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

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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 ṅah-Ø-u-no, 'apa, gai naṅ-ko ca*
 after that person-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT father I you-GEN son
tha-ṅa-du.
 be-1s-NPT

Then that person said, 'father, I am your son'.

(Nepali ... *ma tapāṅko chorā hū*)

- 2 *'ma-let-na-n-be, gai kaṭa-ṅa-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 ... *tapāṅ ko hunuhuncha?*)

- 3 *naleṅ-guri nan ni thaṅmi thay-i-du, nan thaṅmi-kai hyate*
 present-IND now we Thangmi be-1pPS-NPT now Thangmi-PM up
hen-ko mai-Ø-du.
 take-ADH must-SAS-NPT

But now we say that we are Thangmi, and it's time for Thangmi people to rise up. (Nepali ... *hāmī thāmī haū*)

- 4 *niṅ ka dese-ko mi tha-ni-du ra ma-tha?*
 you(p) this village-GEN person be-2p-NPT or NEG-be

Are you(p) from this village or not?

(Nepali *timīharu yo gāū-ko mānche hau ki hoinau?*)

- 5 *camai, jekha dese-ko, ucya dese-ko, sakalei di-gore*
 daughter big village-GEN small village-GEN all one-CLF
thay-eṅ-du.
 be-pAS-NPT

Daughters, whether they come from big villages or small ones, are all the same. (Nepali ... *sab euṭai hun*)

The verb *tha-sa* 'to be' also occurs in the preterite, as shown in example 6 below. Inchoative senses, reflecting the transition from one state to another, are also conveyed by *tha-sa* 'to be', in which case the verb may occur in conjunction with an adjective. In such cases, illustrated by examples 7 to 11, *tha-sa* 'to be' is best translated into English as 'become'.

- 6 *nan gai no barsa tha-ηa-n.*
now I seven year be-1s-PT
I was then seven years old.
- 7 *gai rage tha-ηa-n.*
I anger be-1s-PT
I became angry.
- 8 *libi, gai jekha tha-ηa-n.*
after I big be-1s-PT
Soon thereafter, I grew up [lit. became big].
- 9 *'nan humi jekha tha-na-n, nan-ko bore loη-ko*
now younger.sister big be-2s-PT you-GEN marriage do-ADH
mai-∅-an, hara tha-∅-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-∅-an, huca-pali jekha*
after that two-HNC child give.birth-SAS-3S/PT child-p big
thay-eη-an.
be-pAS-3S/PT
She then gave birth to twins, and they grew up.
- 11 *'ma-thaη-u-n-du jet-guri hara woi ma-hok-∅-thyo,*
NEG-be.able-3P-1s→3-NPT work-IND what also NEG-be-SAS-3S/COND
nal thone tha-ηa-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?’ thoŋi*
 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 ŋisen-si-na-n-be, naŋ jekha mi tha-na-du.*
 you-ERG this word teach-REF-2S-PT-TOP you big person be-2S-NPT

If you learn this stuff, then you will be an important person.

But the verb *tha-sa* ‘to be’ does not always refer to future time, it can also indicate a sense of ‘being in a place’ or ‘residing’, as in example 17.

- 17 *di-gore dese-te nis-ka bubu humi thay-ey-du.*
 one-CLF village-LOC two-HNC elder.brother younger.sister be-PAS-NPT

In a certain village there live two people, a brother and his younger sister.

The verb *tha-sa* 'to be' may also occur with the negative prefix <ma-> (NEG), as in examples 18 and 19 below. Used at the end of an interrogative sentence, *ma-tha* (NEG-be) 'is not' means 'isn't it?' or 'isn't that so?', rather like Nepali *hoina ra*. This sense is illustrated by examples 20 and 21 below.

- 18 *'naŋ habi jekha mi tha-ko mai-Ø-thyo, yaŋ ka*
 you before big person be-ADH must-SAS-3sCOND today throughout
ma-tha-na-n.'
 NEG-be-2s-PT

'You should have been an important person by now, but until today you haven't become one.'

- 19 *gai-gai ari ma-tha-ŋa-n, ma-ari-ŋa-n woi.*
 I-PM fear NEG-be-1s-PT NEG-be.afraid-1s-PT also

I wasn't afraid, no, I wasn't scared at all.

- 20 *ama sumaka hok-Ø-an, 'ama, to ni-ko apa ma-tha?'*
 mother silent be-SAS-3S/PT mother that we-GEN father NEG-be

Mother fell silent, 'mother, isn't he our father?' [the son asked].

- 21 *naŋ-ko apa arkapole-ko guru hok-Ø-thyo, ma-tha?*
 you-GEN father walnut.tree-GEN shaman be-SAS-3sCOND NEG-be

Your father was the shaman of Walnut Tree [village], wasn't he?

When referring to the presence or existence of family members who are thought to be permanent and inalienable additions, Thangmi *tha-sa* 'to be' is best translated into English as 'to get, to have', as in examples 22 to 24. In the three examples below, the speaker is impressing upon the listener that there is no expectation that he will ever have less wives or children. Impermanent possession and temporary ownership, with an expectation of a change in the circumstances described, is conveyed using the verb *hok-sa* 'to be' and is illustrated by examples 46 and 47 below. Without the comitative postposition *nama* 'with', the verbs *tha-sa* and *hok-sa* 'to be' may only be used to convey possession or ownership of non-portable or immovable objects. The involvement of the comitative postposition *nama* 'with' indicates portability or mobility, as illustrated in Section §4.2 of Chapter 5.

- 22 *nan to-ko nis-ka apraca uma thay-ey-an.*
now that-GEN two-HNC good wife be-PAS-3S/PT

Now he has two beautiful wives.

- 23 *di-ka mi-ko sum-ka uma thay-ey-du.*
one-HNC person-GEN three-HNC wife be-PAS-NPT

There's a man who got himself three wives.

- 24 *libi to-bay-ko no-ka ca no-ka camai thay-ey-an.*
after that-Pp-GEN seven-GEN son seven-GEN daughter be-PAS-3S/PT

They went on to have seven sons and seven daughters.

A common use of the verb *tha-sa* 'to be' in combination with *beryaŋ* 'time' conveys the meaning 'when...was...', as in examples 25 to 28 below. In combination with *beryaŋ* 'time', the verb *tha-sa* 'to be' occurs only in the non-preterite.

- 25 *gai nis tha-ŋa-du beryaŋ, gai-go apa siy-Ø-an.*
I two be-1S-NPT that.time I-GEN father die-SAS-3S/PT

When I was two, my father died.

- 26 *'naŋ-kai gǎ-ye ucyaca tha-na-du beryaŋ ni-na-ŋa-du.'*
you-PM I-ERG small be-2S-NPT that.time see-2S-1S-NPT

'I saw you when you were very small' [she said].

- 27 *to-bay ucyaca thay-ey-du beryaŋ, to-bay-ko apa ama*
that-Pp small be-PAS-NPT that.time that-Pp-GEN father mother
siy-ey-an.
die-PAS-3S/PT

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

- 28 *baŋthe syaŋ 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 thoh-Ø-u-no, to-bany-e
house-LOC big person-ERG send-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-Pp-ERG
yoy-ey-no, nis-ka apraca uma, di-gore du niy-ey-no.
look.at-PAS-3→3/PT two-HNC good wife one-CLF tiger see-PAS-3→3/PT

The next day, when it was light, the chief sent out two men to his house to have a look [around], and they saw two beautiful women and a tiger.

1.2 The verb *hok-sa*

The Thangmi verb *hok-sa* 'to be' occurs more frequently than the verb *tha-sa* 'to be'. Usually translated as 'to sit' or 'to have', *hok-sa* 'to be' covers the descriptive, existential, attributive and locational senses of English 'to be', and is commonly translated into Nepali using the *cha* paradigm base which is derived from the infinitive, *chanu* 'to be'. As an existential verb, *hok-sa* 'to be' indicates the availability or existence of an entity or situation in a specific form, as in examples 29 to 32 below. In the examples below, a corresponding Nepali verb form is also provided.

- 29 *naleŋ gai-go nem-te oli-ka hok-i-du.*
 present I-GEN house-LOC four-HNC be-1pPS-NPT

At present there are four of us in my house.
 (Nepali ... *hāmī ahile cārjanā chaū*)

- 30 *to uniŋ nembo mi-pali woi nama hok-eŋ-du.*
 that like other.person person-p also with be-pAS-NPT

There are other people like her with whom she lives.
 (Nepali ... *arke pani chan*)

- 31 *di-gore dese ka uniŋ hok-Ø-du: di uni ka*
 one-CLF village this like be-SAS-NPT one day throughout
raŋ to-le woi, nyoŋi bāsinte cya-sa
 unirrigated.field dig-PCL also evening morning eat-INF
ma-khalam, cya-sa ma-gap.
 NEG-receive eat-INF NEG-be.enough

There is a village which is like this: Even if the fields are worked all day, there is not enough food to eat in both the morning and evening.
 (Nepali ... *yo jastai cha*)

- 32 *'naŋ-ko demca cabu-sa hok-Ø-du ra?' 'hok-Ø-du.'*
 you-GEN load carry-INF be-SAS-NPT or be-SAS-NPT

'Do you have a load to carry or not?' 'I do.'
 (Nepali ... *timro bhārī boknu cha ki?*)

In its negated existential form, the verb *hok-sa* 'to be' indicates the unavailability or non-existence of a thing or person, as in examples 33 to 35 below.

- 33 *bophura, to-ko nem ma-hok.*
 pity that-GEN house NEG-be
 Pity on him, he doesn't have a home.
- 34 *ni-kai-guri hok-Ø-du ra ma-hok?*
 we-PM-IND be-SAS-NPT or NEG-be
 Is there any for us or not?
- 35 *'nan ahe mi kyel-sa-kai cya-sa ma-hok, hara loŋ-sa
 now many person bring-INF-PM eat-INF NEG-be what do-INF
 hu?'*
 younger.brother
 'But we don't have enough food to bring to that many people, what can we
 do younger brother?'

As an attributive verb 'to be', *hok-sa* is used to describe or ascribe an attribute or trait to a subject. In such instances, the predicate commonly contains an adjective or noun with a strongly evaluative or descriptive meaning, as in examples 36 to 38 below.

- 36 *e bubu, apraca hok-Ø-du?*
 oh elder.brother fine be-SAS-NPT
 Oh elder brother, is everything OK?
- 37 *kyel-Ø-ta-le ŋa-Ø-ŋa-n, 'naŋ-ko name apraca hok-Ø-du,
 come-SAS-IPP-PCL say-SAS-1s-PT you-GEN name good be-SAS-NPT
 nany-e gai-gai bore loŋ-aŋ!'*
 you-ERG I-PM marriage do-s→1s/IMP
 Having come, she said to me, 'you have a nice name, marry me!'
- 38 *'hara-ko ŋila? adum hok-Ø-du', to woi 'jet loŋ-sa ŋhai-te
 what-GEN cold warm be-SAS-NPT that also work do-INF place-LOC
 naka thapu hok-Ø-du, to-te me cyatŋ-si-ŋa-du'
 new fireplace be-SAS-NPT that-LOC fire soak.up-REF-1s-NPT
 ŋah-Ø-u-no.
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT*
 'Why would I be cold? I am warm', she said, adding, 'in the place that I
 work there is a new heater and I warm myself by it'.

In its negated attributive form, the verb *hok-sa* 'to be' indicates the lack of a trait or attribute of a thing or person, as in examples 39 to 41 below.

- 39 *'naleŋ, gai-go maŋ woi apraca ma-hok.'*
present I-GEN body also good NEG-be

'And at present, my body is no good anyway.'

- 40 *gai sarma ma-hok.*
I strong NEG-be

I'm not strong.

- 41 *di uni, ca-kai dese mi-ye ŋey-eŋ-du 'apa*
one day son-PM village person-ERG beat-pAS-NPT father
ma-hok-Ø-du ca' ŋay-eŋ-du, rage let-Ø-du.
NEG-be-SAS-NPT son say-pAS-NPT anger appear-SAS-NPT

One day, the villagers beat the son, calling him 'a father-less son' and he gets angry.

As a locational verb 'to be', *hok-sa* situates a subject in a specific place. Examples 42 to 45 below illustrate negated and non-negated locational verb forms.

- 42 *ma-thaŋ-Ø-du mi-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no, 'kuta hok-Ø-du?*
NEG-be.well-SAS-NPT person-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT where be-SAS-NPT
gai-gai ŋa-ŋa! gai-go ca-pali sarma sarma hok-eŋ-du,
I-PM say-s→1s/IMP I-GEN son-p strong strong be-pAS-NPT
to-bany-e kyel-eŋ-du thaŋun'.
that-Pp-ERG bring-pAS-NPT maybe

Then the ill person said, 'where is this place? Tell me! My sons are young and strong and perhaps they can bring it [the fruit]'.
'

- 43 *libi kari kariy-Ø-u-du: 'gai ka nem-te-ko ca tha-ŋa-du,*
 after song sing-SAS-3P-NPT I this house-LOC-GEN son be-1s-NPT
gai-gai sat-ta-ŋa-le, raŋ cya-sa daŋ-Ø-u-du mi
 I-PM kill-IPP-1s-PCL unirrigated.field eat-INF search-SAS-3P-NPT person
ka-te hok-Ø-du'.
 this-LOC be-SAS-NPT

Thereafter he sings a song: 'I am the son of this household, the person who tried to kill me and steal [lit. eat] my land is here'.

- 44 *'naŋ ka-te hok-na-du, ni-kai thaha ma-hok.'*
 you this-LOC be-2s-NPT we-PM knowledge NEG-be

'We didn't know that you were living here [in this area]' [she said].

- 45 *duŋ-ŋaŋ ma-hok, priŋ-te hok-Ø-du thaŋun.*
 within-inside NEG-be outside-LOC be-SAS-NPT maybe

She's not inside, perhaps she is outside.

The Thangmi verb *hok-sa* 'to be' can also convey impermanent possession or temporary ownership of non-portable or immovable entities, in which case the verb is best translated as 'to have' or 'to own', as in examples 46 and 47 below. The involvement of the comitative postposition *nama* 'with' indicates portability or mobility, as illustrated in Section §4.2 of Chapter 5 and also by example 48 below.

- 46 *gai-go nem nis-gore hok-Ø-du.*
 I-GEN house two-CLF be-SAS-NPT

I have two houses.

- 47 *jekha bubu-ko sum-ka camai hok-eŋ-du, ca ma-hok.*
 big elder.brother-GEN three-HNC daughter be-PAS-NPT son NEG-be

My eldest brother has three daughters but no son.

- 48 *'naleŋ gai dikaca hok-ŋa-du, naleŋ isa-ye karāi-ŋa-n, naŋ nama*
 present I alone be-1s-NPT present food-INS shout-1s-PT you with
hara woi hok-Ø-du, ra? gai-gai pi-ŋa!'
 what also be-SAS-NPT or I-PM give-s→1s/IMP

'At present I am all alone here, and now I am hungry, do you have any food with you? If so, give me some!' [the elder brother said].

Finally, the verb *hok-sa* ‘to be’ can also be used to indicate the physical act of sitting or resting in a specific location, as illustrated by examples 49 to 51 below.

- 49 *gai jet loŋ-to-le hok-ŋa-du.*
I work go-TPP-PCL be-1s-NPT

I will sit down after having worked.

- 50 *ni nem-te hok-i-du.*
we house-LOC be-1pPS-NPT

We are sitting at home.

- 51 *piriŋ hok-i-n, libi to bubu-ye di-gore jet*
outside be-1pPS-PT after that elder.brother-ERG one-CLF work
loŋ-Ø-u-no.
do-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

We had been sitting outside for a while, and then elder brother did something.

2. The verb ‘to be okay’

The Thangmi verb *ja-sa* ‘to be okay’ occurs as an interjection of agreement meaning ‘fine, okay, alright’, as illustrated by examples 52 to 55 below. The Thangmi verb *ja-sa* ‘to be okay’ is not a verb ‘to be’, and is therefore glossed as ‘to be okay’. The commonly heard third person singular affirmative form *ja-Ø-du* (okay-SAS-NPT) ‘okay’ is translated by Nepali *huncha*, while the corresponding third person singular negative form *ma-ja* (NEG-okay) translates as Nepali *hundaina*.

- 52 *gǎ-ye ‘ja-Ø-du’ ŋah-u-n-uŋ, gǎ-ye hara jet loŋ-sa,*
I-ERG okay-SAS-NPT say-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT I-ERG what work do-INF

kuta hen-sa?
where go-INF

I said ‘okay’, [and I thought] what kind of work will I do, where will I end up going? (Nepali *maile huncha bhannē ...*)

- 53 *‘nan ka huca-kai ja-Ø-du’, ŋah-Ø-u-no.*
now this child-PM okay-SAS-NPT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

‘Now this child will be okay’, he said.
(Nepali *aba yo bābu ŋhik huncha ...*)

- 54 *'naŋ gai nama hok-ta-na-le, thaŋmi kham loŋ-ko,*
 you I with be-IPP-2s-PCL Thangmi language do-ADH
ja-Ø-du ra ma-ja?'
 okay-SAS-NPT or NEG-okay

'When you and I are sitting [working] together, let us speak the Thangmi language, is that okay or not?' [he asked]. (Nepali ... *huncha ki hundaina?*)

- 55 *'yaŋ jah-Ø-an ra ma-jah-Ø-an', isi-Ø-ta-le*
 today okay-SAS-3S/PT or NEG-okay-SAS-3S/PT say-SAS-IPP-PCL
isiy-i-n.
 say-1pps-PT

'Is she feeling any better today?', he asked us.

In its negated form, the verb *ja-sa* 'to be okay' functions as a prohibitive with the meaning 'to be not okay' or 'to must not...', as in examples 56 to 58 below.

- 56 *yaŋ naŋ piriŋ hen-sa ma-ja, nem thil-ko mai-Ø-du.*
 today you outside go-INF NEG-okay house paint-ADH must-SAS-NPT
 Today you mustn't go out, we must paint the house.

- 57 *ka isa boro uniŋ man-to-le cya-sa ma-ja.*
 this food cooked.rice like knead-TPP-PCL eat-INF NEG-okay.

This food should not be kneaded in the manner that one eats cooked rice.

- 58 *di uni bubu-ye ŋa-Ø-ŋa-n, 'nan ni bajareŋ cya-ko*
 one day elder.brother-ERG say-SAS-1s-PT now we tobacco eat-ADH
ma-ja'.
 NEG-okay

One day, my elder brother said to me, 'now we really shouldn't smoke'.

3. The verb 'to appear'

The transitive verb *ni-sa* 'to see' has the meaning 'to appear' when conjugated intransitively. Thangmi speakers suggest that when describing something with a pleasant taste, it is correct to say *asare ni-Ø-du* (tasty appear-SAS-NPT) 'it's tasty' and incorrect to use *hok-sa* 'to be'. The construction *asare ni-Ø-du* is illustrated by examples 59 to 61 below. In many verbal scenarios, *ni-Ø-du* (appear-SAS-NPT) conveys the sense of 'with' or 'containing', like Nepali *bhaeko*, as in examples 62 to

64. The common third person singular intransitive form *ni-Ø-du* (appear-SAS-NPT) is an archaic vestige in modern vernacular Thangmi.

- 59 *oste-ko camai-kai-guri asare ni-Ø-du cya-sa*
 self-GEN daughter-PM-IND tasty appear-SAS-NPT eat-INF
piy-Ø-u-thyo kiji-kai-guri ma-yah-Ø-u-thyo.
 give-SAS-3P-3sCOND blackie-PM-IND NEG-feed-SAS-3P-3sCOND

She [mother] would give her own daughter tasty things to eat, but would not feed Blackie.

- 60 *libi nem-te hen-sa beryañ, 'humi, honce asare*
 after house-LOC go-INF that.time younger.sister early.evening taste
ni-Ø-du isa ken ci-min-o!' ñah-Ø-u-du.
 appear-SAS-NPT food vegetable.curry CAUS-ripen-s→3/IMP say-SAS-3P-NPT

And later, when it's time to come home, he says, 'younger sister, prepare a tasty meal this evening!'

- 61 *ubo mi-ko mañai asare ni-Ø-du isiy-eñ-du.*
 white person-GEN bread tasty appear-SAS-NPT say-pAS-NPT

They say that white man's bread is tasty.

- 62 *'ka jet loñ-sa-kai, di-gore ðiñ-ðiñ jire ni-Ø-du*
 this work do-INF-PM one-CLF red comb.of.cockerel appear-SAS-NPT
gare ñañ di kulin toñ rah-o!' ña-Ø-ña-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 bañi-te biy-Ø-an, asa*
 after oil appear-SAS-NPT pot-LOC enter-SAS-3S/PT oil
mañ-ko mus-te thum-Ø-an, dorok-ca ra-Ø-ta-le
 body-GEN hair-LOC stain-SAS-3S/PT run-PSG come.from.level-SAS-IPP-PCL
adum bañi-te biy-Ø-an.
 hot pot-LOC enter-SAS-3S/PT

Then he dived into a pot containing oil, the oil stuck to hair on his body, and he came running back [home] and dived into the hot pot.

- 64 *nem-te* *ya-let-eη-ta-le* *uma-kai piy-eη-no*
 house-LOC go-appear-pAS-IPP-PCL wife-PM give-pAS-3→3/PT
uma-ye woi asare ni-∅-du *cici ci-min-∅-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-∅-du* *thai-te* *mi* *hok-sa* *ma-ja.*
 spirit appear-SAS-NPT place-LOC person be-INF NEG-okay

People shouldn’t stay in a place inhabited by spirits.

4. The infinitive

morph: <-sa>
 label: INF

The Thangmi infinitive is formed by adding the infinitival ending <-sa> (INF) to a verb stem. An infinitive can function as a verbal noun, as the verbal complement of a finite verb, or even as the main verb of a sentence. As a verbal noun, a Thangmi infinitive may take the role of a *nomen concretum* or a *nomen actionis*. Examples of the former include the verb *ta-sa* ‘to release, deposit, evacuate’, which when used as a noun denotes the anus or buttocks, and the verb *tho-sa* ‘to send up’, which as a noun denotes plant shoots. The use of a Thangmi infinitive as a *nomen concretum*, as in examples 66 and 67 below, is reminiscent of Dumi (van Driem 1993a: 267).

- 66 *bu-si-sa* *kuta* *hok-∅-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-∅-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 loṅ-sa mi* (work do-INF person) ‘worker, helper, slave’ (lit. ‘a person who works’) as in examples 69 and 70 below, *hok-sa ʈhai* (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 loṅ-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 loṅ-u-na-du?’ ‘jet loṅ-sa mi tha-ṅa-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’ ṅah-Ø-u-no, hok-sa ʈhai*
 that-ERG also okay-SAS-NPT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT be-INF place
piy-i-n.
 give-1pps-PT

And that person said, ‘okay’ and gave us a place to stay.

- 72 *athan sat-wa-du-be, dewa yo-sa mi kyel-Ø-ta-le*
 light kill-1p→23-NPT-TOP god look.at-INF person come-SAS-IPP-PCL
ni-kai ci-let-i-n.
 we-PM CAUS-appear-1pps-PT

But even though we extinguished the light, a worshipper coming to the temple saw us and dragged us out.

The Thangmi infinitive ending <-sa> (INF) also functions as a verbal complement of a finite form. In such cases, the infinitive is found as an object in verbal constructions expressing a preference or state, accompanied by *ali-sa* 'to like' (examples 73 and 74 below), *dum-sa* 'to finish' (example 75 below), *thaŋ-sa* 'to be able' (examples 76 and 77 below), *gap-sa* 'to be enough' (example 78 below) and *ja-sa* 'to be okay' (example 57 above).

- 73 *gai-gai nui-sa ali-ŋa-n.*
I-PM laugh-INF like-1s-PT

I like laughing.

- 74 *gai thaŋmi kham cijyaŋ-sa ali-ŋa-n.*
I Thangmi language speak-INF like-1s-PT

I like to speak the Thangmi language.

- 75 *naŋ kapu ɖi-si-sa dum-u-na-n ra?*
you head comb-REF-INF finish-3P-2s-PT or

Have you finished combing your hair?

- 76 *wa per-sa ma-thaŋ.*
chicken fly-INF NEG-be.able

Chickens can't fly.

- 77 *to-ko koŋte tor-Ø-ta-le cawa-sa ma-thaŋ.*
that-GEN leg break-SAS-IPP-PCL walk-INF NEG-be.able

His leg is broken and he can't walk. [Because his leg is broken, he can't walk]

- 78 *naŋ-kai ami-sa gap-na-n?*
you-PM sleep-INF be.enough-2s-PT

Have you slept enough? [Have you had enough sleep?]

Negative infinitive constructions are also attested, as in examples 79 and 80 below.

- 79 *hen-ko, hara-kai ma-hen-sa? naŋ-ko pepelek ma-hok-Ø-ta-le*
 go-ADH what-PM NEG-go-INF you-GEN money NEG-be-sAS-IPP-sAS-PCL
hara tha-Ø-du? naŋ cya-na-du sola-ko pepelek gǎ-ye
 what be-sAS-NPT you eat-2s-NPT snack-GEN money I-ERG
piy-u-n-du.
 give-3P-1s→3-NPT

Come on, let's go, why would you not go? What does it matter that you have no money? Whatever snack you eat I'll pay for.

- 80 *tete-ye kerep-Ø-ta-le ŋah-Ø-u-no, 'hu, habi*
 elder.sister-ERG cry-IPP-PCL say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT younger.brother before
gǎ-ye ma-loŋ-sa jet loŋ-u-n-uŋ, gai ma-sai-ŋa-n,
 I-ERG NEG-do-INF work do-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT I NEG-know-1s-PT
nan-guri ma-loŋ, hu ra-Ø!'
 now-IND NEG-do younger.brother come.from.level-s/IMP

Crying, elder sister said, 'younger brother, before I did something that I shouldn't have done, I wasn't thinking, but now I won't do it, please come back younger brother!'

In combination with *beryaŋ* 'time', the Thangmi infinitive <sa> (INF) conveys the meaning 'time to...', as in examples 81 and 82 below and 60 above.

- 81 *nem thil-sa beryaŋ hyawasa-ŋaŋ ubo nasak,*
 house paint-INF that.time upper.part-inside white earth
nhawasa-ŋaŋ ðiŋ-ðiŋ nasak-e thil-eŋ-du.
 lower.part-inside red earth-INS paint-pAS-NPT

When it's time to paint a house, they paint the upper with white earth and the lower with red.

- 82 *ami-sa beryaŋ ‘nan baŋe su-ko jet ya-ta-ŋa-le,*
 sleep-INF that.time now tomorrow who-GEN work go-IPP-1s-PCL
cya-sa khalam-u-n-du thaŋun?’, *ŋa-to-le kapu-te lak*
 eat-INF receive-3P-1s→3-NPT maybe say-TPP-PCL head-LOC hand
na-to-le amiy-eŋ-du.
 put-TPP-PCL sleep-PAS-NPT

When it's time to sleep, they put their hands to their heads thinking, 'now, where will I work tomorrow and will I get anything to eat?', and in this way they fall asleep.

The Thangmi infinitive may also function as a *nomen actionis*, in a manner similar to that recorded for Dumi (van Driem 1993a: 267), Kulung (Tolsma 1999: 110) and Wambule (Opgenort 2002: 325). Examples 83 and 84 below illustrate the *nomen actionis* in Thangmi.

- 83 *ka ci-sa-kai ‘saŋa-ko puya thu-sa’ ŋay-eŋ-du.*
 that throw.away-INF-PM millet-GEN seed weed-INF say-PAS-NPT

This process of throwing away [the weeds] is known as 'weeding the millet'.

- 84 *nembo-ko dese-ŋaŋ ya-ta-ŋa-le, ŋiŋ cabu-sa jet*
 other.person-GEN village-inside go-IPP-1s-PCL stone carry-INF work
loŋ-u-n-uŋ.
 do-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT

Going to distant villages, I worked carrying stones.

Other commonly occurring constructions involving the infinitive ending <-sa> (INF) in its quality as a nominal constituent include Σ -*sa habi* 'before Σ -ing' (as in examples 85 and 86 below) and the infinitive suffix in combination with the individuating and topic markers, <-guri> (IND) and <-be> (TOP), as in examples 87 to 90 below. In Thangmi, the construction 'after Σ -ing' is formed using the connector suffix <-ŋa> (CNS) and the lexical item *libi* 'after', as discussed in Section §16 below, and not with the infinitive ending <-sa> (INF).

- 85 *nem-te hen-sa habi, gai-gai chuku-ye cabu-Ø-ηa-n,*
 house-LOC go-INF before I-PM father.in.law-ERG carry-SAS-1s-PT
uma-kai aji-ye cabu-to-le hen-i-n.
 wife-PM mother.in.law-ERG carry-TPP-PCL take-1pPS-PT

Before going home, I was carried by my father-in-law and my wife was carried by my mother-in-law [her mother], and in this way we were taken.

- 86 *racya peñe-sa habi, pebu-ηaη paηku*
 paddy plant-INF before irrigated.field-inside water
jamai-to-le seŋu-ye wa-to-le apraca loη-ko
 gather.together-TPP-PCL plough-INS plough-TPP-PCL good do-ADH
mai-Ø-du.
 must-SAS-NPT

Before the paddy is planted, water is gathered in the field and it should be well ploughed.

- 87 *raη pebu cya-sa-guri di-ka woi*
 unirrigated.field irrigated.field eat-INF-IND one-HNC also
ma-hok-Ø-thyo.
 NEG-be-SAS-3sCOND

There was no one to eat the food that grew in their fields.

- 88 *hok-sa-guri, nembo-ko di-gore nem-te hok-eη-du.*
 be-INF-IND other.person-GEN one-CLF house-LOC be-PAS-NPT

As for living, well they live together in someone else's house.

- 89 *'naη-kai hen-sa-be hen-u-n-du, naη-ko huca-pali hara*
 you-PM take-INF-TOP take-3P-1s→3-NPT you-GEN child-p what
loη-sa?'
 do-INF

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

- 90 *loŋe-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no, 'gai ma-let, ka uniŋ thai-te*
 jackal-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT I NEG-appear this like place-LOC
hok-sa-be jekha mi tha-ko mai-Ø-du'.
 be-INF-TOP big person be-ADH must-SAS-NPT

And the jackal replied, 'I'm not coming out, you have to be a really important person to live in a place like this'.

In common with many of Nepal's other languages, Thangmi has an expression to mean 'what can be done' which is constructed using the infinitive ending <-sa> (INF). This rhetorical question, *hara loŋ-sa* (what do-INF) 'what to do', is as common in colloquial Thangmi as *ke garne* 'what to do' is in conversational Nepali. Example 91 below illustrates the point.

- 91 *gai ra-sa-be ra-ŋa-thyo, tara gai nama*
 I come.from.level-INF-TOP come.from.level-1s-3sCOND but I with
naleŋ pepelek ma-hok, hara loŋ-sa, ya-ŋu ra ma-ya-ŋu?
 present money NEG-be what do-INF go-PERM or NEG-go-PERM

I would love to come, but I don't have any money with me now, what to do, should I go or not?

5. The supine

The Thangmi supine is formed by suffixing the patient marker <-kai ~ -gai> (PM) to the infinitival ending <-sa> (INF), conveying the meaning 'in order to'. The supine expresses intent or purpose, and generally translates as an infinitive. In Nepali, the patient marker *-lār* is used with verbal infinitives in a manner similar to Thangmi <-kai ~ -gai> (PM) to convey supine meaning. While there is no Thangmi supine as such, the infinitive is used as a supine in combination with the patient marker to communicate the sense of 'in order to'.

While the Thangmi patient marker <-kai ~ -gai> (PM) is obligatory with transitive supine constructions, the patient marker is optional in intransitive constructions, as illustrated by examples 92 to 97 below. The relationship of the supine to Thangmi nominal morphology is discussed in Chapter 5, Section §4.3.

- 92 *to naŋ-kai cek-sa-kai rah-Ø-an.*
 that you-PM bite-INF-PM come.from.level-SAS-3S/PT

He has come to bite you.

- 93 *chya ra-sa-kai ya-ŋa-du.*
salt bring-INF-PM go-1s-NPT
I'm going to get some salt.
- 94 *to nembo-ko pebu-te sya wa-sa-kai*
that other.person-GEN unirrigated.field-LOC bovine plough-INF-PM
yah-Ø-an ŋa.
go-SAS-3S/PT REP
They say that he has gone to plough someone else's fields.
- 95 *gai ami-sa ya-ŋa-du.*
I sleep-INF go-1s-NPT
I'm going to sleep.
- 96 *gai isa cya-sa ra-ŋa-du.*
I food eat-INF come.from.level-1s-NPT
I'm coming to eat.
- 97 *to mi 'thangmi wakhe ŋisen-si-sa ra-ŋa-du'*
that person Thangmi word teach-REF-INF come.from.level-1s-NPT
ŋa-to-le ŋah-Ø-u-du, gǎ-ye nasaiy-u-n-uŋ.
say-TPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-NPT I-ERG hear-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT
I had heard that this man had said, 'I have come to learn the Thangmi language'.

An affirmative supine construction can be negated using the Thangmi negative morpheme <-ma> (NEG), as in example 98 below.

- 98 *racya-ko pebu-yiŋ paŋku piriŋ hen-sa ma-pi-sa-kai*
paddy-GEN irrigated.field-ABL water outside go-INF NEG-give-INF-PM
pebu-ko kherte nasa na-ko mai-Ø-du.
irrigated.field-GEN near mud put-ADH must-SAS-NPT
In order to not let the water in the rice paddy run out, the sides of the terrace [lit. close mud] must be built up.

Thangmi infinitival forms are widely used in complex verbal constructions, as in example 99 below. Example 35 above, on the other hand, illustrates three functions of the infinitival ending <-sa> (INF) in one sentence.

- 99 *ka jet loŋ-sa ma-thaŋ-sa uniŋ hok-Ø-thyo.*
 this work do-INF NEG-be.able-INF like be-sAS-3sCOND

This was almost impossible work.

6. The imperative

In Thangmi, the imperative mood is used to convey requests, commands, orders, suggestions and instructions. Like the indicative verbal agreement system, Thangmi imperative forms must agree for person and number, and distinctions exist between the agreement morphology for intransitive and transitive paradigms. While intransitive imperatives agree only with the number of the subject, transitive imperatives agree with both the number of the agent and the person of the patient. As in Wambule, Thangmi imperatives are ‘paradigmatically distinct but formally and semantically...related to the agreement morphemes used in simplicia’ (Ogenort 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 ciŋŋhi ŋo-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 artik-Ø-an
play-sAS-3sCOND and that river-inside fall-sAS-3S/PT and call-sAS-3S/PT
'gai-gai sorot-aŋ!' *ŋa-Ø-ŋa-n, gǎ-ye ci-let-u-n-uŋ,*
I-PM pull-s→1s/IMP say-sAS-1s-PT I-ERG CAUS-appear-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT
tyaŋ to mow-Ø-an.
and that survive-sAS-3S/PT

When my younger brother was young, he used to play by the river. Once he fell in and shouted 'pull me out!', so I pulled him out and he survived.

- 105 *konṭe-te gare hok-Ø-du? ja-Ø-du, gai-gai cikhet-aṅ!*
 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-aṅ!*’
 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-yiṅ*
 one-HNC NEG-know-SAS-NPT person that road-ABL
ra-Ø-thyo, lone-ye ṅah-Ø-u-no
 come.from.level-SAS-3sCOND jackal-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
 ‘*gai-gai jun-aṅ, 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-thaṅ, gai nama nis-ka mi*
 I-TOP alone go-INF NEG-be.able I with two-HNC person
ṭho-ne!
 send-p→1s/IMP

I am not able to go alone, send two people with me!

- 109 ‘*niny-e gai-gai jet ṭisen-ne, ja-Ø-du?*’
 you(p)-ERG I-PM work teach-p→1s/IMP okay-SAS-NPT

‘You(p) teach me the work [I have to do], okay?’

- 110 *libi, oste-ko nis-ka ca urou-to-le, 'cijyaŋ-Ø-du paŋ*
 after self-GEN two-HNC son call-TPP-PCL speak-sAS-NPT sour.fruit
kyel-ne!' ŋah-Ø-u-no, nis-ka hu-pali paŋ
 bring-p→1s/IMP say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT two-HNC younger.brother-p sour.fruit
daŋ-sa caway-eŋ-an.
 search-INF walk-pAS-3S/PT

Then, calling his two sons, he [the father] said 'bring me this sour fruit!', and the two brothers set off to find the fruit.

- 111 *ʃhoŋi-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no, 'nan gai-gai cya-ne! cya-sa*
 old.woman-ERG say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT now I-PM eat-p→1s/IMP eat-INF
habi me-te uman-to-le cya-ŋa-be apraca tha-Ø-du'.
 before fire-LOC cook-TPP-PCL eat-CNS-TOP good be-sAS-NPT

The old woman said, 'now eat me! But before you do, cook me on the fire and I will taste much better'.

6.3 The singular to first person plural imperative morpheme

morph:	<-se>
label:	s→1p/IMP

The imperative morpheme <-se> (s→1p/IMP) suffixes directly to the verb stem in all affirmative transitive imperative scenarios involving a second person singular agent and a first person plural patient. Examples 112 to 116 below illustrate the imperative morpheme <-se> (s→1p/IMP).

- 112 *ni-kai raksi pi-se!*
 we-PM liquor give-s→1p/IMP

Give us liquor!

- 113 *ni-kai ŋa-se!*
 we-PM say-s→1p/IMP

Tell us!

- 114 *e tete, ni-kai toŋ pi-se!*
 oh elder.sister we-PM beer give-s→1p/IMP

Oh elder sister, [please] give us some beer!

- 115 *naŋ isa cya-na-n ra ma-cya-na-n, ni-kai ŋa-se!*
 you food eat-2s-PT or NEG-eat-2s-PT we-PM say-s→1p/IMP

Have you eaten or not? Tell us!

- 116 *ni-kai naŋ-ko kham ma-ra, ni-kai ŋisen-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 ŋhai pi-neŋ!*
 you(p)-ERG we-PM sleep-INF place give-p→1p/IMP

Give us a place to sleep!

- 118 *niŋ-kai koŋe ceŋ-sa ra-Ø-du? ni-kai*
 you(p)-PM wall build-INF come.from.level-SAS-NPT we-PM
cikhet-neŋ!
 show-p→1p/IMP

Can you(p) build a wall? Show us!

6.5 The singular to third person imperative morpheme

morph:	<-o>
label:	s→3/IMP

The imperative morpheme <-o> (s→3/IMP) suffixes directly to the verb stem in all affirmative transitive imperative scenarios involving a second person singular agent and a third person patient. Examples 119 to 122 below illustrate the imperative morpheme <-o> (s→3/IMP).

119 *nany-e to-kai piy-o!*
 you-ERG that-PM give-s→3/IMP

Give it to him!

120 *to-kai ηah-o!*
 that-PM say-s→3/IMP

Tell him!

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

Tell them!

122 *to ucyapa-kai naη-ko name ηah-o!*
 that father's.younger.brother-PM you-GEN name say-s→3/IMP

Tell uncle your name!

6.6 The plural to third person imperative morpheme

morph: <-no>
 label: p→3/IMP

The imperative morpheme <-no> (p→3/IMP) suffixes directly to the verb stem in all affirmative transitive imperative scenarios involving a second person plural agent and a third person patient. Examples 123 to 126 below illustrate the imperative morpheme <-no> (p→3/IMP).

123 *ka jakcho niny-e phase ne-sa-kai hen-no!*
 this wheat you(p)-ERG flour grind-INF-PM take-p→3/IMP

You(p) take this wheat and grind it into flour!

124 *e ban-pali, to ama-kai bu-si-sa miη pi-no!*
 oh friend-p that mother-PM cover-REF-INF cloth give-p→3/IMP

Oh friends, give that old lady something to wear!

- 125 *di-ka hu-ye ni-to-le, 'humi, ka-te*
 one-HNC younger.brother-ERG see-TPP-PCL younger.sister this-LOC
ra-Ø-ta-le, yo-no! nan ka-kai urou-ko!',
 come.from.level-sAS-IPP-PCL look.at-p→3/IMP now this-PM call-ADH
ηah-Ø-u-no.
 say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT

One of the younger brothers, seeing her, said, 'look, all of you, our younger sister has come here, now we must call her to come!'

- 126 *wa-ye woi ηah-Ø-u-no 'was-pali let-ta-ni-le*
 chicken-ERG also say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT bee-p appear-IPP-2p-PCL
ka-baη-ko kapu-yiη cek-no!'
 this-Pp-GEN head-ABL bite-p→3/IMP

And the chicken said 'bees, come out, and sting those people from their heads down!'

6.7 The singular intransitive imperative morpheme

morph: <-a ~ -Ø>
 label: s/IMP

The imperative morpheme <-a ~ -Ø> (s/IMP) suffixes directly to the verb stem in all affirmative intransitive imperative scenarios involving a second person singular subject. The allomorphic distribution is entirely regular: The allomorph <-a> follows a closed stem verb while the zero morph <-Ø> follows an open stem. Examples 127 to 134 below illustrate the imperative morpheme <-a ~ -Ø> (s/IMP). Affirmative intransitive imperatival endings are presented in Table 71 below.

TABLE 71. AFFIRMATIVE INTRANSITIVE IMPERATIVE MORPHEMES

subject	
2s	-a ~ -Ø
2p	-ne

- 127 *poiri hok-a!*
 elder.brother's.wife be-s/IMP
 Oh sister-in-law, please be seated!
- 128 *naŋ oste paŋku lok-to-le tun-a!*
 you self water pour-TPP-PCL drink-s/IMP
 Pour the water yourself and drink it!
- 129 *'ma-tha, naŋ let-a! gai kutiriŋ-si-ŋa-du'.*
 NEG-be you appear-s/IMP I hang.up-REF-1s-NPT
 'No way, you come out! I am going to hang myself' [the stupid man said].
- 130 *'ja-Ø-du, yaŋ naŋ-ko lawa kyel-to-le kyel-a!'*,
 okay-sAS-NPT today you-GEN husband bring-TPP-PCL come-s/IMP
ŋah-Ø-u-no.
 say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT
 'Fine, so bring your husband here today!', he said.
- 131 *isa ma-cya woi ra-Ø! ni nis-ka dolkha-te*
 food NEG-eat also come.from.level-s/IMP we two-HNC Dolakhā-LOC
nama sola cya-ko.
 with snack eat-ADH
 Come without having eaten! Let's have a snack together in Dolakhā.
- 132 *naŋ-ko bubu nama bore-te ya-Ø!*
 you-GEN elder.brother with marriage-LOC go-s/IMP
 Go with your elder brother to the wedding!
- 133 *'naŋ mo-sa ali-na-du-be, ka-yiŋ cawa-Ø!'*, *jekha mi-ye*
 you live-INF like-2s-NPT-TOP this-ABL walk-s/IMP big person-ERG
ŋah-Ø-u-no.
 say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT
 'If you want to go on living, then get out of here now!', the big man said.

- 134 *'tyaŋ ya-na-du-be, ka racya jakcho hen-o! kuta isa-ye*
 then go-2s-NPT-TOP this paddy wheat take-s→3/IMP where food-ERG
karăi-na-du, to-te cya-Ø!', *ŋa-to-le, bu-si-sa miŋ woi*
 shout-2s-NPT that-LOC eat-s/IMP say-TPP-PCL cover-REF-INF cloth also
pi-to-le, thoh-Ø-u-no.
 give-TPP-PCL send-sAS-3P-3→3/PT

'Well then, if you insist on going, then take this paddy and wheat and eat it when you get hungry!', and with that she also gave him clothes to wear and sent him off.

6.8 The plural intransitive imperative morpheme

morph:	<-ne>
label:	p/IMP

The imperative morpheme <-ne> (p/IMP) suffixes directly to the verb stem in all affirmative intransitive imperative scenarios involving a second person plural subject. The morpheme is cognate with the transitive imperative morpheme <-ne> (p→1s/IMP) which indexes the transitive relationship between a second person plural agent and a first person singular patient. Examples 135 to 137 below illustrate the intransitive imperative morpheme <-ne> (p/IMP).

- 135 *nij 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 *nij soŋ-yiŋ ra-ne!*
 you(p) river-ABL come.from.level-p/IMP

You(p) come back from the river!

- 137 *loŋe-ye sakalei du makar-pali-kai ŋah-Ø-u-no, 'nij*
 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 ʔi-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 aʔthe 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 *nij soŋ-te oste uli-si-ne!*
 you(p) river-LOC self wash-REF-p/IMP

Go wash yourselves by the river!

144 *nij 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, nij 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 chy-tuŋ-le nah-u-n-uŋ,*
 that-GEN two-CLF hand rope-INS tie-1s/TPP-PCL put-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT
kerep-Ø-an, 'gai-gai ma-ŋe-ŋa!' ŋa-to-le ŋa-Ø-ŋa-n.
 cry-SAS-3S/PT I-PM NEG-beat-s→1s/IMP say-TPP-PCL say-SAS-1s-PT

I tied his hands together with rope and he cried out to me, saying, 'don't beat me!'

- 148 *'nan gai-gai ma-thi-ne! gai baŋkal cabu-le hok-ŋa-du,*
 now I-PM NEG-touch-p→1s/IMP I stomach carry-PCL be-1s-NPT
gai nembo-ko mi tha-ŋa-n, nan niŋ ya-ne!'
 I other.person-GEN person be-1s-PT now you(p) go-p/IMP

'Now you(p) please don't touch me! I am pregnant and I have become the woman of another man, please go now!'

- 149 *ma-piy-o.*
 NEG-give-s→3/IMP

Don't give.

- 150 *ka huca-pali aŋthe artik-eŋ-le woi, niny-e to-baŋ-kai*
 this child-p much scream-pAS-PCL also you(p)-ERG that-Pp-PM
ma-ŋe-no!
 NEG-strike-p→3/IMP

However much the children scream, you(p) do not hit them!

- 151 *'niŋ ya-ne, ka-te ma-hok-ne!'* *ŋah-u-no, ŋaŋ ni to-te*
 you(p) go-p/IMP this-LOC NEG-be-p/IMP say-3P-3→3/PT and we that-LOC
ma-hok-tiniŋ caway-i-n.
 NEG-be-PFG walk-1pPS-PT

'You(p) must go, do not stay here!' he said, and so without having stayed, we left.

- 152 *bamŋi-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no, 'ma-kerep-ne, hara thah-Ø-an?*
 brahmin-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT NEG-cry-p/IMP what be-SAS-3S/PT
ŋa-ne!'
 say-p→1s/IMP

The Brahmin said, 'don't cry, what happened to you(p)? Tell me!'

- 153 *to camaica-kai ŋa-ko mai-Ø-du, lawa nama*
 that woman-PM say-ADH must-SAS-NPT husband with
ma-sorot-se!
 NEG-pull-s/REF/IMP

That woman must be told not to allow herself to be pulled by her husband so.

6.11 The singular intransitive negative imperative morpheme

morph:	<-e>
label:	s/NEG/IMP

The only negative imperative form which deviates from the system outlined above is the singular intransitive negative imperative which is marked by the morpheme <-e> (s/NEG/IMP) and which invariably co-occurs with the negative prefix <ma-> (NEG). The singular intransitive negative imperative marker is illustrated by examples 154 to 160 below.

- 154 *gai nama rage ma-thay-e!*
 I with anger NEG-be-s/NEG/IMP
 Don't get angry with me!

- 155 *baṭhe ma-ray-e, citabas*
 tomorrow NEG-come.from.level-s/NEG/IMP day.after.tomorrow
ra-Ø!
 come.from.level-s/IMP
 Don't come tomorrow, come the day after that!

- 156 *humi ṭaye let-sa ari-Ø-du, to-kai*
 younger.sister night appear-INF be.afraid-sAS-NPT that-PM
ma-cic-ariy-e!
 NEG-CAUS-be.afraid-s/NEG/IMP

Younger sister is afraid to go out at night, so don't frighten her!

- 157 *'naley gai-gai sat-Ø-ṅa-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-ṅa-du, gai-gai sat-ṅa*
 now tomorrow father-ERG I-PM kill-sAS-1s-NPT I-PM kill-CNS
libi, naṅ ma-kerep-e, ma-cijyany-e', ṭuṅi-ye
 after you NEG-cry-s/NEG/IMP NEG-speak-s/NEG/IMP goat-ERG
ṅah-Ø-u-no.
 say-sAS-3P-3→3/PT

'Now tomorrow father will kill me, once he has killed me, don't you cry, and don't say a thing', the goat said.

- 159 *to beryaŋ, doroŋ-yiŋ di-gore uyu let-Ø-ta-le*
 that that.time hole-ABL one-CLF mouse appear-SAS-IPP-PCL
aghyow-Ø-an, 'tete, naŋ ka-te ma-hok-e! naŋ-kai
 cry.out-SAS-3S/PT elder.sister you this-LOC NEG-be-s/NEG/IMP you-PM
sat-eŋ-na-du.'
 kill-pAS-2s-NPT

At that time, a mouse came out of a hole and squeaked, 'elder sister, don't stay in this place! They are going to kill you.'

- 160 *camaica taŋ-Ø-an, 'bubu, naŋ nan kutaleŋ woi toŋ*
 woman be.happy-SAS-3S/PT elder.brother you now when also beer
ma-cyay-e!'
 NEG-eat-s/NEG/IMP

The woman was happy, [and said] 'elder brother, now you must never drink beer again!'

Tables 73 and 74 below show the distribution of the Thangmi person and number agreement morphemes in the imperative mood for transitive and intransitive conjugations respectively.

TABLE 73. TRANSITIVE MORPHEME STRINGS FOR THANGMI IMPERATIVES

	affirmative	negative
s→1s	Σ -aŋ ~ -ŋa Σ -s→1s/IMP	ma- Σ -aŋ ~ -ŋa NEG- Σ -s→1s/IMP
s→1p	Σ -se Σ -s→1p/IMP	ma- Σ -se NEG- Σ -s→1p/IMP
s→3	Σ -o Σ -s→3/IMP	ma- Σ -o NEG- Σ -s→3/IMP
p→1s	Σ -ne Σ -p→1s/IMP	ma- Σ -ne NEG- Σ -p→1s/IMP
p→1p	Σ -neŋ Σ -p→1p/IMP	ma- Σ -neŋ NEG- Σ -p→1p/IMP
p→3	Σ -no Σ -p→3/IMP	ma- Σ -no NEG- Σ -p→3/IMP

TABLE 74. INTRANSITIVE MORPHEME STRINGS FOR THANGMI IMPERATIVES

	affirmative	negative
s	Σ -a ~ - \emptyset Σ -s/IMP	ma- Σ -e NEG- Σ -s/NEG/IMP
p	Σ -ne Σ -p/IMP	ma- Σ -ne NEG- Σ -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 <-aj ~ - η a> (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 <- η a> (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:	ηa
label:	REP

The Thangmi reported speech or ‘hearsay evidential’ particle *ηa* (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 *ηa* (REP), the statement can sometimes be attributed to a speaker through context, rather like Nepali *re* (REP). The Thangmi reported speech particle *ηa* (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 uireη-ko cyoporok nem*
 before that two-HNC person Artemisia.vulgaris-GEN hut house
khem-eη-to-le hok-eη-thyo ηa.
 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-ηa-n, to huca-ye*
 this one-HNC child-ERG I-PM give-SAS-1s-PT that child-ERG
soη-yiη kyel-Ø-u-du ηa.'
 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
reη kum-sa ma-thaη ηa', ηa-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 *ηa-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 ηah-∅-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-∅-ηa-n, ka-te na-∅-ηa-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 ηa-sa-kai, gǎ-ye ηah-u-n-du uniη loη-ko*
 I who-GEN son say-INF-PM I-ERG say-3P-1s→3-NPT like do-ADH
mai-∅-du, tyañ gǎ-ye su-ko ca ηah-u-n-du’,
 must-SAS-NPT then I-ERG who-GEN son say-3P-1s→3-NPT
ηah-∅-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-∅-du, ‘humi, nany-e hara woi isa*
 younger.sister-PM scold-SAS-NPT younger.sister you-ERG what also food
ken ma-loη-u-na-n’, ηah-∅-u-du, ‘gai-gai thi-sa
 vegetable.curry NEG-do-3P-2s-PT say-SAS-3P-NPT I-PM touch-INF
ma-ja, tyañ ma-loη-u-n-du.’
 NEG-okay then NEG-do-3P-1s→3-NPT

He scolded his sister, saying, ‘younger sister, you have prepared neither food nor curry’, [she replies] ‘I have my period, so I can’t cook anything.’

- 167 *'tyaŋ naŋ-kai hara pi-sa?', to-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no, 'gai-gai*
 then you-PM what give-INF that-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT I-PM
du-ko nunu pi-ŋa!'
 tiger-GEN milk give-s→1s/IMP

'Now what shall I give you?' [she said], he said 'give me some tiger's milk!'

7.3 Indirect speech

Indirect speech in Thangmi is expressed using a combination of two forms of the verb *ŋa-sa* 'to say, tell, ask'. Indirect speech constructions contain the subordinator *ŋa-to-le* (say-TPP-PCL), made up of the verb stem *ŋa* 'say', the transitive preterite participle *to* (TPP) and the participial ending *le* (PCL), followed by a finite form of the verb *ŋa-sa* 'to say, tell, ask'. This construction closely parallels the Nepali subordinators *bhanera* and *bhaneko* which are in turn derived from the Nepali verb *bhannu* 'to say'. Indirect speech constructions are illustrated by examples 168 to 171.

- 168 *camaica taŋ-Ø-du, sewah-Ø-u-du, libi naŋ nama bore*
 woman be.happy-SAS-NPT salute-SAS-3P-NPT after you with marriage
loŋ-u-n-du, ŋa-to-le ŋah-Ø-u-du.
 do-3P-1s→3-NPT say-TPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-NPT

The woman is happy, and greeting him, says that she will marry him.

- 169 *dese mi nama kiŋe-si-Ø-du, nem-te kyel-Ø-ta-le*
 village person with fight-REF-SAS-NPT house-LOC come-SAS-IPP-PCL
ama-kai ni-ko apa kuta hok-Ø-du, ŋa-to-le
 mother-PM we-GEN father where be-SAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL
ŋah-Ø-u-du.
 say-SAS-3P-NPT

He gets into a fight with the villagers and coming home asks his mother where his father is.

- 170 *libi di-ka mi-ye 'naŋ-ko bubu hok-Ø-du'*,
 after one-HNC person-ERG you-GEN elder.brother be-SAS-NPT
ŋa-to-le ŋah-Ø-u-no.
 say-TPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

Some time later, this guy asked me whether my elder brother was still around.

- 171 *uni-ye gaŋ-ŋa libi kiji tha-Ø-ta-le, 'nan-guri cya-sa*
 son-ERG dry-CNS after black be-SAS-IPP-PCL now-IND eat-INF
ja-Ø-du', ŋa-to-le ŋah-Ø-u-no.
 okay-SAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

Once the sun had dried them and they had turned black, he said that they were now good to eat.

8. The optative

morph: <e->
 label: OPT

The optative indicates a wish or a desired situation and are illustrated by examples 172 to 176 below. The Thangmi optative prefix <e-> (OPT) conveys the speaker's hope that the utterance will be fulfilled. Thangmi optatives are formed by prefixing the morpheme <e-> (OPT) to simplex verb forms, an uncommon construction in Tibeto-Burman languages where optatives are usually suffixes. Tense markers, normally occupying the final suffixal slot, are generally dropped in the optative mode.

- 172 *naŋ aye e-mo-na!*
 you much OPT-live-2s

May you live a long time!

- 173 *'nan bhutbhute e-tha-Ø, tyəŋ 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*, *θhoŋi-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, taye 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-eη-no', tete-ye 'ja-Ø-du' ηah-Ø-u-no.
 OPT-NEG-see-pAS-3→3/PT elder.sister-ERG okay-SAS-NPT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
 'Don't let anyone know about this plan, and let no one see you', [they said]
 and elder sister said 'fine'.

9. The adhortative

morph: <-ko>
 label: ADH

Adhortative forms in Thangmi are constructed by suffixing the adhortative morpheme <-ko> (ADH) to the verb stem, conveying the meaning 'let's...', as shown in examples 178 to 181 below.

- 178 *ni nama hen-ko.*
 we with go-ADH
 Let's go together.
- 179 *isa cya-ko, hok-ko.*
 food eat-ADH be-ADH
 Let's eat food, let's sit down.
- 180 *nan ban-pali milai-ko jet loη-ko.*
 now friend-p organise-ADH work do-ADH
 Now let's get all the guys together and work.
- 181 *sakalei saηa nem duη-ηη na-ko.*
 all millet house within-inside put-ADH
 Let's store all the millet inside the house.

Negative adhortatives are formed by adding the negative prefix <ma-> (NEG) to an affirmative adhortative construction, as in examples 182 and 183 below.

- 182 *hen-ko bubu, ka-te woi ma-hok-ko.*
 go-ADH elder.brother this-LOC also NEG-be-ADH
 Let's go, elder brother, let's not stay only here.

- 183 *to-ŋaŋ ni-ye kutaleŋ woi kuta woi torta-to-le*
 that-inside we-ERG when also where also leave-TPP-PCL
ma-hen-ko ŋa-wa-n.
 NEG-go-ADH say-1p→23-PT

And there we promised never ever to break up [with one another] and leave.

Reflexive adhortatives are formed by adding the reflexive suffix <-si> (REF) directly to the verb stem in a position anterior to the adhortative morpheme <-ko> (ADH), as in examples 184 to 186 below. Reflexive adhortatives can be translated as ‘let us...’ or ‘we should’.

- 184 *nan thaŋmi-pali di-ka tha-ko, oste-ko thar pi-to-le*
 now Thangmi-p one-HNC be-ADH self-GEN clan give-TPP-PCL
ŋosai-si-ko!
 recognise-REF-ADH

Now we Thangmi people should be united, let us recognise one another and the clan names that we have been given!

- 185 *ŋosai-si-ko mai-Ø-du.*
 recognise-REF-ADH must-SAS-NPT

We should know and recognise each other.

- 186 *nem-ko priŋ-te jhari yu-le hok-Ø-du, nem*
 house-GEN outside-LOC rain come.from.above-PCL be-SAS-NPT house
duŋ-ŋaŋ hok-ko, me cyataŋ-si-ko.
 within-inside be-ADH fire warm.by-REF-ADH

It’s raining outside, let’s stay inside the house and warm ourselves by the fire.

The Thangmi adhortative morpheme <-ko> (ADH) commonly occurs in combination with the verb *mai-sa* ‘to must, have to’, conveying the meaning ‘must do...’. The adhortative morpheme <-ko> (ADH) suffixes to the stem of the main verb which is then followed by either the non-preterite *mai-Ø-du* (must-SAS-NPT), as in examples 187 to 191, or the preterite *mai-Ø-an* (must-SAS-3S/PT), as in examples 192 to 195 below. The complement of *mai-sa* ‘to must, have to’ is always a verb in <-ko> (ADH), and never the infinitive complement <-sa> (INF).

- 187 *aikuca hul-ko mai-Ø-du.*
 knife sharpen-ADH must-SAS-NPT
 One must sharpen the knife [the knife must be sharpened].
- 188 *kuṭik-to-le di di kucik loŋ-to-le cya-ko mai-Ø-du.*
 pinch-TPP-PCL one one morsel do-TPP-PCL eat-ADH must-SAS-NPT
 It must be eaten by pinching off [pieces] and by taking it one mouthful at a time.
- 189 *habi sya way-eŋ-du, sya wa-to-le, libi woi*
 before bovine plough-PAS-NPT bovine plough-TPP-PCL after also
sya wa-ko mai-Ø-du.
 bovine plough-ADH must-SAS-NPT
 They plough with the bull once before, and then, having ploughed, they have to plough twice more [with the bull].
- 190 *'nan gǎ-ye bajareŋ cya-ta-ŋa-le ma-jah-Ø-an, nan torta-ko*
 now I-ERG tobacco eat-IPP-1s-PCL NEG-okay-SAS-3S/PT now leave-ADH
mai-Ø-du', ŋa-to-le ŋah-u-n-uŋ.
 must-SAS-NPT say-TPP-PCL say-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT
 'Now I really shouldn't smoke, I should give up', is what I thought.
- 191 *ni-ko guru-kai, hara woi jet loŋ-sa-kai, toŋ thum-ko*
 we-GEN shaman-PM what also work do-INF-PM beer insert-ADH
mai-Ø-du.
 must-SAS-NPT
 Whatever the ritual he does, we must pour beer for the shaman.
- 192 *jet-guri mesek nih-Ø-u-du sakalei loŋ-ko maiy-Ø-an.*
 work-IND eye see-SAS-3P-NPT all do-ADH must-SAS-3S/PT
 She had to do every job which the eye sees.
- 193 *libi wakhe nasai-to-le, let-ko maiy-Ø-an ŋa-to-le, to*
 after word hear-TPP-PCL appear-ADH must-SAS-3S/PT say-TPP-PCL that
mi nama camai ari-ari-Ø-ta-le theŋ-Ø-an.
 person with daughter be.afraid-be.afraid-SAS-IPP-PCL stand.up-SAS-3S/PT
 Having heard these words, she had to come out, and full of fear for this man, she stood up.

- 194 *nan to jekha mi-ko walŋa-ka uma-ye loŋ-ko maiy-Ø-an*
 now that big person-GEN five-HNC wife-ERG do-ADH must-SAS-3S/PT
ŋa-to-le, lony-eŋ-no.
 say-TPP-PCL do-pAS-3→3/PT

Now, that important person's five wives had to do it also, and they did.

- 195 *to-te hok-Ø-du sakalei pepelek chyu-to-le na-to-le, libi*
 that-LOC be-SAS-NPT all money tie-TPP-PCL put-TPP-PCL after
ka koteh-u-n-uŋ-be, pepelek koteh-Ø-u-du, ka-kai nan
 this cut-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT-TOP money cut-SAS-3P-NPT this-PM now
cek-to-le phet-ko maiy-Ø-an.
 bite-TPP-PCL take.off-ADH must-SAS-3S/PT

All the money had been tied on to that [corpse], if she were to cut it off then she would also risk cutting into the money, so she had to remove the coins by biting them off [with her teeth].

When negated, the verb *mai-sa* 'to must, have to' invariably takes the negative morpheme <ma-> (NEG) and is governed by the infinitive <-sa> (INF) rather than the adhortative <-ko> (ADH), as shown in examples 196 to 198 below.

- 196 *oli walŋa din-e jakcho bo-Ø-du, ka-kai saŋa makai-kai*
 four five day-ERG wheat sprout-SAS-NPT this-PM millet maize-PM
uniŋ thu-sa ma-mai.
 like remove.weeds-INF NEG-must

After four or five days the wheat begins to sprout, and unlike millet or maize, it need not be weeded.

- 197 *'nan libi camai-kai ni-ye bore loŋ-sa ma-mai',*
 now after daughter-PM we-ERG marriage do-INF NEG-must
ŋah-Ø-u-no.
 say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

'And then we don't have to arrange the marriage of our daughters', he said.

- 198 *'naŋ ka-te hara-kai ra-na-n? nan naŋ-kai*
 you this-LOC what-PM come.from.level-2s-PT now you-PM
ŋe-na-ŋa-du, oste-ko nem dai ya-Ø! gai-go lawa nama
 beat-2s-1s-NPT self-GEN house towards go-s/IMP I-GEN husband with
hok-sa ma-mai', ŋah-Ø-u-no.
 be-INF NEG-must say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

'Why have you come here? Now I am going to beat you, go back to your own home! You shouldn't be living here with my husband', she said.

The Thangmi adhortative <ko> (ADH) also occurs as the complement of the verbs *dum-sa* 'to finish' and *so-sa* 'to be about to', as shown in examples 199 to 204 below. The verbs *dum-sa* 'to finish' and *so-sa* 'to be about to' may also govern verbal complements in <sa> (INF).

- 199 *gai isa cya-ko dum-ŋa-n.*
 I food eat-ADH finish-1s-PT
 I have finished eating.
- 200 *min-ko dum-Ø-an.*
 be.cooked-ADH be.finished-SAS-3S/PT
 It has finished cooking [it's totally cooked].
- 201 *guru-ye nan mut-sa jet loŋ-ko sow-Ø-u-no,*
 shaman-ERG now blow-INF work do-ADH be.about.to-SAS-3P-3→3/PT
ni-ye yo-le na-wa-n.
 we-ERG look.at-PCL put-1p→23-PT
 Now the shaman was about to start the part of the ritual in which he blows,
 and we were looking on.
- 202 *to huca atthe reŋ-reŋ isi-Ø-du, naleŋ sum tha-ko*
 that child very fidgety do-SAS-NPT present three be-ADH
sow-Ø-an.
 be.about.to-SAS-3S/PT
 That child is such a fidget now that she is almost three.

- 203 *'nan hara ŋa-sa? ma-ŋah-u-n-uŋ-be, camai si-ko*
 now what say-INF NEG-say-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT-TOP daughter die-ADH
sow-∅-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 nyoni thi-sa ma-ja tha-∅-du, bubu*
 younger.sister-PM evening touch-INF NEG-okay be-sAS-NPT elder.brother
ŋiŋ them-to-le ra-∅-du beryaŋ, isa
 stone break-TPP-PCL come.from.level-sAS-NPT that.time food
ken hara woi ma-ci-min-∅-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 *thoŋe-kai woi ma-ci-let-Ø-u-no, thoŋi-kai rage*
 old.man-PM also NEG-CAUS-appear-sAS-3P-3→3/PT old.woman-PM anger
let-Ø-an.
 appear-sAS-3S/PT

But he didn't release the old man and the old woman got angry.

- 207 *'ka-kai nem-yiŋ ci-let-o!', to-ye ma-ci-let-tiniŋ*
 this-PM house-ABL CAUS-appear-s→3/IMP that-ERG NEG-CAUS-appear-PFG
nah-Ø-u-no.
 put-sAS-3P-3→3/PT

'Take this thing out of the house!' [she said], but he didn't get rid of her, and just left her at home.

Examples 208 to 212 below illustrate the allomorph <ci-> of the Thangmi causative prefix <ci- ~ cic-> (CAUS).

- 208 *baŋthe isyaŋ bubu-ye ni-kai cum-to-le*
 tomorrow period elder.brother-ERG we-PM hold-TPP-PCL
ci-yoy-i-n, naka nem, dewa, sakalei yo-wa-n.
 CAUS-look.at-1pPS-PT new house god all look.at-1p→23-PT

The very next day, elder brother took us and showed us new houses and temples, we looked at them all.

- 209 *gǎ-ye thaŋna seŋ ci-tih-u-n-uŋ.*
 I-ERG old wood CAUS-burn-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT

I burnt the old wood.

- 210 *bhuŋla ci-let-to-le, jakcho chuŋtei-ko mai-Ø-du.*
 husk CAUS-appear-TPP-PCL wheat separate-ADH must-sAS-NPT

Once the husk has been removed, it must be separated.

- 211 *nis sum uni-te, ka racya uni-ŋaŋ ci-gany-eŋ-du.*
 two three day-LOC throughout paddy sun-inside CAUS-dry-pAS-NPT

Then they lay out the cut paddy and dry it in the sun for two to three days.

- 212 *libi humi 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 peŋey-eŋ-du beryaŋ, cic-amiy-eŋ-to-le peŋey-eŋ-du.*
 millet sow-pAS-NPT that.time CAUS-sleep-pAS-TPP-PCL sow-pAS-NPT

When they plant the millet, they plant it horizontally [lit. in a sleeping position].

- 214 *gai hik-ŋa-du beryaŋ, nany-e cic-ari-ŋa! tyay*
 I hiccough-1s-NPT that.time you-ERG CAUS-be.afraid-s→1s/IMP then
libi ya-Ø-du.
 after go-SAS-NPT

When I have the hiccoughs, give me a fright, and it will pass.

- 215 *ka 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 *nyoŋi thah-Ø-an, di-ka mosani rah-Ø-an,*
 evening be-SAS-3S/PT one-HNC spirit come.from.level-SAS-3S/PT
nyoŋi-ko isa cya-Ø-ta-le, cic-amiy-Ø-u-no.
 evening-GEN food eat-SAS-IPP-PCL CAUS-sleep-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

It was evening, and the spirit came home, ate his evening meal, and then put her [daughter] to bed.

- 217 *'miŋ-te cic-amiy-u-n-uŋ.'*
 cloth-LOC CAUS-sleep-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT

'I laid him down in his clothes.'

- 218 *di uni, dese-ko cahuca khalam-Ø-u-no, to-ye to-kai*
 one day village-GEN man meet-sAS-3P-3→3/PT that-ERG that-PM
ahe toŋ pi-to-le nembo-ko uma nama
 much beer give-TPP-PCL other.person-GEN wife with
cic-amiy-Ø-u-no.
 CAUS-sleep-sAS-3P-3→3/PT

One day, he met the man from the village, and having given him a lot of beer, caused him to sleep with the wife of another man.

When the Thangmi causative <ci- ~ cic-> (CAUS) is prefixed to an intransitive stem, such as *serek-sa* ‘to arise’, this results in a change in the valence of the verb to a transitive causative, as in *ci-serek-sa* ‘to get somebody up, cause them to arise’. The switch in verb valence from transitive to intransitive in combination with the causative suffix can be seen from the verbal agreement morphology in examples 219 and 220 below.

- 219 *ka ma-ja-Ø-du camaica-ko jet ŋa-to-le, ca-kai*
 this NEG-okay-sAS-NPT woman-GEN work say-TPP-PCL son-PM
ci-serek-Ø-u-no.
 CAUS-arise-sAS-3P-3→3/PT

Seeing what this useless woman had done, he woke his son up.

- 220 *ci-serek-Ø-u-no, ca-guri serek-Ø-an, wari*
 CAUS-arise-sAS-3P-3→3/PT son-IND arise-sAS-3S/PT daughter.in.law
ma-serek-Ø-an.
 NEG-arise-sAS-3S/PT

She tried to wake them up, and the son got up but the daughter-in-law didn’t.

11. The permissive

morph: <-ŋu>
 label: PERM

Thangmi permissive forms are constructed by suffixing the permissive morpheme <-ŋu> (PERM) to the verb stem, as shown in examples 221 to 227 below and by example 91 above. The permissive can be translated as ‘shall I...?’ or ‘may I...?’ The permissive morpheme <-ŋu> (PERM) is only attested in question forms, and then

only in expressions pertaining to a first person singular agent or subject. In permissive constructions, the verbal agreement morphemes for person, numbers and tense are all absent. The Thangmi permissive <-ηu> (PERM) is cognate with two verbal agreement morphemes found in simplex verbs, <-ηa> (1s) and <-u> (3P).

221 *ja-Ø-du, susto ya-Ø, naη-ko libi libi gai woi*
 okay-SAS-NPT slow go-s/IMP you-GEN after after I also
ra-ηu ra?
 come.from.level-PERM or

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

222 *e tete, gai duη-ηaη ra-ηu ra?*
 hey elder.sister I within-inside come.from.level-PERM or

Hey elder sister, shall I come inside?

223 *e ama, gǎ-ye seη ra-ηu ra?*
 hey mother I-ERG wood bring-PERM or

Hey mother, shall I bring some firewood?

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

Shall I go home?

225 *gǎ-ye paηku θo-ηu?*
 I-ERG water send-PERM

Shall I send water?

226 *gǎ-ye sakalei ηa-ηu?*
 I-ERG all say-PERM

Shall I tell all [say everything]?

227 *gǎ-ye sakalei jet loη-ηu?*
 I-ERG all work do-PERM

Shall I do all the work?

12. Compound verbs of motion

The English expressions ‘going to do something’ and ‘coming to do something’ can be rendered into Thangmi in two different ways. Commonly, the action verb occurs

in its infinitival form, as in *cya-sa* ‘to eat’ or *ami-sa* ‘to sleep’ followed by an auxiliary intransitive verb of motion which is conjugated accordingly, such as *gai cya-sa ra-ŋa-du* (I eat-INF come-1s-NPT) ‘I am coming to eat’ or *camai ami-sa ya-Ø-du* (daughter sleep-INF go-SAS-NPT) ‘daughter is going off to sleep’. Compound verbs of motion differ from the Thangmi supine constructions discussed in Section §5 above in that the former involve physical movement, as in ‘I am going (lit. moving towards) to do something’, while the latter simply convey the sense of ‘in order to’.

In the alternative construction, less common among younger speakers of Thangmi, the stem of the auxiliary motion verb prefixes to the action verb. The latter is then conjugated accordingly. The only two verbs of motion for which this construction is attested are *hen-sa* ‘to go’ and *ra-sa* ‘to come’, as illustrated by examples 228 to 238 below.

228 *gai me ya-cyaŋaŋ-si-ŋa-du.*

I fire go-warm.by-REF-1s-NPT

I’m off to go and warm myself by the fire.

229 *gai isa ya-cya-ŋa-du.*

I food go-eat-1s-NPT

I’m going to eat food [I’m off to eat food].

230 *‘ya-yo-sa-be ya-yo-wa-du, priŋ ma-let, kunyaŋ*
go-look.at-INF-TOP go-look.at-1p→23-NPT outside NEG-appear how

ni-sa?’, *begale hu-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no.*

see-INF other younger.brother-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

‘Well of course we can go and look, but even if we do, how will we see her, because she is sure not to come outside?’, another younger brother said.

231 *nan kit dicip din dai ya-yo-ko mai-Ø-du.*

now nine ten day towards go-look.at-ADH must-SAS-NPT

And in about nine or ten days you have to go and take a look.

232 *bophura, di-ka bubu-ko ban-e ni-kai hen-i-n,*
pity one-HNC elder.brother-GEN friend-ERG we-PM take-1pPS-PT

tyaŋ bubu nama ya-ci-let-i-n.

then elder.brother with go-CAUS-appear-1pPS-PT

What a shame, but one of elder brother’s friends took us and delivered us to elder brother.

- 233 *libi jarphu hok-Ø-du thai-te*
 after elder.sister's.husband be-SAS-NPT place-LOC
ya-ci-let-Ø-u-no, to-te hok-Ø-an.
 go-CAUS-appear-SAS-3P-3→3/PT that-LOC be-SAS-3S/PT
 Then someone took her to where her brother-in-law lived, and she stayed there.
- 234 *'ka di-gore ñij tha-Ø-du, gǎ-ye soŋ-te khalam-u-n-uŋ,*
 this one-HNC stone be-SAS-NPT I-ERG river-LOC meet-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT
gai-gai ama-ye 'ya-na-tah-o!' ñah-Ø-ŋa-n, tyaj
 I-PM mother-ERG go-put-release-s→3/IMP say-SAS-1s-PT then
ci-sa-kai hen-u-n-du.'
 throw.away-INF-PM take-3P-1s→3-NPT
 'This is a stone which I found by the river, but my mother said to me 'get rid of it!', so I am taking it to throw it away.'
- 235 *ɬaye, to camaica-ko nem-te ya-let-eŋ-an, to-te*
 night that woman-GEN house-LOC go-appear-PAS-3S/PT that-LOC
ya-let-eŋ-ta-le 'nan ni-ye naŋ-kai
 go-appear-PAS-IPP-PCL now we-ERG you-PM
ra-kai-wa-n, ya-na-du ra ma-ya?', ŋay-eŋ-no.
 come.from.level-remove-1p→23-PT go-2s-NPT or NEG-go say-PAS-3→3/PT
 They reached that woman's house at night, and, having reached there, said to her, 'we have come to get you, are you coming [with us] or not?'
- 236 *tyaj di-ka thaŋmi bubu-ko nem-te ya-let-i-n.*
 then one-HNC Thangmi elder.brother-GEN house-LOC go-appear-1pps-PT
 Then we arrived at the house of a Thangmi man.
- 237 *sakpa chyu-to-le, kutiriŋ-si-Ø-du beryaŋ, to-ko bubu*
 rope tie-TPP-PCL hang-REF-SAS-NP that.time that-GEN elder.brother
ra-let-Ø-du.
 come.from.level-appear-SAS-NPT
 Having tied the rope, as she is hanging herself, her elder brother arrives.

- 238 *gai isa ra-cya-ŋa-du.*
 I food come.from.level-eat-1s-NPT

I'm coming to eat.

13. Gerunds

Gerunds are adverbials which behave like verbs in the clauses which they modify. Thangmi has two gerunds which occur adverbially or in combination with auxiliary particles to form periphrastic tenses. These are the present gerund <-ca> (PSG), the perfect gerund <-tiniŋ> (PFG). The uses of these two gerunds are discussed below.

13.1 The present gerund

morph: <-ca>
 label: PSG

The Thangmi present gerund indicates an action at or during a point of orientation or focus and is formed by suffixing the particle <-ca> (PSG) to the verb stem. As such, the Thangmi present gerund <-ca> (PSG) indicates that the situation denoted by the verb is coetaneous with the situation denoted by the following main clause. Examples 239 to 242 below illustrate the Thangmi present gerund.

- 239 *ni-ye kucu ni-to-le, ni dorok-ca ray-i-n.*
 we-ERG dog see-TPP-PCL we run-PSG come.from.level-1pPS-PT

Seeing the dog, we came running.

- 240 *apa woi 'uma sat-eŋ-no thaŋun' ŋa-to-le, dorok-ca*
 father also wife kill-pAS-3→3/PT maybe say-TPP-PCL run-PSG
rah-Ø-an.
 come.from.level-sAS-3S/PT

Thinking 'maybe they'll kill her', father also came running.

- 241 *dorok-ca ra-Ø-ta-le, uma-ye nah-Ø-u-du diŋ-diŋ*
 run-PSG come.from.level-sAS-IPP-PCL wife-ERG put-sAS-3P-NPT red
baŋi-te biy-Ø-an.
 pot-LOC enter-sAS-3S/PT

He came back [home] running and dove into the red-hot pot his wife had put ready.

- 242 *libi, di-ka camaica-kai nis-ka cahuca-ye po-ca*
 after one-HNC woman-PM two-HNC man-ERG chase-PSG
ray-ey-du, ka ni-to-le to-ye to cahuca-pali-kai
 bring-pAS-NPT this see-TPP-PCL that-ERG that man-p-PM
ne-to-le poh-Ø-u-du.
 beat-TPP-PCL chase-SAS-3P-NPT

After this, two men come running in pursuit of a woman, and seeing this, he chases them away.

The present gerund <-ca> (PSG) is frequently reduplicated. In such instances the verb stem and the suffixed gerund are repeated to convey an iterative meaning, repeated until the condition is satisfied, as illustrated by examples 243 to 245 below.

- 243 *mosani po-ca po-ca hen-Ø-u-du soŋ-te ka.*
 spirit chase-PSG chase-PSG take-SAS-3P-NPT river-LOC throughout

The spirit is chased and chased, all the way to the river.

- 244 *ka niy-ey-to-le, apa ama nui-ca nui-ca*
 this see-pAS-TPP-PCL father mother laugh-PSG laugh-PSG
ŋay-ey-no, ‘camai, ka kuta-yiŋ kyel-u-na-n?’
 say-pAS-3→3/PT daughter this where-ABL bring-3P-2s-PT

When the father and mother saw this, they said, laughing and smiling ‘daughter, from where did you bring this?’

- 245 *ari-Ø-ta-le ŋah-Ø-u-no, ‘bubu, ka dese-te*
 be.afraid-SAS-IPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT elder.brother this village-LOC
gai-go su woi ma-hok, gai sumaka ʔhai daŋ-ca daŋ-ca
 I-GEN who also NEG-be I silent place search-PSG search-PSG
ra-ŋa-du, tyaj ka-te ka ra-let-ŋa-n.’
 come.from.level-1s-NPT then this-LOC throughout come-appear-1s-PT

All afraid, she said, ‘elder brother, I know no one in this village, and I have been searching and searching for a quiet place to go to, and ended up here.’

13.2 The perfect gerund

morph:	<-tiniŋ>
label:	PFG

The Thangmi perfect gerund indicates activity before a point of orientation or focus and is formed by suffixing the element <-tiniŋ> (PFG) to the verb stem. While many of the examples given below illustrate the perfect gerund in negative verbal scenarios, the element <-tiniŋ> (PFG) should not be classed as a negative perfect gerund since affirmative examples are also attested. The perfect gerund does not convey a sense of sequence, and functions more like an adverb, determining the manner in which or by which an action is conducted. The Thangmi perfect gerund <-tiniŋ> (PFG) is usually translated into Nepali with the conjunctive participial construction, *ikana*. Examples 246 to 248 below illustrate the Thangmi perfect gerund in affirmative clauses, while examples 249 to 254 illustrate its use in negative constructions.

- 246 *'yaŋ habi-ko wari hok-sa-be, isa-ye karăi-tiniŋ,*
 today before-GEN daughter.in.law be-INF-TOP food-INS shout-PFG
hok-sa ma-mai-Ø-thyo.'
 be-INF NEG-must-SAS-3SCOND

'Were our previous daughter-in-law still with us today, then we wouldn't be sitting around going hungry.'

- 247 *'to uniŋ wari-kai gă-ye sat-u-n-uŋ, to-ye*
 that like daughter.in.law-PM I-ERG kill-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT that-ERG
loŋ-Ø-u-du beryaŋ, gai yaŋ isa-ye karăi-tiniŋ hok-ko
 do-SAS-3P-NPT that.time I today food-INS shout-PFG be-ADH
mai-Ø-an.'
 must-SAS-3S/PT

'A good daughter-in-law like that I killed, and on account of this having happened, I must today sit here being hungry.'

- 248 *tete-guri hu sat-ŋa libi, raŋ*
 elder.sister-IND younger.brother kill-CNS after unirrigated.field
pebu oste-ko tha-Ø-du, 'hok-hok-tiniŋ cya-ko
 irrigated.field self-GEN be-SAS-NPT be-be-PFG eat-ADH
nik-i-du', ŋah-Ø-u-no, ka uniŋ ma-thah-Ø-an.
 receive-1pps-NPT say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT this like NEG-be-SAS-3S/PT

Elder sister, after killing her younger brother, now with all the fields being hers, thought 'we will receive food by just hanging around', but it was not to be.

- 249 *libi libi tha-Ø-du beryaŋ, ǵǵ-ye ma-cya-tiniŋ hok-sa*
 after after be-SAS-NPT that.time I-ERG NEG-eat-PFG be-INF
ma-thaŋ-u-n-uŋ.
 NEG-be.able-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT

After a while I was no longer able to sit still without eating.

- 250 *ca-ye woi uma-kai hara woi ma-ŋa-tiniŋ ʔhoh-Ø-u-no.*
 son-ERG also wife-PM what also NEG-say-PFG send-SAS-3P-3→3/PT

And the son sent his wife off without even saying good-bye to her.

- 251 *tyaŋ naka wari-ye ŋah-Ø-u-no, 'gai-be apa-ko*
 then new daughter.in.law-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT I-TOP father-GEN
nem-te jet ma-loŋ-tiniŋ hok-ŋa-thyo, nan hara-kai
 house-LOC work NEG-do-PFG be-1s-3sCOND now what-PM
ci-let-sa jet loŋ-sa mi?'
 CAUS-appear-INF work do-INF person

Then the new daughter-in-law said, 'I lived in my father's house without [ever] having worked, why do we now have to get rid of the domestic servants?'

- 252 *naŋ gai-gai isa ma-ya-tiniŋ ami-na-du?*
 you I-PM food NEG-feed-PFG sleep-2s-NPT

Are you going to sleep without having fed me?

- 253 *uni ma-to-tiniŋ, to-bany-e jet ma-loŋ.*
 sun NEG-shine-PFG that-Pp-ERG work NEG-do

Without the sun having shone they won't work.

- 254 *hu-ye* *ahe uni ka* *apa ama ma-ni-tiniŋ*
 younger.brother-ERG many day throughout father mother NEG-see-PFG
hok-Ø-thyo, *tete* *nama* *ŋah-Ø-u-no,* *'nan gai*
 be-SAS-3sCOND elder.sister with say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT now I
apa ama nama ya-ŋa-du, gai-gai hen-aŋ!
 father mother with go-1s-NPT I-PM take-s→1s/IMP

Younger brother had lived many days without seeing his parents, and he said to his elder sister, 'I want to go to father and mother, so take me!'

From a diachronic viewpoint, the perfect gerund <-tiniŋ> (PFG) is particularly interesting. The first syllable is a reflex of the Proto-Kiranti preterite marker *<-ta> (PT) and cognate with the Dumi present gerund <-tæ> (prG) (van Driem 1993a: 248) while the velar nasal in the final syllable is likely cognate with the Limbu perfect gerund <-aŋ> (pfG) (van Driem 1987: 148). It is possible that Thangmi *<-ti> was once a preterite marker occupying a suffixal slot close to the verb stem, akin to Proto-Kiranti *<-ta> (PT).

14. Participles

14.1 The participial ending <-le>

morph:	<-le>
label:	PCL

The Thangmi periphrastic participial ending is formed by suffixing the element <-le> (PCL) to the conjugated verb form, complete with person and number markers but without tense morphemes. The periphrastic participial ending <-le> indicates a sequence of activities and is one of the most commonly occurring elements in complex verbal constructions in Thangmi. In examples 255 to 260 below, the ending <-le> is followed by the auxiliary verb *hok-sa* 'to be, sit'. This construction conveys an ongoing or continuous event, translated into English using the suffix '-ing'. The Thangmi participial ending <-le> is similar in function to the Nepali participial ending *-era*.

- 255 *yamiryay,* *gai ma-thay* *tha-ŋa-le,* *usare* *cya-ŋa-le* *hok-ŋa-du.*
 nowadays I NEG-be.well be-1s-PCL medicine eat-1s-PCL be-1s-NPT

On account of being ill these days, I am taking medicine.

- 256 *dha-ŋaŋ su-ko nem jyok-Ø-le hok-Ø-du.*
 that.distant-inside who-GEN house burn-SAS-PCL be-SAS-NPT

Whose house is that on fire [lit. burning] over there?

- 257 *tha-Ø-du, gai-go bubu cya-Ø-le hok-Ø-du.*
 be-SAS-NPT I-GEN elder.brother eat-SAS-PCL be-SAS-NPT

Yes, my brother is eating [right now].

- 258 *ni nis-ka lipem-e phoy-i-le hok-i-thyo.*
 we two-HNC snow-INS soak-1pPS-PCL be-1pPS-3sCOND

The two of us were totally drenched by the snow.

- 259 *niŋ hara yo-ni-le hok-ni-du?*
 you(p) what look.at-2p-PCL be-2p-NPT

What are you(p) looking at?

- 260 *loŋe ya-Ø-ta-le ŋah-Ø-u-no, 'tete, gai-gai*
 jackal go-SAS-IPP-PCL say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT elder.sister I-PM
sul-si-sa ʔhai cikhet-aŋ! gai-gai sat-sa mi-pali
 hide-REF-INF place show-s→1s/IMP I-PM kill-INF person-p
kyel-eŋ-le hok-eŋ-du, naŋ-kai woi sat-eŋ-du.'
 come-pAS-PCL be-pAS-NPT you-PM also kill-pAS-NPT

The jackal went and said, 'elder sister, show me a place to hide. There are people coming to kill me and they may kill you too.'

Aside from the above examples, the periphrastic participial ending <-le> most commonly occurs in combination with the transitive preterite participle <-to> (TPP) and the intransitive preterite participle <-ta> (IPP). These participles are discussed in Sections §14.2 and §14.3 below.

14.2 The transitive preterite participle

morph:	<-to>
label:	TPP
morph:	<-tuŋ>
label:	1s/TPP

The transitive preterite participle <-to> (TPP) occurs in all preterite transitive gerundal constructions with the meaning 'having ..., then ...', often translated into English using 'and'. The transitive preterite participle <-to> (TPP) occurs only in

combination with the participial ending <-le> (PCL) discussed above. While the verb which follows takes affixal agreement markers, the construction Σ -to-le (verb-TPP-PCL) ‘having...’ is invariable and contains no suffixes to indicate the person or number of the agent. Examples 261 to 263 below illustrate uses of the transitive preterite participle <-to> (TPP) best translated as ‘having...’, while examples 264 to 266 are more easily translated using ‘and’.

- 261 *sya wa-ŋa libi tokolok-e gonthe them-to-le*
 bovine plough-CNS after hoe-INS clump.of.earth break.up-TPP-PCL
raŋ-kai min-minca loŋ-ko mai-Ø-du.
 unirrigated.field-PM fine.and.grainy do-ADH must-SAS-NPT

Having ploughed with the ox and having broken up the clods of earth with a hoe, the earth in the field must be made dry and crumbly.

- 262 *ka loŋ-to-le, di maina libi nis maina libi makai*
 this do-IPP-PCL one month after two month after maize
min-Ø-du.
 ripen-SAS-NPT

Having done this, after one or two months the maize ripens.

- 263 *tyaŋ pi-to-le, to thoŋi-ye jekha ca-kai, ŋa-to-le*
 then give-TPP-PCL that old.woman-ERG big son-PM say-TPP-PCL
gai-go apa-kai, piy-Ø-u-thyo.
 I-GEN father-PM give-SAS-3P-3sCOND

Then, once it had been given, the old lady would give [the cigarette] to her eldest son, meaning to say my father.

- 264 *to maŋai kutik-to-le cyah-Ø-an.*
 that bread break-TPP-PCL eat-SAS-3S/PT

He broke the bread and ate it.

- 265 *kundu kundu uni gā-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' ηa-to-le taη-ηa-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 <-eη> (pAS) is inserted into the string Σ -to-le (verb-TPP-PCL) 'having...', changing it to Σ -eη-to-le (verb-pAS-TPP-PCL) 'having...', as illustrated by examples 267 to 269 below. The plural agent morpheme <-eη> (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-eη-to-le, tim-te*
 man person-p house-LOC paddy bring-pAS-TPP-PCL mortar-LOC
sui-to-le, isa cey-eη-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 *paη ray-eη-to-le, aikuca-ye suwa tany-eη-to-le*
 sour.fruit bring-pAS-TPP-PCL large.knife-INS tooth open-pAS-TPP-PCL
ugo duη-ηaη piy-eη-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 loη-sa beryaη, thaηmi-pali-ko guru-pali naka miη*
 this god do-INF that.time Thangmi-p-GEN shaman-p new cloth
bu-siy-eη-ta-le take tap-eη-to-le usyay-eη-du.
 cover-REF-pAS-IPP-PCL shaman's.drum beat-pAS-TPP-PCL dance-pAS-NPT

When worshipping their god, Thangmi shamans wear new clothes and dance beating their shaman's drums.

The second exception to the otherwise invariable form Σ -to-le (verb-TPP-PCL) occurs in transitive preterite constructions involving a first person singular agent, in which the transitive preterite participle <-to> (TPP) is replaced by the *portemanteau* form <-tuη> (1s/TPP), resulting in Σ -tuη-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 kutalen cijyaŋ-sa uniŋ tha-ŋa-n.*
 good see-1s/TPP-PCL that with when speak-INF like be-1s-PT

Seeing that beauty, I wondered when I might speak with her.

271 *gai woi di toke nunu kai-tuŋ-le cya-ŋa-n.*
 I also one small.bowl milk remove-1s/TPP-PCL eat-1s-PT

Then I scooped out a bowl of milk and drank it.

272 *to pepelek khalam-tuŋ-le, nem-te jake chya asa*
 that money receive-1s/TPP-PCL house-LOC rice salt oil

rah-u-n-uŋ.

bring-3P-1s→3-1s→3/PT

Having received the money [from the foreigners], I brought rice, salt and oil back home.

14.3 The intransitive preterite participle

morph: <-ta>

label: IPP

The intransitive preterite participle <-ta> (IPP) occurs in all intransitive preterite gerundal constructions with the meaning ‘having ..., then ...’, often translated into English using ‘and’. The intransitive preterite participle <-ta> (IPP) may not occur without the participial ending <-le> (PCL), but unlike the transitive preterite participle <-to> (TPP) discussed above in Section §14.2, the intransitive preterite participle <-ta> (IPP) requires the intransitive verbal agreement morphemes marking person and number to be present. The sequential ordering of the morphemes is as follows: the first and second person singular and plural verbal agreement morphemes occupy a functional position between the intransitive preterite participle <-ta> (IPP) and the participial ending <-le> (PCL), as in Σ -*ta-na-le* (verb-IPP-2s-PCL), while the third person singular and plural morphemes occupy a functional position between the verb stem (Σ) and the intransitive preterite participle <-ta> (IPP), as in Σ -*eŋ-ta-le* (verb-PAS-IPP-PCL). The intransitive preterite participle occurs in combination with all intransitive simplex verbal agreement morphemes.

The intransitive preterite participle <-ta> (IPP) in combination with the first person singular actant morpheme <-ηa> (1s) in first person singular verbal scenarios is illustrated by examples 273 and 274 below.

- 273 *tyaŋ gai woi to nama kherte ya-ta-ηa-le cijyaŋ-ηa-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-ηa-le hok-ηa-du.*
 I food eat-IPP-1s-PCL be-1s-NPT

I will relax after having eaten.

The intransitive preterite participle <-ta> (IPP) in combination with the first person plural patient and subject morpheme <-i> (1pPS) in first person plural verbal scenarios is illustrated by examples 275 and 276 below.

- 275 *ya-ta-i-le, thapu kherte hok-i-n, to camaica-ko apa*
 go-IPP-1pPS-PT fireplace near be-1pPS-PT that woman-GEN father
ama-ye ni-kai kaŋay-i-n.
 mother-ERG we-PM scold-1pPS-PT

Having gone there, we sat down close to the fire, and the woman's father, and mother scolded us.

- 276 *ni nis-ka isa cya-ta-i-le hara loŋ-sa?*
 we two-HNC food eat-IPP-1pPS-PCL what do-INF

What shall we two do after eating?

The intransitive preterite participle <-ta> (IPP) in combination with the second person singular actant morpheme <-na> (2s) in second person singular verbal scenarios is illustrated by examples 277 and 278 below.

- 277 *'nan naŋ soŋ-te ya-ta-na-le, nany-e yo-to-le di-gore*
 now you river-LOC go-IPP-2s-PCL you-ERG look.at-TPP-PCL one-CLF
chaŋ uniŋ kyel-o!'
 bamboo.cradle like bring-s→3/IMP

'Now go to the river, have a look around, and bring back something that resembles a bamboo cradle!' [said the old woman].

- 278 *naŋ isa cya-ta-na-le ya-na-du?*
 you food eat-IPP-2s-PCL go-2s-NPT

Will you go, having eaten?

The intransitive preterite participle <-ta> (IPP) in combination with the second person plural actant morpheme <-ni ~ -n> (2p) in second person plural verbal scenarios is illustrated by examples 279 and 280 below.

- 279 *'niŋ hara-kai ka-te kyel-ta-ni-le, ni-ko seŋ pal-n-u-n?*
 you(p) what-PM this-LOC come-IPP-2p-PCL we-GEN wood cut-2p-3p-PT
nan niŋ-kai gǎ-ye nem duŋ-ŋaŋ na-ni-ŋa-du',
 now you(p)-PM I-ERG house within-inside put-2p-1s-NPT
ŋah-Ø-u-no.
 say-SAS-3p-3→3/PT

'For what reason did you(p) come to this place and cut down my trees for wood? I am going to jail you both [lit. put you inside a house]', he said.

- 280 *amakaleŋ niŋ apok-te hok-ta-ni-le, naleŋ guru tha-ni-n.*
 last.year you(p) cave-LOC be-IPP-2p-PCL present shaman be-2s-PT

Last year you(p) lived in a cave, now you have become shamans.

The intransitive preterite participle <-ta> (IPP) in combination with the non-first person singular agent or subject zero morpheme <-Ø> (SAS) in third person singular verbal scenarios is illustrated by examples 281 and 282 below.

- 281 *ya-ŋa libi, to-te ŋiŋ-Ø-ta-le ami-Ø-du uniŋ*
 go-CNS after that-LOC fall.from.level-SAS-IPP-PCL sleep-SAS-NPT like
thah-Ø-an.
 be-SAS-3s/PT

Having gone there, she also toppled over as if she were asleep.

- 282 *ni-ko jarphu kyaŋ-pole-yiŋ*
 we-GEN elder.sister's.husband needle.wood-tree-ABL
ros-Ø-ta-le sih-Ø-an.
 fall.from.height-SAS-IPP-PCL die-SAS-3s/PT

Our brother-in-law fell from the needle wood tree and died.

The intransitive preterite participle <-ta> (IPP) in combination with the plural agent or subject morpheme <-eη> (pAS) in third person plural verbal scenarios is illustrated by examples 283 and 284 below.

- 283 *to-baη jekha jekha thay-eη-ta-le, bore loη-sa thay-eη-an.*
 that-Pp big big be-pAS-IPP-PCL marriage do-INF be-pAS-3S/PT
 Having all grown up, they got married.

- 284 *nyoηi guru-pali ray-eη-ta-le, dewa lony-eη-to-le,*
 evening shaman-p come.from.level-pAS-IPP-PCL god do-pAS-TPP-PCL
dewa hok-∅-du thai-te yey-eη-du.
 god be-sAS-NPT place-LOC go-pAS-NPT
 In the evening, having come, and having done their worship, the shamans
 then go the place where the gods reside.

15. The negative participial suffix <-ki>

morph: <-ki>
 label: NPS

The Thangmi negative participial suffix <-ki> (NPS) occurs in negative preterite verbal constructions to convey the meaning ‘...not having...’. The negative participial suffix <-ki> (NPS) is the final element in any given verbal string, after the person and number agreement markers if they are present, and in combination with the transitive or intransitive preterite participles <-to> (TPP) and <-ta> (IPP). The use of the Thangmi negative participial suffix <-ki> (NPS) in intransitive verbal scenarios, in combination with the intransitive preterite participle <-ta> (IPP), is illustrated by examples 285 to 291 below.

- 285 *ma-tha, gai isa ma-cya-ta-ηa-ki.*
 NEG-be I food NEG-eat-IPP-1s-NPS

No, that’s not possible, my not having eaten yet.

- 286 *gai-go chuku kuta woi ma-ya-∅-ta-ki, amakaleη*
 I-GEN father.in.law where also NEG-go-SAS-IPP-NPS last.year
siy-∅-an.
 die-SAS-3S/PT

My father-in-law not having gone anywhere, died last year.

287 *naŋ kapu ma-uli-si-ta-na-ki.*

you head NEG-wash-REF-IPP-2s-NPS

You not having washed your hair yet.

288 *naŋ nem-yiŋ ma-waŋ-ta-na-ki.*

you house-ABL NEG-come.from.below-IPP-2s-NPS

You not having come from your home.

289 *ni mesya-ko ʔamsil ma-cya-ta-i-ki.*

we buffalo-GEN marrow NEG-eat-IPP-1pPS-NPS

Our not having eaten buffalo marrow.

290 *ulam apraca ma-hok-Ø-thyo, niŋ-kai ma-thur-ta-ni-ki.*

road good NEG-be-sAS-3sCOND you(p)-PM NEG-stumble-IPP-2p-NPS

The path wasn't good, you(p) not having stumbled.

291 *apa si-Ø-du-yiŋ, to-baŋ ma-kerep-eŋ-ta-ki.*

father die-sAS-NPT-ABL that-Pp NEG-cry-pAS-IPP-NPS

Their not having cried since father died.

The use of the Thangmi negative participial suffix <-ki> (NPS) in preterite transitive verbal scenarios, in combination with the transitive preterite participle <-to> (TPP), is illustrated by examples 292 to 295 below.

292 *yaŋ ni-ye jet ma-loŋ-to-wa-ki.*

today we-ERG work NEG-do-TPP-1p→23-NPS

Our not having worked today.

293 *to-bany-e naka nem ma-thil-eŋ-to-ki.*

that-Pp-ERG new house NEG-paint-pAS-TPP-NPS

Their not yet having painted the house.

294 *to-baŋ apraca mi, kucu-ye cuk-Ø-u-le woi*

that-Pp good person dog-ERG bite-sAS-3P-PCL also

ma-ŋey-eŋ-to-ki.

NEG-beat-pAS-TPP-NPS

They are kind people, not having beaten the dog even though it bites [them].

295 *naŋ cile cya-na-du? gǎ-ye ma-khit-tuŋ-ki.*
 you yam eat-2s-NPT I-ERG NEG-peel-1s/TPP-NPS

Are you eating the yam? My not having scraped it off yet.

In second person negative verbal scenarios involving the preterite transitive particle <-to> (TPP) and the Thangmi negative participial suffix <-ki> (NPS), the preterite transitive particle <-to> (TPP) takes the form <-tu> (2/NEG/TPP). The second person preterite transitive particle <-tu> (2/NEG/TPP) is illustrated by example 296 below.

296 *nany-e jet ma-loŋ-tu-na-ki, naŋ-kai cya-sa ma-pi.*
 you-ERG work NEG-do- 2/NEG/TPP-2s-NPS you-PM eat-INF NEG-give

Not having worked, you won't get anything to eat.

The second person plural actant marker <-ni ~ -n> (2p) has the irregular form <-nu> (2p/NEG/TPP) in negative constructions involving the second person preterite transitive particle <-tu> (2/NEG/TPP) and the negative participial suffix <-ki> (NPS), as illustrated by examples 297 and 298 below.

297 *niny-e camai-ko cime ma-ḍi-tu-nu-ki.*
 you(p)-ERG daughter-GEN hair NEG-comb-2/NEG/TPP-2p/NEG/TPP-NPS

You(p) not having combed daughter's hair.

298 *niny-e gwi ma-ḍapu-tu-nu-ki.*
 you(p)-ERG thief NEG-spy-2/NEG/TPP-2p/NEG/TPP-NPS

You(p) not having spied on the thief.

16. The connector suffix <-ŋa>

morph: <-ŋa>
 label: CNS

The connector suffix <-ŋa> (CNS) occurs in combination with a verbal stem (Σ) and the postposition *libi* 'after' to mean 'after Σ -ing'. The syntactic connector <-ŋa> (CNS) is a bound suffix with a highly limited distribution. The suffix <-ŋa> (CNS) acts like an infinitive connecting the verb stem to the postposition *libi* 'after' which governs it. Some uses of the connector suffix <-ŋa> (CNS) are illustrated in examples 299 to 302 below.

- 299 *uma-kai ηah-Ø-u-no, 'nany-e huca nik-ηa libi*
 wife-PM say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT you-ERG child give.birth-CNS after
ka citaliη tap-sa, tyaj ni-ye thaha sai-wa-du.'
 this drum beat-INF then we-ERG knowledge know-1p→23-NPT

He [the husband] said to his wife, 'when you have just given birth to the child, beat this drum and then we will know.'

- 300 *gai-gai ama-ye nik-ηa libi, gai ucyaca kere uniη*
 I-PM mother-ERG give.birth-CNS after I small insect like
hok-ηa-thyo thaηun.
 be-1s-3sCOND maybe.

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

- 301 *to mi toη cya-ηa libi, cijyaη-sa ma-ra.*
 that man beer eat-CNS after speak-INF NEG-come.from.level

After that man drinks, he can't talk [when that man is drunk, he isn't able to talk properly].

- 302 *puya li-ηa libi, paηku cuk-ko mai-Ø-du.*
 seed scatter-CNS after water insert-ADH must-SAS-NPT

After scattering the seeds, water should be added.

17. The third person singular conditional ending <-thyo>

morph: <-thyo>
 label: 3sCOND

Thangmi makes use of the Nepali conditional form *thyo* in periphrastic constructions to convey a habitual or conditional meaning, much like the English form *would*. The use of the borrowed element <-thyo> (3sCOND) is so abundant in Thangmi habitual or conditional verbal constructions that Thangmi speakers do not perceive it to be a loaned element. Instances of the loaned element <-thyo> (3sCOND) being used to convey the past habitual meaning 'used to' are illustrated by examples 303 to 306 below.

- 303 *gai-gai tete-ye cabu-to-le hen-Ø-ηa-thyo.*
 I-PM elder.sister-ERG carry-TPP-PCL take-SAS-1s-3sCOND

My elder sister used to carry me around.

- 304 *di-ka apa unij thone mi-ye nah-Ø-u-no, 'habi*
 one-HNC father like old.man person-ERG say-SAS-3P-3→3/PT before
camai wakhe fisen-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-ηa-du beryaη, gai-go apa-ko apa aηthe*
 I small be-1s-NPT that.time I-GEN father-GEN father many
bajareη cya-Ø-thyo.
 tobacco eat-SAS-3sCOND

When I was small, my father's father used to smoke a lot of tobacco.

- 306 *habi, jekha dese yo-sa-kai, cawa-ta-i-le ya-yo-ko*
 before big village look.at-INF-PM walk-IPP-1pPS-PCL go-look.at-ADH
mai-Ø-thyo.
 must-SAS-3sCOND

In the olden days, in order to see the city [lit. big village], we used to have to walk [to get there].

Instances of the borrowed element <-thyo> (3sCOND) being used to convey a conditional meaning are illustrated by examples 307 to 312 below.

- 307 *huca ni-to-le yoh-Ø-u-no, 'ka huca gai-go nem-te*
 child see-TPP-PCL look.at-SAS-3P-3→3/PT this child I-GEN house-LOC
tha-sa-be, ka nama hok-ηa-thyo' nah-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 *'naη ma-tha-na-n-be, gai-gai sat-eη-ηa-thyo, naη*
 you NEG-be-2s-PT-TOP I-PM kill-pAS-1s-3sCOND you
tha-Ø-ta-na-le gai mo-ηa-n', nah-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 *nyoŋi,* *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* *ŋhai* *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 <-Ăİ>

morph:	<-Ăİ>
label:	CON

The use of the Thangmi continuous background activity suffix <-Ăİ> (CON) lends prominence to the modified constituent. Aside from one recorded instance of the Thangmi suffix <-Ăİ> (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 <-Ăİ> (CON) is attached directly to this reduplicated form, rather like the Nepali imperfect participle <-da> in its morphologically emphatic form <-dai>. The Thangmi suffix <-Ăİ> (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-ǎi, 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-ǎi ama-ye nih-Ø-u-no, ca-kǎi*
 one day take-take-CON mother-ERG see-sAS-3P-3→3/PT son-PM
kaŋa-Ø-ta-le ‘gǎ-ye naŋ-kǎi cya-sa pi-na-ŋa-du, sola
 scold-sAS-IPP-PCL I-ERG you-PM eat-INF give-2s-1s-NPT snack
hara-kǎi to-kǎi 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-ǎi,*
 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-ǎi, 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.