Aspects of Chintang Syntax

Dissertation

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Notational conventions & Abbreviations

In this work a morpheme boundary is indicated by a hyphen (-). The corresponding English semantic units are also separated by hyphens, but when these units consist of more than one word, these words are separated by dots. In some cases the shape of the affix is simply retained in interlinear glosses, for example NA. The following symbols are used in the text:

()	optional element
-	morpheme boundary
Σ	stem
*	indicates ungrammatical constructions
<	derived from
→	rewrite rule
ø	zero marker
[ ]	phonetic material
[.]	syllable boundary
/ /	phonemic material
/_	the environment of
=	clitic boundary
?	question

Abbreviations

Glossing follows the Leipzig glossing rules (http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php) with some additions. The following abbreviations are used in interlinear glosses:

1	first person	A	agent like argument of a canonical transitive verb
2	second person		
3	third person	ABL	ablative (*-ŋa, -ma*)

ACC	accusative
ACT.PTCP	active participle (*ka- (pa)*)
ADD	additive focus (*=yaŋ*)
ADJ	adjective
ADJLZ	adjectivalizer
ADV	adverb(ial)
$ADVLZ_1$	adverbalizer (*-wa*)
$ADVLZ_2$	adverbalizer (*-lari*)
AFF	affirmative (*hou/=u*)
AGR	agreement
ALOC	areal locative
ALL	allative
AMB	ambulative
ANTIP	antipassive
$ATTN_1$	attentive (*goneiʔ/gonei*)
$ATTN_2$	attentive (*la*)
$ATTN_3$	attentive (*hei, =ei*)
AUX	auxiliary
BEN_1	benefactive I (*-bid*)
BEN_2	benefactive II (*-dhett*)
BUT	counter-thought (*naŋ*)
CAUS	causative (*-mett*)
CIT	citation (*mo*)
CLF	classifier
CNSV	concessive (*nuseyaŋ)*
COM	comitative (*-niŋ*)
COMP	complementizer
$COMPL_1$	completive I (*-hatt*)
$COMPL_2$	completive II (*-ci*)
CON	conative
$COND_1$	conditional (*haŋ*)
$COND_2$	conditional (*para/panta*)
CONJ	conjunctive
CONN	connective
CONT	continuative
COP	copula
CVB	converb
d	dual (*-ce*)
DAT	dative
DEM	demonstrative
DIM	diminutive (*-cilek, -cha*)
DIR_1	directive (*-patti*)
DIR_2	directive (*-ni*)
DIST	distal
DOWN	down
DUR	durative
e	exclusive
EMPH	emphatic
EMPH.IMP	emphatic imperative
ERG	ergative (*-ŋa, -yã*)
EXCLA	exclamatory
EXIST	existential
F	feminine
FILLER	filler
FLOC	focus locative (*-i (ʔ)*)
FOC_1	focus (*=ta*)
FOC_2	focus (*ni*)
G	goal
GEN	genitive (*-ko*)
HORT	hortative
HUM.CLF	human classifier (*-baŋ/bhaŋ*)
i	inclusive
IDEOPH	ideophone
IMP	imperative
IND	indicative
INF	infinitive
INSTR	instrumental (*-ŋa, -~yã*)
INSIST	insistive (*na*)
INTERJ	interjection
INTR	intransitive
$IPFV_1$	imperfective (*-yakt*)
$IPFV_2$	imperfective (*=ta*)
IRR	irrealis (*phe*)
LDA	long-distance agreement
LOC	locative
M	masculine
MANR	manner (*-likhi, -khiʔ*)
MED	mediative (*-lam*)
MIR	mirative (*raicha*)
ns	nonsingular
N	neuter
NA	epenthetic (*na)*
NEG	negative
$NMLZ_1$	nominalizer (*=go/ko*)
$NMLZ_2$	nominalizer (*=kha*)
NOM	nominative
NP	noun phrase
N.NTVZ	noun nativizer (*-a*)
P	patient-like argument of a

NPST	nonpast
NUM	number
OBJ	object
OBL	obligative
OBLG	obligatory
OPT	optative (*-ne*)
OUT_1	out (*-loĩs*)
OUT_2	out (*-lott*)
OUT_3	out (*-lond*)
p	plural
P	patient-like argument of a canonical transitive verb
PASS.PTCP	passive participle
POSS	possessive
PRO	pronoun
PRSV	persuasive
PERF	perfect (*-ŋs*)
PROX	proximate
PRV	preverb
PST	past
PTCL	particle
PTCP	participle
PURP	purposive (*-si*)
PVB	preverb
Q	question
QUANT	quantifier
RECONF	reconfirmative (*o*)
RECP	reciprocal
REDUP	reduplication
REFL	reflexive (*-ncĩ, -ce, -na*)
REL	relative
REP	reportative
REST	resultative
RESTR	restrictive (*=le*)
s	singular
SBJ	subject
SEQ	sequential (*=ki/kina/kinana*)
SPEC.TOP	specific topicalizer (*caĩ, cahĩ*)
SIM	simultaneous
SUBJ	subjunctive
SURP	surprise (*=lo, lo*)
T	theme
TEL	telic
TERM	terminative (*samma, somma*)
TMP	temporal (*-kheĩ, -khe?*)
TOP	topic (*=na*)
TYP	type
TR	transitive
UP	up side
VOC	vocative
V.NTVZ	verb nativizer (*-e*)
v2	second verb in ‘compound form’

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.0 The linguistic situation in Nepal

Nepal is one of the most linguistically diverse countries in the world. According to the census reports of Central Bureau of Statistics 2011, 123 languages are spoken as mother tongue in Nepal. But more realistic estimates go well beyond this figure. A complete linguistic survey has not yet been done in Nepal but the Ethnologue cites 126 distinct languages for Nepal, 124 of which are listed as living (Lewis et al. 2009). These languages fall into four genealogical lineages (families): Indo-European, Sino-Tibetan, Austro-Asiatic, and Dravidian. The National Language Recommendation Commission (NLRC 1994) classifies the languages of Nepal into four different levels of public status and prominence, namely, (i) languages with a literary tradition, (ii) languages with literary traditions in progress, (iii) languages with no literary tradition and (iv) languages at the verge of extinction or moribund. The census result of 2011 shows that Nepali[1] is spoken as a mother tongue by 44.6% of the total population. All other languages are spoken by less than 55.4% of the total population. This is a multilingual country, most of the indigenous groups have a language other than Nepali as their mother tongue, but almost all of them also speak Nepali as a second language. Therefore, during the census of 2011, organizations of different national language groups organized sensitization programs in different parts of the country to report their mother tongues accurately while giving

[1] Nepali is also known locally under various names, such as *Khas kurā* (the language of Khas), *gorkhāli* (the language of Gorkha), *parbatiyā* (the language of hills) and *panirɨŋ* (the language of other people).

information to the census enumerators. The rising level of awareness among the minorities has caused some increase in the percentage of different ethnic, linguistic and religious groups and a subsequent decrease in the number of Nepali language speakers in the census.[2]

The majority of languages spoken in Nepal are "tribal" languages belonging to Tibeto-Burman branch of the Sino-Tibetan language family. The eastern foothills of the country are the home of numerous languages, most of them classified as Kiranti *(Nep. Kirãti or Kirāti)* within the Sino-Tibetan family. Kiranti languages are mostly spoken in the eastern part of Nepal, although there are some speakers in Northern India as well. The Kiranti subgroup comprises around 30 languages (Ebert 1994). Some counts are higher: Hanßon (1991) and Grimes (1996) put the estimate closer to 40. The term "Rai" is occasionally used interchangeably (Hanßon 1991) but this grouping is actually a political administrative one. As it excludes Limbu and Yakkha, two important Kiranti languages, some groups consider it ethnically questionable and reject it as linguistically inadequate (Bickel and Gaenszle 1999).

Kiranti languages stand out most of all by their polysynthetic morphology (known as "complex pronominalization" in traditional Sino-Tibetan studies), which is not only highly unusual for Sino-Tibetan but for the broader Eurasian context as well (Bickel 2002). The languages of the western hills of Nepal have already been influenced by earlier forms of Nepali (*khʌs kurā*). However, the eastern hills have preserved their great variety until now. Especially in Eastern Nepal the indigenous peoples remained relatively little influenced by traditions of Hinduism and Buddhism and until today practice various forms of ancestral religions. These are characterized by different kinds of ritual specialists who perform complex rituals based on orally transmitted texts. These oral traditions, known as *mundhum*, form the basis of ethnic identities and are still a large storehouse of ancient and inherited practices as well as a vast repository of cultural knowledge.

The Kiranti area is arguably the steepest inhabited terrain in the world, rising from the Gangetic plain, dozens of feet above sea level, to Mt. Everest, almost 30,000 feet high. This slope is folded into deep mountain valleys (usually running approximately North-South) on the slopes of which the Kiranti villages are mostly arrayed. With the exception of Limbu, (with about 250,000 speakers) the Kiranti languages are not widely spoken, nor well

[2] cf. with the census results of 2001 which lists that Nepali was spoken as mother tongue by 48.61% of the total population.

documented. Serious investigations started only in the last two decades and resulted in the publication of nearly a dozen grammars.

In general, Kiranti speakers are bi-lingual: they speak their mother tongue and Nepali (the Indo-Aryan *lingua franca* of Nepal), and in some areas, they even speak Nepali preferentially. Because relatively small distances are involved, and because marriage between sub-castes is practiced (in the nominally obsolete Nepali caste system, Limbu, Sunwar, and Rai are separate castes; Rai is further divided into a number of sub-castes which often roughly correspond to language), speakers of one language often have considerable knowledge of other Kiranti languages, and one would expect borrowing to be the norm. Kiranti languages are often spoken only at home and mostly in the countryside. In the cosmopolitan environment of cities, using Nepali is more practical. Nepali as the national, official language is being used extensively in administration, education, and media, and therefore speakers of other languages have no choice but to use their language less frequently and Nepali more frequently. As opportunities for using their own languages decrease, the younger generation tends to use more Nepali, thus losing their language loyalty. Nepali has been a "killer" language (in Skutnabb-Kangas' words) to most of the minority languages in the country.

Kiranti languages generally have very intricate and non-transparent morphological systems including complex agreement patterns (with both agents and patients in the case of transitive verbs). There is obligatory inflection of tense, aspect, mood, and polarity. Other points of considerable typological interest include nominalization and complementation displaying syntactic ergativity, or clause chaining constructions with variable tense marker scope.

1.1 The Chintang people and their language

Chintang (ISO636.3: ctn) is spoken by the Chintang Rai people in Chintang VDC (Village Development Committee)[3] of Dhanakuṭā district, close to the Saptakośi river confluence on the southern foothills of the Himalayas. Recently, the name became an ethnic category when

[3] A village development committee (VDC, Nepali गाउँ बिकास समिति; Gāũ Bikās Samiti) is the smallest administrative unit in Nepal. Each district has several VDCs, similar to municipalities but with greater public-government interaction and administration. Currently, there are 3,915 village development committees in Nepal. A VDC is further divided into wards (Nepali: वडा), average is nine wards in a single VDC.

it turned out that the original inhabitants of Chintang have a separate Kiranti language. Apart from Chintang, a small number of speakers of Chintang are also found at Triveni in Āhāle VDC, which is in 3 hours trekking distance from Chintang in south. No reliable scientific census report is available to show the exact number of Chintang speakers at present. However, we have estimated not less than 5,000 people who speak this language as their mother tongue. The main Chintang-speaking villages are Mulgāũ (from Nepali *mul* 'main' and *gāũ* 'village') and Sambugāũ.

Figure 1.1: Map of Nepal with the Chintang speaking area

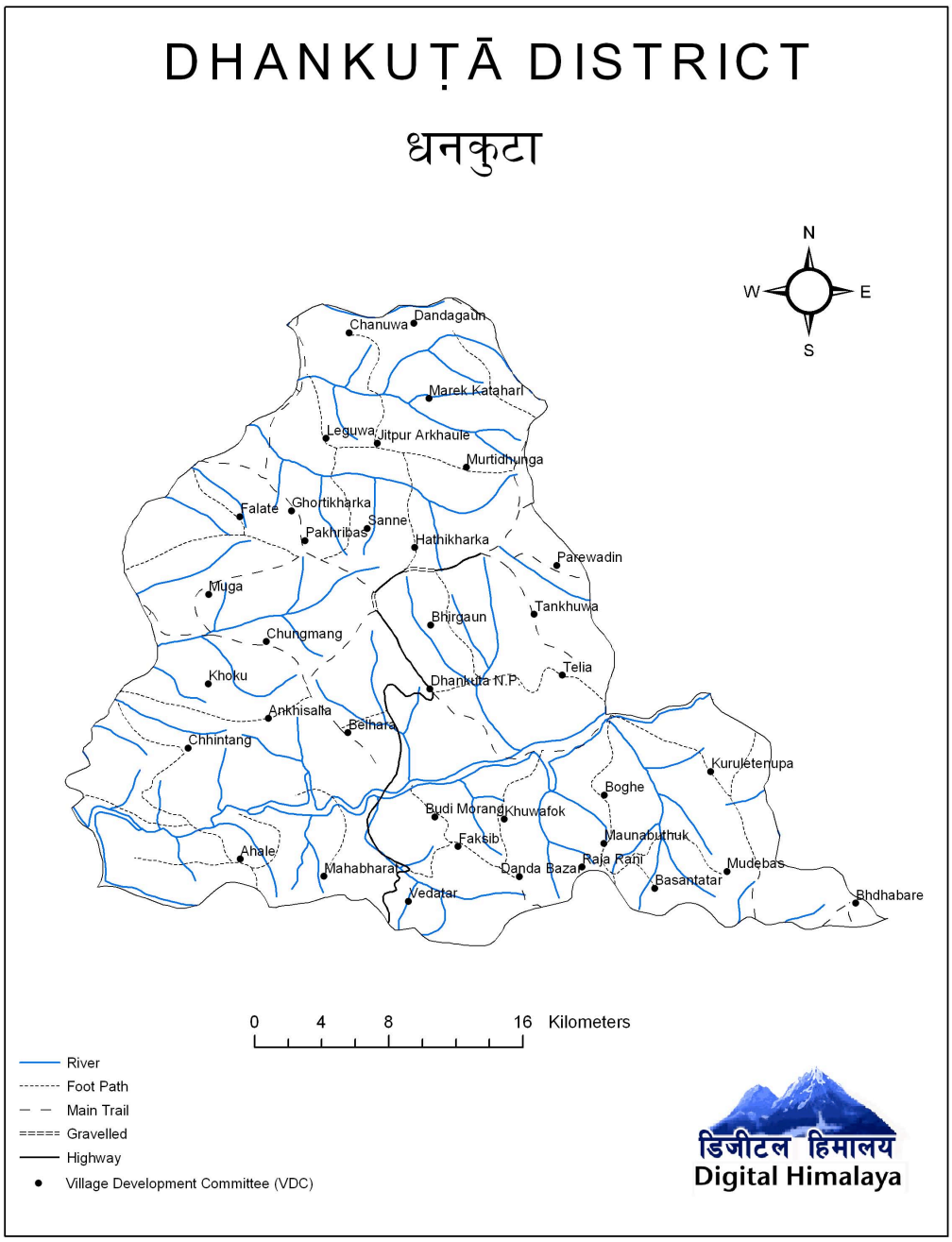

Figure 1.2: Map of Dhanakuṭā district with Chintang and Āhāle VDCs in the southwest (Source Digital Himalaya)

In our survey in these two villages and in Triveni (Āhāle VDC), we found that most, if not all, speakers are bilingual with Nepali, the Indo-Aryan *lingua franca* of Nepal. Some speakers are trilingual with Bantawa, one of the most widely spoken Kiranti languages of the region. Monolingualism of Chintang is now restricted to a handful of elderly persons, especially women. But most children still acquire Chintang as their first language, especially in Gaurong Tole and some other areas of Mulgāũ. The social situation contributes to the fact that Chintang is increasingly being supplanted by Nepali and Bantawa. The most important factors of language shift are migration, education and mixed marriages between Chintang and speakers of other languages.

The area where the Chintang people live is not fertile. The people are poor and can hardly make ends meet throughout the year with what they cultivate. Many people therefore migrated to the plains in the south — the Tarai — to find better job opportunities. The Tarai plains are dominated by Maithili, Hindi and Tharu, languages which hill people tend not to know. And, likewise, the Tarai people do not know Chintang. Consequently, Nepali is used as a lingua franca. There is no opportunity to use their language outside the home village. Gradually, the younger generations, who spent much of their time outside their ancestral territories, shift to Nepali, thus neglecting their mother tongue.

1.2 The Chintang village profile

Chintang VDC is a relatively large village cluster, consisting of numerous hamlets. In terms of population it is the second largest VDC in Dhanakuṭā District. It stretches over the whole ridge west of Ankhisallā to the Arun river, bounded by the Tamur river in the south and the small dhāde Kholā (which leads into the Khānān Kholā) in the north. If one comes from Hile, traveling on the jeepable road along the 25 km ridge, one has to cross a small forest after Ankhisalla and arrives in Dāndāgāũ (ward no. 1), situated, as the name indicates, right on the ridge. This ridge eventually narrows into a thin line just the size of the road, with steep cliffs descending on each side: this is the site of Pancakanyā, named after the shrine for this goddess (which plays a crucial role in the annual Wādhāngmi festival, a dance ritual which is celebrated for six days in a year). It is a shady place under old pipal trees where the weekly market on Wednesday (Budhabāre Hāt) takes place. But the most visible landmark of this unique place, which forms a kind of “gateway” into the major village, is the impressive Śāhid

Pārk: Here the martyrs of the Chatis sāl kānda[4] (the Chintang uprising movement of 2036 [1979/1980]) are lined up in life size sculptures, merged with another martyr of the communist movement in Nepal, Madan Bhandāri, who died under mysterious circumstances in 1993.

The road proceeds on the northern side of the ridge where the original settlement area of the Chintang people is located. The best and flattest land is in and around the locality known as Mulgāũ (lit. 'Main village'). Apparently, this spread settlement — now extending across ward no. 2 and 3 — is the place which was first inhabited by settlers and from where the village expanded. This is also the location of the famous Chintang Devi temple. Further to the west, on the same level but after a bend to the left, there is Sambugāũ (in ward no. 6), a separate hamlet which originally was established by members of the Sambhong clan — the senior-most of all the original Chintang clans. The place at the slope's edge, where the road turns south-west, is presently the location of the high school. The road continues towards Pāngnām (in ward no. 8), where it eventually continues as the old footpath leading down to the confluence of the Arun and Tamur Rivers. During the documentation of Chintang (2004–2008) we found two different dialects of Chintang based in these two villages Mulgāũ and Sambugāũ, but the difference between them is only in the morphology and lexicon, not in the syntax. Unless noted otherwise, examples in this thesis are from the Mulgāũ dialect of Chintang.

1.3 The ethnic and religious situation

There are more than 40 different Rai clans in Chintang VDC. Only 12 of these are genuine Chintang Rai, the others are mainly of Bantawa origin, but also from other Rai subtribes, such as Kulung, Khaling, Puma, Sangpang, Lohorung, Athpare, and Thulung. Today these non-Chintang Rai do not have a very distinct ethnic identity based on language and culture. They tend to assimilate to the dominant culture, yet their general affiliation is still remembered. As, with exception of the Bantawa, these Rai subtribes are present only in small numbers, they generally marry only outside their group and thus function more like a clan than like a subtribe (which tends to be endogamous).

[4] See Gaenszle et al. (in press) for more detailed information regarding this incident.

It is difficult to make a clear-cut distinction between Rai religion and Hindu religion, as the Rai in general, and particularly in this area, have been influenced by Hindu traditions to a considerable degree. The famous Chintang Devi (the local shrine of the Goddess Chintang devi), which is worshiped by caste Hindus from afar, is located in a sacred grove and temple in the centre of the core village. She 'belongs' to the Chintang Rai, who have discovered her at the time of the first settlement and who have been her *pujari* (priest) for more than 14 generations. Yet in spite of this Hindu association, the religious practice of the Chintang Rai is guided by ancestral values as transmitted in the oral lore of the Kiranti mundhum. Thus, their religion is highly syncretic and in many respects does not conform to orthodox Hinduism. For example, for most Chintang blood sacrifice and the offering and consumption of alcoholic drink (local beer), shamanic healing and Rai language invocations are part and parcel of their religious customs, which can be described as a tribal religion.

In addition to Hindu and Kiranti religions, there are also a large number of people in Sambugāũ who practice Kabir Panth since the last few generations. This is a religious movement originally initiated by the Indian poet saint Satguru Kabir Saheb in the 13th century AD. In this religious movement, the followers, who are usually known as Kabir Panthi, neither eat meat nor sacrifice any type of animal. Alcohol is also strictly prohibited in their communities. They perform all types of ritual activities in a sacred worshipping known as *chauka* (Paudyal 2004).

1.4 Genetic affiliation

Genealogically, Chintang belongs to the Kiranti subgroup of the large Tibeto-Burman (Sino-Tibetan) family. Within Kiranti, Bickel (2008a: 3) identified Chintang as Central-Eastern > Greater Eastern > Eastern > Greater Yakkha. The nearest linguistic relatives within Kiranti are the neighbouring languages Athpare, Belhare, and Chiling (also pronounced as Chiling or Chulung). There are two major dialects (Mulgāũ and Sambugāũ) named after the areas where they are spoken. The Sambugāũ dialect is more influenced by Bantawa and Nepali, while the Mulgāũ variety still preserves its uniqueness. As I mentioned above, the difference between these two dialects is found only in some parts of the morphology and lexicon, but not in the syntax.

A tentative family tree of the Kiranti subgroup based on Michailovsky (1994), Opgenort (2005), Driem (2001) and Bickel (2008a) is presented in Figure 1.3.

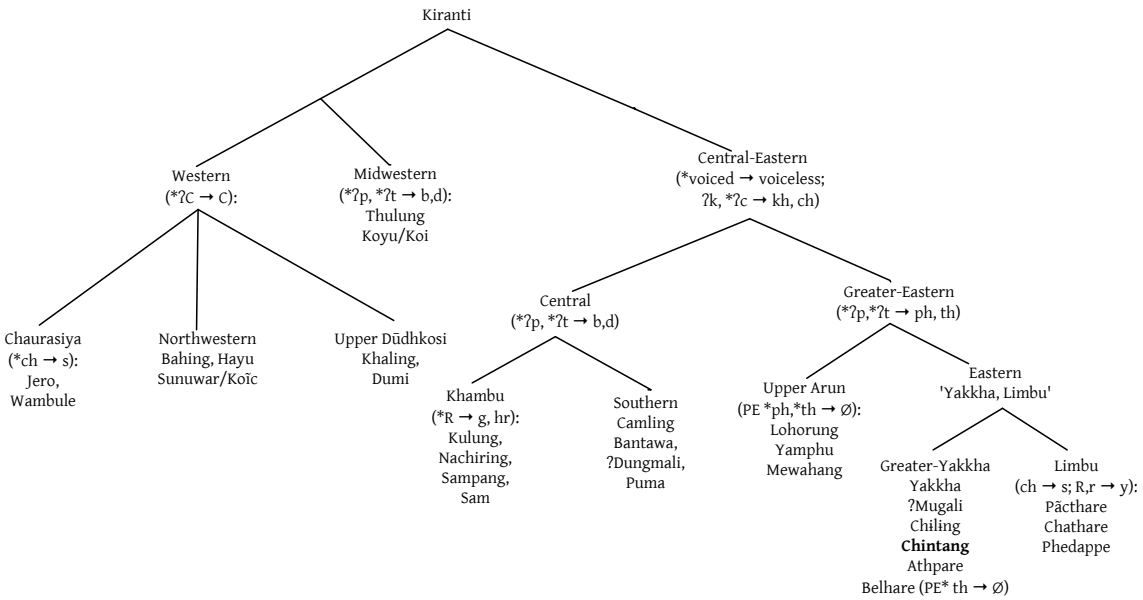

Figure 1.3: The Chintang language within the Kiranti subgroup (Bickel 2008a)

1.5 Sources of data and the fieldwork

This study is largely descriptive in its nature. It is primarily concerned with the description and analysis of Chintang syntax. But it also deals with the various other issues of Chintang grammar. The data analyzed in the present work come primarily from the Chintang corpus, collected during several projects and sub-projects since 2004 to present headed by Prof. Balthasar Bickel (Chintang and Puma Documentation project 2004–2009, a Euro BABEL grant on differential object marking from DFG) and Dr. Sabine Stoll (a Dilthey grant from Volkswagen Foundation on language acquisition research). Besides these projects, two PhD projects, one by Tyko Dirksmeyer on conversational structures (MPI for Psycholinguists in Nijmegen) and another one by myself on Aspects of Chintang Syntax (supported by DAAD) also contributed to the development of the Chintang corpus. Currently, the Chintang corpus includes approximately 600,000 words (transcribed and translated into Nepali and English). Out of this data more than 75% are fully glossed and the rest is in the process of being glossed

by student assistants at the University of Leipzig and the University of Zürich. Among these projects and sub-projects, the major portion of the data was recorded, transcribed and glossed by the Chintang and Puma Documentation Project (CPDP), a DoBeS project aiming at the linguistic and ethnographic documentation of two endangered Kiranti languages of Nepal, funded by Volkswagen Foundation, and carried out in a cooperation between the University of Leipzig and the Tribhuvan University, Kathmandu, Nepal. Luckily, I also had the opportunity to work as a research assistant in this project (2004–2007).

I rely both on the corpus and elicited data in this dissertation. Of course, the majority of the data is drawn from the Chintang corpus. The examples cited with the label '[Fieldwork]' are collected during my fieldwork in Autumn of 2008 and spring of 2010. Examples beginning with CL are from our longitudinal child languages corpus, but all sentences cited in this dissertation were uttered by adult speakers. Both the corpus and the elicited data used in this thesis were further cross-checked with at least one, usually two speakers. Examples that are judged to be unacceptable have been marked by '*' in the Chintang sentence; the English translations have no such indications. In this dissertation, I analyse the data from the Mulgāũ dialect; so unless noted otherwise all the examples are from the Mulgāũ dialect of Chintang.

1.6 Goals and overview of the dissertation

As I mentioned above, the dissertation aims to give a descriptive overview of Chintang Syntax. It focuses primarily on noun phrase structure, basic clauses, complement clauses, nominalization strategies and various types of adverbial clauses in Chintang. However, it also deals with the basic phonology, morphology (both nominal and verbal) and the various types of particles and discourse markers in order to give an impression of Chintang grammar as a whole.

The organization of this dissertation is as follows. The current chapter serves as an introduction. It provides information about the linguistic situation in Nepal, the Chintang speech community and the ethnic and religious situation. It also deals briefly on the genetic affiliation of this language and the sources of the data & the fieldwork setting. Chapter 2 discusses the phonological system and deal with the inventory of the sound segments of the language, differentiating phonemes from allophones, simple vowels from diphthongs, and

single consonants from consonant clusters. Towards the end of this chapter, it discusses briefly on the syllable structure and the basic morphophonemic rules of Chintang.

Chapters 3 and 4 deal with noun and verb morphology respectively. Under noun morphology, I discuss nouns, pronouns, adjectives, possessive agreement, derivation, compounding, classifiers and diminutives. Verb morphology is concerned primarily with the temporal, modal and aspectual categories of Chintang, and shows how they relate. Chapter 4 also describes the morphological aspects of Chintang verbs with particular focus on verb stems and verbal paradigms.

Chapter 5 outlines the types of complex predicates existing in Chintang, including compound verbs, preverbal compounds and borrowed verb compounds. It provides a detailed description of meanings and usage of complex predicates and their classification in Chintang.

In chapter 6, I briefly discuss Chintang adverbs and classify them in terms of their semantics. I also discuss how the Chintang adverbs are derived through duplication processes and ideophonic roots.

In chapter 7, I describe the structure of the noun phrase and the various strategies of forming complex noun phrases in Chintang. This chapter also investigates in detail the elements which can modify a head noun.

Chapter 8 is concerned with the various clause structures of Chintang. The topics covered include word order, interrogative clauses, coordination, experiencer constructions, direct speech with *mo* and reportative *pho*.

Nominalization is a pervasive feature of many Kiranti languages. This is a highly productive phenomenon in Chintang as well. But unlike in some other languages, nominalization in Chintang extends beyond its core function of deriving nominals from non-nominals. I describe the extent of nominalization strategies in Chapter 9.

In chapter 10, I analyse the various complement taking predicates with respect to their complementation patterns and control properties. I investigate in detail on two unusual features, i.e. long-distance agreement and backward control phenomena within infinitival complement clauses in Chintang.

In chapter 11, I describe the different types of finite and non-finite adverbial (subordinate) clauses with respect to their morphological, semantic and syntactic properties.

Towards the end of this chapter, I describe all the variable clause linkers which form both nonfinite and finite clauses.

Chapter 12 deals with particles and discourse markers in Chintang. It also presents the most frequent borrowed particles with relevant textual examples. This chapter further investigates briefly on particle clusters and the occurrence of particles in the various levels of discourse.

The last chapter contains concluding remarks and discussion about the material presented in the preceding chapters.

Chapter 2

Phonology

2.0 Introduction

This chapter provides a description of Chintang phonology. The emphasis is on the basic sound structures of the language such as inventory of phonemes, syllable structure, phonotactics and morphophonemic rules. The structure of this chapter is as follows: in §2.1, I discuss consonant phonemes and their allophones. In subsections 2.1.6 and 2.1.7, I move on to a description of phonotactics, such as the distribution of consonants and consonant clusters.[1] In §2.2, I describe briefly the vowels. Then, in §2.3, I analyze the syllable structure and I provide with an overview of the most frequent morphophonological rules in §2.4. This chapter ends in §2.5 with a brief discussion on suprasegmental features in Chintang.

2.1 Consonants

The consonant inventory in Chintang is quite elaborate, with twenty-seven consonants (excluding borrowed consonants from other languages). Chintang, like many other South Asian languages, exhibits a four way contrast in stops and affricates (voiceless unaspirated, voiceless aspirated, voiced, and voiced aspirated). But unlike in other languages, there is a very rare lateral aspirated phoneme /lʰ/ in Chintang. Table 2.1 presents the inventory of

[1] I have not included all possible minimal pairs and their contrasts in this chapter. All the minimal pair contrasts have been elicited and deposited with audiovisual recording in the DoBes archive www.mpi.nl/DOBES

Chintang consonant phonemes. The phonemes on the right hand side of each box are the voiced phonemes. Phonemes occurring mainly in loans are excluded from this table.

	bilabial -voice +voice	apico-alveolar -voice +voice	alveo-palatal -voice +voice	velar -voice +voice	glottal
stops +aspirated	p b p^h $b^ɦ$	t d t^h $d^ɦ$		k g k^h $g^ɦ$	ʔ
fricatives		s			ɦ
affricates +aspirated			c j c^h $j^ɦ$		
nasal	m	n		ŋ	
liquid		l $l^ɦ$			
glides	w		y		
trill/flap		r			

Table 2.1: Chintang consonants

Among stops and affricates the bilabials /p/, /b/, the apico-alveolar /t/, /d/, the alveo-palatal /c/, /j/ and the velars /k/, /g/ have their aspirated counterparts /p^h/, /$b^ɦ$/, /t^h/, /$d^ɦ$/, /c^h/, /k^h/ and /$g^ɦ$/ respectively. Precisely, /t/, /d/, /t^h/, /$d^ɦ$/ and /n/ are apico post alveolar and /l/, /$l^{ɦ/}$ and /r/ are true apico alveolars which are articulated with the apex of the tongue touching or near the alveolar ridge. Moreover, the phoneme /s/ which is also in the same column is lamino alveolar in Chintang. The consonant phonemes were established on the basis of minimal pairs. Where there were no minimal pairs, near minimal pairs were used. Examples are given below:

(2.1)

Phoneme	Form	Gloss
/k/	[koma]	'to walk'
/k^h/	[k^homa]	'to collect'
/c/	[cama]	'to eat'
/c^h/	[c^hama]	'to beget'

/t/	[tupma]	'to meet'
/tʰ/	[tʰupma]	'to sew'
/d/	[doĩma]	'to attack, grab'
/dʰ/	[dʰoĩma]	'to pounce'
/p/	[pima]	'to give'
/pʰ/	[pʰima]	'to fart'
/b/	[boŋma]	'to explode'
/bʰ/	[bʰoŋma]	'to gather'
/m/	[makma]	'to burn'
/n/	[nakma]	'to ask, beg'
/s/	[saĩma]	'to place (a musical instrument)'
/ɦ/	[ɦaĩma]	'to talk'
/l/	[lɨkma]	'to enter'
/lɦ/	[lɦ ɨkma]	'be heavy'
/y/	[yaŋma]	'to be good for'
/w/	[waŋma]	'to climb tree'
/ʔ/	[leiʔma]	'to plant'
	[leĩma]	'to move things'
/r/	[reiʔma]	'to laugh'
/m/	[maŋma]	'Goddess'
/ŋ/	[ŋaŋma]	'to stir'

There are neither minimal pairs nor sub-minimal pairs of the following four phonemes /g, gʰ, j and jʰ/. As they are quite frequent in loans from Nepali, they look as if they are borrowed to Chintang from Nepali. However, when taking a closer look at Chintang lexical items one can easily find a number of native words with these phonemes. Consider the following most common forms:

(2.2)	/g/	[gomma]	'surrounding'
	/gʰ/	[gʰoŋma]	'to grow high'
	/j/	[jaŋgha]	'to stand difficulty'
	/jʰ/	[jʰɨma]	'to bare (one's teeth)'

[jʰ ĩma]	'to be peeled, peel off'
[jʰ ɨĩma]	'to become outworn'

Like all other Eastern Kiranti languages, Chintang lacks a series of dental consonants (Nep. त, थ, द, ध) which is found in most of the languages of South-Asia including some central Kiranti languages (e.g., Bantawa (Rai 1985), and Puma (Rai et al. 2008)). Unlike many other Kiranti languages, there is a voiced aspirated lateral consonant in Chintang. However, it is attested only in a single minimal pair.

I will discuss the consonants one by one with respect to their type of articulation, i.e. stops, fricatives, nasals, and glides in the following sections.

2.1.1 Stop consonants

The stop consonants except for the glottal stop have a symmetrical arrangement of aspirated and unaspirated phonemes. All the stop consonants including the glottal stop can occur in syllable onset position with virtually any vowel combination. However, the aspirated consonants cannot appear in word final position. Furthermore, the unaspirated voiceless consonants /p/, /t/, /k/ are not released in the coda positions.

All the voiced aspirated stops are rare consonants (bʱ, dʱ, gʱ); among them/gʱ/ is the rarest phoneme, occurring in only few words, a large proportion of which are obviously borrowed. I analyzed it as a Chintang phoneme because it is in contrastive distribution with other phonemes.

A frequent process in voiceless codas is the voicing of the plosive when followed by a vowel. Consider the next three examples:

(2.3)	a.	*khat-*	'go'	*khad-e*	'went'
	b.	*yak-*	'stay overnight'	*yag-e*	'stayed overnight'
	c.	*dup-*	'pinch'	*dub-e*	'pinched'

The bilabial stops /p/ and /b/ are in complementary distribution in almost all environments except in world-initial position. This can be illustrated with the locative case suffix *-peʔ*, which is realized as *-beʔ* after nasals and in intervocalic positions, but as *-peʔ* elsewhere.

2.1.2 Fricatives

There are only two fricatives in Chintang /s/ and /ɦ/. Both /s/ and /ɦ/ cannot occur syllable-finally. However, /s/ appears as a stem final consonant in a large number of verbs.

(2.4) Initial /ɦ/

a.	*ɦaknuwa*	'heat'
b.	*ɦakaŋ*	'later'
c.	*ɦali*	'blood'

(2.5) Stem final /s/

a.	*tɨŋs-*	'kick'
b.	*ŋis-*	'know, recognize'
c.	*puĩs-*	'produce'

2.1.3 Nasals

There are three nasal phonemes /m/, /n/, and /ŋ/. All three can occur in syllable-initial and syllable-final position. However, /ŋ/ in syllable initial position is mostly found in the Sambugāũ dialect of Chintang, whereas it is replaced by /n/ in the Mulgāũ dialect.

(2.6)

	Mulgāũ	Sambugāũ	
a.	*naklasi*	*ŋaklasi*	'banana'
b.	*nassa*	*ŋassa*	'fish'
c.	*naŋsubba*	*ŋaŋsubba*	'a shaman'

2.1.4 Glides

The glides /w/ and /y/ both occur syllable-initially, but they cannot appear as a second member to form complex onsets like in Nepali. It means there are no sequences like /py/, /pw/, and the like in Chintang. The following examples show the glides /y/ and /w/ as consonantal onsets.

(2.7) Initial /w/

a.	*wa*	'hen'

b. *wahum* 'a calabash'

c. *wamurki* 'a kind of grass'

(2.8) Initial /y/

a. *yak-* 'stay'

b. *yum* 'salt'

c. *yupuŋ* 'ancestor worshipping ritual'

Like in Chintang, a glide following another consonant to form a cluster in a syllable onset position, is not found in most of the other Kiranti languages, such as Bantawa (Rai 1985), Puma (Rai et al. 2008), if not in all.

2.1.5 Aspiration

Like in other Tibeto-Burman languages, aspiration is restricted to stops and affricates. However, unlike in other languages, such as Kham (Watters 2002), there is aspiration of both voiced and voiceless consonants in Chintang. For example, /p^h/, /b^h/, /t^h/, /d^h/, /k^h/, /g^h/, /j^h/, and /c^h/. Like voicing (t, d), aspiration is also phonemic (e.g., *kat* - 'come up', *khat*- 'go'). As mentioned previously, the aspiration is restricted to syllable onsets. Moreover, there is a voiced lateral aspirated phoneme /l^ɦ/ which has not been attested in any other Kiranti languages except in Camling and Chintang.

2.1.6 Distribution of consonant phonemes

There are a number of restrictions on the occurrence of phonemes, in terms of position in a syllable. Table 2.2 presents an outline of the distribution of consonants in different positions like syllable-initial, intervocalic and syllable-final.

phoneme	#_	v_v	_#
/p/	+	+	+
/b/	+	+	-
/pʰ/	+	-	-
/bʰ/	+	-	-
/t/	+	+	-
/d/	+	+	-
/tʰ/	+	-	-
/dʰ/	+	-	-
/c/	+	+	-
/cʰ/	+	-	-
/j/	+	+	-
/jʰ/	+	-	-
/k/	+	+	+
/g/	+	+	-
/gʰ/	+	-	-
/kʰ/	+	+	-
/ʔ/	+	+	+
/s/	+	+	-
/h/	+	+	-
/m/	+	+	+
/n/	+	+	-
/ŋ/	+	+	+
/l/	+	+	-
/r/	+	+	-
/w/	+	+	-
/y/	+	+	-
/lʱ/	+	-	-

Table 2.2: Distribution of consonants

From table 2.2, we can summarize the characteristics of Chintang consonants in the following points:

a. All Chintang consonants can appear in word initial position, i.e. there is no constraint on this position.
b. Aspirated phonemes can occur neither in intervocalic position nor in word final position. However, they do appear in these positions in loan words from Nepali. For example: *buluph* 'bulb', *katha* 'story', *aghe* 'long time ago'.
c. Semivowels /y/ and /w/ can occur in syllable-initial positions, e.g. *wassa* 'bird, *yakma* 'to stay' and medially, e.g. *ayuba* 'there', *duwacha* 'male baby'.
d. The phoneme /r/ can occur in inter-vocalic position in Chintang, e.g *khura* 'Please carry.' This might be a Bantawa influence as well.
e. The phoneme /c/ is phonetically realized like a palatalized version of the affricate [ts]. The same type of pronunciation is found with the aspirated version [ts^{h}].

2.1.7 Consonant clusters and geminate consonants

Chintang does not allow consonant clusters both in the onset and coda positions of a syllable. At the syllable boundary in Chintang words, however, consonant clusters are possible. There are a large number of Chintang native words in our corpus where clusters are made in the boundaries two different syllables. This section covers all the possible consonant clusters occur in the border of syllables.

Table 2.3 provides a complete overview of possible consonant clusters which occur in syllable boundaries in Chintang.

	p	p^h	b	b^h	m	c	c^h	j	t	t^h	d	d^h	n	k	k^h	g	g^h	ŋ	l	r	w	y	s
p	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-
m	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
c	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
t	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
n	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
k	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+
ŋ	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
l	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
r	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ʔ	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
s	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+

Table 2.3: Possible consonant clusters in Chintang

In this table, the column on the left lists all Chintang consonants which can appear as C_1 and the upper horizontal row lists the Chintang consonants which may appear as C_2 in a typical consonant cluster in Chintang. The consonants which cannot occur as the first member in a consonant cluster, i.e. C_1, are excluded from this table.

(2.9) sets out examples of each of these possible consonant clusters in actual words.

(2.9)

pp	=	*uppa*	'his father'
pp^h	=	*sapphi*	'much'
ms	=	*thurumsupma*	'a ritual'
cc	=	*khacce*	'Lets (we two) go.'
tl	=	*patle*	'a place in Chintang'
nc	=	*phincirip*	'a larva of a kind of blow fly'
nc^h	=	*manchiʔ*	'be not'
nt	=	*hunta*	'that'

nt^h	=	*maikhɨntha*	‘do not pull it’
nd	=	*asinda*	‘yesterday’
nd^h	=	*andha*	‘dark’
nn	=	*anne*	‘my sister’
nk	=	*honku* (*hoŋku*)	‘river’
ʔy	=	*poiʔyoŋ*	‘cradle’
ks	=	*talɨksɨŋ*	‘a shaman’
kc	=	*bakcasip*	‘beer dregs’
ŋr	=	*riŋriwa*	‘a ritual’
ŋn	=	*khaŋnumma*	‘to see’
ŋk^h	=	*taŋkhorok*	‘skull’
kk^h		*yakkheŋ*	‘curry’
ŋl	=	*gakkaŋle*	‘only later’
ŋs	=	*paŋsula*	‘shinbone’
lt	=	*phultuŋ*	‘underwear’
kn	=	*cekno*	‘S/he speaks.’
ŋm	=	*poŋma*	‘give birth’
pn=	=	*lapno*	‘S/he catches.’
nl=	=	*hunlam*	‘via that’
kc^h	=	*nakchoŋ*	‘main priest in Chintang, a clan’
kd^h	=	*kokdhe*	‘curved, bend (only with this adjective and with some ideophones)’
kt^h	=	*maitoktha*	‘Don’t move!’
kg	=	*cekgo*	‘the one which was spoken’
ŋp	=	*cɨkcɨkeŋpako*	‘a bird’
ŋb^h	=	*saŋbhoŋ*	‘a clan’
ŋt	=	*luŋtakbe*	‘on the stone’
ŋg	=	*huŋgoiʔ*	‘there’
ŋw	=	*beŋbeŋbeŋwa*	‘straightly’ (mostly with idiophones)
ŋy	=	*maikhaŋyoktuhẽ*	‘i did not see it’ (only in negative forms)
rm	=	parmeswora	‘lord’ (only with borrowed forms)

rc	=	*marci*	'chilly'
ʔp	=	*kakhuiʔppa*	'thief'
ʔb	=	*uteiʔbe*	'on cloth'
ʔm	=	*miʔmuŋ*	'little'
ʔc	=	*teiʔce*	'clothes'
ʔt	=	*baiʔta*	'here'
ʔn	=	*eʔni*	'yes'
ʔk	=	*saiʔko*	'whose'
ʔk^h	=	*cuʔkhaĩ*	'a kind of fodder tree'
ʔŋ	=	*bagoiʔŋa*	'from here'
ʔl	=	*baiʔle*	'only this one'
ʔw	=	*sɨŋsaʔwa*	'hunger'
ʔy	=	*baiʔyã*	'from here'
ʔs	=	*puʔsi*	'in order to pluck'

The clusters *tp, tp^h*, *rm*, and *rl* are found in borrowed words, e.g. *datpen* 'ball-pen', *chatpat* 'restlessness', mostly in borrowed ideophones from Nepali, e.g. *phitphiti* 'struggling'.

2.2 Vowel phonemes

Chintang distinguishes 6 monophthongal vowels /i/, /ɨ/, /u/, /e/, /o/, and /a/ which represent three grades of vowel height and three steps on the front back scale. There is no phonetic contrasts between short and long vowels, but the vowels can vary in length, mainly as a result of syllable stress. It distinguishes the same number of pure diphthongs. But every diphthong has got a corresponding nasalized form as well, which makes twelve diphthongs in Chintang. The twelve possible diphthongs are given in (2.10).

(2.10) /ei/, /ai/, /oi/, /ui/, /au/, /ɨi/ and /eĩ/, /aĩ/, /oĩ/, /uĩ/, /aũ/, /ɨĩ/

2.2.1 Monophthongs

Chintang has six plain distinctive monophthongal vowel phonemes: a high front unrounded /i/, high-central unrounded /ɨ/, a high back rounded /u/, a mid front unrounded /e/, a mid back rounded /o/, and a mid central neutral /a/. There is no length distinction in Chintang

monophthongs. All vowels can occur in all positions in a word. The high-central unrounded /ɨ/ is quite rare both in syllable initial and final positions.

Table 2.4 presents an overview of the vowels in Chintang. This table also shows the three heights for front and back vowels.

/i/	/ɨ/	/u/
/e/		/o/
	/a/	

Table 2.4: The vowel inventory of Chintang

Unlike in Puma, Bantawa and some other Kiranti languages, there is no /ʌ/ vowel in Chintang. All the borrowed forms ending in /ʌ/ are changed into /a/ in Chintang. The following minimal pairs show the phonemic status of the monophthongs.

(2.11)	Phoneme	Form	Gloss
	/i/	[lim]	'pointed part'
	/e/	[lem]	'tongue'
	/u/	[lukma]	'to spill water'
	/ɨ/	[lɨkma]	'to enter inside'
	/o/	[toŋma]	'to fit together'
	/a/	[taŋma]	'to put something in mild heat'

2.2.2 Diphthongs

There are six diphthongs in Chintang viz. [ei, ai, oi, ui, au, ɨi], all of which end in either a high front vowel /i/ or a high back vowel /u/. As stated earlier, every diphthong has got a corresponding nasalized form as well [eĩ, aĩ, oĩ, uĩ, aũ, ɨĩ], which makes twelve diphthongs in Chintang. The diphthongs [ei oi ui] occur only before glottal stop [ʔ] (see 2.12, 2.16, and 2.18) or get nasalized (see 2.13, 2.17 and 2.19). This is also true for most instances of [ai] (exceptions

are mainly found in loan words). Nasality of diphthongs has phonemic status in Chintang. All diphthongs are illustrated with the corresponding minimal pairs in (2.12-2.23):

(2.12) /ei/

[heiʔ]	'louse of clothe'
[teiʔ]	'cloth'
[weiʔ]	'rain'

(2.13) /eĩ/

[leĩma]	'to serve water'
[teĩ]	'village'
[bheĩ]	'under'

(2.14) /ai/

[raiʔma]	'to make noise'
[rimaile]	'a kind of herb'
[baiʔ]	'here'

(2.15) /aĩ/

[paĩ]	'today'
[saĩma]	'to play (radio or musical instruments)'
[waĩma]	'to stir (rice, etc.)'

(2.16) /oi/

[hokkoiʔ]	'where'
[choboiʔ]	'a kind of vegetable'
[hoiʔma]	'to break'

(2.17) /oĩ/

[doĩma]	'to grab'
[dhoĩma]	'to attack suddenly'
[boĩma]	'to set the mud after seeding'

(2.18) /ui/

[huiʔma]	'to burn'
[khuiʔma]	'steal'

(2.19) /uĩ/

[uĩma]	'to be short'
[huĩʔma]	'to remove tooth'
[cuĩma]	'to wrinkle'

(2.20) /au/

[uchau]	'his/her child'
[gauroŋma]	'A female who belongs to Gaurong clan'
[phauwa]	'a leaf'

(2.21) /aũ/

[saũwa]	'buffalo'
[laũwa]	'leg'
[jaũle][2]	'twins'

(2.22) /ɨi/

[khɨiʔma]	'to comb'
[pɨiʔma]	'graze; scrape; scratch open'

(2.23) /ɨĩ/

[khɨĩma]	'be pulled; stretch'
[ghɨĩma]	'open wide (eyelid)'
[jhɨĩma]	'be damaged, be spoilt'

Diphthongs occur quite frequently in this language. However, in comparison to monophthongs, diphthongs are less frequent in the Chintang corpus. Diphthongs are particularly common in loans from Nepali. The diphthongs /au, aũ, ui, ɨi/ are extremely rare, but they do occur in a handful of native Chintang words.

[2] This is probably borrowed from Nepali *jʌmlyā/jumlyā* or also *jumlyāhā* in the western dialect of Nepali.

2.2.3 Vowel sequences

Unlike diphthongs, the vowel sequences are pronounced in hiatus; they each comprise a separate syllable without intervening glide. There are extremely few vowel sequences in Chintang, and they are restricted to some verbs whose stem ends in a vowel. The high front unrounded /i/ often forms sequences with mid front unrounded /e/ and /a/ (2.24) and (2.25). Some examples of vowel sequences are given below:

(2.24) <ie> Sequence

a.	*tie*	'S/he came.'
b.	*cie*	'S/he ate.'
c.	*thie*	'S/he came down.'

(2.25) <ia> Sequence

a.	*ciaŋse*	'S/he has eaten.'
b.	*tialie*	'S/he has already come.'
c.	*siade*	'It died.'

Furthermore, there are some vowel sequences where /i/ is preceded by /a/ and /u/ (2.26) and (2.27). Like the above sequences of vowels, <ai> and <ui> sequences are also also limited to verbs.

(2.26) <ai> Sequence

a.	*aimno*	'Do you sleep?'
b.	*taiki*	'We come.'

(2.27) <ui> Sequence

	uimno	'They sleep.'

Moreover, the high central unrounded /ɨ/ sometimes also forms a sequence with a high back rounded /u/when the following velar nasal ends up being nasalized, as shown in (2.28):

(2.28) <ɨũ> Sequence

a.	*lɨũwa*	> *lɨŋwa* 'grass for drying; hay; straw; thatch'

b. *nɨũwa* > *nɨŋwa* 'happiness'

However, this is actually rather like a VC sequence as /ũ/ in these cases (and similarly aũ, oĩ, iũ, etc.) originates from /ŋ/.

Similarly, the sequence of high central unrounded /ɨ/ and mid front unrounded /e/ is found in the syllable boundary of a verb. There is no other example of this sequence in Chintang. Like <ie> sequence, the <ɨe> sequence is also not attested in nouns.

(2.29) <ɨe> Sequence

rɨe 'S/he turned around.'

Finally, there are few instances in our corpus where the mid central neutral /a/ forms a sequence with /ɨ/, /a/ or /u/. Some examples of these sequences are given in (2.30).

(2.30) a. *anaɨk* 'our land'

b. *konaagonno* 'You walk around.'

c. *habaugonde* 'They cried.'

In our data, the unrounded vowel /ɨ/ commonly forms sequence with three vowels, particularly with /i, e, u/.

2.3 Syllable structure

The canonical syllable structure of Chintang may be schematized as (C | G) V (C), where "C" is a consonant, "G" a glide and "V" a vowel. The brackets indicate that it is possible to have a single vowel as a syllable. The nucleus V is obligatory and it can be preceded by a consonant (C) or a glide (G), but not both at a same time in a single syllable. Similarly, it can be followed by either a consonant or remain open.

In Chintang, the minimal word consists of a consonant and a vowel. A vowel alone does not form a meaningful word. If a word starts with a vowel, there is an obligatory epenthesis of the glottal stop.

The following table presents the possible syllable structures in Chintang.

Syllable	Gloss	Structure
[i-]	'2sPOSS-'	V
[ep]	'defecate'	VC
[mi]	'fire'	CV
[nam]	'sun'	CVC
[yum]	'salt'	GVC

Table 2.5: Syllable structure in Chintang

This schema shows that a syllable may consist of a vowel alone, or a vowel either followed by a consonant or preceded by a consonant or both, i.e. (CVC), in which the last consonant is the final and closing segment of a syllable. Both the onset and coda consist of a single consonant in a typical Chintang syllable.

Mostly the obstruents and nasals appear in coda position of a syllable in Chintang. As I stated earlier, affricates and fricatives do not occur in syllable-final position. There are no complex onsets and codas in Chintang. Moreover, Chintang does not allow vowel initial phonological words (Bickel et al. 2007). If there is no underlying consonant in the onset position, a glottal stop is automatically added, e.g. *ʔasinda* 'yesterday'. This phenomenon can also be noticed with stems beginning with vowels, e.g. *a-mai-ep-t-e* > (ʔa) (mai) (ʔepte) 'You didn't get up.' However, the glottal stop is skipped in rapid speech.

2.4 Basic morphophonemic rules

A number of phonological changes occur when morphemes are combined, for example, verbal stems can be affected in different ways when they are combined with affixes. In this section, I deal with some of the most frequent morphophonemic processes occur in Chintang.

2.4.1 Voicing

Stem final consonants of verbs are obligatorily voiced before vowels (2.31a,b). Furthermore, the onset of the vector verbs in verbal compounds is optionally voiced, as in (2.32a,b).

(2.31) a. *thap-e* → *thab-e*
[3sS]come.level-PST
'S/he came.'

b. *tok-e* → *tog-e*
[3sS]get-PST
'S/he got.'

(2.32) a. *ca-ma-pi-ma* → *ca-ma-bi-ma*
eat-INF-BEN1-INF
'Give [G] [T] to eat.'

b. *khaŋ-ma-pi-ma* → *khaŋ-ma-bi-ma*
see-INF-BEN1-INF
'allow to see'

However, there is no voicing in other positions, for instance, after prefixes, as in (2.33).

(2.33) a. *u-pid-e* *(*u-bide)*
3ns-give-PST
'They gave.'

b. *a-tog-e* *(*a-dog-e)*
2s-get-PST
'Did you get it?'

The voicing rule applies only to verbs. There is no evidence in nouns.

2.4.2 Velar nasal drop

Intervocalic velar nasal /ŋ/ is dropped within a word, i.e, is in non-peripheral syllables (Bickel et al. 2007). For example, in (2.34a,c), the intervocalic /ŋ/ is deleted when it appears word-internally. But it is not deleted in the peripheral position in (2.34b).

(2.34) a. *tub-i-ŋa-e-hẽ* → *tub-i-e-hẽ*
meet-p-e-PST-1ns.PST
'We (excl.) met.'

b. *tub-i-ki-ŋa*
meet-p-NPST-e
'We (excl.) meet.'

c. *kha-ŋ-e* → *kha-e*
see-1sS-PST
'I saw.'

However, the velar nasal is not dropped when it occurs between /o/ and /e/, e.g. *toŋe* 'it matched' or 'May it match!'. Moreover, of the two velar nasals in a row that are separated only by one vowel, only the first one is dropped: cf. *thuŋiŋa-para* > *thuiŋa-para, *thuŋia-para.* But *thuŋikiŋa* > *thuikia*, since the velar nasals are separated by another consonant.

2.4.3 Vowel deletion

One of the the most general phonological rules that obscure affix boundaries is the deletion of *a, u*, and *e* before other vowels. This process is again morphologically determined.

(2.35) a, e, u → ø /_V (except with prefixes and stem final vowels)

For instance the -*e* of dual or nonsingular suffix –*ce* is elided when it is followed by the past marker –*e* and person marker -*o*, as illustrated in (2.36).

(2.36) a. *u-sams-a-ce-e* → *usamsace* 'They become separated.'
b. *u-khad-a-ce-e* → *ukhadace* 'They (d) went.'
c. *u-tup-ce-o-ko* → *utupcoko* 'They (two) meet him/her.'

The past base marker –*a* is elided before –*u*, and -*e,* as shown in (2.37).

(2.37) a. *a-nis-a-u-ce-e* → *anisuce* 'Did you know him.'
b. *tup-na-e-hẽ* → *tupnehẽ* 'I met you.'

The third person undergoer marker -*u* is deleted before the imperative marker -*a*, as illustrated in (2.38)

(2.38) a. *mett-u-a-dhend-a* → *mett-a-nd-a* 'Please, do it!' [CLDLCh3R01S04.083a]
b. *pid-u-a-bid-a* → *pid-a-nd-a* 'Please give him' [CLLDCh3R03S02a.040]

2.4.4 Consonant deletion

The second consonant is deleted when there are three consonants in a row. It is an absolutely rigid constraint that follows logically from the syllable structure of the languages. Some examples are given in (2.39).

(2.39)	a.	*mai-tupt-no*	→ *maitupno*	'S/he meets us (1pi).'
	b.	*tupt-na-ʔã*	→ *tupnaʔã*	'I meet you.'
	c.	*a-rett-ce-ke*	→ *areʔceke*	'You (d) laugh.'

2.4.5 Assimilation of velar nasal to labial

In Chintang, the velar nasal /*ŋ*/ of a suffix following a stem with the bilabial *m*, or *p,* is often assimilated to bilabials, as in (2.40).

(2.40)	a.	*u-tup-ŋa-ʔã*	→ *utupmaʔã*	'S/he meets me.'
	b.	*u-lap-ŋa-ʔã*	→ *ulapmaʔã*	'S/he catches me.'

2.5 Suprasegmental features

There are no pitch or tone contrasts in Chintang. Chintang words contain one main stress, which regularly falls on the last syllable of the lexical stem. With respect to compound forms (for example, compound verbs), the stress falls on the first stem. Prefixes are never stressed because they are part of the same stress word as the stem and the suffixes (Bickel et al. 2007). However, as observed in Bickel et al. (ibid), the prefixes form phonological subconstituents on their own within the word (2.41).

(2.41) $(_{\omega 2}\ (_{\omega}\ \text{pf}/\Sigma 1)\ (_{\omega}\ \Sigma^{(')}\ \text{-sf})$

In this representation, ω2 denotes a level between the phonological word and the phonological phrase, which is the domain for stress assignment. The ω signifies the subdomain of ω2, and Σ1 denotes the first member of the preverbal-verb compound.

In short, word stress in Chintang is weak and not distinctive. The only exceptions are certain sequences of words. For example, if we analyze the morphology of some

combinations, we find some minimal pairs like: '*khaca* 'food dregs', *kha'ca* 'he will eat us.' Similarly, when the stress falls on the first syllable in the word '*maila*, it means second son, while the meaning changes to 'he will return to us' when the stress falls on the second syllable. These examples also support the claim that the prefixes in Chintang, cannot be stressed. Thus, the morphology and the syntax interact with the stress: words normally stressed on one syllable may be stressed on a different syllable depending on the morphemes or words surrounding them.

2.6 Summary

This chapter has discussed aspects of Chintang phonology. There are twenty seven distinctive consonant phonemes in Chintang. They are classified in terms of manner of articulation, place of articulation, voicing and aspiration. A large number of consonants are stops (fifteen phonemes including a glottal stop). All consonant phonemes can occur in the word-initial position. Word-finally, however, a more limited set occurs, being restricted to nasals and voiceless unaspirated stops (except /t/). Moreover, the voiced obstruent series and the aspirate series are also disallowed in word final position. As for the vowels, there are six monophthongs and six diphthongs plus their nasalized counterparts.

The maximal syllable structure is CVC. Clusters only appear at syllable boundaries of a single phonological word. There are no complex clusters possible in a single syllable. The coda can only include stops or nasals. Gemination is possible in Chintang. In few cases, stem initial consonants are geminated after prefixes, for example, *a-pa* ~ *appa* 'my father', *a-na* ~ *anna* 'my sister'.

Chapter 3

Nominal Morphology

3.0 Introduction

This chapter outlines the nominal morphology in Chintang. Nominals include such parts of speech as nouns, pronouns, adjectives, numerals, and deictics. I discuss the various nominal categories in §3.1. This will be followed by sections on pronouns, possessive agreement, derivation/compounding and classifiers. There is a very small class of true adjectives in Chintang, which I describe in §3.6. Towards the end of this chapter, I briefly describe diminutives. Finally, I summarize the major findings in nominal morphology in Chintang.

3.1 Nominal categories

Nominals and verbs can be distinguished by their morphology. Finite verbs can be marked for person, number, and tense, whereas nouns are marked for case and number. However, this rule does not hold for derived nouns. For example, a verb form can be regularly nominalized using the nominalizer *=go* and then can be case marked (see chapter 9). Syntactically, the category noun co-occurs with demonstratives and functions as subject of a clause, object of a verb, modifier of a noun in a compound noun, and also as adverbial adjunct. There is no grammatical gender in Chintang. But like some other Kiranti languages, Chintang uses the morphemes *-pa* and *-ma*, a bit like gender, which refer to male and female being when they are combined to animate nouns.

3.1.1 Number

Number is a grammatical category in Chintang. There are three categories of number viz. singular, dual and plural. Like in other Kiranti languages, singular is an unmarked category, whereas the dual and plural are marked by suffixes. Chintang marks non-singular with the suffix *-ce* (ns) which expresses the non-singularity of both animate and inanimate objects. Nouns and third person pronouns do not distinguish between dual and plural. The distinction between dual and plural exists in pronouns of the first and the second person and in verbs. The number marker precedes any case markers and particles (3.1a,b).

(3.1) a. *u-keŋ-ce=ta* *ma-pok-yokt-a-ŋs-e*
3sPOSS-tooth-ns=FOC$_1$ NEG-rise-NEG-PST-PERF-PST
'Her teeth have not come out.' [CLDLCh2R02S02.178]

b. *ah* *u-c-o=ne* *cha-ce-ŋa*
FILLER 3nsA-eat-3P=OPT child-ns-ERG
'Well, let the children eat it!' [CLLDCh1R03S01.0733]

c. *jhiga-ce-ko* *huni-phok* *kha-noʔ*
fly-ns-GEN 3nsPOSS-belly [3sS]go-NPST
'Flies' stomach becomes full.' [CLDLCh2R02S02.488]

The same non-singular suffix *-ce* is also used to form associative plural constructions where a noun (typically of human reference) is marked with it. Then the resulting form is interpreted as referring to a group associated with the previously identified person. For example, the noun in (3.2) does not refer to more than one person named Mankumar, but it refers to a group of people only one of whom bears this name, and the other referents are known as the associates of the focal referent, i.e. '*Mankumar*' in this example.

(3.2) *mankumar-ce*
M.-ns
'Mankumar and his friends' [Fieldwork_2008]

In a few cases, the associative plural is also attached to clan and sub-clan names of Chintang Rai people. For example, in (3.3), the non-singular suffix added to *walɨŋ* 'a clan of Chintang Rai' proclaims a certain group of people rather than a mere plurality.

(3.3) *walɨŋ-ce=lo* *manchi naŋ*
a.clan.of.chintang.rai-ns=SURP be.not BUT
'Walings are not here.' [CLLDCh1R03S01.0761]

The non-singular marker *-ce* is found with both human and non-human referents. Moreover, it also appears with place names following an adjectivizer *-e* and denotes a group of people who originated from the specified place. The example in (3.4a) illustrates an associative plural form and (3.4b) illustrates a non-singular marker preceded by the adjectivizer *-e*.

(3.4) a. *phuŋ-ce*
flower-ns
'flowers and so' [Fieldwork_2008]

b. *bhojpur-e-ce*
a.place-ADJLZ-ns
'the people from Bhojpur' [Fieldwork_2008]

The associative plural construction is quite productive in a number of Kiranti languages. Apart from Chintang, it is also found in other Kiranti languages, such as Puma, Belhare, Athpare, Kulung, and also in Nepali, an indo-Aryan language. In all these languages, there is no separate marker or clitic for the associative plural; the regular plural marker is used for both purposes.

Like in Athpare (Ebert 1997a), first and second person pronouns mark the plural by *-i* and dual by *-ci* in Chintang (see Table 3.1). But unlike in Athpare, there is no distinction between dual and plural marking in demonstratives and adjectives in Chintang.

singular	dual	plural	gloss
akka	*an*-ci	*an-i*	1
hana	*han*-ci	*han*-i	2

Table 3.1: Dual and plural marking

Another interesting fact about Chintang number is that even uncountable nouns can take the plural suffix *-ce* without any problem, e.g. *kiya-ce* 'oil bottles', *makkai-ce* 'maize grains. Here the function of *-ce* includes 'shape giving' (i.e., oils in the different pots).[1] Furthermore, we can get non-singular agreement with a singular nominative and a comitative, as in *Rikhi-nɨŋ ti-a-ŋs-a-ce-hẽ,* [R.-COM come-PST-PERF-PST-d-1sS.PST] 'I came with Rikhi.'

3.1.2 *-pa/-ma* sex markers

As stated earlier, there is no grammatical gender in Chintang. But like many other Kiranti languages, Chintang uses the morphemes *-pa* and *-ma*, a bit like gender, which refer to male and female beings respectively when they are attached to a noun. However, these morphemes are restricted to animate nouns.

The following examples illustrate the use of sex markers *-pa* and *-ma* with Chintang kinship terms (3.5 - 3.7) and nouns (3.8).

(3.5) a. *u-nam-ba*
3sPOSS-parent.in.law-M
'his/her father-in-law'

b. *u-nam-ma*
3sPOSS-parent.in.law-F
'his/her mother-in-law'

c. *u-taya-ma*
3sPOSS-spouse-F
'his wife'

(3.6) a. *modraŋ-ba*
husband's.sibling-M
'husband's younger brother'

[1] This is also possible in English (e.g. *Where did you put the oils*? meaning 'bottle of oil'), but more commonly, plurals of English mass nouns refer to different kinds rather than the different units; such as *There are many oils in this store*, meaning many different kinds of oils.

b. *modraŋ-ma*
husband's.sibling-F
'husband's younger sister'

(3.7) a. *rɨkcha-ba*
'son's/daughter's.parent-in-law-M
'son's or daughter's father-in-law'

b. *rɨkcha-ma*
son's/daughter's.parent-in-law-F
'son's or daughter's mother-in-law'

(3.8) a. *kocu-ma* 'bitch' (mostly while scolding people)
dog-F

b. *wa-pa* 'cock'
chicken-M

c. *wa-ma* 'hen'
chicken-F

The sex markers *pa* and *ma* do not always appear as a suffix. In a few kinship terms, mostly with a bound morpheme, they can also appear as a prefix, (3.9a-d) which is not attested in any other Kiranti language, such as Koĩts (Rapacha 2005), Athpare (Ebert 1997a), and Kulung (Tolsma 2006).

(3.9) a. *pa-dum* 'father's elder brother'
b. *ma-dum* 'father's elder brother's wife'
c. *pa-kku* 'father's younger brother'
d. *ma-kku* 'father's younger brother's wife'

However, it is ungrammatical to attach the gender marker *-pa/-ma* as a suffix in these bound forms, as shown in the following examples.

(3.10) a. **dum-pa* 'father's elder brother'
b. **kku-ma* 'father's younger brother's wife'

Chintang also employs two different lexical items to distinguish between male and females in few pairs of forms. This can be seen in example (3.11).

(3.11)	a.	*duwacha*	'a boy'	*mechacha*	'a girl'
	b.	*aphuwa*	'my brother'	*anna*	'my sister'
	c.	*thippa*	'father's father'	*thigum*	'father's mother'

But the *-ma* morpheme does not only denote females, it also appears on concepts associated with femininity (3.12a). Moreover, it also attaches to stem to denote small animals (3.12b-d).

(3.12) Small animals

a.	*paŋri-ma*	'colorful' (associated with femininity)
b.	*bala-ma*	'woodpecker'
c.	*menu-ma*	'cat'
d.	*wasu-ma*	'bee'

Moreover, *-ma* obligatorily occurs on names of female clan members, for example, *tele-ma* 'a Tele woman', *khinci-ma* 'a woman from Khinci clan', *sampaŋ-ma* ' a woman from Sampaŋ clan', and so on.

Furthermore, a similar issue is also found with the sex markers in *Samet/Sameiʔ*, clan names. The clan which denotes a man is usually marked with *-haŋ* and the clans which denotes a woman is marked with *-mi*. For example, *Namci-haŋ* and *Tuŋlu-mi* denote 'a man belonging to the Namci- clan' and 'a woman belonging to the Tuŋlu- clan' respectively.

This type of sex marking is not obligatory in all forms. There are some nouns which refer to either sex. In this case, the sex is distinguished on the basis of the context of their use, as in (3.13a). Sometimes the Nepali forms like *kancho* 'youngest male child' or *kanchi* 'youngest female child' are borrowed to distinguish between siblings they are talking about (3.13b).

(3.13)	a.	*ripa*	*u-nicha*	*binisa*	*ni*
		R.	3sPOSS-sibling	B.	FOC_2

'Binisa is Ripa's sister.' [CLDLCh3R01S02.164]

b. *a-nicha* *kanchi=yaŋ* *weiʔ* *pan-no*
1sPOSS-sibling youngest.F=ADD rain [3sS]call-NPST
'My younger sister calls rain.' [CLLDCh1S12R05 448]

The sex markers *ma* and *pa* are also independent words. They can appear in isolation and denote female and male persons respectively.

Despite that, the marker *-ma* is also found with a number of nouns which are restricted to the ritual variety of the language. In this case, it has nothing to do with sex.

(3.14) a. *meŋ-ma* 'ginger'
b. *micha-ma* 'priest'
c. *pabok-ma* 'pig which is worshipped and offered to God.'
d. *puwaŋ-ma* 'house deity'

3.1.3 Case

A nominal in Chintang can be inflected for a number of cases. Most of the case markers are morphologically bound suffixes. There is also a morphologically independent particle which marks case. Case markers are combined with nominals with or without the non-singular suffix and convey various meanings like possession, place, medium, and so on. Allomorphy of case endings depends on whether a noun ends in a vowel, in a consonant, or in a glottal stop. All case markers follow the number marker when the noun is marked by the non-singular marker *-ce*.

With respect to case marking, Chintang is an ergative language. The intransitive participant (S) and the undergoer of a transitive sentence (P) are unmarked. The actor of the transitive clause (A) takes the oblique case suffix *-ŋa*, which serves as an ergative.

(3.15) a. *mechacha* *khad-a-ŋs-e*
woman[NOM] [3sS]go-PST-PERF-PST
'The woman has gone.'

b. *mechacha-ŋa* *wa* *khed-o-ŋs-e*
woman-ERG chicken [3sA]buy-3P-PERF-PST
'The woman has bought a chicken.'

Chintang has split case marking based on person. Ergative on A is obligatory with 3rd person noun phrases of any kind. It is fairly frequently attested with first and second person plural inclusive forms: first person plural inclusive *ani* [1pi] and second person plural inclusive *hani* [2pi]. It is quite rare with *akka* [1s], *anci* [1di], *hana* [2s] and *hanci* [2d]. But the ergative is ungrammatical with exclusive forms (first person plural and dual exclusive: *anaŋa* and *ancaŋa,* respectively). The following examples illustrate the fluid A marking with first person pronouns (3.16).

(3.16) a. *akka-ŋa* *cekt-u-ŋ=go* *ba-i* *lon-na-ʔ-no*
1s-ERG speak-3P-1sA=NMLZ$_1$ DEM.PROX-FLOC appear-NA-COMPL$_1$-NPST
'My talk appears here (in the recording).' [khinci_talk.037]

b. *akka=na* *u-niŋ* *nis-u-ku-ŋ-niŋ*
1s[NOM]=TOP 3sPOSS-name know-3P-NPST-1sA-NEG
'I do not know his name.' [CLDLCh3R01S03.170]

3rd person arguments (pronouns, NPs) exhibit a nominative-ergative pattern, i.e. A bears the ergative obligatorily while S and objects — goal (G), and theme (T) — bear nominative.

(3.17) a. *sencak* *si-e*
mouse[NOM] [3sS]die-PST
'The mouse died.'

b. *menuwa-ŋa* *sencak* *sed-e*
cat-ERG mouse[NOM] [3sA]kill-PST
'A cat killed a mouse.'

c. *huĩ-sa-ŋa* *sencak* *sed-e*
3s-OBL-ERG mouse[NOM] [3sA]kill-PST
'He killed a mouse.'

In examples (3.17), we can see that the intransitive subject (S) and the transitive object (P) are zero marked. The A of a transitive clause receives ergative marking if it is 3rd person, whether it is a pronoun or a full NP. In languages with person splits 1st and 2nd person pronouns surface with unmarked nominative and 3rd person arguments with marked

ergative when they occur in the A function (Silverstein 1976). This holds partly true for Chintang as well. Because the Chintang split is not based on person only, but also on number and clusivity apparently. All the Chintang case markers are summarized in table 3.2, which also lists the conventional gloss for each morpheme.

Form	Gloss	Function/meaning
-ø	NOM	marks S, A, P, T, G, also predicate nominals
-ŋa ~ -yã	ERG	A (obligatory only with third person),
-ŋa, ~-yã	INSTR	instrument, cause, force
-ko	GEN	possessors, attributive nouns in NPs
-niŋ	COM	accompanying referents
-lam(ma), ~ -lamŋa	MED	route of the movement, from, in
samma/somma (< Nep.)	TERM	'until, up to'
-patti/-ni	DIR	'towards, in the direction of'
-ŋa	ABL	source, manner
-peʔ/-beʔ	LOC	'neutral location of X, on, in, at'
-i (ʔ)	FLOC	'focused location, on, in, at'
-kha	ALOC	'areal location, on, in, at'
-ndu	UP	'up at, in, on, to'
-mu	DOWN	'down at, in, on, to'
-yu	ACROSS	'across at, in, on, to'

Table 3.2: Case markers and their functions (Bickel et al. 2010)

3.1.3.1 Nominative

The nominative case is unmarked except for the interrogative pronoun *sa-lo* [who-NOM], where the nominative is marked by *-lo* in the singular (see §3.2.2 below). The subject of an intransitive clause (S), transitive clause (A) (only the 1st and 2nd person), objects (P, T, G), and the experiencer A bear nominative case in Chintang, as shown in (3.18a-d).

(3.18) a. *joge* *ims-e*
J.[NOM] [3sS]sleep-PST
'Joge slept.' [Fieldwork_2008]

b. *hana* *kok* *a-ci-e*
2s[NOM] rice[NOM] 2sA-eat-PST
'You ate rice.' [Fieldwork_2008]

c. *huĩ-sa-ŋa* *hana* *chata* *na-bopt-e*
3s-OBL-ERG 2s[NOM] umbrella[NOM] 3s>2s-cover-PST
'He covered you with an umbrella.' [Fieldwork_2008]

d. *akka* *u-phari* *pid-a-hã* *o*
1s[NOM] 3sPOSS-half[NOM] give-IMP-PRSV.IMP RECONF
'Please, give me a half of that one, okay!' [Fieldwork_2008]

The nominative will not be glossed in the rest of the thesis except here in order to save space, any bare nominal without a case gloss is in the nominative form.

3.1.3.2 Ergative

As I discussed earlier, the third person subject of a transitive clause irrespective of tense-aspect is obligatorily marked by the ergative case suffix *-ŋa*, but after a glottal stop and a vowel by the allomorph *-yã*. Ergative is also attested with first person and second person plural forms. But it is very rare with first person and second person singular and dual forms, and ungrammatical with first person dual and plural exclusive forms. Both humans and non-humans may take the ergative case in Chintang. The following examples illustrate ergative marking of the transitive subject:

(3.19) a. *kani-ŋa* *cekt-u-m=go* *jamma* *kob-o-ko*
1pi-ERG speak-3P-1nsA=NMLZ$_1$ all [3sA]record-3P-NPST
'It records all what we speak.' [CLDLCh3R01S04.074a]

b *joge-ŋa* *citthi* *hakt-e*
J.-ERG letter [3sA]send-PST
'Joge sent a letter.' [Fieldwork_2008]

c. *barsa-ŋa* *ani* *wa-pok-ma* *mai-lapt-e*
rain-ERG 1p make.wet-make.wet-INF iP-begin-PST
'The rain started to wet us.' [Fieldwork_2008]

The nominal marked by the ergative marker *-ŋa* is an A argument of a transitive clause, which function syntactically as a subject, can occur anywhere in a clause. It is not necessary that it always occupies the clause initial position.

3.1.3.3 Instrumental

As in many other Kiranti and non-Kiranti languages of the Himalyan region, the instrumental case is homophonous with the ergative marker *-ŋa* in Chintang.[2] It marks a tool by which an agent accomplishes an action. A Chintang verb shows agreement with the agent and patient, but it does not agree with an argument marked with the instrumental. In example (3.20a), the verb *ab-* 'shoot' agrees with the covert third person agent and the second person patient.

(3.20) a.

bonduk-ŋa	*na-ab-no*	*gonei*
gun-INSTR	3>2-shoot-NPST	ATTN

'Hey, she shoots you with a gun.' [CLLDCh4R02S02a.017]

b.

joge-ŋa	*kacce-ŋa*	*ghas-a*	*hekt-e*
J.-ERG	sickle-INSTR	grass-N.NTVZ	[3sA]cut-PST

'Joge cut grass with a sickle.' [Fieldwork_2008]

c.

sa-ŋa	*luŋghek-ŋa*	*ruĩ-ma*	*na-cind-e*
who-ERG	stone-INSTR	clean-INF	3>2-teach-PST

'Who taught you to clean the pot with a stone?' [CLDLCh3R05S04.209]

3.1.3.4 Genitive

The genitive shows a relationship between a head noun and its dependent in a noun phrase. It is marked by the suffix *-ko,* the same marker as the nominalizer, and occurs with both nouns and pronouns.

(3.21)

nunu	*hana-ko*	*photo*	*temma*	*lond-e*	*aŋ*
baby	2s-GEN	photo	good	appear-PST	Q

'Baby! Your photograph appeared nice, didn't it?' [CLDLCh2R02S02.616]

[2] LaPolla (1994) also points out that in many Tibeto-Burman languages the instrumental and ergative (agentive) markers are homophonous.

The genitive case precedes possessive forms in the following constructions. When there is a genitive suffix *-ko* on the possessor noun, the possessive prefix must agree in number and person with the possessor.

(3.22) a. *hana-ko* *i-khim*
2s-GEN 2sPOSS-house
'your house' [Fieldwork_2008]

b. *huĩ-sa-ko* *u-khim*
3s-OBL-GEN 3sPOSS-house
'his house' [Fieldwork_2008]

c. *kocuwa-ko* *u-mire*
dog-GEN 3sPOSS-tail
'dog's tail' [Fieldwork_2008]

d. *ak-ko=yaŋ* *a-yaŋme=ta=kha=lo*
1s-GEN=ADD 1sPOSS-nephew/niece=FOC$_1$=NMLZ$_2$=SURP
'(He) is also my nephew.' (Nep. मेरो पनि भतिज नै हो।[3]) [CLDLCh3R01S02.275]

However, the constructions N-GEN N and N POSS-N are both more frequent than N-GEN POSS-N in day to day speech and in our corpus as well. A nominal form marked by the genitive suffix *-ko* may occur adnominally as the modifier of another noun.

3.1.3.5 Comitative

The comitative case is marked by the suffix *-niŋ*, which denotes companionship or accompaniment. Some examples of comitative case are given in (3.23a-c).

(3.23) a. *akka* *duda-niŋ* *kok* *ci-e-hẽ*
1s milk-COM rice eat-PST-1sA.PST
'I ate rice with milk.' [Fieldwork_2008]

[3] In some cases, where the Nepali translation is relevant to the discussion and clarification, I give both English and Nepali translations.

b. *ram* *hari-nɨŋ* *khoŋ-no*
R. H.-COM [3sS]play-NPST
'Ram plays with Hari.' [Fieldwork_2008]

c. *huŋ=go* *u-kam-nɨŋ* *ti-e*
DEM=NMLZ$_1$ 3sPOSS-friend-COM [3sS]come-PST
'He came with his friend.' [Fieldwork_2008]

The comitative can also mark things one carries, as in (3.24).

(3.24) *huŋ=go* *u-tappa-ce-nɨŋ* *ti-e*
DEM=NMLZ$_1$ 3sPOSS-good-ns-COM [3sS]come-PST
'He came with his goods.' [Fieldwork_2008]

3.1.3.6 Mediative

The suffix *-lam* is used in a mediative sense to express a movement of something along a path in Chintang. The ablative *-ŋa* is also often attached to *-lam,* and takes the form *-ma*, as shown in (3.25c).

(3.25) a. *hã* *jilla-lam* *pulis-ce* *u-ti-e*
FILLER district-MED police-ns 3nsS-come-PST
'The police came via district.' [chintang_sahid.009]

b. *dhanakuṭā-lam* *ti-e*
Dh.-MED [3sS]come-PST
'He came via Dhanakuṭā.' [Fieldwork_2008]

c. *joge* *kosi-lam-ma* *ti-e*
J. river-MED-ABL [3sS]come-PST
'Joge came from river.' [Fieldwork_2008]

The mediative *-lam* indicates movement 'away from' or simply 'from', when it is combined with the ablative *-ŋa.*

(3.26) a. *dhanakuṭā-lam-ma* *ti-e*
Dh.-MED-ABL [3sS]come-PST
'He came from Dhanakuṭā.' [Fieldwork_2008]

b. *bha-yu-patti-lam-ma-ŋa=na*
PROX-DEM.ACROSS-DIR$_1$-MED-ABL=EMPH=TOP
'from this side' [Fieldwork_2008]

It also expresses the medium of speaking, as in (3.27a,b).

(3.27) a. *chintaŋ* *rɨŋ-lam* *cekt-e*
Chintang language-MED [3sS]speak-PST
'S/he spoke in Chintang.' [Fieldwork_2008]

b. *ani* *yɨŋ-lam-ma* *u-nis-o-ko* *para*
1pi language-MED-ABL 3nsS-know-3P-NPST COND$_2$

ani *yɨŋ-lam-ma=yaŋ* *cĩ-ma-ce*
1pi language-MED-ABL=ADD teach-INF-3nsP
'If they know it in our language, we should teach them in our language.'
[Durga_job.026/Fieldwork_2008]

The mediative suffix *-lam* is probably a grammaticalized form of the noun *lambu/lam,* which means 'road', 'path' or 'medium' in Chintang.

3.1.3.7 Terminative

The terminative, marked by the postposition *samma/somma*, expresses the notion of 'until' or 'up to', specifying a limit in space and time. Though it is borrowed from Nepali, it is quite frequent in Chintang. The original form in Nepali is *sʌmma.*

(3.28) a. *akka* *dhanakuṭā* *samma* *khaiʔ-ya-ʔã*
1s Dh. TERM go-1sS-NPST
'I am going up to Dhanakuṭā.' [Fieldwork_2008]

b. *hokko-i* *somma* *na-rɨkt-e*
where-FLOC TERM 3s>2s-chase-PST
'How long did he chase you?' [CLLDCh4R13S05.563]

(3.29) a. *akka* *paĩ* *somma* *mund-u-ku-ŋ-nɨŋ*
1s today TERM forget-3P-NPST-1sA-NEG
'I haven't forgotten till now.' [phengniba_tale008]

b. *pandra sora gate samma-be u-thapt-o ni*
fifteen sixteen date TERM-LOC 3nsA-bring.across-3P FOC_2
'They might bring until 15th or 16th of the month.' [CLLDCh2R12S08.204]

In Chintang, the terminative case is not only used to indicate end-points in space or time but also end-points of an action itself.

(3.30) *sat-coti somma tis-o-ko hou*
seven-times TERM [3sA]keep-3P-NPST AFF
'He puts there up to seven times.' [CLLDCh2R08S04.0850]

3.1.3.8 Directive

The directive markers *-ni* and *-patti* mark direction in Chintang. *-patti* is used with both nouns and deictics, whereas *-ni* is restricted to deictics only.

(3.31) a. *akka hile-patti khaiʔ-ya-ʔã*
1s hile-DIR_1 go-1sS-NPST
'I am going towards Hile.' [Fieldwork_2008]

b. *to-patti a-khaʔ-no*
DEM.UP-DIR_1 2sS-go-NPST
'Do you go up?' [CLLDCh4R06S05.1073]

(3.32) a. *ek-dina aphe-ce bhaiʔ-ni u-thab-a-ci-e*
one-day e.brother-ns DEM.PROX-DIR_2 3nsS-come.across-PST-$COMPL_3$-PST
'One day, elder brothers came to us.' [appa_katha_talk.022]

b. *toʔ-ni khad-e*
DEM.UP-DIR_2 [3sS]go-PST
'He went up.' [CLLDCh1R01S04.396]

The marker *-patti* is borrowed from Nepali, but it is quite frequent in the Chintang corpus.

3.1.3.9 Ablative

The ablative case *-ŋa* is homophonous with the ergative and the instrumental markers in Chintang. But the ablative *-ŋa* cannot appear without being supported by other case markers.

So, it usually combines with the neutral locative marker *-pe/-beʔ* to express an ablative meaning like 'from' or 'out of' somewhere. This is illustrated with the help of following examples:

(3.33) a.

akka	*khim-beʔ-ŋa*	*ti-e-hẽ*
1s	house-LOC-ABL	come-PST-1sS.PST

'I came from home.' [Fieldwork_2008]

b.

sɨŋtaŋ-beʔ-ŋa	*u-phaʔwa*	*thi-e*
tree-LOC-ABL	3sPOSS-leaf	[3sS]drop.down-PST

'A leaf dropped down from the tree.' [Fieldwork_2008]

c.

huŋ=go	*kheta-beiʔ-yã/beʔ-ŋa*	*ti-e*
DEM=NMLZ$_1$	field-LOC-ABL	[3sS]come-PST

'He came from the field.' [Fieldwork_2008]

The ablative *-ŋa* is also frequently attached to the temporal ablative suffix *-kheĩʔ/-kheʔ* which itself is a bound morpheme and occurs only together with *-ŋa/-yã*. This is the only nominal suffix which does not appear with spatial deictic roots. Besides *-kheʔ-ŋa* and *kheiʔ-yã*, we also get the surface form *-khek-ŋa.*

(3.34) a.

paĩ-kheĩʔ-yã	*lis-e*
today-TMP.ABL-ABL	be-PST

'(The holiday) started from today.' [Fieldwork_2008]
'It started today.'

b.

hana	*bhadau-kheʔ-ŋa*	*a-khat-no*	*mahaʔ*
2s	a.month-TMP.ABL-ABL	2sS-go-NPST	be.not

'You are going after Bhadau, aren't you?' [CLDLCh2R02S02.530]

The ablative is also used in comparative function with focus locative *iʔ*, as in the following example:

(3.35) a.

hani-ʔ-yã	*the=kha*
2s-FLOC-ABL	big=NMLZ$_2$

'bigger than you' [Fieldwork_2008]

b. *sontosi-ko-yã* *nana=kha*
S.-GEN-ABL elder.sister=NMLZ$_2$
(This baby) is elder than Sontosi's (baby). [CLDLCh2R02S02.018]

3.1.3.10 Locative

There are quite a few locative markers in Chintang. They can appear both alone or in combination with other markers.

The locative marker *-be?/-ba(?)* corresponds vaguely to English prepositions *at, in, on, to*, and indicates a place in neutral, that is, it does not specify the level of an object or a point in relation to ground level.

(3.36) a. *khim-be?* *khad-e=kina* *ti-e*
house-LOC go-PST=SEQ come-PST
'He went to the house and came.' [Fieldwork_2008]

b. *elo* *bari-be?* *ghasa* *a-hek-no*
or field-LOC grass 2sA-cut-NPST
'Do you cut grass in the field?' [Fieldwork_2008]

Demonstrative pronouns and the filler particle *meĩ* ('what to call') can also take this neutral locative marker *-be?*.

(3.37) a. *esari* *samma* *yo-ba* *mai-li-yokt-a-ŋs-e*
this.time TERM DEM.ACROSS-LOC NEG-be-NEG-PST-PERF-PST
'It has not been there yet.' [CLDLCh3R01S03.075]

b. *u-mma-ŋa* *u-chau* *meĩ-be?* *wand-o-ko*
3sPOSS-mother-ERG 3sPOSS-child FILLER-LOC swing-3P-NPST
'The mother swings her baby (in a cradle).' [Fieldwork_2008]

The neutral locative is often combined with other case markers, i.e. with genitive *-ko* and ablative *-ŋa* in Chintang. When it combines with genitives it turns the neutral locative into a modifier. For example, in (3.38), *dhuri-be?-ko* functions as a modifier, which distinguishes the chicken which are on the roof from the others which are not on the roof.

(3.38) *akka* *dhuri-beʔ-ko* *wa-ce* *or-u-ku-ŋ-cu-ŋ*
1s roof-LOC-GEN hen-ns hit.by.throwing-3P-NPST-1sA-3nsP-1sA
'I hit the chicken on the roof.' [Fieldwork_2008]

The variant *-ba(ʔ)* is found with all the spatial forms except with two general-purpose demonstrative roots (Dirksmeyer 2008) *ba* 'DEM.PROX' and *huŋ* 'DEM'.[4] However, it is possible that the *huŋ* can combine with *-beʔ,* as in (3.40).

(3.39) a. *akka* *mo-ba* *khaiʔ-ya-ʔã*
1s DEM.DOWN-LOC go-1sS-NPST
'I am going down there.' [CLLDCh1R03S01.0269]

b. *a-ttu-ba* *maŋka* *maŋka* *muk-no=ta* *hou*
DIST-DEM.UP-LOC little little be.heard-NPST=IPFV$_2$ AFF
'It (the little bird) is heard (slowly) up there.' [CLLDCh1R09S07.0615]

(3.40) *hum-beʔ-yã=na* *ti-e*
DEM-LOC-ABL=TOP come-PST
'after that he came' [Chambak_int.1092]

There is another locative marker *-iʔ,* which I gloss as a focus locative (FLOC) in my thesis. The main function of this locative is to focus on the location of an object. It can only appear after a vowel, as in (3.41). In this case, it might be an allomorph of *-beʔ.*

(3.41) a. *jaŋgal-a-iʔ* *manchi=ta* *hola* *ghãsa*
forest-N.NTVZ-FLOC not=FOC$_1$ probably grass
'There may not be grass in the jungle.' [CLDLCh2R02S02.211]

b. *lo lo* *huŋgo-iʔ* *khel-a* *numd-a-c-a*
ok ok DEM-FLOC play-N.NTVZ do-IMP-d-IMP
'Okay, play there.' [CLLDCh4R03S03.0985]

Like the neutral locative *-beʔ, -iʔ* can also combine with the genitive *-ko* and the ergative *-ŋa.* But unlike *-beʔ* (e.g., *khim-beʔ-ko-ce-ŋa,* house-LOC-GEN-ns-ERG 'the ones who are at

[4] Unlike the proximate demonstrative *ba, huŋ* is semantically distance-neutral (Dirksmeyer 2008).

home' [ref.khinci_talk.089]), *-iʔ* cannot combine with both of them at a same time (e.g., **jaŋgal-a-iʔ-ko-ŋa,* jungle-NTVZ-FLOC-GEN-ERG 'the ones from the jungle'*)*.

There is yet another location marker in Chintang which is used as an areal locative or *kha*-locative more specifically. But it is not as common as the neutral and focus locatives in the Chintang corpus. It is probably derived from *kham* 'mud', 'soil', 'earth' ~ *kha* 'field'.

(3.42) a. *maŋgup-kha* *bha-mu*
garlic-ALOC DEM.PROX-DOWN
'On the garlic field, down here!' [CLLDCh4R11S11.296]

b. *paĩ=yaŋ* *ba-kha* *ba-kha-be*
today=ADD DEM.PROX-ALOC DEM.PROX-ALOC-LOC

khola *khi-ce* *u-lon-no*
river yam-ns 3sS-appear-NPST
'Even today wild yam grows around here.' [phidang_talk.038]

The locative case system in the Kiranti languages, such as in Chintang, is not as simple as in the Indo-Aryan languages of the same region. There are other spatial locatives that are only available for deictics, which indicate the location of an object in terms of its height relative to the speaker, hence the terms have been labeled as "environmental" (Bickel 1994) or "altitudinal" (Ebert 1999). As this is already described in Dirskmeyer (2008), I will not explain the same thing again. I simply list the locative cases here with their basic meaning. The suffix *-ndu* indicates an object at a higher altitude than the speaker; *mu* indicates an object at a lower altitude; and *yo/yu* indicates an object at the same level.

-ndu 'UP: at, on, in, to'

-mu 'DOWN: at, on, in, to'

-yu 'ACCROSS: at, on in, to'

(3.43) a. *bha-ndu-patti* *kaŋ-a*
DEM-UP-DIR come-IMP
'come here (up)'

b. *bha-mu-patti* *kuŋs-a*
DEM-DOWN-DIR come-IMP
'come here (down)'

c. *u-mu-ba* *copt-a*
DIST-DOWN-LOC look-IMP
'look there (down)'

3.1.3.11 Borrowed cases

Grammatical cases are borrowed less often than lexical cases. Chintang does not borrow a grammatical case from other languages. However, the Nepali dative marker *-lāi* is occasionally borrowed from Nepali and is used with both borrowed and native constructions to mark the animate P of transitive (3.44a) and the R of ditransitive (3.44b) sentences. Furthermore, beneficiaries can be marked with a borrowed postposition *lāgi* 'for', being supported with genitive *-ko,* as in (3.44c). But this is extremely rare in the Chintang corpus.

(3.44) a. *sa-ŋa* *bhai-lāi* *ten-e*
who-ERG brother-DAT [3sA]hit-PST
'Who hit the brother?' [Fieldwork_2010]

b. *hani-lāi* *mimi* *na-pid-i-ki* *ni*
2ns-DAT a.brand.of.noodle 3>2-give-p-NPST FOC_2
'He will give you a Mimi.' [Fieldwork_2008]

c. *ba-iʔ* *dhanakuṭā-ko-lāgi=na* *mahaʔ* *naŋ*
DEM.PROX-FLOC Dh.-GEN-DAT=TOP be.not BUT
'But it is not for Dhanakuṭā.' [CLDLCh3R01S03.067]

3.2 Pronouns

3.2.1 Personal pronouns

The pronominal inventory of Chintang is fairly rich. There are three persons, first, second and third person. Including Chintang, most if not all Kiranti languages distinguish inclusive and exclusive in 1st person non-singular forms.[5] These forms distinguish between 'we (speaker

[5] See Ebert (1997a) for Athpare, Driem (1987) for Limbu, Ebert (1997b) for Camling, Michailovsky (1988) for Hayu, Driem (1993) for Dumi, and Borchers (2008) for Sunwar.

and addressee)', and 'we (speaker and other party, excluding the addressee)'. Inclusive forms include the addressee (that is, one of the words for 'we' means 'you' and 'I'), while exclusive 'we' exclude the addressee (that is another word for 'we' means 'S/he and 'I', but not 'you'). The language also shows a three-way number distinction viz. singular, dual and plural in first and second person pronouns. Pronominals make no sex distinctions in Chintang. Some speakers use Chintang dual forms with Nepali expressions as well, e.g. *hunce hijo ga-e?*, 3ns yesterday go-PST.p, 'Did they go yesterday?'

Table 3.3 shows the pronominal system in Chintang including the corresponding possessive prefixes, which attach to the possessed noun.

	s	di	de	pe	pi
1st Person	*akka*	*anci*	*ancaŋa*	*anaŋa*	*ani*
	a-	*anci-*	*anca-*	*ana-*	*ani-*
2nd Person	*hana*	*hanci*			*hani*
	i-	*hanci-*			*hani-*
3rd Person	*huŋ=go*	*hunce*			*hunce*
	u-	*hunci-*			*huni-*

Table 3.3: Personal pronouns and possessive prefixes in Chintang

Syntactically, pronouns do not occur with demonstratives and adjectives as nouns do. They, however, function as arguments, and complements of verbs, just like nouns. However, unlike in English, where personal pronouns are used obligatorily, in Chintang pronouns are always optional, and need not be overtly expressed (see Stoll et al. 2012).

3.2.1.1 First person pronouns

There are five first person pronouns in Chintang — first person singular *akka*, first person dual exclusive *ancaŋa*, first person dual inclusive *anci*, first person plural inclusive *ani* and first person plural exclusive *anaŋa*. Dual is marked by *-ci* and plural is marked by *-i*. Chintang distinguishes inclusive and exclusive in first person dual and plural pronouns. Some examples of first person pronouns and their use is given in (3.45a-e).

(3.45) a. *akka* *kok* *ca-ŋa-ʔã*
1s rice eat-1s-NPST
'I eat rice.' [Fieldwork_2008]

b. *anci* *kok* *ca-ce-ke*
1d rice eat-d-NPST
'We (you + me) eat rice.' [Fieldwork_2008]

c. *ancaŋa* *kok* *ca-ce-ke-ŋa*
1de rice eat-d-NPST-e
'We two (she + me) eat rice.' [Fieldwork_2008]

d. *anaŋa* *kok* *ca-i-k-i-ŋa*
1pe rice eat-p-NPST-p-e
'We (they + me) eat rice.' [Fieldwork_2008]

e. *ani* *kok* *ca-i-k-i*
1pi rice eat-p-NPST-p
'We (you all + me) eat rice.' [Fieldwork_2008]

One further complication with i(nclusive)/e(xclusive) is that i-forms are also used when it is completely clear that somebody is excluded but there is no need to emphasis it typically because everybody knows it anyway. For instance, consider the example, *ani-riŋ* 'Our language'. We never heard **ana-riŋ,* though it is clearly their language. *kanci, kancaŋa, kanaŋa* and *kani* are alternative forms for the first person dual inclusive, first person dual exclusive, first person plural exclusive and first person plural inclusive forms, respectively, and are mostly found in the Mulgāũ dialect of Chintang.

3.2.1.2 Second person pronouns

There are three-second person pronouns, singular, dual, and plural. All the second person pronouns are exemplified with the following examples:

(3.46) a. *hana* *bajar* *a-khaʔ-no*
2s market 2sS-go-NPST
'You go to the market.' [Fieldwork_2008]

b. *hanci* *bajar* *a-khac-ce-ke*
2d market 2nsS-go-d-NPST
'You (d) go to the market.' [Fieldwork_2008]

c. *hani* *bajar* *a-khad-i-k-i*
2p market 2nsS-go-p-NPST-p
'You (p) go to the market.' [Fieldwork_2008]

3.2.1.3 Third person pronouns

Unlike the first and second person pronouns, the third person pronoun does not distinguish between dual and plural in Chintang. The form of the verb resolves the ambiguity. The followings are some examples of third person pronouns:

(3.47) a. *huĩ-sa-ŋa* *pheŋs-o-ko*
DEM-OBL-ERG [3sA]plough-3P-NPST
'He ploughs (the field).' [Fieldwork_2008]

b. *hun-ce-ŋa* *u-pheŋs-ce-ke*
DEM-ns-ERG 3nsA-plough-d-NPST
'They (two) plough.' [Fieldwork_2008]

c. *hun-ce-ŋa* *u-pheŋs-o-ko*
DEM-ns-ERG 3nsA-plough-3P-NPST
'They plough.' [Fieldwork_2008]

The third person pronoun in Chintang also works as a demonstrative pronoun. As it has only one number distinction (non-singular vs. singular), it might be the case that it is derived from the demonstrative pronoun. Moreover, there is no human/non-human distinctions. Furthermore, formally, the third person pronoun *huŋ* behaves like any other deictic including the absence of dual/plural distinction and the addition of the oblique *-sa* before the ergative case *-ŋa,* for example, *huĩ-sa-ŋa* [3s-OBL-ERG].

3.2.2 Interrogative pronouns

Chintang has eight interrogative pronouns. Table 3.4 lists all of them with the corresponding meanings. The most interesting ones are illustrated with relevant examples in this section.

pronoun	gloss
sa-lo	who/whom'
sa-k-ko/sa-iʔ-ko	'whose'
asuk	'how much/ how many'
them	'what'
aŋ	'what'
theke	'why'
hokko	'which'
hokkoi/hokke	'where'

Table 3.4: Interrogative pronouns

salo 'who/whom'

This is the only form which takes the marked nominative in Chintang. This is the function of *-lo*. All nominal suffixes, i.e. non-singular marker *-ce* and case markers can be attached to the stem *sa-*, as shown in examples (3.48) and (3.49).

(3.48) a. *sa-lo=kha=lo* *ni*
who-NOM=NMLZ$_2$=SURP FOC$_2$
'Who is she?' [CLDLCh2R02S02.682]

b. *kina* *sa-niŋ* *a-thap-ce-ke*
SEQ who-COM 2sS-come.level-d-NPST
'... and whom do you come with? [CLDLCh3R05S04.039]

(3.49) *sa-sa-lo* *u-khad-e*
who-REDUP-NOM 3nsS-go-PST
'Who went away?' [CLDLCh2R02S02.082]

In example (3.49), the second *-sa* is homophonous with the oblique marker *-sa*, but it is not identical, because the nominative marker *-lo* does not allow the oblique form (cf. 3.48a). It is possible to reduplicate all interrogative pronouns in order to express that you are asking for each relevant item, but *sa-sa* 'who-REDUP' and *them-them* 'what-REDUP' are most usual.

sakko/saiʔko 'whose'

The interrogative pronoun *sakko/saiʔko* is formed by combining the focus locative *-iʔ* with the genitive *-ko*. This is illustrated by the following examples.

(3.50) a. *sa-iʔ-ko* *thitta* *a-kekt-o-ko*
who-FLOC-GEN one 2sA-hold-3P-NPST
'Whose one do you carry?' [CLLDCh2R14S03.0346]

b. *to* *sa-iʔ-ko* *u-bakhra*
DEM.UP who-FLOC-GEN 3sPOSS-goat
'Whose goat is up there?' [CLLDCh3R01S03.078]

c. *hun-ce* *sa-iʔ-ko-ce=kha* *naŋ*
DEM-ns who-FLOC-GEN-ns=NMLZ$_2$ BUT
'Whose (slippers) are these?' [CLLDCh3R08S05.0132a]

asuk 'how much'

The pronoun *asuk* is similar to English 'how much' and 'how many'. It is used with all countable, uncountable and abstract nouns in Chintang.

(3.51) a. *abo* *asuk* *phatt-e*
now how.much [3sS]reach-PST
'How old is she now?' [CLDLCh2R02S02.012]

b. *asuk* *baj-e* *lis-a-d-e*
how.much strike-V.NTVZ be-PST-COMPL$_1$-PST
'What is the time now?' [CLDLCh3R01S02.030]

Like Nepali *kati* कति, *asuk* can also mean 'what number?' or 'what grade?', as in (3.52)

(3.52) a. *phon* *number* *asuk=kha*
phone number what=NMLZ$_2$
'What is your phone number?' [Fieldwork_2008]

b. *hana* *asuk-be* *a-ne-no*
2s how.many-LOC 2sS-read-NPST
'What class do you read in?' [Fieldwork_2010]

them 'What'

It is similar to English 'what', but it has got more functions in Chintang. Like *salo,* it can also take all the nominal suffixes and possessive prefixes (3.53b). It is also found with the purposive marker (3.53c). But unlike *salo*, it is used with inanimate forms.

(3.53) a. *kina them* *a-ci-e*
SEQ what 2sA-eat-PST
'And what did you eat?' [Fieldwork_2008]

b. *u-them*
3sPOSS-what
'his what?' [Fieldwork_2008]

c. *them-si* *saŋbhoŋteĩ* *khad-a-ŋs-e*
what-PURP Sambugāũ.village [3sS]go-PST-PERF-PST
'Why has he gone to Sambugaũ?' [CLDLCh2R02S02.503]

The pronoun *them* also works as a focus or an emphasis marker in discourse. On the basis of our corpus, we can say that it is very frequent in the Sambugāũ dialect.

(3.54) *ba=go* *janak* *them*
DEM.PROX=NMLZ$_1$ J. what
'This is Janak.' [Fieldwork_2008]

aŋ 'what'

Aŋ is similar to *them* 'what' in use, but unlike *them*, it cannot take case suffixes. It occurs both before and after predicates.

(3.55) a. *aŋ* *li-no=kha*
Q be-NPST=NMLZ$_2$
'What happens to her?' [CLDLCh2R02S02.092]

b. *aŋ* *cek-no* *kanchi*
Q speak-NPST youngest.one.F
'What does kanchi say?' [CLDLCh3R01S02.099]

Generally, *aŋ* occurs at the end of the sentence when a speaker wants to confirm his or her idea to the hearer. The examples in (3.56a-c) illustrate this.

(3.56) a. *paĩ* *cha* *gate* *aŋ*
today six date Q
'Today it's sixth, isn't it?' [CLDLCh2R02S02.013]

b. *hani-bakhra=yaŋ* *si-a-d-e* *aŋ*
2pPOSS-goat=ADD die-PST-COMPL$_1$-PST Q
'Your goat also died, didn't it?' [CLDLCh2R02S02.250]

c. *lug-e* *cuwa* *aŋ* *pheri*
spill-PST water what again
'The water is spilled again, huh!' [CLLDCh1R03S01.0690]

theke 'why'

This pronoun is used to ask for a reason why something has happened. The most preferable position of *theke* in a clause is either the clause initial position or the position just before the verb. We have no example where it appears after the verb.

(3.57) a. *theke* *a-sad-o-ko=na=haŋ*
why 2sA-pull-3P-NPST=FOC=COND$_1$
'Why do you pull it?' [CLDLCh3R05S03.046]

b. *hana* *theke* *mai-a-khat-t-e*
2s why NEG-2sS-go-NEG-PST
'Why didn't you go to school?' [CLLDCh1R13S02.1227]

c. *saŋbhoŋteĩ* *theke* *khad-a-ŋs-e*
Sambugaũ.village why go-PST-PERF-PST
'Why has he gone to Sambugāũ?' [CLDLCh2R02S02.499]

As most of the interrogative pronouns begin with the vowel /a/, historically there probably was a prefix *a-* for question words: *a-* [Q]. cf. *a-nam* 'Q-?', a-nɨŋ 'Q-COM', a-tta 'Q-EXT', and a-suk 'Q-?'.

3.3 Possessive agreement

Possession in Chintang is marked by possessive prefixes. Like in other Tibeto-Burman languages, possessive affixes are distinct from free pronouns in Chintang. These types of special and distinct prefixes exist for both singular and plural possessors of all persons: singular *a-* 'my', *i-* 'your' and *u-* 'his/her', for first, second, and third person respectively, and *ana-* 'we', *anca-* 'we', *hunci-* 'their' *'huni-* 'their' for some selected duals and plural forms (see Table 3.3). The only cases where a full pronoun works as a possessive prefix are *ani*, *anci*, *hani*, and *hanci*. The examples in (3.58) illustrate possessive marking with singular possessors.

(3.58) a. *a-khim* 'my house'
b. *i-khim* 'your house'
c. *u-khim* 'his/her house'

Moreover, the speakers also express possession with double-marked forms where the head is marked with a possessive prefix and the dependent with the genitive case. In examples (3.59), a genitive marker is suffixed to the possessor-pronoun and an agreement suffix is found on the head noun *khim* 'house'.

(3.59) a. *ak-ko* *a-khim*
1s-GEN 1sPOSS-house
'my house' [Fieldwork_2008]

b. *hana-ko* *i-khim*
2s-GEN 2sPOSS-house
'your house' [Fieldwork_2008]

c. *huĩ-sa-kko* *u-khim*
3s-OBL-GEN 3sPOSS-house
'his house' [Fieldwork_2010]

The dual and plural pronouns are simply prefixed to the noun they modify, as in (3.60). Double marked possessive forms for dual and plural are extremely rare. There are only two examples in our corpus where the first person plural pronoun is marked with genitive and the head noun is also marked with the first person plural possessive, as shown in (3.61).

(3.60) a. *anci-phakce* 'our pigs'
b. *ani-rɨŋ* 'our language'
c. *hanci-khimce* 'your (d) houses'
d. *hani-chace* 'your children'

(3.61) *ani-ko* *ani-rɨŋ*
1p-GEN 1pPOSS-language
'our language' [CLLDCh2R07S01. 1928]

Otherwise, both double marked and head marked possessive constructions are found in the Chintang corpus.

3.3.1 Obligatory possessive inflection

In Chintang and in a number of other Kiranti languages, a few nouns require possessive inflection obligatorily. These include some kinship relations (as in *my brother*). For example, the nouns in (3.62a-c) cannot occur in isolation and always require possessive inflection. These nouns are often called 'bound nouns' or more precisely 'obligatorily possessed nouns' (Bickel & Nichols 2011).

(3.62) a. *a-ppa* 'my father'
b. *i-phuwa* 'your brother'
c. *u-nna* 'his/her sister'

This type of possessive inflection is often described as inalienable possession in the literature. In Chintang only very few nouns require obligatory possession. They include some kinship terms and some human emotions (e.g., anger, fear), as shown in (3.63a-c).

(3.63) a. *kok* *ca-no=ko=ta* *a-reiʔma* *katt-o-ko*
rice eat-NPST=NMLZ$_1$=FOC$_1$ 1sPOSS-laughter bring.up-3P-NPST
'Her way of eating rice makes me laugh.' [CLDLCh2R02S02.182]

b. *thit-ta-nɨŋ* *u-rek* *kaiʔ* *pacche*
one-CLF-COM 3sPOSS-anger come.up SEQ
'When she gets angry with someone,' [CLDLCh2R02S02.540]

c.	*i-kipma*	*kaiʔ-ma*	*pukt-e*	*abo*
	2sPOSS-fear	come.up-INF	start-PST	now

'You started to be afraid now.' [CLDLCh3R01S04.017]

Some adverbials of time also take the third person possessive prefix obligatorily, as shown in the following examples:

(3.64) a. *u-bheni* 'morning'
b. *u-lendu* 'day time'
c. *u-namtha* 'evening'

Not only humans, but also non-human objects can require the obligatory third person possessive prefix when it is needed to express a kind of internal relation with the object.

(3.65) a. *u-maŋ* 'raw' (literally "its rawness")
b. *a-/i-/u-tapparaŋ* 'alone'

3.4 Derivation and compounding

Derivational morphology is not very productive in Chintang. There are very few derivational processes by which nouns can be converted to other word classes. Like in other Kiranti languages, most derivational processes simply create another noun. Two nouns are juxtaposed to form a noun compound. There is no significant change in the phonology and morphology in compounding. Noun compounding is one of the most productive phenomena of word formation in Chintang.

In our data, the number of compounds is high, whereas there is no regular, productive derivational process. All the examples illustrated in this section (3.66 to 3.80) were collected during my fieldwork in 2008 and 2010.

3.4.1 Modifier-head compounding

This is the most common type of compounding found in a number of Kiranti languages including Chintang. In this type, the right hand member is the most important part which usually determines the properties of the compound as a whole. The following examples illustrate modifier-head compounding:

(3.66) a. *phak-sa*
pig-meat
'pork'

b. *phak-cam*
pig-food'
'pig's food'

c. *mi-caŋkorok*
fire-coal
'coal'

d. *cuwa-kham*
water-mud/earth
'water spring'

Some nominal elements are more productive and regular in the formation of compounds than others. For example, *wa* 'chicken' or 'bird':

(3.67) a. *wa-thĩ*
chicken-egg
'egg'

b. *wa-sa*
chicken-meat
'chicken meat'

c. *wa-lap*
chicken-feather
'chicken feather'

3.4.2 Fossilized compounds

There are some compounds which probably historically consisted of two independent nouns, but where one constituent cannot appear on its own any longer, so that the structure has now become opaque:

(3.68) a. *wa-simba*
chicken-flea
'chicken flea'

b. *taŋ-phuwa*
head-hair
'hair'

c. *taŋ-khorok*
head-?
'skull'

In the above examples, the second part cannot stand alone.

3.4.3 Tri-nominal compounds

Tri-nominal compounding is quite common in ritual texts. There are very few examples of this type in everyday speech, as shown in (3.69)

(3.69) a. *na-khɨ-wa*
nose-dust-water
'nasal discharge'

b. *mɨk-khɨ-wa*
eye-dust-water
'dust of the eye'

Examples like the ones in (3.70a-c) are only found in the ritual variety of the Chintang language.

(3.70) a. *ci-khim-ma*
deity-house-F
'house deity'

b. *kham-bop-mi* (<*bopma, bopt-* 'to cover)
earth-cover-F
'covering the earth'

c. *maŋ-bop-mi*
god-cover-F
'protective god or the god which protects us from everything.'

There is also a number of binomial compounds that are found only in the ritual variety of the language. Binomials typically consist of two or three syllabic limbs where the last syllable of each limb is identical (for detail, see Gaenszle et al. 2005). For example, *tuplachoŋ berichoŋ* 'tip of the banana leaf'.

3.4.4 Metaphorical compounds

Apart from these true compounds, there are some metaphorical compounds in Chintang, where we cannot predict the meaning of the whole from its constituent elements. Thus in (3.71) something that looks like a duck's leg, is 'fern'.

(3.71) *bheʔwa-laŋ*
duck-leg
'fern, a kind of green vegetable'

This type of compounding is non-productive in Chintang, and is treated as a single lexical item in this work.

3.4.5 Nouns derived from verbs

Nominalization from other word classes is a common process in Chintang, especially the nominalization of verbs. There are two basic nominalizers, an agent nominalizer and a locative nominalizer.

Agent nominalizations are marked by the prefix *ka-* and the suffix *-pa*, where *ka-* is an active participle and *-pa* is a nominalizer found commonly throughout Kiranti languages. Moreover, the *-pa* can be replaced by *-ma* in order to emphasize that the referent is female.

(3.72)	a.	*ka-cek-pa*	'a speaker'	< *cekt-* 'to speak'
	b.	*ka-khui-pa*	'a thief'	< *khutt-* 'to steal'

In addition to that, the infinitive form of a verb without an object may function as a noun, as in (3.73):

(3.73) a. *ca-ma-ce*
eat-INF-ns 'foodstuffs'

b. *ca-ma thoka-ce*
eat-INF thing-ns 'foodstuffs'

c. *thuŋ-ma*
drink-INF 'drinks'

3.4.6 Nouns with *-si, -wa -mi, -bi/-bu*

There are some morphemes which frequently appear with nouns and categorize the nouns in terms of some semantic groups. Some of the most frequent include the following:

-si

The nouns in this group are characterized by the suffix *-si*. Many of the nouns in this class signify fruits, herbs, and useful trees. Now these nouns cannot appear in isolation without *-si*. Examples are given in (3.74a-d):

(3.74) a. *phana-si* 'jackfruit'
b. *lukku-si* 'a kind of fruit'
c. *billim-si* 'a kind of herb used as a spice[6]'
d. *bhusup-si* 'fodder tree used as a grass for animals'

-wa

Nouns in this group are identified by the suffix *-wa*, and they mostly include flying animals like birds and flying objects.[7] The following are some examples:

---

[6] Nepali सिल्टिमुर

[7] '*wa*' also means water in a number of Kiranti languages including Chintang. But the synchronic meaning of *wa* is not 'water', but 'juice' or 'broth'. It is quite productive in Bantwa as well.

(3.75) a. *koʔwa (~ kok uwa)*
rice.water (~ rice 3sPoss-water)
'specified amount of water for rice'

b. *baʔwa*
'broth'

(3.76)	a.	*bakheĩ-wa*	'wild hen'
	b.	*bheʔ-wa*	'duck'
	c.	*bhe-wa*	'flying insect'
	d.	*gaʔ-wa*	'crow'

-bi/-bu

Nouns in this group are usually marked by the suffix *-bi/bu*, and they commonly denote big trees, as shown in (3.77a-e).

(3.77)	a.	*aŋ-bu*	'pine tree'
	b.	*chekrum-bi*	'a kind of tree' (Nep. खरिको रुख)
	c.	*cipci-bu*	'a kind of tree: Alnus.nepalensis'
	d.	*coŋru-bu*	'a kind of tree' (Nep. फलेदो)
	e.	*paptu-bu*	'a kind of tree' (Nep. बरको रुख)

-ule

Furthermore, the nominal suffix *-ule* derives nouns from nouns or verbs. The referent of the resulting noun is S/A argument of the underlying verb or the process associated with the underlying noun. The connotation is usually negative.

(3.78)	a.	*nap*	'snot'	> *napule*	'snotty nose'
	b.	*hap*	'cry'	> *habule/hapule*	'crying baby'
	c.	*chep*	'pee'	> *chepule*	'child who cannot hold his/her urine'

Moreover, there are quite a few lexical compounds whose components cannot be morphologically analyzed at this time. These nouns mostly end with *-wa*, *-luŋ*, *-haŋ*, and *-mi*. Some examples are given below:

(3.79)	a.	*cu-wa*	'water'
	b.	*le-wa*	'mud'
	c.	*daha-luŋ*	'pond'
	d.	*wadhaŋ-mi*	'dance and worshipping festival of Chintang Rai people'

3.5 Classifiers

Chintang classifiers are always bound morphemes which are suffixed to numerals. When a classifier is suffixed to a root, the result is always a single grammatical word. According to Gil (WALS online), numeral classifiers of this kind are attested worldwide. However, East and Southeast Asia is known as the prime zone for the numeral classifiers. Besides this, numeral classifiers are also very common in south asian languages. They are attested in a number of Kiranti languages, such as Athpare (Ebert 1997a), Belhare (Bickel 2003a), and Camling (Ebert 1997b).

There are only two numeral classifiers in Chintang which are used in constructions with single cardinal numerals from one to three. The use of numeral classifier is based on the opposition human vs. non-human. When the speakers of Chintang borrow higher numbers from Nepali (e.g. four, five and so on), they tend to choose Nepali classifiers. There are no other types of classifiers, such as noun classifiers or verbal classifiers, in Chintang.

3.5.1 Human classifier *-paŋ, -baŋ, -bhaŋ*

The human classifier *-paŋ,* (allomorphs *-baŋ,* and *-bhaŋ*) is only used with counted humans. Unlike in Nepali and other neighbouring languages, there is number agreement in Chintang (3.80a-d). This is not found in other languages (Balthasar Bickel p.c.).

(3.80) a. *thɨk-paŋ* *mechacha*
one-HUM.CLF girl
'a girl' [Fieldwork_2008]

b. *hicci-paŋ* *u-chau-ce*
two-HUM.CLF 3sPOSS-child-ns
'his two children' [CLDLCh3R01S03.202]

c. *sa-ce* *hicci-baŋ*
who-ns two-HUM.CLF
'Who are (these) two (persons)?' [CLLDCh1R01S01.067]

d. *sum-paŋ* *ma-ce*
three-HUM.CLF girl-ns
'three girls' [khim_ring.061]

Chintang classifiers can be used without a head noun. The numeral classifier is basically used for human arguments without a head noun (3.81a), and it can host the ergative case (3.81b). Similarly, it can also host particles (3.81c). The human classifier is repeated when there is reduplication or repetition of a numeral in the same clause, as in (3.81d).

(3.81) a.

sum-baŋ=ta	*u-ta-no*
three-HUM.CLF =FOC$_1$	3nsS-come-NPST

'Will the three of them come?' [Fieldwork_2008]

b.

thɨk-paŋ-ŋa	*tad-u-m=go*	*ghãsa-ŋa=na*	*them*
one-HUM.CLF-ERG	bring-3P-1sA=NMLZ$_1$	grass-INSTR=TOP	what

'the grass which is brought by one person (me)' [CLDLCh3R01S03.611]

c.

hanci	*hicci-baŋ=ta*	*a-tad-a-ci-a-c-e*
2d	two-HUM.CLF=FOC$_1$	2nsA-bring-PST-COMPL$_3$-PST-d-PST

'Did you (two) bring (the grass)?' [CLLDCh1R03S01.0382]

d.

hicci-baŋ	*hicci-baŋ*	*seubi*	*u-tec-ce-ke*	*elo*
two-HUM.CLF	two-HUM.CLF	seed	3nsA-sow-d-NPST	or

'Two persons sow the seed, don't they?' [CLLDCh4R11S07.320]

The classifier *-paŋ, -baŋ and -bhaŋ* is strictly restricted to humans; it becomes ungrammatical when it is used with non-human referents. Consider the following example:

(3.82)

**hicci-baŋ*	*menuma-ce*
two-HUM.CLF	cat-ns

'two cats' [Fieldwork_2008]

As there are no native numerals higher than three in Chintang, the numbers higher than three are borrowed from Nepali when necessary. Borrowed Nepali numerals take classifiers from Nepali. This is illustrated in (3.83a,b).

(3.83) a. *sum-bhaŋ* *car-jana*[8] *yo-ba* *u-yak-no*
three-HUM.CLF four-CLF DEM.ACROSS-LOC 3nsS-spend.night-NPST
'Three or four people will sleep there.' [CLLDCh2R04S04.0015]

b. *kanaŋa* *car-jana* *huĩ* *hicci-baŋ*
1pe four-CLF DEM two-HUM.CLF
'we four and two of them' [tangkera_04.400]

As the so-called human classifier *-paŋ/-baŋ/-bhaŋ* occurs with some nouns without being modified by a numeral, it probably has an etymology 'person, man' in old Chintang. This may be the reason that it is still found in few nouns like *wanca-baŋ* 'young man', *pani-waŋ* 'Nepali, bahun/chettri'[9], *teĩ-paŋ* 'village people or villagers', etc.

3.5.2 Default classifier *-ta*

The classifier *-ta* can be analyzed as a default or generic numeral classifier which mainly appears with counted animals and things from one to three in Chintang.

(3.84) a. *thit-ta* *khim*
one-CLF house
'one house' [Fieldwork_2008]

b. *hicce-ta* *yuŋs-u-c-a*
two-CLF keep-3P-d-IMP
'Please, keep both!' [ctn_spa_11.409]

On the basis of the Chintang corpus, the classifier *-ta* mostly appears with non-human nouns, however, it is not fully restricted to this class. There are some examples in our corpus, where *-ta* appears with human nouns when they denote generic nouns, as shown in (3.85a,b).

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[8] *-jana* (Nep. jʌnā -जना) is a Nepali classifier which occurs to classify [+human] count nouns. When the speakers of Chintang borrow higher numbers from Nepali (e.g. four, five and so on), they choose Nepali classifiers.

[9] Bahun (also Brahman) (Nepali बाहुन) and chettri (also Kshetri) (Nepali छेत्री/क्षेत्री) are the speakers of Nepali, the national language, and are part of the dominant Khas culture.

(3.85) a. *thit-ta* *cha*
one-CLF child
'a child' [Fieldwork_2008]

b. *thit-ta* *maʔmi* *wa-ce-nɨŋ*
one-CLF person chicken-ns-COM
'A person (must stay) with the chickens.' [CLLDCh1R01S04.099]

Chintang numerals are bound morphemes themselves; they never occur without a suffix. *hicce* and *sumce* have these forms when they appear as cardinal numbers, but when a numerical classifier is suffixed, they take the forms *hicci* and *sumci* (**sumce-baŋ*). This is valid for all kinds of numerical classifiers.

basic	with suffix
1 *thita*	
2 *hicce*	*hicci*
3 *sumce*	*sum(ci)*

Table 3.5: Chintang numerals

In our corpus, *hiccibaŋ* is the most frequent suffixed form. The basic forms can also be used as adverbials, e.g. *thɨk-paŋ=ta a-ti-e?* [one-HUM.CLF=FOC$_1$ 2s-come-PST] 'Did you come alone?'

Always obligatory in a context
Human vs non-human distinction
Generic vs specific form
Require number agreement (unusual feature)

Table 3.6: Properties of numeral classifiers in Chintang

3.6 Adjectives

Chintang has only a small set of adjectives. The lack of "real" adjectives is compensated by the use of verbs, mainly intransitive verbs. In terms of Dixon's adjective typology (2004), Kiranti languages are verbal languages. This is partly true in the case of Chintang. There are very few

proper adjectives which are not derived from verbs. Chintang adjectives are different from adjectives found in other languages, for example, Nepali. This is because Chintang adjectives are bound morphemes which are needed to be nominalized, using either *=go* or *=kha,* before they are used as adnominal modifiers. The difference between the *=go* and the *=kha* nominalizers is that *=kha* is used to modify a referent which is not specified while the *=go* is used with the specific referents. Both of them can modify either an overt referent (NP) or a zero form.

(3.86) a. *mi=kha* vs *mi=go*
small=NMLZ$_2$ small=NMLZ$_1$
'something small' 'a certain/the small one'
[Fieldwork 2010]

b. *mi=kha* *khim* vs. *mi=go* *khim*
small=NMLZ$_2$ house small=NMLZ$_1$ house
'small house' 'a certain/the small house'
[Fieldwork 2010]

c. *the=go* *doku-be* *boms-a*
big=NMLZ$_1$ bamboo.basket-LOC over.turned-IMP
'Please overturn (it) in the big basket.' [CLLDCh1R02S04.0753]

In Chintang, adjectives precede the noun they belong to and can be modified by the preceding adverbs.

3.6.1 Descriptive adjectives

There are extremely few descriptive adjectives in Chintang. In this list (3.87), only *mi-* 'small' and *the-* 'big' are the genuine Chintang adjectives.

(3.87) a. *mi=kha* 'something small'
b. *the=kha* 'something big'

c. *temma*[10] 'good', 'nice'

Chintang has four native lexemes to express color. The term *halachop* is used to denote red, which may be derived from *hali*, 'blood'. But the origin of all other forms is still unclear. The color words generally combine with the sex markers *-pa* and *-ma* to distinguish the biological gender of the referents. Plurality is shown with the same suffix *-ce.* According to our data, these color adjectives appear with both human and non-human nouns.

(3.88) a. *makacɨk* 'black'
b. *bɨthɨrɨ* 'white'
c. *halachop* 'red'

All native colour terms have the same morphology in Chintang. They have basic forms with *-ma* and *-pa* and a form where the last syllable is usually reduplicated, e.g. *makacɨkcɨk*, *bɨthɨrɨrɨ*, *halachopchop* and *hardibuŋbuŋ* to intensify the meaning. These forms also appear as adverbials.

3.6.2 Quantity adjectives

Adjectives showing the quantity of nouns or pronouns are called adjectives of quantity. There are very few quantity adjectives in Chintang.

(3.89) a. *baddhe* 'many', 'much'
b. *miʔmuŋ* 'a little', 'few'
c. *asuk* 'how much'

3.6.3 Borrowed adjectives

Chintang also borrows a number of adjectives from the eastern dialect of Nepali. The list in (3.91a-e) includes some of the most frequent ones in the Chintang corpus.

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[10] <*temma*> is also used as an adverb, as exemplified in the following example:

(3.90) *aha* *asuk* *temma* *nam-no* *hou*
EXCLA.interj how.much well [3sS]smell-NPST AFF
'How nicely it smells! [CLDLCh2R02S02.659]

(3.91) a. *apamme* 'big'
b. *bhukule* 'round'
c. *chusi* 'naughty'
d. *kokdhe* 'curved, bent'
e. *chonthe* 'fancy'
f. *hardi*[11] *buŋbuŋ* 'yellow'

3.7 Diminutive

Like other Kiranti languages, Chintang also employs diminutive suffixes in nouns. But unlike the diminutives in Kulung (Tolsma 2006) and Dumi (Driem 1993), in Chintang the diminutive -*cilek* is only weakly productive. According to Tolsma, the diminutive suffix -*cha* of Kulung is used with adjectives, nouns and with some adverbs as well. In Chintang, however, it is restricted to few nouns denoting animals.

(3.92) a. *wa-cilek* 'chicken' [Fieldwork_2008]
chicken-DIM

b. *phak-cilek* 'piglet' [Fieldwork_2010]
pig-DIM

In the examples above, *wacilek* and *phakcilek* denote both one or many chickens and pigs. But if speakers want to focus on the number; they do use -*ce*, the non-singular marker. This is illustrated in (3.93).

(3.93) *yo* *wa-cilek-ce* *rikt-i-c-a*
DEM.ACROSS chicken-DIM-ns chase-3P-ns-IMP
'Chase those chickens.' [CLLDCh1R02S04.1098]

Besides nouns denoting animals, the diminutive particle is also found with sprouts of small plants which are usually eaten as a vegetable in the village.

[11] *hardi* (Nepali: हर्दी) also called *haldi* (हल्दी) is a kind of yellow-turmeric which is commonly used as a spice in Nepal.

(3.94) *sa-cilek-ko* *u-coŋ*
nettle-DIM-GEN 3sPOSS-sprout
'the sprout of a small nettle' [choku_yakkheng.09]

Like in many other Kiranti languages, a small number of Chintang nouns also take *-cha* as a diminutive suffix, where it functions as a compound and cannot indicate its original meaning 'child'.

(3.95) a. *doku-cha*
basket-DIM
'small basket' [CLLDCh1R02S04.0962]

b. *sɨŋtaŋ-cha*
tree-DIM
'small tree' [Fieldwork_2010]

Morphologically, the diminutive particle is always a bound morpheme and it occurs as a suffix in the majority of the Kiranti languages including Chintang. However, in the Western Kiranti languages, such as Kõits (Sunwar) and Bayung, it occurs as a prefix. This is illustrated with an example from Kõits in (3.96).

(3.96) *cə-po*
DIM-phak [Lal B. Rapacha p.c.]
'a piglet'

The diminutive particle *-cilek* is probably etymologically related to the noun *cileʔwa* 'small' (Schikowski 2011).

3.8 Summary

Chintang is a morphologically quite rich language. In this chapter, I dealt with the nominal morphology in Chintang. In the beginning, I described the noun morphology in which I have described about nominal categories, such as number and case. There is no gender in the Kiranti languages, which holds for Chintang too. However, Chintang marks natural gender in kinship terms and in some animal names. Moreover, like other Kiranti languages, Chintang also employs the morphemes *-pa/-ma*, which indicate male and female beings respectively.

Number is a grammatical category in Chintang. The Chintang language distinguishes three categories of number, viz. singular, dual and plural. However, the distinction between dual and plural is observed in personal pronouns and verb forms only. Nouns and third person pronouns do not distinguish between dual and plural. Chintang behaves ergatively with respect to case marking. It has split case marking based on person. Ergative case on A is obligatory for only 3rd person noun phrases of any kind. It is optional for first person and second person plural inclusive pronouns, and extremely rare on first person singular, dual inclusive and second person singular and dual pronouns. A nominal form can be inflected for a number of other cases in Chintang.

Personal pronouns are usually marked for number and person. Like in other Kiranti languages, there are three persons, first, second and third person in Chintang. Exclusiveness and inclusiveness is distinguished in the 1st person pronouns. The third person pronoun also works as a demonstrative pronoun.

Chintang marks possession by possessive prefixes. All singular and some plural possessors employ distinct prefixes. But some dual and plural forms use the full pronoun to show possession. Like in a number of other Kiranti languages, some nouns, for example, kin relations and body parts, are obligatorily possessed.

Derivational morphology is not very productive. There are mainly two derivational processes: compounding and nominalization. Noun compounding is one of the most productive phenomena of word formation in Chintang. However, there are no morphological and phonological changes in the forms. Most of the time two nouns are simply juxtaposed to create another noun. Nominalization from other word classes is a common process, mainly the nominalization of verbs.

Chintang has only two native numeral classifiers. They are bound morphemes which are suffixed to numerals. Similarly, there are very few true adjectives in Chintang. However, intransitive verbs fulfill the role of adjectives in most of the cases. Chintang employs diminutive suffixes in nouns, but it is not very productive.

Chapter 4
Verbal Morphology

4.0 Introduction

Like in many other Kiranti languages of Eastern Nepal, the verbal morphology is considerably more complex than the nominal morphology in Chintang. In comparison with most European languages, Chintang displays an enriched morphological system which is remarkably complex. The Chintang verb inflects for tense, aspect, polarity, and mood, and agrees in various alignment patterns with the single argument of intransitive verbs S and with both the A and P arguments of transitive verbs. This chapter deals with the morphological aspects of verbs, with particular attention on verb stems, verbal and reflexive paradigms, verbal affixes and negation marking on verbs. It also deals with Tense, Aspect, Mood, and Non-finite verb forms in §4.6 and §4.8 respectively.

4.1 Verb stems

The majority of Chintang verbs has a monosyllabic root, although some polysyllabic roots are also attested. The typical syllable structure of the roots is CV(C) when they appear without the possible augments *-t,* and *-s.* In these two augments, *-t* is described as a Proto-Tibebto-Burman *-*t,* which is usually reconstructed as a "directive" or applicative marker, and *-s* is described as a reflex of the Proto-Tibeto-Burman causative augment *-s (Wolfenden 1929, Michailovsky 1985, Driem 1993, Bickel et al. 2010). There is a large number of verb-stems with augments in Chintang, for example, *lut-t* 'press down', *lu-t* 'tell someone', *lu-s* 'tell' (antipassive). The verb stem (Σ) in Chintang has a recursive structure: [$_{\Sigma'}$ [$_{\Sigma}$ ROOT -

AUGMENT]+] (Bickel et al. ibid). There are also few polysyllabic bipartite verbs which contain a preverbal element and a verb. With those verbs only the rightmost syllable behaves like a regular stem consisting of a root and an augment. For example, in the bipartite verb *khasɨŋs-* 'ask', only the second part of the verb *sɨŋ-s,* is the regular verb stem; the preverbal part *kha-* behaves like a morphologically separate item, in spite of the lexical unity of the two parts. Moreover, there can be more than one inner stem due to the result of verbal compounding of two lexical stems (see chapter 5). Here the second verb stem, which is referred to as v2, can also have a regular root + augment structure.

The full form of a verb stem can be realized only before vowels. No verb stem (Σ) can occur on its own except the third person singular intransitive nonpast subjunctive form. All other forms must be inflected including prefixes and suffixes before they can be used for a particular purpose. The first stem Σ is commonly inflected by one suffix, and the v2 with the full range of inflectional affixes.

On the basis of stem finals, seventeen types of verb stems can be distinguished in Chintang. In this section, I describe them in terms of their makeup and their respective morphological behavior.

a) Verbs with stem final *-t, -d, -s*

A large number of Chintang verb stems end with *-t, -d* and *-s*. The stem final consonant is deleted before a consonantal suffix. However, with *-t* ending stems the final *-t* changes into the glottal stop and the stem-vowel changes into a diphthong. The examples of *-t, -d* and *-s* ending stems are given in (4.1) to (4.3) respectively.

(4.1)	*khat-*	*khaiʔ-ma*	'go'
	that-	*thaiʔ-ma*	'be seen'
	khet-	*kheiʔ-ma*	'buy'
(4.2)	*aŋd-*	*aŋ-ma*	'endure, put up with, tolerate'
	numd-	*num-ma*	'work, make'
	nud-	*nu-ma*	'be well, be good'
(4.3)	*kos-*	*ko-ma*	'walk around'
	pes-	*pe-ma*	'vomit'

phis-	*phi-ma*	'fart'

b) Verbs with stem final *-tt*

There are 31 verbs which end with a stem final *-tt*. There is no restriction in terms of stem vowel selection; the *-tt* stem verbs can appear with all six different vowels in Chintang. But *-tt* stem verbs favor mid and low-vowel nuclei and disprefer /ɨ/; there are only five examples of *-tt* stem with /ɨ/ in our corpus. Like in (4.1), the stem final consonant is deleted before a consonantal suffix and the stem-vowels (*o, a, e, u,* and *ɨ)* change into a diphthong.

(4.4)	*lott-*	*loiʔ-ma*	'tell'
	patt-	*paiʔ-ma*	'call'
	rett-	*reiʔ-ma*	'laugh'
	mutt-	*muiʔ-ma*	'blow'
	pɨtt-	*pɨiʔ-ma*	'rub'
	kitt-	*kiʔ-ma*	'frighten'

c) Verbs with stem final *-k*

There are few verbs with stem final *-k.* Like other stem final verbs, *-k* stem verbs also appear with all types of vowels. But unlike *-tt* stem verbs, *-k* stem verbs favor /ɨ/ as its nucleus.

(4.5)	*thok-*	*thok-ma*	'dig'
	thak-	*thak-ma*	'weave a loop'
	chuk-	*chuk-ma*	'cough'
	phek-	*phek-ma*	'sweep'
	chɨk-	*chɨk-ma*	'pluck'
	chik-	*chik-ma*	'hate'

d) Verbs with stem final *-g*

There are only five verb stems ending in *-g* in Chintang. But they all behave differently from each other. The stem-final *-g* is dropped in highly frequent words, for example, *thug-* 'drink' ends up with *thu-* in *thu-e* 'S/he drank' and *yug-* 'sit, stay' with *yu-* in *yu-e* 'S/he stayed'), however, it is present in less frequent words like *hug-* 'pay', for example, *hug-e* 'S/he paid'.

(4.6)	*thug-*	*thuŋ-ma*	'drink'
	yug-	*yuŋ-ma*	'sit, stay'
	thag-	*thaŋ-ma*	'sew'
	yag-	*yaŋ-ma*	'use, make use of'
	hug-	*huŋ-ma*	'pay'

e) Verbs with stem final *-r*

This group consists of very few verbs. Out of 654 verbs in our corpus, there are only seven verbs ending in *-r*. Like *-k* stem verbs, *-r* stem verbs also favor /*ɨ*/; there is no example of the sequence /ir/ in Chintang.

(4.7)	*or-*	*o-ma*	'hit by throwing, throw at'
	par-	*pa-ma*	'grow, increase'
	sɨr-	*sɨ-ma*	'remove (lice etc.)'
	ter-	*te-ma*	'come back' (Shambugāũ dialect)
	khur-	*khu-ma*	'carry'

However, the sequence of /i/ and /r/ is found in borrowed items, for example, *khiccire* 'a dish of rice and lentil'. Like in other cases, the stem final *-r* is deleted before a consonantal suffix.

f) Verbs with stem final *-p*

The stem final *-p* is not deleted when it is followed by consonants. But sometimes it changes to *-m* before some consonants. *-p* stem ending verbs favor back vowels (e.g., /u/ and /o/). There are few verbs with low central vowel (e.g., /a/). But there are no verbs with the sequences /ip/ or /ɨp/.

(4.8)	*hap-*	*hap-ma*	'cry'
	thup-	*thup-ma*	'sew, stitch'
	kop-	*kop-ma*	'pick up'

g) Verbs with stem final *-n, -ŋ* and *-l*

There are not many verbs which end in sonorants. In each sonorant listed above we have less than 10 members out of 654 verbs. In this set, *-l* stem verbs can freely co-occur with all

vowels, although there is only one example with /u/ in our corpus. Except the velar nasal /ŋ/, both sonorants /n/ and /l/ are deleted before consonants, and the stem-vowel changes into a nasalized diphthong, as in (4.9) and (4.10).

(4.9)	*phil-*	*phiĩ-ma*	'milk'
	hol-	*hoĩ-ma*	'mix'
	wal-	*waĩ-ma*	'stir (rice)'
	ghɨl-	*ghɨĩ-ma*	'open eyelid wide'
	mel-	*meĩ-ma*	'make level'
	hul-	*huĩ-ma*	'pull out'
(4.10)	*ten-*	*teĩ-ma*	'beat'
	phan-	*phaĩ-ma*	'walk'
(4.11)	*khaŋ-*	*khaŋ-ma*	'see'
	thuŋ-	*thuŋ-ma*	'drink'

At the same time, like in Camling (Ebert 1997b), the elision of the stem final consonant results in diphthongization and nasalization of the stem vowels.[1] But the stem final *-ŋ* is not deleted when it is followed by consonants.

h) Verbs with stem final *-nd*

There are quite a few verbs with stem final *-nd* in Chintang. Like a number of other stem finals, *-nd* can appear with all types of vowels. The full stem is realized only before vowels; the stem-vowel is changed into a diphthong and gets nasalized.

(4.12)	*dhond-*	*dhoĩ-ma*	'grab'
	hend-	*heĩ-ma*	'be left over, be surplus'
	pind-	*piĩ-ma*	'run away'
	tand-	*taĩ-ma*	'jump'
	rɨnd-	*rɨĩ-ma*	'brush, rub, clean, sharpen'

[1] However, in Camling (Ebert 1997b), the stem final *-l* is not deleted. For example, *bil-* ~ *bilma* 'squeeze, milk'.

dund-	*duĩ-ma*	'be short; make short'

i) Verbs with stem final *-ʔs*, and *-ĩs*

There are only two verbs with stem final *-ʔs* and three verbs with *-ĩs* in the Chintang corpus. In both cases the stem final consonant is deleted when the verb combines with suffixes beginning with a consonant.

(4.13)	*ciʔs-*	*ciʔ-ma*	'be bad, look ugly'
	iʔs-	*iʔ-ma*	'be not good, be broken, be rotten, be damaged'
(4.14)	*puĩs-*	*puĩ-ma*	'produce'
	phaĩs-	*phaĩ-ma*	'send'

j) Verbs with open stems on *-u, -i, -a*

There are extremely few verbs which end on a vowel in Chintang. Out of 654 verbs in our corpus, there are only 15 verbs which have a vowel ending. Though all vowels can appear as nucleus, not all vowels can appear in the stem final position. There are no examples with stem final /e/ or /o/. When added to vowel stems, a suffix directly follows the vowel of the stem.

(4.15)	*ca-*	*ca-ma*	'eat'
	ma-	*ma-ma*	'get lost'
	ta-	*ta-ma*	'come'
(4.16)	*si-*	*si-ma*	'die'
	khi-	*khi-ma*	'quarrel'
(4.17)	*ri-*	*ri-ma*	'turn to the other side'
(4.18)	*tu-*	*tu-ma*	'fight'

Table 4.1 gives a complete overview of the morphological interaction between the final sounds of stems and the initial sounds of suffixes.

	-V	-ŋ	-c	t(h)	-n	-l	-s	-{k, p,m, y,#}	example
-V	-V-V	-V-(ŋ)	-V-c	-V-th	-V-n	V-l	-V-s	-V-k	*tu-* 'fight'
-d	-d-V	-ø-ŋ	-ø-c	-ø-th	-ø-n	-ø-l	-ø-s	-ø-k	*hid-* 'finish'
-g	-(g)-V	-ŋ-ŋ	-ŋ-c	-ŋ-th?	-ŋ-n	-ŋ-l	-ŋ-s	-ŋ-k	*hug-* 'pay'
-p	-b-V	-p-m	-p-c	-p-th	-p-n	-p-l	-p-s	-p-k	*lap-* 'seize'
-t	-d-V	-iʔ-ỹ	-c-c	-t-t	-ʔ-n	-ʔ-l	-s-s	-iʔ-k	*khat-* 'go'
-tt	-tt-V	-iʔ-ỹ	-c-c	-t-th	-ʔ-n	-ʔ-l	-s-s	-iʔ-k	*khatt-* 'bring'
-k	-g-V	-k-ŋ	-k-c	-k-th	-k-n	-k-l	-k-s	-k-k	*lik-* 'enter'
-m	-m-V	-m-m	-m-c	-m-th	-m-n	-m-l	-m-s	-m-k	*kam-* 'tie'
-n	-n-V	-ĩ-ỹ	-n-c	-n-th	-n-n	-n-l	-ĩ-s	-ĩ-k	*phan-* 'move'
-nd	-nd-V	-ĩ-ỹ	-n-c	-n-th	-n-n	-n-l	-ĩ-s	-ĩ-k	*cind-* 'teach'
-ĩs	-ĩs-V	-ĩ-ỹ	-n-c	-n-th	-n-n	-n-l	-ĩ-s	-ĩ-k	*kaĩs-* 'send up'
-ŋ	-(ŋ)-V	-ŋ-ŋ	-ŋ-c	-ŋ-th	-ŋ-n	-ŋ-l	-ŋ-s	-ŋ-k	*toŋ-* 'fit'
-r	-r-V	-ø-ŋ	-ø-c	-ø-th	-ø-n	-ø-l	-ø-s	-ø-k	*khur-* 'carry'
-l	-l-V	-ĩ-ỹ	-n-c	-n-th	-n-n	-n-l	-ĩ-s	-ĩ-k	*hol-* 'mix'
-s	-s-V	-ø-ŋ	-ø-c	-ø-th	-ø-n	-ø-l	-ø-s	-ø-k	*kos-* 'walk around'
-ʔs	-ss-V	-ʔ-ỹ	-ʔ-c	-ʔ-th?	-ʔ-n	-ʔ-l	-s-s	-ʔ-k	*iʔs-* 'destroy'
-C{s,t}	-Cs/t-V	-C-ŋ	-C-c	-C-t	-C-n	-C-l	-C-s	-C-k	*nakt-* 'ask for'

Table: 4.1: Final sounds of verb stems combined with suffix-initial sounds (Schikowski 2011)

4.2 Intransitive paradigm

All Chintang verbs can inflect intransitively due to various alternations, but not all can inflect transitively. The percentage of verbs which obligatorily take the intransitive frame {S-NOM V-s(S)} is considerably lower (only 131 verbs 20%) than ambitransitive verbs. Some examples of the most frequent intransitive verbs are *ta-* 'come', *hap-* 'cry', *khat-* 'go', *si-* 'die' and *ims-* 'sleep'. There are a number of significant differences between intransitive and transitive verbs in Chintang. One major difference is in the number of arguments marked in the verb.

Table 4.2 presents a template of an intransitive verb in Chintang. In this paradigm, the affixes indicate tense and agreement in person and number with S arguments. Table 4.3 presents fully inflected intransitive verb paradigm of the verb *thap-* 'come level'.

S	NPST	PST
1s	*Σ-ŋa-ʔã*	*Σ-e-hẽ*
1di	*Σ-ce-ke*	*Σ-a-ce*
1pi	*Σ-i-ki*	*Σ-he*
1de	*Σ-ce-ke-ŋa*	*Σ-a-ce-hẽ*
1pe	*Σ-ki-ŋa*	*Σ-ŋa-hẽ*
2s	*a-Σ-no(k)*	*a-Σ-e*
2p	*a-Σ-ki*	*a-Σ-he*
2d	*a-Σ-ce*	*a-Σ-a-c-e*
3s	*Σ-no(k)*	*Σ-e*
3d	*u-Σ-ce-ke*	*u-Σ-a-c-e*
3ns	*u-Σ-no(k)*	*u-Σ-e*

Table 4.2: Template of an intransitive verb

S	NPST	PST
1s	*thap-ma-ʔã*	*thab-ehẽ*
1di	*thap-ce-ke*	*thab-ce*
1pi	*thab-i-ki*	*thab-i-hẽ*
1de	*thap-ce-ke-ŋa*	*thab-a-ce-hẽ*
1pe	*thab-i-ki-ŋa*	*thab-i-e-hẽ*
2s	*a-thap-no*	*a-thab-e*
2p	*a-thab-i-ki*	*a-thab-i-he*
2d	*a-thap-ce-ke*	*a-thab-a-c-e*
3s	*thap-no*	*thab-e*
3d	*u-thap-ce-ke*	*u-thab-a-c-e*
3p	*u-thap-no*	*u-thab-e*

Table 4.3: Intransitive inflection: example *thap-* 'come level'

In the above intransitive paradigm, we see that there is no change in the root of the verb, except voicing (p → b) in the intervocalic position in the second paradigm.

4.3 Transitive paradigm

Like in several other Kiranti languages, the augment *-t* (after consonant) ~ *-d* (after vowel), changes an intransitive verb into a transitive verb. But there are also a large number of verbs which are used both transitively and intransitively without any change in the stem. The transitive verbs are marked for two arguments, i.e. A and P.

Tables 4.4 and 4.5 present a template of a transitive verb in nonpast and past respectively.

<table>
<tr><th>A/P</th><th>1s</th><th>1de</th><th>1pe</th><th>1di</th><th>1pi</th><th>2s</th><th>2d</th><th>2p</th><th>3s</th><th>3ns</th></tr>
<tr><td>1s</td><td colspan="5">Σ-ŋa-ʔā-ci-ŋ</td><td>Σ-na-ʔā</td><td>Σ-na-ʔā-ce</td><td>Σ-na-ʔā-ni</td><td>Σ-u-ku-ŋ</td><td>Σ-u-ku-ŋ-ci-ŋ</td></tr>
<tr><td>1de</td><td colspan="8" rowspan="2">Σ-na-ʔa-ncī-ya</td><td>Σ-c-o-ko-ŋa</td><td rowspan="2">Σ-u-ku-m-ci-m-ma</td></tr>
<tr><td>1pe</td><td>Σ-u-ku-m-ma</td></tr>
<tr><td>1di</td><td colspan="8" rowspan="2">Σ-na-ʔa-ncī</td><td>Σ-c-o-ko</td><td rowspan="2">Σ-u-ku-m-ci-m</td></tr>
<tr><td>1pi</td><td>Σ-u-ku-m</td></tr>
<tr><td>2s</td><td>a-Σ-ŋa-ʔā</td><td rowspan="3">a-ma-Σ-ce-ke</td><td rowspan="3">a-ma-Σ-no</td><td colspan="6">a-Σ-na-ʔa-ce</td><td>a-Σ-o-ko</td><td>a-Σ-u-ku-ce</td></tr>
<tr><td>2d</td><td>a-Σ-ŋa-ʔa-ŋ-ci-ŋ</td><td colspan="6" rowspan="2">a-Σ-na-ʔa-ncī</td><td>a-Σ-c-o-ko</td><td rowspan="2">a-Σ-u-ku-m-ci-m</td></tr>
<tr><td>2p</td><td>a-Σ-ŋa-ʔa-ŋ-ni-ŋ</td><td>a-Σ-u-ku-m</td></tr>
<tr><td>3s</td><td>u-Σ-ŋa-ʔā</td><td rowspan="3">ma-Σ-ce-ke</td><td rowspan="3">ma-Σ-no</td><td rowspan="3">mai-Σ-ce-ke</td><td rowspan="3">mai-Σ-no</td><td rowspan="3">na-Σ-no</td><td rowspan="3">na-Σ-ce-ke</td><td rowspan="3">na-Σ-i-ki</td><td>Σ-o-ko</td><td>Σ-u-ku-ce</td></tr>
<tr><td>3d</td><td>u-Σ-ŋa-ʔa-ŋ-ci-ŋ</td><td>u-Σ-c-o-ko</td><td rowspan="2">u-Σ-u-ku-ce</td></tr>
<tr><td>3p</td><td>u-Σ-ŋa-ʔa-ŋ-ni-ŋ</td><td>u-Σ-o-ko</td></tr>
</table>

Table 4.4: Template of a transitive verb in Nonpast

<table>
<tr><th>A/P</th><th>1s</th><th>1de</th><th>1pe</th><th>1di</th><th>1pi</th><th>2s</th><th>2d</th><th>2p</th><th>3s</th><th>3ns</th></tr>
<tr><td>1s</td><td colspan="5">Σ-ŋ-a-ŋ-cĩ-hẽ</td><td>Σ-n-e-hẽ</td><td>Σ-n-a-c-e</td><td>Σ-n-a-ni-hẽ</td><td>Σ-u-hẽ</td><td>Σ-u-ŋ-cĩ-hẽ</td></tr>
<tr><td>1de</td><td colspan="8" rowspan="2">Σ-n-a-ncĩ-e-hẽ</td><td>Σ-a-ce-hẽ</td><td rowspan="2">Σ-u-m-ci-m-m-e</td></tr>
<tr><td>1pe</td><td>Σ-u-m-m-e</td></tr>
<tr><td>1di</td><td colspan="8" rowspan="2">Σ-n-a-ncĩ-hẽ</td><td>Σ-a-c-e</td><td rowspan="2">Σ-u-m-ci-m-he</td></tr>
<tr><td>1pi</td><td>Σ-u-m-he</td></tr>
<tr><td>2s</td><td>a-Σ-e-hẽ</td><td rowspan="3">a-ma-Σ-a-c-e</td><td rowspan="3">a-ma-Σ-e</td><td colspan="6">a-Σ-n-a-c-e</td><td>a-Σ-e</td><td>a-Σ-u-c-e</td></tr>
<tr><td>2d</td><td>a-Σ-a-ŋ-cĩ-hẽ</td><td colspan="6" rowspan="2">a-Σ-n-a-ncĩ-hẽ</td><td>a-Σ-a-c-e</td><td rowspan="2">a-Σ-u-m-ci-m-he</td></tr>
<tr><td>2p</td><td>a-Σ-ŋa-ʔa-ŋ-ni-ŋ</td><td>a-Σ-ŋa-ʔa-ŋ-ni-ŋ</td></tr>
<tr><td>3s</td><td>u-Σ-e-hẽ</td><td rowspan="3">ma-Σ-a-c-e</td><td rowspan="3">ma-Σ-e</td><td rowspan="3">mai-Σ-a-c-e</td><td rowspan="3">mai-Σ-e</td><td rowspan="3">na-Σ-e</td><td rowspan="3">na-Σ-a-c-e</td><td rowspan="3">na-Σ-i-hẽ</td><td>Σ-e</td><td>Σ-u-c-e</td></tr>
<tr><td>3d</td><td>u-Σ-ŋa-ʔa-ŋ-ci-ŋ</td><td>Σ-a-c-e</td><td rowspan="2">u-Σ-u-c-e</td></tr>
<tr><td>3p</td><td>u-Σ-ŋa-ʔa-ŋ-ni-ŋ</td><td>u-Σ-e</td></tr>
</table>

Table 4.5: Template of a transitive verb in Past

4.4 Reflexive

The suffixes *-ncĩ*, *-ce* and *-na* are used to mark the reflexive in Chintang. *-ncĩ* appears mostly with non-finite (4.19a-c) and finite non-singular forms (4.19d), *-ce* with finite singular forms (4.20a,b), and *-na* appears with all reflexive forms except 1s reflexive and non-finite forms (4.20c). These suffixes follow the intransitive inflection in agreeing with the number of the subject of the clause. Reflexive in Chintang is always subject oriented in binding domains, i.e. the antecedent of this reflexive element must always be the grammatical subject.

The following examples show the reflexive marking in verbal cross-referencing.

(4.19) a.

may-e	*mar-e*	*num-ma-ncĩ*	*mahãʔ*
love-V.NTVZ	kill-V.NTVZ	do-1sS-INF-REFL	not

'I should not forget myself.' [Student_life.146]

b.

khaŋ-num-cĩ-si	*a-thab-a-ŋs-e*
look-do-REFL-PURP	2sS-come.level-PST-PERF-PST

'You have come to show yourself.' [CLLDCh1R02S04.0980]

c.

laththi-ŋa	*tom-cĩ-saŋa*	*phan-no*
stick-INSTR	take.support-REFL-CVB	[3sS]walk-NPST

'He is walking away by supporting himself with a stick.' [CLDLCh3R05S02.163]

d.

anci	*cop-na-ncɨ̃-hẽ*
1d	see-REFL-REFL-1.PST

'We saw ourselves.' [Fieldwork_2010]

(4.20) a.

tek-na-ce
hide-REFL-REFL

'He hides himself.' [CLLDCh1R01S01.075]

b.

a-cop-na-ce
2s-see-REFL-REFL

'You saw yourself.' [Fieldwork_2010]

c.

u-num-na-ncɨ̃-hẽ
3ns-do-REFL-REFL-PST

'They did it themselves.' [Fieldwork_2010]

The reflexive markers *-ce* and *-na* resemble some other markers, for example, the non-singular marker *-ce* and epenthetic *-na*, which seem to be diachronically related to them.

4.5 Verbal affixes

As stated earlier, Chintang has a complex verbal morphological system. There is a large number of affixes which code up to seven verbal categories, such as tense, aspect, mood, negation, person, number, and inclusiveness vs. exclusiveness of the participants. The greater number of Chintang affixes are analyzed as portmanteau morphemes which blend two or more semantic meanings into one morpheme. For example, the prefix *mai-* indicates first person, nonsingular and inclusive object argument. The majority of affixes are suffixes which occupy various suffixal slots (there are 14 suffixal slots as noted by Bickel et al. 2005). But as there is free prefix ordering in Chintang, there are no slots in the prefix chain. Prefixes can occur in any possible logical order. As this is already discussed in detail in our paper on free prefix ordering in Chintang (Bickel et al. 2007), I do not repeat it here.

Person and number is marked by both prefixes and suffixes. A finite verb stem in Chintang can take up to three prefixes (*u-kha-ma-cop-yokt-e* [3nsA-1nsP-NEG-see-NEG-PST] 'They did not see us.') and up to seven suffixes (*sed-u-ku-m-ci-m-ma-niŋ* [kill-3P-NPST-1nsA-3nsP-1nsA-e-NEG] 'we don't kill them.' In plural imperative forms, it is even possible to get eight suffixes on the surface (*maisetthanumcimha* < *mai-set-th-a-ni-u-m-ce-m-a* [NEG-kill-IMP.NEG-IMP-p-3P-2nsA-3nsP-2nsA-IMP] 'You (p) do not kill them.' As I have discussed the basic functions of these affixes in various relevant sections of this thesis, I do not describe them one-by-one in this section, but I would rather provide a list of Chintang verbal affixes with their allomorphs, possible variants and functions in Table 4.6.

Affix	Allomorphs	variants	function	functional requirements
u-			3S/A	3>1s, 3nsS
-ce	*-c, -cɨ*		3nsP	
na-			3>2	
a-			2S/A	
mai-			1nsiP	
ma-			1nseP	
kha-			1nsP	
-i			1/2pS/P	3>2p, 1/2pS
-na	*-n*		1s>2	
-ce	*-c, -ci, -cɨ*		d	d except with REFL and in 1/2d>3ns
-ce	*-c, -cɨ*		s.REFL	
ka-			ACT.PTCP	
mai-		*maĩ-, man-*	NEG	NEG with PST, IMP, nonfinite forms
-a	*-ø, -e*		PST	
-a	*-ø, -e, -hã*		IMP	
-ei	*-heĩ*		IMP.ATTN	
-e	*-hẽ*		PST	
-kV	*-ke, -ki, -ko, -ku*		NPST (Ind.)	1/2dS/O, 1/2pS, 3O
-lok		*-lo*	SIM	
-m		*-mh̃*	1/2nsA	IND/SUBJ.1/2p>3s IND/SUBJ.1/2ns>3ns
-na	*-n*		LNK	NPST with 1pO, 2sO, 2sS, 3sS, 3pS
-na	*-n*		REFL	REFL with 1d, 1p, 2, 3
-ncĩ		*-cĩ, -ĩcĩ, -ncin*	REFL	REFL with ns, non-finite forms
=ne			OPT	
-ni	*-n, -nɨ*		2/3p	2/3p>1s, 1s>2p, IMP.2p>3
-no	*-nɨk*	*-nok*	NPST (Ind.)	NPST with 1pO, 2sO, 2sS, 3sS,3pS
-nɨŋ	*-nɨm*		NEG.NPST	
-ta			IPFV	
-th		*-t*	NEG	NEG with IMP, NEG with past (Sambugãũ dialect)
-u	*-ø, -e, -o*		3P	
-yokt	*-yok*	*-yakt*	NEG.PST	
-ŋa	*-h̃, -m, -ma, -me, -(ŋ)e, -yã*		e (exclusive)	
-ŋa	*-ma, -yã*			
-ŋ	*-h̃*		1sS/O	NPST.2/3ns>1s, PST.1sS/O, IMP.1sS/O
-ʔa	*-ʔã*		NPST (Ind.)	Indicative NPST with 1sS/O, 1s>2, REFL

Table 4.6: verbal affixes (adapted from Schikowski 2011)

4.6 Mood, aspect, and tense

This section provides a brief overview of the mood, aspect, and tense system in Chintang. All morphological categories of mood, aspect and tense are marked by suffixes on the verbs. There are four mood categories: indicative, subjunctive, imperative and optative; two tense categories: non-past and past, and there are two aspect categories: perfect and imperfective.

4.6.1 Mood

Chintang verbs distinguish four different types of moods. Moods such as imperative, optative indicative and subjunctive in the past are marked morphologically. But there is no dedicated marker for subjunctive mood in nonpast. Table 4.7 presents the tense and mood marking suffixes in Chintang.

Mood ↦ Tense ⬇		indicative	subjunctive	imperative	infinitive form
Non-past	affirmative	*-ʔã, -no, -kV*	*-ø*	*-a*	*-ma*
	negative	*-nɨŋ*		*ma- -th*	*man-, mai-*
Past	affirmative	*-e, -hẽ*	*-a*		
	negative	*mai- -yokt,*	*mai- -t (S)*	*ma- -th*	

Table 4.7: Tense/mood markers in Chintang

4.6.1.1 Indicative

The indicative mood is used for factual statements, positive beliefs (at least from the perspective of the speaker) and questions. In Chintang, the indicative mood is marked by portmanteaus of tense and mood marking suffixes: *-no, -kV, -ʔã*, and *-e* in nonpast and past tense respectively.

The examples from (4.21) to (4.23) illustrate the indicative mood with nonpast tense, and the data in (4.24) shows the same mood in past tense. The indicative mood will not be glossed in the rest of this thesis except here for simplicity.

(4.21) *-no*

a. *a-lɨk-no*
2sS-enter-IND.NPST

'Do you enter inside?' [CLLDCh1R04S06.0441]

b. *mai-nek-nɨk-niŋ*
ip-bite-IND.NPST-NEG

'It does not bite us.' [CLLDCh1R04S06.0051]

(4.22) *ʔã.*

a. *lɨk-ŋa-ʔã*
enter-1sS-IND.NPST

'I enter inside.' [CLLDCh1R04S06.0440]

b. *phoccokka* *ap-ma-ʔã*
IDEOPH strike-1sS-IND.NPST

'I spray (water).' [CLLDCh1R04S06.0979]

(4.23) *-kV*

a. *akka* *ten-u-ku-ŋ* *i-mma*
1s beat-3P-IND.NPST-1sA 2sPOSS-mother

'I beat your mother.' [CLLDCh1R04S06.0618]

b. *anam* *leiʔ-ma* *a-numd-o-ko*
when plant-INF 2sA-do-3P-IND.NPST

'When do you prepare to plant it (paddy)?' [CLLDCh1R04S06.0870]

(4.24) *-e*

a. *a-c-o-hatt-e* *naŋ*
2sA-eat-3P-COMPL$_1$-IND.PST BUT

'You ate it up.' [CLLDCh1R04S06.0433]

b. *Kamala* *chep-mus-a-ŋs-e* *huĩ*
K. PRV-urinate-PST-PERF-IND.PST DEM

'Kamala has urinated there.' [CLLDCh2R04S04.0163]

4.6.1.2 Subjunctive

There is no dedicated morphological marker to express the non-past subjunctive mood in Chintang. However, the past subjunctive is marked with the suffix *-a.* A subjunctive form in Chintang lacks all the indicative tense markers as well. The 3rd person singular non-past subjunctive lacks all affixes. In Chintang, the subjunctive mood is used to represent the denoted action or state not as a fact but rather as a contingent, dependent or tentative mental situation. One of the main uses of subjunctives is in dependent clauses (see Chapter 11). The following examples show the use of the subjunctive mood in Chintang.

(4.25) a *putt-u-ŋ-ø*
pluck-3P-1sA-SUBJ
'May I pluck it?' [CLLDCh1R04S06.0278]

b. *abo* *a-khaiʔ-ø =kina* *them* *na-pi-no*
now 2sS-go-SUBJ=SEQ what 3>2-give-NPST
'What do they give you when you go (there) now?' [CLLDCh1R03S01.0606a]

(4.26) *akka* *khad-a-ŋ* *bela (-be)* *paʔ-na-ʔã*
1s go-SUBJ.PST-1sA time (-LOC) call-1>2-NPST
'I will call you when I go.' [Fieldwork_2010]

The subjunctive mood will not be glossed in rest of the thesis except here in order to save space.

4.6.1.3 Imperative *-a*

The imperative mood expresses direct commands, prohibitions, and requests. This mood is marked by the suffix *-a*, which is homophonous with the past subjunctive marker. In dual, plural and compound verb forms, the imperative marker is repeated after all affixes and verb stems, as can be seen in examples (4.27b) and (4.27c).

(4.27) a. *pus-si* *khad-a*
pluck-PURP go-IMP
'Go to pick (the cucumber)!' [CLLDCh1R04S06.0277]

b. *khad-a-ni-a* *appi* *appi*
go-IMP-2p-IMP self self
'Please, you (all) go yourself.' [CLLDCh4R04S01. 1168]

c. *ho* *mo* *rikt-a-gond-a-c-a*
yes CIT chase-IMP-AMB-IMP-3nsP-IMP
'Yes, you (two) chase them in this way!' [CLLDCh4R13S04.478]

The imperatives cannot co-occur with subject prefixes, but there is no restriction on object agreement in verbs. The transitive verbs preserve their patient marking morpheme in the imperative, as in (4.28a). Imperative verb forms often take the insistive focus particle *naŋ* (see chapter 12) and the agreement seeker particle *o* (4.28b).

(4.28) a. *phak-ce=lo* *cam* *pid-u-c-a*
pig-ns=SURP food give-3P-3nsP-IMP
'Give the fodder to the pigs!' [CLLDCh2R09S05.226]

b. *the=go* *pid-a-hã* *o*
big=NMLZ$_1$ give-IMP-1s.IMP RECONF
'Give me the big one, okay!' [CLLDCh1R04S06.0392]

Prohibitives are formed with the combination of the negation marking prefix *ma(i)-* and the negation marking suffix *-th*.

(4.29) a. *mai-met-th-a*
NEG-do-NEG-IMP
'Don't do it!' [CLLDCh1R04S06.0068]

b. *cuwa* *nas-a* *ma-num-th-a-kha-c-o*
water ruin-N.NTVZ NEG-do-NEG-IMP-CON-d-3P
'Don't misuse water!' [CLLDCh1R11S04.188]

Usually, as the examples show, the subject does not appear in imperative constructions, because its reference is assumed from the context.

4.6.1.4 Optative *=ne*

The optative expresses the speaker's wishes, hopes and desires (Bybee et al. 1994). The optative mood is expressed by addition of the clitic *=ne* in Chintang. It can be attached to both the stem of verbs and to the inflected form of verbs to expresses a strong wish or obligation in the third person or for third-person imperatives.

(4.30) a.

to-ba=ta	*yuŋ=ne*	*na*
DEM.UP-LOC=FOC$_1$	stay=OPT	INSIST

'Let him stay (up) there.' [CLDLCh3R05S02.127]

b.

hicci-baŋ=le	*khel-a*	*u-num-ce=ne*
two-HUM.CLF=RESTR	play-N.NTVZ	3nsA-do-d=OPT

'Let the two of them only play!' (not the others) [CLDLCh3R05S02.008]

The optative marking suffix follows the negation marker in negative optative structures, as shown in (4.31).

(4.31)

wanda-somma=le	*latt-o-nɨŋ=ne*	*na*
tomorrow-till=RESTR	be.enough-3P-NEG=OPT	INSIST

'May it not be (warm) enough until tomorrow!' [CLLDCh1R03S01.0659]

Like with imperative forms, the transitive verb retains its patient agreement, as shown in (4.32a,b).

(4.32) a.

wad-o=ne	*na*
wear-3P=OPT	INSIST

'Let him wear it!' [CLDLCh3R05S03.009]

b.

debi	*u-khatt-o=ne*
D.	3nsA-take-3P=OPT

'May they take Devi away!' [CLLDCh1R06S02.312]

There are quite a few examples where a third person acts upon the second person arguments.

(4.33) a.

na-pi-nɨŋ=ne	*abo*
3>2-give-NEG=OPT	now

'He may not give it to you now!' [CLLDCh4R06S01.624]

b. *la* *na-raʔ=ne* *na*
ATTN 3>2-scold=OPT INSIST
'Hey, they may scold you!' [CLLDCh1R03S06.777]

In some cases, the use of the optative is also attested with second person arguments.

(4.34) *a-ked-o-bhog-o=ne*
2sA-break-3P-COMPL-3P=OPT
'May you break it!' [CLLDCh2R02S01.634]

4.6.2 Aspect

There are two different ways of marking aspect in Chintang. First, with a number of vector verbs which have an aspectual meaning as they refer to the internal temporal structure of an event (see chapter 5). And second, with three different aspect markers (see Table 4.8) which mark perfect, past imperfective, and nonpast imperfective.

Form(s)		Formal marking
Perfect	*-ŋs*	suffix on verbal stem
Imperfective$_1$	*-yakt/-kt*	suffix on verbal stem
Imperfective$_2$	*=ta*	post lexical marker

Table 4.8 Aspect markers

4.6.2.1 Perfect *-ŋs*

The perfect is marked by the verbal suffix *-ŋs*, which indicates a past event with present relevance. This is quite similar to English perfect (e.g., *I have eaten.*). When it is followed by *-m* [1/2nsA], it optionally changes to *-ms,* as in (4.35b).

(4.35) a. *huĩ* *daju* *thab-a-ŋs-e*
DEM elder.brother come.across-PST-PERF-PST
'That elder brother has come.' [CLDLCh3R05S01.145]

b. *ana-phak* *sed-a-nd-u-ms-u-m-hẽ*
1nsPOSS-pig kill-PST-COMPL$_2$-3P-PERF-3P-1nsA-PST
'We have killed our pig.' [CLLDCh1R09S07.0514]

Example (4.35a) was used to inform the team about the arrival of the member who is in the group of people who are about to leave for the jungle, and (4.35b) answers to his friend who is looking for meat at the moment of speaking.

One of the main uses of Chintang perfect form is to mark the status of the verb as changed, and the result is still perceptible at the moment of speaking, as in the following examples.

(4.36) a. *aggai* *yo-ba-ko* *marci* *thuw-a-ŋs-e*
EXCLA DEM.ACROSS-LOC-GEN chilli ripen-PST-PERF-PST
'Oh, the chilli over there has been ripened!' [CLLDCh2R14S03.1240]

b. *ba=go* *kok* *thukt-a-ŋs-e*
DEM.PROX=NMLZ$_1$ rice cook-PST-PERF-PST
'This rice has been cooked.' [CLLDCh4R05S05 751]

c. *sontoloŋ* *paidoŋ* *keŋs-a-ŋs-e*
orange this.year bear.fruit-PST-PERF-PST
'The orange tree has given fruit this year.' [CLLDCh1R11S01. 098]

Perfect in Chintang is equally compatible with stative verbs, as in (4.37).

(4.37) *hani* *bĩu* *lis-a-ŋs-e* *elo*
2p seed be-PST-PERF-PST or
'Has your seed been ready (for planting)?' [CLLDCh2R03S04. 0550]

However, unlike in English and most other European languages where the perfect forms cannot be combined with past adverbials (e.g., *I have eaten yesterday.), in Chintang it is grammatical to attach past adverbials, such as *asinda* 'yesterday', *aseĩgosaŋa* 'two days before'

to perfect forms. Bickel (1996) describes similar characteristics of one of the perfect types in the neighboring language Belhare.[2]

(4.38) a. *asinda* *u-ti-a-ŋs-e*
yesterday 3nsS-come-PST-PERF-PST
'They came yesterday.' [CLLDCh1R02S01 0141]

b. *u-khaŋ-si* *thab-a-ŋs-e* *aseĩgosaŋa*
3nsS-watch-PURP come.level-PST-PERF-PST two.days.before
'They came to see the day before yesterday.' [CLDLCh3R01S02.457]

c. *asinda* *hokko-iʔ* *ims-a-ŋs-e* *yatibela*
yesterday where-FLOC sleep-PST-PERF-PST this.time
'Where did you sleep at this time yesterday?' [Elicited_2012]

In all the examples discussed so far, perfect shows a relationship between a past event and the present. But when there is no such relation, for example, in the case of narration, simple past tense is used.

4.6.2.2 Imperfective past *-(y)akt*

In Chintang the imperfective aspect is used to describe various situations viewed with internal structure, such as ongoing, continuative, progressive, and habitual. This aspect is indicated by the suffix *-(y)akt* on the verb, and indicates situations which have occurred in the past. In the Sambugãũ dialect of Chintang the imperfective marking suffix *-(y)akt* is regularly reduced to *-k* (4.40b).

The following examples taken from the Chintang corpus illustrate the imperfective meaning:

[2] Bickel (1996:169) points out that there are two types perfect marking in the neighboring language Belhare: a plain perfect (*-ŋa ~ sa ... -khak*) and resultative or r-perfect (*-ŋe ~ se*). He notes that the plain perfect shows a special relationship of a past event with the present (similar to an English perfect). But the r-perfect, in addition to establishing a 'perfect' relationship between past and present, it also indicates that the results of a prior events are still perceptible in the present time. Moreover, unlike the resultative in the sense of European languages, the r-perfect is compatible with adverbials like *hale* 'before', *usamba* 'last night', which appear to specify the time of the prior event rather than of the result.

(4.39) a. *seme* *cekt-a-kt-e*
'S. [3sS]speak-PST-IPFV$_1$-PST
'Sem was speaking.' [CLLDCh1R06S03.1244]

b. *bakhi* *akka* *sarok* *lis-a-kt-e-hẽ*
such 1s much be-PST-IPFV$_1$-PST-1sS.PST
'I used to be very worried.' [CLLDCh2R03S03.0857]

c. *a-mma-ce* *a-ppa-ce* *kam-a* *u-numd-a-kt-e*
1sPOSS-mother-ns 1sPOSS-father-ns work-N.NTVZ 3nsA-do-PST-IPFV$_1$-PST
'My mother and father used to do a work.' [lifestory_JK.18]

Like in many other languages, imperfective is mainly used for encoding repeated events and actions (Bickel 1996). The following examples illustrate this in the past indicative (4.38a,b).

(4.40) a. *hunce* *waphuru* *u-putt-a-ci-yak-e*
3ns cucumber 3nsA-pluck-PST-COMPL$_3$-IPFV$_1$-PST
'They had plucked cucumbers (again and again).' [CLLDCh3R05S01 869]

b. *akka=yaŋ* *luŋghek* *kob-a-k-e-hẽ*
1s=ADD stone pick.up-PST-IPFV$_1$-PST-1sA.PST

or-u-k-u-ŋ-hẽ
hit.by.throwing-3P-IPFV$_1$-3P-1sA-1sA.PST
'I also picked stone and hit it (time and again).' [LH_BBB.094]

The imperfective *-(y)akt* mostly appears with past tense to convey imperfective meaning. But there are few examples where it appears with non-past tense and imperative forms.

(4.41) a. *huŋ=go* *cahĩ* *lekh-a-be* *can-na-yak-no*
DEM=NMLZ$_1$ SPEC.TOP highland-N.NTVZ-LOC [3sS]graze-NA-IPFV$_1$-NPST
'That one goes on grazing in the highlands.' [story_bird.039]

b. *lo* *ekchina* *hand-a-kt-a-ni-haʔ*
SURP one.moment chat-IMP-IPFV$_1$-IMP-p-EMPH.IMP
'Please keep talking for a while.' [CLDLCh3R01S03.090]

4.6.2.3 Imperfective nonpast *=ta*

The imperfective marker *=ta* appears with indicative non-past tense and marks ongoing activities and states (translating Nepali *-dai)*. As it appears at the end of a morphological string (e.g., pf1, pf2, pf3-stem-sf1...sf14-*ta*), Bickel et al. (2005) describe this *=ta* as a post-lexical continuous aspect marker.

The following data show imperfective in Chintang.

(4.42) a. *akka* *citthi* *chap-ma-ʔã=ta.*
1s letter write-1sS-NPST=IPFV$_2$

'I am (in the middle of) writing a letter.'
(Father to child: Please do not disturb me.) (Dahl 1985) [Fieldwork_2010]

b. *hana-ko* *khamd-o-ko=ta*
2s-GEN chew-3P-NPST=IPFV$_2$

'Are you chewing your (toffee)?' [CLLDCh1R03S01.0465]

c. *sa* *yuŋ-no=ta*
meat be-NPST=IPFV$_2$

'Is there meat?' [CLLDCh3R05S01 1069]

But *=ta* is not used for ongoing situations in the future or past and not for habitual situations either. For example:

(4.43) a. *huŋ=go* *kok* *thuk-no(*=ta)*
DEM=NMLZ$_1$ rice cook-NPST

'She will be cooking rice.'
(Answer to: what will your mother be doing when we arrive, do you think? = what activity will she be engaged in?; (Dahl 1985) [Fieldwork_2010]

b. *lokendra-ŋa* *jalpadevi* *iskul-be* *cind-o-ko(*=ta)*
L.-ERG Jalpadevi school-LOC teach-3P-NPST

'Lokendra teaches at Jalpadevi school.' [Fieldwork_2010]

=ta on telic verbs implies either a conative or an iterative meaning.

(4.44) a. *jhullu* *jhullu* *tan-no=ta=lo*
IDEOPH IDEOPH jump-NPST=IPFV$_2$=SURP

'The baby jumps many times.' or 'The baby is in mid-air in a single jump.' [CLDLCh3R01S03.049]

b. *maʔmi-ce=yaŋ* *u-si-no=ta*
people-ns=ADD 3nsS-die-NPST=IPFV$_2$

'People are dying too.' or 'People die (everyday).' [Gen_talk.018]
(the speaker refers to Maoists violence which killed around 15000 people in Nepal.)

The imperfective marker =*ta* is not obligatory, it occurs in 6 out of 7 present ongoing situation types in Dahl's questionnaire (Bickel et al. 2005). This =*ta* is perhaps related to the focus clitic =*ta*.

4.6.3 Tense

Chintang verbs inflect for two distinct tenses: non-past and past. Unlike in Bantawa and some other Kiranti languages, both non-past and past tense are marked with various suffixes in Chintang.[3]

4.6.3.1 Nonpast tense

The nonpast tense is marked by three different verbal suffixes *-ʔã, -no* and *-kV.* An archaic variant of *-no* is *-nok,* which is still attested frequently in some texts, especially from elderly people. The distribution of the different nonpast markers in Chintang is like this: the nonpast marker *-ʔã* appears when the subject or the agent argument is the first person singular, *-no/nok* appears with both the second and the third person subject or agent arguments provided that the verb is not inflected transitively. When the verb has to be inflected transitively, the nonpast marker *-ko* is used. The following examples illustrate nonpast marking in Chintang.

[3] The reason for this is that Chintang distinguishes between indicative and subjunctive, which Bantawa doesn't (the Bantawa simple forms correspond to Chintang subjunctive historically). In Chintang, any form where NPST is marked is not only NPST but indicative NPST. In subjunctive, by contrast Chintang has the same unmarked NPST as in Bantawa.

(4.45) a. *lɨk-ŋa-ʔã*
enter-1sS-NPST
'I enter.' [CLLDCh1R04S06.0440]

b. *akka* *a-pi-ŋa-ʔã-nɨŋ* *elo*
1s 2sA-give-1sP-NPST-NEG or
'You don't give me, or ...?' [CLLDCh1R04S06.0386]

(4.46) a. *wanda* *hokkoʔ-ni* *a-khat-no*
tomorrow where-DIR$_2$ 2sS-go-NPST
'Where do you go tomorrow?' [CLLDCh1R04S06.0932a]

b. *thitta=yaŋ* *huni-kɨpma* *kaʔ-nɨk-nɨŋ*
one=ADD 3nsPOSS-fear come.up-NPST-NEG
'They are not afraid at all.' [CLDLCh2R02S02.232]

(4.47) a. *abo* *ba* *hupt-u-ku-ŋ*
now DEM.PROX cover.lid-3P-NPST-1sA
'I close it now.' [CLDLCh3R05S01.131

b. *huĩ* *khems-o-ko=ta*
DEM listen-3P-NPST=IPFV$_2$
'He is listening there.' [CLDLCh3R01S03.522]

4.6.3.2 Past tense

The past tense is used for events and states which have already been completed at the time of speaking. The past tense is indicated by the suffixes *-a* and *-e* in Chintang. With first person, the past tense marker is merged with the agreement marking suffix *-ŋ*, resulting in breathy portmanteau morpheme that encodes person, number and tense. Before *-e* the final consonant is voiced: final /t/ becomes /d/ (cf. §2.4.1. on voicing) The following examples from the Chintang corpus illustrate the past tense.

(4.48) a. *a-ppa* *khad-e*
1sPOSS-father [3sS]go-PST
'My father went away.' [CLLDCh1R02S03a.076]

b. *a-phil-e* *hola* *naŋ*
2sA-squeeze-PST probably BUT
'Probably, you squeezed (it).' [CLLDCh1R02S04.0310]

c. *akka* *ten-u-hẽ*
1s beat-3P-1sA.PST
'I beat him.' [CLLDCh1R01S01.155]

The past tense is also generally used with some inceptive verbs to indicate present states.

(4.49) *sɨŋsawa* *na-pukt-e* *aba*
hunger 3>2-start-PST now
'You are hungry now.' [CLDLCh3R05S04.307]

4.7 Negation marking on verbs

Negation is marked by a suffix, or a combination of a prefix and a suffix in Chintang. There is only one prefix which is used in both non-past and past forms. This section deals with the forms of negated verbs in §4.7.1 and §4.7.2.

4.7.1 Nonpast negation

The suffix *-nɨŋ* marks negation on nonpast forms both in affirmative and interrogative structures. This suffix follows the tense marker (4.50a,b), but it precedes the imperfective aspect marker *=ta* (4.50c).

(4.50) a. *kha-ŋa-ʔã-nɨŋ*
look-1sS-NPST-NEG
'I do not see (it).' [CLDLCh3R01S04.180]

b. *a-yuŋ-na-ta-di-nɨk-nɨŋ*
2sS-stay-NA-FOC$_1$-TEL-NPST-NEG
'You don't stay (for a while in a place)?' [CLDLCh3R05S02.165]

c. *cek-nɨk-nɨŋ=ta*
speak-NPST-NEG=IPFV$_2$
'He is not speaking.' [CLLDCh1R02S03a.064]

The negation marker *-nɨŋ* changes to *-num* after *-m* [1nsA]. But this change is not consistent; there are speakers, mostly young ones, who use *-nɨŋ* consistently for all persons.

(4.51) *hid-u-ku-m-num=ta*
finish-3P-NPST-1nsA-NEG=FOC$_1$
'We cannot finish it.' [CLDLCh2R02S02.305]

If something is prohibited as a rule or a social norm, the negative marking suffix is attached without any tense markers. In other words, the negated subjunctive is used.

(4.52) a. *ya-yokt-i-nɨŋ*
PRV-move-p-NEG
'It is not touched.' (lit. 'We do not touch it.') [CLDLCh3R01S03.344]

b *aya luŋghek-ŋa rund-i-nɨŋ*
EXCLA stone-INSTR clean-p-NEG
'Oh, this is not cleaned with a stone!' [CLDLCh3R05S04.208]

4.7.2 Past negation

Negation in the past tense is marked with a combination of the negation marking prefix *ma(i)-* and the negation marking suffix *-yokt* (4.53a,b). In the Sambugāũ dialect the suffix *-yokt* is realized as *-t* (4.53d).

(4.53) a. *mai-khaŋ-yokt-u-ŋs-u-hẽ*
NEG-see-NEG-3P-PERF-3P-1sA.PST
'I have not seen it.' [CLDLCh2R02S02.059]

b. *ma-a-caiʔ-yokt-e*
NEG-2sA-hit-NEG-PST
'You did not strike (the target).' [CLLDCh1R10S04.224]

d. *ma-si-t-e*
NEG-die-NEG-PST
'It didn't die!' [CLDLCh3R05S04.079]

When there are multiple prefixes in the verb, the negative marking prefix can also appear between other prefixes, (cf. free prefix ordering, Bickel et al. 2007). The same phenomenon can also be noticed with complex verbs (especially with a pre-verb and a stem).

(4.54) a. *a-mai-ta-khaŋ-yokt-a-ŋs-e*
2sS-NEG-FOC$_1$-watch-NEG-PST-PERF-PST
'You have not watched.' [CLDLCh3R01S03.044]

b. *kha-a-ma-siŋ-t-o-ŋs-e*
PRV-2s-NEG-ask-NEG-3P-PERF-PST
'Haven't you asked?' [CLDLCh2R02S02.423]

Like in the past forms, negation in the imperative form is also marked with a combination of two morphemes: *mai- -th*.

(4.55) a. *mai-pi-th-a*
NEG-give-NEG-IMP
'Don't give!' [CLLDCh1R04S06.1249]

b. *mai-met-th-a*
NEG-do-NEG-IMP
'Don't do!' [CLDLCh3R01S02.198]

4.8 Nonfinite verb forms

Chintang makes a clear distinction between finite and nonfinite forms. Finite forms are used independently as the main verb in a simple or complex sentence as well as in embedded clauses. Nonfinite forms are common in dependent clauses. There are seven most frequent non-finite verb forms in Chintang (see table 4.9).[4] Some of the non-finite verbal forms in Chintang can also take the morphological categories of nouns (e.g. case marking), but still all of them behave like verbs with respect to their internal syntactic properties. As I describe the syntactic behavior of these forms in detail in §11.1, I only list them and summarize their morphological aspects in this section.

[4] There are a few occurrences of the form *-iʔ* in the Chintang corpus, the exact function of which is difficult to determine.

Affixes	basic function
-ma	infinitive
ka-	active participle
-saŋa	converb
-si	purposive
mai- -ma	negation converb
-ka	reciprocal
-mayaŋ/-mayɨŋ	passive participle

Table 4.9: Non-finite marking affixes in Chintang

4.8.1 Infinitive *-ma*

The nonfinite marking suffix *-ma* is attached to the root of the verb. This is the citation form of the verb in Chintang. These forms are nominal in nature and can have nominal suffixes as well. Examples are given below:

(4.56) a. *u-suma* *kaiʔ-ma-ŋa=ta* *siy-a-d-a-ŋs-eʔ*
3sPOSS-lazy come-INF-ERG=FOC$_1$ die-PST-COMPL$_1$-PST-PERF-PST
'He died of feeling lazy.' [CLLDCh1R02S01 0407]

b. *la-ma-be* *thore* *u-rɨ-ce-ke-nɨŋ*
return.back-INF-LOC little 3nsS-turn-d-NPST-NEG
'They do not turn back while returning!'

Chintang infinitives can be marked with the verbal person/number suffix *-ce* [3nsP], as in (4.57a-c). In this case, *-ce* refers to a third person nonsingular patient argument. Moreover, there are only few examples where the infinitival form of the verb hosts the verbal prefix *na-* [3>2].

(4.57) a. *e* *akka* *hum-ma-ce* *hou*
or 1s bury-INF-3nsP AFF
'Or I bury them?' [CLLDCh1R02S04.0218]

b. *phaiʔ-ma=kina* *pi-ma-ce* *kon-no* *e*
exchange-INF=SEQ give-INF-3nsP should-NPST or
'Do we have to exchange and pay them?' [CLLDCh1R04S06.0968b]

c. *katti* *khera* *yakkheŋ* *thuk-ma-ce=kha* *lou*
when time curry cook-INF-3nsP=NMLZ$_2$ PTCL
'When to cook the curry for them?' [CLLDCh1R04S06.1076b]

(4.58) *yo* *na-khaŋ-ma-ca-ma* *lap-no*
DEM.ACROSS 3>2-see-INF-COMPL$_2$-INF be.about.to-NPST
'They are going to watch you.' [CLLDCh2R01S04.638]

The infinitive is used mostly in complement clauses (for further details see Chapter 10) and modals (obligatoriness and desideratives) in Chintang.

4.8.2 Converb *-saŋa*

The nonfinite marker *-saŋa* is a simultaneous converbal marker which probably originated from the combination of the oblique *-sa* and the ergative *-ŋa* (Schikowski 2011). It is attached directly to the root of a verb.

(4.59) *cek-saŋa* *ca-no*
speak-CVB eat-NPST
'She eats, speaking.' [Fieldwork 2010]

There are few evidences where *-saŋa* can host person marking prefixes.

(4.60) *sa-ŋa* *mai-pas-saŋa* *khad-eʔ*
who-ERG 1nsP-call-CVB go-PST
'Who called us and went away?' [Fieldwork 2010]

It is possible for a converb to form a complex converbal construction in Chintang. In this case, a sequential converb is dependent on another converb. All simultaneous converbs form an order like V$_1$-CVB, V$_2$-CVB and V-matrix, where the event marked by V$_1$-CVB does not need to happen prior to the V$_2$-CVB. This is because the adverbial clauses do not generally form any sort of chain or sequence in Chintang. In example (4.61a), both actions can happen

simultaneously. Moreover, bipartite or compound verbs can also form converbal constructions, as in (4.61b).

(4.61) a. *tɨŋ-saŋa* *tɨŋ-saŋa* *khel-a* *mes-saŋa* *thapt-u-kh-o*
kick-CVB kick-CVB play-N.NTVZ do-CVB bring.across-3P-CON-3P
'Bring it here by kicking and playing it.' [CLLDCh4R14S02.0542]

b. *phan-a=lo* *yoʔ-ni* *omba-pak-saŋa* *khac-ce*
walk-IMP=SURP DEM.ACROSS-DIR$_2$ crawl-crawl-CVB go-d
'Please come! Let's go there, crawling.' [CLDLCh2R02S02.463]

A full description of the *-saŋa* construction is given in §11.1.1.

4.8.3 Purposive *-si*

The purposive *-si* can be attached to all types of verbs in Chintang. Person marking prefixes are more common in verbs with *-si* than in verbs with *-saŋa*.

(4.62) a. *beuli* *cop-si* *yuw-e*
bride look-PURP be-PST
'He sat down there to see the bride.'

b. *u-khaŋ-si* *thab-a-ŋs-e* *aseĩgosaŋa*
3sPOSS-watch-PURP come.level-PST-PERF-PST two.days.before
'He has come to see her the day before yesterday.' [CLDLCh3R01S02.457]

Unlike *-saŋa*, the purposive *-si* can occasionally combine with a combination of locative and ergative suffixes.

(4.63) *akka* *bakhra* *ghãsa* *hek-si-ʔ-yã*
1s goat grass cut.grass-PURP-LOC-ERG

ti-a-ŋ *ghari* *thab-a-ŋs-a=kha*
come-PST-1sS SEQ come.level-PST-PERF-PST=NMLZ$_2$
'She had come when I had come in order to cut grass for the goats.'
[CLDLCh2R02S02.572]

4.8.4 Negation converb *mai- -ma*

A combination of the negation marking prefix *ma(i)-* and the infinitive *-ma* is used to negate a special type of embedded converbal clause. The basic function of this combination is to indicate that an action takes place without being supported by another event.

(4.64) a. *ma=ta-khaiʔ-ma*
NEG=FOC$_{1=}$-go-INF
'without going' [CLLDCh1R04S06.1008]

b. *mai-haĩ-ma=ta* *khad-a-loĩs-e* *hola*
NEG-discuss-INF=FOC$_1$ go-PST-OUT$_1$-PST probably
'She might have gone without talking.' [CLDLCh2R02S02.570]

A full description of the *mai- -ma* construction is given in §11.1.3.

4.8.5 Active participle *ka- (-pa)*

The active participle *ka-* generally appears together with the sex markers *-pa/-ma* in Chintang. But the sex markers can be dropped if the verb stem is followed by the non-singular marker *-ce* or any overt noun.

(4.65) a. *biu* *ka-tok-pa-ŋa=lo* *tis-u-ce* *naŋ*
seed ACT.PTCP-get-M-ERG=SURP put-3P-3nsP BUT
'The person holding seed may plant them.' [CLLDCh1R04S06.1043]

b. *wathĩ* *ka-khu-ce=na* *ana-pau-ce* *u-yu-wakt-e*
egg ACT.PTCP-carry-ns=TOP 1pePOSS-father-ns 3nsS-be-IPFV-PST
'The ones carrying eggs were our father and his friends.' [phidang_talk.333]

c. *ha-iʔ=go* *ka-khip-ce=go*
DEM.PROX-FLOC=NMLZ$_1$ ACT.PTCP-read-ns=NMLZ$_1$
'the ones studying here' [Student_life.006]

In negative active participle forms, the negation marking prefix *mai-* precedes the participle, as in (4.66).

(4.66) *ani-riŋ* *mai-ka-ni-pa-ce*
1pi.POSS-language NEG-ACT.PTCP-know-M-ns
'those who do not know our language' [Durga_Exp.12]

4.8.6 Reciprocal participle *-ka*

A reciprocal event involves two or more participants who act as both subject and object of the main verb (King 2009:125). In Chintang there are no native reciprocal pronouns. However, reciprocity is marked morphologically by the participle *-ka*, which is inserted between two reduplicated verb stems. Thus, Chintang combines two different strategies: reduplication of the verb stem (described as compound strategy in König & Kokutani 2006) and addition of a reciprocal marker (synthetic strategy in König & Kokutani ibid) to encode reciprocal situations. Moreover, unlike other nonfinite forms, *-ka* is always used in combination with the auxiliary *lus-*. The main verb bears the lexical meaning, and the auxiliary is loaded with agreement and TAM markers.[5] Some examples of reciprocal forms from the Chintang corpus are given below:

(4.67) a. *a-pam-ma-ʔã* *pam-ka-pam* *lu-ce*
2sA-scratch-1sP-NPST scratch-RECP-scratch do-d
'Do you scratch me? Let's scratch each other.' [CLLDCh1R06S03.0494]

b. *khaŋ-ma* *le-ka-le* *u-lus-a-k-a-c-e*
see-INF like-RECP-like 3nsS-do-PST-IPFV-PST-d-PST
'They used to love each other.' [love_story.014]

c. *tham-ka-tham* *u-lu-no* *hou*
push-RECP-push 3nsS-play-NPST AFF
'They play by pushing each other.' [CLLDCh4R04S01. 097]

d. *ni-ka-ni* *lus-i-e* *maya=ta* *yu-e* *paĩ=na* *sams-i-ne*
know-RECP-know be-1p-PST love=FOC$_1$ be-PST today=TOP part-EMPH=OPT

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[5] Chintang also borrows a Nepali reciprocal pronoun *aphai* (आफै), and uses it like in Nepali, but the phonology is adjusted to *appi*.

(4.69) *appi* *nis-o-ko* *huĩ-sa-ŋa*
REFL [3sA]know-3P-NPST DEM-OBL-ERG
'He knows it himself.' [CLDLCh3R01S03.368]

'We got to know each other and loved one another, let's part.'
[ctn_song_RM01.15]

The *-ka* marked main verb and the auxiliary *lus-* both seem to form a single complex predicate. But they can be separated by both endoclitics (4.68a,b) and topicalizer (4.70).

(4.68) a. *thup-ka-thup=yaŋ* *u-lu-ce-ke*
punch-RECP-punch=ADD 3nsS-play-d-NPST
'They also punch each other.' [CLLDCh4R04S01. 843]

b. *teĩ-ka-teĩ=lo* *lus-i*
hit-RECP-hit=SURP do-p
'Let's hit each other!' [Fieldwork_2010]

(4.70) *cop-ka-cop=na* *a-lus-a-ce=ta*
look.at-RECP-look.at=TOP 2s-AUX-PST-d-PST=FOC$_1$
'You looked at each other.' [Chintang_now.1025]

We should note that the reciprocal affix is formally identical with the active participle *ka-* in Chintang.

4.8.7 Passive participle *-mayaŋ/-mayɨŋ*

The passive participle is formed by suffixation of *-mayaŋ/-mayɨŋ* to a verb root. This suffix is probably derived from the infinitive *-ma* and the additive focus particle *=yaŋ,* but the exact etymology is still not clear. After suffixation of *-mayaŋ/-mayɨŋ*, the transitive verb turns into an intransitive verb, the A argument of the active form is deleted (obligatorily), and the object is treated in the same way as S arguments. As pointed out by Bickel et al. (2010), double object verbs and primary object verbs allow passivization of both T and G arguments, but only T is allowed to be passivized by direct object verbs. Some examples of passives in Chintang are the following:

(4.71) a. *gara-le* *thok-mayaŋ=kha*
wall-RESTR build-PASS.PTCP=NMLZ$_2$
'Only the wall was built.' [phidang_talk.275]

b. *luŋtak* *em-mayaŋ=kha* *e*
stone erect-PASS.PTCP=NMLZ$_2$ or
'The stones were erected (in a row).' [phidang_talk.278]

c. *biu* *bhuk-ma* *laŋtĩ=ta* *yuŋ-mayaŋ*
seed sow.the.seeds-INF for=FOC$_1$ keep-PASS.PTCL
'The seeds which has been kept for sowing.' [CLLDCh1R02S04.1055]

d. *ok-mayaŋ=lo* *raicha=na*
peel-PASS.PTCP=SURP MIR=TOP
'It has been peeled!' (I just found that) [CLLDCh3R05S01 261]

e. *hokke-yã* *taiʔ-mayaŋ=kha*
where-ABL bring-PASS.PTCL=NMLZ$_2$
'Where has it been brought from?' [CLLDCh1R02S04.0328]

4.9 Summary

In this chapter we have seen how the Chintang verb is structured. Chintang, like many other Kiranti languages, is quite rich in verb morphology. There is a large number of affixes which code up to seven verbal categories and also inclusiveness vs. exclusiveness distinction in the verb. Person and number are marked by both prefixes and suffixes. A finite verb can take up to three prefixes (in any possible logical order) and up to eight suffixes. The majority of Chintang verbs are monosyllabic having CV(C) structure, although some polysyllabic verbs are also attested. A bunch of verbs still preserve the Proto-Tibebto-Burman augments *-t and *-s in their stems. A large number of verb stems end with *-t, -d, -s, -tt*, and *-k*, but there are also extremely few verb-stems which end in sonorants and vowels. No stem (except the third person nonpast subjunctive, e.g., *weiʔ ta-ø* [rain come-SUBJ.NPST] 'It might rain.') can occur on its own; all stems must be inflected with various affixes before they are used in a particular context.

All Chintang verbs can inflect intransitively due to various alternations, but not all can be inflected transitively. The transitive verbs are marked for two participants. Agreement is with person and number of the S/A arguments and objects. Reflexive in Chintang is always subject oriented in binding domains. They follow the intransitive inflection in agreeing with the number of the subject of the clause. All morphological categories of mood, aspect and

tense are marked by suffixes on verbs. Indicative mood and tense markers are basically fused and represented by portmanteaus of tense and mood marking suffixes. Chintang has seven nonfinite verb forms which are basically used in various types of subordinate clauses.

Chapter 5

Complex Predicates

5.0 Introduction

In addition to the simple, one-stem verbs discussed briefly in chapter 4, there are verbs forms which are complex, in that they are made up of multiple verb stems. Such complex verbal forms have been extensively studied in Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages of South Asia, but relatively less attention has been paid to them in Tibeto-Burman languages. There are no such studies dedicated to compound verbs in Kiranti languages. But this phenomenon does occur extensively in a number of Kiranti languages (e.g., Belhare (Bickel 1996), Athpare (Ebert 1997a), Bantawa (Doornenbal 2009), Camling (Ebert 1997b), Kulung (Tolsma 2006), and Thulung (Lahaussois 2002)). However, the literature discussing complex predicates involves a muzzy diversity of analyses and terminology. For example, Weidert & Subba (1985), Tolsma (2006), Rutgers (1998) use the term 'auxiliary', Opgenort (2004) describes this feature as 'motionalisers', Driem (1987, 1993) and Lahaussois (2002) use the term 'aspectivizers', Ebert (1997a) uses the term compound verb in her work on Camling and Athpare. However, for the sake of clarity and brevity, I refer the vectors simply as v2 in this work.

In my analysis of the Chintang corpus, I found three types of complex predicates prevalent in this language. The first and the most productive one is the compound verb which is a multi-verb construction in which a first verb (v1) stem (Σ) is followed by one or more vector verbs that semantically modify the first verb stem. Such forms are described in various ways as compound verbs, explicator compound verbs, complex predicates, composite

predicates or serial verbs in South Asian linguistics. This is a pervasive feature of the languages of South Asia and the greater Himalayan region (Hook 1974, Masica 1976, Mohanan 1990, Driem 1990, Butt 1995, Pokharel 1999). The second complex predicate construction is made up of a pre-verb and a stem, where the two elements combine to form a single semantic predicate. They both form a single lexeme, but can be separated by endoclitics and prefixes usually hosted by the stem (Σ). The third type of complex form is a verbal compound in which the second verb is fully inflected, while the first verb, which is always a loan from Nepali, is marked only with the verb nativizer morpheme *-e*. Although these three complex predicate constructions are structurally distinct, they share some interesting similarities. For example, in all cases the element in the right most position is fully inflected and in all forms there is the possibility for endoclitics to intrude between the two verb forms.

In this chapter, I conduct a detailed study of Chintang complex predicates in terms of their morphological structure, semantics, and syntactic functions.

5.1 Complex predicates

Chintang speakers make use of very few simple verbs in their day-to-day speech. A large part of verbal predication is achieved by various types of complex predicates. In this section, I will discuss the three most common types of complex predicates found in Chintang. They are namely compound verbs, preverb plus stem compounds, and verbal compounds with Nepali loans.

5.1.1 Compound verbs

A compound verb is composed of two or more verbs (cf. §4.1). The first verb (v1) is the lexical verb in this type of compound form. The second member of the compound verb which I call v2 can or cannot have a regular lexical meaning. The v1 bears the crucial semantic meaning and the v2 adds some aspectual flavor to the combined form. In Chintang, v2 stems have a regular root + augment structure (Bickel et al. 2007). One of the essential properties of Chintang v2s is that they require a disyllabic unit as a host to maintain their prosodic subcategorization constraint (see Bickel et al. ibid). As all stems of the Chintang verbs (including the rightmost syllable of bipartite verbs) constitute a single syllable, the v2-stems cannot directly combine with them, so that the first stem (v1) must be supported by an

inflectional suffix. If there is no inflectional suffix available to attach to the v1 stem, the epenthetic element *-na* is used to fulfill the requirement. As soon as the first stem (Σ) becomes di-syllabic, a v2 is combined with it, then the output is a derived stem Σ´ which hosts a complete set of inflectional affixes. The first stem (Σ) is commonly inflected for one suffix, and the Σ´ (the derived one) with the full range of inflectional affixes. Interestingly, in this case, the Σ´ also copies the markers which are already attached to the first stem (Σ).[1]

The examples in (5.1a) and (5.1b) illustrate the morphological and phonological structure of a compound verb with the v2 stem *-bid,* which literally means 'give' and functions as a benefactive in this context, and with *-gond* functions as 'ambulative'.

(5.1) a. *[Σ´ (φ [Σ mett]-u)-bid]-u-ku-ce*
do-3P-BEN$_1$-3P-NPST-3nsP
'S/he does it for them.' [Bickel et al. 2007]

b. *[Σ´ (φ [Σ rɨkt]-a)-gond]-a-c-a*
chase-IMP-AMB-IMP-d-IMP
'Chase away.' [CLLDCh4R13S04.478]

Inflectional suffixes can appear on both parts of the compound forms. Generally, only one suffix is attached to v1 in order to form a di-syllabic host. But some speakers in some cases also include the person marking suffixes such as *-ŋ* '1sA' and *-m* '1nsA' and also the third person undergoer *-u* '3P'. Examples (5.2a) and (5.3a) show that the compound verb forms *mettuŋbidukuŋ* 'to do for someone' and *huguŋbidukuŋ* 'to pay for someone' have both actor and undergoer suffixes marked on both member of the compounds. However, in examples (5.2b) and (5.3b), only the undergoer is marked on the verbs.

(5.2) a. *mett-u-ŋ-bid-u-ku-ŋ*
do-3P-1sA-BEN$_1$-3P-NPST-1sA

b. *mett-u-bid-u-ku-ŋ*
do-3P-BEN$_1$-3P-NPST-1sA
Both: 'I (will) do it for him.' [Fieldwork_2010]

[1] This type of suffix copying (also known as recursive inflection) is also attested in other Kiranti languages, for example in Belhare (Bickel 1996), Athpare (Ebert 1997a) and Dumi (Driem 1993).

(5.3) a. *hug-u-ŋ-bid-u-ku-ŋ*
pay-3P-1sA-BEN$_1$-3P-NPST-1sA

b. *hug-u-bid-u-ku-ŋ*
pay-3P-BEN$_1$-3P-NPST-1sA
Both: 'I pay for him.' [Fieldwork_2010]

If there is the past tense marker *-a* on the v1 stem, the person marking suffix *-ŋ* is also included (5.4a,b). This is not obligatory, but it is very common to include the person marking suffix in such cases. This can be seen in examples (5.4a,b)

(5.4) a. *chapt-a-ŋ-bid-e-hẽ*
write-PST-1sA-BEN$_1$-PST-1sA.PST
'I wrote it for (them).' [Fieldwork_2010]

b. *khatt-a-ŋ-bid-e-hẽ*
take-PST-1sA-BEN$_1$-PST-1sA.PST
'I took it for (him/her).' [Fieldwork_2010]

However, as I stated earlier, when there is no inflectional suffix to combine with the stem, the epenthetic morpheme *-na* appears between the v1 and the v2, which consequently fulfills the di-syllabic constraint of the v1. Bickel et al. (2007) report that there are two such cases under which no suffix is available for the v1: the first one is with the non-past maker *-no/-nok* suffix (5.5a) and (5.5b), which appears only on the v2 stems; and the second condition emerges in third person singular intransitive subjunctive forms (5.5c), which do not bear any suffixes.

(5.5) a. *li-na-haʔ-no*
be-NA-COMPL$_1$-NPST
'It becomes.' [CLDLCh3R01S04.064a]

b. *mett-na-bi-no*
do-NA-BEN$_1$-NPST
'She does it for (people).' [Fieldwork_2010]

c. *tan-na-yak-lok* *khic-nu* *porne*
jump-NA-TEL-SIM record-INF should.be
'She should be recorded when she jumps.' [Fieldwork_2010]

Moreover, the epenthetic marker *-na* also appears when the v2 is in hortative mood (5.6a), and also in the nonpast subjunctive forms usually followed by the temporal sequential and temporal particle, as in (5.6b) and (5.6c).

(5.6) a. *ca-na-ca=ne* *na*
eat-NA-COMPL$_2$=OPT INSIST[2]
'Let her eat!' [CLDLCh2R02S02.274]

b. *huĩ* *man-na-haiʔ* *pache*
DEM finish-NA-COMPL$_1$ SEQ
'after finishing that' [CLDLCh2R02S02.588]

c. *i-pakku=te* *thuŋ-na-di* *pacche* *ololowa* *raiʔ-ma*
2sPOSS-uncle=FOC$_1$ drink-NA-TEL SEQ IDEOPH make.noise-INF
'Your uncle makes noise after drinking (alcohol).' [CLDLCh3R01S02.491]

Unlike in Athpare (Ebert 1997a, p. 71) and Bantawa (Doornenbal 2009, p. 252), where prefixes appear as a rule only on the v1, in Chintang prefixes can also appear on the v2 just as well as suffixes. The following examples illustrate this with prefixes *a-* '2s' and *u-* '3ns'. In examples (5.7a) and (5.8a), the prefixes *a-* 2s and *u-* 3ns appear before the v1, but in examples (5.7b) and (5.8b) the same prefixes appear before the v2.

(5.7) a. *a-ko-na-gon-no*
2sS-walk-NA-AMB-NPST

b. *ko-na-a-gon-no*
walk-NA-2sS-AMB-NPST
Both: 'You walk around.' [Fieldwork_2010]

(5.8) a. *u-hab-a-gond-e*
3nsS-cry-PST-AMB-PST

b. *hab-a-u-gond-e*
cry-PST-3nsS-AMB-PST
Both: 'They cried.' [Fieldwork_2010]

[2] It is quite common to borrow the insistive *na* [INSIST] from Nepali, for example *bhannus na* (भन्नुस न) '(I insist that you) tell!'

However, prefixes cannot satisfy the requirement of a disyllabic host. So, the first (Σ) is inflected with the epenthetic *-na* in (5.7) and the past tense marker *-a* in (5.8), when there is no other suffix on the first stem.

Interestingly, more than one v2 can be combined with one lexical verb, although this is not very frequent. In this case, a maximum of three v2s have been attested with a single lexical verb. This type of serialization is made to focus on an action.

(5.9) a. *kɨp-ma-dheĩ-ma-bi-ma*
cut-INF-COMPL$_2$-INF-BEN$_1$-INF
'It should be cut right away.' [CLDLCh2R02S02.171]

b. *khamd-u-c-o-hatt-u-bid-a*
chew-3P-COMPL$_2$-3P-COMPL$_1$-3P-BEN$_1$-IMP
'Eat by chewing it!' [CLLDCh1R03S01.0464]

Generally, it is not possible to have a vector verb twice in a single compound verb. There is only one example in our corpus where the completive vector appears twice in a single compound verbal form (5.10a). But the example like in (5.10b) can be elicited.

(5.10) a. *lon-na-haiʔ-waʔ-na-haiʔ*
walk-NA-COMPL$_1$-TEL-NA-COMPL$_1$
'He might walk.' [CLDLCh3R01S04.069]

b. *khamd-u-c-o-hatt-u-bid-u-hatt-e*
chew-3P-COMPL$_2$-3P-COMPL$_1$-3P-BEN$_1$-3P-COMPL$_1$-PST
'He already ate by chewing it.' [Fieldwork 2010]

The v1 and v2 compounds are usually so tightly fused that they have lost their structural and semantic independence. In most of the cases, such compounds are contiguous; the only constituents that can freely intervene between the two verbs are clitics. However, this type of interruption is not critical for complex predicates and it is not unique to either Chintang, Belhare, a neighboring language (cf. Bickel 1996:56), or in cross-linguistic perspective in South Asia.

The examples in (5.11a) and (5.11b) show that the restrictive particle *=le* and the focus particle *=ta* appear between the two verbs. Examples (5.12a) and (5.12b) illustrate that the

emphatic particle *=lo* can appear inside of the verbal complex or outside of the complex predicate.

(5.11) a. *khali* *pin-na=le-gon-no*
only [3sS]run-NA=RESTR-AMB-NPST
'She only runs away.' [CLLDCh4R11S06.587]

b. *thab-a=ta-ci-e*
[3sS]come.level-PST=FOC$_1$-COMPL$_3$-PST
'She came.' [warisama_talk.115]

(5.12) a. *kɨp-ma=lo-dheĩ-ma* *naŋ*
cut-INF=SURP-COMPL$_2$-INF BUT

b. *kɨp-ma-dheĩ-ma=lo* *naŋ*
cut-INF-COMPL$_2$-INF=SURP BUT
Both: 'It should be cut.' [CLDLCh2R02S02.170]

Moreover, the two verbs of the complex predicate cannot be scrambled. They can be moved only as a single unit. Any attempts to separate one of the main verbs from its v2 compound are ill-formed.

Like simple verbs, compound verbs can also appear in the infinitival form of the verb (5.12a,b) above or being inflected for the imperative, as illustrated in (5.13a,b).

(5.13) a. *tɨŋs-ɨ-bid-a* *na*
kick-3P-BEN$_1$-IMP INSIST
'Kick on it.' [CLLDCh4R14S02.0628]

b. *ho* *mo* *rɨkt-a-gond-a-c-a*
well CIT chase-IMP-AMB-IMP-d-IMP
'Yes, chase it!' [CLLDCh4R13S04.478]

In a historical paper on compound verbs in Indo-Aryan languages, Sen (1968) notes that compound verbs represent a highly polished style and are used frequently in the ceremonial variety of a language. However, this is not the case in the Kiranti languages including in Chintang. The study of the Chintang corpus shows that compound verb forms are equally

productive both in the everyday and in the ritual variety of the Chintang language.

There are various types of verbs which can appear as a v2 in Chintang. In this section, I deal with the most important verbs and their formal characteristics.

5.1.1.1 *bima, -bid* 'Benefactive$_1$'

The benefactive marker *-bid* 'give' is the most frequent and also the most strongly grammaticalized form. This marker occurs only with transitive verbs and marks any kind of positive (5.14) or negative affection (5.15).

(5.14) a.

cakhaŋ	*yapt-u-ŋ-pid-u-ku-ŋ*	*them*
a.kind.of.porridge[3]	stir-3P-1sA-BEN$_1$-3P-NPST-1sA	what

'I make *cakhang* for her.' [CLDLCh2R02S02.595]

b.

ba	*sa-ŋa*	*na-chapt-a-bid-e*
DEM.PROX	who-ERG	3>2-write-PST-BEN$_1$-PST

'Who wrote it for you?' [CLLDCh1R06S03.1388

(5.15) a.

rame-ko	*u-laŋ-be*	*ten-u-ŋ-bid-u-ŋ-khaŋ*
R.-GEN	3sPOSS-leg-LOC	beat-3P-1sA-BEN$_1$-3P-1sA-CON

'Let me beat on Ram's leg!' [CLLDCh1R06S03.1093]

b.

sa-ŋa	*putt-a-nd-u-bid-e*
who-ERG	split-3P-COMPL$_2$-3P-BEN$_1$-PST

'Who split it up?' [CLLDCh3R10S04.891]

5.1.1.2 *dheiʔma, -dhett* 'Benefactive$_2$'

-dhett is another benefactive vector verb. It appears only with transitive verbs provided that they are activity verbs and indicate that the action performed by the verbs will take place right away in a quick manner and lasts for a very short period of time.

(5.16) a.

kancha	*a-catt-u-dhett-e*	*elo*
youngest.male	2sA-hit-3P-BEN$_2$-PST	or

'Kancha, did you strike him?' [CLLDCh1R13S02.1055]

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[3] *Cakhaŋ* (Nep. *Dhido* ढिडों), made of wheat or millet flower, is a traditional Nepali cuisine prepared mostly in the hilly region of Nepal.

b. *huĩ-cok-be=ta* *keŋs-u-dhett-e*
DEM-top-LOC=FOC$_1$ [3sA]hang-3P-BEN$_2$-PST
'She hung it on the top.' [CLLDCh1R06S03.0218]

c. *akka* *os-u-ŋ-dhett-u-ku-ŋ-c-u-ŋ*
1s throw-3P-1sA-BEN$_2$-3P-1sA-ns-3P-1sA
'I throw it (immediately)!' [CLLDCh1R06S03.0940]

There are no evidences in our corpus where *-dhett* appears in non-voluntary actions, such as *ims-* 'sleep'.

5.1.1.3 *haiʔma, -hat/-hatt* 'Completive$_1$'

This vector verb has two different variants for intransitive and transitive verbs. *-hat* (< *khat-* 'go') is used exclusively with intransitive verbs, and *hatt-* is combined with transitive verbs. But they both express the completion of an event or an action. After a vowel, *-hat, -hatt* is usually reduced to *–d* or *-tt.* This is illustrated by the following examples.

(5.17) a. *huĩ* *reg-a-d-e* *appi=ta*
DEM tear-PST-COMPL$_1$-PST REFL=FOC$_1$
'That got torn by itself.' [CLLDCh4R11S11.204]

b. *putt-a-d-e*
split-PST-COMPL$_1$-PST
'It split off.' [CLLDCh1R03S01.0555]

(5.18) a. *a-c-o-hatt-e* *naŋ*
2sA-eat-3P-COMPL$_1$-PST BUT
'Did you eat it up?' [CLLDCh1R04S06.0433]

b. *lutt-a-t-u-hẽ (<lutt-a-u-ŋ-hat-u-ŋ-e)*
press-PST-COMPL$_1$-3P-1s.PST
'I pressed (my finger).' [CLDLCh3R01S04.034]

Usually *-hatt* is a final vector verb. It can follow any other v2, but it cannot precede any other vector except a benefactive. In example (5.19a) and (5.19b), *-hatt* follows the completive verb

ca- and the benefactive verb *bid-* making the construction more complex.

(5.19) a. *khamd-u-c-o-hatt-a*
chew-3P-COMPL$_3$-3P-COMPL$_1$-IMP
'Eat by chewing!' [CLLDCh1R03S01.0464]

b. *patti* *tola* *u-sona-ce* *c-o-hatt-u-bid-e* *huĩ-sa-kko*
side quarter 3sPOSS-gold-ns eat-3P-COMPL$_1$-3P-BEN$_1$-PST 3s-OBL-GEN
'He took a piece of his gold.' [Ctn_talk02.127]

In extremely few cases, the durative vector *-yuŋ* follows *-hatt*, and indicates that the action is in the state of completion or that the completion of an action results in a lasting state. An example of this type is given in (5.20).

(5.20) *man-na-haʔ-na-yuŋ-no*
finish-NA-COMPL$_1$-NA-DUR-NPST
'It is being finished.' [phidang_talk. 161]

5.1.1.4 *dheĩma, -dhend* 'COMPL$_2$'

Like *-hatt* and *-gond*, *-dhend* is also combined with both transitive and intransitive verbs. But there are very few examples with intransitive verbs in the Chintang corpus. The v2 *-dhend* attributes conscious choice of the actor; the actor does something voluntarily or on purpose. In (5.21a), for example, where *-dhend* combines with *neg-* 'bite', the actor decided to bite the cucumber.

(5.21) a. *seme-ŋa* *neg-a-nd-e*
S.-ERG [3sA]bite-PST-COMPL$_2$-PST
'Seme bit into (the cucumber).' [CLLDCh1R04S06.0347]

b. *a-os-a-nd-e*
2sA-throw-PST-COMPL$_2$-PST
'Did you already throw it?' [CLLDCh1R04S06.0975]

c. *paĩ* *u-taŋ* *chit-ma-dheĩ-ma* *mo=kina=kha*
today 3sPOSS-head wash-INF-COMPL$_2$-INF CIT=SEQ=NMLZ$_2$
'I am thinking to wash her hair today.' [CLDLCh2R02S02.150]

intransitive

(5.22) *car=na* *bakhiʔniŋ* *para* *yaŋs-a-nd-o-ko* *naŋ*
four=TOP in.this.way COND$_2$ be.useful-3P-COMPL$_2$-3P-NPST BUT
'The four is okay if (you write it) like this.' [CLLDCh1R06S03.1402]

-dhend is sometimes further combined with *-bid,* as in the following example.

(5.23) *jhaprima* *u-taŋ* *u-kɨpt-a-nd-u-bid-e* *raicha*
Jh. 3sPOSS-head 3nsA-cut-3P-COMPL$_2$-3P-BEN$_1$-PST MIR
'They cut Jhaprima's hair!' (I just knew it.) [CLDLCh3R01S02.268]

5.1.1.5 *cama, -ca* 'Completive$_3$'

-ca is one of the most common vector verbs found across the whole Kirant. This verb is quite frequent in Chintang as well. In Chintang, it is combined mostly with verbs like *kuŋs-* 'come down', *thap-* 'come level', *ti-* 'come neutral', *tad-* 'bring' or *kad-* 'come up', which Bickel (1996) labels as 'environmental space' verbs. When *-ca* is used as a vector verb, it indicates a number of different functions according to the nature of the respective v1 and the context in which it is used.

In examples (5.24a-c), *-ca* indicates that the action has been already completed.

(5.24) a. *puma-ma* *kad-a-ci-a-ŋs-e*
a.clan.of.rai-F [3sS]come.up-PST-COMPL$_3$-PST-PERF-PST
'A Puma woman has come up.' (And she is still there) [CLDLCh3R01S02.270]

b. *u-tapparaŋ* *thab-a-ci-e* *mo*
3sPOSS-alone [3sS]come.across-PST-COMPL$_3$-PST CIT
'He came alone, she said.' [CLLDCh2R02S06.112]

c. *massakkai* *ims-a-ci-e*
IDEOPH sleep-PST-COMPL$_3$-PST
'He fall asleep suddenly.' [origin_myth.324]

There are a few instances where *-ca* appears with stative verbs and indicates the duration of the action. But their frequency is quite low in comparison to motion verbs.

(5.25) a. *lo* *abo* *yuw-a-ci-a-ni-haʔ* *o*
ok now stay-IMP-DUR-IMP-2p-PRSV.IMP RECONF
'Now you (all) keep on staying.' [CLLDCh2R11S01.768]

b. *na-khaŋ-na-ca-no*
3>2-see-NA-DUR-NPST
'She is spying on you.' [CLLDCh2R08S04.1544]

5.1.1.6 *goĩma, -gond* 'Ambulative'

Like *-hatt, -gond* is also combined with both transitive and intransitive verbs. It is attested only as a v2, and it indicates that the activity is carried out in a motion.

(5.26) a. *u-ko-na-ta-gon-no*
3nsA-walk.around-NA-FOC$_1$-AMB-NPST
'They keep on going.' [Ctn_talk02.005]

b. *kos-a-gond-a-kt-e* *pho*
[3sS]walk-PST-AMB-PST-IPFV$_1$-PST REP
'S/he was walking.' [Fieldwork_2010]

c. *them* *a-tapt-u-gond-o-ko*
what 2s-loiter-3P-AMB-3P-NPST
'What are you loitering?' [CLLDCh1R06S03.0446a]

(5.27) a. *hururuwa* *khatt-u-gond-u-ku-ŋ=ta*
IDEOPH take-3P-AMB-3P-NPST-1sA=FOC$_1$
'I take it away regularly.' [mouse_story.122]

b. *hid-u-gond-e*
[3sA]finish-3P-AMB-PST
'He almost finished (the work).' [CLLDCh1R04S06.0957a]

There are very few examples in our corpus where *-gond* appears with stative verbs like *yuŋ-* 'to be', as in the following example. In this case, it basically indicates duration of the stative action.

(5.28) *das* *baje* *samma* *yu-i-gond-i-hẽ*
ten o'clock TERM stay-p-AMB-p-1ns.PST
'We stayed up to 10 o'clock.' [dkt-ktm-trip.0806]

5.1.1.7 *lama, -la* 'return'

-la is a motion verb which is combined only with *tama, ti-* 'to come'. It indicates that somebody or something returns back to one's original place. This verb is not attested with other verbs except *ta-* 'come'. Doornenbal (2009) noticed a similar restricted behavior of the *-la* verb in Bantawa. The only difference is that in Bantawa the v1 loses all the suffixes, and it is attached directly to the stem of the v1.[4]

(5.29) a. *gakkaŋ maʔmi-ce* *u-ta-na-la-no* *pheri*
later people-ns 3nsS-come-NA-return-NPST again
'People will come later again.' [CLLDCh4R13S05.531]

b. *bhunti* *kutiwa*[5]*=yaŋ* *ti-a-li-e*
Bh. dog=ADD [3sS]come-PST-return-PST
'The bhunti-dog also came.' [CLDLCh2R02S02.385]

The vector *-la* can also appear as a primary verb meaning 'return', 'come back', or 'go back'. As a primary verb, it is inflected both intransitively or transitively. In this case it can take any verb as a vector verb. When it combines with motion verbs, it signals 'back', for example 'bring back' as in (5.30c)

(5.30) a. *ani-rɨŋ* *tupt-o-ko* *tara* *las-o-ko-nɨŋ*
1p.POSS-language [3sA]understand-3P-NPST but [3sA]return-3P-NPST-NEG
'He understands our language but he can't speak it. (literally "he doesn't give back (response))' [Fieldwork_2010]

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[4] (5.31) Bantawa
ta-ø-ci-la-ø-ci-ki
come-PST-d-return-PST-d-SEQ
'after they had reached...' (Doornenbal 2009:265)

[5] *kutiwa* 'dog' is borrowed from Bantawa

b. *theke* *a-las-u-dis-e* *hã*
why 2sA-return.back-3P-TEL-PST yes
'Why did you keep it back?' [CLLDCh1R04S06.1226]

c. *mo* *phak-cilek=ta* *las-u-ŋ-tad-u-he*
CIT piglet-DIM=FOC$_1$ return.back-3P-1sA-bring-3P-PST
'They brought the piglet back (from the market).' [CLLDCh2R02S08 102]

The vector *-la* is a neutral motion verb; so it is not specified for altitudinal forms like 'up', 'down' or 'level'. Perhaps, this is the reason, it does not combine with altitudinal verbs, such as *kuŋs-* 'come down' (**kuŋs-a-las-e* 'S/he came back down'), *thap-* 'come level' (**thab-a-las-a* 'Come (level) back'.

5.1.1.8 *loĩma, -loĩs/-lott,* 'Take out, Bring out', *-lond* 'Come out'

The vector verb *loĩma* has three different stems. Among these three variants, *-loĩs* is the most frequent one in the Chintang corpus. It appears with both intransitive and transitive verbs.

(5.32) a. *pog-a-loĩs-e*
[3sS]wake.up-PST-OUT$_1$-PST
'She woke up.' [CLDLCh3R01S03.504]

b. *ba-sa-ŋa* *ba=go* *oŋs-u-loĩs-e*
DEM.PROX-OBL-ERG DEM.PROX=NMLZ$_1$ [3sA]separate-3P-OUT$_1$-PST
'This baby has taken it out!' [CLDLCh3R05S01.093]

Like *-loĩs, -lott* also appears with both intransitive and transitive verbs.

(5.33) a. *ba-ce=lo* *khup cap* *ti-a-lott-a-ŋs-e* *naŋ*
DEM.PROX-ns=SURP very smartness come-PST-OUT$_2$-PST-PERF-PST BUT
'These (children) have grown smarter.' [CLLDCh1R03S01.0316]

b. *aŋ* *a-cekt-a-lott-a-ŋs-e*
Q 2sS-say-PST-OUT$_2$-PST-PERF-PST
'What did you say?' [CLLDCh2R05S01. 173]

(5.34) a. *akka* *khatt-u-ŋ-lott-u-ŋ*
1s take-3P-1sA-OUT$_2$-3P-1sA

'I take it away.' [CLLDCh1R04S06.0751]

b. *theke* *huŋ=go-iʔ* *a-thog-u-lott-e*
why DEM=NMLZ$_1$-FLOC 2sA-dig-3P-OUT$_2$-PST
'Why did you dig there?' [CLLDCh2R04S04.0565]

-lond is combined only with intransitive verbs and mostly with *khat-* 'to go'.

(5.35) *moʔ-ni* *khaʔ-na-lon-no* *aŋ*
DEM.DOWN-DIR$_2$ go-NA-OUT$_3$-NPST Q
'It (the ball) moves downside?' [CLLDCh3R14S02.207]

The distribution of *-loĩs* and *-lott* is unclear. There are some verbs which combine with either of the variants: *-loĩs* or *-lott.* For example, *thok* 'dig' in (5.33b) can also be combined with *-loĩs* and there is no difference in meaning. However, verbs like *khatt-* 'take away' always take *-lott*. This indicates that *-lott* is common with lexicalized forms.

5.1.1.9 *yuŋma, -yuŋ* 'Durative'

The v2 *-yuŋ* is found in many Kiranti languages. It appears both as a simple verb and as the second member of a compound verb form. When it appears as a v2, it basically indicates the extended duration of an action or process over a period of time. This v2 generally applies to action verbs, and to a lesser extend, statives, as seen in the following examples:

(5.36) a. *phan-a-yuŋs-ei*
walk-IMP-DUR-PRSV.IMP
'Keep on working (lit. Keep on walking).' [CLLDCh2R12S02.208]

b. *man-na-haʔ-na-yuŋ-no*
finish-NA-COMPL$_1$-NA-DUR-NPST
'It is being finished.' [phidang_talk. 161]

c. *hun=go* *cha-ce-ŋa* *tiusan* *mo* *u-cekt-a-yuŋs-a-ŋs-e*
DEM=NMLZ$_1$ child-ns-ERG tuition CIT 3nsA-say-PST-DUR-PST-PERF-PST
'Those children have been crying for tuition.' [Durga_job.099]

The durative marking *-yuŋ*, however, does not denote continuation of activity in relation to a reference point in time, hence the example below is ungrammatical. In the above examples,

there is no indication of any reference point in time, so the occurrence of *-yuŋ* is perfectly grammatical.

(5.37) **u-mma* *ta* *ghari* *hun=go* *cha-ce-ŋa*
3nsPoss-mother come time DEM=NMLZ$_1$ child-ns-ERG

caklet *mo* *u-cekt-a-yuŋs-a-ŋs-e*
toffee CIT 3nsA-say-PST-DUR-PST-PERF-PST

'Those children have been asking for the toffee when their mother came.'
[Fieldwork_2010]

5.1.1.10 *khaŋma, -khaŋ* 'Conative'

-khaŋ or *-kh* 'see' appears with both intransitive and transitive verbs and indicates the effort of the agent in performing the activity described by the verb. In this aspect, the action includes an impulse, desire or volition of the speech-act participants.

(5.38) a. *akka* *ba-iʔ* *ek* *tali* *copt-u-ŋ-khaŋ*
1s DEM.PROX-FLOC one chance see-3P-1sA-CON

'Let me try this once!' [CLDLCh2R02S02.665]

b. *khoi* *cuwa* *khutt-o-kh-o* *nisa* *kanchi*
EXCLA water bring-3P-CON-3P nisha kanchi

'Nisa Kanchi, could you bring water!' [CLLDCh2R10S05. 135]

This v2 appears frequently in imperative constructions to encourage someone to do something, as in (5.39a,b).

(5.39) a. *khele* *chokt-a-khaŋ*
Kh. give-IMP-CON

'Khele, please give me (that one).' [CLLDCh1R03S06.513]

b. *hokhiʔ* *a-chap-no* *khaŋ-mett-a-ŋ-khaŋ*
how 2sA-write-NPST see-CAUS-IMP-1sP-CON

'Please show me how you write.' [CLLDCh1R13S05.409]

5.1.1.11 *meiʔma, mett-*, 'Cause'

mett- is an auxiliary verb. Unlike v2 stems, auxiliaries are full-fledged stems on their own, and so they do not require disyllabic hosts. Instead they form periphrastic constructions together with a lexical verb (Bickel et al. 2007). In this case, either the lexical verb (5.40a) or the auxiliary stem can be inflected, as in (5.40b).

(5.40) a.

kha-u-khu	*mett-a-k-e*
1nsP-3nsA-carry	cause-PST-IPFV$_1$-PST

'They made us carry it.' [Bickel et al. 2007]

b.

hunce-ko	*khu-ma-ce*	*poka-ce*	*them-them-ce*
3ns-GEN	carry-INF-ns	luggage-ns	what-REDUP-ns

khu	*kha-u-mett-a-k-e*
carry	1nsP-3nsA-cause-PST-IPFV$_1$-PST

'They made us carry their loads, luggage or whatever stuff.' [rana_pilgrim.061]

The auxiliary *mett-* basically functions as a causativizer, which adds a causer to the clause in the position of the subject. It can appear with both intransitive and transitive verbs. Added to intransitive verbs, the causative structure is transitivizing. The causer is added as the subject of the clause, while the former intransitive subject (S) is turned into the primary object of the verb derived by the causative. This phenomenon is shown in the following table:

Intransitive Clause:	S		V
Transitive Clause:	A(=causer)	P(=former S)	V-CAUS

Table 5.1: Causative derivation with intransitive verbs

In the following examples, the intransitive verbs *hap* 'cry', *peĩ* 'fly' *and im* 'sleep' are the base for the causative, leading to the transitive form *hap mett-* 'cause someone to cry', *peĩ mett-* 'cause something to fly', and *im mett-* 'cause someone to sleep'.

(5.41) a.

abo	*hap*	*mett-e*	*gonei*
now	cry	cause-PST	ATTN$_1$

'Now, she made him cry!' [Fieldwork_2010]

b *akka* *peĩ* *mett-u-ku-ŋ*
1s fly cause-3P-NPST-1sA
'I make (the dove) fly.' [CLLDCh3R05S01 031]

c. *im* *met-na-ŋ-na-c-e* *aya*
sleep cause-REFL-PERF-REFL-REFL-PST EXCLA
'Oh! She has put herself to sleep.' [CLDLCh2R02S02.564]

(5.42) *hap* *na-mett-e*
cry 3>2-CAUS-PST
'Did he make you cry?' [CLLDCh1R04S06.1547]

When the causative is added to the transitive verb, the valency of the verb is not changed, but the subject and object positions are occupied by other participants than in the non-derived form: the causer of the action appears in the subject position, the former subject is changed into a primary object and the former primary object disappears from the cross-reference marking in the verb. This is demonstrated in the following table:

Transitive Clause: A	P	V	
Causative Clause: A(=new)	G(=former A)	T (=former P)	V-CAUS

Table 5.2: Causative formation with transitive verb

In the following example, the mother makes the elder sister carry her sibling. The transitive verb *khur-* 'carry' is the input for the causative to form *khumett-* 'make someone carry something'. In this form 'elder sister' is the object of the clause.

(5.43) *amma-ŋa* *nicha* *u-nicha* *khu* *mett-e*
mother-ERG sibling 3sPOSS-sibling carry cause-PST
'The mother caused the elder sister to carry her sister.' [Fieldwork_2010]

5.1.1.12 *sima/seiʔma, -si/-set* 'Die/Kill'

This vector verb which has two different variants (*-si* 'die' for intransitive and *-set* 'kill' for transitive stems), is also one of the quite common vector verbs across the Kiranti languages. Both variants indicate that the action designated by the v1 brings something to death or to

the end point. This is illustrated by the following examples.

(5.44) a. *thams-a-si-e* *i-chau*
[3sS]fall.down-PST-die-PST 2sPOSS-child

'Your baby fell down.' [CLLDCh3R06S04.541]

b. *la* *hani-parewa* *hutt-a-si-e*
EXCLA 2p.POSS-pigeon [3sS]burn-PST-die-PST

'Oh your pigeon got burnt!' [CLLDCh1R02S05. 1113]

c. *arko* *lett-u-ŋ=go=na* *jamma=ta* *cen-a-si-e*
other plant-3P-1sA=NMLZ$_1$=TOP all=FOC$_1$ break-PST-die-PST

'The different (paddy) which we had planted, all got damaged (did not grow well.)' [CLLDCh1R04S06.1017]

(5.45) a. *la* *a-ma-ŋa* *thokt-u-sed-e*
EXCLA 1sPOSS-mother-ERG [3sA]dig-3P-kill-PST

'Oh! My mother dug (the plants) out.' [CLLDCh3R04S03.0188]

b. *wa-ce=leʔ* *nept-u-sed-u-ce*
hen-ns=RESTR [3sA]step.on-3P-kill-3P-nsP

'She stepped on the chicken (to death).' [CLLDCh2R08S04.1211]

When *-set* is used as a lexical verb it takes other vector verbs, as in (5.46).

(5.46) *namtha=lo* *sed-u-ca-hatt-u-mm-e-hẽ*
night=SURP kill-3P-COMPL$_2$-COMPL$_1$-3P-2nsA-2nsA-PST-1sA.PST

'We killed it this evening.' [CLLDCh1R06S03.0996]

The following table presents a list of highly frequent v2 stems with their basic function and meaning in Chintang.

v2	grammatical function	lexical meaning
-bid	benefactive I	'give'
-dhett	benefactive II	
-hatt	completive I	'go/bring'
-dhend	completive II	
-ci	completive III	'eat'
-gond	ambulative	'search'
-li	return	'back'
-yuŋ	durative	'keep'
-loĩs	-	'take out'
mett-	causative	'do'
-si/-set	-	'die', 'kill'

Table 5.3: Most common v2 verbs with their function and meanings

5.2 Verb with a preverb

Besides verbal compounds, there are a number of verbs in Chintang which consist of two members, a 'preverb' and a 'stem' (see Table 5.4). They form a single lexeme together but can be separated by endoclitics and prefixes that are usually hosted by the stem. Moreover, the preverbal elements and the stems cannot appear in isolation; they have no independent function in the language. Preverbal elements are often monosyllabic nouns in Chintang. The following sentences exemplify the use of preverbs and stems compound in Chintang:

(5.47) a.

themma	*bistari*	*lam-thum-no*	*mo*	*pho*
which	slowly	PRV-walk-NPST	CIT	REP

'(They say that) she walks slowly.' [CLDLCh2R02S02.118]

b.

Kamala	*chep-mus-a-ŋs-e*	*huĩ*
K.	PRV-urinate-PST-PERF-PST	DEM

'Kamala has urinated there.' [CLLDCh2R04S04.0163]

c. *jamma* *wa-pitt-e*
all PRV-leak-PST
'All (water of the jerrycan) leaked.' [CLLDCh3R11S03.158]

(5.48) a. *lak-lus-e=yaŋ*
[3sS]PRV-dance-PST=ADD

b. *lak=yaŋ-lus-e*
[3sS]PRV=ADD-dance-PST
Both: 'She danced.' [Fieldwork_2010]

c. *ba* *cha-ce* *ni* *thitta* *taŋ=ta-u-phek-nɨk-nɨŋ*
DEM.PROX child-ns FOC_2 one sweep=FOC_1-3A-sweep-NPST-NEG
'These babies never sweep (the floor).' [CLLDCh1R03S01.0367]

The preverbal element *ya-* cannot be separated from the rest of the stem *-cep* except by prefixes and endoclitics. Moreover, *ya-* and *cep-* cannot occur in isolation. In the following example, the preverbal element *ya-* is separated with two prefixes, i.e. *a-* '2s' and the negation marking prefix *mai-*. However, the preverb can also host the same negative marking prefix (see free prefix ordering in Bickel et al. 2007), but simultaneous negation of both preverb and a stem is not possible; probably because preverb and a stem denote a single idea.

(5.49) *ya-a-ma-cep-yokt-u-ce* *naŋ* *hana*
PRV-2s-NEG-call-NEG-3P-3nsP BUT 2s
'Didn't you call them?' [kamce_talk.054]

Almost all the data shows that the preverbal elements are obligatory. Neither the preverbal morpheme nor the stem can appear on its own. However, there are a few sentences in our corpus which show that preverbal elements are not obligatory in some forms.

In the following natural conversation between two Chintang speakers, the speaker LK asks Rabi whether her friend calls him (5.50a). In his response, Rabi uses the form without the preverb (5.50b). In example (5.51a) the speaker BGT asks KTR whether that particular thing satisfies him. In his response, he also uses the verb form without the preverbal form *som* (5.51b). This shows that the dropping of the preverb seems to be possible only in repetition contexts.

(5.50) a. *ya-na-cep-no* *huĩ-sa-ŋa*
PRV-3>2-call-NPST DEM-OBL-ERG
'Does she call you?' \Speaker LK, [CLLDCh2R08S04.1039]

b. *cep-ma-ʔã*
call-1sP-NPST
'She calls me.' \Speaker Ravi, [CLLDCh2R08S04.1041]

(5.51) a. *abo* *huŋ=go* *i-som-si-no* *e* *si-nɨk-nɨŋ*
now DEM=NMLZ$_1$ 2sPOSS-PRV-satisfy-NPST OR satisfy-NPST-NEG
'Does that satisfy you or not?' \speaker BGT, [kothari_talk.028]

b. *hoi-na* *si-no*
AUX-NEG satisfy-NPST
'Yes, it satisfies me.' \speaker KTR, [kothari_talk.030]

Another example found in the child language corpus (session CLLDCh1R04S06), when a child falls down on the muddy ground, his parents tell him to wash his face (see records between CLLDCh1R04S06.0090 to CLLDCh1R04S06.0161), in this case he uses the verb *wa-chima* 'to wash' without the preverbal morpheme.

(5.52) *akka=na* *chid-e-hẽ*
1s=TOP wash-PST-1sA.PST
'I washed.' [CLLDCh1R04S06.0161], \EUDICOt0 06:20, \Speaker Ram

The verbs that participate in the pre-verb construction comprise a small set. Moreover, nearly all pre-verbs are restricted to a particular verb stem, so the occurrence of a particular verbal stem is predictable. *wa-chima* is the most frequent verb in the Chintang corpus which is attested without the preverbal form *wa-*. Table 5.4 lists the most frequent preverbs and their stems.

Stem	Infinitive	Lexical meaning
ya-cept-	*ya-cepma*	'call'
ep-mus-	*ep-muma*	'shit'
chep-mus-	*chep-muma*	'urinate'
wa-land-	*wa-laĩma*	'flow'
som-si-	*som-sima*	'be satisfied'
cuʔ-nud-	*cu-numa*	'be beautiful'
wa-chid-	*wa-chima*	'wash'
wa-pitt-	*wa-pĩma*	'leak'
som-tukt-	*som-tukma*	'love, care, have sympathy for'
kha-sɨŋs-	*kha-sɨŋma*	'ask'
nam-phan-	*nam-phaĩma*	'be sunny'
rɨŋ-led-	*rɨŋ-leiʔma*	'promise'
lak-lus-	*lak-luma*	'dance'
cham-lus-	*cham-luma*	'sing'
lam-thum-	*lam-thumma*	'walk'
taŋ-phek-	*taŋ-phekma*	'broom'

Table 5.4 : Most common pre-verbal compound verbs

The preverb plus stem compound differs from v1-v2 compounds in the sense that some of them, for example, *somsi-* 'be satisfied' and *somtukt-* 'love or have sympathy on' can be marked with a possessive prefix. An example of this type is given in (5.53).

(5.53) *sarok=ta* *i-som-si-e*
much=FOC$_1$ 2sPOSS-liver-die-PST
'You were very satisfied.' [warisama_talk.307]

Generally, prefixes are hosted by the stem of the verb. However, there are few examples in our corpus where the preverb also hosts prefixes. In the following examples, the second person marking prefix a- '2s' is hosted by the preverbs *chep-* and *lak-*, respectively.

(5.54) a. *hana* *catti*[6]*=ta* *a-thiŋs-e=kina*
2s small.cushion=FOC$_1$ 2sA-spread-PST=SEQ

a-chep-mutt-a-nd-o-ŋs-e *aŋ* *tanna-niŋ*
2sA-urine-urinate-PST-COMPL$_2$-3P-PERF-PST Q bed.sheet-COM

'You spread the cushion and pissed on the bedspread.' [CLLDCh3R11S08.089]

b. *a-lak-lu* *pho*
2sS-dance-dance REP

'He said you shall dance.' [CLLDCh1R13S05.557]

5.3 Borrowed verbal compounds

Chintang also borrows a number of verbs from Nepali to form complex predicates. However, the Nepali infinitive suffix *-nu* is dropped from the infinitive form of the verbs and they are nativized by the suffix *-e* and then further combined with a Chintang verb. All markers, such as TAM and person, are affixed to the Chintang verb, which mostly either is the light verb *numd-* 'to do, to make' or one of the auxiliaries *mett-* 'do' and *lis-* 'be'.

(5.55) *ban-e-numd-* 'build, make'
pod-e-numd- 'study'
cep-e-numd- 'press'
ban-e-mett- 'make'

Borrowed verbal compounds also behave similar to compound verbs. In the following examples, the light verb *numd* 'to do' forms a compound with the borrowed verbs *cep-* (< Nep. *cepnu*) 'to press' and *ban-* (< Nep. *banaunu*) 'to make'. Like other compounds, the second verb hosts prefixes (5.56a), and can intervene between the verb particles (5.56b). Moreover, the second verb can also have the active participle *ka-* (5.56c). In addition, unlike with preverbs, it is impossible to negate only the borrowed verb of the compound form; the negation marking suffix appears obligatorily on the light verb, as illustrated in (5.56b).

[6] The noun *catti* is probably derived from Nepali *cakati* (चकटी) usually made of cotton or dried grass, placed on the floor as a place to sit.

(5.56) a. *ŋaklasi-ŋa* *cep-e-u-numd-e=kina* *khatt-u-wakt-e*
banana-INSTR press-V.NTVZ-3sA-do-PST=SEQ [3nsA]take-3P-IPFV-PST
'They used to take it after pressing it with a banana (leaf).' [LH_Lal.1009]

b. *ban-e=ta-na-num-na-bi-niŋ* *ettikhera*
make-V.NTVZ=FOC$_1$-3>2-do-NA-BEN$_1$-NEG at.this.time
'She does not make it for you now.' [CLLDCh1R04S06.1308]

c. *ba=go* *ba* *khala* *misin* *ban-e-ka-num-pa*
DEM.PROX=NMLZ$_1$ DEM.PROX type machine make-V.NTVZ-ACT.PTCP-do-M
'the one who makes this type of machine' [CLDLCh3R01S03.310]

In (5.57a), the borrowed verb *ban-* (Nep. *bannu* 'to make') is combined with the causative verb *mett-* 'do' and in (5.57b), the loan *khuil-* (Nep. *khuilinu* 'to fade away') forms a compound with the auxiliary *lis-*.

(5.57) a. *them* *ban-e-a-mett-e*
what make-V.NTVZ-2sA-do-PST
'What did you make?' [CLLDCh3R06S04.927]

b. *khuil-e-lis-a-d-a-ŋs-e*
fade.away-V.NTVZ-be-PST-COMPL$_1$-PST-PERF-PST
'It (the color) has faded away.' [CLLDCh3R07S01. 901]

5.4 Summary

Like in many other South Asian languages, there is an extensive use of complex predicates in both the ritual and the everyday variety of Chintang. Among the three different types of complex predicates, the verbal (v1+v2) compound is the most productive one in the Chintang corpus. One of the major essential properties of Chintang v2s is that they require a disyllabic host to maintain their prosodic subcategorization constraint. So the v1 is augmented or supported by inflectional suffixes, if there is no inflectional suffix available to go with the v1 stem, an epenthetic element is inserted to fulfill the disyllabic requirement. Inflectional suffixes appear on both the v1 and v2. Clitics can intervene between the two verbs. The second type of complex predicate is a 'preverb' and a 'verb stem' form which both function as a single lexical verb, but can be separated by endoclitics and prefixes. Finally, the borrowed

verbs from Nepali also form a compound with the light verb *numd-* 'do' or an auxiliary *mett-* 'cause'. Unlike in other types of complex predicates, the borrowed verbs do not host any affixes except the verb nativizing suffix *-e*. Syntactically, all types of complex predicates behave like simple verbs and they can also appear in non-indicative or infinite forms like the infinitive or the imperative.

Chapter 6

Adverbs

6.0 Introduction

Adverbs express notions such as time, place, manner, and intensification. They are of several types in Chintang and do not form a single homogeneous class. They have the fact in common that they all modify events, states or properties and function as adjuncts. In terms of morphology, there are both monosyllabic and polysyllabic adverbs. Syntactically, a Chintang adverb may appear as a modifier of a verb (6.1a), or modifier of an adjective (6.1b,c).

(6.1) a.

i-tamphuwa	*ba-khiʔ-niŋ*	*mett-a*	*to-patti*
2sPOSS-hair	DEM.PROX-MANR-COM	do-IMP	DEM.UP-DIR$_1$

'Please set your hair up in this way.' [CLDLCh3R01S04.174]

b.

huŋ=go	*sapphi*	*makacɨk*	*maʔmi*
DEM=NMLZ$_1$	very	black	person

'that very black person' [Fieldwork_2010]

c.

ba=go	*carko*	*mi=kha*	*khim*
DEM.PROX=NMLZ$_1$	very	small=NMLZ$_2$	house

'this very small house' [Fieldwork_2010]

In this chapter, adverbs are classified according to their form and function. In §6.1 to §6.4, I classify the adverbs in terms of their function. Section 6.5 discusses how the Chintang adverbs derive through duplication process and ideophonic roots.

6.1 Time adverbs

Kiranti languages are notable for rich sets of time adverbials (Michailovsky 2003: 237).[1] Like in other Kiranti languages, the native words that refer to notions of time are mostly adverbial forms in Chintang. There are series of time adverbs which refer to specific points in time from up to three days or years before the present and up to five days or three years after it.

Adverbs of time, listed in (6.2), can occur clause-initially or medially. They very rarely appear in the clause-final position.

(6.2) Days

-	*aseĩ*	'many days before/last time'
-3	*aseĩba*	'three or many days before'
-2	*aseĩgosaŋa*	'day before yesterday'
-1	*asinda*	'yesterday'
0	*paĩ*	'today'
+1	*wanda*	'tomorrow'
+2	*chindayuk*	'day after tomorrow'
+3	*oŋthayuk*	'three days after today'
+4	*retthayuk*	'four days after today'
+5	*paŋthayuk*	'five days after today'
+	*wareĩ/wareĩba*	'after many days'

The series of time adverbs from 'three years ago' until 'after four years in the future' is given below. These forms contain the set of affixes *a- -maniŋ/-mniŋ>* meaning 'before this year' and *-maŋa* 'after this year'.

[1] See Michailovsky (2003) for a detailed comparative survey of time adverbials (what he calls time-ordinals) in a number of Kiranti languages. Unfortunately, he does not include any data from the Chintang language in his list.

(6.3) Year

-3	*adoŋmaniŋ*	'before three years'
-2	*achimaniŋ*	'before last year'
-1	*anemniŋ*	'last year'
0	*paidoŋ*	'this year'
+1	*nammaŋa*	'next year'
+2	*chimmaŋa*	'after the next year'
+3	*doŋmaŋa*	'after three years'

All the time adverbs in (6.2) and (6.3) show that Chintang employs single words to denote time rather than longer phrases like in English (e.g. "the day after tomorrow").

There is a number of adverbs which express time in a relative sense. For example:

(6.4)

esari	'just'
hale	'soon, quickly, early'
gakkaŋ	'later, after a while'
pucucuwa	'late'
bapali	'this year' (*pali* is borrowed from Nepali)
eŋsi	'behind, later'

(6.5)

ta-no	*gakkaŋ*
[3sS]come-NPST	after.a.while

'She will come later.' [CLLDCh1R06S03.0095]

Finally, temporal anchoring may also be expressed by an adverbial clause (see Adverbial clauses in Chapter 11), depicting more fully the event that serves as temporal reference point:

(6.6)

akka	*khaiʔ-ya-ʔã-lok*	*caklet*	*pi-na-ʔã*	*ni*	*hana*
1s	go-1sS-NPST-SIM	toffee	give-1>2-NPST	FOC_2	2s

'I will give you a toffee, when I leave.' [CLLDCh1R13S02.0220]

Besides these adverbs, Chintang has also borrowed a few general time adverbs from Nepali, such as *barsa* 'year' (<nep. *bʌrsʌ*), and *dina* 'day' (<nep. *din*).

6.2 Manner adverbs

Unlike in Nepali, manner adverbs are not numerous in Chintang. So, Chintang compensates for this absence by means of either Ideophones[2] or borrowed forms from Nepali (e.g., *bistaro* 'slowly', *chito* 'quickly' and so on). Moreover, manner adverbs can also be constructed with the suffix *-likhi* which serves to determine a manner. The suffix *-likhi*[3] is quite productive and is combined to almost all types of verbs. It requires the person marker *-i*, which is actually a marker for first the person plural inclusive forms. Like in Belhare where there is a general rule to use inclusive markers for impersonal reference (Bickel 1997), Chintang has the same equivalent forms. The example in (6.8b) illustrates it.

(6.7) a. *hab-i-likhi* 'in weeping manner' [Fieldwork_2010]

b. *ta-i-likhi* 'as if something is coming' [Fieldwork_2010]

c. *si-i-likhi* 'as if something is dying' [Fieldwork_2010]

(6.8) a. *huĩ-sa-ŋa* *ca-i-likhi* *numd-e*
3s-OBL-ERG eat-IMPERS-MANR [3sA]do-PST
'He pretended as if he is eating.' [Fieldwork_2010]

b. *ha-go* *ca-i-niŋ*
DEM.PROX-NMLZ$_1$ eat-IMPERS-NEG
'We do not eat this. or This is not edible.' [CLDLCh3R02S01. 020]

Besides this, Chintang also expresses manner by means of demonstratives, where proximate is signaled by *ba-* and remote is signaled by *huŋ-*, as everywhere. In this case, the suffix *-khiʔ* has simply a semantic function that makes the pronominal referring to a manner. Consider the following examples in (6.9a-c).

(6.9) a. *ba-khi(ʔ)* 'like this, this way, in this manner'
DEM.PROX-TYP

[2] See Rai et al. (2005) for a full discussion of ideophones and reduplicated/triplicatd forms which function like adverbs in Chintang.

[3] *-likhi* does not require any linking morpheme when it is attached to nouns or particles, e.g. *puchak likhi* 'like a snake' [CLDLCh2R01S03. 0812]. It might be the case that *-likhi* has been borrowed from Indo-Aryan and that *-khiʔ* derives from this.

b. *huŋ-khi(ʔ)* 'like that way'
DEM-TYP

c. *ho-khi(ʔ)* 'in which manner?'
Q-TYP

This is more like a general use of demonstratives to code manner, when the speaker does not refer to any specific way, situation or method. These forms are similar to Nepali *eso* यसो 'like this', *kʌso* कसो 'how', and *teso/tyeso* त्यसो 'like that'. In contrast to this, they choose to use the forms with *-nɨŋ* 'COM' when they want to be more specific in terms of their context. In this case, the speaker gives some specific methods or ways. These forms are equivalent to Nepali *esʌri* यसरी 'this way', *kʌsʌri* कसरी 'how, in what manner', and *tesʌri/tyasʌri* त्यसरी 'that way'.

(6.10) a. *ba-khi(ʔ)-nɨŋ* 'with this manner'
DEM.PROX-TYP-COM

b. *huŋ-khi(ʔ)-nɨŋ* 'with that manner'
DEM-TYP-COM

c. *ho-khi(ʔ)-nɨŋ* 'how (exactly)?'
Q-TYP-COM

In addition to all this, manner adverbials may also be constructed as full verbal clauses, often resembling participial adverbials (cf. Chapter 11), with a verb at their semantic core, as in:

(6.11) *mai-kham-ma=ta* *min-no*
NEG-chew-INF=FOC$_1$ [3sS]swallow-NPST
'The boy swallows without chewing.' [Fieldwork_2010]

6.3 Place adverbs

There are no genuine place adverbs in Chintang. There are two forms (6.12a,b) which are frequently found in Chintang discourse, but they are borrowed from the eastern dialect of Nepali. Similarly, *yoʔni-bhaiʔni* is originally a demonstrative, but it is in the process of lexicalization.

(6.12) a. *abardebar* 'here and there' [Fieldwork_2010]
b. *anekkha* 'everywhere' [Fieldwork_2010]

c. *yoʔni-bhaiʔni* 'here and there' [Fieldwork_2010]

6.4 Adverbs through duplication

Kiranti languages have very few monomorphemic adverbs. In many Kiranti languages reduplication or even triplication of some stems derive an adverb. In Chintang adverbs may also be derived from other lexical categories or from other adverbs. They are generally derived by repeating a base twice or thrice and adding the adverbalizing suffix *-wa*.[4] Thus from the verb *bɨŋ* 'blast', triplication derives the meaning 'extremely'.

(6.13) a.

asinda	*bɨŋ-bɨŋ-bɨŋ-wa*	*nam*	*phan-e*
yesterday	blast-REDUP-REDUP-ADVLZ	sun	[3sS]be-PST

'It was a very hot day yesterday.' (lit. blasting sun) [Fieldwork_2010]

b.

paĩ	*chɨk-chɨk-chɨk-wa*	*cuŋ*	*lu-no*
today	pinch-REDUP-REDUP-ADVLZ	cold	[3sS]feel-NPST

'It is very cold today.' [Fieldwork_2010]

c.

mi	*sip-sip-sip-wa*	*om-no*
fire	extinguish-REDUP-REDUP-ADVLZ	[3sS]burn-NPST

'The fire burns very weak.' [Fieldwork_2010]

d.

ba=go	*maʔmi*	*mak-mak-mak-wa*	*lis-a-ŋs-e*
DEM.PROX=NMLZ$_1$	person	black-REDUP-REDUP-ADVLZ	be-PST-PERF-PST

'This person has became very angry.' [Fieldwork_2010]

In examples (6.13a-c), *bɨŋs, sip,* and *chɨk* are verbal roots meaning 'blast', 'fire' and 'pinch', respectively. In the same way, in (6.13d) *mak* is a nominal root which means 'black'.

In addition to this, a number of adverbs are also built from ideophonic bases. This process is quite productive in Chintang. Consider the next two examples:

(6.14) a.

phak-hi	*tok-tok-tok-wa*	*nam-no*
pig-shit	(ideophone)-ADVLZ	[3sS]smell-NPST

'The pig-shit smells very strongly.' [Fieldwork_2010]

[4] See Rai et al. (2005) for an exhaustive description and discussion of triplication and ideophones in Chintang.

b. *huŋ=go* *duda* *kui-kui-kui-wa* *thu-e*
DEM=NMLZ$_1$ milk (ideophone)-ADVLZ [3sA]drink-PST
'He drank milk chokingly.' [Fieldwork_2010]

Adverbs can be both partially and fully reduplicated. In partial reduplication, a basic adverb is altered in some way.

(6.15) a. *gurek* *kili-li-wa* *kir-e*
bowl (ideophone)-ADVLZ [3sS]fall.down-PST
'The bowl fell down continuously.' [Fieldwork_2010]

b. *ajikali* *cama* *lili-li-wa* *chu-no*
these.days food (ideophone)-ADVLZ be.expensive-NPST
'Food is very expensive in these days.' [Fieldwork_2010]

Thus, in the duplication process the base can be verbal, nominal or an ideophonic form but the outcome of duplication is always an adverb marked by the adverbalizing suffix *-wa*.

6.5 Summary

This chapter deals with the different types of adverbs in Chintang. There are hardly few mono-morphemic adverbs. The majority of adverbs derive from a reduplication or triplication process. Syntactically, Chintang adverbs appear as a modifier of a verb, modifier of an adjective or modifier of an another adverb. Adverbs can occur in various positions without changing their meaning. Similarly, adverbial clauses may precede the matrix clause or immediately precede the verb in the matrix clause.

Chapter 7

Noun Phrase Structure

7.0 Introduction

The minimal unit of a noun phrase (henceforth abbreviated NP) can be a noun or a pronoun. If it is noun, it can be optionally modified by a number of modifiers. Syntactically, NPs can function as subjects, direct objects, indirect objects, complements and adjuncts. As subjects (except for some experiencer constructions), NPs control verb-agreement in person and number and also serve as antecedent of reflexives. The elements modifying the head noun are demonstratives, numerals, classifiers, quantifiers, adjectives, and attributive clauses. The whole NP can be replaced by a pronoun which occurs alone as NPs without any modifiers. In canonical NPs, the head noun appears in final position and is inflected for number and case. If there is no head noun (headless NP), case and number markers may attach after the modifiers of the NP.

This chapter outlines the structure of NPs, and also describes the elements which modify head nouns in Chintang. I begin with the structure of NPs in §7.1. In §7.2, I discuss heads of NPs. Section 7.3 describes in detail the elements which can modify a head noun. In §7.4, I talk about various strategies available to coordinate NPs in Chintang. In the last section of this chapter I deal with the agreement system in NPs.

7.1 The Structure of noun phrases

There are simple, complex, and headless NPs in Chintang. A simple NP contains only a

pronoun or a noun which can be further modified by a number of modifiers, whereas a complex NP contains more than one NPs combined either by a subordination or coordination process. There are various types of modifiers in complex NPs: genitive and possessive phrases as well as attributive clauses. In such phrases, the attributes are embedded by the genitive case on the possessor, with a classifier on numerals and nominalizers on adjectives. Coordinative NPs include simple juxtaposition of nouns and comitative constructions. Moreover, there are NPs which lack an overt head noun. The NP schema for Chintang is represented in Table 7.1:

Pre-head modifier	**H**	
	PRO	(CASE)
CLAUSE	(N)	(NUMBER) (CASE)
(DEM) (QUANT) (ADJ) (POSS-)	(N)	(NUMBER) (CASE)

Table 7.1: Maximal structure of NPs in Chintang

As the schema shows, the (head) N can also be dropped if there is an adjective or a quantifier or a demonstrative. All forms in parentheses are optional — nothing is obligatory. The head nouns are optional even when they are modified by a relative clause. As I stated earlier, a pronominal head cannot take any modifiers in Chintang.

Some examples of pre-head modified NPs are given in (7.1) and (7.2).

(7.1) a. *huŋ=go* *asinda* *silok* *hukno=go* *kocuwa*
DEM=NMLZ$_1$ yesterday deadly barking=NMLZ$_1$ dog

b. *huŋ=go* *silok* *asinda* *hukno=go* *kocuwa*
DEM=NMLZ$_1$ deadly yesterday barking=NMLZ$_1$ dog
Both: 'The dog that was barking awfully yesterday.' [Fieldwork_2010]

(7.2) a. *ba=go* *thit-ta* *temma* *mi=kha* *khim* *khed-u-hẽ*
DEM.PROX=NMLZ$_1$ one-CLF beautiful small=NMLZ$_2$ house buy-3P-1sA.PST

b. *ba=go* *temma* *mi=kha* *thit-ta* *khim* *khed-u-hẽ*
DEM.PROX=NMLZ beautiful small=NMLZ$_2$ one-CLF house buy-3P-1sA.PST
Both: 'I bought this small beautiful house.' [Fieldwork_2010]

c. *thit-ta* *mi=kha* *ba=go* *khim* *khed-u-hẽ*
one-CLF small=NMLZ$_2$ DEM.PROX=NMLZ$_1$ house buy-3P-1sA.PST
'I bought this small house.' [Fieldwork 2008]

d. *akka=yaŋ* *paĩ* *mi=kha* *thit-ta* *katha* *cek-ma* *mo* *miʔ-ya-ʔã*
1s=ADD today small=NMLZ$_2$ one-CLF story say-INF CIT think-1sS-1s.NPST
'I want to tell a short story today.' [love_story.003]

NP structure is similar to that of the clause, the head is final and the pre-head order is syntactically free. Post-head positions are available for both clauses and NPs. The major characteristic of NPs in Chintang is that the head noun is always in the final position. There are extremely few examples of post-head attributes in Chintang. Demonstratives, adjectives, possessors, numerals and classifiers precede the head noun in almost all cases.

7.2 Heads of noun phrases

The head of a NP can be a noun (N), a personal pronoun (PRO), or a demonstrative pronoun (DEM). All of these can occur as subject, object and adjuncts. A pronoun cannot be modified in Chintang. But the highest number of attributes are possible when the head of the NP is a noun. The head is the most important element which also controls agreement (see §7.5 in this chapter) within the NP.

The following examples illustrate various modified and unmodified head nouns. The example in (7.3a) shows an unmodified noun head, a personal pronoun as a head in (7.3b), demonstrative as a head in (7.3c), and a modified noun head in (7.3d). The relevant head nouns are highlighted.

(7.3) a. ***bipana***=*yaŋ* *kad-a-ŋs-e*
B.=ADD [3sS]come.up-PST-PERF-PST
'Has Bipana also come up?' [CLLDCh4R07S05.1525]

b. *na-pi-nɨk-nɨŋ* *para* ***akka*** *pi-na-ʔã*
3>2-give-NPST-NEG COND$_2$ 1s give-1>2-NPST
'If he does not give you, I will give you.' [Fieldwork 2008]

c. ***ba*** *kukt-u-thok-ko*
DEM.PROX [3sA]bring.down 3P-leave-3P-NPST
'She brings this (one).' [CLDLCh2R02S02.324]

d. *ba=go* *thit-ta* *temma* *mi=kha* ***khim***
DEM.PROX=NMLZ$_1$ one-CLF beautiful small=NMLZ$_2$ house
'this small beautiful house' [Fieldwork_2008]

Like many other languages, Chintang also allows NPs that contain only modifiers of a noun, but not a head noun. In this case, the demonstratives and attributes function as an NP on their own (7.4a) and (7.4b). In addition to this, the NP is also not obligatory but always an optional element in Chintang. The entire NP can be dropped without any problem in connected speech. For example, a sentence like *cano* in (7.4c), is fully grammatical. Unlike English, Chintang does not need an overt pronoun or an NP of any kind.

(7.4) a. *ba=go* *kam-u-ku-ŋ*
DEM.PROX=NMLZ$_1$ tie-3P-NPST-1sA
'I fasten this one.' [CLLDCh3R06S04.875]

b. *mi=kha* *pid-a* *na*
short=NMLZ$_2$ give-IMP INSIST
'Give a small piece!' [CLLDCh1R02S03b.144]

c. *ca-no*
[3sA]eat-NPST
'She eats (it).' [CLDLCh2R02S02.146]

Moreover, the clauses nominalized with *=go* often do not contain an NP (e.g. headless relative clause). NPs are attested, but not common in nominalized clauses. While performing a statistical analysis of the nominalizer *=go*, Kuhn (2010) found that 161 of 201 utterances (=80,1%) are headless clauses in the Chintang corpus.

(7.5) *hururu* *khaʔ-no=go*
IDEOPH go-NPST=NMLZ$_1$
'thing that moves smoothly (wind)' [mouse_story.110]

7.3 The modification of noun phrases

The head noun in an NP can be modified by a number of modifiers, which all occur in pre-head position. The structure of the NP given in Table 7.1 indicates all the possible constituents of an NP. The schema also shows that any number of adjectives may occur in an NP. However, in our corpus not more than two adjectives have been found in a single NP. But during elicitation, speakers do not find it ungrammatical to have three adjectives in a row. In the following §7.3.1 - §7.3.5, I describe the various elements of the NP, with relevant examples.

7.3.1 Adjective

As described in §3.6, there are extremely few adjectives in Chintang whose function is limited to specify colour, size, and quality. Unlike in Nepali and other languages, Chintang adjectives are bound morphemes which always need a suffix, in most cases the nominalizer *=go* or *=kha* to be realized (cf. §3.6). As I stated earlier, a noun in Chintang can be modified by any number of adjectives, although an NP does not normally contain more than two in the Chintang corpus. Some examples are given below:

(7.6) a.

mi=go	*phak*
small=NMLZ$_1$	pig

'the small pig' [CLLDCh1R09S07.0610]

b.

the=go	*doku-be*	*boms-a*
big=NMLZ$_1$	basket-LOC	stoop-IMP

'Stoop it into the big basket.' [CLLDCh1R02S04b 1208]

The head noun in Chintang can be further modified by an adjectival phrase, which consists of an adverb and adjective. In this case, the adverb always precedes the adjective; one cannot reverse the order of the adjective and the adverb. This is exemplified in (7.7a,b).

(7.7) a.

ba=go	*carko*	*mi=go*	*khim*
DEM.PROX=NMLZ$_1$	very	small=NMLZ$_1$	house

'the very small house' [Fieldwork_2008]

b. *huŋ=go* *carko* *boleu=go* *maʔmi*
DEM=NMLZ$_1$ very strong=NMLZ$_1$ person
'that very strong person' [Fieldwork_2008]

Besides this, an NP can also contain a demonstrative plus an adjective which can be further focused by an additive particle, as in (7.8). This is another example of a nominalized form which itself functions as a head rather than modifying an overt head.

(7.8) *ba* *mi=go=yaŋ* *sapphi* *ca-no* *mo* *cek-no*
DEM.PROX small=NMLZ$_1$=ADD too.much eat-NPST CIT say-NPST
'He says, 'this small one also eats very much.' [CLDLCh3R05S03.021]

Chintang nominalizes not only native adjectives but also those borrowed from Nepali with *=kha.* In this case, a main function of *=kha* is to join Nepali adjectives with Chintang nouns. Once the borrowed adjectives are nominalized with Chintang nominalizers, they qualify to occur without a head noun, as in (7.9b)[1].

(7.9) a. *seto=kha* *bhes* *wad-a-ŋs-a=kha*
white=NMLZ$_2$ vest wear-3P-PERF-PST=NMLZ$_2$
'He has put on a white vest.' [CLLDCh1R02S04.0762]

b. *thit-ta* *lamo=kha* *tog-o-ko*
one-CLF long=NMLZ$_2$ [3sA]get-3P-NPST
'He gets a small one.' [CLLDCh4R07S06. 512]

7.3.2 Possessive

Pronominal possessors are marked by the genitive and precede the possessed head noun, as in (7.10a,b). The genitive is obligatory only with a first person singular possessor. With other possessors genitive marking is optional. This shows that there are three types of possessive marking in Chintang: double marking — where the dependent is marked with the genitive and the head with a possessive prefix (7.10a,b), dependent marking — where the dependent is marked with the genitive and the head of the phrase remains unmarked (7.11a,b), and head

[1] See also the records [ref. arkha_hengma.11, khebak_tale.055, CLLDCh1R02S01 1049] in the Chintang corpus for other similar evidences.

marking — where the head is marked with the possessive and the dependent remains unmarked (7.12).

(7.10) a. *ak-ko* *a-phuwa* *u-chau=lo* *asinda* *kad-e*
1sPOSS-GEN 1sPOSS-brother 3sPOSS-child=SURP yesterday come.up-PST
'My brother's daughter came yesterday.' [CLDLCh2R02S02.179]

b. *hana-kko* *i-padum=na*
2s-GEN 2sPOSS-father's.elder.brother=TOP
'your uncle' [CLLDCh1R06S03.0179]

(7.11) a. *Kheme-ko* *wassa* *khatt-o-kh-o*
Kh.-GEN bird take-3P-CON-3P
'Please, take away Kheme's bird!' [CLLDCh1R02S04.0629]

b. *hana-ko* *gettis*
2sPOSS-GEN catapult
'your catapult' [CLLDCh1R02S04b 1684]

(7.12) *sapana* *u-nisa*
S. 3sPOSS-sibling
'Sapana's sibling' [Fieldwork_2008]

The possessor generally precedes the possessee in Chintang. However, there are also some examples in the Chintang corpus where the possessor is postposed to the possessee. But this is possible only when the possessor does have the genitive marking. This can be seen in example (7.13a). 7.13b is a rare example where the possessor appears between two possessees.

(7.13) a. *olioli* *cind-u-wakt-a* *na* *i-thurum-ce* *hana-ko*
different teach-3P-IPFV$_1$-IMP INSIST 2sPOSS-mouth-ns 2s-GEN
'Teach different things (to a child), (I crush) your mouth!' [CLLDCh1R03S01.0144]

b. *u* *u-gala* *u-pa-ko* *u-dhuli* *pho* *cuwa* *lott-a*
DEM 3sPOSS-throat 3sPOSS-father-GEN 3sPOSS-dust REP water bring-IMP
"Please, bring water to (clean) the dust on father's throat", He says.'
[CLDLCh3R01S03.213]

It is not only possible to insert an additive focus clitic between the possessor and a possessed item, as in (7.14a), but also a full argument, as shown in (7.14b), which is also an example of a discontinuous phrase in Chintang.

(7.14) a. *ak-ko=yaŋ* *a-yaŋme=ta=kha=lo*
1s-GEN=ADD 1sPOSS-nephew=FOC$_1$=NMLZ$_2$=SURP
'He is also my nephew.' [CLDLCh3R01S02.275]

b. *Rame-ko* *chokuma-ŋa* *u-muk* *kept-u-ŋ* *o*
R. -GEN nettle-INSTR 3sPOSS-hand sting-3P-1sA RECON
'Let's sting Rame's hand with the nettle, okay.' [CLLDCh1R02S04.0488]

It is possible that a possessive marker can appear optionally on both the adjective and the head noun. However, this is restricted to color adjectives, as in (7.15a).

(7.15) a. *u-makacɨk* *u-topi=ta* *lond-e*
3sPOSS-black 3sPOSS-cap=FOC$_1$ [3sS]appear-PST
[CLDLCh3R01S03.026]

b. *u-makacɨk* *topi=ta* *lond-e*
3sPOSS-black cap=FOC$_1$ [3sS]appear-PST [Fieldwork 2008]

c. *makacɨk* *u-topi=ta* *lond-e*
black 3sPOSS-cap=FOC$_1$ [3sS]appear-PST
All: 'His black cap is seen (in the camera).' [Fieldwork 2008]

Like the elements marked with the nominalizer *=go*, also nouns marked with the genitive *-ko* can appear without head nouns. This hints that *=go* [NMLZ] and *-ko* [GEN] are probably related diachronically. That's why it's still got an allomorph or free variant *=ko* in some environments. But phonologically these two (*=ko* vs. *-ko*) are clearly distinct and contrastively distributed, cf. *kancha=go* 'the one who is youngest' vs. *kancha-ko* 'the youngest's (x).

(7.16) *ana-ko-ce* *asinda* *cand-u-m-c-u-mm-e-hẽ*
1pPOSS-GEN-ns yesterday graze-3P-1nsA-ns-3P-1nsA-PST-1s.PST
'Ours (cows) grazed yesterday.' [CLDLCh2R02S02.217]

7.3.3 Numeral and classifiers

NPs are modified by a combination of numerals and classifiers in Chintang. There are only three surviving native numerals which obligatorily take classifiers. Numerals always precede nouns in Chintang. Furthermore, the numerals give rise to number agreement with nouns referring to humans. This is quite a rare phenomenon in the languages of the world. According to Rijkhoff (2002: 29), there are no languages in which the noun must take a plural marker while the attributive numeral combines with a classifier. However, this is not only possible, but an obligatory feature in Chintang. As usual, the head of the phrase follows numeral and classifier, as in (7.17).

(7.17) a.

sum-bhaŋ	*ma-ce*	*ra*	*thit-ta*	*pa*	*yu-i-ki-ŋa=kina*
three-HUM.CLF	girl-ns	CONJ	one-CLF	boy	be-p-NPST-e=SEQ

'We are three daughters and one son.' [khim_ring.061]

b.

hicci-baŋ	*a-na-ce /*a-na*	*u-yuŋ-ce-ke*
two-HUM.CLF	1sPOSS-sister-ns/1sPOSS-sister	3nsS-be-d-NPST

'I have two sisters.' [Intro_family.006]

Like the nominalized adjectives, the numeral and classifier can also appear without a head noun, as in (7.18).

(7.18)

sum-bhaŋ	*u-ta-ni-niŋ*
three-HUM.CLF	3nsS-come-NPST-NEG

'Three (people) do not come.' [CLLDCh2R03S04. 0529]

However, the numerals are not accompanied by classifiers when they modify non-human nouns. As there is no classifier, there is an overt noun in this sentence (7.19).

(7.19)

sum-ce	*yaŋ-ce*
three-ns	fly-ns

'three flies' [CLLDCh1R05S01 218]

7.3.4 Quantifier

Chintang has a small number of words that code quantification, occurring both with count nouns and mass nouns. Quantifiers may precede or follow the head noun in Chintang.[2] Examples (7.20a) and (7.20b) are uttered by the same speaker in the same discourse, where the quantifier *miʔyuŋ* 'little' precedes the head in (7.20a) and follows the head in (7.20b). But the quantifier *sapphi* 'much' precedes the head in (7.21a), and *jammai* 'all' follows the head noun in (7.21b). However, like *miʔyuŋ,* both quantifiers *sapphi* and *jammai* can also appear after the head noun.[3]

(7.20) a.

nunu	*ba-iʔ*	*miʔyuŋ*	*cuwa*	*thapt-o-kh-o*
baby	DEM.PROX-FLOC	little	water	bring.across-3P-CON-3P

'Baby, please bring us a little water.' [CLDLCh2R02S02.561]

b.

cuwa	*miʔyuŋ*	*mai-khutt-a-c-a*
water	little	iP-bring.sth.for.sb-IMP-3nsP-IMP

'Bring us a little water.' [CLDLCh2R02S02.107]

(7.21) a.

sapphi	*photo*	*khic-e*	*numd-u-ku-ce*
many	photo	take.picture-V.NTVZ	[3sA]do-3P-NPST-3nsP

'She takes many photos.' [CLLDCh1R11S02.063]

b.

abo	*kopi*	*phaʔwa*	*jammai=ta*
now	cauliflower	leaf	all=FOC$_1$

'Now, all the leaves of the cauliflower' [CLDLCh3R01S04.079e]

The default position of the Chintang quantifiers, however, is the pre-nominal position. This order is also supported by the number of examples in our corpus: quantifiers precede nouns in more than 90% of the occurrences. When I cross-checked it with my informants, most of the speakers favored the sentence in (7.22a), where the quantifier *miʔmuŋ* precedes the head noun *camaca.* But they also did not reject the other examples listed in (7.22b-d).

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[2] Hayu, a western Kiranti language, also shares this characteristic of quantifiers (Michailovsky 2003).

[3] Genetti (2007) points out that quantifiers can occur in three different positions within the structure of an NP in Dolakha Newar: a) after the demonstrative, b) directly before the head noun, and c) after the noun, in the post head position. We find a similar picture of Chintang quantifiers in NPs.

(7.22) a. *ba-iʔ* *miʔmuŋ* *camaca* *tis-o-kh-o*
DEM.PROX-FLOC little rice put-3P-CON-3P

b. *ba-iʔ* *camaca* *miʔmuŋ* *tis-o-kh-o*
DEM.PROX-FLOC rice little put-3P-CON-3P

c. *miʔmuŋ* *ba-iʔ* *camaca* *tis-o-kh-o*
little DEM.PROX-FLOC rice put-3P-CON-3P

d. *ba-iʔ* *camaca* *tis-o-kh-o* *miʔmuŋ*
DEM.PROX-FLOC rice put-3P-CON-3P little

All mean: 'Please, put a little rice here.' [Fieldwork 2010]

The above examples show that the Chintang quantifiers can float. In (7.22c), the quantifier *miʔmuŋ* appears in the sentence-initial position, while the same quantifier floats to the post-verbal position in (7.22d).

7.3.5 Attributive clause

In addition to the modifiers dealt with so far, such as adjective, demonstrative, quantifier, and numeral, there are a number of other modifications of NPs, which I call attributes. These include phrases and clauses. Normally, a relative clause modifies a head noun (cf. §9), but headless relative clauses (also known as 'free relatives') also occur extensively in Chintang. All types of clauses serving as modifiers of NPs are sentential adjuncts. There are quite a few types of clauses that function as a modifier, including nominalized relative clauses. Examples (7.23a), (7.23b) and (7.23c) are nominalized clauses with *=go*. Similarly, (7.24) is a *=kha* nominalized clause and (7.25) is an active participle clause. In (7.26) the possessive marked NP appears sentence initially. (7.27) illustrates an internally headed relative clause.

(7.23) a. *thab-a=go* *makcha*
come.level-PST=NMLZ$_1$ brother.in.law

'the brother-in-law who came' [Fieldwork 2008]

b. *haŋ-ma=go* *citthi*
send-INF=NMLZ$_1$ letter

'the letter that has to be sent' [Fieldwork_2008]

c. *sapphi=ta* *pukt-o-ko=go* *thaũ*
very=FOC$_1$ bear.fruit-3P-NPST=NMLZ$_1$ place
'the place where we get good harvest' [Fieldwork_2008]

(7.24) *ca=kha* *thaũ*
eat=NMLZ$_2$ place
'the place where one eats' [rana_pilgrim.097]

(7.25) *kok* *ka-ca=pa* *maʔmi*
rice ACT.PTCP-eat=M person
'The person who eats rice.' [Fieldwork_2008]

(7.26) *nunu-ko* *u-phultuŋ* *rato=go* *kukt-o-kh-o*
baby-GEN 3sPOSS-shorts red=NMLZ$_1$ bring.down-3P-CON-3P
'Please, go and bring the red shorts of the baby!' [CLLDCh4R05S04 325]

(7.27) *darkem* *ma-ce* *sa* *u-sed-a=go* *na-khutt-i=kha*
D. mother-ns meat 3nsA-kill-PST=NMLZ$_1$ 3>2-take-p=NMLZ$_2$
'Did they bring you the meat which Darke's mother and the others had killed?' [CLDLCh2R02S02.241]

The examples in (7.23) and (7.25) are elicited examples of nominalized relative clauses and active participle clauses. Though one usually gets a head noun in such clauses in elicited data, there are very few examples containing a head noun in our corpus data. A general tendency of nominalized and active participle clauses is to appear without a head noun in Chintang.

7.4 Noun phrase coordination

Chintang has mainly three different strategies for the coordination of NPs, namely comitative with *-nɨŋ*, coordination with *elo,* and juxtaposition. The comitative *-nɨŋ* and juxtaposition form conjunctions, whereas *elo* builds a disjunction. All these strategies are available equally for inanimate and animate nouns. Coordination with *elo* shows a maximum of two coordinated NPs in the Chintang discourse, whereas there is no limit for coordinated NPs for comitative and juxtaposition. I describe all of these strategies in detail in the following sections.

7.4.1 Comitative

The comitative marker *-niŋ* is used to coordinate two or more units of the same type to form a larger unit. It mostly coordinates nouns, demonstratives and fillers in Chintang. There is a postpositive bisyndesis conjunctive coordination system (Haspelmath 2007) in Chintang, where both elements are marked with coordinators (7.28a-c). The example in (7.28c) shows that it is also possible to insert a demonstrative pronoun between two coordinated elements.

(7.28) a.

esari	*u-ta-ce-ko-niŋ=yaŋ*	*hola*	*indra-niŋ*	*puspa-niŋ*
this.time	3A-come-d-NPST-NEG=ADD	probably	I.-COM	P.-COM

'Indra and Puspa may not have come there by this time.' [CLLDCh1R03S01.0581]

b.

devima-niŋ	*khel-niŋ*	*eseli*	*ghãsa*	*u-khad-a-ŋs-a-ce*
D.-COM	Kh.-COM	now	grass	3nsA-go-PST-PERF-PST-d

'Devi and Khel have gone for grass now.' [CLLDCh1R04S06.0027]

c.

gaʔwa-niŋ	*huŋ=go*	*puchak-niŋ*	*u-yu-wakt-a-c-e*	*pho*
crow-COM	DEM=NMLZ$_1$	snake-COM	3nsS-be-PST-IPFV$_1$-ns-PST	REP

'That snake and a crow were there.' [khebak_tale.103]

The marker *-niŋ* coordinates not only nouns but also demonstrative pronouns in the same fashion (7.29).

(7.29)

huŋ=go-niŋ	*ba-niŋ*	*kekt-u-c-a*	*akka*	*ba*
DEM=NMLZ$_1$-COM	DEM.PROX-COM	hold-3P-ns-IMP	1s	DEM.PROX

'You hold this and that one, I (hold) this one.' [CLLDCh1R11S04.029]

7.4.2 Juxtaposition

An unlimited number of NPs are simply enumerated without any connective to form coordinative NPs, as in (7.30a). Such NPs can be translated using 'and' in English. The grammatical number on the complex NPs is a composite of the combined number on the two conjoined NPs, as in (7.30b).

(7.30) a.

maŋgup	*phidaŋ*	*u-kott-a-kt-a=go*	*ŋis-u-k-u-ŋ=ta*
garlic	ginger	3nsA-hawk-PST-IPFV$_1$-PST=NMLZ$_1$	know-3P-NPST-1sA=FOC$_1$

'I know (hawkers) hawking garlic and ginger.' [phidang_talk.075]

b. *saũwa gor-ce*
buffalo ox-ns
'buffalos and oxen' [CLDLCh3R01S03.613]

This type of noun coordination is much more frequent in the ritual variety of Chintang than in the day to day speech. It is quite common to have up to four nouns in a row. There are some examples in the Chintang corpus where even six nouns are lined up without any connectives[4].

(7.31) a. *cikhimtaŋma puwaŋtaŋma a-lis-e*
house.deity ancestor.deity 2sS-be-PST
'You became the house deity (and) ancestor deity.' [Budhohang_d.54]

b. *makkham-saya thumsuŋ-saya diluŋ-saya*
earth-soul tree-soul stone-soul

hatti-saya ghoda-saya miri-saya yuŋs-u-ŋs-u-hẽ
elephant-soul horse-soul tail-soul keep-3P-PERF-3P-1sA.PST
'I kept earth soul, tree soul, stone soul, elephant soul, horse soul and tail soul.' [Budhohang_d.91]

7.4.3 Coordination with *elo*

The alternative marker *elo* 'or' is used when there is an option of two possibilities, as in (7.32a-c).

(7.32) a. *marci elo phidaŋ*
chilly or ginger
'chilly or ginger' [CLLDCh1R05S05. 1476]

b. *debi-ko elo indra-ko*
D.-GEN or I.-GEN
'Debi's or Indra's' [CLLDCh1R07S01 177]

[4] See the record [ref. Burhahang_01.02] in the Chintang corpus for another similar evidence.

c. *hana* *elo* *Rame-ŋa*
2s or R.-ERG
'you or Rame' [CLLDCh1R02S04.0360]

7.5 Modifier-noun agreement

In an NP, the head noun shows no agreement with the other modifying constituents, except for the number agreement with the numeral, as in (7.33). This type of number agreement is obligatory with human nouns (7.33a) and optional with other nouns (7.33b).

(7.33) a. *hicci-baŋ* *ma-ce*
two-HUM.CLF female-ns
'a boy and two girls' [CLLDCh2R02S03. 216]

b. *sum-ce* *sencak-(ce)*
three-ns mouse-(ns)
'three mice' [Fieldwork_2008]

Like in many other Kiranti languages and unlike in Nepali, there is no gender agreement in Chintang. However, a few color adjectives show gender agreement optionally with the head noun. An example of this type is given in (7.34).

(7.34) *makacɨk-ma* *kocu-ma*
black-F dog-F
'a black dog' [Fieldwork_2010]

7.6 Summary

There are simple, complex and headless NPs in Chintang. A simple NP contains a head, which may be a common noun, a proper noun or a pronoun. If the head of the phrase is a noun, it can take a maximum number of modifiers. A complex NP contains more than two NPs. A typical NP structure is similar to the structure of the clause; the head is always final and the pre-head word order is syntactically free. Adverbial modifiers precede adjectives. There are extremely few examples of post head modification. As it is possible to have headless NPs, there is nothing obligatory in the Chintang NPs.

Chapter 8

Basic Clause Structure

8.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss the basic clause structure in Chintang. This chapter is structured as follows. In §8.1, I discuss the word order in Chintang. §8.2 deals with various types of interrogative clauses in Chintang. In §8.3, I briefly mention coordination strategies and link this section with other sections of this thesis. In §8.4, I describe experiencer constructions. This chapter ends in §8.5 with a brief summary.

8.1 Word order

Chintang is a verb-final language. In a basic declarative sentence all arguments usually precede the verb. In the unmarked word order an actor noun phrase normally precedes an instrumental one. The question formation does not necessarily change the word order, though the interrogative pronoun often takes the focus position immediately before the verb (cf. §8.3.1). Nevertheless, the Chintang language does not have a fixed word order. Word order in Chintang is free, i.e. any arrangement of phrases in clauses results in no change in the acceptability. It is rather conditioned by information structure and not mediated by role or clause type. As there is no detailed analysis of Chintang discourse, it is hard to say which factors are involved and what their impact is on determining the particular word order. But what can be generally observed is that old information tends to appear before new information in discourse.

The position of the verb is relatively fixed, but can be moved to the clause initial position. The most frequent word orders are SV, APV and AGTV, but the reverse order, for example, VS, VPA and VTGA, is always possible. Word order within a subordinate clause is more rigid compared to main clauses. In the following sections, I provide examples of various possible word orders in Chintang:

SV/VS

Intransitive clauses consist of an intransitive verb and a subject participant. The subject can appear before or after the verb. Both orders occur in Chintang, with a strong tendency for SV to be the pragmatically least marked constituent order.

(8.1) *rame* *rett-e*
R. [3sS]laugh-PST
'Ram laughed.' [Fieldwork_2008]

In some constructions, the constituent order in intransitive clause can be VS. This order generally occurs when a new participant is introduced.

(8.2) *kɨr-a-thi-e* *kocuwa=yaŋ*
[3sS]fall.down-PST-fall.down-PST dog=ADD
'Also the dog fell down.' (like Kheme did before) [CLLDCh1R04S06.0082]

APV/PVA/VAP

Transitive clauses have two arguments, an agent (A) and a patient (P). In this case, the basic constituent order in Chintang is APV, as shown in (8.3a,b). But this word order can easily be varied with different pragmatic effects. The example in (8.4) illustrates PVA word order, and (8.5) shows VAP word order.

(8.3) a. *menuwa-ŋa* *sa* *c-o-he*
cat-ERG meat [3sA]eat-3P-PST
'The cat ate the meat.' [Fieldwork_2008]

b. *akka=na* *u-nɨŋ* *nis-u-ku-ŋ-nɨŋ*
1s=TOP 3sPOSS-name know-3P-NPST-1sA-NEG
'I do not know her name.' [CLDLCh3R01S03.170]

(8.4) *ha, bhale=ta=lo ghoda-yukt-o-ko bhale-ŋa*
ha cock=FOC$_1$=SURP [3sA]cover-TEL-3P-NPST cock-ERG
'Ha, one cock covers another cock!' [CLLDCh1R06S03.1420]

(8.5) *ektala=yaŋ mai-khaŋ-yokt-u-ŋs-u-hẽ akka=na huŋgo*
once=ADD NEG-see-NEG-3P-PERF-3P-1sA.PST 1s=TOP 3s
'I have not seen him even once.' [Fieldwork_2010]

AGTV

In a typical ditransitive construction, T follows G, as shown in (8.6a,b). However, as the preverbal slot is associated with contrastive focus, the G argument takes the preverbal position and follows the T argument when it is focused (Bickel et al. 2010), as illustrated in (8.7).

(8.6) a. *agga yo saũwa-ce=lo cuwa pi-ma-ce kon-no=kha*
EXCLA DEM.ACROSS buffalo-ns=SURP water give-INF-3nsP be-NPST=NMLZ$_2$
'Oh! Someone should give water to these buffalos.' [CLDLCh3R01S04.084]

b. *a-cha-ce iskul paŋ-ma-ce=kha*
1sPOSS-child-ns school send-INF-3nsP=NMLZ$_2$
'I have to send my children to school.' [CLLDCh3R06S04.506]

(8.7) *akka ghãsa saũwa pid-u-hẽ*
1s grass buffalo give-3P-1sA.PST
'I gave the grass to the buffalo.' [Fieldwork_2010]

8.2 Interrogative clauses

There are three types of interrogative clauses in Chintang: content questions, polar or yes/no questions, and alternative questions. In this section, I describe all of them with relevant examples from the Chintang corpus.

8.2.1 Content questions

Content questions are used to request information about the actants or circumstances of an event or action. Chintang has a fairly rich system of content questions. They are formed with one of the eight interrogative pronouns available in this language. An exhaustive list of

interrogative pronouns is given in Table 3.4 (see §3.2.2). Interrogative pronouns generally occupy the clause initial position, but this is not a syntactic constraint; the word order can be changed for discourse-structural purposes. The following are some examples of interrogative clauses where the interrogative pronoun occurs at the beginning of the clause.

(8.8) a.

sa-lo	*luŋtak*	*os-e*
who-NOM	stone	[3sA]throw-PST

'Who threw the stone?' [CLLDCh1R09S07.0764]

b.

them	*pid-e*	*Joge-ŋa*	*u-nisa?*
what	[3sA]give-PST	J.-ERG	3POSS-brother

'What did Joge give to his brother?' [Fieldwork_2008]

If the interrogative pronoun is not used in the beginning of the clause, the speakers tend to place it in immediately preverbal position, as in (8.9a,b).

(8.9) a.

gothala	*sa-lo*	*khad-e*
jungle	who-NOM	[3sS]go-PST

'Who went to the jungle (with cattle)?' [CLLDCh1R13S02.1134]

b.

saŋbhoŋteĩ	*theke*	*khad-a-ŋs-e*
Sambugãũ.village	why	[3sS]go-PST-PERF-PST

'Why has he gone to Sambugãũ?' [CLDLCh2R02S02.499]

The examples in (8.8a,b) and (8.9a,b) showed that interrogative pronouns can appear in clause-initial and preverbal positions respectively. As it turns out, Chintang also allows for interrogative pronouns to be *in situ*, i.e. in the same position as corresponding non-interrogative phrases, as in (8.10a,b).

(8.10) a.

joge-ŋa	*sa-lo*	*pempak*	*pid-e*
J.-ERG	who-NOM	bread	[3sA]give-PST

'Whom did Joge give the bread?' [Fieldwork_2008]

b.

paisa	*sa-lo*	*badde*	*tok-no*
money	who-NOM	much	[3sS]get-NPST

'Who gets much money?' [Ganesh_talk]

In some languages, multiple constituent questions, such as English *Who did what?,* is not possible. But in Chintang transitive clauses, it is possible to get multiple question words which may either appear in situ (8.11a) or may order freely with other constituent within the clause, as in (8.11b).

(8.11) a.

sa-ŋa	*sa-lo*	*bug-o-ŋs-e*
who-ERG	who-NOM	[3sA]seek.support-3P-PERF-PST

'Who called whom?' [CLDLCh3R01S02.209]

b.

khoi	*sa-lo*	*them-them*	*mett-e*
where	who-NOM	what-REDUP	[3sA]do-PST

'Where, who did what?' [CLLDCh4R05S04 025]

It is also possible to question all arguments in ditransitive constructions. But unlike in transitive clauses, all question words must occur in situ in ditransitive clauses, i.e there is no possibility to change the order of the arguments. (8.12a) shows a (declarative) ditransitive clause where all three arguments (Agent, Goal and Theme) appear overtly in their basic order. In (8.12b) all three arguments are questioned with respective interrogative pronouns, which occur in their own corresponding places (i.e in situ). In (8.12c), we see that if the agent interrogative word follows the objects, then the question is ill formed. (8.12d), too, shows that the *in situ* positions in ditransitive clauses are rigid.[1]

(8.12) a.

joge-ŋa	*u-nisa*	*pempak*	*pid-e*
joge-ERG	3sPOSS-sister	bread	[3sA]give-PST

'Joge gave the bread to his sister.' [Fieldwork_2010]

b.

sa-ŋa	*sa-lo*	*them*	*pid-e*
who-ERG	who-NOM	what	[3sA]give-PST

c.

**them*	*sa-lo*	*sa-ŋa*	*pid-e*
what	who-NOM	who-ERG	[3sA]give-PST

[1] For some speakers (8.12c) and (8.12d) are very odd sentences but they are still grammatical. This is something people are uncertain about.

d. *sa-ŋa* who-ERG *them* what *sa-lo* what-NOM *pid-e* [3sA]give-PST
All: 'Who gave what to whom.' [Elicited_2012]

However, unlike in ditransitive *wh* questions, in monotransitive ones it is possible to switch the order of patient *wh* item and agent *wh* item. In (8.13), the agent *wh* item follows the patient *wh* item.

(8.13) *sa-lo* who-NOM *sa-ŋa* who-ERG *khatt-e* [3sA]take-PST
'Who took whom.' [Jan-Gen.1676]

The interrogative pronoun *asuk* 'how' or 'how many' is used as a noun modifier preceding the noun.

(8.14) *asuk* how.many *cha-ce* child-ns *khim-patti* house-DIR$_1$ *u-khad-e* 3nsS-go-PST
'How many children went towards home?' [Fieldwork_2008]

Interrogative pronouns can be placed in all three positions in Chintang: clause initial, immediately before the verb and *in situ*. But the frequency of the sentence initial interrogative pronouns is higher in the Chintang corpus. When there are multiple question words in a clause, the question words prefer to occur in situ. Question words cannot occur after the verb in Chintang.

8.2.2 Polar questions

Polar questions are questions to which the expected answer is the equivalent of "yes" or "no". In Chintang, polar questions are optionally marked by one of two question particles: *aŋ* and *them*, which appear at the end of the clause and serve to convert a statement into a yes-no question, as shown in (8.15a,b).

(8.15) a. *nunu* baby *hana-ko* 2s-GEN *photo temma* photo good *lond-e* appear-PST *aŋ* Q
'Did your photo appear nice, baby?' [CLDLCh2R02S02.616]

b. *huŋkhi=ta* *mil-o-ko* *them*
as.such=FOC$_1$ swallow-3P-NPST Q
'Does she swallow without chewing?' [CLDLCh2R02S02.177]

Polar questions are commonly answered by *eʔni*, *a*, *ah* 'yes', or *mahaʔ/manche*, the negation particle. But there are also a large number of examples where the polar question is answered with a complete sentence, as illustrated in (8.16).

(8.16) a. *huĩ-sa-ko* *bijuli* *om-no* *aŋ*
3s-OBL-GEN light [3sS]shine-NPST Q
'Does its light shine?' [CLDLCh2R01S03. 0313]

b. *a* *bijuli* *om-nu-nɨŋ*
FILLER light [3sS]shine-NPST-NEG
'The light does not shine.' [CLDLCh2R01S03. 0315]

Negative polar questions are also common in Chintang. Two examples of this type are given below:

(8.17) a. *hana* *bhadau-kheʔŋa* *a-khat-no* *mahaʔ*
2s Bhadau-ABL 2sS-go-NPST be.not
'Aren't you going from *bhadau*[2] on?' [CLDLCh2R02S02.530]

b. *aseĩ* *khim-beʔ* *a-khad-e* *mahaʔ*
before house-LOC 2sS-go-PST be.not
'Didn't you go home before? [ctn_aware.001]

8.2.3 Alternative type questions

Unlike the polar questions discussed above, alternative questions present two or more options for the reply. They expect a decision in answers from the alternatives that the speaker supplies, as exemplified in (8.18a,b).

[2] Bhadau (Nepali भदौ, also called Bhādra भाद्र) is the fifth month in the Bikram Samwat, the official Nepalese calendar. This month falls between August 17 and September 16 of the western calendar.

(8.18) a.

to-ni	*khad-e*	*elo*	*mo-ni*	*khad-e*
DEM.UP-DIR	[3sS]go-PST	or	DEM.DOWN-DIR	[3sS]go-PST

'Did he go up or down?' [CLLDCh1R03S03 0562]

b.

hana	*baddhe*	*a-c-o-kko*	*elo*	*i-phuwa-ŋa*	*baddhe*	*c-o-kko*
2s	much	2sA-eat-3P-NPST	or	2sPOSS-brother-ERG	much	eat-3P-NPST

'Do you eat much (rice) or your brother?' [CLLDCh1R02S01 0849]

In alternative questions, the second clause is not obligatory or not specified in many contexts when the addressee is familiar with the available choices in the particular situation. In most of the examples in our corpus, the alternative marker appears at the end of the sentence without the second alternative being stated, as shown in (8.19a,b).

(8.19) a.

pheri=yaŋ	*khu-no=kha*	*e*
again=ADD	carry-NPST=NMLZ$_2$	or

'Is she pregnant again or (not)?'(lit. Does she carry again?) [CLDLCh2R02S02.026]

b.

i-keŋ	*tuk-no=ta*	*elo*
2sPOSS-tooth	ache-NPST=IPFV$_2$	or

'Is your teeth aching or (not)?' [CLLDCh1R13S02.0008]

In a number of examples, the alternative marker *elo* also appears in the clause-initial position, functioning like a *yes / no*-questions. However, this is not a *yes / no*-question, but simply a repetitive alternative question. The examples in (8.20) are uttered by two different participants in a natural conversation, where the same speaker uses the alternative marker *elo* clause-finally for the first time and clause-initially when he has to repeat the same question again.

(8.20) \Speaker CHKR

hana	*abo*	*a-khat-no=kha*	*elo*
2s	now	2sS-go-NPST=NMLZ	OR$_2$

'Do you go now?' [CLDLCh2R02S02.338]

\Speaker PR
hokkoi?

'Where?' [CLDLCh2R02S02.339]

\Speaker CHKR

hokkoiʔ	*khic-e*	*num-si*	*a-khac-ce-ke=ta*	*hola*
where	take.picture-V.NTVZ	do-PURP	2S-go-d-NPST=FOC$_1$	probably

'Where do you (two) probably go to record?' [CLDLCh2R02S02.340]

\Speaker CHKR

elo	*a-khat-no*
OR	2sS-go-NPST

'Do you go?' [CLDLCh2R02S02.341]

When there are two alternatives — one positive and the other negative, the positive alternative always precedes the negative one. There are no counter examples against this claim in the Chintang corpus. This is illustrated by the following example, where the positive alternation precedes the negative one:

(8.21)

kaʔtu	*wad-o-ko*	*elo*	*wad-o-ko-niŋ=kha*
shorts	wear-3P-NPST	or	wear-3P-NPST-NEG=NMLZ$_2$

'Does he wear shorts or not?' [CLLDCh1R01S04.316]

When both members of the disjunction are modifiers, they each are followed by the alternative marker *elo.*

(8.22)

naʔkali	*elo*	*patali*	*elo*
fancy	or	slim	or

'Are you a fancy or a slim (girl)?' [CLDLCh2R03S02. 007]

8.3 Coordination

The Kiranti languages make relatively little use of coordination, and generally prefer resorting to subordinating or sequencing strategies. There are only three coordination strategies available in Chintang: comitative with *-niŋ*, alternation with *elo* and juxtaposition. As I have already discussed them in 7.4.1–7.4.3, I will not describe them here again.

8.4 Experiencer constructions

The Indo-Aryan languages of the Himalayan region mark experiencers either as nominatives/ ergatives or as datives (Bickel 2004a). Most of the Indo-Aryan languages of Nepal mark

experiencers with dative. However, the dative-marked experiencers of the Indo-Aryan type are not a common feature of Tibeto-Burman languages.[3] As there is no native dative case, the Kiranti languages including Chintang lack dative experiencer constructions. In these languages, the object usually bears the nominative case, and it is the case that codes experiencers as well. A third person pronoun obligatorily takes an ergative case in Chintang when it appears as an agent of a transitive verb. However, in example (8.23), the third person pronoun *huŋgo* appears in the nominative case. This is possible because in this example it is an experiencer argument, and the experiencers are realized in the same way as objects in Kiranti.

(8.23)

huŋ=go	*cuŋ-ŋa*	*chitt-e*
DEM=NMLZ1	cold-ERG	[3s]find-PST

'He got a cold.' (lit. 'The cold caught him.') [Elicited_2012]

Some more examples of nominative experiencers in Chintang are given below:

(8.24) a.

akka	*cuŋ-ŋa*	*si-ŋa-ʔã*
1s	cold-INSTR	die-1sS-NPST

'I am feeling cold.' (lit. 'The cold is killing me.') [CLLDCh2R03S04. 0676]

b.

akka	*sɨŋsawa*	*si-a-ŋs-e-hẽ*
1s	hunger	die-PST-PERF-PST-1s.PST

'I have been dying of hunger.' [Fieldwork_2008]

c.

hana=yaŋ	*sumakheĩ*	*na-mett-e*
2s=ADD	itch	3>2-do-PST

'Did it itch you?' [CLLDCh4R04S06.0578]

Like dative experiencers, Kiranti nominative experiencers differ from regular objects by their tendency to be topical (Bickel 2004a). In this regard, Kiranti nominative experiencer constructions are comparable to dative experiencers constructions. In both types of experiencer constructions, the experiencers are treated morphologically and semantically as a goal or a patient argument (Bickel 2004a). So, Bickel includes both constructions under a

[3] Dative-marked experiencers are found only in a few Tibeto-Burman languages, for example, Newar (Genetti 1994), Chantyal (Noonan 2001) and Marphatan Thakali (Georg 1996).

single term: experiencer-as-goal constructions.

Besides experiencer-as-goal constructions, there are other experiential expressions where the experiencer is marked as the possessor of an affected body part or feeling. These constructions — what Bickel (2004a) calls experiencer-as-possessor — are attested all over the Kiranti languages. This type of construction is quite widespread in Chintang, too. Some examples of experiencer-as-possessor constructions are given below:

(8.25) a.

a-taŋ	*tug-e*
1sPOSS-head	ache-PST

'I have a headache.' [CLLDCh2R04S04.0266]

b.

ani-suma	*kaʔ-no*
1piPOSS-lazy	come.up-NPST

'We feel lazy.' [CLLDCh1R13S05.359]

c.

i-laja	*kaʔ-no*	*elo*
2sPOSS-shy	come.up-NPST	or

'Are you ashamed?' [CLLDCh1R03S06. 611]

d.

a-mɨk=lo	*id-a-d-e*	*anɨŋ=kina*	*pho*
1sPOSS-eye=SURP	feel.sleepy-PST-COMPL$_1$-PST	what=SEQ	REP

'I feel sleepy, I do not know why.' [CLDLCh3R01S04.100a]

(8.26) a.

u-suma	*kaiʔ-ma-ŋa*	*etti=ta*	*hekt-o-ŋs-e*
3sPOSS-lazy	come.up-INF-EMPH	this.much=FOC$_1$	cut.grass-3P-PERF-PST

'Feeling lazy, he has cut this much (grass).' [CLLDCh1R06S03.0310]

b.	*theke*	*i-mɨk*	*mai-it-t-e*	*e*
	why	2sPOSS-eye	NEG-feel.sleepy-NEG-PST	or

'Why couldn't you sleep?'[4] [Elicited_2012]

8.5 Summary

Chintang is a verb-final language (SOV). In a basic declarative sentence all arguments normally precede the verb. The position of the verb is relatively fixed, but can be moved to the sentence initial position. The most frequent orders are SV, APV and AGTV, however, the reverse order is always possible. There are three different types of interrogative clauses: content question, polar question and alternative question. Interrogative pronouns can occur sentence initially, pre-verbally, or remain *in situ*. Chintang allows multiple questions (wh) in transitive clauses. In ditransitive clause, it is possible to question all three arguments, but all question words must occur in situ. However, there is no such restriction in transitive clauses. Polar questions are marked by focus particles at the end of the sentence. Alternative questions are stated with the alternative marker *elo*, but the marker *elo* can be dropped. The coordination strategy is not very productive in Chintang. Including juxtaposition, the comitative marker *-nɨŋ* and alternative particle *elo* are sometimes used to coordinate two elements. Unlike dative-marked experiencers of the Indo-Aryan languages (e.g. Nepali), there are nominative experiencers in Chintang, which trigger object agreement.

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[4] Although it is not a general feature of the Indo-Aryan languages, experience-as-possessor constructions are also found in a few Eastern Indo-Aryan languages like Bangla, Assamese, Oriya and Darai (Masica 1991, Bickel 2004a, Paudyal 2008).

(8.27) Darai (Paudyal 2008)

me-ra	*pet*	*botha-im*
1s-POSS	stomach	hurt-1s

'I have a stomach ache.'

In general, the dative experiencer subjects do not trigger agreement on the verb in Indo-Aryan languages (Bickel 2004a). The verb remains either in a third person masculine default form or it agrees with an another nominative argument what (Bickel 2004a) names 'nominative stimulus argument'. But there are very few Eastern Indo-Aryan languages, such as Darai where the dative experiencer subject can also trigger verb agreement (Paudyal 2003, Paudyal 2008).

Chapter 9

Nominalization

9.0 Introduction

Nominalization is one of the highly productive phenomena of Tibeto-Burman languages (Matisoff 1972, Noonan 1997, Bickel 1999, Watters 2008, Genetti et al. 2008, 2011). The functions of nominalizers and nominalization constructions in these languages are often quite diverse and extended (Yap et al. 2011). In a number of Tibeto-Burman languages, including the Kiranti sub-group, nominalization is not limited to its standard function of deriving nominals from individual words of other classes, but it also applies to clausal and sentence-level elements alike. In fact, nominalization is a major tool for creating various types of syntactic structures, such as attributive phrases, relative clauses and complement clauses. In addition, there are nominalization constructions that often appear independently, which is a phenomenon commonly referred to as stand-alone or non-embedded nominalization (Bickel 1999; Watters 2008). These constructions are quite common across the Kirant area. There are a number of studies which deal with the various aspects and functions of nominalization in Tibeto-Burman languages. Matisoff (1972) was the first to point out the relationship between Nominalization, Relativization and Genitivization in Lahu,[1] where all these functions are expressed by a single particle *-ve*. This type of conformity of syntactic

[1] Lahu is a Tibeto-Burman language spoken by the Lahu people of China, Thailand, Myanmar and Laos (Matisoff 1972).

functions in various Sino-Tibetan languages, including Kiranti languages, has been termed 'Standard Sino-Tibetan Nominalization' (SSTN in short) in Bickel (1999: 271).

Nominalization is a pervasive feature of many Kiranti languages, such as Limbu (Driem 1987), Camling (Ebert 1997b), Kulung (Tolsma 2006), Belhare (Bickel 1999), Thulung (Lahaussois 2002, 2003), and Bantawa (Doornenbal 2009). As in many other Kiranti languages, there are particularly three basic nominalizing morphemes in Chintang (Paudyal 2011). First is the nominalizer *ka- -pa* which has been referred to as 'active participle', the second one is an all-purpose 'general' nominalizer *=go,* and the last one is the nominalizer *=kha*. The active participle is a nominalizer that relativizes the S/A arguments of the clause. In Chintang the active participle requires a prefix *ka-* in addition to the suffix *-pa* (derived from TB ***pa** Watters 2008), as in *ka-ca-pa* 'the one who eats' or *ka-thuk-pa* 'the one who cooks'.[2] The nominalizer *=go* is one of the most productive markers in Chintang. It can nominalize any verb, adjective, clause, adverbial or an individual utterance. The third nominalizer *=kha* works in a fashion very similar to *=go*. The major difference among *=go*, *=kha* and *ka-* is that *=go* and *=kha* appear with the finite form of the verb and can relativize all core and oblique arguments, whereas the active participle *ka- -pa* is a nonfinite form of the verb which relativizes only the S/A argument.

The purpose of this chapter is to present the extent of nominalization in Chintang. I basically concentrate on the syntactic aspects of clause nominalization. I also deal with sentential nominalizations at the end of the chapter.

9.1 Functions of nominalization in Chintang

As we stated above, Kiranti languages use the nominalization strategy extensively. Like in other Kiranti languages, nominalization in Chintang extends beyond its core function of deriving nominal items from non-nominals. Chintang "nominalization" is thus different from the standard process at both the starting and the end point, because its input is not necessarily a non-nominal and its output is not necessarily nominal (e.g. main clause

[2] The *-pa* suffix is optional in active participle constructions in Athpare and SE Camling, for example, in Athpare *ka-thuk=(ba)* 'cook', and in SE Camling *ka-dip=(pa)* 'blacksmith/one who beats'. But in some languages like Kulung, the active participle is formed by *=pa* alone, eg. *khai=pa* 'the one who is going'.

nominalization). For example, most of the lexical categories like nouns, adjectives,[3] demonstratives and adverbs are usually nominalized. Such lexical nominalizations bear the same morphosyntactic characteristics as non-derived noun phrases, for example, a nominalized lexical element can further take a genitive marker *-ko*, plural marker *-ce* or an ergative marking suffix *-ŋa,* for example, *mi=go-ko-ce-ŋa*, small=NMLZ$_1$-GEN-ns-ERG 'the small ones'. As lexical nominalization is beyond the scope of this chapter, we deal with clausal and sentential nominalization and their specific functions in this section.

The syntactic schema of a nominalized clause can be represented as follows:

(9.1) Schema of a nominalized clause in Chintang

$[[NP_{0\text{-}n} \ldots V]\text{=}NMLZ]_{NP}$

Like non-nominalized clauses, a nominalized clause can have zero or more NPs. Other elements like adjectives, adverbials, or postpositions show up optionally. This is represented by dots (...) in the above schema in (9.1). The entire clause is nominalized with the clitic *=go*, which can then be case marked if necessary.

9.1.1 Relativization

Like in many other Kiranti languages, nominalization is the strategy to form relative clauses in Chintang. Actually, relativization is one of the major functions of nominalization. In Chintang there are a number of constructions which fulfill the same semantic role as relative clauses in many languages. However, none of these constructions are like the relative clauses found in English, but they are attributive clauses, which is an areal characteristic of the languages of Asia (Comrie 1998a). These attributive clauses are neither specialized for relativization nor is there any particular dedicated relativizer, but they include all types of clausal and non-clausal attributes and nominalizations. This is why, as in some other Kiranti languages, relativization is simply one specialized function of nominalization in Chintang.

[3] Both the native and borrowed adjectives are obligatorily nominalized in Chintang, for example, *mi=go* [small=NMLZ]$_1$ 'the small one', (see §3.6 for an overview of Chintang adjectives).

9.1.1.1 Finite relativization with *=go*

In this type of relativization a finite verb is followed by the nominalizer *=go*. There is no restriction on the distribution of this marker; it can relativize any constituent of a relative clause. It appears mostly with the subjunctive form of the verb. Consider the following examples (9.2) - (9.9):

(9.2) Rel-S

a. *thab-a=go* *makcha* *khad-e*
come.level-PST=NMLZ$_1$ brother.in.law [3sS]go-PST
'The brother-in-law who had come went away.' [Fieldwork_2010]

b. *si-a=go* *sencak* *menuwa-ŋa* *c-o-he*
die-PST=NMLZ$_1$ mouse cat-ERG [3sA]eat-3P-PST
'The mouse that had died was eaten by the cat.' [Fieldwork_2010]

(9.3) Rel-A

a. *akka* *u-ten-a-ŋ=go* *maʔmi* *khad-e*
1s 3sA-hit-PST-1sP=NMLZ$_1$ person [3sS]go-PST
'The person who hit me went away.' [Fieldwork_2010]

b. *akka* *pempak* *u-pid-a-ŋ=go* *duwacha* *ti-e*
1s bread 3sA-give-PST-1sP=NMLZ$_1$ boy [3sS]come-PST
'The boy who gave me a bread came.' [Fieldwork_2010]

(9.4) Rel experiencer A

kocuwa *u-kipma* *katt-o=go* *cha*
dog 3sPOSS-fear come.up-3P=NMLZ$_1$ child
'The child that is afraid of a dog.' [Fieldwork_2010]

(9.5) Rel-P

a. *ãh* *i-cha-kheʔŋa* *a-nis-u-wakt-o=go* *doŋdum-ce*
FILLER 2sPOSS-child-ABL 2sA-know-3P-IMPF-3P=NMLZ$_1$ matter-ns

miʔmoŋ *kha-siŋ-na-ʔã*
little PRV-ask-1>2-NPST
'I ask you the events that you know from your childhood.' [warisama_talk.008]

b. *akka* *ten-u-ŋ=go* *maʔmi* *si-e*
1s hit-3P-1sA=NMLZ$_1$ person [3sS]die-PST
'The person whom I hit died.' [Fieldwork_2010]

(9.6) Rel-T
khed-u-tad-u-ŋs-u-ce=go *kocuwa-ce*
buy-3P-bring-3P-PERF-3P-3nsP=NMLZ$_1$ dog-ns

ettiti *u-ghoŋ-ce-ke*
this.much 3nsS-grow.tall-ns-NPST
'The dogs which they brought grow this big.' [talk01.019/020]

(9.7) Rel-G
akka *pempak* *pid-u-ŋ=go* *duwacha* *ti-e*
1s bread give-3P-1sA=NMLZ$_1$ boy [3sS]come-PST
'The boy whom I gave the bread came.' [Fieldwork_2010]

(9.8) a. Rel-LOC
sapphi=ta *pukt-o-ko=go* *thaũ*
much=FOC$_1$ bear.fruit-3P-NPST=NMLZ$_1$ place
'the place where we get a good harvest' [phidang_talk.167]

b. *i-ppa* *khad-a-ŋs-a=go-iʔ* *a-khat-no* *hana=yaŋ*
2sPOSS-father go-PST-PERF-PST=NMLZ$_1$-FLOC 2sS-go-NPST 2s=ADD
'Do you also go to the place where your father have gone?'
[CLLDCh1R13S02.1497]

(9.9) Rel-Instrument
huĩ-sa-ŋa *ghasa* *hekt-o=go* *kacce*
3s-OBL-ERG grass cut-3P=NMLZ$_1$ sickle
'the sickle with which he cut the grass' [Fieldwork_2010]

As stated previously, the nominalizer *=go* can relativize any core arguments and many obliques; there are no constraints in Chintang. The nominalizer *=go* relativizes S, as in (9.2), A, as in (9.3), an experiencer argument, as in (9.4), P, as in (9.5), T, as in (9.6), G, as in (9.7), location in (9.8), and instrument in (9.9). Most of the examples of *=go*-marked relative clauses show that Chintang relative clauses favor the finite form of the verb which is marked by the

past tense suffix *-a* in subjunctive mood. In examples from (9.2) to (9.9), the past marking suffixes (*-e, -hẽ*) would be ungrammatical. In example (9.8a), however, the verb is inflected for non-past. Like Athpare and Camling, Chintang uses the finite form of the verb for both subject and non-subject nominalizations, i.e. the *=go* marked verb is inflected for person and number.[4]

Chintang employs the same nominalizer *=go* for all argument or adjunct roles. As shown in the above examples (9.2) to (9.9.), the same marker relativizes S, A, T, G, and obliques as well. But this is not a common tendency found in all Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal. In a comparative study of syntactic aspects of nominalization in five Tibeto-Burman languages of Nepal, Genetti et al. (2008) point out that some languages, such as Kham, Limbu and Dolkha Newari assign separate markers to indicate grammatical relations of the relativized argument, i.e. these language distinguish between subject and non-subject relations and assign different markers to relativize them.

Bickel (1999:272) gives a number of parallel examples of internally-headed and externally-headed relative clauses from three different Kiranti languages closely related to Chintang (Belhare, Limbu, and Athpare), where he reports that unlike externally-headed relative clauses, internally-headed relative clauses have a fully inflected valence structure. However, internally-headed relative clauses, as illustrated in (9.10), are extremely rare in the Chintang corpus.

(9.10) a.

darkem	*ma-ce*	*sa*	*u-sed-a=go*	*na-khutt-i=kha*
D.	mother-ns	meat	3nsA-kill-PST=NMLZ$_1$	3>2-take-p=NMLZ$_2$

'Did they bring you meat (of an animal) which Darke's mother and the others had killed?' [CLDLCh2R02S02.241]

b.

huĩ	*wacilek*	*seiʔ-ma=go*	*dhɨkt-a-c-a*
DEM	chicken	kill-INF=NMLZ$_1$	cut-IMP-d-IMP

'Cut that chicken which need to be killed! [CLLDCh1R09S07.0537]

[4] But Kulung appears to be exceptional in this regard. If we generalize on the basis of the few examples given in Tolsma's Kulung Grammar (Tolsma 2006a), it can be observed that the subject and non-subject relative clause is based on inflecting versus non-inflecting nominalization. In contrast to Chintang and Athpare, subject nominalization is uninflected in Kulung.

c. *yo* *a-bhale=yaŋ* *ok=go=yaŋ* *loĩ* *aŋ*
ACROSS.DEM 2sPOSS-cock=ADD cock.crow=NMLZ$_1$=ADD appear what
'My crowing cock appears on the screen.'
or
'The crowing of my cock appears on the screen' [CLDLCh3R01S02.002]

Examples (9.10a) and (9.10b) are the examples with internally headed P. (9.10c) is ambiguous — it could either be the internally headed relative clause with (S) as the head or an event nominalization.[5]

It should also be noted that *=go* marked relative clauses are headless most of the time, as in (9.11). According to the Chintang corpus, around 70% of the nominalized clauses do not contain an overt head. In my corpus count (both child language sessions and linguistic sessions), I found that only 67 utterances contain overt head out of 223 utterances. This shows that only 30.04% of the nominalized clauses contain an overt head and nearly 70% of the nominalized clauses remain headless in Chintang.[6]

(9.11) a. *yo-ba* *cek-no=go*
DEM.ACROSS-LOC speak-NPST=NMLZ$_1$
'the one (who is) speaking there' [CLLDCh1R04S06.1105]

b. *mo-ba* *kali-ŋa* *nob-a-nd-o-ŋs-o=go*
DEM.DOWN-LOC iron.age-ERG touch-PST-COMPL$_2$-3PPERF-3P=NMLZ$_1$

kaʔ-nok=ta
come.up-NPST=IPFV$_2$
'(The person) who had been affected by the Kali(yug) is coming up.'
[origin_myth.385]

[5] There are some more clear examples of internally-headed relative clauses in the Chintang corpus ref. CLLDCh2R06S03.798, CLLDCh3R09S05.096 (with internally-headed P), and ref. CLLDCh4R03S04.199 (with internally-headed T). In addition to these, there is one more utterance (ref CLLDCh1R03S01.0790) which is strange because 'the head' (*sa*) is repeated both internally and externally. But I think this kind of construction qualifies as a speaker mistake, normally they wouldn't say it like this in an everyday speech.

[6] While counting the headless nominalized clauses in the Chintang child language corpus, Kuhn (2010) found that 161 of 201 sentences are headless (=80%).

9.1.1.2 Relativization with =*kha*

=*kha* is attested in a number of Kiranti languages as a location marker. Like in other Kiranti languages, =*kha* relativizes on the location in Chintang, too. In this case, it is attached directly to stems (9.12a-c).[7] The example in (9.12d) illustrates that =*kha* cannot be combined with inflected stems to relativize on location. As this type of locative relativization with =*kha* is attested in a number of Kiranti languages, some Kiranti linguists have suspected that it is etymologically derived from the noun *kham* meaning 'soil, mud, earth'. However, =*kha* is not restricted to locative relativization in Chintang. There are quite a few examples in our corpus where it is attached to non-locative forms, like the nominalizer =*go*. This suggests that =*kha* has two functions in Chintang: one as a locative relativizer and another as a finite nominalizer which combines with both tense and person inflection suffixes in Chintang. Examples are given below:

(9.12) a. *ca=kha* *thaũ*
eat=NMLZ$_2$ place
'the place where people eat' [rana_pilgrim.097]

b. *im=kha* *thaũ=kina* *thɨŋs-a-k-e-hẽ*
sleep=NMLZ$_2$ place=SEQ spread-PST-IPFV$_1$-PST-1sS.PST
'I used to make bed where one sleeps.' [ctn_katha.062]

c. *ne=kha* *thaũ=ta*
read=NMLZ$_2$ place=FOC$_1$
'the place where someone reads' [warisama_talk.350]

d. **pid-u-ŋ=kha* *thaũ*
give-3P-1sA=NMLZ$_2$ place
Intended meaning: 'the place where I gave' [Elicitation_2013]

[7] Ebert (1997a) has a similar category which she describes as a 'patientive noun' (in short glossed as PN) in her description of Camling, *ca-kha*, food-PN 'food'. But as it cannot be used adnominally, it may not be a true participle.

(9.13) a. *akka* *paile* *kha-u-dis-u-hẽ=kha=lo*
1s before see-3P-TEL-3P-PST=NMLZ$_2$=SURP
'the one which I saw before' [CLLDCh1R04S06.0359]

b. *kocuw-ŋa* *nept-o-ŋs-o=kha*
dog-ERG bite-3P-PERF-3P=NMLZ$_2$
'the one which a dog has bitten' [CLLDCh1R04S06.0754]

c. *baddhe* *em* *mund-u-m-nɨŋ=kha* *ghatna-ce*
very FILLER forget-3P-1pA-NEG=NMLZ$_2$ event-ns
'many incidences which we cannot forget' [sadstory_RM.003]

Example (9.12a-c) illustrate that *=kha* is combined with stems to relativize on location, whereas (9.13a) shows it with the indicative past form to relativize an object. Like the nominalizer *=go*, *=kha* also favors the subjunctive form of the verbs. Example like (9.13a) is not widespread in the Chintang corpus. The *=kha* nominalizer relativizes exclusively on a general issue, for example, an unspecified location; it does not make reference to the place where you or we eat, but indicates a general location for eating. When such specification is desired the *=go* nominalizer must be used, as in (9.14).

(9.14) *ned-u-ŋ=go* *iskul* *hod-a-d-a-ŋs-e*
study-3P-1sA=NMLZ$_1$ school destroy-PST-COMPL$_1$-PST-PERF-PST
'The school where I studied has been destroyed.' [Fieldwork_2010]

9.1.1.3 Active participle *ka-*

The active participle construction is formed with the prefix *ka-* which is attached to any type of verb root in Chintang. But unlike in some other Kiranti languages, at the same time, sex marking suffixes *-pa* (unmarked) and *-ma* (for female referents) also appear with the same verbal root, and can then be case-marked. The participle basically refers to the "doer" of the action, e.g. the active participle of the verb 'work' has the meaning of 'worker'.

This is the only type of active participle in Chintang.[8] It is attested extensively both in day-to-day speech and in the ritual variety of Chintang. Unlike the nominalizer *=go* and *=kha* which relativize all core and oblique arguments, it relativizes only the S or A arguments regardless of their semantic roles. But like in *=go* clauses, head nouns are not necessary with active participles.

The examples in (9.15) illustrate *ka-* nominalization with monovalent verbs. In these examples, (9.15a) and (9.15b) refer to the actor and (9.15c) refers to the patient semantic role.

(9.15) a. *ka-phaĩ-pa*
ACT.PTCP-walk-M
'one who walks' [sadstory_RM.167]

b. *ka-im-pa* *sa-lo=kha*
ACT.PTCP-sleep-M who-NOM=NMLZ$_2$
'Who is sleeping?' [Fieldwork_2010]

c. *asinda* *ka-si-ppa* *nis-u-ku-ŋ-nɨŋ*
yesterday ACT.PTCP-die-M know-3P-NPST-1sA-NEG
'I do not know the man who died yesterday' [Fieldwork_2010]

With transitive and ditransitive verbs, *ka-* nominalizes the A argument, as in (9.16a-c). However, some ditransitive verbs can also nominalize G arguments, as in (9.16d). It is impossible to nominalize T arguments in this way (9.16e).

(9.16) a. k*a-khuiʔ-pa* *ni*
ACT.PTCP-steal-M FOC$_2$
'the one who steals, (the thief)' [Fieldwork_2010]

b. *biu* *ka-tok-pa-ŋa=lo* *tis-u-ce* *naŋ*
seed ACT.PTCP-get-M-ERG=SURP [3sA]put-3P-3nsP BUT
'The person who has seed may plant.' [CLLDCh1R04S06.1043]

[8] Some Kiranti language, such as Yamphu, have two types of agent participles; they distinguish between a time-stable trait of a referent (e.g. farmer 'those who work in field as their occupation') and a single action attribute (e.g. speaker 'one who speaks now').

c. *sencikha* *toŋlekha* *ka-pi-pa*
heaven heaven ACT.PTCP-give-M
'the one who gives heaven (to us)' [wal_yupung02.247]

d. *citthi* *ka-tak-pa* *maʔmi* *bhojpur-be* *yuŋ-no*
letter ACT.PTCP-receive-M person Bhojpur-LOC [3sS]be-NPST
'The person who receives the letter is in Bhojpur.' [Fieldwork_2010]

e. **dharan* *ka-haŋ-(pa)* *sontoloŋ*
Dh. ACT.PTCP-send-(M) orange
intended: 'orange to send to Dharan' [Fieldwork_2010]

Bickel (2004b) reports that the active participle in Belhare, which is cognate to Chintang, can also mark experiencer arguments, illustrated in (9.17). This holds true for Chintang as well. In example (9.18a-d), *ka-* selects the experiencer argument even though it is not marked like a typical S/A argument. In this case, the argument which undergoes nominalization does not necessarily need to be agentive; it only needs to be more agentive than the other arguments, following the actor animacy hierarchy (Bickel 2004a).

(9.17) Belhare (Bickel 2004b)
ka-lim-ba *maʔmi*
ACT.PTCP-delicious-M person
'a person to whom (the beer) is delicious'

(9.18) a. *siŋsawa* *ka-si-pa*
hunger ACT.PTCP-die-M
'one who is dying of hunger' [Fieldwork_2010]

b *cuŋwa* *ka-si-pa*
fever ACT.PTCP-die-M
'the one who has fever' [Fieldwork_2010]

c. *kocuwa* *u-kiʔma* *ka-kaiʔ-pa* *cha*
dog 3s.POSS-fear ACT.PTCP-come.up-M child
'A child that is afraid of a dog.' [Schikowski p.c.]

d. *arkha-ŋa* *ka-seiʔ-pa* *maʔmi*
alcohol-INSTR ACT.PTCP-kill-M person
'the person whom alcohol killed' [Fieldwork_2010]

In some examples in our corpus, the active participle is also used to modify another noun, as in (9.19).

(9.19) *kɨ-na-haʔ-no=ta* *jhullu* *ka-lu-pa* *maʔmi*
fall.down-NA-COMPL$_1$-NPST=FOC$_1$ swing ACT.PTCP-do-M person
'The person who swings, falls down!' [CLDLCh3R01S02.247]

Unlike in some Kiranti languages, such as Puma (Schackow 2008), where the S/A argument needs to be animate, in Chintang the active participle is also used with inanimate instruments which function like an instigator of an action. An example of this type is given in (9.20).

(9.20) *cakhaŋ* *ka-yap-ma=na* *batta=kha* *yuŋ-no*
a.kind.of.porridge ACT.PTCP-serve-F=TOP big=NMLZ$_2$ [3sS]be-NPST
'The spoon to serve porridge is big.' [CLLDCh4R04S06.1503b]

It is also possible to negate the active participle. But this is a very rare phenomenon in Chintang, and it has not been noted in other Kiranti languages. The active participle in Chintang is negated in exactly the same way as clauses, with a preverbal prefix *mai-*, as in (9.21). In this example, we can also change the order of the negative prefix *mai-* and the active participle *ka-* without altering the meaning of the clause, as predicted by free prefix ordering in Chintang (cf. Bickel et al. 2007).

(9.21) a. *ra* *utti-ghari* *jamma* *mai-ka-hap-pa* *mo=go*
CONJ then-moment all NEG-ACT.PTCP-cry-M CIT=NMLZ$_1$
[sadstory_RM.153]

b. *ra* *utti-ghari* *jamma* *ka-mai-hap-pa* *mo=go*
CONJ then-moment all ACT.PTCP-NEG-cry-M CIT=NMLZ$_1$
Both: 'someone who was not crying at that time' [Fieldwork_2010]

(9.22) *ani-rɨŋ* *mai-ka-ni-pa-ce*
1pi.POSS-language NEG-ACT.PTCP-know-M-ns
'those who do not know our language' [Durga_Exp.12]

The sex markers *-pa/-ma* are not obligatory elements of the active participle in Chintang. If the verb stem is followed by any types of suffixes, the *-pa/-ma* can simply be dropped without altering the meaning. There are few examples where the active participle *ka-* appears without the sex marker *-pa/-ma*, but with the number marker *-ce* or the ergative marker *-ŋa*, as in (9.23a-c) and (9.23d), respectively.

(9.23) a. *acikali* *ka-ko-ce=na*
nowadays ACT.PTCP-roam-ns=TOP
'the ones who roam in these days' [RM_JK_talk01.072]

b. *ha-iʔ=go* *ka-khip-ce=go*
DEM.PROX-FLOC=NMLZ$_1$ ACT.PTCP-read-ns=NMLZ$_1$
'the ones who study here' [Student_life.006]

c. *dukha* *ka-num-ce* *mai-u-ta-la-t-a-ŋs-e*
trouble ACT.PTCP-do-ns NEG-3nsS-come-TEL-NEG-PST-PERF-PST
'The trouble makers have not come yet.' [CLLDCh2R02S06.034]

d. *boka* *mai-ka-hi-ŋa*
he.goat NEG-ACT.PTCP-be.able.to-ERG
'he who is unable (to offer) a he-goat' [origin_myth.439]

Interestingly, when there is neither a nominalizer nor a number marker suffix on the verb, then there must be an overt noun in the clause, i.e. there must be an obligatory head noun in the context of suffix-less participles. In example (9.24), the active participle *ka-* is prefixed to a verb root *num* 'do' which does not have any other marking on the verb but modifies the noun *maʔmi*. This sentence would be ungrammatical without the overt noun *maʔmi,* as shown in (9.24b).

(9.24) a. *huĩ* *bela* *pad-e* *ka-num* *maʔmi* *manchi*
DEM time study-V.NTVZ ACT.PTCP-do person not
'At that time there were no educated persons.' [LH_BBB.128]

b. *huĩ* *bela* *pad-e* *ka-num* *manchi*
DEM time study-V.NTVZ ACT.PTCP-do not
Intended: 'At that time there were no educated (persons).'

As stated earlier, the participle *ka-* cannot relativize the P argument in Chintang. Like in most of the Kiranti languages only the S and A arguments can be relativized with this marker in Chintang. Verbal categories, such as mood/tense and aspect, are always absent from the active participle, but negation can typically be expressed. Athpare, unlike Chintang and other Kiranti languages, appears to be unusual in this case and also marks the person of the patient with the active participle, for example, *a-ka-lem* 'one who beats me' (Ebert 1997a).

9.1.1.4 Nominalized infinitival relative clauses

The majority of the western Kiranti languages nominalize the infinitival form of the verb with *-pa/-ma,* which nominalizes objects, events, instruments, and goals with obligative semantics. But this is not true for the Eastern Kiranti languages, for example, Chintang employs *=go* for the same purpose. In this case, the nominalizer is attached directly to the infinitival form of the verb and relativizes everything except S/A arguments.

The data in (9.25a) illustrates an example from Puma which uses the Pan-Kiranti *-pa* nominalizer with infinitives. But Chintang reserves the *-pa/-ma* nominalizers only for active participle clauses as discussed in the previous section. (9.25b) shows an ungrammatical clause with *=pa* nominalizer in Chintang. In example (9.26a), the P argument is relativized, in (9.26b) the T argument, and in (9.26c) the G argument is the goal of relativization. Example (9.27) relativizes an instrument.

(9.25) a. Puma (Schackow 2008)
chap-ma=pa
write-INF=NMLZ
'something that has to be written with, pen'

b. **kɨp-ma=pa*
cut-INF=NMLZ
'something that is used for cutting, sickle' [Fieldwork_2010]

(9.26) a. *seiʔ-ma-dheĩ-ma=go* *phak* *in-a-nd-u-hẽ*
kill-INF-COMPL$_2$-INF=NMLZ$_1$ pig sell-PST-COMPL$_2$-3P-1sA.PST
'I sold the pig that has to be killed.' (because it was ill) [Fieldwork_2010]

b. *haŋ-ma=go-ce* *yuŋs-u-c-a*
send-INF=NMLZ$_1$-ns keep-3P-ns-IMP
'Please keep (the letters) that has to be sent.' [Fieldwork_2010]

c. *khaiʔ-ma=go* *khim* *khaŋ-u-hẽ*
go-INF=NMLZ$_1$ house see-3P-1sA.PST
'I saw the house where we have to go.' [Fieldwork_2010]

(9.27) a. *kɨp-ma=go*
cut-INF=NMLZ$_1$
'something that is used for cutting, sickle' [Fieldwork_2010]

b. *chap-ma=go*
write-INF=NMLZ$_1$
'something that is used for writing, pen'

In short, the nominalizer *=go* relativizes only P-arguments and instruments when it appears with the infinitival form of the verb. Like in the other cases, the nominalized infinitival form of the verb can be inflected for number marking, as already shown in (9.26b).

9.1.1.5 Interim Summary

Thus far we have seen that various types of nominalizers are used to relativize both core and oblique arguments in Chintang. The following table presents a brief summary of the findings related to the various types of nominalizers in Chintang.

Form	Gloss	Function
=go	NMLZ$_1$	relativizes all core arguments (S, A, P, T, and G) and obliques
=kha	NMLZ$_2$	relativizes all core arguments (S, A, P, T, and G) and obliques
ka- (-pa)	ACT.PTCP	relativizes only S/A arguments
-ma=go	INF=NMLZ$_1$	relativizes only P, T, G and instruments

Tables 9.1: Function of various types of nominalizers

9.1.2 Clause nominalization

Apart from the relative clause discussed in §9.1.1, there are some other clauses which are frequently, but not regularly, nominalized in Chintang. This includes temporal and complement clauses.[9] In this process, the entire clause is nominalized with the general nominalizer *=go*, which then allows the clause to function as a noun phrase.

Temporal clauses marked with borrowed conjunctions, such as *samma* 'until', *taim* 'time', *pachi* 'later' or *bela* 'at the time', are frequently nominalized in Chintang.

(9.28) a.

akka	*nis-u-ŋ=go*	*samma*	*lud-u-ku-ŋ*
1s	know-3P-1sA=NMLZ$_1$	TERM	tell-3P-NPST-1sA

'I will tell you as far as I know.' [Fieldwork_2010]

b.

hun-ce	*u-yuŋ=go*	*taim-be*	*akka*	*hun-ce*	*khaiʔ-ya=kina*
3-ns	3nsS-be=NMLZ$_1$	time-LOC	1s	3-ns	go-1sS=SEQ

cind-u-ku-ŋ-c-u-ŋ
teach-3P-NPST-1sA-3nsP-1sA

'I teach them (the children) while they are there.' [Durga_job.115]

c.

huŋ=go-iʔ-ya	*waŋ-i-ŋa=go*	*pachi*
DEM=NMLZ$_1$-LOC-ABL	enter-p-e=NMLZ$_1$	after

[9] But this is not a general feature of temporal and complement clauses; there are also particles, such as *kina*, *gari* or *bela* that attach to non-nominalized clauses.

trisuli-be *tha-i-ŋ-e-hẽ*
trisuli-LOC get.down-p PST-1s.PST
'After we got on the bus there, we got off at Trisuli.' [tangkera_03.050]

d. *kani-ŋa* *cekt-u-m=go* *bela* *jamma* *kob-o-ko*
1pi-ERG speak-3P-1nsA=NMLZ$_1$ time all [3sA]pick.up-3P-NPST
'It records all when we speak.' [Fieldwork_2010]

Lahaussois (2002) states that temporal clauses marked with borrowed conjunctions (*pachi* 'after', and *samma* 'until') are consistently nominalized in Thulung, a western Kiranti language. But this is not the case in Chintang (cf. non-nominalized temporal clauses in §11.2.5).

Some examples of nominalized complement clause are give in (9.29a) and (9.29b). This is described in detail in §10.2.2.

(9.29) a. *hana* *a-ims-a=go* *nis-u-k-u-ŋ*
2s 2sS-sleep-PST=NMLZ$_1$ know-3P-NPST-3P-1sA
'I know that you slept.' [Fieldwork_2010]

b. *a-kam-ce-nɨŋ* *khel-a* *numd-i-ŋa=go*
1sPOSS-friend-ns-COM play-N.NTVZ do-p-e=NMLZ$_1$

mitt-u-ŋ-sed-u-hẽ
remember-3P-1sA-kill-3P-1sS.PST
'I remembered that I played a game with my friends.' [Fieldwork_2010]

The most common nominal category acquired by the nominalized predicate is case the ergative *-ŋa* in Chintang. There are a large number of examples in the Chintang corpus where the nominalizer *=go* is followed by the ergative is *-ŋa.*

9.1.3 Sentence nominalization

Apart from its occurrence in embedded clauses, the nominalizer *=go*, and less frequently, also the nominalizer *=kha* can also occur in the sentence final position. This type of nominalization, which nominalizes a full sentence rather than an element or a clause, is attested in many, if not all, Tibeto-Burman languages. It is often referred to as 'non-

embedded' or 'stand-alone' nominalization in some of the literature on Tibeto-Burman (e.g. Bickel 1999, Watters 2008, Genetti 2011). These constructions are attested across the Kiranti family. In Chintang, it is found both in conversational exchange, as well as in narratives. In this case the nominalized verb behaves like a finite verb. Unlike nominalized relative clauses, which generally take a non-inflected subjunctive form of the verb, sentential nominalization allows a wide range of possibilities. In particular, there are two ways of forming nominalized sentences in Chintang: either the nominalizer is attached to the fully-inflected verb (9.30a-c) or to the subjunctive form of the verb (without the final tense marker *-e, -no, -ko*), i.e. nominalization can occur either in the indicative or the subjunctive mood. Nominalization in indicative non-past is quite frequent in the Chintang corpus. But nominalization in indicative past tense is less common in the Chintang corpus, as in (9.31a,b). Nominalization in subjunctive past is a typical feature of Chintang. Examples like in (9.32a-c) are very common in the Chintang corpus.

(9.30) a. *ah* *phidaŋ=yaŋ* *yaŋs-o-ko=go*
FILLER ginger=ADD grow-3P-NPST=NMLZ$_1$

'Ginger also grows.' [phidang_talk.156]

b. *rame* *a-phuwa* *mahila-be* *kok* *ca-no=go*
R. 1sPOSS-brother mahila-LOC rice eat-NPST=NMLZ$_1$

'Ram eats rice at my brother mahila's place.' [Fieldwork_2010]

c. *copt-u-kh-o* *yo* *paile* *to* *om-no=go*
see-3P-CON-3P DEM.ACROSS first DEM.UP bright-NPST=NMLZ$_1$

'Please look one which lights first.' [CLLDCh4R02S01.221]

(9.31) a. *utti=lagi=ta* *yuw-a-ŋs-e=go*
that.much-DAT=FOC$_1$ be -PST-PERF-PST=NMLZ$_1$

'S/he stayed for that (one).' [CLDLCh3R01S04.116]

b. *budhi* *lis-a-d-a-ŋs-e=go* *them=na abo*
old.woman be-PST-COMPL$_1$-PST-PERF-PST=NMLZ$_1$ what=TOP now

'She became an old woman now.' [CLLDCh3R07S01. 232]

(9.32) a. *ek* *bet-e=yaŋ* *ma-thaĩ-yokt-o-ŋs-o=go*
one number.of.time-ADJLZ=ADD NEG-fall.down-NEG-3P-PERF-3P=NMLZ$_1$
'It has not borne (its piglet) even once.' [CLLDCh1R03S01.0719]

b. *asinda* *birami* *khu-si* *khad-a=go*
yesterday patient carry-PURP go-PST=NMLZ$_1$
'He had gone to carry a patient yesterday.' [CLDLCh2R02S02.086]

c. *huĩ* *a-cekt-a=go* *elo*
DEM 2sS-say-PST=NMLZ$_1$ or
'That was said by you, right?' [CLLDCh2R02S06.1208]

Like some other Kiranti languages, Chintang also nominalizes questions, as shown in (9.33). Bickel (1999) treats nominalized questions as focus constructions in the neighboring language Belhare. Hargreaves (1986) notices similar non-embedded nominalized questions in Kathmandu Newar. He says that in comparison to non-nominalized questions, nominalized questions are less interrogatory and are used for politeness.

In Chintang, similar to what Bickel (1999) observes in the neighboring language Belhare, nominalized questions are used mostly to cast focus. Like in Belhare (Bickel ibid.), nominalized questions are generally used to state controversy in Chintang.

(9.33) a. *sa-lo=kha* *naŋ* *huĩ* *meĩ* *luŋtak-be* *yu-wakt-a=go*
who-NOM=NMLZ$_2$ BUT DEM FILLER stone-LOC be-PST-IPFV$_1$-PST=NMLZ$_1$
'Who was sitting on that stone (near the field)?' (If Saĩla was not on his field yesterday) [CLDLCh2R02S02.227]

b. *sa-lo* *to-patti=go* *yuŋ-no=go*
who-NOM DEM.UP-DIR$_1$=NMLZ$_1$ be-NPST=NMLZ$_1$
'Who is sitting up there?' (He is blocking the view) [CLDLCh3R01S02.233]

c. *sa-lo* *wasuri-be* *chep-mu-no=go*
who-NOM eaves-LOC urinate-urinate-NPST=NMLZ$_1$
'Who urinates from the eaves (of a house)?' (one should not urinate from eaves of the house) [Fieldwork_2010]

In (9.33a) the speaker contradicts one of addressees who said that no one was on the field yesterday. He thinks that the addressee has no choice other than accepting his statement: 'Saîla was in the field yesterday.'

Besides the nominalization of content questions, there is also a tendency to nominalize alternative questions in Chintang. The particle *elo* is a special type of question marker, which helps the speaker to offer alternatives to the addressee.

(9.34) a. *ti-ma=go* *elo* *yoŋ-ma=go*
load-INF=NMLZ$_1$ or move-INF=NMLZ$_1$
'Is it the one which is here or the one which is moved away?'
[CLLDCh4R14S03.171]

b. *cedar* *thaʔ-no=ko* *elo*
tin be.visible-NPST=NMLZ$_1$ or
'The tin that has been seen or (something else)?' [CLLDCh3R08S05.0188]

Like the nominalizer *=go*, *=kha* is also used to nominalize questions. But *=kha* is less frequent in interrogatives in the Chintang corpus than *=go*.

(9.35) *ba* *kocuwa* *sa-lo* *ca-no=kha*
DEM.PROX dog who-NOM eat-NPST=NMLZ$_2$
'Who eats this dog?' (we don't.) [CLDLCh3R01S02.279]

(9.36) *caudhari* *khad-a=kha* *elo*
Caudhari go-PST=NMLZ$_2$ or
'Has Caudhari gone or (not)?' [CLLDCh1R04S06.1315]

Like in other Kiranti languages, the sentence final particle *raicha*, a mirative particle borrowed from Nepali, is preceded by nominalized verbs in Chintang. In Chintang this particle can be preceded by both the nominalizers *=kha* and *=go*. Bickel (1999) and Ebert (1997a) also report for Athpare and Belhare respectively that the borrowed particle *raicha* is usually preceded by a nominalized verb form. But it is not very common to nominalize mirative constructions in Chintang. According to the corpus, out of 593 mirative clauses, there are only 10 clauses where the mirative marker *raicha* follows the nominalized clause.

(9.37) a. *kanci* *haĩ-ma=kko* *raicha*
1d talk-INF=NMLZ$_1$ MIR
'It seems the one which we (had) talked about!' [tangera_05.013]

b. *asinda* *u-bheni* *si-a-d-a=go* *raicha*
yesterday 3sPOSS-morning die-PST-COMPL$_1$-PST=NMLZ$_1$ MIR
'It seems it died yesterday morning!' [Fieldwork_2010]

(9.38) *tara huŋ=go* *maʔmi-ŋa=ta* *iss-a-nd-o-ŋs-o=kha*
but DEM=NMLZ$_1$ person-ERG=FOC$_1$ damage-PST-COMPL$_2$-3P-PERF-3P=NMLZ$_2$
raicha
MIR
'But it seems that person does damage!' [story_DKR_01.290]

Besides the mirative construction, the citation and reportative particle *mo* and *pho* are also added sometimes after nominalized sentences in Chintang. But these types of sentences are extremely rare in the entire corpus. There are very few examples in our corpus where the citation particle *mo* follows the nominalizer, as in (9.39). In comparison to *mo*, *pho* is more common in our corpus. *pho* favors infinitival (9.40) and indicative clauses (9.41). There are no examples where *pho* appears with the nominalized subjunctive form of a verb.

(9.39) a. *ba-ta=kha* *akka* *yuŋ-ŋa-ʔã=go* *mo*
DEM.PROX-FOC$_1$=NMLZ$_2$ 1s be-1sS-NPST=NMLZ$_1$ CIT
'This is the place where I live.' [kazi_trip_talk.146]

b. *athom* *kha-m-c-u-m=go* *mo*
before see-1nsA-3nsP-3P-1nsA=NMLZ$_1$ CIT
'the one which we saw before' [CLLDCh2R10S04. 441]

(9.40) a. *peʔluŋ* *phaŋ-ma=go* *pho*
mat weave-INF=NMLZ$_1$ REP
'She said, "she will weave a mat."' [CLLDCh2R10S08.352]

b. *u-lawa* *sam-ma=go* *pho*
3sPOSS-soul part-INF=NMLZ$_1$ REP
'(They said that) his soul will be separate.' [CLLDCh4R06S01.500]

(9.41) a. *uth* *te-no=ko* *pho*
wake.up.IMP.LOW beat-NPST=NMLZ$_1$ REP
'Wake up, (they said), he will beat.' [CLLDCh1R08S03. 084]

b. *mai-chap-no=go* *pho* *mai=ta-chap-no* *pho* *ni*
iP-write-NPST=NMLZ$_1$ REP iP=FOC$_1$-write-NPST REP FOC$_2$
'He said he will write to us what he will write to us.' [CLDLCh3R01S03.438]
लेखेकोलाई लेख्छ नै रे नि ।

As I have mentioned above, the nominalizer *=go* can also be followed by an oblique and ergative cases, as in (9.42). In this example, the ergative covers the meaning of causal, and this construction is very similar to what Comrie (1998b) calls fact-S construction.

(9.42) *kecenceĩwa* *u-ratt-a-ce=go-sa-ŋa* *them*
IDEOPH 3nsS-make.noise-PST-3nsP=NMLZ$_1$-OBL-ERG what
'what (comes) from the fact that they make this noise' [CLLDCh3R08S01.0321]

Nominalization of an utterance is a common tendency found in both Kiranti and non-Kiranti Tibeto-Burman languages. Since Matisoff (1972), it has been studied by a number of scholars. However, there are no two descriptions which seem to agree on the semantic and pragmatic function of this construction (Watters 2008). Matisoff himself called this "reification" when he described such clauses in Lahu (Loloish). Later, Hargreaves (1986) described the nominalization strategy in Newar, especially nominalized questions, and described their function as to create 'politeness'. Rutgers (1998) for Yamphu and Opgenort (2004) for Wambule also report that sentential nominalization is used for 'settings' and marking 'background' events. However, Bickel (1999) describes for the neighboring language Belhare that sentential nominalization is used to mark focus, especially 'contrastive focus'. Chintang is closer to Belhare in this respect.

9.2 Summary

Nominalization is a multi-functional tool found across almost all Kiranti languages, including Chintang. In many Kiranti languages, if not all, nominalization is extended beyond its standard function of deriving nominals from non-nominal items. Actually nominalization is found at almost all levels of the grammar, i.e. it converts (all) verbs and adverbials into

nominals, it marks adjectives, demonstratives, participles, relative clauses, and complement clauses. Nominalization in Chintang is thus different from the standard concept of nominalization, because its input is not necessarily non-nominal and its output is not necessarily nominal (e.g. headed relative clauses). Although nominalization is found at all levels of Chintang grammar, derivation of nouns from non-nominals or nominals occupies a dime role. A significant role of nominalization is seen in various subordinate clauses and in free-standing sentences.

In particular, there are three nominalizing morphemes in Chintang. The first one is an all-purpose 'general' nominalizer *=go,* which can relativize all core arguments and some obliques. The second nominalizer, however, described as an active participle in this thesis, can relativize only the S/A arguments. Finally, the third one, *=kha,* relativizes on location, as in other Kiranti languages — but extends beyond that to function similar to those of *=go*.

Chapter 10

Complementation

10.0 Introduction

Complement clauses are those subordinate clauses which are arguments of verbs (Noonan 2007, Cristofaro 2003, Stiebels 2007). In many languages certain verbs — notably 'see', 'hear', 'know', 'believe', 'like', 'tell', 'want' and so on, can take a clause, instead of an NP, as a core argument (Dixon 2006). Syntactically, there are three major types of complement clauses in Chintang. The first type is the infinitival clause, which is the most productive one, the second one is the nominalized complement clause, introduced by the all purpose nominalizer *=go*, and the third one is the *mo*-complement clause, introduced by the citation particle *mo*. Besides these three types of clauses, there is another minor type of complement clause which can be referred to as *samma*-complement clause. The *samma* complement clause is not very frequent, but it does occur in the Chintang corpus. The first two complement clause types occur in all core argument roles, while the *mo*-complement clauses and *samma*-complement clauses only fill the P of the transitive and the T slot of the ditransitive matrix verb. One of the most interesting features of Chintang complement clauses is that in infinitival complement clauses, unlike in English, where the controller (lexical NP) is always realized in the matrix clause and the controllee (PRO, the null element) in the embedded clause, in Chintang the situation is reversed. With quite a few predicates, the controller (overtly) appears in the embedded clause and the controllee occurs in the matrix clause. This type of phenomenon is described as an example of Reverse Equi (Kuroda 1965, cited in Subbārāo 2012), or backward

control (Polinsky & Potsdam 2002a) in Tsez, a Dagestanian language of the Caucasus.[1] Another interesting feature is that the matrix verb agrees with a constituent inside the verb's clausal complement, namely, with the subject and the direct object of the infinitive. This phenomenon is referred to as a long-distance agreement (LDA) in various literature.[2] This type of agreement behavior is quite unusual cross-linguistically, and challenges previous linguistic theories which assume that a local relationship is necessary for agreement. In Chintang, the long-distance agreement can only involve arguments of infinitival clauses. There is also agreement on infinitives, for example *-ce*. However, there is no long-distance agreement in other types of complement clauses, for example in nominalized complement clauses. The NPs that triggers long-distance agreement can be either S/A arguments or P arguments of the embedded clause. Furthermore, there are some instances where the A and the G arguments of the embedded ditransitive verb jointly trigger agreement in the matrix verb, yielding LDA for both arguments concurrently (cf. 10.11a). Besides this, unlike in the forward control strategy where the embedded verb cannot assign overt case to its arguments, in backward control the embedded subjects are case-marked in Chintang.

In this chapter, I describe the various semantic types of verbs which take complement clauses, with respect to their complementation patterns and control properties. Section 10.1 deals with verbs taking infinitives. In the same section, I illustrate the two unusual features of Chintang, i.e. backward control and long-distance agreement phenomena with relevant examples. Section 10.2 deals with the nominalized complement clause and §10.3 complement clauses with the case marker *samma*. The *mo*-complement clauses are described in §12.2.6, together with other particles, so I do not include it in this chapter.

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[1] Though backward control is cross-linguistically a rare phenomenon, it has been claimed for a number of other languages, such as Japanese (Harada 1973), Korean (Monahan 2003), Malagasy (Polinsky & Postdam 2002b), and Hindi-Urdu (Bhatt 2005, Butt 2008).

[2] Long-distance agreement is not unique to Chintang. It is reported to be found in other South Asian languages, for example in Hindi/Urdu (Bhatt 2005, Butt 2008), Kashmiri and Maithili (Subbārāo 2012). This phenomenon is previously attested and described in many Dagestanian languages (Polinsky & Postdam 2002b, Haspelmath 1999, among others). But it has not been reported in any other Kiranti language except in Puma (Schackow 2008).

10.1 Embedded infinitives

Unlike in some other languages, Kiranti infinitives license the full range of overt arguments (Bickel et al. 2010). There is no obligatory deletion of any arguments in the infinitival clauses. Thus, infinitive complements behave on a par with finite complements with respect to case assignment and word order. Chintang has several verbs which take an infinitival clause as their argument. As I mentioned above, an interesting feature of infinitival complements is that most of the embedded verbs allow their arguments to trigger agreement in the matrix verb, yielding long-distance agreement. Argument sharing is an essential feature of infinitival clauses; the S/A arguments indexed in the matrix verb must be coreferential with the S/A arguments of the embedded clause. In Chintang, raising is possible only in infinitival complement clauses. It seems there is no restriction on raising. All arguments (A, S, P, T, and G) of the dependent clause can be raised in Chintang. The raised argument always triggers agreement in the matrix verb. Generally only one NP could be raised at a time. However, there are some examples where the A-agreement is obligatorily accompanied by P-agreement in LDA, so it would seem that it is also possible to raise two NPs at a time (cf. 10.6a').

(10.1) shows the basic pattern of infinitival complement clauses, and table 10.1 lists verbs that take an infinitival complement clause in Chintang. In the following section, the complement taking predicates are classified and described in detail in terms of their semantics and syntactic behavior

(10.1) Basic Pattern (Bickel 2008a)

[(X) V-INF] V-$_{[light]}$ - agr.

[verb-stems]	gloss
lapt-	'be about to'
kond-	'want', 'must'
hid-	'finish, be able to'
lis-	'be'
puŋs-	'start to'
mitt-	'think, remember'
lemd-	'persuade'
latt-	'be enough'
les-	'like'
nis-	'know
mund-	'forget'
chitt-	'find time'
tok-	'get'
led-	'give up'
nad-	'refuse to'
phind-	'start to'
kaŋs-	'agree'
ond-	'instigate'

Table 10.1: Infinitival complement taking verbs in Chintang

10.2.1.1 Phasal predicates

Phasal predicates refer to the phase of an act or state, i.e. inception, continuation or termination of an event (Noonan 2007). There are two common phasal predicates in Chintang: *lapt-* 'be about to' and *puŋs-* 'start'.

lapt- 'be about to'

This is an ambitransitive verb which can be inflected both intransitively and transitively depending on the embedded verb, i.e. it assimilates in transitivity to the embedded verb. Like in Puma (Schackow 2008), with intransitive complements, *lapt-* is inflected intransitively, as

illustrated in (10.2a,b). In the case of transitive complements, the embedded object triggers agreement in the matrix verb (10.3a). If there is no object in the embedded clause, the matrix verb takes the 3P default agreement (10.3b). As stated earlier, the S/A arguments of the matrix and the embedded clauses must be coreferential.

(10.2) a.

paĩ	*pĩ-ma*	*lap-ma-ʔã*
today	run.away-INF	be.about-1sS-NPST

'I am about to run today.' [CLLDCh4R09S01.0941a]

b.

taĩ-ma	*lapt-e*
jump-INF	[3sS]be.about-PST

'She is about to jump.' [CLLDCh1R09S06.0258]

(10.3) a.

barsa-ŋa	*ani*	*wa-pok-ma*	*mai-lapt-e*
rain-ERG	1p	make.wet-make.wet-INF	iP-be.about-PST

'The rain started to wet us.' [Fieldwork_2010]

b.

pãi	*nare*	*u-ppa-ŋa*	*teī-ma*	*lapt-o-ko*
today	Nare	3sPOSS-father-ERG	beat-INF	[3sA]be.about-3P-NPST

'Nare's father is about to beat (him) today.' [CLLDCh3R07S01. 108]

In most of the cases, the arguments remain covert in Chintang. So it is not easy to know which argument is controlling which other argument. However, there are a number of examples in our corpus where arguments are realized overtly in sentences. For example in (10.4a,b), everything between the modifier and the embedded verb is the embedded clause. In both examples, the S/A arguments of the embedded verb control the S/A positions of the matrix clause. The embedded verb also assigns case, as in (10.4c). This is an example of backward control in Chintang.

(10.4) a.

esari	*akka*	*thitta*	*cham*	*lu-ma*	*lapt-u-ku-ŋ*
now	1s	one	song	sing-INF	be.about-3P-NPST-1sA

'Now, I am about to sing a song.' [comolung_song.006]

b.

gakkaŋ	*akka*	*teĩ-ma*	*lapt-u-ŋs-u-hẽ*	*paĩ*
later	1s	beat-INF	be.about-3P-PERF-3P-1sA.PST	today

'I was about to beat him today!' [CLLDCh4R02S02b.333]

c. *i-laŋ* *phak-ŋa* *nek-ma* *lapt-o-ŋs-e*
2sPOSS-leg pig-ERG bite-INF [3sA]be.about-3P-PERF-PST
'The pig is about to bite your leg.' [CLLDCh2R06S07.1041]

The ergative case in (10.3a,b) and also in (10.4c) is clearly due to the transitivity of the embedded verbs 'make.wet', 'beat', and 'bite', respectively. This is clear from the ungrammaticality of ergative case with intransitive subordinate verbs in (10.5a) and the grammaticality of nominative case in (10.5b).

(10.5) a. **joge-ŋa* *im-ma* *lapt-o-ŋs-e*
J.-ERG sleep-INF [3sA]be.about-3P-PERF-PST
'Joge was about to sleep.' [Fieldwork_2010]

b. *sakti* *u-ppa* *kuŋ-ma* *lapt-e* *hola*
Sakti 3sPOSS-father come.down-INF [3sA]be.about-PST probably
'Probably, Sakti's father is about to come down.' [CLDLCh3R01S03.430]

Prefixes indexing S/A/P sometimes stay on the infinitives in the embedded clause instead of being attached to the matrix verb, as shown in (10.6a-c). But the control behavior is not affected with this type of local agreement within the embedded clause. This type of person marking on infinitives is also found with other matrix verbs (e.g., modal verbs *hid-* 'be able to', *les-* 'like'). However, this type of agreement is generally less preferred in Chintang. (10.6a') represents the most common agreement pattern found in Chintang. Another extremely rare but possible pattern is doubling, as shown in (10.6d).

(10.6) a. *hicce* *na-teĩ-ma* *lapt-i-ki* *paĩ*
two 3>2-beat-INF be.about-p-NPST today
'He is about to beat you two today.' [CLLDCh2R03S01 198]

a'. *gakkaŋ* *didi* *ta=ki* *teĩ-ma* *na-lapt-i-ki* *paĩ*
later sister come=SEQ beat-INF 3>2-be.about-p-NPST today
'Later on, sister comes and starts to beat you today.'[3] [CLLDCh4R06S05.043]

[3] See also the record [CLLDCh4R06S05.378] in the Chintang corpus for another similar evidence.

b. *hani* *bĩu-ce* *ekchata* *u-li-ma* *lap-no*
2p seed-ns once 3nsS-be-INF [3sS]be.about-NPST
'All your seeds were about to be ready at once.' [CLLDCh2R03S04.0555]

c. *eʔni* *a-hi-ma* *lapt-u-ce* *abo*
yes 2sS-be.able-INF be.about-3P-3nsP now
'Yes, you are about to take them now?' [CLLDCh2R11S01.619]

d. *i-phuwa-ŋa* *hana* *na-teĩ-ma* *na-lap-no*
2sPOSS-brother-ERG 2s 3>2-beat-INF 3>2-be.about-NPST
'Your brother is about to beat you.' [Elicited_2012]

The verb agreement in the above examples is unexpected. The pattern is exceptional because the matrix verb appears to agree in person and number with the subject and the object argument of the verb of the infinitival complement clause.

Particles may optionally be present within the complement clause, although they are not required by any grammatical rules. An example is given in (10.7).

(10.7) *poŋ-ma=na* *lap-nɨk-nɨŋ* *hola*
give.birth-INF=TOP [3sA]be.about-NPST-NEG probably
'She is probably not ready to give birth.' [CLDLCh2R02S02.098]

To sum up, *lapt-* 'be about' copies transitivity from the valency of the embedded verb. There is no particular space for objects in the matrix clause. So, the object slot is either filled by the whole embedded clause or by the raised object-argument. Case is assigned by the embedded verb. The S/A arguments of the embedded and matrix clause must be identical in reference. As the overt S/A arguments belong to the embedded clause and control the S/A position of the matrix clause, *lapt-* is analyzed as a backward control verb.

puŋs- 'start to'

Unlike *lapt-* 'be about', *puŋs-* 'start to' is always inflected transitively. Its inflection does not depend on the valency of the embedded verb. But like *lapt-*, *puŋs-* is also a backward control verb. The overt S/A arguments belonging to the embedded clause control the S/A positions in

the matrix clause. The evidence in support of this (backward control) is given in (10.8a-c). The example in (10.8a) is ungrammatical because the embedded verb *khaiʔma* 'go' cannot assign ergative case to its arguments. It is also evident from (10.8b) where the overt argument *Bimal* is in nominative though the matrix verb is inflected transitively. But in contrasts to this sentence, the overt argument of the complement clause *maʔmice* 'people' in (10.8c) is assigned the ergative case *-ŋa*. So, this makes it clear that it is the embedded verb which assigns case to its arguments, not the matrix verb *puŋs-*.

(10.8) a. **a-pa-ŋa* *khaiʔ-ma* *puŋs-e*
1sPOSS-father-ERG go-INF [3sA]start-PST
'My father started to go.' [Fieldwork_2010]

b. *bimal* *cahĩ* *hap-ma=ta* *puŋs-a-tt-o-ko*
B. SPEC.TOP cry-INF=FOC$_1$ [3sA]start-3P-COMPL-3P-NPST
'Bimal starts to cry.' [CLDLCh3R01S03.237]

c. *maʔmi-ce-ŋa=yaŋ* *teĩ-ma* *u-puŋs-e* *menuwa*
people-ns-ERG=ADD beat-INF 3nsA-start-PST cat
'The people also started to beat the cat.' [story_cat.243]

As this verb does not assimilate to the valency of the embedded verb, with intransitive complements, it takes the whole complement clause as a P argument and is marked with the third person default agreement (3P), as shown in (10.9).

(10.9) *ba-iʔ=ta* *mo* *raiʔ-ma* *puŋs-o-ko* *naŋ*
DEM.PROX-FLOC=FOC$_1$ CIT shout-INF [3sA]start-3P-NPST BUT
'She starts shouting here.' [CLDLCh2R02S02.162]

In the case of transitive complements, both the A and P arguments of the embedded clause can trigger agreement in the matrix verb. In example (10.10a), the A argument of the complement clause triggers agreement in the matrix verb. In (10.10b), the embedded P argument triggers agreement in the matrix verb. In the case of a ditransitive embedded verb, both the A and the G arguments of the complement clause trigger agreement in the matrix verb, as shown in (10.11a). This example also shows that themes (T) cannot control the matrix agreement. However, G obviously never triggers LDA with direct object ditransitives (10.11b).

(10.10) a.

a-nne	*akka=na*	*kok*	*ca-ma*	*puŋs-u-hẽ*	*gonei?*
1sPOSS-sister	1s=TOP	rice	eat-INF	start-3P-1sA.PST	ATTN$_1$

'Sister! I started to eat rice, okay?' [CLDLCh2R02S02.067]

b.

ani	*teĩ-ma*	*mai-puŋs-e*
1p	beat-INF	iP-start-PST

'S/he started to beat us.' [Fieldwork_2010]

(10.11) a.

huĩ-sa-ŋa	*hana*	*paisa*	*pi-ma*	*na-puŋs-e*
3sS-OBL-ERG	2s	money	give-INF	3>2-start-PST

'Did he start to give you money?' [Elicited_2012]

b.

huĩ-sa-ŋa	*u-talab*	*khim-be*	*haŋ-ma*	*puŋs-e*
3s-OBL-ERG	3sPOSS-salary	home-LOC	send-INF	[3sA]start-PST

'He started to send his salary to home.'

In short, *puŋs-* 'start to' is the first verb which is always inflected transitively (cf. the second verb 'get' in §10.2.1.5). With intransitive complements, it takes the whole complement clause as a P argument and is marked with 3P default agreement. In the case of transitive complements, both the A and P arguments of the embedded clause can trigger agreement in the matrix verb. According to my data, this is another example of backward control verb in Chintang.

10.2.1.2 Desiderative predicates

Desiderative predicates convey a wish on the part of an experiencer that the complement clause be realized (Cristofaro 2003, Noonan 2007). In some languages, such as English, there are different types of desiderative predicates such as 'hope', 'wish' and 'want'. But there are only two desiderative predicates in Chintang: *kond-* 'have to, want' and *les-* 'like'.

kond- 'have to, should', 'want'

This verb behaves like two different verbs in Chintang. However, it is a single verb which is used both impersonally and personally. It takes the whole complement clause as the S argument when it is used impersonally (i.e. with the deontic sense). In this case, the matrix verb is not inflected. The following examples illustrate the impersonal use of the verb *kond-*:

(10.12) a. *rɨ-ma-yak-ma* *kon-no*
turn-INF-TEL-INF [3sS]should-NPST
'It should be moved continuously.' [hongi_rokma.050]

b. *cuwa* *ti-ma=kina* *lok-meiʔ-ma* *kon-no*
water keep-INF=SEQ boil-CAUS-INF [3sS]should-NPST
'It should be boiled in water.' [hongi_rokma.113]

c. *abo* *jãc* *pi-si* *khaiʔ-ma* *kon-no*
now exam give-PURP go-INF [3sS]should-NPST
'Now, we have to go to appear in the examination.' [CLDLCh2R02S02.532]

Though the impersonal verb in the matrix clause cannot take any agreement markers, there are, however, quite a few examples where the embedded verb agrees in number with its object, as shown in (10.13a-c).

(10.13) a. *agga* *yo* *saũwa-ce=lo* *cuwa* *pi-ma-ce* *kon-no*
EXCLA DEM.ACROSS buffalo-ns=SURP water give-INF-3nsP should-NPST
'Oh! One should give water to these buffalos.' [CLDLCh3R01S04.084]

b. *phoiʔ-ma=kina* *yuŋ-ma-ce* *kon-no*
dry-INF=SEQ keep-INF-3nsP should-NPST
'We should keep them after drying.' [CLLDCh2R04S04.1038]

c. *cha-ce* *wareĩ* *paŋ-ma-ce* *koĩ*
child-ns later send-INF-3nsP should
'I should send the children later.' [DR_exp.253]

When the semantics is desiderative, *kond-* is used personally. In this case it can raise arguments. But the raisable argument is not arbitrary — it is always the argument that would trigger O-agreement on a finite verb, so P with monotransitive verbs, T with direct object verbs, and G with primary and double object verbs. It cannot raise S/A arguments.

In (10.14a), the P argument triggers agreement, but in (10.14b) it is G. (10.14b) also demonstrates that an embedded T argument cannot be raised: even though the person and number features in the agreement marker in the matrix verb (*ukonno* 'they must', third

person nonsingular agreement) would match the number features of the lower T argument (*kitapce* 'book').

(10.14) a. *(hana)* *lauri-ŋa* *teĩ-ma* *a-kon-no*
(2sNOM) stick-INSTR beat-INF 2sS-should-NPST
'(One) should beat you with a stick!' [Bickel et al. 2010]

b. *kitap-ce* *pi-ma* *u-kon-no*
book-ns give-INF 3nsS-should-NPST
'They should be given books.' (not 'He should be given books.')
[Bickel et al. 2010]

c. *gol-ce* *o-ma* *u-kon-no*
ball-ns throw-INF 3nsS-should-NPST
'Someone should throw balls (to someone/him/her).' [Bickel et al. 2010]

d. **im-ma* *a-kon-no*
sleep-INF 2sS-should-NPST
'You should sleep.' [Fieldwork_2010]

However, raising is optional in Chintang. In order to express the meaning intended in (10.14a,b), one can also use a non-raising construction, as in (10.15a,b).

(10.15) a *(hana)* *lauri-ŋa* *teĩ-ma* *kon-no*
(2sNOM) stick-INSTR beat-INF [3sA]should-NPST
'(One) should beat you with a stick!'
(not. 'You should beat someone/him/her/it.') [Bickel et al. 2010]

b. *(hana)* *im-ma* *kon-no*
(2sNOM) sleep-INF should-NPST
'You should sleep.' (Impersonal, no raising) [Fieldwork_2010]

kond- also occurs with a different meaning 'want'. In this case, it can also raise S/A arguments when the semantic is not deontic, as in the following examples:

(10.16) a. *caklet* *u-jhola=ta* *hana* *roŋ-ma* *a-kond-o-ko*
chocolate 3sPOSS-bag=FOC$_1$ 2sA search-INF 2sA-want-3P-NPST
'You want to search the packet of chocolate.' [Elicited_2012]

b. *hunce=yaŋ* *si-ma-iʔ-ma* *u-kond-o-ko*
3ns=ADD die-INF-COMPL$_2$-INF 3nsA-want-3P-NPST
'They also want to die.' [Gen_talk.122]

c. *ani* *tara* *aru* *meĩ* *kheiʔ-ma-khu-ma=na* *mai-kon-nɨk-nɨŋ*
1pi but other FILLER buy-INF-carry-INF=TOP iP-must-NPST-NEG
'We don't have to buy and carry for us.' [Gen_talk.142]

There is no corpus data to judge the forward or backward control relation of this verb. However, in my elicited examples, *kond-* clearly displays forward control. In example (10.17), we get A-agreement even with embedded intransitive clauses. (10.16b) above is the only counter example I ever found to this at least in the surface form, but my consultants confirm that the ergative marking *-yã* is dropped in that form (*hunce-yã=yaŋ-> hunce=yaŋ*). It is probably because of spontaneous haplology.

(10.17) *Nagen-ŋa* *im-ma* *kond-o-ko*
N.-ERG sleep-INF [3sA]want-3P-NPST
'Nagen wants to sleep.' [Elicited_2012]

les- 'like'

les- is a monotransitive verb which occurs only with embedded transitive verbs. The embedded verb assigns case. The matrix verb either agrees with default 3P, or with a raised object of the embedded clause. Examples of the default agreement are given in (10.18), and the raised object agreement is illustrated in (10.19). The examples in (10.20a,b) illustrate that the A argument of the embedded clause is case-marked. The S/A arguments of the embedded and the matrix clauses must always be coreferential.

(10.18) *khaŋ-ma* *les-u-ku-ŋ*
see-INF like-3P-NPST-1sA
'I like to see (it).' [CLLDCh3R14S01.0407]

(10.19) *khaŋ-ma* *mai-le-no* *them*
watch-INF iP-like-NPST what
'She likes to watch us.' [CLLDCh4R01S03.72]

(10.20) a. *hana=ta* *biddyarthi-ce-ŋa* *khaŋ-ma* *na-les-a-ŋs-e*
2s=FOC$_1$ student-ns-ERG see-INF 3>2-like-PST-PERF-PST
'You are the one the students have come to like.' [Durga_job.171]

b. *kamala-ŋa* *ca-ma* *les-o-ko* *naŋ*
K.-ERG eat-INF [3sA]like-3P-NPST BUT
'Kamala likes to eat it.' [CLLDCh2R12S08. 551]

To make a brief summary, *les-* appears only with transitive complements. Again, there is no dedicated space for objects in the matrix clause. As usual the matrix clause either takes the entire embedded clause as an object or it agrees with a raised object.

10.2.1.3 Propositional attitude

Propositional attitude predicates express an attitude regarding the truth value of the complement clause (Cristofaro 2003, Noonan 2007). There is only one propositional attitude predicate *mitt-* in Chintang.

miʔma, mitt- 'think, think of, remember'

This is a monotransitive verb, which is inflected either intransitively or transitively. The embedded verb determines the valency of the matrix verb. The examples in (10.21a,b) are constructed with an intransitive embedded verb where the matrix verb copies the intransitivity from the embedded clause. The matrix verb cannot be inflected transitively when there is an intransitive embedded verb, as illustrated by an ungrammatical sentence in (10.21c).

(10.21) a. *akka=ta* *khaiʔ-ma* *mo* *mitt-a-ŋs-e-hẽ*
1s=FOC$_1$ go-INF CIT think-PST-PERF-PST-1sS.PST
'I have planned to go.' [ctn_talk01.068]

b. *hanci* *hɨŋ-ma* *mo* *a-miʔ-ce-ke* *huĩ*
2d survive-INF CIT 2sS-think-d-NPST DEM
'if you want to survive' [khebak_tale.121]

c. **ram-ŋa* *im-ma* *mitt-o-ko*
R.-ERG sleep-INF [3sA]think-3P-NPST
'Ram plans to sleep.' [Fieldwork_2010]

When there are transitive complements, the matrix verb either agrees with default 3P or with the raised object of the embedded clause. Example (10.22) illustrates the default 3P agreement, and in (10.23a) the raised object of the embedded verb triggers agreement.

(10.22) *akka* *khaiʔ-ma* *mitt-u-ku-ŋ*
1s take-INF think-3P-1sA
'I am planning to take (it).' [Fieldwork_2010]

(10.23) a. *huĩ-sa-ŋa* *ani* *haiʔ-ma* *mo* *mai-miʔ-no*
DEM-OBL-ERG 1pi wait-INF CIT iP-think-NPST
'He considers to wait for us.' [Fieldwork_2010]

b. *huĩ-sa-ŋa* *hana* *pi-ma* *na-miʔ-no*
3s-OBL-ERG 2s give-INF 3>2-think-NPST
'He considers to give it to you.' [Fieldwork_ 2010]

This verb is also analysed as backward control verb. The examples in (10.24) illustrate that the S/A argument of the embedded clause controls the S/A position in the matrix clause. So, this verb is also analysed as a backward control verb. In addition, they also exhibit long-distance agreement. However, unlike in other verbs, LDA is not obligatory even with specific embedded P, as shown in (11.24c).

(11.24) a. **ram-ŋa* *im-ma* *mo* *mitt-o-ko*
R.-ERG sleep-INF CIT [3sA]think-3P-NPST
'Ram plans to sleep.' [Fieldwork_2010]

b. *Janaki-ŋa* *tup-ma* *mo* *na-miʔ-no*
J.-ERG meet-INF CIT 3>2-think-NPST
'Janaki plans to meet you.' [Elicited_2012]

c. *Janaki* *hana* *tup-ma* *mo* *miʔ-no*
J. 2s meet-INF CIT [3sS]think-NPST
'Janaki plans to meet you.' [Elicited_2012]

The embedded infinitive can also host particles: *mo, =yaŋ* as exemplified in (10.25a), (10.25b) and (10.25c).

(10.25) a.

wa-pok-ma	*mo*	*a-mitt-o=kha*	*elo*
get.wet-get.wet-INF	CIT	2sA-think-3P=NMLZ$_2$	or

'Did you think to soak it?' [CLLDCh4R06S03.0630]

b

akka=yaŋ	*khem-ma*	*mo*	*miʔ-ya-ʔã*
1s=ADD	listen-INF	CIT	think-1sS-NPST

'I am also thinking to listen (a song).' [CLLDCh4R06S03.0120]

c.

aniŋ	*khaŋ-ma=yaŋ*	*a-mit-nik-niŋ*	*khaŋ-ma=yaŋ*
what	watch-INF=ADD	2sS-think-NPST-NEG	watch-INF=ADD

'Don't you like even to watch?' [CLDLCh3R01S04.181a]

To summarize, *mitt-* 'think' is a monotransitive verb which is inflected both intransitively and transitively. It depends on the valency of the embedded verb. If the embedded clause contains transitive verbs, the matrix verb either agrees with default 3P or with the raised object of the embedded clause. The S/A argument of the embedded clause controls the corresponding position in the matrix, so I analyse this verb as a backward control verb.

10.2.1.4 Modal predicate

hid- 'be able to', 'finish'

Like most of the other matrix verbs, *hid-* 'be able to' is also not lexically specified for valency.[4] It rather assimilates in transitivity to the embedded verb. But unlike some other matrix verbs, *hid-* cannot have 3P default agreement with the embedded intransitive clause. Examples with intransitive embedded verbs are given in (10.26a,b). The S/A arguments of the embedded clause must have identical reference with the S/A arguments of the matrix verb.

(10.26) a.

akka	*khaiʔ-ma*	*hi-ŋa-ʔã*
1s	go-INF	be.able.to-1sS-1sNPST

'I can go.' [Fieldwork_2010]

[4] cf. Belhare, Bickel 2004b:162, and Yakkha, Schackow 2008:43

b. *pheri* *akka* *ba-iʔ-yã* *chuk-ma* *hi-ŋa-ʔã*
again 1s DEM.PROX-FLOC-ABL jump-INF be.able-1sS-1sNPST
'I can jump again from here!' [CLLDCh4R02S02b.238]

Like in Puma (Schackow 2008), the transitive complements follow two patterns of object agreement. The matrix verb *hid-* either shows 3P default agreement or it agrees with the raised object of the embedded clause, as in (10.27) and (10.28) respectively.

(10.27) a. *haiʔ-ma* *hid-u-ku-m*
wait-INF be.able-3P-NPST-1nsA
'We can wait (for her).' [CLDLCh2R02S02.441]

b. *gagri* *phaiʔ-ma* *a-hid-o-ŋs-o=kha*
bucket fill-INF 2sA-be.able-3P-PERF-3P=NMLZ$_2$
'Were you able to fill up the bucket?' [CLDLCh3R01S02.337]

(10.28) a *huĩ-sa-ŋa* *ani* *huŋ-ma* *mai-hi-no*
3s-OBL-ERG 1pi save-INF iP-able.to-NPST
'He is able to save us.' [Fieldwork_2010]

b. *huĩ-sa-ŋa* *hana* *cĩ-ma* *na-hi-no*
3s-OBL-ERG 2s teach-INF 3>2-be.able-NPST
'He is able to teach you.' [Fieldwork_2010]

There are a number of examples in our corpus which show that the embedded infinitive can also show number agreement with both its overt and covert objects. In example (10.29a), the embedded verb *cĩ-* agrees with its covert object, and in (10.29b) the verb of the complement clauses agrees in number with its overt object *makaice.*

(10.29) a. *akka* *cĩ-ma-ce* *hid-u-ŋ-c-u-ŋ-niŋ*
1s teach-INF-3nsP be.able-3P-1sA-3nsP-1sA-NEG
'I cannot teach them.' [Durga_job.051]

b. *makai-ce* *sak-ma-ce* *abo* *u-hid-a-thapt-e*
maize-ns weed-INF-3nsP now 3nsS-finish-PST-bring-PST
'Weeding of the maize is almost over.' [Gen_talk.203]

As illustrated in the above examples in (10.28a,b) and also in (10.30a,b), the case is assigned by the embedded verb. So the overt S/A arguments unambiguously belong to the embedded clause. This suggests the analysis of *hid-* as a backward control verb. In spontaneous speech, the arguments can also move out of the clause. The examples in (10.31a,b) show that the A arguments (*akka* and *hana*) move out from the embedded clause and appear in detached position to the right of the matrix clause.

(10.30) a. *kanchi-ŋa=na* *kɨ-ma=taʔ* *hid-o-ko-nɨŋ*
kanchi-ERG=TOP defeat-INF=FOC$_1$ [3sA]be.able-3P-NPST-NEG
'Kanchi cannot defeat (him).' [CLLDCh4R08S05.0323]

b. *nunu* *taĩ-ma=ta* *hi-nɨk-nɨŋ*
baby jump-INF=FOC$_1$ be.able-NPST-NEG
'The baby is not able to jump.' [CLDLCh3R01S02.264]

(10.31) a. *kok* *waĩ-ma* *hid-u-ku-ŋ-nɨŋ* *akka=na*
rice stir-INF be.able-3P-NPST-1sA-NEG 1s=TOP
'I can't stir the rice.' [CLLDCh3R14S02.219a]

b. *ba* *ne-ma=ta* *a-mai-hi-t-o-ŋs-e* *hana*
DEM.PROX read-INF=FOC$_1$ 2sA-NEG-finish-NEG-3P-PERF-PST 2s
'You have not finished reading this.' [CLLDCh3R14S01.0346]

To summarize, the verb *hid-* 'be able to' is not lexically specified for valency. This verb cannot have P agreement with an intransitive embedded clause. The transitive matrix verb either shows 3P default agreement or it agrees with the raised object of the embedded clause. The embedded infinitive can also show number agreement with its objects. According to my data, the overt S/A arguments belong to the embedded clause and control the corresponding position in the matrix clause, so I analyse this verb as a backward control verb.

10.2.1.5 Other predicates

tok- 'get'

After *puŋs-* 'start', *tok-* is the second verb which is inflected transitively even if it has an intransitive embedded clause. Unlike most other verbs, this verb can assign case to its arguments. Schackow (2008) also noticed a similar behavior of the cognate verb in Puma. The data in (10.32a) and (10.32b) show that the matrix verb is inflected transitively even if there are intransitive complements in both occurrences. Examples (10.33a) and (10.33b) illustrate the case of forward control.

(10.32) a. *im-ma* *u-tog-o-ko-niŋ* *ni*
sleep-INF 3nsA-get-3P-NPST-NEG FOC_2
'They don't get to sleep.' [CLLDCh1R07S02 138]

b. *khaŋ-ma* *tok-u-ku-m-nim*
see-INF get-3P-NPST-3P-1pA-NEG
'We don't get something to see.' [CLLDCh2R04S04.1233]

(10.33) a. *joge-ŋa* *im-ma* *tog-o-ko*
J.-ERG sleep-INF [3sA]get-3P-NPST
'Joge gets (time) to sleep.' [Fieldwork_2010]

b. *ticer-ce-ŋa=yaŋ* *u-tog-o-ko* *ni* *ta-ma*
teacher-ns-ERG=ADD 3sA-get-3P-NPST FOC_2 come-INF
'The teachers can also come.' [exp_uni.213]

As the overt A arguments belong to the matrix clause and control the S/A position in embedded clause, this verb is an example of forward control in Chintang.

Tok- can also take nominal complements.

(10.34) *pãc-e-da* *bakhra* *a-tog-i-ki* *hani* *kancha*
five-ADJV-CLF goat 2A-get-p-NPST 2p youngest.one.male
'Kancha! Do you get five goats?' [CLLDCh1R13S02.0413]

To summarize, *tok-* 'get' is a forward control verb in Chintang. Like in English, the S/A argument of the higher clause controls the corresponding S/A position of the lower clause. Except for the default 3P agreement, there is no other type of object agreement with this verb.

hott- 'make tired'

hott- is a monotransitive verb; something causes someone to become tired. The causer is marked with the ergative case. So, this verb is different from all other verbs described above. The infinitive occupies the A role in the matrix and behaves like a nominal argument.

(10.35) a. *gol* *khoŋ-ma-ŋa=yaŋ* *mai-hoʔ-no* *aŋ*
ball play-INF-ERG=ADD iP-make.tired-NPST Q
'Playing ball makes us tired as well!' [CLLDCh3R14S01.0701]

b. *na-hott-e* *yuŋ-ma-ŋa*
3>2-make.tired-PST sit-INF-ERG
'Staying (in the cradle) tired you?' [CLLDCh3R14S01.0699]

In all types of infinitival complement clauses, the embedded verb cannot be inflected, except for the object agreement. All the morphological marking like person and number, is reserved for the matrix predicate.

Table 10.2 summarizes the most important features of infinitival complement clauses.

Type of predicate	Stems	Valency	S/A Case assi.	Referential identity	control	LDA
Aspectual	*lapt-*	ambitran.	by em. V	[S/A] = S/A	backward	yes
	puŋs-	monotran.	by em. V	[S/A] = A	backward	yes
Desiderative	*kond-*	ambitran.	by em. V	[S/A] = S/A	backward	yes
	les-	monotran.	by em. V	[A] = A	not clear	yes
Propositional attitude	*mitt-*	monotran.	by em. V	[S/A] = A	backward	yes
modal	*hid-*	monotran.	by em. V	[S/A] = S/A	backward	yes
Other	*tok-*	monotran.	by mat. V	[S/A] = A	forward	no
	hott-	monotran.	by em. V	[A] = P	not clear	not clear

Table 10.2: Properties of infinitival complement clauses

10.2 Nominalized complement clauses

As I discussed in Chapter 9, nominalization is one of the most productive syntactic phenomena of Tibeto-Burman languages. It is a means of creating various types of syntactic structures like attributive phrases, relative clauses and so on. But so far, I have considered only nominalized clauses with nominal arguments — subject, direct object or indirect object.[5] In this chapter, I concentrate only on nominalized complement clauses which are widely attested in a great number of Tibeto-Burman languages, if not all. It is a quite productive syntactic structure in many Kiranti languages including in Chintang. Nominalized complement clauses are different from other nominalized clauses in the sense that a nominalized complement clause always functions as noun phrase complement of a matrix clause.

In all Kiranti languages, complement clauses make use of the general nominalizer (found also in relative clauses) attached to fully finite clauses (Watters 2008). For this purpose Chintang employs the general nominalizer *=go*. It is suffixed to an inflected verb. It has been mentioned in the previous section that only verbs of cognition and saying can utilize

[5] see §9.1.3

nominalization as a complement strategy. It would be ungrammatical with phase verbs like 'start', 'end', and modal verbs like 'should', 'have to', and so on. Unlike in infinitival complement clauses, there is no obligatory identity of S/A arguments in nominalized complement clauses. The S/A argument of the embedded clause is not necessarily coreferential with the S/A argument of the matrix clause. The matrix verbs do not exhibit control when they are combined with a nominalizer. Such verbs allow the subject inside the argument to be referentially independent from the matrix subject or object. It is obvious that the choice of nominalized complement does not trigger control, i.e. a nominalized complement cannot be utilized to induce control and can therefore be considered as 'control-neutral' (Gamerschlag 2007). As every verb can constitute a clause on its own, I do not see any distinction between nominalization of clauses and nominalization of verbs in Chintang.

nis- 'to know'

Unlike in Puma, where the S argument of the embedded clause obligatorily triggers P-agreement in the matrix verb and S agreement in the embedded verb (10.36), there is no P agreement in Chintang (10.37).

(10.36) Puma

ŋa-a	*khanna*	*tʌ-ta-a=ku*	*sin-na*
1s-ERG	2s	2s-come-PST=NMLZ	know-1s>2

'I know that you came.' [Schackow 2008]

(10.37) a.

akka	*hana*	*a-hab-a=go*	*nis-u-k-u-ŋ*
1s	2s	2sS-cry-PST=NMLZ$_1$	know-3P-NPST-3P-1sA

'I know that you cried.' [Fieldwork_2010]

b.

hana	*a-ims-a=go*	*nis-u-k-u-ŋ*
2s	2sS-sleep-PST=NMLZ$_1$	know-3P-NPST-3P-1sA

'I know that you slept.' [Fieldwork_2010]

As I mentioned above, there is no necessity for referential identity. In examples (10.38a,b), the A argument of the embedded clause is not coreferential with the A argument of the matrix

clause. Example (10.38b) shows that the complement clause may also include ideophones and adverbial elements.

(10.38) a. *akka kam-a hid-u-ŋ=go master-ŋa nis-o-ko*
1s work-N.NTVZ finish-3P-1sA=NMLZ$_1$ teacher-ERG [3sA]know-3P-NPST
'The teacher knows that I finished the work.' [Fieldwork_2010]

b. *phak-phak-lari ten-na-ʔã=go a-nis-o-ko=nchi e*
IDEOPH-REDUP-ADVLZ$_2$ beat-1>2-NPST=NMLZ$_1$ 2sA-know-3P-NPST=not or
'Do you remember that I beat you very much?' [CLLDCh4R04S06.1037b]

tupt- 'understand'

tupma is a transitive verb, which always shows default 3P agreement with the entire complement clause. Furthermore, the object of the embedded clause triggers agreement on both the nominalized verb of the embedded clause and the verb of the matrix clause, as illustrated in (10.39). Arguments of the nominalized complement clauses can also take the nominal categories like case markers and number inflections. In example (10.39), we can see that the argument of the nominalized complement clause retains the case marker *-ŋa*.

(10.39) *hana-ŋa kha-a-cind-a=go*
2s-ERG 1nsP-2sA-teach-PST=NMLZ$_1$

anaŋa tupt-u-ms-u-mm-ehẽ
1pe understand-3P-PERF-3P-1nsP-PST
'We have understood that you taught us.' [Durga_job.096]

mitt- 'remember'

It is a general phenomenon that the S/A argument is dropped when it is coreferential with the S/A argument of the complement clause (10.40a). However, coreference is not a required condition for propositional predicates like *mitt*- 'think'. Example (10.40b) illustrates this.

(10.40) a. *a-kam-ce-nɨŋ* *khel-a* *numd-i-ŋa=go*
1sPOSS-friend-ns-COM play-N.NTVZ do-p-e=NMLZ$_1$

mitt-u-ŋ-sed-u-hẽ
remember-3P-1sA-kill-3P-1sA.PST

'I remembered that I played a game with my friends.' [Fieldwork_2010]

b. *hana* *a-cind-a=go* *akka* *mitt-u-ku-ŋ=ta*
2s 2sA-teach-PST=NMLZ$_1$ 1s remember-3P-NPST=IPFV$_2$

'I remember that you taught me.' [Fieldwork_2010]

According to my data, nominalized complements can only occur with nominative, ergative, possessive and oblique arguments. Nominalized predicates do not take genitive marking on either subjects or objects in Chintang. This is a general feature of sentential nominalization.

(10.41) a. **i-chau-ko* *cekt-a=go* *tupt-u-ku-ŋ*
2sPOSS-son-GEN speak-PST=NMLZ$_1$ understand-3P-NPST-1sA

'I understood what your child said.' [Fieldwork_2010]

b. *asinda* *i-khim-be(*-ko)* *khems-u-ŋ=go*
yesterday 2sPOSS-house-LOC(*-GEN) hear-3P-1sA=NMLZ$_1$

jammai *tupt-u-hẽ*
all understand-3P-1sA.PST

'I understood all what I heard at your home yesterday.' [Fieldwork_2010]

As discussed above, according to our corpus, most of the nominalized complement clauses are constructed with a single grammatical clause in Chintang. But it is possible for a complement clause to be internally complex and include various other finite or nonfinite clauses, as in (10.42).

(10.42) a. *phak* *seiʔ-ma* *hid-u-hẽ=kina* *puja* *num-si* *maŋthana*
pig kill-INF finish-3P-1sA.PST=SEQ worship do-PURP temple

khad-i-ki-ŋa=go *akka* *majjale* *mitt-u-ku-ŋ-nɨŋ*
go-p-NPST-e-PST=NMLZ$_1$ 1s well remember-3P-NPST-1sA-NEG

'I do not remember well that I killed a pig and we went to the temple in order to worship.' [Fieldwork_2010]

b. *kanchi* *khad-a-loĩs-a=go* *hana* *a-nis-o-ko=go*
K. go-PST-OUT$_1$-PST=NMLZ$_1$ 2s 2sA-know-3P=NMLZ$_1$

akka *mund-u-ŋs-u-ŋ=kha*
1s forget-3P-PERF-3P-1sA=NMLZ$_2$

'I had forgotten you knew that Kanchi went away.' [Fieldwork_2010]

In this complex nominalized structure, 'that I killed a pig and we went to temple in order to worship', contains two other clauses, a sequential clause '...killed a pig and...' and a purposive clause 'in order to worship'. Example (10.42b) illustrates that it is also possible to recursively embed two *=go* clauses.

10.3 *Samma* complement clause

The role of case markers in complementation is usually limited in Chintang. However, the morpheme *samma* which serves as the terminative case marker (see §3.1.3.7) also appears in complementation. *Samma* either takes a nominalized verb (10.43a), or subjunctive (10.43b), indicative (10.43c) or the infinitival form of the verb (10.44). Example (10.44) also shows that the S/A arguments of the embedded and matrix clauses do not need to be identical. The following sentences illustrate these uses of *samma* as a complementizer.

(10.43) a. *aba* *nis-u-ŋ=go* *samma*
now know-3P-1s=NMZL$_1$ TERM

'as much as I know' [rana_pilgrim.002]

b. *aba* *nis-u-ŋ* *samma*
now know-3P-1s TERM

'as far as I remember' [Fieldwork_2010]

c. *abo* *lu* *si-ŋa-ʔã-niŋ-lok* *somma*
now PTCL die-1sS-NPST-NEG-SIM TERM

'until I die' [Student_life.153]

(10.44) *dharan catara mai-khaiʔ-ma somma*
Dh. C. NEG-go-INF TERM

hana ba-iʔ=ta mitt-a
2s DEM.PROX-FLOC=FOC$_1$ think-IMP
'You think here until I reach Dharan-Chatara!' [khim_ring.105]

The postposition *samma* or *somma* 'till/until' is not a native Chintang form. It is borrowed from Nepali.

10.4 Summary

In this chapter, I have described the different types of complement clauses in terms of control behavior of their S/A and P arguments and agreement properties. The S/A arguments of the embedded and matrix clauses must be identical for all the infinitival complement clauses. However, there is no coreferentiality restriction in nominalized and *samma* complement clauses in Chintang. Transitivity, case assignment, control and agreement behavior are quite diverse. There are both forward and backward control in Chintang. The corpus data show that both backward control and raising can occur together.

Chintang has a number of verbs which take an infinitival clause as their argument. But they all do not behave uniformly. Out of 10 different verbs described in this chapter, eight verbs, viz. *lapt-* 'begin', *kond-* 'want', 'should', *les-* 'like', *mitt-* 'think, 'remember', *hid-* 'finish', *lis-* 'be', *nis-* 'know', and *hott-* 'become tired' assimilate in transitivity to the embedded verb. These verbs do not assign case either. Moreover, interestingly some of these verbs, namely *lapt-* 'begin', *les-* 'like', *mitt-* 'think, remember', *kond-* 'want', 'should' and *hid-* 'finish' do agree with arguments that are not their own — resulting in a long-distance agreement. In this case, the S/A argument from the lower clause controls the S/A argument in the matrix clause, which has been described as backward control in Tsez by Polinsky. In this survey, *tok-* 'get' is the only verb which assigns case to its arguments. Moreover, this is the only verb which shows forward control like in English. Prefixes indexing S/A/P sometimes stay on the infinitives in the embedded clause (cf. *lapt-* 'begin', *lis-* 'be'), and in few predicates like *kond-* 'want', 'should' and *hid-* 'be able to'. The embedded infinitive agrees in number with its object. No verb in my survey has a specified object position in the matrix clause. The object slot is either filled by the entire complement clause or by the raised objects.

Chapter 11

Adverbial Clauses

11.0 Introduction

Kiranti languages exhibit an interesting diversity in adverbial clauses. There are both non-finite and finite adverbial clauses in Chintang. In this language, all the non-finite and finite adverbial clauses are marked with various morphemes, like clitics, affixes, and conjunctions. However, they have no unified structures that one could compare to "adverbial subordination" in European languages (Bickel 1993:39). According to Bickel (ibid.) clause linkage includes sequentialization of what he calls ad-sentential and peripheral subordination in Belhare. He describes the ad-sentential and peripheral subordination as part of a continuum.[1] He argues that there is a type of "nexus" in which the attached clause is dependent on. In line with this, Chintang adjunct clauses are similar to what traditionally understood by "subordination", but not the same.

In this chapter I describe the different types of adverbial clauses with respect to their morphological, semantic, and syntactic properties. In §11.1, I describe the non-finite converbal clauses, viz. converbal clauses with *-saŋa*, purposive clauses with *-si* and negated converbal clauses with *mai- -ma*. In §11.2, I analyze the finite clauses, including the temporal conjunctions borrowed from Nepali. Towards the end of this chapter, I describe all the variable clause linkers which form both nonfinite and finite clauses (§11.3).

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[1] A similar continuum is proposed by Lehmann (1988).

11.1 Nonfinite clauses

Traditionally, non-finite subordinate clauses are defined as subordinate clause whose verb does not bear any person and number markers. This definition does not seem to hold for what I analyse as non-finite forms in Chintang. Even though all non-finite subordinate clauses lack tense, and mood, in Chintang we encounter person and number marking in purposive clauses as possessive prefixes. A survey of the Chintang corpus shows that the texts are full of complex structures which contain a great deal of non-finite clauses. There are basically three distinct types of non-finite adverbial clauses (Paudyal et al. 2010). Among these three types of clauses, there is obligatory control of arguments only in simultaneous converbal and purposive converbal clauses, but not in negation converbal clause. All non-finite adverbial subordinate clauses described in this section function as modifiers.

11.1.1 Simultaneous converb –*saŋa*

The simultaneous converbal suffix -*saŋa* 'CVB' is attached to a verb stem, and indicates that the action of the dependent clause takes place simultaneously with the matrix clause event. It combines two different actions expressed by two different verbs but happening at the same time or temporally overlapping. The converbal clause depends on the matrix clause for tense interpretation. The S/A argument of the converbal clause is always coreferential with that of the main clause. The converb -*saŋa* is not restricted to a particular verb class; it can be suffixed to all types of verbs. Unlike the purposive -*si* which only occurs with motion verbs, -*saŋa* includes both motion and non-motion verbs. There are a number of examples in our corpus where the verb slot in the matrix clause is filled by non-motion verbs, such as *yuŋ*- 'stay', *ims*- 'sleep', *ned*- 'read', *pid*- 'give' and so on.

Both the embedded and matrix clauses can be intransitive with shared S argument, as shown in (11.1a), or the matrix verb can be transitive, as in (11.1b,c).

(11.1) a. *ãh* *reiʔ-saŋa=ta* *yu-i-yakt-i-ŋa=kha* *abo*
FILLER laugh-CVB=FOC$_1$ stay-p-IPFV$_1$-p-e=NMLZ$_2$ now
'We were staying, laughing.' [appa_katha_talk.032]

b. *cek-saŋa* *ca-no*
speak-CVB [3sA]eat-NPST
'S/he eats, speaking.' [Fieldwork_2010]

c. *abo* *hi-saŋa* *u-thap-no=ta*
now finish-CVB 3nsA-bring.across-NPST=IPFV$_2$
'They come over, finishing (sowing maize and millet).' [Gen_talk.020][2]

In example (11.2a), both the embedded and matrix clauses are transitive. Here the embedded A argument is coreferential with the matrix A. The embedded A can also be coreferential with a matrix S argument, as shown in (11.2b).

(11.2) a. *teĩ-saŋa=ta* *khatt-e* *khoku*
beat-CVB=FOC$_1$ [3sA]take-PST Kh.
'He took (him) to Khoku, beating him.' [Chintang_sahid.185]

b. *esari samma* *yoʔ-ni* *ba-iʔ-ni*
this TERM DEM.ACROSS-DIR$_2$ DEM.PROX-FLOC-DIR$_2$

num-saŋa=ta *yuŋ-ŋa-ʔã*
do-CVB=FOC$_1$ stay-1sS-NPST
'I am sitting until now, doing this and that.' [Chintang_sahid.025]

c. *thɨŋ-saŋa=ta* *yuŋ-na-yuŋ=ne*
spread-CVB=FOC$_1$ live-NA-keep=OPT
'May it keep spreading!' [comolung_song.026]

The converbal suffix is attached directly to the uninflected verb stems. The only exception found so far is with the causative suffix: *mett* > *mes*, examples *num-mes-saŋa* 'making him/her do', *peĩ-mes-saŋa* 'making it fly'.

According to the Chintang corpus, a large number of converbal constructions do not contain overt S/A arguments. This means that both the embedded and matrix clauses are constructed without overt arguments. It is impossible to have an overt S/A argument in the embedded clause. So, if there is any overt S/A argument, it unambiguously belongs to the matrix clause. This is clear from the ungrammaticality of ergative case with an intransitive matrix verb, as

[2] Ebert (1997a) describes converbal clauses under the maximally reduced clause group where the verb appears in non-finite form without TAM markers. This holds partially true for Chintang; aspectual vector verbs like *haiʔma*, *hatt-*, *dheiʔma*, *dhett-*, can appear in Chintang. Like in many other languages, the S/A argument of the embedded clause is always coreferential with the S/A argument of the matrix clause in most if not all of the Kiranti languages (Ebert 1997a, 1997b).

illustrated in (11.3a,b). The unmarked A argument in (11.4a) and S in (11.4b) belong to the matrix clause.

(11.3) a.

*phak-ŋa	ca-saŋa	ti-e
pig-ERG	eat-CVB	[3sS]come-PST

'The pig came, eating.' [Elicited_2012]

b.

*joge-ŋa	kam-a	num-si	khad-e
J.-ERG	work-N.NTVZ	do-PURP	[3sS]go-PST

'Joge went in order to work.' [Elicited_2012]

(11.4) a.

akka	khes-saŋa	khes-saŋa	ghãsa	pid-u-ku-ŋ-c-u-ŋ	goru-ce mo
1s	buy-CVB	buy-CVB	grass	give-3P-NPST-1sA-ns-1sA	ox-ns CIT

'I feed oxen by buying grass.' [warisama_talk.543]

b.

la	akka	masip	leŋ-saŋa	khaiʔ-ya-ʔã
ATTN$_2$	1s	black.lentils	overturn-CVB	take-1sS-NPST

'Look, I go while rolling black lentils!' [CLLDCh2R05S04.020]

However, it is possible to have an overt P argument in an embedded clause (11.5a). Unlike the S/A argument, it is not necessary for the P to be coreferential with a matrix clause argument. The embedded and the matrix clause can have two different objects, as shown in (11.5b). However, it is impossible to have a shared P with S, as in (11.5c). It is impossible to say something like, 'he is killed by beating him'.

(11.5) a.

cuwa	tak-saŋa	khaiʔ-ya-ʔã
water	bring-CVB	go-1sS-NPST

'I go there when I go to bring water.' [CLLDCh1R10S09. 711]

b.

gol	khoŋ-saŋa	akka	biskut	ca-kku-ŋ
ball	play-CVB	1s	biscuit	eat-NPST-1sA

'While playing ball, I eat a biscuit.' [Elicited_2012]

c. **khaŋ-saŋa* *thoms-e*
watch-CVB [3sS]do.a.shamanic.session-PST

Intended: 'He did a shamanic session while everybody was watching him.'
[Fieldwork_2010]

Bickel (2003a) reports that it is common for converbs to be repeated for emphasis in the neighboring language Belhare. This also holds true for Chintang. Examples like in (11.6a,b) are common in Chintang.

(11.6) a. *ba-khi=ta* *khip-saŋa* *khip-saŋa* *lond-i-e-hẽ*
DEM.PROX-TYP=FOC$_1$ read-CVB read-CVB appear-p-PST-1sS.PST

'In this way, we went on studying.' [lifestory_JK.30]

b. *khi-saŋa* *khi-saŋa* *rɨkt-e*
quarrel-CVB quarrel-CVB [3sA]chase-PST

'He chased him, scolding.' [CLLDCh4R13S05.568]

As in the above examples, in most of the cases, the simultaneous converb clause precedes the matrix clause. But in addition to this, a converbal clause can also appear following the main clause. However, the position of the converbal clause does not influence the interpretation or the choice of the controller. This is illustrated by the following examples from the Chintang corpus.

(11.7) a. *khim-beʔ=ta* *yuŋ-no* *o* *chap-saŋa*
house-LOC=FOC$_1$ be-NPST RECONF write-CVB

'He stays at home, writing.' [CLDLCh3R01S02.479]

b. *akka=na* *athom=ta* *khad-a-ŋs-e-hẽ* *wahu-saŋa*
1s=TOP before=FOC$_1$ go-PST-PERF-PST-1sS.PST swim-CVB

'Swimming (in the river), I have gone there before.' [CLLDCh3R03S01.0259]

c. *pog-u-loĩs-a* *cop-saŋa*
get.up-3P-OUT$_1$-IMP see-CVB

'Get up, looking on it!' [CLLDCh1R09S07.0117]

11.1.1.1 Possible argument sharing in converbal constructions

As I mentioned above, S/A argument sharing between embedded and matrix clauses is obligatory in converbal clauses. We have no examples where there is no argument sharing in the converbal constructions. Thus, the converbal construction in Chintang involves a strict syntactic constraint on argument sharing. The examples discussed in this section illustrate the following configurations:

- two intransitive clauses sharing their S argument: S=S (11.1a), (11.6a,b), (11.7b,c), (11.8b)
- two transitive clause sharing their A argument only: A=A (11.3a), (11.4b),
- two transitive clause sharing both their A and P arguments: A=A, P=P (11.2a), (11.8a)
- coreference between the S of embedded and the A of matrix clause: A=S (11.1b,c), (11.5b)
- coreference between the A of embedded and S of matrix clause: S=A (11.2b,c)

Among these configurations, not all possible relations are equally common in our corpus. A systematic study carried out with the first 600 converbal constructions in the various annotated sessions shows that the S=S configuration is the most common one. The study also shows that relatively long chains of converbs describing successive events (more than three events) are not typical of Chintang discourse, and in the corpus, sentences such as (11.7d) are extremely rare. This is the only one example which I found in the entire corpus.

d.	*tɨŋ-saŋa*	*tɨŋ-saŋa*	*khel-a*	*mes-saŋa*	*thapt-u-kh-o*
	kick-CVB	kick-CVB	play-N.NTVZ	do-CVB	bring.across-3P-CON-3P

'Bring it here by kicking and playing it.' [CLLDCh4R14S02.0542]

11.1.1.2 Scope of negation

Bickel (1993) and Schackow et al. (2012) point out that the scope of negation in simultaneous converb clauses in Belhare and Puma is disjunct, i.e. the negation marked on the matrix clause has scope either over the main clause or over the dependent clause but never over both clauses concurrently. For that reason either of the translations in (11.8) are acceptable. However, unlike in Belhare and Puma, the scope of negation in *-saŋa* converbal clauses is subjunct in Chintang. That is, it is limited to dependent clauses only. There is no example where the scope is restricted to the matrix clause in my data.

In example (11.9a), what is negated is not the fact of 'going' but the mode of 'going' even though the negation marker is on the matrix verb 'go'. The same thing is also noticed in (11.9b), though the matrix verb is negated, the effect of negation is not on 'sleeping' but on 'drinking', which is a cause of sleeplessness for the participant.

(11.8) Puma (Schackow et al. 2012)

gaph	*mu-so*	*kama*	*pʌ-mu-e-min*
talk	do-SIM.CVB	work	NEG-do-1pS-p.NEG

1. 'Chatting, we do not work.'
2. 'We work without talking.'

(11.9) a.

phaĩ-saŋa	*akka*	*khaiʔ-ya-ʔã-niŋ*	*khim*
walk-CVB	1s	go-1sS-NPST-NEG	home

'Walking, I don't go home.' [Elicited_2012]

b.

arkha	*hop-saŋa*	*im-ma-ʔã-niŋ*
local.alcohol	drink-CVB	sleep-1sS-NPST-NEG

'Drinking alcohol, I cannot sleep.' [Elicited_2012]

There is also another strategy to negate converbal constructions where the scope of negation is on the embedded clause without any ambiguity. This is achieved by the addition of the verb *hima* 'be able to' in the matrix clause. Examples are given in (11.10a) and (11.10b):

(11.10) a.

tibi	*khaŋ-saŋa*	*ne-ma*	*hid-i-ki-niŋ*
television	watch-CVB	study-INF	be.able-p-NPST-NEG

'We study without watching television.'
Not: 'We neither study nor watch television.' [Elicited_2012]

b.

makkai	*ca-saŋa*	*pheŋ-ma*	*hid-i-ki-niŋ*
maize	eat-CVB	plough-INF	be.able-p-NPST-NEG

'We plough without eating maize.'
Not: We neither plough nor eat maize.' [Elicited_2012]

The negation marker on the embedded converbal clause is not attested in Chintang except in the lexicalized verb *mahima* 'be not able to' (literally 'be sick').

(11.11) *utti=ta* *ma-hi-saŋa* *ti-e*
then=FOC$_1$ NEG-be.well-CVB [3sS]come-PST
'He came back being sick.' [appa_katha_talk.035]

11.1.1.3 Scope of question

There is no clear example for *sa* 'who' questioning an argument inside the embedded clause in the Chintang corpus. In a few elicited sentences, for example (11.12), the question word clearly belongs to the embedded clauses.[3]

(11.12) *sa-ŋa* *pas-saŋa* *khad-e*
who-ERG call-CVB [3sS]go-PST
'Who went (by) calling (him)?' [Elicited_2012]

However, there are a number of clear evidences where the interrogative pronouns *them* and *aŋ,* unambiguously belong to the embedded clause. This is illustrated by the following examples.

(11.13) a. *them* *khem-saŋa* *a-yuw-a=kha* *elo*
what listen -CVB 2sS-stay-PST=NMLZ$_2$ or
'What were you listening to and sitting?' [CLLDCh4R07S05.1554]

b. *them* *mes-saŋa* *haŋ-no=na* *haŋ-no*
what make-CVB [3sS]be.hot-NPST=TOP be.hot-NPST
'What did you do that it became that hot?' [CLDLCh3R05S04.345]

c. *aŋ* *num-saŋa* *a-yuŋ-no*
Q do-CVB 2sS-stay-NPST
'What are you doing, staying here?' [Fieldwork_2010]

The scope of a question is sometimes ambiguous. *Aŋ* in example (11.14) may question either the mood of going 'by climbing' or simply the fact of 'going'.

[3] The example in (4.60) also presents a similar evidence.

(11.14) *waŋ-saŋa* *khaʔ-no* *aŋ*
climb-CVB [3sS]go-NPST Q

'Does he GO by climbing?'
'Does he go (up) by CLIMBING?' [CLLDCh2R14S03.0732]

The nominative-marked interrogative pronoun *salo* 'who' in the following example may question either the S argument of the matrix clause or the P argument of the embedded clause.

(11.15) *sa-lo* *pas-saŋa* *khad-e*
who-NOM call-CVB [3sS]go-PST

'Who went away by calling?' [Fieldwork_2010]

Imperative scope is always conjunct with *-saŋa*. The following examples illustrate that both the matrix and embedded clauses are within the scope of the imperative.

(11.16) a. *ghãsa* *hek-saŋa* *bhukt-a-c-a* *khele*
grass cut-CVB heap-IMP-d-IMP Kh.

'Khele, cut the grass and heap it up!' [CLLDCh1R03S01.0597]

b. *haleʔ* *mo* *rɨk-saŋa* *thapt-u-c-a* *haleʔ*
quickly CIT chase-CVB bring.across-3P-d-IMP quickly

'Please, chase and bring them quickly.' [CLLDCh1R10S09. 667]

c. *ca-saŋa* *hale* *khokt-a-ʔ*
eat-CVB quickly cut-IMP-EMPH

'Cut quickly and eat (the seed of a pumpkin).' [CLLDCh1R05S05.735]
(The speaker tells the addressee who was doing nothing before to now start eating and do this by cutting it into pieces.)

The example in (11.17) shows that the *-saŋa* clause allows both the focus particle *=ta* and the additive focus marker *=yaŋ* in Chintang.

(11.17) *akka* *a-mɨk* *sip-saŋa=ta=yaŋ* *khaiʔ-yã-loĩ-ya-ʔã*
1s 1sPOSS-eye shut.eyes-CVB=FOC$_1$=ADD go-1sS-out-1sS-NPST

'I can go (leave) even closing my eyes.' [CLLDCh1R06S03.1196]

11.1.2 The purposive converb *-si*

The purposive clause is marked by the suffix *-si,* which is glossed as 'PURP' in this chapter. Like in many other Kiranti languages, the purposive clause is typically restricted to verbs of motion: a person or an animal moves or moves something to some place in order to achieve something. In the embedded clauses, the *-si* marked constituent functions as head of the clause which appears in the periphery of another clause.[4] Like in the *-saŋa* converbal clauses, the S/A arguments of the main clause must have control over the embedded clause as well. Examples are given in (11.18):

(11.18) a.

koĩ-si	*khad-e*	*gonei*	*yo*	*bhunte*
search-PURP	[3sS]go-PST	ATTN$_1$	DEM.ACROSS	Bh.

'Bhunte went to search the thing (which he had lost).' [CLDLCh3R05S04.102]

b.

kappe	*huŋ=go-iʔ*	*im-si*	*lɨk-no*
K.	DEM=NMLZ$_1$-FLOC	sleep-PURP	[3sS]enter-NPST

'Kappe goes there to sleep.' [CLLDCh3S12R04 211]

c.

a-kancha	*la-si*	*paŋs-u-hẽ=ta=na*
1sPOSS-youngest.male	bring-PURP	send-3P-1sA.PST=FOC$_1$=TOP

'I sent my youngest son to bring (meat).' [CLLDCh1R03S01.0797]

In our corpus *-si* very rarely occurs with stative verbs. The same constraint has also been noted for neighboring Belhare (Bickel 2004b). One example of this type is given in (11.19), with the verb *yuŋ-* 'be'.

(11.19)

beuli	*cop-si*	*yuw-e*
bride	look-PURP	[3sS]be-PST

'He stayed there to see the bride.' [Fieldwork_2010]

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[4] In Limbu, the purposive meaning can also be expressed by infinitives, as illustrated in the following example from Taplejunge dialect of Limbu. This holds true for Nepali as well, but I am not aware of such clauses in Chintang.

(11.20)

iŋkʰəŋ=en	*kʰe-ma*	*kʰunɛʔ*	*hara*	*ler-u*
news=PTCL	hear-INF	3s	early	leave-PST

'She left early in order to hear the news.' [Limbu 2009]

Though there is no overt S/A argument in the purposive clause, it is possible to have P, T, G or oblique arguments in embedded clauses. The sentence (11.21) is ungrammatical due to the overt A argument in the embedded clause, while (11.22a) and (11.22b) are fully grammatical, although there are P, T, G and oblique arguments inside the purposive clauses.

(11.21) **menuwa-ŋa* *sencak* *ca-si* *kuŋs-e*
cat-ERT mouse eat-PURP come.down-PST
'The cat came down to eat mouse.' [Fieldwork_2010]

(11.22) a. *ama* *akka* *jarkin-be* *cuwa* *phas-si* *khaiʔ-ya-ʔã*
mother 1s jerrycan-LOC water fill-PURP go-1sS-NPST
'Mother, I go to fetch water in the jerrycan.' [CLLDCh1R11S04.212]

b. *akka* *gor-ce=lo* *cuwa* *pi-si* *khaiʔ-ya-ʔã*
1s ox-ns=SURP water give-PURP go-1sS-NPST
'I go to give water to the oxen.' [CLLDCh3R07S03. 416]

Like the *-saŋa* converb clause, the purposive clause is also flexible in terms of its position in the sentence. It can appear clause initially (11.18), medially (11.23a) and finally, as in (11.23b). Adjacency to the main verb is not required in Chintang. Thompson (1985) and Givón (2001) point out that the exact scope of 'purpose' is rather different when the clause is postposed. According to them, post-posed purposive clauses most typically code the intent of the main-clause agent performing his or her action, while the pre-posed purpose clauses typically have a broader scope, not necessarily referring to the matrix-clause agent's purpose. But I could not find this type of distinction between pre-posed and post-posed purposive clauses in Chintang.

(11.23) a. *a-ti-a-c-e=kina* *ba-iʔ* *ladai* *num-si* *akka-be*
2sS-come-PST-d-PST=SEQ DEM.PROX-FLOC fight do-PURP 1s-LOC
'You came here to fight with me.' [origin_myth.049]

b. *ama* *akka* *khaiʔ-ya-ʔã* *caklet* *khes-si*
mother 1s go-1sS-NPST chocolate buy-PURP
'Mother, I am going to buy a chocolate.' [CLLDCh2R11S06.012]

Person agreement can be expressed in the dependent clause, but it is quite different from independent clauses. In examples (11.24a,b), the P argument of the verb in the embedded clause is marked by a possessive prefix which expresses a different person from the one in the main clause. This is shown by the following examples:

(11.24) a. *i-cop-si* *u-ti-a-ŋs-e* *naŋ*
2sPOSS-see-PURP 3nsS-come-PST-PERF-PST BUT
'They have come to see you.' [CLLDCh1R02S03a.108]

b. *u-khaŋ-si* *thab-a-ŋs-e* *aseĩgosaŋa*
3sPOSS-watch-PURP come.level-PST-PERF-PST two.days.before
'He has come to see her the day before yesterday.' [CLDLCh3R01S02.457]

11.1.2.1 Scope of negation

In contrast to the *-saŋa* converbal clause, the negation scope in purposive clause is conjunct, i.e. the scope extends to the main clause and the dependent clause. Unlike in Puma purposive clause (Schackow et al. 2012), the scope of negation cannot be restricted to the main clause only in Chintang. The negation marking on the main verb always extends to the embedded clause, as shown in (11.25a,b).

(11.25) a. *samjhana* *bakhra* *ghãsa* *hek-si* *khaʔ-nɨk-nɨŋ*
S. goat grass cut-PURP [3sS]go-NPST-NEG
'Samjhana doesn't go to cut grass for the goat.'
(=Samjhana neither goes nor cuts grass for the goat.) [CLLDCh3R10S04.576]

b. *meĩ* *jãc-e* *num-si=yaŋ* *mai-khaiʔ-yokt-o-ŋs-e* *hola*
FILLER check-V.NTVZ do-PURP=ADD NEG-take-NEG-3P-PERF-PST probably
'They probably have not taken it to check.'
(=They neither took it nor checked.) [CLLDCh3R13S04.0596]

Besides this, Chintang also allows to negate the purposive clause on its own. For this, Chintang employs a different form of negation to code negative purpose. To achieve this, a particle *maha* 'be.not' is used in the dependent clause, rather than a negative marking suffix on the verb. This can be seen in examples (11.26a,b).

(11.26) a. *cuwa* *la-si* *maha* *khus-si* *khad-a-ŋs-a=kha*
water bring-PURP be.not steal-PURP [3sS]go-PST-PERF-PST=NMLZ$_2$
'He did not go to bring water, but to steal things.' [Fieldwork_2010]

b. *ghãsa* *hek-si* *maha* *sɨŋ* *khop-si* *khad-a-ŋs-a=kha*
grass cut-PURP be.not wood search-PURP [3sS]go-PST-PERF-PST=NMLZ$_2$
'He did not go to cut grass, but to search woods.' [Fieldwork_2010]

11.1.2.2 Scope of question

Like in the simultaneous converbal clause, there is no clear evidence for *sa* 'who' questions in the purposive clauses. There is one example where *sa* appears inside the subordinate clause, but semantically it clearly belongs to both the matrix and embedded clauses.

(11.27) *dhori* *sa-lo* *cup-si* *luk-noʔ*
door who-ABS close-PURP enter-NPST
'Who will enter to close the door?' [CLLDCh3R02S05. 513]

There are also cases where the scope of the question is ambiguous, as in the following examples:

(11.28) a. *sa-lo* *cop-si* *khad-e*
who-ABS see-PURP go-PST
'Who went to see? or 'To whom s/he went to see?' [Fieldwork_2010]

b. *sa-lo* *pas-si* *khad-e*
who-ABS call-PURP go-PST
'Who went to call?' or 'To whom s/he went to call?' [CLLDCh2R02S06.1237]

But we have ample corpus data which shows that it is possible to have *them* 'what', *aŋ* 'what', *theke* 'why', and *hokke* 'where' in the embedded clause. This is illustrated in (11.29a), (11.29b) and (11.29c).

(11.29) a. *uttame* *theke* *cuwa* *nak-si* *thab-e*
U. why water ask-PURP [3sS]come-PST
'Why did Uttam come to ask water?' [CLLDCh1R02S04b.0830]

b. *them* *cop-si* *khad-e*
what see-PURP [3sS]go-PST
'What did he go to see?' [Fieldwork_2010]

c. *aŋ* *num-si* *ti-e*
Q do-PURP [3sS]come-PST
'What did he come for?' [Fieldwork_2010]

However, our data clearly show that imperatives have conjunct scope in purposive clauses in Chintang. This is illustrated in the following examples:

(11.30) a. *haleʔ* *bakhra* *ghãsa* *hek-si* *khad-a-nihã*
quickly goat grass cut-PURP go-IMP-p.IMP
'Go quickly and cut grass for the goat! [CLLDCh3R10S04.578]

b. *khaŋ-si* *khad-a*
see-PURP go-IMP
'Go and see!' [CLLDCh3R09S08.0052]

Both the embedded and the matrix clause can be focused with additive focus clitics and topicalizers (11.31).

(11.31) *akka=yaŋ* *kok* *ca-si=na* *kuŋ-ŋa-ʔã*
1s=ADD rice eat-PURP=TOP come.down-1sS-NPST
'I also come to have rice.' [CLLDCh1R11S03.279]

11.1.3 The negation converb *mai- -ma*

The negation converb clause is the third most frequent non-finite clause in Chintang. It is formed with a combination of the regular negation marking prefix *mai-* and the infinitive suffix *-ma* 'INF' and indicates that an action denoted by a main verb takes place without being supported by the event denoted by the converbal clause. Like the other converbal clauses, the

negation converb clause is also nonfinite and fully dependent in nature.[5] The following are some examples of negation converbal clauses:

(11.32) a. *mai-soŋ-ma* *yuŋ-nɨk-nɨŋ=ta=kha*
NEG-move-INF sit-NPST-NEG=IPFV$_2$=NMLZ$_2$
'She does not sit without moving.' [CLDLCh3R01S03.509]

b. *mai-kham-ma=ta* *min-no*
NEG-chew-INF=FOC$_1$ swallow-NPST
'He swallows without chewing.' [Fieldwork_2010]

c. *mai-haĩ-ma=ta* *khad-a-loĩs-e* *hola*
NEG-discuss-INF=FOC$_1$ go-PST-OUT$_1$-PST probably
'He has probably gone without talking.' [CLDLCh2R02S02.570]

Negation converb clauses are quite different from the mere negation of infinitives. This is because if it were simply a negation of an infinitival form of the verb, it would have been possible to formulate the clause without a negation marker, too. As the negation marking on the infinitival form of verb is obligatory, this makes it different from general negation.

Unlike in *-saŋa* and *-si* converbal clauses, there is no obligatory coreferentiality in negative subordinate clauses. A negative converb clause can take its own argument, which is not necessarily identical with the arguments of the matrix clause, as illustrated in (11.33).

(11.33) *mai-pi-ma=ta* *akka* *pi-ŋa-ʔã-nɨŋ*
NEG-give-INF=FOC$_1$ 1s give-1sA-NPST-NEG
'I do not give it before (someone) gives me.' [Fieldwork_2010]

The negation converbal clause normally does not take any inflectional marking. However, there are a few examples in our corpus where it takes *-ce* '3nsP'.

[5] According to Ebert (Ebert 2003: 31), all Kiranti languages except Camling have a negative converb. In a number of Kiranti languages, this is a regular negation which forms a converbal clause. But unlike in other Kiranti languages which use *-sa* to mark simultaneous converb, Hayu reserves it only for the negation converb (Ebert 2003).

(11.34) *kad-e-hẽ* *hani* *gor-ce=yaŋ* *ma-khaŋ-ma-ce=ta*
go-PST-1s.PST 2sPOSS ox-ns=ADD NEG-look-INF-3nsP=FOC$_1$
'I came up (here) without looking for your oxen.' [CLLDCh2R04S04.0615/0616]

The clause in example (11.35) is an interesting example because it is not the S of *kaiʔma* that is coreferential with the S of *khade* in the main clause, but rather its deep A, marked as possessor.

(11.35) *halei* *u-laja=ta* *ma-kaiʔ-ma=ta* *khad-e*
EXCLA 3sPOSS-shame=FOC$_1$ NEG-come.up-INF=FOC$_1$ go-PST
'He went without feeling any shame.' [CLLDCh1R03S01.0584]

There is very limited data to describe the various scope phenomena of negation converb clause. But fortunately, there is an example which shows that the scope of question can be on the embedded clause. In sentence (11.36), the speaker wants to know whether 'she eats before walking around.'

(11.36) *kok* *mai-ca-ma=ta* *ko-no* *elo*
rice NEG-eat-INF=FOC$_1$ walk.around-NPST or
'Does she walk around without eating rice?' [CLLDCh2R09S02.231]

11.2 Finite subordination

Non-finite clauses are not only means of forming complex sentences in Chintang. Finite clauses are also used very productively. A finite clause contains a finite verb, which is inflected for tense, aspect (optionally), mood,[6] person, and number. There are four types of finite adverbial clauses in Chintang: adverbial clauses with *-lo(k)*, conditional clauses with *=haŋ*, sequential clauses with *=ki/kina/kinana* and concessive clause with *nuseyaŋ.* Moreover, there are a number other finite clauses (with a temporal meaning) which are constructed with borrowed conjunctions from Nepali. Finite adverbial clauses can be placed pre- as well as

[6] Subjunctive mood in nonpast has no dedicated marker in Chintang. It is rather coded by the absence of any marker.

post-sententially. But the unmarked position of a non-finite adverbial clause is before the main clause.[7]

11.2.1 The adverbial clause with *-lo(k)*

The adverbial subordinator *-lo(k)* is the most versatile clause-linker in Chintang. It is mostly suffixed to the subjunctive form of the verbs and conveys various meanings, such as simultaneity, manner, and purpose. However, there are also a few examples where the verb in the embedded clause is fully inflected for tense, aspect, and person. Like converbal clauses, *-lo(k)* clause also precedes the matrix clause, although there are some examples where the *-lo(k)*-clause appears following the matrix clause. Examples (11.37a-c) illustrate that a main clause event and an embedded clause event can occur simultaneously.

(11.37) a.

ɨk	*thog-i-yakt-i-lok*	*khic-e*	*numd-i*
field	dig-p-IPFV-p-SIM	record-V.NTVZ	do-p

'Let's record while digging the field.' [CLDLCh3R01S03.086]

b.

duda	*thuŋ-na-yak-lok=yaŋ*	*khic-e*	*u-numd-o-ko*
milk	suck-NA-TEL-SIM=ADD	record-V.NTVZ	do-3P-NPST

'They record (the baby) even while sucking the milk.' [CLDLCh3R01S03.396]

c.

akka	*khaiʔ-ya-ʔã-lok*	*caklet*	*pi-na-ʔã*	*ni*	*hana*
1s	go-1sS-NPST-SIM	toffee	give-1>2-NPST	FOC_2	2s

'I give you a toffee when I leave.' [CLLDCh1R13S02.0220]

Another common function of *-lok* clauses is to express manner. It describes how an actions is performed in the main clause, as illustrated in (11.38).

(11.38) a.

akka	*tuk-lok*	*pi-ma*	*lap-na-ʔã*
1s	hurt-SIM	give-INF	be.about.to-1>2-1s.NPST

'I am about to beat you severely.' [CLLDCh1R09S07.0278]

b.

utti=kina	*meĩ-ŋa*	*siyala-ŋa*	*lim-lok*	*c-o-kko*
then=SEQ	FILLER-ERG	jackal-ERG	be.tasty-SIM	[3sA]eat-3P-NPST

'Then, the jackal eats in a tasty way.' [story_bird.009]

[7] This supports Greenberg (1963:83-84) and Diessel (2001:433-436) who observe that in OV languages adverbial clauses usually precede the main clause.

In limited examples, the *-lok* clause shows a *destination* in time. The example in (11.39) illustrates a destination in terms of time, which has the meaning of 'until'.

(11.39) *akka* *a-sakma* *yuŋ-no-lok* *chintaŋ-be* *yuŋ-ŋa-ʔã*
1s 1sPOSS-breath be-NPST-SIM Chintang-LOC live-1sS-NPST
'I live in Chintang until I have my (last) breath.' [Fieldwork_2010]

It is possible to have overt arguments in both dependent and matrix clauses, and the arguments are not required to be coreferential, as in (11.40).

(11.40) *ah* *nam* *chott-a-kt-e* *khad-i-yakt-i-ŋa-lok*
FILLER sun be.sunny-PST-IPFV$_1$-PST go-p-IPFV$_1$-p-e-SIM
'Well, the sun was shining brightly when we were going.' [them_talk.092]

11.2.1.1 Scope of negation

Unlike in Puma where the main clause negation markers do not scope over the *-lo* clause (Schackow et al. 2012), in Chintang the main clause negation affects only the subordinate clause, not the matrix clause. This holds true for Belhare as well (see Bickel 1993: 31).[8] This is illustrated in examples (11.41a) and (11.41b).

(11.41) a. *anaŋa* *cha* *yu-i-yakt-i-ŋa-lok* *mai-u-ta-yokt-a-ŋs-e*
1pe child be-p-IPFV$_1$-p-e-SIM NEG-3nsS-come-PERF-PST
'(Vehicles) have come (to our village) now, but not when we were children.'
[phidang_talk. 442]

b. *cuʔ-nu-lok* *sumd-u-m-nɨm* *para*
be.good-be.good-SIM make.sth.airproof-3P-1nsA-NGE COND$_2$
'if we do not shelter it (from wind) properly' [thi_numma.51]

The cognate forms of *-lok/-lo* are found across a number of Kiranti languages with more or less the same function and meaning, cf. Puma *-lo* (Schackow 2008), Belhare *-lo(k)* (Bickel 1993), Kulung *-lo* (Tolsma 2006). Moreover, in some Kiranti languages, for example in Athpare, the

[8] This phenomenon has been defined as a case of 'negation transfer'.

same marker is used as a comitative case marker and also as an adverbial subordinator.[9] But in Chintang, *-lo* appears with the interrogative pronoun *sa* 'who' and marks the nominative case.

11.2.2 Concessive clause *-nusayaŋ*

Concessive clauses refer to a situation whose realization is in contrast with the realization of the situation encoded by the matrix clause. The principal conjunction introducing a concessive clause in Chintang is *nuseyaŋ,* which has the two alternative variants *nusa(yaŋ)* and *nuchaŋ.* All these variants originate from a single verb *numa*, *nud-*, ~ *nus-* 'be well', the past tense marker *-e/-a* plus an additive particle *=yaŋ,* which collectively means 'it was ok, too'. The semantics of this construction are similar to English 'although' or 'even though'. The following are some examples of concessive clauses in Chintang:

(11.42) a.

ani-phuwa-ce	*mastars*	*pod-e*	*u-num*	*nuseyaŋ*	*u-nak-no*
1pPOSS-brother-ns	master's	study-V.NTVZ	3nsA-do	CNSV	3nsA-ask-NPST

'Although our brothers have a master degree, they ask (for support).'

b.

khel-a	*a-num*	*nusayaŋ*	*yaŋs-o*	*hola*	*ni*
game-N.NTVZ	2sS-do	CNSV	be.good-3P	probably	FOC_2

'Although you play, it is probably okay.' [CLLDCh2R06S02.647]

c.

yoʔ-ni	*bhaiʔ-ni*	*num-saŋa*	*nusa-ta=yaŋ*
DEM.ACROSS-DIR	DEM.level-DIR	do-CVB	CNSV=FOC_1=ADD

bebhar	*numd-u-ku-ŋ=ta*
business	do-3P-NPST-1sA=IPFV

'Even though I am working here and there, I am doing my business.'
[Intro_woman.16/Intro_woman.17]

According to the data in the Chintang corpus, dependent clauses mostly use the subjunctive form of the verb and matrix clauses use the indicative form in concessive constructions. So, examples like in (11.42a) are relatively common in Chintang.

[9] Genetti (1986) observes that this is a widespread phenomenon in Tibeto-Burman languages. She has discussed that subordinators are morphologically and semantically closely related to case markers in a number of Bodic (Tibeto-Burman) languages.

In Chintang, it is possible for the dependent clauses to describe a set of alternative situations that stand in contrast to the matrix clause situation. In this case, each dependent clause is followed by a concessive conjunction. This is illustrated by the following example, where both the dependent clauses are marked with the conjunction *nusayaŋ*.

(11.43)

hana	*iskul*	*a-khaiʔ*	*nusayaŋ*	*a-khaiʔ-niŋ*	*nusayaŋ*
2s	school	2sS-go	CNSV	2sS-go-NEG	CNSV

akka	*caĩ*	*khaiʔ-ya-ʔã*
1s	SPEC.TOP	go-1sS-NPST

'Whether you go to school or not, I am going anyway.' [Elicited_2012]

The concessive conjunction usually follows the dependent verb, although sometimes it may be found in other positions. In the following example, *nusayaŋ* follows an adverb.

(11.44)

kekt-o-ko	*dinbhari*	*nusayaŋ*	*kekt-o-ko*
hold-3P-NPST	whole.day	CNSV	hold-3P-NPST

'He carries it although he has to carry it the whole day.' [CLDLCh3R01S04.115]

Furthermore, the concessive conjunction is frequently attested after nominal clauses, as illustrated in (11.45a,b).

(11.45) a.

appi=ta	*nuseyaŋ*	*khoŋ-ŋa*
REFL=FOC$_1$	CNSV	play-1sS

'Even if (it's) only myself, I will play.' [CLLDCh1R13S02.0727]

b.

joso	*nuseyaŋ*	*dhukka*	*numd-e*
whatever	CNSV	hard.work	[3sA]do-PST

'Whatever it was, he worked hard!' [CLLDCh2R10S04. 931]

There is not enough data to describe the various scope phenomena in concessive clauses. However, there is an example in our corpus where the matrix clause negation cannot extend beyond the matrix clause (11.46a). So, the scope of negation is local in concessive constructions. Examples (11.46b) and (11.46c) show that the dependent clause can also be negated independently.

(11.46) a. *u-phok* *tuk-no* *nuseyaŋ* *car* *pan* *geda-ŋa* *latt-o-ko-nɨŋ*
3sPOSS-belly hurt-NPST CNSV four five CLF-ERG be.enough-3P-NPST-NEG
'Though his stomach is aching, four or five pieces are not enough for him.'
[CLLDCh2R10S10 463]

b. *a-makcha-ŋa* *chitt-o-nɨŋ*
1sPOSS-daughter.in.law-ERG find-3P-NEG

nusayaŋ *loĩ-ma=ta* *parcha* *mo* *cek-no*
CNSV take.out-INF=FOC$_1$ should CIT say-NPST
''Even though my daughter-in-law does not have time, we should take it out'', he says! [CLLDCh2R03S03.0833]

c. *aka* *ekbheni* *man-ca=ta* *nuseyaŋ* *hi-ya-ã*
1s early.morning NEG-eat=FOC$_1$ CNSV be.able.to-1sS-NPST
'I can survive though I do not eat early in the morning.' [CLLDCh4R03S02.0237]

In my survey of the Chintang corpus, I found that the concessive clause always precedes the matrix clause in Chintang. In most cases, the matrix clause and dependent clause events are simultaneous with respect to the time scope determined by the context and situation, as illustrated in the above examples.

11.2.3 Causal clause *-ŋa*

Causal clauses are expressed by nominalizing a clause and then marking it with the ergative marker *-ŋa*. In these examples, the ergative covers causal meaning in general.

(11.47) a. *ba=go* *meĩ* *namphan-a=go-sa-ŋa=le* *naŋ*
DEM.PROX=NMLZ$_1$ FILLER be.sunny-PST=NMLZ$_1$-OBL-ERG=RESTR BUT

carko=ta *meĩ-ce* *bali-ce* *sima-iʔ-ma* *u-lapt-e*
much=FOC FILLER-ns crop-ns die-INF-COMPL$_1$-INF 3nsS-start-PST
'The crops started to die only because of the sun.' [Gen_talk.113/ Gen_talk.114]

b. *hun-ce* *u-ned-a=go-sa-ŋa* *akka=yaŋ* *ned-ehẽ*
3-ns 3nsS-read-PST=NMLZ$_1$-OBL-ERG 1s=ADD study-1.sA.PST
'Since they (my parents) were educated, I studied, too.' [chintang_now. 727]

c. *kali* *tis* *barsa* *thab-a-ci-a=go-sa-ŋa=na*
iron.age thirty year come.level-PST-COMPL$_3$-PST=NMLZ$_1$-OBL-ERG=TOP

huŋ=go *bhrastacar* *lis-e*
DEM=NMLZ$_1$ corruption be-PST

'Since the Kali was thirty years, that corruption happened.'
[origin_myth.606/ origin_myth.607]

11.2.4 Temporal clauses

Chintang borrows a number of conjunctions from Nepali. Among them, the most frequent ones are temporal conjunctions, conditional conjunctions and some sequence markers. In my review, I found that other Kiranti languages, for example Athpare or Belhare, also borrow such temporal conjunctions from Nepali. But unlike in Athpare (Ebert 1997a), temporal clauses are rarely nominalized in Chintang. The most frequent conjunctions are *garda* and *jaba*, 'when'. Moreover, there is a noun *bela* 'time' which is also used productively in Chintang to form temporal clauses. This section describes each of the temporal conjunctions briefly.

11.2.4.1 The conjunctions *garda, jaba,* and *bela*

The conjunctions *garda* and *jaba* appear with both indicative and subjunctive clauses and specify a temporal relation of the adverbial clause to its main clause. *Garda* appears mostly at the end of the embedded clause (11.48a,b), whereas the conjunction *jaba* is always clause-initial position, due to Nepali influence (11.48c). The following examples illustrate the use of the borrowed conjunctions.

(11.48) a. *aphe-ce* *ba-iʔ-ni* *u-thab-a-ci-e* *garda*
brother-ns DEM.level-FLOC-DIR$_2$ 3nsS-come.level-PST-COMPL$_3$-PST time

khim-beʔ *anaŋa* *a-na* *yu-wakt-i-hẽ*
house-LOC 1pe 1sPOSS-sister be-IPFV$_1$-p-1sS.PST

'When elder brothers had come here, our sisters were at home.'
[appa_katha_talk.023]

b. *tham* *garda* *nis-o* *ni*
fall.down time know-3P FOC$_2$

'She knows it when she falls down.' [CLLDCh1R13S02.0116]

c. *jaba* *u-namtha* *li-no* *wa-ce* *khora-be* *u-lik-no*
when 3sPOSS-evening be-NPST chick-ns shelter-LOC 3nsS-enter-NPST
'When it gets evening the chicken enter the shelter.' [Fieldwork_2010]

The examples in (11.48a-c) indicate that *garda* and *jaba* are relational conjunctions which imply that the actions described by the main and the dependent clause overlap temporally, even though the exact extent of overlapping is unspecific in most of the cases.

The conjunction *bela* links various temporal and sequential events in Chintang. Like the previously described temporal conjunction *garda*, it can appear with both subjunctive and infinitive forms. In (11.49a) and (11.49b) a temporal sequence of actions is linked, while the sentence in (11.50a) combines two simultaneous actions. Moreover, in (11.50b) the adverb clause expresses the time which overlaps with the action in the matrix clause.

(11.49) a. *akka* *ama-ŋa* *u-khuiʔ-ya* *bela=lo* *naŋ* *a-hap* *naŋ*
1s 1sPOSS-mother-ERG 3nsA-bring-1sP time=SURP BUT 2sS-cry BUT
'When my mother brings (things) for me, you may cry!' [CLLDCh3R08S01.0628]

b. *akka* *khad-a-ŋ* *bela (-be)* *paʔ-na-ʔã*
1s go-PST-1sA time (-LOC) call-1>2-NPST
'I call you when I go.' [Fieldwork_2010]

(11.50) a. *huŋ=go* *pheŋ-ma* *bela* *cham* *lu-no*
DEM=NMLZ$_1$ plough-INF time song [3sS]sing-NPST
'He sings when he ploughs.' [Fieldwork_2010]

b. *abo* *iskul* *khaiʔ-ma* *bela* *li-ma* *lapt-e* *aŋ*
now school go-INF time be-INF be.about.to-PST Q
'Is it time to go to school?' [CLLDCh3R08S05.0197]

11.2.4.2 The conjunction *bhane*

bhane is a borrowed conjunction from Nepali. But unlike in Nepali, *bhane* does not mark conditions but time in Chintang. It appears with both indicative (11.51a) and past subjunctive (11.51b) clauses in Chintang. The following examples show sentences with the conjunction *bhane*:

(11.51) a. *beŋgal khad-e-hẽ bhane*
a_place go-PST-1sS.PST time

beŋgal-beʔ=ta yuŋ-no daũtari kam-ce
a_place-LOC=FOC$_1$ be-NPST age.group friend-ns

'When I go to Bengal, my friends are in Bengal, too.'
[chintang_sahid.296/chintang_sahid.297]

b. *anaŋa talim-be=ta hokhi ma-cind-a=kha bhane*
1pe training-LOC=FOC$_1$ what eP-teach-PST=NMLZ$_2$ time

ani yɨŋ-lamma u-nis-o-ko para
1pi language-MED 3nsS-know-3P-NPST COND$_2$

ani rɨŋ-lamma=yaŋ cĩ-ma-ce
1pi language-MED=ADD teach-INF-3nsP

'What we were taught in our training is that if they know our language we teach them in our language.' [Durga_job.024], [Durga_job.025], [Durga_job.026]

11.2.4.3 The conjunction *pacche*

The sequential marker *pacche* is developed from Nepali *pachi* 'after', which describes an event taking place before the matrix clause event. It expresses temporal anteriority in Chintang. The arguments in the embedded and in the main clauses do not need to be coreferential. Like other temporal conjunctions, *pacche* is attested with both indicative and subjunctive forms.

(11.52) a. *uncu-mau-ce u-kha-u-ce pacche*
3nsPOSS-mother-ns 3nsA-see-3P-3nsP SEQ

cha-ce jamma u-hap-no=ta
child-ns all 3nsS-cry-NPST=FOC$_1$

'After they see their mothers all children cry.'
[CLLDCh1R02S04.0941/CLLDCh1R02S04.0942]

b. *ani-taŋ kham lup pacche pa-nɨk-nɨŋ=kha=lo*
1piPOSS-head soil stick SEQ grow-NPST-NEG=FOC=SURP

'One's hair does not grow well after getting soil on one's head.' [Elicited_2012]

c. *kali-ŋa nob-e pacche huŋ=go alpe lis-a=kha*
iron.age-ERG touch-PST SEQ DEM=NMLZ$_1$ disappear be-PST=BRG

'It disappeared after the iron age affected it.' [Chambak_int.0276]

The *pacche* clause mostly precedes the matrix clause in Chintang. There are extremely few examples where it appears following the matrix clause. The sequential marker *pacche* appears adjacent to the verb in most of the examples, but there are still few examples, like the one in (11.53), which show that adjacency is not a required factor for *pacche*-clauses.

(11.53)

pacche	*yakkheŋ*	*thukt-e-hẽ,*	*kok*	*hams-e-hẽ*
SEQ	curry	cook-PST-1sA.PST,	rice	serve-PST-1sA.PST

'I served the rice after cooking curry.' [CLDLCh2R02S02.551/CLDLCh2R02S02.552]

11.2.4.4 Scope of imperatives in temporal clauses

There is not enough data to check the scope of question and negation in temporal clauses. However, there are some sentences which show that the scope of imperative is restricted to the matrix clause only. This is illustrated by the following examples.

(11.54) a.

kassikana	*im-no*	*garda*	*or-o-kh-o*	*na*
forcefully	sleep-NPST	time	strike-3P-CON-3P	INSIST

'Hit him forcefully while he is sleeping.' [CLLDCh1R13S02.0884]

b.

dhanakuṭā	*khaiʔ-ma*	*bela*	*khed-a*	*na*
Dh.	go-INF	time	buy-IMP	INSIST

'Buy one when you go to Dhanakuṭā.' [Elicited_2012]

c.

thu	*pacche*	*pempak*	*ci-a*	*na*	*o*
cook	SEQ	bread	eat-IMP	INSIST	RECONF

'Eat bread after it is cooked, okay.' [CLLDCh3S12R04 302]

Finally, there are some temporal clauses which are nominalized in Chintang. In the following example, the subordinate verb is marked by the nominalizer *=go.*

(11.55)

hunce	*u-yuŋ=go*	*taim-be*	*akka*	*hunce*
3ns	3nsS-be=NMLZ$_1$	time-LOC	1s	3ns

khaiʔya	*kina*	*cind-u-ku-ŋ-c-u-ŋ*
go-1sS	SEQ	teach-3P-NPST-1sA-3nsP-1sA

'When they are here, I go and teach them.' [Elicited_2012]

Though there are not much examples of nominalized adverbial clauses in our corpus, it is possible to elicit them with the temporal conjunctions *jaba* and *bela* as well.

11.3 Variable subordination

In this section I describe the conditional linkers *=haŋ*, *para/panta* and the sequential *=kina,* which appear with both finite and nonfinite clauses in Chintang. For lack of a better term, I label these subordinators 'variable subordinators', and describe them under variable subordination.

Since Haiman (1978), a general assumption about the conditional clauses is that conditionals play the role of topics. This notion is also supported by Bickel's term what he calls "adsentential subordination" (Bickel 1991, 1993). In this case, adsentential subordination, in contrast to the other adverbial clauses described in the preceding sections, "combines nominal topics with clauses that are adjoined to another clause or sentence" (Bickel 1993:23). The notion of topic in this sense provides "a spatial, temporal, or individual framework within which the main predication holds" (Chafe 1976:50, as cited in Bickel ibid.) or "the universe of discourse with respect to which the subsequent predication is presented as relevant" (Dik 1978:19, as cited in Bickel ibid.) In line with this, I describe the Chintang conditional clauses as topic clauses, which provide the situational and referential framework for the subsequent piece of discourse.

11.3.1 The conditional clause *=haŋ*

There are three different conditional subordinators in Chintang: *=haŋ,* and *para/panta,* which I label as 'COND$_1$ and COND$_2$' in this work. All of these forms can appear in the same semantic and syntactic environment and mark a condition of the main clause. They express that the action in the main clause can only take place if a certain condition (expressed by the conditional clause) is fulfilled. Unlike *para/panta* (see §11.3.2) which appear with both finite and non-finite verbs, *=haŋ* is restricted to finite verbs. According to the Chintang corpus, *=haŋ* appears with both the indicative and subjunctive form of the dependent verb. The indicative is used for the unreal condition in past (perfect). In a present unreal condition, a subjunctive form is used in the *=haŋ* conditional clause.

The conditional clause usually precedes the main clause in Chintang. The following are some examples of =*haŋ* conditional clauses in the indicative:

(11.56) a. *yo-patti=go=yaŋ* *a-putt-u-thapt-e=haŋ*
DEM.ACROSS-DIR$_1$ =NMLZ=ADD 2sA-pluck-3P-bring-PST=COND$_1$

iss-a-kt-e *naŋ*
damage-PST-IPFV$_1$-PST BUT

'It would have been damaged, if you had brought that (cucumber) also (here).'
[CLLDCh3R04S03.0213]

b *lut-e* *u-mett-e=haŋ* *hanci* *paisa* *a-tog-a-k-a-c-e*
loot-V.NTVZ 3nsA-do-PST=COND$_1$ 2d money 2sA-get-PST-IPFV$_1$-PST-d-PST

'If they had looted you, would you have had money now?' [dkt-ktm-trip.0243]

c. *akka kha-a-siŋs-e-hẽ=haŋ=na* *tog-a-k-e-hẽ=kha*
1s ask-2-ask-PST-1sA.PST=COND$_1$=TOP get-PST-IPFV$_1$-PST-1sA.PST=NMLZ$_2$

'If you had asked me, I would have had.' [Fieldwork_2010]

Besides the clauses marked by indicative, =*haŋ* also appear with subjunctive forms, as illustrated in the following example. As shown in this example, the matrix clause also often appears in the subjunctive form.

(11.57) *chitt-u-ŋ=haŋ=na* *kaplakkupluk* *ek* *chak-a* *mett-u-ŋ* *phe*
find-3P-1sA=COND$_1$=TOP IDEOPH one meal-N.NTVZ do-3P-1sA IRR

'If I found him, I would eat him up in a gulp.' [story_cat.213]

Besides finite verbs, the conditional marker =*haŋ* also frequently appears in clauses headed by nominals. This is exactly like the Belhare sequential adverbial -*huŋ* (Bickel 1993), which is etymologically related to a nominal ablative case, occurring in combination with a locative marker. This holds true for Chintang as well. But unlike in Belhare, the so-called adverbial =*haŋ* is usually topicalized with the topicalizer =*na* in Chintang.

(11.58) a. *khim-be=haŋ=na* *u-luŋs-e-hẽ* *phe*
house-LOC=COND$_1$=TOP 3nsA-put-PST-1sP.PST IRR
'If it was at home, they would have kept for me.'[10] [CLLDCh2R02S06.312]

b. *manche haŋ=na* *bha-mu* *somma kuŋs-a-ci-a-kt-e*
be.not COND$_1$=TOP DEM-DOWN up.to come.down-PST-COMPL$_3$-PST-IPFV$_1$-PST
'If not, he would have come up to here.' [CLDLCh2R02S02.120]

The conditional marker *=haŋ* also frequently occurs with a main clause followed by *phe* 'irrealis'. In this case, the main function of *phe* is to express a counterfactual past events, irreal wishes, thoughts or believes of the speaker. The verb in the dependent clause then should be either in the subjunctive or in the indicative mood, as in (11.59).

(11.59) a. *naklasi taŋ* *lett-u-hẽ=haŋ* *thu-a-ŋs-e* *phe*
banana tree plant-3P-1sA.PST=COND$_1$ ripe-PST-PERF-PST IRR
'It would have riped, if I had planted a banana tree.' [Fieldwork_2010]

b. *akka* *lab-a-t-u-hẽ* *phe* *u-yu-ba=haŋ*
1s catch-PST-COMPL$_1$-3P-1sA.PST IRR DIST-DEM.ACROSS-LOC=COND$_1$
'I would have caught it if it was there.' [CLLDCh3R11S03.283]

c. *akka baddhe pheʔwa tog-e-hẽ=haŋ* *thitta khim* *khed-e-hẽ* *phe*
1s very money get-PST-1sA.PST=COND$_1$ one house buy-PST-1sA.PST IRR
'If had a lot of money, I would have bought a house.' [Fieldwork_2010]

The examples in (11.59) show that the conditional form is also used in the main clause. In this case, we can see that both the main and embedded clauses express a kind of conditionality. Both the *=haŋ* and *phe* are obligatory in the above sentences.

[10] Bickel (1993) makes a distinction between the adverbial *-huŋ* and the subordinator *huŋ* in Belhare. As the subordinator *huŋ* can never occur without being supported by a focus or reportative particle in Belhare, there are some clear semantic and syntactic contrasts between these two types of *huŋ*. I have not noticed such contrasts in Chintang.

11.3.2 The conditional clause *para/panta*

Para/panta are conjunctions which mark condition in Chintang. They describe a real, hypothetical, or unreal condition on the validity of the main clause. In most of the corpus examples, *para* and *panta* appear in finite clauses. However, there are quite a few examples where they appear with non-finite verbs. Like the conditional marker *=haŋ* (see §11.3.1), *para/panta* also appear with both subjunctives and indicatives.

The examples in (11.60a,b) illustrate *para/panta* with fully inflected indicative forms and (11.60a,b) with subjunctives.

(11.60) a.

rame-ŋa	*lad-e*	*panta*	*rame=ta*	*pi-c-o-ko-ŋa*
R.-ERG	take.out-PST	COND$_2$	R.=FOC$_1$	give-d-3P-NPST-e

'If Ram takes it out, we give it to him.' [CLLDCh1R10S09. 571]

b.

a-nad-o-ko	*para*	*wacilek-ŋa*	*c-o=ne*
2sA-give.up-3P-NPST	COND$_2$	chicken-ERG	eat-3P=OPT

'If you give up (rice), may the chicken eat it!' [CLLDCh4R03S03.0457]

(11.61) a.

pid-u-m	*panta*	*c-o-hatt-o-ko*	*latthi=yaŋ*
give-3P-1pA	COND$_2$	eat-3P-COMPL$_1$-3P-NPST	stick=ADD

'If we give it to him, he eats even a stick.' [CLLDCh3R05S05. 237]

b.

a-soŋ	*para*	*dinbhori=yaŋ*	*khic-e=ta*	*na-num*
2sA-move	COND$_2$	the.whole.day=ADD	take.picture-VTZ=FOC$_1$	3>2-do

'If you move, she will record you the whole day long.' [CLLDCh4R02S01.211]

c.

sed-u-ŋ	*panta*	*khatt-u-ŋ*	*o*
hit-3P-1sA	COND$_2$	take-3P-1sA	RECONF

'I take it if I hit it, okay!' [CLLDCh4R08S04.0419]

Para/panta can also follow an infinitival form of the verb to express an obligative-conditional event. This refers to a possible future situation which depends on or contradicts another possible situation expressed in the main clause.

(11.62) a. *boniʔ khaiʔ-ma para wanda akka jhanna chitt-u-ku-ŋ-niŋ=kha*
help go-INF COND$_2$ tomorrow 1s nearly find-3P-NPST-1sA-NEG=NMLZ$_2$
'If I have to go to help tomorrow, I cannot make it.' [CLDLCh3R01S02.206]

b. *chuk-ma para baiʔ ba-sa-ŋa=lo mai-lap-ma*
jump-INF COND$_2$ DEM.PROX DEM.PROX-OBL-ERG=SURP NEG-hold-INF
'If (you) jump, (you should jump) without holding here with this!'
[CLLDCh3R11S04.191]

Moreover, it is also possible to find *para/panta* with nominals. Following are the examples:

(11.63) a. *dui ruppe panta to jhola khatt-u-ŋ*
two rupee COND$_2$ DEM.UP bag take-3P-1sA
'If (you give me) two rupees, I may take the bag.' [CLLDCh4R11S05.125]

b. *sakti u-ppa-niŋ para cahĩ khaiʔ-ma=ta mo ni*
S. 3sPOSS-father-COM COND$_2$ SPEC.TOP go-INF=FOC$_1$ CIT FOC$_2$
'As for with Shakti's father, I can go with him.' [CLDLCh3R01S03.440]

c. *the=kha haŋ=lo thor ham-ma ca-ma nu*
big=NMLZ$_2$ COND$_2$=SURP little divide-INF eat-INF be.fine
'If it is big, it will be better to divide it before eating it.' [CLLDCh4R05S05 267]

I did not find any differences in the meanings of these two subordinators. When I test it with my consultants, I see them substituting both *para/panta* in any context without any change in meaning. I consequently gloss them both as COND$_2$.

11.3.2.1 Scope of negation

The scope of negation in *para/panta* conditional clause is not clear. In example (11.64a) the condition is negated although the negation marker is on the matrix clause. So the scope of negation is on the adjoined clause. But (11.64b) does not negate the condition and the scope is restricted only on the matrix clause.

(11.64) a. *carko cekt-i para si-a-d-i-niŋ*
loud speak-1p COND$_2$ die-NA-COMPL$_1$-p-NEG
'If we speak loud, we wouldn't die.' [CLLDCh3R14S01.0311]

b. *a-thams-e* *para* *akka* *ni-ŋa-ʔã-nɨŋ*
2sS-fall.down-PST COND$_2$ 1s know-1sS-NPST-NEG
'If you fell down, I don't care.' [CLLDCh3R14S02.616]

Example (11.65) shows that it is possible to negate the conditional clause in Chintang. But in this case the scope is restricted to the dependent clause only.

(11.65) *na-pi-nɨk-nɨŋ* *para* *akka* *pi-na-ʔã*
3>2-give-NPST-NEG COND$_2$ 1s give-1>2-NPST
'If he does not give you, I will give you.' [Elicited_2012]

In addition to the *haŋ, para* and *panta* conditional clauses, counterfactual conditional clauses are expressed by a grammaticalized participle *bhapo* (<*bhaye po or bhapo*) borrowed from Nepali, as in (11.66).

(11.66) *loĩ-ma* *hid-o* *bhapo=na*
take.out-INF be.able-3P COND=TOP
'If you were able to take it out, (you would have got some of it.)'
[CLLDCh3R05S01 745]

11.3.3 Sequential clauses *=ki, =kina, =kinana*[11]

The sequential marker *=ki/=kina/=kinana* joins two finite events which happen one after the other. They differ from other subordinators like *-saŋa, -si, -lok*, and *=haŋ* insofar as they do not restrict the morphology of their host element. The verb in the subordinate clause can be in indicative, subjunctive or in imperative mood. Moreover, this sequential marker is also found frequently with nominals and also as a clause-initial particle.

The sequential marker *=ki/=kina/=kinana* mostly follows a fully inflected verb and links two full-fledged clauses. This is illustrated in (11.67) with fully inflected indicative forms.

(11.67) a. *kok* *a-ci-a-c-e=ki* *a-kad-a-ce=kha*
rice 2sA-eat-PST-d-PST=SEQ 2sS-come.up-PST-d=NMLZ$_2$
'Did you come up after eating rice?' [CLLDCh1R04S06.0693]

[11] I did not find any difference between *=ki, =kina*, and *=kinana*, which is why I simply gloss all of them as SEQ in Chintang.

b. *peroŋga=na* *akka* *khed-u-hẽ=kina*
basket=TOP 1s buy-3P-1sA.PST=SEQ

hokko-iʔ-ya *tad-u-ŋs-u-hẽ=ʔ*
where-FLOC-ABL bring-3P-PERF-3P-1sA.PST=EMPH

'Where did I buy the bamboo basket and brought it from?' [CLLDCh1R10S09. 431]

c. *ama-ŋa=lo* *kok* *pid-e=kina* *im-mett-o-ŋs-e*
mother-ERG=SURP rice give-PST=SEQ sleep-CAUS-3P-PERF-PST

'Mother has made (the child) sleep after giving (her) rice.' [CLLDCh1R10S09. 532]

The sequential marker appears following the subjunctive form in the following examples:

(11.68) a. *im-na-ca=kina* *khic-e* *u-numd-o-ko*
sleep-NA-COMPL$_2$=SEQ take.picture-V.NTNZ 3nsA-do-3P-NPST

'They film (the baby) while it's sleeping.' [CLDLCh3R01S03.391]

b. *abo* *a-khaiʔ=kina* *them* *na-pi-no*
now 2sS-go=SEQ what 3>2-give-NPST

'What do they give you when you go (there) now?' [CLLDCh1R03S01.0606a]

c. *yaŋs-o* *mo=kina* *lett-u-ŋ=kha*
grow-3P CIT=SEQ plant-3P-1sA=NMLZ$_2$

'Thinking it will grow, I planted it.' [CLLDCh1R02S04.1160]

The dependent clause can be marked by an imperative, but only if the same mood is also marked on the main clause, as illustrated in the following examples:

(11.69) a. *aya=la* *chums-a=ki* *thapt-a*
EXCLA=ATTN$_2$ tie-IMP=SEQ bring.across-IMP

'Oh! tie and bring it!' [CLDLCh3R01S04.119]

b. *khatt-a=kina* *sopmoŋ* *yokt-a* *o*
take-IMP=SEQ secretly apply-IMP RECONF

'Please, take it and apply it secretly, okay!' [CLLDCh1R05S01 437]

As I mentioned earlier, the sequential marker *=kina/=ki/=kinana* can be attached to a non-finite form of the verb, too, as in (11.70). Moreover, examples (11.70b,c) shows that both the embedded and matrix can be non-finite.

(11.70) a.

jamma	*loĩ-ma=kina*	*cek-nɨk-nɨŋ=yaŋ*
all	take.out-INF=SEQ	speak-NPST-NEG=ADD

'Taking all (battery) out, it (radio) may not start (to speak).' [Elicited_2012]

b.

ã	*khaiʔ-ma=kina*	*wahu-ma=kha*
yes	go-INF=SEQ	bath-INF=NMLZ$_2$

'Yes, I go and take a bath.' [CLLDCh1R11S02.060]

c.

paĩ=na	*phultuŋ*	*waiʔ-ma=kina=lo*	*khaiʔ-ma-khaŋ-ma*
today=TOP	shorts	wear-INF=SEQ=SURP	go-INF-see-INF

'I will go wearing shorts today.' [CLDLCh2R02S02.606]

In example (11.71), *=kina* joins a clause inside an embedded clause.

(11.71)

u-thurum-be	*lap-ma=kina*	*rɨ-ma*	*lapt-u-ŋs-u-hẽ*
3sPOSS-mouth-LOC	hold-INF=SEQ	turn-INF	be.about.to-3P-PERF-3P-1sA.PST

'I am about to punish [turn] her by holding her mouth.' [CLLDCh1R10S05.213]

Unlike converb markers, the sequential marker is not necessarily suffixed to verbs, and it need not even be adjacent to the verb either (Ebert 2003). This holds true for Chintang as well. There is no restriction on the host for *=ki/=kina/=kinana*. This proves that *=ki/=kina/=kinana* is not a suffix like *-lo(k)*. In example (11.72a), *=kina* follows a nominal, and in (11.72b), it is used as a clause initiator, this shows that it does not require adjacency to the verb.

(11.72) a.

sontosi	*u-chau=kina*	*atta*	*hi-no*
S.	3sPOSS-child=SEQ	how	be.big-NPST

'And how big is Sontoshi's baby?' [CLDLCh2R02S02.057]

b.

kina to=kina	*gadi-be*	*u-khatt-e*	*hola*
SEQ DEM.UP=SEQ	vehicle-LOC	3nsA-take-PST	probably

'...then she might be taken up on a vehicle' [CLDLCh2R02S02.112]

11.4 Summary

This chapter has discussed the different types of adverbial clauses in Chintang. Table 11.1 summarizes the major properties of finite, non-finite and variable subordinate clauses discussed in this chapter.

Clause types	Finiteness of DEP	Negation scope	Question scope	Coreferential control	linker
Simultaneous *-saŋa*	nonfinite	subjunct (11.9a,b)	not clear (11.12 - 11.14)	yes (11.1 - 11.17)	suffix
Purposive *-si*	nonfinite	conjunct (11.25a,b)	disjunct (11.27 - 11.28)	yes (11.18 - 11.31)	suffix
Negation *mai- -ma*	nonfinite	not clear (11.33)	subjunct (11.36)	not required (11.33)	suffix
Adverbial *-lo(k)*	finite	extensible (11.41a,b)	no data	not required (11.40)	suffix
conditional *=haŋ*	finite	no data	no data	not required (11.56a-c)	conjunction
Concessive *nuseyaŋ*	finite	local (11.46a)	no data	not required (11.46b)	conjunction
temporal *jaba, garda*	finite	no data	no data	not required (11.48a,c)	conjunction
conditional *para/ panta*	variable	not clear (11.64a,b)	no data	not required (11.60a,b)	conjunction
Sequential *=ki/kina/kinana*	variable	no data	no data	not required (11.68a,b)	conjunction

Table 11.1. Properties of adverbial clauses in Chintang

Section 11.1 describes three different types of converbal clauses in Chintang. Like in other Kiranti languges, the *-saŋa* converbal clause and *-si* purposive clause obligatorily share arguments between embedded and matrix clauses. But in contrast to *-saŋa* and *-si* clauses, there is no obligatory control of arguments in negation converb clauses. All types of converbal clauses do not allow an overt S/A argument in the embedded clause, but they do

allow patients, and locative arguments. All types of converbal clauses have in common that they all allow some sort of focus marker on the subordinate clause. Unlike in Puma and Belhare, the negation scope in *-saŋa* converbal clause is limited to the embedded clause only. But there is no clear evidence to show the scope of questions. However, in contrast to the *-saŋa* converbal clause, the scope of negation is conjunct in *-si* marked purposive clauses. However, Chintang also employs a different strategy when it is necessary to negate the dependent clause. For example, *hima, hid-* 'be able to' used in the matrix which helps to transport the negation over the *-saŋa* simultaneous converbal clause. The *-si* marked purposive clauses use *maha* 'be.not' after the embedded verb which negates only the embedded clause. One of the interesting feature of Chintang converbal clauses is that, unlike in other languages, Chintang purposive clauses can bear person and number marking.

A finite subordinate clause is inflected for tense, aspect (optionally), mood, person and number. There are four types of finite clauses: adverbial clauses with *lok/lo*, conditional clauses with *=haŋ*, sequential clauses with *=kina/=ki* and concessive clauses with *nuseyaŋ*. Besides these markers, Chintang also borrows a number of temporal conjunctions from Nepali to form temporal adverbial clauses.

Generally, all the above subordinate clauses precede the matrix clause. However, all of the subordinate clauses can also be extra-posed to the right detached position without any problem. Moreover, all the clauses have in common that they allow some sort of focus marker inside the embedded clause.

Chapter 12

Particles and Discourse Markers

12.0 Introduction

A particle is a function word that does not belong to any of the inflected grammatical word classes such as nouns, pronouns or verbs (Zwicky 1985, Kroeger 2005). It is a catch-all term for a heterogeneous set of words and terms that lack a precise lexical definition. Particles are a vital component of many Kiranti languages. In my analysis of the Chintang corpus, I found the vast majority of utterances containing particles. High proportions of particle-containing sentences are found throughout the Chintang data, whether one examines narratives or (natural) conversations. All particles, except the borrowed initiator particle *lo*, are post-posed to the syntactic unit they modify. Unlike in some well-studied languages such as Japanese where particles often replace case markers (Vovin 2003, Kroeger 2004:151), particles cannot take the place of case marking suffixes in Chintang. If there are both the particle and the case-marking suffix in a chain, the particle follows the case-marked form.[1]

Particles and clitics have received considerable attention in linguistics and they have been intensively investigated in a number of languages. Some of the better known works devoted partly or entirely to this topic are Zwicky (1977), Zwicky and Pullum (1983), Zwicky (1985), and Klavans (1985). I do not define the notion particle in this chapter, but I follow Zwicky (1985) in the way I define and analyze the Chintang particles. From a formal point of view, Chintang particles are either cliticized or phonologically independent. Clitics

[1] Ebert (1997a) and Lahaussois (2002) report similar behavior of particles in the neighboring language Athpare and Thulung respectively.

immediately follow the element in their scope and they are phonologically bound to their hosts. I gloss those bound clitic particles with the equal sign (=) in this work. The non-cliticized particles, described here, are phonologically independent; they bear own stress and behave as separate words. Among the native particles there are six clitics and seven independent words. Moreover, in Chintang, there is a cross-linguistically very rare type of clitic, the endoclitic, which attaches inside a (morphological) word.

This chapter describes Chintang particles in the following three major groups: enclitics, endoclitics and independent particles. Most of the enclitics also appear as endoclitics; so I describe both of them in §12.1. Section 12.2 deals with the particles which are phonologically independent. Finally, §12.3 discusses the most frequent borrowed particles. The frequency of particles in all these classes in Chintang speech is fairly high, and the meaning of each particle is often difficult to describe and render accurately in English. The syntactic functions and meanings encoded by each of the particles is discussed and illustrated with examples in the following sections of this chapter.

12.1 Enclitics and endoclitics

Most of the enclitics in Chintang are focus particles which indicate that the constituent in their scope is focused. The majority of them can also function as an endoclitic, which are attached inside a grammatical word.[2] But unlike in some other languages, for example, Pashto (Kopris and Davis 2005) and Udi (Harris 2000, 2002), where endolictics split apart the root and are inserted between the two pieces of the single root, in Chintang, endoclitics appear between two different stems (e.g. compound verbs) and between prefixes and stems. In Chintang, endoclitics can be hosted by any and all ω-units (Bickel et al. 2007).

12.1.1 The additive particle *=yaŋ*

The additive particle *=yaŋ* can be roughly translated with English 'also' or 'even'. Unlike the restrictive particle *=le,* which indicates restriction and is discussed later, the additive particle have an 'inclusive' interpretation. In example (12.1a), the additive particle *=yaŋ* entails that they went to the funeral procession earlier, too. In the same way, in example (12.1b), the additive particle implies that somebody else took it out as well.

[2] See Bickel (1996:56) for the similar endoclitics in the neighboring language Belhare.

(12.1) a. *paĩ=**yaŋ*** *malami* *u-khad-e*
today=ADD funeral 3nsS-go-PST
'Did they go to the funeral procession today, too?' [CLDLCh2R02S02.088]

b. *a-loĩs-o=**yaŋ**=kha* *hana=na*
2sA-take.out-3P=ADD=NMLZ$_2$ 2s=TOP
'You might also take it out.' [CLDLCh2R02S02.299]

In negative utterances, the particle *=yaŋ* gives a sense of 'even', as illustrated in the following examples:

(12.2) a. *ekcoti=**yaŋ*** *mai-khaŋ-yokt-u-ŋs-u-hẽ* *akka=na*
one.time=ADD NEG-see-NEG-3P-PERF-3P-1sA.PST 1s=TOP
'I haven't seen it even once.' [CLDLCh2R02S02.059]

b. *thitta=**yaŋ*** *huni-kipma* *kat-nik-niŋ*
one=ADD 3nsPOSS-fear [3sS]come.up-NPST-NEG
'They aren't afraid at all.' [CLDLCh2R02S02.232]
(lit. They do not afraid even little.)

c. *manchi* *panta* *haiʔ-ma=**yaŋ*** *hid-u-m-nim*
not COND$_2$ wait-INF=ADD be.able-3P-1nsA-NEG
'If not, we cannot (even) wait her.' [CLDLCh2R02S02.442]

König (1991) reports that it is common for additive particles to combine with interrogative pronouns to form so-called 'indefinite pronouns'. This also holds true for Chintang.

(12.3) *a-ppa* *a-mma-ce* *sa-lo=**yaŋ*** *manche*
1sPOSS-father 1sPOSS-mother-ns who-ABS=ADD not
'Neither my father nor my mother, nobody at home.' [ctn_katha 055]

In addition to that, the additive particle *=yaŋ* also functions as an endoclitic. In example (12.4a), it appears in the prefix chain and in (12.4b) in the middle of complex verb forms. This stands in contradiction to the general claim that clitics attach externally, and never within a word (cf. Zwicky 1977, Zwicky and Pullum 1983, Klavans 1985).

(12.4) a. *kha=**yaŋ**-cop-no*
1nsP=ADD-see-NPST
'He also looks at us.'

b. *lak=**yaŋ**-lus-e*
PRV=ADD-dance-PST
'She also danced.'

Moreover, the additive particle *=yaŋ* also serves as a kind of conjunction 'as soon as' after subjunctive forms, e.g. *ubheni poknaloĩ=**yaŋ** kok cano?* [3sPOSS-morning wake.up-NA-OUT=ADD rice eat-NPST] 'As soon as he gets up in the morning he starts eating rice' [CLLDCh2R06S02.1240]. There are some instances for the additive particle *=yaŋ* focusing the entire dependent clause (especially sequential ones), as in (12.5).

(12.5) *thams-e=kina=yaŋ* *ma-hap-t-e*
fall.down-PST=SEQ=ADD NEG-cry-NEG-PST
'He did not cry even after he fell down.' [CLLDCh1R06S01. 809]

12.1.2 The restrictive particle *=le*

The restrictive particle *=le* gives the constituent an 'exclusive' interpretation, i.e. the thing or action is the only thing or action accessible in the specified context. It appears with a wide variety of constituents, including noun phrases, verbs, and adverbs in Chintang. In example (12.6a), the restrictive focus particle indicates that the set of people who left contains only *hunce* 'they'. In example (12.6b), the restrictive particle co-occurs with the conditional particle *para* and restricts the condition when the baby talks. In example (12.6c), it follows the finite form of the verb and indicates that the action has just started, but is not completed yet.

(12.6) a. *hunce=**le*** *u-khad-a-ŋs-a-c-e*
3ns=RESTR 3nsS-go-PST-PERF-PST-d-PST
'Only they (two) have gone.' [CLDLCh2R02S02.083]

b. *amma* *ta* *para=**le*** *cek-no*
mother come $COND_2$=RESTR [3sS]speak-NPST
'(The baby) speaks only when (his) mother comes.' [CLLDCh1R02S03a.099]

c. *neŋ-a-nd-o-ŋs-e=**le***
bite-3P-COMPL$_2$-3P-PERF-PST=RESTR
'He has only bitten (the fruit).' [CLLDCh1R13S02.1148]

Like the additive particle *=yaŋ*, the restrictive particle *=le* also functions as an endoclitic. The examples below show that the restrictive particle *=le* appears within complex verb forms.

(12.7) a. *thab-a=**le**-ci-aʔ* *na*
come.level-IMP=RESTR-COMPL$_3$-IMP INSIST
'Come! (I will see you!)' [CLLDCh1R09S06.0146]

b. *khali* *pin-na=**le**-gon-no*
only [3sS]run-NA=RESTR-AMB-NPST
'She only runs away.' [CLLDCh4R11S06.587]

Particles in Chintang form a kind of chain and appear one after the another. There are relatively few particles which occur without accompanying other particles. The restrictive particle *=**le*** is one of them. There are extremely few examples where it co-occurs with *naŋ*, *ni* and *o* (e.g. *kheme thapt-o-kh-o muji u-homba-**le**ʔ ni* [Kh. bring-3P-CON-3P idiot 3sPOSS-alone-RESTR FOC$_2$] 'Khem, bring (the sickle). He, an idiot, only (cuts grass) for himself.' ref. CLLDCh1R03S01. 0798, ref. CLLDCh1R06S03.0312), but most of the time it is not followed by any other particles.

12.1.3 The topic marker *=na*

The clitic *=na* marks the topic under discussion, i.e. what the proposition is about. In other words, it is used to highlight a referent, which has already come up in the discourse and is known by both the speaker and the addressee. This marker can have scope over a word, a phrase or a whole clause, depending upon the domain it is marking as a topic. In my analysis of the Chintang corpus, I found the topic particle very frequently with noun phrases, although there are a handful of instances where it is attested with non-finite clauses and time adverbials. During the corpus analysis, I noted that the constituent which is marked as a topic frequently occurs in the clause-initial position, although this is not a requirement. On the basis of my data, I believe that this is a very special type of marker. It shares properties with topic markers in general, but it also has properties that are very untypical for topic marker,

namely it can co-occur with question words. So, one could certainly consider other labels (although that might no help).

The utterances in (12.8a) and (12.8b) present textual examples of topicalized noun phrases in Chintang. Example (12.8c) illustrates that the topic marker *=na* follows the ergative case marking suffix *-ŋa.*

(12.8) a.

*hani-makkai=**na***	*temma*	*hou*	*pog-a-ŋs-e*
2pPOSS-maize=TOP	good	PTCL	[3sS]sprout-PST-PERF-PST

'Your maize has been sprouted well.' [CLDLCh2R02S02.320]

b.

*kok=**na***	*hani*	*kaya*	*kok=ta*	*a-ca-i-ki*	*hola*	*aŋ*
rice=TOP	2p	paddy	rice=FOC$_1$	2sA-eat-p-NPST	probably	Q

'As for rice, you probably eat paddy-rice, don't you? [CLLDCh1R05S05. 950]

c.

*bhimsin-ŋa=**na***	*seiʔ-ma=lo*	*puŋs-u-c-e*
bh.-ERG=TOP	kill-INF=SURP	start-3P-3nsP-PST

'Bhimsin started to kill them.' [origin_myth.401]

In (12.8a), 'maize' is a part of the shared knowledge of both speaker and hearer by virtue of visibility and proximity to them. In addition, *=na* is also used to mark nominals whose referents are not proximal physically to the hearer and the speaker, as illustrated in (12.8c). However, the focus marker *=na* cannot be used to mark a generic referent (12.9).

(12.9)

maʔmi (maʔmi=na)*	*lu-si*	*kos-a-ŋs-e*
person	tell-PURP	[3sS]walk.around-PST-PERF-PST

'He has gone around to invite people (for help).' [CLLDCh3R10S04.669]

There is a single example in our corpus where the topic marker *=na* follows a non-finite clause. This is illustrated in (12.10). In this example, the topicalizer follows the non-finite form of the verb, and topicalizes the entire purposive clause.

(12.10)

akka=yaŋ	*kok*	*ca-si=**na***	*kuŋ-ŋa-ʔã*
1s=ADD	rice	eat-PURP=TOP	come.down-1sS-1s.NPST

'I, too, come down to eat the rice!' [CLLDCh1R11S03.279]

Besides occurring in noun phrases, the topic marker =***na*** is often combined with time adverbials and sequential markers, as illustrated in (12.11a,b).[3]

(12.11) a. *lujja* *u-taŋ-be=ta* *catt-e* *paĩ=**na***
EXCLA 3sPOSS-head-LOC=FOC$_1$ hit-PST today=TOP
'Oh, he was hit on his head today!' [CLLDCh1R13S02.0976]

b. *duĩ* *ghanta* *pachi=**na***
two hour SEQ=TOP
'after two hours' [CLDLCh3R01S04.061]

Generally a topicalized constituent is not emphasised or focused with other additional particles in Chintang. But when a speaker introduces a new sub-topic to make something clear regarding the previous topic, s/he often focuses the referent with the particle *ni*. Example (12.12) occurs in the context where two participants are remembering their bygone days. One of them who is already 82 years old talks about her physical problems which arise due to her age. She says she trembles very much. In the meantime when the other speaker requests her to sing a song, she added that her voice trembles very much. She marks it with both the topic marker =*na* and the emphasis maker *ni*.

(12.12) *thururuwa* *yok-no*
IDEOPH [3sS]tremble-NPST [warisama_talk.066]

*ani-sora=**na*** *ni*
1piPOSS-voice=TOP FOC$_2$
'Our voice trembles.' [warisama_talk.067]

An interesting feature of Chintang is that a single clause may have more than one topicalizer, as shown in (12.13).

(12.13) a. *akka=**na*** *masino=go-beʔ=**na*** *biha* *num-ma-niŋ*
1s=TOP small=NMLZ$_1$-LOC=TOP marriage do-1sA-NEG
'As for me, I do not get married when I am small.' [mouse_story.043]

[3] Ebert (1997a) notes a similar behavior of the topic particle in the neighboring language Athpare.

b.	*lo*	*abo*	*akka=**na***	*kok=**na***	*baiʔ=ta*	*ca-ŋa-ʔã*
	ok	now	1s=TOP	2s=TOP	DEM.PROX=FOC$_1$	eat-1sA-1s.NPST

'All right, I eat rice here. [Fieldwork_2010]

But =*na* is not always an enclitic; it frequently has an accent of its own (cf. *akka na ['akka 'naː]* 'as for me...'). =*na* is actually only used on a small subset of what is commonly referred to as topics. In particular, it marks what one could call contrastive topics (so the "topicalised" element is always in contrast to some other element for which the proposition does not hold). That is also why it can appear after verbs, as illustrated in (12.14a,b).

(12.14) a.	*Paĩ*	*Nare*	*u-ppa-ŋa*	*teĩ-ma*	*lapt-o-ko*	*na*
	Today	N.	3sPOSS-father-ERG	beat-INF	begin-3P-NPST	TOP

'Today, Nare's father is going to beat him.', or 'As for beating, Nare's father is going to do that to him today.'). [CLLDCh3R07S01.108]

b.	*poŋ-ma*	***na***	*lap-nɨk-nɨŋ*	*hola*
	give.birth-INF	TOP	begin-NPST-NEG	probably

'As for giving birth, probably she doesn't start now.' [CLDLCh2R02S02.098]

Judging from both occurrences of *na* (topic and contrastive topic), it seems the constituent preceding *na* is marked as the domain within which an overt or covert predication is asserted, with the frequent implication that it cannot be asserted and therefore does not apply in other domains. For instance, when one says *akka na khaiʔãnɨŋ* [1s TOP go-1sS-NEG] 'I do not go', the process of going can only be asserted within the domain *akka*, whereas others might go. Similarly, when one says *akka khad-e-hẽ na* [1s go-PST.1sPST TOP] 'I went', here 'I went' can be asserted, but other related events cannot, which could be, e.g. a result in 'I went, but nothing happened'.[4]

[4] See \ref tangkera_04.264a, \ref CLLDCh3R06S05.704, and \ref CLLDCh4R03S02.0038 for more examples from the corpus, where the topicalizer *na* is used with finite sentences of this kind.

This definition also holds for topicalized wh-questions in Chintang. In example (12.15), if *na* takes scope over *salo* only it expresses that the question about identity applies only to the one questioned person, so we are asking for who this is but not for others.[5]

(12.15) *ba* *sa-lo* ***na***
DEM.PROX who-NOM TOP
'Who is she?' [CLLDCh3R03S02a.294]

This is pragmatically a bit odd, and I think the more likely reading is indeed the one where na takes scope over the whole predication (where "the predicate is the zero copula"). The resulting meaning is that we only ask this (other things might not be asked).

At a first glance, the syntax of =*na* seems difficult to describe. This perception arises because =*na* serves several functions, as described in this chapter, =*na* also serves as an insistive particle (§12.2.2).

12.1.4 The specific topic =*te*

The clitic =*te* marks a specific topic in Chintang. The particle occurs following the syntactic unit it modifies, including case markers and the nominalizer =*go*.

(12.16) *hokko=go=**te*** *lase-ko* *u-wa*
where=NMLZ$_1$=SPEC.TOP L.-GEN 3sPOSS-hen
'Which one is Lase's hen?' [CLLDCh1R05S01 074]

The syntactic level at which the specific topic particle operates is a phrasal one. That is, =*te* does not occur on individual constituents within a phrase, but only over the full syntactic unit, as in the following examples:

(12.17) a. *mi=go=**te*** *na-ŋa*
small=NMLZ$_1$=SPEC.TOP give.up-1sS
'I leave the small one.' [CLLDCh1R04S06.0422]

[5] Kroeger (2004) states that a question word can never be marked with the topicalizer *wa* in Japanese. The same holds for the corresponding response to the question. But this is not true in the case of Chintang.

b. *ba-ce-ko* *the=go=na* *Rai=go=**te***
DEM.PROX-ns-GEN big=NMLZ$_1$=TOP rai=NMLZ$_1$=SPEC.TOP
'These (people's) leader is the Rai one.' [CLLDCh1R02S04.1045]

As the above examples show, the clitic *=te* appears with nominalized forms which basically function as NPs.

In example (12.18a), the specific topicalising particle highlights a certain gift item which someone bought and gave to his child, but it is recently lost by the child. In (12.18b) the *=te* particle appears with the nominalized infinitival form of the verb *cama* 'to eat'.

(12.18) a. *akka* *khett-u-ŋ-bid-u-ŋ=go=**te*** *a-chau-ŋa*
1s buy.for.sb-3P-1sA-BEN$_1$-3P-1sA=NMLZ$_1$=SPEC.TOP 1sPOSS-child-ERG

mas-o-nd-o-ŋs-e
lose-3P-COMPL$_2$-3P-PERF-PST
'My child had lost the one which I had bought for him.' [Elicited_2011]

b. *huŋ=go* *ca-ma=go=**te*** *temma* *wachid-a*
DEM=NMLZ$_1$ eat-INF=NMLZ$_1$=SPEC.TOP well wash-IMP
'Please wash those foodstuffs well!' [Elicited_2011]

There is only one example in the Chintang corpus where the specific topic particle *=te* appears with an infinitive form of a verb. But this utterance is produced by one of our target Children in recording (Speaker LDCh1), and is rejected by my consultant.

(12.19) **ba* *seiʔ-ma* *seiʔ-ma=**te***
DEM.PROX kill-INF kill-INF=SPEC.TOP
'to kill this' [CLLDCh1R09S06.0525]

Like in (12.18), the specific topic particle *=te* follows the nominalizer *=go* in most of the utterances in our corpus. However, there is some evidence for the reverse situation, as illustrated in example (12.20a). But the same speaker uses a different order (e.g. *hokko=go=**te*** ref. CLLDCh3R05S01 292) in the same session. But the reversed order of *=go* and *=te* is not possible with adjectives, as in (12.20b). This is because adjectives in Chintang need to be nominalized before they are used.

(12.20) a.

elo	*hokko=**te**=go*	*kakt-o-ko*
or	which=SPEC.TOP=NMLZ$_1$	obstruct.in.throat-3P-NPST

'Which one choked?' [CLLDCh3R05S01 290]

b.

*mi=go=**te**=le*	*yuŋ=ne*
small=NMLZ$_1$=SPEC.TOP=RESTR	stay=OPT

'Let the small one stay!' [CLLDCh4R05S04 1131]

12.1.5 The focus particle *=ta*

The focus particle *=ta* marks new information which is being introduced for the first time into the discourse. This particle picks out an element as prominent new information (unknown to the hearer) in a given context. This is also the most frequent particle which can appear after all kinds of syntactic units. In Chintang the focused element normally occurs right before the verb. This particle has fewer co-occurrence restrictions than other particles. In example (12.21a) and (12.21b), the focus particle appears with a noun phrase, and in (12.22) with a negative converbal clause.

Example (12.21a) was produced at a point in the discourse when two of the conversational participants are talking about one of their friend's wife who is currently seriously ill and is being taken to the district hospital from the village. One speaker asks the other participant about the exact problem of the patient. In the response, he focuses on the new information, which he supplies for the first time.

(12.21) a.

\Speaker PR

hokko	*somma*	*dhane*	*u-budhi*	*u-choŋs-e*	*pho*
which	till	Dh.	3sPOSS-old.lady	3nsA-take-PST	REP

[CLDLCh2R02S02.090]

\Speaker CHKR

hile	*somma*	*pho*	*ni*
a_place	till	REP	FOC$_2$

[CLDLCh2R02S02.091]

\Speaker PR

aŋ	*li-no=kha*
what	be-NPST=NMLZ$_2$

[CLDLCh2R02S02.092]

\Speaker CHKR
*u-boli=**ta*** *manchiʔ pho*
3sPOSS-sound=FOC$_1$ not REP
[CLDLCh2R02S02.093]

'Speaker PR: Do you know how far they took Dhane's wife? Speaker CHKR: Up to Hile. Speaker PR: What happens to her? Speaker CHKR: They say that she does not have her voice.'

In the second example (12.21b), the speaker explains why his small child swallows the food without chewing. The speaker focuses on the new information which she provides in support of her child.

b. *u-keŋ-ce=**ta*** *ma-pok-yokt-a-ŋs-e*
3sPOSS-tooth-ns=FOC$_1$ NEG-rise-NEG-PST-PERF-PST
'Her teeth have not come out yet.' [CLDLCh2R02S02.178]

As I mentioned above, in example (12.22), the focus particle =***ta*** appears with the non-finite negation converb clause to focus the entire dependent clause.

(12.22) *mai-haĩ-ma=**ta*** *khad-a-loĩs-e* *hola*
NEG-discuss-INF=FOC$_1$ go-PST-appear.out-PST probably
'She might have gone without talking.' [CLDLCh2R02S02.570]

In addition to this, the constituent focus marker =*ta* also appears as an endoclitic. Example (12.23) shows the focus particle =*ta* appearing in a compound verb form.

(12.23) *thab-a=**ta**-ci-e*
[3sS]come.level-PST=FOC$_1$-COMPL$_3$-PST
'S/he came.' [warisama_talk.115]

It is quite common for this focus particle to co-occur with a number of other particles, as in the following example:

(12.24) *u-makcha=**ta*** *pho* *ni*
3sPOSS-daughter.in.law=FOC$_1$ REP FOC$_2$
'I heard that he is his son in law.' [CLLDCh4R03S03.1209]

The focus marker =*ta* is homophonous with the imperfective =*ta,* but they are semantically not the same. Because the imperfective form cannot occur with nouns. On the other hand, =*ta* as a

imperfective marker interacts with lexical time structure of the predicate (Bickel et al. 2005), whereas the focus marker cannot interact with the time structure of the predicate.

Besides the particle *=ta*, focus is also expressed in a number of other ways, such as stress, gestures, repetition or a combination of two or more of these devices. The description of these devices is beyond the scope of this chapter.

12.1.6 The surprise particle *=lo*

The particle *=lo* expresses speaker's surprise with respect to the asserted content. Like some other particles, this one is also attached to almost all types of parts of speech. In example (12.25a), the speaker does not expect that he looks at it, whereas the situation is that he looks at it immediately when he reaches at the point, and thus the speaker is surprised. The speaker of (12.25b) is surprised when the little Chintang children read in English during the recording of the particular session in the Chintang village.

(12.25) a. *ba-sa-ŋa=na* *copt-o-ko=lo*
DEM.PROX-OBL-ERG=TOP look.at-3P-NPST=SURP
'He looks (at it)!.' (यस्ले त हेर्छ पो!) [CLDLCh3R03S03.042]

b. *aŋgreji-beʔ=lo* *u-ne-no*
English-LOC=SURP 3nsA-read-NPST
'(They) read (it) in English!' (अंग्रजीमा पो पढ्छन् !) [CLDLCh3R03S03.254]

Like *=ta*, *=le*, and *=yaŋ*, this is also an endoclitic, which can appear between two verbs. The examples in (12.26) illustrate that the emphatic clitic *=lo* can be inserted inside a complex verb form or it can simply appear outside of the complex predicate.

(12.26) a. *kɨp-ma=**lo**-dheĩ-ma* *naŋ*
cut-INF=SURP-COMPL$_2$-INF BUT

b. *kɨp-ma-dheĩ-ma=**lo*** *naŋ*
cut-INF-COMPL$_2$-INF=SURP BUT
Both: 'It should be cut!' [CLDLCh2R02S02.170]

12.2 Independent particles

12.2.1 The emphatic particle *ni*

The particle *ni* is generally considered as an assertion marker; it adds emphasis to an assertion made by the speaker — expressing what the speaker regards as true. This is basically used to put slight stress in answers. Some examples with the emphatic particle *ni* are given in (12.27) - (12.29):

Example (12.27) is a conversation between three participants where one of the speakers wants to know whether it is a Limbu deity that is creating problems in the village (particularly to a lady who is severely ill now). The second speaker seems to be simply neutral in this case, but the third speaker adds emphasis to his assertion by using the marker *ni* at the end of the utterance.

(12.27) \Speaker PR

limbu-ce	*hunci-maŋ*	*e*	*na*	*naŋ*
Limbu-ns	3nsPOSS-deity	or	TOP	BUT

'It may be due to the Limbu God!' [CLDLCh2R02S02.101]

\Speaker CHKR

koni
I.don't.know

'I do not know.' [CLDLCh2R02S02.102]

\Speaker LB

huni-maŋ=ta	*pho*	***ni***
3nsPOSS-deity=FOC$_1$	REP	FOC$_2$

'It is said that it is their (Limbu's) God.' [CLDLCh2R02S02.103]

In the next example, the first speaker asks whether the bulky lady in the scene is pregnant. The second speaker is also not quite sure of it. So, he supplies his response with a combination of the probability particle *hola* and the emphatic particle *ni*. It perfectly illustrates the conflict between stepping back from a claim and at the same time emphasizing it.

(12.28) \Speaker PR

ei?	*khu-no*	*elo*
Hey!	carry-NPST	or

'Is she pregnant?' [CLDLCh2R02S02.030]

\Speaker CHKR

khu-no=ta	*hola*	***ni***
carry-NPST=FOC$_1$	probably	FOC$_2$

'She is pregnant, may be.' [CLDLCh2R02S02.031]

In statements it implies that the information given is common knowledge and may be translated as 'you know'.

(12.29)

i-mma	*ta*	*ghari*	*ba-ce*	*na-khui*	***ni***
2sPOSS-mother	come	time	DEM.PROX-ns	3>2-bring	FOC$_2$

'When your mother comes, she may bring these (type of things) for you.' [CLLDCh4R04S01. 710]

This is one of the most tolerant particles which can co-occur with almost all particles and discourse markers in Chintang (see table 12.2). In the following example, *ni* combines with the final particle *naŋ.*

(12.30)

aya	*tand-i*	***ni***	*cekt-i*	***ni***	*naŋ*
EXCLA	jump-p	FOC$_2$	speak-p	FOC$_2$	BUT

'Oh, but we jump and talk!'

12.2.2 The insistive particle *na*

The only particle occurring consistently in imperative constructions is the insistive particle *na.* This particle is used when the speaker insists or forces the addressee towards what is being suggested in the utterance. It occurs with both positive and negative requests and commands. As my consultants suggest, the imperative sentences ending in *na* can be uttered either in a friendly tone or in exasperation. For example, (12.31a) is addressed by a furious father to his naughty child, who is unwilling to put on his sandals before entering into the maize field, while (12.31b) is uttered by a boy to request Kamala to give something to their friend Khem. The most common thing in these examples is that in either case the speaker assumes that the addressee is not willing to perform the action.

(12.31) a. *i-cappal-ce* *wad-u-c-a* ***na***
2sPOSS-sandal-ns put.on-3P-3nsP-IMP INSIST
'(I insist that you) put on your sandals!' [CLLDCh3R02S05. 393]

b. *kamala* *miʔmuŋ kheme* *pid-a* ***na***
K. a.little Kh. give-IMP INSIST
'Kamala, give a little (mimi pre-cooked noodle) to Khem.' [CLLDCh2R10S05. 673]

As briefly stated above, when *na* is used in imperative sentences, it indicates that the speaker has a strong a intention to have the action carried out. Compare (12.32a) with (12.32b). In these two examples, (12.32a) sounds plain and neutral, while (12.32b) indicates that the speaker is urging the addressee to stand up, expressing something like 'Stand up now, I insist!'

(12.32) a. *eb-a*
stand.up-IMP
'Stand up.' [CLDLCh3R03S03.325]

b. *eb-a* *na*
stand.up-IMP INSIST
'(I insist that you) stand up.' [Elicitation_2013]

As I stated above, the insistive particle *na* can also regularly follow the negative requests or commands. An example of this is given in (12.33).

(12.33) a. *ma-kopt-a* ***na***
NEG-pick.up.for.sb-IMP INSIST
'(I insist you) do not pick it up.' [CLLDCh3R02S05. 328]

b. *mi* *ma-o-th-a-c-a* ***na***
fire NEG-throw-NEG-IMP-d-IMP INSIST
'Don't throw the fire.' [CLLDCh4R10S02.104]

In the case of complex sentences, the insistive particle *na* must occur on the main clause and cannot be attached to the dependent clause.

(12.34) *c-o-ha* ***na*** *phend-a=kina*
eat-3P-IMP INSIST open-IMP=SEQ
'(I insist you) open and eat it!' [CLLDCh3R02S06.138]

The insistive *na* is one of the very few particles which hardly co-occurs with any other particles in Chintang. It immediately follows the imperative form of the verb, so no particles precede it. But there are some instances in our corpus, where it co-occurs with the reconfirmative particle *o* (e.g. CLLDCh4R04S01.249: *khaʔ=ne* ***na oi*** [go=OPT INSIST RECONF] 'May he go!').

12.2.3 The contrast particle *naŋ/nahaŋ*

The contrast particle *naŋ* is a clause-final particle. It appears at the end of a clause and expresses a contrast to another proposition, which can be represented by an actual utterance or by a "virtual" utterance, e.g. something the speaker assumes the hearer thinks or something that is part of the common ground of a conversation. As far as our data supports, the alternative proposition cannot be anchored in the speaker himself, so *naŋ* cannot be used to contradict the speaker himself. These characteristics make it different from English *but*.

In example (12.35), *naŋ* is possible with a "virtual" proposition (e.g. I assume you've heard that *hoŋgi* is disgusting). In this example, English *but* is strange, because the contrasting proposition is not preceding the utterance.

(12.35) *hoŋgi lim-noʔ* ***naŋ***
kinema taste-NPST BUT
'(*But) Kinema is tasty!'

However, English *but* can also be used when the contrasting proposition is something that the speaker says himself or herself. This is impossible in Chintang, as illustrated in the following example:

(12.36) *Kina jhola=beʔ=yaŋ* *kond-u-hẽ=na,* *manchiʔ (*naŋ).*
SEQ bag-LOC=ADD search-3P-1s.PST=TOP, be.not (BUT)
'And I searched in the bag, but it is not there.' [Robert Schikowski p.c.]

Some more examples of *naŋ* are given in (12.37a-c):

(12.37) a.

ba=na	*batta=kha=lo*	*lis-a-d-e*	***naŋ***
DEM.PROX=TOP	big=NMLZ$_2$=SURP	be-PST-COMPL$_1$-PST	BUT

'This baby became big!' (you said he was born in August.) [CLDLCh2R02S02.042]

b.

aseĩ	*phon*	*numd-e*	*pho*	***naŋ***
three.days.before	telephone	[3sS]do-PST	REP	BUT

'I heard she made a call before a few days.' (Some people in the village say that she is very ill due to her pregnancy and currently hospitalized in city...!) [CLDLCh2R02S02.119]

c.

jahataha	*jaŋgal-a*	*pho*	***naŋ***
everywhere	forest-N.NTVZ	REP	BUT

'There was jungle everywhere.' (at that time, but now there isn't) [story_tiger.015]

12.2.4 The agreement seeker particle *o*

The agreement seeker or re-confirmative particle *o* [RECONF] prompts the listener to agree to the speaker's statement. Its function is somewhat similar to the English tag 'Okay' or tag-questions like "isn't it/haven't you/didn't he...". The speaker assumes that the hearer will agree to the proposed course of action.

(12.38) a.

akka	*ba*	*kekt-u-ŋ*	***o***
1s	DEM.PROX	carry-3P-1sA	RECONF

'I carry this, okay?' [CLLDCh2R10S05. 762]

b.

sed-u-ŋ	*panta*	*khatt-u-ŋ*	*o*
hit-3P-1sA	COND$_2$	take-3P-1sA	RECONF

'I take it if I hit it, okay!' [CLLDCh4R08S04.0419]

When an imperative is accompanied by the re-confirmative particle *o*, it becomes a request or a piece of suggestion, as illustrated in (12.39a). It is quite common to double the re-conformative particle to pay extra emphasis, as shown in (12.39b).

(12.39) a. *ba* *khuma=le* *pid-a* ***o***
DEM.PROX Kh.=RESTR give-IMP RECONF
'Please give it only to Khuma, okay? [CLLDCh4R04S01. 598]

b. *hana* *mai-khat-th-a* ***o*** ***o***
2s NEG-go-NEG-IMP RECONF RECONF
'Please don't go, okay?' [CLLDCh3R06S03.0003]

12.2.5 The attentive particle *gonei?*

The attentive particle *gonei?* or *goneĩ* is used to draw the hearer's attention. It is somewhat similar to the reconfirmative particle *o*, but unlike *o*, *gonei?* does not seek the hearer's response; it simply informs the addressee about the situation. A phonologically reduced form *one* also shares the same distribution and meaning.

(12.40) a. *a-nne* *akka=na* *kok* *ca-ma* *puŋs-u-hẽ* ***gonei?***
1sPOSS-sister 1s=TOP rice eat-INF start-3P-1sA.PST ATTN$_1$
'Sister, I started to eat rice.' [CLDLCh2R02S02.067]

b. *khad-e-hẽ* ***gonei*** *akka=na*
go-PST-1sS.PST ATTN$_1$ 1s=TOP
'I am leaving now.' [CLDLCh3R01S04.054a]

An interesting fact about this particle is that it often co-occurs with subjunctive forms (e.g. *khadaŋ goneĩ* instead of *khadehẽ goneî*). This makes it look like it once was composed of the nominalizer *=go* [NMLZ$_1$] and an additional element that maybe still exists in form of the (apparent) short form *neĩ*. The following are the examples.

(12.41) a. *kamala* *i-mimi* *u-kob-a-tt-o* ***goneĩ***
K. 2sPOSS-noodle 3nsA-pick.up-3P-COMPL$_1$-3P ATTN$_1$
'(Be careful!) Kamala might take your noodles away.' [CLLDCh2R10S05. 299]

b. *na-teĩ* ***gonei*** *hakkaŋ*
3>2-beat ATTN$_1$ after.a.while
'(Be careful!) she might beat you later!' [CLLDCh1R04S06.0207]

12.2.6 Direct speech marker *mo*

Chintang marks direct speech by the particle *mo*, which I label as 'CIT' in this work. It basically appears at the end of the reported speech and indicates that an immediately preceding clause is a direct quote.

(12.42) a.

khatt-a	***mo***	*lud-aʔ*	*na*
take.away-IMP	CIT	tell-IMP	INSIST

'Tell (him) to take (it) away!' [CLLDCh3R02S05. 185]

b.

tiy-a-s-eʔ	***mo***	*muk-no=ta*
come-PST-PERF-PST	CIT	give.a.sound-IND.NPST=IPFV$_2$

'He is shouting that she has come!' [CLLDCh3R02S05. 493]

The citation particle ***mo*** also occurs as a modifier of an NP. The followings are the examples:

(12.43) a.

Goma	***mo**=go=na*	*ba=lo*	*raicha*	*naŋ*
G.	CIT=NMLZ$_1$=TOP	DEM.PROX=SURP	MIR	BUT

'This is so-called Goma!' (I just knew her.) [CLDLCh3R01S03.258]

b.

them=kha	*hindiri*[6]	***mo**=go*
what=NMLZ$_2$	kind.of.bird	CIT=NMLZ$_1$

'What is hindiri? [CLLDCh3R08S05.0181]

This particle functions as a complementizer that basically marks the embedded complements of speech act verbs. Most *mo*-clauses are complement clauses in P or T function. In (12.44a), the complement clause is the P argument and in (12.44b) the complement functions as the T argument of the matrix clause.

(12.44) a.

kappe	*u-khad-e*	***mo***	*cek-no*
K.	3nsS-go-PST	CIT	speak-NPST

'Kappe says that they went.' [Robert Schikowski p. c.]

b.

kappe-ŋa	*u-khad-a-c-e*	*mo*	*na-lud-e*
K.-ERG	3nsS-PST-d-PST	CIT	3>2-tell-PST

'Did Kappe tell you that they went?' [Robert Schikowski p. c.]

---

[6] *hindiri* 'Eagle owl' (Nep. हुचिल) is a kind of big bird that hunts cats.

Besides the citation particle *mo*, Chintang occasionally also borrows the Nepali conjunctive particle *bhanera/bhani* to make a direct quotation.

(12.45) *bibhinna ba kali-ko=ta u-kama* ***bhani*** *u-lud-o-ko*
different DEM.PROX iron.age-GEN=FOC$_1$ 3sPOSS-work saying 3sA-tell-3P-NPST
'People say that this all different (from before) is Kali's job.' [origin_myth.651]

12.2.7 Reportative marker *pho*

In addition to the direct speech marker *mo*, there is another particle *pho* [REP], which also marks direct speech in Chintang. It's quite free in terms of its occurrence but most usual place is after the verb. It indicates that the speaker is not the original source of the information. In other words, it reports only hearsay, and makes no claims about the truth of the statement. Generally, the reportative particle in Nepali, is used to recall what has been said by others in past. But in Chintang, it is used with both past and nonpast expressions. It is extremely frequent in stories and folk tales in comparison to everyday speech. But it does occur in daily conversations and monologues as well. This is exemplified in the following natural conversation between two people.

Example (12.46a) was produced when the two speakers (CHKR and LK) were talking about a married couple of the same village. The speaker CHKR thinks that the couple is expecting a baby, but he is not quite sure of it. So he wants to verify this fact with his friend LK. In her response, LK uses the reportative marker *pho*, because she has not seen the lady being pregnant but she also heard it from someone else.

(12.46) a. \Speaker CHKR
bhakte-ko=lo u-chau li-ma lap-no=kha raicho aŋ kanchi
bh.-GEN=SURP 3sPOSS-baby be-INF start-NPST=NMLZ$_2$ MIR Q K.
'Bhakte is having a new baby, isn't it, Kanchi?' [CLDLCh2R05S05. 397]

\Speaker LK
li-ma lap-no ***pho*** *naŋ*
be-INF start-NPST REP BUT
[CLDLCh2R05S05. 398]

akka=na mai-khaŋ-th-u-ŋs-u-hẽ gonei
1s=TOP NEG-see-NEG-3P-PERF-3P-1s.PST ATTN$_1$
'I heard that it has started, but I have not seen it.' [CLDLCh2R05S05. 399]

b. *u-gol* ***pho*** *thi-a-d-e* ***pho***
3sPOSS-ball REP fall.down-PST-COMPL$_1$-PST REP
'He says that his ball fell down.' [CLLDCh1R09S06.0071]

The reportative particle *pho* is frequently used in both yes/no type and wh-questions to cite someone's questions (12.47a-c). It also marks that the answer to the question was originally not known to the asked person but to somebody else (12.48).

(12.47) a. *kancha* *i-mma* *hokke* *khad-e* ***pho***
K. 2sPOSS-mother where [3sS]go-PST REP
'Where did your mother go, kancha?' [CLLDCh1R01S01.038]

b. *rame* *aŋ* *num-no* ***pho***
R. what [3sA]do-NPST REP
'What is Ram doing?' [CLLDCh1R01S01.074]

c. *sa-ŋa* ***pho*** *a-sed-a-c-e* ***pho***
who-ERG REP 2s-kill-PST-d-PST REP
'Who? You (d) have killed it, haven't you?' [CLLDCh1R02S04.0479]

(12.48) *khad-e* ***pho*** *u-khim-be*
[3sS]go-PST REP 3sPOSS-house-LOC
'(Someone told me that) she went to her house.' [CLLDCh1R02S04b 1734]

There are a few examples in our corpus, where the reportative particle is used with the imperative form of verbs to signal commands by proxy.

(12.49) *yoʔ-ni* *bha-iʔ-ni* *thab-a* ***pho***
DEM.ACROSS-DIR DEM.PROX-LOC-DIR come.across-IMP REP
'Come over here! (Your mother told me to ask you.)' [CLLDCh4R11S10.096]

In the Chintang corpus, the reportative particle *pho* frequently co-occurs with the emphatic particle *ni:*

(12.50) *bakhi* *num-nok* ***pho*** *ni*
in.this.way [3sS]do-NPST REP FOC$_2$
'She does in this way.' (Someone told me) [CLDLCh2R02S02.095]

In this section, I discussed the core function of the reportative particle *pho*. I propose that the *pho* used in declarative sentences, interrogative sentences and imperative constructions in Chintang. When it occurs in declaratives, it indicates that the speaker is not the original source of the information; when it occurs in interrogative questions and imperative constructions, it indicates that the speaker is citing the question or the request of someone else.

12.3 Borrowed particles

Although particles have been traditionally viewed as unlikely candidates for borrowing (Brody 1987:507), Chintang has borrowed several particles from Nepali. In my examination of the Chintang corpus, I found that the borrowed particles are very productively used in Chintang. All the particles borrowed from Nepali function as discourse markers in Chintang. In this section I deal with the most frequently borrowed particles and their functions.

12.3.1 The specific topic *caĩ/cahĩ*

The particle *caĩ/cahĩ* is borrowed from Nepali; it functions as a contrastive topic marker 'that one', or 'the specific one'. This particle is found to be used very productively in day-to-day speech in Chintang. Like the Chintang native topic particle *=na,* it occurs mostly after an NPs and after sequential markers in Chintang.

In example (12.51a), the particle *caĩ* emphasizes that the first person agent *akka* 'I' eats rice and not the other person. A similar meaning is conveyed by the *cahĩ* particle in examples (12.51b) and (12.51c).

(12.51) a. *kok* *ca-ŋa-ʔã* *akka* ***caĩ***
rice eat-1sS-1sNPST 1s SPEC.TOP
'I eat rice, (but I don't know about others).' [CLDLCh3R05S04.091]

b. *ba-sa-ŋa* ***cahĩ*** *khali* *mund-o-ko-nɨŋ*
DEM-OBL-ERG SPEC.TOP always [3sA]forget-3P-NPST-NEG
'This one does not forget, (but other children might forget) [CLDLChR01S03.476]

c. *hana* ***cahĩ*** *a-pi-ŋa-niŋ*
2s SPEC.TOP 2sA-give-1sP-NEG
'You do not give it to me, (but other children give me).' [CLLDCh1R02S03b.086]

As I stated above, preliminary observation shows that the particle *caĩ/cahĩ* is very similar in meaning and use to the Chintang topic particle *=na*. However, *na* is much more dynamic than the particle *caĩ/cahĩ.* Unlike *caĩ/cahĩ, na* can can appear at the end of the finite sentences, but this is not possible with the particle *caĩ/cahĩ.* Consider the following repeated example in (12.52).

(12.52) *akka* *khad-e-hẽ* *na* (**caĩ)*
1s go-PST-PST.1sPST TOP
'I went (but nothing happened)' [Elicitation_2013]

12.3.2 The probability *hola*

The particle *hola* expresses the speaker's uncertainty. Its closest English equivalents are 'perhaps' and 'maybe'. This particle is very productive in both Nepali and Chintang. In Chintang, it frequently co-occurs with the sentence final particle *naŋ* when the speaker wants to focus on the uncertainty of the situation, as in (12.53b). It appears mostly after verbs, but before any postposed arguments (12.54).

(12.53) a. *sakti* *u-ppa* *kuŋ-ma* *lapt-e* ***hola***
S. 3sPOSS-father come.down -INF begin-PST probably
'Probably, Sakti's father is about to come.' [CLDLCh3R01S03.430]

b. *a-mai-khaŋ-yokt-a-ŋs-e* ***hola*** *naŋ*
2s-NEG-see-NEG-PST-PERF-PST probably BUT
'Probably, you haven't seen it.' [CLDLCh3R01S04.065]

(12.54) *cuwa* *thuŋ-no* ***hola*** *huĩ* *khore*
water drink-NPST probably DEM bowl
'Probably, he drinks water in that bowl.' [CLDLCh3R05S01.056]

In Nepali, it can also appear with imperatives to make a polite request. A very common example of this is found at the entrance of Nepalese offices and hospitals, as cited in (12.55).

But I did not see this type of function of this particle in Chintang.

(12.55) Nepali

mobile	*silent*	*mod-ma*	*rakhi-di-nu*	***hola***
mobile	silent	mode-LOC	keep-give-INF	probably

'Set your cell phone on 'Silent Mode.'

12.3.3 The mirative particle *raicha*

The mirative partice *raicha* indicates that the speaker did not expect the event described in the clause. It is often used when the speaker discovers something new or unexpected. This particle corresponds to the English evidential expressions 'apparently', or 'it turns out that'.

(12.56) a.

bastu-ŋa	*mai-ca=kha*	***rahicha***
animal-ERG	iP-eat=NMLZ$_2$	MIR

'Animals eat us!' (based on inference) [CLDLCh3R01S04.015]

b.

saila	*ca-nɨk-nɨŋ*	***raicha***
third.male.sibling	eat-NPST-NEG	MIR

'Saila does not eat!' [CLLDCh4R09S01.0407]

In Chintang, the mirative particle often co-occurs with the focus particle *naŋ*, as shown in (12.57).

(12.57) a.

sadhe	*bara*	*lis-a-d-e*	***rahicha***	*naŋ*
a.half	twelve	be-PST-COMPL$_1$-PST	MIR	BUT

'It turned out that it was already half past twelve!' [CLLDCh1R03S01.0491]

b.

khu-ma	*a-hid-o-ko*	***raicha***	*naŋ*
carry-INF	2sA-be.able-3P-NPST	MIR	BUT

'You could carry it!' (I thought you could not) [CLLDCh4R08S05.0345]

12.3.4 The initiator *lo*

The initiator particle *lo* originates from the Nepali particle *lʌ 'okay' (e.g. lʌ jāu,* 'Okay, go now.'*).* It serves to mark the beginning of a new action. Its meaning is equivalent to the English 'Okay'. One significant difference between the borrowed particle *lo* and the native particle *=lo* is that the borrowed particle mostly appears in a clause-initial position. There are a number

of evidences in our corpus where this particle appears as a clause initiator. This is illustrated by the following two examples from the Chintang corpus.

(12.58) a. ***lo*** *chito*
ok quick
'Okay, quickly!' [CLLDCh4R04S01. 1113]

b. ***lo*** *phan-a*
ok walk-IMP
'Okay, walk!' [CLDLCh2R02S02.618]

12.3.5 The attentive particle *hei*

The attentive particle *hei* is used to attract the attention of the hearer in Chintang. The actual origin of this particle is the Nepali particle *hʌi* (हैं). But unlike in Nepali, this particle has two lexical shapes in Chintang: the clitic form *=ei* and the non-clitic *hei*. Like the particle *lo,* the particle *hei* can also be used in clause-initial positions. But in the Chintang corpus, it is attested mostly in sentence-final positions. This is found in both declarative and imperative constructions. It has a number of functions in both languages:

In imperative constructions, the particle *hei* adds the nuance of emphasis, as illustrated in (12.59a,b).

(12.59) a. *yakkheŋ* *u-cuwa-niŋ* *thapt=**ei***
curry 3sPOSS-water-COM bring.across=ATTN$_3$
'Bring the curry with its soup.' [CLDLCh2R02S02.143]

b. *ma-put-th=**ei***
NEG-pluck-NEG.IMP-ATTN$_3$
'Don't pluck it.' [CLLDCh1R06S03.0586]

Like in the above examples, in imperative constructions, the particle *hei* is often merged with the imperative form of the verb deleting the imperative marker [a] and the initial [h] of the particle. This process can be observed in almost 90% of the corpus data. But there are still some examples where the particle *hei* does not combine with the verb and gets its own stress.

(12.60) *makhat-th-a* ***hei*** *hokko-i=yaŋ*
NEG-go-NEG.IMP-IMP ATTN$_3$ where-FLOC=ADD
'Don't go anywhere.' [CLLDCh2R08S04.0468]

In declarative sentences, *hei* adds the nuance of warning or attention. This is illustrated in the following example where it appears as a clause initiator.

(12.61) ***hei*** *yoʔ-ni* *kocuwa* *ti-e*
ATTN$_3$ DEM.ACROSS-DIR dog come-PST
'Hey, a dog came there! (It might eat your food.)'

Both in Nepali and in Chintang the attentive particle *hei* is often combined with the particle *lo* to express a strong warning, as illustrated in the following example:

(12.62) *kalpe* *akka=na* *khaʔ-yã* *lo=**hei*** *lo=**hei***
K. 1s=TOP go-1sS ok=ATTN$_3$ ok=ATTN$_3$
'Hey, Kalpe, I am leaving now!' (You must be ready now) [CLLDCh3R10S04.061]

12.4 Particle cluster ordering

Several particles appearing in the same position and sharing the same host form a 'particle cluster'. Particle clustering is extremely high in Chintang. But it is hard to tell how many particles can co-occur together in Chintang. According to my current data, Chintang sentences may contain up to four particles in a row (12.63). The particle *naŋ* is the particle which appears at the sentence-final position, following all the other particles. The particle *naŋ* is also the particle which is preceded by the maximum number of particles. The most frequently occurring combination consists of the particles =*ta* and *naŋ.*

(12.63) a. *bistari* *u-phan-no* ***pho*** ***mo=lo*** ***naŋ***
slowly 3nsS-walk-NPST REP CIT=SURP BUT
'Someone said they walk slowly.' [CLDLCh2R02S02.122]

b. *ba-iʔ=**ta=lo*** ***raicha*** ***naŋ***
DEM.PROX-FLOC=FOC$_1$=SURP MIR BUT
'But it is here!' [CLLDCh2R02S09.940]

Table 12.1 shows the particle cluster ordering found in the Chintang corpus.

Particle	Followed by	Example in corpus
=yaŋ [ADD]	*lo, naŋ, pho*	[CLLDCh3R09S06.300]
=le [RESTR]	*naŋ, ni, o*	[CLLDCh4R05S04 1131] [CLLDCh1R06S03.0312]
=ta [FOC$_1$]	*lo, pho, ni, naŋ*	[CLLDCh4R03S03.0803] CLLDCh4R03S03.1209
=na [TOP]	*ni, lo*	[khinci_talk.048]
=te [RESTR]	*lo, naŋ, le, ni*	[CLLDCh1R03S01.0453] [CLLDCh4R05S041131]
=lo [SURP]	*raicha, naŋ, ni*	[CLLDCh2R02S09.940]
ni [FOC$_2$]	*mo*	[CLLDCh4R03S03.0776]
na [INSIST]	o	[CLLDCh3R07S03. 441]
naŋ [BUT]	*pho*	[CLDLCh2R02S02.246] [story_DKR_01.215]
pho [REPORT]	*ni*	[CLDLCh2R02S02.095]
mo [CIT]	*lo, na*	[CLLDCh4R03S03.1078]
o [RECONF]	*mo*	[CLLDCh2R03S04. 0710]
gonei? [ATTN$_1$]	*o, mo*	[CLLDCh1R05S05.1153]
caĩ [*SPEC-TOP]*	*pho*	[story_rabbit.007]
hola [PROB]	*ni, mo*	[CLLDCh4R03S03.1083]
raicha [MIR]	*naŋ, ni*	[CLDLCh3R01S04.030]
hei, =ei [ATTN]	-	[CLDLCh3R01S02.029]

Table:12.1 Possible combination of Chintang particles

12.5 Summary

Although the class of particles in Chintang is of moderate size. It is nevertheless quite complex. As shown by the preceding discussion, we can make progress towards

understanding the complexity of particles by analysing them along two independent dimensions: syntax and phonology. Phonologically, we may distinguish three types of particles in Chintang: those that always behave as enclitics/endoclitics, those that behave as freestanding words, and those that behave as both. The phonological classification of the Chintang particles is shown in (12.64).

(12.64) Phonological classification of Chintang particles

a. enlitics/endoclitics: *=yaŋ, =le, =ta, =ni, =te*

b. Freestanding particles: *pho, mo, o, gonei?, lo, hola, raicha, na, naŋ*

c. Behave as both (clitics and freestanding words): *=lo/lo, =na/na, =ei/hei*

Syntactically, we may distinguish between focus particles and discourse markers.

(12.65) Syntactic classification of Chintang particles

a. constituent particles: *=yaŋ, =le, =ta, =na, =te, caĩ*

b. discourse markers: *pho, mo, o, gonei?, lo, hola, raicha, hei, na, ni*

Although this classification does not provide a complete picture of the Chintang particles, it may nevertheless be a useful means for understanding the basic properties that distinguish them.

Chapter 13

Concluding Remarks

13.0 Introduction

The goal of this study, as stated in chapter one, was to give an overview of the aspects of Chintang syntax. In addition to syntax, I have also described phonology, morphology (both nominal and verbal), complex predicates and adverbs to give an impression of Chintang grammar as a whole. This dissertation has twelve chapters excluding the current chapter (i.e. summary). All chapters of the dissertation contain a brief summary at the end of each chapter. So I do not repeat everything that was said there in this conclusion chapter. However, I summarize some of the major findings of the research in this chapter.

13.1 Summary of the thesis

Chintang is an eastern Kiranti language belonging to the Tibeto-Burman branch of the Sino-Tibetan language family. The nearest linguistic relatives are Athpare, Belhare, Chiling and Yakkha. It is spoken by about 5000 Chintang Rai people in the Chintang and Āhāle VDCs of Dhanakuṭā district in Nepal. There are two dialects (Mulgāũ and Sambugāũ) named after the areas where they are spoken, but the difference between these two dialects is found only in some areas of the morphology and lexicon, but not in the syntax. Chintang has a relatively large inventory of phonemes: twenty-seven consonants (excluding borrowed ones), six monophthongs and 12 diphthongs. Like other South Asian languages, Chintang shows a four way contrasts in stop consonants. But unlike in most other languages, there is a very rare lateral aspirated phoneme /lʰ/ (see table 2.1). All Chintang consonants can occur in the word

initial position, but there are certain restrictions in the medial and in the final positions. The canonical syllable structure of Chintang may be schematized as (C | G) V (C), where "C" is a consonant, "G" a glide and "V" a vowel. Stem final constants of verbs are obligatorily voiced before vowels (e.g., *thap-e* → *thab-e*). However, there is no voicing in other positions, for instance, after prefixes (e.g., *u-pid-e* (**u-bide*)). There are no pitch or tone contrasts in Chintang.

Chintang is a morphologically quite rich language. Finite verbs can be marked for person, number, tense, aspect, mood, and polarity whereas nouns are marked for case and number. There are three categories of number viz. singular, dual and plural. Singular is an unmarked category, whereas the dual and plural are marked by suffixes. Unlike in Nepali, there is no grammatical gender in Chintang. Chintang behaves ergatively with respect to case marking. It has split case marking based on person. The verbal morphology is considerably more complex than the nominal morphology in Chintang. The Chintang verb inflects for tense, aspect, polarity, and mood, and agrees in various alignment patterns with the single argument of intransitive verbs S and with both the A and P arguments of transitive verbs. All morphological categories of mood, aspect and tense are marked by suffixes on verbs. Indicative mood and tense markers are basically fused and represented by portmanteaus of tense and mood marking suffixes. Chintang makes a robust use of various non-finite verb forms for a variety of functions. Non-finite verb forms are the most productive means of making complex sentences in Chintang.

Like many other South Asian languages, Chintang makes extensive use of complex predicates. In my research, I found basically three types of complex verbal forms in Chintang: v1 + v2 compound, preverb and a stem form, and the borrowed verb compounds. In all these three types of complex predicates, the element in the right-most position gets full inflection, and in all forms there is the possibility for endoclitics to intrude between the two verb forms. But unlike in preverb-stem compounds and borrowed verb compounds, v2s in v1 + v2 compound forms require a disyllabic unit as a host to maintain their prosodic subcategorization constraint (see Bickel et al. 2007). If there is no inflectional suffix available to attach to the v1 stem, the epenthetic element *-na* is used to fulfill the requirement.

Adverbs, the topic of chapter 6, were discussed from both semantic and syntactic perspectives. There are hardly few mono-morphemic adverbs in this language. The majority of adverbs derive from a reduplication or triplication process. Syntactically, Chintang adverbs appear as a modifier of a verb, modifier of an adjective or modifier of an another adverb, and can occur in a number of different positions in a sentence.

The description and analysis of Chintang syntax begin in chapter 7, which investigates noun phrase structure in Chintang. NP structure is similar to that of the clause, the head is final and the pre-head order is syntactically free. There are simple, complex and headless noun phrases in Chintang. A simple NP contains only a pronoun or a noun which can be further modified by a number of modifiers, whereas a complex NP contains more than one NP combined either by a subordination or coordination process. In an NP, the head noun shows no agreement with the other modifying constituents except number agreement with the numeral.

Chintang is a verb-final language (SOV). In a basic declarative sentence all arguments usually precede the verb. In the unmarked word order an actor noun phrase normally precedes an instrumental one. Question formation does not necessarily change the word order, though the interrogative pronoun often takes the focus position immediately before the verb. Nevertheless, the Chintang language does not have a fixed word order, the arrangement of words in clauses do not result in a change of the linguistic meaning. The position of the verb is relatively fixed, but can be moved to the clause initial position. The most frequent word orders are SV, APV and AGTV, but other orders are always possible. Interrogative pronouns can occur sentence initially, pre-verbally, and in situ. Chintang allows multiple questions (wh) in transitive clauses. Including juxtaposition, the comitative marker -*nɨŋ* and the alternative particle *elo* are sometimes used to coordinate two elements. But the coordination strategy is not very productive in this language. Unlike dative-marked experiencers of the Indo-Aryan languages (e.g. Nepali), there are nominative experiencers in Chintang, which trigger object agreement.

Nominalization is very productive in Chintang. Like in other Tibeto-Burman languages, nominalization in Chintang extends beyond its core function of deriving nominal items from non-nominals. Actually, it is observed in almost all levels of grammar. i.e. it converts (all) verbs and adverbials into nominals, it marks adjectives, demonstratives,

participles, relative clauses, and complement clauses. Nominalization in Chintang is thus different from the standard concept of nominalization, because its input is not necessarily non-nominal and its output is not necessarily nominal (e.g. headed relative clauses). Although nominalization is found at all levels of Chintang grammar, derivation of nouns from non-nominals or nominals occupies a dime role. A significant role of nominalization is seen in various subordinate clauses and in free-standing sentences.

There are four different types of complement clauses in terms of control behavior of their S/A and P arguments and agreement properties. The S/A arguments of the embedded and matrix clauses must be identical for all the infinitival complement clauses. However, there is no coreferentiality restriction in nominalized and *samma* complement clauses in Chintang. Transitivity, case assignment, control and agreement behavior are quite diverse. There are both forward and backward control in Chintang.

Chintang shows an interesting diversity in adverbial clauses. There are both non-finite and finite adverbial clauses, which are marked by various morphemes, especially clitics, affixes, and conjunctions. Even though all non-finite subordinate clauses lack tense, and mood, in Chintang we encounter person and number marking in purposive clauses as possessive prefixes. The *-saŋa* converbal clauses and *-si* purposive clauses do not allow an overt S/A argument in the embedded clause, but both do allow patients, and locative arguments. But in contrast to *-saŋa* and *-si* clauses, there is no obligatory control of arguments in the negation converb clause. All types of converbal clauses have in common that they all license some sort of focus marker on the embedded clause.

A finite subordinate clause is inflected for tense, aspect (optionally), mood, person and number. There are four types of finite clauses: adverbial clause with *lok/lo*, conditional clauses with *=haŋ*, sequential clauses with *=kina/ki* and conecessive clause with *nuseyaŋ*. Besides these clauses, Chintang also borrows a number of temporal conjunctions from Nepali to form temporal adverbial clauses.

Chintang also has a moderate number of particles. All of them are uninflected and post-posed to the syntactic unit they modify. Besides this, Chintang also borrows a number of particles from Nepali. Among the native particles there are six clitics and seven independent words. Most of the clitics also function as endoclitics, which are attached inside a (morphological) word.

Appendix A
Verb paradigms

A1: Indicative paradigm
Top-down in each cell Nonpast indicative and past indicative

A/P	1s akka	1de ancaŋa	1pe anaŋa	1di anci	1pi ani	2s hana	2d hanci	2p hani	3s huŋgo	3ns hunce	Antipassive
1s	Σ-ŋa-ʔā-ci-ŋ Σ-ŋ-a-ŋ-ci-hē					Σ-na-ʔā Σ-n-e-hē	Σ-na-ʔā-ce Σ-n-a-c-e	Σ-na-ʔā-ni Σ-n-a-ni-hē	Σ-u-ku-ŋ Σ-u-hē	Σ-u-ku-ŋ-ci-ŋ Σ-u-ŋ-cī-hē	Σ-ŋa-ʔā Σ-e-hē
1de	Σ-na-ʔa-ncī-ya Σ-n-a-ncī-e-hē								Σ-c-o-ko-ŋa Σ-a-ce-hē	Σ-u-ku-m-ci-m-ma Σ-u-m-ci-m-m-e	Σ-ce-ke-ŋa Σ-a-ce-hē
1pe									Σ-u-ku-m-ma Σ-u-m-me		Σ-i-ki-ŋa Σ-i-hē
1di	Σ-na-ʔa-ncī Σ-n-a-ncī-hē								Σ-c-o-ko Σ-a-c-e	Σ-u-ku-m-ci-m Σ-u-m-ci-m-he	Σ-ce-ke Σ-a-c-e
1pi									Σ-u-ku-m Σ-u-m-he		Σ-i-ki Σ-i-hē
2s	a-Σ-ŋa-ʔā a-Σ-e-hē	a-ma-Σ-ce-ke a-ma-Σ-a-c-e	a-ma-Σ-no a-ma-Σ-e	a-Σ-na-ʔa-ce a-Σ-n-a-c-e					a-Σ-o-ko a-Σ-e	a-Σ-u-ku-ce a-Σ-u-c-e	a-Σ-no a-Σ-e
2d	a-Σ-ŋa-ʔa-ŋ-ci-ŋ a-Σ-a-ŋ-cī-hē			a-Σ-na-ʔa-ncī a-Σ-n-a-ncī-hē					a-Σ-c-o-ko a-Σ-a-c-e	a-Σ-u-ku-m-ci-m a-Σ-u-m-ci-m-he	a-Σ-ce-ke a-Σ-a-c-e
2p	a-Σ-ŋa-ʔa-ŋ-ni-ŋ a-Σ-a-ŋ-nī-hē								a-Σ-u-ku-m a-Σ-u-m-he		a-Σ-i-ki a-Σ-i-hē
3s	u-Σ-ŋa-ʔā u-Σ-e-hē	ma-Σ-ce-ke ma-Σ-c-e	ma-Σ-no ma-Σ-e	mai-Σ-ce-ke mai-Σ-a-c-e	mai-Σ-no mai-Σ-e	na-Σ-no na-Σ-e	na-Σ-ce-ke na-Σ-a-c-e	na-Σ-i-ki na-Σ-i-hē	Σ-o-ko Σ-e	Σ-u-ku-ce Σ-u-c-e	Σ-no Σ-e
3d	u-Σ-ŋa-ʔa-ŋ-ci-ŋ u-Σ-a-ŋ-cī-hē								u-Σ-c-o-ko u-Σ-a-c-e	u-Σ-u-ku-ce u-Σ-u-c-e	u-Σ-ce-ke u-Σ-a-c-e
3p	u-Σ-ŋa-ʔa-ŋ-ni-ŋ u-Σ-a-ŋ-nī-hē								u-Σ-o-ko u-Σ-e		u-Σ-ko u-Σ-o-ko

A2: Subjunctive paradigm
Top-down in each cell Nonpast subjunctive and past subjunctive

A/P	1s akka	1de ancaŋa	1pe anaŋa	1di anci	1pi ani	2s hana	2d hanci	2p hani	3s huŋgo	3ns hunce	Antipassive
1s	Σ-ŋa-ci-ŋ Σ-ŋ-a-ŋ-ci					Σ-na Σ-n-a	Σ-na-ce Σ-n-a-ce	Σ-na-ni Σ-n-a-ni	Σ-u-ŋ Σ-u-ŋ	Σ-u-ŋ-ci-ŋ Σ-u-ŋ-ci-ŋ	Σ-ŋa Σ-a-ŋ
1de	Σ-na-ncī-ya Σ-n-a-ncī-ya								Σ-c-o-ŋa Σ-a-c-o-ŋa	Σ-u-m-ci-m-ma Σ-u-m-ci-m-ma	Σ-ce-ŋa Σ-a-ce-ŋa
1pe									Σ-u-m-ma Σ-u-m-ma		Σ-i-ŋa Σ-i-ŋa
1di	Σ-na-ncī Σ-n-a-ncī								Σ-c-o Σ-a-c-o	Σ-u-m-ci-m Σ-u-m-ci-m	Σ-ce Σ-a-ce
1pi									Σ-u-m Σ-u-m		Σ-i Σ-i
2s	a-Σ-ŋa a-Σ-a-ŋ	a-ma-Σ-ce a-ma-Σ-a-ce	a-ma-Σ a-ma-Σ-a	a-Σ-na-ce a-Σ-n-a-ce					a-Σ-o a-Σ-o	a-Σ-u-ce a-Σ-u-ce	a-Σ a-Σ-a
2d	a-Σ-ŋa-ci-ŋ a-Σ-a-ŋ-ci-ŋ			a-Σ-na-ncī a-Σ-n-a-ncī					a-Σ-c-o a-Σ-a-c-o	a-Σ-u-m-ci-m a-Σ-u-m-ci-m	a-Σ-ce a-Σ-a-ce
2p	a-Σ-ŋa-ni-ŋ a-Σ-a-ŋ-ni-ŋ								a-Σ-u-m a-Σ-u-m		a-Σ-i a-Σ-i
3s	u-Σ-ŋa u-Σ-a-ŋ	ma-Σ-ce ma-Σ-a-ce	ma-Σ ma-Σ-a	mai-Σ-ce mai-Σ-a-ce	mai-Σ mai-Σ-a	na-Σ na-Σ-a	na-Σ-ce na-Σ-a-ce	na-Σ-i na-Σ-i	Σ-o Σ-o	Σ-u-ce Σ-u-ce	Σ Σ-a
3d	u-Σ-ŋa-ci-ŋ u-Σ-a-ŋ-ci-ŋ								u-Σ-c-o u-Σ-a-c-o	u-Σ-u-ce u-Σ-u-ce	u-Σ-ce u-Σ-a-ce
3p	u-Σ-ŋa-ni-ŋ u-Σ-a-ŋ-ni-ŋ								u-Σ-o u-Σ-o		u-Σ u-Σ-a

A3: Imperative paradigm

A/P	1s	1de	1pe	1di, 1pi, 2s, 2d, 2p	3s	3ns	intran.
2s	Σ-*a-hā*	*ma*-Σ-*a-c-a*	*ma*-Σ-*a*	Σ-*n-a-c-a*	Σ-*a*	Σ-*u-c-a*	Σ-*a*
2d	Σ-*a-ŋ-cī-hā*		*ma*-Σ-*a-c-a*	Σ-*n-a-ncī-hā*	Σ-*a-c-a*	Σ-*a-n-u-m-ci-m-ha*	Σ-*a-c-a*
2p	Σ-*a-ŋ-ni-hā*		*ma*-Σ-*a-ni-hā*		Σ-*a-n-u-m-ha*		Σ-*a-ni-hā*

A4: Imperative paradigm
Illustrated with the verb *pima, pit-* 'give'
Top-down, positive and negative commands

A/P	1s	1de	1pe	1di, 1pi, 2s, 2d, 2p	3s	3ns	intran.
2s	*pid-a-hā* *ma-pi-th-a-hā*	*ma-pid-a-c-a* *ma-ma-pi-th-a-c-a*	*ma-pid-a* *ma-ma-pi-th-a*	*pi-n-a-c-a* *ma-pi-n-a-ca*	*pid-a* *ma-pi-th-a*	*pid-u-c-a* *ma-pi-th-u-c-a*	*pid-a* *ma-pi-th-a*
2d	*pid-a-ŋ-cī-hā* *ma-pi-th-a-ŋ-cī-hā*		*ma-pid-a-c-a* *ma-ma-pi-th-a-c-a*	*pi-n-a-ncī-hā* *ma-pi-n-a-ncī-hā*	*pid-a-c-a* *ma-pi-th-a-ca*	*pid-a-n-u-m-ci-m-ha* *ma-pi-th-a-n-u-m-ci-m-ha*	*pid-a-c-a* *ma-pi-th-a-c-a*
2p	*pid-a-ŋ-ni-hā* *ma-pi-th-a-ŋ-ni-hā*		*ma-pid-a-ni-hā* *ma-ma-pi-th-a-ni-hā*		*pid-a-n-u-m-ha* *ma-pi-th-a-n-u-m-ha*		*pid-a-ni-hā* *ma-pi-th-a-ni-hā*

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