭuṇi

ṭuṇi   <ṭuli> n., goat. Nep. *bākhro, bākhrī* (D) [culi = S]

ṭupsa   vt., to husk rice or millet in a mortar, cleanse; *saŋa ṭup-ko măi-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; *paŋku tun-sa ali-ŋa-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) [ṭuʔusa = S]

ṭuṭuli   n., head of a sprouting mushroom or phallic shoot of plant. Nep. *ṭusā*

ṭuṭumbaraŋ   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)

ṭuʔusa   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. kispăi,
   kipal = S]

ṭyaŋkasuna   n., a species of shrub of which the flower is used in Thangmi wedding
   rituals. (D)

ṭyaŋ-ṭyaŋ   adj., naked. Nep. *nāṅgo*

ṭh

ṭhăi   n., area, place, region. <Nep. *ṭhāũ* (D)

ṭhansa   vt., to move, transfer, change; *konṭe amiy-Ø-an, ṭhan-sa beryaŋ 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-yiŋ ṭhan-si-ŋa-n* (I that-ABL move-REF-1s-PT) I moved from that place. Nep. *sarnu, sārnu* (D)

ṭhaŋsa vt., I to bring out a god from hiding, discover a god; *guru-ye dewa ka dese-yiŋ ṭhaŋ-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)

ṭhaŋsa vt., II to lift up, pick up (blankets and clothes). Nep. *ṭhaḍyāunu* (D)

ṭhapraŋ 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]

ṭhău-ṭhău adj., hard, crunchy; *ka maṇǎi aṭhe ṭhău-ṭhău 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]

ṭheleʔe n., wooden vase or vessel, filled with beer at a Thangmi wedding. Nep. *ṭhekī* (S) [ṭhilik = D]

ṭhemsa vi. and vt., to be broken, break, crack; *ṇiŋ ṭhem-Ø-an* (stone be.broken-sAS-3S/PT) the stone is broken; *gǎ-ye gaṇa ṭhem-u-n-uŋ* (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, cyenchyeleʔ = S]

ṭheŋga n., walking stick without handle. Nep. *laṭṭhī* (S) [ṭhuwale = D]

ṭhesa vt., to displace water, pour water from one place to another; *ka ahe thah-Ø-an, paŋku 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)

ṭheʔesa vt., to break. Nep. *bhãcnu* (S) [torsa = D]

ṭhi n., fodder, weeds. Nep. *ghãs* (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) [ṭhiʔisa = S]

ṭhilik   n.,   wooden vase or vessel, filled with beer for a Thangmi wedding. ?<Nep.
ṭhekī (D) [ṭeleʔe = S]

ṭhiŋgya   adj.,   upright, standing, standing straight; *mi ṭhiŋgya theŋ-Ø-du* (person
straight stand-up-sAS-NPT) the person is standing up straight. Nep. *ṭhāḍo* (D)

ṭhiŋsa   vi.,   to stand erect, become hard. Nep. *ṭhāḍinu* (S) [theŋsa = D]

ṭhiʔisa   vi. and vt.,   to be broken apart, be torn, cut into two parts, break apart. Nep.
cūḍinu (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*

ṭhoṇe   n.,   old man, husband. Nep. *buḍho* (D) [chyoṇe = S]

ṭhoṇe bajya   n.,   great-grandfather. <Nep. *jijyu-bāje* (D) [chyoṇe bajya = S]

ṭhoṇe 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) [chyoṇi
chuku = S]

ṭhoṇi   n.,   old woman, wife. Nep. *buḍhī* (D) [chyoṇi = 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) [chyoṇi aji = S]

ṭhoṇi bojyăi   n.,   great-grandmother. <Nep. *jijyu-bojyu* (D) [chyoṇi bujyu = S]

ṭhorok   see **roṭhok**

ṭhosa   n.,   I plant shoots. ?<Nep. *ṭusā* (D) [ancame = S]

ṭhosa   vt.,   II to send, send away; *gă-ye ca ṭisen-sa-kăi ṭhoh-Ø-u-n-uŋ* (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-ŋa
libi, ṭhum-ko măi-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) [theŋga = 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.
kūḍinu, ṭhokinu (D)

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u

ubo   adj.,   white. Nep. *seto* (D) [obo = S]

ubhoŋkhaṭi   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. *gāītihāre phul* (D)

ucya   adj., small. Nep. *sānu* (D) [ocyanaca = S]

ucya aji   n., husband's father's younger brother's wife, wife's father's younger brother's wife. Nep. *kānchī sāsu* (D)

ucya chuku   n., husband's father's younger brother, wife's father's younger brother. Nep. *kānchā sasurā* (D)

ucya ḍamari   n., younger sister's husband's younger brother. Nep. *sāno juvāī* (D)

ucya jarphu   n., elder sister's husband's younger brother. Nep. *kānchā bhinājyu* (D)

ucya omla   n., little finger, pinkie. <Nep. *kāncī aūlā* (D) [kanci laʔ ∽ kanci cikuri = S]

ucyaca   adj., very small. Nep. *dherai sānu* (D) [ocyanaca = 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 ∽ kancaʔapa = 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. *alikati* (D) [uchini = S]

uchincǎi   adj. and adv., a little, very little. Nep. *thorai, alikati* (D) [uchini = S]

uchincǎi thasa   vi., to decrease, become less; *habi gǎi-go pepelek ahe hok-Ø-thyo, naleŋ uchincǎi 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) [uchincǎi thasa = D]

uchinica   <ochinca> adv., a little. Nep. *alikati* (S) [uchinca = D]

uchu   n., mulberry, *Morus laevigata*. Nep. *kimbu* (S) [ṭikupaŋ = D]

uchyiʔsa   vt., to point out. Nep. *dekhāunu* (S) [cikhetsa = D]

udeŋpala   n., snail. Nep. *ciple kirā* (D)

udhaŋga   adj., open, uncovered, exposed. ?<Nep. *ughāro* (D)

ugo   n., mouth. Nep. *mukh* (D) [ogo = S]

ukiŋsa   vi., to be twilight or dusk. Nep. *jusmus hunu* (S) [cf. ukhiŋsa = 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]

ukhiŋ adj. and adv., dark. Nep. *ādhyāro* (D)

ukhiŋsa vi., to get dark; *uni nip-Ø-an, ukhiŋ-Ø-an, naleŋ cawa-sa naŋ 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. *ādhyāro hunu, rāt
   parnu* (D) [cf. ukiŋsa = S]

ulam n., path, way, road, throughfare. Nep. *bāṭo*

ulam ban n. neol., flashlight, torch (lit. road friend). (S)

ulam maloŋyaŋan phrase, I went the wrong way. Nep. *bāṭo bhulē* (S)

ulaŋ n., lower leg, from the knee to the foot. Nep. *pãsulā*

ulica adv., a little, some; *gǎi thaŋmi kham ulica cijyaŋ-ŋa-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, gǎ-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, naleŋ 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. *ariṅāl* (D)

ulum n., II the upper part of a grinding stone, hand pestle. Nep. *lohoro* (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 *maṅsir*,
   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; *saŋa-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 cyaṭaŋsisa 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]

uniŋ   adv., in this manner, in this way, like, than. Nep. *yasarī, jasto* (D) [iniŋ ~ waniŋ = S]

unise   adv. and n., daytime, any time after the morning meal and before the evening meal. Nep. *diũso*

uni-uni   adv., day by day, every day. Nep. *din kā din* (S)

uŋ   n., silver. Nep. *cãdī* (D) [cf. luŋ]

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); *toŋ ahe tun-ŋa-n, naleŋ usi ta-sa-kǎi priŋ ya-ŋa-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) [ostoʔosa = 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, gă-ye usup-ko
măi-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 găi 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)

uṭhibal   n., trap, snare (for catching deer and jackals). Nep. *darjan, dharāp* (D)

uyu   n., mouse. Nep. *muso*

uyuameʔ   n., bat. Nep. *camero* (S) [amek = D]

uyupul   n., mouse trap. Nep. *jyābīlo, dharāp*

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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. *titepātī* (D)

w

wa   n., chicken, hen. Nep. *kukhurā*

waca   n., chick (lit. chicken-DIM). Nep. *callā*

wacareŋ   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. *callāphūl, ban kerā-ko phūl* (D)

wagal   n., henhouse. Nep. *khor* (D) [gaŋkhal = S]

wagare   n., dawn (lit. hen-rooster). Nep. *rimrim ujyālo* (S)

wako kli   n., chicken shit. Nep. *suli* [cf. penṭe]

wakhe   n., story, chat, words; *ni-ye wakhe loŋ-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]

walŋa   num., five. Nep. *pā̃c* (D) [whalŋa = S]

wancha   vt., to bring up. Nep. *tala-bāṭa lyāunu* (S) [wansa = D]

waniŋ   adv., as in, like. Nep. *jasto* (S) [uniŋ = D]

wansa   vt., to bring up; *tete-ye soŋ-yiŋ paŋku 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]

waŋsa   vi., to come up, come from below; *su waŋ-Ø-an, găi ma-nih-u-n-uŋ?* (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*

warăisa   vi., to shiver; *ṭila ṭhăi-te hok-ta-ŋa-le, warăi-ŋa-n* (cold place-LOC be-IPP-1s-PCL shiver-1s-PT) sitting in a cold place I shivered. Nep. *kāmnu*

warak   n., precipice, steep slope; *warak koṇoŋ-siy-Ø-an* (precipice echo-REF-sAS-3S/PT) the cliff echoed. Nep. *bhīr* (D) [waraʔ = S]

waraʔ   n., precipice, steep slope. Nep. *bhīr* (S) [warak = D]

warewasan   n., fruit(s). Nep. *phalphūl* (S)

wari   n., younger brother's wife, son's wife, father's younger brother's son's wife, sister's son's wife. Nep. *(bhānjī) buhārī* (D) [cf. huwari, bini wari ∿ ca wari = S]

warsa   vt., to throw, throw away; *thaŋna miŋ gă-ye war-u-n-uŋ* (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)

wasa　vi., **I** to blow (of wind); *miryaŋ jekha phasa wah-Ø-an pole ṭiṭiŋ-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)

wasa　vt., **II** to plough; *baṭhe wah-u-n-du thaŋun* (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) [wasa = D]

whali　<hwali>　num., four. Nep. *cār* (S) [oli = D]

whalŋa　num., five. Nep. *pã̃c* (S) [walŋa = D]

woi　adv., also. Nep. *pani* (D) [li **I** = S]

woile　adv., folding together of two palms; *woile makăi piy-o!* (hands.together maize give-s→3/IMP) give the maize with your hands together! Nep. *añjuli* (D)

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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)

yaletsa　vi., to arrive (lit. go-appear-INF), *ulam ălămga hok-Ø-thyo, ni naleŋ 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]

yaloŋsa　vt., to go and do; *găi jet ya-loŋ-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)

yamiryaŋ　adv., nowadays, these days. Nep. *ājkāl, ājabholī* (D) [yaŋmeryaŋ = 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. *jã̃to*

yante siri　n., a female Thangmi clan name attested in the village of Suspā.

yaŋ　adv., today. Nep. *āja* (D) [igyaŋ = S]

yaŋmeryaŋ　adv., nowadays, these days. Nep. *ājkāl, ājabholī* (S) [yamiryaŋ = D]

yaṇesa vt., to go and beat; *naŋ jakcho ya-ṇeh-u-na-du?* (you wheat go-beat-3P-2s-NPT) are you off to thresh the wheat? Nep. *kuṭna jānu* (D)

yasa vt., to feed, give food; *makar-kăi sola ya-sa ma-ja* (monkey-PM snack feed-INF NEG-okay) you shouldn't feed snacks to the monkey. Nep. *khuvāunu* (D) [yaʔasa = S]

yasisa vr., I to do, speak, tell. Nep. *garnu, 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? makăi 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. *bhãcna jānu* (D)

yaʔ n., giant taro, *Alocasia indicum*; co-co yam, *Colocasia esculenta*. Nep. *piṇḍālu* (S) [phaŋgaṇeŋ ⁓ yak = D]

yaʔasa 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. *pānīroṭī* (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) [yoʔsa ⁓ jyabsa = S]

yousa vi., to fit into a space; *mi aphinca hok-Ø-du ṭhăi-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*

yoʔsa 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 bãdar* (D)

yugulaʔasa vt., to tickle. Nep. *kutkutyāunu* (S) [acyukuli loŋsa = 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); *jhări yuw-Ø-an* (rain come.from.above-sAS-3S/PT) it's raining. Nep. *māthi-bāṭa āunu* (D) [hoʔoginiŋ yusa = S]

yuʔ n., rhesus monkey, *Macaca mulata*. Nep. *bãdar* (S) [makar = D]

APPENDICES

Thangmi kinship terms for offspring in Sindhupālcok
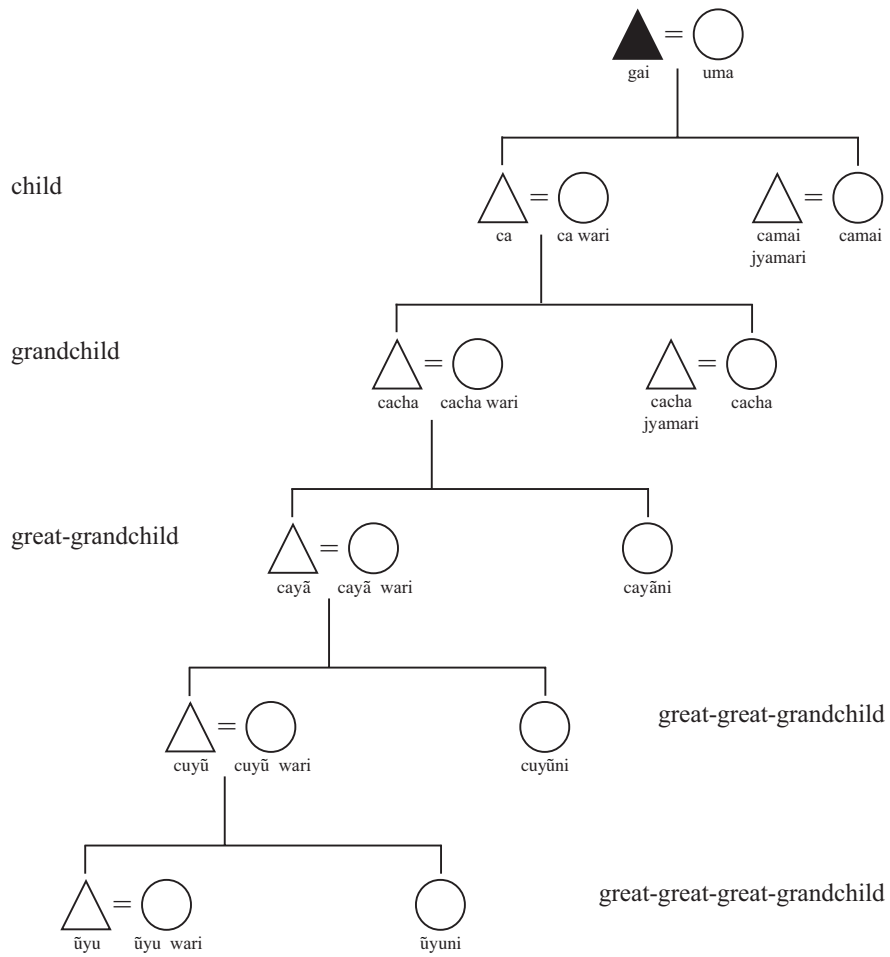
Female ego Thangmi female in-law alliance in Sindhupālcok
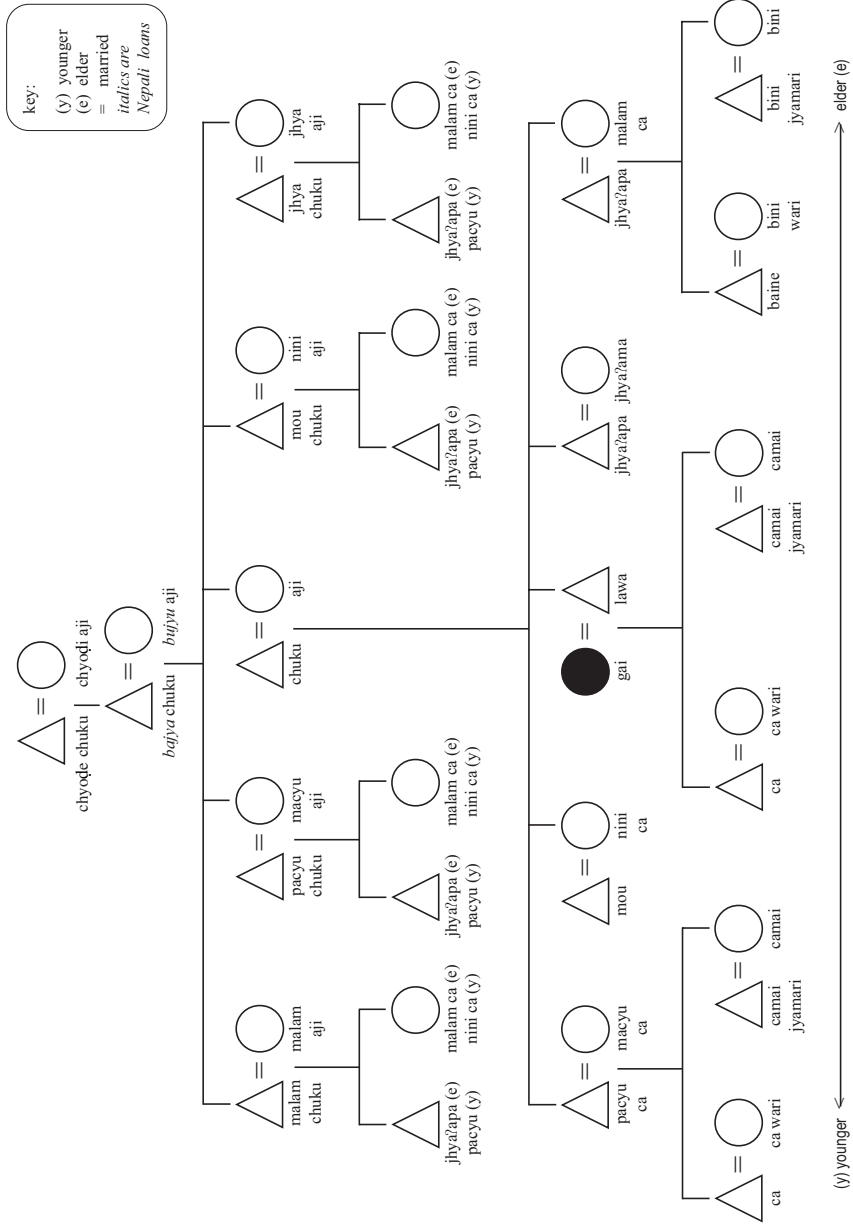
Female ego Thangmi male in-law alliance in Sindhupālcok

key:
(y) younger
(e) elder
= married
italics are
Nepali loans

Male ego Thangmi female in-law alliance in Sindhupālcok

Male ego Thangmi paternal kin in Sindhupālcok

key:
(y) younger
(e) elder
= married
italics are
Nepali loans

elder (e) →
← (y) younger

Thangmi maternal descent in Sindhupālcok

key:
(y) younger
(e) elder
= married
italics are Nepali loans
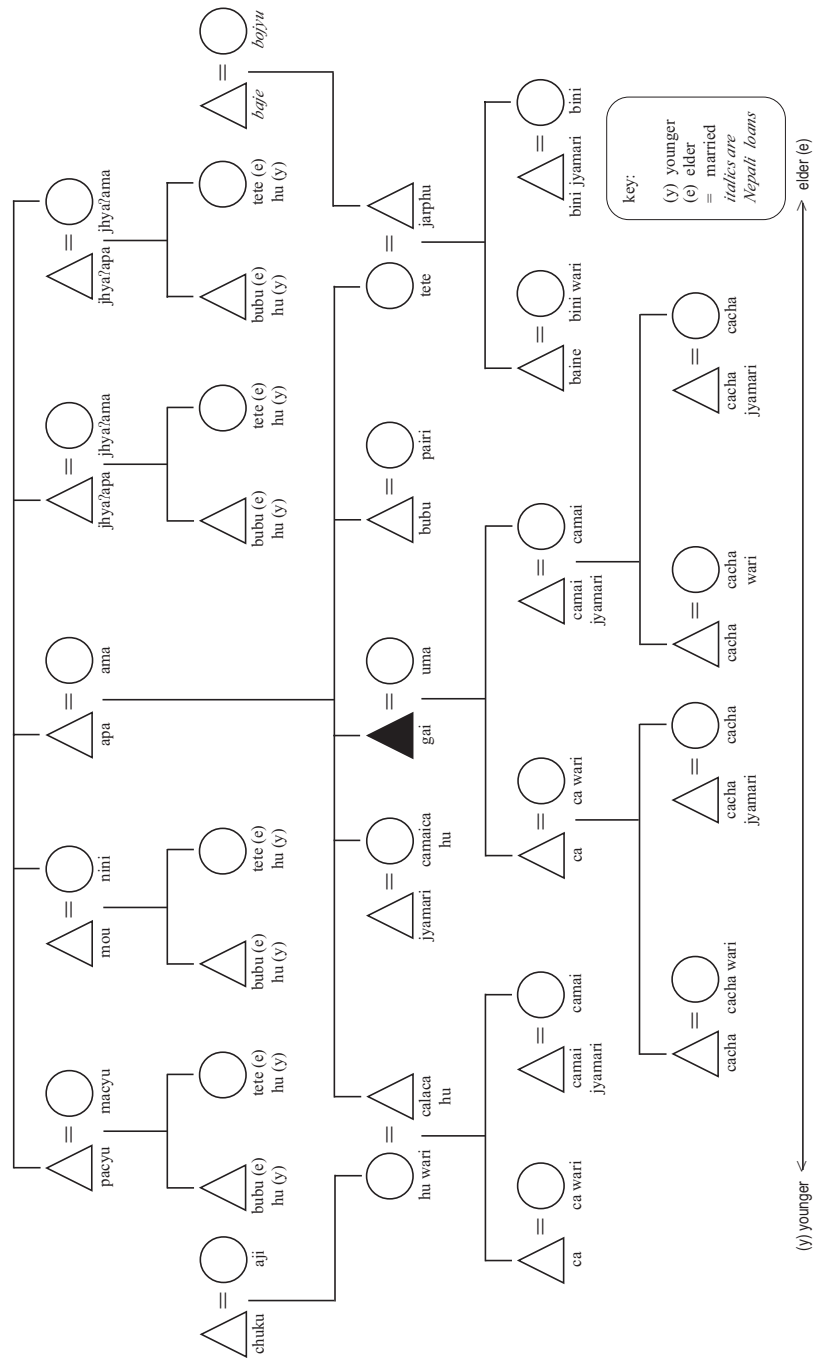
Thangmi male in-law alliance in Sindhupālcok
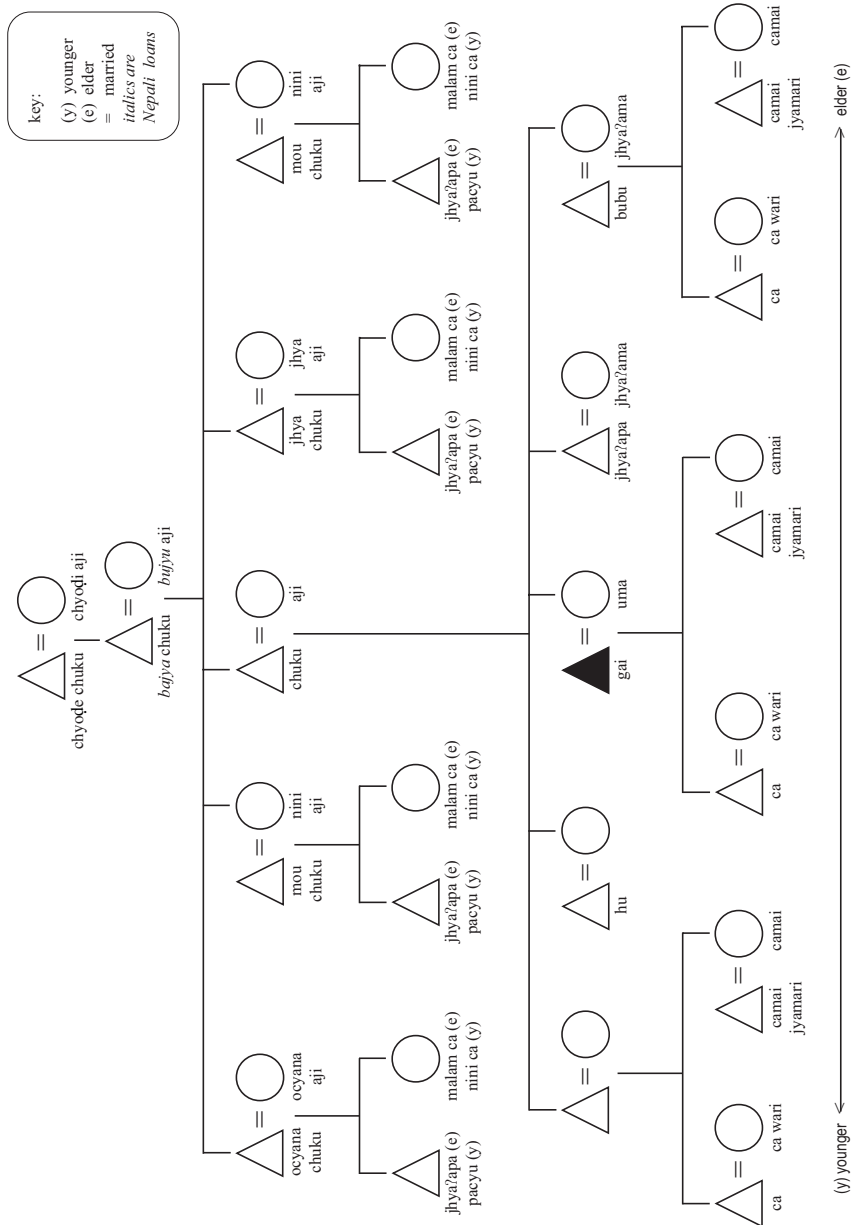
Male ego Thangmi paternal kin in Dolakhā

key:
(y) younger
(e) elder
= married
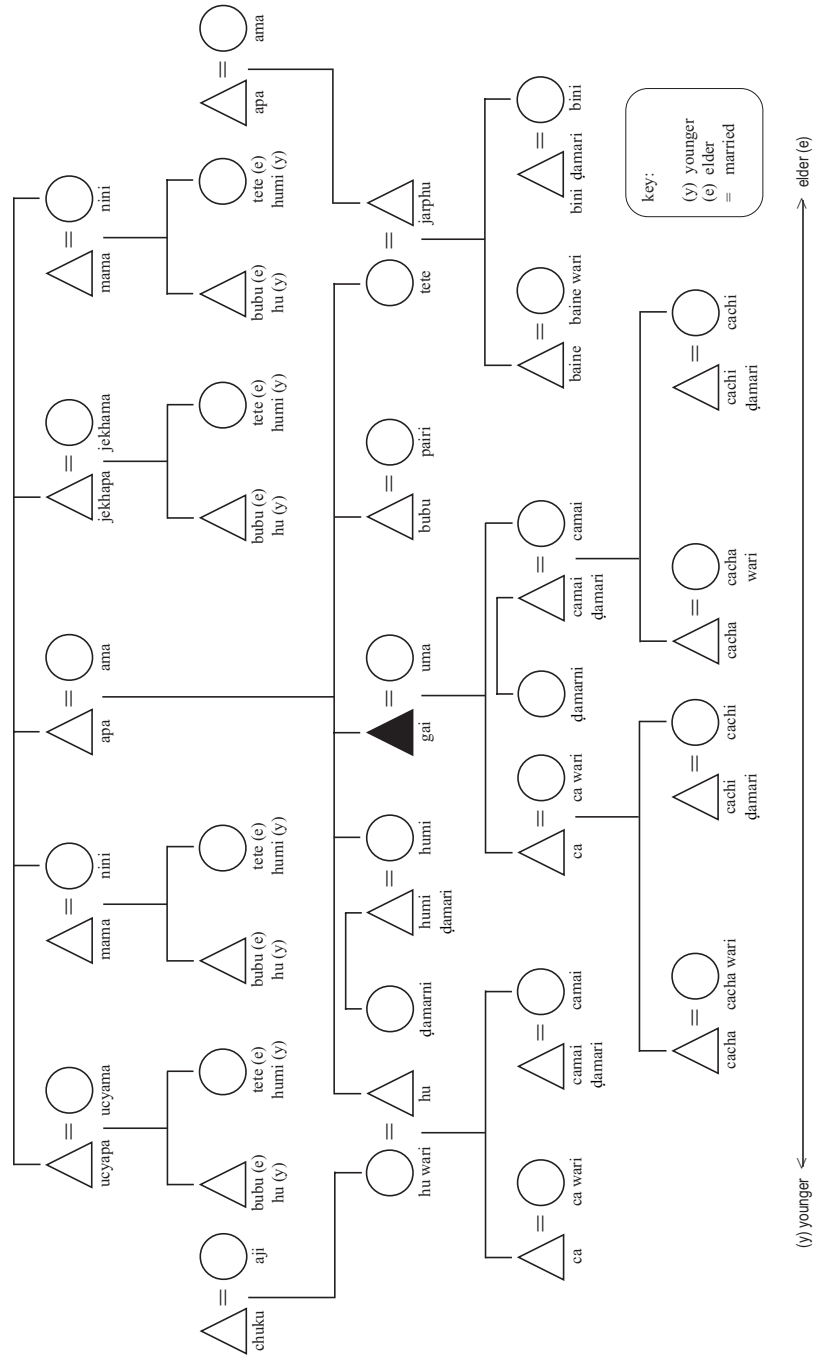
Thangmi maternal descent in Dolakhā

key:
(y) younger
(e) elder
= married

elder (e)

(y) younger
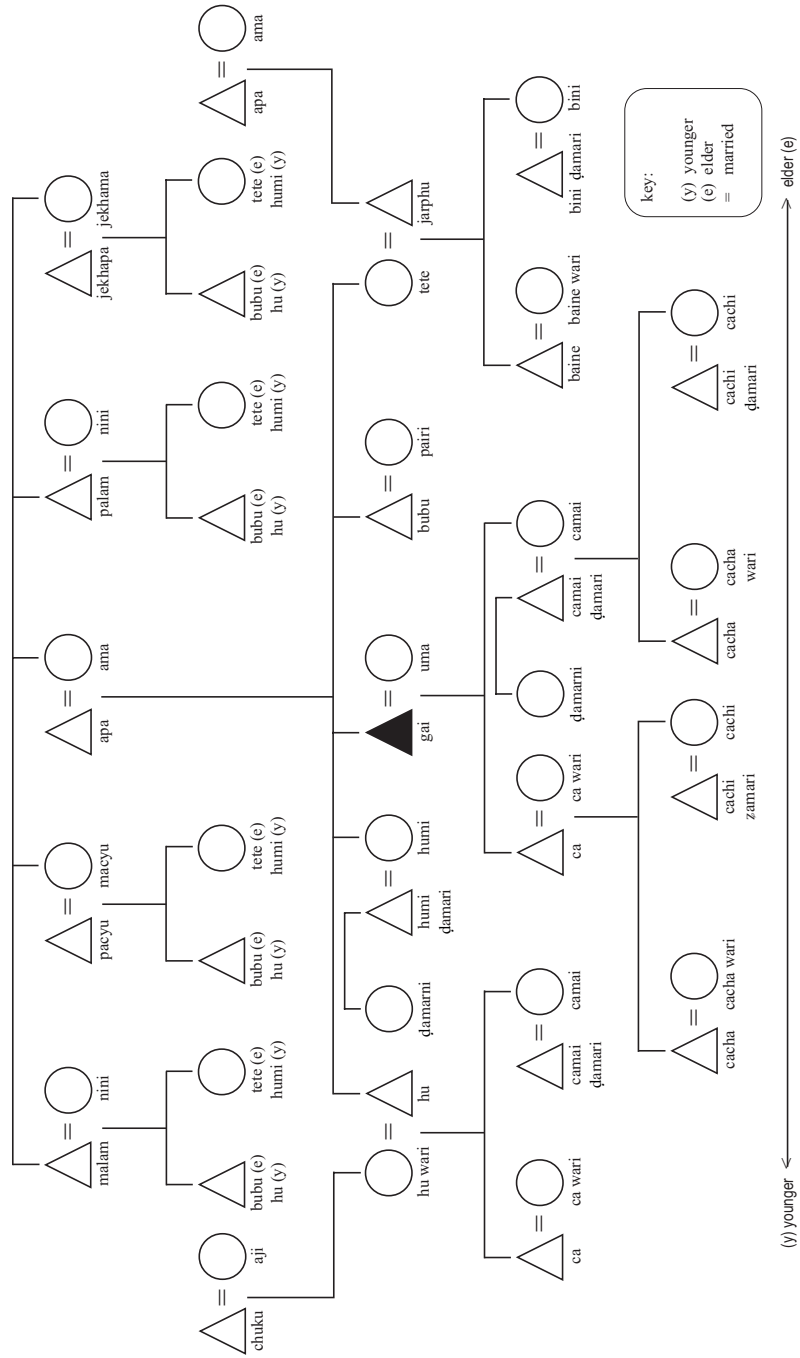
Male ego Thangmi sisters-in-law in Dolakhā

key:

(y) younger
(e) elder
=   married
*Nepali loans
are in italics*

(e) elder →

← younger (y)

Thangmi male in-law alliance in Dolakhā

key:
(y) younger
(e) elder
= married
italics are Nepali loans
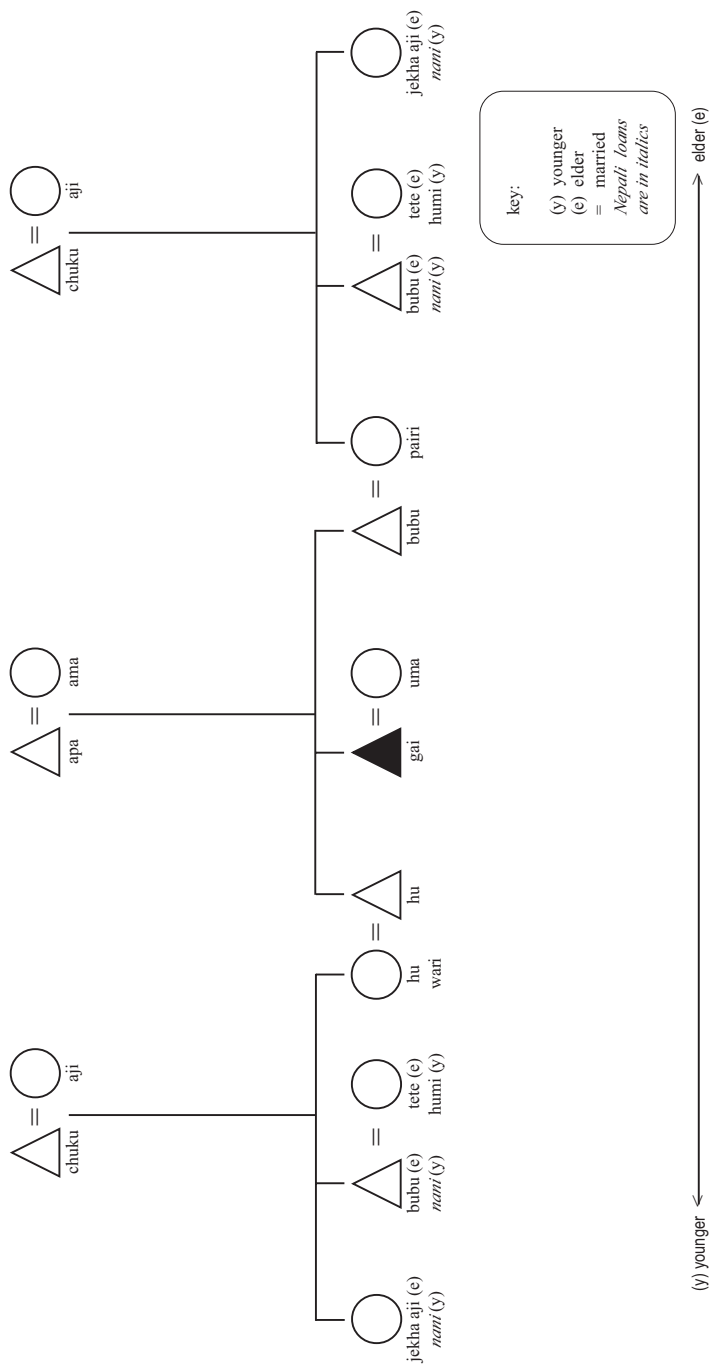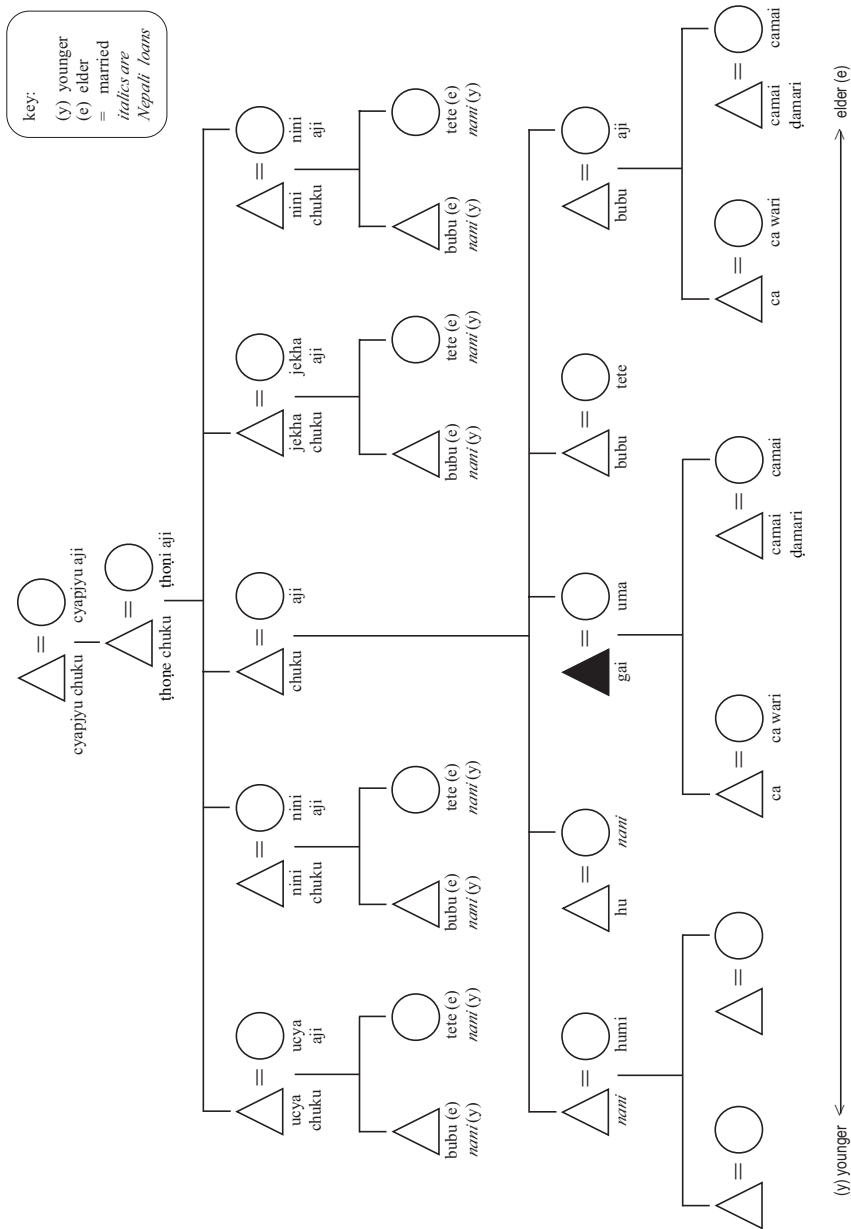
Male ego Thangmi brothers-in-law in Dolakhā

key:

(y) younger
(e) elder
= married

(y) younger ← → elder (e)

Female ego Thangmi male in-law alliance in Dolakhā

key:
(y) younger
(e) elder
= married
italics are
Nepali loans
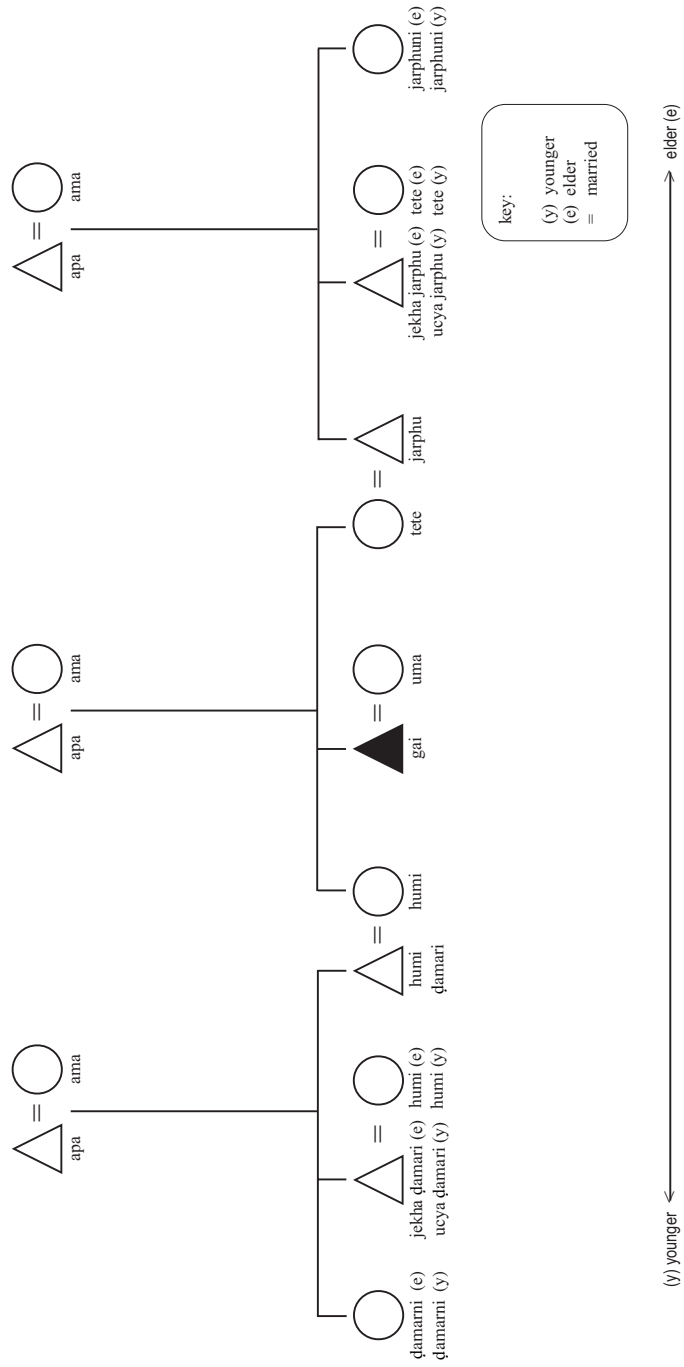
Thangmi female in-law alliance in Dolakhā

Female ego Thangmi female in-law alliance in Dolakhā

key:
(y) younger
(e) elder
= married
italics are
Nepali loans
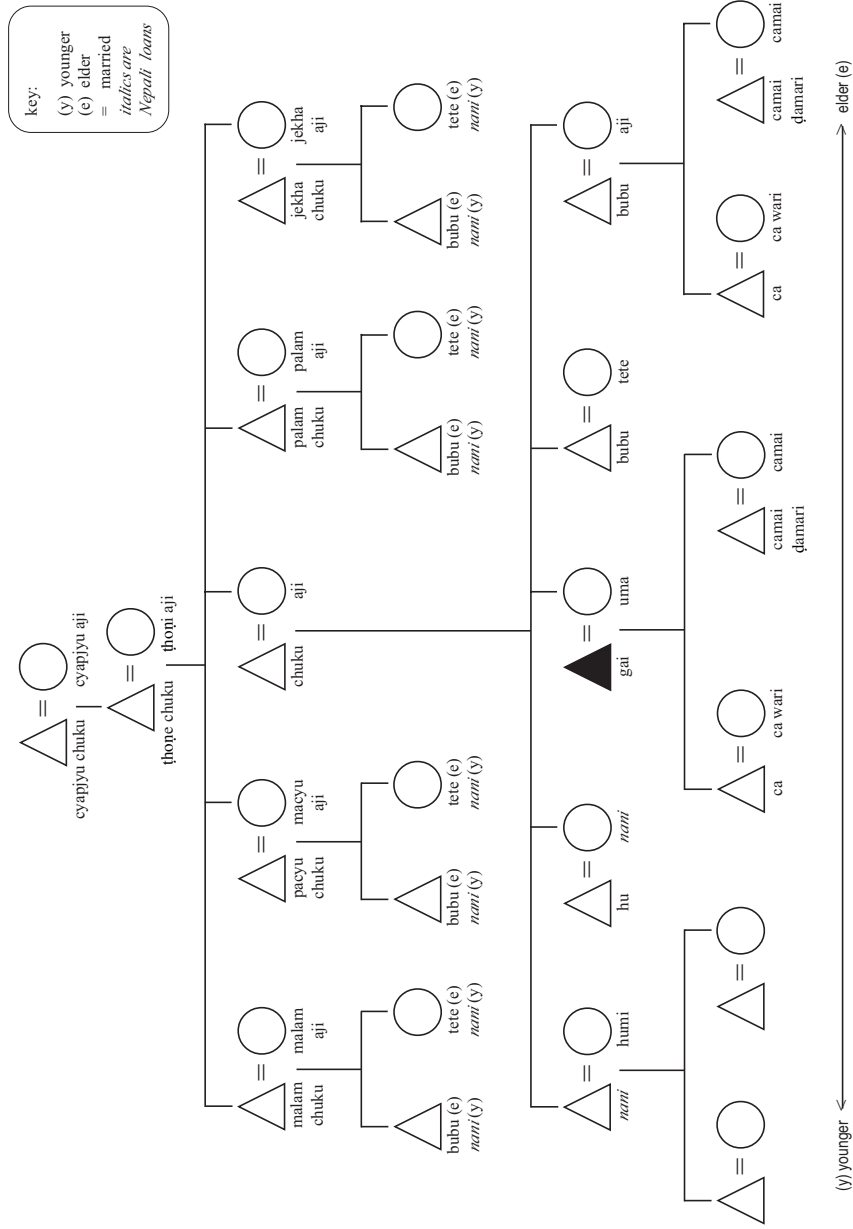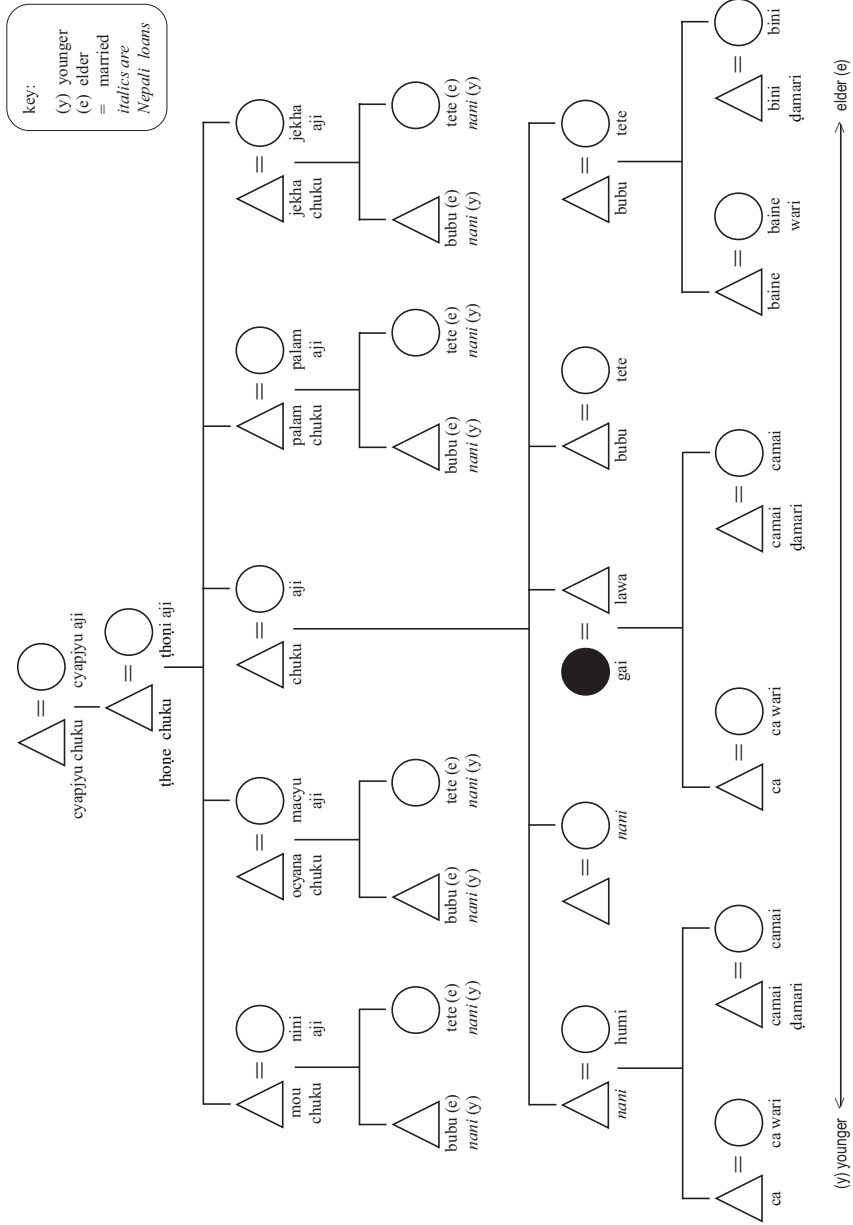
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stellingen, samenvatting en *curriculum vitae*
behorend bij het proefschrift

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 Dāmāraṅ (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 Cokaṭī (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.