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**Author**

Lahaussois, Aimee

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**Thulung Rai**
Aimée Lahaussois
LACITO/CNRS, Villejuif, France

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## 1.      Introduction

Thulung Rai is a Kiranti language spoken by about a thousand people in Eastern Nepal. The dialect represented here is that of Mukli.  Mukli is near the confluence of the Solu Khola and Dudh Khosi rivers, and the village is spread out over a hillside at an average elevation of 1500 m.

The language is in a situation of what I estimate to be 'intense' contact (using Thomason and Kaufman's standards, 1988: 83) with Nepali.  Lexical borrowing is widespread, and there is also a good deal of structural borrowing.  This is due to the fact that most speakers are bilingual with Nepali.  There do not appear to be any fluent speakers younger than 20.

N. Allen spent several years in the village of Mukli in the early 1970's and produced a Sketch of Thulung Grammar (1975).  This is a particularly valuable document in light of the changes which have come about in the last thirty years. Ebert has also incorporated Thulung data gathered from Allen's texts into her comparative analyses of Kiranti languages (such as 1994).

## 2.      Phonology

Initial consonants (in native words)

|            | unvoiced | unvoiced aspirated | voiced | voiced aspirated | nasal |
|------------|----------|--------------------|--------|------------------|-------|
| glottal    | ʔ        |                    |        |                  |       |
| velar      | k        | kh                 | g      |                  | ŋ     |
| affricate  | ts       | tsh                | dz     | dzh              |       |
| dental     | t        | th                 | d      | dh               | n     |
| retroflex  |          |                    | ḍ      |                  |       |
| labial     | p        | ph                 | b      | bh               | m     |
| continuants | h, s, l, r |                 |        |                  |       |
| semi-vowels | j, w    |                    |        |                  |       |

Final consonants
k  ṭ  p  ŋ  n  m  l  r

Vowels
i  y  e  a  ɔ  o  ɯ  u

Vowel length

Allen marks length distinctions in vowels, but I do not consider vowel length to be distinctive in the modern language.  While some speakers sometimes produced minimal pairs distinguishing vowel length in some words, these length distinctions

were not found to be consistent. This may be the influence of Nepali, which does not have long vowels.

Diphthongs
ai, au, eu, ɔi, ɔu, ɯi, ui
     Falling diphthongs are considered to be glide plus vowel combinations, as they can occur word-initially (while rising diphthongs cannot).
In the syllable cannon below, diphthongs are represented by the single V, but never occur with a preceding glide.

Tone
     Allen reports finding certain pairs of words for which "the most obvious difference was that in... one member was pronounced faster and in a more fortis manner." (1975: 32) He describes these words "as having tense tone" and the other member of the pair as having "lax tone." He goes on to point out that "the great majority of Thulung words are not members of such minimal pairs and sounded equally natural... whether pronounced tense or lax." (ibid.) I found no examples of tonal contrast, even in the pairs listed in Allen. Presumably the traces of tonal contrast disappeared under pressure from Nepali.

Syllable cannon
(Ci)   (liquid)   (glide)     V      (Cf)

**3.      Typological summary**
     Salient typological features of Thulung include the following:
- Basic S O V order.
- Nouns can be inflected for dual or plural number.
- Morphological ergative split, with ergative marking for second plural, third persons and other NPs.
- Verbs are inflected for person and number, with up to two arguments marked.

**4.      Basic sentences**
**4.1.   Intransitives**
     A basic intransitive sentence has an unmarked subject and a verb agreeing with it in person and number.
1.    <u>a-wotsy</u>           <u>pakha</u>  <u>lɔ-mri</u>
    1POSS-husband     outside       go-3sP:PST
    'My husband went outside.'

     There are several types of predication with the copula, which also agrees with the subject.
Equative predication
2.    <u>mɯ</u>    <u>mytsy</u>  <u>a-pap-ku</u>         <u>ŋopsɯ bu</u>
    that    man   1POSS-father-GEN   friend  be:3s
    'That man is my father's friend.'

Locational predication

3.　　gumi　neb-ra　　　bu-mi
　　　3sP　　house-LOC　be-3sP
　　　'She is at home.'

Existential predication

4.　　*dher*　protsɯ sama　bu
　　　many　Rai　　caste　be:3s
　　　'There are many Rai castes.'

Possessive predication

5.　　go-nuŋ　　　　　ɖokpu*dzahan* bu
　　　1s-COM　　　　big　　family be:3s
　　　'I have a big family.'

## 4.2　Transitives

Thulung has ergative marking in transitive sentences, but with a split conditioned by person and number: agents are nominative, with no overt marking, if they are from the class 1s, 1de, 1di, 1pe, 1pi, 2s, 2sP, 2d, and they are marked with ergative *-ka* if they are 2p, 3s, 3sP, 3d, 3p and any other NP.

There is also primary object marking: *-lai* marks the animate object of monotransitives (always when human, sometimes when non-human) and the recipient of ditransitives.

Monotransitive

6.　　go　　*mag*　ɖjo-uto
　　　1s　　mug　drop-1s/3s:PST
　　　'I dropped the mug.'

7.　　go　　mam-**lai**　　tsɯm　dwak-pu
　　　1s　　mother-DAT much　like-1s/3s
　　　'I like my mother a lot.'

8.　　i-lwak-**ka**　　　　　　i-mam-**lai**　　　khlɯi
　　　2POSS-y.sibling-ERG　　2POSS-mother-DAThelp:3s/3s
　　　'Your younger sibling helps your mother.'

Ditransitive

9.　　mam-**ka**　　u-tsɯ-tsi-**lai**　　　　　po-mu-*ʈhok*　gwak-ty
　　　mother-ERG 3POSS-children-DU-DAT　eat-INF-stuff give-3s/3s:PST
　　　'The mother gave her two children food.'

10.　　go　　a-mam-**lai**　　　　　tsɯ　　　gwak-tomi
　　　1s　　1POSS-mother-DATchild　　　give-1s/3sP:PST
　　　'I gave the child to my mother.'

**4.3    Experiencer constructions**
        Experiencer constructions are those for which the experiencer is expressed with dative marking and the verb has 3s (agent) agreement.

11.    <u>go-**lai**</u>        <u>kwara</u> <u>ly-ra</u>
       1s-DAT        thirst  feel-3s:PST
       I am thirsty

12.    <u>go-**lai**</u>        <u>tsoktsho</u>        <u>bɔk-ta</u>
       1s-DAT        anger        arise-3s:PST
       'I am angry.' ('Anger arose in me.')


13.    <u>go-**lai**</u>        <u>bira</u>   <u>ŋim</u>   <u>ly-ra</u>
       1s-DAT        leech   fear    feel-3s:PST
       'I am afraid of leeches.'


**5.    The Noun Phrase**
**5.1.    Word and affix order**
        Thulung has the following basic word order in the noun phrase:
DEM            NUM Classifier        Adjective                poss-N-case
N-GEN

Nouns can be marked for number (5.4), for case (5.8), and pragmatic status (5.9).
Modifiers can also function as nouns, and can be any of the following categories:
demonstrative
numeral (+ classifier)
adjective
relative clause
possessive pronoun, possessor-GEN
place-LOC-NOM


**5.2.    Pronouns**
        Thulung has a fairly complete set of pronouns, with dual forms, an inclusive/exclusive distinction, and polite forms (marked 2sP and 3sP for 2 singular polite and 3 singular polite respectively.)
1s go, 1de gutsuku,1di gutsi,1pe guku,1pi gui
2s gana, 2sP gani, 2d gatsi, 2p ganimim
3s gu, 3sP gumi, 3d gutsi, 3p gumimim
        Allen noted that polite forms were sometimes used, whereas this now seems to be a fairly well-established pattern.  The polite forms are based on what were, in Allen's time, plural forms, and the plurals have been reinforced by the plural morpheme.


**5.3.    Demonstratives**
        Thulung has proximal, *o/oram*, and distal, *mɯ/mɯram* (also *meram*), demonstratives. The demonstratives can also be used for third person referents, optionally with dual and plural forms formed with the corresponding suffixes (*-tsip* and *–mim* respectively).

**5.4.	Numerals, number**
5.4.1. Numerals and classifiers

Native numerals go up to 'three' for most speakers, and are *ko, nɔ, su* ('1', '2', '3' respectively). The etymon for 'four' (*blu*) appears in some temporal expressions (*bluhaḍḍa* 'in four years', *blunem* 'four days ago', *blu* 'in four years', *bluna* 'four years ago') but is not used with the remaining classifiers.

The only classifier seen with any frequency is the generic classifier *-le*, and this appears in combination with the three remaining native numbers. The classifier is not used when what is being counted are periods of time, such as year, week, day, in which case numerals occur alone. The exception to this is *ko-lem, nɔ-lem, su-lem,* used for 'one day', 'two days' and 'three days' respectively. Another somewhat productive classifier is *–phe* used for counting generally round objects, such as coins, bananas, bread.

5.4.2. Number

The plural marker, *-mim*, is used to pluralize nouns, and its use with pronouns appears to be a new phenomenon, calqued on the Nepali. The distribution of the pluralizer *-mim* is as follows (and presumably the dual patterns paralelly, although I have fewer data on its distribution): it is an optional plural marker, but there is a scale in the frequency of appearance with certain noun classes. It appears most frequently with kin terms, where its use is fairly consistent, although examples are found where it is ommitted. It is optional but generally used with non-kin humans, and considerably less frequent with non-human animates, such as herd animals. It tends not to appear very frequently with inanimate nouns (but this depends on the speaker). The same distribution applies to the dual marker *-tsip*.

**5.5.	Adjectives**
Adjectives in Thulung are defined by requiring no genitive or nominalizing material to appear attributively. There is a small class of lexical adjectives, which are given in the following list, while the biggest class of adjectives are deverbal, seen at the end of this section.

khrekhreja 'bumpy, rough'
plɔplɔja 'smooth'
ḍokpu 'big'
jakke 'small'
ŋatsɯ 'old'
malomts' 'young'
happa 'much'

The color terms are based on a reduplicative pattern, which seems to be uniquely restricted to colors.
lalam ′red′
gigim ′green′
kekem′black′
ʔoʔom ′yellow′
bubum ′white′
nunum ′blue′

The following adjectives are deverbal, being non-past participial forms, for which not all input verbs are synchronically recognizable.

jepa 'high' <jemsimu 'to stand'
dhypa 'long'
teʈpa 'smart'
tsapa 'strong' <tsammu 'be able'
dzɯpa 'good'
tshɔkpa 'cold'
dzalpa 'hot'
tsisiʈpa 'wet'
saʈpa 'dry' <samu, 'to dry'
khepa 'bitter' <khemu, 'to be bitter'
brɔpa 'tasty' <brɔmu, 'to have taste'
lempa 'sweet' <lemmu, 'to lick'
dukpaˈspicyˈ
dzyrpa ˈsourˈ

## 5.6.    Possession
5.6.1. Pronominal possession

Each person has a generic possessive prefix.[1]  This prefix is unspecified for number, and can be used for singular, dual and plural referents.  There is also a possessive pronoun for each person, which can be used prenominally or as an independent nominal.  They appear to be combinations of the prefix and a nominalizing element.  Like the prefixes, the forms given in the table below are unspecificied for number.

| 1 person | a- | ama |
| 2 person | i- | ima |
| 3 person | u- | uma |

These prefixes and possessive pronouns can also be specified for number with the addition of a suffix: *atsi-/ atsima* (1de), *aki-/ akima* (1pe), *itsi-/ itsima* (1di), *iki-/ ikima* (1pi), *itsi-/ itsima* (2d), *ini-/ inima* (2p or 2sP), *utsi-/ utsima* (3d), *uni-/ unima* (3p or 3sP).

The prefixes are most often seen with first person prefixes and pronouns, but occasionally with second and third persons as well.

5.6.2.   Genitive marking

Dependent-GEN Head is the structure of the possessed noun phrase.
The genitive marker is interchangeably –*ku* or –*kam*.

14.    <u>je-ku</u>          *rɔŋ*
         clothes-GEN color
         'the colour of the clothes'

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[1] I believe these to be prefixes, but have found one example where it behaved like a clitic:
*a-ɖokpu ts*' 'my big child'.  Quite possibly *ɖokpu ts*' is interpreted by this speaker to be a single lexical element, corresponding to English 'eldest'.

15.  gai-kam      gunu
     cow-GEN     inside
     'the inside of the cow'

When the head noun is a body part or kin term, the head can optionally be marked with the possessive pronoun in addition to the genitive marker on the dependent.

16.  bwa-kam     u-bwi
     pig-GEN      3POSS-head
     'the pig's head'

17.  po-ku         u-sɯ
     chicken-GEN 3POSS-meat
     'chicken meat'

There is also a special subset of possessed NPs: possessed time words are marked differently, and take -*m* or -*mim* (-*mim* postconsonantally).

18.  nemtha-m     dzam
     evening-NOM      rice
     'the evening meal'

19.  anep-mim    *din*
     today-NOM2 day
     'today's days (these days)'

## 5.7.   Relative clauses
There are two means of relativizing, one construction being based on a finite verb followed by a nominalizer, and the other on a participial form.

### 5.7.1.   -*m/-mim* relativization
This type is based on a finite verb. DeLancey (2002) has noted that "relativization in TB is a subspecies of clausal nominalization" and this applies to Thulung, where the relative markers are in fact nominalizers. The distribution of these nominalizers in relativization is as follows: -*m* is used for general relativization, in all cases (past and non-past) except for with mono-syllabic verbs; -*mim* is only used for the non-past, and always for mono-syllabic verbs.

20.  [go    khok-to-**m/*-mim**]            dzam brɔpa bai-ra
     1s     cook-1s/3s:PST-NOM/NOM2    rice    good  be-3s:PST
     'The food I cooked was good.'

21.  [go    dwak-pu-**m/-mim**]       *kitap*  gani-lai       gwa-gwa
     1s     like-1s/3s-NOM/NOM2   book  2sP-DAT       give-give
     dwa.
     like:3s/3s
     'I want to give you a book I like.'

22.  [gui si-i-**mim** /*-**m**] *din*
     1pi die-1pi-NOM2/NOM day
     'the day we die'

The original distribution (according to Allen) appears to be based on tense, with *–mim* for non-past and *–m* for past, but the distribution is now partly phonologically conditioned.

5.7.2.  *-pa/-ma* relativization
     This type is based on a participle, either non-past (*-pa*) or past (*-ma*).  The main semantic difference is that in a participial relative, the participants need not be specified. (In *-m/-mim* relativization, the verb agreement shows who the participants are.)

23.  [nem bane-**pa**] a-lwak
     house make-Npst.PRT 1POSS-y.sibling
     ʻmy brother who builds housesʼ

24.  khok-**ma** dzam
     cook-Pst.PRT rice
     ʻcooked rice (by anyone)ʼ

## 5.8.  Case markers
Ergative *–ka* (exs 8, 9)

Instrumental *–ka* (see also causal, 7.4.)
25.  ganimim-ka mɯ mi-hɔnpa betho-**ka** mi-dzhak-ni
     2p-ERG that NEG-sharp knife-INSTR NEG-cut-2p/3s
     ʻYou should not cut wood with that blunt knife.ʼ

Dative *–lai* (exs 7, 9, 11)

Genitive *-ku, -kam* (see 5.6.2.)

Locative *-ra*, but also *-nu* (same level), *-la* (high), *-jy* (low)
     Locative *–ra* (see also purposive, 7.3.)
26.  go *iskul-**ra*** *angredzi* si-pu
     1s school-LOC English teach-1s/3s
     ʻI teach English at the school.ʼ

     Level locative *-nu*
27.  Deusa-**nu**-m Darim Popnar ra-ma *dadzju*
     Deusa-levLOC-NOM Darim Popnar call-Pst.PRT o.brother
     *bhai* noktsho get-tsi.
     y.brother shaman come.up-3d:PST
     ʻA pair of brother magicians from across at Deusa, called Darim and Popnar, came up.ʼ

     High locative *–la*
28.  Lukla ra-ma *ʈau-**la***

Lukla   call-Pst.PRT   place-hiLOC
'In the place up from here called Lukla'

Low locative -jy

29.   <u>gumi-ka</u>        <u>bloku-**jy**-m</u>        <u>ku</u>     <u>khe-saka</u>      <u>pem-thal-miri</u>
       3p-ERG          river-loLOC-NOM    water   bring-AC        drink-3p-HAB-3p/3s:PST
       'They brought the water from down in the river and were drinking it.'

Comitative –*num*

30.   <u>go</u>     <u>pap-**num**</u>     <u>bu-ŋu</u>
       1s       father-COM    be-1s
       'I live with my father.'

Ablative -*lam, -laŋka*

31.   <u>ba-**lam/laŋka**</u> <u>rok-na-m</u>
       where-ABL    come-2s:PST-NOM
       'Where have you come from?'

## 5.9.    Discourse markers

5.9.1. Topic *ne*, Focus *re*

        The topic marker signals given information, in contrast to the focus marker which marks new information.  They appear after whatever case marker may be required by the grammatical context.

        The contrast between the two is best seen in examples where they both appear.

32.   <u>ɔsinɖa</u> **<u>ne</u>**     <u>mytsy</u> **<u>re</u>**     <u>bu-mi</u> *tsha*
       here    TOP    man    FOC    be-3p  be
       'There's a man here!' (indicating surprise, as noone was present before)

33.   <u>go</u>     **<u>ne</u>**     *<u>bia</u>*        **<u>re</u>**     <u>be-uto</u>
       1s       TOP    marriage     FOC    do-1s/3s:PST
       'I got married.' (said to someone who hasn't seen me since)

        The topic and focus markers need not appear in the same sentence, and there are numerous examples of their occurring independently of one another.

5.9.2.   Contrast *tsahi*

        The contrast marker is borrowed from Nepali.  It is used to set up a contrast between several entities, in which case all are marked with tsahi, or between a marked entity and a reference point obvious from context, as in the following.

34.   <u>khlea-ka</u>      **<u>tsahi</u>**        <u>mɯ</u>   <u>bɔʈɔl-gunu</u>   <u>u-bwi</u>       <u>phik-y</u>.
       dog-ERG        CONTR        that   bottle-inside  3POSS-head  stick.in-3s/3s:PST
       'The dog stuck his head inside the bottle.'
The entity with which *khlea* is contrasted is the other participants in the story, who are carrying on other activities.

### 5.9.3.  Emphasis marker *-ŋa*

The emphasis marker can be affixed to adverbs and adjectives as well as noun phrases, and generally emphasizes the marked element.  For NPs the result is similar to the focus marker, highlighting the new information.

35.  oram  je-ku         rɔŋ   go-**ŋa**        tshen-to-m
     this    clothes-GEN colour 1s-EMPH     choose-1s/3s:PST-NOM
     'I am the one who chose the colour of these clothes.'

## 6.      The Verb Phrase
## 6.1.    Word and affix order
Adverb negation-verb-directional-aspectivizer-agreement/non-finite-hearsay

## 6.2.    Adverbs
Adverbs are very limited in number, and express manner (*wakha* 'slowly', *dala* 'fast') and extent  *(tsɯm* 'much', *kitsɯ* 'little').

There is another means of expressing manner on a verb: a limited number of verbs can take a particular prefix on the root, to express that the action is carried out suddenly.  These adverbial prefixes are not productive, and are limited to the particular verb they occur with.  They may have their origins in some kind of onomatopeic expression.
Examples:
*buŋ-swa-mu* 'to flee rapidly, suddenly', cf *swa-mu* 'to flee (vi)'
*la-than-mu* 'to pull out quickly', cf *than-mu* 'to pull out (vt)'
*puli-tshar-mu* 'to make something fall quickly', cf *tshar-mu* 'to make fall (vt)'
*tsha-gro-mu* 'to throw immediately', cf *gro-mu* 'to throw (vt)'
*tsɯ-krwa-mu* 'to push in violently, suddenly', cf *krwa-mu* 'to push into (vt)'
*leb-bo-mu* 'to throw someone down violently during a fight'
*thoŋ-kon-mu*  'to drench all of a sudden', cf *kon-mu* 'to make wet (vt)'

## 6.3.    Negation
Negation is a prefix to the verb.  It has the form *mi-*.

In order to negate past forms of verbs, extra material is needed: the irrrealis marker is suffixed to the finite non-past verb form.
36.  mi-lwa-ku-**wa**          vs.    lwat-toko
     NEG-see-1pe/3s-IRR               see-1pe/3s:PST
     We did not see it.              We saw it.

37.  mi-lɔ-ŋ-**wa**           vs     lɔ-ŋro
     NEG-go-1s-IRR                   go-1s:PST
     I did not go.                   I went.

## 6.4.    Verb
The verb has a monosyllabic root.

A multisyllabic stem can occur when the root is augmented by an aspectivizer (this is a category of suffixes which appear to be derived from full verbs and which cover, in additional to

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aspectual shadings, valence increasing and decreasing morphology—see 6.7.). The root can also be augmented into a bisyllabic stem by suffixing a directional. This is a set of suffixes which combine with the verb *romu* 'to come', specifying the vertical dimension involved. In some cases these are compounds, and the suffix identifiably comes form a motion verb, in other cases, the origin of the suffix is lost.

The compounds formed are limited to the following list:

*rojomu* 'to arrive here from up above' (*jomu* 'to come down')
*rogemu* 'to arrive here from down below' (*gemu* 'to come up')
*rothimu* 'to arrive there (from any direction)'
*rophamu* 'to arrive here (from any direction)'
*robimu* 'to arrive here (from any direction)' (*bimu* 'to come')

## 6.5.Agreement

6.5.1. Agreement paradigms

Verbs have a suffixal agreement slot, and the agreement suffixes can encode up to two participants. The suffixes are portmanteau morphemes that also encode tense. For intransitives, the only participant is encoded, for monotransitives, the agent and patient, and for ditransitives, the agent and the recipient.

There are however cases in which it looks like it is the primary object is unmarked on the verb, but this appears to be an omission of the distinctive number marker rather than the marking of a single argument. The following example shows that even within the same sentence, verbs with the same arguments can show a shift in marking. (The relevant suffixes are marked in bold: the action clearly refers to a 3s agent and 3d patient, yet some verbs have 3s patient suffixes.)

38.      <u>mesimma</u>      <u>pet-tsi-m</u>          <u>patshi</u>   <u>thɔk-**tytsi**</u>,        <u>lɔ-**ry**-ma</u>
         then          eat-3d/3s:PST-NOM   after    hide-3s/3d:PST       take-3s/3s:PST-AS

         <u>thɔk-**ty**-ma</u>          <u>phoka-ka</u>       <u>ŋjak-**tytsi**-ʔe</u>
         hide-3s/3s:PST-AS     ash-INSTR     cover-3s/3d:PST-HS

'Then after they ate, she hid them, she took [them] and hid [them] and covered them in ashes.'

Similarly, the verbal marking in the following example makes it seem like it is the patient, and not the recipient, which is used for verb agreement, but it appears to be the same type of phenomenon as in 39.

39.      <u>mam-ka</u>      <u>u-tsɯ-tsi-lai</u>            <u>po-mu-*ʈhok*</u>    <u>gwak-**ty**</u>
         mother-ERG   3POSS-children-DU-DAT   eat-INF-stuff   give-3s/3s:PST
         'The mother gave her two children food.'

The language has different agreement paradigms for past and non-past.

Table 1: Intransitive personal endings, non-past and past

|       | Non-past | Past    |
|-------|----------|---------|
| 1s    | -ŋu      | -ŋoro   |
| 1de   | -tsuku   | -tsoko  |
| 1di   | -tsi     | -tsi    |
| 1pe   | -ku      | -toko   |
| 1pi   | -ḍi      | -ḍi     |
| 2s    | -na      | -na     |
| 2d    | -tsi     | -tsi    |
| 2sP, 2p | -ni    | -ni     |
| 3s    |          | -ḍa     |
| 3d    | -tsi     | -tsi    |
| 3sP, 3p | -mi    | -miri   |

Table 2: Non-past intransitive personal endings

| Pat► Ag▼ | 1s | 1de | 1di | 1pe | 1pi | 2s | 2d | 2sP, 2p | 3s | 3d | 3sP, 3p |
|----------|-----|------|------|------|------|------|------|---------|------|------|--------|
| 1s   |        |                |        |            |        | -ni   | -nitsi | -nini         | -u    | -utsi     | -umi |
| 1de  |        |                |        |            |        | -tsuku |       |               |       |           |      |
| 1di  |        |                |        |            |        |       |        |               | -tsi  |           |      |
| 1pe  |        |                |        |            |        | -ku   |        |               |       |           |      |
| 1pi  |        |                |        |            |        |       |        |               | -i    | -itsi     | -i   |
| 2s   | -ŋi    | -ŋitsi / -tsiki |        | -ki        |        |       |        |               | -na   |           |      |
| 2d   | -ŋitsi | -tsiki         |        | -tsiki     |        |       |        |               | -tsi  |           |      |
| 2sP, 2p | -ŋini | -kini        |        | -kini      |        |       |        |               | -ni   |           |      |
| 3s   | -ŋi    | -ŋitsi/ -tsiki | -tsiki | -ki      | -sa    | -na   | -na    | -nimi         | -y    | -ytsi     | -ymi |
| 3d   | -ŋitsi | -ŋitsi/ -tsiki | -sa  | -sa/ -kini | -sami  | -natsi | -natsi | -nimi/ -nitsi | -ytsi | -ytsi     | -ytsi |
| 3sP, 3p | -ŋimi | -tsiki      | -sami | -sami/ -kimi | -sami | -nami | -nitsi/ -natsimi | -nimi | -mi | -ytsi/ -mi | -mi |

Table 3: Past transitive personal endings

| Pat▶ Ag▼ | 1s | 1de | 1di | 1pe | 1pi | 2s | 2d | 2sP, 2p | 3s | 3d | 3sP, 3p |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1s | | | | | | -ni | -nitsi | -nini | -to | -totsi | -tomi |
| 1de | | | | | | -tsoko | | | | | |
| 1di | | | | | | | | | -tsi | | |
| 1pe | | | | | | -toko | | | | | |
| 1pi | | | | | | | | | -li | | |
| 2s | -ŋiri | -tsiki | | -tiki | | | | | -na | -natsi | -nami |
| 2d | -ŋiritsi | -tsiki | | | | | | | -tsi | | |
| 2sP, 2p | -ŋirini | -tiki/ -tsiki | | | | | | | -ni | -nitsi | -nimi |
| 3s | -ŋiri | -tsiki | -tsiki/ -saɖɖatsi | -tiki | -saɖɖa | -na | -natsi | -nimi | -ly | -lytsi | -lymi |
| 3d | -ŋiritsi | -tsiki | -saɖɖatsi | -tiki | -saɖɖa | -natsi | -natsi | | -lytsi | -lytsi | -lymi |
| 3sP, 3p | -ŋirimi | -tsikimi | -saɖɖami | -tikimi | -saɖɖami | -nami | -natsimi | | -miri | -miri | -miri |

Thus the verb *jal-mu* 'to hit' has a verb stem *jal-*. For a 1s agent and 2s patient, the form is *jal-ni* (the past and non-past are identical for this combination.)
One thing that becomes apparent upon looking at the transitive suffixes is that the third person is virtually unmarked: a paradigm with a 3s patient is practically the same as an intransitive paradigm.

6.5.2. Verb stem alternations
Thulung has a system of alternating verb stems, with three main verb classes.

| Class I | Class II | Class III |
|---|---|---|
| *Non-alternating verbs*<br>These are verbs with roots ending in -l,-r, and also some of the verbs whose roots end in -m and in -n (although these are divided, with some of the -m final roots being subclass IIb, and some of the -n final being subclass IIc.) Examples of some of the verbs in Class I are *mal-mu* 'to search', *kur-mu* 'to carry', *plym-mu* 'to soak', *mun-mu* 'to establish'. | *Alternating stems*<br>Verbs in class II divide into three subclasses depending on the alternation they show. The table below lists the two stem endings for each subclass, with stem 1 appearing in imperative forms and stem 2 in infinitive forms.<br><br>1<br>2<br><br>Subclass IIa<br>-k<br>O<br><br>Subclass IIb<br>-p<br>m<br><br>Subclass IIc<br>-ḍ<br>O/-n<br><br><br>Alternations between stem 1 and stem 2 occur according to a well-defined pattern, depending on the person and number of the agent. The distribution is set out in table 4. | *Alternating stems*<br>Verbs in class III divide up until three subclasses as well, but in this case there are three alternative stems per verb type. Stem 1 appears for certain person combinations as well as in the imperative, stem 2 appears for other person combinations and for the infinitive, and stem 3 appears for most past forms (Stem 3 is stem 2 with an additional past-tense morpheme -t, which assimilates to -n before -n)<br><br><br>1<br>2<br>3<br><br>Subclass IIIa<br>-s<br>O<br>-t<br><br>Subclass IIIb<br>-i<br>O<br>-t<br><br>Subclass IIIc<br>-ŋ<br>O<br>-t<br><br><br>Alternations occur but in much more reduced circumstances than for Class II verbs, and the distribution of the three stems is laid out in table 5 below. |

   For verb classes with alternating stems, it seems clear from comparative evidence that these alternations were originally phonologically based, with significantly different verbal suffixes for non-past and past forms. The phonological conditioning is no longer relevant in determining the alternations, and is now set out according to person/number combinations.

Table 4: Class II alternation pattern

|  | transitive | | intransitive | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | Non-past | Pas | Non-past | Pas |
| 1s | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 |
| 1d | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| 1di | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| 1p | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| 1pi | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 2s | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| 2d | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| 2p | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| 3s | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| 3d | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| 3p | 2 | 2~1 | 2 | 2 |

Table 5: Class III alternation pattern

|  | transitive | | intransitive | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | Non-past | Pas | Non-past | Pas |
| 1s | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| 1d | 2 | 3 | 2 | 3 |
| 1di | 2 | 3 | 2 | 3 |
| 1p | 2 | 3 | 2 | 3 |
| 1pi | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 2s | 2 | 3 | 2 | 3 |
| 2d | 2 | 3 | 2 | 3 |
| 2p | 2 | 3 | 2 | 3 |
| 3s | 1 | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 3d | 2 | 3 | 2 | 3 |
| 3p | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |

Table 6: Examples of verb paradigms illustrating Class II verbs (shading represents stem 1)

| | Subclass IIa | | Subclass IIb | | Subclass IIc | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | rja-mu 'to write' | | rem-mu 'to look' | | sen-mu 'to kill' | |
| | *Non-past* | *Past* | *Non-past* | *Past* | *Non-past* | *Past* |
| 1s/3s | **rjak**-pu | **rjak**-to | **rep**-u | **rep**-to | **seṭ**-pu | **set**-to |
| 1de/3s | **rja**-tsuku | **rjak**-tsoko | **rem**-tsuku | **rep**-tsoko | **sen**-tsuku | **set**-tsoko |
| 1di/3s | **rja**-tsi | **rjak**-tsi | **rem**-tsi | **rep**-tsi | **sen**-tsi | **set**-tsi |
| 1pe/3s | **rja**-ku | **rjak**-toko | **rem**-ku | **rep**-ku | **sen**-ku | **set**-toko |
| 1pi/3s | **rjak**-i | **rjak**-ti | **rep**-i | **rep**-ḍi | **ser**-i | **seḍ**-ḍi |
| 2s/3s | **rja**-na | **rjak**-na | **rem**-na | **rep**-na | **sen**-na | **seḍ**-na |
| 2d/3s | **rja**-tsi | **rjak**-tsi | **rem**-tsi | **rep**-tsi | **sen**-tsi | **set**-tsi |
| 2p/3s | **rja**-ni | **rjak**-ni | **rem**-ni | **rep**-ni | **sen**-ni | **seḍ**-ni |
| 3s/3s | **rjak**-y | **rjak**-ty | **rep**-y | **rep**-ḍy | **ser**-y | **seḍ**-ḍy |
| 3d/3s | **rja**-tsi | **rjak**-tsi | **rem**-tsi | **rep**-tsi | **sen**-tsi | **set**-tsi |
| 3p/3s | **rja**-mi | **rja**-mri | **rem**-mi | **rep**-miri | **sen**-mi | **seṭ**-miri |

Table 7: Examples of verb paradigms illustrating Class III verbs (light shading is Stem 3, dark shading is stem 1, and no shading is stem 2)

| | Subclass IIIa | | Subclass IIIb | | Subclass IIIc | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | lwa-mu 'to see' | | tsa-mu 'to burn' | | Ḍu-mu 'to drink' | |
| *lwamu, 'to see'* | *Non-past* | *Past* | *Non-past* | *Past* | *Non-past* | *Past* |
| 1s/3s | **la**-u | **la**-uto | **tsa**-u | **tsa**-uto | **ḍu**-u | **ḍu**-uto |
| 1de/3s | **lwa**-tsuku | **lwat**-tsoko | **tsa**-tsuku | **tsat**-tsoko | **ḍu**-tsuku | **ḍut**-tsoko |
| 1di/3s | **lwa**-tsi | **lwat**-tsi | **tsa**-tsi | **tsat**-tsi | **ḍu**-tsi | **ḍut**-tsi |
| 1pe/3s | **lwa**-ku | **lwat**-toko | **tsa**-ku | **tsat**-toko | **ḍu**-ku | **ḍut**-toko |
| 1pi/3s | **lwas**-i | **lwas**-ti | **tsa**-i | **tsai**-ri | **ḍuŋ**-i | **ḍuŋ**-ri |
| 2s/3s | **lwa**-na | **lwan**-na | **tsa**-na | **tsan**-na | **ḍu**-na | **ḍun**-na |
| 2d/3s | **lwa**-tsi | **lwat**-tsi | **tsa**-tsi | **tsat**-tsi | **ḍu**-tsi | **ḍut**-tsi |
| 2p/3s | **lwa**-ni | **lwan**-ni | **tsa**-ni | **tsan**-ni | **ḍu**-ni | **ḍun**-ni |
| 3s/3s | **lwas**-y | **lwas**-ty | **tsa**-y | **tsai**-ry | Ḍuŋ-y | Ḍuŋ-ry |
| 3d/3s | **lwa**-tsi | **lwat**-tsi | **tsa**-tsi | **tsat**-tsi | **ḍu**-tsi | **ḍut**-tsi |
| 3p/3s | **lwa**-mi | **lwa**-mri | **tsa**-mi | **tsa**-mri | **ḍu**-mi | **ḍu**-mri |

## 6.6. Mood

6.6.1. irrealis

The irrealis is either *-wa* or *-ja*, with the following conditioning: *-wa* after back vowels, *-ja* after front vowels. It is also seen assimilating to a preceding bilabial nasal resulting in *-ba*. The irrealis appears in the following contexts:

1) in some conditional clauses: either in both clauses (eg. 40), or in the protasis marked with -
   *mala* (eg 41).

40.  m<u>ɯ</u>   <u>nem</u>   <u>ɖi-sɔʈ-pu-**wa**-mala</u>
     that   day   leave-DEF-1s/3s-IRR-COND
     <u>*dzhjal*-laŋka</u>   <u>*bɔtse*-ŋa</u>         mi-dyp-sa-**wa**
     window-ABL         survive-EMPH       NEG-become-2IMP-IRR
     'If I had left her alone that day, she would not have survived the window (ie
when she climbed out and fell)'


41.  <u>mi-tsap-sy-**ja**-mala</u>         <u>kitsɯ</u>  <u>phul</u>  <u>kam-mu</u>      <u>basi</u>
     NEG-able-3s-IRR-COND   little   flour   add-INF      OBL
     'If one is not able [to guess the right amount], one must add a little flour.'


2) in the past tense forms of negative verbs (as mentioned in 6.3.)


6.6.2. imperative
     The imperative is formed with the suffixes -a for 2s, -tsi for 2d, -ni for 2p.
jal-mu 'to hit'       2s jal-a       2d jal-tsi       2p jal-ni


     Verbs which have alternating stems use stem 1 with the imperative suffixes.
ro-mu 'to come' (Subclass IIa)       2s rok-a       2d rok-tsi       2p rok-ni
bre-mu 'to buy' (Subclass IIc)       2s brer-a       2d bret-tsi       2p breɖ-ni


     The exception to this is for verbs from subclass IIb which use a suffix -ra for the 2s im-
perative form.
rem-mu 'to see' (Subclass IIb)       2s rep-ra       2p rep-ni


     For verbs from class III, stem 1 is only used for the 2s imperative form, and stem 2 for the
dual and plural forms.
ɖu-mu 'to drink' (Subclass IIIc)       2s ɖuŋ-a       2d ɖu-tsi       2p ɖu-ni


     The imperative conjugation can also encode a second participant.
The verb in the following example is rem-ben-mu (look-CAU-INF)
i-kɔl rem-beʈ-ŋi / rem-beʈ-ŋitsi / rem-beʈ-ŋini
'Show me your face.'
The participants encoded are, respectively, 2s, 2d, 2p as agent and 1s as recipient.


**6.7.   Aspect**
6.7.1. "aspectivizers"
     These are suffixed onto the verb root to convey aspectual shadings. (There is a piece of
agreement morphology which appears between the aspectivizer and the verb stem for certain per-
sons; this point needs further study.)

Habitual -thal
42.　go　athal　　*iskul*　lɔŋ-**thal**-ŋu
　　　I　　nowadays　school　go-1s-HAB-1s
　　　'I go to school regularly these days.'

Stative -ta ('to keep on doing X')
43.　gɔn-**ta**-si-mu
　　　sit-STA-DET-INF (the detransitivizer is also in this example)
　　　'to keep sitting'

Definitive -so (perfective + permanence of action)
44.　gu-ka　　　*surti*　　　ɖu-mu　　　ɖi-**soɖ**-ɖɤ
　　　3s-ERG　　tobacco　　drink-INF　stop-DEF-3s/3s:PST
　　　'He gave up smoking for good.'

Ponent -dzʉl (perfective + actions carried out ahead of time)
45.　go　beno-lai　　*ghas*　phɔl-**dzʉl**-to-m　　　　bu
　　　1s　ox-DAT　　grass　cut-PON-1s/3s:PST-NOM　be:3s
　　　'I have cut grass for the ox.'

Resultative -le (perfective + focus on end-point of action)
46.　go　mi-gɔk-thi-ŋa　　　　　　a-bep　　　　　　　si-m-**le**-mri
　　　1s　NEG-be.born-NEXP-EMPH　1POSS-grandfather　die-3p-RES-3p:PST
　　　'My grandfather was dead before I was born.'

6.7.2. perfect construction : nominalized finite verb followed by an inflected copula
47.　bante　lɔ-mri-**m**　　　**bu-mi**
　　　where　go-3p:PST-NOM　be-3p
　　　'Where have they gone?'

6.7.3. progressive construction: verb root + -sa□a followed by an inflected copula
48.　anebdika　　*pare*-pa-ka　　　　*ʈau*-ŋa　　　mi-lwa-**saŋa**　　**bu-mi**
　　　nowadays　study-Npst.PRT-ERG　　place-EMPH　NEG-find-PROG　be-3p
　　　'Nowadays people who study are not finding jobs.'

## 6.8.　Non-finite forms
6.8.1. "Infinitive"
　　　The infinitive suffix is *–mu*.

　　　The very notion of infinitive is challenged by the fact that these forms can sometimes show agreement with the patient/recipient, in the context of an expression of obligation or negative obligation.

　　　For patients/recipients which have number marking (ie duals, plurals, and polite referents), the infinitive suffix can be augmented to make reference to number. In other words, patients/recipients corresponding to the following person.number combinations can bring about alternative infinitive marking as follows:

1pi, 2sP, 2p, 3sP, 3p: infinitive form in *–mmi* (as an alternative to the form in *–mu*)

1de, 1di, 2d, 3d : infinitive form in *–mutsi* (as an alternative to the form in *–mu*)

The context on these infinitives forms if somewhat limited though.  While they can be used in obligation constructions, they cannot be used in complement constructions that normally take infinitives.

49.  go       a-pap-lai              lwa-**mu**      la-u
     1s       1POSS-father-DAT   see-INF        see-1s
     'I get to see my father.'

50.  *go      a-pap-lai              lwa-**mmi**    la-u
     1s       1POSS-father-DAT   see-PL.INF    see-1s

51.  gumi-lai      dzam  ɖe-**mmi**       basi
     3p-DAT        rice     feed-PL.INF    OBL
     '(I) must feed them rice.'

52.  *go      mɯ-mim-lai          dzam  ɖe-**mmi**       khap-u
     1s       that-PLU-DAT        rice     feed-PL.INF    be.about-1s
     'I am about to feed them rice.'

53.  go       mɯl-lai        dzam  ɖe-mu        khap-u
     I        that-DAT       rice     feed-INF     be.about-1s
     'I am about to feed him rice.'

6.8.2.  Participles

There are two participles in Thulung, the past and the non-past.  The past participle is formed by suffixing *-ma* to the verb root, whereas the non-past is with suffix *-pa*.  These participles are used in relativization (see 5.7.2.)

6.8.3.  Converbs

Thulung has two converbs: one is for expressing simultaneous events, and the other for a sequential relationship between clauses.  In both cases, the converb is built by suffixing the relevant converbal affix to the verb root: *-to* for the simultaneous converb, suffixed to stem 1 (for verbs from classes II and III);  *-saka* for the anterior converb, suffixed to stem 2 (for verbs from classes II and III).  The converbs are seen in 7.5. and 7.6.

**6.9.    Evidentiality**

Thulung has a hearsay evidential marker, used with great frequency in narratives to relate an event not personally witnessed.  This particle is *-ʔe*.

54.  meram       khram-lo     *mɔni*        lɔ-mi-**ʔe**
     he       cry:3s-SS       good.man     go-3p-HS
     'Apparently, when he cries, good people die.'

Sentence nominalization can occur before or after this marker.

55.  "*dape*-ɖola    re      ɔŋ-ŋu"      rak-ta-ʔe-ma        ɔms-ta-**ʔe-m**
     rack-above   FOC    sleep-1s      say-3s:PST-HS-AS   sleep-3s:PST-HS-NOM
     '"I'll sleep up on the rack" he said and slept.'

56.  meram tsahi        kitsɯ  u-*kantshi.aula*-ra
     that    CONTR        little   3POSS-baby.finger-LOC
     ɖar-ry-m-ka                 *dhɔmilo*        luk-ta-**m-ʔe**
     meet-3s/3s:PST-NOM-INSTR       cloudy.liquid   exit-3s:PST-NOM-HS
     'Because he had been injured in the baby finger, cloudy liquid came out.'

## 7.    Complex sentences

Complex sentences are those in which multiple clauses are combined.  These clauses can be based on either a finite or a non-finite verb, the input depending on the construction.  In the category of non-finite verbs, the possibilities are bare stems, infinitives, converbs, whereas for finite verbs, the possibilities are finite verbs or nominalized finite verbs. It is interesting that regardless of the type of complex sentence, the subordinate clause is frequently nominal in form: either finite and nominalized, or non-finite and infinitival (which results in a nominal element).

### 7.1. Complement clauses

Complement clauses are of two types: those which are finite, and those which a non-finite.  These divide along semantic lines, with complements to verbs of cognition and sensation, such as to hear, to see belonging to the finite types; complements to modals, on the other hand, and non-finite, and based on an infinitive verb form, the bare stem (or the reduplicated bare stem), or a verbal noun (-si suffixed to the verb stem).
7.1.1.   Verbs of utterrance and cognition:
'to tell'

57.  a-lwak-ka                      mysy-sɯ      py-ry-**m**           a-mam-ka
     1POSS-y.sibling-ERG          buffalo-meat eat-3s:PST-NOM       1POSS-mother-ERG
     bastaka         sɯ-mri
     yesterday       tell-3sP:PST
     'My mother said that yesterday my brother ate buffalo meat.'

'to hear'

58.  sokmu-ra          gupsy  ŋur-**mim**     ɔsinɖa thɯ-si
     forest-LOC        tiger   roar:3s-NOM here    hear-1pi
     'Here we hear the tiger roar in the forest.'

59.  ɔni     sintha *sɔlla*      by-ry-**m**          u-ɖokpu      tsɯ-ka
     and     night  counsel     do-3s/3s:PST-NOM   3POSS-big   child-ERG
     thɯs-ty-m
     hear-3s/3s:PST-NOM
     'And the big child heard as they made a plan at night.'

'to say'

60.  maŋ-ka         ne      hopmam      mi-dzɯpa      lamdi
     mother-ERG  TOP   like.this       NEG-good    road
     khrekhreja    be-pa                   lamdi  lɔk-tsi  rak-ta-m      bu-mi.
     bumpy              make-Npst.PRT      road   go-2D  say-3s-NOM  be-3sP
     'Mother said "take the bad, bumpy road like this."'

7.1.2. Modals:
'to want to, to like to'
V-V dwamu, V-mu dwamu
(the case of the subject can be either nominative or dative--when it is dative, the verb agrees with
a neutral 3 person)

61.  go-lai          phaplu lɔ-lɔ   dwa²
     1s-DAT        Phaplu go-go  want:3s
     'I want to go to Phaplu.'

62.  go/go-lai       phaplu lɔ-mu  dwak-pu/dwa
     1s-DAT        Phaplu go-INF want:1s/want:3s

'to need to, have to'
V-mu tsahemu/tsahe bomu, V-mu basi

63.  go      homlo ljasi   po-mu          *tsahe*-u
     1s      now    banana eat-INF        need-1s/3s
     'I have to eat bananas now.'

64.  go       dika           mukli  lɔ-mu           basi
     1s       tomorrow       Mukli  go-INF          OBL
     'I need to go to Mukli tomorrow.'

'to be able to'
V-mu tsammu, V-si then-mu

65.  koŋmi tsokpu-mim hun-mu      tsam-mi,     koŋmi mi-tsam-mi
     some  bird-PLU    fly-INF     can-3p        some  NEG-can-3p
     'Some birds can fly, others cannot.'

66.  lamdi-si      then-mu
     walk-VN     know-INF
     'to know how to walk'

**7.2. Causative**
        There are several ways to express the causative in Thulung.  The most common is to use
the suffix –be, which attaches to the verb root and is followed by agreement morphology.

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² Reduplication of the verb root before the modal *dwa-mu* 'to want, to like' is seen quite frequently, but by no means
necessary.  If the verb complement is not reduplicated, then it must be in infinitive form, as in examples 7 and 8.

An alternative means of expressing causativity is seen below. The verb bɔnemu 'to make, to prepare' (which is a borrowing from Nepali banaaunu) is used in combination with a non-past participial form.

67.  go      a-lwak-lai              ri-pa              bɔne-u
     1s      1POSS-y.sibling-DAT     laugh-Npst.PRT     make-1s/3s
     'I make my brother laugh.'

68.  go      a-lwak-lai              mysy-sɯ       pe-pa           bɔne-u
     1s      1POSS-y.sibling-DAT     buffalo-meat  eat-Npst.PRT    make-1s/3s
     'I make my brother eat buffalo meat.'

### 7.3. Purpose clauses

A purpose clause is built from the bare stem of the verb, with locative marker *-ra* suffixed. The cognitive connection seems to conceptualize the purpose as being a goal, which has a locative connotation.

69.  grenem           theb-ɖa        lɔs-ta-m              bu
     nettle           pick-LOC       go-3s:PST-NOM         be:3s
     'She went to pick nettles.'

### 7.4. Causal clauses

A nominalized finite verb is the base for a causal clause, with the ergative/instrumental marker as a suffix.

70.  go      *basi*        dzam   pe-uto-m-**ka**             homlo   nɯpa   bu-ŋu
     1s      leftover      rice   eat-1s/3s:PST-NOM-INSTR     now     sick   be-1s
     'Because I ate leftover rice, I am sick now.'

### 7.5. Temporal clauses

7.5.1. Simultaneous relationship

A simultaneous relationship between two clauses can be expressed with three different constructions: an infinitive verb followed by the loan word *bela* 'time' and a temporal marker *-ka*; with a converbal form in *-to*; with a sequencer *-lo* suffixed onto a finite verb. The converbal clause is subordinate to the main clause, as a converb is by nature a non-finite verb form. The sequencer on the other hand is suffixed to a finite verb, and it serves to coordinate the clauses in a certain temporal relationship. Equivalent examples are given of both, as well as of another means of expressing another simultaneous temporal relationship, with the expression *bela-ka* following an infinitive verb form.

71.  mɯ     lo     *bɔne*-**mu**      *bela*-**ka**      mɯ     *deuta*   rok-ta
     that   frog   prepare-INF    time-TEMP     that   god      come-3s:PST

72.  mɯ     lo     *bɔnet*-**to**     mɯ     *deuta*   rok-ta
     that   frog   prepare-SC     that   god      come-3s:PST

73.  mɯ     lo     *bɔne*  **by-ry-lo**           mɯ     *deuta*   rok-ta
     that   frog   prepare     do-3s/3s:PST-SS    that   god      come-3s:PST

'While he was preparing the frog, the god arrived.'

## 7.5.2. Sequential relationship

Like a simultaneous relationship, a sequential relationship can be expressed in three ways: a finite nominalized verb followed by the loan word *patshi* 'after'; a converbal form -*saka*, on the root; a sequencer construction, with -*ma* suffixing to the finite verb. The relevant suffixes are the anterior converb –*saka* and the anterior sequencer –*ma* (the label anterior serving to express the notion that the marked clause contains the material coming first temporally).

74. mari  mu  **hoṭ-miri-m**          **patshi** happa mwasy     tshabeṭ-miri
     much  fire   light-3p/3s:PST-NOM        after  much  soot   spread-
3p/3s:PST

75. mari  mu  **ho-saka**     happa mwasy    tshabeṭ-miri
     much  fire   light-AC     much  soot  spread-3p/3s:PST

76. mari  mu  **hoṭ-miri-ma**     mepmam     happa mwasy    tshabeṭ-miri.
     much  fire   light-3p/3s:PST-AS like.that     much  soot  spread-3p/3s:PST

'After lighting a huge fire, they spread the soot all over.'

## 7.6. Conditionals

Conditional clauses are marked with -*mala* (sometimes just -*la*), and either one of the clauses can be non-past or past, or irrealis.

The following sentence has non-past verbs in both clauses.

77. go     mukli  mi-bi-ŋu-**mala**        ama-mam-ka     *dykha*       bo-mi
     1s    Mukli  NEG-come-1s-COND       1POSS-mother-ERG  difficulty     do-3sP
     'If I don't come to Mukli, my mother will struggle.'

The same sentence, refering to an unrealized past situation, is in the irrealis mode[3].

78. go     mukli  mi-bi-ŋ-wa-m-**mala**
     1s    Mukli  NEG-come-1s-IRR-NOM-COND
     ama-mam-ka     *dykha*      be-m-ba
     1POSS-mother-ERG  difficulty    do-3p-IRR
     "If I hadn't come to Mukli, my mother would have struggled."

The past can also be used in both clauses to refer to a hypothetical situation.

79. ama-wa-ka           ḍokpu mytsy-num    *bia*      be-mri-**mala**
     1POSS-o.sibling-ERG   big    man-COM    marriage  do-3sP/3s:PST-COND

     ḍokpu neb-ra     dym-mi
     big    house-LOC  become-3sP
     'If my big sister marries an important person, she will live in a big house.'

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[3] A prototypical irrealis mode makes no assertion that a specific event or state of affairs has actually happened. (Payne 1998: 244) This calrifies why the irrealis would occur with an unrealized event.

### 8. Comparison

Comparative constructions: *-ram*, probably a locative (*-ra*) followed by a relativizer (*-m*), is suffixed to the object of comparison. (The Nepali *bhanda* is also used)

80.  ama-lwak **go-ram** jepa bu
     1POSS-brother 1s-than tall be:3s
     'My brother is taller than I am.'

Superlatives also show this alternation between native and borrowed material, in addition to which the very form of the superlative construction is the same across the two languages.

81.  ama-del **khotle-ram/-*bhanda*** dzɯpa bu
     1POSS-village all-than/-than beautiful be:3s
     'My village is the most beautiful.'

Most clear as far as comparatives and superlatives go is that Nepali is the source of an alternative comparative, with *bhanda*. Also possible, but potentially an areal pattern instead, is the fact that Nepali is the source of the superlative construction using 'all' followed by the comparative.

### Abbreviations

ABL ablative
AC anterior converb
AS anterior se-quencer
CAU causativizer
COND conditional
CONTR contrastive
DAT dative
DEF definitive
DET detransitivizer
DU dual
EMPH emphasis
ERG ergative
FOC focus
GEN genitive
HAB habitual
hiLOC high locative

HS hearsay
INF infinitive
INSTR instrumental
IRR irrealis
levLOC level locative
LOC locative
loLOC low locative
NEG negative
NEXP negative experi-ential
NOM nominalizer -m
NOM2 nominalizer -mim
Npst.PRT non-past participle
OBL obligation
PL.INF plural infinitive

PLU plural
PON ponent
POSS possessive pronoun
PROG progressive
Pst.PRT past participle
RES resultative
SC simultaneous converb
COM comitative
SS simultaneous sequencer
STA stative
TEMP temporal
TOP topic
VN verbal-noun

Personal agreement markers show the person and number of the two arguments separated by a / in the order A/O.

Reference to person/number combinations is as follows: 1, 2, 3 are for first, second and third persons respectively; s is singular, d is dual, p is plural, sP is singular polite, and e and i stand for exclusive and inclusive respectively.

All lexical items (not grammatical) borrowed from Nepali (and in a few cases, English) appear in italics in the examples. Within the text of my discussion, italics serve to distinguish Thulung words from the English.

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aimee@vjf.cnrs.fr